

Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts, aus deren Kreisen viele der Auftraggeber für die kirchlichen Embleme kamen.

Dieter Bitterli wählt einen anderen Weg. Er stellt seine digitale Dokumentation von Emblemvorkommen in der Schweiz vor. Ausgewählte Orte sind bereits fotografisch und über die Motti erfasst und auf der zentralen Website: *www.emblemata.ch – An inventory of applied emblems in Switzerland* zugänglich. Dieses wertvolle Instrument enthält neben den fotografischen Reproduktionen aller Embleme sämtliche recherchierten Ergebnisse zu Kontext, Autoren, Malern, Quellen und bibliographischen Referenzen. Der Corpus Schweizer angewandter Embleme beginnt mit Beispielen im Raum Innerschweiz, wird laufend erweitert und soll zukünftig alle Schweizer Kantone und Sprachlandschaften berücksichtigen.

Das dritte Projekt zu einer Dokumentation sächsischer Emblematis steht noch am Anfang. Matthias Donath setzt seinem Forschungsvorhaben das Ziel, angewandte Emblematis im protestantischen Sachsen möglichst umfassend zu erfassen und zu dokumentieren. Mehr als dreißig Bildprogramme wurden bereits in einer Vorstudie identifiziert, in Schlössern, Kirchen und Bürgerhäusern Sachsens. Dabei steht die Suche nach den Emblemquellen sowie nach Auftraggebern und ausführenden Künstlern im Vordergrund. Die Recherchen sollen in einer Datenbank zusammengeführt und der weiteren Forschung zur Verfügung gestellt werden. Die drei unterschiedlichen Projekte reagieren auf die Befunde in den jeweiligen Regionen und dokumentieren verschiedene Forschungsansätze und Forschungstraditionen. Erst auf der Grundlage der Sammlung und Dokumentation der erhaltenen Beispiele kann eine Forschung aufbauen, die nach der kulturellen Identität einer Region fragt, die Vergleiche anstellt und Wege und Formen des Kulturtransfers im 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert nachverfolgen und untersuchen will.

Die fünf anschließenden Einzelstudien betreffen zwei protestantische sakrale Emblemvorkommen in Norddeutschland, in den Städten Greifswald und Segeberg, sowie katholische Embleme in der Bürgersaalkirche in München. Zwei Beiträge untersuchen Embleme im profanen Bereich, in Herrenhäusern bei Kappeln in Schleswig-Holstein und in Wisberholzen bei Hildesheim. Die sehr unterschiedlichen Fragestellungen spiegeln die Breite der möglichen Forschungsfragen an die angewandte, außerliterarische Emblematis.

Ausgehend von einer Grabkapelle in St. Nikolai in Greifswald untersucht Maren Biederbick die Auftrag-

gebersituation und fragt nach der Motivation zur Verwendung bestimmter Motive. Wirtschaftliche und politische Situation, gesellschaftliche Stellung, religiöse Zugehörigkeit und nicht zuletzt das Selbstverständnis und der Wunsch nach repräsentativer Selbstdarstellung der Auftraggeber bestimmen die Auswahl und Anordnung der Embleme an der Grabkapelle. Insofern thematisiert die Studie auch die Verwendung von Emblemen als persönliche Lebensmaxime; über die Gestaltung der öffentlichen Grabkapelle gewinnen sie exemplarisch-vorbildhaften Charakter für die Gemeinde. Da Biederbick in dem Zusammenhang nicht nur nach den Emblemvorlagen sondern auch nach vergleichbaren Emblemvorkommen in der Region sucht, gibt der Beitrag über die Frage nach der Auftraggeberschaft hinaus Einblick in die Verbreitung und Verwendungssituationen einzelner besonders beliebter Motive wie Sonnenblume oder Phönix.

Um die Identifikation nicht nur des Auftraggebers, sondern vor allem des Verfassers von Motti und Subscriptionen, geht es Johannes Köhler in seiner Untersuchung des Fliesensaals in Wisberholzen, dessen Bildprogramm und Vorlagenwahl schon Gegenstand mehrerer Untersuchungen waren. So steht in diesem späteren Stadium der Auseinandersetzung mit einem Emblemvorkommen die Frage nach der Verantwortlichkeit für einzelne Embleme im Vordergrund, die sich definitiv nicht auf eine Buchquelle zurückführen lassen. Dazu bedarf es der Recherche im Umfeld der adligen Besitzer und Bewohner der Architektur. Bildungs- und Erziehungshintergrund sowie gesellschaftlicher Umgang werden zur Grundlage neuer Erkenntnisse. Der Beitrag steht als Beispiel dafür, wie sich aufbauend auf der Grundlagenforschung zur angewandten Emblematis Einblicke in Lebens- und Bildungsgeschichte, in Bildungstransfer und -vermittlung gewinnen lassen.

Das Herrenhaus Gut Roest bei Kappeln ist ein ganz besonderes Beispiel für die Umsetzung einer Emblemvorlage in eine großformatige Wandgestaltung, deren Figuren lebensgroß sind. Bereits elf Jahre nach Erscheinen des Emblem Buch in Frankfurt (1630) wählt der schleswig-holsteinische Landadlige Heinrich Rumohr mehrere *Picturae* und Motti aus Daniel Cramers *Emblemata Moralia* für die Dekoration der Eingangshalle seines Gutes aus. Renate Voß legt in ihrem Beitrag neben der Frage nach der Motivation des Gutsbesitzers für die Auswahl einen zweiten Schwerpunkt auf den restauratorischen Umgang mit den Emblemen vor einem sich wandelnden Verständnissin-

tergrund. Dabei kann sie auf Forschungen des Kieler Kunsthistorikers Wolfgang J. Müller aus den sechziger Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts aufbauen.

Um Leserichtung und mögliche Lesarten geht es in den Beiträgen von Dietmar Peil und Ingrid Höpel. Dietmar Peil kann für die Auswahl seines Beispiels auf Cornelia Kemps grundlegende Sammlung von Emblemvorkommen in Oberbayern sowie auf die Münchner Emblemdatenbank zurückgreifen, in der viele bairische Emblemvorkommen fotografisch erfasst und online zugänglich sind. Die Embleme der Münchner Bürgersaalkirche sind im Sinn der Definition von Heckscher und Wirth »exegetische Embleme«, denn sie sind Darstellungen aus dem Marienleben zugeordnet. Peil stellt die verschiedenen Leserichtungen und -reihenfolgen der bisherigen Forschung vor und entwickelt abweichend davon eine eigene. Erschwert wird die Entscheidung für eine Lesart dadurch, dass die Embleme restauriert und dabei womöglich Motti und auch Picturae versehentlich umgedeutet wurden.

Die verantwortlichen Stifter der emblematischen Malereien auf den Flügeln des Altars der Marienkirche in Segeberg folgen der Empfehlung Martin Luthers, Altarbilder auf das Abendmahl zu beziehen. Die Darstellungen umkreisen das Thema der Eucharistie auf komplex-sophistische Weise und nutzen damit die Argumentationsstrategien der Verbindung von Text und Bild im Emblem auf besonders raffinierte Weise. Die Embleme des Altars waren für die Betrachter lange Zeit nicht sichtbar, weil der Altar nicht mehr wie zur Entstehungszeit gewandelt wurde, sicher eine Folge der mangelnden Wertschätzung der emblematischen Darstellungen, davon zeugt das dieser Einleitung vorgestellte Zitat.

So unterschiedlich die Fragestellungen sind, die aus kunsthistorischer, germanistischer, kirchengeschichtlicher und philosophischer oder bildungsgeschichtlicher Perspektive verfasst wurden, eins wird in allen Beiträgen deutlich: Embleme entstammen einer Bild- und Bildungswelt, die spätestens seit der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts nicht mehr gepflegt wird. Der zum Teil rudimentäre Erhaltungszustand der Embleme hat im einzelnen unterschiedliche Gründe, ist aber fast immer auf ein mangelndes oder sich wandelndes Verständnis für die Bilder, Texte und ihre Bedeutung zurückzuführen. Fehlinterpretationen und vorschnelle Restaurierungen ohne Kenntnis des ikonographischen Zusammenhangs und der Emblembuchquellen, manchmal sogar Übermalung oder Zerstörung sind die Folge der veränderten Wertschätzung. Umso wichtiger ist das Bemühen um

Verständnis und die wissenschaftliche Aufarbeitung der erhaltenen Emblemvorkommen. Dazu sollen im Folgenden einige Überlegungen dienen.

FORSCHUNGSAUFGABEN – VOM GEDRUCKTEN BUCH IN DIE ARCHITEKTUR

Am Beginn einer Beschäftigung mit Emblemfunden in der Architektur stehen in der Regel die Dokumentation des Erhaltenen und die Suche nach den graphischen Vorlagen. Die Frage nach den Verantwortlichen und deren Anteilen an der Präsentation – nach Auftraggebern, Künstlern, wissenschaftlichen oder geistlichen Beratern – schließt sich an. Im Hintergrund stehen – mit in jedem Einzelfall unterschiedlicher Gewichtung – weitere Fragen:

- nach den Gründen für Auswahl und Zusammenstellung
- nach Abwandlung oder Reduktion der Textbestandteile
- nach den Veränderungen, die die Picturae bei ihrer Übersetzung aus der Buchgraphik in Malerei im Raum erfahren
- nach Anordnung, Reihenfolge, verschiedenen Lesarten und emblematischen Argumentationsstrategien
- nach Rolle, Einfluss und Selbstverständnis der Auftraggeber
- nach Rolle und Einfluss der ausführenden Künstler
- nach dem Einfluss des neuen Rezeptionszusammenhangs am architektonischen Ort auf Formen und Inhalte
- nach kulturellen, politischen, kirchen-, oder mentalitätsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhängen
- nach dem Verhältnis von Regionalität und kulturellem Transfer von Formen, Motiven und Themen, der möglicherweise durch die Zugänglichkeit in Büchern, durch Buchkäufe und Buchbesitz begünstigt wird
- nach Erhalt und Umgang mit den Emblemen durch die Nachwelt bis heute.

Sobald Embleme nicht in Buchform vorliegen, sondern an einem architektonischen Ort im Außen- oder Innenraum angebracht sind, verändern sich die Umstände und Bedingungen für ihre Rezeption grundlegend. Buchgraphik wird von Lesern und Betrachtern wahrgenommen, die allein in stiller, meditativer Lektüre stattfindet, wie es die Auftraggeberin des Emblemprogramms am Segeberger Altar beispielhaft vorführt

(Abbildung 4, S. 100). Oder die Lektüre findet im Familienkreis, unter Freunden oder in didaktischen Zusammenhängen von Unterrichtssituationen statt. Bücher stehen in der Regel im Bücherschrank oder Regal, sie sind präsent, aber davon abhängig, zum Zweck der Rezeption gezielt aufgeschlagen zu werden. Embleme in architektonischen Kontexten dagegen sind ortsgebunden und dauerhaft offen. Sie können der Repräsentation und Selbstdarstellung der Bewohner dienen, von einzelnen Personen betrachtet werden, sie können aber auch von einer größeren Personenzahl zugleich in geselliger Runde angesehen und im Gespräch gedeutet werden, wie es in den *Gesprächspielen* von Georg Philipp Harsdörffer immer wieder empfohlen wird.¹² Ausgehend von seinen fiktiven Gesprächsprotokollen mit Anleitungscharakter lassen sich Vermutungen über den beabsichtigten oder tatsächlichen Umgang mit gemalten Emblemen in Räumen anstellen. Für die *Bunte Kammer* im Herrenhaus Ludwigsburg geht die Forschung nach Harms und Freytag davon aus, dass die adligen Auftraggeber planten, sie als gelehrt-erquickliche Gesprächsanlässe mit Gästen zu nutzen.¹³ Ähnlich kann man sich das gesellschaftliche Leben mit Emblemen im Fliesensaal von Wrisbergholzen oder auf Gut Roest vorstellen. In den Kirchen dienten die Embleme in gleicher Weise als Predigtanlass oder -ausgangspunkt, sie wurden in die

Exegese einbezogen oder im Rahmen der Katechismuslehre thematisiert. Eine Voraussetzung dafür, dass Embleme solche Zwecke erfüllen konnten, ist ein hoher Grad von Kenntnis und gesellschaftlicher Akzeptanz der Darstellungen.

Um die bisherigen Erkenntnisse und Vermutungen der Forschung über den Gebrauch von Emblemen auf Wand, Schrank, Empore oder Altar zu vertiefen, müssen die Emblemvorkommen großräumig systematisch dokumentiert und untersucht werden. Dazu ist eine grundlegende Erfassung und Dokumentation in Projekten wie in der Schweiz, Dänemark, Bayern oder Sachsen notwendig. Ideal wäre eine Vernetzung mit der Digitalisierung von Emblembüchern und ihrer systematischen Erschließung über das *Open Emblem Portal* und *Emblematica online*.¹⁴ Die Embleme in der Architektur, ob dem Buch vorgängig, angewandt oder nur in der Architektur vorhanden, könnten dann Teil einer umfassenden Dokumentation literarischer und außerliterarischer Emblematis sein und detaillierten Suchfunktionen zur Verfügung stehen, so dass sich die wissenschaftliche Forschung den übergreifenden kulturgeschichtlichen Fragestellungen zuwenden könnte, die bisher der mühsamen ersten Recherche nachgeordnet sind.

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¹² Vgl. Georg Philipp Harsdörffer: *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*, hg. v. Irmgard Böttcher, Tübingen 1968, z.B. Bd. VI (1646), S. 475.

¹³ Vgl. Freytag, Hartmut/Harms, Wolfgang/Schilling, Michael: *Gesprächskultur des Barock. Die Embleme der Bunten Kammer im Herrenhaus Ludwigsburg bei Eckernförde*. In Verb. mit Wolfgang Carl, Deert Lafrenz, Kiel 2001, S. 27 f.

¹⁴ <http://emblematica.granger.illinois.edu/>

Emblems in Danish Architecture A Survey

A reasonable question to the theme ›Emblematic programs in architecture‹ may be formulated as: what is understood by – or does it exist any – structural relations between emblems and architecture. Emblems being printed words and images, architecture houses in the widest conception. Emblems of course may depict architecture such as the one in Johannes Lassenius' *Heiliger Perlen-Schatz*, Vol. 2, printed in Copenhagen 1693 showing a church on top of a rock in a stormy sea threatened by devils and demons. It is a well-known *motif* in which the church may be substituted by a pyramid in order to stress the firmness of the gospel, the church, or the kingdom.¹ Architecture as such is not the point of this emblem (fig. 1–2).

During the Renaissance and Baroque buildings may have been built according to emblems or emblem theory. Buildings, arches, ornaments, window frames etc. may carry emblems as messages or as decoration.² Rooms may have been embellished with emblems as painted, carved, or plastered with tiles.³ Does this imply that deliberate programs in all instances must lie behind?

1 Carsten Bach-Nielsen: The Runes: Hieroglyphs of the North, in: *Die Domänen des Emblems. Außerliterarische Anwendungen der Emblematis*, (= *Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung*, Vol. 39), ed. Gerhard F. Strasser und Mara R. Wade, Wiesbaden 2004, pp. 157–172.

2 Carsten Bach-Nielsen: En vej, der fører til himlen [...]. Friedrich Ehbisch og prædikestolens ikonografi, in: *Synligt og usynligt. Studier tilegnede Otto Norn på hans 75 års fødselsdag den 13. december 1990*, Herning 1990, pp. 217–236.

3 Carsten Bach-Nielsen: Emblematics in Denmark, in: *The Emblem in Scandinavia and the Baltic*, ed. Simon McKeown, Mara R. Wade, (= *Glasgow Emblem Studies*, Vol. 11), Glasgow 2006, pp. 31–52.

Furthermore emblems have been painted on or carved into different pieces of furniture. That raises a question to the limit between architecture and furniture. Which pieces of furniture may reasonably be acknowledged as structural parts of the interior architecture of a church for example? Pews that are common in all protestant churches following the Reformation may be seen as inseparable parts of the church as they are rarely moved – contrary to furniture such as altars, frontals, credos, pulpits or confessionals that may change location in the room. Galleries and private boxes for church patrons also seem to be of a more decided architectural breed than other items and functional remedies for the service.

These considerations seem to confirm that the limit is flowing. In the 18th Century local artists hardly bothered to distinguish between panels on pews, altars, or pulpits – any unfilled wooden panel was considered a convenient place for painting including painting of emblems. A total concept in a baroque sense of architecture might comprise textiles, flags, banners, and epitaphs as well. That however would somewhat expand or even distort the theme of the symposium. Consequently I will be stressing decorations bound to architecture and to furniture firmly fixed into rooms when surveying Danish applied emblematics.

ART, LEISURE, AND CRISIS

It is obvious that the use of emblems and consideration with emblematics was confined to a small group of learned people during Danish Renaissance.⁴ It seems

4 Hanne Honnes de Lichtenberg: Tro – håb & forfængelighed. Kunstneriske udtryksformer i 1500-tallets Danmark, (= *Renaissance studier III*), København 1989, pp. 212–140.



Fig. 1 Johannes Lassenius: *Heiliger Perlen-Schatz*, 2, Copenhagen 1693, p. 273. Private property.

as if it wasn't taken up by royal circles nor applied in official art. Military units wore emblems on their banners and weapons. Emblems together with Latin inscriptions were used as motifs on coins and medals – monuments in miniature. The kings' grand scale art policy however was representative, dynastic in its aim. Artists had to deliver portraits of the royal family and to praise the glorious victories of the monarchs. Rooms for leisure were primarily decorated with motifs taken from mythology or with Dutch landscape paintings. There was no urge to be troubled or disturbed by riddles, puzzles, or moral teachings being a king resting from war and politics. The most splendid representative work of the 16th century was the series of tapestries for the Castle of Kronborg in Elsinore commissioned by Frederik II (1559–1588) and completed by craftsmen called in



Fig. 2 Church of Mariager, early 18th Century. Emblem showing the wind and water resistant pyramid, painted in one of the panels of the pulpit. Photo: Carsten Bach-Nielsen, Aarhus.

from abroad. The motifs were portraits and narratives of the kings of Denmark since the very foundation of the realm in remote mythology. Their specific function was to transform the huge ball room into a kind of secular temple in honor of the ruling line of the Oldenburg House. Christian IV (1588–1648) built the castle Rosenborg in Copenhagen for his leisure. Here the rooms were covered by myriads of small Dutch inspired mannerist genre or landscape paintings. During this king's reign however two notable town churches, S. Nicolas of Kolding and Our Lady of Flensburg were equipped with gems of emblematic art, namely paintings copied from Hendrick Goltzius' famous graphic, emblematic compositions *Exemplar virtutum* of 1578. The

decorations of the altar of Kolding St. Nicolas are dating to 1589–90; the Flensburg altar paintings to 1598.⁵

In 1624 the bourse of Copenhagen was built by Christian IV as an aid to international commerce. The skyline of the renaissance building is well known to anyone living in or visiting the capital. The spire of its tower consists of four dragons with intertwined tails (fig. 3). It is commonly referred to as the dragon spire. In 1771 the king's architect professor C.F. Harsdorff defended the old spire. It was suggested that it be torn down and replaced by a modern cupola. Harsdorff in his professional verdict claimed that the tower and the spire not only responded to the entire building with its emblematic composition but also fit perfectly to it; as to the whole purpose of the building it should be considered an ornament and a rarity of its own kind deriving from old Norse mythology.⁶ Harsdorff hereby suggests that he knows the emblematic conceit of the building complex. If he did, that knowledge has vanished since late enlightenment. Many explanations of the spire have been given: the dragons are not dragons but wyverns guarding the gold. It may have been influenced by Chinese architecture, or as Christian Axel Jensen held it been part of the festival culture and especially the art of firework.⁷ The tower actually was constructed by one of the royal masters of fireworks. One thing is certain, that the wyverns do not have wings which are required for »real« dragons. Grethe Kusk in a learned study has attempted to interpret the spire according to Michael Maier's hermetic emblem book *Atlanta Fugiens, hoc est, emblemata nova de secretis naturæ chymica* of 1618. This interpretation is hardly convincing as it presupposes that the building as such covers a hermetic meaning. After all it is only a bourse – a statue of the god of commerce Hermes/Mercury that was placed at the entrance does not make it »hermetic«. A few years later the historian Lars Bisgaard pointed to the fact that the king and his architect Willum Steenwinkel reused the dragon



Fig. 3 The spire of the Copenhagen Bourse, 1624. Photo: Carsten Bach-Nielsen, Aarhus.

motif in a banqueting house in the royal gardens of Glückstadt.⁸ Here the roof of the garden house adorned with four dragons with intertwined tails and huge jagged wings were described by an English captain Peter Mundy who anchored outside the town in 1641. What similarity should be taken into consideration when a motif is used twice in buildings with distinctly different functions? In Glückstadt the tower was not linked to any mercantile interests; it was constructed specifically

5 Margit Thøfner: Imported Patterns and Homegrown Virtues: Hendrick Goltzius's Exemplar Virtutum Prints and the Altarpieces of St Nicolas in Kolding and St Mary in Flensburg, in: Reframing the Danish Renaissance. Problems and Prospects in a European Perspective, ed. Michael Andersen, Birgitte Bøggild Johannsen, Hugo Johannsen, (= Publications from the National Museum. Studies in Archaeology & History, Vol. 16), København 2011, pp. 117–125.

6 Grethe Kusk: Børsens dragespir og hermer, in: *Architectura* 11(1989), pp. 112–129.

7 Christian Axel Jensen: Om Børsens Dragespir, in: *Historiske Meddelelser om København* 4. rk., 2 (1948–51), pp. 145–157.

8 Lars Bisgaard: Børsens spir – en gang til, in: *Skæve vinkler. Festskrift til Kjeld de Fine Licht i anledning af 75 årsdagen*, ed. Ulla Kjær, Marie-Louise Jørgensen, Jørgen Hegner Christianesen, København 2006, pp. 233–239.

for the king's pleasure. If there were to be any reference in it, it would consist in a quotation of the abundance of the king's capital, Copenhagen. One should not neglect the influential national interest in the art of Old Norse runic stones and the ornaments of the Viking age of the historians of the time. One of the most important ornamental motifs in Viking Age art are the animals with intertwined bodies such as dragons or wyverns. So the spire of the bourse in the port of Copenhagen might signal the power of the Northern Countries to all visiting foreign merchants or captains. Anyhow the last word may not have been said in that matter.

After Christian's defeat in The Thirty Years War and the Peace of Lübeck in 1629 the king's world view became more somber. The monarch felt compelled to address God almighty as to secure the Lord's assistance against destroying and dissolving forces. Therefore Christian IV built a new church, more splendid than any other in Northern Europe.

The entire complex of the Trinity Church erected in Copenhagen between 1637 and 1657 may be conceived as an emblem in itself. It includes a church built in accordance with Old Testament descriptions of the Temple of Solomon, an attic used for the University Library – and an observatory. On top of the Round Tower, a building with many imaginable inspirations. On the tower's brick wall is a hieroglyph in which God is addressed and urged to direct piety and justice into the heart of the king. There is a connection between the king's body and the building complex as a body – comprising piety, learning, and wisdom. The king's heart is contained in the symbolic shrine of the building. King Christian – whose own draft for the hieroglyph is preserved in the Danish Record Office – is thus to be perceived as the new King Salomon – the master builder and co-worker of God⁹.

The engraver H.A. Greys published a sheet depicting The Round Tower in 1646 – before the building complex was finished (fig. 4). This sheet was carried



Fig. 4 H. A. Greys: The Round Tower, 1646. Private property.

out for a book by the Danish astronomer Thomas Bang – a scientist notoriously interested in emblems.¹⁰ It has a strong similarity to a traditional emblem. It depicts the »Stellar Castle of royal Copenhagen« – *Stellaeburg* actually being the name of Tycho Brahe's subterranean observatory that was abandoned by Tycho Brahe a result of disagreements between the famous astronomer and the young Christian IV. Now the king has erected his own new observatory in a skyscraper-like tower. In Greys' print the inscription of the tower is flanked by a text line reading »AUREA INSCRIPTIO«, (golden inscription). The inscription on the tower actually is

⁹ Hugo Johannsen, Claus M. Smidt: *Kirkens huse*, (= Danmarks arkitektur, Vol. 6), København 1981, pp. 133–135. – Lisbet Balslev Jørgensen, Hakon Lund, Hans Edvard Nørregaard-Nielsen: *Magtens bolig*, (= Danmarks arkitektur, Vol. 5), København 1980, pp. 116–119. – Carsten Bach-Nielsen: *Words of Wisdom. Hieroglyphics, Emblems and Picture-Puzzles from Ancient Egypt to Renaissance Denmark*, in: *In the Last Days. On Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and its Period*, ed. Knud Jeppesen, Kirsten Nielsen, Bent Rosendal, Aarhus 1994, pp. 164–174. – Jan Steenberg: *Rundetaarn* (Danish and English), København 1962, pp. 18–19.

¹⁰ Bach-Nielsen 2004 (see Note 1), p. 165. Thomas Bang published a learned interpretation of the tower's inscription on the occasion of the coronation of Frederik III in 1648: *Phosphorus hierosymbolicae inscriptionis Stellaeburgi Regii Hafniensis*.

spelled with golden letters – except for the king's heart being red. The sheet should be read from the middle as »The Golden Inscription on the Stellar Castle of Royal Copenhagen«. The *subscriptio* is made up by a quotation of Proverbs 18,10: »The name of the Lord is a strong tower: the righteous runneth into it, and is safe«. The Danish translation by H.P. Resen of 1607 reads »...into it, and shall be elevated«. That suggests a multiple understanding of the house being the house of God, the house of wisdom, and a refuge or reward for the righteous. The Latinized Danish/German word »borg« or »Burg« can mean »castle« – or »stronghold«. The Latin word »REGII« – one out of three in the genitive form – spelled with the biggest of capitals may refer either to the Stellar castle or to Hafnia, Copenhagen. So the *inscriptio* might refer to »The royal stronghold under the stars in Copenhagen«. Especially the later edition of the sheet from 1657 more clearly shows the clouds in the sky exploding and opening towards higher worlds above the tower. This opening towards the heavenly sphere makes the inscription addressing Jehovah – linking the earthly with the heavenly king – so much more adequate; the inscription then becoming the cutting edge between two worlds. The dividing line between the two realms is suggested by the capitals »AUREA INSCRIPTIO« hovering at the height of the inscription.

CONCEPTS OF KINGDOM

The Danish kings were splendid kings according to their persuasion of being God's more or less elect rulers. Christian III (1536–1559) seized power by a coup that ended the Civil War and instituted the Reformation in 1536. He had to convince the European princes of his legitimacy by means of peaceful politics sustained by pageants and feasts. So did his son Frederik II whose wars concentrated on limiting Sweden as an ascending power in the Baltic region and the taming of democratic minded peasants of Dithmarschen. More than half a century later, on the brink of the total collapse of the country as a nation – due to the constant threat of Sweden – Frederik III (1648–1670) in 1660 launched a coup d'état that turned him into an absolutist ruler. Absolutism had to be accompanied and secured by pageants – now with the royal family as their splendid and representative centers. Royal feasts, entries, weddings etc. required ephemeral architecture and decorations of buildings in the new capital and residence town Copenhagen. Numerous arches and illuminations served as settings for and backdrops of

the royal pageants.¹¹ Some of the decorations are documented in the so-called Atlas of Frederik V – more than 3500 maps that were given to the prince at his birth in 1723. Later drawings and prints of places and buildings of the realm were added to the collection. It was bound in 55 volumes at the end of the 18th century. The interesting additional volume 55 includes a beautiful representation of the Palace of the Thott Family in Copenhagen as covered with planches showing emblems as a tribute to the French royal house (table of colour III). It is pretty obvious that it refers to the French Dauphin, crown prince. Dolphins are repeated all through the ensemble. The first son of Louis XV and Marie Leszczyńska, Louis Ferdinand, was born on the 4th September 1729. King Louis XV ordered the French ambassadors everywhere in Europe to celebrate the birth of the dauphin. The French ambassador of Denmark, count Louis de Bréhan de Plélo, gave a splendid feast that is said to have lasted for three days with the wine streaming. In Copenhagen the Thott Palace and in Rome the Palazzo Altamps are recorded to have been lavishly decorated. The decoration of the Thott Palace at the New Royal Circle neighboring the Danish Royal castle of Charlottenborg was vast and eloquent. The fronton displays a vision of the dauphin together with his father being carried by a chariot in the clouds. They are cherished by the virtues. Over their heads an allegorical figure pours out coins from a cornucopia; another holds the royal crown over the king's head while a putto strews the carriage with flowers. The inscription is »NEC PHAETONTIS FATA TIMEBO«, »I do not fear the fate of Phaeton«. The dolphin will contrary to Phaethon in Greek mythology be able to control the chariot of the sun-god. Above all the sun shining through the clouds together with the motto »TOTO SURGIT LUX AUREA MUNDO« quoting the ancient Christian writer Prudentius who in his hymn actually is quoting Vergil: »The golden sun rises over the whole world.« The entire ensemble is framed by dolphins. Over the main arch is the coat of arms of France and Navarre with the mottos of the Oriflamme: »MONTJOYE ST DENYS« and »LILIA NEQUE LABORANT NEQUE NENT.« – the quote of Luke 12:27. The arch is flanked by statues of a mythological king and Hercules. The 36 emblems are all concerned with the sun, the zodiac, and the enlivening rays of the sun, hidden pearls and not least dolphins.

¹¹ Hans Erling Langkilde: Portaler. En københavnsk kavalkade om et monumentalt motiv, in: Architectura. Arkitekturhistorisk Årsskrift 10 (1988), pp. 56–83.

NOBLEMEN AND LEARNED LADIES

Since the Reformation members of the nobility gradually began decorating their manors and churches according to modern – humanist – taste. The ladies of the manors regularly read the Bible and pious literature of various kinds; some were collectors of ballads, and many noble ladies produced handicraft, not least needle work. Here they made use of the iconography of the printed Bible illustrations and used quotations of the vernacular Bible as well.¹² Such a table cloth which might include heraldry and allegory as well would represent months or years of work, decisions and meditation. So much more surprising is it that hardly any emblematic programs are known as handiwork products in this stratum of learned ladies. One exception seems to have been the widow Sidsel Høg of the manor of Fjellebro in Funen. She is not renowned for her needlepoint but for a grand scale commission: a huge painted ceiling with no less than 77 emblems and sentences in Danish by the end of the seventeenth century. The decoration was described at length in 1671 by the noble lady Anne Kruse. The emblems were covered by a younger stucco ceiling around 1720. Obviously the painter relied partly on the emblems by Gabriel Rollenhagen, engraved by Caspar de Plessert.¹³ In the Renaissance manor of Overgaard west of Randers a vaulted room in the ground floor contains four painted panels with motifs deriving from Benedictus van Haeften's *Schola cordis* from 1629. The emblems of this book are products of the artist Boethius à Bolswert; they show the plowing and fertilization of the heart in order to make it blossom. The subscriptions are made up by Danish quotations of the Bible. These emblems seem to originate from the manor of Borreby in Western Zealand; they probably were taken to Overgaard by members of the Castenschiold family who acquired the manor in 1910. So they do not originally belong to the Overgaard room, and we have no information of their original position in one of Borreby's many halls or chambers.¹⁴

12 Georg Garde: *Danske silkebroderede lærredsduge fra 16. og 17. århundrede med særligt henblik på grafiske forlæg*, København 1961.

13 John Erichsen, Mikkel Wenborg Pedersen (Ed.): *Herregården. Menneske – Samfund – Landskab – Bygninger*, Vol. 2, København 2009, pp. 81–82.

14 Carsten Bach-Nielsen: *Plafonder og paneler*, in: *Overgaard*, ed. Fritz Nicolaisen, Randers 1997, pp. 129–145.

At the Rosenholm Castle in Eastern Jutland the cupboard of the Rosenkrantz family from around 1600 remains – a piece of furniture meant for meditation on life and death.¹⁵ This piece of furniture may give an impression of the quality of emblematic programs that eventually existed in the private manors of renaissance Denmark. Minor houses and town dwellings of burghers and members of the nobility may have contained emblems, but remains are sparse. Private houses were often redecorated in accordance with new modes and styles. That may explain why so little has survived.

ROYAL PATRONS AND PROVINCIAL COPYCATS

Royal art was commissioned and executed by the finest European craftsmen and since the founding of The Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen in 1754 also by Danish artists. The distance between the high and official royal art and the products available to the new generations of the nobility was huge. The old noble families left their old mansions in Jutland and moved to Copenhagen in order to serve at court. The new owners of the old houses were rather more ordinary in taste and manner. Some were merchants who made their way to titles and manors by hard labor. Their aim was to achieve rights as noblemen, names, titles and positions as local sheriffs. Names such as de Lasson, de Lindenpalm, de Linde or de Lichtenberg flourished in Jutland in the 18th Century. Such names signaled new money. This generation of new men had plenty of money and they were ready to spend it – on splendor. Their courts were parallels to the royal court – albeit in miniature.

Their heyday did not last for more than a generation or two. However they attracted quite a number of artists in order to refurnish their manors and churches. In Jutland emblems were flourishing during the 18th century under the new generations of landowners. The most prominent amongst these was Gerhard de Lichtenberg who acquired the castle of Engelsholm near Vejle in the 1730s. The ceiling of the summer sitting room of Engelsholm was adorned with a vast painted decoration consisting of a multitude of Latin inscriptions and maybe also emblems; unfortunately no traces of the decoration remain. The covering or

15 Merete Bergild, Jens Jensen: *Rosenholm-skabet og dets mestre Mikkel van Groningen og Lauritz Andersen Riber*, in: *Historisk Aarbog fra Randers Amt* (1987), pp. 25–41.

pulling down of the ceiling that was probably dating from the period of Brahe family's ownership (ca. 1590–1725) most certainly did not take place on Lichtenberg's orders.¹⁶ Gerhard de Lichtenberg in his nearby church of Nørup – a prominent example of the rural baroque style – had the pews decorated with emblems. About fifty painted emblems are seen there: one proof among others that de Lichtenberg was almost obsessed with emblems.

The greatest projects decorating churches with emblems are obvious in the economic centers of the new noblemen: Horsens and Viborg. In the former Franciscan church of Horsens emblems were painted everywhere on the pews.¹⁷ They were commissioned by Gerhard de Lichtenberg in 1737–1738 and carried out by Mogens Christian Thrane.¹⁸ In the former Black friars' Church in Viborg, Søndre Sogns Kirke, hundreds of emblems and emblem-like paintings are scattered all over the interior: on the pews and panels covering the walls (table of colour I). As in Horsens they were executed by Lichtenberg's favorite artist Mogens Christian Thrane.¹⁹

In a broad band stretching from Vejle and Horsens in Eastern Jutland to the utmost northwest of the peninsula about fifty churches in the countryside or were adorned with emblems.²⁰ Often they are found on the pulpits and galleries with either Danish or Latin inscriptions. The list in the appendix shows the variations. In some instances there are panels fixed to the walls with emblems painted on them. Here the limits between decoration and architecture certainly become indistinct.

Why were emblems popular in Jutland contrary to Zealand? One might list some plausible reasons. In Jutland peasants seem to have had more freedom and a slightly better level of education than their mates in Zealand – due to the density of manors and the hard

serfdom in East Denmark. The author Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754) – a landowner himself – established the image of the exploited and (at least on Sundays) consequently dead-drunk peasants of Zealand – and the more smart and relatively more independent men of Jutland. Peasants of Jutland were more skilled readers.²¹

Another reason would be that the high nobility in Zealand embellished their churches with quite good pieces of art whereas the churches of Jutland became an object of economic speculation and decay after 1660.²² The new nobility set their marks on churches that had been deprived of their wealth with the departure of the old nobility. Many churches of Jutland were decidedly dilapidated by 1730. The new owners often saved the churches from continuous decay. Their taste gave birth to very vivid late baroque and rococo rooms.

It was to be expected that the busy new church owners – noblemen or entrepreneurs – left it to their artists and local pastors to decide what was to be painted on the church furniture. Pietism of various types was the spiritual background of all Lutheran pastors of the time – some however being more orthodox than the hotter Halle pietists. As the ability to read amongst ordinary people was increasing, emblems were considered appropriate decorations in the church rooms. Some were reproduced with their Latin mottos; others were accompanied by more pedestrian Danish verses. Especially members of the Thrane dynasty were capable of inventing ingenious inscriptions. Probably it has not been considered important that the *picturae* were thoroughly explained by the inscriptions. The interpretive openness of the pictures must have appealed to the imagination of any conscious listener during the church service.

Most of the emblem paintings in the churches of Jutland were executed between 1710 and 1760. In some churches only a few panels remain, in other instances older written sources inform us about total decorations with painted emblems. The village churches of North West Jutland have only been sparsely investigated compared to the well-known churches of Eastern Jutland such as Nørup and Engum. Two churches in this area

16 Erichsen, Pedersen 2009 (see Note 13), p. 81.

17 Henrik Gjøde Nielsen: Et billede af det usynlige. Om Mogens Christian Thrane's emblemalerier i Søndre Sogns Kirke i Viborg, in: Viborg Stifts Årbog 1997, pp. 68–78.

18 Birgitte Bøggild Johannsen, Hugo Johannsen, Rikke Ilsted Kristiansen: Danmarks Kirker 16, Århus Amt. Vol. 10, København 2005, pp. 5815–5845.

19 Christian Elling: Thrane'rne, in: Tilskueren 51, 2 (1934), pp. 233–252.

20 The preserved and lost emblems in northwestern Jutland have been listed in Lisbeth Juul Nicolaisen: Emblemaleri i danske kirker, in: Kirkehistoriske Samlinger 1969, pp. 126–151.

21 Ludvig Holberg: *Jeppe paa Bierget* (1722) and *Peder Paars* (1719–20).

22 Ulla Kjær, Poul Grønder Hansen: Kirkerne i Danmark, II. Den protestantiske tid efter 1536, København 1989. – Marie Louise Jørgensen: Kirkerummets forvandling. Sjællandske landsbykirker indretning fra Reformationen til slutningen af 1800-tallet, København 2009.