

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

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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 Nogosseck (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 gardens³ 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. Jahrhundert 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 Kaiserresidenz*, 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 Wacław 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 1561²³ 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 known 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 Gévy, *Itinerar Kaiser Ferdinands I. 1521–1564*, Vienna 1843, 1549, 28th August. – Tomek (see note 12), XII, 1901, p. 29.

21 Gévy (see note 20), 1554, 10th–17th September – Tomek (see note 12), XII, 1901, p. 56.

22 Gévy (see note 20), 21st December.

23 Ibidem, 16th November. – Tomek (see note 12), XII, 1901, p. 108.

24 Gévy (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 Gévy (see note 20), 1557, 22nd December, 1562, 19th–28th April. – Tomek (see note 12), XII, 1901, p. 119. – Justin Prášek, *Brandýs nad Labem. Město, panství i okres I*, Prague 1908¹, 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 rüdolphinische 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 Gévy (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 Philippine Welser, an Augsburg burgher's daughter, whom Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol secretly married, and the children from thismorganatic 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 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 of the castle.⁴³ This was connected to the king and queen's private chambers in the south-western wing of the complex⁴⁴ 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 distant 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 Kráse*, 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 Belvédér 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 Hanneschläger (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 Ecclesiae 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 patristickými, 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 země 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 Northern 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.



FERDINAND· D·G· ROMAN· IMP· SEMPER AVG·
GERMAN· VNGAR· BOHEMIA· DALM· CROAT· REX
ARCHID· AVSTRIÆ DVX BVRGVND· COM· TIROLIS· ZC
M D LXXV

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

From: Wikipedia



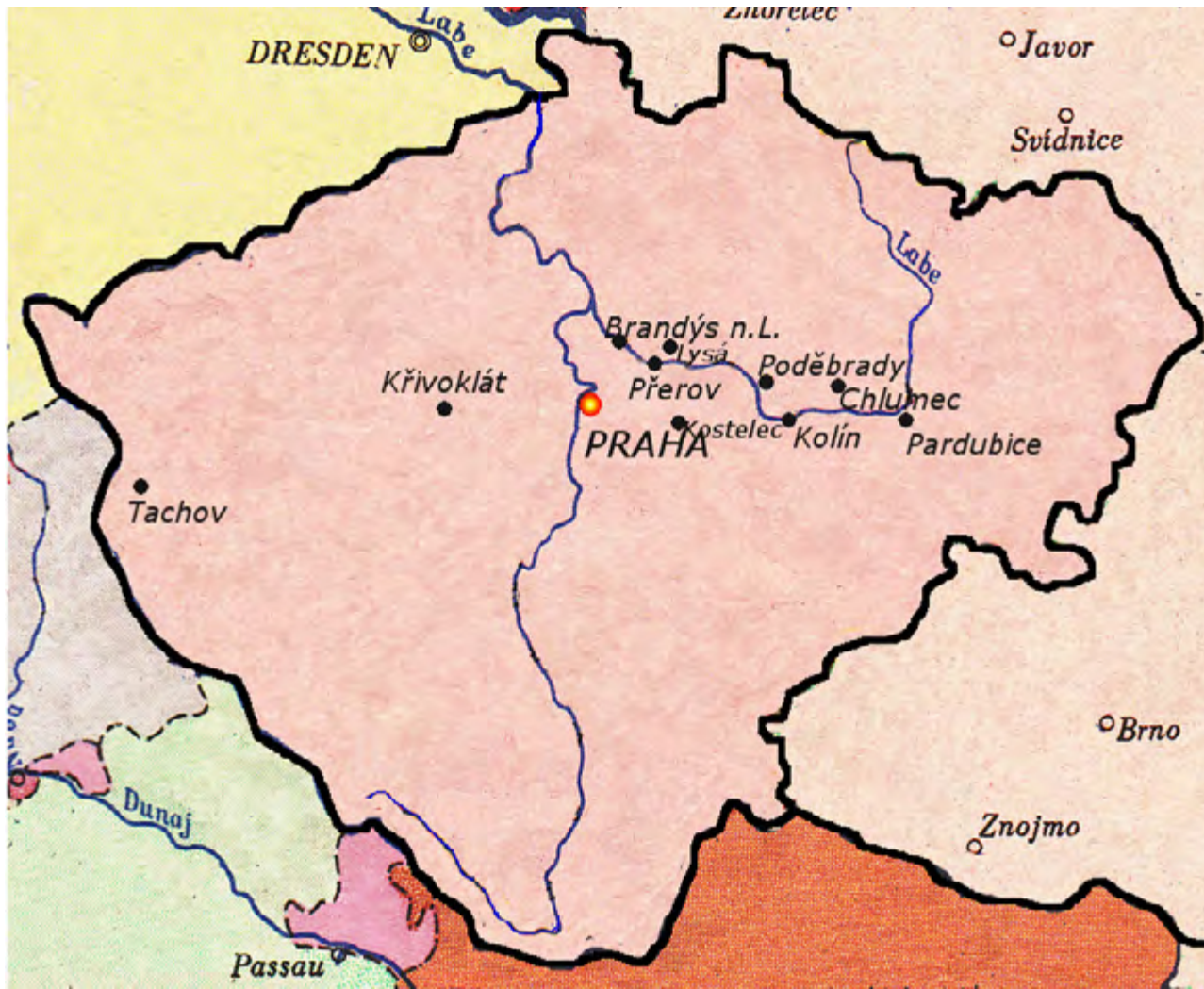
2. View of Prague, detail, 1536/37

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 *Školní 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