

Architecture at the Prague Belvedere: Between Theory and Practice

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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 Dabalová, 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 Dabalová, *Zahrady Rudolfa II: Jejich vznik a vývoj*, Prague 2009.

3 Sebastiano Serlio, *Il terzo libro nel qual si figurano, e descrivono le antiqvità di Roma, e le altre che sono in Italia e fuori 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 Kaiserhauses* 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 Olomuniec 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 Belvédér* (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 Belvédér* (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. Statthaltereii-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 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.

11 Bažant, *Pražský Belvedér* (see note 2), pp. 77–78. The painter and architect, Pietro Ferrabosco was employed in building and surveying fortifications throughout Central Europe, although he also worked on residential projects. There is no comprehensive survey of Ferrabosco'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. Ferrabosco 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. Ferrabosco 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, Toscano, Dorico, Ionico, Corinthio, Et Composito, Con Gli Esempi Dell'Antiquita, Che, Per La Magior Parte Concordano Con La Dottrina Di Vitruvvio*, Venice 1537, p. 6r.

15 See Petr Uličný'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 châteaux 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 Forsman, *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: Stadtanlagen – 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 böhmischen 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 Sebastiano 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 Antiquitäten 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 Bonifáce Wolmuta v knihovně metropolitní kapituly pražské, Památky archaeologické* 31, 1919, pp. 97–98. – Ivo Kořán, *Knihovna architekta Bonifáce 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.

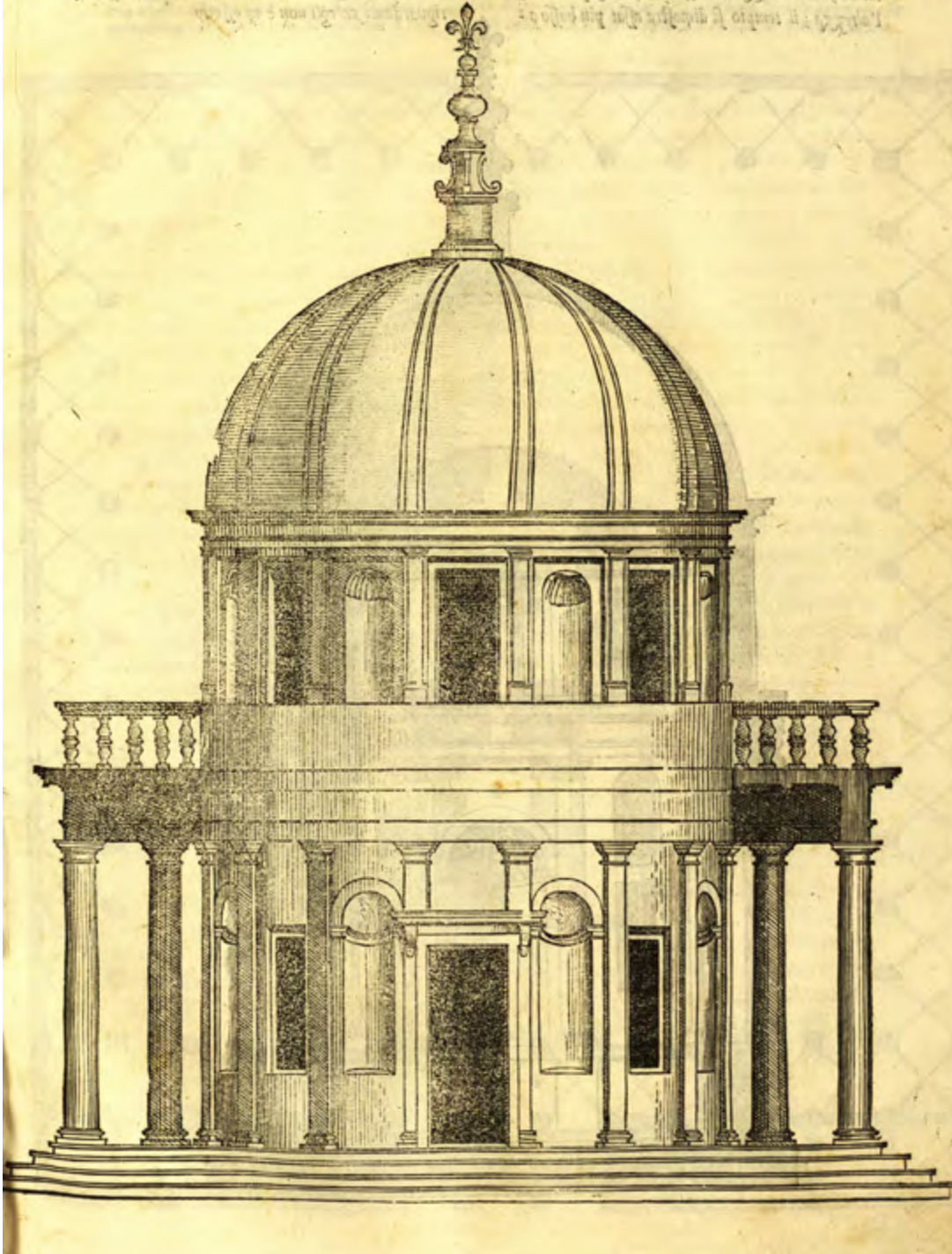
40 Serlio, *Regole generali* (see note 14), p. 5r; Serlio, *Il terzo libro* (see note 3), p. 41r.



1. Belvedere, north facade during a reconstruction, without stone balustrade showing the arcades and windows and doors behind them.

Photo: I. P. Muchka

Vesto è il dritto del tempio qui a canto dimostrato in pianta, il quale rappresenta la parte di fuori, Et è tutto di opera Dorica si come per il disegno si può comprendere. circa a le particolari misure io non mi stenderò: perciocché da la pianta si potrà comprendere il dritto, per essere questo, quantunque egli sia picciolo, proportionatamente disegnato, e trasportato con le proprie misure da granpe a picciolo.



2. Tempietto, in: Sebastiano Serlio, *Il terzo libro*, Venice 1540.



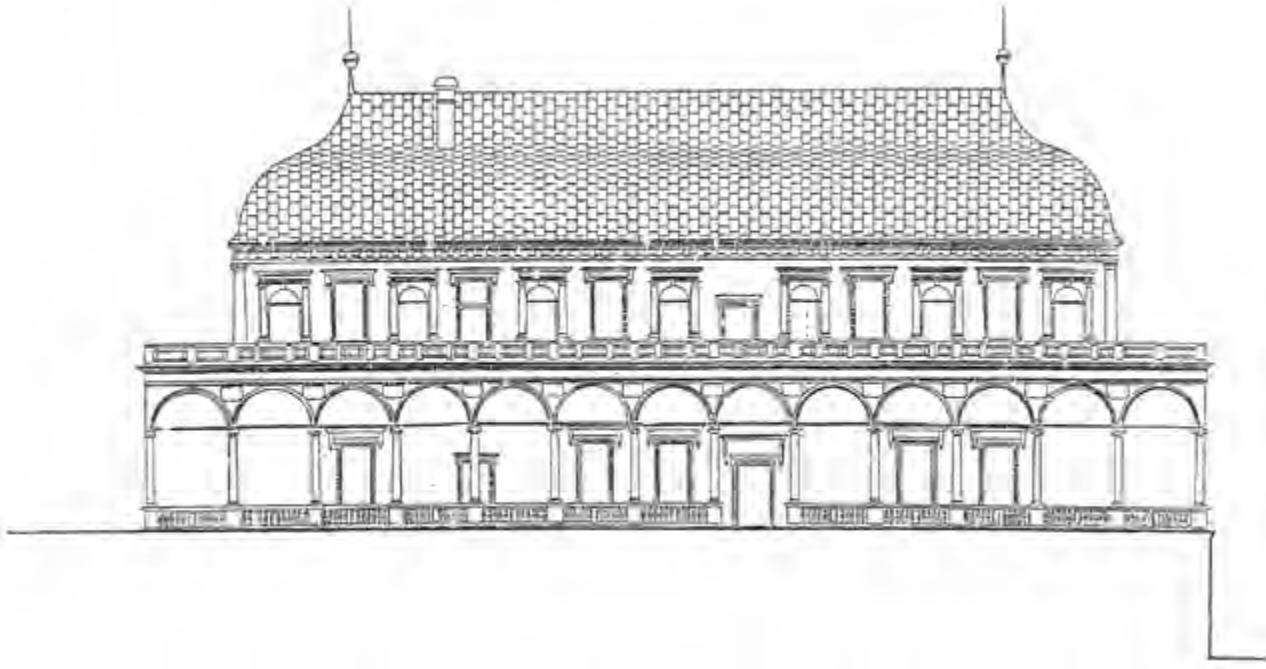
3. Belvedere, south facade during a reconstruction, without stone balustrade.

Photo: I. P. Muchka



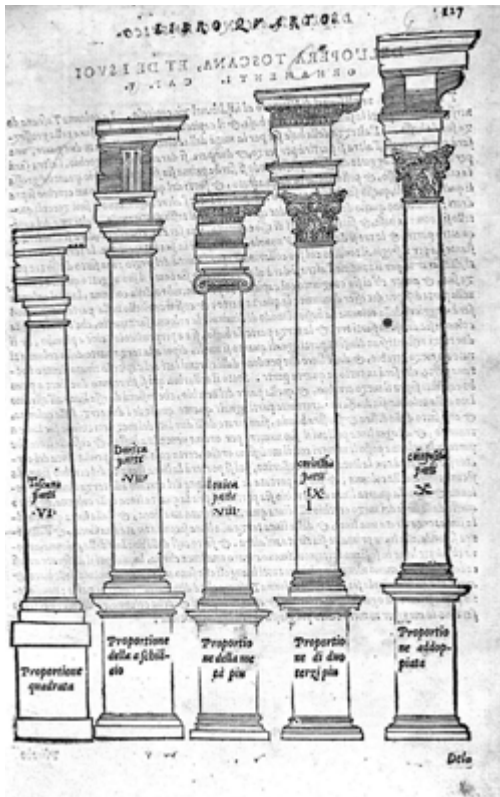
4. Photograph of the upper facade of the Belvedere, showing niche and window.

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.