

ON THE MARGIN OF ARTWORK REPRODUCTION: TWO EXAMPLES OF THE USE OF GRAPHIC REPRO- DUCTIONS AS INSPIRATION FOR ARTWORKS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

A special, marginal example of artwork reproduction is the practice of reusing portraits, compositions and motifs of fine arts – either as exact copies or by creating different variations. Though we can see this in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries most often in the case of easily disseminated graphic reproductions, we know of several examples where monumental works of “high art”, such as altarpieces, cenotaphs or large painted portraits, were based on wood or copper engravings.¹

In my study I will show two ways of borrowing motifs based on the portraits depicting King Louis II of Hungary (1506–1526) which appeared in Siegmund (Sigismund) Freiherr von Herberstein’s (1486–1566)² writings about his travels in Moscow, published in 1549, and in his biographies published around 1550–1562.

Herberstein had been performing ambassadorial duties for several decades as an advisor to Maximilian I (1459–1519), Charles V (1500–1558) and Ferdinand I (1503–1564), and he also visited Louis II’s court in Buda

1 The study was made as part of the *Mohács 1526–2026 – Rekonstrukció és emlékezet (Mohács 1526–2026 – Reconstruction and Remembrance)* program, with the support of the Tempus Public Foundation and the Collegium Hungaricum in Vienna.

Recently see for example: GALAVICS 2019.

2 ADELUNG 1818; KRONES 1871; NEHRING 1897; PICARD 1966; PICARD 1967; PFERSCHY 1989; HÖSCH – KÄMPFER – FRÖTSCHNER 2002; GEIER 2004; ENENKEL 2008, 546–574; DENICOLÒ 2010; Im Auftrag des Kaisers: Sigismund von Herberstein und seine Reisen nach Moskau vor 500 Jahren. Dienstag, 30. Mai bis Mittwoch, 31. Mai 2017. Universität Graz. Internationale Konferenz; MORITZ 2019, 141–195.; PAPP 2021.



Fig. 1
Donat
Hübschmann,
Sigmund von
Herberstein,
woodcut, 1560

pages of the four-page booklet. We are not certain whether this is a different edition or a unique characteristic of this copy (Fig. 2).⁵

In addition to his own portraits, he also illustrated his publications with portraits of the rulers who played an important role in his life and during his ambassadorial duties, as well as with scenes from his travels. The diplomat likely wrote the first part of his travelogue in Russia in the 1530s, and began publishing it in the 1540s.

Presumably in 1544 he started to work with Augustin Hirschvogel (1503–1553),⁶ a master glass painter, draughtsman, engraver and car-

several times. His two most significant journeys were to Russia, in 1517–1518 and 1526. He later became the first to introduce to Europe the Russian social system, religion, customs, geographical features and fauna in his writings about his travels in Russia, which were published in numerous editions.³

That Herberstein had an unusually strong need for self-representation is proven by the fact that he not only published his autobiography in several languages and in many editions, but that he also adorned most of them with six full-length self-portraits, depicting him wearing the ceremonial clothes worn on his travels as an ambassador or given to him by the ruler he visited (Fig. 1).⁴ We also know about a half-length version of the portrait. The volume kept in the Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (RM IV 231) has six coloured, gilded portraits glued onto different

3 DENIS 1782, no. 705., 656–657.; BÖRNER 1866, 90–91., 93.; NEHRING 1987; LEITSCH 1989; KÄMPFER 1999; POE 2000, 117–144.; SCHOLZ 2000, 119–140.; POE 2002; GEIER 2004.

4 Gratae Posteritati; Picturae Variae. See DENIS 1782, 580., 554., no. 630., 597., no. 740., 686.; DENIS 1793, no. 830., 109.; BÖRNER 1866, 90.; NEHRING 1897, 65–71.; NEVINSON 1959, 89–90.; NEVINSON 1967, 67–70.; PICARD 1989; TERSCH 1998, 196.; POLLEROSS 2013; VIDMAR 2014; VIDMAR 2019.

5 Sigmundus Liber Baro in Herberstain Neyberg & Guettenhag... Wien, Raphael Hofhalter, 1558.

6 DOPPELMAYR 1730, 156., 199.; BARTSCH 1808, 170–207.; NAGLER 1838, 194–197.; BERGMANN 1844, 280–296.; LE BLANC 1856, 360–363.; NAGLER 1863, 193–196.; BÖRNER 1866; NEHRING 1897; NEHRING 1897/b, 121–129.; SCHWARZ 1917; Katalog der Gedenkschau 1953.; PETERS 1982, 95–363.; FALK 1984, 145–242.; JENKINS 2019, 97–100., 112–116.

tographer born in Nuremberg, who started to work in Vienna in that year. In his writings about his Russian travels, titled *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, published in Vienna in 1549, Herberstein included the full-length portraits of six European rulers, as well as Sultan Suleiman I (1494–1566) and Vasili III of Russia (1479–1533), the Grand Prince of Moscow, and also four scenes from his travels.

He illustrated his journeys in Hungary in two scenes. In one of them, we can see a carriage driven by three horses and a coachman raising his whip. The Austrian diplomat and his companion are sitting in the carriage (Fig. 3). At the top of the page are the Hungarian and Turkish coats of arms, the latter with the crescent moon, while in the bottom left we can see the artist's monogram and the year 1546. The Turkish coat of arms may refer to the situation in Hungary after 1541. In the foreground of the composition are three boats on a river, presumably a reference to Herberstein's journey on the Danube.⁷

Another genre scene, which was not included in the travelogue about Russia published in Vienna in 1549, directly refers to Herberstein's travels in Hungary in 1541, during which he talked with Sultan Suleiman in the military camp near Buda, which was one of the highlights of his diplomatic career.⁸ In the foreground of the picture (Fig. 4) we can see the Danube with boats, while in the background there is a Turkish camp of tents, behind which mountains rise on both sides, each with a castle at its summit. Also in the foreground, two people can be seen walking towards the camp.⁹

The six portraits of rulers in the 1549 travelogue depicted fictive armoured figures holding coats of arms.¹⁰ The figures can be identified



Fig. 2
Donat
Hübschmann,
Sigmund von
Herberstein,
woodcut, 1558

7 BATSCH 1808, 179., nos. 19–21. (The Hungarian journey: no. 21.); NAGLER 1838, no. 14., 195. (The Hungarian journey: no. 14c.); LE BLANC 1856, nos. 210–212. (The Hungarian journey: no. 212.), 361.; BÖRNER 1866, no. 21., 79., 93.; NEHRING 1897, 27., 42. (Fig. 4); NEHRING 1897/b, 125–126.; SCHWARZ 1917, no. 21., 167–168., 204.; PETERS 1982, no. 21., 229.; FALK 1984, no. 132.12., 232.; TERSCH 1998, 199.

8 PETRITSCH 1989, 92–96. See PICARD 1967, 124–127., 173.; GEIER 2004, 182.; SEIPEL 2003, no. V.32., 419.; MORITZ 2019, 173–174.; ALIYAZICIOĞLU 2019; VIDMAR 2019, 75.

9 “Ferner liefs er das türkische Lager und seine Fahrt auf der Donau...”. NEHRING 1897, 7.; SCHWARZ 1917, 32.; SCHÖNY 1957, 56.; GULYÁS.

10 BARTSCH 1808, 175. nos. 10–12. and nos. 13–16.; LE BLANC 1856, nos. 215–221., 361–362.; LASCHITZER 1888, 45–46.; NEHRING 1897, 29–31., 39–40.; NEHRING 1897/b, 121–122.; 123–129.; BÖRNER 1866, 88–100.; SCHWARZ 1917, 29–35., 164–170.; MENDE 1968, 7–11.; PETERS 1982, nos. 10–16., 218–224.; FALK 1984, no. 132.1.–23., 226–239. Artworks depicting



Fig. 3
*Sigmund von
Herberstein
in Hungary,*
woodcut, 1561



Fig. 4
*Sigmund von
Herberstein
in Buda,*
woodcut, 1561

by the inscriptions of the coloured engravings in the ornamental book kept in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.¹¹ The engravings, as shown by the monogram and date, were made by Hirschvogel in 1546.

The images bear a clear resemblance to a few depictions of kings found in a series of 92 woodcuts created by Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–1531), a court artist of Maximilian I, made between 1509 and 1512 for the *Genealogy* of the ruler,¹² as well as to the engraved pictures created by Burgkmair the Elder and Burgkmair the Younger around 1530 in the *Pappenheim Chronik*, which presented the ancestors of the Waldburg noble family.¹³ The portrait of Louis II (Fig. 5) in Herberstein's publication¹⁴ shares significant similarities with the woodcut of the *Genealogy* depicting King Banathias (Fig. 6).¹⁵

Louis II for example in: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen (Kupferstichkabinett), Dresden. Inv. Nr. A 1925-85; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett – Sammlung der Zeichnungen und Druckgraphik, Berlin. Inv. Nr. 85-1896; National Gallery of Art, Washington, Rosenwald Collection. Inv. Nr. 1950.17.197; Vienna, Albertina, Inv. Nr. DG1930/2090, his bust: DG1930/2111. etc.

11 Rerum Moscoviticarum 1549. ÖNB, Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung. Signature: 261764-D (261764-D FID MAG FID) See NEHRING 1897, 29–30.; SCHWARZ 1917, 30–31., 200.; FALK 1984, no. 132., 225.; LEITSCH 1989, 173–174., 177.

12 See LASCHITZER 1888; FRIMMEL 1889.; ZIMMERMANN 1915; ZIMMERMANN 1915/b; KAULBACH – ZÄH 2012, 13.

13 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 1292. See ZIMMERMANN 1915, 60–62.; FALK – BIEDERMANN 1973, nos. 220–221.; EMMENDÖRFFER – ZÄH 2011, no. 25., 188–189.; KAULBACH – ZÄH 2012, 13–14.; KAULBACH 2012, 209–210.; SEIDL 2012, 23.; JENKINS 2019, 62–63.

14 “16) Autre homme semblable. It est vu de face, tenant son sabre de la main gauche, et de l'autre une courroye attachée à un écusson qui est en blanc. Le chiffre et l'année 1546 sont gravés à la droite d'en bas.” BARTSCH 1808, no. 16., 175.; LE BLANC 1856, no. 218., 361–362.; LASCHITZER 1888, 46.; NEHRING 1897, 30., 41.; NEHRING 1897/b, 24., SCHWARZ 1917, no. 16., 166., 204.; PETERS 1982, no. 16., 224.; FALK 1984, no. 132.7., 229–230.

15 The depiction of Banathias could have been the inspiration for a drawing of Jörg Breu the Younger. See MESSLING 2003, 21–22., Fig. 13.



Hirschvogel's standing portrait of Louis II is even more similar to the graphic reproduction depicting a herald of the Breuning family (Fig. 7) in the *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch*,¹⁶ a planned publication made between 1545–1547 which was printed only later, presenting the ancestors of patrician families in Augsburg. The series of 44 drawings and 53 copper etching proofs was made by Hans Burgkmair the Younger (1500–1562)¹⁷ and Heinrich Vogtherr (1513–1566/1568).¹⁸

It seems, therefore, that Hirschvogel's direct inspiration was probably not the *Genealogy* itself, but the *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch*, which in turn was based in part on some of the depictions of the *Genealogy*. This is also supported by the fact that, while the portraits of rulers in the *Genealogy* appear with a neutral background, in sections of both the *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch* and Hirschvogel's engravings we can see grassy, bumpy ground. Hirschvogel's standing portrait of Louis II is in a mirrored position in comparison to his portrait in the *Genealogy*, but in the same position as the image in the *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch*.

At the same time, it seems that Hirschvogel may have been aware of the versions of the *Genealogy* which had not been printed, but became widely known through proofs in the first half of the sixteenth century,

Fig. 5
Augustin
Hirschvogel,
Louis II,
engraving, 1546

Fig. 6
Hans Burgkmair
the Elder,
Banathias,
woodcut,
c. 1509–1512

Fig. 7
Hans Burgkmair
the Younger –
Heinrich Vogtherr,
The Herald of the
Breuning Family,
c. 1545–1547

16 Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung, Inv. Nr. D 2010/777 (1–100) (KK). See EMMENDÖRFFER – ZÄH 2011, 64., no. 24., 184–187.; KAULBACH 2012, 217–225.; SEIDL 2012, 19.; JENKINS 2019, no. 26., 62–63. About the book containing 37 copper engravings, found in the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek in Augsburg (Rar 114 (4° R 26b).): EMMENDÖRFFER – ZÄH 2011, no. 26., 190–193.

17 SEIDL 2012, 21–27.

18 SEIDL 2012, 28–32.

because the antecedents of his sitting portraits of rulers created for Herberstein's travelogue can be found in the *Genealogy*; in the *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch* there are no sitting pictures, only standing portraits. It is noteworthy, however, that although in the *Genealogy* we can find a sitting image depicting Maximilian I with features similar to the surviving portraits of the ruler, when Hirschvogel depicted Maximilian,¹⁹ he used not this, but the depiction of one of the emperor's fictional ancestors, Marcomirus.

The depictions of the rulers in the *Genealogy* were in part the inspiration for the *Geschlechterbuch* published in Augsburg a little earlier than Vogtherr's, printed in 1538. However, Christoph Weiditz (c. 1517–c. 1572) and David Kandel (Kannel) (c. 1520–c. 1590), who created the woodcuts, used these images more freely than Burgkmair's son and Heinrich Vogtherr.²⁰ For the latter, the depictions did not serve as a direct antecedent, but rather showed close similarities in their character. Compared to the engravings of Hans Burgkmair the Elder, the gestures here are far more energetic.

The work of Vogtherr, perhaps because the publication of 1538 already met the needs of the patricians of Augsburg, was printed only in 1618.²¹ We can recognise the figure who represented King Banathias in the *Genealogy*, the ancestor of the Breuning family in Vogtherr's engraving, and King Louis II in Hirschvogel's illustration. Here, however, he is the herald of the Winckler family.²²

19 PETERS 1982, no. 11., 219.; FALK 1984, no. 132.2., 227.

20 *Bericht vnd anzeigen aller Herren Geschlecht der loblichen Statt Augspurg so vor Fünffhundert vnd mehr Jaren ...* Straßburg, Paul Hector Mair, [s. d.] [Getruckt zu Straßburg durch Christoffel Widitz und Dauid Kannel]. A revised, expanded Augsburg edition in German and Latin (*Declaratio et demonstratio omnium patricii loci atque ordinis Familiarum...*) was illustrated with 156 woodcuts, often used more than once, and was also published by Paul Hektor Mair in 1550. After the execution of Mair in 1579, the woodcut blocks were bought by Sigmund Feyerabend, a publisher in Frankfurt, who had a cover page and three illustrations made by Jost Amman (1539–1591) for the book, and in 1580 published it again with the title *Geschlechterbuch der Löblichen Kayserlichen Reichs-Stadt Augspurg, so vor Fünffhundert und mehr Jahren hero daselbst gewonet...* See EMMENDÖRFFER – ZÄH 2011, no. 22., 176–179., no. 23., 180–183.; KAULBACH – ZÄH 2012, 14–16., 205., 245–247.; JENKINS 2019, 62–63.

21 *Ernewertes Geschlechter Buch. Der löblichen deß Heiligen Reichs Statt Augspurg Patriciorum, darunter 80. vor auß lustige zierliche Contrafacturen, der Schildt, Helm vnd Wappen, Ehrngemeldter geschlechtern. In drey vnderschiedliche Bücher abgetheilt.* Augspurg, Verlag Zimmermann, 1618. See EMMENDÖRFFER – ZÄH 2011, no. 27., 194–197.; KAULBACH – ZÄH 2012, 16–18.; ZÄH 2012, 238–240.

22 “Register dises Buchs. Zeigt an / wo eines under den 51 Alten Geschlechter Namen und Wappen zufunden sey / mit anzeigung was farben der Wappen zu weiterem Illuminiren

Although Hirschvogel is named in the online database of the Bibliotheca Hertziana as the creator of a graphic reproduction series of more than 40 images depicting armed warriors, the photographs²³ made of the engravings actually depict the proofs of the *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch*, made by Burgkmair the Younger and Heinrich Vogtherr.

The multiple use of the same images as inspiration for different works, as described above, is an illustrative example of the sixteenth-century practice of using the same motif to illustrate different people and events, and – as seen in the case of the fictional portrait of Louis II – not only to depict distant or fictitious ancestors of whom no portraits were made, but also to create images of contemporary rulers, even when more or less life-like portraits also existed.

*

Herberstein did not seem to have been satisfied with the authenticity of the rulers' depictions, because in his later publications we no longer encounter these fictive images. From Hirschvogel he commissioned a series of portraits of the rulers who played an important role in his life – instead of the earlier six, there were now portraits of seven rulers,²⁴ and these new images and their variants adorned his later publications. According to the belief at the time, these depictions were much more authentic than the full-length images, as their antecedents were engravings, paintings and medallions made of the depicted rulers.

In this series, we come across another practice of using previous pictures – indirectly an example of artwork reproduction –, as here the person and the portrait of the depicted do not change, only the images are placed in different visual contexts.

The “circular inscription” of the medallion-shaped engraved portraits featured the names, ranks and ages of the rulers. From the latter we can conclude that the images which inspired the portraits date from different times: Maximilian, for example, was depicted based on an earlier image created of him at the age of 55, in 1514, Charles V at the age of 32, in 1532,

oder mahlen gebührt”. [1.] 33: “Winckler. Der Schildt waß / die flügel auff dem Helm auch weiß / die Gilgen roht / die Helmdeckin oben weiß / und unden blaw.” [3.]

23 <https://www.bildindex.de/ete?action=queryupdate&desc=%22hirschvogel%2C%20augustin%22%20%20krieger&index=obj-all>

24 BARTSCH 1808, 178–179., nos. 29–35.; BERGMANN 1844, 285–286.; LE BLANC 1856, no. 202–208., 361.; BÖRNER 1866, 92.; NEHRING 1897, 31., 85–86.; NEHRING 1897/b, 128–129.; SCHWARZ 1917, 33–34., nos. 29–35., 168–169.; PETERS 1982, nos. 29–35., 238–244.; FALK 1984, nos. 132.14.–20., 234–236.



Fig. 8
Augustin
Hirschvogel,
*Map of Eastern
Europe*, etching,
c. 1548

Herberstain Neyberg & Guettenhag, published in Vienna in 1558 in quarto size and then re-published in a representative folio size in 1560. Each portrait was published on the page where Herberstein writes about his encounter with the depicted person: in the text above the half-length portrait of Louis II, for example, we can read that the diplomat arrived in the king's presence in Buda on 20 April 1518.²⁷

Newer versions of the illustrations appear in a four-page publication (*Sigmund Freyherr zu Herberstain / Neyperg / und Guttenhag / Oberster Erbcamrer und Oberster Drucksas in Kärnthn / dreyer Ro. Kaysern in Kriegen / Rathm unnd Postschafften hienach verzeichnet zway und fünfftzig Jar gedienet*) published by Raphael Hoffhalter (c. 1525–1530–1568)²⁸ in Vienna in 1558. On the page after the title page are images of Maximilian I, Charles V and Ferdinand I, inserted between the texts (Fig. 10), and on the following

Louis II in the year of his death, at the age of 20, etc., so the artist appears to have used the date of the images that provided his inspiration. The medallion portraits are found on a map of Eastern Europe, made not earlier than 1548,²⁵ at the top of which are portraits of the seven rulers, with seated portraits of Suleiman and Vasili III of Russia on either side and a portrait of Herberstein below, accompanied by four genre scenes of his travel experiences (travels in Hungary, Spain, Denmark and Russia) (Fig. 8).²⁶

The seven medallion portraits – including Louis II's (Fig. 9) – and the full-length portraits of Vasili III of Russia and Suleiman, as well as six standing portraits of Herberstein dressed in ornamental clothes, were included in the autobiography written in Latin titled *Gratae Posteritati Sigismundus Liber Baro in*

25 NEHRING 1897, 10.; SCHWARZ 1917, 35.

26 BARTSCH 1808, 179. no. 36.; NAGLER 1838, no. 22., 195.; LE BLANC 1856, no. 209., 361.; NAGLER 1863, 194.; BÖRNER 1866, no. 36., 80–81., 92–94.; SCHWARZ 1917, 34–35., no. 36., 169–170.; NEHRING 1897, 10.; NEHRING 1897/b, 127–128.; MENDE 1968, 9.; PETERS 1982, no. 36., 245.; FALK 1984, no. 132, 21., 237.; ERDŐS 2014, 131., no. 27a., 144.; VIDMAR 2019, 76–77.; Bánfi 2019, 15., 28.

27 BERGMANN 1844, 285–286.; NEHRING 1897, 65–69., 78.; MENDE 1968, 9.

28 See most recently about the typographer from Poland who worked from 1563 in Debrecen, Várad and Alba Iulia until his death: BÁNFI 2019.

page, with no text, can be seen the medallion portraits of Louis II, Christian II of Denmark (1481–1559), Sigismund I (the Old) of Poland (1467–1548), and Sigismund II Augustus of Poland (1520–1572), as well as full-length sitting portraits of Suleiman and Vasili III in low-quality woodcuts (Fig. 11). The next page shows five scenes from the journey, including the picture of his visit to Buda in 1541. This collection of pictures is also included in a slightly differently titled, but much longer publication (*Sigmund Freyherr zu Herberstain Neyperg / und Guetenhag / Oberster Erb Camrer und Oberster Drucksafß in Kärntn: Dreyen Rö: Kaysern in Kriegen / an Höfen / in Rätthn / und hie verzeichnenden Bottschaftten gedient angefangen 1506*), published by Michael Zimmerman in Vienna in 1562.

One composition, made up of the seven medallion portraits, the portraits of Suleiman and Vasili III, and the small reproductions of the five travel scenes, can be found in a woodcut published in 1559. In the middle of the collection of pictures is a German text referring to Herberstein's 45 years of service as an ambassador.²⁹ The same composition also



Fig. 9
Augustin
Hirschvogel,
Louis II,
engraving,
c. 1548

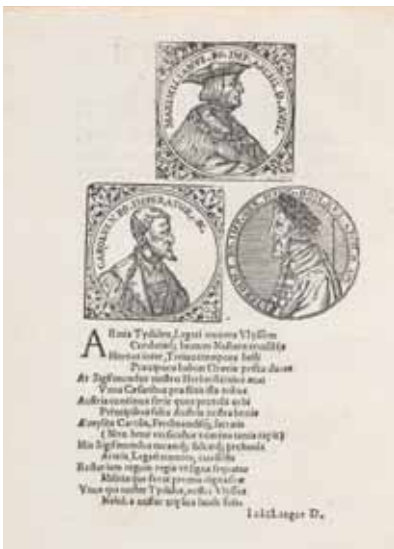


Fig. 10
Maximilian I,
Charles V and
Ferdinand I,
woodcut, 1558

Fig. 11
Louis II,
Christian II
of Denmark,
Sigismund I
(the Old) of
Poland, Sigismund
II Augustus of
Poland, Suleiman
I and Vasili III,
woodcut, 1558

29 *Sygmundt Freyherrn zu Herberstain, Neyperg und Guttenhag, Oberster Erbcamrer und Oberster Erbdrucksas in Kärnthn, des Röm. Khayser Ferdinanden Ratt, Camrer und president der Niderösterreichischen Camer. Mein Alters im 74. Den Vierdtn Khayser erlebt, Den Dreyen In Kriegen ... 45 Jar gedient. M.D.LIX. in Decemb.*

Fig. 12
 “Armis
 Tydiden...”,
 woodcut, 1560



appears on the front of a two-page print in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (48.D.10), functioning as a cover page. A page compiled from the same images and having a partly different text can also be found towards the end of Herberstein’s autobiography in German, published in Vienna in 1561.³⁰ The picture collection consisting of 15 items can be found

30 Sigmund Freyherr zu Herberstein / Neyperg / und Guetenhag / Obrister Erb-Camrer / und Obrister Trucksäß inn Cärndten / Denen Gegenwürtigen und Nachkommenden Freyherrn

in the publication titled *Picturae Variæ...*, also published by Raphael Hoffhalter in Vienna in 1560, only here a Latin poem can be read between the pictures instead of the title (Fig. 12).³¹ This autobiography also contains six full-length pictures of Herberstein in ambassadorial clothes.

Also related to the reproduction and use of motifs is the question of what the inspiration could have been for Hirschvogel's medallion portrait of Louis II, as the portrait of the ruler, who died in the Battle of Mohács in 1526, could only be made by the artist in 1546 based on an earlier portrait. Similarities can be discovered, for example, with the composition of a commemorative medal made in 1525, when Louis II was still alive, which also depicts his hat and clothing (Fig. 13).³²

An iconographic type similar to the commemorative medal is also found in a portrait belonging to Paolo Giovio (1483–1552), Bishop of Nocera, which was part of a portrait collection in Como.³³ The collection originally contained more than 400 items, and later became scattered, but was widely known through engraving reproductions. Giovio's collection of biographies presented men performing notable military acts – including Louis II –, and the first editions, published in Latin and Italian in the early 1550s, did not yet contain portraits.³⁴

After the death of Giovio, but before the collection was dispersed, Pietro Perna (1519–1582), a Protestant printer who fled from Italy to Basel, sent to Como the Swiss painter and illustrator Tobias Stimmer

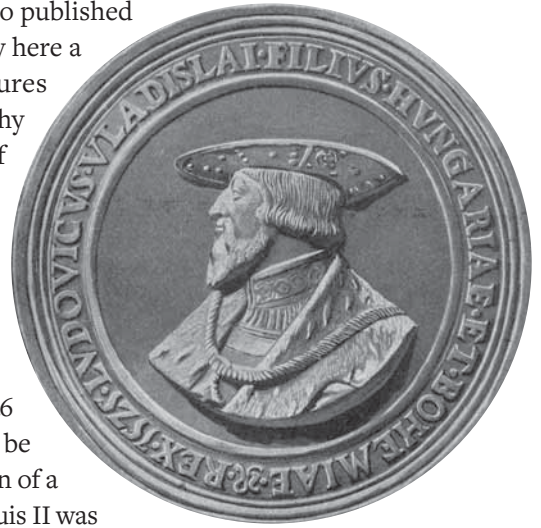


Fig. 13
Louis II,
medallion (1525),
illustration, 1896



Fig. 14
Tobias Stimmer,
Louis II,
woodcut, 1575

zu Herberstein. *Seines Thuens, Diensten und Raysens mit trewer vermanung, sich zu Tugenden unnd guetem wesen zeschicken*. Zu Wienn in Osterreich, durch Michaeln Zimerman gedruckt, in M. D. LXI. Jar. See DENIS 1782, no. 740., 686–687., DENIS 1793, no. 830., 109.; NEHRING 1897, 11.; SCHÖNY 1957, 50–52.

31 NEHRING 1897, 77–78.

32 ERDŐS 2014, 128., no. 17., 143.

33 SCHÜTZ 2002, 20–21.; PAPP 2019, 161–163.

34 IOVII 1551. [About Louis II: 244–246.]; GIOVIO 1554. [About Louis II: 311–315.].



Fig. 15
Louis II,
tempera on ivory,
16th century

(1539–1584), who created drawings of the paintings in Giovio’s collection, which were partly based on medals.³⁵ The Latin edition, published in Basel in 1575,³⁶ and the German edition, published in 1577,³⁷ were decorated with woodcuts of the drawings made by Stimmer – including the one depicting Louis II (Fig. 14). This iconographic type is also found in a painting by Cristofano dell’Altissimo (c. 1525–1605), created before 1568 and kept in the Uffizi in Florence, which was a reproduction of the picture in Giovio’s portrait collection. Of course we cannot consider Stimmer’s engraving to be an inspiration for Hirschvogel’s portrait of Louis II, made around 1548, so we can only assume that they both used the same pictorial source.

According to the Hungarian literature, it is possible that Hirschvogel’s portrait of Louis II served as the inspiration for the depiction of Louis II in a woodcut depicting the portraits of Mary of Hungary and Louis II facing each other.³⁸ Contradicting this, however, is an item in a catalogue describing the graphic reproduction, which states, “the graphic depictions in the medallion were based on an alabaster bust made in 1526”.³⁹ According to Zoltán Erdős, “based on the similarity of the portraits, it seems that this engraving [i.e. Hirschvogel’s, J. P.] was used by Michael Hohenauer and Hans Daucher, the makers of commemorative coins also made after 1526”.⁴⁰ Since Hans Daucher died in 1538, the Hirschvogel engraving made in 1546 or later could not have been an inspiration for the alabaster carving. Although Hirschvogel’s portrait of Louis II also bears a resemblance to a sixteenth-century portrait painted on ivory, kept in the Hungarian National Museum,⁴¹ we do not know whether its creator knew about the engraving by Hirschvogel, or based the work on some other earlier picture (Fig. 15).

Translation: Rebeka Szaló

35 BIETENHOLZ 1994, 205.; GAYLARD 2013, 168–169.

36 IOVIV 1575. [About Louis II: 274–277., his portrait: 275.] See B. SZABÓ – FARKAS 2020, 387–390.

37 STIMMER 1577, 344f. See ERDŐS 2014, no. 48., 147.

38 RÉTHELYI 2005, 205., no. V-1.; ERDŐS 2014, 129., no. 23., 144.

39 RÉTHELYI 2005, 205.

40 ERDŐS 2014, 129.

41 Unknown master: Colored profile portrait of Louis II. Sixteenth century. Ivory, tempera, 7,3 x 6 cm. The Historical Photo Department of the Hungarian National Museum, The Graphic Collection, Inv. Nr. 407.