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Inhalt

I. Auftakt

STEFAN LAUBE

Buch-Gesichter in Medienharmonie und Medienkonkurrenz 9

II. In der konfessionellen Arena

CARSTEN-PETER WARNCKE

**Abraham van Diepenbeecks Frontispiz zum ersten Band
der *Acta Sanctorum* (Antwerpen 1643)** 37

LUCINDA MARTIN

Radical Pietist Frontispieces
The Devotional Practice of Rebirth 53

III. Fachwissen auf einen Blick

VOLKER BAUER

Wissensbäume, Wissensräume, Wissensträume
Genealogisch-dynastische Titelbilder als Emblem und als
Datenträger (1650 – 1750) 91

DELPHINE SCHREUDER

»Avoir un cœur de Mars, un esprit de Minerve«
The engineer in title pages of early modern fortification treatises.
A first draft 119

STEFAN LAUBE

Schichten und Schächte
Unterirdische Welten auf Titelbildern 143

IV. Visuelle Flechtwerke des Wissens

HOLE RÖSSLER

**»Ein Kupferstich, der Ihn, mit Recht, entzückt, In dem Er
Sich, mit Ruhm verbrämt, erblickt«**
Die soziale Produktivität des Autorenporträts im 17. und
18. Jahrhundert 183

KATHERINE M. REINHART

Autonomy & Diversity

The Frontispieces of the Early Royal Society 219

THOMAS HABEL

Titelbilder in deutschsprachigen Gelehrten Journalen und Zeitungen der Aufklärung

Ein Überblick 251

CHRISTIAN BRACHT

Frontispize in digitalen ForschungsinfrastrukturenGegenwart und Zukunftschancen am Beispiel des Titelpupfers zu
Grimmelshausens *Simplicissimus* 293**V. Bildproduktion im Spiegel**

CONSTANZE KEILHOLZ

Die Künste im Bild

Allegorische Frontispize in der Kunstliteratur der frühen Neuzeit 307

HOLGER TH. GRÄF

Das fragmentarische »Arbeitsbuch« des Johann Philipp**Thelott (1639 – 1671)**Eine bislang unbekannte Quelle zu dem Netzwerk eines Frankfurter
Kupferstechers 335**VI. Judge the Book by its Cover!**

LAURENCE GROVE

Emblematic Title Pages from *Pia desideria* to *All Star Superman* 353**Farbabbildungen/ Colour Figures** 375**Bildnachweis/ Image Credits** 401**Verzeichnis der Autorinnen und Autoren** 403**Register** 407

DELPHINE SCHREUDER

»Avoir un cœur de Mars, un esprit de Minerve«

The engineer in title pages of early modern fortification treatises.

A first draft

»Avoir un cœur de Mars, un esprit de Minerve« is the first verse of L. Garron's sonnet dedicated to the French engineer Antoine de Ville at the beginning of his treatise *Les Fortifications* (Lyon, 1629). Born in Toulouse in 1596, De Ville was probably schooled there at the Jesuit College. He began his military career very early on, taking part in sieges in France and the Low Countries. He also travelled to Italy where he studied early modern fortifications and became known for his mathematical and mechanical skills. He worked in Rome, Naples and Venice as an inspector and curator of strongholds before returning to France to pursue his military career.¹ When the privilege for *les Fortifications* was granted, De Ville was engaged in the siege of La Rochelle,² a fact that illustrates perfectly the duality of his trade in the early modern era captured in Garron's verse: namely, an engineer is both a man of war with knowledge of the field as well as an intellectual qualified in applied mathematics.³

War and mathematics have been in a loving relationship ever since Antiquity but, in a context of major scientific innovations combined with continuing hostilities spreading all over Europe, their bond grew closer and closer throughout the modern period. From this union came, along with several improvements in the art of war, bastioned fortification. In addition to being the perfect demonstration of mathematics applied to war, the pentagonal citadel »like the head of a comet, drew behind it the whole discourse of military urbanism«.⁴

1 EMILIE D'ORGEIX: Antoine Deville, in: FRÉDÉRIQUE LEMERLE, YVES PAUWELS (Eds.): *Architecture. Architecture, textes et images XVIe – XVIIe siècles*, Tours 2009; <http://architecture.cesr.univ-tours.fr/Traite/Notice/Deville1629.asp?param=> [last access: 07.03.2020]

2 Ibid.

3 ANNE BLANCHARD: *Les ingénieurs du »Roy« de Louis XIV à Louis XIV. Etude du corps des fortifications*, Montpellier 1979, p. 9. This quote works only in theory because, unlike De Ville, not every engineer in the early modern period have a military training.

4 MARTHA POLLAK: *Cities at War in early modern Europe*, Cambridge 2011, p. 63. For a recent update on the rise of bastioned fortifications, see NICOLAS FAUCHERRE, PIETER MARTENS, HUGUES PAUCOT: *La Genèse du système bastionné en Europe. The Genesis of the Bastioned System in Europe 1500 – 1550*, Navarenx 2014.

With the appearance of fortification treatises on the book market,⁵ scholars gave to the practical art of fortress building a theoretical approach that progressively raised military architecture from applied mechanics to a mathematical science. Just as mathematicians did not hesitate to underline the effectiveness of mathematical sciences in the art of war to entrench their legitimacy, fortification theorists did the same by reinforcing the geometrical aspect of military architecture and siege warfare.⁶

In a previous paper, I had the opportunity to discuss the role played by frontispieces of fortification treatises in these legitimization strategies⁷ – just as Volker Remmert did for frontispieces of mathematical treatises.⁸ Indeed, as a window to this new branch of scientific literature, the title pages turn out to be the most suitable place to display the relationship between war and mathematics and expose the new status of military architecture. Here, I would like to focus on the figure of the engineer who, with the rise of fortification, »became emancipated from the ranks of the mere handicrafts to the circles of the court and intellectual debate«. ⁹ Since this is still an ongoing investigation,¹⁰ this paper is only a first draft summarising a

- 5 For the most complete bibliography on military theory, see KLAUS JORDAN: *Bibliographie zur Geschichte des Festungsbaues von den Anfängen bis 1914: Festungsbau(kunst), Angriff und Verteidigung von Festungen, Belagerungs- und Festungskrieg, Küstenbefestigung, Feldbefestigung, Minir(Kunst), Geschichte der Ingenieur-Korps*, ed. by Deutsche Gesellschaft für Festungsforschung e.V., Marburg 2003.
- 6 See i.e. BETTINA MARTEN, ULRICH REINISCH, MICHAEL KOREY (Eds.): *Festungsbau. Geometrie – Technologie – Sublimierung*, Berlin 2012; MARCO G. BEVILACQUA: *The Conception of Remparts in the Sixteenth Century: Architecture, Mathematics, and Urban Design*, in: *Nexus Network Journal* 9/2 (2007), pp. 249–262; STEVEN A. WALTON: *The mathematical and military sciences in Renaissance England*, in: *Endeavour* 24/4 (2000), pp. 152–156; MARTHA POLLAK: *Military Architecture, Cartography & the Representation of the Early Modern European City. A Checklist of Treatises on Fortification in the Newberry Library*, Chicago 1991; CATHERINE WILKINSON-ZERNER: *Renaissance Treatises on Military Architecture and Science of Mechanics*, in: JEAN GUILLAUME (Ed.): *Les Traités d'architecture de la Renaissance*, Paris 1988, pp. 467–476; MARY HENNINGER-VOSS: *Measures of Success: Military Engineering and the Architectonic Understanding of Design*, in: WOLFGANG LEFÈVRE (Ed.): *Picturing Machines 1400–1700*, Cambridge (Mass.) 2004, pp. 143–169.
- 7 DELPHINE SCHREUDER: *When Mars meets Euclides. The relationship between war and mathematical sciences in frontispieces of fortification treatises*, in: GITTA BERTRAM, NILS BÜTTNER, CLAUS ZITTEL (Eds.): *Gateways to the Book: Frontispieces and Title Pages in Early Modern Europe*, Intersections 76, Leiden 2021, pp. 320–353.
- 8 VOLKER REMMERT: *Picturing the Scientific Revolution, Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts* 4, Philadelphia 2011. First published in German under the title of *ID.: Widmung, Welterklärung und Wissenschaftslegitimierung. Titelbilder und ihre Funktionen in der Wissenschaftlichen Revolution*, Wiesbaden 2005.
- 9 JEROEN GOUDEAU: *Safe Strongholds. Mathematical Fortification and the Fortress of Mathematics*, in: BETTINA MARTEN, ULRICH REINISCH, MICHAEL KOREY (Eds.): *Festungsbau* (see fn. 6), pp. 219–235, here p. 219.
- 10 This topic is part of an ongoing PhD Thesis on fortification treatises frontispieces from the Sammlung Brigitte und Klaus Jordan (Musée national d'Histoire et d'Art, Luxembourg)

few ideas about how frontispieces mirror the engineer's profession and status¹¹ – all the more so as the figure rarely appears in other mediums.

1. *Ingenio vs Labor*

The remarkable evolution of the title page during the modern era starts according to Florine Vital-Durand, »at the moment when the engraving of the book, forgetting the reminiscences of the medieval manuscript tradition, [...] begins to be imbued with the ›major‹ arts, architecture, sculpture and then painting«.¹² Indeed, in the mid sixteenth century, an architectural framework reminiscing the structures of an altarpiece or triumphal arch replaces the first frames using vegetal, arabesque or other ironwork motifs. The formal and symbolic homologies between the book and the art of architecture are many but this new architectural design of the title page strengthens the metaphor of the book as monument;¹³ a metaphor even more effective when it concerns architectural treatises.

The title page of Antoine de Ville's *Fortifications* (fig. 1), designed and engraved by the author himself, recycles the architectural model of the altar-

taking place at the Université catholique de Louvain under the supervision of Philippe Bragard and Ralph Dekoninck.

- 11 On the engineer's profession in the early modern period see i.e. DANIEL BUISSERET: *Ingénieurs et fortifications avant Vauban. L'organisation d'un service royal aux XVIe – XVIIe siècles*, Paris 2000; ULRICH SCHÜTTE, HARTWIG NEUMANN, ANDREAS BEYER: *Architekt und Ingenieur: Baumeister in Krieg und Frieden, Wolfenbüttel 1984*; ANNE BLANCHARD: *Les Ingénieurs du ›Roy‹* (see fn. 3); PHILIPPE BRAGARD: *Les Ingénieurs des fortifications dans les Pays-Bas espagnols et la principauté de Liège (1504 – 1713)*, Ph.D. dissertation, Université catholique de Louvain 1998; PHILIPPE BRAGARD: *Dictionnaire biographique des ingénieurs des fortifications: Pays-Bas espagnols, Principauté de Liège, Franche-Comté, 1504 – 1713*, Namur 2011; PIETER MARTENS, DIRK VAN DE VIJVER: *Engineers and the Circulation of Knowledge in the Spanish Netherlands*, in: SVEN DUPRÉ, BERT DE MUNCK, THOMAS WERNER, GEERT VANPAEMEL (Eds.): *Embattled Territory. The Circulation of Knowledge in the Spanish Netherlands*, Ghent 2015, pp. 73 – 106; MARTHA POLLAK: *Military Architecture* (see fn. 6); HELENE VERIN: *La gloire des ingénieurs: l'intelligence technique du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle, L'évolution de l'humanité*, Paris 1993.
- 12 FLORINE VITAL-DURAND: *Art et langage. Les frontispices allégoriques de la science à l'âge classique, Mémoires d'excellence*, Paris 2011, p. 80.
- 13 See i.e. HERMAN F. BOUCHERY: *Des arcs triomphaux aux frontispices de livres*, in: JEAN JACQUOT (Ed.): *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, Paris 1973, pp. 431 – 442; RALPH DEKONINCK: *Au seuil du livre-monument: l'imaginaire architectural du frontispice entre les anciens Pays-Bas et la France*, in: GODELIEVE DENHAENE (Ed.): *La Gravure de la Renaissance dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux*, Brussels 2010, pp. 15 – 27; RALPH DEKONINCK, ANNELYSE LEMMENS: *Dispositio et elecutio*. Homologies structurelles, formelles et fonctionnelles entre retables et frontispices baroques dans les anciens Pays-Bas, in: BRIGITTE D'HAINAUT-ZVENY, RALPH DEKONINCK (Eds.): *Machinae spirituales. Les retable baroques dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux et en Europe. Contributions à une histoire formelle du sentiment religieux au XVIIe siècle*, Turnhout 2014, pp. 132 – 141.



Fig. 1: Antoine de Ville: *Fortifications*, Lyon 1629, Title page. Luxemburg, Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, Brigitte and Klaus Jordan Fund, Photo: Delphine Schreuder (see also col. fig. 11)

piece or triumphal arch by presenting a fortress gate. As the book's front page, the frontispiece is the gateway through which the reader enters the text. As the stronghold main entrance, the gate marks the border between civil and military spaces. Therefore, since both the page and the gate are the first contact with the spectator, they were the perfect place where a programmatic discourse could unfold.

From the dedicatory inscription to Mars and Arts on the keystone and the implements on the architrave to the figures flanking the title and the emblems at the bottom of the page, the entire iconographical program of De Ville's plate is dedicated to the duality of the art of fortification, which must combine intellect with strength.¹⁴ The architectural design of the plate places *Ingenio* and *Labor* on the same level – asserting their equal importance in the art of war. Published a few years later, the title page of Adam Freitag's *Architectura Militaris Nova et aucta* (Leiden, 1631) conveys the same message (fig. 2). *Industria*, pointing to one of Euclid's axioms while holding a proportional compass in her other hand, faces *Labore* who is measuring a square fortress with a compass. The book at *Industria*'s feet asserts the importance of theory while the canon (and gunpowder) placed next to *Labore* echoes the battlefield. The rationality of mathematics depicted by the well-ordered instruments on *Industria* side is opposed to the chaos of the construction site, symbolized by the amount of tools piled underneath *Labore*.

Like in De Ville's plate, one can find Mars sitting on top of the structure, flanked by a scorpion and a ram, which, besides being the symbols of two houses of Mars, enlighten another duality. The ram refers to a more jovial aspect, for war brings glory to the victor while the scorpion refers to the negative side of war as it inevitably causes death and destruction.¹⁵ The same contrast can be found in the engineer's profession, whose construction was not the only skill. Indeed, as Jeroen Goudeau pointed out: »the people who knew how to build fortresses were also the ones who knew how to destroy them.«¹⁶ This is also implied by Garron's verse when he associates Mars with Minerva. As the goddess of wisdom, Minerva represents the rational, positive side of warfare while Mars evokes its violence. The duo can be found in numerous fortification treatises' frontispieces through the modern era like Andreas Cellarius's *Architectura Militaris* (Amsterdam, 1645) title page (fig. 3), which presents a design very similar to

14 JOHN R. HALE: The argument of some military title pages of the Renaissance, in: JOHN R. HALE: Renaissance War Studies, History Series 11, London 1983, pp. 211 – 225, here p. 218.

15 Ibid., p. 219.

16 JEROEN GOUDEAU: Harnessed Heroes: Mars, the title-page and the Dutch Stadtholders, in: VOLKER MANUTH, RUDIE VAN LEEUWEN, JOS KOLDEWEIJ (Eds.): Example or Alter Ego? Aspects of the *Portrait Historié* in Western Art from Antiquity to the Present, Nijmegen Art Historical Studies 22, Turnhout 2016, pp. 203 – 222, here p. 204.



Fig. 2: Adam Freitag: *Architectura Militaris Nova et aucta*, Leiden 1631, Title page. Luxembourg, Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, Brigitte and Klaus Jordan Fund, Photo: Delphine Schreuder



Fig. 3: Andreas Cellarius: *Architectura Militaris* [...], Amsterdam 1645, Title page. Luxembourg, Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, Brigitte and Klaus Jordan Fund, Photo: Delphine Schreuder

Adam Freitag's. The opposition between the two war divinities is made obvious by the plate's iconographical program. On top of the composition, we find the same two banners showing a ram, on Minerva's side, and a scorpion above Mars. Minerva, standing for military architecture, holds a parchment figuring mathematical instruments with construction tools at her feet. Across the title, Mars, holding a marshal's baton, is surrounded by canons and barrels of powder used to destroy the enemy.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the plate asserts their equal importance to secure victory as *Victoria* leans towards both of them with a laurel crown.

De Ville was not the first to depict the importance of combining intelligence and strength or theory with practice on a title page.¹⁸ In Daniel Speckle's *Architectura von Vestungen* (Strasbourg, 1589), one of the first copperplate illustrated fortification treatises, the front page (fig. 4) already shows a sophisticated architectural framework confronting the intellectual, mathematical aspect of the science of fortification with its practical application on the field. However, when Speckle and Freitag uphold the tradition of female allegorical figures, De Ville favours a realistic discourse in which an engineer – appearing for the first time on a title page – personifies *Ingenio* while a worker embodies *Labor*. The figure of the engineer resembles De Ville's portrait present in the book but one cannot assert for sure that the author willingly represented himself. Dressed in fine clothes, he holds a rule and a compass, both associated with geometry, as a baton of command. The sword on his side indicates his belonging to the military profession and underlines the duality of his trade. On the other side of the title, the worker, clothed in simple garments, has nothing but a shovel and a pickaxe. Choosing the realistic figures of the engineer and the worker over two similar female allegories contributes to the recognition of the trades involved in the art of fortification but it also clearly marks the distinction between them in terms of social status. Indeed, since Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* (ca. 1440–1452), architects claimed an intellectual and professional superiority over artisans who do not have the knowledge of letters and

17 A similar program can be found in CHRISTOFF HEIDEMANN's *Architectura Militaris* (Munich 1664). Minerva, surrounded with geometric tools, is drawing a stronghold map with a compass while Mars has his hand on a canon. Just like in Cellarius' plate, Minerva has construction tools at her feet and Mars is standing next to cannon balls and barrels.

18 Actually, the importance of combining theory and practice is not the prerogative of early modern fortification but is also at the heart of architectural theory in general since ALBERTI's *De re aedificatoria* (ca. 1440–1452). Thus iconographical programs confronting theory with practice, geometry with building, can also be found in sixteenth century treatises on architecture like ANDREA PALLADIO's *Quattro libri dell'Architettura* (Venice, 1570). See DESLEY LUSCOMBE: *Inscribing the Architect. The Depiction of the Attributes of the Architect in Frontispieces to Sixteenth Century Italian Architectural Treatises*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of New South Wales 2004.



Fig. 4: Daniel Speckle: *Architectura von Vestungen* [...], Strasburg 1589, Title page. Luxembourg, Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, Brigitte and Klaus Jordan Fund, Photo: Delphine Schreuder (see also col. fig. 12)

mathematics. It is the main reason why they have been the most proactive in the theorization of their art, and why engineers did the same when the profession became more specialized.¹⁹

2. The engineer as a courtier

As we move further into the seventeenth century, title pages began to liberate themselves from their architectural structure. The plate will no longer present a frame adorned by static figures but rather a stage for a narrative scene. Thus, the image begins to take precedence over the title, which allows the artist to include more characters into a unified pictorial composition.²⁰

The title page of Matthias Dögen's *Architectura Militaris Moderna* (Amsterdam, 1647) (fig. 5) shows two groups of figures discussing in front of an open window where we can see a besieged stronghold. The topic of conversation is the plan held by the engineer on the right. An officer and a soldier accompany him. On the left stands the commander next to Minerva whose hand points to the mathematical instruments on the table between them. Once again, the plate emphasises both sides of fortress building with, on one hand, the siege view in the background that illustrates the practical application of the mathematical theory discussed around the table and, on the other hand, the presence of a worker in front of this intellectual gathering. Looking closely at the plate's composition, one can see that the engineer is standing between the plane of the worker and the one of the stadtholder. This underlines his dual status as a courtier and a man of the field and thus demonstrates both the rise of his profession and the role played by the sovereign in this process.

Indeed, in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, war was, to quote Martha Pollak, »central to the functional development of absolute monarchy [...] and of the early modern state«²¹ and became a powerful tool to establish sovereignty. The changes occurring in the art of war modified the scale of its theatre making Europe a chessboard in which fortified cities

19 VALÉRIE NÈGRE: Les figures de l'architecte »savant« (XVe–XVIIIe siècle), in: LILIANE HILAIRE-PÉREZ, FABIEN SIMON, MARIE THÉBAUD-SORGER (Eds.): *L'Europe des sciences et des techniques. Un dialogue des savoirs, XVe–XVIIIe siècle*, Rennes 2016, pp. 133–139, here p. 139.

20 The perfect example showing this evolution are the two different editions of DANIEL SPECKLE's *Architectura von Vestungen*, already mentioned. If we compare the title page of the original with the one of its reedition in 1705, we can see how the items from the first have been detached from the architectural frame to be reintegrated into the second's pictorial composition. See ARMIN SCHLECHTER: *Engraved Title Pages of Fortification Manuals*, in: ULRIKE GEHRING, PETER WEIBEL (Eds.): *Mapping Spaces: Networks of Knowledge in 17th-Century Landscape Painting*, Munich 2014, pp. 288–297.

21 MARTHA POLLAK: *Military Architecture* (see fn. 6), p. XII.



Fig. 5: Matthias Dögen: *Architectura Militaris Moderna* [...], Amsterdam 1647, Title page. Luxembourg, Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, Brigitte and Klaus Jordan Fund, Photo: Delphine Schreuder

were paramount pieces in the nationalisation process. As war grew into a big machinery involving, willingly or not, all of society, only great powers could handle its organization.²² Thus, Fortification became a main concern for the sovereign eager to defend his territory and engineers, who once sold their services to the highest bidders between urban communities and feudal lords, began to develop a stronger relationship with the state.²³

As Joël Cornette pointed out, the most striking example of strong defensive politics closely connected with the definition and function of the State was the one of the United Provinces, which soon became a model for many other European nations.²⁴ The Northern Low Countries also had one of the main education centres for officers and military engineers in the University of Leiden founded by William I, Prince of Orange, in 1575. His son, Prince Maurice of Nassau, one of the best military leaders of his time, conceived a brand-new institution within the University, the *Duytsche Mathematique*, at the dawn of the seventeenth century. Based on his own experience of war, the Prince recognized the key role played by military engineers and the importance of their education. The mathematician Simon Stevin, who taught the young Maurice, was put in charge of the curriculum and the lessons were taught in Dutch in order to be more accessible.²⁵ Many renowned publications on fortification came from this school that contributed to propagate the so-called »Dutch system«, including, besides Dögen's *Architectura Militaris Moderna*, Adam Freitag's *Architectura Militaris nova et aucta* (Leiden, 1631) and Andreas Cellarius's *Architectura Militaris* (Amsterdam, 1645), mentioned above.

A key element that can be found in the title pages of those three books is the siege map. These items were very popular in the seventeenth century, especially on the Dutch market due to their combination of various pictorial genres such as battle scenes, landscapes, cartography, townscapes, etc. and their rational depiction of warfare.²⁶ In itself, the siege map was a perfect

22 JOËL CORNETTE: *Le roi de guerre: essai sur la souveraineté dans la France du Grand Siècle*, Petite bibliothèque Payot 391, Paris 1993 (Reprint: 2010), p. 31.

23 ANNE BLANCHARD: *Les ingénieurs du »Roy«* (see fn. 3), p. 9.

24 JOËL CORNETTE: *Le roi de guerre* (see fn. 22), pp. 41–46.

25 On the *Duytsche Mathematique* see i. e. KLAAS VAN BERKEL: *Simon Stevin et la fondation de l'école militaire de Leyde en 1600*, in: CATHERINE SECRETAN, PIM DEN BOER (Eds.): *Simon Stevin – De la vie civile, 1590*, Lyon 2005, pp. 93–108; CHARLES VAN DEN HEUVEL: *De vesting als mathematisch en cultured kennissysteem. Het onderwijs in de vestingbouw aan hovelingen, kooplui en ambachtslieden in de Hollandse Republiek (17de eeuw)*, in: *Scientiarum Historia* 32/1 (2006), pp. 99–117; WILLEM OTTERSPEER: *The Study of Practical Mathematics at Leiden University*, in: ULRIKE GEHRING, PETER WEIBEL (Eds.): *Mapping Spaces: Networks of Knowledge in 17th-Century Landscape Painting*, Munich 2014, pp. 333–339.

26 See the chapter »The soldier redeemed: siege maps« in DAVID KUNZLE: *From Criminal to Courtier. The Soldier in Netherlandish Art 1550–1672*, *History of Warfare* 10, Leiden–Boston 2002.

illustration of mathematics applied to war. It was also a celebration of the siege as one of »the great engineering feats of the age«²⁷ and an artwork »through which the Dutch public was enabled to interpret their national epic, and taught to accept the idea of a militarized landscape as landscape as it were defending itself«.²⁸ By depicting siege-works, those images acknowledged the communal effort of soldiers, peasants and citizens in the building of the trenches. In the same vein, the presence in fortification treatises frontispieces of a worker – depicted in Dögen's plate as large as the stadtholder –, and humble tools in general, was, according to David Kunzle, a recognition of »the peasant contribution in the digging« and the spade was treated »symbolically as a kind of military weapon, no less than a sword or a musket«;²⁹ an idea that we could already find in De Ville's title page.

The title page of Matthias Dögen's *Architectura Militaris Moderna* probably served as a model for the upper register of Johann Bernhard Scheithers' *Novissima Praxis Militaris* (Braunschweig, 1672) title engraving (fig. 6). Although, this time, three engineers discuss the plan with two Turkish commanders³⁰ and the view seen through the window is an open-field battle. The lower register shows how the siege machinery, as the heavier bowl of the balance, can tip the scale for the conquest of a city.³¹

The unified composition of Dögen's plate – despite the wide variety of characters and components it gathers – mirrors the war system itself that connects a diversity of actors and elements around a common goal, namely the defence of the city and, by extension, the protection of the state. Fulfilling its function as the book's preface, it previews the main subjects covered by the treatise. Besides being an update on Dutch military architecture, Matthias Dögen's work was also »a plea in favour of the engineer-architect, whom he places at the centre of the political-military systems«.³² He asserts that a military leader must be assisted by the engineer who, through his knowledge of mathematics and experience of the field, will give him the necessary advice to conduct the siege in the most efficient way.³³ Thus, the title page emphasizes the collaboration between the sovereign and the engi-

27 Ibid., p. 446.

28 Ibid., p. 445.

29 Ibid., p. 446.

30 This also raises the question of the engineer's role as an ambassador. For example, we know that Matthias Dögen was employed by the elector of Brandenburg as a diplomatic agent in Amsterdam where he served in the admiralty. See MICHÈLE VIROL: Matthias Dögen, in: FRÉDÉRIQUE LEMERLE, YVES PAUWELS (Eds.): *Architectura. Architecture, textes et images XVIe–XVIIe siècles*, Tours 2009. <http://architectura.cesr.univ-tours.fr/Traite/Notice/Dogen1647.asp?param=> [last access: 07.03.2020].

31 SCHLECHTER: Engraved Title Pages (see fn. 20), p. 296.

32 MICHÈLE VIROL: Matthias Dögen (see fn. 30).

33 Ibid.



Fig. 6: Johann Bernhard Scheithers: *Novissima Praxis Militaris* [...], Braunschweig 1672, Title page. Luxemburg, Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, Brigitte and Klaus Jordan Fund, Photo: Delphine Schreuder

neer as the central core of the war system by making it the focal point of its composition.

This relationship is also the main subject of Johann Ardüser *Architectura von Vestungen* (Zurich, 1651) title page (fig. 7) where the solemnity of the encounter between the two main characters is highlighted by the triumphal arch. The two personifications on the tympanum echoes their respective function that are fortress building (on the left) and the conduct of war (on the right).³⁴ However, if the figure of the sovereign can be distinguish from the one of the engineer; they stay anonymous unlike in Dögen's plate where the stadtholder has been identified as Frederick Hendrik of Nassau who encouraged the author to publish his book. It is possible that the character looking at the viewer might be Friedrich Wilhelm, Great Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick Hendrick's son-in-law and Dögen's employer to whom the book is dedicated. Then, it is most likely that the engineer might be Matthias Dögen himself.³⁵

Given the key role played by stadtholders in the development of the Dutch system, it is not surprising to find their portraits on title pages of fortification treatises.³⁶ However, Dögen is the only one to picture the sovereign interacting with the engineer. To find other demonstrations of this collaboration, one must turn to another great nation where the relationship between war, the State and royal power was intimate: France.³⁷

In the kingdom of Louis XIV, there is one figure regarding fortification who has eclipsed all others, namely Sébastien le Prestre de Vauban who became »Commissaire general des fortifications« in 1678 after two decades of intense activity. Unlike the Academy members who published numerous didactical books on architecture,³⁸ Vauban himself considered that theory had to give way to practice in the field, and never bothered to publish the slightest treatise on military architecture – also out of a concern to protect his trade secrets. However, several works will refer to the master by name, either to present his method or to criticize it.³⁹

34 SCHLECHTER: Engraved Title Pages (see fn. 20), p. 296.

35 GOUDEAU: Harnessed Heroes (see fn. 16), p. 213.

36 Jeroen Goudeau has also identified Maurits as Mars in Adam Freitag's plate and William III in the frontispieces for the Dutch edition of Allain Manesson Mallet's *Les travaux de mars ou l'art de la guerre* (Paris 1672). GOUDEAU: Harnessed Heroes (see fn. 16).

37 CORNETTE: Le roi de guerre (see fn. 22).

38 EMILIE D'ORGEIX: Vauban au pied du rempart. Le chantier comme terrain de formation et d'expérimentation, in: Les Carnets du paysage 32 (2017), pp. 170 – 179, here p. 174.

39 PHILIPPE BRAGARD: Du Fay et les autres. La diffusion de la fortification selon Vauban dans la théorie européenne autour de 1700, in: MICHÈLE VIROL, PHILIPPE BRAGARD, NICOLAS FAUCHERRE, MARIEKE STEENBERGEN (Eds.): L'influence de Vauban dans le monde, Namur 2014, pp. 17 – 38.



Fig. 7: Johann Ardüser: *Architectura von Vestungen* [...], Zurich, 1651, Title page. Luxembourg, Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, Brigitte and Klaus Jordan Fund, Photo: Delphine Schreuder



Fig. 8: Sébastien le Prestre de Vauban: *Le Directeur général des fortifications* (ed. 2nd), The Hague 1689, Frontispiece. Luxembourg, Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, Brigitte and Klaus Jordan Fund, Photo: Delphine Schreuder



Fig. 9: Chevalier de Cambray: Manière de fortifier de Mr de Vauban, Amsterdam 1689, Frontispiece. Luxembourg, Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, Brigitte and Klaus Jordan Fund, Photo: Delphine Schreuder



Fig. 10: Nicolas De Fer: *Introduction à la fortification* [...], second volume, Paris 1693, Frontispiece. Luxembourg, Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, Brigitte and Klaus Jordan Fund, Photo: Delphine Schreuder

In 1685, Henri van Bulderen published in The Hague a pirate copy of Vauban's text *Le Directeur général des fortifications*. Its frontispiece (fig. 8) shows, in the forefront, the engineer presenting a stronghold map to the king. Since the plate is now freed from the title, it can display a large background where extends a construction site. The importance given to the site in the frontispiece reflects its significance in Vauban's mind.⁴⁰

The frontispiece for *La manière de fortifier de Mr de Vauban* (fig. 9) by »le chevalier de Cambray« (Amsterdam, 1689) also figures the engineer discussing with the sovereign around the plan of a fortress, only in this case, he is no longer bowing before the king. He is even depicted taller than him, with his hat on. The scene is repeated in the background – this time the engineer does not wear his hat in the presence of the king – in front of large siege view. If the figures are not clearly identified as Vauban and Louis XIV, the allusion is still obvious.

However, the frontispiece for the second volume of Nicolas De Fer's *Introduction à la fortification* (Paris, 1693) (fig. 10) clearly stages Louis XIV pointing to the stronghold map Vauban is presenting him. This asserts to the other engineers facing them on the other side of the plate that his

40 EMILIE D'ORGEIX: Vauban au pied du rempart (see fn. 38), pp. 174 – 177.

new methods prevail over theirs. One can recognise Adam Freitag, Samuel Marolois, Pietro Sardi and Simon Stevin by the plan they are holding. On the ground, around the title, we can find drawings from Matthias Dögen, Blaise de Pagan and Jean Errard de Bar-le-Duc.

3. The engineer on the field

When frontispieces do not depict him as an allegorical figure standing for *Ingenio* or in interaction with his sovereign, the engineer appears working on a construction site. Henrick Ruse's *Verstercke Vesting* (Amsterdam, 1654) title page (fig. 11), which stages the construction of a fortification wall, shows two engineers and a surveyor in the forefront drawing the stronghold map while the workers are busy erecting the wall. The intricate link between fortress building and geometry is asserted by the drawing nailed to the wall next to mathematical instruments. By displaying all the items necessary for the art of war from armaments to geometrical utensils and construction tools, the plate presents itself as a true manifesto of the engineer's profession, but foremost it demonstrates the diversity of knowledge and practices associated with military architecture.⁴¹

The building of a fortification wall is also the subject of the frontispiece for *L'Expérience de l'architecture militaire* (fig. 12) by a certain Desmartins (Paris, 1685). Once again the construction is linked to geometry by the three engineers in the forefront discussing around a stronghold map. The image of the construction site can also be found in the frontispiece for the treatise by the engineer-geographer Jean-Baptiste Naudin entitled *L'ingénieur François* (Paris, 1695) (fig. 13). Echoing the title of the work, the plate focuses on the figure of the engineer directing his crew while a siege takes place in the background.

Finally, as we have seen, fortification theorists insist on the significance of practice in military architecture studies. The frontispiece for Johann Georg Pasch's *Florilegium Fortificatorium Tripartitum* (Halle, 1662) (fig. 14) emphasizes this idea by displaying an engineer taking notes on the siege happening in front of him. His mathematical training is induced by the

41 An idea also conveyed by engravings like the one of PIETER SCHENK's *Carte qui représente toutes les pièces qui sont comprises dans l'architecture militaire* (Amsterdam 1703). See ULRIKE GEHRING: Painted Topographies. A Transdisciplinary Approach to Science and Technology in Seventeenth century Landscape Painting, in: ULRIKE GEHRING, PETER WEIBEL (Eds.): Mapping Spaces. Networks of Knowledge in 17th-Century Landscape Painting, Munich 2014, pp. 22–101, here p. 80.



Fig. 11: Henrick Ruse: *Versterckte Vesting* [...], Amsterdam 1654, Title page. Luxemburg, Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, Brigitte and Klaus Jordan Fund, Photo: Delphine Schreuder



Fig. 12: Desmartins: *L'expérience de l'architecture militaire*, Paris 1685, Frontispiece. Luxemburg, Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, Brigitte and Klaus Jordan Fund, Photo: Delphine Schreuder



Fig. 13: Jean-Baptiste Naudin: *L'ingénieur François*, Paris 1695, Frontispiece. Luxembourg, Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, Brigitte and Klaus Jordan Fund, Photo: Delphine Schreuder



Fig. 14: Johann Georg Pasch: *Florilegium Fortificatorium tripartitum* [...], Halle 1662, Frontispiece. Luxemburg, Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, Brigitte and Klaus Jordan Fund, Photo: Delphine Schreuder

presence of the instruments beside him.⁴² By granting to the siege view the larger part of the plate, the frontispiece highlights its artistic value as a theatrical depiction of war.⁴³ Moreover, the presence of the siege in frontispieces of fortification treatises had, according to Armin Schlechter, two purposes: »on the one hand, [it] refers to the actual prevailing danger of war at the time; on the other hand, it emphasizes the importance of this type of book as well as fortress building, in the sense of self-advertisement«.⁴⁴

42 The composition evokes the engraving of JACQUES CALLOT's *The Siege of Breda* (1628), where we can find, in the low left corner of the map, the artist taking notes on the event guided by the surveyor holding the compass. See SIMONE ZURAWSKI: New Sources for Jacques Callot's Map of the Siege of Breda, in: *The Art Bulletin* 70 (1988), pp. 621–639, here p. 623.

43 See DELPHINE SCHREUDER: Le paysage théâtre de la guerre. La peinture de bataille topographique à travers les représentations des sièges de la ville de Gravelines au XVII^e siècle, in: *Koregos. Revue et Encyclopédie multimédia des arts* 125 (2015), see <http://www.koregos.org/fr/delphine-schreuder-le-paysage-theatre-de-la-guerre/6780/> [last access: 07.03.2020].

44 SCHLECHTER: Engraved Title Pages (see fn. 20), p. 297.



Col. fig. 11: Antoine de Ville: *Fortifications*, Lyon 1629, Title page. Luxemburg, Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, Brigitte and Klaus Jordan Fund, Photo: Delphine Schreuder



Col. fig. 12: Daniel Speckle: *Architectura von Vestungen* [...], Strasburg 1589, Title page. Luxembourg, Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, Brigitte and Klaus Jordan Fund, Photo: Delphine Schreuder

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Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek: Abb. 5 und Farbabb. 2

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek: Abb. 2 – 4

CARSTEN-PETER WARNCKE: Abraham van Diepenbeecks Frontispiz zum ersten Band der *Acta Sanctorum* (Antwerpen 1643)

Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek: Abb. 1

Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Graphische Sammlung: Abb. 3 und Farbabb. 4

Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek: Abb. 2, 4 und Farbabb. 3

LUCINDA MARTIN: Radical Pietist Frontispieces

Amsterdam, Embassy of the Free Mind, Collection Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica: Fig. 6 – 7, 9 und Col. fig. 6, 8

Courtesy of Scott Brown: Fig. 8 und Col. fig. 7

Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Photo: Andreas Diesend: Fig. 2

Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek: Fig. 1 und Col. fig. 5

Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria: Fig. 4

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek: Fig. 3, 5

VOLKER BAUER: Wissensbäume, Wissensräume, Wissensträume

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek: Abb. 1 – 9 und Farbabb. 9 – 10

DELPHINE SCHREUDER: »Avoir un cœur de Mars, un esprit de Minerve«

Luxemburg, Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, Brigitte and Klaus Jordan Fund,

Photo: Delphine Schreuder: Fig. 1 – 14 und Col. fig. 11 – 12

STEFAN LAUBE: Schichten und Schächte

Gent, Universitätsbibliothek: Abb. 9

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Zürich, ETH-Bibliothek: Abb. 3.

HOLE RÖSSLER: »Ein Kupferstich, der Ihn, mit Recht, entzückt, In dem Er Sich, mit Ruhm verbrämt, erblickt«

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum: Abb. 4

Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek: Abb. 8

Halle (Saale), Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt: Abb. 3a – b

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek: Abb. 1 – 2, 5 – 7, 9 – 10

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