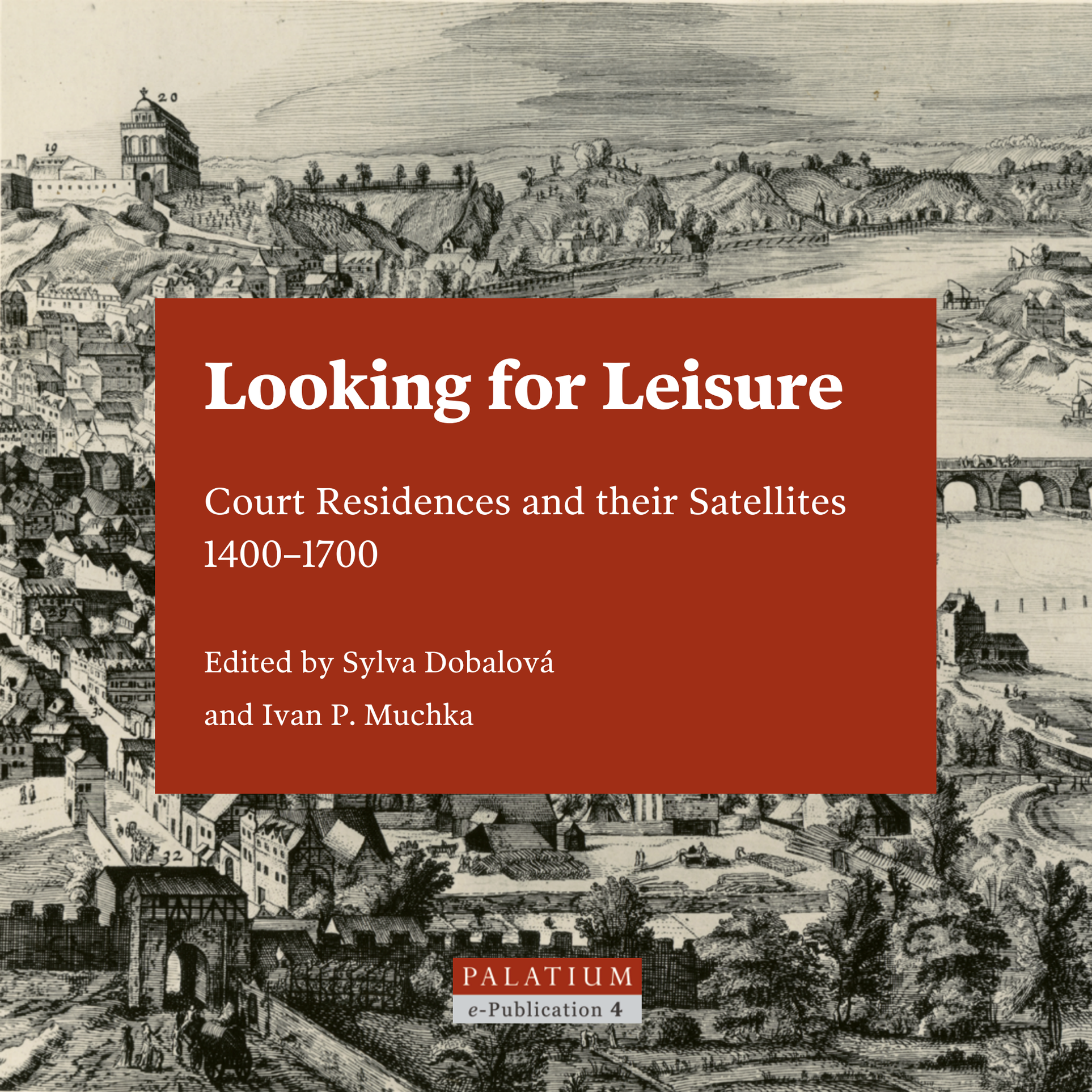

Looking for Leisure

Court Residences and their Satellites 1400–1700

Edited by Sylva Dobalová
and Ivan P. Muchka

PALATIUM
e-Publication 4

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Edited by
Sylva Dobalová & Ivan P. Muchka
With the assistence of
Sarah Lynch

PALATIUM
Prague 2017

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Preface

Krista De Jonge

This volume has its origins in the PALATIUM colloquium 'Looking for Leisure. Court Residences and their Satellites, 1400–1700', organised in Prague from 5 to 7 June, 2014.

Founded in 2010 and financed for five years by the European Science Foundation, the PALATIUM research networking programme aimed at creating a common forum for research on the late medieval and early modern European court residence or palace (palatium) in a multi and trans-disciplinary perspective (www.courtresidences.eu). The world of the courts 1400-1700 constituted a network of truly European scale and international character. In the broad and varied field of court studies, PALATIUM's focus on the court residence stands out as a main defining characteristic, distinguishing it clearly from similar initiatives in Europe. Fourteen research institutions from eleven European countries supported this programme, including the Institute of Art History of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, which organised the Prague colloquium together with the Department of Art History at Masaryk University of Brno. We sincerely thank them both, and in particular their representatives Ivan Prokop Muchka and Ondřej Jakubec for their efforts in making the event a success and in bringing its results to the broader scientific community. In addition, special thanks are due, as always, to the members of the PALATIUM Steering Committee who helped to select contributors and to the PALATIUM coordinator Pieter Martens, who served as guardian angel to the event. Last but not least, without Sylva Dobalová's unstinting efforts there would have been no colloquium and no book at all.

To quote from the original call for papers, the aim of the colloquium was to draw attention to 'small' buildings in residential complexes, which were meant only for rest, leisure, and repose. Many of the case-studies discussed here – from the Trianon de porcelaine at Versailles to the Troja Palace at Prague – show that 'small' is a relative term in this context, both as to size and artistic weight. The importance of the casino, palazzotto, speelhuys, zámeček, Lusthaus and banqueting house in the network of satellite buildings connected with the main palace is amply demonstrated in the seventeen essays assembled in this volume. They collectively illustrate the architectural face of early modern theories of leisure; the ambiguity of type between town and country living; the complexity of the residential system at early modern courts; and the art showcased on this particular architectural stage.

The subject could not be more relevant in the PALATIUM perspective. Like the palace, the Renaissance and Baroque villa have generated a flood of scholarly publications in the last five decades, as has the art of the garden and the culture of the hunt. The picture, however, remains far from complete. The residential system of the European courts and the nobility cannot be adequately defined by the classic opposition of town/country or palace/castle, to which in the early modern era is added the villa, suburban or pseudo-rural. The culture of leisure, already in full development at the late mediaeval courts, called for new architectural types beyond this standard conjunction. While Joseph Furttenbach's 1640 Architectura recreationis is the first to define the palazzotto, the phenomenon has deeper roots in time, as some of the papers show. And the typological complexity of the late mediaeval and early modern court residence – always to be taken as a 'plural' – mirrors the nomadic character of much of contemporary court life: a constant migration dictated by the necessities of politics and by the seasons.

The architecture of leisure has changed beyond recognition in the last century, along with the place of leisure in society and with the advent of mass tourism, its scale. But a significant part of today's seasonal migrations is still directed towards the magnificent places of leisure created centuries ago for the courtly élite. In that sense their genius loci has not lost much of its power. In publishing these papers online we hope that they will reach a broad audience interested in this important part of our common European heritage.

Introduction

Sylva Dobalová and Ivan Muchka

The essays gathered in this collection were presented as papers at the colloquium 'Looking for Leisure. Court Residences and their Satellites, 1400–1700', which took place on 5–7 June 2014 in Prague. It was organized by the Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences and the Department of Art History of Masaryk University in Brno, with financial and organizational support of the PALATIUM programme. Only half of the submitted abstracts could be selected for the two days of papers and discussion; the third day was devoted to an excursion to several buildings in Prague, which were the inspiration for the theme of the conference. We hope that our colloquium will stimulate scientific interest in less well known examples of an architecture of leisure both in Prague and across Europe.

We would like to extend our warmest thanks to Krista De Jonge and Pieter Martens for their assistance in organizing the colloquium and supporting the production of this volume as part of the European Science Foundation programme. Special thanks also go to our colleague from Princeton, Sarah Lynch, who supervised the English in this international publication. We are also grateful to the Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences for their financial support for this volume.

The Prague colloquium, like the other events of the PALATIUM programme, was devoted to architecture and its meaning for individuals and society. The aim of this conference was to explore the small leisure buildings – often referred to as palazotto, casino or Lusthaus – which formed a part of European princely residential complexes and whose importance is belied by their relatively small size. The aim of the Prague colloquium was to examine the relationship of the palazotto to its palace and study the function of these buildings as pendants and counterparts to a larger main palace or residential complex. Many of these structures were smaller buildings meant only for temporary, seasonal use. Their primary role was as a place of rest, leisure and repose, but they also took on representative roles similar to those of the main palace. The palazotto was usually a new building, rather than a renovated older structure, and therefore it offers a much clearer view of the motivations, intentions and design preferences of the patrons and can be regarded as ideal architectural models for a specific moment in time during the Renaissance, Mannerist and Baroque periods. These small palaces developed certain ideological programmes that would have been difficult to achieve in the larger residential complex. But these buildings, commissioned by monarchs and aristocrats alike, also respond to the human need for leisure, to rest after work, or – as Michelangelo put it – to live the 'vita contemplativa dopo vita activa'. This relaxation and leisure could take either a contemplative, meditative form, or include such vigorous activities as hunting, sports, and various court festivities.

This study of the duality of activity and rest is timely; our effort to learn from this aspect of the past has never been more appropriate than today. Each period searches for its own artistic expression of its needs and values. We study the rules common to such recreational buildings to see how their architects strove to realize their ideas of paradise on Earth – paradise terrestre – and how they managed to bring the human world into harmony with the natural world.

A study of Early Modern European palace complexes without their small satellite buildings would result in a fragmentary picture. The dichotomy of the main palace as the permanent residence and the small, temporary, occasional house is an important element in the study of European architectural history, and this colloquium and volume seek to study it in greater depth. The convenors also encourage a multidisciplinary approach to this issue.

The two introductory papers, by Ivan Muchka and Ondřej Jakubec, highlight the problem of definitions of specific building types as they were understood in the Early Modern Era. Ivan Muchka examines the terminology, which reflects the wide variety of needs the palazotto fulfilled. As the terms used to describe these buildings varied greatly, so too could the appearance of an individual building type display a wide variety of features

and styles. In his article, Jakubec examines the definition of one building type, that of the Lusthaus or summer palace. Through an analysis of the South-Bohemian villa of Kratochvíle (Kurzweil, property of the Rožmberk/Rosenberg family), he explores the building type's range of complexity of architectural semantic and socio-historical functions.

The rest of this volume is divided into four sections, corresponding to the themes of the different panels of the colloquium:

Session I. From Solitude and Buen Retiro to Mon-plaisir and Sans-souci. Exploring the Theory of the Architecture of Leisure within the Palace

The first section is devoted to terminology and the need to define the terms – to the extent that this is possible as some degree of ambiguity is inevitable. This research includes period names and descriptions of smaller buildings in historical sources, as well in architectural treatises, fiction, memoirs and correspondence of builders and clients from this period. This Early Modern architectural terminology, both in its richness and ambiguity, should be understood as distinct from standard, modern terms such as palazzo, villa, château or Schloss, as well as the underlying theory of leisure.

If we accept the premise that architectural theory is not to be divided into the historical and modern categories, but rather understand that one informs the other, it is important to explore Early Modern architectural theory beyond its basic principles. It seems that contemporary architecture values originality, the element of surprise and creativity of the approach, but Renaissance and Baroque architects also respected the need for variation (il variare), surprise (capriccio) and for creativity (invenzione). These are timeless axioms of architecture. Besides the above-mentioned terms, we should add invention, as opposite to common-place.

The papers in this section, presented by Jaroslava Hausenblasová, Marylin Brown, Poul Grinden Hansen and Ulla Kjaer, Antonio Russo, Martina Frank and Jan Ivanega, illustrate these principles by examining a wide variety of specific examples that together present a picture of a whole problem of terminology and theory for the period between 1527–1720. Some of the papers presented temporary structures erected for special occasions or buildings which no longer survive. A contribution by Petr Uličný was published elsewhere (see P. Uličný, Belvederes and Loggias in Prague: Two Facets of the Leisure Architecture of the Imperial City, *Studia Rudolphina* 14, 2014, pp. 30–50.)

Session II. Tradition and Modernity. Defining the *Palazzotto* as a Spatial and Functional Type from the Late Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period

This session distinguishes between specific forms of buildings, including country villas, hunting lodges, casinos, banqueting houses, and different types of loggias, bellevues, belvederes, gloriets, roof pavilions and altanas. Future studies may find some connections between these types. The session focuses on defining the palazotto building type, including its structure, ground plan, and spatial communication, i.e. everything that is summarized in French theory under distribution. Research in period resources should address the functions and functionality of such buildings and the ways in which they were inhabited. Because these buildings were small in size, they were mostly new constructions, which gives us something closer to an encapsulated look at the lifestyle and architectural ideals of a particular moment better than he gradual adding on to and renovation of large palaces. It is as important to know how the recreational buildings were used, as it is to know their original design. The papers in this section included evidence from historical printed and drawn views of these buildings as well as their decorative schemes and iconographic programs. Some of these themes also appear in the first section.

Three papers are concerned with Central European sites: Salzburg and Innsbruck (Wolfgang Lippmann); the Royal Summer Palace in Prague (Sarah Lynch); and the Neugebäude outside Vienna (Dirk Jacob Jansen). An example from Versailles was introduced by Marie-Claude Canova-Green. Darja Churkina addressed leisure palaces at the Renaissance court of Ferrara.

Arne Spohr has published his paper presented at the conference as: Concealed Music in Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial, in Rebekah Ahrendt – Damien Mahiet (eds.), *Music and Diplomacy from the Early Modern Era to the Present*, New York 2014, pp. 19–43.

Session III. Decorating the Architecture of Leisure. Interpreting the Satellite's Decor between Politics and Nature

The third section addresses the artistic decoration of the palazotto, both interior and exterior, its iconographic programme, representative role, and ties with a main residence. Particular attention is given to cases where the decorative programme was conceived as an ensemble. This session examined the ways in which a satellite's decorative programme was distinct from that of the main residence, and to what extent it related to the particular function of the palazotto. Michele Danieli addressed these issues in a paper concerning the Farnese court in Parma. The decoration of the chateau Troja in Prague was presented twice, first in a paper by Martin Mádl and again during the excursion day in Prague. Additionally, Jakubec's introductory paper closely examined the rich stucco and painted decoration of another Czech example, villa Kratochvíle.

Session IV. The *Palazzotto* in Context. Exploring the Role of the Satellite in the Grand Design of the Residence and its Gardens

In recent years, art historical research has examined the environment of palace complexes, such as gardens – not in a botanical sense but as ideological constructs in which these small buildings were more than mere accessories. The palazotto is not only a visual focal point but the culmination of the entire landscape. Papers in this section investigate how the surroundings of the satellite affected its location, layout, function and architecture, and conversely, how the palazotto's own gardens operated.

In this section, Marcus Jeitler analyses the phenomenon of the hunt and its organisation at different leisure palaces around the imperial Viennese court. During the conference a Czech example was introduced twice, a hunting preserve near Prague and its attendant structure, the Star Summer Palace, first in a paper by Sylva Dobalová, which discusses the garden's radial avenues as a fundamental urban case, and again on an excursion to the Lusthaus itself.

Editorial note

Regarding the use of italics in this volume, we have not italicized 'foreign' words that have fully entered the English language, such as chateau, villa and casino. Terms that have not made the transition into English (e.g., *palazzotto*, *Lusthaus*) appear in italics. All quotations, including both English and foreign words, from both modern and period sources are also in italics.

Introductory Lectures

Architectura recreationis: *Lusthaus* or Summer Palace, A Successful Building Type in Early Modern Europe

Ivan Muchka

The reason most people are interested in history is because they think they will find answers to questions they are asking themselves about the present. In countries overtaken by totalitarian regimes after World War II, urban-dwellers escaped from cities to the countryside, to nature. It happened not only in large urban centres, but also in small towns and sparsely populated areas. The need to relax, to get out of the dirt, dust, smoke and smog (including the ideological smog – the political brainwashing), was prevalent, and citizens turned to the private sphere, the only area which could not be controlled by the omnipresent communist state. But this need for escape, at least for a few hours a week, from the dense, overpopulated places in order to enjoy the open nature and healthy air, had existed for a very long time before that.[1]

As architecture and urbanism have adjusted to our needs, they have become specialized in their functions. The term 'building type' came into existence – a structure that best embodied the needs and characteristics that was expected from a certain building. But as these needs may vary greatly, so could the look of an individual building type vary to a great degree, its typical features even bleeding into other building types. In this article, I will examine the definition of one building type, that of *Lusthaus* or summer palace, in order to be able to interpret better the concrete examples of this type.

Another building type, very similar to the summer palace, but not quite identical, is that of the villa. In his ground-breaking text on villas,[2] James S. Ackerman offers a definition in his introductory lines, 'A villa is a building in the country designed for its owner's enjoyment and relaxation. Though it may also be the center of an agricultural enterprise, the pleasure factor is what essentially distinguishes the villa residence from the farmhouse and the villa estate from the farm. The farmhouse tends to be simple in structure and to conserve ancient forms that do not require the intervention of a designer. The villa is typically the product of an architect's imagination and asserts its modernity'.[3] In the second paragraph, Ackerman's statement is equally pointed: 'The villa accommodates a fantasy which is impervious to reality'.

Below, I will try to show that Palladio says something else, that he understood the residential and the agricultural parts of an estate as connected elements whose plan should be developed in tandem, resulting in a unique design. Ackerman's formulations are significant but less helpful when thinking about Central Europe, the main focus of my research. Contrary to Ackerman's assertions, I claim that when thinking about enjoyment and relaxation, it is not the villa that is the primary building type, but the *Lusthaus* or summer palace. And those were, by no means, 'the center of an agricultural enterprise'.

1 Since classical times, city dwellers created small oases for relaxation in nature 'on a small scale' in their gardens or in locations from which one could enjoy a view – *bella vista, Bellevue, belvedere*. The focal point or dominant feature of such a view was the point-de-vue, a point where the eye could rest, or as one says in German, where the viewer is captured by the beauty – *Blickfang*. Some architectural dictionaries use the term eye-catcher, for example: John Fleming – Hugh Honour – Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Penguin Dictionary of Architecture*, London 1991 (first published 1966), p. 151: 'Eye–catcher or gloriette. A decorative building, such as a sham ruin, built on an eminence in a landscape park to terminate a view or otherwise punctuate the layout. See also folly'. Another example is: James Stevens Curl, *A Dictionary of Architecture*, London 1999, p. 235: 'Eyecatcher. Folly, ruin, temple, or other structure in a landscape, such as gloriette, drawing the eye to a desired point'.

2 James S. Ackerman, *The Villa. Form and Ideology of Country Houses*, Princeton 1985.

3 Ackerman (see note 2), p. 9.

In his first book, Vitruvius offers a theory of building types, and in the third chapter titled 'The Departments of Architecture'[4] we discover that, 'Building is divided into two parts, of which the first is the construction of fortified towns and of works for general use in public places, and the second is the putting up of structures for private individuals. There are three classes of public buildings: the first for defensive, the second for religious, and the third for utilitarian purposes ... such as harbours, markets, colonnades, baths, theatres, promenades, and all other similar arrangements in public places'. From the very onset of European architectural theory, we thus have a system with division into building types, but unfortunately Vitruvius did not go into more detail and list not the building types for 'private individuals'. Instead, in the next paragraph, he formulated his famous statement of the three fundamental elements of building, 'All these must be built with due reference to durability, convenience and beauty'. Let us concentrate on the second term, which is achieved when 'each class of building is assigned to its suitable and appropriate exposure'. M. H. Morgan, the English translator of Vitruvius, formulated this part a bit freely, as the original reads '*utilitatis autem emendata et sine impeditione usus locorum dispositione, et ad regiones sui cuiusque generis apta et commoda distributio*'. Vitruvius's term *distributio* appears already in the second chapter of the first book to describe one of the six basic terms of architecture in general.[5] In sum, although it may sound quite obvious - a building type is characterized most of all by its function, less so by the 'durability' and solidity of the building techniques or by the 'beauty', its architectural form or forms.

Did Vitruvius describe a building type of a *Lusthaus* or summer palace? Not quite. In book six, chapter six, '*De rusticorum aedificiorum rationibus*' which Morgan succinctly translated as 'The Farmhouse', we learn about the characteristics of a private building in the countryside with a description covering mainly utilitarian features – barns, stables, kitchens, granges, granaries etc. Vitruvius describes the residential function in the next chapter where he speaks about the typology of the Greek residential house, '*De graecorum aedificiorum eorumque partium dispositione*'. Vitruvius mentions neither the pleasure gardens, *Lustgarten*, nor the pleasure buildings or *Lusthäuser* situated in them. Thus, later architectural theoreticians were not able to draw much inspiration from Vitruvius in this respect.

Alberti's work is different when we look at the Latin original where he uses the term '*villa*', and at the translations into Italian, which were easier to get in Central Europe, where the terms '*casa fatta in villa*' and '*casa rusticana*' are used.

Serlio, whose writings greatly influenced Central Europe, uses a similar term, '*case per edificar nella villa*' and even '*i palazzi per fabricar in villa per gran Prencipi*'.[6] In his third book, he describes the Vila Madama in Rome as '*loggia*' and in the section on Naples he writes, '*Napoli... è cosi ben dodato di giardini, & di luoghi di piacere ... fra gli altri luoghi ameni & dilettevoli che sono fuori della città, vi è un palazzo che si chiama Poggio Reale, il quale il Re Alfonso fece edificare per suo diletto ...*'.[7] He then goes on to describe the villa's playful water installations, similar to those that can still be admired in the gardens of Hellbrunn near Salzburg.

Palladio's terminology is, of course, also of great interest. Robert Tavernor, the author of the critical edition of Palladio's *Libri d'architectura*, writes, 'The house of the owner is not called the villa, but the *abitazione* or *casa del padrone*, *casa dominicale*; other buildings are also qualified: *fabrica per governare e custodire l'entrate e gli animali di villa*; *i coperti per le cose di villa; stanze del fattore, del gastaldo, cantine, granari, stalle, altri luoghi di villa,* etc. The contrast between the villa (farm) and casa padronale is clearly expressed here: *la parte per l'habitatione del padrone e quella per l'uso di villa sono di uno istesso ordine* (Libro II, pag. 61)'.[8] Tavernor could have mentioned a number of other quotations from Palladio, but what is important here is the meaning of the whole sentence, where in the case of this concrete building in Campiglio, Palladio demoted the building of the owner to the level of a farm with the aim of creating a beautiful whole. This idea can also be understood if we read Palladio's complete sentence, '*perche la parte per l'habitatione del padrone, e quella per l'uso di Villa sono di uno istesso ordine; quanto quella perde di grandezza per non essere piu eminente di questa; tanto questa di Villa accresce del suo debito ornamento, e dignità, facendosi uguale à quelle del Padrone con belezza di tutta l'opera*'.

4 Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, translated by Morris Hicky Morgan, New York 1960 (first edition 1914).

5 Vitruv, *Zehn Bücher über Architektur – De Architectura Libri Decem, Lateinisch Deutsch*, ed. by Franz Reber, Wiesbaden 2009, p. 36 and p. 34.

6 *Tutte l'Opere d'Architettura di Sebastiano Serlio,* Venezia 1584, Libro VII, p. 24, p. 6.

7 Ibidem, Libro III, p. 121r.

8 Robert Tavernor, *Palladio, edition Octavo*, Washington 2000, p. 266.

The basic scheme which Palladio follows when explicating the buildings in the countryside, '*fabriche di villa*', is, '*Le Case della Città sono veramente al Gentli'uomo di molto splendore, e commodità, havendo in esse ad habitare tutto quel tempo, che li bisognerà per la amministratione della Republica, e governo delle cose proprie: Ma non minore utilità, e consolatione caverà forse dalle case di Villa, dove il resto del tempo si passerà in vedere, & ornare le sue possesioni, e con industria, & arte dell'Agricoltura accrescer le facultà, dove ancho per l'esercitio, che nella Villa si suol fare à piedi, & à cavallo, il corpo piu agevolmente conserverà la sua sanità, e robustezza, e dove finalmente l'animo stanco delle agitationi della Città, prenderà molto ristauro, e consolatione, e equietamente potrà attendere à gli studii delle lettere, & alla contemplatione... havendo case, giardini, fontane, e simili luoghi...*'.[9] As if Palladio had known the content of a often quoted 1462 letter from Cosimo Medici to Marsilio Ficino, in which Cosimo describes the benefits of a sojourn in the countryside as spiritual, rather than agricultural: 'Yesterday I came to the villa of Careggi, not to cultivate my fields but my soul... I desire nothing so much as to know the best road to happiness. Farewell, and do not come without the Orphean Lyre.'[10]

When the issue is rest and relaxation (*otium post negotium*), the summer palace blends with different types of the European villa and it is difficult, sometimes impossible, to distinguish between them. One detail though that does make a distinction between them is that an individual's city residence and his villa outside the walls (*extra muros*) or in the countryside do not have a visual relationship, while such a relationship almost always existed between the summer palace located near the main palace, usually in its gardens. This connection grew more prominent especially in the Baroque period when the main palace and the summer palace were placed on an axis and the summer palace often became a sort of point de vue.[11] [Fig. 1]

This discussion of the duality of activity and rest is timely, and our effort to learn from the past is more than appropriate, *historia magistra vitae*. Each period searches for its adequate stylistic expression, and of course we do not advocate a slavish imitation of the past but rather inspiration from the wealth of forms and ingenuity of our forefathers. Our life today, rather than being a break with the past, could be carried on as a continuum, a link, an inspiration from the tradition. In today's world, it is probably impossible to imagine building something new, such as Cardinal Farnese's commission to Jacopo Vignola to build a casino in Caprarole, which we featured on the colloquium's poster. [Fig. 2]

When we study the laws that such recreational buildings had in common, we may see how their architects strived to externalize the visions of paradise on Earth (*paradise terrestre*) and how they managed to bring the human world into harmony with the natural world (*deus sive natura*).[12]

Now we come to the term *Lusthaus*, which describes the building type that is the focus of this article in the Central European context. In Prague, there are several examples of this building type that have been preserved. In archival sources, they are all called *Lusthaus*, perhaps because they were built in areas described as '*Lustgarten*', an artistically conceived garden, or '*Thiergarten*', meaning an enclosed game park or hunting preserve.

To understand the genesis of *Lusthaus* or *summer palace* and its emergence on the European architectural scene, it can be helpful to examine the etymology of the word, although this should not be overemphasized. The German word *Lusthaus* has been taken over into Early Modern Czech language with the meaning 'paradise'. When John Amos Comenius, a world-renowned seventeenth-century Czech pedagogue, first published his major work in 1631 in Poland, its title was *Labyrint světa a lusthauz srdce [Maze of the World and Lusthaus of the Heart]*, in the second edition in Amsterdam, Commenius replaced it with *Labyrint světa a Ráj srdce [Maze of the World and Paradise of the Heart]*. [Fig. 3] The book is an allegorical interpretation of the era and the misery of the Thirty Years' War in comparison with its opposite, beholding the Glory of God, which brings true happiness. In this case, *Lusthaus* alludes to a *casa ideale*, an abstract ideal of a happy and meaningful life.

The first theoretician who contributed to summer palace typology is the architect Joseph Furttenbach of Ulm, whose use of this term is discussed in Antonio Rosso's essay in this volume, therefore we do not need to go into more detail here.

9 Palladio, *Quattro libri dell'architettura*, Vicenza 1570, Libro II, Cap. XII, Del sito da eleggersi per le fabriche di Villa, p. 45.

10 David R. Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*, Princeton 1977, p. 9.

11 There are dozens of examples of this visual connection between palace and summer palace, but the summer palace in Prague-Letná, built by František Josef Count Wallenstein in 1715 is a primary example. This structure was called a Belvedere at the time of its construction (unlike the Royal Summer Palace at Prague Castle which only acquired the name Belvedere later).

12 See also a book by Ulrike Weber-Karge, '*Einem irdischen Paradeiß zu vergleichen ...': das Neue Lusthaus in Stuttgart*, Sigmaringen 1989.

Nicolaus Goldmannm, a German architectural theoretician whose writings were later published by Ch. L. Sturm, also offers an interesting example of how the term *Lusthaus* was used. Goldmann describes a central pavilion titled *Italienisches Lusthaus* as a building on the central axis in the middle of a garden, with porticos on all sides where one can shelter from both rain and heat. It is also a place from where there is an excellent view of the surrounding area.[13] [Fig. 4] Goldmann's *Lusthaus* is what we would today describe as a *gloriette*, the primary characteristics of which are the four porticos and the 360° view. In his book, Goldmann also describes another building type in such a way that we are unsure in which category to place it. This is the monumental *Fürstliches Gartenhaus*,[14] which is on a much larger scale than the *Lusthaus*.

The main source for architectural terminology for the eighteenth century is Johann Heinrich Zedler's encyclopaedia.[15] This encyclopaedia discusses the *Lusthaus* very briefly, compared with the very long entry on the *Lustgarten*: '*Lusthaus ist ein von Latten, Brettern oder Mauersteinen zusammengesetztes Haus, das in einem Garten zu desto vergnüglicheren und bequemeren Gebrauch des gartens selbst dienet*'. Here, *Lusthaus* has a subordinate position to the garden, helping its optimal use. For Zedler, the garden is the symbol of the biblical paradise and something that is superior to the recreational function of architecture. '*Lust-Garten heisset ein solcher Garten, welcher mit Hecken, Spalieren, Spatzier- und Bogen-Gängen, Bind-Werck, Parterren oder Lust-Stücken, Blumen, Statuen, Fontainen, und anderen, mehr zur Lust als zum Nutzen dienenden Dingen besetzet ist ... Mit den Lustgärten hat man gleichsam den Verlust des allervortrefflichsten Gott selbst gepflanzten Gartens Eden, das ist, Lust-Gartens, einiger massem ersetzen wollen*'.[16]

The term *Lusthaus* also appears in another treatise on architectural theory by Abraham Leuthner, published in Prague in 1677,[17] which contains a number of engravings based on prints from works by Hans Blum, Frans Huys, Giovanni Battista Montano, Agostino Mitelli and others. Leuthner himself is the designer of the summer palace in Ostrov nad Ohří (Schlackenwerth near Carlsbad). The book features several buildings that can be described as summer palaces (pages 42–43, 46–55). Among others it shows the ground plan of the Star Summer Palace from Prague (page 51). The caption describing an another picture (on page 53) reads '*Außwendig die Faszathen zu einem kastell oder Lusthaus oder Jegerhaus*', [Fig. 5] which demonstrates how widely the term was applied in Baroque Prague.

In the German–speaking countries, the definition of the *Lusthaus* building type is not particularly clear. A comprehensive dictionary by Günther Wasmuth from the 1930s[18] has avoided this topic by mentioning 'single-room' garden houses with quaint shapes from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including hermitages, ruins and other garden features. In German usage between the wars, the word *Lusthaus* already had an antiquated feeling to it. Wasmuth's dictionary has an entry for *casino* but this does not mention garden architecture.[19]

13 Nicolaus Goldmann, *Erste Ausübung Vortrefflichen und Vollständigen Anweisung zu der Civil – Bau – Kunst ...,* Braunschweig 1699, IVth book, chapter 23, pp. 149–150: '*Man könte auch nach dieser Erfindung der Italiener ein Lust=Haus bauen, da man ein seines Aussehen hätte (Kupfer 74). Darein könte man mitten einen kleinen Helm angeben, gegen die vier Winde aber vier Vorschöpfte umher, derer jeden auf drey Seiten frey stünde, und forne Stuffen hinauf hätte, also könte man den runden Sahl zur Zeit der grössesten Hitze, die Lauben aber auch unterschiedener Jahres Zeit zum speisen gebrauchen. Uber jeden Vorschopfte solte ein Gieblichen seyn, und ist zu mercken, daß dergleichen Bau, allezeit auf der Höhe angelegt werden soll, damit man beste weiter herum ein liebliches Aussehen erlangen möge.*'

14 Nikolaus Goldmann – Leonhard Christoph Sturm, *Nicolai Goldmanns vollständige Anweisung zu der Civil-Bau-Kunst: in welcher nicht nur die 5 Ordnungen samt den dazu gehörigen Fenster-Gesimsen ... auf eine neue und sonderbare Art aufzureissen deutlich gewiesen, sondern zugleich getreulich entdekket wird ... alles aus den besten Überresten des Alterthums*, Braunschweig 1699, p. B 91, Tab. XVIII.

15 *Großes vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste …,* Halle – Leipzig 1732–1754, Vol. XVIII, column 1260: '*Lusthaus, ist ein von Latten, Brettern oder Mauersteinen zusammengesetztes Haus, das in einem Garten zu desto vergnüglicheren und bequemeren Gebrauch des gartens selbst dienet.*'

16 Ibidem, Vol. XVIII, columns 1254–1260.

17 Abraham Leuthner, *Grundtliche Darstellung der fünff Seüllen wie solche von der Weitberühmten Vitruvio Scamozzio und anderen Vornehmben Baumeistern zusamben getragen und in gewisse Außtheilung verfasset worden*, Prague 1677.

18 Günther Wasmuth (ed.), *Wasmuths Lexikon der Baukunst*, I–IV, Berlin 1929–32; Volume I (A–B) 1929, II (C–G) 1930, III (H–O) 1931, IV (P–Z) 1932. Volume V was published later, in 1937. The author of the texts cited in the next footnote is probably Leo Adler.

19 Wasmuth (see note 18), III, p. 556: *Lusthaus*, veraltet für *Gartenhaus*; *Lustschloß* ist ein fürstliches Landhaus zum Sommeraufenthalt, *Lustwarte,* Verdeutschung für *Belvedere, Bellevue*; Wasmuth II, p. 578: *Gartenhaus, Gartengebäude bezeichnet die in größeren Gärten beliebten kleinen, meist einräumigen Baulichkeiten, die im Zeitalter der Romantik oft phantastische Formen annahmen als Einsiedeleien, Grotten, Ruinen, Tempel u. dgl. An besonderen Aussichtspunkten angelegt, führen sie meist Bezeichnungen wie Belvedere, Bellevue. Ihre äußere Gestaltung nähert sich im landschaftlichen (englischen) Garten durch Verwendung "natürlicher" Baustoffe, wie unbehauenen Baumstämmen, Borke u. dgl. einer "naturgemäßen" Erscheinung, während im regelmäßigen Garten eine strenge architektonische*

This overview of architectural terminology needs to include two English dictionaries, the *Penguin Dictionary of Architecture* and the *Oxford Dictionary of Architecture*. When reading these entries, one gets the feeling of unease when it comes to summer palace or *Lusthaus* as a building type. The Penguin dictionary by Fleming, Honour and Pevsner contains neither an entry for palace, its diminutive, *palazzotto*, nor for summer house.[20] We also do not find an entry for country house but perhaps the authors considered it as self-explanatory for English speakers and therefore did not explain it (the term country house is used in the entry for *villa*). We do find an entry for folly which has etymologically no parallels in other European languages. It is a term that summarizes any type of small building in the garden, especially in English gardens of the Neoclassical period, e.g. what Fleming calls a Gothic ruin. The *Lusthaus* as building type existed prior to the folly, but the dictionary provides no explanation for the *Lusthaus*, even though one might say that buildings such as the Star Summer Palace in Prague were a kind of folly or foolery. There is an entry for eye-catcher (see note 1) as a distinct building type, although this term has no equivalent in other European languages. The dictionary does mention summer house and pleasure house, but only as subordinate terms under pavilion. Under Czechoslovak Architecture, the Penguin Dictionary lists two important examples of summer palaces: Belvedere 'in the purest and most elegant Cinquecento style' and 'Hrezda [sic] Castle, a star shaped hunting lodge'.[21]

The Oxford dictionary by Curl lists a number of lexicographic sources from the past but does not list include the dictionary by Pevsner;[22] one gets the impression of running in a circle. The terms repeat, sometimes there is a new term, yet we end up feeling that we cannot find what we have been looking for. We do not find the complementary relationship we are interested in (palazzo vs. *palazzuolo*), nor does it list the diminutive form (*palazzotto*) that is part of a pair together with the large palace, whose function it complements by producing a lighter and newer type of usage. The Oxford dictionary does mention such a pairing in two entries: pavilion, 'dependant on a larger or principal building' and casino, 'in the grounds of a large country house'. There are a number of architectural structures in gardens and in landscape, with occasional use, or some of them, as Curl says, completely without a use, as is the case of a folly. Such structures are supposed to be 'primitive, rustic' (as the entry for summer-house states), but then the lexicographer loses himself in the net of the entries, because gazebo, which is also a part of the group of terms we are interested in, can be a very refined building 'More recently the term has been given to buildings, which are out of ordinary, do not conform to any of the recognized styles ...'. In the entry for villa Curl hesitates as he contrasts antique and Renaissance architecture and instead of providing an architectural historical analysis, he choses a socio-political term of 'cultural center'. There are discrepancies also how size is being used. What does a 'small country house' mean in the entry for casino, and what counts as large – a palace or a villa?

To conclude, it might be useful to glance at these most important terms in comparison between the two dictionaries.[23] Both volumes omit the term hunting lodge or hunting castle, which are sometimes compared to

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Gestaltung vorherrscht, die von größer Einfachheit bis zur reichsten Prunkentfaltung alle Gestaltungsmittel umfaßt; Wasmuth II, p. 11: *Casino (frz. cassine = Villa) bezeichnet ein Gesellschaftshaus, Versammlungshaus mit Tanz-, Konzert-, Speisesälen usw.*; Wasmuth I, p. 454 *Belvedere (ital. = schöne Aussicht, franz. Bellevue). Bezeichnung für turm-oder tempelartige Bauten in Schloßgärten oder für ganze Lustschlösser mit schöner Fernsicht, namentlich im 18. Jahrhundert*; Wasmuth IV, p. 398: *Sommerhäuser* compare *Wochenendhaus*; Wasmuth IV, p. 715 *Wochenendhaus ist kleines ortsfestes Haus, in der Regel aus Holz…;* Wasmuth IV, p. 11: *Palast* bezeichnet ein schloßartiges Wohngebäude. Der Name ist herzuleiten vom lat. Palatium (kaiserliches Wohngebäude) und wird im späteren Italien auch a*uf städtische Wohngebäude (palazzo) nichtfürstlicher Personen übertragen. Der typische italienische Palazzo besitz eine monumentale Straßenfront und einen Arkadenhof im Innern. Im übrigen vgl. Schloßbauten.*

20 Fleming – Honour – Pevsner (see note 1).

21 Ibidem, p. 117.

22 Curl (see note 1).

23 Fleming – Honour – Pevsner (see note 1), p. 85: Casino. An ornamental pavilion or small house, usually in the grounds of a larger house; Curl, p. 132: Casino (pl. casinos). 1. Small country-house, lightly fortified. 2. Pleasure-pavilion, summer-house, villa etc. in the grounds of a large country house. 3. Place of recreation, public of semi private, with facilities for various activities (e.g. concerts or dances); ibidem, p. 650: Summer-house. Primitive or rustic structure in a garden or park to provide shaded seating during hot weather. It may be an eyecatcher; ibidem, p. 327: Pavilion. An ornamental building, lightly constructed, often use as a pleasure-house or summerhouse in a garden …; Curl (see note 1), p. 486: Pavilion … 4. detached ornamental building, such as gazebo or summer-house, often, but not always, dependent on a larger or principal building; Fleming – Honour – Pevsner, p. 176: Gazebo. A small look-out tower or summerhouse with a view, usually in a garden or park but sometimes on the roof of a house; in latter case it is also called a belvedere; Curl, p. 268: Gazebo. 1. Garden house built at the corner of a garden-wall with windows on all sides commanding views. 2. Turret, lantern, or look-out on the roof of a house or a belvedere or summer-house in a garden commanding an extensive prospect; Fleming – Honour – Pevsner, p. 42: Belvedere. See gazebo; Curl, p. 69: Belvedere. Any raised structure or tower erected over the roof of a dwelling-house or on a vantage-point in a landscape from which

the summer castle. While these sources are certainly very useful for the study of British art, architecture and gardens, their usefulness for the study of building types outside the English-speaking world is limited.

Nikolaus Pevsner is generally considered as an important initiator of this study, even though the focus of his book *A History of Building Types* (London 1976) is on the nineteenth century and does not cover the Early Modern era. Pevsner works with about twenty building types, while the *Lexikon der Bautypen* by Ernst Seidl (Stuttgart 2012) contains about 350 types. Pevsner's book offered historians of European architecture a methodological tool, albeit one that already existed, that is J. N. Durand's little-used handbook.[24] [Fig. 6]

The study of the history of building types helps us improve our analysis and evaluation of architecture by examining the genesis, development and progress of types. In validating the formal possibilities and refining the functions, builders and architects are able to achieve more refined and cultivated results.

The Star Summer Palace in Prague-Liboc, built in 1555–1562 in the so-called New Game Preserve, can serve as a case study. [Fig. 7] The Star Summer Palace is extravagant in its form, but ordinary in its functions; it was used mainly as a place of rest after hunting and for festivities. Scholars today value principles such as originality and surprise, while Renaissance and Baroque architects appreciated the need of permutation - *il variare*, surprise, *capriccio* or creativity, *l'invenzione*. These are timeless axioms of architecture, along with uniqueness, as the opposite of triviality, thoughtless duplicity.

I found one formulation describing the Star Summer Palace in a nineteenth-century source, calling it '*ein Unicum seltenster Art*', a unique building of a rare kind. The architects of earlier periods acknowledged many requirements 'of which architecture consists' ('*ex quibus rebus architectura constet*'), as Vitruvius put it.[25] According to Palladio, it was important that a building fulfilled all requirements at the same time.[26] Palladio's requirements were the three principles of Vitruvius, plus a further six elements that amplified and specified the first three, e.g. economic adequacy, so that there would be no wasting of resources. Such a requirement is unusual today when architects' fees are calculated as percentages of the overall building costs.

What happened to the *Lusthaus* later, outside of the chronological scope of the PALATIUM program (1400–1700)?

We can name summer palaces built by the outstanding late Baroque architect Kilián Ignác Dientzenhofer for three Jesuit communities in Prague, the Jesuit colleges in the Old Town, the Lesser Town, and the New Town of Prague. These are the so-called dispensaries, recreational buildings in close proximity to the Vltava river. A dispensary in a large garden in the Lesser Town is known from engravings and a photograph taken shortly before it was demolished in 1893. [Fig. 8] The Wallenstein summer palace was located in Prague-Letná until 1742 when it was demolished by the French army and can be seen on a period engraving. [Fig. 9] Another example is an engraving by Johann Adam Delsenbach (1687–1765) showing the Liechtenstein summer palace in Plaňany, with a captions '*Haus auf der Herrschaft*' and '*Maison de Campagne*'. [Fig. 10] The building probably served as a place to spend the night on the trip between Prague and Vienna and as a residence in the game preserve. On the left, next to a one-story building with elaborate facade decoration, one can see the riding stables and farmhouses in the back. The last example is the Kinský Summer Palace in Prague-Smíchov, an outstanding building by Viennese architect Heinrich Koch dating from c. 1830. [Fig. 11] In period sources, this building is already described as a villa, so that from the onset of the nineteenth century, we can assume that *Lusthaus* finally gave way to other terms.

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pleasant scenery may be viewed. Such a building in a garden might be in the form of a Classical temple, and is also termed a 'gazebo', mirador or summer-house; Fleming – Honour – Pevsner, p. 158: Folly. A costly but useless structure built to satisfy the whim of some eccentric and thought to show his folly; usually a tower or a sham Gothic or classical ruin in a landscaped park intended to enhance the view or picturesque effect; Curl, p. 250: Folly. Eyecatcher, usually a building in a contrived landscape, often otherwise useless. It might be in the form of a sham ruin, a Classical temple, oriental tent, chinoiserie, pagoda, or other charming fabrique set in a Picturesque garden; Fleming – Honour – Pevsner: the entry Gloriette is missing; Curl p. 278: Gloriette. Eye-catcher, or pavilion in a garden from which views may be enjoyed; Fleming – Honour – Pevsner, p. 10: Altana. A covered terrace or loggia raised above the roof, like a belvedere. Venetian in origin and usually in wood, it was intended for drying clothes and is still so used in Venice. It later become a feature of C15-16 domestic architecture in Rome; Curl, p. 17: Altana. Loggia, covered wood roof-terrace or belvedere, common in medieval Venice and Renaissance Rome.

24 Compare Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, *Recueil et parallèles des édifices de tout genre*, Paris 1800.

25 Vitruvius, *De architectura libri decem*, Liber I, Caput II, title.

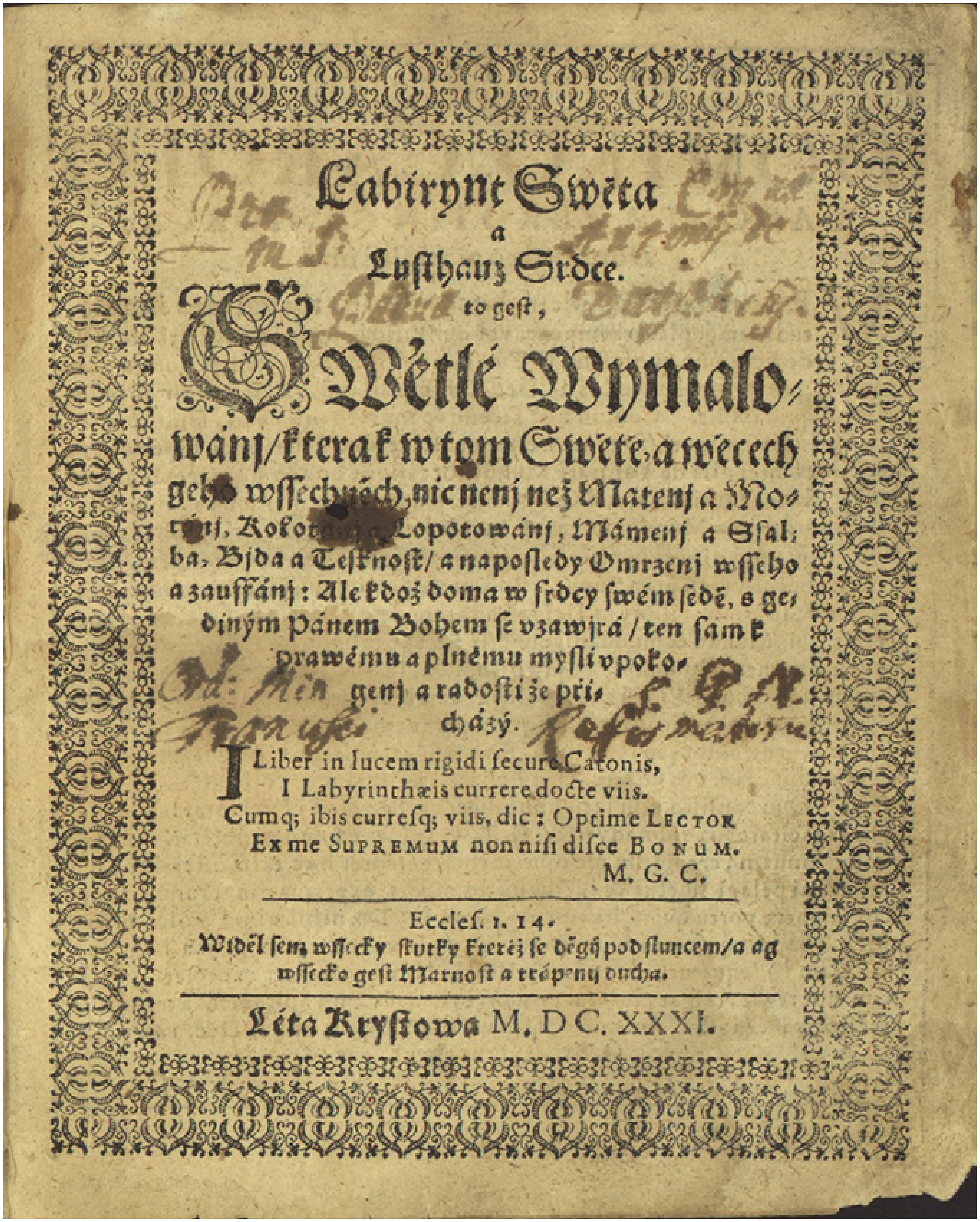
26 Palladio, *Quattro libri dell'architettura*, Vicenza 1570, Libro I, pag. 6: *'Tre cose in ciascuna fabrica (come dice Vitruvio) deono considerarsi, senza lequali niuno edificio meritera esse lodato; & queste sono, l'utile, o commoditá, la perpetuitá, & la belezza: percioche non si potrebbe chiamare perfetta quell'opera, che utile fusse, ma per poco tempo; overo che per molto non fusse comoda; overo c'havendo amendue queste; niuna gratia poi in se contenesse'.*

1. Johann Heinrich Zucalli, Schleissheim, Lustschloss Lustheim.

Photo: I. Muchka

2. Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, Caprarola, Casino.

Photo: I. Muchka

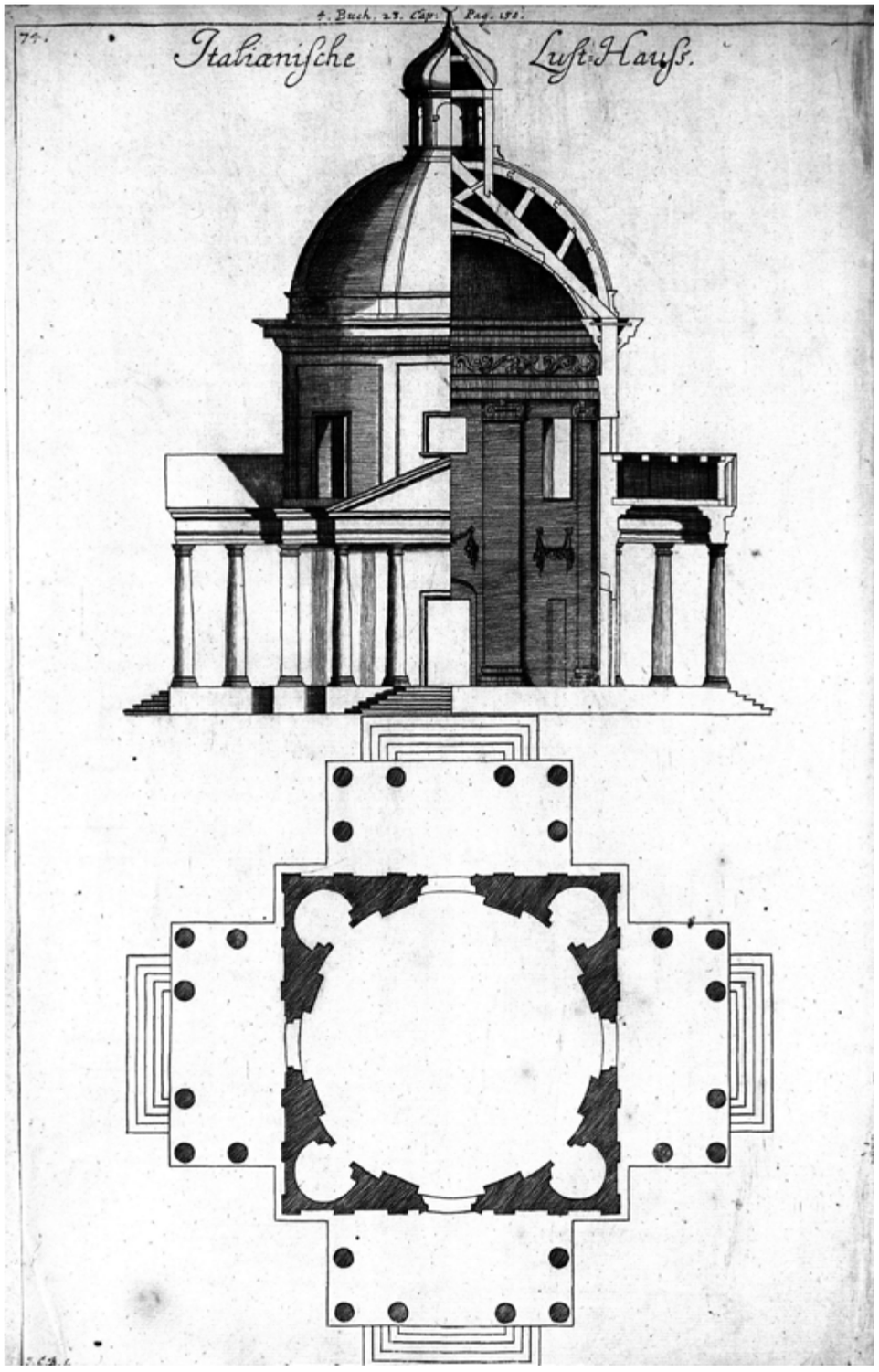

Labyrynt Swěta
a
Lusthauz Srdce.
to gest,
Swětlé Wymalowánj/ kterak w tom Swětě, a wěcech geho wssechněch, nic nenj než Matenj a Motánj, Kokotánj a Lopotowánj, Mámenj a Ssalba, Bjda a Tesknost/ a naposledy Omrzenj wsseho a zauffánj: Ale kdož doma w srdcy swém sedě, s gedinym Pánem Bohem se vzawjrá/ ten sám k prawému a plnému mysli vpokogenj a radosti že přicházý.

I Liber in lucem rigidi secure Catonis,
I Labyrinthæis currere docte viis.
Cumq; ibis curresq; viis, dic: Optime Lector
Ex me Supremum non nisi disce Bonum.
M. G. C.

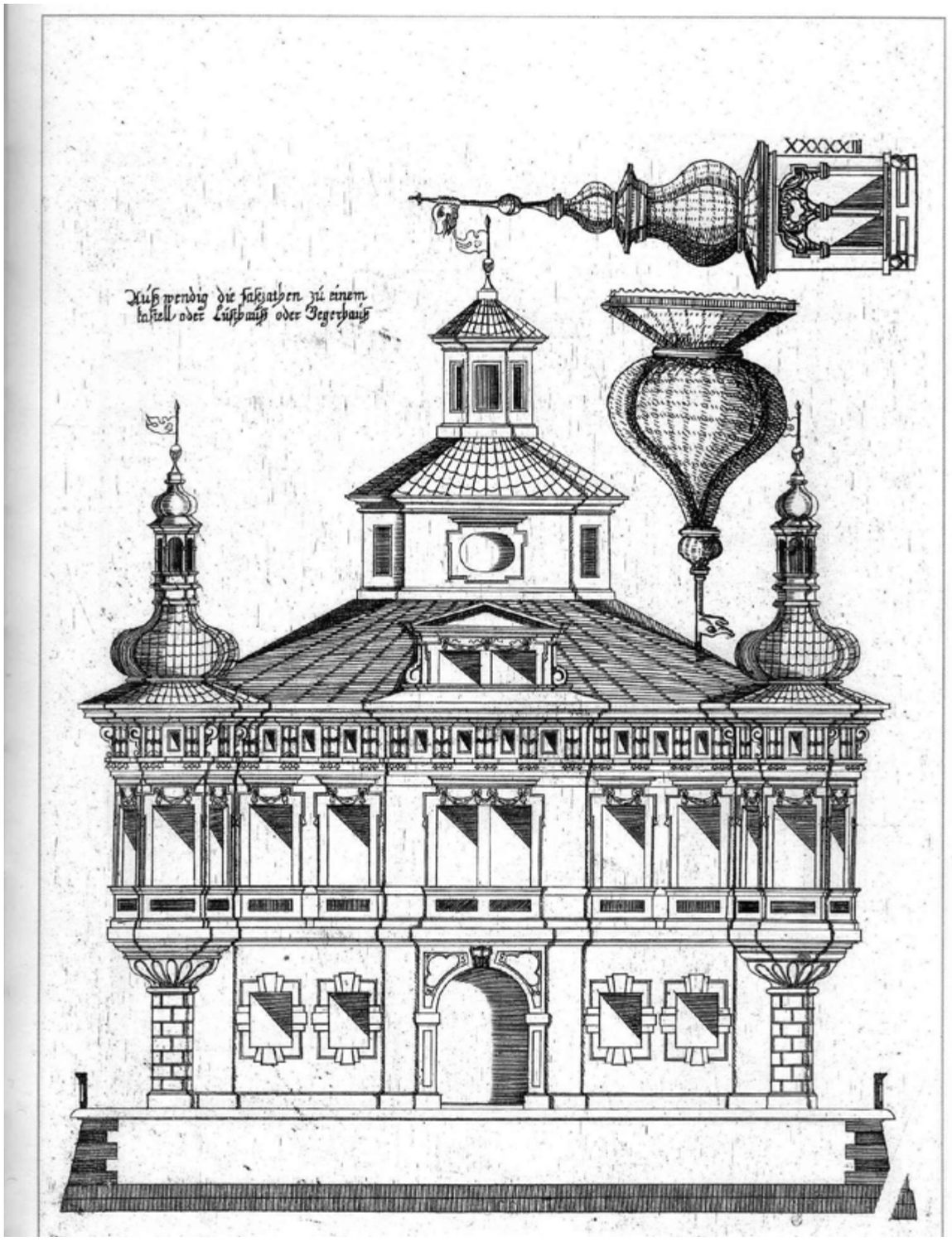
Eccles. 1. 14.
Wjděl sem wssecky skutky kteréž se děgj pod sluncem/ a ag wssecko gest Marnost a trápený ducha.

Léta Krystowa M. DC. XXXI.

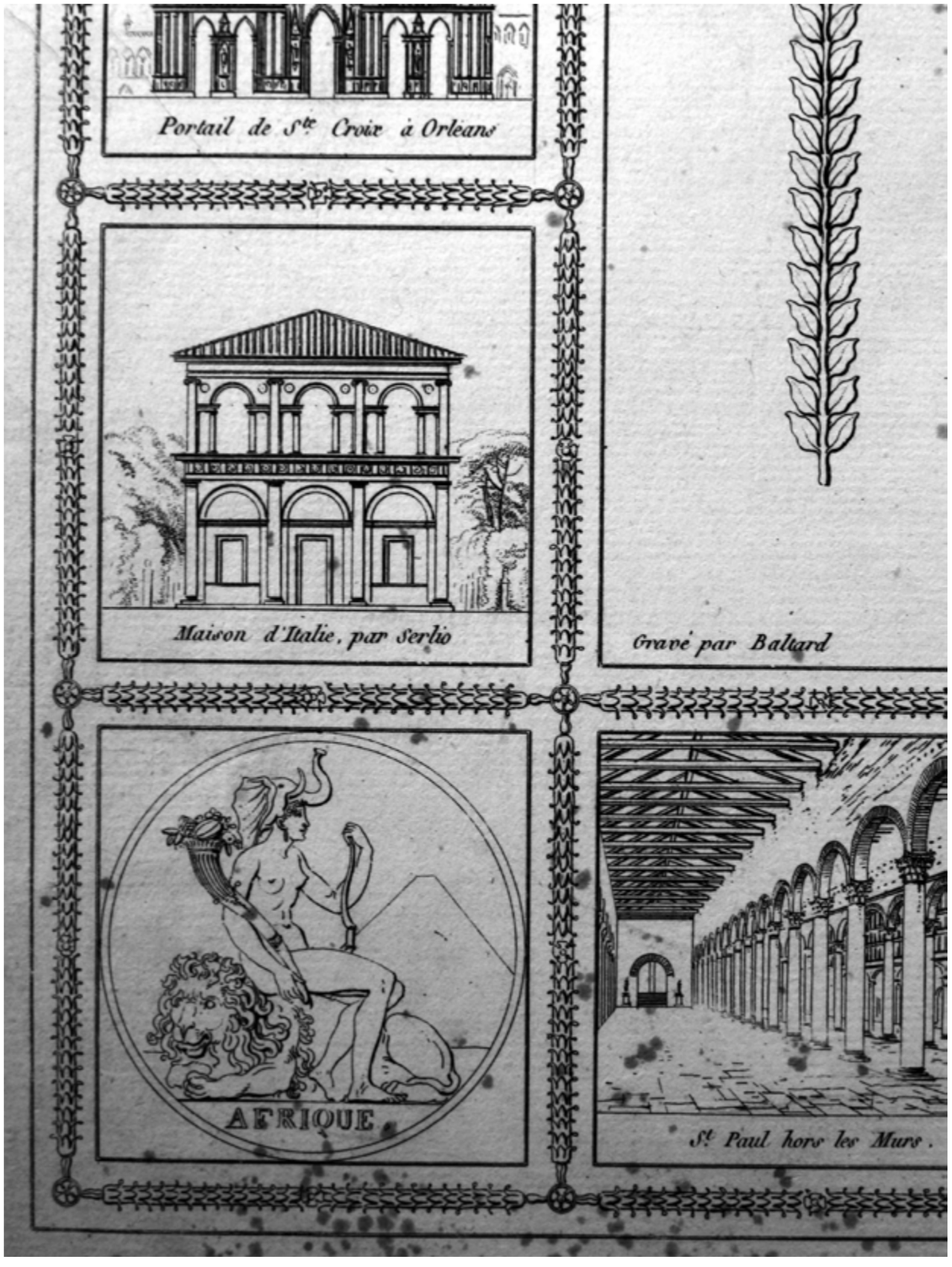
3. John Amos Comenius, *Labyrint světa a lusthaus srdce*, s.l. 1631, title page.



4. Italienische Lusthaus, from: Nicolai Goldmann,
Erste Ausübung Vortrefflichen und Vollständigen Anweisung zu der Civil-Bau-Kunst..., Braunschweig 1699.



5. Lusthaus, from: Abraham Leuthner, *Grundtliche Darstellung der fünff Seüllen wie solche von der Weitberühmten Vitruvio Scamozzio und anderen Vornehmben Baumeistern zusamben getragen und in gewisse Außtheilung verfasset worden*, Prague 1677, p. 53.



6. Serlio, Maison d'Italie, a detail from: Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, *Recueil et parallèles des édifices de tout genre ...* , Paris 1800.

7. Prague, *Lusthaus* Star, model located in Star Summer Palace.

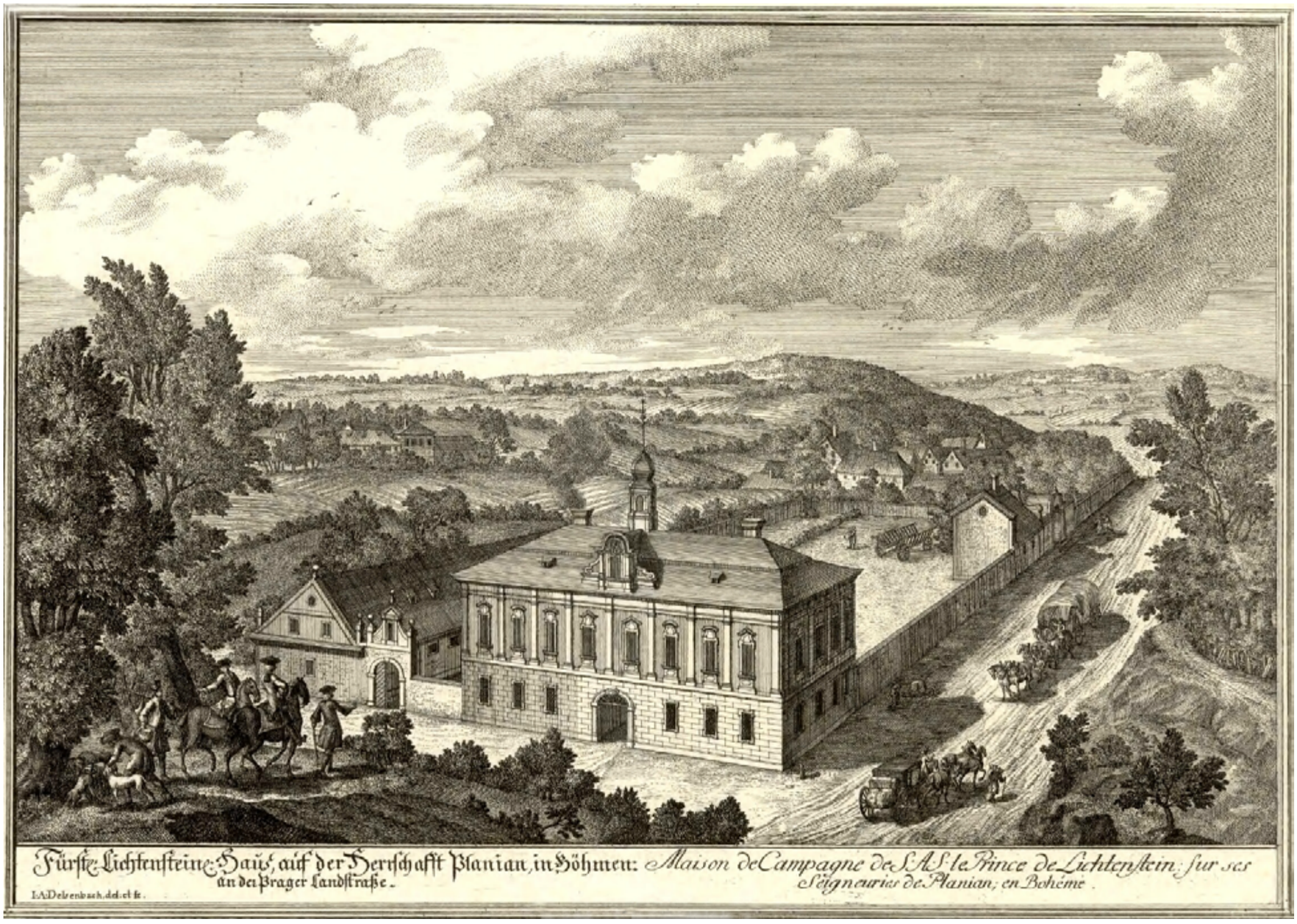
Photo: I. Muchka

8. Kilián Ignác Dientzenhofer, Prague, Jesuit's *Lusthaus*,
photo by J. Eckert, around 1890.

From: C. Merhout – Z. Wirth, *Zmizelá Praha 2. Malá Strana a Hradčany*, Prague 1946, pict. 21

9. Friedrich Bernard Werner, Prague, Wallenstein's Lusthaus Belvedere, before 1743.

From: R. Pytlík, Toulky Prahou 7, Prague 2001



10. Johann Adam Delsenbach, Planany, Maison de Campagne Liechtenstein, after 1721.

From: mapy-mzk.cz

ll. Heinrich Koch, Prague, Summer palace Kinsky.

Photo: I. Muchka

A Variation on the 'Villa' at the Bohemian Periphery: The Case of the Rožmberk (Rosenberg) Residence of Kratochvíle

Ondřej Jakubec

'There are meanings hidden behind the veil of stories.' (Giorgio Vasari, *Ragionamenti*)

In August 1582, Vilém of Rožmberk (1535–1592), the ruler of the Rožmberk family and the highest burgrave, met with his well-travelled brother Petr Vok (1539–1611) in Vilém's recently-acquired fortified manor house near Netolice in South Bohemia. Vilém, the most important representative of the Bohemian estates, intended to build a new residence there, later to be called Kratochvíle. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss how to *'erect a glorious building here'*.[1] The expression 'glorious' in the sense of 'outstanding' or 'famous' shows that from the very beginning, Vilém of Rožmberk meant his residence to be something exceptional that would attract the desired attention. The goal of this text is to introduce the Kratochvíle complex, the occasional and recreational residence begun at the end of the sixteenth century by Vilém of Rožmberk and later completed by his brother Petr, the last two members of the family line. The residence is well preserved, including its rich decoration, and provides a wealth of material for interpretation. What did Kratochvíle mean to its owners? How is it related to other, similar buildings of the period? Kratochvíle is quite unique among these buildings, as it is at once a pleasure house (*Lustgebäude*), a hunting lodge (*casino del caccia*), an occasional residence, and a villa.

Kratochvíle's uniqueness lies not only in its appearance and adornment but also in its origins and how it came to take on this particular form. The residence is also important because even though it was built on what seems like the periphery (South Bohemia), its purpose, type and decoration all together form a *Gesamkunstwerk* unique in Bohemia. Instead, it calls for comparisons with the Italian villas of late Renaissance, built not long before Kratochvíle, which also approach them in terms of typology, quality and structure. Kratochvíle attracts attention as a bearer of meaning(s) and we can read its unique decorative program as a key to understanding those meanings. Despite some limitations to this reading, it can still reveal the various social functions of Kratochvíle. Kratochvíle's content is representative of a trend in transalpine regions to imitate both the forms and the lifestyle of the Italian Renaissance. As a micro-problem, the residence allows us to observe the phenomenon of reception of the villa architecture in Renaissance Europe north of the Alps.

Kratochvíle's architecture raises a methodological question of how to interpret such a building. Every interpretation is a construction of the artwork's meaning, strongly dependant on the individual historian's approach. Kratochvíle can be perceived as 1) a form, or 2) a concept/message (based on our use of the iconographic-iconological method), or 3) a medium of its own utilitarian and social functions. All of these points of view present Kratochvíle as a slightly different object: 1) an idiosyncratic late-Renaissance building, 2) a residence with unique decoration, or 3) a social or cultural symptom of aristocratic dwelling in the countryside. For historians or art historians, these are points of departure for different directions the research can take: the villa as an example of central European Renaissance architecture; the villa/residence's architectural typology; the changing concept of the Italian villa in transalpine Europe as a response to different building needs; the residence as a functional organism both within the network of other Rožmberk residences and independent of them; the spatial divisions of gender within Kratochvíle as a nuptial residence (the iconographic program can be analyzed from this perspective and its different levels of meaning highlighted); or Kratochvíle as a manifestation of aristocratic

1 Jaroslav Pánek (ed.), Václav Březan: *Životy posledních Rožmberků*, Prague 1985, p. 465.

lifestyle, social self-representation, cultural politics and reception, family history, aristocratic marriage, etc. In any case, Kratochvíle represents a complex phenomenon, and research on this monument should not be limited to any one of these aspects. In both the past and present we are confronted with the image of an ideal villa that creates a sophisticated cultural landscape around itself, revealing the personal, social, and political ambitions of its owner.[2]

Building History

An earlier residence, a small fortified manor called Leptáč near Netolice, originally stood on the site of Kratochvíle. Jakub Krčín of Jelčany, the Rožmberk administrator, had it built some time before 1569.[3] In early 1580, Vilém of Rožmberk acquired the manor from Krčín in exchange for the town of Sedlčany. The value of this exchange suggests the exceptional nature of the place. The Rožmberk ruler did not hide his reasons for this acquisition; it was meant to provide a '*divertissement*' for him, which was reflected in the new name of the residence.[4] Vilém soon began building hunting reserves and in the summer of 1581 he stayed in the manor with his third wife, Anna Marie of Baden. However, the manor was inadequate in both size and splendour for Vilém's needs, and so he decided to construct a new building near the old one in 1582.[5] The project was designed in 1583 by Baldassar Maggi, a builder from Arogno in the Swiss-Italian region of Ticino and the principle architect for the Rožmberk family.[6] In 1585, a chapel was erected on the south-east corner of the property and consecrated in July 1589. By that time the new building had been completed and painters and stucco artists were working on its decoration. The death of Vilém's wife, Anna Marie, in April 1583 may explain the slow pace or break in the construction work. Vilém's new marriage with Polyxena of Pernštejn in 1587 probably stimulated the completion and decoration of the residence. After Vilém's death in 1592, work continued on completing and decorating the residence at Kratochvíle, now under the patronage of Vilém's brother, Petr Vok.[7] The Rožmberk era at Kratochvíle ended in 1602, when the emperor Rudolph II purchased part of the Rožmberks' property, including the whole Kratochvíle estate.

That under the Rožmberks Kratochvíle enjoyed the admiration of its contemporaries is apparent from the *vedute* Rudolph II had made to document the residence's appearance. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, historian Pavel Stránský praised Kratochvíle's architecture, describing it as a 'charming summer house with large orchards' tastefully complemented by the 'exquisite artful garden'.[8] In his *Miscellanea Historica Regni Bohemiae,* Jesuit historian Bohuslav Balbín compared Kratochvíle to the gardens of Rudolph II. He wrote admiringly of 'the majestic hunting château of Kratochvíle... where they built a delightful quadrangular château...with a beautiful courtyard and exquisitely decorated menagerie. He [Vilém of Rožmberk] boasted that he would add a garden to it with which he would surpass the emperor Rudolph II himself'.[9] These descriptions demonstrate that in the seventeenth century visitors of Kratochvíle were impressed by its complexity and sensual effect.

Social Life and the Functions of the Hunting Villa

The name itself, Kratochvíle (literally Pastime in English), provides one of the keys to understanding this Rožmberk residence. The name appeared in reference to hunting when Kratochvíle was first planned. It reflects the recreational function we naturally connect with this kind of architecture. In Central Europe, similar toponymy is first documented after 1450 in hunting villas and manors of Sigismund of Austria near Innsbruck (e.g. Sigmundslust). As in the case of Kratochvíle, such names express the character of aristocratic country refuges as places of pleasure.[10]

2 Claudia Lazzaro, The Sixteenth-Century Central Italian Villa and the Cultural Landscape, in: Jean Guillaume (ed.), *Architecture, jardin, paysage. L´environnement du château et de la villa aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, Paris 1999, pp. 29–30.

3 Pánek – Březan (see note 1), pp. 294, 446. Comprehensively in Ondřej Jakubec, Defining the Rožmberk Residence of Kratochvíle: the Problem of its Architectural Character, *Opuscula historiae artium*, 61, 2012, no. 2, pp. 98–119.

4 Pánek – Březan (see note 1), pp. 294, 465.

5 Theodor Antl, *Dějiny města Netolic*, Netolice 1903, p. 114.

6 Jarmila Krčálová, *Renesanční stavby B. Maggiho v Čechách a na Moravě*, Prague 1986, p. 31.

7 Ibid., p. 32

8 Ibid., p. 38

9 Helena Businská – Zdeňka Tichá (edd.), Bohuslav Balbín: *Krásy a bohatství české země. Výbor z díla Rozmanitosti z historie Království českého*, Prague 1986, pp. 138–139, 228.

10 Wolfgang Lippmann, Dal castello di caccia al Lusthaus cinquecentesco. La Maison des Champs nell´ambiente austro-germanico, in: Monique Chatenet (ed.), *Maisons des champs dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, Paris 2006, pp. 302–305. See also Lippmann's text in this collection.

Around 1600 the new residence in the Netolice hunting reserve was commonly called '*Kratochvíl palace*'.[11] The expression, '*rytířské kratochvíle*' ('*ritterlicher khurtzweil*' or knightly divertissements), refers to various forms of collective aristocratic entertainment after the mid-sixteenth century.[12] For the Rožmberks *kratochvíle* mainly indicated hunting, which is reflected in the iconography of the villa's decoration.[13] Unlike some of the other aristocratic hunting lodges, Kratochvíle was not a piece of temporary architecture; it was a permanent structure that provided a luxurious environment for an informal lifestyle and a backdrop for aristocratic self-representation. Festivities were orchestrated in several phases, beginning in the hunting reserve and then proceeding to the residence. This spatial and chronological arrangement allowed the festivities to spread out or separate into more intimate spaces in the individual halls or private apartments.[14]

In the aristocratic environment, hunting was not only a form of entertainment, but also a kind of art, practiced as recreation, exercise, and preparation for war. These skills, supported by the nobility's exclusive privilege to hunt, manifestly confirmed the aristocrat's place in feudal society.[15] Despite the medieval criticism of hunting, theoretical treatises were written from the twelfth century emphasizing the symbolic interpretation of aristocratic hunts, a trend that naturally continued into the Early Modern era.[16] Hunting entertainments created occasions for staging the ruler, that is, confirming the legitimacy of his authority and expressing it symbolically through his power over the hunted animals.[17] In hunting lodges, actual hunts were complemented by their symbolic representations as is evident in Kratochvíle's decoration. The painted menageries in Kratochvíle are reminiscent of Italian villa gardens, especially the Medici garden in Castello or garden of Palazzo Pitti in Florence, where the well known grottos with groups of animals were created after the mid-sixteenth century. On the one hand, these menageries embody the contrast between uncontrollable, wild nature and civilization/culture. On the other hand, by appropriating and dominating the animals the ruler demonstrated his authority and grandeur.[18]

Kratochvíle's function reflected its peripheral location. The residence combined seclusion with relatively good accessibility (it stood within one day's travel from the main Rožmberk towns). Judging from the preserved bills,[19] periods of residence in Kratochvíle were perceived as extraordinary and festive. The villa could accommodate lengthy stays of a large number of guests with their entourages and horses. In 1598-1599, Petr Vok stayed in Kratochvíle for an exceptional period of ten months due to the plague epidemic in Český Krumlov. During this period Kratochvíle hosted the whole Rožmberk court, which consisted of approximately 200 persons.[20] The villa also provided an environment for important social meetings.[21] In 1588, Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol and his wife Anna Gonzaga visited Kratochvíle, and in 1595, the pope's nuncio Antonio Puteo consecrated the villa's chapel. Important representatives of Bohemian estates were frequent visitors of the Rožmberks at Kratochvíle. The array of aristocratic guests fully corresponds with the social and self-representation potential of the residence, which is also reflected in its architectural and artistic character.

Architecture and the Decoration of the Villa

The Kratochvíle compound with the original fenced-in deer park in the vicinity is oriented approximately along the north-south axis. [Fig. 1] A rectangular wall with buildings incorporated into it delineates the original, symmetrical ground plan; the villa itself stands approximately in the centre. [Fig. 2] Visitors enter the premises through a one-storey wing with a carriage-way tower which had both a residential and operational function.

11 Pánek – Březan (see note 1), pp. 542, 544–545, 551.
12 Václav Bůžek, „Rytířské kratochvíle" na místodržitelském dvoře arciknížete Ferdinanda, in: Tomáš Borovský – Libor Jan – Martin Wihoda (eds.), *Ad vitam et honorem. Profesoru Jaroslavu Mezníkovi přátelé a žáci k pětasedmdesátým narozeninám*, Brno 2003, pp. 613–622.
13 Pánek – Březan (see note 1), pp. 181–182.
14 Ibid., p. 314, 316, 332, 469–470.
15 Václav Bůžek, *Ferdinand Tyrolský mezi Prahou a Innsbruckem. Šlechta z českých zemí na cestě ke dvorům prvních Habsburků*, České Budějovice 2006, pp. 195–196.
16 Burkhardt Krause, *Die Jagd als Lebensform und höfisches „spil"*, Stuttgart 1996, pp. 38, 53, 59, 90–98. – Hervé Brunon, La chasse et l´organisation du paysage dans la Toscane des Médicis, in: Claude d´Anthenaise – Monique Chatenet (eds.), *Chasses princières dans l´Europe de la Renaissance,* Paris 2007, s. 219–247, esp. p. 219. – Jeremy Kruse, Hunting, magnificence and the court of Leo X, *Renaissance Studies* 7, 1993, p. 256.
17 Uta Deppe, *Die Festkultur am Dresdner Hofe Johann Georgs II. Von Sachsen (1660–1679)*, Kiel 2006, pp. 19, 33, 59–50.
18 Claudia Lazzaro, Animals as Cultural Signs: A Medici Menagerie in the Grotto at Castello in: Claire Farago (ed.), *Reframing the Renaissance. Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America 1450–1650*, New Haven – London 1995, pp. 197–227.
19 Jiří Kubeš, Zásobování sídel Petra Voka z Rožmberka potravinami (1592–1602), *Jihočeský sborník historický* 68, 1999, pp. 255–289.
20 Pánek – Březan (see note 1), pp. 541, 546.
21 Ibid., pp. 316, 326, 469.

One of the corners of the entrance wing contains a chapel, to which a tower was later added. There are four simple residential pavilions, two of which are incorporated into corners of the wall and two into the centre of the opposing side walls. (Another two pavilions, which were built later, disrupt the original symmetry of the compound.) Inside the wall the moat follows the rectangular enclosure, isolating the central residential building on an island which can only be accessed by a bridge. [Figs. 3, 4, 5] The central palace, a simple rectangular two-storey building, intersects the axis of the complex. It is built on a three-part ground plan with the layouts of both floors almost identical – it is a symmetrical arrangement with two central halls of the same size on both floors. The Kratochvíle interiors give the impression of an unusual grandeur because of the wide span of the vaults.

Kratochvíle contained three apartments with one on the ground floor and two separate apartments on the second floor. Of the second-floor apartments the smaller belonged to Vilém and the larger to his wife Polyxena, and both consisted of an ante-chamber and a bedroom. Even though these apartments are connected to the large halls, they provided a private space for their owners. The whole structure of Kratochvíle has a clear hierarchy, the multi-layered confines defined by several boundaries with the central building turned into an isolated island. Like other aristocratic residences, Kratochvíle is based on the principle of select accessibility, where spaces were either open or off-limits for visitors depending on their social status.

The villa compound was designed to surprise visitors through its elusive layout which was revealed gradually as guests moved through the premises. The effect of surprise was employed in the interior as well, where the sophisticated adornment began with the frescoes on the ground floor and reached its peak with the white gilded stucco on the second floor. Following a similar principle, the inconspicuous exterior of the chapel contrasts with the unusually rich decoration of its interior. In 1590, Georg Widman, a painter from Brunswick, decorated the rooms on both floors of the main residential building. On the ground floor, he adorned the entrance hall with various hunting scenes inspired by woodcuts by the German engraver Jost Amman (*Figuren von Iag und Weidtwerck*, 1582).[22] [Fig. 6] Other hunting scenes and landscapes were likely painted in lower sections of the walls in the entrance hall; however, only fragments of these frescoes have been preserved. The nature and hunting theme of the murals is further enhanced by separately painted animals – also modeled after Jost Amman's woodcuts (*Ein neuw Thierbuch*, 1569) – such as a fallow deer (reindeer), wolf and duck, monkey (baboon), leopard, lion, gryphon, monkey (vervet), bear, and two camels. Similar hunting-animal iconography is featured on the walls of the adjoining guard hall. Here, too, the lunette vaults are decorated with figures of armed hunters and various animals: a lion, rhinoceros, elephant, deer, lioness, fox, wolf, unicorn, mountain goat, monkey, wild boar and Alpine ibex, all inspired by Amman's 1569 prints.[23] Remarkably, this diverse menagerie comprises both local and exotic animals, as well as mythical creatures. There are several possible reasons for the choice of such diverse animal motifs. One of them may be an attempt to provide the visitor with an intensive visual experience of the colourful variety of the animal realm. To a certain degree this may have also reflected the contemporary practice of keeping animals in zoological gardens which often surrounded similar residences (exotic animals, such as buffalo and camel, were kept in Kratochvíle as well). It is also possible that, inspired by the Italian Renaissance villas, the frescoes were meant to evoke Eden or Arcadia.[24]

Aside from hunting and animal themes, both ground-floor halls contain another iconographic layer of mythological poetic scenes or *favola*[25] which are also related to the natural world. A large space in the guard hall is dedicated to the three pastoral deities, Autumnus, Cyparissus, and Vertumnus, which are modeled on the prints by Cornelis Cort. In the entrance hall, the hunting scenes are complemented with stories from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* set in small fields in vaults above the windows and the door. From the originally larger set of painted scenes, the following scenes, modeled after prints by Hendrik Goltzius, have been preserved: Jupiter courting Io; Pan and Syrinx; the birth of Adonis; Apollo and Daphne; the Silver Age; and Apollo killing Python.

Compared to the ground floor, the decoration of the second floor offers an entirely different world, artistically and thematically. Aside from the occasional mythological figures of antique deities in Vilém's *studiolo* the whole floor is dominated by '*antiquitetischen Historien*', the frescoes mentioned in Georg Widman's design

22 Gero Seelig – Giulia Bartrum – Marjolein Leesberg, *The New Hollstein German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400–1700. Jost Amman: Book Illustrations VII*, Rotterdam 2003, pp. 225–228.
23 Ibid., pp. 128–137.
24 Bůžek – Jakubec (see note 3), pp. 93–95.
25 Michael Thimann, *Lügehafte Bilder. Ovids favole und das Historienbild in der italienischen Renaissance*, Göttingen 2002.

of the decoration from 1589. Vilém's office features mainly Old-Testament and ancient Greek and Roman scenes. The central scene of Samson with Delilah as she orders his hair cut accentuates the motif of woman's victory over man. The moralizing concept of *Weibermacht* underlies the whole painted cycle of strong women winning over men; this has been partly preserved in the lunettes: Solomon, Heliogabalus and Sardanapalus. All of these scenes are modeled after prints by Raphael Sadeler.[26]

Stuccoes dominate the decoration on the villa's second floor. They were made some time before 1589 by Antonio from Melano (Antonio Melana/Melani/da Melano), an artist from a town near Arogno in northern Italy and the hometown of Kratochvíle's architect Baldassare Maggi. The choice of both the technique (carried out in the *all´antica* style of white stuccoes with gold decoration) and the classical iconography is remarkable. With the exception of the imperial Hvězda (Star Summer Palace) near Prague, no other architectural work in Bohemia employs with comparable complexity what was at that time a very modern and exclusive decorative motif, although the quality of Kratochvíle's stuccoes cannot equal that of Hvězda's decoration. The richest and most numerous set of stuccoes adorns the vault above the Golden Hall, Kratochvíle's central banquet hall. [Fig. 7] Other stuccoes are found in the ante-chamber and the bedroom that belonged to Vilém's wife, Polyxena of Rožmberk and Pernštejn. The luxurious decoration of the Golden Hall clearly signifies its festive function. The decoration begins with female personifications in the extensions of the vault, depicting Fama, Bounty, Love, and Temperance. The large, central vault is filled with scenes from ancient-Roman history inspired by Livy's *Ab urbe condita* which also supplied the themes featured in Polyxena's apartment. There are altogether twenty-five scenes, all derived from woodcuts by Jost Amman who illustrated numerous Latin and German editions of Livy.[27] Such complex employment of Livian scenes executed in the technique of 'Roman' stucco is exceptional even in the wider European context.[28] The Golden Hall features the following scenes in order: Romulus and Remus nursed by the wolf; Senator Popillius Laenas drawing a circle around King Antiochus Epiphanes; Romulus killing the king of Caenina; Cloelia and her companions fleeing from the Etrurian camp; Etrurian soldiers threatening escaping Roman women; Lucius Cincinnatus summoned to the senate; Veturia and Volumnia begging Martius Coriolanus to spare Rome; the assassination of the Syracusian King Hierus II; Horatius Cocles; King Servius Tullius; two scenes with Queen Sophonisba; the assassination of Tarquinius Priscus; Tullia in a carriage running over the body of her father; the battle of Horatii and Curiatii; and Marcus Valerius Corvinus and Titus Manlius fighting the Gauls. The whole set of Livian scenes is concentrated around the composition in the central panel of the vault which shows the Rožmberk rider, the traditional emblematic figure referring to Vilém of Rožmberk himself, as is apparent from the coats of arms of his four wives. These coats of arms are complemented with the personifications of four cardinal virtues, Justice, Courage, Wisdom and Temperance, referring to Vilém's ideal characteristics.

In Polyxena's apartment these ancient-Roman scenes continue in the ante-chamber with depictions of Romulus killing Remus and the enthroned Numa Pompilius, as well as two scenes from the life of the last Roman King Tarquinius Superbus, depicted here with the messenger from Gabii. Two medallions feature prototypes of heroic Romans, Mucius Scaevola and Marcus Curtius. The vault in the ante-chamber is also adorned with a series of female personifications of the seven virtues: three theological virtues in the axis of the vault, Faith, Hope, and Love, and four cardinal virtues in the lunettes. Polyxena's bedroom offers another interesting set of murals depicting two scenes from Livy, the Roman general Scipio before the Iberian chieftain Allucius, and his fiancée and Lucretia committing suicide.[29] The vaults also feature female personifications of the four seasons, medallions with cupids in the top of the vault, and a series of water birds.

These scenes from Roman history can be interpreted as a cycle of both moral models (*exempli virtutis*) and warnings against the human vices.[30] The aristocratic milieu of the Early Modern era saw the ideal ruler as

26 Karl G. Boon, *Hollstein´s Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700, XXII. Aegidius Sadeler to Raphael Sadeler* II, Amsterdam 1980, no. 180.

27 Gero Seelig – Giulia Bartrum – Marjolein Leesberg, *The New Hollstein German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400–1700. Jost Amman: Book Illustrations* II, Rotterdam 2002, p. 191, no. 45–46; IV, p. 148, no. 88.

28 Milada Lejsková-Matyášová, *Výjevy z římské historie v prostředí české renesance*, *Umění*, 8, 1960, pp. 287–299.

29 The decoration is complemented by an allegory of Poverty (depicted also on the wall around Kratochvile and on the facade of the main Rožmberk château in Český Krumlov). It was modelled after the emblem of Andrea Alciato from *Diverse Impresse* (Lyon 1551), no. 121.

30 Christian Tümpel, Bild und Text. Zur Rezeption antiker Autoren in der europäischen Kunst der Neuzeit (Livius, Valerius Maximus), in: Wilhelm Schlink – Martin Sperlich (eds.), *Forma et subtilitas. Festschrift für Wolfgang Schöne zum 75. Geburtstag*, Berlin – New York 1986, pp. 198–218.

a nobleman whose power is validated by and based on moral principles.[31] In Kratochvíle, this is illustrated by the moral examples from Livy's history and their connection with the personifications of virtues. We can call this kind of decoration a program of Rožmberk ethics the goal of which is to visually represent and construct Vilém of Rožmberk's identity as a moral aristocrat and ruler. The Roman character of this program can also be connected with the Rožmberk family legend, according to which the family lineage reaches as far back as Aeneas via the Roman Orsini family. It is not surprising that Roman virtues were depicted in Polyxena's apartment as well, where the iconography contains feminine models such as Lucretia. These virtues are expressions of male demands projected into female space in an era which considered women as inferior.[32] The choice of iconography can also be connected with the nuptial character of the residence apparent in Vilém's and Polyxena's associated coats of arms appearing throughout the whole residence. For the aging Vilém of Rožmberk, his new marriage to Polyxena meant the last chance to maintain the family lineage. It is therefore possible that Kratochvíle with its hunting-nature character also reflects its role as a nuptial residence and its natural-fertility aspect. In Polyxena's room the procreative force is represented by figures of cupids but also by the personifications of the seasons and the water birds; similar iconography can be found in late-Renaissance Medici villas where the cycles of the year were meant to express continuity of the family and its rule. Vilém's plan for the decoration of Polyxenas's bedroom can be seen as a remnant of the medieval practice reflected in the treatises of Leon Battista Alberti who recommended that the parts of the house where women reside should contain depictions of respected and brave men in order to stimulate female fertility.[33]

The complex adornment of Kratochvíle described above closely corresponds with Renaissance art theory, as it constructs a hierarchy of meaning by employing a different genre on the different levels. Renaissance theorists such as Gian Paolo Lomazzo saw the mythological and nature-inspired scenes as carrying a '*conventional meaning and purpose*', especially in the adornment of the less formal secular spaces, such as the entrance areas of the villas, which are connected with nature. For the more important or dignified public places, serious themes, *storie*, were more suitable, as was recommended by many authors, including Giorgio Vasari.[34]

Kratochvíle's Typology and the Intent of its Architecture

The definition of Kratochvíle remains a principal question. What did the residence mean for its owners and how can we define it in terms of art-historical categories? What term should we use? Kratochvíle's builders and contemporaries themselves used a diverse array of terms to describe it. The most common was simply 'building' (*Bau* in German),[35] or 'the Kratochvíle building'.[36] 'Kratochvíle chateau' was also common.[37] However, it was sometimes referred to as a 'castle', (*Burg* in German)[38] and a 'fortified manor', (*Feste* in German).[39] The fact that Kratochvíle is a compound that contains a residential building inside it further complicates matters since this central building itself carried different designations. Most often it was referred to as a 'palace', a term also used for the festive halls on the second floor which formed the social centre of the residence. In 1614 Claudio Sorina, the Mantuan legate at the court of Emperor Matthias, described the central building as '*palazzo nel parcho*'.[40] In a similar vein, Joseph Furttenbach, reflecting the late-Renaissance tradition, calls such a building, surrounded by an ideal '*Lustgarten*', a '*palazotto*'.[41]

31 Rainer A. Müller, Historia als Regentenhilfe. Geschichte als Bildungsfach in deutschen Fürstenspiegeln des konfessionellen Zeitalters, in: Chantal Grell – Werner Paravicini – Jürgen Voss (eds.), *Les princes et l'histoire du XIV^e au XVIII^e siècle*, Bonn 1998, pp. 359–371.

32 Ondřej Jakubec, Etický program výzdoby rožmberské vily Kratochvíle jako symbolický obraz manželské ctnosti, in: Helena Dáňová – Klára Mezihoráková – Dalibor Prix (eds.), *Artem ad vitam. Kniha k poctě Ivo Hlobila*, Prague 2012, pp. 455–468.

33 Susanne Kress, Frauenzimmer der florentiner Renaissance und ihre Ausstattung, in: Jan Hirschbiegel – Werner Paravicini (eds.), *Das Frauenzimmer. Die Frau bei Hofe in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Stuttgart 2000, pp. 110–113.

34 Thimann (see note 25), pp. 70, 76, 84, 88–89.

35 Pánek – Březan (see note 1), p. 465.

36 Ibid., p. 460.

37 Ibid., pp. 542, 544–545, 551.

38 Quoted from Kubeš (see note 19), p. 272.

39 Pánek – Březan (see note 1), p. 460.

40 Elena Venturini (ed.), *Le collezioni Gonzaga il carteggio tra la corte cesarea e Mantova (1559–1636)*, Milan 2002, pp. 609–610. I thank Prof. Václav Bůžek for this information.

41 Joseph Furttenbach, *Architectura civilis*, Ulm 1628, p. 34, fig. 13.

Historical terms for Kratochvíle are numerous and the present-day terminology seems equally complicated, largely due to linguistic and geographical incompatibility. Czech heritage authorities classify Kratochvíle as a *zámek* (*Schloss* in German and château as usually translated in English). However, the word château in both present-day and sixteenth-century English is not quite fitting and the general terms, manor house or country house, seem to be a better option for a residential structure without a defensive function. The more subtle terms such as casino or summer house (*Lusthaus* in German*)* do not correspond with the architectural logic of the building, failing to reflect the architectural independence and complexity of Kratochvíle as an autonomous and self-sufficient residence. Classical summer houses usually lack this autonomy, as they are related to other, larger residences, serving as satellite structures. Other terms that are related to summer house (*Sommersaal*, *Gartenhaus*, *Gartensaal*, *Gartenpavillon*, belvedere, casino, or garden house)[42] express the same ancillary character, referring to structures built most often in gardens or parks and subsidiary to the main residential building.[43] It might be interesting for our case that during his travels to the Netherlands in 1563, Petr Vok visited the French royal residence, Château de Bussy-Rabutin, and in his description of it distinguished the palace itself (*zámek*) from the 'pretty summer house with a beautiful garden'.[44] More general English terms such as pleasure house or hunting lodge seem more apt, the former expressing the high quality of life and its environment, the latter referring to the building's practical function. In German, and generally in the transalpine environment, the terms such as *Lustgebäude* or *Lustschloss* imply the buildings' independent character as a free-standing structure. It is also possible to describe Kratochvíle in almost metaphorical terms related to the classical topoi of the ideal village life and 'noble relaxation',[45] such as the somewhat later term *maison de plaisance*. One such term, '*gran luogho di dilletto*', was used in connection with Kratochvíle at the beginning of the seventeenth century by the above-mentioned legate Sorina.

The Rožmberk residence is not the only one of its kind. In Europe, places of rest began to appear after the mid-fifteenth century, for example the 'hunting villas' of Sigismund of Austria in the surroundings of Innsbruck, which were also referred to as places of pleasure (*'luoghi di dilletto')*.[46] From 1500 on, similar independent and complementary recreational residences became more common, imitating the Italian ideal or representing the pan-European courtly model of moving between primary and secondary residences. The Annaburg villa of Saxon Elector Fridrich the Wise in Lochau, dating to the beginning of the sixteenth century, may represent this specific architectural type. Almost twenty kilometres from Friedrich's main residence in Torgau, this *Lusthaus* served as a hunting lodge but also featured a sophisticated artificial garden, reflecting the new aristocratic ideal of spending free time in the countryside.[47] The garden villa Hellbrunn, a much later analogue of the Italian villa, was built in 1612 outside Salzburg. In sixteenth-century central Europe, similar country residences were popular among Polish aristocracy and royalty (see, for example, Woła Justowska and Łobzowie near Kraków, villa in Ksiet Wielki or the bishop's residence in Brok), as well as among wealthy bourgeoisie.[48] Kratochvíle was likely inspired by the 'residence landscape' of imperial secondary residences (such as the '*grüne lusthaus*' type, including Neugebäude, Kaiserebersdorf, Laxenburg, Favorita and others) which were built from the sixteenth century on in the vicinity of Vienna, even though, unlike Kratochvíle, they existed in close proximity to the imperial seat in Vienna, the Hofburg.[49] These residences were not meant simply for relaxation, they also embodied the need for self-representation. By transferring the comfort of urban life to the country, they provided a suitable backdrop for the demonstration of power, while at the same time expressing the owner's territorial dominance.[50] The same

42 Ulrike Weber-Karge, "*...einem irdischen Paradeiß zum vergleichen..." Das neue Lusthaus in Stuttgart. Untersuchung zu einer Bauaufgabe der deutschen Renaissance*, Sigmaringen 1989, p. 9.

43 John Fleming – Hugh Honour – Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Penguin Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture*, London 1999, p. 99.

44 Quoted from Jaroslav Pánek, *Poslední Rožmberk. Životní příběh Petra Voka*, Prague 1996, pp. 57–58.

45 Paul Holberton, *Palladio´s Villas. Life in Renaissance Countryside*, London 1990, pp. 173–178. – David R. Coffin, *Gardens and Gardening in Papal Rome*, Princeton 1991, p. 9.

46 Lippmann (see note 10), pp. 302–305.

47 Stephan Hoppe, Anatomy of an Early 'Villa' in Central Europe. The Schloss and Garden of the Saxon Elector Frederick the Wise in Lochau (Annaburg) according to the 1519 Repport of Hans Herzheimer, in: Chatenet (see note 10), pp. 159–166.

48 Stanisław Mossakowski, Le residenze nobiliari di campagna nella Polonia del Cinque e Seicento, in: Chatenet (see note 10), pp. 317–328.

49 Herbert Karner, The Habsburg Country Residences around Vienna in the Sevententh Century and their Relationship to the Hofburg Palace, in: Barbara Arciszewska (ed.), *The Baroque Villa. Suburban and Country Residences c. 1600–1800*, Warsaw 2009, pp. 187–196, esp. p. 188.

50 Matthias Quast, Die Medici-Villen als Spiegel frühabsolutischer Herrschaft. Beobachtung zur Instrumentalisierung der Villenarchitektur unter Großherzog Ferdinand I. (1587–1609), in: Wolfgang Liebenwein – Anchise Tempestini (eds.), *Gedenkschrift für Richard Harprath*, Munich – Berlin 1998, pp. 375–385.

feature is apparent in Kratochvíle, whose luxurious programmatic decoration reflected the owner's social status.

Kratochvíle's individual sources of inspiration deserve closer attention. Only two buildings in the immediate surroundings are similar in terms of residential function and form. As evident from the descriptions above, Kratochvíle has a very complex and at the same time compact form; the symmetrical compound and pavilions were built into the encircling wall. Within this architecturally framed garden complex, the central palace stands slightly off-centre, in the direction of the entrance. This layout also appears in the Bučovice château in South Moravia which Jan Šembera Černohorský from Boskovice began building at the end of the 1560s. The second analogical example is the Neugebäude, the imperial villa (*Lustgebäude*) of Maxmilian II near Vienna. It was built, together with its garden, after 1568.[51] It is hardly a coincidence that all the three buildings are connected with one person: the antiquarian, art advisor, and architect Jacopo Strada. He is in all likelihood the designer of the Neugebäude. In late 1583/early 1584, he spent several months in Bučovice[52] and could therefore have influenced the remarkable iconographic program of the château. With regards to Jan of Boskovice's close contacts with Vienna, it is possible that Jan and Strada consulted on the whole architectural project of the Bučovice château even before that time. In 1575 Strada dedicated his edition of Sebastian Serlio's Seventh Book of Architecture to Vilém of Rožmberk, the culmination of the long history of contact between the two men, indicating that Strada may have been involved with the design of Kratochvíle.[53] Strada's edition of Serlio's treatise contains a passage dealing with designs for 'palaces to be built in the countryside for princes and noblemen'. Serlio's original text did not include this passage about palaces; the addition comes from Strada himself.[54] However, we cannot rely with absolute certainty on the connection between both Kratochvíle and Bučovice and Strada. His sojourn in Bučovice took place well after the château's construction had begun which, interestingly, corresponds with the laying of the Neugebäude's foundations. All these buildings likely resulted from the traditional practice of collaboration between several persons. Strada's role was undoubtedly that of an artistic advisor[55] who would formulate the main idea of the project. Both Bučovice and Kratochvíle share the same layout which is also clearly related to Strada's Neugebäude.[56]

Kratochvíle's builders drew inspiration from several sources. For example the motif of the moat could have come from the milieu of French-Netherlandish water castles. We know that Vilém of Rožmberk consulted his brother, Petr Vok, on the construction of Kratochvíle. Vok had acquired extensive knowledge of this milieu during his travels in the Netherlands in 1562–1563,[57] bringing back a number of prints which could have depicted just this kind of residence. Vok's graphic prints probably resembled those produced by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, whose *Livre d'architecture* (1582) contains designs with a ground plan similar to Kratochvíle (e.g. plate XIX or IX).[58] Moreover, the model of hunting culture, in terms of both hunting techniques and architectural forms, was originally French and later moved into the Italian peninsula at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The disparate sources of inspiration used to create a hunting residence were in fact quite intricate.[59] In his recent study, Dirk Jansen convincingly shows that sixteenth-century art in the Habsburg court did not derive its Italianate style directly from Italian prototypes, of which the Habsburgs had very limited knowledge (with the exception of northern-Italian art). More than other conventional building tasks, the type of pleasure buildings (hunting lodges or summer houses, and *Lustschlösser*) provided the opportunity for architectural experimentation

51 Hilda Lietzmann, *Das Neugebäude in Wien. Sultan Süleymans Zelt – Kaiser Maximilians II. Lustschloß. Ein Beitrag zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der zweiten Hälfte des sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, München – Berlin 1987. – Karner (see note 49).

52 Bohumil Samek and others., *Zámek Bučovice*, Brno 2003, p. 20.

53 Dirk Jacob Jansen, Le rôle de Strada comme éditeur du Settimo Libro de Serlio: Le catalogue d'éditeur de Jacopo Strada, L'édition des Commentaires de César par Jacopo Strada, and La letter d'Ottavio Strada à son père, in: Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa (ed.), *Sebastiano Serlio à Lyon. Architecture & Imprimerie 1. Le Traité d'Architecture de Sebastiano Serlio. Une grande enterprise éditoriale au XVIe siècle*, Lyon 2004, pp. 176–193.

54 Vaughan Hart – Peter Hicks (eds.), *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture II. Books VI and VII of ´Tutte l'opere d´architettura et prospetiva´*, New Haven – London 2001, p. 544, note 76.

55 Lietzmann (see note 51), p. 180 – Dirk Jacob Jansen, The Case for Jacopo Strada as an Imperial Architect Private, in: Lubomír Konečný – Beket Bukovinská – Ivan Muchka (eds.), *Rudolf II, Prague and the World*, Prague 1998, pp. 229–235, esp. p. 231.

56 Dirk Jacob Jansen, Taste and Thought: Jacopo Strada and the Development of a Cosmopolitan Court, in: Lubomír Konečný – Štěpán Vácha (eds.), *Hans von Aachen in Context. Proceedings of the international conference Prague 22–25 September 2010*, Prague 2012, p. 175.

57 Jaroslav Pánek, *Poslední Rožmberkové. Velmoži české renesance*, Prague 1989, pp. 119–124.

58 When describing model IX, du Cerceau emphasizes that despite the lack of space, the residence provides enough room and comfort, which applies to Kratochvíle as well. See his *Livre d´architecture de Iaques Androuet du Cerceau*, Paris 1582, f. 9v.

59 Sabine Frommel, L´Italie de la Renaissance, du casino di caccia a la résidence de chasses, inn: d´Anthenaise – Chatenet (see note 16), p. 292.

and new forms.[60] Kratochvíle might be also influenced by local, central-European, and especially Lower-Austrian water castles, such as Wasserburg which resembles Kratochvíle in its layout.[61] Moats can be found in other places as well, for example in Kaiserebersdorf, a Habsburg residence near Vienna which was functionally connected with the Neugebäude.[62]

In addition to questions about its origins and architectural sources, Kratochvíle also raises sociological and semantic questions. What was the role of the residence for the people who built it and inhabited it? Kratochvíle was not a manor house in the sense of an administrative centre of feudal territory, nor was it a summer house attached to a larger residence. It is possible to see it as a variation of the Italian suburban villa,[63] but this approach does not take into account the specific conditions of the transalpine milieu, where the nobility ruled over larger areas and owned several country residences. The transalpine villa, *Lustschloss* or *Lustgebäude*, complemented the larger residential structure of an aristocratic dominion, which was formed by the main residences as centres of power in the countryside, and a palace in the royal capital or in one of the provincial capitals. The villa had an important role to play in this structure. Because of the year-round use and the high standard of living (such as at Kratochvíle), we can regard these residences as alternative dwellings (*Nebenresidenzen*). These satellite residences formed, within their particular domains, an important part of the residential structure and provided the aristocrat with a space for relaxation. At the same time, they were as luxurious and socially dynamic as the main residences.[64] The size of these dwellings and their number was always directly proportional to the power and financial position of the owner. They were autonomous but within reach of the main aristocratic residences. Kratochvíle, for example, was built fifty kilometres from the main Rožmberk residences in Bechyně, Český Krumlov and Třeboň, accessible within one day's travel.[65] Similar arrangements existed in the surroundings of Wittelsbach Munich and Habsburg Vienna.[66]

The role hunting played at Kratochvíle opens up possibilities for further investigation. As a hunting lodge, Kratochvíle connected a comparatively informal lifestyle with the demands for self-representation, as was also the case at La Magliana, the pope's hunting villa,[67] or some of the Medici villas, notably Pratolino.[68] In both of these cases, the villas' hunting character combines with its role as a status symbol and as a backdrop for diverse social activities, including meetings and festivities, while also restoring the ideal of the ancient Roman villa and its emphasis on solitude and independence. Aside from offering Arcadian isolation from the outside world, these villas manifested their owners' power and sophistication encoded in the elaborate iconographic programs. In correspondence with the Franco-Italian model, these late-Renaissance decorative programs conveyed the image of an ideal aristocrat as a hunter, warrior, and cultivated gentleman. In Early Modern architecture, the hunting country residence presents unusual creative potential. As a crossover between the chateau, the villa, and other architectural and functional forms, it corresponds more accurately with the rather general type of *maison de champs*. Examples such as Chambord, Pratolino, Castel del Monte, the Hvězda (Star Summer Palace in Prague), Stupigini or Belriguardo near Ferrara offer an array of solutions to this building task. The variety of architectural forms and motifs reflect the diverse social and cultural norms across Europe, as well as the structure of aristocratic society and its residential practice. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the architectural type of the hunting lodge or villa generally tended towards greater autonomy, and the various idiosyncratic and eclectic forms resulted in increasingly magnificent, independent buildings.[69]

60 Jansen (see note 56), pp. 172–173.
61 Tomas Karl – Herbert Karner et al., *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt St. Pölten und ihrer eingemeindeten Ortschaften. Österreichische Kunsttopographie Band LIV*, Horn 1999, p. 564.
62 I thank Dr. Andreas Kusternig from Vienna for his helpful advice and recommendations.
63 Krčálová (see note 6), p. 38.
64 Samuel John Klingensmith, *The Utility of Splendor. Ceremony, Social Life, and Architecture at the Court of Bavaria, 1600–1800*, Chicago – London 1993, pp. 65–66.
65 Jiří Kubeš, „Tehdáž, když v oboře před morem bytností jsem byl". Zásobování letohrádku Kratochvíle v letech 1592–1602, in: *Celostátní studentská vědecká konference Historie 1997*, Brno 1998, pp. 149–150.
66 Klingensmith (see note 64), pp. 66–67. – Karner (note 49).
67 Marco Dezzi Bardeschi, L´opera di Giovanni da Sangallo e d Donato Bramante nella fabbrica della villa papale della Magliana, *L´arte* 5, 1971, pp. 111–173.
68 Brunon (see note 16), pp. 219–247.
69 Frommel (see note 59), pp. 290, 308.

Facit: Semantic and Interpretive Layers of the Villa Kratochvíle

The way the architecture and decoration has been presented here shows that the Rožmberk villa is not only a complex architectural work but also a social phenomenon and a symptom of a particular historical situation. This perspective introduces a further semantic level that is important for the artwork's interpretation, namely its role as a means of communication. The decoration of aristocratic residences used methods of performative rhetoric in connection with both festive rituals and the daily life of inhabitants and visitors. The decorations conveyed different configurations of meanings to different recipients, employing diverse ways of mirroring and staging the aristocrat's identity.[70]

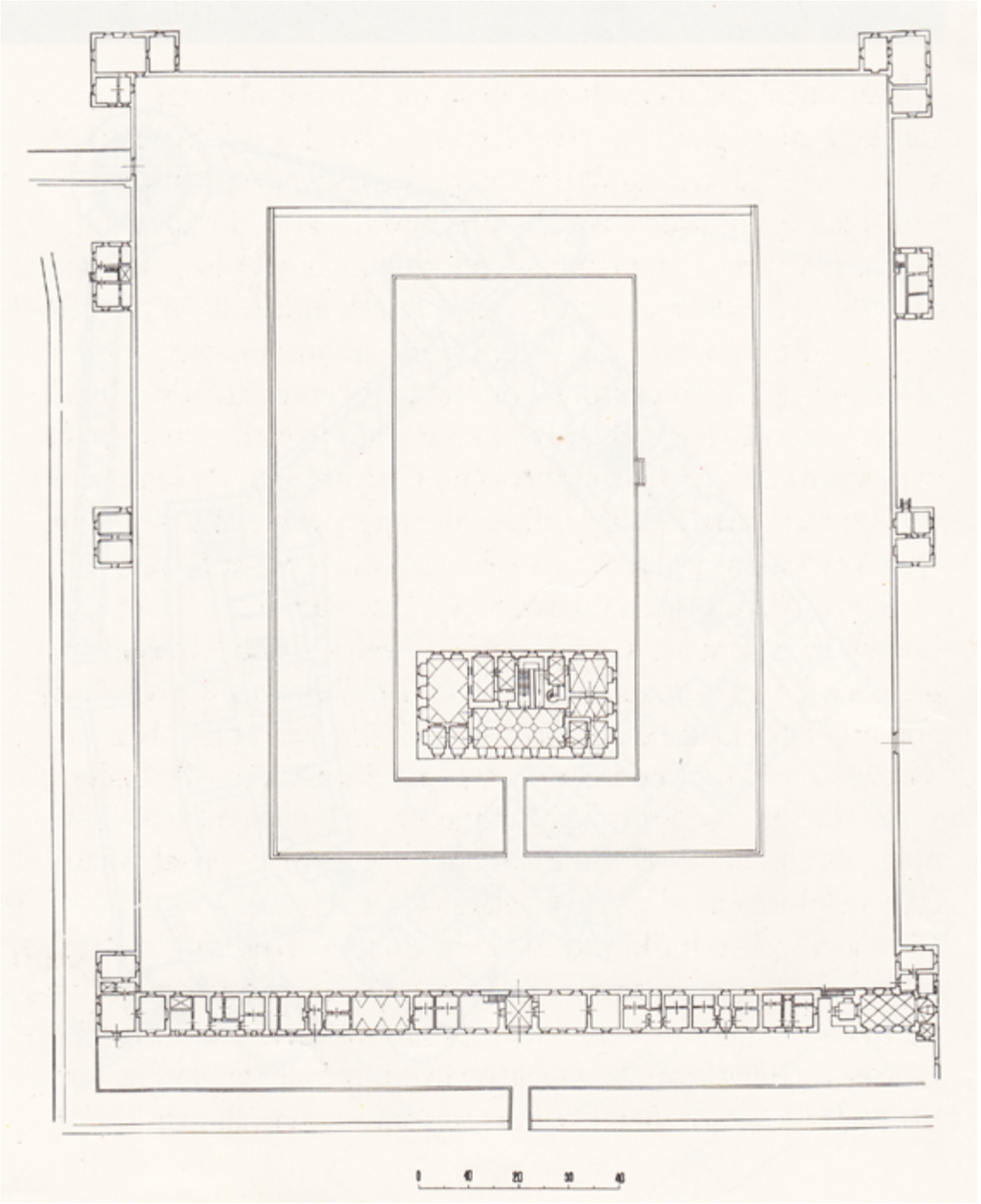
There are many aristocratic or ruler's residences that feature decorative systems that may be considered semantically ambivalent by contemporary art-historical literature. That there is more than one way of reading these programs is the result of a design process in which the meaning of these decorations was often purposefully shifted in the course of their creation and new semantic layers added to them. For example, the recent interpretation of the gallery of Francis I in Fontainebleau shows that this layering of meanings was intentional and that the plethora of scenes, figures, motifs, and juxtaposed meanings was meant to surprise the spectator and evoke a strong visual and intellectual experience.[71] Another example of this tendency can be found in Vasari's decoration of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. The array of scenes has been rightly interpreted as a general celebration of Cosimo de´Medici and his family. Vasari's treatise, *Ragionamenti*, published in 1588, provides additional explanation for these scenes, unambiguously supporting the above interpretation. However, Vasari himself suggests that aside from the main interpretive frame ('*il senso nostro*'), some motifs can be explained on several different levels, 'there are meanings hidden behind the veil of stories'.[72]

Kratochvíle's halls offer similarly diverse semantic configurations: the sensually playful world of Ovidian poetry placed within the natural context of the villa; the straightforward hunting imagery connected with the villa's function; the villa as social-status symbol demonstrated by the luxurious decoration; the familial and aristocratic self-representation supported by the moral and mythological subtext; and the nuptial symbols accentuating the ethical principles and the procreative powers of marriage. The inhabitants and visitors of the villa were exposed to different aspects of its decorative program providing them with a visually and intellectually stimulating experience. The viewers could either perceive only one part of the villa's semantic configurations or decipher more of its layers. Still, the main semantic line encoded in both the iconography and the form of Kratochvíle's adornment followed the traditional rhetoric of Early Modern architecture and its decoration; the purpose of the building was not only to evoke emotions but mainly to convey the intended message.[73] It is hardly surprising that the contemporary cultural-socio-historical approach defines the villa type as a *Herrschaftszeichen* or even more aptly as a 'powerhouse, a place not of retreat but of attack'. An effective tool for legitimizing power,[74] the villa is a concentrated socio-historical phenomenon. As such, Kratochvíle with all its different aspects represents an ideal object of study.

70 Margaretha Rossholm Lagerlöf, *Fate, Glory, and Love in Early Modern Gallery Decoration. Vizualizing Supreme Power*, Farnham 2013, pp. 233, 238.
71 Ibid., pp. 21–92, 236–238.
72 Paola Tinagli, The Identity of the Prince: Cosimo de´Medici, Giorgio Vasari and the Ragionamenti, in: Mary Rogers (ed.), *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art*, Aldershot 2000, pp. 189–196.
73 Carsten-Peter Warncke, Rhetorik der Architektur in der frühen Neuzeit, in: Klaus Bußmann – Florian Matzner – Ulrich Schulze (eds.), *Johann Conrad Schlaun, 1695–1773. Architektur des Spätbarock in Europa*, Stuttgart 1995, pp. 612–621.
74 Joseph Connors, The Baroque Villa: Concluding Remarks, in: Barbara Arciszewska (ed.), *The Baroque Villa. Suburban and Country Residences c. 1600–1800*, Warsaw 2009, pp. 271–273, here p. 271.

1. Jindřich de Veerle, Kratochvíle villa, detail from the view of Netolice, oil on canvas, 1686, Národní památkový ústav České Budějovice.

Photo: O. Jakubec



2. Ground-plan of the of the Kratochvíle villa complex.

From: F. Mareš – J. Sedláček, Soupis památek historických
v politickém okresu Prachatickém, Prague 1913

3. Kratochvíle villa. View of the central villa, 1583–1589.

Photo: O. Jakubec

4. Kratochvíle villa. View of the central villa with the entrance tower, 1583–1589.

Photo: O. Jakubec

5. Kratochvíle villa. View of the rear facade of the central villa and its fictitious painted bastion (‘staircase tower’).

Photo: O. Jakubec

6. Kratochvíle villa, entrance hall with fresco decoration by Georg Widman (around 1590).

Photo: O. Jakubec

7. Kratochvíle villa, the so-called Golden Hall with stuccoes by Antonio Melana (around 1590).

Photo: O. Jakubec

Session I. From Solitude and Buen Retiro to Mon-Plaisir and Sans-Souci. Exploring the Theory of the Architecture of Leisure within the Palace

A New Monarch and a New System of Residences: Ferdinand I Habsburg as the Founder of the Network of Main and Occasional Residences in the Habsburg Empire

Jaroslava Hausenblasová

After ascending the Austrian throne in 1521 and receiving the Bohemian and Hungarian crowns in 1526, Ferdinand I Habsburg (1503–1564) [Fig. 1] began building an administrative and political system based on the economically prosperous countryside as well as a system of residences reflecting his new requirements.[1]

Residences in individual countries had to meet several important conditions. They had to facilitate the operation of the offices required for the political and economic administration of the country, while an integral part of the requirements for these residences at that time was also the defensive function of such royal seats from the Middle Ages and in the reign of Ferdinand I, which was highlighted by the constant threat from the Turks. However, during the sixteenth century the need came to the fore to represent authority, while at the same time presenting the monarch as a cultured figure receptive to the cultural trends of the times, which he actively pursued at his courts. Therefore, the residence not only had to offer adequate space for the king and his court, but also accommodate the festivals and ceremonies that characterized Renaissance court culture as these had increased in popularity with the circulation of Italian ideas and models north of the Alps. This new lifestyle involved an emphasis on the utilization and indeed the enjoyment of leisure time. Hence, the newly constructed, or in the case of Ferdinand I, reconstructed and completed residences had to provide a base for relaxation and recreation. The standard of this superior class and the facilities created around it increasingly came to function as an index of the quality of court life and indirectly as a yardstick of the success of its creator and contracting authority.[2]

On the basis of an analysis of the situation in the Czech lands during the reign of Ferdinand I, i.e. between 1526 and 1564, this paper aims to draw attention to several basic cultural-historical questions and to put forward hypothetical answers: what was this monarch's plan for this network of residences and why was it developed? How was the network structured, and how did it develop over the course of his reign, and above all, what role did the occasional or satellite structures play in relation to the main residence in Prague?

The basis for the network of residences were the traditional court centres in the Habsburg lands, which Ferdinand took over in 1521 as part of his inheritance from Emperor Maximilian I († 1519). These included not

1 For the circumstances surrounding the election of Ferdinand I as Czech King in 1526 and his coronation on 24 February 1527 at Prague Castle, see in particular: Oskar Gluth, Die Wahl Ferdinands I. zum König von Böhmen 1526, *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 15, 1876–1877, pp. 198–302. – Antonín Rezek, *Zvolení a korunování Ferdinanda za krále* českého, Prague 1878. – Winfried Eberhard, *Konfessionsbildung und Stände in Böhmen 1478–1530* (= Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum 38), Munich – Vienna 1981, pp. 203–213; Jaroslav Pánek, Königswahl oder Königsaufnahme? Thronwechsel im Königreich Böhmen an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit, in: Wolfgang E. J. Weber (ed.), *Der frühmoderne Staat in Ostzentraleuropa* II, Augsburg 2000 (= Documenta augustana 3), pp. 37–52. An overall summary of the reign of Ferdinand I in the Czech lands can be found in the following monographs: Franz B. Bucholtz, *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten* I–VIII, Vienna 1831–1838. – Antonín Rezek, *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinands I. in Böhmen*, Prague 1878. – Josef Janáček, České *dějiny. Doba předbělohorská 1526–1547*, I/2, Prague 1984. – Alfred Kohler, *Ferdinand I. 1503–1564. Fürst, König und Kaiser*, Munich 2003, esp. pp. 157–165, 172–175. – Thomas Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht. Länder und Untertanen des Hauses Habsburg im konfessionellen Zeitalter* I–II, Vienna 2003 (Österreichische Geschichte 1522–1699). – Petr Vorel, *Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české* VII (1526–1618), Prague – Litomyšl 2005.

2 Although the subject of residences has attracted the attention of historians over the last few decades, the definition of this term (residency, Residenz) is still debatable. Evamaria Engel – Karen Lambrecht, Hauptstadt – Residenz – Residenzstadt – Metropole – zentraler Ort. Probleme ihrer Definition und Charakterisierung, in: Evamaria Engel – Karen Lambrecht – Hanna Nogossek (edd.), *Metropolen im Wandel. Zentralität in Ostmitteleuropa an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, Berlin 1995 (= Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa), pp. 11–31.

only the Vienna Hofburg and gardens[3] and the small hunting lodge at nearby Ebersdorf, but also the residence at Wiener Neustadt with its game preserve. Soon after his accession to the throne, Ferdinand began the construction of the *Zeughaus* (armoury) and *Lusthaus* at Wiener Neustadt.[4] Among his other residences, the king preferred the castles at Linz and Innsbruck, and he occasionally visited Graz. After his election to the Bohemian throne (23 October 1526), Ferdinand extended this network to include Prague and the other regional centres of the individual Czech crown lands (Brno, Budyšin/Bautzen, Wrocław). However, his election as Hungarian King that same year (16 December 1526 in Pressburg) did not provide him with any more traditional royal residences in the eastern part of the Empire. For many years he fought over the Hungarian royal residence at Buda, which included a Renaissance castle at Nyék, with his adversary Jan Zápolský and the Turkish Sultan. Hence he could only use Pressburg in Upper Hungary, modern-day Bratislava, which remained under his control, as a temporary residence.

The individual residences that Ferdinand I and his court very flexibly moved between were paid varying degrees of attention. As he himself declared in writing in 1537, he considered his main residences to be Vienna, Prague and Innsbruck.[5] The first two cities were important centres for governance, but Innsbruck was used mainly as the residence of the children he had by Anna Jagiellon (1503–1547). In the early 1530s, Ferdinand embarked on a plan to reconstruct these residences with suitable recreational facilities and space for his family and court pursuits and for his family to stay. Comparing the conditions for the implementation of his ideas in the Austrian and Czech lands, the situation would appear to have been more favourable in Bohemia. In Austria Ferdinand I was forced to focus his efforts on military structures in anticipation of a Turkish invasion, which occurred in 1529 and again in 1532.[6] Moreover, as a builder and patron he had his commitments as the heir and executor of Emperor Maximilian I's last will, with duties including the completion of several large-scale artistic projects and the construction of a tomb for the last knight in Innsbruck.[7] In the Czech lands, however, he was not bound by the previous ruler's plans, but rather by topographic concerns, the condition of the buildings, and above all the state of his finances.[8]

In forming his plan for the royal residences, Ferdinand was influenced by his early experiences in Spain at the court of Ferdinand of Aragon, where he lived until he was fifteen (1503–1517), and in the Netherlands at the court of Margaret of Habsburg, where he spent the next three years (1518–1521). In Spain the young king probably enjoyed the flourishing gardens of Córdoba, Sevilla, Valladolid, Madrid and other places, and in the Netherlands he would have admired the pageantry of the Dutch court, with its tournaments and hunts and musical, dance and theatrical entertainments.[9] Ferdinand and Anna, both of whom were enthusiastic hunters, arranged similar festivities and *Lustbarkeiten* (revelries) at their own court.[10]

3 Ferdinand I paid great attention to the gardens (both upper and lower) as a place for leisure during the reconstruction of the Hofburg in Vienna. Hilda Lietzmann, Die Wiener Burggärten im 16. Jahrhundert, in: eadem, *Irdische Paradiese. Beispiele höfischer Gartenkunst der 1. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Munich – Berlin 2007, pp. 37–65. – Jochen Martz, Die Gärten an der Wiener Hofburg im 16. und 17. Jahrhunder und die Entwicklung der Zitruskultur, *Studia Rudolphina* 10, 2010, pp. 68–88, esp. pp. 70–78. – Markus Jeitler – Jochen Martz, Der Untere und der Obere Lustgarten, in: Herbert Karner (ed.), *Die Wiener Hofburg 1521–1705. Baugeschichte, Funktion und Etablierung als Kaiseresidenz*, Vienna 2014, pp. 188–197.

4 *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 3, 1885, reg. 2765, 2768.

5 An instruction for the Court Chamber (Hofkammer) issued by Ferdinand I on 1 September 1537 in Prague set out the ways in which his court was to be supplied: ' *...und nachdem in unser hofordnung von dreien plätzen, da gewonlich und am maisten unser beharrige hofhaltung ist und kunftiglich sein wirdet, meldung beschiecht, als in unsern stetten Prag, Wien und zu Ynnsprugg und auserfarenhait befunden, das alweg zu unser ankunft in der leger ainemalle profant in höchstenwert...'* – published in Thomas Fellner – Heinrich Kretschmayer, *Die österreichische Zentralverwaltung I. Von Maximilian I. bis zur Vereinigung der österreichischen und böhmischen Hofkanzlei (1749)*, I/2. *Aktenstücke 1491–1681*, Vienna 1907 (= Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs 6), pp. 246–271, esp. pp. 262–263.

6 Renate Holzschuh-Hofer, Die Wiener Hofburg im 16. Jahrhundert. Festungsresidenz Ferdinands I., *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 61, 2007, pp. 307–325. – Markus Jeitler, Die Burgbastei, in: Karner (see note 3), pp. 176–183.

7 The abundant literature includes in particular Sonnelind Pein, *Ferdinand I. und die Übernahme des maximilianischen Erbes* (dissertation.), Graz 1971, pp. 128–139. – Erich Egg, *Die Hofkirche in Innsbruck. Das Grabdenkmal Kaiser Maximilians I. und die Silberne Kapelle*, Innsbruck 1974. – Katharina Seidl, Das Maximiliansgrab, in: Wilfried Seipel (ed.), *Kaiser Ferdinand I. 1503–1564. Das Werden der Habsburger Monarchie* (exh. cat.), Vienna 2003, pp. 243–247.

8 On Ferdinand's finances, see: Anton Gindely, *Geschichte der böhmischen Finanzen von 1526 bis 1618*, Vienna 1868, particularly the chronological summary on pp. 47–56. – Miloslav Volf, Královský důchod a úvěr v XVI. století, *Český časopis historický* 48–49, 1947–1948, pp. 110–171. – Petr Vorel, Landesfinanzen und Währung in Böhmen. Finanz- und Münzpolitik im Spannungsfeld von Ständen und Königtum während der Regierung Ferdinands I. und Maximilian II., in: Friedrich Edelmayer – Maximilian Lanzinner – Peter Rauscher (eds.), *Finanzen und Herrschaft. Materielle Grundlagen fürstlicher Politik in den habsburgischen Ländern und im Heiligen Römischen Reich im 16. Jahrhundert*, Vienna – Munich 2003, pp. 186–214.

9 For Ferdinand's education in Spain and the Netherlands, see: Wilhelm Bauer, *Die Anfänge Ferdinands I.*, Vienna – Leipzig 1907. – Raymond Fagel, Don Fernando in den Niederlanden. Die Jugendjahre eines spanischen Prinzen, in: Martina Fuchs – Alfred Kohler (edd.), *Kaiser Ferdinand I. Aspekte eines Herrscherlebens*, Münster 2003, pp. 35–60. See also Joseph Strelka, *Der burgundische Renaissancehof Margarethes von Österreich und seine literarische Bedeutung*, Vienna 1957. – Dagmar Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst. Wirken durch Kunst. Sammelwesen und Hofkunst unter Margarete von Österreich, Regentin der Niederlande*, Turnhout 2002.

10 The royal family's love of hunting was exemplified not only by the care the monarch took of his game preserves and weaponry, but also the reports on these

On his very first visit to Prague in 1527, Ferdinand I was faced with the lack of a suitable royal residence. The previous Kings, Vladislav II (1456–1516) and his son Luis II (Ludvík) Jagiellon (1506–1526), resided primarily in Buda and only rarely travelled to Prague, so the residential portion of the castle was small and in a poor state of repair. However, Ferdinand was only able to undertake basic remedial measures once the Turkish attacks on the Austrian lands in 1532 had been repelled, as these had committed him not only financially, but also personally. [Fig. 2]

Significantly, among the king's earliest instructions concerning Prague Castle was a 1531 letter addressed to the royal forester Jan Opita containing instructions for the royal game preserves around Prague and elsewhere in Bohemia.[11] The King's correspondence from subsequent years bears witness to the fact that he defended his hunting rights.[12] Among Ferdinand's hunting preserves was the **royal game preserve at Ovenec** (the site of today's Stromovka Park) near Prague Castle, which is described in period sources as a *'Tiergarten'*. The Ovenec preserve included a small hunting lodge in the form of a Gothic castle, which had been renovated by Vladislav Jagiellon in 1495 and 1496 to include Renaissance-style architectural elements.[13] [Fig. 3] Ferdinand and later his son, Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol (1529–1595), both took an interest in this preserve. The game that was kept here was not only meant for the King's own table, but was also presented to his friends and courtiers as gifts.[14] However, there are no records to indicate that the king had Vladislav's hunting lodge repaired or that he used it himself. The building was probably not used again until Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612) rebuilt it as part of his plans to expand the leisure facilities around Prague Castle.[15]

Ferdinand I paid great attention to hunting and everything to do with it even beyond the Prague region. Great opportunities were afforded to him by the royal estates in Bohemia, known as the chamber estates, which included not only extensive forests full of game,[16] but also buildings of all sizes which the King could use for occasional stays. [Fig. 4] However, at the beginning of his reign, Ferdinand had to mortgage most of these estates in order to finance the wars in Hungary and to defend the Austrian lands from Turkish military incursions. During the 1540s he managed to pay off some of the mortgages, thus opening the way to the creation of more recreational centres, in particular Poděbrady, Křivoklát, Kolín and Tachov.[17] After the failed uprising of 1547, the network was expanded to include Brandýs nad Labem, Přerov nad Labem, Kostelec nad Černými lesy and Chlumec nad Cidlinou, which were seized from the rebellious Czech nobility. The following year he purchased an estate at Lysá nad Labem, and in 1560 he acquired one near Pardubice. After 1547 Ferdinand possessed a dense network of occasional royal residences in the Elbe basin; in terms of organization and economic support, these were closely connected with each other, Prague Castle, and the Vienna Hofburg and other Austrian residences.[18] The King and later his sons, Maximilian II and Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, often visited these estates.

Poděbrady was one of the royal family's favourite residences as it was surrounded by hunting grounds.

activities, including a letter from Ferdinand to his sister, Mary of Hungary on 21 April 1530 (Vyšší Brod), in which the King invites her to a hunt and banquet near Linz, published in: Wilhelm Bauer – Robert Lacroix (edd.), *Die Korrespondenz Ferdinands I. Familienkorrespondenz* 2/II. 1529 and 1530, Vienna 1938 (= Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs 31), No. 430, pp. 623–624: *'Madame, ma bonne seur, je suis graces à dieu ensemble ma fame arivé ycy et deliberé de me trover au diné demain devers vous, car les cerfs de la montagne m'ont envoié une enbasada que je me trouve apres diner devers eulx et esperent que vous les vouldres visiter.... J'espere que entre les autres mes ne oblieres de fere le bruet que acutrates l'autre fois, et ausy du kassinat et autres bon mourseaulx come bonne cuisiniere....'*

11 Haus-, Hof und Staatsarchiv, Vienna (HHStA), OMeA SR, Kart. 74/2, fol. 1–6: 1531, 6th June, Prague. The letter also forbade hunting by anyone other than Ferdinand and his family and guests in the area around Prague Castle where, 'neither hares nor fowl may be hunted or trapped, but where everything is to be protected for our special enjoyment'. Ferdinand also promised a reward for anybody who killed predators, such as martens, vultures, eagles and lynxes, that harmed the king's animals.

12 Wácslaw Wladiwoj Tomek, *Dějepis města Prahy* I–XII, Prague 1855–1897, esp. XI, 1897, p. 158.

13 František Vacek, Dějiny Bubenče, Dejvic, Šárky a okolí, *Sborník příspěvků k dějinám hl. m. Prahy* 2, 1911, pp. 47–512, esp. pp. 91–92. – Tomáš Durdík – Petr Chotěbor, Der jagiellonische Umbau der Burg im Königlichen Tiergarten (Stromovka) in Ovenec bei Prag, in: Dietmar Popp – Robert Suckale (edd.), *Die Jagiellonen. Kunst und Kultur einer europäischen Dynastie an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, Nuremberg 2002, pp. 299–306.

14 We learn from his instructions to Jan Opita of 1531 that the royal game preserve was mainly used for raising rabbits at that time – HHStA, OMeA SR, Kart 74/2, fol. 3. There are subsequent reports of other game – Vacek (see note 13), pp. 92–95.

15 Ibid, pp. 95–97, 99–109. – Sylva Dobalová, *Zahrady Rudolfa II. Jejich vznik a vývoj*, Prague 2009, pp. 172–203.

16 Ferdinand's instructions to the Bohemian Chamber concerning the care of his hunting preserves in a letter dated 25 March 1527, published in: Václav Pešák, *Dějiny Královské* české *komory od roku 1527. Část I. Začátky organizace* české *komory za Ferdinanda I.*, Prague 1930 (Sborník archivu ministerstva vnitra 3), pp. 295–303, esp. p. 302. – Volf (see note 8), p. 130.

17 Volf (see note 8), pp. 145–154.

18 The chamber estates served primarily as a source of revenue for the king. The produce from these estates supplied the court when it was in Bohemia, as well as the army. Václav Pešák, Berně v Čechách r. 1528–1529, *Sborník Archivu Ministerstva vnitra* 10, 1937, pp. 87–163, esp. p. 141. – Eva Šmilauerová, *Poděbrady v proměnách staletí I (do roku 1850)*, Prague 2001, pp. 43–44.

[Fig. 5] Ferdinand I had paid the mortgage on this estate by 1542 and planned to hunt deer there in 1546 on his way back from Wrocław,[19] but his first documented stay at Poděbrady did not occur until 1549.[20] Ferdinand repeatedly visited Poděbrady to hunt, returning in 1554,[21] 1557,[22] 1561[23] and 1562.[24] He gradually had a preserve laid down here with facilities for falconers and birds of prey.[25] He also devoted great attention to the reconstruction and extension of his château, on which builders from the Prague ruling circle worked. From 1545 the construction is associated with the Italian master Paolo della Stella, who was replaced in 1550 by Hans Tirol and seven years later by Bonifác Wolmut. The last architect Baptista Aostali became a burgher of Poděbrady, where he died in 1575 and was buried in the town's church (Church Povýšení sv. Kříže/of the Exalted Holy Cross).[26] Frequent reports on the progress of Poděbrady indicate that despite his frequent absences, the monarch followed the building activity closely and was even involved in the design of the interiors. In 1559 he had a magnificent and costly stove installed in the great hall.[27] This residence was not only used for hunting, but also other leisure pursuits and court activities. For example, Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol is kown to have arranged a tournament at Poděbrady in 1561.[28]

From 1547 the royal family's occasional stays and hunting activities are also attested at the **Brandýs nad Labem** estate,[29] which Ferdinand I had confiscated from the Czech noble Arnošt Krajíř of Krajek, together with its extensive forests and hunting preserves.[30] That same year work began on the renovation of the château according to designs by Paolo della Stella and under the direction of Mates Borgorelli. [Fig. 6] Subsequent work was carried out by Hans Tirol. The expansion, including the extension of the ground plan and the addition of another storey, was meant to turn the residence into a comfortable hunting lodge for the king and his court. The new construction was also intended to provide offices and other facilities for the officials who ran the estate. At the same time the defensive elements from the original castle were retained.[31] As leisure facilities, Brandýs included a garden and fruit orchard. Ferdinand also established a hunting preserve there in order to breed red deer, fallow deer, roebucks, wild boar, pheasants and for a short time, aurochs.[32]

The king also made changes to other recreational facilities near Brandýs, notably the Přerov nad Labem château, which was also confiscated by the king in 1547,[33] and the Lysá nad Labem château, which was purchased a year later but in 1558 destroyed in a fire.[34] In 1558 Ferdinand I authorized Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol to visit these estates and planned repairs to be carried out by building masters Bonifác Wolmut and later Ulrich Aostali.[35] From 1549 repairs were also made to **Kostelec nad Labem**[36] and **Chlumec nad Cidlinou** chateaux.[37]

The royal family also enjoyed the estate at **Pardubice**, which had been purchased by Ferdinand I for his eldest son and successor Maximilian II in 1560,[38] and which Ferdinand himself visited in 1561–1562.[39] [Fig. 7] However, the renovations there were only undertaken by Maximilian after his father's death.[40]

19 Tomek (see note 12), XI, 1897, pp. 289–290.
20 Anton von Gévay, *Itinerar Kaiser Ferdinands I. 1521–1564*, Vienna 1843, 1549, 28th August. – Tomek (see note 12), XII, 1901, p. 29.
21 Gévay (see note 20), 1554, 10th–17th September – Tomek (see note 12), XII, 1901, p. 56.
22 Gévay (see note 20), 21st December.
23 Ibidem, 16th November. – Tomek (see note 12), XII, 1901, p. 108.
24 Gévay (see note 20), 1562, 26th July, 1st–3rd August. – *Jahrbuch* (see note 4), 11, 1890, reg. 7607. – Tomek (see note 12), XII, 1901, p. 119.
25 Šmilauerová (see note 18), p. 70.
26 Ibidem, p. 76.
27 *Jahrbuch* (see note 4), 5, 1887, reg. 4282.
28 *Jahrbuch* (see note 4) 11, 1890, reg. 7495.
29 Gévay (see note 20), 1557, 22nd December, 1562, 19th–28th April. – Tomek (see note 12), XII, 1901, p. 119. – Justin Prášek, *Brandejs nad Labem. Město, panství i okres* I, Prague 1908[1], p. 292.
30 Antonín Rezek, Statky skonfiskované r. 1547 a jich rozprodávání, *Památky archeologické a místopisné* 10, 1878, pp. 451–482, esp. p. 457.
31 *Jahrbuch* (see note 4), 10, 1889, reg. 6105. – Prášek (see note 29), pp. 74–89.
32 Ibidem, pp. 325–328. For the history of the garden at Brandýs nad Labem, see: Dobalová (see note 15), pp. 222–243, most recently eadem, Der rudolphinische Garten des Schlosses in Brandeis an der Elbe, *Studia Rudolphina* 10, 2010, pp. 48–67, which also briefly refers to the reign of Ferdinand I and includes a summary of the literature on this topic.
33 Rezek (see note 30), p. 455.
34 Božena Chmelová, *Příběhy, pověsti a historie města Lysá nad Labem a okolí. Psáno od nepaměti do konce r. 1997*, Lysá nad Labem 1999, p. 25.
35 *Jahrbuch* (see note 4) 10, 1889, reg. 6165, 6229.
36 Ibidem, reg. 6105, 6144, 6147, 6148. In 1558 Ferdinand I sold Kostelec to Jaroslav Smiřický of Smiřice.
37 Ibidem, reg. 6104, 6142.
38 František Šebek, *Dějiny Pardubic*, Pardubice 1990, p. 137.
39 Gévay (see note 20) 1561, 7th–12th November. – Tomek (see note 12), XII, 1901, p. 119.
40 Šebek (see note 38), p. 141.

Křivoklát, a castle with an extensive hunting preserve, also served as a prison for Ferdinand's political and religious opponents. From 1560 this was also the residence of Filippine Welser, an Augsburg burgher's daughter, whom Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol secretly married, and the children from this morganatic marriage also lived there. This beautiful, intelligent and educated woman surrounded herself here with select company, which was often visited by the Archduke himself from Prague.[41] His maintenance of the castle and frequent hunts are documented in his correspondence with local officials.[42]

However, King Ferdinand's I attention primarily focused on Prague, where he was bound by his governmental commitments and allowed himself a brief period of relaxation, so that both he and his family spent most of their time there when staying in Bohemia. Thus it comes as no surprise that his plan to reconstruct Prague Castle and its environs included grandiose schemes to create leisure time facilities.

The first of these projects is the **Prague Castle garden** established by Ferdinand around 1534 to the North the castle.[43] This was connected to the king and queen's private chambers in the south-western wing of the complex[44] by a system of corridors and a bridge across a deep dry moat, which separates the castle from the garden. A secret entrance was built into a garden wall for the King's requirements.[45] The physical and mental focus of the garden space was the summer palace (*Lusthaus*), located at its distand end, far from the main entrance to the garden from Prašný most (Powder Bridge).[46] [Fig. 8] There are several reasons for the creation of this complex. It was meant to enhance the king's Prague residence, but also to serve as a place for education and botanical experiments. The products grown here supplied the court kitchens, not only in Prague, but also in other cities where the monarch stayed.[47] However, one of the primary purposes of the garden complex was undoubtedly to provide recreational space for the king's family; Ferdinand and Anna's correspondence indicates that the couple took a personal interest in the health of their children, making sure they had outdoor exercise and took daily walks.[48] The garden is also described as a destination for relaxation and recreation in a poem, *De horti regio*, by Simon Villaticus (Fagellus), provost of the All Saints Chapel at Prague Castle, which celebrates the establishment of the garden, whose flowers and trees were meant to please the royal couple and their children.[49]

The **Summer palace,** which has often been described as the first pure Italian Renaissance building north of the Alps, but which does not actually have a model in Italy itself, thus indicating that Renaissance architecture in the Czech lands developed independently from and parallel to Italian architecture, was constructed in several stages beginning in 1538. Building work in the garden complex was halted for a period after the Prague Castle fire of 1541.[50] A number of prominent figures from Ferdinand's court circles worked in the summer palace in the royal garden; Paolo della Stella was the author of the original model, and Giovanni Spazio, Ulrico Aostali, Hans Tirol, and Pietro Ferrabosco were all involved in different phases of construction.[51] In 1556 the project came under the direction of Bonifác Wolmut, when the original plan was altered in accordance with the King's wishes,[52] and the summer palace was extended and a new copper roof replaced the original lead one. Because of these delays,

41 Franz Dollinger, *Geschichte von Pürglitz*, Vienna 1887, pp. 63–80.

42 National Archives (NA) Prague, Sbírka opisů Innsbruck, kart. 1562–1564.

43 Josef Morávek, Z počátků královské zahrady v Praze, *Umění* 11, 1938, pp. 530–536. – Hilda Lietzmann, Der königliche Lustgarten zu Prag von den Anfängen bis in die Zeit um 1650, in: eadem, *Irdische Paradiese* (see note 4), pp. 67–108, esp. pp. 68–69. – Dobalová (see note 15), p. 62.

44 Eliška Fučíková, Císař Ferdinand I. a arcivévoda Ferdinand II. – dva starostliví stavebníci, in: Beket Bukovinská – Lubomír Konečný (edd.), *Ars longa. Sborník k nedožitým sedmdesátinám Josefa Krásy*, Prague 2003, pp. 107–122.

45 This door is mentioned by Ferdinand I in a letter to Archduke Ferdinand dated 5 April 1563 (Innsbruck) – *Jahrbuch* (see note 4), 5, 1887, reg. 4340.

46 Jiří Svoboda, Královský letohrádek I–V, *Památky a příroda* 3, 1978, pp. 1–10, 67–74, 204–215, 331–337, 397–400. – Jan Bažant, *Pražský Belvedér a severská renesance*, Prague 2006. Regarding the original conception of the summer palace, see: Dobalová (see note 15), 2009, pp. 79– 82.

47 Jaroslava Hausenblasová, Prag als ein Knotenpunkt der höfischen Handelsnetzwerke in der Zeit Ferdinands I. (1526–1564), in: Gerhard Ammerer – Ingonda Hannesschläger (edd.), *Präzedenz, Netzwerke und Transfers. Innere und* äußere *Kommunikationsstrukturen von Herrscherhöfen und Adelsresidenzen (16.–19. Jahrhundert)*, in print.

48 This is evident in a letter from Veit von Thurn, court steward (Hofmeister) concerning the children in Innsbruck, dated 4 May 1546 (Innsbruck). It was written in response to the king's instructions regarding the children's exercise and describes the long outings they make in the Innsbruck castle garden at least twice a week. The steward also refers to visits made to the orchard ('*Paumgarten*'), where they are said to spend entire days in sunny weather – see HHStA, Familienakten, Kart. 53/3, fol. 8–9.

49 This poem is included in a collection, *Opuscula Simonis Fagelli Villatici Bohemi Ecclesiæ Collegiatæ omnium Sanctorum im Arce Pragensi Præpositi. De Coena Domini Conciones III. Hymnorum Liber Unus. Epigrammatum Libri III. Tumulorum Liber Unus. Distichorum Liber Unus*. Lipsiae 1538. Antonín Truhlář – Karel Hrdina – Josef Hejnic – Jan Martínek, *Rukověť humanistického básnictví* V, Prague 1982, p. 495. – Bažant (see note 46), p. 11. – Dobalová (see note 15), pp. 81–82.

50 Svoboda (see note 46), p. 2. – Bažant (see note 46), p. 17.

51 Bažant (see note 46), pp. 20–21.

52 The decision to alter the plan was made in 1554 – ibidem, p. 20.

the summer palace was never used for recreation during Ferdinand's reign. In 1547 Queen Anna died while giving birth to her fifteenth child, and Ferdinand moved some of his family to Innsbruck, returning to Prague less frequently. However, in 1558 Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol included it in the festivity arrangements for the coronation of Ferdinand I as Emperor, organizing theatre performances there.[53]

The final stage of construction in the royal garden during Ferdinand's reign took place at the same time as the first stage of the construction of another summer palace, known today as the **Star Summer Palace (Hvězda)**, in the grounds of the new game preserve (Neuer Tiergaren) at Bílá Hora (White Mountain). [Fig. 9] This ground was bought by Ferdinand in the 1530s in order to expand the hunting grounds around Prague Castle.[54] However Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, Ferdinand's second-born son was responsible for the construction of this summer palace. In 1547 he was entrusted with the administration of the Kingdom of Bohemia, which included the implementation of his father's building plans under the latter's strict supervision. The beginnings of this construction work, dating back to 1555 and the circumstances surrounding it have not yet been satisfactorily clarified. The authorship of the preserved plans and the identity of the patron is the subject of much speculation in the literature.[55] What is known is that Archduke Ferdinand decided to build a villa to facilitate his hunting activities on the game preserve his father had already established, and that he was personally involved in drawing up the villa's plans.[56] However, the motivation behind the construction of this summer palace, whose design, size and decor far exceeded the requirements for recreation and hunting, was quite different. Here the Archduke could find the required privacy for himself, his friends and his family, while using the building for his representative purposes, in contrast to Prague Castle, where his father was the one who made the decisions. This hypothesis would be borne out by several facts that we come across in the written sources. The correspondence between the Archduke, Czech officials, particularly Volf of Vřesovice,[57] and others involved in the construction of the summer palace does not at all include any mention of instructions, wishes or views of Ferdinand I regarding the Star Summer Palace. This suggests that the Star Summer Palace was the Archduke's personal endeavour, both in artistic and financial terms, and not related to his father's building projects elsewhere in Bohemia.[58]

The fact that two buildings, which were similar in type (summer palace), but which had been initiated, financed and organized by different patrons, were being erected at the same time in Prague, is reflected in the terminology used in the sources. Whereas the summer palace in the castle garden was designated '*Lusthaus Ihrer kayserlichen Maiestät*' and '*Lusthaus im königlichen Garten*',[59] the Star Summer Palace was distinguished in the official and personal correspondence as '*Gebeu Ihrer Fürstlichen Durchleuchtigkeit im Neuen Tiergarten*', ('of Your Princely Highness', indicating Archduke Ferdinand).[60]

However, Archduke Ferdinand did not fully realize his plans in Prague. He raised the money for the Star Summer Palace (Hvězda) with difficulty. Then in 1560 he bought the **Chomutov** estate in north-western Bohemia

53 Jan Bažant, Pompa in honorem Ferdinandi 1558, in: Jana Nechutová (ed.), *Druhý* život *antického mýtu. Sborník z vědeckého symposia centra pro práci s patrististickými, středověkými a renesančními texty*, Brno 2004, pp. 195–205. – Václav Bůžek, Symboly rituálu. Slavnostní vjezd Ferdinanda I. do Prahy 8. listopadu 1558, in: Luděk Březina – Jana Konvičná – Jan Zdichynec (eds.), *Ve znamení zemí Koruny* české. *Sborník k šedesátým narozeninám prof. PhDr. Lenky Bobkové*, Prague 2006, pp. 112–128. – Idem, Der festliche Einzug Ferdinands I. in Prag am 8. November 1558, in: Friedrich Edelmayer – Martina Fuchs – Georg Heilingsetzer – Peter Rauscher (eds.), *Plus ultra. Die Welt der Neuzeit. Festschrift für Alfred Kohler zum 65. Geburtstag*, Münster 2008, pp. 289–304. – Dobalová (see note 15), p. 82.

54 As early as 1539, the royal game preserve in Ovenec is described as the '*old preserve'*, which indicates that a new preserve had already been established. Jan Morávek, Ke vzniku Hvězdy, *Umění* 2, 1957, pp. 199–211, esp. p. 210.

55 Jan Bažant – Nina Bažantová, *Vila Hvězda v Praze (1555–1563). Mistrovské dílo severské renesance*, Prague 2013, p. 13 (see also Jan Bažant, *Villa Star in Prague. The Nothern Renaissance Masterpiece*, Advanced Guide to Czech Monuments, Kindle Edition 2012). The authors argue that the architectural design of the summer palace and its ornamentation are imperial, making the Star Summer Palace a 'state' villa, because the building work itself was completed in 1558, the same year that Ferdinand was crowned emperor.

56 The Archduke's frequent hunts are recorded in correspondence with the Czech nobility, whom he often invited to these events. NA Prague, Sbírka opisů Innsbruck, kart. –1561 and 1562–1564. The extensive research on this subject includes Václav Bůžek, Ferdinand Tyrolský a česká šlechta. K otázce integračních procesů v habsburské monarchii, *Český časopis historický* 98, 2000, pp. 261–291 and idem, *Ferdinand Tyrolský mezi Prahou a Innsbruckem. Šlechta z českých zemí na cestě ke dvorům prvních Habsburků*, České Budějovice 2006, pp. 174–200 (German version: *Ferdinand von Tirol zwischen Prag und Innsbruck. Der Adel aus den böhmischen Ländern auf dem Weg zu den Höfen der ersten Habsburger*, Vienna – Cologne – Weimar 2009).

57 As a provincial clerk (Landschreiber, 1549–1562) and later the President of the Bohemian Chamber (1562–1569), Volf of Vřesovice was involved in the organization of the building work at Prague Castle, the new hunting preserve and the Star Summer Palace.

58 See in particular a letter from Volf of Vřesovice to the Archduke dated 4 August 1556: NA Prague, Sbírka opisů Innsbruck, kart. –1561.

59 See for example, the letter from the stonemason Johann de Campion to Ferdinand I dated 13 January 1563 on the need to obtain 'marblstain zu Eur Römisch khais. maj. gebeien des lusthaus in demselben lustgarten' – *Jahrbuch* (see note 4), 5, reg. 4333.

60 See the letters from Volf of Vřesovice to Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol dated 4 August, 15 August, 22 August, 27 September and 27 October 1556 – NA Prague, Sbírka opisů Innsbruck, kart. –1561.

and focused all his building energies on it. Archduke Ferdinand finally abandoned his plans for the Star Villa in 1563 when his father promised him the Tyrol.[61] The archduke began to build his castles in Innsbruck and nearby Ambras, where he moved in 1567, and he subsequently only expressed his interest in completing the interiors at the Star and in other matters associated with the maintenance of the preserves in correspondence.

Conclusion

Under Ferdinand I, the Czech Lands became a point of intersection for important European cultural influences, particularly Italian, Burgundian-Dutch, Spanish, and German artistic phenomena which became established here, and as we see in the cases of the gardens, the hunting grounds and the closely associated minor constructions, they were developed further within this specific environment. As the first Habsburg on the Czech throne, Ferdinand established a network of residences centred around Prague Castle, where the garden facilities also offered opportunities for recreation and were loosely connected to other entertainment and leisure sites throughout Bohemia. However, Ferdinand was not able to complete his project. Building work was slowed both by the fire at Prague Castle in 1541, and, more significantly, by the king's inadequate finances and frequent absences.

Until 1564 Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol supervised the construction of the recreational facilities at Prague Castle and its satellite centres (the chamber estates) under the direction of his father, to whose plans he was required to adhere. After Ferdinand I's death in 1564 his successor, Emperor and King of Hungary and Bohemia, Maximilian II (1527–1576), continued to employ his younger brother, Archduke Ferdinand, as regional governor in Bohemia until 1567.

As of 1576 Ferdinand I's plan was further developed and altered by Emperor Rudolf II, who chose Prague as his primary residence, thus enabling him not only to expand Prague Castle to meet the needs of an imperial court, but also to make full use of its leisure facilities. However, this was only a historical episode, and in the seventeenth century the attention of the Habsburg monarchs shifted definitively to Vienna and the Austrian lands, while Prague and its recreational facilities moved to the periphery of their interests.

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61 For details on the origins, development and use of the Star Summer Palace, see: Ivan P. Muchka – Ivo Purš – Sylva Dobalová – Jaroslava Hausenblasová, *Hvězda. Arcivévoda Ferdinand Tyrolský a jeho letohrádek v evropském kontextu*, Prague 2014.

1. Martinus Rota, Portrait of Emperor Ferdinand I, 1575.

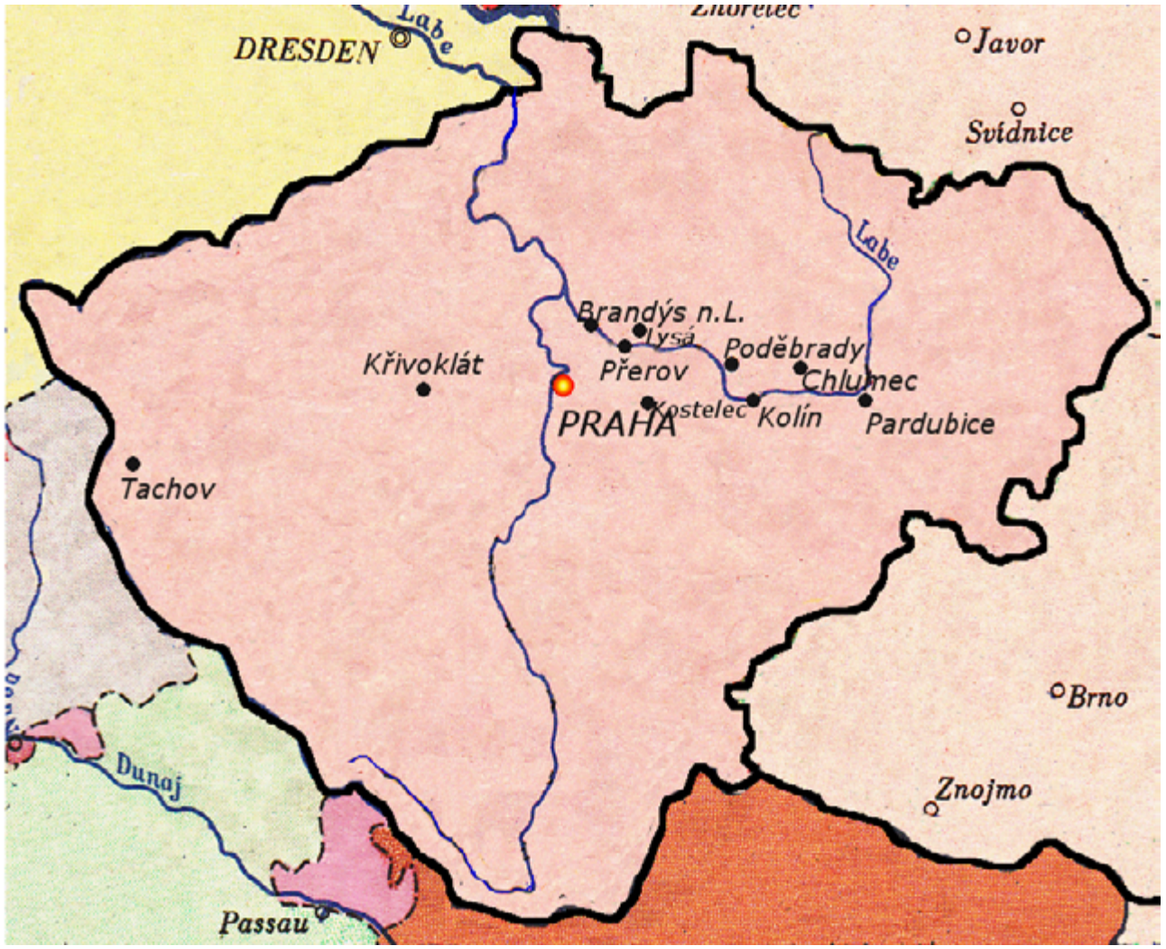
From: Wikipedia

2. View of Prague, detail, 1536/37

From: *Die Reisebilder Pfalzgraf Ottheinrichs aus den Jahren 1536/37 von seinem Ritt von Neuburg a.d. Donau über Prag nach Krakau und zurück über Breslau, Berlin, Wittenberg und Leipzig nach Neuburg*, edited by A. Marsch – J. H. Biller – F. D. Jacob, Weißenhorn 2001

3. Summer palace in the royal game preserve at Alte Thiergarten (Stromovka Park) in Prague, present status.

Photo: I. P. Muchka



4. The map of the chamber estates in Bohemia, state from 1560.

From: Author's modification of a map from Š*kolní atlas československých dějin*, Prague 1965

5. Castle Poděbrady, present status.

Photo: I. Muchka

6. Castle Brandýs nad Labem, present status.

Photo: I. P. Muchka

7. Castle Pardubice, present status.

Photo: I. P. Muchka

8. Summer palace in the garden of Prague Castle, present status.

Photo: I. P. Muchka

9. Star Summer Palace (Hvězda) in Prague, present status.

Photo: I. P. Muchka

A Palace Designed for Diplomacy: Atholl in 1532

Marilyn Brown

The erection of structures of a temporary nature related to royal palaces and designed for specific diplomatic and dynastic occasions is a well-recognised feature of medieval and renaissance culture in Scotland, as elsewhere in Europe.[1] Few were as temporary or as individual as the palace of green timber which was erected for James V of Scotland and his guests in the region of Atholl in 1532.[2] [Fig. 1] James had become king of Scots in 1513 at the age of one following the death of his father, James IV, at the battle of Flodden. This had been fought against the English forces of Henry VIII, his brother-in-law, in support of the King of France, Louis XII.[3] Henry himself was at the time engaged in an invasion of France, attacking the city of Tournai.[4] During the years of his personal reign following his emancipation from the regency of the earl of Angus in 1528 James had been to a considerable degree successful in re-establishing the authority of the Crown and respect for law across Scotland, where there was a particular problem in the area of the Scottish Borders with England.[5] The maintenance of royal authority in the domestic sphere cannot be separated from the position of Scotland on the international stage with foreign powers, particularly England, anxious to support dissident magnates in the more remote regions of the country.

1532 was a very active year for European diplomacy, for the Pope, Clement VII, a member of the Medici family, for the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, for the king of France, Francis I, and, above all for Henry VIII, king of England. It has been written that 'throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the chief international events either are, or flow from, marriages'.[6] Henry was making his final attempts to divorce his first wife, Catherine, youngest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain and aunt of Charles V, by whom he had an only daughter, later Queen Mary Tudor. The next male heir to the English throne was his nephew, James V of Scotland, son of his elder sister Margaret who had been married to James IV.[7] Henry's overwhelming desire to be succeeded by a son of his own was driven in part by a fear of a repetition of the civil wars of the previous century, and his marriage to Anne Boleyn was planned in order to achieve this. The king's desire for his divorce from 1528 onwards meant that English foreign policy was driven by his domestic concerns.[8] The divorce was opposed by Charles V who, to a large extent, controlled the Papacy following the Sack of Rome five years earlier.[9] James V was looking for a bride who would provide him with an heir and preferably a large dowry. The Franco-Scottish Treaty of Rouen in 1517 had included a provision that James would marry a French princess, a daughter of Francois I, and despite various other proposals, this was always his preferred choice.[10]

Scotland and France were traditional allies against England, and various treaties over the previous two centuries had maintained this link.[11] The interests of the Empire were frequently opposed to those of France in

1 Marie-Therese Flanagan, *Irish society, Anglo-Norman settlers, Angevin kingship interactions in Ireland in the late twelfth century,* Oxford 1989, pp. 194, 202 – Louise O. Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland,* Wisconsin 1991, pp. 172–191 – Michael Lynch, Queen Mary's Triumph: the Baptismal Celebrations at Stirling in December 1566, *Scottish Historical Review* 69, 1990, 1, pp. 1–21– Andrea Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: the court of James V of Scotland, 1528–1542,* Edinburgh 2005, pp. 184–194.

2 Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, edited by Ae. J. G. Mackay, *The historie and cronicles of Scotland from the slauchter of King James the First to the ane thousande fyve hundreith thrie scoir fyftein zeir / written and collected by Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie. Being a continuation of the chronicles written by Hector Boece and translated by John Bellenden*, Edinburgh 1899.

3 Norman Macdougall, *James IV,* Edinburgh 1989, pp. 248–276.

4 Charles Cruikshank, *The English Occupation of Tournai*, Oxford 1971, pp. 6–12.

5 Jamie Cameron, *James V: the personal rule,* East Linton 1998, pp. 70–92 – Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: James V- VII,* Edinburgh 1990, pp. 50–52.

6 John R. Seeley, *The Growth of British Policy. An Historical Essay*, Cambridge 1895, I, p. 32.

7 C. Patrick Hotle, *Thorns and Thistles: Diplomacy Between Henry VIII and James V, 1528–1542*, Lanham – London 1996, p. 23.

8 David Loades, *Henry VIII*, Stroud 2013, pp. 196–210; Hotle (see note 7), p. 14.

9 William S. Maltby, *The reign of Charles V*, Basingstoke – New York 2002, pp. 36–37; Loades (see note 8), pp. 196–197.

10 Cameron (see note 5), p. 60.

11 Elizabeth Bonner, Inheritance, war and antiquarianism: Sir Alan Stewart of Darnley, 2nd seigneur d'Aubigny et de Concressault 1429–37, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 143, 2014, pp. 339–362 (340–341).

the sixteenth century, but Scotland's relations with Burgundy and the Low Countries had always been close.[12] Henry's desire for the divorce led to various short-term changes in policy, and to attempts to destabilise James' rule and the alliance with France by sending raiders and encouraging disorder in the Borders and the west of Scotland.[13] There was intense diplomatic activity between the different monarchs. In the interests of forwarding his divorce Henry was maintaining close relations with France and James was growing closer to the Pope and the Emperor, while preserving his links with France, where he wished to find a bride, and where he eventually married Madeleine, the elder daughter of Francois I, in 1537.[14] Charles V admitted James to the Order of the Golden Fleece in April 1532. The Pope granted James extensive rights of taxation over the Scottish church ostensibly to pay for the newly instituted College of Justice, but also from a strong desire to avert the kind of ecclesiastical changes which were taking place in England.[15] James presided over the inauguration of the College in May 1532, an event which may have been attended by both papal and imperial envoys. The papal ambassador, Sylvester Darius, had extensive diplomatic experience, having served as nuncio in England since 1522, and came to Scotland in May 1532.[16]

James, at twenty years old, found himself courted by France, the Emperor and the Pope with Henry VIII trying to apply pressure by encouraging rebels in the more outlying parts of his kingdom.[17] As an element in establishing his prestige he decided to show off Scotland, in an individual and impressive light. [Fig. 2] The Scottish kings had married across the royal houses of Northern Europe and considered themselves with their long royal descent the equal of the other kings in Europe. James' mother was the elder daughter of Henry VII of England [Fig. 3], his grandmother, the elder daughter of Christian I of Denmark and his great grandmother was Mary of Gueldres, the nearest marriageable female relative of Philip the Good of Burgundy. Various princesses had been proposed for James, including Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VIII; Mary of Hungary, Charles V's sister; Christiana or Dorothea, daughters of the deposed king of Denmark and nieces of Charles V; and Catherine de Medici, the niece of both Pope Clement VII and, by marriage, of James' nearest male heir, John Stewart, Duke of Albany.[18] In 1531 negotiations for the renewal of the Hundred Years Mercantile Treaty with Charles V through the Regents of the Netherlands were rapidly concluded and, while a proposal of marriage with Mary of Hungary was rejected, one, with the elder daughter of Christian of Denmark, was encouraged by the Emperor. James' envoy, the herald and poet, David Lindsay, brought back portraits of both Danish princesses to Scotland.[19] There was a considerable amount of pretence in all these discussions about marriages and they were always dependent on the current state of other alliances, with, for example, instructions given by the imperial negotiators that a gracious letter should be written to the Cardinal of Ravenna, Protector of Scotland, entertaining him with fine words until English affairs, that is the progress or otherwise of Henry VIII's divorce, were more clearly understood.[20] Letters to the Scottish king carrying word that the treaty had been concluded were intercepted by the English and promises of the despatch of munitions caused concern on the Borders and in London.[21]

In common with other European monarchs with their desire for honour, James welcomed the recognition of his status provided by the award of knighthood in prestigious chivalric orders.[22] Charles V admitted James to the Order of the Golden Fleece in April 1532.[23] He was subsequently admitted to the Order of the Garter by Henry VIII in 1535 when that monarch was trying to arrange a personal meeting with his nephew and wished to conciliate him.[24] Francois I made James a member of the Order of St Michael in 1536 as an element in the

12 Richard Vaughan, London 1970, pp. 111, 243.
13 Hotle (see note 7), p. 48.
14 Hotle (see note 7), pp. 42–43; Janet Hadley Williams, Of officaris serving thy senyeorie: David Lyndsay's diplomatic letter of 1531, in: L. A. J. R. Houwen – A. A. MacDonald – S. L. Mapstone (eds.), *A palace in the wild: essays on vernacular culture and humanism in late-medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, Leuven 2000, pp. 125–140 (125).
15 William Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England: a Survey to 1707,* Edinburgh 1994, p. 57.
16 Andrew Godfrey, *Civil Justice in Renaissance Scotland: the origins of a Central Court,* Brill 2009, pp. 126, 130, 131; Hotle (see note 7), pp. 47.
17 Donaldson (see note 5), pp. 50–52.
18 Cameron (see note 5), pp. 60, 151.
19 Hadley Williams (see note 14), 131–132.
20 *Calendar of State Papers Spanish*, edited by Pascual de Gayingos, London 1882, Volume 4, Part 2, no. 115.
21 *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic*, *Henry VIII*, V, edited by James Gairdner, London 1880, no. 443.
22 Robert Knecht, *The Rise and Fall of Renaissance France 1483–1610,* Oxford 2001, p. 90 – Loades (see note 8), pp. 61–62 – Maltby (see note 9), p. 29.
23 Cameron Andrea Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528–1542*, Edinburgh 2005, pp. 205–210.
24 Hotle (see note 7), pp. 84–85 – Cameron (see note 5), p. 287.

negotiations for a French marriage.[25] These honours, along with the armorial of James' own Order of the Thistle, were celebrated in the carvings above the triumphal arch which forms the outer gateway to Linlithgow Palace built for James when a new ceremonial approach to the palace was constructed.[26] [Fig. 4]

James V had a considerable interest in other forms of ceremonial which would enhance the status of the monarchy in Scotland and Europe, including the remaking of the crown jewels and symbolic gifts from the Pope, such as the blessed cap and sword awarded to the king in 1536.[27] He was an extremely active builder, altering and extending his four major palaces and introducing Renaissance elements into their decoration.[28] The gardens around his residences were also maintained and developed.[29] In his reign the palace in Stirling Castle was built and major additions were made to Falkland Palace, Linlithgow Palace and Holyrood in Edinburgh. By late 1532 work had been completed on the residential tower for the king at Holyrood and considerable progress made on the east wing of Falkland where the royal apartments were situated. Major works at Linlithgow and Stirling were still to come.

While the formal receptions of ambassadors would take place in the Presence Chambers of the palace where James was resident, the use of outdoor meetings in palace gardens could serve specific purposes. At Stirling James would inhabit the King's House, built for his father, James IV, which lay immediately adjacent to the garden within the castle. It was in this garden at Stirling that James IV had met the envoys of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. The tenor of this meeting emerges in a letter from Ferdinand and Isabella to their ambassadors in Scotland in which the Catholic Monarchs regretted their treatment by the king during an interview in the garden in the winter of 1496.[30] Ferdinand and Isabella had been trying to detach James IV from his alliance with France and despatches had reached Scotland indicating that the Catholic Monarchs had no serious intention of arranging a marriage with one of their daughters. The king was understandably annoyed at the deception. Mary Queen of Scots, James V's daughter, is recorded as receiving envoys in gardens.[31] Various reasons can be advanced for this practice: gardens provided a degree of privacy without secrecy; members of the court and council could see the meeting of the monarch with foreign envoys, but not necessarily hear what was said; the weather could provide a useful excuse for terminating meetings. Such meetings also had their problems. There is a vivid description by the English ambassador from Henry VIII, Ralph Sadler, of his reception in March 1543 by the Earl of Arran who was governor or regent of Scotland for the infant Mary Queen of Scots:

> 'Upon my arrival I repaired forthwith to the govenour whom I found in a garden at the palace of Holyrood-house and delivered unto him your majesty's letters... There was a great company of noblemen and gentlemen about him, which pressed so near him, as it seemed to me, that either he would fain [wanted] have had me in another place, where he might secretly have communed with me, or else to take counsel before he entred further with me.'[32]

Henry wanted to marry Mary to his son, the future Edward VI, while the Scots were moving towards an alliance with France and the marriage of Mary to the Dauphin.

Temporary buildings for diplomatic meetings or attempts to arrange a treaty were not uncommon and often took place on the borders of two countries or territories. The most relevant precedent for the hunt in Atholl was probably the meeting between Henry VIII and Francois of France which became known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold. [Fig. 5] It was designed to repair a non-aggression treaty, but seems to have become the occasion for competitive display. It took place near Guisnes to the south of Calais between the seventh and twentieth of June in 1520.[33] Calais was an English possession before 1558, so the meeting was on the margins of English ground. The event derived its name from the magnificence of the materials used for the tents, pavilions and

25 Thomas (see note 1), p. 207.
26 Thomas (see note 1), pp. 207–209.
27 Andrea Thomas, *Glory and Honour*: *The Renaissance in Scotland*, Edinburgh 2013, p. 186.
28 John Dunbar, *The Scottish Royal Palaces: The Architecture of the Royal Residences in the Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Periods*, Edinburgh 1999.
29 Marilyn Brown, *Scotland's Lost Gardens: From the Garden of Eden to Stewart Palaces,* Edinburgh 2012, pp. 76–83.
30 Macdougall (see note 3), pp. 121–122.
31 *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the reign of Elizabeth 1561–2,* ed. by Joseph Stevenson, London 1866, Volume 4, no. 777.
32 *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII,* ed. by James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie, London 1901, Volume 18, Part 1, no. 305.
33 Knecht (see note 22), pp. 89–90 – Loades (see note 8), pp. 112–114.

other furnishings which the kings brought with them to form temporary palaces. It was a spectacle of the greatest magnificence and the records and a painting in the Royal Collections (RCIN 405794) are believed to provide a fairly accurate visual picture of the setting for the various festivities that took place during the meeting of the two kings. It shows in the right hand foreground a palace, specially erected for the occasion by six thousand men from England and Flanders sent on ahead of the royal party. It was set on brick foundations with the walls and roof made of canvas painted to look like a solid structure. The framework was of timber imported from the Netherlands, presumably a re-export from somewhere further north. The windows were of glass and the facade was decorated with sculpture. Two fountains in front of the palace provided wine and beer. Behind the temporary palace were the King's golden dining tent and the ovens and tents in which the King's meals were prepared. The formal meeting between Henry VIII and Francois I took place in the rich tent at the centre background. The Field of Cloth of Gold with its feasting and tournaments provided a spectacle of magnificence, an important attribute of a monarch. Little of practical value emerged from the meeting of the monarchs: they were at war within two years, but a more positive assessment of the event is that the two monarchs demonstrated their participation in a common Renaissance culture, renowned across Europe.

James V was neither geographically or financially in a position to compete with the kings of England and France, particularly after the mismanagement of his minority. At the age of twenty, he wished to make his mark on the European stage. The events of 1532 gave him an opportunity to present his country and himself as something distinct and different. Scotland was honoured for its long line of independent kings and this was celebrated in other rulers' spectacles, such as the entry of Charles V into Brussels in 1549. It was generally recognised that the country was divided in two parts, the south inhabited by English speaking civil Scots and the north by wild Gaelic speakers who wore different clothes. James took the opportunity to demonstrate the different characters of his country and his control over it. The occasion of the visit by papal envoys, Sylvester Darius and his companion, provided an occasion for display. James was accompanied by his mother, Henry VIII's sister. At this point in 1532, when Henry had ended his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, Margaret's position as a presumptive heir to England would have become more obvious, although Henry did not have his daughter, Mary Tudor, declared illegitimate until the following May. James' host in Atholl was his cousin, John Stewart, Earl of Atholl; they shared a common great great grandmother, Jane Beaufort, a member of the English royal family. The detailed account of the event was given by the not always accurate chronicler, Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, probably writing in the 1570s, some forty years after the event.[34] The existence of the hunting party is confirmed by the contemporary entry in the *Treasurers' Accounts* for the fifth day of September 1532 of a payment to David Crichton of the king's wardrobe for two carriage horses to transport the king's bed and other possessions to the hunt in Atholl.[35] [Fig. 6] The king went from Perth, where there was a royal lodging, with his mother Margaret Tudor and the papal ambassador to hunt in Atholl in the Highlands. The names of the mountains, Beinn Ghlo, Beinn Iutharn Mhor and Beinn Coire Chruinn-bhalgeinn, where the hunt took place suggests a location in Glen Tilt, an impressive narrow valley to the north-west of the Earl of Atholl's castle at Blair. The earl had enlarged his castle about 1530 and it could have provided accommodation for the royal party if it had been wanted. Pitscottie describes the site of the temporary palace as a fair meadow. He writes:

> 'The Earle of Atholl heirand of the kingis coming maid ane great provisioun ffor him in all thingis pertening to ane prince, that he was as weill servitt and eassit witht all thingis necessar pertening to his estaitt as he had bene in his awin palice in Edinburgh. He wantit no thing ffor I hard say this nobill Earle of Atholl gart mak ane curieous palice to the king and to his mother and to the ambassadour quhair they war honourabill ludgit as they had ben in Ingland France, Itallie and Spaine ffor thair huntting and pastyme quhilk was buildit in the midis of ane fair medow ane faire palice of greine tymmer wond witht birkis that war grein batht wnder and abone, quhilk was fesnitt in foure quarteris and everie quarter and nuike thairof ane greit round as it had bene ane blokhouse quhilk was loftit and iestit the space of thrie house hight ; the fluir laid witht greine cherittis, witht prattis, medwartis and flouris. Then no man knew quhairon he zeid bot as he

34 Lindsay (see note 2), pp. 335–338.
35 *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* (=*TA*) VI, ed. by Thomas Dickson and Sir James Balfour Paul, Edinburgh 1877, p. 103.

had bene in ane gardin. Farder thair was tua great roundis in ilk syde of the zeit and ane greit portculis of trie falland doune the maner of ane barrace witht ane greit draw brege, and ane great owsie and strak of watter of sextene foot deipe and xxx futte braid of watter and also this palice withtin was weill syllit and hung witht fyne tapistrie and arrasis of silk, and sett and lightit witht fyne glassin wondowis in all airttis [so] that this palice was allis pleisantlie decoirit witht all necessaris pertenand to ane prince as it had bene his awin palice royall at hame. Farder this earle theearieof gart mak sic provitioun ffor the king and his mother ane bankitto and that stranger the ambassadour that thai had all maner of meittis, drinkis, deliecattis that was to be gottin at that tyme in all Scottland either in burght or in land that might be gottin for money; that is to say, all kynd of drink, as aill, beir, wyne, batht quhyte wyne and clairit, mallvesie musticat and allacant, inchethrist and accqquitie. Ffarder thair was of meittis, of breid quhyte breid maine breid and gingebreid, witht flesches, beif, muttun, lambes, cuning, cran, suan, wile guse, pertrick and plever, duke, Brissill cok and powins togither witht blak cok and murefoull and cappercallzes and also the tankis that was round about the palice was sowmond full of all deliecat fisches, as sallmond, troutis and perches, pykis and eilis and all wther kynd of deliecat fisches that could be gottin in fresche watteris was all redy to be prepairit for the bancat. Syne was thair proper stewartis and cuning baxteris and also excellent cuikis and potiseris witht confectiounis and drogis ffor thair desairtis. All thir thingis beand in order and prepairit as I haue schawin, hallis, chameris and witht costlie beding, weschell and naiperie according for ane king, nathing deminischit of his ordour more nor he had bene at hame in his awin palice. The king remanit in this present wildernes at the huntting the space of thrie dayis and thrie nightis, and his companie as I haue schawin to zow affoir. I hard men say that ewerie day was the Earle of Atholl in expenssis ane theearieof thowsand pound. This ambassadour of the paipis seand expenssis this great bancat and treumph being maid in ane wilderland considerand that it was bot the erse of the warld be wther contries, thair sould be sic honestie and polliecie in it and spetiall in the hieland, quhair their is bot wode and wildernes. Bot maist of all this ambassador merwellit quhene the king depairtit and all his men tuike thair leif, the hieland men sett all this fair palice in ane fyre that the king and his ambassadouris might sie thame. Then the ambassadour said to the king, ‘ I merwell that ze sould tholl zone fair palice to be brunt that zour grace hes ben so weill ludgit into.’ Than the king ansuerit the ambassador and said, ‘ It is the wse of our hielandmen thocht thay be newer so weill ludgit, to burne thair ludging quhene they depairt’ This being done, the king turnit to Dunkell that night and on the morne to S. Johnstoun. How money I hard say the king at that tyme in the boundis of wyld beistis Atholl and Stretherne, that is to say Benglow, Benewrne and Bencrwine, betuix the hillis and in the boundis forsaidis slew xxx scoir [600] of heartis and hyndis witht wther small beistis as re and rebuke, 2 wolf and fox, and wyldcattis, 3.’[36]

In readiness for the royal visit the earl had constructed a palace of green timber, wound around with birch branches that were also green, creating a green castle, perhaps reminiscent of the green castles of the *sidhe* or fairy folk of the Highlands. It was surrounded by a moat thirty foot across (10 metres) and sixteen foot (5 metres) deep which was used for keeping freshwater fish such as salmon, trout, perch, pikes and eels ready for the banquet. The entrance was flanked by two round towers with a drawbridge and a great portcullis of timber. There were four ranges with a round tower at each corner like a blockhouse. It stood three storeys high and the windows were of glass. Inside, the palace was hung with tapestries and arrases of silk. The floor was laid with green turf and with rushes, meadowsweet and flowers, so that it seemed like a garden. There was costly bedding, table ware and linen so that everything was in the proper order as it might have been in the king’s own palace. There were stewards, cooks, bakers and confectioners to prepare the banquet. Although the site was more than twenty miles from any town, nothing was lacking and the cost to the Earl of Atholl was supposed to have been a thousand pounds a day. The detailed lists of the food and wines provided might suggest something about Lindsay’s source for the account. Much information is given about the numbers and kinds of animals slain during

36 For those unfamiliar with Scottish orthography, the online *Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (www.dsl.ac.uk) may be consulted.

the three days of the hunt. These would be driven from a wide area around by men and dogs with barriers and nets into a gradually smaller area in which they could be shot by the noble participants from fixed stands, a type of hunting with which James and his nobility would be very familiar.[37]

The description of the building of green timber might indicate a square or rectangular structure probably four ranges set round a courtyard with towers at the corners and the internal angles, resembling, in miniature, the plan of James' palace of Linlithgow. [Fig. 7] Alternatively it might be on the plan of the residential tower James had completed at Holyrood which was more like a blockhouse. [Fig. 8] There are no records of large scale timber buildings in Scotland in the 1530s, although there were many lean-to structures and external staircases and galleries, which would be built of seasoned timber probably at this date brought in from Norway.[38] The timber palace seems to have been one of a kind.

Hunts in the Highlands were held over several days and were occasions for displays of hospitality and power. Usually participants would be lodged in tents as James V was on later hunts.[39] Thirty years later, in 1562 Mary Queen of Scots was also entertained for fourteen days at a hunt in Glen Tilt by a later Earl of Atholl with a similar extravagance of food and drink and an even greater quantity of game.[40] There is no record of the building of a hunting lodge for Mary and the building constructed for James V would seem to be unique and designed for a foreign audience. The climax of the event came when the royal party was leaving and the highland men set the palace on fire. The papal ambassador said to the king, 'I marvel that you should allow that fair palace where your grace has been so well lodged to be burnt.' And the king answered that, 'It was the custom of our highland men to burn their lodging when they depart.' There are no accounts of any such destruction being customary in the Highlands or elsewhere in Scotland and, as with the construction of the green palace, this would seem to be a performance designed to impress. In its extravagance it recalls the banquet of Agostino Chigi in 1518 when he had his silver plate thrown into the River Tiber following a banquet for the cardinals of the Sacred College at the Villa Farnesina in Rome, silver that was afterwards retrieved by his servants, an aspect of the affair unknown until the seventeenth-century publication of his biography by one of his descendants.[41] A similar story is told of Andrea Doria who, following a banquet for Charles V at Genoa in 1533, threw his silverware into the sea, from where it was subsequently recovered by fishermen.[42] It is easy to imagine the contents of the Earl of Atholl's palace being carried out behind a smokescreen provided by the burning of green timber. Pitscottie provides another Scottish example of conspicuous waste in 1543 when the Earl of Moray entertained the Venetian patriarch of Aquileia, Marino Grimani, who was visiting Scotland during another period when there was potential for a change in the traditional alliances between Scotland, England, France and the Empire following the death of James V at the end of 1542 and the birth of Mary Queen of Scots. The earl set out on his cupboard all sorts of glasses of the finest crystal and arranged for a servant to pull on the cloth covering the cupboard as if by negligence so that all the vessels were broken and, to make the cardinal understand that there was an abundance of glassware in Scotland (and by extension) further wealth, he had another cupboard brought out with even more crystal.[43]

James' purpose in exhibiting his amicable relations with the Highlands and his control of the 'hieland men' had a more serious point. He and his cousin were setting out to impress the wider European world by producing a spectacle which would be novel to the ambassador and unique to Scotland. The Field of Cloth of Gold provides a model for a diplomatic meeting of which the palace in Atholl can be seen as an extreme variant and, with its overtones of a fantastic magical castle in the wilderness, outdoing the costly meeting of Henry VIII and Francois I. James V was demonstrating his wealth and power both in the creation of the palace set in a wilderness and by the casual way in which he could destroy it.

37 Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture from Reformation to Revolution,* Edinburgh 2000, pp. 210–215; Thomas (see note 1), pp. 52–54.
38 Dunbar (see note 28); Charles McKean, *The Scottish Château*, Stroud 2001, pp. 67, 275.
39 *TA*, 6 (see note 34), p. 192.
40 John, seventh Duke of Atholl, *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine families* 1*,* Edinburgh 1908, Volume 1, p. 36.
41 Rembrandt Duits, Art, Class and Wealth, in: Kim Woods – Carol Richardson – Angeliki Limberopoulou (eds.), *Viewing Renaissance Art*, London 2007, p. 21.
42 Georgina Masson, *Italian Gardens*, London 1961, p. 243.
43 John Leslie, *The Historie of Scotland from the death of King James I in the year Mccccxxxvi to the year Mdlxi,* Edinburgh 1838, pp. 178–180.

1. Relief map of Scotland showing the location of Blair Atholl in relation to James V's major residences.

Photo: D. Gallagher

2. James V, sixteenth-century oil painting
by an unknown artist.

Photo: National Galleries of Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk

3. James IV and Queen Margaret from the Seton Armorial, 1591.

Photo: National Library of Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk

4. The outer gate of Linlithgow Palace showing the badges of the orders of which James V was a member.

Photo: D. Gallagher

5. The Field of Cloth of Gold, circa 1545, Royal Collection at Hampton Court.

Photo: Royal Collection Trust: © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2014

6. Glen Tilt: Aerial View.

Photo: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland

7. Linlithgow Palace: Aerial View.

Photo: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland

8. Holyrood Palace: James V Tower.

Photo: D. Gallagher

Two Cases of Reuse and *spolia* in the Early Modern Danish Architecture of Leisure

Ulla Kjær & Poul Grinder-Hansen

This paper discusses some aspects of the reuse of buildings and building materials in Early Modern Denmark, based on the fate of two Renaissance leisure houses, each of which was reused in a later period, either by being remodelled or incorporated as *spolia*[1] into later buildings in the first two thirds of the eighteenth century, the Royal Country Houses Fredensborg by the architect Johan Cornelius Krieger and Marienlyst by the French-born architect Nicolas-Henri Jardin. This paper examines how this kind of reuse should be understood, and whether it was merely a question of economic necessity or if there were other factors, such as architectural appreciation or symbolic meaning, at play.

The reuse of older buildings and building materials was a widespread and often necessary feature of architecture before the middle of the nineteenth century. It was, to a large extent, an economic issue; reusing building material from older structures saved money. In many cases older buildings were completely demolished, and their masonry was transported to a new site, where it disappeared into the walls of a new construction. This practice was common in Danish architecture, but is not the focus of this paper.

More interesting are the cases where an existing building was not torn down but remodelled to accommodate new architectural or functional standards. Economic concerns probably played a role in such cases as well, but other considerations may be behind the choice of preserving an older structure, even in a transformed state. One factor might be the desirable location of the older building, as was the case when the Danish king Frederik II (1534–1559–1588) reused the strategically situated Medieval castle of Krogen at the Sound; he had it completely rebuilt in the Renaissance style between 1574–1585. In this case Frederik II was not interested in emphasizing the Medieval origin of the palace, allthough he was otherwise very conscious of the importance of history in his patronage. In 1577 the king issued a decree commanding all people henceforth to use the new name of the castle 'Kronborg'. If anyone used the old name, Krogen, he was fined an ox.[2] In other cases Frederik II reused older building complexes by adding his own buildings while preserving most of the extant structures as, for example, at the old castle of Skanderborg in Jutland and the former monastery of Antvorskov in Sealand. Here financial concerns and the historical importance of these sites may have combined to preserve the original buildings.

Yet historic preservation could not be a factor in Frederik's activities in building his leisure houses, which were the first of their kind in Denmark. Frederik II was the first Danish king to introduce pavilions and houses to be used exclusively for royal relaxation, and he seems to have had a deliberate policy of establishing such spaces near each of his large, residential castles and palaces.[3] Frederik II may have been inspired by his brother-in-law, the Elector August of Saxony, who had married Frederik's sister Anna, but he developed quite his own characteristic variations on this building type. These leisure houses took various forms. Some of them were small pavilions, others were intended for hot baths (*Badstuben* in German). [Fig. 1] In many cases the *Lusthäuser*

1 The term *spolia* describes architectural or sculptural fragments from Antiquity, which were reused in later Antiquity or the Middle Ages. Many recent studies have explored the significance of the context of *spolia* use. For the most important discussion of this topic, see: Dale Kinney, Introduction, in: Richard Brilliant – Dale Kinney (eds.), *Reuse Value. Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine*, Farnham 2011, pp. 1–11. – Biagia Bongiorno, *Spolien in Berlin nach 1945*, Petersberg 2013, pp. 11–18.

2 Poul Grinder-Hansen, *Frederik 2. - Danmarks renæssancekonge*, Copenhagen 2013, pp. 227–235, 252–257.

3 Poul Grinder-Hansen, "Im Grünen". The Types of Informal Space and Their Use in Private, Political and Diplomatic Activities of King Frederik II of Denmark 1559–1588, in: Birgitte Bøggild Johannsen – Konrad Ottenheym (eds.), *Beyond Scylla and Charybdis. European Courts and Court Residences Outside Habsburg and Valois/Bourbon Territories 1500–1700* (= PNM Studies 24), Copenhagen 2015, pp. 170–180.

looked like miniature palaces with towers and cupolas. Often they were built in the Renaissance style inspired by Netherlandish examples with red bricks and bands of sandstone.

The king used the name Sparepenge (money saver) for several of these leisure buildings.[4] Here the king could save money because the parties were small and the servants few. Frederik II built a Sparepenge in each of the palace gardens at Haderslev, Antvorskov and Frederiksborg. The king's bath houses and larger leisure buildings were given other names such as Green House at Skanderborg and Frydenborg at Frederiksborg, but these were used in a similar manner as the Sparepenge; they were secluded locations far away from the formalities of court life.

One common form of leisure building across Europe was designed specifically to provide a good view of the surrounding landscape. However, this was not always easy to achieve in a building with pitched roof. A bold attempt was made at the *Badstube* in Frederiksborg, which had a large, rectangular, wooden roof-top balcony supported by pillars and accessed by a door in the upper storey of the tower.[5] Although this may appear to be an unconventional solution to the problem of combining a pitched roof and a balcony, a similar construction later appeared at Rosenborg Palace in Copenhagen, which was built in the first decades of the seventeenth century; here a wooden balcony ran all along the ridge of the pitched roof.[6]

A more obvious solution was to turn to the model of the Italian villa. The oldest example of this was villa Lundehave (1587), which is located outside of Elsinore and served as a retreat from Kronborg. Lundehave featured an open loggia and balcony, as well as a flat roof encircled by a balustrade, which was originally decorated with statues at each corner. [Fig. 2] As there are no contemporary illustrations of this structure, the plan and facade are only known from later prints and a painting. [Fig. 3] Because the villa was built into a hill the king's chamber on the upper level was accessed by a bridge connecting the hillside to the rear of the villa. The plan was simple; on the upper floor was the king's large room, in the middle the queen's room, and below the *Rustkammer* (a storage room for weapons and armour) and the kitchens.[7] [Fig. 4]

The walls of Frederik's leisure house are preserved behind the wooden panels in the present building. The original walls were made out of brick, but their surface was painted red with white stripes to imitate large, reddish brown ashlars with white joints and horizontal courses of sandstone. [Fig. 5] The colour scheme thus fitted well into the architectural traditions of the Netherlands, and the inspiration for the villa architecture may very well not have come directly from Italy, but from the first version of Mary of Hungary's pavilion Mariemont in present-day Belgium. The architectural patterns and fantasies in the prints of Hans Vredeman de Vries offered inspiration for garden houses and pavilions to many European courts.[8]

Frederik commissioned a bathhouse to be built near Lundehave, so that he could walk directly from one building to the other. In contrast to Lundehave, the bathhouse would have a bed for the king, as well as a privy. The Lundehave pavilion was only equipped for short stays. The tower-like structure would make sense, if it was intended as a place in which to admire a view. The balcony could also be used to view the jousts that took place in the area in front of the pavilion; such events were known to have occurred several times in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Accounts describe the construction of an arena, but there was also an elaborate garden around Lundehave.

The largest of the series of tapestries made for the great hall in Kronborg Palace depicts Frederik standing with his son, the future king Christian IV, in front of a balustrade of the same type as the one at Lundehave. The view behind the figures towards Kronborg Palace is similar to how the view from Lundehave must have appeared. But when the tapestry was made in c. 1584, Lundehave had not yet been built. Classical architectural ideas were clearly present in Denmark; a villa similar to Lundehave can be seen in the print of *Øresund* (the Sound) in Braun and Hogenberg's atlas from 1586. However, this villa was placed on the east side of the Sound, not on the Elsinore

4 J. A. Fridericia, Om Oprindelsen til Navnet 'Sparepenge', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, vol. 6, 3. Rk., 1891, pp. 235–236.

5 Hanne Honnens de Lichtenberg, Frederik II's Frederiksborg, in: *Art in Denmark* (= *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 2, 1983), Delft 1984, pp. 37–53.

6 Vilhelm Wanscher, *Rosenborg*, Copenhagen 1930, p. 89. – Peter Kristiansen, Christian 4. og det store lysthus i haven, in: Jørgen Hein – Katja Johansen – Peter Kristiansen (eds.), *Christian 4. og Rosenborg*, Copenhagen 2006, p. 19.

7 Lars Bjørn Madsen, "Lysthuszitt wdi Lundehaffue", in: Jan Faye – Hannes Stephensen (eds.), *Marienlyst Slot. Det kongelige Lystanlæg ved Helsingør*, Copenhagen 1988, pp. 53–91. – Bente Lange – Bo Christiansen – Lars Bjørn Madsen, *Marienlyst Slot. Restaurering af tag og facader*, Helsingør 2013.

8 Krista De Jonge, Mariemont, 'Château de chasse' de Marie de Hongrie, *Revue de l'art* 149, 2005, pp. 45–57. – Krista De Jonge, A Netherlandish Model? Reframing the Danish Royal Residences in a European Perspective, in: Michael Andersen – Birgitte Bøggild Johannsen – Hugo Johannsen (eds.), *Reframing the Danish Renaissance. Problems and prospects in a European perspective* (= PNM Studies 16), Copenhagen 2011, pp. 219–233.

coast where Lundehave was actually built. The architectural plans may already have been underway at that time.

The architecture of Lundehave may have been a source of inspiration for the new Sparepenge, which Christian IV (1577–1588–1648) erected at Frederiksborg in 1598–1601, replacing his father's leisure house of the same name. [Fig. 6] Like Lundehave the new Sparepenge consisted of a vaulted basement supporting two stories and a flat roof, which was reached via a tower. The new building was also built into a hill and had red masonry with white stripes. The balcony had sculptures at the four corners, similar to the giants at each corner of the flat roof on the tower at Koldinghus Castle, which Christian had built a few years earlier.

Triangular sandstone reliefs of male and female heads were placed above the windows of the Sparepenge, similar to those found at Frederik II's *Badstube* in Frederiksborg's park [Fig. 1] and again some years later at the palaces of Rosenborg and Frederiksborg [Fig. 7], which were also built under Christian IV. Other works of art were also included. In 1601 the Italian architect Giovanni Nosseni, who may have been involved in the design of the house, arranged for the delivery of a load of alabaster to the Sparepenge, which was used for the finely carved reliefs.[9] [Fig. 8] Sparepenge, which contained rooms for informal dinners as well as a *Kunstkammer* and a *Rustkammer*, was used occasionally by Danish kings throughout the seventeenth century.

In the eighteenth century both of these leisure houses were subject to a large-scale reuse and incorporation into new buildings. By that time, Denmark had become an autocratic country. Frederik IV (1671–1699–1730) was the third Danish absolute monarch, and like his predecessors, his kingdom included Denmark, Norway, Greenland, Iceland, the Faroe Islands, large parts of Schleswig-Holstein and some colonies. The royal residence in Copenhagen was still a Medieval castle which was not considered suitable for an important European sovereign, and Frederik IV had been instructed by his ailing father to solve this embarassing problem. Owing to his cousin, the Swedish king Karl XII, the first twenty years of his reign were, however, consumed by long and costly wars, and it was only after the death of Karl XII in December 1718 and the subsequent peace that the financial situation of Denmark improved and Frederik could comply with his father's wish and rebuild Copenhagen Castle.[10] At last he could also execute his long-cherished plans for a new, informal summer residence in North Sealand.

In 1719 it was decided to create a symmetrically planned park with fountains on its axis at Frederiksborg Palace; Sparepenge, which disrupted the symmetry of the plan was demolished. [Fig. 9] At the same time the king took steps to build a new leisure palace ten kilometres to the north-northeast of Frederiksborg on the shore of the idyllic Esrom Lake. The two initiatives had the same architect and were combined, as the materials from Sparepenge were re-used in the new palace, which was given the name Fredensborg, meaning 'the castle of peace'.[11] Construction of the new leisure house demanded skilled artisans, but manual tasks such as digging and towing were done by soldiers for so little money that it became economically feasible to reuse bricks and ashlars from the old building even though they had to be cleaned, and the old mortar had to be removed by hand. During the year 1720 no less than 18,170 wagon loads of building materials from Sparepenge were driven by local peasants to the building site of Fredensborg. Even wooden beams were reused in the floors of the new summer palace.[12] [Fig. 10] Marble from the old palace was sent to the stone mason, Diderik Gercken i Copenhagen, who used it for the fireplaces in the new building. But Frederik IV and his architect did not just recycle bricks, stones and beams as invisible parts of the new palace. The sandstone frontons over the windows of Sparepenge with their Renaissance decorative motifs and heads in high relief were incorporated unchanged into the architecture of the new palace, where they still functioned as window frontons.[13] This type of fronton was obsolete in 1719, and as with other aspects of the building's symbolic function, it is likely that this use of Renaissance frontons as *spolia* was intended as part of the building's representational program.

The architect Johan Cornelius Krieger (1683–1755) was in charge of both the garden and the new building at Fredensborg. But it may have been the king himself, who in c. 1720 made the first drawings for the new building at Esrom Lake. In any case it is interesting to note that triangular window frontons are indicated on both of these

9 Jan Steenberg, *Christian IVs Frederiksborg*, Hillerød 1950, pp. 9–26. – Flemming Beyer, Lysthusene, in: Steffen Heiberg, *Christian 4. og Frederiksborg*, Copenhagen 2006, pp. 200–211.

10 Kristian Hvidt – Svend Ellehøj – Otto Norn, *Christiansborg Slot,* Copenhagen 1975.

11 General works on Fredensborg are Ulla Kjær – Bente Scavenius – Christine Waage Rasmussen, *Fredensborg Slot og slotshave,* Copenhagen 2013. – Jan Steenberg, *Fredensborg Slot. Monumenter og Minder. Tiden 1720–1796,* Copenhagen 1969 and Frederik Weilbach, *Fredensborg Slot,* Hillerød 1928.

12 Steenberg (see note 11), pp. 23.

13 Steenberg (see note 11), pp. 29–32.

somewhat amateurish drawings [Fig. 11] and on Krieger's 1721 design for the final project in which the Sarepenge frontons are clearly recognized by their designs of human heads. [Fig. 12–13]

Like Sarepenge with its villa architecture, the architecture of Fredensborg signalled its role as a country house. Fredensborg has a centralized, Palladian plan, which in Denmark was unusual in secular architecture. In Denmark centralized plans were known from churches such as Vor Frelsers (Our Saviour's) Church at Christianshavn (1682–1696), but no direct contemporary inspiration for Fredensborg can be found on Danish soil. The nearest Danish secular building with a centralized plan is the much older Uranienborg, the astronomer Tycho Brahe's observatory on the isle of Hven between Denmark and Sweden. This was built 1576–1580 but only stood for a few decades, before Christian IV had it demolished shortly after Tycho's death in 1601. At Uranienborg, the central point of the plan was marked not by a hall, as in Fredensborg, but by a fountain at the intersection of two corridors.[14]

Centralized plans were used in many of the recreational villas built in the sixteenth century by Andrea Palladio. The Palladian style spread to northern Europe, where it became especially popular among wealthy citizens. But the French king Louis XIV also chose this style, when in 1679–1686 he built the new palace of Marly near Versailles. The use of the centralized plan indicated the new building's purpose as a place for pleasure, a villa, where the Sun King could escape the rigid ceremony of court life and relax with his mistress and a few select guests.[15] It soon became a special honour to be invited to Marly and see the king in this private setting, and it was implied that those who were admitted felt an increased loyalty to the king.[16]

Many European absolutist regimes looked to France for inspiration, and princes often included the country in their grand tour. In 1692–1693 the Danish crown prince, the future Frederik IV, travelled to Rome and then continued on to France, where he visited Louis XIV and on 31 January 1693 joined the French king at Marly.[17] It seems that Frederik was fascinated by this house, but twenty years passed before he had the possibility of getting a similar retreat. In 1695 Frederik had married Louise of Mecklenburg-Güstrow, but it was only in 1711 that he met the love of his life, the Danish countess Anna Sophie Reventlow. He abducted her from her home and brought her to Copenhagen, where he married her 'to his left hand'. There is evidence to suggest that Fredensborg was meant to be a parallel to Marly as a location where the king could retreat with his mistress and a few guests.[18] The name Fredensborg, 'the castle of peace', refers both to the end of the war with Sweden and the quiet life Frederik sought at this palace.

Frederik wanted a retreat in a natural setting to share with Anna Sophie. This led him to choose the Palladian style, which was associated with recreation. After the introduction of an absolute monarchy in Denmark in 1660, bourgeois taste dominated society, even in the higher ranks, where Palladianism had become popular.[19] But in 1719 Palladian-inspired architecture was outmoded, so that Frederik's choise of this style at Fredensborg clearly indicated the palace's intended use as a place of leisure. He added, however, a more advanced feature. Fredensborg was, like many Italian villas and Marly, designed with a central hall surrounded by four identical apartments. Frederik added to this an entrance hall and a room opening onto the garden in a manner similar to the *maisons de plaisance*, which from the 1730s became increasingly popular in France. Thus Frederik combined Palladianism, the traditional indicator of a leisure house, with the features of contemporary plans that connected the house directly with the garden. The king also used glass doors to connect these garden rooms to the garden itself in the same manner as he had seen at Charlottenburg in Berlin, so that the boundaries between garden and house were blurred.[20]

Fredensborg was built in one of the most picturesque locations in North Sealand; it stands in the middle of a wood at the shores of Esrom Lake. In 1727 Frederik told the French ambassador to Denmark that it was the

14 See Hugo Johannsen, Arkitektur på papir - og Tychos huse, in: Poul Grinder-Hansen (ed.), *Tycho Brahes verden*, Copenhagen 2006, pp. 95–110.
15 Claudia Hartmann, *Das Schloss Marly. Eine mythologische Kartause* (= Manuskripte der Kunstwissenschaft in der Wernerschen Verlagsgesellschaft 47), Worms 1995, esp. pp. 19–23 and 242–57.
16 Vincent Maroteaux, *Marly. L'autre Palais du Soleil*, Paris 2002, pp. 45–56.
17 Frederik Weilbach, *Frederik IV.s Italiensrejser*, Copenhagen 1933, pp. 78–79.
18 Ulla Kjær, L'architecture au début de l'absolutisme danois (1675–1725): Fredensborg et Marly, *Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles, Sociétés de cour en Europe, XVIe-XIXe siècle – European Court Societies, 16th to 19th Centuries. Marly.* http://crcv.revues.org/11933, 2013.
19 See Søren Kaspersen, Købman Michelbechers palæ og den københavnske Palladianisme, in: Kjeld de Fine Licht (ed.), *Forblommet antik. Klassicismer i dansk arkitektur og havekunst. Studier tilegnet Hakon Lund*, Copenhagen 1988, pp. 9–59.
20 See Steenberg (see note 11), pp. 14–16.

natural surroundings at Fredensborg that made it possible to emulate Marly. Here, nature was quite literally in the centre. The plan of Fredensborg, encompassing the palace, its garden and satellite buildings was a large circle. [Fig. 14] At the centre of the circle is not what might be assumed to be the most important room, the domed, central hall of the palace, but the room opening onto the garden, *havesalen*.

The connection between the palace and Anna Sophie was symbolized in various ways. The new palace was inaugurated on Frederik's birthday in October 1722, two years before it was habitable, but exactly ten years after Anna Sophie's arrival in Copenhagen. The new rooms had stucco monograms celebrating Frederik and Anna Sophie, who after Louise's death in 1721, became queen. Anna Sophie was also present in the palace in the form of a full-length portrait in the king's audience chamber. In 1728 the palace was finished and Frederik allowed Colonel Hans Christopher Lønborg to draw a plan of the house and garden. [see Fig. 12] As can be seen in one of these drawings, at Fredensborg Frederik and Anna Sophie could share meals without any servants present. This occurred with the aid of a table, which by a special mechanism could be raised through the floor from the basement to the dining room, fully covered with dishes and food, and later be removed. Known as hermitage tables, they had been features of Danish residences since the reign of Frederik IV's father. The earliest such table was probably designed by the Danish astronomer and engineer Ole Rømer. Hermitage tables had a central table top which could mechanically be moved up and down from the floor below. [Fig. 15] Often the table top was made out of silver and mounted with silver antlers on which trays and plates could be arranged. A table of this type had been installed at Sparepenge by Frederik's father, and as a matter of fact the silver table top from Sparepenge was reused for the new hermitage table at Fredensborg – another example of continuity between the two buildings.[21]

In 1729, the year before he died, Frederik wrote that he saw Fredensborg as an *'eremitage'* (hermitage), where he and Anna Sophie could live privately and at comparatively little expense. It was in this spirit that the king had Fredensborg built and furnished. He not only recycled materials from Sparepenge but also reused some elements in a way that allowed the viewer to recognize their origin; this highlighted the fact that the second use of the building was the same as the first. Both Sparepenge and Fredensborg, then, were designed to allow the king to live modestly and close to nature.

Fredensborg remained a favourite residence of Danish monarchs, and the complex was expanded on a number of occasions until the 1780s. [Fig. 16] Around 1760, thirty years after the death of Frederik IV, the gardens were renovated in the Neoclassical style, in which form they can be seen today. The architect for this project was the French-born Nicolas-Henri Jardin (1720–1799), who had been summoned to Denmark in 1755 to build the Frederik's Church in Copenhagen and to hold a professorship in architecture at the newly established Academy of Art in Copenhagen.[22] The Frederik's Church was never finished, but Jardin became an important figure in Danish architecture. He introduced Neoclassicism to the country and adapted it to Danish mentality and economic means. He also played a central role in connection with the transformation of Frederik II's villa Lundehave, which was rebuilt for Frederik V (1723–1746–1766), the grandson of Frederik IV.

Frederik V took the same interest in nature as his grandfather. His lord chamberlain Adam Gottlob Moltke, who had been with the king since childhood, was anxious to promote the ruler's authority and was Frederik's closest confidant. With full reverence for the sovereign Moltke was the wirepuller behind all his decisions.[23] In the case of Lundehave, Moltke played a more visible role than usual. Frederik II's old pavilion was a royal property until 1753, when it was sold as it was considered out dated for royal use. But five years later Moltke purchased the estate and ordered the building expanded. The first remodelling project was executed by a master builder, who perhaps at the request of Moltke preserved the original villa, adding Rococo wings on either side. The resulting structure was an odd stylistic mix, and Moltke engaged Jardin to work on the palace. Jardin also preserved most of the Renaissance building, but he turned it into a slightly projecting part of a simple, rectangular building, which, of course, also had to be placed halfway into the slope.[24] [Fig. 17]

21 See Ulla Kjær et al. (see note 11), fig. p. 50. For the history of the elevation table see Mogens Bencard: Notes on the table in late 17th and early 18th century Denmark, in: Mogens Bencard – Niels-Knud Liebgott (eds.), *Rosenborg Studier,* Copenhagen 2000, pp. 239–256.

22 The most important book on Jardin is Ulla Kjær, *Nicolas-Henri Jardin – en ideologisk nyklassicist,* Copenhagen 2010, with thorough summaries in English and French.

23 For a general description of Moltke and his importance, see: *Moltke. Rigets mægtigste mand,* by Knud J. V. Jespersen et al., Copenhagen 2010.

24 For a general description of Lundehave and the re-used Lundehave, see Jan Faye – Hannes Stephensen (eds.), *Marienlyst Slot. Det kongelige lystanlæg ved Helsingør*, Copenhagen 1988.

Although work on the new house had begun, in 1760 the king secretly bought the property back. Publically the palace was known as Moltke's Pleasure Garden. It was only after Frederik's death that the real ownership was revealed, and the villa was named Marienlyst after the dowager queen Juliane Marie. In the meantime not even Jardin nor the trustee at Kronborg, V. O. Bartholin, who was responsible for the accounts, knew they were employed by the king. However, in order to ensure that everything related to the construction was above board, even the smallest details of the work at Lundehave were unusually well documented.

Several attempts have been made to explain the strange ownership of Moltke's Pleasure Garden. Some have theorized that the house was intended for a mistress or as a gift for Moltke.[25] But in 1753, when he sold the house, Frederik V had a mistress, and in 1760, when he bought it back, he had none, and there is no reason why the king should keep a gift as a secret in this way. He went hunting in North Sealand and occasionally stayed overnight at Frederik II's old castle Kronborg, which was converted for his use. Some of the materials removed from Kronborg, for example tiles, were taken to Lundehave and reused there.

Between 1753 and 1760 Danish government officials took a new interest in the latest developments in agriculture, and Moltke was among those promoting a new agricultural and industrial journal, published 1757–1764.[26] The coast near Elsinore was an area marked by sand drift, and it seems that Moltke found this area suitable for testing the new methods. He extended the lands around Lundehave to include dozens of fields with poor quality soil, had the grounds cleared of stones, and experimented with using seaweed as a fertilizer. At this time one of the old Lundehave's primary functions thus seems to have been as an experimental farm, where new methods of soil improvement could be tried. These experiments were in the interest of the kingdom and conducted at the king's expense, but in order to protect the king in case the experiments were unsuccessful only Moltke was aware of the source of the financing. [27]

If the primary purpose of Lundehave was agricultural experimentation, the new palace was then intended as a place where the king could rest during his inspection of the farm, but it was not meant to be a residence. Because the old Lundehave was built into a hill, the front and rear facades of the new house, Marienlyst, looked very different. From the front it presented itself as an elegant palace with a ground floor, first and second floor, but in reality, the house actually contains a cellar, a ground floor and a first floor. And as the cellar is half dug into the ground and half of the windows on the ground floor are facing the slope, the upper floor is the only one with a view on all four sides and therefore the only one appropriate for the king's occupancy. [Fig. 18] It meant that Jardin had to alter the course of the staircase, so that he could create a suitable room for the king on the top floor. [Fig. 19] Thus the king could arrive from the rear side, pass through a very modest entrance and then rest and dine on the upper floor, enjoy the view either there or from the roof [Fig. 20], and inspect the soil experiments before returning to Copenhagen.

Jardin was born in the country to a family of limited means, and he appreciated the value of reuse. Accordingly, the windows from the old Lundehave were used in the rear facade of Marienlyst, where no-one paid attention to their aberrant form. But Jardin also recycled the purpose of the property. While preserving parts of the Renaissance building in the innovative design of the Neoclassicist Marienlyst, the architect was also concerned to provide an adequate shelter for the king and maintain the building's usefulness as a lookout point. The spirit and purpose of the old pavilion survived, as symbolized by the obvious appreciation of its architectural vocabulary.

Jardin's Marienlyst is indeed a very sober and straight building. [Fig. 21] Art historians have dismissed it as a mere copy of the Petit Trianon in Versailles, which had been designed by one of the most prominent architects of the period, the French premier architect Ange-Jacques Gabriel.[28] But this interpretation reflect the fact that Denmark had lost much of its international power during the nineteenth century. Its area had

25 See Hanne Raabyemagle in: *Marienlyst Slot* (see note 24), pp. 175–82.

26 *Danmark og Norges Oeconomiske Magazin* 1757–64, ed. Erik Pontoppidan. For the history of the agricultural improvements, see Fridlev Skrubbeltrang, *Det danske Landbosamfund 1500–1800,* Odense 1978, pp. 271–84.

27 See Ulla Kjær (note 22), pp. 386–90.

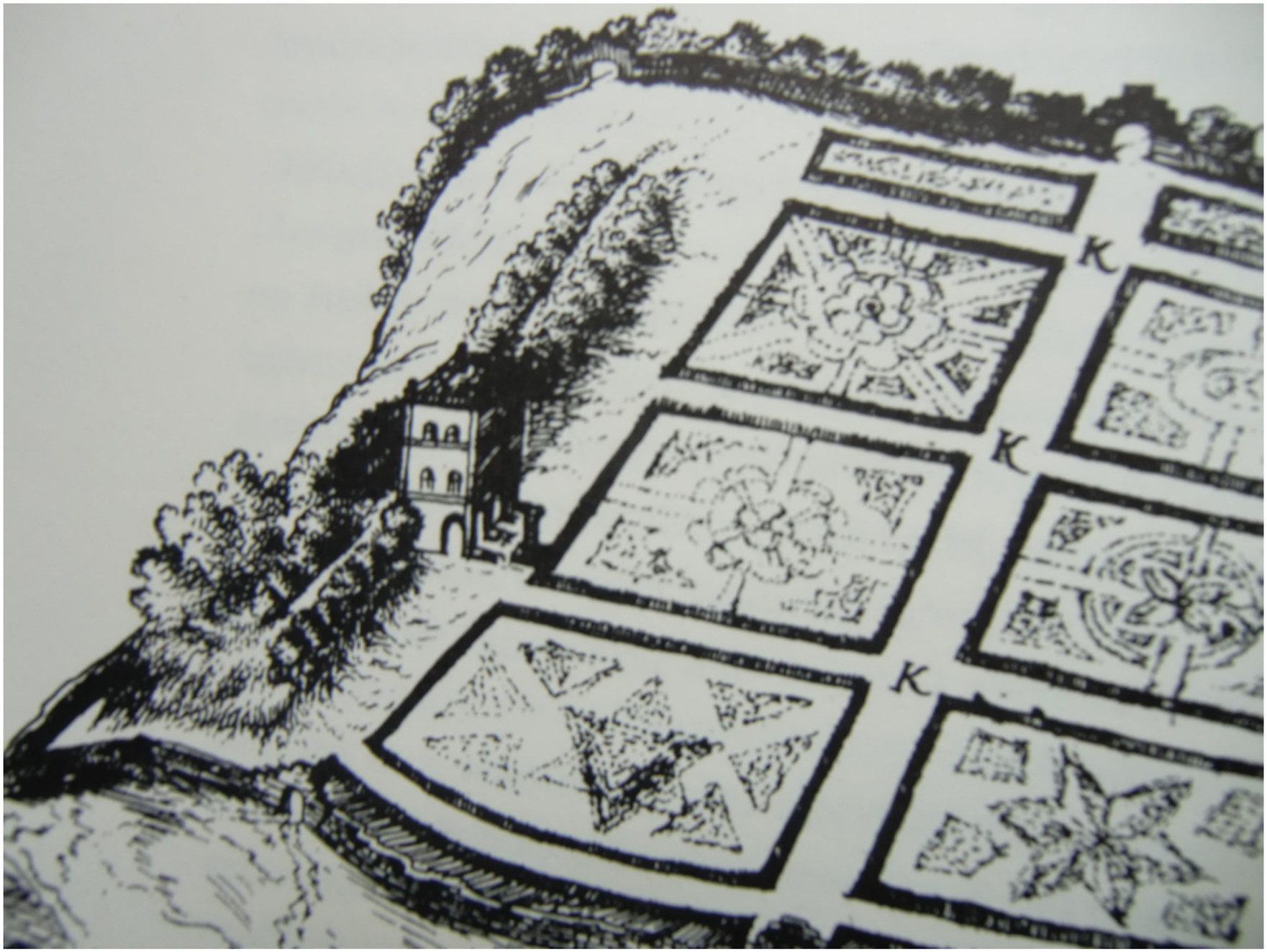
28 Pierre Lespinasse, Les Frères Jardin, *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* XXVIII, juli-dec. 1910, pp. 111–22, 227–38. The theory is repeated in: Laurits Pedersen, *Kronborg Have. Hamlets Have. Marienlyst. Hamlets Grav,* Copenhagen 1920, p. 106 and Frederik Weilbach, Lysthuset i Kronborg Have og Marienlyst Slot, in: Laurits Pedersen (ed.), *Helsingør i Sundtoldstiden 1426–1857*, I, s. l. 1926, pp. 327–336.

been significantly reduced and no-one could imagine this tiny country having played any leading role in style development. However, the conversion of Marienlyst was completed in 1762, the same year that construction on the Petit Trianon began. Consequently, it must have been Gabriel who was inspired by Jardin – if there was any connection between the two buildings.

Why did eighteenth-century kings and their architects choose to reuse older leisure palaces or their materials in new buildings? Certainly building costs could be reduced, but there were other factors at play. The classical villa style was associated with leisure, making the retention of Palladian design features valuable in a rural setting, especially in a period when it grew increasingly urgent to emphasize one's roots. Further, the reuse of materials from older buildings incorporated their history into the new structure. Both Fredensborg and Marienlyst are exemplary works of art in their own right, but the use of *spolia* from older royal buildings or the re-use of the buildings themselves deliberately added a layer of meaning which could be appreciated by the attentive observer without disrupting the new style of the house or its artistic quality.

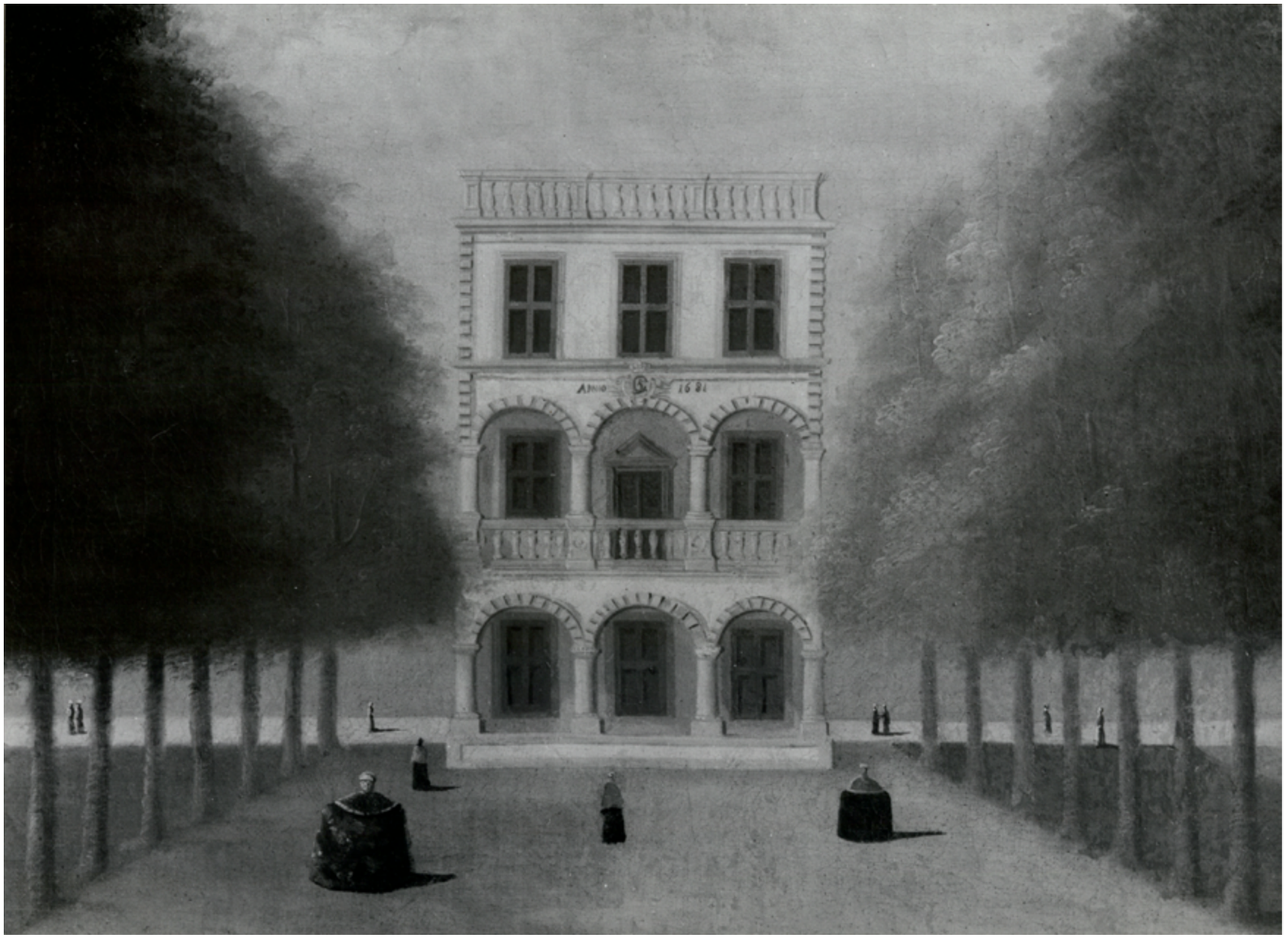
1. Frederik II's Bath House from 1580 near Frederiksborg Palace. The red brick walls with white bands of sandstone and the triangular frontons with human heads are typical of Danish Renaissance architecture, inspired by the Netherlands.

Photo: Poul Grinder-Hansen



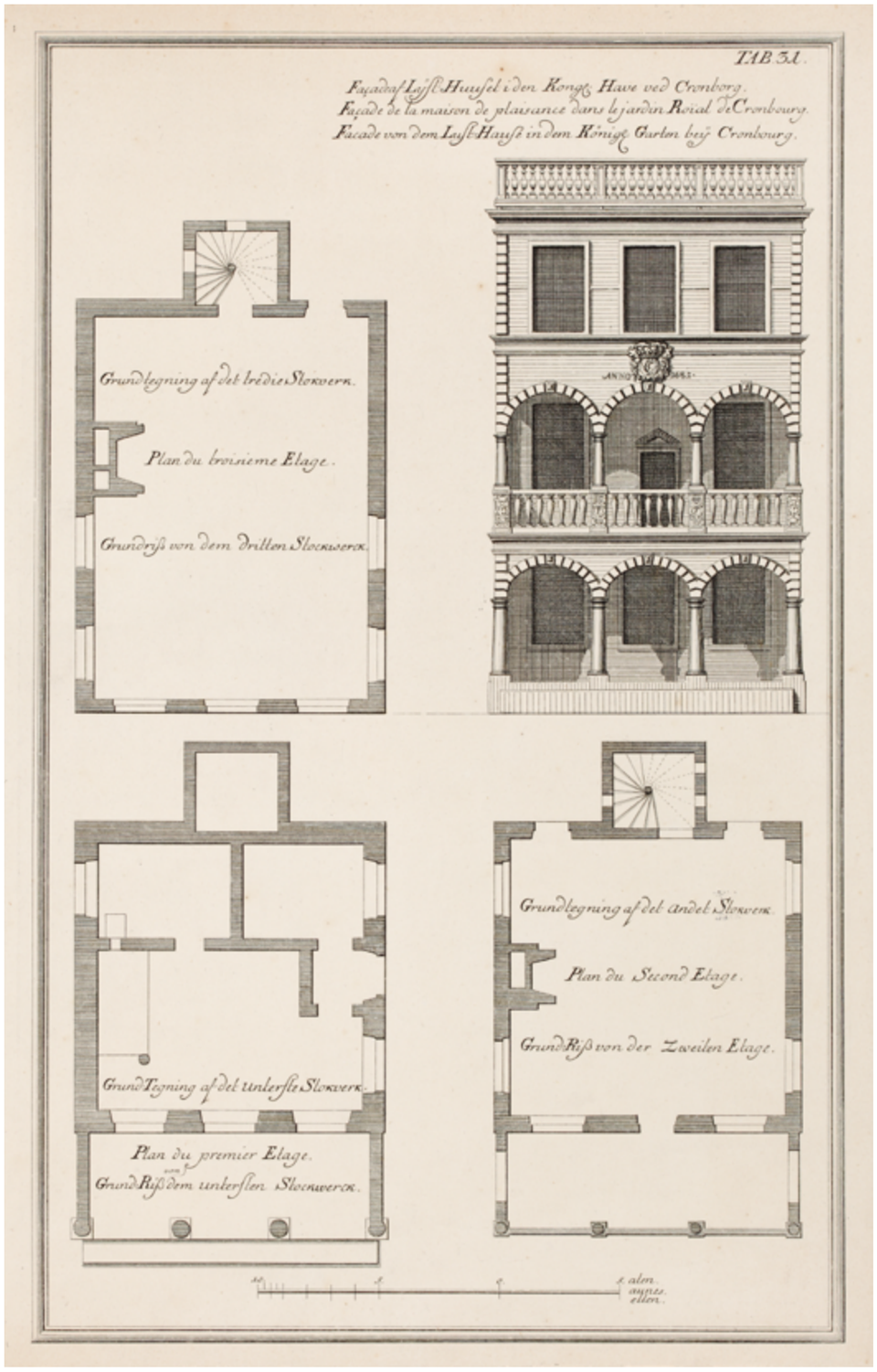
2. Frederik II's pavilion Lundehave from 1587–88 in a primitive, yet instructive depiction from c. 1680 for the so-called Resen's Atlas.

Photo: Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, The National Museum of Denmark



3. Lundehave as it appears in a painting from c. 1730 by Johannes Rach and Hans Heinrich Eegberg. The incription on the facade informs us that the pavilion had been restored in 1681.

Photo: Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, The National Museum of Denmark

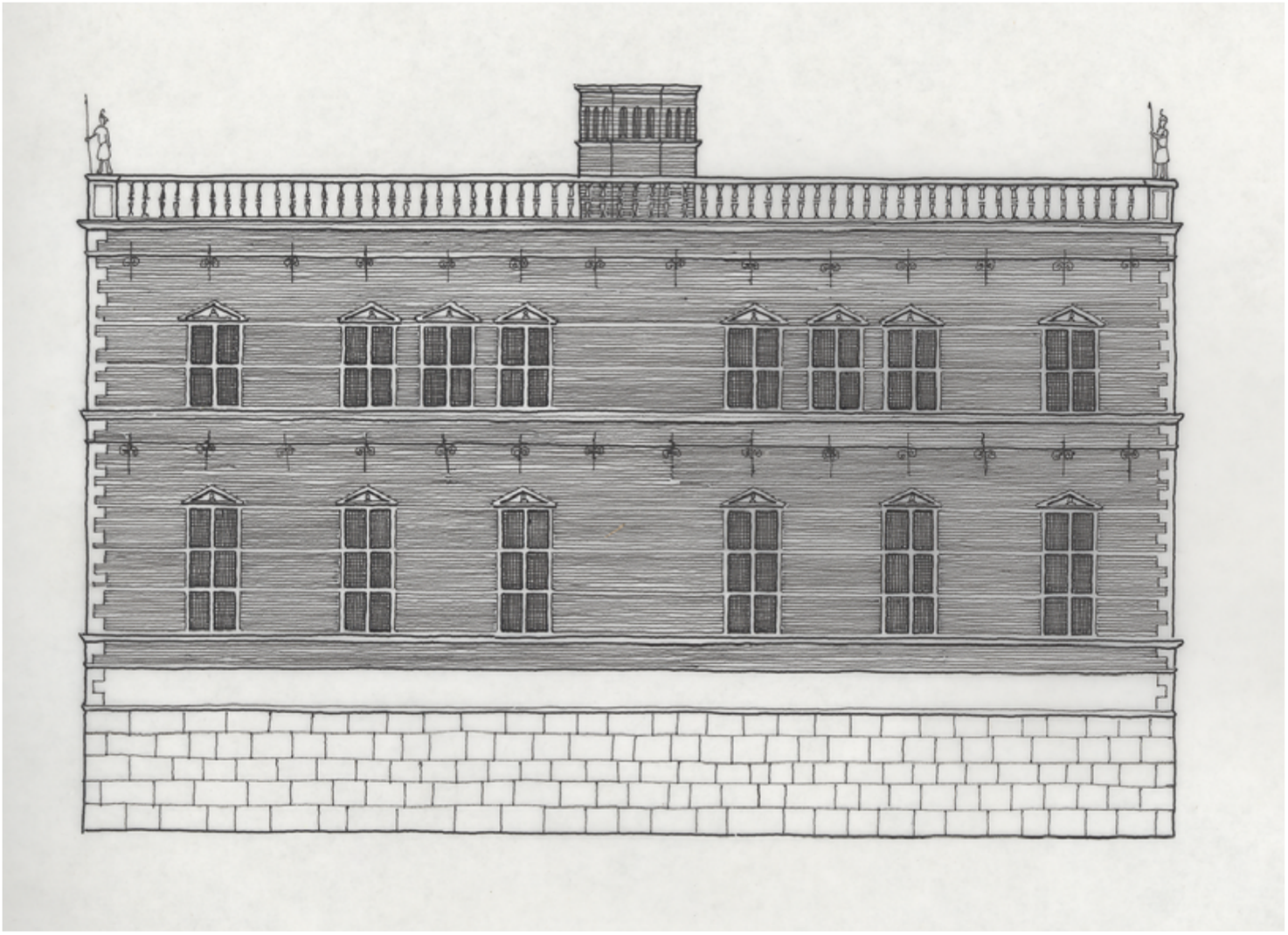


4. Plans and facade of Lundehave as measured by the architect Laurids de Thurah, 1746.

Photo: Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, The National Museum of Denmark

5. The original outer walls of Lundehave with their red and white paint are still preserved behind panels in the rebuilt house.

Photo: Poul Grinder-Hansen



6. The leisure house Sparepenge at Frederiksborg. Modern reconstruction drawn by the architect Kjeld de Fine Licht, 1987.

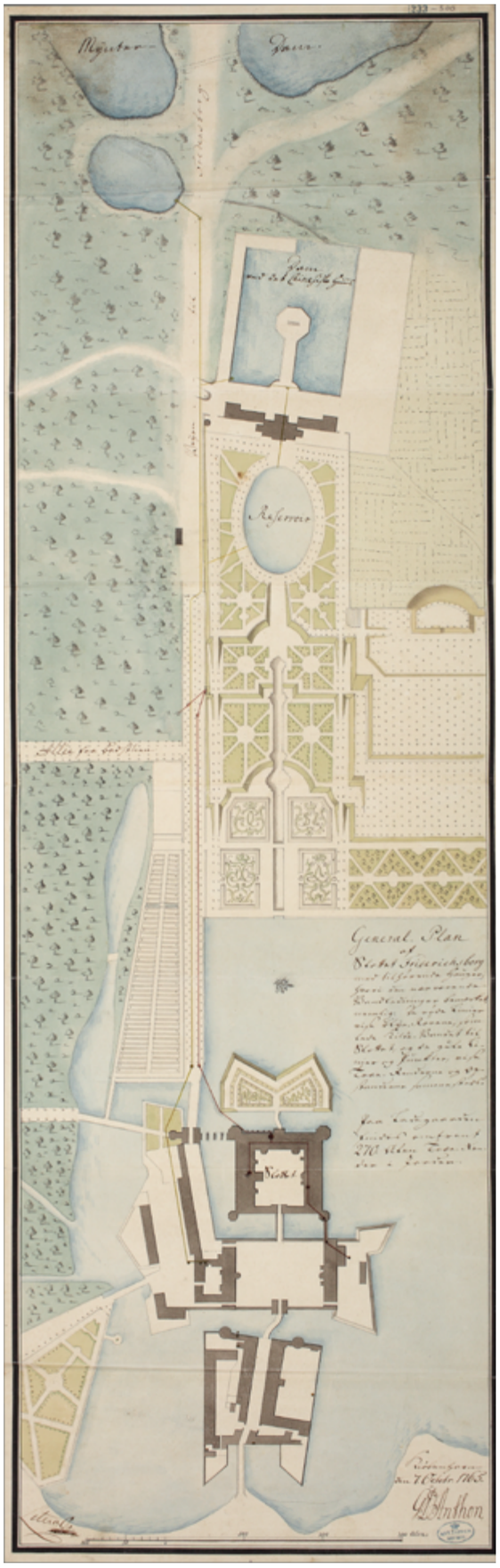
Photo: Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, The National Museum of Denmark

7. Frederiksborg Palace as seen from the spot where once Sparepenge stood.

Photo: Poul Grinder-Hansen

8. Stone fragments from Sparepenge, now kept in the basement under Fredensborg Palace.

Photo: Lennart Larsen 1964, Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, National Museum of Denmark

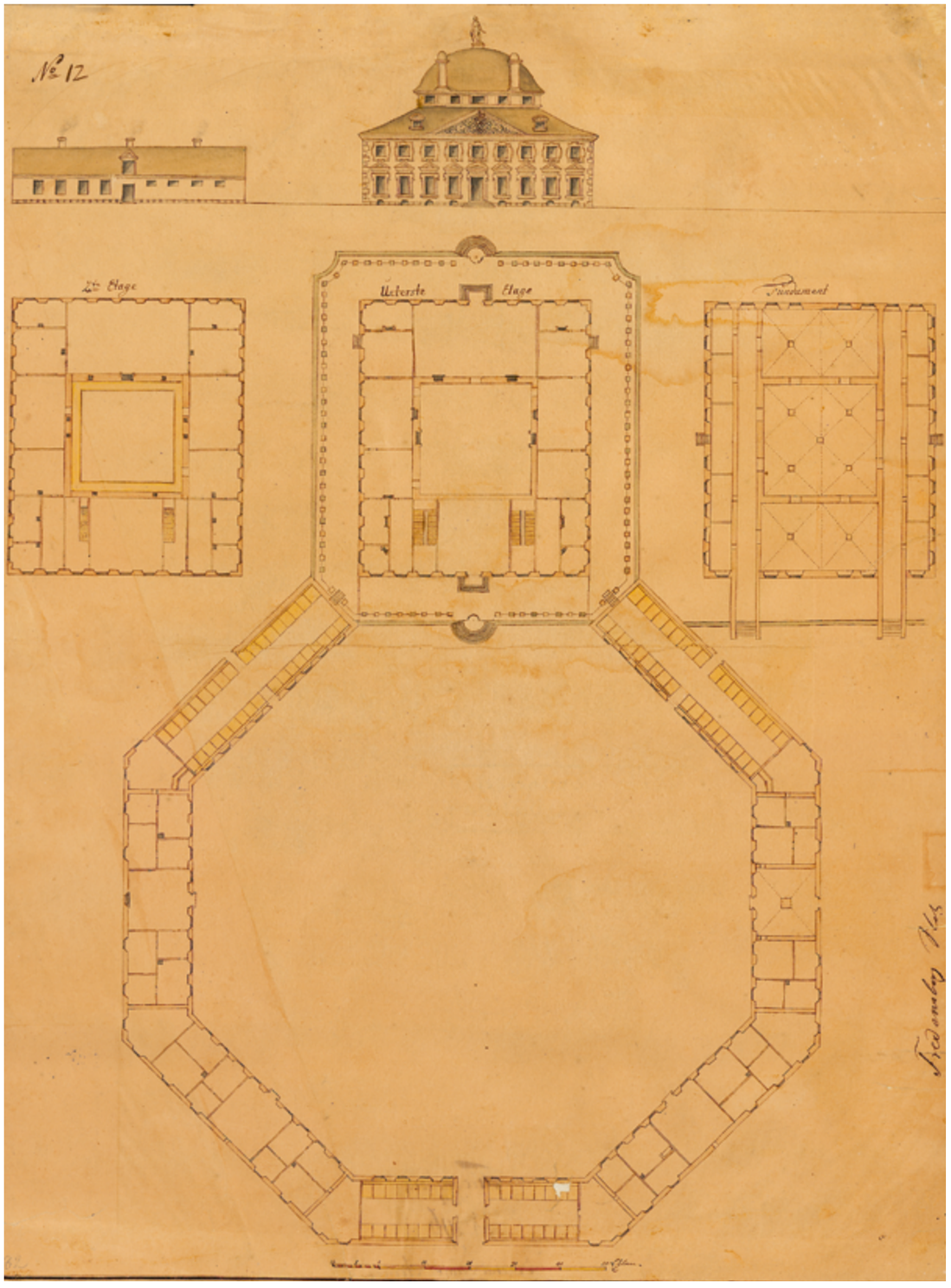


9. Plan of Frederiksborg Palace and its baroque garden, from 1765. Until 1719–20 Sparepenge was situated opposite the palace near the lake, yet not in the main axis through the palace.

Photo: Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, National Museum of Denmark

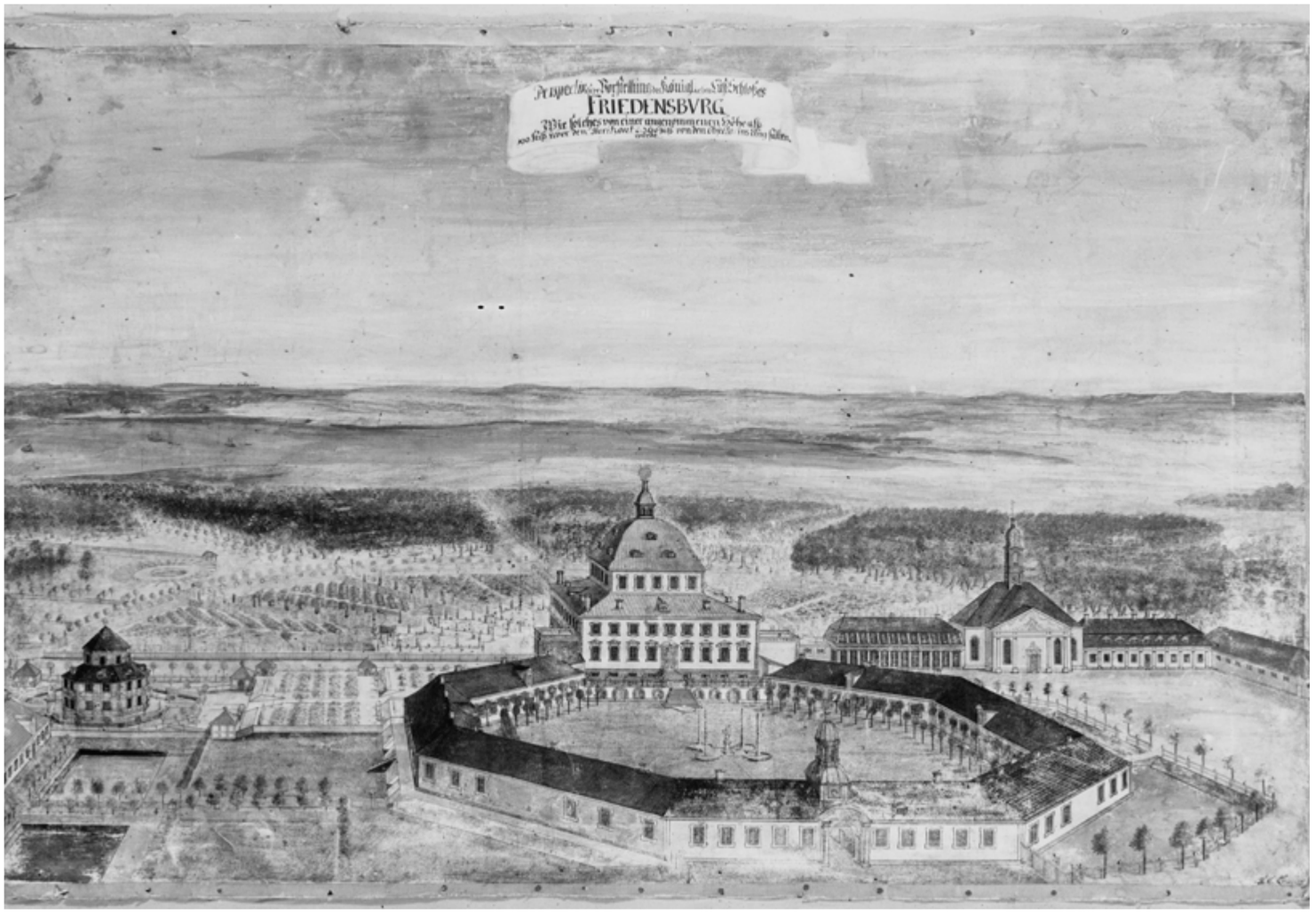
10. Recycled boards and beams from Sparepenge with renaissance ornaments, uncovered in floors at Fredensborg Palace.

Photo: Lennart Larsen 1964, Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, National Museum of Denmark



11. The first known, anonymous project for Fredensborg Palace, from 1720.

Photo: Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, National Museum of Denmark.



12. Fredensborg Palace painted by H. C. Lønborg in 1728.

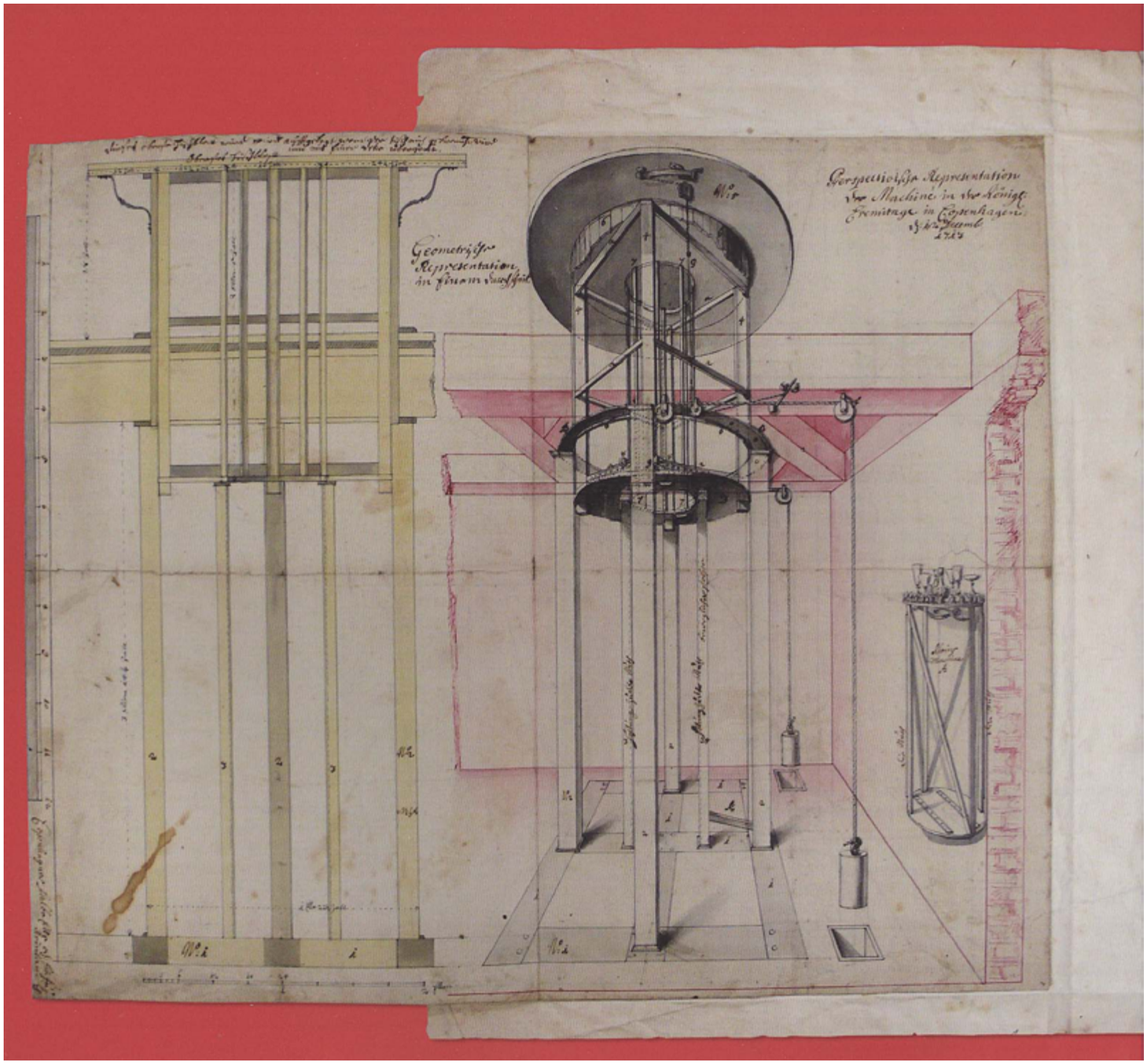
Photo: Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv,
National Museum of Denmark.

13. Fredensborg Palace seen from the eastern courtyard. The triangular frontons with humans heads from Sparepenge were reused once more when the architect Nicolai Eigtved in 1753–55 added some short wings to the main building.

Photo: Jan Steenberg 1967, Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, National Museum of Denmark

14. Aerial photo of Fredensborg Palace and its park.

Photo: S. A. Rasmussen 2014.



15. Drawing of a Danish 'hermitage table' from 1713, in Dresden, Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen: Plansammlung.

From M. Bencard: Eremitageborde i København og Dresden, in: Jutta Kappel Claudia Brink Jørgen Hein et. al. (eds.), Tro, styrke, kærlighed. Danmarks og Sachsen – ægteskaber, politiske og kulturelle forbindelser (1548–1709), Copenhagen 2010, p. 286

16. Fredensborg Palace.

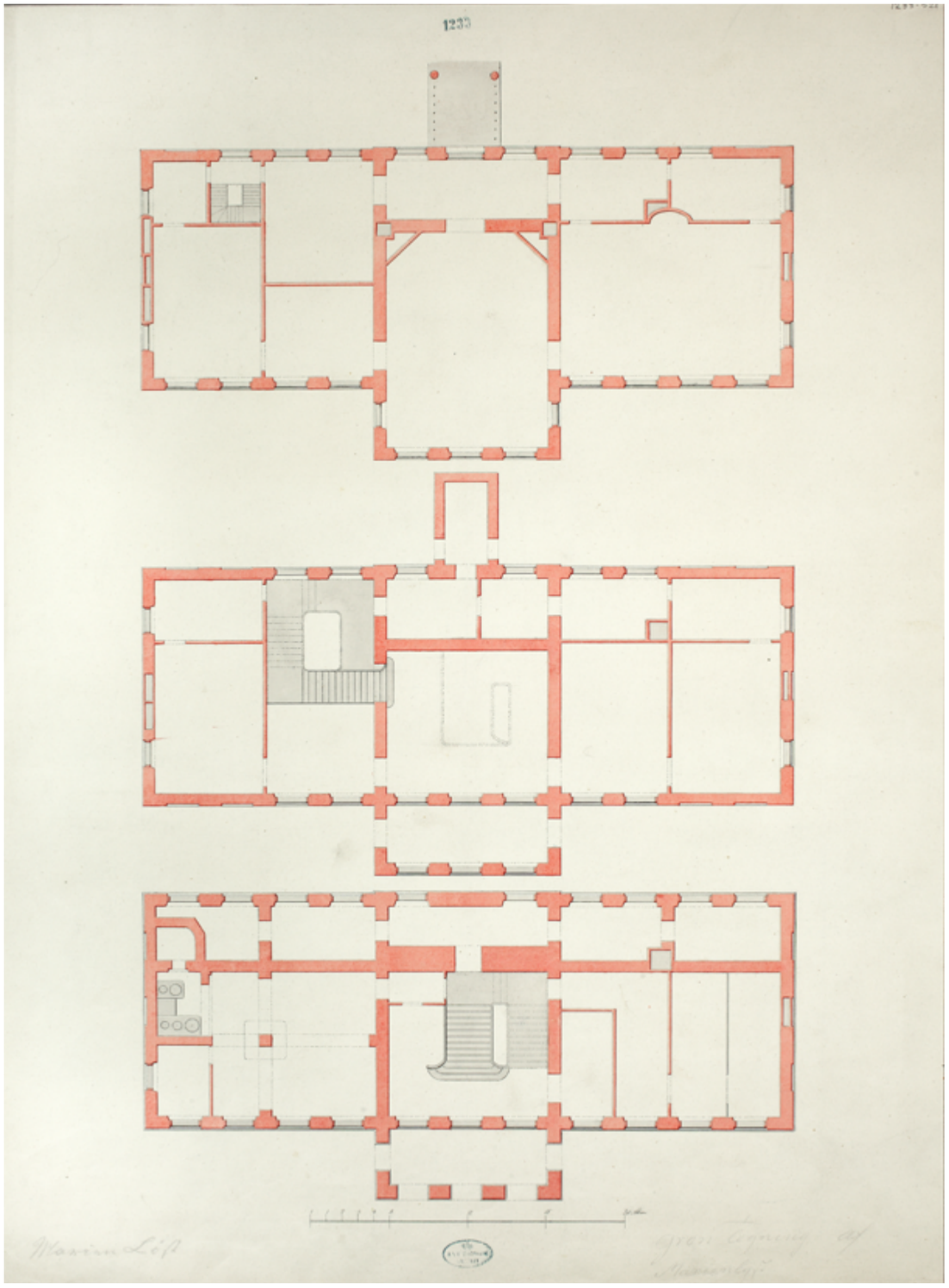
Photo: Roberto Fortuna 2007, Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv,
National Museum of Denmark

17. Marienlyst Palace.

Photo: Roberto Fortuna 2007, Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, National Museum of Denmark

18. Marienlyst Palace is built into a slope, as clearly seen on this photo.

Photo: Roberto Fortuna 2007, Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, National Museum of Denmark



19. Marienlyst. Unsigned plans of the stories, probably from the eighteenth century.

Photo: Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, National Museum of Denmark

20. The entrance to the upper, official story of Marienlyst on the back of the palace. In the background a view of the Sound.

Photo: Roberto Fortuna 2007, Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, National Museum of Denmark

21. Marienlyst Palace.

Photo: Roberto Fortuna 2007, Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, National Museum of Denmark

Italian Casinos from Genoa to Rome as Models for Joseph Furttenbach's *palazzotto*. A Common Thread between Villa Saluzzo Bombrini, Villa Lante in Bagnaia and Villa Borghese in Rome

Antonio Russo

Among the authors of the early modern age, Joseph Furttenbach the Elder (1591–1667) was one of the most influential with regard to small garden palaces and other leisure structures. Although Furttenbach is well documented, there has been little research on his work. The only extensive monographic study, an unpublished dissertation, was written in 1952.[1] Apart from this, work on Furttenbach has been limited to smaller studies focused on individual aspects of his career. The most important publications for this paper include the Ulm catalogue;[2] a dissertation from 1928 on his garden projects;[3] the critical edition of part of his diary with commentary and essays from the University of Basel;[4] and an article about Furttenbach's use of Italian terms in his treatises.[5]

Furttenbach was noteworthy for his productivity as both an author and artist and was accomplished in a number of fields. A richly illustrated portrait engraving from 1635 depicts the author, then aged forty-four, as a polymath, with allegorical figures and symbols, emphasizing his wide knowledge in architecture and engineering.[6] [Fig. 1] The ship in the centre of the lower portion of the image probably refers to his writing on naval architecture,[7] which was completed in 1635, while on the left the figure of Mars represents his book on military engineering.[8] Opposite Mars on the right, the female allegorical figure of Lady Science (*'Dama Scienza'*) is seated on a building. This figure is often mistaken for an allegory of architecture, although Furttenbach explained the allegory on a number of occasions, notably in the treatise on his own house.[9] Lady Science represents certain arts, including design, that fall between the *Artes Mechanicae* and the *Artes Liberales*; these sciences are indicated by her attributes. She gazes directly at the motto in the cartouche under Furttenbach's portrait, 'Science is acquired with patience' (*'Con la Patienza S'aquista Scienza'*). The most important attribute for this paper is the building on which Lady Science sits. It is one of the small palaces attached to Italian Villas, which particularly impressed Furttenbach and to which he applied the term *palazzotto*. Further references to Italian architecture are included in this engraving. Behind the figure of Lady Science, two sheets from Furttenbach's treatise are clearly recognizable: the ground-floor plan of the first princely palace,[10] which resembles the floor plan of Palazzo Pitti; and behind this a sheet with the reproduction

1 Margot Berthold, *Joseph Furttenbach* (1591–1667). *Architektur-Theoretiker und Stadtbaumeister in Ulm*, Munich 1951. Published in a reduced form in: Eadem, Joseph Furttenbach von Leutkirch, Architekt und Ratsherr in Ulm (1591–1667), *Ulm und Oberschwaben. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, 1953, No. 33, pp. 119–179.

2 Max Stemshorn (ed.), *Der Kunst-Garten: Gartenentwürfe von Joseph Furttenbach* (1591–1667) (exh. cat.), Ulm 1999.

3 Senta Dienzel, *Die Gartenentwürfe Furttenbachs d. Ä.*, Nuremberg 1928.

4 Joseph Furttenbach, *Lebenslauff 1652–1664*, edited by Kaspar von Greyerz – Kim Siebenhüner – Roberto Zaugg, Basel 2013.

5 Anna Jahr, Transfer von Architektursprache: Joseph Furttenbach d. Ä. (1591–1667) als Kulturvermittler zwischen Deutschland und Italien, in: Sabine Frommel – Eckhard Leuschner et. al., *Architektur- und Ornamentgraphik der Frühen Neuzeit: Migrationsprozesse in Europa*, Rome 2014, pp. 219–227. Jahr's dissertation at the University of Trier, which commenced in 2011, should shed more light on this topic.

6 Published as illustration for the front cover in Joseph Furttenbach, *Architectura Recreationis*, Augsburg 1640 as well as in Joseph Furttenbach, *Architectura Privata*, Augsburg 1641.

7 Joseph Furttenbach, *Architectura Navalis*, Ulm 1635.

8 Joseph Furttenbach, *Architectura Martialis*, Ulm 1630.

9 Furttenbach, *Privata* (see note 6), p. 50f. Unless otherwise noted, all translations to English are my own. For the misleading interpretations of the figure compare Ulrich Schütte, "Architectura alla Moderna" und die „Teutsche „Teutsche Manier". Rubens' Palazzi di Genova und die Neuorientierung der Deutschen Architektur bei Joseph Furttenbach der Ä., in: Piet Lombaerde (ed.), *The reception of P. P. Rubens's Palazzi di Genova During the 17th Century in Europe: Questions and Problems*, Turnhout 2002, p. 155.

10 Joseph Furttenbach, *Architectura Civilis*, Ulm 1628, pl. 2.

of Vignola's classical order. Furttenbach admired the architect Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1507–1573) and mentioned him on several occasions in his books.[11]

In the engraving Furttenbach is presented as a nobleman, as he is also depicted in another engraved portrait in 1562, where he is called '*Reipubl. Ulm Senatoris et Architecti Ingeniosissimi*'.[12] The inscription describes him not only as a senator (councillor) of the free imperial city of Ulm, but also as a versatile architect. This is a reference to Furttenbach's lifelong pursuit of and accomplishments in different arts. Architecture was not, in fact, Furttenbach's primary occupation; he was first of all a merchant, who had to work hard to survive and only after his induction into the merchant's guild of Ulm in 1623 and later in the town council in 1631, was he able to dedicate time to his leisure activity, writing architectural treatises.[13] Born in 1591 in Leutkirch, a small Protestant town in Swabia, into an aristocratic Protestant family of imperial chief foresters (*Forstmeistern)*, aldermen and merchants, he completed a commercial apprenticeship when he was sixteen and spent the following twelve years, from the end of 1607 to January 1620, travelling as a journeyman in Italy.[14] Such Italian travels were common for young men from similar backgrounds in this period; the tour was popular amongst merchants and intellectuals, who looked to Italian cities as primary role models. Furttenbach stayed the first two years in Milan, where, among other pursuits, he learned Italian. He spent most of his 'Italian period' in Genoa, where over the course of seven years he accumulated not only professional experience as a merchant, but also a profound knowledge of architecture and engineering. Furttenbach was able to use his family's connections in those two cities as he was involved in their trade activities. His two half brothers and an older cousin, Christoph Furttenbach (1552–1643), who was one of the most influential German merchants in the international trading centre of Genoa, assisted him.[15] Furttenbach travelled, driven not least by a profound curiosity, throughout northern and central Italy, including a formative trip to Rome and almost two years in Florence. As in Genoa, he was connected with Italian scholars in Florence, who aided him in his many studies.[16] Some of his most important relationships were with the otherwise unknown engineer and architect '*Signor Paolo Rizio* (Riccio or Ritz?), *Ingenier maggior del' Re di Spagna, & Architecto della Serenissima Republica di Genova*' and in Florence the Medici polymaths Giulio Parigi (1571–1635) and Galileo Galilei (1564–1642).[17] Furttenbach's interests were primarily focused on engineering and architecture, with an emphasis on leisure structures, like theatres, grottoes and gardens.[18] Furttenbach used the experience and knowledge acquired during his years in Italy as the foundation for his many books and treatises, which he wrote throughout his life after returning to Germany. His first book, the *Newes Itinerarium Italiae* (*The New Itinerary Trough Italy*), was published after his establishment and naturalization in Ulm.[19] After the success of this book, there followed, in addition to some works on engineering, seven major and eleven minor architectural treatises, which he organized according to different construction tasks. The first of these major treatises dealt with civil buildings,[20] which were divided, as in his subsequent books, by class: citizens, aristocrats, earls and princes. The publication of further works was delayed by the troubles of the Thirty Years War (1618–1648) as well as by his main responsibilities to his family and to his mercantile and town council duties.[21] In 1640 he published the *Architectura Recreationis*, which discusses varieties of pleasure gardens (*Lustgärten*), and in 1641 he produced the *Architectura Privata*, describing in meticulous detail his own house in Ulm, which was already famous for its *Kunstkammer*, private garden with a fountain, and *salotto*, a small garden pavilion

11 Ibidem, p. 15. – Furttenbach, *Privata* (see note 6), p. 49.

12 Melchior Küsell, Portrait of Joseph Furttenbach the Elder, 1652, engraving, 23,5x15,5, Deutsche Fotothek der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek, Dresden. Printed in Jahr, 2014 (see note 5), pl. 1.

13 For further details of his life, see: Berthold 1951 (see note 1), pp. 1–30. – Jahr (see note 5), pp. 219–221.

14 For Furttenbach's network and the contacts with family members and compatriots during his Italian years as well as a discussion of the exact dates of individual journies and residences, see: Berthold 1951 (see note 1), pp. 6–10 – Roberto Zaugg, "bey den Italienern recht sinnreiche Gedanken gespürt". Joseph Furttenbach als kultureller Vermittler, in: Furttenbach, *Lebenslauff* (see note 4), pp. 25–29.

15 For the importance and history of his relatives in this two cities see especially Zaugg (see note 14), p. 27f.

16 See: Berthold 1951 (see note 1), p. 6, and more recently Zaugg (see note 14), p. 29.

17 Furttenbach, *Privata* (see note 6), p. 37. For the exchange with Parigi and Galileo see: Berthold 1951 (see note 1), p. 9.

18 See: Berthold 1951 (see note 1), p. 9; and more recently: Zaugg (see note 14), p. 29. – Jahr (see note 5), p. 219. On Genoese grottoes, see: Stephanie Hanke, *Zwischen Fels und Wasser. Grottenanlagen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in Genua*, Münster 2008.

19 Joseph Furttenbach, *Newes Itinerarium Italiae*, Ulm 1627. This practical travel handbook became a popular guide among German travellers in the seventeenth century, a kind of Baedeker or Murray's Hand Book of the period; Berthold 1951 (see note 1), p. 32. – Hans Koepf, Furtenbach, Joseph von, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* V, Berlin 1961, p. 736.

20 Furttenbach, *Civilis* (see note 10).

21 His diary offers a vivid description of his daily life. Furttenbach, *Lebenslauff* (see note 4), pp. 88–327.

devoted to leisure.[22] As documented by his guest books, his house was visited by more than 700 people, including 1653 the Elector Palatine Charles I Louis (1617–1680) in 1653. The elector was so impressed with Furttenbach's house that he asked the merchant on at least two occasions, in 1653 and 1658, to join his court in Heidelberg as garden architect.[23] The *Kunstkammer* was dispersed after Furttenbach's death, with part of the collection going to the landgrave Ludwig VI of Hesse-Darmstadt, an admirer of Furttenbach's work.[24] With the exception of the 1663 *Mannhaffter Kunstspiegel* (*The Mirror of the Manly Arts*),[25] which summarizes his works on mathematics, geometry, geography, architecture, mechanics and other subjects, Furttenbach's later publications were brief texts on specific buildings and decorations. He collaborated on these with his talented but physically disabled son, Joseph Furttenbach the Younger (1632–1655). These included the *Garten-Pallästlins-Gebäu* (*Small Garden Buildings*).[26] Additionally, Furttenbach kept a diary and at the time of his death he was preparing an Ulm city chronicle; neither was published.[27]

Furttenbach presents himself as an erudite cultural mediator throughout his works. To this end he frequently employed Latin and Italian terms in his text or created German derivatives thereof. These are emphasized throughout the texts in Antiqua typeface, whereas the majority of the text is in Fraktur, as described by Jahr.[28] One loan word that appears frequently in Furttenbach's treatises is *palazzotto*. The appearance of *palazzotto* in the various books demonstrates how the different texts are related to each other, even if the author's use of this term changed over time. As Jahr has observed for other words too, it is apparent that Furttenbach does not favour any single spelling; the word sometimes occurs with two 'l's, sometimes with only one 'z' or even only one 't'.[29] Such orthographic variety was common for him or for the responsible letterpress printer, even in German. For the purposes of this paper, I will use the modern Italian spelling, *palazzotto*.

Furtternbach used the term with its modern spelling at least once. [Fig. 2] In the caption for the illustration of a palace facade in the *Architectura Civilis*, he writes: 'Palazzotto for noble people... in my previously mentioned travel book, on page 223, I described a Palazzotto (which is not to be regarded as insignificant, all people of high rank should have good leisure), which I find worthy of esteem.'[30]

Furttenbach thus describes this palace as a retreat, even for persons of higher rank such as earls and princes; the term *palazzotto*, the diminutive of palace (*palazzo*), therefore refers specifically to buildings belonging to the aristocracy. But what is the model for Furttenbach's concept of the *palazzotto*? Some scholars have sought to identify the palace in this illustration as well as others in Furttenbach's works with Genoese palaces, especially those illustrated in Peter Paul Rubens's *I Palazzi di Genova* (1622).[31] These comparisons with Rubens's illustrations have not produced satisfactory results, as most of Furttenbach's examples are palaces from suburban villas, which Rubens ignores almost entirely. The Flemish artist's studies of Genoa, which were probably made after his stay in the city in the summer of 1607, some years before Furttenbach's arrival, focused on the urban palaces of the Strada Nuova.[32] Furttenbach does not at any point mention Rubens, whose book he likely knew but deliberately ignored, preferring instead to direct readers to his own travel guide for further information. Throughout his books, Furttenbach occasionally gives an indication as to his sources.

22 On the importance and arrangement of Furttenbach's house in Ulm, see: Kim Siebenhüner, Entwerfen, Modelle bauen, ausstellen: Joseph Furttenbach und seine Rüst- und Kunstkammer, in: Furttenbach, *Lebenslauff* (see note 4), pp. 45–65.

23 Furttenbach, *Lebenslauff* (see note 4), pp. 25, 204–208. He was even invited by Leopold I in 1656 to serve at the imperial court in Vienna. Ibidem (see note 4), p. 140f. – Zaugg (see note 14), p. 25. Approximately 700 visitors are recorded between 1626 and 1656 indicating that many more viewed the house before his death in 1667. Siebenhüner (see note 22), p. 61.

24 Siebenhüner (see note 22), p. 53.

25 Joseph Furttenbach, *Mannhaffter Kunstspiegel*, Augsburg 1663.

26 Joseph Furttenbach, *Garten-Pallästlins-Gebäu*, Augsburg 1667.

27 Parts of the diary are published in Furttenbach, *Lebenslauff* (see note 4). Furttenbach's unpublished texts are held by the Stadtarchiv Ulm, Nachlass Joseph Furttenbach d. Ä., No. 1–12.

28 The most complete study of Furttenbach's use of Italian words and his role as a cultural mediator, see: Jahr (see note 5), pp. 219–227, esp. p. 223.

29 Ibidem. But it should be added that apart from Furttenbach's variable spelling, there were no clear orthographic rules in the Italian either. See below for more specifics.

30 *'Palazzotto für Adeliche Personen… in meinem obangedeutem Raißbuch am. 223. Blat beschriebenen Palazzotto (der nit für den geringsten zu achten: Als in welchem noch höhers Standts Personen gute gelegenheit haben sollten) zu gedencken habe ich denselbigen wol würdig geachtet…'*. Furttenbach, Civilis (see note 10), p. 6, pl. N° 6.

31 Lombaerde and Schütte tried to identify this palace through a comparison with the palaces illustrated in Rubens's book. Piet Lombaerde, Introduction, in: Lombaerde (see note 9), p. 10, fig. 7. – Schütte (see note 9), p. 148f, pl. 4.

32 Compare with: Lombaerde, ibidem, p. 2.

On the page of the travel guide indicated by the author in the *Architectura Civilis* he states that the illustration is of the Villa of Giacomo Saluzzo. Today it is known as the Villa Saluzzo Bombrini, Il Paradiso or Il Belvedere, because it stands overlooking the city surrounded by gardens on a hilltop in Albaro, a prominent suburb east of Genoa.[33] Albaro was at that time one of the most popular sites for the Genovese nobility to build their country palaces and houses. One of the most famous examples of the early seventeenth century was the Villa Saluzzo Bombrini, which remains in good condition today and which is still in private hands. It is mainly owned by the Remondini family and not open to the public.[34] Erected during Furttenbach's stay in Genoa, the villa is attributed to the architect Andrea Ceresola (il Vannone), the most famous architect of the city at that time, and was decorated by Lazzaro Tavarone, Bernardo Castello and Andrea Ansaldo for the wealthy nobleman and senator of the Republic of Genoa Giacomo Saluzzo (ca. 1570–ca. 1640), who also served as ambassador to the imperial court in Vienna from 1612–1613.[35] He belonged to a family that was rising in importance in this period, and therefore should not to be underestimated as mediator for cultural, political and economic exchange between Genoa and Germany, particularly with regard to German merchants such as the Furttenbachs, who were very prominent in North Italy at that time.[36] Saluzzo was married to Giovanna Maria Brignole Sale (1575–1602), sister of Giò(vanni) Francesco (1573–1635), who became later doge of Genoa from 1635–1637, and who made Giacomo Saluzzo ambassador to Vienna in his place. Like the Saluzzo, the Brignole family were involved in commercial affairs in the Habsburg lands. They also built villas in the same style in Albaro, similar to the Villa Brignole Sale and the Villa Brignole 'Don Guanella'.[37] Furttenbach seems to have known Villa Saluzzo well. The villa's names, Il Belvedere and Il Paradiso, emphasize its function as an escape from urban life designed for leisure, thus making it a perfect model for an ideal *Lustgarten* with a *palazzotto*, a central theme in Furttenbach's treatises on architecture. Furttenbach's illustration of the *palazzotto* [Fig. 2] is a faithful reproduction of Villa Saluzzo's facade. [Fig. 3]

In the travel guide of 1627 this residential building of the villa is not yet called a *palazzotto*, but simply a *Pallast*.[38] In the *Architectura Privata*, included in the house inventory is an indication of how Furttenbach produced such an exact reproduction. Here the author stated that he owned six framed elevations of Genoese villas, which were 'made by the excellent Italian architect in his own hand'.[39] For Rott, 'Furttenbach did not own original plans of any of the buildings', but 'probably [had] copies made in the early seventeenth century, similar to those used by Rubens for the [Palazzi di Genova]'.[40] Thus Furttenbach seems to have collected them during his stay in Italy. Afterwards he had them framed and displayed in his house and included them in a well planned didactic tour of his *Kunstkammer*. These and other printed reproductions of important Italian architectural works served Furttenbach as models and inspiration for his architectural treatises.[41] The Genoese elevations illustrate the facades of the city's suburban villas but not the urban palaces, with perhaps one particular exception.

33 *'[...] besser hinauß wirdt detz Sigr. Giacomo Saluzo Pallast gefunden / der von Ziegelsteinen aber sehr zierlich auffgeführt unnd gelb gemahlt / darinnen trefflich schöne gantz durchauß gemahlte Zimmer / so sauber und zierlich gehalten /daß ein fürstliche Person hie zu logieren alle gelegenheit gehaben kann /darneben ist auch ein schöner Garten sampt ein Wäldlein von Zipressen und Lorberbäumen besetzt / in welchem ein uber die massen köstliche Capellen / und auff der rchten Seiten ein Vogelhaus / darinnen mancherley Vögel zu sehen / In dieser gegent stehn noch ein grosse Anzahl Palläst und Häuser [...].*' Furttenbach, *Itinerarium* (see note 19), p. 223f.

34 Michela Bompani, Remondini compra il 'Paradiso' Supervilla e non hotel a cinque stelle, la Repubblica, 2007, 28. 6., http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2007/06/28/remondini-compra-il-paradiso-supervilla-non-hotel.html, 12. 3. 2014. I am grateful to the architect Guido Di Bagno, one of the owners, for allowing me to visit the villa.

35 For further details, see: Giovanna Rotondi Terminello, Il "Paradiso" di Genova. Un palazzo di villeggiatura della fine del Cinquecento, *Dimore Storiche*, Anno 16, No. 3, 2001, pp. 9–17. – Giancarlo Pinto, Villa Saluzzo Bombrini "Il Paradiso", in: Maura Boffito – Vittorio Garroni Carbonara et al., *Le ville del Genovesato*, *Albaro*, Genoa 1984, pp. 31–34.

36 Giacomo Saluzzo's son, Agostino Saluzzo (1631–1701) was lateąr made Duke of Corigliano and served as doge of Genoa from 1673–1675. On the importance of the Furttenbachs as merchants between Germany and Genoa, see: Zaugg (see note 14), p. 47,

37 Andreina Ivaldi and Franco Reami, Villa Brignole Sale: Istituto Marcelline Genova – Albaro, Genoa 2002, pp. 3–11.

38 Furttenbach, *Itinerarium* (see note 19), p. 223. – This usage also occurs in the later *Architectura Privata*. Furttenbach, *Privata* (see note 6), p. 47.

39 *'Architectonische Handrisse… An Handrissen so auch auff Rhamen auffgezogen seynd. / Signor Gio: Carlo D'oria, nella Città / Signor Gio: Giacomo Imperiali, nella Villa / Signor Fabricio Parauicino, in Villa / Signor Giacomo Saluzo, in Villa / Signor Gio: Francesco Saluzo, in Villa / Signor Balbi, in Villa, à, Arba' / Adeliche sehr schön erbawte Palläste so in: und ausserhalb der Statt Genoua stehn und von bester Architectur, auch meist theils von roth, weiß und schwartzem Marmorstein aussgeführt seynd, jeder aber ist besonder auff ein grossen Regalbogen Papier und von den vortrefflichsten Italienischen Architectis, derselben Fazien sehr fleissig und durch ihr eigen Hand auffgerissen worden dahero dann ihres gleichen anderstwo wenig gesehen werden.'* Furttenbach, *Privata* (see note 6), p. 47f.

40 Herbert W. Rott, *Palazzi di Genova. Architectural Drawings and Engravings,* London – Turnhout 2002, vol. 1, p. 82.

41 Ibidem. On the connection between Furttenbach's architectural treatises, his *Kunstkammer and the visitors*, see: Siebenhüner (see note 22).

Rott first attempted to find the models for these six elevations. He correctly identified the facades of the Villa Imperiale Scassi and Villa Saluzzo Bombrini as models in the *Architectura Civilis*.[42] He then turned to Genoa's urban palaces, forgetting that Furttenbach explicitly stated that all elevations are from villas, including that of Carlo Doria, which is probably not the Palazzo Doria Tursi in the city centre as Rott suggested, but rather the Villa Doria at Fassolo, which was a suburban villa until its territory came to be encompassed within the new city walls in the early seventeenth century.[43] Rott's attributions should therefore be partly revisited. Three of these suburban villas appear prominently in the front cover of the *Mannhaffter Kunstspiegel*, indicating the extent to which Furttenbach valued Genoese examples.[44] In an illustration accompanying the book's dedication to the city of Genoa, the city's skyline features next to the city in Sampierdarena the Villa Imperiale Scassi and the Villa Doria Pavese (delle Franzoniane) and on the left the Villa Doria (Centurione) in Pegli, build 1592 by Vannone and used with its almost seven-bay facade flanked in the piano nobile by side loggias as model for the Villa Saluzzo Bombrini.[45] [Fig. 4] Furttenbach included short descriptions of these villas in the earlier travel book.[46] Albaro, lying to the east of the city, may have been included for symmetrical reasons in an original, wider drawing but was left out in the engraving.

This engraving is indicative of Furttenbach's preference for suburban villas and their garden palaces. It is probably one of these Genoese *palazzotti* that is depicted in the travel guide in illustrations ten and eleven, showing the facade and plan of the piano nobile. In this case, Furttenbach explains the term *palazzotto* as, '[The reader] will be amused by the image of a Genovese Palazzotto, which I have delineated in engraving N° 10. Thereon can one safely [recognize] the position and facade of a small palace or a considerable house.'[47] [Fig. 5]

Furttenbach's intention is probably not to show the reader a specific example of a Genovese building but rather to indicate the features of this type of building. The building in this illustration has sometimes been confused with one of the urban palaces of the Balbi family whose description precedes the passage above in the travel handbook. However, it is not one of the Balbi palaces, but it may be the palace of a '*Signor Balbi, in Villa, à Arba*' (Albaro?) mentioned in the *Architectura Privata* inventory.[48] Rott has suggested the Villa (Balbi, Durazzo,) Gropallo dello Zerbino (1599–1603), which belonged at the time of Furttenbach's stay to the wealthy brothers Giovanni Battista and Stefano Balbi; both were merchants and Stefano was the Genoese ambassador to Milan.[49] However, this palace cannot be the model for Furttenbach's illustration as the facade's articulation differs on several points. Other scholars have suggested that it is a paraphrase of the Palazzo Tobia Pallavicini (today Careggi Cataldo) or other, similar examples from Rubens's *Palazzi di Genova*.[50] A close examination shows a number of differences between the facade's articulation and decoration. The building's proportions, its seven-bay facade, and two floors with a mezzanine, attic and double vaulted cornice are common features of Genoese villas. Examples of this include Villa Cattaneo Adorno in Albaro, built in the early seventeenth century, possibly by the Saluzzo family, the Villa Pallavicino Giardino and the Villa Negrone-Moro.[51] The last two, both in the western suburb of Sampierdarena, have the same facade features as Furttenbach's example. But the most fitting match seems to be the Villa Giò Battista Brignole (1616) in Albaro, today called Villa 'Don Guanella', erected by the nobleman Giò Battista Brignole, brother-in-law of Giacomo Saluzzo.[52] This villa is representative of Genoese

42 Rott (see note 40), p. 82.
43 The use of these prints as models is mentioned in: Furttenbach, *Itinerarium* (see note 19), p. 190f.
44 Furttenbach, *Kunstspiegel* (see note 25), pl. 1.
45 Ibidem, p. 8. – For the Villa Centurione Doria see: Guido Guidano, Villa Centurione Doria, in: Maura Boffito – Vittorio Garroni Carbonara et al., *Le ville del Genovesato, Ponente*, Genova 1986, pp. 277–281. The villla's second building next to the see is probably the Villa Doria 'alla Marina'. See: Ibidem, Villa Doria 'alla Marina', in: ibidem, pp. 281–282.
46 Furttenbach, *Itinerarium* (see note 19), p. 219–222. The elevation of Fabricio Paravicini mentioned above, which Rott says is derived from the Palazzo Cambiaso in Genoa, is more likely the Villa Pallavicini in Sampierdarena, called in the *Itinerarium 'Fabricio Paravicini Pallazio'*, ibidem, p. 222.
47 *'[Damit der Leser] mit einem vor Augen stehenden Genovesuschen Pallazioto visierunglin erlustiget werde habe demselbigen ich zu gefallen das Kupfferstuck Nro. 10. delinirt daran ungefährlich die Stellung und Faziata eines kleinen Pallasts oder ansehnlichen Hauses [erkennbar].'* Furttenbach, *Itinerarium* (see note 19), p. 192, pl. 10.
48 Furttenbach, *Privata* (see note 6), p. 47.
49 Rott (see note 40), p. 82. On Villa Balbi, see: Gianni Robba, Villa Balbi, Durazzo, Gropallo, in: *Albaro* (see note 35), pp. 265–272.
50 Schütte (see note 9), p. 146; Rott suggests the Palazzo Cambiaso as a possible model. Rott (see note 40), p. 181, ill 32. He also identifies the Palazzo Fabricio Paravicino as a possibility. Rott (see note 40), p. 82.
51 Garroni Carbonara, Villa Cattaneo Adorno, in: *Albaro* (see note 35), pp. 149–152. – Patrizia Falzone, Villa Pallavicino Giardino, in: Ponente (see note 45), pp. 88–90. – Ibidem, Villa Negrone-Moro, in: ibidem, p. 23–26.
52 See: Giancarlo Pinto, Villa Brignole Don Guanella, in: *Albaro* (see note 35), p. 95f.

suburban palaces from the period of Furttenbach's residence in Genoa, and although a limited restoration of the lower portion of the facade has made the comparison to the illustration in the travel book difficult, it is still possible to see the connection to the plate in question. [Fig. 6] If compared with Furttenbach's inventory in the *Architectura Privata* mentioned previously, this villa could be the one that belonged to '*Gio Francesco Saluzo*', probably a close relative of the senator Giacomo Saluzzo or perhaps a confusion of names with his brother-in-law Giò Francesco Brignole Sale. That would mean that the elevation could belong to a villa of the Saluzzo or Brignole family; both families seem to have been close to the Furttenbachs, who probably saw them as his peers.[53] A closer study of Genoese villas might shed more light onto the matter than a comparison to Rubens's book and the urban palaces.

An unusual feature of the illustrated palace is how few rooms occupy the piano nobile; a broad central hall (*sala*), a small staircase and three small rooms (*camere*) make up the entire plan. [Fig. 7] An exact match has not been identified, but part of the main floor of the Palazzo Tobia Pallavicini offers a close comparison.[54] By excluding the lower portion of the ground plan, the proportions and arrangement of the remaining rooms of the palazzo resemble the illustrated plan. [Fig. 8] These similarities can also be found, despite later alterations, in the piano nobile floor plan of the Villa Brignole 'Don Guanella'.[55] Both these palaces follow the Genoese model established by the architect Galeazzo Alessi (1512–1572) in using the proportions of a square and rectangle to design a central hall flanked by smaller rooms on the piano nobile.[56] It appears that Furttenbach created a simplified model of a Genoese palace in the Alessian tradition.

But Furttenbach does not use the term *palazzotto* only for aristocratic garden palaces around Genoa. The next and most frequent application of the term can be found in the context of the *Lust- und Tiergarten.* This is one of his favourite subjects and he had previously devoted an entire chapter to it in the *Architectura Civile*.[57] Therein he presents in illustration thirteen a bird's-eye view of a composed princely pleasure garden with various features of the gardens he had seen in Italy. [Fig. 9] The illustrated garden shows a similar structural design with the engravings of pleasure gardens in Vredeman De Vries's garden treatise.[58]

The chapter in the *Architectura Civile* describes an ideal princely palace and its gardens. The gardens themselves lie to the rear of the palace. The perspective of the print is that of a person standing on the middle of the villa's roof looking out over the gardens. The garden is divided into two parts: first a formal garden near the palace, and then a park and animal preserve beyond. The *palazzotto* is located on the right, divided from the formal garden by a broad wall. This animal preserve is itself divided into two halves by a canal running across the middle. The canal is crossed by a single wooden bridge. The formal garden is symmetrically arranged with an aviary on the right, balanced by a fish pond with an island on the left, with bowers and four parterres for walks. The most important aspect of the garden for this paper is the intermediate space between pleasure garden and animal park, which in later plans is labelled 'grotto garden' (*Grottengarten*). The grotto itself is built into the dividing wall on the central garden axis, and on either side stands a little chapel on the left, designated for the prince's private worship and a house for the prince's body guards on the right adjacent to a small but prominent garden palace, the *palazzotto*, which lies between the garden wall and the canal. The building's visible side elevation shows two floors articulated with columns and a mezzanine crowned by a hipped roof with a central

53 Rott has already suggested that Giò Francesco's villa was next to that of the other Saluzzo at Albaro. Rott (see note 40), p. 82. It could also be the Villa Saluzzo Caregga Cataldi. See: Maura Boffito, Villa Saluzzo Caregga Cataldi, in: *Albaro* (see note 35), pp. 41–44. A less likely candidate is the altered Villa Saluzzo Mongiardino, built by Giacomo Saluzzo before Il Paradiso. See: Giancarlo Pinto, Villa Mongiardino, in: *Albaro* (see note 35), pp. 35–40. Even the sequence of the chosen elevation would indicate this.

54 Piano Nobile of the Palazzo (Tobia Pallavicini) Carrega Cataldi, in Peter Paul Rubens, *Palazzi di Genova*, Antwerpen 1622, pl. 3. The same patron also built Villa delle Peschiere, of which Furttenbach also had an engraving.

55 See the floor plan in: Pinto (see note 49), p. 95.

56 On Alessi's villas, see: Gianni Robbia, La villa Alessiana, in: Maura Boffito – Giampiero Buffoni et al., *Le ville del Genovesato*, Centro, Genova 1985, pp. 39–44. This architectural language *'reflect[s] the influence of Alessi, but [are] also linked to local formal traditions'*, after Rott (see note 40), p. 119.

57 Furttenbach, *Civilis* (see note 10), pp. 30–35, pl. N° 13. For this pleasure garden see the article of Max Stemshorn, Der fürstliche Lustgarten aus Joseph Furttenbachs Architectura civilis – ein provisorisches Paradies in der Wildnis der Welt, in: Idem (see note 2), pp. 72–79. For Furttenbach princly pleasure gardens see also in extend Dienzel (see note 3), pp. 47–60. – Ursula Quecke, Die Gartenentwürfe Joseph Furttenbachs, in: Stemshorn (see note 2), pp. 30–51. – Bechtold 1951 (see note 1), pp. 163–176.

58 See Hans Vredeman De Vries, *Hortorum Viridariosumque,* Antwerp 1583. Some scholars mentions apart of De Vries also Jacques Androuet de Cerceau as a model for Furttenbach's garden design. Dienzel (see note 3), p. 12. – Bertold, 1951, (see note 1), p. 167. A coloured version of this *Lustgarten*, painted with oil on canvas by Jonas Arnold around 1645, today in the Ulmer Museum, shows the popularity of this specific motive. Printed in: Stermshorn (see note 2), p 73.

belvedere tower marked by a Palladian window. It bears a strong resemblance, even if somewhat modified, to the facade of the twin casinos in the Villa Lante at Bagnaia near Viterbo north of Rome.[59] [Fig. 10] The central part of the villa itself was first built around 1512 by Bishop Ottaviano Riario (1479–1523) as a hunting lodge, and after 1568 the grounds were extended by Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Gambara (1533–1587) to include a pleasure garden with the first casino. After 1587 Cardinal Alessandro Damasceni Peretti di Montalto (1571–1623), to whom this engraving is dedicated, purchased the property and enriched it with other gardens and the second, twin casino.[60] The first casino is dated around 1578 and attributed to Vignola or his circle, while the second, ascribed to Carlo Maderno (1556–1629), built around 1596 and finished at least before 1612.[61] In this engraving, made around 1596 by Tarquinio Ligustri (1564–c.1621), the casinos are called *Palazzotto dipinto* (small painted palace). Furttenbach did not pass through Bagnaia during his Italian journey, but he seems to known the prominent site very well as all the sketches of his garden strongly resemble this villa. He very likely owned one of Ligustri's accurate engravings and displayed it in his home in Ulm as it is described in his inventory.[62] Prints of this villa were published after 1584 and commonly sold as souvenirs to travellers. It is not clear if Furttenbach knew of the relationship between this example and his esteemed Vignola, but if so, it would have been an additional reason for him to take this *palazzotto* as the model for his own.

In the text of the *Architectura Civilis* where Furttenbach's building is identified as a *palazzotto*, the description of the building is more concerned with its use than its architectural characteristics: '...a small Palazzotto, which stands in the woods. There placed, so that the Prince and Lord after the long endured burden of governance could find a quiet place for the evening in summertime and so have a secluded dwelling, where he could relax and recover his disposition and his thoughts while hearing the birdsong and observing or shooting several deer, so that on the next day he could be again prepared and willing to endure the governance assigned to him by God'.[63]

The *palazzotto* is an ideal retreat in a *locus ameonus*, created for the prince's recreation and leisure and part of a centuries-long tradition of pleasure gardens. Furttenbach's description of the *palazzotto* echoes clearly the '*viridario palatium*', a small garden palace used for escape from cares, in Petrus de Crescentii's (c.1230–c.1320) gardening treatise (book VIII, chapter 3).[64]

In his list of the garden's features, Furttenbach's next point, number thirty, refers to the tower of the *palazzotto*, which is barely visible in the illustration as it stands on the side of the building facing the canal. From this tower it is possible to shoot deer drinking from the canal and the rabbits on hare island 'whenever the whim takes the prince' ('*nach dem Herrn belieben*'). The tower also offered an attractive view of the deer park and its surroundings. Twelve years later Furttenbach published a floor plan of the *palazzotto* in the *Architectura Recreationis* as illustration fourteen. [Fig. 11] Between the supplementary floor plan and the information in the legend of the garden view, Furttenbach's idea of the *palazzotto* becomes clear. Within the *Architectura Recreatonis* Furttenbach divided gardens into categories organized by status so that the princely pleasure garden is ranked as his fifth example. The floor plan differs from the *palazzotto* in the areal view of 1628 on several points. However, from the plan we can determine the building's measurements and structure; it measures 80 by 40 palmi (20 x 10 meters = 200m^2), and the facade is divided into seven bays, similar to that of the Genoese *palazzotto* example discussed above. Yet, the interior arrangement of the rooms is entirely different from the Genoese *palazzotto*. A long corridor (*Gang*) running along the side of the facade leads to a toilet (*secretum*) and to the stairs (*stiegen*). The ground floor is occupied moreover by two small rooms (*camere*) and a hall running along the canal side of the building. The tower, which is called an *Egger* (*Erker* = oriel), is centred on the canal facade and projects

59 Already noted by Dienzel (see note 3), p. 51, n. 73.

60 See: Fritz Barth, *Die Villa Lante in Bagnaia*, Stuttgart – London 2001, pp. 43–52.

61 See: Ibidem, p. 48–50. – Claudia Lazzaro-Bruno, The Villa Lante at Bagnaia: An Allegory of the Art and Nature, *The Art Bulletin* 59, 4, Dec. 1977, pp. 553–560. – Bruno Adorni, Legami documentary di Vignola con la villa del cardinale Francesco Gambara a Bagnaia e con la Villa catena di Torquato Conti duca di Poli, in: Sabine Frommel (ed.), *Villa Lante di Bagnaia*, Milan 2005, pp. 94–96.

62 *'Auff Taflen auffgezogene Kupfferstuck...Ein Lustgarten il Barco di Bagnia*'. ['On boards stretched copperplate print...A pleasure garden, the park in Bagnaia'.] Furttenbach, *Privata* (see note 6), p. 48f.

63 *'... ein kleiner Pallazotto, so in der wildnuß steht dahin angesehen daß nach lang getragenem last deß Regiments ein Fürst und Herr Sommerszeit allda zu Abends ein stillen ort und absonderliche Wohnung habe sein gemüth durch hörung deß Vogelgesangs und besichtigung mancherley gewilds oder auch in fellung desselbigen die gedancken also zu erquicken dz sie deß andern Tags desto beraiter und williger widerumben die ihr von Gott aufgetragene Regierung erdulden könden'*. Furttenbach, *Civilis* (see note 10), p. 34, pl. N° 27.

64 Compare this description and the one following with: Petrus de Crescentii, *Ruralia commoda. Das Wissen des vollkommenen Landwirts um 1300*, ed. by Reinhilt Richter-Bergmeier – Will Richter, Heidelberg 1998, part. 3, book VII–XII, p. 14f.

into the canal itself. This was a common architectural feature of German secular building in this period but was not often found in Italy. The legend of the areal view states that the plan of the upper floor is the same as the ground floor. The floor plans are derived from German models, which Furttenbach had already described in his *Architectura Civilis*, wherein he outlines a second version of a noble house.[65] [Fig. 12] Almost the whole right section of the piano nobile (*Der Ander Grundriss*), which is here marked with a rectangle, reflects the floor plan of the *palazzotto* in this pleasure garden, just as it does for part of the floor plan of the Palazzo Tobia Pallavicino, the example of a Genovese *palazzotto*. Thus Furttenbach combined an Italian style facade with a German floor plan.[66] He plays freely with pieces of known structures, using them for his own purpose and building tasks.

However, in the illustrated floor plan the building is not called a *palazzotto*, but rather '*Il Palatio nel Giardino*' ('The Palace in the Garden'). The small palace, which is elsewhere designated for the aristocracy, is here appropriate for a prince's garden and a worthy summer accommodation for him, where he can escape the cares of governance and indulge in pleasurable pursuits and relaxation.

The *palazzotto* is a central architectural garden element, recurring in various aristocratic pleasure gardens described in the *Architectura Recreationis*. It appears already in the fourth pleasure garden, which is dedicated to earls and in the sixth pleasure garden, which is a variation of the fifth. The plan of the nearly square palazzotto in the fourth garden (60 x 45 palmi = 15 x 11,25 m) imitates the ground floor of the Genovese *palazzotto* and other Italian models characterized by a central hall ('*sala*'). [Fig. 13] Yet on the other side, the *palazzotto* in the sixth pleasure garden (75 x 50 palmi = 18,75 x 12,5 m) is a reduction of the one illustrated in the fifth garden and therefore depends on German models with their preference for a long corridor. [Fig. 14] Furttenbach depicts the *palazzotto* in the fourth garden areal view in a manner similar to a citizen's urban houses illustrated in the same treatise.[67] The areal views of the fourth and the sixth pleasure gardens show some details of the *palazzotti*'s facades. The *palazzotto* of the fourth pleasure garden [Fig. 15] resembles the casino of the Villa Lante in Bagnaia, while the one from the sixth pleasure garden [Fig. 16] has some similarities with the Furttenbach's house and a particularly palace of a nobleman (see below).

Furttenbach's plans often seem, according to Berthold, not to be completely new creations, but rather a playful paraphrasing of existing architectural knowledge and models.[68] The *palazzotto* in the pleasure garden indicated in the German legend of the *Architectura Recreationis* is also described as a 'small garden palace' ('*Garten Pallästlin*') and a 'tiny palace' ('*kleines Pallästlin*').[69] Furttenbach uses this term later in 1652 for a small *palazzotto*, described in a short, but detailed and richly illustrated treatise, *Garten-Pallästlins-Gebäu*.[70] [Fig. 17] In the title page he explains that the task of the treatise is to treat in detail 'a pleasure, summer or Villa (country) house, which lies in the open field' and which is 'comparable to a small garden palace'.[71] The floor plan of this small country palace is similar to the example of the Genoese *palazzotto* floor plan in his travel handbook and also to the *palazzotto* in the fourth pleasure garden, where rooms are arrayed on both sides of a central '*sala*'. [Fig. 18] The fact that he describes this last *palazzotto* so much in detail, shows that it was probably built or at least planed, perhaps for a peer nobleman, perhaps the two lords Frantzen, to whom the small treatise is dedicated, or even for Furttenbach himself and his family as a noble country house in the surrounding of Ulm.[72] This is a possibility, as the only other building that Furttenbach described and illustrated in such detail was his own house. Besides, this small garden palace would have been a perfect addition to his city house and a building task worthy of a noble councillor of a free imperial city, particularly as the end of the Thirty Years War made it safe to enjoy in freedom the countryside.

A close comparison for this Ulm *palazzotto* is the upper floor designed but never built for the north garden tower (palace) of the Hortus Palatinus in Heidelberg, the garden of the main residence of the Elector Palatine Frederick V (1596–1632).[73] [Fig. 19] Salomon de Caus (1576–1626), the prince's garden architect and designer, was

65 Furttenbach, *Civilis* (see note 10), pl. 25.
66 For the discussion of the Italian and German manners in Furttenbach, see: Schütte (see note 9).
67 Compare the *palazzotto* in pl. N° 11 with pl. N° 1 and 2 in: Furttenbach, *Recreationis* (see note 6).
68 Berthold is highly crucial of Furttenbach's designs. Berthold, 1951 (see note 1), p. 176, 226–229.
69 *'Ein Palazotto / oder ein Garten Pallästlin'* see pl. 11. Ibidem, p. 27.
70 Furttenbach, *Garten-Pallästlins-Gebäu* (see note 26).
71 *'… ein Lust-, Sommer- oder Villa-Haus im freyen Feld dastehend, einem Garten-Pallästlin zu vergleichen…'* Ibidem, title page.
72 Furttenbach, *Garten-Pallästlins-Gebäu* (see note 26).
73 Salomon De Caus, *Hortus Palatinus*, Frankfurt 1620, pl. 13. The tower's situation bares some close resemblance to the placement of the Belvedere of the

unable to complete the enlargement and modernisation of the Palatine gardens. The Thirty Years War and the election of Frederick V to the Bohemian throne brought the project to a sudden end in 1619.[74] De Caus described the abrupt end of the project when he published the plans in 1620. It is probable that Furttenbach either owned or had read this book due to his contact with the Palatine court; he had been invited twice by the elector's son and successor Charles I Louis (1617–1680) to join the court at Heidelberg as garden architect.[75] The elector had probably seen during his visit to Furttenbach's house 1653 the plans of various pleasure gardens, including the plans of this *Garten-Pallästlins-Gebäu*, which were made one year before by Furttenbach and his son. This meant that Furttenbach would have more likely inherited De Caus's Palatine garden project and been able to complete it according to his own designs and ideas. This, along with the invitation to work at the Vienna court in a similar capacity, was Furttenbach's most significant opportunity to be directly involved in the execution of princely garden projects. However, he turned down all of these invitations because of family and professional obligations and his age.[76] He appears to have been satisfied in his role as a connoisseur and writer.

Furttenbach's earliest definition of *palazzotto* persists throughout his work, even as the term was adapted to new uses. The illustration of the third pleasure garden in the *Architectura Recreationis* shows how an older castle could be remade as a modern *palazzotto*. [Fig. 20] According to Furttenbach, it is necessary to remodel both the interior and exterior in the Italian manner ('*nuova maniera*'). The illustrated building strongly resembles the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, which Furttenbach greatly admired and from which he adapted the ground plan of the first princely palace in the *Architecura civlis*.[77]

Another important palace known by him personally and which he admired is the Casino Nobile of the Villa Borghese, the first building to which Furttenbach applied the term *palazzotto*. The Casino Nobile was one of the most famous buildings of the period. The '*palazzotto Borghese*' was built between 1606 and 1633 by Flaminio Ponzio (1560–1613) and Giovanni Vasanzio (Jan van Santen, c. 1550–1621) for Cardinal Scipione Caffarelli-Borghese (1577–1633), cardinal-nephew of pope Paul V (1552–1621). Like Cardinal Damasceni Perettti, who was also a nephew and protégé of a pope, Sixtus V (1521–1590), Caffarelli-Borghese came from an uprising noble family of mercantile origins. The cardinal and his relations only attained higher status through the influence of the pope.[78] Furttenbach greatly admired the Casino Nobile and even included an idealized illustration of the ground plan in his travel book, which is the earliest published version of this building's floor plan. [Fig. 21] The *palazzotto* was still under construction while Furttenbach was in Rome, but in the margin of his travel hand book he described it with great enthusiasm as 'a well ordered Palace' ('*wol ordinirter Pallast*'), and remarked: 'The Cardinal Borghese's garden near the city is worth seeing. In it is a palazzotto, executed by the princely architect Johann van Xanten... the corners of the building are bold, strong and solidly enclosed;... there is a perspectival view through the whole building and it receives fresh air, which does not only please visitors... Therefore it can be called a beautiful princely estate'.[79]

A comparison with the true floor plan, like the one published by Falda in 1659, shows the differences and adaptations made by Furttenbach. His idealised Villa Borghese floor plan more closely resembles Alessian villas in Genoa.[80]

The proportions of the *palazzotto*, which Furttenbach emphasized in the description and noted in the floor plan, correspond to the golden ratio, which he also addressed on other occasions. Furttenbach's repeated

Villa Medici in Fiesole.

74 'Behind the described garden there is initiated a great squared tower 88 feet long and 70 feet wide which is unfinished yet, because of the fallen in of the bohemian war.' (*'Hinden an gemeldtem Garten ist ein grosser Gevierter Thurn angefangen 88. Schuch lang und 70. Breit welcher der eingefallenen Böhmischen Krieg wegen noch nicht gar fertig worden.'*) Ibidem, p. 5.

75 See above note 23.

76 Furttenbach, *Lebenslauff* (see note 4), p. 257–259.

77 Furttenbach, *Civilis* (see note 10), pl 2. This is the ground plan illustrated on the title page. See pl. 1. The plan of the piano nobile and the facade in this treatise are modelled on the Palazzo Pitti. Ibidem, pl. 1, pl. 3. See also the description of the Palazzo Pitti in Furttenbach's travel book: Furttenbach, *Itinerarium* (see note 19), pp. 78–83.

78 On the Casino Nobile, see especially: Alberta Campitelli, *Villa Borghese. Da giardino del principe a parco dei romani*, Rome 2003.

79 *'Deß Cardinal Borgese Garten vor der Statt ist wol zu sehe darinnen ein Palazioto, so vom fürstlichen Architecto Giovann von Santi auffgeführt… dass fürs erste die Eck deß Gebäws sein dapffer starck und wolgeschlossen... durch das ganze gebäw hinaus Prospectivischer weiß sehen und den frischen Lufft empfahen möge welches dem Menschen nicht allein erfröhlich... Also dass es ein schön Fürstlich Wesen mag genennet werden'.* Furttenbach, *Itinerarium* (see note 19), p. 133.

80 See: Robbia (see note 56), pp. 39–44 and compare especially the floor plan of the piano nobile in p. 40.

discussion of the concept of the *palazzotto* in his writing indicates his particular interest in this type of building. In discussing this building type, the author attempted to bring an awareness of architectural style and decor to the residences not only of aristocrats but also his own peers; the *palazzotto* is a worthy retreat for both classes.

But what are the origins of the term *palazzotto* and where did Furttenbach first encounter it? Most likely he took the word from Ligustri's engraving of the Villa Lante in Bagnaia, but he may have also adopted it much earlier, during the long Italian sojourn of his youth. As with *palazzotto* Furttenbach borrowed many Italian words, and he often used these in his works to demonstrate his erudition.[81]

However, it is unusual to use *palazzotto* as a diminutive of *palazzo*. Today it is rarely used and sounds antiquated as words such as *palazzina* or *palazzetto* are more common. *Casino*, the diminutive of *casa*, may also describe a small garden palace. These are generally preferred as the *–otto* ending endows *palazzotto* with a kind of clumsy gravity. Further, *palazzotto* does not appear in any architectural dictionary. Although studies of this term are rare, etymological research offers some interesting suggestions. And indeed the term, as a diminutive of *palazzo*, is defined as 'a palace not of large dimensions, but with a solid, massive and severe look'.[82] This is close to Furttenbach's description of the Casino Borghese as well as the other examples discussed here, the elevations and structures of which were all described in detail according to Mannerist taste. The earliest known use of this term occurs in Guiccardini's *La Historia d'Italia* of 1561.[83] Here *palazzotto* describes a building inside the Livorno harbour fortifications that was destroyed during a siege in 1496. Consequently it was used to describe a small, fortified building similar to later examples. Indeed the most frequent use of the word from Guiccardini to Manzoni is as a synonym for a fortified noble residence or castle.[84] An exception to this rule is Piero Cattaneo, who used the term in his architectural treatise of 1569.[85] There *palazzotto* refers to representative public buildings, such as those in the main city square, which were used 'to lodge foreign personalities and as embassies of allied or friendly provinces'. In Genoa it was customary to accommodate such visitors in the *Palazzi dei Rolli*, the annually selected urban palaces of the nobility.[86]

Other influential authors used terms similar to *palazzotto*. Vasari used a similar word, *palazzetto*, on two occasions in his *Vite*, once to refer to the Casino of Pio IV in the Vatican gardens and once for a small palace in Parma, probably the Palazzetto Eucherio Sanvitale in the ducal park.[87] Furttenbach's *palazzotto* is very similar to Vasari's *palazzetto*; both refer to a small garden palace used for rest and leisure.

It is not possible to know exactly how important Vasari, Cattaneo, Guicciardini and other authors were for the diffusion of *palazzotto* and its related forms. However, it is clear that the term could be applied to a wide variety of building types in the period, although it usually described structures that were made for a noble patron in the new manner and were free-standing, frequently in a garden or in a suburb.

Furttenbach remains a model for cultural transfer and the appropriation and adaptation of Italian terms and concepts.[88] As almost none of Furttenbach's projects were realized, the author's influence, of which the spread and use of the term *palazzotto* was only one example, was, as described by Berthold, 'in the preservation – and in its way - the improvement of the impressions and suggestions he incorporated [from his years in Italy and] in his importance as a reliable theoretical interpreter of his time'.[89] Thus Furttenbach's wide range of examples gives us an overview of

81 On this subject, see above and Jahr (see note 5), pp. 219–227.

82 *'...palazzo di non grandi dimensioni, ma di aspetto solido, massiccio e severo'.* Grande Dizionario Della Lingua Italiana, Turin 1984, tome 12, p. 388. An other comprehensive entry for *palazzotto* is found in: Il Dizionario della lingua Italiana, Rome 1871, tome 3, p. 723.

83 *'…vedere porre il campo da quella parte. Il Palazzotto, e la Torre dal lato di mare…'.* Francesco Guiccardini, *L'Historia d'Italia*, Florence 1561, p. 234.

84 See the examples in: *Il Grande Dizionario Della Lingua Italiana* XII, Turin 1984, p. 388.

85 *'D'altri palazzotti publici da farsi nel principale piazza…nel contorno similmente di detta piazza si potrà far un o duo palazzoti, publici per ricetto di molti personaggi forestieri, & per l'imbascierie delle provincie confederate o amiche.'* Pietro Cataneo, *I quattro libri di architettura*, Venezia 1569, book 1, p. 9.

86 The term *palazzotto* was still in use in the context of noble palaces in northern Italy, like in Mantua, during the seventeenth century. Oral communication from Roberta Piccinelli (University of Teramo) in 2014.

87 '*…il palazzetto, che è nel bosco di Belvedere, cominciato al tempo di Papa Paolo Quarto…*' Giorgio Vasari, Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori, Florence 1568, book III, part 2, p. 694. – *'… ha dipinto a fresco molte storie in un palazzetto, che ha fatto fare il detto Signor Duca nel castello di Parma, dove sono alcune fontane state condotte con bella grazia…'* Ibidem, part 3, p. 804. On the last building, see the contribution of Michele Danieli in this volume.

88 Further Jahr (see note 5).

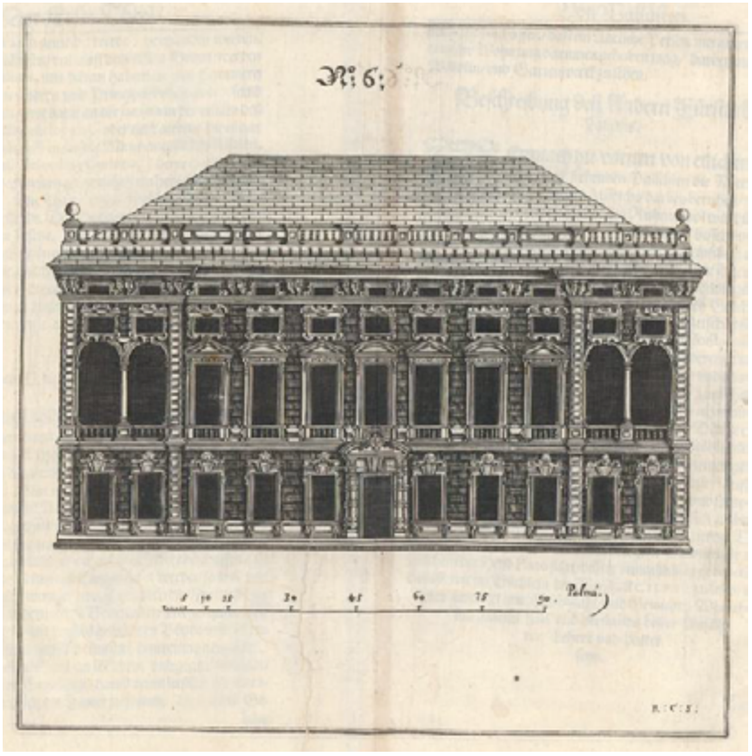
89 *'Sein grösstes Verdienst liegt auch hier in der Bewahrung und – auf seine Weise – Vervollkommnung der von ihm aufgenommenen Eindrücke und Anregungen. Das ist die Unzulänglichkeit als frei schaffender Künstler, und es ist für uns seine Bedeutung als zuverlässiger theoretischer Interpret seiner Zeit.'* Berthold 1951 (see note 1), p. 176. – For the importance of Furttenbach for the history of architecture theory see: Hanno-Walter Kruft, *Geschichte der Architektur-Theorie*, Munich 1985, p. 193–196.

the possible *palazzotti* models that his contemporaries used for their leisure palaces, which were especially sought north of the Alps after the Thirty Years' War as a place to relax from cares and find new freedom and hope.

Furttenbach chose examples of small garden palaces, which he himself could use as models for his own home. His position in society as a prominent merchant and council member of a free imperial city placed him on almost the same level as the republican noble families in Genoa, like the Saluzzo, to whom he clearly looked as a model, as well as to other new aristocratic families in Italy. It is significant that he mainly selected structures belonging to noblemen, who were also recently awarded titles or to families who came from a *cursus honorum* close to his. The *palazzotto* is presented in his treatise above all as a small building for the retreat and leisure of the prince in his gardens, but it could also be the main small garden or country palace, built or rebuilt in the modern manner for the use of a nobleman such as Saluzzo or Furttenbach himself. In selecting these specific examples of leisure places, Furttenbach brought together the highest ranks of the aristocracy with the upwardly mobile minor nobility in the *palazzotto*, showing both groups the modern manner of building a recreational 'small palace or considerable house'.

1. Johann Campan, Portrait of Joseph Furttenbach the Elder ('JOSEPHUS FURT(T)ENBACH • ANNO AETATIS XLIV • CHRI : M•DC•XXXV•'), engraving published in: Joseph Furttenbach, *Architectura Privata*, Augsburg 1635, front cover.

Photo: SLUB Dresden



2. Anonymous, Facade of the Villa Saluzzo Bombrini 'Il Paradiso', engraving published in: Joseph Furttenbach, *Architectura Civilis*, Ulm 1628, pl. N° 6.

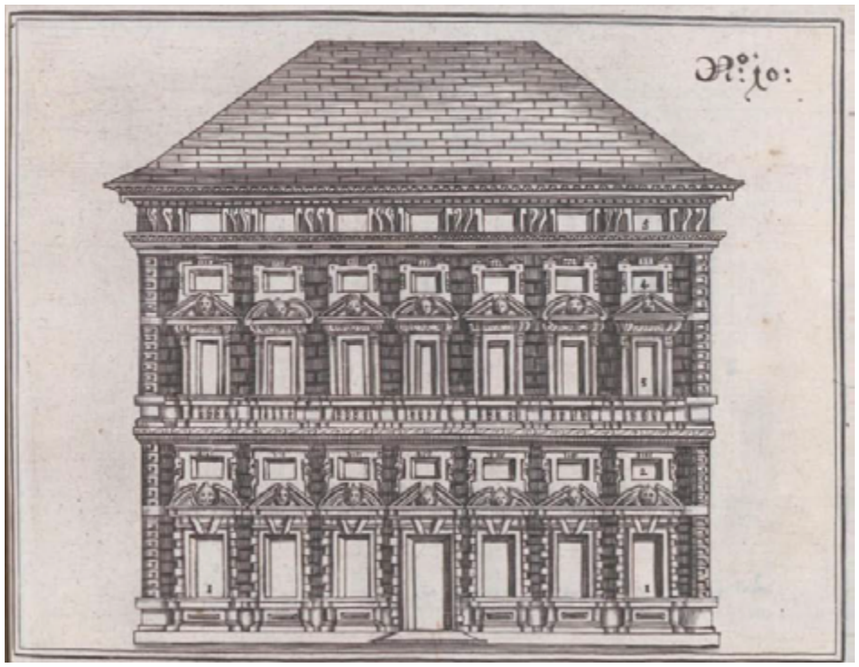
Photo: ETH-Bibliothek Zürich

3. Andrea Ceresola (Il Vannone), Facade of the Villa Saluzzo Bombrini 'Il Paradiso', Genoa.

Photo: Antonio Russo 2014.

4. Joseph Furttenbach the Elder (?), Mannhafter Kunstspiegel (detail), engraving published in: Joseph Furttenbach, *Mannhafter Kunstspiegel*, Augsburg 1663, cover picture.

Photo: SLUB Dresden

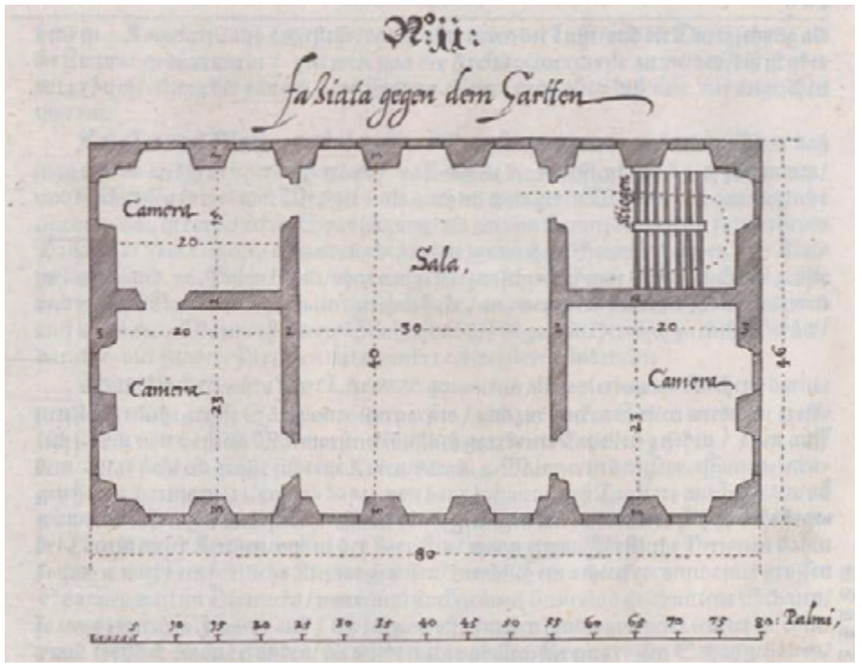


5. Anonymous, Facade of a Genoes Palazzotto (Villa Brignole 'Don Guanella'?), engraving published in: Joseph Furttenbach, *Newes Itinerarium Italiae*, Ulm 1627, pl. N° 10.

Photo: Zentralbibliothek Zürich

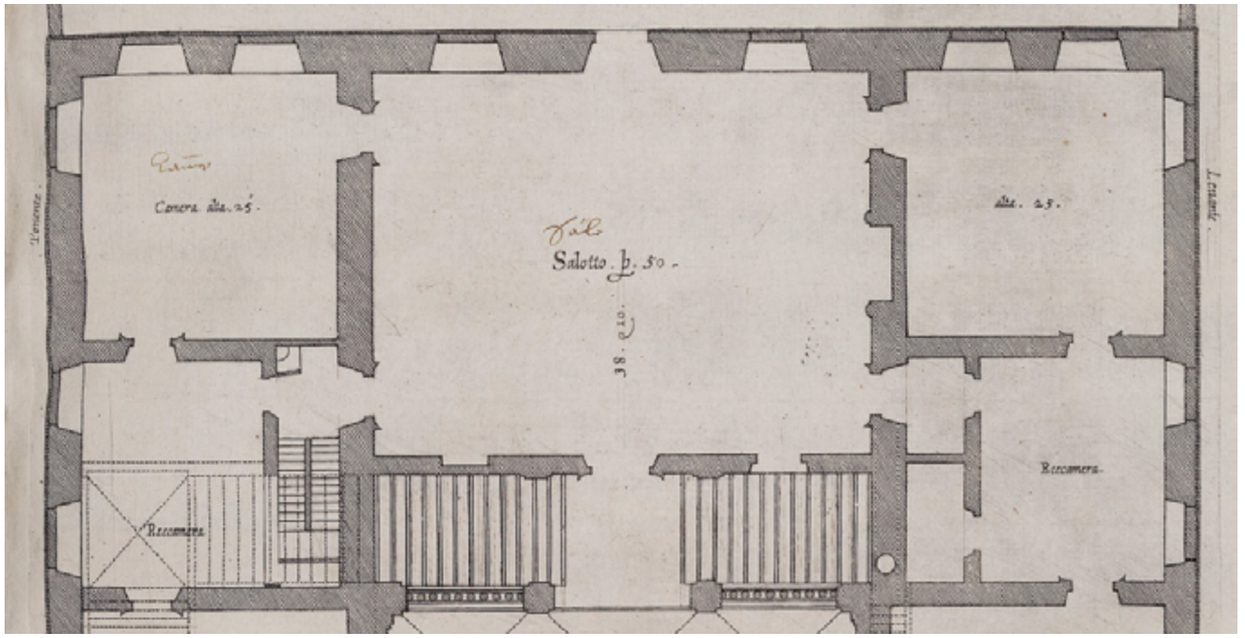
6. Bartolomeo Bianco, Facade of the Villa Brignole 'Don Guanella', Genoa, 2014.

Photo: Antonio Russo



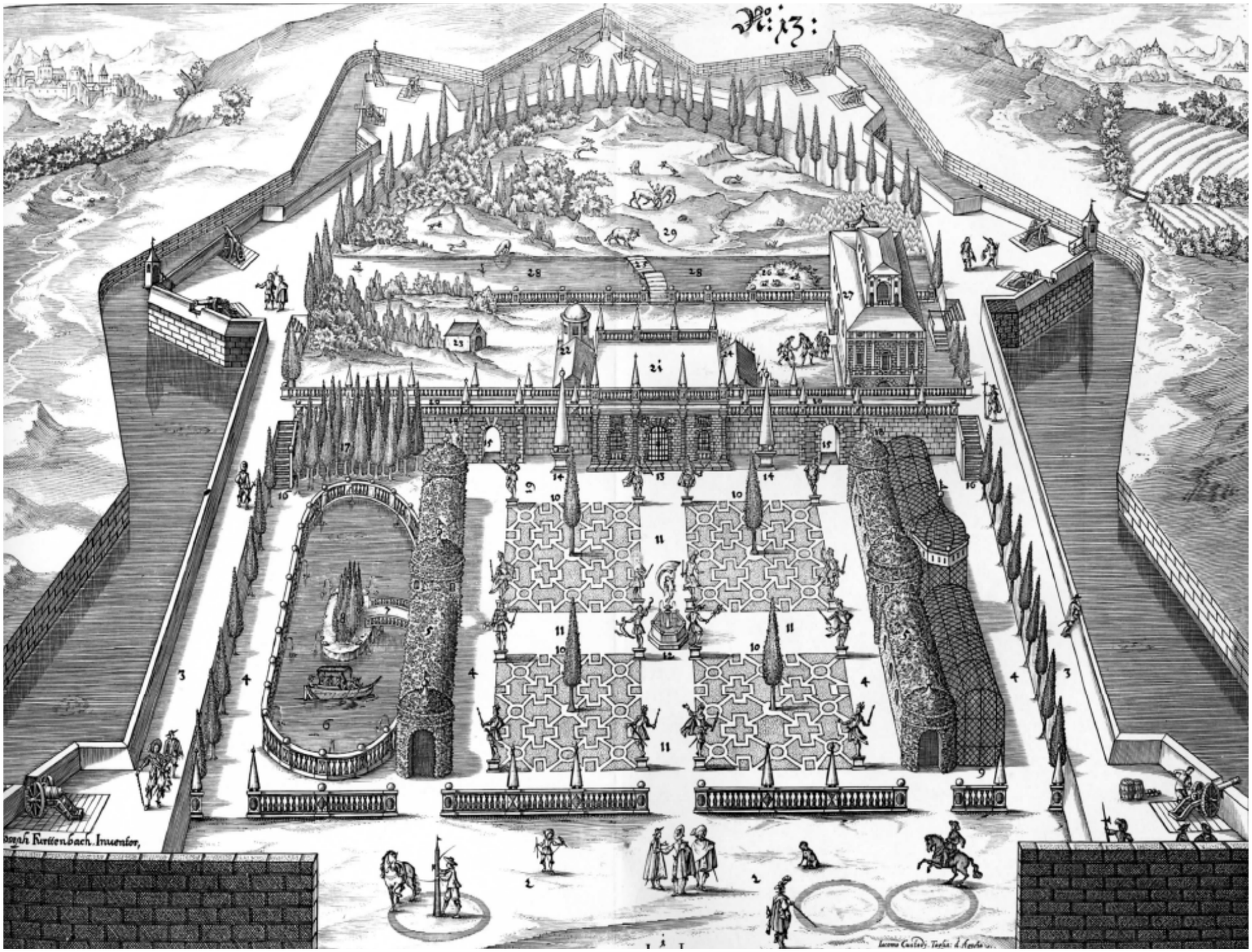
7. Anonymous, Piano nobile of a Genoese Palazzotto (Villa Brignole 'Don Guanella'?), engraving published in: Joseph Furttenbach, *Newes Itinerarium Italiae*, Ulm 1627, pl. N° 11.

Photo: Zentralbibliothek Zürich



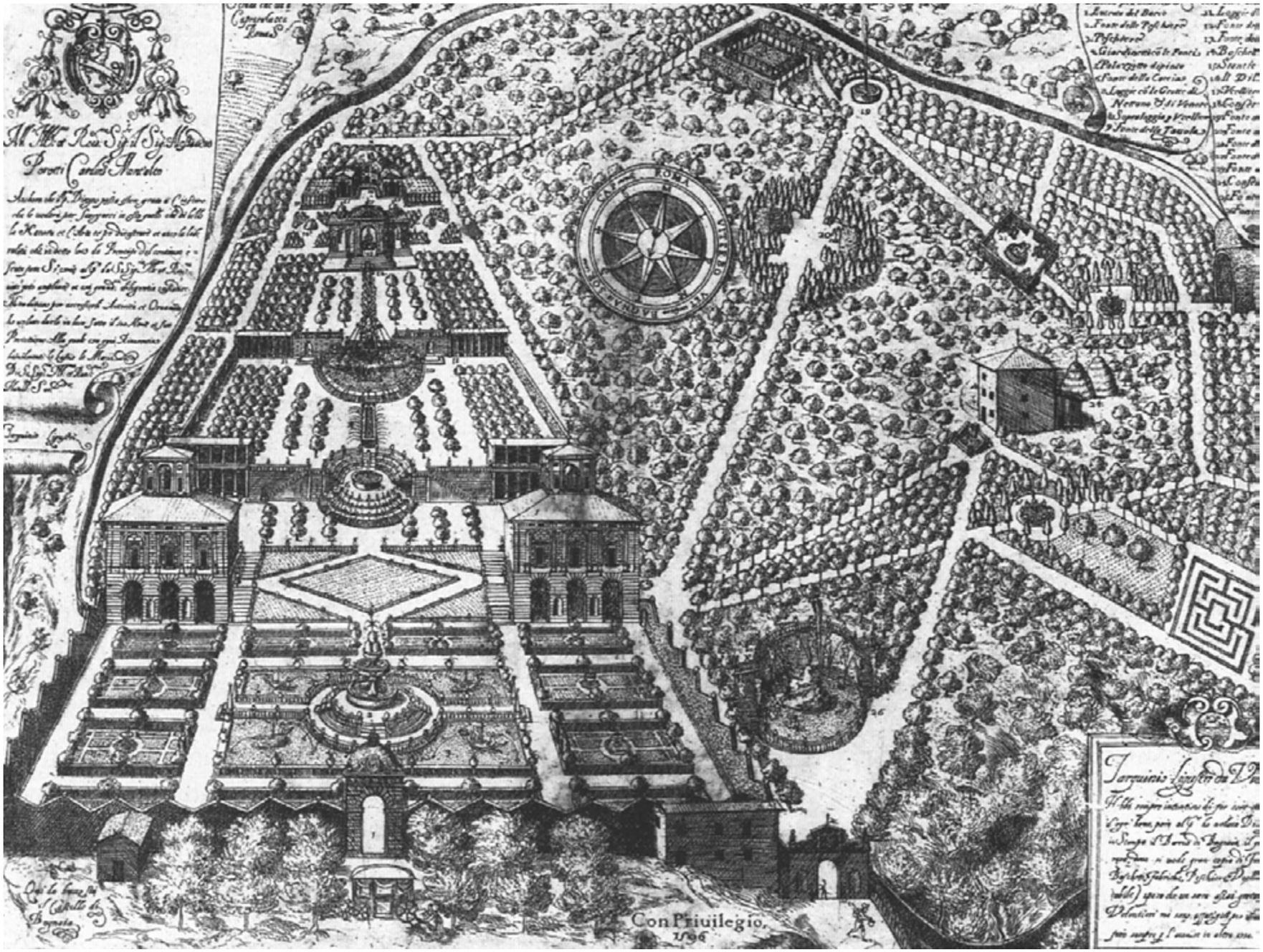
8. Peter Paul Rubens, Ground plan of the Palace of Tobia Pallavicini (detail), engraving published in: Peter Paul Rubens, *Palazzi di Genova*, Antwerp 1622, pl. 2.

Photo: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg



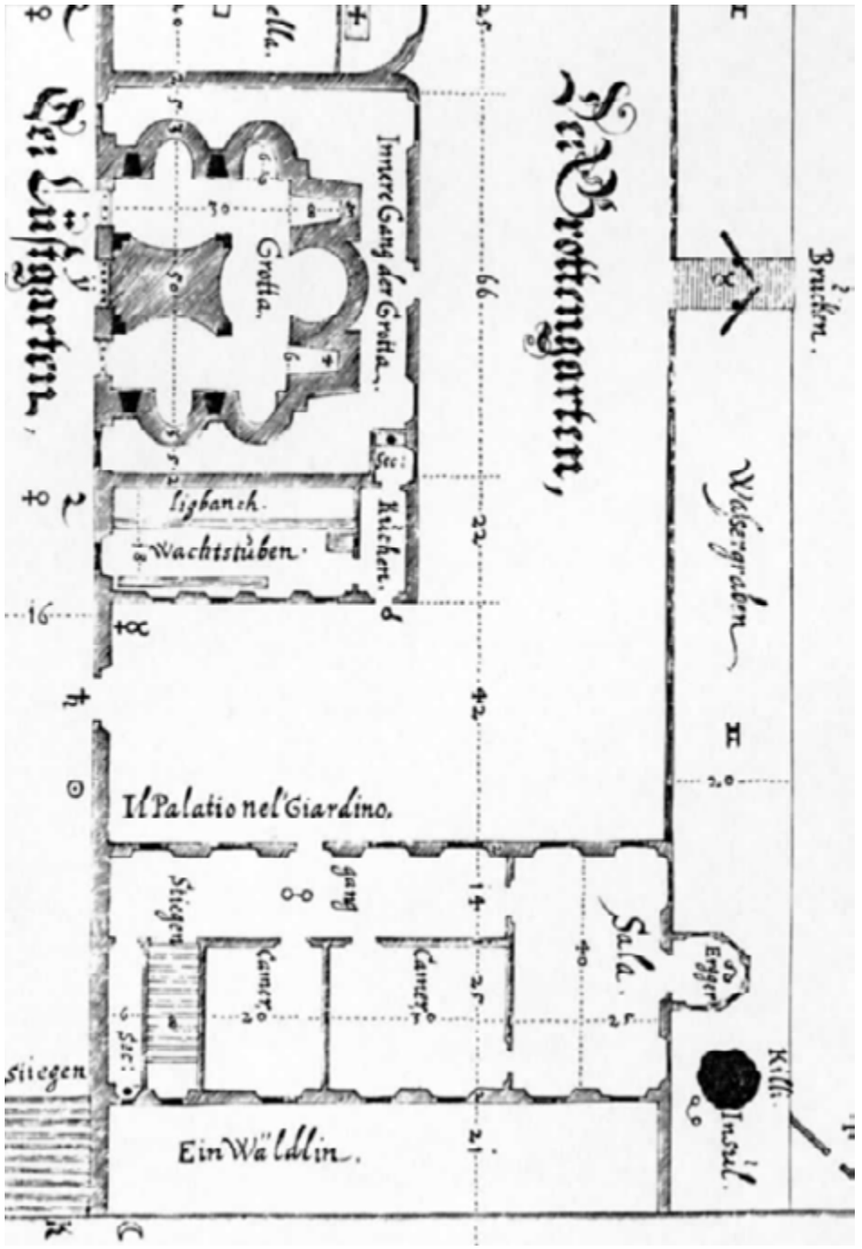
9. Joseph Furttenbach the Elder (?), Elevation of a princely pleasure and animal garden, engraved by Iacomo Custodi and published in: Joseph Furttenbach, *Architectura Civilis*, Ulm 1628, pl. N° 13.

Photo: Universitätsbibliothek der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg



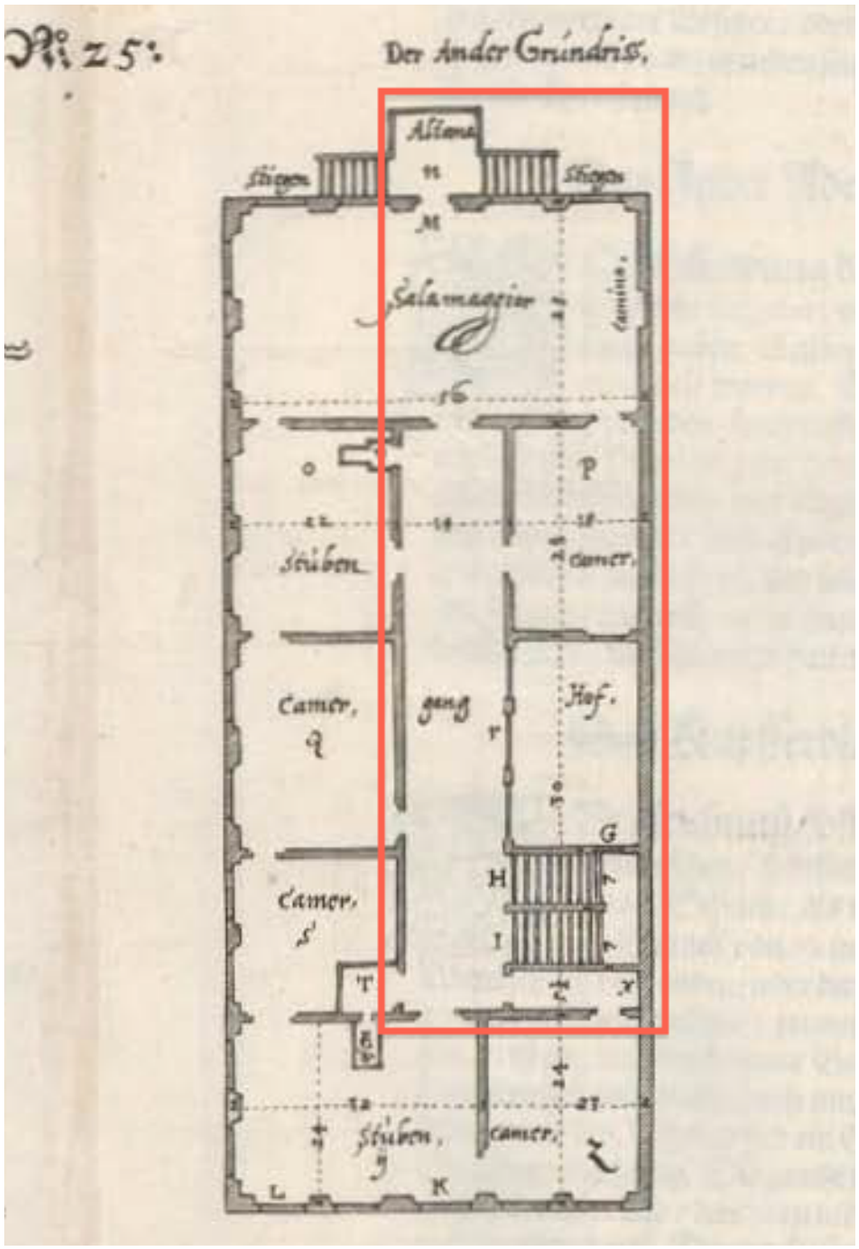
10. Tarquinio Ligustri, View of the Villa Lante in Bagnaia, engraving of 1596.

Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale Paris



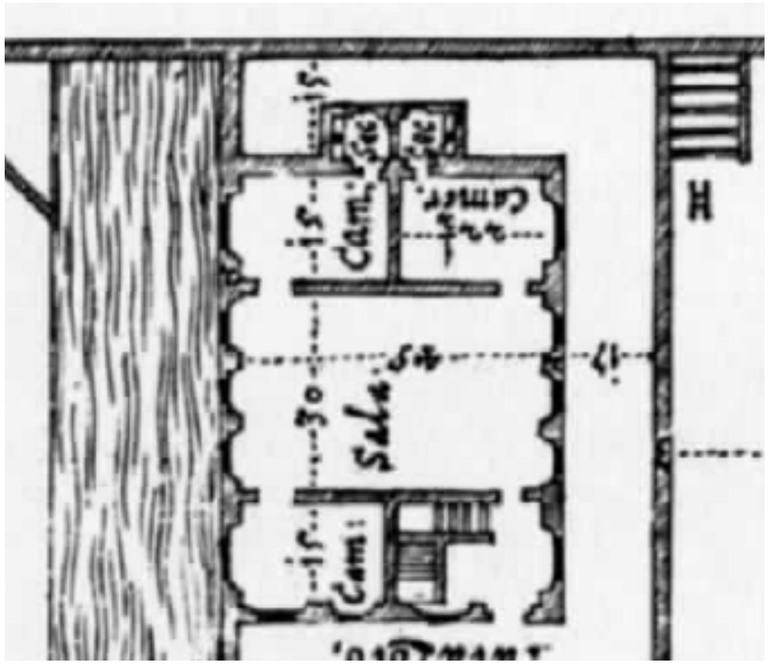
11. Joseph Furttenbach the Elder, Ground floor for the fifth pleasure garden (detail), engraving published in: Joseph Furttenbach, *Architectura Recreationis*, Augsburg 1640, pl. N° 14.

Photo: Universitätsbibliothek der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg



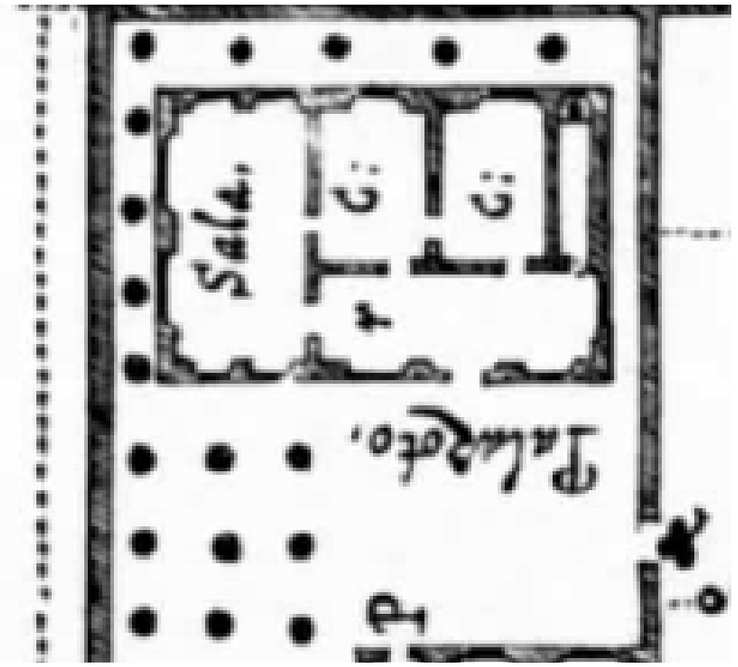
12. Joseph Furttenbach the Elder, The Piano nobile of the second noble house (detail), engraving published in: Joseph Furttenbach, *Architectura Civilis*, Ulm 1628, pl. N° 25.

Photo: ETH-Bibliothek Zürich



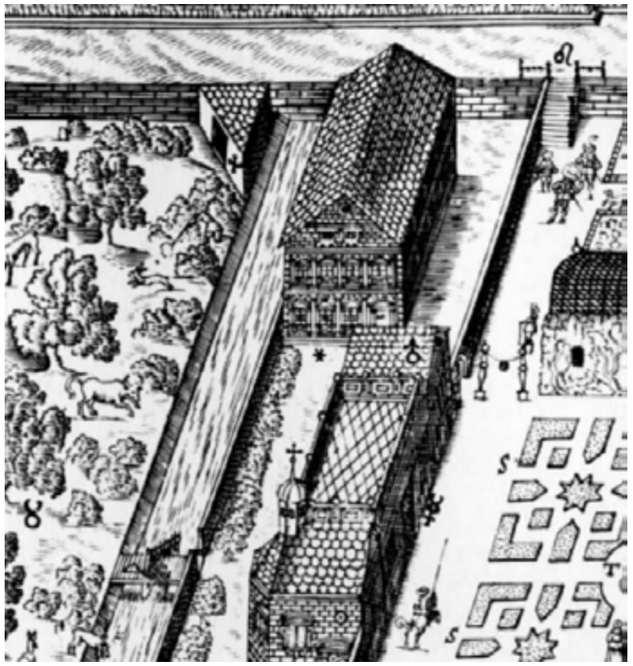
13. Joseph Furttenbach the Elder, Ground plan for the fourth pleasure garden (detail), 1636, engraving published in: Joseph Furttenbach, *Architectura Recreationis*, Augsburg 1640, pl. N° 12.

Photo: Universitätsbibliothek der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg



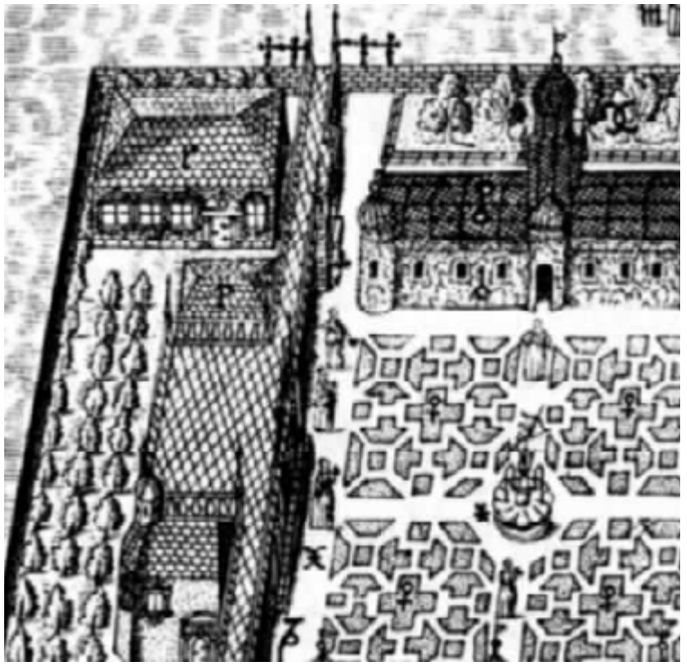
14. Joseph Furttenbach the Elder, Ground plan for the sixth pleasure garden (detail), engraving published in: Joseph Furttenbach, *Architectura Recreationis*, Augsburg 1640, pl. N° 25.

Photo: Universitätsbibliothek der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg



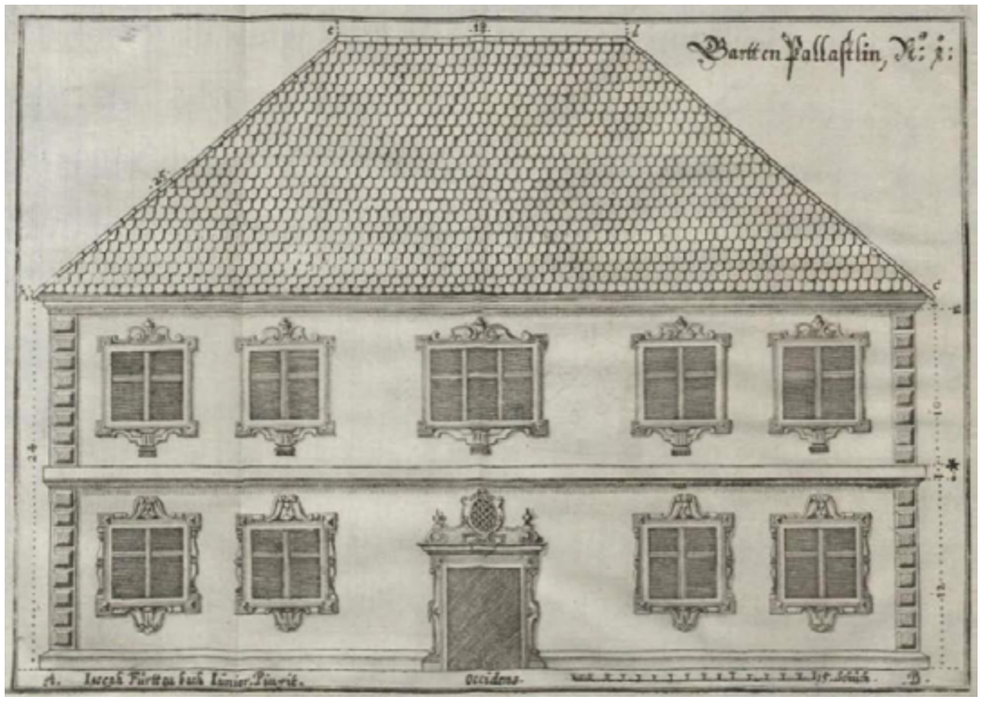
15. Joseph Furttenbach the Elder, Elevation for the fourth pleasure garden (detail), engraving published in: Joseph Furttenbach, *Architectura Recreationis*, Augsburg 1640, pl. N° 11.

Photo: Universitätsbibliothek der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg



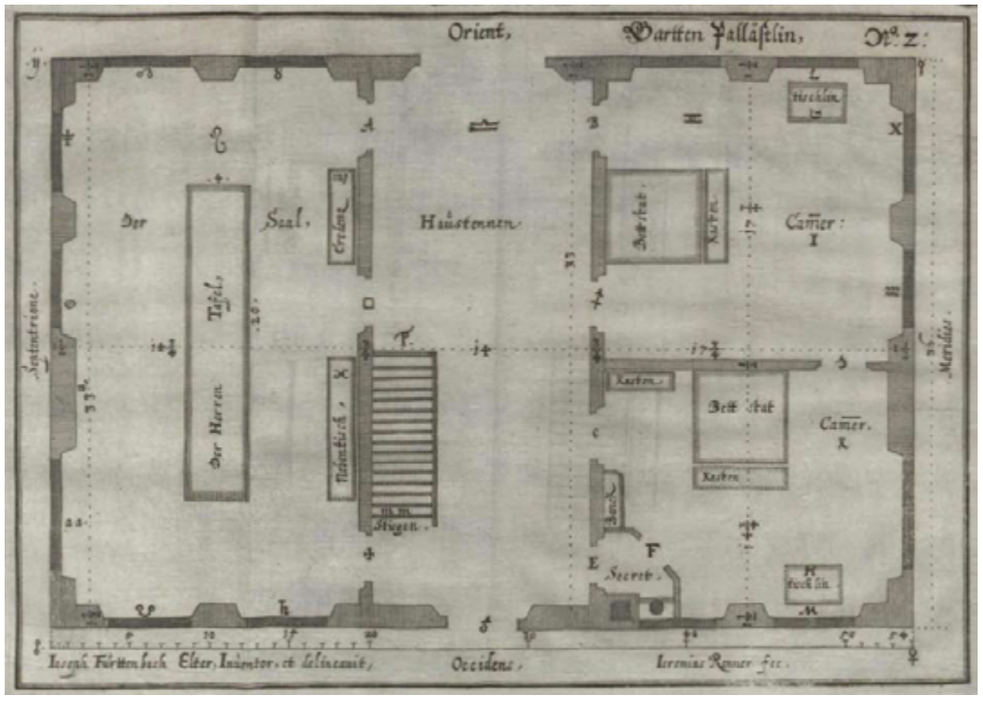
16. Joseph Furttenbach the Elder, Elevation for the sixth pleasure garden (detail), engraving published in: Joseph Furttenbach, *Architectura Recreationis*, Augsburg 1640, pl. N° 24.

Photo: Universitätsbibliothek der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg



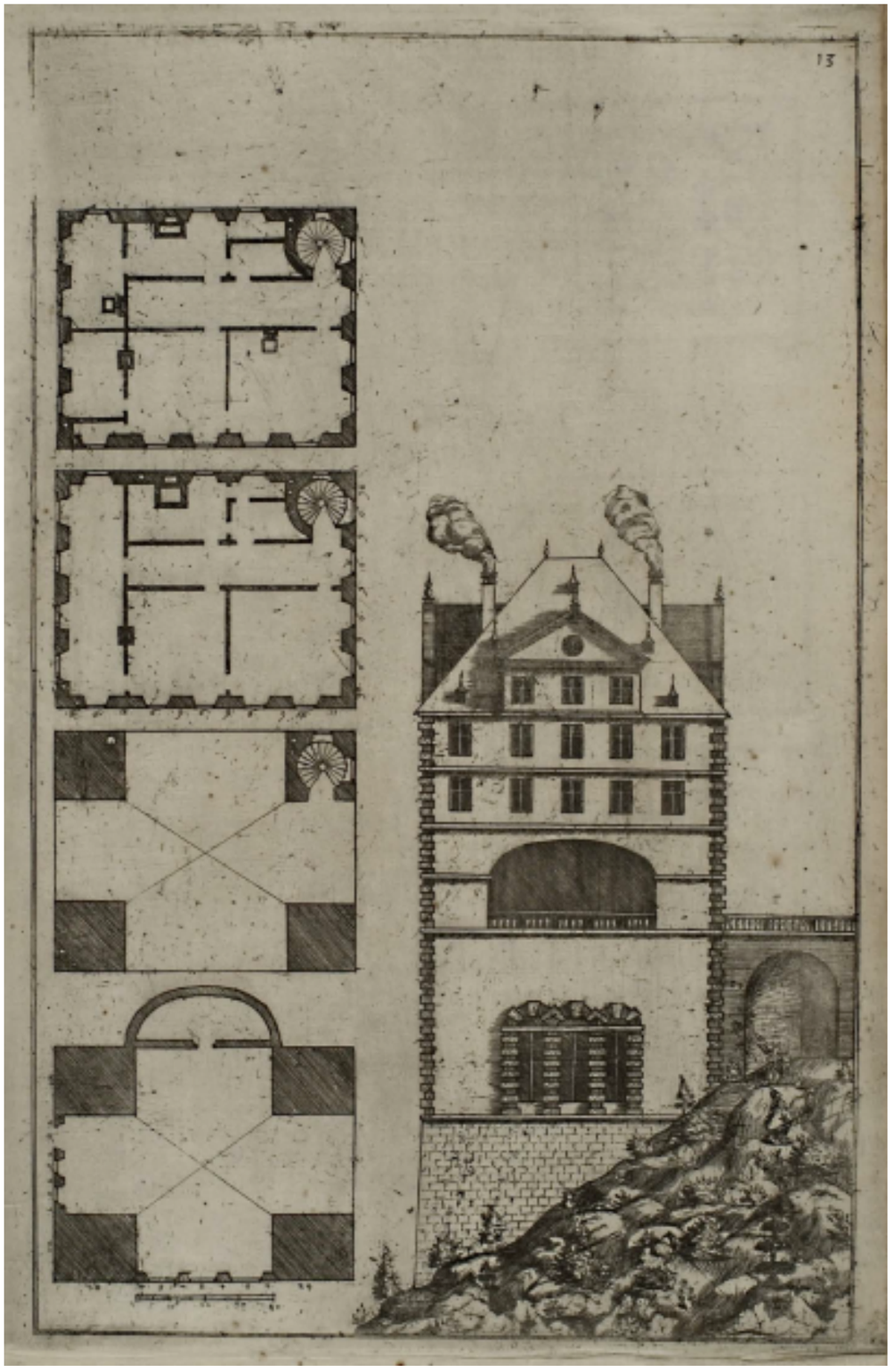
17. Joseph Furttenbach the Younger, Elevation of the Gartten-Pallastlin, engraved by Johann Schulters and published posthumously in: Joseph Furttenbach the Younger, *Garten-Pallästlins-Gebäw*, Augsburg 1667, pl. N° 1.

Photo: SLUB Dresden



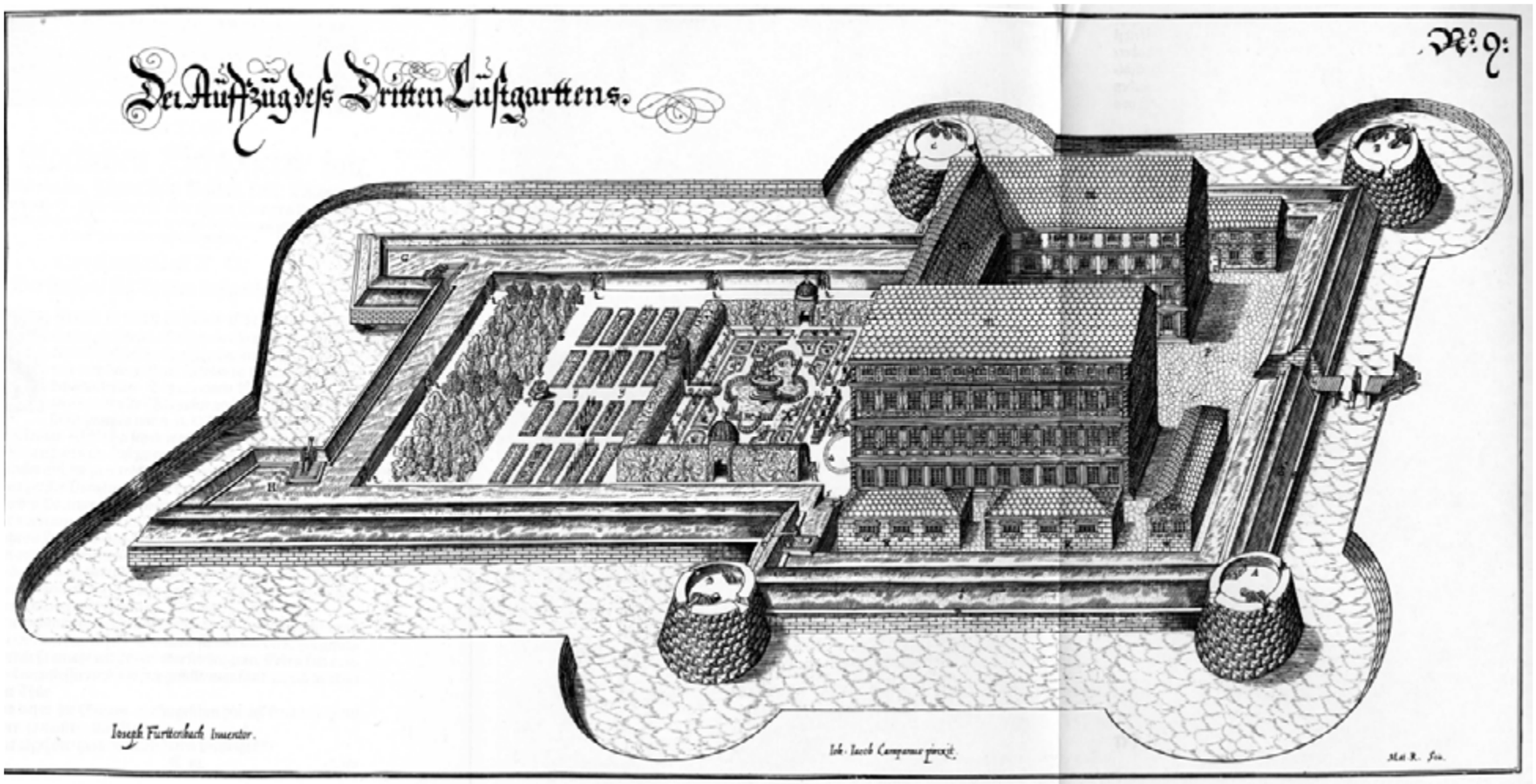
18. Joseph Furttenbach the Elder, Groud plan of the Gartten-Pallastlin, engraved by Jeremias Renner and published posthumously in: Joseph Furttenbach the Younger, *Garten-Pallästlins-Gebäw*, Augsburg 1667, pl. N° 2.

Photo: SLUB Dresden



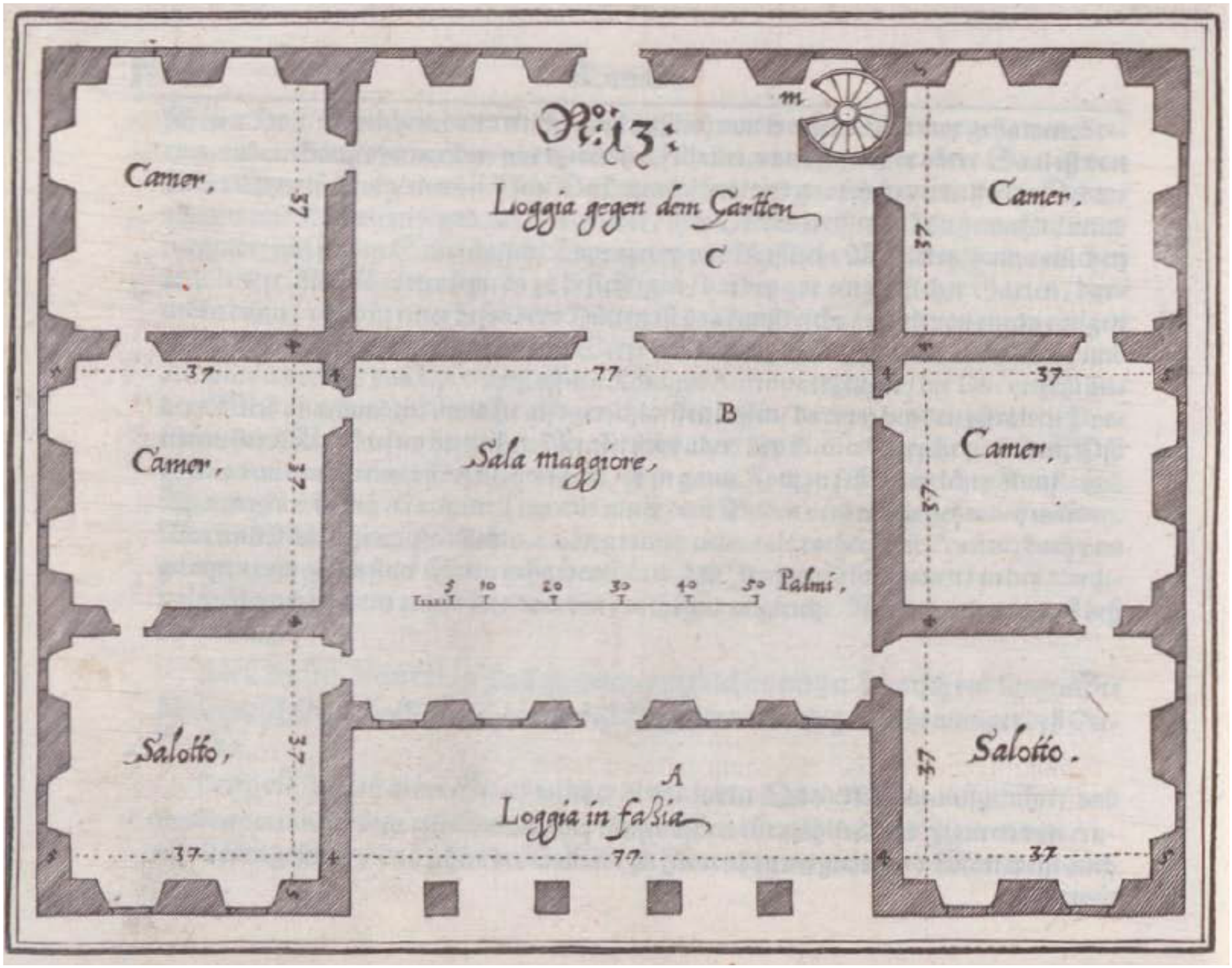
19. Salomon De Caus, Plans for the Tower of the Hortus Palatinus, engraving published in: Salomon De Caus, *Hortus Palatinus,* Frankfurt 1620, pl. 13.

Photo: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg



20. Joseph Furttenbach the Elder, Elevation of the third pleasure garden, engraved by Iacob Campanus and published in: Joseph Furttenbach, *Architectura Recreationis*, Augsburg 1640, pl. N° 9.

Photo: Universitätsbibliothek der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg



21. Joseph Furttenbach the Elder (?), Floor plan of the palazzotto Borghese in the Villa Borghese, engraving published in: Joseph Furttenbach, *Newes Itinerarium Italiae*, Ulm 1627, pl. N° 13.

Photo: Zentralbibliothek Zürich

The Venetian Casino: Form and Function

Martina Frank

The casino or *ridotto* (from *ridursi* – to reach or meet) occupies an important place in early modern Venetian culture and formed an essential complement to the palace and villa. This structure appears in both urban and suburban contexts and one must distinguish between casinos that are attached to a major residential building and those which are not physically linked to the main palace. Casinos were built at the far end of gardens, as satellite constructions and often in alignment with the secondary facade of the palace, or they were designed as autonomous apartments inside the family palace. But most casinos have no spatial or architectural relationship with a family palazzo and are unrelated and self-sufficient architectural organisms, in many cases rented apartments. In 1744 the Inquisitori di Stato listed 118 casinos; 94 of these were located in the surroundings of Piazza San Marco, especially in the parish of San Moisè.[1] The documents of the Inquisitori di Stato give an account of the holders, the users and the functions of the casinos and help define the people who frequented these independent apartments. Although the archival evidence dates from the eighteenth century, this system developed over decades, and these records shed light on that process.

Studies on the Venetian casinos have focused on the eighteenth century and mainly deal with the activities they are most commonly known for, gambling and licentious behaviour.[2] In this period, gambling, and therefore loosing money, posed a problem for the whole of Europe, but nowhere was it so widespread as in Venice, where games of chance were played by all kinds of people: nobles, citizens, men, women and foreigners. Jonathan Walker has shown how the increasing interest in gambling in seventeenth-century Venice was related to the increasing value for wealth over virtue in defining nobility.[3] Therefore, a loss of money did not equate to a lose of honour, and in feigning indifference to his or her losses, a noble could even derive a degree of prestige. The establishment in 1638 of the first public gambling house in Europe in Palazzo Dandolo at San Moisè must be understood in this context.[4]

The records of the Inquisitori highlights the variety of functions even if terms such as '*casin da conversazione*' and its alternative '*casin da gioco*', are rather imprecise, and in many cases a *ridotto* served both functions. As early as the sixteenth century authorities had tried on several occasions to regulate conduct in casinos.[5] At that time they were mostly organized as private societies or academies and their statutes regulated the roles of individual members. These academies were a mirror of the Venetian society; their organization followed the hierarchical structure of the state and their written rules echoed the laws of the Republic.[6] But already by the end of the sixteenth century, renting an apartment as a *ridotto* during Carnival had become common practice.[7]

1 Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Inquisitori di stato*, busta 914, Casinos di conversazione e giuoco. The documents are well known and have been used and cited by scholars since the early twentieth century. See for instance: Giovanni Dolcetti, *Le bische e il giuoco d'azzardo a Venezia (1172–1807)*, Venice 1903. The most complete and recent study on *casinos* is: Emanuela Zucchetta, *Antichi ridotti veneziani. Arte e società dal Cinquecento al Settecento*, Rome 1988.

2 Manlio Brusatin, *Venezia nel Settecento: stato, architettura, territorio*, Turin 1980, p. 36.

3 Jonathan Walker, Gambling and Venetian Noblemen, *Past & Present*, No. 192, 1999, p. 67: *'Gambling was used […] to assert the independence of nobles from the economic control of the state – money was staked on the turn of a card as blood was staked on a infinitesimal 'point' of honour'*. Walker compares this practice with French duels, which were used to assert the nobility's independence of the crown. The changes in aristocratic behaviour, which are linked to the controversial admission of new families into ranks of the nobility, are discussed in: Dorit Raines, *L'invention du mythe aristocratique. L'image de soi du patriciat vénitien au temps de la Sérénissime*, Venice 2006.

4 The Casino Dandolo was open only during Carnival, and the president had to wear a toga, the official robe of Venetian patricians. Zucchetta (see note 1), p. 18, pp. 96–99.

5 Dolcetti (see note 1), p. 224; Zucchetta (see note 1), pp. 12–13, with documents and bibliography.

6 Gino Benzoni, Le accademie e l'istruzione, in: Alberti Tenenti – Ugo Tucci (eds.), *Storia di Venezia IV, Il Rinascimento. Politica e cultura*, Rome 1996, pp. 789–816.

7 In 1609 the Council of X declared that private *ridotti* are *'tulerabili mentre servivano per onesta conversatione'* but concludes that it is forbidden to *'tener alcuna casa o pigliarne all'affitto da altri, solo o accompagnato da chi si sia, se non per propria et ordinaria habitatione, sotto alcun immaginabile pretesto,*

Therefore, at the turn of the seventeenth century the casino could have two main functions. It might either be a place of divertissement, a meeting place for intellectual debates or occasionally the seat of an academy. During the first decades of the seventeenth century, the mezzanine of Andrea Morosini's palace on the Grand Canal at San Luca was one of the most important places for intellectual discussion in all of Europe; Galileo Galilei, Giordano Bruno, Paolo Sarpi and many others had frequented this casino. Archival evidence has allowed us to identify the location of Morosini's casino,[8] but many, or even most of the important intellectual groups, including the Academia degli Incogniti, founded in 1630 by Giovanni Francesco Loredan, cannot be connected to a precise location.[9] Part of the difficulty in locating these casinos derives from the interest in secrecy or camouflage. For example, the casino in Morosini's palace, although found in the mezzanine of that building, is a completely independent unit with a separate entrance and no connection to the rest of the interior. However, there is no indication in the facade that such a discrete unit exists.[10]

This type of camouflage developed in the eighteenth century, and nearly all of the hundreds of recorded casinos are of this type. It is their function that changes, turning from academy to gambling house, rather than their form.[11] The Casino Venier is remarkable for its very good state of preservation and offers an idea of a typical casino interior.[12] However, paintings by Pietro Longhi depict *Settecento* casino interiors and their guests.

Casinos appear as autonomous buildings on the periphery of the city and the islands where palaces have often gardens and occasionally functioned as suburban villas. Palazzo Michiel on the Rio della Sensa in Cannaregio has a casino at the end of the garden that, like the main palace, was built in the early sixteenth century. The same architectural elements articulate the casino's facade on the Rio della Madonna dell'Orto as are featured on the palace itself. It was probably frescoed as well.[13] The Casino degli Spiriti, built in the first half of the sixteenth century, stands at the bottom end of the garden of Palazzo Contarini dal Zaffo at the Misericordia. [Fig. 1] This is an early extant example of a freestanding casino with an access from both the lagoon and the garden. The Casino degli Spiriti served as the meeting place of an academy and was visited by Pietro Aretino, Titian and Jacopo Sansovino, among others. The Casino degli Spiriti was not aligned with the main palazzo but was located in the corner of the property, presumably to take advantage of the views of the lagoon.[14] Viewed from outside the garden, the casino is a landmark structure, but the facade is not developed architecturally. This is solution was unique.

Little is known about the two casinos, likely built at the turn of the sixteenth century in the courtyard of Palazzo Benci Zecchini Girardi near the church of Madonna dell'Orto.[15] [Fig. 2] Today only one of these square pavilions remains, and although the surrounding palazzo has since been converted to a hospital, one can still see how the casinos were embedded into the sides of a square courtyard. The rusticated portal and window frames are derived from Serlian models as is the articulation of the lateral wall of the courtyard. The twin structures were originally connected by a terrace over a colonnaded doorway that probably led to warehouses at the edge of the lagoon.[16] [Fig. 3]

The Casino Mocenigo on Murano [Fig. 4], built for Gerolamo Morosini between the 1590s and the first decade of the seventeenth century,[17] differs in both form and function from the Venetian casinos and may represent a cultural expression unique to the city's outlying islands. The facade of the low building overlooking the lagoon is articulated with pilasters and aedicule windows. The casino served as the gate to a large garden, which was

ovvero nome supposito'. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, *Parti prese nel Consiglio dei Dieci in materia di ridotti, casinos e scommesse*, Rari V, 357232, September 18, 1609. The council was not able to halt the proliferation of casinos in Venice.

8 Antonio Favaro, Un ridotto scientifico in Venezia al tempo di Galileo Galilei, *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* V, 1893, pp. 199–209.

9 Clizia Carminati, Loredan, Giovan Francesco, in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani LXV*, Rome 2005, pp. 761–770, with bibliography.

10 Benzoni (see note 6), describes the *casino* as *'architettonicamente sagomato'*.

11 Private casinos (*'casino nobile'*) located in palace mezzanines became more common. For example, in Palazzo Sagredo at Santa Sofia, a gothic building with renovated interior, the casino added in the upper mezzanine is decorated with stuccoes by Abbondio Stazio, dated 1718. The rooms once hosted the collection of drawings belonging to Zaccaria Sagredo, one of the most celebrated art collectors of the period. Furthermore, the palace renovations also included a new space dedicated to divertissement: the Sala della Musica. Massimo Favilla – Ruggero Rugolo, *Venezia barocca*, Schio 2009, p. 233.

12 Annalisa Bristot, Casino Venier, in: *Venezia restaurata* 1966–1986, Milan 1986, pp. 147–149.

13 Elena Bassi, *Palazzi di Venezia*, Venice 1976, pp. 444–447. – John Dixon Hunt, *The Venetian City Garden. Place, Typology, and Perception*, Basel – Boston – Berlin 2009, p. 73.

14 Ibidem, p. 75, and for a discussion of Francesco Guardi's drawing and painting, pp. 118–120. – Zucchetta (see note 1), p. 34.

15 Bassi (see note 13), pp. 308–313.

16 Hunt (see note 13), p. 73.

17 Zucchetta (see note 1), pp. 88–90.

converted into an industrial park in the nineteenth century.[18] The garden and casino were independent of any larger palace complex, and the owners and their guests used the space only for short stays, arriving from Venice by gondola. The casino consisted of four rooms, one used for service and three others decorated with illusionistic frescoes, of which only the upper parts have survived. [Fig. 5] The three rooms are dedicated to music, poetry and love, and the humanistic mythological program and *quadratura* design are derived from Villa Barbaro at Maser. The majority of the design, both for the architecture and painting, was executed by Dario Varotari and Antonio Vassillacchi, called l'Alliense, both of whom were members of the Veronese workshop.[19]

Constructing an isolated and autonomous casino on Murano in the late *Cinquecento* was unusual because in that period the island was, like the Giudecca, mainly used as a rural retreat. At the end of the *Quattrocento* Murano was known for its gardens and suburban residences; indeed, in 1533 Marino Sanudo stated that, '*A Muran si fa belle feste*'.[20] Among the most well-known residences, are the villa and garden of Nicolò Priuli, which Andrea Calmo praised in his *Piacevoli et ingeniosi discorsi* of 1557 as a '*Paradiso terrestre...liogo di ninfe e de semidei*'. Also of note are Andrea Navagero's gardens, which were described by Pietro Bembo and Navagero himself in letters to Giovanni Battista Ramusio. Navagero's botanical garden contained numerous exotic plants, many of which had been acquired by the owner himself while acting as Venetian ambassador to Spain in the 1520s. In the late fifteenth century, before her 'exile' in Asolo, Queen Caterina Cornaro of Cyprus used a villa in Murano to escape the pressures of urban life. The Grimani owned two palaces on the island as well as a casino near Santa Chiara. Cardinal Domenico Grimani's 1523 will indicates that a number of antique sculptures were displayed in the casino and the gardens, which the cardinal left to the adjacent monastery.[21] Many of the suburban residences in Murano were owned by members of the most influential, wealthy and culturally sophisticated families of the Venetian ruling class. In addition to the early cinquecento examples mentioned above, significant villas on Murano include: the Palazzo Trevisan, which has been attributed to Palladio and Daniele Barbaro;[22] the two Soranzo villas;[23] Ca' Giustinian, a villa originally belonging to the Capello family but whose appearance today is the result of an early eighteenth century renovation by Antonio Gaspari;[24] and Villa Corner, the old villa of Caterina Cornaro, which was remodelled by Vincenzo Scamozzi and is probably the only building in this group whose form is unequivocally that of a villa.[25] Although very little material from these suburban residences survives, the Casino Mocenigo remains an eccentric outlier as an autonomous, self-sufficient building, suitable for day trips but lacking accommodations for over-night stays.

Like Murano, the Giudecca had been a destination for *villeggiatura* since the late Middle Ages. Jacopo de' Barbari's bird's–eye view of Venice (1500) documents a row of palaces with facades oriented towards the city and deep gardens stretching toward the lagoon. Sanudo's diary provides important details, especially regarding Palazzo Dandolo. This palace, later owned by the Barbaro and Nani families, is also mentioned by Francesco Sansovino in 1581. Its importance as suburban residence is confirmed again in 1755, just a few years before its demolition, when a dinner in honour of the Duke of Bavaria was given there.[26] Sansovino also records Ca' Vendramin, and the houses and gardens of the Gritti, the Mocenigo and the Cornaro families as being among

18 Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Archivio Mocenigo S. Samuele*, busta 84, *'Storico sul come pervenuto nella famiglia Mocenigo l'Orto ed il Casin di Murano da esser continuato fino all'acquisto che di essi fa la N.D. Lucietta Memmo Co[ntessa] Mocenigo e porvi le aggiunte da essa fatte'.*

19 Emanuela Zucchetta, Gli affreschi del casino Mocenigo di Murano: tra armonia ed evasione, *Notizie da Palazzo Albani,* No. 1, 1985, pp. 54–62. – *Patricia Fortini-Brown, Private Lives in Renaissance Venice: Art, Architecture and the Family*, New Haven-London 2004, pp. 247– 250. – Elizabeth Carroll Consavari, *The Artist as Mediator: Dario Varotari's Role at the Casino Mocenigo*, Paper presented at RSA Annual Meeting in Venice, 2014.

20 Patrick Monahan, Sanudo and the Venetian villa suburbana, *Annali di architettura*, No. 21, 2004, pp. 45–64 (45).

21 Vincenzo Zanetti, *Guida di Murano e delle sue celebri fornaci vetrarie*, Venice 1866.

22 Richard Goy, *Venetian Vernacular Architecture: Traditional housing in the Venetian lagoon*, New York 1989, pp. 216–227. – Paola Modesti, Qualche tassello nella storia di Ca' Trevisan a Murano, in: Franco Barbieri – Donata Battilotti – Guido Beltramini (eds.), *Palladio 1508–2008: il symposio del cinquecentenario*, Venice 2008, pp. 308–315. – Monahan (see note 20), p. 60.

23 Ibidem, pp. 58–59.

24 Bassi (see note 13); Goy (see note 22), pp. 238–240.

25 Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'idea dell'architettura universale*, Venice 1615, part I, book III, chapter 14, p. 280. – Zanetti (see note 21), p. 282. – Goy (see note 22), p. 206. A dinner for Cosimo III de'Medici was hosted in this villa, and afterward the future Grand Duke visited the Casino Widmann where he saw frescoes of the virtues by Paolo Veronese. This casino is Palazzo Trevisan, or a part of it, as Ludovico Widmann rented the prestigious building in 1661 after the family was inducted into the ranks of the Venetian nobility. Fabio Mutinelli, *Annali urbani di Venezia*, Venice 1841, p. 597. – Bassi (see note 13), p. 528.

26 Monahan (see note 20), p. 54. – Bassi (see note 13), pp. 514–517.

the most important suburban structures on the island.[27] However, this list is not exhaustive; a sixteenth century drawing documents the project for a casino to be built at the far end of a garden of a one-storey *palazzetto* with courtyard belonging to Alvise Grimani.[28]

Northern painters of the early seventeenth century often painted gardens with a loggia on the lagoon, indicating that this was a common arrangement in Venice. However, rather than representing a specific architectural space, these paintings depict the garden as a specifically Venetian social space that came to represent the city as a whole. As Patrick Monahan has demonstrated, in early *Cinquecento* suburban villas, the casino's typology is based on its function rather than its architectural features. These paintings emphasize the relationship between the garden, loggia, lagoon and the urban environment. Ideally they show that escape from the constrictions of urban life is itself a feature of urban life. The Antwerp painter Lodevijk Toeput (Ludovico Pozzoserrato) may be the most eloquent interpreter of Venetian *villeggiatura*, but paintings by Louis De Caullery also depict this idealized Venice, characterized by the connection between the water's surface, the urban skyline and a loggia-type structure. [Fig. 6]

Although the Martinioni's additions (published in 1663) to Sansovino's book (first published in 1581) do not observe much note-worthy new architecture on the Giudecca and in the seventeenth century *villeggiatura* increasingly became a phenomenon of the *terra ferma*, Venetian interest in water views continued. The casino of Sante Cattaneo (now destroyed) near the Convertite monastery emerges as the most significant mid-seventeenth-century building on the Giudecca. Martinioni describes it as a small, one-storey building with courtyard, garden and loggia on the lagoon with rich pictorial decoration. The account of Cosimo III de'Medici's visit to this casino in 1664 describes the casino in terms that emphasite exactly the elements shown in the paintings of Pozzoserrato and De Caullery. '*Fu al casino del Cattani, abbellito di giardino, festone e quadri con altre cose tutte belle, con una vista sul mare, et una sulla città, casa bellissima, vi erano fontane e grotto...*'[29]

Casinos built in alignment with the palace at the far end of their gardens or courtyards also occur frequently in the seventeenth century, but in these cases the palaces are usually urban residences and their casinos often serve as gatehouses from the water. This configuration occurs at several palaces in Cannaregio. These palazzo complexes were built on the arrangement first observed in Palazzo Michiel in the early *Cinquecento*. The casino of Palazzo Rizzo Patarol near the Madonna dell'Orto at the northern border of the city still stands, although it was remodelled in the early nineteenth century when its botanical garden was redone in the English style.[30] The casino of Palazzo da Lezze at the Misericordia also survives. [Fig. 7] Designed by Baldassare Longhena in the mid-seventeenth century but since altered, drawings by Antonio Visentini indicate that it served as a triumphal gateway rather than a casino.[31] [Fig. 8] Similar architectural remains are found at the Misericordia/San Girolamo, Sensa and Madonna dell'Orto/Sant'Alvise on three parallel canals, indicating that structures of this type were widespread.

Although little is known about the decoration of early baroque casinos, archival sources and historical descriptions indicate that rather than frescoes, many casinos were decorated with individual paintings on panel or canvas from the owners' collections. These were displayed not only in interior spaces but also, as at Cattaneo's place, in porticos, courtyards and gardens. Bernardo Gallia, a wealthy lawyer, housed part of his art collection at his Muranese '*casin sopra rio*', and in an inventory of 1681 indicates the presence of a variety of landscape paintings and related subjects, such as the four seasons and battle scenes. Paintings were also displayed in the garden loggia.[32] The 1661 inventory of the mercantile Rizzo family's casino and garden on the Fondamente Nuove

27 On Palazzo Vendramin, now destroyed, and Ca' Mocenigo see: Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare* […] *fino al presente 1663 da Giustiniano Martinioni*, Venice 1663, p. 369. – Bassi (see note 13), pp. 520–523 and pp. 524–527. – Hunt (see note 13), p. 93. Sansovino also describes the botanical collections in Ca' Cornaro and famous visitors including Pietro Aretino and Pietro Bembo.

28 Hunt (see note 13), p. 95. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Archivio Grimani*, busta 7.

29 Mutinelli (see note 25), pp. 589–590.

30 Martina Frank, A proposito di giardini, boschi e legnami, in: Alessio Fornasin – Claudio Povolo, *Per Furio. Studi in onore di Furio Bianco*, Udine 2014, pp. 219–224. – Zucchetta (see note 1), p. 104. – Hunt (see note 13), pp. 74–75.

31 This architectural solution recalls the loggia of Palazzo Trevisan in Murano, which was rented by the da Lezze family at that time. Martina Frank, *Baldassare Longhena*, Venice 2004, p. 196. The original casino, now replaced by a modern building of unknown authorship, overlooked the courtyard.

32 Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Giudici di petizion*, Inventari, busta 383, No. 54, March 17, 1681; Linda Borean, Bernardo Gallia, in: Linda Borean – Stefania Mason, *Il collezionismo d'arte a Venezia. Il Seicento*, Venice 2007, pp. 272–273. The inventory lists *'Sotto la Lozza nel Giardin'* seven large paintings with historical subjects and under the *'lozetta'* two other paintings of similar dimensions, *'il Seralgio del Gran Signor'* and the *'Scurial de' Spagna'*.

records that the exterior walls were decorated with paintings on canvas.[33] There are a few other known examples of this type of decoration and display, but further archival research would provide a more precise idea of the relationship between interior and exterior and architecture and decoration at these casinos.

Although there is no single dominant architectural type for Venetian garden casinos until the mid-seventeenth century, changes to Venetian residential architecture in the later *Seicento* also affected casinos and other satellite buildings. The history of these casinos, whose primary purpose was not gambling, were designed rather in order to provide Venetian palaces with spaces for festivities, music and study.[34] This need for recreation and leisure could be satisfied either by remodelling the palazzo itself or by creating free-standing structures, a solution which was increasingly employed from the middle of the seventeenth century and which rooted on the experience of the *casino nobile*.

Recorded in an engraving by Luca Carlevarijs from 1703, the casino belonging to Ca' Zane near San Stin in the *sestiere* of San Polo, is one of the most significant examples of this type of casino. [Fig. 9] The architect Antonio Gaspari designed a *palazzetto* which included a double-height central hall encircled by a musicians' balcony, at the end of the palazzo's garden. The rear facade overlooks Rio Marin. The project was completed in 1698 when Sebastiano Ricci painted the ceiling fresco.[35] [Fig. 10] This central space was designed for concerts while smaller chambers provided opportunities for more intimate gatherings. Gaspari had originally planned to house the family's library in the main palace, but in 1699 Marino Zane ordered a separate building for the library, adjacent to the new casino. In the early eighteenth century Domenico Rossi remodelled the garden and casino in order to introduce a kind of *frons scenae*. The library was later torn down, and the garden is now occupied by a later building. [Fig. 11]

The creation of libraries,[36] concert halls and ballrooms as independent buildings was one of the most significant challenges for Venetian architects in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and adds to the variety of casinos available to Venetian patrons. Library pavilions still stand in the gardens of the palazzos Foscarini and Zenobio, both in Dorsoduro. In Palazzo Foscarini the casino-library at the end of the garden, built around 1750, held Marco Foscarini's book and manuscript collection, now in the Austrian National Library.[37] [Fig. 12] The garden has since been divided into different lots and new apartment buildings have been built there, obscuring the connection between the Palazzo Foscarini and its library.[38] In terms of style this casino, with its austere facade articulated with rusticated half-columns, entablature and keystones with masks is similar to the casino of Palazzo Gradenigo which was demolished in the early twentieth century to make way for housing for the railway workers.[39] The final example of garden-libraries is the casino of Palazzo Zenobio, built by Tommaso Temanza in 1767.[40] [Fig. 13] This neo-classical structure replaced an older casino from the late seventeenth century, but it has not been possible recover the specifics of the form and function of earlier building. Although the *parterre de broderie* depicted in Carlevarijs's engraving has long since vanished, Palazzo Zenobio remains a primary example of an urban palace with a garden and satellite structures. Unlike some of their companion buildings, library-casinos did not serve as gatehouses for the palaces or gardens, and while they always had richly decorated garden facades, their exterior walls, facing the city were unadorned.

Not every garden supplemented by library and concert hall casinos were very large, and these structures were not necessarily placed in alignment with the main palace. Although Palazzo Soranzo in Rio Marin had a

33 Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Giudici di Petizion*, Inventari, busta 369, No. 19, August 21, 1661. *'Da basso nel sottoportico'* are listed *'Pezzi di telle piturate atorno li muri con l'Istoria di S.Iosepo'* and *'diverse telle dipinte che adornano tutta la grandezza di esso locco'* were found in an open portico.

34 Vincenzo Fontana, Scaloni e sale da musica, alcove e ridotti: il rinnovamento dei palazzi veneziani', in: Marcello Fagiolo (ed.), *Atlante tematico del barocco in Italia. Residenze nobiliari. Italia settentrionale*, Rome 2009, pp. 251–274. – Martina Frank, From ephemeral to permanent architecture: the Venetian Palazzo in the second half of the seventeenth century, in: Krista De Jonge – Ronnie Mulryne (eds.), *Architectures of Festival in Early Modern Europe*, Farnham (forthcoming).

35 Elena Bassi, Un episodio di edilizia veneziana del secolo XVII: i palazzi Zane a San Stin, in: *Arte Veneta*, 15, 1961, pp. 155–164. – Massimo Favilla – Ruggero Rugolo, Venice (see note 11), p. 220.

36 Dorit Raines, La biblioteca-museo patrizia e il suo capitale sociale: modelli illuministici veneziani e l'imitazione dei nuovi aggregati, in: Caterina Furlan – Giuseppe Pavanello (eds.), *Arte, storia, cultura e musica in Friuli nell'età di Tiepolo*, Udine 1998, pp. 63–84.

37 Bassi (see note 13), p. 342.

38 Hunt (see note 13), p. 87.

39 Zucchetta (see note 1), pp. 103–104.

40 Ibidem, p. 99. – Brusatin (see note 2), p. 226. – Hunt (see note 13), pp. 84–85. At the end of the Seicento the palace has been renovated by Antonio Gaspari who carried out a central double height music-hall. Massimo Favilla – Ruggero Rugolo, Progetti di Antonio Gaspari, architetto della Venezia barocca, in: *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti*, 165, 2006–2007, pp. 139–91.

garden, the casino, which included the library and a number of reception rooms, was located adjacent to the palace, while the far end of the garden was dominated by an open loggia. At the main palazzo of the Badoer family, the concert hall, built before 1710, sits to one side of the courtyard, and in Palazzo Barbaro at San Vidal, the library and music rooms are located next to the gothic palace in a *palazzetto* designed by Gaspari and completed before 1695.[41]

Palazzo Michiel dalle Colonne on the Grand Canal near Santa Sofia offers another solution, also developed by Gaspari, to the arrangement of palace, garden and casino. [Figs. 14, 15] Here, the casino, which shares architectural features with the main palace, exemplifies an important stage in the renewal of the Venetian palazzo. The multifunctional casino is an independent building adjacent to the palace, connected by an elevated terrace to the main palazzo. While the lower mezzanine houses small rooms for conversation and private meetings, the tall and austere structure above the terrace is a concert hall. All of these buildings buildings where already standing when Gaspari renovated the complex into an architecturally homogeneous whole in 1697 for Antonio Zen.[42]

41 For the cited examples see: Fontana (see note 34).

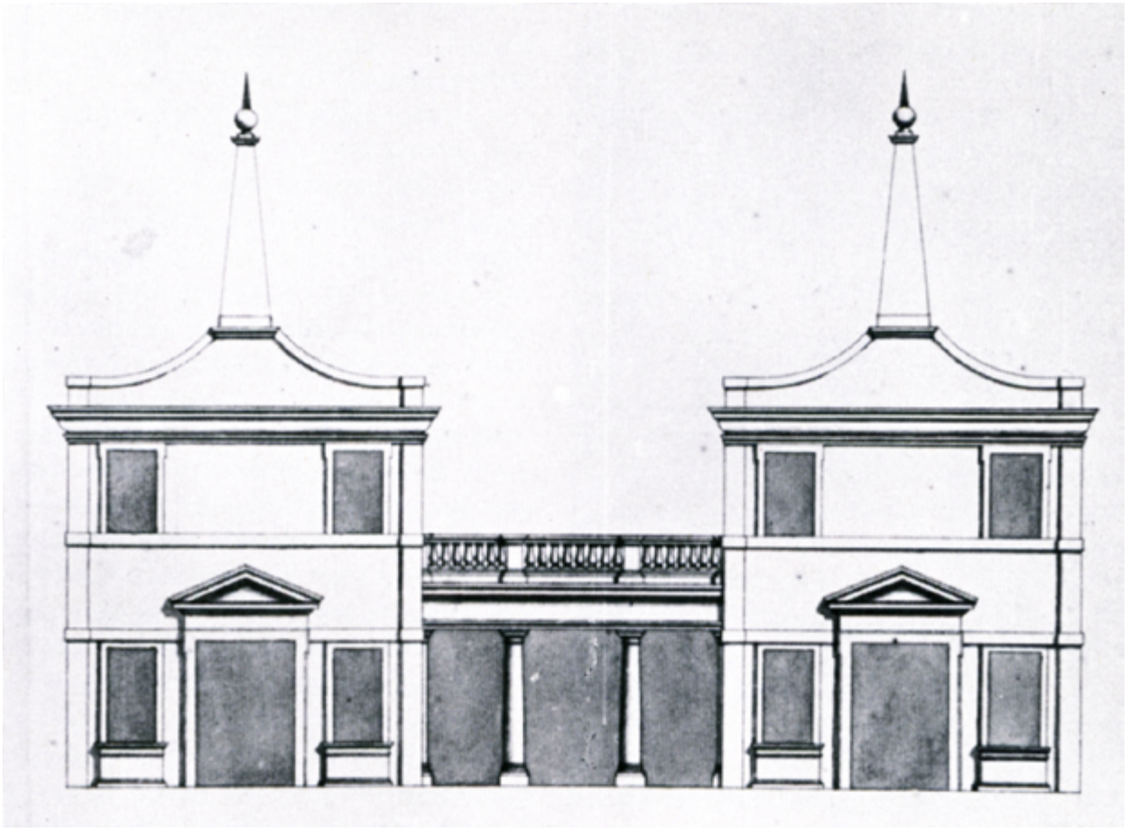
42 Elena Bassi, Episodi dell'architettura veneta nell'opera di Antonio Gaspari, *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 3, 1963, pp. 57–188.

1. Venice, Casino degli Spiriti in the garden of Palazzo Contarini dal Zaffo, mid-sixteenth century, view from the lagoon.

Photo: Martina Frank

2. Venice, Casino in the courtyard of Palazzo Benci Zecchini Girardi, c. 1600.

Photo: Martina Frank



3. Antonio Visentini, The twin casinos in the courtyard of Palazzo Benchi Zecchini Girardi, drawing, London, British Museum.

From: E. Bassi, *Palazzi di Venezia*, Venice 1976

4. Murano, Casino Mocenigo, c. 1600, view from the lagoon.

Photo: Martina Frank

5. Dario Varotari, Ceiling in the Casino Mocenigo in Murano, fresco, c. 1600.

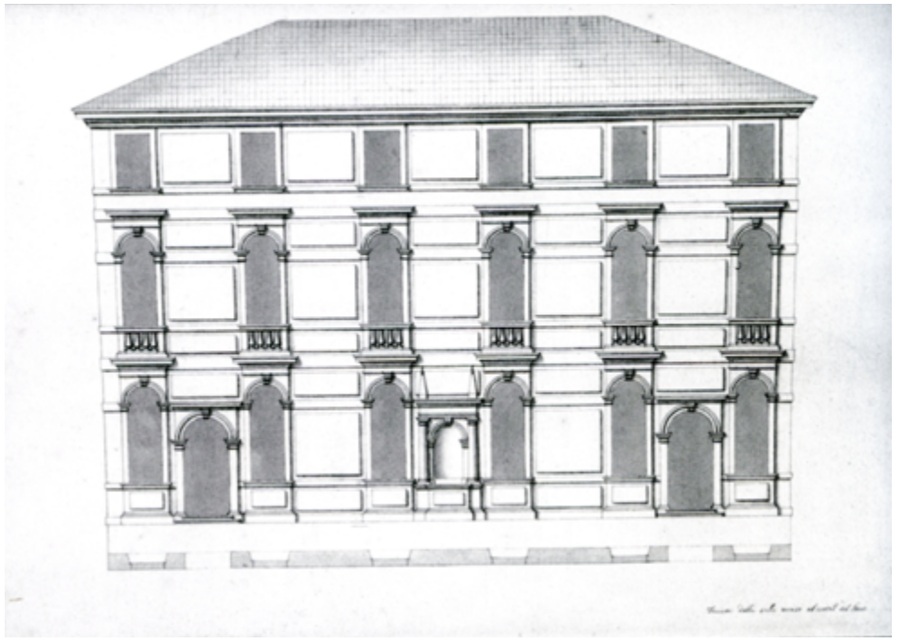
Photo: Emanuela Zucchetta

6. Pieter de Jode after Lodevijk Toeput, Carnival scene at a casino on the lagoon, engraving, early seventeenth century.

Photo: from M. A. Kratitzky, A Study in the Commedia Dell'Arte 1560-1620 […], Amsterdam-New York 2006

7. Baldassare Longhena, Casino Da Lezze, mid-seventeenth century, facade on the Rio della Sensa.

Photo: Martina Frank



8. Antonio Visentini (circle), Casino in the courtyard of Palazzo Da Lezze, drawing, eighteenth century, Montreal, Centre Canadien d'Architecture.

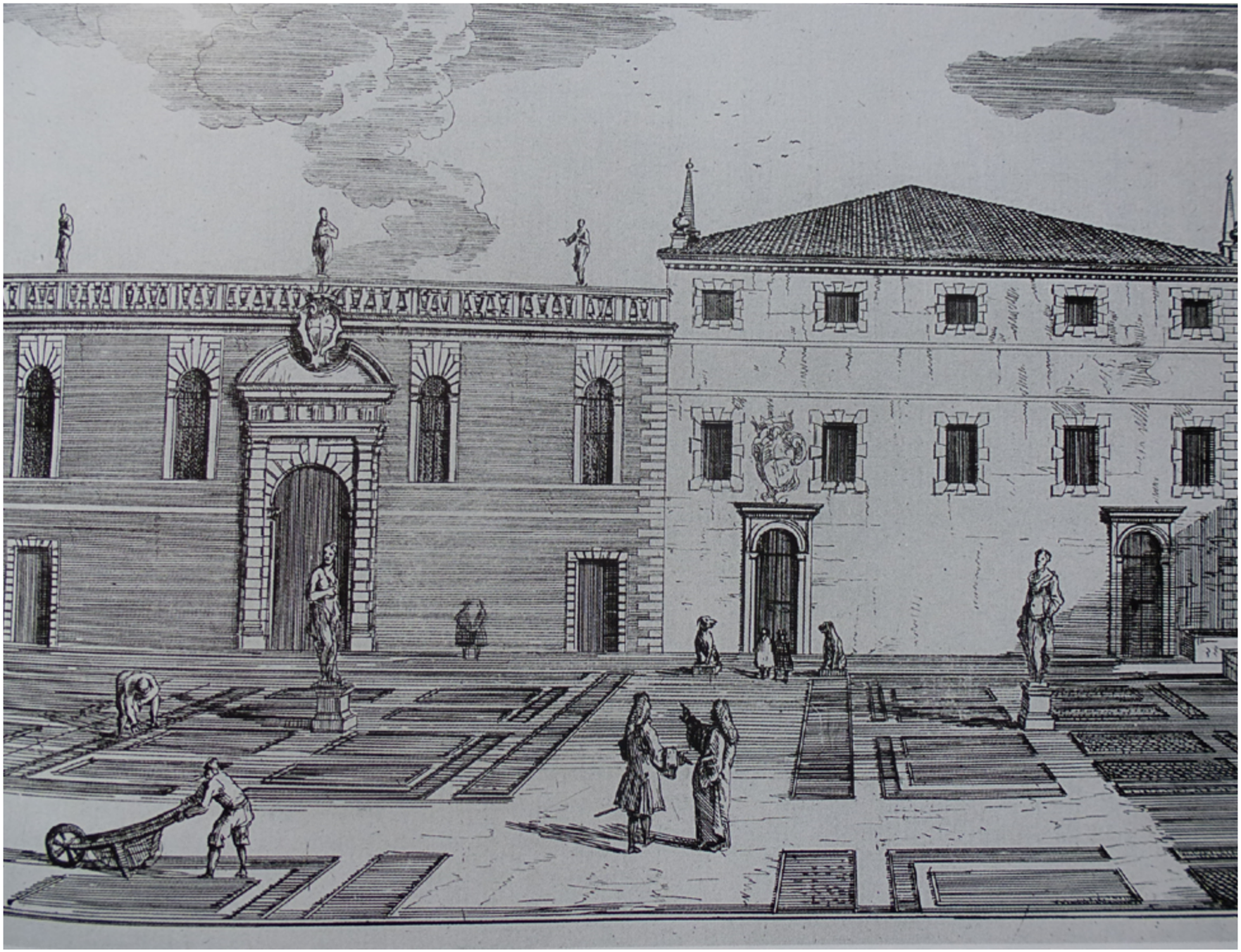
Photo: CCA

9. Antonio Gaspari, Casino Zane, facade on Rio Marin, 1694–98.

Photo: Luca Sassi

10. Antonio Gaspari, Casino Zane, Interior of the music room, 1698.

Photo: Martina Frank



ll. Luca Carlevarijs, The garden of Palazzo Zane with the casino and library, engraving, 1703.

From Le Fabriche, e Vedute di Venetia disegnate, poste in prospettiva e intagliate da Luca Carlevarijs […], Venezia 1708

12. Venice, Casino library of Palazzo Foscarini, mid-seventeenth century, view from the garden of Palazzo Vendramin.

Photo: Martina Frank

13. Tommaso Temanza, Casino library in the garden of Palazzo Zenobio, 1767.

Photo: Martina Frank

14. Antonio Gaspari, Casino and music room of Palazzo Michiel dalle Colonne, 1697.

Photo: Martina Frank

15. Antonio Gaspari, Palazzo Michiel dalle Colonne and the adjacent casino, 1697.

Photo: Martina Frank

Orbiting Hluboká: The Case of Hluboká Castle and the Ohrada Hunting Lodge

Jan Ivanega

'You shall send the black bull to our hunting lodge on the next Saturday, that the Princess, Our Wife, can hunt it for her amusement'. Thus Adam Franz, Prince of Schwarzenberg ordered in November 1728 his officials to send a bull from the South Bohemian manor of Český Krumlov to the Ohrada Hunting Lodge on his estate at Hluboká, in order to stage a princely hunt for his wife Eleanor Amalia.[1] This paper will show how the Ohrada Hunting Lodge was adapted to its role. I will examine the relationship of Ohrada to other princely seats in South Bohemia, especially to the main Hluboká Castle. I will also discuss the similarities and differences in the formation, decoration and the layout of both buildings.

The Ohrada Hunting Lodge is located on the Vltava river in South Bohemia on the Hluboká estate, near Hluboká Castle itself, which is in the district of České Budějovice. It was built from 1708 to 1713 according to the plans of the Prague Architect Paul Ignatz Bayer. His first plan for Ohrada was very different from the palace that was actually built; it was considerably smaller and had only two storeys. [Fig. 1] One remarkable detail of Bayer´s original design is the presence of two terraces and a gallery on the piano nobile, designed as viewing platforms for spectators during the hunts.[2]

Nevertheless, Adam Franz rejected this plan and ordered Bayer to design a completely new palace, and it was this that was finally built on the site. A plan dating from the 1720s shows that the Ohrada Hunting Lodge stood between two ponds. [Fig. 2] The new building was connected to the existing road via a newly built avenue, but the planned garden was never planted. The hunting lodge complex contained not only the palace itself, but also stables, kennels, apartments for the manager and servants, and a *Rustkammer* in the above-mentioned plan. This change in design is related not only to contemporary establishments at the Austrian imperial court, such as Halbturn, which was designed by Johann Lucas von Hildebrandt, but also to Adam Franz's ceremonial appointment to the position of *Obrister Stallmeister* in Vienna.[3] The connection between Ohrada and Austrian hunting lodges is in the purpose of the building rather than in formal similarities, although both Ohrada and Halbturn are laid out around successive courtyards. In this respect, Ohrada is unique among Bohemian hunting lodges. The differences between the original design and the finished building were not only related to the facade, but also the interior plan. While the first plan could accommodate only occasional short-term visits, the palace was actually constructed with two complete apartments for the prince and his wife. [Fig. 3] As Věra Naňková has observed, Bayer´s final design was strongly influenced by the piano nobile of the Troja chateau.[4] However, the exterior greatly differs from the Troja's. Ohrada´s skyline is simpler that of Troja; the main hall at Ohrada is accented with an avant-corps that protrudes only slightly from the facade, whereas the Troja facade is greatly developed with a monumental staircase.

Hluboká Castle began as a late Renaissance chateau remodelled from a medieval castle. [Fig. 4] It was again rebuilt in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, also according to Bayer´s design. This redesign laid out the whole interior according to a baroque scheme; three apartments and a grand hall occupied the piano nobile.

1 '*Ihr werdet also gleich nach empfang dießes die behörige anstalten machen, damit der im dasiger Rothenhoff befindliche, und wie Wir lezthin von euch vernommen, zu seinen verrichtungen immer taugliche schwarze Stier, wo nicht am zu künfftigen Sambstag abends, doch wenigstens am Sonntag in aller fruhe anhero gelieffert werden, und weiln Wir indessen vernommen, daß ihr euch einiger assen ohnpässlich befindet, so habt Ihr Unß durch gegenwärttigen botten, wie ihr euch dermahln befindet und es sich mit der besserung anlasse, zuverlässlich zu berichten*.' Adam Franz Prince of Schwarzenberg to the hetman of Český Krumlov Manor, November 28th 1728, State Archive Třeboň (next SAT), department Český Krumlov (next Dpt ČK), Velkostatek Český Krumlov, sign. I 7Wß 39c, s. f.

2 See Pavel Vlček, *Ilustrovaná encyklopedie českých zámků*, Prague 1999, p. 97.

3 Bruno Grimschitz, *Johann Lucas von Hildebrandt*, Vienna – Munich 1959, pp. 72–73. – Adelheid Schmeller-Kitt, *Dehio Handbuch. Die Kunstdenkmäler Österreichs. Burgenland*, Vienna 1982, pp. 125–126.

4 Věra Naňková, Architekt a stavitel Pavel Ignác Bayer – představy v literatuře a skutečnost, *Umění* 22, 1974, pp. 224–261, here p. 227, 232.

[Fig. 5] At Ohrada, the piano nobile contained two apartments and main hall, the vault of which was decorated by the Viennese fresco painter Johann Georg Werle, whose work was strongly influenced by the theories and works of Andrea Pozzo. The choice of this painter reflected Adam Franz's interest in painting; the prince owned Pozzo´s influential treatise on that art. The fresco depicts the Olympian gods at leisure, while Artemis, the goddess of the hunt, dominates the scene. This decorative scheme was enhanced by large-scale oil paintings of hunting scenes by Johann Georg Hamilton, who would later become the court painter in Vienna. [Fig. 6] For Hamilton, this ten-painting series was one of his most important works for the prince. Ohrada´s main hall was also decorated with hunting trophies. Hunting motifs were also featured in other rooms, which were decorated with engraved hunting scenes and smaller paintings.[5]

At Hluboká Castle the most important interior space was the two-storey main hall on the piano nobile, called the *Fürstlicher Saal*. Due to a major remodelling campaign in the nineteenth century, it is necessary to reconstruct the original baroque decorations from written sources and inventories. From these we learn that the hall contained portraits of Schwarzenberg's ancestors. The vault fresco (now lost), also painted by Werle, depicted a celebration of the family's virtues. In this way the main representative space of the palace was transformed into a hall of ancestors, in a manner similar to that of other Bohemian and Moravian Castles, including the Wallenstein palace of Duchcov, the Questenberg estate at Jaroměřice and, above all, enigmatic Vranov belonging to the Althann family.[6]

At the castle, we see a celebration of Schwarzenberg ancestors, and at the hunting lodge a celebration of the hunt. Should these two themes be considered separately, or were they part of a carefully considered princely representational strategy? It is possible to examine these questions through the accounts of visitors to Hluboká Castle and the Ohrada Hunting Lodge. I will draw your attention to two examples. First, the suffragan bishop from Prague Daniel Josef Mayer von Mayern visited Hluboká Castle briefly in September 1713.[7] During his stay in South Bohemia he and his entourage also visited Ohrada, although it was not yet completed; the floors had not been finished and the fireplaces were only then being installed. Nevertheless, it was proudly shown to this important guest, who after visiting the hunting lodge stayed in Hluboká Castle. The second example comes from January 1723, when a certain Baron Kunitz visited both houses. Adam Franz's officials showed the baron the main hall of Hluboká Castle and afterwards guided the guest around Ohrada, where the main hall was undoubtedly a primary attraction.[8] Visitor itineraries such as these demonstrate that the iconographic representation of the prince in both Hluboká Castle and the Ohrada Hunting Lodge were two sides of the same coin, characterized by similar form and content.

Moreover, these sites were connected not only artistically but also functionally. Recent research has demonstrated that at Ohrada, the *Rustkammer*, that is the storage for the hunting weapons, was the most important part of the building; the apartments of the prince and princess were never used, although they had been fully furnished. On the contrary, the collection of hunting arms was widely used during many princely hunts in a number of South Bohemian hunting preserves, not only at Ohrada itself,[9] although as has previously been mentioned, hunts did also occur at Ohrada. It is these events that illuminate our understanding of the connection between Ohrada and Hluboká Castle. For example, in 1731 the princess and her entourage were entertained by a bear hunt in the trench at Hluboká Castle, and later the same day they enjoyed a bull chase at Ohrada.[10] This demonstrates a 'mother-daughter' relationship between Hluboká Castle and the Ohrada Hunting Lodge.[11]

5 Heiko Laß, *Jagd- und Lustschlösser. Kunst und Kultur zweier landesherrlicher Bauaufgaben. Dargestellt an thüringischen Bauten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Petersberg 2006, pp. 32–40.

6 Olivier Chaline, Sály předků na zámcích Království českého, in: Václav Bůžek (ed.), Šlechta raného novověku pohledem českých, francouzských a španělských historiků, České Budějovice 2009 (= Opera Historica 13), pp. 5–21. – Preiss, Pavel, *Zámek Duchcov. Valdštejnská rodova galerie. Václav Vavřinec Reiner: obrazy a fresky*, Prague 1992. – Bohumil Samek – Eva Dvořáková (edd.), *Sál předků na zámku ve Vranově nad Dyjí*, Brno 2003. – Petr Fidler, Prandtauers Schloßprojekt für Jarmeritz. Zur Eigenart der barocken Planung, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 37, 1984, pp. 119–139.

7 Hetman Dvořák to the Prince of Schwarzenberg, Hluboká, October 21st 1713, SA Třeboň, dpt. ČK, Central Office Hluboká (old dpt.), sign. IB 6Hy 1a, s. f.

8 Hetman Dvořák, Hospitalities accounts, January 1723, ibidem.

9 Jan Ivanega, „…sich auf ein und andern herrschafften mit der Jagdt erlustigen." Organizace loveckých zábav barokních Schwarzenbergů v jižních Čechách, *Prameny a studie* 53, 2014, pp. 98–109.

10 Hetman Lintner to the Prince of Schwarzenberg, Hluboká, November 10th 1731, SA Třeboň, dpt. ČK, Family Archive Schwarzenberg, F. P. h., inv. no. 18, sign. F. P. h/14, carton 61.

11 Friedrich Carl von Moser, *Teutsches Hofrecht* II, Leipzig 1754–1755, p. 266.

1. Author's reconstruction of the originally intended appearance of the Ohrada Hunting Lodge, according to the plan of Paul Ignatz Bayer, 1708.

2. Lorenz Habel, Ideal layout-plan of the Ohrada Hunting Lodge, 1725, State Archive Třeboň.

Photo: J. Ivanega

3. Spatial setting of Ohrada´s piano nobile. Detail from a plan of Ohrada by F. Flath, 1809, State Archive Třeboň, dpt. Český Krumlov.

Photo: J. Ivanega

4. Hluboká Castle prior to the baroque reshaping, detail of a map of Hluboká estate, 1668, State Archive Třeboň.

Photo: J. Ivanega

5. Spatial setting of Hluboká Castle´s piano nobile, after 1710.

6. Johann Georg Hamilton, The Wolf Hunt, 1715,
Universalmuseum Joanneum, Graz.

Photo: N. Lackner

Session II. Tradition and Modernity. Defining the *Palazzotto* as a Spatial and Functional Type from the Late Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period

Small Residential Buildings near Salzburg and Innsbruck from the Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century: Nature, Rest and *Lust*

Wolfgang Lippmann

In this article I will discuss a few buildings located in the countryside of northern Austria, particularly those near the former capital cities of the federal and independent states of Salzburg and Innsbruck. The former was governed by a prominent archbishop and the latter was an independent duchy of the Habsburgs. I would also like to focus on a discourse about the early tradition of country houses for rest, leisure and repose, which were called *Lusthäuser* in German. Afterwards, I will describe the development of antique architectural iconography, which may have inspired the imperial architecture as realized in the loggia at the Neugebäude near Vienna, built between ca 1568/69–1573.[1]

Prior to the fifteenth century, which we usually associate with the beginning of the Renaissance, we find country houses made for rest, leisure and repose in the countryside surrounding many ecclesiastical centers, such as the archbishoprics of Cologne and Salzburg. For the most part, these buildings no longer exist. Our knowledge of their structure is based only on documentary evidence or archaeological excavations. The castle near Bonn in Renania, for example, was built by archbishop Engelbert II (1261–1274) and described as having a vivarium. Documents also describe St. Jakob im Rosental, founded in the twelfth century and situated in the valley of the river Drau south of Klagenfurt, a region which formerly belonged to the important Benedictine Abbey of Ossiach.[2]

Castle Freisaal near Salzburg

As a result, the discovery of similar country houses near Salzburg at the time of archbishop Pilgrim II von Puchheim (1330/40–1396) is not surprising at all. Located south of Salzburg and near a small lake, castle Freisaal, which has been altered several times in the ensuing centuries, still stands.[3] [Fig. 1] It is difficult to determine if this manor is an exceptional prototype or belongs to an older building tradition. However, it may follow the tradition of northern Europe more than Italian models. In fact, the reconstruction of the building shows a fortress-like structure [Figs. 2–3] that is unrelated to the villas documented at this time in southern Italy and the Veneto. The building may have been altered soon after the fourteenth century and may have influenced buildings in other Austrian regions, including this one, as I will explaine. In a poem (a *canzone*), dated immediately after its completion in February 1392, this building was called a *Lusthaus*, a place of rest, leisure and repose or, more precisely, a house of pleasure:

> *'Der Tenor heist Freudensal nach einem Lusthaws bey Salzburg vnd ist geachet zu Prag, da der von Salzburg dar was kom[m]en zu Kaiser Wenczla, der y[h]m abhold was und verpot ym Holcz*

1 See in this publication, Dirk Jacob Jansen, Adeste Musae, maximi proles Jovis! – Functions and sources of the Emperor Maximilian II's Lustschloß Neugebäude; see also Wolfgang Lippmann, Il »Neugebäude« di Vienna – Genesi e analisi di un insolito complesso, *Annali di architettura* 18–19, 2006/07, pp. 143–168.

2 Hermann Wiessner, *Burgen und Schlösser um Hermagor, Spittal, Villach*, Vienna 1967, p. 158; the Abbey belonged to the Patriarch of Aquileia, but the monks came from Niederaltaich in Bavaria. The Abbey was founded in 1028.

3 Significant alterations were made in 1907, when a terrace with a bow-window and a new building were added in the rear; see Ulrich Klein, Von der Turmburg zum Landschloss – Die Baugeschichte des Schlosses, in: Ronald Gobiet (ed.), *Freisaal – Das Schloss im Spiegel der Geschichte* (= Salzburger Beiträge zur Kunst und Denkmalpflege V), Salzburg 2012, pp. 29–54 – Hans Tietze – Franz Martin (eds.), *Die profanen Denkmale der Stadt Salzburg* (= Österreichische Kunsttopographie XIII), Vienna 1914, p. 251.

zu bringen... ('The name of the tenor was Freudensa[a]l after the country house near Salzburg and he is well appreciated in Prague, the fellow [?] from Salzburg came to Emperor Wenczla who forbade him to bring wood...').[4]

This quote shows that the term *Lusthaus* was well known at the time and linked perhaps to a similar building belonging to King Wenceslaus of Luxemburg (ruled 1378–1400) in Prague. The Salzburg archbishop, who visited Prague, may have seen the building there. It can be inferred from reconstructions [Fig. 2–3] that the building in Salzburg was likely a smaller rendition of the king's larger building.

The building of castle Freisaal still exists, after being greatly enlarged and modified during the sixteenth and early twentieth centuries.[5] These alterations began under archbishop Ernst von Bayern (administrator of the archbishopric 1540–1554), who developed it into a *Wasserschloss*. The structure was further altered by archbishop Michael Kuenburg (1554–1560), when in 1549, according to written sources, a garden was added behind the building. Between 1557 and 1558 the central room in the upper floor was redecorated. [Figs. 4–5] Up to this time, the building had also changed its function. It was then no longer just a building for pleasure and leisure (in this case, a hunting lodge). It became a building for repose prior to the traditional entry of the newly elected archbishop into the city – before his official accession.[6] In fact, the fresco decor shows the triumphal entry of archbishop Michael Kuenburg into the city of Salzburg [Fig. 5]; other aspects of the iconography include allegories, notably the personification of Fortitudo, Vanitas and Faith, which are the ideal virtues for the archbishop's new political and ecclesiastical charge.[7]

There are, in various states of preservation, at least ten country houses of different sizes, formerly belonging to clergy members in the hills surrounding Salzburg in the late Middle Ages and Early Modern period.[8] These may have been a model for Duke Sigmund's experiments with *Lusthäuser* and villas in the later fifteenth century, which is the focus of this paper.

The Summer Residences of Duke Sigmund near Innsbruck

It is difficult to determine if the castles and manors of ecclesiastics near cities such as Salzburg and Cologne, or prominent abbeys in Austria and other German-speaking territories, were models for the *Lusthäuser* of secular noblemen and rulers, who used them as country houses for rest and pleasure. We have no clear idea of how the first hunting lodges of Austrian rulers looked, because they have mostly been destroyed. Some of them may have been small timber structures,[9] although others could have been larger and constructed with stone. In exceptional cases, we have some indication about these buildings.[10]

There are still found today, near Innsbruck, a number of manors and country houses belonging to Duke Sigmund von Habsburg (died 1496), who reigned from 1446–1490. These manors were quite different in their structures.[11] Although they appear to have been small hunting lodges, their names reveal another function. They are called Sigmundsruh, Sigmundslust [Fig. 6] and Sigmundsfreud [Fig. 7], indicating that their purpose was rest,

4 This source was published several times: Hans Widmann, *Geschichte Salzburgs*, 1–3 (= Allgemeine Staatengeschichte, Abt. 3 *Deutsche Landesgeschichten)*, Gotha 1907–1914, 2: *Von 1270 bis 1519* (1909), p. 138; Franz Viktor Spechtler – Michael Korth – Norbert Ott, *Der Mönch von Salzburg –"Ich bin du und du bist ich": Lieder des Mittelalters. Auswahl, Texte, Worterklärungen,* Munich 1980, pp. 46–49 – Stefan Engels, Mönch und Hofkantorei – Zwei musikgeschichtliche Beiträge zum Schloss, in: Gobiet (see note 3), pp. 95–104.

5 On the significant alterations made in 1907, see note 3.

6 Lore Telsnig, Schloss Freisaal und der Eintritt der Salzburger Erzbischöfe, *Alte und moderne Kunst* 12, 1967, pp. 2–8. We know only of a few buildings used for this purpose, including Villa Madama in Rome and Villa Trissino in Vicenza.

7 The paintings, dated 1558, were formerly attributed to Hans Bocksberger (ca. 1510–ante 1569) but are now given to an unknown artist. Erwin Pokorny, Festzug und Allegorie – Der Freskensaal, in: Gobiet (ed.), *Freisaal* (see note 3), pp. 105–130.

8 Most of these were country houses for rest, leisure and repose during the hot summer months; W. Lippmann, Dal castello di caccia al »Lusthaus« cinquecentesco: la maison des champs nell'ambiente austro-germanico, in: Monique Chatenet (ed.), *Maisons des champs dans l'Europe de la Renaissance – Actes des premières Rencontres d'architecture européenne Château de Maisons, 10–13 juin 2003*, Paris 2006, pp. 299–316, esp. pp. 302–303, figs. 3–4.

9 Lippmann (see note 8), pp. 299–300 (esp. note 7), fig. 1b; for example, the *Fürstenhaus* in Pertisau (fifteenth century) on the Achensee was once a timber structure; Alfred Kohler (ed.), *Tiroler Ausstellungsstraßen – Maximilian I*, Milan 1996, pp. 13–14, 76–77, 116–118.

10 For example, the Katterburg, first mentioned in 1171–1176 and again in the Baroque period included in the residence of Schönbrunn; Elisabeth Hassmann, *Von Katterburg zu Schönbrunn – Die Geschichte Schönbrunns bis Kaiser Leopold I.*, Wien – Köln – Weimar 2004 – idem, Das Lusthaus zur Katterburg – Der Vorgängerbau der Schlossanlage Fischer von Erlachs. Archivalischer Beitrag zu den Ausgrabungen in Schönbrunn, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 55, 2001, pp. 435–452.

11 For a first introduction see Lippmann (see note 8), pp. 305–308, figs. 6–8.

leisure and repose. However, they were also intended, perhaps, as a revival of the antique idea of a *locus amoenus* from sources such as Pliny, Vergil and Petrarch (1304–1374) or Pier de' Crescenzi (*L'opus ruralium commodorum*, ca. 1304/09).[12] The ecclesiastic Felix Faber (1443–1502), who travelled through Tyrol, recorded his impression of these structures as sites of leisure in a diary called *Evagatorium*; in this book his comments read as follows:

> 'Here is a little lake [...] and in the middle of this on a hill is a nice castle, which is more useful to leisure than to defense. In fact, the duke likes to enjoy life and delight himself; therefore he erected at different points in his territory castles of this kind as places of leisure'.[13]

These castles were mostly new constructions; only in rare cases were older buildings adapted for Sigmund's use. The purchase and modifications of these castles happened between 1450 and 1475.[14] Exact dates from various building records, like the castle Sigmundsburg [Figs. 9–10], are rare. From these documents we know that the building was begun in 1451. Construction continued between 1454–1457 and was finished in 1462/63, when a payment for the roof was recorded,[15] and the duke occupied the building for the first time.[16] Other construction work is documented for the years 1471–1473, 1478 and 1490; this may indicate either repairs or modifications.[17]

We know less about the building dates of Sigmundslust (begun 1472/73). The only documentation we have is a payment to a glass worker from Schwarz, which could have been made some time after the work at the castle was completed in 1479/80.[18] [Fig. 6] The building was burned in 1809 and then rebuilt in 1859/60, when it was greatly modified; a large staircase was added, and it was used as a guest house. The location, adjacent to a large forest, indicates that this building was an ideal hunting lodge.

In later periods, this building typology is well known from the small residences of noblemen, called *Ansitze* in German, a term indicating that they were located outside of towns. These buildings typically had oriel windows on chamfered corners and were of a relatively small size.

While their names suggest functional similarity and thereby at least similar typology, the castles Sigmundsfreud and Sigmundslust are, as I have mentioned, quite different. [Figs. 6–7] In fact, the name Sigmundsfreud is not derived from the building's function as a place of fun and leisure, but was named for its former owners; in 1209 the castle belonged to Ulrich and Johann von Freundsberg and therefore was named castle Freundsberg. This was modified after the purchase by Sigmund (1467) to Sigmundsfreud, which preserves part of the former name while adding the new owner's name.[19] It is not known what changes Sigmund made to the building between 1472–1475, other than that he added a lake for fishing.[20]

I will now continue my explication of these castles' function, especially of castle Sigmundsburg. Sigmundsburg is located on top of a hill in the middle of a green mountain lake, the Fernsteinsee, and is surrounded by an impressive landscape. [Fig. 8] The forest makes the building an ideal hunting lodge, but the complex also included a smaller building near the lake called *'Wasserhewslin zu Siegmundsburg im See'*, which had an apartment for the duke with two rooms, a bedroom and a parlor or Stube (*'Herzogskammer und Herzogsstube'*), perhaps used

12 Anton Legner (ed.), *Die Parler und der schöne Stil 1350–1400: Europäische Kunst unter den Luxenburgern*, exh.–catalogue, vol. 1–4, Cologne 1978, esp. vol. 1*: Handbuch zur Ausstellung,* p. 67 ff.; Boccaccio was in Tirolia for some time – Walter Leitner – Josef Fontana, *Geschichte des Landes Tirol I, Von den Anfängen bis 1490*, Bozen – Innsbruck – Vienna 1985, p. 573.

13 Josef Garber, *Die Reisen des Felix Faber durch Tirol in den Jahren 1483 und 1484* (= Schlern-Schriften, No. 3), Innsbruck 1923, p. 36: *'Fernpaß (mons Fericus)* […], *wobei wir zur Bergwacht Sigmundsburg kamen. Hier ist ein kleiner See, in dem sich das Bergwasser sammelt; und inmitten des Sees erhebt sich in kleiner Hügel mit einem schmucken Schlößchen, mehr zum Vergnügen als zur Verteidigung geeignet'*; cit. from Herta Arnold-Öttl, Sigmundsburg, in: Oswald Trapp (ed.), *Tiroler Burgenbuch*, vol. 7: *Oberinntal und Ausserfern*, Bolzen – Innsbruck – Vienna 1986, pp. 247–267, esp. p. 252.

14 Ibidem (in 1454/55 also the residence in Innsbruck was enlarged).

15 Heinrich Hammer, *Die Bauten Herzogs Siegmunds des Münzreichen von Tirol*, Innsbruck 1898 [extract from *Zeitschrift des Ferdinandeums für Tirol und Vorarlberg*, serie 3, 43], p. 244: *'Im Jahre 1463 erhielt «Gilg Tischler» gegen 100 Mark Berner «auf den Paw des Dachwerkhs zu Siegmundspurg»'* (TLA ["St. A."], Raitb[uch] 1463/6, fol. 121, 117, 395).

16 In 1462; idem, p. 238.

17 Idem, pp. 245–246 – Arnold-Öttl (see note 13), pp. 248–249.

18 Glaser Siegmund from Schwarz for his work at Sigmundslust (*'seine arbait zu Siegmunslust*); Hammer (see note 15), p. 254 (TLA ['St. A.'], Raitb[uch] 1478/9, f. 231). A chapel was added only in 1582; see www.burgen-austria.com/archive.php?id=310 (13 December 2014).

19 Hammer (see note 15), p. 253; the property changed owner in 1475.

20 Ibidem (*'er verbesserte es und wandelte es in ein von freundlichen Fischteichen umrahmtes Lustschloss'*).

by the duke when he was fishing.[21] The building no longer exists. Documents related to his wife, Eleonore of Scotland (1431–1480), indicate that she used the castle as a refuge when the residence in Innsbruck was full of guests, and the duke had to remain there to entertain them (*'Eleonore zog Sigmundsburg oft monatelang der "von Gästen wimmelden" Innsbrucker Hofhaltung mit den zahlreichen Festen vor'*).[22] It is certain that the Duchess was in Sigmundsburg from August 1464 to April 1465 and the summer of 1466.[23] From household ledgers, it appears that this building functioned partly as a second residence in summer and occasionally in winter. We have a note stating that the duke once came there by sled. There are bills for carriages of food, wine, furniture and dishes brought to the castle.[24] Documentation exists for the delivery of a barrel of wine from Eppan,[25] which was transported to the altitude of 950 meters. This was perhaps for an important occasion, when special guests were present, including the members of the Habsburg family, such as the Emperor Frederic III or Maximilian I, who came to Sigmundsburg in 1485 and again sometime after 1510. Additionally, the Duke of Bavaria, an important neighbour, was guest there.[26] Additionally, there is documentation of a room containing silver, which is mentioned in an inventory of 1483.[27] The chapel on the main floor indicates that this castle was not only a great hunting lodge but also a second residence, used mostly in summer. [Fig. 10]

There is also an indication that Duke Sigismund and his wife fled to Sigmundsburg in 1474 to escape the plague in Innsbruck.[28]

There is some suggestion that the duke's interest in the castle decreased after the death of his first wife, Eleonore of Scotland, in 1480. In 1485 Sigmund gave the castle to his second wife, Katharina von Sachsen (1468–1524), the daughter of Duke Albrecht and Sidonia of Bohemia, as a wedding present (*Morgengabe*).[29]

The Revival of Antiquity in the Architecture of the Austrian Country Houses

While presenting part of this material some years ago at the congress *'Maisons des champs dans l'Europe de la Renaissance'* at Châteaux Maison near Paris (2003), I did not show examples of antique architecture, which I would like to do now in order to indicate influence of antiquity on the architecture of this period. In the Salzburg and Innsbruck manors mentioned above, there are no visible elements of antique architecture (except, perhaps, for the garden, which is not a specific architectural element). However, the idea of antique villas does exists as the concept of pleasure and rest in nature, described by authors of antiquity and the late Middle Ages including Pliny, Vergil, Petrarch and Boccaccio.[30]

This reconstruction of antique elements of architecture demonstrates that there was an early interest in antique revival in the German-speaking lands, although its expression in the later fifteenth century does not include Renaissance details similar to those found in Italy or France.

The castle of Vellenberg near Innsbruck formerly belonged to the Vellenberg family, which died out in the last decades of the fourteenth century, whereupon the castle returned to the Duchy of Tyrol. It was sometimes used as palace of justice and a prison for dignitaries; the knight, diplomat and troubadour Oswald von Wolkenstein was imprisoned there in 1427, and Verena von Stuben, Abbess of Sonnenburg, was held at Vellenberg in 1458.[31]

In 1501, the castle belonged to the Emperor Maximilian (ruled 1493–1519), who often stayed there to hunt. As illustrations of that time indicate [Fig. 11], the building appears to have been a large medieval castle with two great towers at the corners and a larger structure of three floors in the middle, the 'Palas', which is often

21 Idem, p. 239 (TLA [St. A.], Schatzarchiv, Lade 109); also, p. 245: *'Im selben Jahre* [=1471] *besass der Herzog auch bereits einen «Vischer von Siegmundsburg»'* – Arnold-Öttl (see note 13), p. 252.
22 Ibidem.
23 Ibidem.
24 Hammer (see note 15), p. 240: '*Im gleichen Jahre 1462, wenige Tage hernach, erhielt ein Heinrich Truchsäss das «Schloss Siegmundspurg» sammt allem Hausrat und andern Dingen, das meinem genedigen Herrn Herzog Siegmunden zugehört.'*
25 In 1466; idem, p. 247; Arnold-Ött (see note 13), p. 252.
26 Magarete Köfler – Silvia Caramelle, *Die beiden Frauen des Erzherzogs Sigmund von Österreich-Tirol* (= Schlern-Schriften, No. 269), Innsbruck 1982, pp. 205, 207.
27 For the inventory of 1483 (*'Silberkammer'*), see Hammer (see note 15), p. 246.
28 Hammer (see note 15); Arnold-Öttl (see note 13), p. 252.
29 Hammer (see note 15), p. 247 (Licknowskj, vol. 8, p. DXCII, n.o G'35).
30 See note 12.
31 Herta Öttl, Vellenberg, in: Oswald Trapp (ed.), *Tiroler Burgenbuch, vol. 6: Mittleres Inntal*, Bozen – Innsbruck – Vienna 1982, pp. 73–106, esp. pp. 75–76.

described as 'mittleres Geheus' in documents.[32] [Fig. 12]

Maximilian enlarged the building and ordered different modifications in the winter of 1511/12 and September 1514. His written instructions are conserved in the archive at Innsbruck.[33] We do not know if all of these modifications were carried out as he wanted due to financial problems that occurred during construction; Maximilian did not have enough ready money to pay for the renovations.[34] Repairs and modifications were initiated by his councillor and administrator, Blasius Hölzl (1460–1526), and often only partly paid for afterwards.[35]

After an earthquake in 1670 or 1689 and decades of abandonment, the building is now a ruin [Fig. 13]. It is difficult to know what the structure looked like from the few early illustrations that remain. Fortunately, however, we have the aforementioned instructions of the emperor, which were given to his councillor, Blasius Hölzl, who supervised the construction (*'praefectus arcis Vellenberg'*).[36] We also know the name of the architect, Niklas Türing the elder, who died in 1517. Türing built the Goldene Dachl in 1495–1500 and, as a result, became *Hofbaumeister* in 1497. Maximilian's instructions (*'Instructiones'*) are very detailed and, although the terms are not in use any more, are easily understood. The emperor makes reference to a number of modifications, including a new staircase (*'weyte Schneggen unnderist von der Erd bis an unnsers Zimer Poden'*) and new rooms, especially a new 'summer house':

> *'ain news Sumerhewsl, darzue die alt mitter Stuben vor der Capellen schaben oder wäschen und mitsambt der Camer daran etwas erweytern, und mit ainem Meurlein, da auch vor hulzene Weendt gewesen sein, auffueren'*.[37]

Another instruction from September 1514 makes reference to another summer house, situated in the garden [Fig. 12]:

> *'...noch einen hüpschen Lustgarten oben unter der negsten Voglhüttn [...] mit grüenen selbstgewachsen Gänngen, Penncken, Stiegen, auch Sumerhäuslen und anderm'* ('...also a pretty garden near the aviary [...] with a green, lush pergola, seats, stairs, also a summer house among other things').[38]

It is possible that this summer house was a temporary, timber structure.

The term, 'summer house' (written '*Sumerhäuslen*' in German or '*Sumerhewsl*' in the local dialect), requires further analysis. Initially, I sought further information about this term by consulting dictionaries;[39] it seemed to be a well-known *terminus technicus*. In fact, one of the earliest summer houses was built only a few years before, castle Runkelstein [in Italian: Castel Roncolo] near Bozen/Bolzano, dated 1395/1400.[40] In this case the summer house is a separate building with a new architectural typology. This structure was more open to the surroundings by a loggia in the courtyard and had a program of wall paintings that represents scenes from medieval literature [Figs.

32 See www.burgen-austria.com/archive.php?id=1200, www.sagen.at/doku/Vellenberg/Vellenberg.htlm (both consulted 13 December 2014); Öttl (note 31), pp. 76, 93–96.

33 Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv [= TLA]: Urk[unden], Cop[ialbuch] I, fol. 242 ff.

34 Öttl (see note 31), p. 79 (*'Die Bezahlung der Maurer, Zimmerleute, Stein- und Kalkführer überstieg jedoch neuerlich die Kapazität der Raitkammer'*).

35 The building of the Marstall (*'letzten grossen Paw unnderm Marstall'*) had a cost of 1000 gulden ('fl.'), only in part of the money was rendered him by the central administration, the *Kammer*; Öttl (see note 31), p. 79. Also K. Peutinger anticipated great sums of money for the Emperor; Erich Egg (ed.), *Maximilian I. und Tirol – Innsbruck* (exh. cat.), Innsbruck 1969, pp. 155–156 [Nr. 581]. Often collaborators refused to anticipate any payment (for example Paul von Liechtenstein during the construction of castle Rattenberg); Elisabeth Bracharz, *Die Burgen im unteren Inntal* (= Schlern-Schriften, No. 239 – Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte 7), Innsbruck 1966, p. 69.

36 For the instructions of Emperor Maximilian to his councillor and burggravius, Blasius Hölzl (*'praefectus arcis Vellenberg'*), 5 November 1511, see Innsbruck, TLA: Urk[unden], Cop[ialbuch] I, fol. 248v ff.; Öttl (see note 31), p. 78 (and note 53).

37 Ibidem.

38 Instructions from Emperor Maximilian of 10 September 1514 (Innsbruck, TLA, Urk[unden], Cop[ialbuch] I, fol. 242v and also Maximiliana XII, 71); Öttl (see note 31), p. 79 (and note 56).

39 Jacob & Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* X/2, Leipzig 1905 [R1984], coll. 1532–1533, refer to older ones: esp. Levin[us] Hulsius, *Dittionario Italiano-Francese-Tedesco,* Frankfurt 1616.

40 The wall paintings from ca. 1395–1400 were 'restored' ca. in 1508–1511, possibly by the painter Marx Reichlich. André Bechtold (ed.), *Schloss Runkelstein – Die Bilderburg*, Bozen 2000, pp. 41–42, 51, 461–462. For the importance of these wall paintings in the time of Emperor Maximilian, see J.-D. Müller, Kaiser Maximilian I. und Runkelstein, in: ibidem, pp. 459 ff. See also Anja Grebe – Ulrich Großmann – Armin Torggler, *Burg Runkelstein* (= Burgen, Schlösser und Wehrbauten in Mitteleuropa XX), Regensburg 2005, pp. 10, 33, 40 [also available is an Italian edition].

14–15] located in this loggia that opened to the courtyard. The subjects include scenes from the story of Tristan. The building was probably used for festivities and important guests, especially the apartment on the second floor.

If we consult dictionaries for old German, we get the same impression, where 'summer houses' are said to be prominent buildings in a garden, as at castle Vellenberg, which featured 'a pretty garden near the aviary [...] with a green, lush pergola [...], seats, stairs, also a summer-house among other things': '*id est in secretario aestivali palatii*' or '*habitatione in hortis constructa*'.[41]

At this point I propose an interpretation of 'summer house' similar to Pliny's '*diaetae*', which is found in in his Epistularium (II,17):

> '*In hanc ego diaetam cum me recepi, abesse mihi etiam a villa mea [...]; nam nec ipse meorum lusibus nec illi studiis meis obstrepunt. Haec utilitas haec amoenitas deficitur enim aqua salienti*' ('When I retire to this suite I feel as if I have left my house altogether and much enjoy the sensation [...]; for I am not disturbing my household's merrymaking nor their work. Only one thing is needed to complete the amenities and beauty of the house – running water...').[42]

The '*dietae*' are rooms or pavilions where one can rest or study similar to a studiolo in a residence, but situated in the middle of a garden, possibly in the shadow of a tree or plant providing an ideal place for rest and leisure in summertime. As you can see, I would like to equate the German term, 'summer house' ('*Sumerhäuslen*' or '*Sumerhewsl*' in the local dialect) with the Latin term '*dietae*' used by Pliny, even though it is not very common in the Latin sources and certainly an imperfect translation.[43]

For the first time, we have the introduction of antique elements in the architecture of late medieval castles, or to be more precise, the attempt to build upon an antique type. The antique building concepts were perfected in the Neugebäude near Vienna in ca 1568/69–1573. This was accomplished by Maximilian I, who influenced his grandson, Maximilian II, not only in architecture, but also in his style of rule.

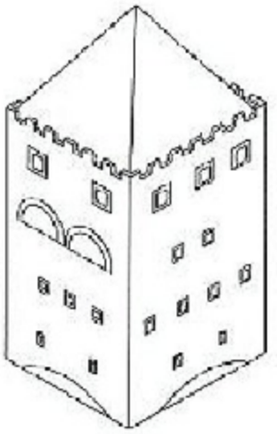
41 Chron. Eberbergense; *Aethicus; cfr. Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert*, vol. 3, Munich 2007, col. 561.

42 Plinius, *Epistularium* [II,17,24-–25]; cit. in the edition of Betty Radice, London – Cambridge/Mass. 1972, pp. 140–143. See also Wolfgang Liebenwein, *Studiolo – Die Entstehung eines Raumtyps und seine Entwicklung bis um 1600*, Berlin 1977, pp. 13–14.

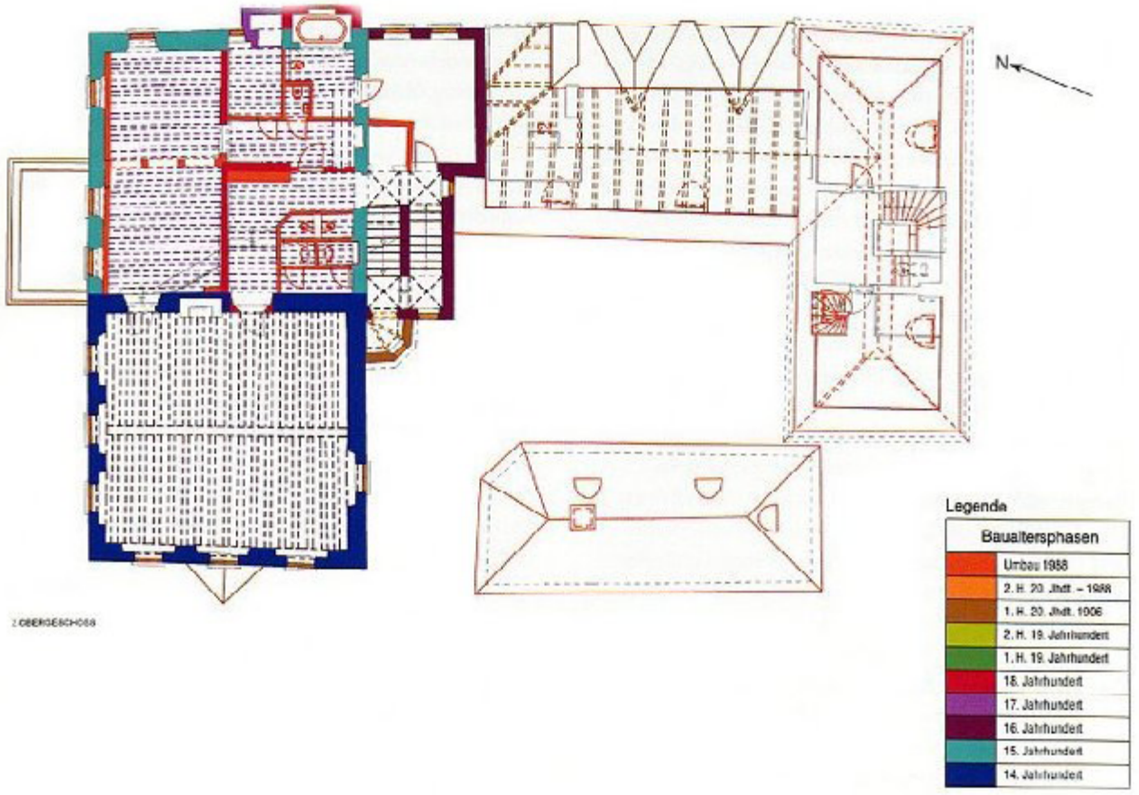
43 Jacob & Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. 10, part 2, Leipzig 1905 [R1984], coll. 1532–1533 (in particular they mention the *Dittionario Italiano-Francese-Tedesco* of Levin[us] Hulsius, 1616).

1. Castle Freisaal, Salzburg.

From: Freisaal – Das Schloss im Spiegel der Geschichte, Salzburg 2012, bookcover



2. Castle Freisaal, Salzburg, hypothetical reconstruction of the former shape in the fourteenth century.



3. Castle Freisaal, Salzburg, plan showing the different enlargements (fourteenth to twentieth century).

From: Freisaal – Das Schloss im Spiegel der Geschichte, Salzburg 2012

4. Castle Freisaal, Salzburg, hall in the upper floor with frescos from 1557/58.

Photo: Bundesdenkmalsamt, Salzburg

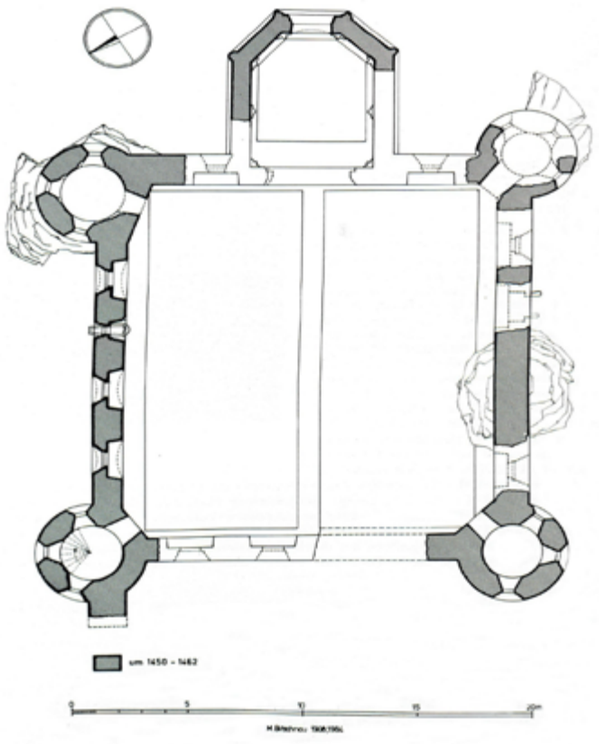
5. Anonymus, The entry of archbishop Michael Kuenburg (ruled 1554–1560) in the city of Salzburg, fresco in castle of Freisaal, Salzburg, 1557/58.

Photo: Bundesdenkmalsamt, Salzburg

6. Castle Sigmundslust, Vomp (Tyrol), built ca. 1472/73, reconstructed and expanded 1859/60.

7. Castle Freundberg (or Sigmundsfreud), Schwarz (Tyrol), tower (twelth century), the buildings in part built by Duke Sigmund in 1472–1475, in part in the sixteenth to seventeenth century.

8. Fernsteinsee with castle Sigmundsburg (Imst/Tyrol).



9. Castle Sigmundsburg (Imst/Tyrol), plan.

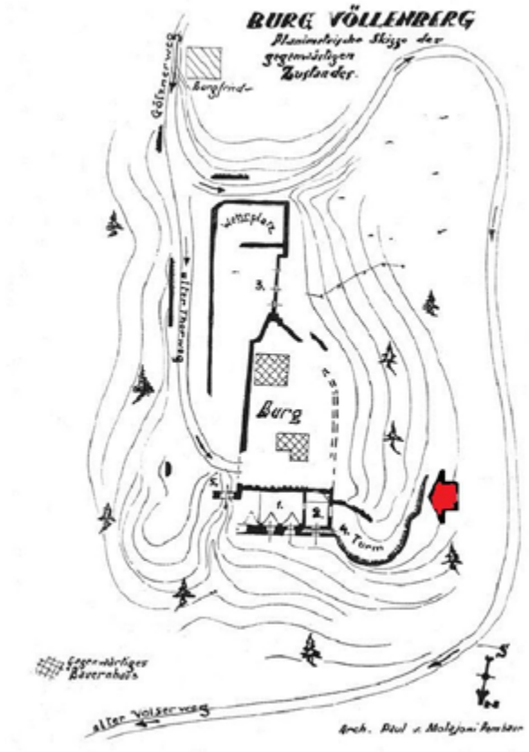
From: O. Trapp (ed.), Tiroler Burgenbuch, VII, 1986, p. 264, fig. 180

10. Fernstein, Klausengebäude, ceiling (ca. 1720/25), view of castle Sigmundsburg showing the Duke fishing in the Fernsteinsee.

From: O. Trapp (ed.), Tiroler Burgenbuch, VII, 1986, fig. XIV

11. Sebastian Scheel (1475–1554), view of castle Vellenberg, watercolour, 1546, detail.

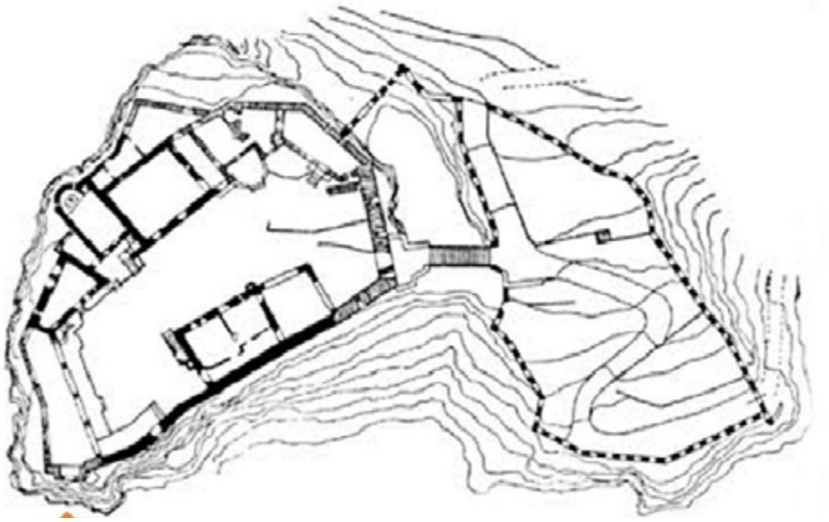
From: O. Trapp (ed.), Tiroler Burgenbuch, VI, 1982, p. 91, fig. 68



12. Castle Vellenberg, plan of the architect Paul von Molajoni Pembaur with annotations of the emperor's rooms (Nr. 1 and 2: parlour [*Stube*] and chamber [*Kammer]*) and the private staircase (Nr. 4) for one of his summer-houses, indicated as tower (*Turm*) in the plan.

13. Ruins of castle Vellenberg.

Photo: Adi Spater, 1995



14. Castle Runkelstein / Castel Roncolo, Bolzano, plan with indication of the summer-house.

15. Castle Runkelstein / Castel Roncolo (Bolzano/Bozen), view of the summer-house.

Photo: W. Lippmann, 2013

Adeste Musae, maximi proles Jovis! Functions and Sources of Emperor Maximilian II's *Lustschloß* Neugebäude

Dirk Jacob Jansen

The subject of this paper is the Neugebäude, the *Lustschloß* built by Emperor Maximilian II just outside of Vienna from 1568 onwards. [Fig. 1] If a *palazzotto* is a small palace, one may well ask whether the Neugebäude is a subject fitting the theme of this colloquium.[1] Compared to most of the satellite structures of princely residential complexes that are discussed here, the Neugebäude is anything but small; it is a *palazzone* rather than a *palazzotto*, a *casone* rather than a casino.[2] It seems that the proportion between the residential element, here located in the modest hunting lodge at Kaiserebersdorf, and the recreational and representational satellite, the immense and unfinished Neugebäude complex, is reversed. But perhaps it is more useful to consider both Ebersdorf and the Neugebäude, together with Maximilian's less ambitious retreats in the Prater and at Katterburg/Schönbrunn, all as satellites of the Emperor's principal residence, the Vienna Hofburg.[3]

Whatever its size, the Neugebäude is relevant to the theme of this colloquium, because of its functions, or at least its intended functions. It is important to note that it was not an independent residential complex. Although it contained some lodgings, these were probably restricted to the occasional personal use of the Emperor and his most immediate and intimate entourage. There can be no doubt that, as with other *palazzotti*, the principal function of the building was recreational; it was dedicated to the leisure and repose of its patron, as was explicitly stated by the Emperor himself.[4] In fact it groups together many of the functional elements associated with various types of leisure architecture, including the belvedere, hunting lodge, garden pavilion and banqueting house. In addition it had a representative function, which is not well documented, but which is evident from its size and from the presence of several elements which presuppose large numbers of admiring visitors. Because of these manifold functions, and because of the august status of its patron, who was a natural leader in terms of fashion and taste, I think it is not unlikely that it soon came to serve as a natural and exemplary model for later patrons of similar recreational buildings and garden complexes.[5]

1 I am greatly indebted to the conveners for having given me the opportunity to participate in a very rewarding colloquium, and to several of the participants for useful comments. The present paper takes up and develops a few themes from the chapter on the Neugebäude in my forthcoming monograph on Jacopo Strada.

2 On the Neugebäude, see: Albert Ilg, Das Neugebäude bei Wien, *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 16, 1895, pp. 81–121. – Renate Rieger, Das Wiener Neugebäude, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 59, 1951, pp. 136–144. – Rupert Feuchtmüller, *Das Neugebäude* (= *Wiener Geschichtsbücher* 17), Vienna – Hamburg 1976. – Hilda Lietzmann, *Das Neugebäude bei Wien: Sultan Süleymans Zelt – Kaiser Maximilians II. Lustschloss. Ein Beitrag zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der zweiten Hälfte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Munich – Berlin 1987. – Manfred Wehdorn, *Das Neugebäude: Ein Renaissance-Schloss in Wien*, Vienna 2004. – Wolfgang Lippmann, Il Neugebäude di Vienna: genesi e analisi di un insolito complesso, *Annali di architettura* 18–19, 2006–2007, pp. 143–168. – Veronika Szűcs, Das Neugebäude und die Kunst der Irenik am Hofe Maximilians II., *Acta Historiae Artium* 53, 2012, nr. 1, pp. 45–136.

3 On the Katterburg, see: Elisabeth Hassmann: *Das Lusthaus zu Katterburg, der Vorgängerbau der Schlossanlage Fischers von Erlach: Archivalische Beitrag zu den Ausgrabungen in Schönbrunn, Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 55, 2001, pp. 435–452. A contemporary description of the Prater hunting lodge in Vienna can be found in: Georg Tanner, *Brevis et dilucida Domini Dom. Maximiliani inclyti Regis Bohemiae et Archiducis Austriae ec. Viennae ad Danubii ripas et riaetae seu amoenarii ad Puteum Cervinum, et horti, et inprimis veteris quincuncis descriptio* (1558), Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, Cod. 8085; text printed in Josef Chmel, *Die handschriften der k.k. Hofbibliothek in Wien*, 1–2, Wien 1840–41, 2, nr. 1840–1841, 2, pp. 276–292. See also Lietzmann (see note 2), pp. 29–30; Gábor Almási, *The Uses of Humanism: Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584), Andreas Dudith (1533–1589), and the Republic of Letters in East Central Europe (= Brill's Studies in Intellectual History* 185), Leiden – Boston 2009, pp. 115–119. – Sylva Dobalová, *Zahrady Rudolfa II: Jejich vznik a vývoj*, Prague 2009, pp. 213–218. – Esther van Gelder, *Tussen hof en keizerskroon: Carolus Clusius en de ontwikkeling van de botanie aan Midden-Europese hoven (1573–1593)* (= diss. Leiden), Leiden 2011, pp. 62–66.

4 See, for example, Maximilian's letter to Count Prospero d'Arco, his ambassador in Rome, dated Linz, 4 December 1568, see Hans von Voltellini, Urkunden und Regesten aus dem Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Wien: Fortsetzung, *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 13, 1892, 2, pp. xlviii–xlviii, Regest 8805.

5 Albrecht von Wallenstein may, for instance, have been inspired by the Neugebäude in designing not only the arcade of the sala terrena of his Prague palace, but also its grotto (now part of an adjacent hotel). I am grateful to Ivan Prokop Muchka for having shown me this space on an earlier occasion.

Function Follows Form?

The Neugebäude complex was constructed ex novo, and therefore offers, as it was put in the call for papers, 'a much clearer view of the incentives, intentions and concepts of the patron, than that offered by rebuilt or even merely refurbished older residential structures'. This is important, because the documentary evidence concerning the complex, first brought together by Hilda Lietzmann, is minimal, especially considering the size of the project; it is probably the largest architectural commission of the Austrian branch of the Habsburgs in the sixteenth century. Thus there are hardly any explicit sources about the exact intended function or functions of the complex, and what there is almost exclusively refers to the gardens. These included kitchen gardens, fruit trees, a game preserve, especially a *Fasanerie*, an aviary, a deer-park, and a small zoo of half-tame and wild animals. There are few references to the buildings at the centre of these gardens, and these mentions hardly ever refer explicitly to their functions. This can be partly explained by the fact that the complex was very far from complete when Maximilian died in 1576. Although Rudolf II continued work on the building, it was never finished as planned and probably was never fully used as it was originally intended.

This lack of documentation means that the fabric of the building itself is the best and most informative document as to its *raison-d'être*. Thus there are a number of elements the function of which is not very difficult to guess. The most obvious one is the stable, which is located in the lateral or service court and probably served as a secondary stable for day-to-day use and to accommodate the needs of hunting parties taking their departure from the Neugebäude. The hypothetical *Ballhaus* or tennis court was likewise located in the lateral court and would have offered suitable space for tennis and other types of physical exercise. Unfortunately doubts have arisen about the dating of both these elements, which should be resolved before any conclusions can be drawn from them.[6]

In the later print by Matthäus Merian (dated 1649), [Fig. 2] which is nonetheless our earliest visual source on the complex as a whole, the promenades around the upper garden are described as *'Spatziergäng oben auff den Schwijbögen'*, that is 'promenades on top of the arcades'.[7] [Fig. 6] These walkways provided opportunity for less strenuous exercise than hunting or tennis. Merian indicates that they were accessible through the four towers at the corners of the upper flower garden, which indicates at least one of the functions of these unusual hexagonal pavilions. In the case of the fishponds, [Fig. 3] their function is corroborated by the model from which their design is derived, the fishponds of Raphael's Villa Madama in Rome, which belonged to Maximilian's aunt, Margaret, Duchess of Parma. [Figs. 4 and 5] Other models for various elements of the Neugebäude may also indicate their intended functions. I will give a few examples.

The source of the unusually high arch which opened on the south side of the central portion of the main building is not quite clear. Various models have been proposed. I would like to suggest that it is related to an element of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli. Maximilian's interest in this suburban retreat induced its patron, Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, to commission Etienne du Pérac to design the famous bird's-eye view of the estate, which was duly dedicated to the Emperor. The element which inspired Maximilian was the Gran Loggia, [Fig. 8] which is one of the earliest examples of the use of the triumphal arch motif in a permanent structure in the modern period. I concur with the recently completed reconstruction model of the Neugebäude [Fig. 7] that the central portion of its southern facade was based on a triumphal arch motif. The Gran Loggia in Tivoli functioned as a belvedere and as a space for dining al fresco, that is as a banqueting hall, which is an indication of the function of this corresponding section of the Neugebäude.

If the fishponds of the Villa Madama inspired a similar installation at the Neugebäude, it is likely that the villa served as a source of inspiration in other ways. I find the similarity in layout of the entrance court of the Villa Madama and of the Neugebäude striking. The stables at the Villa Madama open directly onto the oblong forecourt, which could double as a tiltyard. [Fig. 5] This was overlooked by a monumental loggia which could accommodate the most high-ranking spectators.[8] All this parallels the layout of the forecourt at the Neugebäude, where the central loggia overlooking the oblong entrance court could serve as a 'royal box' during tilts, jousts and other spectacles. [Figs. 5, 6 and 7]

6 I am grateful to Dr Andreas Kusternig for his comment on my paper at the symposium, and for informing me that the dates of these elements and even their hypothetical functions are matter of debate. Both may be dated, at least in their present form, after Maximilian II's death. Unfortunately the full findings of the material examination of the complex have not yet been made public.

7 Matthäus Merian, *Eijgentliche Delineatio des Schönen Lusthauses genannt das Neugebäu*, bird's-eye view of the Neugebäude from the north, engraving, 1649.

8 Philip Foster, Raphael on the Villa Madama: the text of a lost letter, *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 11, 1967–1968, pp. 307–312.

This theory supports Wolfgang Lippmann's hypothesis that the *'Schöne Saale'* on the ground floor of the Neugebäude [Fig. 9] should be identified with the *'amplum stabulum sub terra'* ('ample subterranean stables'), described by the young Czech noble Ladislav Velen ze Žerotína after his visit in the summer of 1590.[9] As at any princely court of the period, horses were of great importance to the Imperial Court. This is documented, for instance, in the ironic opening passage of Sir Philip Sidney's *A Defence of Poetry*, in which he recalls his riding master in Vienna Giovan Pietro Pugliano, a groom in Maximilian's stable, expounding on the virtues of horsemen and of horses, ' ... telling what a peerless beast the horse was, the only serviceable courtier without flattery, the beast of most beauty, faithfulness, courage, and such more, that if I had not been a piece of a logician before I came to him, I think he would have persuaded me to have wished myself a horse'.[10]

The importance of splendid horses at Maximilian's court is demonstrated in a miniature in the Albertina, depicting a favourite horse of the Czech nobleman Jan Šembera Černohorsky z Boskovic, also known as the patron of Bučovice Castle in Moravia.[11] [Fig. 10] Such high regard for horses was by no means exceptional; at many Renaissance courts it resulted in the construction of splendid stables, often in connection with other representative spaces. Examples include: Charles V's Alcázar at Toledo; the Cortile della Mostra in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua; the stables next to the Kunstkammer of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol at Schloß Ambras; the stable below Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria's Kunstkammer in Munich; the tiltyard next to the Kunstkammer in Dresden; Rudolf II's monumental stables under the Spanische Saal in Prague Castle; and Maximilian II's own Stallburg in Vienna.[12]

The various elements of the Neugebäude listed above confirm that recreation was one of the principal functions of the new complex. If the interpretation of the forecourt as a tiltyard is correct, that would imply that it also was intended to fill a representative function at least occasionally. Additionally, traces have been found of what appears to have been a *Taflstube* or banqueting chamber and annexes, which means that it was actually used for smaller entertainments even before the principal building provided larger-scale accommodation.[13] All this suggests that, whatever its size, the purpose of the Neugebäude did not differ greatly from similar projects undertaken by other princes. Nevertheless I think it is possible to define its patron's intentions with greater precision and, to quote the call for papers again, 'to better understand his incentives, intentions and concepts'. This is important, because there can be little doubt that the patron was indeed personally involved in the genesis of this, his greatest artistic project.[14] The arguments supporting this level of personal involvement on the part of the emperor are beyond the scope of this paper, and I will therefore limit myself to examining some of the paths of enquiry which could be explored. This paper will examine the various elements of the building and their possible models and then evaluate information about Maximilian's preoccupations, interests and tastes, and their context.

Classical Models

Apart from the choice of location, which was on the exact site of Suleiman the Magnificent's encampment during his unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1529, there are no contemporary sources that support the legend that the form of the Neugebäude owes something to Ottoman sources. Some authors discard this possibility too quickly; interest in Ottoman *castrametatio* and military techniques and in Ottoman culture generally, including

9 Lippmann (see note 2), p. 153 and p. 166, n. 115–118; Žerotín's description cited in Lietzmann (see note 2), p. 44 and n. 12.

10 Philip Sidney, *A Defence of Poetry*, ed. J. A. van Dorsten, Oxford 1966 [1975] 2, p. 17. 'John Pietro Pugliano' (or Poliano; but Sidney's spelling is probably correct) has really existed: Jaroslava Hausenblasová, *Der Hof Kaiser Rudolfs II. Eine Edition der Hofstaatsverzeichnissen 1576–1612* (*Fontes Historiae Artium* 9], Prague 2002, pp. 427–428, nr. 193/1.

11 The brand impressed on the horse's flank, a monogram reading ISS (Iani Semberae Stabulae?) with a comb, Boskovic's armorial bearings, sufficiently identify the owner of the horse; the castle on the hill in the distance may well represent his ancestral seat, Boskovic castle.

12 Lippmann (see note 2), p. 153; on Munich, see: Michael Petzet, *Die Alte Münze in München. Marstall- und Kunstkammergebäude - Hauptmünzamt - Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege*, Munich 1996. On Prague, see: Ivan Muchka, Die Architektur unter Rudolf II., gezeigt am Beispiel der Prager Burg, in: *Prag um 1600: Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Rudolfs II.*, exh. cat., Freren 1988, 1, pp. 85–92, esp. pp. 90–91. – Monika Brunner, Papstliches „Capriccio" und kaiserliche „Representatio". Das Ovaltreppenhaus der rudolfinischen Kunstkammern als Form habsburgischer Architekturpolitik, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 60, 1997, pp. 514–529, esp. pp. 517, 526 and ill. 3. A case could be made that the Stallburg was planned from the beginning to house Maximilian II's horses; certainly they were transferred there before the building was finished.

13 Mario Griemann, *Schloss Neugebäude: Neue Funde im Kontext der Bau- und Forschungsgeschichte* (Diplomarbeit Universität Wien), Vienna 2008 [http://othes.univie.ac.at/1638/1/2008-10-09_9902904.pdf], pp. 33 ff.

14 This is indicated in a report from the Venetian ambassador Giovanni Michiel of 1571: 'at present [Maximilian II] has another [occupation] which is greatly to his taste, and in which he spends all the time he can spare from business; this is the building of a garden, half a league from Vienna; which will be, once it is finished, of truly regal and imperial aspect' (author's translation); Josef Fiedler, *Relationen venetianischer Botschafter über Deutschland und Österreich im 16. Jahrhundert*, Vienna 1870, p. 280, as cited in Lietzmann (see note 2), pp. 34–35.

architecture, certainly existed at the Vienna court. But formal correspondences with Ottoman architecture are so generic that no conclusions can be based upon them. Here I will consider one other model which may have influenced Maximilian II when planning the Neugebäude.

It seems plausible that, like his peers, the kings of France and Spain, Maximilian would have been primarily influenced by classical Roman and contemporary Italian architecture, which itself was strongly influenced by antiquarian study, including the study of relevant texts, notably that of Vitruvius, as well as study of Rome's ancient monuments. Expertise on both the written and material sources was found in the presence at Maximilian's court of Jacopo Strada, who functioned as court antiquary and architect. Strada provided the only documented design for the complex.[15] Many ancient models have been suggested, which all to a greater or lesser degree may have influenced Maximilian's plans. Of these, the most important are the printed reconstructions of ancient Roman monuments and palaces.

The most relevant of these are the reconstructions of the gardens of Imperial Rome depicted in Pirro Ligorio's reconstruction of the plan of the ancient city, the *Antiquae urbis imago* published in 1561, here illustrated by the copies included in Jacques Androuet du Cerceau's *Livres des édifices antiques Romains* of 1583.[16] The depiction of the gardens of Caracalla shows a general layout to which that of the Neugebäude largely corresponds, an ample square garden surrounded by colonnades, possibly carrying walkways, interrupted by round or square pavilions and complemented on one side by a large, oblong building consisting of three pavilions connected by an arcaded promenade. [Fig. 11] The illustration of the gardens of Caesar shows a variant of this plan, here with an enclosed inner garden within a larger precinct. [Fig. 12] The promenade in this example is particularly relevant because it is flanked by two hexagonal pavilions or towers, corresponding to the hexagonal towers (rather than octagonal, which would have been more usual) at the corners of the inner garden at the Neugebäude.

The principal building of the Neugebäude gardens, the arcade, was an unusual concept for the period. Such long arcades or colonnades generally only existed as part of a larger complex and functioned as connecting galleries, but they did not stand alone as an independent, detached structure. But even here Ligorio's reconstructions may have provided the inspiration, or at least the pretext. A colonnade over a closed podium level connecting two corner pavilions is shown in his reconstruction of the house of Petronius. A more telling example, is a similar colonnade, this time an independent structure, which was supported by paired columns, another distinctive feature of the Neugebäude.[17] [Fig. 13] It is depicted as part of a complex which, according to Ligorio, served as a *vivarium*, an animal preserve or zoological garden, which is known to be one of the features of the Neugebäude.

In 1558 one of Rome's largest ancient monuments had been documented in great detail in a suite of twenty-seven prints by Johannes and Lucas van Doetecum, which were based on measured drawings by the Dutch architect Sebastian van Noyen; this monument was the Baths of Diocletian.[18] [Figs. 14–15] The surrounding wall interrupted by square and semi-circular exedras may have contributed to the concept of the Neugebäude's upper garden. More important was the construction technique of the *thermae*, the *Massivbauweise* in heavy brick masonry, which was used for the central and the end pavilions of the Neugebäude's principal building. [Fig. 16] Further, the large hall on the piano nobile of the west pavilion of the Neugebäude [Fig. 17] could be derived from Van Noyen's image of the central rotunda of the *thermae*; [Fig. 18] although its circular plan became an irregular octagon in Maximilian's Neugebäude, the sense of space is very similar, and there are a number of corresponding details, notably the arched window echoing the arch of the exedra, the niches in the corners, and the sober cornice distinguishing the wall from the vault.

15 This design is referred to in a letter to Strada from Hans Jakob Fugger, 13 november 1568, see Lietzmann (see note 2), pp. 117–118.

16 Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Livre des édifices antiques romains contenant les ordonnances et desseings des plus signalez et principaux bastiments qui se trouvoient à Rome du temps qu'elle estoit en sa plus grande fleur: partie desquels bastiments se void encor à présent,* s.l. 1584, unnumbered pls. "Horti Bassiani Antonini Aug."; "Horti Caesaris".

17 Du Cerceau (see note 16), unn. pl. Domus Petroni; ed. Robert W. Gaston, *Pirro Ligorio: Artist and Antiquarian* (= *Tatti Studies* 10), Rome 1988, p. 85, ill. 77.

18 *Thermae Diocletiani imperatoris, quales hodie etiamnum extant sumptibus et ardenti erga venerandam antiquitatum studio Antoni Perenoti, episcopi Atrebatensis, in lucem eductae, industria et incomparabili labore Sebastiani ab Oya, Caroli V architecti, tanti herois impulsu quam exactitudine ad vivum a fundo usque descriptae, ab uberiori prorsus interitu vindicatae et ab Hieronimo Coccio Antwerpiano in aes incisae*; a suite of 27 prints, engraved by Johannes and Lucas van Doetecum after designs by Sebastian van Noyen, published by Hieronymous Cock in Antwerp, 1558, at the expense of Cardinal Granvelle; integrally published in Henk Nalis, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings. Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700: The Van Doetecum Family*, Pt. 2: *The Antwerp Years, 1554–1575*, Rotterdam 1998, pp. 44–63. The Duke of Bavaria possessed a set pasted on canvas: see Dorothea Diemer – Peter Diemer – Willibald Sauerländer (eds.), *Die Münchner Kunstkammer 1–2: Katalog; 3: Aufsätze und Anhänge* (= *Abh. der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, N.F. 129), Munich 2008, 1, 1, pp. 52–53, nr. 136.

What is striking is that in this case, as in all the possible sources for the Neugebäude, no model is copied exactly; at most they were used as a source of inspiration. This indicates that the designer had sufficient expertise and confidence to be able to handle his sources with assurance and adapt them to this particular situation. If the designer was Jacopo Strada, that need not be surprising. But it might indicate instead or additionally, that the project was not developed merely by shopping among the prints and drawings in the Emperor's personal library or in Strada's 'paper museum', but that it was the result of the consultation of specific written sources, translated first into images, and then into real buildings. The choice of texts would be dictated by the purpose or purposes the patron intended his project to serve. Even with the images I have just shown, it is no coincidence, I think, that they relate specifically to the garden complexes of ancient Rome, to the *vivarium*, and to Roman baths, that is to monuments which themselves were devoted to purposes held in common with the Neugebäude. These include gardening, the maintenance of animal preserves, recreation, leisure, exercise, intellectual exchange, and the care of health. This last purpose was important for Maximilian II, who suffered from various ailments and general poor health since his return from Spain in 1552, and it is perfectly plausible that the name of *Badeturm*, which is documented for one of the four towers of the inner garden, refers to its actual or intended use as such.[19]

Literary Sources

That close examination of literary sources was an important aspect of the planning stages of the Neugebäude is suggested by the documentation prepared for Maximilian concerning an earlier garden complex he had built: the Grünes Lusthaus in the Prater. This description by Georg Tanner makes clear that in the mind of Maximilian, or at least in those of his advisers, precedents from ancient history were of great importance in the planting of this garden.[20] Tanner's list of literary references include the legendary gardens of Alcinous and the Hesperides, the garden laid out by Cyrus King of Persia, and the gardens of Roman patricians such as Sallustius, Lucullus and Maecenas. It even includes a pointed reference to the Emperor Diocletian's abdication and retirement in his 'Dalmatian garden' and to the splendid cabbages he grew there, the reason he gave for refusing to come back to Rome when his successors could not manage without him. This anecdote refers to the practical, horticultural function the Prater fulfilled, as do the many mentions of agricultural passages from ancient authors such as Cato the Elder, Varro, Columella and Pliny the Elder, and the list of fruits, vegetables and trees suitable for the garden according to such authors. This concern is echoed in Tanner's description of the 619 fruit trees, including not only apples and pears but also various exotic fruits.

But the reference to Diocletian's retirement also refers to the idyllic, pastoral attraction of life in a country garden, as does an oft-quoted passage from Horace's second epode, *Beatus ille*, which predictably is included as well:

> Happy the man, whose wish and care
> A few paternal acres bound,
> Content to breathe his native air,
> In his own ground.[21]

Tanner applies this description of the joys of a quiet country life for recreation and the recovery of health explicitly to Emperor Ferdinand I, who regularly spent time at his son's retreat:

> Because this place, dedicated to the hunt and the royal pleasure, likewise is most suitable for all convenient sorts of honest physical exercise that maintain good health, His Majesty the King of the Romans often uses to come here to refresh his soul, fatigued by his heavy cares, and to recreate himself without undesired disturbance.[22]

19 In an inventory from 1637 listing the contents of the then ruined Neugebäude names the four towers Kronturm, Musikantenturm, Ratturm and Badturm (Lietzmann, see note 2, pp. 93–94). Because the Neugebäude was hardly used, if at all, by Maximilian's successors, it is likely that these names still refer to their original functions. Maximilian's use of baths as a means to improve his precarious health is well documented; on one occasion he spent about sixty hours of a visit to Ebersdorf taking baths (Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II*, New Haven – London 2001, p. 207).

20 Tanner, *Brevis et dilucida [...] diaetae descriptio*, as given in Chmel (see note 3), pp. 276–292.

21 This translation is a free adaption found in the *Ode on Solitude* by the young Alexander Pope.

22 Tanner, *Brevis et dilucida [...] diaetae descriptio*, as cited in Chmel (see note 3), II, p. 283: *'Quare cum hic locus Venationi tanquam Regiae voluptati, adeoque omnibus honestissimorum exercitiorum bonae valetudini tuendae convenientissimorum generibus sit aptissimus, Romana Regia Maiestas*

This is almost exactly the sentiment expressed by Maximilian himself when, a decade later, he wrote to his envoy in Rome Count Prospero d'Arco just as he was beginning construction of the Neugebäude:

> Because in the most grave and manifold cares and labours, which we sustain to maintain the well being and safety not only of our own reigns and dominions, but of the entire Christian world, we are used to look for recreation and for the relaxation of our soul in the culture of gardens.[23]

That such repose was found not only in hunting and exercise, but also in the amenities of pastoral nature, the pretty flowers, the sweet chirping of the birds, the buzzing of the bees, was implied by Tanner's quotation from a pseudo-Virgilian ode which, with some justification, was quite popular at the time. The English translation is contemporary:[24]

Flores nitescunt discolore gramine,	Behold, with lively hue, fair flowers that shine so bright:
Pinguntque terras gemmeis honoribus	With riches, like the orient gems, they paint the mould in sight.
[...]	[...]
Aves canoros garrulae fundunt sonos,	Birds chatter, and some chirp, and some sweet tunes do yield:
Et semper aures cantibus mulcent suis.	All mirthfull, with their songs so blithe, they make both air and field.

Is it possible that Maximilian himself had read the original poem? That he had is implied by Tanner, when he explains that the Prater garden included a *'iucundissimus Labyrinthus'* consisting of hedges of fragrant plants such as myrtle and laurel, in the midst of which could be found *'tria amoenissima cubicula'*, that is three most pleasant chambers constructed of evergreen hedges and vines to keep out the sun, and which were therefore 'perfectly adapted for the King's recreation and profound reflections, in short for devotion to the Muses and every honest and civilized study'. This passage recalls the invocation of the Muses in the opening lines of the same ode, which Tanner does not quote:

ADESTE MUSAE, maximi proles Jovis!	The issue of great Jove, draw near you Muses nine:
Laudes feracis praedicemus hortuli.	Help us to praise the blissful plot of garden ground so fine.

This passage suggests that Maximilian used his gardens as retreats, where he could escape the many cares and responsibilities of his position. We know from Venetian ambassadors' reports that he did occasionally disappear for a few days at a time. This quotation and the many other literary sources Tanner cited also suggest that Maximilian devoted part of his retreat to serious study and to the cultivation of the Muses. Maximilian was particularly interested in natural history, and he provided substantial support for Carolus Clusius's botanic studies; but the sources cited by Tanner, in particular *De laudibus hortuli*, suggest that Maximilian also may have been sensitive to the pastoral and Arcadian aspects of his country retreats.

If the Emperor used his country residences to escape from heavy cares, instead of reading a scientific botanical treatise he may actually have preferred to read pastoral literature, such as Virgil's *Eclogues* and its later imitations, including Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, or certain passages from the *Amadis de Gaulle*, a chivalric romance that was a sixteenth-century bestseller. The French translation of *Amadis de Gaulle*, written by Nicolas de Herberay des Essarts at the request of the French King Francis I, included an additional chapter containing a description and ground plan of a fairy-tale castle and garden, the Palais d'Apolidon, which bears a close resemblance to

animum gravissimis curia defessum ibi plerunque reficere, et sine interpellatoribus oblectare solet.'

23 Author's translation of a passage in a letter from Maximilian II to Prospero d'Arco, his ambassador in Rome, Linz, 4 December 1568, in: Voltellini (see note 4), Regest 8805; also printed in Lippmann (see note 2), p. 162 and cited in Lietzmann (see note 2), p. 29 and pp. 164–165.

24 Tanner thought this work was by Virgil (as given in Chmel, see note 3, p. 282), however today the poem is attributed to Asmenius (ca 400 AD) or Ausonius (ca 310–ca 394 AD). The full poem, *Adeste Musae, maximi proles Jovis*, is given in: H. W. Garrod, *The Oxford book of Latin verse; from the earliest fragments to the end of the 5th century A.D.*, Oxford 1912, pp. 404–405. It was later set to music by Rudolf II's court composer Jacobus Gallus (or Handl). The contemporary translation is by Nicholas Grimald (1519–1562), quoted from *The Oxford Anthology of English Literature*, I: The *Middle Ages through the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford 1973, p. 610 (which does not identify its precise Latin source).

Chambord.[25] [Fig. 19] Wolfgang Lippmann has suggested that this same Palais d'Apolidon may have been among the sources of inspiration for the Neugebäude, and I agree that this is not unlikely, given that the same novel supplied the subject matter of many court festivals of the Valois and the Habsburgs, including one which was organized by Maximilian himself.[26] If so, an impression of what Maximilian may have had in mind is provided by a drawing representing Amadis's lover Oriane entering the garden of Apolidon's palace.[27] [Fig. 20] The drawing, a design for one of a series of tapestries illustrating *Amadis de Gaule*, is by Karel van Mander, who was in Vienna to assist with the festival decorations for the entry of Rudolf II, and in any case was aware of the decorations executed at the Neugebäude by his compatriots Bartolomeus Spranger and Hans Mont.[28]

Music

Music was another of Maximilian's interests, and we still enjoy the results of this today; the motets and madrigals of his principal *Kapellmeister* and court composer, Philippe de Monte, are still often performed and recorded. In 1571 the Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Michiel, described Maximilian's love of and talent for music:

> He is a great lover of music, on which he spends a great amount of money, for he has a chapel that, both for the quantity and the quality of its musicians, without any doubt surpasses those of every other Prince. And such is the pleasure he takes in it, that he often says that if he could follow his own inclination and taste he would never do anything else; and he is also a musician himself, because he sings his part with assurance, and he does this on occasion privately in his Chamber.[29]

Maximilian's Chamber music was highly praised by no less an authority than Orlando di Lasso: 'The Emperor's chamber music is so wonderful that the tongue cannot describe it, nor can the ears ever take in enough of it, nor can the other senses do it justice.'[30]

Certainly musical entertainment played a role in the use of the Neugebäude, as one of the towers of the inner garden was known as the *Musikantenturm*, or Tower of the Musicians.[31] If Maximilian's love for music was as great as Michiel suggests, he would likely have taken the musicians attached to his Chamber with him to the Neugebäude. While enjoying the flowers and fountains of the inner garden, the Emperor and his guests could be diverted by his trumpeters and trombones, perhaps accompanied by a set of kettledrums, playing from the balustrade of any of the four corner towers, similar to the arrangement of the musical automaton made in 1582 for Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria.[32] [Fig. 21] Among these four, the *Musikantenturm* may have been intended as a small concert hall similar to the odeon designed for the Venetian nobleman Alvise Cornaro in his garden at Padua. Here private concerts by singers and instrumentalists from the Emperor's Chamber or a gifted dilettante from the court could have taken place. However, I think it is more likely that it would have provided the musicians with a rehearsal space and temporary lodging while they waited to be summoned to perform in the semi-privacy of the Emperor's Chamber.

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25 'Description de l'ignographie et plant du palais que Apolidon avoit fait construyre en l'Isle Ferme', Ch. 2 of Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Le Quatriesme livre de Amadis de Gaule, auquel on peult veoir quelle issue eut la guerre entreprise par le roy Lisuart contre Amadis […]*, Paris 1543 (French translation by Nicolas d'Herberay des Essarts), ff. 3v.–8r.

26 Lippmann (see note 2), p. 154. Festivities based on or inspired by episodes from *Amadis de Gaule* include the *Fête de Binche* in 1549, the festivities organized by Maximilian II in Vienna in June 1560, and those organized by Leone Leoni in Mantua in 1561 on the occasion of the wedding of Maximilian's sister Eleonore to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga.

27 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, inv. nr -15092. It is a design for one of a series of at least nine tapestries on the theme of Amadis de Gaule manufactured by François Spiering in Delft; this tapestry is now in the Princeton Art Museum, another from the series is in the Metropolitan Museum; see Elizabeth Cleland, catalogue entries 2–4 in Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor*, exh. cat., New York 2007, pp. 36–48.

28 Karel van Mander, *Het schilder-boeck* (facsimile of the first ed., Haarlem 1604), Utrecht 1969, ff. 271v.–272r.

29 Fiedler (see note 14), pp. 278–279. Musical life at the court of Maximilian II has been studied far more assiduously than the visual arts, see: a.o. Albert Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette 1480–1580*, Utrecht 1976. – Walter Pass, *Musik und Musiker am Höfe Maximilians II*, Tutzing 1980. – Robert Lindell, Die Neubesetzung der Hofkapellmeisterstelle am Kaiserhof in den Jahren 1567–1568: Palestrina oder Monte?, *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 36, 1985, pp. 35–52. Idem, *New findings on music at the court of Maximilian II*, in: Friedrich Edelmayer and Alfred Kohler (eds.), *Kaiser Maximilian II.: Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert* (= *Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* 19), Vienna – Munich 1992.

30 Lintell 1992 (see note 29), p. 231.

31 See note 17.

32 Automaton in ebony and palissander, gilt silver and bronze, and enamel by Valentin Drausch and Hans Schlottheim, in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer, inv. nr. KK-885.

Another space was required for public musical performances. It is tempting to suggest that Maximilian planned the two large, beautifully proportioned vaulted spaces in the end pavilions of the main building of the Neugebäude for the two types of indoor music performed at court, the sacred and the secular. The chapel in the East pavilion would then have been planned for the singers of Maximilian's *Hofkapelle*, precursors of the Wiener Sängerknaben, performing De Monte's, Lasso's and Palestrina's motets, while the beautiful hall in the West pavilion [Fig. 17] could have been planned as a concert hall for madrigals and accompanied polyphonic music; its vault would have assured a splendid resonance for the voices and instruments of Maximilian's chamber musicians. Arne Spohr's contribution to this colloquium has strengthened my hypothesis that the small gallery surrounding the vault and communicating with the main body of the hall through openings on each side was intended to accommodate musicians. [Fig. 16] Thus it can be considered as an early example of a facility for concealed music similar to the phenomenon Spohr described.[33]

Conclusion

The reference in Tanner's treatise to Cyrus, who planned and planted his garden with his own hands, just as Maximilian had, comes from Xenophon's *Economist*, where he is presented as the exemplary good and virtuous ruler. Can it be that Maximilian, who was highly intelligent and highly educated and appears to have been a quite conscientious ruler, modelled his own conduct on such shining examples? And is it possible that he did so, and had it recorded in writing, as an explicit statement of his attitude to the responsibilities of his rank and of his future role as first ruler of Christendom? And did these same ideas influence Maximilian when he developed his plans for the Neugebäude?[34] In order to answer these questions, a comparison must be made between the Neugebäude and Maximilian's other commissions. One could examine, for example, the themes of the court festivals organized at his initiative and the texts of the madrigals composed and performed by his court musicians. Of particular interest in this context is the silver-gilt fountain the Emperor commissioned from Wenzel Jamnitzer. This was Maximilian's most prestigious commission after the Neugebäude, and it may have been intended to be placed in the Neugebäude.[35] Its complex iconographic programme explicitly proposes an interpretation of function and role of the Emperor as universal monarch, and this, in turn was inspired by, if not conceived in, Maximilian's immediate circle; it can be assumed that it reflects his own understanding of his high office. More detailed study of the Neugebäude in conjunction with Maximilian's other commissions and of the written and material sources that were drawn upon in their conception, would contribute to a better understanding of this mysterious but sympathetic ruler.

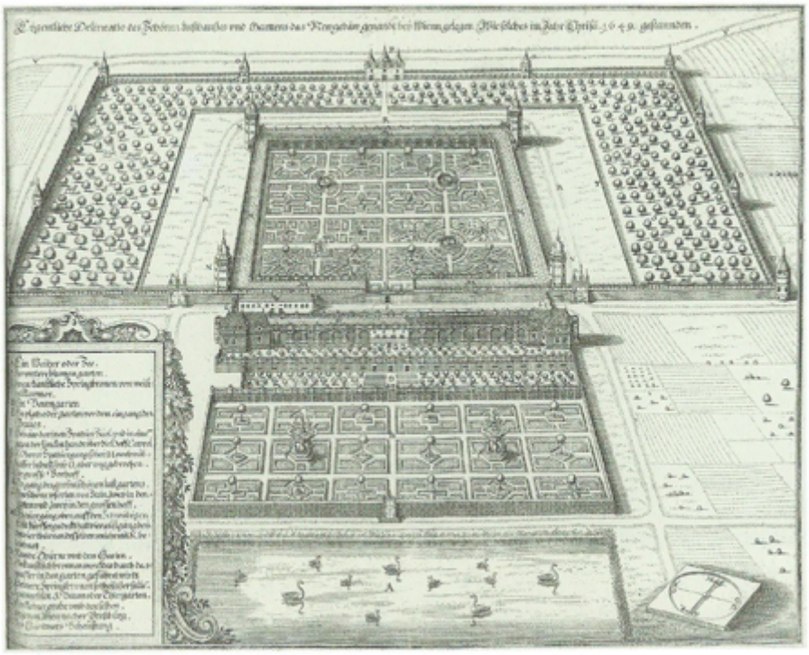
33 See also: Arne Spohr, 'This Charming Invention Created by the King' – Christian IV and His Invisible Music, *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* 39, 2012, pp. 13–33. – Idem, Concealed Music in Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial, in Rebekah Ahrendt – Damien Mahiet (eds.), *Music and Diplomacy from the Early Modern Era to the Present*, New York 2014, pp. 19–43.

34 In her article on the Neugebäude Veronika Szűcs (see note 2) has suggested a connection with the irenism at Maximilian's court, which is promising direction for research, but it requires a more careful examination than she provides.

35 On this famous object, see: David von Schönherr, Wenzel Jamnitzers Arbeiten für Erzherzog Ferdinand, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichischen Geschichtsforschung* 9, 1888, pp. 289–305. – Ralf Schürer, Wenzel Jamnitzers Brunnen für Maximilian II.: Überlegungen zu Ikonographie und Zweck, Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums 1986, pp. 55–59; Lietzmann (see note 2), pp. 170–173. – Klaus Pechstein, Kaiser Rudolf II. und die Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst, in: *Prag um 1600: Beiträge zur Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Rudolfs II.*, Freren 1988, pp. 232–243, esp. pp. 232–235.

1. The Neugebäude from the north-east.

Photo: Dirk J. Jansen



2. Matthäus Merian, Eijgentliche Delineatio des Schönen Lusthauses genannt das Neugebäu, 1649.

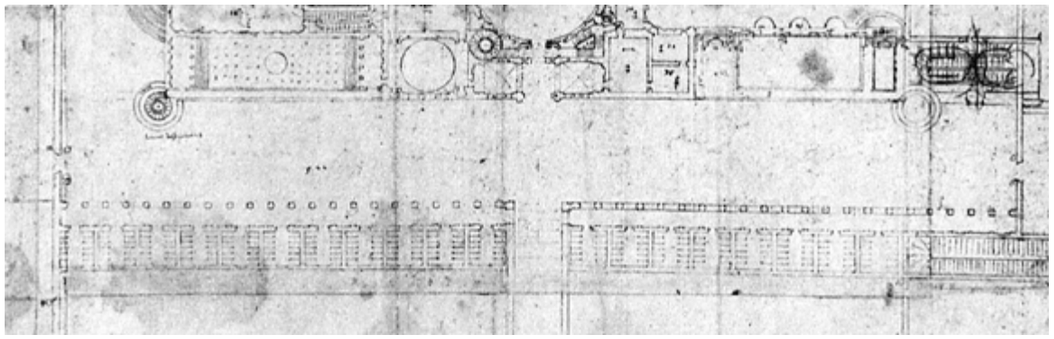
From: O. Zatloukal, *Et in Arcadia ego. Historical Gardens at Kroměříž*, Olomouc 2004

3. The fishponds in the lateral courtyard of the Neugebäude.

Photo: Dirk J. Jansen

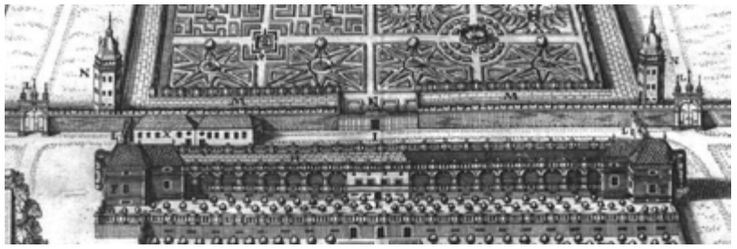
4. The fishponds at the Villa Madama in Rome.

Photo: Public domain



5. Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, plan of the Villa Madama in Rome: detail showing the fishponds (right), the stabling for 228 horses (below) and the loggia (centre), Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto disegni.

From: David R. Coffin, The Plans of the Villa Madama, *The Art Bulletin* 49, 1967, pp. 111–122, ill. 2



6. Matthäus Merian, view of the Neugebäude, detail of ill. 2, showing the promenades carried on arcades surrounding the inner upper garden of the Neugebäude, and the oblong lay-out of the entrance courtyard.

7. Arch in the central pavilion of the Neugebäude, reconstruction model exhibited in Neugebäude, Modellbauwerkstätte Philipp Lang, Vienna.

Photo: D. Jansen

8. Tivoli, Villa d'Este: the Gran Loggia.

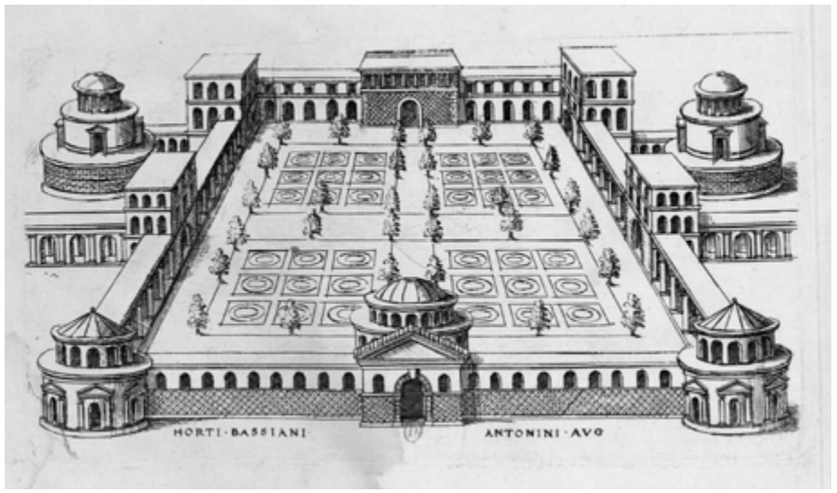
Photo: S. Dobalová

9. The 'Schöne Saal' in the west wing of the Neugebäude.

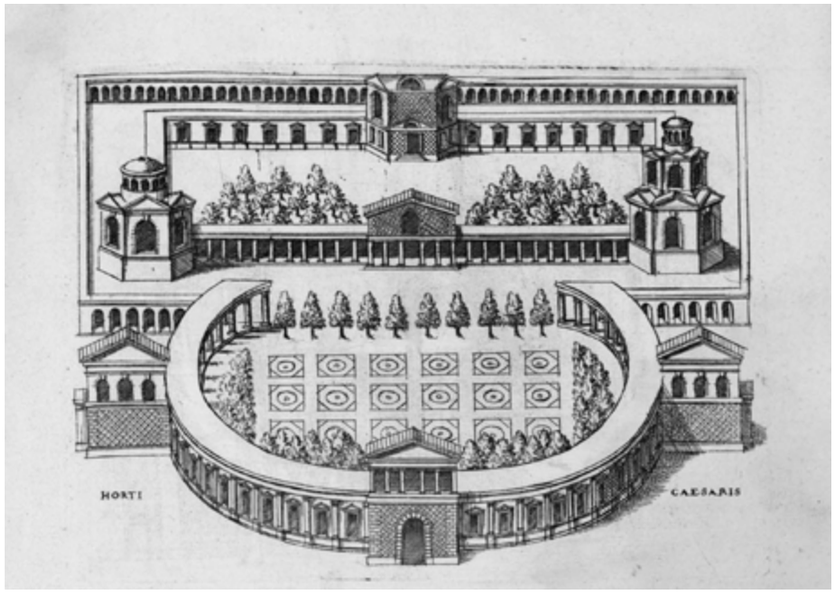
Photo: S. Dobalová

10. Anonymous (Prague court-artist), Portrait of a horse led by a page, in a landscape, ca. 1580, Wien, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.

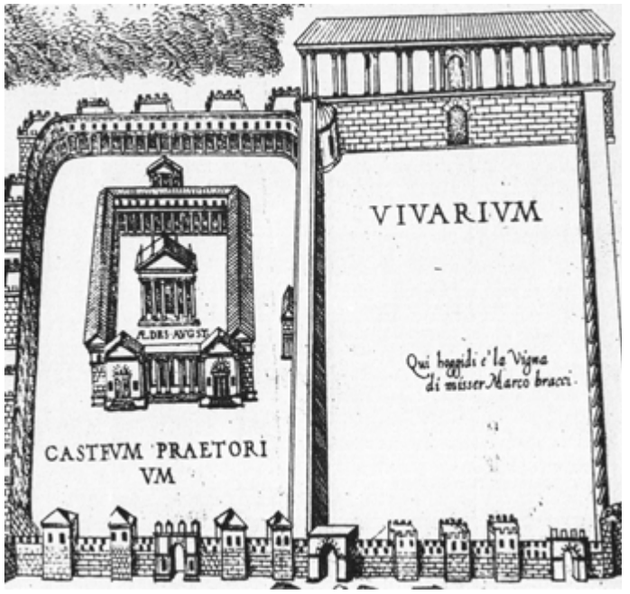
Photo: Graphische Sammlung Albertina



11. Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, The Roman Garden of Caracalla, after Pirro Ligorio's *Anteiquae Urbis Imago* (1561), engraving from Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Livre des édifices antiques romains*, s.l. 1584.

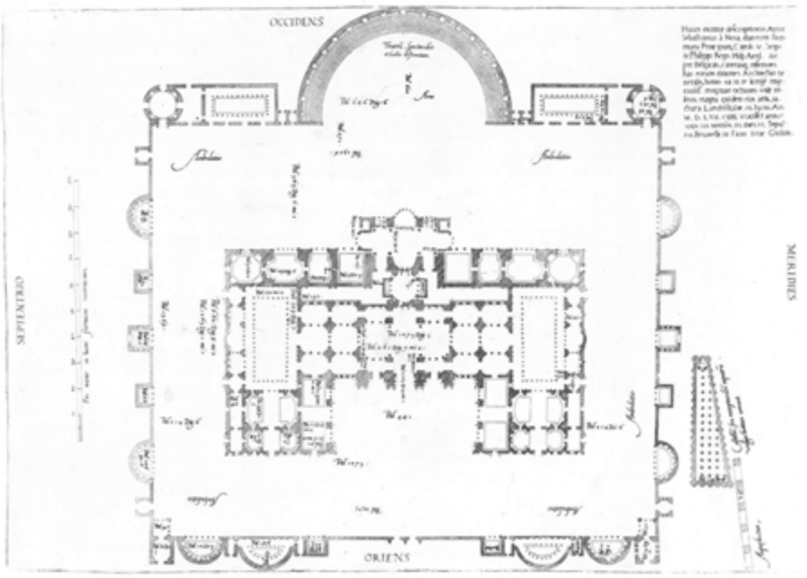


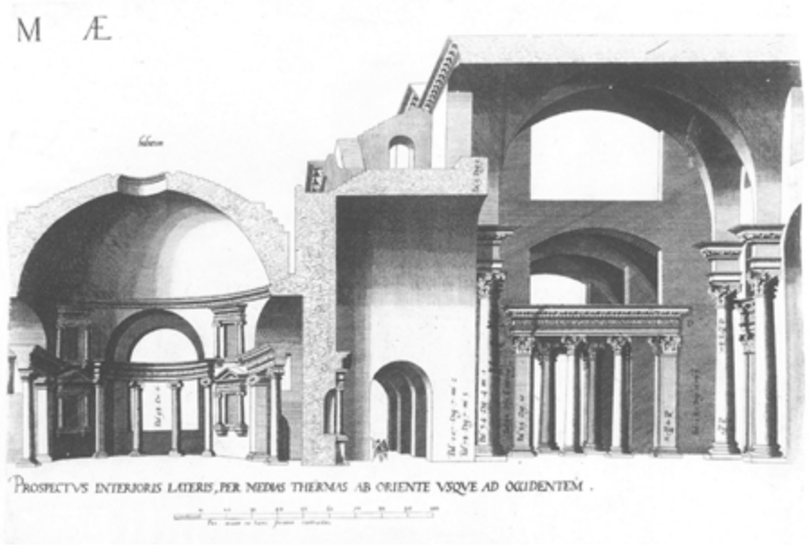
12. Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, The Gardens of Caesar, after Pirro Ligorio's *Anteiquae Urbis Imago* (1561), engraving from Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Livre des édifices antiques romains*, s.l. 1584.



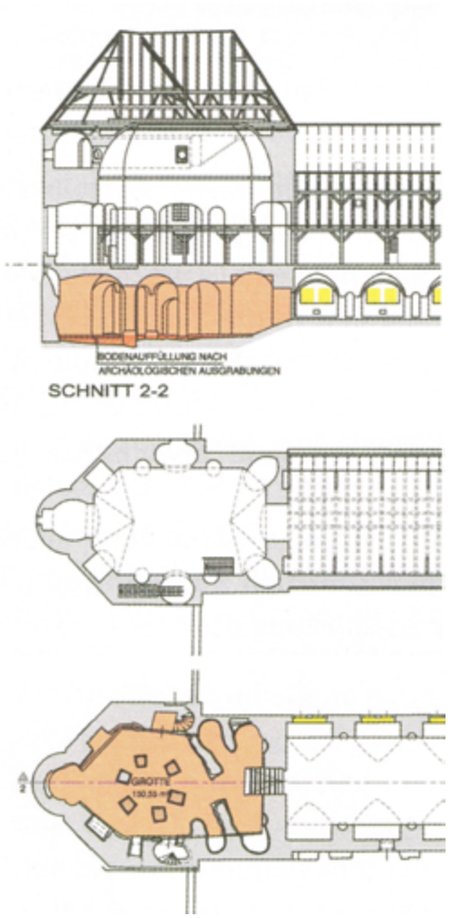
13. The vivarium next to the Castrum Praetorium in Rome, detail from Pirro Ligorio's *Anteiquae Urbis Imago*, 1561.

Image from: Robert W. Gaston (ed.), *Pirro Ligorio: Artist and Antiquarian* [= I Tatti studies 10], Rome 1988





14–15. Johannes and Lucas van Doetecum, after Sebastian van Noyen, reconstructions of the plan and of a section of the central rotunda and adjoining hall of the Baths of Diocletian in Rome; engravings from *Thermae Diocletiani imperatoris, quales hodie etiamnum exstant [...] in lucem eductae, industria et incomparabili labore Sebastiani ab Oya, Caroli V architecti [...] et ab Hieronimo Coccio Antwerpiano in aes incisae,* Antwerp 1558.



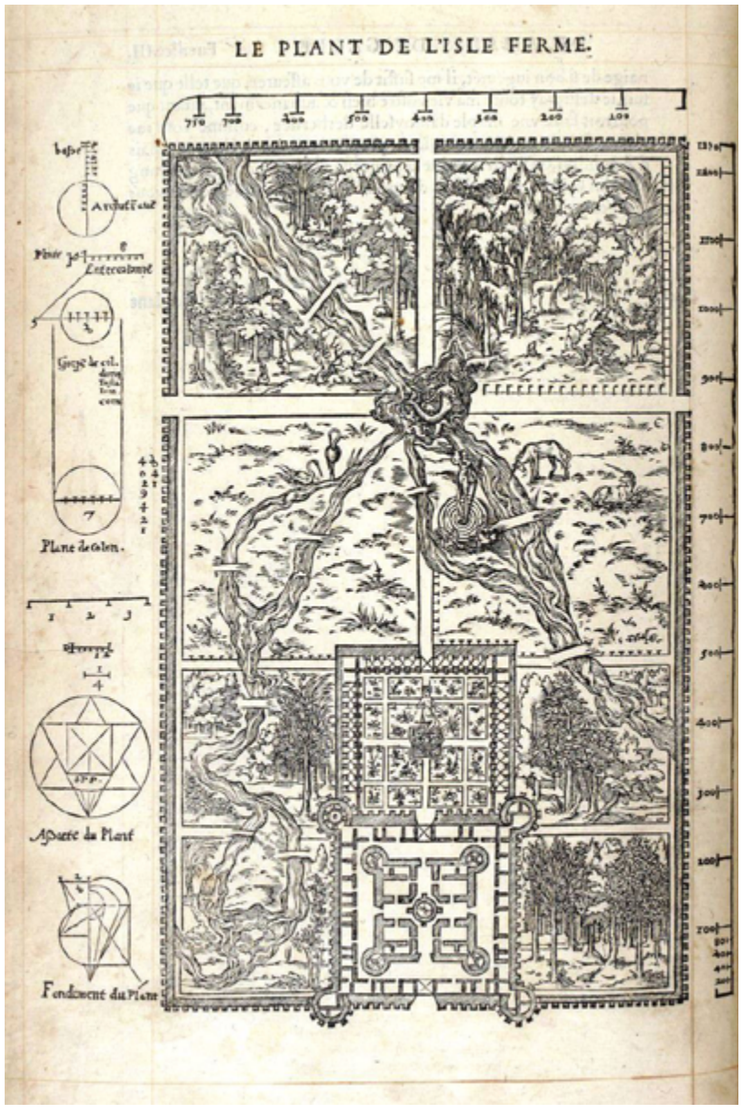
16. Section and floorplans of the West Pavilion ('Westrisalit') of the Neugebäude.

From: M. Wehdorn, *Das Neugebäude: Ein Renaissance-Schloss in Wien*, Vienna 2004

17. The hall on the piano nobile of the west pavilion of the Neugebäude.

Photo: Dirk J. Jansen

18. The central rotunda of the Baths of Diocletian in Rome, detail of ill. 15.



19. Plan of the palace and the gardens of Apolidon, woodcut from Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Le Quatriesme livre de Amadis de Gaule*, translated by Nicolas d'Herberay des Essarts, Paris 1543.

Photo: BNF/Gallica

20. Karel van Mander, Oriane Endavours to Perform Feats of Magic in the Garden of Apolidon, ca. 1595-1600, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum.

Photo: Public domain

21. Valentin Drausch and Hans Schlottheim, so-called Trumpeters Automaton, Augsburg 1582, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer.

Photo: KHM Wien

A Fairy-Tale Palace: The *Trianon de porcelaine* at Versailles

Marie-Claude Canova-Green

'The Trianon palace was first perceived as an enchantment: for, having been begun only at the end of winter, it was found to be complete in spring, as though it had sprung out of the ground along with the flowers of the gardens that accompany it.'[1]

In 1670, within a few months and at great cost, Louis XIV had 'a small palace of extraordinary architecture' built at Trianon, on the outer grounds of Versailles, where he could 'pass some hours of the day during the heat of summer'.[2] The construction of the palace was a feat of engineering that required the transformation of the chosen location and a speeding up of the normal rhythms of construction work. Not only had the existing village, including its church, been demolished[3] and the ground levelled to make way for the palace and its gardens (they were laid out first), the building itself had been constructed very rapidly without consideration for costs. Such was the king's pleasure.

One can only be surprised by the disproportion between the means, that is the effort, energy and money expended, and the end result, a simple summer pavilion, meant for *al fresco* relaxation and pleasure. As shown by the absence of fireplaces in any of the rooms, the miniature palace was to be used only in the summer months for exclusive tea or dinner parties. The duc de Saint-Simon dismissed it as a simple 'house of porcelain for light refreshments'.[4] It is also surprising that this so-called *'galante maison'*,[5] a retreat built for the king and his mistress Madame de Montespan, turned out to play an important part in the iconographical language of power perfected at Versailles. At the opposite end of the park from the *château*, which was slowly being transformed into a monumental seat of power, the Trianon palace embodied a ludic space seemingly devoted to leisure and pleasure. However it also shared in the same propagandist purpose as the *château* and the royal park, that of glorifying the monarch through his achievements. In the same way it was part of the ideological construction of Versailles.

Designed by the architect Louis Le Vau, the Trianon palace proved a costly affair. Official accounts show that large sums of money were spent on it. In 1670 155,600 *livres* were spent on the building work alone. In 1671 and 1672, 140,000 *livres* and 120,000 *livres*, respectively, were spent putting the finishing touches to the decoration of the buildings and the gardens in which they were situated.[6] [Figs. 1, 2] The palace consisted of a central one-storey pavilion surrounded by four identical smaller pavilions, which served as outbuildings and were used for the preparation of food, evincing the king's and his mistress's shared interest in gastronomic delights.[7] It was built of brick, but faced with glazed earthenware tiles,[8] predominantly blue and white, which, under the name of *'carreaux de Hollande'*, passed for porcelain in the world of commerce. In fact until Johann Friedrich Böttger from Meissen discovered the secret of making porcelain in 1715, nobody in Europe at the time knew how to make

1 Andre Félibien, *Description sommaire du Casteau de Versailles*, Paris 1674, pp. 104–105.
2 Félibien (see note 1), p. 109.
3 The village was demolished in 1668 after the lands on which it stood were acquired by the king from the Abbaye Ste Geneviève in Paris. See Pierre de Nolhac, *Le Trianon de Marie-Antoinette*, Paris 1914, pp. 3–4.
4 Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon, *Mémoires complets et authentiques du duc de Saint-Simon sur le siècle de Louis XIV et la Régence* XII, Paris 1840, p. 151.
5 *Le Mercure galant*, November 1686, No. 11, Part 2, p. 113. The term *galant* is ambiguous. It referred to lovers' trysts, as well as '*honest rejoicings*' (Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, The Hague – Rotterdam 1690). The second meaning is most probably intended here.
6 Pierre de Nolhac, Le Trianon de porcelaine, *Revue de l'Histoire de Versailles,* 1901, pp. 1–16, esp. p. 4.
7 The two main side pavilions were for the preparation and the consumption of dishes, the other two for the preparation of '*entremets'* (i.e. dishes served between the courses) and '*confitures*' (sweetmeats).
8 This technique of applying glazed earthenware tiles to the walls was in fact inspired by a Moorish and subsequently Spanish technique.

it and little distinction seemed to have been made between Oriental porcelain and European earthenware copies of it. However by 1688 the difference between the two appeared to have been generally appreciated in France, and in accounts or written descriptions, the term 'faïence' was used to refer to glazed earthenware, whereas the term 'porcelain' tended to be associated instead with painting techniques.

For obvious reasons the miniature palace at Versailles came to be known as the *Trianon de porcelaine*. According to Claude Denis, a craftsman who made garden fountains for Versailles and wrote a poetic description of the Trianon, everything, from the roof to the outer walls, was 'entirely covered in faïence'.[9] Blue and white Delft tiles were used for the facades and ceramics from Saint-Cloud, Lisieux or Rouen for the decorative ornaments. In the gardens the fountains were made of faïence or painted to look like porcelain, as were the flower tubs and the boxes used for growing small trees. Even the interior décor was governed by the same blue and white colour scheme. In addition to large gilded mirrors and more Delft tiles on the floors and the lower part of the walls, there were coverings of polished white stucco to imitate porcelain with 'azure' ornamentation. The ceilings too were decorated with blue patterns on white background.[10] However more recent studies have called into question the extent to which faïence was used as a revetment, as well as the predominance of the blue and white scheme in the decoration, on the grounds that royal accounts show that white and purple tiles from Holland were also used in the apartments together with polychromatic tiles from Lisieux and Saint-Cloud.[11]

As Arthur Lane remarks,[12] the Trianon was a curiosity not without precedent. In the 1520s François I had a palatial residence built in the Bois de Boulogne near Paris, whose facades were faced with glazed tiles in bas-relief (or *terracotta invetriata*) designed by Girolamo della Robbia. The *château de Madrid*, as it was called, came to be known as the *château de faïence*. John Evelyn described it in 1650 as 'observable only for its open manner of architecture, being much of terraces and galleries one over another to the very roof; and for the materials, which are mostly of earth [i.e. earthenware] painted like porcelain, or China-ware, whose colors appear very fresh, but is very fragile. There are whole statues and relievos of this pottery, chimney-pieces, and columns both within and without. '[13]

Another example was the grotto of stone and colour-glazed earthenware that, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, Bernard Palissy had built for Catherine de' Medici in the Tuileries gardens, but this had been demolished by the time the porcelain palace was built at Versailles.

It is clear that in its design and ornamentation, the Trianon testified to the new vogue for porcelain and all things Chinese in late seventeenth century France and Europe. According to Félibien, the author of a *Description sommaire* of Versailles, 'everything was decorated in the Chinese manner'.[14] In particular, notwithstanding the classical triangular pediment and the four pilasters adorning the facades of the central pavilion, the outside decoration of the roof space was reminiscent of Chinese pagodas. The one-storey pavilions also pointed to the low rise architecture, popular in the Middle Kingdom.[15] This was the time when missionaries were publishing their descriptions of the Far East and when pieces of lacquered furniture, painted silks and brocades began to make their way into Europe. The king himself collected Chinese porcelain with enthusiasm and had acquired 695 pieces by 1673.[16] It is also possible that in his fascination for the East and his desire to outshine its marvels, he had even tried to outdo the famous porcelain tower at Nanjing, whose construction, dating back to the fifteenth century, filled travellers with admiration and was often described as the eighth wonder of the world. An engraving of it had

9 This poem, entitled *Description de toutes les grottes, rochers et fontaines du château royal de Versailles, maison du Soleil et de la Ménagerie*, was probably composed around 1675 and published for the first time by Marcel Raynal, Le manuscrit de Claude Denis, fontainier de Louis XIV à Versailles, *Versailles. Revue des sociétés des amis de Versailles* 36–44, 1971.

10 Alfred Marie, *Naissance de Versailles* II, Paris 1968, pp. 203–204. – Nolhac (see note 6), pp. 5–6. Even the furniture seemed to have been painted to mimic porcelain, as shown by a table listed in the inventories and now in the Getty museum, where the effect is achieved through the use of blue-stained horn and ivory.

11 Annick Heitzmann, Le Trianon de Porcelaine à Versailles, in: *Kangxi. Empereur de Chine. 1662–1722. La Cité Interdite à Versailles*, Paris 2004, pp. 167–175, esp. pp. 167–175.

12 Arthur Lane, *French Faïence*, London 1970, p. 16.

13 John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* I, edited by William Bray, New York – London 1901, p. 252 (entry of 25th April 1650). The *château de Madrid* was torn down in 1792.

14 Félibien (see note 1), p. 110.

15 According to Athanasius Kircher, whose *China monumentis illustrata* (1667) was translated into French in 1670, this was because the Chinese preferred convenience to magnificence (*La Chine d'Athanase Kirchere*, Amsterdam 1670, p. 290).

16 Lane (see note 12), p. 16.

appeared in Johan Nieuhoff's *An Embassy from the East India Company* in 1665: the original work was in Dutch but it was soon translated in French, German, Latin and English.[17] Although the style in which the Trianon pavilions were built contrasted with the type of monumental, neo-classical art habitually favoured by Louis XIV, as evinced by the transformations of the *château* itself carried out by Le Vau in the 1660s and continued by Mansart in the late 1670s and 1680s, nonetheless they showed the same desire to showcase the skill of French artists and to celebrate the grandeur of their royal patron, capable of vying successfully with foreign potentates and their achievements.

Unsurprisingly the Trianon caught the public's fancy and sparked an immediate vogue, both for the blue and white colour combination and for the garden retreat. In 1673, in its discussion of contemporary fashions, the *Mercure galant* informed its readers that 'Nearly all the great seigneurs who have country houses are having [Trianons] built in their parks, and private individuals at the far end of their gardens; and the bourgeois who wanted to spare themselves the expense have dressed some dilapidated building as the Trianon, or at least some hut or closet in their house.'[18]

The sudden appearance of the porcelain palace in the gardens at Versailles astonished Louis XIV's courtiers to the extent that its construction was said to be another royal miracle, another example of the king's ability to turn his wishes into marvellous realities at the moment they appeared. It was a new demonstration of his might through his power over nature:[19] the king could make a palace appear suddenly, as if by an act of magic, in a spot where before only dilapidated ruins had stood. In other words the Trianon not only showcased the king's role as magician, it also contributed to the sense of wonder and astonishment that he wanted his person and his achievements, be they military triumphs, garden *fêtes* or architectural constructions, to arouse in his subjects and visitors alike. With their element of surprise and bedazzlement, these achievements were all associated with the stupendous and the marvellous, in other words with *meraviglia*, seen here to be the aim of the monarch's actions, as much as that of the Baroque artist or poet.[20]

Admittedly the Trianon was meant to provide Louis XIV with a space for private diversion, just as the *château* itself had some ten years earlier. At the time, his father's former hunting lodge, the work of Philibert Le Roy, had afforded him a retreat away from Paris and the Louvre. Always the gossip, the duc de Saint-Simon called Versailles a place where the king went 'to be more private with his mistress', then Mademoiselle de La Vallière.[21] This might explain why Louis's minister, Colbert, had opposed the planned alterations and aggrandizement of the château, arguing that the money would be better spent on the Louvre because 'this house of Versailles has much more to do with [His] Majesty's pleasure and diversion than with [His] glory' and that it would be 'a pity if the king were to be judged by Versailles'.[22] Needless to say, the works were carried out regardless, and with the gradual transformation of the *château* into a public political space that embodied the king's desire for absolute power and representation, the porcelain palace at Trianon represented a space where fantasy and imagination were given free reign.

The 'extraordinary construction' of the palace also contributed to the sense of *meraviglia*. The splendour of its ornamentation, the brilliance of the blue and white tiles of its facades, and the dazzle of the golden lead plates of its roof in the sunlight were all intended to point to a supernatural origin. For some of the contemporaries it was well and truly the 'palace of the Sun'.[23] The exaggerated magnificence of the pavilions, the ostentatious display of wealth and luxury, but also the fragility of some of the materials used in the construction were reminiscent not only of all the marvellous palaces that had filled European romances since the days of *Amadis de Gaule* and the palace of Apolidon, but also of the enchanted palace built by Love for Psyche in Apuleius's tale in *The Golden Ass,* of which it was written

17 Nieuhoff described it as 'a high Steeple or Tower made of Purceline, which far exceeds all other Workmanship of the Chineses in cost and skill, by which the Chineses have declared to the world, the rare ingenuity of their Artists in former ages' (*An Embassy from the East India Company of the United Province to the Grand Tartar Cham Emperour of China*, London 1669, p. 84).

18 *Le Mercure galant*, 1673, No. 4, pp. 338–339.

19 Louis Marin, *Le Portrait du roi*, Paris 1981, pp. 236–239.

20 The recurrent use of 'extraordinary', 'marvellous' or 'unexpected' in Félibien's *Description* of Trianon, as well as in his accounts of the 1668 and 1674 Versailles festivals is an indication of this capacity of the king's actions to elicit wonder and delight in the viewer.

21 Saint-Simon (see note 4), p. 136. Ironically the king's own father regularly escaped to Versailles to get away from female company, because he 'fear[ed] the great number of ladies [attached to the queen], who would spoil everything for him' (Letter of 17 October 1641 to Richelieu, in: Louis XIII, *Louis XIII d'après sa correspondance avec le cardinal de Richelieu*, edited by the Count of Beauchamp, Paris 1902, p. 418).

22 Letter of 28 September 1665 to Louis XIV, in: Jean-Baptiste Colbert, *Lettres, instructions et mémoires* V, edited by Pierre Clément, Paris 1868, p. 269.

23 This is how Claude Denis eulogizes the Trianon, whose faïence revetment is said to 'dazzle the eyes of the world'.

that 'it glittered and shone in such sort, that the chambers, porches, and doors gave light as it had been the Sun'.[24]

In other words the *Trianon de porcelaine* was a fairy-tale palace. But at the same time it was a real palace, visible in the real world, and therefore far superior to all the fabulous abodes of mythology and literature. Unsurprisingly it was to serve as a model for all the enchanted palaces of contemporary *pièces à machines*, operas and fairy tales. Less than a year after the Trianon suddenly appeared in the gardens of Versailles, Molière and Lully staged a tragedy-ballet, entitled *Psyché*, at the Tuileries palace in Paris, in which a transformation scene at the end of the second act revealed a shining palace built by Vulcan for Cupid. The set imagined by Carlo Vigarani for the palace was predominantly gold and blue like the Trianon, with columns of lapis lazuli, gold figures and silver vases. Another transformation scene showed a superb garden, whose arbours were lined with orange trees and various other fruit trees growing in vases, also a citation of Louis XIV's pleasure house. In 1697 Madame d'Aulnoy's tale of *Serpentin vert* featured 'the most beautiful palace in the world', complete with 'gardens full of flowers, fountains, statues and rare trees; forests in the distance', which housed 'a hundred pagodas, adorned and built in a hundred different ways, [...] of diamonds, emeralds, rubies, pearls, crystal, amber, coral, porcelain, gold, silver, brass, bronze, iron, wood, clay'.[25] Preschac's allegorical tale, Sans Parangon (1698), also included a description of a fairy palace, in which every single detail hinted at the Trianon: 'As he [Sans Parangon] was particularly keen to please the princess Belle Gloire, he [...] struck the earth three times with his wand: and a palace appeared at once, made entirely of porcelain and surrounded with a parterre filled with jasmine flowers and a myriad of little fountains. The whole made a most pleasant impression.'[26]

As Cupid's palace had been, the Trianon and its gardens were a celebration of love. They were a gift from the king to his mistress, Madame de Montespan. Together with the smallness of the palace and its intimate character, the layout and the interior and exterior decoration of the main pavilion were all in keeping with its destination as a love nest. The main pavilion included a central salon flanked by a *Chambre des Amours* (the bedroom?), with an adjacent cabinet, and a *Chambre de Diane*, also with its adjacent cabinet. No painting of the interior has survived but it is possible that the richly decorated room with its windows painted blue and white and walls hung with brocades and silks depicted on a gouache in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London, is in fact, if not the *Chambre des Amours* itself, which boasted a huge mirrored bed,[27] at least one of the little cabinets adjoining it.[28] It shows a fair lady, presumably Madame de Montespan, reclining on a daybed surrounded by Cupids, some of whom hold a circular canopy over the bed, while others disport themselves around an ornate gold and silver bath or by an equally magnificent jewel coffer. Again the colour blue predominates. Rather than a faithful depiction of one of the little cabinets, the presence of allegorical figures and the overcrowding of details turn the scene into a 'pastiche' of the palace interior[29] and an exaggerated representation of its destination. [Fig. 3] As for the outside decoration, Félibien reported that 'the roof was stepped and on the lower level were Cupids hunting animals, armed with javelins and arrows'.[30] The theme of love was omnipresent.

One of the central themes in Félibien's *Description* of the Trianon was the conjunction of the time of its construction and the natural cycle of the seasons. Not only had the palace and its gardens risen out of the ground with the arrival of spring, it was also as if nature itself had become the servant of the king's desires: 'It could be said of the Trianon that the Graces and Cupids who create perfection in the most beautiful and magnificent works of Art, and even accomplish those of Nature, were the only architects of this place, and they wanted to make it their dwelling'.[31]

Moreover the gardens did not just show the king's power over nature, they also pointed to his power over 'Time' itself. Because they were always full of flowers, they were a sign of eternal springtime and thus of human – and royal – mastery of natural time. According to Félibien, 'one could with reason call the Trianon and its garden spring's normal abode; for in whatever season one goes there, it is enriched by all sorts of flowers, and the air one

24 Apuleius, *Cupid and Psyche and Other Tales from the Golden Ass of Apuleius*, edited by W. H. D. Rouse, London 1904, p. 40.
25 Marie Catherine, Baronne d'Aulnoy, *The Fairy Tales of Madame d'Aulnoy*, translated and edited by Annie McDonnell – Miss Lee, London 1892, p. 254. '*Pagoda*' here refers to porcelain figurines from China.
26 Sieur de Preschac, *Contes moins contes que les autres. Sans Parangon et la Reine des fées*, Paris 1724, pp. 52–53.
27 A design for a bed from this chamber survives in the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm (THC.1071).
28 For a detailed analysis of the gouache see Pamela Cowen, The Trianon de Porcelaine at Versailles, *The Magazine Antiques*, January 1993, pp. 136–143.
29 Ibidem, p. 143. The picture was originally a fan leaf filled by the same hand.
30 Félibien (see note 1), p. 108.
31 Ibidem, p. 105.

breathes there is always scented by those of the jasmine and the orange trees under which one walks.'[32]

Although not unusual in their design, the gardens designed by Michel Le Bouteux at Trianon were unique in the degree to which they featured flowers (over 96,000 bulbs as well as two million pots),[33] mostly fragrant tuberoses, anemones, tulips, lilies, but also Spanish jasmine and carnations, whose dominant colours were white, blue, purple and red, and produced the intense scents that Louis XIV and Madame de Montespan so loved. A *Cabinet des Parfums* was even set up to the north of the gardens to house the rarest scented flowers. However the scent could prove so potent that the duc de Saint-Simon reported seeing 'the king and the entire court driven out of the garden, although it is vast and built in terraces overlooking the Canal, because the scent of tuberose hung so heavy in the air'.[34] In fact the Trianon came to be known also as the 'palace of Flora', as shown by the title of a ballet danced there in 1689, which celebrated Louis's floricultural achievements: 'The Palace of Flora and Eternal Springtime which until now have [existed] only in the imagination of the Poets, are veritably found here. [...] One sees these fountains, these gardens, and these parterres always filled with all sorts of flowers. One cannot remember that it is the middle of winter, or one believes that one has been transported suddenly to another climate, when one sees these delicious objects which denote so agreeably the abode of Flora.'[35]

Not only were flowers seen at Trianon during all the winter, the 'extraordinary and surprising changes [...] whether in the diversity of the flowers or in the disposition of the place'[36] added to the overall impression of magic and illusion. The duc de Saint-Simon explained how 'all of the compartments in each of the parterres were changed, every day',[37] if not twice daily. This was made possible by the fact that all the flowers grew in stoneware pots that were buried in the flowerbeds and could be swapped with others at a short moment's notice. In the same way an ingenious system of collapsible greenhouses that could be assembled in the autumn and dismantled in the spring ensured that orange trees, lemon trees and pomegranate trees could be planted in the ground.[38] The eternal springtime that reigned in the gardens was a season of perpetual renewal offering an inexhaustible variety of the pleasures of sight and smell. It was also another testimony to the apparently limitless power of the king, capable of controlling nature as well as the cycle of the seasons.

Flowers played a central part in celebrating the king's reign as a Golden Age. With their everlasting blossoms, they were the visible signs that the age heralded by his 'miraculous' birth in 1638 had truly returned.[39] As symbols of springtime, they promised fertility and abundance, and suggested the prosperity of the kingdom. As Elizabeth Hyde remarks, Louis XIV 'was hardly the only early modern monarch to represent his rule as a Golden Age but he was the first to have the floricultural capabilities to demonstrate the truth of his claim'.[40] Flowers also helped to create the image of a luxuriant idyllic paradise, a *locus amœnus*, separated from the world's bustle and strife, and protected from the ravages of time. The will and powerful magic of the king alone had created it *ex nihilo*, so to speak, for nothing at Trianon had preceded the whim of the royal fantasy. It was a world of leisure and pleasure, whose existence was guaranteed by Louis's restoration of peace in Europe – or so it was claimed – with the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1659 and more recently of the War of Devolution in 1668.

The *Trianon de porcelaine* and its gardens were used for a number of smaller-scale entertainments entirely dedicated to the pleasures of *'galant otium'* . There were leisurely strolls in the fragrant gardens and their *Cabinet des Parfums*, which 'pleased' the ambassadors from Siam 'extremely' in the autumn of 1686, because, as *Le Mercure Galant* reported, 'they love strong scents, and they admire the manner of perfuming with flowers'.[41] There were also small dinner and supper parties, *al fresco* concerts such as the performance of Quinault and Lully's *Eclogue en musique* in the summer of 1674, balls even, to which Louis invited his favourite ladies of the court but without extending his invitation to their husbands. Louis Marin has argued that the *Trianon de porcelaine* must

32 Ibidem, p. 112.
33 Pierre-André Lablaude, *Les Jardins de Versailles*, Paris 1995, p. 104.
34 Saint-Simon (see note 6), Vol. 6, p. 227.
35 *Le Palais de Flore. Ballet dansé à Trianon*, Paris 1689, p. 8.
36 Félibien (see note 1), p. 112.
37 Saint-Simon (see note 6), Vol. 6, p. 227.
38 Lablaude (see note 33), p. 104.
39 His parents, Louis XIII and Anna of Austria, had been married for nearly twenty-three years when he was born.
40 Elizabeth Hyde, The Stuff of Kingship. Louis XIV, the Trianon de Porcelaine, and the Material Culture of Power, *Western Society for French History Proceedings* 30, 2004, p. 196.
41 *Le Mercure galant,* November 1686, No. 11, Part 2, pp. 116–117.

be interpreted as a permanent manifestation of the royal *fêtes* that took place on the grounds of Versailles in 1664, 1668 and 1674.[42] In fact it embodied a more intimate, more exclusive version of these *fêtes*, one that was reserved for the king's entourage or rather those he wanted to favour and whose company he appreciated, and one that was focused on delight and the constant seduction of the senses rather than magnificence and spectacle.

Even more than the *château* and its park, the *Trianon de porcelaine* and its gardens were a living argument that the reign of Louis XIV was a Golden Age, a political pastoral. They were the model of an enchanted retreat where the privileged elite could indulge their taste for luxury and pleasure (admittedly the signs of a rather materialistic conception of happiness). As such they had an essential part to play in the construction of an image of Louis XIV as the 'greatest king in the world' and of the domain of Versailles as one of the 'most delightful and pleasant' places on earth.[43] Le *Trianon de porcelaine* might have been built on a whim and to provide a measure of intimacy for the king and his mistress, but it was undoubtedly also part of a grander artistic and political design.

So why was it pulled down and replaced by another building in 1687? It was said that French winters were too harsh for its porous and brittle tiled exterior, which could not withstand the frosts, and the repairs of each winter's ravages proved very costly, perhaps too costly. It was also rather small and lacked rooms where the king and his guests could spend the night. Madame de Maintenon was also rumoured to find it cold. But perhaps, the marquise, who had supplanted Madame de Montespan in the king's affections and probably became his wife after the death of the queen in 1683, did not want a constant reminder of the king's former mistress and her flamboyant style.[44] The new neo-classical, well-ordered 'palace of pink and white marble, jasper and porphyry, with delightful gardens', that rose in its place,[45] was also better suited to Madame de Maintenon's more sober taste, although she too had a taste for *chinoiseries*.[46] Or perhaps, as the duc de Saint-Simon observed, the king himself had got tired of the miniature palace and wanted something new and grander: 'The king, who liked to have palaces everywhere, was bored by the small Trianon de porcelaine, which had been built for Madame de Montespan. He took great pleasure in his buildings'.[47] Although the central pavilion was demolished to make way for a portico with marble columns, the new building by Mansart incorporated the two main side pavilions, this time faced with stone and marble. The gardens were redesigned by André Le Nôtre, who took the opportunity to reinstate his design for the *Jardin des sources* that was once part of the main gardens of the *château*.

Over the years the *Trianon de marbre*, as it was called, became an increasingly welcome retreat for Louis XIV and Madame de Maintenon. It offered them a relaxation from the formality and constraining etiquette of the *château*, centred around the solemn expression of royal grandeur, all the more so since it had become the official residence of the king and the seat of government in May 1682.

42 Marin (see note 17), p. 237.

43 Félibien (see note 1), p. 4, p. 113.

44 Madame de Montespan seems to have shown both exquisite refinement and a liking for the fantastic and the bizarre. Madame de Maintenon reported that '[she] had a miniature carriage made of filigree that was drawn by six mice, which she harnessed herself and allowed to bite her beautiful hands. She owned pigs and goats as well as rooms panelled with gold' (Letter of 25 January 1718 to the Comtesse de Caylus, in: Françoise d'Aubigné, Marquise de Maintenon, *Lettres de Madame de Maintenon* IV, edited by Marcel Loyau, Paris 2011, p. 693). More so than the *Trianon de porcelaine*, the *château* that the king commissioned for her at Clagny and its magnificent gardens displayed her taste and status.

45 Saint-Simon (see note 6), Vol. 12, p. 151. Its construction was as rapid as that of the *Trianon de porcelaine* had been in 1670. The main works took just over six months, from June 1687 to January 1688, to complete.

46 Lane (see note 12), p. 16.

47 Saint-Simon, *Mémoires de Mr le Duc de S. Simon, ou l'observateur veridique*, Paris 1789, Vol. 1, p. 16.

1. Perelle, Perspective view on Trianon de Porcelaine from its entrance

Photo: Public domain

2. Perelle, Perspective view on Trianon de Porcelaine from its gardens

Photo: Public domain

3. Fan leaf, Victoria & Albert Museum in London

Photo: Victoria & Albert Museum in London

The Art of Leisure at the Court of Ferrara in the Fifteenth Century: Social and Artistic Realities

Daria Churkina

Fifteenth-century Ferrara was home to one of the most splendid European Renaissance courts. It was during the reigns of the sons of Marquis Nicolo III d'Este, Leonello (1441–1450) [Fig. 1], Borso (1450–1471) [Fig. 2] and Ercole I (1471–1505) [Fig. 3], that the Ferrarese court began to develop its Renaissance artistic and intellectual interests. The older d'Este brothers, Leonello and Borso, were illegitimate, and they used a variety of development projects, both within Ferrara and in the surrounding marshes of the Po Valley, to establish their authority.[1] The brothers also embarked on an artistic and ceremonial program in order to enhance their own dynastic claims. Both the developmental and cultural aspects of Leonello and Borso's activities were manifested at the numerous suburban villas of the Este family, known as the *delizie*.

The earliest satellite residences of the Este rulers appeared in the late fourteenth century.[2] The Ferrarese court was based in the Palazzo di Corte (also called the Corte Vecchia) in the heart of the medieval city. In 1385 Nicolo II began the construction of Castello San Michele (or Castello Estense) near the Palazzo di Corte. Construction of the new fortress was originally motivated by civil unrest with in the city as well as the threat of attack from outside, but this monumental stronghold also became a symbol of the Este family's power. However, apartments for members of the ruling dynasty did not appear in the castle until the last third of the fifteenth century, and the primary functions of the fortress remained protective and punitive; Castello San Michele was both a fortress and a prison. [Fig. 4]

It is, therefore, unsurprising that soon after beginning work on the castle, Alberto V, Nicolo II's brother and co-ruler, ordered the construction of several small alternative residences. Two of them, the hunting lodges (*'palazzine di caccia'*), Schifanoia and Belfiore, were located on the outskirts of Ferrara, in otherwise uninhabited areas. This pattern was continued by subsequent rulers of Ferrara, who built their own *'palazzi di villa'* in addition to renovating existing palaces. By the end of the fifteenth century Ferrara and its surroundings had a network of about twenty residential estates, whose amenities included lakes, gardens and hunting grounds.[3] [Fig. 5] These suburban palaces, many of which retained medieval architectural features including battlements into the fifteenth century, marked the territorial jurisdiction of Ferrara in periods of political instability. [Fig. 6]

Nonetheless, the common historical name of these estates, *delizie*, meaning delight or pleasure, indicates that from the beginning these residences were intended to be sites of leisure and recreation (*'luoghi di delizie'*),[4] and offer respite from urban life. Moreover, this term refers to the Garden of Delights (*Paradisus diliciarum*), a common theme in medieval and Renaissance culture. [Fig. 7] Further, the names of these palaces were related to their intended purpose; Belfiore, Belriguardo and Schifanoia mean, respectively, 'beautiful flower', 'beautiful view' and 'escape from boredom'. This opposition between city and countryside corresponds with the humanistic ideals of the period. Many of the humanists, beginning with Petrarch's treatise *De Vita Solitaria*

1 Franco Cazzola, Il sistema delle castalderie e la politica patrimoniale e territoriale estense (secoli XV–XVI), in: Francesco Ceccarelli – Marco Folin (eds.), *Delizie estensi. Architetture di villa nel Rinascimento italiano ed europeo*, Florence 2009, pp. 65–77.

2 Francesco Ceccarelli, Palazzi, castalderie e delizie. Forme degli insediamenti estensi nel Ferrarese tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento, in: *Gli Este a Ferrara. Il Castello per la città*, edited by Marco Borella, Cinisello Balsamo 2004, pp. 73–83.

3 Marco Folin, Le residenze di corte e il sistema delle delizie fra Medioevo ed età moderna, in: Ceccarelli – Folin, Firenze (see note 1), pp. 79–135.

4 Gianni Venturi, Delizia (e altro). Storia di un nome, di un equivoco, di una tradizione, in: *In parco del delta del Po, vol. 3: L'ambiente come laboratorio*, Ferrara 1990, pp. 128–135.

of 1346–1356 and Leon Battista Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* of 1452, and *Della famiglia* of 1441 describe the classical ideal of rural life and the phenomenon of the *villa suburbana*.[5]

In time, the network of Este villas became a fully fledged alternative to the urban residence; moving from one palace to another, the ruler and his court could be away from the capital for months at a time.[6] Official receptions, court entertainments and ceremonies, theatrical performances, tournaments, and hunts all occurred at the *delizie*. There were also opportunities for private leisure of the type advocated by the period's authors. The magnificent interior decorations of the *delizie*, which were executed by Ferrara's foremost artists, were designed to demonstrate the prestige and power of the Este dynasty as a whole as well as the personal virtues of their patrons.

By examining three representative examples of these *delizie estensi*, the Belfiore, Belriguardo and Schifanoia palaces, this paper will explore the artistic variety of these representative programs. As it is not possible to reconstruct the original appearance of these palaces in their entirety, the focus of this study is the concept of the *delizia* as a residence rather than the formal characteristics of these monuments.

One of the earliest *delizie* was Belfiore, which was built in 1385. It was located one kilometre north of Ferrara on the same axis as the Castello Estense. [Fig. 8] In the late fifteenth century, the Belfiore complex was incorporated into the city of Ferrara as a result of a large-scale urban project ordered by Ercole I d'Este. The palace was badly damaged in the war with Venice in 1482, and in the seventeenth century it was completely demolished. However, contemporary accounts indicate that this palace, like other *delizie*, was surrounded by gardens, vineyards and menageries,[7] and that frescoes illustrated court life, depicting the patron, Marquis Alberto, hunting while his courtiers danced in the garden.

In the mid-fifteenth century, Leonello d'Este renovated Belfiore, adapting the palace for winter residence.[8] Among the new apartments, Leonello included a studiolo for his private studies. This room also functioned as a library and a repository for his most prised possessions. Similar chambers had existed in other late-medieval castles, but Leonello's studiolo was among the first to engage with new Renaissance concepts of the active and contemplative lives, the *vita activa* (or *vita civilis*, urban life) and *vita contemplativa* (the contemplative life of the villa). Only the ruler and specially selected guests had access to the studiolo, and it could be used either for small, informal meetings or solitary meditation. The Belfiore studiolo was decorated with painted panels depicting the nine muses (only six are preserved today) according to an iconographic program composed by the humanist Guarino da Verona. [Fig. 9] The muses symbolized the personal virtues of Leonello d'Este as both marquis and man: a humanist ruler, patron of the arts, and lover of classical literature. [Fig. 10] It is important to note that the new Renaissance themes did not contradict the existing late-medieval motifs. Rather, the syntheses between humanist values and Christian virtues embodied the dynastic continuity that the Este princes were eager to establish.

The decoration of the studiolo at Belfiore was completed after Leonello's death, under the rule of his brother Borso d'Este. Borso's twenty-year reign was marked by reconstruction of the old palaces and emergence of several new *delizie* in the neighbourhood of Ferrara. The names of two of these palaces, Bellombra and Benvignante, are mentioned in Borso's biography in the illustrated codex *Genealogia dei principi d'Este*.

The only surviving example of Borso's *delizia* projects is the Palazzo Schifanoia, close to the city walls, East of the city centre. Originally intended as a small hunting lodge, this residence was enlarged and decorated in 1465–1470 according to Borso's instructions. [Fig. 11] The central room on the piano nobile of the hunting lodge was adapted for formal receptions and balls. A loggia and external staircase, now lost, connected the great hall to the garden.[9]

5 Leon Battista Alberti, De familia: '…at the villa you can avoid the noise of the city, the tumults in the public square, the struggles in the Government Palace. At the villa you can hide from the crimes and wickedness of the many evil men who, in the city, are always before your eyes, fill your ears continuously with gossip, and go through the streets shrieking and bellowing like maddened, horrible beasts. How wonderful it is to be at the villa! No happiness can equal it!', in: *Humanism and the Urban World: Leon Battista Alberti and the Renaissance City*, edited by Caspar Pearson, University Park (Pennsylvania) 2011, p. 121.

6 Folin (see note 3), pp. 79–81.

7 Franco Cazzola, L'orto di Belfiore, la villa, il barco: una campagna per diletto, in: Alessandra Mottola Molfino – Mauro Natale (eds.), *Le Muse e il Principe. Arte di corte nel Rinascimento padano. Saggi*, Modena 1991, pp. 203–212.

8 Ibidem, pp. 209–210.

9 Carla Di Francesco, Schifanoia. Delizia, "Fabbrica", Palazzo, Museo, in: Salvatore Settis – Walter Cupperi (eds.), *The Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara*,

The walls of this hall, called the Salone dei Mesi (Hall of the Months), were decorated with a fresco cycle depicting all twelve months and other astrological subjects. [Fig. 13] These works were executed by a number of artists, including Francesco del Cossa and Cosimo Tura, who had also worked on the decoration at Belfiore. At first glance, this three-tiered fresco cycle depicting the children of the planets, signs of the zodiac, and human activities for each month is a continuation of the late-medieval artistic tradition. Similar astrological and calendrical motifs are found in monumental decorations and book miniatures from the early fifteenth century, including the frescoes in the Torre Aquila in Castello del Buonconsiglio in Trent (c. 1400) and the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* executed by Limbourg brothers (c. 1412–1416). However, the decorative program of the Salone was intended to glorify its patron as an ideal ruler. Various stories of aristocratic life in the lower part of the frescoes, including falconry or the reception of suppliants, reflect Borso's character, as his favourite activities, according to historical sources, were hunting and fishing, followed by politics.[10] Indeed unlike his older brother, Borso was not a dedicated humanist, but his reign was characterized by political stability and a consequent flowering of the arts. Nonetheless, the nine Muses were also depicted in the Salone dei Mesi (in the *Triumph of Apollo* fresco). The nearby Sala delle Virtù (Hall of the Virtues) was decorated with allegorical stucco sculptures of virtues. Therefore, at the Palazzo Schifanoia, these late-medieval iconographic programs take on a new Renaissance meaning almost without formal changes. The ancient gods and signs of the zodiac symbolized celestial protection for the Marquis. The decoration of the Palazzo Schifanoia offers a Renaissance perspective of the world as a human-centric universe.

By the end of the fifteenth century, the architecture and decoration of the *delizie* were distinctly classical, as is evident in the description of one of the Este family's favourite residences, Belriguardo. Located fifteen kilometres south-east of Ferrara, this complex was begun in 1435 by Marquis Nicolo III d'Este, who tried to build his and Leonello's ideal classical villa. [Fig. 13] Subsequent rulers enlarged the palace, but the preserved structures do not present a complete picture of the former splendour of this *delizia*. From the treatise *De triumphis religionis* (1497) dedicated to Ercole I by the Bolognese humanist Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti,[11] we know that by the end of the fifteenth century the palace complex encompassed spacious peristyle courtyards, marble porticoes, gardens, and artificial canals for aquatic performances. [Fig. 14] Like many other Renaissance noble families, the Estes wanted to give their representative decorative programs a personal touch. Therefore, in addition to the more than twenty rooms designed for entertainments, music and dancing, Belriguardo also included the Sala delle Sibille (Hall of Sibyls) and the *Sala degli uomini famosi* (Hall of famous men). As has already been seen in the Palazzo Schifanoia, the decorative scheme glorified not only the Este family, but also the person of the primary patron, Duke Ercole I, who is depicted accompanied by his brother and courtiers. This theme continued in the series of the labours of Hercules, who was considered an ancestor of the Estes according to court mythology. Further, frescoes depicting Cupid and Psyche decorated a room overlooking the secret garden is one of the earliest Renaissance uses of this myth in monumental palace decoration. Here, a classically conceived image of divine love triumphant replaced the medieval tradition of courtly love.

Thus, the Ferrarese suburban villas developed with Renaissance social, architectural and artistic characteristics as part of the age's search for new ways to represent the city and its ruler. The variety of cultural and leisure activities at the palaces of Leonello, Borso, and Ercole I reflected the social and political needs as well as the individual artistic tastes of their patrons. However, the common thread connecting the iconographic and decorative schemes of each of the above mentioned palaces, as well as the entire system of the fifteenth century *delizie* is that they all, to a greater or lesser extent, presented the idea of life under the good governance of the Este family as a paradise.

Modena 2007, pp. 58–74.

10 Werner L. Gundersheimer, *Ferrara estense. Lo stile del potere* [1973], Modena 2005, p. 91.

11 Ibidem, pp. 176–180.

1. Antonio Pisanello, Portrait of Leonello d'Este, c. 1441, Accademia Carrara, Bergamo.

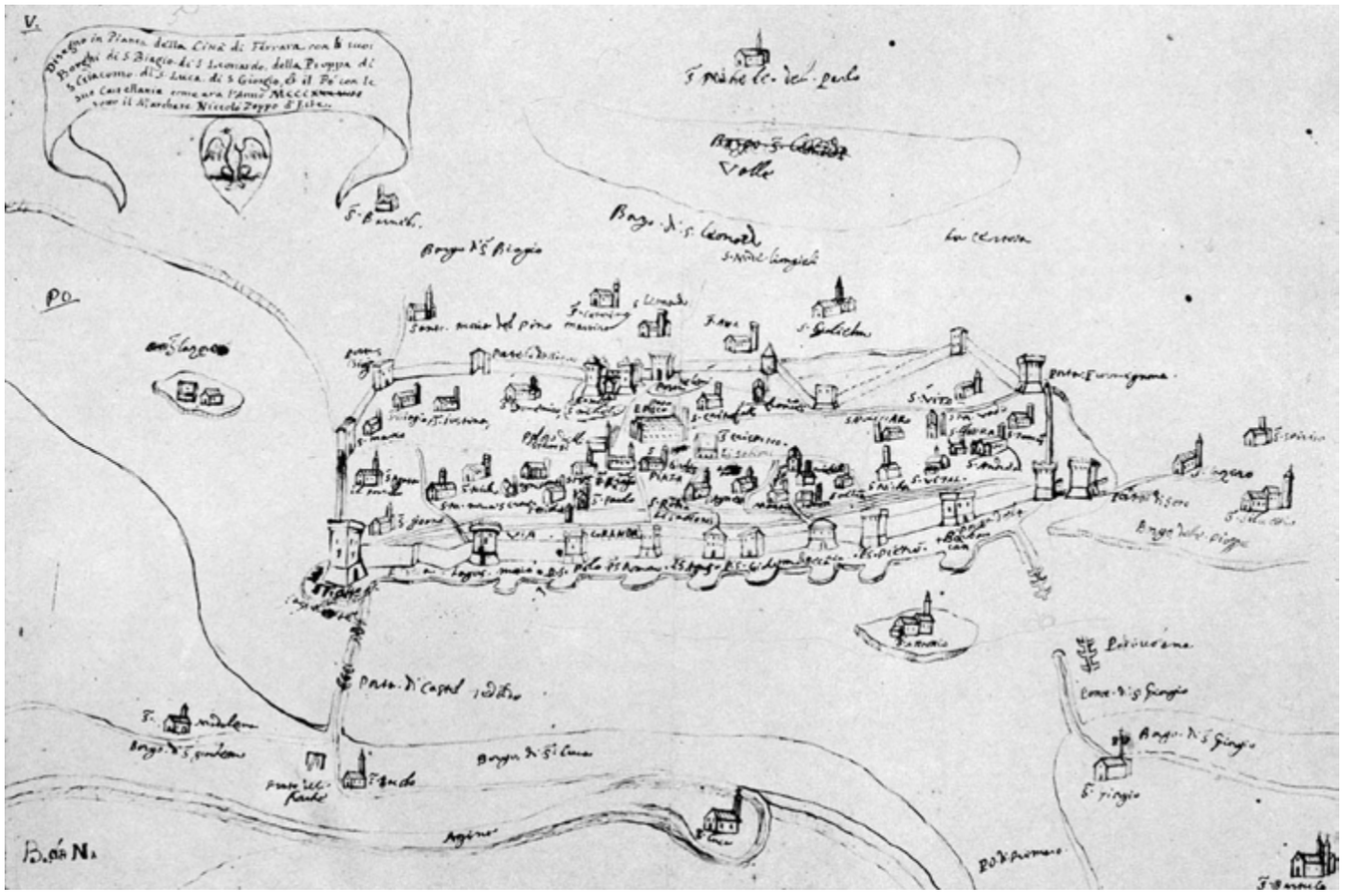
Photo: Public domain

2. Baldassare d’Este, Portrait of Borso d’Este,
Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

Photo: Public domain

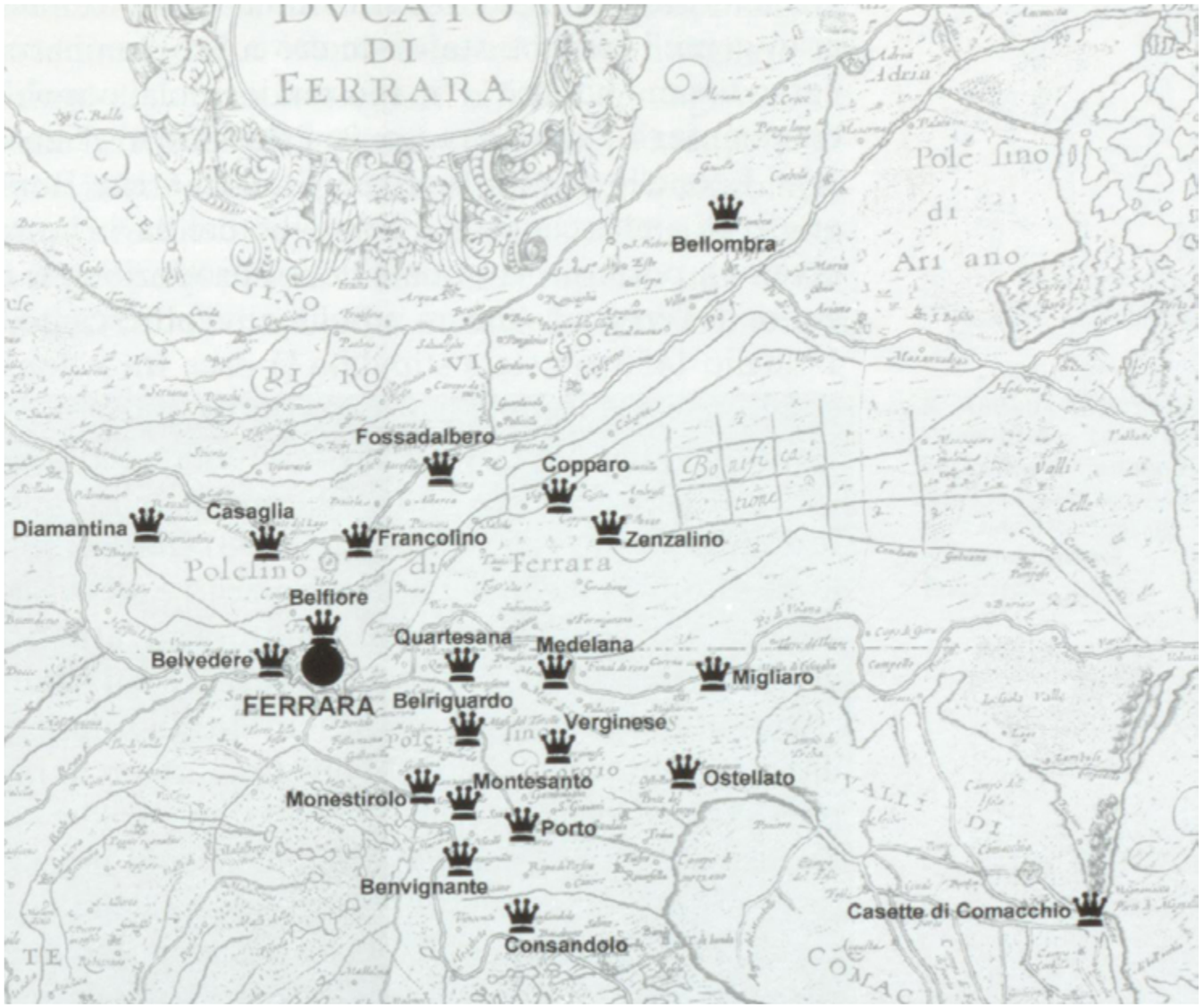
3. Dosso Dossi (?), Portrait of Ercole I d'Este, Modena, Galleria Estense.

Photo: Public domain



4. Bartolino da Novara, Plan of the City of Ferrara, 1385.

Photo: Istituto Italiano dei Castelli



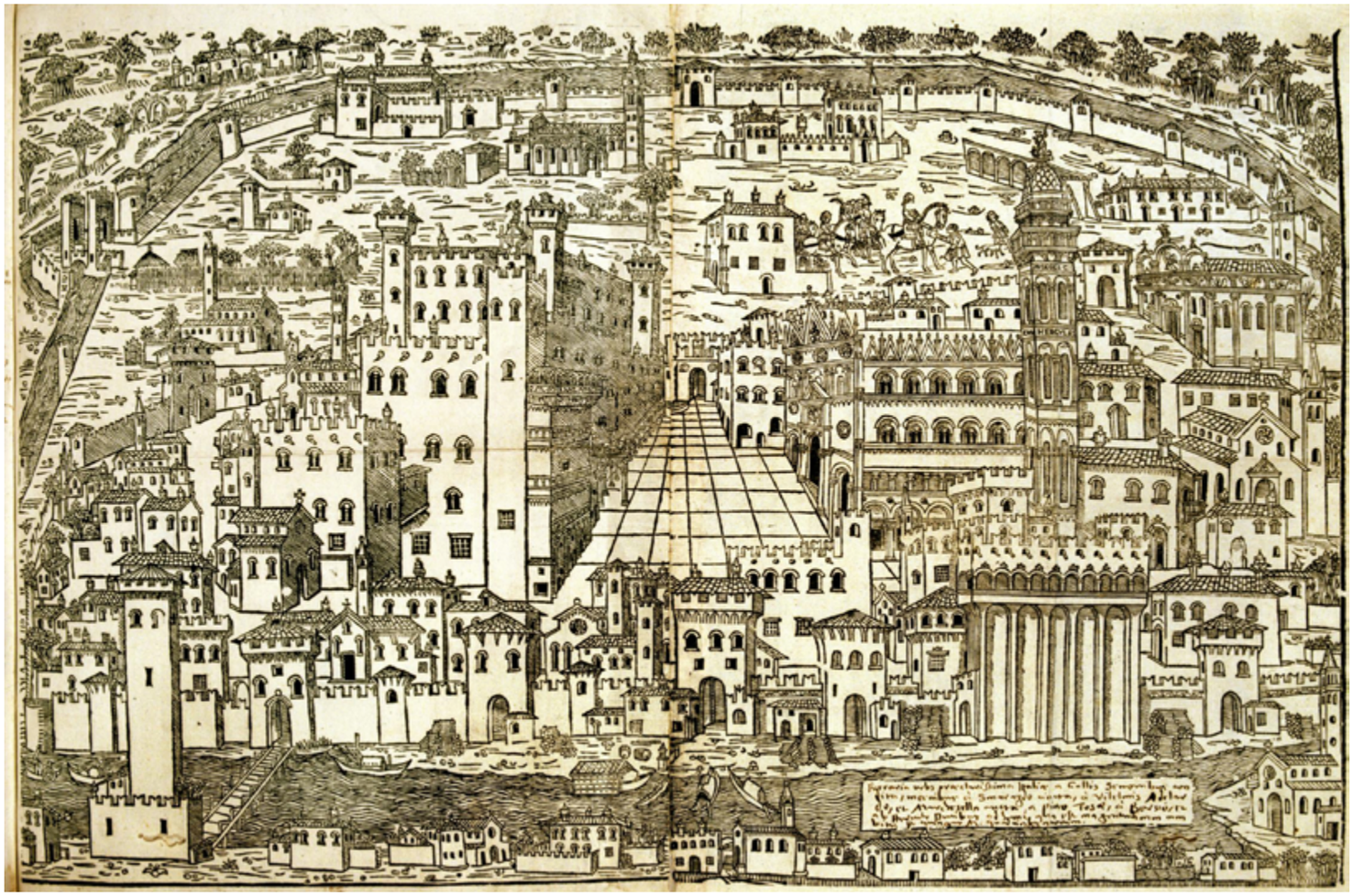
5. The system of the 'delizie estensi' in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Source: S. Settis and W. Cupperi (eds.), *The Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara. Essays*, Modena 2007, p. 11

6. Delizia di Benvignante, 1464–1466.

7. Cristoforo de Predis (?), View of a Garden of Love, Sphaerae coelestis et planetarum descriptio (De Sphaera), fifteenth century,

Photo: Public domain



8. View of Ferrara, 1499–1505, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

Photo: Public domain

9. Second painter of the Studiolo Belfiore, The Belfiore Muse: Urania, c. 1450–1460, Pinacoteca Nazionale di Ferrara.

Photo: Public domain

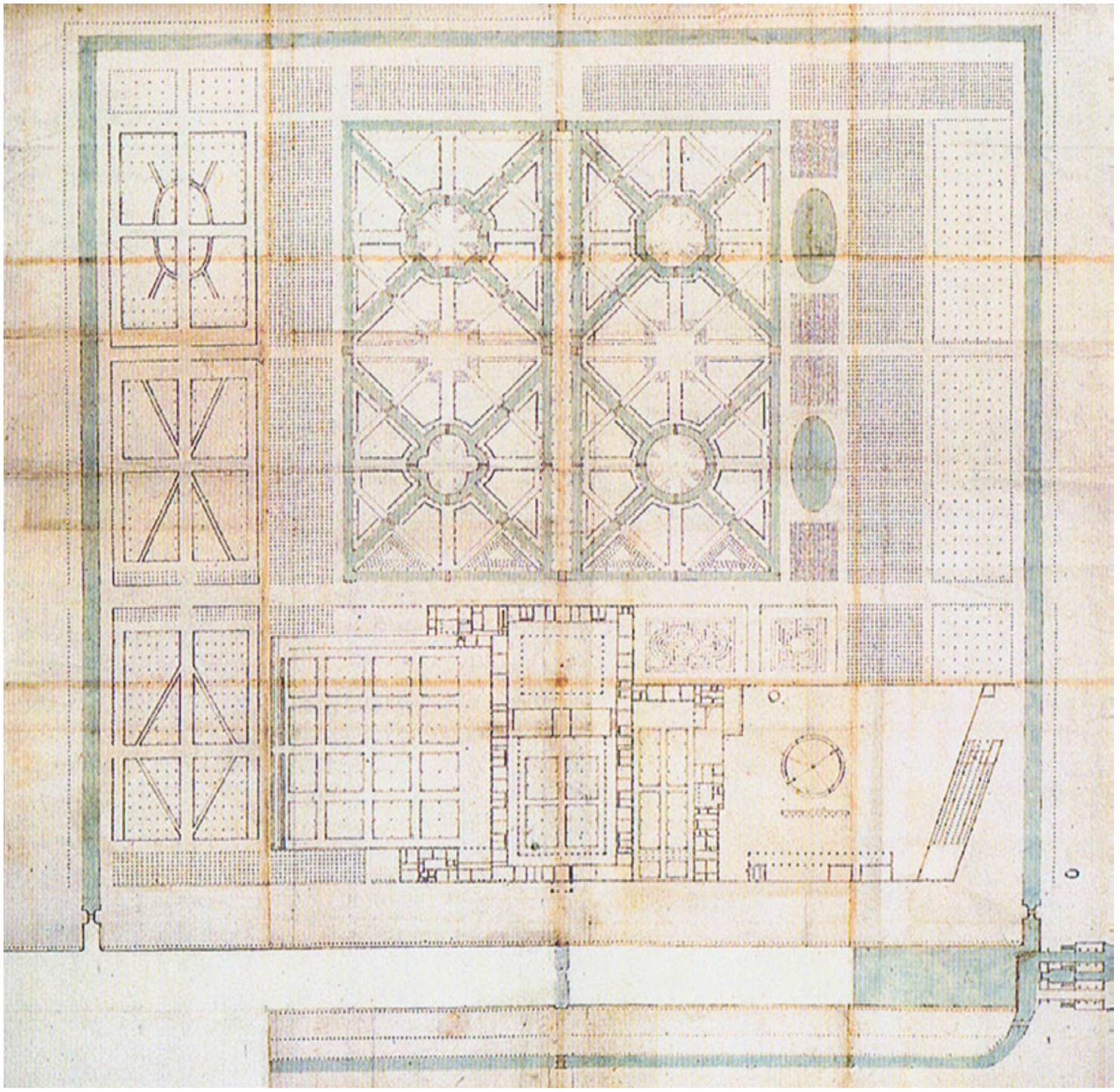
10. Cosimo Tura, The Belfiore Muse: Calliope, 1458–1460, National Gallery, London.

Photo: Public domain

11. Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara, general view.

12. Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara, Hall of the Months, east wall (May, April, March) 1469–1470.

Photo: Public domain



13. Plan of Delizia di Belriguardo, Modena, Archivio di Stato, Mappario Estense, Fabbriche, 91/7.

Source: Courts and Courtly Arts in Renaissance Italy: Art, Culture and Politics, 1395–1530, edited by M. Folin, Woodbridge 2011, p. 26.

14. Delizia di Belriguardo, Entrance tower.

Architecture at the Prague Belvedere: Between Theory and Practice

Sarah Lynch

The Prague Belvedere sits at the nexus of published architectural theory and mid-sixteenth-century architectural practice. Commissioned and built by sophisticated, well-informed patrons and architects, the building both uses and discards Renaissance architectural theory as it is understood from contemporary architectural publications. Constructed over a twenty-five year period (1537/38–1563), and incorporating a major design shift half way through the process, what appears at first glance to be a seamlessly orchestrated Renaissance building, once described as the finest Italian Renaissance example North of the Alps by Wilhelm Lübke, is actually a mixture of disparate parts, built at different times, with different motivations, and in different styles.[1] The Belvedere's current appearance is the result of alterations made at a variety of points between 1538, when construction began and 1839, when the structure was renovated to become a public gallery.[2] This paper addresses the design change made in 1554/1555, which was based on the illustration of Bramante's Tempietto in Serlio's third book on architecture,[3] and resulted in the inverted use of the Doric and Ionic orders on the Belvedere in contravention of the acknowledged custom. That such a design could at once depend on published architectural theory and ignore its most basic rules demands exploration of the role of published architectural theory in Central European Renaissance building.

The Belvedere (Royal Summer Palace) presents a rare opportunity for this kind of examination. Serlio and other architectural authors were popular in the Czech Lands, and building there shows general signs of being influenced by the ideas contained in these texts, but without being able, except on rare occasions, to draw a clear connection between individual buildings and publications. The *palazzo in fortezza* palace type, for example, was popular, but examples of this are found in books by many authors including Serlio, Androuet Du Cerceau and Philibert de l'Orme and were being built across Northern Europe, so that no Czech château can be confidently linked to an individual publication.[4] The Belvedere's relationship to the Tempietto illustration

1 Wilhelm Lübke, *Geschichte der Architektur von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*, Leipzig 1875, p. 792.

2 For the Belvedere's history from earliest construction through the present day, including alterations and uses, the most complete account can be found in: Jan Svoboda, Královský letohrádek I–IV, *Památky a příroda* 3, 1978, No. 1–4, pp.1–10, 32, 67–74, 97, 204–215, 224, 331–337, 352 and Viktor Procházka, Královský letohrádek na Pražském hradě – stavba a úpravy, *Zprávy památkové péče* 57, 1997, pp. 33–45. A more recent account is: Jan Bažant, *Pražský Belvedér a severská renesance*, Prague 2006, pp. 11–38. A shorter summary can be found in: Pavel Kalina, *Praha 1437–1610: Kapitoly o pozdně gotické a renesanční architektuře*, Prague 2011, pp. 64–65. For English or German sources, see: Jiřina Hořejší – Jarmila Krčálová – Jaromír Neumann et. al., *Renaissance Art in Bohemia*, London 1979, pp. 51–52. – Ivan P. Muchka, *Architecture of the Renaissance*, Prague 2001, pp. 58–59. – Ivan P. Muchka, Die Bautätigkeit Kaiser Ferdinands I. in Prag, in: Wilfried Siepel (ed.), *Kaiser Ferdinand I. 1503–1564: Das Werden der Habsburgermonarchie* (exh. cat.), Vienna 2003, pp. 249–258. – Jan Bažant, The Prague Belvedere, Emperor Ferdinand I and Jupiter, *Umění* 51, 2003, pp. 262–277. On the choir loft that was part of the original interior of the Belvedere, see: Ivan P. Muchka, Musikräume der rudolfinischen Zeit: Methodisches zur musikwissenschaftlichen und kunsthistorischen Praxis, *Studia Rudolphina* 9, 2009, pp. 100–109. On the role of the Belvedere within the castle gardens, see: Sylva Dobalová, Erzherzog Ferdinand II. von Habsburg, das Lusthaus Belvedere und die Fischbehälter im Königlichen Garten der Prager Burg, *Die Gartenkunst* 20, 2008, No. 2, pp. 11–18. The most complete account of the Prague Castle Garden and its component parts, including the Belvedere, is: Sylva Dobalová, *Zahrady Rudolfa II: Jejich vznik a vývoj*, Prague 2009.

3 Sebastiano Serlio, *Il terzo libro nel qval si figvrano, e descrivono le antiqvita di Roma, e le altre che sono in Italia e fvori d'Italia*, Venice 1540. The connection to the Tempietto illustration was suggested by Oskar Pollak, Studien zur Geschichte der Architektur Prags 1520–1600, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kiaserhauses* 29, 1910, pp. 85–170. Jarmila Krčálová has also suggested a general relationship between Serlio's publications, especially books III and V and the Belvedere, see Jarmila Krčálová, Palladianesimo in Cecoslovacchia e l'influenza del Veneto sull'architettura ceca, *Bollettino del centro internazionale di studi di architettura Andrea Palladio* 6, No. 2, 1964, pp. 89–110, esp. p. 90. While the Belvedere design cannot be matched exactly to any single Serlio illustration, the Tempietto image is the closest.

4 Ondřej Jakubec, Sebastiano Serlio a renesanční architektura v českých zemích: několik poznámek, in: Ladislav Daniel et al., *Italská renesance a baroko ve střední Evropě: Příspěvky z mezinárodní konference Olomouc 17.–18. října 2003 = Renesans i barok włoski w Europie Środkowej: Materiały międzynarodowej konferencji Ołomuniec 17–18 października 2003*, Olomouc 2005, pp. 96–99.

demonstrates a direct relationship between text and structure, and offers an opportunity to explore the role published architectural treatises played in the design process.

The Belvedere was begun in 1537, when the king of Bohemia, later Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I, commissioned a model for a *Lusthaus* to be made in Genoa. The author of this model was likely Paolo della Stella, the sculptor and architect who brought the model to Prague from Genoa in 1538.[5] The primary feature of the first model was an arcade running around all four sides of the ground floor. The model is lost, and much of the scholarship on the Belvedere has focused on the form of this model and attempts to identify the source of inspiration for the ground floor arcades.[6] However, focus on the first design overlooks one of the major features of the building, the inverted use of the Ionic and Doric orders resulting from a design change and a shift in control of the project in 1554–1555. [Fig. 1]

The first phase of construction, which lasted from 1538 until 1554, was directed at various points by Giovanni Spatio, Zoan Maria, Paolo della Stella, and Hans von Tirol. However, construction lagged as disputes between the Italian workers and the Bohemian Diet, which was financially responsible for the building, caused delays. Further conflict was ensured by a lack of clear hierarchy at the building site with architects and builders appealing to the king for clarity on who was in charge.[7] Work slowed after the fire of 1541, which damaged the castle complex, the garden, and the adjacent Malá Strana quarter of Prague. Although the Belvedere itself escaped damage, only the ground floor and arcades had been built, and by 1552 a temporary roof covered the structure.[8] Although payments continue to be recorded from 1552, little work was done on the Belvedere until 1554 when architects Bonifaz Wolmut and Pietro Ferabosco arrived from Vienna.[9] At this point the building plans underwent a change, and the illustration of Bramante's Tempietto was used as the basis for the design. [Fig. 2]

The documentary evidence is not clear about who the designer of the second floor was. It was likely a collaboration between Wolmut, Ferabosco, Hans von Tirol who was the architect in charge of construction until 1556, and Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, who was responsible for progress on numerous royal construction projects in Prague and Bohemia, and who was then working on his own hunting lodge, the Star Summer Palace.[10] Wolmut would go on to succeed Hans von Tirol at the Belvedere and become the leading architect in Prague, while Ferabosco, who had worked on the Schweizer Hof in Vienna, but whose career was mainly in fortification

5 Bažant, *Pražský Belvedér* (see note 2), pp. 12–13. Paolo della Stella has been associated with a Milanese sculptor active in Venice in the 1520s, Paolo Stella. Anne Markham Schulz, the author of the only study of Paolo Stella to date, does not find evidence to suggest that the Paolo Stella working in Venice and Paolo della Stella active in Prague are the same person. Anne Markham Schulz, Paolo Stella Milanese, *Mitteilungen Des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 29, 1985, No. 1, pp. 79–110. Most other authors support the connection. See Jarmila Krčálová, Italské podněty v renesančním umění českých zemí, *Umění* 33, 1985, pp. 54–82.

6 The Belvedere has been associated with Greek and Roman temples, the Vatican Belvedere, the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano, Palladian villas, the Hungarian hunting lodge at Nyék, the Alcazar, the kiosks at the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul, the Lusthäuser in Stuttgart and Munich, the Palazzo Clesio in Trent, Schloss Salamanca, and the Italienischer Bau at Landshut, as well as other buildings. This broad collection of buildings indicates that arcades on palaces and garden structures were a common feature of late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth-century architecture across Europe rather than that the Belvedere has any special connection to these individual structures. For a summary of the possible models suggested for the first design of the Belvedere, see Bažant, *Pražský Belvedér* (see note 2), pp. 73–89. For a shorter summary in English, see Hořejší, Krčálová, Neumann, et. al. (see note 2) , pp. 51–52 and Bažant, The Prague Belvedere (see note 2) , pp. 262–277. As the model was made in Genoa, the arcades of the newly built Villa Doria in Genoa, where the Belvedere was designed, were undoubtedly an important influence. The Doria arcade supports a terrace on the floor above, in a manner similar to the Belvedere. The idea of building arcades all around the Belvedere, rather than only on one side as at the Villa Doria, is due to the building's small size and status as a satellite structure to a larger palace. The Villa Doria, a princely palace built for the reception of distinguished guests into Genoa, requires a more axial structure, which was, in any case, the tradition for Genoese suburban villas. George L. Gorse, The Villa of Andrea Doria in Genoa: Architecture, Gardens, and Suburban Setting, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 44, 1985, No. 1, pp. 18–36.

7 The hierarchy of the building site was further complicated by visits from the architect Jan Čert, as an official representative from Vienna. Perhaps in acknowledgement of the chaos of the project, Florian Griesbeck, an advisor to Ferdinand I and himself an important architectural patron in Bohemia, asked the king to allow Čert to remain in Prague to supervise the Belvedere's construction. Archiv Pražského Hradu (APH), Dvorská komora (DK), no. 50, cart. 1. Ferdinand finally assigned authority at the site to Paolo della Stella in 1545. APH, DK, no. 81, cart. 1. Further conflicts arose between Stella and Hans von Tirol. Karl Köpl, Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare aus dem K. K. Statthalterei-Archiv in Prag, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 10, 1889, pp. LXIII–CC, reg. 6145. Stella remained in charge until his death in 1552 at which time Hans von Tirol took over the project. APH, DK, no. 131, cart. 1.

8 APH, DK no. 129, cart. 1.

9 Köpl (see note 7), reg. 6159.

10 The inscription on the plan of the Star Villa attributes the design to Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol. Das Sternschloß zu Prag, pen and ink, 1555, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, Cod. min. 108. First published in: David Schönherr, Erzherzog Ferdinand von Tirol als Architect, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 1, 1876, pp. 28–44. However, while the inspiration for the design may have come from the archduke, the design was made by an unknown architect. On Archduke Ferdinand as the architect, see Ivan Prokop Muchka – Ivo Purš – Sylva Dobalová – Jaroslava Hasenblasová, *Hvězda. Arcivévoda Ferdinand Tyrolský a jeho letohrádek v evropském kontextu*, Prague 2014, pp. 111–121.

building, left Prague shortly after his arrival in order to inspect fortifications in Slovakia.[11] Hans von Tirol is recorded working in Augsburg a few years later.[12] As Wolmut was both involved in the design process and was appointed to direct the construction of the Belvedere, and therefore was responsible for any necessary on-site changes or adjustments to the building, he can be considered primarily responsible for the outcome of the building. However, the Belvedere's upper level lacks the unity of design that Wolmut demonstrated in other works of this period, notably the tribune in the Diet Hall and the his facade of the ball court, reflecting the committee-style development of the design and the conditions of the completed lower level. [Fig. 3]

On the upper level, the Doric order appears more like applied decoration than a whole and unified design. This is due in part to adjustments made to Serlio's model in order to better suit the Belvedere's delicate Ionic order. [Fig. 4] The lower level of the Belvedere features windows and portals with cornices, but no columns or pilasters to articulate the wall. The windows and doors were not arranged symmetrically and the door on the lower level was not centred on the facade.[13] [Fig. 5] On the level above, alternating windows and niches are arranged evenly across the facade, without reference to the doors and windows below. Departing from Serlio's model, the entablature was raised and a line of cornices introduced to harmonize with the windows and doors below. A pulvinated frieze, an element Serlio associated with the Ionic order, adds further lightness to the otherwise austere, Doric design.[14] Each feature, either window or niche, was separated into a discrete unit, the niches with their own set of pilasters separating it from the adjacent windows, in a design that at once recalls the Tempietto illustration and gives each element greater space, echoing the lower facade. The pilasters' proportions are correct according to Serlio's instructions, information which could be derived from either the text or the illustrations. [Fig. 6] The keel roof may respond to such Italian examples as the Palazzo della Ragione in Padua and the basilica in Vicenza, or it may be derived from an earlier rooftop belvedere near Strahov Gate in Prague.[15]

The Belvedere, as Ferdinand's first major foray into architectural patronage at Prague Castle, was meant to impress his subjects. The Bohemian nobility had accepted Ferdinand as king only reluctantly, and the positioning of the Belvedere on the Hradčany hill, clearly visible from the city below, stands as a visible reminder of the king's presence in the city.[16] Ferdinand I's primary intention for the Belvedere, contrary to stories of the building being merely a gift to his wife, Queen Anne of Bohemia, was that it be a visible indication of the ruler's authority in Prague and Bohemia by demonstrating the sophistication of his patronage of architecture. Benedikt Ried's works at the castle, the Vladislav Hall and the door of the St. George Monastery, introduced Italianate styles to royal architecture in Prague, even while the Gothic tradition thrived in Central Europe. Although Ferdinand I would later commission a Gothic vault for the Diet Hall in the castle, the comparatively private and informal nature of the castle gardens allowed the king to exercise his interest in new, Renaissance models freely. The first design was created while Gothic was still a vital architectural form in Central Europe, but Renaissance architecture was becoming the accepted mode for private residences, including garden buildings, and the Belvedere's plan employed an elegant north-Italian style. However, by the time construction resumed in the 1550s, fashions had changed and a new design was required.

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11 Bažant, *Pražský Belvedér* (see note 2), pp. 77–78. The painter and architect, Pietro Ferabosco was employed in building and surveying fortifications throughout Central Europe, although he also worked on residential projects. There is no comprehensive survey of Ferabosco's works. For an overview of the artist's work in Bohemia, Hungary and the Habsburg lands, see Jarmila Krčálová, Pietro Ferrabosco und sein Schaffen im Königreich Böhmen, *Ostbairische Grenzmarken* 11, 1969, pp. 183–196 and Petér Farbaky, Pietro Ferrabosco in Ungheria e nell'impero asburgico, *Arte lombarda* 139, 2004, No. 3, pp. 127–134. Ferabosco also worked briefly for the Duke of Saxony on the Dresden fortifications. Barbara Marx, Medici Gifts to Court of Dresden, *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 15, 2007, p. 49. Ferabosco was knighted by Ferdinand for his service. Hans von Voltelini, Urkunden und Regesten K. u. K. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Wien, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Aller Höchsten Kaiserhauses* 11/2, 1890, pp. I–LXXXIII, reg. 6482.

12 Bažant, *Pražský Belvedér* (see note 2), p. 20.

13 Alterations made in the nineteenth century adjusted the lower facade resulting in a more symmetrical arrangement and moved the door onto the terrace above the arcades from its original position, over the central portal of the lower level, to a position on the left of the facade. For an illustration of the original design, see Svoboda, Cast III, 1978, 204–15, 224. However, illustrations of the earlier arrangement indicate that symmetry was not part of the original plan. Muchka, Die Bautätigkeit (see note 2), p. 253, fig. 5.

14 See the illustration of the five orders in, Sebastiano Serlio, *Regole Generali Di Architectura Sopra Le Cinque Maniere De Gli Edifice, Cioe, Thoscano, Dorico, Ionico, Corinthio, Et Composito, Con Gli Essempi Dell'Antiquita, Che, Per La Magior Parte Concordano Con La Dottrina Di Vitruvvio*, Venice 1537, p. 6r.

15 See Petr Uličny's paper, presented on the conference, published in: Petr Uličný, Prague's Belvederes and Loggias: Two faces of the Leisure Architecture of the Imperial City, *Studia Rudolphina* 14, 2014, pp. 30–50.

16 Bažant, *Pražský Belvedér* (see note 2), p. 269.

Although often absent from Prague, Ferdinand was an active ruler and patron in the Czech Lands, especially after the revolt of the Bohemian estates in 1547, the suppression of which allowed him establish greater control in the region. He appointed his son, Archduke Ferdinand II (later of the Tyrol), as governor, suppressed the most radical Utraquist sects, and punished the towns, which were largely responsible for the uprising. Ferdinand I also introduced the Jesuits into Prague in 1554, and in 1561 he persuaded the pope to reconstitute the Prague archbishopric, defunct since the Hussite movement in the fifteenth century. Resentful of these changes, by the 1550s it was generally understood that the Bohemian Diet would resist any attempt by the king to exercise authority.[17] Thus it was necessary not only to bring the Belvedere to completion, but to do it in the most impressive and modern manner possible.

The Bohemian nobility were themselves acquainted with the newest architectural styles in Italy, and would have been aware of the relative modernity of the Belvedere's new design. Apart from the architectural publications by Serlio, Du Cerceau, and others that circulated throughout Central Europe, a delegation of Czech nobles had travelled to Genoa in 1551, where planning for the Strada Nuova was underway,[18] to greet the Maria of Castile, the wife of Maximilian II. This group also passed through Trent, Verona, Brescia, Pavia, and Milan.[19] From this period, the nobility began building and renovating their palaces according to Italian models, and often with Italian architects or designs.[20] Completing the Belvedere according to the original design would have seemed backward in the face of the nobility's enthusiasm for Renaissance architectural design. The Belvedere was intended to be a statement of the king's presence and power in Bohemia, and therefore was required to demonstrate the king's knowledge of contemporary movements in art and architecture. Thus, the slow construction of the Belvedere and the rapidly changing consciousness of architectural styles prompted by the increasing circulation of architectural publications in the sixteenth century rendered a design change in the 1550s necessary. The original plan, radically modern just two decades earlier, now looked dated by comparison. The volume of architectural publications produced since the Belvedere's foundations were laid had affected the fashions and understanding of Renaissance architecture North of the Alps.

The use of Serlio's Tempietto illustration as the basis of the design offered several advantages for the Belvedere. Like Bramante's chapel, the Belvedere is a freestanding building encompassed by a line of columns supporting a balustrade above. This visual association between the arcades at the Belvedere and the Tempietto was further encouraged by the popularity of the Doric Order in Central Europe in this period. The Doric was a relative novelty for Central Europe in the mid-sixteenth century. While forms of the Corinthian and Ionic orders had persisted through the Middle Ages, the Doric was reintroduced through architectural publications such as those by Serlio.[21] Early examples of Doric in the region include the Italienischer Bau in Landshut (1537–1543),[22] which was probably designed by Giulio Romano,[23] and the tower of St. Nicholas at Ijsselstein (c. 1532–1535), by the Bolognese architect Alessandro Pasqualini.[24] However, these examples, although prominent, are outliers. Like the ground level of the Belvedere itself, they are exceptionally forward-looking designs for the period and were designed by Italians who drew from a different architectural experience than their northern colleagues. By the 1550s, with the widespread publication of Renaissance architectural theory by both Italian and northern

17 R. J. W. Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Central Europe c. 1683–1867*, Oxford, 2006, pp. 76–82. – Jaroslav Pánek, Bohemia and the Empire: Acceptance and Rejection, in: R. J. W. Evans and Peter H. Wilson (eds.), *The Holy Roman Empire, 1495–1806: A European Perspective*, Leiden 2012, pp. 121–142

18 The Strada nuova was one of the largest urban planning projects in Europe at this time, and part of a conscious effort on the part of the Genoese nobility to display the city's modernity and power as a Habsburg banking centre. George L. Gorse, A classical stage for the Old Nobility: The Strada nuova and Sixteenth–century Genoa, *The Art Bulletin* 79, 1997, No. 2, pp. 301–327. As such, this building project would have particularly appealed to the Czech nobility, who were themselves interested in establishing their place in within the Habsburg empire.

19 Krčálová (see note 5), p. 57.

20 The most important of these château include Telč, Litomyšl, and Opočno. On this group of Czech palaces, see Hořejší, et al. (see note 2), p. 75; and Muchka, *Architecture* (see note 2), pp. 122, 132, 136–137.

21 Erik Forssman, *Der dorische Stil in der deutschen Baukunst*, Freiburg im Briesgau 2001, p. 104.

22 On the construction of the Italienische Bau, see Klaus Endemann, Die Baugeschichte: Quellen, Befunde, Hypothesen, in: Iris Lauterbach – Klaus Endemann – Christoph Luitpold Frommel, *Die Landshutter Stadtresidenz: Architektur und Ausstattung*, Munich 1998, pp. 39–56.

23 Christoph Luitpold Frommel, Zur Struktur des Italienischen Baus der Residenz in Landshut: Funktion, Typus, Stil, in: ibidem, p. 77; Endemann, ibidem, pp. 43–45.

24 Britta Icking, Der Turm der Nikolauskirche zu IJsselstein zwischen niederländischer Bautradition und italienischer Renaissance, in: Günter Bers – Conrad Doose (eds.), *"Italienische" Renaissancebaukunst an Schelde, Maas und Niederrhein: Stadtanlangen – Zivilbauten – Wehrenlagen.* II. *Jülicher Pasqualini-Symposium vom 18. bis 21. Juni 1998 in Jülich*, Jülich 1999, pp. 513–516.

authors, the situation had changed. The classical orders, correctly proportioned and imaginatively adapted, were appearing in a wide variety of media, including prints, paintings, goldsmiths' work, and sculpture, as well as buildings. Contemporary buildings such as the Stallburg in Vienna (1558–1560), Ferdinand's, largest building project in the Vienna court, and the arcaded courtyard of the Landhaus in Graz (begun 1556), employed the Doric Order.[25] Wenzel Jamnitzer and other goldsmiths used the Doric and other architectural orders in their works,[26] and Habsburg court artists used the Doric Order in the architectural elements of their paintings and drawings.[27] Wolmut used the Doric Order on another occasion in Prague; the organ loft in St. Vitus (1557) uses the Doric on the ground level and Ionic above, in what was generally considered the correct order.[28] This design is based on Serlio's illustration of the Theatre of Marcellus in Rome.[29] To complete the Belvedere according to the first design and continue building in the style of the mid-1530s, that is the style popular before the architectural publishing boom, would be admitting a certain backwardness unbecoming in such a prominent patron.

Although Ferdinand I was the patron of the Belvedere, Archduke Ferdinand was resident in Prague and most concerned with the daily management of the king's many architectural works then under construction. The king and the archduke often corresponded about the design and progress of these Bohemian projects, and the archduke himself was knowledgeable on the subject of architecture. Archduke Ferdinand had also travelled in Italy; in 1549 he visited Mantua, where he saw the Palazzo del Te, and then returned via Venice.[30] Ferdinand was equally familiar with published architectural treatises; according to the inventory taken at Ambras before his death in 1595, Archduke Ferdinand owned twenty-six books on architecture, including six volumes of works by Serlio, more than any other author.[31] As many of these works were published prior to the completion of the Belvedere in 1563, and as there were many royal architectural projects under the archduke's supervision in Prague Castle and Bohemia at this time, it is probable that most of these books were acquired by the archduke during his tenure in Bohemia. Further, all but one of the Archduke's volumes of Serlio was published in Italian. The sole exception was the 1542 edition of Book IV published in German by Pieter Coecke van Aelst.[32] One of the architects concerned with the Belvedere design, Wolmut, himself possessed an extensive personal library, although he favoured works on mathematics and astronomy and is not known to have owned any books on architecture.[33] Although Wolmut worked with Italian masons throughout his twenty-five years in Prague, none of the books he owned was in Italian, and there is no evidence that he was able to read books in Italian. This German edition of Serlio, then, would be his most likely opportunity to read Serlio's text, but there is little evidence that he or anyone else involved in the Belvedere paid much attention to it. In fact, there is little evidence that architects or their patrons paid much attention to Serlio's interpretation of the orders' meanings in terms of virtues, profession, and station in life.[34] However, since Serlio's 1537 publication of Book IV, Serlio's order for the orders, that is Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite, had become the convention, and other interpretations of Vitruvius's instructions receded.[35] The architect and patrons of the Belvedere were familiar

25 On the Stallburg, see *Kaiser Ferdinand I.* (see note 2), p. 346, cat. no. III.20; on the Landhaus courtyard in Graz, see Josef Wastler (ed.), *Das Landhaus in Graz*, Vienna 1890, pp. 9–20.

26 Forsmann (see note 20), p. 107.

27 See for example, Francesco Terzio's 1557–1558 painting on parchment of a Doric triumphal arch with a portrait of Archduke Ferdinand, Wilfried Siepel (ed.), *Alle Wunder dieser Welt: Die kostbarsten Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Erzherzog Ferdinands II. (1529–1595)*, Vienna 2001, p. 23, cat. no. 4.

28 On the organ loft, see Ivan Muchka, Architectura ancilla musicae, in: Herbert Karner – Ingrid Ciulisová – Bernardo J. García García (eds.), *The Habsburgs and Their Courts in Europe, 1400–1700* (PALATIUM e-Publication 1), 2014, pp. 46–54. http://www.courtresidences.eu/

29 Serlio, *Il terzo libro* (see note 3), p. 49r.

30 Václav Bůžek, *Ferdinand von Tirol zwischen Prag und Innsbruck: Der Adel aus den bömischen Ländern auf dem Weg zu den Höfen der ersten Habsburger*, Vienna 2009, pp. 83–85.

31 I am grateful to Dr. Ivan Muchka for providing me with access to materials in the database of Ferdinand's library. For an analysis of Archduke Ferdinand's collection of books on architecture and related topics, see Ivan Muchka, Literatura o architektuře, in: Ivo Purš – Hedvika Kuchařová (eds.), *Knihovna arcivévody Ferdinanda II. Tyrolského (1529–1595). Texty*, Prague 2015, pp. 279–285.

32 Sebasiano Serlio, *Die gemaynen Reglen von der Architectur uber di funf Manieren der Gebeu, zu wissen, Thoscana, Dorica, Ionica, Corinthia, und Composita, mit den Exemplen der Antiquitaten so durch den merern Tayl sich mit der Leer Vitruvii vergleychen*, Antwerp 1542.

33 There has not been any comprehensive analysis of Wolmut's library to date. However, see Antonín Podlaha, Rukopisy z majetku Boniface Wolmuta v knihovně metropolitní kapituly pražské, *Památky archaeologické* 31, 1919, pp. 97–98. – Ivo Kořán, Knihovna architekta Boniface Wolmuta, *Umění* 8, 1960, pp. 522–527. – Kalina (see note 2), p. 73.

34 John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance*, Princeton 1988, p. 322.

35 For example, Alberti was troubled by Vitruvius's value for the virtues of the plain Doric over the decorative richness of the Corinthian and Composite orders, and Francesco di Giorgio reinterpreted Vitruvius's description of the orders to make the Doric the most ornamented order. John Onians, The System of the Orders in Renaissance Architectural Thought, in: Jean Guillaume (ed.), *Les traits d'architecture de la renaissance: Actes du colloque tenu à Tours du 1er*

with Serlio's and other architectural publications, as has been demonstrated, but they deliberately chose to ignore this 'rule'.[36]

Other architects had experimented with the orders; in the 1520s it was common for Roman architects to mix elements technically belonging to different orders. Antonio da Sangallo the Elder, notably at the church of the Madonna of San Biagio in Montepulciano (begun 1518), mixed elements of the Ionic and Doric orders in a manner similar to the inclusion of the pulvinated frieze in the Doric order at the Belvedere.[37] Baldassare Peruzzi used Doric triglyphs with Ionic volutes in the aedicules at Palazzo Fusconi (1524). Nearer to Prague, at the Italienischer Bau in Landshut, the architect mixed Doric columns with Ionic aedicules and entablature.[38] A small inversion occurs at the Palazzo Farnese (begun 1517) in Rome, where composite pilasters adorn the windows of the piano nobile because it is the most prominent portion of the house, while Ionic marks the comparatively private quarters on the floor above. The pilasters employed are quite small, and it is the monumental Doric order of the courtyard that dominates the building's decorative scheme.[39] While small exceptions and blending of the orders were relatively common, especially earlier in the sixteenth century, using the Doric over the Ionic in such a prominent context as the Prague Belvedere, where each level has an equal visual importance, in the mid-sixteenth century is exceptional.

The Prague Belvedere demonstrates the value placed on architectural publication by architects and patrons in the mid-sixteenth century. While nearly all building projects observed the accepted order of the five orders, the Belvedere did not, and the significance of the building, both as an expression of political power and personal taste, indicates that although Serlio's treatise was valued as a guide for architectural design, it was regarded as offering suggestions rather than imposing rules. The text of Serlio's works, which describe the Doric as appropriate for military figures, and the Tempietto as a chapel dedicated to one of Christendom's holiest martyrs,[40] is ignored; neither is appropriate for a royal leisure palace. While Tuscan and Doric orders were frequently used in garden or villa structures, the rustication that sometimes accompanied these orders, as, for example, at the Palazzo del Te, would have appeared top heavy when paired with the refined lower level. The changes that were made to the Tempietto illustration as a model demonstrate the care the designers and patrons had for the overall effect of the design. The Belvedere, then, balances current fashion and pre-existing conditions; architectural publication was used to demonstrate the ruler's familiarity with the most up-to-date architectural designs, his sophistication as a patron, and general erudition, but fashions were not allowed to upset the effect of the building as a whole. Placing a Doric order over an Ionic one does not violate any sense of propriety or affect the building's function as an expression of power, despite what had become the widespread convention for the use of the orders because the completed building appears to be a unified design.

au 11 juillet 1981, Paris 1988, pp. 169–178.

36 Serlio discussed the possibility of mixing elements from different orders in the *Quarto libro*. However, even assuming that everyone involved with the project had read the text of this book, its application to the Belvedere is limited. In this passage, Serlio discusses the use of rustication with each of the orders and goes on to praise Giulio Romano's designs at the Palazzo del Te. Although the spirit of the discussion may apply to the second phase of the Belvedere's design, that is the use of an element usually associated with one order – in this case rustication and the Tuscan order – with another, as at the Belvedere the pulvinated frieze augments the Doric cornices, it does not address the wholesale inversion of the orders. (Serlio, *Regole generali* (see note 14), p. 13v.)

37 Phyllis Williams Lehmann, The Basilica Aemilia and S. Biagio at Montepulciano, *The Art Bulletin* 64, 1982, No. 1, pp. 124–131.

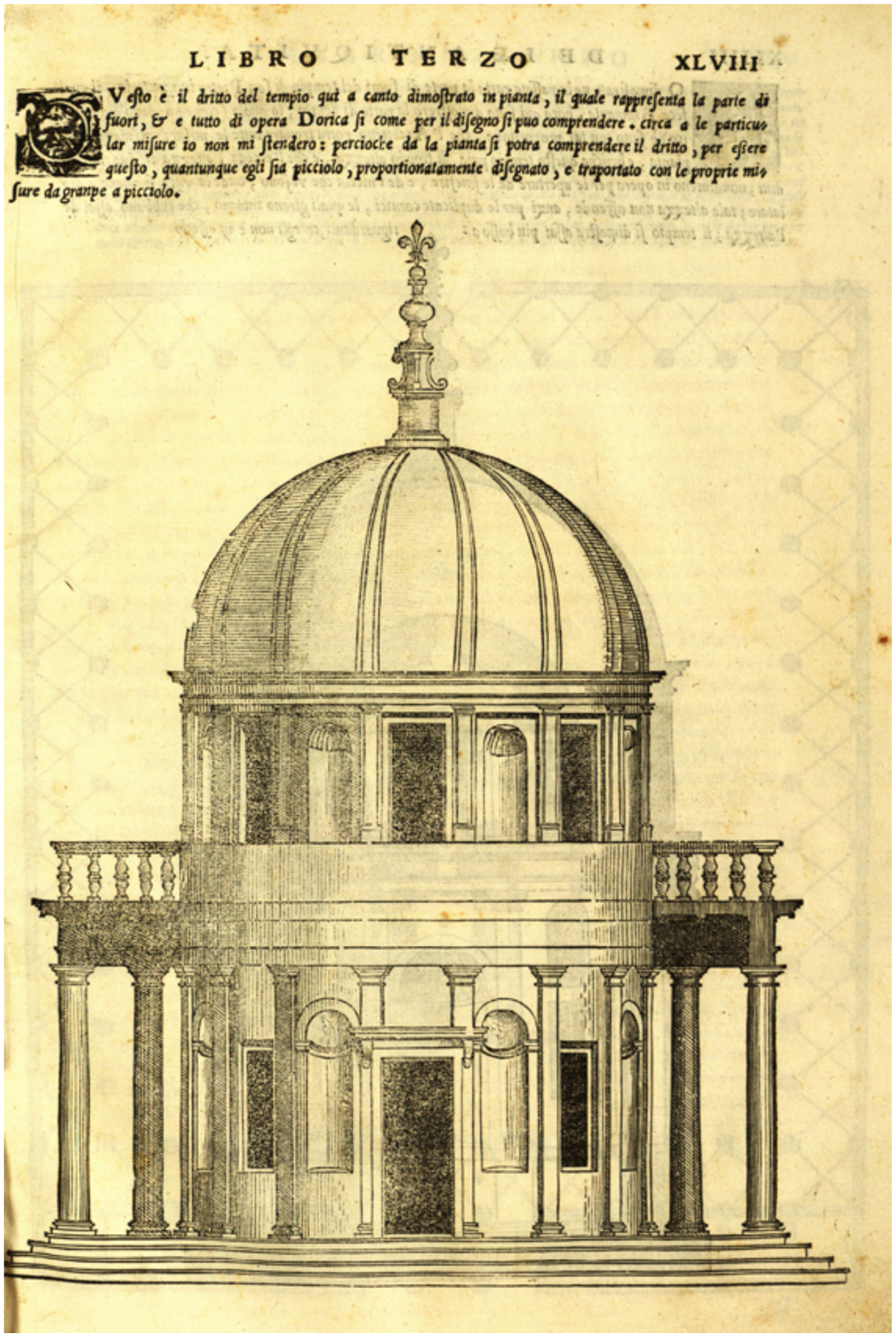
38 Frommel (see note 22), p. 78.

39 Onians (see note 34), p. 314.

40 Serlio, *Regole generali* (see note 14), p. 5r; Serlio, *Il terzo libro* (see note 3), p. 41r.

1. Belvedere, north facade during a reconstruction, without stone balustrade showing the arcades and windows and doors behind them.

Photo: I. P. Muchka



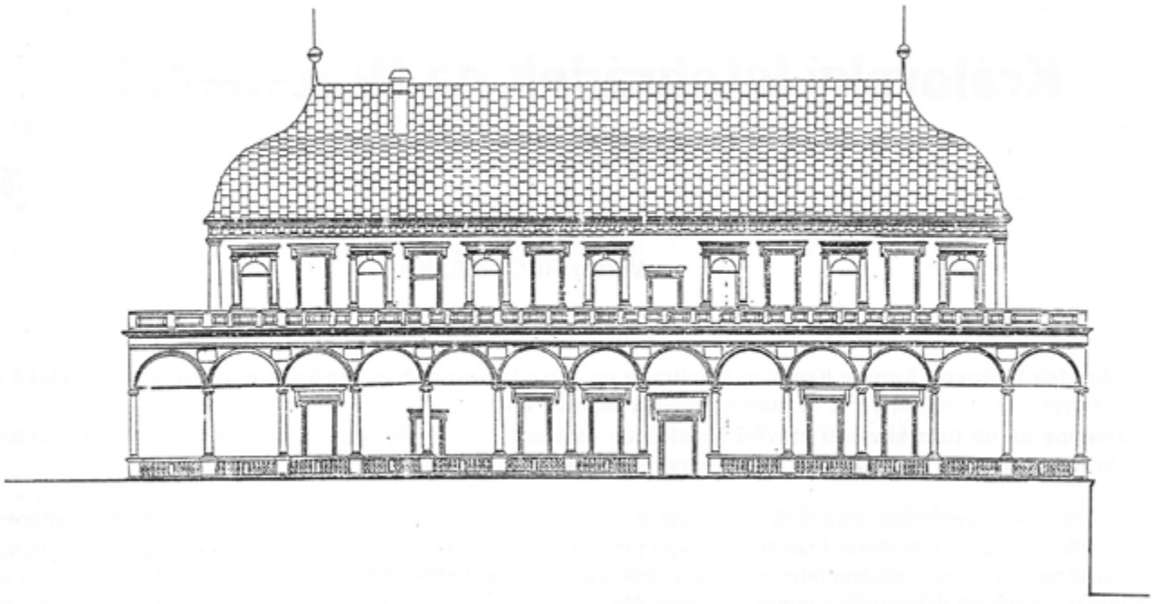
2. Tempietto, in: Sebastiano Serlio, *Il terzo libro*, Venice 1540.

3. Belvedere, south facade during a reconstruction, without stone balustrade.

Photo: I. P. Muchka

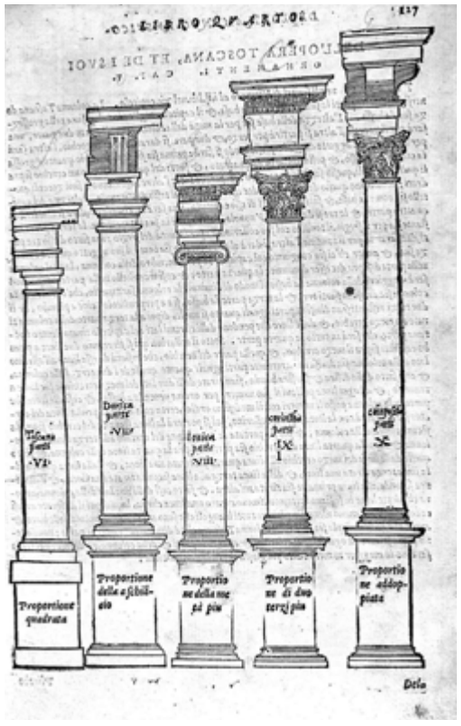
4. Photograph of the upper facade of the Belvedere, showing niche and window.

Photo: I. P. Muchka



5. Viktor Procházka, Belvedere, drawing of the west facade before a renovation in the middle of the nineteenth century.

From: V. Procházka, Královský letohrádek na Pražském hradě – stavba a úpravy, *Zprávy památkové péče* 57, 1997



6. Serlio's illustration of the five orders from the *Libro quarto*, Venice 1566.

Session III. Decorating the Architecture of Leisure. Interpreting the Satellite's Decor between Politics and Nature

Palazzotto before the Palace. The *Palazzetto* Eucherio Sanvitale as the First Satellite Residence at the Farnese Court

Michele Danieli

We who were living are now dying
With a little patience
T. S. Eliot, *The Waste Land*

The Duchy of Parma and Piacenza was created by pope Paul III in 1545 and entrusted to his son Pier Luigi Farnese (1503–1547). According to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga's now famous remark, the new state sprouted in a single night, like a mushroom.[1]

The two cities were in a border territory. Part of the Papal States from 1513, they were historically under the influence of the Duchy of Milan. The creation of the new duchy by Paul III upset the fragile balance of political relations, and was opposed by local aristocratic families. The situation deteriorated in September 1547 when Pier Luigi was murdered in a conspiracy led by Ferrante Gonzaga, governor of Milan, with the silent approval of Emperor Charles V. Piacenza was occupied by imperial troops, but Pier Luigi's son, Ottavio (1521–1586), succeeded his father as Duke of Parma a few days after the assassination. Parma remained loyal to the Farnese.

Concerned about the effects that the problems in the new duchy were having on the balance of power in the broader European theatre, in 1549 Paul III decided to reverse his decision and annex Parma and Piacenza to the Papal States. Ottavio opposed the decision of the pontiff (his grandfather) and with the help of his older brother Alessandro (1520–1589), a powerful figure in the Roman Curia, he began a long political battle to have his rights as duke recognized. Ottavio courted diplomatic relations with both France and Spain, frequently forming and breaking alliances as the situation changed.

Only with the Treaty of Ghent in August 1556 was Piacenza restored to Ottavio, although the city retained an imperial garrison until 1585. In 1559 the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis established a new peace in Europe and concluded the power struggles between France and Spain over Italian territory. One of the terms of the new treaty, returned the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza to the Farnese family.

With the achieved political stability, Ottavio was able, in 1561, to begin construction of the Palazzo Ducale and the surrounding park. Previously the Duke had been living in the Palace of the Apostolic Governor. Documents do not give the name of the architect of the new building, but the project is attributed to Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola (1507–1573). Both the palace and the park have been greatly altered since they were built in the second half of the sixteenth century. Their current appearance is due to the renovations of the French architect Alexandre Petitot in the eighteenth century.

Inside the park, close to the ducal palace, stands the Palazzetto Eucherio Sanvitale, the subject of this article. [Fig. 1] The park suffered a long period of neglect, before it was restored in 2002. At that time, the *palazzetto* was

1 Letter from Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to Ercole II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, 23 August 1545: *'pare strana cosa vedere far un duca di due simili città in una notte come nasce un fungo'* ('it seemes strange to see a Duke of two such cities sprout up in one night like a mushroom': translated by Paul V. Murphy, *Ruling peacefully. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga and Patrician Reform in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, Washington 2007, p. 182). See also Giovanni Drei, *I Farnese. Grandezza e decadenza di una dinastia italiana*, Roma 1954. – *I Farnese. Arte e collezionismo* (exh. cat.), Palazzo Ducale di Colorno, Milan 1995; and the recent Giuseppe Bertini (ed.), *Storia di Parma. IV. Il Ducato Farnesiano*, Parma 2014.

also restored, and it now houses exhibitions and cultural activities.[2]

In 1561, while the construction of the Palazzo Ducale was underway, Ottavio bought a small house (casino) from Eucherio Sanvitale (ca. 1500–1571), a member of one of the most important Parmesan families.[3] There were several buildings in the area now occupied by the ducal park, which has led to speculation about the location of this *palazzetto*. Some scholars have proposed that Eucherio's casino was actually the building that Vignola transformed into the Palazzo Ducale, and that the smaller building we see today belonged to the nearby church of San Michele degli Umiliati, which was later destroyed.[4]

Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated that the Palazzo Ducale is inside the perimeter of a former military structure, which in the fifteenth and sixteenth century was called *castello*, as we can read on the map by Ponzoni. This was a triangular area in the west of the town, across the river. It is unlikely that a citizen or even a member of the nobility could purchase such a strategic location from the community, and turn it into his own residence. But if the present *palazzetto* actually belonged to the church of San Michele, and the Palazzo Ducale was built on the foundations of a public structure, where else could the *casino* the Duke acquired from Sanvitale be? Perhaps it was demolished?

However, I think this is unlikely. In my opinion Eucherio's *palazzetto* is the smaller building still standing on the site. In addition to economic reasons (Ottavio paid the considerable sum of two thousand *scudi* to acquire the building), there is also a symbolic meaning. As the new Palazzo Ducale was built on the foundations of the ancient fortification, so the satellite residence – the *palazzetto* – was established in a property formerly associated with the Sanvitale family, one of the Farneses' most significant competitors for regional power.

In effect, Ottavio considered the *palazzetto* an important part of his project. In the map of the city of Parma engraved by Paolo Ponzoni in 1572, this building is represented in a larger scale and with a richer architectural detail [Fig. 2] than similar structures featured on the map. Rather than being an accurate description of the city of Parma, the map depicts the city in such a way as to reflect the Duke's projects and priorities. For this reason, the prominence given to the little building is indicative of its importance in the ducal program of self-representation.

Paintings

The plan of the building is simple. [Fig. 3] From the loggia you access a large central hall (the entrance was later moved to the opposite end of the hall, where it remains today). From this hall four doors lead to smaller rooms, two on each side. All of these spaces, loggia, hall and rooms, were completely frescoed. Today the paintings are badly damaged, in large part because they were painted over during the eighteenth century. Although little remains of the frescoes today, it is likely that the two long walls depicted large views of imaginary port cities. The upper portion of the walls and the ceiling showed a blue sky with birds in the lunettes. [Fig. 4]

The adjacent Sala di Parmigianino takes its name from a fresco with the Virgin and Child in a lunette over a door. The fresco is now attributed to the young Parmigianino, which reinforces the hypothesis that the building was originally the property of the Sanvitale family.[5] The decorative scheme of this room is complex; the sky is visible through a fictive architectural frame of lunettes and a central tondo in the ceiling and large landscapes appear around the walls in octagonal frames. [Fig. 5]

In another room landscapes occupy the entirety of the walls, without any interruption. The ceiling is painted with a large curtain that articulates the sixteen compartments of the umbrella vault. [Fig. 6]

A third room, also decorated with uninterrupted landscape frescoes, is on the opposite side of the central hall,

2 I have to thank Rosa Marzolini, of the Municipality of Parma, for her valuable assistance.

3 Eucherio Sanvitale had served as the ambassador to the King of France and conduct several diplomatic missions for Ottavio. In 1564 he was named bishop of Viviers in France.

4 This hypothesis has been suggested by Maria Rita Furlotti, *Il "Casino di Co' de Ponte" di Galeazzo Sanvitale a Parma*, Parma 1998; and Bruno Adorni – Maria Rita Furlotti, L'architettura a Parma all'epoca del Parmigianino, in: Lucia Fornari Schianchi (ed.), *Parmigianino e il Manierismo europeo*, Milan 2002, pp. 360-369; it has been refuted by Carlo Mambriani, *Il giardino di Parma. Da delizia ducale a patrimonio collettivo di arte e natura*, Parma 2006, pp. 18-22, and by the same Bruno Adorni, *L'architettura a Parma sotto i primi Farnese 1545-1630*, Reggio Emilia 2008, pp. 39-68.

5 The Sanvitale family commissioned Parmigianino to paint the frescos of *Diana and Acteon* in the castle of Fontanellato, around 1523-1524. For the Parmigianino lunette in the *palazzetto*, see Mary Vaccaro, *Parmigianino. I dipinti*, Turin 2002, pp. 145-146; for the related drawings see Achim Gnann, *Parmigianino. Die Zeichnungen*, Petersberg 2007, pp. 60-61, 363.

and here the umbrella vault depicts a pergola with vines. [Fig. 7][6] The last room, the most damaged of the four, is painted with a dense forest around all the walls, but unfortunately today the frescoes are barely legible. [Fig. 8]

The *palazzetto* is painted almost entirely with landscapes, which are remarkable for the absence of any historical subject. The walls are completely deserted, except for a few small figures scattered in the woods. It could be assumed that the *palazzetto* was merely a leisure residence, where strolling courtiers could find rest during a walk in the park. However, the absence of historical themes is somehow connected with paintings in the Palazzo Ducale; the Sala del Bacio (Room of the Kiss) painted by Girolamo Mirola around 1563 shows a similar format, with stories depicted around all four walls in an uninterrupted landscape.[7] In the Palazzo Ducale frescoes there is no indication of a celebration of the Duke or his family. [Fig. 9]

This is unexpected, especially in light of the achievements of self-celebration and self-promotion carried out by the Farnese. It is hardly necessary to recall the fresco cycles in Palazzo Farnese in Rome by Francesco Salviati (just before 1556), and at Caprarola by Federico Zuccari, who was working at exactly the same time as Mirola was completing the Parma decoration.

These landscape paintings without any *storia* in the *palazzetto* follow a trend already established in the Palazzo Ducale. Nothing is known about an iconographic program (if such a program existed), so we cannot produce an iconographic analysis for this unusual choice. However, I suggest that the reasons for this unusual decorative program are to be found in the delicate and unstable political balance that had characterized Ottavio's rise to power; the Duke's moderation in celebrating and illustrating his political power in his Parma residences must be interpreted as a conciliatory gesture towards the local aristocracy.

Authorship

There is no remaining documentation about the Palazzetto Sanvitale decorations. The landscapes have been attributed to different artists on the basis of style. Some scholars have perceived Flemish influences and have given the frescoes to a group of anonymous Flemish artists generically mentioned in the Farnese archives, but impossible to identify. Others have suggested better-known painters such as Cornelis Loot or Jan Soens. The frescoes have also been attributed, correctly, to Cesare Baglione (ca. 1545–1615).[8]

Baglione was a Bolognese artist, little known outside Emilia. He worked mainly in fresco, meaning his works could not travel, and many of these frescoes were later destroyed, including some of his most important achievements. A later lack of scholarly interest in late Bolognese Mannerism pushed the artist further into obscurity.

Only a few comparisons will be sufficient to prove his authorship. A recently recovered fresco of a male nude playing the cello in the loggia of the *palazzotto* is very similar to the figure of a fisherman painted in a frieze at Villa Paleotta, near Bologna.[9] [Fig. 10] Additionally, in the upper part of the walls in the hall, the birds fly in order, one per lunette; Baglione painted the same regular disposition of birds in the ceiling of a room in the Castello di Torrechiara, near Parma, where four similar birds are placed between the ribs of the vault. [Fig. 11] The Torrechiara frescoes are closely related to those of Palazzetto Sanvitale; in the three rooms opening onto

6 Ilaria Fioretti – Maria Evelina Melley – Daniela Paltrinieri, La geometria e la pittura delle volte ad ombrello. Camera di S. Paolo e Palazzetto Eucherio S. Vitale [sic!] a Parma, in: Emma Mandelli – Gaia Lavoratti (eds.), *Disegnare il tempo e l'armonia. Il disegno di architettura osservatorio dell'universo,* Florence 2010, pp. 535–539.

7 The frescoes have been traditionally attributed to both Mirola and Bertoja, see Diane De Grazia, *Bertoja, Mirola and the Farnese Court,* Bologna 1991; but they belong to the former, as discerned by Roberto Venturelli, *La corte farnesiana di Parma (1560-1570). Programmazione artistica e identità culturale,* Rome 1999, pp. 122-153.

8 The most important discussions of the attributions of the frescoes are: Leonardo Farinelli – Pier Paolo Mendogni, *Guida di Parma*, Parma 1981, p. 122 (style of Baglione). – Giuseppe Cirillo – Giovanni Godi, *Guida artistica del Parmense*, II, Parma 1986, p. 264 (Baglione, close to the frescos of Torrechiara and Soragna). – Bert W. Meijer, *Parma e Bruxelles. Committenza e collezionismo farnesiani alle due corti*, Milan 1988, pp. 25-26 (unknown Flemish painters). – Lucia Fornari Schianchi, Palazzetto Eucherio Sanvitale: qualche considerazione sulle decorazioni, in: Giovanni Godi (ed.), *La reggia di là da l'acqua. Il giardino e il palazzo dei duchi di Parma*, Milan 1991, pp. 77–78 (Baglione?). – Diane De Grazia, *Ottavio Farnese and his artists in Parma and Rome*, in: Giovanna Perini (ed.), *Il luogo ed il ruolo della città di Bologna tra Europa continentale e mediterranea*, Bologna 1992, p. 273 (unknown Flemish painters). – Giuseppe Cirillo, Grottesche visioni. Cesare Baglioni a Soragna, in FMR XV, 119, 1996, pp. 45–86 (47) (Baglione). – Elisabetta Fadda, "Natura picta": il giardino entra nelle sale, in: Mambriani (see note 4), p. 229 (Cornelis Loots or Jan Soens).

9 The fresco in the loggia reappeared after the restoration in 2002. It was first published as Bertoja by Francesco Barocelli, Di un "Apollo" del Bertoja e degli effetti della cultura parmigianinesca nel Casino del Giardino Ducale di Parma, *Aurea Parma* LXXXVI, 2002, No. 3, pp. 425–434, but returned to Baglione by Giuseppe Cirillo, Ancora per la pittura parmense del Cinquecento, *Parma per l'arte* IX, 2003, Nos. 1–2, p. 7–57, esp. p. 48.

the great hall on the first floor, solutions from Parma are repeated: uninterrupted landscapes, bright sunsets, and harbour views.[10] [Fig. 12] Finally, there are the pink buildings scattered among the rocks, sketched rapidly with an uncertain perspective, which were almost a signature for Baglione.[11] These appear in both Torrechiara and Palazzetto Sanvitale.

Chronology

Baglione's name first appears in the Farnese accounts in 1574; at that time he received a regular monthly salary. The date cannot be coincidental. The two principle court painters, Mirola and Jacopo Bertoja, had recently passed away, Mirola in 1570 and Bertoja in 1574. The choice of Baglione, who like Mirola, was Bolognese, indicates a willingness to hire a new court artist, or at least a painter who could fulfil a variety of artistic needs. Baglione continued in this role until his death in 1615.

It is not known for what work Baglione was paid in 1574, but the landscapes of the Palazzetto Sanvitale certainly belong to his first period in Parma. Indeed, he joined the Farnese court as a landscape specialist; in 1572 he was working with Prospero Fontana in Palazzo Vitelli in Città di Castello, where he was specifically commissioned to paint landscapes. The patron was Paolo Vitelli (1519–1574), Marquis of Cetona and Carmiano, *condottiero* and faithful ally of the Farnese. It was certainly he who introduced Baglione to Ottavio.

The frescoes in the *palazzetto* must have been executed around 1575. Even if they were done a decade later, they still correspond with paintings in the Palazzo Ducale. For example, the large rocks depicted in the Sala del Velario resemble those in the Sala del Bacio. Additionally, a room on the ground floor in Torrechiara, where landscapes are visible over semi-ruined stone walls, copies the celebrated invention by Mirola in the Camera Rupta (literally Broken Room) in the Palazzo Ducale, which has since been lost.

Baglione, of course, knew the frescoes of the Palazzo Ducale very well, as he had painted several of its rooms, including the kitchens, laundries and other functional spaces. In 1678 Carlo Cesare Malvasia left a vivid account of his impressions of these paintings.[12] In the *Bologna perlustrata* (1666), one of the first sources to discuss Baglione, Antonio Masini writes that the artist *'died in Parma after he painted the inside and outside the Palace of the Duke'*, indicating that this was his most important achievement.[13]

Conclusion

Although little studied, the frescoes of Palazzetto Eucherio Sanvitale are an important chapter of Farnese patronage. Diane De Grazia attributed them to unknown Flemish painters, and associated them with the frescoes in Torrechiara and Montechiarugolo. According to De Grazia, all these frescoes were characterized by a style common to several artists from different backgrounds, who developed a shared language, which she called the 'Farnese Courtly Style'.[14]

However, Baglione was the artist responsible for all of these works, and he played a leading role in the dissemination of this style, which was influenced by Flemish culture, through his regular study of Northern examples.[15] Nevertheless, De Grazia was not totally wrong. Although there was only one artist, there were a number of patrons interested in this style: Ottavio Farnese, at the Palazzetto Sanvitale; the scholar Pomponio Torelli, at the Castello di Montechiarugolo; and the Sforza di Santa Flora family, at Castello di Torrechiara. Baglione also worked for other noble families in the region of Parma: the Rossi at Castello di San Secondo; the Meli Lupi at Castello di Soragna; and the Sanvitale family, at their castle in Fontanellato.

From 1604 Baglione was contracted exclusively to the Farnese. But he had been linked to the Farnese court

10 For an overview of Baglione's career, see: Michele Danieli – Davide Ravaioli (eds.), *Palazzo Fava da San Domenico*, Bologna 2008, pp. 73-121.

11 Maria Teresa Sambin De Norcen, *Marco Pio e Cesare Baglione: politica, topografia e pittura di paesaggio*, in: Francesco Ceccarelli – Maria Teresa Sambin De Norcen (eds.), *Lo Stato dipinto. La sala delle vedute nel castello di Spezzano*, Venice 2011, pp. 11–33.

12 Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice*, Bologna 1678, I, pp. 341-342. Unfortunately, all these works have been lost. However, some may still be hidden under the new plaster.

13 Antonio Masini, *Bologna perlustrata*, Bologna 1666, p. 617: 'morì in Parma dopo d'haver dipinto dentro, e fuori tutto il Palazzo di quel Duca'.

14 De Grazia (see note 8), p. 274.

15 Among Baglione's possessions, Malvasia recorded a crate full of *'paesi di Fiandra a tempra involti, e de' quali, come dissi, servivasi, qualora a rappresentarne prendea, imitandoli'* ('Flemish tempera landscapes rolled up, which he imitated when he needed to paint'): Malvasia (see note 12), p. 349.

from the 1570s, and since which time he had worked only on behalf of his Farnese patrons. His activities in the residences of Parmesan aristocrats were part of Ottavio's diplomatic efforts in the region. Baglione was tasked to export the 'Farnese Courtly Style' across the whole duchy, creating a cultural *koinè*. His wide activity marks a sort of pictorial truce between the Farnese and the local aristocracy in the sharing of the same visual language.

After the death of Ottavio (1586) and his son Alexander (1545–1592), the political situation underwent a stark change. Alexander's son, Ranuccio (1569–1622), ordered Baglione to work exclusively for the court (from 1604), and entrusted him with the decoration of churches built under the Duke's direct patronage.[16] Ranuccio's attitude towards nobility was very different from his father's and grandfather's. He considered his political power to be secure, and some years later he found an opportunity to assert greater authority in the duchy.

In 1611 a conspiracy against the Duke was discovered. After a vigorous interrogation, seven nobles confessed their involvement in the plot. A few months later they were executed in public, and their lands and property were confiscated by Ranuccio. Gianfrancesco and Girolamo Sanvitale were among those executed.[17]

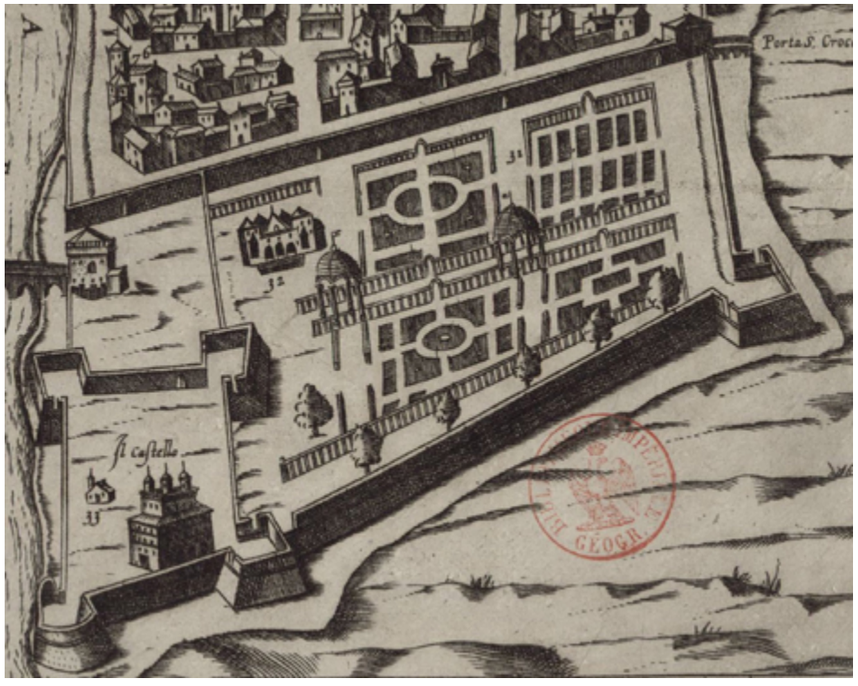
In 1561, Ottavio Farnese had attempted to legitimize and consolidate his new-found political authority by the acquisition of symbolic structures and sites; the Palazzo Ducale was built upon the ancient city fortress and the Palazzetto Eucherio Sanvitale was acquired as the first satellite residence of the new Farnese court. After half a century, by force and blood, Ranuccio finally completed the work begun by his grandfather.

16 The Church of the Capuchins at Fontevivo, near Parma (1609-1611), and the Santa Maria delle Grazie in Fidenza (destroyed), on the Via Emilia between Parma and Piacenza (1610).

17 For this episode, known as *la Gran Giustizia* ('the Great Justice'), see: Gian Luca Podestà, *Dal delitto politico alla politica del delitto. Finanza pubblica e congiure contro i Farnese nel Ducato di Parma e Piacenza dal 1545 al 1622*, Milan 1995 – *La "Gran giustizia" del 1612. Streghe, malefici, congiure e confische nel ducato di Ranuccio I Farnese* (exh. cat.), Archivio di Stato di Parma, Parma 2012.

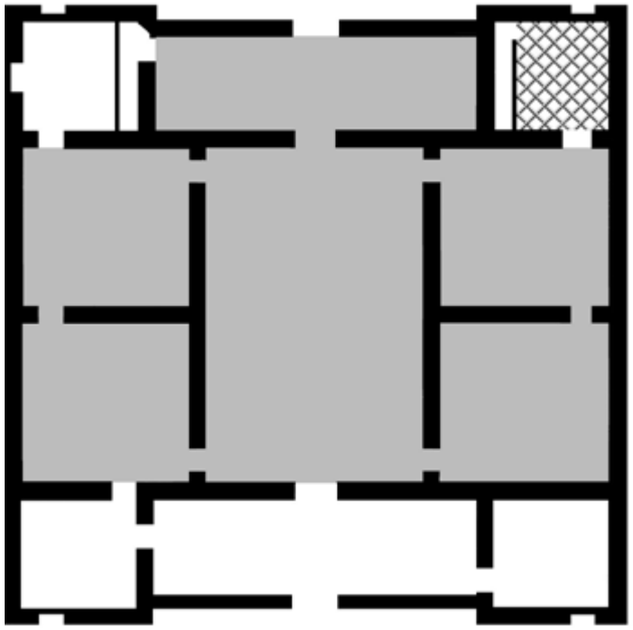
1. Parma, palazzetto Eucherio Sanvitale, external view.

Photo: M. Danieli



2. Paolo Ponzoni, Pianta della città di Parma in prospettiva, 1572, a detail, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

Photo: Public domain



3. Parma, palazzetto Eucherio Sanvitale, plan.

4. Cesare Baglione, Landscapes, Parma, palazzetto Eucherio Sanvitale, hall.

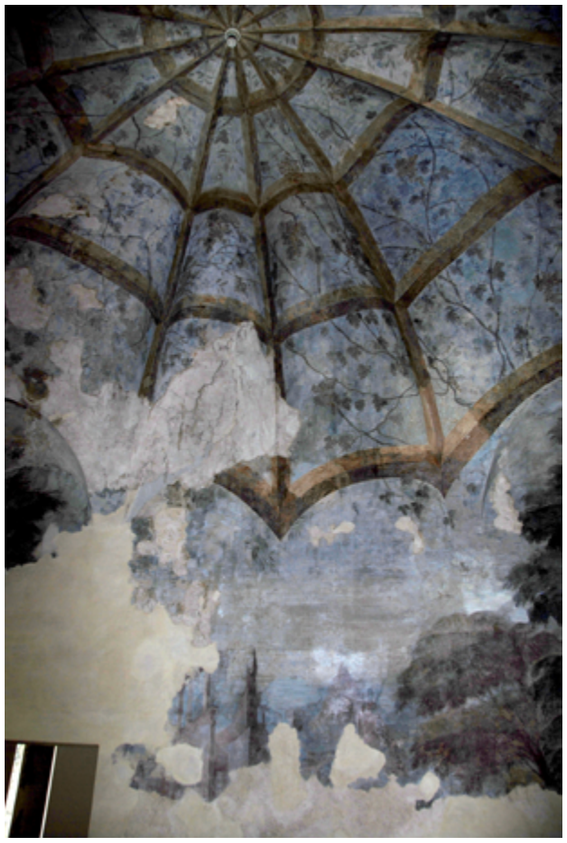
Photo: M. Danieli

5. Cesare Baglione, Landscapes and architectures, Parma, palazzetto Eucherio Sanvitale, room of Parmigianino (in lower left corner, the Virgin and Child by Parmigianino).

Photo: M. Danieli

6. Cesare Baglione, Landscapes, Parma, palazzetto Eucherio Sanvitale, room of the Velario.

Photo: M. Danieli



7. Cesare Baglione, Landscapes, Parma, palazzetto Eucherio Sanvitale, room of the Pergola.

Photo: M. Danieli

8. Cesare Baglione, Landscapes, Parma, palazzetto Eucherio Sanvitale, room of the Woods.

Photo: M. Danieli

9. Girolamo Mirola, Stories of the Orlando Innamorato, Parma, Ducal Palace, Room of the Kiss.

Photo: M. Danieli

10. Cesare Baglione, Man playing cello, Parma, palazzetto Eucherio Sanvitale, loggia (left); Cesare Baglione, Fisherman, San Marino di Bentivoglio (Bologna), villa Paleotta (right)

Photo: M. Danieli

Ll. Cesare Baglione, Bird, Parma, palazzetto Eucherio Sanvitale, hall (left); Cesare Baglione, Birds, Torrechiara, castle, room at first floor, vault (right)

Photo: M. Danieli

’ANTEEAT VIRTVS VIRTVTEM FAMA SEQVITVR’: The Paintings Decorating the Apartments in the Chateau Troja in Prague

Martin Mádl

The chateau on the outskirts of Prague which was later known as Troja chateau [Fig. 1] was commissioned by Count Wenzel Adalbert of Sternberg (1643–1708), who had it built in the garden on his lands close to the right bank of the River Vltava in the area known as Zadní Ovenec or Zadní Bubeneč near Prague (today the Troja district of Prague). This site already contained a mill and a nearby summer palace with two towers. Both of these older buildings, which have not been preserved, had been used for occasional stays by the owners and their guests, and for various leisure activities. Building work on the new Sternberg chateau began in 1678, when the foundations were laid. Initially, the chateau was constructed according to plans by the master-builder Giovanni Domenico Orsi (ca. 1633–1679), and in the 1680s the direction of the work was taken over by the French architect Jean Baptiste Mathey (ca. 1629–1695), who had trained in Rome. The building, together with its decoration and furnishings, was completed around 1700, but various alterations were carried out during the course of the eighteenth century.[1]

The chateau building stands in the middle of a garden, on a terrace below which a vaulted cellar and sala terrena are located. The *corps de logis* consists of a transverse wing in two sections, with two shorter wings added on the southern side at the ends. The dominant features of the main wing are the central pavilion – extending over five window bays, and raised by a false storey in which the upper part of the main hall is situated – and two *altana* towers on either end. On the ground floor there are two apartments, arranged symmetrically on each side of a central entrance passageway. Both the ground floor apartments consist of four vaulted rooms with ceiling paintings: an antechamber, chamber, cabinet and bedchamber.[2] Both apartments face north; on the south side there are a pair of corridors, at the end of which are matching spiral staircases to provide access to the first floor and the *altana* towers. In the short wings adjoining the south side of the main wing there are two further rooms whose decoration has not been preserved. Their original purpose is uncertain, but they may have served as dining halls.

The main hall crosses the centre of the first floor; light is provided by two rows of windows, one above the other, on the southern and northern sides. The ceiling of the hall is a plastered wooden vault with illusionistic paintings. The vault and walls of the hall are decorated with narrative and allegorical scenes. On either side of the hall is an apartment, each consisting of a chamber, a smaller cabinet, and a larger room that served as a bedchamber. These rooms have plastered ceilings with cavettos and are decorated with paintings and stuccowork.

1 This study had its origin as part of the grant project *Corpus of baroque ceiling painting in Czech Lands II: Giacomo Tencalla and patrons’ circle in 1670s–1680s*, supported by the Czech Science Foundation (reg. no. 408/09/0949). For the history of the Troja chateau and its decoration see especially Ješek Hofman, Zámek Troja u Prahy, *Časopis Společnosti přátel starožitností českých* 16, 1908, pp. 22–30, 84–95. – Idem, K dějinám stavby zámku trojského, *Časopis Společnosti přátel starožitností českých* 17, 1909, pp. 145–155. – Karel Vladimír Herain, Zámek Troja u Prahy, *Časopis Společnosti přátel starožitností českých* 17, Prague 1909, pp. 118–122. – Alžběta Birnbaumová, K dějinám zámku ‚Troja‘ u Prahy, *Památky archeologické* 35, 1927, pp. 404–418. – Eadem, Archívní materiál k dějinám stavby, výzdoby a zařízení zámku Troja u Prahy, *Památky archeologické* 35, 1927, pp. 618–623. – Eadem, *Stavební účty zámku Troja u Prahy*, Prague 1929. – Jiří Kropáček, Architekt J. B. Mathey a zámek Trója v Praze. Stavebník – umělec – pojetí díla, in: *Průměty výtvarného vývoje ve starším českém a světovém umění* (= Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Philosophica et Historica 1, Příspěvky k dějinám umění 4, 1987), Prague 1988, pp. 47–101. – Pavel Preiss – Mojmír Horyna – Pavel Zahradník, *Zámek Trója u Prahy. Dějiny, stavba, plastika a malba*, Praha – Litomyšl 2000. – Martin Mádl, Zámek Václava Vojtěcha ze Šternberka, apartmány v přízemí, in: Martin Mádl, *Tencalla II* (Barokní nástěnná malba v českých zemích), Prague 2013, pp. 479–515 (491–499).

2 A similar layout was later described by the German architect and theorist Johann Fridrich Penther in his didactical book: *Ausfürliche Anleitung zur Bürgerlichen Bau-Kunst* II, Augsburg 1745, p. 70, pl. XXIV.

The fact that there were apartments with chambers, cabinets, and bedchambers on both floors of the chateau is also indicated in an inventory of the furniture that was taken away from it by the dowager countess Clara Bernardina in 1709–1717.[3] Galleries adjoin the two apartments to the south, and the ceilings of these are also covered with figural paintings. In the south-western wing is another painted chamber (known as the Marble Salon), which may have served as a dining room. Opposite this, in the south-eastern wing, is a chapel decorated with stuccowork and paintings.

A report by the painter Francesco Marchetti (1641–1698), who came from Trent and to whom the Count entrusted the decoration of the rooms on the first floor of the chateau, gives an indication of how the building was seen by contemporaries while the paintings were still in progress. In a letter, sent from Prague to Teodoro Antonio a Prato in Trent on 11 December 1688, Marchetti describes his impressions of his first visit to the chateau, when Sternberg's wife Clara Bernardina of Maltzan showed him round and took him to the rooms where he would be working. The Troja, he wrote, was a magnificent palace, which the distinguished couple had had built for their diversion only half an hour's journey from Prague. The countess told him that the principal architect had spent more than a hundred thousand gulden on it, but that when it was finished, it would be possible to accommodate Caesar himself in the greatest comfort. It apparently surpassed any Roman building intended for leisure that the painter had seen in Tivoli or Frascati, with its extensive gardens, statues, grottoes, mechanical water features, fountains, and all other manner of delights that a refined mind might wish for. Further, the palace was situated at the base of some hills, which had two benefits: the hills formed an amphitheatre in the shape of a crescent, providing shelter from the winds from the north, and, because they faced south, the vineyards on them produced more than 600 casks of good wine every year. Marchetti recalled that he had been present for the grape harvest, which took place at the end of October, and that even peaches and other delicate fruits grew there; he was surprised that they flourished in a non-Italian climate.[4]

From Marchetti's report and the comparison with buildings in Tivoli and Frascati it would appear that he, and evidently the countess too, regarded the new chateau as a comfortable suburban summer palace, intended primarily for leisure and recreation.[5] The reference to it being possible to accommodate Caesar indicates that from the beginning Count Sternberg and his wife may have considered the possibility that the Emperor would be a guest there, and the decoration and furnishing were prepared with this in mind.[6]

The Painters Responsible for the Decoration of the Chateau Interiors

The decoration of Troja chateau presents a wide range of types and styles of wall painting. Until recently, however, it had only been possible to attribute and date the paintings on the first floor, as these were signed. For a long time the identity of the artists responsible for the ground floor paintings, which are evidently the work of several different hands, could not be determined. Among the oldest documents relating to the decoration of

3 *'…aus dem untern Schlafzimmer isabel und blaufarbige tafetene durchgenadte Dekhen. …aus dem gelben Zimmer in untern Stokh Beth von rothen Damaschk mit einer Cron, ist nacher Horaschdiowitz geschikt worden… Aus dem untern Cabinet: Scheribkasten von 10 Schuplaten, ausgelegt mit Spiegelarbeith… Aus dem Eckhzimmer gegen Weinberg… Himmelbeth von weisseiden Crepon mit grün undt andereferbig Blumen ausgenadt… Aus de Zimmer an der Saal: Lahnsesl von Nusbaumholtz überzogt mit Creutzelsticharbeit. …aus dem obern Cabineth ist geschiket worden N. 316. Bildt Salvator Mundi von Margeti.'* Quoted from Birnbaumová, Archivní materiál (see note 1), pp. 622–623.

4 *'E dovendosi l'E. S. fermarsi per qualche giorno à dar sesto alle cose de' sudditti, mi spedì a Praga in carrozza alla pollacha, con denaro e guide sicure, dove doppo si giorni intieri di viaggio, con qualche discomodo a causa dell'hosterie senza letti che di paglia, senza altre disgratie vi giongessimo. E presentate le lettere di S. E. alla Dama Cn.te Baronessa di Maltzan, ch'è un' heroina vera di questi secoli, mi accettò con generosità pari alla sua nascita, e trattò reggiamente. Mi condusse poi sopra luogo, dove devo far l'operatione: nel quale unanimemente ambi questi ecc.mi coniugati hano erretto un superbissimo pallazzo a fondamenti per loro divertimento, lunge mezz'hora da questa real città di Praga, che a quest'hora mi dice l'architetto principale che havevano speso cento e più milla taleri, e terminato che sarà si potrà albergar aggiatissimamente un Cesare; e statà di fronte d'ogni gran fabrica romana di spasso, che già vidi à Tivoli e Frascati, con giardini amplissimi, statue fatte venira dà Roma et altrove, grotte, giuochi d'acque, fontane, et altre delitie, che più desiderar si possi da mente delicata. E' poi situatto in mezzo à certe collinette, che fano due gran effetti, il primo è che le servono d'antemuralle alli venti acquillonari, in forma luna d'anfiteatro, et il secondo questo esposte verso il mezzogiorno, cariche tutte di vignalli, portano di tributto sopra seicento urne di vine, e buono – essendo io stato presente alle vendemia, che segui li ultimi d'ottobre, con persici, et altri delicatissimi frutti, che per esser fuori del clima Italliano, o almeno in vicinanza di quello, mi facevo gran meraviglia.'* Letter from the painter Francesco Marchetti dated 11 December 1688, from the private archive of the a Prato family, quoted from Antonio Rusconi, Il pittore Francesco Marchetti e la sua famigli, *Studi trentini di scienze storiche* 12, 1931, pp. 22–47 (34–36). – Pietro Delpero, *Francesco Marchetti, un pittore trentino tra Italia e Boemia (1641–1698)* (Dissertation Università degli Studi di Milano), Milan 1996, pp. 181–185.

5 Birnbaumová, Archívní materiál (see note 1), p. 619.

6 Carl Adolph Redel, *Das Sehenswürdige Prag*, Nuremberg – Prague 1710, p. 289, p. 289. – Pavel Zahradník, Stavební dějiny šternberského letohrádku, in: Preiss – Horyna – Zahradník (note 1), pp. 53–86 (75–78).

one of the ground floor rooms is a letter by the painter Giacomo Tencalla (1644–1689), written on 8 February 1687 from Bubeneč (the writer used the term '*Bobencio*'); his stay in Bubeneč was undoubtedly connected with the decoration of the Sternberg chateau.[7] On the basis of a formal analysis we can reliably attribute to Giacomo Tencalla the paintings of the myth of the Hesperides in the second room of the western apartment on the ground floor of the chateau. [Fig. 2] Previously they were attributed to Carpoforo Tencalla, and the composition is indeed similar to his, but at the time these paintings were executed, Carpoforo was already dead.[8] Wenzel Adalbert of Sternberg had been in contact with Giacomo Tencalla for several years, probably since around 1679, when he commissioned the painter to decorate the family chapel of St. Francis of Assisi in the church of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady attached to the monastery of the Irish Franciscans in the New Town district of Prague.[9]

Another valuable source for attributing the paintings on the ground floor of the chateau is the letter from Marchetti. After describing his impressions of the exterior appearance of the chateau, he described the areas where where he was to work. He called it the noblest place in the palace (*'più nobile sitto dell'palazzo'*), in other words the first floor. He observed that the whole of the ground floor had already been painted by various Bolognese, Milanese, Swiss, Flemish, Polish, and German artists, while he was responsible for the main hall, two galleries, and eight other rooms, which he was to decorate with frescoes and, in some areas, oil paintings. Additionally he would be able to work in stucco (in other words in fresco, on fresh intonaco) in winter, just as if it were summer, with the aid of portable stoves.[10]

We can assume that the Swiss painter mentioned by Marchetti was Giacomo Tencalla, who came from Bissone near Lake Lugano, in the canton of Ticino.[11] The reference to a Bolognese painter is interesting. There can be no doubt that the *quadratura* paintings in the antechambers of both the western and eastern apartments are the work of a painter who had come from Bologna and who was familiar with the paintings there. These high-quality works at Troja drew on the recent work by the Bolognese *quadraturisti* Angelo Michele Colonna and Agostino Mitelli. The fictive architectural details that form part of the decoration of these rooms in the chateau are similar to those in the hall and antechamber of the Czernin Palace in Prague. These designs, probably dating from 1696, are usually, in spite of certain reservations, attributed to Domenico Egidio Rossi (1659–1715).[12] Rossi came from the town of Fano on the Adriatic coast, but trained in Bologna as a *quadraturista*. He later worked as a master builder, and in contemporary correspondence is variously described as *'Mahler'*, *'Architectur Mahler'*, *'Architetto et pittore'*, or *'Ingenieur aus Bologna'*.[13] Rossi was first recorded outside of Italy in 1688; he was imprisoned in Prague by Count Sternberg on account of a debt of 50 gulden.[14] A year later Rossi was recorded in the service of Prince Johann Adam Andreas of Liechtenstein (1662–1712) in the chateau in Valtice, where he

7 The letter itself has been lost, but a brief reference to its existence was made by Alfredo Lienhard-Riva, *Armoriale Ticinese*, Laussanne 1945, p. 474, note 4), p. 474, note 4 (he assumed that *'Bobencio'* referred to the town of Böblingen in Wurttemberg.) See Jana Zapletalová, *'Jacobus Tencalla figlius Joannis de Bissone'*. The Origin and Life of painter Giacomo Tencalla, *Umění* 56, 2008, pp. 65–76 (70). – Jana Zapletalová, Il Misterioso Giacomo Tencalla ovvero il pittore Giacomo Tencalla alla luce dei documenti d'archivio, *Bollettino storico della Svizzera Italiana* 111, 2008, pp. 395–410 (404–405).

8 The connection between these paintings in Troja and the work of Carpoforo Tencalla was first observed by Milada Lejsková-Matyášová, Zlatá jablka Hesperidek v bájích, oranžeriích a nástropní malířství, *Dějiny a současnost* 9:4, 1967, s. 23–26. – Ingeborg Schemper-Sparholz, Von Trautenfels über Eisenstadt nach Prag. Die Hesperidenfresken Carpoforo Tencallas in Schloß Troia, in: Vít Vlnas – Tomáš Sekyrka (eds.), *Ars baculum vitae. Sborník studií z dějin umění a kultury k 70. narozeninám prof. PhDr. Pavla Preisse, DrSc.*, Prague 1996, pp. 143–149. For the attribution to Giacomo Tencalla see Martin Mádl, Distinguishing – Similarities – Style. Carpoforo and Giacomo Tencalla in Czech Lands, *Ars* 40, 2007, pp. 225–236 (231). – Idem, Giacomo Tencalla and ceiling painting in 17th-century Bohemia and Moravia, *Umění* 56, 2008, pp. 38–64 (50). – Martin Mádl, Giacomo Tencalla: un pittore dimenticato di Bissone e la sua opera in Boemia e in Moravia, *Bollettino storico della Svizzera Italiana* 111, 2008, pp. 357–394 (371–373). – Zapletalová, Jacobus Tencalla (see note 7). – Zapletalová, Il Misterioso (see note 7). – Mádl, Zámek Václava Vojtěcha (see note 1), pp. 491–499.

9 Martin Mádl, Bývalý hybernský kostel Neposkvrněného početí Panny Marie, in: Martin Mádl (ed.), *Tencalla* II *(Barokní nástěnná malba v českých zemích)*, Prague 2013, pp. 417–426.

10 *'E passando al mio affare, l'ecc.ma Padrona mi mostrò dove devo far le mie operationi, che è nel più nobile sitto dell'palazzo, ciovè in alto – essendo tutto il da basso a Terra già stato dipinto da pennelli diversi Bollognesi, Millanesi, Svizzeri, Fiaminghi, Pollachi, e Tedeschi; consistendo per me la gran Sala altissima, due gallerie, et otto camere, lavoro per il più in fresco, e parte in oglio, legato il tutto pret.te, nè stucchi operando qui nel fresco quanto l'estate a causa de' fornelli posticci, che dano il calore come è il bisogno.'* Quoted from Rusconi (see note 4), p. 36. – Delpero (note 4), p. 184. – Pavel Preiss, Sochařství a malířství Trojského zámku, in: Preiss – Horyna – Zahradník (note 1), pp. 131–265 (138–139).

11 See note 8.

12 State Regional Archives Třeboň / Jindřichův Hradec, Czernin Central Administration collection, Collection of maps and plans, folder VII, nos. 128–132.

13 Günter Passavant, *Studien über Domenico Egidio Rossi und seine baukünstlerische Tätigkeit innerhalb des süddeutschen und österreichischen Barock*, Karlsruhe 1967, pp. 9, 158, 190, 200–201, notes 32–33, documents I, XVII, XVIII.

14 This information is based on excerpts from the town council manuals nos. 1679 and 1550, found in the papers left by Jan Herain in the Prague City Archives. This was noted by Vilém Lorenc – Karel Třiska, *Černínský palác v Praze*, Prague 1980, p. 110, note 6. See also Věra Naňková, Domenico Rossi, in: Pavel Vlček (ed.), *Encyklopedie architektů, stavitelů, zedníků a kameníků v Čechách*, Prague 2004, pp. 557–558 (557).

painted four rooms.[15] Around 1690 he designed the garden palace in Rossau near Vienna for the Prince. The original design for the Liechtenstein palace with its accentuated central avant-corps and facades has several features in common with the Troja chateau. However, the Rossau palace was completed by Domenico Martinelli (1650–1718), who altered Rossi's designs.[16] Rossi was then employed by Count Thomas Zacchaeus Czernin of Chudenitz (1660–1700) on his Möllersdorf estates south of Vienna. On the recommendation of Czernin, the count's brother Hermann Jakob then employed Rossi at his palace in the Hradčany district of Prague.[17] However, Rossi's tenure at the Czernin Palace came to an abrupt end due to a violent encounter with the stucco artist Giovanni Pietro Pilliardi. In the evening of 20 December 1692, as Rossi was returning home from the palace in Hradčany with some friends, when he met Palliardi in front of Eggenberg House (formerly the Lobkowicz Palace, later the Schwarzenberg Palace) and let himself be provoked into a fight, during which both artists drew their weapons. The bloody brawl ended in the narthex of the nearby monastery church of St. Benedict. Rossi himself subsequently submitted a report of the incident, claiming that Palliardi barged into him as he was passing by and provoked him by placing his hand on his sword. Palliardi asked him whether he had come to Prague for the same thing he had received there some years before (presumably, he meant his former punishment) – according to Rossi, on the instigation of false declarations by the Frenchman Mathey. Upon which Rossi, feeling his life was in danger and his honour affronted, hit Palliardi with the stick he was carrying. Palliardi, who was said to be totally dependent on Jean Baptiste Mathey, hurried to report the incident to Count Wenzel of Sternberg, and the whole affair was blown out of proportion. The count, who was 'slightly disgusted' by Rossi, took the side of Palliardi. Mathey, whom Rossi described as his greatest professional enemy, also supported Palliardi. Count Sternberg and Mathey prevented Rossi from doing any further work for Czernin.[18] After the conflict with Palliardi, the Burgrave of Prague, Adolf Vratislav of Sternberg, had an arrest warrant issued for Rossi for desecrating a sacred place. In the document, Rossi was described as a painter who passed himself off as a master builder (*'ein gewisser Maler, jetzt aber der Profession nach für einen Baumeister sich ausgebender Domenico Rossi'*). Rossi then had to go into hiding, first in Prague, then in the Mělník region, before finally leaving for Vienna. In the autumn of 1693 he returned briefly to Prague, where he was arrested and interrogated together with Palliardi. In early June 1694

15 The paintings for Prince Liechtenstein are mentioned by Rossi himself in his statement about the dispute with Palliardi. State Regional Archives Třeboň / Jindřichův Hradec, Czernin Central Administration collection, fasc. 742, fol. 580–583 (see especially fol. 582). The statement is quoted by Passavant (note 13), pp. 109–123. The final points of Rossi's statement are missing in Passavant's version. See also Věra Naňková, Domenico Rossi (note 14), p. 557.

16 The connections between Troja and the Liechtenstein palace in Rossau have already been described by Passavant (note 13), pp. 109–123, 180, note 185. See also Helmut Lorenz – Wilhelm Georg Rizzi, Domenico Egidio Rossi, Die Originalpläne für das Wiener Gartenpalais Liechtenstein, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 33, 1980, pp. 177–179. – Hellmut Lorenz, *Domenico Martinelli und die österreichische Barockarchitektur*, Vienna 1991, pp. 42–45, 250–253.

17 On Rossi's work for the Czernins and the designs mentioned above, see Johann Joseph Morper, *Das Czerninpalais in Prag*, Prague 1940, pp. 63–70, 72, 85, 119–120, 143, 164–165; Passavant (note 13) – he questions whether Rossi was responsible for the work). – Věra Naňková, Günter Passavant, Studien über Domenico Egidio Rossi und seine baukünstlerische Tätigkeit innerhalb des süddeutschen und österreichischen Barock, Karlsruhe 1967 (review), *Umění* 16, 1968, pp. 308–314. – Emanuel Poche – Pavel Preiss, *Pražské paláce*, Prague 1973, pp. 149–154; Lorenc – Tříska (note 14), pp. 109–118. – Pavel Preiss, *Italští umělci v Praze. Renesance – manýrismus – baroko*, Prague 1986, pp. 270–273, pp. 265–270. – Mojmír Horyna, Černínský palác a jeho tvůrci v barokní době, in: Mojmír Horyna – Pavel Zahradník – Pavel Preiss, *Černínský palác v Praze*, Prague 2001, pp. 73–181 (149–158). – Ulrike Seeger, Giovanni Battista Madernas Dekorationsentwürfe für das Palais Czernin aud dem Hradschin in Prag, *Umění* 56, 2006, pp. 523–530. – Anna Maria Matteucci, Quadratura e scenografia: i bolognesi in Europa, in: Sabine Frommel (ed.), *Crocevia e capitale della migrazione artistica: forestieri a Bologna e bolognesi nel mondo (secolo XVII)*, Bologna 2012, pp. 223–246 (239–245). – Martin Mádl, I soffitti barocchi bolognesi in Boemia, in: Sabine Frommel (ed.), *Crocevia e capitale della migrazione artistica: forestieri a Bologna e bolognesi nel mondo (secolo XVIII)*, Bologna 2013, pp. 343–364 (355–360).

18 *'Ritrovandomi io in Praga al servitio di S[ua] E[ccelenza] il S[ignor] Conte Hermanno Czernin in qualità d'architetto e partendomi il giorno sud[detto] su la sera verso le 4 dalla casa di S[ua] E[ccelenza] con Antonio Manini e Lazaro Sanguinitti, ambi pittori, e miei amici, per andare alla posta ed essendo in viaggio e' incontrassimo in faccia alla chiesa di S. Bened[etto] in un certo Canale Paeta, che firmatosi a discorere tornò poi adietro con noi, dicendo delle barzellette solite di simili gente. Onde avanzatosi noi alquanti passi in faccia giusto alla casa del S[ignor] Principe d'Echenbergh, ci si scoperse il Paliardi sud[detto], che passò in mezzo a due di noi, e dando a me una spallata mi dimandò in oltre se vi vedevo lume, al che similmente le riposi con una mano nel petto, dicendole che perciò tiratosi indietro qualche passi, e messo mano alla spada, minacciava con q[ues]ta et con ingiuriose parole mi provocava dimandandomi anche di più, se ero venuto a Praga per il resto cioè di quello ricevei anni sono a instigazioni d'un tal Mattei francese et attestazione sue false, come tutto il mondo sa e come più avanti si sentirà, che mi violentò talmen[te] e m'obligò per diffesa della vita, e sgravio della riputazione a darli un paio di bastonate con una canna, che ordinariamente solevo portare... Onde per tal accidente il sopranominato Paliardi, come afatto dipendente dal sopradetto Gio[vanni] Battista Mattei francese, corse immediatamente da egli e poi come s'intende dal E[ccelenza] S[ua] Co[nte] Wenceslao di Sternbergh e rapresentandole le cose molto più grande del sucesso obligò quello, cioè il Mattei, à darli la mano come fautore di tutte le cose et mio capitale nemico a causa della professione, et impegnò questo, cioè S[ua] E[ccelenza] il S[ignor] Co[nte] Wenceslao a diffenderlo, come un poco disgustato meco, perchè non ho potuto continuare a servirlo in certe occasioni di pittura…'* Statement by Domenico Egidio Rossi, State Regional Archives Třeboň / Jindřichův Hradec, Czernin Central Administration collection, fasc. 742, fol. 580–583. See aslo Passavant (note 13), pp. 195–197, document VII. I am grateful to Jana Zapletalová and Barbara Zane for kindly helping with the interpretation of the Italian text.

he was released on bail and soon returned to Vienna, where he worked for the Czernin family and various other patrons, among them the Bolognese Field Marshal Count Enea Silvio Caprara (1631–1701). Around the year 1695 he is said to have been involved in decorating the imperial chateau of Schönbrunn.[19] Later he left for the Baden region and worked for the Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm (1655–1707) at Rastatt and other sites. On several occasions, however, he came into conflict with his employers.[20]

Several of these reports of Domenico Egidio Rossi's activities in Prague show that the painter and architect had been in contact with Wenzel Adalbert of Sternberg and Mathey before 1692 and indicate that he worked for them in Troja. By 1688 Rossi had left Troja and Prague on bad terms. Taking into account the character of Rossi's work, it is highly probable that the *quadrature* on the ground floor of Troja chateau were painted by him in 1687–1688. We can assume that in the antechamber of the western apartment of the chateau, where there is a figural scene in an architectural setting, the *quadrature* painter worked with a figure painter, as this was the standard practice of the period. These figures were likely the work of the same artist who painted the frescoes of Apollo's sun chariot (today badly damaged) in the passageways of the Hrzan family chateau Červený Hrádek, the construction of which was probably overseen by Jean Baptiste Mathey. An inventory from 1684 describes the paintings in the eight upper rooms in Červený Hrádek as the work of the painter Francesco Bartolomeo Morialdi, who originally came from Venice but settled in Prague in 1671 and was accepted as a member of the painters' guild in Prague's Old Town in 1676.[21] The ceiling paintings in the chateau at Lysá nad Labem, rebuilt by Count Franz Anton von Sporck in 1696, are also similar to the painterly style of the same artist. I suggest that Morialdi was the painter responsible for the figural motifs in the antechamber of the western apartment on the ground floor of Troja chateau. [Fig. 3]

Unfortunately we do not know the names of the Milanese, Poles, and Germans, who, according to Marchetti, were supposed to have also worked on the paintings in Troja, nor do we know exactly in which rooms they worked. The reference to Flemish artists is also important. Part of the decoration of the chateau, the main central hall and the two galleries on the first floor, is signed and dated by the Antwerp painter Abraham Godyn.[22] It had been thought that Godyn was not invited to Prague until 1690 and that he began his career at the Troja by decorating the two galleries. However, the style of the paintings in the cabinets on the ground floor of the chateau and in the eastern bedroom is very similar to Godyn's style, especially to his work in the galleries. In view of Marchetti's report of a Flemish painter being present, it is possible that Abraham Godyn was already at work in the chateau before 1688. This would fit in with the mention in Dlabacz's lexicon, according to which Godyn was summoned to Prague in 1687.[23] If so, he would have executed the paintings on the first floor later; the one in the eastern gallery in front of the chapel is signed and dated 1690. The Flemish artist's work culminated in the monumental decoration of the main hall, begun in 1693 or slightly earlier and completed in 1697.[24] In this period, 1688–1690, Francesco Marchetti and his son Giovanni Francesco (1668–1694) were employed in the chateau, decorating two apartments and the chapel on the first floor.[25] In 1690, after completing these paintings, and in spite of his strong protests, Count Sternberg dismissed Marchetti and replaced him with Godyn. Sternberg's decision about whom to entrust with the decoration of the main hall was evidently arrived at through various consultations. The count asked a certain Bartolomeus Cortini from Bologna for advice on how to proceed with the decoration of the main hall. Cortini replied in a letter of 28 February 1690, in which he stated that he had asked painters in the town about the matter, and recommended that the count employ two painters, one to paint the architecture and the other for the figural work, because the one who could paint the figures would not be able to do the architecture well, and vice versa. Furthermore, both painters would be able to work at the same

19 Morper (see note 17), pp. 67–70. – Wilhelm Georg Rizzi, Der Festsaal des Palais Caprara, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 43, 1989, pp. 26–32. – Věra Naňková, Domenico Rossi (see note 14), pp. 557–558.

20 Passavant (see note 13), pp. 11–20. – Naňková (see note 14). – Ulrike Seeger, I bolognesi nel castello di Rastatt, in: Frommel 2012 (see note 17), pp. 141–156.

21 Věra Naňková, *Červený Hrádek*, Chomutov 1974.

22 Herain (see note 1). – Preiss, Sochařství a malířství (note 10), pp. 171–172.

23 Gottfried Johann Dlabacž, *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon für Böhmen und zum Theil auch für Mähren und Schlesien* I, Prag 1815, p. 476. I, p. 476.

24 Preiss, Sochařství a malířství (see note 10), pp. 172–265.

25 Karel Herain, *České malířství od doby rudolfinské do smrti Reinerovy. Příspěvky k dějinám jeho vnitřního vývoje v letech 1576–1743,* Praha 1915, pp. 97–99. – Rusconi (see note 4). – Preiss, *Italští umělci* (note 17), pp. 270–273. – Delpero (see note 4), pp. 181–185.

time, each on their own side, and so they would be able to finish the work in half a year, while it would take a single painter a whole year.[26] Other painters became involved in the decoration of the chateau in the eighteenth century.[27]

The Iconography of the Paintings Decorating Troja Chateau

On the ground floor of the chateau, *quadri riportati* alternate with painted *quadratura* and *di sotto in sù* views. They are the work of various artists and are based on a variety of source material. They differ from each other in character, quality, technique, and style to such an extent that previously no unifying concept could be found that might provide a connection between the different rooms. The ground floor rooms were therefore regarded as a sort of *sala terrena*, an architectural feature which is usually associated with the encroachment of natural elements into the structure, and for which a heterogeneous and grotesque decoration was supposed to be appropriate.[28] In my view, however, the ground floor rooms had a different function. The role of the *sala terrena* was planned for the rooms situated below the massive terrace on which the chateau stands and open into the stairwell of the large garden staircase with the sculpture of the *Fall of the Giants*. The layout of the rooms on the ground floor, as we pointed out earlier, indicates that they formed two independent apartments, each consisting of an antechamber, chamber, cabinet, and bedchamber. In addition, it would seem that the themes of the paintings were adapted to suit the function of the rooms.

A substantial part of the decoration in three ground floor rooms consists of high-quality *quadrature*, evidently the work of Domenico Egidio Rossi. These paintings conform to contemporary works of Bolognese decorative painting and were without parallel in Central Europe at the time they were painted. The allegorical painting contained in the *quadratura* in the antechamber of the western apartment depicts the choice between Virtue and Pleasure. In the upper part of the composition Saturn (Chronos) drives a golden chariot drawn by a pair of white horses. In the lower part of the painting, on the left, Minerva sits on a rose-tinted cloud, clad in antique armour; in this context she is a personification of Virtue. To the left of Minerva an amorino with a pink sash hovers holding a laurel wreath, the symbol of victory; he is a personification of Love of Virtue (*Amor di Virtù*).[29] A winged youth with a pink sash flies up from below, clasping in his hands a closed golden ring, the symbol of infinity; he represents Eternity (*Eternità*).[30] To the right of Minerva the winged figure of Fame (*Fama*) stands with trumpets in both hands. Twined round the trumpet in his outstretched left hand is a banderol with the Latin device ANTEEAT VIRT[VS], VIRTVTE[M] FAMA SEQ[VITVR] (If virtue comes first, it will be followed by fame). With a gesture of his raised left hand holding the trumpet, Fame drives away a winged youth offering a bouquet of roses, which are the attribute of Pleasure (*Voluttà*).[31] To the right hovers an amorino with the disc of the sun in his right hand, an allegory of Truth (*Verità*).[32] [Fig. 3] This allegorical painting can be understood as the choice to follow those virtues that lead to fame and eternity, and to reject worldly delights and pleasures, which bring with them ruin and oblivion. The personifications and attributes that we have described are regularly used in depictions of Hercules at the crossroads. Some of them can be found in an engraving by Friedrich Sustris and Johannes Sadeler from 1597, dedicated to the Bavarian Elector Maximilian I, in which Hercules is portrayed at the crossroads between Virtue and Pleasure.[33] A painting with Hercules at the crossroads between Virtue and Pleasure, painted by Annibale Carracci, was originally included on the ceiling of a cabinet in the Palazzo Farnese in Rome.[34] A similar motif appears in a painting in the piano nobile in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence. At

26 *´Quando ho potuto caminare, ho girato per la città e parlato a quasi tutti i pittori, ma mi hanno detto che per l'ordinario chi fa bene in figure, non fa bene in quadratura et in architettura, e chi fa bene in questa non fa nbene nell'altra e chi mai s'è trovato uno perfetto nell'una e nell'altra cosa. Mi dicono poi una ragione che mi pare grande e totalmente mi convince, et è che si pigliamo uno che faccia di figure et quadratura, starà un 'anno a far un opera e due la faranno in sei mesi e tal'hora anche prima, perchè più si aiutano et uno dipinge da una parte et un altro dall'altra.'* Quoted from Birnbaumová, Archívní materiál (see note 1), p. 619.

27 Pavel Zahradník, Osudy trojského zámku po smrti stavebníkově, in: Preiss – Horyna - Zahradník (see note 1), pp. 266–287.

28 Preiss, Sochařství a malířství (see note 10), p. 139.

29 Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, Venice 1645, pp. 25–26.

30 Ibidem, p. 189.

31 Ibidem, p. 684

32 Ibidem, pp. 665–666.

33 Barbara Susan Maxwell, *The Court Art of Friedrich Sustris. Patronage in Late Renaissance Bavaria*, Farnham 2011, pp. 202–206.

34 Pietro Bellori, *Le Vite de Pittori, Scultori et Architetti moderni*, Rome 1672, pp. 33–35. – John Rupert Martin, Immagini della Virtù: The Paintings of the Camerino Farnese, *The Art Bulletin* 38, 1956, pp. 91–112.

the beginning of the series of what are known as the Planetary Rooms is the first antechamber, called the Venus Room. On its vault, in a stucco frame, is a painting by Cortona depicting Pallas Athena snatching the young duke from the arms of Venus, who is accompanied by companions with floral wreaths and garlands, and sending him on a journey of honour and eternal fame, on which he will be accompanied by Hercules and Love of Virtue.[35]

The paintings in the next room illustrate the story of the Hesperides and copy older paintings by Carpoforo Tencalla in the chateaux in Trautenfels (Styria) and Eisenstadt (Burgenland), and by Giacomo Tencalla in Roudnice nad Labem and Lnáře. In one of the scenes we find *Hercules Slaying the Dragon Ladon* [Fig. 4], which is an example of Virtue and is reminiscent of the decoration of the Mars Room in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence; both rooms include images of various heroes from antiquity. The painting in the cabinet in Troja chateau is of the *Celebration of the Hero and his Raising up among the Olympians*, which is the warrior's reward for his virtuous deeds. [Fig. 5] This painting reproduces Cortona's fresco in the Jupiter Room of the Palazzo Pitti. All these rooms thus have a logical connection and progression; the figural themes at the Troja reflect the decoration of the Planetary Rooms on the first floor of the Palazzo Pitti in Florence. [Fig. 6] In the last room in this series, reliefs from antiquity from the Column of Constantine in Rome served as models. The motif of the sacrifices of hunters in the Temple of Diana and the motif of Luna pursued by Aurora, evoking the alternation of night and day, indicate that this corner room served as a bedchamber. [Fig. 7] In view of the choice of themes we may suppose that this was the apartment of the count.[36]

In the antechamber of the eastern apartment we find decorative *quadrature* with motifs based on the Sternberg star but no figural elements. [Fig. 8] In the neighbouring chamber the vault is dominated by the motif of the Sternberg star, supplemented on the vault faces by the coats of arms of Wenzel Adalbert of Sternberg and Clara Bernardina of Maltzan and allegories of Virtues. [Figs. 9, 10] On the ceiling of the cabinet the *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne* is found. [Fig. 11] This painting is based on the theme and composition of the Carracci painting in the gallery of the Palazzo Farnese in Rome. [Fig. 12] The central feature of the decoration of the last room is a painting of the *Triumph of Truth and Time* [Fig. 13], the model for which was a print reproducing Poussin's painting of the same subject in the Richelieu Palace in Paris.[37] Four smaller paintings on the vault faces represent deities of antiquity in repose, adopted from Cortona's paintings in the lunettes of the Jupiter Room in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence. In this room, too, the choice of subjects indicates that it was intended as a bedchamber. In the apartment as a whole, the frescoes celebrate the bond of marriage and family ties. We may assume that it was the apartment of the countess.

References to the decoration of the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, specifically to the central painting by Cortona in the Venus Room with the *Virtue Saving the Young Duke from the Arms of Venus* [Fig. 14], are also found on the first floor of Troja chateau. Of particular interest is the adaptation of this subject on the ceiling of the first room of the eastern apartment as it is approached from the main hall, which was painted by Francesco Marchetti and his son, probably shortly after his arrival, towards the end of 1688, and which is composed of allegories taken from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*. In the central bay of the ceiling, in the centre of a scene set in the clouds, is a personification of Adolescence (*Adolescenza*), in the form of a youth in colourful antique clothing, with a wreath on his head, a harp, a mirror and an hourglass at his feet.[38] The youth is fleeing from the comfortable bed of Venus, personifying Pleasure (*Voluttà*),[39] behind whom stands the naked figure of Sensuality (*Lussuria*).[40] The

35 Walther Vitzthum, *Pietro da Cortona a Palazzo Pitti*, Milan 1965. – Malcolm Campbell, *Pietro da Cortona at the Pitti Palace: A Study of the Planetary Rooms and Related Projects*, Princeton 1977 and Charles Dempsey's review of this book in *The Art Bulletin* 61, 1979, pp. 141–144. – Malcolm Campbell, Cortona tra Firenze e Roma, in: Anna Lo Bianco (ed.), *Pietro da Cortona* (1597–1669), Milan 1997, pp. 99–106. – Markus Hundemer, *Rhetorische Kunsttheorie und barocke Deckenmalerei. Zur Theorie der sinnlichen Erkenntnis im Barock*, Regensburg 1997, pp. 155–156. – Elisabeth Oy-Marra, Pietro da Cortona e il linguaggio della decorazione secentesca: proposte per una rilettura degli affreschi di Palazzo Pitti, in: Christoph Luitpold Frommel – Sebastian Schütze (eds.), *Pietro da Cortona* (= Atti del convegno internazionale Rome – Firenze 12–15 novembre 1997), Rome 1998, pp. 163–175. – Wolfger A. Bulst, ‚Sic itur ad astra.' L'iconografia degli affreschi di Pietro da Cortona a Palazzo Pitti, in: Gabriella Capecchi – Amelio Fara – Detlef Heikamp (eds.), *Palazzo Pitti. La reggia rivelata*, Florence 2003, pp. 241–265. – Steffi Roettgen, *Italian Frescoes. Baroque Era*, New York – London 2007, pp. 164–165. – Jörg M. Merz – Anthony F. Blunt, *Pietro da Cortona and Roman Baroque Architecture*, Yale 2007.

36 Mádl, Zámek Václava Vojtěcha (see note 1).

37 This connection was pointed out by by David Bareš, Nikolas Poussin v Trójí: Nástropní freska Triumf pravdy má svoji předlohu, *Dějiny a současnost* 33, 2011, p. 7.

38 Ripa (see note 29), p. 7.

39 Ibidem, p. 684.

40 Ibidem, pp. 381–382.

youth is welcomed with open arms by the heroic figure of Virtue, personified by Minerva in antique armour with an owl on her helmet, a sword at her side and a shield in her left hand. An amorino hovers next to Minerva, bearing her lance (*Virtù*).[41] Around this central scene, the subject of which is similar to that of the painting by Cortona, duels are taking place between other Virtues and Vices.[42] [Fig. 15]

The main theme of the decoration in the neighbouring cabinet in the eastern apartment on the first floor is that of the three Theological Virtues seated in heaven. In their midst sits Nobility (*Nobiltà*) in the form of a richly dressed woman with a sceptre and an eight-pointed star above her head, while Fortune (*Fortuna*) pours into her lap insignia of monarchical, ecclesiastical and military power in the form of a crown, a tiara and a helmet. An amorino removes the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece from among these attributes and gives it to Nobility. It is possible to see in the figure of Nobility a personification of the Sternberg dynasty (indicated by the star); not long before the painting was made, in 1687, a member of the family, Ulrich Adolf Vratislav of Sternberg, the High Burgrave of the Kingdom of Bohemia, was decorated with the Order of the Golden Fleece, and Wenzel Adalbert evidently hoped he would be awarded it as well. He finally received this honour ten years later, in 1699. Two paintings on the shorter side of the cabinet represent further allegories taken from Ripa's *Iconologia*.[43] The decoration of the final room in this series, located in the north-eastern corner opposite the chapel, which evidently served as a bedchamber, again relates to the motif of the choice between virtue and vice. In the central field of the ceiling, round which runs an inscription with the name of Sternberg and his wife ('VENCESLAVs ADALBERT. CLARA BERNARDINA'), personifications of Virtues are depicted. In their centre is a personification of Free Will (*Libero Arbitrio*), a kneeling youth in antique clothing with the cloak of a monarch, a crown on his head and a sceptre with the letter 'Y' at the top, which was explained, with reference to Pythagoras, as symbolising the crossroads of life; it often appeared in scenes of Hercules at the Crossroad.[44] The young ruler, crowned by Love of Virtue (*Amor di Virtù*),[45] is led by Divine Wisdom in the armour of antiquity, holding a shield with the dove of the Holy Spirit and a sealed book and with the lamb of the Apocalypse at his feet (*Sapienza Divina*).[46] The ruler is accompanied on the path of honour and heroism by Conscience (*Coscienza*), with a heart and the Greek inscription 'OIKEIA ΣINEΣIΣ' (personal honour or conscience).[47] The young man leaves behind him on the left Delight or Pleasure (*Diletto* or *Voluttà*), a garlanded, sensual woman with a horn of plenty and a thyrsus wreathed with flowers.[48] Here we once again come across the moral theme of the choice between virtue and pleasure.[49] [Fig. 16]

In the first room of the apartment to the west of the main hall there is a ceiling painting which has been only partially preserved. It represents the gods of Olympus in the clouds, with a girl hovering in their midst with butterfly's wings and on her breast a star, the heraldic symbol of the Sternberg dynasty. The scene is accompanied by the Latin motto 'FRVSTRA / CONANTVR' [Vain Endeavours]. In smaller cartouches surrounding the central scene personifications of the Winds (*Venti*) are depicted.[50] In this context the motto expresses the conviction that external forces cannot turn virtuous people aside from the path of honour and heroism. The decoration paraphrases an emblem from the collection *Theatrum Honoris & Amoris* by Orazio Antonio Carrara, published in Brixen in 1687, not long before Marchetti's paintings were made, and illustrated by Egidius Schor (1627–1701) and the engraver Christian Friedrich à Lapide. The '*Frustra Contantur*' is accompanied by a picture of a castle on a rocky cliff in the midst of a stormy sea, fanned by the winds from four sides. The painting can be interpreted as an allegory of Sternberg honour raised up among the Olympians, impervious to the attacks of enemies and external influences.[51] The neighbouring cabinet is decorated with a painting of a half-naked girl, evidently personifying Truth (*Verità*), accompanied by the winged figure of Fame (*Fama*) with a trumpet, from which flies the Sternberg

41 Ibidem, pp. 672–673.
42 Mádl, Zámek Václava Vojtěcha (see note 1).
43 Delpero (see note 4), pp. 121–123. – Preiss, Sochařství a malířství (see note 10), pp. 165–166.
44 Ripa (see note 29), p. 374.
45 Ibidem, pp. 25–26.
46 Ibidem, pp. 545–546.
47 Ibidem, pp. 73–74.
48 Ibidem, pp. 150, 684.
49 Delpero (see note 4), pp. 123–125; Preiss, Sochařství a malířství (see note 10), pp. 166–168. – Mádl, Zámek Václava Vojtěcha (see note 1).
50 Ripa (see note 29), pp. 655–657.
51 Delpero (see note 4), pp. 115–118; Preiss, Sochařství a malířství (see note 10), pp. 160–162.

standard, and an amorino with the golden ring of eternity; at the girl's feet a winged woman tears out the tongue of the writhing figure of Slander (*Maledicenza*) with pincers. In smaller cartouches to the sides are paintings of putti; two boys at the sides hold the monograms 'S' with the Sternberg star and 'M' with the Maltzan hare.[52] In the last of the western series of rooms, which is situated in the north-western corner and served as a bedchamber, the allegorical depiction of the *Triumph of Time Revealing Truth* appears once more; this subject had been painted previously by another painter in the bedchamber in the north-eastern corner on the ground floor. Here, too, the main subject-matter is accompanied by personifications taken from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*.[53] Marchetti also decorated the chateau chapel on the first floor of the eastern *avant-corps*, not only with allegorical frescoes on the ceiling, but also with a painting on the altar and a passion cycle hung on the walls.[54]

On the wooden vault of the corridor leading to the chapel, the scene of the *Assumption of Our Lady with the Holy Trinity* was painted by Abraham Godyn, who replaced Marchetti on the first floor of the chateau in 1690. The damaged painting on the vault of the western gallery on the first floor, attributed to Godyn, once again paraphrases Cortona's painting in the Venus Room of the Palazzo Pitti, with a young aristocrat whom Minerva rescues from the bed of Venus and places under the protection of Virtue, represented by Hercules, and a personification of Love of Virtue.[55] [Fig. 17]

The paintings in the main hall depict a magnificent celebration of the Catholic Church and the House of Habsburg, in a complicated program that highlights the role of the reigning emperor Leopold I. [Figs. 18, 19] Abraham Godyn executed the hall's decoration according to a program thought to be based on an anonymous text preserved in the Lobkowicz library. In the centre of the vault painting a symbol of the Holy Trinity appears in an aureole, in the form of a triangle with God's name inscribed in it. The three Theological Virtues appear nearby, dominated by Faith, which is personified by a figure clothed in white with a golden cope, holding a chalice and cross. Above him hover cherubs with the papal tiara. Below this angels and the attributes of the four evangelists are depicted. Opposite these figures St. Leopold holds aloft the banner of Lower Austria with golden larks on a blue field. To the sides and in the corners of the central vault scene figural groups represent the allies of the Holy League. The north-western corner features a group led by the Polish King John III Sobieski with a Turkish standard turned upside down and a group of Turkish captives. In the south-eastern corner, representing Venice, St. Mark kneels with a lion and holds a bowl with the keys of conquered towns and fortresses above his head. On the opposite side in the south-western corner, SS. Peter and Paul are depicted, the former personifying the papal see. In the north-western corner are personifications of Austria and Hungary. On the eastern vault face is a scene, which according to historical description, represents *Albrecht of Habsburg before Emperor Konrad of Bavaria after his victory over the Saracens*. On the eastern side is a depiction of the *Temple of Janus*, into whose open doors soldiers push back the horrors of war that had been released. The motifs depicted on the vault faces of the longer sides of the hall are as follows: on the north side is *The Wedding of Philip the Fair and Joanna of Castile*, representing the union of the House of Habsburg with the Spanish crown; opposite this is a scene showing *Charles V handing over the imperial title to Ferdinand I and the Spanish crown to Philip II*; on the eastern wall *Rudolf of Habsburg provides a horse to a priest hurrying to take the sacrament to a sick person*; on the opposite wall the *Triumph of Leopold I* depicts the Emperor's victory over the Turks. The spaces above the fireplaces are painted with allegories of Justice and Victory while the side walls are decorated with illusionistic paintings of chiaroscuro statues and busts of Habsburg rulers. In addition to the themes that have been mentioned, the conceptual scheme of the decoration includes a whole series of other allegories, symbols, emblems, and heraldic and epigraphic motifs. The complicated conceptual scheme of the allegorical paintings on the vault and walls of the hall has already been mapped out in detail on the basis of the preserved program, and interpreted with a view to the broader context of cultural history by Pavel Preiss.[56] The composition of the painting indicates a connection with the nearly contemporary fresco by the Jesuit painter Andrea Pozzo in the church of S. Ignazio in Rome.[57]

52 Delpero (see note 4), pp. 113–115; Preiss, Sochařství a malířství (see note 10), pp. 159–160.
53 Delpero (see note 4), pp. 110–113; Preiss, Sochařství a malířství (see note 10), pp. 157–159.
54 Delpero (see note 4), pp. 125–145; Preiss, Sochařství a malířství (see note 10), pp. 168–170. – Mádl, Zámek Václava Vojtěcha (see note 1).
55 Mádl, Zámek Václava Vojtěcha (see note 1), p. 506.
56 Preiss – Horyna – Zahradník (note 1), pp. 289–304. For the conceptual scheme of the decoration of the main hall see Helena Smetáčková, K ikonografii výzdoby císařského sálu vily Trója v Praze, *Umění* 16, 1968, pp. 69–71. – Helena Smetáčková-Čižinská, Der Kaisersaal im Schloß Troja in Prag, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 28, 1974, pp. 145–161. – Preiss, Sochařství a malířství (note 10), pp. 172–252.
57 Alfred Piffl, Příspěvek k perspektivě A. Godyna, *Umění* 12, 1940, pp. 409–414. – Pavel Preiss, Barokní ilusivní nástěnná malba architektur v Čechách a

The paintings decorating the Sternberg Troja chateau, especially those executed between 1687–1697, represent a unique and revolutionary initiative in the history of Central European ceiling painting. This is due to the evident (although not completely satisfied) interest of Count Sternberg in the quality of the paintings, and to the unique conceptual scheme, reflecting Italian, and to a lesser extent French, trends in the field of the decoration of aristocratic and monarchical residences. The influence of major Italian and French projects was due to the count's experiences on his grand tour of European cultural centres undertaken with his brothers in 1662–1664. As we know from his journal, during this grand tour he had the opportunity to acquaint himself with a number of important residences and their interior decoration. Among other such residences he viewed the Palazzo Farnese in Rome and the Palazzo Pitti in Florence. Later on he had selected paintings from these palaces reproduced in Troja.[58]

Imitations of important paintings such as those by the Carracci in the Palazzo Farnese and Cortona's work in the apartment of the Grand Duke Ferdinand II Medici in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence were facilitated by albums of prints published just before the paintings in Troja chateau were executed. The most important of these were the *Galleriae Farnesianae Icones* (1677) and *Heroicae virtutis imagines* (one of the sheets is dated 1686) which Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi had printed in' Rome, and which reproduce the above-mentioned fresco cycles. It is likely that Count Sternberg acquired these print albums with the intention of using them as models for the decoration of his new chateau.

Previous Central European paintings had mostly been based on universal iconographic albums such as Ripa's Iconologia or illustrated editions of Ovid's Metamorphoses. These older graphic materials with allegorical and mythological themes were frequently used by Central European painters when decorating aristocratic residences, but mostly without any close connection to the function of the room that was being decorated or to the patron ordering the work. Count Sternberg, however, followed a different model in his chateau's decoration. At Troja we can see an attempt to use the ceiling paintings to specifically celebrate either the patron, his wife, and their virtues, or the monarch, whom the chateau was probably intended to welcome and accommodate when he visited the Bohemian capital; indeed, the chateau seems to have been designed from the beginning with this purpose in mind. The themes of the paintings in Troja chateau reflect the functions of the individual, mutually interrelated representative rooms, and there was evidently an attempt to build on the content of the paintings from room to room, which is unknown in earlier, similar Czech projects. The choice of themes was then determined to a large extent by the endeavour to follow examples in premier works in internationally important aristocratic residences and indicates the lofty ambitions of Count Sternberg, despite the comparatively poor quality of the frescoes when compared with their Italian and French models.

její slohový původ (Disertation Charles University in Prague), Praha 1949, pp. 162–178 (177–178). – Pavel Preiss, Baroková ilusivní malba architektur a Čechy, in: Dobroslav Líbal – Milada Vilímková (eds.), *Umění věků. Sborník k sedmdesátým narozeninám profesora Dr. Josefa Cibulky*, Praha 1956, pp. 172–178 (175). – Martin Mádl, Pozzo without Pozzo in Bohemia, in: Herbert Karner (ed.), *Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709). Der Maler-Architekt und die Räume der Jesuiten*, Vienna 2012, pp. 129–137 (132–133). – Mádl, Zámek Václava Vojtěcha (note 1), pp. 508–509.

58 The travel journal attributed to Wenzel Adalbert of Sternberg is held in the Library of the Czech National Museum: Popis cest bratří Šternberků na západ 1662, 1663/1664, shelf mark VIII G 18. The journal has been analysed in detail and an edited version published in 2001: Martina Kulíková, *Cesty bratří ze Šternberka a jejich cestovní deníky* (master thesis Charles University in Prague), Prague 2001. See also Zdeněk Kalista, *České baroko*, Prague 1941, pp. 190–195, 289–291, cat. no. 84. – Kropáček (note 1). – Simona Binková – Josef Polišenský (eds.), *Česká touha cestovatelská. Cestopisy, deníky a listy ze 17. století*, Prague 1989, pp. 294–312.

1. Troja chateau, Prague, 1680s.

Photo: M. Mádl

2. Giacomo Tencalla, Story of the Hesperides, Troja chateau, 1687.

Photo: M. Mádl

3. Francesco Bartolomeo Morialdi – Domenico Eggidio Rossi (?),
Allegory of Virtue, Time and Fame, Troja chateau, Prague, 1687–1688.

Photo: M. Mádl

4. Giacomo Tencalla, Hercules Slaying the Dragon Ladon, Troja chateau, 1687.

Photo: M. Mádl

5. Unknown artist, Celebration of the Hero and his Raising up among the Olympians, Troja chateau, Prague, 1687–1688.

Photo: M. Mádl

6. Pietro da Cortona, Celebration of the Hero and his Raising up among the Olympians, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, 1642.

Photo: M. Mádl

7. Unknown artist, Hunters in the Temple of Diana, Troja chateau, Prague, 1687–1688.

Photo: M. Mádl

8. Domenico Egidio Rossi (?), *Quadratura*, Troja chateau, Prague, 1687–1688.

Photo: M. Mádl

9. Domenico Egidio Rossi (?), *Quadrature*, Troja chateau, Prague, 1687–1688.

Photo: M. Mádl

10. Domenico Egidio Rossi (?), Coat of Arms of Clara Bernardina Maltzan,
Troja chateau, Prague, 1687–1688.

Photo: M. Mádl

11. Unknown artist, Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne, Troja chateau, 1687–1688.

Photo: M. Mádl

12. Annibale Carracci – Pietro Aquila, Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne, engraving, Rome, 1674.

Photo: Public domain

13. Unknown artist, Triumph of Truth and Time, Troja chateau, Prague, 1687–1688.

Photo: M. Mádl

14. Pietro da Cortona, Virtue Saving the Young Duke from the Arms of Venus, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, 1641

Photo: M. Mádl

15. Francesco Marchetti, Virtue Saving the Young Duke from the Arms of Venus, Troja chateau, Prague, 1688 (?).

Photo: M. Mádl

16. Francesco Marchetti, Free Will Conducted by Divine Visdom,
Troja chateau, Prague, 1689.

Photo: M. Mádl

17. Abraham Godyn (?), Virtue Saving the Young Duke from the Arms of Venus, Troja chateau, Prague, ca. 1690.

Photo: M. Mádl

18. Main hall with paintings of Abraham Godyn, Troja chateau, Prague 1693–1697.

Photo: M. Mádl

19. Abraham Godyn, Triumph of the Catholic Church, Troja chateau, Prague 1693.

Photo: M. Mádl

Session IV. The *Palazzotto* in Context. Exploring the Role of the Satellite in the Grand Design of the Residence and its Gardens

La Barco of the Star Summer Palace in Prague: A Unique Example of Renaissance Landscape Design

Sylva Dobalová

The Star Summer Palace is one of the best-known architectural symbols of Prague.[1] [Fig. 1] The Battle of the White Mountain, an overture to the Thirty Years' War, took place right outside its walls in 1620. It was built in 1556–1557 by the Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol (1529–1595), the son of Emperor Ferdinand I, who was the first Habsburg crowned King of Bohemia. At the time the Summer Palace was built, Ferdinand II was Governor of Bohemia (an office he held from 1547 until 1567). He probably chose an original form of hunting lodge in response to the Royal Summer Palace in the gardens of Prague Castle, which had just been completed by his father to serve a representative function, and is regarded as the first architectural example of the Italian Renaissance style north of the Alps. The Archduke's main task as Governor was to act as the official representative of the Habsburgs at Prague Castle, but the Castle was a place where his father, the Emperor, remained the primary authority, so a location near Prague was selected both as a retreat and a place for the Archduke's own artistic patronage. The building was financed by the Archduke himself, without any contribution from the Bohemian Court Chamber.[2] In contrast to the rectangular ground plan of the Royal Summer Palace, which was encircled by an arcaded loggia and whose principal decoration are reliefs round the exterior of the building, the Star Palace had a unique ground plan in the shape of a six-pointed star, and white stucco decoration in the ground floor interior, which ranks among the finest Renaissance stucco work in Europe. [Fig. 2] Among its other specific features are its surprisingly large size, the decorative use of fortification building elements, and the technically challenging peaked roof, which was destroyed in the Thirty Years' War. Archduke Ferdinand was an intelligent and educated aristocrat, with a deep interest in his family's history and symbolism. He was also an organizer and inventor of flamboyant festivities and performances with complicated mythological content. As an amateur architect he had considerable influence on the appearance of the Summer Palace and the game preserve that surrounded it.[3]

Yet the Habsburgs already had another game preserve in Prague, the Alter Thiergarten (now Stromovka Park), which had been connected to Prague Castle since the Middle Ages. The small medieval hunting castle on this property had been rebuilt in 1500.[4] So why was a second hunting palace needed in the countryside to the west

1 Two modern monographs exist about the Star / Stern / Hvězda Summer Palace: Ivan Muchka – Ivan Purš – Sylva Dobalová – Jaroslava Hausenblasová, *Hvězda. Arcivévoda Ferdinand Tyrolský a jeho letohrádek v evropském kontextu*, Prague 2014, with English summary on pp. 483–488. – Jan Bažant – Nina Bažantová, *Vila Hvězda v Praze. Mistrovské dílo severské renesance*, Prague 2013 (English version: Jan Bažant, *Villa Star in Prague. The Northern Renaissance Masterpiece. Advanced Guide to Czech Monuments*, Kindle Edition 2012).

2 For new findings on the financing of the Summer Palace and arguments about its private function, see Jaroslava Hausenblasová, Stavební vývoj letohrádku Hvězda – písemné prameny a jejich interpretace, in: Muchka – Purš – Dobalová – Hausenblasová (see note 1), pp. 54–56. Hausenblasová stresses, for example, that the Emperor did not show any interest in the Summer Palace, unlike the buildings in Prague Castle, which he carefully monitored. In the slightly older view of Jan Bažant, on the contrary, the Star Summer Palace was planned as a 'state villa', representing the newly acquired imperial status of Ferdinand I. See Bažant – Bažantová 2013 (see note 1), p. 13.

3 Ivan Muchka – Sylva Dobalová, Ferdinand – vévoda architekt?, in: Muchka – Purš – Dobalová – Hausenblasová (see note 1), pp. 111–113. – Madelon Simons, Erzherzog Ferdinand II. als Statthalter von Böhmen, sein Mäzenatentum und sein künstlerischer Dilettantismus, *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 4/5, 2002/03 (2004), pp. 120–135. – Madelon Simons, "Das Werk erdacht und cirkulirt". The Position of Architects at the Court of King Ferdinand I of Bohemia and His Son, Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, in: Marieke van den Doel (ed.), *The Learned Eye. Regarding Art, Theory and the Artist's Reputation. Essays for Ernst van de Wetering*, Amsterdam 2005, pp. 140–149. – Wolfgang Lippmann, Der Fürst als Architekt, *Georges-Bloch-Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Zürich*, 8, 2001 (2003), pp. 110–135, esp. 117–119, 124–125. – David Schönherr, Erzherzog Ferdinand von Tirol als Architect, *Repertorium* für *Kunstwissenschafts* I, 1876, pp. 28–44.

4 Tomáš Durdík – Petr Chotěbor, Ke středověké stavební podobě a vývoji hradu v Královské oboře v Ovenci u Prahy, *Zprávy památkové péče* 59, 1999, pp. 344–350; on the Alter Thiergarten see most recently Sylva Dobalová, *Zahrady Rudolfa II. Jejich vznik a vývoj*, Prague 2009, pp. 172–184.

of the castle? The answer is, that the Archduke needed his private space and that it offered an opportunity for creating an artificially organized garden complex, in line with the most progressive European courts of the day. This was to be an ideal garden as well as a site for the breeding and hunting of stags.

The Star Summer Palace is situated within a dense forest and hidden behind a high wall. [Fig. 3] However, I would like to emphasize that some features of this forest were developed as part of the complex and designed at the same time as the Star Summer Palace. As a game preserve or hunting park, the woods functioned as an organic whole in tandem with the palace. Although modern scholars have largely overlooked this aspect of the complex, Renaissance travellers like Fynes Moryson observed in 1591 that the Star Summer Palace and a hunting ground derived its name not because of the ground plan of the palace and the golden star on its roof, but from the avenues in the forest, which were also arranged in the shape of a star:

> 'The Emperour hath two inclosures walled about, which they call Gardaines, one of which is called Stella, because the trees are planted in the figure of starres, and a little faire house therein is likewise built, with six corners in forme of a starre'.[5]

However, scholars have largely dismissed this star-shaped landscape element in the Star Summer Palace's park as a Baroque addition, because it was only known from the 1723 plan.[6] [Fig. 4] However, the eighteenth-century plan is the earliest plan that we possess, but not the earliest record of the palace and its grounds. Another contemporary representation of the game preserve is a detail from an engraving in the book *Fama Austriaca* (Cologne 1627), showing the Battle of the White Mountain.[7] [Fig. 5] The way the game preserve is depicted is somewhat curious; it shows the trees planted in the shape of a star. This formation can be seen as a literal interpretation of the written text; indeed, the words of Fynes Moryson can give a similar impression, as he does not mention that the star was supposed to be formed by avenues.

The Star Summer Palace was constructed over a short period of time, only a year and a half. The main part of the land on which the Summer Palace stood, a well-managed oak forest, which was rare in the vicinity of Prague, had been purchased by Ferdinand I in the mid-1530s. After 1548, thanks to Archduke Ferdinand several other adjoining plots of land were added to the site; these were located lower down, near the village of Liboc, and a fishpond was established there. All of this territory was contiguous and joined into a single whole. During this time, the wall surrounding the site was plastered, and a second lower, thinner wall around the building and the natural slope behind the palace was built, probably for an ornamental (terraced) garden. 11,000 trees were removed from the vicinity of the Summer Palace.[8]

Three gates featuring portals taken from Serlio's models were also built.[9] The gate from the side of the Benedictine monastery in Břevnov marked the main longitudinal axis of the palace site. The secondary axis connected the Renaissance house of the groundskeeper with the Summer Palace, and the third gate from the direction of the White Mountain completed the basic composition of the area. Five other paths formed the star-shaped design that interests us now.

On the Renaissance plan drawn in 1555 by the unknown Italian architect of the villa,[10] we see the title *'La casa dil barco'*. [Fig. 6] *Barco* is the term that eventually became the English word 'park', and it refers to a hunting

5 *An Itinerary Containing His Ten Yeeres Travell Through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turky, France, England, Scotland & Ireland*, written by Fynes Moryson, Volume 1, Glasgow 1907, p. 30. Philip Sidney visited the Star Summer Palace even before Moryson (in 1575 and 1577), and used it as a model for the star-shaped lodge of Basilius in *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (New Arcadia)*; see Alexander Samson, *Locus Amoenus. Garden and Horticulture in Renaissance*, Oxford 2012, p. 11. – Michael Leslie, Spenser, Sidney, and the Renaissance Garden, *English Literary Renaissance* 22, 1992, pp. 3–36 (esp. p. 8). – Victor Skretkowicz, Symbolic Architecture in Sidney's New Arcadia, *Res*, N. S. 33, 1982, pp. 175–180. I am grateful to Lubomír Konečný for drawing my attention to this chapter in the life of the Star.

6 Franz A. L. Klosse, Plan of the Castle Water Supply, 1723, detail with the Star game preserve, Prague Castle Archive, SPS, location no. 247/2, 1723.

7 Kaspar Ens, *Fama Austriaca Das ist Eigentliche Verzeichnus denckwurdiger Geschichten […]*, Köln am Rhein 1627, p. 463; see Markéta Lazarová – Jiří Lukas, *Praha. Obraz města v 16. a 17. století. Soupis grafických pohledů I. / Prague. Picture of the town in the 16th and 17th centuries. List of views on graphic art pieces, Vol. I / Prag. Stadtbild im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Verzeichnis graphischer Ansichten*, Vol. I, Prague, cat. no. 126; the prints are mentioned by one of the very first publications about the Star: Jacob von Falke, *Schloß Stern*, Vienna 1879.

8 Jan Morávek, Ke vzniku Hvězdy, *Umění* II, 1954, no. 3, pp. 199–211 (204).

9 For a discussion on the date the gates were built and the reconstruction of the gate on the Břevnov side in 1723 (the date on Klosse's plan of the Star) see: Muchka – Purš – Dobalová – Hausenblasová (see note 1), pp. 429–431.

10 ÖNB Wien, location no. Cod. min. 108; the plans were first published by Morávek (note 8).

park, but often in the sixteenth century simply a park for the enjoyment of nature. It implied primarily 'wooded land, with more trees than vines or vegetables, and natural terrain, in some cases independent of any residence'.[11] The Star Palace's *barco* contained the hunting ground with its avenues and the summer palace. Near the palace there was a *galleria* (a ball game house, or more likely, a gymnasium), an aviary, fish ponds and probably a terraced garden, which unfortunately remained unfinished. The grounds immediately surrounding the Summer Palace were separated from the game preserve by a separate wall. [Fig. 7] Archduke Ferdinand also considered commissioning a fountain by Jacopo Strada and Wenzel Jamnitzer to be placed below the palace in the upper part of a terraced garden,[12] near the *galleria* building. [Fig. 8]

In fact, the palace was built in one of two focal points of an oval-shaped walled park, on the crest of a steep slope. Certainly, an easier building site could have been found, but this quality of contrasting landscapes – the flat wood of the game preserve and a steep garden [Fig. 9], cleared out of the overgrown forest and exposed to the afternoon sunlight – was a pleasing component to the Renaissance garden. From the windows of the Star Summer Palace visitors could have a panoramic view of the countryside, where the architectonic arrangement of alleys, walls and garden contrasted with the nature of trees, the surprise of a steep slope and the landscape outside the park boundaries. The composition of the park was in keeping with contemporary ideas for contrasting man-made order with natural wilderness, an approach extolled by Renaissance humanists such as Jacopo Bonfadio in his famous letter dated 1541 describing the gardens on the shores of Lake Garda. The topos of an Arcadian landscape is of course older, even if we take the first expression of it to be Jacopo Sannazarro's romance *Arcadia*, first published in Naples in 1503.

Other examples of a *barco* with a terraced architectural garden can be found in Italy; the Villa Medici in Caprarola features a casino in the upper garden that is separated by a wooded area from the main house. At the Villa Lante in Bagnaia, the *barco* was intersected by paths that connected fountains, orchards, a maze, and other features without forming a regular geometric scheme, with no axis or hierarchy. Shortly afterwards, a similar arrangement appeared in the criss-crossing pathways of the Parco Nuovo in Pratolino, even though it was connected to the Parco Vecchio by a central axis. Nevertheless, in all of these Italian gardens, one feature was missing: free ranging animals such as deer, wild boar or hare.

Vavřinec Špan of Španov (1531–1575) was a doctor of medicine and a poet who lived at the court of Archduke Ferdinand, and he celebrated the Star Summer Palace in his Latin verses.[13] He describes green oaks planted in the shape of a star and forming eight long avenues, with apple and pear trees on either side, that measured 'fifty paces' across – approximately thirty-seven metres. These exceptionally broad avenues also appear in the account of Pierre Bergeron, the French diplomat at the court of Rudolf II, who visited the hunting preserve in 1600.[14] Only one of the avenues, the main axis, still exists today; its width is about thirty metres.

I would like to highlight the phenomenon of these avenues. When the Star Palace was constructed, they were on the verge of becoming a standard feature in French and Italian landscape gardens. Yet there is a big difference between the avenues of a *barco*, or wooded park, and stand-alone paths through the countryside. North of the Alps, pathways of the stand-alone kind appeared in France and the Netherlands around 1540, in England after 1600, and in Germany around 1650.[15] Although there are examples from East Central Europe, they are not well known. Among the most famous and frequently cited of these countryside avenues is the one connecting Salzburg

11 An abbreviation of the definition by Claudia Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden. From the conventions of Planting, Design, and Ornament to the Grand Gardens of Sixteenth-Century Central Italy*, New Haven – London 1990, pp. 109–110.

12 For more detail on the question of the fountain see: Jaroslava Hausenblasová, Stavební vývoj letohrádku Hvězda – písemné prameny a jejich interpretace, in: Muchka – Purš – Dobalová – Hausenblasová (see note 1), pp. 52– 65 (60–62).

13 *Ferdinandopyrgum i.e. Descriptio metrica palatii… ab archiduce Ferdinando non procul ab urbe Praga constructi*, written shortly after 1555, ÖNB Vienna, Cod. 9902, fol. 3r–7r. Špan of Španov's manuscript is mentioned already in Morávek (see note 8), p. 211, note 33; on Špan of Španov see Josef Hejnic – Jan Martínek, *Rukověť humanistického básnictví básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě* 5, Prague 1982, vol. 5, pp. 289–296; for a Czech translation of the poem see Vavřinec Špan ze Španova, Ferdinandova obora Hvězda, in: *Očima lásky: Verše českých básníků o Praze*, translated by B. Ryba, Prague 1941, pp. 53–59. – *Killy Literaturlexikon. Autoren und Werke des deutschsprachigen Kulturraums*, Vol. 11 Si–Vl, Berlin – Boston 20112, pp. 76–77. See also Skretkowicz (see note 5), pp. 178–179.

14 Eliška Fučíková (ed.), *Tři francouzští kavalíři v rudolfínské Praze. Jacques Esprichard, Pierre Bergeron, Francois de Bassompierre*, Prague 1989, pp. 62, 69, 88.

15 Clemens Alexander Wimmer, *Bäume und Sträucher in historischen Gärten. Gehölzverwendung in Geschichte und Denkmalpflege*, Dresden 2001, pp. 34–35 – Idem, Alleen - Begriffbestimmung, Entwicklung, Typen, Baumarten, in: Ingo Lehmann – Michael Rohde (ed.), *Alleen in Deutschland. Bedeutung, Pflege und Entwicklung*, Leipzig 2006, p. 15.

and Hellbrunn, dating from 1613–1615. Another example is the avenue with four rows of trees that Albrecht von Waldstein had made between Jičín and Valdice in the 1630s. In Prague, the first pathway of this type appeared in 1616, during the reign of the Habsburg Emperor Matthias II, and connected Prague castle with a Lusthaus in the Alter Thiergarten; the avenue was lined with lindens and willows. In Vienna, where the Habsburgs had their main residence, at least two Renaissance avenues existed. Both of them were connected with the Prater hunting grounds, whose layout then was quite different from the present-day one, because the course of the Danube has since been altered substantially. One of the avenues was relatively hidden in the Prater and during the reign of Ferdinand I it may have been simply a clearing cut from the trees, which was later planted with a boarder of trees.[16] Part of this pathway is given the name *Langer Gang* on Bonifaz Wohlmut's 1547 plan of Vienna. (Today it is the Hauptallee in Prater.)

The second example was a pathway from Vienna's centre to the Prater lined with not two, but four rows of trees, which was much admired by Vincenzo Scamozzi in the third book of his treatise *L'idea della architettura universale* (1615). It is likely that this avenue survives today as Praterstraße. Maxmilian II, elder brother of the Archduke Ferdinand,[17] had it built in 1564. It also connected the imperial *châteaux* of Ebersdorf and Neugebäude.

The grounds of the Prater, the Viennese hunting lodge, are of special interest to this study, particularly the land adjacent to the *Grünes Lusthaus*, which was built under Maximilian II, around the same time as the Star Summer Palace or perhaps one or two years earlier. This small *Lusthaus* and the grotto within it were also built on a central plan; however instead of a star, it took the form of a Greek cross with convex corners.[18]

Of particular interest is a small complex close to this summer palace and the pheasantry. An important source for this is a 1557 manuscript about the Prater, dedicated to Maxmilian II, *Brevis et dilucida domini dom: Maximiliani inclyti regis Bohemiae et archiducis Austriae [...] Viennae ad Danubii ripas et diatae seu amoenarii ad puteum cervinum et horti, et imprimis veteris quincuncis descriptio*, whose author was the humanist, lawyer, and professor at the University of Vienna Georg Tanner.[19] The manuscript particularly praises the way the trees have been planted using a *quincunx* layout (with spacing in the form of a cross), which according to Tanner was reserved for only the most distinguished owners of private gardens (although it was a common design choice in ancient times, and is still in use today). The manuscript even speaks of a 'royal quincunx' (*'Regii quincunx schema'*). Tanner states that Emperor Maximilian was so taken with this idea, based on classical texts from antiquity, that he had a separate enclosure (measuring 300 x 87 m) made within the Prater game preserve using the quincunx system.[20] [Figs. 10, 11] More than 600 trees of various species were supposed to have been planted in this area, including apple and pear trees as well as various exotic species. The Emperor himself measured out the line along which the trees were to be planted, with the help of a rope from the window of his summer palace. The court architect Bonifaz Wohlmut, who designed a number of buildings for the Habsburgs, especially in Prague, drew up six alternative geometric diagrams and a map of the part of the Prater where the summer palace was, which were included in Tanner's manuscript.[21] However, the garden was designed by the Viennese humanist Sebastian Huetstocker. According to Tanner, the summer palace contained a dining hall with fountains on the walls as well as a grotto with marble encrustations and stalactites. Finally, everything was decorated with paintings, gold, and silver.

Both summer palaces, in Prague and in Vienna, have an anti-classical, experimental character based on

16 Hilda Lietzmann, *Irdische Paradiese. Beispiele höfischer Gartenkunst der I. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts,* Munich – Berlin 2007, pp. 61–62. I am grateful to Dr Andreas Kusternig for his comments about Prater during a discussion in the Prague symposium.

17 Maxmilian II Habsburg was titular King of Bohemia from 1549, but he was not crowned until 1562.

18 The Prater summer palace was situated close to the later Baroque summer palace designed by Isidoro Canevale, which can still be seen in the Prater today.

19 ÖNB, Cod. 8085; Joseph Chmel, *Die Handschriften der k. k. Hofbibliothek in Wien* 2, Vienna 1841, pp. 276–292. The treatise has been briefly analysed by: Karl Rudolf, Die Kunstbestrebungen Kaiser Maximilians II. im Spannungsfeld zwischen Madrid und Wien, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 91, 1995, pp. 165–256 (179–182). – Hilda Lietzmann, *Das Neugebäude in Wien. Sultan Sülleymans Zelt – Kaiser Maximilians II. Lustschloß*, Munich – Berlin 1987, pp. 29–31. – Dirk Jacob Jansen, Taste and Thought: Jacopo Strada and the Development of a Cosmopolitan Court, in Lubomír Konečný and Štěpán Vácha (eds.), *Hans von Aachen in Context: Proceedings of the International Conference, Prague 22–25 September 2010,* Prague 2012, pp. 171–178 (173–174). On Tanner see especially Franz Gall, Georg Tanner, ein Waldviertler Gelehrter des 16. Jahrhunderts, in: *Festschrift Franz Loidl zum 65. Geburtstag*, 2, Vienna 1970, pp. 118–131. – J. Ansbach, *Geschichte der Universität Wien und ihre Gelehrten von 1520 bis 1566*, Vol. 3, Vienna 1888, pp. 279–289 (286–287).

20 The dimensions were deduced by Karl Rudolf (see note 19), p. 179.

21 In the early 1560s Wohlmut used the quincunx in designs for the garden terraces below the Belvedere Summer Palace; see most recently Sylva Dobalová, Erzherzog Ferdinand II. von Habsburg, das Lusthaus Belvedere und die Fischbehälter im Königlichen Garten der Prager Burg, *Die Gartenkunst* 20: 2, 2008, pp. 11–18 (= The House of Habsburg and Garden Art, ICOMOS – IFFLA 25–29. 4. 2007, Vienna).

a central ground plan. In both cases the person who had the palace built was not content with the state of the surrounding forest, and attempted to organise nature and to 'improve' it, so that it was artistically (geometrically) formed. Dirk Jansen noticed that it is possible to draw a quincunx within the ground plan of summer palace in Vienna;[22] to which it may be added that in the Star complex, too, the building is characterised by the shape of a star, just like the park itself.

What was the origin of the star-shaped pathways in the Star game preserve? Perhaps we can allow ourselves to speculate that it is not such a big step from the quincunx formation to that of a star, or even, as Špan put it, of a 'hexagon of green oaks, divided up by eight pathways'. In his treatise Georg Tanner also comments briefly on the star and cross formations. According to him they are grounded in numerology. The cross, or X, is the number 10 in Latin; divided by 2 it becomes 5, the symbol of the quincunx.[23] A joining of two crosses forms a star. The star in fact multiplies the quincunx. [Fig. 12] According to Tanner, this formation of a star comes from Pliny the Younger's *Historia Naturalis*.[24]

Vincenzo Scamozzi also reflects along similar lines in the third book of his treatise *L'idea della architettura universale*, which we have mentioned earlier. In chapter twenty-three, he discusses gardens and orchards. Using references to gardens in texts from antiquity he reconstructs an unnamed orange grove which had the trees planted in the quincunx formation. Scamozzi praises the excellent geometrical ground plan of this orchard, that of a pentagon. He also states that the usual meaning of the word quincunx refers to a simple arrangement into the form of the number five on a die. In general, several ways of spacing trees are known, including arrangements similar to a star or a diamond. Scamozzi points out that an orchard may have a ground plan that is triangular, quadrangular, pentagonal, hexagonal, septagonal, or octagonal. He goes on to evaluate these formations from an aesthetic point of view, and as part of this assessment Scamozzi comments directly on the Star park in Prague, in a passage which has gone unnoticed by previous studies: 'For greater beauty it is possible to establish the number of pathways and different views, not only in the manner of the radial rays used in the Star, His Grace's beautiful site near Prague *[non solo la modo di raggi, come la Stellata luogo delicioso di sua maefta vicino a' Praga]* but also by parallel lines along its sides. Such a feature can be very useful and pleasant to see for visitors'.[25] Scamozzi had visited Prague in 1599/1600.

However, the star plan of avenues in the wood may also have had a practical motive; as animals were being chased during a hunt, observers were posted to spot those that ran across the radial paths of the wood. These observers then signalled to the hunters where the game was. We do not know for certain precisely when this practice began; it may have been at the French court of King Francis I, who differentiated between various types of hunts, enriching them with elaborate court ceremonial. Hunting was also very popular with the Habsburgs; indeed, it could be said that Habsburg identity was built on certain types of hunt. In this, Archduke Ferdinand followed the example of his grandfather, Maximilian I, a prolific hunter. Red deer, roe deer, wild boars, and pheasants were all bred in the Star game preserve, as well as wild geese and ducks. The Star hunting grounds also saw hawking displays. Later Rudolf II used cheetahs in his hunts there. Despite these many programs and events, the area of the Star game preserve is quite small, only 84.15 hectares.

It is also likely that there was an open space between the star-shaped pathways between the Star game preserve and the Summer Palace itself, so that the forest did not stretch right to the gate of the low wall encircling the Summer Palace. Hawking demonstrations, which Archduke Ferdinand particularly enjoyed, occurred in meadows. The Archduke may have also wanted to observe animals in the paths or near the building from the summer palace's windows. In a famous treatise on gardening and agriculture from the early fourteenth century, Pietro de Crescenzi wrote:

> 'The garden of a king and other illustrious lords should contain a palace on the southern part, where they can escape from heavy thoughts and renew their spirit. An enclosure for animals like hare, stag, roebuck etc. should be built on the other side, also with fishponds... In the garden there should be rows of trees spaced far apart from the palace to the distant grove, so that the animals placed in the garden may be seen easily from the palace.'

22 Jansen (see note 19), p. 174.
23 The quincunx is the main theme of Thomas Brown's treatise *Garden of Cyrus* (1658).
24 ÖNB, Cod. 8085, Fol. 36.
25 Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'idea della architettura universale*, Venice 1615, p. 327 (Parte Prima, Libro Terzo, cap. 23).

Complexes consisting of a hunting pavilion and game preserve were common in north-western Europe. Among the most famous complexes of this type in France was the Château de Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne near Paris.[26] The largest and most splendid example was Chambord with its still extant forest (established 1519).[27] Other examples from the time of Francis I include La Muette de Saint-Germain (near Saint-Germain-en-Laye) and Challuau, both from the 1540s. All of these castles are included in Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau's *Les plus excellens Bastiments de France* (1576–79). Nevertheless, although Du Cerceau frequently depicted buildings surrounded by grounds, he did not document any star pathways similar to those in Prague. We do, however, see the same irregular arrangement of pathways as was common in Italian gardens, and in some cases, straight avenues continuing into the countryside.

Of great importance in shaping the views of the Habsburgs on this type of building was Mary of Hungary's hunting pavilion at Mariemont, built 1546–1549, surrounded by an artificial park, which was established on land that had been farms and fields and was then stocked with deer and boar brought from the hunting reserve of Soignes near Brussels.[28] [Fig. 13] Archduke Ferdinand stayed at his aunt's court just before this hunting enclave was laid out (from October 1544 to April 1545, and again in the winter of 1546). In Krista De Jonge's view, the long avenues defining the landscape around Mariemont were adopted by Philip II in the royal estate of Aranjuez in Spain.[29] [Fig. 14] The countryside surrounding the palace in Aranjuez was landscaped in 1553–1598. A star-shaped formation of twelve pathways (*Las Doze Calles*) was gradually laid out to the north of the palace after 1572; its purpose was primarily aesthetic.[30] However, the size of the multi-functional complex surrounding the imperial residence in Aranjuez was enormous in comparison with the Prague site. It was the largest landscaping project in the early modern period, and it also included agricultural land. At this time, the Star game preserve was still a small, walled enclave.

In the mid-sixteenth century, the Star game preserve in Prague was not the simple, functional area that it is today. Rather, it served as a hunting preserve while simultaneously conforming to the aesthetic, geometric, and numerological demands of a planned royal garden. Rather than being a later phenomenon as some scholars have assumed, the star as a landscape element had already appeared in the Renaissance. Organizing 'wild' nature in this fashion was considered the privilege and prerogative of a patrons like Archduke Ferdinand. Not content merely to delegate, archival sources indicate that Ferdinand played an active role in the design of the Summer Palace, even personally measuring its parameters on the site, but that is another chapter of the Star Villa's story. Establishing order in an otherwise wild landscape was, in any case, one of the primary purposes of designing the park and summer palace. In the realization of the Star Summer Palace and its landscape, a careful balance was struck between the natural and the artificial, and Archduke Ferdinand played multiple roles as creator, organizer, and consumer.

The star-shaped avenues of the Star Summer Palace and game preserve were probably one of the first European examples or possible the very first example of this element, which became a feature of Andre Le Nôtre's work some hundred years later. The commonly-held view that the star principle was first applied in the Baroque period and expanded after Le Nôtre's use of it at Versailles[31] is not supported by the previous existence of the Prague Star Summer Palace and park.

26 Monique Chatenet, *Le château de Madrid au bois de Boulogne*, Paris 2000.

27 Monique Chatenet, *Chambord*, Paris 2001.

28 Krista De Jonge, Les jardins de Jacques Du Broeucq et de Jacques Hollebecque à Binche, Mariemont et Boussu, in: Carmen Añón (ed.), *Felipe II. El Rey íntimo. Jardín y Naturaleza en el siglo XVI*, Madrid 1998, pp. 191-220. – Krista De Jonge, Mariemont, "Château de chasse" de Marie de Hongrie, *Revue de l'Art* 149, 2005, pp. 45-57. – Krista De Jonge, Maulnes et le développement de l'architecture en Europe du Nord au milieu du 16ème siècle. Quelques remarques, in: J. Pieper (ed.), *Das Château de Maulnes und der Manierismus in Frankreich. Beiträge des Symposions am Lehrstuhl für Baugeschichte und Denkmalpflege der RWTH Aachen 3.-5. Mai 2001* (Aachener Bibliothek, 5), Munich – Berlin 2006, pp. 143-155. – Krista De Jonge, Le parc de Mariemont. Chasse et architecture à la cour de Marie de Hongrie, in: Claude d'Anthenaise – Monique Chatenet (eds.), *Chasses princières dans l'Europe de la Renaissance, Actes du colloque de Chambord (1er et 2 octobre 2004),* Paris 2006, pp. 269-286.

29 De Jonge, Le parc de Mariemont (see note 28), p. 286.

30 Catherine Wilkinson Zerner, European Convergences: Philip II and the Landscape of Aranjuez, in: Jean Guillaume (ed.), *Architecture, Jardin, Paysage. L'environnement du château et de la villa aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, Paris 1999, pp. 243–258.

31 For this development, depending also on the use of cartographic instruments, see for example Thiery Mariage, *The Word of Andre le Nôtre*, Philadelphia 1999.

1. The Star Summer Palace, 2013.

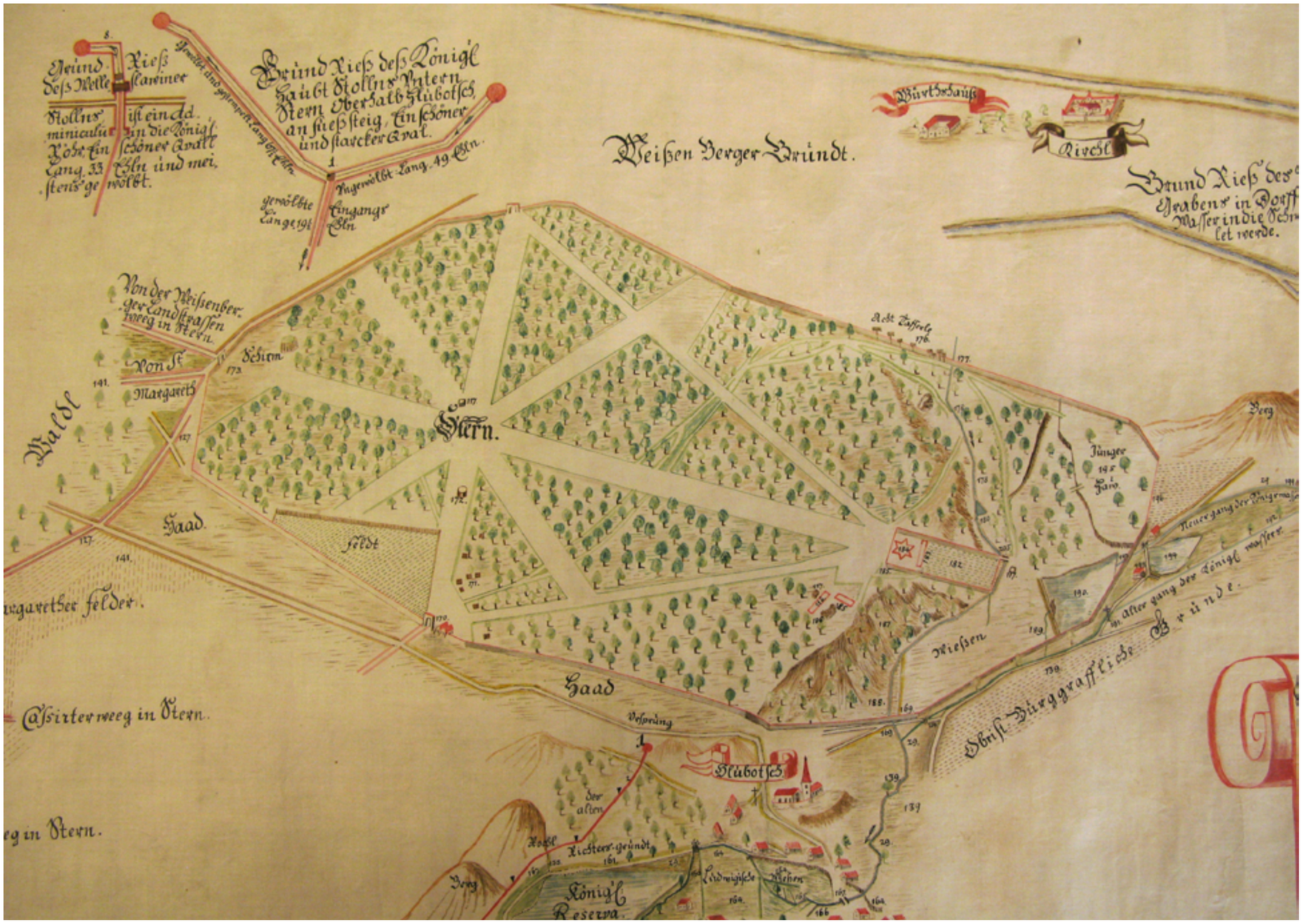
Photo: I. P. Muchka

2. The game preserve, with the Star Summer Palace.

Photo: http://foto.mapy.cz

3. A. Brocco, Aeneas Carrying Anchises from Burning Troy, the central scene in the main hall of the Star Summer Palace, 1556–1560.

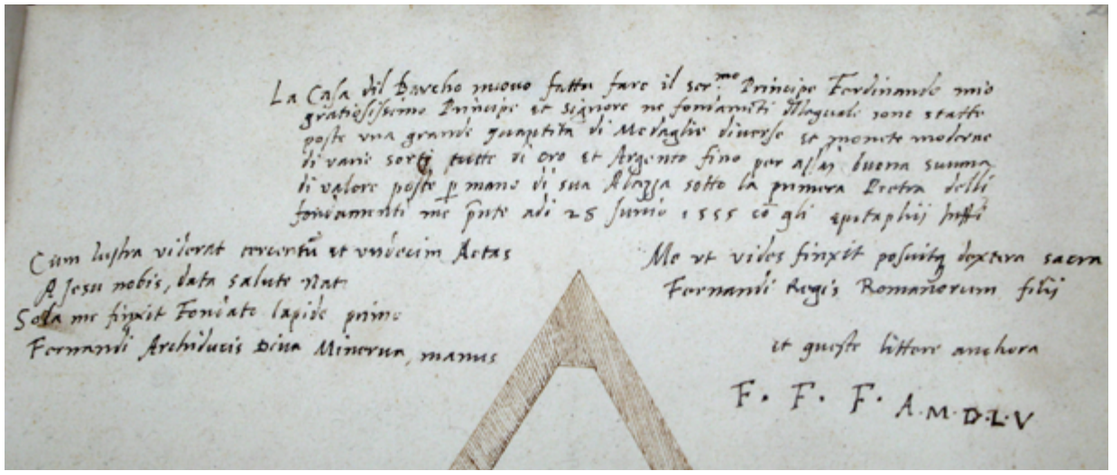
Photo: Vlado Bohdan, Institute of Art History, ASCR, v.v.i



4. Franz A. L. Klosse, The Star game preserve, detail from a Plan of the Castle Water Supply, 1723, Prague Castle Archive, Collection of Plans

From: S. Dobalová, Zahrady Rudolfa II. Jejich vznik a vývoj, Prague 2009

5. The Star Summer Palace and part of the game preserve, detail,
from: Kaspar Ens, *Fama Austriaca* [...], Cologne 1627.



6. Plan of the Star ground floor, a detail, ÖNB Vienna, 1555.

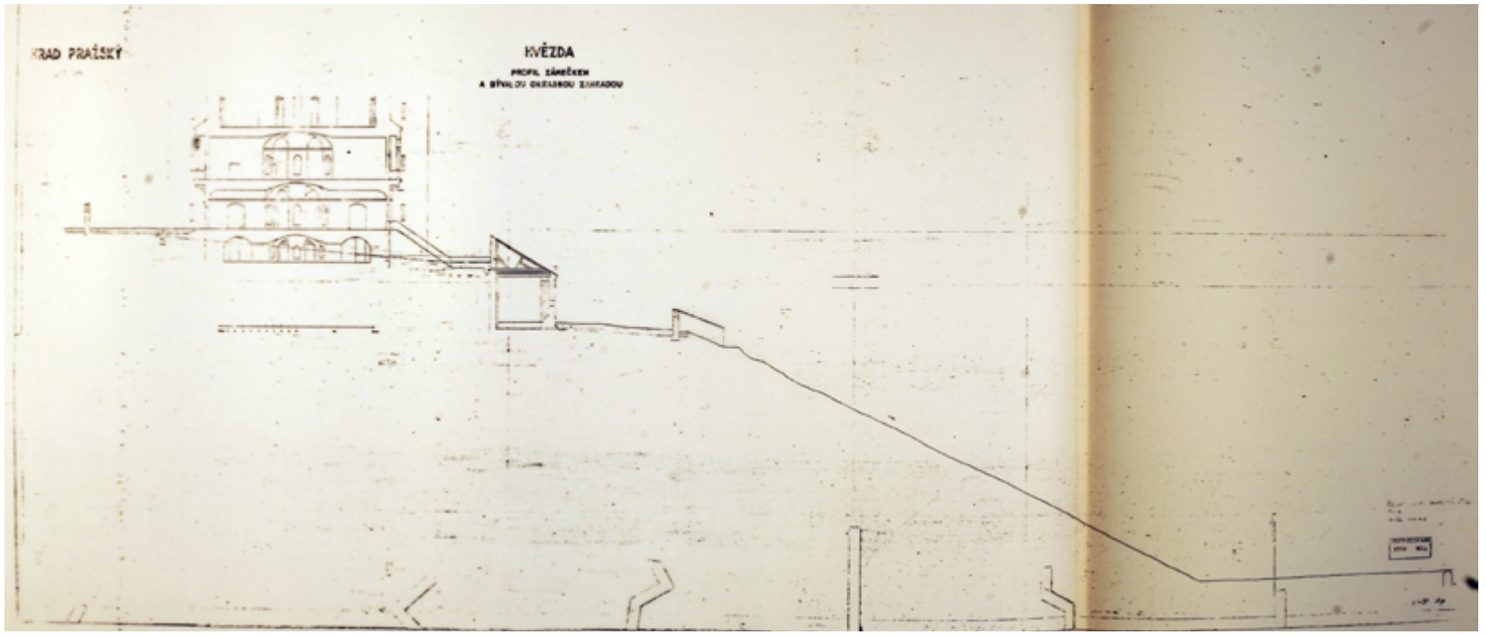
Photo: Institute of Art History, ASCR, v.v.i.

7. Model of the Star Summer Palace, exhibited in the palace.

Photo: I. P. Muchka

8. *Galleria* or ball game house under the Star Summer Palace.

Photo: S. Dobalová

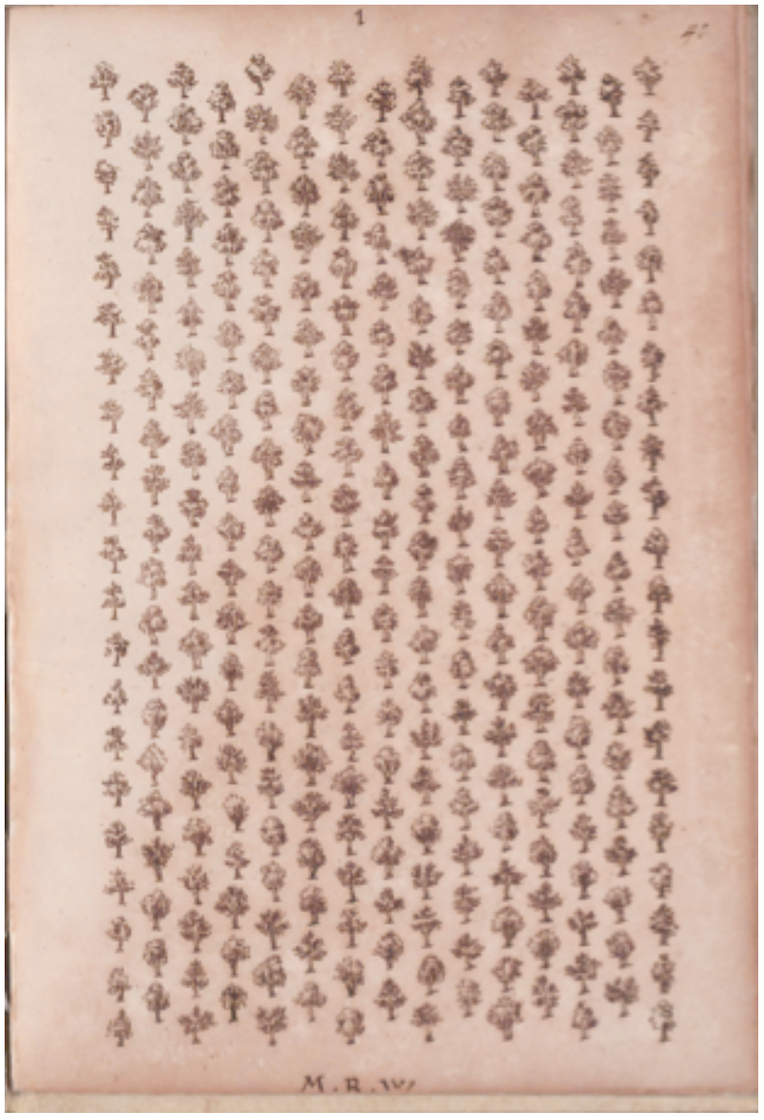


9. Karel Fiala, Cross-section of the Star Summer Palace and ornamental garden, ca. 1945.

Photo: Collections of Museum of Czech Literature (PNP)

10. Bonifaz Wohlmut, Complex with the Green Summer Palace in the Prater, in Georg Tanner, *Brevis et dilucida* [...], ÖNB Vienna.

From: D. J. Jansen, Taste and Thought: Jacopo Strada and the Development of a Cosmopolitan Court, in: *Hans von Aachen in Contex*t, Prague 2012.



11. Bonifaz Wohlmut, Quincunx, from: Georg Tanner, *Brevis et dilucida* [...], ÖNB Vienna.

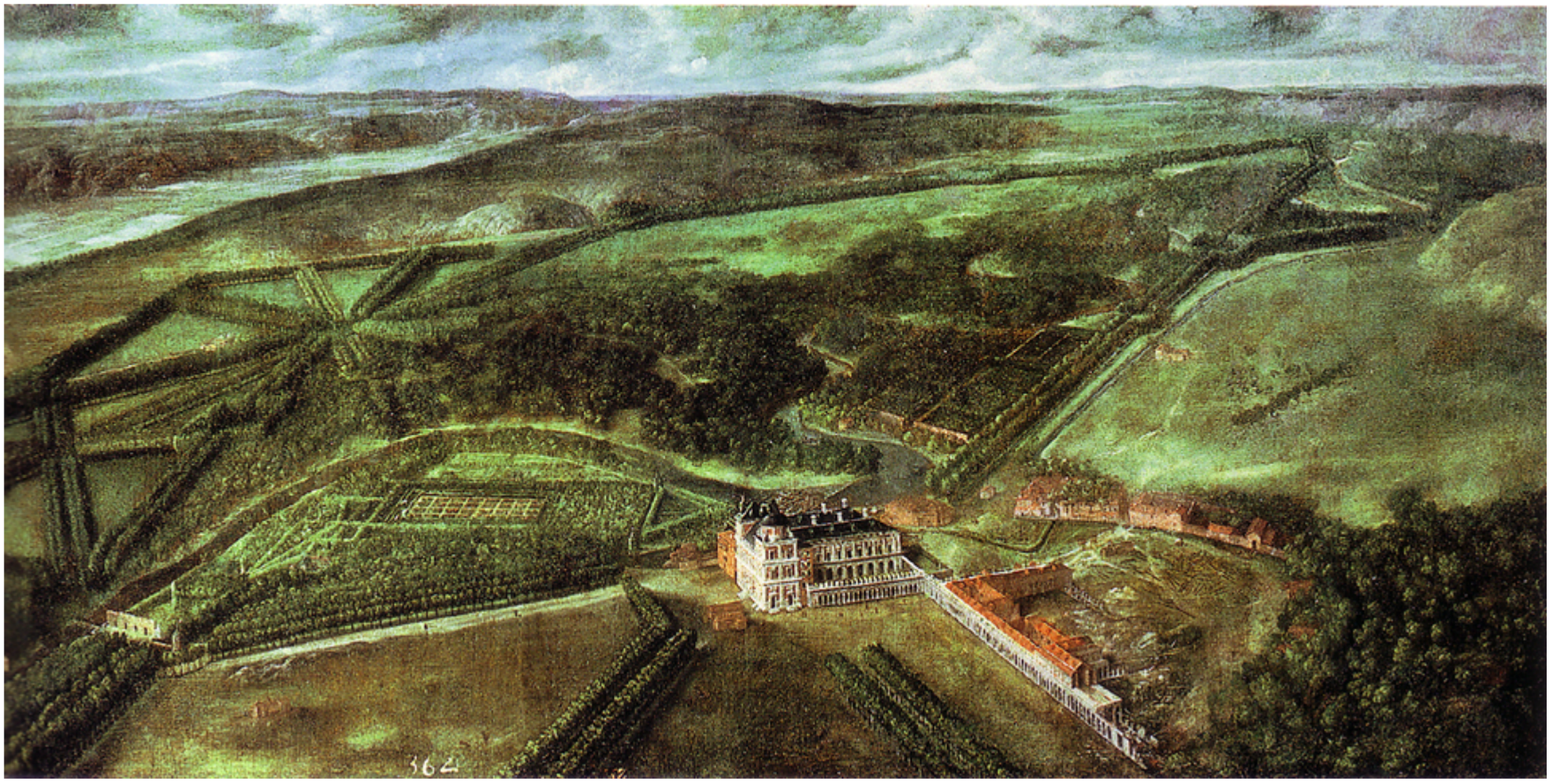
From: I. Muchka et al., Hvězda. Arcivévoda Ferdinand Tyrolský a jeho letohrádek v evropském kontextu, Prague 2014

12. Diagram of a star, from: Georg Tanner, *Brevis et dilucida* [...], ÖNB Vienna.

From: I. Muchka et al., Hvězda. Arcivévoda Ferdinand Tyrolský a jeho letohrádek v evropském kontextu, Prague 2014

13. Jan I Brueghel, Castle of Mariemont, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon.

Photo: Wikipedia



14. Anonymus, Bird's-eye view of Aranjuez, c. 1630, Prado Museum.

Photo: Wikipedia

Hunt, Amusement and Representation: The Viennese Hofburg and Its 'Satellites' in the Seventeenth Century

Markus Jeitler

From the Late Middle Ages, the Vienna Hofburg was undoubtedly the most important, although by no means the only residence of the Habsburg monarchs who were both Austrian sovereigns and Holy Roman Emperors. Lesser branches of the family possessed their own residences in Innsbruck, Graz and other sites throughout the country.[1] These residences maintained their importance throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries until the extinction of the relevant line, from which point they were used occasionally for the *Erbhuldigung* (homage).[2] The residences at Wiener Neustadt and Linz were among the oldest and most prominent of the Habsburg possessions; both had grown under the care of Emperors Friedrich III and Maximilian I and continued to be developed by Ferdinand I early in his reign.[3] Wiener Neustadt may even be considered a rival to Vienna in terms of its importance,[4] although Friedrich III and Maximilian I established gardens at the Hofburg in order to enlarge the complex and make it a more pleasant and modern residence.[5] The reasons for this preference could be found in the siege of the Hofburg in 1462[6] and the wars against the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus who resided there after conquering Vienna in 1485.[7] During the 1530s Wiener Neustadt declined in importance but Leopold I started to draw more attention to the castle again.[8]

After his election to the Bohemian and Hungarian thrones in 1526, Ferdinand I added the royal residences in Prague and Buda to his establishment, although Buda was soon lost to the Ottomans in 1541, and Bratislava became the new seat of the Hungarian government.[9] Ferdinand considered Vienna, Prague and Innsbruck to be his main residences.[10] The castle of Bratislava had to be rebuilt because it was not adequate.[11] Ferdinand began an ambitious renovation and expansion of the Vienna Hofburg including its gardens, but one of the king's top priorities was his hunting grounds at nearby estates such as Ebersdorf (about 10 kilometres from the Hofburg) and Laxenburg (about 18 kilometres from the Hofburg). Under the reign of Ferdinands's son and successor Maximilian II, the Neue Lustgarten in the Hofburg was mainly used to keep horses which reduced the garden areas at once.[12]

1 Viktor Thiel, *Die landesfürstliche Burg in Graz und ihre historische Entwicklung*, Vienna – Graz - Leipzig 1927 (= Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Steiermarks und Kärntens 3). – Wiltraud Resch *et al.*, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz: Die Profanbauten des I. Bezirkes*, Horn 1997 (= Österreichische Kunsttopographie LIII) – Johanna Felmayer *et al.*, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Innsbruck, Die Hofbauten*, Vienna 1986 (= Österreichische Kunsttopographie XLVIII).

2 HHStA (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Vienna), Z-Prot. (Zeremonialprotokolle) 2, pag. 895–898.

3 Johann Jobst, *Die Neustädter Burg und die k. u. k. Theresianische Militärakademie*, Vienna – Leipzig 1908, pp. 6-14 – Alexander Wied et alii, *Die profanen Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Linz 1. Teil*, Vienna 1977 (= Österreichische Kunsttopographie 42), pp. 475–527.

4 Renate Holzschuh-Hofer, Typologie und Traditionspflege an der Hofburg im 16. Jahrhundert, in: Herbert Karner (ed.), *Die Wiener Hofburg 1521-1705. Baugeschichte, Funktion und Etablierung als Kaiserresidenz*, Vienna 2014 (= Veröffentlichungen zur Bau- und Funktionsgeschichte der Wiener Hofburg 2), p. 577.

5 Markus Jeitler – Jochen Martz, *Der Untere und der Obere Lustgarten*, in: Karner (see note 4), pp. 189–190. – Markus Jeitler – Jochen Martz, *Der Rosstummelplatz (Josefsplatz) und seine Vorgänger: Irrgarten und Hinterer Lustgarten*, in: Karner (see note 4), p. 268.

6 Georg Theodor von Karajan, *Die alte Kaiserburg zu Wien vor dem Jahre MD nach den Aufnahmen des k. k. Burghauptmannes Ludwig Montoyer mit geschichtlichen Erläuterungen*, Vienna 1863, pp. 77–93. In 1462 the Viennese rebeled against Friedrich III and besieged the Hofburg.

7 Ibidem, pp. 96–98.

8 Jobst (see note 3), p. 15.

9 Jaroslava Hausenblasová – Markus Jeitler, *Die Hofburg und die Familie Habsburg*, in: Karner (see note 4), p. 26.

10 Thomas Fellner – Heinrich Kretschmayer, *Die Österreichische Zentralverwaltung I. Abteilung. Von Maximilian I. bis zur Vereinigung der Österreichischen und der Böhmischen Hofkanzlei* (1749), 2. Band: Aktenstücke 1491-1681, Wien 1907 (= Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs 6), pp. 262–263. – Hausenblasová – Jeitler, Hofburg (see note 9), pp. 25-26.

11 Hausenblasová – Jeitler (see note 9), p. 26. – Andrej Fiala – Jana Šulcová – Peter Krútky, *Die Bratislavaer Burg*, Bratislava 1995

12 Jeitler – Martz, Rosstummelplatz (see note 5), p. 273.

Maximilian also built the Neugebäude near Ebersdorf[13] and the *Lusthaus* at Prater.[14]

Although both Ebersdorf and Laxenburg had gardens, the primary purpose of these estates was to support the large hunting preserves attached to them. Whereas the Neugebäude had only minimal accommodations for overnight stays, Ebersdorf and Laxenburg were adapted to accommodate large parties for longer periods of time.[15] This procedure had been developed into an established system, which now has to be presented and discussed with the help of respective case studies.

Laxenburg

The moated castle at Laxenburg [Fig. 1] had been acquired by Duke Rudolf III Habsburg in 1306 and was later rebuilt by Duke Albrecht III in the late fourteenth century, who also raised the neighbouring village of Lachsendorf to a market town. Maximilian added vivaria and a 'Netherlandish' flower garden.[16] The castle and its estate were temporarily leased to the current bailiff; in the 1540s and 1550s the Spanish aristocrat Martín de Guzmán ran a powder mill at Laxenburg.[17] Emperors Matthias, Ferdinand II, and Ferdinand III used Laxenburg as a hunting seat.[18] In 1637 Empress Eleonora Gonzaga of Mantua, the second wife of Ferdinand II, got the castle and estate as a part of her thirds, but there are no records of the empress visiting or making any alterations to the castle.[19] After her death on 27 June 1655, Laxenburg came to the empress's niece Eleonora Magdalena Gonzaga of Mantua-Nevers, the third wife of Emperor Ferdinand III, and again it served her after his death in 1657 as a part of her thirds.[20] The dowager empress reached an agreement with her stepson, Emperor Leopold I, whereby she received the income from the estate while he enjoyed its use. The emperor made long visits to Laxenburg, usually in the spring, and even held official audiences there.[21] The castle itself could not accommodate the full needs of the court, forcing court ceremonies to be adapted to the smaller venue.[22] Today the old castle at Laxenburg preserves its medieval appearance. Johann Sebastian Müller, who accompanied the Duke of Saxony-Weimar on a trip to Laxenburg in 1660, described it as 'old, with two towers and a moat, an old chapel, very bad and narrow rooms, a balcony on a small tower used as a dining room in summertime, and aeries for herons and falcons'.[23]

Ebersdorf

Ebersdorf (now known as Kaiserebersdorf) [Fig. 2], which, like Laxenburg, was also originally a moated castle, began as a high-Medieval residence and the seat of the prominent Ebersdorf family.[24] In 1499 the brothers Wolfgang and Veit of Ebersdorf were forced to give the castle to Maximilian I. At this time the complex consisted of an upper and a lower house, a chapel, annexes and fortifications.[25] In 1529 Ottoman troops set fire to the castle, which sustained significant damage.[26] In 1550 Ferdinand I began making extensive renovations to Ebersdorf, similar to those being conducted at the Hofburg in Vienna. This project included the partial demolition of the old castle and new buildings, such as the *Uhrtrakt* (clock wing), annexes, gardens and, later, a menagerie.[27] These works were often hampered by a lack of funds, but under the guidance of the architects Johann Tscherte and

13 Hilda Lietzmann, *Das Neugebäude in Wien. Sultan Süleymans Zelt – Kaiser Maximilians II. Lustschloss*, Munich – Berlin 1987.
14 Erich Zinsler, Das Lusthaus im Wiener Prater. Zur Geschichte eines fast vergessenen Wiener Wahrzeichens, *Wiener Geschichtsblätter Beiheft* 4, 2000, pp. 3–43.
15 Lietzmann (see note 13), p. 169.
16 Elisabeth Springer, *Laxenburg. Chronik – Bilder – Dokumente*, Laxenburg 1988, pp. 38–39. – Silvia Rankl, *Das Wasserschloss in Laxenburg. Ein Beispiel fürstlicher Herrschaftsrepräsentation im Mittelalter*, Diplomarbeit Universität Wien, 2011, pp. 10–101.
17 Springer (see note 16), 42; FHKA, NÖK (Niederösterreichische Kammer) Prot. (Protokollbuch) 32 (1555), fol. 92r.
18 Springer (see note 16), 44-48; HHStA, Z-Prot. 1, pag. 550-554.
19 Springer (see note 16), 48.
20 Springer (see note 16), 48; FHKA, NÖK Fasz. 413, fol. 142r-143v.
21 HHStA, Z-Prot.1, pag. 550-554; Z-Prot. 2, pag. 891-892, 980-981, 1407, 1529-1533; Z-Prot. 3, fol. 118v, 148r-149r, 196v; Z-Prot. 4, fol. 72v, 107r-107v, 292r, 323v, 569v-570r, 590v, 569r; Z-Prot. 5, fol. 73r-94r, 144v, 186v, 349v-365r, 408r.
22 HHStA, Z-Prot. 1, pag. 552-553; Z-Prot. 2, pag. 980.
23 Katrin Keller – Martin Scheutz – Harald Tersch (eds.), *Einmal Weimar – Wien und retour. Johann Sebastian Müller und sein Wienbericht aus dem Jahr 1660*, Vienna – Munich 2005 (= Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 42), pp. 124-127.
24 Michaela Müller et alii, *Die archäologischen und bauhistorischen Untersuchungen im Schloss Kaiserebersdorf*, Vienna 2008 (= Monografien der Stadtarchäologie Wien 3), pp. 27–39.
25 Ibidem, pp. 37–38.
26 Ibidem, p. 40.
27 Ibidem, pp. 43–46.

Pietro Ferrabosco, work was completed in 1565.[28] It is likely that Maximilian II built the *Zöglingstrakt* (pupil's wing) and the northern wing. At this time a road connected Ebersdorf directly to the Neugebäude, indicating a relationship between these two imperial residences.[29] Ferdinand II preferred to hunt at the castle in autumn, and this tradition was continued by Ferdinand III and Leopold I.[30] In 1660 Johann Sebastian Müller described Ebersdorf as a *'Khayserl. Lust- und Jagdhaus'*, full of hunting trophies and containing representative rooms including a *'Ritterstube'*, antecamera, audience chamber, and a *'Kayserl. Schlaff-Cammer'* as well as a small garden.[31] In 1683 the castle was once again destroyed by Ottoman troops, to the extent that demolition was considered.[32] However, the complex was rebuilt between 1687 and 1689 under the direction of the architect Christian Alexander Oedtl.[33]

The Favorita

The third residence in the vicinity of Vienna was the Favorita in the suburb of Wieden [Fig. 3], about 2 kilometers from the Hofburg. Favorita began as a late-Medieval manor house which was acquired by Emperor Matthias for his wife Anna.[34] Eleonora Gonzaga favoured this palace, and it was in her possession from 1622/1623 to 1637. She renovated the house and used it as a villa. The model for this project was Villa La Favorita outside her native Mantua, which belonged to her brother Duke Ferdinando Gonzaga.[35] Many ballets, theatrical performances, operas and feasts took place in the villa's extensive gardens.[36] Between 1637 and 1646 the Favorita belonged to Empress Maria Anna, the first wife of Ferdinand III. Documents from 1637 and 1638 indicate that Favorita was able to accommodate the imperial family and their household. The *'Khayserlichen Vauoritenhoff'* included a great hall, '*Khaysserliche Zimmer*', a kitchen and cellars.[37] The estate was large and included meadows, fields and vineyards. The pleasure gardens were designed by Giovanni Battista Carlone; they were composed of a *'Margrantengarten'* (pomegranate garden), flower-beds, a pond and a grotto.[38] After Maria Anna's death the Favorita came into the possession of the imperial widow Eleonora Gonzaga. In 1655/1657 it passed to her niece Eleonora Magdalena Gonzaga as a part of her thirds.[39]

Eleonora Magdalena also made significant changes to the Favorita. In 1658 and 1659 she added a new staircase, a new floor, and two rooms for her court ladies.[40] In 1661 the kitchen was rebuilt,[41] and in 1666 a new *'Galleria'* was added by recycling old timber from the Hofburg.[42] In 1668 two wooden pavilions were built in the garden.[43] In 1660 Johann Sebastian Müller described the *'Khayserin Garten Favorita'* ('The Empress's garden Favorita') as having vineyards; a pleasure garden with statues, railings and espaliers; an artificial embanked lake approximately 107 steps (ca. 79 m) long, 30 steps (ca. 22 m) wide and *'quite deep'*, which was surrounded by a balustrade and navigated by a *'Dutch'* gondola; a skittle-alley, galleries with busts displayed in niches; and two grottos. Inside the palace, Müller lists a *'Ritterstube'*, an antechamber, and a sleeping room.[44] In 1674 the garden wall was in ruins, so that people were able to enter the garden to steal copper pipes from the fountains.[45] In 1683 the Favorita and the surrounding suburb of Vienna was burned in the Ottoman siege and had to be rebuilt. However, the work which was under the direction of the architect Giovanni Pietro Tencalla did not begin until

28 Ibidem, pp. 43–46.
29 Ibidem, pp. 46–48; Lietzmann (see note 13), pp. 63–64.
30 Müller *et al.* (see note 24), pp. 48-52 – HHStA, Z-Prot. 1. pag. 411–413, 422, 427–428, 437; Z-Prot. 2, pag. 1548; Z-Prot. 3, fol. 68r, 123r, 170v; Z-Prot. 4, fol. 579v, 610r; Z-Prot. 5, fol. 73r-94r, 157r, 241v, 314v, 371v, 585v.
31 Keller – Scheutz – Tersch (see note 23), p. 54.
32 Müller et alii (see note 24), pp. 52-53.
33 Müller et alii (see note 24), p. 53; Moriz Dreger, *Baugeschichte der k. k. Hofburg in Wien bis zum XIX. Jahrhunderte*, Vienna 1914 (= Österreichische Kunsttopographie XIV), p. 209 – WStLA (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv), Alte Ziviljustiz A2, Fasz. 216/Zl. 20.
34 Erich Schlöss, *Baugeschichte des Theresianums*, Vienna – Cologne – Weimar 1998, pp. 17-25.
35 Petr Fidler, Loggia mit Aussicht – Prologemena zu einer Favorita, *The Art Bulletin* 60, 1978, pp. 274–295.
36 Andrea Sommer-Mathis, *„La Favorita festeggiante"* – The Imperial Summer Residence of the Habsburgs as Festive Venue, in: Ronnie Mulryne – Krista De Jonge (eds.), *Architectures of Festival: Fashioning and Re-Fashioning Urban and Courtly Space in Early Modern Europe* (in preparation).
37 HHStA, OMeA (Obersthofmeisteramt) SR (Sonderreihe) K 76, 1637-1638.
38 Schlöss (see note 34), pp. 26-33.
39 FHKA, NÖK Fasz. 413, fol. 142r-143v.
40 FHKA NÖK Fasz. 337, 15. Mai 1658; NÖK Fasz. 346, 12. Mai 1660.
41 FHKA, NÖK Fasz. 413, fol. 142r-143v.
42 FHKA, NÖK Fasz. 375; 1666 Jänner 20.
43 FHKA, NÖK Prot. E (Expedit) 356 (1665), fol. 312r.
44 Keller – Scheutz – Tersch (see note 23), pp. 66-67.
45 FHKA, NÖK Fasz. 413, fol. 129r-135v, fol. 146r-155v.

after the death of Eleonora Magdalena Gonzaga in 1686. The new renovations added several features, including the orangery, shooting-stand and an outdoor theatre.[46]

What do these imperial residences in the vicinity of Vienna have in common and what was their relationship to the Hofburg? Laxenburg, Ebersdorf, and Favorita are all situated close enough to Vienna [Fig. 4] that they could conveniently be visited, and they all were able to accommodate the imperial family and their household. Further, these residences could be used at short notice, as for example in 1654, when Ferdinand IV suffered from smallpox, and the court moved to Ebersdorf.[47] On 23 February 1668, Leopold I and Margarita Teresa fled to Ebersdorf and Eleonora Magdalena to Favorita when the *Leopoldinische Trakt* (Leopold wing) in the Hofburg burnt down.[48] Documents show that during the 1620s the court enjoyed long stays at Laxenburg in the spring to shoot herons and at Ebersdorf in late summer and early autumn. This tradition was continued by Ferdinand III and Leopold I;[49] in 1668 Leopold went 'as usual in May' to Laxenburg.[50]

The presence of the imperial court and household in these residences meant that important ceremonial events were adapted to these sites; prominent audiences, such as that of the apostolic nuncio Mariano Albrizi in May 1671[51] and the reception of the Muscovite delegation in 1687 both occurred at Laxenburg.[52] After renovating Favorita in around 1690, Leopold I held a number of important audiences and receptions there, including the visit of Tsar Peter the Great of Russia in June 1698,[53] the reception for Amalia Wilhelmine of Brunswick-Luneburg, the wife of Joseph I in 1699,[54] and the proclamation of Archduke Charles as King of Spain together with the *'pactum mutuae successionis'* in 1703.[55]

A 'regular' seasonal rotation of the court's presence in the Hofburg and the three nearby castles can be found out for the year 1692; toward the end of April or early May the court moved to Laxenburg, on 2 June to Favorita and on 4 September *'for a few weeks'* to Ebersdorf, before returning to the Hofburg.[56] This general model of sojourns and travels was observed for several decades until the death of Emperor Charles VI in 1740.[57] Wiener Neustadt was not used with similar regularity.[58]

In the seventeenth century, and especially during the reign of Ferdinand II, the imperial residences at Ebersdorf and Laxenburg were regularly used according to the season, the available accommodations, and the emperor's interest in hunting. Therefore these castles must have met the needs of the royal court and household in ways that the Neugebäude or Favorita could not.[59] Ebersdorf and Laxenburg took on the character of satellite residences, most notably during the reign of Leopold I. As these castles could be reached within a day's journey of the Hofburg, significant facilities for court and governmental administration were unnecessary. These castles served three main functions: they provided facilities and accommodation for the imperial hunting parties, space for leisure and amusement, and a suitable setting for formal diplomatic and ceremonial events. Although their relationship to the Hofburg has been obscured with the passage of time, the Vienna palace always remained the main residence of the Habsburg family. [Fig. 5]

46 Schlöss (see note 34), pp. 34-40.
47 HHStA, Z-Prot. 1, pag. 411-412.
48 Markus Jeitler, *Brände in der Hofburg*, in: Karner (see note 4), pp. 35–36.
49 Springer (see note 16), pp. 44-56; HHStA, Z-Prot. 3, fol. 57r; Z-Prot. 4, fol. 45v.
50 HHStA, Z-Prot. 2, pag. 1407.
51 HHStA, Z-Prot. 2, pag. 1529–1535.
52 HHStA, Z-Prot. 4, fol. 208v.
53 HHStA, Z-Prot. 5, fol. 411r–423r; Erich Schlöss, Zar Peter der Große in Wien. Übertragung der Blätter 411 bis 452 der Ceremonialprotokolle 1698 (ZA Prot. 5) in die Schrift unserer Zeit wort- und zeilengetreu, *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 51, 2004, pp. 375–546.
54 HHStA, Z-Prot. 5, fol. 527v.
55 HHStA, Z-Prot. 6, fol. 278r.
56 HHStA, Z-Prot. 5, fol. 14v–35v.
57 Friedrich Polleroß, Tradition und Recreation. Die Residenzen der österreichischen Habsburger in der frühen Neuzeit, *Majestas* 6, 1998, pp. 91–148 (130).
58 Jobst (see note 3), p. 15.
59 *Dehio-Handbuch. Wien II. bis IX. und XX. Bezirk,* Vienna 1993, pp. 17–20.

1. Georg Matthäus Vischer, Laxenburg, in: Topographia Archiducatus Austriae Inferioris Modernae, about 1672.

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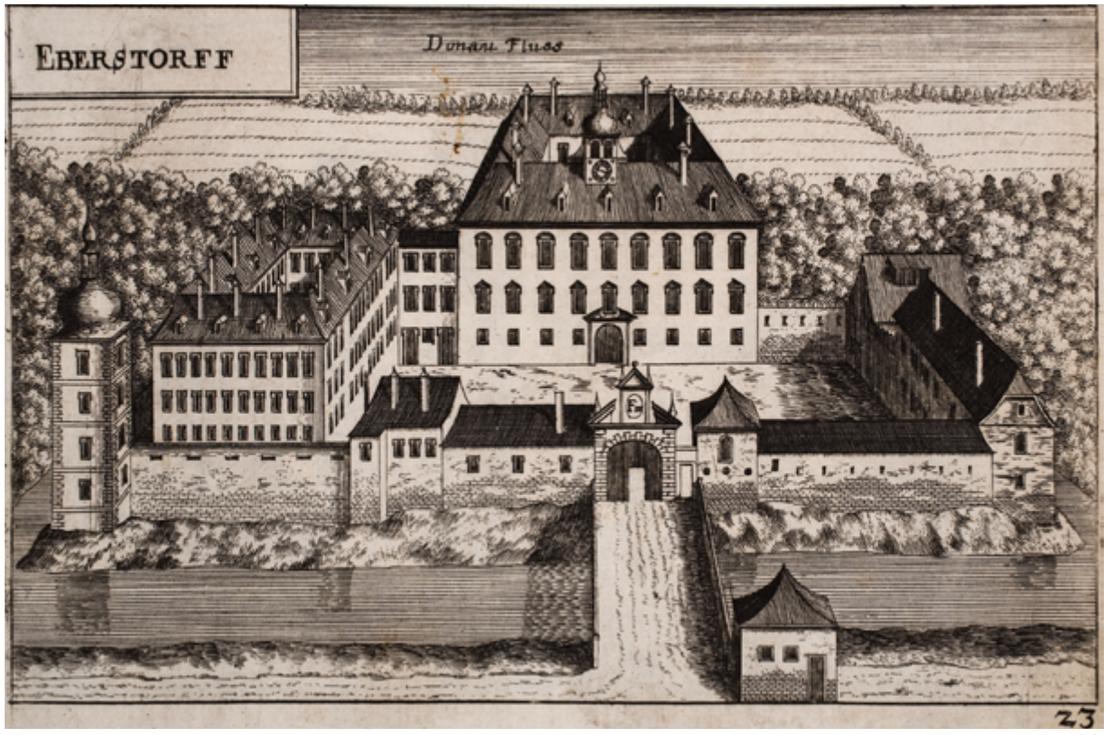


2. M. Merian d. Ä., Ebersdorf, in: Topographia Provinciarum Austriacarum, Frankfurt 1679

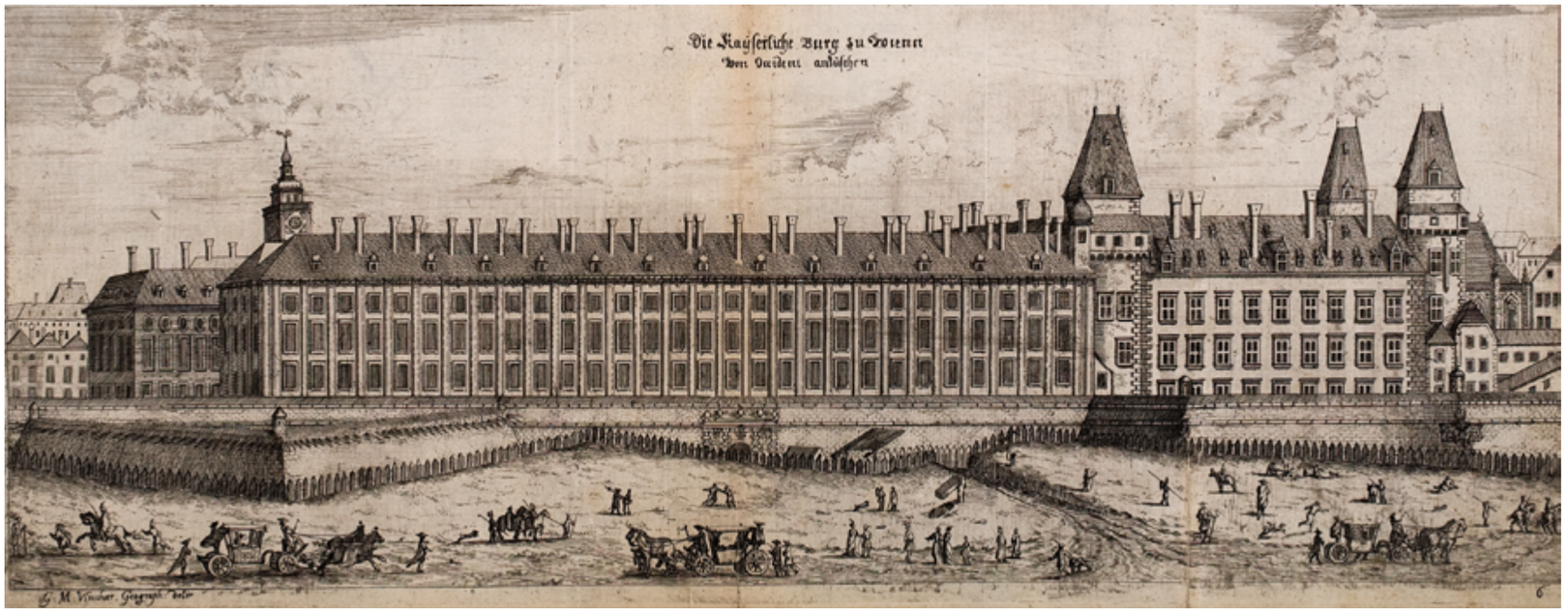
From: S. Haag (ed.), Echt tierisch! Die Menagerie des Fürsten, exh. cat., Vienna 2015

3. Georg Matthäus Vischer, Favorita, about 1672

Photo: Public domain

4. Map of Vienna and its environs (detail), 1692.

Photo: Vienna, WstLA, Kartographische Sammlung /Altbestand, Nr. 1158



5. Georg Matthäus Vischer, The Vienna Hofburg, about 1672.

From: H. Karner (ed.), Die Wiener Hofburg 1521–1705. Baugeschichte, Funktion und Etablierung als Kaiserresidenz, Vienna 2014

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PALATIUM e-Publication 4

This volume focuses on the leisure buildings – often called casino, palazotto or Lusthaus – which formed an integral part of princely residential complexes in Europe in the period 1400–1700. The aim of this collection is to study these satellite buildings as counterparts to the main palaces. The relatively small size of these structures belies their importance. They took on representative roles and developed certain ideological programmes that would have been difficult to achieve in the larger residential buildings.

Many of these buildings were meant only for seasonal use. Their primary role was as a place of rest, leisure and repose. This relaxation could either take a contemplative form or could include such vigorous activities as hunting, sports and various court festivities. The case studies presented here illustrate the shared principles of these recreational buildings and investigate how their architects and patrons attempted to realize a 'paradise on earth' and managed to bring the human world into harmony with the natural world.

Discussing examples from all over Europe – from Central Europe via Italy and France to Denmark and Scotland – the seventeen papers gathered in this volume address four different aspects of 'palazotto culture': the terminology that was used to identify these small palaces, which reflects the wide variety of needs they fulfilled; the functions and typologies of these buildings; their artistic decorations; and their gardens and natural surroundings.

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