

Portraits and Politics. The Imperial Ambassador Leopold Joseph Graf von Lamberg in Rome (1700-1705)*

As we know, Louis XIV did not only try to demonstrate his power to the other European states diplomatically and militarily, but also included the plastic arts in this strategy¹. At the end of the 17th century even the Habsburgs had to react, though for a long time at the court of Leopold I there had been neither an institutional art policy nor any support for or implementation of the new propaganda media such as pamphlets, copper engravings and medallions². Especially in the Spanish War of Succession the medium of portraiture acquired a crucial significance in propaganda, since the portrait of the ruler, like the coat of arms, served to make the allegiance of a territory or the loyalty of a family to a particular royal house publicly visible³. On 3 November 1703 in The Hague, while en route to Spain, the Habsburg Pretender to the throne was already distributing medals bearing his portrait and motto (Ill. 1). And in London the Habsburg had his portrait painted by the court artist, Sir Godfrey Kneller, while at the same time paintings, copper engravings and etchings were produced from this model, or one made earlier in Vienna, which were intended to make the appearance and the claim of the Habsburgs known to a broader public⁴ (Ill. 2). Rome played a special role in this context since it was not only a key theatre for the diplomatic conduct of war, but also the only capital where there was a long tradition of exhibiting the arms and portraits of foreign sovereigns in an official form⁵.

1.
Portrait medal of Archduke Karl
as King of Spain, 1703. Vienna,
Kunsthistorisches Museum,
Münzkabinett.
Photo: Museum

2.
Archduke Karl as King of Spain,
engraving by John White, 1703 (?).
Photo: after Galasso, footnote 13



1, 2

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3.
Leopold Joseph Count of Lamberg
as Imperial Ambassador in Rome.
Roman painter, 1700/1; formerly
Castle of Ottenstein.
Photo: Vienna, Bildarchiv
der Österreichischen
Nationalbibliothek

4.
Johann Philipp Count of Lamberg
as Cardinal, Roman painter,
1700/1; Formerly Castle
of Ottenstein.
Photo: Vienna, Bildarchiv
der Österreichischen
Nationalbibliothek

Leopold Joseph von Lamberg was born in 1653, son of the imperial chamberlain Hans Franz von Lamberg of Ottenstein (Lower Austria) and Maria Constantia von Questenberg. When he was 20, he was sent on a three-year "grand tour", during which he also visited London, Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels, Munich, Venice, Florence and Roma. In 1679 Count Lamberg married Katharina Eleonora Countess of Sprinzenstein and initially dedicated himself to administering his estates and further renovating Ottenstein castle. Between 1690 and 1699 Leopold Joseph von Lamberg represented the Austrian sovereign prince at the Reichstag in Regensburg⁶.

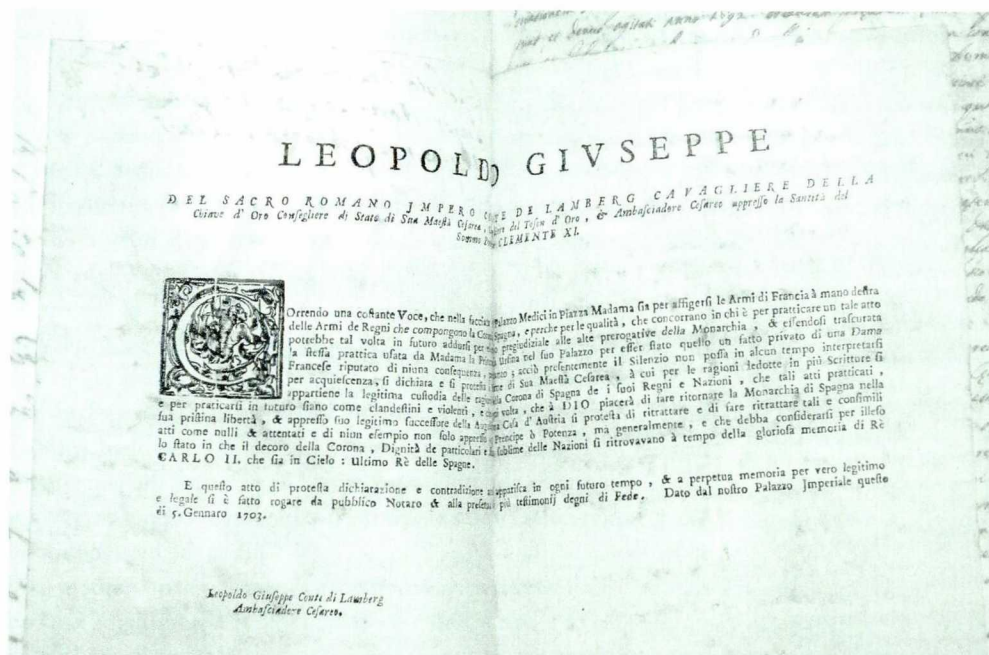
From 1700 to 1705 Count Lamberg was the imperial ambassador at the papal court, where he was confronted with the difficult papal election of 1700 and the diplomatic disputes of the War of the Spanish Succession⁷. However, due to the pro-French attitude of the new Pope Lamberg was forbidden by the emperor from attending papal audiences in 1702 and in 1705 was recalled by Joseph I altogether⁸. So the diplomat found it all the more necessary to influence the political public in Rome by direct and indirect means of propaganda⁹.

Only a few months after his arrival Count Lamberg was awarded the Order of the Golden Fleece by the Spanish King Charles II. The ambassador immediately had this immortalized in a full-figure portrait by Francesco Trevisani (1656-1746)¹⁰. At the same time Leopold Joseph achieved the elevation of his cousin, the Prince Bishop of Passau, Johann Philipp of Lamberg (1660-1712), to the dignity of Cardinal. As in Ottenstein, Lamberg documented the political importance of his family in a series of portraits. Thirteen smaller pictures on copper show the ambassador with St Peter's Square (Ill. 3), the most important members of Lamberg family (including the Obersthofmeister Johann Maximilian, Cardinal Johann Philipp (Ill. 4), and the future Prince Bishop of Passau Joseph Dominik), the Emperor, the Roman King and Archduke Karl as well as Popes Innocent XII and Clement XI¹¹. Under the circumstances it was certainly no coincidence that Count Lamberg also continuously conducted foreign policy with portraits in the context of the War of the Spanish Succession.

But to start with the ambassador made use of pamphlets. On 23 June 1701 a Latin text was distributed containing the arguments for the Habsburg claim to the Spanish throne, which the imperial ambassador in Rome had had printed by Johann Jakob Komarek (1648-1706)¹².

3, 4





5. Pamphlet of Count Lamberg against French and Spanish Coats of Arms at the Palazzo Madama in Rome, 1703; Vatican, ACP. Photo: Archiv

6. Pope Clement XI, Roman painter, 1701; Castle of Ottenstein. Photo: Author's Archive

Lamberg's activity was not confined to such advertising campaigns. He was also a leading light in the Neapolitan rebellion against the Bourbon government in the late summer of 1701. When the rebels marched into the city on 23 September, pictures of Archduke Karl were held aloft at the front on poles, in accordance with ancient custom. A portrait of the Habsburg above the portal of San Lorenzo monastery, the seat of the local administration, was supposed to demonstrate that the city had been taken¹³.

Since the rebellion in Naples collapsed after only two days due to betrayal and lack of money, Lamberg turned his attention once again to the "Stellvertreterkrieg" in Rome. The most obvious forum for this were the national churches that existed there, which had increasingly emerged as one of the main stages for political representation. When on 14 November 1701, the feast day of St Leopold and name day of the Emperor was celebrated in the German national church of S. Maria dell'Anima¹⁴, alongside the pictures of the Pope, the Emperor and the Roman King, there was in the church a „life-sized figure of Archduke Karl of Austria, who has a claim to the Spanish succession”¹⁵. The description would suggest that this painting in the Anima was the original or possibly a variant of the small picture of Karl painted on copper that Lamberg owned.

Another important battlefield of Lamberg and his opposites was the decoration of Roman palaces with the Habsburg or Bourbon coats of arms, to witness or demonstrate the inhabitants' loyalty to the Austrian or French party. So after Cardinal Francesco Maria de' Medici (1660-1711), the former protector of the Holy Roman Empire, had changed to the other side and was named protector of France and Spain, in the first days of 1703 the imperial ambassador had an official protest printed against the Spanish and French coats of arms on the Palazzo Madama, the cardinals' residence in Rome (Ill. 5).

A further opportunity for a political demonstration was offered by the Corpus Christi procession of the German nation on 10 June 1703. Alongside the pictures of the Pope and the Habsburgs in the church, the imperial ambassador had obviously decorated the city and the route of the procession near the German national church to suit his own ends, indeed presumably with the "Ottenstein series" of cardinals' portraits. In memory of the events of 1700 Leopold Joseph had, in fact, got his two Roman court artists to produce a unique series of 71 pictures of the two Popes (Ill. 6) and all the cardinals¹⁶.

The fact that Emperors Leopold I and Joseph I officially gave up any claim to succeed King Charles II of Spain in favour of Archduke Karl on 12 September 1703



CLEMENS XI. ANTEA IOAN. FRANCISCUS ALBANI NAT. 22. IUL. 1649. CREAT. 23. NOV. 700. MORT. 19. MART. 724.

7.
Information about Archduke Karl's
travel to England, Roman print,
1704; Rome, Archivio Capitolino.
Photo: after Valesio, footnote 18

**RELAZIONE DEL VIAGGIO DEL RE CATTOLICO
CARLO TERZO, dall' Haya in Inghilterra, e delle accoglienze,
che vi hà ricevute, e poi della sua partenza
verso Portogallo.**

H Auendo alli 2. di Gennaro 1704. doppo pranzo il Sign. Ammiraglio Rooke mandata notizia in Haya, che soffiaua finalmente il vento fauorevole di Levante, e chiedendo, che perciò prontamente s' imbarcasse il Rè delle Spagne CARLO TERZO, & il di lui Corteggio; parti per tal fine il medesimo Corteggio ancora l' istessa notte alle ore 11. dall' Haya: & alle ore 4. della mattina seguente, cioè

Alli 3. seguì Sua Maestà Cattolica, accompagnata da gran numero di Nobiltà, e da Sign. Deputati, de Sign. Stati Generali delle Prouinzie unite fin à Flardinga: doue li Sign. Deputati medesimi con tanta tenerezza prefero congedo da Sua Maestà, che hebbero le lagrime agli occhi: doppo di che la M. S. entrò in una Scialoppa si trasferì sul di lei Vascello sotto le Acclamazioni piene di giubilo de Marinari, saliti quà e là sulle Antenne, Cordaggi, & Alberi delle Naui, e sotto lo sparo dell' Artiglieria di tutti li Vascelli: indi calò S. M. fin à Briela, doue giunse bensì doppo pranzo, ma douette colà pernottare à causa della calata Marex. Continuando tuttauia il vento di Levante, uscì S. M. la mattina

Delli 4. alle ore 7. da Briela à piene Vele sopraua delle Secche nel mare, accompagnata da tutte le Naui, ch' erano al numero 62. e vi fù beneuentata collo sparo di tutti li Cannoni da 10. Vascelli da guerra Inglesi, & Olandesi, che colà stettero pronti: e poslouisi il tutto in ordine, passò

Alli 5. tutta la Flotta auanti Calais Porto Francese in Piccardia per lo così detto passo del Canale con buonissimo Vento; e giunta alle ore 4. doppo pranzo dirimpetto al Castello Inglese di Douvres (da doue distintamente si può veder dirimpetto di sopraua del mare il Terreno di Francia) vidonette la fusta Regia, e le altre fuste aspettare quasi per lo spazio d' un ora li Vascelli da guerra, di trasporto, e Mercantili, restati alquanto in dietro: in tanto fù S. M. Cattolica beneuentata dal detto Castello di Douvres collo sparo di tutti i Cannoni, à cui fù ringraziato dalla fusta Regia con 7. Cannonate; dal Castello medesimo però furono ancora una volta sparati 3. Cannoni in ringraziamento dell' onore. Si continuò poi veleggiando quasi per tutta la notte il viaggio con affai buon, mà alquanto più gagliardo Vento.

Alli 6. Festa dei tre Rè, e giorno Natalizio dell' Augustissima Imperatrice si passò auanti l' Isola di Viche; e giunse S. M. Cattolica l' istesso giorno doppo pranzo felicemente, e con piena Smità nel porto di Portsmouth. Qui stettero schierati in così buon ordine affai molti Vascelli di guerra Inglesi, & altre Naui, che S. M. Cattolica colla di lei Fusta, e tutto il di lei Seguito, passò à trauerso frà i medesimi, e fù con somma magnificenza salutata da ciaschedun Vascello da guerra con 36. cannonate (le quali si fecero)

in Vienna, was not made known in Rome until 26 September. By the same post “*many very beautiful print portraits of the new King of Spain in Spanish costume*” arrived.

Two days later the imperial ambassador spread the news that on the following Monday, to mark the same event, there would be a ceremonial mass in the Anima and Karl's portrait would be presented for the first time wearing royal robes. The French ambassador Cardinal Toussaint de Forbin Janson (1631-1713) did everything in his power to prevent this, but as a result of the advance publicity many curious people streamed into the Anima church on Sunday evening,

30 September 1703. Above the portal hung portraits of the Pope and the Emperor, while below on both sides pictures of the Spanish King Charles III and the Roman King Joseph I were displayed. At the same time a four-page pamphlet was distributed about the Habsburg's acclamation as King of Spain, which Lamberg had had printed by Komarek. Because this pamphlet was published without official permission the Bohemian printer was arrested the same night. What is more, the Pope banned the production of copper engravings showing Archduke Karl as King of Spain. Due to the intervention of the French ambassador and the Pope's threat of a ban Lamberg gave up the idea of a celebratory service and had the painting of Karl on his triumphant procession transferred to his residence in the Palazzo Caetani al Corso. The painting was displayed in the great banquet hall on a rostrum under a baldachin. From Roman sources we learn that the portrait was obviously a direct paraphrase of the well-known pictures of King Charles II of Spain in black clothes standing in the hall of mirrors of the Alcazár¹⁷.

On the feast of St Leopold on 15 November 1703 the picture of Karl was no longer displayed in the Anima, but on 5 March 1704 Lamberg informed the Romans in a pamphlet “*RELAZIONE DEL VIAGGIO DEL RE CATTOLICO CARLO TERZO*” about the Habsburg's honourable reception in Holland and England and the fact that these countries had recognized him as King (Ill. 7). On 10 May 1704 Lamberg had the next instalment printed concerning the Habsburg Pretender's reception in Lisbon on 9 March. On 6 September the ambassador was finally able to announce to the Romans in a “*BREVE, E SUCCINTA RELAZIONE*” the victory of the allied troops under the leadership of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugen over the French and Bavarians on 13 August “*presso Pleintheim*” (Blindheim/Höchstätt)¹⁸.

Given the changing military situation it is understandable that pictures of the two rivals for the Spanish throne continued to play an important role in many celebrations. But Lamberg was no longer able to witness the re-gaining of Naples and Milan as he died in Vienna in 1706.

¹ P. Burke: *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven and London 1992); Ch. Kampmann/K. Krause/E. B. Kress/A. Tischer (eds.): *Bourbon – Habsburg – Oranien. Konkurrierende Modelle im dynastischen Europa um 1700*; (Köln/Weimar/Wien 2008).

² M. Golubeva: *The Glorification of Emperor Leopold I in Image, Spectacle and Text*. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz 84 (Mainz 2000); J. Schumann: *Die andere Sonne. Kaiserbild und Medienstrategien im Zeitalter Leopolds I*. Colloquia Augustana 17 (Augsburg 2003); F. Polleroß: “Pro Decore Majestatis”. Zur Repräsentation Kaiser Leopolds I. in Architektur, bildender und angewandter Kunst. In: *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums* 4/5 (2003) 190-295.

³ H. Winkler: *Bildnis und Gebrauch. Zum Umgang mit dem fürstlichen Bildnis in der frühen Neuzeit. Vermählungen – Gesandtschaftswesen – Spanischer Erbfolgekrieg*. Dissertationen der Universität Wien 239 (Wien 1993) 236-251; E. Garms-Cornides: Spanischer Patriotismus und “österreichische” Propaganda: Habsburger-Porträts in einer römischen Kirche aus der Zeit des Spanischen Erbfolgekriegs. In: *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 31 (1989) 255-282; G. Sbatier: “Vacva melior nunc regnet in avla”.

- La guerre des médailles entre Philippe V de Bourbon et Charles III de Habsbourg pendant la guerre de Succession d'Espagne (1700-1711). In: A. Álvarez-Ossorio/B.J. García García/V. León (eds.): *La pérdida de Europa. La guerra de Sucesión por la Monarquía de España*, Madrid 2007, 65-98; D. H. Bodart: Philippe V ou Charles III? La guerre des portraits à Rome et dans les royaumes italiens de la couronne d'Espagne. In: the same volume, 99-133.
- ⁴ F. Polleroß: Hispaniarum et Indiarum Rex. Zur Repräsentation Kaiser Karls VI. als König von Spanien. In: J. Jané (ed.): *Denkmodelle. Akten des 8. Spanisch-österreichischen Symposions 13.-18. Dezember 1999 in Tarragona* (Tarragona 2000) 121-175, here 124-131.
- ⁵ D. H. Bodart: I ritratti dei re nelle collezioni nobiliari romane del Seicento. In: M. A. Visceglia (ed.): *La nobiltà romana in età moderna. Profili istituzionali e pratiche sociali* (Roma 2001) 307-352.
- ⁶ H. Kühnel: Die adelige Kavaliertour im 17. Jahrhundert. In: *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* 34 (1964) I, 364-384; F. E. Bauer: *Studien zur Herrschafts- und Familiengeschichte der Lamberg zu Ottenstein im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, phil. Diss. Ms. (Wien 1981); F. Polleroß: „...dem Antiquario zu Rom für sein trinkgeldt undt gemachte Spesa“. Kunst-Reisen und Kunst-Handel im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. In: F. Polleroß (ed.): *Reiselust & Kunstgenuss. Barockes Böhmen, Mähren und Österreich* (Petersberg 2004) 9-36.
- ⁷ For political background see: H. Duchhardt: Staatenkonkurrenz und Fürstenrivalität – Krieg und Frieden in Europa 1700-1714. In: J. Erichsen/K. Heinemann (eds.): *Brennpunkt Europas 1704: Die Schlacht von Höchstädt/The Battle of Blenheim* (Ostfildern 2004) 2-11; A. Álvarez-Ossorio/B.J. García García/V. León (eds.): *La pérdida de Europa. La guerra de Sucesión por la Monarquía de España*, Madrid 2007.
- ⁸ M. Landau: *Rom, Wien, Neapel während des spanischen Erbfolgekrieges. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Kampfes zwischen Papsttum und Kaiserthum* (Leipzig 1885); L. von Pastor: *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter des fürstlichen Absolutismus von der Wahl Innozenz' X. bis zum Tode Innozenz' XII (1644-1700). Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters 14/II* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1930); L. von Pastor: *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter des fürstlichen Absolutismus von der Wahl Klemens' XI. bis zum Tode Klemens' XII (1700-1740). Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters 15* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1930).
- ⁹ The author is preparing a book-length study about the representation of Count Lamberg in general and especially in Rome.
- ¹⁰ Polleroß, *Reiselust* (see footnote 5), ill. 5.
- ¹¹ P. Buberl: *Die Denkmale des politischen Bezirkes Zwettl. Österreichische Kunsttopographie* 8 (Wien 1911) 104-107, ill. 85-87.
- ¹² About the use of printed material for propaganda during the wars in the times of Louis XIV see: W. Cilleßen (ed.): *Krieg der Bilder. Druckgraphik als Medium politischer Auseinandersetzung im Europa des Absolutismus* (Berlin 1997).
- ¹³ G. Galasso: *Napoli Spagnola dopo Masaniello. Politica, Cultura, Società*, Napoli 1972, 598 and 602.
- ¹⁴ About the church see: G. Knopp/W. Hansmann: *S. Maria dell'Anima. Die deutsche Nationalkirche in Rom* (Mönchengladbach 1979); about the festivities: R. Heynk: Fest und Musik als Mittel kaiserlicher Machtpolitik in Rom. In: R. Bösel/G. Klingenstein/A. Koller (eds.): *Kaiserhof – Papstthof* (16.-18. Jahrhundert). Publikationen des Historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturforum in Rom. *Abhandlungen* 12 (Wien 2006) 285-302.
- ¹⁵ M. Fagiolo (ed.): *Il Settecento e l'Ottocento. Corpus delle feste a Roma* 2 (Roma 1997) 9.
- ¹⁶ Zwei Päpste, 69 Kardinäle und ein Schloss in Österreich. In: *Dorotheum – Alte Meister Auktion am 21. März 2002* (Wien 2002) s.p.
- ¹⁷ Fagiolo, *Corpus delle feste* (see footnote 15), 14.
- ¹⁸ F. Valesio: *Diario di Roma. A cura di Gaetana Scano con la collaborazione di Giuseppe Graglia. III 1704-1707, libro quinto e libro sesto* (Milano 1978), 38-39 and 149+164.