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KINSHIP AND HERALDRY IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SOUTH TYROL: THE ROTTENBUCH RESIDENCE

Gustav Pfeifer

Analysis of heraldry as part of a wider context of communication and representation is increasingly common. When different coats of arms appear together, marshalled in one shield or otherwise, so as to represent social groups, they have a particular claim to our attention.¹

The following case-study focuses on the heraldic element in the redecoration carried out in 1598 of the Rottenbuch mansion in Gries, an area of the important commercial and fair-hosting town of Bozen (Bolzano) which stands in the eastern Alps on the road heading north from upper Italy into the south German/Austrian area and the Brenner Pass. Having been (with interruptions) subject to the Prince-Bishop of Trent up until the end of the middle ages, Bozen was *de facto* from 1462, and *de jure* from 1531, a Habsburg city.

¹ To cite only a few recent examples from the German language area: Werner Paravicini, 'Gruppe und Person. Repräsentation durch Wappen im späteren Mittelalter', in *Die Repräsentation der Gruppen. Texte - Bilder - Objekte*, edd. Otto Gerhard Oexle and Andrea von Hülsen-Esch (Veröffn. des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 141: Göttingen 1998), pp. 327-89; id., *Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels* vol. 1 (Beihefte der Francia 17/1: Sigmaringen 1989), pp. 335f.; Detlev Kraack, *Monumentale Zeugnisse der spätmittelalterlichen Adelsreise. Inschriften und Graffiti des 14.-16. Jahrhunderts* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl. III/224: Göttingen 1997), pp. 42f., 62f.; Joseph Morsel, 'Geschlecht und Repräsentation. Beobachtungen zur Verwandtschaftskonstruktion im fränkischen Adel des späten Mittelalters', in *Die Repräsentation der Gruppen*, pp. 259-325; id., *La noblesse contre le prince. L'espace social des Thüngen à la fin du moyen âge (Franconie, v. 1250-1525)* (Beihefte der Francia 49: Stuttgart 2000), pp. 72-80; Andreas Ranft, 'Adlige Wappen-, Turnier-, Haus- und Familienbücher. Zur Notationspraxis von Wappen- und Namenlisten', in *Adelige Welt und familiäre Beziehung. Aspekte der 'privaten Welt' des Adels in böhmischen, polnischen und deutschen Beispielen vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Heinz-Dieter Heimann (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur Brandenburg-Preußens und des Alten Reiches: Potsdam 2000), pp. 115-39; Thomas Winkelbauer and Tomás Knoz, 'Geschlecht und Geschichte. Grablegen, Grabdenkmäler und Wappenzyklen als Quellen für das historisch-genealogische Denken des österreichischen Adels im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', in *Die Konstruktion der Vergangenheit. Geschichtsdenken, Traditionsbildung und Selbstdarstellung im frühneuzeitlichen Ostmitteleuropa*, edd. Joachim Bahlcke and Arno Strohmeier (Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung, Beiheft 29: Berlin 2002), pp. 129-77; Simona Slanicka, *Krieg der Zeichen. Die visuelle Politik Johanns ohne Furcht und der armagnakisch-burgundische Bürgerkrieg* (Veröffn. des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 182: Göttingen 2002); Ludwig Biewer, 'Wappen als Träger der Kommunikation im Mittelalter. Einige ausgewählte Beispiele', in *Medien der Kommunikation im Mittelalter*, ed. Karl-Heinz Spieß (Beiträge zur Kommunikationsgeschichte 15: Stuttgart 2003), pp. 139-54.

In this article places in the South Tyrol are referred to by their German names, this being appropriate to the historical context; when the reference is to the present day, Italian names are used as being slightly more familiar to an English readership.

In order to avoid presenting the reader with a simple descriptive catalogue and to achieve a better contextualization and understanding of the subject-matter, it is necessary first to draw a picture of the social profile, the family connections and the genealogical background of the man who commissioned the work, Joseph Rottenbacher von Rottenbuch, member of one of the most distinguished families of councillors in sixteenth-century Bozen.

The family of Rottenbacher von Rottenbuch

There are not yet sufficiently detailed studies for a full reconstruction of the biographical and genealogical history of the Rottenbacher family. The older genealogies in the so-called *Bozner Geschlechterbuch* of 1770 and those compiled by Stefan von Mayrhofen around 1800 stand up only partly to soundings taken on the basis of primary sources.² Unfortunately it is not rare for them to ascribe family members to the wrong parents or even the wrong generations, to present contradictory data, to record names in incorrect forms, to leave individuals out entirely, to give erroneous dates of death, and especially to present incomplete details of marriages. The picture that emerges from the scanty secondary literature on the subject, such as the brief notes made by Mayrhofen, Staffler and Granichstaedten-Czerva, is hardly any different.³ The genealogical tables drawn up by von Grabmayr (1940) and Andresen (1995), on the other hand, while based on solid documentary evidence, relate only in part to the Rottenbacher family.⁴

The two younger Rottenbacher lines came into being with the death of Peter Rottenbacher in 1487, which marked the extinction of the male-line issue of the old family. Peter left two daughters, Agnes and Caecilia,⁵ whose husbands, Erasmus or Asem R(i)emer and Jörg Kurz,⁶ received from the emperor Frederick III on 20 January 1488 a grant of the arms and the right to adopt henceforth the name of Rottenbacher.⁷ As shown in the patent (**Figure 1**) the canting arms were *Argent a beech leaf gules*; the crest, on a beaked helm, crowned or, and mantled gules and argent, *A pair of wings argent charged with a beech leaf gules*. In the blazon given

² *Das Bozner Geschlechterbuch. Hundert Stammfolgen aus dem Jahre 1770*, ed. Franz Sylvester Weber (Jahrbuch für Geschichte, Kultur und Kunst 1935/1936: Bolzano 1936/37), pp. 233-5. Stefan von Mayrhofen, Ms. Genealogien des Tyroler Adels, c. 1800: Südtiroler Landesarchiv/Archivio Provinciale di Bolzano (henceforth SLA), Bibliothek; excerpts made by Kurt Staffler, 1935-1937, no. 390, with genealogical notes.

³ Mayrhofen, *ibid.*; Johann Jakob Staffler, *Tirol und Vorarlberg, topographisch, mit geschichtlichen Bemerkungen* vol. II 2/2 (Innsbruck 1846), pp. 901f.; Rudolf von Granichstädten-Czerva, *Überetsch (Eppan, Kaltern, Tramin, Girlan). Ritterburgen und Edelleute* (Neustadt a. d. Aisch 1960), pp. 111f.

⁴ Georg von Grabmayr, *Stammtafeln alter Tiroler Familien* (Schlern-Schriften 48: Innsbruck 1940); Johannes Andresen, *Die politische Führungsschicht der Stadt Bozen im 16. Jahrhundert* (unpubl. Magisterarbeit thesis, Bonn Univ. 1995), pp. 116f., figs. 7-8.

⁵ Mayrhofen, *Genealogien*, no. 390.

⁶ *Ibid.*, nos. 383, 244.

⁷ SLA, Archiv Lachmüller, II 26 no. 7; Gustav Pfeifer, *Wappen und Kleinod. Wappenbriefe in öffentlichen Archiven Südtirols* (Veröffn. des Südtiroler Landesarchivs / Pubblicazioni dell'Archivio Provinciale di Bolzano 11: Bolzano 2001), p. 35 n. 2.

Figure 1: Arms and crest granted to Asem R(i)emer and Jörg Kurz together with the right to assume the name of Rottenbacher, 20 Jan. 1488: Südtiroler Landesarchiv, Archiv Lachmüller, II 26 no. 7 (photo A. Campaner). '[...] ein weysser schilde, darinn in ganntzem schild ein rott púchen lawb und in mitte desselben lawbs ein weysses crewtzlin, und auf dem schilde einen helm gezieret mit einer rotten und weissen helmdecken und einer gelben oder goldfarben crone, enndtspringende daraus zwo zugetan flug, darinne in mitte auch ein rott púchen laub mit einem weýssen crewtzlin als im schild.'



in the patent, the beech leaf in both arms and crest was to be charged with a cross coupé argent.

The imperial grant of arms did not signify the recipient's automatic elevation to noble rank. It was, however, a matter of considerable prestige to receive a patent of this sort from the emperor, precisely because worthiness for a coat of arms was not restricted to the nobility; it was a clear indication of imperial favour, and could help accelerate entry to the ranks of the nobility, though it could not of course replace the 'process of gradual access' to the social milieu of the nobles themselves.⁸ Indeed the Tyrolean land statute of 1532 distinguishes between those with particular privileges and a typically noble way of life, far removed from the concerns of trade ('mit sundern Adelsfreyhaiten begabt sein ... vnd sich auch Adelich halten vnd der Gwerb vnd hanndtierung enntslagen haben'), and those who possess merely grants of arms, letters of service, or other patents granting exemptions. The latter were required to show obedience to the authorities, that is to the holders of official posts such as stewards,

⁸ Karl-Heinz Spieß, 'Aufstieg in den Adel und Kriterien der Adelszugehörigkeit im Spätmittelalter', in *Zwischen Nicht-Adel und Adel*, edd. Kurt Andermann and Peter Johanek (Vorträge und Forschungen 53: Stuttgart 2001), pp. 13-5; Christine Reinle, 'Wappengenossen und Landleute. Der bayrische Niederadel zwischen Aufstieg und Ausgrenzung', *ibid.*, pp. 125-9; Hans Schlosser, *Spätmittelalterlicher Zivilprozess nach bayerischen Quellen. Gerichtsverfassung und Rechtsgang* (Forschungen zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte 8: Cologne & Vienna 1971), pp. 108-10; cf. now, on late medieval Zurich, Claudia Kajatin, 'Königliche Macht und bürgerlicher Stolz. Wappen- und Adelsbriefe in Zürich', in *Alter Adel - neuer Adel? Zürcher Adel zwischen Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Peter Niederhäuser (Mitteilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich 70 = Neujahrsblatt 167: Zurich 2003), pp. 202-9; for a recent overview, Gustav Pfeifer, 'Wappenbriefe (unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Tiroler Verhältnisse)', in *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16.-18. Jahrhundert). Ein exemplarisches Handbuch*, edd. Josef Pauser, Martin Scheutz and Thomas Winkelbauer (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband 44: Vienna & Munich 2004), pp. 291-302.

provincial judges, burgomasters, and other judges ('Vnd in Crafft derselben den Gerichtßherren Phlegern Lanndtrichtern Burgermaistern vnd Richtern weder zum Rechten Raⁿten oder andern notturfftten gehorsam sein wo^llen').⁹

The lineage that concerns us here was founded by Erasmus Rottenbucher, formerly Riemer, who like the old Rottenbucher family belonged to the ruling class of the councillors of Bozen. To be one of Bozen's élite meant occupying specific civic offices and fulfilling duties in the service of the lord of the city. Riemer's father-in-law, Peter Rottenbucher, had been burgomaster in 1467 and then, in 1470, had assumed the office of lay provost of the parish of Saint Mary.¹⁰ His father's brother, Wernher Riemer, had been civic judge from 1434 to 1441 and superintendent of the hospital from 1433 to 1439.¹¹ Erasmus himself took on the position of provost of Saint Mary's several times between 1497 and 1508, and appears in the sources for the last time in 1509.¹²

Formal entry to the ranks of the nobility was achieved soon after, by Erasmus' son Wolfgang Rottenbucher the elder (died 1521), named in the sources as provost in 1512 and city councillor in 1518;¹³ on 10 April in the latter year noble status was conferred on him by the emperor Maximilian I (**Plate 3a**).¹⁴ The heraldic effect of this promotion consisted in the 'opening-up' of his helm, that is to say the beaked helmet was replaced by the barred 'tournament' helm that from the late fifteenth century onwards had been considered higher up in the heraldic hierarchy and was accord-

⁹ LanndtBordnung / der Fürstlichen Grafschafft Tirol, Augsburg 1532, I 7 2.

¹⁰ Tiroler Landesarchiv, Innsbruck (henceforth TLA), doc. I 6913/1-2 (18/3/1467): Peter Rottenbucher as burgomaster, sealing both documents with his armorial seal; 'P. Ferdinand Troyer's "Cronica der statt Botzen"', *Cultura Atesina / Kultur des Etschlandes* 4 (1950), pp. 98-128 (at 110); Bruno Klammer (ed.), *P. J. Ladurner's [sic] Chronik von Bozen 1844* (Bolzano 1982), p. 381 no. 3.

¹¹ Hannes Obermair, *Die Bozner Archive des Mittelalters bis zum Jahr 1500. Grundlegung zu ihrer mediävistischen Aufarbeitung. Regesten der Urkunden 1* (unpubl. doctoral thesis, Innsbruck Univ., 1986), pp. 403 no. 599 (30/3/1434), 407f. no. 608 (25/2/1439), 411 no. 615 (13/7/1441); cf. Walter Schneider, *Das Urbar des Heilig-Geist-Spitals zu Bozen von 1420* (Veröffn. des Südtiroler Landesarchivs / Pubblicazioni dell' Archivio Provinciale di Bolzano 17: Innsbruck 2003), p. xxiv.

¹² Klammer, op. cit., pp. 386f. no. 6 (1501), 388 no. 7 (1504), 391f. no. 10 (1508), 392 no. 11 (1498); TLA, Schlossarchiv Schenna, doc. 23/9/1497; Obermair, *Bozner Archive*, p. 537f. no. 90 (1499/1500); SLA, Archiv des Bozner Heilig-Geist-Spitals, Spitalsraitung 1509, fol. 48v, 49r, 50r-v, 51v, 56v, 64v, 66r, 72v; TLA, Archiv Toggenburg, doc. 59 (16/4/1509): 'der erber weyse Erasm Rottnpucher purger ze Potzen' receives from Gaudenz Botsch various dues of wine, money and grain for a payment of 225 *Gulden*. In 1508 Erasmus, as provost, offered a funeral lamp decorated with the Rottenbucher arms; it survives on the northern outside wall of the parish church, near the second buttress. Cf. Karl Atz and Adelgott Schatz, *Der deutsche Antheil des Bisthums Trient*, vol. 1: *Das Decanat Bozen* (Bolzano 1902), p. 23.

¹³ Karl Theodor Hoeniger, *Ein Häuserverzeichnis der Bozner Altstadt von 1497* (Schlern-Schriften 92: Innsbruck 1951), p. 15 no. 7; Leo Santifaller, *Bozner Schreibsschriften der Neuzeit. 1500-1851. Beiträge zur Paläographie* (Schriften des Instituts für Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschum an der Universität Marburg, Heft 7: Jena 1930), p. 76 no. 10.

¹⁴ SLA, Archiv Lachmüller, II 26 no. 6; Pfeifer, *Wappen und Kleinod*, p. 38 no. 7.

ingly restricted to use with noble coats of arms ('auff dem schilt ain tornyershelm, so wir ime hiemit in diser erhebung des adls anstat seines vordern helms von neuem zu gnaden geben').¹⁵

To quote Erwin Riedenauer:¹⁶

Ennoblement did not mean for the newly ennobled man (as intended in the chapters) immediate social integration into the sphere of the 'good old nobility' ('guet alte vom adl') and its associations. Everything depended on the personal qualities, the professional advantages and the financial resources at the grantee's disposal.

One example of a lightning-quick social ascent, studied by Erika Kustatscher, is that of the Jöchl von Jöchlsthurn family of Sterzing, whose origins lay in the world of urban capitalism. In 1496 they received noble rank from Maximilian I, and in 1511 they were already among the landholding classes and in the Tyrolean Diets of 1514 and 1519 they represented the nobility.¹⁷ In his detailed study of the élites of office at the Habsburg courts in the period 1480-1530 Heinz Noflatscher has demonstrated that additions to coats of arms and imperial grants of nobility constituted an important first step in the mechanisms and strategies of ascent, together with other grants (such as the *ius cerae rubeae*, or judicial privileges), while patents merely granting arms had only marginal significance.¹⁸

That Wolfgang Rottenbucher continued to move entirely in the milieu of the civic élite and did not manage to find a way into that of the more firmly established nobility is demonstrated by his marriage to Potenciana Eisenreich. She was a descendant of one of the most distinguished German families of Trent,¹⁹ a family that in the sixteenth century forged matrimonial links both with members of families of Bozen city councillors (Jörg and Christoph Hiertmayr) and with the holders of important

¹⁵ Made clear in King Ferdinand I's scale of fees for his court chancellery in 1545: for a patent of nobility with barred helm ('adlsbrief mit ainem turniershelm') the recipient paid 100 *Gulden*; for the same with crowned beaked helm ('adlsbrief mit ainem gekhrönten stechhelm') he paid only 60. (Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Mainzer Erzkanzlerarchiv, Reichskanzlei und Taxamt, fasc. 1, pp. 4f.).

¹⁶ S.v. 'Nobilitierung, -srecht', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* vol. 6 (Munich & Zurich 1993), col. 1208.

¹⁷ 'Die Jöchl von Jöchlsthurn. Gewerkenadel um 1500', in *Der Jöchlsthurn in Sterzing*, ed. Messerschmitt Stiftung (Berichte zur Denkmalpflege 7: Innsbruck, Vienna & Bolzano 1992), pp. 11-59 (at 32f. and 50-3).

¹⁸ *Räte und Herrscher. Politische Eliten an den Habsburgerhöfen der österreichischen Länder 1480-1530* (Veröffn. des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abt. Universalgeschichte 161: Mainz 1999), pp. 172 and esp. 181-92.

¹⁹ Sigmund Eisenreich the elder, probably son of the vice-captain of Pergine Castle, Ulrich Eisenreich (an immigrant from Munich), was a member of the German *Hauerbruderschaft* (hoers' confraternity) in Trent, vice-captain of Castelfondo (1457), and episcopal captain at Castelforno (c. 1468-80). In 1497 his homonymous son was captain at Porta San Martino in Trent. Potenciana was sister or dau. of the younger Sigmund. Serena Luzzi, *Stranieri in città. Presenza tedesca e società urbana a Trento (secoli XV-XVIII)* (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico, monografie 38: Bologna 2003), pp. 427-32; Konrad Fischner, *Tirolisch-vorarlberg'scher Wappen-Schlüssel* vol. 1 ii-v (Innsbruck 1938), p. 496.

posts in the seigneurial administration (Jakob Aichner von Paschbach, judge at Altenburg; Michael Pichler zu Rungg).²⁰

A significant fact for this enquiry is that it was Wolfgang who set in motion the negotiations for the contract to acquire the Gandlhof at Gries. In a judgment of November 1515 Leonhard von Völs, provincial governor, settled the legal dispute over the estate of Wandula Gandl ('Gánndl'), deceased wife of Hilbrant Rogger. According to the terms of this judgment, the heirs to the vast bequest Zyprian Gandl and Wolfgang Rottenbacher, citizens of Bozen ('burger von Bozen'), and Wolfgang Gandl of Eppan and Sebastian Seitz, city councillors of Bozen ('burger des rats zu Bozen'), were required to pay Wandula's husband Hilbrant Rogger ('edeln vestn Hilbranntn Roggär') 3,000 Rhenish *Gulden* and surrender to him his late wife's furniture as listed in the inventory accompanying the will. In consideration for this, Rogger was to renounce all other claims ('allen dorkl pauzeug und was nagl und wannt begreiff den erbn in der behausung lassen') and quit the house by Easter 1516.²¹ The lack of documentary evidence on this episode prevents a full reconstruction of how and when the Rottenbacher family came into possession of the Gandlhof, and we do not know what relationship there was between Wolfgang and the testatrix or, for that matter, Hilbrant Rogger. When the Rottenbacher family obtained a grant of exemption for the Gandlhof in 1567, the grant simply stated that the property had come to them by inheritance from Hilbrant Rogger ('von weilend Hildpranten Roggär erblich an sÿ [sc. the Rottenbachers] khomen und gefallen').²²

At first the Rottenbacher interests did not extend beyond the narrow confines of the city of Bozen, where however family members increasingly often appear among the most prominent office holders (the tenure of administrative office being an indicator of membership of the city's ruling class). They were among the few families to provide more than one burgomaster in the course of the sixteenth century: the Kurz branch gave Christoph (1525, 1535, 1542), Bernhard (1569, 1581) and Andreas (1590-91 and 1602-3), while that of the Riemers provided Adam (1552).²³ In the second third of the century they were the only family to provide five councillors, and they alone managed to remain a force in city politics for a good part of the seventeenth century.²⁴ A constant presence in the council was a precondition for political involvement: Adam Rottenbacher is mentioned in the sources as a councillor for the first time in 1542, and again on other occasions down to 1557. His brother Wolfgang Rottenbacher the younger was councillor in 1551-2 and then from 1557 to 1560, but he was present in council at other dates in 1543, 1553, 1555 and 1556.²⁵ Wolfgang

²⁰ Grabmayr, *Stammtafeln*, no. 2, 49, 115.

²¹ TLA, Archiv Toggenburg, doc. 71 (29/11/1515).

²² SLA, Archiv Lachmüller, II 26 no. 1 (16/3/1567).

²³ List in Troyer, *Cronica* (note 10 above), pp. 110f.; also Karl Theodor Hoeniger, *Altbozner Bilderbuch. Hundert Abbildungen und vierzig Aufsätze zur Stadtgeschichte* (Bolzano 1933), pp. 78f.

²⁴ Andresen, *Führungsschicht*, p. 107f.; cf. also in general terms Kurt Andermann, 'Zwischen Zunft und Patriziat. Beobachtungen zur sozialen Mobilität in oberdeutschen Städten des späten Mittelalters', in *Zwischen Nicht-Adel und Adel* (note 8 above), pp. 361-82 at 373.

²⁵ Andresen, *Führungsschicht*, pp. 110-3.

THE ROTTENBUCH RESIDENCE

Figure 2: Tombstone of the Rottenbuchers (1569); now in the Rottenbuch Residence.
 15 69 | Der heilligen Trifaltikhait und unzertail-
 ten | Gothait zu lob und Ehr und irn vorfordern |
 zu [ewiger] Gedechnus · haben diß [..]Jemal
 und | wel[...la]ssen machen · die Edlen und
 vesten | Adam und Christoff Vetter Die
 Rottenpuecher · | zu Rottenpuech und fürstlicher
 Durchleichtighk- | ait Ertzhertzog Ferdinannden
 zu Esterraich etc. | Dienener (sic) Als der
 eltisten · Ihres Geschlecht und | Namens · Anno
 im fünffzehnhundert und | im
 Neinundsechzigisten.

also held the post of provost regent in the years 1557-60. The provosts administrated the patrimony of the parish churches, and the holder of this post had the right to his own pew in church and with it considerable public prestige.²⁶ In 1569 Adam Rottenbucher and his nephew Christoph, as senior members of their family, provided a memorial slab for the Rottenbucher sepulchre in the town churchyard (**Figure 2**).²⁷ The inscription on the partly broken stone (since the 1970s displayed in the hallway of the Rottenbuch house, but in the interwar years still to be found hanging on the northern outside wall of the church) emphasizes on the one hand the remembrance

(‘Gedechnus’) of the forefathers, that is to say the memory of the lineage, and on the other the relationship with the sovereign, Archduke Ferdinand II. Just as they did in the civic context, the Rottenbuchers were seeking to make a clear display of their ‘symbolic capital’ in that of the parish church.²⁸

In 1531, when Bozen passed definitively under the authority of the Habsburgs, the opportunities for advancement open to the city councillors and their families were chiefly by way of posts conferred by civic authority or important noble houses partly resident in Bozen: among those most sought after were the three customs posts, which came under the princely administration in Bozen.²⁹ From 1558 the cus-

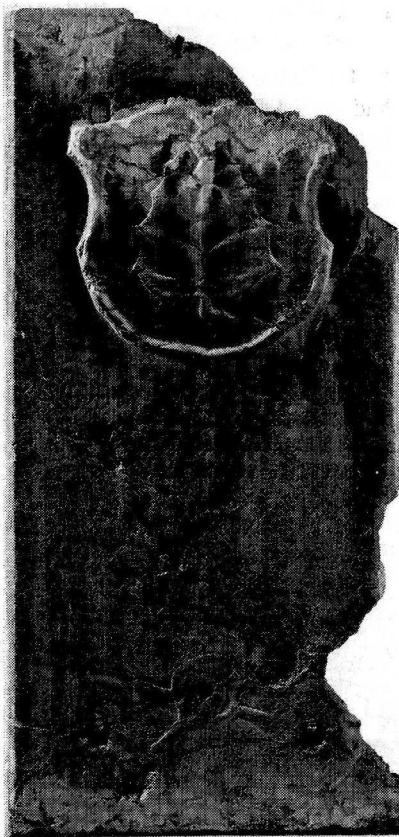


Photo: Tappeiner (Lana)

²⁶ Cf. Johannes Andresen, ‘Stadt und Pfarre im 16. Jahrhundert’, *Der Schlern* 69 (1995), pp. 475-82 at 479f.; id., *Führungsschicht*, p. 103. On the significance of this function cf. the example of Lübeck: Stefanie Rütter, *Prestige und Herrschaft. Zur Repräsentation der Lübecker Ratsherren in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Norm und Struktur 16: Cologne, Weimar & Vienna 2003), pp. 41-3.

²⁷ Cf. Josef Weingartner, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Etschlandes* vol. 3 ii: *Die Kunstdenkmäler Bolzanos* (Vienna & Augsburg 1926), p. 107 no. 7.

²⁸ Cf. the case of the Lübeck council families; Rütter, *Prestige und Herrschaft*, pp. 178ff.

²⁹ Andresen, *Führungsschicht*, p. 115.

toms officers received a fixed salary: 100 *Gulden* each for the officer on the River Eisack and the one at the Bozen customs house (*Zollstange*), 80 *Gulden* for the one on the River Talfer. Among the less important posts was that of *Fruchtmeister*, who had responsibility for procuring fruit for the princely court.³⁰ Adam Rottenbucher had held this place from the late 1550s until 1564; later, he was customs officer on the Eisack at least until 1573.³¹ Adam's nephew Christoph, son of the younger Wolfgang, was agent for the Trapps at Bozen in 1566-67.³²

No Rottenbucher in the sixteenth century, however, managed to gain access to the cathedral chapter at Trent or Brixen, or even the Brixen court council (*Hofrat*),³³ or to make a career in the central authorities of Upper Austria;³⁴ in any of those areas, in other words, that by their proximity to the princely court were especially attractive to the ambitious families that gained noble titles later on.³⁵ But it was certainly significant for social prestige and hierarchical position in the council to reside within civic jurisdiction. Certain important posts (superintendent of the hospital, provost, delegate to the nobles' court or the Diet) manifestly went by preference to council-

³⁰ On both offices (customs officer and *Fruchtmeister*), see Heinz Braun, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Bozens im 16. Jahrhundert* (Schlern-Schriften 33: Innsbruck 1936), pp. 38-41.

³¹ Cf. Hans Kramer, 'Die Bozner Amtsordnung von 1548', *Der Schlern* 13 (1935), pp. 458-463, at 462 n. 14; SLA, *Verfachbuch Bozen 1573/3*, fo. 237r (12/9/1573).

³² Not to be confused with Christoph Rottenbucher (1520-1578) of the Kurz line, who was steward and customs officer at Mühlbach, official clerk to the Hospital 1567-71, and then, 1571-6, its superintendent. Schneider, *Urbar* (note 11 above), pp. xxiii, xxvi.

³³ Karl Wolfsgruber, *Das Brixner Domkapitel in seiner persönlichen Zusammensetzung in der Neuzeit 1500-1803* (Schlern-Schriften 80: Innsbruck 1951); Josef Passler, *Der Brixner Hofrat (einschließlich Kammer- und Kanzleiwesen) in der persönlichen Zusammensetzung von 1537 bis 1702* (unpubl. doctoral thesis, Innsbruck Univ., 1969).

³⁴ Renate Spechtenhauser, *Behörden- und Verwaltungsorganisation Tirols unter Ferdinand I. in den Jahren 1520-1540* (unpubl. doctoral thesis, Innsbruck Univ., 1976); Hansjörg Rizzolli, *Behörden- und Verwaltungsorganisation Tirols unter Ferdinand I. in den Jahren 1540-1564* (unpubl. doctoral thesis, Innsbruck Univ., 1975); Manfred Schmid, *Behörden- und Verwaltungsorganisation Tirols unter Ferdinand II. in den Jahren 1564-1585. Behördenschematismus der drei OÖ Wesen* (unpubl. doctoral thesis, Innsbruck Univ., 1971); Margret Überbacher, *Beamstenschematismus der drei oö. Wesen in den Jahren 1586-1602* (unpubl. doctoral thesis, Innsbruck Univ., 1972).

³⁵ The ennoblement policies of the reign of Ferdinand II, and their inflationary effect on titles of rank, have not yet been studied fully. On the decades 1480-1530 and the 17th century, see above all the following works of Heinz Noflatscher: "'Freundschaft' im Absolutismus. Hofkanzler Johann Paul Hoher und die Standeserhebungen Kaiser Leopolds I.', in *Historische Blickpunkte. Festschrift für Johann Rainer*, ed. Sabine Weiss (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft 25: Innsbruck 1988), pp. 469-504; 'Der Felderhof und die Freiherren von Enzenberg. Neuer Adel im 17. Jahrhundert', in *Adelige Jagdhöfe in Tirol*, ed. Messerschmitt Stiftung (Berichte zur Denkmalpflege 4: Innsbruck, Vienna & Bolzano 1989), pp. 71-102; *Räte und Herrscher* (note 18 above); 'Funktionseliten an den Höfen der Habsburger um 1500', in *Sozialer Aufstieg. Funktionseliten im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Büdinger Forschungen zur Sozialgeschichte 2000 und 2001*, ed. Günther Schulz (Deutsche Führungsschichten in der Neuzeit 25: Munich 2002), pp. 291-314. Note also the important work of Kustatscher, 'Die Jöchl' (note 17 above).

lors from the town centre (the 'Stadtgericht' district) or from the so-called 'Dreigassen', rather than those from Zwölfmalgreien district.³⁶ Erasmus Rottenbucher the elder had possessed a house with an address in the city, namely number 76, Welsche Gewölbe (the northern terrace of today's Lauben/Portici); his nephew Wolfgang the younger acquired the next-door house, number 78, overlooking the Obstplatz; while the latter's brother, Adam, lived in the same street at number 74.³⁷ In April 1589 Joseph Rottenbucher purchased two adjacent houses in what is now Vintlerstraße from his cousin Ferdinand von Khuepach, captain of the quarter, for 800 *Gulden*: the Schrofensteiner house and the adjacent Binder house.³⁸ Finally on 12 July 1593, 'junckher Joseph von und zu Rotenpuech' sold to councillor Ulrich Waffner, for a sum around 1900 *Gulden*, the house at Lauben number 74, the rent from which (like that of the building behind, the so-called 'Eggheisl an der Stieg') was due to the church of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit.³⁹ It may have been at this point that Joseph made over to Waffner the house next door, number 76.⁴⁰

In the mid-sixteenth century, the Rottenbucher family was typically intertwined with other council families. This group tended, in its matrimonial strategies, to 'shut itself off from the lower orders so as to increase its own political chances'.⁴¹ To this end, the marriage arena was not limited to Bozen, and alliances were sought among council families at Brixen and Meran, as well as with partners of noble birth.

Thus in 1541 the younger Wolfgang Rottenbucher (son of the elder Wolfgang) married Magdalena Seidl,⁴² member of one of the most eminent families of Brixen. Her grandfather Nikolaus Seidl had been *Küchenmeister* (administrator of the farm that furnished the court kitchen) at Runggad, and thereby belonged to the middle rank of episcopal office holders, and around 1500 he crops up as assessor of the court tribunal, the civic court, and the Bishop's court.⁴³ His son Joachim, an uncle to Magdalena, was vicar and judge at Salern, while one of her cousins, Gregor Seidl, was first a canon in the collegiate church of Innichen and then, between 1539 and 1554, a canon of Brixen cathedral.⁴⁴

Wolfgang's brother, Erasmus the younger, married Katharina Gadolt, member of a Bozen family of councillors.⁴⁵ Her father Hans had been burgomaster in 1516 and

³⁶ Andresen, *Führungsschicht*, pp. 100-5; id., 'Stadt und Pfarre', p. 479.

³⁷ Hoeniger, *Häuserverzeichnis* (note 13 above), nos. 1-3.

³⁸ Karl Theodor Hoeniger, 'Das älteste Bozner Ratsprotokoll vom Jahre 1469', *Jahrbuch für Geschichte, Kultur und Kunst* 5 (1931/34), pp. 7-111 at 51.

³⁹ SLA, *Verfachbuch* Bozen 1593, fo. 229r-230r.

⁴⁰ Hoeniger, *Häuserverzeichnis*, no. 2.

⁴¹ Andresen, *Führungsschicht*, p. 114.

⁴² SLA, *Landeshauptmannschaftliches Gericht* Bozen no. 69, p. 46 no. 12; SLA, *Verfachbuch* Bozen 1541, fo. 85r-87r (9/5/1541); Mayrhofen, *Genealogien*, no. 413, wrongly names her *Kunegund*.

⁴³ Armida Zaccaria (ed.), *Siegel und Macht. Mittelalterliche Siegel aus dem Staatsarchiv Bozen* (Rovereto 2002), pp. 122f., no. 42.

⁴⁴ Wolfsgruber, *Domkapitel*, p. 202 no. 167.

⁴⁵ Erasmus the younger's will is in SLA, *Verfachbuch* Bozen 1540, fos. 41r-42v (12/2/1540); in her own will of 8/4/1540 his wife describes herself a widow (SLA, *Verfachbuch* Bozen 1540, fos. 85v-86r). Cf. also Mayrhofen, *Genealogien*, no. 104; Grabmayr, *Stammtafeln*, no. 28; Andresen, *Führungsschicht*, pp. 110, 112f., 117.

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1522, her uncle Vinzenz in 1531 and 1545. As late as 1553 Hans, as the senior family member, received for himself and his deceased brothers Ulrich and Vinzenz confirmation of the noble rank and heraldic additaments they had received from Maximilian in 1513.⁴⁶

It is still not possible to give a name to the wife of Wolfgang's second brother Adam Rottenbucher, and two of his sisters, Potenciana and Helena, remained unmarried or died young. But in 1525 another sister, Agnes, wed Andreas Gerstl von Gerstburg,⁴⁷ last male-line representative of his family. The Gerstl family, like those of Rottenbucher and Riemer, originally belonged to the political élite of Bozen. Andreas' father, Sigmund Gerstl (d. 1515), had been burgomaster several times (1474, 1480, 1486/7), superintendent of the hospital (1490-98) and, above all, officer and procurator for the prominent Bozen knightly families of Niedertor and Liechtenstein-Karneid. He was also counsellor to the Archduke Sigismund and, between 1497 and 1507, responsible for the collection of taxes and duties for Maximilian I.⁴⁸ On 13 February 1500 the king granted him free possession of a moiety of the castle of Rafenstein, with all privileges and jurisdiction enjoyed by the nobility for their castles and fortresses ('all freyhait und gerechtighait ... die annder vom adl unnser lannds an der Etsch in iren vesstn und schlossen von recht oder gewonheit haben'), and shortly afterwards he acquired the other half of the castle.⁴⁹ Sigmund married twice – first Anna (d. 1504), daughter of Hans Marolt of Klausen, and secondly Barbara Conzin – but neither marriage took him out of his city's ruling class, and in his will (dated November 1514) he expressly defines himself *burger zu Bozen*.⁵⁰ On 25 May 1516 his only son Andreas obtained noble rank and the right to upgrade his achievement of arms by opening his helm;⁵¹ later, in 1538, King Ferdinand was to grant him a quartering for Rafenstein and the predicate 'zu Rafenstein'.⁵²

⁴⁶ Troyer, *Cronica*, p. 110; Grabmayr, *Stammtafeln*, no. 28; Karl Friedrich von Frank, *Standeserhebungen und Gnadenakte für das Deutsche Reich und die Österreichischen Erblande bis 1806*, vol. 2 (Schloß Senftenegg 1970), p. 61.

⁴⁷ Agnes' dowry and inheritance amounted to about 1000 Rhenish *Gulden*: SLA, Archiv Oberpayrsberg, docs. 480 (9/8/1525), 541 (15/5/1555).

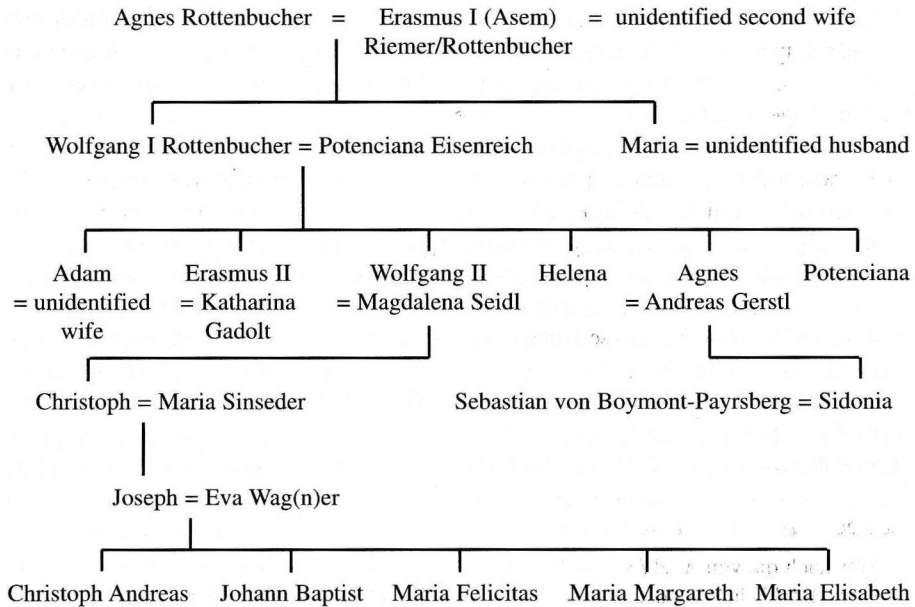
⁴⁸ Troyer, *Cronica*, p. 110; SLA, Archiv Oberpayrsberg, docs. 320 (27/12/1485), 329 (21/7/1488), 332 (20/9/1489), 334 (31/10/1489), 340 (30/12/1490), 347 (29/5/1492), 370 (17/2/1497), 371 (18/2/1497), 373 (8/3/1497), 393 (7/1/1501), 394 (29/3/1501), 396 (18/5/1501), 397 (5/6/1501), 398 (5/6/1501), 399 (2/8/1501), 411 (12/5/1504), 425 (13/5/1506), 427 (25/7/1506), 430 (4/5/1507) and the *urbari* in Archiv Oberpayrsberg Akten 2; Archiv Gandegg, docs. 257 (3/2/1502), 262 (27/12/1502), 263 (27/12/1502), 266 (18/4/1503).

⁴⁹ TLA, doc. I 5172 (13/2/1500), here cited from the copy in SLA, Nachlass Nicolò Rasmio, no. 27: Kopialbuch Rafenstein (c. 1564), fos. 5r-6r; cf. Adelheid Zallinger, 'Ravenstein', in Oswald Trapp, *Tiroler Burgenbuch*, vol. 5: *Sarntal* (Bolzano, Innsbruck & Vienna 1981), pp. 221-48, at 226.

⁵⁰ SLA, Archiv Oberpayrsberg, doc. 451 (8/11/1514), fo. 1r.

⁵¹ SLA, Archiv Oberpayrsberg, doc. 458 (25/9/1516); Pfeifer, *Wappen und Kleinod*, p. 37 no. 5; 68.

⁵² Kopialbuch Rafenstein, fos. 6r-8r (21/3/1538).



Above: Pedigree of the family of Rottenbucher von Rottenbuch in the sixteenth century

From the Gandlhof to the Rottenbuch residence

Starting in the late fifteenth century and, more especially, in the reign of Ferdinand II and the seventeenth century, there was a marked tendency among Bozen's political élite to acquire mansions in the vicinity of the city, in the manner of the older nobility. These suburban seats were transformed into noble-style status symbols, clear expressions of their owners' social advancement.⁵³ Typically this new class sought the exemptions and franchises that were permitted to the nobility, the 'promotion' of their houses to the status of noble residences, the addition of the names of those residences to their own in predicate form and, in general, the appurtenances of a noble life-style. Tax-exemption was a matter of great significance to the question

⁵³ Important examples from Bozen include: Zum Winkel im Dorf, a vineyard mansion exempted in 1490 for Sigmund Gerstl under the name *Gerstburg*; the Obergasserhof im Dorf, elevated in 1586 as a residence for the Hiertmair family under the name *Hörtenberg*; Waldgries in St. Justina, made into an exempt residence for Adam Eyrl in 1589. See Josef Weingartner, *Die Kunstdenkmäler Südtirols*, vol. 2: *Bozen und Umgebung, Unterland, Burggrafenamt, Vinschgau* (7th edn., Bolzano, Innsbruck & Vienna 1991), pp. 91-4; Richard Staffler, *Die Hofnamen von Zwölfmalgreien und Leifers (Bozner Jahrbuch für Geschichte, Kultur und Kunst 1952: Innsbruck 1952)*, nos. 4, 70, 283. Distinguished Bozen families were already acquiring noble estates outside the city in the 14th century, thereby imitating the social model of the rural nobility: Gustav Pfeifer, "Neuer" Adel im Bozen des 14. Jahrhunderts: Botsch von Florenz und Niklaus Vintler', *Pro Civitate Austriae* n.s. 6 (2001), pp. 3-23.

of territorial imposts and duties, and the way they were subdivided between the two social groups, civic and noble. When property liable to taxation by the cities, judicial districts and communes passed into the hands of nobles or prelates, the fiscal power of the burgess classes suffered a decline which needed to be offset in some way. After the promulgation of the *Landlibell* of 1511 the point of reference for tax purposes was the year 1500, with property status at that time dictating the proportion due as 'noble' or 'communal' imposts;

Property alienations implemented thereafter were to have no effect on the calculation of what was due by way of military and fiscal obligations respectively, in the sense that property rights and interests, rents, houses and other goods were to continue to be assessed for military and fiscal purposes (*verraist und versteuert*) in the same class as they had been originally, taking no account of the alienations that had occurred since. The status of the owner of a taxable property had no relevance to its attribution to one or other of the two groups.⁵⁴

This disposition was adopted in local constitutions in the Tyrol. The phrasing of the *New Reformierte Landts=Ordnung* of 1603 coincides precisely with that of the decree of Archduke Ferdinand II in 1574:

Was auch die von Adel / seyth dem Fünffzehnhundertisten Jahr / von dem Gemeindem / für Höf / Häuser und Güeter / so den gemainen Gerichten / mit ordenlichen gerichtswang / auch andern personlichen Nachbarlichen Factionen vnd Dienstbarkeiten vnterwirffig / an sich gebracht / oder darauff ihr haußhabliches Wesen vnd Wohnung haben: Sollen dieselben vom Adel gleichwohl für ihre Personen / aller personlichen Nachbarlichen Aempter vnd Burden befreyet seyn / dieselben aber durch ihre Bestandt: oder Bawleuth verrichten lassen / welche Bestandt: oder Bawleuth dann derwegen / auch sonst in allen andern / wie ander Gerichts-Leuth / der Oberkeit derselben Enden mit allem Gehorsam vnterworffen seyn sollen.⁵⁵

In the case of the Gandlhof archival material allows a detailed reconstruction of the way the exemption functioned. It was neither a blanket release from all imposts and dues, nor a simple right to be subject to the same tax régime as the nobles; it was, rather, the result of a complex compromise between the interests of the neighbourhood and community of Gries, the fiscal requirements of the prince, his financial administration and the Rottenbuchers.⁵⁶ On 1 December 1566 the *edle veste* Adam Rottenbucher, customs officer on the Eisack, and his nephew Christoph

⁵⁴ Tullius Ritter von Sartori-Montecroce, *Geschichte des landschaftlichen Steuerwesens in Tirol. Von K. Maximilian I. bis Maria Theresia* (Beiträge zur österreichischen Reichs- und Rechtsgeschichte 2: Innsbruck 1902), pp. 15f.; cf. also Marcello Bonazza, 'La nobiltà trentino-tirolese di fronte al prelievo fiscale tra politica di ceto e comportamenti individuali (secoli XV-XVII)', *Geschichte und Region / Storia e regione* 4 (1995), pp. 77-112.

⁵⁵ Text quoted from *New Reformierte Landts=Ordnung der Fürstlichen Grafschaft Tyrol*, Innsbruck 1603, I vii 3.

⁵⁶ The question of the real juridical substance of an exemption has yet to be properly studied. Far from exhaustive, despite a promising subtitle, is Franz-Heinz Hye, 'Der Ansatz. Versuch einer Begriffsklärung aus rechtshistorischer Sicht', in *Arx. Burgen und Schlösser in Bayern, Österreich und Südtirol* 1988 vol. 1, pp. 329-32 (with bibliography of older, mostly art-historical material).

THE ROTTENBUCH RESIDENCE

Rottenbucher, city councillor and agent for the Trapps at Bozen, 'als negste gevettern und eeleibliche pluetsfreundt', struck an agreement with the administrator of the jurisdiction of Gries and Bozen, Ulrich Twinger, representative of the prince of the territory, and with David Mueln *alias* Mueldorfer, procurator of the jurisdiction of Gries, Andree Schmidt, Cristan Werner and Hanns Grueber, all four of them representatives and delegates of the neighbourhood and community of Gries ('ainer ersamen ganzen nachperschafft und gemain'), regarding the dispute over military taxes and other obligations that they were required to pay ('rais, gewalt, kuchlstewrn, verobligierungen und aller anderer auflagen, so man von bedachter herrn Rottenpuecher hof so von alter der Gändlhof genannt zu Gries'). It was settled that the Rottenbuchers were to continue to pay the military and culinary taxes imposed by the community on their mansion and its appurtenances, in accordance with what had been the practice of the nobles ('wie sich dem adelichen gebrauch nach zuthuen gebürt'). In recompense the mansion was to be exempt from all other communal impositions in return for a payment of sixteen Veronese *lire* made each year on St Martin's day and guaranteed by two pieces of land ('nachperlichen gewondlichen und anndern verobligierungen und beschwerungen'). Only when an army or a religious procession passed through were the proprietors obliged to pay their share as they had been previously.⁵⁷

The 1566 agreement was confirmed on 15 March the following year by Archduke Ferdinand, and the next day he granted the two Rottenbuchers the *privilegium* for the Gandlhof, now becoming the exempt noble residence of 'Rottenbuch' and the right to use the name of the latter as a predicate to their surname.⁵⁸ Apart from the redeemed communal taxes the exemption can only have applied to the proprietorial dues of the census and the tithe.⁵⁹ The fiscal status of the residence had no effect

⁵⁷ TLA, Archiv Toggenburg, doc. 171 (1/12/1566).

⁵⁸ TLA, Archiv Toggenburg, docs. 172 (15/3/1567), 173 (with the doc. of 15/3/1567 inserted). SLA, Archiv Lachmüller, II 26 no. 1 (16/3/1567): 'unsere getrewen lieben Adam unser diener und zollner am Eisagkh und Christoff die Rottenpuecher gevettern ... inen diese sondere gnad gethan und den namen ihres der Rotenpüecher inhabenden hoffs welicher von weilend Hildpranten Roggär erblich an sy khomen und gefallen von alterß der Gändlhof genant zu Gries in der selben margreß und pfarr gelegen und sy die Rottenpüecher vermüg deßhalben unss originaliter fürgebrachten zwischen inen und unsern unterthanen der nachperschafft daselbs zu Grüeß auf ewig zeit aufgerichten durch unns confirmierten vertrags aller nachberlicher gewondlicher und anderer verobligierung und beschwerden damit solicher hof beladen gewest (ausserhalb der steuren, so sy unns von dem hof und dessen zuegehörung zu raichen schuldig) gegen ainer der nachperschafft jerlich zu raichen verschribnen ergötzlichkeit entladen und frey gemacht gantzlichen aufgehebt, abgethan von newem Rottenpuech genant und zu ainem adelichen freysitz erhebt und gewürdiget inen auch bewilliget, das sy die Rottenpuecher gevettern ire eheliche leibßerben und derselben erbenß erben männlichs stamens sich von und zu Rottenpuech nennen und schreiben mügen begnaden erhöchen und würdigen auch gedachte Rottenpuecher zu disem namen ihres adelichen sitz Rottenpuech.'

⁵⁹ Cf. the marginal note 'ist grundzins- und zehendfrey' ('is exempt from estate tax and tithes') in the Theresian cadastre (SLA, Grundsteuerkataster Bozen 11 = Rustikalsteuer-kataster Gries, fo. 161v).

on that of the Rottenbucher town house, as was to be confirmed more than once by the city council.⁶⁰

The quartered arms

It was Adam and Christoph Rottenbucher once again who on 24 January 1573 obtained from the emperor Maximilian II a further improvement to the family arms, along with the so-called *ius cerae rubeae*, the privilege of using red wax for their seals, and the *articulus feudalis* or right to acquire and possess noble fiefs.⁶¹ The new Rottenbucher shield was quartered (**Plate 3b**): in the first and fourth quarters the old family arms of *Argent a beech leaf gules*, in the second and third *Gules a lion sejant argent langued gules*. On the crowned barred helm with red and white mantling was the crest: *Between two wings argent each charged with a beech leaf gules a lion sejant argent crowned or langued gules*.⁶² Quartering, up to and including the first half of the seventeenth century, was, in the Habsburg lands, a characteristic of noble heraldry; from that point onwards they begin to be granted by Counts Palatine even to non-nobles.⁶³

⁶⁰ Council resolution, 19/3/1568: 'Zum 2 Benedict Parthanisen halber seiner übergebenen suplication bedreffendt der Rottenpuecher steur anlag irer heüser. Ist vormals ain ratschlag ergangen, das die Rottenpuecher ire heüser inmassen wie Parthánis versteuern sollen, dabei lassens die herrn noch bleiben.' Santifaller, *Schreibschriften* (note 13 above), table 30.

⁶¹ Erich Gritzner, 'Heraldik', in *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft* vol. 1 iv, ed. Aloys Meister (2nd edn., Leipzig & Berlin 1912), pp. 59-97 at 79; Jürgen Arndt, 'Die Entwicklung der Wappenbriefe von 1350 bis 1806 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Palatinatswappenbriefe', in *Hofpfalzgrafen-Register* vol. 2 (Neustadt a. d. Aisch 1971), pp. v-xxxvii, at xxv.

⁶² 'Einen quartierten schilt, inn der vordern obern unnd hindern undern veldung des quartiers vorgemelt ir anererbt adelich wappen [ein weisser oder silberfarber schilt, darinnen inn mitte erscheinend ein roth oder rubinfarbs ausgepraits puechesplat, dessen stingl unnder sich gekert], unnd dann die anndern zway tayl der quartierung roth oder rubinfarb, darinnen inn yeder veldung gegen den vordern eckhen des schilts gleich für sich hockhend oder sizend ein weisser oder silberfarber löwe zum grimmen geschickt mit zuruckh auffgeworffnem schwanz unnd roth ausgeschlagner zungen. Auff dem schilt ein freyer offner adelicher turnierßhelm, baiderseits mit roter oder rubin unnd weisser oder silberfarber helmdecken mit ainer gelben oder goldfarben cron geziert, darauff zwischen zwayen weissen oder silberfarben auffgethanen adlersflügln, so ire sachssen gegeneinander einwerz keren unnd inn yeder inn der mitte ein rots praits puechesplat erscheinend, gleich fürwerz also hockend oder sizend widerumb ein weisser gekronter lowe mit zurückh auffgeworffnem schwanz unnd roth ausgeschlagner zungen.' SLA, Archiv Lachmüller, II 26 no. 5; Frank, *Standeserhebungen* (note 46 above) vol. 4, p. 196; Pfeifer, *Wappen und Kleinod*, p. 51 no. 25; Fischner, *Wappen-Schlüssel* vol. 2 v (Innsbruck 1941), p. 94 (mistakenly stating that the beech leaf was to be charged with a small silver cross).

⁶³ According to Emperor Ferdinand II's instruction to the Austrian court chancellery, 1/9/1628, the fee payable for a standard ennoblement with coat of arms ('von einer gemainen nobilitation sambt dem wappen von neuem') was 132 *Gulden*; if the shield was quartered ('dasselb qua[r]tiert'), it rose to 156 *Gulden*. Cf. Thomas Fellner and Heinrich Kretschmayr, *Die österreichische Zentralverwaltung* vol. 1 ii (Veröffn. der Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs 6: Vienna 1907), p. 462.

On 21 November 1587 Christoph's son Joseph received another improvement to his coat of arms when Archduke Ferdinand II confirmed to him the noble rank and *ius cereae rubee* granted to his father and great-uncle by Maximilian II, replaced the sejant lion in the second and third quarters of his arms with a rampant one, and added a second barred helm, crowned like the one that was there already; the old helm was now to bear a crest of two wings argent charged with the red beech leaves; while the new one was to have an argent lion rampant.⁶⁴ This marked a clear heraldic distinction between the Rottenbucher von Rottenbuch branch and the Kurz line: only a month previously, on 19 October 1587, the brothers Christoph, Balthasar and Georg had received from Ferdinand II both noble rank and an upgrade to the coat of arms which they had held from 1488, in the form of a barred helm ('aynen freyen offnen adelichen turniershelm').⁶⁵ The characteristic argent couped cross on the beech leaf remained, a charge first mentioned in 1488 but used systematically by this line only from this point onwards.⁶⁶ And then on 6 July 1605 the brothers Jeremias and Andreas Rottenbucher obtained from Rudolph II the right to quarter the arms of the extinct family of Mornsalser; henceforth, therefore, the arms of the Kurz line were *Quarterly 1 and 4 Azure a wall embattled throughout and in chief a lion passant or, 2 and 3 Argent a beech leaf gules charged with a cross couped argent*.⁶⁷

The heraldic paintings

The seigneurial residence was not transformed into the family's principal seat until some years after the 1567 grant of exemption, and the paintings can only have been executed after the heraldic upgrade of 1587.⁶⁸ The man who commissioned the work was Christoph's only son, Joseph Rottenbucher, who on 21 November 1583 had married Eva, daughter and heir of Bernhard Wag(n)er, formerly innkeeper at the sign of

⁶⁴ 'Alß nemblichen das ganz adelich wappen wie negst gemelt allain in der rotten feldung an statt deß hockh: oder sizenden ain mit seinen vordern von sich streckhenden prackhen unnd zum grimmen geschickhter weisser lew, auf dem schildt zu sambt dem vorigen noch ain unnd also zwen offne adeliche gegeneinander gekherte turniershelm, auf jedem deren ain guldine künigliche cron, alß auß der vordern zwo mit iren pfalzen oder sachsen nebeneinander gestelte weisse oder silberfarbe adlerflügen entspringendt, darinnen ain aufgethon roth oder rubinfarbs puechesplat, auß der hindern cron fürwerz zum grimmen geschickht erscheinendt ain ganzer lew, allermassen wie im schildt.' Vienna, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Tiroler Wappenbücher 8, fos. 388v-389r; Hugo von Goldegg, 'Die Tiroler Wappenbücher im Adelsarchive des k. k. Ministeriums des Innern zu Wien', *Zeitschrift des Ferdinandeums für Tirol und Vorarlberg* 3rd ser. 19 (1875), pp. 31-178, at 122 no. 872; Fischnaler, *Wappen-Schlüssel* 2 v, p. 94.

⁶⁵ Vienna, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Tiroler Wappenbücher 8, fo. 195r; Goldegg, op. cit., p. 118 no. 838.

⁶⁶ Jörg Kurz-Rottenbucher, for instance, did not bear it on his armorial seal: SLA, Archiv Oberpayrsberg, doc. 392 (31/12/1500).

⁶⁷ Fischnaler, *Wappen-Schlüssel* 2 v, p. 107; Frank, *Standeserhebungen* 4, p. 196.

⁶⁸ For the history of the building, see Martin Laimer, 'Vom mittelalterlichen Weinhof zum adeligen Ansitz. Zur Architektur und Baugeschichte', in *Der Ansitz Rottenbuch in Bozen-Gries*, ed. Helmut Stampfer (Veröffn. des Südtiroler Kulturinstitutes 2: Bolzano & Lana 2003), pp. 117-45.

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the White Horse ('Zum Weißen Rössl') and citizen of Bozen.⁶⁹ Eva was not, therefore, as has been proposed, a sister or other kin of David Wagner, forebear of the later Barons and Counts of Sarnthein who were to acquire the Rottenbuch house in 1610.⁷⁰ Joseph had numerous issue by her: Christoph Andreas (b. 16 Sep. 1586); Johann Baptist (b. 20 Feb. 1588); Maria Felicitas (b. 16 Aug. 1590); and then two other daughters, Maria Margareth and Maria Elisabeth. The last four survived their father, who died at Gries on 21 January 1608, perhaps precisely in his seat of Rottenbuch. His will was proved on 28 March the same year.⁷¹

The heraldic designs make up a considerable part of the Rottenbuch house's decorative scheme, which bears the dates 1588, 1590 and 1598. Each of these years marked the conclusion of a phase in the works, which were carried out room by room. The painted coats of arms are not explicitly named, as was done in 1565 for Hans Jakob Römer and his wife Christine Hendl in the north-west corner tower at their castle of Maretsch, even with shields showing the arms of celebrated Tyrolean families;⁷² or for Hieronymus Goldegger and Helena Stocker in 1563 in a painted room of the tower by the hospital at Lana (Platzhof),⁷³ for Veit Söll in 1526 in the *Trinkstube* of his house in the main street of Bruneck,⁷⁴ for Jakob (VIII) Trapp by 1581 for sections of the wall pedigree in the loggia of Churburg Castle;⁷⁵ for Baron

⁶⁹ Tauf-, Trauungs- und Sterbebuch Bozen 1583-1589 (SLA, Mikrofilm 285/9): 'mer den 21 [November 1583] hatt hochzeit gehabt Joseph Rottenbuechner mit der tugenthafften junckh-frauen Eua Wagnerin, zeugen sein Lucas Römer, herr landkhumenbt(ur) [Andreas Josef] von Spaur und Ferdinand von Khuebach.' TLA, Archiv Toggenburg, doc. 208 (1/8/1583); TLA, doc. II 4737 (27/4/1591): 'der edlen tugentsamen frawen Eua Wagerin weylendt Bernhardten Wagers gewesten burgers zu Bozen seeligen nachverlassner eelichen tochter, sein von Rottenpuechs hausfrawn.'

⁷⁰ Mayrhofen, Genealogien (note 2 above), no. 390; Granichstaedten-Czerva, *Überetsch* (note 3 above), p. 112. The lack of relationship is clear heraldically. While Eva bore *Per fess gu. and ar. a lion rampant counterchanged holding a wheel hub ar.*, David's arms were *Or on a triple mount in base a man habited sable belted or and holding in the dexter hand a wheel of eight spokes argent*: Fischnaler, *Wappen-Schlüssel* 2 ii, pp. 274; 1 i [Innsbruck 1937], p. 332. On David Wagner see Hans Heiss, 'Vom Handel zum Herrschaftsstand. Der Tiroler Kaufmann David Wagner', in *Der Ansitz Rottenbuch*, pp. 59-71, and Christine Roilo, 'Zwischen Repräsentation und Verpflichtung. Der Ansitz Rottenbuch unter den Grafen von Sarnthein', *ibid.*, pp. 73-105.

⁷¹ SLA, Mikrofilm 285/9; Landeshauptmannschaftliches Gericht Bozen no. 69; Gries death register 1598-1775, p. 21 (SLA Mikrofilm 280/1): 'obiit nobilis dns Josephus Rottenpuecher de Rottenbuch'.

⁷² Magdalena Hörmann-Weingartner, 'Maretsch', in Oswald Trapp and Magdalena Hörmann-Weingartner, *Tiroler Burgenbuch*, vol. 8: *Raum Bozen* (Bolzano, Innsbruck & Vienna 1989), pp. 128-76, at 169, with fig. 138.

⁷³ Leo Andergassen, 'Kirchen und Kapellen in Lana', in Leo Andergassen et al., *Lana sakral. Die Kirchen: Geschichte, Kunstschatze und Architektur* (Lana 1997), pp. 144-235 at 190; Weingartner, *Kunstdenkmäler* (note 53 above), p. 500.

⁷⁴ Philipp Egger, *Die Trinkstube in Bruneck im Haus der Apotheke von Ziegler. Ein Kulturbild aus dem frühen 16. Jahrhundert* (Bolzano 1998).

⁷⁵ Leo Andergassen, *Churburg. Geschichte, Gestalt und Kunst* (Große Kunstführer 120: Munich & Zurich 1991), pp. 34f., 39.

Wilhelm von Wolkenstein-Trostburg in 1588 in the archive of the Hohensaal residence at Meran;⁷⁶ or finally for Georg Felix von Enzenberg in 1651 in the Felderhof at Meransen.⁷⁷ The fact that this was not done in the Rottenbuch house implies a high degree of self-awareness on the part of Joseph Rottenbucher and, in general, the class of city councillors of Bozen. The persons and spouses represented in the Rottenbuch house are identified only by their respective coats of arms, suggesting that Joseph started from the assumption that even visitors would be able to read the symbols correctly. There is also no explicit programmatic inscription explaining the lay-out of the friezes, as there is at the Felderhof, where the diagram of Enzenberg's ancestors, divided into sixteen parts, is presented as an 'oversized variation on a lesson in genealogy' for his children; or on the architrave above the door into the Hohensaal archive where the display of the matrimonial arms of the Wolkenstein ancestors is dedicated to the memory of the baron who commissioned them.⁷⁹

It is the first-floor room indicated in 1608 as the *undtere(r) saall* (Lower Hall), today divided in two by a wall erected in the seventeenth century, that offers the most representative section of the house's heraldic decoration. It was originally entered by means of an external staircase at the side of the courtyard, and was probably used as a reception room. The upper register of the wall decorations, painted in 1590, has a scheme of fruit and floral motifs containing eleven (originally twelve) circular medallions – not an unusual device for heraldic display in this period – with both simple and impaled shields in ornamental scrollwork frames.⁸⁰ In general, it is noteworthy that in this room, unlike the others, the coats of arms have been brought 'up to date', if sometimes anachronistically, by retrojecting later changes. Thus all the Rottenbuchers themselves are shown with the quartered arms of 1587.

The west wall, moving left to right, has three quartered coats of arms:

1. Rottenbucher (1587) quartering *Gules a rectangular mill rind fesswise argent* for Eisenreich.⁸¹ Wolfgang Rottenbucher senior (Joseph's great-grandfather) married Potenciana Eisenreich. See **Figure 3** (over).
2. Rottenbucher (1587) quartering *Argent a demi talbot rampant sable collared or hold-*

⁷⁶ Illustrated in Franz-Heinz Hye, *Wappen in Tirol. Zeugen der Geschichte. Handbuch der Tiroler Heraldik* (Schlern-Schriften 321: Innsbruck 2004), illn. 34.

⁷⁷ Noflatscher, 'Der Felderhof' (note 35 above), pp. 71, 84f.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁷⁹ · 1 · 5 · 8 8 · / *Dise wappen hat der wolgeborn herr herr Wilhelm Frey- / herr zu Wolckhenstain vnnd herr zu Trospurg etc. zu gedecht- / nuß seines Namens vnnd stamen mallen lassen.* Hye, *Wappen in Tirol*, illn. 35.

⁸⁰ Thus, in Bolzano, above the oriel of no. 41 Streiter-Gasse, the arms of the Tyrolean clerk Bartholomäus Hueber, his wife Maria Soyer and her mother Felicitas Söll von Teisegg, painted in 1582 and rediscovered only a few years ago. Cf. also the shields of the Liechtenstein-Castelcorno family displayed in 1574 in the so-called 'Saal der Ritter' and above the entrance to Runkelstein Castle (Castel Roncolo); see Franz-Heinz Hye, 'Die heraldischen Denkmäler in Runkelstein und ihre historische Bedeutung', in *Schloss Runkelstein. Die Bilderburg* (Bozen 2000), pp. 235-62 at 236-8. A late 15th-century parallel is provided by the shields showing the matches of the Jöchl family in the Jöchlsturm at Sterzing (Vipiteno); Kustatscher, 'Die Jöchl' (note 17 above) pp. 33-5.

⁸¹ Fischnaler, *Wappen-Schlüssel* 1 ii-v, p. 495.

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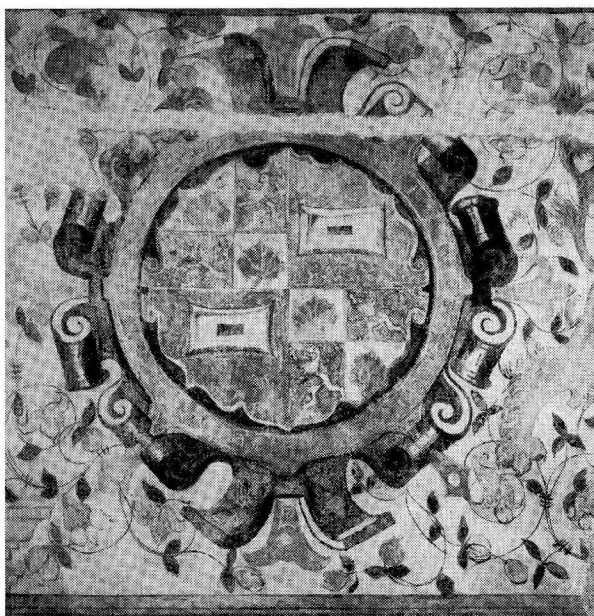


Figure 3: Lower Hall, west wall: quartered arms of Rottenbucher (as per the grant of 1587) and Eisenreich, deriving from the marriage between Wolfgang Rottenbucher the elder and Potenciana Eisenreich.
Photo: Tappeiner (Lana).

ing a quarry in its mouth gules for Seidl. Wolfgang Rottenbucher junior (Joseph's grandfather) married Magdalena Seidl. This shield is supported by two lions or.

3. Rottenbucher (1587) quartering an unidentified coat, *Per fess or and azure*. Probably for the second marriage of Erasmus (Asem) Riemer or Rottenbucher, Joseph's great-great grandfather and the progenitor of the line.

On the north wall the left-hand medallion of the two painted there is now indecipherable, all but obliterated when the skylights above the entrance door were opened up about 1650, at the time of the erection of the dividing wall. The right-hand medallion, between two mullioned windows, is as follows:

Khuepach (*Quarterly 1 and 4 Argent a demi ox gules, 2 and 3 Or a basilisk sable combed and wattled gules*)⁸² quartering Sinseder (*Quarterly argent and gules three beech leaves counterchanged*), for the marriage of Christoph von Khuepach zu Ried (d. 1576) and Anna Sinseder,⁸³ probably sister of Maria Sinseder and therefore aunt of Joseph Rottenbucher.

The east wall has the following arms:

1. Eva Wag(n)er, wife of Joseph Rottenbucher: *Per fess gules and argent a lion rampant counterchanged holding the hub of a wheel argent*.
2. Joseph Rottenbucher's own full achievement: the quartered Rottenbucher arms of

⁸² These arms derive from the improvements received by Christoph in 1562 and 1564; Frank, *Standeserhebungen* 3, pp. 88, 90.

⁸³ According to Mayrhofer (Genealogien, no. 242) and Grabmayr (*Stammtafeln*, no. 70) Anna was Christoph's third wife, following Dorothea Treibenreif of Bozen and Dorothea Agger von Agg.



Figure 4: Lower Hall, south wall. Arms of the Rodt family (whose relationship to the Rottenbuchers is not known). Photo: Tappeiner (Lana).

1587, with two barred helms, each crowned and mantled gules lined argent, the dexter crest *A pair of wings argent charged with a beech leaf gules*, the sinister *A lion rampant argent*. The medallion is supported by two griffins, their aquiline parts sable, their leonine parts and beaks gold.

3. Maria Sinseder, Joseph's mother: *Quarterly argent and gules three beech leaves counterchanged*.

The south wall, finally, has one simple shield and three quartered ones, from left to right as follows:

1. The arms of Rodt,⁸⁴ a family whose relationship to the Rottenbuchers cannot now be reconstructed: *Per bend gules and argent in chief a unicorn salient in base three flames issuant counterchanged*. See **Figure 4**.

2. Gadolt (*Quarterly 1 and 4 Or two chevronels sable, 2 and 3 Or between two bendlets a greyhound courant sable*) quartering Rottenbucher (1587). This represents, the wrong way round in heraldic terms, the marriage of Erasmus (II) Rottenbucher (Joseph's great uncle) to Katharina Gadolt. See **Plate 4a**.

3. Seidl (*Argent a demi talbot sable holding in its mouth a quarry gules*) quartering Vintler von Platsch (*Quarterly 1 and 4 Gules two bear's gambs coupes palewise in fess argent, 2 and 3 Or three bear's gambs coupes fesswise in pale sable*). The marriage referred to here is no longer identifiable in the genealogical material.

4. Hiertmayr (*Quarterly 1 and 4 Argent a demi griffin sable, 2 and 3 Argent two bars*

⁸⁴ Around the mid-16th century one Christoph Rodt appears as a notary and clerk of Enn-Kaldiff and citizen of Neumarkt; Fischner, *Wappen-Schlüssel* 2 iii-iv (Innsbruck 1940), p. 6; Weber, *Geschlechterbuch* 2 (note 2 above), p. 127 no. 43 (Roth); Hannes Obermair, *Die Urkunden des Dekanatsarchives Neumarkt (Südtirol) 1297-1841* (Schlern-Schriften 289: Innsbruck 1993), nos. 120 (9/4/1546), 123 (21/1/1551).

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sable) quartering Sinseder (*Quarterly argent and gules three beech leaves counter-changed*).⁸⁵ Hans Hiertmayr (d. before 1568) married Potenciana Sinseder, probably a sister of Maria Sinseder and therefore aunt of Joseph Rottenbucher.

To the east of the Lower Hall is a room functioning as a bedchamber and denominated *tiern kamer* in the 1608 will. Above the doors, one of which led into the hall, the other into a second bedchamber (*camer von der stuben hinein*), appear two large heraldic designs painted in 1590, each in a simply bordered vertical rectangular frame, as follows:

1. On the west wall, the full coat of arms of Sebastian von Boymont-Payrsberg: *Quarterly 1 and 4 Argent an aurochs passant sable, 2 and 3 Azure a swan displayed without legs argent*, with two barred helms, both crowned; the dexter crest *A demi aurochs sable*, with mantling sable lined argent, the sinister crest *A demi swan displayed argent*, with mantling azure lined argent.⁸⁶ See **Figure 5**.

2. On the south wall, the arms of Sebastian's wife, Sidonia Gerstl von Gerstburg zu Rafenstein (died 1564), daughter of Andreas Gerstl and Agnes Rottenbucher: *Quarterly 1 and 4 Argent issuant from a triple mount in base sable two ears of wheat or, 2 and 3 or on a fess between four fleurs-de-lys (three and one) azure two fleurs-de-lys or*, with two barred helms, the sinister crowned; the dexter crest *Issuant from a triple mount sable two ears of wheat or*, mantling sable lined argent, the sinister crest *A pair of wings or charged with a fess between four fleurs-de-lys azure thereon two fleurs-de-lys or* as in the arms, mantling azure lined or.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Here too the arms have been brought 'up to date' by the artist; the Hiertmayr arms could only have been represented thus after 1586. In 1584 Hans' cousin Georg, customs officer on the Eisack, and Bartholomäus Hiertmayr (d. 1593), Bozen city councillor (son of Michael and therefore a nephew of Hans), had been ennobled by Rudolf II with the predicate *von Hiertenberg* or *Hörtenberg* and an improvement to their arms; Frank, *Standeserhebungen* 2, p. 202. On 8 May 1586 a further improvement was granted to the pair by Archduke Ferdinand II, and their noble rank extended to include Melchior, son of Georg's brother Leonhard (d. 1572) along with the *ius ceræ rubeæ*. The second improvement was as follows: 'allain in der vordern undern unnd hindern obern veldung anstat der schwarzen greiffen in jeder veldung fünf uber werch gehende strassen deren die underst, drit unnd funft scharz, ander unnd viert weiß oder silberfarb ist.' The representation in the Rottenbuch residence shows these arms in the 1st and 4th quarters, not the 2nd and 3rd. Vienna, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Tiroler Wappenbücher 7, fos. 418v-419r; Goldegg, op. cit. (note 64 above), p. 112 no. 771.

⁸⁶ This represents the Boymont-Payrsberger arms prior to the additions granted on 11 May 1560, when the brothers Jakob and Martin, and Sebastian their cousin, received the predicate 'von und zu Schwanburg', an inescutcheon charged with the aurochs over the centre of the quarterings, and a third helm. Pfeifer, *Wappen und Kleinod*, p. 45 no. 17, with illn. 77.

⁸⁷ This qtg. is for Rafenstein, a family whose male line died out with Daniel von Rafenstein at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, the qtg. being granted to Andreas by King Ferdinand I on 21/3/1538, along with a confirmation of Rafenstein Castle, a grant of noble rank and the predicate 'zu Rafenstein'. The Rottenbuch fresco shows the arms with different tinctures from those in the 1538 grant; gold instead of argent and the main colours reversed. SLA, Nachlass Nicolò Rasmus, no. 27: Kopialbuch Rafenstein (c. 1564), fos. 6r-7r. A fine representation of the full quartered arms is on the MI of EDL VND VEST ANDRE VO(n) GERSPVRG ZV RAFENSTAIN (d. 21/1/1544) in the south transept of the Franciscan church in Bolzano.

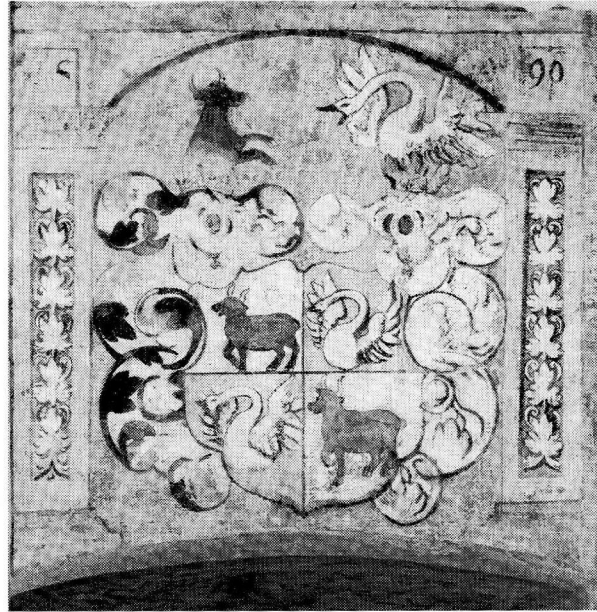


Figure 5: First floor, north-east room, wall above west door. Arms and crests of Sebastian von Boymont-Payrsberg, in the form borne prior to 11 May 1560.
Photo: Tappeiner (Lana).

This first, if indirect, alliance with the old nobility, clearly of significance for Joseph and the image he wished to present of the 'house' of Rottenbucher, undoubtedly brought it a marked increase in prestige, and registers the gradual acceptance of the new urban nobility by its landed counterpart. Potenciana's rich dowry (a third of the Gerstl lands, including the Gerstburg residence) was doubtless for Sebastian the decisive element making up for the disparity between their respective stations.⁸⁸

From the Lower Hall a doorway opened in the south wall at the time of the building's construction leads into the room called in Joseph's will the *undtere stube*, the Lower Chamber. This room was decorated already in 1588, and unlike that of the Lower Hall the heraldry here is for the most part historically accurate, down to the smallest details. Rottenbucher matches predominate, being shown in a frieze with grotesque ornaments, originally divided into nine rectangular sections (seven only

⁸⁸ SLA, Archiv Oberpayrsberg, docs. 541 (15/6/1555: contract between (i) Sebastian von Payrsberg, (ii.a) Sidonia his wife, and (ii.b) Adam and Wolfgang Rottenbucher together with their mother Potenciana Eisenreich, regarding the dower of Sidonia's deceased mother Agnes Rottenbuch, daughter of Potenciana), 546 (17/3/1557: will of Sidonia von Payrsberg *née* Gerstl in favour of her husband Sebastian), 549 (19/12/1559: contract between Sebastian and his wife over her dowry). Jakob von Boymont wrote in his autobiographical notes, 'Den 8 december [1558] die tailung zwischen den dreÿ döchtern Andreen von Gerspurg verricht, ist meines vëtern Sebastian von Pairsperg hausfrauen Sÿdonien von Gerspurg der siz Gerspurg zu Bozen mit dem loß zuegefallen': SLA, Archiv Wolkenstein-Trostburg, Toblino 232, fo. 10r. On social disparity between spouses, see in general Karl-Heinz-Spieß, *Familie und Verwandtschaft im deutschen Hochadel des Spätmittelalters. 13. bis Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts* (VSWG Beihefte 111: Stuttgart 1993), pp. 398ff.; Andermann, 'Zwischen Zunft und Patriziat' (note 24 above), pp. 376-8.

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remaining today), in various types of scrollwork cartouche, each containing two full coats of arms. Moving clockwise from the left-hand end of the east wall, the entire scheme shows the male-line descent of the Rottenbuchers from the elder Erasmus down to Joseph. The first cartouche (**Plate 4b**) shows, in a style intentionally different from the others,

- (a) the full arms of Erasmus Rottenbucher, the progenitor of the line, i.e. the 1488 Rottenbucher arms without quarterings or secondary crest and with the beaked helm, mantled argent lined gules (*sic*);
- (b) the full arms of his unidentified second wife (*Per fess or and azure*) with a beaked helm crowned and mantled or lined azure (*sic*) and the crest *Two buffalo horns per fess or and azure*.

An attempt has been made to show these fifteenth-century arms in an appropriately old-fashioned manner, with rounded shields and cloak-like mantling – surely to be interpreted as a conscious piece of historicism.⁸⁹

The second cartouche on the eastern wall was destroyed during the process of uncovering, apart from a small fragment of the left-hand border; a decision was made in favour of the oldest layer of painting – though there is a surviving colour photograph of the right half of the cartouche, taken during the restoration. This shows a helm with the Eisenreich crest, thus indicating that the cartouche represented the marriage between Wolfgang Rottenbucher senior and Potenciana Eisenreich. The third cartouche, which has been completely lost, can only have displayed the marital arms of Wolfgang junior and Magdalena Seidl.

The design on the southern wall, which is subdivided by two mullioned windows, is presented as if supported by two argent lions on a red background. The two rectangular cartouches are as follows:

- (a) the full arms of Adam Rottenbucher, i.e. the 1573 quartered version of the family arms with the single barred helm and new crest;
- (b) the full arms of his unidentified wife: *Quarterly 1 and 4 Or a ram's head facing the sinister sable armed or langued gules, 2 and 3 Per bend sable and or in chief a unicorn salient argent*, with two barred helms, both with mantling sable lined or, the dexter crowned and with the crest *A demi ram argent*, the sinister with the crest *A demi unicorn argent*.

Above the right-hand window there is a cartouche for Adam's nephew Christoph (the younger Wolfgang's son), with the same 1573 version of the arms and crest, and his wife Maria Sinseder, represented by the same Sinseder arms seen in the Lower Hall, with a beaked helm, mantled gules lined argent, and for crest *A pair of wings displayed each quarterly argent and gules and charged with three beech leaves counterchanged*.

⁸⁹ Parallels are found even at the start of the 16th century: thus the MI (after 1503) of Wilhelm Besserer, burgomaster of Ulm, shows the full coats of arms of the deceased and of two ancestors, Heinrich and Konrad Besserer, citizen captains killed in 1372 and 1388 respectively during the struggles between citizenry and nobility. Wilhelm has a round-based shield but Heinrich and Konrad are given typically 14th-century triangular shields. Hartmut Boockmann, *Die Stadt im späten Mittelalter* (2nd edn., Munich 1994), p. 188 no. 294.

The west wall also has only two cartouches, due to the insertion of a majolica stove in the north-west corner of the room. The left-hand one contains the full arms of Joseph Rottenbucher zu Rottenbuch himself, in the 1587 version, together with those of Eva Wag(n)er his wife, as seen in the Lower Hall but with a helm and mantling gules lined argent, and for crest *A demi lion rampant argent*. The match referred to in the right-hand cartouche stands out particularly prominently thanks to a sumptuous frame, indicating the importance it held for Joseph: it shows the marriage made in 1525 between Andreas Gerstl von Gerstburg and Agnes Rottenbucher, daughter of the elder Wolfgang and great-aunt of Joseph.⁹⁰ Gerstl is indicated with the same full achievement ascribed to his daughter Sidonia in the small north-east bedchamber by the Lower Hall, while Agnes appears with the 1518 version of her family arms – the unquartered shield, single crest and barred helm with red and white mantling.

Finally the north wall of this room once again depicts the match between Sebastian von Boymont-Paysberg and Sidonia Gerstl von Gerstburg, representing them both by means of the same full coats of arms depicted in the small north-east bedchamber (**Plate 5a**). To the right of this, the last cartouche in the room, above the entrance doorway, shows the union between a Kiesfelder and a woman of the Rottenbucher family; she is represented by the 1518, barred-helm version of the arms, he by the shield *Azure three bars argent* and, on a beaked helm with a crown, the crest of *A pair of wings azure charged with three bars argent*.⁹¹ There is no surviving written documentation of this match; the husband was perhaps a son of Eberhard Kiesfelder, burgomaster of Bozen in 1489 and 1499,⁹² while the wife may have been Maria, sister of the elder Wolfgang⁹³ – or some other female Rottenbucher of whom no record remains. However, the marriage itself can be dated to the period after 1518, when the Rottenbuchers acquired the right to the barred helm.

The rooms on the second floor of the Rottenbuch house were decorated only in the latter half of the 1590s. The Upper *Stube* or Chamber, painted in 1598, contains a unique depiction of the splendid full heraldic achievement of the Archduke

⁹⁰ SLA, Archiv Oberpaysberg, doc. 480 (9/8/1525).

⁹¹ The Kiesfelder male line seems to have died out in the 1580s. At any rate on 1/4/1587 Archduke Ferdinand II granted their arms to Georg Freyheld, customs officer on the Eisack at Bozen, for services rendered in the Spanish wars under Ferdinand I and for other services: Vienna, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Tiroler Wappenbücher 8, fo. 102r: 'ain schildt welcher in siben strassen gerad über zwerch abgethailt, alls die underst erst, drit, fünfft und sibend blaw und lasúr, ander, viert und sechst weiß oder silberfarb, aufm schildt ain stech-helm, zu beder seiten mit blaw oder lasur und weiß oder silberfarben helmdekhen, darauf erscheinend ain außgeschlagne [*sic*] strausenflug mit blaw und weissen strassen allermassen wie unden im schildt abgetailt.' Cf. also Fischner, *Wappen-Schlüssel* 3 i-viii (Innsbruck 1951), p. 100 (incorrect as to the crest), and Frank, *Standeserhebungen* 2, p. 39.

⁹² Eberhard was married by 1493 with one *Varanica* (Veronika), of whom nothing more is known: Obermair, Bozner Archive (note 11 above), p. 431 no. 652 (3/1/1493).

⁹³ SLA, Archiv Oberpaysberg, doc. 448 (1/4/1514): 'weylennden Erasm Rottennpuechers in seinem leben auch burger alda zu Bozen seligen elichen gelassen tochter mit namen Maria obgemelts Wolfganngen Rottennpuechers cleipliche schwester.'

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Ferdinand II, located on the intrados above the opening of a polygonal oriel in the south wall (**Plate 5b**). The shield is supported by two grotesque winged figures, one male and one female, and placed upon a saltire (representing St Andrew, patron of the Habsburg Order of the Golden Fleece) each of its limbs terminating in a small shield showing the arms of the dominions of Burgundy: in anti-clockwise direction from top left, Burgundy modern, Brabant, Flanders and Burgundy ancient. Surrounded by the chain of the Golden Fleece, with the badge of the order suspended below, and ensigned with the crown of an Austrian archduke, the principal shield is divided in fifteen fields (for 1 Hungary ancient, 2 Bohemia, 3 Burgau, 4 Swabia, 5 Styria, 6 Carinthia, 7 Upper Alsatia, 8 Kyburg, 9 Pfirt, 10 Carniola, 11 Görz, 12 the Wendish Mark, 13 Austria above the Enns, 14 Cilli, and 15 Portenau) and surmounted by a quartered inescutcheon (for 1 Castille, 2 Tyrol, 3 Austria below the Enns, and 4 Leon) which is in turn surmounted by a smaller inescutcheon showing Austria impaling Burgundy ancient.

There can be no doubt that this achievement refers to the Archduke Ferdinand II, despite the fact that it must date from after his death, which took place at Innsbruck on 24 January 1595. This event created a problem of succession in the Tyrol and the territories of 'Vorderösterreich'. After an initial phase of uncertainty the question was dealt with by agreement between the Inner Austria branch of the Habsburgs and Emperor Rudolph II.⁹⁴ The 1598 coat of arms, heraldically unequivocal, does not represent the emperor, who was by then the officially recognised prince of the territory, but rather Ferdinand II, the lord to whom Joseph Rottenbucher owed the confirmation of his nobility and his upgraded coat of arms, and to whom his father Christoph and great-uncle Adam Rottenbucher had owed the elevation of the Gandlhof into an exempt noble seat.

Two inlaid panels above the doors into this room, one in the north wall and one in the east, have been lost. It is probable that they showed, like the ones in the adjacent room, the arms of Joseph Rottenbucher and Eva Wag(n)erin his wife.

The final room to be examined here – the *camer von dieser stuben hinein*, to the south-east of the Upper Chamber – also presents a rich display of heraldry. Above the north door, supported by two golden lions and enclosed in a wreath of laurel, there is the complete achievement of Eva Wag(n)erin, as seen in the Lower Chamber on the floor below; while above the west door leading from the Upper Chamber, so as to make a matching pair with his wife's arms, appears once more the full achievement of the master of the house, Joseph Rottenbucher, also enclosed in a laurel wreath, and supported by two golden griffins (**Plate 6a**).

Above these two principal coats of arms there is a frieze of shields running around the whole room, in dark colours with decorative elements composed of fruit, vine stems and grotesque figures, with four shields on each wall. Starting from the east wall and moving clockwise, they are as follows:

⁹⁴ See in detail Josef Hirn, 'Tirols Erbtheilung und Zwischenreich 1595-1602', *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 92 (1903), pp. 271-361; Dieter Speck, *Die vorderösterreichischen Landstände. Entstehung, Entwicklung und Ausbildung bis 1595/1602*, vol. 1 (Veröffn. aus dem Archiv der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau 29/1: Freiburg and Würzburg 1994), pp. 217-28.

THE ROTTENBUCH RESIDENCE

1. An unidentified coat, partly missing: *Quarterly 1 and 4 Argent a demi beast (apparently an ungulate) rampant sable, 2 and 3 Per bend sable and argent.*
2. Seidl: *Argent a demi talbot rampant sable collared gules.*
3. Boymont-Payrsberg: *Quarterly 1 and 4 Argent an aurochs passant sable, 2 and 3 Azure a swan displayed without legs argent.*
4. Kiesfelder: *Barry argent and azure (as distinct from the usual Azure three bars argent).*
5. Rottenbucher: *Quarterly 1 and 4 Argent a beech leaf gules, 2 and 3 Gules a lion rampant argent.*
6. Wag(n)er: *Per fess gules and argent a lion rampant counterchanged holding the hub of a wheel argent.*
7. Eisenreich: *Gules a rectangular mill rind fesswise argent.*
8. Unidentified: *Per fess or and azure.*
9. Gerstl von Gerstburg zu Rafenstein: *Quarterly 1 and 4 Argent issuant from a triple mount in base sable two ears of wheat or, 2 and 3 Or on a fess between four fleurs-de-lys (three and one) azure two fleurs-de-lys or.*
10. Kripp: *Quarterly 1 and 4 Gules a wicker basket argent, 2 and 3 Argent a bend wavy sable.*⁹⁵
11. Vintler von Platsch: *Quarterly 1 and 4 Gules two bear's gambs coupé palewise in fess argent, 2 and 3 Or three bear's gambs coupé fesswise in pale sable.*
12. Gadolt: *Quarterly 1 and 4 Or two chevronels sable, 2 and 3 Or between two bendlets a greyhound courant sable; over all an inescutcheon no longer legible.*
13. Fuchs von Fuchsberg, or Kraus: *Argent a fox salient proper within a bordure or.*⁹⁶
14. Khuepach zu Ried, Zimmerlehen und Haselburg (**Plate 6b**): *Quarterly 1 and 4 Argent a demi ox rampant gules, 2 and 3 Argent on a triple mount in base a basilisk statant sable comb and wattle gules; over all an inescutcheon Sable charged with a bough with three branches bearing nuts and fruit of uncertain tincture.*⁹⁷

⁹⁵ The Kripps had used these quartered arms since 1489 or 1498: Sigmund von Kripp, 'Die Kripp von Freudeneck und ihre Familienchronik', *Jahrbuch der k. k. heraldischen Gesellschaft "Adler"* new ser. 20 (1910), pp. 121-99, esp. 170-6; Heinz Moser, *Die Urkunden des Archives Krippach in Absam 1315-1854* (Tiroler Geschichtsquellen 41: Innsbruck 1999), nos. 94 (15/1/1489), 126 (22/4/1498). There is no evidence for a match with the Rottenbuchers: see Kripp, *ibid.*, and 'Die Kripp von Prunberg', *Jahrbuch "Adler"* new ser. 22 (1912), pp. 1-150.

⁹⁶ In the absence of a crest and of evidence for a relationship, firm identification is difficult. According to Fischner (Wappen-Schlüssel 1 ii-v, p. 213) the Kraus shield bore a wolf, but the arms of Jochum Kraus in the Bruneck *Trinkstube* unequivocally show a fox: Egger, *op. cit.* (note 74 above), p. 24.

⁹⁷ The brothers Ferdinand and Ott Marx von Khuepach zu Ried und Zimmerlehen, after acquiring Haselburg Castle (Castel Flavon) in 1590, received the inescutcheon of the arms of the extinct Haselburger family, with the predicate 'zu Haselburg', from Ferdinand II on 8 May 1591: 'ain ganz schwarzer schildt in wellichem für unnd yber sich der schreg nach ain gerad haßlzwey [*sic*] daran dreÿ neben einander stehende haselnüssen in iren hilsen und seiglen erscheinend, auf dem schildt ain offener adenlicher turniers helm zu baiderseits mit gelb oder golt farber und schwarzer helmdeckhen, auch darob ainer althaidenischen gelb oder goltfarben spitzigen kuniglichen cron geziert auß wellicher erscheinend ain mit den pfalzen für sich gestelte schwarze adlersflig mit dem haßlzwey [*sic*] unnd nüssen wie im schildt.' Vienna, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Tiroler Wappenbücher 10, fos. 656r-v; Goldegg, 'Tiroler Wappenbücher' 1, p. 147 no. 1129; Frank, *Standeserhebungen* 3, p. 90.

THE COAT OF ARMS

15. Sinseder: *Quarterly argent and gules three beech leaves counterchanged.*

16. Rodt: *Per bend gules and argent in chief a unicorn salient and in base three flames all counterchanged.*

As will be seen, alongside the coats of arms already seen in other rooms, whether referring to recorded marriages or not, this room introduces new heraldry referring to families from whom no close relationship can be traced to the Rottenbuchers: thus the Kripps, for instance, were most closely connected with the area around Hall, and had by way of the Augsburg administration in Bozen (St. Afra) maintained regular contact with Bozen; and likewise (probably) the Fuchs von Fuchsberg, a family of the old knightly class.

Conclusion and interpretation

Once Joseph Rottenbucher had become head of his family, as its oldest member, and had received from Ferdinand II confirmation of noble rank and a heraldic 'upgrade' in 1587, he decided to transform the seigneurial house in the northern wing of the Gandlhof, itself elevated to the position of the noble residence of Rottenbuch in 1567, into a representative country seat.⁹⁸ Alongside its economic importance – it continued to function as a vineyard mansion – Rottenbuch was above all a status symbol, constructed in line with the forms appropriate to the landed nobility, as well as the prestige-possession of a member of late sixteenth-century Bozen's political élite.

Heraldry is the central decorative theme in the house. The scheme is conceived from the point of view of the house's owner, and in the Lower Hall it shows the network of kinship surrounding him and his family; they are presented as a lineage, a kinship group of new nobles located within a web of relationships linking, in particular, the prominent families of Bozen. This exclusive and consolidated network of city councillors – controlling city politics, distributing duties and the 'symbolic capital' of office (parish provost, burgomaster, hospital overseer, city delegate at the nobles' court and the Diet), isolating itself from the lower orders through marriage alliances – shows a cognatic kinship system (*freundschaft*) functioning also as a power mechanism. The forms of representation that are adopted and emulated are those of the old nobility, who for their part seek to keep a step ahead of the newcomers – mere untitled nobles – by reaching the rank of baron or count; although with the adoption of elements of the contemporary princely heraldry (such as supporters and complex marshalling) these forms were unintentionally caricatured.

Analogous to this is the decorative scheme in the south-east room on the upper floor, which functioned in part as the bedchamber of Joseph Rottenbucher and his wife. Here, alongside their full coats of arms, displayed within laurel wreaths and held by supporters, a long series of simple shields displays the arms of the Bozen *freundschaft*. Some of these families have no known link with the Rottenbuchers – Vintler, Kripp, Fuchs (if that is the right ascription) – but their presence emphasizes Joseph's aspirations to nobility.

⁹⁸ The short timespan between ennoblement and transformation of the house into a principal, noble-style residence is emphasized by Erika Kustatscher, *op. cit.* (note 17 above), p. 32f.

The series of shields in the Lower Chamber is a celebration of the dynasty. By means of a genealogical sequence commencing with a male-line ancestor, the progenitor of the line, the dynasty is represented as a cognatic-type bond (creating kinship through marriage) with a shared identity through a common name and coat of arms.⁹⁹ With its dignity increased by a series of ennoblements and heraldic augmentations (in 1488, 1518, 1573 and 1587) the dynastic sequence ends up with the marriage of Joseph Rottenbucher and Eva Wag(n)er. The temporal dimension is of the highest significance in all this: 'Origins, "lineage" (*genus*), are constituent elements in nobility'; 'The further one's ancestors stretch back into distant ages, the more illustrious one's nobility. The essence of nobility, indeed, lies precisely in the capacity for a continuous accumulation of noble attributes: on the one hand by enduring over time, on the other by the individual nobleman's emulation of his ancestors – so-called *imitatio parentum*. In this way the sons of nobles are always more noble than their respective parents (*semper filii sunt nobiliores parentibus*).'¹⁰⁰ Herein lies the reason why the marital arms of Erasmus Rottenbucher and his second wife are shown in a style appropriate to a former age; to deepen the historical dimension of the lineage. The series also 'co-opts' two other marriages of great importance for Joseph Rottenbucher, inasmuch as they demonstrate the two-step, female-line alliance with the Boymont-Paysberg family and thereby his connection to the old knightly class. A connection of this sort was a real target for the untitled nobility's social aspirations. On the other hand there is no sign at all, in the decorative scheme, of the Rottenbucher-Kurz branch, which around 1590 was desperately clawing its way up its own social incline.

The same theme returns in the heraldic decoration of the room called the maid's room (*Dirnkammer*) in 1608, though it may also have functioned as a bedchamber for the daughters of the family. Here the representation of the match between Potenciana Gerstl and Sebastian von Boymont-Paysberg has something of a didactic character, in that (after the typical fashion of noble pedagogy of the day) it commends to the heirs the duty of continuing and prolonging the line.¹⁰¹ This, however, was a duty that Joseph's sons never managed to fulfill. With Johann Baptist Rottenbucher zu Rottenbuch the family was inscribed on the roll of the nobility; but the link with the ancient noble houses, and with its social acceptance by the noble ruling class, was to prove but a brief episode.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ On the complex questions of composition and representation of lineages, esp. in the case of the late medieval nobility of Franconia, see Morsel, 'Geschlecht und Repräsentation' (note 1 above), pp. 317-19.

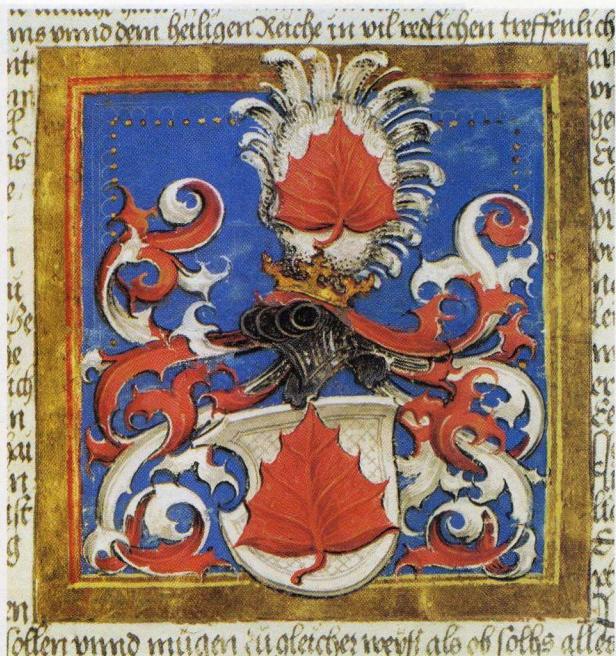
¹⁰⁰ Otto Gerhard Oexle, 'Aspekte der Geschichte des Adels im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit', in *Europäischer Adel 1750-1950*, ed. Hans-Ulrich Wehler (Geschichte und Gesellschaft, Sonderheft 13: Göttingen 1990), pp. 19-56 at 22.

¹⁰¹ Oexle, *ibid.*; Noflatscher, 'Felderhof' (note 35 above), p. 72.

¹⁰² This article is based on my 'Verwandtschaftskonstruktion und Selbstdarstellung durch Wappen in der frühen Neuzeit - Zur heraldischen Ausstattung des Ansitzes Rottenbuch (1588-1598)', in *Der Ansitz Rottenbuch* (note 68 above), pp. 21-57. My thanks go to the Abteilung Denkmalpflege der Südtiroler Landesverwaltung and the Südtiroler Kulturinstitut.

PLATE 3

(a) Arms and crest of Rottenbucher, with barred 'tournament' helm. From an imperial grant of 10 April 1518. Südtiroler Landesarchiv/ Archivio provinciale di Bolzano, Archiv Lachmüller, II 26 no. 6 (photo A. Campaner). See p. 120.



(b) Quartered arms of Rottenbucher with a new crest. From an imperial grant of 24 January 1573. Archiv Lachmüller, II 26 no. 5 (photo A. Campaner). See p. 130.

PLATE 4

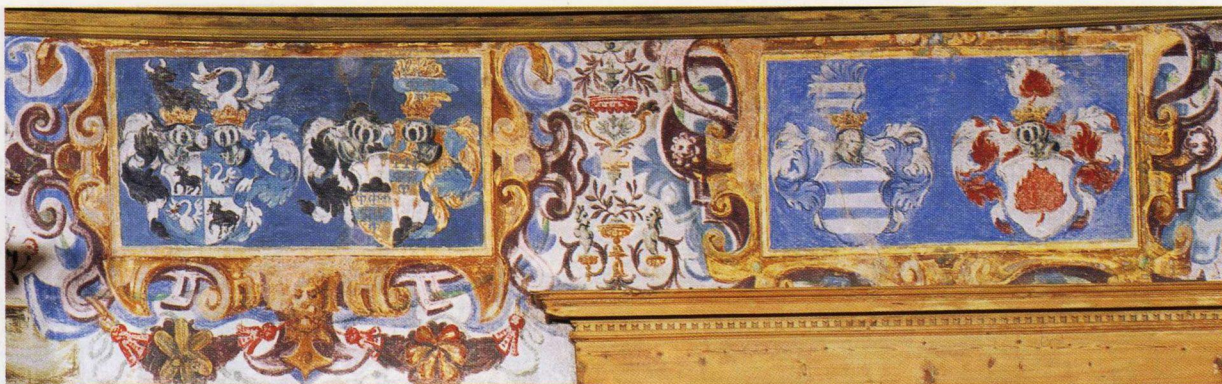


(a) Quartered arms of Gadolt and Rottenbucher. Fresco in the Lower Hall (south wall), Rottenbuch Residence, Gries. 1590. *See p. 135.*

(b) Arms and crest of (left) Erasmus Rottenbucher and (right) his unidentified second wife. Lower Chamber (east wall), Rottenbuch residence. 1588. *See p. 138.*



Photos: Tappeiner (Lana)



Above (a): arms and crest of (left) Sebastian von Boymont-Payrsberg and Sidonia Gerstl von Gerstburg; (right) of a Kiesfelder and a Rottenbucher. Lower Chamber (north wall), Rottenbuch residence. 1588. *See p. 139.*



Right (b): Full achievement of arms of the Archduke Ferdinand II (d. 1595). Upper Chamber (south wall), Rottenbuch residence. 1598. *See p. 140.*

PLATE 6



(a) Full achievement of arms (with ornamental supporters) of Joseph Rottenbucher von Rottenbuch. South-east Chamber, second floor, Rottenbuch residence. Late 1590s. *See p. 140.*

(b) Shield of Khuepach zu Ried, Zimmerlehen und Haselburg. From the frieze in the South-east Chamber, second floor, Rottenbuch residence. Late 1590s. *See p. 141.*

