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### FESTIVAL BOOKS IN EUROPE FROM RENAISSANCE TO ROCOCO

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## FESTIVAL BOOKS IN EUROPE FROM RENAISSANCE TO ROCOCO

In the course of an investigation into equestrian festivities at European courts of the late Renaissance and Baroque,<sup>1</sup> I had occasion to read about 400 festival books from a range of courts from the late fifteenth to the early eighteenth century, mostly in French, German and Italian. This article is an attempt at a brief account of the festival book as a genre in its own right. It contains the following sections: a discussion of the rise and development of the festival book; a suggested typology of festival books; and a consideration of the relationship of the festival book to the historical reality it purports to describe. From this emerge some suggestions as to the function of such books. It is hoped that this will stimulate discussion of a type of publication which is represented in our libraries in such great numbers, but which is usually discussed, if it is discussed at all, on the basis of a chronologically and geographically restricted sample of material.<sup>2</sup>

### **The Rise and Development of the Festival Book**

Research into court festivals differs from most historical research in that the organizers of such festivals went to a great deal of trouble to provide posterity with a record of what went on. They did so chiefly in the form of the published festival book.

Before the invention of printing, festivals had to be recorded either by means of paintings or other unique visual records or in the form of manuscript accounts. These older methods both influenced the form of the printed festival book and continued to exist alongside it until the early eighteenth century. For instance, the long tradition of the illuminated tournament book, executed by such artists as Cranach the Elder and Hans Burgkmair the Younger in the sixteenth century, is still alive in the early eighteenth century, when Karl Albrecht, the eldest son of the Elector of Bavaria, commissions just such a manuscript account to record equestrian events he took part in as late as 1717–1730.<sup>3</sup> The twelve-volume illustrated record by Tommaso Borgonio of festivities held at the court of Savoy in Turin between 1640 and 1681 is another example of the survival of the manuscript account long into the era of printing.<sup>4</sup> Such manuscripts have all the glamour and individuality of the unique work of art, all the exclusivity of the tailor-made as opposed to the off-the-peg.

But these advantages are offset by the relative uselessness of a manuscript for propaganda purposes when compared to the possibilities of printing. The latter invention was seized on with enthusiasm

by the organizers of and participants in courtly festivities, whether in the form of the printed picture or in that of the printed text.

The earliest printed festival book known to me is the detailed account of the wedding of Constanzo Sforza and Camilla d'Aragona published in 1475,<sup>5</sup> though printed accounts of festivals do not become usual until the next century. Another way for festivals to appear in print in the early years was by means of wood-cuts. One thinks of Cranach the Elder's wood-cuts of tournaments in Wittenberg in 1506 and 1509. Text and picture could be combined in one printed account, as in that of Charles V's entry into Bruges in 1515.<sup>6</sup>

The examples just mentioned, whether text, picture or a combination of both, are simple cases of depictions of actual events made at the time. Contemporaneous with them, however, we have a body of material whose relationship to reality is much more complex, but which exercised a considerable influence not only on how festivals were staged but also on how they were published, and which must therefore be mentioned in this context. Foremost among these are depictions of how the Classical Triumph was assumed to have looked in such works as illustrated editions of Petrarch's poem *I Trionfi* or in Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* in the famous edition published by Aldus Manutius in 1499. The engravings by Jacopo da Strassbourg from 1505, which made Andrea Mantegna's painting *The Triumphs of Caesar* known throughout Europe, were another important visual source.<sup>7</sup>

A key figure in the development of the illustrated festival book is the Emperor Maximilian I (reigned 1508–1519). His publishing projects show a complex mixture of printed and manuscript techniques, of Renaissance humanism and late medieval chivalry. On the one hand, we have the three books, the *Theuerdank*, the *Weisskunig* and the *Freydal*, which were planned as illustrated fictionalized accounts of the Emperor's own life, depicting him as a medieval knight errant. Outstanding artists were employed for these projects, among them Hans Burgkmair the Elder and Albrecht Dürer. These are printed books, but there exist luxury copies of the *Theuerdank* for presentation purposes, printed in 1517 on parchment and with illuminated woodcuts, thus giving the appearance of a manuscript.<sup>8</sup>

On the other hand, Maximilian's other publishing ventures show him deeply involved with the spirit of the new age and the revival of the Classical Triumph. The set of 192 woodcuts commissioned from Dürer which together make up the *Triumphal Arch* (1515) and which, when printed, cover an area of 3.5 by 3 metres, or the series of 136 woodcuts by Burgkmair, Dürer, Altdorfer and others which constitute the *Triumphal Procession* (1517) are cases in point.<sup>9</sup> Dürer's *Great Triumphal Car*, published separately after Maximilian's death in 1522,

belongs to the same group. The point about all of these depictions of imaginary objects and events is that they exercised an extremely powerful influence on the illustrations in festival books during the ensuing centuries.

By now, that is the 1520s, the printed festival book could be said to exist as a genre. Here is therefore a good point at which to define what is meant by the term 'festival book' and to say why it is used here instead of the more usual 'festival account', 'festival *livret*' or 'Festbeschreibung'.

The festival book is a printed record of a festivity, usually, though not always, commissioned by the same prince who commissioned the festivity. Festival books can be all text, part text and part picture, or mostly pictures. Since one cannot meaningfully separate the latter category from the two former and the term 'festival account', with its stress on narration and text, seems too narrow a term to encompass all three, the term 'festival book' is used here for the genre as a whole. Festival books are usually, but again not always, in the vernacular language of the court they emanate from or in that of their principal addressee. We find Latin still being used by Louis XIV as late as 1662,<sup>10</sup> though at this date Italian is the more usual *lingua franca*, giving way to French later in the century. Festival books can be in any format, though the most usual are octavo, quarto and folio, and they can be printed and bound with any degree of magnificence.

### The Different Types of Festival Book

By far the commonest kind of festival book is the plain prose narrative in the vernacular, closely printed, usually in octavo format, simply bound between paper covers (unless the library or individual who acquired it had it more handsomely bound later), devoid of stylistic pretensions and without illustrations. Such accounts aim to give a day by day, if not hour by hour, narrative of what happened during a festivity, who was present, what their full titles and correct names were, what they wore and any other relevant details, such as the weather. Such accounts are to be found in all centuries from the fifteenth to the eighteenth and in all languages, as the following few selected examples should suffice to show.

The account of the Sforza wedding in 1475 mentioned above is such a work. It is in Italian and takes us through the entry of the bride into her husband's territory, her official reception, the wedding ceremony, banquets, balls, firework display and tournament. It relates the details of dishes consumed, of costumes worn and of the various disguisings and machines which entertained the guests.

Such straightforward reporting can again be found in the account in Spanish of a tournament held in Valladolid in 1544,<sup>11</sup> in the Italian account of the festivities to celebrate the consecration of Pope

Julius III at carnival time in Bologna in 1550<sup>12</sup> and in the description of the tournament held in Piacenza in 1574 in honour of the visit of Don Juan of Austria.<sup>13</sup>

The great Florentine festivities were often reported in the same unpretentious little books. Pierfrancesco Giambullari's account of the wedding of Cosimo Vecchio and Eleonora of Toledo in 1539, Filippo Giunti's account of the reception of Archduke Charles of Austria in 1569, Camillo Rinuccini's account of the wedding in 1608 of Cosimo II and Maria Maddalena of Austria, Andrea Salvadori's report of the *Guerra d'amore* held during the carnival in 1615 or Alessandro Segni's description of the wedding festivities of Violante Beatrice of Bavaria and Ferdinand d'Medici in 1686 are all examples of this type.<sup>14</sup>

One might indeed go so far as to say that in Italy for almost 300 years at whatever court one cares to mention the festival book is predominantly of this type. We still find it in the bilingual Spanish and Italian account of the tournament opera staged in Parma by the College of Nobles in 1732.<sup>15</sup>

But Italy is not alone in producing such accounts in the seventeenth century any more than in the sixteenth. There is the report in German of the festivities held in Hamburg in 1603 for the ratification of the treaty between Christian IV of Denmark and Johann Adolf of Schleswig-Holstein.<sup>16</sup> Also in German is Christian Cassius's account of the wedding of Christian IV's heir to Magdalena Sibylla of Saxony held in Copenhagen in 1634.<sup>17</sup> We might instance the account in Spanish of another wedding, that of Catherine of Braganza and Charles II, celebrated in Lisbon in 1662,<sup>18</sup> the description in French of the Dauphin's running at the head staged at Versailles,<sup>19</sup> the report in Spanish of the celebrations held in Lima in 1723 to mark the marriage of Louis XV and his sister to the Prince of the Asturias and the Infanta,<sup>20</sup> and the descriptions in German of the visit of the King of Poland, Augustus the Strong of Saxony, and his son to Berlin in 1728,<sup>21</sup> and of the wedding of Prince Friedrich of Hessen-Kassel to Princess Mary of England in the summer of 1740.<sup>22</sup>

But where we can say with confidence that these little books of simple text, devoid of illustrations, are the norm in Italy, and while we have just shown that they can be found virtually everywhere else too, in countries outside Italy another type of book is even commoner and that is the detailed factual account adorned with illustrations. The language is still in general the vernacular, the style is still more or less that of a report, but the format can vary in size from octavo to large folio and the presence of illustrations gives the book a splendour it would otherwise have lacked.

This second type of festival book, the *illustrated* factual account, falls again into two groups: those accounts accompanied by very few

illustrations – up to about three – and those where every stage of the festivity as it is described is accompanied by a separate plate. It is the more meaningful to make this distinction because the two subdivisions are regionally distinct. The partially-illustrated account is to be found above all in Italy, while Germany is the home of the fully-illustrated account.

Let us define what is meant by the partially-illustrated account. Salvestro Marchetti published an account of a mock battle held in Siena in 1602.<sup>23</sup> The 24 pages of text are prefaced by one plate showing the fortification to be stormed, the gun emplacements round about and the battle order. Where Rinuccini's account of the Florentine wedding of 1608 just mentioned is not illustrated, Lorenzo Franceschi, the designer of some of the costumes, published another account of the horse ballet for the same occasion, which contains one plate, the earliest illustration we have of such a ballet.<sup>24</sup> A similar example is Ferdinando de' Bardi's description of the wedding of Ferdinand II de' Medici and Vittoria of Urbino in Florence in 1637.<sup>25</sup> This contains just one plate, the famous one with two views of the amphitheatre in the Boboli gardens with a choreographic plan in fifteen figures arranged round them. Alessandro Segni's account of the wedding festivities for Cosimo III and Marguerite Louise d'Orleans held in Florence in 1661 is exceptionally richly illustrated for an Italian account with its three plates by Stefano della Bella, one of them a choreographic plan of the horse ballet.<sup>26</sup>

Quite unusual is the book consisting solely of 18 plates of the *naumachia* or water battle on the Arno in Florence for the same wedding but published only in 1664.<sup>27</sup> One has to wait until the 1680s to find Italian festival books which combine text with copious illustration, for instance, Pietro Maggio's account of the tournaments held in Palermo in 1680 to celebrate the wedding of Carlos II of Spain and Marie Louise de Bourbon.<sup>28</sup> This contains 14 plates, including three fold-outs of the entry and exit processions before and after the jousting. The beautiful illustrated folio volume depicting the water carnival staged in Venice in 1686 by Ernst August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel is another example, although, given that the patron was a German prince, one is not surprised to find here a book so little characteristic of the Italian tradition.<sup>29</sup>

For it is a fact hitherto unnoticed by scholars, who rarely if ever cross the Germanic/Romance divide, that the festival books of the German-speaking world, in contrast to those of other countries, are almost always illustrated and that fully-illustrated accounts are the rule rather than the exception. This tradition gets off to a splendid start with Hans Wagner's folio volume of 1568.<sup>30</sup> Not only does Wagner give us an exceptionally full account of every detail of the wedding in Munich in that year of Wilhelm V of Bavaria and Renée

of Lorraine, but his account is illustrated by fifteen superb fold-out hand-coloured woodcuts, which depict each stage in the celebrations, from the reception of the bride at Dachau and the wedding service itself to the balls and disguisings held indoors and the many tournaments staged in the marketplace in Munich. Wenzel Sponrib's account of the second part of the wedding of Archduke Charles of Inner Austria and Maria of Bavaria in 1571 when the bride and groom returned from Vienna, where they were married, to Graz, their residence, is also illustrated with relatively crude though hand-coloured woodcuts.<sup>31</sup>

Let us not forget that at this stage in our discussion we are concentrating exclusively on illustrated factual prose accounts. There were other kinds of festival book in the German-speaking world at this date, to be discussed further on, and they too are commonly illustrated. One can bring this prevalence of illustration in German festival books into focus if one remembers that the accounts of festivities held in Ferrara in the 1560s – *Il Castello di Gorgoferusa* and *Il Monte di Feronia* in 1561 and *Il Tempio d' Amore* in 1566 – are simply-printed little books devoid of any illustration whatsoever.<sup>32</sup>

The next milestone in the development of the German illustrated factual account is Diedrich Graminäus's richly-illustrated folio volume on the wedding in Düsseldorf in June 1585 of Johann Wilhelm of Jülich and Jacoba of Baden.<sup>33</sup> Twenty-two double-page plates depict not merely the entry of the bride, the wedding ceremony, the banquet, the tournaments and the balls, but also the *naumachia* on the Rhine, the fireworks on the bank of the same river, the fencing match, the display of edible sculpture for the banquet and the joke tournament on mock horses held at night, during which fireworks explode from the 'horses' mouths and tails.

In 1596 and in 1600 Moritz the Learned held two christening celebrations in Kassel recorded by Wilhelm Dilich.<sup>34</sup> The celebrations consisted on both occasions of lavish tournaments which are fully illustrated. These illustrations constitute a turning-point in the representation of tournaments in that they do not just illustrate key moments of the events but provide a full visual record of the tournament itself and portray in plate after plate after plate the procession of allegorical figures into the lists, depicting grooms, led horses, trumpeters and festival carts.

The origins of this kind of depiction, which from now on becomes the norm in German illustrated accounts of tournaments, lie in those pictorial works mentioned above which fall within the general area of the Triumph – works such as Maximilian I's *Triumphal Procession*. An intermediary step between those early-sixteenth-century woodcut series and the accounts at the court of Moritz of Hessen-Kassel is a work such as the French account of Henry II's entry into Rouen in



1550 with its 29 woodcuts of each stage of the procession, demonstrating the influence of early-sixteenth-century reproductions of Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar*.<sup>35</sup>

The point about the plates in Dilich's accounts, as in Maximilian's *Triumphal Procession* and the entry into Rouen, is that, in their serial progression and in their completeness, they aim to give the reader as he turns the pages the experience of seeing the procession move past before his eyes, just as it would have done had he witnessed it in reality. Each identical group of pages, grooms or musicians is represented by a plate, no matter how many times such an identical group has been represented before.

The great series of Stuttgart festival books which began in 1609 with the books for the wedding of Johann Friedrich of Württemberg and Barbara Sophia of Brandenburg embodies this principle. The first of the books is the extremely lengthy and detailed description of events by Johann Oettinger, containing three plates.<sup>36</sup> The main visual record comes in a separate book of 214 plates, 36cms wide by 28cms high, by Balthasar Kuchler.<sup>37</sup> These plates aim to reproduce in every detail the actual procession as it entered the lists, as well as much else besides. Here the festival book, both because of the size, the quantity and the quality of the plates, can be said to move on to a higher plane. When the equally splendid volumes for the celebrations in Stuttgart in 1616 and 1617 are produced, the same high standard is maintained.<sup>38</sup> They are published in exactly the same format as the Kuchler volume, so that all three volumes form a set, though the two later ones contain both text and plates together. The 1616 volume has 77 plates, mostly by Mathias Merian the Elder, while the 1617 one contains 92. The sheer number of plates and their size is more overwhelmingly magnificent than those of any other festival books published anywhere at this date.

The 1617 volume is a marvel of book production in another way. The bridegroom and his brothers – all Dukes of Württemberg – entered the lists for the great running at the ring with their entire entourage of musicians and grooms *inside* heart-shaped machines which rolled along as though by magic, the wheels concealed by the rocky base on which the hearts rested. Once the machines had come to a halt in front of the stands, the hearts opened and the participants sprang out. This surprise effect of the opening of the hearts is represented in the printed book by means of flaps, on which are depicted the machines. The flaps, when lifted up, reveal the people beneath.

Most of the other festival books which record what I have called elsewhere the festivals of the Protestant Union,<sup>39</sup> and which were produced at German courts in the decade before the 'Thirty Years' War, are equally remarkable as books. The account of the journey of Frederick of the Palatinate to England in 1613 to fetch home his

bride, Elizabeth, daughter of James I and VI, includes fold-out plates of all the triumphal arches of the entry of the couple into Heidelberg, of the reception of the bride and of the various floats and inventions of the bridegroom's party at the running at the ring and at the head which ensued.<sup>40</sup>

But these fold-out plates are modest when compared to others from around the same period. The festivities in Dessau organized by Johann Georg I of Anhalt in 1613 to celebrate the christening of his youngest daughter, and in 1614 to celebrate the marriage of his eldest daughter,<sup>41</sup> are recorded in neat little books 16cms high by 18.5cms wide, in which the numerous plates fold out width-wise to depict the long succession of figures in a processional group. The festival book which records the christening of Christian Wilhelm of Brandenburg's only child in Halle in 1616 represents the ultimate development of the fold-out plate.<sup>42</sup> The book itself is short but wide – 17cms high by 37cms wide – and again all the plates fold out, the supreme example being one double plate which expands sideways in both directions to a total length of almost 4.5 metres. To put this in perspective, one must remember that the woodcuts for Maximilian I's great *Triumphal Procession* of a century before would have measured 54 metres if the plates were placed end to end. Nevertheless, the great model is still exerting its influence a hundred years later.

The Thirty Years' War naturally constitutes a hiatus in the development of the illustrated festival book in the German-speaking countries. It picks up again immediately afterwards, however, with the quaintly but copiously illustrated book in German by Adam Olearius on the christening in Altenburg in 1654 of the son of Magdalena Sibylla of Saxony and Friedrich Wilhelm of Sachsen-Altenburg.<sup>43</sup>

The main accounts of the equestrian festivity to celebrate the wedding of the Emperor Leopold I to the Spanish Infanta Margherita Teresa in 1667 – by Francesco Sbarra in Italian, and the lengthy supplement No. XV to the *Diarium Europaeum* in German – are fully illustrated with wonderful plates.<sup>44</sup> Large-scale views of the whole scene in the Hofburg, detailed depictions of the machines, and the individual figures of the mock combat and the horse ballet are provided.

Let us finish this survey of the German illustrated factual account by mentioning the two most notable examples to emanate from the court of Saxony at Dresden in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The first is Gabriel Tzschimmer's enormously lengthy and detailed account of the meeting of the Saxon Dukes and their families in 1678.<sup>45</sup> Thirty huge fold-out plates depict tournaments, hunts, processions, ballets and theatrical scenes. For sheer length and scale the 316 folio pages devoted to the pure description of events and participants in them must represent the ultimate in our

category of the fully-illustrated festival account.

Our last example is very different. This is Martin Klötzel's wide-format festival book devoted to the procession of the gods and goddesses through the Dresden of Augustus the Strong in 1695.<sup>46</sup> The book contains the brief programme of the procession, with a list of who appeared in what mythological guise with verses for each figure, presumably spoken by them at their destination. This is followed by 29 large double-page engravings of the procession itself, with its floats and festival cars, its footmen, musicians, its gods and goddesses. We are back to the pure procession and its representation in the wide-format print, such as was initiated by Maximilian I in the early sixteenth century.

Martin Klötzel's procession of the gods might be considered to be strictly speaking outside the limits of the illustrated factual account as defined above. Squarely within this category are the festival books which emanated from Louis XIV's Royal Press in Paris in the 1670s. This press published Charles Perrault's account of the carrousel held in Paris in 1662<sup>47</sup> and André Félibien's accounts of the festivities staged at Versailles in 1664, 1668 and 1674 respectively.<sup>48</sup> All four accounts are in French and all are copiously and beautifully illustrated by Israël Silvestre. Perrault's book, for instance, is accompanied by 28 single- and 11 double-page engravings.

The remarkable thing is that these accounts are unique in the history of the French festival book. There is a French entry literature, which is sixteenth-century, since the seventeenth century only had two important entries: that of Louis XIII into Paris in 1628 and of Louis XIV into the same city in 1660. Such entries as there were in both centuries were celebrated in important publications, often illustrated. We have already mentioned the account of Henry II's entry into Rouen in 1550. But apart from these, French festival literature is remarkably sparse when compared to that of other countries and in relation to the richness and importance of its own court culture. There was for instance no official account of the so-called 'magnificences' for the wedding of the Duc de Joyeuse in 1581 – an unthinkable omission in an Italian or German context at this date. There are at least three separate accounts in French of the great carrousel held in 1612 in the Place Royale in Paris.<sup>49</sup> None is illustrated – again unthinkable in German accounts of the period.

Louis XIV's festival books can therefore safely be said to be unequalled either before or after in France. Previous monarchs never attempted the fully-illustrated festival account. Louis himself never attempted it again in the remaining half century of his reign. So here for a brief period in the mid-seventeenth century, the French monarchy, so often unthinkingly categorized as the model for other European courts, caught up with the standard of festival publications that German courts considered the norm.

This is not to deny that the French court functioned subsequently as a model. David Klöcker von Ehrenstrahl's account, illustrated with 62 plates, of the running at the ring held in Stockholm in 1672 to celebrate Charles XI of Sweden's accession to the throne, is surely influenced by Perrault's account of the 1662 carrousel in Paris.<sup>50</sup> But such an account as Perrault's had nothing to teach the German-speaking world. In fact, one might argue that the influence works the other way about, that Louis XIV's *Plaisirs de l'Isle enchantée* (1664) was influenced by the Munich festivities of 1662,<sup>51</sup> and that the publication of Louis's festivals of the 1660s in books appearing from 1670 on was at least partly in response to the public relations exercise launched by his brother-in-law in Vienna, Leopold I, in 1667.

The factual account and the illustrated factual account were the two most wide-spread types of festival book; but there were also some other common types. One, the so-called 'Pritschenmeister' account, can be dealt with quickly as a purely German phenomenon. A 'Pritschenmeister'<sup>52</sup> was a sort of professional master of ceremonies or *animateur* who attended festivals and wrote them up in rhyming doggerel verse afterwards. Printed Pritschenmeister accounts are a sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century phenomenon, the latest known to me being the account of the christening of Moritz of Sachsen-Weissenfels in Dresden in 1614.

Pritschenmeister are usually known to us by name: Heinrich Wirre or Wirrich, who wrote accounts, among others, of the Munich wedding of 1568 and the Viennese wedding of 1571, is the best-known figure from the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>53</sup> The Humanist dramatist and translator Nikodemus Frischlin wrote two accounts in Latin verse, in 1575 and 1585 respectively, of the two weddings of Ludwig of Württemberg.<sup>54</sup> The first also appeared in a German translation by Carl Christoph Beyer in 1578.<sup>55</sup> Nikodemus's brother Jacob wrote accounts of the so-called Hohenzollern wedding of 1598 and of the tournament to celebrate the carnival held in Stuttgart in 1602,<sup>56</sup> and there are others also known to us by name.

Characteristic of all these accounts, apart from their being in verse, is their length. Nikodemus Frischlin's account of 1575 is called 'The Seven Books of the Princely Württemberg Wedding'. Another characteristic is their German flavour. There is no perceptible Italianate influence: these books are in a local tradition and for local consumption. To this end they include a wealth of genealogical and local historical detail. Lack of pretension and the absence of a show of learning distinguishes them from other more sophisticated accounts of the same period. 'Pritschenmeister' accounts, however, can be illustrated, though usually by simple woodcuts, often of coats of arms. Wirre's 1568 account contains 40 plates of coats of arms and four double-page woodcuts of jousting knights – again evidence of

the prevalence of illustration in German festival books.

A 'Pritschenmeister' account, like our first two categories, still purports to be a factual record of what happened. Like all such records it provides explanations, such as that so-and-so appeared in such-and-such a role or wore such-and-such a costume. In other words, the 'disguising' element of the festival is presented as such and explained for posterity. There is another class of festival book which does not leave the fictional level at all, which never records who played what and who accompanied whom, and, so one might think, is therefore of limited use to anyone who was not present.

There are two types of festival book to be mentioned here. The first is the purely fictionalized account. In 1613, for example, two Turks called respectively Simon Bassa and Mehemet Bassa are recorded as arriving at the court of Anhalt in Dessau and issuing a challenge which is taken up by the Prince of Sheba, Don Quixote de la Mancha and many others.<sup>57</sup> What these characters said emerges from the text, what they looked like from the pictures. Who they were is unrecorded – at least in the official printed festival book. The latter informs the reader that a christening is being celebrated but does not tell us the name or identity of the baby. The modern reader must deduce this from genealogical tables. In 1596 in Kassel, as in Ferrara in the 1560s, an elaborate plot is woven of giants to be overcome, dragons to be slain, enchanted castles to be stormed, ladies to be freed and magic swords to be pulled from stones. These were actual tournaments enacted in real life, but the narration describes them as though they were part of a courtly novel. Even where such accounts are illustrated – as in Dessau or Kassel – the fictional framework is not exploded. One of the accounts of the great carrousel in the Place Royale in Paris in 1612 is narrated as a fiction too, François de Rosset's *Le Roman des chevaliers de la Gloire* (Paris, 1613), even though we have another factual account of the same event, by Laugier de Porchères, which is detailed and explanatory in the extreme.<sup>58</sup>

The second kind of unhistorical account is the illustrated libretto. Into this category come the Munich libretti of 1658 and 1662 which are in Italian, give the texts of what the characters actually spoke or sang and their fictional names, illustrate each stage with detailed fold-out plates, but provide little or no description of what they did and do not tell us who played what part.<sup>59</sup>

### **The Festival Book as Historical Record**

Though it is clear from the above that not all festival books are meant to function as a record of what went on, let us concentrate first on those that are. They give rise to two main questions: why should a court want to record a festivity, and did the festival book constitute a true record of it?

One of the first reasons to record anything is the human desire to stem the tide of time, to give some permanence to an evanescent event. Festivals are recorded at least partly to give them this permanence. Since the festival involved the expenditure of so much money, the mobilization of so many hands, the participation of so many people, the desire to capture it in some lasting way is all the more imperative. A late-twentieth-century parallel is the video recording of one's own wedding. An additional reason in the case of a courtly festival is that, just as it contributed to a prince's glory during his life-time, so, if it can be kept alive in men's minds, it adds to his fame after his death. Fame was the only way to prolong one's life in this world. So long as one was remembered, one had not died completely.

The festivity itself was designed to impress. But the number of those present on the day and available to be impressed in person was small. The festival book could extend the sphere of influence of a festivity to the boundaries of the civilized world. It could arouse wonder in allies and enemies alike, in contemporaries and their descendants. The festival book was a propaganda weapon.

The festival book not only served the court which staged the festivity. It contributed to the fame and the propaganda effort of the principal guests also. To take away with one, or to acquire later, a description or book of plates depicting a festival in which one had participated fulfilled several functions. It proved what circles one moved in ('that's the Queen chatting to a few of us after lunch'), it demonstrated the power bloc one belonged to ('it was terribly cold on the White House lawn for that press conference'), it conferred an aura of glamour and sophistication ('I'm glad *The Tatler* mentioned Caroline's tiara').

Whether as record or as propaganda, the more completely the festival book evokes the event it relates to, the better. A full description is good, a re-enactment is better. For there is no other word to describe those fully-illustrated accounts, where the intention is not just to talk about a festival with no matter what detail and accuracy but to enable the reader, by turning the pages, to experience the splendour, the surprise effects, the sheer overwhelming size of the event, as though he had been there. The lift-the-flap book to commemorate the Stuttgart wedding of 1617 mentioned above is an example of this category.

Hitherto we have been talking as though the relationship of record to event was a simple one-to-one correspondence. There may indeed be such accounts, though how we are to verify this after many centuries is not clear. Some details, in that they recount accidents or problems which arose on the day, have the ring of authenticity about them. The planned tournaments could not be held because of constant rain and the condition of the lists which resulted, says the

account of the wedding in 1674 of Wilhelm Ludwig of Württemberg and Magdalena Sibylla of Hessen.<sup>60</sup> The strong wind blew down the triumphal arches during the night, says Cassius of one of the disasters during the Copenhagen wedding celebrations of 1634.<sup>61</sup> In other cases, the printed account can be compared with manuscript sources such as letters, ambassadors' reports, diary entries or bills. In other cases again, there are several printed accounts which, if written independently, can be compared and in this way cross-checked.

But there are three main factors to be taken into account when relying on festival books as pieces of reportage. The first is that they employ certain conventions, both of language and of form, the second is that they frequently recount what *ought* to have happened or what the court concerned would *prefer* had happened, rather than what actually did happen, and the third, a factor in all reporting of any kind, is that the chronicler only reports what he saw or thought he saw. This in turn is conditioned by what he knows already, what he expected to see, and who he is.

Let us take these points in turn. It is clear that festival accounts are conventional, in what they say, how they say it, and even more, what they do not say. A bride is beautiful, the entertainment splendid, the jewels costly, the guests numerous – statements which often fail to correspond to the facts. Not only must certain things be said, regardless of the reality, they must be said in such a way as, first, to evoke the same awe and wonder in the reader as the actual event evoked in the spectator and, second, to make the reader feel that the festivity was 'princely'. This is achieved in the manner of sports reporting today: the reporter uses superlatives to describe everything and narrates in detail how impressed *he* was. Here is Georg Rudolf Weckherlin towards the beginning of his account of the Stuttgart christening of 1616:

And verely it would bee easier to describe the heaven, and to number the starres, then to shew in fit words the sumptuousnesse of this day. My soule was amazed with marvell: mine eyes did dazle: and all my senses were overwhelmed by the majestie, beautie, riches, and magnificence of those brave Princesses, Princes, Ladies, Lords and Knights.<sup>62</sup>

The reader, on perusing the above, should feel as overwhelmed as the writer purports to be.

The style must also confirm that the festivity was not merely splendid, but splendid in a way which only a prince could achieve. 'Princely', 'royal', 'regal', 'noble' are epithets in constant use. The point of the festival is that it demonstrates the princehood of its patron, who was frequently also its chief actor. That its purpose is fulfilled must be confirmed by the account. To quote Weckherlin again:

To tell here the gifts, these Princes did bestow at that time one on th'other, is needlesse.

Liberallitie is the sole vertue, that belongeth properly to Princes: and even as the sonne by her nourishing beames can fill the earth with flowrs and fruits: so are great lords able to increase the joy of men by the sweetnesse of their bountiful largesse.<sup>63</sup>

What the accounts do *not* relate is just as much dictated by convention as what they *do* relate. Personal feelings are omitted. Whether the bride and groom liked each other, whether the visiting prince was on friendly terms with his host, find no place in the accounts. This takes on bizarre proportions in such a work as Tzschimmer's *Durchlauchtigste Zusammenkunft* mentioned above. The festivals to entertain the four Ducal brothers and their families in Dresden in 1678 are obviously motivated by, indeed are only comprehensible in terms of, extraordinarily complex feelings between the siblings, which the modern reader simply has to infer, since the feelings concerned are never referred to directly. Equally lacking in the accounts are references to the inadequacies of the arrangements at a celebration. Disasters due to the weather, as we saw above, or to accidents or illness may be recorded. Inadequate financing or preparation of a festivity may not.

The second factor limiting festival books' ability to function as reports is that they often purvey the official vision of what the festival *should* have been like, or what the commissioning court or other agency would *prefer* it to have been like. Louis XIV's festivities were not published until years after the event, thus turning them into accounts of important historical events. But there are other ways of doctoring the truth. Let two examples suffice to demonstrate this common phenomenon. David Norbrook has recently shown that D. Jocquet's account in French of the London festivities for the wedding of Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine in 1613 includes the text and a completely fictitious description of a masque which never took place, and that there were political and confessional reasons for pretending that it did.<sup>64</sup> Hilde Haider-Pregler has demonstrated that both Sbarra's official account in Italian and the anonymous account in German of the equestrian festivities for Leopold I's wedding in 1667 record the participation of the famous general Count Montecucoli, when in fact he fell ill before the performance and someone else took his place.<sup>65</sup> The accounts were therefore, she deduces, printed before ever the festivity took place. There is the broadsheet published for the same wedding, depicting all sorts of splendid effects, which for lack of time or money could not be realized.<sup>66</sup>

Festival books were often in print by the time of the festival itself. For instance, the account of the Dauphin's carrousel at Versailles in



1685 was meant to be sold on the day and read while waiting.<sup>67</sup> The author mentions in his introduction the difficulties inherent in writing about an event you have not yet seen but tells us that he has been fortunate in that highly-placed people have made sure he has all the details he needs, even of *imprese* only invented a few days before. He is therefore able to provide detailed information about the costumes, the numbers of people in each quadrille and the rules of the combat. He cannot of course tell us the outcome of the contest nor whether the rules were adhered to or the costumes or participants changed at the last minute. This is therefore not a report of what did take place but a programme of what could confidently be expected to take place.

Such pre-recording of a festival is one explanation why many accounts are so one-sided. By this is meant that they give the rules for the contest, describe the costumes and *imprese*, discuss the machines, but devote virtually no space to the combat or contest which is the reason for the whole event.

But there is another possible reason, to do with the author of the account himself, illustrated by Bendinelli's account of the tournament held in Piacenza in 1574 to welcome Don Juan of Austria.<sup>68</sup> Bendinelli devotes 43 pages to the procession into the lists and twenty lines to the martial contest. This may well be because he had a chance to see the costumes and machines at his leisure beforehand. It may however also be because he is neither a horseman nor a soldier himself, and so does not have either the knowledge or the interest to give a connoisseur's account of the martial and equestrian details. Bendinelli tells us that he has not taken the trouble to describe the tournament and what he has put in has not been out of his private interest but in obedience to orders and to please others.<sup>69</sup> There are many indications in festival books that, when the author, often a court poet, leaves the safe territory of genealogy, history, iconography or heraldry, he is lost. The more martial a contest was, the more lost he became. Salvestro Marchetti, the author of the account of a joust in Siena in 1602, tell us he is a printer by profession, is thus an ignorant layman who has never learned the art of war, and knows no other titles than those he reads in the inscriptions in his books.<sup>70</sup> In consequence his little book consists mostly of the challenges (17 pages), six pages on the participants and their costumes and half a page on the actual combat!

The court poet Weckherlin, well able to recount in the most minute detail the costumes, devices, challenges and machines of all participants in the Stuttgart tournaments of 1616, confesses himself unequal to the task of describing the foot combat:

But it goeth beyond my capacitie, to describe here particularly the combats of these Worthies, and I must acknowledge my weaknesse, confessing to bee not

able to tell what mine eyes did see.<sup>71</sup>

How differently the account of an equestrian event by a horseman reads. Alessandro Massari Malatesta's *Compendio dell' Heroica Arte di Cavalleria* (Venice, 1600) is a case in point. As a riding teacher and horseman himself his eye is naturally directed more towards the horses and their movements than to the shields or costumes of their riders. In describing a tournament and horse ballet he staged in Tivoli in 1599 he tells us how the riders, on entering the Piazza where the spectators are waiting, take a turn to the left, then to the right, forming an interlacing pattern as each moves to his place. When all are in position, the riders are lined up in two squares one inside the other.<sup>72</sup> The movements of the horse ballet are described with equal precision, the precision of someone who has had to tell the riders exactly where to go and train them so that they carry out the choreographic scheme.

This brings us to the last of the factors we mentioned above as limiting the objective quality of the reporting in festival books: the quality of the report depends on who the reporter is. He only sees what he knows already and what he expects to see. An excellent example of this is the two contrasting accounts of the Munich wedding of 1568. Massimo Troiano, the professional singer under Orlando di Lasso's baton, is interested in music and food, so he tells us about these things in great detail.<sup>73</sup> He mentions in much less detail the many and varied tournaments, in which he was not so much interested. Hans Wagner, on the other hand, mentions the food much more briefly, passes over the music and devotes most of his book to the tournaments. Were the modern reader to rely on only one of these accounts, the picture gained of the festival would be very lop-sided.

Let us sum up the purposes and uses of the festival book such as we have discovered them to be. The festival book is a monument for posterity, a means to prolong the life of an evanescent festivity. It bears lasting witness to the wealth and conspicuous consumption of a court. It confers glory on the host prince after his death. It is propaganda, impressing other courts far and near. It can be a re-enactment of the vanished festival, not merely a record of it. As a record it functions as an *aide-mémoire*, as a souvenir for oneself and proof to others that one was there. It is used as a model for future festivities.<sup>74</sup> It is a coffee-table book, a court circular, a copy of *Country Life* left open at Charlotte's full-page photograph. The festival book is a pre-packaged interpretation of the festival it purports to narrate, a codified statement of the official intention, whatever the reality.<sup>75</sup> It is also a useful explicatory tool, to be held open on one's lap in the stands, to enable one to understand what one is seeing. In its at times tenuous relationship to the events, it is

often not so much a report of the festival but simply another aspect of it, like the triumphal architecture or the firework display. It is as magnificent as them without always claiming to be a picture of them. In the Absolutist period, the festival book becomes a tool of representation. Just as the prince represents God to his people and the festival represents him being God, so the festival book represents this representation of the King-as-God. As such it is a political document of the first importance.

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<sup>1</sup> For a monograph entitled *Triumphall Shews. Equestrian Festivities at European Courts of the Late Renaissance and Baroque* now in the press.

<sup>2</sup> The festival book has been discussed as a genre by W. McAllister Johnson in a thought-provoking article entitled 'Essai de critique interne des livres d'entrées français au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle' in *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, edited by Jean Jacquot, III (Paris 1975), 187–200 and also in two short conference papers, by Christian Wagenknecht, 'Die Beschreibung höfischer Feste. Merkmale einer Gattung', and Dieter Breuer, 'Höfische Sprache und Sprachwandel in Festbeschreibungen des Münchner Hofes', which appeared as pp. 75–80 and 81–88 respectively of *Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung*, 9 (Hamburg, 1981). The topic is briefly discussed as part of larger monographs by Roy Strong in *Art and Power* (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 175–79 and Bonner Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State. Triumphal Progresses of Foreign Sovereigns in Renaissance Italy (1494–1600)* (Florence, 1986), p. 4 f. Karl Möseneder too in his study of Louis XIV's entry into Paris in 1660 touches on this aspect of the festival, as on all others (*Zeremoniell und monumentale Poesie. 'Entrée solennelle' Ludwigs XIV. 1660 in Paris* (Berlin, 1983), p. 15).

<sup>3</sup> Catalogued as cod germ 8009a in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

<sup>4</sup> Mercedes Viale Ferrero illustrates her account of festivities at Turin (*Feste delle Madama Reali di Savoia* (Turin, 1965)) with many coloured reproductions taken from Borgonio.

<sup>5</sup> The title is *Ordine de le noze de lo Illustrissimo Signor misir Constantio sfortia de Aragonia: et de la Illustrissima Madona Camilla de Aragonia sua consorte nel anno. 1475. adi infrascripto* (Vicenza, 1475). The British Library catalogues it under the first sentence of what we should now call the 'blurb' which appears before the title, namely, 'In qsto piccolo libretto se cõtiene le admirãde magnificẽtie e stupẽdissimi aparati de le foelice noze celebrate de lo Illustre Segnor de pesaro Constantio sforza per madama Camilla sua sposa/ e neza de la sacra maiesta del Re Ferdiãdo'. There is a modern illustrated reprint of this text published in Florence in 1946 entitled *Le Nozze di Constanzo Sforza e Camilla d'Aragona celebrate a Pesaro nel maggio 1475*.

<sup>6</sup> Available in modern facsimile edited by Sydney Anglo, under the title *La triumphante Entree de Charles Prince des Espagnes en Bruges 1515* (Amsterdam, n.d.).

<sup>7</sup> Roy Strong discusses the influence of these and of other depictions, op.cit., p. 44 f.

<sup>8</sup> The Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel possesses one of these presentation copies, shelf mark 1.1.1 Poet. 2°.

<sup>9</sup> This is available in a useful, though much reduced, modern edition with an essay by Horst Appuhn as *Der Triumphzug Kaiser Maximilians I 1516–1518* (Dortmund, 1979).

- <sup>10</sup> In the account by Bishop Valentin Esprit Fléchier of the carrousel held in Paris in 1662 entitled *Festiva ad capita annulumque decurso a Rege Ludovico XIV, Principibus, Summisque aulae proceribus edita anno 1662* (Paris, 1670).
- <sup>11</sup> This little work has no title as such, but begins 'Domingo a 2 de março año del señor de mil y quinientos y quarenta y quatro se hizo en la corredera de la muy noble villa de Valladolid un torneo a cavallo . . .'. It was reprinted in facsimile in 1890.
- <sup>12</sup> *Le Triomphali festi e giostre fatti nell'inclita città di Bologna per la creatione di Papa Giulio III* (Bologna, 1550).
- <sup>13</sup> The account is by Antonio Bendinelli and is entitled *Il Nobilissimo et ricchissimo torneo fatto nella Magnifica Città di Piacenza nella venuta del Serenissimo Don Giovanni d'Austria* (Piacenza, 1574).
- <sup>14</sup> Pierfrancesco Giambullari, *Apparato et feste nelle nozze del Illustrissimo Signor Duca di Firenze, et della Duchessa sua consorte, con le sue Stanze, Madriali, Comedia, et Intermedii, in quelle recitati* (Florence, 1539; this text is given in translation in Andrew C. Minor and Bonner Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment. Festivities for the Marriage of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence in 1539* (Columbia, Mo, 1968)); Filippo Giunti, *Raccolto delle feste fatte in Fiorenza Dall' . . . Duca . . . nella venuta di . . . Carlo d'Austria* (Florence, 1569); Camillo Rinuccini, *Descrizione delle Feste fatta nelle reali nozze de' Serenissimi Principe di Toscana D. Cosimo de' Medici e Maria Maddalena d'Austria* (Florence, 1608); Andrea Salvadori, *Guerra d'amore/ festa del serenissimo gran duca/ di Toscana/ Cosimo Secondo/ fatta in Firenze il Carnevale del 1615/ in Firenze MDC.XV* (Florence, 1615); Alessandro Segni, *Memorie de' Viaggi, e Feste per le Reali Nozze De' Serenissimi Sposi Violante Beatrice Di Baviera, e Ferdinando Principe di Toscana* (Florence, 1688).
- <sup>15</sup> The title is *Relación de la danza a Cavallo con que celebrò la illustrissima ciudad de Parma la llegada . . . de . . . Don Carlos Infante de España, . . .* (Seville, 1732).
- <sup>16</sup> *Deß Durchleuchtigsten und Mechtigsten Herrn Herrn SOLIS, Herrlicher Aufzug/ zum Ringrennen/ am 31. Octobr. dieses M.DCIII.Jahrs zu Hamburg gehalten. Körtzlich beschrieben.* (Magdeburg, 1603).
- <sup>17</sup> Christian Cassius, *Relation von dem Hochfürstlichen Beylager Deß Durchleuchtigsten Hochgebohrnen Fürsten und Herrn Christians des Fünfften/ zu Denemarcken . . . Mit der Durchleuchtigen Hochgebohrnen Fürstinnen . . . Magdalena Sibylla/ Hertzoginnen zu Sachsen . . .* (Hamburg, 1635).
- <sup>18</sup> *Relación de las fiestas que se hizieron en Lisboa, con la nueva del casamiento de la Seren. Infanta de Portugal Dona Catalina con el Ser. Rey de la Gran Bretaña Carlos Segundo* (Lisbon, 1662).
- <sup>19</sup> *La brillante journée ou le Carrousel des Galans Maures, entrepris par Monseigneur le Dauphin avec la comparse, les courses, Et des Madrigaux sur les Devises* (Paris, 1685).
- <sup>20</sup> Pedro José de Peralta Barnuevos Rocha y Benavides, *Jubilos de Lima y fiestas reales . . .* (Lima, 1723).
- <sup>21</sup> Johann Andreas Rüdiger, *Das frolockende Berlin . . . in Anwesenheit Ihrer Königlichen Majestät in Pohlen* (Berlin, 1728).
- <sup>22</sup> *Beschreibung aller Solennitäten Bey dem Hohen Vermählungs-Feste, Ihro Hoch-Fürstl. Durchläucht Printz Friedrichs Mit Ihro Hoheit Der Königl. Groß-Brittanischen Princesssin Maria Juni, Juli 1740* (Kassel, 1740).
- <sup>23</sup> Salvestro Marchetti, *Relatione della Giostra a campo aperto fatto in Siena . . .* (Siena, 1602).
- <sup>24</sup> Lorenzo Franceschi, *Ballo e giostra de' Venti nelle nozze del Ser. Principe e Ser. Principessa di Toscana* (Florence, 1608).
- <sup>25</sup> The title is *Descrizione delle feste fatte in Firenze per le reali nozze di serenissimi sposi Ferdinando II, Gran Duca di Toscana, e Vittoria Principessa D'Urbino* (Florence, 1637).
- <sup>26</sup> Alessandro Segni, *Memorie delle feste fatte in Firenze per le reali nozze de' Serenissimi sposi Cosimo Principe di Toscana, e Margherita Luisa Principessa d'Orleans* (Florence, 1662).

- <sup>27</sup> *Le magnifique carousel fait sur le fleuve de l'Arne a Florence, pour le mariage du grand Duc* (Paris, 1664).
- <sup>28</sup> Pietro Maggio, *Le guerre festive nelle reali nozze de' Serenissimi, e catolici Re di Spagna Carlo Secondo e Maria Luisa di Borbone celebrate nella Felice, e Fedelissima Città di Palermo* (Palermo, 1680).
- <sup>29</sup> Giovanni Matteo Alberti, *Giuochi festivi e militari, danze, serenate, machine, Boscareccia artificiosa, Regatta solenne . . . esposti . . . dalla generosità dell' A.S. d'Ernesto Augusto, Duca di Brunsvich . . . nel tempo di sua dimora in Venetia* (Venice, 1686).
- <sup>30</sup> Wagner's book is called *Hochzeitliches Ehrenfest* . . . (Munich, 1568).
- <sup>31</sup> Wenzel Sponrib, *Warhafte Beschreibung was vor der . . . Ertzogen Carls zu Osterreich etc. Hochzeitlichen Haimfuerung in . . . Grätz . . . von Porten und andern Triumphirenden zierlichkhaiten zuegerichtet etc.* (Graz, 1572).
- <sup>32</sup> All published anonymously in Ferrara under the titles and at the dates mentioned.
- <sup>33</sup> Diederich Graminäus, *Furstliche Hochzeit So der Durchluchtig hochgeborner Furst und Herr, herr Wilhelm Hertzog zu Gulich Cleve und Berg . . . dem . . . hern, her Johan Wilhelm Hertzogn zu Gulich hochermeltē Ihrer F.G. geliebte Sohn Und der . . . Furstinen Freulin Jacobae gebornen Marggraffinen zu Baden . . . gehalten* (Düsseldorf, 1585).
- <sup>34</sup> Dilich's account of both festivities appeared under the title *Beschreibung und Abriß dero Ritterspiel/ so der durchleuchtige . . . Moritz/Landgraff zu Hessen/ . . . auff die Fürstl. Kindtauffen Frewlein Elisabethen/ und dann auch Herrn Moritzen des andern . . . zu Cassel angeordnet und halten lassen* (Kassel, 1601).
- <sup>35</sup> See *L'Entrée de Henri II à Rouen 1550: A Facsimile edition with introduction*, edited by Margaret M. McGowan (Amsterdam, n.d.).
- <sup>36</sup> Johann Oettinger, *Warhafft Historische Beschreibung Der Fürstl. Hochzeit/ und des Hochansehnlichen Beylagers So Der Durchleuchtig Hochgeborn Fürst unnd Herr/Herr Johann Friderich Hertzog zu Würtemberg . . . mit . . . Barbara Sophia . . . celebriert und gehalten hat* (Stuttgart, 1610).
- <sup>37</sup> Balthasar Küchler, *Repraesentatio der fürstlichen Auffzug und Ritterspiel wobei des Durchleuchtigen . . . Herren Johann Friderichen Hertzogen zu Würtemberg . . . und der . . . Fürstin . . . Barbara Sophia . . . Hochzeitlich. Ehrenfest . . . 1609 in Stutgarten . . . gehalten worden* (Stuttgart, 1609).
- <sup>38</sup> Esaias von Hulsen/Mathias Merian the Elder, *Repraesentatio der Fürstlichen Auffzug und Ritterspil. So . . . Johan Friderich Hertzog zu Würtemberg . . . bey Ihr. H.Ge. neuwegebornen Sohn, Friderich . . . fürstlicher Kindtauffen . . . 1616. Inn Stuttgart . . . gehalten* (Stuttgart, 1616). The accompanying text by Johann-Augustin Assum is entitled *Warhafft Relation und Historischer/Politischer/Höfflicher Discours uber . . . Herren Johann Friderichen . . . Jungen Sohns Printz Friderichen angestelter . . . Kind Tauff: . . .* (Stuttgart, 1616). There are also two other accounts of this festivity by Georg Rudolf Weckherlin, one in German, one in English, as follows: *Triumpf Newlich bey der F. Kindtauf zu Stutgart gehalten* and *Triumphall Shews set forth lately at Stutgart* (both Stuttgart, 1616). The plates for the 1617 festivities in Stuttgart are titled as follows: *Esaias von Hulsen, Aigentliche Wahrhafft Delineatio unnd Abbildung aller Fürstlichen Auffzüg und Ritterspilen. Bey Deß Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten . . . Johann Friderichen . . . Fürstlichen Kindtauff: und dann bey Hochermelt . . . Bruders . . . Ludwigen Friderichen . . . mit . . . Magdalena Elisabeth . . . Beylager . . . celebriert und gehalten . . .*, and the account is by Weckherlin, entitled *Kurtze Beschreibung/Deß zu Stutgarten/ bey den Fürstlichen Kindtauf und Hochzeit/ Jüngst-gehaltenen Frewden-Fests* (Tübingen, 1618).
- <sup>39</sup> In Chapter 3 of the monograph mentioned above in note 1.
- <sup>40</sup> The anonymous account is called *Beschreibung der Reiss . . . Volbringung des Heyraths: und glücklicher Heimführung . . . des . . . Herrn Friedrichen dess Fünften . . . mit der Princessin Elisabeth . . .* (Heidelberg, 1613).
- <sup>41</sup> *Cartel, Auffzüge/ Vers und Abrisse/ So bey der Fürstlichen Kindtauff . . . zu Dessa . . . 1613 . . . praesentiret worden* (Leipzig, 1614); *Abbildung und Repraesentation Der Fürstlichen Inventionen, Auffzüge/ Ritter Spiel/ auch Ballet so . . . zu Dessa/ Bey des . . .*

- Georg Rudolph Hertzogen in Schlesien/ zur Liegnitz und zum Brieg/ Mit ... Sophia Elisabeth ... / ... Beylager ... 1614 gehalten worden (Leipzig, 1615).
- <sup>42</sup> *Repraesentatio Der Fürstlichen Auffzüge, Ritterspiel auch Feuerwerck und Ballet Welche ... zu Halle ... gehalten 1616* (Leipzig, 1617).
- <sup>43</sup> Adam Olearius, *Auffzüge und Ritterspiele So bey Des Durchläuchtigen/ Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn Friedrich Wilhelms ... Jungen Printzen/ Hertzog Christian, Fürstlichen Kindtauffs Feste/ ... gehalten worden ... zu Altenburg im Monat Junio 1654* (Schleßwig, 1658).
- <sup>44</sup> Francesco Sbarra, *La Contesa dell' Aria, e dell' Acqua. Festa a cavallo* (Vienna, 1667); Martin Meyer, *Deß Funffzehenden Theils Diarii Europaei Appendix oder Anhang/* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1667).
- <sup>45</sup> Gabriel Tzschimmer, *Die Durchlauchtigste Zusammenkunfft/ Oder: Historische Erzählung/ was Der Durchlauchtigste Fürst und Herr/ Herr Johann George der Ander/ ... in ... Dresden im Februario des MDCLXXVIII Jahres ... aufführen und vorstellen lassen ...* (Nürnberg, 1680).
- <sup>46</sup> Martin Klötzel, *Der von dem Durchlauchtigsten Chur-Fürsten zu Sachsen ... Hertzog Friderico Augusto, In Dero Residence Dresden/ Donnerstags den 7. Febr. 1695 ... angestellte und gehaltene Götter-Auffzug* (Dresden, 1697).
- <sup>47</sup> Charles Perrault, *Courses de Testes et de Bague, faites par le roy, et par les princes et seigneurs de la Cour, en l'année 1662* (Paris, 1670).
- <sup>48</sup> Félibien's accounts are as follows: *Les Plaisirs de l'Isle enchantée. Course de Bague; Collation ornée de machines; Comédie, meslée de Danse et de musique; ...* (Paris, 1673); *Relation de la Feste de Versailles. Du 18. Juillet mil six cens soixante-huit* (Paris, 1679); *Les Divertissemens de Versailles Donnez par le Roy a Toute sa Cour au Retour de la Conquete de la France-Comté en l'année 1674* (Paris, 1676).
- <sup>49</sup> They are: Laugier de Porchères, *Le Camp de la Place Royale ou Relation de ce qui s'y est passé les cinquiemes, sixiemes, et septiemes iour d'Avril, mil six cens douze ...* (Paris, 1612); *Le Caroussel des pompes et Magnificences faites en faveur du mariage du Roy Louis XIII avec Anne Infante d'Espagne* (Paris, 1612); François de Rosset, *Le Roman des Chevaliers de la Gloire* (Paris, 1613).
- <sup>50</sup> David Klöcker von Ehrenstrahl, *Das große Carroset Und Prächtige Ring-Rännen* (Stockholm, 1672).
- <sup>51</sup> See note 59 below.
- <sup>52</sup> So called from the 'Pritsche' or wooden rattle which was his sign of office.
- <sup>53</sup> Heinrich Wirre, *Ordenliche Beschreibung der Fürstl. Hochzeit ... Wilhelm Pfalzgraf beim Reyn und Renata auß Luttringen* (Munich, 1568); *Ordenliche Beschreibung des ... Beylagers oder Hochzeit/ So da gehalten ist worden durch Carlen Ertzhertzog zu Österreich ... mit ... Maria/ geborne Hergzogin zu Bayern/ den xxvi. Augusti in ... Wien* (Vienna, 1571).
- <sup>54</sup> Nikodemus Frischlin, *De nuptiis illustrissimi ... Ludovici, ducis Wirtembergici ... cum Dorothea Ursula, Marchionissa Badensi ... libri septem, ...* (Tübingen, 1577), and *De secundis Nuptiis illustr. Principis ... D. Ludovici, Ducis Wirtembergici ...* (Tübingen, 1585). After much hesitation, caused by the fact that they are in Latin, Nikodemus Frischlin's two works have been included here because they are so similar in every other way to the other works mentioned.
- <sup>55</sup> Carl Christoph Beyer, *Sieben Bücher Von der Fürstlichen Württembergischen Hochzeit/ Des Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten ... Ludwigen/ Hertzogen zu Württemberg und Teck ... mit der ... Fürstin ... Dorothea Ursula/ geborner Marggräfin von Baden* (Tübingen, 1578).
- <sup>56</sup> Jakob Frischlin, *Drey schöne und lustige Bücher/ von der Hohen Zollerischen Hochzeit/* (Augsburg, 1599); *Beschreibung des Fürstlichen Apparatus, Königlichen Aufzugs, Heroischen Ingressus, und herzlicher Pomp und Solennitet: mit welcher ... in der Fassnacht Männliche und Ritterliche Thurnier und Ringrennen gehalten worden ...* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1602).
- <sup>57</sup> See note 41 above for the title of the account.
- <sup>58</sup> See note 49 above for the full titles.

- <sup>59</sup> The titles of the libretti are Giovanni Battista Maccioni, *Applausi Festivi. Barriera Rappresentata in Monaco . . .* (Munich, 1658); Pietro Paolo Bissari, *Fedra Incoronata. Drama Regio Musicale, Antiopa Giustificata. Drama Guerriero, and Medea Vendicativa. Drama di Foco* (Munich, 1662) respectively.
- <sup>60</sup> *Württemberg-Hessischer Heimführungs-Begängnis* (Stuttgart, 1675), p. 55.
- <sup>61</sup> The full title is given in note 17 above.
- <sup>62</sup> Quoted from the modern reprint of this account in *Stuttgarter Hoffeste. Texte und Materialien zur höfischen Repräsentation im frühen 17. Jahrhundert*, edited by Ludwig Krapf and Christian Wagenknecht (Tübingen, 1979), p. 18.
- <sup>63</sup> *Stuttgarter Hoffeste*, pp. 168–170.
- <sup>64</sup> David Norbrook, "'The Masque of Truth': Court Entertainments and International Protestant Politics in the Early Stuart Period", in *The Seventeenth Century*, 1 (1986), 81–110.
- <sup>65</sup> Hilde Haider-Pregler, 'Das Rossballett im Inneren Burghof zu Wien (Jänner 1667)', in *Maske und Kothurn* (1969), pp. 291–324.
- <sup>66</sup> I found this broadsheet in the Theatersammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. It bears the legend *Gründliche warhafftige u. eigentliche Beschreibung derer jenigen vortrefflichen und ehe dessen unerhörten Festivitäten/ welche sich bey der Hochzeit des unüberwindlichsten Römischen Keyzers Leopoldi I etc. Zwischen denen zweyen Elementen dem Wasser und Lufft begeben haben*. In other words it purports to tell what has already happened, when we know that it does not correspond to the reality at all.
- <sup>67</sup> See note 19 above for the full title.
- <sup>68</sup> See note 13 above for the full title.
- <sup>69</sup> Bendinelli, *op.cit.*, p. 56.
- <sup>70</sup> Marchetti, *op.cit.*, p.2.
- <sup>71</sup> *Stuttgarter Hoffeste*, p. 162.
- <sup>72</sup> Malatesta, *op.cit.*, fol. 47v.
- <sup>73</sup> Massimo Troiano, *Die Münchner Fürstenhochzeiten von 1568 Dialoge. In Faksimile herausgegeben*, translated into German and edited by Horst Leuchtmann (Munich and Salzburg, 1980).
- <sup>74</sup> We have much evidence for this: e.g. see Bonner Mitchell on p. 5 of the work cited in note 2 above.
- <sup>75</sup> See Möseneder, *op.cit.*, p. 15 f.