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THE EDUCATION OF THE PRINCE: A MIRROR OF REALITY AND ROMANCE IN MAXIMILIAN'S WEISSKUNIG

by
Marjorie Dale Wade

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Germanic Languages and Literatures)
in The University of Michigan
1974

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PREFACE

No Austrian Emperor is more affectionately remembered than the almost legendary figure of Maximilian I. He is dramatically representative of that politically and culturally transitional period between the close of the Middle Ages and the beginnings of the modern age. In the complexities of his personality and his reign he embodied many contradictory features, characteristics of both periods, and has consequently been remembered as a model of both eras. He was both the "last knight" and the first Renaissance prince, representing the end of the medieval era of courtly codes of conduct and chivalric values, while standing on the threshold of a new age representing the new interests of Humanism and the progressive spirit of the Renaissance. At his court were gathered the scholars and artists of the age, and from this circle emerged the great art works of German Renaissance culture. The romantic aura which envelops Maximilian's name is however largely the result of his own autobiographical efforts which glorified his name and that of his House to posterity.

As exceptional births and childhoods always foretell and explain the later attributes of religious and mythological figures, so too Maximilian's birth and youth are extraordinarily depicted in his autobiographical works. There is great emphasis placed in the years of his childhood, his learning and education. The education of the hero was a

frequently recurring theme of medieval literature: in both fictional and theoretical works, the epics, romances, classical treatises on statecraft, instructional books and mirrors for princes, the enfance prepares the way for the success and development of the hero. The remarkable enfance, that period between the hero's birth and the ceremony of his knighting, developed into a standard pattern of medieval literature. The motif of the youth's education, his precocious development then developed into a major role in the medieval romances, always prefacing the adult experiences and adventures of the hero. This motif, the description of the hero's youth, his learning, and his education, increased in complexity as the romances developed. The patterns employed became an important part of the tradition. It was a motif easily adaptable for the artist's purpose. The text presents the particular curriculum, describes the immediate effects of this study and then displays the new learning in action. The abilities cultivated and formed in childhood are then traditionally related to the activities of the hero's later distinguished manhood.

The career of Maximilian was distinguished not only by his political position and military activities. Indeed, it is probably outside the annals of history that he is best remembered, as the representative of a romantic past, as Maecenas, literary patron, historiographer, even writer himself. A restlessly active man of many varied interests, he was personally the ideal uomo universale. His youth and education were vitally important to that multifaceted development.

The subject of this study is then specifically that period of the enfance: the education of the prince as represented in Maximilian's Weisskunig. The autobiographical description in this prose romance is then related to the historical reality of his childhood and education in fifteenth century Austria. The Weisskunig affords an exceptional opportunity to examine the parallels between the historical reality of the prince's education and his own idealized representation of this childhood and education. Through this comparative study of the enfance, as represented in Part II of Maximilian's work, and the childhood of the prince, it is hoped to gain better insight into the cultural and intellectual ideals of this period and to gain a better understanding of Maximilian himself. The idealized, romanticized Weisskunig underlines the standards, values and ideals of this transitional period, and sheds light on the background of the Emperor's cultural and artistic contributions.

To view Maximilian, as man and legend, in proper perspective, it is necessary to first consider his entire life, political and literary career, his contributions to the political and cultural development of his Germanic lands, to study particularly his autobiographical writing to better understand his goals and to evaluate his works.

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CHAPTER I

THE POLITICAL CHARACTER OF THE REIGN OF MAXIMILIAN I

In the early hours of this Maundy Thursday night, on the twenty-second of March, 1459, Eleonore, princess of Portugal and wife of the Emperor Friedrich III of the House of Habsburg, gave birth in the Wiener Neustädter Burg to a son, Maximilian, Archduke of Austria[1] and future successor to his father's claims as German King and Holy Roman Emperor. The rejoicing at the birth of this long awaited son and heir was hardly more jubilant than properly proportionate to the future significance of this event for the Austrian lands and the Empire. "In der Tat haben die männlichen Nachkommen des damals Geborenen fast drei Jahrhunderte, bis 1740, gelebt und als Kaiser des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Deutscher Nation sowie als Könige von Spanien weltgeschichtlich bedeutsame Rollen gespielt."[2]

Among his ancestors this young Austrian prince could count a multitude of national origins as divers as the lands over which he would extend the influence of the House of Habsburg. The compounded composite of his ancestral background was characteristic of the age into which he was born. The aristocracy of Europe had long since begun developing that concept of nobility of birth which considered as equal only the ruling princely houses, and in contracting marriages the great dynasties had for a long time been reaching more and more beyond the nobility of

their national boundaries into the wider circuit of the European world of states. These policies are vividly reflected in Maximilian's genealogical table, where nearly all the great nations of Europe are represented. From his mother's side all of his forebears came from the Pyrenean monarchies, but for his English great-grandmother of the House of Lancaster, and even on his father's side non-German blood predominates. "Nur die Vorfahren seines Urgrossvaters Leopold III. von Österreich können als rein deutsch gelten. . . . Insgesamt finden sich unter den '32 Ahnen' Maximilians (der 5. Generation vor ihm, d.h. den Grosseltern seiner Urgrosseltern) nur 3 Deutsche, 2 Franzosen aus Reichs- bzw. Grenzgebiet, 4 Italiener, 10 Portugiesen und Spanier (dazu wahrscheinlich 2, die nicht bekannt sind), 3 Engländer, 3 Polen, 1 Litauer, 4 Russen: eine ungemein weit gefächerte Ahnentafel, in der nur Skandinavien und--bezeichnenderweise--das französische Königshaus und der eigentlich französische Adel gänzlich fehlen."[3]

This study of Maximilian is not restricted to his political leadership and military role as head of the Empire, but is an effort to better understand the man and his works through a consideration of his character and personality, his youthful development and the resulting interests and activities. It is a fascinating and sometimes frustrating quest which is often beset with confusion, contradiction, dispute, a constant blend of fact and fiction which renders some problems insoluble. Scholars have found it nearly impossible to outline the personality of Maximilian in comprehensible clarity without falsifying the picture by oversimplification. However despite the unresolved questions,

it remains a most interesting and rewarding study, more indeed because of the energy and vitality of his memorable personality than for the political, military or literary accomplishments of his reign.

Whereas historians tend to be critical of him for his dynastic ambitions and lack of success with his imperial policies, there is no emperor more dearly loved by the people than this ruler who is fondly recalled in the popular image as the "last knight." As Baldass notes, there is no other Habsburg Emperor who lives so in the memory of the German people as does Emperor Maximilian. Only Charlemagne, the founder of the Empire, and Friedrich Barbarossa, personalities of a completely different measure, have similar widespread posthumous fame. But Maximilian can hardly be measured to these two predecessors in either historical greatness or magnitude of character. Politically he is of a problematic nature, more reminiscent of a character out of Shakespeare's historical dramas than a mighty and resolute sovereign. Despite the many historical facts handed down to us about his life, there remains something of a magical aura, an unreal legendary quality of a fairy tale about him.[4] Even Ulmann critically observes, "Zwar ist er rastlos unternehmend fast überall dabei, wo etwas los ist, etwa wie in der Tanzfigur des moulinet ein Jeder seinen Arm in den wirbelnden Kreis hineinstreckt, um die Hand der Schönsten zu erhaschen: aber nur selten bei den grossen politischen Verwicklungen ist er einer der Hauptacteure oder bildet er gar die leitende Stelle."[5]

However Maximilian has become the representative of an age which forms, if not a political, certainly a cultural and artistic high point

of the German past. It was as a champion of chivalry that he liked to present himself and wanted to be remembered.[6] As the "last knight" he stands at the dividing line between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and representing both Late Gothic and Renaissance characteristics, seems to combine them. Maximilian's own writings which represent his life and exploits in an idealized and romantic style have doubtlessly contributed greatly to this popularized view of his life and adventure as imbued with the romance of some epic of chivalry whose royal hero rings down the curtain on the epoch of medieval knighthood and its chivalric codes of behavior.

Although he owes his popularity, and his "remembrance" in posterity, less to his historical deeds than to his promotion and support of cultural development, an understanding and appreciation of Maximilian's own literary efforts, so emphatically autobiographical, require however a degree of familiarity with the facts of his personal and political life.

Maximilian's father, Friedrich III, is not one of the more interesting or admirable Habsburgs, but is rather a strange and problematic figure. The Austrian historian, Professor Alphons Lhotsky, in defense of Friedrich supports Jakob Burckhardt's critical remarks, "Viel Gift über Friedrich III. ist bloss moderner Nationalliberalismus. Nach vierhundert Jahren tritt man auf einem zu seiner Zeit hilflos gewesenen Manne herum und kichert zu allem, was dem Hause Österreich in den fernsten Zeiten zu Leid und Schmach geschehen ist."[7] However Friedrich's deriding title attached by his contemporaries, "des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Erzschlafmütze"[8] reflects a picture of Friedrich consistent with

the general historical description. Friedrich was an unimportant man, a poor prince, his only inheritance as Duke of Steiermark, Kärnten and Krain were these poor mountainous duchies which he shared with his brother. When Friedrich was offered the crown of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nations by the Kurfürsten on 2 February 1440 in the St. Bartholomäuskirche in Frankfurt as the successor to his uncle Albrecht V, the electors were hoping for a weak and pliant man who would not interfere with their own claims to power.[9] The Habsburg family possessions had long been splintered, "die einzelnen Linien hatten sehr verschiedenartige Interessen verfolgt: Für den albertinischen Zweig in Ober- und Niederösterreich war es um die Erbfolge in Böhmen und Ungarn gegangen, für den leopoldinischen in den Alpenländern und Südwestdeutschland gleichzeitig um den Kampf gegen die Eidgenossen und die Expansion nach Süden, also Kärnten, Krain, Triest. Nach den Niederlagen in der Schweiz hatte sich diese Linie wiederum gespalten, Tirol und die Vorlande gingen andere Wege als Innerösterreich. Als hier Friedrich zur Regierung kam, betrugen seine Einkünfte kaum die Hälfte dessen, was Österreich Albrecht V. zu bieten hatte."[10]

When on 21 October 1439, King of Hungary and Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor Albrecht II died, and in the same year also Duke Friedrich IV of Tirol, the twenty-four year old Friedrich became suddenly the senior Habsburg and guardian of two cousins, the young Sigismund, heir of Tirol, and the posthumously born son of Albrecht, Ladislas (born February 1440), presumptive heir to the crown of Hungary. For the first time since 1395, the entire Domus Austriae were united in one hand, if

only for the period of time of the guardianship.[11]

Friedrich was elected Emperor in 1440. But it was more than a year after his acceptance of the title that Friedrich made his way to Aachen for his coronation.[12] When Friedrich III went to Rome in 1452, just one year before the fall of the Eastern Empire and defeat of Constantinople by the Turks, to receive the Imperial crown from the Pope, he became the only Habsburg[13] and the last Roman Emperor to be crowned by the Pope in Rome.[14] As Emperor, Friedrich has been described as weak and incompetent and attacked for his inertia and indolence. He was slow and deliberate in decision and action, conservative and against change. Instead of taking an active, decisive and powerful course, Friedrich's philosophy and system was to tack and steer an evasive course between the stronger forces threatening him. His goal was to wait for a better future, without taking the chance of forfeiting the last of what was left to him.[15] As Emperor he was forced to assume the role of defender of the eastern marches of Germany against the Slavs, Magyars and Turks. His was a policy of survival through patient waiting. Wandruszka declares, "In Frederich III the political realism of the early Habsburgs develops into a sometimes almost pathological immobility, which sees the outliving of one's enemies as the chief aim of politics." He continues, "A key to the understanding of Frederich's peculiar personality, to his failure as Austrian prince and as German Emperor, is perhaps provided by the entry in his diary" in which he refers to the three great Habsburg defeats of the fourteenth century, Morgarten, Mühldorf, and Sempach, and flatly declares in noting his ancestors' three

defeats that the Austrian banner is simply not a victorious one. His reticence to "entrust the fate of the House to the field of battle" recalls the celebrated couplet attributed to Matthias Corvinus: "Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube, / Nam quae Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus."[16] This witty observation, "Let the strong fight wars, but you, happy Austria, marry. What Mars grants to others, Venus gives to you," might well be interpreted as the theme which underlines the Habsburg policy and success in expanding their power and lands through this peaceful means.[17]

Interestingly enough, it was to just such marriage alliances that the Habsburg dynasty owes more for its ascent to such world power, rather than to military might alone. Friedrich's inheritance of the Habsburg lands was hardly unproblematic. He had to give Oberösterreich to his quarrelsome younger brother, Albrecht VI, and divide the revenues of Niederösterreich with Sigismund of Tirol, while the Hungarian and Bohemian lands grew more and more hostile toward foreigners.[18] Since the fall of Constantinople the Emperor's most pressing task for three centuries, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, was to protect Christendom, to defend the Empire, the Church and the West against the Turks, who stood at the very gates of Vienna in 1529 and 1683.[19] His first duty was considered to be the reconquest of the Eastern capital and the expulsion of the hated infidels. This dream was however hardly realistic. A crusade against the Turks required money and troops which the estates of the Empire sorely lacked. And most of them, involved in their own petty quarrels and affairs, had no interest in active

assistance as long as their own lands were not being directly threatened.[20]

Always the indecisive, cautious, phlegmatic bureaucrat, Friedrich waited out all demands, and made few concessions and reforms. Too weak to put an effective stop to the claims of his aggressive and ambitious younger brother, Albrecht VI, to the duchy of Austria, he was forced to suffer the domestic embarrassment of being besieged even in the Wiener Hofburg by Albrecht, supported by the Viennese, while his own family suffered near starvation during the brother's struggle for control of the inheritance. Albrecht continually defied Friedrich's authority, even as Emperor, until his death in 1463.[21]

Internal unrest and domestic problems within his family and Austrian lands were not Friedrich's only concerns. Both Bohemia and Hungary asserted their independence under his weak rule. After the death of Ladislas in Prague in 1457, Friedrich was incapable of enforcing his own strong claims to these lands, and both elected national kings, George of Podiebrad and Matthias Corvinus. Turkish attacks on the Steiermark began in the 1460's.[22] Then Austria, Steiermark and Kärnten were lost to the new aggressive Magyar king, Matthias Corvinus, who drove Friedrich out of his hereditary domains, took possession of the capital and neighboring fortresses, and completed the subjugation of Niederösterreich by capturing the Emperor's favorite residence, Wiener Neustadt.[23] The Emperor was forced to flee the capital before the Hungarian victor and left Vienna to wander about through the Empire, only to eventually retire in Linz where he turned his attentions to his scholarly studies.[24]

Friedrich's weak and undistinguished rule of fifty-three long years (1440-1493) in no way served however to weaken his faith in the future greatness of his House. Friedrich, secure in his firm conviction of his family's high destiny and trusting in a mysterious, almost cabballistic numerical and alphabetical mystique selected as his device the symbolic five vowels, AEIOU, which he had stamped on everything he owned. These mysterious initials have been interpreted to mean either "Austriae est Imperare Orbi Universo" or "Alles Erdreich ist Österreich untherthan" reflecting his vision of the future greatness of his House. Friedrich's perseverence and tenacity, his policy of survival to weather the storms of his day was based, Wandruszka speculates, "on his almost cynical misanthropy, strong egoism, and deep-rooted conviction of the divine election of himself and his House, a belief apparently contradicted by his recognition of his own unstable position and the dangers threatening on all sides. For Habsburg rulers this belief in the election and mission of their House was probably a necessary supplement to their insights, the prop to which they clung all the more tenaciously the worse Fate treated them."[25]

There undoubtedly grows up within any dynasty a collection of legendary materials and didactic tales which are handed down through generations. "Throughout the centuries these formed a sort of family treasure of pragmatic and pedagogical material with which to educate future rulers, instruct other members of the family, and--last but not least--win and hold the sympathies of subjects, allies, and contemporary opinion."[26] These dynastic and family legends and traditions had long

been handed down in the Habsburg family, were developed and furthered by Friedrich to be handed down to his heirs and descendents. As early as Rudolf IV, the Founder, there were recorded efforts to set forth the greatness of the House of Austria even beyond his founding activities. "Der Ideenwelt des Herzogs entsprang wohl auch die unvergleichliche Fabelchronik von den 95 Herrschaften, die Stainreuter später als Lesemeister Herzog Albrechts III. niederschrieb, welche die Geschichte Österreichs über fünfundneunzig christliche, heidnische und jüdische Dynastien von den Anfängen der Welt heraufführte. Die habsburgischen Länder sollten nicht ihresgleichen haben im Reich; dies war Rudolfs IV. Wille, und Friedrich III. wird ihn hierin nachahmen; er wird die Phantasie-Wappen der 95 Herrschaften in Stein gemeisselt an die grosse Wappenwand des Wiener Neustädter Burgtores setzen, so sich auch der junge Maximilian an diesem Symbol des 'ewigen Österreich' entflammen sollte."[27]

Despite the weakness and the ineffectiveness of his reign, Friedrich had a surprisingly sure confidence in the future and greatness of his family, which was to be well justified by his son Maximilian's career. Friedrich is highly significant for Habsburg history for with his incredible tenacity he maintained a hold, and created the basis for the future rise of his House.[28] Following his father's uninspired reign, Maximilian with a surprising combination of shrewdness and good fortune raised his family to the foremost position in Europe and earned himself the title of second Founder of the House of Habsburg. His reign begins a new epoch in the history of the family, and from this time on the House of Austria was involved in a much larger sphere of action.[29]

The sketchy details of the boyhood and youth of this Habsburg prince which have come down to us through a variety of historical documents and written records will be treated in detail in later chapters of this study. Maximilian's political career however began quite abruptly in 1477 at the age of eighteen, when his marriage to Maria of Burgundy brought the Habsburgs into the mainstream of modern European history. Friedrich's plans for his son were founded on thoughtful and deliberate calculations for a favorable marriage. "Im Anfang des Jahres 1477 öffneten sich ihm die Tore zu selbständiger politischer Wirksamkeit durch die Heirat mit Maria, der Erbtochter Karls des Kühnen, des soeben gefallenen Herzogs von Burgund."[30] The idea of a marriage between Maximilian and Maria had first been suggested in 1463 by Pius II. The project had come up again in 1467, but it was not until 1473 that negotiations culminated in a call for a personal meeting between Friedrich and Charles the Bold, Maria's father. There were many reasons for a marriage between Maximilian and Maria, the union of Habsburg and Burgundy, for the mutual benefit of both parties.[31]

The ambitious Duke Charles of Burgundy, constantly struggling against the French king toward greater independence for his lands, desperately wanted his Burgundian duchy elevated to a kingdom. He further hoped to acquire for himself the succession as Emperor at Friedrich's death. His plan was then to marry his daughter, Maria, to Maximilian, and have Maximilian then elected King of the Romans, who would be as such his presumptive heir as Emperor.[32] Friedrich, whose Habsburg lands in the Alsace were under Burgundian influence, aspired to the position

and financial security which such an alliance would bring, and also needed support for his inner Austria lands which were being threatened by the Turks since 1469. The two children also had to some degree a common background in their English and Portuguese ancestors, as Charles' mother was of the House of Lancaster, his second wife, Margaret of York. Finally in September 1473 negotiations had come so far as to promise success, and a personal meeting between the two fathers was called at Trier, officially announced as a consultation regarding a war against the Turks. The arrival of the Burgundian party in Trier, Charles riding before an entourage of over two thousand Burgundians dressed in the most elaborate riches imaginable, was a sight never forgotten by Maximilian. He had never seen such splendor in the war-torn Austrian lands or at the poverty-stricken courts of his home.[33] The dazzling richness of the Burgundian display in contrast with the meager Imperial entourage invited comparisons, but as Fichtenau notes, "Es wäre freilich verfehlt, den Gegensatz so zu vereinfachen, wie es einer der burgundischen Höflinge tat, als er daran erinnerte, dass die Vorfahren des Kaisers mit Fellen bekleidet einhergegangen seien."[34] For two months there was an ostentatious display of splendid processions, banquets, tournaments and services, while oral meetings went on behind closed doors. The personable fourteen-year old Maximilian won general affection, and developed a great admiration for his future father-in-law, the splendid and flamboyant Duke Charles. Then suddenly Friedrich withdrew from the negotiations, and immediately departed from Trier without coming to any agreement with Charles.[35]

Negotiations for the marriage of Maximilian and Maria of Burgundy had been in the air long before the spectacular and strange meeting of Friedrich and Charles at Trier in 1473, which ended on such a discouraging note. Friedrich's tentative initiations at this point toward this union, however tenuous and insecure, pave the way for the future aggrandizement of the House of Austria. The unexpected death of the ambitious Duke of Burgundy, who was killed, defeated in battle near Nancy on January 5, 1477,[36] brought a dazzling inheritance to Maria, the sole heiress of all her father's possessions. Burgundy, a duchy made up of French and, in part, German feudal lands, had acquired complete independence by the early fifteenth century. The center of the lands held by the fifteenth century dukes of Burgundy was Bourgogne, which was the original duchy of Burgundy, a fief of the French king, and the Franche-Comté, the county of Burgundy, which was a fief of the Holy Roman Emperor. To these lands there had been added the counties of Flanders, Artois, Picardy, Hainault, Brabant, Gueldre, Holland and Luxembourg.[37] From the North Sea it stretched along the Jura slopes, and included Amsterdam, Utrecht, Antwerp, Zealand, Friesland, Boulogne, Nancy, Kolmar, Ostend and Calais.[38] It was a well managed and administered land, flourishing in trade and industry. Its French court was known throughout Europe for its magnificence, wealth and culture. In the days of Philipp the Good, the Duke of Burgundy was the richest prince in Europe.[39]

When Charles the Bold was killed at Nancy, before any firm commitments were formally realized regarding the marriage of Maximilian and Maria, the situation appeared tenuous. "Das bedeutete eine Katastrophe

für Burgund, aber auch für die Pläne des Kaisers. Maximilian war noch nicht achtzehn Jahre alt und ein Unbekannter in den burgundischen Ländern, deren Sprachen ihm fremd waren. Er konnte sich hier auf nichts anderes stützen als auf zwei Dokumente: eine Urkunde Karls, die seinen Willen verbriefte, dem Prinzen Maria zur Frau zu geben, und deren Schreiben an Maximilian, worin sie diesem für Geschenke dankte und sich mit dem Entschluss des Vaters einverstanden erklärte."[40]

At the death of Charles the Bold, however, the French King Louis XI immediately marched into the dominion of Maria, considering them a fief of France, took possession of the Burgundian duchy and part of the counties of Artois and Flanders as a freed fief, and at the same time demanded the hand of its rich heiress for his son, the dauphin Charles. "Das Schicksal, ja die Existenz des burgundischen Staates war mit Karls Tod in Frage gestellt. Wohl hatte der Herzog im April 1476 seine Tochter Maria feierlich dem Kaisersohn Maximilian versprochen. Aber sollte das alle Mächte nach seinem Tode binden? Ludwig XI. dachte darüber ganz anders. Er sah nur die Gelegenheit, alle Verluste einzubringen."[41] There followed a period of great confusion. Maria found no support from her subjects, and none from her vassals. Faced with independent uprisings within her territories, especially Flanders and Brabant, with Ghent rising in arms, Holland and Zealand exhorting new concessions, the inexperienced Maria and her counsellors were alarmed, but were supported by the Netherlands in war against France.[42]

Hard pressed defending her lands and attempting to preserve her whole inheritance against the French invasions in both Burgundy and in

the Netherlands, the politically inexperienced, twenty-year-old heiress appealed to the young Maximilian to come to her aid. Friedrich sent the Pfalzgraf Peter von Veldenz at the head of a party to Burgundy as proxy for the bridegroom, and the marriage of Maximilian and Maria was solemnized by proxy in April 1477. Maximilian was indeed still far away. The young duchess wrote her fiancé to come as soon as possible.[43] But in Austria the situation was hardly secure, and such a journey cost money, required much preparation and time. Maximilian had to go as an Emperor's son and future regent, in splendid attire and surrounded by a great retinue and representative escort, bearing appropriate gifts for his bride. Finally, preparations completed on 21 May 1477, Maximilian left Vienna with a retinue of 800 men to make his way to Burgundy[44] through Graz, Bruck, Leoben, Salzburg, Friesing, Nördlingen, Frankfurt, Cologne, breaking his journey in some forty-three stopping places along the way to rest, receive gifts and honors from the various cities, and take part in festive celebrations.

Burgundy

On the eighteenth of August, Maximilian in silver armor, accompanied by a splendid retinue, made his public entry into Ghent where he was met by an honor escort of five hundred mounted burghers dressed in white, and where the next day the wedding was celebrated.[45] He was joyfully received and popularly hailed as the savior prince who will deliver his people in battle.[46] "Aus dem armen, karg gehaltenen, politisch unbedeutenden Fürstensohn war mit einem Schlag der Herr eines der reichsten und mächtigsten Staatswesen geworden--eines Staatswesens

freilich, das sich in tiefer Krise befand und nach innen und aussen geschickter und fester Hand bedurfte."[47] Obviously this marriage had great political and diplomatic significance for Austria, and expanded considerably the Habsburg territorial claims. The Netherlands were brought under Habsburg influence, and with subsequent actions and negotiations Maximilian also secured Artois and the Free County of Burgundy.[48] Almost to the day, however, that Maximilian marched into Ghent, Corvinus led his Hungarian forces into Niederösterreich, marched on Vienna for an eighteen-week siege, while Friedrich fled to Linz.[49]

With this marriage of Maximilian and Maria in 1477 commenced the long conflict between Austria and France which would dominate the European scene for the coming centuries, a struggle to preserve the Burgundian state and to oppose French encroachment. France and Austria had had political interests as far apart as their respective domains before 1477, but there now begins the rivalry which would significantly influence European politics: "die Todfeindschaft zu Frankreich. Die burgundische Gefahr wurde für Frankreich noch bedrohlicher, wenn sie von einem Erzherzog von Österreich ausging, der gute Aussichten besass, einmal römischer König und Kaiser zu werden."[50] The marriage brought the young Archduke demanding duties and troubles. Political and military responsibilities were overwhelming. "Das Einleben wurde ihm erschwert, da er weder Französisch, die Sprache des Hofes und der Kultur, noch Flämisch, die Sprache des Volkes von Gent, Brügge und Brüssel verstand."[51] His first difficulty was his unfamiliarity with the language of his wife and her territories. Nor did Maria speak German, and the

two could only make themselves understood to the other through either an interpreter or sign language. Maria began immediately instructing him in French.[52] Coming to his wife's aid in quelling the revolts of the Estates and in defending her lands, the eighteen-year-old Maximilian arrested the progress of the French. Hostilities followed the medieval pattern of raids, surprises and interruptions[53] until in his first real test of arms he defeated the French forces in a pitched battle at Guinegate in Artois in a decisive victory on 7 August 1479.[54]

As the young Maximilian gained political and military experience, this period of his youth was enriched by great personal happiness in a very compatible marriage and his delight in the cultural wealth of the rich Burgundian court. He and Maria shared many interests and tastes, hunting, skating and chess,[55] and their temperaments and inclinations brought them very close, stimulating Maximilian to write back home to his friend Sigmund Prüschenk of his great happiness. "'Ich hab ein schöns, fromms, tugendhaftigs Weib, das ich mich begnügen lass und dank Gott,' schreibt Maximilian drei Monate nach der Hochzeit an Prüschenk und beschreibt Maria reizvoll in seinem bayrisch-österreichischen Dialekt: 'von Leib viel kleiner als die Rosina (eine Jugendgeliebte in Österreich, von der wir nichts Nähres wissen) und schneeweiss, ein prauns Haar, ein kleins Nasl, ein kleins Häuptl und Antlitz, praun und graue Augen gemischt, schön und lauter . . . der Mund ist etwas hoch, doch rein und rot.' . . . 'Hätten wir hie Fried, wir sässen im Rosengarten'--so fasst er seine Eindrücke im Dezember 1477 zusammen."[56]

He was astonished at the splendor and wealth of the lands and cities of his wife's realm. "Maximilian selbst berichtete nach Hause,

hier gebe es über 20 Städte von der Grösse Wiens, etwa ebensoviele Wasserschlösser ähnlich Laxenburg und dazu 3000 herzogliche Falken und 4000 Jagdhunde."[57] Is it any wonder that the young prince established long lasting deep ties with the Netherlands under these circumstances? In April 1478 he restored and was invested with the Order of the Golden Fleece, as whose Grand Master he functioned. The famous Order, founded by Philipp the Good in 1430 to preserve chivalric behavior and customs, and to serve the battle against the unbelievers, was also aimed at binding closer together the nobility of his possessions and to help form the beginnings of a state out of this bundle of lands.[58] The Order of the Golden Fleece was a last effort to retain the chivalric code and to revive knighthood in an artificial and hopeless effort to preserve its influence.

On 22 July 1478, his son Philipp was born in Bruges, and eighteen months later his daughter, Margaret. Maximilian had come to feel himself so thoroughly a Burgundian Duke, we see this influence even in the naming of his children who received good Burgundian names. Both Philipp, for Maria's grandfather, and Margaret, who was named after Maria's stepmother, were names never previously used in the Habsburg family. Even in his politics in the Netherlands Maximilian showed himself an exact continuer of his Burgundian predecessors.[59] But his steady progress toward a prospect of success was suddenly halted by the unexpectedly early death of his beloved wife, Maria of Burgundy. An enthusiastic sportswoman, Maria and Maximilian were out hawking, when she took a tragic fall from her horse and suffered injuries which

brought on her death at age twenty-five, three weeks later on 26 March 1482. Maximilian's grief was limitless. The death of his lovely wife was a deep personal blow, but also brought with it heavy political burdens. The happy and romantic days of his youth had come to an abrupt end, and he was forced to begin a veritable battle for existence. At the death of Maria, their own Burgundian duchess, Maximilian's position was seriously weakened. Suddenly he was regarded by the natives of Flanders, the most powerful of the provinces, as an interloper, a foreign prince with no claims to sovereignty. His position in the Netherlands seemed tenuous. The cities, especially Ghent and Bruges, had a free, almost republican attitude, a spirit of independence which made them hardly obedient subjects. Problems arose everywhere, even a dispute for the guardianship of his little son Philipp, the young sovereign. Enemies were at every turn and he was losing political ground everywhere. It appeared that with the death of his young wife, his happiness and good fortune were at an end. Ulmann maintains that the House of Habsburg was never closer to losing all that it possessed than at this time.[60]

The Eastern threat increased in the meantime. There were year-in, year-out attacks of the Turks into the Inner Austrian lands, and since 1482 the Emperor and Matthias Corvinus of Hungary had been openly at war. Just three weeks after Maximilian's departure for Burgundy in 1477, the Hungarians had marched into Niederösterreich under the leadership of Corvinus of Hungary. Friedrich had no way to oppose him, and one city after the next fell. Then Vienna was encircled by the Hungarian forces for eighteen weeks, and finally capitulated at the end

of May. The Emperor Friedrich had fled to Linz.[61] After thirteen years of battles between the Emperor and Corvinus, the Hungarians had finally succeeded in seizing the Austrian lands and taking Vienna itself. While Corvinus made Vienna his capital, and the Emperor Friedrich was forced to flee from his hereditary lands, his son Maximilian was so occupied in the West with the Burgundian defense against French encroachment and internal difficulties that he was unable to come to his father's assistance against either the Eastern threats, either the Turkish attacks or the Hungarian forces. The whole country was occupied by Hungary, and the old Emperor Friedrich and his daughter Kunigunde were forced to leave the Austrian hereditary lands to flee before the sword of the Hungarian victor. The Emperor himself fled to Linz, and then to Gmunden, from there to offer a peace to Matthias Corvinus.[62]

From the time of his departure from Vienna in 1477, the young Maximilian had had to rely largely on his own resources and depend upon himself despite his political and military inexperience in his actions in Burgundy. Friedrich's position hardly allowed him any possibilities of assisting the inexperienced Maximilian with his Burgundian problems. Whereas Maximilian has been severely criticized by some historians for failing at this time to have come to the aid of his father against the Eastern threats, Ulmann defends him as having had no choice, insisting that Maximilian could have acted no differently. To have left the Netherlands at this time would have been political suicide.[63]

Unable to come to his father's aid against the threats and onslaughts from the East, Maximilian had in the meanwhile to act independently as ruler of his wife's lands. Compelled to remain in the far

West to defend his position in his wife's lands against the Flemish citizens, he was forced to rely on his own resources. First resisting the French claims to the Burgundian territories, Maximilian's initial successes were followed by serious threats. The general disorder which had arisen kept Maximilian continuing his struggles in the Netherlands until 1485. Tired of the wars against France the Flemish had turned to the support of Louis XI of France and without Maximilian's consent had delivered over to Louis Maximilian's infant daughter, Margaret, by the treaty of Arras of December 23, 1482. Margaret was betrothed to the Dauphin Charles with Artois and Franche-Comte as her dowry, and was to be taken to Paris where she was to remain until her marriage. Here she was to remain to be brought up on French soil, given a French education in accordance with her destiny. Flanders and Brabant had at the same time taken over from Maximilian the guardianship of his son Philipp. Maximilian remained entirely on his own with no help. He was beset with financial difficulties. Wars and costly Burgundian court expenses mounted rapidly. Neither he nor the young Maria had understood finance, and the Burgundian wealth had been considerably drained by the costly wars and responsibilities of Charles the Bold. When Maximilian first arrived in Burgundy, the money troubles were already evident, and he and Maria had been forced to pawn and sell many of the Burgundian Valois treasures. By summer 1478 the situation was so pressing that he had appealed to his father, fearful of losing everything if he did not receive help in the next ten to fourteen days. He and Maria had done everything they could, having pawned all their personal jewels and even the magnificent golden cloak worn by Charles the Bold in Trier for

40,000 Gulden. "Wenn ihm der Kaiser nicht helfe, werde or ihn nicht er wiedersehen."[64] Tensions continued between Maximilian and Flanders after the treaty of Arras, until open hostilities broke out. Maximilian finally reduced Ghent into submission. His son Philipp was returned to him at last, after a separation of three years, on 7 July 1485, when the Flemish finally submitted to Maximilian, agreed to pay war reparations and the states of Flanders acknowledged Maximilian as guardian of his minor son. Despite his victory, he was financially crippled.[65]

If Friedrich had expected the financial resources of Burgundy to be support for his Austrian defences when he sent his son off to marry the Burgundian heiress, he must surely have been disappointed. Just so, Maximilian too was disillusioned if his expectations had depended on imperial military assistance in his campaigns against France and the revolutions in these territories of Maria. But circumstances demanded that father and son maintain relatively independent policies over their respective lands.[66]

Unable to go to his son's support, Friedrich stood alone against the Hungarian enemy, until the summer of 1485. Corvinus had taken Austria, Steiermark and Kärnten, and established his residence in Vienna, while the Emperor moved as a fugitive and exile throughout the realm.[67] The only thing that could save the Austrian lands was the election of the Emperor's son, who had already proven himself in the Netherlands, as King of the Romans, assuring him succession to the imperial crown.[68] But ineffectual as he might have been defending his lands and aggressively governing the Empire, Friedrich did manage to further the aggrandisement of his family by securing during his lifetime his son's

election as King. For the first time since Maximilian's departure for Burgundy in 1477, eighteen years before, father and son met. Maximilian had expressly promised the Electors before the election that he would personally conduct the war against Hungary. When the Kurfürsten elected Maximilian German King on 16 February 1486 at the Frankfurt Reichstag, this made Maximilian the prospective successor to his father as Emperor. But during the years of their joint rule, from 1486 to 1493, father and son were to have many disagreements and often pursued independent or conflicting policies.[69] Friedrich's most urgent concerns were related to protecting his hereditary lands. The Hungarians were occupying Vienna, but Maximilian's duties in his Burgundian lands required his attentions and necessitated his prompt return. "Aber wer gehofft hatte, der neue König werde jetzt seine Erblande, die südöstliche Mark des Reiches von den Feinden befreien, sah sich bald bitter enttäuscht."[70] After his election and coronation at Aachen on 9 April 1486, Maximilian returned May 1486 to make his entry into the Netherlands wearing the imperial crown.[71]

Allying with Brittany, Maximilian reopened hostilities against France. His war efforts were, however, not successful, and he was discredited in the Netherlands.[72] As his struggles continued with France, a new revolt broke out in the Netherlands in 1488. Proud of its position and privileges, its peculiar character, geographic situation and mercantile development, the Netherlands demanded a native son of their land as prince.[73] In the commercial cities of Flanders the war against France was very unpopular. As regent of the Netherlands for Philipp, Maximilian had exasperated the Flemish towns with his French war, and

an insurrection arose in 1488. In open rebellion the citizens of Bruges imprisoned Maximilian in February 1488, as the Pope, Spain and the Electors fumed. He was freed on May 1488 and then only under the threat of the approaching imperial army led by Maximilian's father, seventy-year-old Friedrich III, after receiving Maximilian's promise of far-reaching concessions and his word to refrain from vengeance. Friedrich wanted Maximilian, now King of the Romans, back in Austria. Duke Albrecht von Sachsen left as Maximilian's deputy in the Netherlands, was gradually able to compel the Estates to accept Maximilian as regent. Albrecht, appointed as his Governor General, was able to accomplish the complete subjugation of the Netherlands only in 1492.[74]

Maximilian's political career can be divided by his four major areas of interest, these early years in Burgundy being of the most interest for this study. Withdrawing from the Netherlands then in late 1488 to Germany, Maximilian concluded in 1489 the Peace of Frankfurt with France. Although the Burgundian territories remained a critical area in his policy throughout his entire reign, Maximilian ended his personal Burgundian period in 1489 with his return to Germany. The 1489 peace with France and the restoration of at least a semblance of quiet in the Netherlands now allowed Maximilian to return to Austria and direct his attentions to the recovery of the Austrian lands from the King of Hungary. This opens a new period of activity in Maximilian's life and a new chapter in his political career.

Four spheres of interest and activity divide Maximilian's career; the Netherlands, the Habsburg lands, the Empire and his Italian interests. Twelve years of his life were devoted exclusively to the

Netherlands, his wife's Burgundian territories. This was the stage of his youth and development, the period of his happiest domestic situation, his marriage to the lovely daughter of Charles the Bold, their life in the splendid Burgundian court, the scene of his deeds of glory but also of his bitterest disappointments.[75] When Maximilian leaves the Netherlands, he also leaves behind his youth and romantic happiness, but this period remained throughout his life an image of ideal existence. His memories of these early years reappear again and again to be reflected in his literary works and to create the dominant theme of his artistic and cultural achievements, and consequently form the principal focal point for this study.

Habsburg Lands

Soon after Maximilian's return to Austria, Friedrich entrusted to him an increasing measure in the duties of government. As relations between father and son improved Friedrich contented to resign the administration of affairs in both the Habsburg hereditary lands and in Germany to his son, Friedrich retired to Linz to spend the remainder of his days occupied with the pursuit of his favorite studies. During Friedrich's long fifty-three year reign over the Empire, there had been a marked growth of a rising consciousness of German nationality. But the reign had suffered territorial losses on many sides. "The estates of Holstein had accepted the rule of the Danish king (1460). The Teutonic Order had come under the control of Poland (1466). The Austrian duchies were overrun at intervals by the Turks. The Swiss had ceased to regard themselves as having duties to the Reich. On the

collapse of the Burgundian power (1477) the French monarchy resumed its efforts at eastward expansion; and French diplomacy stimulated centrifugal movements from the Netherlands to the Alps." The Empire which Maximilian took over was diminished and threatened.[76]

The territorial influence of the House of Habsburg began to grow under the influence of Maximilian. Not only did his marriage to Maria of Burgundy substantially increase the Habsburg sphere of influence, at the same time affording the young Maximilian military and political experience, it also considerably expanded the Habsburg territorial possessions. The next territorial increase after the Burgundian lands was the province of Tirol, which was to become Maximilian's favorite place of residence. Tirol came into Maximilian's possession upon the abdication of Archduke Sigismund (16 March, 1490), the childless first cousin of Friedrich III, who transferred Tirol to Maximilian, retaining for himself only the rights to free hunting and fishing, and an annual payment of 52,000 Gulden to his privy.[77]

As we have seen, the Austrian hereditary lands in the East had been lost to Hungary under Friedrich's reign. However on 6 April 1490, the sudden death of Matthias Corvinus, Friedrich's great and dangerous Hungarian rival, brought Maximilian into a struggle for the crown of Hungary. Fighting the Hungarian troops, Maximilian regained Vienna which had been occupied by Matthias Corvinus since 1485, recaptured his hereditary lands, and expelled the Hungarians in six weeks from Austria. Hungary always occupied an important place in Maximilian's thoughts, particularly as an important bridge to Constantinople and gateway to his never-forsaken hope of a Crusade. At this time however there was no

question of being able to afford an invasion of Hungary. Hence the old boundaries were re-established in the Treaty of Pressburg (Bratislava) on 7 November 1491, and Maximilian recognized Vladislav and his legitimate heirs would keep the Hungarian crown. With this treaty however Maximilian also prepared the way for the second great territorial increase for the House of Habsburg after the Burgundian inheritance, for in this treaty were set down the conditions that should there be no male heir, then Vladislav's states of Hungary and Bohemia would go to the Habsburgs. With the expulsion of the Hungarian occupation and the 1491 treaty peace and quiet were finally returned to the Austrian lands.[78]

A cardinal point in Maximilian's politics around 1490-91 was his complicated plan to marry Anne of Brittany. The geographical situation, the fertility and wealth, the maritime situation and excellent harbor made Brittany a most attractive prospect to Maximilian. Control of Brittany would have strengthened his position against France, and enabled him to prepare better military offense against this arch rival. A complicated system of negotiations were realized and an agreement was reached. The marriage treaty was signed and the proxy marriage had taken place.[79] Under the pressures of French aggression Anne issued strong appeals to Maximilian for his immediate assistance and support. However his responsibilities to distant wars in Hungary and Austria, and the discontent among his Flemish subjects in the Netherlands delayed his immediate attentions. His divided responsibilities and inadequate resources prevented the consummation of the marriage which he had concluded with Anne, until he had evicted the Hungarians and driven the

Turks from Kärnten in 1492. Before he could furnish her an effectual assistance or prevent the action, his bride was married to the Dauphin of France, assuring the important province of Brittany for the crown of France. It was a double humiliation for Maximilian, for in his loss of Brittany and his bride to Charles VIII, he suffered a second insult by the repudiation of his daughter. The young Margaret, betrothed to Charles in the 1482 Treaty of Arras, educated and raised in the French court as the future queen of France, was now set aside, detained as a hostage to get concessions, in a sense a prisoner of her former fiancé.[80]

Maximilian's position was very awkward. Despite the fact that his marriage to Anne of Brittany was a purely political creation, the insult of the French action was of such a magnitude that it rendered personal the enmity between France and Austria. There was nowhere any question that Maximilian and Charles would remain bitter enemies for ever more,[81] and it is indeed as bitter enemies that they appear in Maximilian's own Weisskunig, although no direct evidence of this humiliating event is found there.

Empire

The death of Friedrich III, 19 August 1493, in Linz marked the end of the years of double rule. Maximilian was elevated to the Imperial throne to become the sole ruler over Germany and the head of the House of Habsburg. Germany was in a state of general confusion and transition at the time Maximilian came to the throne, and was undergoing a period of rapid change in all areas--social, political, economic and

ecclesiastical. "There was a great longing for order, peace and security, and for a leader who should fulfill this longing; for an emperor who, according to a widespread apocalyptic tradition, would appear and restore the Golden Age."[82]

Maximilian's temperament and personality were a vivid contrast to his father's. Pope Pius II had said with good reason of Friedrich, "Er wolle die Welt in Sitzen erobern." Maximilian too wanted to conquer the world, but sitting was hardly the way he went about it. He was full of a restless energy, unlike the quiet, passive Friedrich, whose disposition bordered on lethargic. Historians have compared Maximilian's traveling from place to place to the wanderings of a traveling scholar of the day. He rarely stayed in one place longer than one month, and the villages and cities where he stayed overnight number in the hundreds.[83]

> To large circles of German opinion Maximilian, king of the Romans since 1486 and, with his father's death, sole ruler of the Reich and of the Habsburg dominions, appeared to be the God-given leader. For Maximilian had qualities that appealed to all classes of his people. He was 34 years of age; of magnificent appearance, a great gentleman, genial and at his ease with all, princes, churchmen, knights, ladies, merchants, peasants; an athlete and a mountaineer, superb in the lists and in the chase; a scholar and a poet, the patron of humanists and artist; a skilfull commander in war, the organiser of the German infantry, the Landsknechte, an expert in the technicalities of artillery. He had beaten off the French from the Netherlands in 1479, and as recently as January 1493, with inadequate forces, he had delivered western Germany from the prospect of French invasion by his victory at Salins, followed by the Peace of Senlis in May. Three years before, by acquiring Tirol and ejecting the Hungarians from Lower Austria, he had reunited all the Habsburg lands under his father and himself. At the moment of his succession to sole rulership, he was covered with glory and popular approval.
>
> But Maximilian had already had experience of the baffling difficulties which beset a German king, and these, together with his own inability to estimate realistically the possibilities open to

> him, made his reign one of frustration, disappointment and failure. In an age of growing armed autocracies, France, Spain, and the Ottoman Empire, he rightly perceived the dangers to which a disunited Germany was exposed. "United under your king, defend Germany against France and the Turks, or perish" was his constant theme, eloquently propounded to the Reichstag, to the leading estates, and the history of Germany for the next three centuries confirmed his warnings.[84]

He was frustrated in his efforts to create a strong monarchy which would be free to impose taxation and maintain a standing army. The estates refused to entrust Maximilian with the discretionary control of troops and money, and the decision of war and peace. They had some reservations about his "adventures on the periphery of the Reich in quest of objects" that were more likely to increase Habsburg power than be of central German interest and seemed remote.[85]

Thus, despite his successes in consolidating the Habsburg possessions, and expelling foreign usurpers from his Burgundian and Austrian lands, Maximilian had little success in his efforts to organize and reform imperial power in Germany. The Emperor, who was treated with all the majesty of human authority as the first sovereign in Europe had a power that existed principally in theory. The kings and electors according him formal honor and empty deference were independently often his equals or superiors in wealth and power, and when influenced by interest or caprice had no scruples toward resisting his authority. And Maximilian's efforts at reform were met with obstruction and delay.[86]

His ambitious plans were often opposed by the Estates of the Empire and at the Augsburg Reichstag of 1500 Maximilian found many of his measures impeded and his power as head of the Empire strongly limited.[87] In this way his authority in the Empire was reduced, even

his judiciary authority was limited by the municipal jurisdictions. Maximilian was forced to depend on uncertain aids reluctantly granted by the diet instead of stated revenues, and the later years of Maximilian's life were marked by perpetual financial difficulties.[88] In spite of his many wars against the French, the Turks, the Hungarians, and the Italians, Maximilian was not a great warrior prince, for his wars were all too often hurried reactions to aggression or the threat of aggression, and he always suffered under severe financial handicaps.[89] The history of the Empire from 1493 to 1519 can only be considered marginally as the history of Germany. It is rather a history of the individual principates, self-governing ecclesiastical territories and cities which made up the German speaking world. Despite Maximilian's efforts to give these elements a common destiny through fervent propaganda for his revival of leadership, his success was in governing his own lands and establishing through his dynastic policies his successor as the ruler of more than half of Western Europe.[90]

Italy

Not long after the death of Friedrich, Maximilian began to revive imperial influence in Italy. His desperate efforts to maintain a footing in Italy in the South Tirol and in the hereditary Lombard lands of the Empire were tremendous drains on his treasury. To further his Italian ambitions, he embarked on a plan for an advantageous marriage. Maximilian first married Bianca Maria Sforza, by proxy in Milan November 1493, and in a splendid wedding celebration in Innsbruck on 16 March 1494. It was a rather unequal match, a political marriage motivated by

her large dowry of 440,000 ducats. Bianca was the niece of Ludovico il Moro, regent of Milan and sister of the reigning duke, Gain Galeazzo Sforza, but the German nobles, considering the family low-born, outside of the restricted princely circles, scorned her plebeian descent. The marriage remained a cold one, very unlike his first, and ended with Bianca's death in 1510.[91]

In the same year as his marriage to Bianca, Maximilian returned to the Netherlands to formally surrender the government of the Low Countries to his son Philipp, who had attained the age of sixteen.[92]

In 1495 Maximilian, alarmed at the prospect of French domination in Italy, joined Spain, Pope Alexander VI, Milan and Venice in the League of Venice which attempted to expel France from Italy. Maximilian's immediate purpose was his hope of making the traditional journey to Rome for his coronation by the Pope, but lack of troops and resources impeded the success of this endeavor. The troubled state of Italy prevented his traveling South. Venice refused him transit, and his ardent hopes of the honor were thwarted. His long war with Venice wrecked his finances, interrupted German trade and brought little gains. At Trent 6 February 1508 he assumed the title "Roman Emperor-Elect" with the consent and recognition of Pope Julius II.[93] Defeated by the Swiss Confederacy in 1499, he was forced to recognize the virtual independence of the Swiss in the Peace of Basle of 22 September 1499. In 1508 he became involved in the League of Cambrai against Venice, which lasted intermittently for eight years, but for which the Reichstag would not vote the necessary support. In 1513 he joined the so-called Holy League against Louis XII of France, but was forced in 1516 to cede Milan to France.

These long wars in Italy brought him no victory; instead they diverted his attentions from the pressing internal problems of his German lands. His military ventures there were generally expensive losses with little gain. However, whatever the criticisms of Maximilian's reign, and however confused and unsuccessful his military aims were, his marriage policies were consistently fortunate. What he did not gain for the dynasty in military successes, he more than made up for in the treaties of profitable marriages for his family. The dynastic marriages arranged by Maximilian for his children and grandchildren were his greatest political success, and through this traditionally Habsburg means of territorial expansion he clearly put the dynasty on the road to world domination by the end of the fifteenth century.[94]

His daughter Margaret, returned from France, was twice married to husbands who soon left her a widow--first Juan of Spain and the Prince Philibert of Savoy. In 1509 she was established by her father as regent in the Netherlands, for her nephew Charles, a position which she carried out skilfully and wisely.

The most profitable marriage alliance was that of his son Philipp of Burgundy who on 21 October 1496 at Antwerp married Juana of Spain. The daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, Juana, unexpectedly through three untimely deaths in the space of three years became heiress to the Spanish kingdoms.[95] Although the twenty-eight-year-old Philipp died 5 September 1506, the young Habsburg Archduke's marriage to the heiress of Spain, Sicily, Naples and rich possessions in the New World united these Spanish dominions with the hereditary possessions in the Netherlands and Austria, and produced the vast empire of Charles V.[96]

The children of Philipp and Juana were destined to play an important role in the future of Europe. Maximilian's two grandsons, Charles, born in 1500, and Ferdinand in 1503, would unite the rule over the Austrian hereditary lands with the crown of Spain and the scepter of the provinces of the Low Countries.[97]

Then in 1515 Maximilian laid the basis for the union of the two kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia with the Austrian lands under the Habsburg scepter with a double betrothal in Vienna on 22 August 1515, celebrated in the Stephansdom the betrothal of Maria, the granddaughter of Maximilian, to Louis II, nine-year-old son and heir of Vladislav of Bohemia-Huntary, and his grandson, Ferdinand, to Louis' twelve-year-old sister, Anna of Hungary. The goal of these plans eventually realized in 1526, just seven years after Maximilian's death, when Vladislav's heir Louis died in the great Turkish victory at Mohács in 1526, and was succeeded by Ferdinand, expanding the Habsburg claims to the East.[98]

Maximilian's successes in consolidating the Habsburg possessions and gains for his dynasty were overwhelming. Through his own marriage he had brought control of the Burgundian lands into the Habsburg hands, and through the marriage policies he administered for his children and grandchildren, the growing influence of the House of Habsburg was expanded over an ever expanding broad Empire.

All Habsburg family territories which had been divided along various family divisions had been successfully recovered and united in his hands. He had succeeded in driving the Hungarians out of his father's lands in 1491 and drove the Turks out of Kärnten in 1492. To

his father's lands of Nieder- and Oberösterreich, the Steiermark, Kärnten, and Krain, he had added Tirol. He recovered Habsburg possessions around Triest in 1509, adding Gorizia (county of Görz) and Fiume to the family dominions. He had obtained the successions to Hungary and Bohemia for his family and expanded Habsburg claims to Spanish territories through successful marriage alliances of his children and grandchildren. The great responsibilities involved in ruling Burgundy, Austria and the Empire, were further complicated by the inheritance of the Spanish possessions, creating a polyglot Empire of widely divergent traditions and tendencies.[99]

His military endeavors, if less successful than his dreams, had not been negligible. Although his Italian wars were expensive and unsuccessful, his policies against France were not so disastrous. He had succeeded in defeating the French, thus preserving his Burgundian interest in 1479 and again in 1493 at Senlis. He had expelled the Hungarians and Turks from his lands, even though he had not succeeded in realizing his dream of a Crusade.

A constant preoccupation with Eastern affairs dominated the later part of Maximilian's reign. He was constantly concerned with the danger of a union of Poland, Bohemia and Hungary under the Polish Jagiello dynasty. This immediate issue was eased only when he secured the 1515 agreement in Vienna betrothing his two grandchildren to the heirs of Bohemia-Hungary. From youth to the day of his death his thoughts were occupied with the Turkish War.

His never-ending but never realized hope of a Crusade against the Turks remained ever a disappointment to Maximilian. It had been his

goal throughout his entire life--the hope of undertaking at the head of all Christianity a united effort to recover the Eastern Empire, overcome the Turkish threat and end the Moslem advance. Even as late as the 1518 Reichstag in Augsburg Maximilian was seeking support, appealing to the Christian sovereigns to unite in helping him drive the hated Turks from Europe, but lack of support was not his only disappointment. In 1518 he had also failed to secure the election of his grandson Charles as King of the Romans and future Emperor.[100] The 1518 Reichstag refused to carry out any of his plans. Charles, ruler of Spain, Naples and the Netherlands was elected King of the Romans only on June 6, 1519 at Frankfurt after the death of Maximilian.

Plagued with perpetual debts and unpaid bills, and disappointed by his military losses, the lack of support for his Crusade against the Turks, his defeat at the Reichstag of 1518, Maximilian returned from Augsburg to but another disappointment in his native Austria. An unwelcome reception by the innkeepers of his beloved Innsbruck awaited him. As a result of a misunderstanding over unpaid bills, the innkeepers refused to house his retinue and denied further credit. This prompted Maximilian, tired, aging and ill, to continue his journey by boat and litter toward the home of his childhood, Wiener Neustadt. He journeyed further, bearing with him the simple coffin he had unobtrusively carried for over five years. It was said to have been taken by his entourage as a treasure chest or book press, and used occasionally by a servant as a place to store documents or letters.[101] Maximilian was, however, only able to continue his journey as far as Wels, where on 12 January 1519 he died. His last will and testament provided for his burial in Wiener

Neustadt, the place of his birth, following the funeral procession to Vienna and service in the Stephansdom. The tomb of his elaborate monument in Innsbruck remains empty, while the "last knight" lies under the altar steps in the chapel of his favorite saint.

And so as German king his reign was one of frustration. Political, financial and military problems led to an increasing disorder within the Empire. He left the Empire in utter confusion, and rumors were circulating that the electors were considering "selling" the monarchy to the French king.

Sadly and ironically, however, Maximilian's persistent efforts toward unification and disciplined administration within the lands under his rule eventually achieved a Danubian union under Habsburg rule in 1526. For his dramatic achievement he has been called the founder of the Austrian State,[102] and his persistent efforts to unite under Habsburg rule the lands providing the power to protect the Empire and ultimately to repel the Moslem invader from Central Europe--earn for him the title of father of the Habsburg monarchy of Austria-Bohemia-Hungary.[103]

The Austria he left behind was to be shaped through the following centuries by two principal forces, the challenge of France in the West and the forces of the Ottoman Empire in the East. After taking Constantinople in 1453, the Turks "were now threatening the commerce of Venice, of Italy itself, on the one hand, and on the other, were pushing stubbornly and effectively through the Balkans and up the Danube to Vienna."[104] This force would continue to assault the Eastern frontiers

of the Empire for a long time. During the last decades of the fifteenth century bands spread constant terror by raids on Croatia, Bosnia, Styria and Carniola. In 1529 and 1683 the Turks stood at the gates of Vienna threatening the very walls of the city and the Empire itself.[105] But the Moslem attacks were not the only impending threat to the united Catholic front of Christendom during the last years of Maximilian's life. The Protestant force of the Reformation was emerging more prominently just at the end of Maximilian's life.[106]

But although Maximilian's military losses and political policies cost him the support of the princes and of the Estates of his realm, and the acclaim of later historians, he still retained his popularity among the people. "Maximilian's greatest asset was his personality . . . expert in all the pursuits that appealed to the young, fighting, hunting nobles, his praises were sung by writers, artists and preachers; he was a welcome guest in the towns where he fascinated burgher society by his geniality, eloquence and wide interests."[107] His amiability, his courtly manners, his splendid appearance and affability won the hearts of his people. Constantly moving about throughout the German lands he maintained no real residence, ruling as it were from the saddle. And he was known everywhere among his people for his bravery, and passionate enthusiasm for hunting, knightly games, festivals and tournaments.[108] Maximilian's memory remains alive in the hearts and memory of his people as one of the most attractive rulers who ever lived. He clearly saw the House of Habsburg well on its way toward world domination, combining the dynastic possessions with the Imperial title. He left "the memory of a unique personality that has fascinated posterity."[109] But not only a

legend. He left for posterity particularly a unique heritage of art he promoted.[110]

Footnotes

[1]Hermann Wiesflecker, Kaiser Maximilian I. (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1971), p. 65.

[2]Rudolf Buchner, Maximilian I. Kaiser an der Zeitenwende (Göttingen: Messerschmidt Verlag, 1959), p. 7.

[3]Ibid., p. 9.

[4]Ludwig Baldass, Der Künstlerkreis Kaiser Maximilians (Wien, 1923), p. 5.

[5]Heinrich Ulmann, Kaiser Maximilian I., Vol. I (Stuttgart, 1884), p. iv.

[6]Edward Crankshaw, The Habsburgs (Wien: Verlag Fritz Molden, 1971), p. 33.

[7]Alphons Lhotsky, "Kaiser Friedrich III. und der junge Maximilian," in Ausstellung Friedrich III. Kaiserresidenz Wiener Neustadt (Wien: Niederösterreichischen Landesregierung, 1966), p. 17.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Erhard Breitner, Maximilian I. Der Traum von der Weltmonarchie (Bremen-Wien: Carl Schünemann Verlag, 1939), p. 15.

[10]Heinrich Fichtenau, Der Junge Maximilian (1459-1482) (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1959), p. 7.

[11]Lhotsky, p. 24.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Adam Wandruszka, The House of Habsburg, trans. by Cathleen and Hans Epstein (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1964), p. 77.

[14]Wiesflecker, Kaiser Maximilian I., p. 61.

[15]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 7.

[16]Wandruszka, p. 74.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, pp. 7-8.

[19]Friedrich Heer, The Holy Roman Empire, trans. by Janet Sondheimer (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), p. 123.

[20]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, pp. 8-9.

[21]Wiesflecker, Kaiser Maximilian I., p. 70.

[22]Heer, p. 125.

[23]Ibid., p. 123.

[24]Crankshaw, p. 29.

[25]Wandruszka, p. 75.

[26]Ibid., p. 26.

[27]Wiesflecker, Kaiser Maximilian I., pp. 48-49.

[28]Wandruszka, p. 77.

[29]Joseph R. Strayer and Dana Carleton Munro, The Middle Ages 395-1500 (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc), p. 481

[30]Buchner, p. 11.

[31]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 22.

[32]Buchner, p. 17.

[33]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, pp. 22-24.

[34]Ibid., p. 20.

[35]Ibid., p. 27.

[36]Herman Wiesflecker, "Kaiser Maximilian. Seine Persönlichkeit und Politik," Ausstellung Maximilian I. Innsbruck (Innsbruck: Land Tirol, 1969), p. 5.

[37]Dorothy Gies McGuigan, The Habsburgs (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1966), p. 415.

[38]Heer, p. 129.

[39]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 20.

[40]Ibid., p. 28.

[41]Buchner, p. 18 .

[42]Baldass, Künstlerkreis, p. 6.

[43]Breitner, p. 66.

[44]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 31.

[45]Ibid., p. 33.

[46]Heer, p. 134.

[47]Buchner, p. 21.

[48]Strayer, p. 487.

[49]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 32.

[50]Buchner, p. 23.

[51]Ibid., p. 21.

[52]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 33.

[53]G. R. Potter, ed., The New Cambridge Modern History, Vol. I: The Renaissance 1493-1520 (Cambridge: University yress, 1957), p. 228.

[54]Strayer, p. 487.

[55]Heer, p. 135.

[56]Buchner, pp. 21-22.

[57]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 34.

[58]Buchner, p. 47.

[59]Ibid., p. 22.

[60]Ulmann, Vol. I, p. 2.

[61]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 32.

[62]Ulmann, Vol. I, pp. 2-3.

[63]Ibid.

[64]Wiesflecker, Kaiser Maximilian I., p. 137.

[65]Potter, p. 234.

[66]Wiesflecker, Kaiser Maximilian I., p. 137.

[67]Ulmann, Vol. I, p. 5.

[68]Buchner, p. 25.

[69]Heer, p. 127.

[70]Buchner, p. 26.

[71]Ulmann, Vol. I, p. 11.

[72]Potter, p. 225.

[73]Ulmann, Vol. I, p. 14.

[74]Baldass, Künstlerkreis, p. 6.

[75]Ulmann, Vol. I, p. 40.

[76]Potter, p. 194.

[77]Ulmann, Vol. I, p. 62.

[78]Ibid., pp. 113-114.

[79]Ibid., p. 120.

[80]Ibid., p. 138.

[81]Ibid., p. 142.

[82]Potter, p. 198.

[83]Buchner, p. 41.

[84]Potter, pp. 198-199.

[85]Ibid., p. 199.

[86]William Coxe, History of the House of Austria, Vol. I (London, 1847), p. 301.

[87]Baldass, Künstlerkreis, p. 7.

[88]Heer, p. 138.

[89]Drankshaw, p. 38.

[90]J. R. Hale, Renaissance Europe 1480-1520 (London: Collins, 1971), p. 79.

[91]Ulmann, Vol. I, pp. 180, 221-222.

[92]Ibid., p. 239.

[93]Heer, p. 139.

[94]Strayer, p. 487.

[95]Baldass, Künstlerkreis, p. 8.

[96]Strayer, p. 487.

[97]Baldass, Künstlerkreis, p. 8.

[98]Ibid.

[99]Wandruszka, p. 94.

[100]Baldass, Künstlerkreis, p. 8.

[101]Heer, p. 147.

[102]Potter, p. 219.

[103]Ibid., p. 223.

[104]Crankshaw, p. 54.

[105]Heer, p. 123.

[106]Crankshaw, p. 54.

[107]Potter, p. 210.

[108]Baldass, Künstlerkreis, p. 8.

[109]Potter, p. 219.

[110]Baldass, Künstlerkreis, p. 8.

CHAPTER II

THE INFLUENCE OF MAXIMILIAN ON THE CULTURE, ART AND LITERATURE OF THE GERMANIC LANDS AS IMPERIAL PATRON AND MAECENAS

As we have shown, the Emperor Maximilian was for more than thirty years constantly preoccupied with war and military campaigns, fighting the French, the Turks, the Hungarians, at war in Italy or suppressing insurrections and incroachments upon his territories. But despite the fact that he devoted so many years of his life, such a share of his treasury, and the major portion of his literary and artistic works to the glorification of himself as a great military hero--romanticizing his wars, his victories, his knightly battles and his campaign triumphs in a rich variety of style--Maximilian has not been remembered by history as a great warrior prince.[1] His military and political achievements, despite his great dynastic gains which, through diplomatic negotiations and advantageous marriages, spread Habsburg command from the Spanish coasts to the steppes of Hungary, have assured him less remembrance in posterity than have his cultural interests, activities and commissions.[2]

These cultural activities seem motivated by two impulses; first the political objective of assuring his dynasty the undisputed right to his lands and titles, to determine firmly the Habsburg family's claims to the title of Holy Roman Emperor against the claims of all opponents

and rivals, the undisputed claim as God's chosen instrument as secular head of the Empire, and secondly the Renaissance desire for individual and dynastic fame and glory after death. Posthumous fame, the glorification of himself and his dynasty to keep his memory alive was a central interest to Maximilian's life. As a brave and capable soldier he had accomplished real and heroic deeds that he did not want forgotten, and he passionately concerned himself with immortalizing in art his colorful adventures and achievements as warrior, hunter, statesman, and head of the House of Habsburg. Most of his activities, political as well as cultural and artistic, appear to have been motivated by a thought of posthumous fame.[3] One entire chapter (Chapter 24) of his autobiography, the Weisskunig, is devoted exclusively to the subject of his efforts to ensure his memory to posterity, and to justify the time and cost to this end, for his gedächtnus: "Wayst du nit, das got und der prophet Davit in dem psalter sagen von der gedächtnuss und nit von dem gelt, dann wo ainer seinen schatz hat, da ist sein herz."[4]

Maximilian accordingly engaged Art, Literature and Historiography to serve him, employing them toward the realization of his purposes and goals, to glorify and keep alive the memory of his knightly image, his family and his dynasty.[5]

Scholarship

Maximilian's first concern was primarily history and historical research, rather than literature or the arts. His Latin Autobiography (425/4) reports that even as a child, the prince preferred to read histories of famous men to the artibus liberalibus and poetria. He was

fascinated by histories, the stories of the deeds of noble kings and princes, and this was an interest which laid the foundations not only for his later plans of raising the history of his House and race out of the forgotten past to transmit it to posterity, but was an important influence on the means he would employ to this end.

The Intellectual Background of His Cultural Aims

The situation in central Europe in this age reflected the important transitions, intellectual growth, social, economic, political, religious, military and scientific changes. After the fall of Constantinople the Ottoman Turks had made their way west, and were posing a real danger to the Empire and especially to the Austrian lands, which was not only a military but also a political and religious threat as well. The French attacks, uprisings in Flanders and the western parts of the Empire, military and political upheavals from both east and west--all these endangered the Empire, while within the Empire the road was being prepared for the religious turmoil of the Reformation. Broad horizons had been opened up by major geographical discoveries, and scientific discoveries were posing new technical and philosophical challenges. Besides the political, military, and scientific changes, it was also a time of major intellectual and artistic changes, brought about by the influences of the Renaissance from the South. The influence of these cultural transitions and art developments emerging out of the Italian Renaissance on German culture was inevitable. Many of the figures significant in the intellectual history of the late fifteenth century had studied in Italy and been strongly influenced by Humanism. These

Humanists then advanced these ideals in Germany. This transition from the Middle Ages to modern times had then broad cultural effects, creating new art ideals, new life styles and attitudes, a new scholastic system, new forms of scholarship, literary and artistic changes to keep pace with the political, social and economic growth of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[6] Fourteenth century Italy had given rise to new intellectual trends which had developed out of the intensive study of Latin and Greek secular sources. The Humanist rediscovery of the secular writings of Greece and Rome brought about a change in many of the medieval attitudes of the preceding centuries. Less exclusively secular in Germany, these new attitudes were admitted into the old scholastic structure, and it was a Christian Humanism which developed. A new ideal of humanity emerged which stressed the worldly purpose of man's existence, but at the same time took pains not to oppose the teachings of the Church. By the last quarter of the fifteenth century these new values had begun to affect school teaching, although many traditional features of the medieval schools were kept simply disguised in Renaissance attire. This all brought a new self-evaluation culminating in a search of fame and praise. These Humanist tendencies spread throughout the Empire, marked by the strongly developed national feeling which so characterizes German Humanism, and which was founded in a belief in the greatness of the German past, in no way inferior to that of Rome.[7]

Educational Reform within the Empire

Maximilian was first able to direct his attentions to cultural-intellectual matters when he returned to his Austrian lands after the long absence of his years in Burgundy. The Austrian lands had suffered the troubled wars and occupation of the capital of Vienna by the Hungarians under Corvinus. Intellectual life had suffered a noticeable decline. After the death of Matthias Corvinus in 1491 the University of Vienna was in a serious state of decline, having suffered in the wars, and having endured years without support and proper direction. Maximilian, after his accession to the throne, turned quickly to University reform, and as he reclaimed his lands, kept at the reform and improvement of not only the University of Vienna but intellectual and scholarly life in general. Besides thus reviving the University of Vienna from its declining state he encouraged the establishment and growth of universities throughout the German realm.[8]

At the University of Vienna, he founded a Collegium Poetarum et Mathematicorum, establishing new chairs of Poetik and rhetoric, mathematics and astronomy. Opposing the hair-splitting method of disputatorische Dialectik which dominated the scholastic system of schools in all fields, Maximilian saw the system reformed along Humanist lines, replacing the theoretical with realistic methods. He advocated a return to the sources and texts for University study, which the unrealistic Scholastics had replaced with pure theoretical knowledge and shrewd argument about the opinion of the authorities relative to the sources. Abstract Scholasticism opposed the penetration of the Humanists' reforms

and ideas for many years, but eventually the Humanists managed to carry through their improvements in instructional methods and learning. The changes he brought to the declining University of Vienna transformed it rightly into one of the leading, universities of Europe.[9] The Humanists' greatest contribution was undoubtedly in the sphere of educational reform and new methods of learning. Particularly the new methods of teaching became important concerns to Maximilian in his own later cultural development and also important in his own writing, particularly his autobiography. Obviously they represent an important position in his thought and experience of his life, as we will see in the following chapters related to his autobiographical writings, the Latin Autobiography and the Weisskunig.

Loosely associated with the leadership of the university reforms were Konrad Celtis, who held lectures at the University of Vienna in 1490 and 1492, the Humanists Johannes Stabius and Johannes Cuspinian who had come with Maximilian to Vienna, having been with him since the 1490's. Celtis, the real Archhumanist of Germany, had been crowned Dichter by Friedrich III in 1587, an honor which conferred on the recipient the right to teach in the University.[10] He became active in the University system, lecturing about the real facts, instead of theory, of mathematics, astronomy, geography and history. He worked toward a reform of the University along Humanist lines and supported the turning away from the scholastic methods of the Middle Ages.[11] He began the establishment of learned societies, such as the Celtis Society, which aspired to see art, learning and technological sciences united under imperial patronage. Celtis was the real pioneer in medieval

studies, editing medieval text which reflected the past glory of the Germanic heritage.[12] He was the first to lecture at the University of Vienna in the vernacular, a significant innovation affecting the development of German intellectual life and the growth of the German language and literature. This revolutionary and free Humanist outlook presented a strong contrast to the many Scholastics still in the University system.[13] Celtis also brought in many other Humanists with him; Cuspinian, Fabri, Stabius, Siebenburger, etc. Italian and German Humanists were called to the University and Humanism gradually permeated the system and achieved control.[14] Celtis assumed the chair for poetry, Stabius took the one for mathematics, but in 1503 gave up his university activity, when he was taken into the closest circles around the Emperor to serve as mathematician, astronomer and court historiographer.[15] The Emperor purposefully formed close relationships to the Humanist intellectuals and teachers. Celtis dedicated to Maximilian his Epistola in utramque Ciceronis Rhetoricam, which was to serve as a Lehrbuch or textbook in Humanist instruction. In the dedication of 28 March 1492 Maximilian is compared to Augustus,[16] a clear indication of the relationship the Emperor had attained with the Humanists and their new goals and methods.

Court Intellectuals and Humanists

As we have shown the educational reforms at the University attracted new scholars and men of learning and letters. But the enlivened intellectual atmosphere drew intellectuals not only to the University, to Austria, but eventually into the Court itself. His association with the educational reforms at the University of Vienna brought

Maximilian into ever closer contact with the German Humanists. Maximilian esteemed the Gelehrten and liked to talk with them and exchange ideas. Having many scholarly and scientific interests and an insatiable curiosity, he surrounded himself with these learned men.[17] From this circle of Humanists around him, the Emperor drew on their talents for collaboration in his works. By attracting these Humanist scholars, historians, poets and teachers, and cultivating them at his Court, he positively encouraged scholarship, historiography, literature and the arts. At court, he employed them as confidants, and used men like Stabius, Peutinger, Lang and Cuspinian also for diplomatic missions.[18] Included in this circle were also distinguished Italians whom he retained as permanent literary advisors, beside the German Humanists, scholars and many other lesser figures.[19] His personal association with the Humanists of the day had an influence which flowed both directions, undoubtedly affecting both parties of the association. It would be difficult to assess the influence of those Humanists on Maximilian's scholarly and intellectual life too highly, and undoubtedly it was an influence which progressively increased during the entire lifetime of the Emperor.[20]

Maximilian continued as traditional practice in the medieval tradition of Dichterkrönung which had been re-established in 1487 by his father Friedrich III with Konrad Celtis' coronation as poet in Nürnberg. The funeral celebrations for Friedrich III included Maximilian's coronation of Johannes Cuspinian as poet 7 December 1493.[21] Other notable figures who received such reward include the following recognitions: In 1498 Joseph Grünpeck was honored in Freiburg im Breisgau; in 1501 Maximilian crowned Konrad Bebel Poeta laureatus in Innsbruck; in 1501 in

Vienna he recognized Thomas Murner; in 1502 Johannes Stabius; in 1512 he crowned as poet Heinrich Loriti Glareanus in Cologne, and in 1517 in Augsburg the first knight to be crowned, Ulrich von Hutton. It is hence hardly surprising that an encompassing Gelehrte literature about the Emperor Maximilian grew up which, not without just reason, glorified his name. Maximilian was praised for his every virtue, and he was considered the great patron and benefactor of the Humanist cause and interest. Besides the many Italians, Ermolao Barabaro, Pandolfo Collinucio and Ludovico Ticiano, who gathered around him there were innumerable Germans in his immediate circle, among whom were Sebastian Brant, Peter Schott, Konrad Celtis, Ulrich von Hutton and the Swiss Watt.[22]

Even in camp Maximilian could not do without a literary staff. His literary circle followed him even on campaigns. He kept in constant touch with the large and ever changing circle of learned men at his Court, and on journeys renewed acquaintanceship with respected scholars that he met and admired.[23] Through an active correspondence regarding scholarly-artistic questions Maximilian kept in contact with men like Peutinger in Augsburg, who was an advisor to the Fuggers, and Pirkheimer in Nürnberg, and even Erasmus. Stabius is considered as his personal Humanist, and the others most intimately associated with the Emperor were the poet Celtis at the University of Vienna and the historiographer Cuspinian.[24] He had no time for mere diversions, and Maximilian was hailed by Jakob Spiegel as the "father of scholars."[25] Unfortunately our information about Maximilian's intellectual efforts and effects is not complete for written instructions were unusual. In this area the

Emperor preferred oral instructions and directions far more frequently than was the practice in his political actions.[26]

Maximilian's Scholarly Interests and Activities

Maximilian's curiosity was however attracted to all spheres of interest. The philosophical and scientific, historical, artistic and dramatic arts--all aspects of these areas included problems which attracted his attention. Through his interest and encouragement, personal enthusiasm, as well as by his own endeavors he exerted a visible effect on German intellectual life.

> Es ist etwas Seltenes um ein gekröntes Haupt, welches persönliche Hingabe an gewisse wissenschaftlich-künstlerische Lieblingsneigungen zu verbinden weiss mit einer bewussten Förderung von Wissenschaft und Kunst überhaupt. Je lebhafter oder gar schöpferischer erstere sich regen, um so unzugänglicher pflegt sich der Mäcenas dann gegen letztere zu zeigen. Als eine Ausnahme--freilich mit der Beschränkung, dass gerade von ihm bevorzugte Zweige in eine gewisse Einseitigkeit durch sein Zuthun wohl hineingeschoben werden --darf man Maximilian I. rühmen. Dieses Kind der Renaissance ziehen alle Fragen des Daseins, die philosophischen und die natürlichen, die der historischen Vergangenheit und der exacten Erkenntniss, und dabei die Aufgaben der bildenden und der dramatischen Kunst kräftig an.[27]

His achievements in Germany and Austrian lands should not be underestimated, for the gains he made in promoting the Southern cultural influence are remarkable. "Angesichts des noch unbereiteten Bodens in Deutschland, des Mangels an Tradition bei seinen Vorgängern u. s. w. ist es wahrlich nicht gering anzuschlagen, was dieser Kaiser, zwar zuerst für sich, sein Haus, seine gesammte Stellung, dann aber auch für die Nation gewollt und gewirkt hat in Förderung geistiger Interessen!"[28] Maximilian deserves the highest acclaim. If his lively interest stimulated a rather

one-sided encouragement in certain preferred branches of intellectual and cultural life, it was yet a driving force in the development of German art and letters.

Political historians criticize Maximilian for his primary interest in stressing dynastic aims to the neglect of national goals, and so too the cultural historian can see in Maximilian's cultural achievements and interest the same personal, dynastic and family direction. His life-long interest in the glory, the history, and the destiny of his House and person characterized many of his endeavors, and from this very concern grew many of the real achievements of his cultural impetus. Viewing himself as a representative of the entire human race, Maximilian was convinced that he was called by God through the "two houses of Austria and Burgundy" as the defender of the Empire against East and West, against the Turks and the French.[29] Such firm conviction of purpose and faith in his destiny resolved his determination to confirm and publicize the glorious past and future greatness of his history and family.

Historical Studies and Historiography

Maximilian's primary scholarly interest was, of course, history. A new national interest in German history was awakened by the discovery of Tacitus' Germania.[30] This work, edited and published by Celtis in 1500, stimulated then his plan for a Germania illustrata. But only part of this, a Germania Generalis was completed and published.[31] In 1501 Wimpfeling's Germania appeared. As new sources of Germanic history became available through the Humanists' studies, Maximilian was vitally

interested in stimulating literary activity by others as well as through his own personal efforts. These historical interests were probably inherited from his father Friedrich, who had already attempted to encourage and direct historiography, first in the person of Thomas Ebendorfer, then Aeneas Sylvius and Johannes Hinderbach. There is also a notebook of Friedrich's preserved, which he had personally kept from 1437 on, partly personally written notes, partly dictations to a secretary, and it contains dates, notes, calculations, curious series of alphabet letters and rules for life. The book served the purely practical aim of writing down various dates and facts for memory assistance, and was a practice continued by Maximilian in his Gedenkbücher.[32]

Maximilian lamented to his Humanist associates how unfortunate it had been that it was not a practice among the Germans to write chronicles. This complaint was undoubtedly based principally on the consideration of the history and past of his own family, for he found the sources for his personal writings and efforts to glorify his family quite insufficient. Maximilian's historical efforts, if, however, directed first dynastically and imperialistically, still had considerable national significance.[33] His historical concern and promotion of historiography and literature were instrumental in the growth and development of German writing and scholarship.

Collections

And so, Maximilian surrounded himself with historiographers and assistants, and was eager to encourage the historiography of his lands. His own Gelehrten and historians were sent out on literary journeys to

seek new materials, records and historical writings, and to write them down. Maximilian made a name for himself as a collector of documents, old books in German and conservator of historical objects, inscriptions, armorial bearings, coins and chronicles. He collected minerals, plants, jewels, art objects, pictures, and manuscripts. He intended to research his own family history and the history of the House of Habsburg in the broadest temporal and geographical sense, and for this work he engaged a host of scholars. Charging such men as Stabius, Sbrulius, Peutinger who was one of the most distinguished epigraphists and antiquaries of his day, Manlius, Ladislaus Sunthaym, Celtis, etc. with these duties,[34] he patronized, stimulated and employed not only such Humanists and men of letters as above, but also Johannes Cuspinian, and Johannes Fuchsmagen, and then also artists such as Dürer, Cranach, Burgkmair, Vischer and others to realize his plans. Under his auspices, intellectual life prospered and art flourished. In a clear reflectionof the atmosphere and interest of the times, Celtis, in his 1491 Ingolstädter address made demands that poeta be also historiographus. After the example of the Burgundian court, Maximilian called to life and made real use of Court historiography. He had in his employ besides Celtis, Cuspinian, and Sunthaym, also Jakob Manlius (known also as Mennel), Gerard von Roo, also at times the historian Joseph Grünpeck. Grünpeck was for a long time in the Emperor's service, calling himself "secretarius, astronomus und historiograph des Konigs."[35] In 1501 he was commissioned by the King to gather the materials for his Historia Friderici III et Maximiliani, which exists in Latin, and also in a later German version. This may have been a preliminary work to the Weisskunig, or at least possibly

used as a reference in the writing of the Weisskunig. Grünpeck's writing claims he had Maximilian's own Latin writings in hand for his work. This Historia was apparently intended for Charles, but it did not meet with Maximilian's satisfaction.[36]

Geographical interests were also a result of the beginning of national consciousness, as evidenced by Sunthaym's Austria.[37] Cuspinian's Austriae Regionis Descriptio describes the terrain, rivers and natural frontiers, and such geographical studies greatly interested Peutinger of Augsburg, Pirkheimer in Nürnberg, and others.

Historiography

Scholars were encouraged to edit works regarding the history of the Empire. The two great theoretical treatises on the history of the German Middle Ages, Otto of Freising's History of the Two Cities and his Deeds of Frederick I edited by Cuspinian, were both published under imperial auspices. When Cuspinian's edition appeared in 1515 in Strassburg, it was a sumptuous work with a woodcut preface showing an enthroned Maximilian. Maximilian delighted in lengthy conversations with scholars and intellectuals. In close personal contact with the Humanists, Maximilian's many commissions encouraged research and historiography. He commissioned abstracts and translations of historical sources such as Pirkheimer's translation of the Chronicles of Johannes Monachos, a Byzantine historian discovered by Cuspinian at Ofen, and thus hoped to create a living memorial for the Greek Empire and the deeds of its rulers.[38] In addition to his genealogical studies he supported the project planned by Celtis for a cultural-historical work, a

Germania illustrata, which was to contain information about Germany in three parts: Part I a kind of Fürstenspiegel, II a description of the country, III an imperial history in the broadest sense.[39] The work would describe the practices and customs, folk beliefs, laws, dialects, religion, history and geography of the various areas. This work however never got beyond the collecting of the material.[40] Melanchthon learned from Stabius, imperial historiographer, that Maximilian commissioned certain Gelehrten to write a Germanica historia integra, but this project never got beyond the planning stage, "entweder durch andere Beschäftigungen oder den Mangel geeigneter Persönlichkeiten gehindert."[41]

Maximilian's lively interest did much to promote research as well as interest and enthusiasm for the historical past. The documents and records his deputies brought back for the historiographers from their journeys through Germany, Italy, and France contributed large stores of information to our knowledge of the past, and the involvement of these scholars promoted intellectual growth and scholarly research and writing. Through the Gelehrten Maximilian exerted a strong influence on the printing of numerous chronicles of the German Middle Ages.[42] Printing was just coming into its own, and as it became more readily accessible, developed into a tool for political and social intellectual change and growth. This growth was greatly stimulated by Maximilian and his efforts.

Genealogical Studies

Of all his historical interests, Maximilian's own special preference in history was of course in that historical research

concerning the persons of his own family and of the Habsburg rise to power. As a true son of the Renaissance, Maximilian was inflamed with the idea of fame after death, and was interested in glorifying not only his own person and deeds, but also those of his ancestors and forebears.[43] For reasons perhaps as much political as personal he had a vital interest in genealogical studies and concerned himself and the scholars about him with the descent and deeds, the hendel of his predecessors and ancestors. He wanted to bring them into the proper light and gain them glory and renown. The newly revived heroic cult of the ancestors of antiquity was a part of the influence on him, and he lamented in both his Latin Autobiography and the Weisskunig (Chapter 24) the lack of historical materials for the history of the German past of his predecessors. In his Carios chronic the Humanist Stöberl reports that the Emperor complained about the German "historicos" that then "der hohen . . . fursten hendel . . . so ungeschicklich beschreiben und corrumpiret haben und hat beuolhen vleissig alle historias zusammen zu bringen und aus allen ain leidliche coronica zu machen."[44]

A lively interest grew up early in drawing up a complete Habsburg Stammbaum. The first Habsburg chronicle appearing by Maximilian's order appears to have been the work of Konrad Turst of Zürich, an astrologer in imperial service, who in 1498 "ain Puechlin von den Herren von Habsburg zusammengepracht und geschankt hat," earning Maximilian's gratitude and reward for his work.[45] An even earlier work of similar nature was a Habsburg genealogy done for Sigismund of Tirol by Sunthaym which is preserved in a 1491 manuscript. Sunthaym had been gathering material (topographical, cultural, and historical, in preparation for

the Germania illustrata[46] and that the research for these two projects was related or overlapped is likely. Nevertheless Sunthaym clearly appears to have considered himself the man to personally carry out the Emperor's historical plans, when he crossly refused the interference of the favored Celtis, as "der von neuer Geschichte nichts verstehe."[47]

Among the family histories emerging under Maximilian's encouragement are numerous attempts at Habsburg chronicles, which include the 1507 Chronik des Haus Österreichs und der Grafen Habsburg (Cod. 2800), a Habsburgische Reimchronik, and the six splendid codices (Cod. Vind. 3072-77) of the 1518 Fürstliche Chronik, a Geburtsspiegel with a catalogue and legends of 123 saints and 47 Seligen among the ancestors and relatives of Maximilian. Besides these genealogical projects there was the Kaiserbuch, planned by Peutinger of Augsburg and Cuspinian in Vienna. Peutinger's Kaiserbuch grew out of the collections of inscriptions, coins and documents, and vacillates in form between genealogy, biographical collections and Regestenwerk. Cuspinian's De Caesaribus atque imperatoribus Romanis was supposed to be a Fürstenspiegel, a biographical moral history of the Empire up to Maximilian.[48]

By 1503 a whole circle of scholars must have been occupied with genealogical work for Maximilian. New family trees were always being drawn up by Sunthaym, Manlius, Trithem, and Stöberl.[49] Not surprisingly disputes arose because of differing opinions on frequently flimsy connections, and questions were heatedly debated. Stabius, after 1503 astronomer and historiographer for Maximilian strongly criticized the genealogical work of Sunthaym.[50]

It is no surprise that the connections were often flimsy. As early as the medieval Annolied, considered Germany's first historical literature, the ruling family, the Franks, were legitimized in a mythical-genealogical study tracing the descent back to the Trojans, and including Caesar as a direct ancestor of the Roman Emperor of the Germans.[51] The idea of the Franks as descendents of a group of Trojans which came West after the destruction of Troy then became a popular ideal in medieval literature. Manlius then took over the idea in his genealogical work for Maximilian.[52] Maximilian's genealogy tracing his family back to the Trojan ancestor Hector, and his plan of including Caesar among his ancestors around his Innsbruck tomb was in complete accord with the medieval historical conscientiousness. There were however conflicting theories and opinions in genealogical studies even as early as the sixteenth century, and Maximilian employed the research with some caution, if indeed animated interest. Friedrich III had proved, apparently to his own satisfaction, that he was a direct descendent of King Priam of Troy.[53] Maximilian's wish to trace the Habsburg genealogy back to Roman descent was far more consistent with the spirit of the Middle Ages than with the critical faculties of the Renaissance. Buchner observes, "solche genealogischen Phantastereien waren seit Jahrhunderten immer beliebter geworden."[54] For Maximilian, Manlius replaced the fabulous genealogy of the Habsburgs with another genealogy which traced Maximilian's ancestors to the Merovingians and then through invented associations back to the Trojans, even to Priam. When the sensible Stabius, then occupied with the genealogical work on the Ehrenpforte discovered and uncovered the arbitrary assertions of

Sunthaym and Manlius, he criticized them and then went all the more mercilessly at Trithem, to whom he attributed the main blame for the fraudulent fabrications.[55]

Maximilian, anxious to have the results of the genealogical study verified, demanded the opinion of the theological faculty of the University of Vienna when his line was traced back from Priam to Noah, requesting the line confirmed by the experts of the University. Their confirmation must have satisfied him for his autobiographical Weisskunig verifies this claim. Maximilian, apparently satisfied with the research, allowed Manlius (Mennel), despite Stabius's attack, to continue his work of the genealogical studies. It was to Manlius then, who had made research and travels on his own initiative, that Maximilian entrusted the composition of the Stammchronik. Cuspinian also used the material in his Austria.[56]

Jakob Manlius's version of Maximilian's family tree, compiled between 1512-17, begins then with Hector and continues through the family members to end with Charles and Ferdinand; it was published in the six volumes of the Geburtsspiegel.[57] The popular concept of the associations of the House of Habsburg can be illustrated by the Fürstliche Chronick, genannt kayser Maximilians Geburtspiegel (Cod. 3072-77),[58] which traces the House of Habsburg genealogy through three separate lines: first the Greek line from Hector through the Trojan kings, secondly the Latin line from Aeneas (or Romulus), representing the imperial descent, and third, the Hebrew line, which proceeds through the genealogy of Christ and a list of the popes.[59] Its illuminated companion manuscript, Manlius's 1518 Kayser Maximilians besonder buch,

genannt der Zaiger depicts the Habsburg rise on three ladders: the secular rulers, landgrave to emperor, clerical Habsburgs, from hermit to pope, and third, the saints of the dynasty,[60] of which there were forty-seven beatified and 123 canonized.

As absurd as such hypothetical exaggerations of Roman or Trojan descent might seem in the light of modern research, for Maximilian and his age they had real implications and practical association. Such claims were a very real part of the political implements and claims of the dynasty: a basic principle of medieval government. These relations founded claims not only to an inheritance, but served as "historical" evidence for the basic perception of the greatness and mission of the House. Without this common self-confidence and this certainty of the future the leading families of Europe, particularly the Habsburgs, would hardly have had the power to make history as they did through the centuries.[61]

Indeed the blood of all the great dynasties of the ancient world was combined in the Habsburg line.[62]

> Letzten Endes handelte es sich ja auch, wenigstens in Genealogischen, nicht um den Vorstoss in ein Traumland, sondern um eine Überhöhung der Wirklichkeit: Maximilians Stammbaum verzweigt sich nach allen Seiten Europas, und schon in der Generation seiner Urgrosseltern finden wir einen König von Aragon, den König von Portugal, einen Herzog von Plock und Masowien neben dem Habsburger Leopold III. stehen, . . . Maximilians Urgrossmütter heissen Leonore von Albuquerque, Philippa von Lancaster, Alexandra von Litauen, Viridis Visconti. Denkt man daran, dass sich die portugiesische Dynastie auf die französischen Kapetinger zurückleitete, das Haus Lancaster im 15. Jahrhundert die Geschichte Englands bestimmte, so können wir sagen, dass hier die Hauptländer Europas vereint sind.[63]

Friedrich's sense of mission was even stronger than that of Maximilian, and even had the character of a "Königsmystik" of the old style. God

had elevated him to the position of Emperor, and raised his House above all the princely Houses, whose hostile dispositions had so long prevented a Habsburg imperial office. It was more a matter of religion than object of historical consideration.[64] Maximilian was thoroughly convinced in his belief in the antiquity and descent of his House, Roman descent was not sufficient to satisfy him; he wanted to claim for his dynasty descent from the Franks, the Trojans, the patriarchs of the Old Testament.[65]

Maximilian's preference for this Frank-Trojan line of descent arose for perfectly explainable reasons: the constant threat of war and his long rivalry with France. Proof of descent from royal Frankish ancestors countered the French king's claim as successor of Charlemagne to the Imperial crown, opposed the French accusation that the Germans were a mixed people, and designated instead the Germans as the true Trojan Franks. These German claims to the Frank inheritance (even the French throne) were first propagated in 1501 when Wimpfeling's Germania appeared. Here the political implications were founded on the fact that Pippin, Charlemagne and his successor were all Germans, based on quotations from Caesar and Sueton, and criticized as rather overextended nationalism.[66] After Maximilian became Emperor he certainly tried to pursue the ideal of a united kingdom and realm,[67] an imperium orbis, or the Empire as it had been under Charlemagne, including Italy and Arelate Burgundy.[68] He had long tried to bring the Habsburgs into relationship with the Burgundians, asking Sunthaym to research any possible connection between the two dynasties in his travels. Should Sunthaym ever have been able to pursue such investigations with any success,

Maximilian would undoubtedly have tried to use them further to legitimize and firmly establish Habsburg rule in the West.[69]

The Arts

Maximilian's historical interests covered an exceptionally comprehensive area, and hardly a homogeneous one. His collections and research encompassed all spheres--history, art, science, technology, geographical studies and maps such as those made by Peutinger and Cuspinian. But the genealogical research done at Maximilian's commission was the most significant aspect of his historical projects and research for it had not only practical and political interest and implications, but at the same time was the point of his taking off on a series of plans using art as the handmaiden to his interests in illustrating and glorifying his history and that of his House. The Emperor was the originator of a wealth of art works, planning, directing and commissioning impressive artistic and literary creations. He closely supervised his assistants, kept a close watch on the program of the work and shared with his assistants the responsibility. The results were important creations for Germanic art history: the Grabmal, Ehrenpforte, Triumphzug, etc. all involving the descent of the Habsburgs and the future of the Empire.[70]

Stammbaum

The visual and plastic arts were then employed to serve his aims and promote his plans, his political and personal ambitions. In 1500 Maximilian had Konrad Doll von Friedberg paint a Stammbaum chronicle of the Habsburgs beginning with Rudolf; this probably was based on the

research of Grünpeck and Sunthaym in the 1490's.[71] There is in Schloss Tratzberg in the Unterinntal, owned by Graf Enzenberg, a Wandgemälde, a wall painting which covers all the walls of the main hall, which was probably commissioned by Maximilian,[72] and also there are some canvas paintings of the Habsburg family tree preserved. In 1503 Maximilian had a genealogy of all the dukes of Austria, including women and children, to show his son Philipp who was visiting him in Innsbruck.[73] The glorification of the dynasty was the aim of these collected works of the Habsburg genealogical studies, as also of the Stammbaum and many of his historical studies and his own writing. If this application of the historical and creative arts to his personal and political ends was motivated by purely political opportunism, or is a genuine reflection of the Renaissance attitude toward art and longing for fame is a question which can hardly be answered. To a degree it was undoubtedly both.

Maximilian must have decided by 1509 to illustrate the Stammbaum in woodcuts and to publish it with an accompanying text. Adapting much of the material collected by Sunthaym and Manlius for the Austria history and the Saints' legends, the genealogy was printed under the title, Die fürstliche Chronic Kaiser Maximilian, genannt Geburtspiegel. The work was illustrated in a series of ninety-one woodcuts by the Augsburg artist Hans Burgkmair which depict some seventy-seven rulers. Burgkmair admirably accomplished the difficult feat of lending individuality to these many partially unknown Habsburgs. He avoided monotony by by representing the kings alternately in standing positions, sitting, some facing forward, some in profile, and altering facial expressions and body positions so as to vary the character from a dark,

battle-ready, threatening attitude to tired resignation.[74] When the work appeared, it suffered the polemics of Stabius for many of its untenable claims and because of the many problems involved was never finished. The edition of woodcuts remained in a proof-impression[75] and were hence never circulated.

The published Fürstliche Chronik served the glorification of the House; likewise the catalogue of Habsburg Saints which was entrusted to Manlius and Sebastian Brant.[76] The ideal of family sovereignty power, prestige, and wealth was however certainly not the only motive behind Habsburg activities. The Humanist Stöberl (Andreas Stiborius), famous mathematician of the Vienna school, worked on a calendar reform for Maximilian. The Emperor even had a Heiligenkalendar of his relatives written up.[77] Far more modern than his genealogical studies was Maximilian's relationship to art. In this association he was a man of the Renaissance, stimulating and furthering nearly every sphere of artistic endeavor from sculpture to music. The men he employed included the best artists of the age: Albrecht Dürer of Nürnberg, and his pupils, Schäufelein, Springinklee and Wolf Traunt, the Augsburg artists, Hans Burgkmair and Beck, Aldorfer of Regensburg, and also Baldung, Breu and Cranach, who worked on the Emperor's famous Prayerbook.[78]

Triumphzug

In the pictures of the Triumphzug and Enrenpforte, Maximilian created for himself an artistic monument. The Emperor's autobiographical literary-historical works, Weisskunig, Teuerdank, and Freydal, are profusely illustrated with magnificent woodcut art works, likewise the

technical works issued at Maximilian's orders, the Jagdbuch, Fischereibuch and Zeugbücher. However the two major woodcut works commissioned by Maximilian were those two great woodcut series, the Triumphzug and Ehrenpforte, which both depict a glorified representation of his personal and political history and triumphs. This most grandiose of his woodcut schemes was planned by Maximilian and his advisors as a two-part project to be executed by two different teams of artists. The work was planned by a multitude of counselors, historians, painters, graphic artists and wood engravers, and the artists divided the work; but the system of artistic production for Maximilian's projects was always the same. First there were sketches and drafts, miniature preliminary works, detailed corrections and suggestions which came from the Emperor himself.[79] Both created to glorify Maximilian, the Triumphzug and Ehrenpforte stand close together in both content and origin. Maximilian dictated what he wanted, others carried out his designs, and the Emperor made alterations and further suggestions. The Court painter, Jörg Kölderer, worked on the first draft for both in 1507. The triumphal procession and the triumphal arch are based on ancient models: the procession in the ancient Roman republic of the victorious general, and the arch commemorating the martial success of the Roman Emperor.[80] Such ancient forms were undoubtedly appealing to Maximilian as the successor of the Roman imperial crown, yet the two works bear obvious Renaissance characteristics. We can find here Italian putti riding alongside German Landsknechte, and intermingling with motifs from the medieval bestiaries.[81]

The Triumphzug presents a pictorial review of the multiple interests and eventful life of the Emperor in triumphal procession. It is considered by some as the culmination of his artistic enterprises. In a seventy-five meter long pictorial procession it depicts the Emperor's triumphs and pleasures, his hunts and tournaments, court offices, symbols of his military victories, and the acquisition of lands and weddings, the Liberal arts, musical diversions, court fools, etc.--only the scholarly efforts are forgotten. It begins with a Herald and Knechte leading horses, who announce with a descriptive tablet the triumph of Maximilian. Heralds, banners, insignia and trophies march along with a multitude of figures to parade in his earthly triumph.[82] Spatial grouping helps prevent monotony and additional interest is added by groups or individuals bearing labels to carry suitable text or verses. Maximilian's military inventions in artillery and siegecraft parade along with princes, counts and the soldiery he created, his loyal knights and Landsknechte along with the symbols representing the realization of his most cherished political and dynastic schemes. His brass players and trophy bearers, elephants and fabulous creatures, nobles, prisoners, banners and plaques all proceed with the Emperor. Intermixed with the imaginary creatures, the real people of Maximilian's circle proceed, the Emperor's courtiers and servants, dressed in rich contemporary costume rather than in togas. The Triumph's similarity to Andrea Mantegna's 1492 Mantuan cycle of nine large paintings of Caesar's Triumph suggests a definite model, a clear statement of the awakening Renaissance interest in the details of ancient Roman form and ceremony.[83]

The work attempts to represent as many of Maximilian's interests and activities as possible, and the Emperor's lively involvement in all facets of the life of his times is almost overwhelming. While the painted version of the procession was to belong to the Emperor as a personal treasure, the woodcut version would belong to the world. The work has an intense, unique Habsburg flavor and more originality than its model. Dedicated personally by the Emperor to his secretary Treitzsaurwein in 1512, the wood sketches were completed in 1516,[84] but the project unfortunately ended after Maximilian's death in 1519, and remains in incomplete form. The first edition of Triumphzug appeared in 1526. Despite its incompleteness, it still expresses a statement of grandeur, breadth and sweep practically unparalleled in the history of art. It is almost impossible to overestimate its importance as a primary source for a wealth of interests in the "history of constume, musical instruments, heraldry, and military and sporting weapons, armor and appurtenances, for portraits of individual historical characters; and for hundreds of authentic and unusual ornamental motifs." It well deserves wider recognition and popularity.[85]

Ehrenpforte

The Ehrenpforte was the other great woodcut production commissioned by Maximilian, a colossal woodcut of 192 separate blocks, and is a representation of the old Roman triumphal arch. As forerunner it had the Innsbruck Wappenturm which was painted in 1496 by Kölderer,[86] and the Wiener Neustadt Wappenwand of Friedrich III on the East side of St. George's chapel, which goes back to 1453, showing Friedrich in the

center surrounded by the fourteen Wappen of the Habsburg lands, and ninety-three imaginary Wappen. The literary plan for the Ehrenpforte is by the poet and historian Johannes Stabius under Maximilian's leadership, was then supervised by Dürer, who personally drew parts of the arch and other artists, including his assistants, Hans Springinklee and Wolf Traut. It is a vast two dimensional edifice more than ten feet high, composed of 192 separate sheets. The Triumphzug was then to pass through the three portals of the arch, representing honor and power, praise, and nobility. In the center over the middle gate Maximilian, with all the symbols of power, is pictured at the top of his family tree which reaches back to the Merovingian kings, surrounded by the rows of Wappen, nineteen down and three across, of the lands over which he ruled. The side arches have twelve scenes of his political life and imperial predecessors, and the towers depict scenes of his private life. The rich ornamentation has symbolic content. Even hieroglyphics find their way into the overall scheme. The sketch, completed in 1515, was not ready for printing till 1517. The first edition was printed in 1518, the work done partially by Dürer and other major artists of the time and represents along with the Triumphzug the high point of Maximilian's patronage of German art.[87]

Paintings

With the period of Maximilian's reign coincides the beginnings of the short golden age of the flowering of German art. Maximilian's influence on German art was most evident in his association with the woodcut, whose growth and use he encouraged and nurtured. The Emperor's

association with other art forms is considerably less. There are his overall commissions for wall paintings, the Stammbäume ornamenting the walls of the castles of Tirol, restoration of frescos at Runkelstein and the 1499 paintings on the Innsbruck Wappenturm by Kölderer, a forerunner to the Ehrenpforte.[88] Maximilian's features do appear on numerous religious paintings and altar paintings, such as the altar of the Tirolean Sebastian School and in Dürer's Rosenkranzbild and on a picture of the Adoration of the Kings, but it is unknown whether or not his appearance there was due to his commissioning the work or for other reasons. He appears, however, to have commissioned no paintings of great style.[89]

He did, however, bestow commissions for his own portrait. His court painter was the Swabian Bernhardin Strigel of Memmingen who boastfully said of himself that he was the only one sent for to paint Emperor Maximilian, just as once only Appelles was permitted to paint the portrait of the great Alexander. Strigel's early portraits of Maximilian are stiff-posed representative portraits, showing him surrounded entirely by all the insignias of his power, crown, scepter and sword. Only later ones show him characteristically as a private individual in the costume of a rich man without great display of office, distinguished only by the chain of the Golden Fleece. Maximilian granted during the Augsburg Reichstag of 1518, shortly before his death, a portrait sitting to Albrecht Dürer, Germany's greatest artist. Dürer portrayed the tired, aging features of the fifty-nine-year-old Emperor in a charcoal sketch which then served the artist as a model for his great representative portrait. In this famous work a simple symbolic Granatapfel replaced all the accessories of insignia which were almost

the main thing for Strigel. Dürer's genius brought all the imperial majesty to expression by means of bearing, attitude and contour alone. And it is from this work showing the Emperor as a proud Renaissance prince that Maximilian's[90] most memorable image comes to us today.

Architecture

There was in Germany at this time generally little activity in church construction. Maximilian is pictured as a great builder on one of the Ehrenpforte woodcuts, but according to the documentary evidence available, his building commissions actually appear to have been more to repair or preserve existing structures than of any creative nature. The only exception appears to be the Goldenes Dachl, the familiar alcove annexed to the landfürstlich Residenz in Innsbruck. This oriel, built by Maximilian in 1500, is a richly decorative alcove of late Gothic style. Replete with sculptures and fresco decoration, it shows Maximilian and his two wives with the chancellor, court fool and dancers. Displayed on the balcony appear the Wappen of Steiermark, Austria, and Tirol, and the Wappen of the King of Hungary, German Kaiser and German King, Philipp, and the Mailänder Duke of Sforza.[91]

It is hardly surprising that Maximilian showed so little influence on the architecture of his time. The reasons are both financial as well as the fact that his court was very mobile. Maximilian remained almost constantly on the move throughout the realm and he commissioned no major church or castle construction, nor any other architecture of important scope beyond repair. It seems reasonable that he

would have furthered this sphere of artistic expression less than others.[92]

Considering Maximilian's ever-present concern with disseminating his individual and Habsburg fame and glory, architectural commissions would predictably have been less attractive for him than other means of effectively circulating propagandistic ideas.

Plastic Art

In this period so preoccupied with thoughts of death and disaster, lavish tombs and memorials were constantly commissioned. While it seems unlikely that so vivacious a man as Maximilian would have entertained any excessive preoccupation with death, it is clearly documented that he carried his simple oak coffin around with him everywhere he went throughout the realm for at least some five years before his death. And it was to his Grabmal that he appears to have devoted his most interested concern. Ulmann comments that after such an active, restless life, the Grabmal would have absorbed his greatest interest, as a place where he hoped to find peace and quiet.[93] Indeed nearly all of Maximilian's large architectural commission were Grabdenkmäler: the decorative gravestone in the Görzer Dom for the last Graf of Görz who died in 1500, leaving Maximilian his heir, the large monumental tomb of Friedrich III in the Stephansdom in Vienna and his own. Though Friedrich's tomb was begun in 1463, it was yet incomplete at his death, and only first erected in 1513. The sculptured stone erected in Neukloster at Wiener Neustadt at the gravesite of his mother who had died in 1467 was yet another.

It was however the plans for his own Grabmal which evidently kept him occupied from about 1502. The work was not completed during his lifetime, for the planning, alterations and completing the project took over eight decades. It was only completed thirty years after Maximilian's death by his great-grandson Ferdinand of Tirol at the end of the sixteenth century, who completed the Grabmal in the Innsbruck Hofkirche. In this work Maximilian expressed most lucidly his most diverse, absorbing interests. His genealogical interests and concern for the history and fame of his family and dynasty, his love of the chivalric past, and his modern sense of individuality and desire for perpetual fame find expression and leave their mark on the development of Renaissance German art. In extent of plans and size it was comparable only to the Grabmal of Pope Julius II. Although its iconographic program unfortunately lacks unity, it was surely a plan surpassing everything in sepulchral art erected north of the Alps.[94]

Typically, Maximilian worked on the plans himself, checked and altered the details of the designs. He set up a workshop in Mühlau for casting the small bronze statues, and created a new center for the art of foundry in Innsbruck. There were to have been forty monumental bronze standing figures from his own kindred clans around the sarkophag, which was to have a kneeling statue of Maximilian on it, surrounded by the four Cardinal Virtues. The kneeling figure is very typically Renaissance, in contrast to the prone figure on the tomb of Friedrich III in the Stephansdom. There were to be also 100 statuettes of saints and thirty-two busts of Maximilian's ancient Roman imperial predecessors

in a gallery. The statues were to have been set up in the St. George's chapel in the Wiener Neustadt Burg, where Maximilian is actually buried, under the altar in a plain, undecorated grave.[95]

At Maximilian's death only nineteen of the statues were completed. The best statues are the two bronze figures, probably from a sketch designed by Dürer and cast by Peter Vischer (the Elder 1455-1529) of Nürnberg, of King Arthur appearing as Maximilian's kinsman and the handsome prototype of chivalry and knighthood, and Theoderich, King of the Goths. Both were done in 1513 and stand in a death watch for Maximilian.[96] These two statues must have been pawned to the Bishop of Augsburg, and only later redeemed by Ferdinand. These are two of the finest bronze statues in the world and are models of masculine strength and grace: their perfect casting signifies the high point of German Renaissance sculpture.[97]

Especially important for the glorification of his name and family, the work for the Grabmal also did much to make the art of bronze casting native to Tirol. Not surprisingly, Innsbruck and the Tirol, Maximilian's favorite place of residence, became the starting point for his occupation with the Fine Arts. The foundry became famous for the manufacture of the huge cannons and weapons, artistically decorated, also the magnificent armor masters here created fabulous works, the armor and weapon masters had workshops to produce not only military weapons but artistic equipment for tournaments and cross bows for hunting pleasures.[98]

Maximilian's other plastic art projects also remained unfinished, such as a plan for rebuilding the imperial vault at Speyr with a great

monument to his predecessors in the Empire who had worn the imperial crown before him. He also left unfinished the planned life-sized marble Reiterdenkmal of himself before the St. Ulrich's Church in Augsburg, for which Maximilian had laid the foundation stone on 13 July 1500. Burgkmair had done the drawing for the proposed monument of Maximilian depicted as a medieval knight in armor, with crown and all the imperial insignia: despite the medieval dress it would have been the first mounted rider monument north of the Alps.[99]

Music

Despite the mobile nature of Maximilian's court, music was by no means absent from the circle of activities enhancing his life or from the sphere of his artistic patronage. A full musical life unfolded in Augsburg, Innsbruck and Vienna like none experienced before in Germany. Cuspinian reported that at Maximilian's court there were the best musicians of the age and all possible entertainments.[100] Maximilian's love of the expressive musical arts had probably had its beginnings at the court of his father, and it certainly blossomed in the atmosphere of the Burgundian court. Unfortunately the documents are fragmentary and our information is incomplete; hence the picture of the music and musicians at Maximilian's court remains one of the unsolved problems of music research, though the Emperor loved music, and it was encouraged and promoted under his reign.[101] He engaged singers, and in 1498 organized the famous imperial choir, or Hofkapelle, after the Burgundian model, helping to bring to Southern Germany and Austria the secular and religious music of the Netherlands.[102]

Many important musicians and composers were in his service, and more and more splendid music personalities were attracted to his court. Chief among them was the Netherlander Heinrich Isaac (1450?-1517), who was considered the first music master in Germany. Isaac managed to combine the music traditions of the Netherlands and Germany and became famous for his polyphonic religious music. His settings of the familiar and moving Innsbruck, Ich muss Dich Lassen still resounds today with secular and religious texts.[103] George Slakeny (1456-1522), the Bishop of Vienna, Humanist, poet and composer, and director of the Hofkapelle who re-established the Imperial court orchestra was widely recognized as one of the best musicians of the time. Maximilian's court organist at Innsbruck, the famous Meister Paul Hofheimer (1459-1537) was the best in Germany, also a leading musician and composer of Lieder for several voices. Maximilian's music circle included also the first lute player, Artus, who enjoyed a considerable reputation.[104]

Maximilian used music in many forms: military field music, dance music, music as purely an expression of art, and religious music. It is doubtful that Maximilian either performed or composed music himself, or was considered personally responsible for any musical compositions as were some of the other Habsburgs, such as the composers Leopold I and Joseph II. It is mentioned neither in his works nor by any of his contemporaries. Maximilian undoubtedly had some theoretical knowledge however about music considering his plan to compose a musica-puech, although the project was unrealized. As indicated in the Weiss-kunig (Chapter 32), he well understood the utility of music in military undertakings, as discipline for his own troops, to sound signals and

commands, with pipes and drums to affect the enemy as well. In peacetime he used trumpeters for tournaments and festivals, and other festive and state occasions to announce the start of activities, to sound morning rising, signal times of dining, etc.

It is reported that Maximilian had a preference for loud music: in 1492 a French chronicler wrote that the Emperor, alone in a room with only his food, had at every meal ten trumpets and ten other wind instruments and two large kettle drums, but notes chamber music was also appreciated. Maximilian's choir and instrumentalists followed him about from court to court and performed for him at every opportunity.[105] Even new instruments had been invented at the imperial court, such as the so-called Regal, which was a small organ, a Rankett, an oboe type instrument with wound pipes built in a cylindrical case, and the Vogelsang, an organ stop the pipes of which were partially filled with water to produce a tone like a bird song.[106] Dance music was cultivated at his court, as at other courts of the time, here magnificently illustrated in Freydal. Loving life as he did, thoroughly enjoying dancing himself, and passionately fond of music, the Emperor was an especially gracious patron of musicians. As a real discipline of Humanism, he had tried to revive a classical ideal in the union of word and song.[107] Some declare the beginnings of Viennese opera can be traced back to this tradition of poetical pageants with music, singing, dance and elaborate mythological apparatus as staged by the Humanists like Conrad Celtis and others for Maximilian. Presentations of the Latin poetry of Grünpeck and Celtis were performed in 1497, 1501, and 1504 in Augsburg, Linz and Vienna. Of the dramatic efforts put on before him and his court, at least the Ludus

Dianae of Celtis had a strong inclination toward operetta. The dialogue was presented by the choir, but there was also three and four part song accompanied by wind instruments.[108] In 1506 Celtis's play, Rhapsodia, was performed for Maximilian. When Maximilian was traveling, his musicians often played guest roles in other places, as for example Augsburg, thus making a great name for the Emperor and patron as promoter of the arts.[109] There were, however, critics, people who maintained after the death of the Emperor that at his court were only singers, hunters and flute players.[110]

Literature

Despite Maximilian's countless commissions for historical research, historical writings, literature, musical dramas, sculptures, architectural projects, paintings, and other works of art, his name is particularly associated with the woodcut. Indeed at least one thousand woodcuts were executed in his service proclaiming and promoting his plans and ideas. Of the many woodcut works executed for Maximilian, the particularly outstanding artistic compositions were the two cycles, Ehrenpforte and the Triumphzug. The Emperor's fondness for the tournaments and traditions, the practices and chivalric ethics of the medieval past was indeed such as to earn him the acclaim of being the "last of the knights," but in addition to his nostalgic and imitative longing for the past, he possessed a sense of the power of publicity that was unique in his day. He regarded the woodcut the ideal medium for his designs: his political aims and the enhancement of his own glory and that of his Habsburg dynasty. From its obscure beginnings about 1400 in southern

Germany as a cheap technique for reproducing art and lettering, the woodcut had risen by the end of the fifteenth century to unparalleled brilliance as a book illustration and on separate individual sheets, particularly through the magnificent talents and works of men like Dürer of Nürnberg and Hans Burgkmair of Augsburg. The woodcut was then at its technical and esthetic peak and was the ideal means for the immortalizing works as commissioned by Maximilian in Ehrenpforte and the Triumphzug. These books will be fully treated in Chapter III.

Printing and Woodcut Art

The developing art of book printing had grown rapidly during the second half of the fifteenth century and intense interest for all its products had been heightened within all the educated circles in Germany. By the end of the fifteenth century the new art of book printing and woodcut illustrations had spread all over Germany radiating out from centers like Strassburg, Basel, Köln, to Lübeck and Wittenberg. With this new art and the developing interests, it fostered Maximilian's idea, in the beginning of the new century, of publishing printed books directed and available to the general public.[111]

Hand in hand with the perfecting of the art of book printing went the development of the art of woodcuts. By the early sixteenth century an important book was not to be considered without rich decoration of woodcut illustrations. It was thus obvious from the start that the imperial works would be richly illustrated books. Maximilian saw the illustrations as an additional means of furthering the goals of his propaganda among his contemporaries--and indeed there is an intimate

fusion of written text with the accompanying illustration.[112] Clearly, Maximilian's desire to glorify the history of his dynasty and also erect a monument to his own memory was well served by the timely development in this art of book printing and use of the inexpensive and easily disseminated woodcut. It was through the art of printing that he wanted to preserve his name rather than via the expensive and exclusive illuminated manuscript, and he enthusiastically and generously promoted this new and blossoming art.

Maximilian was the first prince to survey the colossal importance to its full extent of this newly discovered means of publishing and inexpensively circulating illustrated texts, and he wanted to make it useful for his own purposes. It is indeed no accident that his great journalistic or propagandistic ideas began just at the time when his policies, both domestic and foreign had suffered their worst failures. It was by no means the case that Maximilian was diverted from politics by the misfortunes of his public works and withdrew to artistic and literary activity. Maximilian was always so confident of the aims and ideals of his desires that he always blamed the failure of his plans on external circumstances, lack of help from the Reich and his assemblies, often simply the perpetual lack of money. He felt himself the martyr of his ideas. Here now in journalism he perceived the means for him to directly influence a great mass of people and to excite their enthusiasm for his plans. He hoped with his literary works to erect a monument for himself, which would represent him in the eyes of posterity as he saw himself and as he wanted to be remembered. With these works

he afforded the world the possibility of judging him according to his own desires and efforts, rather than according to the political results of his clever plans.[112] This intention finds clear expression in the Weisskunig, his most personal work, where he clearly declares a man must himself provide for his own remembrance: "Wer ime seinem leben kain gedachtnus macht, der hat noch seinem kain gedächtnus."[113] In numerous works Maximilian was the main figure, glorified and idealized.

Political Propagandist

Maximilian's art and literary projects were by no means purely cultural artistic activity. Though he enjoyed the role of Maecenas, he was also a ruler of great political awareness, and not so secure in his role, which he felt as determined by God, as to be unconcerned about opposition. He became thus a political propagandist of the first rank.

One of the first to recognize the potential for propaganda through the new media of print and the woodcut, Maximilian employed propaganda leaflets to promote his political causes. He argued for the preservation and enlargement of his hereditary lands as the bulwark of defense of the German nation against the Turks, and for the extension of his lands in the South as a shield of the German nation against France.[114] He spread pamphlets and statements for political agitation, justified his own actions, and furthered his goals. Through cleverly conducted propagandistic means on a large scale he made noteworthy efforts to get financial support for his wars and to try establishing his dynasty and its claim to imperial title, and to spread his own and his family's fame. His efforts and successes were political as well as

personal. Some historians criticize him for promoting dynastic interests ahead of concern for the German nation. But were his interests and endeavors dynastic, or national? The two were so closely interwoven it is impossible to separate or to distinguish from one another. His journalism and his activities did indeed surely serve to help awaken a new national consciousness and to stimulate growing national pride and activities.[115]

Maximilian's national feeling, his very sense of nation, had religious roots. His duty as Emperor, as he saw it, was the task of securing the Holy Order of the Empire for all Christendom. He was the secular protector of the Faith. He saw his special election to Imperial office as a concession of God bestowed to Germany. His attitude was the medieval vision of himself as the all-Christian ruler as Emperor of the German nation, and of the Germans as more Christian than all others. It was an honor that had fallen to Charlemagne, a born German, and it was Maximilian's self perceived task to hold this honor and position against France as the rival for that Christian honor. France was envisioned as the enemy, the adversary to the inheritance of this Holy Crown and title. Germany was the Empire united by national language and at the same time bound as a historical community.[116]

In all Maximilian's activities, versatile interests and projects there appears a restless, almost impatient inconsistency. The apparent failure of many plans to come to successful completion may have been caused as much by lack of available financial resources as loss of imperial interest. However, a strong positive case can be made regarding his varied projects and commissions, as argued by Peter Diederichs,

that in all he did, Maximilian was vividly aware and conscious of his aims, ever keeping in mind the desired affect on the public. His real genius was the superb gift of understanding well how to make use of the Humanists: Celtis, Cuspinian, Pirkheimer, Peutinger and others were the pre-eminent Gelehrten of Europe, Dürer and Cranach and Burgkmair were major artists, and Maximilian was able to employ them in his service. At the same time he perceived advantages to the new mediums of publicity, the use of book printing and the woodcut. His real accomplishment was thus his thorough understanding of how to make use of all cultural possibilities during a time of flux, and of the scholars and artists of his times.[117]

Maximilian's relationship to the Humanists shows a double awareness--he was not just a Maecenas; important political considerations motivated his associations, his commissions, and interests. Even his historical and genealogical interests had practical political aspects and associations. Consider the political benefits to the Emperor which flowed from the bestowal of laurels to the prolific poets and scholars. They glorified him, his ancestors, and his imperial position by casting him in the role of a renewer of the theory of the Roman Empire and this strengthened his monarchial position. Maximilian indeed knew how to use the Humanists. Humanists like Pirkheimer incited the Turkish war. Maximilian must have been delighted when Celtis, the director of the College of Poetry at the University of Vienna, proposed a contest for the poets and scholars to sing the praises of the Empire. The resulting flood of praise hardly damaged his position. Likewise his support of Cuspinian writing <u>De Caesaribus atque imperatoribus Romanis</u> clearly

reflects his pleasure at the glorification of his imperial ancestors. Maximilian's rewards to all who praised him thus in song, literature and poetry, in art and print, not only furthered German art, but also was clearly motivated by political aims.[118]

This successful fusion of his political and literary interests can not be exaggerated: he achieved his aim of establishing his dynasty in the Empire, and transmitted to posterity the idealized picture of his personality. But this clever successful combination of motives and interests in no way diminishes the Emperor's achievements. Even without this self-created glory and fame, a detailed factual knowledge of his political career and character still presents the image of a versatile and gifted man, who deserved the title not only of the "last knight," but at the same time, forerunner of the new age.[119]

His political journalism contains much of the same practical quality. It is characteristic that his interests in the Fine Arts are primarily graphic. Through print he could reach the greatest number of people and he wanted all his literary projects published with wood engravings, thus reaching a wide public and graphically to acquaint them with his aims and programs.[120] And so, while furthering German art and culture, he was able to advance to his own political and historical advantage in his own time and for posterity.

During the later years of his life, Maximilian became preoccupied with the idea that all the noble blood of Europe was combined in the the Habsburg family, and this theme became an important political and personal consideration: "dies zu erweisen war die Hauptaufgabe der Künstler."[121] The chief vehicles for presenting this evidence, the

results of scholarly historical research and collections, elaborate intricacies of genealogical studies, were primarily the arts of woodcut and printing. Both arts were new and employed the methods of reproduction in the most accessible, inexpensive manner. The Emperor had no better way to reach a wide audience and thus to perpetuate his fame.

The literary means used by Maximilian were unusually broad. It is rare indeed that a monarch, indeed a Holy Roman Emperor, should devote his personal effort and energies to autobiographical writing--a theme which will receive detailed treatment in the following chapter. However, besides his personal autobiographical efforts, the Emperor also embraced two other spheres of literary activity, and it seems suitable to devote some discussion to the background, plans and results of Maximilian's literary program. Maximilian was certainly the first monarch to employ book printing and woodcut illustrations as the principle means of making his name for posterity to create his image in an almost Pygmalian effort. Hence he can be considered a thoroughly modern prince. How did he come upon these means, what models or examples did he have before him, and what were the influences which affected him?

Literary Background and Influences

Maximilian undoubtedly inherited a great love of books as a legacy from his childhood. His father, Friedrich III, was very fond of his own books, and had an impressive collection in Wiener Neustadt.

What limited information we have concerning Maximilian's youth, his relationship to the literature of the age, his childhood reading, the people and interests to which he was exposed as a boy and youth will be

explored in Chapters IV and V. These formative influences undoubtedly developed and affected his literary tastes and interests in his adult years. The library collection of Friedrich III included many books which Friedrich had in his youth and had brought with him from Graz considering them among his most treasured possessions. The high value he placed on these books is evident from his letter from Wiener Neustadt to his uncle and former guardian, Friedrich IV of Tirol, requesting on 11 June 1435 delivery of some of his possessions: "Als wir ewrn reten empholhen habt puchsen harnasch und pucher, so ir hie habet, in ain gwelb hie in die burg ze tun und ze legen, nu mainen wir, daz des nicht notturft sey, und haben uns darauf des alles selber vervangen; und ob es zu schulden keme und notdurfft wurde, so wellen wir uns frewntlich mit ew darumb veraynen."[122] The collection brought from Graz to Wiener Neustadt was significantly increased by many books received from his uncle in Tirol, and by the many books and literary treasures he had inherited from members of the House of Luxemburg as imperial successor: some 110 books owned by King Wenceslaus including that very valuable Wenceslaus Bible, which was considered part of the imperial treasury and deposited in Vienna, Wiener Neustadt, and later in Innsbruck, and a Prachthandschrift completed in 1387[123] of Wolfram von Eschenbach's Wilhelm von Orange. These valuable treasures undoubtedly could not have failed to impress the child and affect the prince's values, interests and imagination. In his Latin Autobiography (425) Maximilian says, "Et ex patris thesauris habuit libros in orbe non similes."[124]

It is known that Maximilian too possessed a large stock of books of his own already during his father's lifetime, and other members of the

Habsburg family were also book collectors of literary taste. Sigismund (1463) was very interested in the German Heldendichtung and had an impressive collection at Innsbruck.[125] The boy had undoubtedly from early childhood a close association with the literature of German through his father's impressive collection which included much of the epic literature. Though Celtis remarked that the library was not very large, his description mentions works in Greek and Latin and some works by exotic authors and also a few mathematical works. Even the Burgundian library lists among Maximilian's books some inherited from his father.[126] A 1507 inventory of Maximilian's books at Wiener Neustadt reflect a wide variety of subjects, including such works as an Ertzney puech, Pau puech, Schwarzkunst puech, as well as a few of special interest for our study such as Des grossn Kaysser Karlbuch, her Dietrich von Bern buch, Die exposicz uber das heldenbuch zu Runcklstain, Des newen weyssen kunigsbuch, Des newen Deurdachbuch.[127] Though his book preference was for the Rittergeschichten and Heldensage, his taste and inclinations ranged from the late medieval literature of Germany and the Netherlands to Humanist Italian writing.[128] The information is unfortunately sparse about which books he owned and actually read. We don't even know exactly the way the Ambraser Handschrift came about. Surprisingly enough, none of Maximilian's own works appear in the Innsbruck library inventory, nor do there appear to have been any of Maria of Burgundy's books there. The best available evidence has it that Maximilian owned 174 manuscripts and 156 printed books, although there were undoubtedly others which were not listed.[129]

No doubt can exist that Maximilian not only loved his books, but was thoroughly familiar with his collection. There has been preserved as evidence of this fact a directive of 30 December 1500 from Linz in which the Emperor gives precise instruction regarding the care of some of his books. Here Maximilian arranges that some certain books in a special place in the Innsbruck Burg be taken to the nearby landfürstlichen Schlosse Traur where they are to be placed in an airy room. Maximilian gives the precise instructions that the books, at that time in a location in Innsbruck unfavorable because of dampness were to be taken to a warm room, wiped individually page by page with a warm, dry cloth before being relocated. His order further declared the books should be provided with numbers, and the inventory sent to him.[130] Besides his library at Wiener Neustadt, the Burgundian library, and a collection at Innsbruck, Maximilian also had books at Schloss Finkenstein.

Already as a fourteen-year-old in Trier in 1473, Maximilian had received from Charles the Bold, his future father-in-law, as a gift, a magnificent manuscript of Militärreglements, from which Maximilian early became familiar with Burgundian calligraphy and illuminations. Charles became somewhat of a heroic model for the boy,[131] undoubtedly impressing the fourteen-year-old boy by his forceful personality and attentions: "er soll an ihm vom ersten Augenblick ein besonderes Wohlgefallen gefunden haben, schenkte ihm eine herrlich ausgestattete burgundische Feldordnung und lud ihn später zu sich, um ihm seinen sprechenden Papagei zu zeigen."[132]

Maximilian's introduction at age eighteen into the glorious, sophisticated rich and cultured Burgundian court through his marriage to

Maria of Burgundy was an overwhelming experience and had long lasting influence on his interests and activities. Through the association with this court and its literary atmosphere and his deep love of the pretty, cultured and educated daughter of the Burgundian duke, Charles the Bold, his love of books must have flourished. At the young impressionable age of eighteen he found himself in the role of the head of the Burgundian state, renowned for its position of intellectual and cultural leadership in the world of chivalric romanticism, courtly literature, and magnificent painting, sculpture, and music.[133] He assumed the leadership of a vivid cultural tradition, became patron of literature, and promoter and eventual heir of the Burgundian libraries. Maximilian's marriage into the Burgundian court and his residence in this land exerted a particular influence in regard to these works. Much of Maximilian's historical and literary interests were stimulated by the years he spent in Burgundy, as well as by his father's excellent library. Burgundy was experiencing a high cultural development in painting, sculpture, music and literature, and the duchy was setting the fashion for Western Europe. During these impressionable years he had access to the famous Burgundian collections, chronicles, histories of the Punic wars, histories of Alexander the Great, Merlin the Magician of the Arthurian legend, tales of King Arthur and the Round Table, as well as works of the classical authors of ancient Rome—Seneca, Caesar, Ovid, Cicero and Sallust, as well as many genealogical works.[134] The Dukes of Burgundy had had a great interest in historiography and had kept their own court chroniclers. This rich Burgundian library contained nearly 900 codices already under Philipp the Good. By the fourteenth century French literature had already developed the form

of purely historical-military oriented memoirs, witness the works of Philipp de Commines and Oliver de la Marche, who had been in the employ of Philip the Good, then Charles the Bold and then Maximilian and Maria, and who had dedicated his memoirs, begun 1470, as his teacher to Philip the Fair.[135] Maximilian must have received decisive stimulation from the French chronicles and memoirs at the Burgundian court, and it was this influence which possibly determined his decision to write his own memoirs, to stimulate historiography and create his own chronicles.

He found models in his Burgundian predecessors Philip the Good and Charles the Bold. Philip, enchanted by the medieval literary world of the past had enthusiastically attempted in the Bungundian library and court to revive and continue the splendor and dignity of chivalry. For Charles, however, this medieval world was too narrow, and he showed an expressed literary preference for antiquity: the great figures of Alexander, Hannibal, and Caesar absorbed his interest. Charles had translated the history of Alexander and the Kyrupädie (1466 and 1470), even had the latter with him at Nancy. Caesar's Commentaries, of which he also had his own copy, were also favorite reading. As literary models for his own writing, Maximilian was able to choose from many different temporal and generic examples. Caesar's memoirs, first published in Rome in 1469, were fashionable reading of the times. The first German translation of Caesar's Commentaries appeared in 1507 in Strassburg, translated by Ringmann, decorated with eighteen woodcuts; five other editions followed in the sixteenth century. He became a model for Maximilian; Emperor, general, writer, the example of antiquity. His bronze figure was to stand beside Theoderich and Arthur as statues at his grave.[136]

In his personal interest Maximilian united both the chivalric ideals of Philip and the heroic world of antiquity preferred by his father-in-law, strengthened and reinforced by his association with the Humanist scholars.[137] The Humanist scholars in panegyric addresses and writings compare Maximilian and his work on his memoirs again and again with Caesar and his Commentaries. Parallels are drawn in Bebel's address in 1501 in Innsbruck, in Cuspinian's remarks in Vita Maximiliani,[138] as also in the Weisskunig when claimed that Maximilian surpassed Caesar (Chapter 32). A note in the first Gedenkbuch of 1501-1505 states, "Item kay. Mt. in disem handl VIII schreibern gnug zu schreiben geben, damit sein Mt. den Julium Cesarem uberpoche."[139]

Maximilian's memoirs, his Latin Autobiography, and especially Part III of the Weisskunig stand hence under direct influence of the ancient tradition of a military leader and sovereign reporting facts of political or military life. In Caesar's Commentaries this ancient tradition had found its classic form. The literary form, suggested by the model of French-Burgundian chronicles and memoirs had in turn been influenced by the literary example of Caesar's work, as well as by the Humanist examples, as in the autobiographical writings of the Renaissance Pope Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini). At his life's end Aeneas wrote his own memoirs or autobiography, a spirited work with brilliant rhetoric. Its title, Commentarii rerum memorabilium, obviously borrowed from the title of that work of Caesar. Aeneas' work includes the story of his going as Friedrich III's representative to receive Friedrich's bride on Italian soil and to escort her to the coronation and wedding in Rome.[140] The work is narrated in the third person, and it gives more of

an overview over contemporary history than of the personal development of the author.[141]

From his own statements and dictations, Maximilian wanted his notes to give the scholars a foundation for representing his history, as indeed the autobiography of the Emperor Charles IV served as the source for the Chronicle of Benesch von Weitmühl. Maximilian's imperial predecessor, the Luxemburg Emperor Charles IV, who came to the throne in 1346, had already taken an active part in writing history. The Latin Autobiography of Charles IV of the House of Luxemburg had appeared already at the Prague Court at the time of the first penetration of Humanism into German lands. Here were the first autobiographical notes and self-representation of any German Emperor.[142] It is not especially surprising that the first autobiography of an imperial personality came from Charles, the patron of the Archhumanist Petrarch and promoter of the Bohemian Proto-Renaissance in the first half of the fourteenth century.[143] If it is uncertain that Maximilian knew Charles's work and used his writing as a model, or even modeled on Charles IV, his intentions of writing at all, it is not so in regard to Caesar. Maximilian was definitely thinking of this "ersten Kaiser" when he wrote, as clearly declared in Weisskunig. It may be rather safely assumed that Maximilian knew the work of Charles IV, of the rival House of Luxemburg, after all we know of his great interest in historical sources from the days of his predecessors, moreover, a copy of the work, in a Viennese parchment manuscript from the fifteenth century, was preserved in the Hofburg library, the former court library. It was not published until 1583, but Maximilian could surely

have known it in manuscript form earlier.[144] Like Maximilian's Latin Autobiography, Charles's work begins with a short review of his lineage, reports briefly about his parents and birth and then describes the experiences of his youth until he began to rule in 1346. His models are Petrarch and Augustine, whom he cites in Chapter 11.[145] His work is also influenced by mysticism, with connections with the ancient tradition of Selbstbekenntnisse of the Stoics, but unlike Maximilian, Charles used the first person in his narrative.[146] The Burgundian concern for historiography influenced Maximilian's attitudes. After their example Maximilian introduced the office of Court Historiographer into Germany and stood in the closest relationship to the Humanistic historiography decisively developing just at that time. Discussions about the newly acquired materials from the discovery and editing of the sources were taking place everywhere, and the first beginnings of criticism were evident, precisely illustrated in the Stabius's complaints about the genealogical work of the Emperor.[147]

Improved educational practices and theories, social changes and developments (the rise of the middle class) brought new thinkers and writers to the fore. The changes in book printing affected the intellectual life of the times, and with the improvements and developments in the art of printing, ideas and opinions became widely circulated. Maximilian also stood in the middle point of the German language movement of his age. Translations of ancient authors were dedicated to him, and he exercised an important influence on the development of the formal German language through his chancellery but also on the vernacular language. The Emperor deserves considerable credit for a new cultivation and formation of a

homogeneous German language, as it developed out of the language of his chancellery. The Emperor may well have received the decisive stimulus to represent his personal chivalric adventures in an allegorical epic from his activity in association with the heroic epic of the Middle Ages. As early as 1502 he gave an order to Paul von Lichtenstain to have the Heldenbuch an der Etsch copied.[148]

Interest in collecting vernacular literature was especially lively at the fifteenth century Burgundian court. Philip the Good had been an ardent admirer of chivalric literature, courtly ethic and behavior, and Charles had admired and collected both medieval and classical literature, encouraged translations and collected the French heroic epics and had them copied into magnificent illuminated Prachthandschrift.[149]

At the age of eighteen, Maximilian entered this French-Burgundian cultural circle, having been educated in his Austrian home of the court of Wiener Neustadt, under an old fashioned system only faintly tinged with Humanism. These youthful years in Burgundy undoubtedly made an immediate impact: new interests, an overwhelming flood of new impressions and exposure to new stimuli, many new activities, learning the ways and languages of his new lands, his wife's customs and habits. Military responsibilities absorbed his first years, difficult political responsibilities were further complicated by the early death of his wife. After election as King of the Romans and assuming responsibilities of the Holy Roman Empire, wars and politics kept him almost completely occupied. Only late in his life was the Emperor able to devote energy toward scholarly literary and cultural ends. Pressing needs of reform and

development were answered with attention to the universities and scholarly research and writing.

Preservation and Patronage of Medieval Literature

Although Maximilian's sympathies with the social and political changes of the new age increased his appreciation of the Renaissance forms and Humanism, many of his particular interests and personal enthusiasm belonged to the medieval past, the chivalric manners and ethics. He is well remembered as the last great patron of medieval literature. To his enjoyment of the German Heldendichtung we are indebted for the valuable Ambraser Handschrift. Among the first and certainly most valuable cultural contributions handed down by Maximilian to posterity was the result of his order of 15 April 1502 to Paul von Lichtenstein to have copied the Heldenbuch an der Etsch, a work which is now lost.[150] It was perhaps in connection with his decision regarding the German epic literature that he seized on the idea of dressing his memoirs in the form of a chivalric prose novel.[151]

Hans Ried of Innsbruck was the man commissioned with the copying. In 1496 Ried had been a Schreiber in the chancellery of Archduke Sigismund[152] and since 1500 the toll-collector at Eisack zu Bozen. Ried was occupied then from 1502-15 with the new assignment and the result is the famous Ambraser Heldenbuch, a Prachthandschrift, in Grossfolio, illuminated by Viet Ried in 1517 with richly ornamented colored and gold initials, decorated margins which picture realistically-painted plants and animals, an überdimensionales work, like many of the undertakings of the Emperor.[153]

The Ambraser Manuscript is a collection of twenty-three poems of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and consists of 238 parchment pages in Folio. The text in three columns is written entirely in one hand.[154] Maximilian himself surely selected the works to be copied, and the twenty-three poems can be grouped within three divisions: Part I contains works about chivalric heroes and courtly ladies, Part II are works glorifying two favorite figures of Maximilian, Theoderich and Arthur. Part III contains medieval Verserzählungen and Schwänke. In this work we find not only some of the most important courtly epics of 1200-1300, but in part manuscripts of works such as Kudrun, Biterolf, Wolfdietrich A, Hartmann von Aue's Erec, Moritz von Craon and Türlin's Mantel, which are transmitted to us only through this work.[155] Also included are Hartmann von Aue's two works, Büchlein and Iwein, Ulrich von Lichtenstein's Frauenbuch, and most of the Heldenepen about Theoderich (Dietrich von Bern), Dietrich's Flucht, Rabenschlacht, Wolfdietrich, Biterolf, part of the Nibelungenlied, Pfaffe Amis by der Stricker, Wolfram von Eschenbach's Titurel, and Meier Helmbrecht by Werner der Gärtner.[156]

In the Austrian hereditary lands, especially in the Tirol, there had existed, as in Burgundy, an active interest among the nobility since Ulrich von Lichtenstein in transmitting the medieval courtly literature. The Ambraser Handschrift alone surely reflects the Emperor's love of the medieval courtly and heroic literature, his interest in the semi-historical, semi-mythical heroic figures Dietrich and Arthur, and his fondness for the courtly heroic ideal. But besides the works preserved in this Ambraser Heldenbuch, according to an entry in his Gedenkbuch,

the Emperor planned further literary commissions which would have included a work about Feirefiz and a revision or reworking of Nydthart, Pfarrer am Kolenberg, Pfaf Amis and Dietrich von Bern, which apparently never were realized. Sebastian Brant was supposed to write a book with the description of six campaigns to Rome, and G. F. Pico della Mirandola d.J. received a commission to write an epic about various wonder-signs of the times.[155]

Maximilian's love of the courtly and chivalric ideals induced him to extend his energies above and beyond the mere preservation of this beloved and popular literature. Maximilian combined his personal history and lively imagination to join the medium of courtly literature and classical autobiography (res gesta) in a unique combination perpetuating romantic ideals while illuminating and elevating his personal history, his image, and his dynasty for posterity. In numerous works Maximilian was the main figure, idealized and glorified, in a restless effort to insure his fame and glory. Chapter III will be reserved for this theme of his personal autobiographical description of his life and ideals. The remainder of this chapter will explore the literature and art commissions of the Emperor which have glorified his name through the media of books and art.

Publications

Maximilian's projected book-program was a very comprehensive project but personal involvement in the realization of this program was quite varied. His most personal involvement, interest and efforts were devoted to those autobiographical literary and artistic works Triumphzug

and Ehrenpforte, Weisskunig, Teuerdank, and Freydal. These literary works will be investigated in the following chapter. Those works elevating the history of the Imperial family from a forgotten state to immortality, include the literary and artistic genealogical studies, the Stamm and Stammchronik, while a third category of works is concerned with national or imperial historical studies. These studies supported or commissioned by Maximilian among the Gelehrten surrounding him, included such works as Konrad Celtis' planned Germania illustrata--a three part work on Germany to include a kind of Fürstenspiegel, a description of the country, and an imperial history in the broadest sense.[156] A fourth category of books consists of those works of practical ends, the so-called Hand- und Gebrauchsliteratur, which primarily serve neither the glorification of his person or propagandistic goals, as do the genealogical studies, for example, but were works of practical utility.

The practical, useful books, which were possessed, used and instigated by Maximilian, may be studied in two separate categories. The first group includes those which were intended for the Emperor's personal use. These were the Lehrbücher, which form the basis of his later creative productions and will be discussed in detail in Chapter V, his Gedenkbücher, and the Gebetbücher. The second group of books, made for the Emperor, but not for his exclusive private use were really inventory books, for management and administration. These include the Jagdbuch, Fischereibuch and the Zeugbücher.[157]

Hand- und Gebrauchsliteratur

The first of this Hand- und Gebrauchsliteratur to merit our attention is Maximilian's Gedenkbücher, surely the most personal expression of Maximilian's indefatigable energy, creativity, and multiplicity of interests. The Gedenkbücher are essentially notebooks where Maximilian noted down whatever interested him, and the notes range in topic from household management to gardening, hunting, artillery, war and finance--arbitrary notes jotted down as the things appeared important to Maximilian. Much is written in Maximilian's own hand, but some notes were noted down by his secretaries. Four of these notebooks are preserved: the earliest is the Gedenkbuch of 1502, secondly the Gedenkbücher of 1505-1508. It is largely notes to his secretary Treitzsaurwein which make up the third and fourth books. The third from 1509-1513 contains only seven pages of writing, much of which, done in a code or secret writing, is undecipherable, and the fourth work of 1508-15. The Gedenkbücher contain notes referring to projects and interests of the Emperor and reflect great variety. Here he notes his intention of having renewed the frescos in Schloss Runkelstein, which depict heroic themes from the Heldensagen, and lists also the Gelehrten commissioned to undertake research trips gathering source materials. The first Gedenkbuch notes an interesting remark indicating how important languages were to Maximilian, citing one entry, "It. zu Eberperg jm Closter ist ain munich der kan kriechisch, lateinisch und hebereysch schreiben."[158]

Maximilian's prayerbooks were very unlike the secular works, his school textbooks, the works on hunting and fishing, and the inventories

of his arsenals. Here the Emperor had assumed the role of the highest secular defender of the Church and of the Christian faith. The first Prayerbook was begun between 1486-88, possibly stimulated by his election in 1486 as King of the Germans; it is a richly decorated manuscript, containing some prayers in Flemish and miniatures done in the Netherlands, and the representation of the newly elected King of the Germans as a most religious sovereign, its apparent aim. More significant for Maximilian's literary and political aims was the second Prayerbook, not intended for manuscript form, but planned as a printed work to be published by Johannes Schönesperger in ten volumes. It was a devotional book to serve as a gift from the Emperor to the members of the Order of St. George. The Order of St. George was founded in 1469 by Ferdinand III and Pope Paul II as a crusading order against the Turks. The Prayerbook was employed by Maximilian as a text to help him promote a Crusade. Saint George, the representative soldier of Christ defending the Church against her enemies was glorified as the pioneer against the Turks. In the Prayerbook intended for the members of the Order, he is represented in full armor with the banner and overcomes the dragon. A magnificently illustrated work, the Prayerbook was illustrated by Dürer, Cranach, Altdorfer and others.[159]

We are also indebted to Maximilian for several books of Sachschriftum. These were suggested by the Emperor's stock-taking of feudal hobbies and their essentials, and their material was composed according Maximilian's instructions by experts in his court. Such works were the continuations of a broad tradition of Latin and vernacular prose,

technical literature, or Fachprosa Literatur of the outgoing Middle Ages. Since the thirteenth century German hunting books had been known, and Friedrich II's Latin work on falconry is well known.[160] Among the finished works, the most impressive is probably the Tirolean Jagdbuch, which Maximilian commissioned. Both Jagd- and Fischereibücher verify Maximilian's preference for these particular sports, as indeed in history he figures as one of the greatest hunters of all time. The Jagdbuch originates around 1500 and was done under the supervision of Forstmeister Karl von Spaur and Wolfgang Hohenleiter. It describes the hunting areas in the Tirol, and the hunting of Hirsch and chamois. From Maximilian's earliest youth, hunting was a component of his education, and with the years it took over an even larger area in his life. The text describes not only the various hunting pressures, but represents Maximilian as a hunter in all the various arts. His works give us a reliable historical document of the customs and times: a description of the hunting preserves, the game inhabiting the area, and also a description of the customary hunting methods of the outgoing Middle Ages. Here is a vivid description of the royal hunts for sport and recreation, indeed some very elaborate special events to honor some distinguished company. Such Schau- and Prunkjagd involved large numbers of people, often as many as some 300 people, and such hunts were followed with banquets and music. Certain locations, as described in his Jagdbuch, were especially preferred. The Martinswand, for example, was very popular for an audience could watch the hunters and comfortably observe the hunting from the road. The large number of personnel demanded for the management of the hunts and the protection of the animals is

described then not only here, but is recounted in the Weisskunig, clearly a reflection of the importance of this sport in the social-recreational activity of the Court circle.[162]

There exists also the fragmentary Geheimes Jagdbuch, in only a draft form written sometime around 1508 by Maximilian himself on a few loose pages. It is similar to a notebook, and was probably intended for his successor Charles or Ferdinand; it contains a collection of good advice and directions for hunting, hawking, and fishing. There is a detailed description of the dress he considered appropriate for hunting, the advice to get up at 3 A.M., then hear Mass, and get something to eat before setting out. The work then lists the reserves and relates some hunting stories, reminiscent of some details of Teuerdank.

The Fischereibuch, written about 1504, lists streams, natural and artificial lakes, and recommends places for rest and relaxation as well as fishing and hunting. Some twenty-three varieties of fish are listed, described as found in Austria, and various hunting and fishing events are described. Both the Jagd- and Fischereibücher were written in the Kanzlei Kursive script of Hohenleiter himself, and are richly illustrated by Jörg Kölderer with pictures of the Austrian landscape and attendant sporting events. The Fischereibuch depicts a man at a chamois hunt in a Rucksack containing here the oldest illustration of this piece of today-so-standard equipment. Maximilian is regularly pictured on his white horse. The Emperor notes how hunting and fishing brought not only pleasure and physical training, but also benefits for the kitchen. It is purported not only as a recreation to harden one for war and military

campaigns, but is to be recommended as an aid to avoiding sin and worldly vices.[163]

The last of these practical works are the three volumes of the Zeugbücher, a comprehensive reference work which describes the arsenals at Innsbruck, Vienna and Graz, and gives an exact review of the military equipment and war materials in Austria. The author of the work is unknown, possibly done under the direction of Hauszeugmeister Bartholomäus Freysleben.[163] The dates probably 1509, 1515. Kölderer probably did the illustrations, depicting the weapons inventoried and other war equipment. This practical inventory includes not only illustrations but numerous verses which glorify Maximilian, or often relate the origin of the pieces; e.g., "Turkische Kaiserin," taken 19 October 1490 as booty in Hungary, was originally made in Constantinople. Maximilian had done much for military development. Inspired by the example of Swiss and Burgundian military affairs, he reorganized and reformed the most modern artillery, improve techniques, and became a model for all Europe. He was especially remembered for his organization of that effective new force, the Landsknechte, who used the lance, halberd and a rifle which took two men to fire. This effective fighting element was used for all sorts of military activity, except for duty on horseback. An Italian influence in dress was clearly marked. The bow was also introduced as a weapon of war into Maximilian's armies, a decisive factor in 1513 at Guinegate. The English archers, who used both long bows and crossbows were famed for their accuracy and were held in great respect. Maximilian abandoned the fifteenth century artillery as too heavy and

unsuitable for campaigns and marches, and instituted many new military innovations.[164]

Imperial Book Program

Maximilian had a firm, almost encyclopaedic program of books he expressly wanted written. It broadly encompassed the whole area of the Emperor's interest: literature, art, history, music, philosophy, ethics and religion, politics, military affairs, gun-casting, coin and medal minting, the working of mines and hunting; a wealth of heterogeneous material and inventive design. Only a small part of his book program were the literary-historical works, which yield exact and detailed information about his own life and works. The content of the greater portion of these proposed books was generally didactic. These were to be useful books, works of reference of a practical-instructive nature, as is indicated in many of the titles for the planned works (Jagdbuch, Fischereibuch, Falknerbuch, Artillerie, Wappen-, Musik- and Kellerbuch).[165]

According to his Gedenkbücher, 130 books were actually planned, which the Emperor informed Stabius, his most important literary advisor, he wanted to have published.[166] Although most of these were never realized, never finished, many never even pursued beyond the title, the Emperor was a versatile imaginative man, and this book program expresses the multiplicity of his interests. The scope of his interest and imagination might be comprehended by a brief look at his planned artistic and literary works. The authentic book program of 1512, transmitted by the Emperor's private secretary, Marx Treitzsaurwein, which the

Emperor intended to see realized, lists the following titles:

"Grab-Erenporten	Artalerey	Moralitet
Weysskunig	Die siben Lustgezirck	Andacht
Teurdannckh	Wapenpuech	Sant Jorgen
Freydannck	Stalpuech	
Tryumpfwagen	Platnerey	
Stamcronick	Jegerey	
Der Stamm	Valknerey	
	Kücherey	
	Vischerey	
	Garnerey	
	Pawmaisterey	

The last three titles are added by the Emperor in his own handwriting. The projects and book program changed during the course of the years, and a later revised book program included eighteen additional titles:

Testament	Musikapuech	Der Kaiser Puech
Kunig Wundrer	New Pettpuech	Oesterreichpuech
Kellerpuech	Das Puech der XXIV Glauben	Heiligen Kallendar
Puelerpuech		Gestächpuech
Haushalltereypuech	Das Haspelpuech	Der Fürsten Puech
	Schwartzkunnstpuech	Phabenspiegel
	Zauberpuech	Der newen Kunst puech

Still other books which the Emperor had in mind were: a descriptive St.-Georgs-Bruderschaft in Wien founded by Otto der Fröhlichen, a book wie ein Furst die Stet in den niderösterreichischen Lannden regieren sol, a similar one for the oberösterreichischen Lande, a Puech des Reichs Stende, a Erenpuch, wann sein Mt. die Gulden wull reformirt hat.[167]

The enormous span of subjects, ranging in topics from practical daily life to theoretical-philosophical subjects and devotional works, reflects the extent of his creative energy. Hardly reflecting the medieval ideal of humble modesty and pious devotion, Maximilian was proud and independent, and passionately concerned with insuring himself fame and remembrance after death. "Sein Kunstinteresse beschränkte sich

auf die Verherrlichung seiner Person zu dauerndem Gedächtnis mit Hilfe der Literatur und bildenden Kunst, hauptsächlich des Holzschnittes."[168] He had in himself something of that homo vere mundanus which he set forth as the ideal sovereign figure in his autobiography. Maximilian, skilled in languages and technical skills of all sorts, the champion of the tournament, chivalric knight and brave warrior, was a man of interests and inclinations more active than scholarly. And most of this colossal book program remained only a plan, or never advanced beyond rough draft. Some few of the books which developed beyond the stage of mere titles, most never emerged beyond the planning stage or rough draft. But they were not purely pipedreams. For those few that were realized we are deeply indebted to Maximilian, for among his greatest contributions to the German cultural development and art, the richly illustrated books he left us must rank high.

However, the works of his program which were most actively encouraged were the series of historical-genealogical, partly religious and partly allegorical works. Richly illustrated, the illustrations mark a high point of Maximilian's cultural achievement. The Emperor, though no artist, must be understood as the creator of his works. There is no question that he himself was the originator, designer and producer, even though others were employed for research and arrangement. These assistants edited and elaborated the Emperor's notes and plans and carried out the details. But it was with Maximilian himself that the concerts and plan had originated, and he closely supervised the progress of the work examining every detail, altering and directing the production throughout according to his design.[169] His most personal

attentions were devoted, of course, to those autobiographical works to be discussed in Chapter III.

The impetus for his cultural encouragement and contributions emerged almost entirely out of his love of history and dynastic concerns, and the books he encouraged developed from historical research on the Habsburg family and collections, and historiography--with a view undoubtedly always toward political aims. His literary and artistic contributions to German cultural development developed from his love of history, especially Habsburg history, his family, House, and directed its representation in literature and art toward dynastic glorification and preservation.[170]

To have realized such cultural accomplishments besides his many activities and duties as political head of state, military leader, and diplomat, he worked with an obviously enormous expenditure of energy and activity. But despite the incessant literary activity in the service of self, his purposes and goals can hardly be entirely limited to solely political or dynastic aims. They surely reflect as well a personal intellectual curiosity and sincere interest.

Many of his scholarly interests were interbound with one another. Astronomy and theology reach into practically all spheres of his endeavors. He induced philosophical, theological, historical and mathematical research. He pursued historical-geographical research primarily for military purposes, encouraged astrology, undertook medical experiments, concerned himself with calendar reforms, collected all sorts of objects, art, pictures and manuscripts, coins, inscriptions, plants, minerals, semi- and precious stones.

But if Maximilian was a major cultural force in his time, the direction was not all one way. He was in turn influenced by the Humanists, the men of Celtis's circle, and especially by the men of the chancellery. History was the basis for him of almost all his artistic and literary efforts, and he therefore promoted historical research. The complex genealogical studies had multiple purposes; first, in establishing his derivation from the Trojans they supported his claim to the imperial title, secondly, they could as such be used against French politics, third, they made it easier to promote a Crusade against the Turks, for if his ancestors had their roots in the Orient, his personal ties to the Eastern world were strengthened by family claims. This propaganda for the Crusade against the Turks was a constant theme not only in his own writing, especially the Weisskunig and Teuerdank, as will be exhibited in the next chapter, but was even a theme and incentive of his Prayerbooks, determined for the members of the Crusading Order of the knights of St. George, but fourth, they also helped him in glorifying his ancestors, his Habsburg forebears, his family and dynasty, indeed the idea of the Empire itself.[171]

Thus there was always a practical goal in mind, in Maximilian's relationship to the arts and scholarship. The Dichterkrönung and university reforms strengthened the influence of the Landsherrn on the schools. The Grabmal, Reiterdenkmal, Triumphzug and Ehrenpforte were art works dedicated to propagandizing his position and cause. The autobiographical works of the Emperor's own writing, the Latin Autobiography, Teuerdank, Freydal, and Weisskunig all praise the Emperor's position. The Prayerbooks call for a crusade against the Turks, the abiding goal of

Maximilian's political career. The texts and illustrations of the Zeugbücher, Fischerei- und Jagdbücher all served practical aims. The only works not conditioned by practical purpose and serving a practical goal, are the Ambraser Handschrift, his collections, which may have contributed information and materials to his historical-genealogical projects--and the musical activities of his court. Maximilian characteristically strove for publicity and used the circle of artists and scholars around him for the achievement of his goals.[172]

His literary works represent Maximilian as the ideal example of the Western hero, the ideal figure of the Western ruler. He represented himself as a medieval knight and hero of antiquity. His central plan was too comprehensive and splintered--Freydal was a handbook of tournaments, Weisskunig represented the Renaissance man, showing all the virtues and skills of a hero, and at the same time served as a mirror for princes and historical autobiography--serving several practical goals at one time.[173] Maximilian's lively intellectual interest in all spheres of scholarly and literary activity, was undoubtedly the direct result of the education and training received in his youth, and of the influences which exerted stimulating effects on him in his youth.

In June 1518 an eclipse of the sun was observed in Vienna. In Cuspinian's circle this was taken to portend the impending death of the Emperor. Some six years earlier, when this eclipse was first predicted, Georg Tannstetter, astronomer-astrologer and doctor of medicine, had already thus interpreted the coming eclipse. The Emperor's health began

to fail in the Fall of 1518. Tannstetter was one of the doctors summoned to the Emperor's presence, but to no avail.[174] On his deathbed the Emperor held chats with the doctors and had read to him sections from the Stammgeschichte of the Habsburgs, or of the legends of the canonized and beatified members of his family. The author of the work, Manlius, just having finished it, had brought it to Wels to give to the Emperor. Maximilian had had a preference throughout his life in his personal reading for historical works, as did also Charles the Bold. Here on his deathbed in Wels the Emperor requested these historical works, particularly those pertaining to his House, be read to him.[175]

Knowing he was dying, he prepared his last will and testament, leaving instructions about his library, his chronicles, and designating his two grandsons as his main heirs. He included very precise burial instructions, requesting burial in the Georgskapelle in Wiener Neustadt, his birthplace. Here he was buried under the altar, his heart taken and placed beside Maria of Burgundy. His estate was only debts, although after his death, his grandsons discovered some sixty-three chests of family jewels, inherited from Friedrich III, which had been left untouched by Maximilian in all his financial need. The chests still bore Friedrich's seal and the cryptic designation: AEIOU.[176]

Maximilian I was buried in an unornamented grave, the simple oak coffin, which for five years before his death he had unobtrusively carried around with him on all his travels. "His entourage took it for a treasure chest or a book press, and one of his servants is said to have stored papers in it."[177] Of all his artistic endeavors, only the Ehrenpforte and Teuerdank were in print before his death.

Footnotes

[1]Wiesflecker, Kaiser Maximilian I., p. 103.

[2]Franz Pesendorfer, "Der Weisskunig Kaiser Maximilian I." (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Universitat Wien, 1931), p. 114.

[3]Ibid., p. 113.

[4]H. Th. Musper, ed., Kaiser Maximilians I. Weisskunig (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhemmer Verlag, 1956), Vol. I, p. 225.

[5]Pesendorfer, p. 113.

[6]Helga Ungar, ed., Kaiser Maximilian I. Teuerdank (München: Winkler Verlag, 1968), p. 316.

[7]Baldass, Künstlerkreis, p. 18.

[8]Joseph Aschbach, Geschichte der Wiener Universität, 2 Bde. (Wien: 1865, 1877), Vol. I, p. 41.

[9]Ulmann, II, 733.

[10]Andrea Baltl, "Maximilians I. Beziehanger zu Wissenschaft und Kunst" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Graz, 1967), p. 37.

[11]Buchner, p. 49.

[12]Potter, p. 118.

[13]Baltl, pp. 11-12.

[14]Ulmann, II, 733.

[15]Baltl, pp. 19, 29.

[16]Ibid., p. 11.

[17]Ulmann,II, 733-34.

[18]Baltl, p. 151.

[19]Ulmann, Vol. II, pp. 733 and 736.

[20]Baldass, Künstlerkreis, p. 18.

[21]Heer, p. 145.

[22]Rupprich, p. 54.

[23]Ulmann, Vol. II, pp. 734-76.

[24]Baldass, p. 18.

[25]Heer, p. 140.

[26]Ulmann, Vol. II, pp. 734-76.

[27]Ibid., p. 731.

[28]Ibid., p. 732.

[29]Heer, p. 142.

[30]Pesendorfer, p. 129.

[31]Potter, p. 118.

[32]Pesendorfer, p. 144.

[33]Ulmann, Vol. II, p. 737.

[34]Theodor Gottlieb, Büchersammlung Kaiser Maximilians I. (Leipzig: Spirgatis, 1900), pp. 49-51.

[35]Franziska Schmid, "Eineneue Fassung der Maximilianeischen Selbstbiographie (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Wien, 1950), p. xvii.

[36]Gottlieb, pp. 131, 142.

[37]Baltl, p. 64; Baldass, Künstlerkreis, p. 23.

[38]Heer, pp. 140-41.

[39]Rupprich, pp. 48-49.

[40]Gottlieb, pp. 49-50.

[41]Ulmann, Vol. II, p. 743.

[42]Ibid., pp. 741-42.

[43]Ibid., p. 743.

[44]Pesendorfer, p. 130.

[45]Baltl, p. 41.

[46]Ibid., pp. 41-42.

[47]Ulmann, Vol. II, p. 750.

[48]Rupprich, pp. 53-54.

[49]Pesendorfer, p. 114.

[50]Baldass, p. 47.

[51]Ungar, p. 320.

[52]Baltl, p. 41.

[53]Ibid., p. 47.

[54]Buchner, p. 48.

[55]Ulmann, Vol. II, pp. 750-51.

[56]Ibid.

[57]Baltl, p. 54.

[58]Gottlieb, p. 132.

[59]Heer, p. 141; Baltl, p. 54.

[60]Heer, p. 141.

[61]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 5.

[62]Heer, p. 143.

[63]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 5.

[64]Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[65]Heer, p. 141.

[66]Baltl, pp. 56-57.

[67]Ibid., p. 58.

[68]Heer, p. 140.

[69]Baltl, p. 42.

[70]Ibid., p. 58.

[71]Ibid., p. 41.

[72]Baldass, p. 37.

[73]Ulmann, Vol. II, p. 749.

[74]Baltl, p. 85; Ulmann, Vol. II, p. 751.

[75]Baldass, p. 47.

[76]Ungar, p. 320.

[77]Baltl, p. 29; Schmid, p. iv.

[78]Heer, p. 143.

[79]Baldass, p. 18.

[80]Baltl, p. 104.

[81]Potter, p. 161.

[82]Ulmann, Vol. II, p. 753.

[83]Stanley Appelbaum, The Triumph of Maximilian (New York: Dover Publications, 1964), p. vi.

[84]Baltl, p. 105.

[85]Appelbaum, pp. vi-vii.

[86]Baltl, p. 106.

[87]Ulmann, Vol. II, pp. 752-53.

[88]Baldass, p. 13.

[89]Ulmann, Vol. II, p. 756.

[90]Baldass, pp. 12-13.

[91]Ibid., pp. 9, 33.

[92]Ulmann, Vol. II, pp. 744, 756.

[93]Ibid., p. 744.

[94]Baldass, pp. 9-10.

[95]Baltl, p. 94.

[96]Ibid., p. 90.

[97]Baldass, pp. 11-12.

[98]Ibid., p. 9.

[99]Baltl, p. 98.

[100]Ulmann, Vol. II, p. 758.

[101]Walter Senn, "Maximilian und die Musik" in Ausstellung Maximilian I., ed. by Erich Egg (Innsbruck: Verlaganstadt Tyrolia), pp. 73-74.

[102]Baltl, p. 111.

[103]Buchner, p. 49.

[104]Senn, p. 80; Ulmann, Vol. II, p. 759.

[105]Senn, pp. 73-74.

[106]Baltl, p. 112.

[107]Ulmann, Vol. II, p. 759.

[108]Appelbaum, pp. 4-5.

[109]Ulmann, Vol. II, p. 759.

[110]Baltl, p. 150; Letter of Wimpfeling to Jacob Spiegel, in Marquard Freher and Burcard Struve, Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores (Argentorati, 1717), Vol. II, p. 767.

[111]Baldass, pp. 14-15, 23.

[112]Ibid., p. 15.

[113]Musper, Weisskunig, Chapter 24.

[114]Diedrichs, p. 94.

[115]Ibid., p. 99.

[116]Diedrichs, pp. 88-89.

[117]Baltl, p. 154.

[118]Diedrichs, p. 101.

[119]Ibid., p. 102.

[120]Heer, p. 143.

[121]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 5.

[122]Gottlieb, p. 3.

[123]Ibid., p. 6.

[124]Alwin Schultz, ed., Der Weisskunig Kaiser Maximilians I (Wien: 1887), p. 425.

[125]Gottlieb, pp. 6, 17.

[126]Ibid., p. 27.

[127]Ibid., pp. 30, 43.

[128]Carl Wehmer, "Mit Gemäl und Schrift Kaiser Maximilian I. und der Buchdruck," In Libro Humanitas (Stuttgart: 1962), p. 248.

[129]Gottlieb, pp. 51-52; p. 81.

[130]Ibid., p. 30.

[131]Wehmer, p. 248.

[132]Wiesflecher, Kaiser Maximilian I., p. 98.

[133]Ungar, p. 321.

[134]Elizabeth Hirtl, "Kaiser Maximilian's Hand- und Gebrauchsbücher als Geschichtsquellen" (unpublished dissertation: Universität Graz, 1971), pp. 1-2.

[135]Pesendorfer, p. 120.

[136]Ibid., p. 123.

[137]Ibid.

[138]Pesendorfer, p. 124; Cuspinian, p. 728.

[139]Pesendorfer, p. 124.

[140]Burger, p. 15.

[141]Pesendorfer, p. 126.

[142]Ibid., p. 123.

[143]Burger, p. 15.

[144]Pesendorfer, p. 117.

[145]Kurt Pfisterer and Walther Bulst, ed., Karoli IV Imp. Rom. Vita Ab. Eo. Ipso Conscripta (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1950).

[146]Pesendorfer, p. 117.

[147]Ibid., p. 129.

[148]Pesendorfer, pp. 136-37.

[149]Ungar, p. 321.

[150]Joseph Strobl, Studien über die literarische Tätigkeit Kaiser Maximilians I. (1913), p. 153.

[151]Pesendorfer, p. 137.

[152]Helmut De Boor and Richard Newald, ed., Geschichte de Deutschen Literatur, Band IV/1 (München: C. H. Beck, 1970), p. 66.

[153]Gottlieb, p. 137.

[154]Baltl, p. 143.

[155]Rupprich, pp. 53-54; Ungar, p. 322.

[156]Rupprich, pp. 48-49.

[157]Hirtl, p. 290.

[158]Ibid., pp. 237, 240, 243, 287.

[159]Ibid., p. 187.

[160]Ungar, pp. 325-56.

[161]Hirtl, pp. 32, 62, 78.

[162]Ibid., pp. 63, 78, 99, 103.

[163]Ungar, pp. 325-26.

[164]Hirtl, pp. 110, 118, 145, 123.

[165]Baldass, pp. 14-15.

[166]Ibid.

[167]Rupprich, p. 49.

[168]Ibid.

[169]Baldass, pp. 14-15.

[170]Ulmann, Vol. II, p. 749.

[171]Baltl, pp. 159-60.

[172]Ibid., p. 162.

[173]Baltl, p. 160.

[174]Heer, p. 147

[175]Ulmann, Vol. II, p. 737.

[176]Erhard Breitner, Maximilian I. Der Traum von der Weltmonarchie (Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag, 1939), p. 401.

[177]Heer, p. 147.

CHAPTER III

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WORKS

It cannot be firmly established when he first began writing and dictating his own works, however these literary activities apparently did not begin until late in his life. They continued then for about two decades, during the latter part of his life, from about the end of the fifteenth century after the death of Friedrich III, when he became sole ruler over the Empire, until the time of his death in 1519. During these years his varied and many changing projects and book programs emerged which spanned the whole broad realm of his many-sided interests and inventive activities (Misch 445). Characteristically not content with the passive role of patron or commissioner of literary art works, he became actively engaged in personally producing a literature which provides us with valuable insights into the man himself. In his own writing his great love of history and his encouragement of historical research and historiography were blended with his passion for the medieval past, its epic romances, and idolization of historical-mythological heroes. The Emperor's own writings reflect the complexities of the changing currents of the age and of the multiple facets of the Emperor himself, the study of which provides deeper insights into both the era and the personality of the Habsburg monarch.

His methods of writing and system of organization were unique. On composing his materials, Maximilian generally preferred using the medium of dictation, leaving the editing and polishing to his secretaries and assistants. Although Maximilian allowed these secretaries and literary advisors some freedom, there can be no question that the Emperor himself was the originator, instigator and author of these writings. He demanded drafts and sketches of his dictation and instructions which he examined and corrected even to their smallest detail. The revisions and corrections which he ordered were then again presented for his inspection and approval.

Ever active and always on the move, Maximilian dictated in the midst of military and political activities, on trips, during campaigns, on shipboard. Whenever the notion occurred to him, the Emperor would call his secretary to write down his notes and dictations on loose pages or in notebooks.[2] The autobiographical writings then subsequently were developed from these dictations, for which the Emperor used no sources other than what he drew from his own memory and recollections.[3] While eating, or resting from hunting or on a journey, the Emperor would dictate to his secretary between frequent interruptions and disturbances, on whatever subject occurred to him just then. Such quiet pauses were indeed found only infrequently and at widely separated periods. These spasmodic recollections kept no chronological sequence, and often the Emperor did not remember what he had talked about the last time. If he told about the same event two or three times, it was always different. The narrator was often carried away by the story itself, getting sidetracked onto tangents and related events. With such a spontaneous style

of working, obviously favorite themes and brilliant triumphs were more frequently recounted than defeats or unpleasant memories. Insignificant secondary matters were recalled in detail, while important matters and events were sometimes skipped over entirely, or presented in a manner completely out of proportion to their relative significance. Then his poor secretary was supposed to unravel the knot of these dictations, and make an ordered text of them.[4] Detailed embellishments and discussions of interest only to the writer too frequently gave emphasis and misplaced importance to secondary matters and events, which causes much of the Emperor's writing to be too inaccurate to be of primary interest for later historians.[5]

Maximilian's own first efforts in writing his own history go back to the Latin notes for a Latin Autobiography. Apparently it was begun somewhere around 1492, when Heinrich Bebel flattered Maximilian with an exalted comparison to Julius Caesar as a general and as a writer, praising him as having reached the "highest goal of men": "scribenda gerere et gesta scribere."[6] Estimates dating the first notes for his res gesta are based on three considerations. There is a reference in them to Maximilian's daughter Margaret as the widow of Juan of Spain, which would set them between 1497-1501, and a remark in the introduction which declares it was then 240 years after the birth of Rudolf of Habsburg, which would set 1498.[7] His work on the Autobiography had clearly begun at least as early as 1499, for it was then Melanchthon wrote in his Cronica Carionis aucta (Paris 1563, pp. 562 ff.) in an often cited passage, "Bilibaldus Pirckheimer Norimbergensis Philippe Melancthoni aliquando dixit: Maximilianum ipsum suas res gestas aliquot annorum

descripsisse. Nam se navigio vectum cum Maximiliano a Lindau ad Constantiam, et cum in navi etiam haberet imperator, vocasse ad se scribam dictassetque illi res gesta unius anni, idque variis conciliis et circumstantiis ... etc."[8] These dictations which originated in Willibald Pirkheimer's presence bear the marginal commentary (443/3) noting "Ditz hat geschriben konig Maximilian an sand Marie Magdalene tag, als wir gein Lindaw furen auf dem Bodensee. . . ."[9] This boat trip on the Bodensee of July 22, St. Mary Magdalene's Day, is dated as having taken place during the Swiss War of 1499.[10] Malanchthon declared here how he had heard himself from the Nürnberg Humanist Willibald Pirkheimer, friend of Dürer, that the Emperor Maximilian himself described his experiences of several years. He related that he had journeyed with Emperor Maximilian from Lindau to Constance, and when aboard ship, Maximilian found time to call a secretary, and dictated to him in Latin the experience of one year--and indeed in the most capable arrangement and detailed exposition of all the circumstances and details. Thinking secrets might perhaps be dictated, Pirkheimer wanted to leave but the Emperor insisted he stay and even gave him to read that evening what he had dictated, asking how he liked this "militaris latinitas" (Soldaten Latein).[11] Maximilian said he was making an effort to present things short and clear, so that scholars could explain this history more exactly according to its circumstances and causes.[12]

These remarks from Maximilian regarding his Latin have elicited considerable comment from scholars through the centuries, with considerable differences of opinion. Schultz translates Maximilian's phrase "militaris latinitas" as "Soldatenlatein," and the older edition of the

Weisskunig (1775) regards it as "Reuter Latein," apparently interpreting it as an apology for his grammatical style. Pesendorfer however presents a firm argument for the meaning of this phrase as denoting "militärischer Stil," the Emperor's declaration that he was using Caesar's writing style as his model rather than that of the scholarly Cicero.[13] Pesendorfer determines that this remark about the language was a reference to an item from the preface to Caesar's Commentaries, where it is written "qui sunt editi ne scientia tantarum rerum scriptoribus. . . ." Caesar intended to deliver the material of his work to future historiographers through his own writing. Pesendorfer says that Maximilian considered his Latin dictations as reference material for later revisions, and that his question, "numquid placeret ista militaris latinitatis dictio?" is a stylistic reference to his own writing style, which alludes not to the classical purity of his writing, but to its "military style." He had in mind an effort toward clearness and terseness, modeling his dictations on the style of the ancient historiographers attempting brevity and clarity. Pirkheimer too then wrote a Latin account of the 1499 Swiss war, Bellum Suitense sive Helveticum, which is clearly reminiscent of Caesar, possibly inspired by or in competition with Maximilian's description.[15]

Latin Autobiography

The Latin Autobiography exists today only in fragments. Both the beginning and end are missing, and the last page breaks off in mid-sentence.[16] It is particularly unfortunate that the beginning pages are lost, for here he may have outlined his aim and goals for the

entire work. Nevertheless the Latin fragments as they exist are interesting.[17]

It was supposed to begin with a genealogical-dynastic Vorgeschichte: a life history of all the Burgundian dukes and the history of the Habsburg rulers from Rudolf I to Friedrich III. It exists only in outline form. The lack of historical materials, the absence of chronicles about the German princes, which were necessary to write such a detailed history of his House, was a fact often lamented by Maximilian, and made it difficult for him to accomplish his hopes. Since the first pages of the text are missing, there exists only a draft of this historical background, the Vorgeschichte is the most fragmentary part of the unfinished work.[18] The first lines begin . . . "habuit rex Philippus prefectus" and then relates the story of the Burgundian dukes beginning from the 1356 Battle of Mompertuis.[19]

After the historical description of his ancestors and predecessors, there was to follow the Jugendgeschichte of Maximilian himself, depicting the birth of the author, with a description of the unfavorable constellation at his birth, and the story of his baptism and naming. Then comes the description of the prince's education and of some of his youthful adventures on hunts and in chivalric games and tournaments, dangers to his life, finally his marriage to Maria of Burgundy, and his war experiences up to the events of the Swiss war of 1499. These war episodes, which take up three times as much of the total work as all the rest, are loosely connected, and are out of order.[20]

Although never completed, by 1502 the fragmentary Latin Autobiography existed in its present form. The events described in the Latin

work go only to 1499. Although there were dictations, the greater part of the notes for the Latin Autobiography are, according to Bürger,[20] written in the Emperor's own hurried hand, which indicated that in contrast to his later work on the Weisskunig and Teuerdank, the Latin memoirs are based only in part on dictations and are in part written down by the Emperor personally. The relating of many events are only started and never carried out, only indicated by catchwords or phrases, such as (444/46): "zu gedenken, was zu Ypper geschehen ist und der von Symel." There are instructions for the arrangement for the text even within the text itself, like the instructions for the illustrations (429/14), "malen wie ziehen und fliehen Geldrensis," and orders for the editor (428/10), "Vide ubi hoc locas."[21] Written under the cloak of istoriographus, the res gesta, or the Latin Autobiography is related in the third person, a device which achieves distance from the reader. Maximilian is referred to as Maximilianus, dux, princeps, rex, or maiestas; other personal and place names are frequently used undisguised throughout the text. There are repeated references to time (430/21), "etatis tunc xxiij annorum." The interest in history outweighs the impulse to describe personal experiences. It is written in a simple narrative, unstylized manner, in an attitude thoroughly grounded in reality; it retains a pretext of historiography (430/17), "quod etiam factum fuisset ita hoc ego istoriographus testare possum." Evident too is the medieval love of anecdote. The Latin Autobiography is generally more open, more unreserved than his other works, especially when compared with the veiled language and stylized narrative of the Weisskunig. Here in the Latin he openly expresses his depression over the permanent want of

money to realize his political aims, and his bitterness and agitation at the insurrection in Flanders, and the seizure of Phillipp and Margaret, who had been sent off to France. The Latin Autobiography may have been allowed a more open freedom because there were no plans to publish the work, and also because of its Latin form determined a far more limited, scholarly audience than his later vernacular works in which he eagerly conceals and veils facts, names and details from the general public. This open use of undisguised names in the Latin Autobiography interjects some tangible substance into the work, especially into the war episodes which is lacking in the Weisskunig.[22]

For unknown reasons the Latin Autobiography, the material from which all his other German literary works developed, was never finished. Various theories as to the reasons it was unfinished include the possibility that the illness in 1501 of the historian Grünpeck, who had done a lot of work for the Emperor and had been actively working on the Autobiography, prevented the completion of the Latin work.[23] This opinion seems doubtful in view of the fact that Maximilian always employed so many people in the carrying out of his literary and research projects. According to his own statement in a 1502 work, Celtis, then a professor at the University of Vienna, was to have edited Maximilian's work, but these plans were never realized either.[24] It is not certain whether the death of Celtis in 1508 could have influenced Maximilian's decision to finally abandon work on the Latin Autobiography. Bürger theorizes that he possibly felt his Latin was not up to the exercise.[25] Schmid's work on the Codex 3302 manuscript of the Latin work, a revision of the dictations of the Emperor in the hand of Grünpeck, led her to conclude that

as early as 1504 Maximilian had given up the plan for writing the Latin work, and had begun work on the German Weisskunig.[26]

However, because it was so common for Maximilian to have many projects going simultaneously, there exists, in my mind, the possibility that he not so much abandoned the Latin work but that he simply became more and more involved in his other literary projects. There were many reasons which would have encouraged his interest in the vernacular writings to the point of concentrating his energies there. The rising national consciousness, the growing use of the vernacular in many spheres, as for example in Celtis' university lectures, the growing development of the printing press which afforded limitless possibilities for circulation among the population for every political and cultural purpose. All these factors may have worked together in influencing Maximilian to aspire to reaching the public through the new methods and techniques of the age and might have easily influenced him to change the form and style of his literary efforts. For whatever reasons, the result was that he changed not only from the Latin to the German language, showing a preference for his national tongue, but also he selected a special German style of script for the printing of his works in the use of the letter style which developed into that known as Fraktur.[27] The time however when the Emperor drafted the plan to sketch his life story in German cannot be determined.[28]

The unfinished Latin Autobiography however had in it already all the elements which constitute the essentials of the later literary works. Freydal and Teuerdank, like the Weisskunig, grew out of themes and materials of the Latin notes and dictations. The Latin Autobiography

thus includes the total material of the later autobiographical works, and also the beginnings of further literary program; the genealogical-historical studies, the descriptions of the Saints, the hunting and fishing books.[29] There are certain themes which dominate all his autobiographical-literary works which further unite the Latin Autobiography and the three vernacular works. These themes incorporate primarily the idea of insuring a remembrance, a place in history, glorifying himself, his family, the House of Habsburg. Secondly, the dominant motif which represents him as the instrument of God runs through all these works. The conflict of the "misericordia dei" and "constellatio prava" is a theme taken up in the Latin Autobiography from the description of the birth of the prince, and again at the start of the war episodes in the Latin, and permeates all the vernacular works. Maximilian is presented as the prince whom the grace of God protects from all dangers and guards for His divine mission against the unfavorable influence of his constellation. A third theme is his passionate desire for a Crusade against the Turks to free the Western Christian world from the danger of the hated infidel. Each of the works promotes this mission as the primary duty of the secular head of Christendom called to do the will of God. The complete cycle of Maximilian works are then all set in a chivalric idealized world of a romanticized Middle Ages. The divisions into ages, childhood, youth and the age of manhood as they appear in Weisskunig follow the same pattern here in the Latin Autobiography, and are seen to a somewhat lesser extent in the chronological progression of Freydal and Teuerdank through their series of adventures. The military features,

the lively interest in hunting and tournaments which make up large portions of Teuerdank and Freydal similarly are developed from themes and motifs of the Latin dictations.[30]

The stimulus to write, the literary examples and the models for Maximilian's literary endeavors were numerous. Undoubtedly he was influenced by the literary atmosphere and cultural sensitivities to which he was exposed in his Burgundian years: the French-Burgundian literature and chronicles, the abiding interest in the memoirs of ancient times, and likewise the popular heroic epic of the Middle Ages. The entry in Maximilian's first Gedenkbuch of 1501-1505 declaring his desire to surpass even Julius Caesar clearly declares the deeds and commentaries of this Roman general, statesman and author as his model. Many Roman, and even Greek, rulers had written accounts of their deeds and even autobiographies (some existing only in titles and fragments), including Sulla, Caesar, Augustus, Hadrian and Constantine.[31] But surely Maximilian's literary works are something different. Lavishly illustrated, romanticized and idealized, they become less historiography than epic literature, for a general rather than exclusively scholarly audience, determined for printing and publications in the vernacular, instead of the Latin style of scholars. Teuerdank was a popular poetic epic, and the Weisskunig, firmly established in German literary history, was until a short time ago valued solely as German Dichtung. Only recently did one begin to examine and classify it among the historical sources of the German past.[32] All of Maximilian's works reflect his personal experiences in the frame of a mystic Sinndeutung of the battles and dangers of his life, as well as in the contests of a lively interest

in the developing historiography of his age: political activity ought to be represented with a thought to posterity and henceforth broke the frame of pure autobiography.[33] His works are however hardly homogeneous. In the Weisskunig he created a medieval-allegorical novel, a romance of which only Part III reverts to historiographical style.[34] Interestingly enough, recent scholarship by historians has examined only this Part III of the Weisskunig describing the military exploits of the Emperor as historical source material for this period, largely ignoring Part I and II (e.g., the two unpublished Graz dissertations, Wolfgang Schweiger, "Der Wert des Weisskunig als Geschichtsquelle [III, 1477-98]" and Kurt Riedl, "Der Wert des Weisskunig als Geschichtsquelle [III, 1499-1514])."

It must be remembered too that in the Middle Ages, history and story were hardly so distinguishable as we think of them today, as well exemplified in C. S. Lewis' The Discarded Image.[35]

Scholarly opinion differs regarding the relationships of the three major German literary works of the Emperor, Freydal, Teuerdank and Weisskunig. Laschitzer tried to prove Teuerdank was originally thought to have been a part of the Weisskunig in his introduction to his edition of Teuerdank. The Verfasserlexicon describes Freydal, Teuerdank and Weisskunig as a trilogy, to which was to be attached a satire and Mahnrede, Die vier namhafften Königreich. Oliver de la Marche's allegorical treatment of Charles the Bold in Chevalier delibere is cited as possibly Maximilian's inspiration, and continues to describe Maximilian's aim as an intention to veil his living image, indeed to mythologize his own history. Throughout the cycle, the Emperor's preference for chivalric ways and his determined intention to fight against the

Turk is clearly expressed. The content, invention and plan of all three originate with the Emperor, although he had others carry out the details, and are often described as descending from the Renaissance love of fame and a hope of living on in posterity.[36]

There are flaws to the theory that the three major German works belong together as a trilogy, although some support for the theory can also be found. No detailed consideration of the various arguments is however relevant to this study. The three magnificent works of this cycle are clearly bound together in their single hero, the noble protagonist, who is in all the works a thinly veiled representative of the imperial author himself. They have in common a central thought or theme which connects as a whole the Freydal, Teuerdank and Weisskunig. The three works, all attributed to Maximilian's own imaginative literary endeavors, are all allegorical in form, are markedly autobiographical and relate almost exclusively to the period of his youth—his developing, formative educational years, and the events generally prior to, sometimes related to, his marriage to the Burgundian duchess, Maria of Burgundy.

Freydal

The first of the cycle, Freydal, is really only an enumeration of the Emperor's tournaments, which has been worked out in pictures. First mention of this work was in 1502 in a memo by Maximilian, expressing the intention to write a description of his tournaments and mummeries.[37] The draft of a prose text is less monotonous than the arrangement of the work itself. The actual name, Freydal, was first

encountered in Maximilian's Gedenkbücher of 1505-1508, and by 1512 Maximilian reported that the work was half finished. The text of Freydal is preserved, mechanically listing tourneys, combats, masquerades and banquets at various princely courts, and there are 255 heliogravure illustrations. Maximilian is shown in a schematic arrangement of illustrations, alternately engaged in rennen, stecken, fechten and finally mummerien. The content of the work revolves around princely tournament activities. Three noble maids have put before Freydal difficult and dangerous tasks. One is supposedly ready to marry the hero, if he can master all the difficulties. Freydal then proceeds to sixty-four princely courts and completes all the splendid deeds required. He then takes part in the following mummery festivities. If considered as didactic in purpose as are his other books, the work can be considered almost an illustrated handbook for the ways of tournaments and courtly festivals, obviously illustrating the old topos of the knight undertaking all possible dangers for his lady, cultivated for centuries in medieval literature.[38] The work supposedly expresses the predilection of Maximilian, concealed behind the figure of Freydal, for disguises and masquerades. The development of Freydal obviously emerged out of the Latin Autobiography's description of Ritterspiel, the tournament experiences described in 427/20, and the section describing social affairs with the ladies in 427/56 and 428/10. The Latin work had also a schematic arrangement of the court knightly games before the ladies, and mentions the masquerades which followed in 432/23-29.

Maximilian must have felt that an exact description of knightly combats and courtly festivals was important. Though knightly combats

such as those described in Freydal were still being practiced and encouraged at his court and at others during this time, the great time for knightly combat was already past, a fact surely recognized by Maximilian. At the same time he undoubtedly recognized its great value as training and as practice for use in war and for the practice of total physical fitness. His work hence not only glorifies the knightly games and practices, but presents an elaborately illustrated work of art which historically preserves a description of these games, the practices and equipment, some of which had become more decorative and elaborate innovations than useful.

Maximilian therefore may well have considered it a good opportunity to make a personal appeal for a continuation and revival of the old practices of knighthood.[39] Surely one of the richest descriptions of the knightly arts, Freydal represents an invaluable document depicting the equipment, accoutrements, and details of the arts of individual knightly battle.

The games represented illustrate Maximilian taking part in every kind of knightly battle. The main goal of rennen was to hit the so-called Tartsche of the opponent and to run into it, so that it cracked and flew apart. A Tartsche was a disc of wood which reached over the chest and covered the left side mostly covered with leather and colored black. It was fastened onto the breast-armour (cuirass) with Haken and Rollen (type of hooks and pullies), so that it cracked off if struck properly. The object of stecken was then to knock the opponent out of his saddle, or at least to break his tilting lance. In turnieren the knights fought in a cuiriss, equipped as if they were in battle.

Then after breaking the Reisspiesse, the opponents continued the fight with swords. The tourney battles were then followed with great festivities, mummeries, which were courtly festivals, beginning with a banquet, followed with merry performances of jugglers and such, and then followed by the various forms of dancing popular in this time. These took the form of masquerades. Costumed figures, dancers in local dress and folk costumes, danced the lively folk dances from the various localities; Schreittänze, Springtänze, Charaktertänze and Grotesktänze. Only the last two put any great physical demands on the body of the performers, who represented by the corresponding pantomime, masks and dress the various classes or nationalities: Burgundians, Venetians, monks, hunters, Turks, etc.[40]

The Freydal lists the names of the ladies before whom Maximilian engaged in these knightly games, and also presents a long list of his knightly opponents in rennen, stecken and fechten, all in alphabetical order. Maximilian appears in each of the 255 illustrations.

Teuerdank

The second work of the cycle is the allegorical verse epic, Teuerdank, in the outdated form of the Middle Ages, the last work of its kind. It was the only one of the Emperor's autobiographical works to be published during his lifetime.[41] First written in prose, Teuerdank is a half-allegorical, half-autobiographical Ritterepos, a verse tale, an idealized history of Maximilian's journey to claim Maria of Burgundy as his bride. It is only an embellishment and application of the ideas of the Jugendgeschichte of the Latin Autobiography, executed here in several

examples of the dangers and adventures of Maximilian's whole life. Considered the outstanding bibliophile Prachtwerk of the sixteenth century, it survived many editions and was then popular as a Volksbuch well into the eighteenth century.[42]

The first mention of Teuerdank was in 1505, in Maximilian's Gedenkbücher of 1505-1508. Invented by Maximilian, the poem was put into order, and to a large degree carried out, by Maximilian's secretary, Marx Treitzsaurwein, but then later relieved by the chaplain, Probst Melchoir Pfinzing, who edited and revised the final version, publishing it in Nürnberg in 1517. Others involved in the work were also the silver-treasurer Sigmund von Dietrichstein, Stabius as an advisor, and Peutinger, who directed the business part.[43]

Allegorically representing the courtship of Maria von Burgundy by the hero, Teuerdank, the disguised Maximilian, the action takes place in a Märchenreich filled with dangers, temptations and their conquest. The name of the hero is taken from teuer or teuerlich, mode worte for the knight without fear or fault, which originate, according to Cuspinian, from the lingua gentiles, the knight-jargon of the time.[44] Maria, represented as Ehrenreich, daughter of König Romreich, is courted by many suitors and sends a message off to Teuerdank. A conspiracy of the mighty members of the realm forms to oppose Teuerdank's advance, but he meets every danger. He is hindered by a trio of evil figures, Furwittig, Unfalo and Neidelhart. Following a long series of eighty-eight daring adventures in individual combat on land and sea, and particularly in thirty-four dangerous hunting episodes, the hero finally succeeds to

his goal. At a festival at her court, he then must engage in a tournament, which he naturally wins. The deceiving characters Furwittig, Unfalo and Neidelhart are condemned, and the wedding finally takes place. The hero's role is that of the simple-innocent knight, and the descriptions of all the dangers and bad influences of the stars are intended to awaken the belief that he was God's special and chosen instrument.[45] That the grace of God serves him from all dangers and guards him for his mission against the calamitous influence of his constellation, which throws him in the way of all dangers, is a theme that persistently runs through all his works from the Latin Autobiography to the Weisskunig. Schreiber declares the connection of all the adventures with the Brautfahrt was necessary for the secondary objective of political propaganda. Allegorical and moralizing, Teuerdank can also be considered as political propaganda. The three evil characters are instigated by the devil, but they eventually receive the punishment of execution.[46] The last four chapters of Teuerdank espouses the Christian cause and promotes the Crusade against the Turks, the perpetual theme of Maximilian's writings.

A commentary to the work was appended by Pfinzing, giving a short explanation of the acting persons and scenes, and then Sebastian Frank composed a second Clavis. According to this the allegory permits several interpretations. The three captains have been interpreted as "youth, manhood and old age," although in all the illustrations they are represented as old men. A more likely interpretation is that they are representatives of national designation. "Die drei Hauptleute werden als Jugend, Mannes- und Greisenalter und dementsprechend als Tollkühnheit, böser Zufall and Neid, der die Erfolge zu zerstören sucht, oder

die Niederlande, Italien und Deutschland angesehen; auch werden sie mit Jetzund = ungünstige Zeitverhältnisse, Heltlass = Abfall von Helden, Tartan = Dürftigkeit, Mangel in den Wundererepisoden (= Ludwig IX. von Frankreich) in Parallele gesetzt."[47] The three opponents are thus at once real and allegorical figures: a motif indeed completely in accord with historical reality, "als Räte der Königin fürchten sie für ihre Macht und greifen tätig in die Handlung der Erzählung ein. Der Held gebärdet sich wie der irrende Ritter der Heldensage. . . . Viele Gedanken, wie der von der weltlichen Ehre und göttlichen Huld, erinnern an höfische Epik ('Iwein') und Minnesang. Der frische volkstümliche Ton, die persönlichen Bemerkungen und die dreihebigen Verse werden dem Kaiser selbst zugeschrieben."[48] The basic idea ever present in Teuerdank shows the contrast of the grace of God which saves the hero from all dangers against the disadvantages of the stars' misfortune. The work is marked by clumsy allegorical disguise and stylization, but brings to expression much of Maximilian's world and thought and reflects his great self-confidence and his unshakeable confidence of mission, despite his constant failures and bitter disappointment.[49]

By 1517, that fateful year of German history, German Humanism stood at its high point. It was the year Maximilian celebrated the coronation of Ulrich von Hutten as poet. This was the same year as the appearance of the second volume of von Hutten's Epistolae obscurorem virorum, and also the year of the appearance of Luther's theses on the church door in Wittenberg.[50] And on 1 March 1517, Pfinzing presented to the young Archduke, King of Spain and future Emperor Charles V, the first edition of Teuerdank, "zu ergetzlichkeit, nutz und lere die

geschicht, history, und getaten Teuerdanks in form, mass und weis der heldenbücher zu beschreiben."[51] The dedication claims the individual feats are not exaggerated nor entirely invented, but had indeed taken place, and the work should serve to teach and for emulation for later periods as to the history and deeds of the predecessors.[52]

Printed in a splendid edition in Nürnberg in 1517, with beautiful print and elaborate illustrations, this first bibliophile German book shows unprecedented expenditure of artistic and typographical embellishment.[53] It is richly illustrated by Burgkmair, Schäuflein and Beck. Written in wooden, didactic moralizing verse and based on allegory which required a commentary Schlüssel for explanation, its outstanding value is in its typographical splendor and in the fact that it is the work of an Emperor.[54] The work was not distributed, but first remained locked up in trunks to be dispersed to the public only after Maximilian's death. At the Emperor's last meeting with his grandson in Brussels, it was said that he then turned over to his successor his political testament, and also Teuerdank and the Weisskunig, and dedicated to him for emulation, "to honor and in instruction."[55] On 1 March 1526 Archduke Ferdinand gave the order to distribute the first edition of Teuerdank.[56] It remains a monument to the chivalric ethic of the High Middle Ages.[57]

Weisskunig

First mention of the Weisskunig appeared in the Emperor's Gedenkbuch of 1508-12, and appears to have been begun by 1506. Again, the plans for the Weisskunig developed from the Latin Autobiography. It

began with the same basic idea, only changed to a very different style and form. The Weisskunig is the most comprehensive, most personal work of the three autobiographical works. This third work of the so-called cycle is most closely based on the Latin dictations for the Emperor's Autobiography and is the work on which Maximilian devoted the most personal attention and effort. Among all the artistic and literary works serving to glorify the Emperor, none is so much his own work as the Weisskunig. Written in the prose form of the historical novel, the Weisskunig presents a picture of the Emperor's parents, his childhood, youth, education, military and political life. The hero, the young white king, is of course the allegorical figure of Maximilian himself. The Emperor is himself considered the originator and author of the work, which was then revised, edited and generally set in order under his close guidance and supervision by his secretary Marx Treitzsaurwein.[58]

The content of the Weisskunig is divided into three sections. Part I (Chapters 1-12) treats the Brautfahrt, marriage, and imperial coronation of the parents of the young white king in Rome, and is written in the style of a medieval epic. The history of the Emperor's predecessors which appeared in the Latin Autobiography is replaced in the German novel with a Vorgeschichte describing the protagonist's parents. Part II (Chapters 13-69) relates the story of the birth, youth and education of the young white king, up to the time of his marriage. Part III (Chapters 70-221) relates the military experiences of the young white king, his battle deeds and war experiences up to 1513. The proposed conclusion to the work was to have been a description of his completed victory over the Turks and the conquest of Constantinople, and

thus the climax of the entire cycle. To the Emperor's great disappointment however this accomplishment was never realized, and this hope consequently was not realized.[59]

The autobiographical Weisskunig is however not a homogeneous or uniform work, and opinions vary radically as to the appropriate definition or classification of the work. A blend of autobiography and novel . . . is it a belletristic work, a novel, Erzählung, a scholarly work or historical source? Goedeke designates it Prosaerzählung, Huber calls it a Lebensbild, Richard Newald an imperial self-description with disguised names and places, while Burger defines it as an autobiography. Pesendorfer, who approaches the work from purely a literary viewpoint sees it as a combination of Ritterroman and Schlüsselmemoiren, refers to it as a historischer Schlüsselroman, ritterlicher Prosaroman, autobiography, novel, but also as memoirs and even historiography. Schweiger considers the work obviously as primarily a historical document, and says that the poetic features slipped into the background because of Maximilian's interests and inclinations. It is only the outer form which yields a novel, however, for a historical interest does predominate. The work's very flexibility or inconsistency in form permits conjecture that Maximilian may indeed have changed his intention and goal even during the progress of the work, as his inclination changed, or as he envisioned developing possibilities and considerations. Until a short time ago the work has had a firmly established position in the history of German literature and has been valued solely as German Dichtung. Only recently have scholars designated it as a valuable historical source, and it has since received considerable attention as such.[60] Scholars now find the

work an interesting and valuable historical source for research and also useful for the characterization of the Emperor.

As adaptable as its author himself, Maximilian's Weisskunig is not a simple, clear-cut document, but rather vacillates between definitions. Originating at a time when the new German prose literature was just in its beginnings, it is thus not fitted as a link of a chain of a firm tradition. Rather it stands on the border of various genre of prose literature and fluctuates during the progress of the work. It is an early attempt to unite autobiography and the novel form, its materials derived from historical, literary and artistic vantagepoints. The Weisskunig's value as a historical source had already occupied the attention of the historian Ranke. Whether it can be considered good literature has long occupied literary historians. Some question the work's literary value. The art historians, who have studied the illustrations, have determined that the magnificent woodcut illustrations to the text greatly surpass the value of the narrative itself. But despite its low aesthetic value as literature, the charm exerted by an occupation with the Weisskunig is explained by Pesendorfer in his thorough study as lying in the fact that the development of the work can be followed and appreciated as an effort to follow a new path in the creative development of a new genre at a time when prose literature, and especially the prose novel, was still in its baby shoes.[61]

With Teuerdank the tradition of the medieval verse epic is ended, and the autobiographical novel form of the Weisskunig represents the new style of prose literature. Teuerdank was undoubtedly modeled on the allegorical verse epic of the Middle Ages, but Maximilian was already

far removed from medieval epic literature. The universally valid medieval ethic and standards were the foundation of the medieval epic, and here was represented the typical and ideal model of the Christian knight. However, already in the D Manuscript of the Jugendgeschichte, Maximilian was using the classical heroes for comparison. There the young white king is compared to Alexander; in the Weisskunig itself (Chapter 32) he is compared to Alexander and to Caesar.[62]

Only prose could have been suitable for the memoirs of his political life, but prose literature was still in the first stages of development. The Weisskunig itself is a product of a double transitional period: both history and literature were in a state of transition. Many influences and varied models had in the course of time effected the various revisions. The political relationships and developments are related in chronicle form, seemingly flat and two-dimensional, but sometimes the Weisskunig reflects an almost märchenhaft naiveté.

The memoirs were directed also to a rather mixed public. Intended for publication, Maximilian directed his writing to the gemainen man, and yet at the same time toward the scholar: appealed as an historical Schlüsselroman to the general public, but, like the Latin Autobiography, also an historical source, and the total work vacillates throughout the writing between these two poles. The Emperor's memoirs sometimes bear even the character of a great and distinguished apology, such as for example in the descriptions of the battles against the malicious French policies, and the insubordination of the faithless Burgundian subjects.[63] The work does not reflect a development of the personality of Maximilian, but rather more of an ordered list of subjects and

areas of interest to him, hobbies and activities. It does not represent the growing to maturity of the prince, and is therefore quite different from the psychological novels of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It only records the outer experiences of the Emperor: it is his res gesta and an account of the political events of the period of his reign. Burger states that in its autobiographical form and its hope of determining the picture that posterity had of the Emperor, it must be assigned to Humanist literature, yet the form and many features of the work are defined by Maximilian's clear preference for the German medieval past.[64] However, Maximilian chooses to clothe these political-military memoirs in novel form, particularly obvious in Part I and II. The characters are mechanical, stereotyped heroic figures. The stress is on the material, the mass of adventures and quality of the battles. The action takes place in a legendary past. It is the events, and not the hero, which determine the action, and throughout the work there is a dominant sense of the world of Märchen and wonders, whereas Pesendorfer defines the true novel form as existing where the writer limits his work within the boundaries of reality, and sees in the individual fates of man the tragic world problem.[65]

Maximilian attaches Vorgeschichte to his political memoirs, his contribution to historiography, to create a historical Ritterroman, changing radically the style of the work. He revives the chivalric ideas that were a part of the medieval heroic epic. The story of the courtship and wedding of his father worked into the Vorgeschichte of Part I is clearly a feature taken over from the Heldensage. Many medieval works have been suggested as possible models for this feature:

the Kudrun appearing in the Ambraser Heldenbuch, the Parzival edition printed in 1477, or Biterolf all have a similar Vorgeschichte. Pesendorfer likewise points out influences of the Heldensage in the various formulaic expressions, linguistic reminiscences, and patterns of the language and narrative of the work. Maximilian's fondness for this Heldensage and medieval literature undoubtedly influenced his own compositions.[66]

Standing so apart from the standard literary genre with its connections with many different forms, the Weisskunig searches for form and varies within its length. The material Maximilian used was material of the recent past, not freely invented, yet also not purely factual, rather given through the historical progress, the experiences of the German Emperor. The work was attributed in a sense to the indigenous German Volksroman, which was also often based on historical facts of the not-too-distant past, as for example in the stories of Till Eulenspiegel and Faust, both historical personalities, who serve however only for uniting in their person a series of similar Sagen material.[67] Maximilian's interest enveloped both the medieval literature and also the new novels and literature of the Renaissance. Parts I and II of the Weisskunig show to a large degree the same characteristics and properties as considered characteristic of the German Volksbücher. All Maximilian's works were richly illustrated, as were many of the fifteenth and sixteenth century books, even the translations of the ancient writers, as well as the vernacular literature of this period. The woodcut illustrations of the Weisskunig are a large part of the work.

During this period there had developed in the French speaking countries a strong tradition of memoir literature. German memoirs are less military-political memoirs than the corresponding form of literature in France, but rather more Lebenserinnerungen, emphasizing the personality more than the French works. And indeed Maximilian's writings, if taken as an example, are hardly solely political, or even primarily interested in political activity, but rather present a picture of the Emperor's many-sided personality. The story of his youth in both the Latin Autobiography and the German works is widened to a Lebensbild.

But Maximilian could not restrict himself to writing his memoirs according to his models, his goal was more extensive than mere representation of political and military experiences, and he endeavored to portray the entire richness of his many-sided being. He was clearly influenced by the Latin writings of the Humanists, the heroic literature of the Middle Ages, and even the new chivalric prose novel. Hence his originally homogeneous work splintered into many directions with its development. He had been unable to unite all these varied tendencies into one organic whole in the Latin Autobiography. The Humanist poets could not help him, so the Emperor took over the revision himself, changing his work into the German vernacular. This change into the vernacular language meant a change of audience, from the learned historian to the gemainen man, the broad reading public. Having developed from the Latin work, intended for a specialized scholarly audience and clearly historical in form, the vernacular result is a very uneven work. Part III was developed from political-military-historical memoirs, whereas Part II appears more as a mirror for princes, perhaps

intended for Charles, and vacillates between the styles of classical memoirs and medieval epic. Being written for so mixed an audience, the Emperor's grandsons, scholars, and common man, the base of appeal was almost too broad to avoid the many obvious contradictions in style and form that appear in the work. Pfinzing says in the Clavis to Teuerdank that the names of the personalities in the work are disguised, "dann mich bedunckt das dem gemain man nit not sey, den Grundt zu versteen."[68] Yet Treitzsaurwein always declares that the Weisskunig was intended for the general public, as stated in Chapter 39, "sonder dir mein schreiben wird dem gemainen volk in einem merern verstand erklart." This broader audience may have enticed Maximilian to use woodcuts and the art of book printing to their maximum advantage to spread his glory and posthumous fame among all the German peoples.[69]

Celtis reportedly was first entrusted with its composition, but then the major responsibility fell to Marx Treitzsaurwein, whose part was limited to compiling and editing, sifting and ordering the material which was given to him. But Maximilian was the originator of the work, and provided the secretary with the material, dictations, and directions as to how the material should be reworked. To Treitzsaurwein fell the responsibility for sorting out the jumbled notes and information, and to make of it an ordered text. Treitzsaurwein, with the materials at hand, did manage to produce a continuous, running text, in a dry, pedantic, formulaic chancellery style. To produce a chronological order, however, Treitzsaurwein succeeded only inadequately. In some cases he only managed to tangle the knot of the dictations all the more. He was not familiar, to be sure, with most of the events he was trying to bring

into a time-sequence series. Many of the events which Maximilian was including in the work were events about which Treitzsaurwein knew nothing, he was unable to determine what Maximilian was referring to, as his Fragebuch clearly shows. He was never even completely instructed as to the meanings of the Schlüssel names. As Burger remarks, it was a grotesque situation which would have seemed a nightmare to us, although Maximilian and Treitzsaurwein apparently did not seem to have found anything unusual in this arrangement.[70]

The work was never finished. The published version of the Weisskunig is that torso arranged and copied by Treitzsaurwein but makes indeed no claim to being any finished form. The basis for the three printings that the Weisskunig has undergone is the so-called Manuscript A, Codex 3032, a fair-copy of the year 1513. It was not ready for publication, as expressed in the Vorbericht, where Treitzsaurwein explains, "diz Puech ist nun allain ain Materi und ain unvolkumenlich Werk und nichts anders dann ain Gestalt, die ime . . . Kaiser Max . . . furberait hat, daraus . . . ain volkumenlich Werk zu machen." Maximilian had ordered Treitzsaurwein in 1515 to prepare his questions about the work in writing in a Fragebuch known as Manuscript H, Cod. man. 3034, in order "alle Mängl und Fragstuck auf Figuren und Schriften . . . bei bemelter . . . Majestät zu erledigen." Maximilian then received the Fragebuch from Treitzsaurwein in 1515, but left the Fragebuch queries uncompleted.[71] One copy of the Weisskunig Manuscript A (Codex 3032) of 1514 has a dedication to the two Archdukes Charles and Ferdinand, the Emperor's grandsons, by Treitzsaurwein,[72] but was probably never

presented, the dedication added most likely after Maximilian had last seen the work.[73]

And so in its fragmentary form the work is certainly confused in its make-up, particularly in the later sections relating the war experiences of the prince. The chapters become shorter and shorter towards the end of the work, until finally the last chapters are almost nothing more than a title for the illustration.

Despite its unfinished nature but because of its rich arrangement of illustrations and printing, it remains one of the most interesting and valuable artistic documents of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the late Middle Ages and German Renaissance. One of the most popularly quoted literary criticisms of the work declares it to be hardly readable as a book because of its confused disorder, but allows the work its due in defining it as an important historical source for the age between 1450-1513.[74]

The literary frame of the Weisskunig, the allegorical disguise of autobiography, conformed to the very popular autobiographical form so admired by the Humanists. The Weisskunig was to be believed by its public and its readers. It served however no simple role, but rather attempted to fill a dual purpose: to describe first the Emperor's life publicly and to preserve his memory to posterity, and at the same time to give an example for his grandsons, to show them that he never lost courage in the greatest distress.[75]

The chapters relating the birth, baptism and dedication of the prince in Part II of the Weisskunig refer to the future importance and calling of the hero, and at the same time prepare for the planned

conclusion of the whole work. The following Mirror, the example of the ideal princely education, is, as mentioned, carried out according to a well ordered scheme, beginning with the religious-spiritual instruction and ending with the preparation for the conduct of war. Some historical chapters bring the first feats of arms (at the close of Part II) as the conclusion of the preparatory training and then his marriage to his queen, the historical Maria of Burgundy. The high point and conclusion to the Weisskunig were to be found in the fulfillment of the divine prophecy which had been declared at the birth and baptism of the hero--the decided victory over the Ottoman Turks. The realization of this goal and hence the accomplishment of his plans, were not allowed to Maximilian, and the Weisskunig remained without the conclusion intended.[76]

The borrowed form of the Heldensage and the fifteenth century volkstümliche novel, which constituted the real reading materials of the educated aristocratic circles of that time, makes the work a precursor to the heroic-galant historical novel of the seventeenth century. It presents a very simple, naive representation of Maximilian, who appears a completely uncomplicated hero. In fact, all the characters in the work appear flat and of constant dimension.[77] The two-dimensional hero, the young white king, seems curiously unlike the real Maximilian who is here portrayed so unrealistically, so untrue to life, in such a wooden, uncomplicated characterization.

By 1506 the plans for writing the Weisskunig were already fixed. A German version of the Jugendgeschichte of Maximilian is preserved in the so-called Manuscript D, Codex 2892, which may represent the intermediary step between the Latin Autobiography and the German Weisskunig,

and which had a dedication passage presenting the Elaborat to the Emperor's grandson Charles, born 25 February 1500. Since the dedication states: "so du es (das Buch) begunnst lese," one may assume this Jugendgeschichte, first written 1506, to have been composed possibly as the first Leseunterricht of the prince by his teacher to set the example of his imperial grandfather before the eyes of his young successor.[78] There do exist however differences between this Jugendgeschichte of the D Manuscript and the corresponding parts of the later Weisskunig. In the Weisskunig the enumeration of the many areas of learning and skills mastered by the prince in his youth are retained, but the sequence is changed, and some of the didactic opinions and considerations are dropped that in D appear often to overwhelm the knowledge itself. In the Weisskunig each acquired skill or mastered subject is interpreted as an indication of Maximilian's future greatness.[79] The conclusion that this work, the D Manuscript, was written as a personal mirror for the prince, the future Charles V, is supported by several facts. There is only one copy, which has the dedication and is decorated with pictures. The references in this copy to the parents of the boy, Philipp and Juana, would undoubtedly indicate that the work was written before Philipp's death in 1506, and then the final copy was left unfinished after Philipp's death.[80]

This mirror of behavior, the description of the Emperor's youth and education, reflects throughout the courtly ethic and chivalric code of behavior, the manners and values of the medieval epic as the model bearing and conduct. As a work emerging out of the life and circle of the imperial court, it is quite understandable that particular value was

placed on the observance of etiquette and courtly form. Here exact observance and adherence to ceremonial form is always emphasized, as is also done in the Weisskunig. The envoys and ambassadors are always "vast höfflich emphangen" for example when "in diemuttigkayt ir werben thun" (D fol 4a). The reader is told that it is "hart zu glauben . . . der vleys baydes tayles, den sy geton in allen iren Dingen: da hat ainer mugen lernen, wie sich gezimbt, in sölichen sachen zu halten" (D4b). Phrases and formulaic expressions like "als ich dann wol gezamb; wie ich dann zu thun gespurt" are always added, and remarks like "mit grosser ererpietung," "mit grossen eren und reverenz," or "mit grosser er" frequently occur. There is heavy stress on details such as the preciousness or costliness of clothing, and the differences in style or fashion of foreign ambassadors, as for example the envoys courting Eleonore remark onthe dress of Portugal. The text is overladen with adverbial expressions such as "mit solennitet und wirde," "mit unsäglichen frewden und hocher eer" and in superlative style: "die allerwirdigste und eerlichiste cronung." Standing phrases interrupt the story regularly as for example, "es ist hart zu glauben," "es ist auch zu wissen," "wie vor angezaigt ist," or "wie ir hernach vernemen werdet."[81] All such emphasis would have underlined the courtesies and manners of the courtly conduct for the child, and permits us a glimpse into the imperial court manner and styles of the age of Maximilian.

At the end of the preface of the D Manuscript are found references alluding to the whole program of the Emperor's autobiographical works, for there it is said that the young white king would be called

"von ettlichen der freyest, nun der tewrest, nun der berumest, und durchausz den namen seines vattern verdient."[82]

In Chapter II consideration was given to the literary influences on Maximilian, the stimulus of his father's library and reading selections, the Burgundian years and his personal interests and literary taste. Now in specific reference to the work on the autobiographical Weisskunig, some consideration of the specific models and references for this important work seems appropriate.

The combination, ruling prince and author of a romantic and idealized autobiographical novel, is indeed as unique as the fascinating character of Maximilian himself. In his writings, the Emperor declared the heroes of the ancient and the Biblical world as his models and examples. His hopes of surpassing the works of Julius Caesar, his desire to excel beyond the examples of Alexander and of David are clearly set forth. Nor are these cited models the only influences on the works of Maximilian. Little question exists but that the Latin Autobiography of Emperor Charles IV was an important and immediate influence on Maximilian's writings. He was also undoubtedly familiar with the vernacular German works of the two politically active figures, Heinrich IV, well known from his prominent position of the Manessische Handschrift, and the thirteenth century Austrian autobiographer, Ulrich von Lichtenstein.

At his Court Maximilian was surrounded by Humanist poets, historiographers and scholars, who surely stimulated his literary interests. His appreciation of the courtly literature, legends and heroic epics of the Germanic past undoubtedly affected his style and inclination. The literary atmosphere of the Burgundian Court and

personal contact with creative artists encouraged his interests. His maternal grandfather, King Edward of Portugal, Humanist and man of letters, had had a passion for writing books.[83] Maximilian had ready access to magnificent library collections. His aunt, Pfalzgräfin Mechtild, possessed a rich library with many ritterlich Prosaromane. Sigismund (der Munzreich) of Tirol who appears as the "cheerful white king" in Weisskunig also had an important collection of Heldendichtung. Sigismund's wife, the Stuart princess, Eleanor of Scotland, was also active as a writer. Her popular translation of the history of Pontus and Sidonie from French into German was printed as a Volksbuch in Augsburg 1483.

The sixteenth century tradition of the volkstümliche novel had emerged out of the literary efforts of just such aristocratic circles and had formed the bulk of their reading material. Works such as Johann Harlieb's Alexander, a Fürstenspiegel of the mid-fifteenth century, and the memoirs of the Bavarian knight, Götz von Berlichingen, were very popular works among the aristocracy and growing middle class.[84]

Unlike Charles IV and Julius Caesar, Maximilian finally elected to use the vernacular in his autobiographical novel. The Weisskunig is then written in the new style of the prose novel, while retaining many features of the medieval courtly style. The allegorical disguise of idealized autobiographical materials represents a clear effort to romanticize, even mythologize, his own history.

The Weisskunig had a forerunner in the biography, Geschichte und Taten Wilwolts von Schaumburg, which was a kind of Fürsten-Ritterspiegel in which history was elaborated with legend. The author of this work

was probably the Ritter Ludwig von Eyb der Jüngere, who was probably provided notes by Wilwolt. This work is similar in projection to the Weisskunig and the two works are alike in content and didactic elements. It relates in three parts the story of a Franconian knight in the service of Maximilian as a general in the Netherlands. The work describes the origin and birth of the knight, his stay as a squire at the Court of Charles the Bold, his tournament and love adventures, and his deeds of war and diplomacy for Maximilian until 1468.[85] It is a Ritterspiegel reflecting a certain aristocratic spirit, and conforms throughout to the Bildungsideal of Maximilian. Wilwolt appears greatly influenced by the chivalric ideas and customs revived by Maximilian.[86]

As stated, to Marx Treitzsaurwein fell the responsibility of organizing, arranging and editing the materials for the Emperor's autobiography, the Weisskunig. In addition to the Emperor's dictations and detailed instructions, there were also two other sources which he used, probably at the Emperor's suggestion. These were two works printed in 1503 in Augsburg, both dedicated to Maximilian. The source Treitzsaurwein primarily used for the Vorgeschichte, or Part I, was a German translation of the Latin work, Historia desponsationis et coronationis Friderici III. et coniugis ipsius Eleonorae, by the imperial chaplain Nicolai Lanckmann von Falkenstein. This was a description of the trip of Friedrich's envoys to Portugal to court Eleanore, published in 1503 by Lanckmann and then translated into German and dedicated to Maximilian by Nikolaus Kaps. The second source was a twenty-eight page work of an unknown author, Der Ausszug von Teutschen Landen gen Rom des durchleuchtigsten grossmächtigsten Fürsten und Hern Friderichs des Romischen

Künigs, zu empfahen die Kayserlichen Cron und sein gemahel Junckfrauen und Frauen Leonora geborene Künigin von Portugal.[81]

The primary source for Part II, the youth and education of the prince which has been for this study the most interesting section of the Weisskunig, was the Jugendgeschichte, or Manuscript D (Codex Vind. 2892) by an unknown author. This Ms D. represents a revision of the material prepared by Maximilian for the young prince Charles and relates the story which corresponds to Part I and II of the Weisskunig, the story of the marriage and coronation of the parents, the birth, youth and education of the Emperor.[88] Schreiber conjectures that this work was probably the work of a member of the circle of Charles' teachers, undoubtedly a member of religious orders.[89] The Emperor's Latin Autobiography must also have been available to Treitzsaurwein as a reference for this Part II.[90]

Part II of the Weisskunig (Chapters 13-69) treats the birth, childhood, and youth of Maximilian up until the time of his marriage. The only known source for this part of the work was the Ms D, and the material corresponds closely to that of the Jugendgeschichte, but elaborates the material somewhat. The Ms D has, for example, no equivalent for a material of Chapters 15, 21, 24-25, 27, 36-38, 42, 44, 51-55, 57-63.[91] This Part II of the Weisskunig, decidedly didactic in aim, was intended as a mirror for princes, undoubtedly for Maximilian's two grandsons. Not so much the experiences of the Emperor, it is chiefly a review of the learning and skills he acquired. Many chapters are descriptions of this knowledge and the skills acquired by the young white king. This section of the work then ends with a reference to the

future greatness of the young king. Considerable stress is assigned to the fact that his success was not owed solely to his zeal and enthusiasm, but to his having been selected from the outset by God for his superior position: the same attitude as that dominating the Teuerdank and clearly a reflection of a typically medieval sense of sovereignty. Although Part III (Chapters 70-221) which relates the Emperor's experiences in military episodes, his wars of 1477-1513, most actively held the interest and participation of the Emperor, it is of lesser interest to the purpose of my study.

The Weisskunig is to a great degree quite parallel to the Latin Autobiography. The strict chronological arrangement of the three main divisions in the work follows the same standard pattern as found in his Latin Autobiography, as also in the biography of Wilwolt. It was an arrangement apparently firmly determined by Maximilian, as evidenced by an attached note in his own handwriting. The principle of division is stated as follows: "kindichkait X jar, / junglichkait XX jar, / mandlichkait XXX jar, / tewrlichkait LX jar." These divisions might represent mere convenient partitions, or echo the phrases of the proverb current just at that time: "zehen jar ein kind, zwanzig jar ein jungling, dreissig jar ein man, etc.," which was a theme also reflected in the Fastnachtspiel of the day, such as for example, in the "zehn Altern dieser Welt" by Pamphilus Gengenbach (Basil 1515).[92]

The content of the Weisskunig is considerably more meaningful than that of Teuerdank. In the Weisskunig, unlike in Teuerdank, real persons come forward, despite the disguised allegorical cover, confused time definition and concealed placenames. The literary form of the

prose novel demanded changes which would not have been necessary in a historical document or narrative. For political and personal considerations the action, persons and events, are all related under allegorical covers. Heraldic designations are frequent. Anagrams and color symbolism are used throughout, together with openly cited placements and personal names, in, as Pesendorfer notes, colorful disorder.[93]

Already in the Freydal it was reported, "Er liebte die weiss Varb für ander, dann die weiss Varb souill bedutt als durchleuchtig, schön, lutter und pur mit Tun und Lassen."[94] He obviously had in mind the mythological background of the color white, employing the good, bright and light against the dark colors of his opponent.[95] In the Weisskunig the hero and all his supporters are known by the white color because of the white armour and accoutrements he wore in tournament and in battle. Friedrich is the old white king, Maximilian the young white king. The King of France is designated as the blue king, originally black. The king of Pluemen (white rose) is Edward IV of England, Richard III is the red king, the King of Hungary green, the king of swan is the Duke of Cleve, and the king of the fish is the Doge of Venice. The Hollanders are called the grey society, the cheerful white king, Sigismund of Tirol, the king of Feuereisen, Charles the Bold of Burgundy.[96]

The title of the work may have been influenced by numerous factors. Maximilian could possibly have known the novel by Herpin, Weisse Ritter, translated before 1437 by Gräfin Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken and mentioned in Püterich's Ehrenbrief (1462). Elisabeth's works enjoyed great popularity and covered a rather broad scope. She

enjoyed the stories of the chivalric knight, and had also done a translation of the Prosa-Lanzelot from an older source. Many of her works became very popular Volksbücher. The designation of a knight according to his Waffenkleid was nothing unusual. Throughout the Weisskunig, the Wappen or heraldric emblems are used to name the figures, opponents and friends. Medieval literature included numerous examples. There is the Red Knight who appears in Parzival, and in the autobiographical work of the Austrian thirteenth century poet, Ulrich von Lichtenstein, Frauendienst, the Green Knight is the protagonist and author himself. In Esplandian, the title hero appears as a black knight. Like flags and ensigns, it was still strongly believed that Wappen too possessed the symbolic character of their bearer and acquired considerable significance and recognition. In the Middle Ages there were professional Wappendichter, who developed such heraldic motifs. The Austrian Peter Suchenwirt always added the description of the Wappen of the deceased prince or lord to his popular Ehrenreden.[97] At Maximilian's order, Marx Treitzsaurwein gathered together between June and December 1514 all the materials of Part III in an endeavor to complete the work. Seeing the confusion and disorder in the materials of Part III, Maximilian requested Treitzsaurwein to compose a Fragebuch, setting forth the problems and questions about the text. The resulting Cod. H (3034) of 1515 was presented to the Emperor, who then never got around to answering the secretary's questions about the Schlüssel names, and request for instructions about the arrangement of the materials and illustrations.[98]

The text and the illustrations of the Weisskunig were supposed to complement one another. In the manuscript draft of the preface

Maximilian explains that he put the pictures with the text, "das der leser mit mund und augen mag versten den grund dieses gemelds meins puchs," and Treitzsaurwein in Chapter 39 adds, "wiewol es . . . lustig were zu lesen." The more popular book was intended to be, the more richly it was felt that it should be provided with pictures. The new arts of printing and woodcut reproductions brought forth new possibilities. Though Latin works of ancient authors had not been illustrated, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the translations of these authors were now richly illustrated. Maximilian's works were all magnificently set out: Freydal had 255 illustrations, Weisskunig 251, and Teuerdank 118. The talented artists engaged to execute these works for Maximilian included the most talented men of the time.[99] To the total 221 chapters of the Weisskunig there are 251 illustrations; 236 of the original wood plates are preserved, of which 126 are by Leonard Beck, 119 by Hans Burgkmair, four by Hans Springinklee, a student of Dürer, and two by Hans Schäuflein. Peutinger handled the supervision over the woodcutters.[100]

Maximilian's death in 1519 took place before the completion of the final revision. On 1 March 1526 Archduke Ferdinand wrote a letter to Marx Treitzsaurwein commissioning him to prepare the Weisskunig in final form, instructing him from Augsburg to finish the work "als vil er tuen mag und ime wissend ist."[101] The Weisskunig was then to be finished according to Maximilian's wishes. However, Treitzsaurwein's own death 6 September 1527, in Wiener Neustadt, then ended the project of finishing the work for 250 years, until in 1775 when the original woodprints were discovered in Graz. The work was first published in

Vienna by Joseph Kurzbock.[102] Of the entire cycle of magnificent works created and endowed with true imperial munificence to glorify the person and deeds of Maximilian, the only one of the Emperor's autobiographical literary works to be published before his death was Teuerdank, published in 1517. Ehrenpforte was printed in 1518; the Weisskunig first published in 1775; Triumphzug in 1796; and finally Freydal in 1880.[103]

Though unfinished, one should not undervalue the greatness of his efforts. His preference for working with slips of papers have limited the contemporary sources available for study.

But in all his literary and artistic works Maximilian took the highest personal share in statement of ideas, evaluations, changes, and remained in constant oral and written communication with the executing artists, overseeing and directing the program. For all his artistic and literary activity, including prints for his written work, he left over one thousand wood plates either printed or ready for printing at his death.[104] The attractiveness of his work lies less in its material than in the rich personality which gave them existence and which emerges out of these works.[105] Of all Maximilian's activities, it was his personality which made the strongest impression on history, as it was also this lively personality which contributed the greatest stamp of value on his literary works.

Few books out of this early period of book printing are as fascinating as the works done at Maximilian's hand. Niccolo Machiavelli, who died shortly after Maximilian, had written Il Principe in 1513. Both works, the Weisskunig and Machiavelli's Prince, are Fürstenspiegel, but how differently they reflect the ruling princes on the two sides of

the Alps. Machiavelli drafted for the first time a picture of a modern statesman who acts according to an autonomous state politic, constructed out of historical knowledge of Roman antiquity and the political experience of the present. The Weisskunig, on the other hand, shows for the last time the prince of the medieval pattern, outfitted in honor and the grace of God. The Weisskunig's only Renaissance shading comes from the ideal of the uomo universale. The comparison with Machiavelli's Prince shows how strongly everything political in the Weisskunig is covered over with courtly and heroic dress. In the Weisskunig the motives of the action are purely personal. There is no anonymous political sphere, only a romantically stylized one.[106] Maximilian's works will nonetheless continue to have an appeal as an insight into the person and political world of the Emperor. All of Maximilian's works serve directly or indirectly the idealization and glorification of the Emperor, and none so much as the Weisskunig, the most personal and comprehensive of all his works.[107]

For the purposes of this study, the attention has been limited to the years of his childhood and youth, the years of the prince's education and training in the years preceding his marriage to Maria of Burgundy, precisely that material found in Part II of the Weisskunig. This work, emerging out of the life-circle of the imperial court, represented a most personal account of the Emperor's own life. A concentrated focus on the early formative years of Maximilian's life, in both his autobiographical description and the documented historical facts, permits a greater understanding of both the man and his achievements.

Footnotes

[1]Georg Misch, "Die Stilisierung des eigenen Lebens in dem Ruhmeswerk Kaiser Maximilians des letzten Ritters," Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen (1930), p. 445.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Schmid, p. xxx.

[4]H.-O. Burger, "Der Weisskunigals Literaturdenkmal," in Kaiser Maximilians I. Weisskunig, ed. by H. Th. Musper (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1956), pp. 29-30.

[5]Wolfgang Schweiger, "Die Wert des Weisskunig als Geschichtsquelle (untersuch nachdem 3. Teil 1477-1498)," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Graz, 1968), p.

[6]Burger, p. 15.

[7]Pesendorfer, pp. 13-14.

[8]Franz X von Wegele, Geschichte der deutschen Historiographie seit dem Auftreten des Humanismus (München und Leipzig: 1885), p. 98.

[9]Alwin Schultz, ed., "Der Weisskunig," Jahrs. d. kunsthist. Sammlungen d. Allerh. Kaiserhauses (Wien: 1888), Vol. VI, p. ix.

[10]Schmid, p. xii.

[11]Schultz, p. ix.

[12]Schweiger, p. 5.

[13]Burger, p. 16.

[14]Pesendorfer, pp. 124-25.

[15]Burger, p. 16.

[16]Baltl, pp. 114-15.

[17]Otto Bürger, "Beiträge zur Kenntris des Teuerdank," in Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der Germanischen Völker. XCII (1902), p. 12.

[18]Baltl, pp. 114-15.

[19]Pesendorfer, p. 14.

[20]Bürger, p. 16.

[21]Pependorfer, pp. 12-13.

[22]Pesendorfer, pp. 17-19.

[23]Baltl, p. 115.

[24]Bürger, p. 16; Pesendorfer, p. 22.

[25]Bürger, p. 17.

[26]Schmid, p. xx.

[27]Diederichs, p. 88.

[28]Schultz, p. 67.

[29]Pesendorfer, pp. 133-34.

[30]Ibid., p. 15.

[31]Pesendorfer, p. 124.

[32]Schweiger, p. 11.

[33]Pesendorfer, p. 22.

[34]Baltl, p. 115.

[35]C. S. Lewis, The Discarded Image (Cambridge: University Press, 1971), p. 179.

[36]K. Langosch, ed., Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexicon, Vol. III (Verlin: 1943), p. 306.

[37]Gottlieb, p. 57.

[38]Baltl, pp. 123, 126.

[39]Ibid., p. 127.

[40]Ibid., pp. 126-27.

[41]Pesendorfer, p. 115.

[42]Hans Burgkmair 1473-1973. Das Graphische Werk, Städtische Kunstsammlungen Augsburg (Augsburg: 1972), n.p.

[43]Langosch, Vol. III, p. 306.

[44]Burger, p. 17.

[45]Langosch, Vol. III, p. 305.

[46]Joseph Schreiber, "Kaiser Maximilians Teuerdank in Urteil unserer Zeit," Jahresbericht des Bundes-Gymnasiums und- Realgymnasiums in Krems (Krems: 1958), pp. 28-29.

[47]Langosch, Vol. III, p. 307.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Pesendorfer, p. 139.

[50]Burger, p. 17.

[51]Baltl, p. 129.

[52]Wehmer, p. 247.

[53]Burger, p. 17.

[54]K. Goedeke, Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung (Dresden: 1884), Vol. I, No. 2, p. 335.

[55]Misch, p. 446.

[56]Wehmer, p. 247.

[57]Pesendorfer, p. 153.

[58]Pesendorfer, pp. 21, 24, 115.

[59]Langosch, Vol. III, p. 309.

[60]Schweiger, p. ii.

[61]Pesendorfer, pp. ii-iii.

[62]Ibid., p. 139.

[63]Ibid., pp. 173, 179.

[64]Burger, p. 15.

[65]Pesendorfer, pp. 193-94.

[66]Ibid., pp. 195, 197.

[67]Ibid., p. 198.

[68]Pesendorfer, pp. 131, 134.

[69]Ibid., pp. 135.

[70]Burger, p. 30.

[71]Burger, pp. 30-31.

[72]Gottlieb, p. 131.

[73]Burger, pp. 30-31.

[74]Goedeke, p. 335.

[75]Langosch, Vol. III, p. 305.

[76]Pesendorfer, p. 165.

[77]Baltl, p. 123.

[78]Pesendorfer, p. 24.

[79]Burger, p. 25.

[80]Pesendorfer, p. 24.

[81]Ibid., pp. 204-207.

[82]Ibid., p. 25.

[83]Heer, p. 126.

[84]Pesendorfer, pp. 199-200.

[85]Baltl, p. 122.

[86]Pesendorfer, p. 146.

[87]Ibid., pp. 42, 38.

[88]Ibid., p. 34.

[89]Schreiber, p. ; Pesendorfer, p. 34.

[90]Pesendorfer, p. 37; Burger, p. 23.

[91]Burger, p. 25.

[92]Pesendorfer, p. 56.

[93]Ibid., p. 208.

[94]Burger, p. 19.

[95]Schweiger, p. 3.

[96]Baltl, p. 120.

[97]Pesendorfer, p. 264.

[98]Baltl, p. 118.

[99]Pesendorfer, pp. 203, 266, 269.

[100]Baltl, p. 123.

[101]Burger, p. 31.

[102]Wehmer, p. 263.

[103]Burger, p. 17.

[104]Misch, p. 445.

[105]Burger, p. 1.

[106]Burger, p. 22.

[107]Pesendorfer, p. 116.

CHAPTER IV

THE EDUCATION OF THE PRINCE: WEISSKUNIG

In the Latin Autobiography (423/23ff) Maximilian describes his birth as having occurred in the hour of a strange star-constellation, causing him to endure much suffering and ill fortune throughout his life. However, he insists that the grace of God was always to be noted, for God had always protectedhim in physical danger despite the evil fate of the stars: "Ergo notandum in posterum est semper deus misericors et converso spiritus malus constellacionis sue." This theme, the conflict between misericordia dei, the grace of God, and the constellacio prava, the adversity of his stars, which first occurs in the Latin Autobiography, is a motif which then reappears in both Teuerdank and frequently in the Weisskunig.[1]

Maximilian was always convinced that he was the tool of God, a divinely appointed instrument, but he also always believed in the powers of the stars. This was a belief nourished in him from childhood, and was of course an attitude prevalent in the Middle Ages. Friedrich III was a zealous astrologer, and at the birth of his son and heir, the Emperor urgently had his scholars cast a horoscope for the prince Maximilian. This horoscope was not especially favorable, yet during his entire life Maximilian had an unshakeable faith that despite the

unfavorable stars, God's grace would accompany him through all dangers. This optimistic belief was clearly expressed in his Latin Autobiography and Teuerdank, and reappears as a dominant motif of the Weisskunig.[2]

Part II of Maximilian's autobiographical Weisskunig begins the story of the prince, commencing with his birth and describing his youth and education. It is the only part of the work with which this study is especially concerned in considerable detail. Part II begins with the thirteenth chapter. In the first three chapters of this section (Chapters 13-16) many motifs from the Bible story are echoed in the description of the birth and childhood of the young white king. Such parallels clearly emphasize the importance of the child and predict his future greatness.

Such application of so elevated a source as the Biblical story was hardly as surprising to the medieval audience as it might appear to a modern reader. Hartlieb's Alexander, a popular fifteenth century Fürstenspiegel, reports similar parallels in the marvelous position of planets and the appearance of a comet at the birth of Alexander.[3] The special and particular situation and circumstances of the birth of the young prince, the young white king, in the Weisskunig represents a clear prediction. The elevated style of this literary description of the birth of the child hardly exaggerates the joy and delight experienced in its historical reality. The imperial couple, Friedrich and Eleonore, had fervently wished for a son and heir. Their first born son had died in infancy, and the royal couple had waited for seven years for the birth of Maximilian in 1459 to insure the continuation of the male line of the dynasty. Their hopes and delight in this child proved to be

well founded. "In der Tat haben die männlichen Nachkommen des damals Geborenen fast drei Jahrhunderte, bis 1741, gelebt und als Kaiser des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Deutscher Nation sowie als Könige von Spanien weltgeschichtlich bedeutsame Rollen gespielt."[4]

To appreciate the great hopes of his parents and of their peoples for this prince, one must consider the conditions and situation of the House and the lands of the Habsburg rule. It had been a mere six years since the fall of Constantinople to the Turks, the end of the Eastern Empire, and excitement was still high over the fall of the proud imperial city on the Bosporus. The pain and humiliation of Christendom over this loss was acute, and further, the Turkish threats on the Danubian plain made the danger clearly apparent. Vienna and Wiener Neustadt, on the very edges of this plain had become the outposts of the defense of Western Christendom. A clear understanding of this situation makes explainable the significant hopes and ambitions for the child, the joy at his birth, and the significance of the baptism and naming ceremony of a prince whose destiny was preordained.[5]

Part II of the Weisskunig begins with a description of the celebrated birth of the prince. Chapter 13 describes the joy of the old white king, and all the kingdom when they learned that the queen was expecting a child:

> Als der alt weiss kunig mit seinem gemahl ain zeit in seinem kunigreich belib, da ward die kunigin swanger, des sich dann der alt weiss kunig und alle fursten und stend seines kunigreichs hoch erfrewten und got seiner genadn mit grosser andacht danksagten mit grossen bit, die kunigin und sy alle in irer gepurt zu erfrewen. Als die kunigin ain zeit getragen, aber das kind sich in ir noch nit geruert het, indem kam ein vertribner furst aus dem land Otnap zu dem alten weissen kunig und klaget

> dem alten weissen kunig in beywesen der kunigin seinen jamer, not und vertreibung, das die Turken ime gethan heten, das dann in der zeit beschehen ist, da die Turken uber mör von Asya mit heerescraft geschifft haben in Europa [WK, p. 219].

The distinguished exile then goes on:

> mein gemuet hat sich erhebt und mein geist der underweist mich der genaden von got dem almechtigen, das ich hoffen solle, das kind, des die kunigin swanger ist, werde mich an meinen veinden rechen und sy diemuetigen durch die genad gots in unsern glauben [WK, p. 219].

Whereupon the child began to move within its mother,

> des sich der vertribn furst erfrewet, dann durch dise bewegung des kinds waren ime seine wort in seinem herzen bestät, und belib bey dem alten weissen kunig bis auf die zeit der gepurt des kinds [WK, p. 219].

Already these first lines of the story of the young white king announce the dominant theme of the Weisskunig, the threat from the East, and the hope of the prince to expel the Turkish danger to the Empire and Christendom. This is no mere literary motif or stylistic device, but reflects the true and constant concern, the insistent hope of Maximilian to deliver the West from this threat. His failure to mount a Crusade was a disappointment to the end of his life. This theme dominates not only his literary and artistic projects, but influenced his political actions. The glorious description of a successful and triumphant Crusade would have been Maximilian's perfect conclusion to the Weisskunig, indeed to his career.

The fourteenth chapter heralds the birth of the prince, with the announcement that if a Christian observes God's grace in allowing the two parents to go to Rome for the highest spiritual and worldly honor for the highest coronation in the world,

> so mag ain jeder on zweifl sein, das got sölich gepet aus seiner barmherzigkait miltiglichen erhört hat, dann alle guete ding kumen von got. Und auf den tag und die stund der geperung des kinds, da erschain der obberuert comet vil grösser, dann gewondlichen ist, und gab von ime ainen lautern liechten gelanz. Wiewol die comet albegen dem herzn swermuetig sein zu sehen aus viel ursachen, so was doch diser comet mit seinem schein fruntlich anzusehen, nemlich das ain jegelich herz sich zunaiget in die sehung des comets, das dann ain besonder einflus, zaichen und offenbarung des kinds gepurt gewesen ist. In sölicher erscheinung des comets, da gepar die kunigin aus zugebung und verleihung der götlichen genaden in der stat gennant Neuenstat das kind mit senften smerzen und ward in irer gepurt hoch erfreut, dann das kind was ain schöner sun; sölichs ward dem alten weissn kunig mit grosser frolockung verkundt. Da hueb man an aus frewden alle glocken zu leiten, und wurden in dem ganzen kunigreich unzalperliche frewdenfewr gemacht. Wie gross frewd hat der alt weiss kunig und alles volk in seinem kunigreich gehabt ab diser frölichen gepurt! [WK, p. 219].

Clearly Maximilian feels he acquired a special grace by the blessing of the marriage of his parents by the Pope himself in the Holy City, and announces the future greatness and importance of the hero of the Weisskunig. The imperial coronation, the last in the medieval style, marks the last great demonstration of the glory of the two highest powers of Christian Europe.[7] When the child was born, the comet lighted up with special splendor, this was a sign of the child's future reign and wonderful things: "und der vertriben furst erkennet durch den comet, das sein red durch des himels einfluss bestät wurde" (WK, p. 219). The hero's birth, paralleling the Christmas gospel shows that the prince is to be raised to higher spheres.

Chapter 15 records the child's baptism:

> Nun was der alt weiss kunig gar kunstreich in dem erkennen des gestirns und erkennet durch den einfluss und aus dem regirer des himelzirkls, darunder das kind geporen was, das dasselb kind in diser welt in die höchst regirung kumen, und durch ine vil wunderlich sachn und grosse streit beschehen sollen, deshalben er dem kind ainen wunderlichen namen schöpfet, der vor nye gehört

> was, dann er aus zwayen namen, die in irem leben die streitparisten gewesen sein, ainen namen schöpfet, zu ainer offenbarung, das dasselb kind in seinen jaren sovil verpringen wurde, als dieselben zwen streitperistn heten gethan [WK, p. 220].

The baptism in Neuenstat took place before all the Cardinals, Bishops, princes, counts, lords, knights and knecht, ladies dressed in rich adornment, each of whom carried a candle as a sign of God's light: "der vertriben kuniglich furst aus dem land Otnap hueb das kind mit wonder begir aus der tauf" [WK, p. 220].

In the Latin Autobiography reference is also made to the Turkish conquest of Constantinople at the naming of the prince. In Weisskunig no name is actually given for the child, although the place name of his birthplace was freely given. The Latin Autobiography reports that Friedrich wanted to name him George, after his favorite saint, the popular dragon-slayer, who had long been the symbol of the Crusader knight and soldier of the Church against the unbelievers, and who in face of the ever-increasing danger from the East had been elevated to one of die 14 Nothelfer. The Latin Autobiography then relates how Maximilian later became a member of the knightly Order of St. George (1494), founded as a Crusading Order against the Ottoman Turks. The mother of the prince, Eleonore, however, wanted to call her son Constantine, as the future conquerer of the Empire of Constantinople. The Latin work reports that this conflict over the proper choice of name for the child was solved by the Godfather of the prince, Wojwode of Bosnia, who had fled from the Turks and who then named the child after a saint and missionary in Noricum. This Maximilian had suffered a martyr's death in 284 in Cilli and served as the patron saint of the

cities threatened by the Turks. Hence the infant prince was baptized Maximilian on 25 March, Easter Sunday, 1459,

> auch damit war der Aufgabe, die christliche Welt durch den Türkenkrieg vor den Ungläubigen zu retten, mit deutlicher Symbolik gedacht. Zeit seines Lebens hat der also Benannte den Kreuzzug der Christenheit wider die Türken unter seiner, des römischen Königs und Kaisers Führung, also letztes und höchstes Ziel vor Augen gehabt --freilich ohne vor der Fülle anderer Aufgaben, die sich ihm stellten, anderer Unternehmungen, in die sich sein unruhevoller Geist stürzte, je ernsthaft an die Ausführung dieses Planes denken zu können. Die tiefe Spannung, vielleicht sollte man sagen: die unüberbrückbare Kluft zwischen dem noch ganz mittelalterlichen, völlig unrealisierbar gewordenen Wunschtraum der allgemeinen Kreuzfahrt gegen den Halbmond und den kleinen und grossen, oft so wenig idealen Machtbestrebungen seiner wirklichen Politik gehört zu den Grundzügen von Maximilians Wesen.[8]

Manuscript D of the Jugendgeschichte, which served as a source for Part II of the Weisskunig, does not mention the meaning of the prince. The Weisskunig, however, in Chapter 15 reports the name given the child as a "wunderliche" contraction "aus zweyen Namen, die in irem Leben die streitparisten gewesen," Fabius Maximus and Paulus Aemilianus.[9]

The description in Weisskunig clearly reflects the description of Christ in the Temple.[10]

> Also hab ich das kind mit verleihung der götlichen genad aus der tauf gehebt, der mich durch sich oder sein frucht gegen meinen veinden, die mich vertriben haben, rechen und die Turken mit streitperer hand diemuetigen wird. Dise wort bedeuten kunftig auslegung, die noch beschehen werden mit warer tat [WK, p. 220].

Chapter 16 is the blessing:

> Der alt weiss kunig . . . zu Rom got den almechtigen gepeten het, ime dermassen kinder zu geben, die nach dem götlichen willen lebten [WK, p. 220] . . .

and then the child is blessed by the cardinal in a long pious explanation:

> Der cardinal sprach auch uber das kind alle die segen, die von der kristenlichen kirchen aufgesetzt sein. O wie mit grosser andacht ist got der almechtig geert, gelobt, angerueft und das kind getauft worden! Selig sein die, denen von got gegeben wird sein götlich genad! [WK, p. 221].

The story of the birth and baptism in the Weisskunig as a constant parallel to the Biblical story is probably the work of the learned cleric who is responsible for Ms D of the Jugendgeschichte, composed for Charles.

In both Parts I and II there are sections which imply a clerical author--for example, the episode modeled on the Bible story in Luke 1:41 with the child moving in the body, when Woiwoden of Bosnia disturbed her with the story of being driven out by the Turks, and the appearance of the comet as found in Matthew 2:9, as well as the blessing and sacrifice of the child. These passages were then probably taken by Marx Treitzsaurwein out of the Ms D of the Jugendgeschicht, undoubtedly composed by a cleric as represented in the picture of the presentation of the book to Charles.[11] This illustration, probably intended for Ms D, shows a tonsured figure presenting the work. It may have been used for the later Weisskunig just because it was completed and was available.

If the Weisskunig was written primarily as a mirror for princes, it was also determined to glorify the prince, this young white king, the allegorical representative of Maximilian himself. The chapters then which describe his boyhood and education are hence of particular interest both as the representation of the actual learning acquired by the historical prince, and as an exemplary model, the ideal, set forth for his grandsons and successors.

The actual description of the education and training of the prince begins in Chapter 17 of the Weisskunig, where it is told,

> Im Anfang, als das kind anhueb zu reden, da liess der alt weiss kunig in seinem kunigreich vil edler knaben bestellen, von art und natur die allergeschickisten, und thet dieselben edlknaben zu seinem jungen sun, in die sprach zu lernen und mit im kurzweil nach der kinder gewonheit zu treiben. In kurzer zeit lernet der jung sun die sprach und fieng an alle kurzweilige kindliche spil mit den edl knaben zu treiben [WK, p. 221].

Here is a picture of the typical Court school of the time, and from historical records it is known that here in Friedrich's court the number of boys who were selected to be the playmates and schoolmates of Maximilian were seventeen in number.[12]

Maximilian's Weisskunig presents not only the written description of this courtly school, but portrays in a charming illustration the prince at play with his companions. Maximilian is depicted in the woodcut six different times at various diversions, playing with small toy knights in a tournament joust, shooting a bow, with a small cannon, and mounted on the shoulders of a courtier. A second illustration depicts the prince's schoolroom, showing the boy being instructed by his master with three other boys who are seated opposite Maximilian at a desk. In the Weisskunig the pupils are shown sitting at small desks on chairs, unlike the illustrations of the textbook which show all the pupils, including the prince, seated on the floor around the master's feet. Clearly this would represent Maximilian's idealization of his classroom experiences, an illustration as to "how children ought to be taught," in contrast to what is generally known about the schoolroom facilities of his time.

In Maximilian's description of his youth, there appears no negative feature, no mention of handicaps such as the reported speech difficulties suffered in Maximilian's childhood (see Chapter V of this study), nor of the physical punishments endured from his tutor, to which Maximilian himself alludes in his Latin Autobiography. The Weisskunig picture is idealized and romanticized throughout, representing only the perfect and ideal. It is reported that

> alle kurzweilige und fröhliche spil, die er mit den edlen knaben mit frewden anfing, die hielt er albegen mit sonder schicklichayt und mit lustiger frewd, und gab denselben fröhlichen spilen zu allen zeiten mit frewdn ain end [WK, p. 221].

His ideal relationship with his playmates and classmates is intended as indicative of his maturity and leadership qualities and as a promise of his superior understanding,

> das er in seinem alter in seiner regirung seiner kunigreich, land, leut und underthanen in guetem frid haben und wol regiren wurde, das er dann in seinem alter und in seiner regirung thet [WK, p. 22].

This technique, the description of the future promise of his childhood qualities or abilities, is regularly employed throughout Part II of the Weisskunig. Again and again the projected future success and greatness of his coming reign is mentioned as the natural outcome of some event or characteristic of his childhood. This feature of the work maintains a flexibility in the chronology of events. Past is projected into the future or present throughout the work. Features of personality and character and events of childhood are described and developed almost as leitmotifs throughout the life and reign described, the superiority of the prince appears as a recurrent theme, underlining and establishing his inborn superiority. This is a literary technique, familiar in the

medieval epic and saga literature. Here the device is didactically applied as a propagandistic principle. A sense of timelessness is attained in the sudden projections from youth to maturity, childhood to kingship, skipping lightly over large spans of time to predict or establish the superior understanding, exceptional wisdom and fairness which are reflected already in the prince's childhood.

The formal education of the prince commences in Chapter 18, when the old white king turned his son over to the select and skilled learned men who are to teach him. The prerequisites for the start of this formal instruction appear in the Weisskunig. They are the acquired social skills of play and conversation in the company of his peers, quite in accord with the requirements standard to the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and indeed the twentieth century.

> Wiewol der sun vast jung und noch in seiner kindhait was, so nam er doch in kurzer zeit an gueten tugend und syten dermassen so ser auf, das er alle ander der fursten und herrn kinder ubertraf [WK, p. 221].

His father, pleased with his son, then felt the child should receive first religious instruction for his moral good.

> Das betrachtet der alt weiss kunig mit grossem vleyss, das er seinen sun die heilig schrift lernen wolt lassen aus den drey ursachen, darynnen ain yedes cristen mensch erzogen solle werden: die erst, das er erkennet die gesatz gotes und got lieb het vor allen dingen, dann welcher mensch nit in im hat die forcht gottes, der wird nit ewiglich leben; die ander, das er vater und mueter und allen denen, die ime guets thäten, dankper were und sy eret, wann die undankperkait ist ain laster, darunder alle laster verporgen werden; die drit ursach, das er seinem nachsten menschen das that, das er begert, dann welher in seiner regirung unrechtlich streit und ungleich gericht fueret, das ist ain verlierung der zeitlichn und ewigen eer [WK, p. 221].

The old white king, after such pious considerations, then selected teachers for his son and classmates. His first regard for curriculum

was to insure his son the proper moral instruction.

This piety and the basic facts of the Holy Scriptures form the very foundation, of all medieval learning. Its basis is Biblical; Proverbs 1:7, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge; but fools despise wisdom and instruction"; and again in Proverbs 9:10, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom: and the knowledge of the holy is understanding." Religious instruction was thus the foundation of all education of children throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance. These lines from Proverbs were among the verses found in the childhood textbooks of the young Maximilian. The idea and quotations were familiar to him from earliest childhood, and religious feeling remained a dominant force throughout his life, and not unexpectedly appears in the Weisskunig as both the ideal and actual beginning of instruction. It is quite expected, even predictable that Maximilian would remind us of this beginning for the onset of his education.

A princely education was clearly expected to follow this standard program. Schools had long been under the control of the Church, clerical tutors and educational programs determined by men of the Church, such as that outlined for a princely education by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. This man, later Pope Pius II, had clearly influenced the curriculum. Popular attitudes were likewise determined by Church influence, so that Eleonore, Maximilian's mother, was especially concerned that her son be directed along religious and pious directions.

The old white king, as faithful father, was concerned that his son learn the principles of faith and behavior, and selected for his masters very learned men,

> die ains frumen gestlichn lebens waren, und verordnet die zu seinem sun, ine die latein und darynnen am allerersten die zucht und forcht gotes und darnach die heilig geschrift mit emsigem vleiss zu lernen und underweisen [WK, p. 221].

These are the first principles of the princely education of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Teaching, done primarily by religious or clerical men, was done in Latin. Latin was the literary and scholarly language of the men of all Western Europe. Latin was the language of instruction and the subject of the study of grammar, or language and literature. Grammar, hence restricted to Latin, included more than literacy, but also syntax, etymology, prosody and explanations of allusions. Isidore included even history as a department of Grammar. Only scholarship might serve as the nearest modern equivalent. Religion was then the foundation of moral instruction, and of social behavior. Maximilian declares in the Weisskunig that what his masters were ordered to teach him, they did and he learned.

> Es wurden ime auch vil mechtiger herrn und edlleut kinder zugeordent, mit sampt ime zu lernen und auf ine zu warten, und gaben ime am ersten fur die kintlich zucht, darnach die kuniglichen tugent, darnach die götlich forcht, darnach die heilig geschrift, darynnen er gar vleyssiglichen lernet und studiert, und het an ime das erlich gemuet, das er mit seiner lerung und mit seinem vleyss nichts versaumet, dardurch er von den maistern gestraft mocht sein worden, als sich dann oft ander jung leut durch irn unfleiss und aus pösem muetwillen umb die lerung strafen und schlagen lassen, und was ime seine maister furgaben, das lernet er furderlichen und het daryn kain rue [WK, p. 221].

Thus Maximilian proclaims in the Weisskunig what a model child and superior pupil he was, providing a considerable contrast to other reports, even to his own statement in the Latin Autobiography. The historians report it somewhat differently. They tell of the beatings that Maximilian received from his teacher Peter Engelbrecht, and conclude

that this early instilled in him an aversion to learning.[14] Even Grünpeck recalls that the prince's high spirits and headstrong ways brought him physical reprimands. In describing Maximilian's deep love of hunting which manifested itself early in his life, Grünpeck declares that even as a child Maximilian displayed his eagerness and enthusiasm for the hunt, persistently chasing the barnyard fowl all about the palace courtyard--against the strict orders of his father.[15] Nor was this the only recorded instance of his defiance of his father's orders! A passionate hunter and a splendid tournament contestant, Maximilian loved to engage in knightly battles and tourneys. He was physically fit, and a brave soldier, even taking pleasure in danger and tests of his skills.

> Wie weit er sich dabei von seinem Temperament über alle grenzen hinaustragen lassen konnte, zeigt noch ein Vorfall des Jahres 1486: Friedrich III. hatte den Fürsten verboten, mit dem neugewählten König, dem damals 27 jährigen Maximilian zu "rennen" (Turner zu stechen). Maximilian versuchte, dem Kaiser die Unterschrift zu einer Turniererlaubnis abzudrängen, doch vergebens; da ahmte er ohne Bedenken die Handschrift des Vaters nach und brachte den Pfalzgrafen mit der gefälschten Unterschrift zum Weltkampf.[16]

The instruction of the child in the Holy Scriptures in the Weisskunig ended when the prince began to ask his teachers intelligent and sophisticated questions that they were unable to answer, an image which recalls the Biblical story of Jesus in the Temple. The prince's understanding and great accomplishments ostensibly reflect his superior abilities, and his ready grasp of all he studied was evidence of his God-given understanding. The Weisskunig continues this theme throughout. It was ever present in Freydal and Teuerdank: the hero was especially favored with God's protection and special grace.

When the prince's instruction in the Holy Scripture was ended by his sophisticated questions, Maximilian justifies it thus:

> Da sölichs sein vater der alt weiss kunig merket, nam er ine von derselben lernung, aus ursach das er in der heiligen geschrift genugsamlich gelert was und andere sachen fur sich name, damit er in ainem uberfluss der lerung die zeit nit versawmet [WK, p. 222].

Obviously Maximilian's appreciation of the young prince's learning is exaggerated, but undoubtedly his intent was to present an ideal concept of princely learning for the purpose of idealizing his own image and providing a perfect example for his grandsons' admiration and emulation. The notion that time should not be spent on superfluous learning underlies the opinion of the age that education should be broad and general, but that a prince or ruler need not waste time acquiring the specialized scholarly skills of a clerical, academic training,

Thus religious training was deemed the primary requirement of education generally, and emphatically in accord with the traditional principles of educational programs and standard curricula for the education of the prince (see Chapter V). And this was also, as we have seen, in accord with the wishes of the parents of the child. Maximilian's education, in fact as well as in the fancy of his autobiographical description, begins with religious instruction--emphatically the first training in the Weisskunig and receiving the full descriptive treatment --stressed among the earliest and first subjects of learning. This section of the work summarizes with the recitation by the prince of three parables. These parables are introduced as evidence of the prince's superior understanding and are even indecipherable to the child's father without his son's explanation: "wie der stam des pawms

in seiner jugent gepflanzt und gepogen wird, also beleibt er in dem alter" is explained by the prince, "also ist in mich gepflanzt das zwey der heiligen geschrift und der cristenlich gelauben, und das zwey ist gewaxen in den stam und wird bringen kunftige frucht." The second, "je edler ain frucht ist, je ainen edlern gesmach und tugend hat sy," is explained, "also vast ist mir die nutzperkait, die aus der dankpar und diemuetigkait fleust, geoffenbart und in mein herz gepildt, das sich gegn meiner dankper und diemuetigkait die grosst hoffart erkennen wird." The third parable, "je schöner und klarer ain stain scheint, je edler und kostlicher ist derselb edl stain" is developed "also ist in mich gewurzlt die lauterkait der unvermailigten eer und die kuniglichn tugent und die gerechtigkait der gesetz gotes, und in mir wird scheinen werden in diser welt die schönst eer und regirung" (WK, p. 222).

The promise of perfection in his future rule is projected by this idealized picture, and with this promise of an ideal future the prince is given his title of the "young white king," the name by which he is then known throughout the rest of the work. The importance of the "name," so significant in the tradition of Germanic medieval literature is also here emphatic. The prince's Christian name given at birth was an important feature of the work, its background was elaborated at length; here his second appellation, the allegorical title of the prince is developed, to incorporate the symbolic values bearing all the implications of the physical and moral qualities associated with the color "white."

It was only at this stage of his education and development, after the child's grasp of the religious teachings of his masters in Chapter 18, and the recital of the parables to his father discussed above, that the allegorical name, and also the title of the work, is assigned.

> Als wer dise auslegung gethan het, emphieng der alt weiss kunig grosse frewd darab, und der kunig desgleichen die maister gaben ime disen namen, das er hinfuro gehaissen solle werden der jung weiss kunig [WK, p. 222].

Maximilian has thus underlined the significance and substance of his first learning, impressing his reader with the full extent of the teaching he received, earning the reward of the name through his instruction and comprehension of the Holy Scriptures, his grasp of Latin and rules of behavior. Already the ideal model of sovereign and king is described, a model toward which he himself as Emperor aspired and set before the public and for emulation by his successors,

> Ain yeder gelerter und verstendiger mensch mag merkn, das seine obgemelte wort bedeut haben kunftig werk, nemlichen in der regirung seines alters hat er erlangt die höchst kuniglich kron und ist ain liebhaber der cristenlichen kirchen, ain hanthaber der gerechtigkait, der streitparist und sighaftigist in allen streiten und der diemuetigist gegen allen menschen gewest [WK, p. 222].

Despite the pomposity and bombast of Maximilian's own claims for his achievement, this model or picture of the prince does not sharply contrast with the popular style of the period nor differ substantially from the beloved image of princely superiority. Disregarding panegyric poetry, Maximilian's idealized picture of himself finds support even in historical documentation for indeed his contemporaries found his manner admirable. Frederick the Wise of Saxony once is said to have declared of Maximilian that he had never met a politer man in all his life.[17]

And Grünpeck claims that his good manner had been exhibited from youth, showing even as a child the greatest consideration for servants even of the lowest station.[18]

Having expounded the basis of his education (religion,,manners, Latin), Maximilian proceeds now from this eighteenth chapter to a more clearly defined catalogue of the actual subjects of his academic and physical training. Each chapter from here on is devoted more or less to a description of one or more subjects, with constant interpretations interjected, explanations and implications added. The order and arrangement of the curriculum hardly follows an order firmly founded on the standard program of education of either Medieval systems or Humanistic plans, but presents a full, if uneven, program of a prince's education and as such this work, written by a prince, a king and emperor, has significant historical and literary value.

Although documentary evidence indicates that the Emperor specifically requested the records and books used during the time of his youth and education at about the time this description was written, the work proceeds somewhat independently of all the materials we have, undoubtedly supplemented by his rich imagination, his personal recollections and the influences around him at the time of composition. Also undoubtedly affected by the intentions of the Emperor in regard to what he wanted the work to achieve, the description of his education, Part II of the Weisskunig, presents a full and rich picture of the educational subjects, practices and experiences of the times and of this memorable prince. It presents an interesting historical and cultural document, which is of literary and artistic interest even today.

Maximilian begins the description of the secondary subjects of his student curriculum with a recital of the subjects he learned as a youth. First come the academic subjects, only later to be followed by the areas of physical training. The academic subjects of his instruction are a curious collection, and do not conform entirely with either a modern concept of education or the traditional medieval one.

Already the first subject discussed in the Weisskunig, after his grasp of the basic rudiments of the Scripture, is presented by the imperial author as an unusual interest, further stressed as a subject learned on his own initiative.

> Nachdem der jung weiss kunig in der heiligen geschrift genugsamlichn het gelernt, da kamen ime oftmalen schönen schriften fur. Wiewol ime nit not was, sondere guete schrift zu lernen, aber nach seinem gemuet, das er in ainem jedem andern gleichmässig sein wolt, understund er sich und uebet sich sovil mit dem schreibn und nam lerung auf, darynnen er kainen verdriess het, sonder es was ime ain kurzweil und lernet also mit seinem vleyss und mit der täglichen uebung ain sondere guete schrift, die er bald von hand schrib [WK, p. 222].

In the Weisskunig description of his learning, Maximilian declares that he did not learn calligraphy, or Schönschrift, because he needed it,

> "sondern entsprechend seiner Wesensart, dass er es anderen in allen Dingen gleichtun vollte." Damit sah er sich richtig: aus dem Willen, nirgends hinter anderen zurückzustehen, erklärt sich die erstaunliche Vielfalt seiner Fertigkeiten, die Treitzsaurwein mit höfischer Übertreibung, aber im Kern zutreffend schildert.[19]

The irregularity of this learning is stressed and underlined throughout the chapter. The prince's interest, his independence, his skill, and diligence in learning to write, simply the fact that a prince would learn the skill of writing appears here to be presented as

extremely exceptional and unusual. Why? Was a prince not expected to learn to write, or was the writing learned by Maximilian supposed to represent the elaborate artistic style of the professional scribes, as represented in his school texts, and hence an unusual skill in a sovereign. Secretaries--highly competent men, as evidenced in the illustrious career of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini--were obviously available in great numbers for a ruling sovereign. Exceptional writing skills would have been unnecessary for an Emperor. Another possibility is that in contrast to the well-known lack of success experienced by Charlemagne in learning writing skills, Maximilian wished to present his own learning and skills as superior to those of his predecessor and model in the Empire. His political goals were definitely to re-establish the great medieval Empire, Imperium orbis, of Charlemagne. To have surpassed in "learning" this great man--recalled nearly as a legend for his own educational reforms and contributions to Western culture--would have been a recommendation indeed. This explanation would be in exact accord with Maximilian's desire to surpass Julius Caesar, expressed in his stated intention to write his autobiography. Clearly to surpass Charlemagne in "letters" and academic skills would have added value to his ascribed learning. An anecdote ends the discussion of writing:

> «Und damit erkennt mag werden, das der jung weiss kunig von der hand ain guete schrift geschriben hat, so hat er zu der zeit seiner regirung bey ime ainen secretarien gehabt, der zu derselben zeit beruembt gewest fur den peldisten und furderlichistn schreiber: auf ainen tag, als derselb secretari bey ime was, schrib der jung weiss kunig mit ime zu wet, und mit der peldung uberschrib der jung weiss kunig denselben secretarien. Daraus ist zu merken des jungen weissen kunigs eerlich gemuet, das er in allen dingen gehabt,

> des er sich zu lernen understanden hat. Und in der zeit seiner regirung hat er in dem schreiben kain verdriess gehabt; er hat auch mit seiner hand sovil geschriben, wann ich ungeverlich die anzal seines schreibens hierin anzaigen solle, so wurde mir nit wol glauben geben, aus ursach der grossen krieg halben die er daneben stätiglichen in seiner regirung gefuert hat [WK, p. 222].

And it is historically documented that Maximilian did like to draft important state documents in his own hand. Ulmann cites the draft of the Reichstagauschreiben of 1507, which in Maximilian's own hand has the bulk of a Denkschrift.[20]

Chapter 20 relates the prince's learning the Seven Liberal Arts.

> Da bevalch der alt weiss kunig den maistern seinen sun, die siben freyen kunst zu lernen, das sy dann mit grossen vleyss theten und ime anzaigten, wie kain kunst durch kainen menschen volliglichn begriffen möcht werden; darzu so fluss ain kunst aus der andern, gleicher weise ainer keten, die mit vil glidern gemacht wird; aus sölichem möcht er von inen vernemen und versteen, das ain kunst der andern mit der lerung auch in der uebung und mit den werken die hand gab, fur und fur mer zu begreifen [WK, pp. 222-23].

Curiously only Grammar and Logic are specifically named in this chapter of the Seven Liberal Arts: Grammar as the foundation of the other six Liberal Arts, then Logic and the remaining five were taught to the young white king. Exactly what these other five were is not to be discovered by reading the Weisskunig. For the medieval world, however, the academic syllabus was regarded as immutable; "the number seven is numinous; the Liberal Arts, by long prescription had achieved a status not unlike that of nature herself."[21] The Seven Arts, divided by the ancients into the Trivium and Quadrivium were considered to include Grammar, Dialectic and Rhetoric, then Geometry, which also included Geography, Arithmetic, Astronomy and Music. Since the early Middle Ages the Arts, like the Virtues and Vices, were personified. They were then

characterized in art and literature with special, and very standard features which symbolically represented their respective functions. The mnemonic couplet proclaims:

> Gram loquitur, Dia verba docet, Rhet verba colorat,
> Mus canit, Ar numerat, Geo ponderat, Ast colit astra.[22]

Standard representation depicts Grammar always with her ivory case, Dialectic carrying a serpent, table and fishhook with her hair in elaborate rolls, Rhetoric armed and wearing a cloak embroidered with countless figures. Geometry bore a globe and compasses, Arithmetic characterized by a ray coming from her forehead, Astronomy crowned with stars, and Music surrounded with goddesses, poets and musicians. "The Middle Ages could not conceive the Liberal Arts other than in the guise of seven majestic maidens." As "Grammar talks," as the couplet states, she teaches the skill of speech, Latin speech. The term Grammatica or Grammaria however developed in popular usage into "the vague sense of learning in general; and since learning is usually an object both of respect and suspicion to the masses, grammar, in the form grammary comes the mean magic."[23] Maximilian's description of the Seven Liberal Arts is a clear break with the art of the Middle Ages. Not only are the illustrated figures of the Seven Liberal Arts in Maximilian's Weisskunig represented by seven identical stout learned men--each holding a book and having empty plates above their heads, undistinguishably from one another--but in the Weisskunig text itself there appears no agreement with the traditional Seven and those arts learned by the young white king. In later chapters the prince is taught music and astronomy, which

surely would have been expected to have been included here in Chapter 20 among the traditional Seven Liberal Arts.

Didactic passages denouncing unnecessary overlearning occur periodically throughout the text and represent an opinion obviously central to Maximilian's theory of education.

> Seine maister bewegten auch, das nit guet oder nutzlichen were, ine mit diser lerung weiter zu beladn; dann wann man ainen menschen mer lernen wil, dann not thuet, das ist ain uberfluss und ain verhinderung anderer werk [WK, p. 223].

The expressed pleasure of the old white king at his son's astonishing grasp and understanding is obviously derived from the prince's Bible learning as expressed in Proverbs 10:1 "A wise son maketh a glad father: but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother," and again in Proverbs, 15:20, "A wise son maketh a glad father: but a foolish man despiseth his mother." The old white king's pleasure stimulates the young white king to reply

> den gueten samen der tugent und kunst, den ich gesaet hab mit meinem vleiss, der wird in meinen jaren schöne pluemen tragen, dardurch dein garten vol solle werden des suessn gesmack, und ich wird meinen gueten samen under dem pösen kraut, das sich selbs säet und uberflüssig wachst, nit lassen steen, sonder in aller mass, wie ich meinen gueten samen mit emsigen vleyss gesaet hab, also wil ich das pöss krawt mit ernst davon auswerfen und vertilgen [WK, p. 223].

This speech filled the old white king with great joy in his heart and soul at his son's upbringing in obedience to his father and in fear of almighty God (WK, p. 223).

At the chapter's end the promise of his learning is fulfilled by the facts of his future, that is, a projected future of perfection which characterizes the whole autobiography.

> Und als er kumen ist zu seinen jaren und in sein regierung, hat er erfult sein red, dann in allem seinem reiche wurde gesagt von seinem reich kain rawberey, sonder durch seine reich war ganz sicher zu ziechen, desgleichen in der welt nit was; das ist die vertilgung und ausreutung der pösen kreuter [WK, p. 223].

The knowledge and understanding necessary to a ruler, what today would be called political science, is treated in Chapter 21, when the young white king is introduced to the secret knowledge and experience of the world, the practical and specialized training required by a prince. Having advanced beyond the normal elementary rudiments of medieval education, the prince begins training for the special role he would assume in his later life. This is written in the popular dialogue style, the standard format of instruction as exemplified in the Donat. In the Weisskunig the old white king addresses his son,

> sun hör mir zu: nach meinem tod wirdest du sain ain besitzer ein reiche. Wiewol ain jeder kunig ist wie ain ander mensch, so muessen doch die kunig, die selbs regieren, mer wissen dann die fursten und das volk, damit das ir regierung by inen beleib, und mein red, die ich zu dir thue, das ist ain erfarung der welt [WK, p. 223].

In pursuance of this exhortation we then read that the young white king

> lass auch geschrift, die da saget von den vergangen geschichten und von der menschen natur und gemuet und von irn stenden, darynnen er mit grosser mue das gehaim wissen fand, wie die welt geregirt muesset werden; das beschach allein aus seinem verstand, sonst het er sölichs aus der schrift allein nit finden mugen [WK, p. 223].

That kings must know more than the princes and the people to rule is the basic tenet underlining the whole of the Weisskunig. Here is the reason that the education, academic instruction and training receives such a great emphasis in the work. The superior understanding of God's chosen instrument on earth must be skilled and trained to the performance of his duties, and Maximilian's Weisskunig sets forth this example as a mirror for his successors.

The Weisskunig, despite the dedication passage in the forward of Cod. 3032 to Maximilian's grandsons was intended also for the general public. And since it was written for a general audience, the work of ruler was presented as mysterious and secret to the general populace. It is related that his understanding was acquired "allain aus seinem verstand." The interruptive comment of the writer, "Solt ich dasselb gehaim wissen hierinnen beschreiben und offenbaren? Ist on not, dann es gehört allein den kunigen zu" (WK, p. 223).

This comment leaves no doubt that the work was not intended merely for private reading, as it would have been in costly manuscript form, available only to private princely libraries, rather than in its printed form. The open informative nature of the work has its limits in the didactic catalogue of skills, abilities and triumphs, but at the same time retains its secrets and veils its facts with allegory and deliberate expressed selectivity of disclosed information.

The stratified political, social and religious order of the medieval-renaissance political system is outlined then by the young white king, as well as depicted in the woodcut illustration to this chapter. Such representations of the various Estates, or orders of society, was a popular theme in the woodcut works of the day. The young white king speaks of the world and its government, the Estates, and Pope and cardinals, enumerates then the bishops, priests, monks, nuns, the kings, archdukes, princes, and counts, the lords and knights, nobles, burghers and peasants. He then relates to his father five articles concerning theory of government:

> der erst, von der almechtigkait gots; der ander, von dem einfluss der planeten; der drit, von der vernunft des menschn; der viert, von der zu vil senftmuetigkait in der regirung; der funft artikl, zu streng in dem gewalt, und nach disen worten redt der sun weiter und sprach: "und darumb wird ich kunftiglichen fueren und in mein herzen haben dise wort: 'halt mass' und ich zweifl nit, was ich bewegt hab, sölichs werde mir hundertfeltig begegen, ich mayn nit hundertfeltig, sonder es wird gegen mir beschehen on zal" [WK, p. 223].

Chapter 22 treats the young white king's mastery of astronomy, curiously not included as traditionally among the seven liberal arts, but among the principal political theories of the prince. Astronomy is obviously to be associated with the political astuteness of a ruler. Undoubtedly Maximilian's faith in the influence of the stars over the affairs of men influenced the political attitudes of his Empire. The juxtaposition of Chapters 21 and 22 (political science and astronomy) also lends credence to the fact that Maximilian considered these two areas closely related and interdependent. Although he well may have believed that the stars did exercise strange, wonderful effects on earth, Maximilian felt that the events of this world were still ruled by God. This chapter begins with a recapitulation of the preceding chapter on political activity:

> Nachdem und der jung weiss kunig nun das haimlich wissen der erfarung der welt bewegt und zu gueter mass funden het, wie vor davon geschriben ist, da gedacht er in im selbs, wie ime kunftiglichen notthun wurde, die stern und einflus mit irer wurkung zu erkennen: sonst mocht er die natur der menschen nit volkumenlich erlernen, das im in dem haimlichen wissen der erfarung der welt ain mangl sein wurde. Wie mit sonderm vleyss hat er aus ime selbs das bewegt, das andern verporgen ist! [WK, p. 224].

The dominant elements of secrecy and special understanding required for its comprehension may reflect Friedrich III's special interest in astrology which is well documented and was widely recognized in his

time. In the Weisskunig it is related that the old white king acquired the most learned doctor of astronomy to teach his son, who then "vernam gar aigentlichen des himels einflus und der stern wurkung, davon die menschen ir natur und wesen emphahen, auch die ordnung und zirkl des himels. Von diser kunst were vil zu schreiben" (WK, p. 224). Astrology had been inherited by the Middle Ages from antiquity, and even found some acceptance within the Church. Maximilian's faith in astrology was hardly an unusual attitude for his time. From the fourteenth century on, all rulers believed more or less in astrology, and were more or less influenced by it. Nearly all Maximilian's contemporaries attributed considerable credence to this art, as did his father as well as his later Humanist friends. This was yet an age in which astrologers taught in the universities, and received generous pensions from princely courts.[24] Grünpeck was court chaplain, secretary and court astrologer. The "most learned doctor" who was credited with teaching the young prince this art may have been Johann Lichtenberger, who enjoyed a world reputation and who remained in the surroundings of Friedrich III for some time, perhaps as his court astrologer. It was he who believed and declared Maximilian would be the realization of the widely circulating prophecy of a return of Friedrich Barbarossa (Friedrich II).[25] The legend prophesied the Emperor would reawaken and return to Germany to rule, at which time a Golden Age was predicted.[26]

Maximilian's horoscope had been cast at Friedrich's order at his birth. Then again in 1512 a horoscope was cast for him by Johannes Stabius and Georg Tanstetter, which is preserved in the Cod. 5280 of the

Österreichische Nationalbibliotek. Both Stabius and Tanstetter predicted the Emperor's impending death. Grünpeck also prepared for the Emperor a Prognostikem, referring to himself as "Ihrer Majestät Caplan, Historicus und Astronomen." Maximilian also worked with Pirkheimer and friends on a study from which a horoscope for Maximilian was cast. The medieval constellation referred not to a permanent pattern of stars but rather to the temporary state of their relative positions. Any bad influence was operative by literally being "in the air." These astrological studies for Maximilian possibly stimulated Dürer's Melancolia. At the time of Maximilian's birth Saturn had an important role, and this planet's influence was considered the cause of the melancholy complexion. Furthermore, the fear of Saturn by this "Saturn-child," Maximilian, was widely known to his contemporaries. Dürer may have attempted to show the Emperor the positive side of the Saturn influence, extolling the Saturn-influenced Melancolia for its inner depth and creative power. Clearly Dürer's depiction of Melancolia shows the figure in a state of deep concentration, portraying the implements of this attribute,[27] and stresses the loneliness of the creative artist. This chapter, so clearly treating the theme of the power God and the influence of the stars, underlines the lasting belief of the Emperor; that although the stars exercise "seltzam wunderliche Wirkungen auf Ertrich," all was still in God's control, for he has "den Gewalt in seiner Hand" (Weisskunig, Chapter 22). It was a persistent theme in the Latin Autobiography, Teuerdank, and in Weisskunig, undoubtedly a central thought in Maximilian's philosophy.

The illustration of this chapter on astronomy depicts the young white king standing beside a wheel of fortune, similar to the wheel of fortune so frequently seen in the Teuerdank woodcuts. Above him are shown personified characterizations of Mercury and Mars, the ascending planets of the prince, who are pointing out to him the wheel of fortune. The text proclaims the proof of the prince's understanding:

> dann wann ime ain grosse sach furfiel, so eylet er nit, sondern handlet darynnen nach zugebung und erleidung der zeit, die dann je zu zeiten langsam kumbt, das wider der menschen gemuet ist, wann manicher mensch kumbt in ein unfal durch sein gahe handlung, das der jung weiss kunig verhuet hat. Ich nenn und haiss den jungen weisen kunig in seiner handlung nit ein mensch, sonder ich haiss ine die zeit, aus ursach: er hat gehandlt, das der menschen gemuet ubertrifft und sich der zeit geleicht etc [WK, p. 224].

Here we find the boldest and most magnificent apotheosis in the whole of the Weisskunig.[28]

Such elevated praise of the young white king would surely support the strong suggestions that the Emperor used his work to reply to certain contemporary criticism and to refute critical observations of his behavior. Glenn Waas describes the propagandistic nature of the work as a retort to a criticism of Maximilian, for his indecisiveness, putting off a decision when torn between counsels,[29] a "fatal trait of character" which plagued him throughout his political career.

Chapter 23 describes the most surprising of all the subjects of Maximilian's alleged curriculum, his instruction in the secrets of Black Art. His most learned teacher was probably Johannes Trithemius, Abbot in the Benedictine monastery, Sponheim bei Kreuznach, a scholarly man, generally considered a magician by many contemporaries. He was however friends with men like Pirkheimer and Maximilian. Allegedly he called

up the spirit of the dead Maria of Burgundy and various great men of antiquity for Maximilian. This popular story of the supernatural activities of this circle was ultimately responsible for the association of the Emperor Maximilian's name with the Faust legend. Of considerably more interest for our purposes was a list of eight questions of 1515 among the writings of Maximilian which he was putting to the Abbot, and which provide insights into the theological and philosophical problems which occupied Maximilian.[30]

The introductory lines of Chapter 23 declare the old white king, so proud and pleased with his son's great gifts and abilities, to be concerned that his son should keep the Christian faith in the future. His fears were based on his knowledge of the many powerful kings in the past who in their later years fell away from the true faith by the temptations of Black Art;

> vil ist davon zu schreiben. Aber zu probierung diser meiner schrift in kurz, so ist dieselb kunst in dem kristenlichen gelaubn und nach gesetz der kayserlichen recht verpoten und ausgetilgt; dabei solle man das zu hail der seelen und zu merung unsers glaubens beleiben lassen. Wiewol dieselb kunst der seel verdamblich und unsers glaubens ain mynderung ist, jedoch so ist das menschlich gemuet so plöd und krank in der bestendigkait, in maynung zu erfaren die verporgen sachen, das ainem menschen dieselb kunst, dem der unrecht grund und die unwarhait verporgen ist, so vast und seer liebt, dardurch dieselben kumen in irrung und verzweiflung. Nun der jung weiss kunig höret oftmals von diser kunst sagen; es kamen ime auch je zu zeiten die allertreffenlichsten schriften fur, darynnen dieselb kunst begriffen was in der freud und in der betrachtung, die der alt weiss kunig het [WK, p. 224].

The young white king said to his father that the great Christian teacher, St. Paul, wrote that man should learn and ascertain all things, in order to avoid the bad and to keep the good. Thereupon the father had his son learn the Black Art, who became convinced then of its futility and found

that it was contrary to God's First Commandment, "und verstund erst sand Pauls ler, dann welher nit erfaren ist, der glaubt pald, dardurch dann oft ain verfuerung beschicht" (WK, p. 225).

All his learning is justified in his maturity and during his reign,

> dann als der jung weiss kunig zu seinen jaren und in sein gewaltig regirung kumen ist, hat er kainen unglauben oder ketzerey anfahen noch erwaxen lassen, die aber sonst oftmalen uberhand genomen haben und je zu zeitn beschehen ist aus glauben und gestattung der unerfarnen menschen, deshalben die menschen der posheit in irem verzweifIten furnemen gesterkt worden und darynnen beliben sein, das dann dise kunig durch ir vleyssig erfarung und aus sondere weishait zu hail und seligkait irer seelen und zu behaltung unsers cristenlichens gelaubens verhuet haben [WK, p. 225].

Chapter 24 describes the young white king's love of history and declares it as an interest exhibited by the boy from his earliest youth throughout his life.

> Der jung weiss kunig fraget in seiner jugent gar oft von den kuniglichn geschlechten, dann er het gern gewist, wie ain jedes kuniglich und furstlich geschlecht von anfang herkumen were, darinnen er in seiner jugent kain erkundigung erfragen möcht. Darab er dann oft ainen verdriess trueg, das die menschen der gedächtnuss so wenig acht nämen, und als er zu seinen jarn kam, sparet er kainen kosten, sonder er schicket aus gelert leut, die nichts anders teten, dann das sy sich in allen stiften, klostern, puechern und bey gelerten leutn erkungideten, alle geschlecht der kunig und fursten, und liess solichs alles in schrift bringen, zu er und lob denen kuniglichn und furstlichn geschlechten [WK, p. 225].

The claims of this chapter of the Weisskunig are surely verified by the active historical interest and projects of the Emperor, as discussed in Chapter II of this study. The length of this chapter on history is much more substantial than that describing his study of the Seven Liberal Arts, for example, and underlines his interest. Maximilian's historical interests were generally directed along family dynastic

interests. Grünpeck's history verified Maximilian's anger at the princes who had no interest in preserving records of their reigns, as he declared these to be the very sources of virtue and their neglect was the cause of the decay of the state.[31] Quite serious accusations! C. S. Lewis declares that historiography in the Middle Ages was viewed as having these three simultaneous functions: "to entertain our imagination, to satisfy our curiosity, and to discharge a debt we owe to our ancestors."[32] This alleged concern of the prince was undoubtedly one of the several motivating forces behind the composition of the Weisskunig.

In the work the young white king declares that it was through just such research that he discovered the genealogy of his father's family: "biss auf den Noe, das sonst ganz undertruckt und die alten schriften, darauf nichts mer geacht worden ist, verloren weren wordn" (WK, p. 225). He recalled to memory all founders of Stift who had been forgotten, restored the monuments erected to the great leaders of pagan times which had been destroyed through military campaigns or some other cause, had preserved and painted in a book all the coins which the Emperors, kings and other rulers had stamped long ago. Thus many emperors, kings and lords whose names had been forgotten have become known again.

> Desgleichn hat er auch ainem jeden kayser, kunig und fursten, die von anfang bisher regiert haben, ire guete täten inen zu ainer gedächtnus von newem widerumb beschreiben lassen. Wie ain sonder kuniglich eerlich gemuet hat dieser jung weiss kunig gehabt! er hat alle kunig ubertroffen; dann wo findt man von andern kunigen geschriben, die also die kuniglichen und furstlichen geschlecht mit irer gepurt und gueten taten mit schriftlicher gedächtnus erhebt, als diser jung weiss kunig gethan hat? Er ist ain anweiser aller kunftigen kunigen und fursten, das sy die kuniglich und furstlich gedächtnus underhaltn und meren, und disen weisen kunig in sonderhait in kunftiger gedächtnus eren sullen [WK, p. 225].

These words present the young king as the exemplary model for all kings and princes, and clearly define the purpose of the entire work, which is to serve not only as historical autobiography but as a textbook for the model prince. Responding to criticism for all the money spent on historical interests and projects, the prince retorts in the Weisskunig:

> Auf ain zeit was ain mechtiger herr bey dem jungen weisen kunig, der sprach zu ime, das gelt, das er auf die sachen der gedächtnuss leget, were verloren. Darauf gab ime der kunig die antwurt: "wayst du nit, das got und der prophet Davit in dem psalter sagen von der gedächtnuss und nit von dem gelt, dann wo ainer seinen schatz hat, da ist sein herz." Weiter sprach der kunig zu demselben herrn: "sag mir ains: was beleibt dem menschen lenger, das guet oder die gedächtnus?" Darauf gab der herr die antwurt: "wann ain mensch stirbt, so volgen ime nichts nach dann seine werk," Auf sölichs redet der kunig: "du redest recht; wer ime in seinem leben kain gedachtnus macht, der hat nach seinem tod kain gedächtnus und desselben menschen wird mit dem glockendon vergessen, und darumb so wird das gelt, das erspart wird in meiner gedachtnus, das ist ain undertruckung meiner kunftigen gedächtnus, und was ich in meinem leben in meiner gedächtnus nit volbring, das wird nach meinem tod weder durch dich oder ander nit erstat" [WK, pp. 225-26].

Moral impetus may have encouraged such an attitude and avid historical concern on Maximilian's part as expressed by the historian Grünpeck: Grünpeck's reasoning that the neglect of history and historical documentation was a cause of the decay of the state gave moral basis for Maximilian's interest--an interest which remained a lively one throughout his life. We could hardly suspect his genuine concern for this subject, when we consider that on his deathbed it was his request to be read to by Jacob Manlius, genealogist and historian, from his family history.[33]

The young white king's study then of medicine in Chapter 25 is related to his prior study of Black Art, juxtapositioning the "medicine

of his soul's welfare" and the "medicine of the body." Although the historian Grünpeck declares Maximilian was so popular with his people that he never needed to fear poison, for no one wished him ill or wanted him to come to any harm[34] in the Weisskunig he seemed hardly so secure,

> Es haben sich auch oftmalen etlich frembd nacion understanden, ime vergeben zu lassen, das sy aber nye bekumen haben mugen aus seiner erkennung und verhuetung der vergebung [WK, p. 226].

Here Maximilian's concern about the dangers of being poisoned by political enemies, which seems today to be very exaggerated, was in the sixteenth century a far more considerable danger. From historical records it is known that poison was a far more usual method of political subterfuge than it is today, and this was also a theme which appeared in the autobiography of Emperor Charles IV.

These lines express one of the considered reasons for the writing of the Weisskunig. The Emperor underlines here the importance, the necessity of a well-founded education and wide understanding in a ruler. His knowledge and understanding gleaned from all available sources must support his God-given understanding and supplement his special gifts. If Teuerdank escaped and survived all the dangers he encountered by the special grace of God, the special protection enjoyed by the young white king is elevated by his superior education and training. The medical education the young white king received appears to us of a very general nature, but rounds out his total learning:

> Darfor sich oft ain mensch wol verhueten möcht, und je grossmechtiger ain kunig ist, je pass hat sich derselb kunig zu hueten, damit er sein leben bring in das begerend alter. Wie gelert muess ain sölicher kunig sein! welcher doctor der erzney wird dem selben kunig geleichen! Der alt weiss kunig gab seinem sun ainen gelerten man zu, der ain hochgelerter doctor was, der lernet den jungen kunig allen grund der erzney [WK, p. 226].

When the young white king proved to his master the understanding he had acquired, he summarized his learning:

> die erkenung und aufmerkung, das ain krank mensch selbs thuet in menung und wurkung der erzney, ist mer dann die uberflussig erzney, und welher mit der speiss und trank lebt nach begerung der natur, auch nach emphindung des leibs und nach weisung der vernunft, der lebt in seinen tagen in wolmugen und erraicht seine aufgesetzte jar WK, p. 226 .

To have pursued this learning further is then declared as superfluous, but medicine was a sphere of interest which absorbed Maximilian's attention throughout his entire life. Cuspinian reports in his De Caesaribus atque imperatoribus Romanis that on his deathbed Maximilian was animatedly involved in a learned discussion with two well-known physicians from Vienna, Wilhelmus Polymnius and Georgius Collimitius, e.g., Tanstetter.[35]

The twenty-sixth chapter describes the young white king's learning the business of the chancellery.

> Auf ein zeit betrachtet der alt weiss kunig der welt lauf und befand durch sein regirung, wo ein mechtiger kunig in dem canzler ampt und in dem secretari ampt nit erfaren und kundig were, das demselben kunig je zu zeiten nachtail daraus erwueschsen. Nemlichen aus den ursachen, das ein kunig nit albegen sein gemuet offenwaren und auch sein regirung und sein vertrawen in ain ampt oder person setzen solle; es ist genueg davon gemeldt [WK, p. 226].

And for this motivation the old king employed his son with writing, an employment which belonged then to a chancellor or secretary, yet which constitutes the greatest task of every king, so that he might learn the basis of governing and learn it for his own use. The lesson being,

> welher kunig in ain person sein vertrawen setzt, und hat in seiner handlung mit seiner schönen red bei ime gelauben, derselb und mit der kunig regirt. Welher kunig die unwarhaftigen und aigennutzig nit erkennt, demselben kunig wird sein gelt und reich in vil tail getailt. Welher kunig die warhaftigen und die in der rechten eer

> lebn nit lieb hat, derselb kunig ist ein verzerer seins volks und ein austilger der gerechtigkait [WK, p. 227].

Hence having learned the basic principles of the chancellery, the young white king when he came to power had many secretaries, whom he employed from their youth, so that they would learn to do his wishes. It is related that the prince never let a letter go out without reading it, and that he signed all letters himself.

> Wie vleyssiglichen hat diser kunig regirt, dann man söliche regirung von kainem kunig geschriben findt! Er ist auch so ubertreffenlichen gewest mit angebung der brief und mit seiner gedachtnus, das er oftmalen newn, zehen, aintlif und zwelf secretarien zu ainer zeit, jedem secretarien ainen besondern brief angeben hat, und die ganz regirung aller seiner kunigreich und land ist allain von ime beschehen, neben allen den grossen kriegen, die er in fembde nacion und land gefuert hat [WK, p. 227].

There is ample historical and pictorial evidence of Maximilian's relationships with his secretaries and assistants. Not only was their contribution to his political and diplomatic efforts significant, their part in his literary endeavors and artistic plans, indeed in the writing of the Weisskunig itself, was of greatest importance. It is known that he was never without his secretarial staff, either on military campaigns or even his hunting activities, as evidenced by Marx Treitzsaurwein's own comments here. Maximilian was indefatigable in his physical and intellectual activities. He was constantly on the move, over active and involved in several activities at once. It was well known how he liked to dictate to his secretaries until late in the night.[36] As considerable comment has already been made on secretarial activities in this study, particularly in Chapters II and III, little evidence seems necessary here to stress the importance of the office and staff. In the sixteenth century secretaries had a powerful and favored position. Their

work, often of a political and intimate nature, caused the position to demand recognition, as evidenced by this twenty-sixth chapter of Maximilian's work, where it is underlined how very important this work and position was. Indeed consider the careers of the various secretaries of Friedrich III's court. Johann Hinderbach, the secretary of Maximilian's mother, Eleonore, became Bishop (Probst) of Trient, Matthaus Lang, Maximilian's secretary became Domprobst in Augsburg, the Bishop of Gurk and then Cardinal, and Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Friedrich's secretary even became Pope. Marx Treitzsaurwein, first mentioned in court records in 1501, was highly valued by Maximilian as a private secretary. Several times, in 1505 and 1506, Maximilian had him sent for specifically, since he could "seinen 'secretari in dhain weg nit entpern,'" and he made him responsible for regulating his personal business. He served as Maximilian's assistant for the work on the Weisskunig, and was consistently favored by the Emperor. In various writings, Maximilian refers to the "getreuen, redlichen und fleissigen Dienste seines getreuen lieben Marx Treitzsaurwein," and richly rewarded him with gifts of money and real estate. Twice in the Weisskunig Treitzsaurwein took the opportunity to bring his family name into the text. His father practiced the skilled trade of Plattner or Harnischschläger in the village Mühlau near Innsbruck. In Chapter 12 and again in Chapter 48 there is reference to persons of the Treizsaurbeyn family in association with the business of harnaschmastrey. After the death of Maximilian, his secretary remained in the service and enjoyed the favor of Charles and Ferdinand. He was elevated to the position of administrator of the Niederösterreichische Kanzlei, in 1520 to secretary and councillor, and

then ennobled by Charles V in 1520,[37] although he had already assumed in the preface to the Weisskunig the same Marx Treitzsaurwein, Freiherr von Ehrentreitz from his small castle bei Mühlau, near Innsbruck.[38]

If Maximilian did actually conduct his affairs, as described here in the Weisskunig, with nine, ten, eleven and twelve secretaries at once, and well might we believe so, then at once we might well expect there to have been some basis for the remark of Louis XII of France which declared that Maximilian did not know in the morning what he had promised the evening before.[39] Although this also might be an effort to overcompensate and explain criticism for not telling his plans to others, an excuse or justification for not delegating authority and dividing the responsibility as he might well have done.

Some historians and writers have attributed Maximilian's difficulties and his military failures to his "reticence and unwillingness to share his plans with his councillors or even his generals. He was careful to keep his designs to himself, especially in military affairs, so that a minister at his court once wrote home in despair that no one could act, because no one knew what the Kaiser wanted."[40]

There is little criticism of Maximilian among contemporary poets and scholars, however, most of whom "had been recipients of his favor or wrote in expectations of reward."[41] In Reuchlin's correspondence, however, there is a comment about Maximilian shortly after his death that he was slow and hesitating, more governed than he himself governed."[42] This trait of the Kaiser had been criticized many years before by Reuchlin, who wrote to the Markgraf Friedrich von Brandenburg, "No one

who is near the king knows what is going on. I do not believe he himself knows what he is doing."[41] Maximilian was criticized by the Venetian ambassador in 1496 who reported the reason for his many political disappointments, as due to his seldom or never discussing with any one what he had in hand or did--especially in important matters. More recent historians have supported this criticism, proclaiming it as often a fatal error of judgement. Hare states he would often draw up important documents entirely with his own hand without consulting his ministers or discussing the matter with foreign ambassadors, who then were indignant at being constantly taken by surprise.[43] Waas also reports the same: "Another complaint often made against the emperor was that he was so reticent and secretive about all his plans that it was difficult and often impossible to co-operate with him." An attempt to deny this accusation might be found in a woodcut showing the white king talking to his seven captains, captioned in the Kaiser's handwriting with a title describing how the white king always announced his plans to his captains. No text for this woodcut, however, was completed.[44]

Chapter 27 transfers the emphasis from the chancellory to matters of the treasury, describing the young white king's generosity, a quality the prince interprets as a great virtue and natural attribute. In the young white king's discussion with his father, he proclaims his desire to be a king of a "people who have money," not a "king of money."

Indeed Maximilian was truly never known as a "king of money," for his treasury was always empty and his plans and ambitions thwarted again and again because of his lack of financial resources. But his

generosity was a trait that the historians mention. Both Grünpeck and Cuspinian mention his generosity, as well as his great kindness and good nature. And the Bavarian historian Aventinus reports of Maximilian that "like Alexander and Charlemagne, he helped the children of poor parents and sent them to the university, some to Vienna and some to Freiburg."[45] Cuspinianus also compared his liberal administration of justice to that of Alexander, who was as generous in hearing the accused as the accuser.[46]

Chapter 28 concerns learning modern foreign languages, and described in an exceptionally short chapter how the young white king learned Wendish and Bohemian.

> Die weil der jung weiss kunig bey seinem vater dem alten weissn kunig was, da kam gar oft ain pawr zu ime, der ime albegen seltzame frucht pracht. Nun kunt derselb pauer windisch und behamisch; da understund sich der jung weiss kunig, von dem pawrn in gehaim dieselben zwo sprach zu lernen. Derselb pawr kunt sich gegen dem jungen weisen kunig mit reden in sonderhait wol schicken, dardurch der jung kunig die zwo sprach dermassn begriff, das er die verstund und, wiewol or dieselb sprach gar wenig prauchet, so vergass er doch der nit, sonder wann man dieselbn sprach redet, so verstund er die nach seiner notturft [WK, p. 228].

Interestingly the learning of modern foreign languages comes late in the academic program of the prince, obviously a reflection of the fact that such a skill would not have been considered a part of the regular or standard academic program to be learned in the classroom from a tutor. It appears far more a practical skill, to be picked up informally in practice and out of interest rather than as part of a standard study program. It was not learned in the classroom but secretly from, not a learned man or tutor, but from a peasant. It is interesting however that the prince devotes more space to this learning than he does to

any description of his formal Latin instruction, which appears to be very much taken for granted. Other languages that the prince learned receive mention even later in the work, in Chapters 64 through 68.

Curiously the various languages the young white king learned do not appear grouped together with the Seven Liberal Arts, where we might rather expect to find them, but are spaced at wide intervals through the text reflecting the time span between the respective studies. This circumstance is not merely a feature of the unfinished nature of the work, but they are mentioned at intervals because of the time elapsed and as they relate to his political experiences and gains as these occur. Undoubtedly Maximilian considered such language learning not as academic, but as a practical means of communicating with the widely varied language groups within the Empire. Clearly language skills would have been useful and practical to the ruler of a polyglot and multi-lingual realm such as that over which Maximilian, and especially his successor, reigned. The languages which he knew are mentioned later at intervals which seemed appropriate to the writer, clearly associated with their acquisition, usefulness and practicality, rather than the philosophical division by subject or faculty.

Maximilian's facility with languages was so often admired by his contemporaries, we might well suppose he had quite a special gift for rhetoric. Waas conjectures that it was his desire to exchange ideas with others. Reportedly, that motivated the Emperor to acquire a fluency in so many foreign languages he often received delegations even without need of an interpreter. Besides German, he allegedly spoke Latin, French, and Italian well. The princes at Frankfort in 1486 had

praised his Latin.[47] Grünpeck adds to this repertory, Spanish, Illyrian, Flemish, and English.[48] The number of languages which he could speak readily seems to have been generally agreed upon as seven,[49] and he is praised for his interest in instruction in languages and science. Cuspinian credits Maximilian for the fact that the elegant disciplines of Hebrew, Greek and Latin became familiar in Germany.[50]

With Chapter 29 the military interests of the ruler, which dominate the entire Part III of the Weisskunig, begin to predominate the learning of the young white king. In Chapter 29 as the young white king learns to paint, this first of the skills which relate to his military endeavors commences as a prelude to the campaigns and battles related in Part III. From this chapter on, with few exceptions, there follows a description of the skills, physical abilities and training necessary to the ruler as military man and hunter, far less to the academic, philosophical development of a wise ruler.

> Auf ain zeit höret der jung weiss kunig ainen alten weisen man reden dise wort: "welher ain rechter kriegshauptman und heerfuerer sein wil, der muest malen kundn und darynnen ainen besondern verstand haben." Dieselb red behielt der jung weiss kunig in seinem herzen und fieng von stund an lernen zu malen; er lernet darynnen gar vleyssiglichen, und als er kam, das er anhueb zu malen die landschaften des ertrichs, da verstund er erst zum tail die red, so der alt weiss man gethan het, das ain yedlicher grosser herr und heerfuerer malen solle kundn. Aber aus was ursach, gezimbt mir in disem puech nit zu öffnen noch davon zu schreiben, sonder es solle den kunigen und hauptleutn vorbehaltn sein [WK, p. 228].

This interest in painting for military purposes, mapmaking for plans of attacks and battle strategy, defenses, etc., was very prevalent in the Middle Ages. It became a sphere of even more lively interest in the time of the Renaissance geographical expansion and exploration. A

military prince had to know how to draw, for map drawing and battle planning.

> Und in seinen jaren und in seiner regirung kame ime das malen zu grossen staten, dann er vilmalen, mechtige und gewaltige heer gefuert und grosse streit gethan und der streitperist und unuberwindlichist gewest, darzu er die kunst des malens geprauchte und ime siglichen nutz gepracht, sich auch des malens in vil manicherley sachen zu riterspilen, zu gepew und zu erfindung newer werk geprauchte, dardurch er dieselben volendt hat, die er sonst nit het mugen volpringen. Ain jeder, der umb dise sachen waiss, wird selbs bewegen, was ich in dem nit offenbar. Er hat auch die grossen kinstler der malerey und schnitzerey underhalten und vil kunstliche werch malen und sneiden lassen, die in der welt in seiner gedächtnus aber mit verkerten namen beleiben werden [WK, p. 228].

This insight has been clearly proven true, for in the artistic works encouraged, initiated and patronized by Maximilian, his name has been transmitted to posterity. This chapter also heralds the interest in geography which was growing at this time. Discoveries made for greater interest and awareness and also trade. Peutinger and Pirkheimer were both very interested in all the new discoveries and knowledge. Cuspinian, teaching at the University of Vienna, also drew maps, although unfortunately Cuspinian's maps of Vienna are now lost. Maximilian's interest in geography and cartography was primarily for military and political purposes, and was evident in his letter requesting Peutinger to send him maps of Turkey in planning for a crusade.[51]

Chapters 30 and 31 relate the prince's learning stone building and carpentry, practical skills for his future needs, and then in Chapter 32 there is a return to the arts, musical training. Again it is a surprise that music was not included in the Seven Liberal Arts, where it was traditionally a subject of the Quadrivium. Maximilian's interest in genealogy and love of history both support the desire to establish a

tradition and sense of continuity in an almost competitive spirit. He appears to aspire always toward achieving an established perfection, to outperform all his predecessors, to model his claims upon classic prototypes. The heroes appearing throughout all Maximilian's works are the standard heroes of tradition, of the Bible, antiquity and legend, and he constantly sets for himself competition with their inspiring records. King David, Alexander, Caesar are frequent models for his abilities, and here in Chapter 32 they all emerge together.

> Auf ein zeit gedacht er an kunig Davit, das der almechtig got ime sovil genad het gethan, and lass den psalter, darynnen er gar oft fand: "lob got mit dem gesang und in der herpfen." Da beweget er wie gross gefellig sölichs got were. Nach sölichem nam er fur sich kunig Alexander, der so vil kunigreich und land uberwunden hat, und lass seine geschichten, darynnen war geschriben also: der gross kunig Alexander ist oftmalen durch der menschen lieblich gesang und durch die frölichen saytenspil bewegt worden, das er seine veind geslagen hat [WK, p. 229].

The young white king was then so moved in spirit and his heart so inflamed that he should imitate King David praising God and King Alexander in valor. So he learned singing and instrumental music,

> dann er nam fur sich die zway grossen stuck, den lob gottes und die uberwyndung seiner veind, das dann ainem kunig die zwo höchsten tugend sein [WK, p. 229].

He then imitated King David when he came to rule in praising God and then he established

> ain söliche canterey mit ainem sölichen lieblichn gesang von der menschn stym, wunderlich zu hören, und söliche liebliche herpfen von newen werken und mit suessen saytenspil, das er alle kunig ubertraf und ime nyemands geleihn mocht; sölichs underhielt er fur und fur, das ainem grossen furstenhof geleichet, und prauchet dieselb conterey allein zu dem lob gottes, in der cristenlich kirchen [WK, p. 229].

The claims for the young white king are not without foundation in Maximilian's own program of achievements. Today his name is still

associated with the Vienna Choir Boys, founded by his 1498 Royal Decree to perform music at divine services, daily High Mass, and at banquets. They have gained acclaim for their excellence. Friedrich's love and appreciation of good music was instilled in the young Maximilian, and especially encouraged during his days at the Burgundian court. His founding the a capella church choir furthered his promotion of the imperial image of model Christian monarch and head of all Christendom.

It is a very different style of music, and to a very different purpose, that is then described in the second half of this thirty-second chapter.

> Darnach trat er in nachfolgung kunig Alexanders mit dem frölichen saitenspil der streitperkait und folget nach Julius Cesars mit den taten und ubertraf die baiden, und wil das lauter offenbaren. Wiewol er gross Alexander grosse land bezwungen und sich des saitenspil erfrewt, so hat doch der jung weiss kunig ain sölich mandlich, frolich pfeifen und truml schlagen aufpracht und dermassen in seinen streiten geprauchte, wann er gegen seinen veinden in den streit gezogen ist, haben dieselben trumel und pfeifen nit allein des menschen herz erfrewt, sonder der hab darvon hat den luft erfult, dardurch der jung weiss kunig nit allein vil land bezwungen, sonder darzu in den hauptstreiten albegen seine veind bestritten und geschlagen [WK, p. 229].

The claims of honor for the white king continue with the allegation: Julius Caesar was the first Kaiser because of his battle deeds, but he had only one party as his opponent, whereas the young white king had to make war upon all his neighbors--the King of France, the powerful Swiss, the mighty Venetians, the leader of the Turks, the king of Hungary, the Bohemian kingdom, and other enemies which are not named here.

Such allusions to the ancient heroes and comparisons with the great men of history was a common feature in the Humanist literature of the day and marks Maximilian's Weisskunig. Here we find his models, his

sources, mixed Biblical references with historical figures and the ancient legendary heroic tradition of the classical tradition of Greece and Rome. The musical training, treated at this point in the work so far from the Liberal Arts, may appear so placed because of its dual religious and military role. The military features of the education and training of the prince become more and more evident in the later sections describing the education of the prince.

Chapters 33 and 34 describe the social graces and skill in entertaining and fine living that the young white king learned.

> Nachdem ain lernung aus der ander flos, beweget der jung weiss kunig, wie ime not täte alle speiss lernen zu erkennen, dardurch er dest pass sein naturlich aufgesetzt alter erraichen möcht, und erkundiget sich aller speiss und auch alles trank mit sonderlicher uebung. Die erkundigung alle were zu lang zu schreiben, darzu so ist es on not; er gehört nit den gemainen personen zu, sonder die mechtigen herrn, die allerlay speiss gehaben mugen, sollen sölichs wissen [WK, p. 230].

What we already know of Maximilian's court, is confirmed in this passage in Weisskunig where it is told how this young white king held Court not just in one place, but as he was always moving about through his realm, he held his court wherever he came upon a place, in a city, a castle, market place, village, knightly residence, or individual house. But he had always the most excellent food and drink out of the many kingdoms and lands. Here we find an amusing intrusion by the writer:

> Ich selbs hab mer dann ain mal und gar vil malen und mer, dann ich beschrieben bedarf, auf seiner tafl gezelt speiss und trank aus vier oder funf kunigreichn, die ich gewist hab; der klainen lander und provinzen wil ich gesweigen. Was ist dann fur speiss und trank da gewest, darumb ich nichts gewisst hab! [WK, p. 230.]

His closing comment relates astonishment at the king's eating habits,

that he ate from more than one kind of food at one time instead of first one and then the other.

Like that of the young white king, we know Maximilian's court was also always on the move—and that he maintained two kitchens, one stationary in Innsbruck and one "traveling kitchen." The foods cooked and served at his court were undoubtedly richer and fancier than the frugal vegetarian fare of Friedrich's court, and well might have warranted comment.

Chapter 34 closes the subject of food and entertaining with a description of the young white king's banquets and mummeries, a theme familiar from the Freydal. He learned others' customs and studied how they entertained, and surpassed all in variety and merriment.

> Wiewol er der streitperist kunig ist gewest, so mag ain jeder aus diser meiner schrift versteen, das er auch der fröhlichist kunig gewesen ist, dann solt ich seine panget, mumereyen und die frewdenreich päss, die er gehalten hat, hierinnen beschriben haben, were zu lang gewest; ich bin aber ungezweiflt, es werde ain aigen puech davon beschriben [WK, p. 230].

Some of the claims of this chapter are verified in contemporary historical sources; such as Grünpeck's maintaining that the Emperor was so popular by his little acts of kindness. When his court servants married he liked to dance before them in some national or local costume. Thus he won the favor of the ladies.[52] There is also the well-known story of his taking part in the merriment in Nürnberg, where he liked to entertain with banquets and dances. When they hid his boots and spurs to keep him an extra day beyond his set departure, he good naturedly entered into the fun and danced on into the evening.[53]

The religious, academic and social training of the young white king provides the basis of the prince's education. After his mastery of these general subjects, his training grows more specialized and practical. It develops more along economic, military and physical lines, the physical training and special skills necessary to a ruling prince and military leader.

Because the evidence for this type of training is scarce, I will limit my discussion of the practical and military skills acquired in the educational program of the prince to only a brief outline.

Chapter 35 relates the prince's ingenuity in the minting of coins and medal, and the economic reforms he administered in his rule. The claims are founded on reality for in nearby Hall, Archduke Sigismund had founded a mint (Münzstätte) in 1478 which stamped great pieces of silver, valuable medals and coins which can be considered the preliminary stage of German medal art.[54] Chapter 36 records his interest in minting, and relates this knowledge necessarily to his economic and minting experiences. Like the young white king here depicted, Maximilian was very dependent on his salt, silver, iron, copper and gold mines for a steady and reliable source of badly needed revenues.

Chapter 37 discusses still other skills of the young white king, and Maximilian's favorite pasttimes and beloved diversions: practice games and tournaments which had practical application in battle in hunting. The first skill learned by the prince is shooting with a handbow, from horseback and from a standing position. He learned first to ride and shoot in the Hussar fashion, then standing in the English fashion.

In Chapter 38 he learned to shoot with a horn crossbow and the steel bow; it is related how on a hunting adventure he amazed all onlookers.

> Auf ain zeit in Osterreih, in dem streirischen gepirg geleich auf der grenitz, in ainem tal, genannt die Reichenau, an demselben gepirg jaget der jung weiss kunig gembsen . . . het bey ime gar ainen gueten puxenschutzen, mit namen York Purgkhart [WK, p. 232].

When the rifleman could not reach the chamois, the young king shot the chamois to everyone's astonishment with his bow.

> . . . und erschoss also denselben gembspock in dem ersten schuss, darab die, so darbey waren, gross wunder namen, dann derselb gembspock auf hundert klafter hoch stund, und ist darnach dieselb stainein wand, des bemelten wunderlichn schuss zu ainer gedachtnus, genennt worden des kunigs schuss [WK, p. 232].

Such hunting adventures, retold in the Weisskunig, are reminiscent of the stories of Teuerdank and the themes of the hunting books of the Emperor. The hunting stories and activities which remained a dominant subject throughout his writing, a passionate interest of Maximilian and constant diversion through his life, are appropriately reflected in his autobiographical writings and art projects. The following chapters treat these interests in some variation.

Chapter 39 relates his love of hawking, citing the basis of the royal interest as arising from a book of moral advice:

> du kunig nym war der valken und der hirschen und ergötz dich in den gejaitn, das dir zugeben ist, das du nit einfallest in die sundlichen und weltlichen laster. . . . Er ubet sich auch damit on alles verdriessen und het also in seiner jugent in der lernung gar vil lust und kurzweil damit, und als er zu seinen jaren kam, da paisset er so geren und het so gross ergötzlichhait und lust daryn, das vil von seinen paissen gesagt und seins gleichen nit was, und leget darauf grossen costen. Nemlichen er liess ime sayker valkn und ander valken aus der Tatterey, aus der haidenschaft, aus Reyssen, aus Preyssen und von Rodys und von vil andern weiten enden des ertrichs bringen. Es wissten auch alle kunig des ertrichs, das er geren paisset, dardurch ime von den kunigen vil valken verert und geschenkt waren. Er het auch bey ime an seinem

> hof funfzehen valkenmaister und albegen mer dann sechzig valknerknecht gehabt, die nichts anders theten, dann das sy die valken zuberaiten zu der valknerey [WK, p. 232].

Even at war, he did not forego hawking wherever he knew there to be heron, vultures, ducks, magpies or crows, in hot or cold weather. The prince also invented many new pieces of falconry equipment which had never existed before, and established in his kingdoms great preserves for the protection of the wildlife.

There are included didactic passages and justification for the time and money spent, which indicate an effort of the writer to declare his diversions as for the general good, and to anticipate any possible criticism. Chapter 40 describes the princely concern for the natural wildlife of his realm, and his efforts to preserve the various species in his lands.

> Und die stainpöck waren also mit den handpuxn gar nahend ausgeödt worden, und als der jung weiss kunig die stainpöck angefangen hat zu hayen, sein nit uber vier stainpöck gewesen, aber in sölicher haynung haben sy sich gar wol gemert. Es were schad gewest, das dieselben thier ausgeödt worden sein sollen, darumb solle ein jeder kunig auf die edl thier, das dem adl zugeben ist, sein aufmerkn haben [WK, p. 233].

The prince's hunt and game preserve activities were of considerable magnitude, as indeed were Maximilians:

> Er hat gehabt in seinen kunigreichn ainen öbristen jegermaister, vierzehen vorstmaister, hundert und funf vorstknecht und uberreiter, der jeder hat in sonderhait ainen weiten gezirk innen gehabt, die vorst wildpan, gejait und das wiltpret zuhayen und zu verwaren. Mer hat er gehabt zwen maisterjeger und dreyssig jegerknecht zu seinen hofgejaitn; er hat auch gehabt in seinen kunigreichen mer dann funfzehen hundert jaghund, die er allain zu seinen gejaitn geheltn hat [WK, p. 233].

Like Maximilian, the young white king's interest was no passive pleasure, for as often as he hunted, be it for Hirsch, ibex, chamois, boar or bear,

he liked to catch and fell the game himself with his own hand. And military implications grow out of his hunting activities: "wiewol er auch der maisterlichist valkner was, so was er doch vil maisterlicher, die grosmechtigen kunig, fursten und herrn zu seinem willen zu bringen" (WK, p. 234).

The royal love of fishing expressed in Chapter 41 recalls the Emperor's Fischereibuch describing the various fishing lakes in the Austrian lands and the types of fishing done in each. The prince's love of nature and for all God's creatures is further expressed in the forty-second chapter.

> Der jung weiss kunig trib gar vil kurzweil mit vogl zu fachen und het auch ain sondere naigung das voglgesang zu hören, das sich dann in seinen jaren erschin, dann er in seinen kunigreichen und landn in vil steten aigen voglmaister het, die ime singend vogl hielten. Wann er dann in derselbn stat aine kam, so liess er dieselben vogl in sein slafcamer, säl und stuben tragen; es was oft in seinen zimern von den vogl ain sölichs gesang, wann zwen mit ainander redten, das ainer den andern sein red nit wol merken kunt [WK, p. 235].

It is told that this young white king had at his court a vogler who carried these singing birds along after the king when he was on a hunt or hawking, and wherever the king stayed overnight this man had to put the birds into the king's room,

> und die vögl, die man ime nachtragen hat, haben oft auf dem weg, dieweil man sy tragen hat, mit heller stym gesungn. . . . Diser kunig hat in allem dem ain frewd tragen und darynnen sein frewd und ergötzlichayt mit grossem lust gesuecht, das got dem menschen zu der eerlichen frewd beschaffen hat, dardurch die laster zu meiden [WK, p. 235].

What seems to us an inconsequential diversion and pleasure, the writer's interjection declares, will be praised by the Gelehrte as a royal virtue and honorable pleasure.

Chapter 43 described how the young white king learned to fight, first without armor, using swords, "stangen, kurzen und langen degen, landssknechtspiessen drischln, messern und tilitz ploss fechten" (WK, p. 235), and in Chapter 44 with the "zu fuess in der behamischn pafesen und zu ross in dem hussarischen tärtschlein, mit dem lanzl, mit dem sebel, mit der morthackn und mit der wurfhacken fechten" (WK, p. 236). Chapters 45 through 49 continue this physical training, he learned to fight with armor in all kinds of knightly games, German and foreign tourney styles, riding and the handling of horses, citing as justification the proverb:

> ain huefnagl behalt ain eissen, ain eysen behalt ain pferd, ain pferd behalt ainen man, ain man behalt ain sloss, ain sloss behalt ain stat, ain stat behalt ain land, ain land behalt das kunigreich [WK, p. 237].

He became skilled and knowledgeable in the arts of platnerey and harnaschmaisterey, and it is told in Chapter 48 how

> diser jung weiss kunig hat in seiner stat aine, genannt Ynsprug, ain grosse plattnerey augfericht, darynnen hat er machen lassen manicherlay renn- und stechzewg, die mir zu beschreiben unbekannt sein. Es sein auch etlich personen aus dem geschlecht Treizsaurbeyn gewesen, die haben mit dem harnasch dermassen ain hert kunt, das man mit kainem armprust dardurch schiessen hat mugen; dieselb kunst ist ains tails durch der obgemelten personen absterbn verloren gewest; aber es ist ain maister zu Muleyn gesessen, mit namen Caspar Riedrer, der der obgemelten personen knecht gewest ist, derselb hat demjungen weissn kunig von diser kunst gesagt. Darauf hat der kunig derselben kunst mit grossem vleiss nachgedacht und die aus seinem aigen verstand erfunden und die seinem hofplatner, in der obgemelten platnerey, mit namen Conrat Seysenhofer, gelernt und underwisen. Und der gedacht weiss kunig hat in der bemelten seiner platnerey mit diser kunstlichen hert, die allen andern verporgen was, vil kunigen, fursten und mechtigen herrn kirris machn lassen und verert, damit der weiss kunig aller ander kunig schankung ubertroffen hat, und welhem kunig er ainen sölichen kirris vereret, der het sonder gross frewd darab. Dann was ist ainem kunig grössers dann ein harnasch, darynnen sein leib in den streiten versorgt ist? [WK, p. 238].

The next chapters continue the military themes of artillery, an interest in which Maximilian devoted a very technical interest and skill, armed combat and knightly games--rennen and stecken, which he learned so well and at which he became so famous as indeed did Maximilian. Chapter 49 treats of his learning and ingenuity in matters and equipment of artillery, and in Chapter 50 in the matter of waggon barricades used in battle.

Suddenly Chapter 51 breaks the theme of military matters, and introduces the relationship of the old white king to the king of fewreyssen, the Burgundian Duke Charles the Bold. An interesting note in view of the political hopes of Charles in raising his duchy to the rank of kingdom, is the fact that here in the Weisskunig Maximilian elevates the Burgundian duke to the status of king, a position he never actually gained. The marriage agreement between the two kings, regarding the marriage of their two children, is solemnized here in Chapter 52.

The vague and general reference in the Weisskunig to the well-known historical meeting between Duke Charles of Burgundy and Emperor Friedrich III at Trier in 1473 refer to the Emperor's abrupt departure from the site of the negotiations. Friedrich simply departed from Trier with his young son Maximilian, leaving the Duke with unrealized ambitions for the elevation of his duchy to the rank of kingdom. This action, causing much activity and speculation, is hardly explained here nor is there any effort to clarify the reasons for the Emperor's unexplained withdrawal from the negotiations. The Weisskunig account recounts the story simply,

> dieselb stat hiess Tryer und gehört dem alten weisen kunig zu. Und mit disen baiden kunigen ward dermassen gehandlt: nemlichen der alt weiss kunig solt dem kunig vom fewreysen geholfen haben, das derselb kunig an ainem andern ort ruem und preyss erlangt het, dann der jetzbemelt kunig vom fewreysen was an gelt und guet vast reich und darzu streitper, und dise baide kunig solten auch darauf ir kind zusamen verheirat haben, dann der alt weiss kunig het ainen ainigen sun, den jungn weisn kunig, so het der kunig vom fewreysn ain ainige tochter mit namen Marya [WK, p. 24].

Political intrigues are discussed in Chapters 54, 55 and 56: how the king of France made alliances against the king of fewreysen, and how he was killed in battle at Nancy, leaving a wife and daughter. The mightiest member of the alliance against the king of fewreysen, the king of Tirol, announces that he will not oppress them with further war, but the king of France continues an unfair and ungallant war against the two women. Then the widow and daughter of the king of fewreysen decide to send for the young white king to ask him to marry the young queen and help her.

> Die edl schon jung kunigin vom fewreysen was ain erbtochter aller kunigreich und land, die ir vater hinder sein verlassen het. Nun was umb dieselb mechtig und edl schön kunigin ain gross werben, und nemlichen es waren zwelf person, die grösten und edlisten in der welt, und ir jeder was der jungen kunigin an adl ir geleich, die umb sy warben. Aber die obgemelten zwo kunigin hörten gar vil sagen von dem lob, ruem und thewrlichait des alten weisen kunigs.
>
> Sy waren auch ingedächtig, das ir herr, der kunig vom fewreysen, in seinem leben zu dem jungen weisen kunig sonder lieb und naigung getragen und oft von ime gesagt het, der jung weiss kunig were der edlist und thewrlichist und kainer geleichet ime; das heten sy also in irem herzen behalten [WK, p. 241].

It was decided:

> die mueter und tochter, beschlossen also mitainander, das die tochter kainen andern man nemen sol dann den jungen weisen kunig [WK, p. 241].

Despite the intrigues of the French king, who wanted to marry her to his son, and secretly informed her that the young white king was deformed in

order to influence her decision. She however remained true to her decision, and wrote the young white king.

Upon the receipt of the distressed lady's pleas for aid, the gallant prince accepted, though his journey to her was delayed for his father was then at war against the "Green King." The young white king stayed at his father's suggestion, for a while with his army to gain experience in conducting war, experience which he would need to gain victory over his wife's enemies and ruling in her lands. Hence Chapters 58 and 59 describe the young white king's march against the Green King, a representation of Maximilian's encounters against Matthias Corvinus of Hungary in 1477. The young white king is said to have caused the armies of the Green King to retreat, and he aggressively pursued them back into the Green kingdom.

Chapters 60 through 63 sees the young white king sent off in royal honor to go to the young queen, accompanied by many knights and nobles. Upon his arrival in Ghent, the Burgundian nobles were impressed with his appearance and manner,

> und alle, die ine sachen, die heten ab seiner schönen jungent und geraten person ain sonder gross wolgefallen, und das gamain volk sagten, sy heten kainen schönern jungen herrn gesehen, und verwunderten sich in sonderhait vast, das der alt weiss kunig, sein vater, seinen sun in seiner schönen jugent als weit in frembde land schicket [WK, p. 244].

The queen was so anxious to see this highly praised young king that she slipped out in disguise to see him secretly before their official first meeting. The marriage and wedding celebration of the young couple then reads more like a courtly epic than history in its lavish description, the emotional impact and all the detail of courtly presence.

Chapter 64 returns to the formal learning of the prince, to which the major share of Part II of the Weisskunig is devoted. As we have seen the prince's early academic education was solely classical training in grammar and literature, as set down by the Humanist educators, and then the physical training and practice required of a prince and military leader. There would have been relatively little emphasis on the teaching of vernacular languages or literature, either in the standard medieval or Humanist educational program, or indeed in Maximilian's actual education. Therefore it is of particular interest at this point in the work, that the prince is depicted acquiring the knowledge of not one, but several foreign languages.

The astonishment expressed in Chapter 61 by the common people that the old white king should have let his young son come so far away into a foreign land provides the first hint as to why the prince should learn the language of that land. When Maximilian married the heiress of the Netherlands and Burgundian possessions, his political responsibilities as ruler commenced, and at the same time widened his responsibilities and requirements. Not least, there was also the need for the young couple to gain a common language for personal communication. After this interlude the sixty-fourth chapter of the Weisskunig returns to the central academic theme, the prince again describing his scholastic efforts. The young white king and his bride are absorbed in teaching one another the language of the other.

> Als nun die frewd der hochzeit vergangen und ein jeglicher widerumb haim zu hawss kumen was, begunet der jung kunig von tag zu tag sich gegen seinem gemachl in lieb und frundschaft zu offenbaren, und als sy also ain zeit bey ainander woneten, hueben sy an, ains das ander sein sprach zu lernen, und ain yedes ward in sonderhait beflissen

> des andern sprach in kurz zu lernen. Nun erfordert die gross notturft, das der jung weiss kunig seiner gemahl sprach, nemlichen die burgundishe sprach, pald lernet, damit er seiner gemahl land desterpass regiren mocht, als dann ainem jeden kunig not thuet, seiner underthanen sprach zu kunden, und aus sölicher ursach het der jung kunig zu seiner gemahl sprach sondern vleiss und lernet dieselb sprach in kurzer zeit und kunt dieselb sprach als wol reden, versteen und schreiben, als were er ain geborner von derselben sprach gewest. Solich sprach ime in vil merklichen sachen und nemlichn in den grossen kriegen zu sondern nutz und guetem kam [WK, p. 245].

The next four chapters continue this language learning. Despite the difficulties in learning his wife's language, the young white king then took it upon himself to learn Flemish. He learned Flemish from an old princess (the elderly Lady of Ravenstern)[55] who spoke this language, and who liked to talk with him, and he with her. Because of his great interest and zeal, he

> lernet dieselb sprach, das er die kunt reden wie sein aigne sprach, und kam ime sölichs auch zu grossen staten, dann das land derselben sprach gehöret auch seiner gemahl zu und het das in seiner regirung. Als er nun mit demselben volk ir sprach reden kunt, het sy darab ain gross wolgefallen und truegen dardurch sondere naigung zu ime [WK, p. 246].

Next he learns English.

> Als der jung weiss kunig der jungen kunigin vom fewreissen land einnam, da kamen vil diestleut aus England zu ime; dieselben kunten gar wol mit den handpogen schiessen, als dann die englishen mit dem handpogen albegen fur ander nacion maisterlichen und geuebt sein. Nun het der jung weiss kunig aus seinem kuniglichem gemuet sonder naigung, mit dem handpogen zu schiessen, und begab sich oft, das er mit den handpogen kurzweil trib, dabey dann seine dienstleut, die englischen, auch waren und auch mit den handpogen schussen, in sölicher kurzweil er von denselben englischen die englisch sprach lernet [WK, p. 246].

He claims however his comprehension of English was only such that that he understood it, and claimed neither to speak nor write it.

Chapter 67 relates his learning Spanish, out of the necessity to keep secret his negotiations with the king of Spain, and he learned the

language from messengers and letters sent him by the king of Spain. It is noted,

> wiewol die Hispanier zu derselben zeit ain sonderliche pösse schrift geschriben haben, so lernet er doch fur sich selbs dieselb schrift lesen und begriff in kurzer zeit dieselb sprach demassen, das er die reden und schreiben kunt, und handlet die genötigisten sachen albegen allain [WK, p. 246].

Chapter 68 relates his learning Italian--because he had Italian kirriser in his army who served him in battle.

> Aber nachdem er latein reden kunt, das was ime in der welschen sprach ain grosser behilf, dann dieselb welsch sprach naigt sich mit vil worten der lateinischen sprach zu, und durch sein schicklichait kunt er daraus die mass nemen [WK, p. 247].

There follows then an anecdote of an Italian who came to the young white king, not knowing that he spoke Italian, addressed him in German. The king replied in Italian which amazed the Italian, who remarked,

> "herr seit ir doch nit in welschland gewesen, das ir die sprach het mugen lernen." Nun wisset der kunig wol, das derselb walch auch die hispanisch sprach kunt, und gab demselben walchen darauf in der hispanischen sprach antwurt: "kainer lernt reden von dem land oder ertrich, sonder nun von den menschen." Darab het er noch grösser verwunderung, das er die hispanisch sprach solle kundn, dann dieselb sprach was von seinen landen weit und ungelegen. Auf sölich des walchen verwunderung redet der kunig in latein zu ime; "du bedarfest dich in dem nit verwundern, das dir jetz offenbar ist, aber du soltest dich verwundern, das dir noch verporgen ist." Der walch merket des kunigs weishait und sprach: "herr, mein herz hat sich erfrewt in deiner weishait, die mir bisher verporgen gewest ist [WK, p. 247].

The medieval international culture of Western Europe hardly considered language as a natural or national frontier. Trade diplomacy, and the administration of multilingual realms and armies demanded at least some abilities in foreign languages. Latin was an international language, but useful only in learned circles. As evident in these last chapters, the prince learned vernacular languages for practical

purposes, the necessity of governing his and his wife's lands, and for carrying out the necessary political activities. The languages he learned were acquired less as academic disciplines than as political tools. The Weisskunig picture then indeed must have been a rather accurate representation of Maximilian's acquisition of these language abilities. The Emperor undoubtedly acquired his proficiency in these various languages from his relations with persons who spoke these languages, just such as described in the Weisskunig. His wife Maria would surely have been the most likely person to teach him the Burgundian language. Maria's stepmother, Margaret of York, was a native speaker of English, who would have been a more readily available teacher than even his English bowmen. Spanish he learned from merchants and diplomats, Slovene from Untersteierer and Kärntner nobles.[56] These language skills were merely not acquired by academic study, for at this time neither dictionaries or vernacular grammars, and even the language text books, as familiar today, did not exist. The only grammar books, or language texts were Latin ones, such as the familiar standard texts of Aelius Donatus (fourth century) and Priscianus (fifth and sixth century). It is curious that no language text appeared on Maximilian's projected book program.

The Weisskunig has five illustrations of the young white king learning to speak in the various vernacular languages. The most charming of these is that one which depicts the young king and his bride seated together learning the other's speech. On Codex C, in the Kaiser's own hand there is a statement regarding completing the pictures

concerning the various languages: "Nota die vij sprach zu mallen wie der w.k. und von wem or die gelert hat: Am erste deutsch von knaben."

The final chapter of Part II of the work presents the young white king speaking seven languages with the seven military captains in his command, each in his own language. When the captains came to the young white king, he gave them orders and information as to how they should act with their soldiers.

> Nachdem derselb jung weiss kunig sich in seiner jugent aller kunst und ritterspil understanden und darynnen den grund gelernt hat, auch in seiner regirung mit merklichen hendln und sachen und grossen streiten und kriegen beladen gewest, ist nit wol menschlichen zu gedenken, das er dannocht darneben die siben sprachen gelernt solt haben, und darumb so sprich ich, es were sölichs alles nit muglichn gewest, wo der die genad von got und den einflus aus himlischer ordnung nit gehabt het; dabey wil ich beleiben, dann ich hab oftmalen gross verwunderung in sölichem gehabt, und dem ist also, wie ich hierin beschreib, und noch vil mer. . . . Und so ich nun von dem alten weissen kunig und von seiner gemahl und von irem sun, dem jungen weissen kunig, von seiner jugent beschriben hab, so will ich jetzo beschreiben auf das kurzist die grossen krieg und streit, die der jung weiss kunig in seinem leben gefuert, volpracht und gethan hat [WK, p. 247].

The Weisskunig was written to be a mirror for princes, a history of the Emperor, and above all to glorify the hero to all the world. Part II is filled with naive attempts to interpret from the small details of his youthful experience the future greatness of the hero and to acclaim his abilities and character. The earlier chapters of Part II (Chapters 18 and 19) depict the father giving commands to the masters to teach his son some certain art or skill, or relates the father's recommendation to his son the acquisition of some certain skill (Chapters 20-24). In the later chapters it is more frequent that some occasion or event induces the young white king to learn some ability. He always

learns diligently and soon surpasses the teacher. A standard format is established in these early chapters; there is always some kind of disputation reminiscent of the medieval scholastic methods, which takes place before either the father or the teacher. The child gives some ingenious or witty answer, or relates some parable to prove his understanding. The father and teachers are always surprised and pleased.[57] Chapters 18 and 20 bring forth verrätzelnde gleichnisreden Meistersinger as evidence of his precocious cleverness.[58] Later chapters contain anecdotes to display the value of the relevant activity or skill of the prince and to announce its future importance in the political and military life of the Emperor. These anecdotes are then always explained by Treitzsaurwein, and related to the future time in the prince's life, "als er kumen ist zu seinen jaren und in sein regirung." Maximilian's first campaigns and his marriage marked the end of his years of education and training, and commenced the onset of his independent political and military life. These events mark also the end of Part II of the Weisskunig, Part III being reserved mainly for his military experiences from 1477-1514.

Following the opening chapters recounting the events of the prince's birth, christening, and baptism, the total emphasis of Part II is devoted to the education and training of the prince. The outline of subjects learned and skills acquired does not strictly follow any familiar educational program of the late Middle Ages, though it does correspond to the general pattern of medieval and Humanist educational aims and theory. A brief review of the general program follows the following overall scheme:

1. religious education (Chapter 18)
2. academic instruction (Chapters 19-24)
3. the higher arts and acquired skills (Chapters 25-32, 35-36)
4. entertainment and hobbies (Chapters 33-34)
5. hunting training (Chapters 37-38)
6. varied hunts and recreational pleasures (Chapters 39-42)
7. schooling in the use of weapons (Chapters 43-46)
8. preparation for war (Chapters 47-50)
9. arts of war, arranged between the instruction in the knightly weapons and his first feat of arms (Chapters 50-58)

Some subjects seem to break the expected pattern. Music, not included among the Liberal Arts, immediately precedes the discussion of the art of mummery and the art of managing a princely table. Also striking is the separation of the learning of Wendish (Chapter 28) from the other languages (Chapters 64-69). In the Latin Autobiography the acquisition of these languages was related to the formal instruction the prince received in school, whereas in the Weisskunig they appear at separate intervals, as a reflection of the fact that he learned these various languages many years apart. Codex E (fol. 200a) has this note of Maximilian's,

> nota man sol die sprachen nit aufeinander setzen, dann der jung wk hat sy etlich fyl jar nacheinander gelert, darumb solle man albeg etwas darzwischen setzen.[59]

The enumeration in the Weisskunig of the skills he learned is very similar to the program outlined in the Latin Autobiography (424/17-425/16). The content of this description of Part II of the Weisskunig,

Maximilian's own account of his education and training, stresses the relationship of his alleged education and learning to his future interests, activities, and cultural and literary contributions. Part II projects the model of a princely education onto the person of Maximilian with little concern for the real chronological sequence of events. But the developed Bildungsprogram is in accordance with the 1450 program for Ladislas. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini wrote out this treatise on the education of children: a recommendation and defense of the study of the seven liberal arts, grammar, rhetoric, music and the Quadrivium, traditional universals of the Humanists, which also stress physical and linguistic training.[60]

Part II of Maximilian's Weisskunig presents a long and itemized description of the subjects learned and the games and skills practiced. Yet in the work there is at the same time an absence of substantial information. The very broad, somewhat vague, general description of the youth and education of the young white king is lacking in specifics and tangible facts. The narrative retains throughout an objective, superlative tone—exasperatingly indiscriminating. No specific reference to any individual teacher, no concrete allusion to any particular text, provides relief from the monotonous superlative style in the enumerated succession of accomplished feats of skill, learning and wisdom. The narrative relates time and time again how the most accomplished master of each discipline was appointed as instructor of the prince, who then readily learns all skills and subjects. The young white king is a superior student, a model pupil, but lacks any human or personal

qualities. No variation in interest or ability is recorded, no individualized difference in reaction or response to any teacher or subject emerges from the abstract allegory. No special enthusiasm breaks forth out of the superlative level of the exaggerated hyperbola.

This absence of characterization or individuality that pervades the work is a characteristically medieval feature. The allegorical style further establishes a marked distance between the reader and the action. A sense of timelessness and indefinite location is maintained despite occasional appearances of place names, such as Neustat, Innspruck (Ynsprug), the personal names of York Purgkhart, Treyzsaurbeyn, or Sigmunde von Osterreih. Such fragmentary and miniscule bits of reality do little to overcome the two-dimensional character of the narrative.

Footnotes

[1]Burger, p. 17.

[2]Schreiber, p. 28

[3]Burger, p. 25.

[4]Buchner, p. 7.

[5]Buchner, pp. 7-8.

[6]Musper, Weisskunig, p. ; hereafter cited as WK.

[7]Pesendorfer, pp. 155-56.

[8]Buchner, p. 8.

[9]Burger, p. 25.

[10]Pesendorfer, p. 157.

[11]Schultz, p. 2.

[12]Heinrich Fichtenau, Die Lehrbücher Maximilians I. und die Anfänge der J. Chmel, Regesta Chronologico-diplomatica Friderici IV. Frakturschrift (Hamburg: 1961), p. 7; Romanorum regis (1838), 525 Nr. 5207.

[13]Lewis, p. 187.

[14]Glenn E. Waas, The Legendary Character of Kaiser Maximilian (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1966), p. 33; Johann Cuspinian, De Caesaribus atque imperatoribus Romanis (Basileae: n.d.), p. 614.

[15]Waas, p. 33; Joseph Grünpeck, Die Geschichte Friedrichs III. und Maximilians I., transl. by Th. Ilgen. in Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit in deutscher Bearbeitung, Vol. XC (Leipzig: 1891), p. 66.

[16]Buchner, p. 11.

[17]Waas, p. 25; Georg Spalatin, "Friedrichs des Weisen Leben und Zeitgeschichte," Georg Spalatin's historischer Nachlass und Briefe, ed. by Chr. Gotth. Neudecker und Ludw. Preller, I (Jena: 1851), p. 45.

[18]Waas, p. 25; Grünpeck, p. 40.

[19]Buchner, p. 11.

[20]Ulmann, I, p. 194.

[21]Lewis, pp. 185-86.

[22]Ibid., p. 186.

[23]Ibid., p. 187.

[24]J. R. Hale, Renaissance Europe 1480-1520 (London: Collins, 1971), p. 314.

[25]Burger, p. 26.

[26]Waas, p. 16.

[27]Baltl, pp. 70-71

[28]Burger, p. 26.

[29]Waas, p. 67; Oliver de la Marche, "Memoires," Collection Complète des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France ... etc., ed. by M. Petitot, I, Vol. X (Paris: 1825), p. 450.

[30]Burger, p. 27.

[31]Waas, p. 33; Grünpeck, p. 58.

[32]Lewis, p. 177.

[33]Waas, pp. 33-34.

[34]Waas, p. 24; Grünpeck, p. 52.

[35]Waas, p. 34; Cuspinina, p. 601.

[36]Ulmann, Vol. I, p. 195.

[37]Pesendorfer, pp. 29-30, 32.

[38]Schweiger, p. 3.

[39]Burger, p. 29.

[40]Waas, p. 27; "Auszug aus dem Bericht des v. Westerstetten d.d. Gengenbach 8. August 1504," Baierische Landtags-Handlungen in den Jahren 1429 bis 1513 (Munchen: 1825), Vol. XIV, p. 728.

[41]Waas, p. 37; Letter to Questenberg of Feb. 12, 1519. Quoted by L. Geiger in "Maximilian I. in seinem Verhältnisse zum Reuchlinschen Streite," Forschungen zur deutsche Geschichte, Vol. IX (1869), p. 216.

[42]Waas, p. 37; Füssen, March 28, 1492. Johann Reuchlins Briefwechsel. Gesammelt und hrsq. von Ludwig Geiger (Stuttgart. Lit. Ver.), Vol. CXXVI (1875), p. 33.

[43]Christopher Hare, Maximilian the Dreamer (London: Stanley Paul & Co., 1913), p. 250.

[44]Waas, p. 115.

[45]Waas, pp. 28-29; Grünpeck, p. 35; Cuspinian, p. 316; Matthias Lexer, ed., Johannes Turmair's genannt Aventius Bayerische Chronk (München: 1882), Vol. IV, Teil 2, pp. 912f.; Vol. V, p. 157.

46 [46]Waas, p. 29; Cuspinina, p. 614.

[47]Waas, p. 35; Cuspinian, p. 602.

[48]Waas, p. 34, Grünpeck, p. 60.

[49]Waas, p. 37; Stabius in Pirckheimer's Opera, p. 188. Cf. Johann Geiler von Keisersberg to Wimpfeling concerning Maximilian, letter from Fiessen, 2 August 1503: "Latinus bonus, sed scripto melior quam verbo," Freher-Struve, Vol. II, p. 767.

[50]Balan, p. 149; Cuspinina, p. 486.

[51]Baltl, p. 49.

[52]Waas, p. 53; Grünpeck, p. 57.

[53]Waas, p. 53; Chroniken des deutschen Städte, Vol. XI, p. 503.

[54]Baldass, p. 9.

[55]Heer, p. 135.

[56]Wiesflecker, Kaiser Maximilian I., p. 139.

[57]Pesendorfer, p. 63.

[58]Burger, p. 25.

[59]Pesendorfer, pp. 56-58.

[60]Ibid., p. 216.

CHAPTER V

THE EDUCATION OF THE PRINCE: HISTORICAL REALITY

The detailed examination of the Weisskunig description of Maximilian's youth affords a view into the Emperor's personal recollections of his youth, his education, and general development from birth up until the time of his marriage in 1477. To properly consider this literary representation of the content and progress of his education and learning, it is essential to review the details of the princely education in a critical survey of the collected historical facts of Maximilian's boyhood. To thus supplement the information presented in the Weisskunig with the available historical and documentary materials enables us to gain a fuller picture of the youth and education of the fifteenth century Austrian prince: a prince destined to become the political and cultural leader of Northern Europe. Such a study will also furnish a perspective for his writing and a more objective critique of the Emperor's own romanticized version of his education. However, as explained by the historian Buchner, "Über seine Jugend ist wenig Genaues bekannt, das Bekannte nicht systematisch gesammelt und kritisch gesichtet."[1] Despite this sketchiness of available documentary evidence, a fragmentary picture of his youth and education can be assembled. The details and fragments of information have been culled from the great

number of sources, documents, histories, letters, Regesten, biographies, and treatises. Even the prince's personal Lehrbücher have been thoroughly examined by Professor Fichtenau in the effort to reconstruct the framework and course of Maximilian's education. From the available evidence we can substantiate considerable information concerning the immediate environment of the childhood of the prince and reconstruct an outline of his early years. The very manner and type of education and training he received in his youth can well be assumed to have influenced Maximilian's later relationship to learning and the arts and surely showed him the value of education and letters.

Environment

In 1459 Maximilian was born into an age of unrest. It was an age which witnessed not merely the cultural confusion of the artistic revolution, marking the transition between the waning Middle Ages and the Renaissance, but was also a time of great social and political unrest throughout Central Europe. Just six years earlier in the greatest of all Moslem victories over the Christian world, the Turk conquest of Constantinople had ended the thousand year old history of the Byzantine or East Roman Empire. Continuing westward they had stormed Belgrade in 1456. The Turkish danger continued increasingly to threaten the West, the Empire, and Austria, with attacks on Krain in 1469, and Steiermark and Kärnten in 1473 and 1475, the very possessions of the House of Habsburg. The death in 1457 of Ladislas Posthumus, the young king of Hungary and Bohemia, the election of national kings, precipitated upheavals in the neighboring lands, and the Emperor Friedrich III

lost his influence in these areas, which then threatened to ally with his enemies.[2]

Even the Austrian lands themselves did not have the security of internal peace. The Emperor was in constant distressing straits. In the South, the Cillier struggle of inheritance had kept the Emperor's power in question since 1456; but it was the Emperor's brother who was usually the cause of his greatest troubles. The quarrel between Friedrich and his younger brother Albrecht, which lasted from 1458 until 1463, was basically a struggle over inheritance rights. Albrecht's demands that the Austrian duchy be partitioned between himself and Friedrich gained the support of the Viennese and the Landstände. A compromise between Friedrich and Albrecht over their respective rights of control brought a temporary peace between the two brothers, and in 1460 Friedrich felt the situation was safe enough to move his wife and the young Maximilian from Wiener Neustadt to the winter palace in Vienna.

The peace was, however, short lived. In 1461 Albrecht overcame the western part of Niederösterreich and made his way right up to the city wall of the capital of Vienna. A general civil war between the brothers broke out again which then lasted until 1464. It grew into a terrible conflict which spread from the Austrian lands over a large part of the Reich. It became the shame of Austria. The country went wild, was overrun by terror and lawlessness. Disinherited petty nobility made the roads insecure. Robber knights seized the upper hand, until life became unbearable. There were even formal robber-states like the Pangratz von Galic set up on the Marchfeld bei Wien. Might was right. The princes quarreled with one another and with the cities. Highway

men and robber bands with their Heckenreiterei made the land insecure, and threatened the land and property of the middle class; there was burning and pillaging everywhere, guerilla bands rose up against one another, real Werwölfe set the whole countryside in terror. As crops failed, and wide stretches of fruitful soil lay uncultivated, trade and commerce came to a standstill, taxes were not paid. Coinage was debased, the cost of living rose, the population despaired, and hunger and sickness were the natural results. In 1461-62 the plague raged through Niederösterreich and the city of Vienna. Friedrich's financial troubles precipitated revolt. When he could not pay his troops and the burghers refused credit, bands of released soldiers marched through the land. Imperial power and prestige sank unbelievably low. The Viennese turned against the Emperor, the quarrel between Friedrich and Albrecht reached its peak. Vienna was the site of the showdown, with the child Maximilian a witness to this interlude of horror in his young life.[3]

The Viennese, opposing Friedrich in 1462, besieged the Hofburg for three months. They positioned sixty-six cannons against the palace which were soon supported by Albrecht's artillery. The Emperor and his family were besieged, locked inside the Hofburg, bombarded day and night by cannon fire. Friedrich refused to abdicate and would not give in to their demands, so he and his family were forced to remain locked in the Hofburg for the many weeks from 17 October to 2 December 1462. The young Maximilian and his mother had to flee with the women of the court to the cellars of the Hofburg which was the only place offering refuge from the very real dangers of the heavy gun and cannonfire. The walls

of the fortress were strong enough, but those besieged inside were threatened with starvation. To stave off hunger and starvation, they had resorted to eating dogs, cats and birds, and as the story has it--even an old vulture. An angry description of the experiences suffered during this period is found in Michael Beheims Buch von den Wienern 1462-65 (ed. by Theodor R. V. Karajan, Wien 1843), and records cannon balls falling near the Imperial family who were forced to seek refuge in the cellars and Burgkapelle.[4]

Only at the last outside help arrived in the person of King George Podiebrad, who led the Bohemian forces to the aid of the Emperor against his brother and the rebellious Viennese. With some assistance from the faithful Inner-Austrians peace was finally gained 2 December 1462. There was however no permanent peace until 2 December 1463, an exact year later, at Albrecht's unexpected death. These earliest memories of the excitement and tumult of the frightening days besieged in the Hofburg by his uncle, were never to be forgotten by Maximilian. War and hunger were his first childhood memories. He later recalled the excitement of the noise and shooting. It is not surprising that the thunder of guns and explosions left deep impressions on the small boy. In his Latin Autobiography (423) Maximilian recalls these memories, proudly recalling how he liked the thunder of the cannons and secretly managed to collect enough gun powder himself to have set off an explosion to throw him in the air, before his activities were discovered.[5] Grünpeck's announcement (Vita, ed. by Schmid, p. 2) that the boy "fuit attractus ad clamores bombardarum et armorum," obviously interprets the

curiosity and lack of fear so typical of a child as evidence of his later bravery. The hunger experienced by the boy in these early years is even reflected in contemporary records. The prince's anger and loud complaints when a Knecht seized the opportunity to snatch a piece of bread out of Maximilian's hand, are recorded an indignant cry, "Ai! Brat nemen! Brat nemen!"[6] If these early memories of the hostilities and ordeals were painful, frightening, or traumatic to Maximilian is hardly clear. One can imagine that they could be--but his Latin Autobiography seems to interpret his reaction more positively as one of attraction and excitement, an experience which early accustomed the future Emperor to like such encounters, even developing in him military inclinations. A propagandistic note seems apparent. However it is certain that the prince did indeed receive, even as a very young child, a lasting impression of a conflict between a prince and his subjects, experienced in childhood the effects and results of first hand experience. Wiesflecker speculates that these recollections and memories must surely have come back to him vividly during his career, particularly during the later stages of his life; surely during his imprisonment in Bruges, he would have recalled these early days at the Hofburg.[7]

Immediately after the December 1462 peace was reached between the brothers, Friedrich and Albrecht, the imperial family left Vienna to return to the ever-faithful Wiener Neustadt.[8] It was Wiener Neustadt, not Vienna, which had always been Friedrich's favorite spot and permanent residence. Shortly after Friedrich left the guardianship of his uncle, Ferdinand of Tirol, he had moved his court from Graz to Wiener-Neustadt.[9]

After all the excitement of Vienna and the upheavals of war and battle, Wiener-Neustadt must have been quite a contrast. Here the Empress gave birth to two more children, Kunigunde in 1465 and Johannes in 1466. The little Helena who had been born in Vienna had died in 1460. Here in his quiet birthplace, where he had returned with his family, Maximilian grew up, playing and romping with other children.[10] Family life in Wiener Neustadt was probably not as tranquil as one might suppose. The basic temperamental differences between Friedrich and Eleanore, and their strongly contrasting social backgrounds could hardly have been expected to provide a comfortable domestic situation. Friedrich, widely criticized as phlegmatic, retiring, hesitant, was an undemonstrative, reserved, cautious bureaucrat. The meek and pacific Emperor entirely lacked the lively disposition of his Portuguese wife; he was more inclined to confine himself quietly to his books or his own scholarly, quasi-scientific pursuits, exploring the secrets of astrology, alchemy, magic, etc.[11] In bright contrast, his beautiful, vivacious wife was gregarious, loved society, dancing and gaiety. The Wiener Neustadt court atmosphere must have seemed dull and narrow to Eleanore, who had come from her brother's lively Portuguese court, where she had been accustomed to luxuries and constant activities. Celebrating her departure to marry Friedrich, the court had arranged extravagant productions.

> Zum Abschied Eleonores von ihrer Heimat hatte es rauschende Feste und Theateraufführungen gegeben, mit Mohren, Drachen, wilden Männern, Stierkämpfen, Turnieren und einer Darstellung der bevorstehenden Kaiserkrönung des jungen Paares.[12]

However Friedrich's marriage to the lively seventeen-year-old sister of

the king of Portugal, instead of opening the way for him out of the narrowness and dullness of the Austrian social circles, actually only led the princess into the cloistered reserve of his residence in Wiener Neustadt, the ancient walls of the former Babenberger Burg where perpetual financial concerns kept life very simple with a monotonous vegetarian diet of Linsen and Erbsen, only occasionally game and watered wine.[13]

Understandably Eleonore must have grown more and more disillusioned with Friedrich and the boring cloistered reserve of the Wiener Neustadter court; for Eleonore was not only vivacious and lively, she was also a woman with unbounded ambition, a desire for power and urge for activity. Marrying Friedrich because of his position, she had aspired to be the wife of an Emperor. Her dreams were soon shattered however, and there is evidence of her growing more and more disillusioned in her marriage and her husband. Indeed even in Rome, when unruly crowds had shoved and pushed around them, at the time of his coronation and their wedding, a general melee broke out. Great disorder ensued and there was fighting. When no effective resistance was offered by Friedrich, she had already been sorely disappointed in her new husband's attitudes and ways. But Friedrich hardly changed his ways. Again leaving Vienna for Wiener Neustadt, plunderers attacked their baggage train to Eleonore's deep humiliation.[14]

Eleanore's unhappiness and discontent with her husband's behavior has been recorded in historical sources. One report records her remarks even to Maximilian about his father. Friedrich's preference for long negotiations and hesitations instead of a bold resistance to

Albrecht's attacks, the humiliation of the Viennese locking Friedrich outside the city gates, one time provoked her to express her loss of respect for her imperial husband: "Wüsste ich, mein Sohn, du würdest einst wie dein Vater, ich müsste bedauern, dich für den Thron geboren zu haben."[15] And often enough on other occasions she well may have set the child against his father.

Eleonore was ambitious, and disappointed in her husband's weakness, lack of pride, will, courage, and humiliated by his lack of shame. Her disappointment in him and her marriage undoubtedly made itself felt and took its toll--possibly even making itself felt on the child Maximilian, who suffered apparent psychological difficulties in childhood which manifested themselves in speech problems.

Nor was Friedrich without cause for complaints with his wife's behavior and actions; and for his unhappiness, indeed displeasure, at some of his wife's actions, there may have been good cause. Of the five children born to the imperial couple, only two survived, Maximilian and his sister Kunigunde. A first-born son Christoph had died in 1455, then Helena in 1460, and Johannes in 1466.[16] The Emperor complained, not without perhaps some reason, about her lack of maternal skills and proper care, claiming she fed the children to death with all her Portuguese sweets, instead of giving them nourishing food.

> Drei Kinder des Kaiserpaares sind früh verstorben: Christoph, Johann, und Helena. Die Schuld daran hatte, nach Friedrichs vielleicht nicht ganz unbegründeter Meinung, Eleonores unvernünftige Art, sie mehr mit Leckereien nach portugiesischer Manier als mit Milchspeisen aufziehen zu wollen. Die kleine Kunigunde erkrankte ebenfalls, da lieB sie der Kaiser in sein eigenes Schlafgemach bringen und bemühte sich um ihre Ernährung mit "heimischen Nahrungsmitteln." Auch Maximilian, der die fremdländischen SüBigkeiten

> über alles liebte, wäre an ihnen beinahe gestorben; ja, man hielt ihn für tot, bis eine der Kammerfrauen auf den Gedanken kam, ihm eine Feder vor die Lippen zu halten. Trotz alledem hat sich Maximilian bis in die Mannesjahre eine hohe Verehrung für seine Mutter bewahrt, deren Religiosität ihm den Gedanken eingab, sie könne dereinst unter die Heiligen zu rechnen sein.[17]

Grünpeck's Vita then tells the story somewhat differently:

> (Maximilianus) ab omnibus pro mortuo derelictus fuit. Mater imperatrix hoc videns ante ipsum puerum magno dolore fuit conmota, deum pro vita unigeniti filii sui implorans . . . repente imperátrici renunciavit et fatidici viri iudicaverunt, quod vita istius pueri plus fuerit miraculose quam naturaliter.[18]

Between the two parents, with their great differences, there must have inevitably been innumerable disagreements and conflicts regarding upbringing of children. At the court the young Maximilian associated with a group of boys, sons of the Austrian aristocracy and burghers, as playfellows and schoolmates. They played together and also studied together, so that the young prince was accustomed from childhood on to associate with his countrymen in play and serious matters. A surprising member of this circle of children was Otman Kalext, a Turkish prince who, ostensibly the brother of Mehmed der Weltenstürmer, had been taken, brought to the West. Having been baptized by the Pope, he had been given to the Emperor Friedrich on one of his visits to Rome (1453 or 1468) and was brought up with the young Maximilian. He even accompanied Friedrich and Maximilian to their meeting with Charles the Bold of Burgundy in Trier in 1473.[19]

At the Wiener Neustädter court the Emperor Friedrich liked to see the prince romping around in play with the children of his own age as Maximilian grew up here, whereas the very pious Eleonore believed that she ought to see that he was more encouraged toward religious

concerns (interests).[20] Here in the broad grounds of the castle of his birthplace, Maximilian spent his free and happy childhood years. The broad grounds had walls and trenches. There were also outer courtyards, stables, armory, barns, cellars and even an orchard cultivated by his father himself. He and his companions were provided a wide and colorful world in which to learn and play in the zoo, the fish pools, forests and hunting preserves which stretched from the plain into the high mountains. Despite his own small household, his life remained fairly simple. His diet and way of life was kept as simple and modest as possible. Wiesflecker remarks,

> Der Prinz wurde zunächst von Ammen und Wärten in freien Umgang mit dem Gesinde aufgezogen; das Verständnis für das einfache Volk ist ihm zeitlebens geblieben. Kaum dem Gängelband entlaufen wurde er ein "selbwachsend Kind."[21]

However greatly Friedrich enjoyed seeing his son play and romp about the Wiener Neustadt grounds, enjoying a freedom and lack of restraint, his mother, Eleonore did not. Feeling it her duty to instil in her son a religious zeal, she began his training in religion. There were regular prayers, daily worship services in the Schlosskapelle, and Maximilian was taught the adoration of saints and relics. When he was able to read, his first reading matter was prayerbooks and legends of saints. From this time stems her lovely prayerbook, showing her and Maximilian some eleven times illustrated in pious attitude, in prayer or worship. Eleonore also began thinking about the coming school years of her son, and contacted Johann Hinderbach in regard to plans for his education.[22]

It is easy to imagine that, in view of the great differences between the parents, there must have been domestic disagreements hardly conducive to family or domestic tranquility. The evidence available is not extensive. This is not the sort of information that usually finds its way into historical records. However, there does exist some evidence, and reports such as Eleonore's aforementioned bitter remarks to Maximilian about his father. Most interesting perhaps are Maximilian's reported difficulties in speaking. The basis of this report owes its origin apparently to a remark of Friedrich, who as the child's father should have had a thorough knowledge of his boyhood years and troubles, and was intimately involved in the child's education.

At the time of Maximilian's election as German King in Frankfurt, his eloquence in using the Latin language was praised by those who heard his acceptance. To this praise, Friedrich is said to have declared: ". . . hoc mihi certe constat, quod, cum duodecimum aetatis ageret annum, subverbar ipsum stultum futurum aut mutum," reported by Johannes Cuspinian in his De Caesaribus atque Imperatoribus Romanis.[23] Whether his problems in speaking were articulation difficulties or stuttering is unknown, but the reference to the speech problems come from a source certainly reliable enough to merit attention. Friedrich's remark that his son's acclaimed eloquence was unexpected, in view of his fears that the boy might have to go through his life "stumm oder dumm,"[24] may have been exaggerated by Cuspinian simply to emphasize Maximilian's later ability. Cuspinian could even have coined this phrase as an effective topos to set up a sharp contrast for his next sentence praising Maximilian's eloquence and to establish Maximilian's supernatural

heroic quality--the stereotyped ideal of the fool growing into great skill and wisdom. However Maximilian was hardly the quick learner that he describes in the Weisskunig. Fichtenau declares that undoubtedly Maximilian's rich talents and versatile mind must have been already present, but no one understood how to awaken it, and the child simply withdrew, repelled by the crude manner of grown-ups.[25] There is little cause to doubt that the negative aspects in the child's life did indeed take some toll. We have one other story to verify the prince's youthful speech problems in the report that since the young Maximilian could barely stammer understandable words, the Viennese, so fond of mocking-fun, called him "das prinzliche Stottergöschel."[26]

If we consider the sum total of the picture we have of the child's youth, it seems evident that there were some difficulties. Consider the boy's very unstable early years, moving back and forth between Wiener Neustadt and Vienna, the painful memories of the battles and siege and hunger experiences in the Vienna Hofburg, the contrasting national backgrounds and languages of his parents, their differing customs and habits, the pedagogical clumsiness of insensitive teachers, the family quarrels and sorrows in the deaths of the young brothers and sister of the boy--all contributed to childhood difficulties, and lend some credibility to the report of his speech problems, sometimes regarded as evidence of psychological disturbances in children. His tutor was a harsh, insensitive teacher. In Wiener-Neustadt some few miles southeast of Vienna where he grew up, there was a constant influx of refugees from Hungary and Croatia, whose tales of panic and of Turks

who kidnapped men, women and children must have surely reached his ears.[27]

However Cuspinian's reports that Maximilian suffered from speech problems until well into his school years, find no echo in Grünpeck's official biography, nor are these problems mentioned in either the Weisskunig or the Latin Autobiography. But the parents reciprocal criticism of one another, she about his weak ways, and his criticism of her Southern ways, conflicts regarding Maximilian's education--all this culminating in his mother's death in his early youth, surely might have precipitated some telling and concrete evidence in the boy's development.[28]

Despite problems and difficulties, the prince's education can not be said to have been neglected.

> Die Erziehung des Kaisersohnes wurde wohl überlegt und griff verhältnismässig weit aus. So liess der Kaiser, der ja selbst zu den Humanisten ein gutes Verhältnis pflegte, seinen Sohn in Lateinischen unterrichten; es wurde schon erwähnt, dass dieser später seine Autobiographie zunächst lateinisch diktierte. Das Lob Willibald Pirkheimers freilich für den Stil dieser Aufzeichnungen--er sei so rein wie der keines deutschen Geschichtsschreibers--ist stark übertrieben.[29]

The Empress Eleonore died 3 September 1467, when Maximilian was just eight and a half years old. His speech however apparently improved.

> Eine offenbar grosse Sprachbegabung kam ihm dabei zu Hilfe. Sie ermöglichte, dass er zahlreiche andere Sprachen mehr oder weniger vollkommen erlernte. Überhaupt scheint wichtiger als die väterliche Erziehungsarbeit der eigene Wissens- und Tatendrang des unternehmenden und ehrgeizigen Knaben und Jünglings gewesen zu sein . . . aus dem Willen, nirgends hinter anderen zurückzustehen, erklärt sich die erstaunliche Vielfalt seiner Fertigkeiten.[30]

In the same year as Eleonore's death, we know that Maximilian was surrounded, at the orders of his father, Friedrich, by seventeen contemporaries. These seventeen children, sons of Austrian nobles and burghers, were to be companions for the prince in play and study. Friedrich's Regesten record an order of 7 October 1467 to pay the monthly pocket money to the named boys (J. Chmel, Regesta chronologico-diplomatica Friderici IV. Romanorum regis [1838] 525 Nr. 5207). Grünpeck had attested to these playfellows, etiam ignobles, already before this time. Eleonore had evidently disapproved this somewhat free kind of education, and the death of the Empress undoubtedly precipitated a reorganization of the court. The world of the young prince was substantially altered as his world became entirely dominated by masculine influence. His father assumed full control of his son's education, and Sigmund Prüschenk and Wolfgang Polheim became his closest confidants.[31] But since the tradition of the Middle Ages was to send the young noble off to his lord's courts to be educated, the pattern of Maximilian's experience is not in this respect so unusual as to merit particular consideration. Charles IV's experience in the French court and described in his Autobiography might be recalled, as well as the frequent descriptions in the medieval epics.

Maximilian now had his own small household, as evidenced by the records (Chmel Regesten 4894), which mention his stoker, butler, porter and tailor, but there may well have been others in addition to these. The child was obviously expected in these surroundings to learn to give orders, as might be expected to be fitting to a future sovereign of the Empire. Friedrich apparently took the young Maximilian on little trips

with him in the following year, and took pains to get him instructors for the most important skills besides Latin. Both parents had obviously been concerned and involved in the prince's education. Friedrich undoubtedly exerted the dominant influence in determining his son's education, his teachers and formal training. Friedrich himself was a clever and wise man with scholarly and literary interests, and set considerable store by a basic academic and intellectual training. He was also indeed not without the experience necessary for proving for the care and education of his young son, having served as guardian for the young king of Hungary, Ladislas Posthumus from 1440 to 1452, and apparently was responsible for the boy Ladislas receiving a fine education.[32]

Before her death Eleonore too was obviously vitally interested in her son's education, and was actively involved with this activity. Eleonore, exceptionally pious, as mentioned, was particularly concerned that Maximilian should have a firm religious faith and a thorough foundation in religious education. Indeed both parents were very religious. They fasted, prayed, founded orders, and bishoprics, had daily services, and regular prayers. At the start of all training came religion. His father boasted of having read the Bible through more than fourteen times, an unusual achievement in the Middle Ages; and he treasured the Wenceslas' Bible more than anything else--he had gotten it from the estate of the Luxemburgers. Nearly half of Friedrich's books belong in a religious category and undoubtedly Maximilian's first reading materials were legends of saints and devotional books. But Eleonore

also wanted her son to be skilled and have pleasure in the sport of hawking--possibly for physical diversion, or probably for the moral benefit of the sport, an area which will be discussed in detail in an overview of Maximilian's physical training later in this study.[33]

Eleonore's primary concern however seems to have been directed toward the religious and cultural training of the young Maximilian. In her concern for insuring her son a good education, she occupied herself to this end and called upon the assistance of her secretary, Johann Hinderbach to this purpose. Hinderbach was an enthusiastic Humanist, and had been a student of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini when he was in Vienna. He became imperial secretary and advisor, and came into the most intimate contact with the imperial family. He had become Bishop of Trient in 1465 and then became imperial secretary of Pope Pius II. Upon being consulted by Eleonore, Hinderbach referred the Empress not to his own pedagogical efforts, the praecepta to the young Ladislas, which is now lost, but to Aeneas Sylvius's Treatise which had been written for the education of Ladislas Posthumus. Hinderbach procured a copy of Piccolimini's work in Italy, had it copied for the Empress, and then sent it to her as a present for the prince. This treatise had a dedication inscription of 14 May 1466, to Maximilian who used this copy of Aeneas's Treatise not only as a child but probably also later, reading it again at the time he was working on Weisskunig. This copy of the Treatise of Aeneas Sylvius was listed among the books of the Innsbruck collection (CVP series nova 4643 fol. 2v., 6v, the Schrift listed in the Innsbruck Catalogue under Anm. 28 [Nr. 314, Gottlieb, p. 107]).[34]

As far as can be determined, Maximilian's educational program was related to three Erziehungslehren,[35] and appears to have followed most closely the recommendations of Friedrich's former secretary, Aeneas Sylvius (Pope Pius II). Whether Maximilian had access to and employed Aeneas' work as a model or outline for the Part II of Weisskunig is uncertain, but it is certain that the Emperor knew his own books well and did request the works of his childhood be sent to him about the time of the work on his writing. (See Chapter V, textbooks, regarding Maximilian's 1500 directive.)

Treatise

A brief look at the content of the Treatise of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, written for the education of Ladislas Posthumus, yields persuasive evidence that this treatise served as the model for the program of education and training that Maximilian actually received, certainly for the curriculum described in the Weisskunig. The high recommendation of Hinderbach of this educational program surely carried considerable weight with Eleonore and Friedrich in determining the outline of his princely education. Furthermore the author of the Treatise De educatione puerorum was well known at the imperial court, having served as imperial secretary and advisor to Friedrich, before rising to his high rank as Pope Pius II, in which he died in 1464. A review of the Treatise invites comparison to the Weisskunig, Part II description of Maximilian's youth, and upon close examination clearly appears to have been the model and source for a large portion of Part II.

Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini had entered Friedrich's employment in 1442, and served as imperial secretary at his court until 1447. This Italian Humanist took a great interest in Germany, as is evident from his Germania, a written account of Vienna and the German lands he visited in the service of the Emperor Friedrich. Aeneas' Germania encouraged considerably the growing development of a German national consciousness which flourished through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and influenced the men who were gathered around Maximilian.[36]

Aeneas took Holy Orders in 1446, and in 1458 was elected Pope. In 1452 he had been a part of the delegation representing Friedrich, which made the trip to Rome, and he had written Friedrich's Vita describing the coronation in Rome and the wedding of Friedrich and Eleonore. As it appears so likely that Maximilian conformed to the academic program of Part II to Aeneas's educational recommendations of the Treatise for Ladislas, it would seem probable that he made use of the description of the Rome wedding and coronation as a source for Part I, although no support is available for this possibility. At his accession in 1458 Aeneas was an avowed friend of the Emperor, exemplifying a very medieval ideal--Pope and Emperor side by side. Friedrich was very medieval in his attitude so that even without power he still felt himself and his dynasty chosen by God. As Pope Pius II he remained on friendly terms with Friedrich, determined to pursue their common struggle against the Turks.[37]

As Secretary at the Court of Friedrich III he was thrown into close contact with young Ladislas. The wardship of Ladislas, born after

the 1439 death of his father Albert II, was one of the many responsibilities which had fallen to Friedrich when he had been elected as the new Emperor in 1440. For political reasons Ladislas was never allowed to be far from court, and undoubtedly he frequently encountered Aeneas. Ladislas remained in the Emperor's charge until 1452, then died in November 1457 at the age of eighteen in Prague.[38]

Aeneas's relationship with Ladislas seems to have been inspired by a genuine interest in the boy, and when Ladislas was age ten, Aeneas, then Bishop of Trieste, addressed to him as a Christmas present, his general views on the education desirable in a Prince De educatione puerorum in formal shape: The treatise of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pius II, written for Ladislas, King of Bohemia and Hungary, 1450. This work is thus a treatise addressed to the scion of a ruling House, rather than a general work on the theory of education,[39] and obviously written to guide a well instructed and educated person, who has the capability to stand at the head of state. It is not a presentation to a prince of a list of his future duties as king.

As one of the most powerful and influential Italian Humanists, Aeneas had had a close personal relationship with Maximilian's father and the Austrian court. An Italian, of good circumstances, he had been brought up in an atmosphere of Humanism. One of the chief energies of Humanism was directed at educational theories and programs. Aeneas, a practical, clearheaded man of active taste, was more interested in life than in study, but though he was not a scholar in the strict sense, he treated Letters as the indispensable foundation of education, and he

regarded it his function to prepare the way for the new light and attitudes to reach the North.[40]

The treatise, written not for Maximilian, but for Ladislas, was still no general educational program, but intended as a model for the education of a prince, clearly defining the prevalent ideas for an educational program. An examination of the outline set forth by Aeneas as the ideal educational program will provide an introduction to the expectations or ideal of the Humanists of this time and provide an outline for a comparison of that training described in the Weisskunig.

Despite the great polemic against Scholastic education, the Humanist approach to education hardly changed anything very greatly. A few technical speaking exercises (sprechtechnische übungen) and debates (Wettreden) had been added for the improvement of rhetoric, which was especially valued by the Humanists. Otherwise, however, the students were expected to memorize the "Lord's Prayer," the Creed, some lines, sayings, and phrases of famous authors to establish a foundation of Latin phraseology to be made use of later, just as they had done for centuries. Then there followed the study of Grammar, and finally the teaching about the forms of the letters, writing, declensions and conjugations, style of script, etc.[41]

Aeneas' work was in no way revolutionary, and represents no clear break from the traditional medieval system. His treatise is not original but simply a mere compilation of the works of various pedagogues, Quintilian, Pseudoplutarch, Basilius and Hieronymus, but he tries to appeal to a child with numerous miniatures embellishing the copy which Hinderbach had made for Maximilian.[42]

Aeneas declares at the start that the prerequisite for learning is a simple but primary one. He demands that the child setting forth along the lines of his educational program must first have been "endowed by nature with a good and teachable disposition," which he declares is a gift rather than an acquirement. He notes however that this gift has been in general generously granted by the Lord, and continues: "For as Quintilian rightly says, if flying is instinctive with birds, or galloping with horses, so an eager and forward temper is the natural mark of a child." Aeneas defines the three essential factors of all education to be first the basic nature of the child, and then the training and practice of both the mind and the body, the two elements of which man is constituted, and which Aeneas declares must be developed side by side.[43]

Maximilian leaves no room for doubt in the Weisskunig text that the young prince and hero, the young white king, is abundantly endowed with not only an adequate, but highly appropriate nature and disposition required for a good pupil. The young white king then proceeds in the work to develop mind and body together through the assorted subjects presented, exactly in accord with the advice of Aeneas Sylvius. The young white king's curiosity appears insatiable, and he exhibits intelligence, understanding and diligence in all fields of endeavor, in clear accord with the requirements set forth by Friedrich's former secretary. There is in the Weisskunig text however little mention made of any decisions or considerations regarding the choice of instructors and tutors beyond the rather vague and general remark in appropriate chapters that

the best master in this subject was found and engaged to teach the youth in this particular subject of interest. Historically we know that the selection of a teacher for young Maximilian was somewhat more problematic than represented here. The parents were not in full accord regarding educational methods; the death of the first teacher, Jakob von Fladnitz, in 1466 necessitated the choice of a new tutor. The death of the Empress precipitated reorganization in the court and life of the imperial family, and must have created interruptions in the academic progress of the prince. Peter Engelbrecht von Passail was apparently the principal teacher of the prince, and his employment eventually resolved the situation.

Aeneas however underlines the importance of the choice of an appropriate teacher for a young prince, citing Philip of Macedon's selection of the great Aristotle for even the earliest teaching of young Alexander. He underscores the necessity of the teacher to provide the child's "growing mind with wise and noble precept and example, as a careful gardener hedges round a newly planted tree. For in the right training of the boy lies the secret of the integrity of the man. But this training must be enforced by friendly but effective authority, and should require no recourse to the rod . . . a boy must be won to learning by persuasive earnestness, and not be driven to it like a slave. For whilst praise must never degenerate into flattery, so on the other hand correction which takes the form of personal indignation gives rise to hatred for teacher and subject alike."[44]

Here there are many elements which appear prominently in Maximilian's Weisskunig, where the model of Alexander is cited time and time

again as the supreme example of leadership. He was obviously one of the heroes of the past, one of the "nine worthies" who appeared to Maximilian as worthy of emulation, and this is clearly expressed in his work. Likewise the image of a gardener shaping the growth of a tree, appearing appropriately here in Aeneas's Treatise, is fully developed in Maximilian's Weisskunig in the elaboration of the proverb cautioning that the way the branches are bent in the early years determine the development of the mature tree. Whereas there is no mention in the Weisskunig of of the prince ever needing and much less ever receiving any kind of physical punishment from either his teacher or his father, who is always portrayed as astonished by his son's outstanding and amazing progress and abilities, we learn otherwise from historical sources. Even Maximilian's own Latin Autobiography tells that he was beaten by his teacher.[45] There is no reason to question that the Emperor had surely given permission to use the rod on the prince. Such a disciplinary measure was clearly in accord with Biblical advice: "He that spareth his rod hateth his son: but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes" (Proverbs 14:24). However, Maximilian later frequently denounced this method of his unpopular teacher, Peter Engelbrecht, who was hardly reluctant to apply the switch to his princely pupil.

The Humanists too, especially Cuspinian, found fault with Peter Engelbrecht, and criticized him for his "verzopften" methods of instruction.[46]

Aeneas advises the earliest training of a child should be that of social education and manners and demeanor. "Too much importance can hardly be attached to right bearing and gesture. Childish habits of

playing with the lips and features should be early controlled. A boy should be taught to hold his head erect, to look straight and fearlessly before him and to bear himself with dignity whether walking, standing or sitting." He notes then that in ancient Greece both philosophers and men of affairs such as Socrates, Chrysippus and Philip of Macedon deemed such considerations worthy of their concern, and that they should indeed not be ignored today.[47] Maximilian likewise devotes sections of his autobiography to describing his early training in such behavior which to the modern reader would seem out of place in comparison to the loftier, sophisticated subjects which are then described frequently in the most cursory manner..

The games and exercises prescribed by Aeneas for the development of muscular activities and general carriage of the person--"for such physical training not only cultivates grace of attitude, but secures the healthy play of our body organs and establishes the constitution"[48]--are described in the Weisskunig. These then are depicted in one woodcut illustration which shows the prince simultaneously at play in six different games: the representation depicts these games much as Aeneas defines recommended games of "the ball, the hoop--but not rough and coarse, but have in them an element of skill."[49]

The physical training advised by Aeneas, cultivating a certain hardness but rejecting idleness and excess sleep, is certainly emphasized in the Weisskunig chapter on hunting, where it is described that he rode hard all day, often into the night without resting. But Aeneas has another purpose for this physical fitness: "Every youth destined

to exalted position should further be trained in military exercises. It will be your destiny to defend Christendom against the Turk. It will thus be an essential part of your education that you be taught the use of the bow, the sling, and of the spear; that you drive, ride, leap and swim. These are honourable accomplishments in everyone, and therefore not unworthy of the educator's care."[50]

These skills were not only described in the Weisskunig as an essential part of his education, but were always near to the heart of this active, lively man. They were not only sources of personal pleasure and recreation, the means to "avoid sin and vice," but had as well the noble purpose of defending Christendom against the infidel.

These lines addressed by Aeneas to the ruler of Hungary and and Beohemia, then the young Ladislas, became the clarion call of the Emperor Maximilian, whose dominance over these lands and position in Central Europe made this calling a very real one.

The purpose and dream of victory over the Turks is clear throughout the Weisskunig, from the birth of the prince, the naming ceremony, christening, and is reiterated again and again throughout this work as in all his literary and artistic works. It was a goal never achieved because of a complication of reasons, but possibly this Emperor saw himself as the last Crusader as well as the "last knight." The unfinished Weisskunig lacked then the closing triumph of the crowning achievement of liberating the Holy Land forever.

Aeneas declares, "The aim of eating is to strengthen the frame, so let vigorous health reject cakes or sweets, elaborate dishes of small birds or eels, which are for the delicate and the weakly," and

recommends the rule of moderation in all eating and drinking: "Reject everything that needlessly taxes digestion and so impairs mental activity. What but disease and decay can result from an appetite habitually overindulged?" The Weisskunig chapter on "medical knowledge," or the care of himself through regulated eating and drinking, reflects this very attitude found in Aeneas. His motto of "Keep Moderation" in life as well as in government conforms to theme and attitude of Aeneas' work. Although the descriptions of the white king's table, feasts and mummery activities are hardly characterized by moderation. However from all evidence we have of Maximilian's historical entertainments there is little evidence to dispute his maintaining the model set forth by Aeneas: "Social feastings should be dignified by serious conversations and yet be bright and gay withal," and "food and clothing are worthy of regard only so far as they are indispensable to the vigorous activity of body and spirit: all beyond that is triviality or effeminacy. But this is not to exclude that care for the outward person, which is, indeed demanded from everyone by self-respect but is peculiarly needful in a prince."[51] The dress proper for hunting described by Maximilian in such detail surely falls within Aeneas' recommendations, although the dress represented in the elegant woodcut illustrations which depict the prince in elegant attire might exceed the boundaries of acceptability set forth also in his own Geheimes Jagdbuch.

Aeneas reflects his clerical attitudes in describing the various gifts of birth, beauty, wealth, health, vigor, and fame as transitory and the riches of the mind and character as the only stable possessions

"unassailable by fortune, calumny or time." And he turns his remarks to address the academic learning necessary to a prince: "Philosophy, or the enquiry into the nature of Virtue is indeed a study meet for princes. For they are in a sense the arbitrary embodiment of Law; a responsibility which may well weigh heavily upon them. Truly has it been said that no one has greater need of a well-stored mind than he whose will counts for the happiness or misery of thousands. Like Solomon he will rightly pray for wisdom in the guidance of the State." Aeneas stresses the importance of the study of Philosophy and of Letters, and declares that a Prince is trained to understand the laws of God and of man by this "two-fold wisdom" and to see the realities of the world around us. Literature he defines as the guide to the "true meaning of the past, to a right estimate of the present, to a sound forecast of the future, and a Prince who cannot read the lessons of history is a helpless prey of flattery and intrigue."

Curiously Maximilian's treatment of the academic subjects places stress on his great love of history, yet no mention is made of literature as such. There are no specific authors mentioned other than brief references to Caesar and David, although he certainly both describes and pictures his writing skills and his secretarial abilities. The religious nurture to be given a Prince is defined by Aeneas as including the foundation of the Lord's Prayer, the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin, the Creed, the Gospel of St. John and certain Collects; the chief Commandments of God, the Gifts of the Spirit, the Deadly Sins, the Way of Salvation and the doctrine of the Life of the World to come.

Maximilian clearly learned the Commandments, memorized various Biblical verses and numerous prayers. The religious orientation of Aeneas becomes clear in his advice: "We shall not value this human existence which has been bestowed upon us except in so far as it prepares us for the Future States." He argues that literature ever presents man the lesson that God is before all else. We might recall the emphasis in the chapters of the Weisskunig on such doctrine--and the frequent reminder that "God is above all," even overcoming the evil influence of the stars as a central theme. Maximilian appropriates Aeneas' esteem and gratitude for superior gifts and abilities for Part II of Weisskunig. "As a Prince moreover your whole life and character should be marked by gratitude for favours showered upon you for no merit of your own and by reverence which in all that concerns the services, the faith and the authority of the Church, will lead you to emulate the filial obedience of Constantine and Theodosius."[53]

Aeneas recommends to the youth language skills as a political advantage:

> Seize every opportunity of learning to converse in the vulgar tongues spoken in your realm. It is unworthy of a prince to be unable without an interpreter to hold intercourse with his people. Mithridates could speak with his subjects of whatever province in their own language; whilst neglect of this plain duty lost to the Empire and its German sovereigns its fair province of Italy. The ties that bind monarch and people should be woven of mutual affection, and how is this possible where free and intelligible communication cannot exist. As Homer says, silence is becoming in a woman, but in a man, and that man a king standing before his people, it is rather a shame and a disgrace.[54]

Maximilian's Weisskunig reflects an enthusiastic respect for and interest in language learning and abilities, for he describes how he did

indeed seize every opportunity to gain knowledge of a foreign language and how he practiced it with diligence. Obviously this was a necessary competence, considering the wide Empire over which he ruled with the many languages incorporated within its boundaries.

Unlike Aeneas, who recommends authors and reading matter by writer and title, Maximilian seldom refers by name to any ancient writer, poet or historian, but only to his model kings and predecessors, Alexander, David, Caesar, etc.

Nor does Maximilian emphasize the oral or written eloquence, style and manner. There are no chapters on style, rhetoric or authors of great literature, considered so important to Aeneas and, in fact, to all the Humanists, for whom literature and letters were of great aesthetic interest. Aeneas does enthusiastically praise the learning of the Liberal Arts, cheerfully noting in his work the obvious incentive to learn: "Rex illiteratus quasi asinus coronatus."[55] Aeneas expends much effort and emphasis on the learning of Grammar, dialectic, rhetoric and philosophy, whereas Maximilian hardly notes the learning of the medieval "Seven Liberal Arts," breezily listing them among a list of subjects. Maximilian never specifically mentions Grammar, rhetoric or dialectic. But for Aeneas, Grammar was identical with Literature; it was divided into three parts, the first was the art of eloquence, or right speech, the second that of composition in prose and verse, and the third that of epistolary style.[56]

There is no trace of this in Maximilian's work. In the Weisskunig there is also no reflection of Aeneas' obvious respect and

admiration for Antiquity and Authority. This made itself so evident in the specific names and works. In the Weisskunig this appears only in evidence from the patterns and material taken over from the Bible and other works, particularly in the narrative relating the birth of the prince. Reminiscences sometimes emerge in the parables and allegory.

Aeneas' remarks on memory, that "a boy should learn without effort, retain with accuracy and reproduce easily" was a characteristic surely reflected in the young white king who learned rapidly and well, always to the astonishment of his masters. Following Cicero, Aeneas characterizes history as "the living witness of the past, the lamp of truth, it is our guide to the days that are now because it exhibits those that are gone."[57]

The advice of Aeneas regarding letter-writing, as an art not beneath a prince's attention finds parallel in the Weisskunig where the prince learns the skill of writing from interest and a desire for independence of his secretarial staff. So too Aeneas advises: "A prince may not write often but let him learn to write legibly." Music is mentioned by Aeneas--in Maximilian's work it is an addition to, rather than included in, the Seven Liberal Arts. The study of music was primarily theory rather than practice, and the theory was generally taught as a part of mathematics. In Maximilian's works astronomy is also not included among the Liberal Arts, but again in addition to the Seven Liberal Arts. Aeneas declares Philosophy as a desire for wisdom beyond the Seven Liberal Arts, the inquiry into causes. He announces Philosophy as the subject to teach him to despise avarice,[58] which is then another theme of the Weisskunig.

It might be concluded that Part II of Maximilian's Weisskunig conforms to a great degree to the specific directions and attitudes of Aeneas outlined for the education of a prince, more specifically to the points set forth in his Treatise for the education of Ladislas. Maximilian's mirror of his own education as he intended it to be projected—idealized and romanticized--reflects many of the general educational aims of the scholars of the first century of Humanism. This portion of his work might well be considered an idealized, romanticized version of the model for perfect educational practice of the time, blended with personal facts, insights, interests, events as well as elements from his personal history, hopes, and even the medieval epic literature. In this way he hoped to render a directive for historical posterity: an outline of the ideal educational program, a document of political expediency, propaganda and guarantee of a monument for his personal fame.

In addition to this Treatise of Aeneas, recent scholarship has assigned two other pedagogical writings to the academic possessions of the prince, a Erziehungsschrift and a Prinzenspiegel. The first of these is the short "Exhortatio illustrissimo Austriae Archi Duci Maximiliano acta a quodam eius devoto" dedicated to Maximilian in 1470 by Stephan Heyner, which is very short and general. It gives frightening examples of ancient tyrants to encourage Maximilian to pursue peace and justice, and contains many quotations from the Bible, Vergil, etc., stressing the avoidance of avarice and envy. The second is the Mirror for Princes by Domenico de' Domenichi, Bishop of Brescia and vicar

general of Rome, who was a friend of Aeneas Sylvius and composed this treatise for Maximilian in 1472. It does not stress education or piety but exhorts a prince to act morally, prove the nobility of his birth by quality of performance. To this end he must conquer his bad qualities and be ever mindful of the model of his ancestors. It has Bible references and many excerpts from ancient authors, Cicero, Horace, Vergil, Martial, Persius, Claudian and Tertullian. In true Humanist fashion Domenichi advised the prince to heed the old Roman virtues, "prudentia, mos patrum, virtus et moderatio," etc., and lists tyrants as bad examples.[59]

Teachers

There is only a spare literature about Maximilian's teachers, and there is some confusion regarding the sequence and position of the individual teachers. There is more however to be learned about the youth's education from the textbooks of the child, which to a large part have been preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliotek,[60] and which will be discussed immediately following a brief review of the known teachers of the young Maximilian.

The education of children was generally begun somewhere between the ages of five and seven, but Maximilian apparently received his first instruction only in 1466, when Hinderbuch wrote in a letter to the Empress that there was recently talk of appointing Jakob Fladnitz as teacher (CVP sn 4643). Perhaps it was Eleonore who delayed beginning Maximilian's instruction until so late, toward the end of his seventh year.[61]

Friedrich apparently reserved for himself the privilege of selecting his son's teachers, for the Emperor's influence in the choice of Maximilian's teachers is unmistakable. Having high regard for the teaching of the old school, Friedrich engaged instructors who belonged to the Scholastic order, rather than Humanists. The first instructor was indeed no Humanist like Aeneas or his follower Hinderbuch, the Rektor of the Wiener Bürgerschule zu St. Stephan. The Emperor made his preferences and prejudices clearly apparent in his direction of Maximilian's education, for not only were all the teachers employed of the old school, the teachers engaged by Friedrich were exclusively Steierer. Friedrich chose men of his native Steiermark, less for patriotic reasons than for his mistrust of the Viennese and Niederösterreicher. This is not entirely without some justification in light of the experiences in the battles of 1461-64 in Vienna.[62]

Maximilian's first teacher was Jakob von Fladnitz, a Steierer like the Emperor himself, and like the next two teachers of the prince as well. Jakob, magister of theology, was the brother of an imperial adviser and Rektor of the Wiener Bürgerschule zo St. Stephan, where he had been active as early as 1449. Jakob was an experienced schoolteacher, with much experience in working with children. Besides Jakob, there may also have been other teachers or instructors employed, for special instruction, but we do not know in Maximilian's case. This was however often the case; a miniature at the beginning of Ladislas' Donat shows that Ladislas had at least two teachers, one a cleric and the other a fighting instructor, with a sword in his hand. Jakob's instruction can only have lasted a short time, for he died 1 April 1466, and

he left little impression on Maximilian's memory, for he later referred only to Jakob's successor, Peter Engelbrecht von Passail in the Steiermark.[63]

Peter was the prebendary (Chorherr) of the Wiener Neustädter Stift, founded by Friedrich III in 1444. He then became its director, and in March 1477 the first Bishop of Wiener Neustadt. By this time Maximilian's education was finished and he was on his way to marry Maria of Burgundy. Peter held very much to appearances and rank, and never let the distance he felt to be appropriate between himself and his pupil relax. His strict and humorless teaching, accompanied with physical punishments, made his teaching more hated than loved by his princely pupil. Peter's harshness and lack of humor were likely contributions to Maximilian's childhood unhappiness. All the troubles of his early years, the possible lack of proper nutrition, parental arguments, and then the clumsy pedagogical methods of Peter at just the time of his mother's death, may well have complicated the child's emotions. Maximilian seemed always to need people around him to whom he was superior and who recognized his achievements. This teacher seems to have tried just the opposite, attempting to diminish his self confidence, and although the Weisskunig represents the prince's learning to have been quick and easy, a perpetual astonishment to all his teachers, in reality it seems to have been otherwise. Maximilian was certainly not the model pupil represented in his biographical writings, and apparently the lively boy resisted the constraints of school and the sharp teaching of Peter. Friedrich evidently did not hesitate, as in

accord with Biblical teaching, to recommend the use of the rod on the boy. Nonetheless Peter apparently did not, with his dry, dull scholastic methods, manage to break the resistance. Maximilian defiantly went his own way, planlessly led by his own imagination but even as a child gaining a wide variety of interests.[64] Peter and his system were hated by Maximilian his entire life. Many years later the Emperor remembered how he was sitting with his teacher at the window when a lightning flash hit the near tower. Peter's fright caused the boy to laugh, gaining him a smart cuff on the ear.[65] Later in his adult years, Maximilian still had not forgotten nor forgiven Peter. In intimate conversations the Emperor said that this teacher had been his misfortune and declared that if Peter Engelbrecht were still alive, he would teach him how children ought to be instructed.[66] Peter, as the principal teacher, was paid a large salary of 40 Pfund Pfennigen annually as Maximilian's schoolmaster (Chmel Reg. 5480, 5589, 6015), and directed the boy's education. In addition to him there were also other instructors for the various arts and skills.[67]

In 1467 there is the record of a schoolmaster Ulrich Ros who was teaching the children who studied with Maximilian (Chmel Reg. 5207), obviously Ulrich was paid 20 Pfennig per month besides maintenance in the court, indeed a poor fellow in comparison to the fashionably dressed, well-paid prebendary. His salary was hardly more than the 18 Pfennig per month which the pupils received (Chmel Reg.).[68] Among the other special teachers was his Schreibmeister, Wolfgang Spitzweg, who had been in the imperial chancellory since 1442. He received a bürgerliche Wappen for his services to the Kaiser performed as envoy to Pisa, when

he went there to meet Friedrich's bride. He continued in the chancellery until December 1467. It is assumed that during the following three year break in chancellery services, Spitzweg gave Maximilian instruction in writing. He taught the letters of the monumental Buchschrift which he would encounter daily as regent,[69] and introduced him to the business of the chancellery. Spitzweg then resumed his work in the chancellery. Although we may question Maximilian's claim that he learned this subject "aus aigner bewegnus" (Weisskunig), it may be understood that he preferred this instruction to all other, and thus to be considered to Spitzweg's pedagogical credit.[70]

Thomas Perlower von Cilli, again a Steierer like Jakob and Peter, is considered to be Maximilian's first Humanist teacher. He had the rank of "magister regens" at the University of Vienna and was a many-sided man whose activities were varied. In 1470 acting as envoy for Pope Paul II at the canonization of the Babenberger Margrav Leopold III, and from 1471-83 active in the landesfürstliche Kanzlei of Friedrich III, Thomas traveled extensively as envoy to Hungary and Italy in 1473, served on the Supreme courts of Augsburg and Strassburg, and then was taken into the catalogue of doctors of the University of Vienna. He became imperial advisor and eventually in 1491 Bishop of Constance. There is conflicting evidence as to when he began teaching Maximilian, although it was probably about 1471, which coincides with the time when he gave Maximilian two books to use (CVP 3210, 3462) and began activity in the landesfürstliche Kanzlei. The varied activities and missions which are known to have occupied Thomas hardly permitted

him to dedicate himself to the duties of teaching in the same measure as Peter Engelbrecht, but nonetheless his influence was rather broad. Thomas, well qualified as Jurist and diplomat, introduced Maximilian in later years into the duties of state administration and also perhaps in foreign affairs. Maximilian tells us in the Weisskunig that Friedrich III considered it a disadvantage if "ein mechtiger kunig in dem canzler ampt und in dem secretari ampt nit erfaren und kundig were," and therefore had his son learn these things. He was instructed well "und prauchet ine mit der scheiberey, was dann einem canzler und secretari zugehöret; und der sun was ganz vleyssig, und in kurzer zeit begriff er die hauptartikl."[71]

Besides the instruction and experience he gained in political and administrative matters, the physical training of the prince took more and more of a role as he grew up. There is mention of a fighting teacher only quite late, in 14 March 1474, when Georg Rudolfer was employed by Friedrich as his son's fighting master (Chmel Reg. 6847). There is a good possibility that the boy had earlier training, but sources are incomplete. Also Maximilian's instruction in hunting by Diepold Stein zu Reissenburg (Bergmann 69) was probably also not the first instruction of this kind, only we do not know of any earlier because of the incompleteness of the sources.[72]

Textbooks

In sharp contrast to the ideal youth of the young white king in the romanticized Weisskunig, Maximilian's boyhood was marred by the harsh realities of life, unrest, war, family disagreements, and the

child's aversion to the schooling imposed upon him. His educational process was hardly one of astonishing progress and maturity, and neither his teachers nor his father had real cause for any amazement.

Even his Latin Autobiography seems hardly credible. Maximilian's claims that by the age of ten he had completely mastered the Latin material, ". . . scienciam Latinam perfecte scivit, imo semel etsiam perligitt scienciis liberalibus" are obviously exaggerated.[73]

However it is not only Maximilian's various descriptions of his youth that contain exaggeration and appear idealized. Undoubtedly the Treatise of Aeneas Sylvius represents only the ideal program, and was imperfectly realized in actual fact. The school regulations of St. Stephans also represent an ideal program, but set down the order in which Maximilian's school books were treated. The arrangement, the definite order as prescribed by the Bürgerschule of St. Stephan, directed the following: First the children learned "die allererst Donatpuchstaben" and memorized daily two Latin words and their translation. As they advanced, they "lernen den Donat lesen und die klain casualia," learned the Donat rules, the Cato and other such works, and memorized more words or half of a strophe. Grammar declensions and conjugations, was taught in the middle level also according to the Donat. The upper level study took up irregular verbs and completed the grammar. The teachers selected the readings used for the upper level study.[74]

Fichtenau concludes that these sources all present an ideal picture of the education of the fifteenth century, to which reality could hardly conform. And Maximilian was hardly the model pupil,

considering the change of teachers, the restless times of his youth, family situation. Everything could simply not have come off according to wish and program. Hence Professor Fichtenau finds that Maximilian's school books are a better source of information about the methods used and the lines followed in his education than any other source. Fortunately the greater part of these textbooks is preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliotek, which today contains the holdings of the former Imperial Library and houses the personal collections of the Habsburg private libraries. From Fichtenau's careful, exacting study of these works, the instruction that Maximilian received has been reconstructed. Professor Fichtenau has related the script of these early manuscripts to the development of the Fraktur script used in later book printing.[75] These textbooks, compiled for the child-prince, offer a rich store of information for our study of the man and his later works and cultural program. Here in these books lie the seeds of his later interests and the basis of his creations in his later years.[76]

Maximilian was educated as the children of nobles had been educated for centuries. From the very start the instruction was in Latin as it had been since the early Middle Ages in all the cloister schools. Even before the Scholastics, Latin was the grammatical content and the language of instruction. A literary education meant above all else, Latin training whenever one educated his son in letters; and the same text, the Donat, had been used for centuries, from the fourth to the eighteenth century.[79]

Friedrich's court had hardly felt any strong effects or influence from the Renaissance of the South, although it had had one of

the most important Italian Humanists of the time at the court in the person of Aeneas Sylvius. Aeneas had stressed Latin and the proper use of the language as of great importance for international chancellery transactions. Though the Humanists had made strong attacks against the secluded and useless knowledge and learning of the Scholastics, they really did not get away from it. Their criticism and attacks, such as found in the anti-scholastic Foreword to grammar books, and the transition from the old gothic writing style to a Humanistic script, as found in Maximilian's textbooks, are really only externals, which tend to cloak the fact that there had been little real change--even the methods were practically the same as they had been since the days of antiquity. (Even Herder still had cause to complain in the eighteenth century about the ABC books from which the children were forced to learn with no understanding or pleasure.) And so there were hardly any differences in the teaching methods of the Scholastics and Humanists. Both systems were based on ancient models, and both began with the memorization of Latin phrases. The dialogue form was the favorite frame. Even grammar books had the dialogue outline of a lively question-answer game, after which the teacher checked on the memory work by asking for a recital of what had been learned by heart.[79]

Traditionally the first text that children received at the onset of their schooling was a little book, the Tafel. Neither a writing table nor the Ten Commandments, as might be expected, the Tafel was a little ABC book, beginning with the alphabet letters and continuing with prayers such as the Pater Noster and Ave Maria. Maximilian had such a book from which he learned his ABC's, and memorized in Latin the

following prayers, which he probably already knew in German. Interestingly enough, this Tafel, Maximilian's ABC book, is still preserved, and contained in the collection of the Österreichische Nationalbibliotek as Cod. 2368.[80]

This book, and the other Lehrbücher of Maximilian are the first real Kinderbücher to have become known to us. The Lehrbücher of the young Maximilian, which are preserved to us, have been divided by Professor Fichtenau into two different groups. The first group included the richly embellished Prunkwerke, written on parchment and decorated with miniatures and Buchornament, and the second group are the modest little Büchlein. Of the first group, the lavishly executed parchment manuscripts, there are four: the Donat (Cod. 23) which was written for Ladislas Posthumus, and three other volumes (Cod. 2368, Cod. s.n. 2617, and Cod. 2289) originally executed for Maximilian. All three were outfitted by the same Buchmaler, and all bearing the Wappen of Stephan Heuner, the wealthy Viennese burgher who paid for the completion and outfitting of these manuscripts as gifts for the young prince.[81]

The Prunkwerke preserved in the Austrian National Library are the following:

The Donat, Cod. 23--written for Ladislas at the Melk Abbey by the Benedictine cleric, Simon, about 1446 for the instruction of the Austrian prince, Ladislas Posthumus. Set up in a very large Gothic Textura it has hexameters at the end of the manuscript whose initial letters spell out Ladislaus. This was one of the volumes requested by Maximilian in 1500 from Ambras.

The Tafel, Cod. 2368--is the oldest of the three manuscripts made for Maximilian at the commission of Stephan Heuner. It is an

ABC book, containing the alphabet, prayers, and pictures, is written in the important Gothic script.

The Donat, Cod. series nova 2617--This is a copy of Ladislas's Donat, which was expressly made for Maximilian. It contains grammar rules and moral teachings. The text is arranged ad usum Delphini and is enlarged around the Cato, and contains some dietary rules. Heuner's Wappen appear fol. 15^{v}. A later addition includes three blank pages, some moral quotations from Cicero, and a Mahnrede of a Viennese Dominican.

Both Cod. 2368 and Cod. s.n. 2617 are elaborate manuscripts, bearing the donor's Wappen and both apparently done during the lifetime of Empress Eleonore. Both show the Imperial Eagle, the Wappen of Portugal, and the Austrian Bindenschild on the title pages.

Both manuscripts picture the young prince Maximilian with his teacher. The teachers portrayed are two different men.

The Doctrinale puerorum, Cod. 2289--by the Franciscan Alexander de Villa Dei, composed at the end of the twelfth century. Its content is upper level grammatical instruction in metric form to facilitate memorizing Priscian material. It contains excerpts from Priscian, presupposes a knowledge of the Donat. Despite the Humanistic polemic against the work, Maximilian's copy is written in a pure Humanist script.[82]

Besides the magnificent manuscripts, there are also the three simple, slender volumes:

The Gesprächbüchlein, Cod. 15.096--contains conversations carried on between the students and teacher. Here there are only seven students taking part, in contrast to the number of seventeen boys enumerated in Friedrich's directions as co-students of Maximilian. The seven names are designated with initial alphabet letters, but cannot be identified with certainty. Only

> Maximilian's initial is in red. The Gesprächbüchlein contains Latin conversational patterns, maxims from the Bible, commonplaces from that collection of rules known as the Cato, Cicero, some Vergil and some Isidor. All remains in the frame of a medieval school curriculum in a Latin far from the classical-humanistic canons. The author was neither a Gelehrter nor did he take pains as a calligrapher. It concerns everyday Latin, and a useable ordinary handwriting, rather than any elaborate decorative style.

The following two volumes are less textbooks, rather notebooks.[83] Not carefully written or decorated, both were presented to Maximilian by Thomas von Cilli in 1471, and both have nearly identical statements of dedication; "Maximiliano duci Austriae, etc., huius libri (3210: huis Terencii) usum dedit doctor Thomas de Cilia anno 1471." Their content is a selection of fifty-eight short pieces, excerpts of classical and humanist authors.

Cod. 3210--has works of Terence with glossaries, Petrarch's biography of Terence, excerpts from Ovid, something about Rhetoric and a Humanist call to war against the Turks addressed to the princes of Italy.

Cod. 3462--contains speeches and letters, short excerpts from ancient and contemporary works, some excerpts of Ovid's ars amandi.

The instruction of children began with the Tafel, in Maximilian's case, a Prunkhandschrift. The text begins with the alphabet in small letters in the Gothic style script and the Pater Noster. The content of the Tafel followed the usual track, emphasizing the religious education of the children above all else, as in accord with the wishes of Eleonore. It contained more religious texts than even required by Aeneas. After the Pater Noster there follow other prayers, and blessings. Pages

fol 3^r-15^r contain prayers, then fol 15^v begins with a chronological popular saying (Merkspruch) written in hexameter by Cisionianus and a Merkformel for Church festivals and Holy Days. From fol 17^v on there is a repetition of part of the prayers in German, but the translation breaks off in mid-sentence and continues with ornamental letters. The prince's knowledge of Latin was still slight, and the German translation was started, but breaks off, possibly because of a change of teachers, or the death of the Empress which must have occurred about this time and with which a new part of his life began for Maximilian. The three Biblical sayings which were considered fit for a prince to learn were set out conspicuously in titulus form. Here it is taught that all wisdom begins with the fear of God, as was taught in the Old Testament, suggesting the medieval admonition to proceed prudently in all undertakings and to always consider the end. A further warning calls for righteous judgement over subjects and underlings and is collected from two Biblical verses and had to be learned in similar form by young Ladislas.[84]

A supplement to the text has alphabets written in various sizes in the so-called bastarda style and contains grammatical rules. There is a different kind of parchment following which show ornamental letters, carefully written out by Spitzweg, not for Maximilian to copy or imitate, but merely to look at and enjoy. This is in accord with Aeneas's Treatise where he declares one should put a particularly beautiful and correct Exemplum before the eyes of children. The title page shows a Bindenschild, the imperial eagle, and the Wappen of Portugal, and a picture of Maximilian with his teacher. The initial letter P is

decorated with Maximilian and his teacher Jakob, Maximilian with a book in hand pointing to a letter. The teacher, undoubtedly Jakob (Cod. 2368 fol. 3) is wearing a simple red-violet garment with gray fur trim and a simple cap on his brown hair. The Tierbilder in the Tafel refer back to many of the words whose Latin names he had learned in the Gesprächbüchlein, indeed these pictures might have corresponded to the characters of the many animal fables known to the prince, and the strange animal and human figures must have stimulated a child's imagination. The second part of the Tafel, whatever the reason, is very different in appearance. The "Buchmaler i" with its Drolereien has been replaced with one colored lineament of the ornamental letters.[85]

Also to this earliest period of instruction belongs the small book known as the Gesprächsbüchlein (Cod. 15.096), which is written in the usual practical script, which contains Latin conversational pieces, Biblical sayings and maxims by Cato and Cicero, some Vergil, and some Isidor of Seville and Vegetius. The Gesprächsbüchlein contains not only pattern practices in Latin, which might be comparable to a modern foreign language text, but presents a cheerful and unaffected description of the school hours, exactly as they might have been under the pedagogically schooled Jakob von Fladnitz. It introduces a simple Latin dialogue in the conversational frame of an exchange between the pupils and teacher. The conversations are very unpretentious, beginning with the Latin conversation of the boys as they wake. A lazy one who won't get up has to endure moral sayings. As the boys dress some Psalm verses are recited, and then the pupils go to their teacher who asks some simple questions

leading to a period of discussion and instruction. It is not only grammar instruction, but questions about the names of various parts of the body, names of trees and designations for animals, especially game animals. Then Maximilian requests permission to go outside into the garden where a war-game is held. The boys have their battle with sticks and twigs under the leadership of Maximilian on a stick horse, as they storm on imaginary fortress, all the while speaking Latin. The game is called to an end by the teacher. The text ends with a reconciliation of the warring parties and the release of prisoners. Here appear the names of the legendary heroes of olden days, Alexander, King David, Siegfried, Theoderich and Parzival, with whom Maximilian's later imagination was so occupied.[86]

The style of the work is simple, kept in the frame of the medieval Schulbetrieb, and is written in a useable Gebrauchslatein with no aesthetic pretensions. Some lines show amusing pen sketches and one drawing in the margin shows an armed figure on horseback with shield and lance in hand, labelled "Maximilianus Archidux" written in what appears to be a child's hand, possibly the wish-picture of his future image. Fichtenau notes: This is the first time we see the appearance of that impulse which was in Maximilian's whole life to graphically represent an ideal of his own personality in a book. This Gesprächsbüchlein's simple dialogue presents a better picture of the education of the prince than do all the more elaborate manuscripts. Unfortunately it is of questionable value, because the most recent scholarship suggests the manuscript is a forgery by Georg Zappert, though completely genuine in its outer form

and content, and so charming and lively compared to the official Lehrbücher.[87]

After the beginning of instruction with the ABC book, the Tafel, Maximilian progressed to the Donat, the standard grammar text of the Middle Ages. The Donat, the grammar book of Aelius Donatus, teacher of St. Hieronymus, was the most important help for beginners with Latin grammar and the language. It had been put together in the fourth century written after a Greek model, in a dialogue form to be learned by heart, and consistently used into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The grammatical rules were presented in a purely mechanical method in a form consisting of a question-answer game, a grammar drill of questions such as, "How many parts of speech are there? Eight. What are they called? . . . etc." And this Latin grammar of the Donat was literally drummed into Maximilian's head by Peter Engelbrecht von Passail. The second part of the book contains simple moral teachings and warnings. Following the grammatical exercises are the Distichen of Dionysius Cato (ca. 160 A.D.), the Denkverse of instructive content, which had been read in the schools since the fourth century. The sayings advised the children to do good and not bad things, to honor their parents and to take the advice of elders were reasonable and appropriate. However many of the verses were not suitable for children ages eight to ten: admonitions to "love one's wife, care for one's family and to avoid association with prostitutes." Though the Humanists had criticized and fought against the scholastic type of training, they contributed nothing new. The general wisdom of the forefathers, the basic rules of the Stoic-Christian system of morals which we today would characterize as platitudes, were supposed to give the

children their foundation for their later life. The major portion of the textbooks did not make any concession to children's thinking. At the end of the Donat was a poem advising the prince to follow the example of his ancestors.[88]

Maximilian had a double copy of the Donat, one handed down to him from Ladislas, who died in 1457, two years before Maximilian's birth, and a second copy done for him by Spitzweg (Cod. s.n. 2617). This latter text, put together ad usum Delphini, contains the Denkverse by Dionysius Cato, and has twenty-five dietary rules of the Schola Salernitana annexed to the original text. The diet rules allegedly were written by the doctors of Salerno at the request of the English Prince Robert III, son of William the Conquerer who was treated there in 1101. Appended are moral quotations from Cicero and a warning of a Viennese Dominican.[89]

In the Prunkschrift of the Donat for Ladislas, which was written in the ornate Textura writing style, Maximilian gained his first introduction to the more elaborate script and ceremonies style, and learned to read the Prunkschrift of the Gothic Mass-books. He did not learn to copy it, only to read and appreciate the lovely ornate style. There was no alphabet or examples of other styles of book printing in it, only in the Tafel (Cod. 2368). As important as the copyist was the illuminator of the textbooks, but although his work is known, his identity is not. Undoubtedly we can ascribe to his work however the first stimulus toward Maximilian's later occupation with Buchkunst. It is significant that he had in his employ men of the stature of Dürer, Cranach, etc., and through them became the creator of unique works.[90]

The Donat (Cod. s.n. 2617) is a richly elaborated parchment manuscript, whose title page shows the Imperial and the Portuguese Wappen of Maximilian's mother, and below the Austrian Wappen. Its appearance clearly reflects the world of childhood: there is a dancing ape, a bear playing a Trumscheit, a rabbit blowing the bagpipes and being bitten by a crane. It has a picture of Peter at the beginning, showing his strict features, and his fashionable Tracht, which seems in no way clerical. There is a sharp contrast in the appearance of this teacher with the earlier teacher, probably Jakob, pictured in the Tafel, and the difference in teachers probably signifies the death of Jakob, one and a half years before Eleanore. The teacher on the title page (Cod. s.n. 2617) is wearing a very fashionable Tracht, a red-violet Talar (always the designation of the station of a Gelehrte) with white trim, a brown garment underneath and a fashionable headdress of an elaborate blue cone-shaped hat with a turned up point, a two-part arched brim colored gold underneath, and wound with a yellow streaming ribbon. It is undoubtedly Peter, who was of the clerical class, but dressed as a well-to-do secular gentleman.[91]

Between the Donat and the Doctrinale puerorum (Cod. 2289) of Alexander de Villedieu, which is the third of the great Prunkwerke, lie several years. The Doctrinale introduced the upper level of Latin grammar and was probably to be placed at the beginning of Maximilian's seventh year. The work is written in pure Humanist script, possibly written by Peter von Passail himself, certainly by no professional calligrapher. The title page of the Doctrinale shows an aged Peter von Passail, sitting on a pupit (Katheder) at work with a pen and

Schrabmesser on a book. Peter appears to be much older, gray-haired and his features are sharper and his complexion seems an unhealthy pale. There are pupils, including Maximilian, crouching at his feet. No school benches are to be seen, and even the son of the Kaiser, recognizable from his wide fur collar and wreath of flowers in his hair, had to sit on the floor.[92]

Maximilian was praised for his Latin, for his fluency of speech at his coronation and indeed on other occasions, but as Fichtenau notes, that praise may well have depended more on dash and fire than any absolute correctness of grammar for its influence, declaring that anyone who dictated or wrote a soldier's Latin, hardly spoke a Ciceronean style.[93]

> Mit dem Latein stand er freilich zeitlebens auf Kriegsfuss. Er liebte es, wenn man seine Beredsamkeit lobte, hat sich aber doch keinen Illusionen darüber hingegeben, dass es ein rechtes "Reiterlatein" war, das er sprach und schrieb. Es für die Öffentlichkeit zu verbessern, dafür waren die Humanisten da, die sich der Kaiser verpflichtet hatte; ihm selbst machte es gewiss wenig aus, wenn sie hier Solözismen, Anakoluthe und Kontaminationen in reicher Fülle feststellten. Logische Konsequenz war nicht die Stärke seiner leicht ablenkbaren, stets vorwärtsdrängenden und grosszügigen Natur. Die Zeitgenossen waren übrigens derlei zu hören und selbst zu üben gewohnt; das Lateinische war damals noch eine lebende Sprache, an die man zumeist keine ästhetischen Ansprüche stellte.[94]

After 1471 Thomas von Cilli was certified as a teacher of Maximilian besides Peter. Through the Doctrinale puerorum Thomas von Cilli introduced the boy into upper level grammar and the business of state. He lent Maximilian his own books containing excerpts from Ovid, Terence, Petrarch, letters and treatises which helped his pupil gain a somewhat Humanist insight and practical knowledge for life.[95] The Gebrauchslatein the youth spoke was fluent, if indeed not always correct, and indeed not in accordance with the taste of the Humanists. Friedrich III's advisors

had been made fun of by the Humanist Aeneas for their ignorance of Latin; he joked that they were only "steirish gebildet," but there had been improvement, and at the Kaiserhof a quite good general Latin was understood.[96]

Maximilian was gradually introduced into the duties which would demand his attentions in the future. The practice of the Kanzleischrift led to an occupation with the chancellery and in the Weisskunig he told how he had had experience in the offices of the chancellery and secretariate. The prince apparently had an excellent writing teacher who did an unusually good job in schooling his eye and hand graphically, and "schönschreiben," "schnellschreiben," "chifferieren" and drawing brought him special pleasure all his life. In Weisskunig he tells how he learned "schönschreiben" "aus aigner bewegnus" meaning perhaps that it was not a part of the regular curriculum. He reports too in his "Lehrbucher" there "kamen ime oftmalen schönen schriften für" and so "understund er sich und uebet sich so vil mit dem schreibn und man lerung auf darynnen er kainen verdreiss het, sonder es was ime ain kurzweil." The son's progress evoked of course "ain sonder gefallen" of his imperial father. The story of the writing contest with the best of the imperial secretaries is exaggerated as usual, but it was nevertheless an official of the imperial chancellery who was permitted to display before Maximilian his ability, undoubtedly with the knowledge and consent of Friedrich III.[97]

Unfortunately Maximilian's own Schreibübungen are no longer preserved. They would provide a most interesting comparison, but they had already been lost when Maximilian himself asked for them. He was interested in obtaining these writing samples, probably with an eye on his own

literary activities with which he was occupied at this time. The following directive from Maximilian has been preserved: his directive of the year 1500 to Innsbruck, ". . . sollen si vleissiglich und aigentlich suechen umb ain alts pëchl, darinn lateinisch epistl geschriben und gerappiert sein, so wir in der jugent selbs gemacht und geschriben haben. . . . Und wann sie dasself epistlpüechl finden, söllen sie und das . . . zuschicken." In Innsbruck wurde notiert: "Man hat den Tonat oder epistlpüechl icht sonder sein majestät tafl und text gefunden und ist bei den andern büchln in der almar." In the direction of 1500, Maximilian wrote: "Und zu mer anzaigen, so werden si dasselb epistlpüechl bei oder auf unserm Donnat, den künig Lassla zu Hunngern und Beheym und nachmals wir in unser jugent gelernt habe, und dabei der selb künig Lassla gemalet ist, finden" (Directive of 30 Dec. 1500 from Linz).[98]

Fichtenau concludes the magnificent script and initials and letters in his child's books were revived in the later imperial Prunkschriften, and that posterity is indebted to his writing teacher for the wonderful artistic works the Emperor caused to be published later. Fichtenau's study of the textbooks is chiefly concerned with the script and physical beauty of the manuscripts as the determining influence on the choice of printing style for Maximilian's future books. He concluded Maximilian's pleasure and recollection in the style of these works of his childhood as the fact which determined the style used in his imperial prayerbook. Hence these Prunkhandschriften of Friedrich III were predecessors of Maximilian's famous prayerbook and it established the Fraktur style of print. Maximilian's tastes and learning continued beyond these

years of childhood, and the important influence of the rich collections of the Burgundian library must surely have been a determining factor in his artistic endeavors. However we must also accord proper weight to these earliest influences on the child who would later become the man to cultivate Buchkunst to a high degree through the employment of men like Dürer and Cranach.[99]

Footnotes

[1]Buchner, p. 10.

[2]Wiesflecker, Kaiser Maximilian I, pp. 67-68; hereafter cited as KMI.

[3]Ibid.; Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 11.

[4]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 11.

[5]Ibid.; Wiesflecker, KMI, pp. 68-70.

[6]Wiesflecker, KMI, pp. 69-70, Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 11.

[7]Wiesflecker, KMI, p. 70.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Gottlieb, p. 34.

[10]Wiesflecker, KMI, p. 73.

[11]Coxe, pp. 214, 278.

[12]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 10.

[13]Breitner, p. 27.

[14]Wiesflecker, KMI, pp. 71-72, 60.

[15]Wiesflecker, KMI, pp. 68, 71.

[16]Heinrich Fichtenau, Die Lehrbücher Maximilians I. und die Anfänge der Frakturschrift (Hamburg, 1961), p. 6.

[17]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, pp. 10-11; Cuspinian, Austria, p. 52.

[18]Schmid, p. 4.

[19]Wiesflecker, KMI, p. 73.

[20]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 12.

[21]Wiesflecker, KMI, p. 73.

[22]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 12.

[23]Fichtenau, Lehrbucher, p. 6.

[24]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 15.

[25]Wiesflecker, KMI, p. 74; Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, p. 6; Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 16.

[26]Will Winkler, Kaiser Maximilian I., Zwischen Wirklichkut und Traum (München, 1950), p. 123.

[27]Heer, p. 127.

[28]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, pp. 6-7.

[29]Buchner, p. 10.

[30]Ibid.; Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, p. 7.

[31]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, p. 7; Wiesflecker, KMI, p. 81.

[32]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, p. 7; Junge Maximilian, p. 16; Wiesflecker, KMI, p. 74.

[33]Wiesflecker, KMI, pp. 73-74, 78.

[34]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, pp. 7-8.

[35]Baltl, p. 6.

[36]Heer, p. 124.

[37]Ibid., p. 125.

[38]William H. Woodward, Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance, 1400-1600 (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967), p. 134.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid., pp. 134-35.

[41]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, p. 7.

[42]Baltl, p. 6.

[43]Woodward, p. 136.

[44]Ibid., p. 137.

[45]Schmid, p. xiv.

[46]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, p. 13.

[47]Woodward, p. 138.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Ibid., p. 139.

[50]Ibid., p. 138.

[51]Woodward, p. 140.

[52]Ibid., p. 141.

[53]Ibid., p. 142.

[54]Ibid., pp. 142-43.

[55]Baltl, p. 6.

[56]Woodward, p. 145.

[57]Ibid., pp. 144, 152.

[58]Ibid., pp. 153, 157.

[59]Baltl, p. 7.

[60]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, p. 10; Wiesflicker, KMI, p. 74.

[61]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, p. 11; Johnson Chase, Ars Minor aa 12.

[62]Wiesflecker, KMI, p. 74; Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 12.

[63]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, pp. 10-11.

[64]Ibid., pp. 10-11, 15; Wiesflicker, KMI, p. 74.

[65]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, p. 16.

[66]Wiesflecker, p. 75.

[67]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, p. 11.

[68]Ibid.

[69]Heinrich Fichtenau, "Die Schulbücher Maximilians I.," Philobiblon (Hamburg, 1959), p. 5.

[70]Hirtl, p. 11.

[71]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, pp. 11-12; Aschbach, p. 623.

[72]Ibid.; Bergmann, p. 69.

[73]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, p. 11.

[74]Hirtl, pp. 11-12.

[75]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, pp. 12-13; Wiesflecker, p. 74.

[76]Hirtl, p. 4.

[77]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, p. 6.

[78]Winkler, p. 25; Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, p. 6.

[79]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, pp. 6, 12.

[80]Hirtl, pp. 12-13.

[81]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, pp. 5, 12-13.

[82]Ibid., pp. 13-14; 17; Gottlieb, p. 12.

[83]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, pp. 14-15.

[84]Ibid., pp. 16-18; Hirtl, pp. 14-15.

[85]Hirtl, pp. 12-13, 15; Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, pp. 16-18.

[86]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, pp. 5, 14-15; Junge Maximilian, p. 14; Hirtl, p. 17.

[87]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, pp. 14-16; MIOG 78, p. 464; Hirtl, p. 1 p. 17.

[88]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, pp. 6, 9, 16; Hirtl, p. 22.

[89]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, p. 9; Hirtl, pp. 19-20, 23.

[90]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, pp. 15, 22; Hirtl, p. 28.

[91]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, pp. 16-18.

[92]Ibid., pp. 17-18.

[93]Ibid., p. 14.

[94]Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 17.

[95]Wiesflecker, KMI, p. 75.

[96]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, p. 22.

[97]Wiesflecker, KMI, p. 75; Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, p. 16.

[98]Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, p. 9; Gottlieb, p. 30.

[99]Wiesflecker, KMI, p. 75; Fichtenau, Lehrbücher, pp. 22-23; Fichtenau, Junge Maximilian, p. 16.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Impossible as it is to separate the Middle Ages and modern times with any precise date or event, there are however features which characterize the two periods. Maximilian I, the "last knight" and first Renaissance prince, is that transitional figure who appears the embodiment of both the medieval and Renaissance spirit. His enthusiasm for the medieval past, its knightly games and courtly epics is reflected in much of his politics, his interests and activities. At the same time his versatile interests and varied activities reflect the attributes of the Renaissance man. His active roles as soldier, statesman, and emperor were not sufficient occupations to prevent this Habsburg monarch from attempting to define his own history and that of his House as historiographer and author himself. His personal literary efforts, the Latin and German dictations, are all autobiographical works which reflect his broad interests and enthusiasms and present a romanticized and idealized portrayal of the hero.

His Weisskunig declares his work to be an effort determined to engrave his name onto the memory of posterity:

> wer ime in seinem leben kain gedachtnus macht, der hat nach seinem tod kain gedächtnus und desselben menschen wird mit dem glockendon vergessen, . . . und was ich in meinem leben in meiner gedächtnus nit volbring, das wird nach meinem tod weder durch dich oder ander nit erstat [WK, p. 226].

The work can thus not be viewed as pure literary art, for his alleged purpose determines it simultaneously a political treatise aimed at establishing a name, a reputation, a remembrance for himself and his dynasty. If the Weisskunig cannot be acclaimed for its literary value alone, it was nonetheless quite successful in constructing the image of the prince which has been handed down to posterity and in preserving his memory in history.

The work is a great monument of German Renaissance art.

> Die Spärlichkeit der zum Weisskunig erschienenen Literatur kann verschiedene Ursachen haben. Einmal wird dieses Werk etwas mechanisch in die Reihe der Maximilianeen von der Genealogie über den Theuerdank bis zu den Heiligen, der Ehrenpforte und dem Triumphzug gerechnet, also zu jenem Bemühungen, denen, man mag sich noch so sträuben, in der Summe etwas Monströses anhaftet [Musper, p. 60].

If indeed, the Weisskunig has remained unappreciated, it has yet accomplished much toward its alleged goal. No Emperor is more fondly recalled than Maximilian, who has become a folk-legend in the popular memory. And it has surely been his own writing which determined that popular image, his cultural contributions and literary works which assured him not only fame, but affection.

As seen, the Weisskunig is particularly interesting for its portrayal of the prince's education, the youthful training and learning which determined and shaped his interests and abilities--one of the strongest determining factors in his career, beside the grace of God and the influence of the stars. The text provides a rich store of information for the study of the man and of his other works and cultural program. The heavy emphasis on the education of the prince, the hero of

the Weisskunig, whose precocious learning was the amazement of his masters and his father, reflects in itself even a combination of medieval and Renaissance interests. As the enfance became an important traditional feature of the medieval epic, reflecting the childhood experiences and adventures of the hero, the Humanists interest and stress on formal learning, academic education, literature and languages dominated the representation of childhood. The Weisskunig, ostensibly maintaining its claim of historiography, cites classical models, yet devotes a far greater proportion of the text to the description of the childhood learning and education in the enfance, than is found in Caesar, the medieval romances, or even in the Latin Autobiography of Emperor Charles IV. Hence the work reflects far more modern, Renaissance, or Humanist ideals than found in its medieval or classical models, showing Maximilian a man of his own age, who furthers and continues the Humanist emphasis and enthusiasm for letters and learning. It was this interest and stimulus which created the foundation for the Humanist revival of learning and revitalization of education, as their reforms replaced and improved the outdated Scholastic system.

There can be no question that the childhood and education of the prince were major factors determining the interests and abilities of the later Emperor. As evidenced by historical and literary evidence, both his political and literary careers were distinguished by their vitality and versatility. The wide sphere of interests and varied activities of this prince was not merely an inevitable expression of the Renaissance and Humanist ideal, but rather an individual response and development

to the stimuli of this transitional period of history, and determined to a great extent by the style and program of the prince's education. His attitude toward scholarship and art was directed already in his youth in a definite, particular direction by his father, his teachers and tutors, as well as by his personal inclinations. His textbooks, the earliest schoolbooks to be preserved, and his educational program offer a rich source of information for the study of the man and his later works, for herein one might find the seeds of his later interests and the basis for the creations of his later years.

The most personal and comprehensive of all his writing, the autobiographical prose romance, the Weisskunig, presents to us one of most valuable, interesting, and unusual documents of the times, and provides a glimpse into the life of Maximilian and the court circle. His work too reflects the contrasts and contradictions of the age in which it was written and of the man behind its composition. This unfinished autobiographical work represents an uneven mixture of form and style, for Maximilian combined in his writing a double purpose: uniting political and personal goals, he worked to secure for his House the imperial crown and toward the aggrandizement of his Habsburg and imperial lands, while glorifying his name and that of his House. The Weisskunig was at the same time a last effort to write medieval epic literature and an early effort at the modern novel form. Nor was this its only ambivalence. The audience to whom it was directed was also indeterminate. Its primary aim as a mirror for princes was to present an exemplary model for admiration, instruction and emulation. As

propagandistic journalism, it attempted to support and defend the Emperor's political position against all criticism and opponents, and aimed at establishing a defense, a justification of the Habsburg right to the crown and sceptor of the Holy Roman Empire. And it created too for the Emperor a legendary image which has served as a monument to his memory.

The contrasts and contradictions in his literary works—in style, content and form--merely reflect the contrasts in the man himself. The abrupt change from the Latin dictations for the classical res gesta to the vernacular German prose novel had marked a sharp change in goals and audience. No longer directed toward the learned historians it gained a national appeal for the "gemainen man." Maximilian's declared purpose, to provide for his own remembrance, has raised problematic questions regarding the Weisskunig: Should it be considered fact or fiction, history or romance? The work defies concise definition, and different scholars and critics have naturally viewed it in different ways, from the many different viewpoints--historical, literary, artistic.

The magnificent combination of prose and woodcut illustrations in the Weisskunig achieved a union of literary and graphic art which successfully bridges two spheres of artistic expression. The text blends features of many different genre, the autobiographical memoirs of antiquity and the medieval chivalric epics, historiography, and novel, chronicle and Fürstenspiegel, and is yet typical to none. In fact, the work vacillates within the very course of its length between these various genre. The prose work is laden with the literary devices of

allegory, symbolism and romanticism, yet still never divorces itself from its claims to historiography. Whether written as a literary monument, a historical source, or as political propaganda, the Weisskunig torso contains elements of both realism and romance. It is difficult to resist eluding the problem by maintaining that had the incomplete work been revised to a final form, many of its inconsistencies and contradictions might well have been resolved. Its inconclusive form however leaves the question unresolved, and leaves to uncertainty, the mysterious indefinite wonder of an unresolved potential.

The work's very inconsistency and changeableness reflects something of those qualities which were so much a part of the innate nature of Maximilian himself--a man and ruler rich in complications, contradictions and contrasts. As previously noted, not only his contemporaries but later historians and scholars have seen in Maximilian many very different features and characteristics. Convincingly defined by Diederich's as a political realist, a monarch fully conscious of his goals, his abilities and powers, the Emperor is portrayed as cleverly, consciously manipulating the Humanists, the Arts and Literature into his political dynastic service. Practical and inventive he contributed valuable advances modernizing warfare through his inventive design and innovations in gunnery and military maneuvers. Yet the "father of the Landsknechte" who outmoded the old fashioned military conduct, is still popularly remembered as also the "last knight," a romantic figure of the past, longing for the lost heritage of the medieval epic, actively engaged in efforts to revive the chivalric tournaments, the knightly games and courtly codes of behavior.

He was at once both realist and romanticist as Master of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and member of the Crusading Order of St. George, he was a monarch yet with unrealistic impractical ambitions. The perpetual hope of leading a Crusade to free the Holy Land from the Turkish infidels and to liberate Christendom from this Eastern threat remained a central thought in both his political and literary ambitions, and the surprising dream of securing his own election to the Papal throne to unite in one the secular and religious power was yet another unrealistic hope. His crusading hopes and cloudy Caesaro-papism were relics of a by-gone age. Yet as he dedicated himself enthusiastically to the medieval duties of the knightly orders, he made it serviceable at the same time to his foreign policies, admitting rulers to the Order for the clear political scheme of political alliance. Scholars have then attempted to define his essential character within narrow, well defined boundaries and restricted his reflection to a medieval frame. Although he undoubtedly politically reflected the medieval concept of political philosophy and imperial power--the orbis Imperium, and idealized outdated goals, he also bore the strong stamp of the Renaissance in his character and works.

The complex character of Maximilian managed to absorb and blend elements from each side of his environment and heritage. He was both a military prince and patron of the arts, soldier and poet, who not only expanded an empire, but left his own efforts at prose and poetry as a monument to posterity for himself and his dynasty. As Maecenas he furthered Germanic art by numerous commissions for graphic works,

plastic art and musical works. He stimulated and personally contributed to German cultural development through historiography and literature. His many and varied models and heroes appear realized throughout his works and interest, immortalized in art and sculpture. They are the greatest figures of every age: Noah on his genealogical table, the legendary Arthur at his tomb alongside Theoderich, King of the Goths, Caesar, David and Alexander emerge in his autobiographical prose novel, where the elevated, idealized description of his birth is set beside the realities of the military campaigns of Part III. His collections of objects and curiosities of antiquity, his admiration of the ancient authors, and his pleasure in the saga literature existed side by side with his modern inquiries into the nature of man, his relation to God, and his practical inventive interests. His superstitions and faith in the influence of the stars coexisted with his sound religious faith. He combined his Austro-Germanic heritage and background with his enthusiasm for the French cultural influences in the court of his beloved Burgundian wife, and attempted to blend these varied elements into an acceptable combination.

It need not be unacceptable that this Emperor combined in his interests and views so many contrasting attitudes and thoughts in a lifetime which witnessed the appearance of such diverse works as the 1485 Caxton edition of Malory's Morte D'Arthur and Machiavelli's Prince in 1513. It would be erroneous to attempt to evaluate Maximilian or his works as solely a reflection of either age for he belonged to each, to both, and exclusively to neither. He was himself, a complex and

fascinating figure who blended in his personality, his interests, and his works many contrasting and contradicting elements from many varied stimuli and influences. The result was then a unique structural relationship of old and new. If the traditionally medieval elements dominate his life and works with his sense of the knightly virtues, courtly splendor, and Crusade plans, at the same time he's open to Humanism and the Renaissance and all the facets of the modern age.

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