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## WATER, FIRE, AND THE MUTABILITY OF NATURE IN LATE-SIXTEENTH AND EARLY-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN COURT FESTIVALS

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# Water, Fire, and the Mutability of Nature in late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century German Court Festivals

R. L. M. Morris

Court festivals involving lavish, highly choreographed, highly symbolic combinations of entertainments were a prominent feature of the early modern period in Europe<sup>1</sup>. Triumphal entries, processions, tournaments, banquets, firework displays, and so on were held to mark significant occasions, such as a ruler's christening, wedding, or funeral, the coming of peace or the forging of an alliance. They were recorded in a number of ways, ranging from material culture through pamphlet literature to magnificent and often costly festival books, and experienced and participated in on a multi-sensory level, albeit perhaps differently so, by the entire audience: the common people, nobility, and ambassadors alike. They provided a spectacular setting in which identities were performed, articulated, and fashioned. The festival occasions which took place within the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation between roughly the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 and the start of the Thirty Years War in 1618, which will form the focus of this chapter, could be used to make competing, politicised, and confessionalised claims to legitimacy. Yet their imagery also afforded one of the bases for a shared conception of nobility through virtue. Water and fire frequently lay at the heart of this imagery, by tying princes to the land of *Germania* itself, not least through references to the great rivers which nourished it, and by demonstrating the mutability of nature to the power of the ruler through elaborate spectacles such as firework displays which forced the elements into competition with each other apparently at the ruler's whim.

The relationship between nature and German identity has often been discussed, but almost exclusively in relation to the modern period. David Blackbourn's *The Conquest of Nature*, for instance, argues that a symbolic mastery over nature became fundamental to Prussian identity in the late-nineteenth century through schemes such as Otto von Bismarck's project of drainage, which carried the ideological message that the *Reich* had the ability to reshape the natural environment in order to make something of nothing<sup>2</sup>. Though his work admittedly focuses on British imperialism, Richard Drayton, too, in *Nature's Government*, argues that it is in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that the idea of the taming or control of nature by the state became fundamental to ideas of power in an imperial context<sup>3</sup>. However, as this chapter will argue, these ideas can be seen much earlier within the court festivals of the early modern Holy Roman Empire.

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1 Some of the arguments presented here are expanded upon in the author's recent monograph: R. L. M. Morris, *Court Festivals of the Holy Roman Empire, 1555-1619: Performing German Identity*, Turnhout, Brepols, coll. « European Festival Studies. 1450-1700 », 2020.

2 David Blackbourn, *The Conquest of Nature: Water, Landscape and the Making of Modern Germany*, London, Norton, 2006.

3 Richard Drayton, *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World*, New Haven/ London, Yale University Press, 2000.

The land and its topography had long been important to the creation of a 'German' identity. Conrad Celtis (1459-1508) expressed the idea forcefully in a public oration delivered at the University of Ingolstadt. In the oration, Celtis declared that German students should 'Consider it... the height of shame to know nothing about the topography, the climate, the rivers, the mountains, the antiquities and the peoples of our region and our own country'<sup>4</sup>. The land of Germany must, according to Celtis, be great due to 'the painstaking exactitude and subtle learning with which the Greeks and Romans have surveyed our country, which is, to use their own words, the greatest part of Europe'<sup>5</sup>. Celtis's belief was that Germans should have a visual image of the topography of Germany imbedded in their minds in order to understand its history, customs, and, ultimately, the identity of its people.

This project of visualising the land and amalgamating this with its customs and history was taken up at great effort and expense in the sixteenth century. One such attempt to depict the world together with Germany's place in it was the Waldseemüller world map of 1507, produced by the German cartographer Martin Waldseemüller (1470-1520), in association with a small group of scholars and printers in eastern France, and dedicated to Emperor Maximilian I. Another example is Sebastian Münster's (1488-1552) lavishly illustrated *Cosmographia* which first appeared in 1544<sup>6</sup>. Cartography and the geography of the German lands were also central in the work of Wolfgang Lazius (1514-1565), the official historian to the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I. In 1555, he set out to describe the origins of the Franks, Alemans, Suebs, Marcomanni, Boii, Carni, Taurisci, Celts, and the Galatians, all of whose descendants he counted among the inhabitants of the Habsburg lands. This resulted in *De gentium migrationibus* (1557), the first attempt to assign origins of European peoples to a complex series of migrations. The concept was translated into German as *Völkerwanderung*. Identity in this reading was geographic and natural, as a *Volk*, through blood, as opposed to being dependent on more cultural factors such as language or religion. Lazius even wrote that 'It is necessary to know the migrations of peoples, not only for a better understanding of history, but, truly, in order to expose the origins of these peoples, which, from the succession of so many centuries, are very much unaffected by customs and language'<sup>7</sup>.

Celtis, Waldseemüller, Münster, and Lazius lived at a moment when America and the New World was being 'discovered' – when cartography was politically, economically, territorially, and intellectually crucial. It was a moment of geographic specificity and a moment of taming nature<sup>8</sup>. Maps and globes created a vision not only of Germany, but of Germany's place in the world as a whole; a world about which more information was being gathered and in which new opportunities for interactions with distant territories were emerging as a result of the voyages of discovery. They were a crucial way in which nature was depicted visually and an important medium through which mastery of nature was sought; financially and politically as well as intellectually. As Beat Kümin and Cornelia Osborne have rightly observed, 'In cartography...maps are no longer seen as mere

4 Conrad Celtis, 'Public Oration Delivered in the University of Ingolstadt', in *Id.*, *Selections from Conrad Celtis 1459-1508*, ed. and trans. Leonard Wilson Forster, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1948, p. 38-65, p. 43.

5 *Ibid.*

6 See Toby Lester, *The Fourth Part of the World: The Race to the Ends of the Earth, and the Epic Story of the Map That Gave America its Name*, London, Profile Books, 2009.

7 As quoted in Patrick J. Geary, 'Europe of Nations or the Nation of Europe: Origin Myths Past and Present', *Revista Lusófona de Estudos Culturais, Lusophone Journal of Cultural Studies*, 1/1, 2013, p. 36-49, p. 43-44.

8 Surekha Davies has recently published a study which begins to assess how sixteenth- and seventeenth-century maps, within the context of New World discoveries, reveal attitudes towards different peoples whose cultures were related to the lands they inhabited. See Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2016.

records of physical conditions produced by artists with gradually increasing technical skills, but as claims to power, as tools of representation, and as reflections of changing spatial awareness<sup>9</sup>. Court festivals, too, fed into this broader narrative.

A festival such as a joyous entry clearly required the city being entered as a stage—as the ruler passed through the gate he symbolised his possession of the city, and this stage afforded the audience necessary to give the festival meaning and efficacy. The format of early modern joyous or triumphal entries was based on the Roman imperial *adventus*. The entering noble would stop short of the city walls and be met outside of them by a delegation from the city before being invited to enter through the gates alongside them. This is concisely described, for instance, by Johann Mayer in his account of the visit to Munich of Ferdinand II in 1607. He records that ‘the great princes gathered /... two miles out from Munich...in the open field’ where there were pitched ‘many pavilions’ and ‘after princely custom / having received the morning meal / through into the afternoon / the journey was joyfully undertaken / to the gate of Munich’<sup>10</sup>.

He continues that ‘There the train halted / After which happened suddenly / a double acclamation’, before the various nobles then made their way into the city<sup>11</sup>. While a ruler’s entry into a city symbolised possession of that space, this need to stop outside of the walls before being welcomed in also demonstrated respect for the city and its freedom. Indeed, to take an example from elsewhere in Europe by means of comparison, this can be seen by the contrast with the situation of La Rochelle following its Huguenot rebellion, siege, and recapture by Louis XIII of France in 1627–8. When the Queen, Anne of Austria, entered La Rochelle in November 1632, she was addressed by the lieutenant Jean de L’Escaie, on behalf of the city, who lamented ‘the ruin of her bastions, the revocation of her privileges’ and ‘the fall of these proud fortifications, once the wonder of the universe, and of these awesome bastions’, leaving the city visibly ‘captured’<sup>12</sup>. Furthermore, as the processions and entries worked their way through the cityscape, past permanent landmarks and ephemeral architecture temporarily constructed for the event along a carefully choreographed route, and then into the castle, cathedral, or other venue in which the visiting nobles were to be received, the city afforded a platform for both the very public and more private aspects of festivals.

Yet the legitimacy afforded by the land and its ties to identity were also vital to the imagery of these spectacles. Journeys to festivals could be punctuated by festivities themselves, and some festival occasions involved travelling between different elements of the festival held in different locations, which afforded the opportunity for the land and its features, such as bodies of water, to become a part of the festival’s rhetoric. For instance, at the start of the 1568 wedding festival for the marriage of Wilhelm V, Duke of Bavaria, and Renée, Duchess of Lorraine, a party set out from Munich by boat, led by Duke Ferdinand of Bavaria, to meet the party from Lorraine at Ingolstadt. The account says that they travelled along the Danube. Munich itself is on the Isar which flows into

9 Beat Kümin and Cornelia Osborne, ‘At Home and in the Workplace: A Historical Introduction to the “Spatial Turn”’, *History and Theory*, 52, October 2013, p. 305–318, p. 316.

10 ‘Die Fürsten groß zusammen /...Zwo Meil von München weit...in freyem Feldt’, ‘viel Gezelt’, ‘nach Fürstlichem Brauch/ Das Morgenmal empfing / Als der Mittag vergieng/ Man frölich reisen thet / Nach München die Post geht’, Johann Mayer, *COMPENDIVM, Das ist/ Kurtzer Bericht/ wie der Durchleuchtigst Fürst unnd Herr/ Herr Maximilianus/ Pfaltzgrave bey Rhein/ Hertzog in Oberr und Niderr Bayern/ etc. Ir Fürstlichen Durchl. Ertzhertzog von Grätz unnd Oesterreich/ sambt seinem Hochgeliebten Gmahel/ und Fraw Mutter/ auch andern Geschwistern entgegen gezogen/ und in die Fürstl. Hauptstat München den 30. Augusti/ Anno 1607. einbeleitet...*, Munich, Adam Berg, 1607, Aiv r.

11 ‘Da thet sich der Zug steln / Drauff gschach in solcher nahung / Ein doppelte Empfhung’, *Ibid.*, Aiv v.

12 ‘la ruine de ses Bastions, la revocation de ses Privileges’, ‘la cheute de ces orgeueilleuses fortifications, jadis la merveille de l’univers: et de ces effroyables Boulevards’, ‘prise’, David Defos, *Relation de ce qui s’est passé à l’Entrée de la Reyne en la Ville de la Rochelle au mois de novembre mil six cens trente-deux*, La Rochelle, Mathurin Charruyer, 1633, p. 13–15, trans. Marie-Claude Canova-Green, in James Ronald Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly and Margaret Shewring (eds), *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, Aldershot, Ashgate, coll « Publications of MHRA », 2004, vol. 2, p. 186–231, p. 192–195.

the Danube to the northeast from its official head in the Karwendel mountains in Tyrol, and going along the Isar then the Danube by boat is a circuitous route to take from Munich to Ingolstadt compared to just going over land. This could of course be for the added spectacle of entries from the water, but it also means that a lot of effort was gone to in order to use the Danube, one of the great rivers nourishing the Germanic lands, which is then emphasised in the account. It could also be pointing out that if the Danube nourishes Germany then the Isar, Munich's river, feeds it. Of course, actual nourishment and trade also flowed across the Empire this way. By the seventeenth century, Mediterranean fruit, spices, cotton and silk from the Venetian Market in Mittenwald were transported down the Isar and Danube as far as Vienna and Buda.

Indeed, the recent volume edited by Margaret Shewring, *Waterborne Pageants and Festivities in the Renaissance*, has sought to draw attention to the extensive use of bodies of water in early modern European festivals as a whole<sup>13</sup>. As Shewring remarks, this should hardly be surprising given 'the essential role played by water—seas, rivers, lakes and canals—in the very survival of communities, cities and countries, providing routes for the transport of goods, services and individuals as well as employment and leisure activities'<sup>14</sup>. These vital roles of water could become incorporated, as in this instance, into the rhetoric of festivals, since the various means of nourishing subjects through water and waterways 'could all be presented as features of the benevolent state' and 'to be, and to be seen as being, in control of the gift of water came to be regarded as a necessary requirement of a ruler concerned with the wellbeing of his people'<sup>15</sup>.

Another highly interesting example of this integration of the landscape and of bodies of water into festivals, incorporating religion too, can be found at a later Bavarian festival, held in 1607 to mark the visit to Munich of the Holy Roman Emperor, Ferdinand II, mentioned above. After the initial reception in Munich, the account of Johann Mayer records that the participants in the festival travelled to Starnberg, which lies thirty kilometers to the South West of Munich, on the shores of a lake. On their arrival, 'There waiting on the lake/ thirteen boats were moored / On which with great joy one / set off into the lake'<sup>16</sup>. Then, the next morning, 'One took to the lake once more / in the princely vessels', with the account adding that 'The boats were all decorated' and, in an image of complete serenity, that 'no motion of the waves unsettled them'<sup>17</sup>. That day, 'Many entertainments were performed / before the evening drew in'<sup>18</sup>. Mayer continues by recalling that 'Then one baptised there / a great crowd of the masses / there needing to be baptised / The baptism was a great delight', before the waterbased element of the festival concluded with a swim in the lake: 'In the lake young and old / swam here and there / having quickly jumped down / from the princely ships / which they swiftly disembarked / this was so deliberate / a great princely delight/ after which they got themselves level / floating across the lake'<sup>19</sup>. Thus, the festival made use of the physical landscape surrounding Munich, not just for additional entertainment in a more secluded setting

13 M. Shewring (ed.), *Waterborne Pageants and Festivities in the Renaissance. Essays in Honour of J. R. Mulryne*, Farnham/ Burlington, Ashgate, coll. « European Festival Studies : 1450-1700 », 2013.

14 *Ead.*, 'Introduction', in *ibid.*, p. 1-8, p. 1.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

16 'Da warten auff dem See/ Dreyzehnen Schiff versteet / Drauff man mit grosser Frewd / Fuhr auff dem See', J. Mayer, *COMPENDIVM*, *op. cit.*, Biv r.

17 'Man auff dem See einnam/ In den Fürstlichen Schiffen', 'Die Schiff warn all bedeckt', 'Kein Regen sie erschrockt', *ibid.*, Biv r.

18 'Vil Kurtzweil man erzeugt/ Biß sich der Abent reigt', *ibid.*, Biv v.

19 'Den tauffet man versteet / Ein grosse Schar der massn / Must sich da tauffen lassn / Die Tauff ein wol ergetzt', 'In den See Jung und Alt / Sie schwamen hin und wider / Schnell wurdens geschossen nider / Auß den Fürstlichen Schiffen / Die ihren schnell nachliessen / Diß ware wie bewust/ Ein groß Fürstlicher Lust / Nach dem wend man sich eben / Thet am See abwertz schweben', *ibid.*

than the city could afford, but also, by integrating baptism to enhance the rhetoric of the festival, underlining the Counter-Reformation piety of the hosting Wittelsbach and visiting Habsburg dynasties.

The countryside was also appropriated and brought into the city for festival occasions. A performed visual representation of the land, including its rivers and bodies of water, flooded the imagery of festivals. This could specifically refer to iconic features of the German land, and, in particular, the Danube and the Rhine. At the marriage of Friedrich V, Elector Palatine, and Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England, in 1613, references to the German land and its features came in the form of the motif of the marriage of the Thames and the Rhine. The marriage in London was followed by a triumphal journey along the Rhine, including smaller festivities such as at Oppenheim, culminating at Heidelberg in June of that year. The union of the two rivers was a major theme of Thomas Campion's *Lords Maske* performed on the wedding night itself. Indeed, one song within the masque desired 'That it may live in fame, / As long as *Rhenus* or the *Thames* / Are knowne by either name'<sup>20</sup>. This was remarked on by the Venetian ambassador, Antonio Foscarini, who reported that the 'subject of the Masque was...Jove and Juno desiring to honour the wedding and the conjunction of two such noble rivers, the Thames and the Rhine'<sup>21</sup>.

Moreover, the theme ran into the literature surrounding the festival. A number of references are made to the Rhine in Henry Peacham's collection of 'Nuptiall Hymnes'. In a passage relating to hopes for a son from the marriage and the dynasty's 'Imperiall Ligne', there is a reference to the 'fertile *Rheine*'; a reference which intimates that the fertility of this couple is sanctioned by *Germania* itself as a reflection of the fertility of the Rhine, and that, furthermore, just as the waters of the Rhine continually bring fresh life to the land of Germany, so too will the dynasty established by this couple<sup>22</sup>. The link between this dynasty at the head of the Protestant Union of German princes, only shortly before the Thirty Years War, and the Rhine is reinforced later in Peacham's work as Elizabeth is hailed with the lines 'Oh Virgin, worthy onely not of *Rhine*, / And that sweet soile, thy *Countie Palatine*' the rivers of which 'VVith *Nectar* runne against thy comming there'<sup>23</sup>. Again, the reference to '*Nectar*' conjures images of nourishment and plenty, and that this runs through these German rivers in anticipation of the couple's arrival once more suggests *Germania* welcoming this marriage alliance. Therefore, the Rhine here is symbolising the land of Germany, and its fertility is being appropriated as an affirmation of the German identity of the parties involved. This is a theme which can also be seen in the work of Alexandra Walsham in the context of early modern Britain and Ireland. In *The Reformation of the Landscape*, she argues that changed religious understandings interacted with and changed explanations of the natural world, seen in the scientific discourse of

20 Thomas Campion, *A RELATION OF THE LATE ROYALL ENTERTAINMENT GIVEN BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORD KNOVVLES... Whereunto is annexed the Description, Speeches, and Songs of the Lords Maske, presented in the Banqueting-house on the Marriage night of the High and Mightie, COVNT PALATINE, and the Royally descended the Ladie ELIZABETH*, London, William Stansby, 1613, C3v.

21 May 10. 1613. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives, '832. Antonio Foscarini, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate.', in *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in other libraries of Northern Italy*, ed. Horatio F. Brown, London, H M. Stationery Office, 1897-1940, vol. XII, 1905, p. 531-533.

22 Henry Peacham, *THE PERIOD OF Mourning... In Memorie of the late Prince. TOGETHER VVith Nuptiall Hymnes, in Honour of this Happy Marriage between the Great PRINCES, FREDERICK Count Palatine of the RHENE, AND... ELIZABETH onely Daughter to our Soueraigne, his MAIESTIE. Also the manner of the Solemnization of the Marriage at White-Hall...*, London, Thomas Snodham, 1613, F3v-F4r.

23 *Ibid.*, G2v.



the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in a way which enabled the reclaiming of the landscape from Catholicism by Reformed thinkers<sup>24</sup>. She writes that 'the landscape was a crucial forum in which confessional identities were forged'<sup>25</sup>.

The image of the German land, of which bodies of water were a part, flourishing as though to indicate its support of the events being celebrated is frequently seen in court festivals. For example, in the German account, within the *Beschreibung der Reiß*, of Elizabeth's arrival in Heidelberg in 1613. The account records that 'In the city the streets were strewn with grass and flowers, and the houses decorated with green branches, and in many places there were green garlands across the streets on which the Palatine coat of arms on three different shields was hung, together with a large number of all kinds of exotic fruits, decorated with gold'<sup>26</sup>. Elizabeth passed through these streets to a triumphal arch which had been erected at the end of the market place<sup>27</sup>. The inside of the arch continued the theme of *Germania* flourishing and thus showing her approval for this marriage, the Union, and the religion, ideals, and policies for which it stood. Indeed, 'The inside of the whole arch was decorated with ivy and beautiful flowers, with hanging Seville oranges, lemons, also damsons, peaches, and all the other fruits that grow in Germany, a large number of them, and in the middle was a fine garland'<sup>28</sup>.

Imagery relating to the wilderness and forests, as opposed to the cultivation and fertility of the landscape (which included its nourishing waterways, as we have seen), was also present and highly significant. A triumphal procession for Elizabeth's arrival at Heidelberg in 1613, for instance, featured a 'Chariot of Forrestworke, garnished with living birds and beasts' carrying '*Diana*, attended by six Satyres, playing wildly on musicke: six other Satyres leaping and dauncing Antick-like: twelve Satyres more leading Dogges and Deere: the Wood-men followed'<sup>29</sup>. Moreover, the 'God of Husbandry' followed Juno's chariot, which was 'drawne by peacockes', closely 'with 3. ploughes'<sup>30</sup>. Just as in the imagery of the god of Husbandry and his ploughs at Heidelberg, the cultivation of God's creation had been celebrated as God's will at the wedding in Stuttgart of Johann Friedrich and Barbara Sophia in 1609. During the ballet which took place in the new '*Lusthaus*', three nymphs wearing white and with laurel wreaths emerged from the mountain, which lay at the centre of the performance, and sang 'How well has God ordained everything and made it according to His will for the benefit of man, and has created everything on earth that lives and breathes, also the vegetation and the grass, so that it serves his [man's] best interests'<sup>31</sup>. They continued, praising the cultivation

24 Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

26 'In der Stadt waren die Gassen mit Graß und Blumen bestrewet und die Heuser mit grünen Meyen besteckt und an vielen Orten mit grünen Krentzen über [sic] die Strassen daran der Chur Pfaltz Wappen in drey unterschiedlichen Schiltten sambt allerhand frembden Früchten in grosser Anzahl mit gold geziert gehengt', *Beschreibung Der Reiß: Empfahung deß Ritterlichen Ordens: Vollbringung des Heyraths: und glücklicher Heimführung... Des Durchleuchtigsten Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn Herrn Friederichen deß Fünften Pfaltzgraven bey Rhein... Mit der auch Durchleuchtigsten Hochgebornen Fürstin und Königlichen Princessin Elisabethen deß Großmechtigsten Herrn Herrn IACOBI deß Ersten Königs in Großbritannien Einigen Tochter...*, [Heidelberg], 1613, p. 136, trans. Anna Linton, in J. R. Mulryne, H. Watanabe-O'Kelly and M. Shewring (eds), *Europa Triumphans*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 80-91, p. 84-85.

27 *Ibid.*

28 'Inwendig war der gantze Arcus mit Ephew und schönen Blumen anhangenden Pomerantzen Citronen wie auch Quetschen Pfirsing und allen andern in Teutschland wachsenden Baumfrüchten in grosser Anzahl gezieret und mitten durch ein schöner Krantz', *Ibid.*, p. 137.

29 James Meddus, *A SERMON Preached before... FREDERICKE the 5. PRINCE ELECTOR PALATINE, DUKE OF BAVARIA, &c. And the Princesse Lady ELIZABETH, &c. Preached in the Castle-Chappell at HEIDELBERG the 8. of June 1613. being the next day after her Highnesse happy arrivall there... Together with a short narration of the Prince Electors greatnes, his Country, his receiving of her Highnesse...and eight daies ent[e]rtainment...*, London, 1613, F3v.

30 *Ibid.*, F2v.

31 'Wie hat Gott alls so wol bestellt/ Und gmacht wies seinem Willen gfelt/ Dem Menschen zu seim frommen/ Auff Erd

of the land, 'At the same time, the lovely and virtuous nymphs in the wild woods plant and cultivate the earth as they can, early and late, just as God has ordained, and they trust in Him alone'<sup>32</sup>. The lyrics then went further by attacking the 'hermits', to whom the nymphs are contrasted and who are almost certainly intended to represent fanatical Catholics, as going against God's will by fleeing into the wilderness.

These allusions to the wilderness and its cultivation are telling. Carolyn Merchant has observed that in the sixteenth century 'civilized society' came to be contrasted with 'wilderness' and that 'To become "civilized" was to be brought out of a state of barbarism, to be instructed in the arts of living, and to be elevated in the scale of humanity'<sup>33</sup>. Richard Cole, too, has noted the widespread use of 'wild-man folklore imagery' in relation to 'non-western peoples'; stating that from the point of view of sixteenth-century western Europeans 'As different as were the Indian and the Turk, both lived in barbaric cultures'. He has also stressed how clothing (or the lack thereof) was important in this 'wild-man' imagery which separated out 'Non-Western' culture<sup>34</sup>. Through 'wild-man folklore' based partly around appearance, therefore, all 'Non-Western' peoples could be conglomerated to form a dipole to German civilisation, and one frequently finds characters dressed as these peoples in festivals. The precedent for this can be seen in Hans Burgkmair's depiction of the people of 'Calicut' (a merging of Africans, Americans, and Indians) for Emperor Maximilian I's 'Triumph' – a series of woodcuts sent to the prominent figures within the Holy Roman Empire. These images showed the people of newly discovered lands displaying few marks of civilisation, being dressed in animal skin or simple feathers and likened visually to animals; thus portraying them as 'easy to subjugate, without pride'<sup>35</sup>. According to Ulinka Rublack, Burgkmair had, therefore, 'created ethnic stereotypes to serve imperial propaganda'<sup>36</sup>.

The rhetoric seen in Burgkmair's work can also be seen at the tournament and fireworks in Stuttgart in 1602. The very first entry into the tournament arena, that of Lord Friedrich Duke of Württemberg and Teck and his wife, depicted the differences between the continents with Europe, Asia, Africa, and America represented in the procession<sup>37</sup>. This entry, so the account claims, was

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erschaffen alles das Was lebt und schwebt/ auch Laub und Graß Soll ihm zum besten kommen', Johann Oettinger, *Wahrhafft historische Beschreibung der fürstlichen Hochzeit und des hochansehnlichen Beylagers so der durchleuchtig hochgeborn Fürst und Herr Herr Johann Friderich Hertzog zu Würtemberg und Teck... Mit der auch durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürstin unnd Frewlin Barbara Sophia Marggräfin zu Brandenburg...In der Fürstlichen Hauptstatt Stuttgardten Anno 1609. den 6. Novembris und etliche hernach folgende Tag celebriert und gehalten hat...*, Stuttgart, 1610, p. 146, trans. A. Linton, in J. R. Mulryne, H. Watanabe-O'Kelly and M. Shewring (eds), *Europa Triumphans*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 58-73, p. 68-69.

32 'In wilden Wälden auch zugleich/ Die Nympe schön und tugendreich das Erdich pflanzen/ bawen/ Nach ihrer glegenheit früe und spat [sic.]/ Wie es dann Gott geordnet hat/ Dem sie allein vertrauen', *ibid.*

33 Carolyn Merchant, *Reinventing Eden: The Fate of Nature in Western Culture*, New York/London, Routledge, 2003, p. 68-69.

34 Richard G. Cole, 'Sixteenth-Century travel books as a source of European attitudes toward non-white and non-western culture', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 116/1, 1972, p. 59-67, p. 62-65.

35 Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 178-179.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 180. For another discussion of this theme, see Renate Pieper, *Die Vermittlung einer neuen Welt: Amerika im Nachrichtennetz des Habsburgischen Imperiums 1493-1598*, Mainz, P. von Zabern, coll. « Veröffentlichen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz », 2000.

37 Jacob Frischlin, *Beschreibung deß fürstlichen Apparatus, königlichen Aufzugs/ heroischen Ingressus und herrlicher Pomp und Solennitet: mit welcher/ auff gnädige Verordnung deß durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn/ Herrn Friderichen/ Hertzogen zu Würtemberg und Teck/ Grafen zu Mümpelgart/ Herrn zu Heydenheim: Ritter beyder königlichen Orden in Franckreich und Engellandt: in der Faßnacht Mannliche unnd Ritterliche Thurnier unnd Ringrennen/ gehalten worden: Sampt einem stattlichen und wunderbarlichen Feuerwerck...*, Frankfurt-am-Main, J. Brathering, 1602, p. 22-23.



made 'In the form/ character/ appearance/ and manner' of 'America' and 'with naked people'<sup>38</sup>. Interestingly and significantly, the account of this entry uses the term '*unsern Vatterlandt*' ('our Fatherland'), an extremely rare term in these festival books, which prefer to reference *Germania* or *Teutschland*, in immediate juxtaposition with Columbus's discoveries<sup>39</sup>. This demonstrates the emotional connection with the 'Fatherland' generated by its juxtaposition with the New World, uncivilised 'Other', and perhaps hints towards the heredity of racial characteristics.

Tamar Herzog, in her work in relation to the claiming of territory in the New World, writes about a 'fundamental dichotomy distinguishing civilized from barbarians, those who properly occupied the land from those who did not... European domination was inevitable because Europeans were more worthy, better governed, or more likely to observe the divine mandate, now also part of natural law and the law of nation, to occupy what was "empty"'<sup>40</sup>. Wilderness was commonly represented by forests, and William O'Reilly has shown the importance of the forest to the Germanic concept of the *wilder Mann*<sup>41</sup>. Moreover, O'Reilly has argued that in the case of the *Roma* (Gypsies) of the Balkans who lay between the Ottoman and Habsburg empires, 'the defining line was drawn between those who lived "this side of the forest", i.e., the *Cis-silvanii*, and those on the other side of the forest, the *Trans-silvanii*, with the name becoming geographically associated with a territory which had become "Ottomanised"', so that, for western Europeans, 'wood dwellers formed the border, the quarantine zone, the frontier of civilisation' and those who were *Trans-silvanii* were beyond civilisation, indeed beyond salvation – they had become Ottomanised<sup>42</sup>.

The fanatic hermits, clearly intended to represent Catholics, of the ballet in Stuttgart in 1609 mentioned above, with their self-flagellation, who had fled to the wilderness, were therefore grouped with the Ottomans, Gypsies, and others who were *Trans-silvanii*, or even 'infidels'. They represented how Catholicism had lost its way to sin, in contrast to those who followed God's word. Merchant explains that 'In religious terms, lost in the wilderness meant a lost soul' and that 'The expulsion [of fallen mankind] from the Garden [of Eden] into the wilderness equated the latter with the evil introduced when Eve submitted to the temptation of the serpent'<sup>43</sup>. Furthermore, particularly for Calvinists 'God had authorized human dominion over the earth' and 'humanity had a mandate to "make the desert blossom as the rose (Isaiah 35:1)'"<sup>44</sup>. Thus, for the Catholics to be associated with those who went astray into the wilderness and the nymphs at this Protestant festival to instead cultivate the land furthered the rhetoric of civility versus wild people.

Karin MacHardy has also found references to cultivation of the land to be significant within a political and confessional context, albeit slightly differently so, in early-seventeenth century Protestant discourse in the Austrian lands, as part of a broader study of the rhetoric of court versus rural life in German literature from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century. She has found that 'Although the Protestant opposition did not glorify pastoral country life, or vilify corruption at the Imperial court, they clearly identified the latter with Catholicism and the *Land*, or country, with

38 'In Format/ Gestalt/ Zier vnnd Habit', 'mit nackenden Leuten', *ibid.*, p. 21.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

40 Tamar Herzog, *Frontiers of Possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas*, Cambridge/London, Harvard University Press, 2015, p. 259.

41 William O'Reilly, 'Turks and Indians on the Margins of Europe', in *Belleten, Dört Ayde Bir ıkar*, Journal of the Turkish Academy of Arts and the Sciences, vol. 65, n° 242, April 2001, p. 243-256, p. 247. See also Urs Bitterli, *Die 'Wilden' und die 'Zivilisierten': Grundzüge einer Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte der europisch-berseeischen Begegnung [1976]]*, Munich, C.H. Beck, 1991. However, Bitterli's work is limited in scope; see the review by Richard G. Cole in *The American Historical Review*, 82/2, 1977, p. 347-348.

42 W. O'Reilly, 'Turks, Indians and the Margins of Europe', art. cit., p. 247.

43 C. Merchant, *Reinventing Eden*, op. cit., p. 68-69.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 69.

Protestantism'<sup>45</sup>. The culture of the Habsburg court and the wilderness may seem at opposite ends of the spectrum as ways to criticise Catholics, but they share the common feature of not representing the correct, virtuous cultivation of the land.

Nature and the German land, including the great rivers of the Rhine and Danube, as well as other bodies of water such as the lakes around Munich, could, then, be politicised and confessionalised to suit contemporary causes in the Holy Roman Empire – whether for the propagandistic purposes of the Habsburgs behind Lazius's work or to assert the legitimacy of the Protestant Union's cause. This appropriation of natural features was just one way in which nature and natural imagery were manipulated to buttress ruling identities in the early-modern Holy Roman Empire in court festivals. The symbolic command over nature and the ability to manipulate nature to the ruler's whim were also a vital part of the *representatio maiestatis*, the representation of majesty, in early modern Europe, and this is where the interaction between fire and water becomes relevant. As well as being a site of contestation of legitimacy, nature was also fundamental to an often unifying and universalising rhetoric of nobility through virtue, which superseded confessional or any other cultural divisions.

The early modern period has often been identified by historians as a period of profound intellectual change; a time at which the religious ideas of the Reformation interacted with new 'scientific' ideas, especially in the seventeenth century, which challenged the authority of the ancients, provided 'the origins of modern science', and led, ultimately, to the 'disenchantment of the world'. In short, early modern Europe supposedly witnessed a 'scientific revolution'<sup>46</sup>. A strong body of revisionist historiography has undermined any such notions of a complete disjuncture with the past on an intellectual level, instead placing an emphasis on the close interconnection of religion and science throughout the early modern period, and the boundaries between religion, science, and magic have been shown to have been fundamentally blurred with John Henry stating that 'the scientific world-view developed...out of a wedding of natural philosophy with the pragmatic and empirical tradition of natural magic'<sup>47</sup>. Peter Burke has noted the extent to which broadly disseminated literature such as almanacs continued to reinforce rather than challenge traditional views of the natural world, and Stuart Clark has discussed the persistence of belief in demonology and the intervention of the supernatural even among practitioners of early modern 'science'<sup>48</sup>. What has remained clear, though, is that the status and contexts of natural philosophy and of investigations into nature changed during this period, particularly through an association with courts. Rather than remaining purely within the setting of universities, many of those conducting investigations into nature in this period enjoyed the patronage of rulers, becoming part of the court, in a shift which both contributed to the development of new ideas and served to form part of the glorification of the ruler.<sup>49</sup>

As well as being motivated by the struggle for supremacy over newly discovered territories, and by an association between technological advances and military power, this shift was driven by humanist thought. Innovation and skillful manipulation of the natural world, necessarily supported

45 Karin J. MacHardy, *War, Religion and Court Patronage in Habsburg Austria: The Social and Cultural Dimensions of Political Interaction, 1521-1622*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, coll. « Studies in Modern History », 2003, p. 92.

46 See, for example, Herbert Butterfield, *The Origins of Modern Science, 1300-1800*, London, G. Bell, 1949.

47 John Henry, *The Scientific Revolution and the Origins of Modern Science*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1997, p. 43; see also, for instance, John Hendley Brooke, *Science and Religion: Some Historical Perspectives*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, coll. « Cambridge History of Science series », 1991.

48 Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, New York, New York University Press, 1978; Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997.

49 See, for instance, Mario Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier: the Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism*, Chicago/London, University of Chicago Press, coll. « Science and its conceptual foundations », 1993. For the argument that the epicentre of investigations into nature was moving out of the universities in this period, see also Peter Dear, *Revolutionizing the Sciences: European Knowledge and its Ambitions, 1500-1700*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2001.

by learning, fed into humanist ideas of virtue being true nobility<sup>50</sup>. *Quattrocento* Italian humanists expounded on the Ciceronian concept of *virtus* in particular, their thinking underpinned by the idea that it was possible for man to attain this, the highest kind of excellence, but that this was only possible through education and learning. It was a notion which was developed through the humanist writing of the early modern period and which was echoed in the works of northern humanists as much as in those of their Italian predecessors. The 'mirror for princes' literature, comprising treatises written by humanist authors, often dedicated to specific princes in the hope of patronage, stressed the need for political leaders to conform to the ideal of the *vir virtutis*, the man of virtue. As part of this, humanists dissolved any distinction between different types of education – military or intellectual – and instead held up the image of the *Uomo universale*, the man who possessed universal excellence. This can be seen, as Quentin Skinner observes, in the writing of Pier Paolo Vergerio in his *On Good Manners* of 1402 which 'opens with a dedication to Umbertino of Ferrara, in which the young *signore* is accorded the highest praise because "you had before you the choice of training in Arms or in Letters" and "to your great credit you elected to become proficient in both alike"'<sup>51</sup>.

Northern humanists went on to write at length on the virtues which could be obtained through education. Crucially, they echoed the Italian humanist 'claim that virtue constitutes the only true nobility, and that true nobility, *vera nobilitas*, constitutes the only valid title to rule' as opposed to 'lineage and wealth'<sup>52</sup>. Although this was, for the most part, not deployed by humanists themselves in a radically subversive manner, 'Erasmus in *The [Education of a] Christian Prince* [1516]...accepts that when nobility is "derived from virtue" this is so much more impressive than the kind of nobility, which is based on "genealogy or wealth", that "in the strictest judgement" only the first can be counted as true nobility at all'<sup>53</sup>. As a result of this, as Brendan Bradshaw has noted, the prominent German humanist Conrad Celtis was among a group of northern humanists who urged reform of the political elites from warlike chivalric culture towards a civil, educated ethos, particularly in his *Inaugural Oration* of 1492<sup>54</sup>. Understanding, and mastery, of the natural world, achieved through the patronage of prominent thinkers, the dedication of discoveries, or spectacular displays at court occasions was part of this educated image. The dipole to this virtuous, educated, Christian nobility was, as we have seen above, the barbarism of 'Non-Western' culture. Symbolic command over nature is an aspect of the projection of power which has been almost entirely overlooked within existing festival scholarship but which is crucial as the rhetoric went beyond a display of power alone – mastery over nature and technological feats were linked to identity, both as an assertion of virtuous nobility and in opposition to the 'Other'<sup>55</sup>.

The primary setting in which nature was possessed, manipulated, and thereby symbolically mastered in early modern Europe was in the *Kunstkammern* or cabinets of curiosities possessed by the ruling elite<sup>56</sup>. As Watanabe-O'Kelly has declared, the *Kunstkammer* 'was a system for organizing

50 See, for instance, Albert Rabil Jr. (ed.), *Knowledge, Goodness, and Power: the Debate over Nobility among Quattrocento Italian Humanists*, Binghamton, N.Y., Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1991; Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* [1978], Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009, vol. 1, *The Renaissance*, p. 88-101, 228-236; Brendan Bradshaw, 'Transalpine Humanism', in J. H. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450-1700*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 95-131.

51 Q. Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 91.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 236.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 237.

54 B. Bradshaw, 'Transalpine Humanism', art. cit., p. 100.

55 One important exception is the work by Luciano Berti, *Il Principe dello studiolo: Francesco I dei Medici e la fine del Rinascimento fiorentino*, Firenze, Edam, coll. « Grandangolo », 1967, which discusses the Medici's interest in technology, such as fountains, in terms of their governance of Florence and projection of power. Still, this work does not link technological feats to notions of identity.

56 See, for example, Horst Bredekamp, *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine: The Kunstkammer and the*

knowledge about the universe and for demonstrating man's mastery over nature'<sup>57</sup>. Such collections could form an integral part of a noble court's 'panoply of power'<sup>58</sup>. Furthermore, Ronald Asch has described the effect these collections which seemed to transcend the everyday functioning of the natural world could have as part of palaces, writing that 'Small *studiolos* or cabinets within the palace which created an atmosphere of intimacy could emphasize the aura of majesty and give the visitor—if he managed to gain admittance—the impression of entering into the sphere of the *arcana imperii*. This impression was underlined by decorations or collections of *curiosa* and works of art which...reinforced the feeling that mortals were inadequate to understand the mysterious ways of their god-like rulers'<sup>59</sup>.

Of course, such collections, with their associated imagery, had a presence at festivals. Mayer's account of Ferdinand II's visit to Munich in 1607 records that the antiquary 'quite beautifully juxtaposed / art and great industry'<sup>60</sup>. Immediately afterwards it describes a visit to 'the beautiful *Kunstkammer*', in which the whole world is brought together, such that 'Even as one remains there / one visits all places'<sup>61</sup>. Moreover, the account printed by Wilhelm Peter Zimmermann states how, at the wedding of Wolfgang Wilhelm, Duke of Pfalz-Neuburg, and Magdalena, Duchess of Bavaria, in Munich in 1613, 'the princely persons were shown around the beautiful chapel and *Kunstkammer*'<sup>62</sup>.

In addition, though, the same underlying rhetoric can also clearly be observed within other aspects of the festivals themselves, and a particularly spectacular use of technology in these festivals was in the form of lavish firework displays. According to Mayer, at the conclusion of the festival in Munich in 1607 there were 'fireworks in the city of Munich the like of which / no people had ever seen before'<sup>63</sup>. The displays often took place over or around water. Indeed, to give another example, when in 1568 the party from Munich journeyed by boat to Ingolstadt in order to meet with the party from Lorraine, 'all sorts of rockets were fired into the air and other strange fireworks across the water'<sup>64</sup>. Much later in the festival there is another fireworks display, this time in Munich. As part of this, the master gunner 'entrenched fireballs in the water/ thus it sprung up from under the water'<sup>65</sup>.

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*Evolution of Nature, Art, and Technology* [1993], trans. Allison Brown, Princeton, Markus Wiener, 1995.

- 57 Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly has shown how this was the case in mid-sixteenth century Dresden. See H. Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'The Management of Knowledge at the Electoral Court of Saxony in Dresden', in Mary Lindemann (ed.), *Ways of Knowing: Ten Interdisciplinary Essays*, Boston/Leiden, Brill, coll. « Studies in Central European histories », 2004, p. 53-65.
- 58 See H. Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'The Management of Knowledge', art. cit.; *Ead.*, *Court Culture in Dresden: From Renaissance to Baroque*, Basingstoke/New York, Palgrave, 2002.
- 59 Ronald G. Asch, 'The Princely Court and Political Space in Early Modern Europe', in Beat Kümin (ed.), *Political Space in Pre-Industrial Europe*, London, Routledge, 2009, p. 43-60, p. 49-50.
- 60 'Gar schön abcontraseit / Die Kunst und groß Arbeit', J. Mayer, *COMPENDIVM*, op. cit., Biii v.
- 61 'der Kunstkammer schon', 'Jetzt alß man da balt dort / Man bsuchet alle Ort', *ibid.*
- 62 'die Fürstliche Personen in die schön Capell und in die Kunstkammer geführt', Wilhelm Peter Zimmermann, *Beschreibung und kurtze Radierte entwerffung der Fürstlichen Hochzeit / so der Durchleuchtig / und Hochgeborn Fürst und Herr / Herr Wolfgang Wilhelm / Pfaltzgraff bey Rhein... mit der auch Durchleuchtigstin und hochgebornen Fürstin Fraw Magdalena... Hertzogin in Obern und Nidern Bayrn. Zu München / im sechzehnhundert und dreyzehenden Jahr / den zwölfften Novembris celebriert und gehalten...*, Augsburg, Wilhelm Peter Zimmermann, 1614, p. 4.
- 63 'Welchs Fewrwerck in München der stat / Kein Mensch zuvor nie gsehen hat', J. Mayer, *COMPENDIVM*, op. cit., Fiii r.
- 64 'Dergleichen allerley Rogetlen in die Lüfft und andere seltzame Feurwerch in das Wasser geworffen', Hans Wagner, *Kurtze doch gegründte Beschreibung des Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten unnd Herren/ Herren Wilhalmen/ Pfaltzgraven bey Rhein / Hertzogen inn Obern und Nidern Bairen / etc. Und derselben geliebsten Gemahel / der Durchleuchtigsten Hochgebornen Fürstin / Frewlein Renata gebornne Hertzogin zu Lottringen und Parr / etc. gehalten Hochzeitlichen Ehren Fests...*, Munich, Adam Berg, 1568, p. 7r.
- 65 'inn die wasser graben Fewrkuglen / so under dem Wasser pronnen / geworffen haben', *ibid.*, p. 54r.

That these displays often took place on or around water was obviously partly for practical reasons of preventing fires. However, there was also a more metaphorical meaning to this aspect of forcing fire into competition with its contrary element of water at the whim of the emperor – showing man's control over nature and thus the power of this monarch which was also displayed by the skill of the gunners in staging such a spectacle. In his study of fireworks, Werrett has argued that 'Pyrotechny was an elemental art, and gunners played on their power to force fire into confrontation with the other elements', explaining why performances often occurred on lakes and rivers 'close to fire's contrary element'<sup>66</sup>. This juxtaposition of the elements by human skill was very much present in the fireworks upon the Thames which formed part of the celebrations for the marriage of Friedrich V, Elector Palatine, and Elizabeth Stuart in 1613. An anonymous account records that there 'appeared out of a hill of earth made upon the water, a very strange fire flaming upright like unto a blazing starre' and crucially, that, marvelling at these fireworks 'we could not chuse but approve by all reasons that Arte hath exceeded Nature'<sup>67</sup>.

Various other mechanical devices and demonstrations of engineering prowess involving water which were on display as part of festivals reinforced this same performed rhetoric of mastery over nature. During the festival for the visit to Munich of Ferdinand II in 1607, one of the chapels visited during an expedition to Schleißheim, the chapel of Saint Corbinianus, had a mechanical fountain. Mayer wrote that 'It has a beautiful great device / one which descends deep under the earth / a springing fountain can be seen there / in which on a turning column/a glass ball stands / out of which water springs high in all directions / so gently as the sweet rain'<sup>68</sup>. Similarly at the final celebration accompanied by fireworks, there was 'a beautiful fountain' which seemed to defy the laws of nature since, as Mayer explains, 'the platform/ on which this fountain stood / shot up much water / into the air / and nobody at all knew from where it flowed / and came out/ because it hung in mid-air'<sup>69</sup>. Once more, the elements had been forced into opposition at the behest of the nobility, as an expression of their ability to manipulate the natural world through technology, symbolising learning and, therefore, seen through the lens of early modern humanist thought, virtue. In conclusion, imagery relating to the German land and its features, to nature, and its cultivation more broadly had an important place in court festivals within the Holy Roman Empire and played a vital role in identity, as it was constructed and projected at these events. Bodies of water, as representative of the land of *Germania*, were physically made use of symbolically in the course of festivals as well as being represented in other ways within the city walls and the literature surrounding these occasions. Nature and the elements, fire and water, were shown through the performances, displays, and devices at festivals to be mutable and subject to the all-encompassing, quasi-divine power of the ruler. This high rhetoric of the untamable ruler bestriding the earth may not have squared with the reality of the restrictions, some self-imposed, which actually circumscribed the lives of early modern rulers and are eloquently described in the work of Jeroen Duindam, drawing on the ideas of Clifford Geertz<sup>70</sup>. Nevertheless, this rhetoric was a central component of noble identity. At a time when

66 Simon Werrett, *Fireworks: Pyrotechnic Arts and Sciences in European History*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2010, p. 32-33.

67 *The marriage of the tvvo great Princes, Fredericke Count-palatine, &c: and the Lady Elizabeth, daughter to the Imperial Majesties of King James and Queene Anne upon Shrove-Sonday last. With the shows and fire-workes upon the water: as also the masks & revells, in his Highnes court of White-Hall.*, London, 1613, A3r.

68 'Ein schön Wäxine Orgel hat / Die schlegt man tieff under der Erden / Ein Brunnen thut da gsehen warden / In dem auff einer Säulen dreht / Ein Gläserine Kugel steht / Auß der springt Wasser hoch allwegen / So subtil als der zarte Regen', J. Mayer, *COMPENDIVM*, *op. cit.*, Ei v.

69 'schönen Brunnen', 'Die Taffel / diser Brunnen steht / Im Lufft / darauß vil Wassers geht / Und hat noch niemand gwiß vernummen Woher es fleust / und hin thut kummen / Weil er in freyem Lufft thut schweben', *ibid.*, Fiii v.

70 See Jeroen Duindam, 'Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires', in *Id.*, Tülay Artan and Metin Kunt (eds), *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*, Leiden/Boston, Brill, 2011, p. 1-23, p. 17; Jeroen Duindam, *Dynasties: A Global History of Power, 1300-1800*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2016, esp. p. 4, 76, 202; Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1980.



cartography and the mapping of identity, of the geographic origins of peoples, and of possession, were of critical importance, the land, represented through references to features such as the Rhine and the Danube, and to cultivation juxtaposed with the wilderness and the wild, became used as a claim to legitimacy. This could be confessionalised and politicised in various ways to suit the cause of a particular ruler or civic elite, but it also fed into a broader, more universal rhetoric of German noble identity and legitimacy through virtue.