

Presentation, Representation and Invisibility

Emperor Ferdinand I and his Son Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria in Prague (1547–1567)

Madelon Simons (University of Amsterdam)

The theme of this volume is, among others, how a (Habsburg) sovereign had himself represented within the framework of his court culture. Doesn't every royal or princely commission contribute to the image and the stamp the sovereign wants to put on his residence? This certainly applied to the King of Bohemia at Prague Castle in the mid-sixteenth century. It will nevertheless become apparent that the sovereign did not or could not give his commission for the building of the Prague Court a high priority and while the work developed slowly the King above all seemed to want to be *invisible* while in residence in Prague. At the same time the Habsburg residence in Prague was also in use as residence of the representative of the King. It can therefore be argued that *Repraesentatio Maiestatis*, picturing the sovereign in his high and mighty tasks, was not always the primary aim of every commission at the Royal Court. Especially not when the vice-regent, the official representative of the King, was a wilful man who would leave his own mark, a mark with imaginative qualities of its own, on the Prague Court. However, I wonder if our reconstructive descriptions of these manifestations do not presuppose too complicated and too highly intellectual a substance. While the sovereign King Ferdinand I (1503–1564) was of course represented in all his dignity and virtue and this was emphasized in a scholarly manner in contemporary publications,¹ there were of course different levels of representation. The spectators at Royal events were fascinated or bewildered, but things were not always as serious and on as high an intellectual level as they have subsequently been interpreted. While virtue was being portrayed, there must have been a lot of laughter. People must also have laughed loud and frequently at so much (more or less) hidden depravity.

Prague 1526

King Ferdinand I was the sovereign in Prague for thirty-eight years. In 1526 he became King of Bohemia and in 1556 was elected Roman Emperor. At a young age a marriage agreement had been made for this very successful descendant of the Habsburg dynasty with Princess Anna Jagiello (1503–1547), the daughter of the Bohemian/Hungarian King. Anna and her husband contributed fifteen children to the dynasty. Ferdinand I claimed and was granted the Bohemian crown after the death of his brother-in-law Ludwig Jagiello (1505–1526). This claim, however, was not an obvious one for the Bohemian parties and was not awarded without discussion. After difficult negotiations Ferdinand I and Anna were crowned King and Queen of Bohemia in the church of Saint Vitus in 1526.² This would seem to have been the obvious moment for the Habsburg dynasty to start building their own specific court culture and design a special image for King and Queen (also) in Prague.³ The King started this by

ordering the extension of the Castle with a garden complex and a summer palace in 1534. And in 1556 his son took care of the Ceremonial Entry of Ferdinand I as Roman Emperor. The Castle thus became a centre of *Repraesentatio Majestatis*, in the sense of its representing the self-evident glory and virtue of the sovereign. But this is a rather superficial and artificial image. On closer inspection both members of the Habsburg house named Ferdinand left on Prague a fairly modest, but at the same time ambiguous stamp.

Prague Castle

The history of the Castle shows that the garden complex was the only large project King Ferdinand had commissioned.⁴ For this extension outside the fortress walls Italian migrant workers were brought to Prague, who stayed for just a few months and in summer returned to their villages in the Italian Alps. This is one of the explanations why progress was slow. The records show that the King was definitely interested in the project. He insisted for example that the bridge to the gardens should be finished as a matter of urgency, and wished to check the progress of the work himself.⁵ This bridge over the so-called ‘Stag’ ditch between the northern wall of the Castle and the garden area was not only meant for the transport of goods but also contained a remarkable construction on the eastern side, a covered corridor called the ‘*Gallerie*’.⁶ The King himself described its function: the corridor enabled him to enter the gardens unseen. It belonged to a whole complex of passages from the King’s palace in the western part of the Castle via the so-called Western Palace, the fortress walls, the stables and the bridge into the gardens, just at the point where the Summer Palace was built.⁷ The wooden structures that were given so much priority played a dramatic role during the destructive fire which burned large parts of Prague Castle in 1541.⁸ The fire spread via the wooden galleries up to the building site of the Summer Palace and destroyed all the plants. Prague Castle would show the scars of this disaster for years. Not until 1555, for example, were the apartments of the King and Queen in the so-called Old Palace renovated, with the ceilings being raised and decorated, although they were not fundamentally altered.⁹ In the same year Archduke Ferdinand II ordered, as a precaution, the wooden galleries within the Castle walls to be rebuilt in stone.¹⁰ Those in the garden complex were left in wood. As Emperor Maximilian II had these hard-to-maintain wooden structures restored and partly altered, it seems that a concealed walk into the garden was important for him too.¹¹

There are no detailed images of Prague Castle, either drawings or prints, to give us information about the situation around 1555, apart from some townscapes. This lack of visual records could be related to the low priority the King gave these commissions for his residence in Bohemia. But it is more likely that many records, such as floor plans, models and prints, are lost. It is very difficult to imagine what the interior of Prague Castle looked like. It seems that King Ferdinand I made the old constructions within the fortress walls accessible through wooden (later stone) galleries, staircases and gallery bridges.

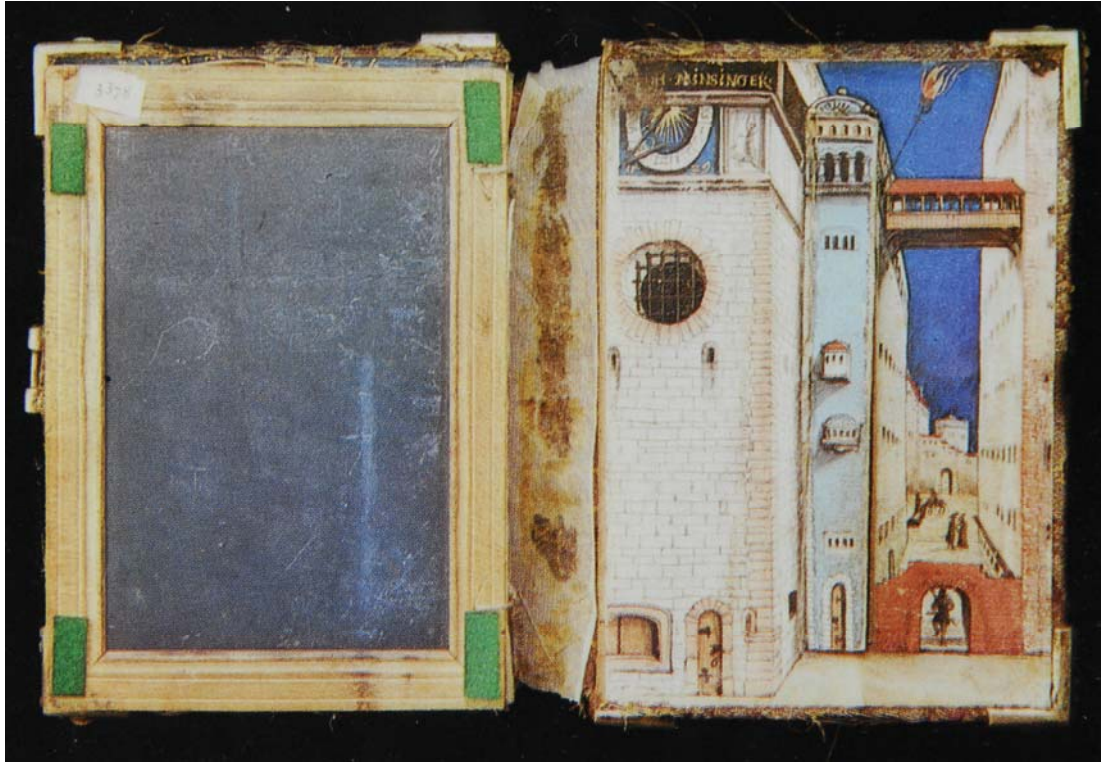


Fig. 1 Johann Minsinger, 'Tafelet' owned by King Ferdinand I, dat. 1529.

One of those structures can, in my opinion, be seen in a Royal notebook (fig. 1), which becomes an interesting source if we regard it as an opportunity to look within the castle walls. It is a luxuriously decorated, but everyday object which was owned by King Ferdinand I himself.¹² This notebook, in a textile cover, has two slates with both sides written on and little boxes for slate-pencils and a sponge. The covers of these boxes are decorated with the picture of an impressive square tower with a staircase to the left and a view of a gate, a tower(?) and to the right the side facade of a building.¹³ High between the walls, silhouetted against the blue sky, there is a wooden bridge covered with red roof tiles. The building to the right must, in my opinion, be the so-called Western Palace. In 1555, Archduke Ferdinand II commissioned the decoration of three clock faces for the white tower to the left, which were described in a document as follows: *'drei wollgezierti khompasurn auf die drei ort mit lustiger zier volendt werden'*.¹⁴ If this is a look within the walls of Prague Castle, it shows that the Habsburg sovereigns until Emperor Rudolf II did not alter the construction of the existing buildings, which were connected through external facilities and, as will be demonstrated later on, only decorated with painted clock faces, niches and pilasters. Ferdinand I never achieved a larger project within the walls of Prague Castle, nor did he ever intend any such project during his long reign as King of Bohemian between 1526 and 1564.

The King's representative

Archduke Ferdinand II supervised the restorations and building activities in the gardens by order of the King, but he also had the opportunity to establish his own profile. In 1555 the Archduke had a hunting lodge built, the so-called '*Lustschloss*' of Stern [Star, Hvězda].¹⁵ This remarkable building, which is preserved practically undamaged, is introduced here to show that the Archduke did have the opportunity to add a representative building to the court culture of his father and thus to leave his mark on Prague. And the architecture of Stern reveals something of the archduke's personality.

Ferdinand is numbered II because he was the second Ferdinand in his line. He was also the second son of the royal couple. Born in 1529, he spent his youth mostly in Innsbruck and moved to Prague in 1543. In 1547 he became his father's representative, or '*Statthalter*'. In 1555, when Stern was built, the Archduke was already in a relationship with Philippine Welser, the daughter of a merchant from Augsburg. Contrary to one of the romanticized stories made up in the nineteenth century, he did not built Stern for her. Ferdinand II married Philippine in secret in 1557, the year of the birth of their first son. His loyalty to this morganatic marriage made a future European royal career impossible.¹⁶ But this does not mean that the Prague court had a lesser status among the nobility. Nor was Prague a regional or provincial court in either a political or in a cultural sense.

Stern

By building 'Stern' in a game reserve on the White Mountain some six kilometres from Prague Castle, the Archduke started, and with great diligence also finished, an undertaking representative for the Habsburgs. The game reserve was (and still is) enclosed by high walls and gates. Stern could in the middle of the sixteenth century be reached by way of a road fringed with trees. The building itself lies at the end of an avenue, just at the slope of the mountain. Therefore and because of the enclosing walls around it, Stern does not seem to be exactly monumental. But a visit will have impressed the visitor in the sixteenth century, as it still does today (fig. 2).



Fig. 2 The hunting lodge of Stern.

A guest of the Archduke's might have been a member of the hunting party or might have been invited to visit the gardens on the terraces and the fishponds behind Stern. He might even have participated in a game of tennis in the small gallery on the first terrace just below Stern. But this visitor would certainly not have been a member of a large group. The rooms at 'Stern' are simply too small for a large number of guests.

As mentioned before, Stern in the '*Neue Tiergarten*' was the Archduke's most important commission in Prague. He followed the building progress carefully, even when he was in an army camp in the south of Hungary waiting for battle with the Turks. Ferdinand II might even have been involved in designing the building. In sources connected to ceremonies around the laying of the first stone, the Archduke is mentioned as the architect of Stern.¹⁷ This was of course done to honour him, but since the Archduke was very anxious to build and to complete the project, I presume that he could well have been involved in the design, probably in close collaboration with a builder of fortifications. The characteristic six-pointed star, the basic plan of Stern, is derived from the geometrical forms of fortresses.

The building had four floors. The cellars must have been designated for storage. On the entrance floor there are a remarkable number of niches, possibly used for a (temporary) exhibition. The Archduke began collecting in Prague and, as will be described later, he exhibited weaponry in Prague Castle at the time of the Ceremonial Entry of Emperor Ferdinand I in 1558. It is therefore possible that he already started to make the presentation of his weaponry in Prague, on which he would later elaborate at the castle of Ambras near Innsbruck.¹⁸

More important than the possible objects in the niches is my argument about how a visit to Stern could have been arranged. As mentioned before, Stern can be compared to a tower in which one can lose one's way.¹⁹ If the Archduke wanted to use Stern as an environment in which he could show and spell out the virtues of his dynasty, he had many choices. Not only by presenting specific objects in niches, but also by referring to the scenes on the stucco ceilings of the main hall on the entrance floor.²⁰ For the informed visitor the historical scenes in stucco were easy to recognize and to associate with the virtues of the Habsburgs themselves. In the sixteenth century as well, the central image of Aeneas escaping from burning Troy with his father Anchises on his back was a reference to the foundation of Rome, an event the Habsburgs would have been pleased to be associated with. Manlius Curtius Rufus' heroism, as in Livy, or that of Marcus Attilius Regulus as in Valerius Maximus, can easily be linked to the heroic deeds of the Habsburg hero whose suite of armor is placed in a niche in one of the rooms. But the recognition of an object or an iconographical association with the virtues of the House of Habsburg was not the only means by which the Archduke would have impressed his (imaginary) visitor in 1560. Anyone doing the rounds with the Archduke will very quickly have lost his or her way, especially if the two upper floors were visited as well. If this guest climbed the staircase in the sixth point of the star of Stern, the Archduke could even disappear and reach one of the other floors before his guest, via the small spiral staircase in the middle. And he could wait for his guest in the cellar amongst his wine, by the fireplace on the first floor, or with the musicians in the great (dancing) hall underneath the roof.

Just as in the projects in the Castle and in the gardens, the *representation* of the sovereign therefore was at the same time his *unseen* passing. But was the system of corridors just intended for

the privacy of the Royal family and, for practical purposes, to keep one's feet dry in times of rain?²¹ In Stern the secret connection also might have enabled the Archduke to amaze and confuse his public.²²

In search of a director of manifestations

In the records, all manifestations of Royal Representation are assigned to the sovereign himself, although it is clear that in practice this was not altogether the case. The role of designer or advisor could have been in the hands of a scientist, a humanist or an architect at court. King Ferdinand I too had many advisors for the design of his courts at Innsbruck, Vienna and Prague and for the development of the numerous projects in his empire.

Benedict Ried, the architect for the Royal Castle in Prague, was until his death in 1534 His Majesty's advisor in Bohemia. Ried did not have a successor as such. After 1534, Italian- and German-speaking craftsmen worked in competition. Although at the time the King suggested giving Bonifatius Wolmut the position of Royal master builder, this never happened. The court of the Archduke did not have just the one master builder either. The Italian Paolo della Stella and the German-speaking Wolmut and Hans von Tirol were responsible for separate building activities. Not until 1557 do the records indicate that Wolmut had acquired a leading position and was in a position to evaluate the work of the other master builders.²³ But none of them is truly in charge, as the producer of all forms of representation in Prague during the time Archduke Ferdinand II stayed there.

No leading architect is mentioned for the court in Vienna either. The painter and master builder Pietro Ferrabosco worked with his employees in and around the Hofburg at the time. He was sent to Prague regularly to assess progress, but again not much is known about the status of Ferrabosco at King Ferdinand's court. He certainly had the ability to design Stern in detail, with the Archduke looking over his shoulder and getting the credit. Ferrabosco was born in 1512 or 1513 in Laino near Como and served the Habsburgs from 1544 onwards. He began his career as a so-called 'war painter' and acted as a fortress-builder later on.²⁴ This is why he could have been the architect of Stern, since he was able to apply the geometrical forms used in fortresses. This interesting but little-known court artist worked in all sorts of important places in the empire of Ferdinand I. He was certainly versatile, since he worked not only for military operations, but also at the Hofburg in Vienna and at the Neugebäude. For his services Ferrabosco was knighted by Ferdinand I, an honour which most fortress-builders in Royal service were awarded.²⁵ Despite his knighthood, however, Ferrabosco was not the archducal advisor I am looking for, the man responsible for the representation of the sovereign and the Habsburg dynasty in Prague. Ferrabosco was involved in the Habsburg court, but he was never long enough in Prague and little is known about his theoretical knowledge.

Was this role in the hands of one of the humanists at the archducal court? Was it the Italian court physician and botanist Pier Andrea Mattioli (1501–1579)? Mattioli did live at the Prague court for a long time and did have the theoretical knowledge. In Prague Mattioli continued the botanical studies he had started in Italy, publishing the Latin edition of a large botanical survey based on the work of the classical Greek Dioskurides and having the edition translated into other languages.²⁶ Earlier Mattioli had been the court physician of the Cardinal of Trento, where he published a eulogy for his employer.²⁷ So could he have had a similar role in Prague too?

Although Mattioli was involved in some representational tasks, there are still few indications that he played a dominant role in the creation of the Habsburg image in Prague in the 1550s. The commission to write a report on the festivities during the Entry of Ferdinand I in 1558 was given to him only afterwards.²⁸ The text describes the movements of the sovereign and his retinue on 8 and 9 November 1558. It also reveals something of the archducal court. Ferdinand II himself, who, as much of the text indicates, must have made a fair contribution to the contents of the scenario, directed all the movements and rode in front of the parade.

The Entry

Mattioli refers to the salutations outside the city gates when under the command of the Archduke the Bohemian nobles joined the Imperial retinue. First they met a group of about a thousand men all dressed in black, their heads covered by caps, dancing and shouting; with their so-called '*anticamente*', an old-fashioned sort of flail with metal pins, they were beating straw. This detail is often mentioned in the Czech historical literature as significant. But is this intermezzo at the start of the Ceremonial Entry merely a superficial reference to the Hussite revolt and defeat of many years before or, rather, an emphatic reminder? Whatever the case, the Emperor and his entourage, notes Mattioli, simply had to laugh at those primitive farmers.²⁹

The ride through the three cities of Prague is characterized by Mattioli as a long series of meetings with members of the city councils, the clergy of different denominations, and speakers from the Charles University and the Jesuit Grammar School. The honour the Prague population accorded to their Emperor was carefully directed. Tribute was paid by boys, girls, women and men, all divided into age groups. Widows, for example, had gathered in the square of the 'Small Side', the third Prague city, below Prague Castle. Grey-haired men were allowed to greet the Emperor at the end of his tour at the Strahov gate on the way to the Castle. They had to wait for a very long time, but fortunately they were standing next to a fountain spouting red and white wine. Mattioli's report is partly based on a written scenario and partly on his own observations. He stresses that all participants were dressed for the occasion and that thousands of horses must have squeezed through the small streets of the Old City. In the middle of the crowd Mattioli recognized a remarkable number of his compatriots: over two thousand Italians were standing along the route to the Castle, which was the quarter where they lived. Mattioli describes the triumphal arches alongside the route, mainly in relation to those who had commissioned them. The Jesuits, for example, of whom a fairly complicated iconography might have been expected, had raised an arch at the Klementinum, but Mattioli mentions only rather simple themes, such as Justice and Peace with the god Mars above. He gives the quite obvious interpretation of the image: the arch refers to 'His Majesty's peaceful reign'.

From Mattioli's descriptions of the decorations in and around the Castle it can be deduced that he had taken the time to consider them carefully or that he might even have played some role in the choices of the iconography or classical quotations. Mattioli is more precise about the decorations made for the Castle than he is about those along the tour. He even refers to the makers, who were artists from the circles around the Archduke, although he mentions no names.



Fig. 3 Francesco Terzio (attr.), Portrait of Archduke Ferdinand II.

The designer and painter of the largest triumphal arch before the Castle wall is ‘a talented Italian painter’.³⁰ This must have been (Giovanni) Francesco Terzio from Bergamo (ca. 1523–1591), who in 1558 had already been working for Ferdinand II for some years (fig. 3). However, it is not clear who Mattioli refers to as: ‘*unico maestro di stucchi et di basi relievi*’.³¹ In 1558 a whole group of stucco workers were working for the Archduke Ferdinand II, constructing the stucco ceilings at Stern, but none is known by name.³² Mattioli describes the well-proportioned parts of Terzio’s big arch, such as the eight Corinthian columns on a marble base with reliefs. In two colossal statues he recognizes biblical heroes: to the left Samson, with a lion’s skin in one hand and in the other an ass’s jaw, and to the right Gideon with a big Persian sword in his left hand and in his right hand an enormous shield. On the edges of the arch Mattioli mentions bronze-like reliefs. The images of the virtues Justice and Temperance were bronze-coloured too. To explain the significance of these images the phrase ‘*Justitia arma regat, sancta haec moderatio servet*’ was put on the arch, as was noted by Mattioli, who may possibly have been responsible for this choice of motto. On top of the

arch the author identified Imperial regalia such as the crowned eagle, the chain with the Golden Fleece, and four historical personalities of the Habsburg dynasty: Charles V, Maximilian I, Rudolf I, and Frederick III. According to Mattioli this triumphal arch did not contain any complicated messages either. He had studied the arch carefully, but his description is not precise enough to suggest that he was the inventor of its iconographical programme. It seems that the arch at Prague Castle fits Jacquot's inventory of the iconography of arches raised for sovereigns in the sixteenth century.³³

The court physician's description of the decorations within the walls of Prague Castle shows that restoration projects had been carried out and that the decorations were partly the work of the Archduke himself. The house of the Archduke's Lord Chamberlain, for instance, was freshly painted and decorated with columns, mouldings and marbled niches. The entrance of the house of the Archduke was furnished with a representation of the allegory 'Peace in lively colours', surrounded by attributes and a quotation from Vergil. Very interesting is Mattioli's description of a construction round a large door. This must have been some sort of exhibition of '*bella & rara Armaria*', according to Mattioli a selection from the archducal collection of weapons including pieces of armour and other 'valuable objects' such as a horse's cuirass, Turkish bows and Persian swords. Sadly, the author is not more precise, probably not having an eye for this type of object. But he was impressed by the colourful silk hangings around this exhibition, especially by the flapping banners that created the theatrical setting.³⁴

The next evening

Theatricals and spectacles were also at the heart of the festivities on the evening of 11 November, the day after the Entry of the Emperor.³⁵ Mattioli attended this part of the programme together with the most important guests. He describes the entourage in the gardens, where the Summer Palace formed the backdrop for the spectacles. The site in front of the Palace had been levelled and fenced off, Mattioli writes, and was illuminated and equipped with two low tower-like constructions for the musicians of the Archduke. On one side there were pieces of scenery: a beautiful wild and barren mountain and next to it the throne of Jupiter. According to Mattioli the play was about a battle between the Gods and the Giants, with a lot of fireworks and extravaganza; however, the physician's text does not contain a proper explanation of the play's meaning. Together with a select part of the international and the Bohemian guests, he was witness to the spectacular end of the festivities when the scenery burned down completely. But again, Mattioli does not appear to have been involved in the contents of the play, nor does he seem have had any responsibility for the intellectual creation of the Entry as a whole. His reports are clearly the contribution of a spectator. He was not the director of the manifestations that I am looking for.

The archducal court

The active role Ferdinand II played in the creation of his court can be demonstrated in several ways. In comparison with the Summer Palace, Stern was built and finished remarkably quickly. The building process had his close attention, certainly because of his personal involvement in the design of the

star-shaped hunting lodge. The Archduke himself directed the Entry of his father Ferdinand I described briefly above. As the festivities during the tour around the Prague cities took much longer than expected, the Archduke postponed the official finale to the next day. Not only in the decorations of the Castle but also through a small but significant detail of the play it is possible to show the archducal concern with studio props, with collections, and with the play itself. The monkeys that popped out of ‘Evil’ (the heads of the Giants) probably came from the Archduke’s own menagerie.³⁶

There are no images of these literally explosive expressions of imperial representation held on 9 November 1558. But there are, thanks to the Archduke himself, images of meetings of lesser status. Reports on tournaments are illustrated in a *‘Turnierbuch’*.³⁷ And there are images in a wonderful record by one of the spectators of the festivities at the so-called *‘Kolowrat Hochzeit’*.³⁸ Although Ferdinand II himself was never the central figure – the bridegroom – in an official Habsburg wedding in Prague, he certainly was the director of several others.³⁹ The Archduke seems to have been actively involved in and present at all parts of the programme. His role at a wedding party in 1555 can be reconstructed on the basis of a fairly detailed report.



Fig. 4 Sigmund Elsässer, ‘Spring’.

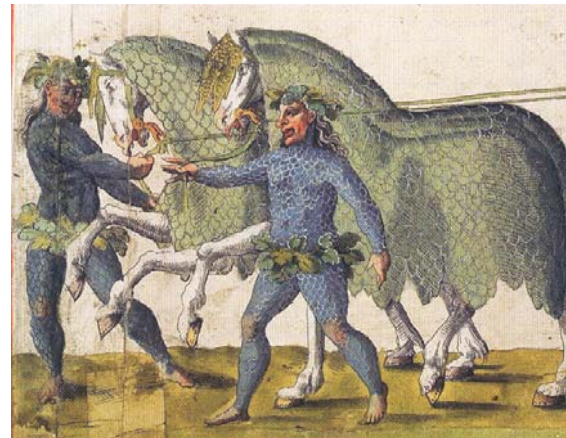


Fig. 5 Watermen, in close fitting suits.

During the ‘masquerade’, for example, four goddesses entered the hall wearing white taffeta dresses with golden sleeves of leather, masks, and long blonde wigs with crowns of box leaves (fig. 4). They brought the bride a so-called *‘Munsanc’* (wedding gift) and danced with four ‘watermen’ who were dressed in close-fitting suits (fig. 5). The highlight of the evening was the moment the ‘watermen’ left the room and the final scene was the most surprising: the goddesses proved to be men in drag, led by *‘Sn. Gn. der Erzfuers’*, i.e. the Archduke himself, as Johann von Schwamberg wrote in 1555.⁴⁰ Ferdinand II not only played the leading part that evening but was also the owner of the costumes and probably also of many of the other party props.

In his collections, still to be seen at Schloss Ambras near Innsbruck and in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, are masks, exotic weaponry and (replicas of) textiles, helmet decorations and horse-blankets that were used as requisites at parades and parties. Ferdinand II not only collected this material but also had at least part of it depicted. The requisites were used over and over again. The dresses of the goddesses were, it seems, used again at another wedding in the

Kolowrat family twenty-five years later and the watermen were back on the scene at the Archduke's wedding party in 1582.⁴¹

Serious representation with much laughter

These few examples of courtly representation during the time Ferdinand I was King of Bohemia and his son Archduke Ferdinand II vice-regent show that the Habsburgs certainly did put their stamp upon Prague, although during their long period of governance a lot more might have been achieved. It seems that their main focus was not on Princely, Royal or Imperial representation but on the private sphere, at least at the beginning. King Ferdinand I added gardens to the castle complex where he could wander around in peace. His son was personally responsible for the building of Stern, a very special star-shaped building that must have astonished all his visitors and probably also the Bohemian nobility. In addition to these remains in stone, meetings with the sovereign and his deputy illuminate our knowledge of his appearance and his representations in Prague. The Ceremonial Entry of the Emperor under the command of the Archduke transformed the streets of Prague into a red-and-white-coloured sea of spectators. All the decorations were a demonstration of devotion to the sovereign. Here and there within the iconography of decorations and play there was room for a warning finger, but there was also probably much more room for laughter. The celebrations and tournaments for the Bohemian nobles in and around the court of the Archduke were also characterized by amusement and amazement, although not in the first place in an intellectual sense. The dance of the wigged goddesses was not meant to identify them and to remind the audience of their virtue but, on the contrary, to make the people laugh out loud at the revelation of their travesty (fig. 6).



Fig. 6 'Goddess' with mask and blonde wig (detail from fig. 4).

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Illustrations

Fig. 1 Johann Minsinger, 'tafelet' or notebook owned by King Ferdinand I, signed and dated 1529, KHM, Vienna, Kk inv. nr. 5378.

Fig. 2 Letohrádek Hvězda, Bíla Hora (White Mountain), Prague, photo author.

Fig. 3 Francesco Terzio (attr.), Portrait of Archduke Ferdinand II, ca. 1557-58, oil on parchment, KHM, Vienna, W KK 4974. The arch is not an exact illustration of Mattioli's text, but the forms and the materials are similar.

Fig. 4 Sigmund Elsässer, *Kolowrat Hochzeit*, 'Spring', KHM, Vienna, inv. no. 5269.

Fig. 5 Sigmund Elsässer, *Hochzeitscodex*, page with watermen and a sea god, coloured prints, New York Public Library Ger. 1582.

Fig. 6 Detail from fig. 4.

¹ Bažant 2006, for instance, analyses thoroughly the iconography of the Summer Palace in the Royal gardens from this intellectual point of view.

² The church of St Vitus within the Castle walls was not a cathedral in 1526 since there was no archbishop consecrated.

³ Irblich 2003, p. 461. As sovereigns of Austria, Anna and Ferdinand I had residences in Innsbruck and Vienna and several hunting lodges and castles. The places of birth of the children indicate that the Queen travelled a lot. Not until 1543 did she settle in Prague, where she died in 1547 giving birth to her fourth son, Johannes.

⁴ Lietzmann 2007, pp. 67-108, reconstructed the garden complex. The commission was issued in 1534, eight years after Anna and Ferdinand I were crowned. The construction of the Summer Palace did not start before 1538.

⁵ Köpl, X 1889, p. LXXII, regest 5971, 1 April 1535.

⁶ Köpl, X 1889, p. LXXI, regest 5962, 30 November 1534. In a text concerning the building activities within the Castle walls, the between the buildings are typified as: '*die Gallerie unter den Zimmern der Koningins die Stallungen entlang bis zur Brücke [...]*'.

⁷ Lietzmann 2007, p. 68. He refers to correspondence between Florian Griesbeck and King Ferdinand I, 1 July 1535, AKD. DK 20.

⁸ Bretholz 1920, pp. 135-37. *Václav na Hradčanech*, a contemporary report on the fire for the King.

⁹ Kreyzci 1887, pp. LXVIII-IX. Reg. 4240, 20 July 1555 in Augsburg. 'Memorial' for Hans von Tirol with the list of alterations to be done at Royal buildings: '*[...] Zum anderen seiner kgl. Maj leibzimer soll oben mit gethrem und mit gesparten resten erhebt werden*'.

¹⁰ Schönherr, XI 1890, reg. 7463, p. CXCIV.

¹¹ Lietzmann 2007, pp. 86-88. The most recent and extensive study on these sources is provided by Dobalová 2009.

¹² Lhotsky 1972, pp. 170-72. The handwriting on the two two-sided pieces of slate has been identified as that of King Ferdinand I.

¹³ According to Lhotsky 1972, p. 172. It is this *round* bastion tower that makes these images difficult to identify. For me it is not obvious that here a part of the fortress walls has been pictured. To the right between the so-called White Tower and the Western Palace a part of the so-called Old Palace of King Wladislav is displayed.

¹⁴ Kreyzci, V 1887, reg. 4240, p. LXIX.

¹⁵ No functional name can be given to Stern. In some sources it has been called *Lustschloss* and is the location called *Neue Tiergarten*, a hunting park. Stern could therefore best be called a hunting lodge. Noble hunters could rest here, since it has five large fireplaces and a cellar to keep wine. Nearby there was a building containing a kitchen, so all facilities for a good hunting party and dinner were available.

¹⁶ Simons 2009, p. 186. The role of Philippine Welser in Prague gets little attention in the literature. She is said to have lived far from Prague Castle in a hunting castle named Křivoklát [Bürglitz]. The general opinion still is that Philippine would not have played an official role. I doubt this is correct. Philippine Welser appears to be the most important woman at at least one tournament of the Bohemian nobility.

¹⁷ Kreyzci 1887, reg. 4283, p. LXXXIII.

¹⁸ Veronica Sandbichler (Schloss Ambras) proposed, in her amendment at the conference in December 2011, that Stern and its numerous niches were meant to be empty. These contradictory ideas call for further examination, for instance in comparison with the use of space in Italian villas.

¹⁹ Simons 1998, pp. 270–78.

²⁰ Jan Bažant published in 2012 a detailed description of this decoration. Dorothea Diemer attributes the stucchi in Hvězda since 2000 to Antonio Brocco, who was responsible for the so-called *singing fountain* in the gardens of Prague Castle. Similar stucco works are found at various other courts in Bohemia, Germany and Poland and in Ingolstadt. It appears that a group of stucco-workers travelled around, possibly in the company of other builders. For some of the stucchi they used the same model books, even the same moulds. It will be interesting to get a better understanding of where they worked and their specific commissions.

²¹ Lietzman 2007, p. 86, note 80. Emperor Maximilian II even mentions the function as secret corridor: *'heimliche Eingang'*.

²² During the visit to the Neugebäude (during the conference in December 2011), Dr. Andreas Kusternig pointed out the hidden corridors and steps in the double walls of this fascinating building. This also indicates that facilitating secretly moving around by courtiers and (probably) by the sovereign was an intentional part of the Habsburg building programme.

²³ Simons 2005, p. 146.

²⁴ Sauer 2003, 38, pp. 294–95.

²⁵ Simons 2005, p. 146.

²⁶ Pier Andrea Mattioli di Siena 1554. A translation into German by Georg Hantsch, another physician at the Prague court also a humanist, scientist and writer, was published in 1563 in Prague.

²⁷ Pietro Andrea Mattioli 1559.

²⁸ Pietro Andrea Mattioli 1559. The year before, a report on the festivities was published by the humanist and professor at Charles University Mattheus Collinus. In a translation by Ignaz Cornova of 1802, his introduction states (without source) that Mattioli got the instruction to write his report from Archduke Ferdinand II himself since Collinus' description was not good enough.

²⁹ I mention this detail because in the historical literature it has received a rather heavy political interpretation. Bažant 2006 (pp. 224–25) sees not only a reference to the Hussite past, but also to contra-reformist tensions caused by the Habsburgs in Prague. The Bohemian nobility would surely have recognized the costumes, but Mattioli didn't take the incident very seriously. His characterization of the farmers who *'non sapendo come farle reverenza'* is a beautiful example of sixteenth-century court culture as *'sprezzatura'* and of how all who did not or could not behave like the court were laughable.

³⁰ Mattioli 1559, fol. 25 (own paging): *'Per opere & inventione'*.

³¹ Ilg 1889, p. 238.

³² The stucco-decorated ceilings in Stern have (until now) been attributed to the stone workers Johann Campion and Andrea Aostallis de Pambio, (a.o.) Suchomel 1973. Their names are mentioned in a document in relation to the decoration of the so-called *'Landrechtstube'*, a conference room for Affairs of State in the Castle. In the design it was meant to be made of stone. It is not clear if the Italian sculptures working at the Summer Palace were capable of working in stone and in stucco at the same time, although Mattioli's words can be interpreted as confirmation. There are also some stylistic and compositional similarities in the stucco and the reliefs. The Italians could have been working in stone and stucco.

³³ Jacquot 1960, II, p. 478, concludes that the iconography of the arches raised within the iconography of Royal (or Imperial) Entries were not complicated.

³⁴ This presentation resembles the way Laurin Luchner in 1957 made his reconstruction of the *'Rüstkammern'*, the rooms where the armoury collection of Archduke Ferdinand II was kept at Schloss Ambras.

³⁵ Cornova 1802, Introduction. It is remarkable that Collinus, who was assigned to write a report on the festivities in 1558, was not allowed to see the programme in the gardens himself. Collinus was therefore rather short on the show.

³⁶ Simons 2009, pp. 145–54. Archduke Ferdinand had guenons, one of which answered to the name *Schelm* (Rascal), according to the notes of physician Georg Hantsch in his so-called *Tierbücher*.

³⁷ Sandbichler 2005, pp. 67–70. The Archduke organized at least thirty-three tournaments between 1547 and 1560. The dates, the locations and the participants are recorded in text and sometimes in images in the so-called *Turnierbüch*.

³⁸ Sandbichler 2005, p. 57. Sigismund Elsässer, *Kolowrat Hochzeit*, KHM, Vienna, Kk. Inv. nr. 5269 (unpaged). The same kind of costumes were pictured in the pageantry on floats with goddesses representing the four seasons.

³⁹ In February 1555 a '*Maskenfest*' (masked ball) was held at the wedding of Jaroslaw von Kolowrat and Lusanka Ungnad in Pilsen. Unpublished typescript Charlotte Gambler.

⁴⁰ Johann der Ältere von Schwamberg to Wilhelm von Rosenberg, who didn't attend the wedding. The letter also gives accounts of the different tournaments held. Johann was not a participant and appears to be a critical observer who is rather astonished by the physical confrontations. Several of the participants were injured. See note 38.

⁴¹ Sandbichler 2005, pp. 56-57, pp. 130-31.