Martin Engelbrecht's *Theatre de la Milice etrangere*: Engraving "Otherness" from Affective Subjecthood to the Habsburg Empire of Man

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Abstract

This thesis attempts a textual and visual analysis of a little known and unstudied print collection, Martin Engelbrecht's *Theatre de la Milice etrangere: Schau-Bühne verschiedener bißhero Teutschland unbekannt gewester Soldaten von ausländischern Nationen* (ca. 1742). This collection depicts irregular soldiers from the Habsburg borderlands with the Ottoman Empire, who were recruited to fight in the War of Austrian Succession. These men, women, and children are depicted marching, fighting, resting, and eating as they passed through Southern Germany. Unique poetic texts caption each print, and provide commentary from multiple different perspectives upon these figures.

Costume books are frequently analyzed as depictions of human cultural alterity or otherness and may include some contextualization with contemporary cultural and political debates. However rarely do scholarly analyses of costume collections show these to be active works of art which engage with contemporary discourses to propose new meanings. This thesis identifies several textual and visual rhetorical elements, which when contextualized within seventeenth and eighteenth century shifts in the intellectual culture of the Enlightenment and the Rococo, reveal this collection to be a deeply engaged political and cultural commentary on the Habsburg state and the young Queen Maria Theresia.

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Introduction

Early-modern European costume books depicting the growing European awareness of human diversity have frequently been analyzed for their representations of otherness.[1] However these have typically been locked into late twentieth century debates around Orientalism and the extent to which portrayals of otherness supported or challenged European cultural hegemony.[2] This has resulted in a body of research which is predominantly focused on the sixteenth century, and which unconsciously reifies dialectical difference even as its findings challenge the founding Orientalist thesis.[3] Only recently have studies begun to approach costume books as presentations of cultural hybridity or as works that challenge dominant narratives.[4] However, costume books can do more than register and comment upon difference. As this thesis shows,

[1] Otherness is a terminology first developed in the late twentieth century by the French psychoanalyst and intellectual Jacques Lacan, which essentially posits the Other as an objectified alterity with an essential role in producing selfhood. This formula has subsequently been applied to community and cultural theories to explain how these social identities are formed, in contrast to cultural and communal others.
Johnston, Adrian, "Jacques Lacan", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2018 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.) https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2018/entries/lacan/

[2] A brief selection of examples of this tendency are:
Aric Chen, "Enea Vico's Costume Studies: A Source and a Sovereignty" *Art on Paper*, November-December 2000, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Art in Print Review, 2000).
Bronwen Wilson, "Reproducing the Contours of Venetian Identity in Sixteenth-Century Costume Books" *Studies in Iconography*, 2004, Vol. 25 (Board of Trustees of Western Michigan University through its Medieval Institute Publications and Trustees of Princeton University, 2004).
Ann Rosalind Jones, "Habits, Holdings, Heterologies: Populations in Print in a 1562 Costume Book" *Yale French Studies*, 2006, No. 110, *Meaning and its Objects: Material Culture in Medieval and Renaissance France* (Yale University Press, 2006).
Heather Madar, "Dürer's Depictions of the Ottoman Turks: A case of early modern Orientalism" in *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye*, 1450- 1750 (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011).
Strunck, Christina, "The Barbarous and Noble Enemy: Pictorial Representations of the Battle of Lepanto" in James G. Harper, *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye*, 1450-1750: *Visual Imagery before Orientalism* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2011,).
Ekaterina Skvortcova, "Russia and Britain in costume albums: Works by John Augustus Atkinson (1774?/1776?-1830) & James Walker (c1760-1823?) *The British Art Journal* Vol. 14, No. 3 (The British Art Journal, 2013/2014).

[3] This refers to Edward Said's *Orientalism* (Pantheon, 1978), which posits that Europeans consistently portrayed Eastern others as feminine and tyrannical, in order to justify their subjugation.

[4] Robyn D. Radway, "Christians of Ottoman Europe in Sixteenth-Century Costume Books" *The Dialectics of Orientalism in Early Modern Europe* edited by Marcus Keller and Javier Irigoyen-Garcia (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2018).

costume books may be fully formed cultural and intellectual commentaries which engage with contemporary discourses to propose new meaning.

The "Theatre of the Foreign Militia" [*Theatre de la Milice etrangere*]*,* an extensive, beautiful, and hitherto unstudied print collection from the mid-eighteenth century demonstrates just such an engagement.[5] Produced in Southern Germany during a time of war and change, it takes as its subject matter the wild and exotic soldiers recruited from the peripheries of the Habsburg Empire to fight for the young queen Maria Theresia.[6] Like actors upon a paper stage, the large, expressive eyes of these figures are filled with passion and energy; in turns serene, menacing, exhausted, and filled with rage. Most are portraits of soldiers standing watchful on guard or waving sabres threateningly, yet others show old soldiers with their families relaxing after a long day of marching, smoking long Turkish-style pipes or eating raw garlic. A few prints show the Orthodox priests that accompanied the men on their march, and others depict furious Scottish highlanders preparing to charge into battle carrying large metal shields.

Yet these images are more than just simple depictions of foreign soldiers. They employ curious visual and textual elements that seem to connect with contemporary seventeenth and eighteenth century ideas. Difference is a central concept in the collection, but this refers to more than just the dialectical production of European selfhood through foreign otherness. Alterity in the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* is formulated in ways that contribute to specific contemporary political debates. Thus, this

[5] All translations are by the author, and are marked in brackets following the original text.
[6] In this thesis, I have chosen to use the native German spelling of Maria Theresia rather than the arbitrarily anglicized "Theresa" found in English language scholarship. Theresia was the name she was referred to by millions of her subjects, and it seems unnecessary to alter it.

collection exemplifies art in action: it uses the otherness of the borderlands soldiers it depicts to propose a new political framework for eighteenth-century absolutist empire.

First, the basics: This collection is titled "Theatre of the foreign Militia: various soldiers of foreign nations previously unknown in Germany" [*Theatre de la Milice etrangere: Schau-Bühne verschiedener bißhero in Teutschland unbekannt gewester Soldaten von ausländischen Nationen*] and was produced in the city of Augsburg in around 1742 by the publisher Martin Engelbrecht.[7] It originally contained 151 prints and was made to "cash-in" on the ongoing wars, and especially on public interest in the foreign and exotic soldiers who participated. It did not have a patron nor a commission, though its heavy focus on the irregular soldiers of the Habsburg army produces explicit and implicit characterizations of queen Maria Theresia von Habsburg. A key feature is the addition of unique descriptive poems to each print, which allow much more information about the artistic intent of the collection. The following chapter provides a comprehensive study of the collection.

In this thesis I focus on two key elements of textual and visual rhetoric. One example image from the collection provides a visible guide to these topics. Print number 37 "A *Pandur* full of *courage* with his sweetheart taking his farewell" [Ein *voller* Courage *von seiner Liebsten Abschied nehmender* Pandur] shows a *Pandur*, an irregular soldier of indefinite ethnicity or Christian confessional affiliation from the Habsburg military borderlands, with his lover, saying goodbye before heading off to war [fig. 1].[8] Several

[7] Antiquariat Inlibris catalogue entry #34133, "Engelbrecht, Martin. [*Theatre de la Milice etrangere: Schaubühne verschiedener in Teutschland bisher unbekannt gewester Soldaten von ausländischen Nationen*]. Augsburg, [ca. 1742]. Folio (235 x 380 mm)."
When referring to the collection title, I use the French title without accent marks, as it appeared originally in the title page.

[8] Martin Engelbrecht, #37 "Ein *voller* Courage *von seiner Liebsten Abschied nehmender* Pandur*"* (Augsburg, ca. 1742).

curious features of this image modify its meaning and hint at symbolic interpretations: the *Pandur*'s emotionality, and his leafy hat ornament.

The first key detail in this image is the *Pandur*'s emotionality. In an attached poem, the artist has inserted the voice of the *Pandur* allowing the reader to feel as if they are eavesdropping upon their inner beliefs and sentiments:

> "Before our queen, I leave blood, body and life
> So give me your hand, again to say goodbye,
> The march is already dictated, just stop your crying,
> Separation is indeed hard, courage it must just be."[9]

In contrast to his weeping woman, this *Pandur* demonstrates courage and forbearance in the service of his queen. Another key element is his distinctive hat ornament: a small sprig of green leaves. This vegetal emblem is somewhat mysterious, but I suggest that it visually identifies this soldier with the "wildness" of nature. As later chapters show, these textual and visual rhetorical elements appear frequently in the collection and suffuse its figures with symbolic meaning.[10]

I argue that Martin Engelbrecht portrayed these soldiers with these peculiar elements to connect their pronounced otherness with the changing political ideas of the

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Note regarding the transcription method used: The original images were printed in "*Hochdeutsch*" German in a Fraktur typeface with a number of stylistic and spelling peculiarities. Texts have been transcribed exactly as originally written with only a few exceptions. The lowercase letter "ŭ" (not to be confused with "ü") was transcribed as "u," overlined letters marked as "m̄" or "n̄" were transcribed as "mm" and "nn," and the abbreviations for "imperial" and "royal:" "*kaiserl.*" and "*königl.*" have been transcribed as "*kaiserlich*" and "*königlich*" respectively. In reference to Maria Theresia, whose official title at the time of the collection's production was "King of Hungary," the feminine form of "*königliche*" has not been used.

[9] Martin Engelbrecht, #37 "Ein *voller* Courage *von seiner Liebsten Abschied nehmender* Pandur*"* (Augsburg, ca. 1742).
[*Vor unßre Königin, laß ich Blut Leib und Leben*
Drum thue mir dein Hand, nochmahl zum Abschied geben,
Der Marche ist schon bestimbt, stell nur dein Weinen ein,
Daß scheiden ist zwar hart, courage es muß nur sein.]

[10] For the sake of brevity I have chosen not to analyze a third interpretive element: the soldier's unique sword decorated with the head of a bird. This element connects with a much older artistic practice of depicting soldiers of the Ottoman Balkans with "zoomorphic" features and characterized them as particularly animalistic or savage.

Enlightenment and the Rococo. Engelbrecht's intervention proposes a productive and beneficial role for these "emotional" and "wild" communities within a feminine, Habsburg formulation of absolutist empire. This shifts the focus from borderlands soldiers as foreign others to a characterization of Maria Theresia as especially capable of incorporating others as subjects, precisely at a point of transition in the Habsburg state's development into a vast, multi-ethnic empire.

Framework of Analysis

A few basic challenges and guiding ideas animate this project. First, attempting to connect visual elements with much larger cultural and philosophical ideas always has an element of uncertainty. Without direct documentary evidence that Martin Engelbrecht or his unknown draftsmen read or were exposed to such ideas, the arguments presented by this thesis are impossible to prove. Additionally, while textual sources may be analyzed with some confidence, assigning meaning to visual elements like the green sprig that many of these soldiers wear requires a healthy dose of speculation.

In addressing this challenge, I am particularly inspired by the work of two visual historians: Aby Warburg and Michael Yonan. These prints are what Warburg once termed "pictoral riddles:" signs whose contexts have been forgotten, and which can only be re-recognized through careful research and a certain amount of informed guesswork. Freedom and audacity are thus key prerequisites for what this project attempts to do, which is to demonstrate how small artistic details may reveal vast shifts in mentalities, ideas, and imaginations. Warburg's realization just over a century ago that stylistic shifts in the presentation of zodiacal figures in Renaissance Italian art could be connected to a vast intercontinental "Eastern Mediterranean pagan culture" serves as a key point of

reference.[11] As he suggests, it is only through "an extension of the methodological borders of our study of art, in material and spatial terms" that new breakthroughs in understanding art and culture may be achieved.

I am additionally indebted to Michael Yonan's "imaginative" approach to the interpretive ambiguities of Rococo ornament. An example of this is his wide-ranging interpretation of Martin van Meytens' 1750 portrait of Maria Theresia in a pink lace gown. By focusing his analysis on the many potential associations and symbolisms of the lace dress, Yonan unpacks the painting as a series of associations connecting female industry with the labor of governance and therefore feminine rulership. Going even a step further, he shows how the lace's design elements mix references to China, Flanders, and Germanic Europe, such that when worn upon the sovereign body, produce an imperial identity inclusive of both Western industry and Eastern fantasy.[12] While such a reading is by no means certain (nor even entirely convincing), Yonan embraces this uncertainty in order to propose interpretive meanings which, as Aby Warburg once urged, can range freely, "with no fear of border guards," and thus "cast light on great and universal evolutionary processes in all their interconnectedness."[13]

This thesis attempts a project on similar terms. It seeks to reveal the political and intellectual engagements of an overlooked work of art, and therefore reconstruct a cultural imagination in the mid-eighteenth century. Only by working flexibly and freely can such an unconventional effort connect details into ideas like stars into constellations.

[11] Aby Warburg, "Italian Art and International Astrology in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara" (1912), 585-6.
[12] Michael Yonan, *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art* (The Pennsylvania State University, 2011), 34-43.
[13] Warburg, "Italian Art and International Astrology," pp. 585-6.

Thesis Roadmap:

This thesis is organized into four body chapters:

Chapter One: “Contexts and Materiality” provides an overview of the political, social, and cultural contexts the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* was responding to, as well as the artistic production practices which make this collection unusual. This asserts that these contexts provided Martin Engelbrecht both a high level of cultural awareness and the flexibility to innovate new interpretations of these trends.

Chapter Two: “Emotional Otherness and Love of Maria Theresia” compares debates over emotion, otherness, and power in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to show how the poetic texts of the collection craft these men both as emotionally foreign and as bound by an affective relationship with queen Maria Theresia. This employs a textual analysis of emotions mentioned in the poems of the collection and compares them with seventeenth century typologies of passion employed in a similar Absolutist political formulation. Maria Theresia’s unique femininity provides these men motivation and emotional modeling, which they respond to and reciprocate as soldiers and subjects.

Chapter Three: “Green Sprigs and the Empire of Man” connects the green leafy decorations worn by many of these soldiers with changing ideas about nature and the Enlightenment philosophical “Empire of Man.” By illustrating this shift in aristocratic garden design and environmental aesthetics, this chapter suggests an interpretation framing Maria Theresia and her empire as a garden of man, which domesticates the strange and wild populations on the periphery of Europe for the benefit of civilization.

The Conclusion summarizes the findings of the previous chapters, demonstrating these textual and visual elements as artistic engagements with Enlightenment concepts in new “Rococo” ways. This paints a picture of a mid-Eighteenth century cultural and political world in flux, driven by major shifts in philosophy and aesthetics, which entangle to express ideas about “otherness” in innovative and politically active ways. Ultimately, this collection seems to paint Maria Theresia as a new kind of “affective” sovereign, and her empire as especially defined by its incorporation of foreign others, symbolized as wild plants gathered into the garden of the Habsburg “empire of man.”

Chapter 1: Contexts and Materiality

Introduction

Though the focus of this thesis is on tracing the seventeenth and eighteenth-century ideas which the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* engaged with, this collection has so far received no scholarly attention. Therefore a contextual and material analysis of this historically valuable and eminently interesting collection has value for the public as well as for this thesis. This chapter is organized as a clear and simple set of information questions: "What," "When," "Where," "Who," "How," and finally "Why." This moves from the general to the specific, explains all the known aspects of the collection, and finally provides some possible conclusions about why it was made. These facts reveal this collection to be a surprisingly ambitious project, and may help to explain why its content, explored in later chapters, is so politically and culturally engaged.

What

What is the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere*?

The *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* is a print collection depicting soldiers in the War of the Austrian Succession. It contains 151 prints of soldiers and their families, though several apparently supplementary series' also depict commanders and monarchs in the war.[14] This collection has an almost exclusive focus on irregular

[14] These three distinct series differ in the format of their captions and their numbering. Unlike the primary 151 prints analyzed in this thesis, the supplementary series' contain no poems and are numbered with single and double digit letters. For example: #G "*Baron von Berenklau General Lieutenant der Königlich Ungarischen Armee und Commandeur eines Corps der Husaren und Panduren*," and #PP "*Herr Baron Johan Ghylani*." The double numbered prints may have been produced at a later date. An additional collection of which only two prints are known depicts Maria Theresia and her husband Francis I with triple letters. For example: #SSS "*Franciscus I D.G. Romanorum Imperator*." The presence of the Holy Roman Emperor titles in these testifies to their later date and

soldiers recruited from borderland regions to fight for the Habsburg Empire and the young queen Maria Theresia. The collection is quite rare, and only seven extant collections are known in public and private hands around the world.[15] It is a costume book produced by engraving images upon copper plates which are stamped upon paper to reproduce the image en-mass.

What is a costume book?

Costume books were a popular form of print media in the early modern period which typically depict human figures in individual images in order to reveal differences, especially in their costume or dress. These could be used to illustrate fashion trends, but also to satisfy humanist interest in the wider world and make sense of the

probable separate production, as Francis was not elected emperor until 1745. I have chosen not to analyze these supplementary portraits in this thesis.

[15] Four known collections reside in public libraries and museums: The Getty Research Library, Brown University Library, The Vienna Military Museum, and The Royal Library of Belgium.
Getty Research Library Accession: 2015.PR.49 "Engelbrecht, [Théâtre…] ca. 1740-1760." 201 prints.
http://primo.getty.edu/GRI:GETTY_ALMA21167199390001551
Brown University Library call number: 2-SIZE UC480 .E6 1746 "Engelbrecht, [Théâtre…] 1746."
https://search.library.brown.edu/catalog/b4518078
Heeresgeschichtliches Museum / Militärhistorisches Institut Wien, Inv. No. BI4849-27
Royal Library of Belgium, Europeana Fashion identifier: S.II 85483B "Engelbrecht, [Masques et costumes du XVIIème siècle] 1730."
https://www.europeana.eu/portal/en/record/2048229/europeana_fashion__BE_KBR00_1_2152691.html?q=Martin+Engelbrecht#dcId=1583597012415&p=1
Of these, the Getty Research Library collection seems the most complete, and Royal Library of Belgium the most fragmentary. A copy formerly residing in the Zentralbibliothek Zürich is now marked as lost. Getty describes their version as containing 200 prints including images from as late as the 1760s, however I was not able to check this due to the 2020-21 coronavirus lockdown.
At least three privately owned copies of the collection are currently or were formerly on sale by antique book handlers and auction houses.
Antiquariat Inlibris catalogue entry #34133, "Engelbrecht, [*Théâtre…*] ca. 1742"
https://inlibris.com/item/bn34133/
Koller International Auctions, Lot 153 - A190 Books - Tuesday, 24. September 2019, "Engelbrecht, Martin. [*Theatre...*]. ca. 1742-1750." 177 prints. https://www.invaluable.com/auction-lot/militaria-uniformen-153-c-05041668c8
Steffen Völkel, "Engelbrecht, Martin. *Collection of 21 engraved plates of Slavonian Pandurs.* ca. 1742."
https://steffenvoelkel.com/occult-sammelband-with-texts-on-palmistry-physiognomy-anthropometry-and-geomancy-2-2-2-2-2-2-3-2-3
It is likely that more copies of this collection exist in library collections and private collections. Numerous individual folios are occasionally put on auction.

apparently infinite variety of human difference discovered in this era.[16] This has provoked one scholar to label these books as proto-ethnologies: sources of information about cultures near and far at a time when travel was extraordinarily difficult and dangerous.[17] This value is reflected in the naming of the collection, whose extended German title is "Stage of various soldiers from foreign nations who were previously unknown to Germany." Costume books turn early-modern assumptions of "*habit-habitus*," which define dress and behavior as the mode of being of established groups rather than of individual free choice, into a set of "succinct, truth-claiming, ownable images."[18]

However, despite the name, this collection was not originally bound or sold as a book but as individual folios or paper sheets printed on one side.[19] It does however contain a highly decorated title page which may have functioned as an advertisement.[20] This topic is explained in greater detail in the sections, "Where did the collection circulate?" and "How was the collection used?"

[16] Aric Chen, "Enea Vico's Costume Studies: A Source and a Sovereignty" *Art on Paper, November-December 2000*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Art in Print Review, 2000). pp. 51-52.
[17] Daniel Defert, "Un genre ethnographique profane au XVIe: les livres d'habits (essai d'ethno-iconographie)," in *Histoires de l'anthropologie (XVIe-XIXe siècles)*, ed. Britta Rupp-Eisenreich (Paris: Klincksieck, 1984), cited in Ann Rosalind Jones, "Habits, Holdings, Heterogenies: Populations in Print in a 1562 Costume Book" *Yale French Studies*, 2006, No. 110, *Meaning and Its Objects: Material Culture in Medieval and Renaissance France* (2006), pp. 94-5.
[18] Ann Rosalind Jones, "Habits, Holdings, Heterogenies: Populations in Print in a 1562 Costume Book" *Yale French Studies*, 2006, No. 110, *Meaning and Its Objects: Material Culture in Medieval and Renaissance France* (2006), 94.
[19] This claim is supported by the fact that none of the collections viewed contain the original highly decorated title page nor any evidence of original binding. Additionally, individual folios were each printed with the Martin Engelbrecht name and copyright protections suggesting an expectation that images would be sold separately.
[20] The creation of a separate title page for the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* despite it's probable sale as individual prints may have been due to a desire for artistic flair or the influence of tradition, as well as for a more practical purpose. Garold Cole notes that print collection "poster" covers could be posted publicly as an advertisement. Garold Cole, "The Historical Development of the Title Page" *The Journal of Library History (1966-1972)* Vol. 6, No. 4 (University of Texas Press, Oct., 1971). pp. 309.

This collection is additionally valuable as an early and original European depiction of the communities and populations of the Balkans. As early as the middle sixteenth century, numerous publications depicting the peoples and costumes of the Ottoman Empire (which controlled the territories later labeled as the Balkans) were published by artists including Nicolas de Nicolay, Melchior Lorck, Hans Weigel, Abraham de Bruyn, Cesare Vecellio, and others.[21] Yet the *Theatre* collection dwarfs these earlier works in number of images, specificity of costume, and communal identification. This difference may be explained by greater access to the region following Habsburg military conquests, and to the soldiers themselves, who were marching through southern Germany, yet it also reveals a different artistic approach. Unlike sixteenth century costume books which were content to represent a community or kind of people as a single figure, eighteenth century costume books like this one provide a multitude of figures and vastly more information.[22]

What do these prints look like?

As previously noted, the collection is composed of 151 unbound folios. These sheets are quite large (around 38 cm or 15 inches long and 23.5 cm or 9 inches wide) and printed in high detail upon paper. Some are brightly colored with stenciled

[21] A complete listing of costume books depicting the Ottomans is provided in an essay by Rudolf H. W. Stichel, "Das Bremer Album und seine Stellung innerhalb der orientischen Trachtenbücher," in *Das Kostümbuch des Lambert de Vos*, ed. Hans-Albrecht Koch (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1991), 31-54.

[22] Another example is the 1703 production *Neu-eröffnete Welt-Galleria*, published by Christoph Weigel after Caspar Luyken. This print collection provides a somewhat diverse and socially stratified selection of Balkan, Ottoman, and "Eastern" figures, though with far fewer specificities of regional identification than the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere*.
Christoph Weigel, *Neu-eröffnete Welt-Galleria* (Nuremberg, 1703), after Caspar Luyken, dedication by Abraham a Sancta Clara.

watercolors and gold and silver highlights.[23] Others were published and sold unpainted, and the Brown University Library contains prints painted in a wholly unique style, suggesting that they were painted by a consumer.[24] Each print has a double-lined border surrounding the image, which typically depicts a soldier or a pair in their daily actions: marching, resting, eating, patrolling, and charging into battle. The backgrounds show landscapes including mountains, churches, villages, and fortresses above which cannon smoke rises.

A distinctive characteristic of this collection is the inclusion of a quatrain with two short rhyming couplets commenting upon the figures depicted. These poems tend to focus on the emotional characteristics of the men, their capacities for violence, or their love of plundering. Other topics highlight their unique foreign costumes, and a few are even written in the voice of one of the characters speaking to another, such as an old soldier to his son or a husband to his wife. They humanize and humorize these individuals, emphasizing their trials, hard life, and the care they show for each other.[25]

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[23] David Pankow suggests that watercolor paint was applied to prints in "assembly-line fashion" using stencils, and uniformities of color application and method across different *Theatre* collections indicates that this was the case here.
David Pankow, *Tempting the Palette: A Survey of Color Printing Processes*, (RIT Cary Graphic Arts Press, 2005): 8.

[24] Painting was an optional addition to the production process allowing publishers to increase the relative value and collectability of their images. Uncolored prints could have been an affordable alternative to more prestigious colored images decorated with expensive paints. This distinction suggests a diverse buyers' market in which prints could be either an inexpensive decoration or moderate luxury item.
In several examples, such as print number 18 "*Ein* Croat *aüf der Schildwach stehend*," figures were painted in inventive colors rather than those they were known to have worn, such as the red hoods of Croat fighters. This suggests a later, less informed painter, and excludes the possibility that it was produced by the Engelbrecht workshop.

[25] These must not be understood as genuine statements by the real people depicted; the subaltern in the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* does not speak. Though these first-person voices (written in German) seem to grant the reader access to the inner lives of the characters within, their illusion simply reinforces the artistic narrative within the collection, described in Chapter 2. There are also no known written records produced by any of the common people depicted.
Such poems may be typical of Martin Engelbrecht's personal style, or one characteristic of Augsburg publishers in this period. Short poems in an identical style can be found in a collection of engravings of Commedia del'Arte characters published decades earlier by another Augsburger, Philipp Jakob Leidenhoffer.

Some prints were made with poems translated into French, perhaps to take advantage of widespread French literacy [see fig. 2].[26]

Each of these prints also contains a small number just above these prints' frames on the right hand side. This numbering system identifies where in the series a print belongs, as well as identifying each print as part of an indelible set. This feature helps to ensure these images collectability, as the absence of any one of the images would have been immediately apparent. The topic of print collectability is discussed in greater depth in the section "How was the collection used?"

The only other marks on the prints are the phrase "*C.P. Maj*" or less frequently "*C.P.S.C. Maj*" and "Mart. Engelbrecht *excud A.V.*" The former is an abbreviation for *Cum gratia* et *privilegio Sacrae Caesareae Majestatis,* the copymark of the Holy Roman Empire. The latter is the artist's signature with the notation employing the old Roman name for Augsburg, Augusta Vindelicorum.

When

When was the collection made?

It is uncertain exactly when the collection was engraved and published. Almost all collections list a publication date of circa 1742, and it is likely that the borderland

Phil(l)ipp Jacob Leidenhoffer, "Der Gandolin" (Augsburg, before 1714), Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig. https://nds.museum-digital.de/index.php?t=objekt&oges=43734
Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen, Archives. reproduced in Cassidy-Geiger. "Graphic Sources for Meissen Porcelain," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 31 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), figure 17.
However the captioning of prints with quatrains are a very old practice and can be seen in perhaps the earliest known costume book, *Le recueil de la diversité des habits,* (1562).
Ann Rosalind Jones, "Habits, Holdings, Heterogenies: Populations in Print in a 1562 Costume Book" *Yale French Studies*, 2006, No. 110, *Meaning and Its Objects: Material Culture in Medieval and Renaissance France* (2006), pp. 95.

[26] An example of one of these prints is number 4, "*Un Tolpatsch de Sclavonie*" in the Heeresgeschichtliches Museum Collection, which inserts a French language copperplate where the original German text should appear.

soldiers first entered Southern Germany in early spring of that year.[27] However, references to regimental foundations and "regulations" in 1743 and 1746 in a few prints indicate that prints either were published all-together sometime after 1746 or, as I consider more likely; drawn, engraved, and printed over a period of many years.[28] One can surmise that the first 70 or so prints were engraved between 1741 and 1743, subsequent numbered images were engraved between 1743 and 1746, and that prints 125 and onward were engraved after 1746.[29]

1742 was a turning point in the pan-European war over the contested inheritance of Maria Theresia pitting France, Bavaria, and Prussia against a disorganized and bankrupt Habsburg court. By October of 1741, swift defeats resulted in the occupation of Silesia by Frederick II of Prussia and the capture of Prague by Maria Theresia's brother-in-law Charles VII von Wittelsbach of Bavaria. Even worse, in the following January, Charles VII martialed the support of the German Electors to have himself elected Holy Roman Emperor, breaking an uninterrupted Habsburg imperial succession

[27] Several prints reference the 1741 invasion of Silesia: #6 "*Abbildüng eines* Sclavoni*schen gemeinen* Pandur*en wie dergleiche Ao. 1741. in Schlesien ankommen,*" and #9 "*Obrist* Trenk, Chef *der* Sclavoni*schen* Pandur*en welche Ao 1741 nach Schlesien* march*irt*."

[28] Prints #72 "*Ein* Offizier *von neu aufgerichten* Baron Menzli*schen Husaren* Regiment" and #75 "*Ein* Capitain *von dem neu auffgerichten S. Tit:* Baron Menzli*schen Husaren* Regiment" depict soldiers from a regiment of hussars uniformed in black jackets that Johann Daniel von Menzel is purported to have formed in 1743. This detail is mentioned in the Wikipedia page for Johann Daniel von Menzel, though no source is provided to corroborate it. Unknown contributor, "Johann Daniel von Menzel" *Wikipedia.org* https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann_Daniel_von_Menzel

[29] The date 1746 is definitively proven by print number 149, "*Ein Trommel-Schläger von dem in* Anno *1746 neü* regulier*ten Graff* Petazzi*schen Carlstätter* Regiment" *Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library.*
Prints 125 to 151 contain a slightly different artistic style and references to the process of "regulation" and military reform not seen in earlier prints, which likely correspond to Theresian military reforms.
Friedrich Schott came to a similar conclusion in his 1924 inventory of Engelbrecht's collection inventory, in which he identifies Theatre prints as belonging to several different collections and from several different periods including from as late as the Seven Years War (1756-1763). While possible, there is no evidence to suggest such a late attribution.
Friedrich Schott, *Der Augsburger Kupferstecher und Kunstverleger Martin Engelbrecht und seine Nachfolger. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Augsburger Kunst- und Buchhandels von 1719 bis 1896,* (Schlosser, Augsburg 1924).

going back 300 years. It was a standing question whether the first Habsburg female ruler would hold onto any of her inheritance much longer.[30] The situation was only salvaged by a winter march across Bavaria to capture Munich, a campaign in which bands of irregular militias and hussar cavalry free-companies from the Slavonian military borderlands played a significant role.[31]

So began the reign of Maria Theresia: in a military and diplomatic debacle. One modern evaluation of the Maria Theresia "myth" which developed in later retellings of the story has noted its fairy-tale like qualities.

> Once upon a time, there was a beautiful young princess who inherited an enormous empire that was in a state of ruin, and she was attacked on all sides by evil enemies. She persuaded a horde of wild but noble warriors to help her and, with their support, defended the throne of her ancestors.[32]

This "horde" was the nobility of the Hungarian estates, who organized the levies of *Pandurs*, *Tolpatch*es, and *Hussars* depicted in this print collection. More information and background on these soldiers is provided in the section "Who does it depict?"

Besides this political context, the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* was produced during an era of intellectual transition in the Enlightenment encapsulating philosophical

[30] Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *Maria Theresia: Die Kaiserin in ihrer Zeit* (C.H. Beck, 2019).

[31] The successes of these groups contributed to significant changes in European military composition and tactics. Hungarian-style hussar units achieved fame in the Prussian and Habsburg armies for raiding overstretched supply lines and disrupting communications, and the irregular Pandur light infantry won notable successes in capturing cities and fortifications.
Juraj Balić, "In her Majesty's Service: Newspaper Reports on the Lycanian Grenzer during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748)," *Povijesni prilozi, v. 54* (June 2018): 264-7.
These troops were especially notorious for pillaging, as can be seen in an Engelbrecht print from a separate production, "Pragischer Kindbette besüch der Panduren beii den Jüden" showing Pandurs pillaging the house of a Jewish family in Prague.
Martin Engelbrecht, #3 "Pragischer Kindbette besüch der Panduren beii den Jüden" (date unknown).
This had an enduring impact on European armies who adopted wholesale Hussar light-cavalrymen and light infantry tactics by the end of the century. This even included the specific Hungarian ethnic costume of the hussar troops, and men armed with curved sabres and wearing long moustaches could eventually be found in armies across western Europe.

[32] Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, "Maria Theresa and the Love of Her Subjects" *Austrian History Yearbook*, Vol. 51, May 2020 (Cambridge University Press, 2020). pp. 1-12. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0067237820000041

developments as well as cultural ones. At its core, the Enlightenment was a philosophical movement emphasizing reason and empirical observation as the basis for politics, science, religion, law, and human relationships. From a political standpoint it looks to reason as a liberating force capable of justly reordering civil and political society. This became especially influential in the second half of the eighteenth century with works by philosophical rebels like Voltaire and Rousseau.[33] From a scientific standpoint, Enlightenment focuses on the application of natural science as a verifiable basis and solution to otherwise insoluble questions. The ideas of Johannes Kepler and Isaac Newton were especially influential in changing eighteenth-century thinkers' understanding of the functioning of the universe.[34]

This led to a valorization of natural science's capacity to extend human knowledge and control over nature and the known world, as evidenced by a pronounced tendency to name, classify, and order knowledge of the world.[35] Increasing global travel and expanding knowledge of the world and of human difference inspired philosophers to use natural science, and especially climactic theory to account for presumed national and racial characteristics.[36] This was the era of the encyclopedia, the atlas, the dictionary, and the costume book depicting diverse nations and cultures comparatively.

[33] A historiography of the politics of the Enlightenment would must include John Locke (1689), David Hume (1739-40), Montesquieu (1748), Voltaire (1751), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1762), Cesare Beccaria (1764), and Immanuel Kant (1797).
[34] Johannes Kepler, *Astronomia nova* (1609) and Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum* (1620).
[35] A historiography of Enlightenment science would include: Fontenelle (1686), Isaac Newton (1687), Linnaeus (1735), Voltaire and Émilie du Châtelet (1738-45), Buffon (1749-1804), Denis Diderot (1751-65), and perhaps also Jean-Baptiste Lamarck (1809).
[36] The historiography of racially ordering humanity is somewhat more ambiguous, and includes David Hume, *Of National Characters* (1748), Samuel Johnson, writing in *The Idler*, No. 8o, (October 27, 1759), and Oliver Goldsmith, *A Comparative View of Races and Nations* (1760), to name a few.

Another less positive product of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may have been the rise of "otherness" as an expression of cultural or social difference via exclusion.[37] As Neumann and Welsh have noted, "the very idea of what Europe was was from the beginning defined partly in terms of what it was *not*." Insofar as the Enlightenment helped to produce a shared "Western" intellectual society ranging states, languages, regions, and faiths, it also seems to have produced cultural "others" characterized by their "backwardness," lack of progress, and "un-reason."[38] The non-European barbarian or savage, including the borderlands soldiers depicted in this collection, "played a decisive role in the evolution of the European identity."[39]

It is easy to see engagements with these changing Enlightenment ideas in the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere*. The collection employs an empiricist rigor for accurate and detailed depictions in a project to catalogue and pose foreign Others in culturally

[37] Otherness as constituent of Selfhood is an idea closely connected with the work of late twentieth century philosophers Jean-Paul Sartre and Michel Foucault among others, and inspired the postmodern, post-colonial skepticism of Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, Maria Todorova, and James C. Scott to name a few.
The extent to which "totalitarian" attitudes toward others is a product of the Enlightenment is a matter of debate, with critics connecting scientific endeavors to expand knowledge of the world with "an obsession with domination and control" and absolutist efforts to make humanity and the landscape legible for state exploitation.
Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (Pantheon Books, 1977)., Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (1947)., James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State* (Yale University Press, 1998).
On the other hand, defenders of Enlightenment assert these to be cultural rather than philosophical trends, and employ a more restricted definition of Enlightenment encompassing "canonical" philosophers who espouse universal human rights explicitly reject despotism and inequality.
James Schmidt, "Civility, Enlightenment, and Society: Conceptual Confusions and Kantian Remedies" *The American Political Science Review,* Jun., 1998, Vol. 92. No. 2 (American Political Science Association, 1998).
A useful recent exploration of Enlightenment "culture" is provided by Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment: New Approaches to European History* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[38] This shared intellectual culture or "Republic of Letters" based upon science and a faith in progressive improvements in the human condition has recently been detailed by Marc Fumaroli, *The Republic of Letters* (Yale University Press, 2018).

[39] Iver B. Neumann and Jennifer M. Welsh, "The Other in European Self-Definition: An Addendum to the Literature on International Society" *Review of International Studies*
Vol. 17, No. 4 (1991). pp. 329.
This idea was first proposed by Carl Schmitt, *Der Begriff des Politischen* (1932), pp. 14.

recognizable ways. Also as following chapters show, it connects with earlier and contemporary debates to propose new legitimizing ideas for political power.

Besides the philosophy and culture of the Enlightenment, this was also a time of artistic change in Central Europe, a transition from Baroque style to the Rococo. The Rococo seems to have begun as a flamboyant artistic flowering at the beginning of the eighteenth century around the court of the young king Louis XV apparently in reaction to the austere absolutism of the Baroque. It spread to Central Europe in the 1730s through ornamental print productions by publishers like Martin Engelbrecht, and had a much longer life there than in France where it began.[40]

Rémy Saisselin emphasizes the dreamlike, pastoral sensitivity of this artistic mode: “a nature simple and beautiful, tranquil, appeased passions, and love called tenderness” animated this “dream of happiness.”[41] Rococo was a complete approach to art, culture, and behavior rather than a specific style. Patrick Brady highlights in its aesthetics a primacy given to visuality and surface sensation, demonstrated by the decorative application of “grotesque” shells and exuberantly sinuous natural forms so frequently seen Rococo art.[42] On the other hand, Michael Yonan sees this ornamental interpretive ambiguity as an interrogation of philosophical questions around perception and representation, requiring viewers to engage with these works imaginatively.[43]

[40] The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Rococo." Encyclopedia Britannica, Invalid Date. https://www.britannica.com/art/Rococo.
[41] Rémy G. Saisselin, “The Rococo as a Dream of Happiness” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Winter, 1960, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Wiley on behalf of The American Society for Aesthetics, 1960). pp. 146.
[42] Patrick Brady, “Towards a Theory of the Rococo” *The Comparatist,* May, 1985 (University of North Carolina Press, 1985). pp. 10-13.
[43] Michael Yonan, “Knowing the World through Rococo Ornamental Prints” *Organic Supplements: Bodies and Things of the Natural World,* 1580-1790. Edited by Miriam Jacobson and Julie Park (University of Virginia Press, 2020).

Beyond visuality, the culture of the Rococo was characterized by a bourgeois lack of illusions; of skepticism and epicureanism, and a pursuit of pleasure in order to avoid ennui.[44] In its literary forms, Rococo employs "metonymy, immanence, and euphemization" as key rhetorical elements rather than metaphor, transcendence, and bluntness.[45] The Rococo "refuses to accept or even contemplate suffering and death," a sense that can be seen in the *Theatre* collection's studied avoidance of actually depicting the violence and battle it consistently threatens.[46]

This project approaches these two movements, the Enlightenment and Rococo, not as discrete units, but as overlapping intellectual and cultural contextual frameworks. These are rarely considered companions, yet this thesis suggests that the ideas they represent are not as incompatible as they seem. The *Theatre* collection was published during an important period of transition when these two movements were in dialogue, producing new, hybrid attitudes.

[44] Saisselin, "The Rococo as a Dream of Happiness" pp. 145-147.

[45] Brady sees in Rococo a (paradoxical) rejection or negation of previous values, which ultimately results in a literary spiritual and aesthetic poverty.
Patrick Brady, "Towards a Theory of the Rococo" *The Comparatist*, May, 1985 (University of North Carolina Press, 1985). pp. 10-13.
First, Rococo objects metonymically "stand-in" for greater or more abstract ideas, rather than represent ideas metaphorically. Second, despite its decorative frivolity, the meanings that Rococo presents are accessible and attainable (immanent) rather than transcendent. Lastly, Rococo presents the hard realities of life "euphemistically" in a soft and pleasant way.
Patrick Brady, *Structuralist Perspectives in Criticism of Fiction: Essays on Manon Lescaut and La Vie de Marianne*, P. Lang, 1978). 97-109.

[46] Patrick Brady, "Towards a Theory of the Rococo" *The Comparatist*, May, 1985 (University of North Carolina Press, 1985). pp. 13.

Where

Where was the collection produced?

The *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* was produced in Augsburg, a major cultural hub for printing and luxury craftwork in what is now Southern Germany. This city had a population of about 30,000 in the mid-eighteenth century, and its goldsmithing and printed products dominated the Central European luxury goods market.[47] It was a Free Imperial city of the Holy Roman Empire, which meant that its city council was subordinate only to the Emperor rather than to a prince-bishop, prince, duke, or elector.[48] Art industries in the city were organized around family workshops and guilds.[49] This political structure made guild-leaders and prosperous craftsmen like Engelbrecht both politically and socially powerful.

It remains a matter of some debate as to what degree this guild system stifled creative enterprises. Howard Creel Collinson paints an image of print-making in Augsburg during the height of the Rococo as a booming capitalist enterprise, but one which was artistically stultified by guilds who were "as concerned with commercial success as artistic achievement." This resulted in an "aesthetically rather mediocre"

[47] Peter Stoll, "Empire of Prints: The Imperial City of Augsburg and the Printed Image in the 17th and 18th Centuries" (OPUS Augsburg, 2016). pp. 8.
Augsburg developed as a center for goldsmithing and armor engraving due to the patronage of Emperor Maximilian I in the sixteenth century.
James Clifton, "'To showe to posteritie the manner of souldiers apparel:' Arms and Armor in European Prints." *Knights in Shining Armor: Myth and Reality 1450-1650* by Ida Sinkević, (Bunker Hill Publishing, Inc., 2006).
By 1740, there were at least 275 goldsmiths and related craftspeople working in Augsburg. There were also 47 engravers in 1721, and likely many more by 1742.
Stoll, "Empire of Prints," pp. 8, 9.
[48] Stoll, "Empire of Prints," pp. 3.
[49] Martin Bircher, "'Horribilicribrifax' Illustriert: Engelbrecht und Bodenehr als Illustratoren von Andreas Gryphius' Lustspiel" *Dass eine Nation die ander verstehen möge: Festschrift für Marian Szyrocki zu seinem 60. Geburtstag,* Norbert Honsza, Hans-Gert Roloff eds. (Rodopi, 1988): 98.
Wolfgang Bruchner, *Populäre Druckgraphik Europas. Deutschland vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert,* (Munich, 1969): 211.

publishing output, which treated prints as "products" and publishing as a craft rather than an art.[50] However this is partially contradicted by Peter Stoll, who claims that Augsburg did not subject engravers to the restrictions of guild regulations regarding who could or could not practice the craft.[51] He additionally provides the example of Johann Wolfgang Baumgartner (1702-1761), an immigrant to Augsburg who, while officially being a member of the painters guild, seems to have been employed by Martin Engelbrecht and Georg Christoph Killian (another print publisher) to produce drawings, and did so in innovative ways.[52]

Augsburg also became famous in the eighteenth century for its enthusiastic adoption of the Rococo ornamental style, so much so that Augsburg and the Rococo developed an almost "symbiotic" relationship. The "Augsburg taste" or *Augsburger Geschmack* became "more or less synonymous with Rococo all throughout the Empire," and lasted there much longer than it did in France.[53] Foreign ideas and styles like the Rococo were readily adopted and made anew in Augsburg, and it is not hard to see why a politically engaged and culturally aware work like the *Theatre* collection could have been produced there.

Where did the collection circulate?

Little to no provenance exists for the public and private collections of the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere*, and so few definite conclusions about its circulation can be

[50] Howard Creel Collinson, "Johann Esais Nilson: The Rise & Fall of Augsburg Rocco," *The Print Collector's Newsletter*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (July–August 1994), pp. 89.
[51] Stoll, "Empire of Prints," pp. 9 [citing Bernhard Schemmel, *Die graphischen Thesen- und Promotionsblätter in Bamberg,* (Wiesbaden, 2001), pp. 259.
[52] This artist produced curious oil painted modellos for engravings, which would have been an unnecessary additional step. Stoll suggests that this innovation would have allowed the painted sketches to be sold as autonomous works of art.
Stoll, "Empire of Prints," pp. 31.
[53] Stoll, "Empire of Prints," pp. 32, 35.

drawn. One set of prints was apparently collected and bound by Sir William Augustus Fraser, a nineteenth century English parliamentarian.[54] Augsburg prints were frequently produced for long-distance export, and it may be for this reason that French language versions of the *Theatre* prints were also made.[55]

Much more can be said about the circulation of pirated copies of these prints. Soon after the collection's publication, reprints appeared in Paris in 1742, in London in 1743, and in Antwerp after 1744.[56] This may be evidence of the collection's commercial success. Copying was a common practice among publishers at the time, and not necessarily seen as stealing, since copying formed the foundation of artistic training.[57] Piracy was nevertheless damaging, and the Engelbrecht workshop maintained an Imperial Privilege protecting its work from copiers within the Empire.

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[54] This bound book later entered the Heeresgeschitliches Museum Collection and formed the basis of their *Theatre* collection.

[55] Stoll, "Empire of Prints," pp. 11.

[56] George Louis le Rouge, *Nouveau recueil en 21 feuilles des differends habillements des trouppes qui composent l'armée de la Reine de Hongrie ramassées sur les frontieres de ce royaume* (Paris, 1742). Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Vienna.
Johann Sebastian Müller, "A Pandour Field Piper with his Arms. A Pandour Drummer. A Warasdin Pandour Corporal." (London, November 15, 1743) V&A Museum Collection, museum number SP.422 https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1106681/a-pandour-field-piper-with-engraving-johann-sebastian-müller/
Jean Henri van Schawberg, *Representation au Vrai des Peuples de la Hongrie qui ont paru dans lat Guerre en Boheme, en Silesie, en Baviere, & sur les Frontieres de France, en 1741, 1742, 1743, 1744 &c.* or *Waare en Natuurlyke Verbeelding der Hungaarsche Krygsvolkeren verscheenen op het Oorlogs-Toneel in Bohemen, Silesie, Beyeren, en … de Fransche Grenssen, gedurende 1741, 1742, 1743, 1744 enz*. (undated) Source: Belgrade University Library http://ubsm.bg.ac.rs/engleski/dokument/1386/

[57] Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, "Graphic Sources for Meissen Porcelain," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 31 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996) pp. 108.
Engelbrecht himself copied, and one image in the collection, #97 "*Eine häußliche Hayduckin, wie sie mit ihrem jungen Haydücken umquartiert wird*" is a reworking of Enea Vico's "*Militis Germani uxor"* of ca. 1558.
Martin Engelbrecht, #97 "*Eine häußliche Hayduckin, wie sie mit ihrem jungen Haydücken umquartiert wird*" [An Ugly Hayduk woman, how she shall be relocated with her young Hayduk] (Augsburg, ca. 1742).
Enea Vico, "*Militis Germani Uxor*" (Venice, in or before 1558) Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.443485
Several of his other productions are even more derivative, such as his *Assemblage Nouveau des Manouvries Habilles…*(Augsburg, ca. 1730-50), which reworks Nicolas de Larmessin's famous *Les Costumes grotesques et les métiers* (ca. 1680).

Who

Who was Martin Engelbrecht?

Almost all biographical information about Engelbrecht comes from a 1924 catalog of Martin Engelbrecht's complete works by Augsburg bookseller Friedrich Schott.[58] Engelbrecht was the son of a paint dealer and had extended family connections to other Augsburg craftsmen including goldsmiths and engravers. He and his brother may have trained under other Augsburg engravers including Johann Georg Bodenehr, Jakob von Sandrart, and Gabriel Ehinger, before travelling to Berlin and Vienna to make engravings during imperial ceremonies.[59] He was probably a Protestant, and besides appears to have had an especially successful career upon his return to Augsburg.[60] Friedrich Schott says that "A large number of fine fellow citizens enjoyed food and help from him. He was a cheerful and intelligent man, pleasant in his dealings, honest in his actions and peaceful with his fellow artists."[61] By 1742 at the time of the collection's

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[58] Friedrich Schott, *Der Augsburger Kupferstecher und Kunstverleger Martin Engelbrecht und seine Nachfolger. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Augsburger Kunst- und Buchhandels von 1719 bis 1896,* (Schlosser, Augsburg 1924), pp. 16.
This used information gathered from extant prints all over Germany and Austria, though curiously Schott identifies the prints of the Theatre de la Milice etrangere as part of at least three separate series including the Seven Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession. This is likely an error as all the prints contain the same uninterrupted numbering system.
Engelbrecht was briefly mentioned in an Augsburg art historiography by Paul von Stettin, but little firm information is provided.
Paul von Stetten, "Kunst- Gewerb- und Handwerks Geschichte der Reichs-Stadt Augsburg," (Augsburg 1779): 398. in *Erläuterungen der in Kupfer gestochenen Vorstellungen, aus der Geschichte der Reichsstadt Augsburg. In historischen Briefen an ein Frauenzimmer.* (Augsburg 1765): 221.
[59] Hannelore Müller, "Engelbrecht, Martin" in *Neue Deutsche Biographie 4* S. 512. 1959. [Online-Version]; URL: https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118684728.html#ndbcontent
Schott, *Der Augsburger Kupferstecher…* pp. 16.
[60] Stoll, "Empire of Prints," pp. 13.
This was an apparently small and close-knit group, judging by the small number of engravers recorded as working in the city in the early eighteenth century (47 in 1721).
[61] Schott, *Der Augsburger Kupferstecher…* pp. 16.
[*in deme eine starcke Anzahl feiner Mitbürger Nahrung und Hilfe von Ihme genossen. Er war ein leuthseliger munterer und Kluger Mann, angenehm im Umgang, redlich in seinen Handlungen und friedlich mit seinen Kunstgenoszen*]

production, he was 58 years old and a respected member of his community who would go on to become a member of the Augsburg city council a year later.[62]

Who produced it?

The *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* was designed, engraved, and printed by unknown artists working within the Martin Engelbrecht publishing house. Friedrich Schott records that Engelbrecht "employed a considerable number of capable artists, not to mention the numerous workshop engravers" and that "it could not be determined to what extent the individual sheets were engraved by [Engelbrecht] himself and to what extent they were only designed by him or drawn on the plate."[63] Stylistic and figural differences within the *Theatre* collection reveal the contributions of several different draftsmen. These could have included Christian Wilhelm, an engraver who married Engelbrecht's daughter close to the time of this collection's publication, and Johann Wolfgang Baumgartner, an artist and draftsman previously noted as having a personal connection with Engelbrecht.[64]

As the head of a major publishing house, Engelbrecht's primary role would have been managerial: organizing the workflow, ensuring that designs were made, directing the operation of the workshop, and putting prints on the market, either by offering them

[62] Hannelore Müller, "Engelbrecht, Martin" s.v. *Neue Deutsche Biographie 4,* S. 512 (1959). [Online-Version] https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118684728.html#ndbcontent

[63] Schott, *Der Augsburger Kupferstecher…* pp. 49-50.
[er hat eine stattliche Reihe tüchtiger Künstler beschäftigt, ganz abgesehen von den zahlreichen Werkstatt-Stechern]
[nicht festgestellt werden konnte, wieweit die einzelnen Blätter von E. selbst gestochen und wieweit sie nur von ihm entworfen oder auf die Platte gezeichnet wurden]

[64] "Wilhelm, Christian" in *Deutsche Biographie*, [Online-Version]; URL: https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd129270741.html
Schott provides an extensive list of 40 artists who may have worked with Martin Engelbrecht over his lifetime, Christian Wilhelm among them.
Schott, *Der Augsburger Kupferstecher*… pp. 50.

for sale in his own shop or by disseminating them via travelling salesmen.[65] However he would also have undoubtedly taken a personal interest in planning and conceiving the prints in advance to ensure their market attraction.

Who was it produced for?

The *Theatre* collection was most probably produced for a South-German audience. Many of the prints contain text commenting upon the cultural difference of their figures in contrast to the audience's presumed German identity, such as one describing a corporal from modern Varaždin, Northern Croatia [see fig. 3]:

> What comes before people on our German soil,
> The Moors or even Chinese pose for?
> What do they not bring with, before rare clothes fashions,
> Posture and Countenance shows the courage and desire for robbery.[66]

The foreignness of this figure is emphasized through comparison with "Moors" and "Chinese," perhaps due to this figure's long and wispy "Manchu" style moustache likely familiar to contemporaries from *chinoiserie*.

Yet as previously noted, many of these prints were also printed with French translations of their poems. This allowed their sale to Francophone audiences, as well as to non-German speaking regions where French was the *lingua franca* of the educated elite. A sense of this is on display throughout the collection, which employs French terms such as "*postur*" [posture] and "*mine*" [countenance] in poems, and a

[65] Stoll, "Empire of Prints," pp. 19.
[66] Martin Engelbrecht, #20 "Ein *Panduren Corporal* aüß dem *Warastiner Bannat*" (Augsburg, ca. 1742)
[Was kommen noch vor Leut aüf ünsern Teütschen Boden,
Die Mohren oder gar *Chineser* stellen für?
Was bringen Sie nicht mit vor rare Kleider moden,
Postür ünd *Mine* seigt den Müth ünd Raüb Begier.]

French title before the German one. These likely signaled status due to the cultural prestige of French at the time.

Who does it depict?

Of the images themselves, they mostly depict soldiers from the Habsburg military borderland.[67] These are identified by their specific type: *Pandur, Tolpatsch, Husar, etc.,* their "nationality": *Schlavonien* (Slavonian)*, Croat, Berg-Schott* (Highland Scot)*, Raiz* (Serb)*, Ungarischer* (Hungarian), and also frequently their region or city of origin: *Carstätt* (Karlovac, Croatia)*, Theißern oder Sauströhmern* (from the rivers Tisza or Sava)*, Georgien* (Đurđevac, Croatia)*, Licaner* (Lika region, Croatia), etc. While the "national" identifications and locations of origin which can be generally identified with modern ones, the types of soldiers listed have no particular modern affiliation or meaning, and their names originate from Slavic and Hungarian names for guards, foot infantry, and cavalry. An example of this in practice is shown in print number 60: "*Ein* Pandur *von der Königlich Ungarischen* Nation *am Saustrom, oder ein so genandter Sauströmer*" [see fig. 4].[68] This individual is a *Pandur* by occupation, resides within the *Royal Hungarian Nation*, and comes from somewhere along the Sava river which flows through modern Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Slovenia.

These soldiers were members of irregular *Militargrenze* regiments organized to defend the long Habsburg border with the Ottoman Empire. For centuries these two empires dueled for supremacy in the Balkans in a mostly fixed border zone or "Military

[67] The other major group depicted is Scottish Highlander mercenaries [*Berg Schotten*] who were a common feature in early-modern European war. It is likely that many of the same arguments about the natural suitedness of Habsburg borderlanders apply to these highlanders; men whose character and emotionality has been shaped by the harsh physical landscape of their home.

[68] Martin Engelbrecht, #60 "Ein Pandur von der Königlich Ungarischen Nation am Saustrom, oder ein so genandter Sauströmer" (Augsburg, ca. 1742).

Frontier". This system formally began in 1578 to combat Ottoman expansion into Hungary and offered special privileges to refugees from Ottoman territories to settle and be placed under military command.[69] Lands were allocated directly by the monarchy and organized around generalcies located in fortress towns founded specifically for defence, such as *Karlstadt* (Karlovac) and *Warasdin* (Varaždin). Regiments were organized around other towns founded for that purpose, such as *Militär Sanct Georgen* (Đurđevac), or in regions, such as Lika in modern Croatia. A Habsburg military code of 1754 reveals the strict requirements imposed upon communities in the borderland:

> Since they enjoy Imperial privileges, all able-bodied males are bound to render service and are subject to military jurisdiction. The statutes bind them to carry out military training… Whoever refuses these duties will incur the loss of privileges, and, according to circumstances, physical punishment or the death penalty.[70]

Contemporary European observers directly connected the incredibly strict and impoverished conditions of life with the border soldier's reputation for strength, hardiness, and courage. Former Prussian officer Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz commented that,

> Their territories are characterized by sandy and rather barren soil, many woods which are inhabited by wild beasts, by a chain of mountains and by a climate of extremes. But these are the very conditions which harden the already large and strong frames of the Croats, accustom them to all hardships that life can offer, and form them into soldiers. In this backward land the people must hunt in order to live, and this circumstance compels them to brave every danger. Hence their great courage.[71]

It's notable that this narrative echoes verbatim many of the claims made about these border soldiers in the *Theatre* collection, though with some "colorful" additions:

[69] Christopher Duffy, *The Army of Maria Theresa* (Hippocrene Books, 1977). pp. 82.
[70] K.E. Warnery, *Campagnes de Frederic II, Roi de Prusse,* (Amsterdam, 1788). pp 127-8. translated and cited in Christopher Duffy, *The Army of Maria Theresa* (Hippocrene Books, 1977). pp. 89.
[71] Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz, *Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges (*1783), pp. 226-7. translated in Duffy, *The Army of Maria Theresa*. pp. 89-90.

These men come from an imagined "backward land" filled with wild beasts and climactic extremes, an environment that makes them especially "hardy" and suitable for warfare. Other claims, such as that they are capable of putting up with hunger and thirst, echo those made in the collection. Image number 28, "*Der bey geringer und schlechter Kost, vergnügte* Pandur *und* Croat," shows a "Pandur" and a "Croat" tolerating terrible food that would make a regular man sick [see fig. 5].[72] The *Theatre* collection and contemporaries also all agree that these men were extraordinarily motivated. Archenholz writes that: "In their love for fatherland and prince no people surpass them."[73] Print number 25 [A Pandur Ensign with his Flag Bearer] [see fig. 6] echoes this, asserting that:

> Pandurs are a people so properly born to war
> And are armed as best as possible
> When once full of Courage at the flag they swear,
> They hold fast their allegiance to the blood.[74]

Unfortunately no firsthand accounts of such soldiers actually exist, so it is impossible to verify these claims. However, it's worth questioning this hyperbole, which

[72] Martin Engelbrecht, #28 "*Der bey geringer und schlechter Kost, vergnügte* Pandur *und* Croat," (Augsburg, ca. 1742).
"Whatever one from youth, for food accepts,
It is so rough and coarse, that [he] finds [it] the best instead,
There some is so bad, and would make you sick,
So it tastes instead wholly felicitous to the Pandur and Croat."
[*Was man von Jugend auf, an Speisen angenommen,*
Es sey so rauh und grob, das find am besten statt,
Da manchem es gar schlecht, und übel wurd bekommen.
So schmeckts doch trefflich wohl dem Pandur *und* Croat.]

[73] Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz, *Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges (*1783), pp. 226-7. translated in Duffy, *The Army of Maria Theresa*. pp. 89-90.

[74] Martin Engelbrecht, #25 "*Ein* Panduren *Fähnrich mit seinem Fahnen Träger*," (Augsburg, ca. 1742).
[Panduren *sind ein Volck so recht züm Krieg gebohren,*
Und werden noch darzu bewaffnet aüf das best,
Wenn einmal voller Müth züm Fahnen sie geschworen,
So halten biß aufs Blut sie auch die Treue fest.]

serves to argue for the deterministically "natural" military employment for these foreign others.[75]

How?

How was collection made?

The *Theatre* collection is a series of copperplate engravings. This uses flattened, cleaned, and polished copper plates as a base medium on which lines are carefully scratched and carved out with a steel tool, called a "burin".[76] Recessed areas are then filled with ink and the plate is pressed onto a sheet of paper to reproduce the image. This craftwork required prolonged study under a master's tuition, and Peter Stoll suggests that this made copperplate engraving time-consuming, costly, and not suited for everyday purposes.[77]

Print publication was a proto-industrial process which required a number of specialized artists and craftsmen, not to mention a wide network to produce materials, tools, inks, and paints.[78] After printing, an illuminist [*Briefmaler*] and member of the Augsburg painter's guild was likely contracted to color the prints according to a stencil.[79]

[75] This argument also has notable similarities with early climactic theories of human diversity, by which the character of the physical environment determines the character and even appearance of human populations.
[76] David Pankow, *Tempting the Palette: A Survey of Color Printing Processes*, (RIT Cary Graphic Arts Press, 2005): 8.
Engravings can also be made by carving upon wood blocks, or by applying acids to etch the copperplate, but the *Theatre* collection seems to only have used burin engraving.
[77] Stoll, "Empire of Prints," pp. 18.
[78] Robert Darnton, "What Is the History of Books?" Daedalus 111, 3 (1982), 65-83.
This craftwork had close connections with both armor decoration and goldsmithing due to shared methods and tools, and it is no coincidence that Augsburg, which had been a center for armor decoration in the sixteenth century due to the patronage of Emperor Maximilian I, became a center for this labor intensive and highly technical art. James Clifton, "'To showe to posteritie the manner of souldiers apparel:' Arms and Armor in European Prints." *Knights in Shining Armor: Myth and Reality 1450-1650* by Ida Sinkević, (Bunker Hill Publishing, Inc., 2006).
[79] In 1735, there were about 200 painters in Augsburg.
Stoll, "Empire of Prints," pp. 19.

How was the collection used?

Surviving prints are in some sense a "litmus test" for what was considered meaningful or valuable. Prints which were neither entertaining, beautiful, or useful would not have been purchased or saved in most cases, so extent prints are revealing of contemporary tastes. They could have been used in a number of different ways: as decoration, as paper toys for children, for the craft of paper-cutting, as models for other craft decorations, and as collectables.[80] These prints were made with an indexical numbering system, which is significant because indexability presents a valuation of the collection as a whole rather than as cheap or disposable decoration individual images.[81] This is supported by the fact that at least three of the known collections were subsequently bound as books by collectors.[82]

The transformation of individual prints by gathering them into collections fundamentally alters their character, making them more stable, accessible, and

[80] A. Hyatt Mayor describes the use of prints as pasted decoration in his work *Prints & People: A Social History of Printed Pictures* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1971), images 87-93.
An example of prints as toys is provided by Engelbrecht's many "peep-box" theatres with cut-out figures that could be posed in a three dimensional perspective. An example of this may be "Bear Hunting" (Augsburg, ca. 1750), Antiquariaat Schierenberg, https://www.biblio.com/ephemera/bear-hunting-paper-peepshow/d/1090022657?dcx=1090022657
See also: Suzanne Kathleen Karr Schmidt, *Interactive and Sculptural Printmaking in the Renaissance* (Brill 2017).
Michael Yonan discusses the eighteenth century recreational craft of *découpage* or paper cutting in his work *Maria Theresia and The Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art* (The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), pp. 138. In this art, printed papers could be cut in beautiful ways, reassembled, and pasted as decoration for rooms or objects. It is plausible that *Theatre* prints could have been repurposed for this recreational craft.
Similar costume prints were also used as stencils in the decoration of ceramic ware.
Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, "Graphic Sources for Meissen Porcelain," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 31 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996): 106.
[81] A brief examination of the early modern costume book productions depicting the Ottoman Balkans listed previously suggests that numbering systems were relatively uncommon prior to the eighteenth century.
[82] These are the Heeresgeschichtliches Museum collection, the Brown University collection, and the Antiquariat INLIBRIS Gilhofer Nfg. GmbH collection.

valuable.[83] Collecting employs distinct methods of engaging with the prints, including selecting, cutting, and pasting them into books, or having them bound professionally.[84]

The treatment of a contemporary print collection shows a similar flexibility in valuation and ultimate utilization. In 1766, copies of Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville's production of prints depicting all the known peoples of the world was placed on auction. The publisher Pierre Remy made it clear that despite the fame and cultural significance of the artist, the collection would be sold as individual folios if a single buyer could not be found. "If buyers are found for the entirety it will be sold in one lot, if not it will be divided into as many pieces as it merits, which will be sold over the course of the last day of the sale of prints."[85] The business of print publishing required that compromises to the integrity of a collection be made in order to guarantee profitability. Fortunately, Dezallier's contemporaries recognized the higher value of these prints as a visual record of global costume rather than as individual sheets, and one buyer purchased all four volumes for 179 *livres*.[86] This story shows that despite commercial conditions which frequently treated prints as ephemeral products to be sold

[83] This becomes apparent from the vast difference in relative value between decontextualized loose prints, the vast majority of which almost certainly were sold to become rags, and the bound collections which today are sold for over 20,000 euros.

[84] Maureen Cassidy-Geiger suggests that to save paper, printers sometimes printed multiple plates on one page and collectors later cut them out, with the added benefit of requiring both prints to be purchased together.
Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, "Graphic Sources for Meissen Porcelain," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 31 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996): 108.

[85] Pierre Remy, *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, estampes, coquilles, & autres curiosités; après le décès de feu M. Dezalier d'Argenville, maître des comptes, & membre des sociétés royales des sciences de Londres & Monpellier*, (Paris, 3 March 1766) pp. 111. Translated in David Pullins "Dezallier d'Argenvilles Recueils of Costume Prints Rediscovered" *Print Quarterly, XXXIII*, (2016), pp. 150.

[86] Ibid. 150.
It is hard to place a precise value on late-eighteenth century money due to rampant inflation and the often great difference between the value of common objects (like bread) from then and today.
In 1766 the amount of silver in a *livre tournois* was about 4.5 grams, valued today at about 4 US Dollars. This would make Argenvilles' collection worth about $660, though the value of silver fluctuates constantly.
Exchange rates, prices, and wages 1277-2008, edited by Rodney Edvinsson, Tor Jacobson, and Daniel Waldenstrom (Bulls Graphics in Halmstad, 2010), pp. 254.

separately, in the mid-to-late eighteenth century, artists and publishers could transcend this by producing works of sufficient intellectual value to merit their sale as unitary luxury goods. It may be that Engelbrecht, in producing the *Theatre* collection with a beautifully decorated title page and indexical numbering system, hoped to achieve this (more profitable) collectivity.

After Engelbrechts death, some of his original engraved copperplates were sold to a Venetian publisher "Reimondini," likely when they were no longer of value for reprinting.[87] It is unclear whether this included the original *Theatre* collection.

How might have Engelbrecht accessed the soldiers he depicted?

The first irregular Slavonian irregulars likely arrived in Bavaria in 1741, and a group of these foreign soldiers seems to have camped in Friedburg on the outskirts of Augsburg close to the time of the collection's publication.[88] They built small huts of pine boughs to sleep in which were visible to curious visitors for some time after, and it is quite likely that this was the source for at least two images: #38 "*Ein in seinem Zelt vergnügter Pandur mit seiner Famiglie*" which depicts a Pandur family resting in a shelter made of pine boughs, and #19 "*Ein Wallachischer Tolpatsch mit seiner Feld Equipage*" which describes how one Wallachian footsoldier is used to sleeping on the ground without shelter like "marauders" [*merodeurs*] [see fig. 7].[89] Additionally, the

[87] Cassidy-Geiger. "Graphic Sources for Meissen Porcelain." footnote 34, citing Mario Infelise and Paola Marini, *Remondini / Un Editore del Settecento,* (Milan, 1990): 227, in note to no. 13.
Engelbrecht's son-in-law Christian Wilhelm continued the publishing house after his death, so the sale of certain copperplates may be due to a number of causes including a need for cash, a shifting focus of production, or a reduced value of certain designs in the German market (compared to the Italian one).
[88] Balić, "In her Majesty's Service" 268.
[89] This is described in a small handwritten note within an incomplete copy of the collection in the Augsburg Stadtbibliothek, identified by Friedrich Schott in 1924:
[Augsburg, Stadtbibl. Kst. Engelbrecht. Im Umschlag des Heftes ein Ex libris: Volckertische Liberai, auf dem Schutzblatt handschriftlich:

costumes of the figures in the collection are specific and detailed enough to assume that Engelbrecht or his artists saw them firsthand, quite possibly in Friedberg.

Why

Why was this collection produced?

Though this is skewed by the higher survivability of certain prints rather than others, it seems characteristic of Engelbrecht's publishing output that images are produced as part of distinct collections for practical purposes. These include Rococo designs for artisans, paper toys for children, religious icons and portraits of rulers presumably used for home decoration, and series meant for entertainment or public interest including images of craft professions composed of their tools, comical dwarves, and a series of large allegories of the various (ethnic) "Nations" of Europe.[90] This begs the question: what purpose did the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* Collection serve?

Diese nachfolgende Königlich-ungarisches Miliz schlugen nicht weit von Friedberg Anno 1742, ♃ d. 7. und 8. Juny. ein Lager auf, doch ohne Zelter, nur Hütten von Tannen Zweig. aber ♀ d. 8. in der Nacht marschierten sie wider fort in Bayern hinein daß also d. 9. am ♄ nur noch die Hütten zu sehen waren. Darunter Skizze einer solchen; t. u.: "Diese 20 Blatt hat I: V: A. 42 vom Verleger gekaufft und ein binden lassen.]
"This subsequent Royal Hungarian militia struck not far from Friedberg in 1742, Jupiter 7th and 8th of June [?] a camp, but without a tent, only huts of fir branches. but on Venus [August?] 8th they marched away into Bavaria that night so that d. 9. on Saturn only the huts could be seen. Including a sketch of one; r. u .: 'I: V: Anno 42 bought these 20 sheets from the publisher and had them bound.'"
Schott is probably referencing Martin Engelbrecht, *Abbildungen der Königl. Ungarischen Miliz, welche Anno 1742 unweit Friedberg lagerte* (Augsburg, 1742) Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, 4 Kst 605, https://sbaoz2.bib-bvb.de/00/bvnr/BV011601534
Friedrich Schott, *Der Augsburger Kupferstecher und Kunstverleger Martin Engelbrecht und seine Nachfolger. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Augsburger Kunst- und Buchhandels von 1719 bis 1896.* (Schlosser, Augsburg 1924), pp. 116-117.

[90] Portraits of rulers:
Martin Engelbrecht, "S. Maria, Veni coronaberis. Komme, du wirst gekrönet werden," (ca. 1750), 33,5 x 23,8 cm. Source: Antiquariat Thomas Rezek #60336
https://www.abebooks.com/servlet/BookDetailsPL?bi=22478124533&searchurl=n%3D200000080%26sortby%3D17%26tn%3Dengelbrecht%2Bmartin&cm_sp=snippet-_-srp2-_-title2
M. Engelbrecht, "Maria Anna, archiduciβa Austrice," (ca. 1745.), Source: Donald A. Heald Rare Books and Maps catalogue #15093 http://www.donaldheald.com/
Comical dwarves:
Martin Engelbrecht (attributed to), "De joodse dwerg Natan Hirschl," (ca. 1710) and Martin Engelbrecht, "De dwerg Bartholdus Gursalkawiz als pelgrim uit Compostella," (ca. 1710) in *Il Callotto resurcitato oder Neu eingerichtes*

In choosing to depict the colorful and exotic soldiers fighting in the ongoing war of Austrian Succession, Engelbrecht was clearly tapping into the curiosity and excitement of European spectators to the conflict. An anonymous pamphlet published in Augsburg in 1745 details some of this excitement:

> Where one saw only Hungarians or other peoples of [Maria Theresia] on the March, these with many wishes have been accompanied… Wherever you heard that some Hungarian troops showed up; so you waited in curiosity for them, and wanted to get to know them.[91]

It is clear that the subject matter would have been commercially successful, but what of the textual and visual rhetoric this thesis analyzes? It is likely that he or his draftsmen could have been exposed to such ideas from living in a cultural hub like Augsburg, but why might they have attempted to present these borderlands soldiers in such a politically and intellectually engaged way?

Zwerchen Cabinet. Paper. Source: Rijksmuseum Collection. http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.478560 and http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.478526 respectively.
Another publication under the same name was published in Amsterdam by Wilhelm Engelbert Konig in 1716, and the attribution to Engelbrecht may be mistaken. The dwarves were inspired by caricatures by Jacques Callot first published in 1616. See: Antiquariat Steffen Völkel GmbH Rare Books catalogue https://steffenvoelkel.com/grotesque-caricatures-of-dwarfs-inspired-by-jacques-callot
Paper cut-out toys for children: M. Engelbrecht, "Paper Theater or Diorama of an Italianate Villa and Garden," (c. 1730–56), Etching and watercolor. Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jefferson R. Burdick Bequest, (2014). https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/651671
M. Engelbrecht, "untitled [Two Women]" (ca. 1740-1750), Hand-colored engraving. [two women dueling with pistols, with flowers, birds, and a bee.] *Archivio Libreria Antiquaria Bourlot - Torino.* *https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%22Two_women%22._Augsburg,_Martin_Engelbrecht,_1740_-_1750_circa.jpg*
M. Engelbrecht, "Flower Gardener" (ca. 1730). Hand-colored engraving. (32.07 x 20.32 cm) (plate). *The Minnich Collection, The Ethel Morrison Van Derlip Fund,* (1966). https://collections.artsmia.org/art/61310
In the image, the gardener stands next to a print of a flower bed layout, signifying another potential use for prints, as providing models for home garden designers. These craftspeople images likely had an additional educational utility, in that all of the tools and objects they wear related to their craft are labeled and explained in both French and German.

[91] Anonymous, "*Die Untersuchung der Frage Warum die Konigin in Ungarn so ausserordentlich geliebet werde"* (Augsburg, 1745), pp. A4 reverse and B1.
[wo man nur Ungarn oder andere Völcker der von Ihr auf dem March sahe, diese mit vielen Wünschen begleitet worden]
[wo man nur hörte, daß einige Ungarische Trouppen sich sehen liessen ; so wartete die Neugierigkeit auf sie, und wollte sie kennen lernen]

First, Engelbrecht was nominally a subject of the Habsburg dynasty for almost his entire life, and likely felt some loyalty toward the young queen. Second, by 1742, Engelbrecht was the head of a large publishing house employing a number of artists and craftsmen, and able to focus on more ambitious and artistically challenging projects.[92] He was a master craftsman approaching 60 years old, likely thinking about his legacy, and he may have been searching for a production in which to make a statement. The ambition of the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* suggests this to be more than a purely economic enterprise, and I argue that it should instead be seen as an attempt by Engelbrecht to leave an artistic testament to his creativity, skill, and vision.

A third potential factor may have been connected to his role as a member of the city council of Augsburg after about 1743. In such an important political role, he may have perhaps felt that a strong political message in favor of Maria Theresia (his new nominal sovereign) and her empire to be a wise choice.

The last, and I suggest most likely factor involved in the decision to engrave these figures was his lifelong reputation for invention. After his death, a contemporary Augsburger, Paul von Stetten, eulogized him, writing that;

> Your publishing house has become well-known and famous due to your own diligence and other work, and especially the illuminated painting and cut-out pictures were very well received. A lot is, if not because of the art, but because of the invention…[93]

[92] This is demonstrated by another collection very similar in style to the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere*: the "New Assembly of Artists, Craftsmen, and Professions Dressed in their Tools" or [*Assemblage nouveau des Manouvries habilles. Neu-eröffnet Samlung der mit Ihren eigenen Arbeiten und Werckzeugen eingekleideten Künstlern, Handwerckern und Professionen*] (ca. 1730).
This was a collection of workers literally composed of the tools of their trade in the style of Nicolas de Larmessin's *Les Costumes grotesques et les métiers*. The two collections share a number of stylistic similarities, including a rococo title-page, and were likely published around the same period.

[93] Paul von Stetten, "Kunst- Gewerb- und Handwerks Geschichte der Reichs-Stadt Augsburg," (Augsburg 1779): 398. in *Erläuterungen der in Kupfer gestochenen Vorstellungen, aus der Geschichte der Reichsstadt Augsburg. In historischen Briefen an ein Frauenzimmer.* (Augsburg 1765): 221.
[Ihr Verlag wurde durch eigenen Fleiß und anderer Arbeit ansehnlich und berühmt, und zumal fanden die illuminierten Lackier- und Ausschneidbilder sehr guten Abgang. Sehr vieles ist, wo nicht wegen der Kunst, doch wegen der Erfindung, sehr achtungswürdig, wann schon dien Veränderung der Sitten und Moden ihm nicht mehr

As von Stetten highlights, creativity characterized Engelbrecht's efforts, and it may explain why he would have been interested in using the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* to engage with philosophy and emotion to propose new political ideas.

Conclusions

This overview of the contexts and materiality of the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* raise several basic observations, the most important of which that this was a uniquely ambitious artistic endeavor. From drawing over one hundred and fifty unique images, to composing rhyming poems for each figure, to numbering and brightly painting each print; a considerable amount of care and attention was dedicated to this production. This may reveal changing consumer practices and a higher value for print collectibles in the mid eighteenth century, but it also shows a strong artistic self-assuredness by Martin Engelbrecht and his workshop. As the following chapters show, this collection employs a textual and visual rhetoric of otherness informed by Enlightenment thinking and Rococo aesthetics to engage with preexisting ideas in cutting-edge ways. Augsburg, as a center of book printing, was particularly exposed to these ideas, and I argue that these unique spatial qualities likely provided the Engelbrecht workshop the proximity, freedom, and flexibility to produce this unique work.

den Abgang verschaffen, den solche Bilder ehedem gehabt haben, und viele sind zum ersten Unterricht der Kinder von sehr gutem Gebrauche.]
This was likely a reference to his innovative cut-out-theatre productions discussed in footnote 62.

Chapter 2: Emotional "Otherness" and Maria Theresia

Introduction

As noted in the introduction, emotions are an exceptionally frequent element of the rhetoric employed to characterize the soldiers in the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere*.[94] This is a textual feature found in the poetic quatrains which caption each print. A statistical analysis of these texts supports this observation, as 57 of the 117 or so prints I have been able to access (out of the 151 total) contain an emotional noun or adjective, such as "courage" [*Muth*], "bravery" [*Tapfferkeit*], or "faithfulness" [*Treüe* or *Fidelement*]. Passionate descriptions of cheerfulness despite hard conditions, joy when plundering and fighting, and fiery anger when aroused enliven these figures, and add interpretive depth to the printed scenes.

Why were these figures so frequently described in emotional terms? What does this characterization "do" for the collection as a whole?

As the following sections show, emotionality was a topic of great interest in the early-enlightenment and Baroque. It was frequently employed in literature and art to encapsulate national and cultural differences, and later to define otherness in European semi-colonial subject populations in the Balkans. Within the collection it is used in three specific ways: to render otherness, to assert these men to be especially effective

[94] The study of emotions in history is a quite developed field, with major contributions by Sarah Ahmed, Ute Frevert, and Jan Plamper to name a few. A major point of contention within this topic is the terminology around emotion, passion, and affect. While these authors each propose their own systems to understanding and refer to emotion, this thesis uses these terms interchangeably.
Sarah Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh University Press, 2004).
Ute Frevert, *Emotions in History Lost and Found* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011).
Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions* edited by Ute Frevert and Thomas Dixon (Oxford University Press, 2012).
Barbara Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani, *What is the History of Emotions?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2018).

soldiers, but also to establish an affective-motivational relationship between these men and their queen. This inserts an imperial dynamic into the collection, which seems to connect with previous seventeenth century debates around and within the court of Louis XIV proposing a reformulation of absolutist rule based on affect and passion. Thus, I argue that Engelbrecht chose to structure the emotionality of these men around an absolute affective relationship with their queen, whose royal magnetism provides the emotional basis in which these "wild men" are successfully incorporated into empire as soldiers.

Chapter Roadmap:

This chapter first examines the early-modern fascination with emotions. This includes a literary tradition of rendering "national" and communal otherness using emotional stereotypes, as well as a practical example from the Venetian Balkans of defining borderlands communities according to imagined emotionality. This context helps to explain why emotions were featured so prominently in the collection.

Next, the chapter analyzes a number of poetic texts featuring emotionality to draw conclusions about how it is used in the *Theatre* collection. This invites a comparison with a similar artistic proposal during the seventeenth century to reformulate French absolutism into more legitimate reciprocity of passions.

Finally, I analyze an anonymous political pamphlet of 1745 which speaks of Maria Theresia in ways that mirror this earlier "affective subjecthood" idea, and which invokes the queen's gender as a cause for devotion. Viewing the expressions of love and affection within the *Theatre* collection from this perspective, it becomes clear that though Maria Theresia never appears in person in the prints, her affective power over

these men supersedes all other relationships. Thus, as well as providing the ultimate motivating force which makes these wild men good soldiers, this collection implies her as having absolute sovereignty over the passions of her subjects. It also seems to reflexively characterize her and her state as being especially emotional, and thus capable of incorporating passionate subject others.

The Early-Modern Fascination with Emotions:

Le Brun's Passions and the *Conférence sur l'expression*:

While emotions have probably always been one of the most important topics of art and philosophy, interest in understanding them was especially strong in the seventeenth century. Baroque art at this time began to focus intensely on the sensate and material experience of the world in order to "[act] upon the soul/mind through the body."[95] The religious motivation for this philosophy of embodied sensitivity should not be understated. Produced in the context of religious upheaval and the Counter-Reformation, Baroque art has been characterized by its rhetoric of persuasion whose pragmatic intent "is not only an added dimension to the art work, but constitutes its very *raison d'être*."[96] By provoking the sensate passions, as through art and music, it was seen as possible to access the inner soul.

This was made feasible by the Cartesian system of (mentally) embodied selfhood, which directly connected the soul (or mind) with the workings of the body. In his 1649 "Treatise on the passions of the soul" [*Traité des passions de l'âme*], René

[95] Walter Moser paraphrases Lacan here.
Walter Moser, "The Concept of Baroque" *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* Vol. 33, No. 1, (Autumn, 2008). pp. 25-6.
[96] Moser, "The Concept of Baroque" pp. 25.

Descartes asserted that "the passions of the soul are 'confused thoughts, which the mind does not derive from itself alone but experiences as a result of something happening to the body with which it is closely conjoined.'"[97] He elaborates upon this, identifying "six primitive passions – admiration or wonder, love, hate, desire, joy, and sadness" and situating them within an "elaborate taxonomy of the functions of the soul."[98]

Just a few decades later, this idea was adopted and publicized by no less a figure than Charles le Brun, "first artist" to King Louis XIV. On 28 March 1668, le Brun gave a famous lecture, the "Lecture on general and specific expressions" [*Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière*] in which he adapted the idea of categorizing distinct emotions for the arts under a similar framework.[99] This lecture was based upon the expressions of characters within his famous painting, *Les reines de Perse aux pieds d'Alexandre* painted in 1660 or 1661:

> *Les reins de Perse* portrays the scene following Alexander's victory against Darius III of Persia at the battle of Issus... Alexander, accompanied by his favorite Hephaestion, visits the pavilion of his royal prisoners: Darius's mother, Sysigambis, and his wife and daughters. The women, who have never seen Alexander, take the more imposing figure of the king's favorite for the king himself and prostrate themselves at the feet of the wrong man.[100]

[97] René Descartes, *Principles of Philosophy* VIII-A (1649) translated and quoted in Sean Greenberg, "Descartes on the Passions. Function, Representation, and Motivation" *Noûs, Dec., 2007, Vol. 41, No. 4* (Wiley, 2007). pp. 714.
[98] Stephanie Ross, "Painting the Passions: Charles LeBrun's Conference Sur L'Expression" *Journal of the History of Ideas, Jan. - Mar., 1984, Vol. 45, No. 1* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984). pp. 27-8.
His ultimate aim with the Traité was to model the "proper function" of the passions, which is to "'strengthen and preserve' thoughts" and maintain reason as a driving force for human will (rather than be "overcome" by passion). Sean Greenberg, "Descartes on the Passions. Function, Representation, and Motivation" *Noûs, Dec., 2007, Vol. 41, No. 4* (Wiley, 2007). pp. 725-7.
[99] The premier art-historical study of this lecture is Jennifer Montagu's *The Expression of the Passions: The Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's Conférence Sur L'expression Générale Et Particulière* (Yale University Press, 1994).
[100] Chloé Hogg, "Loving Alexander, or The Emotions of Absolutism" *Absolutist Attachments: Emotion, Media, and Absolutism in Seventeenth-Century France* (Northwestern University Press,). pp. 21.

They swiftly correct themselves after the correct Alexander is pointed out, and with a variety of expressions, express their newfound feelings toward their recognized conqueror.

Les reines de Perse singlehandedly established le Brun's reputation and has been credited with inspiring Louis XIV's lifelong interest in and patronage of the arts, as well as le Brun's appointment as First Painter to the king.[101] Modern scholars have hailed this as a "'manifesto' of French classical art," and it launched one of the first important iconographical programs for the young sovereign. Its appeal and achievement seemst to have been, in the words of royal historiographer André Félibien, "in its representation of '*une infinité de belles expressions*' (an infinity of beautiful expressions) that rendered the tableau, 'incomparable.'"[102]

Seven years later, le Brun's lecture on the painting provides arguments which echo Descartes', but modify them for the aesthetic priorities of painting. Perfected expressions on the faces of characters "[mark] the movements of the soul," and "[render] visible the effects of passion."[103] This is necessary for the work to achieve unity and verisimilitude, two of the key rules for Academic history-painting, yet le Brun goes further, postulating an absolutism of expression apparently without individual variations.[104] Thus, where Descartes claims that the external signs of anger differ according to personal temperament and according to the combination of other passions

[101] ibid. 22.
[102] André Félibien footnote 13 cited in Hogg, "Loving Alexander". pp. 24.
[103] Charles le Brun, *Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière* (lecture: 28 March 1668) translated and quoted in Peter Sahlins, "Animal Faces: Charles Le Brun and the Physiognomy of the Passions" in *1668: The Year of the Animal in France* (Zone Books, 2007). pp. 201.
[104] Stephanie Ross, "Painting the Passions: Charles LeBrun's Conference Sur L'Expression" Journal of the History of Ideas , Jan. - Mar., 1984, Vol. 45, No. 1 (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984). pp. 47.

experienced, le Brun specifies with astonishing detail exactly how anger should be depicted.[105]

This conference and the work of art which inspired it are relevant for the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* for two reasons. First, le Brun's typology of expressions was enormously popular and the faces of *Les reines de Perse* were copied for more than two centuries. Engelbrecht published a reprint with German and French text side-by-side in 1732, and the exaggerated visual expressions le Brun advocated show marked similarities with the faces of the *Theatre* collection [see fig. 8].[106] Second, the *Les reines de Perse* contains deeper political significations which will become important later in the chapter.

Emotions for Othering:

Besides this fascination, emotions in the early-modern period had a practical function: the representation of alterity. In his study "The Poetics and Anthropology of National Character," Joep Leerson identifies a frequent habit in European literature, beginning as early as 1561, of conceiving of national difference in emotional terms. He asserts that this ordering of identity based upon temperaments, personality-traits, and characters "dominated the literary imagination and suffused all of European literature."[107] While a seemingly impossible claim to defend, he cites a long list of examples of "systematized" "contrastive matrices" across the early-modern centuries up through the Enlightenment and well into the twentieth century.

[105] Ross, "Painting the Passions" pp. 32.
[106] Moshe Barasch, *Modern Theories of Art 2: From Impressionism to Kandinsky* (NYU Press, 1998). pp. 94-5. Charles le Brun, *Expressions des passions de l'Ame*, published by Martin Engelbrecht (Augsburg, 1732), *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/376816
[107] Leerssen, "The poetics and anthropology of national character" [no page numbers- cited from the end of the section entitled "*The systematics of national character*"].

While it seems anachronistic to refer to Nations prior to nationalism, Diderot's *Encyclopedie* provides two definitions for the term in its 1765 edition: Much like our current definition, "*Nation*" when capitalized is "a word used to describe a considerable number of people, who live on a specified portion of land enclosed within particular borders, and who obey the same government." By contrast, each (uncapitalized) "*nation*" has its own character: "the genre of the proverb tells us so: carefree as a Frenchman, jealous as an Italian, serious as a Spaniard, wicked as an Englishman, proud as a Scotsman, drunk as a German, lazy as an Irishman, duplicitous as a Greek, etc.[108] Thus, even without *Nations,* there can apparently exist *national characters* defined by stereotype emotions.

Another clear example of emotional "national character" is demonstrated by the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century visual art genre of *Völkertafel* or "Table of Nations," which compiled existing stereotypes about the "nations" of Europe into a large visual matrix.[109] *Völkertafel* were produced in a number of painted and printed versions in Habsburg Southern Germany and Austria, and arranged "nations" left-to-right on a broadly east-to-west axis. One famous example is the mid-eighteenth century "Styrian Table of Nations" or *Steirische Völkertafel* by an unknown artist from Styria in what is now southern Austria.[110] Martin Engelbrecht also published his own highly decorated *Völkertafel,* the *Laconicum Europae Speculum*.[111] These list the various "nations" of

[108] "Nation" s.v. *The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*, translated by Sujaya Dhanvantari (Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, University of Michigan Library, 2005), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0000.095 (accessed January 3, 2021). Originally published as "Nation" *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, 11:36 (Paris, 1765).
[109] I'd like to thank Izidor Janžekovič for bringing this topic to my attention.
[110] Unknown Artist, "*Steirische Völkertafel*" (ca. 1750) Volkskundemuseum Wien November,https://www.volkskundemuseum.at/onlinesammlungen/oemv30905
[111] Martin Engelbrecht, "Laconicum Europae Speculum, Quo IX. Illius Praecipuae Nationes Et Populi, Absque Omni Praeiudicio, Ludibrio Et Opprobrio, Saltem Curiositatis Et Oblectationis Gratia, Certis Characteribus Et

Europe, including French, German, Spanish, Hungarians, etc.; and their various characteristics, such as "physical build," what sort of animal they resemble, "clothing, manners, eating habits, language, discretion, education, religion, etc."[112]

These examples from literature and art demonstrate a systematic habit of rendering the otherness of national character in emotional terms. Yet these went beyond the realm of art and culture to inform the day-to-day policy of contemporary colonialist efforts in Venetian Dalmatia.

Venice and the Dalmatians

Perhaps nowhere in Europe did the confrontation between central states and subject "Others" play a more critical role than within the Central and Eastern European empires facing upon the Balkans. This region had a long history as a shifting battleground in a vast inter-imperial conflict between the Habsburg, Venetian, and Ottoman Empires. Following Ottoman defeats in 1699 and 1718, the Habsburg monarchy conquered large regions in the Northern Balkans, and Venice solidified control over the Dalmatian hinterlands along the Adriatic coast. These states now found themselves masters of communities which had lived for centuries on a fluid borderland, the so-called "Triplex Confinium," and were confronted with new intellectual and administrative demands to better understand and assert control over these culturally foreign militarized groups.[113] Yet the realities of rule over multi-cultural and formerly little-known communities also provoked a fundamental cultural re-evaluation, as these

Symbolis Discernuntur, Ob Oculos Positum, Augustae Vindelicorum," (Augsburg, ca. 1730). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

[112] Leerssen, "The poetics and anthropology of national character" [no page numbers- cited from the end of the section entitled "*The systematics of national character*"].

[113] *Constructing Border Societies on the Triplex Confinium*, ed. Drago Roksandic and Natasa Stefanic (Central European University: Budapest, 2000).

encounters with difference also engendered discourses of communal "otherness" in relation to familiar selfhood.

While the *Theatre* collection seems to address some these topics and questions from the Habsburg standpoint, a valuable contemporary comparison is provided by Venetian writers commenting on their own Dalmatian imperial project. As Larry Wolff describes in his book *Venice and the Slavs: The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment*, Venetian writers and military administrators developed a semi-colonial discourse which defined these new subject populations in ways which justified their subjugation.

The communities in question were the semi-nomadic *Morlacchi,* who make a small appearance in the *Theatre* collection as *Morlack*s, appearing in just two images but testifying to their presence on the Habsburg side of the shared border.[114] In a 1747 speech to the Great Council of Venice, the former administrator of Dalmatia painted the *Morlacchi* as being characteristically "unhappy" due to the economic misery of their province. By definition, the "unhappy" [*infelice*] *Morlacco* is "a people crafty from need and ferocious by nature," altogether distinct from noble and valorous Dalmatians.[115] Wolff makes very clear here that the distinction between the two groups was strictly a product of Venetian rule, such that "the Dalmatians were characterized as Morlacchi when they were seen as unhappy and ferocious, victims of poverty and perpetrators of violence," but when depicted as heroic and loyal subjects in theatre and opera, these

[114] Engelbrecht, #13 "*Ein Morlak mit seiner ganzen Rüstung*" and Engelbrecht, #40 "*Andere* Postur *eines Morlacken*,"
[115] Marco Foscarini, "*Degl'inquisitori da spedirsi nella Dalmazia*" (*Orazionne detta nel Maggior Consiglio il giorno* 17 December 1747), in *Marco Foscarini e Venezia nel secolo XVIII*, ed. Emilio Morpurgo (Florence: Successori Le Monnier, 1880), pp. 220-21. In Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs*, pp. 129.

same figures could only be Dalmatian.[116] The distinction between the two, one "domesticated" by centuries of direct rule and the other "newly acquired," is primarily made visible by their alleged emotionality. While Wolff argues that this othering was formulated as part of an intellectual "demi-Orientalism by which the Enlightenment discovered Eastern Europe," the specific terminology which these commenters employed to register difference was explicitly emotional rather than civilizational.[117] In the culture of the European enlightenment, it seems that othering easily slipped into a discourse on civilizational hierarchies directed to serve political ends, yet it remained grounded in an older discourse of emotional otherness.

These contexts help to explain why emotions might have featured so prominently in the collection. Emotions and their expression were ingrained in the culture and art of the seventeenth century, and saw specific use in defining subject otherness in a community and region practically identical to those depicted in the *Theatre de la Milice* etrangere just a few years after it was published. Turning now to the portrayals of emotionality in the collection itself, what do these portrayals say, and how are they used?

Quantitative Analysis of Emotions in the *Theatre*:

When ordered by type of soldier, some sense can be made of the specific groups and their emotional representation. *Pandur*s, the largest group, are described as "courageous" in seven images, "brave" or "undaunted" in five images, "faithful" to the flag or to the queen in three images, and "happy" or "cheerful" when eating food,

[116] Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs*, pp. 129.
[117] Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs*, pp. 9.

especially garlic.[118] *Tolpatch*es, the second largest portion, are described as courageous in four images, brave in one, and cheerful or with a 'laughing heart' in the hope of plunder and reward in two images.[119] *Berg Schotten* or "Mountain" Scots are emphasized as brave in three images, courageous or "with a Lion's heart" in three, and occasionally as honorable and disciplined, but also as extremely furious and angry.[120] *Husarn*, including Prussian Death-Head Hussars, Prussian *Uhlan*s, "Brown" hussars, and members of Habsburg "Free Companies" are brave and dauntless, but their speed, capacity to kill, and especially the fear they invoke in enemies are highlighted. One image notes that they do not give enemies quarter, and expect no quarter given if captured.[121] It should also be noted that most images of Hussars depict officers and members of "newly regulated" or reformed companies, rather than of common soldiers. A number of other "miscellaneous" Balkan groups are also described, including a *Licaner* from the Lika region of Dalmatia who is described as "dreadfully wild" and causing "murder and death, ...fear and misery," *Morlak*s are described as valiant and brave, and a few *Croat*s who are generally cheerful and happy (in plundering other lands) and are depicted in family scenes.[122]

[118] "*Müth*:" courage, "*Tapfferkeit*:" bravery, "*Unverzagt*" undaunted, "*Treüe*:" faithfulness, and "*Vergnügte*:" cheerful.
[119] "*Behertzt*:" courageously/bravely, "*Münter*:" cheerful, "*Es lachet ihm das Herz*:" his heart laughs.
[120] Martin Engelbrecht, #51 "Ein in Aktion ergrimmter Berg-Schotte" (Augsburg, ca. 1742)
"Fury, anger and cruelty, flash from his eyes
At the same time a lion's courage, animated with loud fire
When he with others, helps protect freedom,
He hits, he shoots, he stabs, and makes it really incredible."
[*Wuth, Zorn und Grausamkeit, ihm aus den Augen blizen*
Dabey ein Löwen Muth, belebt mit lauter Feur
Wann er mit andern, die Freyheit hilfft beschüzen,
Er haut, er schießt, er sticht, und machts recht ungeheur.]
[121] "Quarter" means that they would accept prisoners rather than kill those they capture, and their refusal to give or receive this testifies to their destructive role in the wars of Austrian Succession.
[122] Martin Engelbrecht, #48 "*Abbildung eines so genandten* Licaner*s unter den Königlich Ungarischen Hülfts-Völckern*" (Augsburg, ca. 1742). Depiction of a so-called Licander among the Hungarian Kings' servants.

Qualitative Analysis of Emotions in the *Theatre* collection:

All told, these do not say much about each group individually, however a qualitative analysis of several examples of these poems demonstrates this emphasized emotionality quite clearly. Print number 5 depicts "A Hungarian *Tolpatsch* or Footman:"

> It is the air [impulse] for war that the Hungarian is born to
> And shows the skill at once, they are afraid of no hardship
> It is with bravery the courage is always enflamed
> And their slogan is: victory, or death.[123]

The emotional characteristics of this figure are explicitly connected with his military aptitude, making his lack of fear of hardship, bravery, and courage a sign that he is of a kind "born for war." Further, this predilection is neither personal nor characteristic of his soldier type (*Tolpatsch*), but representative of Hungarians as a "national" kind.[124]

Print number 44, "An Under-*Officer* of the Karlstadt *Pandurs*" tells:

> Of all sorts of *manners* one sees in these times,
> Such a foreign/strange people [*Volck*], that to astonishment stand,
> At the same time each demonstrates, desire for argument/battle
> Because he is completely undaunted, [when] on his *order* he goes.[125]

"The clothes terrible, the expression quite frightening,
Is to be sure on this Folk, the whole dreadfully wild
in what for fear and misery, he shall often stick [stab] some
because he imagines nothing from himself but murder and death"
[*Die Kleidung fürchterlich, die mine recht zum schrecken,*
Ist wohl an disem Volck, das gantz entsetzlich wild,
In waß vor Angst und Noth, wird mancher öffters stecken
Weil er von ihm sich nichts als Mord u. Tod einbildt.]

[123] Martin Engelbrecht, #5 "*Ein Ungarischer Tolpatsch oder Fußgänger"* (Augsburg, ca. 1742).
[*Es ist der Lüft züm Krieg den Ungarn angestammet*
Und zeigt gleich das Geschict, Sie scheüen keine Noth
Es ist von Tapfferkeit der Muth stets angeflammet
Und ihre Losüng heist: gewonnen, oder todt.]

[124] "Nation" is used here in an explicitly eighteenth-century sense of the term, and is explored in greater depth later in the chapter.

[125] Martin Engelbrecht, #44 "*Ein Unter* Officier *bey den Carlstätter* Panduren" (Augsburg, ca. 1742).
[*Auf vielerley* manier *siht man in disen zeiten,*
Dergleichen frembdes Volck, daß zu verwundern steht,
Darbey ein jeder zeigt, begierde zu dem streitten
Weil er ganz unverzagt, auf sein Commando *geht.*]

This officer is described as being one of the foreign "Volck" or peoples, and is so marked by his foreign "manner" that he astonishes onlookers. As is typical, he is described in emotional terms, as having a "desire" for fighting or argument, which is subsequently connected to being "undaunted" in following battle commands. This reveals a surprising unresolved tension within these texts between willfull passion and the discipline of order, even as they directly connect the two seemingly contrary ideas.

Lastly, print number 108 of a [Footman or *Pandur* from Varaždin,] adds a new element to the emotional characterization of these men [see fig. 9].

> When our queen tells us to go to the field,
> And see our people wave the green flag
> So everything makes itself go to the left and right,
> To fight for the glory of the fatherland, and for your protection.[126]

This poem speaks with the imagined voice of the depicted soldier, who directly addresses the print's presumably German audience. He makes clear that his queen and "fatherland," rather than innate emotionality, provide the ultimate motivating force for such men. This "green flag" seems to refer to the green flag featured on the collection title page, though it is uncertain what this flag represents. There is an additional narrative implication with the final comment, reminding the audience that these often-maligned soldiers are in fact fighting "for your protection." However, the most significant detail of this text is its reference to the soldier's queen, an invisible figure within the collection but whose presence is felt throughout.

[126] Martin Engelbrecht, #108 "*Ein* Waresdinischer *Fußgänger oder* Pandur" (Augsburg, ca. 1742).
[*Wann unsre Königin uns heißt zu Felde geh'n,*
Und sihet unser Volck die grüne Fahne weh'n,
So macht sich alles auf zur Lincken und zur Rechten,
Zum Ruhm des Vatterlands, und Ihrem Schutz zu fechten.]

These three sample texts reveal three separate, but connected elements: emotionality connected with martial prowess, discursive otherness between the figures and their audience, and the invisible figure of Queen Maria Theresa motivating and "calling" them to war. The first two elements were present in previous employments of emotion discussed earlier in the chapter, but the last aspect introduces an element of imperial power into the equation which completely reorients affective relationships.

Emotions and Power:

Approaching the topic of emotions from the perspective of power relationships requires returning to the le Brun painting *Les reines de Perse*, which Chloé Hogg convincingly argues was at the center of an abortive proposal to reformulate absolutism based upon a sort of affective subjecthood.

Previously this painting was examined as a demonstration of the Cartesian methodology of expressions and a seventeenth century fascination with emotion. However, Hogg asserts that it was this work's revelatory treatment of the subject-sovereign relationship rather than its intense expressiveness which captivated the king and court.[127] *Les reines de Perse* is a scene about recognition and misrecognition. It paints the moment when the wife, daughters, and slaves of Darius recognize Alexander for the first time, and demonstrate through expression their emotions toward their sovereign. Louis XIV could easily imagine himself in Alexander's place, viewing and being viewed by a tableau of affective subjects rendered in pure emotionality.

[127] In fact the facial expressions of the figures in *Les reines de Perse* provided the models for the published version of le Brun's lecture.
Hogg, "Loving Alexander". pp. 24.

The structure of this was quite unlike the classic representational model of the royal portrait which employs a "flash of recognition" to constitute the monarch as absolute and the subject as "passive spectator to power." In *Les reines de Perse*, the recognition of sovereignty requires the active participation of the subjects (the queens, servants, and slaves) whose desire makes Louis/Alexander visible.[128] Thus the painting "foreground[s] the role of the subject as the necessary other of absolutist representation" even while dangerously highlighting the illusion of choice hinted at by the mistaken identification of Alexander.[129]

This became necessary due to the instability of absolutism, whose arbitrariness was becoming increasingly indefensible. The seventeenth century saw increasingly pressing debates over "the nature of political obligation, the duties of the subject and of the prince, the right of resistance to unjust political authority, and the legitimacy of rule."[130] That political legitimacy had previously been based upon rituals such as public acclamation during a king's coronation; traditions, including Salic law; and alleged "marks of sovereignty:" visible and corporeal imprints upon the figure of the king which "manifest his link to God."[131] Yet Louis XIV had eliminated acclamation, and the dual threats of proto-enlightenment reason and English contractual models of rulership made these arbitrary theories of sovereignty increasingly untenable.

The solution provided in *Les reines de Perse* was a new model of absolutist rule founded not upon reason or contract, but affect and affection. This sought to modify French absolutism into a less exploitative "willed, desired subjection to power"

[128] Hogg, "Loving Alexander". pp. 24, 28.
[129] Hogg, "Loving Alexander". pp. 29.
[130] Hogg, "Loving Alexander". pp. 32.
[131] Hogg, "Loving Alexander". pp. 36-7.

compatible with the proto-Enlightenment thinking.[132] Madeleine de Scudéry, a French writer aligned with this effort, asserts that "Subjects owe gratitude ('reconnaissance') to their prince even if they receive nothing from him, since… the true cause of gratitude/recognition is found more in the heart than in reason."[133]

However, one key aspect of this formulation may have presented an immediate obstacle to King Louis. Hogg notes that this painting's structure works by "flipping the script" from having a masculine-coded "active" ruler conquering a feminine-coded "submissive" subject, to a relationship in which Alexander/Louis is "passively" desired by an "actively" desiring subject. In rejecting the exploitative "erotics of absolutism" which use rape or domination as its political metaphor, this affective reorientation subtly feminizes the idealized prince.[134]

This is not solely a disciplining of the idealized ruler's desire, but also the production of subjecthood through emotion. *Les reines de Perse* is a scene of "mutual political constitution:" Louis/Alexander is recognized by the queens, who are similarly transformed into "feeling subject[s] of absolutism." Evoking Sarah Ahmed's analysis of feeling as an orientation, Hogg asserts that Louis/Alexander in *Les reines de Perse* becomes a "'happy object,' the object toward which subjects of good feeling – and good subjects of absolutism – should be oriented to attain happiness."[135] In viewing this painting, the subject-audience learns to see their sovereign and "feel correctly."[136]

[132] Hogg, "Loving Alexander". pp. 38.
[133] Madeleine de Scudéry "Des passions que les hommes ont inventées," *Conversations sur divers sujets* (1680) cited in Hogg, "Loving Alexander". footnote 72, pp. 38.
[134] Hogg, "Loving Alexander". pp. 31.
[135] Hogg, "Loving Alexander". pp. 61.
[136] This seems to be a reversal of Norbert Elias's model of affective change under absolutism. Rather than early modern elite subjects learning emotional restraint in court society, the proposed affective absolutism of le Brun and Scudéry actually expands emotional possibilities in the context of the subject-sovereign relationship.

Faced with the exposure of the arbitrariness behind absolutist autocracy, artists, critics, and theorists orbiting the Sun King's court seized upon the Cartesian system of le Brun's expressions as a potential method of reestablishing the political legitimacy of the sovereign upon the willing submission and desire of the subject: an audacious experiment toward "a sovereignty of feeling."[137] This was however, not to last, as Louis XIV's military campaigns shifted his artistic persona from a "loving" Alexander to a military one, and the ideology of "affective subjecthood" was abandoned by court artists. Such an attempt would have been challenging regardless due to the potentially problematic modification of gender roles that this would have required. However, as we will see in the following sections, these objections were no obstacle to Maria Theresia's feminine identity, and the qualities which this modified absolutism call for match her early rulership quite well. As the texts of the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* and other contemporary sources reveal, public discourses about Maria Theresia's early reign paint her as manifesting exactly this model of affective absolutism and affective subjecthood.

Loyalty and Love of the Queen

Previous sections have examined the function of emotionality in art, and the role of emotions in cultural "othering." Yet, as noted in the introduction, the poems of the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* do more than simply render difference or show these men to be effective soldiers, they construct and clarify these characters' emotionalities in ways that tie them to their Habsburg queen. Loyalty and Love are key relational themes in the collection, with prints depicting the love of borderlands families for each

Hogg, "Conclusion: A Passion without a Name" *Absolutist Attachments: Emotion, Media, and Absolutism in Seventeenth-Century France* (Northwestern University Press,). pp. 191.
[137] Hogg, "Loving Alexander". pp. 26.

other as well as these soldiers' steadfast loyalty to their flags. Yet a number of these prints discuss men's loyalty to their queen, who, though absent from the collection, exerts a compelling power which supersedes all other affective relationships.

Love appears in several poetic texts which depict the "women" and children of these men, such as print number 21, "*Ein* Croat *mit seinem Weib*" ["A Croat with his Woman"] [see fig. 10]:

> This is called in love and sorrow not to leave each other,
> And that no way/road is too far, because true love propels/drives,
> It may be a force to hold such a treasure
> Especially when she amorously rubs herself against his tenderness.[138]

True love in this text is a force to be reckoned with, yet the final line seems to deflate the seriousness of the print by suggesting the passion these two share for each other is "held" by the woman's physical pleasuring. Whether as comedy or as parody, their apparently profound love never transcends their sexuality.

Another image, number 38 "*Ein in seinem Zelt vergnügter* Pandur *mit seiner* Famiglie" shows a breastfeeding mother and baby comforted by their *Pandur* husband, who speaks in the text:

> A whistle of Brazil Tobacco as well as my young woman,
> Is often my only pastime after exertion,
> As long as we're away from home, it can't be better
> So have patience my wife, what I steal is yours.[139]

[138] Martin Engelbrecht, #21 "*Ein* Croat *mit seinem Weib*" (Augsburg, ca. 1742)
[*Diß heist in Lieb und Leid einander nicht verlassen,*
Und daß kein Weeg zü weit, den wahre Liebe treibt,
Es mag seyn eine Krafft, so einen Schaz ümfassen,
Zümahl wann sie verliebt an seinem Zart sich reibt.]
[139] Martin Engelbrecht, #38 "*Ein in seinem Zelt vergnügter* Pandur *mit seiner* Famiglie" (Augsburg, ca. 1742).
[*Ein Pfeiff Bresil Toback wie auch mein junges Weib,*
Ist nach Strapazen offt mein einzig zeit vertreib,
So lang wir noch von Hauß, so kans nicht beßer sein,
Drum hab Gedult mein Weib, was ich erbeut ghört dein.]

The third line of this text is a bit unclear, but this poem effectively sums up this soldier's life as smoking, sex, fighting/working, and stealing. While it employs less obvious parody in its characterization of their love, the relationship between these two appears based upon nothing more than the profits of his theft.

A final image, number 83 "*Ein Raiz welcher von seiner lieben alten Mutter beweglichen Abschied nimbt*" shows a touching scene of a soldier hugging his elderly mother goodbye [see fig. 11].

> Look how the mother still hugs the dear son here,
> Because her faithful breast aggrieves and hurts at his parting;
> But her son comforts her and hugs her swiftly
> Who thought that this *Volck* could love so tenderly?[140]

The pain of this parting is hard to bear, yet the commentary reacts in surprise that such a tenderness amongst such people is even possible. These portrayals of the familial relationships of the borderlands soldiers are sympathetic, yet tinged with a sense of parody. The love relationships of these soldiers and their families are systematically devalued by their treatment as comedy or in the expectation that such relationships are surprising.

On the other hand, numerous prints contain texts describing the dedication of borderlands soldiers for their queen, revealing a power relationship which supersedes and overcomes the affective love of these men for their families. Several of these images have already been discussed, including image number 37 "*Ein voller* Courage *von seiner Liebsten abschied nehmender* Pandur" who leaves "blood, body and life" for

[140] Martin Engelbrecht, #83. Ein Raiz welcher von seiner lieben alten Mutter beweglichen Abschied nimbt" (Augsburg, ca. 1742).
[*Schaut, wie die Mutter hier den lieben Sohn noch herzt,*
Weil ihre treue Brust sein Abschied kränckt und schmerzt;
Doch tröstet sie ihr Sohn, umarmet sie behende
Wer dachte, das diß Volck so Zärtlich Lieben könte?]

his queen, and number 108 "*Ein* Waresdin*ischer Fußgänger oder* Pandur" [A Footman or *Pandur* from Varaždin] who fights for his queen when she tells him to go the field.

Another similar text is provided in number 107 "*Ein* Officier *zu Fuß von den* Dalmatinern *oder aus* Dalmatien:"

> My Queen commands, I shall go to the field,
> And indeed in a foreign land, that I have never seen.
> I follow my sovereign, a loyal subject,
> Because obedience, duty and zeal cannot be better shown.[141]

This Foot Officer of the Dalmatians follows the command of his queen into foreign lands due to his "loyalty," "obedience," "duty," and "zeal." These martial affects define his identity and his relationship with his sovereign, prompting an enormous amount of personal sacrifice.

When comparing the familial affective relationships of soldiers and their families with the relationship of duty between these men and their sovereign, it is clear which relationship wins out. The physicality and base motivations of personal and familial love cannot compare to the compelling power that Maria Theresia exerts over these men. Yet these texts make clear that this is a servitude based upon the "martial" affects of loyalty and duty rather than the "admiration" and "desire" of le Brun's formulation. Nowhere in the *Theatre* collection does "love" for Maria Theresia ever explicitly appear. Instead, the duty and obligation she exerts over these men seems to work hand-in-hand with their innate emotional otherness to motivate them and ensure their success.

[141] Martin Engelbrecht, #107 "*Ein* Officier *zu Fuß von den* Dalmatinern *oder aus* Dalmatien" (Augsburg, ca. 1742).
[*Meiner Königin Befehl will, ich soll zu Felde gehen,*
Und zwar in ein frembdes Land, so ich niemahl hab gesehen.
Ich folg meiner Souverainin, ale ein treüer Unterthan,
Weil Gehorsam, Pflicht und Eifer sich nicht beßer zeigen kan.]

While the *Theatre* collection formulates the relationship between queen Maria Theresia and the borderlands soldiers as one of motivation and obligation with no explicit mention of "love," another nearly contemporary source from Augsburg reveals apparently widespread propagandizing discourses about her feminine ability to inspire love. An anonymous pamphlet probably published in Augsburg in 1745 titled, "The Answer to the Question: Why the Queen of Hungary is So Extraordinarily Beloved" [*Die Untersuchung der Frage Warum die Konigin in Ungarn so ausserordentlich geliebet werde*] asserts that "The Queen of Hungary won the hearts of everyone… a silent instinct moves almost everyone to love and respect [her]."[142] Rather than by a command or compulsion by power, Maria Theresia's success in "moving" her subjects is explained by this writer in ways that mirror the prescriptive rulership proposed by Madeleine de Scudéry and Charles le Brun roughly eighty years earlier.

> Since one also noticed how the queen, rather by pleading than by strict orders, had urged her subjects to defend themselves; how, in order to receive something from her subjects, she had presented the plight of the fatherland and thereby moved them; how she had almost ripped open her breast, and therein discovered the tenderness for the welfare of her country, the inner feeling, and the righteousness of her opinions: so pity, love, applause, desires, and all that could put such a monarch in a better state, united with the least who only heard of it.[143]

[142] Anonymous, "*Die Untersuchung der Frage Warum die Konigin in Ungarn so ausserordentlich geliebet werde"* (Augsburg, 1745). pp. A2 reverse.
[*die Königin von Ungarn von jederman das Herz gewonnen*
Mein Vorsatz ist nur, zu zeigen, daß ein stiller Trieb fast jeden zur Liebe und Hochachtung gegen Dieselbe bewege]
This pamphlet provides a window into the ongoing political debates framed around gender, just rule, and dynastic loyalty when the war was coming to an end and Maria Theresia's position was on much stronger footing.
[143] Anonymous, "*Die Untersuchung der Frage*". pp. A3 reverse.
[*Da man ferner bemerkte, wie die Königin eher mit Bitte, als mit strengen Befehlen ihre Unterthanen zur Vertheidigung aufgebotten; wie Sie, um von ihren Unterthanen etwas zu erhalten, die Noth des Vaterlands vorgestellet, und sie dadurch gerühret ; wie Sie fast ihre Brust aufgerissen, und darinn die Zärtlichkeit für das Wohl ihrer Lande, die innerliche Empfindung, und die Rechtschaffenheit ihrer Meinungen entdecket : so vereinigte sich bey dem geringsten, der nur davon hörte, Mitleiden, Liebe, Beyfall, Wünsche und alles zusammen, was eine solche Monarchin in einen bessern Zustand setzen könnte*.]

The rulership portrayed here is the opposite of exploitative, and is instead founded upon a discourse of inner feeling translated into bodily, external passion. Maria Theresia embodies the distress of the fatherland and makes it visible by 'almost tearing her breast open,' thus revealing an inner tenderness for the whole of her empire. Exposure of the inner self transforms her viewers, 'uniting their passions' into a new affective subject body. It thus adopts wholeheartedly a sovereignty based upon the "arousal of affects," in which the queen herself models the emotions of her intended subjects, who then reciprocate and rise to her defense.

One final print seems to connect all the various functions and significations of emotionality in the collection. Number 150, "A common Sulak or grenadier from the newly regulated Carlstadt Granitz Infantry Regiment" [*Ein gemeiner* Sulak *oder* Grenadier *von dem Kaiisere Konige neu regulirten* Carlstadter *Granitz* Infanterie Regiment *etc*.] shows a soldier who apparently underwent a program of modernization and regulation, as can be seen in his partially westernized costume.[144]

> Nature has already given us a fresh courage,
> But since the Queen set me on such a foot
> That resembles the regulated one, so still more life grows in me,
> That swordplay now delights my heart like a merry dance.[145]

Rather than dampening his natural emotionality, the queen's regulation has redoubled his courage and zeal for combat. This is unsurprising, because these prints

[144] It should be remembered that the higher numbered prints are stylistically different than the rest of the collection. Regulation is a concept only mentioned in these final prints, and its quite possible that these were produced and published later. More research here is needed, as I have only been able to access one undamaged print after #142.
[145] Martin Engelbrecht, #15 "*Ein gemeiner* Sulak *oder* Grenadier *von dem Kaiisere Konige neu regulirten* Carlstadter *Granitz* Infanterie Regiment *etc*.," (Augsburg, after 1742).
[*Wir hat zwar schon die Natur einen frischen Muth gegeben,*
Doch seit dem die Königin mich auf solchen Fuß gesetzt,
Der dem regulirten gleicht, so wächst in mir noch mehr Leben,
Daß das Fechten jetzt mein Herz wie ein lustiger Tanz ergötzt.]

identify emotionality given by Nature as the source of these soldiers' military prowess. Therefore, the regulatory project can only have the effect of increasing that innate emotionality or drive. Maria Theresia's role in this is to compel and incite affect, setting in motion a progress of passions leading from natural courage to a state where fighting itself is an emotional experience. The special efficacy of these men as soldiers is formulated as the result not only of their natural martial emotionality and otherness, but also from the obligatory force of Maria Theresia's compelling "call to the field," portrayed in at least one of the poems as augmenting and intensifying emotionality.

Conclusion

This chapter proposed two initial questions. The first, "Why were these figures so frequently described in emotional terms?" invites answers looking at the cultural fascination with emotions in the seventeenth century and the utilization of emotionality to define alterity, as demonstrated in the nearly identical (geographically and chronologically speaking) case of Venetians writing about *Morlacchi* in Dalmatia. It also could have also examined the peculiar approach to emotion in the eighteenth-century *art galante* and Rococo. There are a wide variety of potential contexts which might explain such a general interest in the passions.

However the second question, "What does this characterization "do" for the collection as a whole?" invokes a much more specific and analytical approach. A close examination of the poetic texts in which these emotional nouns and adjectives appear reveals a key element to their affective formulation: the call of these men's queen, who compels these men with a power which exceeds and overwhelms all other affective relationships (and shows them to be hollow and base in comparison). This observation

provokes an awareness of the necessity of examining the emotionality of these prints from an imperial power standpoint, and when combined with other portrayals of Maria Theresia's unique rulerly image from the time, reveals profound similarities with seventeenth century proposals to legitimate absolutist rule through a "sovereignty of feeling."

Though this idea failed to gain purchase in Louis XIV's reign, it seems to have reappeared in political discourses of Martin Engelbrecht's Augsburg many decades later (perhaps as the result of printed commentaries to le Brun's famous, Expressions circulating alongside the printed faces). This was certainly aided by the fact that Maria Theresia seemed to satisfy the qualities of rule which the Sun King never could. She was young, a woman, faced a crisis of political legitimacy early in her reign, and only succeeded through an emotional appeal to her subjects, who (as in the model of le Brun and de Scudéry) mirrored her affective demonstration by rising to her defense.[146] Almost immediately after her ascendence to power, Maria Theresia's uniquely feminine authority was interpreted according to an implied affective "power" and incorporated into political debates on her rule.

The question of what this emotionality "does" in the collection also provokes another question: What does this say about Maria Theresia and her state?

The poetic texts of the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* seem to reflexively characterize her as being particularly emotional, and the effect she has on her men (demonstrated by print number 150, "A common Sulak or grenadier…") is ampliative of the passion "given by nature" such that her influence "delights [the man's] heart like a

[146] Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, "Maria Theresa and the Love of Her Subjects" *Austrian History Yearbook*, Vol. 51, May 2020 (Cambridge University Press, 2020). pp. 1-12. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0067237820000041

merry dance."[147] This is functionally identical to the "stirring" effects of musicians which appear within the collection, such as number 106, "Two Slavonian Pipers" [*Zwey Sclavonische Pfeiffer*] [see fig. 12]:

> One hears in a battle only thunder, lightning and crashes,
> If a command comes out, one jerks into the quarter,
> The piper can always there, as here,
> Make the fencing lively, the dancing amusing.[148]

The same language of inciting and enlivening is used to describe the effect on these men of both Maria Theresia and these musicians. This is a strange characterization for a royal sovereign, and only makes sense in reference to her formulated affective role in the collection. Maria Theresia is both the source of absolute power commanding these men as well as a sort of unseen cheerleader who demonstrates and personifies the emotionality of her subjects, strengthening their natural passion for battle. Characterized by association, the Habsburg empire appears as being especially capable of incorporating emotional others as affective subjects. This is especially significant due to its recent expansion, which made Maria Theresia the master of vast territories and diverse populations on the South-Eastern peripheries of Europe.

[147] Martin Engelbrecht, #150 "A common Sulak or grenadier…" (Augsburg, ca. 1742).
[148] Martin Engelbrecht, #106 "*Zwey Sclavonische Pfeiffer"*
[*Hört man bey einer Schlacht nur Donnern, Blitzen, Krachen,*
Kommt ein Commando aus, ruckt man in das Quartier,
So kan doch-jederzeit der Pfeiffer dort, wie heir,
Zum Fechten Munterkeit, zum Tanz Ergötzung machen.]

Chapter 3: Green Sprigs and the "Empire of Man"

Introduction

The textual rhetoric of emotionality is not the only significant interpretive element in the collection. Equally important to its interpretation are visual details, and perhaps the most frequent and mysterious is a strange hat ornament of green leaves which appears in at least 51 prints (over a third of the collection). Of these, the vast majority are depictions of *Pandur*s (14 prints) and similar soldiers from Slavonia [*Sclavonisher* and *Sclavonier*] (9 prints) as well as from the Carlstadt generalcy (modern Karlovač, Croatia) (5 prints). Yet it is also worn by almost every other kind of soldier from the roughly 600 kilometer long Habsburg borderland region; from Dalmatians (2 prints), *Croat*s (2 prints), Serbs [*Raiz*] (2 prints), Hungarians [*Ungarisher*] (2 prints), and Hussars (3 prints), to a lancer from the Mureș river in what is now Western Romania. *Tolpatsch*es and Scottish soldiers are the only figures never depicted with this detail. It may also be significant that the leaf decorations themselves are not standardized, and include long fronds, small bushy shrubs, broad leaves, and even what appear to be ferns or pine-branches in one case. This is clearly a significant semiotic sign within the collection, but what might these "green sprigs" mean? What might their presence suggest for a summary interpretation of the collection?

There may be a collection with earlier Engelbrecht productions. Green sprig leaves (and flowers) are worn as hat ornaments in another Engelbrecht print collection and may have been part of his Rococo style.[149] There is no evidence that this ornament

[149] The collection referenced here is *Assemblage nouveau des Manouvries habilles. Neu-eröffnet Samlung der mit Ihren eigenen Arbeiten und Werckzeugen eingekleideten Künstlern, Handwerckern und Professionen*, a collection of workers literally composed of the tools of their trade in the style of Nicolas de Larmessin's *Les Costumes grotesques*

was actually worn among such troops, and several other contemporary depictions of these soldiers make no mention of such a practice.[150] Instead, I argue that green sprig ornaments imbue their wearers with a symbolic association to Nature itself, a concept which was undergoing a perceptual shift during this period. As the following sections will show, questions about the beauty of natural forms and their control by humanity circulated widely in the intellectual culture of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe. This chapter explores these possible associations to propose a potential interpretation based on contemporary ideas.

In employing this symbol, I argue that Martin Engelbrecht attempted to implicitly connect these "wild" soldiers with discourses about the proper role of Man (and Empire) in controlling Nature. Yet rather than a purely "absolutist" control through subjugation, these prints betray a thoroughly contemporary recognition that wild naturality has intrinsic value which can be appreciated both aesthetically and employed for the benefit of the Habsburg empire and their German subjects. In this way, the green sprigs of the

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et les métiers. The covers of these two collections are nearly identical in style, suggesting that they were produced with the same artistic vision and likely by the same artist-craftsmen.
Martin Engelbrecht, *Assemblage nouveau des Manouvries habilles. Neu-eröffnet Samlung der mit Ihren eigenen Arbeiten und Werckzeugen eingekleideten Künstlern, Handwerckern und Professionen* (Augsburg, ca. 1730-1750).

[150] A famous example of the wearing of plants by soldiers is provided in story of sixteenth century Welsh soldiers wearing leeks in their caps in battle to mark them from their enemies.
X-Ray Production Team, "Why do we wear daffodils and leeks?" BBC X-Ray, 09:52 UK time, Monday, 1 March 2010.
https://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/x-ray/2010/03/why-do-we-wear-daffodils-and-leeks.shtml
However, subsequent descriptions of *Pandurs* and other borderlands soldiers make no mention of leaves worn as decoration or mark, which one might expect given how distinctive that practice would have presumably been. A commentary text in an English costume book of 1757 describes *Pandurs* as wearing feathers and bird wings as hat ornaments, but makes no mention of leaves or plants. These descriptions are very detailed and differ from the portrayals by Engelbrecht, indicated an unknown first-hand source. By contrast, the pictures in this book are low quality copies of prints from the *Theatre* collection which were pirated in 1743 by Johann Sebastian Müller.
Thomas Jefferys, "Colonel of the Pandours," "Corporal of the Warasdin Pandours," and "Rascian Tolpatch" *A Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations, Antient and Modern. Particularly Old English Dresses. After the Designs of Holbein, Vandyke, Hollar, and others… Vol. II.* London, 1757.
Christopher Duffy's authoritative military history of *The Army of Maria Theresia* identifies a number of contemporary written depictions of Croatian soldiers, but similarly provides no mention of green sprigs.

Theatre collection may be understood as expressing a new Rococo or even "Romantic" interpretation of the early-Enlightenment idea of the "Empire of Man," with vaguely messianic implications for the Habsburg Empire.

This chapter first explains from an art-theoretical perspective why an association between green sprigs and Nature is likely and provides an early-modern example of a comparable emblem in art: the "*wilde Mann.*" Next, it explores the early-Enlightenment concept of the "Empire of Man" and its practical employment in designing the aristocratic "*Garden Français*.*"* Finally, this absolutist Enlightenment attitude toward nature is contrasted with the apparently "Rococo" attitude toward nature expressed by later eighteenth-century writers and seen in the *Theatre* collection. This contextualizes the green leafy sprigs as emblematic of a vast but little recognized shift in the ideology of Nature: from an early-Enlightenment system founded upon divine right and exploitation, to a more benevolent subjecthood mirroring the relationship of the *Theatre* borderlands soldiers and their queen.

Green Sprigs as an Emblem of Nature:

For a number of reasons which will be explained here, it is likely that the green sprigs in the *Theatre* collection emblematize Nature, which I define as the abstract representation of non-human life in the world. First, it is important to define what exactly Nature meant to Martin Engelbrecht's consuming contemporaries. In the eighteenth century the concept of Nature had several different possible associations ranging from "arcadian" fertility and growth to the inhuman mortal threat of the wilderness.[151] This is a

[151] Arcadia refers to the "idyllically countryside populated by shepherds and shepherdesses" popularized by Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, an Italian Renaissance work of poetry in imitation of Virgil. This enormously popular work inspired numerous subsequent writers and was still widely read up to the end of the eighteenth century.

matter of some scholarly debate, yet the general consensus is that from the classical period to the eighteenth century, Nature was appreciated when pastoral and "arcadian," or in other words, optimized for human life. On the other hand, at least in Europe, Nature's more threatening and inhuman forms were rejected completely.[152] Jacob Burckhardt was the first to claim that early medieval Europe under the influence of Christianity learned to see "in the springs and mountains, in the lakes and woods, which they had till then revered, the working of evil demons." He asserts that it was not until ca. 1200 that a love of nature was "resurrected" in the poetry and music of minstrelsy, which finds sympathy in the "simple phenomena of nature – spring with its flowers, the green fields and the woods."[153] This has subsequently been criticized by a number of scholars who cite cases of artistic and cultural appreciation of wild nature throughout early-modern history, yet it seems to be the case that by the seventeenth century, an aversion to inhuman Nature was firmly cemented in western culture.[154] This is demonstrated in seventeenth century German Baroque art, which conceives of Art as based upon the imitation of nature, but aesthetically pleasurable in the perception of its artificiality. Gabriel Gersh has argued that seventeenth century German art, based upon imitation, was primarily seen as a tool in the construction of a cultured society, and

Richard Jenkyns, "Virgil and Arcadia" *The Journal of Roman Studies* Vol. 79 (The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1989). pp. 26-7.

[152] Emily Brady notes that from the classical period until the eighteenth century, aesthetic appreciation of Nature took place almost exclusively in pastoral environments and gardens, and seeking out wild Nature "for its own sake" was not a common practice.
Emily Brady, *Aesthetics of the Natural Environment* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003). pp. 29-30.

[153] Jacob Burckhardt, "The Discovery of Natural Beauty" in The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy translated by S.G.C. Middlemore, 1878.
Marjorie Hope Nicolson promotes this argument in *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (University of Washington Press, 1997).

[154] Responses to these works include:
Lynn Thorndike, "Renaissance or Prenaissance" (1943).
Janice Hewlett Koelb, "'This Most Beautiful and Adorn'd World': Nicolson's "Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory" Reconsidered" (2009).

therefore stresses the intellectual activity of appreciation rather than the aesthetics of Nature itself. It is significant for this chapter, itself focused on a visual ornament, that Gersh identifies ornament as one of Baroque art's main characteristics. Baroque art aimed at establishing an "unreal, artificial world" "to disguise the natural essence of things" and dissimulate the real and threatening aspects of Nature.[155] Yet a change was clearly afoot by the time the Engelbrecht collection was designed, as these prints use green, leafy ornaments in assimilative rather than dissimulative ways.

As the cover page of the collection shows, this emblem first had a unifying function, visually connecting the human borderlands soldiers with abstract Rococo natural elements [see fig. 13]. This large cover page depicts a dense scene in the Rococo style which provides a visual introduction or advertisement for the contents of the collection.[156] At the center of the scene is a giant Rococo shell inscribed in both German and French with the name of the collection. The shell lies planted upon a small plod of grass and is ornamented by curling vegetation, a small waterfall, and the whimsical heads of borderlands soldiers which seem to pop out from behind it. Around its fluted edge, golden water-like embellishments mirror the flow of the leaves, and the bright green sprigs the men wear ornamentally incorporate them into the lush undergrowth. These strange little men would remind the modern viewer of nothing so much as garden gnomes if they were not armed to the teeth with guns and swords.

[155] Gabriel Gersh, "The Meaning of Art and Nature in German Baroque" *Comparative Literature Studies, Vol. 4, No. 3* (Penn State University Press, 1967). pp. 259-30, 264-265.
[156] Garold Cole notes that "poster" covers could be posted publicly as an advertisement.
Garold Cole, "The Historical Development of the Title Page" *The Journal of Library History (1966-1972)* Vol. 6, No. 4 (University of Texas Press, Oct., 1971). pp. 309.

Upon viewing, the diverse elements in this image seem bound together and presented as a seamless whole. The Rococo shell, collection title, leaves, and the soldiers themselves, are integrated into a homogenous representation of the collection as a whole. The functions of Rococo ornament have been explored by Michael Yonan in several works, and he variously implicates them in the interrogation of perception, in negotiating social identities, in visually signifying spiritual transformation, and in providing the viewer the interpretive flexibility to actively reason order from chaos.[157] To add to this, the Rococo ornamentations of this cover page assimilate through mimesis subjects as disparate as vegetal matter, Habsburg borderlands soldiers, and the collection's titles. The layers of leafy ornament on the shell and on the soldiers assimilate each other into a unity and define the collection by its Rococo arcadian naturalism.

Green sprigs of leaves appear in a number of Engelbrecht's works outside the *Theatre* collection, and it may have been a signature feature of his or his workshop's particular style. However it does not seem to have had other clear meanings in these other works. The publication entitled *Assemblage nouveau des Manouvries habilles* previously discussed in the chapter "Contexts and Materiality" contains a number of images with similar or identical green sprigs.[158] In particular, "83 *Ein Mezger oder Fleischhauer*" [A Butcher], "107 *Ein Vogelfänger*" [A Birdcatcher], and "108 *Ein Voglerin*

[157] Michael Yonan, "Knowing the World Through Rococo Ornamental Prints" *Organic Supplements: Bodies and Things of the Natural World 1580-1790* edited by Miriam Jacobson and Julie Park (University of Virginia Press, 2020). pp. 178.
Michael Yonan, "Ornament's Invitation: The Rococo of Vienna's Gardekirche" *The Eighteenth Century, Winter 2009, Vol. 50, No. 4* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009). pp. 287, 296, 305.
[158] Martin Engelbrecht, *Assemblage nouveau des Manouvries habilles. Neu-eröffnete Samlung der mit ihren eigenen Arbeiten und Werckzeugen eingekleideten Künstlern, Handwerckern und Professionen* or *Métiers* [ca. 1730]. Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.
http://artsdecoratifs.e-sezhame.fr/id_4044768592347164968.html

[A Birdcatcher-woman] wear sprigs identical to those in the *Theatre* collection, while four other occupations wear slightly different sprigs made of flowers and grasses.[159] Judging by these occupations, it's possible that the decision to depict them this way was due to these crafts having a connection to activities outside and in "nature." Hunting, butchery, woodworking, bird-catching, and bristle-brush making all involve the capture and processing of animals or plants. Yet many other "outdoor" crafts in the collection are not depicted this way, so no firm conclusions here can be drawn. Further examples can be seen in Engelbrecht's designs for architectural and furniture ornamentation [see fig. 14].[160] Even more revealingly, similar leafy ornaments are depicted in an Engelbrecht portrait of Maria Theresia, which will be discussed in greater depth later.

Aspects of Rococo art theory also support the argument that the green sprig was an emblem. Patrick Brady identifies metonymy as a key element of the rhetoric of Rococo art, which is the rhetorical substitution of the part: "the pen," to stand-in for the whole: "literature."[161] In addition to their noted mimetic function providing unity, I suggest that green sprigs were employed in the *Theatre* collection to metonymically emblematize Nature. These multiple interpretive potentialities remind of Michael

[159] The four other prints are "13 *Ein Bürsten-Binder*," "123 *Ein Zimmer mann*," "124 *Ein Zimmermänin*," "103 *Ein Jäger*." The collection these selections have been identified in is incomplete, and it is likely that the original collection had even more figures with green sprigs.
Martin Engelbrecht, "*Métiers*" (ca. 1730) *Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs* http://artsdecoratifs.e-sezhame.fr/id_4044768592347164968.html

[160] Jeremias Wachsmuth, "1 of 2 plates from a suite of 4 designs for doorways and portals entitled, 'Allerneuesten Facon von Auszierungen zu Portalen'," (Augsburg, c. 1740-42) published by Martin Engelbrecht. Berlin Staatliche Museen, Katalog der Ornamentstich-Sammlung der Staatlichen Kunstbibliothek Berlin, Berlin and Leipzig, 1936-39, 129. V&A Museum Collection, [Accession number E.1895-1948]
https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O600040/allerneuesten-facon-von-auszierungen-zu-etching-jeremias-wachsmuth/
Another example is: Martin Engelbrecht, "Gustus" plate 4 from a set of 6 showing the Five Senses, engraving, Germany, 18th century. V&A Museum Collection Department of Prints and Drawings and Department of Paintings, Accessions 1928, London.
http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O757175/gustus-print-engelbrecht-martin/

[161] Patrick Brady, "Towards a Theory of the Rococo" *The Comparatist* Vol. 9 (University of North Carolina Press, May 1985). pp. 11.

Yonan's observation about Rococo ornament's "insistence on potential meanings rather than direct ones," as well as Ernst Gombrich's observation about the essential psychological function of ornament.[162] It is here that a comparable emblem of nature may provide a beneficial comparison.

The "*wilde Mann*" as Emblem of Nature against Civilization:

While few images of marginal (to Central and Western Europe) Eastern and South-Eastern Europeans were produced in the Early Modern period, one deep and well developed tradition of depicting "marginal" man stands out. Since the late medieval period, a folkloric creature had "lurked in the margins of civilized society and in the iconographic margins of late-medieval art."[163] An early woodcut print made in 1566 by a follower of Pieter Bruegel depicts a common folk drama in which peasants armed with swords, a crossbow, and symbols of worldly and perhaps magical power trap and kill a man covered in fur or leaves, his face obscured by shaggy long hair and a beard, crowned with a wreath of vines, and carrying a massive club.[164] This was the German *wilde Mann*, a man who lived apart among the beasts of the forest, lived on berries, roots, and raw (sometimes human) flesh, and "represented the rejection of all affects of civilized man and embodied his alter ego."[165]

He was a frequent theme of pageants in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and appeared in different iterations well into the Renaissance. An engraving from ca. 1528

[162] Yonan, "Ornament's Invitation" pp. 286.
Ernst Gombrich, *The Sense of Order: a study in the psychology of decorative art* (London: Phaidon, 1984).
[163] Stephanie Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2010), chapter 3, page 1. https://www.palgrave.com/gp/book/9780230620292
[164] After Pieter Bruegel the Elder, "The Wild Man or the Masquerade of Orson and Valentine" Woodcut print, 1566. From the British Museum Collection. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1875-0710-1529
Cited in David Abdulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind: Atlantic Encounters in the Age of Columbus* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 16.
[165] Abdulafia, 16. and Leitch, Chapter 3 page 3.

by Hans Holbein the Younger shows a nearly naked *wilde Mann* wearing only wreaths of leaves and posed like a classical sculpture, flanked by acanthus columns and swinging an uprooted tree.[166]

The figure also had an important religious meaning, and David Abdulafia notes that the beast-like attributes of wild men were understood as not having been created by God, but the result of a fall from society, an exile, and as a result of some misfortune. "It was therefore possible to recover one's human state and to return to civilization… through the Christian faith. In that sense, the negative image of the wild man always had a positive counter-image, a hope of redemption."[167]

This is not the only contemporary interpretation however. Abdulafia notes the influence that classical poetry (especially by Hesiod and Ovid) describing primitive mankind as living in a Golden or Silver Age of peace and technological simplicity had on Renaissance thinking. "This was a primitive age of mankind characterized by a pristine purity that gradually declined, for 'civilization' brings its temptations and corruptions."[168] We can see here an emergence (or rather the perennial re-emergence) of pastoral and anti-pastoral ways of viewing human society.[169] The Wild man may either be a corrupted and fallen former member of civilized society, or a representative of a more pure humanity uncorrupted by fundamentally sinful civilization. It's especially significant that these Wild Men were so frequently depicted wearing a crown of leaves.

[166] Hans Holbein the Younger, "Untitled Drawing" [Wild Man] ca. 1528. From the British Museum Collection. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1895-0915-992
[167] Abdulafia, 17.
[168] Abdulafia, 17.
[169] Pastoral and Anti-Pastoral are terms coming from the English artistic tradition, yet the cultural debates they describe are present throughout European society and Christianity. I would venture to suggest that these changing patterns of characterizing society track closely with changing patterns of urbanization in Europe.

The *wilde Mann* is certainly an enduring and significant folklore convention in Germanic-speaking Europe, and the discourses it produced about marginality in relation to civilized society undoubtedly provide important parallels to how the *Theatre* collection was understood by its readers.[170]

Nature and Francis Bacon's "Empire of Man":

There exists a long-standing and profound dualist tendency within Western thought to set up Nature as an opposite to what is civilized, human, or manmade; a point evident in the discourses over the *wilde Mann* figure. This is not a static formulation, but one which reappears in different contexts across the centuries in new iterations. Clarence J. Glacken's Magnum Opus *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* identifies the particular discourse of man's need conquer nature as emerging from the Italian renaissance before being fully articulated in the philosophy of Francis Bacon.

In aphorism 129 of Bacon's *Novum Organum* (1620), he celebrates the enduring value of inventions for mankind and cites them as being the defining cause for the dramatic difference in the quality of life between the "polished countries of Europe," and the "wild and barbarous region[s] of the new Indies."[171] Rather than accept a permanent dichotomy between the creations of Man and God, he identifies a Christian order in the benefits of invention, citing the process by which new tools are created as the imitation

[170] Abdulafia provides another provocative detail, that "South-eastern Europe was a special preserve of wild forest men, a tradition preserved in the name of one of its more mysterious regions, Transylvania." Abdulafia, 17.
[171] Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum*, ed. by Joseph Devey, M.A. (New York: P.F. Collier, 1902), 49.

of divine work.[172] For Bacon, the arts and sciences created by Man are both divinely ordained tools to improve the human world, but also laudable extensions of human dominance over the natural world.

In explanation of this extension, he identifies three kinds of human ambition. The first two involve the enlargement of power of oneself within one's country and of one's country over mankind, projects Bacon denigrates as covetous and relatively undignified. However the third ambition he acclaims as both sound and noble: the "endeavor to renew and enlarge the power and empire of mankind in general over the universe."[173] This "Empire of Man" acting in accordance with nature (through science and invention) to conquer it (the universe) and transform it to human benefit is simply mankind's regaining of its rights over nature, "assigned to them by the gift of God" but lost in the fall of man.[174] This forms the core of Bacon's attitude toward Nature and society; Nature was created to serve mankind, but was lost and must be regained through technological advancement in order to return humanity to its Edenic utopia. It should also be apparent from his employment of the term "Empire" to describe human society, the extent to which absolutism, for Bacon, is the divinely mandated and "natural" political state.

Bacon's philosophy is foundational for much of the thinking of the early Enlightenment, and though he should not be taken to characterize all that followed, the topics he addressed set out the terms of debate over the following centuries. A few highlights include John Locke's (1689) idea of the "State of Nature," which he defined in opposition to Civil Society, and Montesquieu's (1748) elaboration on this as the state of

[172] Ibid. 49.
[173] Ibid. 49.
[174] Ibid. 49-50.

being before the establishment of society.[175] For these philosophers, the "State of Nature" is in fact the state of man without civilization and therefore useful as a basis upon which to deduce "natural" laws.[176] In contrast to the early-modern and Baroque rejection or dissimulation of wild Nature, after Bacon, early Enlightenment philosophy studies Nature closely either to tame it or to idealize it, and in all cases to see it as a solution to human problems. In this context, it is easy to see why the emblemata of Green Sprigs might have appealed to Engelbrecht.

Philosophy and the Aristocratic "*Garden Français"*:

These philosophical developments had direct and profound effects upon the wider artistic culture of the Enlightenment. A clear example of this "absolutist" philosophizing put into practice is demonstrated in the development of the aristocratic "*garden Francaise*," a gardening style similar to architecture and closely associated with absolutism. Martin Engelbrecht may have contributed to a publication of "Princely Architecture" with designs of palaces with this garden style, and it is worth examining the potential significations of this for the Green Sprig emblem.[177]

Broadly speaking, European gardens developed from Renaissance Italian ones, which were extremely structured constructions emphasizing order, geometric shapes, and Roman classicism. These were exclusively aristocratic constructions produced at great expense involving flattening the earth, laying out symmetrical flower beds and

[175] John Locke, *Second Treatise on Civil Government*, (1689).
Montesquieu, *De l'Esprit des Lois*, (1748).
https://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/fr/montesqu.htm

[176] Another concept of Nature worth mentioning here is the Enlightenment scientific concept of nature as the sum of all that exists, and including man within it. (Diderot, *Thoughts on Interpreting Nature*, and d'Holbach, *The System of Nature*). This is not however a relevant definition for this project.

[177] Paul Decker, *Fürstlicher Baumeister, oder Architectura civilis, wie grosser Fürsten und herren Palläste, mit ihren Höfen, Lusthaüsern, Gärten, Grotten, Orangieren* (Augsburg, 1711-1716), Bibliothèque nationale de France. http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb443352645

topiaries, cutting and replanting trees, and building artificial grottoes and ruins. Of prime importance was the control of perspective and production of a "sense of theatre" which "feeds the entire life of the garden as chosen place for the mise-en-scène of nature."[178] Gardens were "Baroque paradises" and cultural crucibles of "signs and symbols, of perspective inventions, of complex hydraulic devices, of sophisticated floral selections."[179] They provided a ready setting for the enactment of otherwise abstract ideas about nature and political power, and a stage to demonstrate them to the aristocratic public.

An important early influence in the theory behind gardening practice was in fact Francis Bacon, whose essay "Of Gardens" (1625) provided a model for a "princely" enclosed garden hierarchically organized and symmetrically balanced to be an extension of building architecture.[180] This style reached its peak with the Versailles gardens of André Le Nôtre, constructed between 1661 and 1710 and described as "one of the grandest theatres of European absolutism."[181] It is uncertain if Le Nôtre ever read Bacon, but the ideas his designs represented demonstrate very clearly Bacon's theory of divinely mandated human control over nature put into practice at the highest levels of Western aristocratic society.[182]

[178] *Gardens of Lucca – The theatre of nature in town and country* edited by M.A. Giusti, 2017. Online Description. ISBN 978-88-96527-42-9 https://publied.eu/shop/gardens-of-lucca-the-theatre-of-nature-in-town-and-country/?lang=en

[179] *Gardens of Lucca*. Online Description.

[180] Francis Bacon, *Of Gardens*, Essay 46, in *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall, of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban* (London: Printed by Iohn Haviland for Hanna Barret, 1625).

[181] The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, *Encyclopedia Britannica* s.v. "Palace of Versailles," 2020.

[182] The predominant book on Gardening in the eighteenth century was Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville's *La théorie et la pratique du jardinage,* first published in 1709 and reprinted multiple times with a number of copies translated into other languages. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8626274z/f7.image.r=.langEN Interestingly, an anonymous contributor on Wikipedia has noted phrases in *La théorie* suggesting that d'Argenville read and was influenced by Francis Bacon's "Of Gardens". This clearly confirms the broad cultural impact of Francis Bacon's ideas in Western Europe.

This was a form of empire played out in miniature. The *Garden Français* consisted of gathering, organizing, and rearranging plant life in an optimized and hierarchical form, with infinite sightlines stretching from the palace of the sovereign at the center, out across the microcosm of the garden. What then might this suggest about the Green Sprig emblem if nature is to be reordered as empire?

The Nature of the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* within the "Empire of Man":

Building from the power relationship analysis of the Chapter Emotionality, viewing the green sprig as an emblem of Nature suggests a similar relationship between the borderlands soldiers depicted in the *Theatre* collection and their queen. Applying the idea of Bacon's "Empire of Man" to this collection seems to suggest that these wild soldiers are like horticulture within the "garden" of the recently expanded Habsburg empire. As elements of Nature, they are destined to be subjugated and rendered beneficial for humanity, or in this case, the German subjects of the Holy Roman Empire for which they fight. This seems supported by the prints' texts, which portray a dutiful obligation of service among these men toward their queen.

Yet, the text of the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* does not call for these irregulars to be dominated or regimentally disciplined by the hand of absolutist rule, like a wild forest into a *Garden Français*. Instead, the visible, cultural, and emotional difference of these men is portrayed in (frequently) positive ways, as qualities beneficial for their warrior subjecthood. This does not deny their emblematization as Natural in a discourse of the Empire of Man, but instead suggests that Engelbrecht and the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* was embedded in a broad culture shift in the mid-eighteenth

century away from an “absolutist” view of controlling nature, to a more positive relationship of mutual benefit.

The Nature of Buffon and the Rococo:

Just such an attitudinal shift is demonstrated in the writings of the influential French Naturalist Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, who began writing his vast encyclopedia of Natural Science just seven years after the *Theatre* was published. Buffon’s most notable contribution to the human-nature relationship is the recognition that the improvements of science and technology have the capacity not just to improve society and the individual, but Nature itself. In his 1778 essay *Époques de la nature*, Buffon revels in this, exclaiming;

> Man is nature’s most noble product, and nature, cherished by man, multiplies itself in desirable ways under his care. Flowers, fruits, grains, useful species of animals have been transported, propagated, and increased without number; useless species have been eliminated.
> … Land has been restored and made fertile. The laughing meadows, the pastures, the vines and the orchards of the hills whose summits are crowned with useful trees and young forests…
> … reminders ‘of power and of glory, showing sufficiently that man, master of the domain of the Earth, has changed it and renewed its entire surface and that he will always share the empire with Nature.[183]

Gone is the Christian call to divinely ordained conquest present in Bacon, replaced by a triumphalist vision of “laughing” nature, teeming with all that is useful to man, such that even barren mountain summits and desolate regions are made to flower. Directly citing and replying to Bacon’s “Empire”, he fundamentally renegotiates the terms of the Man-Nature relationship. Rather than according Nature a divinely ordained servitude and Man an obligation to conquer and dominate, the Empire of Man has been renegotiated into a marriage of passion and mutual benefit. This echoes the

[183] de Buffon, *Histoire Naturelle,* Vol. 12, pp. xiii-xv (“De la Nature. Première Vue”). Translated by Clarence J. Glacken in Glacken, “Count Buffon on Cultural Changes of the Physical Environment” 8.

renegotiated “affective subjecthood” proposed in the Chapter Emotionality, which reorients absolutism from arbitrary exploitation to passionate submission. Nature in Buffon is a joyfully submissive and fertile partner to Man. While its capacity to return Man to Edenic mastery of the earth is retained, Buffon’s “empire” is shared with Nature and works to “cherish” and “multiply” it like a loving husband.

It is no coincidence that this period also saw the beginnings of “imperial botany:” efforts to study, name, and gather beautiful and productive plants of the word into botanical gardens.[184] A famous example of this is the 1787 British experiment to transplant breadfruit from Tahiti to the Caribbean as a cheap and sustainable food source for slaves.[185] Likely since the introduction of food staples from the New World, it was recognized that plant life gathered in the colonial project had the power to revolutionize and improve human life, as well as guarantee the internal production of necessary foods and medicines. However, the mid to late eighteenth century saw the emergence of globetrotting schemes to transplant potentially beneficial botany from the distant corners of the world to imperial centers where they might be put to better use.

From an aesthetic standpoint, the joyful and productive Nature described in Buffon has obvious connections with Rococo’s delight in grotesque and unpredictable natural ornaments, including shells and leafy plants. For apparently the first time since antiquity, the Rococo elevates wild Nature in all its strangeness and disorder as worthy of beauty. This revaluation is mirrored by the *Theatre* collection itself, which depicts

[184] Thomas R. H. Havens, “Seeking Japanese Plants in Europe and North America” *Land of Plants in Motion: Japanese Botany and the World* (University of Hawai’I Press, 2020).
[185] Juliane Braun, “Bioprospecting Breadfruit” *Early American Literature*, 2019, Vol. 54, No. 3, *Special Issue: The New Natural History* (University of North Carolina Press), pp. 643-4.

irregular, ragged, disorderly, and violent soldiers in beautiful ways, and as worthy of close examination.

A similar shift took place in garden design, with a shift away from absolutist symmetricity and orderly beauty to asymmetrical, more intimate Rococo garden-parks. By the 1750s an "English" style garden filled with rolling undulations of turf, mirror-like lakes and "natural" features had come into fashion.[186] Though typically identified more with neo-Classicism than with (by then in England) slightly outdated Rococo aesthetics, the "unplanned appearance" of these new spaces shares similarities with the free-flowing qualities of Rococo.

Another potential later connection with this change in attitudes toward nature was the aesthetic development of the sublime. During the mid-to-late eighteenth century, writers such as Shaftesbury and Burke began to argue for an aesthetic quality beyond the beauty encompassing that which is ordered by reason.[187] This new sublime attempted to describe the terrifying pleasure of the vast and uncontrollable, seen in great mountains and the frightening infinitude of the night sky. This also reminds of the strange subjects of the *Theatre* collection, who are shown as beautiful in their uncontrollable violence. While these "Rococo" aesthetic connections remain somewhat

[186] Vanessa Bezemer Sellers, "From Italy to France: Gardens in the Court of Louis XIV and After." In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/gard_2/hd_gard_2.htm
Sellers additionally suggests an influence from Chinoiserie images of the informal gardens of the far East. Vanessa Bezemer Sellers, "The Eighteenth Century: From Geometric to Informal Gardens." In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/gard_3/hd_gard_3.htm

[187] Paddy Bullard, "The Meaning of the 'Sublime and Beautiful': Shaftesburian Contexts and Rhetorical Issues in Edmund Burke's 'Philosophical Enquiry'" *The Review of English Studies New Series*, Vol. 56, No. 224 (Oxford University Press, 2005).
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more speculative, the thematic similarities they demonstrate with the role of the irregulars in the *Theatre* collection suggests the presence in this period of new ways of thinking and appreciating both wild Nature and human otherness.

Maria Theresia's Leafy Throne

One further piece of evidence remains regarding the green sprigs. As mentioned previously, Engelbrecht produced a portrait of Maria Theresia in a separate production series depicting past and present monarchs, including a print of her deceased father Charles VI von Habsburg.[188] The queen sits under a golden awning next to the Hungarian crown, but it is her throne itself which stands out. Unlike the heavy, Baroque, pillar-like marble throne of Charles, Theresia's throne appears in the shape of a giant, finely worked, blue clam shell mounted upon flowing Rococo detailing [see fig. 15]. Where Charles has an Austrian double-headed eagle mounted above his head alluding to his imperial dominion, Theresia's throne has a small crown flanked with green sprigs of grasses and leaves. Without more examples of these portraits, no absolute conclusions about the significance of this can be drawn. Regardless, as in the *Theatre* collection, the prominence of this emblem suggests a similar interpretation and a possible connection. It seems to suggest a specifically Rococo identity for Maria Theresia, in contrast the older Baroque visualization of her father. Following the logic of the green sprig emblem, it also indicates a definition of Maria Theresia's empire,

[188] Paul. Frid. Engelbrecht, "Maria Theresia D.G. Regina Hungariae, Archi D. Austrice et reliqua. Nata Ao. 1717. d. 13. Maj. Posonii corontat Ao. 1741. d. 25. Junii." (unknown date) published by Martin Engelbrecht. Rijksmuseum Collection, object number RP-P-1908-1414. http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.108394
This production contains portraits of past and present monarchs on unique thrones, and with short descriptive texts written both in Latin and German.

metonymically represented as a Rococo throne, as being specifically affiliated with wild Nature.

Conclusions:

The changing role of Man in Nature from Bacon in 1620 to Buffon in 1778 shows both the foundation of these ideas and their subtle shifts over time. This becomes relevant to the *Theatre* collection because its ca. 1742 production date locates it at an important cognitive and cultural shift, from "Baroque" conceptions of absolutist control to a "Rococo" appreciation of "useful" and "regulated" nature. I argue that the "Rococo" style green sprigs in the *Theatre* collection assimilate them through mimesis into a unity defined by Nature, which in the context of these ideas presents the Habsburg Empire as the "Empire of Man" extending control over "wild" European populations and populations for the benefit of mankind. Yet in accordance with a specifically Rococo modification of this idea, the submission of such wild peoples is presented in a joyful, mutually beneficial way rather than through absolutist domination and forceful exploitation. From an aesthetic standpoint, men as violent and unstable as the *Pandur*s may also be appreciated for their unique "horticultural" qualities, as well as for perhaps inspiring "sublime" terror. Comparing similar Rococo green sprigs in another Engelbrecht depiction of Maria Theresia reveals an identical emblematization, which seems to characterize her and her empire as being especially Rococo and Natural. Thus, I interpret this image-making as establishing her as a gardener of wild humanity, who cultivates the dangerous and unstable varieties of her subjects to fulfill the quasi-messianic destiny of Bacon's Empire of Man.

Conclusions to the Thesis:

This thesis began as a chance encounter with a strange collection of prints tucked away in the back corner of the Vienna Military Museum, and it seems fitting that it should also end there. Then as now, the collection's leafy vegetal décor and dramatically expressive eyes did not seem to fit within the scene of muskets and regimental standards commemorating Habsburg military glory. It's quite understandable why it would have been acquired by the Military Institute: as a record of a critical period in Habsburg history, but it stands in deep tension with glorified institutional retrospectives of eighteenth century Habsburg military.

The soldiers of this collection are not the dispassionate and robotic automatons one might imagine eighteenth century regimentals to be, but wild men; dressed in rags, armed with antiquated arquebusses and sabres, wearing long beards and carrying away the plunder of Southern German farmhouses. Their history is decidedly inglorious, and it is almost surely for this reason that they aroused the contemporary interest which inspired this print collection. This sense of tension was carried into the research and writing of this thesis, which attempted to show these depictions of otherness not simply as a Humanist passion for exotic human difference or Enlightenment desire to know and own the world, but as a slightly problematic set of representations which does not apparently fit within any preexisting categories. After all, why would a German *bürger* choose to engrave men so rough and wild that he at one point notes appear no different from marauders?[189] Engelbrecht's presentation of such men never ceases to surprise, and his textual commentaries include a complex variety of perspectives. They are

[189] Martin Engelbrecht, #19 "*Ein Wallachischer Tolpatsch mit seiner Feld Equipage*" (Augsburg, ca. 1742).

discussed as being frightening foreign in certain prints before shifting into the imagined dialogues of these men and women in others, empathetically expressing the difficulties of their hard lives. Meanwhile, authorial commentary about their recreational habits and attitudes toward relationships frequently devalues and parodies them. This collection poses dozens of questions, not all of which are answerable using the evidence within and around the collection. Fortunately, this effort has been blessed by the vast number of unique images and poems which provide a deep reservoir of statements about these characters.

In following the trail of this research, it became more and more clear that in commenting upon these groups, this collection was in fact building a commentary about the state and sovereign they champion. The key question of the collection became not "What does it say about these men and women?," but "What do these men and women say about the political powers that brought them to Engelbrecht's doorstep?" This is the source of the tension still apparent today in the Vienna Military Museum, which juxtaposes an aura of solid and respectable military service with the entirely disreputable service of foreigners.

In order to understand this, I have tried to contextualize the representations of the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* within the intellectual and cultural shifts of the Enlightenment, as well as the artistic transition into the Rococo. These changes were especially close to Martin Engelbrecht, as indeed perhaps no-one in Augsburg would have been more aware of changing ideas and art styles than a leading publisher. This unconventional approach demonstrates deep intellectual engagements, but also artistic interventions to modify these discourses in new ways to assert new meanings.

An example of this is the introduction of Maria Theresia as a core aspect of the prints' textual emotionality, which distinguishes it from previous purely otherizing utilizations of emotion and formulates the affective relationships of the collection as an "affective subjecthood." Maria Theresia's uniquely feminine rule allows the production of affect subjects through the transformation of natural emotionality and predilections for violence into useful or productive motivation, thus according barbarians a productive role in society and empire as fighting men. This reflexively depicts Maria Theresia as an especially effective ruler over especially affective others.

Another example is the depiction of these men wearing emblems of Nature, the green sprigs, which allude to changing ideas about humanity's relationship with Nature including the philosophical "Empire of Man" and Rococo aesthetics. In observing the shifts between an absolutism toward Nature embodied by the gardens of Versailles to a more joyful marriage of Man and Nature in the writings of Buffon, I propose the Nature of the *Theatre de la Milice etrangere* to be a positive embrace of the wildness of these men. This allows a symbolization of the Habsburg empire as the Empire of "wild" Man which incorporates savage subject populations on the margins of Europe into useful subjects, who are useful precisely due to their pronounced wildness.

Returning to the Vienna Military Museum, I would propose that the tension experienced when viewing *Pandur*s and *Tolpatsch*es within the of the collection is a fundamentally modern one. Today, emotional otherness seems dangerous and problematic in the context of just and efficient rule, but Martin Engelbrecht apparently had no difficulty in accommodating alterity with imperialism. These men played a crucial role in preserving the monarchy in a moment of crisis, and in fact their employment by

the Habsburg empire may even have reflected quite positively upon that state's capacity to "bring the outside in." They fulfill the dream of Empire: to bring together all the disparate parts of Man and Nature under one political system, which can orient them according to their innate qualities and employ them (as Bacon suggests) to benefit Mankind. This perhaps may even therefore returning the universe to an Edenic state. Only through a flexible and imaginative contextualization of these prints with broader ideas can such observations be made, so it is hoped that this thesis may inspire others to follow.

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[Figure 1] Martin Engelbrecht, #37 “Ein voller Courage von seiner Liebsten Abschied nehmender Pandur” (Augsburg, ca. 1742), Heeresgeschichtliches Museum Collection.

[Figure 2] Composite image: Martin Engelbrecht, #4 "*Un Tolpatsch de Sclavonie*" Heeresgeschichtliches Museum Collection, and Martin Engelbrecht, #4 "*Ein Tolpatsch aüs* Sclavonien" Heeresgeschichtliches Museum Collection. Page 14

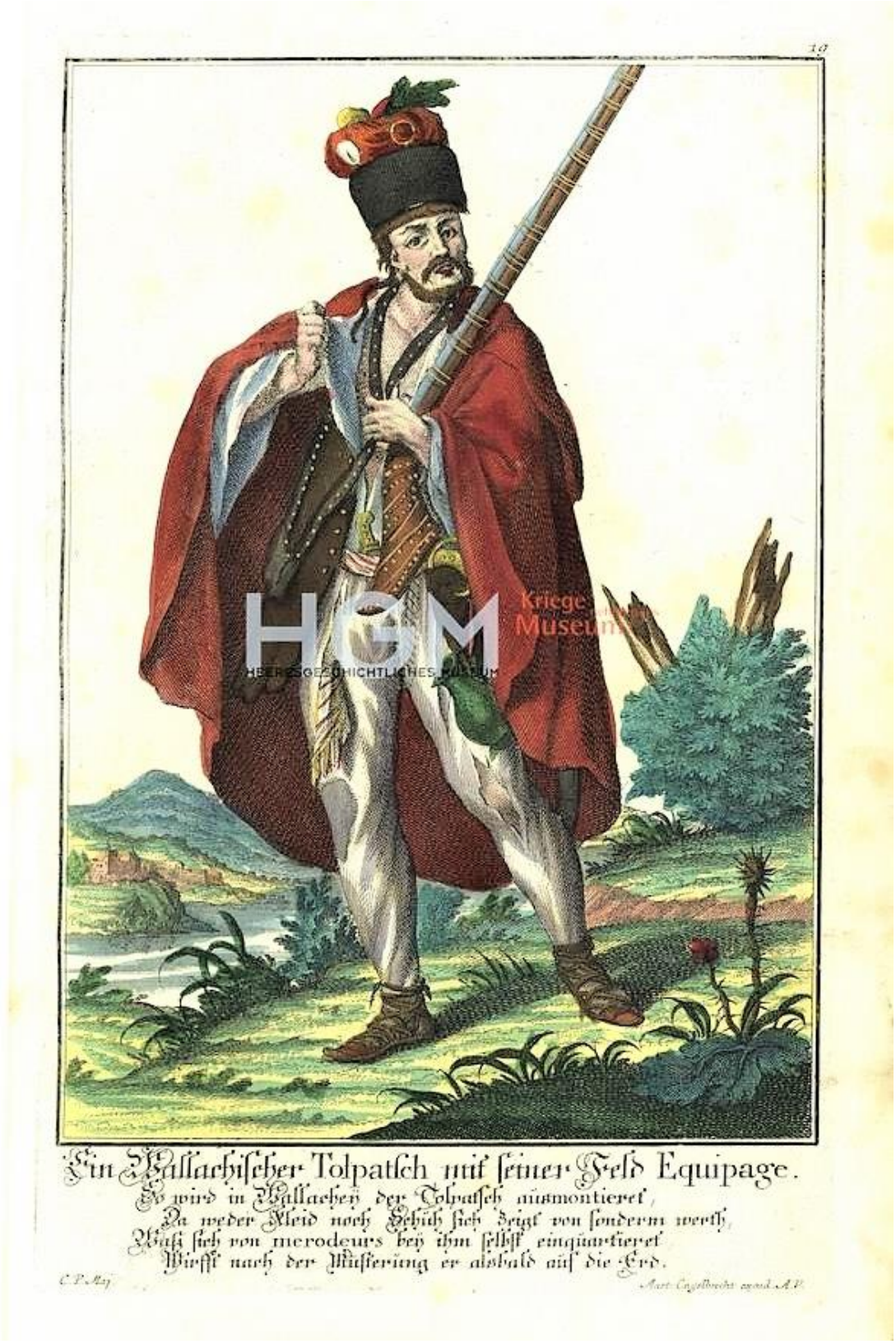
[Figure 3] Martin Engelbrecht, #20 "*Ein* Panduren Corporal *aüß dem* Warastiner Bannat" Heeresgeschichtliches Museum Collection. Page 26

[Figure 4] Martin Engelbrecht, # 60 *Ein* Pandur *von der Königlich Ungarischen* Nation *am Saustrom, oder ein so genandter Sauströmer*" Heeresgeschichtliches Museum Collection. Page 27

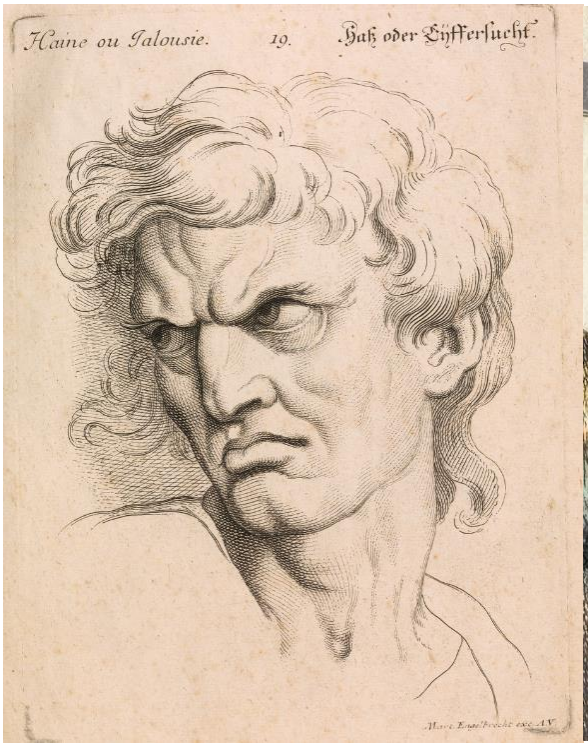
[Figure 5] Martin Engelbrecht, "*Der bey* geringer *und schlechter Kost vergnügte* Pandur *und* Croat" Heeresgeschichtliches Museum Collection. Page 29

[Figure 6] Martin Engelbrecht, #74 "*Ein* Panduren *Fähnrich mit seinem Fahnen Träger*" Heeresgeschichtliches Museum Collection. Page 29

[Figure 7] Martin Engelbrecht, #19 "*Ein Wallachischer* Tolpatsch *mit seiner Feld* Equipage" Heeresgeschichtliches Museum Collection. Page 33



[Figure 8] Composite image: Charles le Brun, #19 “Haine ou Jalousie” Expressions des passions de l'Ame, published by Martin Engelbrecht (Augsburg, 1732), Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Martin Engelbrecht, #51 “Ein in Action ergrimmter Berg Schott” Theatre de la Milice etrangere (Augsburg, ca. 1742). [Author’s image, from the Heeresgeschichtliches Museum collection] Page 43



[Figure 9] Martin Engelbrecht, #108 "*Ein* Waresdin*ischer Fußgänger oder* Pandur"
Heeresgeschichtliches Museum Collection. Page 50

[Figure 10] Martin Engelbrecht, #21 "*Ein* Croat *mit seinem Weib*" Heeresgeschichtliches Museum Collection. Page 55

[Figure 11] Martin Engelbrecht, #83 "*Ein Raiz welcher von seiner lieben alten Mutter beweglichen Abschied nimbt*" Heeresgeschichtliches Museum Collection. Page 56

[Figure 12] Martin Engelbrecht, #106 "*Zwey* Sclavon*ische Pfeiffer*" Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library. Page 62

[Figure 13] Martin Engelbrecht, “Title Page” Theatre de la Milice Etrangere: Schau-Bühne verschiedener bißhero Teutschland unbekannt gewester Soldaten von ausländischern Nationen (Augsburg, ca. 1742). Private Collection of Michael Kirchhof. Page 68

[Figure 14] Jeremias Wachsmuth, “1 of 2 plates from a suite of 4 designs for doorways and portals entitled, 'Allerneuesten Facon von Auszierungen zu Portalen',” (Augsburg, c. 1740-42) published by Martin Engelbrecht. *Berlin Staatliche Museen, Katalog der Ornamentstich-Sammlung der Staatlichen Kunstbibliothek Berlin, V&A Museum Collection.* Page 69

[Figure 15] Paul. Frid. Engelbrecht, “Maria Theresia D.G. Regina Hungariae, Archi D. Austrice et reliqua. Nata Ao. 1717. d. 13. Maj. Posonii corontat Ao. 1741. d. 25. Junii.” (unknown date) published by Martin Engelbrecht. Rijksmuseum Collection. Page 80

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