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JACOPO STRADA AND CULTURAL PATRONAGE AT THE IMPERIAL COURT

THE ANTIQUE AS INNOVATION

DIRK JACOB JANSEN

BRILL

Jacopo Strada and Cultural Patronage at the Imperial Court

Volume 1

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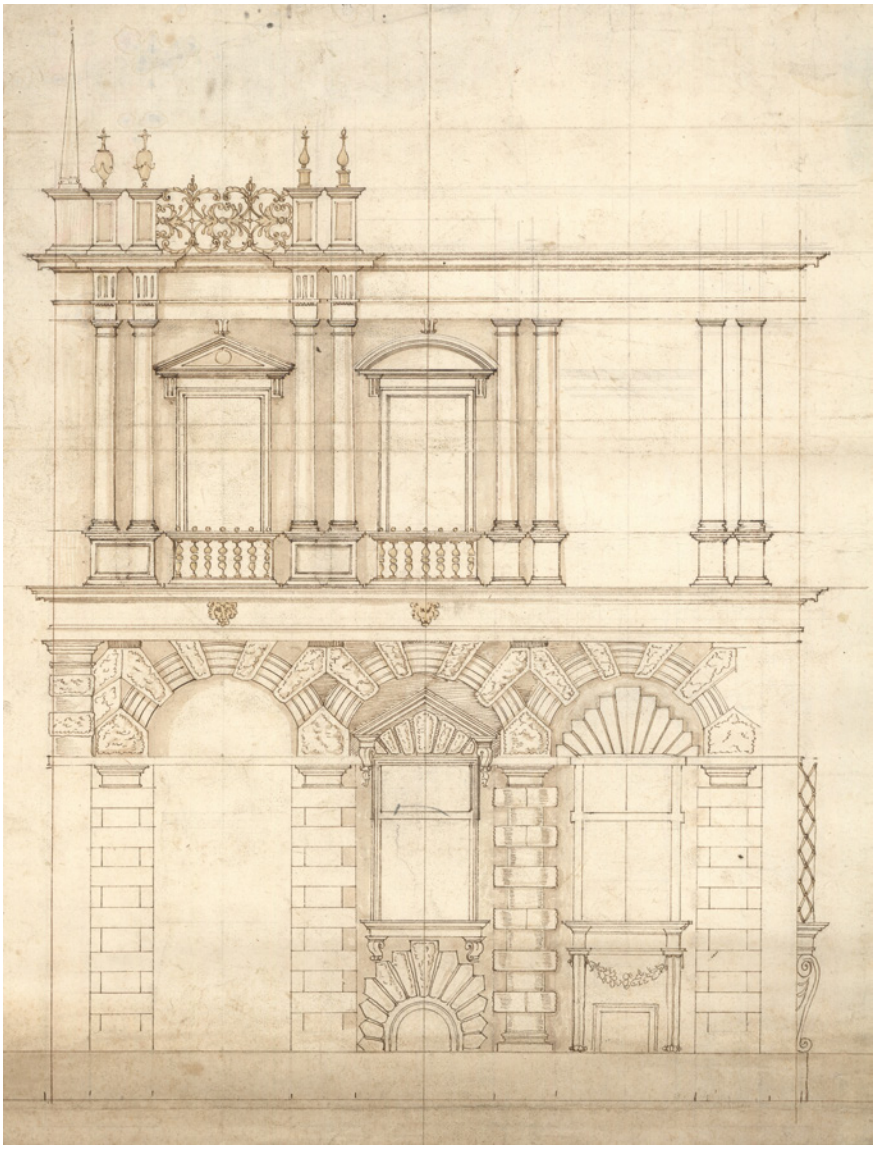

Jacopo Strada, design for the exterior elevation of the Munich Antiquarium, 1569 (see Ch. 8, Fig. 8.15); Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv.

Jacopo Strada and Cultural Patronage at the Imperial Court

The Antique as Innovation

VOLUME 1

Introduction

Education and Early Experience
Strada as an Imperial Architect

By

Dirk Jacob Jansen

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Memoriae Optimorum Parentum

Joannis Jansen
et
Mariae Elizabethae van Breen

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Preface

The research for this book, and formulating its results, have taken a very long time. At least in part this was caused by the manifold activities undertaken by its protagonist, the Renaissance antiquary Jacopo Strada. Though sometimes described as such, he was hardly the prototype of the Renaissance 'universal man': he appears to have had little interest in literature as an art, no interest in music, hardly any interest in anything pertaining to the natural world. His central passion was the history and the culture of the ancient world—in particular its visual culture—and its application to the artistic endeavour of his own time. But he did pursue this passion in many different ways: as an artist, a designer, an architect; as an antiquary, a scholar and encyclopaedic writer; as a publisher and bookseller; as a collector of, and dealer in antiquities and contemporary works of art; as an agent and a scholarly and artistic advisor of powerful patrons; and—last but not least—as a courtier. Moreover he engaged in all or most of these activities in several parts of Europe: in Italy, in Central and Southern Germany, in Lyon, and finally at the Imperial court, in Austria and Bohemia. As a consequence of this, his career has only been studied piecemeal: certain aspect of his activities—such as his connection with Titian, whose portrait of Strada remains his chief claim to fame, his numismatic studies, or his role in the creation of the Antiquarium of the Munich Residenz and the Munich collection of antiquities—have received the attention of local historians or scholars engaged in specific sub-disciplines of history and art history. From the beginning, my purpose has been to bring together these various strands into what I hoped and intended to be a consistent whole; but how to do this was not easy to decide, one of the obvious reasons being that one cannot be a specialist in all the various fields in which Strada has left some mark. In fact the book as it now appears is the result of a process of organic growth, rather than of meticulous architectural planning. But since that may reflect Strada's own career, this may be less of a disadvantage than might appear at first sight.

The book is intended as an empirical study into Strada's life and activities: his career is of sufficient interest, and touches so many different cultural environments, that finding and presenting an ample quantity of biographical information seemed indispensable to understand its development. Though as an artist and as an intellectual Strada is of some interest, certainly he does not count among the great artists of the sixteenth century, and his intellectual endeavour is to a large extent reproductive, rather than creative. He concentrated on collecting and disseminating information he thought could be of use, and to propagate the ideas and 'inventions' of others he admired. His careful

edition of the *Seventh Book* of Sebastiano Serlio's architectural treatise is representative of his approach at its best. His significance for the cultural history of the sixteenth century should therefore be sought in his effort at dissemination of the ideas, values and artistic forms of the Italian High Renaissance, in particular those of the Roman variant, which he had imbibed from an early age on through his training in the immediate circle of Giulio Romano. To understand the process by which Strada communicated his knowledge and convictions in the various non-Italian environments where he worked, in my conclusion I have found it helpful to interpret it in the terms of the paradigm of the diffusion of innovations: rooted in a very ample quantity of empiric sociological research in many different environments, this paradigm seems to present illuminating parallels to Strada's strategy and the effect of his efforts.

This study is not only empirical but also contextual in intention. Strada owed so much of what he knew, what he did, what he disseminated, to the example of others, and he so explicitly tried to propagate his ideas and convictions in the environments he found himself in, that these environments themselves, their character and preoccupations, are of great importance to understand his ambitions and eventual actions. For that reason I have paid much attention to sketch these environments, not all of which will be equally familiar to every individual reader. I have not treated every phase of Strada's career in equal depth. In particular his role in the development of the Munich collections of antiquities, which has been treated by others in much detail, I have only summarily discussed—except for his designs for the building conceived to house these, the Antiquarium, which are of paramount importance for an evaluation of his qualities as an architect.

Though to some limited extent reflecting the chronology of Strada's life, the book is structured in four parts: the first part sketches Strada's background and his early career, including his connection with Hans Jakob Fugger, with Emperor Maximilian II probably the most important of Strada's patrons, and certainly the one who had the greatest impact on Strada's ideas and on his career. Its last chapter sketches his arrival at the Imperial court, and summarizes the concrete information we have about his functions as Antiquary and Architect to the Emperors Ferdinand I, Maximilian II and Rudolf II.

The second part attempts to define Strada's role as an architect, the part of his function in Vienna which has been least studied, and which has been greatly underestimated. It discusses not only his role in the architectural infrastructure at court and his contribution to Ferdinand's and Maximilian's projects, but also his designs for the Munich Antiquarium and his own house in Vienna, and his possible impact on the projects of other patrons.

Strada's activities as an architect and as an architectural advisor were greatly facilitated by the huge collection of visual documentation in this field he had

built up. This was only a section of the holdings of the collection which he had brought together in his newly built Vienna mansion, and which he proudly termed his 'Musaeum'. This *Musaeum*, the use Strada made of its contents, the place it had in his self-representation, and its possible influence on the intellectual and artistic endeavour at court are the themes discussed in the third part of the book.

The first chapter of the concluding section attempts to interpret the information collected, in order to understand what Strada actually meant when he used the term 'Antiquary' to indicate what he explicitly considered his profession. It focuses largely on Strada's method as a student of Classical Antiquity, and the various uses he made of his results. The last chapter weaves together the various strains spun in the earlier parts of the book, to try and define Strada's influence as an agent of change, and his role in the transmission of the ideas and the formal language of the Italian Renaissance beyond the Alps.

The present book is based on my doctoral dissertation, defended at Leiden University in 2015. The revision has integrated information from a few publications I had missed earlier, or which appeared too late to incorporate in my earlier version, in particular the important study on the history of the Hofburg in Vienna by Herbert Kärner, Renate Holzschuh-Hofer and others, published by the Austrian Academy of Sciences in 2014. The responsibilities of my share in the research project at the Gotha Research Centre of Erfurt University, dedicated to Strada's corpus of numismatic drawings in the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, made it impossible to integrate literature published after 2015. It seemed wiser, moreover, not to anticipate possible but preliminary shifts in insight and interpretation that may result from the findings of this project.

Gotha, 5 March 2018

Acknowledgements

History is a collective effort. Though working on a project such as this sometimes seems a lonely quest, very often exchanges of references, snippets of information, hunches, ideas, full-fledged theories, fill the desert one is traversing with freshly sparkling waters. This study owes much to the many publications I have been able to consult in the course of my research—many of which can be found in the bibliography—and specific insights I have found there I have as much as possible acknowledged in the footnotes. Here I only wish to mention the late Renate von Busch, author of the first sustained investigation into Strada's career, in her exemplary *Studien zu deutschen Antikensammlungen des 16. Jahrhunderts* of 1973.

I have worked so long on this project, off and on, that over the years I have been able to discuss aspects of it with many, many colleagues, whose information, insights and ideas all in some way contributed to its development; so many in fact, that I must limit myself to mentioning by name only those to whom I owe the most. First among these are Willemijn Fock, who first introduced me to Jacopo Strada; Jan van Dorsten, whose untimely death in 1985 deprived me of a very interested and stimulating critic, who has in many ways contributed to the development of my ideas; and Anton Boschloo, who has supervised my research both from near by and from far away over many years: it is a great sadness to me that he is not there anymore to see the result at last. At the European University Institute in Florence, where I began the project, it has been supervised by Denys Hay and Anthony Pagden; Robert Evans was a generous and hospitable exterior supervisor from Oxford. Gigliola Fragnito gave me many hints and had me invited to give my first conference paper at the conference of Europa delle Corti convened by Cesare Mozzarelli in Urbino in 1985. I gratefully acknowledge similar invitations by André Chastel, Manfredo Tafuri, Clifford Malcolm Brown, Eliška Fučíková, Hubertus Günther, Michael Crawford and, more recently, Duncan Bull, Ivan Prokop Muchka and John Cunnally. Debora Meijers, Mieke Reinders and Madelon Simons, editors of the handbook on the history of collecting of the Open Universiteit, provided an important stimulus in that field, as did Mark Meadow and Bruce Robertson. Thanks to a Frances Yates Fellowship I could for some time work in the *Census of Works of Art Known in the Renaissance*, at the time still located at the Warburg Institute: Ruth Rubinstein was a kind and very generous guide to this particular field, both there and in Florence. My research into the Neugebäude was greatly facilitated by Hilda Lietzmann's monograph, and I owe much to her as a sparring

partner in my further research into this splendid complex. Mario Carpo's help in the reconstruction of Strada's house and on Strada's relationship with Serlio has been invaluable. Duncan Bull made me realize the relative importance of the document which probably represents a partial inventory of Strada's collection—or dealer's stock; his enthusiasm greatly stimulated my decision to take up my project again after a long interval of other work. Veronica Dirksen, at that time my boss at POSG Hedel, not only allowed, but encouraged me to spend some of my working time in research for this project. Finally, for sustained and continuous interest, support, suggestions, and encouragement I owe a big debt to Elišká Fučíková and to Thomas daCosta Kaufmann. Specific information or insights due to specific individuals I have acknowledged in the footnotes as much as possible, hoping that those whom I may inadvertently have forgotten will forgive me.

The present book is a slightly revised version of what was my belated doctoral dissertation at Leiden University, 2015. It is satisfaction that here I am no longer barred by Leiden custom to acknowledge the critical contribution of the members of the reading committee, Jeroen Duindam, Robert Evans and Koen Ottenheim, and the patience, precision, wise counsel and encouragement of Nicolette Mout, under whose guidance the project was finally brought to fruition. The revision has profited from my continuing work on Strada, as a research-fellow in the project J*acopo Strada's Magnum ac Novum Opus: A Sixteenth-Century Numismatic Corpus* at the Gotha Research Centre of the University of Erfurt; I am indebted to many discussions and exchanges of information with my colleagues, Martin Mulsow and Volker Heenes, and for their patience with my distraction during the last phase of the revision. I am particularly indebted to Bernd Kulawik, an invaluable associate of the project, who has taken the trouble to read and comment the text in great detail.

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The book is richly illustrated: this would not have been possible without the generosity and public spirit of the many institutions who made the images of the objects in their care available for free or at a nominal charge, and the individual photographers who have released their work in the public domain or share it under a Creative Commons licence. I am indebted to my sister Jeske Jansen, who helped organize the administration of the illustrations, and to my Gotha colleagues Erdmut Jost, who helped prepare the definitive image files and list of illustrations with indefatigable patience and acumen, and Jens

Nagel, who checked and revised the bibliography. Hugo Meyer proved again invaluable in revising the index of persons and compiling an additional index of places.

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Abbreviations

Source References

DOC. 1500-00-00 Refers to items in the Chronological list of sources, below, 2

Collections, Libraries and Archives

Albertina	Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina
ARM	Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum
ASF	Florence, Archivio di Stato di Firenze
ASMn	Mantua, Archivio di Stato di Mantova
ASMo	Modena, Archivio di Stato di Modena
BdA	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
BHStA	Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv
BHStA-*LA*	*Libri Antiquitatum* (= BHStA, Kurbayern, Aüsseres Archiv 4851–4856)
BNF	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
BNF-MS	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits
BSB	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
BSB-HS	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung
FA	Dillingen, Fuggerarchiv
FBG	Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek
HHStA	Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv
HKA	Vienna, Hofkammerarchiv
HSTaD	Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden
KHM	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum
MBA	Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
MBE	Modena, Biblioteca Estense
ÖNB	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
ÖNB-HS	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung
SKD-KK	Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett
SLA	Vienna, Stadt- und Landesachiv
TLA	Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchv

Frequently Cited Series and Periodical Publications

ADB	*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*
APhilHistÖAW	*Anzeiger der Phil.-Hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
DBI	*Dizionario biografico degli italiani*
JBM	*Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*
JdKS	*Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses / Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*
JSAH	*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*
JWCI	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*
LKJ	*Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*
MIÖG	*Mitteilungen des Instituts fur Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*
MJbK	*Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*
NDB	*Neue Deutsche Biographie*
Renaissance Studies	*Renaissance Studies. Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies*
THIEME-BECKER	Ulrich Thieme und Felix Becker [eds.], *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, vols. 1–37, Leipzig 1907–1950
Umění	*Umění / Art. Journal of the Institute of Art History of the Academy of Sciences of theCzech Republic*
ZfK	*Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*

INTRODUCTION

The Image

∴

The Image—Or from Whom (Not?) to Buy a Second-Hand Car

0.1 The Portraits of Jacopo and Ottavio Strada

In the summer of 2008 the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam mounted a small exhibit showing Tintoretto's portrait of Ottavio Strada da Rosberg, antiquary to the Emperor Rudolf II, from its own collection [Fig. 0.2], next to Titian's famous portrait of Jacopo Strada, Ottavio's father and predecessor as antiquary to the Emperors Ferdinand I, Maximilian II and Rudolf II, which had been sent on loan by the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna for the occasion [Fig. 0.1]. An occasion of some moment because it was the first time for at least three hundred and fifty years that these two portraits, which had been painted simultaneously in Venice in 1567–1568, could be seen side by side.

Titian's portrait of Jacopo Strada has always been well known, having entered the Imperial collections already by the middle of the seventeenth

FIGURE 0.1 Tiziano Vecellio, Portrait of Jacopo Strada, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

FIGURE 0.2 Jacopo Tintoretto, Portrait of Ottavio Strada da Rosberg, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

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FIGURE 0.3 David Teniers the Younger, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm Visiting his Picture Gallery in Brussels, ca 1651, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. The portrait of Jacopo Strada can be seen top left near the window (detail), next to Titian's portrait of Fabrizio Salvaresi of 1558, which is likewise still preserved in the Kunsthistorisches Museum.

century, when it is listed in an inventory of the picture collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria, governor of the Southern Netherlands. It is shown in David Teniers' painting showing the Archduke paying a visit to his picture gallery in Brussels [Fig. 0.3 and detail]. Its attraction is attested by the inclusion of a reproduction engraved by Lucas Vorsterman the Younger in Teniers' *Theatrum artis pictoriae*, basically an illustrated inventory of the Archduke's collection printed in Brussels in 1660 [Fig. 0.5], and by a copy in oils from the late seventeenth century, which is attributed to Pietro della Vecchia [Fig. 0.4].[1]

The *Jacopo Strada* was probably Titian's very last portrait and is, for its iconography, an exceptional work within his oeuvre: as such it has often been studied and discussed.[2] Tintoretto's portrait of Ottavio Strada, on the other hand, was virtually unknown until it entered the Rijksmuseum in 1956. It had earlier belonged to the Duke of Marlborough, who in turn had acquired it in the second half of the nineteenth century in France, perhaps directly from

1 By Federico Zeri; published in the catalogue of Armondi Antichità, Brescia: *Antologia di Maestri Antichi* 1990, cat. nr 14.

2 Most recently in the catalogue of the exhibition *Rivalités à Venise*, Paris, Louvre 2009–2010; cf. Bull 2009a; Crowe / Cavalcaselle 1877–1878, 11, pp. 352–359; Zimmermann 1901; Pope-Hennessy 1966, pp, 145–146; Panofsky 1969, pp. 79–81; Wethey 1969–1975, 2, p. 48–49 and cat. nr. 100, pp. 141–142; Mucchi 1977, pp. 302–304; Hope 1979, pp. 7–10; Freedman 1999; Gentili 2005, pp. 54–56; Ferino-Pagden 2008, cat. nr 1.13.

FIGURE 0.4 Attributed to Pietro della Vecchia, after Titian, Portrait of Jacopo Strada; present location unknown.

FIGURE 0.5 Lucas Vorsterman the Younger, engraving after Titian, Portrait of Jacopo Strada, from *Theatrum artis pictoriae*, Brussels 1660.

Robert, Marquis de Strada d'Arosberg, the lineal descendant of both sitters, who had an English wife. In the Marlborough collection the Tintoretto was accessible only to a restricted audience. In the Rijksmuseum, which concentrates primarily on Dutch painting, though more easily accessible, it has perhaps received less attention than it might have in the Louvre or the National Gallery, and certainly much less than it deserves. It is satisfying that this relative neglect has been splendidly redressed by the felicitous cleaning and restoration of the Tintoretto, and by the temporary reunion of the two portraits first in the Rijksmuseum, and then in the exhibition on Venetian Painting of the sixteenth century at the Louvre.[3]

Though the present study attempts to show that Jacopo Strada is a sufficiently interesting personality to warrant some attention in his own right, there is little doubt that his chief claim to fame remains the portrait—a fact of which he himself may have been very well aware. Certainly his later reputation has been coloured by the image projected by Titian's masterpiece. A summary of its reception and of the image of Strada's personality it helped foster is a

3 *Rivalités à Venise*, Paris, Louvre 2009–2010; cf. Bull 2009a; I am grateful to Duncan Bull and Willem de Ridder for allowing me to see Ottavio's portrait during cleaning and for a stimulating discussion of the two portraits and their relationship.

convenient point of departure for the fuller discussion of his career which is the subject of this book.

0.2 Why are These Portraits so Special?

Certainly Titian's and Tintoretto's portraits of the two Stradas merit a discussion in themselves: they are both splendid paintings, the work of two of the greatest painters of the Italian Renaissance. They are painters, moreover, who count among the founders of the portrait genre, and who had a tremendous influence on its later development, especially on Rubens and Van Dyck. But though that makes these paintings valuable and worthwhile as works of art, their unique significance for the history of art derives from a number of aspects that distinguish them from many other Renaissance portraits:

- The first of these is that both paintings have an exceptional place within the oeuvres of their respective painters, especially the Titian.
- At least equally important is the context in which the paintings were commissioned, which is much better known than is usual: whereas so many of the portraits of private citizens of the period are anonymous, here the identity of the sitters is undisputed. In fact we know quite a lot about them, and in particular about their activities at the time the portraits were painted.
- This context is also unusual in itself: except for portraits of married couples, it is quite exceptional to have two portraits painted in conjunction, as was the case here; that they were painted simultaneously by two more or less competing rivals is probably without parallel.

Finally, for both art-historians and art dealers the portraits are of particular interest, because the two sitters are in some way early examples of their own profession. Both Stradas presented themselves formally as 'antiquarius'. In English this can be translated either as 'antiquary'—that is someone studying the material remains of Antiquity, whom we would call an archaeologist or historian—or as 'antiquarian', an expert and dealer in art and antiques. In this study I hope to show that both terms are appropriate for the Stradas.

0.3 Motions of the Mind

The portrait of Jacopo Strada certainly occupies an exceptional place within Titian's oeuvre: it is one of the last—probably the very last—portrait he ever painted, and he had really stopped accepting portrait commissions much earlier. Compared with his earlier portraits, its formal qualities are unusual: whereas in general Titian's sitters maintain a quiet, dignified attitude against

the habitual neutral or landscape background, here the protagonist is placed in a localized inner space, in a diagonal movement across the plane of the painting, actively inviting the observer to participate. The painting is moreover atypically crowded with attributes. So it is not surprising that the portrait has been often discussed in detail, mostly within the context of Titian's late style.

A principal reason why Titian's portrait of Jacopo Strada has received so much critical attention is that it is often considered as a prime example of Titian's gift of psychological penetration. In his book *Portraits of the Renaissance* John Pope-Hennessy discusses it as such in a chapter entitled 'The Motions of the Mind', a title he borrowed from one of Leonardo da Vinci's notebooks. He discusses the Strada portrait in prose sufficiently magnificent to be quoted in full:

> To judge from the paintings he produced, Titian was gifted with a godlike view of the potentials of character and mind against which the individual before him was sized up. On only one occasion is his private reaction to a sitter set down in print. The victim was Jacopo Strada, a dealer in antiques, who was born at Mantua, allied himself with the Fuggers of Augsburg, joined the court of the Emperor Maximilian II, and in 1567 visited Venice in search of antiques for Albert, Duke of Bavaria.
>
> Titian, who had known him for some years, viewed him with unfeigned dislike. A pretentious humbug, he called him, one of the most solemn ignoramuses that you could find. His success, Titian declared, was due to a capacity for flattery, and to the 'tante carotte' he had held out to the Germans, who were too dense to realize his incompetence and his duplicity.
>
> In the painting Strada is shown bending obsequiously across a table, holding a marble statuette which he is displaying deferentially to some patron on the right. The significance of this motif would have been even more apparent than it is today when the picture was still free of the pompous cartouche in the upper right-hand corner which was added at Strada's own request.
>
> The fur and sleeve are some of the most splendid passages in any Titian portrait <…> but the features contrast with the splendour of dress; they are petty, and are stamped with guile and a particularly unattractive sort of eagerness. And there is no reason to suppose that the effect was anything but calculated.[4]

'To judge from the paintings he produced, Titian was gifted with a godlike view of the potentials of character and mind against which the individual before

4 Pope-Hennessy 1966, pp. 145–147.

him was sized up'. This idea that a good portrait painter is able to fathom the deeper psychology, perhaps even the subconscious of his sitter, I find a highly fascinating, but also a very questionable assumption. I have tried to test this assumption many years ago, when I gave a talk on the Strada portrait to a class of second-year students of art-history at Leiden University. Before I had told them anything at all about the sitter, I asked the students to write down what they thought his character would have been like, just by looking at his portrait. I had given them a hand-out with the following three questions:

– What do you think about the social status of the person depicted in this portrait, and do you have any idea what might be his profession?
– Do you think that it is possible on the basis of this portrait to determine specific traits of character of the sitter, both positive and negative, and if so, which ones? (e.g. was he generous or grasping, smart or stupid, truthful or devious, corrupt or honest, and so on).
– Do you think the portrait provides any indication about the personal relationship between the sitter and the artist?

In the interval of the lecture I totted up the response of the fourteen students, and we discussed its outcome, which was quite interesting. It certainly corresponded but little with Pope-Hennessy's reading of the portrait. As could be expected, all respondents thought the painting portrayed someone of high social status, which is an obvious purpose of this, as it is of the majority of formal portraits. More interesting was the response to the second question: only two respondents did not think it possible to conclude anything about the character of the sitter from a painting such as this. In the light of Pope-Hennessy's negative judgment, it is more surprising that only one respondent expressed a similar negative view. The other twelve respondents all felt that the painting intended to convey a positive image of the sitter, defining his character in terms such as 'open-minded', 'a dry sense of humour', 'smart', 'strict but just', 'ambitious, dynamic, noble', 'energetic', 'cheerful', 'resolute, knows what he wants', 'observant', 'loves beautiful things', 'self-assured, vain, but not excessively conceited', 'well-educated', 'reads a lot, erudite'.

The response to the last question was rather evenly divided: about one half of the students thought that there was no particularly close relationship between painter and sitter, i.e. they considered Titian's attitude to be a purely professional one; some of them even found the portrait rather impersonal; while the others did presuppose some sort of personal relationship between painter and model, as close acquaintances or colleagues or as friends, one of them even presupposing that the painter admired his model. Only one respondent thought Titian might not really have liked his 'pretentious, showy' sitter.

Obviously this test was not intended as serious research into the reception of sixteenth-century portraiture, but I do think it shows how easily one

FIGURE 0.6 Titian, *Portrait of Jacopo Strada*, detail of fig 0.1.

is tempted to draw objective conclusions from subjective impressions: a legitimate procedure as long as one is an art-lover appreciating a great work of art—as is the case of Pope-Hennessy's wonderful book—but inadmissible in a context of historical research. My own hypothesis is that, though good portraitists certainly do in fact manage to convey a psychologically convincing image of the character of their sitter, it does not necessarily follow that—however convincing—it is either true or just. In any case the interpretation of that character remains very much in the eye of the beholder.

My own personal—and therefore subjective—impression is that in his Strada portrait Titian was far less interested in the deeper internal 'motions of the mind' of his sitter than he had been when he painted, for instance, *The Man with the Glove*, the *Young Englishman* of the Galleria Palatina, or his two 1548 portraits of Charles V. Certainly I think that Pope-Hennessy's reading was equally subjective: Titian's repugnance of his sitter Pope-Hennessy *thought* he saw reflected in the painting was merely the projection of his own patrician dislike for the upstart tradesman he imagined Strada to be on the basis of the documentary evidence he quotes.

His source is the correspondence of Niccolò Stopio, a neo-Latin poet resident in Venice at the time, and—like Strada—engaged in the trade of art and antiques. Excerpts of Stopio's correspondence, which is preserved in the Bavarian State Archives in Munich, had been published already in 1874 by Jacob Stockbauer in a study of the artistic patronage of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, patron of both Strada and Stopio. Four years later it entered the Titian bibliography through the use made of Stopio's correspondence in Crowe and Cavalcaselle's huge monograph on the painter, first printed in Florence 1877–78.[5] Stopio's original correspondence was sent on loan to Vienna to be used by Heinrich Zimmermann, who was preparing a biography of Strada which has never appeared. He did, however, write a carefully considered article on the exact dating of the portrait, in which Stopio's letters are likewise quoted extensively.[6] But these letters led neither Crowe and Cavalcaselle nor Zimmermann to negative conclusions similar to those of Pope-Hennessy's. These were closely echoed, on the other hand, by a more recent discussion of the portrait by Augusto Gentili, under the heading 'Comprereste un'auto usato da quest'uomo?' This led a reviewer to characterize Strada more or less as the sixteenth-century equivalent of a mafia boss: 'In Titian's portraits it is not always the fine coat that makes the fine gentleman, and Jacopo Strada's very 'chic' air does not mask his greedy eyes, which certainly do not make one eager 'to buy a used car from the man'; conveniently forgetting that *mafiosi* of our own time rarely have their likeness taken by the greatest living portrait-painter.[7]

This interpretation of Strada's character, based on an uncritical acceptance of Stopio's letters, does not do justice to Strada, and moreover throws no light on Titian's decision to paint his portrait, and to paint it in this way. In my examination of Strada's career I will have occasion for a close reading of Stopio's reports, placing them within the context in which they were written. This will, I hope, provide a more balanced view of Jacopo Strada's true character and of his relationship with Titian.

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5 Stockbauer 1874, pp. 29–52 (Strada), 53–69 (Stopio) and *passim*; Crowe /Cavalcaselle 1877–1878, II, pp. 353–359.

6 Zimmermann 1901.

7 BICCI 2006, review of GENTILI 2005: "Agile e gustoso il saggio che Gentili dedica alla ritrattistica tizianesca, capace di far emergere oltre l'apparenza sottili caratterizzazioni psicologiche. Nei ritratti di Tiziano l'abito non sempre fa il monaco e l'aria molto chic di Jacopo Strada non maschera il suo sguardo avido, che certo non invoglia a 'comprare un'auto usata da quest'uomo'". Gentili had actually written (pp. 55–56): "<…> consegnando all'immagine il gesto pressante, il mezzo inchino ossequioso, lo sguardo rapace; e risolvendo nella *vanitas* <…> le frenetiche attività del mercante e le effimere presunzioni del cortigiano. La statua di Venere diventa un semplice oggetto di commercio; l'antiquario, uno scaltro venditore; lo spettatore, un possibile acquirente".

0.4 What is Known About Strada: Early Notices

When setting out on my research into the man behind the portrait, forty years ago, I soon found out that the Titian portrait is indeed Strada's major claim to fame. His existence apart from it received little attention before the second half of the twentieth century; and if so, it was mostly in the form of brief notices throwing light on a specific aspect of his various activities. Yet, though the portrait was accessible through Vorsterman's engraving, the very earliest references on Strada rarely—if ever—refer to it.[8] These entries were written by antiquarian scholars who used Strada's books, or by archivists and librarians who in their collection stumbled upon a manuscript by or a document relating to Strada that happened to interest them.

0.4.1 *Numismatics*

Strada's numismatic work was his principal contribution to the Republic of Letters, and it is mostly as a numismatist that he is referred to in the learned products of the Republic of Letters of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The earliest mentions are mostly bibliographical references to his printed books included in numismatic treatises, such as Antoine Le Pois' *Discours sur les medalles et graveures antiques* and a new, much expanded edition of Conrad Gesner's universal bibliography edited by two Zürich scholars, Josias Simler and Johannes Jacobus Frisius.[9] Adolf Occo, another and better known numismatist of these years, does not refer to Strada's printed books in his own

8 This is less surprising than it seems: though Vorsterman's plate shows the cartouche, it does not render the inscription, and he omits to identify the sitter otherwise.

9 Le Pois 1579 fols. 2–3; on Le Pois' judgment of Strada and other contemporary numismatists, see Cooper 1990, pp. 14–15; Frisius 1583, p. 386 prepared his descriptions on the basis of copies in the Imperial library in Vienna, and included all the books published by Strada except his Frankfurt 1575 edition of Caesar's *Commentaries*. He added the curious but probably mistaken contention that Strada would have written "Scholia in Pontani librum De Immanitate". If Frisius got his information directly from Strada himself, as is perfectly possible, there must be some foundation to his contention, which is repeated once or twice in later reference works (Johann Albert Fabricius' *Bibliographia antiquaria* and Jöcher's *Gelehrtenlexikon*; cf. below). But I have not been able to find any publication or other reference corroborating this. Though it cannot be excluded that Strada, specializing in Roman imperial biographies, would have used and commented on Pontanus, I rather suspect that a note on Jacob Spiegel may have strayed among Frisius' filing-cards on Strada. In Jöcher's *Gelehrtenlexikon*, in which the entry on Strada repeats Frisius' contention (Jöcher 1750–1751, IV, col. 864; see below), Spiegel's cited publications include: "Scholia in Rich. Bartolini Austriados, s. De bello Norico libros xii, die auch unter Just. Reuberi scriptoribus; notae in Jo. Jov. Pontani De immunitate [sic]". The book in question is Giovanni Gioviano Pontano, *De Immanitate Liber Unus*, Cum Scholiis Iacobi Spiegel (Augsburg 1519) (Jöcher 1750–1751, IV, col. 736).

treatise, but he did comment on Strada's drawings in a letter to his learned colleague Basilius Amerbach the Younger. Occo had admired the richly bound volumes of numismatic drawings that Strada had provided to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, and reports the fabulous price of a ducat that Strada was paid for each of these splendid drawings. Though Occo is sceptical about the veracity of many of the drawings, he yet deems it a precious treasure, truly befitting a prince.[10]

Strada had made the huge folio volumes of numismatic drawings commended by Occo for the Emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II—these were preserved in the Imperial library in Vienna—and for Hans Jakob Fugger and Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria: these later ended up as spoils of war in the library of Duke Ernest the Pious of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg at Gotha. In both places they excited the interest of the officials locally responsible, such as the learned statesman Veit Ludwig von Seckendorf. Appointed librarian at Gotha in 1654, when he was hardly twenty years old, he had meanwhile been promoted to Privy Councillor of the Duchy. In a letter to Johann Andreas Bosius of 5 December 1657 he gave a summary description of Strada's volumes, of which the Duke had given him the first three to study, and added some critical notes on their contents. This letter became publicly known only in 1714, when it was transcribed in its entirety in the catalogue entry for the Strada manuscripts in Ernst Salomon Cyprian's *Catalogus Codicum manuscriptum Bibliothecae Gothanae*, together with a full transcription of Strada's preface annexed to one of the Gotha volumes.[11]

The related volumes of Strada's numismatic drawings preserved in the Imperial Library in Vienna were of easier access than those in Gotha. In his travel diary Charles Patin [Fig. 0.9] relates how he once had been received by Emperor Leopold I [Fig. 0.7], who had allowed him free access to the Imperial Library where, among its inexhaustible treasures, he had particularly admired

10 Quoted in Patin 1683, pp. 188–189. Occo's own treatise, *Impp. Romanorum nvmismata a Pompeio Magno ad Heraclivm*, was printed in Antwerp by Plantin in 1579 (OCCO 1579). Other references and comments to Strada's printed numismatic books crop up in several specialized bibliographies, such as the *Bibliotheca nummaria* by the Jesuit Philippe Labbé, first published in 1664. However, Labbé created a bibliographical 'ghost': a '*Thesaurum antiquitatum, sive imperatorum romanorum orientalium et occidentalium Icones ex antiquis numismatibus delineatae absque aversis illorum partibus*, Lugduni anno 1551, in 4°', of which no copy has ever been found. It seems likely that he either quoted from a copyright privilege or from the title page of a lost manuscript (Labbe 1675).

11 Cyprian 1714, cat. nrs. 239–263, pp. 83–87; he also included *verbatim* a passage describing these volumes in Burckhard Struve's *Introductio ad notitiam rei litterariae et usum bibliothecarum* [Struve 1704, pp. 13–14], and gives the title of a ms. by Ottavio Strada [Cyprian 1714, cat. nr 178, p. 75].

Jacopo and Ottavio's numismatic drawings: 'I went through the incomparable drawings of I. Strada, which one cannot see without becoming both more inquisitive and more learned'.[12]

Patin's guide was Peter Lambeck, the Imperial librarian [Fig. 0.8], whose interest in the Strada manuscripts may have been stimulated by Patin's enthusiasm. Indirectly this interest was influenced by the Emperor himself: intrigued by the gift of a copy of Patin's new Paris edition of Fulvio Orsini and Antonio Agustín's *De familiis Romanis*, which was largely based on numismatic evidence, Leopold asked Lambeck to inspect the Imperial coin collection. The result of this was that numismatic material looms large in the huge volumes Lambeck dedicated to the history and holdings of the Imperial Library, his *Commentariorum de augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi*, the first volume of which was published in 1665.

Chief among the works described were 'two volumes of manuscript in folio of the greatest value <…> exclusively dedicated to the Consular coins, drawn with incredible study and elegance from the originals, and that were presented to Emperor Ferdinand I by the most famous Imperial antiquary, Jacopo Strada from Mantua'.[13] Lambeck not merely praised the detailed drawings contained in these volumes, but repeatedly referred to them in his learned arguments and also included several large engravings directly derived from them.[14] The first of these is a consular coin and its reverse attributed to C. Petilius [Fig. 0.10]: in his comment on this coin Lambeck gives a brief survey of all of Strada's numismatic manuscripts among the Vienna holdings. Elsewhere he illustrates a coin attributed to P. Papirius Carbonus and a coin of Livia with engravings derived from Strada's drawings, and uses other ones to discuss the place of the cult of Vesta in Roman Antiquity.

Most interesting is his use of Strada's drawing of a Hadrianic coin dedicated to Antinous [Fig. 0.11] and of Strada's description of it, which he transcribed *in extenso*, in an attempt to interpret the most important antique find in the

12 Patin 1674, p. 226: 'J'y parcourus ces desseins incomparables de I. Strada, qu'on ne peut voir sans devenir et plus curieux et plus savant'; *ibidem*, p. 12: 'I'en vis aussi d'Octavius Strada en matiere de Médailles, avec une infinité de desseins de Raphaël, de Rubens, d'Albert, Durer et d'autres excellens Maîtres'. Elsewhere [Patin 1695, pp. 201–203] he refers to the printed numismatic works of Jacopo—'dont la lecture est absolument necessaire aux Historiens et aux Curieux'—and to those of Ottavio Strada, Jacopo's second son and successor, which were largely based on the researches of his father. Though Patin commended these works, he warned the reader that they contained 'un grand nombre de fausses particularitez, qu'il ne se faut pas engager à le croire sans beaucoup de discrétion'.

13 Lambeck 1665–1679, I, pp. 74–75.

14 Lambeck 1665–1679, I, pp. 76–78; I, p. 84; II (1669), p. 524; p. 739 (and accompanying engravings).

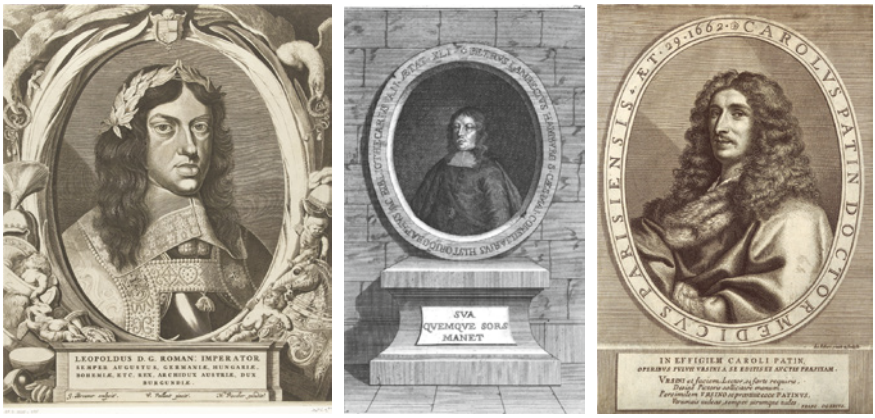

FIGURE 0.7 Emperor Leopold I (1640–1705), engraving by Jan Brouwer after Wallerant Vaillant.

FIGURE 0.8 Peter Lambeck (1628–1680), the Imperial librarian, engraving *from his Commentariorum de augustissima bibliotheca ceasarea Vindobonensis, 2nd ed., 1, Vienna 1766.*

FIGURE 0.9 The French physician and scholar Charles Patin (1633–1693), engraving *by C. Le Febure.*

FIGURE 0.10 Engraving after a numismatic drawing by Jacopo Strada, in Lambeck's *Commentariorum de Augustussima Bibliotheca Caesarea*, I (1665).

Austrian *Erblande* ever, the famous bronze *ephebe* that in 1502 was excavated at the Helenenberg near Klagenfurt (now confusingly known as the 'Jüngling vom Magdalensberg') [Fig. 0.12].[15]

15 Lambeck 1665–1679, II (1669), pp. 684–685 (and accompanying engraving). The statue is nowadays only known from a Renaissance bronze cast in the Kunsthistorisches Museum

FIGURE 0.11 Engraving after a numismatic drawing by Jacopo Strada, in Lambeck's *Commentariorum de Augustussima Bibliotheca Caesarea*, II (1669).

FIGURE 0.12 The 'Jüngling vom Magdalensberg', a lost bronze statue excavated near Klagenfurt in 1502, engraving in Lambeck's *Commentariorum de Augustussima Bibliotheca Caesarea*, II (1669).

Lambeck, who was in a position to work with Strada's original drawings, liked them so much that he did not really question their reliability as archaeological documentation, and though Patin was more cautious, he likewise took Strada's labours seriously. Though Strada's volumes would remain objects of interest to Grand Tourists, such as James Boswell, their attraction for professional scholars soon was to fade.[16]

0.4.2 *Works of Reference*

Lambeck's, Patin's and Cyprian's publications assured Strada a place in many antiquarian reference works appearing during the eighteenth century, such as Johann Albert Fabricius' *Bibliographia antiquaria*, a bibliography of modern studies into Hebrew, Greek, Roman and (Early) Christian antiquities that was first published in Hamburg in 1713, and in Fabricius' edition of Anselmo Banduri's *Bibliotheca Nummaria* of 1719, who also refers to the manuscript

in Vienna, the lost original is presumed to have been shipped to Spain in the sixteenth century where it was used in a fountain in the gardens of Aranjuez; cf. Gschwantler 1988 and Gschwantler 1993/94.

16 In his journal Boswell singled out Strada's volumes in the Gotha library, which he saw during his visit to the Gotha court in October of 1764, 'dressed in a suit of flowered velvet of five colours'; Boswell / Pottle 1953, p. 146.

volumes in Vienna, but already notes that these works, though in the past they had been highly esteemed, could now be little recommended for serious use.[17] Strada's works also figure occasionally in dictionaries and bibliographies specializing in other fields, such as Johann Huebner's *Bibliotheca genealogica* (Hamburg 1729). Both Strada's edition of the *Settimo Libro* of Serlio's architectural treatise and the edition of his own technical drawings posthumously published by his grandson are included in the *Kurzer Unterricht von den vornehmsten mathematischen Schriften*, a bibliography of mathematical writings in the widest sense included as an appendix to Christian Wolff's *Die Anfangsgründe aller mathematischen Wissenschaften*.[18] Strada's merit as a numismatic draughtsman, as shown in the prints in Lambeck's catalogue, also gained him entries in some of the earliest art-dictionaries, such as the *Dictionnaire abrégé de peinture et d'architecture* by François-Marie de Marsy, published in Paris in 1746, and in Rudolf Füssli's better known *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon* of 1763.[19]

As a consequence of these entries Strada was included in many of the general biographical dictionaries and historical encyclopaedias published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[20] The entries are mostly succinct summaries of Strada's bibliography, based on notes taken from library catalogues and the earlier publications cited above. All that was known of Strada was based on the two publications of original material, i.e. the drawings engraved in Lambeck's catalogue of the Imperial Library and the preface to Strada's *Series Imperatorum* in Cyprian's catalogue of the holdings of the Ducal library at Gotha. Only in the nineteenth century the information offered in such entries

17 Fabricius 1713, p. 123; Fabricius 1716, pp. 536 and 540; Banduri 1719, pp. 10–11 (entry V-VI on Jacopo and his French translator Jean Louveau) and 53–54 (entry on Ottavio Strada).

18 Huebner 1729, p. 398; Wolff 1737, § 107 (p. 70); § 165 (p. 78).

19 Marsy 1746, II, p. 235; Füssli 1763, *s.v.* Strada, p. 531, and later editions: 'Strada, Jacobus <…> machte sich in dem XVI Jahrhundert durch seine Geschicklichkeit in Nachzeichnung anticker Medaillen berühmt <…> wie man solches auss einigen Mustern schliessen kan, welche Lambecius in seiner Beschreibung dieser vortrefflichen Bibliothek [i.e. the Imperial Library in Vienna] in Kupferstichen vorstellen lassen <…>'. There is no mention of Vorsterman's print of the Strada portrait in the annexed list of engraved artists' portraits: like earlier writers Füssli appears to have been unaware of the identity of its sitter.

20 Moreri 1740, VIII, *s.v.* Strada, p.382 (Strada is not included in earlier editions); Zedler 1744 [1962] 40, *s.v.* Strada, col. 479–480; Jöcher 1750–51 [1960–1961], IV, *s.v.* Strada, col. 864; *Biographie universelle* 1811–1829, *s.v.* Strada; idem, nouvelle edition, s.a., T. 40, pp. 300–301; *Nouvelle Biographie* 1865, *s.v.* Strada, col. 540–541. The article in the *Biographie universelle* is signed by A-g-s, for Domenico de Angelis, who also signed the article in an Italian version, *Biografia universale* 1829, pp. 198–199.

slowly shifted from the merely bibliographical to the summarily biographical. Their authors began to include details about Strada's life taken from an obvious source that had always been available, but had rarely or never been used: the prefaces and dedications of the books he had published.[21] Thus the entry on Strada in the *Biografia Universale* of 1829 contains the characteristic phrase: 'He also gave the example of trading in works of art and of enriching strangers at the expense of Italy', which the slightly later *Nouvelle biographie générale* renders as 'It was on behalf of Germany that he despoiled Italy <…>'. Both passages closely echo Strada's own account of his acquisition of large quantities of antiquities in Venice, on behalf of Hans Jakob Fugger and Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, 'which I myself, with great effort and at great expense, divesting Italy of its most noble spoils, had brought to Augsburg'. In the otherwise identical Italian version of the dictionary, Domenico de Angelis, the (Italian) author of this entry, takes Strada sternly to task for this unpatriotic behaviour: 'He also gave the example, fatal to his fatherland, of trading <'traficare'> in works of the fine arts, thus enriching the foreigners to the injury of his Italy'.[22] Is this ominous word 'traficare' the first intimation of Pope-Hennessy's abject, commercial 'dealer in antiques'?

0.5 *Quellenkunde*: Some Sources Published in the Nineteenth Century

Only in the nineteenth century, when the growing interest in regional and national history and culture caused local authors and antiquaries to delve deeper into the holdings of their libraries and to explore the local archives, further new source material on Strada was unearthed and published. The first instance is provided by the prince of eighteenth-century Italian erudites, Girolamo Tiraboschi, whose *Storia della letteratura Italiana* of 1772–1778, a prime example of cultural history in the wider sense, foreshadows the Romantic interest in the contribution of the individual intellectual, artist or patron to literature

21 In particular his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*, Lyon 1553, which had been reprinted several times and could easily be found, and his editions of Caesar and of Serlio's *Settimo Libro*, both printed at Frankfurt in 1575.

22 *Biographie universelle* s.a.: 'Il donna aussi l'example de trafiquer des objets d'art et d'enrichir les étrangers aux dépens de l'Italie'; *Nouvelle Biographie generale* 1855: 'Ce fût au profit d'Allemagne qu'il dépouilla l'Italie <…>"; Caesar 1575, p.*4: "quae ego magna vi pecuniarum expensa Augustam, nobilissimis spoliis exuta Italia, advexi"; *Biografia universale* 1829: "Ei diede pure l'esempio funesto al paese di lui di trafficare di oggetti di belle arti, arrichendo così gli stranieri con danno della sua Italia'.

and the arts. He complemented a brief mention of Jacopo Strada with the transcription of a letter by Ottavio Strada to the Duke of Ferrara about his father's heritage, a letter Tiraboschi had found in the Archivio Estense.[23] Naturally interest in Strada was strongest in his hometown, Mantua, where brief entries on his career were included in works studying the history of Mantua and revaluating its local cultural heroes.[24] More valuable contributions were due to the two first serious students of the Gonzaga archives, Count Carlo d'Arco (1799–1872) and Stefano Davari (1835–1909). Carlo d'Arco's *Delle famiglie mantovani*, a compendium of historical and genealogical notes on Mantua, included a detailed genealogy of the Strada family. He moreover devoted a brief notice to Jacopo in his *Delle arti e degli artefici di Mantova* of 1857.[25] At about the same time, in his *Lettere artistiche inedite*, another aristocratic amateur of history and the arts, *marchese* Giuseppe Campori (1821–1887), published a letter from the Modena archives documenting Strada's connection with a cadet branch of the Gonzaga.[26] Similar research in archival sources uncovered a completely new aspect of Strada's personality, his religious heterodoxy, presented in passing by the founding genius of the Mantuan State archives as a first-class historical research institution, Stefano Davari, in his chilling notes on the persecutions by the Inquisition in Mantua in the second half of the sixteenth century. Davari was also the first to publish and discuss Strada's description of the Palazzo del Te, a prime document for the history and the interpretation of that monument.[27]

In Austria, Strada's homeland by adoption, the increasing interest in such primary archival sources, which accompanied new approaches and methods in historiography, was reflected in Johann Evangelist Schlager's *Materialien zur österreichischen Kunstgeschichte*, the fifth volume (1850) in the *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen*, published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences. This is a useful but rather unsystematic summing up of facts gleaned from archival and printed sources, covering a period from the mid-sixteenth up to the mid-eighteenth century. Unfortunately references are only sketchily indicated, and the wording is Schlager's own. Thus his influential statement

23 Tiraboschi 1772–1778, cited from Tiraboschi 1824, pp. 1245–1246.

24 Bettinelli 1774, p. 57 and p. 108; Coddè 1837, pp. 142–143.

25 Annotazioni genealogiche di famiglie mantovane che possono servire alla esatta compilazione della storia di queste, s.d., ASMn, *Documenti patrii* 220, vol. vii, fols. 65–75; it remained in manuscript, but is was accessible to later researchers in Mantua; D'Arco 1857(b), pp. 283; Arco also referred to Strada in his biography of Giulio Romano: Arco 1842, p. xci.

26 Campori 1866, p. 50, letter nr. LXI; cf. Doc. 1568-06-16.

27 ÖNB-HS, Cod. 9039, fols. 154–155; printed in Davari 1889 and Verheyen 1967, pp. 68–69.

that Strada in 1566 would have been appointed 'Aufseher', supervisor of curator, of the Imperial *Kunstkammer* cannot be corroborated in the sources known at present: it is probable that it is in fact Schlager's own interpretation of the title 'Antiquarius', which is used in the act he presumably cites.[28] Standards of selection, transcription and interpretation of archival sources quickly improved, however. The most important results of this process soon found their way into a series of appendices to the *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, which began to be published in 1883, together with the *Jahrbuch* itself. These appendices presented a large quantity of impeccably edited sources relevant to the history of art in the Habsburg lands. The intelligent selection of materials was primarily intended to help establish the attributions, the provenance and the patronage situation of the works of art in the collections of the Austrian Emperors, i.e. basically what is now the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. But it is obvious that it was also intended to provide the documentary basis for a more general history of the visual arts of the Habsburg Empire, including architecture, the applied arts and archaeology, with particular emphasis on the laudable role of the Habsburgs as generous and discerning patrons. The documents published here first gave some substance to Strada's role as antiquary to the Holy Roman Emperor. Until then nothing more was known about this role except the title he added to his name on the front page of the books he published and had inserted in the cartouche he had painted on his portrait. These documents—often simple records of the payment of his salary and his travel expenses, sometimes more informative documents such as letters or reports—do at least tell us when and how Strada came to the Imperial court and when and why he resigned, and provide us with some inkling of the type of activities in which he was employed.[29]

In Vienna the interest in Strada was perhaps stimulated by the discovery of a volume of drawings by Ottavio Strada in the library of Count Dietrichstein-Mensdorff, which contained elaborate designs for goldsmith's work. These splendid drawings made a great impression: this was after all the period of the Great Exhibition, the foundation of the Victoria and Albert Museum and countless other museums and vocational schools for the applied arts. To stimulate

28 Schlager 1850, pp. 674–675, 682, 760–761; the record referred to is probably Doc 1566-08-10.

29 *JdKS* 1883 and following years; the documents printed in the appendices are grouped according to their location, which include non-Austrian institutions such as the Gonzaga archive in Mantua. They are mostly published as brief summaries (*Regeste*), but often also in extenso; each *Regest* is identified by a running number. The tradition is unbroken, witness the publication of the inventory of the *Kunstkammer* of Rudolf II (Bauer / Haupt 1976). It would be very useful if the material were reissued in a digital version with integral indexes.

and inspire contemporary designers and craftsmen the Vienna Museum für Kunst und Industrie reproduced the eighty-two drawings in a beautiful facsimile edition which came out in 1869.[30] Strada's affinity with the goldsmith's art, and in particular his close connections with the leading German goldsmith of his time, Wenzel Jamnitzer, were demonstrated by documents published in the *Jahrbuch der Sammlungen*, and discussed in David von Schönherr's article on Jamnitzer's work for Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol. Additional information was printed in Hampe's publication of the decisions of the Nuremberg City Council, published in 1904.[31]

The information from sources of the Imperial court was complemented by research done in the archives of the other principal patron for whom Strada had worked, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria. Though in Munich no similar programme to publish source material existed, in the Bavarian archives much of the material relating to the collections and other cultural activities of the Wittelsbach princes had always been preserved in separate files. These so-called *Libri antiquitatum* were examined and summarized in Stockbauer's extensive study on the artistic patronage of Duke Albrecht V of 1874. Though sometimes mistaken or lacking in precision, Stockbauer was the first to show Strada's role in the conception of the Antiquarium of the Munich Residenz and in the acquisition of ancient and contemporary works of art on behalf of Duke Albrecht V. Because so much of its information related to acquisitions in Italy, the book was also of interest to students of Italian art and history. Thus within a few years Crowe and Cavalcaselle came to use it for their ground-breaking monograph on Titian—including the information on the painting of Strada's portrait. Though later detailed studies corrected and enlarged upon various aspects of Stockbauer's study, for a long time it remained the only comprehensive discussion of patronage and collecting at the Munich court in the sixteenth century. It is therefore not surprising that even in the 1960s it still proved to be Pope-Hennessy's source on Strada's activities and character.[32] Nevertheless, even here Strada was presented as only one among a welter of figures—artists, craftsmen, learned advisors, merchants, courtiers and councillors, princely competitors—who assisted or obstructed the Duke in his cultural ambitions. And this holds for most of the later studies in which Strada figures: in general he occupies a similar marginal place, and his activities are

30 Strada, Ottavio [I] 1869; the original codex, entitled *Libro di disegni per far Vasella da Argento* now preserved in Brno, University Library, Ms. Mk 4 (I.214); cf. Bukovinská / Fučíková / Konečný 1984, p. 65 and note 22, which cites the earlier literature.

31 Schönherr 1888; Hampe 1904, 1, pp. 414, 417, 434, 473–474, 535; 2, pp. 18–19.

32 Stockbauer 1874; Crowe/ Calvalcaselle 1877-1878; Hartig 1917, pp. 44 fols. and Hartig 1933a and Hartig 1933b use the material more critically, but were not cited by Pope-Hennessy.

discussed only in as far as they are relevant for the main topic of the specific publication.

0.6 *Kulturgeschichte* before World War II

This is even true of the one article of which Strada himself—or rather his portrait—is the principal theme, 'Zur richtigen Datirung eines Portraits von Tizian' of 1901 by Heinrich Zimmermann, a historian and archivist who earlier had contributed to the source publications in the *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen*. In this thoughtful re-examination of Stockbauer's sources (the originals of which had been sent to Vienna for him to consult) in the light of other archival material that had meanwhile become available or he had found himself in the Vienna archives, Zimmermann carefully reconstructs Strada's travels to Venice on behalf of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, but only with the aim of assigning as precise as possible a date to the Vienna portrait. This was not because of any lack of interest in Strada as such: on the contrary, Zimmermann limited himself here to the problem in hand, because he intended to publish a full biography of Strada, whom he deemed to be of great interest 'for the history of the collections dating from the Renaissance period in Austria and Bavaria'. In a footnote he cautions that all biographical notices on Strada published by that time contain more or less glaring and often misleading mistakes.[33] Zimmermann never seems to have published any more of the material he had collected for his planned monograph, which never appeared. His research was not taken up by other Austrian scholars: only in his *Geschichte der Sammlungen*, part of a *Festschrift* intended to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, but published only at the end of the Second World War, did Alphons Lhotsky pay some attention to the role Strada had played at the Imperial court. His is a succinct and substantially correct, though incomplete summing up of available literature and published sources.[34]

33 Zimmermann 1901; p. 835, n.1: Da ich seit Jahren an einer eingehenden Biographie dieses für die Geschichte der aus der Renaissancezeit stammenden Sammlungen in Oesterreich und Bayern sehr interessanten Mannes arbeite und sie in nicht allzu ferner Zeit, mit allen documentarischen Nachweisen versehen, zu veröffentlichen gedenke, kann ich mich hier auf die Anführung der für unsern Zweck nöthigsten Daten und die Bemerkung beschränken, dass alle bisher über ihn veröffentlichten biographischen Angaben an mehr oder weniger groben, zuweilen irreführenden Unrichtigkeiten kranken, die zu widerlegen, ich jener grösseren Arbeit vorbehalten muss <…>'.

34 Lhotsky 1945, pp. 160–163; it appears unlikely that Lhotsky used Zimmermann's unpublished material.

The publication of material from the Bavarian and Austrian archives reflected a growing interest in detailed factual cultural history based on source material, and provided incentives and materials to its practitioners. For Munich the principal student was the librarian and intellectual historian Otto Hartig, whose *Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht v. und Johann Jakob Fugger*, published in the middle of the First World War, is perhaps the best history of any library ever written. Here for the first time some attention was paid to Strada's role in the creation of the Munich *Hofbibliothek* and the contiguous Antiquarium, and some hints were given of his close and fruitful relationship with his first known patron, Hans Jakob Fugger, many of whose intellectual preoccupations seem to have been shared by his protegé. In his posthumously published survey of Hans Jakob Fugger's life and career, Wilhelm Maasen, a young historian and sad casualty of the First World War, evoked the intellectual circle where these ideas first came to fruition.[35] In Hartig's later studies of the *Kunsttätigkeit* at the Bavarian court he not only published new archival data on Strada, but also illustrated and discussed Strada's architectural designs for the Munich Antiquarium.[36]

'Schwer fassbare, universelle Persönlichkeit von grosser Vielseitigkeit und Wandelbarkeit, die Wohnsitz, Wirkungsstätte und Tätigkeit häufig wechselte'. Thus Fritz Schulz characterizes Strada in the succinct but basically sound summary of the evidence available at the time in his entry on Strada in volume 32 of Thieme-Beckers *Allgemeines Künstler Lexikon*, which came out in 1938. Though he probably errs in Strada's date of birth, and unnecessarily speculates about Strada's origin, his is perhaps the only attempt before the Second World War to present a balanced and complete view of Strada's career.[37] It is no coincidence that it is found in an art-historical work of reference: though not really an artist, though not really an artistic patron, though intensively concerned in many cultural and intellectual pursuits other than the purely artistic, there can be no doubt that the visual arts remain Strada's central concern. It is therefore not surprising that modern discussions of Strada's activities can be found—with very few exceptions—in the pages of art-historical publications.

35 Hartig 1917(a), pp. 44–46; 50–53, 214–215; Maasen 1922.

36 Hartig 1931, pp. 342, 346, 348, 353; Hartig 1933 (a), Par. 9: 'die Erwerbung von Antiken' (pp. 211–219) und 10. 'Das Antiquarium und die Bibliothek' (pp. 220–225).

37 Schulz 1938. The supposed Netherlandish origin of the Strada family, based on the similarity of its name with that of the Flemish engraver Jan van der Straeten (Stradanus), is without any foundation (for Strada's origins, see below, Ch. 1.1).

0.7 Romance: Josef Svátek and the Rudolfine Legend

Before we turn to contemporary scholarly interest in Jacopo Strada, however, it is necessary to turn back for a moment to magic Prague of the nineteenth century, and to Josef Svátek (1835–1897), a Czech autor who happily and rather unscrupulously combined the vocations of journalist, novelist and historian. He was absolutely fascinated by the history of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and published more than twenty historical novels, most of which were set in this period. This implies that he possessed a fertile imagination, which he drew upon perhaps even when he intended his writings to be factual history, rather than fiction. Certainly the long article on the Strada family at court in Vienna and Prague he contributed in 1883 to *Sborník historický*, a new review published by a young professor at the Czech university of Prague, was presented as a careful investigation of source material.[38] It is clear that Svátek not only used the source publications available at the time, but had himself consulted both the archives in Prague and Vienna and had studied much of the manuscript material from Strada's studio that had been preserved in the Imperial Library and collections.[39]

Unfortunately he did not provide exact references, so it is difficult to be certain of his contentions when no other indications are available—some of which are unlikely, and others demonstrably false. In particular the big claims he makes for the components of the tasks of Jacopo and of Ottavio Strada as Imperial antiquaries—he sees them as principal curators of the celebrated *Kunstkammer* of Rudolf II—are difficult to corroborate: in fact there are few indications that Jacopo played any role at court after Rudolf's accession, rather the contrary.[40] It is even more difficult to believe that Svátek did not

38 Svátek 1883; I am very grateful to Dagmar Stiebral to have read and summarized the article for me. Earlier Strada had been discussed in the chapter 'Die Rudolfinische Kunstkammer in Prag', in a volume of essays, *Culturhistorische Bilder aus Böhmen* (Prague 1879) (Svátek 1879, pp. 227–272).

39 He discusses not only the numismatic volumes dedicated to Ferdinand I and Maximilian II mentioned by Lambeck and later authors, but also some of Strada's other *libri di disegni* in Vienna that have never been published.

40 Svátek followed Schlager's interpretation of the term 'Antiquarius' (cited above): 'In 1565 treffen wir ihn [= Strada] zum erste Male am Wiener Hofe, wo er, wie die Hofacten beweisen, als Hofbaumeister, doch schon im nächsten Jahre als "Antiquarius" des Kaisers Maximilian II erscheint. Diese neu creirte Stelle eines Aufsehers über die kaiserliche Kunstkammer war mit dem jährlichen Solde von 100 fl. dotirt, eine Summe, die es erklärlich macht, dass Strada auch in dieser Stellung seinem früheren einträglichen Geschäfte oblag' (Svátek 1879, pp. 232).

deliberately dramatize the story of Anna Maria Strada, an illegitimate daughter of Ottavio Strada who became Rudolf II's mistress and mother of two of his children. In Svátek's version of the facts she is renamed Katharina instead of Anna Maria, she is the daughter of Jacopo, instead of his granddaughter, becomes not only the mistress but even the morganatic wife of the Emperor, and the mother of (all of?) his illegitimate children, including the mad Don Julius.

This fictionalized account of the affair had a wide appeal, witness the history painting by Jan Skramlík (1860–1936) which had been illustrated in the Czech review *Ruch* of 1887 [Fig. 0.13].[41] Thus Strada became part of the web of legend about Rudolf II the melancholic recluse, living amongst his art treasures surrounded by artists, alchemists and astrologers. This legend has been retold and reconstructed from its literary sources in Angelo Maria Ripellino's magisterial essay *Praga Magica* of 1973, but its historical basis has been carefully examined and partially deconstructed in Robert Evans' *Rudolf II and his*

FIGURE 0.13 Jan Skramlík, Rudolf II visits the studio of his Antiquary Jacopo Strada, who introduces his daughter Katharina to the Emperor, after a painting reproduced in the Czech periodical *Ruch*, X, 1887.

41 I am grateful to Eliška Fučíková to have drawn my attention to this image. A version (or copy?) of the original painting (oil on canvas, 55 x 80 cm) was recently sold at auction (Rempex auction house at Warsaw, May 21, 2003, lot 226); the print shows a different background. On Anna Maria Strada and her relation to Rudolf II, see Jansen 1988a, pp. 132–133, 143, notes 1 and 5, and now the exhaustive survey on Rudolf's children, Sapper 1999.

World of the same year.[42] Svátek himself was largely responsible for this legend, and he continued to draw upon it for his historical novels, in one of which at least, *Astrolog* of 1891–1892, the three Stradas—Jacopo, Ottavio and 'Donna Katharina'—play an important role.[43]

The Czech legend of Rudolf II crossed the Atlantic in 1904, when the American chemist and bibliographer Henry Carrington Bolton in his *The Follies of Science at the Court of Rudolf II* told the history of the alchemical experiments attempted at Rudolf's court from the point of view of the positivist scientist, as the title indicates. He merely mentions Jacopo Strada as the man responsible for the development of Rudolf's *Kunstkammer*, and 'Katharina' is not even mentioned by name, though she figures prominently in the frontispiece, a print of Václav Brožík's painting *Rodolphe chez son alchimiste* that had likewise crossed the Atlantic, and hung in the entrance of New York's Lenox Library [Fig. 0.14].[44]

FIGURE 0.14 Václav Brožík, Rudolph with his Alchemist, engraving by Armand Mathey after a painting a reproduction of which served as the frontispiece to Henry Carrington Bolton, *The Follies of Science at the Court of Rudolf II*, 1904.

42 Ripellino 1973; Evans 1973.

43 Svátek 1891–1892, pp. 300 ff., pp. 474 ff., and *passim*. It is inevitable that these misconceptions continue to flourish. On the internet Katharina has taken on a new lease on life, and her 'father' has expanded his career by running a high-class brothel in Prague.

44 Bolton 1904 pp. 53–60. 'In company with Strada, Rudolph spent entire days in the cabinets, devoting his nights to his astrologers and alchemists'. Bolton acknowledged his debt

Some of Svátek's contentions would be repeated in Czech literature even when of a purely scholarly kind. Some authors added their own presumptions, such as Antonín Truhlář, a professor at the famous Prague academic gymnasium. In its library he had found a copy of the history of the Dutch Revolt by the famous Jesuit historian Famiano Strada, on which he published a short note 'On the Genealogy of the Strada von Rosberg' in which he asserts that Famiano (born in Rome in 1572) were a grandson of 'the elder Strada', that is, of Jacopo Strada.[45] Some of Svátek's contentions also reappear, again without documentary corroboration, in Cyril Straka's reasonably detailed survey of the activities of both Jacopo and Ottavio Strada of 1916. This was valuable nonetheless, because Straka had taken the trouble to examine most of their printed and manuscript works, of which he includes a summary discussion. He pays particular attention to the album in his own care as librarian of the Strahov monastery at Prague. A similar survey by Eugen Jaroslav Schulz, stressing Jacopo and Ottavio's numismatic work, dates from 1950, but for its historical underpinning it still leans largely on Svátek and Straka.[46] Since they were written in Czech, the information in these articles was in general ignored by later authors.

0.8 A (Very) Modest Place in the History of Classical Scholarship

Schulz was a numismatist and his article appeared in a Czech numismatic periodical. It is clear that Strada's work was interesting to the modern numismatist as a modest chapter in the history of his discipline, rather than for any light it might shed on actual questions. Unlike great minds such as Scaliger and Lipsius, Strada did not contribute substantially to the development of classical history, and he rarely figures in the history of classical scholarship: his standing can be measured by the two dismissive sentences he receives in Eric Cochrane's five hundred-page *Historians and historiography in the Italian Renaissance*, where he is merely mentioned as an Italian scholar employed

to Svátek's work (p. 56). The painting by Brožík illustrated served as frontispiece and was briefly described in the preface. I have not been able to establish its present location.

45 Truhlář 1883, p. 421; it was published in the same volume of *Sborník Historický* as Svátek's essay. Though the contention is repeated from time to time, it is without foundation. Other Czech authors from this period paid attention to Strada: Rybička/Zub 1884; Salaba 1902(1903).

46 Straka 1916; Schulz 1950.

abroad, rather than as numismatist.[47] Perhaps the only really scholarly appreciation of his antiquarian work in this field appeared already in 1869, in Emil Hübner's introductory note to the edition in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* of a selection of Latin inscriptions from Spain which Strada had added, probably as an afterthought, to his edition of Caesar's *Commentaries* of 1575. Though he has an open mind about Strada—'homo minime doctus, sed callidus rerum antiquarum indagator'—he clearly does not accept him as a serious scholar. Nevertheless he is the first to cite not only Strada's numismatic albums, but also the other manuscript materials preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, including Strada's testament and the list of the books he intended to publish. Hübner apparently tried to identify the book containing over five thousand inscriptions Strada claimed to have collected, but finally had to be satisfied with guessing at the provenance of the Spanish inscriptions included in Strada's Caesar edition.[48]

0.9 Contemporary Scholarship

0.9.1 *History of Art and Cultural History*

Whereas Strada's numismatic publications do not excite the interest of modern archaeologists, they do attract scholarly attention of those interested in the reception of classical Antiquity in the Renaissance. An early example is the German art historian Paul Ortwin Rave, who places Strada's treatise within an old and continuing tradition for which he coined the term *Bildnisvitenbücher*, that is books in which the lives of illustrious heroes from the past were illustrated by a portrait, from which, it was held, their characters could be inferred. Since these images were often derived from true or spurious ancient coins (the Roman Emperors are obvious examples), a woodcut or engraved medallion became the accepted format for such portraits even of those heroes whose likeness had certainly never graced a coin or medal.[49] Such 'portraits of the past' are the point of departure for Francis Haskell's wonderful book on the role of the image in our conception of the past, *History and its images* of 1991. In its very first chapter, 'The Early Numismatists', Strada's *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* is discussed in detail, and in the following chapter it is linked to his part in

47 Cochrane 1981, pp. 350–351. Presumably because Cochrane limited his discussion to books published in Italy, Strada does not figure among the Italian numismatists listed in the chapter on the study of antiquities.

48 Hübner 1869, pp. ix–x.

49 Rave 1959, pp. 150–152.

the creation of the Munich Antiquarium.[50] The *Epitome* is likewise discussed, in relation to the Titian portrait and Strada's career, in John Cunnally's *Images of the Illustrious: The Numismatic Presence in the Renaissance* of 1999.[51]

Francis Haskell and John Cunnally are both examples of art historians interested as much in the context of a work of art as in the object itself. It is obvious that Jacopo Strada appeals more to this type of cultural historian than to the connoisseur: after all very few of Strada's own works have been identified, and most of these are copied or derived from other works of art—and this holds notably for his most typical work, his numismatic drawings. These show him to have been a competent draughtsman. The very few original inventions that can be securely attributed to him, though demonstrating a similar competence and a thorough comprehension of the artistic language of his time, can hardly be reckoned great works of art. So it is not surprising that modern scholarship on Strada generally has originated as a by-product of specialized research into various topics of the history of art and architecture of the sixteenth century, in which he figures in a subordinate role. Only two or three authors have attempted an overall survey of his career, and even then he appears always in the context of research into a theme where his role happened to have been relatively important. In the following a selection of publications discussing or referring to Strada will be briefly reviewed. They will be grouped by theme rather than chronologically.

0.9.2 *Contemporary Scholarship: Drawings and Designs for Goldsmith Work*

One of the themes that have attracted most interest are the designs for goldsmith's work after Giulio Romano and other Italian masters that are found in several albums from the studio of Jacopo and Ottavio Strada. These were mostly based on the huge collection of drawings by Italian masters in Jacopo's possession. As mentioned above, they were known in Vienna and Prague through the 1869 facsimile edition of Ottavio Strada's drawings in the album in the Dietrichstein collection, and the presence of the manuscript, first mentioned by Cyril Straka, in the monastery of Strahov at Prague. The Strahov album contains both original drawings by Giulio Romano and copies in the hand of the Stradas and/or their copyists. It has been carefully studied by Beket Bukovinská, Eliška Fučíková and Lubomir Konečný. They published an exhaustive catalogue of these drawings in the *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorische Sammlungen* of 1984, which is the fundamental publication on this subject. On the basis of her

50 Haskell 1993, pp. 14–16; 36–39.

51 Cunnally 1999, pp. 26–33, 208–209 and *passim*.

study of these drawings Fučíková had earlier attributed a set of very elegant numismatic drawings in Budapest to Ottavio and Jacopo Strada.[52] The codex Chlumczansky, another album from Strada's collection now in the National Museum in Prague containing miscellaneous and mostly earlier antiquarian material, has been the subject of an equally conscientious edition by Vladimír Juřen.[53] Both editions provide invaluable information on the origins and character of Strada's collection.

Several albums of copies of similar designs prepared in the Strada workshop have been preserved elsewhere, a number of which have been subject of a thorough examination by one of the great specialists of sixteenth-century goldsmith's work, John Hayward.[54] In his wake some more similar material was identified by Peter Fuhring in the collection of Prince Waldburg-Wolfegg. Less convincing is the attribution to Jacopo Strada of another set of splendid drawings in a private collection, though it is clear that there are as yet unexplained connections between this series and Strada's collection.[55] Of the greatest importance is Silke Reiter's exhaustive catalogue of a number of volumes of drawings traditionally attributed to the Nuremberg goldsmith, draftsman and engraver Erasmus Hornick. She shows that these drawings cannot integrally be attributed to Hornick, and carefully analyses the relationship of these albums with the workshop of Jacopo and Ottavio Strada, thus providing a solid foundation for any eventual integral inventory and analysis of the products of this workshop. Valery Taylor has been working on Giulio Romano's goldsmith's designs, including the copies in the albums from the Strada workshop, interpreting them in the light of the culture of the princely table in the Renaissance.[56]

52 Prague, Library of Strahov Monastery, ms. DL III 3; published in Bukovinská / Fučíková/ Konečný 1984; it is digitally accessible through the website www.manuscriptorium.com; Fučíková 1982.

53 Prague, Library of National Museum, ms. XVII A 6; Juřen 1986. The ms. is digitally accessible through the website www. manuscriptorium.com.

54 Hayward 1968 a; Hayward 1968 b; Hayward 1970; Hayward 1972; Hayward 1976, pp. 24–26, 46–48, 136–137.

55 Fuhring 2003; Lawrence 2007, catalogue of an exhibition in the Serge Sorokko Gallery, San Francisco; it consists of images of the drawings which are not discussed individually, preceded by an essay on Jacopo Strada; though these drawings appear to have a connection with the Strada workshop, the attribution to Jacopo Strada personally cannot be maintained. Part of the set of drawings was sold at Sotheby's New York, January 2010, as by 'Jacopo Strada and workshop', cf. *Old Master Drawings* 2010, cat.nr. 40–49, pp. 50–73 and Jansen 2014, pp. 164–166.

56 Reiter 2012; Taylor 2014.

0.9.3 *Contemporary Scholarship: Architecture*

Some other components of Strada's huge collection of drawings have likewise been the subject of detailed study. Principal among these are what the American scholar William Bell Dinsmoor in a ground breaking article in the *Art Bulletin* of 1942 termed 'the literary remains of Sebastiano Serlio'. Speculations as to the quantity and character of the material Strada obtained and his project to print the as yet unpublished books of Serlio's architectural treatise have since been exhaustively treated. This was first done in 1966 by Marco Rosci in his edition of the Munich manuscript of the *Sesto Libro* of Serlio's architectural treatise, then by Myra Nan Rosenfeld in her important article on Serlio's manuscript of the *Settimo Libro* in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna and in her edition of the Columbia University manuscript of the *Sesto Libro*. The Serlio conference at Vicenza in 1989 provided the present author with an opportunity to present and discuss the results of a detailed examination of the documents. Finally Francesco Paolo Fiore and Tancredi Carrunchio summed up the state of the question in the introduction to *Architettura civile*, their edition of the Vienna and Munich manuscripts of the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Books of Serlio's treatise of 1994.[57] These new findings were also discussed in *Sebastiano Serlio: Architecture et Imprimerie*, the publication edited by Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa presenting the results of an international research project centred around an exhibition and a conference on this theme in 1998. Sabine Frommel's important monograph on Serlio, concentrating on the work of the architect itself rather than on the publishing history of his writings, refers to Strada only when relevant and in passing.[58]

Of equal interest for the history of sixteenth-century architecture are the detailed drawings of the facades and the complete decoration of the Palazzo del Te in Mantua that Strada commissioned in 1567. These were known to have existed from the sources, and they were already referred to in Hartig's history of the foundation of the Munich library survey by Duke Albrecht V, for whom this documentation was made, and in Elizabeth Herget's article on the influence of the Palazzo del Te on the architecture north of the Alps during the later sixteenth century.[59] The drawings themselves, which were preserved in the Kunstmuseum in Düsseldorf with an old attribution to Santi Bartoli, were only identified later in the 1960s by Egon Verheyen, who dedicated a long article to them. On the basis of their obvious connection with Strada's manuscript

57 Dinsmoor 1942; Rosci/Brizio 1966, Rosenfeld 1974; Rosenfeld 1978; Jansen 1989; Fiore/Carrunchio 1994.

58 Sebastiano Serlio A Lyon, 2004; Frommel 1998.

59 Hartig 1917, pp. 52–53; Herget 1963, pp. 288–289.

description of the Palazzo del Te published by Davari in 1889, of available data culled from the Munich sources, and of a comparison with Strada's numismatic drawings and his designs for the Munich Antiquarium, Verheyen attributed the drawings to Strada himself. He also pointed out their crucial importance for a good understanding of the genesis and iconography of the Palazzo del Te and its decoration. Soon a discussion developed between him and the American architectural historians Kurt Forster and Richard Tuttle about a possible ideological intent of the building, and about the reliability of Strada's drawings.[60]

These drawings were not, however, in Strada's own hand: he had merely commissioned them from the young Mantuan painter Ippolito Andreasi, as Renate von Busch demonstrated on the basis of an even more attentive reading of the available documents. In 1984 Richard Harprath catalogued them in his long article in *Master Drawings* on Ippolito Adreasi as a draughtsman.[61] Some years later a selection of the drawings was shown in the large exhibition on Giulio Romano within the walls of the palace they documented, and they were used in the preparation of its restoration.[62] They were moreover illustrated in Amedeo Belluzzi splendid 'atlas' of the Palazzo del Te, two beautiful though unaffordable volumes illustrating the architecture and every single decorative element of this important complex. Belluzzi provided a transcription of Strada's accompanying description and discussed both his acquisition of Giulio's drawings and his commission of Andreasi's designs.[63] Meanwhile, in an article about later pictorial additions to Raphael's Vatican *Loggia*, Bernice Davidson discussed the even more detailed and splendidly illuminated documentary drawings of this other key monument of the history of the Renaissance, which had been commissioned by Strada a decade before those of the Palazzo del Te.[64]

In 1617 Jacopo Strada's grandson Ottavio II published a volume of technical designs under his grandfather's name. This book was first seriously discussed in an article on 'plagiarists' of Francesco di Giorgio Martini's technical designs, published by Ladislao Reti in 1963. Until the discovery, by the French antiquarian booksellers Bernard and Stéphane Clavreuil, of a manuscript containing autograph drawings by Jacopo of similar technical inventions, these had only been known through some similar manuscripts prepared by Jacopo's son, Ottavio I Strada, which were presented to various European princes. One of

60 Verheyen 1967; Forster / Tuttle 1971; Verheyen 1972(b).
61 Von Busch 1973, pp. 204–205 and p. 342.n. 90; Harprath 1984.
62 Giulio Romano 1989, pp. 333–334; 339; 342; 350, 357, 366; 400–402; 409–415.
63 Belluzzi 1998, pp. 30–36 and *passim*.
64 Davidson 1983, pp. 587–599 and *passim*.

these manuscripts was dedicated to Don Giovanni de' Medici and is preserved in the Museo delle Scienze in Florence. A publication of this volume sponsored by ENI, the National Electricity Network of Italy, presented the opportunity to place these drawings in context. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann treated the intellectual, technical and military concerns of the sixteenth century, the present author wrote about the workshop and later history of three generations of Strada's, and Luisa Dolza and Vittorio Marchis discussed the development of this specific type of literature in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. Unfortunately it proved not possible to include a detailed analysis of each technical invention and its probable sources.[65]

In his 'Kunsttätigkeit in München unter Wilhelm IV und Albrecht V' of 1933 Otto Hartig presented Strada's designs for the Munich Antiquarium, and was thus the first to demonstrate that Strada was himself actively involved in the architectural projects of his patrons.[66] This information allowed Renate Rieger just after the Second World War to attribute to Strada some part in the conception of the Neugebäude, the extensive pleasure garden just outside Vienna laid out for the Emperor Maximilian II. She observed correspondences in form and construction between its principal element, a huge half-open gallery built over two immense, vaulted halls, and the Antiquarium, which led her both to postulate a similar function for the Neugebäude, and to attribute a role in its conception and design to Jacopo Strada.[67] In his short monograph on the Neugebäude of 1976 Rupert Feuchtmüller follows this up with some more arguments, without assigning any concrete role to Strada.[68]

Certainly the Antiquarium and the Neugebäude are of signal importance for an understanding of Jacopo's role at the courts of Munich and Vienna: the two best surveys of his career to date were published as a spin-off of research into their history.[69] But even before that, Erich Hubala had discovered another, alternative design for the Antiquarium, and in his article of 1958 he carefully reviewed all the drawings and the most relevant documents. For the reception of this important article it was perhaps unfortunate that Henry Russell-Hitchcock, in his general overview of German Renaissance architecture of 1981, mixed up the drawings, publishing an image of the German alternative design under Strada's name instead of Strada's own drawings. This alternative design is in any case a source of misattributions; a later attribution to the Flemish

65 RETI 1963, pp. 297–298; Clavreuil 2001, cat. nr. 37; Marchis / Dolza 2002.
66 Hartig 1933(a), pp. 220–225 and Figs. 26–28.
67 Rieger 1951.
68 Feuchtmüller 1976, pp. 64, 80–81.
69 Von Busch 1973; Lietzmann 1987; cf. below.

neo-Latin poet Niccolò Stopio by Heike Frosien-Leinz is based on a misreading of the sources.[70]

At about the same time that Hubala was going through the Munich archives in connection with the Antiquarium, in Vienna Harry Kühnel was collecting archival data to document the development of the Hofburg, the principal residence of the Habsburg Emperors in their capital during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He published his findings between 1956 and 1961 in a series of articles in the *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*[71] In the third part, 'Die landesfürstlichen Baumeister der Wiener Hofburg von 1494 bis 1569', published in 1959, he included a brief but significant survey of Strada's career in Vienna. Though he cites only one document indicating that Strada had some unspecified share in the restructuring of the Hofburg complex under Ferdinand I and Maximilian II, Kühnel recognized that his presence in Vienna was of considerable interest for its history.[72] He carefully lists the references he found in the various archives, including many financial records which had not been published before. Kühnel is also the first who recognized the importance of Strada's will, of which he gives a summary.

0.9.4 *Renate von Busch and Hilda Lietzmann*

Jacopo Strada had a considerable share in the conception and realization of both the Munich Antiquarium and the Vienna Neugebäude. Research into the history of these two splendid monuments of the Northern Renaissance led to the two really extensive studies on Strada's career. The first of these is added as an excursus to Renate von Busch's 1973 Tübingen dissertation *Studien zu deutschen Antikensammlungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*. It is sad that this wonderful book, whose gifted author unfortunately died shortly after its completion, has never been republished in an illustrated edition.[73] On the basis of exhaustive archival research, it provides a survey of the earliest collections of antiquities in Germany, culminating in a detailed chronicle of the genesis of Duke

70 Russell-Hitchcock 1981, pp. 92,95, 168 and 221, pl. 209; Frosien-Leinz 1983, pp. 359–361; cf. below, Ch. 8.4.

71 Kühnel 1956, 1958, 1959 and 1961; Kühnel summarized and amplified these notes in a short monograph on the Hofburg in which Strada does not figure, doubtless because no specific contribution is documented (Kühnel 1971).

72 Kühnel 1959, p. 319: 'Von nicht geringem Interesse im Zusammenhang mit der Baugeschichte der Wiener Hofburg darf die Tatsache bezeichnet werden, dass eine der vielseitigsten, universellsten Persönlichkeiten der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts hier eine, wenn auch wenig fassbare Tätigkeit entfaltetet: Jacopo Strada'.

73 Von Busch 1973. Though published as a photographically reproduced typescript without illustrations, the book's significance was widely recognized: copies can be found everywhere and it has been cited very often.

Albrecht V's collection and of the Antiquarium built to house it. Accurate critical reading of the many sources she consulted—including the *Libri antiquitatum* of the Bavarian State Archive mentioned above—led to the discovery of Strada's central role. His importance in this respect incited Von Busch to add the excursus in which she gave an ample and detailed survey of Strada's career. She is the first since Titian who, by judicious selection and ample citation of her sources, manages to evoke Jacopo Strada as an actual human being, with all his enthusiasms, his little vanities, and his obstinacy. She is also the first who implicitly seems to detect some coherence in Strada's very diverse occupations. Of particular moment are her appreciation of Strada's long-lasting and intimate relationship with Hans Jakob Fugger, and her noting, in their correspondence, of the passage which documents that Strada made designs for the Vienna Neugebäude as well as for the Munich Antiquarium.

Von Busch confirmed Renate Rieger's intimation that Strada was in some way implicated in the design of the Neugebäude merely in a footnote. It was investigated in detail in Hilda Lietzmann's monograph on that huge monument, a book which has put it on the art historical map and has doubtless stimulated the attempts of the last decades to rehabilitate its remains.[74] Lietzmann provides the first more or less all-round appreciation of Jacopo Strada as an artist and places him in the context of the artistic and architectural patronage at court. She is the first to insist that Strada's salary as a court architect presupposes his serious involvement in at least some of the projects initiated by Ferdinand I and Maximilian II. She is the first to advance the plausible attribution of the design of the Stallburg to Strada. This annexe to the Hofburg was built for Maximilian II as heir to the throne between 1559, when Strada had just arrived, and 1565.[75] With the Neugebäude she thus also puts Strada himself on the map, which resulted in sections both on the Neugebäude and on Strada himself in the Vienna version of the Giulio Romano exhibition of 1989–1990.[76] As a follow-up, Lietzmann published some additional documents on Strada, highlighting certain unknown aspects of his later career.[77] In a very interesting article published in 2006 Wolfgang Lippmann analyses the Neugebäude in the light of the results of material research on the complex, and places it in a wider European context, but adds little to Lietzmann as far as Strada's role in its

74 Von Busch 1987; cf. my review, Jansen 1988(b).

75 Lietzmann 1987, pp. 113–114.

76 Fürstenhöfe der Renaissance 1990, pp. 356–377 (on the Neugebäude); pp. 308–323 (on Strada, curated by the present author).

77 Lietzmann 1997; Lietzmann 1998.

conception is concerned.[78] In contrast, the authors of the recent monumental and very useful, though excessively positivist study on the building history of the Vienna Hofburg totally ignore him. Not finding archival data immediately linking Strada to concrete interventions and not understanding Strada's position at court, their omission demonstrates a serious misapprehension of Strada's role, of his immediate influence on the development of parts of the Hofburg complex, and on the architecture in the Habsburg lands in general.[79]

0.9.5 *Modern Scholarship: Collecting and Princely Patronage*

Whereas Strada's contributions to the Antiquarium and the Neugebäude have been extensively researched, his other activities for his patrons in Munich and Bavaria have received less attention. Hartig's article on patronage and collecting at the court of Albrecht V has already been mentioned above; it was recapitulated, together with the results of Renate von Busch's research, in the general introduction of Herbert Brunner's *Kunstschätze der Münchner Residenz* of 1977. The antiquarian component of Albrecht's collections and Strada's contributions to it have since been discussed more fully in the huge two-volume catalogue of the sculptures in the Antiquarium edited by Ellen Weski and Heike Frosien-Leinz published in 1987 and its introductory essays. In particular Horst Stierhof's discussion of the building history of the Antiquarium and Frosien-Leinz's discussion of its significance in the sixteenth century are relevant for Strada's role. The book is moreover invaluable for the archival sources published in its appendix and its profuse illustration.[80]

Strada's influence on Albrecht's collection in general is mentioned in Lorenz Seelig's paper on the Munich *Kunstkammer* at the 1983 Oxford Symposium *The Cabinet of Curiosities* and discussed more fully by Mark Meadow in his initial exploration of Hans Jakob Fugger's importance for the development of the Munich complex of collections and its theoretical basis. The 1583 inventory of the *Kunstkammer* has recently been published *in extenso*, and was followed shortly afterwards by two huge volumes of catalogue and commentary, together providing as detailed a reconstruction of the Munich collections as will ever be possible. This adds immensely to our knowledge and understanding of this basically scholarly and scientific, rather than purely artistic institution. In the commentary volumes the material with which Jacopo had provided the

78 Lippmann 2006–2007. Lippmann unfortunately follows Lietzmann in a misreading of the passage in Fugger's letter, and adds another misreading to it; cf. below, Ch. 8.

79 Karner 2014. See below, Chs. 5.6, 10.7 and 16.1.

80 Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987, includes pp. 18–22: Horst H. Stierhof, 'Zur Baugeschichte des Antiquariums'; pp. 32–64: Heike Frosien-Leinz, 'Zur Bedeutung des Antiquariums im 16. Jahrhundert' and pp. 452–479: 'Quellenanhang'.

Kunstkammer are carefully described and put in context.[81] Finally, the origin of the Munich Staatsbibliothek was described by its former director, Franz Georg Kaltwasser, in his overview of its history focusing on the display of its holdings, and more in general on its scholarly, scientific and cultural function. He does not, however, define Strada's role in this any more precisely than Hartig had done. In 2008, finally, the 450th anniversary of the founding of the Staatsbibliothek was celebrated with an exhibition and an accompanying catalogue in which a number of the materials provided by Strada are discussed and illustrated, often for the first time.[82] Two years later Christien Melzer showed that materials from Strada's workshop were also included in the Dresden *Kunstkammer*, and briefly discussed and illustrated a number of *libri di disegni* still preserved in the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett.[83]

Interest in collecting has always been a Viennese speciality, witness not only the exemplary source publications in the *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen*, but also Julius von Schlosser's influential, more theoretical essay, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Spätenaissance* of 1908. The origins of the imperial collections in Vienna were studied by Alphons Lhotsky on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the opening of the Kunsthistorisches Museum. Rotraud Bauer and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann were the first to suggest that the *Kunstkammer* of Emperor Rudolf II was influenced by the ideas of Samuel Quiccheberg which were transmitted by Strada. Elizabeth Scheicher pays some attention to Strada in her survey of Habsburg collecting of 1979, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammer der Habsburger*, but in view of the inadequate concrete evidence available wisely refuses to speculate about his precise role. A letter by Strada to the Czech magnate Vilém z Rožmberka published by Fritz Eheim in 1963 provided evidence that Strada also worked for others than members of the dynasty.[84]

Most literature on patronage and collecting of the sixteenth-century Austrian Habsburgs focuses on Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol and Emperor Rudolf

81 Seelig 1983; Meadow 2002; Diemer 2004; Diemer/Diemer/Sauerländer 2008.

82 Kaltwasser 1999, pp. 10, pp. 15–16 and *passim*; Kulturkosmos der Renaissance 2008, pp. 24–25; 28; cat. nrs. 93–95; and *passim*. Many codices from the Staatsbibliothek, including some of the Strada material, have now been made accessible on-line in full or in part on the website of the library: http://codicon.digitale-sammlungen.de.

83 Melzer 2010. My attention was drawn to these materials by Gudula Metze and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann when I had already finsihed the first draught of this book. I have not yet been able to study them in detail, but they are briefly discussed in Chs. 13.7.1

84 Schlosser 1908 pays no particular attention to Strada; Lhotsky 1945, pp. 160–163; Bauer / Haupt 1976, p. xxxvii; Kaufmann 1978(b), p. 25 and p. 28, n. 16; Scheicher 1979, pp. 139–140. Eheim 1963.

II. It was only in 1995 that Karl Rudolf published a detailed study of such *Kunstbestrebungen* at the Imperial court before Rudolf II's accession, presenting many unknown sources and making an illuminating comparison with similar activities at the court of Maximilian II's cousin and brother-in-law, King Philip II of Spain. Strada is discussed in particular in his role as a numismatic expert.[85] Rudolf does not explicitly question Schlager's characterization of Strada as an 'Aufseher auf die Kunstkammer', but he might well have done so, since he concludes, probably correctly, that at the time a more or less formal, centrally organized *Kunstkammer* as could be found at Munich, Ambras and later at Prague, as yet had not come into existence in Vienna.[86]

In his *Rudolf II and his world* of 1973, Robert Evans mentions several of Strada's activities in connection with the general intellectual milieu of the Imperial court during the second half of the sixteenth century. Of course Strada often briefly figures in monographs on other figures at that court, such as Augerius Busbequius and Joannes Sambucus.[87] But he is rarely given more than passing attention in studies of the intellectual milieu of the period. Whereas Nicolette Mout, in her dissertation on the relations between Bohemia and the Netherlands in the sixteenth century, briefly sketches Jacopo and Ottavio's career, and is the first to mention Strada's attempt to have Christophe Plantin print his books, Strada is hardly mentioned in Paula Fichtner's predominantly political biographies of Ferdinand I and Maximilian II.[88] A collection of essays on Maximilian II and his period edited by Friedrich Edelmayer and Alfred Kohler included an essay by the present author which attempted to clarify his formal position at the Imperial court.[89] One aspect of his tasks at court was discussed in Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann's 1978 dissertation, *Variations on the Imperial Theme in the Age of Maximilian II and Rudolf II,* in which he was the first to discuss Strada's costume designs for various court festivities, and placed them in the larger intellectual and iconographical context at court.[90] That Strada had

85 Rudolf 1995, pp. 172–173, covering independently material published by the present author (Jansen 1993(a); pp. 195–196, p. 198).

86 *Ibidem*, p. 225; Rudolf doubts that Strada made designs for the Neugebäude (p. 177), and does pay no further attention to Strada's role as an architect; cf. below, Ch. 9.4.

87 Evans 1973,pp. 128–129; 185, 187; Martels 1989, *passim*.

88 Mout 1975, pp. 64–65, 166; cf. also Mout 2000, pp. 55–57; Fichtner 1982; Fichtner 2001, pp. 81, 97.

89 Jansen 1992, a revised version of an Italian paper read at a conference on royal and aristocratic households in the Renaissance (Jansen 1989(c)); it was drawn upon for Chapter 4 of the present book.

90 Kaufmann 1978(a), pp. 61–64 and *passim*; modified in Kaufmann 2009, pp. 78–80 and Kaufmann 2010. Some of the drawings were engraved by Jost Amman, whose prints and

in fact a larger responsibility in this field than has previously been assumed follows from new finds in archives in Mantua and Vienna, published by Elena Venturini and by Otto Schindler, by the recent find and convincing attribution of two autograph designs for such festival costumes by Zoltán Kárpáti, and by the even more recent identification of two volumes of festival designs from Strada's workshop in the Dresden Kupferstichkabinett by Gudula Metze and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann. Kaufmann has repeatedly returned to Strada also in other contexts.[91]

Following in Kaufmann's footsteps the intellectual historian Howard Louthan included a detailed investigation of Strada's career at the Imperial court in his *The Quest for Compromise: Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna* of 1997. In this book he selects four key-figures—'Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna'—whose exploits in various fields exemplify the conciliating or irenic aspirations of Maximilian and his entourage. The fields he discusses are politics, exemplified by Maximilian's general Lazarus von Schwendi; religion, illustrated by his personal physician Johannes Crato; humanist learning, illustrated by his librarian Hugo Blotius; and finally the arts, illustrated by Jacopo Strada, who, Louthan stresses, 'helped transform a more provincial Habsburg court into a sophisticated and international center of artistic activity'. In her article 'The appropriation of Italian Renaissance art by German courts', Barbara Marx accorded Strada an important place in this process, stressing his role as mediator in particular in the acquisition of antiquities by German princes. She considers such antiquities as explicit markers of the values (and the fashions?) of the Italian Renaissance as adopted by the more ambitious courts north of the Alps. They functioned as such both in the originals, such as those brought together in Duke Albrecht V's Antiquarium in Munich, and in their graphic representations, such as those provided by the Strada workshop: Marx is the first to publish illustrations from a manuscript of drawings of imperial busts Ottavio Strada presented to Grand Duke Francesco I of Tuscany.[92]

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their documented connection to Ottavio Strada are discussed by Ilse O'Dell, who however did not recognize the link between these prints and the Strada drawings (O'dell 1990).

91 Venturini 2002, p. 102; Schindler 2004, p. 312; Schindler 2006, (p. 336).; Kárpáti 2012; Kaufmann, 'Giuseppe Arcimboldo: Learning, Letters, Art', in: *Arcimboldo 1526-1593* 2007, pp. 273–279. On the festival designs, including the as yet unpublished Dresden drawings, see below, Ch. 4.3.4.

92 Louthan 1997, p. 8. On Strada, see chiefly Ch. 2: 'Jacopo Strada and the transformation of the imperial court' (pp. 24–46); Marx 2007, pp. 204–214 and figs. 52–53.

0.10 What Has Not Been Written on Jacopo Strada

The foregoing overview shows that almost everything ever written on Jacopo Strada was a spin-off of its author's specialized interest in one of the fields in which Strada had been active, rather than an intrinsic interest in the career of this rather unusual personality. Even the careful reviews of his career by Renate von Busch and Hilda Lietzmann were the result of their exhaustive investigations of the history of the collecting of antiquities at the Bavarian court, and of the history of Maximilian II's Neugebäude respectively. Given that most literature on Strada originates in such specialized research, it is not surprising that there remain some aspects of his career which have received little or no attention, even where such attention might have been expected.

It is, for instance, remarkable that the presence of his portrait has not excited greater interest in Vienna itself, where Strada reached the high point of his career. In the wake of Renate Rieger's suggestions only a few remarks have been made about his influence on the developments of local architecture, foremost by Hilda Lietzmann. An exception is Alfred Strnad's wide-ranging survey of the reception of the Italian Renaissance in the Habsburg *Erblande* based on a very thorough examination of the available secondary sources. He pays much attention to the artistic developments in the sixteenth century and, following Lietzmann, briefly discusses Strada's role.[93] Until recently the Vienna court of this period in general has been little studied, compared to the courts of Maximilian I, Charles V and Rudolf II. For the period of Ferdinand I, covering the first decade of Strada's career at court, this was remedied by the huge exhibition of the Kunsthistorisches Museum on the occasion of the fifth centenary of his birth in 2003. Though Strada was explicitly appointed as an architect by Ferdinand I, he does not figure at all in the catalogue, not even where existing documents might have made a discussion of his possible role useful, such as the *Maximiliansgrab* in Innsbruck.[94]

It is true that, at first sight, Vienna in the second half of the sixteenth century looks rather bleak, in contrast with the rich Middle Ages, culminating in the romantic figure of the 'Last knight', the Emperor Maximilian I, or with the baroque splendour of the Austrian court in the later seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. But this bleakness—and the resulting lack of interest among scholars—can be partly explained by the dearth of (published) sources and the relatively few monuments from the period that have survived intact. Most research has been done by art historians who were often employed at the

93 Strnad 1991, pp. 180–181, 222–224.

94 *Kaiser Ferdinand I* 2003; Altfahrt 2003.

Kunsthistorisches Museum and whose approach is necessarily more object-oriented than that of cultural or intellectual historians. However, Karl Rudolf's study on the artistic patronage of Maximilian II cited above has shown that the dearth of available sources might be remedied by more extensive and systematic archival research.[95] This material doubtless contributed to the revaluation of the court of Maximilian II that is evident in the catalogue of the 2007–2008 exhibitions in Paris and Vienna dedicated to his court-painter Giuseppe Arcimboldo. There at least some attention was paid also to Strada's role at court.[96]

It is particularly odd that the materials from Strada's studio preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and in the University Library of Vienna have hardly attracted any scholarly attention since Zimmermann.[97] Even two contemporary lists of manuscripts and books from Strada's library that are probably of considerable value for the history of the early holdings of the *Hofbibliothek*—the list of printed books is an offer of sale, and the items listed were probably sold to Rudolf II by Strada or his heirs—has incited no interest; this in contrast with similar lists relating to acquisitions by or from contemporaries such as Joannes Sambucus and Hugo Blotius.[98] In general very little attention has been paid to Strada's place in the history of the book, considering his close connection with two of the greatest libraries of the sixteenth century and his activities in the book trade in general. Doubtless this is largely due

95 Rudolf 1995; it should be noted that only the minutest part of Maximilian's correspondence has been published.

96 Karl Schütz, 'Art and Culture at the Court of Emperor Maximilian II', pp. 73–79 in *Arcimboldo 1526–1593* 2007, pp. 76–77.

97 The material is referred to by Renate von Busch, Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Hilda Lietzmann and Howard Louthan. It should be noted that the most illustrious of Viennese art historians, the late Ernst Gombrich, did study the Strada material in Vienna in the course of the preparation of his dissertation on Giulio Romano, and still remembered these in great detail fifty years later (oral communication, 1982) but he never published these findings. His dissertation was published only in 1984 in Italian, filling the first issue of the periodical *Quaderni di Palazzo Te* (Gombrich 1984b), but makes no mention of Strada.

98 Vienna, ÖNB-HS cod. 10101: a copy of the *Index sive catalogus* (a list of manuscripts Strada planned to publish) is followed by a list of 153 volumes of manuscripts, many containing several independent works; ÖNB-HS, cod. 9038, fols. 99 ff. is headed 'Index venalis: Catalogus ex bibliotheca Stradae', and lists a huge number of printed books, indicating format, short title, place of publication and price or estimate. To my knowledge these lists have never been compared to the present holdings of the Nationalbibliothek: unless later rebound, the manuscript volumes ought to be readily identifiable, and a comparison of bindings, ex-libris and/or shelf marks and annotations might possibly indicate a common provenance for some of the printed titles, which would confirm that Strada had also purveyed printed books to the Emperor.

to the fact that he was not a locally established publisher, but had his books printed in three different countries.

Another strange lacuna in scholarship is Strada's role in the creative process of Wenzel Jamnitzer's workshop. In view of the available documents, printed already in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, it is inconceivable and unjustifiable that his name does not appear even once in the recent detailed, three volume survey of the history of Nuremberg goldsmith's work, an omission the less explicable since recent scholarship has at least indicated some intimations of his possible importance in this field.[99]

Other themes may not have been taken up because their intrinsic interest seems not to recompense the quantity of work—and expense—involved: the best example is Strada's *Magnum ac novum Opus*, the corpus of over nine thousand numismatic drawings preserved at Gotha. In spite of the fame it enjoyed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it has only recently been the subject of a preliminary material investigation.[100] The modest quality of most of the drawings as works of art would not soon invite art-historical interest, and their value for modern numismatic studies is limited. They could, however, be of interest as documents of the intellectual preoccupations and scholarly procedure of the sixteenth century: for that reason the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft DFG has decided to fund a project to digitize both Strada's coin-images in Gotha—which are already accessible on-line—and his related coin-descriptions.[101]

0.11 Weaving the Strands Together: The Purpose of this Study

It is clear that most available information on Strada comes from specialized publications, which illustrate only one or at most a few aspects of his career.

99 Only Ralf Schürer has explicitly wondered what Strada's role may have been: Schürer 1986 p. 58; cf. below, Ch. 2.5.

100 Fürstliche Bücherlust 2004, pp.42–45; Kulturkosmos der Renaissance 2008, cat.nr. 94, pp. 262–263; Diemer/Diemer/Sauerländer 2008, nr. 5–34.

101 *Jacopo Strada's Magnum ac Novum Opus: A Sixteenth-Century Numismatic Corpus*, DFG-funded project at the Gotha Research Centre of the University of Erfurt, in collaboration with the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha and the Census of Antique Works of Art and Architecture known in the Renaissance, Berlin; conducted by Volker Heenes and the present author, supervised by Martin Mulsow. The images of the Strada volumes in Gotha are accessible through the Digitale Historische Bibliothek Erfurt-Gotha: https://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ufb/servlets/solr/ufb2?q=Strada.; selected images and texts are entered in the *Documents file* of the Census, where they are related to existing ancient coins in the *Monuments file*; they are planned to become publicly accessible by the end of 2018.

This also holds for most of my own earlier publications on Strada, which deal with specific themes: Strada's relations with his patrons, especially at the Imperial court, his activities as a collector and dealer in art and antiquities, his antiquarian studies, and his interest in architecture.[102]

The present book may fill some of the lacunae signalled above, but it is primarily an attempt towards an all-round biography of Jacopo Strada. First it will give as complete an overview as possible of the many different activities in which he engaged during his long life. Second, its aim is to analyse each of these activities in their context, or rather contexts: context of place and context of time; context of traditions continued, and of innovations introduced by Strada and his contemporaries. Most important, Strada's activities will be considered not as separate or isolated events, but will be studied in relation to one another. One question will be whether it is possible to reduce the manifold and at first sight disparate aspects of Strada's life and career to something approaching a meaningful and coherent order. Can a consistent pattern be discovered in his activities that would allow us to add them up to something approaching a distinct profession? And if so, was such a profession more than just a private concept present in Strada's mind, or can it be considered a more or less generally recognized trade, craft or calling?

If so, the name of that profession is clearly and proudly indicated on the title pages of all of Strada's books and presentation manuscripts, and was never omitted from his signature in his letters to his patrons: *Antiquario* in Italian, *Antiquarius* in Latin. As we have seen, in English these terms can be translated by 'antiquarian', 'antiquary', or even 'archaeologist'. In my text I generally prefer to use the term 'antiquary', as being the most neutral and least anachronistic.[103] A comparative study of other individuals indicated or indicating themselves with this appellation is no part of this study, but I hope the presentation of the data of Strada's career in future will help to answer that question by making such a comparison feasible.

Considering the certain data on Strada's life in their mutual interdependence and in their context will allow me to draw some conclusions not warranted by the isolated facts alone. The extant documents, which are listed in

102 Cf. bibliography, s.v. Jansen.

103 But I prefer not to be dogmatic about it, in this following Arnaldo Momigliano, who in his ground-breaking article used both 'antiquary' and 'antiquarian' without explicit distinction (Momigliano 1950). Bernd Kulawik drew my attention to Strada's use of the indication 'ΕΚ ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟΥ ΙΑΚΩΒΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΔΑΙ ΜΑΝΤΟΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΥ' on the (Greek) title page of the first volume of the album depicting and describing (Greek) Roman Provincial Imperial coins in Vienna (ÖNB-HS 9416), and to the significance of this possibly early use of that term.

the chronological list of sources inserted at the end of this book, allow me to sketch a truthful, though incomplete map of his career, to define the location and the size of the remaining white spots on this map, and in some cases provide at least an inkling of what may be found there. One of the white spots is, for instance, the commercial side of Strada's workshop: as for almost all of his contemporaries, his private accounts have not been preserved, though it is clear that particularly in his case the information these would provide would have been invaluable. Another white spot is the role Strada played with regard to the artistic patronage at the court of Maximilian II, his most important patron. It will be argued that the lack of conclusive evidence here is largely caused by the fact of Strada's personal presence at court, where his influence was chiefly exerted through direct oral consultation with his patron and with other courtiers, as well as with the artists and scholars involved in the Emperor's projects.

The next step is to fill in the white spots as far as possible, by means of a process of reasonable conjecture. It is, for instance, rather likely that Strada was paid a substantial salary as a court architect because he was expected to actually contribute to the building projects at court. We may reasonably assume that he did so, even though we do not exactly know what he did, when and for which project. Setting out from that assumption, a detailed examination of what we do know factually about Strada as an architect and designer, about the building projects at court, and about possible competitors, will help us to define his general role more clearly, and possibly even allow us to assign specific tasks or commissions to him. Likewise, it is very unlikely that Wenzel Jamnitzer would have chosen Strada as a designer for the prestigious commission Archduke Ferdinand gave him, if he did not know Strada personally, and had not had previous experience of his competence. We may reasonably attempt to reconstruct their collaboration on the basis of further documentary and stylistic evidence. Though such reasonable conjectures are bound to remain hypotheses which for lack of explicit data may never be proved conclusively, they nonetheless carry us as far into the white spots in Strada's life, and as close to the historical truth, as we will ever be able to get.

By spinning such loose fibres, fragments of factual evidence, into threads, and weaving these uneven threads together, I hope to produce a fabric that—however loosely-knit and full of holes—will be strong enough to support some definite conclusion about Strada's profession, his character, and his place in the cultural history of his time. The most important of these will be an estimate of his influence on the development of ideas and taste in the regions where he was active, in particular his role as an agent in the transmission of the ideas and artistic forms of the Italian Renaissance across the Alps.

PART 1

'A Puero Enutritum et iam Olim Exercitatum': Education and Early Experience

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CHAPTER 1

Early Years: Family Background, Education, Giulio Romano

1.1 Family Background

On the seventh of September of 1459, according to the contemporary chronicler Andrea Schivenoglia, the Duke of 'Clenij' or 'Clunii'—in fact Johann I, Duke of Cleves—arrived in Mantua representing Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, at the Mantuan Council presided over by Pope Pius II. During his visit he was lodged in the house belonging to the *massaro* of Mantua, an important financial officer of this small but powerful North-Italian state.[1] The Duke's host, Vivaldo della Strata, belonged to a family whose common ancestor, Lorenzo, had in 1228 been called from Brescia to serve as *podestà* of Mantua. In this he followed a tradition of his family, many members of which fulfilled similar functions in Lombardy and Piedmont.[2] Until their extinction in an outbreak

1 Vivaldo Strada was elected Councillor and *massarius* of the Comune of Mantua in 1445; he died in 1475, cf. Piccoli 1988, who quotes the Mantuan chronicle Andrea Schivenoglia: 'E che venuto allora ambasciatore del duca di Borgogna il duca di Clunii, questo foe alogato in casa de Vivaldo Strada da drè la via de San Dominico andando verso San Christophora'; a similar passage is quoted by Carlo d'Arco in the entry on the Stradas in his manuscript *Annotazioni genealogiche di famiglie mantovane che possono servire alla esatta compilazione della storia di queste* (ASMn, *Documenti patrii* 220, vol. vii, pp. 65–75); but it cannot be found in D'Arco's own edition of Schivenoglia (D'Arco 1857a, the relevant passage on p. 139). D'Arco's ms. reads 'Clunij', but the relevant passage in his edition of Schivenoglia reads 'Clenij'. Doubtless Schivenoglia himself was confused, since Philip the Good was represented at the Mantuan Council by his brother-in-law, Duke Johann I of Cleves, assisted by the young cleric Ferry de Clugny. Though Clugny actually conducted the negotiations, he was too young and in too subordinate a position to have been given a separate residence; they left Mantua on 24 September. Already in February 1459, at the Marquis of Mantua's order, Vivaldo had imposed a special tax on all Mantua citizens to finance works to make the city accessible to the boats in which the Pope was to arrive (*ibidem*, pp. 133–134).

2 Lorenzo had been *podestà* in Brescia, and it is very likely that he was related to the Strada who in 1025 were admitted among the families constituting the *Comune* of Pavia, several of whose members fulfilled similar functions in many towns of Lombardy and Piemonte. First and most important among these was Torello, a contemporary of Lorenzo, *senescalcus* of Frederick II and a well-known *trovatore*, who was *podestà* in Parma, Forlì, Florence, Pisa, Avignon and Savigliano. He is particularly distinguished in being identified with Torello d'Istria, the protagonist of Boccaccio's novella (*Decamerone*, 10th day, 9th *novella*), from which it appears that he participated in the Third Crusade; cf. Zucchi 1950; Antonio Strada 1940.

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FIGURE 1.1–1.2 The former Strada house at 25 Via Mazzini, Mantua: courtyard and a capital with the Strada arms.

of the plague around 1630 the Della Strata—or Strada, as they began calling themselves in the sixteenth century—appear to have held a respectable, but not particularly notable position among the local urban patriciate. Their occupations included those of notary and apothecary (*speziale*), while some of them held functions within the administration of the town and of the Gonzaga state. Apart from the said Vivaldo, their most illustrious representative in the Quattrocento seems to have been Giovanni Francesco, canon of Mantua cathedral, and private chaplain and chamberlain of Cardinal Ludovico Gonzaga.[3]

The *massaro* Vivaldo and his descendants inhabited a house in the Contrada della Pusterla, located at nr. 25 of the present Via Mazzini, which was probably the largest house belonging to any of the various branches of the family, and possibly its cradle. The house has been altered many times, but some of its parts seem to date back to the thirteenth century, and it is clear that it was partially reconstructed and extended sometime after the middle of the fifteenth century. The beautiful columns of red Veronese marble whose capitals are decorated with the Strada arms [Figs. 1.1–1.2] must date from this time, and it is tempting to connect this conversion with the expected visit of the Burgundian delegation. This holds in particular for the large reception hall constructed about this time, which was provided with a quite festive decoration in fresco, consisting of a frieze hung with garlands and painted shields with the arms of several Mantuan families [Fig. 1.3].

The frieze itself is composed of panels decorated with a rich, classicizing candelabre motif, alternated with portrait-medallions representing Roman

3 On the Strada of Mantua, see D'Arco, ms. *Famiglie Mantovane*, s.v. Strada (as in n. 1); D'Arco 1857(b), II, p. 283 and now the privately printed genealogy by Yves Chabot de l' Allier, *Génealogie de la maison de Strada: De Strada de Rosberg dite de Strada d'Arosberg, de Strada de Mantoue, de Strada de France, de Strada de Prague*, s.l. 1990.

FIGURE 1.3–1.5 The former Strada house at 25 Via Mazzini, Mantua: the painted frieze in the *salone* and details showing images derived from imperial portrait medallions.

emperors [Figs. 1.4–1.5].[4] Though these medallions are rimmed by an archaic, still essentially Gothic cornice which strangely contrasts with the classicizing impact of the candelabre-motif, the garlands, and the profiles of the emperors, it is evident that these interesting, but not particularly diversified heads are chiefly inspired by the obverses of Roman imperial coinage. When the mature Jacopo Strada, in the preface of his 1575 edition of Caesar, recalled how he had been 'a puero enutritum et jam olim exercitatum' in the science of Antiquity—and this meant numismatics in particular—he may well have been thinking of his visits to what was the chief seat of his family.[5]

Yet this may have been not very frequent visits, since in fact his relationship to Vivaldo and his progeny was rather distant. Vivaldo had been only a second cousin of Jacopo's great-great-grandfather Giovanni, who in 1452 was appointed *vicario marchionale* of Castelluchio by Ludovico Gonzaga, second *Marchese* of Mantua.[6] Giovanni's son Giacomo, of whom nothing further is known, had three children, Simone, Elisabetta and Clementina. From Simone's testament, drafted in September 1513, we know that he was living in Curtatone, a suburb of Mantua situated on the lake near the famous sanctuary of Santa Maria delle Grazie. Simone left his house in Curtatone with some of its land in usufruct to his widow, Andreola, and a modest legacy to his niece Antonia de' Botti, daughter of his sister Clementina; he appointed his only son Clemente as residuary legatee. But since Don Clemente was a cleric, and Simone did not wish his estate to pass to the Church, he instituted an entail in favour of

4 This space, at present divided in three rooms, originally formed one ample, almost square hall, as is indicated by the remnants of the original decoration, which have recently been carefully restored. I am grateful to Gino Basoni for having allowed me to inspect these rooms.

5 Dedication of Strada's edition of Caesar, 1575, p. *4v.

6 D'Arco, ms. *Famiglie mantovane*, II, s.v. Strada (as in note 1).

Giovanni Rinaldo, the son of his sister Elisabetta and the late Giovanni Donato Bolgaroni. He moreover determined that during Don Clemente's life his sister and her son would retain the use of the house within Mantua, in the Contrada della Bue, which they were inhabiting at the time.[7]

Giovanni Rinaldo—or Rinaldo—took his mother's name, and also his father appears to have used the name of De Strata. Though it was not unusual that—in default of male heirs—the name and arms of a given family were assumed by a daughter and her progeny, this still suggests that Gian Donato was of a lesser rank than his wife; it is, for instance, not impossible that Gian Donato was a converted Jew, related to the Bulgarini from Verona who later in the sixteenth century would likewise settle in Mantua.[8] By 1514, when Simone della Strata made his testament, Gian Donato had died, and his son Rinaldo must already have married his first wife, who would become the mother of his eldest surviving son, Giacomo—or Jacopo, as he would consistently style himself—Strada.[9]

The date of Strada's birth is not known with certainty; the only roughly contemporary source is the cartouche in Titian's 1567–1568 portrait of Strada. This cartouche was added at a later date, probably by Strada's son or grandson (both called Ottavio), and gives the (mistaken) date of 1566 and Strada's age as 51, which would establish the year of his birth as 1515.[10] In view of the fact that Strada's half-brothers were still minors after his father's death in 1564, and that he himself was still begetting children in the late 1570s, this date is more likely than the year 1507 given by some secondary sources.[11] From the acts in which Rinaldo's widow, Antonia, in the name of her children, renewed the *enfiteusi* or lease of several plots of land held by her late husband (and by his cousin

7 ASMn, *Notarile*, Notary Ioan Benedetto de Cippi, 18 September 1513. I am very grateful to Daniela Ferrari to have helped me find and interpret this and other documents on Jacopo's immediate ancestors.

8 cf. D'Arco, ms *Delle famiglie mantovane*, II, p. 240 (as in note 1).

9 It should be noted that in his letters our protagonist regularly styled himself 'Jacopo Strada', only rarely 'da Strada' or 'della Strada', as he is referred to in some secondary literature. This also applies for his son and successor Ottavio, and even the latter's progeny, though enrolled in the French nobility, seldom used the *particule*.

10 The inscription reads: Jacobus De Strada Civis Romanus Caess. Antiquarius Et Com. Belic. An: Aetat: Li: et C M.D. LXVI. On the portrait, see Wethey 1969–1975, II, pp. 141–142, cat. nr. 100; an X-ray reproduced in Mucchi 1977, p. 302. Von Busch 1973, p. 214 and p. 356, n. 151 has already pointed out that the date 1566 is not necessarily wrong: though the painting of the portrait is documented in Niccolò Stopio's correspondence of 1567–1568 it is possible that Strada visited Venice on his way back from Rome in 1566, and that it was begun on that occasion.

11 F.T. Schulz 1938 (basing himself on Svatek 1883).

Clemente and uncle Simone before him) it appears that, while she was the mother and guardian of Pietro Paolo and Ottavio, she was only the stepmother of Jacopo.[12] Jacopo's own mother must have been the Cecilia who, according to D'Arco, was Rinaldo's wife in 1522, and about whom nothing more is known at present.[13]

About Rinaldo himself little is known either, except that he is probably identical with the *Messer* Rinaldo Strata, the Gonzaga bailiff at Portarolo, who in 1556 received his 'provisione et sallario' from the Ducal administration.[14] While he originally lived in the Contrada della Bue, in 1564 his widow inhabited a house in the Contrada della Serpa, though she still held the leases of both the house in the Contrada della Bue and the farm at Curtatone which her husband had inherited from his cousin Don Clemente.[15] The question of the wealth of the Stradas is of some importance in view of Strada's later career: doubtless his—for an artist—exceptional prosperity in the 1560s was partly due to the generosity of his patron, Hans Jakob Fugger, and to his marriage to a noble German heiress. Yet even this marriage itself would certainly not have been possible, had he not on his own account been able to maintain his status as a gentleman.

Simone della Strata's testament of 1514 gives only a partial account of the wealth of the family at that date: though we know that he owned the modest farm and its appendages at Curtatone where he was living at the time, and of which he left the usufruct to his wife, as well as the house in the Contrada della Bue in Mantua in which his sister and her son were living, we do not know what was included in the residue of his estate. Since the residue was left to

12 ASMn, *Registri notarili* 1564, fol. 757v.: 'domina Antonia, eiusdem quondam domini Rainaldi uxor et mater [crossed out: ac tutrix et pro tempore curatrix testamentaria] ac legittima administratrix predictorum Petri Pauli et Octavii <…> per suis propriis nominibus ac nomine et vice predicti domini Jacobim eorum fratris absentis<…>'.

13 D'Arco, *Famiglie mantovane*, p. 68; I have not found the document on which he based this assumption, but it is corroborated by Strada's naming one of his daughters 'Sicilia'.

14 ASMn, *Archivio Gonzaga*, busta 410, nr. 45, fasc. 9 [Registri economici incompleti, entrata et spesa].

15 In 1564, after her husband's death, Antonia renewed the *enfiteusi* for a house in Mantua in the Contrada della Bue, and a cottage with field and orchard in Curtatone, doubtlessly close to their own property in both places; cf. above, note 12. *Enfiteusi* is a lease contract, normally renewable every nine years, and entailing an obligation to improve the land held in tenure. Antonia's leases included a house in the Contrada della Bue, within the town of Mantua, which had been held by her husband—and by Simone della Strata en his son Clemente before him—from the 'venerabile ospitale magno' of Santa Maria della Cornetta at Mantua [ASMn, *Registri notarili* 1564, fol.757v.] and some lots of arable land, a vineyard and an orchard and comprising a hut and the use of a well in the territory of Curtatone, held from Mantua Cathedral [ASMn, *Registri notarili* 1564, fol. 1165v.].

his son, Don Clemente, this was very probably the larger part, and apart from Simone's financial assets may well have included a further house, probably his chief residence, in Mantua. The burial in the church or cemetery of Santa Maria delle Grazie that Simone ordained in his will—'honourably, according to his condition and means, with eight priests'—certainly was not that of a pauper or a modest *contadino*.[16] All this property would in the end come to Rinaldo Strada, who apart from what he may have inherited from his own father, will have considerably added to his fortune: after all, of all possible offices, his function as collector of the revenue for the Gonzaga was most likely to add considerably to its incumbent's prosperity. In 1564 his widow did not live in the house in the Contrada della Bue, but in another house in the Contrada della Serpa, which may well have been the family's principal residence, inhabited by Don Clemente until his death. Altogether it is likely that Jacopo's parents, if not wealthy, were at least quite well to do, and this assumption is corroborated by the fact that Jacopo, who had to share his inheritance with two brothers and two sisters, very shortly after his father's death began constructing his imposing mansion in Vienna.[17]

1.2 Mantua and the Gonzaga

It is very unfortunate that almost nothing is known of Strada's youth and his education: the earliest direct reference to his existence we have dates only from 1546, when he had already been settled in Southern Germany for some years, and of course had had ample time both to finish any formal education he may have received, to complete his training as an artist and possibly to absolve an apprenticeship as a goldsmith. The following sketch of Strada's formative years is therefore largely hypothetical: it is based in part on data culled from sources dating from later years—in particular Strada's own correspondence and writings—and in part on the indications provided by the facts of his later career. In attempting to fill in the blank spots I will propose some explanations that appear the most probable in view of the few data available, and of custom and practice of Strada's milieu and epoch.

16 'Egregius vir ser Simon de la Strata <…> devote recommendavit corpus vero suum cum ab eo anima separata fuerit seppelire voluit in ecclesia sive cimeterio Domine Sancte Mariae Gratiarum extra Curtatonam honorefice secundum eius conditionem et facultatum cum octo presbiteros' [will as cited above, note 7].

17 Strada's house in Vienna is discussed in detail below, Chapter 7. Strada' early prosperity may in in part have been due to what he inherited from his mother.

Doubtless the chief formative influence of Strada's life was the fact of his having been born in Mantua, in those years arguably the major Italian court after the Roman *Curia*. Strada grew up in the Mantua of Federico II Gonzaga, fifth Marquis and first Duke of Mantua, and of his forceful and cultured mother, Isabella d'Este, 'summi ingenii ac rarae virtutis heroina' according to Ulisse Aldrovandi.[18] Of equal importance, this was the Mantua of Federico's principal artist and *prefetto delle fabbriche*, Giulio Romano, who gave shape to the Mantuan splendour dreamt of by his patrons; a splendour which was, much later, so loyally publicized by Strada himself.[19]

Perhaps the most salient characteristic of Mantua as an independent state was that its head—the dynasty, the court—was much too big for its body: though situated in the fertile valley of the Po, it was a state of middling size and of modest economic and strategic importance. Neither the notorious 'splendour' of the Gonzaga dukes, nor their close relationship with the Emperor himself would suffice to arrest the relative ascendency of their Florentine cousins, which culminated in the Pope conferring the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany on Cosimo I in 1569: a *cause célèbre* which would haunt international diplomacy for almost a decade. Yet this splendour was truly exceptional, and is best illustrated by the sheer size of Federico II's court. His household comprised close to thousand members, as many as were enrolled in the households of the Emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II themselves. Not surprisingly, it was greatly reduced at his death. The presence of such a disproportionate courtly environment in a relatively modest country town like Mantua implies that the culture at court was more easily diffused among a relatively large proportion of the population than it was in larger towns such as Rome, Milan or Florence. It is doubtless no pure coincidence that Strada's principal interests closely corresponded to some of this culture's major preoccupations, preoccupations which had been ruling passions for several generations of Gonzaga.

Central among these was their profound interest in classical Antiquity, both in an historical and in a more strictly archaeological sense, a humanist interest not surprising in the town which boasted Virgil as its most illustrious son.

18 Bologna, University Library, *Fondo Aldrovandi*, Ms. 136, fols. 27v–29v; quoted in *Scienza A Corte* 1979, p. 186 and document n. 60, p. 237.

19 A vast literature on Mantua in the Renaissance exists. The catalogue of the London exhibition *Splendours of the Gonzaga* 1981 provides a convenient general introduction in English. The basic modern history of Mantua is *Mantova: La Storia, Le Lettere, Le Arti*; more recent literature (books published 1980–1989) given in Padovani 1989. In the following sketch I have refrained from citing the relevant secondary sources, which would swell the bibliography to unmanageable proportions; literature used for particular problems will be cited where appropriate.

FIGURE 1.6–1.7 Andrea Mantegna, The Standard Bearers and The Bearers of Trophies, scenes from The Triumphs of Caesar, 1485–1505; Hampton Court, Royal Collection.

Influenced by the general tenor of humanist studies of the early Renaissance, and by the convenient availability of the quite impressive Roman remains of nearby Verona, the study of classical Antiquity in a more narrowly antiquarian sense had been initiated in the second half of the fifteenth century by Mantegna and his associates. The works that probably most strongly influenced later local artists were the frescoes in the famous *Camera degli Sposi* in the Castello di San Giorgio, and, even more, the series of paintings in tempera illustrating *The Triumphs of Caesar*, now at Hampton Court [Figs. 1.6–1.7].

The interest in the visual aspects of classical civilisation had been stimulated by the presence in Mantua—apart from that of a host of minor humanists—first of Leon Battista Alberti, and later of Giulio Romano, who had acquired his astonishing expertise and understanding of Classical art under the aegis of Raphael himself [Fig. 1.18].[20] Both these eminent architects, however, had been called to Mantua in the first place to satisfy the passion for building and for architectural and interior decoration of the Gonzaga; a passion of extraordinary proportions even for an Italian princely family of the Renaissance, and of which the immense bulk of the sprawling and eclectic Ducal Palace,

20 A description of the antiquarian tour undertaken around Lake Garda by Felice Feliciano, Samuele da Tradate, and Mantegna is given in *Andrea Mantegna* 1992, p. 17; Isabella d'Este's 'insatiable desire for antiquities' has been described in detail in Brown 1976; Brown also studied the collection of her brother in law, Sigismondo Cardinal Gonzaga (Brown 1991). More general information on Mantuan interest in the Antique in Signorini 1989 and Brown 1989. A detailed general study of Giulio Romano's profound debt to Antiquity does not as yet exist; but see Burns 1989(a).

Alberti's Sant' Andrea [Figs. 1.8] and Giulio's Palazzo del Te [Figs. 1.9–1.10] are the most eloquent witnesses. Equally intimately related with the revival of Antiquity was the dynasty's passion for collecting, which was initiated by Isabella and lavishly pursued by her descendants, and which resulted in a museum of

FIGURE 1.8 Leon Battista Alberti, Sant'Andrea, Mantua, begun 1472: facade and nave.
FIGURE 1.9 Giulio Romano, Palazzo del Te, Mantua, *cortile*.

FIGURE 1.10 Giulio Romano, The Wedding Banquet of Cupid and Psiche, 1526–1528, Camera di Amore et Psiche, Palazzo del Te, Mantua.

art and antiquities which at its fateful sale to Charles I of England in 1627–1628 was among the very first in Europe.[21]

1.3 Formal Education

In view of the institutional accessibility of a princely court in general and of the relative size of Federico's court, which was largely recruited from Mantua itself, the courtly environment could not fail to impress an intelligent and curious youngster such as Jacopo must have been. In view of his father's status as a Gonzaga 'vasallo' and his function in the Ducal administration, Jacopo must have had some immediate experience of it, possibly even as a page or in some other minor function within the household. If so, he would have had ample opportunity to get acquainted both with the intellectual preconceptions of this erudite milieu and with the material sediment in which these preconceptions found their expression: the collections brought together by the Gonzaga and the artistic creations they commissioned. In any case his later accomplishments indicate that he received both the formal education that was habitual for boys of his background and an artistic training.

Strada doubtless received grounding in the *studia humanitatis* in Mantua, perhaps even within the direct ambit of the court, following a curriculum rooted in the tradition of Vittorino da Feltre's celebrated *Cà Giocosa.*[22] The contention implied in a passage in Antonio Agustín's *Dialoghi intorno alle medaglie*, that Strada, like Pirro Ligorio, Hubert Goltzius and Enea Vico, would have known hardly any Latin, should be critically interpreted for each of these celebrated artist-antiquaries.[23]

That Strada's classical and linguistic studies bore fruit is clear from his later activities: neither his numismatic studies nor his polyglot lexicography is conceivable for someone who had not received a thorough training in the classical languages. It is true that Strada's correspondence is largely in Italian, but in that he is no exception: even Agustín himself, who certainly was an important classical scholar, corresponded in Italian with his friend Onofrio Panvinio, one of the most brilliant scholarly antiquaries of the sixteenth century.[24]

21 The fundamental study on the dispersal of the Gonzaga collections remains Luzio 1913; more recently, Howarth 1981.

22 On Vittorino, see Garin 1958; *In Traccia del Magister Pelicanus* 1979.

23 Agustín 1592, p. 117. For Agustín 'intendere la Lingua Latina' implied not merely being able to read and/or write Latin, but being professionally trained as a classical philologist; see below, Ch. 15.1.

24 Agustín 1980, *passim*.

It is also true that Strada was no particularly elegant Latinist, yet his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* (Lyon 1553) and the prefaces to the other books he published demonstrate that he had a quite sufficient command of the language to express himself with assurance. Both his sensitivity for the language and his informed and critical attitude towards classical and modern scholarship are displayed in his selection of the learned commentaries complementing the text of his 1575 edition of Caesar and his careful choice of a translator for the text of Sebastiano Serlio's *Settimo Libro d'Architettura* of the same year.[25] Strada was endowed with a similar sensitivity for his native language; his Italian letters are clearly the work of a well-educated man. Not devoid of a touch of *sprezzatura*, they are couched in a correct, but robust and spontaneous Italian that is occasionally enlivened by an aptly inserted proverb or felicitous image. They are, moreover, written in an excellent, individual, humanist book-hand [Figs. 1.11–1.12].

Yet it remains open to doubt whether Strada, after having received his basic education in the liberal arts, further paved the way for his later antiquarian studies by attending a university, as would not have been unusual for a

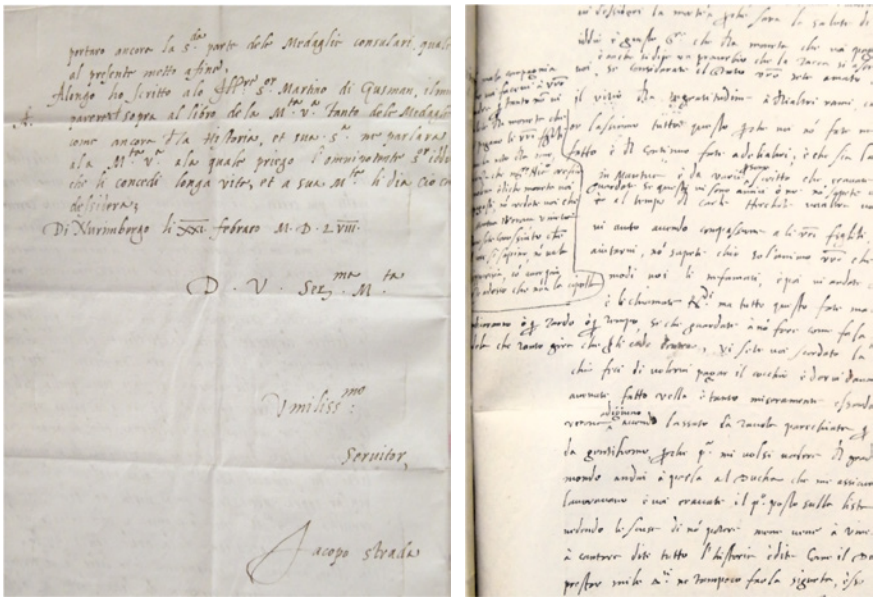

FIGURE 1.11–1.12 Examples of Strada's handwriting: a letter to Ferdinand I, King of the Romans, 21 February 1558, and an undated draft of a letter to an anonymous correspondent, 1568.

25 Gian Bernardino Bonifacio, *Marchese* d'Oria; see Jansen 1989, p. 212.

boy of his background who had demonstrated a particular intellectual ability. According to Josef Svátek, who did not cite his sources, Strada had studied at Pavia and Bologna, an assertion for which I have found no confirmation. Yet the possibility cannot be excluded, and it is corroborated by the fact that Strada is occasionally referred to as 'il dottor Strada'.[26] His presence in Bologna in the 1530s would be particularly significant: should he have studied there, he could have first met there at least some of the contemporaries with whom he would rub shoulders later in his career. One thinks of his later patron Hans Jakob Fugger; of Georg Sigismund Seld, afterwards as *Reichsvizekanzler* an extremely powerful member of the Imperial Court; of Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, afterwards Cardinal and Prince-Bishop of Augsburg [Fig. 1.15]; of the young Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, soon to be Bishop of Arras [Fig. 1.14]; of Paul III's grandson, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese [Fig. 1.16], and of the Spanish scholar Antonio Agustín [below, Fig. 3.89].

Either at Bologna or Pavia he could have followed the courses of Andrea Alciati, the most celebrated specialist of Roman law of his time [Fig. 1.13]. Alciati's profound interest in the purely antiquarian aspects of classical studies was at least partly responsible for the great advance in antiquarian studies in the 1540s and 1550s, to which several of his students—such as Agustín—notably contributed.[27] Such training and such contacts would have contributed to the

FIGURE 1.13–1.16 Andrea Alciati flanked by some of his pupils, Cardinals Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg and Alessandro Farnese; in later life Strada would be in personal contact with all of these.

26 Svátek 1883, p. 329. In his letters to Hans Jakob Fugger Niccolò Stopio sometimes refers scathingly to Strada as 'il dottor Strada', probably intended as a sarcasm [f.i. 19 October 1567, BHStA-*LA* 4852, fol. 80/74]; Jacopo was moreover probably identical with the 'Dottore Strada' whose presence was requested by some noblewomen of Mantua as a witness to their—forced—abjuration; probably this increased his troubles with the Inquisition; cf. Pagano 1991, pp. 7 and 16, n. 32.

27 On Alciati, see Abbondanza 1968. Alciati came to Pavia in 1533 from Bourges, taught at Bologna from 1537 until 1541, when he returned to Pavia. Fugger and Seld, who had already studied with Alciati in Bourges, arrived in Bologna in 1534. Alciati—who maintained contacts with many other learned Germans, such as Konrad Peutinger and Bonifazius

confident ease with which Strada moved within the learned circles of erudite scholars, prelates and artists around Cardinals Cervini and Farnese, during his visit to Rome in the 1550s, as much as the recommendation of Strada's patron, Fugger, and as the first copies of his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* he carried with him.[28]

1.4 Artistic Training

The earliest archival data that provide concrete information about Strada's career are found in the minutes of the meetings of the Nuremberg Council in the mid-1540s. These make clear that at that time Strada was still active as an artist: he is indicated as 'Jacob Strada from Mantua, painter (*Maler*)', or 'Jacob Strada, the Italian artist (*Künstler* or *Künstner*)'.[29] The thousands of numismatic drawings which were produced in his workshop, part of which at least were produced by Strada himself, demonstrate that he was a quite capable, if not particularly gifted, draughtsman. That Strada was indicated as a '*Maler*' suggests that he had also learnt at least the rudiments of painting; in fact in an inventory of the contents of the palace of the Duke of Bavaria at Schleißheim, dating from the second half of the eighteenth century, a series of pictures representing the Liberal Arts is attributed to him.[30]

Probably as part of his training as a draughtsman, Strada also learnt to execute measured architectural drawings, and this corresponds to an interest in architecture and monumental decoration which is a recurring theme in his career. In the preface to his edition of the *Settimo Libro* of Sebastiano Serlio's treatise, he refers to 'the knowledge I have of architecture, in which I have always taken great delight, and I still do'.[31] Apart from the work he would do in his function as Imperial architect, about which little concrete is known, he

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Amerbach—dedicated all eight volumes of his *Parerga* (1538 and 1544) to his pupil Otto Truchseß von Waldburg. Farnese and Granvelle studied in Bologna, Agustín obtained his doctorate in law in Bologna in 1541, where he first arrived at least in 1536. Art historians are usually unaware of Alciati's prominence as a founding father of Roman law as modern academic discipline: his interest in emblem culture must be considered as a mere erudite pastime, though obviously closely related to his antiquarian studies.

28 See below, Ch. 3.6–3.7.

29 Documents 1546-11-01; 1546-11-02; 1547-03-12.

30 Quoted in Verheyen 1967, p. 65, n. 34; I have not been able to individuate these paintings. Since this attribution is so particular, and Strada certainly was no well-known artist, the attribution must have been based on a signature, locally available sources (older inventories) or an old tradition; it therefore deserves to be taken seriously.

31 Serlio, 1575, Preface p. a iiii: 'la cognitione ch'io ho delle cose del' Achitettura, della quale mi son sempre dilettato, e diletto<…>'.

FIGURE 1.17 Giulio Romano, ceiling of the Camera delle Aquile, Palazzo del Te, Mantua.
FIGURE 1.18 Titian, portrait of Giulio Romano, ca 1536–1540; Mantua, Palazzo del Te.

would execute a design for the Antiquarium of the Munich Residenz that is not without merit. This and other instances of Strada's interest in architecture will be discussed in detail in Chapters 5–10.

It is reasonable to assume that Strada received his initial training chiefly in his hometown, therefore within an artistic milieu that was largely determined by the shining example afforded by Giulio Romano's achievements [Figs. 1.9–1.10, 1.17; 1.19–1.21]. It is self-evident that his artistic development was strongly influenced by this erudite and versatile master, whose works Strada would always admire and propagate, and whose graphic remains he would later bring into his possession. Perhaps even more telling is the fact that the large-scale copying or reproducing of drawings by tracing them with the aid of blackened paper, a technique typical for Strada's workshop, was first practiced, according to Armenini, in Giulio's studio.[32] It is also borne out by Strada's own style, in as far at least as it is possible to judge this from the few independent drawings that can be securely attributed to him. Sometimes these seem in fact to come even closer to that of Giulio's temporary collaborator, Francesco Primaticcio, whom the very young Strada probably had seen at work in the Palazzo del Te [Figs. 1.19–1.21], and whose more mature and independent creations he may have admired later in France.[33]

32 Armenini 1587, pp. 76–77.

33 Primaticcio was a.o. responsible for the *Camera degli Stucchi*; on Strada's possible visit to Paris and Fontainebleau, see below, Ch. 3.4.

FIGURE 1.19–1.21 Francesco Primaticcio, with Giovan Battista Mantovano, Camera degli Stucchi: ceiling, detail of the ceiling, and detail of the frieze, Palazzo del Te, Mantua.

Though there is no concrete indication in the sources that Strada worked as an apprentice or assistant in Giulio's studio, his style and technique as a draughtsman and his own architectural designs betray the influence of the master and strongly suggest that he received his artistic education in Giulio's immediate orbit: a supposition strengthened by his later espousal of Giulio's work. It was of course not really unusual for youngsters even of patrician families to begin their training by grinding colours and doing other basic and menial jobs for their masters: Michelangelo is merely the most illustrious example of this. But it remains the question whether the parents even of a talented youth willingly allowed him to engage in such a craft when no particular ill-fortune made this

a dire necessity, as had been Michelangelo's case. But it is not certain that the status of a liberal art accorded to painting and sculpture in the most advanced intellectual circles of Florence and Rome was immediately shared by a large proportion of the population of more provincial centres.[34] Since Strada's family appears to have been quite well-to-do, it is possible that the young Jacopo was allowed to haunt Giulio's studio and the ducal *cantiere*, picking up what he could, receiving some formal instruction from Giulio or some of his collaborators, but never actually assisting on an official basis in the execution of their works: his interest and competence in the visual arts thus developed in a *dilettante* manner similar to that expressly approved of by that Mantuan *arbiter elegantiarum*, Count Baldassare Castiglione, whose bones rested in the same church as those of Strada's great-uncle Simone.[35]

Certainly this is what Strada would have us believe from the mid-1550's onward: though a professional draughtsman working on a big and lucrative project for Hans Jakob Fugger, Strada was indicated by Giovanni Battista Armenini, whom he employed in this same project in Rome in 1553–1555, as a 'mercante Mantovano', a merchant from Mantua, rather than as an artist. And when Strada had entered the service of Emperor Ferdinand I he explicitly defended himself against an antiquarian rival, who had dismissed him as a mere—and therefore ignorant—goldsmith, by attributing his know-how in that craft solely to his interest also in the physical aspects of ancient coins.[36]

1.5 Giulio's Collections

The assumption that Strada received his education in the visual arts in Giulio's milieu is supported by his familiarity with Giulio Romano's *medagliere*. This connection is documented in Strada's eleven-volume numismatic *Corpus*, manuscript copies of which are preserved in Vienna and Prague, and which is complemented with thousands of pen-and-ink drawings commissioned by

34 Exceptional both because of his extraordinary genius and passionate sense of vocation, Michelangelo is a less apt example than, for instance, the Milanese Giuseppe Arcimboldo, who made much of his noble descent, or Ippolito Andreasi from Mantua, whose tenuous link with one of the cities magnate families did not prevent him from studying and honourably exercising the craft of painting.

35 Santa Maria delle Grazie. See: Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano*, I, xlix. A drawing of Castiglione's tomb, designed by Giulio Romano, is found in the Codex Chlumczansky that once made part of Strada's collection.

36 Armenini 1587, pp. 64–65; Doc. 1559-06-00; discussed below, Ch. 4.2.

his patrons.[37] In his descriptions of Roman coin types Strada always indicated the owner of the best exemplar he had been able to study. These included only a few from Castiglione's collection, to which his heirs had admitted the young Jacopo, but a not inconsiderable number of the medals described he had found in Giulio's collection.[38] Giulio's expertise as a numismatist and the high quality of his coin cabinet were singled out for particular praise by Vasari, who had admired Giulio's house and collections during his 1544 visit to Mantua: 'Giulio, who was a most universal man, could discourse on every subject; but especially on medals, on which he spent quite a lot of money and much time to know about them'.[39] So when Strada claimed to have been 'a pueri enutritum' in numismatics, he may well have thought less of his contemplation of the Quattrocento fresco's in his great-uncle's house as of the hours he had profitably spent in going through Giulio's medals; medals whose significance was explained to him by their owner, who would have enjoyed the enthusiasm of his young guest and have helped and directed him in obtaining the accomplishments necessary to pursue his studies. Correct draughtsmanship was of some importance in this, and the similarity of the technique Strada developed with that current in Giulio's studio as described by Armenini is therefore hardly surprising.

It is likely that not only Strada's drawing style, but also his antiquarian procedure reflects Giulio's approach. In the absence of Giulio's own studies after the Antique, hardly any of which have survived, an analysis of the numismatic drawings produced in Strada's studio provides an instrument to evaluate Giulio's own handling of antique precept. This is particularly so in those cases in which the architectural reverses of Roman coins were represented. The minute image of the coin (of a diameter of up to 5 cm at most and moreover often so worn as to be hardly legible), is blown up to five times its actual size, and the building depicted is in fact a complete and detailed reconstruction based possibly in part on literary sources, but certainly also on a Giuliesque variety of contemporary architecture. A good example is Strada's drawing of the *Pons Aelius*, based on a coin of Hadrian, in which the *rustica* is strongly reminiscent of that of Giulio's *Cortile della Mostra* and *Pescheria*. Its resemblance to Giulio's

37 On this *Magnum ac novum opus*, see below, Ch. 3.3.

38 Cf. Jansen 1993, appendix 1b, pp. 232.

39 Vasari/ Milanesi 1906, vol. 5, p. 551: 'seppe ragionare Giulio, il quale fu molto universale, d'ogni cosa; ma sopra tutto delle medaglie, nelle quali spese assai danari e molto tempo per averne cognizione'.

own, earlier reconstruction in his fresco of *The Vision of the Cross* in the Vatican *Stanze* is striking [cf. below, Ch. 15.3].[40]

This familiarity with Giulio's architectural work suggests that Strada would have been as welcome to study Giulio's architectural drawings as he was to handle his coins and medals. These drawings were kept in a large cupboard in Giulio's home, as is related by Vasari. For four days, during Vasari's visit to Mantua, Giulio entertained his Tuscan colleague, showing him:

> <…>all his works, and in particular all the plans of the ancient buildings of Rome, of Naples, of Pozzuoli, of the Campagna, and of all the best antique remains which are known, in part drawn by himself, in part by others. Afterwards he opened an immense cupboard and showed him the plans of all the buildings that had been constructed according to his own designs and order, not only in Mantua and in Rome, but all over Lombardy; that I for me do not believe one can see either newer or more beautiful fantasies for buildings, nor better arranged ones.[41]

This means that Strada even as a boy was confronted with both the latest developments in architectural design and the best known monuments of classical Antiquity; and it implies that he was also made familiar with the archaeological techniques that had been developed by Raphael and his circle in order to study the remains of such monuments and to restore them—at least in effigy—to their pristine splendour. Giulio had been closely involved in these projects—the fruits of which are evident in his Mantuan work—and he may well have continued his studies even after Raphael's death. There is, for instance, some evidence that he planned to produce a set of drawings of the entire spiral frieze of the shaft of the Column of Trajan, just as Strada claimed to have done after him.[42] Giulio's studio and collection therefore provided

40 Pirro Ligorio reconstructed the bridge in quite different way in his master plan of Ancient Rome. For a more detailed discussion, see Jansen 1993, pp. 218–219.

41 Vasari/ Milanesi, 1906, vol. 5, pp. 552–553: '<…>tutte l'opere sue e particolarmente tutte le piante degli edifizii antichi di Roma, di Napoli, di Pozzuolo, di Campagna, e di tutte l'altre migliori antichità di che si ha memoria, disegnate parte da lui e parte da altri. Dipoi, aperto un grandissimo armario, gli mostrò le piante di tutti gli edifizi che erano stati fatti con suoi disegni et ordine, non solo in Mantova et in Roma, ma per tutta la Lombardia, e tanto belli, che io per me non credo che si possano vedere né le più nuove né le più belle fantasie di fabbriche né meglio accomodate'.

42 On Raphael's project, see Mandowsky/Mitchell 1963, pp. 15–19; Fontana/Morachiello 1975; Barocchi 1977, 3, pp. 2971–2985; Nesselrath 1984; Pagliara 1986, pp. 38–45; Günther 1988, pp. 60–63, 318–327 and *passim*; on Giulio's participation, see Vasari/ Milanesi, 1906, vol. 5,

Strada with two interests that would remain fundamental throughout his career: the study of Antiquity and the practice of architectural design.

1.6 Early Training as a Goldsmith?

Strada's interest in Antiquity, and in particularly in the science of numismatics as expounded by Giulio, moved him—probably even before spending some time at university—to have himself taught the rudiments of the art of the goldsmith. That at least is what he claims in a letter of 1559 to Maximilian, titular King of Bohemia, in which he refers to the craft of the goldsmith as 'the art which I have learned as a boy, to enable me in time better to learn what I have, thanks to God, learnt with great effort and expense, in the field of antique marbles and medals<…>'.[43] In the next chapter his connection with one of the most celebrated representatives of the trade, Wenzel Jamnitzer, will be discussed, together with the question whether Strada ever professionally exercised the craft himself. But if he learned its rudiments 'da putto', as a boy, he learned it at Mantua, and the question remains who in the circle of Giulio Romano could have taught him. Giulio himself produced great quantities of designs for goldsmith's work: part of these were working drawings for pieces that were actually executed for the table or credenza of Federico II and Cardinal Ercole—the most splendid witness to this remains the credenza of the Olympian Gods as depicted in the *Sala di Psiche* [Fig. 1.10, 1.22]—but others should be regarded as light-hearted exercises in mannerist design stimulating a prospective patron's appetite [Figs. 1.23–1.24].[44]

Strada would later show his interest in these designs not only by acquiring an ample quantity of them after Giulio's death, but also by having them copied in his workshop on behalf of his own patrons.[45] Yet Giulio himself was no practising goldsmith, and therefore Strada cannot have learned the craft under the master's own supervision. It is more likely that he learned it in the workshop of one of the Gonzaga's goldsmiths employed in the actual execution of

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pp. 525; Günther 1988, pp. 326 and Burns 1989<a>. On a preserved set of drawings of the column of Trajan, see Arasse 1984.

43 Doc. 1559-06-00: '<…>[l'] arte ch'io ho da putto imparato, per meglio poter poi col tempo venir ad apprendere quello che per gratia di dio ho con gran fattica et spesa apresso, in parte dal[l]' antichità de marmi et medaglie<…>'.

44 On Giulio Romano as a designer of goldsmith's work, see Hartt 1958; Hayward 1970; Bukovinská/ Fučíková/ Konečný 1984; Ugo Bazzotti, 'Disegni per argenterie', in *Giulio Romano* 1989, pp. 454–465.

45 Discussed in detail in Bukovinská/ Fučíková/ Konečný 1984.

FIGURE 1.22 Gold and silver-gilt tableware shown on the 'credenza' shown in the fresco depicting The Wedding Banquet of Cupid and Psiche, detail of Fig. 1.10.

both Giulio's and their own designs. In view of Strada's social standing and his later career, I think it not likely that he would have been content with a minor master; a plausible hypothesis is that he was taught by the goldsmith and medal maker Niccolò de' Possevini, otherwise known as Niccolò da Milano. In his autobiography Cellini recounts how Niccolò helped him obtain his first commission when he arrived in Mantua in 1528—and how happy he was to get rid of this dangerous competitor. Yet like Cellini, Niccolò must have been an excellent modeller, since he is probably identical with the Niccolò da Milano whose collaboration in the stucco decoration of several rooms in the Palazzo del Te is well-documented.[46] If he counted Strada among his pupils, this would help to explain the latter's interest and understanding of this type of decoration. Strada's interest in stucco—after all the medium that was most suited to recreate

46 Cellini 1866, pp. 88–89; Bertolotti 1889, pp. 39 and 65; *Th-B* 25, p. 435 (Niccolò da Mantova and Niccolò da Milano). Their identity is implied by Sarzi 1988.

FIGURE 1.23–1.24 Giulio Romano, designs for a silver or gold salt cellar and for a two-handled drinking vessel.

the atmosphere of Antiquity—can be inferred from the detailed documentation he commissioned of Raphael's Vatican *Loggia* and of the decoration of the Palazzo del Te itself; his understanding of the medium is demonstrated by the rather jewel-like decoration of some rooms in the castle at Bučovice in Moravia, with which Strada can be linked, and with its lost examples in the Vienna Neugebäude, which were executed on behalf of Maximilian II in the early 1570s, possibly likewise under Strada's general supervision.[47]

1.7 Significance of his Mantuan Background for Strada's Development

Apart from the formal training Strada received there, the general knowledge and experience that Strada could acquire in such a lively, fecund and exciting artistic milieu as was the Mantua of Isabella d'Este and Giulio Romano, must have been invaluable for his later career. The erudite atmosphere at the Gonzaga court was fostered both by Isabella d'Este and her son, the Marquis Federico, whose patronage attached such scholars as Paride da Ceresara, Mario Equicola and—somewhat later—Benedetto Lampridio, and who employed such

47 On Strada's commission of the drawings of Raphael's *Loggia,* see below, Ch. 3.7 and Ch. 13; on the Neugebäude, Ch. 9; on Bučovice, Ch. 10.

erudite officials as Giovanni Giacomo Calandra; it is best exemplified in the figure of Baldassare Castiglione.[48] While the latter provided Strada—and so many of his contemporaries—with an outstanding model of courtly deportment and learned urbanity, all these examples taught him how to apply the erudition he achieved to practical purposes. Thanks to the presence of Giulio Romano, however, the antiquarian passion that permeated almost every cultural activity in the Mantua of the Renaissance exerted the most profound influence on the young Jacopo, who thus was schooled in the style and intellectual prejudices of Renaissance Rome at first hand before he ever set foot there.

The young Strada must, moreover, have been greatly impressed by the ample variety of artistic activities that were practised in Mantua, and in particular by Giulio's organizing talent and his superb mastery and taste in combining these various arts to serve a common goal: that is a courtly environment of great visual elegance and refinement. It was an environment which, because of the ceremonial and theatrical sensitivity of the dynasty's members and the contributions expected from their courtiers and from the humanists, poets, musicians and artists they employed, can almost be regarded as a *Gesamtkunstwerk* in itself. Strada's taste for, and understanding of the role of such a *Gesamtkunstwerk* within the society of a dynastic state was schooled at Mantua, and it was this that would prepare him later to fulfil functions at the Imperial court that were—to some extent, and at a more modest level—similar to those of Giulio at the court of the Gonzaga.[49]

48 on Paride da Ceresara, see De' Angelis 1979; on Mario Equicola, see P. Cherchi, 'Equicola, Mario', in *DBI* 43, pp. 34–40; on Lampridio, see Talvacchia 1988, pp. 240–242; Calandra was *castellano* and later, as chancellor, one of the most prominent members of the Gonzaga court; he played an important role in the cultural life of the state and kept in contact with many authors both in Mantua and elsewhere (including Castiglione, Paolo Giovio, Bandello, Ariosto and Aretino). He was also closely involved in the organizing of the construction and the decoration of the Palazzo del Te, and more in general in the dynasty's dealings with the artists they employed, including Giulio Romano and Titian, cf. Zapperi 1973.

49 On Strada's relationship to Giulio, see also Jansen 1989.

CHAPTER 2

Travel: Rome, Landshut, Nuremberg—Strada's Connection with Wenzel Jamnitzer

2.1 Early Travels

> STRADA, florentes prope Mantuani
> Mincii ripassate, Romulaeque
> Urbis ornandae studio per annos
> Dedite multos

rhymed Paulus Melissus in the second (1586) edition of his *Schediasmata poetica*.[1] Strada's first steps on the soil of Rome, seat of the venerable Republic and triumphant Empire that he had been taught to revere even in his earliest years, must have filled him with the same emotions that have been registered in the memoirs of so many students and tourists both before and after him. Melissus implies that Strada had spent many years in Rome, information that he probably obtained from Strada himself. Though it is possible that it refers chiefly to Strada's later sojourn, between 1553 and 1554, there are sufficient indications that he had spent some considerable time there even before he definitely settled in Germany in the early 1540s.

Unfortunately, the lack of data concerning Strada's early life does not allow a reconstruction of the sequence of his artistic training, his hypothetical visits to the universities of Bologna and/or Pavia, and his more extensive travels in Italy. Considering the usual curriculum of the journeyman or student, who would normally set out on his travels only after having acquired his basic training, I think we can assume that Strada likewise only thought of widening his horizon when he had already acquired some basic proficiency both in his art and in his erudite studies. That would have him set out from Mantua at the latest towards the middle of the 1530s, when he was about twenty years old. These travels appear to have covered a large part of his native country, if we may believe Strada's claims in the preface of his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*, the illustrated numismatic treatise that he published in Lyon in 1553. To find the greatest quantity possible of ancient coins to include in his book, Strada

1 Melissus 1586 p. 293; on Melissus (Paul Schede, 1539–1602), see Nolhac 1923; Fechner/Denhard 1994.

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had gone to look for them 'in quite distant places, both in Italy and elsewhere; such as are Rome, Naples, Venice …'[2]

It is likely that the young Strada indeed spent an increasing amount of his time on purely erudite studies of a geographical, topographical and antiquarian character, and may well have begun to specialize in numismatic research already at an early date. Yet I suspect that by 1553, when he had developed his ambition to be regarded as a man of letters and a learned antiquary rather than as an artist, he exaggerated their importance when he claimed these studies to have been the exclusive motive for his travels. It is more likely that his trip was intended at least in part to increase his artistic skill and experience, and he may occasionally have actually worked as an assistant or apprentice, in the traditional manner of the wandering journeyman. As a direct or indirect member of Giulio's circle he would have had easy access to the artistic circles of the towns he visited, and this appears to have been the case with Giulio's former colleague, Perino del Vaga, whom Strada describes as 'in vita sua amicissimo'.[3] Since Perino had died in 1547, when Strada had already been in Germany for some years. Strada must have got to know him either in Genoa, where Perino had worked for Andrea Doria until his return to Rome by the end of 1537, or during a sojourn in the *Urbs* after that date. It is very likely that Strada remained in Rome for a long period, perhaps even for some years, but it remains an open question whether he also worked for Perino, who in fact employed a great number of assistants. Strada certainly was sufficiently interested in Perino's work later to acquire a large quantity of his drawings from his widow.[4]

On the other hand, Strada, being relatively well-to-do, had less need to earn his living than other young artists and craftsmen, and his itinerary certainly was much more extensive than was usual. Apart from Rome, Venice and Naples, which he mentions explicitly, he probably visited the other principal centres of culture in Italy, such as Milan, Bologna and Florence, possibly Genoa, and, nearer home, Verona and Ferrara. It is less certain that he also visited the

2 Strada 1553(b), p. aa 4 v: 'en lieux fort lointains, tant en Italie, qu'autre part; comme est Rome, Naples, et Venize <…>'.

3 Strada's preface to Serlio 1575, fol. a iiii-r.

4 On Perino del Vaga's return to Rome and the work he did there, see Elena Parma Armani in *Polittico di Sant'erasmo* 1982, pp. 7–10, and Parma Armani 1986, pp. 176–236. It is of course not impossible that Strada had first met Perino earlier in Genoa, which he may well have visited; though it is possible that he visited Rome in the 1540s as an agent of Hans Jakob Fugger and may have got to know Perino only then, this seems unlikely. Among the Strada material in Vienna there are some copies of Perino's designs for the sopraporte in the *Sala Paolina* in the Castel Sant'Angelo; on these and on Strada's acquisition of Perino's drawings, see below, Ch. 3.7.

rest of Southern Italy and Sicily, but since he appears to have been an indefatigable traveller even when he was quite old and plagued by the gout, this is not impossible. Doubtless he carefully studied what ancient remains he could find in the towns he visited.[5] Thus, he claims to have executed a series of measured drawings of the remains of principal classical monuments of the *Urbs*; if so, this activity should probably be assigned to his earlier visit rather than to his shorter, very busy sojourn of 1554–1556.[6] Judging from his later interests, however, we can rest assured that he paid at least equal attention to the artistic achievements of his contemporaries.

2.2 Residence in Germany

Strada's subsequent trips in foreign countries—that is, in Germany and in France—appear to have been characterized by a comparable attitude of enlightened and informed tourism, judging from the preface to his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* quoted earlier. Here Strada claimed that he had undertaken his travels partly for the sake of collecting numismatic material for his book, and partly 'to know the manners of the foreigners, and the beauty of the landscape of their country'. Yet it is rather likely that he had some more pressing and specific reasons to choose Germany, rather than to follow in the footsteps of Primaticcio, towards that haven of emigrant Italian artists, Fontainebleau.[7]

5 Melissus' poem praises Strada's knowledge of antiquities from Asia Minor and Northern Africa; whether this implied travel (for instance to Constantinople, and /or participation in Charles V's expedition to Tunis in 1535) must remain open to question: Strada was competent in using his network of friends and acquaintances to collect his materials. It should be noted that at this time Strada's study of ancient coins had not yet assumed the systematic form which it would acquire during his first years in Germany, under the guidance of Hans Jakob Fugger: in his numismatic mss. Strada describes coins from collections he saw during his later visits to Rome and Venice (in the 1550s), while he does not mention any Neapolitan collection.

6 cf. Appendix II, *Index sive catalogus*, nr. 34. On Strada's later visit to Rome, partly on behalf of his patron Hans Jakob Fugger, see below, Ch. 3.6–7.

7 Strada 1553(b), p. aa 4 v: 'pour congnoitre les moeurs des estrangers, et la beauté de l'assiette de leur région'. Strada may in fact have visited France even in the thirties, if one can believe a reference in a letter of his son Ottavio to Belisario Vinta, secretary of Grandduke Francesco I of Tuscany, dated Prague 6 December 1588, in which he offers to sell 'donzine de belissimi medaglioni <...> che mio padre bona memoria, già avanti 50 anni comprò in Franza <...>' [ASF, *Medici del Principato* 810, fol. 129]. It seems unlikely that Ottavio, who must have known, would have confused a visit in the late 1530s with his father's certain visits to Lyon in the 1550s, i.e. during Ottavio's childhood. The style of Strada's few certain designs are in fact quite close to that of Primaticcio's and his contemporaries in France.

In the following paragraphs some hypothetical explanations of this choice will be advanced.

For more advanced, talented Northern artists of Strada's generation a visit to Italy was becoming far from exceptional, and many of them actually settled in Italy. But it was far less common for Italians to settle in the North, unless—like Leonardo, Serlio or Primaticcio—they already had made a name for themselves, and could expect patronage of an exalted kind—in their case the French King. Exceptions are the architects, in particular the military architects, whose specific know-how was in demand wherever there was a war—that is to say almost everywhere in Europe—and the builders and master-masons from Lombardy who had traditionally been working on either side of the Alps, often for generations within the same family. Strada's background does not conform to this, so the reasons why he went to Germany remain somewhat of an enigma. The scanty documentation on Strada's earlier years does not allow us to resolve the problem, but a review of some hypothetical explanations will, I hope, make his choice more comprehensible.

The most obvious possible motive for Strada's transfer to Germany is its relative proximity to Mantua, which had always maintained good contacts with the Empire: the town was situated on the principal road from the Brenner to the Po, to Bologna and to Rome. So in case Strada was looking for an opportunity to perfect his technique as a goldsmith it came natural to him to try his luck in Nuremberg, widely renowned for the quality and technical virtuosity of its goldsmiths. Less likely, but not impossible, is the supposition that Strada—who at a later date would be in trouble with the Inquisition—as early as 1542 maintained sufficiently heterodox opinions to have lost his nerve in the general panic that followed the sensational defection and flight of Bernardino Ochino, General of the Capuchin Order, which forced so many Italian evangelicals into exile.[8]

It is, on the other hand, perfectly possible that Strada was expressly invited to come to Germany by Hans Jakob Fugger, a member of the Augsburg banking dynasty, who would be Strada's principal patron in the 1540s and with whom he would remain in regular contact until Fugger's death. Strada may have first met Fugger during the latter's stay in Italy, for instance in Bologna, where Fugger, who was Strada's exact contemporary, attended the university from 1534 to 1535. Unfortunately, we have no positive indications of such a meeting, and any formal employment by Fugger implied by such an invitation is perhaps

8 On Ochino's flight and the Italian Reformation in general, see Cantimori 1939; Welti 1985b; on Strada's religious position, see below, Ch. 11.5.

contradicted by the fact that Strada—though he did receive a stipend or some other form of monetary recompense—did not settle in Augsburg, as a Fugger creature or *familiarius*, but maintained an independent establishment in Nuremberg.[9]

2.3 The Landshut Hypothesis

Lack of precise information prevents us from deciding which of these hypotheses is the right one, and to some extent they all may have contributed to Strada's decision. In addition to these, it is possible to suggest a more concrete occasion that may have furnished the immediate cause for Strada's transfer across the Alps. Though it must likewise remain hypothetical, I think this supposition sufficiently probable and important to discuss it in detail. This occasion is the construction and decoration of the so-called 'Italienische Bau' of the 'Stadtresidenz' in Landshut, one of the principal seats of the Dukes of Bavaria.[10]

The direct stimulus for the construction of this purely Renaissance dwelling, which had no precedent in Germany, had been the trip to Italy made by Duke Ludwig x of Bavaria-Landshut in the spring of 1536. Shortly before his trip, the Duke had decided to have a new residence built in the centre of the little market town on the banks of the Isar: construction of its entrance wing, later known as the 'Deutsche Bau', had already begun, under the supervision of the local architects Niclas Überreiter and Bernhard Zwitzel or Zwietzel. During his trip, Duke Ludwig first visited Trent, where he was received in the *Magno Palazzo*, the residence that had been recently refurbished by the Prince-Bishop, Bernhard Cles.[11] By the middle of April Ludwig had arrived in Mantua, and if the advanced taste of Cles' apartments had already impressed this very cultured and erudite Prince, he was virtually blown over by the splendour of Federico Gonzaga's plaything, the Palazzo del Te. This is borne out by the enthusiastic letters he wrote to his brother, Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria:

9 On Hans Jakob Fugger and Strada's relationship with him, see below, Ch. 3.

10 On the Landshut Stadtresidenz, see now Lauterbach/ Endemann / Frommel 1998, and Langer / Heinemann 2009; earlier literature used here: Mitterwieser 1922; Wischermann 1979; Thoma/ Brunner/ Herzog 1980; Hitchcock 1981, pp. 94–99; RASP 1984; Sarzi 1988; Forster 1989; on its decoration Verheyen 1966(b); Bulst 1975; Dacos 1985; Kronthaler 1987.

11 Cles (or Clesio) was in Rome at the time of Ludwig's visit. On Cles and the decoration of his apartments in the Castello di Buonconsiglio, see a.o. *Bernardo Cles* 1985; Frangenberg 1993, and below, Ch. 5.2.1.

> Afterwards we have eaten dinner out of town in the new palace he is building, the equal of which, I believe, cannot be seen anywhere, for sumptuous rooms and buildings, and also for painting; about which there is much that could be written or said. I haven written to you from Trent by means of Lienhart Zeller, about the residence of the Bishop of Trent, this really cannot be compared to it, this is far superior....[12]

Ludwig's trip, and his direct experience of the most advanced architecture and decoration of the Italian courts he had visited, in particular the Palazzo del Te, inspired him fundamentally to modify the projects for his new Stadtresidenz. Though in 1537 the Deutsche Bau was finished according to the original plans, the remaining wings, enclosing the central courtyard, were constructed according to a new design, which is not only certainly of Italian origin, but also of a truly exceptional quality [Figs. 2.01–2.09].

The attribution of the design of this Italienische Bau is still a matter of dispute, though its Mantuan origin is generally accepted. It is likewise generally agreed that the two totally unknown architects or master-masons from Mantua—'Meister Sigmund welscher paumeister sambt Anthonien sein Mitgesellen, baid Wahlen von Manntua'—who arrived already in January 1537 to supervise its construction, cannot have provided a design of such obvious excellence.[13] Kurt Forster in fact has proposed that the design was commissioned from Giulio Romano himself: he explains the relatively orthodox classicism of its architecture, which incorporates little typically *Giuliesque* mannerist detail, by considering it as a preliminary exercise for the Palazzo Thiene in Vicenza. Forster follows Scamozzi and Inigo Jones in attributing the original conception of this grandest of Palladian palaces to Giulio.[14] Though other specialists,

12 Duke Ludwig's letter printed in Lauterbach / Endemann / Frommel 1998, p. 261.: 'Darnach haben wir d(r)aussen das nach(t)mal gessen in dem neuen palast, so er paud, der geleichen glaub ich, daß kain sollicher gesehen worden an köstlichen gemachen und gepei, auch gemäll, darvon vil zu schreiben und zu sagen wär. Ich hab dir von Thrient aus bei Lienhart Zeller geschriben und entboten, des bischoff von Thrient behausung halb, ist warlich dem nit geleichen. Das ist weid dariber <...>'. After visits to Ferrara and Bologna, Ludwig paid a second, very brief visit to Mantua towards the end of October.

13 Mitterwieser 1922, p. 124; here quoted as in Wartena/ Erichsen 2009, p. 96; they were followed shortly afterwards by a 'Meister Bernhard walch', who returned almost immediately to Mantua to engage a number of masons, and appears to have acted as their foreman. Johannes Erichsen (*ibid.*, pp. 96–97) appears to accept the possibility that Maister Sigmund was sufficiently capable to independently execute designs made or at least corrected by Giulio.

14 Forster 1989; the attribution of the design of Palazzo Thiene to Giulio was first advanced by Ackerman 1966, pp. 94–98; see now Burns 1989(b), who cites the relevant literature, and Lauterbach / Endemann / Frommel 1998, pp. 77–84.

FIGURE 2.1 Landshut, Stadtresidenz, Courtyard facade of the Italienische Bau (1537–1540).

such as Howard Burns and Christoph Frommel, have accepted Forster's thesis, others have perceived less direct similarities with Giulio's work.[15] Rasp and, following him, Sarzi, propose an architect of a more conservative stamp who, to be sure, had not been able to escape the influence of Giulio's work, but who felt little at home with its unclassical elements. Sarzi proposes Giulio's second in command, Giovan Battista Covo, as perfectly fitting this profile, and this is no implausible suggestion.[16] It is true, for instance, that the use of a truly colossal order is very untypical for Giulio. In addition, as Sarzi indicates, the main façade facing the courtyard of Landshut seems to be inspired by Falconetto's *Loggia Cornaro* in Padua, which suggests that the architect felt more at ease with local or regional precedent, than with the most advanced solutions of Raphael's followers. On the other hand an artist of Giulio's sophistication may

15 I am grateful to Howard Burns for communicating his opinion on the subject to me.

16 RASP 1984; Sarzi 1984/1985. Note Erichsen's analysis of the mannerist 'licence' found both in the Palazzo del Te and in Landshut, proposing that the introduction of wilful mistakes and deviations from the rule would blur or render invisible the distinction between high and low quality of architecture. But surely the difference between the refined *capriccio* of a brilliant and intellectual master such as Giulio and the mere ineptness of an untalented epigone would remain visible to the informed eye?

FIGURES 2.2–2.3 Landshut, Stadtresidenz, Loggia of the Italienische Bau (1537–1540).

well have considered—and with justification!—that the project as executed was surely sufficiently advanced for its location. Moreover, the function of the Stadtresidenz, as the Duke's principal dwelling, would in any case have allowed less artistic licence than was admitted in the stately pleasure dome decreed by Federico II.

Whereas for the architecture of the Landshut Stadtresidenz the example of the Palazzo del Te must therefore be invoked with caution, the dependence of its splendid and sumptuous interior decoration from Giulio's grandest creation is unmistakable. Not only is the type of decoration in general clearly derived from the Palazzo del Te, but in many details—lay-out of the compartmented ceilings, stucco ornaments etc.—and even in its iconographical programme, the Mantuan model is closely followed. It comes as no surprise that the documents show that at least part of this decoration was executed by the same stucco workers that had worked in the Te a few years earlier. The painted decoration, on the other hand, was entrusted to the local painters Ludwig Refinger and Hans Bocksberger the elder, and to the Dutchman Herman Posthumus, who appears already to have entered Ludwig's service before he made his documented trip to Rome and Mantua.[17]

What is striking about Landshut is—except for the manner of the painted decoration—the totally Italian spirit which infuses the palace into its smallest details: examples are the purely Venetian chimneys on the low-pitched roof, and—even more significant—the lantern of the chapel, which can only be seen from some back-windows [Fig. 2.4]. Can this Italian spirit still be explained by the fact that the Stadtresidenz appears to have been constructed and decorated almost exclusively by Italian artisans, its unity of conception

17 Sarzi 1988, pp. 131–133.

FIGURE 2.4 Landshut, Stadtresidenz: the "Italian" lantern of the chapel, seen from a back window.

and perfectionism is astounding if one presumes, as appears to have been the case, that the designing architect never set foot in the place. To my mind this unity of conception, this lack of compromise with local usage even in unimportant details, presupposes that the execution of the plans—be they Giulio's or Covo's—was regularly supervised by someone who perfectly understood the requirements of the building, and had sufficient comprehension and experience of Giulio's style to be able confidently to resolve any unforeseen contingencies that might arise during construction.

Even if 'Meister Sigmund' can be identified with Sigismund da Preda, who twenty years later was a highly respected Imperial architect in Vienna—this plausible identification is proposed by Sarzi—it is very unlikely that he would have been capable of such supervision.[18] The solution to this enigma must be

18 Sarzi relates De Preda's surname (he was also known as 'de Prettis') with the Mantuan locality Breda, ignoring that according to Thieme-Becker De Preda was a native of Pisa, while other sources refer to Pratovecchio, in the Casentino, as his birthplace, cf. Wartena/ Erichsen 2009, p. 97. This would certainly not have prevented him from arriving in Landshut by way of Mantua. De Preda's best known work is the *Kaiserspital* in Vienna (demolished in 1903), construction of which began shortly after his death in 1549. If Benedikt

sought, in my opinion, in the regular, if not continuous, presence in Landshut of someone to whom Meister Sigmund and his helpmate Antonio, who were charged with the day-to-day supervision of the work, could refer any particular problem arising on the site, and who in general kept an eye on the correct execution of the entire project. This must not necessarily have been a professional builder: it may well have been a gentleman from Mantua who coupled a developed taste and some personal artistic ability to a more than superficial understanding of the most advanced—e.g. Roman—architecture and decorative design and a thorough acquaintance with Giulio's work. He should be a gentleman both in birth and education, not a mere craftsman, in order to overcome the prejudices of Ludwig's court-officials and to meet the Bavarian erudites who advised Ludwig in his plans on their own level. Because he was a gentleman, and present in a more or less informal way at the Landshut court, any financial gratification that he may have received for his work would not be found in the actual building accounts: it is not impossible that he should even be regarded as an informal envoy of Federico to his Wittelsbach cousin.[19]

Christoph Frommel, who attributes the design of the Italienische Bau unreservedly to 'Giulio Romano's Mantuan architect's office', postulates the existence of an assistant:

> … a great talent <…> who was more than a purely executive collaborator, whose presence, though it left no further traces, explains why the effect of the building, notwithstanding the perfection of its execution, nevertheless differs from that of Giulio's certain works.[20]

Kölbl's design for its archaic, arcaded facade—began in 1560, after its model had been examined by a commission of which Strada, by that time himself architect in Imperial service, was a member—still reflect De Preda's plans, it is clear that though he may have been a good master-mason, he would have been incapable of independently supervising, much less designing a structure of the quality of the Stadtresidenz. See Kühnel 1959, pp. 324–325; Kühnel 1971, pp. 37–38, *Abb.* 6.

19 John Bury has formulated a similar answer to the question of the problematical relationship between designer and executor of a stylistically advanced project in an out-of-the way location, in his case the Palace of Charles V in Granada, which he holds to be a design after Raphael or Giulio transmitted, or even actually made by Baldassare Castiglione—at the time resident in Spain as Papal Legate to Charles V—and merely executed by Pedro Machuca (Bury 1987).

20 Lauterbach / Endemann / Frommel 1998, p. 84: 'Giulio Romano's Mantuaner Baubüro', postulates the existence of an assistant, 'ein großes Talent <…> das mehr als nur ausführende Kraft war, das keine weitere Spuren hinterließ, aber doch erklären wurde, wieso

If such an assistant did indeed exist, it is likely that he also would have been entrusted with the diplomatic supervision of the Mantuan crew in the manner here suggested. Frommel does not give names, but for such a hypothetical function two candidates spring to mind: the exact contemporaries Giovanni Battista Bertani and Jacopo Strada, who both in all probability received their artistic education in Giulio's studio.[21] As an outstanding architect of great originality and profound theoretical erudition, moreover as Giulio's successor as *Prefetto delle Fabbriche* in Mantua, Bertani seems to hold the better cards. But in view of Strada's own interest and proficiency in architecture—as demonstrated by his designs for the Munich Antiquarium and for his own house in Vienna (modelled on Giulio's Palazzo Stati-Maccarani in Rome) and by his edition of Serlio's *Settimo Libro*—he certainly remains a serious candidate for such a function. In my opinion, his documented presence in Germany shortly after the completion of the Stadtresidenz tips the balance in his favour.

It remains the question whether such a responsibility would have been entrusted to such quite young assistants: both Strada and Bertani were hardly twenty-two years old when construction started in 1537. Even if Strada had been charged with this responsibility, it is unlikely that he was directly involved in the design itself, because in that case he would probably have referred to it in the preface of his 1575 edition of Serlio's *Settimo Libro*.[22] If he did have some role in supervising the execution of the building, he probably also was involved in the execution of the decoration. Work on this continued until 1542, shortly before his presence in Germany is securely documented. In any case, he cannot have been unaware of the project: on a second brief visit to Mantua in October 1536, Ludwig x had conferred with Niccolò da Milano, and had studied the gesso models kept in Niccolò's studio.

This suggests that Niccolò was asked to organize a team of stucco-workers to execute the decoration, and in fact many of the colleagues that had collaborated with him in the Palazzo del Te can be identified in the accounts. Among these we find Giovanni Battista Scultori, better known as an engraver, who

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sich die Wirkung des Baus trotz makelloser Ausführung von jener der gesicherten Werke Giulio's unterscheidet'.

21 Bertani was already employed in Giulio's equipe working in the Palazzina della Paleologa in the Palazzo Ducale in 1531, though afterwards he appears to have worked for a long time independenltly in Rome and perhaps elsewhere; cf. Carpeggiani 1992, pp. 14–17.

22 If Strada did indeed became a close friend of Perino del Vaga, this most likely happened in Rome, where the latter only returned towards the end of 1537; in which case Strada could hardly have been in Landshut before the end of the following year (cf. above, Ch. 2.2).

FIGURE 2.5 Landshut, Stadtresidenz, Stucco and painted decorations in the Italienische Bau.

would later occasionally be employed by Strada himself.[23] There is likewise some circumstantial evidence which suggests contacts between Strada and

23 Sarzi 1988. It is significant that Niccolò had also been involved with the decoration of Cles' *Magno Palazzo* in Trent, which had been likewise admired by the Duke. Strada refers to his contacts with Scultori in a letter to Guglielmo Gonzaga, Doc. 1574-10-04(a).

Herman Posthumus, who appears to have been chiefly responsible for the pictorial side of the decoration.[24] Strada might possibly be identified with either of the two Jacopo's who received payments for their work in the Stadtresidenz; but it is perhaps more likely that he was delegated to keep an eye on the execution of the stuccoes in a similar diplomatic manner as has been suggested for the architecture: in particular to ease the contacts and enhance the mutual comprehension of the artists and the German erudites of Ludwig's court who bore the final responsibility for the iconographic scheme.[25]

2.4 Romance in Franconia: Strada's Marriage and his Settling in Nuremberg

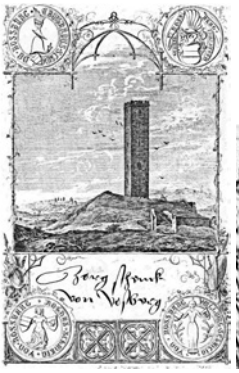
If this hypothesis is right, than Strada would have been released from his tasks at Landshut at the latest by the middle of 1543, when the last payments for the decoration of the Stadtresidenz were made. It can be assumed that he had managed in the meantime to obtain a sufficient foothold in the region to decide not to return to his native country. This would tally with his contention, in a letter to Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol of December 1556, that he had been employed by Hans Jakob Fugger for over twelve years, that is since 1544. In a letter of September 1574 to Jacopo Dani Strada announced the death of his wife, adding that they had been married for thirty years. By 1544, therefore, Strada must have been present in Germany at least sufficiently long to meet his bride, to woo her, and to gain the confidence of her parents.[26] She was Ottilie, daughter of Christoph Schenk von Rossberg, the last male representative of a Franconian noble family which reputedly was mentioned already in the tenth century.

Long-time owners of the Schenkenschloß or Schenkenturm on the Roßberg just outside Würzburg, the family had fallen on hard times: apart from the

24 On Posthumus, see Dacos 1985; Dacos 1989; Boon 1991. Posthumus has been identified as the so-called 'Anonymous A' responsible for a number of drawings (several of them of Mantuan subject-matter) in the so called Berlin-Sketchbooks of Maarten van Heemskerck. The same hand has been recognized in some drawings in the Strahov-codex, which once made part of Strada's collection: see Bukovinská/ Fučíková/ Konečný 1984; Juřen 1986; Dacos 1989.

25 On the iconography of the decoration, see Langer/ Heinemann 2009, pp. 116–163 'Das Bildprogramm des Italienischen Baus', and the following 'Katalog', pp. 164–347; earlier: Verheyen 1966(b); Bulst 1975; Kronthaler 1987.

26 Doc. 1556-12-22: '<…> appresso al Signor Jo[an] Jacopo Fochero in Augusta, et passano dodeci anni ch'io son stato occupato neli suoi lavori <…>'; Doc. 1574-09-09; 'siamo stati 30 anni insieme'. Strada's responsibility at Landshut as suggested above would also have contributed to his eligibility, particularly if he had been sent as a Gonzaga courtier.



FIGURES 2.6–2.7 The remains of the Schenkenschloß on the Roßberg near Würzburg in a nineteenth-century lithograph, accompanied by reproductions of seals of the Schenk von Rossberg family, including that of Ottilie's father, Christoph (detail) and the signature of her grandfather, Georg.

FIGURE 2.8 The Schenkenturm on the Roßberg in a recent photograph.

actual tower, the Schenkenschloß was destroyed in the peasant uprising of 1525, and the Schenks lacking means to rebuild it, the fief had reverted to its suzerain, the Prince-Bishop of Würzburg.[27] [Figs. 2.6–2.8] It is not known in how far Ottilie's father may have redressed his fortunes before his death in 1559, and Ottilie appears to have had sisters, one of whom was married, and one of whom was a nun.[28] The chances are that Ottilie's impeccable lineage was the most substantial part of her dowry and later her heritage. There can be no doubt that Strada, as an antiquary and genealogist, will have esteemed it highly, as he will have appreciated the prestige he gained by this aristocratic connection. At a later date, Strada's second son and eventual successor, Ottavio,

27 Kessler 1851; though it happened in the *Bauernkrieg*, it were actually townsmen from the Pleichachviertel, a neighbourhood of nearby Würzburg, who plundered and burnt down the castle. Ottilie's grandfather Georg obtained a meagre compensation of about 1.000 *Gulden*, insufficient to repair the damages. Instead, they rented part of the Antonitenkloster in Würzburg as a residence.

28 Georg Schenk ceded the Rossberg in 1537 to Konrad II von Thüngen, Prince-Bishop of Würzburg, in return for a pension of 100 Gulden each for himself, his wife Margarethe von Thünfeld, and his son Christoph [Dittrich 2006, *s.v.* Burg Schenkenschloss, cited on the site Burgenwelt.de, http://www.burgenwelt.de/schenkenschloss/ ge.htm, cons. 2014-01-13]. Ottilie appears to have had two sisters, Juliana, married to Georg von Leuzenbrunn zu Baldersheim, but who appears to have died by 1551, and Katharina, a nun who moved in 1542 with Magdalene von Berlichingen from the monastery of the poor Clares in Würzburg to the monastery of noble Benedictine nuns in Kitzingen [Denzinger 1855, p. 57]. In all, it seems unlikely that Ottilie, though an heiress, was a rich heiress.

applied to Rudolf II to add name and coat of arms of his mother's extinct family to his own.[29]

The first unequivocal proof of Strada's presence in Germany, however, only dates from 1 November 1546, when the Council of Nuremberg inquired into his activities as an artist; the next day he was officially authorized to keep his own house, which implies that he had already been present in Nuremberg for some time.[30] Some years later, on the 13th of March 1549, and after payment of a fee of 4 *gulden*, he obtained the citizenship of the town. In spite of occasional absences, some of which were of considerable length, Nuremberg would remain his basis of operation for well over a decade.

It is not clear why Strada chose to settle in Nuremberg rather than in Augsburg, the residence of Hans Jakob Fugger, his principal patron in the 1540s and early 1550s. Perhaps the close connections of the town's ancient and powerful patriciate with the landed aristocracy of the surrounding region, to which his wife belonged, made it easier for him to gain admittance and to obtain the support he needed for his projects. If he had left Italy because of heterodox religious opinions, he may have been attracted by the city's uncompromising adherence to the Reformation. But other factors will have been of greater importance: with about thirty thousand inhabitants the old Imperial *Reichsstadt* was, after Cologne, the second largest city of the Empire, and one of the wealthiest mercantile centres of Europe. Sitting as a spin in a web consisting of the great towns of Southern and Central Germany—Regensburg, Frankfurt, Augsburg—it was situated on the crossroads of the great trading routes: those from the North, from Saxony and beyond, to the South, to Bavaria and across the Brenner to Italy and through Swabia and Switzerland to Lyon; and those from the East, from Prague and beyond and from the Habsburg court at Vienna along the Danube, to the West, through the Rhineland onward to Strasbourg and Paris, and to Cologne and Antwerp. Its merchants travelled widely and maintained extensive contacts throughout Europe, its manufacturers and craftsmen produced high quality merchandise that was exported all over the Empire and beyond. Though lacking both bishop and university, it had considerable renown in the world of learning, which it chiefly owed to humanists such as Hartmann Schedel, Willibald Pirckheimer and other Nuremberg lawyers—most of whom

29 Rudolf II confirmed Ottavio's nobility and granting him the righ to add the arms of his mother's extinct familty to his own on 18 May 1598 (JdKS 15, 1894, II, pp. CLVIII–CLIX, *Regest* nr. 12420). Strada himself never used the name Rossberg or Rosberg (which indicates that the fief itself was no longer part of his wife's heritage). Jacopo's and Ottavio's lineal descendants survive in France as Strada d'Arosberg, a name due to a misunderstanding of Ottavio's signature, Strada da Rosberg [Pascuito 1978; Chabot de l'Allier 1990].

30 Docs. 1546-11-01, 1566-11-02.

studied in Italy—and to the printing presses of Anton Koberger and Johannes Petreius. Several of its artists—Veit Stoss, Adam Krafft and Peter Vischer in the late fifteenth century, Wenzel Jamnitzer in the sixteenth century—had international reputations. Printers and publishers all over the Empire employed its engravers, and its most famous son, Albrecht Dürer, was and is rightly considered the greatest non-Italian artist of the Renaissance. Coupled to the political stability guaranteed by its conservative patriciate, this all made Nuremberg a place that offered a wealth of opportunities to any talented and enterprising young man.

Again, very little is known about what Strada actually did in Nuremberg. At the time he certainly already was occupied with his antiquarian studies financed by Hans Jakob Fugger. Nuremberg was no unfavourable location for such research. The wealth and intellectual interests of her citizens is best illustrated by the fact that Samuel Quiccheberg, in his *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi* of 1565, lists no less than nineteen collectors; by no means all of these belonged to the few old and extremely wealthy families from whose ranks the town's government was co-opted.[31] For several of the Roman coins described in Strada's manuscript *A.A.A. Numismatωn Antiquorum Διασκευέ* a provenance from some of these same Nuremberg collectors is given: apart from an anonymous Paduan erudite, he mentions Johann Starck, a patrician and member of the Council, Georg Römer, Johann Kandler and (his son?) Georg Kandler. The Kandlers were merchants who chiefly dealt in copper and brass from Northern Italy: sharing other interests with Strada beside numismatics, they probably made him feel welcome. In the first five volumes of his *Διασκευέ* he in fact describes over sixty coins from their collections.[32] Since Georg Kandler was only born in 1531, Strada's knowledge of his coins must at least in part date from later visits to Nuremberg, but his first contacts with the family doubtless dated from his period of residence.

The most important collection in Nuremberg, from which Strada described about ninety coins in the *Διασκευέ,* belonged to the Nuremberg patrician Willibald Imhoff (1519–1580). An almost exact contemporary of Strada's, Imhoff shared his interests: in an autograph inventory of his collection of 1573 he confessed that he had 'from earliest youth onward, an innate and great

31 Quiccheberg 1565, pp. H i r. –v.; Quiccheberg knew some of these collections from his own visits, some he owed to Hubertus Goltzius' appendix on collectors of antiquities in his *Julius Caesar*.

32 On the *Διασκευέ,* see Jansen 1993(a). On Georg Chanler of Kandler (Quiccheberg writes Chonler) (1531–1600), see *Wenzel Jamnitzer* 1985, p. 450, cat. nr. 637.

inclination towards medals and antiquities'.[33] He owed this inclination to his maternal grandfather and namesake, the celebrated humanist and close friend of Albrecht Dürer, Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530). In part directly, in part through his aunt, Imhoff inherited both the important library and the collection that his grandfather had brought together; the latter consisted of antique coins and sculpture and of contemporary works of art, and included many works by Dürer.[34] During his visits to Imhoff's studio, Strada doubtless did not limit his attention to the coins: he must also have got to know the large collection of prints and drawings Imhoff at that time was beginning to bring together. For this, he could build on the drawings and engravings his grandfather had been given by Dürer himself, or had obtained from the artist's widow after his death; these were already in Imhoff's possession. Probably it was here that Strada began to appreciate Northern draughtsmanship, an appreciation which later expressed itself in the acquisition of a considerable quantity of the works of German and Netherlandish engravers, including Dürer and Lucas van Leyden.[35] In any case his interest in the graphic arts was bound to be strongly stimulated in Nuremberg, which boasted a tradition going back to the splendid woodcuts of the illustrated Bible (1483) and the *Nuremberg Chronicle* (*1493*) published by Anton Koberger; the work of Dürer and his followers had established the town as the principal centre of printmaking in Germany. Understandably, local collectors attached great value to prints, and Quiccheberg praised them specifically for their activities in this field.[36]

2.5 Strada and Wenzel Jamnitzer

Quiccheberg singled out one group of collectors that appears to have been particularly in evidence in Nuremberg, the goldsmiths, with whom Strada would have felt some affinity because of his own early training in their craft. Several of them collected prints, which is understandable in view of the close relationship between the two arts, and the practical use that prints were put to in their workshops. Stimulated by the example of artists such as the Augsburg

33 Quoted in Jante 1985, p. 18: 'von erster jugent an aus angeporner art zw den medaylen und antiquiteten grosse naygung gehabt'. On Imhoff, see Von Busch 1973, pp. 99–102; Jante 1985.

34 On Pirckheimer, see *Willibald Pirckheimer* 1970; on his collection, see Pilz 1970; Johne 1981.

35 Shortly after his father's death, Ottavio Strada attempted to sell some of this material to the Grandduke of Tuscany; for Strada's collection, see below, Ch. 13.3.

36 Quiccheberg 1565, H i recto.

painter and engraver Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–1531), some Nuremberg goldsmiths and other craftsmen built up real studio collections 'of outstanding variety'. Quiccheberg mentions Wenzel Jamnitzer and one Mositzer, doubtless the medallist Hans Maslitzer (1503–1574).[37] Apart from engravings, such collections were probably particularly rich in ancient and modern coins and medals, as well as in gems, cameos and intaglios. Moreover, it cannot always have been very easy to maintain the distinction between private collection and stock-in-trade. With such colleagues Strada will have consorted regularly—partly to satisfy his erudite interests, partly because of his interest in their professional skills.

2.5.1 *A Commission from Gian Giacomo de' Medici, Marquis of Marignano*

The extraordinary fame of its goldsmiths and its pre-eminence as a centre of artistic creation in general were probably among the principal reasons why Strada chose to settle in Nuremberg. The entries in the minutes of the City Council of Nuremberg, in which Strada is repeatedly mentioned as 'Künstler' or 'Künstner' and as 'Maler', indicate that he at least occasionally exercised the arts he had been taught at Mantua.[38] The entry of 12 March 1547, though brief, is of particular interest because it provides the identity of one of Strada's earliest patrons, and at first sight seems to suggest that he set up a goldsmith's workshop:

> Jacoben di Strada, the artist, to allow him, at the request of the Marquis de Malingan, to make in his own house for His Grace the silver and gilt work that he intends to commission from him; and also that he can employ a master goldsmith or journeyman…[39]

The 'Markess de Malingan', whose request on behalf of Strada was thus granted, can be identified with a notorious *condottiere*, Gian Giacomo de' Medici, *Marchese* of Marignano (1495–1555).[40] [Fig. 2.13] After his unsuccessful attempts to create a feudal state in the Brianza, and even to substitute the extinct Sforza Dukes of Milan, 'Il Medeghino', as he was also called, had made his peace with

37 Quiccheberg 1565, p. D ii-r.

38 Docs. 1546-11-01; 1546-11-02; 1547-03-12.

39 Doc. 1547-03-12: 'Jacoben di Strada, dem Künstner, auf des Markess de Malingan begern zulassen, das er sein f[ürstliche] G[naden] ir silber und vergült Arbeit, so er ime andingen will, in Hauss machen, auch ein Maister oder Gesellen Goldschmidhantwerks zu ime nemen mög'.

40 This identification was first proposed by Hayward 1976, p. 47.

FIGURE 2.9 Gian Giacomo de' Medici, Marquis of Marignano, the statue of his tomb by Leone Leoni commissioned by his brother, Pope Pius IV; Milan, Cathedral.

FIGURES 2.10–2.11 Wenzel Jamnitzer, The so-called 'Merkelsche Tafelaufsatz' and its case, ca. 1548–1549; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

his most serious opponent, Charles V, who invested him with the marquisate of Marignano, and subsequently made grateful use of his military experience. The Marquis conducted the Imperial armies in France, Flanders, Hungary and Germany, and crowned his career—in the year of his death—with the conquest of Siena on behalf of his Florentine namesake, Cosimo I, who in consequence allowed the Milanese Medici to assume the arms of the Florentine dynasty. Their version of the Medici *palle* was, like its Florentine counterpart, crowned with the tiara, when in 1559 Marignano's saintly brother Giovanni Angelo was elected to the Chair of St. Peter's, taking the name Pius IV.

Unfortunately, not much is known of Marignano as a patron of the arts, though it is not impossible that he shared some of the tastes of his erudite and intelligent brother: Pius IV commissioned Leone Leoni to execute Marignano's tomb in the Duomo in Milan, reconstructed the family palace in the Via di Brera, and as a patron is best known for the refined and elegant *Casino* that Pirro Ligorio built for him in the Vatican Gardens.[41] Marignano's decision to commission an ambitious piece of representative silverware at this rather

41 The modest extensions added to the Marignano country residence at Induno Olona certainly do not presuppose tremendous patronage; see 'Induno Olona, Frascarolo: Villa Medici di Marignano', in Langé / Vitali 1984, pp. 134–143. On Marignano, see: Bignami 1925; Ravegnani Morosini 1984, pp. 308–309; Giannini 2009. On the Casino Pio, see Fagiolo / Madonna 1972(a) and Fagiolo / Madonna 1972(b); Smith 1977; Smith 1988; on Leoni's project for the tomb of the Marquis of Marignano, which—according to Vasari—was based

untoward moment—a few weeks before the Battle of Mühlberg!—must have been stimulated by the extraordinary splendour of the Imperial camp. In connection with the war, Charles' train was unusually extensive, and included many generals who were princes in their own right: doubtless Marignano felt it due to his standing not to be outdone. It was his good fortune that an introduction by mutual acquaintances or a chance meeting brought him into contact with the one Italian gentleman in Germany who was perfectly able and willing to help him plan and realize some such tangible symbol of his status. Unfortunately, it is not known whether this work was ever completed; and if so, what exactly was Strada's contribution to its conception and execution.

2.5.2 *Was Strada Himself Active as a Professional Goldsmith?*

It has been indicated that Strada had received some training as a goldsmith, probably in his native Mantua. The principal source for this is a letter of June 1559 to Maximilian, the titular King of Bohemia on whose recommendation Strada had entered the service of his father, Emperor Ferdinand I, about a year earlier. He indignantly related to the King how the Imperial Historiographer Wolfgang Lazius, at the time his chief rival at the Imperial court, in a polemical publication had indicated him as a goldsmith, instead of mentioning him by name and giving him the title of Antiquary, which he felt was his due:

> Doctor Lazius, wanting to impute to me a lack of knowledge of Antiquity, avoids mentioning me by name and surname, describing me by the art of the goldsmith, which I have learned as a boy to enable me in time better to learn what I have, thanks be to God, learnt with great effort and expense, in the field of antique marbles and medals ....

In this Lazius had in fact rendered him a service, rather than an injury,

> <...>showing in his writings to Your Majesty and to all the world how much I know and am capable of in my profession, in which I have not contented myself to understand the names and identify the portraits of the people of the past, but have also obtained by patient effort that I cannot only draw them on paper, but can also sculpt them in gold and other metals as well as in marble ... so in case he considers ignoble ['vituperosa'] the knowledge and competence ['saper et intender'] of the craft of the goldsmith (as he shows he does), it was not appropriate to the service

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on a design by Michelangelo, see Pope-Hennessy 1963, III, pp. 100–101; on Pius IV's patronage in general, see Smith 1977; Cellauro 1995.

> he owes to the Imperial Majesty and to your own, nor to the duties of civility, to call me by that name in his writings <…>'[42]

Strada's 'saper et intender' of the art of the goldsmith, that is of a menial occupation as a craftsman, would even a decade later lay him open to the attack of an invidious rival, the minor poet Niccolò Stopio, who in a letter of 1567 to their common patron, Hans Jakob Fugger, scoffed that:

> Strada has no connections here with sculptors, but only with goldsmiths and print-designers, or miniaturists, which is his trade.[43]

It must be conceded that it is doubtful whether Strada's original motivation to learn the craft of the goldsmith was a mere desire better to comprehend the intricate new discipline of ancient numismatics. It might be that Strada's antiquarian interest was itself partly due to his training in a goldsmith's workshop; such shops after all were habitually also the repositories of the smaller and more valuable antiquities such as cameos, intaglios, small bronzes and ancient coins. The craft enjoyed a relatively high social distinction, since it was a 'clean' craft and, moreover, required a capital investment to set up an independent workshop, an investment which Strada's family would have been able to provide. In his letter to King Maximilian Strada certainly does not deny

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42 Doc. 1559-06-00, printed in Jansen 1993(a), Annexe 2, pp. 233–235: 'Il Dottor Lazio <…>, volendomi tassar di puocha cognitione nelle cose de l'Anti[chità], fugge descrivere et palesar il proprio mio nome et cognome, et mi descrive da[ll'] arte ch'io ho da putto imparato, per meglio poter poi col tempo venir ad apprendere quello che per gratia di dio ho con gran fattica et spesa apresso, in parte dal[l]' antichità de marmi et medaglie <…> scoprendo con li scritti suoi a Vostra [Maestà] et a tutto'l mondo quanto io so et vaglia nella mia professione, nella quale [non] sol mi son contentato di voler intendere i nomi, et conossere i ritratti degli [uom]ini antichi, ma ancora ho fatto si con la fattica e'l tempo, che li so non so[lo] ritrarre in carta, ma li so anche sculpire tanto in oro et metalli, quant[o in] marmo <…> essendo che egli per caso ha per cosa vituperosa (come mostra d'[haver]) il saper et intender l'arte del'orefice, non era conveniente nè a la servitù che deve a la Cesarea et Vostra Maestà, nè al debito del viver civile, il volermi chiamar ne suoi scritti di tal nome <…>'.

43 Stopio to Fugger, Venice 15 June 1567: 'Il Strada non pratica qui con scultori, senon con orefici o disegnatori di stampe in rame, o miniatori, che è il suo mestiere' [BHStA-*LA* 4852, fol. 35–36/29–30]. Stopio deliberately deluded Fugger, for from his own reports a few weeks later it appears that Strada had close connections with the best Venetian sculptor of the time, Alessandro Vittoria, idem, 24 August 1567: 'Io volevo che quella mattina fusse venuto meco il Strada, ma mi disse hiersera il suo figliuolo che mi portò letter da mandare a Monaco a S. Gio:, ch'l va a desinare con Alessandro Vittorio [sic] scultore che fa queste sue cose <…>' [*ibid.* fol. 60/53].

that he was competent in the craft, and his obtaining the commission from the Marquis of Marignano suggests at first sight that he actually exercised it. That Strada chose to settle in Nuremberg is of importance in itself, because the town was famous for the high quality of the gold- and silverware that was produced in its shops. In the Zistelgasse Strada was the next-door neighbour of Wenzel Jamnitzer: his collaboration with this best known of Nuremberg goldsmiths is the subject of the next paragraph.

On the other hand, there are arguments that support Strada's contention that he was no professional goldsmith. In the Nuremberg Council minutes he is indicated, as we have seen, as 'Maler' (painter) or 'Künstler' or 'Künstner' (artist), never as a goldsmith. In contrast to the more or less independent guilds in other Imperial towns, the Nuremberg goldsmith's craft was—like all corporations—administered and strictly supervised by the Council itself.[44] The decision of the Council strongly suggests that Strada, though he had already been settled in Nuremberg for some time, had never become a member of the local goldsmith's craft, since in that case he would hardly have needed special permission to accept the Marquis of Marignano's commission. He certainly is not mentioned in the list of master-goldsmiths active in Nuremberg, a list that includes many foreigners, in particular from the Low Countries, but no Italians at all.[45] Only master-goldsmiths inscribed in the local craft were allowed to run their own workshop: apprentices and journeyman were expected to work in the workshop—and under the supervision—of the master who employed them. Even as late as 1556 Strada is referred to—by the prince of Nuremberg goldsmiths, Wenzel Jamnitzer, who must have known exactly—as

> 'an industrious journeyman, quite competent in the art of painting and suchlike, with the name of Jacob Strote'.[46]

'Ein fleissiger Gesellen': I am not sure whether Jamnitzer just meant 'a keen fellow' or more literally 'an industrious journeyman', but surely he would not have used the term 'Gesell' had Strada been a recognized master in his craft. Even then, the craft Jamnitzer mentions is that of a painter, not that of the goldsmith. My own interpretation of these facts is that Strada basically told the truth to King Maximilian: he had learnt the basics of the goldsmith's craft as a

44 Strauss pp. 97–106; Schürer 1985(a).

45 A list of recorded names of Nuremberg goldsmiths is given in Schürer 1985(b).

46 Doc. 1556-12-22: 'ein fleisiger, des malens und anderer dergleichen kunsten wol verstendiger gesellen, mit namen Jacob Strote'.

part of his more general artistic training, and his interest in coins and medals was the principal motive for his doing so. But he had never obtained any formal qualification in the craft, nor exercised it himself in any commercial way.

Nevertheless Strada rented or even owned a house which was spacious enough to house a goldsmith's workshop, and he had acquired sufficient experience and name to obtain—and sufficient financial security to be able to accept—a very grand commission from a most illustrious patron. Though employing one or more collaborators, Strada thought he would need a year to complete the work planned.[47] This may have been a splendid liturgical object intended for Marignano's brother, Cardinal de' Medici, such as a set of liturgical vessels, a set of candelabra or a reliquary, but it is more likely that it was a secular object intended to increase Marignano's personal prestige. One thinks of a table-centrepiece or—fountain, or a sumptuous *Credenz* similar to, for instance, Wenzel Jamnitzer's *Merkelsche Tafelaufsatz* now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam [Fig. 2.10–2.11]. Purchased from the artist in 1549 by the Nuremberg Council, this grandest of Jamnitzer's early works appears to have been intended as a diplomatic gift to Charles V.[48]

Several reasons can be suggested why the Council was prepared to relax its rules in favour of Strada's project. Marignano's rank, his connection with the Imperial court, possibly even a formal request from Charles V on behalf of his general, would have sufficed to obtain something akin to *Zunftfreiheit* for the artists he employed.[49] Moreover, the opportunity to secure such an exceptional commission for Nuremberg craftsmen—Strada planned to employ a local master or journeyman for about a year in this one project—warranted an occasional exception to the rules. Yet the jealous care with which the Council guarded both the correct alloy of the material and the standard of craftsmanship of the products that left the Nuremberg workshops, suggest that it would

47 Doc. 1547-03-12. Strada would take some financial risk in engaging other goldsmiths, less in the purchase of the raw material, which for a commission on this scale was probably provided by the patron himself.

48 The *Merkelsche Tafelaufsatz* was acquired by the Nuremberg Council in 1549 from the artist himself for the sum of 1228 *Gulden* and 10 *Schillinge*. Jamnitzer's beautiful, coloured design ('Visierung') has been preserved, as has a wooden model of the supporting figure of the Earth, and the splendid morocco case ('Futteral'). Though probably intended as a gift to Charles V, it remained in the possession of the town. It is tempting to suppose that it is identical with Marignano's commission, which the Marquis may have failed to actually pay for. See: Pechstein 1974; Wenzel Jamnitzer 1985, cat. nr. 15, pp. 219–221; nr. 299, pp. 342–343 and nr. 502, pp. 406–408.

49 On the liberty of guild's restrictions accorded to official court-artists and purveyors to court, see Warnke 1985, pp. 85–96.

not have lightly made such an exception. It would not have entrusted the fame of the craft to a recent arrival lacking all formal qualification, and it is rather likely that the collaboration of a local master who could vouch for the quality of material and workmanship, such as proposed by Strada, was a condition for its consent.

Yet Strada obviously did not intend to act merely as an agent for Marignano: in that case, he would have placed the commission with a goldsmith he deemed capable of executing it to satisfaction, such as Jamnitzer, and have left the details to him. His insistence on having the work made in his own house indicates that he rather acted as a contractor, who undertook to organize the execution of the commission and held himself fully responsible for the result. This means that he not only purveyed the materials and engaged the necessary artisans, but that he also provided the designs and supervised their execution closely. But it remains an open question whether he himself participated in the actual forging of the object to any considerable extent.

2.5.3 *Strada's Contacts with Wenzel Jamnitzer*

Strada's colleagues cannot have been too happy to see such a large commission go to a foreigner, who was not even a member of their craft. Yet the most obvious competitor, the celebrated goldsmith Wenzel Jamnitzer (1508–1585)

FIGURE 2.12 Valentin Maler, Portrait-medal of Wenzel Jamnitzer, 1571.

[Fig. 2.12], appears to have been on excellent terms with him, and at a later date would propose a collaboration on a similar commission. This lack of professional jealousy will have been partly due to Strada's intention to employ a local master or journeyman in the execution of the piece.[50] Probably Strada intended to employ Jamnitzer himself, and in case the latter was already too busy with the *Merkelsche Tafelaufsatz*, he presumably remained Strada's chief consultant in the choice of a suitable collaborator. Strada lived in the Zistelgasse, the present Albrecht-Dürer-Straße, and was therefore an immediate neighbour of the famous goldsmith: their contacts of necessity must have been very close.[51]

It is very likely that Strada's taste and experience of Italian art and the artistic documentation—drawings, prints, perhaps even small casts—that he must have possessed even at that date, directly influenced Jamnitzer's style. The presence of Italianate Renaissance motifs in, and the general classicist appearance of so many of Jamnitzer's works, clearly distinguish his manner from the more vernacular style of most of his contemporaries.[52]

A good example is the little coffer for jewellery in the Munich *Schatzkammer* dated ca. 1560–1570, with its Doric frieze that is typical for Jamnitzer [Fig. 2.13]. The panels with small classical figures in relief against a dark background bring Italian, in particular Mantuan, examples to mind: they are very close to the small panels in the ceiling of the *Camera degli Stucchi* in the Palazzo del Te, in which Strada later would show a special interest.[53] [Fig. 2.14]

Other examples are the *Kaiserpokal* now in Berlin—possibly a present of the Nuremberg Council to the Emperor Maximilian II, on the occasion of his visit in 1570—and the gorgeous reliquary now in Madrid which was certainly given to Maximilian's consort, the Empress Maria, on that occasion [Fig. 2.15]. The general proportions and the detail—such as the Doric frieze found again both along the rim of the cup, and as dominant feature of the architecture of

50 In fact the guild usually did not allow foreigners to exercise their craft: see Hayward 1976 pp. 40–44; Warnke 1985 pp. 86–92.

51 Doc. 1552-07-30; on Jamnitzer's house, see Mulzer 1974.

52 Pechstein 1966, p. 260, touches on the question of Jamnitzer's sources, and suggests Strada as a possible purveyor of motifs.

53 *Wenzel Jamnitzer* 1985, pp. 224 (cat. nr. 19); the original design ('Visierung') has been preserved in Berlin: *ibidem*, p. 343 (cat. nr 300). On the *Camera degli Stucchi*, see Verheyen 1977, pp. 123–127; *Giulio Romano* 1987, pp. 364–374, *passim*; Belluzi 1998: *Saggi*, pp. 422–439, cat. nrs. 782–842; *Atlante fotografico*, pp. 394–423. Among the Strada material some copies of Giulio's designs for these panels have been preserved: the originals Strada had brought in his possession in about 1555 (see below, Ch. 13.4).

FIGURES 2.13–2.14 Wenzel Jamnitzer, silver-gilt cassette, ca 1550–1560 (Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz), compared to the ceiling of the Camera degli Stucchi in the Palazzo del Te, Mantua.

FIGURE 2.15 Wenzel Jamnitzer, reliquary for the Empress Maria, ca 1570; Madrid, Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales.

FIGURE 2.16 Jacopo Strada, his publisher's mark, from his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*, Lyon 1553.

FIGURE 2.17 Wenzel Jamnitzer, title page of his *Perspectiva corporum regularium*, Nuremberg 1568.

the reliquary—of such objects presuppose a familiarity with Italian architecture which Jamnitzer probably obtained through his contacts with his Italian neighbour.[54]

The few ornamental designs that can be attributed with certainty to Strada himself epitomize a similar 'stylish', cosmopolitan elegance as Jamnitzer's work. Compare, for instance, the title-page of Strada's *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*, printed in Lyon in 1553 [Fig. 2.16], and that of Jamnitzer's *Perspectiva Corporum Regularium*, published in Nuremberg in 1568 [Fig. 2.17], the design of which he also used in a silver-gilt mirror frame now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[55] Likewise, the winged Victories crouching over the arches in the niches

54 The *Kaiserpokal*, which celebrates the Landsberger Bund, is now in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin. It is not documented, but some alternative designs for the relief of the cup have been preserved; see: *Wenzel Jamnitzer* 1985, pp. 230 (cat. nr.25) and 346 (cat. nrs. 305–307); *Reichstädte in Franken* 1987, cat. nr. 318; Pechstein 1988, p. 232, pl. 2. The Madrid reliquary, for which the *Visierung* as well as some studies and models of individual motifs have been preserved, was given by the Empress to her daughter, the Archduchess Anna, on the occasion of her marriage to Philip II; it is now in the Monastery of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid and contains relics of St. Victor. See Pechstein 1966, pp. 263–277; *Wenzel Jamnitzer* 1985, pp. 61–63. The Doric frieze is found already in the design for the *Merkelsche Tafelaufsatz* (cf. below).

55 *Nuremberg, A Renaissance City*, pp. 284–285, cat. nr. 197; Jamnitzer 1568: a facsimile was published in Graz, 1973.

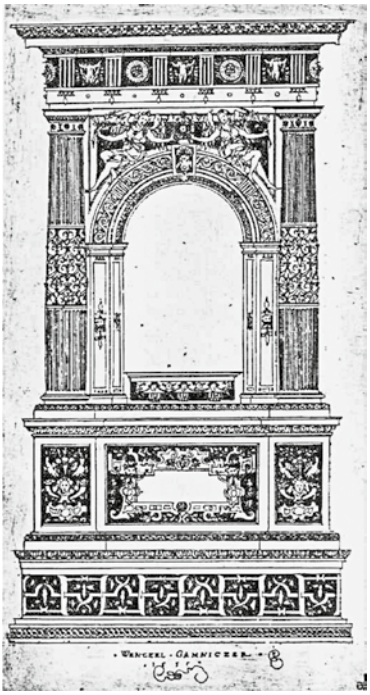

FIGURE 2.18 Wenzel Jamnitzer, Frontispiece, engraving dated 1551.

FIGURE 2.19 Jacopo Strada, Title page of the first volume of his ms *Magnum ac novum opus*, 1550; Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek.

of the reliquary in Madrid—which repeat a print Jamnitzer published already in 1551 [Figs. 2.15 and 2.18]—bear some relation to those filling a similarly precarious position on the title page of the first volume of Strada's manuscript, *Magnum ac novum opus* in the Forschungsbibliothek at Gotha, which is dated 1550.[56] [Fig. 2.19]

The connection between Strada and Jamnitzer was in any case sufficiently close for the latter to propose Strada as a collaborator, and in particular as a designer, for a quite ambitious work, a *Tafelaufsatz* or *Credenz* in silver, representing the *Creation of Adam and Eve in Paradise*. Archduke Ferdinand II of

56 Gotha, FBG Ms. A 2175, vol. 1. The date is interesting in view of the fact that the *Visierung* for the Madrid reliquary consist partly of prints of *aediculae* by Jamnitzer which are dated 1551 (*Wenzel Jamnitzer* 1985, pp. 371–372, cat. nr. 368–369). An illuminated version of the design was used as the titlepage of Strada's ms. in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 1019, which is dated 1554.

Tirol had commissioned this from Jamnitzer in 1556, just after Strada's return to Nuremberg from his travels to Lyon and Rome.[57] At the time Jamnitzer was fully occupied with some commissions from the Archduke's elder brother, Archduke Maximilian, King of Bohemia, and suggested that meanwhile some 'kunstlichen Maler', or 'artful painter', could execute one or more designs ('Visierungen') for the Archduke's project. For this job he proposed Strada, whose letter to the Archduke on this account he enclosed with his own.[58]

Strada's letter provides a detailed impression of his own conception of his task: he maintained that for such a large piece of work a single drawing was not sufficient. First, it was necessary to be informed in detail about the Archduke's own wishes, after which it would be possible to prepare a detailed design; in fact the best thing would be to prepare a three-dimensional model, to which the several masters charged with the execution could be referred.[59] A well-considered iconography, closely following Holy Scripture, was of great importance, and special care should be taken about the relative proportions of the various parts, in particular the many 'geschmelzte Thierlein', little animals cast in silver, that were intended to inhabit this splendid representation of the Garden of Eden. It was, moreover, essential that the Archduke would appoint some expert 'sopradicapo' or superintendent to coordinate and supervise the eventual execution. Strada was obviously quite prepared to take on that job, on the condition that he would be charged with the work as a whole, and that he would be subordinated to no one but the Archduke himself.

This letter has been interpreted as an attempt to oust Jamnitzer as a designer of the piece, a suggestion that is not warranted by the text.[60] After all, it was Jamnitzer himself who proposed Strada to provide designs, which implies that he did not object to leave the supervision at least of the visual appearance of the work to his one-time neighbour. Apart from providing the actual design and a model of the piece, Strada considered himself capable of conceiving its iconographical programme; his letter to the Archduke should be read not as an attempt to oust Jamnitzer as a designer, but as an attempt to avoid having to deal with some court-official instead of discussing his proposals with the

57 Docs. 1556-12-22(a); 1556-12-22(b); 1557-01-07; 1557-01-26; 1557-01-27; see Schönherr 1888; Hayward 1976, pp. 46–48.

58 Docs. 1556-12-22(a); 1556-12-22(b).

59 Jamnitzer himself habitually prepared models of individual parts of his more important commissions (*Wenzel Jamnitzer* 1985, pp. 405–419), such as the wooden model for the *Mutter Erde* supporting the dish in the *Merkelsche Tafelaufsatz* (ivi pp. 406–408, cat. nr. 502) and figures and decorative parts for the Descalzas Reales reliquary (Pechstein 1966, pp. 270–274).

60 This reading proposed in Schönherr 1888 and Hayward 1976, p. 46.

Archduke in person. This conception of his function as 'sopradicapo' closely corresponds to the task he had undertaken when he accepted the commission of the Marquis of Marignano, as sketched above, though now he would not be responsible to acquire the materials and would leave the actual execution of the piece to Jamnitzer and his helpmates.[61]

The young Archduke accepted Strada's offer by return of post, requesting him to come to Prague and to take with him all materials that might be useful, and Strada immediately set out. But though the vicissitudes of the project—which for lack of silver never seems to have been realized in its entirety—can be followed in the Archduke's correspondence with Jamnitzer for several years, we find no further reference to Strada. We know that by March 1559 several 'Visierungen', designs, had been proposed, none of which had been found entirely satisfactory, but we do not know whether Strada had a hand in their conception—or in their rejection. Possibly Strada was not able to continue the general supervision of the project as a whole after he received his appointment as a court architect to the Archduke's father, the Emperor Ferdinand I, in the spring of 1558.[62] Yet it is rather more likely that, being present at the Imperial court, he remained involved in the continuation of the project—parts of which appear to have been executed at court—and was at least occasionally consulted by the Archduke.[63]

2.5.4 *The 'schöner Brunnen' Commissioned by Maximilian II*

Strada's planned collaboration with Jamnitzer on this project has been one of the arguments advanced to support the assumption of Strada's participation in a project commissioned a decade later from Jamnitzer by the Archduke's elder brother, King Maximilian, who had by that time acceded to the Imperial throne. This extremely ambitious object, nowadays referred to as the 'schöner Brunnen' or 'Prager Brunnen', was commissioned in 1568, but was only

61 It seems surprising that Jamnitzer, of whom several splendid designs (*Visierungen*) for works executed by him (including the *Merkelsche Tafelaufsatz*) have been preserved, should wish to work after drawings provided by others. On the other hand it may well be that for this important commission he liked to have some erudite assistance. Strada's artistic experience and worldly wisdom made him suitable for that task, and Jamnitzer must have known him sufficiently well to know what to expect of him. I think it most probable that the two planned to discuss the technical and artistic aspects of any sketches and designs in detail, before submitting them to the Archduke.

62 See Jamnitzer's letter to Archduke Ferdinand, Nürnberg 27 March 1557, quoted in Schönherr 1888, p. 296; for Strada's appointment at the Imperial court, see below, Ch. 4.

63 Schönherr 1888.

delivered to Maximilian's successor, Rudolf II, in 1578, when it aroused the admiration of Duke Ferdinand of Bavaria, who found it so sumptuous and beautiful: 'das ichs nit describiren kann'.[64] Key to its interpretation is a description copied in the seventeenth century, which appears to reproduce a summary description of the complicated object by Jamnitzer himself. This includes a concise explanation of its significance, which is a clear exposition of the Imperial theme that was so dear to many of the aspiring absolute princes of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and which was particularly apposite at the court of the ruling Holy Roman Emperor. Independently Ralf Schürer and Hilda Lietzmann have suggested the probable function of this explicit example of Imperial *representatio*: they assume, probably correctly, that it was intended to be placed in the central room of the Neugebäude.[65] Both authors suggest that Strada may have been involved in the conception and possibly the design of the *Prager Brunnen*.

Though the sources on Strada have not yet yielded the confirmation of this suggestion that Schürer wished for, many arguments can be advanced for its acceptance. In the first place, though there is little factual evidence that definitively proves Strada's involvement as an artistic adviser to the Emperor, it will be argued below that his role as such, already postulated by Lhotsky and Lietzmann, was an important component of his court functions. In view of his historical studies, which specialized in the iconography of the Roman Emperors and their successors, it is rather likely that—with other court humanists such as Johannes Sambucus, Gerard de Roo and Hartmann Jobst von Enenkel—he was consulted on the iconography of Maximilian's dynastic fountain, in a similar manner as when he had been asked, shortly after his arrival at court, to give his opinion how best to finish the tomb of the Emperor

64 On the so-called 'Prager Brunnen', which was commissioned by Maximilian II in 1568, but only delivered to Rudolf II ten years later, see: Kaufmann 1978(b), pp. 120–121; *Wenzel Jamnitzer* 1985, pp. 231–235 (cat. nrs. 26–30); Schürer 1986; Lietzmann 1987, pp. 170–173; Pechstein 1988, pp. 232–235.

65 Schürer 1986; Lietzmann 1987, pp. 170–173. Lietzmann has argued that this room was decorated by the court painter Giulio Licinio, and she tentatively proposes that a series of twelve of his panels—now divided up between London, St. Petersburg, Turin, and two private collections—could have formed part of this decoration. These paintings represent several scenes from Greek mythology and Roman history, respectively; they would more or less complement the iconography of the 'Prager Brunnen' They were probably commissioned shortly before Maximilian's death, when the fountain was nearing completion; cf. Lietzmann 1987, pp. 149–151; detailed description of the panels in Vertova 1976. I do not completely agree with Lietzmann's valuable suggestion, and hope in future to be able to publish an alternative view of this very intricate question.

Maximilian I in the *Hofkirche* in Innsbruck, a commission of even greater dynastic importance than the younger Maximilian's fountain.[66] Strada's interest and expertise in mechanical inventions connected with waterworks—which is indicated by the treatise that his grandson Ottavio II published under Jacopo's name in 1617–1618—is an additional reason why he would have been consulted.[67]

In case of the *Schöner Brunnen*, moreover, his personal expertise and experience in the goldsmith's craft as outlined above provides a second argument for his involvement. Strada's continuing interest in goldsmith work is attested by his possession of Giulio Romano's designs for such objects—which he had acquired in 1555 together with the other drawings that remained of Giulio's estate—and by the fact that it were chiefly these drawings that he selected for the *libri di disegni* that were produced in his workshop.[68] That such interest was not limited to Giulio's work is borne out by his acquisition or commission of (copies of?) a large number of designs for goldsmith work formerly attributed to Erasmus Hornick (1520–1583), a Flemish goldsmith who was active in Nuremberg from about 1550, drawings which Strada used for similar ends.[69]

Finally, there is no reason why Strada's good contacts with Jamnitzer would not have continued after he moved to Vienna. Strada kept in touch with other Nuremberg artists, such as Erasmus Hornick and Jost Amman, both of whom he employed in his projects, as well as with other business associates in Nuremberg and in Frankfurt.[70] In fact Strada would have been a valuable contact for Jamnitzer: he was well placed to ease the artist's contacts with his Imperial patron whenever the latter could not himself be in Vienna. As discussed

66 On the tomb of Maximilian I, see below, Ch. 6.2; on the historical research done at the Habsburg court, much of which was occupied with genealogical and dynastic questions relating to the 'Felix Domus Austriacae', see Coreth 1982; Evans 1979.

67 Strada 1617–1618; cf. Jansen 2002. Strada had contacts with the famous engineer Hans Gasteiger, and owned a clock which had been the latter's masterpiece, a gift from Duke Albrecht V [Doc. 1584-07-01].

68 On Strada's acquisition of Giulio's drawings, see below, Ch. 13.2.

69 On Hornick, see Hayward 1968a and Hayward 1968b; Wenzel Jamnitzer 1985, p. 132 en cat. nrs 386–390; the attribution to Hayward of many of these drawings has been shown to be without clear foundation in Reiter 2012, pp. 183–184; 213–214, 241–242 and *passim*.

70 Strada's employment of Jost Amman is documented in Doc. 1574-09-09; his connection with Hornick is discussed in Hayward 1968b. Moreover we know from Strada's last will that he disposed of a 'Gewelb' at the Frankfurt book fair, and had a business relationship with Paolino Nieri, a Lucca banker resident in Frankfurt [Doc. 1584-07-01]; cf. below, Chs. 4.3.4 and 14.5.5.

elsewhere in this book, such more or less informal mediation was one of Strada's tasks at court. It is unlikely that such mediation was limited to members of the dynasty: Strada's house probably functioned as an exclusive, high-class shop for luxury objects—books, prints, works of art, antiquities—catering to the intellectual, artistic and representative requirements of members of the Imperial court and its many visitors. Strada's acting as a dealer or informal representative of Jamnitzer's workshop must have been quite lucrative for both of them, in view of the great importance at court of sumptuous status symbols, including both personal jewellery—such as golden chains and medallions—and the cups, vases and dishes intended to grace a nobleman's dresser or *Kredenz*. The splendour of Strada's *libri di disegni* indicate that his designs were intended for patrons, rather than for the artist's workshops: it is quite conceivable that such albums functioned as catalogues from which a patron could select the object(s) he wished Strada to order for him.

2.5.5 *Strada as a Designer for Goldsmith's Work*

All together, there is sufficient direct and circumstantial evidence to accept a very close collaboration between Jacopo Strada and Wenzel Jamnitzer. Connecting the data we have I think it is possible to credit Strada with a substantial contribution to the design of at least one preserved object from Jamnitzer's studio: the so-called *Merkelsche Tafelaufsatz* preserved in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam [Fig. 2.21 and cf. Figs. 2.10–2.11].[71] This was made for an unknown patron at exactly the time Strada was asking permission to engage a master or journeyman goldsmith to work on a splendid commission for the Marquis of Marignano. It is inconceivable that Strada and Jamnitzer, near neighbours, and seven years later close collaborators in the project for Archduke Ferdinand, would not have exchanged ideas about these two important commissions—if they were in fact two: the hypothesis that the *Merkelsche Tafelaufsatz* is in fact the object commissioned by the Marquis cannot be excluded.[72] The *Visierung*

71 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inc.nr. BK-17040. I am grateful to Dirk Jan Biemond, curator of metals at the Rijksmuseum, for an interesting discussion of the *Tafelaufsatz*, its *Visierung* and its possible connections with Jacopo Strada. On the *Tafelaufsatz*, see Pechstein 1974; *Wenzel Jamnitzer* 1985, cat. nrs. 15 (pp. 219–221) 299 (pp. 342–342).

72 Though the *Tafelaufsatz* was bought ready made by the Nuremberg Council, the Council appears not to have commissioned it—in that case their city's coat of arms or some other distinguishing feature might have been added. There is a real possibility that Marignano returned to Italy without actually paying for his commission—in which case the Nuremberg Council would have helped an esteemed citizen in financial difficulties, as well as have acquired an extremely prestigious object. A recent scientific examination

FIGURE 2.20 Workshop of Wenzel Jamnitzer, Visierung for the Merkelsche Tafelaufsatz; Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

FIGURE 2.21 Wenzel Jamnitzer, Merkelsche Tafelaufsatz, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

of the *Tafelaufsatz*, moreover, provides quite substantial stylistic evidence that Strada had a hand in it.

Examination of this huge (90 cms high), elaborate, and in some respects rather crude drawing makes clear that it certainly is not in the hand of Jamnitzer himself, who was a consummate draughtsman, nor for that matter in Strada's. In fact the drawing [Figs. 2.20, 2.30 and 2.34] must be a full-size

has discovered traces of an original inscription on the plaque screwd to the bottom of the piece, which was erased at some later date. This might have resolved the enigma, but it proved not possible to reconstruct the text (Bennekom/ Lemasson et al. 2014).

FIGURE 2.22 Workshop of Wenzel Jamnitzer, Visierung for the Merkelsche Tafelaufsatz (detail of *Fig. 2.20*).

FIGURES 2.23–2.24 Jacopo Strada, Title page of his *Magnum ac novum opus* (details of *Fig. 2.19*).

modello prepared by one of Jamnitzer's assistants on the basis of one or more designs provided by others.[73]

Merely on the basis of Strada's later close connection with Jamnitzer it might be supposed that he had a hand in this design. But that is rendered even more plausible by a comparison between the *Visierung* [Fig. 2.20 and 2.22] and Strada's autograph drawings, such as the title page of Strada's *Magnum ac novum opus* in Gotha [Fig. 2.23–2.24]. Just like the *Visierung*, the title page is drawn in pen and brown ink and a lighter wash; the title page of Strada's *Imagines omnium numismatum antiquorum* in Paris, dated 1554, repeats the Gotha design, but is coloured in watercolour and gouache, and therefore even closer to the spirit of the *Visierung*.[74] Both drawings include motifs also found in the *Visierung*, such as the garlands of fruits and flowers and the *putti* in precarious positions. Moreover it seems to reflect an artistic sensibility that is quite close to that of the design of the *Tafelaufsatz*. The 'German' character of the *Visierung* in general, and of certain details, such as the cartouches for the inscriptions, does not exclude the involvement of Strada: it can easily be explained as the effect of the collaboration between an Italian and a German artist. Even if Strada should not have been present at Landshut in the late 1530s, he had

73 Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Graphische Sammlung, inv. nr HZ 5360, Kapsel 1055; on line: http://objektkatalog.gnm.de/objekt/Hz5360; cf. Wenzel Jamnitzer 1985, cat. nr 299 (pp. 342–342); *In den hellsten Farben* 2003, cat. nr 11, pp. 3839.

74 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms 1019; on-line http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52 5049095.r=Strada%2C%20J.

been living and working in Germany at least since 1544 and was married to a German noblewoman: reason enough to have begun appreciating the arts of his adoptive country. In fact he had become sufficiently appreciative of these to leave at his death a 'big book bound with gold' which contained 'the greater part of the printed designs of that great man Albrecht Dürer, both those in copper engraving and those in woodcut, and there are 216 sheets in all, all of prime quality'.[75]

All this seems to justify the hypothesis that Strada provided Jamnitzer with designs for the *Tafelaufsatz*, or at least for one or more of its elements. As Rainer Schoch has pointed out, the *Visierung* consists of five separate sheets, each of which corresponds to one of the elements constituting the object. The lack of stylistic unity between these sheets made Schoch suspect that here, as in the course of other phases of the production of the *Tafelaufsatz*, Jamnitzer employed various 'specialists'.[76] Whereas Jamnitzer himself, or another of his 'specialists', provided the naturalistic and metallic elements of the piece, Strada would have been the specialist who provided Jamnitzer with the Italianate design for the caryatid figure, representing *Ceres* or *Abundantia* [Fig. 2.26]. This supposition becomes a virtual certainty when one compares the *Ceres* of the *Tafelaufsatz* with a Diana, the drawing of a character in a joust or masque at the Imperial court for which Strada designed the costumes some years later.[77] [Fig. 2.25] Though the coarseness of the draughtsmanship of this element of the *Visierung* shows it is due to one of Jamnitzer's (German) assistants, it seems very likely that he copied a Strada design. The female type is exactly the same as in Strada's *Diana*: note the elegant profile of both faces; the placement of the eyes, the rather muscular shoulders and arms, the limp grasp of the hands, and the rather heavy knee-joints. Moreover the manner of drawing is very similar, both in the outlines and in the shading.

That Strada collaborated on the design of the *Tafelaufsatz* reinforces the supposition that he also furnished designs for other works from Jamnitzer's workshop. That Jamnitzer's designs seem to be closer to Primaticcio than to, for instance, Giulio Romano, in itself corresponds to Jacopo's own stylistic *persona*. In any case the link is to Mantuan examples, which Jamnitzer could have got to know thanks to the drawings and prints among his neighbour's

75 Ottavio Strada to Prospero Visconti, Praga, 1 November 1590, Firenze, ASF, *Medici del Principato* 825, fol. 317, 'un grande libro ligato con oro' in which '<…> sonno li maggior parte delli disegni stampati di quel valenthuomo Alberto Durero, cusì quelli in rame, come quelli in legno, et sonno da 216 pezzi; et tutti sonno delle prime stampe'.

76 *In den hellsten Farben 2003*, cat. nr. 11, pp. 38–39.

77 ÖNB-HS, *Cod. min.* 21,3, fol.41; this particular figure cannot be assigned with certainty to any of the known festivals at court; cf. below, Ch. 4.3.4.

FIGURE 2.25 Jacopo Strada, Diana, design for a festival costume; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

FIGURE 2.26 Workshop of Wenzel Jamnitzer, after a design here attributed to Jacopo Strada, Ceres, element of the Visierung for the Merkelsche Tafelaufsatz (detail of *Fig. 2.20*).

materials. A good example is the small *cassetta* in the *Schatzkammer* of the Munich Residenz already referred to [Fig. 2.13]. This seems inspired by or even copied from the ceiling of the *Camera degli Stucchi* in the Palazzo del Te, which was realized after designs by Primaticcio [Fig. 2.14]. Of these Strada possessed (some of?) the original drawings, as is clear from copies of these preserved in a volume from his workshop now in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna [cf. below, Figs. 13.54–13.58].[78] The stress on correctly executed architectural motifs—for instance the Doric friezes in this *cassetta*, in the *Tafelaufsatz* [Fig. 2.22], in the *Kaiserpokal*, and in the shrine for Empress Maria [Fig. 2.15]—also presupposes

78 Vienna, ÖNB-HS, *Cod. min.* 21,3, *passim;* cf. below, Ch. 13.6.3.

FIGURES 2.27–2.28 Wenzel Jamnitzer, Ewer and basin, dated on stylistic grounds ca 1565, but possibly earlier? The round salvevr was converted into an oval basin only in the middle of the seventeenth century; Milan, Museo Diocesano.

a designer well schooled in classical architecture: again something in which Strada could tutor his one-time neighbour.[79]

Somewhat closer to Giulio's or more in general to Italian designs, is another work signed by Jamnitzer, which is now preserved in the Museo Diocesano of Milan. It consists of a ewer and a basin that are dated to ca 1565 on stylistic grounds. Executed for an unidentified patron, the set can be traced back in the sources to the middle of the seventeenth century, when it was in the treasury of the church of Santa Maria presso San Celso in Milan. At that time the original round salver was converted into an oval basin to serve as an *aquamanile* for liturgical use.[80] [Fig. 2.27–2.28]

In view of the triangle Jamnitzer–Strada–Marignano, it is tempting to identify the object with the commission the Marchese had given to Strada in 1548, and to suppose that it was intended as a gift to his brother, Cardinal de' Medici. Alternatively, if the set really dates only to the 1560s, one might suppose that the latter, as Pope Pius IV, continued his family's patronage of the Nuremberg goldsmith: in these years he was reconstructing his family's palace at Milan. And even when the set had *ab origine* been destined for Rome, rather than for Milan, it always could have been presented to Santa Maria presso San Celso by the

79 Is it a coincidence that these 'architectural' objects were all commissioned by or for Strada's own patrons?

80 Schürer 2002, pp. 175–197, in particular pp. 188–191.

Pope's more or less remote heirs, such as his nephew, Saint Carlo Borromeo, Cardinal-archbishop of Milan. Its manner is rather more classicist than was usual for Jamnitzer, probably one argument for it being dated around 1565. But this might equally well be explained by Strada's participation in its design, which is quite Italianate—if not outright Italian. Its most distinct feature, the female head decorating—or rather constituting—the neck of the ewer, can be found elsewhere among the goldsmiths' designs collected by Strada and copied in his workshop.[81]

2.5.6 *Conclusion: Strada an Entrepreneur Rather Than a Goldsmith*

Strada's commission from the Marquis of Marignano; his close relationship with Wenzel Jamnitzer, who proposed him as a designer for an important commission for Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol; and the collection of designs for goldsmith's work from various Italian masters he built up and had copied in his *libri di disegni*: all these together perhaps do not prove, yet they make it extremely likely that Strada regularly acted as a purveyor of works of the goldsmith's art to high-ranking patrons. Though he had received some training as a goldsmith, in general he would not himself have executed any of the works commissioned from him, except perhaps for trifles such as casts from ancient coins etc. Rather he would have acted as an intermediary or broker between patron and artist. He would have played an active role in the grander commissions: discussing purpose, iconography and style of the piece with the patron; providing sketches and perhaps finished designs; selecting and supervising the masters charged with its execution, and at least occasionally advancing the money—either to the patron or to the master employed—to undertake the project. It is a pity that we have no clue as to Strada's private finances, but there can be no doubt that he was a merchant, an entrepreneur, a businessman, as much as he was a scholar and an artist, and that the *Musaeum* he brought together in his spectacular house in Vienna served at least in part as stock-in-trade. As such, he was particularly well placed to represent his old neighbour and collaborator Wenzel Jamnitzer at the Imperial court, not only informally paving the way for new commissions extended by the Emperors and members of their family, but also passing down smaller commissions from members of their court and dealing in ready made objects—such as silver cups and plates, all sorts of jewellery, medals and scientific instruments—for which the Nuremberg craftsmen were famous.

81 Cf. ÖNB-HS, Cod. min. 21,3, fols. 417/ 126r. and 419/128r, both satyr's heads integrated in the neck of a vase. Other anthropomorphic forms are very common among the designs from the Stradas' workshop.

These considerations support the hypothesis that Strada was at least informally involved in the coordination of the intricate politico-dynastic iconography of the *Schöner Brunnen*, Maximilian II's biggest artistic commission next to the Neugebäude, for which it was probably intended, and Wenzel Jamnitzer's absolute *chef d'œuvre*. The same holds for the Madrid reliquary, which Maximilian commissioned for his beloved wife, the Empress Maria, a commission that was hardly less important than the *Schöner Brunnen*, and for the *Kaiserpokal*, a luxury object celebrating the *Landsberger Bund*, and therefore of particular political significance to its intended recipient: again the Emperor Maximilian II.[82] A role of Strada as an intermediary would perfectly explain the relative scarcity of written sources on these important commissions. Both as Imperial Antiquary and as a material expert he would have participated in the deliberations about these commissions at court. Both as a material expert and as a close acquaintance of Jamnitzer he would have been charged with conveying the Emperor's resulting oral instructions to Jamnitzer. This he could do either in a private letter or in person—we know he regularly travelled to the Frankfurt book fair, and would spend some time in Nuremberg on the way.

In all these cases it can be excluded that Strada participated in the physical execution of the objects. On the contrary, it can be assumed that even in 1547, when he accepted the Marquis of Marignano's commission, Strada considered himself rather as the 'sopradicapo' of the project, on the lines of his later proposal to Archduke Ferdinand, rather than as a mere goldsmith. Though he may have participated in the actual execution of the object to some minimal extent, his chief task would have been the design of the object, the elaboration of its iconography, and the coordination and supervision of the masters charged with its execution. Had he done more, he would hardly have had time left for the other activities that occupied him during his stay in Nuremberg, and in particular for the erudite studies that were stimulated and commissioned by his chief patron in the late 1540s, Hans Jakob Fugger, which will be the subject of the next chapter.

82 Czogalla 2007. It should be noted that Strada's patron and friend, Hans Jakob Fugger, as a representative of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, had been very closely involved in the negotiations that led to the institution of the Landsberger Bund.

CHAPTER 3

In Hans Jakob Fuggers's Service

3.1 Hans Jakob Fugger

Strada's first contacts with Hans Jakob Fugger, his chief patron for well over a decade, certainly took place before the middle of the 1540s. As suggested earlier, the possibility remains that Strada had already met this gifted scion of the most illustrious German banking dynasty, his exact contemporary, in Italy. Fugger [Fig. 3.1], born at Augsburg on 23 December 1516, was the eldest surviving son of Raymund Fugger and Catharina Thurzo von Bethlenfalva. He had already followed part of the studious curriculum which was *de rigueur* in his family even before arriving in Bologna: this included travel and study at foreign, rather than German universities.[1]

Hans Jakob, accompanied on his trip by his preceptor Christoph Hager, first studied in Bourges, where he heard the courses of Andrea Alciati, and then followed Alciati to Bologna [Fig. 1.12]. Doubtless partly because of the exceptional standing of his family—the gold of Hans Jakob's great-uncle, Jakob 'der Reiche', had obtained the Empire for Charles V—but certainly also because of his personal talents, Fugger met and befriended a host of people of particular political, ecclesiastical or cultural eminence—such as Viglius van Aytta van Zwichem, whom he met in Bourges and again in Bologna—or later would ascend to high civil or ecclesiastical rank. His friends included both Germans, such as the companion of his travels and studies, Georg Sigmund Seld, afterwards *Reichsvizekanzler*, his compatriot Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, afterwards Cardinal and Prince-Bishop of Augsburg [Fig. 1.14], and Wigulaeus Hund, later Chancellor of the Duke of Bavaria. Among the Italians he met we find the young Alessandro Farnese, the future Cardinal [Fig. 1.15], and Cristoforo Madruzzo, afterwards Prince-Bishop of Trent; another fellow student was Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, afterwards Bishop of Arras, Cardinal, secretary of state of Emperor Charles V and King Philip II of Spain and Viceroy of Naples [Fig. 1.13].[2]

1 The following biographical sketch is chiefly based on Maasen 1922, supplemented by information from Hartig 1917, pp. 193–223 and *passim*; Lehmann 1956–1961, I, pp. 41–73 and *passim*; Kellenbenz 1980. The volume on Hans Jakob and his cousins as patrons of the arts in the series *Die Fugger und die Kunst* promised in the Preface of Lieb 1958, p. vii, has never appeared. A full biography of Hans Jakob Fugger remains one of the major lacuna in the history of the German Renaissance.

2 On Alciati and on the circle of students Fugger later met in Bologna, cf. Ch. 1.3. It should be noted that the Fuggers of Hans Jakob's generation were considered as nobles (if not as

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FIGURE 3.1 Christoph Amberger, Hans Jakob Fugger, 1541; present location unknown.

The young Hans Jakob was a very assiduous student, who showed a great in-

members of the Augsburg patriciate, certainly as Counts of Kirchberg and Weissenhorn, fiefs they held since 1507); this is corroborated by Hans Jakob's apparently extended stay at the court of Ferdinand I in his youth, his subsequent marriage to a daughter of an Austrian baronial family, and by the habitual participation of various Fuggers in tournaments at the Imperial court and elsewhere.

terest in classical studies; and his interest included the material remains of Antiquity as much as its literary monuments. In this he followed the example of his father, who had brought together a small collection of antiquities and had funded the publication of the first corpus of inscriptions ever printed.[3] A parallel—though less intense—interest in and understanding of the arts of his own time was only to be expected from someone whose father and uncles had commissioned Giulio Romano to execute the altarpiece of their family chapel in Santa Maria dell'Anima in Rome [Fig. 3.2] and had received Titian in their own house.[4] Fugger retained such fond memories of his studies in Bologna that when, more than thirty years later, he revisited the town as preceptor and *Maggiordomo* of the young Prince Ferdinand of Bavaria, the first thing he showed his pupil was the *Archiginnasio*, 'die Schuel oder das Collegium, darin man list': 'the School or College, where the lectures are given'.

Fugger's nostalgia may have been particularly poignant because, in consequence of his father's sudden death, he had been obliged to break off his studies prematurely. Although Hans Jakob should have taken his father's place in the company, his uncle Anton [Fig. 3.3] thought him, probably rightly, still too young for this: so, again according to the family tradition, he was sent to gain some practical experience, first in the Antwerp branch of the firm, and then in several others. During this period he perfected his extraordinary command of foreign languages: according to the *Fuggerchronik*, he fluently spoke Italian, French, Dutch, Latin and Greek, and he also appears to have been well-versed in Czech and Polish and to have known some Hungarian, which was his mother's native tongue.

Fugger's unusual command of the modern languages may have been one of the talents that recommended him to Ferdinand I, and it appears that Fugger spent some time at Ferdinand's court in Innsbruck and in Vienna, where a number of young nobleman were educated together with the young Archdukes. Fugger would always remain on excellent terms with the young Archdukes and their sisters, and in particular with the eldest, Maximilian, who shared so

3 Cf. below; an incident in Bourges both demonstrates Fugger's interest in classical, particular historical studies, as well as the advantage of being rich and having the international network of a great firm at one's disposal: Fugger had lent Alciati his copy of the new, 1531, edition of Livy's *Histories*—the first which contained the recently rediscovered books of the Fifth Decade—which he had just received. It so fascinated Alciati that he forgot to turn up for his course (Maasen 1922, p. 6). On Raymund Fugger's collection, see Von Busch 1973, pp. 85–90. He funded the publication of Apianus/Amantius 1534, which included the inscriptions from his own collection.

4 On the *Sacra Conversazione* commissioned for the Fugger Chapel, see Sylvia Ferino Pagden in *Giulio Romano* 1989, p. 77, 262.

FIGURE 3.2 Giulio Romano, Sacra Famiglia, painted 1520–21 for the Fugger Chapel in Santa Maria dell'Anima, Rome.

FIGURE 3.3 Lambert Sustris (?), after Titian: Emperor Charles V; Munich, Alte Pinakothek.

many of his interests. It was here that Hans Jakob met his first wife, Ursula von Harrach, whom he married in 1540; the splendid ceremony, to which Charles V delegated his Lord High Steward, took place in Rohrau an der Leitha in Lower Austria, the bride's home. The young couple settled in Augsburg, and though by this time Hans Jakob had been made a member of the family firm, initially he appears not to have spent much of his time in business, partly because of a lack of interest, partly because his uncle Anton did everything to discourage any actual participation of his nephews in the enterprise.

In view of Hans Jakob's lively interest in politics it is not surprising that he soon came to take part in the administration of his native city. Paradoxically Fugger's tolerant but determined Catholicism and his family's traditional adherence to the imperial party were an advantage to him in the city which in 1537 had expelled its Roman-Catholic clergy and had adhered to the Schmalkaldic League. Among Fugger's first important tasks were embassies to the powerful Imperial minister, Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle, and to Charles V himself [Fig. 3.3]. As an imperial partisan his intercession was of some use in the conflicts of Augsburg with Charles V, and in 1548 he was appointed to a position in the government of the town. In 1549 he became a member of the

Imperial Council, and in 1551 he was given an honorary position in Ferdinand's household. In the next decade he appears to have determined the foreign policy of Augsburg almost single-handedly, a task for which he was particularly suited because of his wide and influential acquaintance. Only after his uncle Anton's death in 1560, when he had to take over the management of the firm, he began to loose interest in the daily routine of politics, and in 1565 his cousin Marx Fugger took his place in the City Council.

Already in the preceding decade Hans Jakob had been engaged in the direction of the firm. Since 1550 he had been chiefly occupied with the management of its Spanish interests, which had immeasurably increased in the preceding quarter of a century: one only needs to think of the monopoly in mercury which the firm obtained from Charles V, its lease on the possessions of the 'Maestrazgos'—the Spanish knightly orders of Santiago, Alcántara and Calatrava—and of its branches in Chile and Peru. Such expansion had only been possible because the firm had continually agreed to finance Charles V's policies, and therefore the bankruptcy of the Spanish Crown following Charles' abdication and the consequent financial crisis profoundly shook the foundations of the firm. It would have been difficult even for a man of much greater commercial interest and talent than Hans Jakob to recoup the immense losses incurred: the Fugger remained creditors of the Spanish crown for close to three million ducats. Hans Jakob's princely style of life and his generous patronage of learning and of the arts did not contribute to redress the balance, and he soon found himself even in private financial difficulties. In 1561 and 1562 he could not pay his taxes, and his debts in Augsburg alone came to over two hundred thousand *Gulden*; in June 1564 his lack of solvency had become so pressing that he was constrained to announce his personal bankruptcy, with a total amount of debts of over a million *Gulden*. This seemed worse than it was: Fugger possessed very extensive landed property in Alsace, Swabia and Bavaria, and in fact he was helped out by the Augsburg City Council itself, who saw to an agreement with his local creditors—these were in fact paid off even earlier than was stipulated—and by Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria [Fig. 3.4], who first lent him a large sum of cash, and afterwards agreed to take over part of Fugger's debts in return for his splendid library and his collection of antiquities. The Duke moreover successfully mediated in Hans Jakob's difficulties with his cousins, which were caused by his bankruptcy and by a dispute about his share in the assets of the firm after Anton's death. The conflict was finally resolved in early October 1565, when a final division was made, and Hans Jakob completely withdrew from the firm.[5]

5 On the consequent litigation of Hans Jakob and his heirs with the other branches of the family, see Schneider 2016.

The Duke's intervention on Fugger's behalf is only one expression of the intimate friendship that had developed from about 1547 onward between the young Bavarian Prince and the slightly older Augsburg patrician, 'dem Fürsten von Bayern vertraut wie ein Bruder'.[6] Already in the middle of the 1550's Fugger appears to have become indispensable to the Duke, whose political opinions and cultural interests he shared and probably strongly influenced. Soon he was entrusted with important diplomatic missions, and he kept the Duke abreast of the latest news by means of the *Fuggerzeitungen*, regular bulletins drafted by Fugger correspondents and employees all over Europe.[7] Following Fugger's withdrawal from the firm and from political activities in his native Augsburg, his connection with Munich strengthened and assumed a more formal character: at Easter 1565 he was appointed *Musikintendant*. This in fact involved the supervision of all Italian correspondence, which not only included letters dealing with the acquisition of musical instruments and the recruiting of musicians and singers—doubtless in close consultation with Albrecht V's celebrated *Kapellmeister* Orlando di Lasso—but also with the purchase of books, antiquities, and works of art for the Bavarian court. In the autumn of the same year Fugger was asked to lead the retinue of the young Prince Ferdinand of Bavaria, who was sent to Florence to represent his father at the wedding of his sister-in-law, the Archduchess Johanna, to Francesco de' Medici. In 1570 Fugger was appointed a Privy Councillor, and he was given a quite exceptional salary. In 1573, finally, the notorious bankrupt was appointed to the newly created function of *Hofkammerpräsident*, chairman of the duchy's financial authority: proof that though his bankruptcy had damaged Fugger's financial position, it had in no way detracted from the general respect his merits entitled him to.

Duke Albrecht's own esteem and affection for Fugger is clearly expressed in his will of 1573, in which he determined that Fugger should continue to receive his salary even if he resigned his functions at court, and that his still outstanding debts should be remitted. Fugger, whose health had never been strong, would not profit from these generous legacies, since he predeceased his patron by some four years in July 1575. He was buried at the side of his first wife in the Dominican Church at Augsburg; and since 1857 his memory is kept alive not only by the epitaph he composed himself, but also by a bronze statue at Augsburg—by that time a Bavarian town—which was erected in his honour by the distant descendant of his friend and patron, King Ludwig I of Bavaria [Fig. 3.5].

6 Letter of Ambrosius Blaurer to Heinrich Bullinger, June 1563, quoted in Hartig 1917, p. 31, note 7.

7 Zwierlein 2010.

FIGURE 3.4 Hans Mielich, Albrecht V, Duke of Bavaria; Munich, Alte Pinakothek.
FIGURE 3.5 Friedrich Brugger, Hans Jakob Fugger: Beförderer der Wissenschaft, Statue commissioned in 1857 by King Ludwig I of Bavaria; Augsburg, Fuggerplatz.

FIGURES 3.6–3.7 The coat of arms of Hans Jakob Fugger and the portraits of Hans Jakob and his first wife, Ursula von Harrach, in the *Ehrenbuch des Fuggerischen Geschlechts;* Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

3.2 Fugger as a Patron and Collector

This statue, however, does not commemorate Fugger's commercial success or his political achievements, but is dedicated to the memory of the 'Beförderer der Wissenschaft', that is to Fugger's extraordinary importance as a patron of learning. Learning in which Fugger himself was very far from deficient, and in which he doubtless would have played a much more important active role, had his position and pressing responsibilities not prevented him. This is most clear from Fugger's short treatise on the history of the Schmalkaldic Wars: written by an engaged observer who himself had to some extent participated in the conflict, and based on the many sources to which he had exclusive access, it remains a most informative and illuminating document for the political and religious history of the years preceding the Augsburg *Interim*.[8]

Fugger's particular interest in history is further borne out by two other works that for centuries have been erroneously attributed to his pen. The first of these is the *Gehaim Eernbuch Mans Stammens und Namens des Eerlichen und altloblichen Fuggerischen Geschlechts*, a history and genealogy of his family that he commissioned from the Augsburg archivist Clemens Jäger and the draughtsman Jörg Breu the Younger; it was written in 1545–1547 in collaboration with and under close supervision of Fugger himself [Figs. 3.6–3.7].[9]

Fugger's immediate contribution to the actual contents of a much more splendid commission, the famous *Wahrhaftige Beschreibung zwaier<…>der alleredlesten<…>Geschlechter der Christenheit, des habspurgischen unnd österreichischen Gebluets<…>bis auf Carolum den fünfften und Ferdinandum den ersten*, commonly known as the *Ehrenspiegel Österreichs*, was limited to its conception and general supervision. The text of this voluminous compilation of the genealogy and history of the Habsburg dynasty was likewise written by Clemens Jäger, and is of little moment: 'kein Mensch wird jemals mehr aus diesen Ungetümen sein Wissen zur bereichern suchen', says Otto Hartig. But the profusion and splendour of its illustrations is truly exceptional, and it comes as no surprise that—some twenty years later—the *Ehrenspiegel* was copied on behalf of the Austrian Archdukes themselves.[10]

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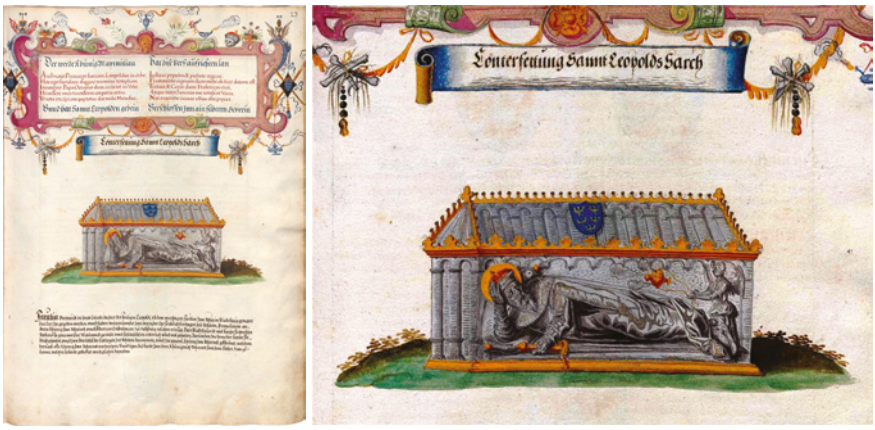
8 Autograph and clean copy preserved in BHStA, K. schw. 500/8 and A.K. schw. 543/4; cf. Maasen 1922, pp. 70–73.

9 BSB-HS, Cgm 9460; it is integrally accessible on-line through the digital collection of the Staatsbibliothek, persistent link: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00042105/image_01 ; cf. *Welt in Umbruch* 1980, I, nr. 162, pp. 224–225; Rohmann 2004; Burkhardt 2004; *Fugger im Bild* 2010, *Teil* 1, pp. 31–95.

10 München, BSB-HS Cgm 895 and 896. Jacob Schrenk von Notzing made a copy for Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol, for which purpose the Munich original was sent to Innsbruck;



FIGURES 3.8–3.9 A page from the Vienna version of the *Ehrenspiegel Österreichs*, and a detail showing the silver shrine for the relics of Margrave Leopold III of Austria, commissioned on the occasion of his canonization by Emperor Maximilian I; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

The *Ehrenspiegel* cannot compete with, say, the *Grimani Breviary* or the *Farnese Hours* in artistic quality: in fact, as Hartig points out, all superfluous and distracting decoration is studiously avoided. But it is exceptional in that its illustrations—an extraordinary collection of portraits, views of towns and villages, battles, emblems and coats of arms—are the fruit of a conscious and sustained attempt at historical and topographical accuracy: some of the miniatures document in detail monuments and inscriptions that had already been destroyed at the time [Figs. 3.8 and 3.9].[11] This interest in drawings and engravings not as works of art, but as documents, as more or less reliable sources of information, is, as we shall see, typical for Fugger and his circle; and Strada soon demonstrated that he fully shared this attitude.

More than as a historiographer—the treatise on the Schmalkaldic Wars had no influence, since it was never published!—or as 'Fundator' of the *Ehrenspiegel*, Fugger is of importance for his extraordinary patronage of learning.

(now in Vienna, ÖNB-HS, Cod. 8613, 8614 and 8614*; descriptions and access to digital versions http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00171034; http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/ AL00171035; http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00171036; secretly he also made a second copy on behalf of Archduke Maximilian, Rudolf II's youngest brother (now in Dresden, Landesbibliothek). See Hartig 1917, pp. 197–199 and *Beilage* XIII, pp. 332–334; Maasen 1922, pp. 59–70; *Welt im Umbruch* 1980 (*Cat.*), I, nr. 160, pp. 223; *Fugger im Bild* 2010, Teil 1, pp. 108–111.

11 Hartig 1917, p. 198: 'Die Vorlagen des Künstlers nachzuweisen brächte hier grösseren wissenschaftliche Gewinn als die Ermittlung der Quellen des Schriftstellers'.

Already in the 1540s he had amply practiced the noble virtue of *liberalitas*, not only by acquiring on an unprecedented scale the works of contemporary scholars and scientists, but also by enabling many of them to compose and to publish their works. He did this either by employing them in some capacity in the firm or, more often, his household—the best example is his librarian, the famous Greek scholar Hieronymus Wolf—but also by awarding them stipends to study and to travel. This had already been a practice in his family, who often maintained promising young students without means for years; though not always without expecting some concrete return for their benevolence.[12] Hans Jakob's father, Raymund, had set the example of a more disinterested patronage: he had enabled Petrus Apianus [Fig. 3.14] and Bartholomäus Amantius to compose and to publish in 1534 their splendid *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* <…> *totius fere orbis*, which was in part based on Raymund's own collection [Figs. 3.15–3.17].

The extent of Hans Jakob's patronage, however, greatly surpassed those of his relatives. It is best demonstrated by the extensive list of books that his protégées presented or dedicated to him. This list gives over forty names, and opens with Syrianus' comments on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, in a translation by Girolamo Bagolino, which was published in 1558 by the *Accademia Veneta* with a very flattering dedication to Fugger. The *Accademia della Fama*, as it was also called, had been founded in that year by the Venetian nobleman Federico Badoer, after consultations with intellectuals and princes from all over Europe, among which Fugger was the most important German representative. Among the other Italians we find Anton Francesco Doni—not surprisingly the copy of the first book of his *Le Ville* which he presented to Hans Jakob includes an additional manuscript text 'La Villa Fucchara'—the antiquary Ortensio Landi, the ecclesiastical historian Onofrio Panvinio, and Jacopo Strada himself. Among the learned Germans we find Sigmund Gelenius, the bibliographer and naturalist Conrad Gesner, Johann Ludwig Brassicanus, Nikolaus Mameranus, Abraham Loescher, Johann Heinrich Münzinger, Johannes Pedioneus, the printer Johannes Oporinus, and Hieronymus Wolf, to mention only a few.[13]

12 Hartig 1917, pp. 201–223. The Augsburg student Hieronymus Fröschl was, for instance, maintained by Anton and Hans Jakob Fugger for over twelve years in his studies, which culminated in his doctorate at Ferrara in 1556. He had obliged himself to serve the firm in his capacity as a lawyer for a few years, yet this hardly detracts from the merit of such patronage: doubtlessly the Fugger could easily have found competent lawyers without financing their entire education! Hans Jakob also financed the travels (1548–1550) and gave detailed instructions about the curriculum of the young medical student Lorenz Grill, who was appointed professor at Ingolstadt immediately upon his return (*ibidem*, pp. 203–204).

13 This is an arbitrary selection! see Maasen 1922, pp. 81–91; Hartig 1917, pp. 193–223; in his dedication to Fugger of his *Epitome du thrésor* <…> (Strada 1553<a> and <b>), Strada

Of course such dedications or gifts were not always tokens of gratitude for immediate financial support. Sometimes the various authors referred to other benefits received from Hans Jakob, who might have used his influence in helping them find a job, could have been their host in Augsburg, or had helped them to find or to gain access to some important but rare source necessary for their work. It is to Fugger's credit that, though his staunch adherence to the established religion is without question, he never let religious difference prevent him from helping those whose intellectual gifts clearly deserved his support: and such tolerance included his day-to-day life and his own house, as is demonstrated by his appointment of the strict Protestant Hieronymus Wolf as his librarian [Fig. 3.12].

But not all authors who presented their works had received such concrete support from Fugger: sometimes they merely acknowledged the helpful exchange of opinions with the learned colleague, or dedicated the fruit of their labours to Fugger purely for his wide renown as a patron of learning and the fame of his extraordinary library. This library, which for some years was the largest and most complete in Germany, laid the foundations of the Munich *Hofbibliothek*—now the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek—and of all Fugger's endeavours has doubtless conferred the most lasting benefits on posterity. Already as a young student Fugger had used his ample means to acquire many books, such as a new edition of Livy which, when a student at Bourges, he lent to his teacher Alciati.[14] By the time he returned from Italy in 1535, his collection had already grown sufficiently to be specifically referred to in one of Viglius' letters. Fugger's just pride in his library, which was the fruit of a conscious and systematic programme of collecting, is expressed in the opening paragraph of the *Ehrenspiegel*, in which he relates his efforts to the example of Alfonso of Aragon, King of Naples, who had included an opened book in his armorial bearings.[15] The great naturalist and bibliographer, Conrad Gesner

devotes a passage to Fugger's patronage: 'Considerant donques que ie n'ay iamais veu homme à qui la cognoissance des antiquitez ayt esté plus plaisante qu'à vous [<…>] qu'à bien bon droit les gens vertueux et doctes que vous aves esleves et soutenuz par vos bienfaits, et qui sont parvenuz à dignitez et honneurs, à l'adveu de vostre nom, en sont assez suffisante preuve'.

14 Cf. above, note 3.

15 Quoted in Hartig 1917, p. 193: 'Dieweil dann der hochloblich vnd weiss Alphonsus Kinig zu Arragonia, Neaples vnd Sicilien, sich aller Historien zu lesen, hoch beflissen, auch als ein hertzweiser Kinig ein herrlichen Schatz von allerlay Buechern, mit grosser antzal versamlen lassen, auch sein höchste freud vnd wollust in den Buechern, welche Er der todten Rate genant, gehabt, Ja ein aufgethon Buch in seiner Maiestat Haupt Insigel vnd wappen, für ein Librey gefieret. Vnd aber Got der Allmechtig mir souil Gnaden verlihen, das Ich aus warer angeborner natur vnd liebe, zu aller lobwürdigen guten kunsten aller faculteten, vor andern meines Eerlichenn Geschlechts, ein solche herrliche Bibliothecam

[Fig. 3.10], did not hesitate to compare Fugger's library with the most exalted foundations of modern times, such as the Vatican Library and the Bibliotheca Marciana at Venice, which had been founded by Cardinal Bessarion; the library of King Matthias Corvinus at Budapest; the Laurenziana in Florence, and the library of Francis I at Fontainebleau.[16] This was no mere flattery: Fugger had in fact used his great wealth and the facilities that the firm put at his disposal, to realize a library that far exceeded any private library, both for its size and for its comprehensive, almost encyclopaedic character; excepting the Heidelberg *Bibliotheca Palatina*, it was at that date (1556) unrivalled even by the princely institutions of Germany.

Fugger sought to acquire a possibly complete collection of texts in the three ancient languages, that is including Greek and Hebrew, the study of both of which was still very recent; in particular that of Hebrew, which was only coming into its own with the advent of the Reformation, and the consequent increase in interest in the Old Testament. To Fugger, completeness meant that if no printed edition of a given text was available, he would strive to acquire a manuscript copy: and in fact the *editio princeps* of some texts was prepared on the basis of manuscripts from his own library.[17] He often employed the agents of the Fugger firm in the various capitals of Europe to provide him with new editions, to discover the manuscripts of important, unpublished texts and, if these could not be acquired, to have them copied by expert scribes. Moreover he occasionally employed more specialist agents, who were scholars themselves, such as the Flemish neo-Latin poet Niccolò Stopio—acting director of Bomberg's printing house in Venice, which specialized in Hebrew editions—who kept him informed of the Venetian book market; Stopio's compatriot Arnoldus Arlenius, a learned student and merchant of ancient manuscripts and curator of the important collection belonging to Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Charles V's ambassador to the *Serenissima*; and, some years later, the brilliant young antiquary Onofrio Panvinio.[18] Though Fugger provided his

(welche mit sonderm Lob, von vilen gelerten aus ferrer landen besucht wirdet) versamlet, zusammenbringen, auch mit guter ordnung regieren vnd bewahren lassen <…>.

16 Preface to Aelianus Claudius, *Opera quae exstant omnia, Graecè et Latinè* (Zürich 1556), quoted in Hartig 1917, p. 194, n. 4.

17 For instance, Fugger had provided Conrad Gesner with two manuscripts of Aelianus' *De Natura Animalium* (first published in Gesner's edition of Aelianus' works, Zürich 1556), one from the Augsburg town library, one from his own collection (Hartig 1917, p. 210).

18 On Stopio, see below, Ch. 12.2.1; on Arlenius—who also styled himself 'Peraxylus'—see Hartig 1917, pp.215–216; he later worked as a corrector for the printer Torrentius, his compatriot, at Florence. Mendoza's collection was later acquired by Philip II; on Panvinio, with whom Fugger kept up a intensive correspondence between 1562 and 1567 (now in the Vatican, and excerpted in Maasen 1922, pp. 96–126), see Perini 1899; Ferrary 1996.

books with sturdy and well-designed bindings, he was chiefly interested in the texts themselves, in the information his books contained, rather than in their rarity or splendour: this explains why he was often satisfied with good modern transcripts, provided that they were written in a good hand and by a learned scribe, and why he acquired a proportionately large number of Greek manuscripts: so many Latin texts were, after all, already available in good printed versions.

Though the collection of classical and biblical texts in the three ancient languages must be considered as the backbone of Fugger's library, and he himself was particularly interested in classical and modern historiography and its auxiliary sciences (such as numismatics and epigraphy), Fugger's conscious aim was to build up an extensive but balanced body of documentation covering all branches of science and the humanities. Such encyclopaedic passion clearly reflects the spirit of the age, a spirit which is evident in the proliferation of dictionaries—or 'Theatres', 'Promptuaria' etc.—that attempted to codify human knowledge, such as the *Pandectarum sive partitionum universalium*, published in 1548 by Fugger's protégé Conrad Gesner [Fig. 3.10]. This bulky volume, containing no less than thirty thousand subject entries, cross-references, and bibliographical data, was itself merely the companion volume of Gesner's *Bibliotheca Universalis*, a four-volume bibliography of all books in Latin, Greek and Hebrew ever printed. Its first edition was published in 1545 [Fig. 3.11], soon followed by a supplement volume, as well as by some cheaper, abridged editions.[19] It is clear that the *Biblioteca Universalis* strongly stimulated Fugger's ideas: in the very year that it came out he unsuccessfully invited Gesner to become his first librarian. Gesner's work probably first made Fugger think of his library as an independent instrument of research, as an institution rather than as a private library: the *Bibliotheca Universalis* became the ideal model for his library, rather than just a convenient guide for future acquisitions.[20]

Fugger's thirst for universal knowledge and his interest in a systematically accessible arrangement of such knowledge are confirmed by his connections with the Antwerp doctor Samuel Quiccheberg, whom he appointed as his librarian in about 1559, and who appears also to have been charged with

19 Gesner 1545 and 1555 (and facsimile reprint with introduction: Gesner/Widmann 1966); Gesner 1548; on Gesner as a bibliographer, see Hartig 1917, *passim*; Besterman 1936, pp. 33–41; Fischer 1966; Eisenstein 1979, pp. 97–100; Braun 1990.

20 Gesner proposed that the systematic part of his catalogue could be used as the catalogue of any library, if one marked in it the books owned; and the margins offered some space for adding new publications. A copy belonging to Hans Jakob's nephew, Philip Eduard Fugger, demonstrates that this was in fact occasionally done (see Gesner/ Widmann 1966).

FIGURES 3.10–3.11 Conrad Gesner, celebrated bibliographer and botanist, and the title page of his *Bibliotheca Universalis*, Zürich 1545.

FIGURES 3.12–3.13 The Greek scholar Hieronymus Wolf, Fugger's first librarian, and his successor as such, Samuel Quiccheberg, author of the *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi*, Munich 1565.

the supervision of Fugger's collections [Fig. 3.13]. Later Quiccheberg followed these collections to Munich, where he appears to have been closely involved in their arrangement, and it was in Munich that he published in 1565 his *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi<...>*. This is a short treatise expounding the *raison d'être* of the *Kunst- und Wunderkammer*, and providing detailed practical instructions as to its classification and arrangement; not unreasonably, it has been hailed as the first museological treatise of modern times.[21] In it Quiccheberg also stressed the importance of the library, which he considered an indispensable sister-institution of his ideal museum, and he suggests a method of systematic classification for its contents. This classification shows great affinity with the system actually in use in the arrangement of Fugger's books. This is not surprising, since Quiccheberg, as Fugger's librarian, had been responsible for its elaboration. Yet it is rather likely that this classification, which owns a lot to Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis*, was the result of close consultation with Gesner, Quiccheberg's predecessor Hieronymus Wolf—who remained in Augsburg—and Fugger himself. In 1571, when Fugger's library was ceded to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, the system was extended to the whole of the Duke's library almost without modifications.[22]

21 Quiccheberg 1565; Quiccheberg/Roth 2000 (text edition and German translation); Quiccheberg/Meadow/ Robertson 2013 (English translation); on Quiccheberg (the name is also spelt Quickelberg), see Hartig 1917, pp. 33–34, 70, 93–96, 227–229 and *passim;* Berliner 1928; Hartig 1933; Bernheimer 1956; Hajas 1958; Scheicher 1979, pp. 68–71; Seelig 1985. pp. 86–87; Falguières 1992; Jansen 1993<b>.

22 Hartig 1917, pp. 223–240; the signatures written in the hands of Fugger's librarians—Hieronymus Wolf and Samuel Quiccheberg and the assistants Carolus Stephanus and

The Munich *Hofbibliothek*, which at that time was being moved into new premises designed and built for the purpose, was thus enriched with a collection of several times its own size: Fugger's library had already swallowed whole the entire library that had once belonged to the Nuremberg humanist Hartmann Schedel. Fugger had acquired this collection *en bloc* in 1552, and he had maintained it as a separate entity. Fugger's success in his attempt at completeness can be deduced from the present holdings of the Munich *Staatsbibliothek*, as described by Hartig: though he gives no estimate of the number of printed books in Fugger's library, this must have exceeded rather than have fallen short of 10.000 volumes; and together with Schedel's codices the library contained about a thousand volumes of manuscripts.[23] Hartig's survey is doubtless a more reliable guide than Jacopo Strada's panegyric on the library to which he himself had contributed some of his proudest achievements; yet it is surely no coincidence that Strada, who had been involved in its expansion since about 1544, chose to demonstrate its excellence by means of a comparison with Gesner's *Bibliotheca Universalis*.[24]

3.3 Fugger's Employment of Strada

Strada's acquaintance with Hans Jakob Fugger dates from the middle of the 1540s at the latest. Though it is quite possible that Strada had first met Fugger in Italy, it is not very likely that Strada came to Germany in response to Fugger's explicit request: in that case he would have settled in Augsburg, rather than in Nuremberg. But though we do not know exactly when and how their contact was established, their meeting was inevitable in view of their common interests, if only because Strada must have been eager to study the well-known collection of antiquities that had belonged to Fugger's father, Raymund the Elder, as well Hans Jakob's own collection.[25] It appears that Fugger considered Strada *ab initio* as a scholar, an antiquary, rather than as an artist: we have no concrete indications that he commissioned or acquired any original works of art, such as paintings or objects of goldsmith's work, from him or that he employed him

Wolfgang Prommer—can still be noted in many books and manuscripts in the Munich Staatsbibliothek.

23 Hartig 1917, pp. 135–137.

24 Dedication to the Duke of Bavaria in Strada's edition of Caesar: Caesar 1575, p. *4-r.: 'Certè qui Bibliothecam Tigurinam posteà ter locupletatam in typis mandarunt, paria cum hac haud quaquam potuerunt facere, cuius describendae si illis facta fuisset copia in IV. maiora volumina ipsis sua Bibliotheca excrevisset'.

25 Von Busch 1973, pp. 85–90.

as an architect or decorative designer, though the possibility obviously cannot be excluded.

Fugger's almost exclusive interest in Strada's scholarly potential is not surprising, because Fugger was much more a patron of learning than a patron of the arts—very little is known of his activities in that field, in which he was rather overshadowed by his younger cousin Hans.[26] As we have seen, Fugger had many contacts with scholars from Germany and the Netherlands, many of whom were resident in Southern Germany: in Augsburg, Nuremberg, at the Bavarian court in Munich or at the University of Ingolstadt. Though he also maintained close contacts with several scholars in Italy—among which the poet Ortensio Landi and the historian and antiquary Onofrio Panvinio—there were few Italian intellectuals actually present in his immediate circle, and few scholars who knew Italy from thorough first-hand experience. The linguist Fugger may have greatly enjoyed the possibility of regularly practising his Italian—in which he was remarkably proficient, to judge from his letters to Panvinio—yet Strada's first-hand knowledge of the tangible remains of Antiquity preserved on Italian soil must have been his principal attraction: whereas the northern scholars in Fugger's circle by this time may have admired these during their visits to Italy, they had not yet studied them in detail.[27]

It was this study—the study of the history of the ancient world not only from its literary sources but also from its tangible remains, such as inscriptions, coins, and even from the remnants of its works of art, architecture and technique—that was Fugger's private passion. This passion he had inherited from his father, Raymund Fugger (1489–1535), whose modest, but quite choice collection of antiquities had been one of the sources for Petrus Apianus' and Bartholomäus Amantius' *Opus inscriptionum sacrosanctae vetustatis totius fere orbis* of 1534, which work was dedicated to and financed by Raymund himself [Figs. 3.14–3.17]. Raymund's collection, known only through a description by the humanist Beatus Rhenanus and a document relating to the division of Raymund's estate among his heirs, was housed in two rooms on the upper floor

26 On Hans Fugger, see LILL 1908; s.v. 'Fugger, Johannes' in *NDB* 5, 1961; Burkhardt/ Karg 2007.

27 Excerpts from Fugger's correspondence with Panvinio (preserved in the Vatican Library, cod. Vat. Lat. 6412) are given in the appendix to Maasen 1922, pp. 96–126. When he accompanied Prince Ferdinand of Bavaria to the wedding of Johanna of Austria, Ferdinand's cousin, to Francesco de' Medici, Fugger's conversation greatly pleased Cosimo I, with whom he had 'welsch referirt, darauf replicirt, duplicirt und driplicirt worden' (*ibidem*, p. 48).

FIGURES 3.14–3.17 Petrus Apianus, engraving; the title page from Apianus and Amantius' *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (1534), in part based on the collections of antiquities brought together by Hans Jakob Fugger's father, Raymund; and two of its illustrations: the Column of Trajan in Rome, and some inscriptions found in and near Augsburg.

of his house in the Kleesattlergasse.[28] The disposition of the antiquities was determined by their material: the bronze statuettes, a bronze relief and the coin-collection where housed in the first room, the sculpture in marble and stone in the second. Though these rooms also contained paintings and curiosities and must be regarded as a *studiolo* or a modest *Kunstkammer*, the antiquities were its most important component: when the collection was sold to the Duke of Bavaria in 1566, they represented three quarters of the total value. By virtue of the vaunted 'Greek' and 'Sicilian' provenance of the statues described by Beatus Rhenanus, it appears that Raymund had made his acquisitions in Italy, probably chiefly in Venice, through the branches of his firm. Its quality cannot be determined: only two of the statues as described by Rhenanus can be related to objects preserved in Munich—both, it should be said, Renaissance imitations from Northern Italy.[29]

At the final division of Raymund's estate between his heirs in 1548, the collection of antiques was not assigned to Hans Jakob, as one would have expected, but to his brother Raymund the Younger; though in the reshuffling of Fugger property connected with Hans Jakob's bankruptcy in 1566 the two collections were united and ceded, as we have seen, to Duke Albrecht in partial refunding of Hans Jakob's debts.[30] Unfortunately, even less is known about Hans Jakob's own collection than about that of his father, and it was obviously subordinate to the library.[31] Library and collection filled several rooms of his Augsburg house, and apart from books and manuscripts their contents included coins and medals, full length antique statuary, and a series of marble busts of Roman Emperors and Empresses. There also appear to have been contemporary works of art, such as casts in bronze and/or gesso, paintings and drawings, as is indicated in the brief passage devoted to Hans Jakob's library in the *Fuggerchronik*:

28 On Raymund's collection, see Bursian 1874, and Busch 1973, pp. 85–90, who cites Beatus Rhenanus' *Rerum Germanicarum libri tres*, Basel 1531 (p. 194) and the deed of division of 1548 in Dillingen, Fugger Archiv, FA 5,6.

29 Von Busch 1973, pp. 88–90, refers to the lively industry of copies of famous antique statues and the popularity of imitations of antique art in general. If the identification of the two statues in Munich is correct, they must be regarded as deliberate forgeries; but Von Busch rightly points out: 'da sie aber das ganze Jahrhundert hindurch als wertvolle Originale galten, kann die heutige Einschätzung ihre Bedeutung für das Museum des 16. Jahrhunderts nicht mindern'.

30 Von Busch 1973, p. 115.

31 Described in Von Busch 1973, p. 111–113.

> Next to this quantity of beautiful books [in his house] will not only be seen common and badly painted portraits, as can generally be seen with other people, but instead a huge number of old Roman portraits, all manner of consuls, dictators and other leader of the Romans, as well as the Italian and German Kings of the Romans and the [Holy Roman] Emperors, in drawings, in painting, or casts.[32]

The emphasis on portraits in various forms corresponds to Fugger's own historical and genealogical interest as well as to Strada's research, which may well have been stimulated by Fugger, who in any case intended to reap some of its fruits. Fugger employed Strada chiefly in connection with his collection of antiquities and its appurtenances, initially particularly in the field of numismatics. When Strada met Fugger he had already acquired some expertise in this field, owing to his study of Giulio's medals and his travels in Italy. In the preface to the French version of his 1553 *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* he even claims that he came to Germany partly 'pour recouvrer desdites Medailles, à l'accroissement et perfection de mon livre'.[33] Hans Jakob now generously provided him with the means necessary to continue his studies, very likely in the form of a stipend similar to those he had given other erudites:

> <…> while I was in Germany, this good lord has been so good and kind to me, as to provide me liberally and wholeheartedly all that was convenient and necessary to me, so that it would be a perpetual shame and everlasting infamy, if I would disdain to present this my labour, for as much as it is worth, to him who is my lord and sovereign master <…>[34]

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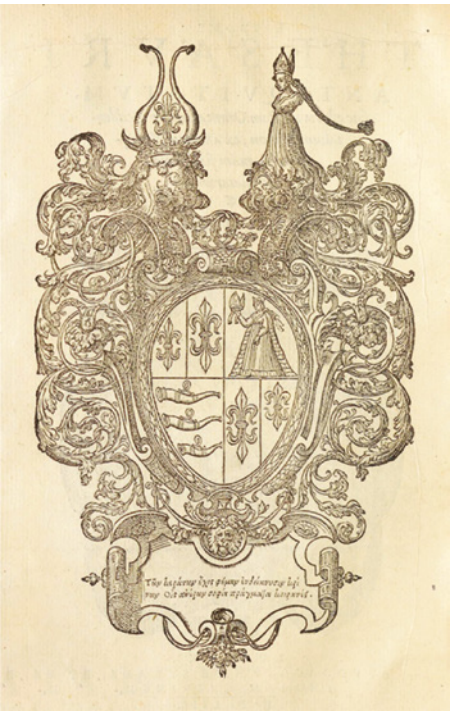
32 *Chronica des ganszen Fuggerischen geschlechts* <…>, München, BSB-HS, ms. Cgm 3188, fol. 99v, as quoted in Von Busch 1973, p. 112: 'Neben diesen anzaal herrlichen bücher werden auch nicht Allein gemeine und schlechte Contrafattungen, wie die bei andern menschen in gemein gesehen werden, sonder nach rechter kunst und Aigenschafften, An dapfere hohe anzal altter Römischer Contrafattungen, allerley Consules, Dittatores, und hauptleudt der Römer, Wie die Italliänischenn Unnd Teuschen Romischen könig und Keiser gerissen gemalet und gegossen'.

33 Strada 1553<b>, *Epitome du thrésor,* p. aa 4 verso; the Latin edition (p. A 4 verso) reads: 'tum ut augendo libro meo raros Numos adipiscerer'.

34 Strada 1553<b>, p. aa 4-v.: '<…> pendant que i'ay esté en Allemagne ce bon Seigneur m'ha esté tant doux et benin, qu'il m'ha baillé liberalement et de bon coeur ce qui m'estoit commode et necessaire, que ce seroit un perpetuel reproche, et infamie pour iamais, si ie desdaignois faire present de ce mien labeur, digne de soy, à lui qui est mon Seigneur et souverain Maistre <…'; in the Latin edition (Strada 1553<a>), p. A 4-v.: 'Eius benignitate tantisper, dum in Germania vixi, quidquid expetebam, liberaliter et comiter suppeditatum

This implies that Strada for some years received a stipend or pension sufficient to live on together with his travel expenses while he visited and studied in detail the numismatic collections of Germany.[35] Meanwhile he elaborated and arranged the numismatic documentation (descriptions, drawings, casts in wax or other copies) that he had already collected in Italy. This material was intended to be published in a voluminous, fully illustrated numismatic *Corpus*, which would never be realized because of the excessive expense its printing

EPITOME
THESAVRI
ANTIQVITATVM,
hoc est, IMPP. Rom. Orientalium & Occidentalium Iconum, ex antiquis Numismatibus quàm fidelissimè deliniatarum.
Ex Musæo Iacobi de Strada Mantuani Antiquarij.
LVGDVNI,
APVD IACOBVM DE STRADA, ET THOMAM GVERINVM,
M. D. LIII.
Cum Priuilegio Regio.



FIGURES 3.18–3.21 Jacopo Strada, *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*, Lyon 1553: title page; coat of arms of the dedicatee, Hans Jakob Fugger; woodcut medallic portraits on pages 20 (dependents of Claudius) and 21 (Caligula).

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est, ut maximam ingrati animi notam mihi prorsus inuram, si hunc laborem meum illo dignum, alioqui nunquam id facturus, patrono meo non dedicem'.

35 In his ms. *A.A.A.Numismatωn Διασκευέ*—in which he always notes the owners of the coins he describes—Strada mentions the collections of Willibald Imhof, of Johann and Georg Kändler, of Georg Römer and of Johann Starck in Nuremberg, of Hieronymus Agninus in Frankfurt, and of Hans Jakob Fugger and Samuel Quiccheberg in Augsburg; all of these collections were also visited—or at least described—by Hubert Goltzius in his 1563 edition of Caesar [see Dekesel 1981], and also mentioned by Quiccheberg, p. H i-r.; it is not known when Strada visited these collections, probably both before and after his sojourn in Lyon and Rome (1552–1555). On the *Διασκευέ,* see Jansen 1993<a>.

20 IMAGINES

AGRIPPINA M. Agrippæ filia, neptis Pomponii Attici, equitis Romani, vxor Tiberii Imperatoris, ex quo fuscepit Drusum. Vnicè & plurimùm hanc amauit Tiberius: sed inuitus, & quidem grauidam dimittere, Iuliámque filiam Augusti, cuius mores improbabat, ducere coactus.

DRVSVS, Tiberii Neronis Imperatoris ex Agrippina naturalis filius, iuuenis admodùm, morbo & intemperantia consumptus Romæ obiit. Tacitus veneno sublatum tradit, quod illi Seianus per Lygdum spadonem propinauerat.

TIBERIVS patre Druso natus, Tiberii Neronis Imperatoris nepos.

CAIVS

IMPERATORVM. 21

CAIVS CAESAR, ex Germanico, & Agrippina pridie Calend. Septembris, Germanico patre, & Fonteio Capitone Cos. natus est. Imperium magis in gratiam patris, populo ac militibus commendatus, quàm propriis virtutibus assecutus. Sunt qui dicunt Tiberium eũ in dignitate substituisse, vt huius crudelitate suam obtegeret sæuitiam. Imperium assecutus, Caligulæ cognomen à militari calceamento est adeptus, quia apud milites educatus erat. Vnde non ingratus militibus ab his legionum alumnus appellatus est. Ab initio principatus, quòd pietatem in cineres matris ac fratris, patris, patrui, sororum, omniúmque propinquorum exercebat memoriam, summè popularis extitit, omnibus studuit se obsequiosum præstare, animi sæuitiam crudelitatémque dissimulans. Rerum gestarum studiosos, quos Tiberius relegauit, reuocauit omnes. Iurisdictionem liberam Magistratibus reliquit, census, vectigalia reformauit, incendiorum damna redintegrauit, multa spectacula, etiam nunquàm visa ordinauit. Quorum gratia nunc pius, nunc castrorum filius, nunc pater exercituum, nunc optimus Cæsar est dictus. Tandem in inanem atque vanam superbiam lapsus, se adorari, & vocari Latialem Iouem, passus est, propria sibi sacerdotia constituens, victimásque & hostias expetens, tum in propinquos, in auiam, proauiam, omnem sæuitiam exercuit. Tres sorores suas constuprauit, vnámque ex eis etiam mortuam adamauit. Consobrinum Iubæ Ptolomæi Regis filium iugulauit, Senatores multos interfecit, equites ac matronas, excitato tumultu ampliùs viginti elisit. Conclusis multis horreis famẽ populo indixit: carceribus mancipatos, sine criminis pen‡tatione interfecit omnes. Equitem Romanum obiectum feris, cùm se innocentem pronuntiasset, reduxit, abscisáque lingua rursus induxit. Parentes, filiorum supplicio interesse coegit. Hanc sæuitiam atrocita-

c 3 te, &

demanded. But Strada did succeed in publishing a resume of this *Corpus*, his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum.* This attractive treatise, illustrated by hundreds of woodcuts, was printed in Lyon in 1553 in a Latin and a French edition, both of which were dedicated to Strada's patron, who doubtless had helped finance the printing [Figs. 3.18–3.21].[36]

But Fugger's library would profit in a more substantial way from Strada's numismatic studies: the numismatic material that Strada collected was also drawn upon to produce an immense series of pen-and-ink drawings for Fugger, in fact a manuscript version of the planned *Corpus*, the *Magnum ac Novum Opus Continens descriptionem Vitae, Imaginum, numismatum omnium tam Orientalium quam Occidentalium Imperatorum ac Tyrannorum* <…> [Figs. 3.22–3.23]. The obverse and reverse of every single coin were represented each on a large sheet of beautiful paper ('carta reale'), and in a size very much larger than life (in the drawings the average diameter of the coins is 25 cm) [Figs. 3.26–3.33]. Initially these drawings were made by Strada himself, later he had them executed—always under his close supervision and probably on the basis of his own sketches—by several draughtsmen he employed in his studio.

36 For a discussion of Strada's numismatic procedure and the publications he planned, see Jansen 1993a, and below, chs. 14.7 and 15. On the *Epitome*, see Jansen 1993<a>, pp. 212–221 and, a.o., Haskell 1993, pp. 14–15; Cunnally 1999, pp. 2–33, and 208–209.

The drawings were very highly valued: a fellow antiquary and collector, Adolf Occo, wrote that Fugger had paid a ducat for each of them, and this price is confirmed by the compensation Strada asked for similar drawings he offered to the Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1574.[37]

Strada continued to work on this project for over twenty years: the last volumes were sent in 1571 to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, who had acquired the series together with Fugger's library and collection. Since the thirty-odd volumes of this *Magnum opus*—they are now split up between the Forschungsbibliothek at Gotha in Thuringia and the British Museum—contain in total over nine thousand drawings, their manufacture must have contributed greatly to his prosperity.[38]

FIGURES 3.22–3.23 Jacopo Strada and workshop, title page and dedication of his *Magnum ac novum opus*, begun for Hans Jakob Fugger in 1550 and continued for Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria; now in Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek.

37 Adolf Occo in a letter to Bonifazius Amerbach, quoted in Patin 1683, p. 187; Doc. 1574-09-09, Strada to Jacopo Dani: '<…> da Sua Altezza non voglio altro che un tallero del pezzo sotto sopra, cioè un tallero la testa et un tallero il roverso, et similmente del suo ellogio. Venne sonno poi dell'altre, con molto più manifatura, che non le faria per un par di ducati il pezzo <…>'.

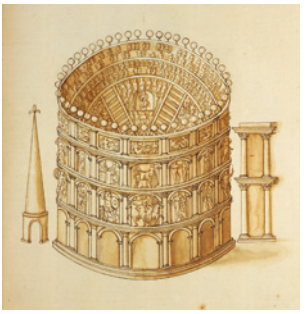
38 Gotha, *Forschungsbibliothek*, mss. A 2175, 1–14 and 16–30; cf. Cyprian 1714, nrs. 239–268; the four volumes that were given as lost by Hartig 1917, pp. 214–215, and Von Busch 1973,

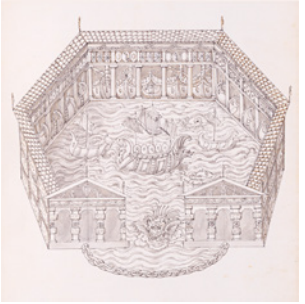
Why did Fugger so highly value these drawings? Hardly for their merit as works of art—in any case rather modest—for in that case Fugger, though an important patron of learning, but no great patron of the visual arts, would have been as advanced in his tastes and insights as those very few Italian collectors of drawings of which Giorgio Vasari is the best known. But Fugger was very much aware of the value of such visual material as a vehicle of exact information, information which could not be conveyed by words alone. This awareness he shared with many of his contemporaries, as is shown by the remarkable development in those years of the quantity and quality of the illustrations of scientific books or practical and theoretical manuals: the beautiful engravings from Titian's studio in Vesalius' *De Fabrica Corporis Humana*, and the first well-illustrated architectural treatises (Serlio, Vignola) come to mind. Such illustration, however, was extremely expensive, and therefore only feasible when large

FIGURES 3.24–3.25 Jacopo Strada, pages from the *Magnum ac novum opus*: Chapter title and abbreviated biography of Julius Caesar preceding the drawings of his coinage.

p. 331, n. 13, are in the British Museum, mss. *Arundel* 65, i–iv. A resume of the contents made when part of the volumes were sent to Munich in 1566 gives a total of 6171 drawings (Hartig 1917), *Beilage* XII, 7 (pp. 324–328). Their description opened the inventory of the Munich *Kunstkammer* by Johann Baptist Fickler of 1598, published in Diemer 2004, nrs. 1–34 and 36–37, pp. 41–43; its commentary volumes provide further information: Diemer/Diemer/Sauerländer 2008, 1, pp. 1–6, and they were illustrated and briefly described in an exhibition catalogue on the history of the Munich Staatsbibliothek, *Kulturkosmos der Renaissance* 2008, cat. nr. 93 and 94, pp. 260–263.

FIGURES 3.26–3.27 Jacopo Strada, pages from the *Magnum ac novum opus*: the obverses of coins of Caesar and of Eunoë, wife of King Bogud of Mauritania, and reputedly one of Caesar's mistresses.





FIGURES 3.28–3.33 Jacopo Strada, pages from the *Magnum ac novum opus*: Various drawings of reverses, not all of them based on authentic ancient coins. The architectural reverses can be considered as reconstructions of the buildings depicted, rather than as documentation of the individual coin. The drawing of Charlemagne's monogram is based on existing Carolingian coin types.

editions could be printed; and even then only a limited selection of illustrations could be realized. Just as Fugger had to employ learned scribes to obtain transcripts of Hebrew or Arab texts not yet in print, he had to rely on able draughtsmen to obtain illustration of those objects of interest of which as yet no good prints had been published. And just as he had been stimulated to institutionalize his library by his contacts with Conrad Gesner, his contacts with Strada, who combined a lively intellectual curiosity with a thorough artistic training, had opened his eyes to the value of such visual documentation.

Strada's preoccupation with the collecting and diffusion of information in visual form became a *Leitmotiv* in his later career, and was fully shared by his patron. This is demonstrated not only by the numismatic *corpus* and other comparable material that Fugger acquired from Strada himself, such as the splendid illuminated volumes documenting the coats of arms of Popes and Cardinals, of Italian states and cities, and their noble and patrician families [Figs. 3.34–3.36], but also by, for instance, a (lost) manuscript version of Jean-Jacques Boissard's book on costume, and the series of portraits and arms of the Popes commissioned from Onofrio Panvinio.[39]

FIGURES 3.34–3.36 Workshop of Jacopo Strada: coats of arms of the city of Rome, of Duke Guglielmo of Mantua, and of four noble families of Mantua (including his own), from the albums of armorial drawings commissioned by Hans Jakob Fugger; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

39 Strada's so-called 'Italienische Wappenbücher' (Munich, BSB-HS, *Cod. icon* 266–280) are described in Kulturkosmos der *Renaissance*, cat. nr. 57, pp. 164–165. They are integrally accessible through www.muenchener-digitalisierungszentrum.de. Boissard's ms. was dedicated to Fugger and dated 1559 (Hartig 1917, p. 120, nr. 93) and is discussed in great detail in Thimann 2005. Panvinio, with whom Fugger corresponded extensively in 1562–1567 [extracts published in Maasen 1922, *Beilagen* nrs. 6–51, pp. 97–126] also provided

For both Fugger and Strada, such material was an indispensable complement of the books preserved in the library, and it is presented as a completely integral part of the '*Theatre*' or ideal museum sketched in Samuel Quiccheberg's *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi*. Quiccheberg, who from the late 1550s onward was responsible for Fugger's library and collection, already had links with Fugger in the late 1540s, and he may well have participated in discussions about this aspect of the collection. He certainly singled out this aspect of Fugger's library for special praise, and explicitly mentions Strada's *Magnum opus* in his description:

> Raymund has indeed with this same brother [= Hans Jakob] and advised by Jacopo Strada acquired antique statues, and books in which countless coins are separately painted, in so many volumes that if they had to be transported they would burden many pack-mules.[40]

Nonetheless his argument in favour of the inclusion of such material in his *Theatre*, for instance in a section exclusively devoted to copper-engravings, was neither profound nor particularly original:

> So in time such albums and other materials are increased by diligent patrons to such an extent, that solely from these images it appears possible to acquire knowledge of many subjects, for the observation of a single image makes a greater impression in the mind than the daily reading of many pages [of text].[41]

Apart from providing his patron's library or *Kunstkammer* with these fruits of his erudition and diligence, Strada probably also acquired various antiquities for Fugger's cabinet, in particular ancient coins and medals. Strada was very much at home in the shops of the goldsmiths and jewellers, which had become

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manuscripts of his important writings on ecclesiastical history. On his effigies and arms of the Popes (likewise in Munich, BSB-HS, Clm. 155–160), see Hartig 1917b.

40 Quiccheberg 1565, p. G iii-v.: 'Raimundus vero cum eodem fratre, antiquarum statuarum, librorumque in quibus innumera numismata privatim depinguntur, tanta volumina adhibito Iacobo a Strada conquisivit, ut si asportandi sunt, eis aliquot clitellarii muli debeant onerari; cuius argumenti exemplari solum in Caesareis museis apud Maximilianum Imperatorum conservantur augenturque'.

41 Quiccheberg 1565, p. E iv-v.: 'Subinde ergo huius instituti fasciculi et materiae a diligentioribus patronis adeo augentur, ut quam plurimarum disciplinarum ex his solum imaginibus cognitio acquiri posse videatur, plus enim quandoque praestat memoriae inspectio solum alicuius picturae quam diuturna lectio multarum paginarum'.

the natural repositories of the smaller antiques, such as small bronzes, gems and coins. This was especially true for the Nuremberg goldsmiths, several of whom appear themselves to have owned cabinets of curiosities that stimulated similar activities on the part of their social superiors.[42] Soon, however, Strada did not need to limit his acquisitions to the shops of his Nuremberg neighbours, since Fugger anticipated the advice that Quiccheberg gave in the second part of the *Inscriptiones vel tituli*:

> It is suitable that great lords have talented men at their disposal to send to various countries, in order to look for marvellous things <…>[43]

When Strada dedicated his edition of Caesar's *Commentaries* of 1575 to Albrecht V—the epistle as a whole is one long paean on the Munich *Hofbibliotek* and Fugger's fundamental role in its creation—he relates how he had been sent to Italy with the specific purpose of purchasing such 'marvellous things' for his patron's cabinet.[44] Though Strada's travels probably were primarily intended as learned peregrinations, and the results of his study would find their way into the numismatic albums prepared for his patron, it may be assumed that Fugger expected some more immediate and concrete results in return for his capital outlay. That such results did indeed include the acquisition of antiques—in particular of antique sculpture—is indicated by Fugger's comment, in a letter to Niccolò Stopio of 1567 referring to Strada's purchases: '<…> di quelle [= 'anticaglie'] ne comprò in Roma già parecchi anni fa, me resto sattisfatto'.[45] The wide range of Strada's tasks can be best demonstrated by an account of the documented travels he made while in Fugger's service, that is his trip to Lyon in about 1550, and his subsequent trip first to Lyon, and then to Rome in 1553–1555. These are of sufficient importance, also in view of Strada's later career, to have a paragraph of their own.

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42 In his *A.A.A. Numismatωn Antiquorum Διασκευέ* Strada refers repeatedly to various goldsmiths owning prize specimens of coin-types he described; see Jansen 1993a, pp. 219–220 and annex 1b, pp. 231–232.

43 Quiccheberg 1565, p. D ii r.: 'Optimates in his colligendis decebit habere homines ingeniosos quos ad diversas regiones mittant, inquirendarum rerum miraculosarum gratia <…>'.

44 Caesar 1575, p. * 4-r.: 'Missus sum ab hinc annis 20. in Italiam, Romam, Venetias ac aliò ad numismata auro, argento, ac aere afformata, vetustateque insignia marmora comparanda, quae ego magna vi pecuniarum expensa Augustam, nobilissimis spoliis exuta Italia, advexi. Sunt inter ea quàm plurima Imperatorum ac Imperatricum capita, multae insuper integrae marmoreae statuae, aliàque opera non minimi precii et pervetusta'.

45 'I am still quite satisfied with those [= antiquities] he bought for me in Rome several years ago': Fugger to Stopio, 6 December 1567, BHStA-*LA* 4852, fol. 103v, as quoted in Von Busch 1973, p. 112; cf. below, Ch. 12.3.

3.4 Architectural Patronage for the Fuggers: The Donauwörth Studiolo

Fugger's documented patronage of Strada is restricted to antiquarian and heraldic materials. But Fugger's commission of numismatic drawings can also be considered as artistic patronage: they are works of art in their own right. Because of his patronage Fugger was well placed to judge Strada's competence in the field of design, of which his numismatic drawings provided excellent examples. Strada's detailed reconstructions of the architectural reverses show that this included architectural and ornamental design. It would not be surprising if his patron sought to profit from this competence: thus Strada may have contributed to the refurbishment of the castle at Taufkirchen an der Vils, which soon after its acquisition in 1554 became Hans Jakob's preferred country residence [Fig. 3.37].[46]

Because of Strada's artistic background and his profound first-hand knowledge of avant-garde Italian architecture he would in all probability be consulted when his patron or members of his family and his immediate circle planned some artistic enterprise. One of these was the total reconstruction of the Pflegehaus at Donauwörth, acquired by Hans Jakob's uncle and guardian Anton Fugger in 1536 and rebuilt and decorated in the following decade [Fig. 3.38].

The various decorative elements of the building, such as chimneypieces and wooden portals, all are in a consciously classical, architectonic manner; most of them appear to have been executed only in the mid-1540s [Figs. 3.40–3.45]. The most spectacular element among these is the wooden *Stübchen*, a small chamber or study constructed in wood, now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich [Figs. 3.43–3.45]. Both the architectural conception and the

FIGURES 3.37–3.38 Schloss Taufkirchen, acquired by Hans Jakob Fugger in 1554 and the Pflegehaus in Donauwörth, rebuilt by the Fugger from 1536 onward.

46 Too little appears to remain at Taufkirchen from Hans Jakob's period to corroborate this supposition. On Taufkirchen, see Gsedl / Heilmaier / Kemper 2008.

FIGURES 3.39–3.40 A chimneypiece and a wooden portal still in situ in the Fugger house at Donauwörth.

sophisticated ornamental detail of this masterwork are entirely Italian in spirit and, as Henry-Russell Hitchcock has it, presuppose that the artist was an Italian or, 'if a Northerner, he certainly had a more thorough training in Italy than any of the native artists whose work in Germany of this years is recognizable'.[47]

Some of the elements in the *Stübchen* and two of the wooden portals [Figs. 3.41–3.42] appear to derive from Serlio, some of whose designs were already printed (in particular in the *Quarto Libro*, first published in 1540). But these printed designs are not sufficiently close to the Donauwörth portals to have served as immediate examples; they could only have served as a source of inspiration to artists already thoroughly conversant with their underlying principles of design. Strada was trained in Italy exactly in the environment—Mantua, Rome—which appears to have inspired the style of the *Stübchen*, and he and his patron certainly had immediate access to Serlio's printed volumes.[48] By 1546, the date of these two portals and the *Stübchen*, Strada had already been working for the Fugger for some years, reason why I think it is warranted to propose a tentative attribution of the design of these to him. Such

47 One of the portals is dated 1546. On Donauwörth and the *Stübchen*, see LIEB 1958, 2, pp. 223–240; Hitchcock 1981, pp. 124–125.

48 It cannot be excluded that Strada, whose close relationship to Serlio is documented for Lyon in the 1550s, had already met the master earlier in Italy or even in France and had had access to his work long before he acquired it for his own collection and publishing programme.

FIGURES 3.41–3.42 Three wooden portals from the Fugger house at Donauwörth; Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum.

FIGURES 3.43–3.45 The exterior and details of the interior of the Donauwörth Stübchen, Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum.

an attribution does not quarrel with Strada's own, much later design for the Munich Antiquarium, nor with the designs for some of the other works that can be associated with him, and which will be discussed in the second part of this book. It is moreover supported by a later letter to Strada in which Hans

Jakob Fugger refers to his first-hand experience of, and his full confidence in Strada's competence in the field of architectural design.[49]

3.5 Strada's Trips to Lyon

Strada's first visit to Lyon took place in 1550, according to the preface to his edition of Serlio's *Settimo Libro.* The primary motive of his trip was presumably his desire to make the first arrangements for the publication of his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*, and probably during this first sojourn he found a partner—the Netherlandish bookseller Thomas Guérin—to finance the printing, and came to some provisional agreement with the printer, Jean de Tournes; with the wood-engraver, probably Bernard Salomon; and with Jean Louveau, the author of the French translation [Figs. 3.20–3.22].[50]

At first sight it seems odd that Strada should have decided to print his book in Lyon, where Fugger—who probably bore part of the expense—had no commercial contacts, instead of other centres of printing such as Frankfurt, Nuremberg, or Venice. The reputation of its printers cannot have been the sole motive of Strada's choice: though it might have been difficult to find a wood-engraver of a sufficiently advanced style in Germany, in Venice he certainly would have. Perhaps just because the Fugger, unlike other German bankers, were not represented in Lyon—they were too closely tied to the Habsburg interest to maintain branches in France—Hans Jakob was glad to create an opportunity to establish or renew contacts with a major intellectual centre in Europe, and to obtain the material for his library and collection (books, manuscripts, medals, perhaps other antiquities) that Strada could select for him.

3.5.1 *The Humanist Circle in Lyon*

Through his Italian connections, Strada must have been aware of the wealth and intellectual life of the town, which boasted a veritable colony of merchants and bankers from Florence, Lucca, Lombardy and Genoa, with some of whom he may have had contacts. Like many other Nuremberg merchants, Strada's acquaintance Willibald Imhoff did maintain very close ties with Lyon, and may

49 Doc. 1568-11-13: Hans Jakob Fugger to Strada, Taufkirchen, 13 November 1568. If the Donauwörth *Stübchen* and portals were designed by Strada, than so were at least some of the ceilings in the Fugger castle at Babenhausen, which are stylistically very close (LIEB 1958, Figs. 209–210).

50 For more detailed information on Strada's activities as a publisher, see Jansen 2004; and below, Ch. 14.

well have provided Strada with further introductions to local society.[51] Doubtless Strada himself was attracted to Lyon by the antiquities of this old Roman colony as much as by the fame of the local printers.

Strada planned his second sojourn in Lyon to be longer than the first: he left Nuremberg early in August 1552, after having obtained permission to live up to three years in Lyon without losing his Nuremberg citizenship, and having sold his household effects.[52] He would remain in Lyon at least until the actual printing of the treatise, which was completed on 6 November 1553.[53] This visit therefore afforded him ample opportunity to establish contacts with the lively humanist circle flourishing in this centre of the *Pléiade*. A good impression of the brilliance and cosmopolitanism of this circle in the years preceding Strada's arrival is given in Jean-Claude Margolin's article on Jean Visagier's *Epigrammata*, a volume of poems recording the names of and dedicated to the members of what Visagier considered a *sodalitium*, an informal academy which included Rabelais, Etienne Dolet, the German scholar-printer Sebastien Gryphius, Maurice and Guillaume Scève and Louise Labé, to name only a few.[54] Strada will have felt particularly at home because of Lyon's traditional connections with Italy: the city counted a considerable number of Italian families among its patriciate, such as the Gondi and the Guadagni, and at the time its archbishop was Cardinal Ippolito d'Este. Moreover various individual Italian expatriates had made their home temporarily or permanently in Lyon. One of these was Fugger's old acquaintance Ortensio Landi († 1560), a friend of Dolet who had worked as an editor in Gryphius' workshop in 1534–1535, and who had visited Hans Jakob in Augsburg in 1544–45. So Strada must have known him personally, and through him could establish contacts with other Italians in Lyon, such as the humanist Gabriele Symeoni, the lawyer Giulio Calestano and, perhaps most illustrious, the architectural theorist Sebastiano Serlio.[55] The intellectual life of the city was strongly stimulated by the presence of an impressive

51 On the Italian presence in Lyon, see *Lyon et L'italie* 1958; *Lyon 16e* 1993, p. 207 (bibliography). Willibald Imhoff was often in Lyon himself; his visit from 3 September until 23 December 1550 possibly overlapped with Strada's presence, that lasting from mid September 1552 until 7 January 1553 certainly did [Jante 1985, p. 21].

52 Docs. 1552-07-26 and 1552-07-30.

53 As indicated in the colophon of the book.

54 Margolin 1974, using the second edition of Visagier's collection: *Ioannis Vulteii Remensis Epigrammatum libri IV*, Lyon (Michel Parmentier) 1537. The existence of such a group of friends is documented elsewhere, as in Nicolas Bourbon *De amicis lugdunensibus* (1533).

55 On Lyons's cosmopolitan society, see Renucci 1943; Romier 1949; *Humanisme Lyonnais* 1974; *Rinascimento a Lione* 1988; *Lyon 16e* 1993 (with extensive bibliography by Maria Teresa Arizzoli Clementel on pp. 203–217); and *Sebastiano Serlio a Lyon* 2004. On Landi, see: Hartig 1917<a>, p. 217; Maasen 1922, p. 84; Grendler 1969, pp. 21–38; Costanzo Landi, conte

number of renowned printers and publishers, themselves often humanists: such as Gryphius, the poet Etienne Dolet, Jean de Tournes, Luxembourg de Gabiano, the De la Porte family, specializing in jurisprudence, and the very productive *marchand-libraire* Guillaume Rouillé, himself the author of antiquarian works. The printing industry, flourishing thanks to the four international trade fairs that took place every year, traditionally offered employment to many artists, among them Geoffroy Thory, Georges Reverdy, Pierre Eskrich, Corneille de Lyon and the best known of all, Bernard Salomon.[56]

3.5.2 *Strada's Contacts in Lyon: Engravers, Printers and Humanists Booksellers*

Strada's first contacts in Lyon of necessity will have been with this circle: for the execution of his *Epitome* he needed to find a printer and an engraver who would be capable and willing to produce the book according to his wishes. He probably dealt with several printers and artists before settling with De Tournes and Bernard Salomon: a choice dictated by a desire for the highest possible quality rather than the lowest possible expense. Likewise it may well have been one of the Lyon publishers who provided him with the names of potential translators of the book, a job which was finally given to a humanist from Orléans, Jean Louveau. Possibly inspired by the success of the enterprise of the *marchand-libraire* Guilaume Rouillé Strada decided to publish the book at his own expense, instead of placing it with a professional publisher. It was a quite expensive project: a quarto volume of over four hundred pages, including close to five hundred woodcut images of medals, and published simultaneously in Latin and in a French translation. Doubtless this expense was partly borne by Hans Jakob Fugger, to whom Strada dedicated the book.

Strada was of course aware of at least some of the ins and outs of the book trade; yet apart from financial considerations, his relative inexperience in publishing will have contributed to his decision to enter a partnership with the *marchand-libraire* Thomas Guérin. There is no doubt, however, that Strada was the senior partner, since it is his printer's device [Figs. 3.18 and 3.46–3.47] that figures on the title-page, rather than Guérin's [Figs. 3.48–3.49].[57]

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di Compiano—a member of one of the leading families of Piacenza, he was no relation of Ortensio—would publish a learned numismatic treatise in Lyon in 1560 (Landi 1560).

56 For a general review of printing at Lyon in the sixteenth century, see Davis 1983 and Sebastiano Serlio a Lyon 2004.

57 The device is habitually considered as Guérin's mark; but though Guérin did occasionally use a similar device of a smaller size in other books, he generally used another device with a palm tree, whereas in the books Strada published in Rome in 1557 (Panvinio 1557<a> and Panvinio 1557<b>) and in Frankfurt in 1575 (Serlio 1575; Caesar 1575) he used both

FIGURES 3.46–3.49 Strada's printer's mark as used on the title page of the *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* and the variant used in his edition of Caesar, Frankfurt 1575, compared to the printer's mark of Thomas Guérin, on the title page of his edition of Plutarch, Basel 1570.

Strada must have spent quite some time in adding the final touches to his manuscript, putting the illustrations together, organizing and supervising the printing, and obtaining a copyright privilege from King Francis I, which was granted on the 11th of July 1553.[58] Yet in between he had sufficient time on his hands to engage in other activities. Part of the time he will have scouted the bookshops in search of items suitable both for the library of his patron, Fugger, and for his own growing collection. But he obviously also continued his antiquarian research. Lyon afforded him ample opportunity to establish contacts with local scholars who shared his antiquarian enthusiasm. Proudly indicated by the poet Jean Lemaire de Belges as 'le second oeil de la France', its foundation antedated—according to Charles Fontaine's *Ode de l'Antiquité et excellence de la ville de Lyon*—not only that of Paris, but even that of Rome itself.[59] Objects testifying to this honourable past were collected at least since Pierre Sala (1457-ca. 1530), a 'varlet de chambre' in the household of Louis XII, brought together a small collection of local finds in his country seat, which he appropriately named *l'Anticaille* [Fig. 3.50]. In addition to a version of the Tristan legend, he wrote a manuscript treatise on *Les antiquitez de Lyon*, the first of an ample series of texts devoted to the subject written—but not often published—in the sixteenth century.[60]

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the actual block of the device used for the Lyon *Epitome* <...> and a variant version of the same size in a slightly different ornamental frame.

58 Doc 1553-07-11; it was included at the back of the volume (Strada 1553).

59 Bruyère 1993, pp. 100–102, 115; Cooper 1988, p. 161; on antiquarian studies at Lyon in the sixteenth century in general, see Varille 1923; Cooper 1988; Cooper 1990; Bruyère 1993; Guillemain 1993.

60 On Sala, see Renucci 1943; Sala 1958, pp. 9–10; Grünberg Dröge 1993; on antiquarian studies at Lyon in the sixteenth century in general, see Varille 1923; Cooper 1988; Cooper 1990; Bruyère 1993; Guillemain 1993.

FIGURE 3.50 L'Anticaille, Pierre Sala's villa on the hillside of Fourvière above Lyon, in a miniature in a manuscript of his romance *Complainte au dieu d'Amour*; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliotek.

FIGURE 3.51 The Table Claudienne, discovered in Lyon in 1528.

Antiquarian studies in Lyon were not limited to local finds—such as the Table Claudienne, found in 1528 and first published by Symphorien Champier in 1537 [Fig. 3.51]—or even to local topics: thus the poet François Rabelais interested himself in Roman topography.[61] In 1553 the *marchand-libraire* Guillaume Rouillé even published a chronicle of the world organized around a series of woodcut portraits of its protagonists that, he claimed, were taken from ancient coins. This cannot always have been the case, considering that these portraits include Adam and Eve, Noah, Osiris, Agamemnon and other personalities for whom such authentic sources would not have been available. This did not prevent this *Promptuaire des médalles des plus renommées personnes qui ont esté despuis le commencement du monde* to become a success: first printed in 1553, it ran through no less than eleven editions—in French, Latin, Italian and Spanish—before the end of the century [Figs. 3.52–3.54].[62]

61 Bruyère 1993, p. 100; Cooper 1988, pp. 168–169; Rabelais published an edition of Marliani's *Topographia antiquae Romae*, printed by Gryphius in Lyon in 1534.

62 On Rouillé's *Promptuaire des médalles des plus renommées personnes qui ont esté depuis le commencement du monde*, Lyon 1553, see Dimier 1924–1926, I, pp. 84 ff.; Clain-Stefanelli 1965, p. 17; Rave 1959; Haskell 1993, pp. 30–32 and *passim*; its text was compiled by the Lyon humanist Charles Fontaine and its illustrations provided by Georges Reverdy. On Rouillé as a publisher, see Davis 1978<b>. On his numismatic work, see Haskell 1993, pp. 30–32; Cunnally 1999, pp. 96–104, 206.

FIGURES 3.52–3.54 Guillaume Rouillé, *Promptuaire des medalles des plus renommées personnes*, Lyon 1553: title page and biographies and medallic portraits of Semiramis, Zameis, Abraham and Sarah.

3.5.3 *Strada's Contacts in Lyon: Collectors of Antiquities*

There is a superficial resemblance between Rouillé's *Promptuaire* and Strada's *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*, which appeared in the same year. Yet Strada obviously cherished more scholarly ambitions: he limited himself to the Roman Emperors, who certainly had issued coins which could actually be found. He explicitly stated that he only included images of those rulers of which he had in fact seen an original coin (however spurious to our more critical judgment). Though he probably met many members of Lyon's intellectual milieu, we only know about those he had met in the course of his numismatic researches, the collectors of antiquities, for whom coins and medals were the most informative, affordable and easily available items.[63] From the provenances given with the descriptions of coins in Strada's manuscript *A.A.A. Numismatων Διασκευέ* we can identify some of the collectors Strada visited.

Chief among these was the antiquary Guillaume du Choul, *conseiller du roi* and *bailli* of the Dauphiné. In his house La Madeleine, which was situated in the Montée du Gourguillon in the old part of the city, on the right bank of the Saône, he had brought together a celebrated collection of antiquities, and he published a number of learned studies of various aspects of Roman civilization.[64] Strada describes his contacts with Du Choul in the preface of his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*:

63 For a good account of numismatic studies and collections of coins and medals in Lyon, see Guillemain 1993.

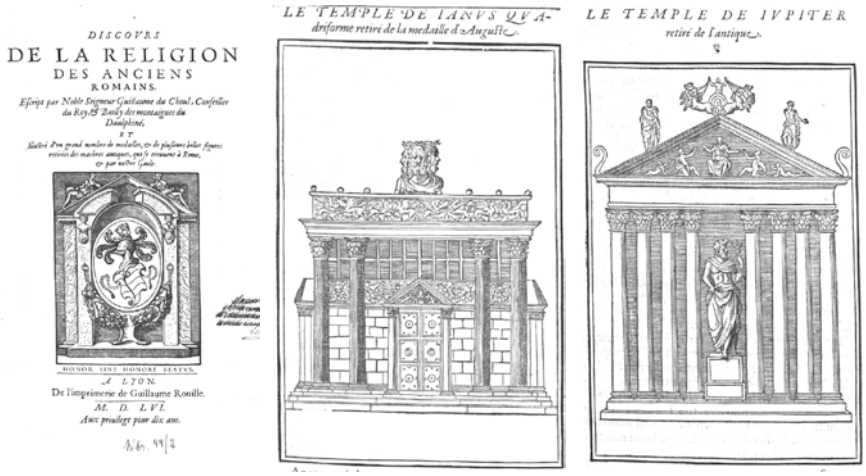
64 On Du Choul, see: Copley Christie 1880, pp. 25–30; Cooper 1988, pp. 170–173; Bruyère 1993, pp. 91 and 109–110; Guillemain 2003; Guillemain 2008; Margolin 1974, p. 182, gives a

> <…> coming to France, I have met and frequented the company of Monsieur Guillaume Choul, born in that city, highly experienced in history and in the explanation of the reverses of coins and figured medals; a man moreover of such rare and ample judgment that one may easily count him among the first experts in this field, and not without reason, both for his excellent memory and his good and refined judgment. In his magnificent house (as I don't think it necessary to hide) I have seen a great quantity of all sorts of antique medals, among which some are of gold, others of silver, and the rest of copper, which he has lent to me to copy those that I needed for my book of coin-reverses.[65]

Both Strada and Du Choul refer to each other in their printed works, and appear to have mutually exchanged information and studied each other's coins: whereas in his *A.A.A. Numismatωn Antiquorum Διασκευέ* Strada only described some individual pieces from other Lyon collections, he describes scores of those he had seen in Du Choul's cabinet, which implies that these not only were of a better quality, but also that Strada had had much greater opportunity to study them in detail. At the time Strada was already sufficiently interested and expert in architecture—probably stimulated by his contacts with Serlio—to be able to provide Du Choul with his own reconstructions (after the reverse of medals) of the temples of Janus Quadrifrons and of Jove Capitolinus: woodcuts of these were included in Du Choul's *Discours de la religion des anciens Romains*, first published in Lyon in 1556 [Figs. 3.56–3.58]. It is quite possible

translation of Visagier's Latin epigram on Du Choul, which well illustrates the range of his interests and the renown of his works: 'Toi qui, au prix d'un immense labeur, ne laisses pas mourir la Rome antique ni les monuments anciens, révélant à nos yeux théatres, jeux et statues, images ciselées, forums, portiques et colonnes, monnaies et triomphes des Césars, les diverses factions politiques, les rites des pontifes, les honneurs sacrés de la Cité, ses charges, ses liberalités, ses dépenses, ses délices, ses ressources, les palestres, ses splendeurs, les généalogies et les faisceaux de puissants consuls, autels de dieux et de déesses, spectacles, superbes demeures, peintures, sculptures, effigies, urnes, cendres, trophées et cirques, collèges et confréries, thermes et bains publics, actions de grâces; bref, toi qui désires préserver de la mort tout ce qui est antique et qui veux que renaisse la Rome ancienne, tout ce qui est exposé à la ruine, tu le perpétues pour l'éternité, Duchoul. Pour un tel labeur, quelle récompense obtiendras-tu?' [from *Ioannis Vulteii Remensis Epigrammatum libri IV*, Lyon 1537, IV, p. 248]. Du Choul's most important books are his *De la religion des anciens Romains* (Lyon 1547) and his *Discours sur la Castramétation et discipline militaire des Romains* (Lyon 1555), both of which were quickly and repeatedly reprinted in several languages. A splendid illustrated presentation manuscript *Des antiquités romaines premier livre*, with beautiful drawings, dedicated to Francis I and preserved in the Biblioteca Reale in Turin, can be considered as the first volume of a lost twelve-volume encyclopaedia of the history of the Roman Empire, *Antiquitez de Rome*, that Du Choul was preparing.

65 Strada 1553<b>, p. bbv.



FIGURES 3.55–3.57 Guillaume du Choul, *Discours de la religion des anciens Romains*, Lyon 1556: title page and illustrations of the temples of Ianus Quadrifrons and Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome, supplied by Jacopo Strada.

that Strada himself drew the outlines directly onto the woodblocks for Du Choul's book, just as Serlio appears to have done with the new designs for the *Settimo Libro* Strada had commissioned.[66] Strada also described a coin in the collection of Guillaume' son Jean du Choul, who was a natural historian and a friend of Conrad Gesner, to whom Strada may have owned his introduction to the family.[67]

Among the provenances of coins given in the *Διασκευέ* Rouillé does not figure: judging from the *Promptuaire* Strada will hardly have considered him a serious numismatist. He may have better appreciated his new Italian acquaintance, Giulio Calestano, a lawyer from Parma who had provided Du Choul with some of his coins; fifteen years later Strada would attempt to acquire Calestano's numismatic collection on behalf of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria.[68] The

66 Strada's reconstructions were included in Du Choul 1556, pp. 20–21 and 40–41; on Serlio's drawings, see Jansen 1989 and Jansen 2004; Serlio 1994, p. 5, n. 3.

67 See Guillemain 1993, pp. 46–48. Guillemain gives a detailed account of the collectors of coins in Lyon in the sixteenth century, and discusses the names of the collectors given in Hubertus Goltzius' edition of Caesar (Bruges 1563) (pp. 41 ff.). Goltzius had stayed in Lyon for ten days in August 1560, but had updated his information.

68 Strada described actually only a few coins from Calestano's cabinet which he had seen at Lyon, where Calestano lived for some time in the 1550s. He later settled in Milan, and in 1567 Strada attempted to acquire an inventory of his *studio*, the acquisition of which he proposed to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria.

other collectors mentioned in the *Διασκευέ* include Carolo à Porta, indicated by both Strada and Goltzius as 'Germanus', but probably the second son (ca 1532–1558) of the *marchand-libraire* Hugues de la Porte (ca 1500–1572) who himself owned a collection of classical sculpture.[69] The 'Abbot of St. Irenaeus' mentioned by Strada can be identified with François Laurencin († after 1584), prior of the monastery dedicated to Lyon's local saint: in his house Beauregard on the Montée du Gourgillon he kept 'two thousand [ancient coins] both in bronze and in gold and silver, with infinite curiosities of statues, engraved stones and other antiquities, so that one could value his cabinet as a treasure-house of Antiquity'. Later Laurencin would acquire the house of Du Choul, near his own, together with the inscriptions it contained.[70] Finally Strada mentions some Italian collectors: 'Tomasso Sartinum Florentinum' and 'Annibale da Verona', and some others who cannot be identified. On the other hand, if Strada ever actually met one of the brightest stars of the *Pléiade*, Joachim du Bellay, as is suggested by his possession of a manuscript by the latter's uncle Guillaume, this probably happened in Rome a year later, where the poet acted as *intendant* of the household of his uncle Cardinal Jean du Bellay.[71]

Contacts with Gabriele Symeoni are not documented, but very likely, in view of their sharing both antiquarian and technological interests. Symeoni's antiquarian interest is apparent in the epitaph he devised for himself [Fig. 3.58]. His expertise in the field appears in his many publications, such as *Illustratione de gli epitaffi et medaglie antiche*, printed by de Jean de Tournes, Strada's printer, in Lyon in 1558, or his detailed description of the Auvergne,the *Description de la Limagne d'Auvergne en forme de dialogue*, which was published by Guillaume Rouillé in 1561. An indication of their possible contact is the extremely complex allegory of the printer's mark that Strada chose for himself for his book printed in Lyon [Fig. 3.61]: one of its motifs, the butterfly kept in the claws of a crab with the device *Festina Lente* was derived from a coin of Augustus,

69 Bruyère 1993, p. 110.

70 '<…> deux mille [monnaies antiques] tant de cuivre que d'or et d'argent, avec infinies singularitez de statues, graveures et autres antiquitez qu'on pouvoit estimer son cabinet un trésor pour une antiquité', anonymus notes in a copy of Guillaume Paradin, *Mémoires de l'histoire de Lyon* (Lyon 1573) in the Bibliothèque municipale at Lyon, quoted in Bruyère 1993, p. 112.

71 On sixteenth century collectors of antiquities in Lyon, see now Bruyère 1993 and Guillemain 1993. Sartino probably was a member of a Florentine merchant family whose presence in Lyon (under the names of Sertini or Seratini) goes back at least to 1502 (Gascon 1971, pp. 846 and 907). On Strada's possible contact with Du Bellay, see below.

FIGURES 3.58–3.61 'Epitaph' for Gabriele Symeoni, in his *Description de la Limagne d'Auvergne*, Lyon 1561; the title page of his *Le imprese heroiche et morali*, Lyon 1559, and op. 8, the emblem of Augustus, compared to Jacopo Strada's printer's mark first used in his *Epitome Thesauri Antiquitatum* of 1553 (detail of *Fig. 3.46*).

and would be illustrated and discussed by Symeoni himself in his *Devises ou emblèmes héroiques et morales* of 1559 [Fig. 3.59–3.60].[72]

72 On p. 219. The book was reprinted in 1561; an Italian translation, *Le sententiose imprese*, was published likewise in Lyon in 1560 (p. 11). On this motif, see Deonna 1954 and

One would expect Strada to have wished to profit from his sojourn in Lyon by visiting Paris and to the principal centre of visual culture of the French Renaissance, Fontainebleau. The style of the title pages he drew for his manuscript numismatic works [Figs. 3.22–3.23, 3.62 and below, Fig. 4.04] reminds one of the courtly Mannerism of the School of Fontainebleau rather than the work of his contemporaries in Italy itself. Yet the only indication that he may have done so is a reference to the royal treasurer Jean Grolier (1479–1565) in the preface to the *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum.* Nowadays Grolier is best known as the owner of a splendid library: because of their superb bindings, books from his library count among the principal treasures of libraries and collectors lucky enough to possess them. But he also had a great interest in classical Antiquity; he was in touch with the informal academy of scholars and artists around Cardinal Marcello Cervini in Rome which attempted to reconstruct Roman civilisation by studying both classical texts and the physical relics unearthed in the city and elsewhere: coins, inscriptions, sculptures and other antique artefacts, and the ruins of ancient edifices.

Grolier was particularly interested in coins, to the extent of financing the publication, at the Aldine press in Venice, of the second edition of Budé's fundamental treatise *De asse et partibus eius*, which appeared in 1522. Grolier's expertise in the field gained him a place in a royal commission supervising the minting of French coin. In his house in the Rue de la Juiverie in Lyon he had brought together a collection of antique coins and statuary, which he had acquired by means of agents he employed to this purpose, and which was highly esteemed by Du Choul: 'Monsieur the treasurer Grolier, an exceptional lover of Antiquity, in whose hands can be found the most beautiful medallions that can be found in our France at present'.[73] An example of the beautiful small boxes in which he kept his medals, like his book bindings covered in gold-stamped morocco, is still preserved in the Musée Condé at Chantilly.[74]

Juřen 1988, p. 21 and fig. 3. Symeoni was a close associate of Du Choul, whose works he translated into Italian. Strada used two well-known images connected to the device *Festina lente* device (which he quotes in Greek, rather than in Latin), combining the crab-and-butterfly with the dolphin-and-anchor familiar from Aldus Manutius' printer's mark.

73 Du Choul 1556, p. 32: 'Monsieur le Tresorier Grolier, amateur singulier de l'antiquité entre les mains duquel sont les plus beaux medaillons, que pour le iourd'huy se puissent trouuer en nostre Gaulle'; cf. Bruyère 1993, p. 111. On Grolier and his collection, see Portalis / Le Roux de Lincy 1907; Austin 1971, in particular its introductory chapter by Colin Eisler, 'Jean Grolier and the Renaissance'; Hobson 1975.

74 Austin 1971, pp. 31–32. Grolier's interest in classical coins helps explain his pioneering use of stamps based on antique coins in the bindings made for some of his books.

FIGURE 3.62 Title page of Strada's ms. *Imagines onmium numismatum*, 1554; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

When Strada wrote the preface to his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* he knew this collection, which Grolier had taken with him when he moved to Paris in 1530, only by reputation. He expressed the hope to be able to visit it in the future, for he considered it as 'tout ce que je pense me rester touchant la perfection de mon livre'.[75] It appears, however, that this visit never took place, because he had been shown the very few coins from Grolier's collection that he mentions in his *Διασκευέ* either in Lyon or in Rome. It is easy to suggest some possible explanations for this fact: he may have met Grolier himself in either place (Grolier still possessed a house in Lyon), or may have seen coins destined for the collection in the hands of one of Grolier's agents, while it is also possible that he only knew them by means of drawings or casts. Strada never refers to a visit to the French court—not even in his preface to Serlio's *Settimo libro*, where one would expect it—and in his *Διασκευέ* he mentions no Parisian collectors apart from Grolier. This indicates that if Strada visited Paris or Fontainebleau at all, he cannot have remained there for any considerable time.

3.6 Strada's Contacts in Lyon: Sebastiano Serlio

Most of the learned men mentioned above were humanists chiefly interested in antiquarian material, such as coins and inscriptions, which provided fixed and reliable data that could be used to interpret the literary sources, and thus could help to reconstruct the political history and aspects of the civilization of the Roman Empire. This was done, for instance, in Guillaume Du Choul's *Discours de la réligion des anciens Romains*, printed by Rouillé in 1556. Du Choul was one of the few scholars who paid particular attention to the architecture of the ancients, including in his treatise, as we have seen, reconstructions of some of the temples of Rome that Strada had provided him with [Figs. 3.56–3.57]. Du Choul's interest in such practical aspects of Roman civilization is confirmed by two other treatises, the *Discours sur la castramétation et discipline militaire des Romains* and *Des bains et antiques exercitations Grècques et Romaines*, printed together in 1555, likewise by Rouillé, and often reprinted. Such interest in classical architecture was not completely new in Lyon: several of its scholars and poets referred to the remains of the Roman city that could still be observed

75 Strada 1553<b>, p. bb-v.

at Fourvière, and some sketches and more or less fanciful reconstructions of some of these have been preserved.[76]

Already in 1533 the young and gifted architect Philibert de l'Orme (ca 1515–1570) [Fig. 3.64] had travelled to Rome, where he not only moved in the circle of the Sangallo cousins, but soon engaged in measuring and even excavating ancient ruins, employing a team of masons to such effect that his work drew the attention of Marcello Cervini, the librarian of the Vatican, who was closely involved in the study of Vitruvius and the remains of classical architecture that took shape in Rome in these years.[77] On his return De l'Orme introduced a more pure form of classicist architecture in Lyon, designing in 1536 the famous Ionic gallery in the Hôtel Bullioud [Fig. 3.63].

De l'Orme left Lyon for good shortly after completing the Galerie Bullioud and it is improbable that Strada ever met him elsewhere in France. But he did meet another architect-antiquary whose published works, because of their wide dissemination, already were and would remain even more influential than De l'Orme's. This was the Bolognese architect and theorist Sebastiano Serlio (1575–1555), who had retired from the French court in 1548, and had settled in Lyon where he hoped to publish the remaining books of his architectural

FIGURES 3.63–3.64 The Ionic Gallery of the Hôtel Bullioud in Lyon (1536) designed by Philibert de l'Orme shortly after his return from Rome; and the woodcut portrait from the 1626 edition of his architectural treatise.

76 Bruyère 1993, fig. 1 (reconstruction of a 'Palatium de Lugdunum', engraving; fig. 7: drawing by Gabriele Symeoni of the 'Reliquie del Palagio maggiore <…> sotto la vigna del Sagrestano di Forviera'; and see *Philibert De l'Orme Lyonnais* 1993, pp. 31–32.

77 *Philibert De l'Orme Lyonnais* 1993, pp. 32–33. On the Vitruvian *Accademia della Virtù*, see below. It is likely that Strada, who was De l'Orme's exact contemporary and lived in Rome for a considerable time in the 1530s and shared his interests, had known him well.

FIGURES 3.65–3.68 Sebastiano Serlio, title pages of the *Primo Libro* (Paris 1545), the *Terzo Libro* and the *Quarto Libro* or *Regole generali* (both Venice 1544), and the *Quinto Libro* (Paris 1547) of the architectural treatise, all first published before Strada met Serlio in Lyon.

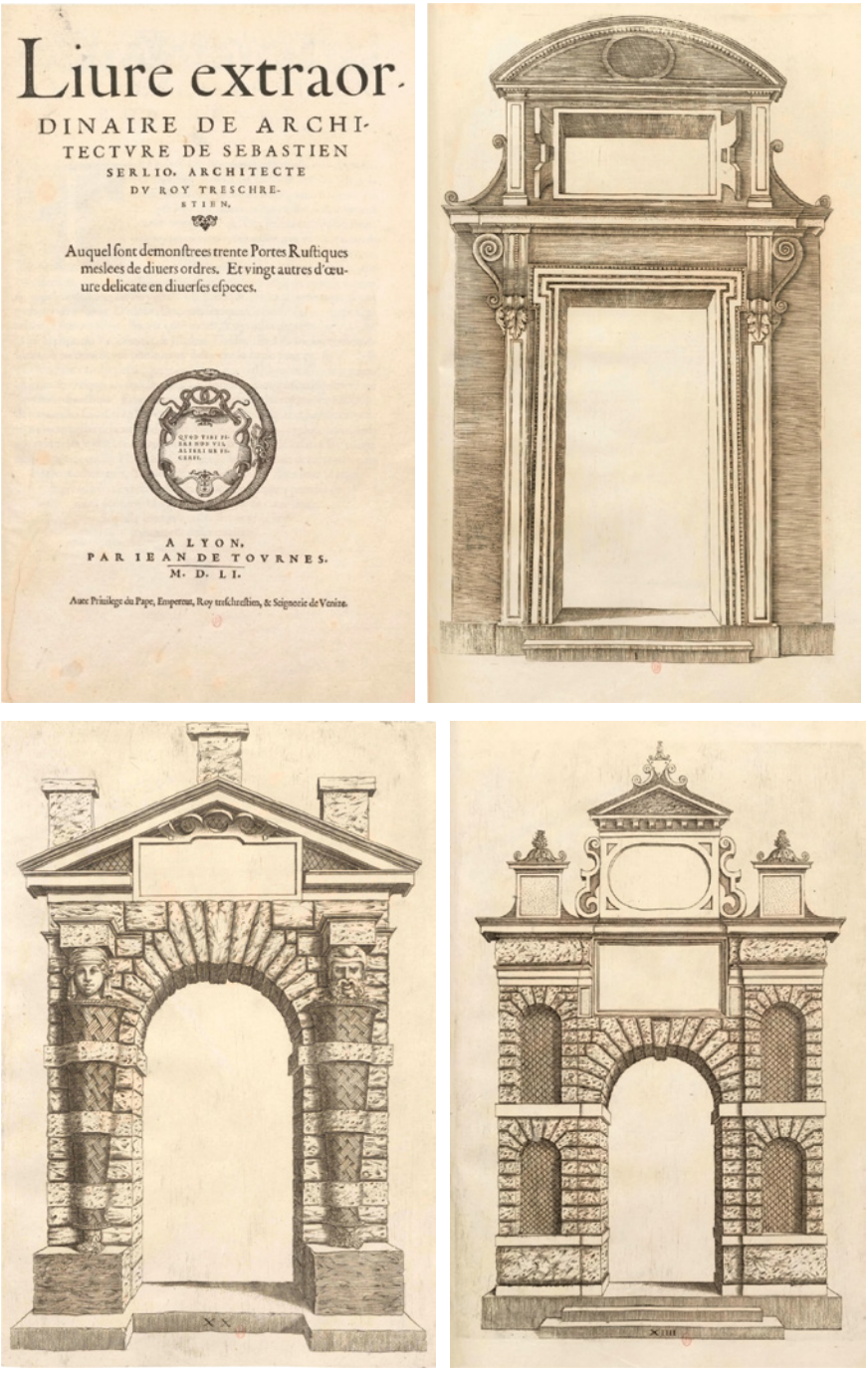
treatise. In this he was not successful: though the first five books which had already been published before Serlio came to Lyon [Figs. 3.65–3.68] continued to be reprinted in several languages—in the Netherlands, in Venice, in Spain—the Sixth and Seventh Books and the book on military architecture did not see the light within his lifetime [Figs. 3.73–3.80].

Serlio did, however, succeed to persuade Jean de Tournes to publish the so-called *Extraordinario Libro*, a set of designs of ornamental door-surrounds. This was probably considered a potential bestseller, and it was indeed reprinted no less than fifteen times within the next twenty years, both in French and Italian [cf. Figs. 3.69–3.72].[78]

Doubtless Strada knew Serlio's published works and was aware of his reputation: he sought him out already during his first visit to Lyon in 1550. Notwithstanding the considerable difference in age, they had much in common: both were Italian, both were artists with a particular and profound interest in architecture, both were passionate students of classical Antiquity and, last but not least, they both appear to have been suspected of Protestant leanings.[79] Obviously they discussed Serlio's projects, and already during his first visit Strada proposed to print the unpublished part of the treatise. Serlio was by now seventy-five years old, and not having found a publisher in Lyon ready to undertake such an expensive project, he may well have despaired of seeing his works into print. So he was happy to let Strada have his manuscripts, which

78 On the editions of Serlio's works, see Dinsmoor 1942; Fontaine Verwey 1976; Bury 1989; *Sebastiano Serlio a Lyon* 2004.

79 On Serlio's religious views, see Tafuri 1989; Carpo 1993b, and below, Ch. 11.4.



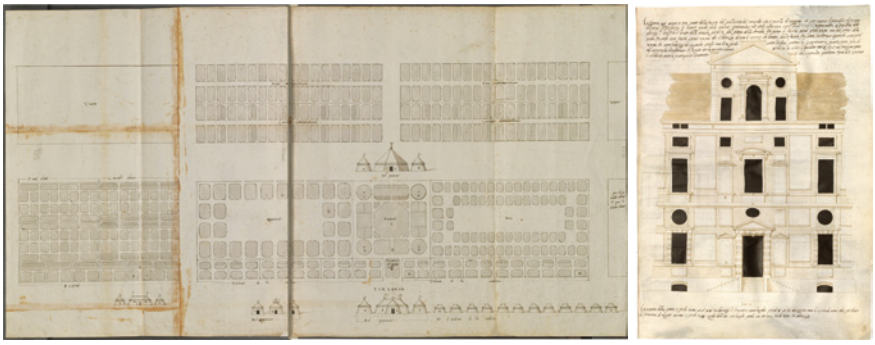
FIGURES 3.69–3.72 Sebastiano Serlio, *Livre extraordinaire de architecture*: title page and three designs for portals from the bilingual edition printed by Jean de Tournes (Strada's printer) in Lyon in 1551.

FIGURES 3.73–3.74 Sebastiano Serlio: pages from Serlio manuscripts as acquired by Jacopo Strada: the *Sesto Libro* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliotek) and the *Settimo Libro* (Vienna, Österreischische Nationalbibliothek).

he reedited probably at least in part according to Strada's suggestions. He also redrew the drawings at least of the *Settimo Libro* [Figs. 3.74], and probably also those of the *Sesto Libro* and the book on Polybius' *Castrametatio* [Figs. 3.73 and 3.75–3.76]. It is likely that he drew the designs for these directly onto the woodblocks used to prepare the illustrations.

Apart from the material Strada needed to publish the remaining books of the treatise, Serlio also entrusted him with all the manuscript material and the drawings he owed, part of which apparently was likewise intended for publication, as appears from Strada's preface to the *Settimo Libro*:

> Now the said author, finding himself old, and suffering from the gout more than usual for his age, and also being tired of his labour, reasoned that he would rather sell to me also the remnant of the drawings that in the course of his life he had made in his own hand, as well as those by others that he had brought together. A good part of which he had moreover provided with his descriptions, planning one day to have them printed, and had ordered them in many volumes. But getting older, and also not very abundantly endowed by Fortune, he decided to make me the owner of all of this material, so that after his death it would not be lost or get into the



FIGURES 3.75–3.76 Sebastiano Serlio: pages from Serlio manuscript *Castrametatio according to Polybius*) as acquired by Jacopo Strada; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

> hands of professors of his art, who as the raven would dress themselves in the feathers of the peacock. And for that reason he wanted to see the end of it, and know with whom his drawings would remain after his death, and it seemed to him he would be the most content and happy man in the world, if they remained in my possession, thinking it certain that I would do them ample justice, by publishing them in print.[80]

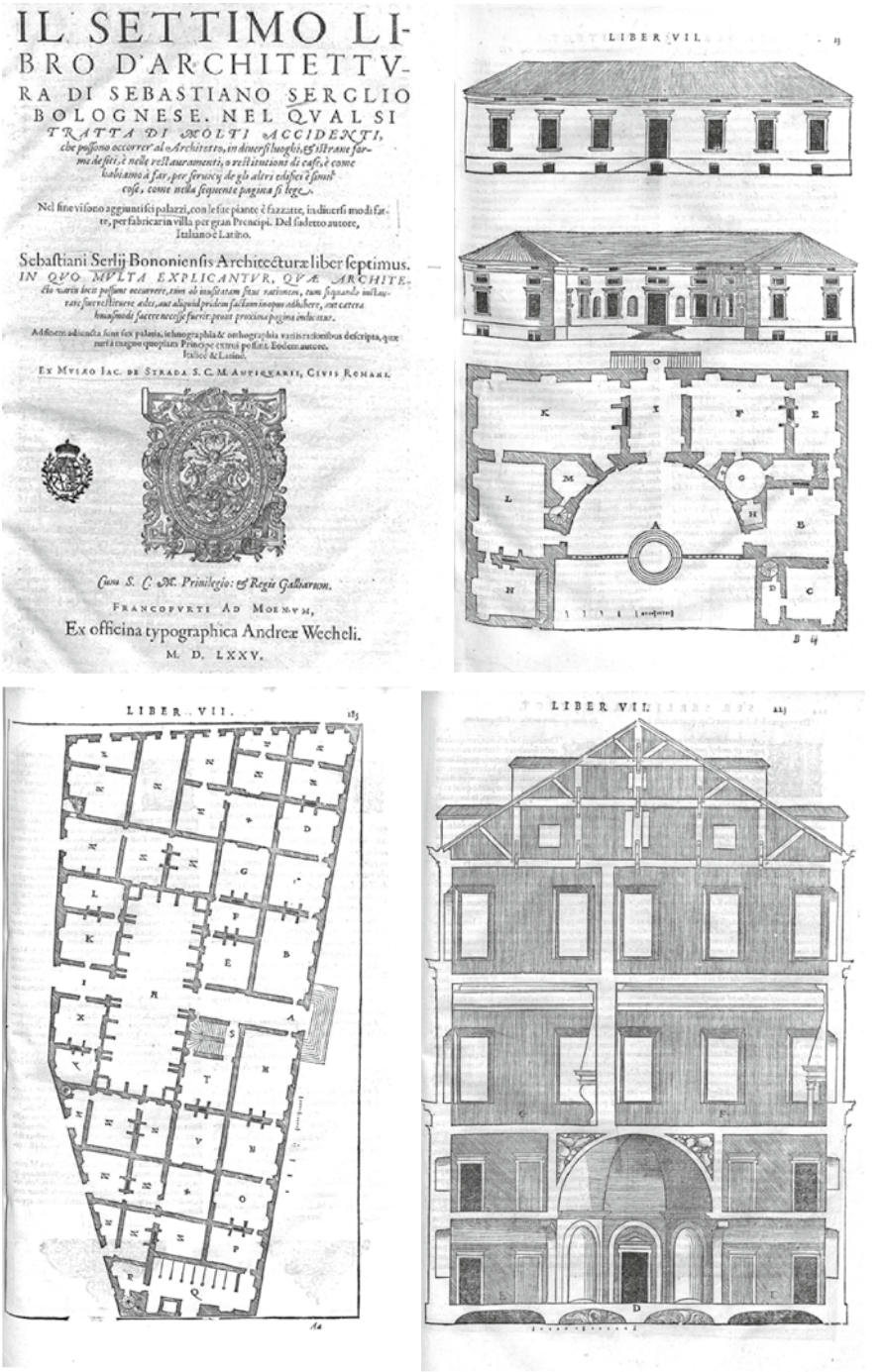
Serlio's confidence was not misplaced: Strada definitely planned to publish both remaining books of the treatise and the *Book on military architecture*, though in the end he only managed to print the *Settimo Libro*. Though this took him over twenty years, he took great care and laid out a great sum of money to realize a splendid edition, providing it with a Latin translation, having the woodcuts executed by expert engravers in Venice, and finally selecting one of the best printers working in Germany at the time, Andreas Wechel [cf. Figs. 3.77–3.80].[81]

Serlio spent part of his time during Strada's second stay in putting in order his material, with which he was not quite finished by the time of Strada's departure for Rome:

> But while he thus to his great satisfaction was putting the material in order, and revising the texts which went with the figures of the drawings, so that I could the easier serve myself of them, an occasion arose for me to leave France and to return to Rome for some affairs of mine. And so I

80 Serlio 1575, fol. a iii-v.–a iv-r.

81 On Strada's acquisitions from Serlio and his edition of the *Settimo libro d'architettura*, printed in Frankfurt in 1575, see Jansen 1989; Serlio/ Fiore/ Carrunchio 1994; Jansen 2004.



FIGURES 3.77–3.80 Title page and illustrations from Jacopo Strada's edition of Serlio's *Settimo Libro*, Frankfurt 1575.

> paid him with a goodly sum of money for everything that he had, both drawn in own hand, and drawn by others <…>. Now when I left, it was not without great sadness on both sides that we said goodbye to one another. After my departure he himself hardly stayed any longer before returning to Fontainebleau, and there the good old man ended his life, leaving a great name behind him there, just as he had done in other parts of the world. For one can well say that he has restored Architecture, and has made it easy to everyone; and has pleased more with his books, than ever did Vitruvius before him: because the latter, for being a difficult author, was not that easily understood by everyone.[82]

This sympathetic and perceptive tribute shows that Strada even twenty years later still greatly valued what had been—together with his contacts with Guillaume du Choul and the printing of his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*—the most memorable event of his very profitable visit to France.

3.7 *Civis Romanus*: Strada's Sojourn in Rome

Strada cannot have left Lyon before the end of 1553, since he obviously would have been eager to carry a sufficient number of copies of his treatise, the printing of which was finished on the 6th of November 1553. So he would have arrived in Rome about Christmas of that year at the earliest. He decided to leave, according to the preface of his edition of Serlio's *Settimo Libro*, shortly after the unexpected death of Pope Marcellus II in the spring of 1555; probably in fact only after the election of his successor, Paul IV Carafa, shattered any hopes for further papal employment. It is not known exactly when he left; by December 1556 he appears to have been back in Nuremberg already for some time. So his sojourn in Rome probably lasted a year and a half at least, about two and a half years at most; in any case sufficiently long to refresh his memories of his earlier visit in the mid- or late 1530s, to get thoroughly acquainted with the latest developments in antiquarian learning, and to examine the artistic achievements of the last years of the reign of Paul III as well as the considerable enterprises realized during the relatively brief pontificate of Julius III [Fig. 3.82].

3.7.1 *The Roman milieu*

What did he find? The long pontificate of the Farnese Pope (1534–1549), Paul III, had helped to repair much of the damage done by the *Sacco di Roma* in 1527.

82 Serlio 1575, fol. a iv-r.

Doubtless the flight from Rome of many patrons and artists and the temporary stop in commissions did interrupt artistic production for some time and limited the *quantity* of art produced. But Paul III was as forceful a personality and as active a patron as Julius II and Leo X. Already in the early thirties construction of St. Peters was continuing again and many new palaces and churches were rising all over town. Important commissions completed in the period immediately preceding Strada's arrival or still under way during his stay included the Palazzo Farnese, the Orti Farnesiani on the Palatine and the Farnese castle at Caprarola, and the Villa d'Este in Tivoli. Construction of Vignola's Villa Giulia—which as the principal project of the reigning Pontiff, Julius III, was probably the most influential example—had just begun [Fig. 3.83]. Decoration schemes included Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* and the *Sala Paolina* in the Vatican, the decorations executed by Perino del Vaga and his crew in Castel Sant'Angelo [Fig. 3.81], Francesco Salviati's decorations in the Palazzo Farnese and the Palazzo Ricci-Sacchetti and the fresco's Vasari had painted in a mere hundred days in the Cancelleria.

So the change in *quality* of artistic achievement in Rome in the 1530s is not a result of the Sack only: the development in style away from the ideals of High Renaissance art, already discernible in the 1520s, was an independent and inevitable movement. If Raphael had lived, if Giulio would have remained in Rome, Roman art of the 1520s and 1530s might well have been of a somewhat higher quality and of a greater degree of originality, but it is unlikely that it

FIGURE 3.81 Perino del Vaga, Luzio Romano and Livio Agresti: Decoration of the Sala Paolina of Castel St Angelo, Rome, commissioned by Pope Paul III and executed 1542–1547.

FIGURE 3.82 Vincenzo Danti, Pope Julius III, bronze in front of Perugia Cathedral, 1555.

FIGURE 3.83 Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola et al., the Nymphaeum of the Villa Giulia, Rome, commissioned by Pope Julius III and executed 1553–57.

would have been fundamentally different in character. The Rome of Paul III and Julius III was to all standards a very fertile and lively artistic milieu, thanks to the patronage of the Farnese and that of their partisans and rivals. Thanks also to the presence of Michelangelo and many other gifted artists who had either finally returned to the capital after their flight of 1527—such as Perino del Vaga—or who had come to study both the *exempla* of classical Rome and the achievements of their justly celebrated contemporaries: next to Michelangelo and Perino one thinks of Antonio da Sangallo, Daniele da Volterra, Pirro Ligorio, Francesco Salviati, Prospero Fontana, Guglielmo della Porta, Bartolommeo Ammanati and Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola.

But Rome was also a very lively intellectual milieu, though of a new seriousness caused not so much by the trauma of the Sack, as by the need to find an effective response to Luther and the German Reformation. Classical, historical and antiquarian studies occupied a central place in the preoccupations of this milieu. Considering philological and historical studies as indispensable tools in interpreting Scripture and patristic literature, it warmly welcomed any endeavour that shed more light on the history of the Roman Empire, and implicitly on that of the Early Church. Several other reasons can be adduced why the interest in Classical studies was particularly strong in Rome. The chief single factor was the presence in Rome of so many of the physical remains of Roman civilisation, often of quite outstanding quality and beauty, and of a grandeur that flattered the *campanilismo* surviving in the cosmopolitan culture of Papal Rome.[83] Moreover such interest was continuously kept awake by new spectacular discoveries, often of great interest both for artistic and erudite reasons: the find in 1546 of the *Fasti Capitolini* easily excited as much enthusiasm among scholars as that of the *Laocoön* had done among artists and *dilettanti*.

Contacts between scholars and artists were unusually close at this time, as is evident in the erudite Vitruvianism of the informal *Accademia Romana*. Re-founded in 1542 by members of the circle of Cardinal Marcello Cervini [Fig. 3.89], it included artists such as Pirro Ligorio. Its method largely parallels the philological procedure of the humanists. Its researches can be interpreted as the quest for an absolute, classical authority: just like correct Latin should be based on the study of canonical classical texts, all serious artistic endeavour was to be guided by a correct edition of Vitruvius, supported and elucidated by careful study of the remnants of architecture from the best periods of Antiquity, in particular of certain canonical buildings such as the Pantheon,

83 D'Amico 1983.

the Colosseum, the Arch of Constantine, and so on.[84] The study of such monuments was a tradition that went back at least to the earlier *Accademia Romana* founded by Pomponio Leto. The need to confront its results with Vitruvius had already been felt by Leto's pupil Andrea Fulvio. Fabio Calvo, another of Leto's pupils, prepared an Italian translation of Vitruvius for Raphael, Fulvio's associate in antiquarian studies. This was to serve as an aid in Raphael's project aimed at reconstructing the topography of Ancient Rome, an erudite project which Baldassare Castiglione explained on Raphael's behalf to Pope Clement VII.[85]

The re-founded *Accademia Romana* or *Accademia della Virtù* probably based its research on what had been preserved of Raphael's project. It should be noted that its programme was not limited to narrowly artistic concerns, but explicitly strived to collect all available evidence helpful to reconstruct in the mind both the physical environment of Ancient Rome and the civilisation of which that environment was the backdrop. Information was to be collected by measuring ruins, by copying, studying and interpreting coins, medals, inscriptions, reliefs and sculptures, bronzes, vases, etc. The column of Trajan was studied not only, and not even in the first place, for its aesthetic value, but for the information it provided about Trajan's campaigns, and in general about the manner in which the Romans used to combat and defeat their enemies. For the identification and interpretation of deities, persons, personifications, constructions, objects depicted in coins or sculpture it was essential to utilize the literary sources of Antiquity that in ever greater quantity were made available by humanist philologists. This was an essentially historical or antiquarian approach, and it certainly merits to be taken seriously as a precursor of modern archaeological method. Among much other material it produced, for instance,

84 A general review of antiquarian studies in sixteenth century Italy in Cochrane 1981, Chapter 15, pp. 423–444. Daly Davis 1989 and 1994, pp. 11–20, discuss the Vitruvian Academy, and analyse its programme as outlined in a letter by Claudio Tolomei printed in 1547: Tolomei 1547; modern edition and comment in Barocchi 1977, III, pp. 3037–3046; see also: Pagliara 1984–1986, pp. 67–74; Kulawik 2002, pp. 119–127.

85 BSB-HS, Cod. Ital. 37; a critical edition in Fontana/Morachiello 1975; contrary to these editors' assumption, Calvo's translation was not among the books acquired by King Ludwig I from the heirs of Piero Vettori: not only does it lack the mark of ownership that identifies the Vetttori codices in Munich, but it is in fact mentioned in the Inventory of the Munich *Kunstkammer* drawn up by Johann Baptist Fickler in 1598 (fol. 8v, nr. 109: 'Vitruvius de Architectura, in welsche sprach transferiert, und von der hand geschriben, in ein alt copert eingebunden') and in another, even earlier list of architectural books in Munich. The most obvious explanation is that it was included in the material from Raphael's estate acquired by Strada from Perino del Vaga and Giulio Romano; cf. Diemer/ Diemer/ Sauerländer 2008, vol. 1, pt. 1, cat.nr. 112, pp. 39–40, and vol. 3, pp. 230, 241, 252 and 491.

the Codex Coburgensis, a volume of detailed, carefully drawn reproductions of ancient monument that has been hailed as 'das erste wissenschaftliche Bildkompendium zur antiken Mythologie', or as the first archaeological handbook of the Renaissance.[86]

There were also a number of socio-political reasons why the humanists resident in Rome were especially drawn to the study of Antiquity. In the first place, such study was considered an erudite, virtuous pastime that was particularly suitable for the learned and celibate clerics that made up the greater part of the Papal court. Antiquarian studies were explicitly recommended in Paolo Cortesi's treatise *De cardinalatu* of 1510, in which Cortesi argued that in dispensing patronage, his ideal cardinal should 'select for special consideration men who engaged in humanistic studies, and especially those who investigated the more recondite aspects of Antiquity and the Latin language. He also expected that the cardinal would be able to appreciate such erudition'.[87]

When Cortesi wrote his treatise, another important motive for turning to antiquarian studies had not yet manifested itself. This was the advent of the Reformation, which based its doctrines consistently on Holy Scripture and the authority of the early Church. Attempts to reconstruct the early history of the Church—either to prove where it had gone off the track, as the Protestants tried to do, or to demonstrate that the Roman Catholic Church was the true and uncorrupted successor of the Church of the Apostles, as the Counter-Reformation attempted—often had to rely on antiquarian data (inscriptions in catacombs, Early-Christian sarcophagi, the mosaics in the Christian basilicas dating from the later Empire). The chief attempt from the Protestant side was the history of the Church known as the *Magdeburg Centuries*: edited by Matthias Flacius Illyricus, its first instalment appeared in 1559.[88]

It is no coincidence, I think, that the people involved in preparing the Roman Catholic response to the *Centuries* were often the same who are studied nowadays for their contribution to the development of classical studies. The best example is Onofrio Panvinio [Fig. 3.90], a young and very industrious scholar who both prepared an edition of the *Fasti Capitolini* and a new augmented edition of Platina's history of the Popes. His interest in the physical remainders of both pagan *and* Christian Rome is borne out by his correspondence

86 On the Codex Coburgensis, see Wrede/ Harprath 1986 and Harprath/ Wrede 1989.

87 D'amico 1983, p. 52. I am grateful to Gigliola Fragnito-Margiotta Broglio for having first drawn my attention to Cortesi (and for many suggestions and fruitful discussions).

88 The first volume of the *Annales ecclesiasticae*, the Catholic refutation of the *Magdeburg Centuries* edited by Cesare Baronio, appeared in 1588; some of the greatest classical scholars of the time, such as Onofrio Panvinio, Carlo Sigonio, Roberto Bellarmino and Alonso Chacón, were, with St Peter Canisius, engaged in its preparation. See Orella y Unzue 1976; Cochrane 1981, pp. 457–463.

with Antonio Agustín and by his project of having all mosaics of Old St. Peters documented before they were destroyed.[89] The Spanish prelate Antonio Agustín, consecutively auditor of the Rota, bishop of Lerida and Archbishop of Tarragona, was himself both a consummate classical scholar and a canon lawyer who played an important role in the Council of Trent [Fig. 3.89]. Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, prince-bishop of Augsburg, likewise combined an interest and expertise in classical remains, with great zeal in the re-catholization of his diocese.[90]

As said, I do not think this is a coincidence, but the nature of the connection is not self-evident; the response to the Reformation can hardly be considered as a cause of the boom of antiquarian studies around the middle of the sixteenth century. But it is possible that it provided scholars interested in antiquarian subjects with an excuse to indulge their hobby. Moreover, Reformation and Counter-Reformation also provided a negative motivation to study classical Antiquity: reading Agustín's letters one recognizes his profound and passionate interest in antiquarian studies, but one also realizes that such research provided him with a rare possibility occasionally to escape from the stress of contemporary business and dispute, in particular theological dispute.[91]

The interest in the remains of Antiquity, initially practiced mostly in clerical circles in Rome, soon migrated to a secular context: it is merely implied in *Il libro del Cortigiano* of Baldassare Castiglione, himself close to the *Curia* environment, but re-emerges more explicitly in some other tracts on courtesy and gentlemanly behaviour, such as Tomasso Garzoni's *La piazza universale*.[92] Interest in Antiquity was considered a suitable hobby for princes and high-placed officials also because it provided them with a decent means of showing off their wealth as well as their erudition. The proliferation of collections of antiquities documented by Maarten van Heemskerck's drawings and Aldrovandi's *Delle statue di Roma* should be considered from this point of view. These were brought together by competing prelates or by local patricians, who were stimulated by Roman patriotism or the pride connected with true or assumed descent from ancient Roman *gentes*.[93]

89 Waetzold 1964.

90 On Agustín, see Crawford 1993; on the Cardinal of Augsburg, see Overbeeke 1994; Wüst 1999.

91 Agustín's correspondence published in Agustín 1980.

92 Tommaso Garzoni, *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo*, Venice 1588, *discorso* 148, pp. 900–903: 'De' professori di medaglie, et d'altre anticaglie, Antiquiarij detti', and cf. p. 670.

93 On these collections, see below. The Massimi family traced their lineage from Quintus Fabius Maximus; I am told that even today the Pio da Carpi family, whose ancestor Rodolfo Pio Cardinal da Carpi brought together one of the most important collections of

During Strada's stay in Rome, which coincided with the last two years of Julius III's pontificate, interconfessional strife was still held in check by the faint hope that the Council of Trent might lead to some form of consensus between the Church of Rome and the Protestants. Julius III himself, often characterized as the last Pope of the Italian Renaissance, was no religious fanatic, and was more interested in a good administration of the Papal State than in burning heretics. A typical representative of the *curial* 'bourgeoisie', he was a friend of humanist erudition and a sensitive patron of the arts, as is demonstrated in Alessandro Nova's monograph on Julius' commissions.[94] The Villa Giulia as planned by Vasari and Vignola would have been perhaps the most convincing example of the integration of a splendid collection of antique sculpture in a setting of contemporary classicizing architecture; an integration so perfect that it is difficult to decide whether the Villa was conceived to house the antiquities, or whether the antiquities were collected to decorate the Villa.

The Villa Giulia must already have been one of the principal attractions in the emerging tourist-industry, of which the existence is documented by the publications of various types of guide books, such as Lucio Mauro's *Le antichità della Città di Roma*, printed together with Ulisse Aldrovandi's *Delle antiche statue che per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, et case si veggono*.[95] Such industry is moreover attested by the succes of several publishers of prints illustrating the principal monuments of ancient and contemporary Rome, such as Antonio Salamanca and Hieronymus Cock, and in particular Antonio Lafreri.[96] The popularity of such material is indicated by the fact that Giovanni Battista Cavallieri's *Antiquarum Statuarum Urbis Romae Liber*, a sort of visual complement of Aldrovandi's guidebook first printed probably in the 1550s, was thereafter continually reprinted in editions of ever increasing bulk.[97]

Collections such as those in the Belvedere in the Vatican, the Capitol, and in the courtyards or gardens of the palaces of the Roman nobility and the various cardinals resident in Rome would be normally of easy access to the interested visitor—many of whom were connected to the household of one of these prelates or magnates in one way or the other. Apart from the Vatican, probably the grandest collection was those of the Farnese, which incorporated several earlier collections acquired by purchase—such as that of Raphael's friend and patron Agostino Chigi, and that of the Sassi family—or by inheritance: in particular those housed in the Palazzo Medici-Madama acquired through

antiquities of the mid-Cinquecento, still are aware of their presumed descent from Antoninus Pius.

94 Nova 1988.

95 Venice 1558; Mauro's book had already appeared in an earlier edition (Venice 1556).

96 Bober/Rubinstein 1986, pp. 467, 455, 461.

97 Bober/Rubinstein 1986, p. 454; Gallo 1992.

the marriage of Margaret of Austria, widow of Alessandro de' Medici, to Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma. It also incorporated the results of the excavations of the Baths of Caracalla in the 1540s. Other important family collections were those of the Della Valle, the Cesi, the Del Bufalo, the Galli, the Maffei, the Mattei, the Massimi and the Savelli, while a number of cardinals in Rome also brought together important collections [Figs 3.84–3.85]. Chief among these were those established by two cardinals from ruling families: that of Rodolfo Pio, Cardinal of Carpi ,was housed in his palace in the Campo Marzio and his *vigna* on Monte Cavallo, while Ippolito d'Este, Cardinal of Ferrara, used his to adorn the splendid villa at Tivoli he had designed by Pirro Ligorio in the 1550s. But even foreign prelates residing for longer or shorter periods in Rome, such as Jean du Bellay, Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, and Antoine Perrenot, Cardinal Granvelle, brought together considerable collections.

These grander collections were complemented by the smaller cabinets, often consisting chiefly of coins, small bronzes, some gems, some inscriptions that were popular among the less wealthy members of the *Curia*. The presence of such a considerable number of collectors, coupled to short-term visitors to Rome who were desirous of bringing home at least one or two souvenirs, provided a brisk market for all sort of antiquities, chiefly centring around the Campo de' Fiori, but about which not much is known as yet. Demand was sufficiently ample to encourage even an industry in copies and, probably, outright fakes, though it is not always easy to decide in which category the many Renaissance imitations that have been preserved should be classified.[98]

FIGURES 3.84–3.85 Two of the Roman collections of antiquities visited by Jacopo Strada, in the Palazzo Capranica-della Valle (engraving by Hieronymus Cock after Maarten van Heemskerck) and in the Casa Sassi (drawing by Heemskerck; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett).

98 McCrory 1980, McCrory 1987; Jones 1990.

FIGURES 3.86–3.87 Stephanus Vinandus Pighius, *Themis Dea, seu de lege divina*, Antwerp 1567, reporting a learned discussion in 1550 about a Roman herm in the collection of Rodolfo Cardinal Pio da Carpi.

Such collections often were the setting, or at least the subject of learned conversations among the humanists, conversations of which one can get some idea from Antonio Agustín's *Dialoghi intorno alle medaglie*. An even better impression is provided in Stephanus Vinandus Pighius' *Themis Dea* printed in Antwerp in 1578 [Figs. 3.86–3.87]. This short dialogue pretends to report a discussion that had taken place in about 1550 in the garden of Cardinal Carpi on the Monte Cavallo. Apart from the author himself, a Dutch antiquary who was at the time a member of the household of Marcello Cervini, the participants included Antonio Agustín, Jean Matal or Metellus, Agustín's secretary and assistant, and Antoine Morillon, who was in the service of Cardinal Granvelle. Subject of the discussion is a female herm that Cardinal Carpi had recently added to his collection, which is interpreted in detail with the help of classical literary sources.[99]

99 *Themis Dea seu de lege divina*, printed by Plantin in Antwerp in 1568, with a dedication to Cardinal Granvelle; reprinted in J. Gronovius, *Thesaurus Graecarum antiquitatum*, IX,

Discussions such as that described by Pighius appear to have regularly taken place, and they often included not only erudite humanists, but also erudite artists, whose opinion was valued especially for the practical expertise they could contribute. This often concerned architectural questions, especially in the more or less informal sessions of the Vitruvian Academy as reported by the learned bishop Girolamo Garimberti, who mentions the painter Sebastiano del Piombo and the architects Jacopo Meleghino and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger among the discussants.[100] Artists were prized as exact draughtsmen who could document the ancient relics in precise drawings, which greatly facilitated comparative research, and whose measured drawings of the ancient ruins were indispensable for any interpretations of their original appearance and function. Already about 1537 three leading members of the Academy, Marcello Cervini [Fig. 3.88], Bernardino Maffei and Alessandro Manzuoli, had, according to Vasari, commissioned the young Vignola 'di misurare interamente tutte l'anticaglie di Roma'.[101] Such studies, moreover, were of great importance for a better understanding of Vitruvius' text, many passages of which were quite obscure, as Strada himself would underline in the preface of his edition of Serlio's *Settimo libro*. Of course those artists whose education and interest enabled them to understand this scholarly function of the drawings they prepared were particularly prized. Such learned artists certainly were not discouraged to express their opinion on other antiquarian subjects: the best example is Pirro Ligorio, to whose impressive compilation of antiquarian material humanist scholars such as Agustín continuously had recourse, and whose help and suggestions were often gratefully acknowledged.[102]

3.7.2 *Strada's Contacts in Rome*

It is not known whether Strada had kept up with any friends and professional connections he had made during his earlier sojourns in Rome. But even if he had not, his reception was guaranteed partly by his connection with Hans Jakob Fugger and partly by his own achievements. The Fugger firm had always maintained an important branch in Rome, and their participation in the cultural life of the *Urbs* is demonstrated by the chapel they dedicated in Santa Maria dell' Anima, for which Hans Jakob's grandfather Jakob had commissioned an altarpiece from Giulio Romano, and by the inclusion of a description of

Venice, 1737, sp. 1139–1184. On Pighius, see Jongkees 1954; Gunter Schweikhart and Hilde Hiller in Harprath/Wrede 1989, resp. pp. 157–166 and 167–184; Daly Davis 1989, p. 197; on Morrillon: Wrede 1993 and Crawford 1998.

100 In his *De regimenti publici de la città*, Venice 1554, quoted by Daly Davis 1989, p. 189.

101 Vasari/ Milanesi 1878–1885, 7, p. 106.

102 Mandowsky/Mitchell 1963, pp. 30–34.

the Fugger *vigna* in Anton Francesco Doni's treatise *Le Ville* of 1559.[103] The effect of Hans Jakob's importance as a politician close to the Emperor, and as an intellectual and patron in his own right, was enhanced by his personal acquaintance with various eminent personalities, such as Cardinals Farnese and Granvelle. His recommendation alone would have opened almost any door in Rome, but Strada had taken care to be able to present some evidence of his own *virtù*: as we have seen, he probably carried with him the first copies of his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*. Perhaps on the strength of this Strada obtained the title of *Civis Romanus*, which was granted to him by the Roman Senate in April 1555, though the decision is motivated merely by the statement that Strada and thirteen other 'signori nobili forestieri <…> con instantia desiderano esser creati cittadini Romani': rather a contrast with the explicit praise for his numismatic labour that motivated the decision to grant the citizenship to Hubertus Goltzius some years later.[104] Nonetheless Strada prized the title so much that he not only used it on the title pages of the books he printed, but hardly ever omitted it even when signing his correspondence.

Unfortunately it is not known what sponsors had supported Strada's request, if any were deemed necessary. But from other sources we can gather some information about the people with whom Strada established and maintained contact during his residence in Rome. In some rather literary passages in the prefaces of the books he published Strada sung the praise of the Papal court as a centre or academy of scholarship and erudition, passages sufficiently interesting to paraphrase here. In his preface to Onofrio Panvinio's *Epitome pontificum* Strada says, for instance:

> In those days there were in Rome many noblemen, members of the *Curia Romana* and the Papal Household, and others, who were greatly interested in the history of the Popes, and to them Panvinio habitually referred any doubtful points or tricky questions he met with in his research. Chief

103 A manuscript illustrated version of the first book of Doni's treatise, dated 1559 and entitled *La villa Fucchara* is preserved in the BSB-HS, Cod. Ital. 36; cf. Bauer-Eberhardt 2007, pp. 97–115

104 Doc. 1555-03-18. On the honorary citizenship of Rome, see Gregorovius 1877; Goltzius was created a Roman citizen on 7 May 1567, with explicit reference to his merits for the Roman 'res publica' [Rome, Archivio Capitolino, *Camera Capitolina*, credenza 1a, tomo 10, fol. 91v.]. Pirro Ligorio, himself a Neapolitan nobleman, doubtless far better known in Rome and better respected as an antiquary, and who could easily have found the necessary sponsors, was accorded the citizenship only in 1560 (Gregorovius 1877, p. 29). The grant to Strada probably reflects his financial means and the stature of his patron (Fugger) as much, or more, than his own prestige as an antiquary.

> among these was that illustrious prelate, Alessandro Cardinal Farnese, whose splendid court cultivated outstanding talent in any field, and welcomed and stimulated outstanding votaries of all the fine arts and sciences. Apart from many noblemen of the oldest and purest lineage, one would also meet there theologians, philosophers, astronomers, mathematicians, historians, poets, doctors, lawyers, philologists, architects, engravers ['sculptores'], painters, sculptors ['statuarios'], antiquaries, gem-cutters, goldsmiths, and soldiers: in short, people proficient in all the useful and fine arts. Even I, unworthy, was desired by their common patron to join these remarkable men, which obviously did not displease me; for apart from his liberality towards me, he introduced me into this erudite academy, from which, besides great enjoyment, I derived no little profit.[105]

Elsewhere Strada specifically names Alessandro Farnese his *patronus*, but it is unlikely that Strada actually was in the Cardinal's service. More probably he was made welcome to his collections, and was occasionally invited to participate in the discussions of the more or less informal academy meeting in the Palazzo Farnese.[106] The latter option appears more likely also because Strada had brought his young family and had established an independent household which, apart from his personal servants, included at least one of the artists he employed.[107] Strada was particularly interested in the history and customs of Ancient Rome, in so far as these could be reconstructed from its wreckage still floating about by the historians and antiquaries he met there: 'Though these monuments be mute, they can instruct those who are well versed in Roman history', he says in the preface to his edition of Panvinio's *Fasti et Triumphi*, and then went on to heap laurels on the heads of a number of scholars he had met in the Palazzo Farnese:

> There we find live oracles, who by both discussing the things that have come down to us, and by restoring in their learned commentaries what has been lost through the injuries of time, can give an exact interpretation of what once was, as anyone can witness who has heard discourse Antonio Agustín, Padre Ottavio [= Pantagato], Gentile Delfini, Achille

105 Strada's Preface to Panvinio 1557<b>.

106 Strada's Preface to Panvinio 1557<a>. On Alessandro Farnese's patronage, see Nolhac 1887; specifically on artistic patronage see Robertson 1992.

107 Armenini 1587, p. 65: '<…> un mercante Mantovano, che fù l'anno 1556. con il quale io dimorava allhora <…>'.

> Maffei, Benedetto Egio, Gabriele Faerno and numerous others on many different subjects. All students of Antiquity have recourse to them, as to the temple of the Delphic Apollo, and hear them with great enthusiasm and attention, not dispersing without having obtained great profit from their conversation. Of incredible perfection is such wisdom and eloquence, when it is found in persons of sensitivity and refinement, and of spotless personal integrity.[108]

There are sufficient indications to show that Strada did indeed maintain personal contacts with a number of the members of this circle. He claims to have met Onufrio Panvinio [Fig. 3.90] in the Palazzo Farnese 'where, to my great pleasure, I daily enjoyed the conversation of Onofrio Panvinio, whose great assiduity and precision in his research of past times I have always greatly admired'. These contacts are confirmed by the fact that Panvinio allowed Strada to publish a first version of his treatise on the *Fasti Capitolini* and also made available to him a copy of his manuscript history of the Popes. Strada's edition of these two works, the *Fasti et Triumphi* and the *Epitome Pontificum*, would appear in 1557 with dedications to the Emperor Ferdinand I and his eldest son, Maximilian King of Bohemia, respectively.[109] It appears, however, that Strada owned his good contacts with the rather shy and withdrawn Panvinio in particular to Antonio Agustín [Fig. 3.89] From Agustín's correspondence with Panvinio it appears that it was the former who had drafted some sort of a contract between author and publisher: so if the suggestion that Strada print the book was not actually his, at least he strongly supported it.[110]

Strada's contacts with Antonio Agustín appear to have been particularly close, and their intimacy was the obvious consequence of the interest in ancient numismatics they shared. By the middle of the sixteenth century the collecting of ancient coins had become so fashionable as to generate a lively community of dealers and peddlers, chiefly in the neighbourhood of the Campo de' Fiori, and several collectors possessed quite impressive cabinets, though by the 1550's none of these was as yet organized in a very systematic way: that was first to be realized by the splendid collection brought together by Fulvio Orsini, librarian of Alessandro Farnese.[111] Strada spent a great deal of his time in inspecting these various coin-cabinets, whose contents he studied often in

108 Strada's preface to Panvinio 1557<a>.

109 For the publishing history of these books, see below, Part 2, chapter 3.

110 Letters dated Roma, 27 November 1557 and 8 January 1558: 'io vi mando <…> la fede del contratto con Strada <…>', in Agustìn 1980, pp. 281, 286.

111 On Fulvio Orsini, see Nolhac 1887.

FIGURES 3.88–3.90 Three of the intellectuals with whom Strada consorted in Rome: Cardinal Marcello Cervini, prefect of the Vatican Library and afterwards Pope Marcellus II (attributed to Jacopino del Conte), Antonio Agustín (anonymous engraving), and Onofrio Panvinio (the portrait from his tomb in Sant'Agostino in Campo Marzio, Rome).

detail, and of which he must have copied the best pieces in quick sketches, raw material for the drawings to be included in his numismatic *Corpus*. In his *Antiquorum numismatωn Διασκευέ*, the eleven-volume manuscript containing descriptions of the coins Strada had studied that was intended as the scholarly complement of the drawings of the *Corpus*, Strada always mentioned the collection in which he had seen the best-preserved exemplar of each particular coin-type.[112] This information not only allows us to largely reconstruct his own not inconsiderable *medagliere*, but also provides a lot of information about those of a number of Roman collectors. The resulting list of owner's names and the number of coins each of them possessed should be used with some caution, because it represents no absolute and complete survey, but merely a selection from those cabinets Strada was allowed to visit. So a large number of descriptions given for any particular collection may possibly reflect some superiority in quality or size, but probably chiefly indicates that there Strada was made welcome repeatedly and was given better facilities of study than elsewhere.[113]

From the people of whom Strada makes such honourable mention in his preface to Panvinio' *Fasti*, Antonio Agustín, Gentile Delfini, Achille Maffei and Gabriele Faerno also turn up in this list, while only Benedetto Egio and Ottavio

112 On the *Διασκευέ,* see Jansen 1993<b>.

113 It is for instance revealing that the Papal collections are not mentioned at all, and only a few incidental items from the holdings of the Farnese. A list based on an examination of the first five volumes included in Jansen 1993<a>, pp. 231–232.

Pantagato had not allowed Strada to study their coins or, more likely, did not possess any of particular merit: after all not every humanist felt it necessary to spend his money on such tokens of erudition. While Strada describes only a few coins from the collection of Alessandro Farnese, the fact that he mentions about fifty from the cabinet of Annibale Caro, an important man of letters who was particularly closely connected to Farnese, indicates that he did indeed have regular contacts with the circle of the Cardinal, whom he describes as his patron. Strada also visited the collections of a number of Roman patricians, such as Stefano del Bufalo, Alessandro Corvino and the enigmatic, unidentified Pyrrho Aloysio (Alvise?) Manlilio (Manilio?). Chief among these was Achille Maffei, whose family had collected antiquities already since the end of the fifteenth century, and whose numismatic collection appears to have been of outstanding size and quality: Strada included the description of hundreds of Maffei's coins in the *Διασκευέ*.[114] Several entries confirm that Strada actively hunted for antique coins; he regularly frequented the shops of famous antique dealers, though he rarely mentioned them by name: 'in Romano suburbio apud quendam antiquarium', 'apud antiquarium in Foro Panthei' and so on. Exceptions are the most renowned of Roman antique-dealers, Antonietto 'delle Medaglie' and a certain 'Dominicus', probably the gem-cutter, medalist and dealer Domenico Compagni, also known as Domenico de' Cammei. It is not clear whether he is identical with a Venetian dealer 'Domenico antiquario' whose shop Strada visited on another occasion. But Strada also found antique medals among the stock of goldsmiths, money-changers and junk-dealers: 'apud quendam aurifabrum', 'apud mensarium quendam Romae in suburbano vico', 'apud scrutarium Romae prope Pacis', 'apud scrutarium Romae in Campo Florae', and 'è regione D[ivi] Marcelli', and so on.[115] Oddly enough Strada apparently was not allowed to study Pirro Ligorio's collection, which is never referred to, though he later did cite Ligorio's opinion on a given coin in support of his own, and must have met him repeatedly.[116] He did, however, consult the

114 Most of the collections visited by Strada are listed in the survey of Roman collections of antiquities of the sixteenth century given in Bober-Rubinstein 1986, pp. 471–480; for the Maffei collection, see p. 476, which also illustrates Maarten van Heemskerck's drawing of the *cortile* of the Maffei house in the Via della Pigna; see now also the survey of owners mentioned by Enea Vico in Missere Fontana 1994.

115 Little is known about these various shops: see McCrory 1987. Strada does not mention two other well-known dealers, Vincenzo and Gian Antonio Stampa, who purveyed antiquities to the Florentine court.

116 In a letter to Maximilian II, doc. 1559-06-06; published in Jansen 1993<a>, pp. 233–235.

medagliere of his other famous colleague, Enea Vico, but it appears that this visit took place in Venice.[117]

The most important collection Strada studied, however, was that belonging to Antonio Agustín, which appears to have been Strada's primary source, of even greater importance than his own collection. In the five volumes I have been able to study Strada mentions about sixty to seventy serious collectors, but Agustín's *medagliere* alone is responsible for over a fifth of the coins described. Though it is well known that Agustín was one of the principal experts in the field, whose *Dialogos de medallas, inscriciones y otras antiguedades* of 1587 remains an important source for the history of numismatics in the Renaissance, very little is known about his collection.[118] Strada's descriptions are of signal importance in an attempt at reconstruction, a reconstruction that should be based on the holdings of the Royal Collection in Madrid, because King Philip II inherited most of Agustín's library and collections. Certainly it was of outstanding quality, if Strada so often preferred Agustìn's exemplar of a given type to those preserved elsewhere. Yet it should be kept in mind that Strada's exceptional dependence on Agustín's collection does not necessarily mean that at the time of Strada's visit it was unrivalled in Rome for quality and quantity of its contents. It rather indicates that Strada was accorded exceptional opportunity to repeatedly study and copy Agustín's medals, and this suggests that the intimacy between auditor and antiquary was more intense than is suggested by the few references to Strada in Agustín's published correspondence.

It is difficult to recreate their relationship exactly. Strada's labour in Agustín's cabinet will rarely have been accomplished in the actual presence of his host, whose responsibilities allowed him little time for his erudite pursuits. But Strada was not the only student to occupy himself with Agustín's coins, and imperceptibly he must have learned a great deal from comparing notes and exchanging opinions with his fellow-guests. In Agustín's few moments of leisure more formal discussions must have taken place, either in his own house or elsewhere, in which many of the learned men Strada claimed to have known in Rome habitually took part. Decades later the venerable Archbishop of Tarragona still cherished the memories of such evenings, which he attempted to recreate in the moments when he could relax from his ecclesiastical duties: the *Dialoghi intorno alle medaglie* describes the aged prelate instructing his young friends in the importance of ancient coins as historical sources, and teaching

117 Strada referred to Ligorio in his letter to Maximilian II, *ibidem*.

118 Agustín 1587; Italian translations by Dionigi Ottaviano Sada and by Ascanio Donangeli, both published in Rome in 1592: Agustín 1592<a>; Agustín 1592<b>.

them the rudiments of a method that had developed in Rome in the 1550s. It has been assumed that Agustín did not value Strada's erudition very highly, on the basis of an often-quoted passage in the *Dialoghi*: 'But how can that be', his questioner asks:

> <…> that without understanding Latin he [= Pirro Ligorio] could have written well about such things? A[gustín].: In the same way as do Humberto Golzio, Enea Vico, Iacopo Strada, and others, so that who reads their books would believe that they have seen and read all the Latin and Greek books that ever were written. They make use of the labour of others and being able to draw well with a brush, they wield a pen equally well.[119]

This passage, however, has not always been interpreted or translated correctly, and in any case should be taken with some grains of salt. However sceptical he may or may not have been, Agustín's judgement did allow the quality and utility of the works of Ligorio, Vico, Goltzius and Strada: is it a coincidence that these can still be considered the four greatest of mid-*Cinquecento* antiquaries? Agustín obviously appreciated Strada's drawings and his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*, if only for the high quality of its printing. As a most astute man of the world, he must have been impressed with the energy with which Strada attempted to get things done, and the ample means which—at least partly thanks to Fugger—he had at his disposal to realize his ambitions. These, rather than Strada's erudition, must have been the motives which made him advise Panvinio to entrust the manuscripts of his books to Strada to have them printed, and it appears that he himself was instrumental in drawing up the contract. Even when Strada's publications of these books resulted in a fiasco, Agustín did not intend to break off his relations with Strada merely to please Panvinio: when he visited the Imperial court in 1558 he sided with Strada in his controversy with the Imperial Historiographer Wolfgang Lazius, realizing that though the latter was a good and learned historian, he had an insufficient command of the intricacies of numismatics as a discipline.[120]

It cannot be doubted that Strada greatly profited from his contacts with Agustín, and though the project of his numismatic *Corpus* for Hans Jakob

119 Authors translation of Agustín 1587, pp. 131–132. A freer translation in Mandowsky/ Mitchell 1963, pp. 31–32, which has more negative connotations: 'From their works you might imagine they had read all the Latin and Greek books ever written, whereas all they did was to utilize the learning of others. The value of their work lies not in what they wrote but in the excellence of their drawings'. The full passage is discussed below, Ch. 15.1.

120 Both affairs discussed in Von Busch 1973, pp. 197–198, and 199–201, and Jansen 1993<a>, pp. 220–221; cf. below, chs. 4.2 and 14.4.2–3.

Fugger antedates his arrival in Rome, Agustín's influence is probably responsible for some of the more scholarly aspects of Strada's practice. Strada's very precise, almost dry descriptions of the coins and his consequently noting the provenance of the model in his *A.A.A. Numismatωn Antiquorum Διασκευέ,* the separation of the coins struck in Greece and the East from the Latin ones in his *Series* presented to Emperor Maximilian II—and perhaps also his providing the former with a title in Greek—as well as the addition of several exhaustive indices, may be instances of such influence. At the same time he must have been stimulated by the very lively milieu of scholars and amateurs regularly discussing points of history in the light of the information extracted from the coins and inscriptions that were so assiduously collected, though this stimulus proved more ephemeral. Learned discussions of individual coins, such as those scattered through Agustín's correspondence with Panvinio, or included in Costanzo Landi's *In veterum numismatum romanorum miscellanea explicationes* (printed in Lyon in 1550) are rare in Strada's work: only occasionally he attempted more detailed interpretations of an individual reverse, for instance in the letter to Maximilian II when King of Bohemia, in which he defended himself against the attack upon his scholarly accomplishments launched by his rival, the Imperial Historiographer Wolfgang Lazius. But such discourses show that he was at least well aware of the most recent developments in antiquarian scholarship, and this is borne out by one of his letters to Fugger, in which he demonstrates detailed knowledge of the origins of an important epigraphic manuscript recently acquired by his patron: a 'libro de' pili in dissegno' compiled in Rome at the instance of Granvelle, and commented upon by Morillon; it is just possible that this volume can be identified with the so-called *Codex Coburgensis*.[121]

The *Codex Coburgensis* has been plausibly interpreted as more or less coinciding with one of the items included in the programme of publication envisaged by the Vitruvian Academy in Rome, strongly supported by Marcello Cervini, which has been briefly outlined above. Though no direct contacts between Strada and this *Accademia del Virtù* are documented, Strada was in touch with many of its individual members. It is difficult to imagine, however, that a former pupil of Giulio Romano, who arrived in Rome carrying all of Sebastiano Serlio's drawings and manuscripts—including those by Peruzzi and others that Serlio had brought together in the course of his long life, apart from much graphic material recently published in France—and who himself was an enthusiastic student of architecture and of Antiquity, would not have

121 Doc. 1559-06-06; see Jansen 1993<a>, pp. 223–226; its identification with the Codex Coburgensis suggested by Wrede 1997, but doubted by Crawford 1998, pp. 100–102.

been welcomed by the members of the academy resident in Rome at that time. Certainly the ambitious programme of publications that Strada first began to develop about this time rather closely echoes that formulated by Claudio Tolomei in his letter quoted above, a letter Strada would have known, since it was printed already in 1547.[122] It is striking that many of the activities Strada engaged in during his stay in Rome seem to fit into the objectives of the Academy, though many of them must have been primarily connected to the commissions Fugger had given him.

3.8 Commissions and Purchases: The Genesis of Strada's Musaeum

3.8.1 *Acquisition of Antiques*

With his erudite research and his other enterprises, Strada was very strenuously occupied during the two years of his residence in Rome. Unfortunately it is difficult to establish in how far Strada's activities were related to specific commissions from Fugger, and in how far he acted on his own initiative and in his own immediate interest. It is clear that no exclusive relationship to any patron in Rome was established, and it is rather likely that Strada maintained himself, his family and the other members of his retinue at least in part from the income deriving from Fugger's commissions. In the preface to his 1575 edition of Caesar he described his trip to Rome as an explicit initiative of his patron, who had charged him to 'to acquire gold, silver and bronze coins and marbles of remarkable antiquity, which I at great expense had brought to Augsburg'.[123] This suggests that Strada's principal object was the acquisition of antiquities for Fugger's growing collection: when Strada frequented the shops of various antiquarians and peddlers he doubtless did not limit himself to studying their coins in order to complete his numismatic *Corpus*, but also selected those objects with which he thought best to enrich Fugger's *studio*. He also purchased antique statuary on Fugger's behalf, of which very little is known: Strada emphasises the busts of Emperor's and Empresses, which accords well with his patron's historical interest, and such busts were a most suitable type of decoration of the library in which Fugger's collection was collocated. But Strada's

122 Tolomei's letter published in *De le lettere di M. Claudio Tolomei libri sette*, Venezia (Gioliti) 1547; it is reprinted and commented in Barocchi 1971–1977, III, pp. 3037–3047. The programme of the Vitruvian Academy commented in Daly Davis 1989 and Daly Davis 1994, pp. 11–20.

123 Strada's preface to his edition of Caesar 1575; cf. below, Ch. 12.3.

purchases also included life-size statues; unfortunately too little information is available to allow us to identify any individual pieces among the holdings of the *Antiquarium* and the *Glyptothek* at Munich, where Fugger's collection ended up.[124] It can be assumed that Strada also acquired, probably even on a large scale, books and manuscripts—or copies of these, if the original was not to be had for love or money—for Fugger's library, which was in the end the latter's principal interest; but we have no concrete indications of this.

3.8.2 *Commissions of Visual Documentation*

We do know, however, much more about another aspect of Fugger's commission: the acquisition of visual documentation of the relics of Antiquity, as well as of the most splendid achievements of the art of the Renaissance. Strada's numismatic *corpus*, the *Magnum ac novum opus* preserved in Gotha, is the principal relic of his work for Fugger in this field; it has been discussed and illustrated above [Figs. 3.22–3.33]. This project was begun before Strada's departure from Nuremberg—its title-page bears the date 1550—but Strada continued working on it for many years. Possibly Strada still added to it on behalf of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, who acquired the series together with the rest of Fugger's library and collection in 1566. While in Rome he continued working on the project, probably immediately having converted the sketches of the coins he had studied during the day into the fair drawings to be included in the *Corpus*. Possibly he was occasionally allowed to send his draughtsmen into the collections he frequented, or to carry home some of their holdings for a few days. One of these draughtsmen, Giovanni Battista Armenini, years later recorded his work for Strada, in whose house he lived for some time:

> <…> and I copied for him [says Armenini] certain antique bronze and golden medaillons, in watercolours, the size of a *palmo* each; which portraits, with [images of] their reverses, he then sent to the Fuggers, very rich merchants of Antwerp, a most powerful city of Flanders, after he had bound them into most beautiful books.[125]

124 Von Busch, pp. 111–113. At least two statues in the Antiquarium are documented in Strada's ms. *Antiquarum Statuarum* in Vienna, but these were among the acquisitions Strada made for Albrecht V in Venice in 1567–1568.

125 Armenini 1587, p. 65. Armenini mixes up Anversa (Antwerp) and Augusta (Augsburg): though the Fugger firm did have a branch at Antwerp, there is no reason to doubt that the books of drawings were sent immediately to Hans Jakob in Augsburg.

This description perfectly fits the corpus of drawings in Gotha already discussed and illustrated above. But Strada employed draughtsman such as Armenini also in other projects: from another passage in Armenini's *De' veri precetti della pittura* [Fig. 3.91] we know that, though Armenini possibly was the only artist lodging with Strada, he certainly was not the only one to be employed by him. The execution of the numismatic drawings for Hans Jakob Fugger was, moreover, only one of the tasks allotted to them. Following an admiring description of Raphael's Vatican Loggia, Armenini reports how

> <...> every part of this ensemble, including its tiled floor, was drawn on paper and coloured in the miniature technique, in the proper way, by the hand of the most talented young artists in Rome in my time, and of which I myself was one; once thus coloured it was then sent by the man who had commissioned it, and paid royally for it, to Antwerp, to a great lord of the Fugger family, who, it was said, took great delight in it. And for that agent I mean, another copy was made which, after not much time,

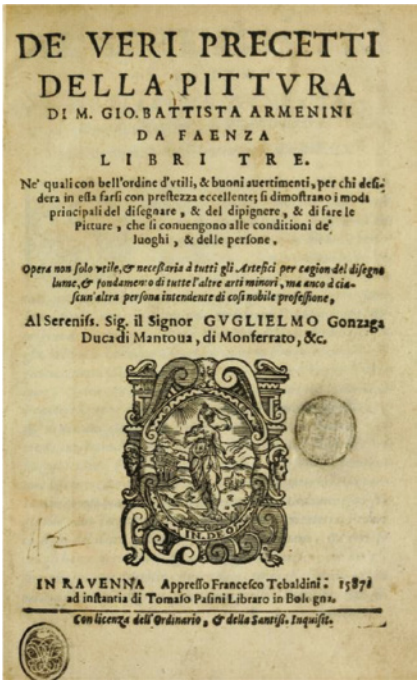

DE' VERI PRECETTI
DELLA PITTVRA
DI M. GIO. BATTISTA ARMENINI
DA FAENZA
LIBRI TRE.
Ne' quali con bell'ordine d'vtili, & buoni auertimenti, per chi desidera in essa farsi con prestezza eccellente; si dimostrano i modi principali del disegnare, & del dipignere, & di fare le Picture, che si conuengono alle conditioni de' luoghi, & delle persone.
Opera non solo vtile, & necessaria à tutti gli Artefici per cagion del disegno lume, & fondamento di tutte l'altre arti minori, ma anco à ciascun'altra persona intendente di così nobile professione,
Al Serenis. Sig. il Signor GVGLIELMO Gonzaga Duca di Mantoua, di Monferrato, &c.
IN RAVENNA Appresso Francesco Tebaldini: 1587
ad instantia di Tomaso Pasini Libraro in Bologna.
Con licenza dell'Ordinario, & della Santiss. Inquisit.

FIGURE 3.91 Giovanni Battista Armenini, *De veri precetti della pittura*, Ravenna 1587, title page.

FIGURES 3.92–3.93 Giovanni Battista Armenini et al., coloured drawings documenting Raphael's Vatican Loggia, Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 33.

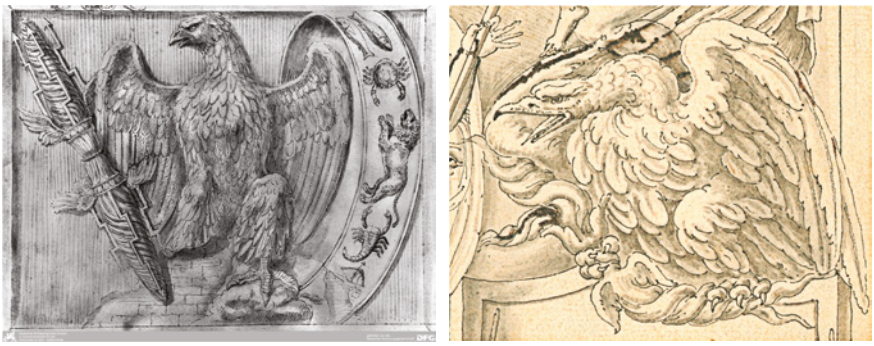
> he himself took to Spain to the great court of King Philip, with an infinite number of other drawings which he bought all the time, and were commissioned from us to draw for him plans, temples, medals [= coins], arches, columns, statues and other ancient objects that have been found throughout that city in the course of time, and those however that were among the most notable, and were of greater quality than the others.[126]

In view of Armenini's inaccuracies, and the provenance from Ambras of the series of drawings of the Vatican Loggia which has been preserved in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, one cannot be sure that all these 'dissegni infiniti' were in fact among Fugger's commissions. In any case Strada kept a set of the Loggia

126 Armenini 1587, p. 180. Strada's identification with the 'mercante Mantoana' and the 'agente' of Fugger is certain; cf. Davidson 1983, p. 589; and by Edward J. Olszewski in Armenini 1977, p. 134, note 14.

drawings, or a copy of it, for himself, as well as of much of the other material he acquired, and he would later include it in the ambitious programme of publications he failed to realize.[127] This material consisted of the measured drawings of the principal antique monuments of Rome—such as the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius—executed in part by the artists Strada employed, and in part, he claims, prepared by himself; and of similar documentation of the most important achievements of the architecture of his own century—such as Raphael's *Loggia* [Figs. 3.92–3.93 and below, Figs. 13.1019–13.107]. In addition to the *Loggia* drawings, a beautiful large drawing in pen and wash documenting Polidoro da Caravaggio's frescoes decorating the facade of the Palazzo Gaddi in Rome can be connected with Strada's commission, and provides a good idea of what such documentation must have looked like [below, Fig. 13.108].[128]

Apart from Armenini, only one of the 'più valenti giovani' mentioned by Armenini can be identified with some degree of certainty. This is Giovanni Antonio Dosio, who noted in an album of drawings of antique cinerary urns which ones he had copied out on behalf of Strada.[129] Strada's compatriot



FIGURES 3.94–3.95 Unidentified draughtsman, mid sixteenth century, an image from the *Codex Coburgensis* (Veste Coburg, Cod. HZ II), compared to a detail from the title page of Strada's *Series Imp*[*eratorum*] *Ro*[*manorum*] (Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Ms. A 1243a), shows both the correspondence in approach in mid-sixteenth-century antiquarian drawings, and the difference in manner between individual draughtsmen.

127 ÖNB-HS, Cod. min. 33.

128 Vienna, Albertina, inv.nr. 15.462; Birke/Kertész 1992–1997, 4, pp. 2104–2105. In view of its close resemblance to the Loggia drawings—note for instance the realistic detail of the tears in the waxed paper filling the window frames—and its present location, it may have been among Strada's commissions; the topic is discussed in greater detail below, Ch. 13.8.1.

129 Giovanni Antonio Dosio's sketchbook preserved in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin; fol. 8v contains a note 'tutti quegli che avran[n]o u[na +] per contrasegno so fatti [per

Giovanni Battista Scultori had executed similar documentation on behalf of Granvelle already in 1547—in this case of the decoration of the Sistine Chapel and of Giulio Romano's *Sala de' Giganti* in the Palazzo del Te at Mantua—and doubtless now also contributed to Strada's collection, since after Scultori's death Strada would praise the work he had done for him.[130]

The anonymous draughtsmen of the *Codex Coburgensis* likewise may have been among the artists Strada employed at this time: his manner suggested a Mantuan origin to Richard Harprath; his use of clearly distinguished parallel hatchings is reflected in the title-pages of some of Strada's later manuscripts [Figs. 3.94–3.95, cf. Figs. 3.22–3.23].[131] The preparation of such material for Strada and for other visitors to what in fact was a burgeoning tourist attraction must have been quite a welcome source of income for young artists embarking on their career by studying Roman antiquities and the canonical works of the great masters of Renaissance Rome.

3.8.3 *Acquisition of the Drawings Left by Perino del Vaga and Giulio Romano*

Strada's acquisitions doubtless also included many drawings (probably also prints) which he could buy ready-made from draughtsmen, engravers and booksellers specializing in this trade, or which he found occasion to purchase from other collectors tempted by the generous prices Strada appears to have offered.[132] Chief among such occasional purchases was his acquisition of all the

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messer]. Iacopo Strada. Lo fo a causa [di non] pigliar errore'; the codex is published in Huelsen 1933, 6–7, no. 21, fol. 8v.; cf. Tedeschi Grisanti 1983, p. 70; Casamassima/Rubinstein 1993, p. xii.; Rubinstein 1989, p. 204; cf. below, Ch. 11.4.

130 Greppi 1977, pp. 45–52, especially letters nrs 1–3; but it should be noted that Scultori prepared these in Mantua from copies—by Marcello Venusti—he had at his disposal; cf. Lincoln 1997. The series is kept at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid; Giovan Battista's son Adamo engraved a series of *Ignudi* of the Sistine ceiling which was published around 1550; cf. Bellini/Salzi 1991, pp. 64–104; Strada refers to Scultori and the work he had done in a letter to the Duke of Mantua of 1577 (Doc 1577-10-04 A).

131 *Series Imp<eratorum> Ro<manorum>*, Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Ms. A 1243a and *Series Romanorum ac Graecorum ac Germanorum imperatorum*, ÖNB-HS, Cod. 9413–9518. Though the approach is comparable to some extent, the hands of the draughtsmen differ (f.i. use of hatching for the background of the relief is similar, but the manner in which this is done—horizontal vs vertical—differs). On the draughtsman of the Codex *Coburgensis* (Veste Coburg, Cod. HZ 11), see Richard Harprath, 'Zeichentechnik und künstlerische Persönlichkeit des Meister des Codex Coburgensis', in Harprath/Wrede 1989, pp. 127–140.

132 According to Armenini Strada paid royally ('realmente') for the documentation of the Vatican *Loggia*. When acquiring antiquities in Venice in the 1560s Strada was likewise reputed to have paid high prices (below, Ch. 12).

graphic material from the estate of Perino del Vaga, who had died in 1547. In the preface to his 1575 edition of Serlio's *Settimo Libro* Strada related how he went and visit the widow of his old friend, as Strada called Perino, Caterina Penni, the sister and heir of Giovan Francesco Penni, another of Raphael's pupils:

> <…> before I left [Rome], I went to visit Madonna Catharina, who had been the wife of Perino del Vaga, court painter of the Pope, in his time the foremost artist in Rome and when alive a great friend of mine. Discussing with her the materials of her late husband, I found that she was disposed to sell all his drawings rather to me, than to whomsoever else she knew, not wishing that such [splendid] efforts would remain in Rome, and that others would abuse them to increase their own glory. Thus I could buy from her two chests [full] of drawings all by hand, among which were all the works he himself ever made, and also many by Raffaello d'Urbino, who had been his master. Among these drawings I found a very great quantity of architecture, both [of projects] in Rome, and [of projects] in France and in other places in Italy.[133]

Obviously proud of his *Musaeum*—as such he indicated the collection housed in his splendid mansion in Vienna—Strada might easily have overestimated the importance of his acquisitions. Therefore it is fortunate that his enthusiastic account is again corroborated by a passage in Giovanni Battista Armenini's *De veri precetti della pittura*. He relates that when he was living in Strada's house as one of the young draughtsmen employed in his projects, he had been able to study the drawings from Perino's estate at leisure:

> Among so many others [I have seen] I well remember the many drawings left by Perino at his death, which, when I was in Rome, were all bought, and by one of his daughters sold, for a price of fifty gold *scudi*, which were paid out in my presence, in the year 1556, by a merchant from Mantua with whom I was living at the time <…> and for that reason, apart from

133 Serlio 1575, fol. a iii i-r. Since Caterina Penni probably had earlier been pressed to sell or give away some of the drawings in her possession, in particular as regards Raphael's drawings, Strada's acquisition may not really have included all the effects left at Perino's death almost ten years earlier; Armenini's reference to 'all' the drawings purchased by Strada could refer to all those left at Perino's death, or to all those left in Caterina's possession by 1556. The fact that Strada paid well and in cash may have been an aditional motivation for Caterina to sell the drawings to him, rather than to someone else.

> that first time, I have seen them many times, because he gladly gave me that opportunity <…>.[134]

At first sight Strada's purchase of Perino's drawings might appear to have been motivated by his making use of a chance opportunity, or by sentimental considerations—Strada had known Perino when he was young, and calls him his old friend—or even merely by the wish of helping out Perino's widow. But in view of Strada's similar acquisition of Serlio's *Nachlass* at Lyon a year earlier it seems to fit into a more deliberate programme of acquisition. This supposition is strengthened by Strada's acquisition, in his hometown Mantua, which he visited on his way back to Germany, of all the graphic material left by his former master, Giulio Romano. Again he relates this affair in the preface to his edition of Serlio's *Settimo Libro*:

> Now departing from Rome to return to Germany, I passed through Mantua, and went to renew my acquaintance with Raffaello, the son of Giulio Romano; who having been left richly provided by his father, little delighted in the visual arts, but was rather inclined toward amorous relationships and having a good time. And for that reason, apart from what his father had left him, he had little that was worthwhile, because he was not able to exercise the art of design and lacked judgment in architecture, nor was he able to avail himself of the designs of the other things his father had left him; whereas had he remained poor, necessity would have forced him to follow the profession of such a great man as was his father. So it was not difficult for me to get hold of all the drawings that had belonged to his father, that had been left to him; wherein were found together the most beautiful designs of Raffael d'Urbino, who had been his master; and moreover those in his own hand; and in particular in the field of architecture, both ancient and modern. And when we had agreed on the price, I paid him <…>.[135]

Both Perino's and Giulio's collections incorporated, apart from their own work, sets of designs by or after other masters with whom they had worked in their career, in particular by Raphael, whose star pupils and heirs they had been, together with Giovan Francesco Penni, whose portion also had ended up in Perino's hand through his wife, Penni's sister Caterina. Armenini relates that

134 Armenini 1587, pp. 64–65.
135 Serlio 1575, fol. a iiii-r.

Perino's drawings included many inventions of other artists which had not so much been copied, as reinvented by Perino himself:

> I saw in his own hand a large part of the works painted by Raphael, who had been his master, which were drawn in black chalk, as were some of the nude figures from [Michelangelo's *Last*] *Judgment*, which drawings were in such a manner reduced to his [Perino's] own sweet manner, that you could say that they were rather born from, or invented by him, rather than copied after the works of others <…> here were moreover many sketches taken from prints, which were designed by Italians and by Germans, just as there were an infinite number of [drawings after] funerary steles, wall coverings, statues, grotesque ornaments, all derived from the Antique, with other similar things which are scattered and often hidden throughout Rome, but which we were aware of [and therefore did recognize in Perino's drawings]; and he in copying these, he nevertheless would change now one thing, then another, and those that were damaged or not very attractive, he would add, or remove, or enrich them, in short, he would change them to such an extent, with his graceful manner, that it was difficult even for experienced observers to see where he had unearthed them [= found his examples].[136]

Vasari described Giulio Romano's collection of drawings, which included not only a huge cupboard containing

> <…> all the plans of all the buildings that had been made after his designs and instruction, not only in Mantua and in Rome, but everywhere in Lombardy <…>

but also

> <…> all the plans of antique buildings of Rome, of Naples, of Pozzuoli, of Campania, and of all the other principal remains of Antiquity that are known, drawn in part by himself, in part by others.[137]

So in both cases these collections not merely represented the work of a few individual artists and their workshops, but documented the work and the interests of an entire artistic milieu—basically that of Rome in the first half of

136 Armenini 1587. p. 65.
137 Vasari/ Milanesi 1878–1885, 5, pp. 552–553.

the sixteenth century—as well as the monuments from classical Antiquity that so strongly inspired the creations of that period. Thus their purchase by Strada can be regarded as part of a conscious programme of acquisition directed at building up a collection of first-hand documentation not only of the material relics of Antiquity, but also of the art and architecture of Raphael and his school, that is of the art and architecture that by Vasari's time already had achieved a canonical status.

This programme may have been inspired and partly financed by Hans Jakob Fugger: such material provided the visual complement to the written documentation present in his library. Yet it is likely that Strada also collected material for himself. Whereas at least part of the documentation he specially commissioned, such as the drawings of the Vatican *Loggia*, was destined for his patron, there is evidence that he kept the original material acquired respectively from Serlio, Perino's widow, and Giulio Romano's son, for himself.[138] And it seems likely that he kept copies for himself even of the documentation he commissioned for Fugger or for other patrons. In this way his travels allowed him to lay the foundations for the collection he proudly indicated with the term *Musaeum*, and which can be considered to anticipate on a more modest scale the famous *Musaeum chartaceum* brought together in the first half of the seventeenth century by Cassiano dal Pozzo. An attempt to identify at least some of the contents of Strada's graphic collection will be made in Chapter 13; its function in relation to Strada's professional activities will be a recurrent theme in the rest of this book.

3.9 Departure from Rome

Though Strada's acquisition of these materials accorded with Fugger's ideas, it is not likely that all of them were made on his account. It is clear that Strada did not regard himself as indissolubly bound to Fugger, because he also offered his numismatic drawings to other patrons. The Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris owns a beautiful manuscript presenting pre-imperial coinage in a make-up identical to the volumes commissioned by Fugger; its elegant titlepage indicates that it was made in Rome in 1554, though its intended recipient remains

138 Such material was used in the *Libri di disegni* produced in Strada's workshop; some of his acquisitions figure in the list of illustrated publications Strada intended to publish (below, Ch. 14).

unknown.[139] It appears that Strada in any case was attempting to find some more exalted patron during his residence in Rome: he may well have cultivated his connection with Cardinal Farnese in the hope that he might thus obtain some profitable appointment in the Church or at the court of the Cardinal's brother, Duke Ottavio of Parma. Armenini relates that a copy of the *Loggia* drawings was made for Philip II, which Strada would have carried to his court in person. Though Armenini, recording his memories thirty years after the fact, is often unreliable, and there is no indication that Strada ever did in person visit either Spain or the Netherlands, it is just possible that Strada had considered Philip II as a potential patron. Certainly Antonio Agustín advised his friend Panvinio to dedicate his books to Philip II, rather than to his cousin Maximilian, future Emperor, but at the time mere titular King of Bohemia, and Strada himself had at one time thought of presenting one of his numismatic manuscripts to Philip's father, the Emperor Charles V, though he thought better of this at the latter's abdication.[140] Connections with the Spanish court might have been easily established through the intervention of Fugger or the recommendation of Granvelle or Agustín. We have already seen that Granvelle was interested in the type of material that Strada collected and that was produced in his workshop, and in later years Philip II would not have been averse to obtaining such material for the library of the Escorial.

All the same it appears very unlikely that Strada ever acted on such considerations. But he did claim that he succeeded in obtaining the patronage of Pope Julius III himself:

> <…> when I found myself in Rome, not many months passed, before I was called into the service of Pope Julius III Monti, who lived at that time. But it lasted only a few months, because His Holiness died. But Marcello

139 *Imagines omnium numismatum antiquorum, quae ex auro, argento et aere à Romulus usque ad C. Iulium Caes. Romae signata sunt. Summa diligentia cum uniusqcuiusque notis à Iacobo Strada Mantuano depictae*, Romae ex Musaeo Iacobi Stradae Mantuani MDLIIII, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 1019. In view of Armenini's testimony, the claim that these drawings all are autographs should perhaps be taken with a grain of salt. The volume may not have been made in response to a specific commission, but kept to be offered to a promising patron, when a separate dedication could have been easily added.

140 Agustín to Panvinio, Roma 2 october 1557: '<…> quanto alle dedicationi di libri. tra quelli duoi principi pigliaria quel che hora è piu sublime, et piu amico di uostro patron, idest il Re di Spagna. ben che l'altro sia piu propinquo al imperio. ma sara un Re di scachi senza l'agiuto del suo nepote', printed in Agustín 1980, nr. 191, p. 277. The illuminated titlepage of Strada's *De consularibus numismata* [ÖNB, ms 9411] depicted Charles V's device, the Pillars of Hercules, which was pasted over with a strip of marbled paper before Strada presented it to Ferdinand I.

> Cervini succeeding him, and hearing that I intended to return to Germany, made me reaffirm my service. But he as well passing into a better world in a short time, I decided to leave <…>[141]

I have found no confirmation of these claims, and we have no inkling what kind of service Strada would have been expected to render Julius III. Cervini's close involvement in the antiquarian scholarship of the Vitruvian Academy promised opportunities of employment, but his death after a pontificate of hardly three weeks, and the consecutive election of the puritan Gian Pietro Carafa, as Pope Paul IV, shattered any illusions Strada may have had about a career in Rome.

So he decided to pack up his trunks again and to move back to Nuremberg with his household, which by now consisted of himself, his wife and at least two young children, perhaps one or more assistants and doubtless one or two servants. Apart from personal luggage he carried with him his acquisitions on behalf of Fugger—which included a quantity of antique marbles—and the accretions to his own collection, including the work he and his assistants had done in Rome. The road to Germany, across the Brenner, brought him to Mantua, and he must have been quite happy to have the opportunity to visit his native city, to meet his family perhaps for the first time in many years, to present his wife to them, and to show her and his children the splendour of what was, after all, their fatherland. Doubtless he went to pay his respects to the young Duke, Guglielmo Gonzaga, and his guardian and at the time regent of the Duchy, Cardinal Ercole. His documented visit to Raffaello Pippi, son and heir of Giulio Romano, from whom he acquired his father's drawings, has already been discussed. But probably Strada also renewed contacts with many old friends and colleagues. These included his exact contemporary, Giovanni Battista Bertani, who had succeeded Giulio Romano as first architect to the Gonzaga, and who shared Strada's antiquarian enthusiasm; and the engraver Giovan Battista Scultori, who appears to have been interested in ancient coins, since in the *Διασκευέ* Strada described a few coins that he had seen in Scultori's collection. These contacts would be useful later in his career: both Bertani and Scultori were employed by Strada in the late 1560s.

It is not known when exactly Strada left Rome, when he arrived in Mantua, and when he finally arrived back in Nuremberg: winding up his affairs in Rome after the sudden death of Marcellus II in May 1555 must have taken some time, and the trip to Mantua may have been a leisurely one: unless travelling by sea as far as Genoa, it can be assumed that the company travelled via Florence and

141 Strada's preface to Serlio 1575.

Bologna before arriving in Mantua.[142] Moreover it is possible that Strada also took the occasion to (re)visit Venice. Next to Rome and Florence, Venice was the principal artistic centre of the peninsula, the great emporium of objects from the near and further East—including Greek antiquities, and the principal centre of high-quality book production: all three subjects that were of paramount importance for Strada and for his patron. In fact Strada's publication of the two books he had just acquired from Panvinio—both came out in 1557—presupposes an earlier visit in order to find a suitable printer and to commission the carving of the woodcuts illustrating the arms of the respective Popes from some of Venice's famous engravers [below, Figs. 14.15–14.17].[143] Whether he did visit Venice on this occasion, or did not, Strada was back in Nuremberg at the very latest somewhere in the late summer or early autumn of 1556: by December of that year he was already contemplating new activities, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Strada's departure from Rome can be considered as a turning point in his career. His reference to his hopes of employment by the Pope indicates that he had not yet definitely decided what his career was to be, and where he hoped to realize his ambitions. But he had finally completed the foundation upon which it could be built: after his early education in Mantua, he had enriched his formal knowledge by his contacts with humanists in Italy, Germany and France and by means of his studies in the cabinets of many learned collectors had acquired a specialized competence in ancient numismatics, one of the principal branches of antiquarian studies. His contacts with Hans Jakob Fugger had been of particular significance: Fugger had provided him with the

142 If Strada did visit Florence on this occasion, he remained too briefly to study the Medici *medagliere* and other collections: in the *Διασκευέ* no Florentine provenances are given, except for one or two coins from the Medici collection, which he may well have known from correspondence or copies. Though Strada personally knew Jacopo Dani, a secretary of Cosimo I with whom he would correspond later in his career, he probably first met him only when Dani acted as secretary to the Tuscan embassy at the Imperial court.

143 Panvinio 1557<a>: *Fasti et triumphi Romanorum a Romulo Rege usque ad Carolum V <…>, sive epitome regum, consulum, dictatorum, magistratorum <…> ex antiquitatum monumentis maxima cum fide ac diligentia desumpta*, Venezia 1557 and Panvinio 1557<b>: *Epitome pontificum romanorum a S. Petro usque ad Paulum III gestorum <…>*, Venezia 1557. The engraving would take less time than one would think: the *Epitome pontificum* was illustrated only by the coats of arms of the Popes and the principal cardinals they had created. The frames of the shield could and were printed from a limited number of blocks; the arms of families such the Orsini who provided many Popes and cardinals could be used repeatedly; and the arms of many Popes were not known, the framed shield remaining empty. The *Fasti et Triumphi* were illustrated by medal portraits for which the blocks of Strada's Lyon *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* were reused. See below, Ch. 14.4.

necessary means to accomplish his studies, and the ideas current in his circle had provided him with an intellectual frame of reference which would determine a significant proportion of his later activities. He had brought his antiquarian expertise up to date by his trip to Lyon, where he had published it to the world in his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*, and in Rome. In Rome he had mingled in the most advanced humanist and antiquarian milieu of Europe: his contacts with this circle, and with both the papal court and the households of the princes of the church, in particular that of Alessandro Cardinal Farnese, provided him with the learned urbanity that made him eligible to the place he would shortly afterwards occupy at the principal secular court of Christianity.

Strada's travels had also equipped him with an up to date expertise in the visual arts of Italy, at the time the trendsetter in Europe, and he had built up an extraordinary collection of visual documentation both of ancient and contemporary art that would enable him to pass on this expertise to both patrons and artists that visited his studio. His collection or 'Musaeum' would moreover serve as a stock of inventions drawn upon for the materials that were produced in his workshop on behalf of his patrons: chiefly Hans Jakob Fugger, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria and the Emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II. Probably the network of personal acquaintances and correspondents he had created included many others—fellow merchants, booksellers, bankers—that would come in useful for the commercial aspects of his activities.

CHAPTER 4

Antiquario Della Sacra Cesarea Maesta: Strada's Tasks at Court

4.1 Looking for Patronage: Strada's Arrival at the Imperial Court

4.1.1 *Pope, King or Emperor: The Choice of a Patron*

We know very little about Strada's activities immediately after his return to Germany, and we do not even know when exactly he returned. He must have visited Venice, possibly on his way up to Mantua, but more likely from there, leaving his family and his effects in the care of his relatives. In Venice he made arrangements for the printing of the two books of which he had acquired the manuscripts from Onofrio Panvinio, the *Fasti et triumphi* and the *Epitome pontificum*. By the end of 1555 the planning of this was sufficiently advanced for Strada to make a formal request for a copyright privilege, which Charles V granted him from Brussels on the 8th of January of 1556. Apart from the two books by Panvinio, the privilege also includes the first mention of a voluminous illustrated universal dictionary or encyclopaedia in the three classical languages, and of a new, Latin edition of Leandro Alberti's *Descrittione d'Italia*, which was likewise intended to be illustrated.[1] This request is the first indication of Strada's ambition to set up as a publisher himself, and particularly as a publisher of books aimed at a scholarly or at least educated audience. What is particular about the books mentioned here, is that all were planned to include printed images to illustrate the text, or to add information that could not easily be conveyed in words alone. This preoccupation with visual aids and with the presentation of visual documentation became one of the *Leitmotive* of Strada's career from now on.

Though Strada apparently had prospered in Rome, it is clear that to realize such an ambition he needed both material and immaterial backing. Though illustrated books had already proven good sellers, this was not necessarily the case for the scholarly productions Strada had in mind. Moreover, the standard required for documentary illustration of a level acceptable to his intended audience obviously demanded the collaboration of outstanding—and therefore

1 Copyright privilege, DOC. 1556-01-08. The titles given there do not correspond exactly with the printed versions of Panvinio's books. It is not known by what means Strada presented his request.

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expensive—printmakers. It is not surprising that Strada was looking around for influential and affluent patrons, other than Hans Jakob Fugger. Though Fugger certainly would have applauded Strada's intentions, he was getting into financial trouble—largely due to the reluctance with which Charles V and Philip II satisfied their creditors—which would lead to his bankruptcy in 1564; so he could not on his own advance the sums Strada would need. As we have seen, Strada appears to have attempted to obtain permanent patronage already in Rome, and he claimed to have obtained such patronage from Popes Julius III and Marcellus II; in view of his sustained support for antiquarian studies before his election, the latter would have been particularly sensitive to Strada's proposals. The unexpected brevity of Marcellus' reign and the accession of Paul IV Carafa—unfortunate for far greater interests than Strada's—shattered such possibilities; like other aspiring scholars Strada had to look elsewhere for the protection he needed. Thus in October 1557 his own acquaintance Onofrio Panvinio, though assured of a fixed position in Cardinal Farnese's household, consulted Antonio Agustín whether he should dedicate a forthcoming book to Maximilian, Archduke of Austria and, since 1548, titular King of Bohemia, or whether it was preferable to choose Maximilian's cousin and brother-in-law, Philip II of Spain. Agustín, who coupled a sincere faith and a profound knowledge of classical Antiquity with a remarkable astuteness in more mundane matters, formulated his advice as follows:

> <...>between these two princes I would choose the one that is at present more highly considered, and the better friend of your patron [this was Cardinal Alessandro Farnese], that is the King of Spain, even though the other is closer to the Empire; but he will be a king of chess without the help of his cousin.[2]

After having just failed to obtain the patronage of the Pope, it is not surprising that Strada should have thought of applying to the highest ranking secular patron of Christianity, the Emperor, or to other members of his august house, with which his own researches were so inextricably connected. It is just possible that he considered Philip II as a potential patron: at the time Philip was not merely king of England and, soon afterward (16 January 1556), of Spain, but he had not yet been ruled out as his father's successor to the Empire. Years later

2 '<...>tra quelli duoi principi pigliaria quel che hora è più sublime, e più amico del Vostro patron [this was Alessandro Cardinal Farnese], idest il Re di Spagna, benchè l'altro sia più propinquo all'Imperio; ma sarà un Re di scacchi senza l'agiuto del suo nepote<...>', letter dated Rome, 2 October 1557, published in AGUSTÍN 1980, nr. 191, p. 277.

Armenini remembered that Strada had commissioned a second version of the set of illuminated drawings of the Vatican Loggia for Philip II; and though this may have been a mistake, Strada at one time certainly did intend to dedicate a manuscript containing drawings of Roman consular coinage to Charles V.[3] But Spanish patronage might not have appealed to Strada for many reasons, and in any case employment in Spain would have deprived him from direct contact with his sources and with the international book trade that were conditions for the success of his plans.

It was, on the other hand, quite natural for Strada to think of the Austrian branch of the dynasty. It is obvious that its future superior status (after Charles' abdication in September 1556 and the subsequent transfer of the *Administratio Imperii* to his brother Ferdinand) greatly appealed to Strada, who thought in ceremonial and hierarchical terms. Having spent so much time in researching the history of the Roman Emperors all the way down to Charles V himself, he was attracted by the idea of making part of their entourage. He would later always sign his letters with the title Charles' successors allowed him to use: 'Antiquario della Sacra Cesarea Maestà', and insist on the privileges he thought this conferred on him. Even when describing how he enlisted Guglielmo Gonzaga's help in fleeing from the Inquisition during a visit to Mantua in 1568, he makes play with his patron's status: 'But I have taken flight in the manner of a gentleman, because it came first to me to uphold my rank, and therefore, in my quality *as a servant of the first Sovereign of the world*, I went to see the Duke …' [italics mine].[4] In this light it is significant that after Charles' abdication Strada decided to present the numismatic manuscript he had prepared for him to his brother Ferdinand I, the new Emperor, rather than to his son and immediate heir, Philip II of Spain.[5]

In applying for patronage to the Austrian Habsburgs, moreover, Strada was in a position more or less to know what to expect. I do not know what strings had needed pulling for Strada in the late 1540s to obtain access to the archival sources he needed for the research of his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*, which for the later part largely depended on ancient Imperial charters (he claimed to derive his illustrations for the medieval Emperors from the seals attached to such documents). But it certainly would have implied at least some contact with the Imperial Chancery. Through his connection with Fugger he was well

3 Armenini 1586, p. 180; the illuminated title page of Strada's ms. *De consularibus numismata* (ÖNB-HS, ms. 9411) depicted Charles V's famous device of the Pillars of Hercules, which was pasted over with a strip of marbled paper when Strada presented it to Ferdinand I.

4 DOC. 1568-00-00: 'Ma la mia fuga è stato da gentilhuomo, perchè prima mi volsi valer del grado mio, et, come servidor del primo Signore del mondo, andai a parlare al Ducha<…>'.

5 Discussed below, Ch. 4.2.

FIGURES 4.1–4.3 Archduke Maximilian, King of Bohemia (with his wife and their three eldest children), his brother Archduke Ferdinand, and their father Emperor Ferdinand I, in paintings respectively attributed to Giuseppe Arcimboldo, Francesco Terzio, and Hans Bocksberger the Elder; all Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

aware of the position and interests of Ferdinand I and at least his two elder sons, the Archdukes Maximilian and Ferdinand [Figs. 4.1–4.3]. Though Fugger was not as intimate with the Habsburgs as he was with the young Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, as the principal member of a family so closely linked to

the Habsburg interest and their principal partisan in Augsburg, he maintained close contacts with the Imperial Court and was personally acquainted with Charles v. His acquaintance with Charles' brother, King Ferdinand, and with his children went back even further, to the time he spent as a young man at Ferdinand's court in Innsbruck. His services were rewarded with membership of the Imperial Council (1549) and of King Ferdinand's household (1551). So he was in a position both to inform Strada of the character, the interests and the requirements of the Habsburgs as prospective patrons, and to recommend him to them, if he chose.[6] During their frequent visits to Augsburg the several members of the dynasty habitually lodged in the Fugger house, where Fugger acted as their host: and it is perfectly possible, even likely, that Fugger introduced Strada to his august guests in person.

The Imperial court would in any case have attracted Strada as offering opportunities of patronage even in the 1540s, especially at events such as an Imperial Diet or a princely wedding, when the presence of a great number of princes and magnates would be assured. At such occasions the Imperial entourage would habitually be crowded with all sorts of hangers-on: not merely political agents of princes or free towns of the Empire and foreign dignitaries lobbying for the interests of their masters, but also clerics, humanists

6 It is not unlikely that Fugger did exert his patronage in this respect; probably in an informal way during a personal interview with Charles, Ferdinand or Maximilian, for instance when showing them round his collection. No written recommendation has been found, if it was ever sent.

and artists in search of jobs, benefices or commissions. The most likely opportunity for Strada to have met the Marquis of Marignano would have been at such an occasion, for instance the Diet in Augsburg in 1547. So even if he had never been formally introduced to Ferdinand and his two eldest sons, he could have seen them and have been aware of some of their interests. Thus he would have known of Ferdinand's interest in antiquities and his taste for architecture in the antique manner—demonstrated in his refurbishing of the Vienna Hofburg and the beautiful Summer Palace he had built in the gardens of the castle at Prague for his consort, Queen Anna—and through Fugger he would have heard about the similar interest of the two young Archdukes.[7]

4.1.2 *Strada's Arrival at the Court of Ferdinand I*

So it is not surprising that Strada was eager to profit from the first opportunity to establish contact with Ferdinand and his court. This opportunity offered itself soon after his return to Nuremberg. As discussed in Chapter 2, in the autumn of 1556 Strada's one-time neighbour, the goldsmith Wenzel Jamnitzer, had been summoned to Vienna by King Maximilian, from whom he received a commission which kept him busy for some considerable time. At this time Archduke Ferdinand also entrusted him with a commission, the manufacture of an ambitious table-fountain depicting the Garden of Eden, for which he proposed that Strada, as a competent 'Maler' or painter, would prepare one or more *Visierungen* or designs. Strada thought it necessary, said Jamnitzer, to see the Archduke personally, both to be better informed about his wishes, and to show him various drawings and patterns, and he referred to Strada's own letter to the Archduke.

This document, of the same date as and enclosed in Jamnitzer's letter, reads as an undisguised bid for patronage. Strada stressed that, for an ambitious work as this, a simple drawing would not be sufficient: it needed a model [*modello*] or rather a three-dimensional matrix [*patrone*], such as one prepares when constructing a palace, for the use of the masters who are to be employed [in the project].[8] He dwelt on the need for detailed consideration of its iconography, and suggested that the execution should be closely supervised by one person who would well understand its conception. He continued that he

7 When Maximilian, as Viceroy of Spain for his father-in-law, made plans to regulate the course of the Pisuerga in Valladolid, he wrote to Fugger to recruit the hydraulic technicians he needed for this.

8 DOC. 1556-12-22, discussed above, Ch. 2.5.3: 'un modello, overo patrone, nel modo come si fa quando si vole edificar un palazzo, acciò che li maestri che lavorerano se ne possino servire<...>'.

would be prepared to take on that task, on the condition that—subject to the Archduke's own wishes—he would be solely in charge, that is, only:

> in case Your Excellency is willing to charge me with [the supervision of] the whole project, and that I am to direct it [*comandare*], and that I have no other supervisor [*sopra capo*] than Your Excellency.[9]

This condition clearly indicates the confidence Strada had in his own capacities and the recognition of these by prospective patrons: in fact he trusted that the Archduke knew his name and had seen the numismatic works he had provided to Hans Jakob Fugger's library. In addition, he indicated that he possessed materials that could be of use in the conception and the design of the object:

> I also possess many beautiful things that could be of use for the project, in particular a most beautiful book of animals in colour; also I could find you many [images of] rare fishes, which could be used for the rivers<…>.[10]

This is a valuable hint as to the function of Strada's *Musaeum*, which was thus not merely a collection of objects of material value and of aesthetic or scientific interest, but which was intended to fulfil quite practical needs, and could, he thought, be of great use in the artistic and scientific enterprises both of himself and of his patrons.

Strada's evaluation of his prospects appears to have been quite correct, since the Archduke wrote by return of post to Jamnitzer to ask Strada to come to Prague to discuss the project, when he 'would graciously hear him, and thereupon condescend to open our minder further [to him].[11] He also desired Strada take with him the books and other things that might be useful for the project. Jamnitzer answered the Archduke that Strada would arrive in Prague at Candlemas (2 February) as requested, and that he also would bring with him a quantity of 'geschmelzte dierlein', small animals cast in silver, that Jamnitzer had had made by one of his assistants.[12]

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9 'Pero volendo Sua Excellenza darmi il carico di tutto, et ch'io abbia a comandare, et che non conoschi altro sopra capo che Sua Excellenza<…>'.

10 'Et anchora mi truova di molte belle cose che per essa servirebbe, e massime un libro de animali colorito belissimo; ancora li trovaria di molti pessi rari, che servirebbe per li fiumi<…>'.

11 DOCS. 1557-01-07: 'auch ine gnediglich gern hören und darauf unser verrer gemuet mit gnaden eröffnen'.

12 DOCS. 1557-01-07 and 1557-01-27. The group consisted of an 'Orpheus sampt den thirlein und kreitlein', Orpheus with small animals and plants'; they were intended as a sample

Strada set out from Nuremberg probably immediately after the 26th of January, the date of Jamnitzer's reply. A lucky chance presented him with a second recommendation and a further work of art to present to the Archduke. Ferdinand had some time earlier requested Paul Pfinzing, a Nuremberg patrician serving as a secretary to Philip II, to obtain a good, full-length portrait of Charles V. Pfinzing had sought out the best portrait of Charles available in Brussels, which was a three-quarter length in the possession of Cardinal Granvelle. Granvelle had immediately ceded the portrait, painted by Titian, to Pfinzing, who had moreover procured the exact measurements of the Emperor, in order that the Archduke could have the portrait 'completed'. Unfortunately Pfinzing's luggage train had been attacked by robbers just before reaching Nuremberg, and though the painting was recovered, it had been damaged (and the Emperor's measurements had been lost). Having heard of Strada's visit to the Archduke, he asked him to take charge of the portrait, and to present it to Ferdinand together with his covering letter. In it Pfinzing gave his description of the incident and offered excuses, and recommended his messenger in laudatory terms: 'an exceptionally fine artist and a man also experienced in other fields', and he added that Strada, 'without my help—though that were quite justified—will extoll his art himself'.[13]

Strada's visit to the Archduke appears to have been short, and we have no indication of its outcome. Though the project regularly crops up in the sources during the next years, Strada is never mentioned: perhaps the Archduke did not share Strada's conception of the work, did not give in to Strada's demand of total control over its execution, or Strada himself meanwhile was too much occupied with other obligations. On the other hand it is perfectly possible that he did continue advising the Archduke and Jamnitzer—or both—in an informal way during the further development of the project, which never materialized for lack of silver. Already on 12 February Strada was back in Nuremberg.

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of the sort to be included in the projected group of *Adam and Eve in Paradise*: should the Archduke not like them, he could return them, 'so mach's ich auf einen deckel zu einem drinkgeschir' ('then I use them to decorate the cover of a drinking cup').

13 DOC. 1557-01-26: 'ain treffentlicher feiner künstler und sonst erfarner mensch', and he added that Strada, 'one das ich es thue, wiewol es billich geschehe, sein kunst selbst loben wuerde'. It probably recommends rather than derogates the artistic proficiency of the Flemish painters of the day that none of them dared to tamper with a Titian original. The painting cannot now be identified with certainty: cf. Wethey 1969–1972, 2, p. 194, cat. nr. L-5. The style of the letter is instructive: compare the cringing tone and surfeit of ceremonial phrases of Pfinzing—a member of the Nuremberg patriciate—with the free, down-to-earth practicality of Jamnitzer's and the urbane and self-assured manner of Strada's epistle: it is clear a social inferiority complex not necessarily made part of the mental make-up of a sixteenth-century artist.

Strada did take advantage of his trip to Prague to pay a visit to Regensburg, where a Diet was in progress in the presence of the new Emperor. He was received in audience probably on 5 February, when Ferdinand accorded him an *Ehrengeschenk* of hundred *Thaler*.[14] Poor Ferdinand! While engaged in complex and important political negotiations, and worrying about the Turks in Hungary and about the wayward behaviour of his eldest son, he was also beset by swarms of figures such as Strada seeking his patronage: only a few days later the *Hofkammer* made a list of recent payments to a number of similar clients. One can only hope that the talents of at least some of them occasionally distracted the Emperor from his cares, as will have been the case with Orlando di Lasso, who precedes Strada in this list.[15] In view of Ferdinand's interest in Antiquity, and in particular in ancient coins, Strada's visit may likewise have served as a welcome distraction: Strada had prepared a present for the Emperor, a set of drawings of Roman Republican coinage.

This manuscript, the first volume of *De consularibus numismata*, is similar in concept and execution to the numismatic works he had produced for Fugger and for his unknown French patron.[16] Its beautifully illuminated title page, including the Imperial coat of arms [Fig. 4.4], betrays its original destination: the panel in the pedestal of the left column is covered by a strip of marbled paper hiding a drawing of Charles V's emblem showing the Pillars of Hercules, accompanied with the famous device *Plus Ultra*. Ferdinand's appreciation of this gift was expressed in the *Ehrengeschenk* that he accorded Strada on this occasion, and in his interest in the second volume of the work, which Strada promised to finish for him.[17]

Strada presented his manuscript to Ferdinand not merely in the hope of obtaining the habitual financial reward, but also as a means to draw the Emperor's attention to his person and his qualifications. This is borne out by his

14 DOC. 1557-02-05.

15 DOCS. 1557-02-05 and 1557-02-08.

16 ÖNB-HS, cod. 9411–9412; the Fugger manuscripts are now in Gotha and London, the French volume, dated 1554, in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris; cf. above, Ch. 3.3.

17 DOC. 1558-02-12: Strada refers to his visit in Regensburg. Von Busch 1973, p. 199 and p. 335, note 47, cites this letter as directed to Maximilian. This is incorrect: it is addressed to the King of the Romans, which was Ferdinand I, whose succession to Charles as Emperor was formally confirmed by the College of Electors only on 14 March 1558. For the same reason Strada's dedication of his edition of Panvinio's *Epitome pontificum romanorum* of 1557 reads: 'Domino D. Ferdinando Romani Imperii Caesari *designato*'. Maximilian was elected King of the Romans only during the Frankfurt Diet of 1562 (election 24 November, coronation 30 November). The letter refers to Strada's meeting with the addressee in Regensburg, and the latter's visit to Strada's studio, probably in Nuremberg: since Maximilian did not set foot in Germany proper between his return from Brussels in the early autumn of 1556 (he merely spent one night, 11–12 September, in Regensburg) and the Frankfurt Diet (arrival 23 October) it is out of the question that Maximilian is meant.

FIGURE 4.4 Jacopo Strada, frontispiece of his *De consularibus numismata*, a collection of drawings of ancient Roman coins. It was originally destined for Charles V, witness the emblem Plus ultra on the left pedestal, over which Strada pasted a strip of marbled paper before presenting it to Emperor Ferdinand I in 155; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

decision to dedicate his edition of the two books he had acquired from Onofrio Panvinio respectively to Ferdinand and to his elder son, King Maximilian. In order to supervise the printing of these books, the *Fasti et triumphi* and the *Epitome pontificum romanorum*, he must have gone to Venice in the spring of 1557, and it was probably there that he wrote and dated 'Idib. Maijs' his own dedicatory prefaces to both books.

Strada had gone to considerable trouble and expense to do Panvinio proud: he had opted for an expensive folio format, selected beautiful type, as Agustín recognized, had gone to the trouble of printing the chronological tables in the *Fasti* in black and red ink, and had illustrated them with imperial effigies printed from the blocks used for his own *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*. Strada's ambition as a publisher is again apparent from the fact that he had them printed at his own expense and under his own imprint, furnishing the title page with a variant plate of the printer's mark he had used for his Lyon *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*.

Strada dedicated his edition of Panvinio's *Epitome pontificum romanorum* to Ferdinand [Fig. 4.5]. This was a relatively simple chronology of the Popes, briefly giving a formal biography of a few lines, the dates and composition of the conclave in which they were elected, a mention of their death and the place of their tomb. But its principal component were the lists of cardinals created or deceased during each pontificate, each entry in these accompanied by an illustration of the relevant coat of arms. This, together with the extensive indices appended to the book, makes clear that it was merely intended as a convenient work of reference.

FIGURES 4.5–4.7 Strada's editions of Onofrio Panvinio's *Epitome Pontificum* and *Fasti et Triumphi*, which he dedicated to Emperor Ferdinand I and to King Maximilian II respectively.

The *Fasti et triumphi* on the other hand, presenting a scholarly edition of the most important Roman inscription in existence, the *Fasti Capitolini*, was a book of far wider potential appeal and far greater utility [Figs. 4.6–4.7]. It was moreover a much more bulky volume, and more sumptuously printed. That Strada chose to dedicate this volume to Maximilian, rather than to the Emperor himself, can perhaps be explained by Maximilian's by this date generally known disaffection of Roman Catholicism: it would have lacked tact to present him with a book on the history of the Popes. Yet the dedication indicates that, after having established contacts with his father and his younger brother, Strada also wished to excite the interest of the young King of Bohemia and prospective Emperor. It seems to me that this was both because he had sanguine hopes of employment from this unusually erudite prince, and because he may have felt a deeper personal attraction for his aspirations and his character. Little as one can know about the personal sympathies of either, partly for lack of relevant sources, partly because of the veil under which a Renaissance prince had to hide his personal preferences, it seems that there was a sincere mutual esteem between them. This is suggested by Maximilian's later acts of patronage and the personal interest he would show in Strada's projects, as well as by the despair Strada expressed when referring to Maximilian's death, which had shattered his fondest hopes of lucrative patronage.

Strada would not meet Maximilian in person until a year later, after he settled in Vienna in April 1558. We have no indication of the king's response to the book that was dedicated to him. But it is clear that his father had been impressed by Strada's capacities. Though we do not know what contacts, if any, Strada maintained with the Emperor during the rest of the year, from a request Strada presented to Ferdinand, dated Nuremberg 12 February 1558, we know that he had not been forgotten. The Emperor was staying in Nuremberg on his way to the forthcoming *Kurfürstentag* at Frankfurt, during which the Electors were to confirm Ferdinand as Charles' successor as Emperor. Notwithstanding his doubtless pressing political engagements, Ferdinand took the trouble to visit Strada's house and to see his collection or *Musaeum*. Oddly enough Strada appears not to have been present in person, since he did not know what objects exactly the Emperor had inspected.[18]

18 DOC. 1558-02-12. The letter is not quite clear. It cannot be excluded that the visit Strada refers to had taken place on an earlier occasion: in that case probably during Strada's absence when overseeing the printing of Panvinio's books in the late spring of 1557, for instance when Ferdinand travelled to Prague after the Diet at Regensburg, which closed on 17 March. But it is clear that Strada had been received in audience shortly before writing his letter, and he hoped to receive a reply before Ferdinand's departure planned for the day after.

On this visit Ferdinand was accompanied by one of his most trusted advisers, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, Cardinal and Prince-Bishop of Augsburg [Fig. 1.19]. This scion of an illustrious German military dynasty, the epitome of the German knight, was very conscious of the high duties imposed by the sacred office for which his rank and education had destined him. A feared adversary of the Protestants, he introduced many religious reforms in his diocese. He had had an outstanding education—like Hans Jakob Fugger he had sat at Alciati's feet at Bologna—which expressed itself in his intellectual concerns: he founded a university and a printing-press at his residence at Dillingen, both of which he made available to the Jesuits, and he used his frequent sojourns in Rome to build up an important collection of antiquities and contemporary works of art. His library at Dillingen was explicitly commended by Antonio Agustín, who visited it on his short trip as Papal nuncio to the Emperor in the spring of 1558.[19] So his commendation of Strada's collection would be quite valuable.

4.2 The Controversy with Wolfgang Lazius

4.2.1 *The Catalogue of the Imperial Coin Collection*

Ferdinand's visit had impressed him sufficiently to summon Strada in person. During the audience he gave him two gatherings of the text and some proofsheets of the engravings of an illustrated catalogue of his own coin-collection.[20] This catalogue had been first planned as far back as 1550 and was intended to document all of the Emperor's circa seven thousand ancient coins. It was prepared by Leopold Heyperger, one of Ferdinand's chamberlains particularly charged with the care of the works of art, who had provided the inventory, and the engraver Hans Sebald Lautensack, who as 'Kaiserlicher Maj<estät> Antiquitetenabconterfetter'—i.e. 'draftsman of antiquities of his Majesty the Emperor'—provided the illustrations. The Imperial Historiographer, Dr Wolfgang Lazius, was responsible for the scholarly commentary and supervised the project. The final responsibility of the project probably rested with Ferdinand's *Oberstkammerer*, Martin de Guzmán.[21]

19 On Truchseß, see Overbeeke 1994. Agustín's report to Panvinio on the German libraries he had seen in Agustín 1980, p. 290–291.

20 This and the following based on the letter Strada presented in person to Ferdinand I during his visit to Nuremberg [DOCS. 1558-02-12; see appendix 3a] and his letters to Ferdinand [DOC. 1558-02-21<a>] and to his *Oberstkammerer* Martín de Guzman [1558-02-21<b>, see appendix 3a].

21 Some of the relevant documentation summarized in Kenner 1902.

Lazius was an important man: a professor of medicine at Vienna University, he was well known for his researches in the ancient history of the Austrian territories, and was particularly esteemed by its rulers, who appointed him Imperial Historiographer and a member of the *Reichshofrat* or Aulic Council of the Empire. But it appears that his practical experience of classical numismatics was rather limited, and Strada immediately detected several serious mistakes in the sample he was shown.[22] Ferdinand had asked him to take text and proofs home with him, and 'after having carefully read these two gatherings, and having seen the images of the medals', he strongly advised the Emperor not to proceed in the matter before having heard his opinion, when 'I will show you with arguments that otherwise the money is wasted, and not without censure of anyone who will see it'. Though Strada claimed that he did not like to speak ill of the work of others, he felt the Emperor's command obliged him to speak his mind, and he did not hesitate to offer Ferdinand to undertake the necessary corrections. In fact he probably considered the matter a heaven-sent opportunity to press his concrete services on the Emperor. He added that the second part of his manuscript on Republican coinage, promised when he presented Ferdinand with its first volume, would be ready within two months, 'and will be much better than the first one'. But he also offered to finish on his behalf another work which Ferdinand had seen in his studio (probably a similar work on imperial coinage, the *Series Imperatorum*), 'if I am accorded some fair financial compensation, so that I can maintain my small family'. In fact he wished for nothing better than to spend his time in Ferdinand's service, 'preparing for him my works, which would be the equal of those made in Rome, where I have learned this science [of numismatics]'. In a beautiful phrase he requested a decision of the Emperor: 'Hora se la Maestà Vostra li piace di acetarmi nel numero de li suoi virtuosi, del canto mio farò ogni debito per farmi honore': 'So if it would please Your Majesty to accept me among his learned men, I on my side will do everything I can to merit honour'. Claiming that he wished to leave Nuremberg anyway and return to Italy, Strada finally pressed Ferdinand for a reply before his departure, scheduled for the next day.

4.2.2 *Strada's Letter to Martin de Guzmán and his Move to Vienna*

Strada presented his request in person, but Ferdinand wisely did not commit himself as yet. But he did give Strada permission to correct the mistakes he had spotted in the sample of the catalogue. Two weeks later Strada sent the material back to the Emperor, by now in Frankfurt, and repeated his request. In it he refers Ferdinand to a more detailed account of his findings given in

22 DOC. 1558-02-12; transcribed in App. 3a.

a long letter to Martin de Guzmán.[23] From these letters it appears that Strada had sent back the material neatly sewn into a piece of vellum, so that no sheets would be lost, and that he had written his corrections of the errors it contained—of which there were many more than he had thought at first—in the margins. He criticised Lazius for not having read the lettering of the coins correctly, and therefore having misinterpreted a great many of them. Moreover the order Lazius had adopted bordered on the chaotic: he had mixed up coins of the Roman Kings with those of the Consuls, and those of the Consuls with those of the Emperors. In fact he strongly doubted that either Lazius or his engraver understood the material at all:

> I am certain that Doctor Lazius cannot read them; and neither can the artist who works the copperplates. Because if they would understand them, they would not range the medals of the Kings of Rome among those of the Consuls, nor those of the Consuls with those of the Emperors; and neither would they exchange those of the Emperors, putting those that belong to one Emperor under another. And they would not commit so many errors, such as using the same medal several times, in different places. In future they are certain to commit [even] greater [errors], because the matter becomes more difficult the more one advances [in time]. So that I leave it to Your Lordship to judge what a beautiful thing they will produce; and if it ever sees the light, it may well be that every man of judgment will make jokes about it—not considering the expense they will have caused His Majesty.

Strada offered to undertake the necessary correction, provided that he would be given the credit: 'I would not want to be tutor to Doctor Lazius, for him to gain laurels with my corrections'. He then outlined to Guzmán, who had asked him to write 'l'historia de una hovero dua medaglie', the interpretation of one or two medals, how such a work ought to be put together. It should not be conceived as an object-catalogue, extensively describing and interpreting each individual coin, which would obviously entail constant repeating of matter, but 'per ordine come seguita la historia', that is as a chronological series of towns, Kings, Consuls and Emperors who had issued coinage, under whom the individual coin should be classed and described. Strada mentioned his own *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* as an example, and it must be conceded that this system—which Strada had not invented himself—soon became the norm and is still adhered to in numismatic corpora of our own time. He also paid particular attention to the illustrations: he could easily teach the engraver how

23 DOCS. 1558-02-21<a> and 1558-02-21<b>, the latter given in appendix 3a.

to correct the plates that had already been made, and stressed that the engraving should be carefully supervised:

> <…>and it is also necessary that the master who engraves the plates should have a supervisor, and that he makes them better, and with more design ['et con piu disegno'], because he draws them so badly that they could not be worse, and he all does them in the same manner, and they make His Majesty believe that they look like that. Even though a medal is somewhat damaged, it does not for that reason lose the perfection of its design. They do not look at anything except the outside contours, showing these with the damages; so that who sees them would think that His Majesty has the ugliest medals in the world.

In his letter to the Emperor Strada makes no mention of his ambitions, but he did ask Guzmán to remind Ferdinand of his earlier request. He hoped that a decision would be taken before Ferdinand left Frankfurt, in order that 'I would not loose another opportunity about which I have been approached, and that in the end, because of the long delay, I would have neither the one, nor the other'.

Had Strada been more aware of the high esteem Lazius enjoyed in Vienna and at court, he perhaps would have worded his criticism more tactfully. Fortunately for him his old acquaintance Antonio Agustín had just arrived in Frankfurt as Papal nuncio. Strada, who himself had come to Frankfurt probably in connection with the book fair, but doubtless also to further his interests at court, told him of the projected catalogue. As perhaps the foremost numismatic expert of his day, Agustín was asked to give his opinion. As he told Panvinio, 'io ho trovato che c'è puoco di buono, et cosi manderemo a monte la stampa<…>', 'I found that there was little good in it, and so we will end up frustrating the printing'. But he was surprised, because—like Panvinio—he was aware of Lazius' other books, and had great respect for him: 'Volfango è molto antiquario et buona persona et dotta'.[24]

Agustín's commendation of Strada's criticism obviously persuaded Ferdinand of his *bona fides*, because now he did concede Strada's request to be employed, and Strada immediately asked the Nuremberg Council to be permitted to live for three years in Vienna without losing his rights as a citizen of the town.[25] He had anticipated this permission, because he had already transferred his household to Vienna when Agustín himself arrived, doubtless accompanying the Emperor, who made his official entry on the 15th of April:

24 DOCS. 1558-04-11 and 1558-05-02.

25 DOC. 1558-04-30.

> I should not omit telling you that in Vienna I found Strada already there, having a row with Volfango Lazio about that book of the medals of the Emperor, and he had brought his wife and household with him.[26]

4.2.3 *Wolfgang Lazius*

It is not surprising that Strada was at loggerheads with Wolfgang Lazius. Lazius (1514–1565) [Fig. 4.8 and 4.10] was a respected doctor who belonged to a prominent Vienna family: his mother was a sister of the Vienna *Bürgermeister* and Imperial *Bausuperintendent* Hermes Schallautzer. Already at the age of twenty-two he had been lecturing at Vienna University, where he was appointed professor of medicine in 1541. But his principal interest was regional history: his first publication in this field was a history of his native city, published by Oporinus in 1546.[27] In 1547 Ferdinand appointed him Imperial Historiographer, and provided the means to conduct research into the history of the *Domus Austriae* and its territories, and to collect written sources for this. Lazius had already been hunting for manuscripts before this commission; now he undertook extensive travels to obtain materials, first in Austria proper, later also in Switzerland, Bavaria and in *Vorderösterreich*, the Habsburg possessions in south-western Germany and Alsace. He published a catalogue of his finds, which included seventy-one unknown manuscript sources, forty-three of which would find their way into the second volume of Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca Universalis*. He drew upon these sources for his own research, which resulted in no less than twenty-five publications printed between 1546 and 1564.[28] These included editions of some of the texts he had found and an important book on the migration of the Germanic peoples in the late Roman Empire, as well as several maps of the Austrian territories. Lazius' intellectual standing was recognized by his colleagues, who elected him repeatedly as Dean and as *Rector* of Vienna University, and his political acumen was sufficiently esteemed by his Imperial patron to earn him membership of the *Reichshofrat*, the Imperial Aulic Council. His high standing was reflected in the house belonging to his family, the Lazenhof, which is still standing more or less as he rebuilt it, and which housed his library and collection [Fig. 4.9].

It is perfectly understandable that such a prominent scholar did not take kindly to criticism from someone like Strada, criticism the more painful

26 DOC. 1558-06-11.

27 *Vienna Austriae: Rerum Viennensium Commentarii in quatuor libros distincti*, Basel (Oporinus) 1546. On Lazius, see Horawitz 1883; Mayr 1894; on his controversy with Strada, see Von Busch 1973, pp. 199–201; Louthan 1997, pp. 27–42.

28 Stummvoll 1968, p. 65–66.

FIGURE 4.8 Philips Galle, Portrait of Wolfgang Lazius, 1555, woodcut.

FIGURE 4.9 Johann Wilhelm Zinke, The Lazenhof, Lazius' house in Vienna, as it was in 1820, print of 1856.

FIGURE 4.10 Giuseppe Arcimboldo, The Librarian, traditionally identified as Wolfgang Lazius, Skokloster Castle, Sweden.

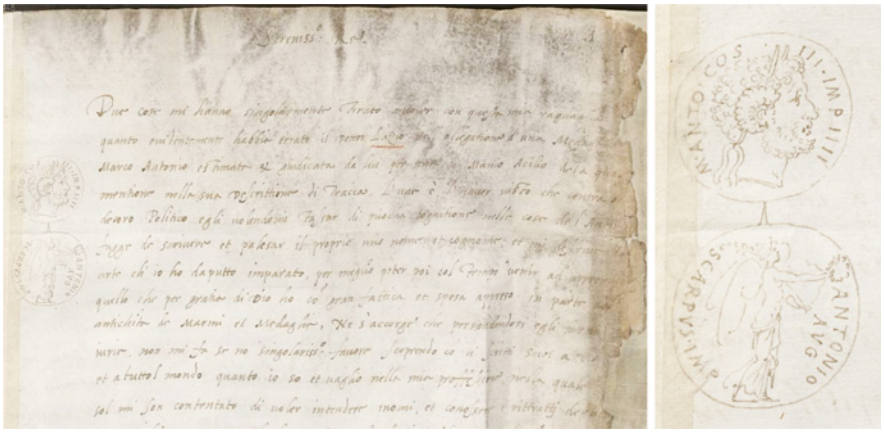

FIGURE 4.11 Jacopo Strada, obverse and reverse of a coin of Mark Antony, sketched in the margin of his letter to King Maximilian II, Doc. 1559-06-00 MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK.

because it was basically justified. Lazius had specialized in later Roman and medieval literary sources, including the *Nibelungenlied*—such interest in itself earns him an honourable place in the history of scholarship—but he appears to have been much less aware of the modern antiquarian method derived from Budé and Alciati and their pupils, a method perfected in the Roman milieu of which Agustín was part. In contrast, Strada had first-hand acquaintance of this method, and could with some justice claim that his works 'potriano star al paragone di quelle di Roma, dove tal scienza ho imparato'—'could bear

comparison with those of Rome, where I have learned this science'. In his letter to Martin de Guzmán Strada had attacked Lazius without even the least respect for his very real merit, and though Guzmán hopefully had been tactful enough not actually to show Lazius this letter, he must at least have acquainted him with the gist of it.

4.2.4 *A Possible Solution: Onofrio Panvinio?*

As *Oberstkammerer,* Guzmán was ultimately responsible for the project, as he was responsible for the internal peace of the Imperial household. He cannot have been very happy with the controversy. Though convinced by Strada and Agustín that Lazius was not sufficiently competent to finish the catalogue without more specialized assistance, neither he nor the Emperor would have wished to offend such a prominent scholar and well-deserving servant by replacing him by his tactless rival.

It was Agustín who suggested a solution: he proposed that his good friend Panvinio would be asked to come to Vienna, to work in a team including both Strada and Lazius himself. He hoped his own presence would mitigate the effects of the existing mutual antagonism between Strada and Panvinio on the one hand, and Strada and Lazius on the other. But soon it transpired that Agustín, who had returned to Rome accompanying Guzmán, sent as envoy to officially acquaint the Pope with Ferdinand's election, would not return to Vienna. And he doubted the Emperor's patronage: 'La sua natura [= Ferdinand's], né di questo Signor Imbasciator [= Guzmán] non è di spender molto in queste cose'. Yet he hoped Panvinio would travel to Vienna, and applauded the latter's suggestion to take Enea Vico with him: together they could replace Strada:

> <…>then [the two of you] you could send Strada into the woods, and you will succeed with the help of Lazius, who delights in commissioning engravings. All together you would make a beautiful book for the Emperor.[29]

4.2.5 *Lazius' Counter-attack and Strada's Defence: The Letter to King Maximilian*

Meanwhile Lazius had launched a counter-attack. In April he printed a sample of his catalogue, provided with a dedication to Guzmán, in which he refers in general terms to invidious detractors of his work. Renate von Busch found a copy of the same work which includes a dedication to Urban von Trenbach,

29 DOCS. 1558-06-11 and 1558-06-25. Agustín particularly wished Panvinio to go because this would give him the opportunity to visit the German libraries, where he would find so much material for his principal subject of study, the history of the Church.

Bishop of Passau, in which Lazius passed Strada's criticism off as the envious ignorance of a mere painter, and an Italian at that.[30] Over a year later Strada responded indignantly to a similar allegation, probably not the one mentioned here, but one contained in an unidentified (lost?) pamphlet Lazius appears to have devoted to the question, and which, though already printed, had not been actually published.[31] In this attack Lazius appears to have referred to Strada as a mere goldsmith, without even mentioning his name and function as Imperial Antiquary, and to have attributed to him the erroneous opinion that ancient coins depicting Romulus and Numa were actually struck under the rule of these archaic princes. Strada was furious about this attack, which he did not expect, because Lazius appears to have concealed his understandable resentment: 'which most annoys me is that Lazius has deceived me, because always when he met me, he greeted me from afar, and then he thumped me on my shoulders<…>.[32]

In an extensive apology handed personally to King Maximilian, rather than to the Emperor himself, Strada began by demolishing the interpretation of a coin of Mark Antony given in Lazius' description of Thrace, in his *Commentariorum rerum Graecarum* of 1558–1559 [Fig. 4.11].[33] Strada sent a copy of this apology and a covering letter to Hans Jakob Fugger, and together these provide a lot of information about Strada's position in Vienna at that time. It appears that Strada was particularly nettled by Lazius' dismissing his qualities as a scholar and a gentleman: the passage serves as an illustration of the discussion on the social position of the artist so common in the Renaissance. Lazius' reference to him as a mere goldsmith most have been the more galling because—notwithstanding his doctorate and his intellectual and political prominence—Lazius was a commoner, while Strada himself was after all a nobleman. Perhaps Lazius had not been very wise in his attack: in any case Strada neatly turns the argument against him, by stating that he had studied 'l'arte ch'io ho da putto imparato', i.e. the craft of the goldsmith, with the explicit purpose:

30 *Commentariorum vetustorum numismatum specimen*, Vienna (Michael Zimmermann) 1558; the copy in Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, Allg. G. fol K 176, includes the variant dedication to Trenbach; cf. Von Busch 1973, pp. 200–201 and 337–338, notes 55–57.

31 DOC. 1559-06-00. Strada presented his protest to the King shortly before June 6th, when Strada sent Fugger a copy; in the accompanying letter (DOC. 1559-06-06) he referred to 'quel folio contro di me' by Lazius: in the context obviously a sheet, i.e. a pamphlet, rather than a folio-size book.

32 DOC. 1559-06-06; see appendix 3a.

33 Von Busch 1973, p.338, note 61 erroneously implies that the attack on Strada was included in this work itself; Strada's letter to Fugger (DOC. 1559-06-09) makes clear that it was a separate pamphlet. Strada's comment discussed in JANSEN 1993, pp. 213–214.

> <…>better to learn in time what I have, with the grace of God and with great effort and expense, been able to master in the field of marble antiquities and medals; and neither does he [= Lazius] realize that, thinking to do me an injury, in fact he does me an outstanding favour, demonstrating in his writings to Your Majesty and to all the world, how much I know and am capable of in my profession; in which I have not only contented myself with identifying the names and recognizing the portraits of the people of Antiquity, but also have succeeded with my efforts over time, to be able not only to draw them on paper, but also to model them both in gold and [other] metals, and to carve them in marble.

Moreover Strada slyly suggests that, if Lazius really considered as demeaning the craft and the expertise of the goldsmith, it was hardly consistent with either the duty he owed his Imperial patrons or with common civility, to indicate Strada, 'known to the world as a servant of both His Imperial and of Your Majesties as Jacomo Strada Antiquario', with that term, for 'everyone knows that the honour and shame of the servant reflect in equal measure upon the honour and shame of his master'.

Strada's letter to Maximilian was an effective act of revenge, since he could tell Fugger that:

> His Majesty the King was quite annoyed that the said Lazio had accused me in this manner, and I believe that it has gained him little credit with His Majesty; and neither with many other learned men, not having been able to defend himself, or even having known how to; because against reason [mere] excuses have no value.

Maximilian had in fact commissioned one of his courtiers, one 'Signor Piller', to mediate between the contestants, and Lazius had retracted by stating that he had intended no offence, and that he was willing to have his pamphlet reprinted (doubtless meaning without the offending passage). But Strada told Fugger that he was not ready to forgive Lazius, 'o per tardo o per tempo', and that he rather hoped that the latter would publish the original version, so that he would have an excuse to respond publicly. 'Mon Signor d' Agria'—a new friend, the learned Croatian-Hungarian diplomat prelate Antun Vrančić (Antonius Verantius, Antal Verancsics; 1504–1573), at the time Bishop of Eger/ Erlau and Imperial Legate to the Council of Trent—had advised Strada not to apply to the King, but to respond publicly by printing an apology 'or rather an invective, and have it printed just as he had printed that broadsheet against

me'.[34] Strada had finally decided against this because Lazius had not published his pamphlet (though doubtless he had circulated it among his friends at court), and Strada was afraid that he would offend too many people by an open reply.

4.2.6 *Outcome of the Affair*

This letter is the last we hear of the controversy. The planned catalogue was never realized: though Lazius' numismatic incompetence had been sufficiently demonstrated, the Emperor could hardly give the task to someone else. After his death in 1565 perhaps the need was less felt, because of the presence of Strada's numismatic manuscripts in the *Hofbibliothek*, which included most of the more important coins in the Imperial collection.[35] The open quarrel between Lazius and Strada was probably hushed up in some way, though they never became friends.[36] For Strada the positive aspect of the controversy was that it made his name known to everyone who counted immediately upon his arrival at court: on the principle that even bad publicity is better than no publicity, he could take any hostility he doubtless met with in his stride. He had moreover established his competence as an antiquary, and could claim to King Maximilian to be—as we have seen—'connossiuto per mondo provisionato da la Cesarea et [Vostra Maestà] per Jacomo Strada Antiquario'.

Though his explicit assumption of the style of Imperial Antiquary appears to have been tacitly condoned by King Maximilian, it was not officially recognized until some years later: the Emperor would have been careful not to offend Lazius' feelings more than necessary. Because he had been asked to come to court to enter Imperial service, already in November 1558 Strada had requested that he would be formally enrolled in the *Hofstaat*, the Imperial

34 That Strada did not boast in vain of Vrančić's interest is borne out by the long letter in Latin the Bishop addressed to him a few months later, apostrophising Strada as 'urbanissime Strada' and similar complimentary epithets (DOC. 1558-12-04); cf. below, Ch. 11.1.

35 It should be noted that Strada did not use the Imperial collection for his *Διασκευέ,* in which hardly any coins are described from the exemplars in Vienna: the drawings and descriptions in his numismatic works were based on the material he had collected in the years before he came to court.

36 Strada did obtain or compile a manuscript based on one of Lazius' published works, *Commentariorvm Reipublicae Romanae illius, in exteris prouincijs, bello acquisitis, constitutae, libri duodecim*, first printed by Oporinus, Basel 1551, which he intended to republish in an augmented second edition, since it is added to one of the copies of his *Index sive catalogus* [Appendix D, nr. 46].

household, and that a salary should be fixed.[37] But the first record of payment we have dates only from a year later, when he received his annual salary of 200 *Gulden*. This was the remuneration that a month later, 31 January 1560, was decided upon when Ferdinand finally granted him an official appointment: not, it should be noted, as Imperial Antiquary, but as 'ein Baumeister bey unsen Gebewen alhier': an architect for the Imperial buildings in Vienna.[38] Only in 1563, shortly before Ferdinand's death, Strada would be accorded a second Pension or *Dienstgeld* of 100 *Gulden*, in the capacity of 'Diener und Antiquarius', servant and antiquary.[39] So Strada had finally realized his ambition to obtain the patronage of the principal secular ruler of Christianity. He would serve Ferdinand I and his successors in his double capacity until 1579, when he resigned his court-appointments; having settled in Vienna, he soon acquired a house of his own, and would remain there for the rest of his life.

4.3 'Obwol Ir.Maj. den Strada selbst dier Zeit wol zu geprauchen": Strada's Tasks at Court

4.3.1 *Introduction*

Strada's decision to move to Vienna indicates that he highly appreciated the Imperial patronage which he had obtained, and which he managed to retain for twenty years. I have elsewhere discussed the advantages it brought him, by reviewing the instruments of patronage available to Ferdinand and Maximilian and listing their application in Strada's case.[40] Though where men of letters and learning, artists, musicians, and so on were involved, the criteria governing their application may have deviated from the norm, these instruments were essentially the same as those employed to bind any potentially useful servant to the ruler, or to reward the achievements of any deserving subject. As in other cases, the patronage Strada enjoyed was partly composed of a string of small favours and privileges, the cumulative importance of which counterbalanced the periodical remuneration he received. Yet the salary or pension remained the most important single element of the reward, because it was the most formal expression of the relationship existing between patron and 'client'. As such

37 DOCS. 1558-10-00, 1558-11-00 and 1558-11-24; from the latter it transpires that Hans Lautensack had supported Strada's request, or had been asked for comment.

38 DOC. 1559-12-20 and 1560-01-31.

39 DOC. 1563-00-00.

40 Jansen 1988<c>; slightly revised English version: Jansen 1992.

it had a symbolic significance that equalled or transcended its material value. In 1579 Strada's pension—in any case never more than a quite modest portion of his total income—had not been paid for five years, and after Maximilian's death the new Emperor had hardly made use of his services. But Strada still felt obliged to resign formally before offering his services to Rudolf's brother, the Archduke Ernest.[41]

Yet also during Maximilian's lifetime Strada enjoyed great liberty of action and was never required to limit the exercise of his talents to the Emperor's own commissions. On the contrary, he was encouraged to spend much time and energy on his own projects, and was able to work extensively for other patrons, such as Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria. It is doubtful whether this freedom from constraint may be interpreted as symptomatic for the process of emancipation of the artist as postulated in Martin Warnke's study of the court artist of the *Ancien régime*.[42] Like so many other court-artists Strada was after all not only an artist, but also and at the same time a merchant, a man of letters, a nobleman and courtier. Strada's case suggests that a patronage relationship of this type was based on mutual and complementary interests, and consisted in an even exchange of diverse, but equivalent advantages. Strada drew his modest pension and enjoyed the prestige that his function as Imperial Antiquary procured him. Though this prestige is difficult to asses, Strada certainly valued it highly, so it must have been of use to him in the realization of his ambitious projects. It is reasonable to suppose that, in return, the Emperor expected to profit from Strada's erudition and artistic proficiency and from the added distinction that his presence—and that of the small but lively cultural meeting-place centred on his house and exquisite *Musaeum*—conferred on the principal residence of the Austrian branch of the Habsburg dynasty.[43] The remainder of this book will attempt to give some substance to this assumption.

From the relatively detailed review of the material and immaterial advantages Strada obtained from his patrons, the Emperors Ferdinand I, Maximilian II and Rudolf II, we know exactly what salary he was paid, and when and even from what sources he obtained it. The combined sum of the two annuities he received shows that he ranked somewhere in the middle of the court hierarchy, a level which included both the lower ranking courtiers—noblemen holding court-appointments as gentleman of the Imperial Chamber or Stable 'with two or three horses'—as well as professionals, both noblemen and commoners, fulfilling specifically defined functions: doctors, chaplains and artists attending

41 DOC. 1579-05-00.

42 Warnke 1985.

43 The preceding paragraphs are adapted from Jansen 1992, pp. 201–202.

the person of the Emperor, as well as the lawyers and accountants running the chancery and the *Hofkammer* or treasury. Taken together, the further acts of patronage that Strada obtained from Maximilian II—his assistance in acquiring and rebuilding his Vienna mansion, his insistent recommendations to other princes to aid Strada in his affairs and his ambitions for his family, and the formal recognition of his noble status—are exceptional: they demonstrate that Strada's services were highly valued. It is therefore odd that so very little is known about what these services actually entailed. In fact Strada's function at the Imperial court is the largest and most glaringly blank spot on the map of his career: whereas its size and shape can be roughly defined, its contents can only be conjectured. For any real understanding of Strada's career this conjecture must be hazarded. Based on the assumption that the patronage he received was indeed a recompense for services rendered, whatever their nature, the conjecture first relies on Strada's few concrete activities on the Emperor's behalf that are documented. To give substance to the rather hazy picture then emerging, Part II of this study will be dedicated to Strada's activity as an architect, while Part III concentrates on his role in the collecting activities of his patrons and on his own collection. In both cases comparisons with documented activities for other patrons, in particular for Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, will be discussed and the analogy used to underpin his conjectured role in Vienna.

4.3.2 *Strada's Documented Activities on Behalf of His Imperial Patrons*

Considering that Strada remained in Imperial service for over twenty years, and in two different functions, his concrete activities in those capacities that are documented are quite few. As we have seen, his earliest activities on behalf of members of the House of Austria preceded his appointment at court: his involvement in Archduke Ferdinand's projected silver *Garden of Eden* and his advice on the planned catalogue of the Emperor's medals have been discussed above.

Soon after his arrival in Vienna, Strada was called upon to exercise a third of his accomplishments, his understanding of architecture. In October 1558 he was summoned, together with Hermes Schallautzer—as *Bausuperintendent* responsible for the management of the Imperial building projects in Vienna—and the Imperial Architect Pietro Ferrabosco, to examine in the presence of Ferdinand himself, the model for the arcades of the *Hofspital*, a charitable institution that was being built next to the Vienna Hofburg at the Emperor's expense. The original model for the *Hofspital* had been presented to Ferdinand by his architect Sigismundo da Preda in 1549; but Ferdinand had decided to add superimposed arcades to the new building. It was the model for these

arcades, prepared by yet another of the Imperial *Baumeister*, Benedikt Kölbl, which was discussed and approved by this ad hoc committee.[44]

In the first half of July 1559 Schallautzer again asked Strada and Ferrabosco to give advice, this time on the planned decoration of the ceiling of the great hall of the *Hofburg* at Innsbruck, a project which will be discussed in some detail below. On the 27th of April of the following year, Schallautzer asked him again to participate in a similar meeting: with Ferrabosco and the Italian sculptor Natale Veneziano Strada was to discuss the plans for the funeral monument of Emperor Maximilian I in the *Hofkirche* at Innsbruck, which was specially built to receive it. The committee was to prepare a *Gutachten*, an advice, on the shape of the tomb proper, which was to be placed at the centre of the group of over life-size bronze statues of Habsburg 'gesibt [und] freundschaft'—ancestors and allies—which had first been commissioned, fifty years earlier, by Maximilian himself. Its deliberations likewise will be discussed below.[45]

The tomb was the principal and most prestigious dynastic commission undertaken by Ferdinand I; so Strada's participation in the committee demonstrates considerable confidence in his artistic expertise. It is this confidence that, on 31 January of 1560, had motivated Ferdinand to formally appoint Strada as one of his architects, specifically for the projects under construction in Vienna:

> Graciously considering the experience and competence we have observed our faithful and dear Jacob Strada to possess in the matter of building, we have graciously appointed him as an architect for our buildings here [= in Vienna].[46]

Strada's activities as such are attested by the presence of his name in a document of 1562 listing the names of the architects involved in restructuring the *Hofburg*, but no information on his share in the work has been preserved.[47]

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44 Grün 2014, p. 242, n. 1172; on the *Hofspital*, see below, Ch. 6.1.

45 Ch. 6.2.; the memorial referred to was communicated to Ferdinand by his architect, Hermes Schallautzer, doubtless also present at the meeting; it is printed in Schönherr 1890, p. 265–266.

46 DOC. 1560-01-31 [HKA, *Gedenkbuch* Nr. 86, fol. 44 verso; Lietzmann 1987 p. 113, note 73].

47 DOC. 1560-01-31; but he had in fact already been awarded a first payment of his annual salary over 1559 (DOC. 1559-12-20), and in a note to the Emperor Benedikt Kölbl had referred to him and Ferrabosco as 'Ihrer Majestäts Baumeister' (HKA, NÖHA W 61/C59, fol 172 r, cited in Lietzmann 1987, p 113, n 71). The list of architects cited in Kühnel 1959 p. 320 (HKA, NÖHA, W 61/A2, fol 304 v; cited Lietzmann 1987, p. 113, n. 73).

In August of 1560 Strada obtained a passport for a trip to Venice: this trip, however, was undertaken in his private interest, to recover some debts due to him. While in Venice he did buy some antique sculptures, but these appear not to have been destined for Ferdinand (more likely Strada bought them on behalf of Hans Jakob Fugger or even merely for his own collection). The nobleman Andrea Loredan, having heard of the high prices Strada had paid for these, offered Strada part of his own celebrated collection. Strada did indeed approach the Emperor, but this appears to have been his own initiative, and Ferdinand showed no interest.[48]

The next instance of a concrete service dates only from after Ferdinand's death, and is merely documented because it entailed some travel expenses: Strada was sent to Prague in connection with the tomb of Ferdinand and his consort that was to be erected in St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague.[49] The tomb, which is no masterwork [below, Figs. 9.02–9.03], would ultimately also receive the remains of Maximilian II himself. It was executed in Innsbruck by Alexander Colin and his workshop between 1566 and 1589; again there are no concrete indications exactly what share Strada had in its conception.

In November 1566 Strada again was given an advance for his travel expenses, when Maximilian sent him to Munich at the pressing request of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria. Maximilian wrote to his brother-in-law that he assented to Strada's departure 'wiewol ich sainer in etzlichen sachen nit wol geraten khan', 'though in many things [?projects] I cannot really miss', which indicates that, notwithstanding the dearth of concrete information, Strada was not inactive in Vienna itself. He would be lent in this manner to the Duke on two further occasions, in 1568 and in 1570. His activities for that patron will be discussed below.[50]

On the second of these occasions, in November 1568, when Albrecht suggested that Maximilian, because of his absence from Vienna, would for some while have no need of Strada, the Emperor again had noted that in fact he did have good uses for his erudite servant. It is very likely that the Emperor at the time was consulting Strada regularly in connection with the design of the large garden and its ample pleasure pavilion, the *Neugebäude,* which he was planning near his hunting lodge at Kaiserebersdorf, some miles east of Vienna. A letter from Hans Jakob Fugger to Strada of the 13th of the same month implies

48 DOC. 1560-08-20; Von Busch 1973, p. 202 and note 69. Strada would acquire the Loredan collection a decade later on behalf of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria (cf. below, Ch. 12.3).

49 DOC. 1565-03-28.

50 DOC 1566-11-18; shortly before his departure the Emperor granted Strada a travel allowance (DOC 1566-12-18). Strada's trips on behalf of Duke Albrecht discussed below, Ch. 12.3.

that the latter had in fact provided a design that had been well received by his patron.[51]

In April 1569 Strada was sent to Pressburg (Bratislava), since the fall of Buda to the Turks the effective capital of Hungary. The chapel of the castle, which served as the principal royal residence, had been decorated with an elaborate programme of religious scenes designed and painted by Giulio Licinio. These paintings have not survived, but they were framed in stucco and surrounded by grotesques by Cesare Baldigara and Ulisse Romano, which have recently been rediscovered and restored [Figs. 9.4–9.5]. Begun in 1563, the project was nearing completion; Strada's task was to inspect it and to give an estimate of the remuneration Licinio was entitled to for this prestigious work, unfortunately destroyed or removed in the early nineteenth century.[52]

In 1572 or 1573 Strada provided the Emperor with twelve antique portrait heads and a bust, the former at 40 *Kronen* each, the latter at 60 *Kronen*. It is not known whether these were statues from his own collection—perhaps those bought at such high prices during his visit to Venice in 1560?—or whether he had negotiated their acquisition on the Emperor's explicit commission during his last stay in Venice in 1570. It is likewise unknown what was done with them, but it appears likely that they were intended for the decoration of the Neugebäude: at least since 1566 Maximilian had been actively engaged through his envoys and agents in Rome to obtain 'varias antiquitates, que haberi possunt, artificiosissimas et elegantissimas ad ornatum hortorum spectantes', that is, antique sculpture suitable to decorate the garden he was planning. The total sum Strada received—he was paid 810 *Gulden*, the equivalent of 540 *Kronen*—was almost thrice his combined annual salary, and therefore not inconsiderable.[53]

The numismatic manuscripts Strada had dedicated to Ferdinand I and Maximilian II in the 1550s had not been solicited, but had been presented as gifts, to draw the attention of these potential employers. Though both giver and recipient would always carefully maintain the courtly fiction of an even exchange of gifts, such presents were implicitly expected to yield some concrete recompense: Strada had in fact received a quite generous remuneration for the fruits of his labour, disguised as *Ehrengeschenk*—literally a 'honorarium'. On the other hand, the six monumental volumes of his *Series Imperatorum*

51 DOC. 1568-11-13; on the Neugebäude, see below, Chapter 9.

52 DOC. 1569-04-00; On Licinio's frescoes, see Lietzmann 1987, pp. 148–149; on Licinio in general, *ibidem* p. 148–151, and Vertova 1976, pp. 513–589 and 543–544.

53 DOCS. 1573-01-21; 1574-06-01; 1574-06-08; on Maximilian's attempts to acquire antiques: Lietzmann 1987, pp. 164–166; Brown 1987, which provides additional archival material.

preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek appear to have been an explicit commission. Basically they should be regarded as an alternative to the *catalogue raisonné* of the Imperial coin collection that—as we have seen above—was never realized. It is not known when exactly they were presented to the Emperor, but in December 1575 Strada first applied to be paid for them. He had to repeat this request many times, and only in August of 1577 Rudolf II accorded him 600 *Thaler*, exactly the same amount per volume that he had received as *Ehrengeschenk* for the earlier volumes.[54] It is not clear whether this sum was actually paid, and it may be that an unusual draft on the revenue of Silesia granted him in November of the same year, for which no motivation is given, represents the payment due to him.[55] Nonetheless even in the 1580s Strada still had to sue for payment of his outstanding dues from the *Hofkammer*, including both the arrears of his salary and the payment for books provided: the latter referring either to the manuscript volumes of the *Series* or, perhaps more likely, to books from his studio that he had provided to the *Hofbibliothek* or to the Emperor, Rudolf II, himself.[56]

4.3.3 *Was this Really All? Locating the Blank Spots on the Map*

Altogether this list is rather modest: in twenty years of service Strada had three times advised on important projects, produced an estimate of a fourth, and rendered an unspecified service in connection with a fifth. He had further provided the Emperor with some antique sculpture, eight important and expensive manuscript volumes from his own workshop and—possibly—some printed books from his studio, for all of which he had been separately paid. The design for the Neugebäude—date and wording of the source strongly suggests that this was probably a general plan, not just a design for a minor detail—is the only one of his recorded services that is in keeping with the function he held and the salary he received. Several arguments can be proposed to explain this apparent discrepancy, linked on the one hand to the character of the sources, on the other hand to the character of the services in themselves.

54 DOCS. 1575-12-00; 1576-05-00; 1576-08-00; 1577-02-13; 1577-02-18<b>; 1577-03-10; 1577-03-18; 1577-08-02; 1578-10-00; all seem to refer to payment for the same six volumes originally delivered to Maximilian II, for which Rudolf in August 1577 finally accorded a sum of 600 *Thaler*, but which were not yet actually paid in 1578.

55 DOC. 1577-11-00; the grant was probably intended as (part of?) the payment due to Strada for the six books of the *Series Imperatorum*, though it might refer to other goods—works of art, antiques, books from Strada's *Musaeum*?—he had purveyed to the Emperor. It cannot refer to his regular salary, since this is all accounted for in the financial deliberations relating to his discharge in 1579.

56 DOCS. 1579-10-15; 1579-10-30; 1580-04-26(a, b, c); 1580-08-02; 1582-03-28; 1582-06-19.

In the first place it should be kept in mind that most of the archival data which document Strada's activities at court are taken from the records of the *Hofkammer*, the financial administration. I have pointed out elsewhere that these in themselves may well be incomplete, since the Emperor disposed of other than purely pecuniary means to materially reward services rendered, such as payments in kind, which Strada at least occasionally received; a consideration that helps to widen the gap between rewards and documented services.[57] Except for the payment of the two salaries, which are quite regularly entered in the books (though far less punctually discharged, especially towards the end of Maximilian's reign), all registered payments refer to extraordinary expenses, in particular travel allowances and payments for goods provided. This warrants the perhaps rather obvious conclusion that the two salaries Strada received were considered to cover most of his regular services, for which no separate payment was necessary, and of which no account was kept. It also implies that—apart from the books of drawings—he did not provide independent works of art—such as paintings—produced by himself or in his studio, because these were generally separately paid for. But it does not necessarily exclude that he provided ideas and sketches, or even worked-out designs, to be used by other court-artists. And neither does it necessarily exclude that he provided individual objects from his *Musaeum*—or from his stock-in-trade as a bookseller and art-dealer?—which may have been paid in cash or in some other way in which the identity of the seller remained anonymous.

In the second place it must be pointed out that the dearth of sources on Strada's activities is by no means exceptional: the documentation of the artistic patronage of the Austrians Habsburgs in their own capital is extremely incomplete. Even the genesis of Maximilian's grandest project, the Neugebäude, can only be reconstructed from very incomplete financial sources: it was hardly ever mentioned explicitly even in his own correspondence, as far as known to date.[58] Until the recent publication of the results of the Hofburg project, it was simply not known when as important an extension of the Hofburg as the Neue Burg or Amalienburg—also known as Ernestinische Trakt, having been originally conceived as the residence of Archduke Ernest— was given its basic architectonic order: dates given in the earlier literature vary between the 1570s and the 1620s![59]

57 Jansen 1988<c>; Jansen 1992.

58 On the Neugebäude, see below, Ch. 9.

59 On the Amalienburg, see now Holzschuh-Hofer 2014 (d); cf. below, Ch. 10.2.

This appears the more surprising because the dynasty's patronage in Innsbruck is quite well documented, in particular the construction, under Ferdinand I and Maximilian II, of the Hofkirche and the mausoleum for Maximilian I, and the restructuring of Ambras castle for Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol. Doubtless this is partly due to the professional organization of the *Landesregierung* at Innsbruck, the government of Tirol, which was often involved (and had to pay); its archive has been well preserved. But it is also due to the frequent absence of its princes: the Emperor resided in Vienna, and though Archduke Ferdinand always had a great affection for the Tirol and was its designate ruler, for sixteen years he served as his father's and brother's governor of the Kingdom of Bohemia. Every decision of any importance was therefore resolved upon only after epistolary consultation with either the Emperor or with the Archduke himself.

For Vienna, as probably for the whole of Lower Austria, such consultation doubtless likewise took place, but in most cases decisions were referred to the Emperor in person, either by those involved themselves or through the mediation of courtiers or agents. Any minutes of such conversation or written notes of instructions would not have the status of official correspondence, so they would not be registered in the chancery, and the originals, being directed at the individuals concerned rather than to a government office, would not be preserved. This means that crucial information about the genesis of the artistic projects at court, such as the motif for their commission, the considerations determining their iconography and well as those influencing their form and style, and the selection of suitable artists, is almost non-existent.[60]

The very fact that Strada's activities at court are so scantily documented strongly suggests that his services belonged to this consultative category. The

60 Only when immediate financial consequences were involved, agreements or decisions would be recorded in writing. Since the Imperial administration—involving a great many authorities—was still far from perfect, such records as preserved are far from complete. The selected excerpts from the sources as published in the *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* (JdKS) are a monument of nineteenth-century scholarship. Yet they remain a selection, and many sources have not been taken into consideration: the daunting task of publishing the correspondence of Ferdinand I and Maximilian II, for instance, has never been undertaken (except for two volumes of Maximilian's letters to other members of the dynasty, covering less than four years). Publications such as Walter Pass's *Musik und Musiker am Hof Maximilian's II.* (1980), Hilda Lietzmann's painstaking monograph on the Neugebäude (1987), Zweder von Martels's biography of the Imperial envoy Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (1989) and Karl Rudolf's comparison between the patronage at the courts of Vienna and Madrid (1995) have shown that detailed research in the Vienna archives can add considerably to our knowledge.

gist of the conclusions of the committee sent to Innsbruck to advise on the completion of Maximilian's tomb has been preserved, not because of the importance of the enterprise, but because the Emperor happened to be absent from Vienna, and because it had to be communicated to the relevant authorities *in loco*. Otherwise their full report would have been made in a personal interview with the Emperor and perhaps both his elder sons; the discussion would then have been supported by a file of relevant material including earlier designs, sketches of alternative solutions, *brouillons* of the proposed iconography, and perhaps some comparative material. As similar package of documentation about the Innsbruck tomb was compiled by Schallautzer on an earlier occasion, which is documented only because it had had to be sent to Ferdinand, who happened to be absent.[61]

The same holds for Strada's involvement in the conception of Ferdinand's tomb in Prague: we know that he went there, but his conclusions again must have been communicated to Maximilian in person and—one must presume—were taken into consideration when further plans were made. A case can be made that he was paid his two annuities chiefly in order to provide such advice: advice which, because of his education, his cosmopolitan erudition, his artistic expertise and—not least—his disposal of the treasures assembled in his *Musaeum*, he was perfectly qualified to give. In the following paragraphs two examples will be given where circumstantial evidence allows an interpretation of the scanty or even non-existent formal, administrative evidence of Strada's role.

4.3.4 *An Example: The Ceiling of the Goldener Saal at Innsbruck*

A document preserved in Innsbruck that has not yet been considered gives a perfect example of Strada being active in this consultative capacity without receiving any specific remuneration. This is a letter by Hermes Schallautzer to the Emperor, dated 16 July 1559.[62] It responds to an instruction received from the Emperor dated 8 June 1559, from Augsburg, where Ferdinand was presiding the Imperial Diet. The Emperor had sent Schallautzer a drawing ('Vysierung') of the 'Neue Sallpoden', the ceiling of the great hall of the Hofburg in Innsbruck. This hall, known as the *Goldener Saal*, had been restructured in a moderate Renaissance idiom by the Italian architect Lucio Spazio, shortly after a fire had destroyed part of this Imperial residence in 1534. It had been provided with windows by Paul Dax in 1538–1540, but its decoration had never been completed: perhaps just because Ferdinand was very fond of Innsbruck

61 Cf below, Ch. 6.2.

62 DOC. 1559-07-16.

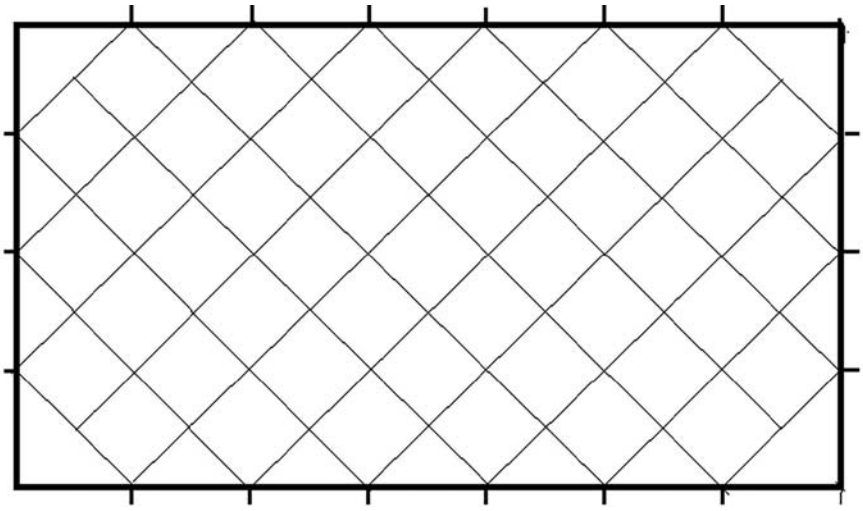


FIGURE 4.12 A hypothetical reconstruction of the earlier version of the lay-out of the ceiling of the Goldene Saal in the Innsbruck Hofburg. Planned to consist of sixty-three diagonally placed 'square and pointed' panels, it was later modified to a more monumental one, in which thirty-five larger panels offered greater scope for the planned 'fantasies' that Domenico Pozzo was to paint in them.

he appears to have found it difficult to make up his mind. At one time he had asked Anton Fugger to suggest a name of a competent painter to provide an advice as to its decoration, and in 1550 no fewer than three painters, Christoph Amberger, Hans Kels and Heinrich Kron, had actually presented drawings for the project.[63]

Though already in 1555 a definitive decision on its decoration appears to have been taken, only now concrete steps were taken to execute it, to which purpose Schallautzer was instructed to summon the painter Domenico Pozzo. It is not known when this Milanese painter had entered Ferdinand's service; he worked mostly in Innsbruck, where he painted the *Annunciation* on the shutters of the famous organ by Jörg Ebert in the Hofkirche. Later he would work also in Vienna and Prague.[64] But at the time he appears to have been working—probably for King Maximilian—in the Imperial hunting lodge at Kaisereberdorf. Certainly it was from there that Schallautzer summoned him to hear Ferdinand's instructions, to show him the enclosed 'Vysierung'—doubtless a schematic drawing showing the division of the ceiling—and to commission him '<...>das er in allen gevierte und gespitzte Feldung ein sonndere fein

63 Fellmayer / Oettinger / Scheicher 1986, p. 63.

64 Thieme-Becker 26, p. 32; Dreger 1914, p. 115; Podewils 1992, p. 257–58.

fantesey mache, auch auf underschidliche papier verfassen<...>'. This appears to indicate that the ceiling—it was a timber 'Poden', rather than a vault in masonry (which would have been indicated with the term 'Gewölb')—consisted of diagonally placed square compartments, leaving space for smaller triangular section along its margins (the 'gespitzte Feldung'). This ceiling consisted of sixty-three of such compartments, and may have looked somewhat like the hypothetical reconstruction offered here [Fig. 4.12]. For each of these panels Pozzo was expected to invent a 'fantasy' and make a drawing of it on a separate sheet.[65] When finished, Schallautzer and Pozzo were to negotiate a price for the execution of the paintings and the expense of the colours and the gilding, after which the painter was to be dispatched, taking his drawings with him, to the Emperor, who then could take his final decision.

Pozzo appears to have had a ready imagination, if he could think out his scheme and conceive no less than sixty-three 'Fantesey' or inventions, within the two weeks at most at his disposal. This rather suggests that he was forewarned, and of course it is perfectly possible that a project of such importance and of such long standing had been discussed informally beforehand. Certainly the time was too short to produce sixty-three fully worked out designs for each of the fantasies: Pozzo therefore proposed to draw a limited number of views showing sections of the projected ceiling in which he sketched his proposed inventions for each compartment. Schallautzer agreed to this proposal on the condition that Pozzo would work out one of the compositions in a full-size drawing, 'wie es ins werck sein soll'.[66] Since Schallautzer uses the

65 A ceiling of a double square can be divided in forty-five diagonally placed square compartments, which gives 14 triangles (each half the square compartments) at the margins and four larger triangles (two combined marginal triangles) in the corners, which adds up to sixty-three compartments in all. There appears to be no graphic documentation of the *Goldener Saal* before the mid-eighteenth century, but an (approximate) proportion of a double square for (the principal section of) the hall is not contradicted by the preserved plans (Felmayer / Oettinger / Scheicher 1986, pl. 48a). The ceiling was carried on carved stone corbels ('geschnittne krackstain'): the number of compartments was later reduced, which could not have been done in the compartmented ceiling in carpentry typical of the German Renaissance, so it must have been either a flat timber ceiling—the most likely option—or possibly a light (slightly curved?) stucco ceiling hanging from the beams; except for the corbel-stones and the Imperial coat of arms in the central compartment, it included no carved or moulded elements: the gilding used was just gold-paint ('ringiltigen farben') (*JdKS* 11, 1890, II, p. CCXXII, *Regest* 7762, discussed below).

66 The text of the letter allows various interpretations: on the one hand it is possible that Pozzo did indeed produce sixty-three individual sheets, but that these were merely quick sketches, instead of detailed *modelli* in which the proposed shading was indicated in wash. On the other hand he may also have produced one large overview of the ceiling as a whole, in which each invention was sketched; but since his proposed inventions were

term 'zumallen'—'to paint' rather than 'to draw'—this drawing certainly was a detailed *modello,* probably executed in watercolours or gouache to indicate the proposed colouring, and it was added to the file Pozzo was to carry with him to the Emperor.

Through his long experience as *Bausuperintendent,* Schallautzer had acquired considerable competence in architectural matters, but he did not pretend to any specific expertise in the pictorial arts. At least two of the Italian architects he employed at court had received their initial training in that field, Pietro Ferrabosco and Jacopo Strada. Before Schallautzer sent Pozzo to the Emperor, he decided to ask these two masters to critically examine the artist's proposals. After conferring together, the three instructed Pozzo to make some changes in several of his sketches and to completely redraw some others. Only after Pozzo had carried out these changes and an agreement concerning remuneration and expenses had been negotiated did Schallautzer sit down to draft his covering letter to the Emperor.

Ferdinand appears to have been content with the result, since he immediately wrote to the Innsbruck authorities to acquaint them with its details, repeating much of the contents of Schallautzer's letter. It indicated that Ferdinand intended 'weder in die gefierten noch gespitzten veldungen von conterfehung wappen oder rosetten ze stellen, nit sonder von allerlai ander vantaseien darein malen ze lassen': i.e. instead of decorating the square and pointed compartments of the ceiling with the habitual rosettes or coats of arms, he wished to have them filled with various painted 'fantasies'.[67] Before the end of the year Pozzo had begun painting these fantasies, which satisfied the Emperor sufficiently to extend further commissions to him, all in Innsbruck.[68] Yet it appears that before Pozzo started painting, various further changes were discussed, probably now in the presence of the Emperor himself, who had returned to Vienna early in September. Chief among these was the reduction of

sufficiently detailed for Ferrabosco and Strada to comment on them individually, and to suggest individual alterations and in some cases to have them completely redone, this is far less likely.

67 Letter of 28 July 1559, TLA, KS 801; excerpt printed in *JdKS* 11, 1890, II, p. CLXXXIII, *Regest* 7366.

68 In 1560 and 1561, Pozzo was commissioned to paint the various biblical scenes decorating the case, as well as the two large wings closing the splendid organ (1560) by Jorg Ebert in the *Hofkirche*, the church built next to the Hofburg to house the sumptuous mausoleum of Maximilian I; next, in 1561, he painted the decoration of the vaulting of the cloister in the *Neuen Stift*, the Franciscan monastery annex to the *Hofkirche*, and finally, in the same year, an altarpiece for one of the principal altars in the same church (Felmayer/Oettinger/Scheicher 1986, pp. 242–243 and 280–283; only the decoration of the organ (illustrated *ibid*., Figs. 374–367) has been preserved.

the number of compartments to thirty-five, including a central compartment containing the Imperial coat of arms held by two gilt griffins. The consequent larger size of the panels made them more suitable for the planned 'vantaseyen': these were not grotesques, as the term might suggest, but a set of depictions of 'die historien weilend kaiser Maximilianen und ains tails kaiser Karls hochlobichisten gedechtnussen schlachten', scenes from the life of Maximilian I and some of Charles V's battles. Further changes were only undertaken after Pozzo had arrived in Innsbruck, and it turned out that the V*isierung* on which he had based his drawings had not been sufficiently detailed: the brackets carrying the ceiling had not been indicated, so he had to plan a different, wider border section; for the extra work involved in this, and some further changes in the fantasies themselves, he received some additional payment.[69]

Though the documents relating to this project suggest several questions that cannot be easily answered, they still throw some light on the handling of artistic commissions at the Imperial court. The commission was an important one: as the principal decoration of the principal room of one of the principal Imperial residences, it had great representative value, the more so since it would be about the first example of Imperial splendour inspected by any Italian prince, prelate or envoy visiting Habsburg territory. From Schallautzer's letter it appears unlikely that Ferdinand's directions, or the accompanying V*isierung,* had included any specific iconographical instructions: Schallautzer certainly would have referred to that. The use of the word 'Fantesey' can be stretched to suggest that Ferdinand himself had indicated that some secular, literary or historical theme was intended, and it is quite possible that the scenes from the life of Maximilian I and the battles of Charles V actually painted were envisaged from the outset. Documentation on the former—Dürer's *Ehrenpforte* in the first place—was available in any case because of the contemporary planning of Maximilian's tomb, likewise decorated with his principal *gesta*. Certainly the letter implies that Ferdinand had great confidence that Pozzo was capable of coming up with a series of subjects suitable for the location.

Schallautzer's letter provides a lively vignette of the day to day tasks of the leading artists at court. Imagine a lively discussion taking place on a hot summer day—it can be stifling in Vienna—conducted in German spoken with a Viennese and two different Italian accents, and possibly partly in Italian translated by Strada or Ferrabosco for Schallautzer's benefit; moreover garnered with Italian and Latin quotations. Imagine this discussion taking place around a table covered in drawings piled about one central plan—the 'Vysierung'

69 Advice of the Tirol government to the Emperor on Pozzo's request for additional payment, 28 January 1564, printed in *JdKS* II, 1890, II, p. CCXXII, *Regest* 7762.

mentioned in the letter—and probably complemented with a stack of books—Classical and Italian literary texts, Classical mythology, Classical and Habsburg history, emblem books, Dürer prints—to be used as tools of reference. Some previous discussions had doubtless taken place: Pozzo had been informed in detail about the Emperor's wishes, and when inviting his two Italian architects Schallautzer likewise must have explained the project to them. Moreover, if the scenes from the life of Maximilian I had been intended from the start, it is likely that Strada had been consulted beforehand. It can hardly be assumed that Pozzo could have invented and correctly executed no less that sixty-three such scenes without outside assistance, and Strada would have been the obvious person to consult, in view of his historical expertise and the fact that he could communicate his opinion in the painter's native language.

During the discussion itself Strada would probably have had the leading voice. Though Schallautzer was a well-read amateur antiquary and doubtless well acquainted with recent Habsburg historiography, Strada's historical erudition, based as it was on his first-hand research under Hans Jakob Fugger's mentorship, at the very least must have equalled it. Moreover Schallautzer himself pretended no competence in artistic matters, and Ferrabosco's expertise, based on his early training as a painter, was no match for Strada's extensive and up-to-date knowledge of comparable decorative schemes in principal centres of artistic creation such as Rome, Mantua and Venice; expertise he could moreover support with the graphic materials documenting such schemes he had in his possession—including Dürer's *Ehrenpforte*.[70]

The only reason we know about this discussion was the absence of the Emperor from Vienna, to whom Schallautzer had to report in writing. The only reason we know that further changes were made after Ferdinand had returned to his capital, is that Pozzo, years later, applied for some additional recompense in view of the extra work these had entailed. Except from regular reference to payments made to the artist in the course of his work, the sources are silent on the project, and therefore no definite conclusion on the responsibility for these changes can be drawn. Yet it is not very difficult to conjecture that Strada had a hand in these. It can be assumed that when Ferdinand returned to Vienna after his long absence he received his principal servants in audience, to hear their reports on current affairs. The progress on Imperial architectural commissions would have been reported by his *Bausuperintendent*, Hermes Schallautzer, and it would be surprising had no mention been made of the Innsbruck ceiling. If Ferdinand still had doubts about it, he could naturally consult the members of the committee that had prepared the recent *Gutachten* about the ceiling. On

70 Cf. below, Ch. 13.4.1

the other hand it may well be that Strada referred to the project and aired any misgivings he may have had. In any case the project was discussed again, perhaps even in a meeting which included the Emperor himself as well as his three consultants—Schallautzer, Ferrabosco and Strada—and the painter. The discussion resulted in the reduction of the number of compartments from sixty-three to thirty-five, including a central compartment with the Imperial coat of arms. This change allowed more space to each of the—fewer—individual scenes: the consequent larger scale of the figures resulted in more monumental compositions, while the less cluttered architectonic order of the ceiling increased the monumental character of the decorative scheme as a whole. It is very tempting to attribute the initiative for this change to Strada, who was best acquainted with these qualities as present in recent developments in Italy and, as we have seen, could support his point of view by the graphic documentation contained in his *Musaeum*.

4.3.5 *Another Example: Contribution to the Organisation and Design of Festivals*

Strada's contribution to the design of the ceiling of the *Goldene Saal* is documented by at least one formal document from its patron's archives. This is not the case for his possible contribution to the realization of the various festivities that were organized at the Imperial court in his time, though at present it is accepted that he must have been at least occasionally involved in these.[71] The most tangible reason for this supposition is the set of festival designs from Strada's workshop that have been preserved among his miscellaneous papers in the third volume of the *Codex miniatus* 21 in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. One of these, an elegantly dressed-up elephant, is provided with an annotation in the hand of Ottavio Strada: 'the elephant was dressed for the wedding of Archduke Charles, invention of my father' [Fig. 4.13].[72]

71 Basic information on the festivities at the court of the Austrian Habsburgs in *Wir sind Helden* 2005, which provided an extensive, yet incomplete bibliography of earlier literature (pp. 171–176), in which Strada is not mentioned. Strada's contributions generally discussed the context of his few preserved costume designs and their relation to Arcimboldo's: Kaufmann 1978<a>, Chs. I–III; O'Dell 1990; Kaufmann 2009, pp. 78–80; Kaufmann 2010; Kárpáti 2012.

72 'Così fu vestito l'Elephante per le nozze del Ser.mo Archiduca Carlo, inventione di mio padre'; the festival drawings are found in ÖNB-HS, Cod. Min. 21,3, fols. 316/33–343/60 (interspersed with a few antiquarian drawings); the elephant is found on fol. 366/74. It should be noted that it is not certain that these volumes belong to the former holdings of the Vienna *Hofbibliothek*, much less to Rudolf's *Kunstkammer*, as a note on fol. 460/190 of this volume refers to an earlier owner of at least part of the material: 'Seindt in disen Buch gerissen Pletter und Khunstuckh <sic> Pey Hand 230 Stuckh. 1629. Jars / CS <for

FIGURE 4.13 Jacopo Strada, design for the accoutrement of an elephant used in the festivities at the wedding of Archduke Charles, 1571; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 21,3, fols. 74.

FIGURES 4.14–4.15 Jacopo Strada, Diana, designs for the costumes of a pedestrian and an equestrian version of the Goddess participating in court festivities; all Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 21,3, fols. 41–42.

If this information is correct—and there is no reason why it should not be—Strada at least on one occasion did provide a design used or to be used in one of the more important festivals at the Imperial court during Maximilian II's reign. Strada himself at a later date vaunted his competence in this field, when he offered his services to Archduke Ernest, after he had resigned his functions as architect and antiquary to Rudolf II: 'I can also serve in having made ["far fare"] inventions for masques, tourneys and other beautiful things such as may occur to your Most Serene Highness'.[73]

The Archduke would have been perfectly aware of this, having known Strada all his life and counting his elder son Paolo among his gentlemen of the chamber. But apart from Ottavio's comment on the elephant design, the only direct written evidence we have that Strada was involved in organizing or designing—or both—of such events, is a reference to the festivities organised in September 1572 in Pressburg/Bratislava, on the occasion of the coronation

Christoph?>. Ranfft d. Elter von Wiessendal.' It is suggestive that 1629 is the year of death of Anna Maria Strada, Ottavio's illegitimate daughter and one time mistress of Rudolf II, who doubtless left her estate to her husband, Christoph Ranfft von Wiesenthal, and their children (her children by Rudolf II had predeceased her without issue); cf. Sapper 1999.

73 DOC. 1579-05-00: 'Posso anche servire in far fare inventioni per mascherate, per tornei et altre belle cose come alla giornata puole occorere a Vostra Altezza Serenissima'. The letter is discussed in greater detail below, Ch. 4.4.1.

of Archduke Rudolf as King of Hungary.[74] The reference is in a letter of 3 September 1572 written by the Mantuan envoy, Emilio Stanghellino, to Guglielmo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua. Stanghellino had referred to the preparations for this festival in earlier letters, recording that Maximilian had sent Francesco Gabrino or Caprino, his 'mozzo da camera' or groom of the chamber, to Milan to acquire precious fabrics for the costumes. Now he told the Duke that:

> Our own Strada from Mantua, as antiquary, has been given the charge to have made the costumes, sashes ['girelli'] and surcoats for the jousts of the most serene princes, which will be made after the model of ancient armour, but they will result to be quite beautiful and rich, the fabrics being fine [cloth of] gold and silver, with very little silk; and they will be trimmed with most beautiful embroidery and gold fringes.[75]

The splendour of this particular entertainment is documented elsewhere, for instance in Stephanus Pighius' *Hercules prodicius* of 1587: a memorial for his pupil, Maximilian II's nephew, Prince Karl Friedrich of Cleves, who had participated in the festival and won several of its prizes. The prince's entry into the running at the ring of 27 September was singled out by Stanghellino:

> The prince of Cleves was armed in the manner of the ancient Romans ['armata all'antica romana'] with costumes so rich in brocades, cloth of gold, embroidery, and with a company of horse completely covered in cloth of gold and silver, and the horsemen dressed so pleasantly and with such elegance, that he rightly obtained the prize.

Karl Friedrich and the members of his suite ('comitatus') were not the only participants who dressed themselves in classical style. In the same letter Stanghellino relates the entry of two other of Maximilian's nephews, the princes Wilhelm and Ferdinand of Bavaria, who presented themselves and their suite in 'a livery in crimson and white, of brocade and velvet, superbly ornamented and very well accompanied', under the Ovidian motto *Tempus edax rerum*: 'Time, the devourer of all things'. In his description Pighius related that:

> <…>each and every person's costume was matched so elegantly to him with colours, symbols and appropriate emblems on shields, taken from

74 An overview of the sources of this festival in Lietzmann 1992, pp. 84–101; contemporary printed description in *Solennissime Feste* 1572 and Pighius 1587, pp. 183–189; see Lindell 1988; Kaufmann 2010, pp. 180–185.

75 DOC. 1572-09-26 / Venturini 2002, p. 221, no. 102.

> ancient sculpture and coins, that everyone could be easily recognized and the whole story and plot be understood from the ornaments and trappings.[76]

Both Stanghellino's reference to the armour 'all'antica Romana' and the sources for the designs mentioned by Pighius strongly suggest that Strada had been involved in the preparations of the festivities by virtue of his antiquarian knowledge and his collection of visual documentation of many aspects of Antiquity, including ample material on the warfare of the Romans. Stanghellino's formula, 'Il Strada nostro Mantovano, *come antiquario*' [italics mine] even suggests that such was considered a natural component of his function at court.

Stanghellino explicitly says that Strada was given the charge to have made ['far fare'] the costumes for this festival. This suggests not necessarily the making of all the individual designs, but rather the organizing and supervising of both the designing and the manufacturing process of the costumes and perhaps the decorations. The relatively brief time in which such festivities were organized in general, and the scale of this entertainment in particular suggest that all available intellectual, literary, musical and artistic talent was recruited to participate in the preparations.[77] It is doubtful that there was one single 'author' or director of the festival, providing both the argument and a detailed planning of the iconography. It is much more likely that it was prepared by a commission reuniting the various competences, and presided over by a high-ranking courtier (such as the Master of the Horse) or perhaps even one of the members of the dynasty (in this case Archduke Ernest is the most obvious candidate). As expert antiquary Strada would have had a voice in this commission, as would have other artists (such as Giuseppe Arcimboldo), literati (such as Giovanni Battista Fonteo) and musicians (such as Philippe de Monte) who had ample experience with similar commissions. And then one should count in the Imperial Heralds, the Gentlemen of the Imperial Chamber and Stable and

76 Venturini 2002, p. 222, nr. 104: 'Comparvero gli eccellentissimi duchi di Baviera con livrea carmosina e bianca, di broccato et velluto, superbamente guarniti e benissimi accompagnati, con il motto Tempus edax rerum'; Pighius 1587, p. 188; Lindell 1988, p. 347; translation taken from Kaufmann 2010, pp. 183–185.

77 On 3 September Stanghellino reports to Duke Guglielmo from Vienna that 'at present nobody thinks of anything else but to prepare arms and horses, costumes and liveries, for the occasion of these festivities, having already forwarded [to Pressburg] artillery, munitions and everything necessary for the settings ["apparecchio"] of the wooden city they are planning, as I have written earlier<...>' (Venturini 2002, p. 221, nr. 102). A similar point is made in Larsson 2000.

the commanders of the detachments of infantry, cavalry and ordnance who decided upon the ceremonial and military aspects of the entertainment.[78]

Doubtless not all of the thousands of soldiers that were to participate in the combat scheduled for the third day of the festivities will have been dressed in cloth of gold: yet they had to be provided with some sort of garment and arms to be able to defend or conquer the two temporary fortified towns—defended by three hundred cannon!—which Pietro Ferrabosco had had constructed on the banks of the Danube just outside of Pressburg—Ferrabosco told Stanghellino that the wood from which these were built alone had cost about six thousand *gulden*.[79] Such elaborate settings were designed by professionals such as Ferrabosco according to some general scenario for the entertainment, but the design of costumes and trappings cannot have been coordinated in minute detail, given that the participants themselves had some say in the matter, and had to pay for their costumes. Thus Pighius relates that his pupil Karl Friedrich spent four thousand ducats on his entry. He moreover implies that he himself, with Hugo Blotius, had advised the prince on an allegorical theme derived from Roman Antiquity, 'not without its use to inflame in a young prince the love of virtue'. Its link with Antiquity was strengthened by the 'fictive name', Julius Clivimontius, under which the prince entered the lists—a transparent pun on his family's titles as Dukes of Jülich, Cleves and Berg.[80]

It is not inconceivable that Pighius, a humanist and antiquary who had some experience as a draughtsman, also provided some of the sketches for his pupil's entry.[81] On the other hand they may well have turned to Strada: Pighius mentioned him among the luminaries of Maximilian's court, so it can be assumed that he and his pupil profited from Strada's conversation and visited

78 That the various learned and artistic disciplines overlapped sometimes, and that Strada at least was aware of other artistic endeavours at court, is clear when in 1568 he successfully mediated for a famous Italian company of comic actors, the Compagnia dei Disiosi led by Zan (Giovanni) Ganassa (DOC. 1569-01-29; cf. Schindler 2004, p. 312; Schindler 2006, p. 336).

79 Venturini 2002, p. 220, nr. 99 (where Ferrabosco is called 'Parabosco').

80 Pighius 1585, p. 186–187: 'Princeps autem Carulus non inter extremos censeri volens, arctaq. sanguinis, atque amicitiae necessitudine sibi iuncti, Regis solemnem diem honorare haud mediocriter cupiens, non sumptibus pepercit ullis, et aureorum quatuor milia in ludos, ac pompam equestrem expenderen non detrectavit'. It remains to be decided in how far Pighius whispered suggestions into the ear of his seventeen-year old pupil.

81 Pighius 1585, p. 188: 'Sed nolo diutius evagari in huius pompae descriptione, quandoquidem de Corona Pighius illam graphicè suis coloribus depinxerit, et symbola vestium, clypeorumque hieroglyphica diligenter explicavit Caruli principis iussu.' This probably refers to some graphic documentation after the fact, but even then it suggests that Pighius, who was a draughtsman as well as a scholar, may have provided sketches for Duke Charles' entry.

FIGURES 4.16–4.17 Jacopo Strada, Ceres and one of her attendants, designs for the costumes of an entry in the 1572 festival at Pressburg; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 21,3, fols. 35–36.

his *Musaeum*.[82] If he was in charge of the manufacture of the costumes of the Imperial party, it would be convenient to ask him also to provide those of the prince of Cleves. On the other hand he was not responsible for the costumes for the contingent of the Bavarian princes, who arrived in Vienna only three weeks before the coronation, and had brought their own garb, which had been likewise specially designed for the occasion. Whether they had received instructions as to the themes to be represented remains an open question.[83]

Some of Strada's festival drawings can be connected to this festival, such as the *Ceres* on horseback [Fig. 4.16], which may be a design for that goddess

82 Strada may have tactfully reminded the prince of the hospitality the Strada family had accorded his ancestor, Duke Johann I of Cleves, during his visit to Mantua a century earlier (above, Ch. 1). Pighius was an old acquaintance: himself a learned antiquary and—as Marcello Cervini's secretary—present in Rome during Strada's stay in the 1550s, he would certainly have frequented Strada's studio and doubtless brought his pupil with him.

83 This seems unlikely, but it is not impossible that the theme of the entry and the number of participants and their characters was discussed beforehand in correspondence, through Hans Jakob Fugger or the Bavarian representative at the Imperial court. Lietzmann 1992, p. 79, note 95 shows that vestments and armour were prepared beforehand in Munich.

FIGURES 4.18–4.19 Jacopo Strada, Europa, and a Moorish woman, designs for the costumes of an entry in the 1571 Vienna festival; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 21,3, fols. 33–34.

in the entry of Karl Friedrich of Cleves, while a figure on foot with a similar headdress scattering fruits and flowers may be a design for one of Ceres' or Pomona's followers in the same entry [Fig. 4.17]. Others, such as the two *Dianas*, on horseback and on foot [Figs. 4.14–4.15], the *Europa* and the *Moorish Woman* [Figs. 4.18–4.19] have been identified with figures from the 1571 festival on the occasion of the wedding of Archduke Charles and Maria of Bavaria, the same occasion for which Strada designed the dressed-up elephant.[84] Here I will not speculate on such identifications, not only because the information about the various festivals is as yet insufficient, but also because the function of the drawings in Vienna is not clear. Their location among other remnants of material such as Strada and his workshop included in the various *libri di disegni* intended for the *Kunstkammer* of his patrons, strongly suggest that they document elements of the decorations after the fact. Their state of preservation and the manner in which they are drawn suggest that they are copied from the original designs either by Strada himself and by his son Ottavio or by other draughtsmen in his workshop.

84 Kaufmann 1976, pp. 61–63 and *passim*, modified in Kaufmann 2010.

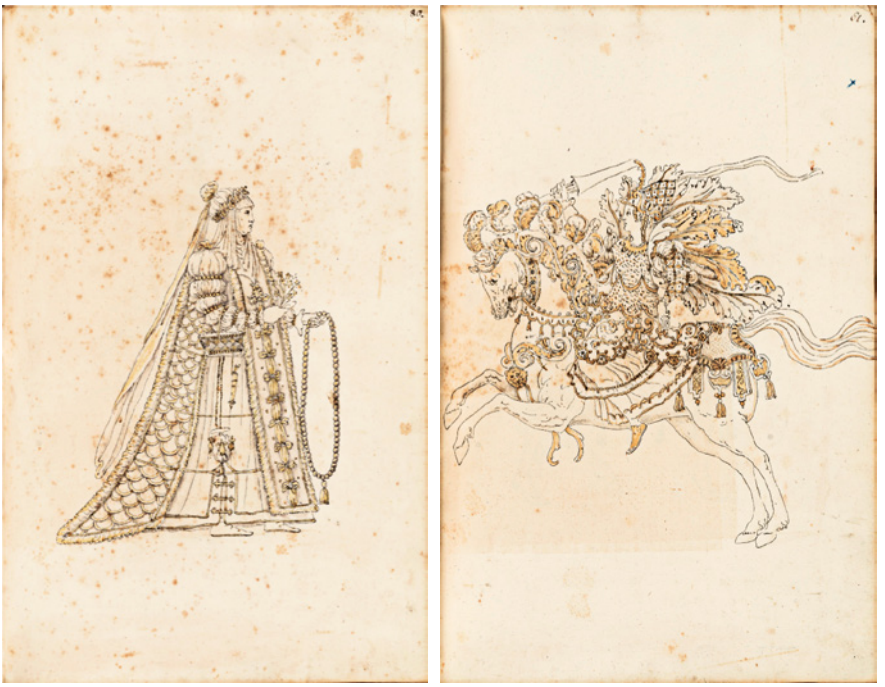
Likewise this must have been the case for two separate volumes of similar copies of festival designs from Strada's workshop, which have been identified recently in the Kupferstich-Kabinett in Dresden.[85] Both volumes reproduce several of the same inventions found in the Vienna volume; the more voluminous one contains a title page and ninety-nine designs carefully drawn in pen, brown ink and a light yellow/brown wash [Fig. 4.20–4.22]. The title describes these costumes as 'antique', 'Greek' and 'Roman' equestrian statues, but also refers specifically to their use in a festival context. The designs are certainly not directly based on antique sources, but document costume designs for contemporary festivals—witness the drawings for musicians and for figures in fanciful medieval or oriental garb. Just like Strada's numismatic albums, of a similar lay-out and style, this volume was certainly intended for a patron's library, rather than for an artist's workshop.

This supposition of their documentary function is corroborated by the existence of a number of woodcuts by Jost Amman of 'Stattliche Mummereien / so vor zeiten grosse Potentaten gehabt haben' [Fig. 4.23–4.25]. Two of these are based on designs also present among the Vienna drawings [cf. 4.18–4.19]. Ilse O'Dell, who first published these woodcuts, did not know the Vienna drawings. She nevertheless linked the prints to the Stradas, because of the contract drawn up in November 1574 between Ottavio Strada and the engraver, who was to cut no less than two hundred of such 'Mummereyen'.[86] It is not quite clear in

85 These two volumes were identified by Gudula Metze, curator at the Kupferstich-Kabinett Dresden, who signalled them to Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann. I am grateful to Prof. Kaufmann for suggesting that I be informed, and to Dr Metze for showing the material to me at short notice, for discussing it with me and for allowing me to include a first brief appraisal here. The volumes were mentioned earlier in Hölscher / Schnitzer 2000, pp. 133–134 cat. nr. 42 and Melzer 2010, pp. 441, without mentioning their provenance from Strada's workshop. SKD-KK, inv. nr. Ca 93: *Equestrium statuarum, tam virorum quam mulierum, formae elegantissimae, una cum vestimentis ipsorum acu artificiosissimae pictis et arte Phrigionica ingeniöse elaboratis, quibus olim induebantur, item cataphractorum equorum cum eorum phaleris ornatissimis, quemadmodum olim Romani et Graeci in bellis atque etiam pompis publicis et ludis curulibus circensibusque usi sunt, iuxtaque ipsos satellitum praecedentium quoque eiusmodi vestibus indutorum formae; his quoque larvarum atque vestimentorum histrionicorum, quibus antiquitus in tripudiis et saltationibus noctu utebantur, varia genera adiuncta sunt*; a folio volume including a title page and 99 drawings in pen and brown ink and a light brown/yellow wash of various inventions for festival costumes; SKD-KK, inv. nr. Ca 94: untitled; a folio volume containing 30 drawings in pen and black ink reproducing various inventions for festival costumes. Both volumes reproduce many inventions also included among Strada's Vienna festival designs. A brief note by Dr Metze and myself on these and some other books of antiquarian drawings from Strada's workshop in Dresden is forthcoming in an Italian *Festschrift*.

86 O'Dell 1990, who provides a full transcription of the document (p. 244) and reproduces all of the twenty-one surviving woodcuts. They are now also available in the relevant volume of Hollstein's corpus of German prints: Seelig 2003, nrs. 215/1–154, pp. 198–236.

FIGURES 4.20–4.22 Workshop of Jacopo Strada, designs for festival costumes: two tympani players on horseback; a female figure on foot, and a female figure on horseback; Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, ms. CA 93. fols. 2, 80 and 6.



FIGURES 4.23–4.25 Jost Amman, Europa, Moorish woman and Persian soldiers, engravings after Jacopo Strada's costume designs in Amman's print series *Stattliche Mummereien so vor zeiten grosse Potentaten gehabt haben*, 1584.

how far Jacopo Strada himself was involved in this project: in his testament he accuses Ottavio of having commissioned these engravings without his authorization. But a letter from Ottavio to his father exists which appears to contradict this. Written from Nuremberg, where Ottavio was supervising the printing of some of his father's planned editions, it implies that Ottavio had discussed the project with his father, and that the elder Strada, even if he had not taken the initiative, did not disapprove of it at the time.[87] In fact he must have approved of it, since the fifth item in a copyright privilege conceded to Strada by Maximilian II in May 1574 bears the same title as the Dresden album, confirming that this or a similar volume is the book Ottavio referred to.[88]

Ottavio incited his father to have the 'mascare' printed because 'he knew that they would sell well', and advised his father to write the accompanying descriptions as soon as possible and have them translated into Latin. Ottavio then would take care of having them translated into German and French. Ottavio's optimism as to the success of this multilingual coffee-table book was probably based on the idea that many of the participants in the prestigious festivities it documented would wish to acquire a copy.

There can be no doubt that Amman's engravings were made for this project, which never materialized as planned by Ottavio. Whether this is due to his father's opposition or for other reasons cannot now be determined.[89] But what we do know is that Strada disposed of at least two hundred designs for various courtly festivities, as well as of the inside information necessary to write the accompanying descriptions—both indications that he himself had been closely involved in their preparation. This supposition is further corroborated by his connection, likewise documented in Ottavio's letter, with the humanist and draughtsman Giovanni Battista Fonteo, responsible for the cartels and other texts of the festivals designed by Arcimboldo.

Strada's contribution was based on his antiquarian expertise and the visual documentation he had collected in his *Musaeum*, witness a manuscript presenting hundred designs of 'Ancient helmets and crests as were used of old by the Greeks and the Romans and also by other peoples both in spectacles

87 DOC. 1574-12-05; text transcribed in Appendix A; it will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 14.3.

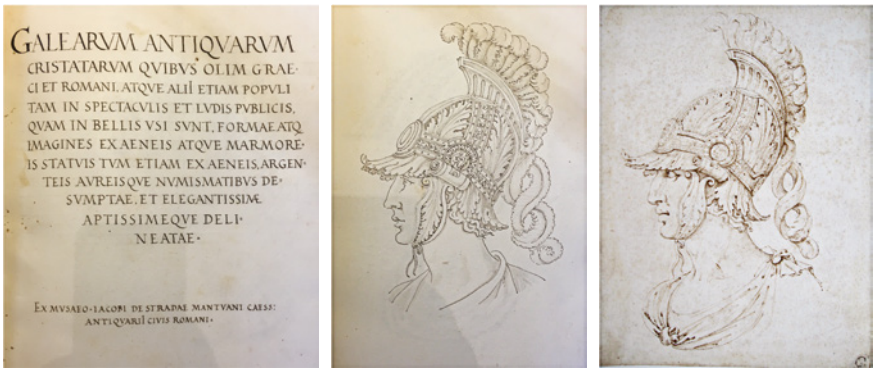
88 DOC. 1574-05-30; cf. the title of the Dresden volume, Kupferstichkabinett Ca 93, cited above, note 84; moreover the presence of 'satelllites', attendants on foot dressed to correspond to the individual equestrian figures, tallies both with the Dresden drawings and with the descriptions of such festivals.

89 In his ambitious publishing programme the elder Strada probably set other priorities; on this, and his conflict with Ottavio, see below, chapter 14.

and public games, as in war' [Fig. 4.26].[90] A few of these drawing may derive from ancient coins or monuments, but they also include helmets reminiscent of medieval armour (fols. 30/28, 31/29, 39/37, 45/43, 79/77) [Fig. 4.30], as well as turbans or headdresses inspired by the Turks and other oriental peoples (fols. 21/19, 37/35, 48/46, 63/61, 65/67) [Fig. 4.31]. But most of them are extravagant and fanciful mannerist designs, helmets 'all'antica' intended for contemporary use in jousts and other festivities, rather than as antiquarian documentation (fols. 81/79–90/88) [Figs. 4.27 and 4.29].

Strada did not limit himself to the headpieces included in the *Galearum antiquarum*, as is clear from the festival drawings in the miscellaneous third volume, which include a few designs for other separate elements of such costumes, such as the leg-piece of a suit of armour and elements of horse's trappings [Figs. 4.32–4.34].[91]

Like Strada's *libri di disegni* filled with ornamental vases, the drawings in *Galearum antiquarum* were based on more or less contemporary designs which were part of the material in his collection, such as the vase designs by Giulio Romano. Thus the one drawing which I have found to date corresponding to



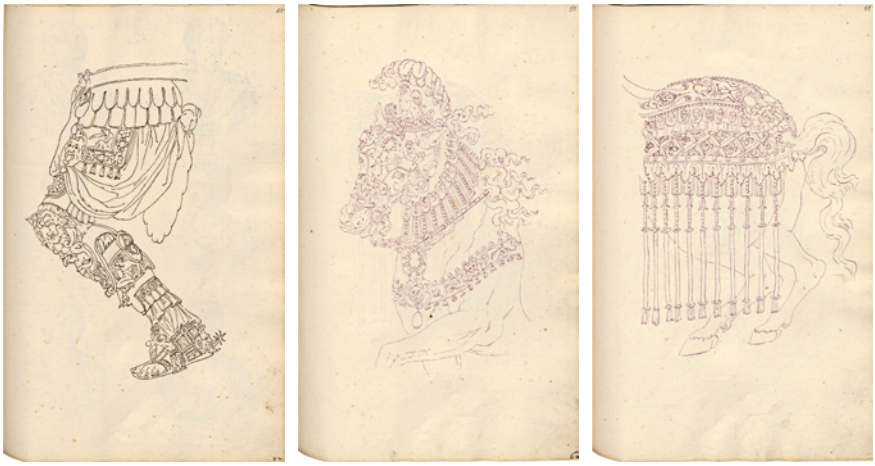
FIGURES 4.26–4.27 Workshop of Jacopo Strada, *Galearum antiquarum*: title page and the documentary drawings of a design for an ornamental helmet in the antique manner; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 21, 1, fols. 1 and 33.

FIGURE 4.28 Anonymous, design for an ornamental helmet in the antique manner, which is the probable source for the drawing in Srada's *Galearum antiquarum*; New York, private collection.

90 *Galearum antiquarum cristatarum quibus olim Graeci et Romani, atque alii etiam populi tam in spectaculis et ludis publicis, quam in bellis usi sunt, formae atque imagines ex aeneis atque marmoreis statuis tum etiam ex aeneis, argenteis aureisque numismatibus desumptae, et elegantissimae aptissimeque delineatae. Ex Musaeo Jacobi de Stradae Mantuani Caess. Antiquarii civis Romani*, ÖNB-HS, Cod. min. 21,1; the material is preserved together with other material from Strada's workshop, including the festival drawings.

91 ÖNB-HS, Cod. min. 21,3, fol. 343/60; fols. 333/50 and 334/51.

FIGURES 4.29–4.31 Workshop of Jacopo Strada, documentary drawings of designs for helmets and headdresses in antique, medieval, and oriental fashion, from *Galearum antiquarum*; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 21,1, fols. 44, 84 and 61.



FIGURES 4.32–4.34 Workshop of Jacopo Strada, documentary drawings of designs for a leg-piece of a suit of ornamental armour and for elements of horse's trappings; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 21, 3, fols. 60, 50 and 51.

one of the designs in the *Galearum antiquarum*, and probably its source, seems not to be in Strada's own hand [Fig. 4.27 and 4.28].[92]

Nevertheless a recent find by Zoltán Kárpáti demonstrates that Strada, in addition to the dressed-up elephant, did indeed provide his own designs for some of the festivals at court. Two drawings in the Szépművészeti Múzeum in

92 Private collection, New York. I am grateful to Monroe Warshaw for having drawn my attention to this drawing and for having provided me with a reproduction.

FIGURE 4.35 Workshop of Jacopo Strada, documentary drawing of the design for a richly caparisoned horse, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 21, 3, fol. 45.

FIGURES 4.36–4.37 Jacopo Strada, costume designs for two participants in a court festival, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum.

Budapest can be linked immediately to Strada's documentary festival drawings in Vienna. They represent a knight or prince in a richly dressed costume 'alla Romana', wearing a high, plumed hat or turban, carrying a jousting lance and riding a richly caparisoned rearing horse; and a similar—though not exactly identical—figure on foot, of indeterminate gender: it might either be a young man or a goddess or Amazon.[93] Though seen from a different angle, the horse's trappings are identical to that of a rearing horse (without rider) among the Vienna drawings and, as Kárpáti points out, technique and style of the draughtsmanship are very close: comparison with other Strada material, such as his numismatic drawings, demonstrates their common origin in his workshop. But the Budapest drawings, one of which is drawn on two pieces of paper pasted together, are of much higher quality, more spontaneous: in contrast to the Vienna drawings they are closer to the original sketches: possibly they are the original designs intended to be submitted to the patron's approval and for the subsequent execution of the costumes. A cursory comparison of the photograph with Strada's earlier title pages and numismatic drawings strongly suggests that it is autograph—if so, it is a precious help in better characterizing Strada as a draughtsman, as well as a welcome confirmation of his role in the Vienna court festivals.[94]

93 Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. nrs. 1312 and 1313; Kárpáti 2012. The costume in inv.nr. 1313 is richly set with huge gems, probably cut in glass or rock-crystal, reflecting Pighius's description (Pighius 1585, p. 185). Both inventions are also included in the Dresden albums (Ca 93, fol. 53; Ca 94, fols. 8, 12 and 22).

94 In addition a drawing for a horse's caparison from the collection of Cassiano dal Pozzo (London, British Museum, Franks 11, fol. 117, no. 505) has plausibly been associated to

In addition to costume designs, it is perfectly possible that Strada, as a court-architect, also provided designs for the ephemeral decorations providing the backdrop to such festivities. A good example of this is the design for a triumphal arch preserved together with the Vienna festival drawings [Fig. 4.38]: both because of its context and its technique and draughtsmanship it can be attributed to Strada or his workshop. Its resemblance to Strada's drawing of a coin-reverse showing a triumphal arch in the Forum of Augustus demonstrates the close connection between antiquarian studies and festival designs of the period [Fig. 4.39].[95]

Though there is no formal document establishing Strada's share in the preparation of the festivals at court, the circumstantial evidence summed up here is sufficient to warrant the assumption that he did regularly collaborate on these in many ways—as a source of ideas and iconographic information, perhaps as a coordinator and supervisor of the execution, and certainly also as a designer. Research into festivals at the Imperial court should take this into account, certainly as from his arrival at court in about 1559, at least until the

FIGURE 4.38 Jacopo Strada or assistant, documentary drawing of the design for a triumphal arch for a ceremonial entry; Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 21, 3, fol. 40.

FIGURE 4.39 Jacopo Strada, drawing of the reverse of a coin of Augustus, in his *Magnum ac Novum Opus*; Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, ms. Chart-A 2174, vol. 4, fol. 89r.

Strada's activities as a festival designer by Simon Pepper (in Davies/Hemsoll 2013, II, pp. 662–663, nr. 303); similar, though not identical designs also in the Dresden albums (Ca 93, fols. 63 and 92).

95 ÖNB-HS, *Cod. min.* 21,3, fol. 323/40. I have not attempted to identify the particular entry for which it was intended. The coin drawing in the *Magnum ad Novum Opus*, Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, ms. A 2175-4, fol. 89r.

death of Maximilian II. An element in Hans von Francolin's *Thurnierbuch*, a description of the festival organized by King Maximilian for a Habsburg family meeting in Vienna in 1560, suggests that Strada had been involved: it contains an emblematic print and rhyme which, referring to poverty which inhibits the aspiring youngster to reach for higher things, was clearly intended as a bid for patronage [Figs. 4.40–4.41]. This quickly sketched engraving is signed with a monogram consisting of the letters I, S and a smaller R, which can be read as 'Iacobus Strada <civis> Romanus'.[96] Both the style and the sketchy character of the print, contrasting with the huge illustrations by professional engravers such as Hans Sebald Lautensack and Francesco Terzio elsewhere in the book, suggest that it was a small service which Jacopo had rendered his colleague, as a sequel to their collaboration in the festival itself, in which Francolin, as Imperial Herald, in any case had been closely involved.

FIGURES 4.40–4.41 Portrait (by Francesco Terzio?) of, and his emblem, here attributed to Jacopo Strada, for the Imperial Herald Hans Francolin in his *Thurnier Buch: Warhafftiger Ritterlicher Thaten*, describing the festivities organized in Vienna in June 1560.

96 Francolin 1561, Frontispiece; it is already included, with a Latin verse, in the earlier Latin edition (Francolin 1560).

On the other end of Strada's courtly employment, in November 1579, stands the smaller festivity organized by some noblemen for the younger sons of Maximilian, Archdukes Maximilian and Albert. According to a letter by Sigmundt von Hochenburg to Archduke Matthias, after a pleasant day of sport (running at the ring) the younger Archdukes and a select company of courtiers and ladies were offered an entertainment consisting of a banquet and a dance, and 'ein schöne Mumerey': a beautiful masque. Since this entertainment was organised in Strada's house, he must have been involved in its organisation and he may have provided the costumes for the masque.[97]

4.4 Indirect Sources Throwing Light on Strada's Employment at Court

4.4.1 *The Letter to Archduke Ernest*

Though there are few documents that directly link Strada to specific commissions, a number of indirect sources help to draw at least a more general picture of his role in what might anachronistically be termed the cultural policy of the Imperial court. The principal of these is a summary of his tasks given by Strada himself in a letter to the Archduke Ernest, dating from 1579, when the Archduke was acting as Rudolf II's lieutenant in Austria.[98] In this letter Strada explains the reasons why he had resigned his functions at court, and sued for the Archduke's patronage, listing the various ways in which he had served Maximilian, and hoped to be of use to his son. It is worthwhile to transcribe it in extenso:

> Most Serene Prince! I have served twenty-five years here at court, and I have served three Emperors, the Majesties of the grandfather, the father and the brother of Your Highness. The reason why I have resigned [my functions] is that his Imperial Majesty does not employ me in his building projects, and neither in having me prepare books of drawings <libri di dissegni> nor in other things, as did His Majesty your father, who made me work continuously.
>
> So I beseech your Most Serene Highness that, should he wish to employ me in any project involving the art of design ['l'arte del dissegno'], I can serve him very well; and should Your Highness choose to have built a beautiful palace in the manner of Rome or Naples, in a beautiful style and order of architecture; and providing it with beautiful gardens, fishponds, fountains and other delights suitable to a great prince such as

97 DOC. 1579-11-17, letter of Sigmundt von Hochenburg to Archduke Matthias.
98 DOC. 1579-05-00.

> Your Highness, I can serve him extremely well, and what I will have had made will be praised by every man of taste ['hogni huomo di giuditio'].
>
> I can also serve in having made designs ['inventioni'] for masques, jousts and other nice things such as one day may occur to Your Highness. Also if he should wish to make a beautiful cabinet of antiquities and medals, I will serve him in that as well. Should he wish to set up a most beautiful library of all sorts of books, also in that I will be able to serve him. In many things I can serve Your Most Serene Highness, which would take too long to mention all, and perhaps as well as any man in Germany and Italy.

This letter is of paramount interest as an indication both of Strada's actual employment by Maximilian II and of his own perception of it. In interpreting it, many things should be taken into consideration. Strada doubtless either presented his request in person or through one of Ernest's courtiers, most probably his own elder son Paolo, who had been appointed one of Ernest's gentlemen of the chamber. In fact the Archduke must have known perfectly well who Strada was, if only because—as we shall see below—he used to frequent Strada's studio in his infancy. The fact that Strada found it necessary to introduce himself in this formal manner perhaps indicates that this official suit for patronage was directed as much at the Archduke's advisers as at his person. This is corroborated by his signature, 'Jacopo Strada, Architetto et Antiquario', including both the official functions he had discharged at court, whereas in all other correspondence he was content with the single appellation of *Antiquario della Sacra Cesarea Maestà*.

Secondly, it is important that Strada himself states quite clearly that he had been continually employed by Maximilian II. Though it is likely that in this bid for patronage he presented his qualifications in the rosiest light, his claim must be taken seriously: he could not afford to wildly exaggerate his services when—after twenty years of residence in Vienna—these were so well known, or could so easily be checked. It is moreover corroborated by Maximilian II himself: on one of the occasions that his brother-in-law, Duke Albrecht, requested to be allowed to make use of Strada's services, the Emperor replied that he would concede this, 'wiewol ich seiner in etzlichen sachen nit wol geraten khan', 'though in many things I can hardly spare him'.[99] On a second occasion, he reacted irritably to Albrecht's supposition that, because of a projected trip to Bohemia, he would have no need of Strada, and noted that, on the contrary,

99 BHStA-LA 4461, fol. 347v; printed in BIBL 1916–1921, II, p. 50 (and cited in Lietzmann 1987, p. 116).

he had intended to employ Strada in that period, and would only allow him this one more trip on the Duke's behalf.[100]

'In etzlichen sachen': Maximilian's choice of words implies that Strada's services had been wide-ranging, but the formula Strada uses in his letter to Archduke Ernest suggests that the most important had been his involvement in the Emperor's architectural projects and his manufacture of *libri di dissegni*: it is tempting to relate these to Strada's respective functions of architect and antiquary. The precise character of these services is further specified in the list of capacities in which Strada offered to serve the Archduke. These can roughly be divided into two categories. Doubtless it is largely due to Titian's portrait that Strada has been often presented as a more-or-less commercial dealer in art and antiquities: his offer to help the Archduke to set up 'un bel studio di antiquità et medaglie' and a 'bellissima libraria di hogni sorte de libri' seems to fit this image. Much less attention has been paid to Strada's own artistic endeavour; yet for Strada this seems to have constituted his principal claim to patronage. Certainly no mean pretension, to claim that he can serve the Archduke 'in qualunque cosa dove introvenghi l'arte del dissegno'. Clearly where Strada refers to *libri di dissegni*, he means books of drawings, drawings documenting 'designs' or 'inventions', but also in themselves examples of graphic art: and we have seen that he did indeed purvey these to his Imperial patrons. But when he here speaks of the 'arte del dissegno' it is evident that he refers to the sketch, the design, the 'invention', the concept or plan even, rather than to any specific product of the pen or pencil. As particular examples of his competence he mentions the design of architecture and architectural decoration, and of 'inventions' for court festivities.

But perhaps the most important indication of the character of Strada's service in this field lies hidden in two tiny phrases: 'quello ch'io *farò fare* sarra laudato da hogni huomo di giuditio' and 'posso anche servire in *far fare* inventioni per mascherate' [italics mine]. 'Far fare' rather than 'fare', that is 'to have made', rather than 'to make': what he intended to provide would be actually prepared by others. Strada appears to have viewed his exercise of the *arte del dissegno* as a mental, rather than a manual process: he intended to provide materials that he had not necessarily produced himself, but which he had 'invented' and then commissioned others to execute, though he would closely supervise their work and explicitly reserved both final artistic responsibility and possible merit to

100 HHStA, *Familienkorrespondenz* A, Karton 2, fol. 320–321; cited in Lietzmann 1987, p. 117 and notes 99–100. Fugger warned the Duke not to impose too much on the Emperor's courtesy, in case he might refuse to let Strada come when needed most in Munich: Fugger to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, 5 March 1569, quoted in Von Busch 1973, pp. 128–129.

himself. Basically he proposed to mediate between patron and executive artist, thus outlining a role closely resembling the function of 'sopracapo' he had envisaged for himself more than twenty years earlier when involved in Archduke Ferdinand's silver table fountain. Such a role fits in well with the type of consultative capacity that has been outlined in the preceding paragraph.

4.4.2 *Strada Employed by Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria*

There is no indication that Strada's offer to Archduke Ernest was accepted. On the other hand it is known that Strada did occasionally work for other patrons. Strada's work for Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, to whom he was delegated three times, is perhaps the best documented and best published aspect of his career. Since this is the only instance of Strada's prolonged employment by a princely patron other than the Emperor, a comparison may shed some further light on his activities in Vienna.

The principal reason for Strada's call to Munich, at the advice of Hans Jakob Fugger, was the Duke's wish to bring together a collection of antique sculpture, and in his three trips to Venice Strada did indeed manage to acquire the bulk of the collection of the patrician Andrea Loredan, important both for its size and its quality. He also bought some further antique statuary and negotiated unsuccessfully for the acquisition of two well known collections of ancient coins, cameos and intaglios. His final account, however, also makes mention of a number of miscellaneous objects intended for the Duke's *Kunstkammer*, including statuettes, paintings and drawings and *objets d'art*; the latter included a valuable casket in rock-crystal, precious stones and enamel intended to be given by Duke Albrecht's heir to his prospective bride. But he also had provided a considerable quantity of books, probably manuscripts, and over the years his workshop provided many *libri di disegni*.

This indicates that Strada was prepared to cater to the needs of the three principal components of the impressive complex of collections instituted by Albrecht V: library, *Kunstkammer* and Antiquarium. His involvement stretched, moreover, beyond the simple acquisition of the objects: he was also concerned in their restoration—engaging and supervising the artists employed—and their eventual placement. His advice in this was in fact deemed of particular importance: Fugger warned the Duke not to abuse the Emperor's benevolence, in case he might refuse to grant leave to his faithful antiquary when the arrangement of the sculpture would be determined.

It is clear that Strada's role in Munich far exceeded that of a simple agent or intermediary: with Fugger's, his was the leading spirit in the conception at least of the Munich *Antiquarium*, and very likely of the complex of collections as a whole. His role, moreover, was not limited to consultation: the idea of

constructing a new, separate building to house both library and antiquities—the first true museum north of the Alps, and one of the earliest in Europe—appears to have been his. When this idea was adopted, he contributed a concrete proposal, demonstrating his architectural expertise in a careful, elegant and not impracticable Italianate design, which, unfortunately, proved to be beyond the Duke's purse, or his German masons' competence.[101]

4.4.3 *Strada's Bid for Employment by the Elector August of Saxony*

Strada's activities in Munich had been explicitly requested and, it appears, well rewarded. Strada needed such income partly to finance the construction of his house, partly for the editorial projects he undertook from the early 1570s onward. Though Emperor Maximilian II did support his projects, he was not willing or capable of providing the large-scale financial backing necessary to realize them, which may have been the reason that, shortly before his death, he allowed Strada to apply to one of his best friends and allies in the Empire, the Elector August of Saxony. Early in September 1576, when presiding the Diet at Regensburg, he wrote to the Elector to inform him that Strada intended to come to Saxony, 'um sich daselbst in baumeisterei und andern kunstreichen sachen daran Dero Liebden ungeurlich lust und gefallens tragen mochte geprauchen zu lassen': 'in order to be employed in architecture and other artistic endeavours in which your worship takes such extraordinary interest and pleasure'. By this time Maximilian appears to have been more willing to let Strada go, perhaps merely to enable him to obtain funds useful in the realization of the projects of his antiquary—which after all would increase the prestige of his court.

On the other hand it is possible that his financial resources did no longer allow the Emperor to undertake the type of project in which Strada's expertise could be profitably employed: he would be happy to secure for his faithful servant some other opportunity to exercise his talents. It is remarkable that Strada is recommended for his artistic rather than for his scholarly capacity, probably because this corresponded most with August's own interests. From the few documents available it appears that Strada undertook his trip to Saxony at his own initiative, rather than at the Elector's invitation, and there is no evidence that his offer was accepted.[102]

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101 On Strada's acquisition for the Duke of Bavaria and his concept and designs for the Munich Antiquarium, see below, Chs. 8 and 12.3.

102 Lietzmann 1987, pp. 129–130. Strada had already visited Elector August in person, at Annaburg in or before 1574, when he lent him a book with drawings of Roman Imperial portrait busts, in order to have it copied; both the original and the copy are still preserved in the Dresden Kupferstichkabinett (Ms CA 74) and the Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Ms. Mscr.Dresd.App.187; cf. JansenMetze (forthcoming).

4.4.4 *Private Patrons*

Finally some reference should be made to other patrons who made use of Strada's services: these were never as comprehensive as those rendered to the Emperor or the Duke of Bavaria. His activities on behalf of Hans Jakob Fugger have been already discussed in detail: Strada's erudite, numismatic studies were encouraged and sponsored, though perhaps not explicitly commissioned by Fugger, in contrast to the production or acquisition of objects for his collections: *libri di disegni* (including the results of Strada's research, in the first place the numismatic corpus), books and maps for his library, antiquities and, occasionally, contemporary works of art for his studio. There is no concrete indication that Strada was involved in any architectural or decorative project of Fugger's, whose artistic patronage is ill documented, and may not have been as extensive as that of some of his relatives. What is particularly remarkable is the close and cordial relationship existing between patron and client, tending towards the partnership of those sharing absorbing interests, rather than that of master and servant.

Strada's relationship with the Bohemian magnate Vilém z Rožmberka must have been of considerable importance: in a letter of 18 December 1573 Strada refers to 'die alte kundschaft'. It certainly included the supply of objects for Rožmberk's library, to wit a drawing of the complete spiral frieze of the Column of Trajan in Rome, mounted on four long paper scrolls housed in a small cabinet, and a manuscript copy of Strada's eleven-volume description of ancient coins, the *A.A.A. Numismatωn Antiquorum Διασκευέ*. In view of Strada's dedication to Rožmberk of his edition of Serlio's *Settimo libro* it is very tempting, however, to assume that he had also been involved in his patron's architectural projects, most likely his palace in the precincts of the royal castle, the Hradčany, at Prague.[103] In 1583 Strada visited the Moravian nobleman Jan Šembera Černohorský z Boskovic at his castle at Bučovice, where the sumptuous decoration of a suite of small rooms, a typical *studiolo ambiente*, was in course of execution [below, Figs. 10.16–10.22]. Though again it cannot be definitely proved,

103 DOC. 1573-12-18; Serlio 1575, dedication. Rožmberk's commission of the version of the Διασκευέ in the Czech National Library in Prague is demonstrated by the initials W R (Wilhelm von Rosenberg) on the title pages, combined with its provenance from the Jesuit college in Český Krumlov, Rožmberk's principal residence. Strada's connection with Rožmberk is discussed in greater detail below, Ch. 10.3. Another possible link between Strada and Rožmberk is suggested by the material on various waterworks, such as fountains, watermills, pumps etc. which Strada brought together and were published by his grandson in various editions in the early seventeenth century; these might have been useful to Rožmberk who derived a considerable proportion of his revenue from the immense artificial fishponds at his domain at Třeboň in Southern Bohemia; cf. Jansen 2002, 50–51 (in Italian) and pp. 222–223 (in English).

it is very likely that Strada was involved in the planning and the design of the decoration of these rooms, in addition to supplying some of their contents.[104]

4.5 Conclusion

Taken together, the summary of the services Strada had rendered at the Imperial court as given in his letter to Archduke Ernest, and his similar activities for other patrons as known from other sources, allow the conclusion that his concrete tasks at court did exceed those few that are documented. In view of Strada's unique artistic and antiquarian expertise it can be assumed that he was kept abreast of Imperial commissions in these fields and was expected to tender his advice even when he was not formally requested to do so. More explicit contributions will have been rarer, though even these must have largely exceeded the documented instances. In these cases Strada appears to have limited himself to provide the 'invention' for projected commissions and the subsequent supervision of their execution. But he rarely—if ever—executed them himself; his part in such commissions would therefore not be registered in the accounts.

One should, on the other hand, be as wary of overestimating as of understating the time Strada spent on, and the degree of attention he paid to such commissions. The fact that he could often concentrate on projects of his own—first the construction of his house, later his scholarly projects—and that he was able to work regularly and for extended periods for other patrons, shows that he was not continually employed in Imperial projects. In October 1562 Strada briefly related his personal affairs in a letter to Bernardin Bochetel, Bishop of Rennes and French ambassador to Ferdinand I, in terms suggesting little pressure from the part of his patrons:

> <…>as to myself and my family: we are all well, and I have become the complete philosopher, and always stay at home and occupy myself with having built my little house<…>.[105]

Yet the evidence is sufficient to warrant an attempt to sketch Strada's activities for his Imperial patrons more fully. It is obvious to begin this sketch with the function in which he was first appointed and for which he was best paid, that is his function as an Imperial Architect. This will be the subject of the next chapters.

104 Cf. below, Ch. 10.4.

105 DOC. 1562-10-21: 'di me et casa mia: tutti stiamo bene, et son del tutto fatto Philosopho, et sempre mi sto in casa et atendo a far batir la mia picciol casa'.

PART 2

'Ainem Paumaister bey unnsern Gebewen': Jacopo Strada as an Imperial Architect

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CHAPTER 5

Jacopo Strada as an Imperial Architect: Background

5.1 Introduction: The Austrian Habsburgs as Patrons of Architecture

As we have seen, Emperor Ferdinand I took Jacopo Strada into his service in the spring of 1558, but only early in 1560 Strada received a permanent appointment as '*ainem paumaister, bey unnsern gebewen alhier*, that is an architect for the projects Ferdinand undertook in Vienna. He received his salary as such without interruption (though often with great delays) until he asked Rudolf II to be discharged from his court functions in 1579.[1] The mere fact of this salary, which was double the amount he received as an antiquary, is sufficient reason to assume that he was expected to contribute regularly to the architectural projects of Ferdinand I and Maximilian II. Before attempting a sketch of the extent and character of Strada's contribution to these it is necessary, first to inquire into the needs and wishes of his patrons; secondly, to find out how the Imperial building activities were organized and what expertise was locally available; and thirdly, to define Strada's exact qualifications in the field.

Imperial patronage of architecture was wide-ranging: the more important part of it was utilitarian and chiefly of a military character, as is borne out by the fact that the various Imperial architects, including Strada, were paid by the *Hofkriegszahlamt*, the war office, rather than by the *Hofkammer*, which was responsible for the remuneration of most other court officials. Most of these architects, master-masons and other technicians were employed predominantly or even exclusively in Hungary, constructing fortifications against the Turks. This applies also to several of the architects we know to have been employed at court itself, either in Prague or in Vienna.

But fortification, though of paramount importance, was not the only type of architecture commissioned by Ferdinand I. After its heroic resistance to the Turkish siege of 1529, Ferdinand had moved his court to Vienna in 1533. Apart from protecting his hereditary dominions from the permanent menace of the Turks, he had to adapt Vienna to its new status as Imperial residence. Moreover he had to provide for his sons who, when grown up, needed their own

1 This chapter is partly based on a paper read at the conference *Rudolf II, Prague and the World*, Prague 1997, and published in its acts (Jansen 1998). On Strada's formal appointment and emoluments, Jansen 1988<c>; Jansen 1992.

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suitable establishments. By the time Strada arrived in Vienna, for this purpose Ferdinand could dispose of an existing architectural infrastructure of builders, master-masons, and architects—many of whom traditionally came from Northern Italy—whose practical building expertise doubtless was sufficient for most of the tasks he posed them.[2] But few—if any—of these had much knowledge of the theoretical background of the new, classical manner of architecture that had originated in Florence and Rome, and from the mid-1530s onward was rapidly gaining firm footing outside Italy. This dearth of theoretically trained designers as opposed to practically experienced master-builders was probably quite consciously felt at court: the members of the dynasty themselves had received thorough humanist educations, and had first-hand experience of High Renaissance architecture from their visits to Mantua, Milan and Genoa. That Ferdinand I himself was not uninterested in architecture is shown by the pleasure pavilion he had constructed for his wife in the precincts of the Hradčany at Prague [Fig. 5.17]. Designed in 1538 by a Milanese architect, Paolo della Stella, this elegant trifle is generally considered to mark the introduction of the Renaissance in Bohemia.

Both the Emperor, who owned an important collection of ancient coins, and his two elder sons were interested in antiquarian studies, a discipline that was one of the principal sources for the innovations introduced into architecture in the Renaissance. They shared this interest with their counselor Hermes Schallautzer, who as *Bausuperintendent* was responsible for the actual organisation and administrative supervision of the various Imperial commissions in Austria.[3] Both Ferdinand's sons were actively interested in architecture and engineering: when Maximilian acted as viceroy of Spain he had busied himself with plans to restructure his residence, Valladolid; Archduke Ferdinand had himself designed his extraordinary star-shaped hunting lodge at Prague. When after his father's death the Archduke moved to Innsbruck he would be the patron of the adaptation of Ambras castle [Fig. 5.1] and the addition of various galleries and a large reception hall, the 'Spanische Saal' [Fig. 5.2], which

2 Information on the architectural establishment in Vienna has been brought together by Harry Kühnel in his series 'Forschungsergebnisse zur Geschichte der Wiener Hofburg im 16. Jahrhundert' published in *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften:* Kühnel 1956, 1958, 1959, 1961. Further information in Lietzmann 1987, pp. 105 ff.; Podewils 1991, pp. 156–177 and *passim*.; Rudolf 1995, pp. 175–179, 218–226 and 228 ff. Of utmost importance are the results of the huge project of the Austrian Academy of Sciences dedicated to the history of architecture, decoration and function of the Vienna Hofburg, presented in the series *Veröffentlichungen zur Bau- und Funktionsgeschichte der Wiener Hofburg*, those for the period 1521–1705 in the second volume, edited by Herbert Karner (Karner 2014).

3 Von Busch 1973, pp. 19–21.

FIGURE 5.1 Ambras Castle, Innsbruck; engraving by Matthäus Merian, ca 1640.
FIGURE 5.2 Ambras Castle, reception hall ('Spanische Saal').

made it suitable both as a receptacle for his huge collections and as a residence of his morganatic consort, Philippine Welser.[4]

The interest in architecture of Ferdinand I and his sons of course was by no means exceptional among the princes of sixteenth-century Europe: any patronage could easily be explained merely by the need for representation. It was imperative that Ferdinand at least to some extent gave visual expression to his status as highest-ranking prince of Europe, 'il primo signore del mondo', as Strada had it. This need would almost automatically give rise to attempts of emulation with rival princes, both within the Empire and elsewhere, in particular his brother, Emperor Charles V; his brother-in-law, the French king Francis I; and his nephew, King Philip II of Spain.

Given that fact, it is remarkable that the architectural patronage of the Austrian Habsburgs from Ferdinand I up to and including Rudolf II was actually rather modest, and bears little comparison with that of these royal rivals: one thinks of the commissions of French kings (the Louvre, the Château de Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne, Chambord and Fontainebleau), of Charles V (the Palace at Granada), of Philip II of Spain (the construction of a new major city and residence at Madrid, and of the palaces of Aranjuez and El Escorial), or even of Henry VIII of England (Whitehall and Nonesuch). It even seems modest compared with that of many territorial princes of Italy and the Empire: think of the Palazzo del Te and the immense ducal Palace at Mantua, the residences of the Elector August of Saxony at Dresden and Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria at Munich, and Duke Wilhelm V of Jülich-Cleves-Berg's newly built

4 Maximilian's project for the canalisation of the Pisuerga at Valladolid is referred to in Ana Díaz Medina, 'El gobierno en España de Maximiliano II (1548–1551)', in Edelmayer / Kohler, *Kaiser Maximilian II.*, 1992, 38–54, esp. 50; on Archduke Ferdinand's hunting lodge at Prague, see now Dobalová/Hausenblasová/Muchka 2014; Simons 1998, Simons 2005 and Simons 2009, pp. 99–130.

Renaissance palace at Jülich. And even next to the Emperor's own residence on the Hradčany in Prague, the palace built by the Bohemian magnate, Vilém z Rožmberka, could stand comparison with that of his sovereign.

This relative modesty of the architectural patronage of the Austrian branch of the Habsburgs can to a considerable extent be explained by practical factors. The most important one is certainly the lack of funds: the Emperor was almost singly responsible for the protection of Central Europe against the threat of the Turks, who actually held the larger part of one of his three kingdoms. Moreover, in none of his territories—not even the Austrian *Erblande*—he exercised a similarly absolute authority as his colleagues on the thrones of France and of Spain. The Estates of the Empire were seldom ready to grant the necessary subventions, and financial assistance from Spain often was too little and came too late. Such grants often came with strings attached, and were given on unpalatable and sometimes mutually contradictory conditions.[5] Priority in spending the sparse funds rendered available naturally lay with the construction of fortifications against the Turks, chiefly in Hungary, the absolute necessity of which was underlined by the 1529 siege of Vienna by Suleiman the Magnificent.

Another factor is that, in contrast to foreign monarchs, the territories ruled over by Ferdinand I and his successors had as yet no natural central capital such as Paris or London. The kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary had for centuries been ruled from Prague and Buda respectively. The Austrian *Erblande* each had their own central town which was usually the residence of its ruler: Innsbruck in Tyrol, Graz in Styria, Linz in Upper Austria and Vienna in Lower Austria. Even after Vienna was chosen as the residence of the Imperial court and Pressburg / Bratislava had become the centre of Habsburg Hungary after Buda had fallen to the Turks, Innsbruck kept its prominence for Ferdinand I, as his consort, Queen Anna of Hungary, usually lived there with her young children. Because of its favourable location on the principal route between Italy and Germany, Innsbruck remained important also for reasons of policy and representation.[6] This means that the meagre funds available had to be divided among three major residences—at Prague, Vienna and Pressburg—and a number of minor residences that occasionally hosted the Imperial court and later would be for

5 On Maximilian II's limited financial resources, see Lanzinner 2003, p. 385. His religious concessions to the Austrian (1568, confirmed 1571) and the Bohemian Estates (1575), though perhaps not extended against his private convictions, were nevertheless largely motivated by the need of grants of revenue. At the same time such concessions further poisoned his relationship with his cousin Philip II.

6 Ferdinand I resided at Innsbruck during the final sessions of the Council of Trent in order to increase his influence on its outcome.

some decades the principal residences of the junior branches of the dynasty. Partly for practical, partly probably also for ideological reasons, the Habsburgs adopted the traditional royal residences of each of these cities—medieval castles often only marginally adapted to contemporary demands—as their own residence and centre of their household. Funds to completely replace these by more up to date constructions lacking, it is only natural that Imperial architectural patronage in the sixteenth century remained limited to refurbishments, small additions, adaptations and redecorations. With one notable exception, Emperor Maximilian II's Neugebäude near Vienna, the Habsburg country houses, summer residences and hunting lodges were likewise quite modest in size and pretension.

5.2 The Prince as Architect: Ferdinand I and Maximilian II as Amateurs and Patrons of Architecture

5.2.1 *Emperor Ferdinand I*

The modesty of residential architectural patronage of the Austrian Habsburgs cannot, however, be explained by any lack of interest in the subject. When early in 1558 Strada applied to Ferdinand I to be accepted among his 'virtuosi', it seems he represented himself as an antiquarian rather than an architect, so it could be assumed that Ferdinand felt a need for Strada's competence as an antiquary. But we cannot be really sure about this: in his meeting with the King Strada would not have concealed his talents in the field of architecture, and when in 1560 Strada was formally accorded a fixed and salaried position, it was as an architect assigned to Ferdinand's building projects in Vienna, rather than as Imperial antiquary, even though he was allowed to use that title.

Of course, a connection existed between antiquarian studies and Italian High-Renaissance art and architecture: think of names such as Raphael, Giulio Romano, Serlio, Pirro Ligorio and Palladio. Though it is unlikely that this connection was generally perceived in Vienna and Prague in the 1550s, there are sufficient indications that Ferdinand himself and a small circle around him was aware of it. It is certain that Ferdinand was interested in the Antique and himself commissioned works of art inspired by the antique example from an early age: instances have been conveniently summarised in Friedrich Polleross' article 'Romanitas in der Habsburgischen Repräsentation von Karl V. bis Maximilian II.' of 2006. Symbolic of this interest is the fact that Ferdinand was portrayed in the guise of a Roman Imperator when he was hardly twenty, in a limestone bust dating from ca 1524, which was later incorporated in an entrance portal of the castle of Staré Hrady near Libáň in Bohemia

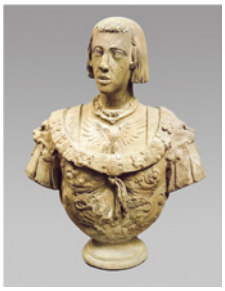


FIGURE 5.3 Anonymous sculptor, Ferdinand I as Roman Emperor, ca 1520–1525.
FIGURE 5.4 The portal of the Zeughaus or Arsenal in Wiener Neustadt, dated 1524.
FIGURE 5.5 Loy Hering, tomb of Count Niklas Salm, after 1530; Vienna, Votivkirche.

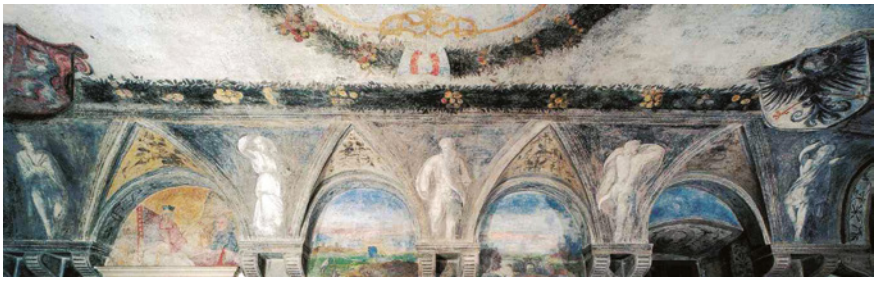
[Fig. 5.3]. Early examples of the use of the antique manner in commissions of Ferdinand I are the portal of the Zeughaus or arsenal in Wiener Neustadt, which is dated 1524 [Fig. 5.4], and the tomb of Count Nicholas Salm, the defender of Vienna against the Turks in 1529, which Ferdinand commissioned from Loy Hering shortly after count Salm's death in 1530 [Fig. 5.5].[7]

Ferdinand was not the only patron in the Habsburg lands indulging a taste for a style of architecture based on Antique example. The new approach was pioneered also by a few highly educated, wealthy officials who were all close collaborators of the ruler, and who all, because of their origin, their studies, or both, had a more cosmopolitan outlook than their contemporaries. By far the most significant of these is Ferdinand's Chancellor Bernardo Cles, Prince-Bishop of Trent, who in 1528 added a new residential block to his residence, the Castello del Buonconsiglio at Trent. He had this 'Magno Palazzo' built and decorated in the new manner introduced by Giulio Romano at the Palazzo del Te by a team of masons and craftsmen recruited in Mantua, and the painters Girolamo Romanino, Dosso and Battista Dossi, and Marcello Fogolino [Figs. 5.6–5.9]. The role of this spectacular complex in inspiring Duke Ludwig X of Bavaria to construct part of his Stadtresidenz in Landshut in the Italian manner has already been referred to, and its influence on residential architecture North of the Alps has been considerable.[8]

7 Polleross 2006. See also Kaiser Ferdinand I. 2003; pp. 375–376, Cat. No. IV. and p. 530, Cat. No. X.12; Holzschuh-Hofer 2014(b).

8 Cf. above, Ch. 2.3; Cles' reference to the Viena Hofburg discussed in Gabrielli 2004, pp. 19–20, and 390–391, doc. 29; and Dellantonio 2002. Bernardo Cles (Clesio, Bernhard von Cles) has been studied exhaustively both as a politician and a patron, as has the Magno Palazzo: see

FIGURES 5.6–5.7 The Magno Palazzo built 1528–1536 for Bernardo Cles, Prince-Bishop of Trent: west facade and loggia frescoed by Girolamo Romanino, 1531–1532. Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio.



FIGURES 5.8–5.9 The Magno Palazzo: ceilings of the Camera del Camin Nero and the Stua della Famea, with frescoes on antiquarian themes by Dosso and Battista Dossi, 1531–1532; Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio.

In the case of Ferdinand it was reciprocal, since Cles apparently had found some inspiration in the organisation of the reconstruction of the Vienna Hofburg and its defences. Cles was in contact with Bartholomäus Amantius, with Petrus Apianus the editor of the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*, the first printed collection of ancient epigraphy—we have met them before in Raymund Fugger's house.[9] That may be the reason why he had his library decorated with images imitating Roman Imperial coins, and his dining-hall with images of ancient sculpture, pointedly painted as antiquities in an unrestored state [Figs. 5.8–5.9]: a learned and sophisticated conceit that shows that he was well aware of contemporary antiquarian discourse in Rome. This is a point explicitly made in the grand description in four hundred and forty-five stanzas in *ottava rima* by Pietro Andrea Mattioli to which the building owns its name: *Il Magno Palazzo del Cardinale di Trento*:

Quivi 'l saggio pittor quel c'ha trovato	Here the learned painter has wished to show
D'antichi esempi ha voluto mostrare	those antique examples he had found
E'l bel lavoro imperfetto ha lasciato	and left these beautiful works in imperfect state
Perche l'antico ha voluto imitare.	because he aimed to imitate the antique.[10]

Ferdinand knew this complex in detail: Mattioli's poem was written on the occasion of and describes the festive visit of Ferdinand and Anna paid to Trento in September 1536, just when the complex was basically finished.[11]

Cles' splendid example at Trento was contagious: one of his colleagues in Ferdinand's council, Gabriel Salamanca-Ortenburg, the king's Spanish treasurer, built a splendid Renaissance castle at Spittal an der Drau in Carinthia from 1533 onwards [below, Ch. 6.5, Figs. 6.27–6.28]. But the most interesting

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Chini 1985; Chini/Gramatica 1985/1988; Gorfer 1990, pp. 29–213; Castelnuovo 1995–1996; Dellantonio 2002; Gabrielli 2004; I am very grateful to Giovanni Dellantonio to have made these books available to me.

9 Cf. above, Ch. 3.3, and Figs. 3.14–3.17.

10 Venezia (Francesco Marcolini) 1539; splendid, abundantly annotated and illustrated edition by Michelangelo Lupo, in Castelnuovo 1995–1996, I, pp. 66–231 and a commentary by Massimiliano Rossi in the same volume, pp. 232–245. Stanzas 245–259 describe de *Sala del Camino nero* (library), 251–254 the Emperor's medals, 'tratti dal natural veri e non finti'; stanzas 263–265 describe the 'statue antiche' painted on the vault of the *Stua della Famea*, the dining hall.

11 Ferdinand and Anna's entry visit commemorated in stanzas 99–124, 205–214; the fireworks that concluded the festivities in stanzas 430–439.

FIGURES 5.10–5.11 Paolo della Stella? or Bonifaz Wolmut? the castle at Kaceřov, Bohemia; built 1540–1560 for Florian Griespek von Griespach, façade and arcade of the courtyard.

example in Bohemia was Florian Griespek von Griespach, secretary of the Bohemian *Kammer*, the financial authority of that kingdom, who had built two large country houses in the new manner: the very precocious Kaceřov, begun around 1540 [Figs. 5.10–5.11], and Nelahozeves, from 1553 onward; later he was to commission Bonifaz Wolmut's extraordinary church at Kralovice [below, Ch. 5.4, Fig. 5.85].[12]

By the latter date Ferdinand's two eldest sons, Archdukes Maximilian and Ferdinand, became active as patrons and showed their preference for the new manner in the two hunting lodges they commissioned at Vienna and Prague, respectively, the so-called Grünes Lusthaus in the Prater near Vienna, and the star-shaped hunting-lodge Hvězda on the White Mountain near Prague [below, Ch. 5.2 and 5.3].

Apart from fortification, the architectural patronage of Ferdinand I himself was primarily directed towards the completion of some of his grandfather's projects: chief among these was the splendid tomb for Maximilian I now in the Innsbruck Hofkirche. This church was built for this specific purpose in a late-Gothic manner, but with a portal in the classicizing style of the North-Italian early Renaissance [Fig. 5.12–51.3]. Beyond that, his commissions were mostly practical adaptations and extensions of his residences, chiefly the Castle at Prague and the Vienna Hofburg. But even here Ferdinand's taste for a classical style can sometimes be discerned. As early as 1536 Ferdinand employed at

12 Hubala 1985; Griessenbeck 2014, pp. 92–98 (Kaceřov), 115–118 (Kralovice), 121–127 (Nelahozeves).

FIGURES 5.12–5.13 Innsbruck, Hofkirche, built 1553 after designs by Andrea Crivelli to house the tomb of Emperor Maximilian I: entrance portal and interior with cenotaph and bronze sculptures of the Emperor's ancestors and predecessors.

least one sculptor who could handle the ornamental elements of the new manner, witness the beautiful plaque of the Imperial arms carried by two griffins topped by an inscription dated 1536, which commemorates his earliest interventions in the fabric of the Hofburg [Fig. 5.14].[13]

The only commissions that transcend the immediately necessary and presuppose some personal motivation are the Summer Palace built for his wife, Queen Anne, the tomb for his wife and himself in St Vitus Cathedral, both in Prague, and the Vienna *Hofspital*. And of these it is only the Summer Palace that allows some conclusion as to his personal taste: it was built by Italians and in an Italian style, apparently from, or inspired by designs or a wooden model from Genoa brought back by the architect, the Milanese Paolo della Stella, who travelled to Genoa, in person in 1538 [Figs. 5.17].[14] For that reason it is tempting to connect the Summer Palace with the seaside villa surrounded by arcades carrying open walkways that Perino del Vaga had just built for Andrea Doria at Fassolo, just outside the city walls of Genoa, which may have been known to

13 The plaque was placed above a publicly accessible fountain located in the wall separating the garden of the Hofburg from the Burggasse; the dedication to Ferdinand as 'Principe Nostro Gloriossisimo' suggest that it was financed by the city council, in recognition for the new facility; cf. Perger / Thomas 1998, p. 437; Holzschuh-Hofer 2014(b), pp. 206–208.

14 *JdKS* x, 1889, II, pp. lxxvii–lxxviii, *Regest* 6000, 1 June 1538; cf. Simons 2009, pp. 88–89 p. 229, n. 261–263.

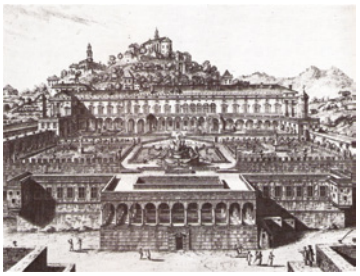
FIGURE 5.14 Plaque commemorating the earliest adaptations of the Hofburg under Ferdinand I, 1535.

FIGURES 5.15–5.16 The German edition of Sebastiano Serlio's *Fourth Book: Die gemaynen Reglen von der Architectur*, Antwerp 1542: titlepage and dedication to King Ferdinand I.

Ferdinand, at least by reputation, as the prestigious project of the city's virtual ruler and one of Charles V's allies [Fig. 5.18].[15]

The choice to import a style that was new and exciting, but as yet foreign to the general culture of his dominions, was a conscious choice. It is difficult to say whether Ferdinand and Anna's personal taste and interests alone determined this choice, or whether reasons of policy and representation also played some role. Renate Holzschuh-Hofer has demonstrated the importance of imperial and dynastic concerns in the application of the new style and the use of symbolic elements in the figurative decoration of Ferdinand's residences. Apart from the design of the main entrance of the Hofburg, the Schweizertor [below, Figs 5.81–05.82], the most evident of these is the application of identical decorative panels, all including the fire steel-and-flint motif of the Order of the Golden Fleece, in the window surrounds of the Prague Summer Palace,

15 From the documents it transpires that Ferdinand's 'Orator' or envoy had been involved in engaging Paolo della Stella and his assistants. Obviously the envoy would have been very much aware of the Palazzo del Principe. In view of the close resemblance between the Palazzo del Principe and the Prague Summer Palace the architectural model Della Stella brought with him from Genoa either documented Doria's residence itself, or was a new design strongly inspired by it. The top floor, inspired on Bramante's *Tempietto* as illustrated in Serlio's Forth Book, was added only twenty years later; it was probably the result of the deliberations of Hans von Tirol, who was in charge of construction, and Pietro Ferrabosco and Bonifaz Wolmut, who had come from Vienna, presided over by Archduke Ferdinand, as Lord-lieutenant of Bohemia representing his father; cf. Lynch 2017.



FIGURES 5.17–5.18 The Summer Palace built by Ferdinand I for his consort Queen Anna in the gardens of Prague Castle, compared to the Palazzo del Principe at Fassolo, Genoa; built by Perino del Vaga for Andrea Doria from 1530 onward.

the Hofburg in Vienna, and the Royal Castle at Pressburg (cf. below. Ch. 5.6.2) [below, Figs. 5.79–05.80].[16] Holzschuh-Hofer sees a similar stress on the Burgundian aspect of Habsburg heritage in the original colour scheme of the Hofburg, contrasting blue hard stone elements, especially columns, portals and window-surrounds, with a brilliant white undecorated stucco wall surface.[17] Though she demonstrates clearly that this was an explicit choice of the patron, her interpretation that this colour scheme is a conscious reflection of the Burgundian-Brabantian heritage is less convincing.[18] But she is certainly right when she points out that the relative simplicity of this scheme represents a fundamental element of Ferdinand's taste: discussing the staircase built 1544–1545 for the Queen's apartments in the North East wing of the Hofburg, she stresses that:

> In the modesty of the architecture <…> once again a subtle, unassuming, noble elegance manifests itself, of a high level of quality. The example of this portal and arch makes clear that there is no contradiction

16 Holzschuh-Hofer 2010; Holzschuh-Hofer 2014(b), pp. 530–540; *ibid.* pp. 537–539 and ill. VI.48.

17 Holzschuh-Hofer / Beseler 2010; Holzschuh-Hofer 2014(b), pp. 540–544.

18 As in Brabant, the choice for a blue-coloured type of stone for the carved elements of the Hofburg may have been determined more by its being the most suitable for the purpose locally available, than by any wish to remind the Austrians of a dynastic expression in a type of architecture in the Netherlands, which they had never seen and cannot have been aware of. The contrast of white stucco walls and carefully carved architectural elements in *pietra serena* that is typical for many key monuments of Florentine Renaissance architecture shows that this colour scheme is not exclusive for the Burgundian heritage; it could even be argued that it is a more obvious source for Ferdinand's aesthetic choice.

between a form reduced to its barest essentials, and a high standard of quality.[19]

Ferdinand's wish for noble simplicity is closely linked to an interest in architecture in the antique manner, as is clear from the direct or indirect encouragement the king appears to have given to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, inciting him to publish a German edition of Sebastiano Serlio's *Quarto libro dell' architettura*. This *Fourth book* was first published in 1537, and presented general rules for the five orders, complemented and illustrated by descriptions and measured designs of the most important ancient edifices. The German translation was printed in Antwerp in 1542 with a dedication to the king: in his preface, Coecke relates how Ferdinand's court painter Jacob Seisenegger, after having seen Coecke's Dutch and French translations, had advised him to produce a German edition and to dedicate this to Ferdinand I, who 'above all German princes, not only loved all arts, but also had the best understanding of architecture' [Fig. 5.15–05.16].[20]

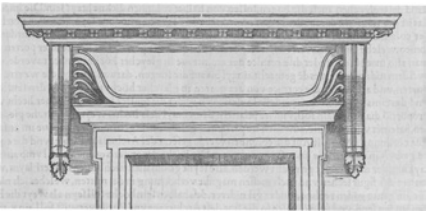


FIGURE 5.19 Entablature of the door surround of Queen Anna's Summer Palace at the Castle at Prague, ca 1540–1545.

FIGURE 5.20 Entablature of a door surround of the Corinthian order in the Forum of Spoleto, from Sebastiano Serlio, *Die gemaynen Reglen von der Architectur*, Antwerp 1542, fol. 50v.

19 Holzschuh-Hofer 2014, p. 92: 'Einmal mehr manifestiert sich in der Schlichtheit der Architektur, die von Ferdinand I. in seiner Wiener Residenz in Auftrag gegeben wurde, subtile, unaufdringliche noble Eleganz auf hohem Qualitätsniveau. Am Beispiel dieses Portals und der Podestbögen wird deutlich, dass eine auf das Wesentliche reduzierte Form und hoher Qualitätsanspruch keinen Widerspruch darstellten. Vielmehr handelt es sich um ein strategisch eingesetztes, einem Programm folgendes Ausdrucksmittel der Ferdinandeische Auftragsarchitektur'.

20 '<…> als der, so nit allain uber alle Fursten teuscher nacion alle kunsten lieb haben, sunder auch in der Architectur der aller synnreychest ist', dedication to Ferdinand I in Coecke's edition of Jacob Rechlinger's (Rehlinger) German translation of Serlio's *Fourth Book*: Sebastiano Serlio*, Die gemaynen Reglen von der Architectur uber die funf Manieren der Gebeu*, the Antwerpen 1542, fol. Aii r; cf. Krista De Jonge 2004, pp. 278–279, who first drew my attention to this.

That Ferdinand's interest was immediately taken up by his architects is evident from the exquisite door- and window frames and relief plaques used in the ground floor of the Prague Summer Palace, which date from the early 1540s [Figs. 5.19 and below, 5.79].[21] In view of their high quality, these have been sometimes thought to have been imported from Italy. The door surround is particularly interesting, because it derives from a classical overdoor reputedly found at the Forum of Spoleto, and illustrated in Serlio's *Quarto Libro*, [Fig. 5.20].[22]

We will see this same awareness of the new, classical style and of developments elsewhere in Europe with Ferdinand's two eldest sons, the Archduke Maximilian, since 1548 titular King of Bohemia, who succeeded his father in 1564 as Holy Roman Emperor and King of Hungary and Bohemia; and Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol, who as *Statthalter* or viceroy actually governed Bohemia on behalf of his father and his brother until sometime after the latter's accession.

5.2.2 *Maximilian II: General Interests*

On the whole, the cultural and intellectual patronage of Maximilian II [Fig. 5.21] is a chapter in the history of the Renaissance that still remains to be written. But the relative neglect he suffered has been redressed in recent years by several detailed studies, uncovering and interpreting new source material. These include several studies of his often problematic politics and his equally problematic religious stance, a study of the interests and ethos of the circle of intellectuals he gathered at his court, a modest but rewarding political biography and a volume of essays discussing many different aspects of his life, his reign and his court.[23] Specifically dedicated to his cultural patronage were studies in the history of music and the theatre, on court festivals and on political propaganda in general, and monographs on Arcimboldo, the best known among the artists at his court, and on the Neugebäude, his principal architectural commission.[24]

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21 Below, Ch. 5.4.2.

22 This source first identified by Bažant 2006, p. 47.

23 A good survey of the sources and literature on Maximilian II in Paula Sutter Fichtner's biography, Fichtner 2001, pp. 309–333. See also Edelmayer 1988, Edelmayer / Kohler 1992; Louthan 1997.

24 Dunning 1976; Pass 1980; Lindell 1985; Lindell 1999; Schindler 2004; K. Vocelka 1976; R. Vocelka 1976; Kaufmann 1978a; Kaufmann 2009; Lietzmann 1987.

FIGURE 5.21 Emperor Maximilian II, anonymous miniature from the portrait album of Hieronymus Beck von Leopoldsdorf; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Of particular relevance was the illuminating overview of Maximilian's patronage of the visual arts and his collecting activities presented by Karl Rudolf in 1995.[25] Based on a careful reading of the available sources and a comparison of Maximilian's activities with those of his cousin, Philip II, this provides a valuable synthesis of the field. Yet a real understanding of Maximilian's patronage will only be possible when a much more complete biography, using the mass of his as yet unpublished correspondence, has thrown more light upon his personal interests and tastes, and has placed these in the context of his time and his very cosmopolitan environment. Until then it is only possible to voice intuitions as to the possible significance of the disparate individual instances of patronage we know of.

The first serious attempt to get some grip on the architectural activity at the Imperial court at the time of Maximilian II was made by Hilda Lietzmann in her invaluable monograph on the Neugebäude of 1987. Though the lack of sufficient and sufficiently coherent documented facts makes it very difficult to come to definitive conclusions, Maximilian's patronage of architecture was sufficiently important to merit specific mention in Crato's funeral oration. Significantly Crato mentions it literally in one breath with his interest in the laying out of gardens and the practice of horticulture:

> <…> he had built certain houses and gardens in the outskirts of town, in which for the good of posterity he used to dispose and plant the trees with his own hands.[26]

Maximilian's passion for gardening, for plants, for botany, and more in general for natural history is well-known, and is best exemplified by the preferential treatment given to Carolus Clusius, whom he commissioned to organize a botanical garden.[27] Maximilian's interest extended beyond the vegetable world, since the wildlife in his gardens and parks was deemed as important as its vegetation, including aviaries, fishponds, and even cages or 'Zwinger' for exotic and ferocious animals, including lions and the celebrated elephant, named

25 Rudolf 1995. It was preceded in 1992 the Vienna dissertation of Katharina Podewils, *Kaiser Maximilian II. (1564–1576) als Mäzen der bildenden Künste und der Goldschmiedekunst*, which collected and systematically presented a huge quantity of source material on Maximilian's patronage of the visual arts, but has remained unpublished. I am grateful to the author to have made a copy available to me.

26 Crato 1577, p.27: '<…> extruere suburbanas quasdam domos et hortos, in quibus sua manu arbores posteritati profuturas inserere et disponere solebat <…>', as quoted in Lippmann 2006–07, p. 148.

27 Discussed in detail in Lietzmann 1987, pp. 166–168; Gelder 2011.

Süleyman, a gift from the king of Portugal which he brought with him on his return from Spain in 1551.[28] This naturalistic interest was related to the passion for hunting as a noble pastime which Maximilian shared with most or all of his royal and noble contemporaries. It should be noted here, because it determined the location of his country retreats, and helps explain the huge importance of horses, and consequently of their stabling, at court.

It is obvious that Maximilian's ruling passion for aspects of natural history and for hunting was expressed in the building projects he undertook—among which at least four gardens in the immediate vicinity of Vienna—but it does not imply that he would not have had any interest in the artistic, constructive and engineering aspects of architecture as well. The project he proposed, during his regency of Spain, to canalize the Pisuerga in order to improve the water supply to Valladolid, demonstrates his fascination with civil engineering. He took it sufficiently serious to ask Hans Jakob Fugger to send him some engineer from Augsburg, Wolfgang Hefelder, who was to construct the necessary fountains and machinery according to a design unknown in Spain: thus he hoped to remedy the existing lack of 'good, fresh and plentiful water', which caused 'great distress above all to the poor', and also to leave 'a memorable record of us'.[29] Apparently this did not lead to any concrete measures, but subsequently he commissioned Bustamante de Herrera, the 'visidador de obras reales' or superintendent of the King's Works, to undertake a physical enquiry into the possibilities of rendering navigable all of the principal rivers of Castile, an ambitious project which prefigures the construction, between 1753 and 1791, of the Canal de Castilla by Ferdinand VI and his minister, the Marqués de la Ensenada.[30]

In later years Maximilian would indulge this interest in waterworks in general, and his love of fountains in particular, on several occasions. He would employ the principal aquatic engineer of the period, Hans Gasteiger, to organize the water supply of his greatest enterprise, the Neugebäude. One should

28 Lietzmann 1987, pp. 33–34. The adventures of the elephant and its material remains have been reconstructed by Annemarie Jordan Gschwend (Gschwend 2012).

29 'agua buena, fresca y abundante', the lack of which was 'de gran pesadumbre sobre todo para la gente pobre'; 'un memorable recuerdo de nos', cited in Holtzmann 1903, p. 86; Díaz Medina 1992, pp. 38–54, p. 50. The project appears not to have been finished; the canalization of the Pisuerga was only realized two centuries later.

30 When Herrera found that it would be impossible to do this, but that it might be worthwhile constructing a system of independent canals, a new committee was set up to review his findings. Maximilian applied to his father to find three experienced German engineers to advise on this matter. This committee did its best, as did Bustamante di Herrera, but the project seems to have fallen through because of its technical complexity and because of the return of Maximilian and Maria to Germany; cf. Quijada 1983.

note that these were trifles compared to Gasteiger's more general responsibilities: as a civil engineer and contractor he was charged with many huge projects, including the water supply of Vienna, the regulation of the Danube—which he rendered navigable with the help of dredging-machinery of his own invention—and similar projects in the valley of the river Enns. In view of Maximilian's early interest, it is likely that he followed or even supervised such projects closely.[31]

5.2.3 *The Prince as Architect: Education and Literary Sources*

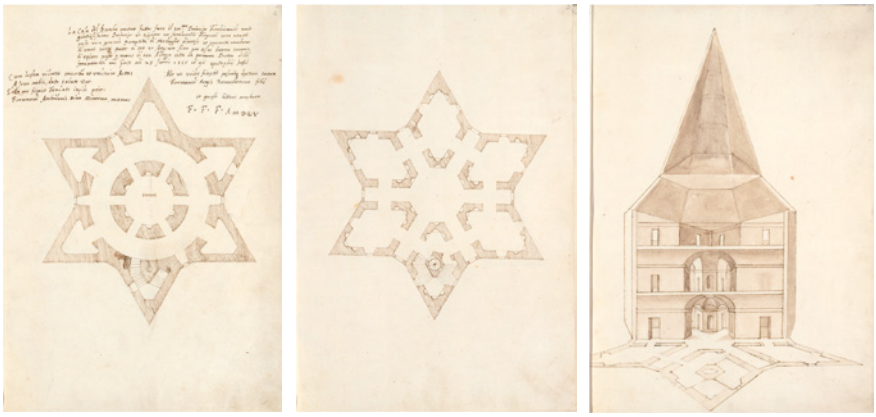
Maximilian's projects for Valladolid suggest that he preferred the more peaceful applications of engineering, as do the gardens he had laid out in and around Vienna. The first of these dated from long before his accession, and even from before the arrival of Strada at court. In about 1556 Maximilian built a small hunting lodge and laid out a garden in the Prater, now a famous park of attractions, but then an island in the Danube across from Vienna covered in woods and rich in game [Fig. 5.65].[32] The location, function and particularly the quite distinctive cruciform ground plan of this 'grüne *Lusthaus*'—a green leisure pavilion—remind one immediately of the star-shaped hunting lodge, Hvězda, constructed at exactly the same time in a very similar spot, the hunting grounds of the White Mountain just outside Prague [Fig. 5.22–5.24].

This small country house, officially named *Zum goldenen Stern*, was commissioned by Maximilian's younger brother, Archduke Ferdinand. According to contemporary sources it was designed by the Archduke himself.[33] This raises the question in how far such a claim can be taken seriously, and if so, whether at the Prater Maximilian may have been his own architect as well, a question which may come in useful in trying to attribute the designs of his later, more prestigious projects. And even if that question cannot be resolved conclusively, its discussion helps to sketch Maximilian's architectural frame of reference and therefore may contribute to a better understanding of architectural developments at his court and in his countries.

The theme of the prince exercising himself as an architect or designer was the subject of a conference in Mantua in 1999, *Il principe architetto*, which discussed such topics as the roles of François I of France and of the Emperor Maximilian I in the execution of their own commissions. In his 'Der Fürst als

31 Gasteiger's career and his role in the water supply of the Stallburg and the Neugebäude is discussed in Lietzmann 1987, pp. 136–139. Lietzmann rightly stresses that Gasteiger undertook these huge projects as a private contractor, rather than as an Imperial official. He did so to the great satisfaction of his patrons: he was ennobled by Ferdinand I in 1561, and Maximilian granted him the freehold of a substantial house in Vienna.

32 Discussed in detail below, Ch. #5.3.1.#



FIGURES 5.22–5.24 Anonymous Italian draughtsman, three of five drawings documenting the design of Hvězda at Prague, after a concept of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol: plans of basement and ground floor, and section; Vienna, Österreichische Nationabibliothek, Cod. min. 108.

Architekt', a fascinating evaluation of dilettante architects among the German princes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Wolfgang Lippmann pointed out that it is difficult to define when exactly we can speak of dilettante or amateur architecture, because the patron in any case would have had an important role in determining the appearance of the architectural projects he undertook. He quite reasonably decided to consider a patron as a dilettante architect whenever he is capable to express his ideas in drawings or sketches, even when such competence is only marginally developed.[34] That such a patron, for lack of time and professional competences, would not actually have prepared the actual working drawings used to realize his project, is not sufficient reason *not* to credit him with its concept, its invention.

A set of epigrams in German and in Latin which appears to have been intended for a stone commemorating its construction, unequivocally attributes the design of Hvězda to the Archduke:

33 Schönherr 1876; Lietzmann 1987, pp. 29–31; Chmel 1840–1841, 2, pp. 276–292. On Hvězda, see now Simons 2009, *passim*.

34 Lippmann 2001, p. 113: 'Als Architekturdilettant wird in den antiken Quellen allein Kaiser Hadrian genannt, auch wenn es schwierig ist, die Kriterien für Architekturdilettantismus genau zu definieren, denn die Auftraggeber haben meistens ihre Bauprojekte mitbestimmt. Meines Erachtens ist dann eine wichtige Voraussetzung gegeben, einen Auftraggeber als 'Architekturdilettanten' zu bezeichnen, wenn er zeichnen kann—selbst dann, wenn diese Fähigkeit unvollkommen ausgebildet ist'. It will be obvious to the reader that the present paragraph owes much to this very stimulating and informative article. Other recent literature on dilettante architecture in the papers of the congress *Il principe architetto* at Mantua, 1999 [*Il principe architetto* 2002].

Abgemessen, gemacht und circulirt	Its proportions were decided, it was designed and drawn
Darzu mit ersten stain fundirt	with compasses / And then its foundation stone was laid
Von einem fürsten lobeleich	/ By a laudable prince /
Ferdinand, erzherzog von Osterreich.	Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria.

The contention that the Archduke actually made the measured drawings for the building is repeated in the other rhymes, as well as in the Latin epigram and in the German prose text, one of which was probably intended to be inscribed in a stone commemorating the foundation of the building.[35] The contemporary drawings of Hvězda that have been preserved are presentation drawings and are probably not in Archduke Ferdinand's own hand [Figs. 5.22–5.24; 5.55].[36] Technically, the elementary geometry and proficiency in the use of ruler and compasses as taught in the humanist curriculum, would have been sufficient to sketch the basic concept worked out in these designs, when coupled to some interest in architecture. The Archduke certainly possessed this interest, witness the very idiosyncratic character of the building he commissioned. So unless concrete evidence to the contrary would come to light, there is no reason to doubt that Ferdinand was responsible for the concept of this unusual building, including its proportional system. Of course this does not imply that he would have designed it without professional help and that he himself would have made—or even could have made—the detailed working drawings necessary to construct it.[37]

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35 First published in Schönherr 1876; JdKH 11, 1890, II, p. CLV, *Regest* 7143; discussed in Lippmann 2001, p. 117; and Simons 2009, p.105. The other passages stressing Archduke Ferdinand's participation read: <in 1555> 'Hat disen stain legt vnd fundirt / Das werk erdacht vnd circulirt / Mit seiner tuyren rechten hant / Von Oesterreich erzherzog Ferdinand' and: '<On 27 June 1555> haben der durchlauchtigiste, hochgeborn fürst vnd herr, herr Ferdinand, erzherzog zu Osterreich <...> gegenwurtig werk selbst erdacht, mit aigner hand abgmessen vnd circulirt, den ersten stain in das fundament gelegt, demselben werk den namen zum Gulden Stern gegeben vnd [es] damit geeret'.

36 ÖNB-HS, *Cod. min.* 108. The set consists of plans of all floors and a section (no elevation); both their character, their state of preservation and the Italian inscription on the first plan strongly suggest that it was intended to document the design for posterity; perhaps it was made on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone the inscription refers to, or of the completion of the building.

37 Below we shall encounter some other examples of the topos—derived from classical sources—presenting a prince designing something or planting a tree etc. 'with his own hand'. This may incline one to think that Ferdinand's inscriptions were mere variations on the topos and therefore must necessarily have been false. But that seems unlikely: carving a deliberate untruth into stone—or even just to write it down—for posterity to read

The stress laid in this text on 'measuring' and 'compassing', which presents the building almost as the solution of a problem of applied mathematics, demonstrates that a certain *esprit de géometrie* must have been among the Archduke's motivations. As one of the disciplines of the *quadrivium* geometry was an essential element in the curriculum, and there can be no doubt that both Maximilian and Ferdinand had studied it in detail.[38] That this curriculum also included learning to draw is very likely: in his *Libro del Cortegiano* of 1528 Baldassare Castiglione had presented the knowledge of drawing, painting and sculpture as an accomplishments of his ideal gentleman. Though he discusses these on a rather elevated, theoretical and even metaphysical level, he begins his disquisition by indicating the practical use of painting:

> In fact, from painting, which in itself is a most worthy and noble art, many useful skills can be derived, and not least for military purposes: thus a knowledge of the art gives one the facility to sketch towns, rivers, bridges, citadels and fortresses and similar things, which otherwise cannot be shown to others even if, with a great deal of effort, the details are memorized.[39]

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seems pointless. In fact, if the topos of the do-it-yourself prince is sufficiently attractive and popular, it may actually have incited a real prince to try and live up to the example it was intended to provide. So one should be wary to assume that these inscriptions were pure flattery, and avoid the common prejudice that holds that princely or noble blood automatically precludes one having any artistic talent and any wish to exercise it.

38 Simons 2009, p. 37 refers to an illustrated manuscript from Ambras, identified in an old label as 'Matematica Manuscripta Archiducis Ferdinandi in Inspruck. Dilligentissime conscripta a suo Praeceptore', reason why it has been considered as an old 'school book' of Ferdinand II of Tirol; this tradition was criticized already by Hirn 1885, I, pp. 9–10, n. 2 who noted that it included a section on the Gregorian calendar reform. Yet as a scrapbook or compendium it might possibly be evidence of a continuing interest in mathematics on the part of Maximilian's brother. Mazal/ Unterkircher 1963 relate it, however, to their nephew, Archduke Ferdinand of Inner Austria, afterwards Emperor Ferdinand II. A more precise inspection of the volume (Vienna, ÖNB-HS, *Ser. n.* 2632) might possibly solve the problem; at present it can merely serve to indicate an interest in mathematics with at least one sixteenth-century member of the House of Austria.

39 Book 1, XLIX; Castiglione/Bull 1967, p. 97; Castiglione/Bonora, p. 93: 'Non mancarono ancor molti altri di chiare famiglie celebrati in quest'arte; della qual, oltre che in sé nobilissima e degna sia, si traggono molte utilità, e massimamente nella guerra, per disegnar paesi, siti, fiumi, ponti, ròcche, fortezze e tai cose; le quali, se ben nella memoria si servassero, il che però è assai difficile, altrui mostrar non si possono'. It should be noted that Castiglione talks about knowledge and understanding, not the actual practice, of the fine arts—this in contrast to the practice of literature and music, in which his ideal courtier was consummately accomplished.

From occasional remarks in the sources it appears that both Ferdinand and his elder brother did indeed know how to draw. Both would in later life be reported to engage in various artistic and scientific pursuits: Ferdinand knew how to blow glass and worked at the lathe, and Maximilian was reputed to draw, to be interested in alchemist experiments and to work in precious metals. We have already seen that he was particularly interested in civil engineering.[40]

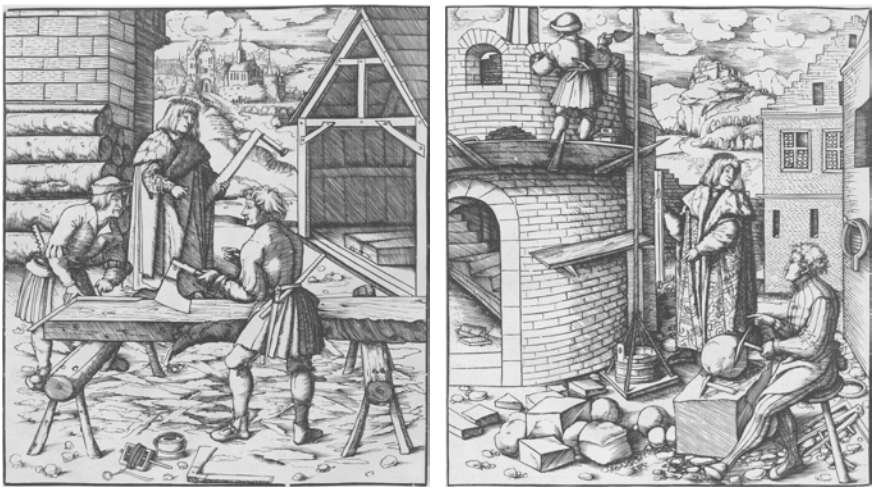
It seems likely that the young Archdukes had developed these tastes and talents because the training in design and manual exercise had been an integral part of their education. As yet there is little information on the exact curriculum of Maximilian, his younger brother and the young noblemen that had been selected to be educated with them.[41] But though we cannot tell with certainty what they learnt, what books they read, what interested them, some idea of it can be deduced from the ideas current in the period, the themes we know were of interest to their peers, the people they met, the books and other materials that were available to them.

One of the objects that certainly were available to them was the *Weißkunig*, the romanticized autobiography of their great-grandfather, Emperor Maximilian I. Though we have no positive proof that their tutors did indeed avail themselves of it, I think there can be little doubt that it played an important role in establishing the curriculum of his young great-grandsons.[42] In some

40 Hirn 1885, I, p. 8 refers to a notebook, a desktop, drawing paper and a drawing board ('ein ungeschrieben Buch, Pultbretter, Reispapier, Reisbrettsteften' that crop up repeatedly in the account books of the small school instituted for Maximilian, Ferdinand and the *Edelknaben* with whom they were educated. According to Strada Maximilian II himself highly valued a competence in drawing, which he had taught to his sons in Strada's studio (Doc. 1566-03-01; cf. below, Ch. 11.5).

41 There is very little known about the education that Maximilian and Ferdinand received; the relevant older biographies give some information (Holtzmann 1903, pp. 16–26; Hirn 1885, I., pp. 4–10; BIBL 1929, pp.25–32; Fichtner 2001, pp. 7–12; Simons 2009, pp. 32–39) from which it results that the young Archdukes had good, but not necessarily brilliant teachers: in fact most of them are quite obscure (the few better known ones, such as Kaspar Ursinus Velius and Georg Tannstetter, died before Maximilian was eleven years old). Hirn sums up: 'Aus all diesen Einzelzügen resultiert ein Bild guter, häuslicher Erziehung, wie es ein wohl situiertes, bürgerliches Patrizierhaus jener Zeit durchwegs aufzuweisen hatte'. He also points out (p. 4) that Ferdinand I personally supervised his sons' education, and doubtless participated in it to the extent his itinerary allowed. As a young man he himself had spent three years at the court of his Aunt Margaret of Austria in the Netherlands, where he met Erasmus, who personally presented him with a copy of the second edition of his *Institutio principis christiani*, the beginning of a correspondence which lasted unto Erasmus' death (Kohler 2003<a>, pp. 56–57; Kohler 2003<b>).

42 Maximilian I/ Treitzsauerwein/ Schultz 1888. *Der Weißkunig* was written at the suggestion and partly at the dictation of Maximilian I himself by his secretary Marx Trautsauerwein, and illustrated with woodcuts by Leonard Beck, Hans Burgkmair, Hans Schäuffelein and



FIGURES 5.25–5.26 Leonhard Beck (ca 1475/80–1542), 'How the young White King learns to build in carpentry' and 'How the young White King learns to build in stone', woodcuts first published in Marx Trautsauerwein, Der Weißkunig, Vienna 1775.

ways the *Weiß-kunig* can be considered as an educational treatise for princes, a *Fürstenspiegel*, because Maximilian paid as much attention to the stages in his intellectual development as to his adult prowess. The *Weißkunig* explicitly documents and illustrates his learning, not only the rudiments of the noble art of painting, but also those of several manual crafts, including those of the stonemason and the carpenter [Fig. 5.25–5.26].

Recent research has indicated that Maximilian I in fact did possess certain competences in this field and that his contribution to the design of the tomb he planned for himself in Innsbruck was of greater impact than had been realized.[43] His grandson, Ferdinand I, who commissioned Melchior Pfintzing

Hans Springinklee. Ferdinand I engaged himself to continue it, but it was first published only in the eighteenth century (Vienna 1778). But the text and illustrations (or proofs of the woodcuts based on them) were kept in Innsbruck and thus were available to the young Archdukes and their tutors, cf. *Werke für die Ewigkeit* 2002, pp. 11–12. Both the authors of this catalogue and Simons 2009, pp. 32–34 have discussed the influence of the example of Maximilian I and the various works he had commissioned on the younger generations of the House of Austria. Gottlieb 1900, p. 109 has shown that many of the over three hundred books and manuscripts from Maximilian's library that were kept in the Hofburg at Innsbruck, of which an inventory was made in 1536, were actually used by members of the dynasty in the 1530s and 1540s.

43 Günther 2002.

to complete the unfinished *Weißkunig*, must have been eager to educate his children according to the precepts of their illustrious ancestor. In that they were possibly also confronted with the works of their great-grandfather's favourite artist, Albrecht Dürer. Besides the monumental eulogy of Maximilian's reign, the *Ehrenpforte*, these included three influential treatises. Dürer's treatise on the perfect proportion of the human body may not have come high on the reading list provided by the boys' tutors, but the other two would have stood a better chance. The first, *Underweysung der Messung, mit dem Zirckel und Richtscheyt, in Linien, Ebenen unnd gantzen corporen* (Nuremberg 1525) could serve, perhaps in Camerarius' Latin translation of 1532, as a practical complement and commentary on Euclid, but it also was of immediate practical value for the practice of architecture. Thus the second topic of the first section, the *Schneckenlinie* or snail's line, basically explains the construction of the volute of the Ionian capital. Likewise the third section, 'Von den Corperlichen dingen', i.e. about three-dimensional objects, opens with the design of columns, pilasters and obelisks, including the piers of a Gothic church, but paying much more attention to the geometrical base of the classical column, including the calculation of the entasis and the proportions of capitals, bases and pedestals.

As future princes and generals, the young Archdukes also may have studied Dürer's treatise on fortification, *Etliche vnderricht, zu befestigung der Stett, Schloß vnd Flecken*, which had been published in Nuremberg in 1527, and in which the laws of geometry were applied to an eminently practical topic.[44] It would be interesting to know whether they read more about architecture and fortification, and if so, what. At the peace conference at Le Cateau-Cambrésis Cardinal Granvelle had taken the English commanders to task for their neglect of the newest developments in warfare, which had led to their loosing Calais to the French. It was this that moved Sir William Cecil, Elizabeth's prime minister, to ask his agents on the continent to scout for capable engineers who might be tempted to come to England: Jacopo Aconcio's transfer to London, about whom more below, was a first result. But he also asked them to inspect suitable examples on the spot and to collect documentary material. He moreover asked Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the Ambassador in France, for lists of available books on the topic, which he was studying himself: 'I am now and then occupied with Vitruvius *De Architectura*; and therefore if there be any writers besides Vitruvius, Leo Baptista [Alberti] and Albert Dürer (all which three

44 In his dedication to Ferdinand I, Dürer claims that he had written it specially for him: 'Dieweil sich nun zudregt das E.Mt. etlich stett und flecken zu befestigenn verschaft hat...'.

I have) I would gladly have them'.[45] It can be assumed that these authors were also read or at least occasionally consulted at the court of Ferdinand I.

We do not know whether these readers included the young Maximilian and Ferdinand, but it is not unlikely. In the 1550s both showed themselves capable of reading architectural drawings, which implies that, for study or as a pastime, they had made themselves acquainted with at least some of the literature pertaining to architecture that became available in the 1540s and 1550s. In addition to Euclid and Dürer's geometry they might have studied a simple manual of perspective, such as Jean Pélérin's illustrated *De Artificiali Perspectiva* (Toul 1505, reprinted 1508, 1509, 1521) [Fig. 5.27].[46] Probably their early training would not (yet) have included a complex and difficult text such as Vitruvius itself, but they might have studied the woodcuts in the first illustrated editions, published by Fra Giovanni Giocondo in 1511 and by Cesare Cesariano in 1521, the

FIGURE 5.27 'Les degrez / et la galerie', in Jean Pélérin's *De Artificialia Perspectiva,* Toul 1521.
FIGURE 5.28 Title page of Diego Sagredo, *Medidas del Romano,* Toledo, 1549.
FIGURE 5.29 Title page of Walther Ryff, *Vitruvius Teutsch,* Nuremberg 1548.

45 Letter dated October 12, 1559, cited in White 1967, p. 430. Vitruvius was at that time available in various Latin editions, the illustrated Italian translation by Cesare Cesariano (*De Lucio Vitruvio Pollione De Architectura*, Como 1521), the French translation by Jean Martin (*Architecture, ou Art de bien bastir*, Paris, 1547) or the German translation by Walther Rivius (*Vitruvius Teutsch*, Nuremberg 1548), whereas the splendid Italian translation by Daniele Barbaro and illustrated by Palladio had just been published (1556). The Latin original of Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria* was available only in manuscript, or in the Italian translations by Pietro Lauro (Venice 1546) or, a more likely candidate, that by Cosimo Bartoli (Florence 1550).

46 Parts of its contents were popularized by their inclusion in one of the earliest illustrated encyclopaedias, Gregor Reisch's *Margarita Philosophica*, first printed in Freiburg in 1503.

first Italian translation. Moeover they may have actually read later abbreviations and elucidations, for instance Diego de Sagredo's *Medidas de Romano*, a dialogue explaining the basics of Vitruvian architecture that was first published in Toledo in 1526 and was repeatedly reprinted in French translations [Fig. 5.28].[47]

The 1540s saw a strongly increasing interest in the theory and practice of classical architecture: it produced the scholarly translation of Vitruvius by Daniele Barbaro, illustrated by Palladio, in 1556; the French translation, *Architecture ou Art de bien bastir*, by Jean Martin (with illustrations by the famous sculptor, self-styled 'Jean Goujon, studieux d'architecture'), also in 1547, and a German one a year later, *Vitruvius Teutsch*, by Walter Hermann Ryff (or Rivius) [Fig. 5.29], most of which were themselves influenced by the learned commentary on Vitruvius' often obscure text by the French humanist Guillaume Philandrier.[48]

The same decade saw the publication of several new editions and translations of Alberti's *De Re aedificatoria*, as well as, from 1537 onward, that of several books of the extremely influential illustrated treatise of Sebastiano Serlio, which were almost immediately reprinted and translated in several languages, largely in Antwerp by Pieter Coecke van Aelst.[49] The boom of architectural publishing of the period was probably stimulated by the tremendous success

47 *M. Vitruvius per Iocundum solito castigatior factus cum figuris et tabula ut iam legi et intelligi possit*, Venice (Tacuino) 1511; *Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione de architectura libri dece traducti de latino in vulgare affigurati, commentati et con mirando ordine insigniti*, Como (Gotardus de Ponte) 1521 ; Diego de Sagredo, *Medidas del romano neccessarias a los oficiales que quieren seguir las formaciones de las basas, columnas, capiteles y otras pieças de los edificios antiguos*, Toledo, en casa d[e] Ramón de Petras, 1526, repeatedly reprinted; translated as *Raison D'architecture antique, extraicte de Victruve et autres anciens architecteurs nouvellement traduit Despaignol en Francoys: alutilite de ceux qui se delectent en edifices*, Paris, S. de Colines, s. d. [1536]; reprinted 1539, 1542 and later.

48 *I dieci libri dell'architettura di M. Vitruvio tradutti et commentati da Monsignor Barbaro eletto patriarca d'Aquileggia,* In Vinegia per Francesco Marcolini, 1556; *Architecture ou Art de bien bastir, de Marc Vitruve Pollion Autheur Romain antique: mis de Latin en Francoys, par Ian Martin Secretaire de Monseigneur le Cardinal de Lenoncourt*, Paris, Jacques Gazeau, 1547; reprinted 1572 and later; <Walther Ryff>, *Vitruvius Teutsch. nemlichen des <…> Marci Vitruvius Pollonis zehen Bücher von der Architectur und künstlichem Bawen: ein Schlüssel und Einleitung aller mathematischen und mechanischen Künst <…> Erstmals verteutscht und in Truck verordnet durch Gualtherum H. Rivium <…>*, Nürnberg [s.n.], 1548; Ryff was earlier involved in a Latin octavo edition printed at Strassburg in 1543; Guillaume Philandrier, *In decem libros M. Vitruvii Pollionis de architectura annotationes <…>,* Rome, G. Andrea Dossena, 1544, reprinted 1545 (twice!) and 1557, and added to Vitruvius editions of 1550 and 1552.

49 By 1560 these included the first five books of the treatise as well as the *Extraordinario Libro* in various editions; cf. Bury 1989.

of Serlio's volumes, and it continued in the next decades. Hans Blum's *Quinque columnarum exacta descriptio atque delineatio* <…> of 1546, a simple introduction to the design of the five orders proved another bestseller.[50] It was soon followed by the first print series of ornamental and architectural designs by Du Cerceau, Pietro Cataneo's *I primi quattro libri dell'architettura*, a treatise on military and civil architecture (Venice 1554), Du Cerceau's *Livre d'architecture* published in two volumes in 1559 and 1561, and Philibert de l'Orme's more practical *Nouvelles inventions pour bien bastir* of 1561. Of far greater and more lasting international influence would be, finally, Vignola's *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura* of 1562 and Palladio's *I quattro libri dell'architettura* of 1570, but these came probably too late to have had great influence on Maximilian's attitude to architecture in the last decade of his life.[51]

The boom of architectonic publishing in the 1540s and 1550s indicates that it was a trendy subject; it can hardly be a coincidence that the first examples of 'correct' Vitruvian architecture to the North of the Alps date from this period. Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria took the trouble to obtain most or all of the works cited here, often in multiple editions, and supplemented them by a great quantity of drawings, prints and print-series documenting both ancient and contemporary architecture, as is clear from a slightly later list of the architectural holdings of the Munich *Kunstkammer*.[52] So it is perfectly possible that copies of many of these publications had also arrived at the Imperial court, and that some of them actually came to the notice of Albrecht's brothers-in-law. At a later date Archduke Ferdinand's *Kunstkammer* included several of these volumes, so it cannot be excluded that he may have acquired some of them early enough to have been of some use in the planning of Hvězda. Having bought them, or even seen them, does not imply that the Archdukes actually read them, let alone studied them in detail: that they may well have left to their humanist and professional advisers. But the fact that so many of these treatises were illustrated implies that, even when they were not actually read, they still could have an immediate influence on those consulting them.

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50 Hans Blum, *Quinque columnarum exacta descriptio atque delineatio* <…>, and *Von den fünff Sülen Grundlicher bericht* <…>, both Zürich [Christoph Froschauer] 1550; *id.*, *Les cinq coulomnes de l'architecture, ascavoir, la tuscane, dorique, ionicque, corinthie, et composite* <…>, Anvers [Hans Liefferinck], 1551, reprinted Lyon 1565, and into the late seventeenth century.

51 Many of these treatises, including several of Du Cerceau's print series, now digitally available at the site *Architectura*, of the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance of Tours (http://architectura.cesr.univ-tours.fr).

52 Dating from ca 1580–1581; it is discussed by Peter Diemer in his chapter, 'Verloren—verstreut—bewahrt. Graphik und Bücher der Kunstkammer', in Diemer/Diemer/Sauerländer 2008, 3, pp. 223–252, who prints the full, annotated text in an appendix, pp. 240–252.

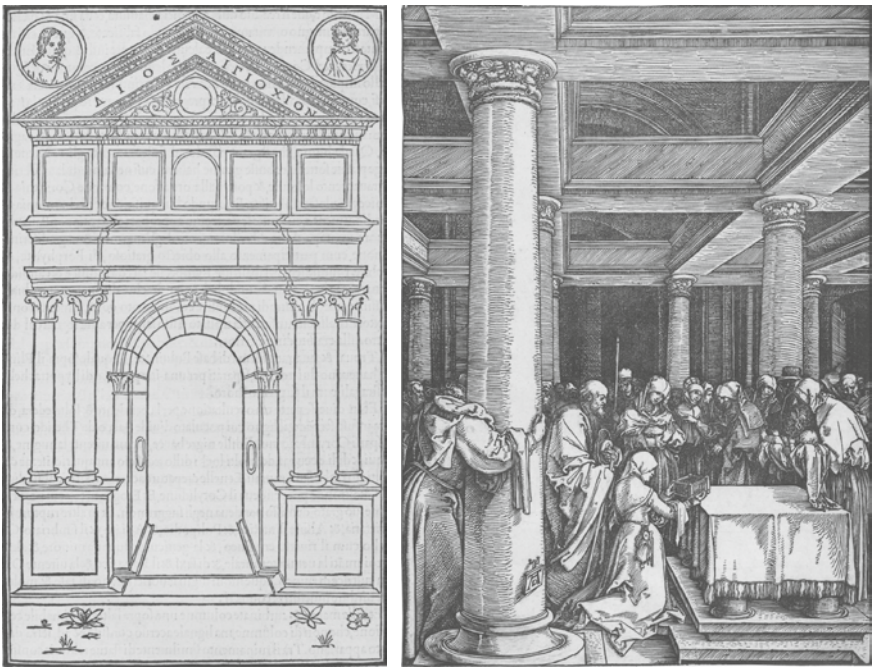


FIGURE 5.30 The gatehouse of a palace, woodcut from the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili,* Venice 1499.

FIGURE 5.31 Albrecht Dürer, The Presentation of Christ in the Temple, woodcut, ca 1505.

Such more or less 'professional' literature was not the only potential source for the young Archdukes' approach, as patrons, to architecture: passages on building and the arts in the Christian and classical texts they studied as part of their curriculum may also have played a role. One thinks of references to biblical texts such as the description of Solomon's projects and the description of the Heavenly Jerusalem, or of Cicero's description of a house suitable for a gentleman in his *De officiis*, a standard educational text at the time. Accessible works of art, such as Dürer's print of *The Presentation of Christ in the Temple* (ca 1505) [Fig. 5.31], made the objects of such descriptions more tangible.

The monuments of Antiquity, as described in classical texts—such as the younger Pliny's descriptions of his several villa's—or their remains as rediscovered since the second half of the Quattrocento in Rome and elsewhere, may have fired the Archdukes' imagination, in particular those of the monuments realized by the Roman Emperors, whose successors they considered themselves to be. Images of these had become available in Serlio's *Third Book* and elsewhere [Fig. 5.32]. They may even have been familiar with the famous illustrated romance, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, first published in Venice in

1499, but again very popular in the 1540s. This book can stand as an excellent illustration of the link between court culture, humanist learning and knowledge of classical architecture [Fig. 5.30].

5.2.4 *The Prince as Architect: Practical Experience*

The architectural frame of reference that Maximilian could draw upon in his patronage was not, however, determined solely or even primarily by theoretical treatises and more or less fanciful woodcuts. It is important to ask what architecture he had actually seen by 1555, and also which of these examples would have most impressed him, and why. A brief sketch of his itinerary will serve the purpose.[53]

Maximilian was born in the Vienna Hofburg, but he lived the first decade and a half of his life largely in Innsbruck, except for a year spent in Vienna when he was about ten years old. Only from 1543 onward did he begin to travel, at first in his father's retinue, attending the 1543 Nuremberg Diet and visiting Prague for the first time. The next four years he spent in the retinue of Charles V, beginning with the French campaign ending in the capture of Soissons and the peace of Crépy, followed by a long sojourn at the Imperial court at Brussels (September 1544–March 1545).

Fortification being an important subject for a prince and warrior in training, he will have been able to see for himself, or at least in its plans, the fortifications of Antwerp developed by the Italian architect Donato de' Boni, who also designed the Imperial gate to that city which was being built at the time [Fig. 5.33]. Perhaps he also heard something about the plans of Charles V and of his aunt Mary of Hungary for their respective residences in Brussels and Binche that were to be realized in the following years. Travelling with the court and the army of Charles V during the months preceding and following the battle of Mühlberg (24 April 1547) he criss-crossed central and southern Germany, where he visited both friendly courts—such as Munich, Stuttgart, Jülich and Dresden—and the principal Imperial towns, such as Aix-la Chapelle, Cologne, Worms, Speyer, Regensburg, Ulm, Nuremberg and Augsburg. With his father he visited most of the Habsburg dominions in and bordering on Germany, including Moravia, Silesia and Lusatia.

In 1548 Charles V and Ferdinand I agreed to a marriage settlement between Charles' daughter Maria and Maximilian, who was given the title of King of Bohemia on the occasion. In June of that year Maximilian travelled from Augsburg, where he had been attending the famous *geharnischte Reichstag*, through Munich, Innsbruck, Bolzano and Trent to Mantua, and from there

53 Extracted from Holtzmann 1903, *passim*.

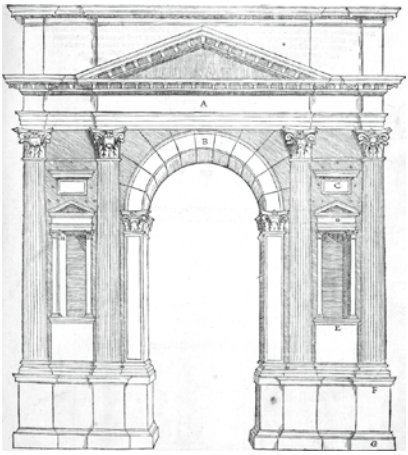
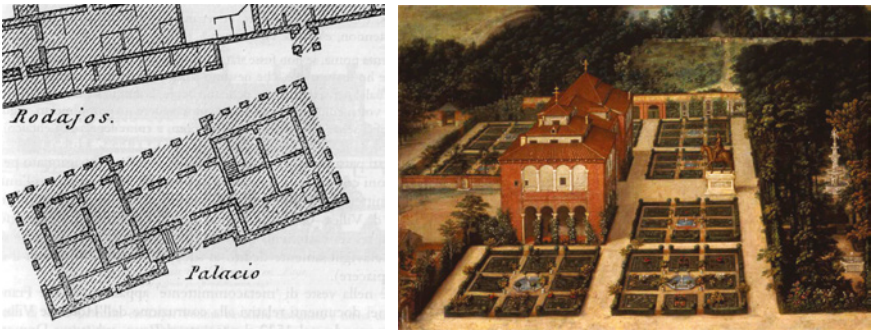


FIGURE 5.32 Sebastiano Serlio, the Arch of the Gavii at Verona, from the first edition of his *Terzo libro*, Venice 1540.

FIGURE 5.33 Donato de' Boni, Imperial Gate, Antwerp, ca 1545, contemporary woodcut.

through Cremona and Lodi to Milan. In all these places he only remained one or two days, even at Milan. From there he travelled to Genoa, where he stayed for five days in the seaside villa, the Palazzo del Principe, at Fassolo just outside the city gates [Fig. 5.18]. As we have seen, this light-hearted, airy villa with its splendid decoration and luscious garden had been built in the 1530s by Perino del Vaga for Andrea Doria, who commanded the fleet that brought Maximilian and his train to Spain. On his return to Augsburg in November-December 1550, and both ways on his trip to accompany his wife and children home from Spain (respectively in June and in November of 1551) he always took this same route, roughly in the same tempo. He never returned to Italy afterwards, and he never saw Venice, Florence or Rome, let alone Turin and Naples. He seems even to have bypassed Verona and its Arena on all four occasions, missing out on the one monumental example of the architecture of Ancient Rome he conveniently might have seen standing.[54] So his first-hand experience of first-rate contemporary Italian architecture remained limited to Giulio's work at Mantua and the patrician palaces of Milan—among which Domenico Giunti's Villa Simonetta, built for Maximilian's host, Ferrante Gonzaga [below, Ch. 9.10.3, Figs. 9.90–9.91]—and Genoa; it excluded even Sanmicheli's palaces at Verona. This seems not very much; nevertheless it appears to have been sufficient for a

54 He may have seen the preserved Roman ramparts of Tongeren in Belgium, but these, though authentic, can hardly be called imposing.



FIGURES 5.34–5.35 Casa de Campo, Madrid, ca 1519; attributed to Antonio de Madrid (active 1509–1549); plan and bird's eye view.

patron who would at least in one instance consciously attempt to emulate Imperial Rome. But such limited immediate acquaintance with the real thing suggests that the treatises and illustrations listed above may have been of greater import than one might initially expect.[55]

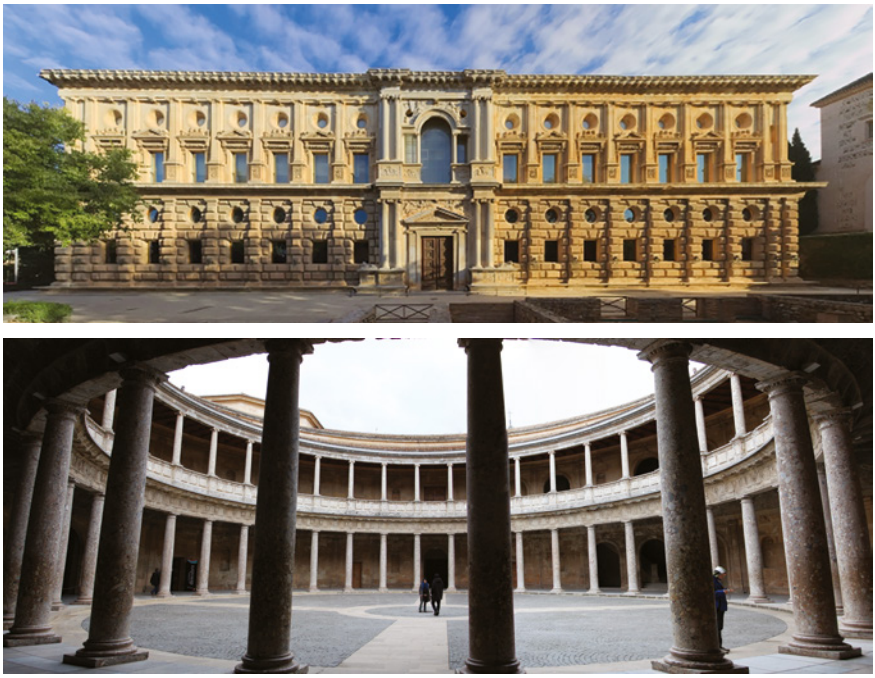
Recently the mutual cultural influence of Spain and Austria has been the subject of various publications; but again, possible influences in architecture can hardly have been the result of first-hand inspection by Maximilian. The more influential buildings, such as Aranjuez and the Escorial, mostly postdate Charles V's reign and Maximilian's Spanish years. From Barcelona Maximilian travelled through Zaragoza to Valladolid, where he was wedded to his cousin Maria on the very evening of his arrival. Valladolid would remain the couple's residence while he was acting as regent of Spain for Charles V. They appear not to have travelled very far from Valladolid, but Maximilian probably saw the Casa de Campo, the small regular villa near Madrid that had been built in 1519 by a courtier of Charles V [Fig. 5.34–5.35]. This had earlier been visited by Francis I when a prisoner in Spain, and had been used by him as a source for the first castle he planned on his return, the Château de Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne.[56]

Maximilian did not visit Charles' one really imperial project, the unfinished palace built from 1528 onward next to the Alhambra at Granada, according to a Roman design obtained through Baldassare Castiglione, and speculatively attributed to Raphael, Giulio Romano and Baldassare himself in turn, but

55 Mario Carpo discussed this theme in a stimulating article, 'How do you imitate a building that you have never seen? Printed images, ancient models, and handmade drawings in Renaissance architectural theory' (Carpo 2001).

56 Marias 1991; Châtenet 2002.

probably due to Pedro Machuca who was responsible for its construction until his death in 1550 [Fig. 5.36–5.37]. But though Maximilian did not see it with his own eyes, he must have heard about it and have obtained some idea of what it looked like. A set of the plans [Fig. 5.38] must have been available at court with the council charged with the supervision of its completion (the palace was never actually finished).[57] In view of his active interest in the projects of civil engineering mentioned above, it is unlikely that he would not have informed himself about what was, after all, Charles V's grandest architectural commission. Its grandeur and purity cannot have failed to impress him.



FIGURES 5.36–5.37 The Palace of Charles V at Granada, principal (west) facade and circular courtyard.

57 Rosenthal 1985. The construction of the palace was continuing in the 1540s; though the day to day running doubtless was left to local authorities, such as the governor, Don Iñigo López de Mendoza, decisions on funding and controversial items of the designs were taken or at least confirmed at court. As representative of his uncle and father-in-law, Maximilian was formally responsible for such decisions, so he must have been given some basic information on what was after all Charles' grandest commission. Is it a coincidence that in October 1548, very shortly after his arrival straight from Charles' court, one of these controversial points, the design of the huge central Serliana of the upper floor of the south facade, was finally resolved, after six years of relative stagnation? (Rosenthal 1985, pp. 82 ff., 'The South Window').

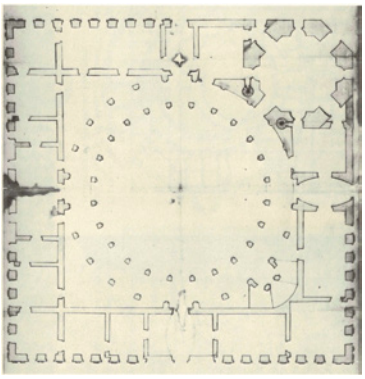


FIGURE 5.38 The Palace of Charles V at Granada, plan.
FIGURE 5.39 Rodrigo Gil de Hontañon, Palacio de Monterrey, Salamanca (1536–39).

Yet it should be noted that most of the recent architecture that Maximilian actually saw in Spain was of a completely different style, the *plateresque*, an updated version of the Flemish inspired, flamboyant Gothic from the time of the Catholic Kings, classicized by the inclusion of straight lines and *Quattrocento* ornament. A good example is the Palacio de Monterrey in Salamanca, built in 1536–39 by the foremost Spanish architect of that generation, Rodrigo Gil de Hontañon [Fig. 5.39].

On his return from Spain Maximilian was not permanently established in Vienna, but travelled a lot, mostly within the *Erblande* and Hungary, and also in South-Eastern Germany, to assist or represent his father in various negotiations and at the Imperial Diet. Only in the summer of 1556 Maximilian and Maria undertook another trip farther afield, to the Netherlands, in order to take leave of Charles V, whose plans to abdicate and to return to Spain had now become concrete. They travelled through Linz, Ingolstadt, Ulm, Stuttgart, Speyer, Worms, Mainz, Koblenz, Bonn, Jülich, Maastricht and Tongeren and were received by Philip in Louvain on the 16th of July and by Charles in Brussels the next day. Their stay was brief, less than three weeks, but eventful, the many festivities including a tournament on 26 July. It doubtless was emotional at least for Maria, who must have been quite conscious that she saw her father for the last time. Though brief, the stay may have given Maximilian the opportunity to update his earlier experience of the flourishing art and architecture of the Netherlands, if only because the representative character of the occasion provided ample scope for artistic endeavour.[58]

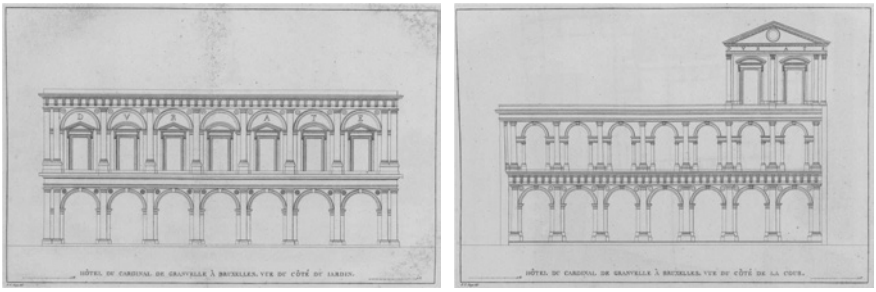
58 Holtzmann 1903, *passim*.

This update included in any case the stained-glass windows placed by the members of his family in the chapel of the Sacred Sacrament in Sainte-Gudule in Brussels since his last visit: these had been designed by Bernard van Orley and Michiel Coxcie and included elaborate and carefully designed Vitruvian architectural backdrops [Figs. 5.40–5.41]. In view of the dynastic importance of this chapel it naturally incited Maximilian's interest and he would have been particularly eager to see the window dedicated by his parents in 1546. Now he commissioned an additional window for his wife and himself, and though he probably left its details to the chapter of the church, he must have given them some instructions, if only to continue in the style, and possibly with the same master, Coxcie, who had made the earlier windows. In any case that is what happened.[59]

FIGURES 5.40–5.41 Michiel Coxcie, stained-glass window commissioned by Mary of Hungary, 1547; and detail of the stained-glass window commissioned by Charles V and Isabella of Portugal, 1537; both Brussels, Cathedral of Ste Gudule, Chapel of the Holy Sacrament.

59 Michiel Coxcie was paid for its cartoon on 1 November 1556, the stained-glass worker Pelgrim Rese for its manufacture on 13 June 1557. Unfortunately it was later destroyed, as were the windows donated by Charles V and by Philip II. The chapel was commissioned by Charles V and built 1533–1539; the other windows were given by Charles himself (Michiel Coxcie, 1542), his sister Eleanore and her husband Francis I of France (Barend van Orley, 1540), his sister Catherine and her husband, King John III of Portugal (Michiel Coxcie, 1542), his sister Mary and her late husband King Louis II of Hungary; his brother, King of the Romans Ferdinand I and his consort Anna of Hungary (Michiel Coxcie, 1546); and his son Philip and his consort Maria of Portugal (Michiel Coxcie, 1550). Boogert 1992; the relevant documents published in Lefèvre 1945.

In Brussels he also saw Charles' new garden retreat in the Warande next to the Coudenberg palace, and the extraordinary pure and up to date residence that had just been built by Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, bishop of Arras [Fig. 5.42–5.43]. Charles' odd, pentagonal pavilion was being built after designs by Jacques Du Broeucq, whose works count among the earliest in the style of the High Renaissance realized in the Netherlands. They include Mary of Hungary's residences at Binche and Mariemont (both from 1545), her fortress towns of Mariembourg (from 1546) and Philippeville (begun 1554), which was under construction at this time, and the huge and splendid castle at Boussu in Hainaut, built for one of Charles V's most faithful grandees, Jean de Hennin-Liétard, Count of Boussu, which had been begun as early as 1540 [Figs. 5.44–5.45].[60]



FIGURES 5.42–5.43 Garden and courtyard facades of the Palais Granvelle in Brussels, engraving from P.J. Goetghebuer, *Choix des monuments, édifices et maisons les plus remarquables du Royaume des Pays-Bas*, Ghent 1827.

FIGURE 5.44 Adrien de Montigny, View of the courtyard of the Château de Boussu (Hainaut, Belgium), also showing some parts of a dissassembled fountain, perhaps meant to refer to Jean de Hennin-Liétard's antiquarian interests; gouache from the *Albums de Croÿ* (ca 1607); Vienna, Österreichische Nationbalbibliothek.

FIGURE 5.45 Château de Boussu: the existing ruin of the entrance portal.

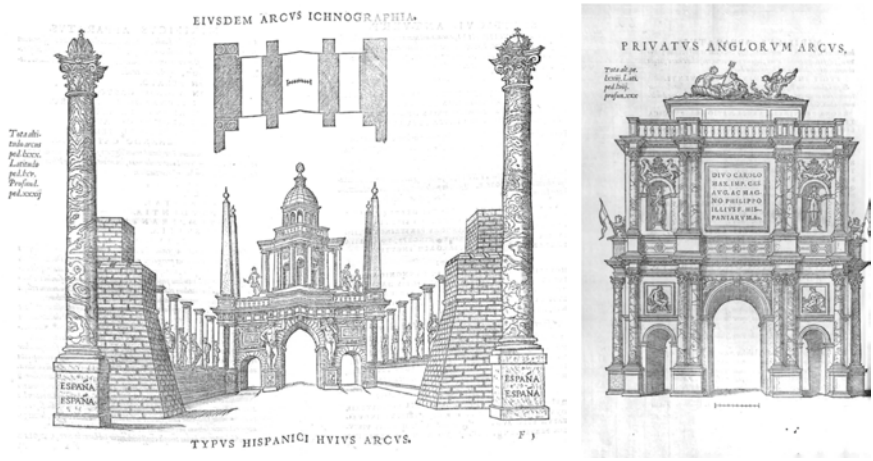
60 On Du Broeucq, see *Jacques du Broeucq, Sculpteur et Architecte de la Renaissance* 1985; De Jonge / Capouillez 1998; on the Palais Granvelle, De Jonge 2000.

Maximilian saw few, if any, of these earlier buildings in the new style in person: during his first prolonged visit to the Brussels court, in 1544–1545, Binche and Mariemont had not yet been begun, but by 1556 they had been plundered and destroyed by the French, and his stay in any case was too short and too busy to travel far outside Brussels. But he had seen Boussu during his earlier stay, when Charles and his court paid a visit to see the newly built palace of his old friend in February 1545. Jean de Hennin-Liétard had been one of Charles' commanders in Italy in the late 1520s, and had been present at the Sack of Rome, when he had been impressed by both ancient and contemporary Roman architecture. His creation predated anything similar commissioned by Charles and Mary in the Netherlands, and its influence on their patronage should not be underestimated. This is underlined by the fact that Philip II, impressed by Boussu during his own visit in 1549, sent one of his architects, Gaspar de Vega, to study and draw it while he was building his first palace in Spain, Valsaín near Segovia (1552–1556), which still shows the influence of such Netherlandish forms of the High Renaissance style.[61] Moreover Maximilian's other brother-in-law, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, owned the 'Ichnographiae zwayer palatien der grossen herren im Niderland Possu und Bins', that is a set of measured drawings of both Binche and Boussu.[62]

In the Netherlands the interest in correctly designed classical architecture was not limited to the court of Charles V and Mary of Hungary. Even more than in their residences at Brussels and Binche, this was exemplified in the festive decorations for the *joyeuses entrées* of Philip II in the various towns of Brabant and Flanders on his arrival from Spain in 1549, which were commissioned by the town-councils and the guilds of the respective towns. Of course Maximilian, who was replacing Philip as regent in Spain at that time, had not seen these extraordinary examples of dynastic and political propaganda with his own eyes, but in view of their dynastic importance, and given the intensive contacts between his court and those of Charles and Philip, he must have been informed about them. Moreover he could see what they had looked like through a series of detailed descriptions accompanied by splendid woodcut illustrations, again prepared by Pieter Coecke van Aelst [Figs. 5.46–5.47]. Though occasionally overloaded with typically Flemish strap work decoration, in their structure all the triumphal arches, theatres and other temporary decorations lining the streets of Philip's progress, displayed the correct application of the

61 De Jonge / Capouillez 1998, pp. 31–32 and 167–168.

62 According to a list of architectural material in the Munich *Hofbibliothek* predating Fickler's *Kunstkammer* inventory of 1597, BSB, Cbm. cat. 114, p. 20 f, cited in Diemer/Diemer/Sauerländer 2008, I,1, p. 57, nr. 148 (147); unfortunately these drawings have not been preserved.



FIGURES 5.46–5.47 Ceremonial entry of Philip of Spain in Antwerp, 1549: triumphal arches of the Spanish and the Flemish merchants, woodcuts by Pieter Coecke van Aalst, from Cornelius Graphaeus, *Spectaculorum in Susceptione Philippi Hispaniae Principis*, Antwerp 1550.

new Vitruvian principles of architecture, as derived from Italian and French examples.[63]

5.2.5 *The Prince as Architect: Summing Up*

It was only natural that, like his cousin Philip II, in his own architectural ambitions Maximilian would be influenced primarily by the projects undertaken by his immediate peers. The most important of these, in order of precedence and importance, were his own relatives, the Spanish Habsburgs and the King of France; the latter was both a close family connection and his dynasty's biggest rival. Then there were the various princes of the Empire and in Italy, in the first place those with whom the Habsburgs had dynastic ties and/or close political connections, such as the Dukes of Mantua, Bavaria, Saxony, Jülich-Cleves-Berg, and Andrea Doria. Finally the influence of noblemen, magnates and officials closely tied to the Habsburg interest should not be underestimated. These include, for instance, Jean de Hennin-Liétard, Count of Boussu, and the Granvelle family in the Netherlands; Bernard Cles, prince-bishop of Trent, and Gabriel Salamanca in Northern Italy and Austria, and the Fuggers in Southern Germany.

63 Discussed in detail and in their influence on Flemish architecture by Wouter Kuyper, *The Triumphant Entry of Renaissance Architecture into the Netherlands* (Kuyper 1994) and cf. Boogert 1998, p. 17 and note 22.

Such examples entailed the building of large residential buildings in an advanced, correct and relatively sober, classical style, a style which was derived from the Italian, particularly Roman, architecture of the first decades of the sixteenth century. But such emulation did not always extend to stylistic detail. It may have been the procedure that served as an example, as much as any individual design. It is striking that the patrons commissioning the most advanced, avant-garde projects all employed artists that either were Italian or had studied in Italy: Charles V, Mary of Hungary and Jean de Hennin-Liétard all employed Jacques Du Broeucq; Count Henry III of Nassau-Breda employed Tommaso Vincidor from Bologna, a pupil of Raphael; Maximilian van Egmond, Count of Buren and later Wilhelm V, Duke of Jülich, Cleves and Berg both employed Alessandro Pasqualini, also from Bologna, and Granvelle employed an as yet unidentified but certainly Italian or Italianate architect.

It should be noted that none of these architects were master masons, none of them were menial craftsmen: they all were painters or sculptors, sharing a common artistic and intellectual training, and therefore were capable of exchanging ideas and advice directly with their patrons. That is, they were architects more or less conforming to Vitruvius' ideal type of the architect as an intellectual.

Apart from Boussu, which was not yet finished when he saw it last, Maximilian could inspect the beneficial effect of employing such learned architects at least in one instance in great detail. This was in Jülich, where Maximilian twice visited his sister Maria and her husband Wilhelm V, Duke of Jülich-Cleves-Berg [Fig. 5.48], with whom Maximilian always maintained a good personal relationship. Under Duke Wilhelm's aegis the small fortified town was completely remodelled and fortified in the modern manner by Alessandro Pasqualini, who also designed the town hall and the church steeple.

Most imposing was the huge citadel Pasqualini added on one side of the town, within which he constructed a residential palace, realizing the archetype of the 'palazzo in fortezza' as proposed by Serlio [Figs. 5.49–5.53].[64]

The actual palace is very reminiscent of Boussu both in choice of material and in lay-out, four wings around a courtyard lined with colonnades carrying galleries. The architectural detail, in particular of the chapel, but also of the staircases and door surrounds both inside and outside, is of an astonishing sophistication [Figs. 5.49, 5.52 and 5.53]. There can be no doubt that Maximilian was impressed by Jülich's fortifications and by the ducal residence, both

64 Maximilian visited Jülich twice in 1556, from 12–14 July and from 10–13 August (Holtzmann 1903, pp. 276–277 and 288–289); on the fortifications and the Residenzschloß at Jülich, a.o. Büren/Kupka 2005; on Pasqualini, Büren 1995.

FIGURE 5.48 Heinrich Aldegrever, Wilhelm V, Duke of Jülich, Cleves and Berg, engraving, 1540.

FIGURE 5.49 Jülich, Ducal palace, rustic portal and window surrounds, ca 1550.

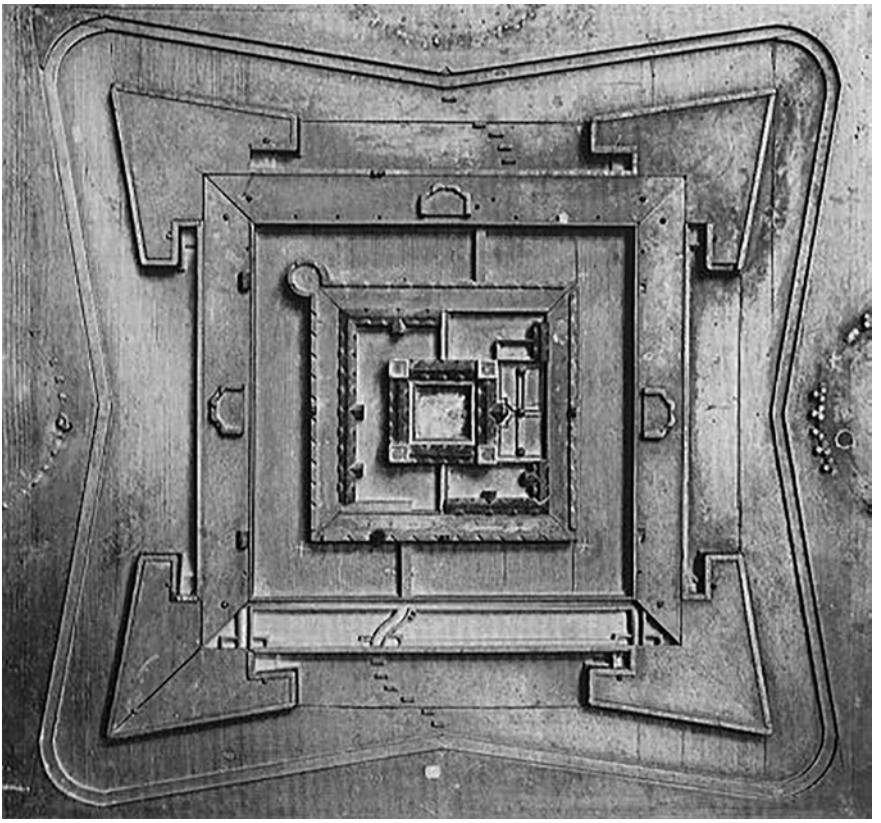


FIGURE 5.50 By or after Alessandro Pasqualini: the original model for the construction of the citadel at Jülich, ca 1547.

FIGURES 5.51–5.53 Jülich: exterior and interior of the chapel, and door surround in staircase hall, 1547–1556.

examples of the most advanced and sophisticated design of the day. It is conceivable that he was given a guided tour by his brother in-law, or perhaps by Alessandro Pasqualini himself, who as Duke Wilhelm's principal engineer and architect had been responsible for their design and construction.

5.3 'Adeste Musae': Maximilian's Hunting Lodge and Garden in the Prater

Such experience cannot have failed to influence Maximilian, who had great aspirations in his youth and wished, as he had written to Hans Jakob Fugger from Spain, to leave some memorial of himself.[65] Examples such as Jülich may have incited him to emulate his brother-in-law and tempted him to underline his status by commissioning projects of similar size or splendour. His material circumstances being limited, however, he must have realized that it was wiser to attempt to rival the sophistication of his cousins' and in-laws' enterprises, rather than such size and splendour.

5.3.1 *Hvězda and the Prater* Lusthaus*: The Type and Its Models*

Such emulation of foreign princes may have played a role when, at about the time of his second visit to Brussels, Maximilian built his hunting-lodge in the Prater and began laying out its gardens. But here emulation of his own younger brother was probably of greater importance: it can hardly be a coincidence

65 Cf. above, Ch. 5.2.1; and Fichtner 2001, pp. 22–23.

that Maximilian and Ferdinand built their hunting lodges in Vienna and Prague at exactly the same time, in 1555, and in a very similar situation. The location of the *Grünes Lusthaus* was indicated as 'Ad Puteum Cervinum', 'at the deer fountain', i.e. in a hunting preserve, while Hvězda was built in what was called a 'Tiergarten', likewise an animal and game preserve. Though except for its cruciform plan we do not know exactly what the Prater *Lusthaus* looked like—it was replaced in 1781–83 by the still existing pavilion designed by Isidore Canevale—it is clear that both hunting lodges are similar in conception and both were richly decorated. Most striking is perhaps that both were carefully documented at the time. The designs of Hvězda mentioned earlier were carefully copied in a set of presentation drawings [Figs. 5.22–5.24; 5.55] and the complex was described in a Latin poem by Vavřinec Špan ze Španova, *Ferdinandopyrgum.* Maximilian's *Lusthaus* was documented in a learned, Latin treatise by a Vienna lawyer and Greek scholar, Georg Tanner, illustrated by plans of its gardens by Bonifaz Wolmut [Figs. 5.54 and 5.65–5.69].[66]

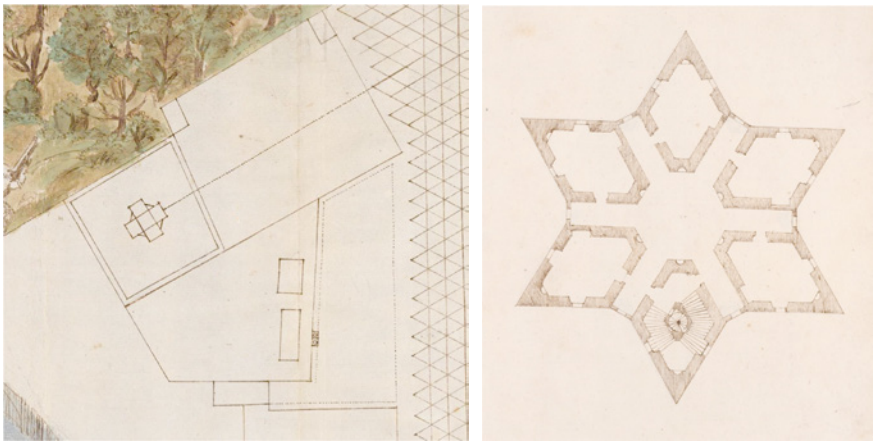


FIGURE 5.54 Plan of the Grünes Lusthaus, built 1555–57 for Maximilian II in the Prater just outside Vienna; detail from the plan inserted in Georg Tanner's description (1557).

FIGURE 5.55 Plan of Hvězda, ground floor; presentation drawing by unknown Italian draughtsman after an autograph by Archduke Ferdinand, 1555.

66 Tanner described the location of Maximilian's *Lusthaus* as 'ad Puteum cervinum', 'am Hirschbrunnen'. The drawings of Hvězda are in Vienna, ÖNB-HS, *Cod. min.* 108; as is Špan's poem, Cod. 9902 (with a provenance from Ferdinand's library at Ambras); on Hvězda, see now Dobalová/ Hausenblasová / Muchka 2014; also Simons 2009, pp. 99–130, which supplies the earlier bibliography, and Dobalová 2009, pp.203–213; Tanner's description of the Prater hunting lodge: *Brevis Et Dilucida Domini Dom. Maximiliani Inclyti Regis Bohemiae et Archiducis Austriae ec. Viennae Ad Danubii Ripas Et Diaetae Seu Amoenarii Ad Puteum*

All this suggest that the two houses were built in conscious emulation of one another. This corresponds with what we know of the personal rivalry between Maximilian—who was titular King of Bohemia and future Emperor, but was given little direct authority by his father—and his brother Ferdinand, who as regent for the Emperor actually governed his elder brother's kingdom. Such antagonism is not, however, necessary to explain their competition, which might just as well be interpreted as the friendly emulation of brothers enthusiastically engaging in a common hobby. Certainly their choice of unusual, centralized, geometrical ground plans for their country houses indicates that each was aware of what the other was doing, and they may well have discussed their experiments in their leisure hours.

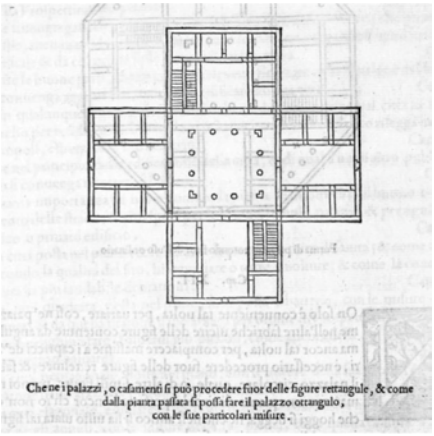
Ivan Muchka has suggested that Hvězda was inspired by similarly unusual plans for palaces in the fourth of Pietro Cataneo's *I primi quattro libri di architettura*, which had come off the Aldine press in Venice only the year before [Figs. 5.56–5.57].[67] In fact Cataneo actually describes his proposals as a sort of geometrical experiment:

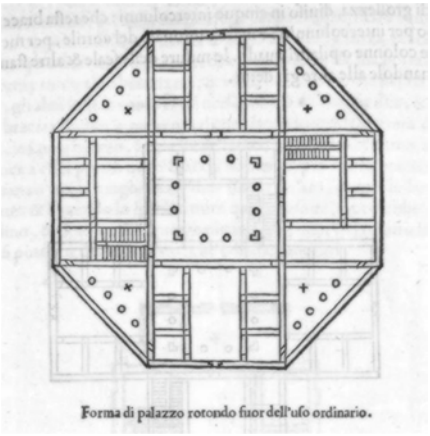
> [Ch. X:] It is a good thing to change sometimes from the ordinary buildings, by which often one obtains both the favour of the Republic or of one's patron, and the praise of the general public. For that reason I have shown various inventions that came to my mind. In the first place a plan in the form of a cross, derived from a square. And because its wings jut out on all sides, its rooms abound with beautiful light all over <…>
>
> [Ch. XI:] In building houses or palaces, one can even go beyond rectangular forms, giving them a plan of hexagonal or octagonal form, or with even more angles and sides <…>
>
> [Ch. XI:] And not only is it sometimes convenient, for variation's sake, both in palaces and other buildings, to depart from rectangular figures; sometimes it is even necessary, better to conform to the whims of the patron, to depart from rectilinear figures, and to build the palace according to a circular or oval plan, or some other similar figure.[68]

Cervinum, Et Horti, Et Inprimis Veteris Quincuncis Descriptio, Authore Georgio Tannero (1558), in Vienna, ÖNB-HS, Cod. 8085; text printed in Chmel 1840–1841, 2, pp. 276–292. Cf. Lietzmann 1987, pp. 29–30; Almási 2009, pp. 115–119; Dobalová 2009, pp.213–218; Van Gelder 2011, pp.62–66.

67 Cataneo 1554; Muchka's suggestion in *Rudolf II And Prague* 1997, III.243; cf. Muchka 2002.

68 Cataneo 1554, f. 52v.–53v.: <Cap. X.>: 'Bella cosa è veramente il variare da gli edificii ordinarii: di che molte volte con lode universale se ne acquista la gratia della repubblica,



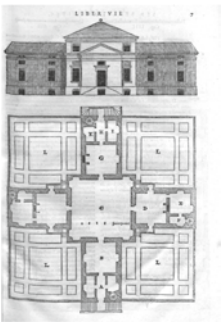


FIGURES 5.56–5.57 Pietro Cataneo, designs for centrally planned houses, from his *I primi quattro libri dell'architettura*, Venice 1554, Book iv, Ch. x and xi.

It should be noted, however, that such ideas were in the air: thus Giulio Romano, Sebastiano Serlio [Fig. 5.58] and Jacques Androuet du Cerceau all three experimented at the time with unusual plans, but it seems unlikely that these could have been available to the two Archdukes before the arrival of Jacopo Strada.[69] On the other hand they may well have been aware of Antonio da Sangallo's as yet unfinished project for the Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola, which had been built for Ottavio and Alessandro Farnese, the husband and the brother-in-law of their cousin, Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Parma [Fig. 5.60]. Sangallo's pentagonal plan derived from the new fortification techniques developed by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century engineers in response to

o del suo Signor. Sforzerommi per tanto di più inventioni, che mi vengono in mente <…> prima in pianta un palazzo à crociera, tratto dal quadro. et essendo intorno spiccato, abbonderanno per tutto le sue stanze di bellissimi lumi <…>'; <Cap. XI.> 'Potrassi ancor procedere ne i casamenti, o palazzi fuor delle figure rettangule, facendo il palazzo esagono, ottangulo, et di piu anguli et lati, di varie et diverse maniere, secondo il desiderio di chi edifica <…>'; <Cap. XII.> 'Non solo è conveniente tal volta, per variare, così ne' palazzi come nell'altre fabriche uscire delle figure contenute da anguli retti; ma ancor tal volta, per compiacere massime à i capricci de' Signori, è necessario procedere fuor delle figure rettelinee, et fabricare il palazzo circulare, ovale, o di altre simili figure <…>'.

69 For instance Serlio in his *Sesto Libro*, which was never published, Pl. XIX, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXII and XL, and in his *Settimo Libro* , published by Strada only in 1575, a.o. Pl. XIII, XVIII and XXI; and Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, in his *Livre d'architecture … contenant les plans et dessaings de cinquante bastimens tous differens…*, Paris, Benoît Prévôt, 1559, pl. XVI, XXVIII, XXXV, XLIII, XLIIII, XLVIII and XLIX. The rare examples of Giulio's architectural designs preserved in the Codex Chlumczansky in Prague, from Strada's holdings, included several centralized villas; cf. Giulio Romano 1987, pp. 516–519.



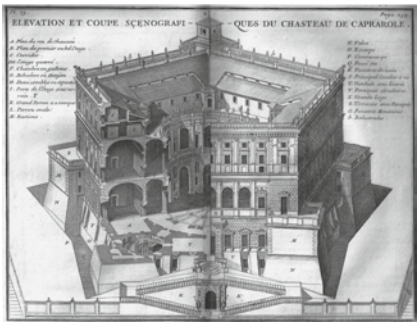


FIGURE 5.58 Sebastiano Serlio, Villa on a cruciform plan, from the *Settimo Libro* (1575).
FIGURE 5.59 Giulio Romano, Colombaio (dovecote) or torre stellare, Corte Castiglioni (Marcaria, Mantua, 1545–1549).
FIGURE 5.60 Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane, completed by Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, Villa Farnese at Caprarola, begun 1529; in an engraving from Augustin-Charles d'Aviler, *Cours d'Architecture*, (1691).

the advent of artillery (which also takes up a substantial part of Cataneo's treatise).[70] This is not, however, the case for other forms of centralized planning, where the 'esprit de géometrie' must have played the leading role.

A quite enigmatical example for Hvězda is the odd 'torre stellare', a pavilion or tower on a polygonal, star shaped plan, built in 1546 in the garden of the Corte Castiglioni in Marcaria near Mantua, for Camillo Castiglione, according to plans provided by Giulio Romano [Fig. 5.59]. The connection with Baldassare Castiglione, Camillo's father, is suggestive: Baldassare was the protector of both Raphael and Giulio Romano and spent his last years as Papal Nuncio at the court of Charles V. Because of his great interest in classical architecture, he has sometimes been credited with the design of Charles' palace in Granada. If Howard Burns' intuition that Giulio's designs for the *torre stellare* harked back to ideas of Baldassare himself is correct, that would have added to their status in Mantua. As a brand new example of gracious living its reputation could have reached Ferdinand through his sister Catherine, widow of Duke Francesco III. Moreover there is a good chance that his brother, Maximilian, had actually seen the tower when it was just completed, since on his trips to and from Spain he could hardly have passed the Villa, which is situated on the

70 The small but exquisite hunting lodge at Maulnes in Burgundy, the best French parallel to Hvězda, was built 1566–1573, for Antoine de Crussol, duc d'Uzès, and his wife Louise de Clermont-Tonnerre, sister of Serlio's patron at Ancy-le-Franc. Its pentagonal plan, however, derives from the Caprarola prototype.

road from Mantua to Cremona, without accepting Camillo Castiglione's invitation to break his journey at least on one of these occasions.[71]

FIGURE 5.61 Prague, hunting-lodge Hvězda (Schloss Stern), built 1555–1560 for Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol, as seen from the White Mountain.

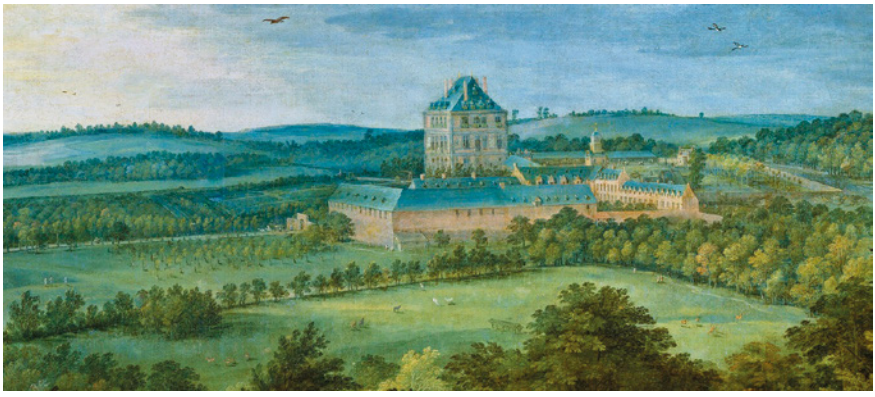
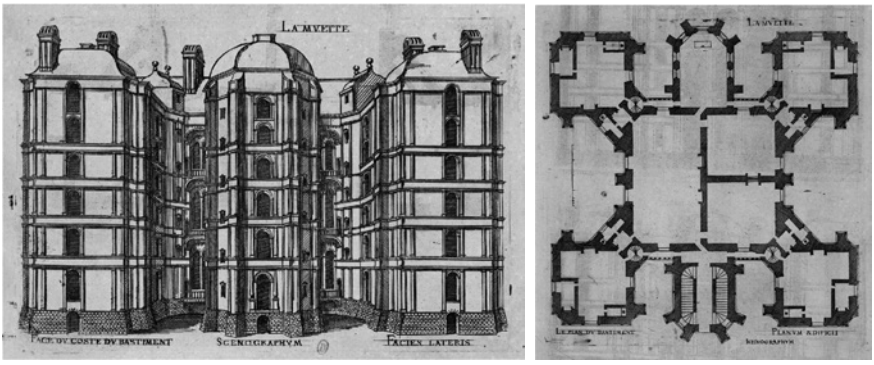


FIGURE 5.62 The Château de Mariemont, detail from Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Archdukes Ferdinand and Isabella hunting at Mariemont*, ca 1611; Madrid, Museo del Prado.

71 Castiglione spent the last years of his life as Papal Nuncio at the Spanish court—he died of the plague at Toledo in 1529—where he was very highly regarded. In view of his standing it is not inconceivable that (copies of) some of his sketches were still circulating at the Imperial court. But Ferdinand might also have had access to Giulio's project by virtue of the close connections between the Austrian Habsburgs and the Gonzaga: his sister Catherine was the widow of Duke Francesco III († 1550), and a second sister, Eleanor, would marry Francesco's successor Guglielmo in 1561. The *torre stellare* did not function as a hunting lodge and belvedere (it had few, very small windows), but as a private retreat:

However, the immediate model—or at least the inspiration—for the houses of both archdukes was the hunting lodge built in 1546–1549 by their aunt, the dowager Queen Mary of Hungary and Regent of the Netherlands for her brother Charles V, at her domain Mariemont a few miles from her country palace at Binche in Hainaut. It was designed by her architect Jacques du Broeucq, whom we have already met as the designer of Boussu, and who also remodelled Mary's principal residence at Binche and created its huge banqueting hall. Mariemont consisted of a square box of three stories surrounded by a few lower annexes, set in the middle of an ample hunting preserve [Fig. 5.62].[72]

Such retreats may have been a family hobby: some years later Charles V himself had a small house built, again designed by Du Broeucq, in the 'Warande', the animal preserve close to his palace at Brussels, for which a three-dimensional model of Chambord, in the possession of Cardinal Granvelle, appears to have been consulted.[73] Both Archdukes spent periods at the court of Charles and Mary both in Brussels and elsewhere, and must have heard about or even seen something of these projects.



FIGURES 5.63–5.64 Château de la Muette, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1542–1549, elevation and plan from Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Les plus excellents bastiments de France*, I, 1576.

it was only accessible directly from the patron's apartment through a bridge on the upper level connecting it with the main building, and its lower floor seems to have functioned as 'stufa', or heated bathroom. The top floor, on the other hand, functioned as the traditional *colombaia* or dovecote of an Italian country house; cf. Howard Burns and Pier Nicola Pagliara in *Giulio Romano* 1987, pp. 526–527.

72 It was destroyed by the French in 1554, but restored 1555–1559 under Du Broeucq's direction, and later extended for the Archdukes Albrecht and Isabella. Jan ('Velvet') Brueghel made several paintings of it: in conjunction with the detailed accounts, these provide sufficient information for a reconstruction of the original hunting lodge, given in De Jonge 2005.

73 Boogert 1998, pp. 60, 141, 161.

If they knew about Chambord, which had been built for Francis I, king of France and husband of their aunt Eleanor, they may have known about La Muette, another project of Francis I that provides an interesting parallel to Mariemont and the hunting-lodges in Prague and Vienna [Figs. 5.63–5.64]. La Muette was a hunting lodge built between 1542 and 1549 in the park of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, and its very name implies its function as a retreat from the pressures at court. But it also served as a belvedere from which (the ladies of?) the court could follow the hunt in the surrounding wood at leisure. Both functions are explicitly referred to in the relevant entry in Du Cerceau's *Les plus excellents bastiments de France*:

> The late François de Valois, King of France, chose a site close to a small marsh where the red deer, exhausted from the chase, hid themselves, and he had this house built here, to have the pleasure of seeing how they were done to death; and he called it La Muette, for being in a secret and remote place, and surrounded by forest on all sides.[74]

In his comment David Thomson points out that 'the form of hunting lodges or pleasure houses was always the object of daring experiments', and that is certainly the case at La Muette: like Mariemont it is a tall block-like pavilion in the midst of a wood, but it is built on a quite audacious centralized plan, consisting of a square tower with smaller, almost detached towers or pavilions on each corner, and a chapel and staircase tower tacked onto two of its facades. Such parallels leave little doubt about the function of the Archdukes' two similar lodges: both were built likewise in wooded country rich in big game, in particular deer. They offered a convenient place to meet for the hunt, to cater for and enjoy the huntsmen's picnic, and to provide shelter and entertainment for participants and invited onlookers in case of adverse .[75]

5.3.2 *The Function of the Prater Lusthaus and Hvězda*

Such outings, providing small-scale entertainment for a select group of close friends or important guests may also have been organized independently from

74 Androuet du Cerceau/ Thomson 1988, p. 103: 'Feu François de Valois, Roy de France <…> choisit un endroit [in the forest of St Germain] pres d'un petit marescage <…> où les bestes rousses lassees du travail de la chasse se retiroyent: et y feit dresser ceste maison, pour avoir le plaisir de veoir la fin d'icelles, et la nomma la Muette, comme lieu secret, & separé, & fermé de bois de tous costez <…>'. and *ibid*., p. 104.

75 *ibid.* p. 108. François I built a similar hunting lodge at Challuau, near Fontainebleau, for his mistress, the Duchesse d'Étampes, according to Du Cerceau again because 'qu'audict bois prochain y avoit grande quantité de cerfs', *ibid*. p. 291. Girouard 1978 cites English instances of hunting lodges that conform to the pattern, often located in special game preserves, from the fifteenth and early sixteenth (pp. 76–78) and the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (pp. 106–108).

a hunting event. In England a similar function was fulfilled by small lodges that were confusingly known as 'banqueting houses'.[76] Both as hunting lodges and as 'banqueting houses' Hvězda and the Prater *Lusthaus* played a role within the representation of the two archdukes, and perhaps of the Emperor himself. This is obvious from the fact alone that both were sumptuously decorated: Hvězda with the still existent elegant stucco decorations, the Prater *Lusthaus* with stucchi, painting and precious marble:

> Two years ago King Maximilian had constructed at magnificent expense a truly regal house, filled with ample rooms and fountains inlaid in various marbles and richly decorated with most elegant painting in gold, silver and other vivid colours, in the midst of a vast or rather immense area filled with poplars and oak trees of unusual size.[77]

But they provided the informal side of the necessary representation, geared to pleasure and *otium*, rather than formal representation of state, which concentrated on pomp and magnificence. Madelon Simons therefore rightly questions the role of Hvězda as an explicit 'theatre of representation'. Occasionally Hvězda may well have played a role in official representation, but rather than a principal motivation for its construction, that was a coincidence, a corollary of its more personal, private function. Like La Muette, the English lodges and the *Torre stellare* of the Corte Castiglione, Hvězda and the Grünes *Lusthaus* offered their patrons a private retreat from the court, used for private study and contemplation, for physical exercise, and for private entertainment. A sort of weekend home used to recuperate from the pressure of affairs and to escape from the attentions of obsequious courtiers and importunate suitors.[78] In his description of the Prater *Lusthaus* Georg Tanner explicitly formulates this combined function. Its function as a hunting lodge is clear from the description of the woods which encircle the house on three sides,

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76 Girouard 1978, pp. 104–108. These also often showed eccentric forms; Girouard's color plate IX illustrates a triangular lodge dating from 1595: an ancestor of the eighteenth-century 'follies'.

77 Chmel 1840–1841, 2, p. 282: 'Ante biennium clementissimus *Rex Maximilianus* magnificis sumptibus regiam plane domum magna coenaculorum et puteorum marmore incrustatorum varietate, elegantissimis picturis, auro argento, aliisque vivis coloribus ornatissimam, in ingenti ac fere immenso campo inusitatae magnitudinis populis et quercubus refertissimo extrui curavit'.

78 Maximilian repeatedly used to disappear from Vienna for this purpose, for instance when he kindly but firmly dissuaded the Papal Nuncio, Stanislas Hosius, to follow him into the country. Hunting lodges such as Louis XIV's Marly (ca. 1679–1684), Clemenswerth built for Clemens August, Elector of Cologne (ca 1737–1747) fit into this tradition, though Juvara's

> <…> from where the deer come down all the way to the very lodge, and almost obtrude themselves to <the huntsmen's> nets, spears and bullets <…>.

a passage which seems to prefigure Du Cerceau's comment on La Muette cited above.[79] Earlier, Tanner had explained how this 'Royal Forest' was easily reached from town both on horseback and by boat, and continued:

> Because this place, dedicated to the hunt and the royal pleasure, likewise is most suitable for all convenient sorts of honest physical exercise that maintain good health, His Royal Roman Majesty [= Ferdinand I] often uses to come here to refresh his soul, fatigued by his heavy cares, and to recreate himself without undesired disturbance.[80]

The passage illustrates how the *Lusthaus*, representing an uncontroversial common interest, served as a bond between Maximilian and his widowed father, allowing him to express the respect and love he felt for him by offering his hospitality, and giving Ferdinand a chance to show his appreciation of his son's project. It thus helped them to maintain some personal contact at a time when their conflict over Maximilian's attitude in religious matters was deepening. But Maximilian himself also used it for private contemplation, at least that must be why its garden included a 'iucundissimus *Labyrinthus*' consisting of hedges of fragrant plants such as myrtle and laurel, in the midst of which could be found 'tria amoenissima cubicula', three most pleasant chambers constructed of hedges of evergreen shrubs, keeping out the sun, and therefore 'perfectly

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immense *Palazzina della Caccia* at Stupinigi, built 1727–1731 for Vittorio Amedeo II of Savoy, perhaps less so.

79 Georg Tanner, *Brevis et dilucida Domini Do. Maximiliani inclyti regis Bohemiae et Archiducis Austriae etc. Viennae ad Danubii ripas et diaetae seu amoenarii ad Puteum Cervinum, et horti, et inprimis veteris quincuncis descriptio*, Vienna, ÖNB-HS, Cod. 8085; description and long excerpts in Chmel 1840–1841, 2, pp. 276–292; p. 284: 'Unde cervi ad ipsam Diaetam usque prodeunt, et se ipsos telis, venabulis et Bombardiis quasi obiiciunt…'. The larger hunting-lodge at Augustusburg near Chemnitz, constructed 1568–1572 for Elector August of Saxony, demonstrates this function clearly: even today the forest comes up to walls of the castle, which was surrounded by a hanging gallery at roof level, allowing its owner and his guests not only to see, but possibly also to shoot the deer driven under the walls by beaters on the ground.

80 Tanner, *Brevis et dilucida* <…> *diaetae descriptio*, as cited in Chmel 1840–1841, 2, p. 283: 'Quare cum hic locus Venationi tanquam Regiae voluptati, adeoque omnibus honestissimorum exercitiorum bonae valetudini tuendae convenientissimorum generibus sit aptissimus, Romana Regia Maiestas animum gravissimis curia defessum ibi plerunque reficere, et sine interpellatoribus oblectare solet'.

adapted for the King's recreation and profound reflections, in short for every honest and civilized study'.[81]

The personal nature of the *Grünes Lusthaus* when compared with most of Maximilian's other commissions, coupled to Georg Tanner's manuscript explaining some of its guiding ideas, makes it valuable in an attempt to come a little closer to Maximilian's attitude to architecture and to cultural patronage in general. Tanner's manuscript, *Brief and explanatory description of King Maximilian of Bohemia's lodge or pleasure house at the Hirschbrunnen, its gardens and especially of the ancient quincunx* was dedicated to Maximilian in May 1557.[82] It was written after a visit to the Prater when the complex had already been realized, and it served in part as an *in memoriam* for his host on that occasion, the Imperial Councillor Sebastian Huetstocker, who had been

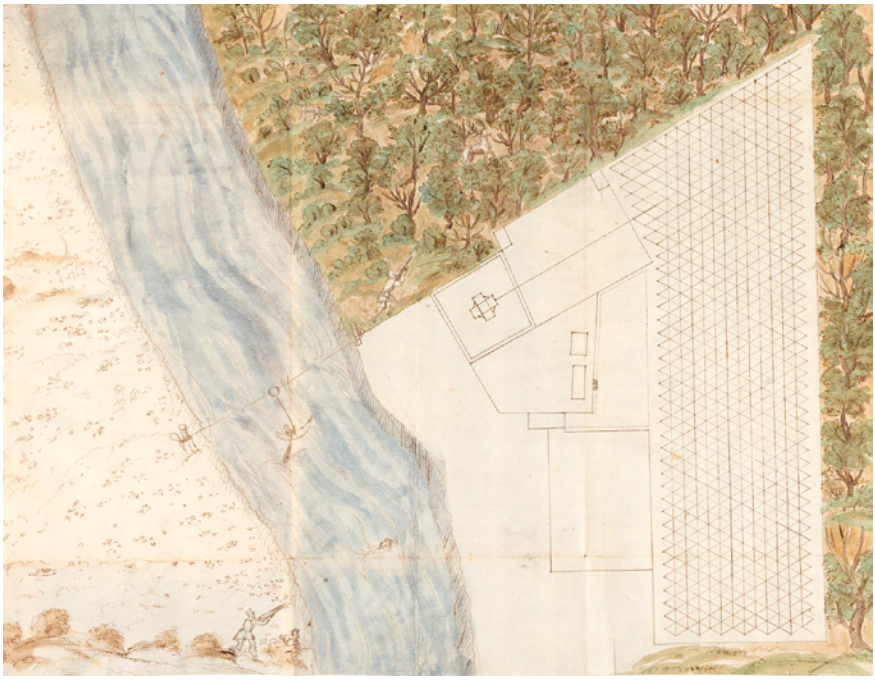
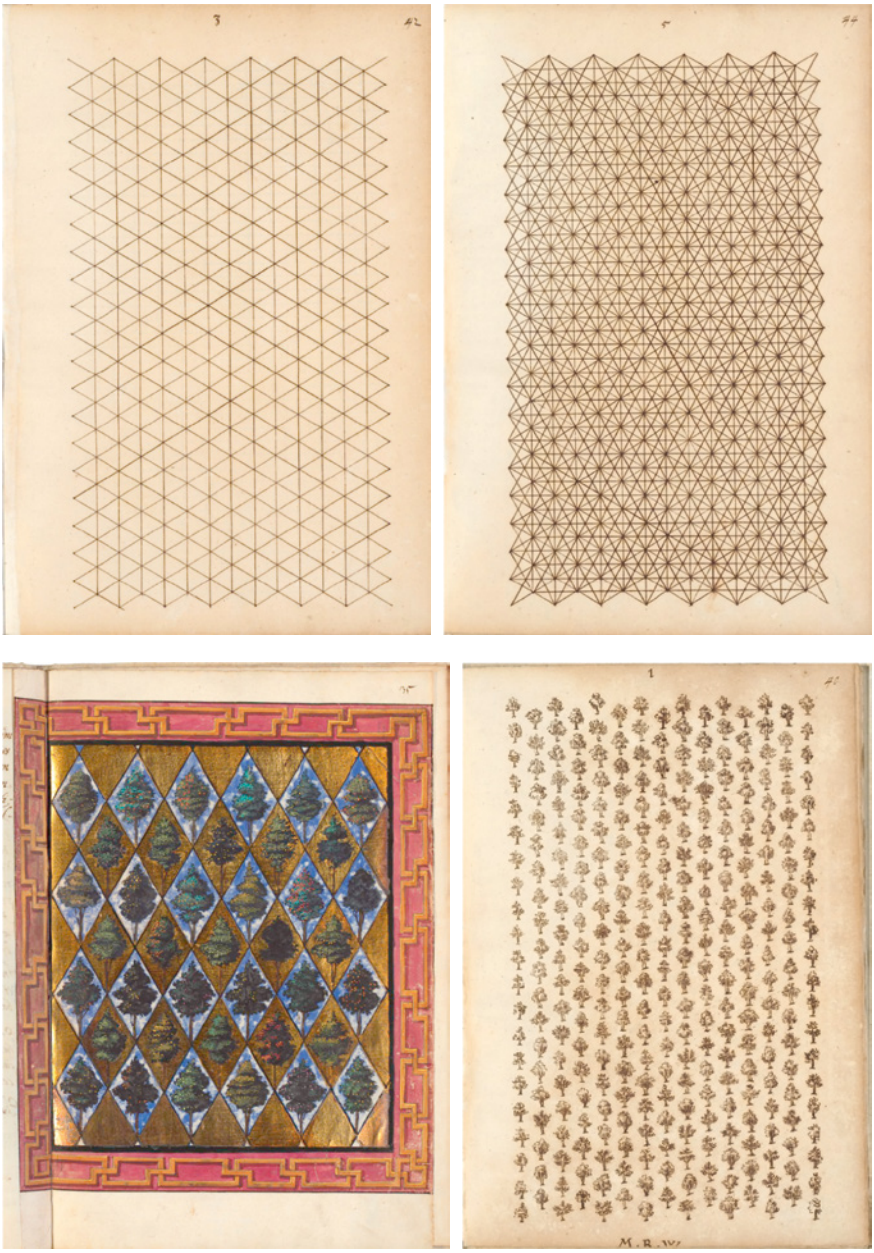


FIGURE 5.65 Bonifaz Wolmut, plan of the Grünes Lusthaus, built 1555 for Maximilian II, and the adjoining garden and orchard on the Prater island laid out 1556–57, from Georg Tanner's description (1557).

81 Tanner, *Brevis et dilucida <…> diaetae descriptio*, as cited in Chmel 1840–1841, 2, p. 286: 'Sunt et in eodem ordine [= the labyrinth] Tria amoenissima cubicula, opaca et frondibus fere perpetuo virentia, pergulis camerariis, una cum labruscis (Unde Omphacion seu Agresta conficitur) eas ambientibus, ut solis ardoribus minus infestari possit. Regiae quieti et arduis considerationibus, omnibus denique musis et honestissimis studiis aptissima <…>

82 Tanner, *Brevis et dilucida <…> diaetae descriptio*, ms. cited above; cf. Rudolf 1995, pp. 179–181; Almási 2009, pp. 115–119.



FIGURES 5.66–5.69 Bonifaz Wolmut, two geometrical schemes for a quincunx pattern and designs of an orchard planted according to the quincunx scheme, illustrations from Georg Tanner's description of Maximilian II's Grünes Lusthaus.

responsible for some of its features and their execution. But it also served to publicize Tanner's own wide erudition, so his interpretations cannot automatically be assumed to coincide always with Maximilian's intentions. Nevertheless it is likely that Tanner's remarks complement and refine, rather than conflict with the King's own ideas; at the very least they represent ideas current in his immediate circle.

5.3.3 *Maximilian's Personal Participation*

After the fulsome dedicatory epistle, the actual treatise opens with Tanner's paraphrase of a passage from Xenophon's *Economist*, describing how the great Persian King Cyrus showed Lysander, a Greek envoy, his garden or 'Paradise' at Sardis, and stressing how this wonderful garden full of fragrant shrubs and regularly placed trees was designed and measured out in person by Cyrus himself, who had actually planted many of the trees with his own hands.[83] Later in the text Tanner extends the parallel implied between the Sardis 'Paradise' and the Vienna Prater to include Maximilian's personal participation, when he describes how the King, on 21 May 1556, himself stretched a string from the central window of the *Lusthaus*, and began setting out the limits of the planned orchards and fixing the spots of the individual trees, some of which he planted himself.[84] This confirms Crato's assertion in his funeral oration for Maximilian cited above.

If Maximilian took the trouble to execute the plans in person, it is also possible that he was chiefly responsible for the actual planning or designing that must have preceded it. If so, he must have been assisted by a professional who worked out the calculations and transformed his sketches into definitive plans: the obvious candidate is Bonifaz Wolmut, who shared the humanist interest and expertise necessary to understand the King's ambitions, and who provided the illustrations for Tanner's manuscript [Figs. 5.65–5.69].[85] Tanner strongly emphasizes the fact that the garden was laid out and that the trees were planted

83 *ibidem*, pp. 281–282; Xenophon, *The Economist*, IV; cf. the English translation by H.G. Dakyns: 'Lysander, it seems, had gone with presents sent by the Allies to Cyrus, who entertained him, and amongst other marks of courtesy showed him his 'Paradise' at Sardis. (16) Lysander was astonished at the beauty of the trees within, all planted (17) at equal intervals, the long straight rows of waving branches, the perfect regularity, the rectangular (18) symmetry of the whole, and the many sweet scents which hung about them as they paced the park. In admiration he exclaimed to Cyrus: 'All this beauty is marvellous enough, but what astonishes me still more is the talent of the artificer who mapped out and arranged for you the several parts of this fair scene'. (19) Cyrus was pleased by the remark, and said: 'Know then, Lysander, it is I who measured and arranged it all. Some of the trees', he added, 'I planted with my own hands'. Tanner, whose description is more extensive, may have used a later paraphrase or translation, perhaps Cicero's?

84 Chmel 1840–1841, 2, pp. 263–264.

85 *ibidem*, p. 289, attributes the general plan [Fig. 5.65] to Wolmut; the drawing of the orchard is signed MBW (for '<de> manu Bonifacii Wolmut '?).

according to a specific geometrical scheme or figure, the *quincunx*. This is the configuration of five points within a square or rectangle, four at the corners and one in the centre, for instance the way the number five is disposed on a die or a playing card. It is a scheme perfectly suited to repetitive applications such as the planting of a wood or orchard [Fig. 5.66–5.69].[86]

Tanner strongly emphasizes the geometrical and arithmetical aspect of the application of the quincunx to the garden, supplying all the measurements of the lay-out. It was probably no coincidence that it was Paul Fabricius, the court-mathematician, who provided the laudatory 'Epigramma', in fact a 22-line ode, preceding Tanner's text:

Struxit et ad ripam spatiosum fluminis \ hortum	He also constructed a spacious garden at the \ river's bank
In quo QUINCUNCIS culta figura patet.	In which the elegant figure of the QUINCUNX \ stands out.
Solus ibi QUINCVNX disponit in ordine \ plantas,	There the QUINCUNX alone arranges the \ plants in order
Ponit et exiguo plura vireta loco.[87]	And adds green pavilions in a small space.

This geometrical concern provides a parallel to Hvězda, where the house itself was designed using a geometrical figure based on the number six. Surely it is no coincidence that Ferdinand's six-pointed star and Maximilian's quincunx are both celebrated in poetic epigraphs emphasizing their patrons' personal geometrical involvement? Moreover a case might be made that the ground plan of the *Lusthaus* itself foreshadowed the lay-out of the orchards in the quincunx system, for a cross inscribed in a square is itself an example of the quincunx. A plan such as is suggested by Cataneo [Fig. 5.56], where the central space is a courtyard or atrium—that is an open space corresponding to the four open spaces in the corners—makes that particularly clear.

The choice of the quincunx for the lay-out of Maximilian's orchards was not, however, his original invention. It had been suggested to him by Sebastian Huetstocker, who in his turn had been reminded of it by local humanists such as Joannes Ludovicus Brassicanus and the chancellor of Lower Austria, Marcus Beck von Leopoldsdorf.[88] As true humanists they had found the idea in

86 The continuous appeal to learned gardeners of Cyrus' garden and its quincunx pattern is exemplified by Sir Thomas Browne's hermetic treatise, *The Garden of Cyrus, or The Quincuncial Lozenge, or Network Plantations of the Ancients, naturally, artificially, mystically considered*, London 1658.

87 Chmel 1840–1841, p. 276. I am grateful to Bernhard Schirg for help with the translation.

88 *ibidem*, p. 263: 'Hac foecondissima plantandarum arborum ratione ab ipso Huetstokero Regi Maximiliano eposita, tantopere Rex delectatus est, ut citra moram huiusmiodiu Quincuncialem Seriem ex arboribus sylvestribus per universum Hortum ichoari iusserit'.

classical literature, and a large part of Tanner's treatise is dedicated to listing and quoting the classical sources on the lay-out and management of gardens, and in particular the quincunx, including Columella's *De Re Rustica*, Virgil's *Georgica* and Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*. These are mostly practical treatises on agriculture and husbandry, and Tanner actually stresses the functional use of Maximilian's garden, which included not only orchards but also herbal and kitchen gardens. Next to its recreational and representative functions, the domain was useful in providing the Vienna court with the game, the vegetables and the fruits—often exclusive, exotic ones—that it needed in large quantities.[89] This practical aspect also applies to the quincunx, which is praised not merely for its geometrical perfection, but also because it gave the individual trees more space and better protected them against adverse weather conditions.[90]

Of course we do not know whether Maximilian himself had studied all of these texts. When Tanner was asked to prepare the description of the garden, he may have begun collecting such classical instances to vindicate the King's project *ex post facto*. But it seems more likely that he merely added to the arguments and ideas that had inspired the design of Maximilian's garden, and that the King had read at least some of these texts himself—though possibly he limited himself to the relevant passages pointed out to him by advisors such as Huetstocker. That he should have read such texts is not really odd, in view of his intelligence, his gift for languages and his well documented personal interest in gardening. It could moreover be justified because such texts often made part of, or complemented more general arguments of domestic economy, and were therefore of immediate practical use for an efficient administration of his patrimony, and, by analogy, also for the proper government of his states. That at least is the point made by Tanner's opening quotation, taken from a treatise entitled 'The Economist' and describing the gardening activities of a prince who is explicitly presented as the ideal ruler. Like his *Cyropedeia*, Xenophon's *Economist* was perfectly suitable for the education of a prince, and in some version it may already have been among the reading material assigned to Maximilian by his teachers long before he ever thought of building or of gardening.

Yet the general tenor of Tanner's description of the King's 'amoenissimus hortus' is to sing the praises of the many animals that inhabited its groves, the many species of birds whose sweet music filled the air, the flowers that bejewelled its meadows:

89 *ibidem*, p. 286, for instance: 'Is prope sepem circum circa oblonga et amoenissima ambulatione vitbus odoratis, et iis quiem laetissimis consitus in quotidianum Culinae usum, ut salubres (ut Virgilius inquit) corpori praebat cibos, prudenter destinatus est'.

90 *ibidem*, p. 284.

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

Much of his text reads as an extended paraphrase of a (pseudo-)Virgilian ode, *De laudibus hortuli*, from which he took these two quotations, and it is this poetic, idyllic quality that is most striking in his description of Maximilian's garden.[91] Though we will never know for sure, it is quite possible that this poetic aspect of Tanner's text best expresses the character of Maximilian's fascination with nature, and so explains his lifelong addiction to gardening. Tanner's references to legendary precedents, such as the Gardens of Alcinous and the Garden of the Hesperides, indicate that this fascination was fed with other literary concepts and conceits. Surely it is no coincidence that the Virgilian ode he quotes opens with an exhortation to the Muses:

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

Certainly Maximilian shared this fascination for a 'learned' or a 'poetic' sort of gardening with many of his contemporaries, witness not only the many gardens laid out in the sixteenth century, but also the importance of gardens and pastoral nature in the literature of the period. In fact one of the most famous ones, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* by Sir Philip Sidney, in its turn seems

91 At least, Tanner—and probably Maximilian himself—thought it was Virgil (Chmel 1840–1841, 2, p. 282), whereas nowadays it is ascribed to Asmenius (ca 400 AD) or Ausonius (ca 310–ca 394 AD). The full poem, *Adeste Musae, maximi proles Iouis* is given in H.W. Garrod, *The Oxford book of Latin verse; from the earliest fragments to the end of the 5th century A.D.*, Oxford 1912, pp. 404–405. It was later set to music by Rudolf II's court composer Jacobus Gallus (or Handl). The contemporary translation is by Nicholas Grimald (1519–1562), quoted from *The Oxford Anthology of English Literature*, I: The *Middle Ages through the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford 1973, p. 610 (which oddly does not identify its precise Latin source).

to have been inspired by Maximilian's gardens in Vienna, just as it borrowed the concept of a star-shaped lodge from Ferdinand's Hvězda in Prague.[92]

5.3.4 *Conclusion*

If it can be assumed that Tanner attempted to please his patron, his description of the 'Diaeta ad Puteum Cervinum' reflects Maximilian's preferences at least to some extent, and we may conclude that by the time Tanner wrote, the garden loomed much larger in the King's thought than the *Lusthaus* inside it. Rather than its architecture, he preferred to have documented the garden that surrounded it, its layout, its planting and its animal inhabitants; this in marked contrast to his brother Ferdinand, who had commissioned carefully drawn detailed presentations drawings of his Prague hunting-lodge. This relative preference for gardening over building seems to be in character with what we know of Maximilian's interests later in his career.[93] Yet one should be wary to conclude that he did not particularly care for architecture: after all he had begun his project by constructing the *Lusthaus*, of a similar size and on a hardly less unusual plan as that of his brother in Prague, and he had it quite sumptuously decorated.[94] Moreover, when a decade later he began planning another, much

92 Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia,* Ch. 13: 'And thus with some other wordes of entertaining, was my staying concluded, and I led among them to the lodge; truely a place for pleasantnes, not vnfitte to flatter solitarinesse; for it being set vpon such an vnsensible rising of the ground, as you are come to a prety height before almost you perceiue that you ascend, it giues the eye lordship ouer a good large circuit, which according to the nature of the country, being diuersified betwene hills and dales, woods and playnes, one place more cleere, and the other more darksome, it seemes a pleasant picture of nature, with louely lightsomnes and artificiall shadowes. The Lodge is of a yellow stone, built in the forme of a starre; hauing round about a garden framed into like points: and beyond the garden, ridings cut out, each aunswering the Angles of the Lodge: at the end of one of them is the other smaller Lodge, but of like fashion; where the gratious Pamela liueth: so that the Lodge seemeth not vnlike a faire Comete, whose taile stretcheth it selfe to a starre of lesse greatnes'. Sidney stayed in Vienna twice, in 1574 and in 1577, when he served as Elizabeth's ambassador congratulating Rudolf II on his accession. On both occasions he also visited Prague. Cf. Girouard 1978, p. 8, who does not, and Skretkowicz, 1982 who does establish the connection with Hvězda (p. 180): 'Hvězda does, however, appear to lie behind Basilius's lodge in the New Arcadia and, as such, has played an enduring, if unrecognized, role in English letters'. That Sidney chose the names of Astrophel and Stella for his alter-ego ('star-lover') and his beloved in the sublime sonnet cycle of that name may likewise be a pointer that Hvězda may have provided him with some of its inspiration.

93 Discussed in greater detail below, in particular Ch. 12.

94 One should be wary also because we do not know in how far the existence of Tanner's treatise and the Hvězda drawings is representative: their survival is probably due to the fact that they were explicitly intended to document the Prater and Hvězda *after their*

more ambitious garden complex, the Neugebäude, its layout was determined by it architectural elements to a much greater extent than that of the Prater. Though building may not have been his predominant passion, it is probably safe to conclude that, like his brother, Maximilian was sufficiently interested in it to participate personally in the planning of his commissions. His taste would have been formed by what he had seen in Northern Italy, in the Netherlands and in the Empire, and influenced by at least some of the architectural treatises of his time and their illustrations. In view of the importance of ancient precept and example in the concept and planning of the Prater gardens, one may assume that in planning his architectural commissions he likewise used classical sources—chiefly Vitruvius—and their modern interpretations and adaptations, such as Serlio's treatises. Whether he really studied them himself or whether he had them explained to him by his humanist advisors, must remain an open question.

5.4 The Imperial Residence: S*tatus quo* at Strada's Arrival

5.4.1 *Residential Requirements*

Though Ferdinand I's representational needs were great, they were easily transcended by purely practical necessities. Some time after its heroic resistance to the Turkish siege, Ferdinand decided to move his court to Vienna.[95] In the 1540s, after some initial repairs, he began adapting the local residence, the Hofburg, to house his increasing family. Funds were scarce, and what was done initially can be described as the minimum necessary and the maximum possible. The Hofburg proper, later also known as 'Alte Burg', 'the old castle' or 'Schweizertrakt', was a late medieval castle consisting of four wings around a central courtyard, fortified by irregularly placed square corner towers and provided with an elegant Gothic chapel. It was built almost on top of the city's

completion. Few, if any, architectural designs for Imperial commissions from the period have survived.

95 Holzschuh-Hofer 2007 interprets Ferdinand's choice for Vienna as capital as part of his defence strategy against the Turks, as 'the ideological part of a whole military defence strategy of placing the King, subsequently Emperor, as symbol of his permanent presence on the front line'. Christiane Thomas has shown that Ferdinand's adoption of Vienna as his chief residence was not an official act, but merely the result of a process of easy stages (Thomas 1993, pp. 101–103); Altfahrt 2003 provides a graph comparing the length of Ferdinand's sojourns in his various capitals and in other cities of the Empire, based on his itinerary 1521–1564 (p. 33). But Prague remained important as residence of equal importance until ca. 1547 (Hausenblasová/ Jeitler 2014, p. 26).

FIGURE 5.70 The Hofburg on the town plan of Vienna by Augustin Hirschvogel, 1547.
FIGURE 5.71 The Vienna Hofburg in 1558, detail from an engraving by Hans Sebald Lautensack.

fortifications, and there was little space for extension of the building itself [Figs. 5.70 and 5.71; plan, Fig. 5.72].

Abandoning its fortified character would be imprudent in view of the relative proximity of the enemy forces, as had been made abundantly clear by the heavy damage done to the building during the 1529 siege.[96] As of 1533 most of the damage had been repaired, the available space made habitable and a new set of rooms for Ferdinand himself was realized in the south-west wing overlooking the *Hofbastei*, the important bastion just in front of the Hofburg. In the following years the mediaeval castle was regularized and restructured to house only the Emperor, his family and their most immediate entourage and to provide space for the most important offices, such as the *Hofkanzley*. Workspace for other functions was found in other premises acquired for the purpose, other members of the household and for visitors to the court were lodged in private houses all over Vienna.[97]

96 Still in 1538 repairs were necessary of the damage caused by an earlier undiscovered Turkish tunnel of over twenty meters length, which undermined the foundations of the south-west wing and had caused this to subside: Kühnel 1956, p. 256; Holzschuh-Hofer 2014(a), p. 88, notes 72–74.

97 Dreger 1914, long fundamental for a history of the development of the Vienna Hofburg, and the researches by Harry Kühnel Kühnel 1956, 1958, 1959, 1961, 1964 and 1971, have now been superseded by the magnificent history of the Hofburg complex undertaken by the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the Bundesdenkmalamt Wien, of which three volumes have been published to date (see Buchinger/Grün/ Jeitler 2011; www.oeaw.ac.at/ikm/forschung /habsburgische-repraesentation/die-wiener-hofburg (cons. 12-11-2017). For the first version of this Chapter I have been able to use some of its preliminary publications: Holzschuh-Hofer 2007; Karner 2008; Jeitler 2008; the present version incorporates the

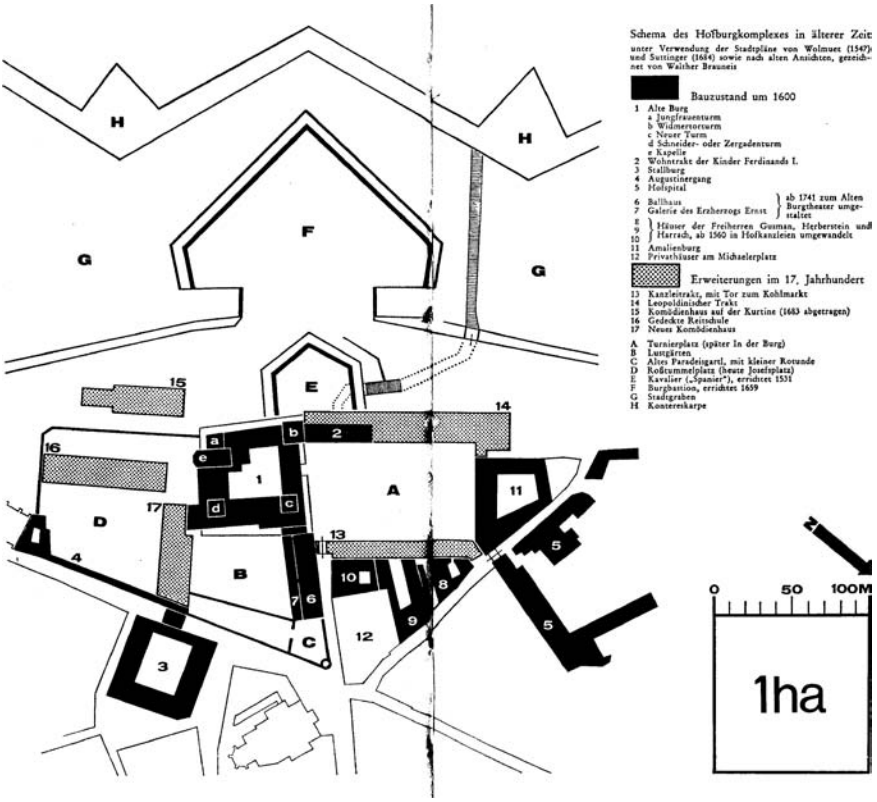


FIGURE 5.72 Plan of the Hofburg: the black parts were existent by 1600; from Kühnel, *Die Hofburg*, Vienna 1971.

The space available being so limited, when Ferdinand came to reside more and more in Vienna and his children grew up and joined him, further additions and adaptations of the Hofburg were necessary. In the 1540s and early 1550s a number of projects were taken in hand: between 1544 and 1548 Ferdinand's own apartment was transferred from the second to the first or principal floor of the south-west wing; between 1549 and 1551 a new reception hall, later known as 'Ritterstube' or 'Knight's Chamber', and an antechamber were added to this, which were decorated by Pietro Ferrabosco.[98] To realize a more convenient and ceremonial access to these spaces and the chapel a new structure was built

relevant results and insights published in the second volume, edited by Herbert Karner: *Die Wiener Hofburg 1521–1705: Baugeschichte, Funktion und Etablierung als Kaiserresidenz* (Karner 2014).

98 A 'Newen Saal und wartstuben vor der Newen Stuben'; cited in Kühnel 1956, p. 258; cf. Dreger 1914, p. 104; Holzschuh-Hofer 2014(a), pp. 94–95, 101–103.

in front of the entrance to the chapel, in the corner between south-west and south-east wings; this housed a monumental staircase of three flights, preceded by a huge square hall or landing giving access both to the chapel and to the royal apartment. The plans for this addition were made by Francesco de Pozzo and included an arcade on the ground floor carried on heavily bossed pillars or buttresses, which were not to the taste of some of his colleagues. This gave rise to an extensive debate, in which Ferdinand, at the time absent in Prague, actively participated; it will be briefly discussed later in this chapter.[99] In the end Ferdinand decided to uphold Pozzo's plans, the remains of which are still visible in the southwest corner of the Schweizerhof.

The north-east wing functioned as 'Frauenzimmer', lodging Queen Anna and her household on the second floor, and the 'Niederösterreichische Kammer', the treasury of Lower Austria. Some of the damages it had suffered in the 1529 siege had been set in order already in the 1530s, but it was largely reconstructed in the mid-1540s. The *Frauenzimmer* provided a Chamber, a dining room and a reception hall for the Queen herself, and was preceded by a new, monumental staircase.[100] It is not clear whether her later successor, Maximilian's consort Maria of Spain, arrived in Vienna in 1551, used the rooms of her late mother-in-law; it was either extended with, or exchanged for an apartment installed for her on the second floor in the completely new-built north-west wing. This apartment, nearer to those both of her husband and her father-in-law, consisted of a larger space ('lange Saal'), an (ante-) chamber, a dining room and a bedchamber. The other floors of this building housed several administrative offices, including a 'Gwelbl', a vaulted (strong-) room for the use of Leopold Heyperger, as 'Burggraf' the chamberlain responsible not only for the day-to day maintenance of the Hofburg, but also for the care of treasures and other valuables.[101]

The north-west wing provided the Hofburg with a new, monumental façade, provided with well-designed window-surrounds in the classical manner, decorated with the symbols of the order of the Golden Fleece [Fig. 5.80]. It also incorporated the only entrance gate to the courtyard, now known as 'Schweizertor', which carries the date 1552 [Figs. 5.81–5.82]. Gate and window-surrounds are almost the only architectural elements of the sixteenth century in the Hofburg that have been preserved intact.[102] The northwest wing also incorporated part of the remnants of the north tower, which had become unstable and had been partly demolished. During the reconstruction of this section a narrow gallery was

99 Holzschuh-Hofer 2014(a), pp. 104–108; discussed below, Ch. 5.5.2.

100 Holzschuh-Hofer 2014(a), pp. 104–108.

101 *Ibid.*, pp. 108–111; Kühnel 1956, p. 258.

102 Holzschuh-Hofer 2014(a), pp. 111–122; cf. below, Ch. 5.4; on the window surronds, see below, 5.6.2.

attached to the north-east wing, which was accessible both from the late Queen Anna's *Frauenzimmer* and from Queen Maria's new apartment: it was topped by a covered terrace or 'Altan' allowing views both on the private, enclosed gardens and onto the square in front of the Hofburg, which came into use for courtly festivities, such as the festival organized by Maximilian on the occasion of a Habsburg family gathering in 1560, documented in a series of detailed engravings [Fig. 5.73–5.75 and below, Fig. 6.16].[103]

Of great interest is the first external addition to the Alte Burg proper, which was constructed on top of the gate giving access to the bastion in front of the Hofburg [Fig. 5.74, to the left]. Essentially it is a continuation of the newly constructed northwest wing, consisting of six bays of three stories. On the side of the bastion it was preceded by two superimposed loggias each consisting of four widely spaced arches, the whole topped by an 'Altan', in this case a roof terrace

FIGURE 5.73 A joust on foot on the Burgplatz in Vienna, 1560; engraving by Hans Sebald Lautensack from Hans von Francolin, *Thurnierbuch* (1561).

103 Holzschuh-Hofer 2014(a), pp. 124. The northwest wing was constructed partially in front of the tower, which arose above its roof; the *Altan* is shown at the left corner of the entrance front of Lautensack's engraving and on a slightly later woodcut from Wirrich's description of a joust of 1571, where it has been provided with a lean-to roof carried on classical columns and a balustrade (Wirrich 1571; cf. Dreger 1914, Abb. 9; Holzschuh-Hofer 2014(a), Abb. IV.37. Wirrich 1571; cf. Dreger 1914, Abb. 93).

FIGURE 5.74 The Hofburg and the new wing constructed ca. 1553–1556; detail from ill. 5.73.

FIGURE 5.75 Ceremonial dinner of Emperor Ferdinand I and his family in the 'grosse tafl stuben' of the Vienna Hofburg, 1560; engraving by Francesco Terzio from Hans von Francolin, *Thurnierbuch* (1561).

overlooking the Vienna suburbs and the countryside to the west. This so-called 'Kindertrakt' contained the 'Zimer unnd wonungen <…> für den Khu. Mt. Khinder', the lodgings of 'the children of the Royal Majesty'. It is not clear whether this refers to the youngest daughters of Ferdinand I or to the children of Maximilian and Maria, which seems more likely.[104] It can hardly refer to Maximilian himself, though he did in fact inhabit the principal apartment on the first floor, which communicated directly with his father's in the adjoining section of the Alte Burg. Begun in 1553, the Kindertrakt was almost completed when Strada arrived in Vienna early in 1558; the architect is not mentioned, but we know that Pietro Ferrabosco was again responsible for the decorative painting of its six principal rooms, a sumptuous decoration suitable to the apartment of the heir to the throne.

In the 1530s the damage to the gardens of the Hofburg had been restored. Two modest, enclosed 'Lustgärten', communicating by means of a stairway, were complemented by a larger 'Irrgarten' or labyrinth. These were located between the Hofburg and the church of St. Michael towards the east and the Augustinian monastery towards the south. They contained a 'Ballhaus' (a covered tennis-court), a bath and a pond or reservoir to keep fresh fish. The garden was separated from the town partly by a high wall and partly by the *Augustinergang*, a gallery carrying a covered passage connecting the Hofburg with the Augustinian monastery, the church of which served as court church (the *Burgkapelle* being too small to hold a significant congregation). In the 1540s a new Ballhaus was constructed in the north-east corner of the garden, along the Burggasse; after Ferdinand's accession to the Empire this was connected to the north-east corner of the Alte Burg by a building housing his Kunstkammer, his collections objects of particular scientific or artistic value.[105]

Almost nothing of these additions and adaptations has been preserved unaltered, if at all, but some idea is given by the illustrations in Hans von Francolin's *Thurnier Buech Warhafftiger Ritterlicher Thate*[*n*]*, so in dem Monat Junii des vergangenen LX Jars in und ausserhalb der Statt Wienn <…> gehalten*.[106]

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104 Holzschuh-Hofer 2014(a), pp. 122–124; Ferdinand's youngest son, Archduke Charles, was old enough for his own household, and by 1560 had been provided with separate lodgings in the house of Count Salm, in the direct vicinity of the Hofburg, whereas the Archduchesses were lodged in a house in the Burggasse. It seems likely that they had inhabited the *Frauenzimmer* before that, as a reference in 1548 to 'der jungen Kunigin Zimer' (*ibid.*, p. 96 and note 135) can hardly refer to Maria of Spain, who would arrive in Vienna only three years later. It was not unusual to refer to Ferdinand's children with a royal title (f.i. Seisenegger's portrait of Archduchess Eleonora, afterwards Duchess of Mantua, as a child, KMH, Gemäldegalerie 872; cf. Heinz/ Schütz 1982, cat nr. 65, pp. 98–99 and ill. 56.).

105 Jeitler/ Martz 2014 188–192; Kühnel 1956, pp. 258–259; Holzschuh-Hofer 2014(c).

106 Francolin 1561.

It describes the festivities organized in honour of a visit of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria and his consort, Archduchess Anna, a rare occasion on which Ferdinand I's family were all together. One print, by Hans Sebald Lautensack [Figs. 5.73–5.74], documents a joust taking place on the *Turnierplatz* (now *In der Burg*), looking towards the Hofburg from the north-west: the north-west wing with the Schweizertor can be seen in the centre, the extension for Ferdinand's children that had just been completed on the right. The image shows a very sober architecture in the classical style: the plain plastered walls were held together by rusticated quoins at the corners and pierced by rectangular windows set in simple stone frames carried on brackets and topped by flat entablatures. The steep roofs were carried on narrow cornices, that of the Hofburg proper was dotted by dormer windows and tall chimneys, while that of the extension was interrupted by three larger, turret-like dormers topped by small square cupolas covered with sheets in copper or lead. The extension appears to have had the same dimension and rhythmic articulation as the main facade, except for the upper (third) floor, which was higher and had taller windows. Presumably it was intended at some future time to modify the facade of the main building in a similar way, thus creating another floor of more commodious lodgings.

Of the interior decoration of the Hofburg in this period hardly more is known than that several rooms and the *Augustinergang* had painted decoration executed by Pietro Ferrabosco and that the furniture included a great many tapestries. The only image we have is another, impressive print from Francolin's *Thurnierbuch*, showing the festive and ceremonial lunch ('Mitttagmal' or 'Fruemal') of the Imperial family, which took place on Corpus Christi, the third day of the festivities, i.e. 14 June 1560. According to Francolin, who described the placing in detail, the banquet took place in the 'grosse tafl stuben', that is the large dining chamber that appears to have been identical with one of the principal chambers of Ferdinand's apartment, also known as 'Grüne Stube' (Green Chamber) or 'Wartstube' (antechamber).[107] The print [Fig. 5.75] is signed by the court-painter Francesco Terzio. It provides a fascinating image of court-ceremonial on festive occasions, showing the Imperial family dining in public, served by their highest-ranking courtiers. These hand them the food provided in the several courses ('portate') brought to their table in a ceremonial procession preceded by an official carrying a rod of office, wending its way

107 Francolin 1561, § XV: 'Von Procession': 'Nach disen allem / ist hochgedachte Rö: Kay: May: wider haimb geritten/ und das mittagmal in der grossen tafl stuben eingenommen / und zu thisch gesessen wie du hernach in diser nachvolgender figur sehen wirdest'. § XXVI, 'Vom Fruemal', gives the disposition at table (unnumbered pages). The print describes itself as: 'QUO MODO CAE: MAI:tas VNA CVM LIBERIS EIVS PRANDIVM SVMPSERIT EFFICTIO 1560'. The location of this space is now clarified by Holzschuh-Hofer 2014 (a), pp. 127–129.

through the crowd of lower-ranking courtiers held back by members of the Imperial guard ('Hartschiere' and 'Trabanten') carrying halberds. In the front on the right musicians of the Emperor's chamber—a cornett, three shawms and two sackbuts, grouped around a table with their open scores—add lustre to the occasion, while two viola players are waiting their turn.[108]

The print also gives a detailed and faithful image of the disposition and the decoration of the dining chamber. It is clear that the room had been explicitly adapted for its particular function: next to the tall windows a huge dais raised the dining table three steps above the rest of the chamber, from which it was separated by a balustrade. Above the head of the table, the Emperor's seat, a huge canopy of figured damask underlined his status, while a huge 'Kredenz' or sideboard of four steps against the wall on the right displayed a profusion of huge and splendid silver and silver-gilt vessels and plates, part of the Emperor's treasure. The diners were sitting at three sides of the table on benches with backs to them, all covered in rich damask or velvet cloth.

The Gothic portal partly visible on the right shows that the room always had been part of a representative section of the Hofburg: it dated from the late fifteenth century, when the medieval 'Tanzsaal' or ball-room was split up in several smaller spaces. The traditional monumental *Kachelofen* on the left, a huge stove constructed of green ceramic tiles, assured comfort also in winter. While the dais was probably executed in wood, which again would heighten comfort in winter, the floor of the chamber appears to have been executed in something like crazy-paving. It is difficult to decide whether this was actually the case, which seems unlikely: probably the engraver attempts to indicate a polished marble floor. Though according to the sources most floors in the Hofburg were of wood or were covered by '*Estriche*', terracotta tiles, this very representative room may have been an exception.[109] The walls were covered in a set of huge sixteenth-century Flemish figural tapestries depicting what appear to be battle-scenes.

The print gives pride of place to the most spectacular element in the decoration, the splendid timber ceiling. This consisted of huge beams dividing the surface in square and octagonal sections filled with what were probably painted, possibly sculptured and gilt architectural motifs, each panel centring on a huge rosette. This ceiling was obviously the one up-to-date Renaissance

108 I am grateful to Jan Bouterse for providing me with the correct names of these instruments.

109 The anonymous artist who made the print illustrating the temporary ball-room created in wood and canvas uses a similar convention to indicate the *faux marbre* of the huge wooden Corinthian columns carrying the roof (cf. below, Ch. 6.4). The treatment of the floor in the beautifully illuminated copy presented to Ferdinand himself strongly suggests marble (illustrated in Karner 2014, Fig. ###).

FIGURE 5.76 Wolfgang Heimbach, Nächtliches Banquet, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

element in the fixed interior of the *Taflstube*. The room probably was adapted, or at least its ceiling created, expressly in anticipation of the festivities organised by Maximilian to add lustre to this family gathering.[110]

A good impression of the appearance of another important reception room is given in a painting by Wolfgang Heimbach of a festive banquet at night [Fig. 5.76]. On the basis of a detailed examination linked to structural research of the south-west wing of the Hofburg, Walter Gerhardt has demonstrated that the painting gives a detailed and exact image of the 'Saal' adjoining Ferdinand's chamber, which would later be known as the 'Ritterstube', Knights' Chamber. Though the painting is dated 1640, the interior appears to have been maintained in its mid-sixteenth century state, which closely resembles that of the *Taflstube*: windows in deep round-headed niches, a similar monumental green *Kachelofen* in the corner, even the same type of Flemish tapestries covering the

110 Francolin 1561, §11, 'Vom Gebew', describes some of the preparations for the festival: 'Ehe man die Schrifftliche Verkhündung der Thurnier Publiciert / hat man in der Burckh und auff der Platz vor dem Kayserlichen Pallast / sich gerüstet mit allerlay notdurft zum handel tüchtig und füglich'; he mentions in particular the construction of the temporary *Tanzsaal*, basically a huge tent or marquee located on the bastion in front of the Alte Burg (cf. below, ch. 6.4), and of the various boats used for the planned naval battle, but does not refer to specific adaptations of the Hofburg itself. In the beautifully illuminated version from the copy presented to the Emperor, illustrated in Holzschuh-Hofer 2014(a), p. 128, Abb. IV.39, the ceiling is coloured light grey, blue and pink, with gilt rosettes filling the compartments.

walls.[111] Only the coffered ceiling is of a different type: it seems to be a flat timber ceiling, resting on a cornice carried on stone brackets. Its triangular, rectangular and square compartments appear to be superimposed on this ceiling, and they probably contain panels painted with suitable mythological scenes. In fact, it strongly resembles the description of the ceiling of the *Goldene Saal* in the Hofburg at Innsbruck, decorated with 'fantasies' painted by Domenico Pozzo, which has already been discussed in detail in the preceding chapter.

5.4.2 *Work in Progress*

At the time Strada arrived in Vienna some of these projects were still under way. Ferdinand's accession to the Imperial throne greatly increased his need for a residence sufficiently representative to reflect his exalted status. Several other projects were being planned, the principal one being the construction of the Stallburg, a separate residential building for the household of King Maximilian, as heir to the throne. For such projects Strada's specific competence must have been particularly welcome: at this time his theoretical knowledge and practical experience of the most up-to-date architectural and decorative design was probably unique at court. Few of the artists in Ferdinand's employ were capable of such avant-garde design: that is of classical architecture in which the Vitruvian precept was correctly applied and decorative elements were designed in the manner of the Italian Renaissance. Initially this manner was fashionable at the princely courts of Europe—Fontainebleau is the most obvious example—and with a small cosmopolitan and intellectual circle consisting mostly of aristocrats closely connected with these courts.

It did allow the inclusion of local, traditional or 'vernacular' forms and elements: again Fontainebleau is an obvious example, but it is perhaps best illustrated by a comparison between Serlio's two designs for the Château of Ancy-le-Franc, an ideal, classical, Italian version [Fig. 5.78] as opposed to an equally classical, but less strict and quite French version, the one which was actually executed [Fig. 5.77].[112] Even in such cases, however, the designer was expected to demonstrate a perfect command of the rules governing the application of the Vitruvian orders and the proportional systems that were derived from these by Renaissance theorists and practitioners.

By the 1550's, north of the Alps, such reliance on theory gave this manner a particular appeal to highly educated, intellectual patrons, who had been introduced to it during their travels. Moreover it would be exclusive because its

111 Gerhardt 1995; the precision of the painting is shown by the fact that Guy Delmarcel could identify two of the tapestries (*ibidem*, p. 272, n. 8); Karner 2014, pp. 168–169.

112 BSB-HS, Cod. Icon 189, f. 17r.

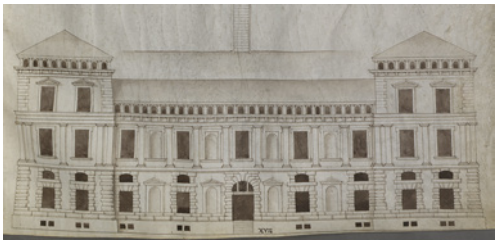

FIGURE 5.77 Sebastiano Serlio, Château de Ancy-le-Franc, ca 1545.
FIGURE 5.78 Sebastiano Serlio, Alternative designs for Ancy-le-Franc, in the Munich ms. of the *Sesto Libro*.

application was limited to literate and intellectually ambitious artists: it would be out of the range of merely practically trained, illiterate master-masons such as Benedict Kölbl. Certainly it was a manner sufficiently distinct from the vernacular to be explicitly recognized as such: thus in a letter to his Venetian correspondent Niccolò Stopio Hans Jakob Fugger would describe Strada's newly built house in Vienna as having 'una facciata alla Italiana', a facade in the Italian manner.[113]

As we have seen, Ferdinand as well as his two elder sons had already demonstrated their taste for this manner. Being mostly based on ancient Roman architecture, the style was moreover highly suitable for the projects of the Holy Roman Emperor, who was generally considered the direct successor of the rulers of the ancient Roman Empire. This interest is reflected in details of the Hofburg realized before Strada arrived at court, such as the ornamental plaque commemorating his earliest interventions in the Hofburg [Fig. 5.14] and in the exquisite door- and window frames and relief plaques decorating the earlier, lower part of the Prague Summer Palace [Fig. 5.19], based on a model from Serlio's *Fourth Book* [Fig. 5.20], both examples which have been discussed above.[114]

Some of the masters active in Prague may well have contributed to the projects in hand in Vienna: a particular instance was first noticed by Moriz Dreger, who compared the upper lintels or friezes of the windows in the Prague Summer Palace [Fig. 5.79] with those of the entrance facade of the Vienna Hofburg, dated 1553 [Fig. 5.80]. They both include oddly crenelated cartouches or plaques, flanked by fire steels and flints, emblems of the order of the Golden Fleece that were doubtless suggested or imposed by Ferdinand himself. This close link—the Vienna window frames are reduced and simplified versions of the Prague ones—suggests that one of the architects engaged on the Summer

113 On Strada's house, see below, Ch. 7.
114 Ch. 5.2.1.

FIGURES 5.79–5.80 Lintel and entablature of a window frame of Queen Anna's Summer Palace, ca 1540–1545, compared to the Lintel and entablature of a window frame of the Schweizerische Trakt of the Hofburg, Vienna, ca 1553.

Palace also was asked to provide designs for the Vienna facade, or at least that the Vienna designer was well informed about what happened in Prague. Whoever he was—Pietro Ferrabosco remains a candidate—he must also have been responsible for the design of the Schweizertor in the same facade [Fig. 5.81].[115]

5.5 The Architectural Infrastructure at the Imperial Court:

5.5.1 *Available Talent*

Once Maximilian was in a position to really start building, just like his relatives in Brussels and Jülich he needed at least one or two architects of the new, 'Vitruvian' kind: architects who preferably were born and bred in Italy or who would have visited Italy and were therefore aware of recent developments. Except for Bonifaz Wolmut and possibly Sigismund de Preda, he would not find

115 Dreger 1914, pp. 117, and *Abb*. 70; see also Holzschuh-Hofer 2010, who shows that similar surrounds with fire steels-and-flints were also used in the refurbishment of the castle at Pressburg/Bratislava. Perhaps one of the members of the Spazio family, Italian masons and architects active both in Prague and in Vienna, was responsible for the design. At least as far as the design of the window frames is concerned, this need not have implied any direct involvement in the actual building process, a drawing sent form Prague would have sufficed. Besides Ferrabosco, Bonifaz Wolmut, who had already worked in Bohemia, where he would later settle, is a likely candidate.

these among the architects and master-masons regularly employed at court. Some of these had been working for his father and great-grandfather since decades, such as the learned and versatile Moravian Hans Tscherte/ (Jan Čert; † 1552), the friend of Dürer and father-in-law of the painter Jakob Seisenegger, who had settled in Vienna in 1509, or the master-mason Benedikt Kölbl († after 1569). Kölbl must have been a very competent master-builder, if he was allowed to succeed Tscherte as chief architect in Vienna in the face of the criticism that he could neither read nor write. Among the Italian masters we find Sigismund de Preda (from Pisa, died probably ca 1549), who is first documented in Vienna in 1543, and is possibly identical with the 'Maister Sigmund' who had supervised the building of the Stadtresidenz at Landshut for Duke Ludwig X of Bavaria, shortly before; and the Milanese Francesco da Pozzo (ca. 1501/2–after 1558) who had entered Ferdinand's service in 1538.[116] In Prague some other masters were working, such as Paolo della Stella, the architect and possibly the designer of the model for the Belvedere, the summer palace Ferdinand had built for his consort, Queen Anna, in the gardens of the Hradčany. His two assistants Giovanni Battista and Giovanni Maria Aostalli were members of one of the dynasties of masons from Northern Italy that would remain so typical for the history of architecture in Central Europe. They were responsible for the completion of Ferdinand's Belvedere, and—with Giovanni Lucchesi—for the construction of Hvězda, Archduke Ferdinand's star-shaped hunting-lodge mentioned earlier.[117]

A central position was occupied by Hermes Schallautzer (1503–1561), a member of an old patrician family with a strong political position in Vienna. After the 1529 siege of Vienna he was put in charge of the new fortifications and in 1544–1545 functioned as *Proviantmeister*, responsible for the provisioning of the troops fighting the Turks in Hungary. Doubtless he demonstrated his talents in logistics, management and organisation, for a year later he became a member of Ferdinand's Council and was subsequently appointed *Bausuperintendent*, bearing the final executive responsibility for the 'landesfürstlichen Gebäude' in Vienna, that is both the fortifications and all other construction work undertaken by command of Ferdinand, such as the extensions of the Hofburg. This was a position which had not existed before, and would not be renewed after Schallautzer's death. It was primarily a managing and coordinating task: it included the recruitment of suitable masons and the acquisition of building materials for, as well as the financial administration of the current

116 These architects discussed in Kühnel 1958 and Kühnel 1959. On Landshut, see above, Ch. 2.3; the identification of De Preda with the supervising master at Landshut was first proposed in Sarzi 1988.

117 *Renaissance in Böhmen* 1985, p. 207.

projects.[118] It is not surprising that his name turns up in the documents relating to most of the projects in hand at the time. Schallautzer, moreover, was an intellectual, and he was sufficiently historically interested to collect a number of stones with Roman inscriptions that had come to light during building works on several locations in Vienna. He set them up in his garden, creating a small lapidarium which can count as perhaps the earliest collection of antiques in Austria, and published a note on his finds illustrated by Hans Sebald Lautensack and including comments on them by his nephew, Wolfgang Lazius, both of whom we have met earlier.[119]

Most of the architects employed appear to have been technicians, competent builders or master-masons, rather than artists. Exceptions were the Italians Pietro Ferrabosco and Domenico dell'Allio and the native Viennese Bonifaz Wolmut. Pietro Ferrabosco was born at Laino near Como in 1512 or 1513; he had trained as a painter and had first been employed by Ferdinand in that capacity (1547). After 1551, when he was forced to take over the management of the restructuring of the castle at Kaiserebersdorf from his brother Lorenzo, who had suddenly died, he was soon also charged with often quite important architectural commissions.[120] Unlike Wolmut he had never trained as a master-builder, but appears either to have learned the job on site, for instance when executing commissions of painted decoration, such as the ceiling of the new 'Saal' and 'Zimmer', a reception hall and -chamber of the Vienna Hofburg for which he was paid in 1549, or—more likely—during the five years that he accompanied the Imperial commander, Eck von Salm, to the Turkish border, doubtless initially acting as surveyor and draughtsman, but soon making designs and models of projected fortifications.

Ferrabosco certainly was an architect in the fullest sense, not only providing designs, but also organizing and supervising their execution: he is first mentioned in an architectural capacity as 'Meister Peter Fero Boschko Maller, so über die Gesellen Baumeister'. It is clear that he was really supervising these masons, at work at the Imperial castle at Pressburg in 1563, because it was stipulated that he should not absent himself from the site for longer than two weeks.[121] In a request for increase of his salary from 1559, Ferrabosco claimed

118 Kühnel 1959, pp. 311–316.

119 *Exempla aliquot s. vetustatis Rom. in saxis quibusdam, opera nobilis viri D. Hermetis Schallauczeri <…> his Viennae erutis una cum interpretatione Wolfgangi Lazii medici et historici*, Viennae Austriae 1560; Kühnel 1959, p. 315; Von Busch 1973, pp. 19–21.

120 On Ferrabosco, see Kühnel 1958, pp. 272–276; Kühnel 1964, p. 41; Krčalová 1969; Lietzmann 1987, pp. 107–110. Podewils 1992, pp. 165–168; his role at Kaiserebersdorf documented in Müller / Krause 2008, pp. 44–46.

121 Krčalová 1969, p. 184.

that after his travels with Count Salm, Ferdinand 'mi diede il carico della fabrica di Posonia, di Ebersdorff et finalmente del castello qui in Vienna': though this does not necessarily mean that he was the only architect employed on these projects, it does suggest that he was the most important one, and that in the preceding decade he had been acting supervisor of the building activities at the Vienna Hofburg, the Imperial residence at Pressburg and the castle of Kaiserebersdorf just outside Vienna.

The best preserved example of his work is probably the *Schweizertor* of the Vienna Hofburg of 1552 [Figs. 5.81–5.82].[122] In the 1560s he would moreover be employed in inspecting and designing fortifications both in Vienna itself and in Hungary, and supervising their construction. His contribution to the Imperial projects was quite considerable, and he was probably the leading architect at the Imperial court and one of the few to be employed both in Vienna and in Prague. Already in 1556 he was ennobled by Ferdinand I and his services continued to be highly regarded, if Rudolf II granted him, two months after Maximilian II's death, no less than two thousand *Thaler* in order to buy himself a house.[123]

FIGURE 5.81 Vienna, Hofburg: the Schweizertor, 1552.
FIGURE 5.82 Pietro Ferrabosco, ceiling decorations of the Schweizertor.

122 Or isn't it? The actual records refer to payments for painting the coat of arms and the ceiling of the passage of the Schweizertor. In view of the strictly correct classical order of the portal itself, I am tempted to attribute its design to Bonifaz Wolmut. Results of recent structural investigations have been published in Holzschuh-Hofer/ Beseler, 2008; Holzschuh-Hofer 2014, pp. 111–122.

123 Kühnel 1958, pp. 272–276; Krčalová 1969; Lietzmann 1987, pp. 107–110. On Wolmut, see Erich Hubala, 'Palast- und Schlossbau, Villa- und Gartenarchitektur in Prag und Böhmen', in: *Renaissance in Böhmen* 1985, pp., 27–114, in particular pp. 105–110.

Domenico d'Allio or dell'Allio was born in 1515 into a family of master masons and architects from the Valle d'Intelvi near Como.[124] He can be considered as one of the foremost military engineers working for the Habsburgs in the sixteenth century. Following in the footsteps of his father Martino, he was mostly active along the south-eastern borders of Austria, but was also employed elsewhere, occasionally also for non-military architecture. His talent is best visible in the beautiful, well proportioned *Landhaus* of Styria in Graz, the principal section of which was built from his designs between 1557 and 1564 [Fig. 5.83 and below, Fig. 10.1–10.2]. This shows him to have been schooled in the Lombard tradition of the late Quattrocento, as is particularly evident from the spacing of the windows—note the central bay—and the window frames themselves. In contrast the beautiful arcades of the inner courtyard demonstrate an awareness of more recent developments in Italian classical architecture, the origin of which will be subject of discussion below. Notwithstanding the high quality of his work, there are no indications that Dell'Allio was employed in the residential building of the Habsburgs in Vienna or Prague.

Most of the architects and master-masons involved in military architecture must have been conversant with mathematical and technical literature, such the *Underweysung der Messung* written by Tscherte's old friend Albrecht Dürer. But few of them would have had a more theoretical—that is, Vitruvian—background, let alone have been abreast of recent developments in design as practised in civic and ecclesiastical architecture in Italy. The *Schweizertor* makes clear that Ferrabosco, as a painter and an Italian, was better informed than most of his colleagues, though he had never visited Rome. But oddly enough the one real exception was no Italian at all: Bonifaz Wolmut (active in 1522; died Prague 1579). This is perhaps not quite a coincidence, since Wolmut, apart from being a competent master-mason, was an intellectual, owning a library of which the catalogue has been preserved. He was the one architect of genius employed by Ferdinand I, and the one designer that really and thoroughly understood the spirit of the proportional system of the classical orders. He developed a personal language which Hubala appropriately described as the '*maniera grande* des Bonifaz Wolmuet'. It is perhaps best exemplified in the monumental *Ballhaus* of Prague Castle (1567–1569) [Fig. 5.84] and in the late, extraordinary, proto-baroque Lutheran parish church of SS. Peter and Paul at

124 On Dell'Allio, see Cavarocchi/Trier/Böning 1992.

FIGURE 5.83 Domenico dell'Allio, the Landhaus in Graz: Facade, ca. 1556–1560.

Kralovice (1575–1581) [Fig. 5.85] that has convincingly been attributed to him by Jarmila Krčálová. But Wolmut was called to Prague by Archduke Ferdinand—he was first mentioned as a 'königlicher majestet paumeister' in 1554—and would remain working in Bohemia for the rest of his career.[125]

Both Ferdinand I and his two sons must have been aware of the limits of these masters, too few of whom were, however competent in the practice of their craft, sufficiently educated to be able to assimilate, understand, and cre-

125 The Ballhaus is perhaps the most outstanding Renaissance building in the whole of the Habsburg territories. On Wolmut, see Erich Hubala, 'Palast- und Schlossbau, Villa und Gartenarchitektur in Prag und Böhmen', in: *Renaissance in Böhmen* 1985, pp. 27–114, especially pp. 105–-108; Krčalová 1972. As the character and quality of his works indicate, Wolmut was a learned architect: the inventory of his library, acquired at his death by the Czech poet Pontanus (Jiří Barthold Pontanus z Breitenberka), has been published in Kořán 1960. Little is known of Wolmut's early career, but his style presupposes a visit to Italy. The forthcoming book on Wolmut by Sarah Lynch, based on her Princeton dissertation, *'Ein liebhaber aller freyen khünst': Bonifaz Wolmut and the Architecture of the European Renaissance* (January 2017), will throw fresh light on this outstanding artist.

FIGURE 5.84 Bonifaz Wolmut, Prague Castle, Ballhaus (1567–1569).
FIGURE 5.85 Bonifaz Wolmut, Church of St Peter and Paul at Kralovice (CZ), (1575–1581).

atively apply the theory underlining the new, Vitruvian manner of architectural design and the latest developments in fortification. That they looked around for masters who would meet these criteria is not surprising.

One example is the Augsburg Town Architect Hans Tirol ('Ioannes Tirollus Republicae Augustanae aedificiorum publicorum Prefectus'), who combined this charge with his father's function as herald, and as a print publisher and engraver closely cooperating with his father-in-law Jörg Breu the Elder. Two splendidly illuminated sets of codices, preserved in Eton College and in the Escurial, illustrating scenes from history and countless coats of arms, bear witness to his expertise as a herald and an antiquary. The character of the latter does not indicate that his expertise as an architect was much influenced by up to date developments in Italy, or even by Serlio's recent publications. Ferdinand asked him to come to Prague in 1551, where he was involved in the design and /or the construction of the upper level of the Summer Palace.[126]

A second example is the intellectual Jacopo Aconcio (1492–1566) [Fig. 5.86]. The contact between Maximilian and the Italian may well have been motivated at least in part by this consideration. Aconcio was a lawyer from Ossana near Trent, who appears to have been first called to court by Ferdinand I. He soon became acquainted with Maximilian, to whom he later sent a copy of the 1558 edition of the *Dialogo nel qual si scuoprono le astutie che usano lutherani per ingannar i semplici* which he had written in Vienna.[127] Doubtless

126 Bažant 2006, pp. 20–21; on Hans Tirol, see Lange 2011, pp. 49.
127 Aconcio to Maximilian II, 27 November 1558, publ. in Aconcio/ Köhler/ Hassinger 1932, p. 97.

FIGURE 5.86
Jacopo Aconcio, anonymous engraving.

Maximilian's sympathy for Aconcio was related to his interest in the theme of Aconcio's treatise, which espoused a tolerance toward divergent religious opinions and opposed persecution of mistaken or heretical ideas, an attitude which was fully shared by Maximilian until the end of his life. He may also have been interested in Aconcio's theories on scientific method and on historiography.[128]

But Aconcio was a consummate military and civic engineer as well, engaging both in fortification, on which he wrote a treatise, and in hydraulic engineering. He would practice both skills in England, where he spent the last decade of his life. In fact he was explicitly invited by the government of Elizabeth I because of his skill in fortification, which he had learnt during the seven years (ca 1549/50–1556) he had served in the retinue of the Imperial commander, Count Francesco Landriano, in Northern Italy and at the court of Charles V, where he had met and had been instructed by Giovanni Maria Olgiati, the foremost military engineer of the Renaissance.[129] Within a month of his arrival in London, however, Aconcio petitioned the Queen for a patent—the first in English history—on the production of 'new designs of machines of all sorts that

128 In the literature on Maximilian II no attention was paid to Aconcio until Paula Sutter-Fichtner's biography of the Emperor (Fichtner 2001, pp. 39–40). His possible influence on Maximilian II merits closer investigation; cf. Aconcio/Köhler/Hassinger 1932; Hassinger 1934; Meli 1934; O'Malley 1955; White 1967.

129 White 1967, pp. 440–442.

use [water] wheels'.[130] A few years later, when he had been naturalized, and backed by a group of investors, he obtained a royal privilege to reclaim about two thousand acres of marshland in Kent. It was only in 1564 that Aconcio, to provide a 'second opinion', was added to the committee charged to transform Berwick, which defended the bridge across the Tweed against the Scots, into the foremost fortress in the British Isles. Such engineering skills would have certainly interested Maximilian, who had initiated similar schemes of water management while regent of Spain, as we have seen above.

Aconcio relates that he had decided to study engineering when he began to fear that his heterodox religious opinions would at some time constrain him to flee from Italy, and he would need to have some profession enabling him to survive in exile. He also writes that on arrival in England he had circulated several copies of his own Latin version, *Ars muniendorum oppidorum*, of his unpublished Italian treatise on the subject.[131] This treatise, which summarized the principles—or 'universals', as the philosopher Aconcio called them—of fortification, and which was based on first-hand experience obtained within the past decade, would have been of great interest to Maximilian and his father, whose greatest care was the defence of Europe against the Turks. Most of the Italian architects whom Maximilian later persuaded to come to Vienna, such as Sallustio Peruzzi, were in fact military engineers, and employed in Hungary to meet the Turkish challenge. And this interest certainly antedated his accession: In 1563 the Venetian envoy, Giacomo Soranzo, wrote to the Doge that Maximilian

> '<…> favours architects and all who bring him new things pertaining to [the arts of] war, or fortifications; and he gives [bounty] to all of them; and I have heard that he has in drawings not only the state of Your Serene Highness [= the Doge], and in particular all the fortresses with many discourses about them, but also the site of this City [= Venice] with annotations and discussions about how one could attack it'.[132]

130 The patent also applied to 'a new design for building furnaces for dyers and those who make beer, and for other uses, with a great saving of fuel', cited in White 1967, p. 432. The patent was granted only in 1565.

131 Lord Burleigh owned a copy of the Latin version, *Jacobus Acontius de Oppidis Arcibusque muniendis*, but to date no manuscripts of either version are known, nor are copies known of a version reputedly printed in Geneva in 1585. Recently Stephen Johnston of the Oxford Museum of the History of Science has discovered the manuscript of an English translation by Thomas Blundeville, dedicated to the Earl of Bedford, now in the archives of Lord Egremont at Petworth House; cf. Johnston 2005/9, which provides the introduction and a survey of the chapter's headings.

132 Fiedler 1870, p. 217; quoted in Lietzmann 1987, p. 29: '<…> favorisce gli architetti et tutti quelli che gli portano cose nuove pertinenti à guerra, o fortificationi, et à tutti dona, et

It is quite probable that Maximilian welcomed Aconcio not just because of his interesting, perhaps congenial philosophical and theological ideas, but also and primarily because he was one of those who had brought the king 'something new pertaining to the arts of war'. If Aconcio, bringing both gifts of peace and war, was welcome, it is not surprising that Strada, mostly bringing gift of peace, was warmly welcomed as well.[133]

5.5.2 *Was this Enough?*

Though there were many master-masons and architects active at Ferdinand's court, some of them quite talented, none of these—not even the one really gifted and intellectual architect among them, Bonifaz Wolmut—appears to have had sufficient authority to guide the Imperial works in a consistent direction. This is borne out by the confusion evident among Ferdinand, the members of his privy council, his Master of Works Hermes Schallautzer, and the various German and Italian architects and/or master-masons involved, in the attempt to design and realize a new, more monumental entry and staircase to the Royal apartment and the castle chapel. According to Renate Holzschuh-Hofer's detailed account, this involved various models sent up and down to Ferdinand, at the time in Prague, various discussions among committees of various size and composition, and at least two trips to Prague of the principal designer, Francesco de Pozzo, in order to discuss the project with the King in person; in the end the project appears to have taken five years to complete.[134] From the documents and the few remains it is difficult to envisage what may have been Pozzo's and Ferdinand's original intentions. But it is tempting to interpret such remains, four heavily rusticated pilasters at the entrance to the *Burgkapelle* in the Schweizerhof [Fig. 5.87], not only as the buttresses (the sources speak of 'Contraforten') necessary to support the facade of the chapel, but also as an

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ho inteso che hà in disegno non solamente lo stato di Vostra Serenità et particolarmente tutte le sue fortezze con molti discorsi fattigli sopra, ma anco il sito di questa Città con avvertimenti et discorsi come si potesse offendere'. Since it is unlikely that Maximilian was contemplating an assault on Venetian territory, such material must have served as documentation used by himself, his commanders and his military engineers to improve standards of fortification in his own domains.

133 Strada and Aconcio had many things in common: Strada had close contacts with another of Charles V's Italian commanders, the Marquis of Marignano; he had produced a set of designs of exactly the same type of machinery as that for which Aconcio obtained his patent; he had dealings with Pietro Perna, Aconcio's Calvinist publisher in Basel; his orthodoxy was at least suspect; they were both interested in knowledge and its transmission, Aconcio theoretically, Strada more practically. There is no evidence that they knew one another, but it is likely that they knew of one another.

134 Holzschuh-Hofer 2014(a), pp. 104–108, Abb. IV.16 and IV.17.

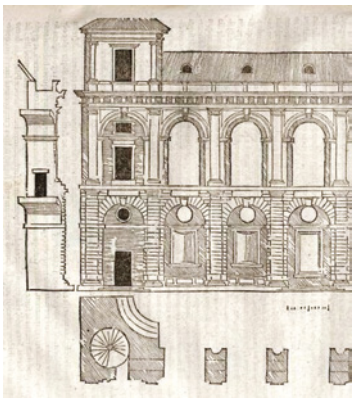

FIGURE 5.87 Rusticated pilasters at the entrance to the Burgkapelle, Vienna, Hofburg.
FIGURE 5.88 Sebastiano Serlio, Fontainebleau, project for the Salle de Bal, 1545–1546, woodcut from the *Settimo Libro* (Frankfurt 1575).

attempt to construct a rustic socle zone, with blind or open arches, in the manner of Florentine or Roman palace architecture. Perhaps it was even planned to carry an open loggia or a blind arcade on the piano nobile, the level of Ferdinand's apartment: a similar solution had been proposed a few years earlier in Sebastiano Serlio's project for the *Salle de Bal* in Fontainebleau [Fig. 5.88].[135]

The first designs and models, as well as the first section, when it began to rise above its foundations, incited voluble resistance both from the local officials and from some of Pozzo colleagues: the piers were considered unfinished and took up too much space of the courtyard; the first floor windows (or rather non-preserved mezzanine windows giving into the vaulting of the ground floor?) were unsightly and the whole thing looked more like a prison than an Imperial residence. The critics' lack of understanding is clear from their abhorrence of the 'unfinished' stone of these piers, that is, of its 'rustic' quality.[136] This standard element of Italianate classical architecture was quite

135 Serlio 1575, p. 97; Dreger 1914, pp. 103–104; p. 158; Kühnel 1956, p. 258; on the *Salle de Bal* in Fontainebleau, see Frommel 2002, p. 252, 254–258. Though its design was published only in Strada's edition of the *Seventh Book*, Frankfurt 1575, it might have been known in Vienna through the contacts between Ferdinand and his sister Eleonora, Francis I's widow.

136 Sigmund de Preda's defence against the critics included the structural function of these piers, which were to support the outside wall of three stories, leaning against the façade of the chapel. The critics held that the windows—'dj fenster am Gwelb so nun im ersten gaden gemacht seinn'—gave the facade 'ein sölche ungestalt unnd nit annders ansehen, als obs ein gefenkhnus sein sol' (Kühnel 1956, pp. 258). Instead of a blind arcade, perhaps a rustic podium including small windows lighting the vaulting of the ground floor was envisaged. In response to the criticism of the 'unfinished', rustic effect of the piers, De

outside of their frame of reference, though neither outside that of Sigmund de Preda and Schallautzer, who supported Pozzo, nor that of Ferdinand, who had commissioned the designs and approved them even after having considered the criticism.[137] Though after further consultation he decided for Pozzo's project, the little that remains suggests that in fact it never progressed beyond the initial stage.[138]

This fiasco must have given Ferdinand food for thought: he may have realized that, though he had sufficient competent engineers, his court lacked a competent and sufficiently authoritative designer, preferably proficient in the new Italian or Vitruvian manner.[139] Though the handling of this case—with its complicated deliberations and its piling-up of alternative designs and models—show that civil architecture was taken quite seriously at court, it had less priority than military engineering, even when intended for Ferdinand himself; doubtless for political and economic reasons. In September 1555, however, Charles V intimated his intention to abdicate, and Ferdinand began organizing the complex process to insure his smooth succession to the Empire. It was clear that this change in status made it more urgent to fill the lacuna. It seems that Strada was the right person, in the right place at the right moment. The manuscript Strada had presented to Ferdinand, during his first documented audience with the King in Regensburg early in 1557, demonstrated his competence as an antiquary; Ferdinand's visit to Strada's *studio* in Nuremberg almost a year later had made him aware of the treasure of visual documentation this

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Preda suggested that this 'defect' that might be obviated: 'Aber die Rauchen stain daran glat zumachen mag woll geschehen' (Dreger 1914, p. 104.), a suggestion which Ferdinand seems to have condoned.

137 In their letter to the King the members of *Niederösterreichische Kammer* question Schallautzer's and Pozzo's statement that the piers were constructed in accordance with his explicit wishes: 'So haben Sy uns doch bayd, und fünemblich der Schallauczer alweeg zuverstehen geben, Es sey Eur. Khn. Mt. außtrukhlicher Bevelh', quoted in Dreger 1914, pp. 103–104. Dreger already suspected that the unusual Renaissance forms of these piers had contributed to the misgivings of the Vienna masons and architects, because it did not fit their Late-Gothic artistic perception ('Kunstempfinden'). Oddly enough, Bonifaz Wolmut was among the critics, though in his case this was probably due to his doubts as to the propriety of these forms in this particular place, rather than to any lack of artistic perception of Renaissance architecture.

138 There appears little doubt that these piers are relics of the 1549–1551 restructuring (cf. Dreger 1914, p. 158). The architecture suggests that it may have been intended to restructure in this manner at least one of the courtyard facades (that of the south-west-façade, housing the royal apartment?); if so, any traces of this would have disappeared when a new, even more monumental staircase hall was constructed in front of this façade. But in view of the little that remains, this seems unlikely, and even if planned, it may never have bene executed because of the huge expense it would have involved.

139 Possibly the appointment of Hans Tirol as an architect in 1551 can be seen as a first attempt to fill this lacuna?

included, in particular his collection of measured drawings of both ancient Roman architectural remains, and up-to-date architectural projects in Rome and elsewhere in Italy. He must have realised that Strada's presence at court would make all this material available at no or very little cost to himself: doubtless this consideration heavily influenced his eventual decision.[140]

By the time of his visit to Strada's studio, Ferdinand would have heard informal reports on Strada's competence from Hans Jakob Fugger and from some of his other patrons and associates (such as Antonio Agustín, at the time present at court as Papal Nuncio, and Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, Prince-Bishop of Augsburg, who accompanied Ferdinand on his visit). These appear to have been positive, if Ferdinand decided to accept Strada's formal offer of his services. As we have seen, the few documented assignments he was given in his first years in Vienna were all in the field of architecture, and when Strada was finally formally appointed, it was as an architect, rather than as an antiquary. So it was his competence as such, that motivated Ferdinand's decision.

5.6 Strada's Competence as an Architect

5.6.1 *Practical Experience*

To understand Jacopo Strada's role in the architectural establishment at court, it is necessary to consider for what reasons he was held capable for that function, even though he himself had taken pains to present himself as a learned antiquary and had applied for an appointment as such, rather than as an architect. The little we know or can infer about Strada's earlier career suggests that he probably had some practical experience as an architect, though we do not know exactly what this may have entailed. The hypothesis that he was in some way involved in the construction of the *Italienische Bau* of the Stadtresidenz in Landshut remains speculation; that he made the designs for decorative elements of the Fuggerhaus at Donauwörth remains an attribution.[141]

On the other hand we do know that Strada was capable of preparing architectural designs, since he had made measured drawings of the remnants of antique monuments in Rome: it is likely that he had been taught at least the

140 Cf. above, Ch. 4.1–4.2. Strada himself referred in guarded terms to the advantage of his wealth and collection when pressing Ferdinand's first chamberlain, Martin de Guzmán, for an answer: 'sempre sarò efitionatissimo a la Casa d'Austria, et spenderò la robba et l'honore per Lei dove potrò' (Doc. 1558-02-21); a passage in his letter to Ferdinand himself might be stretched to include a similar intention: 'Hora se la Maestà Vostra li piace di acetarmi nel numero de li suoi servitor, del canto mio farò ogni debito di farmi honore' (Doc. 1558-02-12).

141 Cf. above, Chs. 2.3 and 3.4.

rudiments of this art already as a youngster in Giulio Romano's studio, in his native Mantua. His reconstructions of Roman monuments as illustrated on the reverses of ancient Imperial coins in his numismatic *corpus* demonstrate both his competence as an architectural draughtsman and his profound theoretical knowledge of classical architecture, doubtless derived at least in part from Giulio's precept [Fig. 5.89]. The only existent architectural designs for a contemporary building by his hand that have been identified to date, those for the Munich Antiquarium of 1568, confirm that by that date he was a competent architectural designer [below, Figs. 8.15, 8.17, 8.20].[142] And he would not have

FIGURE 5.89 Jacopo Strada and workshop, triumphal arch: reconstruction based on the reverse of a Roman coin; drawing in pen, ink and wash, from Strada's *Magnum ac novum opus*, vol. 11, fol. 27r; Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek.

142 Below, Ch. 8.

been asked to provide these if he had not had at least some previous experience in the field. Certainly Hans Jakob Fugger, who was responsible for the coordination of the Antiquarium project, at this same time complimented Strada on the success he had had with his design for Emperor Maximilian II's *Lustschloß* Neugebäude. It is surely significant that he added that he had not been surprised: 'non dubito punto di fatti Vostri, havendoVi conosciuto tanti anni', 'having known you for so many years'; and he added that the Emperor was lucky to have found someone who could well design the planned building.[143]

5.6.2 *Theoretical Knowledge and the Musaeum*

Moreover, even had he been poor in practical experience of architecture, Strada was well versed in the theory of contemporary architectural design, as we have seen. After growing up in Mantua while Giulio realized some of the Gonzaga's grandest splendours, including the Palazzo del Te, in the 1530s and later in the 1550s he spent some time in Rome, where he not only could admire the commissions realized for the Farnese Pope, Paul III, and his relatives, but also could participate in the learned antiquarian researches done under the aegis of Cardinal Marcello Cervini, by, for instance, architects such as Vignola, Pirro Ligorio and Philibert de l'Orme.[144] Certainly he developed a passionate interest in architecture, which expressed itself in projects to measure exemplary modern buildings as well as ancient remnants, or at least to acquire the results of such projects undertaken by others. It is therefore not surprising that the large collection of graphic material he brought together included a great quantity of architectural drawings. Perhaps the most important component of this was Sebastiano Serlio's collection of manuscripts and drawings, which he could acquire in Lyon, shortly before the death of this influential architectural theorist. Serlio's collection included manuscript versions of the unpublished books of his architectural treatise, which he had reedited at Strada's express commission. Strada planned to publish all of these, though he would succeed in printing only the *Settimo Libro*, which was issued in Frankfurt in 1575. The preparing of such material for the press again presupposes some considerable architectural know-how.[145]

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143 Doc. 1568-11-13: 'I have never doubted what you could do, having known you for so many years'. The project for the Neugebäude is discussed below, Ch. 9.

144 Abovr, Vh. 3.7. The informal 'accademia di nobilissimi gentiluomini e signori che attendevano alla lezione di Vitruvio' (Vasari), is discussed in Daly Davis 1989 and Daly Davis 1994, esp. pp.11–18; Kulawik 2002, pp. 30–31 and 119–127.

145 In his preface Strada that it won't be difficult for him to prepare Serlio's as yet unpublished manuscripts for the press, 'per la pratica che ho nelle cose sue, et nell'ordine ch'egli tiene'; a formulation which suggests that Strada himself intended to finish those elements that Serlio had not been able to complete (Serlio 1575). On Strada's acquisition of Serlio's material, and his subsequent edition of the *Seventh Book*, see Jansen 1989.

Apart from Serlio's material, Strada acquired large quantities of drawings from the estates of Perino del Vaga and Giulio Romano, which included many architectural designs both by Giulio himself and by other artists, among whom Raphael—the master in whose studio Giulio and Perino had received their training—had pride of place. These acquisitions were complemented by specially commissioned measured drawings of both antique relics and contemporary architectural and decorative projects, such as Raphael's *Loggia* in the Vatican.[146]

Given his training in Giulio Romano's milieu, it is not surprising Strada was particularly interested in the decorative aspects of architecture: for Raphael and Giulio at least, these seem to have been inseparable. It is significant that Strada was partly trained as a goldsmith, that is as a decorative artist. The craft of the goldsmith could be exercised in conjunction with the design or modelling of architectural decoration: Niccolò da Milano, one of the stuccoists working in the Palazzo del Te, was also a well-known goldsmith. Strada's association with Wenzel Jamnitzer, and his own designs, particularly those for the frontispieces of his manuscripts, show that he certainly was capable to design ornament, including ornament of an architectural nature.

5.6.3 *'Commisarius Bellicus': Was Strada Employed as a Military Architect?*

Besides civic architecture and decoration, Strada would have had at least some interest in the art of warfare and in fortification and military engineering, an essential component of architecture and in the sixteenth century a particular specialty of Italian architects and mathematicians. He must have found material relating to this among Serlio's manuscripts, who also owned drawings he had been left by Peruzzi, which in its turn may have included material deriving from Francesco di Giorgio Martini. Strada's knowledge of technical inventions, which dated back at least to his contacts with the Marquis of Marignano, largely depended on such sources, which he and his son and grandson exploited in manuscripts and publications prepared in their studio.[147] His collection also included some documentation relating to (near) contemporary warfare. Among this were a detailed depiction of the camp inhabited by Suleiman the Magnificent during his siege of Vienna in 1529, and several other materials relating to the encampment and the battle order of the Turkish foe, which Strada

146 Cf. below, Ch.13.8.

147 The designs included in the printed version published by Ottavio II Strada in 1617–1618 (Strada, Jacopo 1617–1618) largely derive from inventions by Francesco di Giorgio Martini; cf. RETI 1963; Marchis / Dolza 2002; Dolza 2003.

had obtained from various sources; but also the manuscript of a military treatise by the French general Guillaume du Bellay, and a set of drawings of medieval weapons, armour, and war machinery.

But even such relatively contemporary material appears to have been collected for its antiquarian and documentary value, rather than for immediate practical application. This is certainly the case with the comparable documentation on the battle order of the ancient Romans—which in fact was an integral reproduction of Giulio Romano's frieze in the *Camera degli Stucchi* of the Palazzo del Te—and of their manner of encamping an army as reconstructed by Sebastiano Serlio on the basis of Polybius' *Castrametatio*. It is significant that contemporary fortification is conspicuously lacking among the materials Strada singled out for publication, though his *Musaeum* doubtless included at least printed versions of such material.[148]

After his prolonged stay in France and in Rome, during which he had made these acquisitions, Strada had returned to Nuremberg. As we have seen, the new Emperor, Ferdinand I, had received Strada in audience and had visited his studio in person, so he was aware of the latter's first-hand experience of the most recent developments in the arts. His decision to take Strada into his service must have been motivated at least as much by his architectural and artistic know-how as by his antiquarian expertise. Though Strada had presented himself as an antiquary and was initially consulted in this latter capacity, when he obtained a formal appointment at court it was in his capacity as an architect.

One of Ferdinand principal cares was the defence of his territories against the Turks, and most of the architects and masons in his service were primarily employed in fortification in Hungary. But in contrast with most other Imperial architects of the time, there is no direct evidence that Strada was ever actively employed in fortifications or other military commissions. All the same, in view of the continuing Turkish presence in Hungary, it cannot be excluded that Strada occasionally was recruited for the war effort.

The invention of gunpowder and the development of ever more effective artillery had disqualified traditional warfare on the medieval pattern, especially where siege warfare was concerned. For the battlefield, however, and perhaps for the logistics of campaigns in the field, the classical art of warfare as expounded in Polybius, Vegetius and Caesar was not yet redundant, and Strada may well have been asked to help conciliate ancient precept and modern practice: of the latter he must have been aware thanks to his earlier connection with as famous a general as the Marquis of Marignano and his circle.

148 All this material discussed in greater detail below, Ch. 13.

The material he collected on the subject shows that he was interested in it, or at least was aware of its importance. As in other sciences, the practitioners of strategy of the Renaissance—one thinks of Maximilian II's intellectual, humanist-trained commander-in-chief, Lazarus von Schwendi—will have been interested in practice and precepts of their antique predecessors, certainly of those of great warriors such as Alexander, Caesar and Trajan.[149] Strada was in a position to hand them the materials and comment on these, and it is as such, as a learned counsellor, that he may possibly have played a minor role in the military deliberations at court. In addition he may have been expected to use his contacts in the learned world and the book trade to obtain information and documentation that might be useful in developing concrete strategies.

Finally it is possible that his workshop was employed in preparing and/or copying maps, sketches and designs necessary for the war effort. Thus the engraver Martino Rota, who is documented working for Strada and engraved a portrait of his second son Ottavio, also specialized in antiquities and in maps. A sketched map of the situation of the stronghold Szatmár (now Satu Mare in Romania) among Strada's papers in the Strahov codex in Prague [Fig. 5.90], is a possible relic of some such involvement, probably on the occasion of its siege by the Ottoman army under Ibrahim Pasha in 1562, or later, when it had been reconquered, and Lazarus von Schwendi ordered the architect Ottavio Baldigara to rebuild the citadel according to modern principles of fortification.[150]

Even if Strada would have been involved in this case, the dearth of sources indicates that such activity would at most have been a side-line for him, though it might help explain the inscription on Strada's portrait [Fig. 5.91]. This reads JACOBVS DE STRADA. / CIVIS ROMANUS CAESS: / ANTIQVARIVS ET COM: / BELIC: AN: AETAT: LI: etC: / M.D. LXVI. Though ancient, this inscription is doubtful, and was probably renewed or adapted sometime after his death.[151] The only possible solution of the abbreviation COM: BELIC: is 'Commissarius Bellicus', which one could translate in German as 'Kriegscommissar'. This was a rank or function that in fact did exist in the Imperial army at the time, but there is no indication at all that Strada ever was a soldier, let

149 Strada's 1575 edition of Caesar was supplemented by illustrations of the pitched battles and sieges described, cf. below, Ch. 14.5.3.

150 Vienna, Prague, Library of the Strahov Monastery, Prague, cod. DL III 3, fol. 106; on Satu Mare, cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Satu_Mare and http://www.satu-mare.ro/despre/istorie.html.de.

151 Discussed in Crowe/Cavalcaselle 1877–1878, p. 658, n. 12; Zimmermann 1901, pp. 830–835; Wethey 1969–1975, II, cat. 100, p. 141; Mucchi 1977; Ferino-Pagden 2008, cat. nr. 1.13.

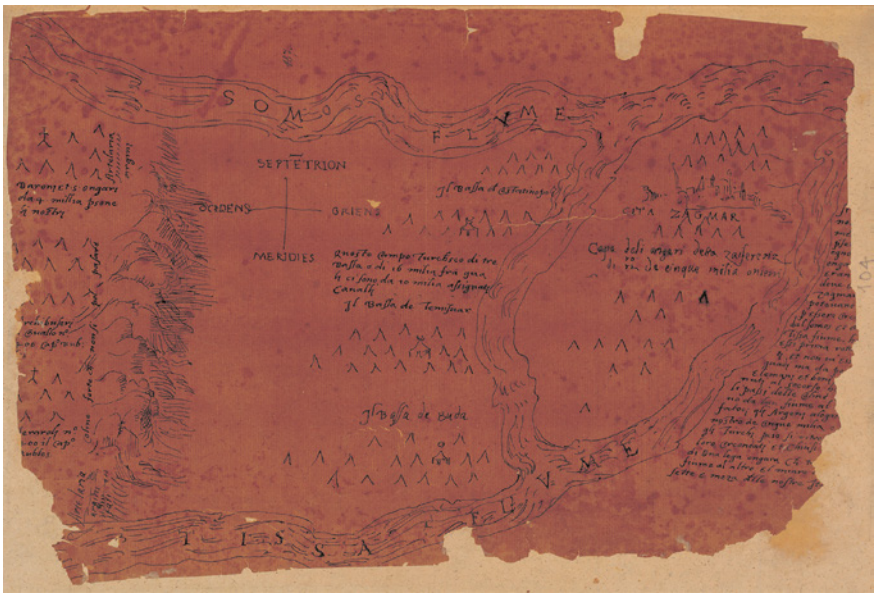

FIGURE 5.90 Anonymous sketch of a battle in the vicinity of Szatmár (Satu Mare) in Transylvania, inserted in the Strahov Codex.

alone that he would have been a high-ranking officer.[152] The few hard facts available suggest that as an architect he was primarily involved in the design of the Imperial residences and their decoration, as is reasonable to expect in view of his background and his earlier experience.

This is corroborated by the fact that Strada first was appointed as 'ain paumaister bey unnseren gebewen alhier', that is in Vienna. The need for better accommodation of the court had been felt earlier and had already led to some additions and adaptations of the Habsburg residence in Vienna, the Hofburg. But it was not just extra space that was needed, but also a more representative space, which could at least in some measure compete with the pomp displayed by other princely courts. This need became even more urgent at Ferdinand's accession to the Empire. The process by which the court painter Pietro Ferrabosco was transformed into a very professional architect may serve as an

152 The suggestion that the word 'BELIC': may have been mistakenly restored from 'AULIC':, first suggested by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, but denied by Zimmermann, may possibly be the right one, as long as it would refer to a purely honorific title 'Hofrat'; Sambucus, for instance, also held this title. Possibly that part of the inscription was added by Strada's grandson Ottavio (II), who had never known his grandfather and may not have been informed about his exact position at court.

FIGURE 5.91 The inscription on Titian's portrait of Jacopo Strada.

indication of the need felt for more up-to-date, more cosmopolitan design that would be better suited to serve the needs of Imperial *Representatio*. So Strada arrived at court at a time when up-to-date architectural know-how must have been particularly welcome, and would have been employed primarily in that field. Moreover, Strada's own taste and style—a very reduced, simple and rational type of classicist design directly derived from the more sober designs of the Roman High Renaissance, in particular form the works by Raphael and Strada's own teacher, Giulio Romano—corresponded closely to Ferdinand's preference for the 'subtle, unassuming, noble elegance', as described by Renate Holzschuh-Hofer.

CHAPTER 6

Strada's Role in Projects Initiated by Emperor Ferdinand I

In the foregoing I have attempted to sketch the situation in the field of architecture and decoration at the Imperial court at the time Strada arrived in Vienna, somewhere in May 1558. He found that his new Habsburg patrons had developed a taste for more up-to-date architecture and decoration in the classical, Italian manner; a taste that was, however, difficult for them to satisfy. As we have seen, some of their architects and court-artists had some inkling of what was going on in this field both south of the Alps and elsewhere in Europe, at least by means of some of the recent illustrated publications on architecture and ornamental design. The most important among these were the first five books of Serlio's architectural treatise. The first volume of these had come out in 1537, and all five books were repeatedly reprinted in the fifth decade of the sixteenth century also in French and Flemish editions.[1] But few, if any, of the architects at court had any first-hand experience of such developments, and some of them, such as the illiterate Benedikt Kölbl, would hardly have been able to profit even from the printed material.

In view of this lack of masters sufficiently acquainted with, let alone well-versed in the new manner, the arrival of an artist and designer who was both thoroughly acquainted with its theoretical aspects and had first-hand knowledge of its results, must have been quite welcome. As we have seen in Chapter 4, very soon after his arrival in Vienna Strada was repeatedly asked to advise, with other court-architects, on several of the projects being executed or planned at that time. When in January 1560 Strada was formally appointed as an architect, the salary he was conceded was similar to that of the other architects active at court. As Hilda Lietzmann has first pointed out, this makes it very unlikely that his tasks remained limited to such occasional advice. In the following a number of projects at court will be discussed in which Strada was involved.

1 The French and Flemish editions were published by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, who also printed the illustrated description of the Entry of Philip II in Antwerp in 1548, which doubtless was present in Vienna. Other authors whose books and prints may have reached Vienna by this time include Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, Jean Martin and Guillaume Philandrier.

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6.1 The Hofspital

The first documented instance of Strada's involvement in projects at court dates already from a year earlier, shortly after he had arrived in Vienna. The *Hofspital* or *Kaiserspital*, a charitable institution under the particular patronage of Queen Anna of Hungary and of Ferdinand himself that was located next to the Hofburg [nr 5 on the plan in Fig. 5.72] had been begun already in 1549, after a model designed by Sigismund de Preda, who presumably died shortly afterwards. Since then, all sorts of problems had held up its completion. On 20 October 1558 a model for its arcades, provided by Benedikt Kölbl, was the subject of a careful consultation between the Emperor himself, his *Bausuperintendent* Schallautzer, his court-painter and architect Pietro Ferrabosco and the recent arrival, Jacopo Strada. This commission approved Kölbl's plans, and the building was realized under Kölbl's direction in the following years.[2]

The Kaiserspital was very largely remodelled in the eighteenth century, and the little we know of its original appearance comes from a photograph taken during its demolition in 1903, when the original arcades of the courtyard became visible again, and from the measurements taken at the time by Rudolf Pichler, who used them for a set of reconstruction drawings [Fig. 6.1]. His

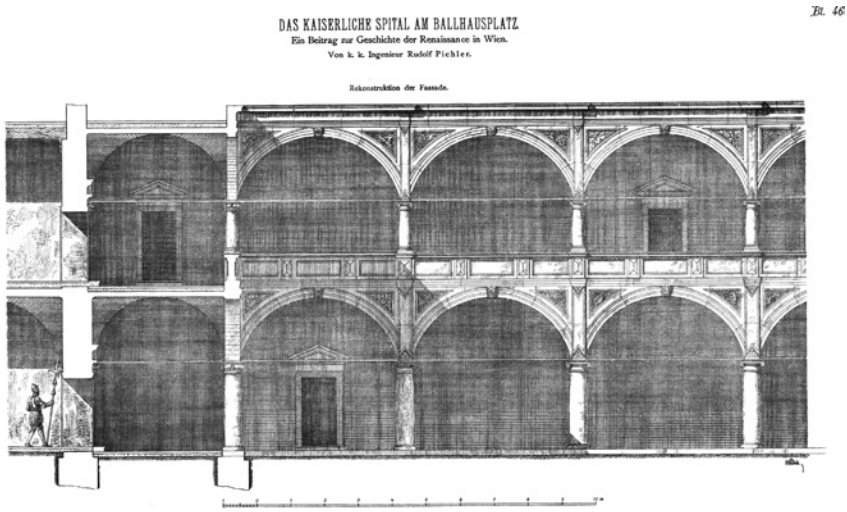


FIGURE 6.1 Rudolf Pichler, Reconstruction of the arcades of the Kaiserspital based on measurements made shortly before its demolition in 1903.

2 On the Hofspital, see: Pichler 1904; Kühnel 1958, pp. 314–315, 317–318 and 324; Kühnel 1971, pp. 37–38 and Fig. 6; Nowotny 1978; Wandruszka / Reininghaus 1984, pp. 16–32;Grün 2014.

rendering of the courtyard shows a gallery of two superimposed arcades. The lower arcade is carried on Tuscan columns the height of which is difficult to determine; the upper story consists of wide, possibly segmental arches carried on short, squat columns topped by ionic capitals, of which in the photograph only two survive; the two orders are vertically connected by shallow pilaster strips. It is unlikely that a third story was part of the original building. This building thus conforms to the type of arcaded courtyard or *Laubenhof* that was, and would remain, so popular in Austria and Bohemia. Moreover it is undoubtedly a Renaissance design, with columns and capitals carrying segmental arches.

Nevertheless it is not very likely that such a facade would have greatly appealed to Strada's ideas. Though the architectural ornament, in particular the columns and their capitals, are not badly designed, their application can hardly be called classical, witness the arches carried on columns, the odd strips prolonging the columns upward, the apparent lack of an entablature between the two levels. Principal defect, from the point of view of classical, Vitruvian architecture, is the disproportion between the two orders: the columns of the first floor are far too short in relation both to their own capitals, and to the columns of the ground floor.

It is clear that if Strada protested against these defects, such protest was not heeded by his colleagues. But it can be argued that Strada may not have protested very strongly—after all, the building had been designed much earlier, was largely finished, and the model for its completion was presented by the principal architect serving the Emperor in Vienna. Moreover, Strada had only just arrived and would avoid the risk to offend his new colleagues immediately. By this time he must have realized that his rash attack on Wolfgang Lazius' antiquarian competence did not contribute to local good-will and did not endear him to the Emperor: in all probability he would not have risked to repeat such a blunder in the presence of his patron.[3]

6.1.1 *Supervision: Hermes Schallautzer?*

In view of what we know of Strada's character, however, it is unlikely that he would have waited long before he obtruded his expertise and his opinions. Once he had spied out how the land lay and built up a good relationship with at least some of the architects and the decision-makers at court, we can expect to see some effects of his arrival. In particular his relationship with the Emperor's elder son, King Maximilian, would have strengthened his hand. By June 1559 he had built up a more personal relationship with the king, to whom he appealed

3 In a letter to Hans Jakob Fugger of 6 June 1559 Strada explains that he cannot respond in print to Lazius' invective for such reasons: 'Ma io mi bisogna molti rispetti avertire, perchè offenderei parechi in un tratto' (DOC. 1559-06-09). On the controversy, see above, Ch. 4.2.

for help in the Lazius controversy, a relationship which would continue until Maximilian's death, and which was characterized by considerable mutual respect.[4] Maximilian himself had already shown some interest in architecture and city planning and he was at least the nominal organizer of the festivities of 1560. In later life, between his many more pressing political occupations, those devoted to building, gardening and festive projects at court provided a welcome recreation. Probably by this time he would have concerned himself personally in the architectural projects initiated by his father, whom he represented in his frequent absences: in particular in those projects intended to create or improve the accommodation for himself, his consort and his children and their households. But if so, we still do not know what form such involvement would have taken.

Deliberations such as that about the *Hofspital* seldom had an official status. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, they are very rarely documented, but that does not mean that they did not take place regularly, though the personal presence of Ferdinand in this instance probably was exceptional. In most cases Schallautzer, as *Bausuperintendent*, seems to have been responsible for the coordination of projects. Doubtless this included the communication between the Emperor and the architects and other artists involved in the projects under his supervision, so it is likely that formally Strada took his orders from Schallautzer; there is no evidence that Strada's attack on Lazius, Schallautzer's nephew, in any way interfered with their professional relations. Yet it is unlikely that Ferdinand and Maximilian would not have wished occasionally to hear their expert's opinions at first hand, just as it is unlikely that Strada would have accepted his position in Vienna, had he not at least occasionally been allowed to communicate his ideas or to present his designs to his patrons in person. This is indicated by Strada's confident letter to Archduke Ferdinand, insisting on the total control of the planned work; by his relative independence when employed by his first patron, Hans Jakob Fugger, with whom he still maintained a close personal relationship; and, later in his career, by the insistence of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria on Strada's personal presence when he was planning the Munich Antiquarium.[5]

4 Copy of a letter by Strada to King Maximilian, enclosed in his letter to Hans Jakob Fugger of 6 June 1559, *ibid*. The letter to Fugger implies that Strada actually spoke to the king about the subject, before or when presenting his petition.

5 DOC. 1556-12-22: Strada to Archduke Ferdinand: 'Però volendo Sua Excellenza darmi il carico de tutto il lavoro, et ch'io abbia a comandare, et che non conoschi altro sopra capo che Sua Excellenza'. Strada's role in the genesis of the Munich Antiquarium discussed below, Ch. 8.

6.2 The Tomb of Maximilian I in Innsbruck

In August 1559 (or perhaps 1560, the year is not indicated) Jacopo Strada was again employed in a similar consultative capacity, now in connection with the most important dynastic commission of the Austrian Habsburgs, the completion of the tomb of the Emperor Maximilian I. This tomb had been planned by that Emperor himself and begun during his lifetime, and was intended to be placed in a chapel or mausoleum to be constructed after his own designs in the church of St. Georg in Wiener Neustadt. Its completion was enjoined on the Emperor's heirs in his will, and it naturally fell to Ferdinand I, as sovereign of the Austrian *Erblande,* to execute his grandfather's last wishes. He took this task quite seriously, but nevertheless did not manage to accomplish it within his own lifetime. The vicissitudes of this stupendous project have been described elsewhere; suffice here to note that by the time of Ferdinand's accession to the Empire the planned location of the monument had been shifted from Wiener Neustadt to Innsbruck, that a new church specifically designed to house it, the *Hofkirche*, was nearing completion, as was a large part of the huge array of over life-size bronze statues of historical and symbolical ancestors and precursors of the Habsburg Emperors that was to accompany the Imperial tomb proper.[6]

In 1555 or early in 1556 Ferdinand commanded Hermes Schallautzer to devise the collocation of the as yet inexistent tomb and the forty large and hundred small bronze statues and the thirty-two bronze portrait busts that were to accompany it in the new church. Schallautzer's report was accompanied by a ground plan of the new church showing the collocation of tomb and statues (nr 9), a ground plan (nr 3) of the tomb proper and a *Visierung* or design of one half of its elevation, showing 'how the whole should be ornamented' (nr 4).[7] Schallautzer's description suggests that, like the accompanying statues, at least the historical scenes decorating the planned tomb or cenotaph were to be cast in bronze.[8] It was to include all the coats of arms taken from

6 Actually it is a cenotaph, since Maximilian's remains were never transferred from Wiener Neustadt. On the history of the tomb, see a.o. Schönherr 1890; Oberhammer 1935; Dressler 1973, pp. 46–60; EGG 1974, pp. 56–57; Scheicher 1984.

7 Schönherr 1890, p. 204; the text of Schallautzer's report to Ferdinand printed *ibidem* in appendix I, p. 264–265: 'So haben eur Römisch khgl. maj. etc. die gruntlegung der kirchen, darein das grab geseczt soll werden, mit austailung der 40 grossen bilder unden, desgleichen in de höch zwischen auf den pheilern di 100 clainen bilder und an der prust baider porkirchen die 32 prustbilder hieneben mit nr. 9.'

8 *Ibidem*, 'mer die vierundzwainzig haubtstuckh aus der ernportn mitzueschickhen, grösz, wie es in das grab gegossen soll werden<...>'.

Dürer's *Ehrenpforte*, the huge set of engravings commissioned by Maximilian I to document his life and triumphs, and thus to perpetuate his 'gedachtnus' and the lustre of his dynasty.[9] The tomb had a parallel function, so it comes as no surprise that the scenes from the life of the emperor decorating its sides were to be taken from Dürer's masterpiece as well—a copy of it in loose sheets was added to Schallautzer's despatch (nr 5). A selection of twenty four scenes had been made, and at Ferdinand's request Schallautzer had commissioned 'maister Frannczisco, erzherzogen Ferdinannd etc. maller'—that is Francesco Terzio—to work out one of these scenes in true size (nr 6) and, to have some choice, he had also asked a German painter, Hainrich Voghther, to prepare another one (nr 8). The epigraphs that were to identify the scenes were likewise taken from the *Ehrenpforte*, but had to be rendered into Latin, a task which had been undertaken by Ferdinand's chancellor for Austria, Hans Jakob Fugger's old friend Georg Sigismund Seld, whose labour was likewise added to the packet for the Emperor (nr. 7). A book of drawings documenting the older statues preserved in Vienna, for which Ferdinand has asked, had been lent out, and could therefore not be included in the file.[10] The design Schallautzer added to this package must have been the one preserved in the Albertina and attributed to Francesco Terzio [Fig. 6.2], which implies that in 1556, though the coats of arms, the reliefs with the historical scenes and the statues placed on its cover were still planned in bronze, the tomb itself was already conceived to be executed in marble, 'there is no doubt<...>that the entire architectural structure of the tomb should in fact be executed in marble'.[11]

Schallautzer's report shows the great interest Ferdinand attached to this project, and also how carefully and competently Schallautzer handled his master's commissions. It also makes clear that the material Schallautzer sent provided the basis for further discussion and decision making, for which Ferdinand would have recourse to others in his circle whose taste or whose

9 Both *Ehrenpforte* and tomb project are salient examples of a chapter in Maximilian's fictionalized autobiography *Der Weißkunig*: 'Wie der jung weiß kunig die Gedächtnus insonders lieb het'.

10 The Latin versions of the inscriptions printed in Schönherr 1890, pp. 266–268); the book of drawings can perhaps be identified with a preserved codex with drawings in watercolour from Jörg Kölderer's workshop [ÖNB-HS Cod. 8329; cf. RUHM UND SINNLICHKEIT 1996, p. 163–164, cat. nr. 38.

11 Oberhammer 1935, p. 62: 'es unterliegt kein Zweifel<...>daß das ganze Architekturgerüst der Tumba, tatsächlich in Marmor ausgeführt werden sollte'. The drawing tallies quite well with the description (24 panels, the coats of arms, the frieze offering space for the 'principall oder sumari epitavi', the principal inscription). The sober, correct style of its architectural detail is quite close to that in the background of Terzio's print series *Imagines domus Austriacae*.

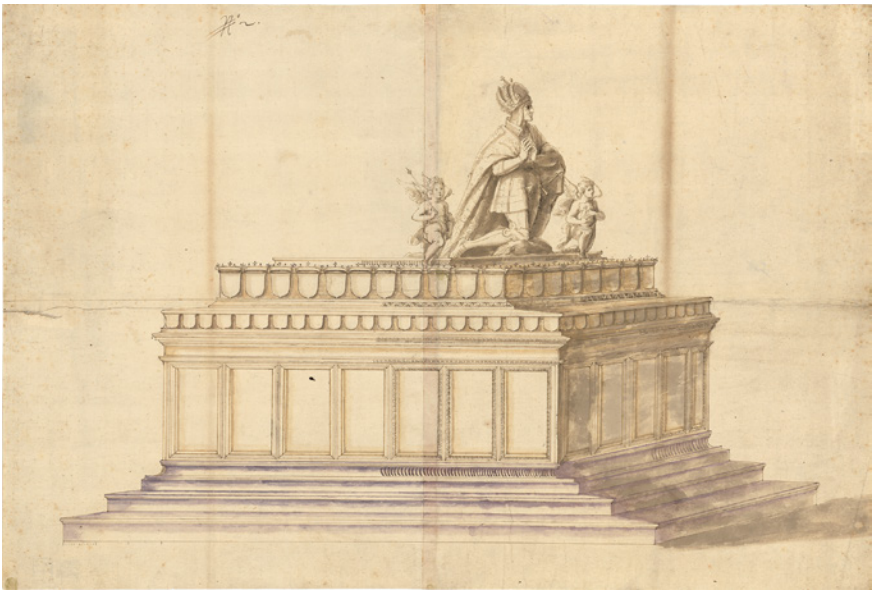


FIGURE 6.2 Attributed to Francesco Terzio, design for the tomb of Emperor Maximilian I, Innsbruck, ca 1555–1556; Vienna, Albertina.

historical, humanist, artistic or technical expertise could contribute to the desired result. Results probably were referred back to Innsbruck again, where the local government was responsible for the execution of the project and had to organize its finance. Thus in March 1557 Paul Uschal, secretary and 'Baumeister' of the Tirol government, was asked to come to Regensburg to show Ferdinand a 'visier' or design for the tomb. He was sent back with the instruction to have it drawn on true scale and pasted onto canvas. There things rested for a while, possibly because of the increased pressure of affairs due to Ferdinand's wish to ensure a smooth transition of power in the Empire after the abdication of Charles V. Two years later, in January 1559, Ferdinand asked the Innsbruck government to instruct Uschal to come and bring the promised 'visier', but it is not certain whether that had actually been made.

Later in this year, however, Schallautzer again reported on the matter to Ferdinand, who had asked him to discuss the design for the tomb with Pietro Ferrabosco, Jacopo Strada and Natale Veneziano, a meeting which took place on the 27th of August.[12] The report makes clear that a worked out design was

12 DOC. 1559-08-27; published in Schönherr 1890, Appendix II, pp. 265–266; the document itself is not dated, it may refer to a meeting on 27 August 1560, but 1559 seems more probable.

available, and the discussion chiefly addressed the materials from which the several elements were to be made: the principal decision was to execute the historical scenes in white marble, rather than in bronze. But Schallautzer's summing up also shows that Terzio's relatively sober design had itself been changed or discarded: the tomb was to be flanked at the corners by four 'eghkhpilder' in bronze. It is not clear who was responsible for this new concept, which was worked out in a 'Visierung' or detailed design on true scale, an immense drawing in pen and wash pasted onto a canvas support—exactly as the Emperor had earlier asked Uschal to provide. Exceptionally this immense drawing (it measures over two by four meters) has been preserved in the Kunsthistorisches Museum [Fig. 6.3].[13] It is attributed to the painter Florian Abel, who was also responsible for the designs for the individual historical scenes that were commissioned from his two brothers, the sculptors Bernhard and Arnold Abel. These were employed on it for several years, and were paid a lot of money, but in the end realized only a few of the marbles cartouches carrying the captions of the scenes, and certainly not more than three of the reliefs.

Their greatest merit would be to recruit Alexander Colin from Mechelen as their assistant, who at the Abels's death would completely take over the project. He is responsible for almost all the sculptures decorating the entire tomb, including the kneeling effigy of Maximilian I, which was cast in bronze and placed only in 1583. Though in the tomb as realized [Fig. 6.4] the reliefs and other elements such as the bronze armorial trophies along the top step of the podium are based on Florian Abel's designs, the architectural framework is simpler and seems to owe more to Terzio's sober, architectural proposal than

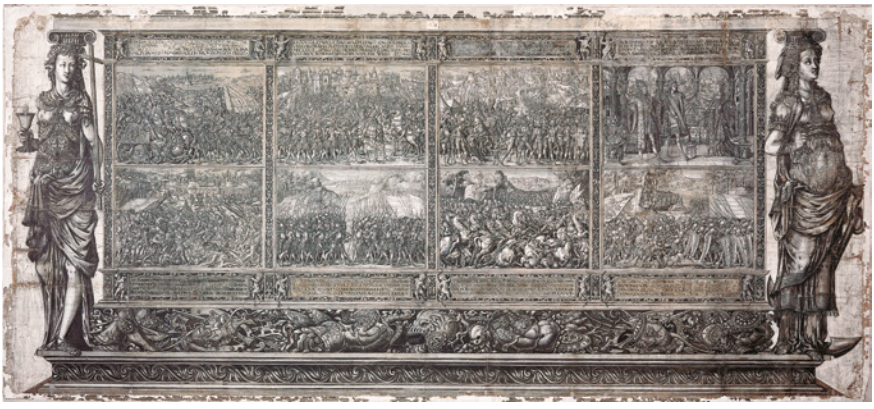


FIGURE 6.3 Attributed to Florian Abel, 'Visierung' or detailed life-size design for the tomb of Emperor Maximilian I, ca 1561; Innsbruck, Schloss Ambras.

13 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer 4971.

FIGURE 6.4 The tomb of Maximilian I as executed by Alexander Colin, drawing by Joseph Strickner 1744–1826; Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum.

to Abel's, which seems to derive from the art of the goldsmith, rather than from that of the architect.[14]

It is impossible to define with certainty what Jacopo Strada may have contributed to the conception or development of the Innsbruck tomb. It is significant for Ferdinand's attitude that all three artists he asked Schallautzer to consult were Italians: this implies that he wished for an up-to-date design which could hold its own when compared to similar projects, in Italy, but also in France and the Netherlands. Though all the members of the committee doubtless carefully considered and commented on all or most of the features of the plan, its insistence on the unity of design of the work may well be largely due to Strada:

14 Looking at the *Visierung* without background information I myself would suspect it to have been designed to be executed entirely in bronze, rather than in marble. The drawing by Joseph Strickner of the tomb as executed is in Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, FB 1673.

> <…>the design or *Visierung* of the tomb as a whole should absolutely be made by one hand, preferably the hand that made the design of the Emperor's person and the putti etc. on top of the grave.[15]

This passage provides a remarkable parallel to Strada's earlier advice in the matter of Archduke Ferdinand's table fountain, where he likewise insisted on the importance of a detailed, architectural plan or even a three-dimensional model, and one single 'supervisor who well understands the planned work, so that he can guide the masters employed in it'.[16] Whether Strada would have pretended to such a function in the case of Maximilian's tomb is not clear, certainly there are no positive indications that he was further involved in it. All the same, being present at court as an acknowledged expert, it is not unlikely that he continued to contribute informally to the development of the project. Thus the classicist armorial trophies used as a socle zone in Abel's design [Fig. 6.6] may have been based on antiquarian drawings from his collection or even on Strada's own numismatics sketches [Fig. 6.5].

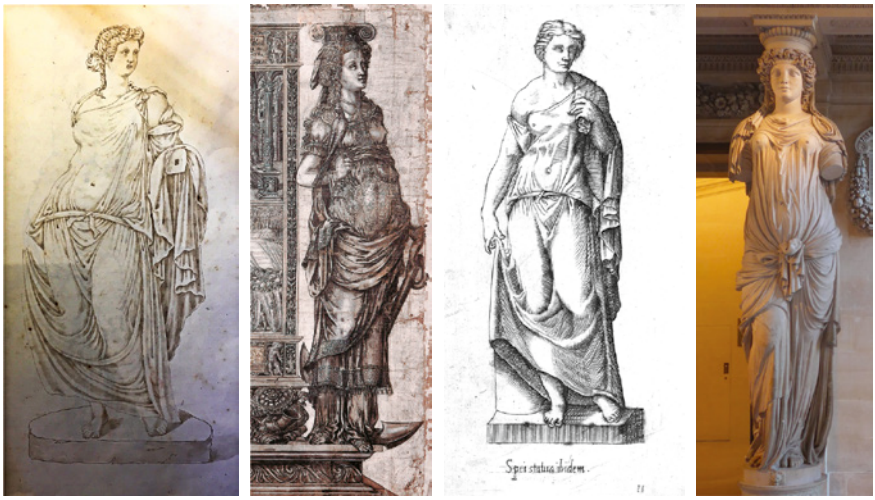
The similarity between the two caryatids at the corners of Abel's design—personifications of the virtues of Faith and Hope—and some of the female figures in Strada's albums—particularly his renderings of antique statues—is

FIGURES 6.5–6.6 Jacopo Strada, detail of a reconstruction of a triumphal arch derived from a Roman coin (detail of Fig. 15.26), compared to the socle zone of Florian Abel's design for the tomb of Maximilian I (detail of Fig. 6.3).

15 Schönherr 1890, Appendix II, p. 265: 'Beschlieszlich soll die entwerfung oder visierung des ganzen grabs von ainer hand gemaht werden und fallen all der hant zue, so die kaiserlich perschon sambt den khindlen etc. auf dem grab entworfen hat.'

16 DOC. 1556-12-22: 'Et anche male in disegno si potra mostrare, per esser lavoro che pigliara molto spatio, et a volerlo dar ben ad intendere, bisognaria farne un modello, overo patrone, nel modo come si fa quando si vole edificar un palazzo, acciò che li maestri che lavorerano se ne possino servire. Anchora bisognaria che ci fusse un sopra capo, che intendesse il lavoro, acciò sapesse guidar li maestri; altramente l'opera andaria in una spesa infinita, et anche per aventura sarebe male a Sua satisfatione.'

comparable to the resemblance between the latter and the supporting female in the *Visierung* for Jamnitzer's *Merkelsche Tafelaufsatz* discussed in Chapter 2.5 [Fig. 2.26]. Thus a drawing after the Flora Farnese (Naples) [Figs. 6.7] might have inspired one of Abel's *Cardinal Virtues* [Figs. 6.8], in particular because this statue at the time was also interpreted as *Spes*, or Hope, as is evident from the engraving of the same statue in Giovan Battista de' Cavallieri's print series *Antiquarum Statuarum Urbis Romae Liber Primus*, the earliest version of which is dated 1555–1561 [Figs. 6.9]. Even if this engraving, rather than Strada's drawing, was Abel's source, Strada's collection was still the most likely place for him to have found it.[17] But more than antique precept these caryatides suggest the influence of contemporary mannerist examples, in particular French ones such as the caryatides of Goujon's famous musician's balcony in the Louvre of 1551 [Fig. 6.10]. Strada's own interest and expertise and his recent stay in France indicate him as the most likely channel through which such motifs reached the Imperial court.



FIGURES 6.7–6.9 Jacopo Strada, drawing after the Flora Farnese (Vienna, Österreichsiche Nationalbibliothek) (6.7) and Giovan Battista Cavallieri's engraving of the same statue (as Spes) (6.9), compared to the caryatid personifying Hope in Florian Abel's design for the tomb of Maximilian I (6.8; detail of Fig. 6.3).

FIGURE 6.10 Jean Goujon, one of the Caryatides of his Tribune des musiciens in the Louvre, Paris 1551.

17 Strada's drawing in his *Antiquarum Statuarum*, Vienna, ÖNB-HS, *Cod. Min.* 21,1, fol.12. On Cavallieri's print, see the relevant entry in the database *Monumenta Rariora* of the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa: http://mora.sns.it/_portale/scheda_fonte.asp?Lang=ITA&GroupId=1&id_txt=2792.

On the other hand the design as a whole seems antithetical to Strada's approach: it seems pasted together of unrelated bits, its proportions and its architectural detail are old-fashioned, and seem Northern rather than Italian, in particular the puny lesenes separating the historical scenes [Fig. 6.3] which Colin later so rightly replaced by more substantial pilasters [Fig. 6.4].

But even if Strada did not contribute to the actual design of the tomb, as a member of the committee he may nevertheless have influenced the result. The decision to opt for marble rather than for bronze reliefs must have been chiefly due to him, as an acknowledged expert of classical antiquities, including sculpture. Being Italian, and having travelled widely in his country, he was moreover well equipped to contribute to the detailed instructions given to Arnold Abel where to look for the right sort of marble: eventually it would be imported from Carrara.[18]

6.3 Interior Decoration

In deliberations such as those about the tomb for Maximilian I Strada doubtless illustrated his point of view by means of the graphic material he had brought together. It is quite tempting to see an example of such influence in the design of the ceiling of the *grosse Taflstube* already mentioned above, which must have been realized shortly before 1560. In Chapter 5 we have seen that Strada was closely involved in the conception of the ceiling of the *Goldene Saal* in the Hofburg at Innsbruck, which was put together and painted by the painter Domenico da Pozzo in the second half of 1559.

It can be assumed that Strada would have played a similar role in the creation of the ceiling of the Vienna *Taflstube*, which was probably realized at about this same time [Fig. 6.13]. It is interesting to compare this ceiling with what we know of that of the *Goldene Saal* and with the slightly earlier similar ceiling in the 'Ritterstube' in the Vienna Hofburg, dating from ca 1550–1551 and possibly designed by Ferrabosco, who was paid for painting it [Fig. 6.11].

In these two cases the actual beams and wooden floors of the chambers above were already *in situ*, and the 'poden' had to be attached to the underside of the beams: it therefore consisted of a relatively shallow system of geometrically arranged wooden ribs framing polygonal compartments, the whole secured onto a surface of wooden boards fastened to the underside of the beams. An impression of technique and appearance of such ceilings is provided by a

18 Schönherr 1890, pp. 207–208.

slightly later one from Dobrovice castle, dating from ca. 1578, which has been preserved in Švihov castle in Southern Bohemia [Fig. 6.12].[19] We have seen that Strada probably influenced the final appearance of the Innsbruck ceiling, by which it both became more up-to-date than originally planned and corresponded more closely to the Emperor's taste as demonstrated in the slightly earlier ceiling of the Vienna *Ritterstube* [Fig. 6.11].

The *grosse Taflstube*, however, seems to have been newly constructed or reconstructed at about this time, possibly in anticipation of the festive meeting of Ferdinand and his children, which was organized by Maximilian himself and was to take place in 1560.[20] This afforded the opportunity of inserting a ceiling where the load-bearing beams remain visible and determine its disposition [Fig. 6.13]. The greater depth and the strong articulation of the square and octagonal compartments result in a powerful and monumental composition. As we have seen, it was deemed sufficiently remarkable to be

FIGURE 6.11 The ceiling in the Ritterstube of the Vienna Hofburg; detail of Fig. 5.76.

FIGURE 6.12 Ceiling from Dobrovice castle, ca 1578; now in Švihov castle, Czechia.

19 *Kunst der Renaissance* 1979, Abb. 57; *Renaissance in Böhmen* 1985, p. 210; another simpler example is the ceiling in Častolovice, ca 1580 (*ibid.*, p. 210 and. pl. 166–168).

20 Possibly the *Taflstube* was created by merging two adjoining smaller rooms.

FIGURE 6.13 Ceiling of the grosse Taflstube in the Vienna Hofburg, rdetail of Fig. 5.75.

illustrated in detail in Francesco Terzio's print of what may have been the inaugural dinner of the *Taflstube*.[21]

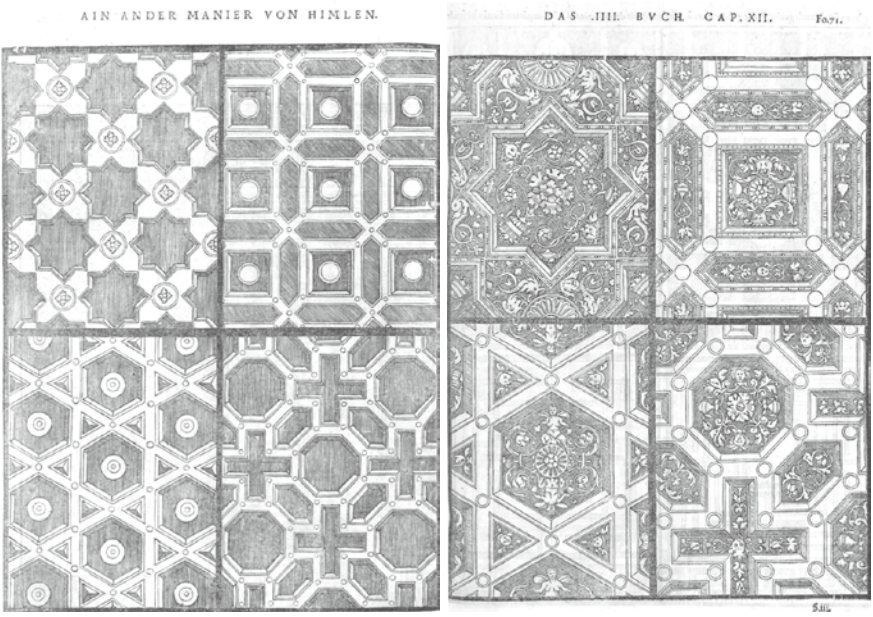
Such ceilings had not only been illustrated by Serlio [Fig. 6.14–6.15], they had also been executed after his own designs, for instance in the library of the Ducal palace in Venice (1528–1531) and in the various rooms of the Castle of Ancy-le Franc, built after his designs in the mid-1540s.[22] At this date, Strada was probably the only artist at court who knew such designs not only from paper, but had actually seen them executed in Italy and perhaps in France. It is very likely that the ceiling of the *Taflstube*, if it was not actually designed by him, was at least inspired by his collection of materials, in particular his Serlio manuscripts, and his comments on them.

6.4 The *Tanzhaus*

On the basis of its Serlian design the ceiling of the *Taflstube* can thus be tentatively linked to Strada. There are no data about other contributions to the conversion of the Hofburg proper. Most of the construction work had already been done, begun or at least planned before he arrived, and would have been too far advanced for him to have any influence on its architecture. I think it quite possible, however, that he did contribute designs for its interior decoration, in

21 Terzio did not quite grasp the structural base of the ceiling: in his perspective rendering the foreshortening reduces the width of the principal beams to narrow edges; though this might be possible, the small rosettes, indicated on their crossings, reflecting Serlio's designs, suggest that they were in reality wider.

22 Frommel 2002, pp. 186–199.



FIGURES 6.14–6.15 Eight designs for timber ceilings, from Sebastiano Serlio Die gemaynen Reglen von der Architectur uber die funf Manieren der Gebeu, Antwerp 1542.

particular for ceilings, chimneypieces and doorways; his cosmopolitan experience and the materials of his *Musaeum* would make him the obvious person to provide such representative detailing. The importance of such necessarily trendsetting decoration has not been recognized because next to nothing of it has survived.

Likewise nothing has been preserved of the *Tanzhaus*, a temporary ballroom erected for the 1560 Habsburg family gathering on the Burgbastei, the bastion just in front of the Hofburg. But we do have an image of it: a print by an unidentified engraver, the monogrammist FA [Fig. 6.16] again preserved in Francolin's description of the festivities.[23] Many artists must have been involved to prepare the designs for the various events, which included jousts and battles whose *cartels* were of an allegorical nature and based on legenadary tales of the gods and heroes of classical Antiquity.

Strada may well have been among them: we know that he did contribute to costume designs on at least two later occasions. Certainly Strada was sufficiently close to Hans von Francolin, the Imperial Herald who served as

23 Francolin 1561; Holzschuh-Hofer 2014(a), pp. 126–127. The plan is moreover visible in (the copy of) a plan of the Burgbastei by Pietro Ferrabosco, illustrated *ibidem*, *Abb*. IV.40.

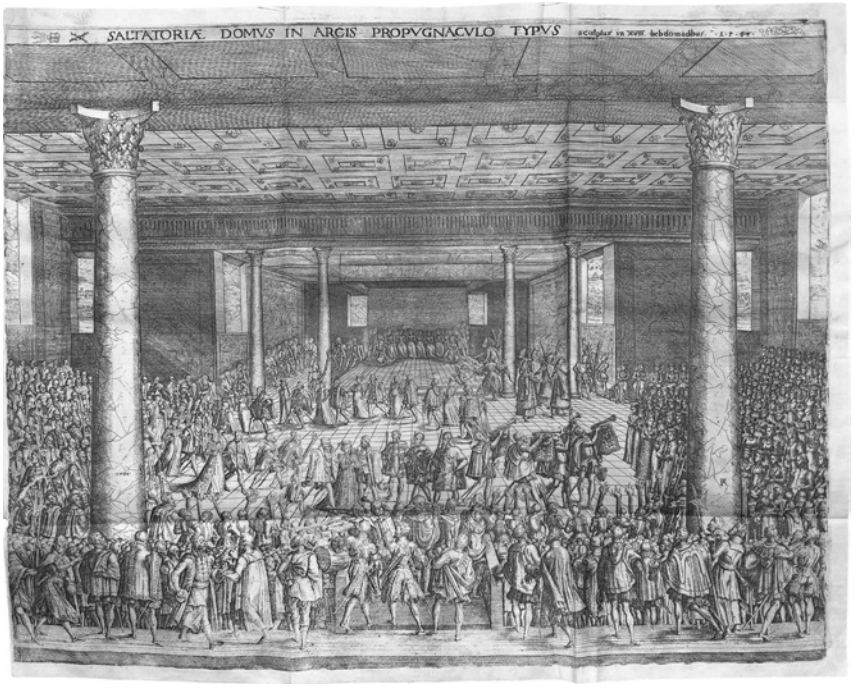
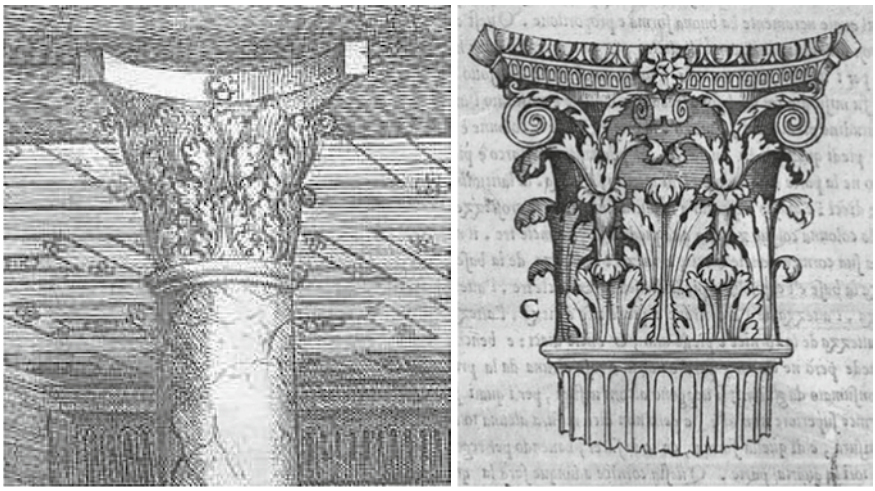


FIGURE 6.16 The 'Tanzhaus', a temporary ballroom constructed for the Habsburg family gathering in 1560; engraving by an unidentified monogrammist FA, from Hans von Francolin, Thurnierbuch... (1561).

master of ceremonies during the festivities, to provide him with the quick emblematic sketch that was inserted as frontispiece in Francolin's publication [Fig. 4.41].[24] And it is possible that he contributed to the design of the *Tanzhaus* itself: this was basically a huge tent or marquee, with a canvas ceiling imitating a compartmented ceiling similar to the one realized in the *Taflstube,* which was supported by sixteen tall wooden columns painted in *faux-marbre* and topped by gigantic Corinthian capitals [Figs. 6.16–6.17].

As an architect Strada was particularly equipped to design such elements, for which he could use his Serlio drawings and prints [Fig. 6.18]; as a goldsmith he could, moreover, provide a three-dimensional model for the foliage used in the capitals and for other ornament, to be used to create moulds in which to cast such ornament in stucco—it seems unlikely that sixteen of such capitals would have been carved in solid wood for a construction which was intended only for a few days' use.

24 Cf. above, Ch. 4.3.4.



FIGURES 6.17–6.18 Detail of Fig. 6.17, compared to a Corinthian capital from the triumphal arch at Pola (Dalmatia), woodcut from Serlio's *Terzo Libro*, Venice 1544.

6.5 The Stallburg

By the time the *Tanzhaus* was constructed Strada had already demonstrated his knowledge and competence as an architect, reason why Ferdinand instructed the *Hofkammer* on 31 January 1560 that he had formally assumed him as 'ainem paumaister, bey unnsern gebewen alhier', at an annual salary of 200 *Gulden*. So Strada was particularly expected to contribute to the Emperor's projects in Vienna, chiefly the Hofburg, and this is confirmed by his appearance in a list of architects engaged on the Hofburg of 1562.[25] Since Strada's salary was similar to that of other architects active in Vienna, Hilda Lietzmann concluded rationally that his task will not have remained limited to such occasional advice. She is the first to explicitly attribute to Strada the design of the Vienna Stallburg, the biggest single commission realized for the Emperor in the 1560s.[26] Though it was an Imperial commission, it appears that Ferdinand delegated its supervision to his eldest son, King Maximilian, for whose use the building was intended. So it should be considered among Maximilian's earliest architectural commissions, as it certainly is the best preserved one, and it is of particular relevance for a better understanding of his patronage.[27]

25 DOCS. 1560-31-01 and 1562-00-00.

26 Lietzmann 1987, pp. 113–114.

27 Holzschuh-Hofer/Grün 2014 gives a complete survey of the building history of the Stallburg and an interpretation of its architecture. That Maximilian took the principal

The construction of a new residential complex was very necessary, since the Hofburg proper offered far too little space to house the various members of Ferdinand's family and their households according to their rank. One solution was the acquisition, in 1559, of the house of Count Salm, opposite the *Lustgarten*, on the location of the present Palais Pallavicini on the Josefsplatz, as a residence for the Emperor's youngest son, Archduke Charles. A more rigorous solution, the construction of a completely new building, was decided upon to house Ferdinand's successor, King Maximilian, or more particularly, to house his horses: as we have seen, his own apartment was located in the so called Kindertrakt, immediately adjoining his father's chambers. The use of the ground floor to house the Imperial stables gave the new building its name 'Stallburg', which it still bears today, just as it still functions as the principal stable for the beautiful white Lipizaner horses of the Spanische Hofreitschule, Vienna's justly famous Spanish Riding School. But it also housed various other facilities—such as a kitchen, a coach house, the court's upholsterer's workshop—as well as commodious lodgings, which were probably reserved for higher-ranking members of the Imperial household and for important guests. In fact Hans Wincklmair, the secretary of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, complained that 'it is such a lordly dwelling, that many say that it is a pity that His Majesty has it called like that'. So it does not surprise that the Duke asked to be housed in it, when he came to Vienna in 1571 to attend the wedding of his daughter Maria to Archduke Charles.[28]

The new building was constructed on a site between the Salm House and the church of St Michael, immediately opposite the *Lustgarten*. This site was cleared for the purpose, which made it possible to realize a huge residential building—its surface is about as large as the Hofburg proper—and to give this a regular appearance [Fig. 6.19].[29] Compared with other sections of the Hofburg complex, it has preserved its original structure more or less intact. It is a huge, regular building, consisting of three residential wings around a rectangular courtyard, surrounded by arcaded loggias on each floor, of seven bays on the short side, and nine bays on the long sides. The fourth wing, closing off the courtyard towards the former *Lustgarten*, is only as deep as the loggia

initiative is clear from an undated letter to his confidant Adam von Dietrichstein (cited p. 295). In view of the lack of concrete archival documents, Holzschuh-Hofer does not accept Lietzmann's attribution to Strada, but neither does she credit the executive architects, Pietro Ferrabosco and Antonio Continelli, with the actual design (p. 304, and n. 1608).

28 'ain so schöne herrliche hausung ist, dos vil sprechen, sei schad, das Jr Mt also nennen lassen'; cited in Holzschuh-Hofer/Grün 2014, pp. 302–303.

29 *Ibid*., pp. 294–295; Kühnel 1956, p. 259. It was while digging the foundations Schallautzer found the Roman inscriptions which were published by Wolfgang Lazius.

itself. This is a building type that was current at the time in Southern Germany, Austria and Bohemia, and would remain popular at least until the end of the century. The arcaded courtyard or *Laubenhof* had its roots in late medieval castle architecture of the region, but the forms that developed in the sixteenth century were strongly influenced by Florentine and North-Italian *Quattrocento* architecture. In many cases such castles were in fact designed and built by North-Italian stonemasons and builders. The trendsetter was Schloss Porcia in Spittal an der Drau, the earliest Renaissance castle in Austria, built from 1534 for Gabriel Salamanca, the Spanish treasurer and influential courtier of Ferdinand I [Figs. 6.27–6.28]. The type is particularly richly represented in Bohemia. Examples are Litomyšl, Opočno, Bučovice, to name but a few. Many of these are of later date, and were probably influenced to some extent by the Stallburg itself.[30]

Though planned from the late 1550s, construction appears no to have begun until 1563. By the time of Ferdinand's death in 1564 it still was not completed: only in 1565 the masons Bärtlme Bethan and Antonio Pozo were paid for the construction of 'den obristen ganng umb und umb 27 Pögn' and a further seven arches 'bej dem Eingang neben der Erdt'. This implies that the original plan was for a U-shaped building enclosing a courtyard of seven by ten bays. This was closed off towards the *Lustgarten* by a fourth wing of only one story high, consisting of a loggia of seven bays; possibly (but unlikely) this may even have been open on both sides. Even if this reading of the document is right, this fourth, shallow wing was run up to full height at least before the end of the century, as is evident from Hoefnagel's 1609 bird's-eye view of Vienna [Fig. 6.20].[31]

FIGURE 6.19 The Stallburg, Vienna, corner Reitschulgasse and Habsburgergasse.
FIGURE 6.20 The Stallburg, in Jacob Hoefnagel's 1609 bird's-eye view of Vienna.

30 Plonner 1989; Rieger / Mitsch 1962.
31 Kühnel 1956, p. 215. The type of a U-shape arcaded courtyard closed off by a lower story on the fourth side became quite common in Bohemia in the later sixteenth century

However traditional the building-type may have been for the region, the concept for the Stallburg also seems to owe something to the Serlio manuscripts and other material in Strada's possession. For instance Serlio's project for a 'palace in the countryside for an illustrious Prince in the French manner in his *Sesto Libro* [Fig. 6.21], which is closely related to his designs for Ancy-le-Franc, seems to be quite close to the conception of Stallburg courtyard.[32]

The exterior of the Stallburg [Fig. 6.19 and 6.22] is well proportioned but very sober: it is articulated merely by the rhythm of the windows in simple frames, topped by straight entablatures and resting on the simple flat stringcourses dividing the stories. The most expressive elements are the dentilled cornice carrying the roof and the heavy quoins, diminishing towards the top, at the corners [Fig. 6.22]. Sources for these motifs are easy to find in Italian Renaissance architecture: significant instances are the Palazzo Adimari-Salviati, an early work (ca 1520) of Giulio Romano and therefore well-known to Strada [Fig. 6.24],

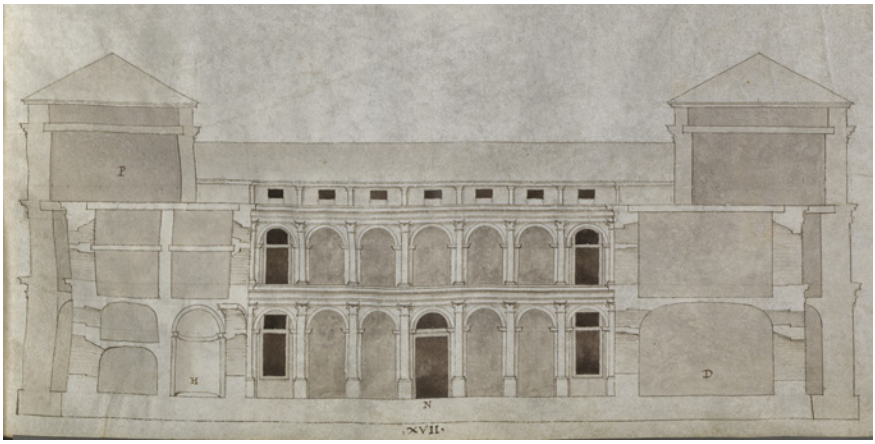


FIGURE 6.21 Sebastiano Serlio, project for a 'magione del principe illustre al modo di Franza', drawing from the Munich ms. of Serlio's *Sesto Libro*; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

(Litomyšl, Bučovice). Both on Jakob Hoefnagel's bird's eye view of Vienna of 1609 and on Suttinger's view of the 1683 siege of Vienna the arcades of the front wing appear to have been run up to full height, but since the front wing is less than half as deep as the other three, its roof was—and is—much lower.

32 Serlio's projected courtyard is only five bays square. The likeness would be even greater without the third story of the Stallburg, which as we have seen was probably added only after Maximilian had succeeded his father as Holy Roman Emperor. Perhaps initially an attic story as in Serlio's prototype may have been intended.

and the design for a palace for a prince 'in the manner of a fortress', again in Serlio's *Sesto Libro* [Fig. 6.23].[33] It will be possible to cite similar correspondences in other elements of this and of other buildings discussed in this study.

In addition, the basically sober, unornamented architecture seems to own something to the quite functional designs in Serlio's 'Eighth' book. This was a project converting Polybius's description of a Roman *castra*, an army camp, into a permanent military settlement, a fortified garrison town. This in itself may have appealed to Ferdinand and Maximilian: Vienna was after all not only an Imperial residence, but also the most important citadel against the Turks, and the Hofburg itself an essential part of its fortifications, as had been proved in 1527 and would be proved again in 1683.[34] The choice for heavy, rusticated quoins on the outside corners, as in Serlio's 'Palazzo per un principe a modo di fortezza', noted above, reflects this preoccupation [Fig. 6.23]. In Serlio's *Eight book*, the plan and courtyard elevation of the *foro* or forum, one of the public buildings of his ideal garrison city, may have served as a source of inspiration [Figs. 6.25–6.26].

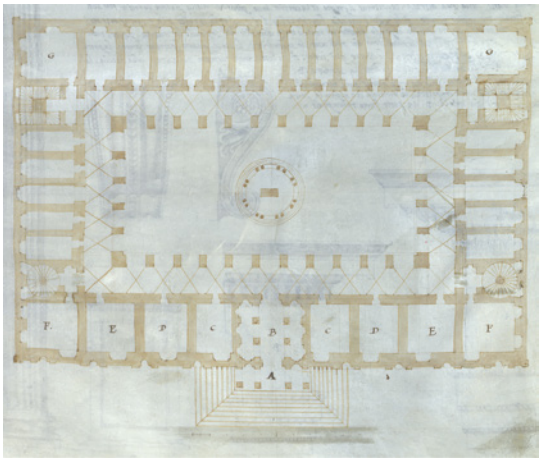
FIGURE 6.22 The Stallburg, corner at the Josefsplatz and the Bräunerstraße.

FIGURE 6.23 Sebastiano Serlio, Sesto Libro, project XVIII, 'Della casa del principe a modo di fortezza', detail; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

FIGURE 6.24 Giulio Romano, Palazzo Adimari-Salviati, Rome, detail; from Paul Letarouilly, *Les Edifices de Rome moderne*, 1857.

33 *GIULIO ROMANO* 1989, pp. 105–112; Sebastiano Serlio, *Sesto Libro*, Project XVIII, ms. München, BSB, Cod. Icon. 189, fols. 18v. and 18a–r., 'Della casa del principe a modo di fortezza'.

34 In addition, there may have been symbolic reasons to maintain the castle-like character of the Hofburg, cf. Müller 2000.



FIGURES 6.25–6.26 Sebastiano Serlio, *'Eighth' Book*, project for a 'Foro', plan and courtyard elevation; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

FIGURES 6.27–6.28 Schloss Porcia, Spittal an der Drau, courtyard, ca. 1535.

We have seen that the courtyard surrounded by arcades, the *Laubenhof*, was a current building-type for castles and public buildings in Austria and Bohemia. With rare exceptions these courtyards are based on the courtyards of early Renaissance palaces, that is, their arcades are carried on columns of a more-or-less classicising aspect. The courtyard of the Porcia Schloss makes clear that, though its architect was conversant with the forms of classical architecture to some extent—the columns and their Ionic and Corinthian capitals, the balustrade—he was much less aware of the rules that should determine the relative proportions of these elements [Fig. 6.28–6.29].[35] Thus the columns are too short for their capitals, and certainly too short in relation to the width

35 The Porcia castle was built strictly according to a model left at the death of its patron, but was only completed towards the end of the century. In particular the design of the quite

FIGURE 6.29 The Stallburg, courtyard.

of the arches they carry. Moreover, the very fact that the arches were carried on single columns instead of on piers or pilasters was by this time considered incorrect in Italy.[36]

The Stallburg is one of the earliest—if not the very first—of such courtyards in the region that does demonstrate a grasp of such rules [Figs. 6.29 and 6.31]. In the first place it should be noted that here the arcades are not carried on columns, but on square piers. To articulate the façade, an order of flat pilasters has been superimposed on these piers, in the manner that was best known from and was authorized by the facade of the Colosseum in Rome, such as it was illustrated, for instance, in Serlio's *Third Book* [Fig. 6.30]. The Colosseum, however, is a quite monumental, almost sculptural building, where the applied

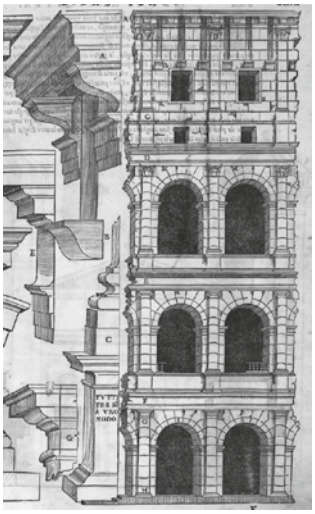
impressive top frieze and cornice in the courtyard probably only dates from after 1584; cf. Rieger 1962, p. 105.

36 Vitruvius does not even mention arcades—in his view, columns should carry architraves. In *De Re Aedificatoria* Leon Battista Alberti likewise argues that for structural reasons arches should be carried by square piers or pilasters, rather than by round columns. Late-Roman architecture deviates from this rule, as does early-Renaissance and Mannerist architecture. Certainly this critique does not imply that the Porcia Schloss is not a very satisfying, even exciting building when considered on its own terms—merely that it does not conform to the rules of Vitruvian architecture that had by this time become predominant in Italy.

orders consist of half columns complete with splendidly carved capitals, resting on a pedestal zone and topped by a full entablature. The use of flat pilasters, however, was authorized by the example of the Roman amphitheatre in Verona, the Arena, likewise illustrated by Serlio [Fig. 6.32].

These buildings had already influenced the development of Renaissance architecture sufficiently to have been used as a source of inspiration in Vienna even without specialist champions such as Strada—Serlio's printed images and his comments would have been available in Vienna, even without Strada's presence. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that of the architects present at the Imperial court at this time, none had as profound a knowledge of such classical example as Strada: he knew these two amphitheatres not only from their illustrations in Serlio's *Third Book*, but had seen and studied them in detail himself.

In addition, the actual design of the Stallburg arcades reflects another source which can be traced to Strada's earlier experience and to his collection. The pilasters of the Arena in Verona are heavily rusticated and quite monumental, whereas those that articulate the Stallburg arcades are very refined in manner, with a flat, undecorated surface and very shallow relief: they hardly protrude from the wall surface and they are topped by the slightest of Tuscan capitals. The entablatures dividing the levels are likewise relatively shallow, and lack all habitual ornament. Only the top entablature is slightly stressed by the dentilled cornice, but it is incomplete, lacking both architrave and frieze. Like the



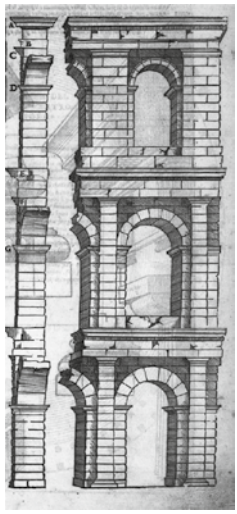


FIGURE 6.30 The Colosseum in Rome, woodcut from Serlio's *Third Book*.

FIGURE 6.31 The Stallburg, detail of courtyard.

FIGURE 6.32 The Arena in Verona, woodcut from Serlio's *Third Book*.

heavily rusticated quoins on the exterior of the Stallburg, this highly refined, 'abbreviated' use of the classical orders in shallow relief points to Rome in the High Renaissance, and the early work of Giulio Romano in particular, such as the Palazzo Alberini and the Palazzo Stati-Maccarani [Fig. 6.33], as well as to Giulio's work in Mantua, such as the side-facade of the Basilica of San Benedetto in Polirone [Fig. 6.34] or the garden facade of the Palazzo del Te.[37]

The foregoing examples are not intended to identify the particular models actually and consciously used in preparing these designs of the Stallburg—they are too generic for such a purpose—but to sketch the artistic context in which these designs were conceived. Some of these examples and other similar instances—such as the illustrations in Serlio's first five books—could be known to, and have been used by, at least some of the architects active at the Imperial court even before Strada's arrival. For others, in particular the unpublished books of Serlio and the architectural designs of Giulio Romano, that is much less likely. Each of the several elements adduced here to stress the advanced, Italianate and classical character of the Stallburg might perhaps have been conceived by any of the local architects; but to find so many of these elements harmoniously combined in one building that can be considered as a competent, elegant and satisfying example of Renaissance design—though hardly as great architecture—strongly suggests that Strada had a hand in its conception.

When in 1577 it turned out that the roofs of the Stallburg were already ruinous, the *Hofkammer* thought it reasonable that the responsible 'Superintendent, Paumaister und Werckleute' should be made to reimburse from their own

FIGURE 6.33 Giulio Romano, Palazzo Stati-Maccarani, Rome.

FIGURE 6.34 Giulio Romano, Basilica of San Benedetto in Polirone, side-facade.

37 *GIULIO ROMANO* 1987, p. 97–133 and 294–296. For a careful analysis of the Palazzo Stati-Maccarani, see Rakatansky 2014.

pockets the damage caused by their negligence; but they concluded that this was impracticable 'dieweil aber dieselben nunmer weiter nit vorhanden', that is, because they were no longer available. This was certainly true for the *Bausuperintent* Thomas Eiseler and the master masons Antonio Continelli, Bernhard de Camatha and Hanns Reckhendorfer, who all had died by 1577; but it was not true for Pietro Ferrabosco and for Jacopo Strada, both at the time still in Imperial service. In his essay on the Stallburg Harry Kühnel excluded both Ferrabosco and Strada as its supervising architect on the basis of this information.[38] This may be true for Ferrabosco, whose intensive activity as a supervising, executive architect is quite well documented. But it cannot be upheld for Strada, who is never mentioned in such a capacity in the Vienna sources. Though Strada certainly was capable of making architectural designs, it is not certain that he possessed the technical know-how for supervising the actual construction work (as opposed to the execution of decorative work, such as painting, stucco and sculpture, in which he was competent, being trained as an artist and a goldsmith).[39] As Hilda Lietzmann has indicated, he would not have been among the masters considered liable for the defects in its execution, and he remains therefore a serious candidate for the design of the Stallburg.

There is, moreover, another positive argument which links the design of the Stallburg to Mantua, and thus to Strada. This is a stylistic detail: the blocks placed in the frieze above each pilaster and prolonging it vertically, thus connecting the orders of the three levels. This is a rare motif already used, for instance, by Giuliano da Sangallo in the ground floor of his palace for the Florentine chancellor Bartolommeo Scala from the mid 1470s [Fig. 6.35]. More significant in this context, it was used in exactly the same way as in Vienna in the lower entablature of a house at Via Carlo Poma 22 in Mantua [Fig. 6.36]. This dates from the mid-sixteenth century and is traditionally attributed to Strada's exact contemporary and associate, Giovanni Battista Bertani.[40]

Even if we accept that Strada was the guiding spirit of the Stallburg project, on the basis of the information we have at present it remains impossible to

38 Holzschuh-Hofer/Grün 2014, pp. 296–297; Kühnel 1956, pp. 216–218. Ferrabosco himself was the one surviving master engaged in the building of the Stallburg from the beginning; Holzschuh-Hofer plausibly argues that he was not asked to reimburse the costs of the repairs because of his high standing; but it may also may indicate that he had not been responsible for the relevant part of the design and its execution, and liability would have remained with the contractors, the carpenters who had constructed the roof, or the tilers who had covered it.

39 It may be argued that Strada supervised the building of his own house himself, but even that is not sure; in any case the scale of that project was more modest than the Stallburg (cf. below).

40 Perina/ Pellati 1967; Carpeggiani 1992, pp. 95–96 (who does not accept the traditional attribution to Bertani).

FIGURE 6.35 Giuliano da Sangallo, cortile of the Palazzo Scala, Florence, mid 1470s.
FIGURE 6.36 Attributed to Giovanni Battista Bertani, facade of the house house at Via Carlo Poma 22, Mantua, ca 1560.

decide whether he provided a fully worked-out set of drawings to his patrons, who had them more or less faithfully executed by one of their professional 'Baumaister' such as Ferrabosco, or whether he merely helped a local architect to develop a more up-to-date design, providing sketches, making available his documentation and commenting on this, and coaching him in the actual design process. In view of the collective effort documented for other projects at court, to my mind the most likely scenario is that Strada did provide a basic concept for the building and detailed designs for the architectural and ornamental details, and perhaps even a three-dimensional model. These were then discussed in one or more consultations with his patron and his immediate colleagues, and subsequently modified according to his patron's wishes and to suit the technical and practical requirements posited by the *Bausuperintendent* and the *Baumaister* who were to execute it. Precedents for such a collective procedure are the various committees deciding on the ceiling of the Goldene Saal and the tomb of Maximilian I in Innsbruck, and the Hofspital in Vienna, discussed above.[41]

Its practical function obscures the fact that the Stallburg was the largest and most splendid residential building the Habsburgs had constructed *ex novo* within the walls of Vienna in the sixteenth century. It seems likely that the plans gestating for this new building in the late 1550s provided the principal

41 Cf. above, Ch. 4.3.3.; 6.1. and 6.2. The use of models is documented for the Hofspital as well as for the Porcia Schloss.

motivation for Ferdinand I to appoint Strada as a court-architect. It was in such projects that Strada's up-to-date knowledge of architecture and decoration in the grand manner could be most profitably employed, and the collection of documentation he kept in his *Musaeum* could be best exploited. Both as to its conception, its detailing and the timing of its planning, the Stallburg is the best candidate for an attribution to Strada.

CHAPTER 7

An Object Lesson: Strada's House in Vienna

Though we cannot attribute any executed project in Vienna to Strada on the basis of incontrovertible evidence, there was one building of which he certainly must have made the designs. Moreover here he certainly also closely supervised its execution, because he was not only its architect, but also its patron. When Strada had come to court, he had immediately brought his family and household with him, clearly intending to settle in Vienna, where he soon acquired a plot of ground on which to build himself a house. By the autumn of 1562 he indicates, in a business letter to the French Ambassador, Bernardin Bochetel, Bishop of Rennes, that this was one of his chief occupations at the time:

> As to me and my family, we are all well; and I have become the complete philosopher, and I am always at home and attend to having built my little house.[1]

The reference to a 'small' house might be explained by a humanist conceit of modesty. But probably it refers to a house we know Strada at a later date possessed in St. Ulrich, a suburb of Vienna just outside the walls opposite the Hofburg. This may well be the house he had built soon after his arrival in Vienna, mentioned in his letter to Bochetel.

The house we know that Strada did eventually build for himself certainly was not small, but he acquired its site only after 1563, when in the *Hofquartierbücher* it is still indicated as 'Herren von Prag behausung. Freyhaus'. It is indicated as 'h. von Prag' on Bonifaz Wolmut's carefully measured plan of Vienna of 1547 [Fig. 7.1].[2] It stood inside the city walls, in the close vicinity of the Hofburg, at the end of the Vorderen Schenkenstrasse, the present Bankgasse. It was the last house before the huge bulk of the Löwelbastei, which stood more or less on the location of the present Burgtheater [Figs. 7.2–7.3]. Only in the *Hofquartierbücher* of 1566 its owner is indicated as '507. Jacob Strada. Das haus hat vor deren von Prag haus gehaissen. Freyhaus'.[3]

1 DOC. 1562-10-21.

2 Camesina 1856–1858.

3 The *Hofquartierbüche*r are discussed and abstracted in Birk 1869 (the Strada house p. 124–125), and Camesina 1881 (p. 21). But possibly Strada already leased the house in the Schenkenstrasse by 1562 and began to convert it even before he definitely acquired it.

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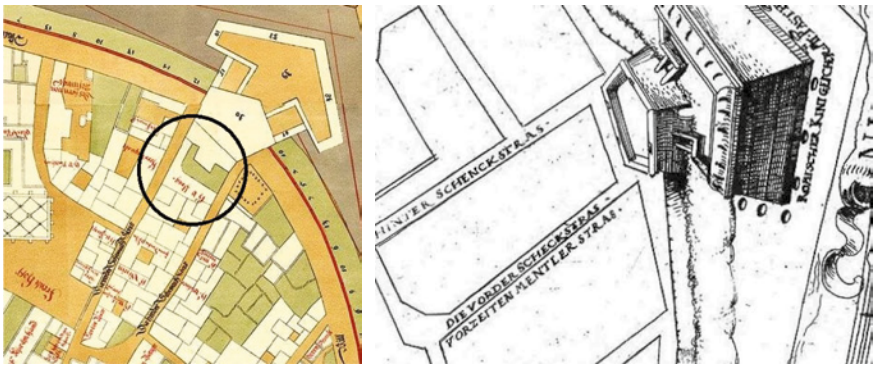

FIGURE 7.1 Bonifaz Wolmut, plan of Vienna, 1547 (copy from the nineteenth century). It indicates the house of the 'H. v Prag', top centre, just before the Löwelbastei (nr 30).
FIGURE 7.2 Augustin Hirschvogel, plan of Vienna, 1547, detail of the same location.

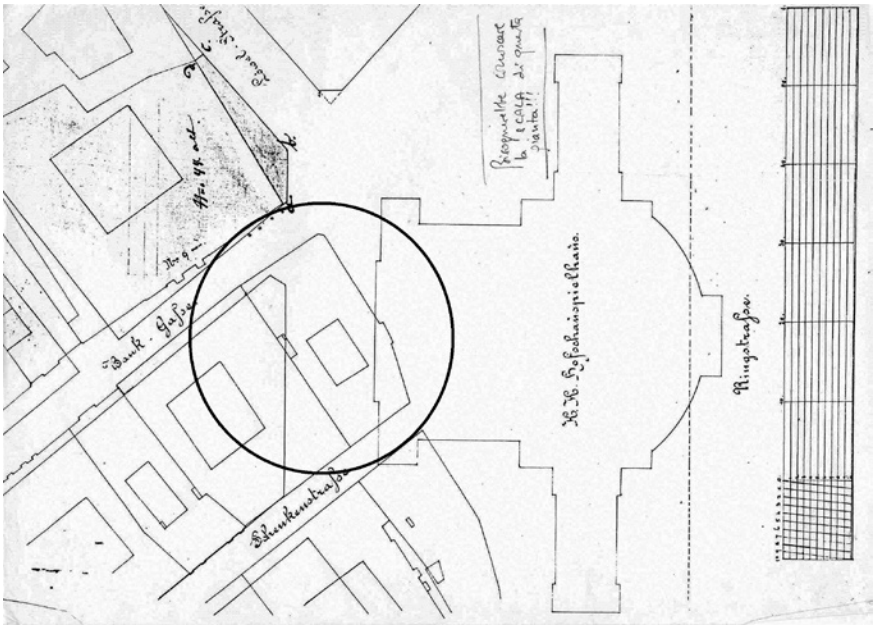

FIGURE 7.3 The position of Strada's house as seen in a drawing of the urban planning of the Ringstrasse: at right the K.K. Hofschauspielhaus—now the Burgtheater—slightly overlaps the Strada house.

That Strada could acquire this ample house in the best neighbourhood of Vienna may be due to the death of his father, which occurred sometime in 1563 or 1564.[4] The fact that he could acquire it, tear it down and build a completely

4 His stepmother was engaged in arranging the heritage in 1564, DOC. 1564-00-00.

new house in its place testifies to his wealth at the time; it certainly also testifies to his ambition and to his aristocratic pretensions. Close to the Hofburg and to the *Landhaus* in the Herrengasse—this was the meeting place of the *Stände*, the Estates of Lower Austria—the Schenkenstrasse counted many aristocratic dwellings. Opposite Strada's house, for instance, on the spot of the present Stadtpalais Liechtenstein, was that of Don Francisco Lasso de Castilia, Queen Maria's steward, and next to him on the same side of the street he had as his neighbours Juan Manrique de Lara and Christoph von Teuffenbach.[5]

All these aristocratic dwellings were so-called 'Freyhäuser', which means that—unlike the homes of normal citizens—they were not subject to the billeting of members of the Imperial court, a heavy burden on Vienna householders. It should be noted that the possession of such a *Freyhaus* was a privilege generally restricted to the nobility and to religious establishments, which indicates that Strada's noble status was accepted in Vienna long before Maximilian II's patent of 1574 formally confirmed it.[6] This privilege unfortunately implies that, in contrast to most non-noble dwellings of Vienna, Strada's house is not described in detail as to living spaces, stables, fireplaces and fixed inhabitants in the *Hofquartierbücher*, the registers kept by the *Hofquartiermeister*, the court official responsible for allocating available lodgings to court-personnel and arriving guests.

Strada's obvious desire to stress both his noble status and to draw attention to his erudite and artistic expertise was expressed in the design of his house. He probably was influenced by famous artist's houses he had known, such as those of Raphael [Fig. 7.14] and Giulio Romano in Rome, and those of Mantegna and of Giulio in Mantua [Fig. 7.4]. Certainly it was quite advanced compared to other houses in Vienna, and it made a great impression on foreign visitors. When Alfonso II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, visited his prospective brother-in-law in the summer of 1565, he went once or twice to Strada's house

5 Perhaps Juan Manrique de Lara y Mendoza, Maximilian's envoy to the Pope in 1562–63 (cf. Holtzmann 1903, pp. 429 and 445–451). Teuffenbach was a general and Maximilian's envoy in Constantinople, see below, Ch. 10.9.

6 Occasionally the privilege was extended to important courtiers who were not noble (cf. Spielman 1993). In Strada's case, however, there is no reason to doubt his noble status, which he had corroborated by documents sent from Mantua, and which Maximilian's patent explicitly confirms (DOC. 1574-12-27). Strada's marriage to Ottilie Schenk von Rosberg, last of an ancient line of noblemen from Franconia, would hardly have been possible had he not been accepted as a nobleman even in 1544. His sons Paolo and Ottavio were accepted as gentlemen of the chamber of Archdukes Rudolf and Ernest. Perhaps most striking example is that in 1574 Ottavio, supervising the printing of his father's book, bought for his own use a fur-lined mantle from Sigmund Feyerabend which this famous printer had been expressly forbidden to wear by the Frankfurt City Council (DOC. 1574-12-05).

FIGURE 7.4 The house built by Giulio Romano for himself in Mantua, 1544.

to see his medals and other antiquities. Afterwards he appears to have praised the house—at that time still under construction—as the most beautiful house in Vienna, reason why the Emperor himself also went to see it.[7] We know this because Strada boasted of it to his Venetian rival Niccolò Stopio, and also on other occasions Strada vaunted his house in letters to his patrons, but there he described its contents rather than its architecture.

Certainly it seems to have been a quite prestigious house. In a letter of recommendation for Strada to the Elector of Saxony of 1576, the humanist Hubert

7 DOC. 1565-08-26: Luigi Rogna describes the reception accorded at the Imperial court to Alfonso II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, to the Castellano of Mantua, Vienna 26 August 1565: 'Fu accompagnata sua eccellenza fin alla porta del suo allogiamento in castello, che fu lo appartamento dove stava sua maestà quando era re dei romani, vivendo ancora la maestà del padre<...>Alle volte è andata a vedere le medaglie et l'altre antichità del Strada mantovano, in casa del quale, dallo appartamento sudetto, si va per una via coperta sopra un baglione et sopra il terraglio della città<...>'; Niccolò Stopio to Hans Jakob Fugger, Venice 7 Sept. 1567: '<...>non li [= Strada] mancha modo di riuscirne con bon utile, et certo bisogna bene che così sia, volendo fabricare palazzi de 7 o 8 mila taleri, come dice che lui fa, et che dal duca di Ferrara fu giudicata il più bello di Vienna, onde Sua Maesta Cesarea l'andò anche a vederlo, havendo ciò inteso dal Duca<...>' [BHStA-LA 4852, f. 64/58].

Languet says that he often visited Strada's house, which had been built according to the rules of classical architecture, and to such effect that Languet could not name another house in that city of similar elegance and provided with so many features conducive to commodious living.[8] Strada, who probably inspired Languet's panegyric, himself offered the use of his house to the Duke of Mantua in similar terms:

> I offer my house to Your Excellency at any occasion he might need it, which, once its construction is finished, is a suitable lodging for a prince.[9]

At a later date, when Strada encountered financial troubles, he indeed proposed it as a suitable residence for a prince, the young Duke Ferdinand of Bavaria, should he wish to spend some time at the Imperial court. That offer was not accepted, but on another occasion the Count Palatine Georg Johann I of Veldenz-Lützelstein was lodged in Strada's house for some months at the Emperor's expense.[10] Hans Jakob Fugger himself naturally lodged with Strada when he came to Vienna, as did the Bohemian Magnate Vilém z Rožmberk. In the early 1580s the top floor of the house was occupied by the Croatian prelate and politician Juraj (György) Drašković (Draskovics), Archbishop of Kalocsa, Ban of Croatia and chancellor of Hungary, together with the offices of the Hungarian chancery for which he was responsible.[11] Even members of the dynasty occasionally used Strada's house, as in November of 1579, when some courtiers organised a banquet, a dance and a 'mummerey' or masque for the youngest Archdukes: an occasion which indicates that the house included at least one room of sufficient size for such festivities.[12]

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8 DOC. 1576-09-07: 'Viennae fui saepius in eius aedibus, quas ad normam veteris architecturae ita aedificavit, ut nesciam, an ullae sint in ea urbe conferendae cum illis elegantia et iis rebus, quae ad commode habitandum sunt necessariae.' Languet probably visited Strada's house in the company of his pupil, Sir Philip Sidney, during his first stay in Vienna in 1573; Sidney, but not Languet, is inscribed in Ottavio Strada's *Stammbuch* (see below, Ch. 11.1).

9 DOC. 1568-12-28.

10 Pfalzgraf Georg Johann I. zu Veldenz-Lützelstein (1543–1592); married since 1562 to Anna Maria, daughter of Gustav I Wasa, King of Sweden.

11 DOC. 1577-02-18: [*Strada is paid 50* Gulden *rent for his house in Vienna*] '<...>darin Pfaltsgraf Georg Hans bei Rhein im Jahr 1575 eine Zeit lang gelegen'; Fugger stayed in Strada's house during his stay in Vienna in the winter of 1568; another of Stada's patrons, Vilém z Rožmberka, lodged in Strada's house on his visits to court and knew it well, as appears from Strada attempt to interest him to buy it (DOC. 1573-12-18); on Drašković, cf. DOC. 1581-11-02.

12 DOC. 1579-11-17: Sigmundt von Hochenburg to Archduke Matthias, Vienna 17 November 1579: '<...>Iere Fürstl. Durchl. etc. die fast alle wochen zum ringrennen haben vor ein zehen Tagen in einn Ringrennen zwo Parteyen in deren Jeder sechs waren gemacht vnd also

A house like that cost quite a lot: in 1567, when it was still far from finished, Strada boasted to Stopio of having spent seven- to eight-thousand *talleri* or *thaler*, and it is clear that this taxed his financial potential to the limits. His financial troubles in the 1570s doubtless were caused in part by the huge expense of the house itself and of the aristocratic and sumptuous lifestyle it required. When he tried to sell it to Vilém z Rožmberk in 1573, he asked for 'acht dausent Daller, wie wol es mich mer den neyne gekost hatt'; three years later he claimed that it had cost him over ten thousand *Thaler*, and in 1581 the amount he mentioned was even over twelve thousand *Thaler*.[13] This is a huge sum in relation to Strada's annual salary of three hundred *Gulden*, and makes it quite clear that his salary was only a minor part of his income—the payments he received from Hans Jakob Fugger and later from Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria of the nine to ten thousand numismatic drawings of his *Magnum ac novum opus*, at a *Thaler* a piece, come closer to explain Strada's ability to finance a project of this sort. His position as Imperial Architect, however, must directly or indirectly have facilitated the construction of his house. Occasionally he was granted building materials from the Imperial works, and he may likewise have been allowed to use some of its infrastructure, such as scaffolding and machinery.[14] Thanks to his position he had direct access to the available specialized labour forces, and at least some of his immediate colleagues—the architects and master-masons he worked with at court—will have exchanged their expertise on structural and technical aspects for his artistic advice and access to the relevant materials in his collections.

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a discretion es was gelten soll gerendt, als nun Irer Fürstl. Durchl. Parthey soliches gewunnen, haben sich die Sechs als herr von Thurn von Hoyos Jägermeister Teuffel von Zelting vnd von Khünigsperg mit einander verglichen, Iren Fürstl. Durchl. etc. ein Pangöth vnnd Tanz zehalten, haben also ein gar stetlich Pangöth zuberait Ier Fürstl. Durchl. etc. vnd vier Taffel Frawen vnd Junckhfrawen darauf geladen die auch khumben vnd nach dem nachtmal biss auf halbe ainss in die nacht getanzet, auch ein schöne Mumerey die beiden Irer Durchl. etc. Mumschanz gebracht gehalten worden, Ier Durchl. etc. sein zwar gar lustig vnnd frölich gewesen, vnnd ist soliches Pangöth vnd Tanz in des Sträda hauss gehalten worden<...>.

13 Stopio to Fugger, Venice 5 Sept. 1567, BHStA-LA 4852, f. 63/57: 'Il Strada è partito 3 dì sono per Mantua <...>Iddio li dia bon viagio, andando a questo modo a spese d'altri a fare fatti suoi, si puo fabbricare delli palazzi, come si è vantato qui di haverne fatto una in Vienna ove ha speso 6 m. taleri, et per compire ne spendera altri 2 o 3.'; DOCS: 1573-12-18; 1576-06-16; 1576-09-00; 1581-11-02.

14 In July 1564 Strada was conceded wood for use in the construction of his house; in February 1569 a similar request for lime, by this time probably to be used for plaster rather than for mortar (DOCS. 1564-07-08; 1564-07-11; 1569-02-00).

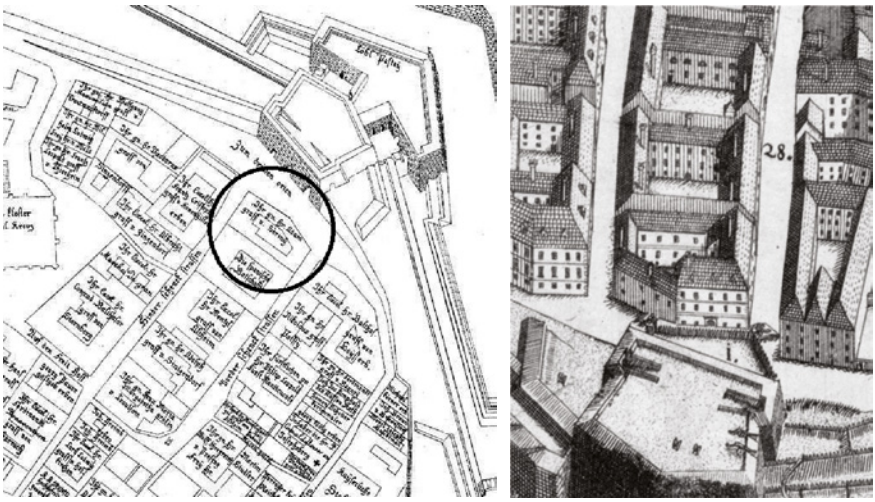

FIGURE 7.5 Daniel Suttinger, town plan of Vienna at the time of the second Turkish siege, 1683, detail.

FIGURE 7.6 Daniel Suttinger, bird's eye view of Vienna during the 1683 siege, detail.

Strada had consciously modelled his house upon the *palazzi* of his native country, telling his old friend Jacopo Dani, secretary of the Grand duke of Tuscany, that he hoped to show a Florentine visitor 'la mia casa, la quale puol star al pari di una di q<u>elle belle d'Italia'. In the eyes both of Duke Alfonso of Ferrara and of the humanist Languet, the Italian, classical manner of Strada's house distinguished it favourably from other Vienna dwellings in a less advanced or vernacular style. It was intended as a sample of up-to-date, Italian, cosmopolitan architecture: a conscious, three-dimensional statement of the principles of humanist architecture expressed in the designs and writings collected in Strada's studio, and an attempt to propagate these in his second fatherland. It is therefore unfortunate that the house, that had largely survived, was demolished in the context of the construction of the Ringstrasse, the ample new boulevard that was planned to circle the inner city after demolition of the Vienna fortifications around 1860 [Fig. 7.3]. Unfortunately the significance of the house was not remarked at the time, so no documentation appears to have been made of it before its destruction. Yet careful examination of the older topographic images that have survived does allow a tentative description and partial reconstruction of the building.

The only more or less factual description of the building is a brief mention in a letter from Hans Jakob Fugger to Niccolò Stopio, of 6 December 1567:

FIGURE 7.7 Werner Arnold Steinhausen, plan of Vienna, 1710, detail.
FIGURE 7.8 Photograph of the former Strada house, shortly before its demolition.

> In Vienna I have seen his house, which is as yet unfinished and consists of two wings ['truoti'], and the Lord knows when he will finish it, having begun first with a facade in the Italian manner; it stands in a retired spot within the city walls'.[15]

So Strada's house was located within the city walls in a backwater, a description which fits its location, at the end of street which was a *cul-de-sac*, closed of by the huge bulk of the Löwelbastei. The site of the house fronted on three sides towards the streets, the Vordere and the Hintere Schenkenstrasse and the narrow cross-street which connected these two, which ran along the inside of the huge bastion.[16] The word 'truoti', which does not exist in Italian, is most likely a Germanism from the word 'Trakt', the wing of a building, which would indicate that at that time Strada's house consisted of two wings. The principal part of the house was built on top of vaulted cellars, doubtless at least in part relics from the earlier house on the site, and in addition Strada disposed of some workshops in a neighbouring building, where he had restored the antiquities he had acquired in Venice on behalf of the Duke of Bavaria under his own immediate supervision.[17]

15 DOC. 1567-12-06: 'Io ho visto in Vienna casa sua non finita di duoi truoti, et Iddio sa quando la finira poi esser principiata duna facciata alla italiana et sta dentro i muri, in loco ritirato<...>'.

16 In Wolmut's town plan of 1547 the house stretches all the way to the *Bastei*, but in 1550 part of this had been expropriated and torn down for improvements to the bastion, and doubtless also to allow an uninterrupted communication along the inside of the town-walls (Harrer 1957, VII, pp. 196–198).

17 Strada to Hans Jakob Fugger, Vienna, 1 March 1574 (DOC. 1574-03-01).

From the description of the dinner party and dance organized for the young Archdukes, cited above, we know the house contained at least one large hall or *Saal*. Its ample size is also indicated in Strada's offer of the house for use by Ferdinand of Bavaria, where he described it as having 'xii stufe con tutte le altre commodità che si puole immaginare', that is twelve rooms heated by the traditional tiled stoves we have already seen in the *Grosse Taflstube* of the Hofburg [Fig. 5.71]. In view of its size—containing at least two wings of a *piano nobile* and a top floor, and workshops on the ground-floor—it is unlikely that on Daniel Suttinger's plan of Vienna at the time of the second Turkish siege it had been 'incorporated in a larger aristocratic palace', as Renate von Busch suspected; if only because on that site no really large palace, such as the Stadtpalais Liechtenstein opposite, was ever constructed [Fig. 7.9]. In a bird's eye view of Vienna during the 1683 siege, likewise by Suttinger, the house is recognisable in some detail: at that time it belonged to Count Adám Zrínyi [Fig. 7.6], and consisted of two wings at right angles to one another on the corner of the Vorderen Schenkenstrasse and the Löwelbastei. These are the 'duoi truoti' to which Fugger referred. They consisted of two principal floors over a ground floor, and had an entrance in the centre of the facade on the Löwelbastei.

Part of the plot, on the corner of the Löwelbastei and the Hinteren Schenkenstrasse, was occupied by two buildings, again of two floors, but of lesser height and depth. It is difficult to say whether this subsidiary part already existed in this form in Strada's time. Towards the neighbouring house the courtyard was limited by a long, narrow wing, which seems to be as high as the main block but, being narrow, is covered by a much lower roof. This plausibly could have housed a modest gallery on the level of the *piano nobile*.

Around 1700 the house had passed to Maximilian Ernst von Wlaschim (Vlašim), who had it reconstructed: he doubled the size of the lower section on the Hinteren Schenkenstrasse, had it run up to the same height and had its facades adapted to those of the principal section. Here he moreover created a new, wider entrance with a *porte cochère* of a typically baroque plan. This new situation can be seen in Steinhausen's plan of Vienna of 1710, which roughly indicates existing arcades and vaulted vestibules [Fig. 7.7]. In the middle of the eighteenth century it was acquired by Fürst Palm, who adapted the house and its immediate neighbours somewhat to his newly acquired status. As Palais Palm the complex played a certain role during the Congress of Vienna, as the temporary residence of two of the leading ladies during that concourse of Kings and Ministers, Wilhelmine Duchess of Sagan and Princess Catherine Bagration, both at different times mistresses of Metternich, while Princess Bagration functioned as hostess for Czar Alexander I: a story amusingly told in

Adam Zamoysky' monograph on the Vienna Congress.[18] Doubtless the house was internally redecorated and restructured by its later owners, but its basic structure probably did not change very much since Wlaschim's interventions, and a photograph taken shortly before its demolition gives some impression of the results [Fig. 7.8].[19]

When it was built Strada's house may have made quite a splash, but by this time it must have struck a very modest figure among the huge baroque palaces built by Fischer von Erlach and Lucas von Hildebrandt, many of which were illustrated in the *Wahrhaffte und genaue Abbildung Aller Kirchen und Cloester der Keysserl: Burg und anderer Fuerstl. und Graeffl: Pallaeste<...>der Keysserl: Residenz-Statt Wien*, a print series by Ioannes Corvinus after designs by Salomon Kleiner issued in five volumes between 1724 and 1737. Perhaps Kleiner included the Strada house in his view of the Liechtenstein palace opposite merely as a *repoussoir*, a foil to set off the greater splendour of Domenico Martinelli's masterpiece [Fig. 7.9].

FIGURE 7.9 The former Strada house on the left, in Salomon Kleiner's view of the Stadtpalais Liechtenstein in the Schenkenstrasse, engraving, 1725; Vienna., Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

18 Zamoysky 2007, pp. 258 and *passim*.

19 Steinhausen's plan 1710, in ÖNB, *Kartensammlung* AB 7 A 56, *Blatt* 17. The photograph should be used with caution, for the roofs may well have been refashioned after damage received in the siege by the Turks in 1683, when the brunt of the attack fell on the section of wall between Burgbastei and Löwelbastei.

Nevertheless he took a lot of trouble to illustrate the house in detail, either because he hoped he thus could sell another copy of his print series to its proprietor, or because he recognized its unusual design. He had to practice some pictorial licence to show its facade on the Schenkenstrasse, in reality parallel to the facade of the Palais Liechtenstein; for compositional reasons he also changed its proportions, making the house almost as high as the Liechtenstein palace itself, while in reality it was rather lower [cf. Fig. 7.8]. Given that the house is thus used merely as a frame for the more important palace, and is shown in extreme foreshortening, it is remarkable how much care Kleiner took to reproduce its architectural design: an indication that the print can be used as a reliable source for the appearance of the facade at that time.

This is even more notable in Kleiner's original drawing, preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek [Figs. 7.9 and 7.11].[20] Because of its extreme foreshortening this is difficult to read, but nevertheless it shows sufficient detail to get a very good idea of what the architecture looked like. This is supplemented and corrected by Kleiner's drawing of the neighbouring palace of countess Althan-Pignatelli: here the baroque palace is framed by narrow strips of the facades of the neighbouring houses, both originally built in the 1560s, by Christoph von Teuffenbach on the right, and by Jacopo Strada on the left hand side [Fig. 7.12].[21]

From these two images it appears that in 1725 the house had a strictly classical facade of three stories: two stories articulated by very flat coupled pilasters over a rustic story of bossed masonry articulated by blind arcades filled with windows carried on brackets. As in the Stallburg courtyard, the orders are extremely simplified and undefined, and here the entablatures are incomplete, that of the first floor lacking its cornice, that of the second floor lacking its frieze. On the basis of the drawings Mario Carpo has prepared a tentative reconstruction of the facade on the Vordere Schenkenstrasse [Figs. 7.13 and 7.10 (detail)].[22] From this it is evident that this cannot be a facade conceived in the Vienna of the Baroque. Its close relationship with Roman palace architecture

20 ÖNB-HS, *Cod. min.* 9, Bd. 1, f. 12

21 ÖNB-HS, *Cod. min.* 9, Bd 1, f. 14. The facade of the Teuffenbach house was later remodelled, and it is this baroque version that is visible in the print; but its structure still largely dates back to the 1560s, cf. Buchinger / Mitchell / Schön 2006.

22 The reconstruction was made in close consultation as an illustration to a paper read at the Serlio conference in Vicenza in 1987 (Jansen 1989, p. 211, pl. 7) and was republished in Jansen 1988, p. 136, pl. 6, and in Louthan 1997, p. 34, pl. 4. I am very grateful to Dr Carpo for having taken the trouble and for having given me the benefit of his expertise.

FIGURE 7.10 Mario Carpo, reconstruction of the house of Jacopo Strada in Vienna, detail of fig 7.13.

FIGURES 7.11–7.12 The house of Jacopo Strada in Vienna, details of Salomon Kleiner's views of the Stadtpalais Liechtenstein (centre; detail of Fig. 7.9) and of the Palais Althan-Pignatelli (the strip on the left margin of the print).

of the first half of the sixteenth century warrant the conclusion that the facade in Kleiner's 1725 print is basically that designed and built by Jacopo Strada.

The facade shown in Kleiner's drawing is the side facade, as can be deduced not only from the lack of an entrance—which might have been moved at a later date—but also from the even number of bays. This means that the principal façade including the entrance looked toward the later Löwelstrasse, and immediately faced the huge Löwelbastei. This choice can be explained by the fact that the quickest way from the Hofburg was along the inside of the fortifications: on arrival this was the facade which was first seen and could be best observed. From the description of Duke Alfonso's visit to the house, moreover, we know that it could be reached from the Hofburg along a covered passage on top of the fortifications, the exit of which must have been inside

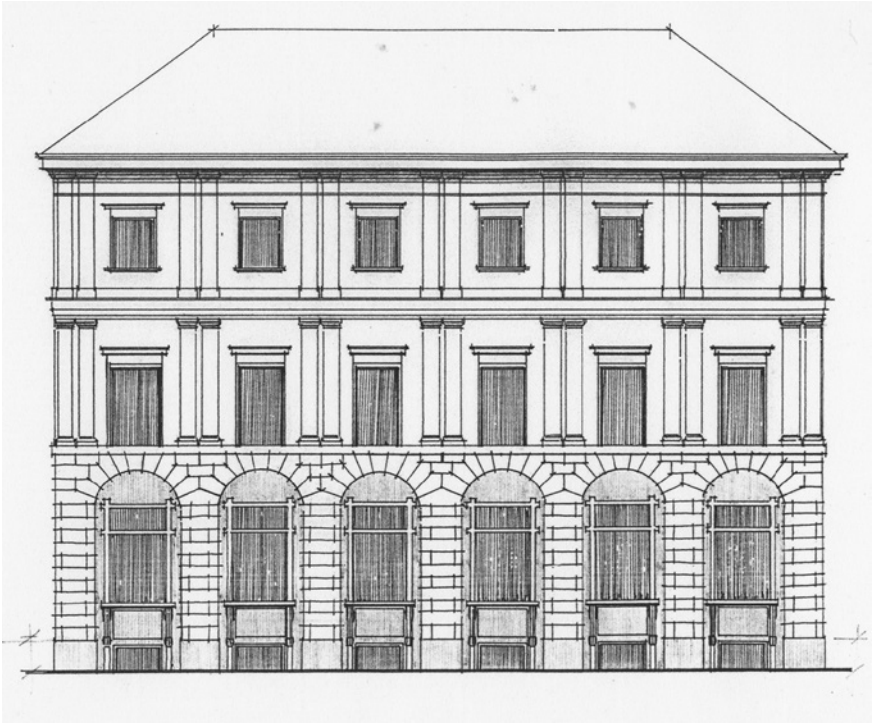

FIGURE 7.13 Mario Carpo, reconstruction of the house of Jacopo Strada in Vienna, facade on the Vordere Schenkenstrase.

the Löwelbastei, that is exactly in front of the entrance of Strada's house.[23] Naturally its principal facade was that which was not only the best visible from this passage on top of the ramparts, but also was the side from which Strada's august patron would approach it.

The articulation of this entrance facade continued that of the side facade, but its corners where stressed by slightly more narrow, windowless bays framed by coupled pilasters. This is visible both in the Kleiner drawing and in the nineteenth century photographs [Figs.7.11 and 7.8]. Doubtless the entrance

23 DOC. 1565-05-26: 'Altre volte è andata a veder le medaglie et l'altre anticaglie del Strada Mantovano, in casa del quale dallo appartamento sudetto [that in which Alfonso was lodged] si va per una via coperta, sopra un bastion in sopra il Terraglio della città.' I do not know whether the existence of this passage is documented elsewhere; certainly the use of the top of the ramparts as a promenade where the Emperor and his immediate entourage could take their daily exercise in reasonable privacy is rather likely; a covered passage would allow this even in bad weather (being on top of the fortifications, it can hardly refer to a 'covered way' in the military sense).

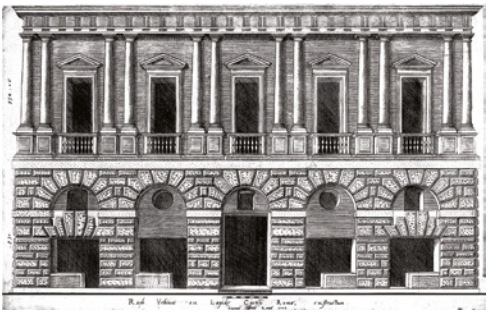

FIGURE 7.14 Donato Bramante, Palazzo Caprini, Rome; ca 1510, from 1517 inhabited by Raphael; engraving by Antonio Lafréry, 1549.

FIGURE 7.15 Attributed to Raphael, house for Jacopo da Brescia, Rome; ca 1515–1519 (demolished ca 1936).

was placed in the centre of this facade, and it opened probably into the cross-vaulted loggia that can be seen on the Steinhausen plan [Fig. 7.7]. These data would allow a very tentative, ideal reconstruction of the principal part of Strada's house as he may have planned it, but for lack of further visual evidence that is rather too speculative to be attempted here.

The general type of Strada's house is Bramante's very influential Palazzo Caprini, built ca 1510 and since 1517 inhabited by Raphael [Fig. 7.14]: a rustic story articulated by arches, carrying a *piano nobile* articulated by coupled Doric semi-columns; or the similar house built for Jacopo da Brescia, physician to Pope Leo X, between 1515 and 1519, probably after a design by Raphael himself, where the coupled semi-columns have been replaced by superimposed pilasters [Fig. 7.15].[24] A very similar type of palace is included in Serlio's *Settimo Libro*. It is the first of a series of proposals for townhouses, and is described as 'una habitatione, per far dentro alla Città in luogo nobile': a qualification which also holds for Strada's house, as we have seen [Fig. 7.16].[25]

In most of these examples the facades are articulated by an order of half columns, and all top these with a complete entablature, giving them a plastic and monumental appearance. Kleiner's drawing, on the other hand, shows that the facade of Strada's house was decorated by the shallowest type of *rustica* on

24 The Palazzo Caprini was demolished in the seventeenth century. A very similar solution is found in the still existing Palazzo Vidoni-Caffarelli, designed by a pupil of Raphael, probably Lorenzo Lotti, Giulio Romano's brother-in-law.

25 The 'botteghe', the small shops or workshops peculiar for Roman palaces, lack in Strada's house; these were unusual in Vienna, and would have impeded good lighting in the huge cellars over which most Viennese dwellings, including Strada's, were built. Moreover they would hardly have been functional.

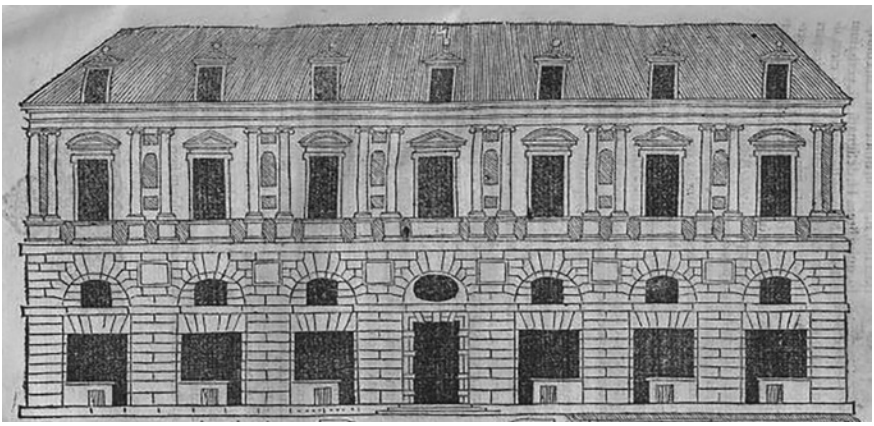

FIGURE 7.16 Serlio, design for a townhouse on a 'noble' location, from Strada's edition of the *Settimo Libro,* 1575.

the ground level, and an order of the flattest of pilasters on *piano nobile* and top floor. Moreover these orders are topped by entablatures that are incomplete: that of the *piano nobile* lacks its cornice and that of on the top floor its frieze, and there the capitals are integrated in the architrave. Even more than the courtyard of the Stallburg this 'abbreviated' order recalls Roman palaces designed by Raphael and his school, in particular the Palazzo Alberini-Cicciaporci (ca 1517–1519, Raphael, assisted by Giulio Romano) [Fig. 7.16] and Giulio Romano's Palazzo Stati-Maccarani (ca 1522–1525) [Fig. 7.17].

Strada's dependence on the example of his earliest and most admired master was a conscious choice. He pointedly wished to present an antithesis to local traditions, an alternative based on the examples constructed by the rulers of the Roman Empire, whose history and works he had studied so assiduously, and whose direct successor he was so proud to serve. These examples included also those works produced in his native country under the immediate influence of the renewed study of Antiquity, some of which equalled or even surpassed those of the Ancients, such as those of Raphael and Giulio.

It remains unclear why—among the options he had even within Giulio's oeuvre—Strada opted for a restrained style the intellectual sophistication of which can hardly have been appreciated by his Vienna contemporaries, instead of for a more immediately spectacular, more robust manner for which he could find examples among the works of Michelangelo, Sansovino, Palladio or Sanmicheli. It may have been merely a question of taste: he may have preferred its refined elegance. But possibly his preference for simplicity and sobriety in architecture—which seems to conflict with other aspects of his personality as we know it from, for instance, the Titian portrait—indicates that he shared the

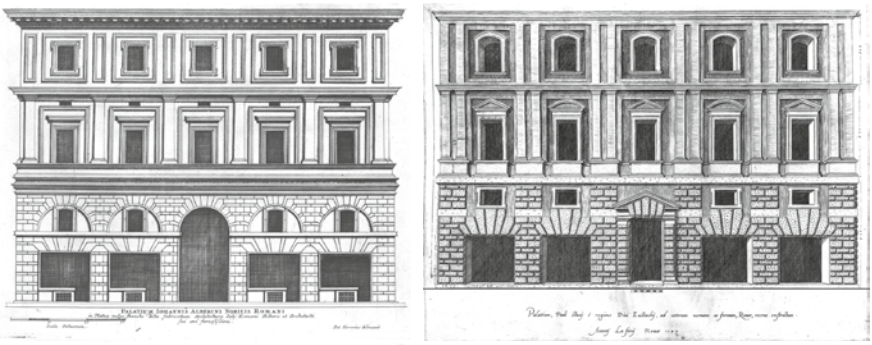

FIGURE 7.17 Raphael, assisted by Giulio Romano, Palazzo Alberini-Cicciaporci, Rome ca 1517–1519.

FIGURE 7.18 Giulio Romano, Palazzo Stati-Maccarani, Rome, ca 1522–1525, engraving by Lafréry, 1550.

ideological motives that research of the last three decades has rediscovered in Serlio's writings and in some of his executed works, ideas which may have been particularly congenial also to Strada's patron, Maximilian II. However, a discussion of these would transcend the limits of this study, and remain inconclusive for lack of direct evidence.[26]

26 Manfredo Tafuri first discussed the evangelical bias in Serlio's treatise (Tafuri 1985, pp. 101–112; Tafuri 1987), and it has since been treated a.o. in Mario Carpo's *La maschera e il modello: Teoria architettonica ed evangelismo nell'* Extraordinario Libro *di Sebastiano Serlio* (Carpo 1993; cf. Carpo 1992). The possible philosophical and ideological significance of classical architecture in the Renaissance is an important topic in the history and theory of architecture, e.g. Rudolf Wittkower's *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (1949), John Onians' *Bearers of Meaning: Classical orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (1990), and the work of Joseph Rykwert and many others. Strada may wel have shared some of these ideas: though on the surface he always remained a Roman Catholic, he was in contact with many Protestants and may have had some sympathy for the Reformation. For a brief discussion of his position, see below, Ch. 11.5.

CHAPTER 8

The Munich Antiquarium

8.1 The Commission

By the time Strada's house had neared some form of completion, he became involved in the one architectural project for which designs in his hand have been preserved, the *Antiquarium* of the Munich Residenz. It is moreover the only building for the design of which he claimed some credit, in his dedication of his 1575 edition of Caesar to the patron of the Antiquarium, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria.[1] The planning of this huge building was the direct consequence of the campaign of acquisition of antique sculpture undertaken by the Duke in the 1560s. This campaign was stimulated and coordinated by Strada's old patron and friend Hans Jakob Fugger: as we have seen, at Fugger's clamorous bankruptcy in 1564, the Duke had taken over Fugger's debts in exchange for his library and his collection of antiquities, which became the foundation of the collection brought together at Munich.[2] It was natural that Strada, who had been Fugger's principal agent in the acquisition of antiquities, would again be asked to contribute his expertise: his trips to Italy to acquire additional sculptures for the Duke have been mentioned above. And it was equally natural, in view of his architectural know-how, that he would be asked to advise about the best way to display these acquisitions.

Initially it was planned to house the antiquities in the Duke's *Kunstkammer*, located on the first floor of a building that itself was without precedent in Germany. Built between 1562 and 1567 by the ducal architect Wilhelm Egkl,

1 The best overview of the creation of the Antiquarium is given in the dissertation of Renate von Busch (Von Busch 1973, Part III; contrary to the statement in Diemer/Diemer 1995, p. 56, n. 8, the dissertation has been published, albeit without illustrations); it serves as point of departure for my treatment. Fundamental for the Antiquarium is the huge two-volume catalogue of its sculpture, preceded by exhaustive but not always dependable (and sometimes mutually inconsistent) studies of its history and significance and including an important appendix of source material Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987. It also includes an admirable critical survey of the literature by Lorenz Seelig (here cited as Seelig 1987). Lietzmann 1987 also discusses Strada's designs and the possible connection between Antiquarium and the Vienna Neugebäude; since then Dischinger 1988 identified Simon Zwitzel as the architect of the Antiquarium as finally built. Diemer/Diemer 1995 reviewed some of the precedent studies and carefully reinterpreted the available data; OTT 2010 provided a critical summary of the state of the question.

2 Cf. Ch. 3.1.

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it was explicitly intended to house two of the Duke's most precious and prestigious possessions: his horses on the ground floor, and his collections on the upper floors. It is generally considered the first building north of the Alps specifically constructed to house a collection, and as such it counts among the earliest museum buildings of Europe [Fig. 8.1].[3]

The planned collocation of the antique sculpture in this building is known from one document only, which immediately makes clear the important role Strada was assigned in the realization of Duke Albrecht's plans. It is an aide-memoire 'concerning Strada' Fugger made for himself of a consultation of the Duke, Fugger and Strada during the latter's brief visit to Munich in late September 1567.[4] Strada and Fugger were to go and see the 'Saal' or room assigned for the antiquities together with the responsible architect—this was Wilhelm Egkl—to see how the statues could best be placed along the walls and in the space. The heaviest pieces should be placed on the dividing walls of the floor underneath, while for the rest it was planned to create niches in the walls, but one should not begin doing that before the marble busts that had to be made to support the individual heads were available: otherwise one risked breaking away too much masonry in one instance, and too little in another, and would waste both money and trouble. Likewise it was still to be decided whether the niches should pierce the walls completely (and thus serve as additional source of light), or whether the wall towards the arcade should be closed in its lower section, and have smaller windows close to the ceiling. Fugger's minutes of this meeting provide a rare snapshot of the sort of verbal consultation that must often have preceded decisions in the field of artistic and cultural patronage. Fugger's formulation strongly suggests that many of the practical points discussed had been raised by Strada himself, which again demonstrates his basic grasp also of the technical aspects of architecture.

The planned display of the Duke's collection of antique sculpture in the *Kunstkammer* became impossible once—after long and complicated negotiations—the Duke had acquired the important collection of the Venetian nobleman Andrea Loredan. Strada had been dealing with Loredan on behalf of the Duke since early in 1567, but had not managed to clinch the deal. When in November 1567 Loredan reopened negotiations, Strada was sent to Venice again, and managed to conclude the sale by the end of February of the

3 On the Munich *Kunstkammer*, see now Diemer/Diemer/Sauerländer 2008, which lists earlier literature.

4 'Memoria des strada halb ad 23. september mit m.g.h. geredt, 1567'; it might also be read as 'memo made on behalf of Strada', but this seems to be contradicted by its contents: HHStA, L.A. 2, ff. 119r.–121v.; excerpts published in Hartig 1933a, p. 220; Von Busch, p. 290, n. 54; Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987, *Textband*, p. 461, nr. 80.

FIGURE 8.1 Wilhelm Egkl, the Münzhof, Munich, built 1562–1567 to house the Kunstkammer of Duke Albrecht V.

following year.[5] Strada was in Munich by the end of July 1568, when he was paid his expenses, and appears to have remained a few weeks: on 25 August Fugger writes to Stopio from Munich, that 'egli [= Strada] è ito a Vienna', i.e. had recently left for Vienna.[6] During this stay Strada must have further consulted with the Duke and Fugger on the display of the collection, the size of which had increased by at least a third by the acquisition of the Loredan statues. In the same letter Fugger tells Stopio that:

> His Excellency [= Duke Albrecht] has decided to have built a room ['stanza'] for his antiquities, and as to its layout he wants to follow the plans and ideas of Strada, if at least he deigns to come here<...>[7]

5 Cf. Von Busch, pp. 119–122.

6 Von Busch 1973, p. 343, n. 98; Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987, *Textband*, p. 465, nr. 126; on the same day (28 July) Strada also presented the copies of Giulio Romano's scenes from the lives of the first twelve Emperors (painted to go under Titian's famous *Twelve Emperors* in the *Camerino dei Cesari* in the Palazzo Ducale at Mantua) he had commissioned for Albrecht V (cf. below, Ch. 12.5). Strada had remained in Venice until 16 June, or returned there by that time, when he dated a letter of recommendation for the sculptor Giovanni Battista della Porta to Don Cesare Gonzaga, S*ignore* of Guastalla (DOC.1568-06-16).

7 'S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a [= Duke Albrecht] e deliberata di fabricare una stanza per le sue antiquaglie, et circa lordine vuol usare il disegno et parere del Strada, se però si vorra degnare di

Though the word 'stanza' might here still refer to a 'room' in the *Kunstkammer*, the word 'fabricare' suggests that the construction of a new building was intended, rather than the adaptation of an already existing space to the Duke's 'antiquaglie'.

Certainly the letter of instruction the Duke himself addressed to Strada on 20 October leaves no room for doubt that a new building was to be commissioned. The Duke tells Strada that he has decided on the site where the new 'Haus für die antiquitäten' is to be built; he will send Strada a plan of the plot as soon as possible, together with his own thoughts on the subject, 'die sachen dest bas darnach habest zurichten', in order for Strada to arrange things accordingly.[8] Three weeks later the Duke writes again to Strada, stressing his wish 'das Studium mögen aufrichten unnd dasselb mit ehisten in ain wesen bringen': that is, 'to build the studio and have it brought into being as soon as possible'. He tells Strada that Fugger will send him:

> … the [plan of the] site of the place where we intend to build the house, according to which you can plan the building, and write all things in the margin, so that we can look into one thing and another, and afterwards we can the better discuss with you our wishes and opinions.[9]

Here it is quite clear that a new building is envisaged, and that Strada is expected to produce a design for it, which can be the subject of a further oral consultation, after having been duly considered by the Duke and others: doubtless Fugger and the local architects are implied. Acting on the Duke's direction, Fugger himself had already written to Strada the day before, though it is not quite clear whether he already had sent off the drawing of the site:

> About the building ['palazzo'] which his Excellency wishes to construct, he has planned to have done all the preparatory work for it [on the site, DJ], and then to have designs made [for it] by some masters, as well as

venire in qua', cited in Von Busch 1973, p. 123 and 343, n. 99; Weski/Frosien Leinz 1987, *Textband*, p. 466, nr. 132.

8 Von Busch 1973, p. 123; Weski/Frosien Leinz 1987, *Textband*, p. 466, nr. 133: 'Mit erstem wöllen wir dir ain verzaichnis des Plaz darauf wir vermainend das Haus für die antiquitäten zu sezen, zueschicken, hatt bisher unnser abwesenheit halber von haus nit sein khonnden. Wollen dir auch daneben usnnser mainung vermelden, die sachen destbas darnach habest zurichten'.

9 Von Busch 1973, p. 123; Weski / Frosien Leinz 1987, *Textband*, p. 466, nr. 137: 'Der Fugger wirdt dir den grundt des Plaz, darauf wir die behausung vermainen Zubauen, Zueschicken, demnach wirstu den Paw khinden Richten, unnd alle sachen nach lenngs Zuschreiben, damit wir unns in denselben unnd anndern ersechen, unnd hernach mit dir unnser gelegenheit unnd mainung zu seiner Zeit desto bas mündtlich Reden khonnden'.

> yours [i.e. Strada's own design], and then to discuss the whole project with you.[10]

The implication from these two letters is that Strada was to be involved in the creation of the Antiquarium in various roles: as an agent of the Duke and expert he had provided a large part of its contents, as an antiquarian he was expected to help realize a satisfactory display of the collection, and as an architect to provide ideas and designs for the building that was to house it. It should be noted that in Munich the second of these roles was considered more important than the third. This is already indicated by the fact that Strada was not the only architect to be asked for suggestions and designs. But it is explicitly stated in a letter Fugger wrote to the Duke in March 1569 from Vienna, where he had received Strada's designs for the projected building. He suggests what the Duke should write to Strada: first he should stress that no decision had yet been taken, because the expected designs—including Strada's—still had to come in. But then he also should tell Strada that, though he would like him to come to Munich in person, Strada had already worked for him so often and so long that the Duke dare not ask the Emperor to let him come now, lest he might be refused to come to Munich later, when he was most needed. And he was most needed not for the design of the building, but for the arrangement of the statues to be housed in it.[11]

It is not quite clear whether Fugger had sent off the drawing of the site to Strada already with his letter of 14 November 1568, but that is very likely, since three days earlier he had sent off a similar siteplan to Stopio in Venice, so that he could discuss the Duke's plans with some local experts, probably architects such as Palladio, and could ask them for preliminary designs.[12] On his own

10 DOC. 1568-11-13, Fugger to Strada, 13 November 1568: 'Circa il palazzo che vuol fabbricare S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a, quella e deliberata di far tutte le preparationi per esso e poi che fa far [disegni(?)] d'alcuni maestrj come anc[or]a il V[ost]ro et poi consultar con Voi il tutto'; Von Busch 1973, p. 298 ff.; Weski / Frosien Leinz 1987, *Textband*, p. 466, nr. 136.

11 Fugger to Duke Albrecht, 5 March 1569, quoted in Von Busch 1973, p. 128–129: 'Des gebews halber khindet E.g. khain entlichen Bericht geben, weil Sy dessen noch nicht entschlossen auß mangl der abriß, dern Sy noch von mer als aim ort gewertig, so sy gedacht mit mir auch zu beratschlagen, unnd also die selb sach zue meiner ankhonfft auf schieben<...>Seiner person halben, wolen Ine E.g. gern haben, weill sy aber Ine so offt und ettwan gar lange Zeit gebraucht, darüber Ir Mt etwas unwirsch sich gegen etlichen vernemen lassen, so wolt sy nit gern Ir Mt zu vill molestirn, und ettwan ursach gebend das Sy Ir den hernach wann man Ine zue ordnung der antiquiteten am nottigsten brauchen mist, gar waigerte'.

12 Fugger had announced his intention to send the plan already earlier, witness Stopio's letter to him of 7-11-1568: 'Et circa lo schizo che V.S. mandera per la fabrica delle Anticaglie, non manchero di consultarlo con questi periti acciò la cosa habbia da riuscire bene...'. [BHStA-LA 4852, fol. 183/174; cf. Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987, *Textband*, p. 466, nr. 135].

FIGURE 8.2 Anonymous, Antiquarium Grimani, ca 1567–1569; Venice, Palazzo Grimani di Santa Maria Formosa.

initiative, and even before he received the siteplan, Stopio had already sent Fugger a design of the 'Studio' that at the time was being completed in the Palazzo Grimani at Santa Maria Formosa to house the collection of antiquities collected by Giovanni Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia [Fig. 8.2]. Stopio stressed that this design had been consulted with the best architects of Italy, and he thought it might be adapted to the Duke's purpose. He suggested to send an architect of his acquaintance to do this: 'in questo modo S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] potra far fare la stanzia'.[13]

13 Stopio to Fugger, 26-11-1568: 'Mando a V.S. un disegno del Studio che fa fare di nuovo il patriarcha d'Aquilegia il Grimani, che è stato consultato con li primi architetti d'Italia. V.S. potra conferirlo con S. Ecc. et volendolo poi accomodare mandaro uno che è intelligentissimo delle antiquita et suo famigliarissimo che ho [= misreading for: 'ha'?] anche veduto il tutto, il quale potra aggiuntare [= misreading for: 'aggiustare' or 'aiutare'?] per metter il tutto per ordine, in questo modo S. Ecc. potra far fare la stanzia'. [BHStA-LA 4852, fol. 183/192 cf. Von Busch 1973; Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987, *Textband*, p. 466, nr. 138]. Heike Frosien-Leinz's contention [*ibid*., p. 47–48] that Stopio himself had made a design for the Munich Antiquarium, and her identifying this with the 'Alternativentwurf' [HHStA, Plansammlung 7933] is based on a misreading of the sources: Stopio sent only one drawing to Munich, and this was certainly a design of the Antiquario Grimani.

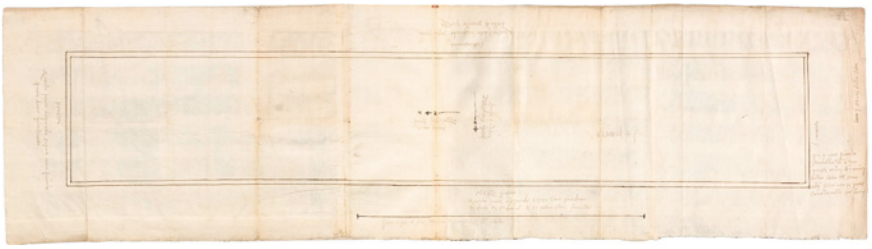


FIGURE 8.3 Siteplan for the Munich Antiquarium, autumn 1568; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung.

When Fugger sent the siteplan he appears also to have told Stopio that it was intended to house the Ducal Library on the first floor of the planned building. Stopio thought that the drawing he had sent could easily be adapted to that function, 'by adding windows over or in between these compartments or *aediculae* ['anche' (?)] that are drawn there, as the architect can easily do'.[14] The drawing Stopio had sent was probably an elevation of the internal disposition of the principal room of the suite dedicated to Giovanni Grimani's collection: this was a square, tribuna-like space covered by an unusual square dome and lit only from above by its lantern.[15] [Fig. 8.2] Perhaps Stopio was slightly optimistic about the ease with which this interior elevation could be adapted to an

14 Stopio to Fugger, 28-11-1568, responding to Fugger's letter of 10-11-1568: '...et con quella ho hauto un disegno per la fabrica che S.Ecc.a vuol fare per le anticaglie. Ho mandato un disegno avanti hieri, che credo sera a proposito, et ben si potrà accomodare la libraria di sopra facendo delle finestre sopra o fra quelli compartimenti, o anche, che stanno ivi disegnati come l'architetto sapera ben accomodare...'. [BHStA-LA 4852, fol. 193/184; Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987, p. 466, nr. 139]. Here the word 'anche' is problematical: it is introduced as a synonym for 'compartimenti'; perhaps it should read 'ante' in the architectural sense (pillars or posts framing a doorway or—less likely—the leaves of a door or window); possibly it is a local (?) variant or adaptation of 'ancona', indicating an architecturally framed altarpiece or (more rarely) a niche intended for a statue. In either case it probably refers to the pedimented *aediculae* framing niches in the Antiquarium Grimani.

15 The Antiquarium Grimani is integrated within the fabric of the Grimany family palace at Santa Maria Formosa, and has no proper facade: it must have been the design for its spectacular interior that had been discussed with the best architects of Italy, perhaps including Strada, who at this time was in contact with the Patriarch (cf. below). Its author is not known, suggestions include the Patriarch himself [Perry 1981], Bartolommeo Ammanati [Stefani Mantovanelli 1984] and Giovanni Battista Bertani (Manfredo Tafuri, on the basis of the similarity between its cupola and that of Bertani's Palatine basilica of Santa Barbara in Mantua; oral communication). The space has been recently studied and restored; the sculptures for which it was planned were later given to the Venetian Republic, and housed in the Biblioteca Marciana.

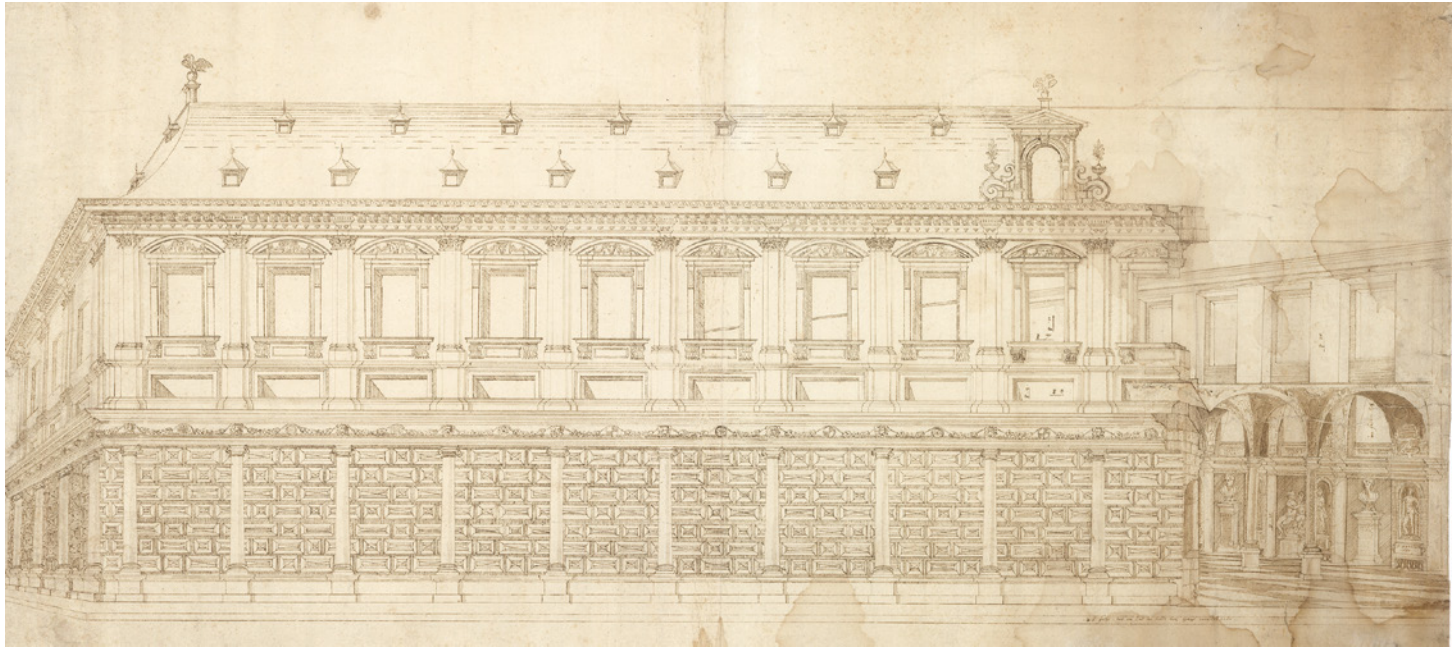


FIGURE 8.4 Anonymous, design for the Munich Antiquarium, autumn 1568; München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv .

exterior facade for a building of two equivalent stories and a length of about twenty bays. But then there is no indication that Stopio had any particular knowledge or understanding of architecture.

The Antiquarium Grimani must have played some role in the decisions taken in Munich about the form the new building should take: certainly Strada must have been very much aware of it, since in the beginning of the same year he had spent some days closeted with the Patriarch, probably studying his coins and other antiquities, and possibly also advising the Patriarch on his new *Musaeum*.[16] But in Munich a different concept was decided upon: a long, simple hall, a *galleria*, instead of a square or circular space, a *tribuna*. It is this concept that determined the choice of site, close to, but separate of the *Neue Veste*, the ducal Residence. The drawing Fugger sent to Strada, to Stopio and probably to others, shows nothing but a huge rectangle, with a scale of measure and some notes as to the orientation of the planned building written in the margins.[17] [Fig. 8.3].[18]

8.2 The Design of 1568

The first response to the request was a design made by an anonymous draughtsman of Northern German or perhaps Netherlandish extraction [Figs. 8.4 and 8.6].[19] It shows a huge building of two floors topped by a steep roof reminiscent of Antwerp town hall dotted with small dormer windows. Its lower level is articulated by a Ionic order of semicolumns or pilasters superimposed on a windowless wall of rustic blocks, very likely intended to be executed in *sgraffito* rather than in full relief. An intermediate level coinciding with the pedestal zone of the upper level contains rectangular windows filling the lunettes of the vaulted ceiling of the lower hall: an elegant solution which provides sufficient wall space to place the statues and busts and also assures adequate lighting of these. The top level of the facade is articulated by an order of superimposed

16 On 22 Febr. 1568 Stopio writes to Fugger that Strada had refused his invitation for a drink to celebrate the wedding of Prince Wilhelm of Bavaria: 'Io havevo invitato il Strada per questa matina per fare un poco di allegrezza a memoria di queste nozze, ma l'ha mandato ad scusare, che ha tanto da fare tutto il dì con il patriarca, che a pena ha tempo da mangiare ...' [BHStA-LA 4852, fol. 150/142].

17 The site actually belonged to the neighbouring Franciscan monastery; they were recompensed for the loss of part of their garden by with an annual donation only in 1570 [Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987, *Textband*, p. 468, nr. 168].

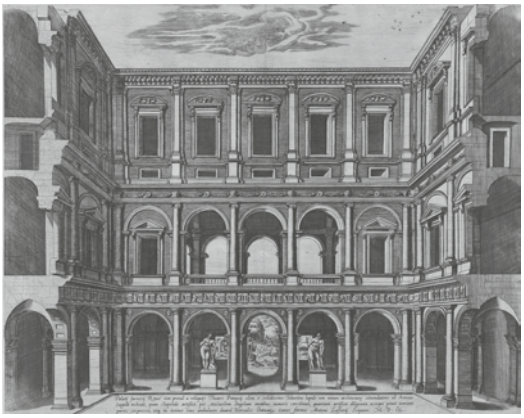
18 BSB-HS, Cod. icon. 198 c, nr. 1., ff. 2av/2br.

19 BHStA, Plansammlung 7933.

Corinthian pilasters framing ample windows topped with segmental pediments, and the whole is topped by a huge cornice.

Erich Hubala, who first published this drawing, noticed that this top section corresponds to the top level of the courtyard facades of the Palazzo Farnese in Rome, added by Michelangelo to Sangallo's earlier building, as illustrated in Etienne Du Pérac's print of 1560 [Fig. 8.5]. The right half of the design shows a view of the interior: on the ground floor, dedicated to the display of the antiquities, the huge space was to be divided into two long, narrow aisles by a row of columns carrying a complicated system of vaulting: apparently the architect did not feel sufficiently confident to span the entire width with one vault.[20]

The Munich plan is dated 1568 and must have been made almost immediately after the siteplan had become available in early November of that year, as is clear from the corresponding proportions. It also makes clear that its designer had been told to add a story over the actual space intended for the collection of antiquities. Doubtless he had also been told that this upper floor was to



FIGURES 8.5–8.6 Palazzo Farnese, Rome, courtyard: top floor designed by Michelangelo; engraving by Etienne du Pérac, 1560; compared to the 1568 design for the Antiquarium (detail of Fig. 8.4).

20 München, HHStA, *Plansammlung* 7933; Hubala 1958–1959; Von Busch 1973, pp. 128–132; Frosien-Leinz 1980; Frosien-Leinz 1983; Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987, *Textband*, pp. 47–49. The drawing is dated 1568 in a small cartouche in the pediment of the central gable, so it was probably conceived almost immediately after the site had been selected and the siteplan made available. The drawing has been mistakenly illustrated as by Jacopo Strada in Hitchcock 1981, Fig. 209. Hubala 1958–1959, p. 130, carefully analysed and illustrated the system of vaulting proposed. In view of the speculation about a possible Netherlandish origins of its designer, its resemblance to the 'Zuilenzaal' or hall of columns of Count Henry III of Nassau's palace at Breda may be of some interest.

house the Duke's library, just as Fugger had informed Stopio when he sent him his copy of the siteplan. The wording of Stopio's reply suggests that this was the first time he heard of the intention to house both antiques and library in the new building.[21] But that decision must already have been taken in August when, as we have seen, Strada was in Munich and had discussed with the Duke and Fugger the implications of the acquisition of the Loredan statues for the planned housing of the antiques.

8.3 The Concept

It was perhaps rather obvious to connect this problem with that of finding accommodation for the other huge acquisition the Duke had made in the late 1560s: the unequalled library of Hans Jakob Fugger, which the Duke obtained in exchange for the financial help he had given Fugger to arrange his affairs after his personal bankruptcy. Yet it was Strada who first hit upon the idea that combining the two in one building would solve both problems at one go. Certainly Fugger appears to attribute its conception to him, when telling Stopio of the Duke's plan to build a new 'stanza' for his antiquities, for which he intended to use 'il disegno et parere del Strada'.[22]

There are several reasons why it is natural to accept Strada's responsibility for this concept: apart from Fugger himself, he probably was the only one who knew both collections extremely well. Strada had contributed not only to Fugger's collection of antiquities, but also to his library, and not only by supplying the noted albums of numismatic drawings, but also by acquiring books and manuscripts for him during his learned peregrinations. Strada himself was not only an antiquarian but also a bookseller and publisher, and himself the owner of a quite sizable scholarly library: by this time it counted over three thousand volumes.[23] So he was perfectly aware of the problems of housing and ordering large quantities of books in an accessible manner, and I will argue below that he must have contributed substantially to the web of ideas informing both Fugger's collection and the ample complex of collections brought together by Duke Albrecht at Munich: ideas which were summarized in Samuel Quiccheberg's *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi...* which had been printed at

21 BHStA-LA 4852, fol. 183/174; cf. Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987, p. *Textband*, 466, nr. 135 (quoted above, note 14).

22 In his letter of 25 August 1568 (Von Busch 1973, p. 123 and 343, n. 99; Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987, *Textband*, p. 466, nr. 132), quoted above, note 7.

23 Discussed in greater detail below, Ch. 14.

FIGURE 8.7 Giulio Romano, Loggia dei Marmi, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua, ca 1536–1539.

Munich a few years earlier, and is generally considered the first museological treatise of the modern period.[24]

Because of his travels Strada was moreover well aware of the most recent developments in architecture designed to house various types of collections in Italy, the Antiquarium Grimani, constructed around this time, being only the most recent. Of particular relevance must have been the *Loggia dei Marmi* (now *Galleria dei Mesi*), part of the *Appartamento di Troia* in the Palazzo

24 Quiccheberg 1565; Jansen 1993(b) and Jansen 2005.

Ducale in Mantua [Fig. 8.7]. This was built between 1536 and 1539 after designs by Giulio Romano, in order to display a part of the Gonzaga collection of antique sculpture. The loggia had been carefully documented, including the placement of the 'marbles' which gave it its name, in the drawings Strada had commissioned from Ippolito Andreasi only the year before [Fig. 8.8].[25]

Obvious library buildings that may have influenced the conception of the Munich Antiquarium are Michelangelo's Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence (1525–1571) [Fig. 8.9–8.10] and Sansovino's Biblioteca Marciana in Venice (1537–1553) [Fig. 8.11–8.12]: both long rectangular buildings of three bays wide and up to 20 bays long.

As has first been noted by Norbert Lieb, however, there was a very recent example quite close by: this was the new building for the *Stadtbibliothek*, the town library of Augsburg that had been founded in 1537. Designed by the Augsburg master-mason Bernhard Zwitzel, this freestanding construction was raised in 1562–1563 next to the former Carmelite monastery of St Anne.[26] [Fig. 8.13] This

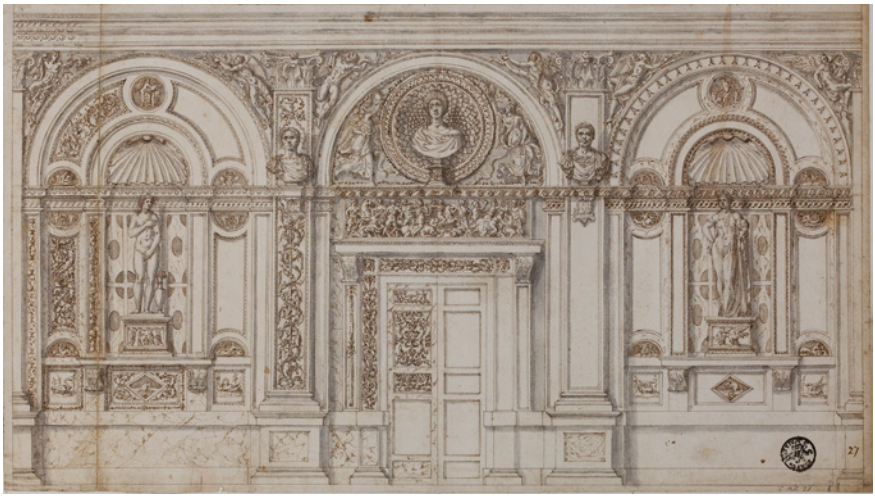


FIGURE 8.8 Ippolito Andreasi, documentary drawing of the Loggia dei Marmi commissioned by Jacopo Strada, 1567; Düsseldorf, Museum Kunstpalast.

25 Cf. below, Ch. 13.8.2.

26 Lieb 1980 and Stierhof 1980 recognized the parallel and are cited by Seelig 1987, p. 27. The Augsburg Stadtbibliothek was demolished in 1894, after the completion of a new library building; a brief history, 'Geschichte der Staatsbibliothek und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg – Von der Gründing bis zur Säkularisation', on the website Augsburgwiki, https://www.augsburgwiki.de/index.php/AugsburgWiki/DieStabiAugsburgVonDerGruendungBisZurSaekularisation,. cons. 12-10-2018.

FIGURES 8.9–8.10 Michelangelo, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, 1525–157, finished by others after Michelangelo's designs.

FIGURES 8.11–8.12 Jacopo Sansovino, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, 1537–1553.

building in his hometown was certainly very well known to Fugger, since its librarian, the illustrious philologist Hieronymus Wolf, had begun his career in Fugger's employ; and doubtless both Duke Albrecht and Strada must have had some familiarity with it as well. This quite functional building again consisted of a long rectangular block of two stories, in this case however realized without the least pretension to architectural distinction. This did not prevent it to house the Augsburg library for over three centuries. Whereas the Italian examples such as Laurenziana and Marciana may have inspired Strada's concept and influenced his design for the Munich Antiquarium, we shall see that the Augsburg library was as influential for the building as actually constructed.

Trying to combine these two building types, the antique gallery and the library building, would easily result in the type of building envisaged and

afterwards built in Munich. In an important paragraph, 'Der Bautyp des Antiquariumgebäudes', Renate von Busch analyses the building type of the Munich Antiquarium and attempts to place it in the history of the humanist studio and the development of the gallery.[27] It is true that Strada and his patrons may have been well aware of the development of the gallery as a free standing building-type, particularly in France: the most obvious example, the Galerie François-I^{er} in Fontainebleau, may well have been a source of inspiration, both because of its illustrious patron and because its upper floor originally housed the French King's library.[28] But it is significant that many of the comparisons Von Busch cites actually postdate the Munich Antiquarium. Seelig moreover rightly stresses that though the type is indeed unusual at the time for buildings planned to house a collection, it is by no means unusual for a building conceived to house a library, witness the examples given above. And even then, these earlier examples are hardly necessary to explain the building concept: given the decision to combine library and collection of antiquities, and given the available space, the building type chosen for the Munich Antiquarium seems the natural and obvious solution.

So the originality of the Munich Antiquarium lies in this concept, rather than in the resulting building type. The idea of combining the complete library and the complete collection of antique sculpture in one building, thus creating a true museum, can be derived from the ideas current in the circle of Hans Jakob Fugger, who considered library and collection as tools of science and scholarship as well as of representation. As we have seen, he brought these ideas with him to Munich, where they were codified by his former librarian, Samuel Quiccheberg, and were put into practice under Fugger's direct supervision, in the huge complex of collections created by Albrecht V. The concept of

27 Von Busch 1973, pp. 153–160; it is preceded by an equally important paragraph on the historical position of the Munich Antiquarium as a collection and a conclusion on the significance of the Munich Antiquarium as created by Albrecht V. Hubala 1958–59, and Heike Frosien-Leinz and Horst Stierhof in Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987 also discuss possible architectural sources of the Antiquarium.

28 Seelig 1987, p. 26–27; he conveniently lists the literature on the gallery as a building type, p. 30 note 46, and cites Gerhard Hojer (*ibid.* p. 26 and note 48), who, rather than of the 'Galerie François-I^{er}', thought of the 'Galerie Henri-II', otherwise known as the 'Salle de Ball' (which was illustrated by Serlio, cf. above, Fig. 5.88), a not particularly illuminating comparison for the original concept of the Antiquarium, but perhaps helpful for its later function as a festive hall. It should be noted that galleries were not unknown in Italy, though often derived from open *logge* as in Mantua. The most relevant freestanding galleries are without doubt those designed by Bramante to connect the Belvedere with the Vatican Palace—used in part, it should be noted, to house the Vatican Library.

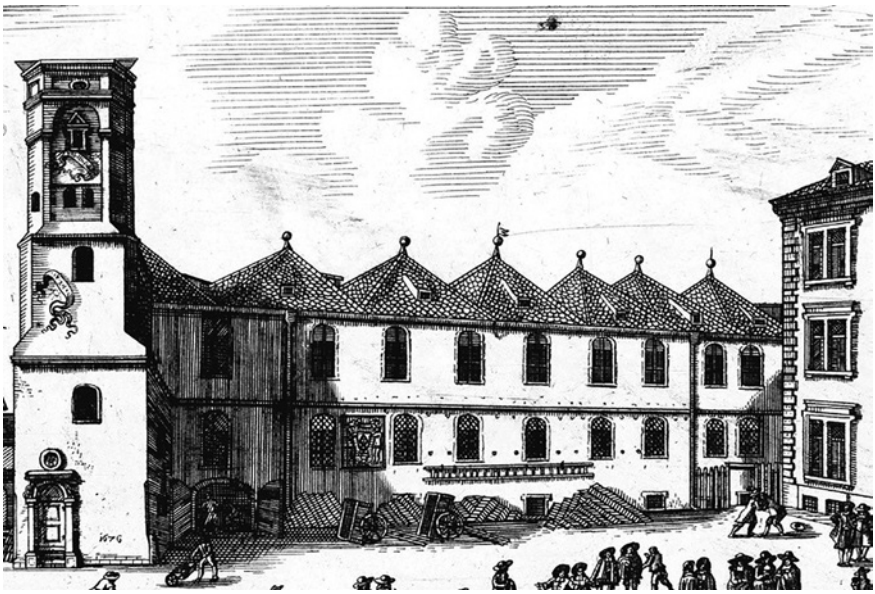


FIGURE 8.13 Bernhard Zwitzel, Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, 1562–1563; detail of a print by Simon Grimm, 1676.

the Antiquarium is not the only one of Strada's contributions to this complex, as I hope to discuss elsewhere in greater detail.[29]

8.4 Strada's Project: The Drawings

As we have seen, Duke Albrecht at first intended to build the 'stanza per le sue antiguaglie' according to 'il disegno et parere del Strada', that is not only according to Strada's ideas, but also according to his designs. This may indicate that Strada already had sketched out some ideas how to realize the concept, and that the Duke had asked him to work these out in a more concrete design once the site for the building had been selected. Once Strada had received the siteplan in early November 1568, it still took him four months to actually produce his designs, which he delivered into Fugger's hands in the first days of March 1569. Since Fugger had been in Vienna at least since January, doubtless staying in Strada's house, these designs were partly the fruit of their further deliberation. This is clear from a letter Fugger wrote to the Duke on 19 February,

29 Meanwhile see Jansen 1987, Jansen 1988(a) and Jansen 1993(b).

instructing him about the roof construction, and asking him to decide whether he wished window frames and staircases in wood or in stone.[30]

Strada's drawings for the project have not been preserved together, reason why they were not recognized as belonging to one consistent project until Renate von Busch's painstaking examination of the sources. They are:

– the siteplan [Figs. 8.3 and 8.16], preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. icon. 198 c, nr. 1., ff. 2av/2br; it includes notes in Italian in Fugger's hand on the orientation of the site; Strada based his designs on this plan or an identical copy of it (cf. above);
– a ground-plan [Figs. 8.17–8.19], preserved in the Bayerisches Staatsarchiv, *Plansammlung* 7939; it repeats *verbatim* in Strada's hand most of Fugger's annotations;
– an interior elevation [Fig. 8.20]; preserved with the siteplan and other material relating to the Antiquarium in the Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Icon. 198 c, nr. 2. fol. 3r;
– an exterior elevation [Fig. 8.15], preserved in the Bayerisches Staatsarchiv, *Plansammlung* 7931/9584.

These drawings are all intimately related: the ground-plan repeats *verbatim* in Strada's hand the notes in Italian Fugger had jotted onto the siteplan; the interior elevation, preserved with the siteplan, exactly tallies with the ground-plan; the exterior elevation is drawn on the same paper from Ferrara as the interior elevation, and again its proportions correspond closely to those of the ground-plan. Moreover all three designs are drawn in the same technique, a fine pen in a light brown ink over underdrawings in pencil, and the hand also appears to be the same. This technique is the habitual technique of Strada's workshop; the yellow wash used in the exterior elevation is found in some of Strada's decorative and numismatic drawings. Moreover the style of the designs corresponds closely to the architectural reverses among Strada's numismatic drawings [see

30 DOC. 1569-02-19; cited in Hartig 1933, pp. 221–222, and Hubala 1958–59, p. 134. Fugger was in Vienna to negotiate on behalf of Duke Albrecht in the matter of the Landsberger Bund, from at least mid January 1569, when Stopio writes to him there [BHStA-LA 4852, fol. 207/198 ff.] until at least 30 March 1569, when he still dated a letter to Stopio from there [BHStA-LA 4852, fol. 228/219]. On 5 March 1569 Fugger wrote to the Duke: '... von Im [= Strada] die Pedestal unnd ubrigen stuckh der colonna genommen darzue den abri ßdes gebews...'; he then reports Strada's suggestions to the Duke; an undated note in Strada's hand referring to details such as the window frames and the ceiling decoration of the library likewise refers to these discussions; cited in Von Busch 1973, pp. 133 and 301–302, and Lietzman 1987, p. 125.

above, Fig. 5.89; and below, Figs. 15.25, 15.26, 15.30 and 15.38]. There can be no reasonable doubt that all these drawings are in Strada's hand.[31]

The most interesting similarity between the two elevation drawings is the manner in which they are projected: the lines were drawn in ink only after the ground- and roofline and the principal axes of the building had been impressed into the paper, using a ruler and a dry metal point, and compasses are used to draw the arches and possibly to establish the cardinal points of the proportional system. This process presupposes a prior stage in which quick sketches helped Strada to find solutions for the particular problems posed by this unusual commission; only when he had made up his mind on these he could begin to calculate the proportional system on which to base his design.

The resulting drawings represent a worked-out proposal for the Antiquarium building. Yet it is clear that this remains a proposal, that it is a subject for further deliberation and decision-making, rather than a definitive plan to be handed to the contractor. Probably for that very reason the designs have been very economically drawn: whereas the ground plan is fully worked out, the two elevation drawings present the whole project—a huge building of eighteen bays long—in two drawings of just three bays, and even then squeezing in several variant solutions. This is particularly clear in the exterior elevation [Fig. 8.15] which leaves open questions such as the design of the entrance to the building and presents alternative solutions for other elements. Strada had discussed these with Fugger, as is clear from an undated note or *aide-memoire* in his hand, and from Fugger's letter to Duke Albrecht of 19 February just cited, in which the Duke was asked to choose the material of the window frames.

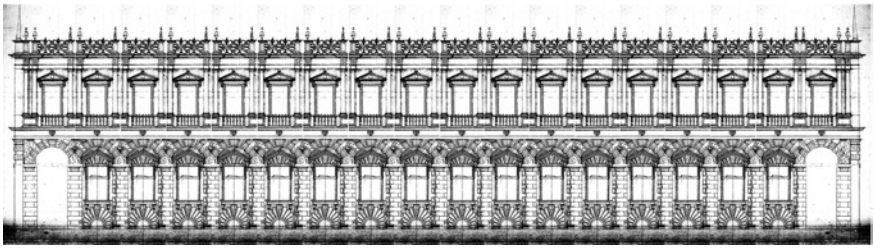


FIGURE 8.14 Reconstruction of the entire Antiquarium, based on Strada's exterior elevation (Fig. 8.15).

31 Certainly there is no reason to suppose that Strada, after having determined ground-plan and interior elevation, needed any hypothetical Mantuan architect to design the exterior elevation, as Horst Stierhof has suggested (Weski/ Frosien Leinz, 1987, *Textband*, p. 20).

Strada's design could help him make up his mind: it presents alternative solutions to be executed in wood (lower right) or in stone, with carefully executed profiles (central lower window). Illustration 8.14 shows a perfunctory reconstruction, obtained by the simple repetition of one bay of the exterior elevation, which allows a more tangible idea of Strada's intention, in particular the monumental effect he aimed at.[32]

8.5 Strada's Project: The Building

A careful examination of Strada's drawings tells us how he thought an important collection of antiquities should be presented and helps us to get some idea of his views on the practice of architecture and of his sources of inspiration. It has been suggested that Fugger had brought the earlier, Munich design with him to Vienna, which is very likely because Strada was expected to give his advice on all proposals.[33] Though it may have helped him to make up his mind about his own solutions, there is little indication that he was particularly influenced by it. Most obvious similarities can easily be explained by the set conditions of the Duke's commission. This holds in particular for the concept and the general proportions of the building.

Because no ground plan of the 1568 design has been preserved, we cannot be sure of its exact proportions. Certainly it cannot have been very similar to Strada's design, since the 1568 design is for a building of three bays wide and seventeen bays long, i.e. an uneven number of bays and a huge dormer gable stressing the centre [Fig. 8.04], whereas Strada's ground plan shows that he opted for a length of eighteen bays, an even number [Fig. 8.17]. This implies that there was no central bay on the long facades and their centre was unstressed. This was a conscious choice, indicating that Strada considered the building's longitudinal axis as its principal axis, and its narrow entrance front as its principal facade. That is, Strada designed a gallery or loggia rather than a free-standing 'palazzo'.[34] The only relevant similarity between the two designs

32 The image is the result of a simple digital manipulation of the elevation design. It is merely intended to convey an impression of the building as Strada planned it, not a scientific reconstruction.

33 Hubala 1958–1959, p. 154–155 discusses the relationship between Strada's drawings and the Munich design, which he considers as the 'Grundlage der Skizzen Stradas'.

34 It might also indicate that Strada foresaw the later development of a courtyard of which the Antiquarium would provide one side, in the manner of the Ducal Palace in Mantua, and as effectually realized in Munich some decades later. Hubala 1958–1959, p. 135, explains the different number of bays 'aufgrund einer pedantischen Gleichsetzung von

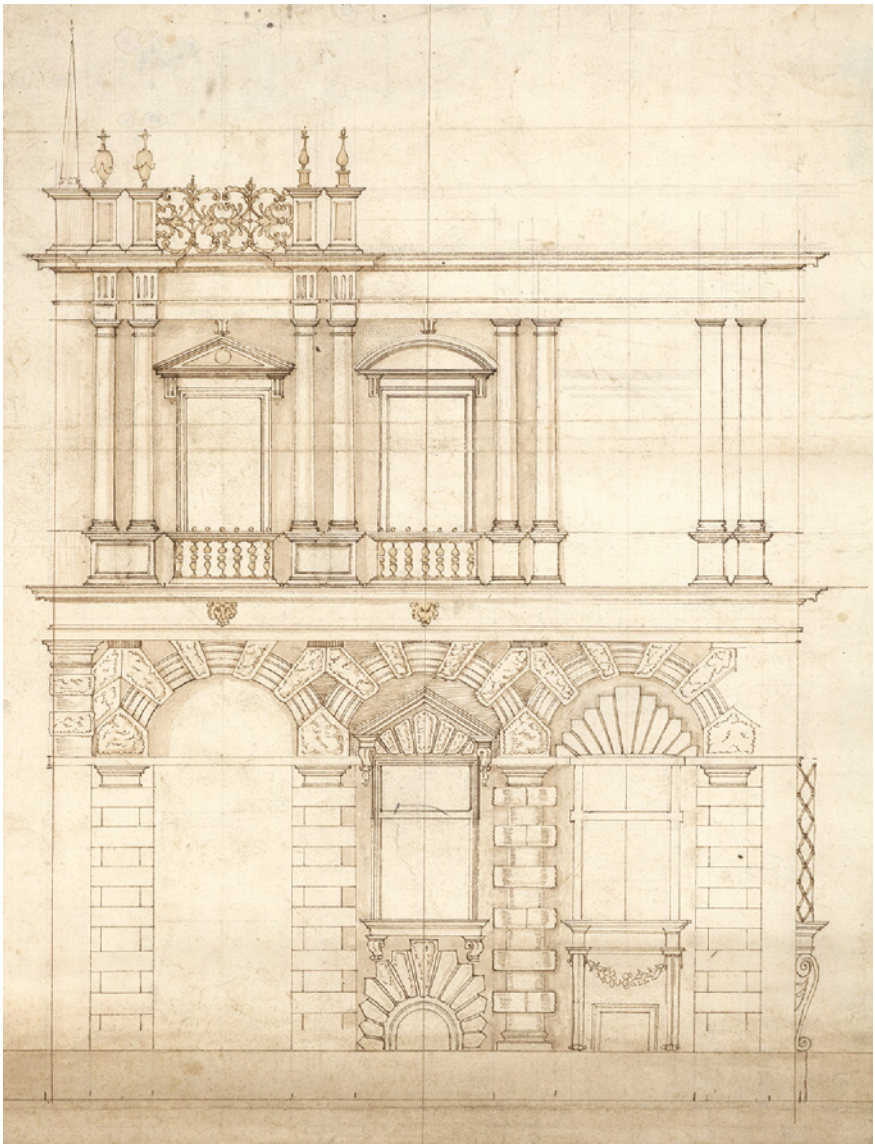
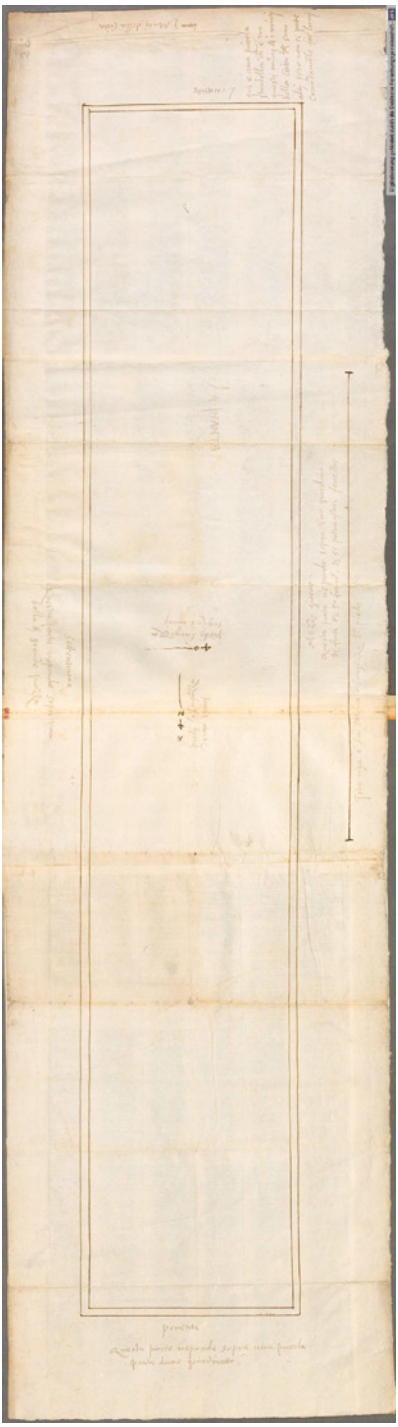


FIGURE 8.15 Jacopo Strada, design for the Munich Antiquarium, exterior elevation, 1569; Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv.

Säulendurchmesser der Fassade mit Wandpfeilerbreite im innern', which led to narrower piers, and therefore to the need for one more bay. This is rather simplistic: certainly this ambition may have played a role—and I would not consider it pedantic—but the number of bays in Strada's design was primarily determined by his careful planning of the proportions of the various spaces (cf. below).



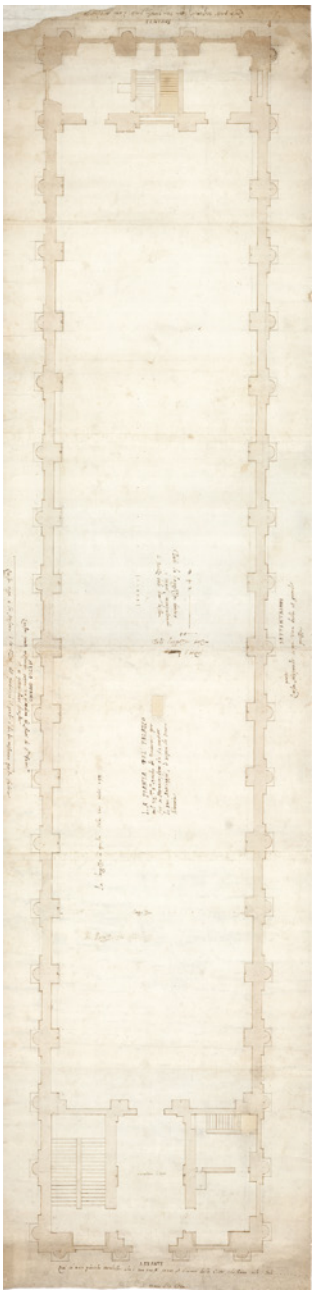


FIGURE 8.16 Siteplan for the Munich Antiquarium as sent to Jacopo Strada.

FIGURE 8.17 Jacopo Strada, design for the Munich Antiquarium, ground plan.

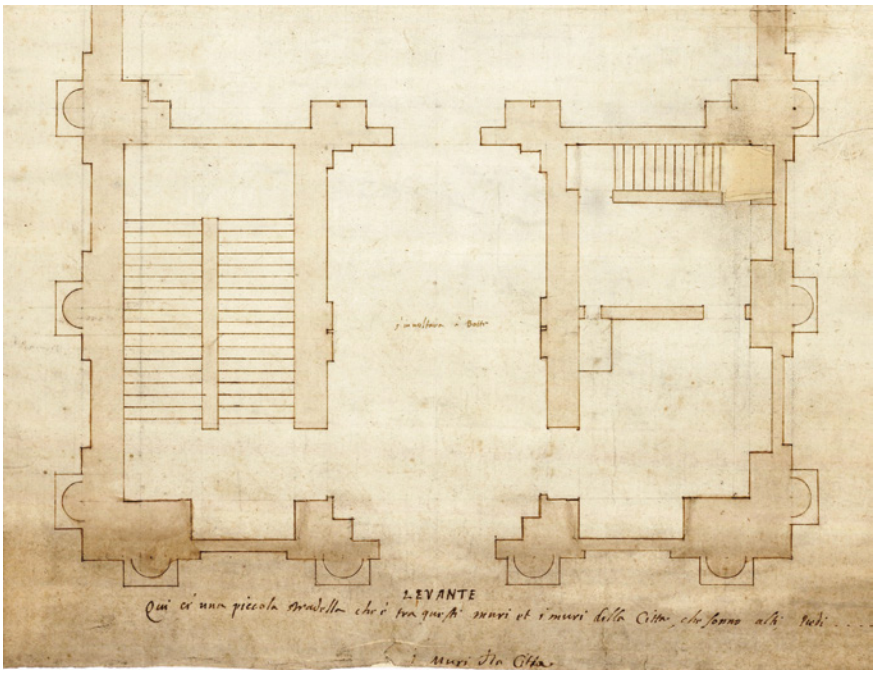


FIGURE 8.18 Jacopo Strada, ground plan of the Antiquarium, detail: entrance and service spaces.

is the use of semicolumns on the ground floor level. It is quite possible that Strada adopted these from the 1568 design to provide a solution to a structural problem particular to his ambitions for the building: they could serve as buttresses to counterbalance the lateral forces of the wide vault of the main exhibition space.[35]

Strada's conviction that the exhibition hall of the Antiquarium should be an undivided space, covered by one huge and simple barrel vault, determined this and other features of his plan. Of his three drawings, the ground plan is by far the most worked out, including many small details showing his concern for practical considerations. It is worth while to look at it in detail [Fig. 8.17–8.19].

35 The 1568 design, where the vaulting is carried on a row of central supports, would have less need than Strada's of this 'buttressing' function (given a sufficiently thick wall, the columns might have been fictive, e.g. executed in *sgraffito*). I am no engineer, and cannot determine whether either solution was feasible as to its statics; the actual solution chosen, which is very similar to Strada's, included strong metal tie-bars anchoring the outside walls to the floor beams of the first floor as an extra security (cf. the project by Simon Zwitzel and the photographs taken after the bomb damage, below, Figs. 8.42 and 8.43).

Strada interpreted the siteplan [Fig. 8.16] as indicating the internal measurements of the projected building, which implies that his project [Fig. 8.17] would take up a little more space, i.e. basically the thickness of the walls and the order of engaged columns.[36] He projected a long building of 18 × 3 bays, corresponding to a proportion of 6 : 1, and subdivided this space into the main exhibition hall, of 15 bays (that is a proportion of 5 : 1), an entrance with vestibule and main staircase taking up the first two bays, and two small cabinets and a service staircase filling the last bay. Details of these subsidiary spaces indicate Strada's concern for the practical use of the building.

The entrance [Fig. 8.18] consists of a quite representative vestibule of two bays deep, the walls of which are articulated by coupled pilasters, and which was to be covered by two groin vaults or, more likely, by a compartmented barrel vault decorated in stucco. On the left (south) side, a monumental staircase gives access to the library on the upper floor. On the right (north) side two small spaces probably were intended as a porter's or custodian's lodging; its back room includes a narrow staircase which may be a subsidiary service stair, but more likely provides access to a mezzanine with a bedroom for the custodian. Under these stairs a latrine was situated (shown when lifting the flap of paper on which the staircase is drawn). The small front room appears to have been heated by a *Kachelofen*, the traditional German stove of ceramic tiles heated from the back.

The same elements, a service staircase over a latrine and a cabinet heated by a *Kachelofen*, are found at the other end of the building [Fig. 8.19]. Here are projected two cabinets accessible through doors in the lateral bays of the western end wall of the main space. As we have seen, the one of the left (south) side is heated by a *Kachelofen*, the one on the right (north) has an ample chimneypiece with its own smoke channel in the outside wall. With the vestibule on the other end these are doubtless the 'stanze dele [due (?)] teste', the 'rooms on either end' to which Strada refers in his note on the measures used in the drawing. It is tempting, though, to read this name as indicating their function, rather than their position, as 'rooms of the portrait-heads', which would

36 Comparing Strada's ground plan with the siteplan at first sight their proportions seem not to coincide: the siteplan seems longer or narrower that Strada's project. When taking into account Strada's comment on these measurements, which he repeats in his drawing, it turns out that he refers them to the internal measurements of the building: '242 piedi la longezza dentro i muri computando le stanze dele [unreadable abbreviation: 'due'?] teste' and '40 piedi largezza [... (crossed out, unreadable] senza i muri'. If one measures the length between the inner wall surfaces, but including vestibule and cabinets at either end, and the width between the pedestals of the semicolumn, one in fact comes pretty close to these measurements.

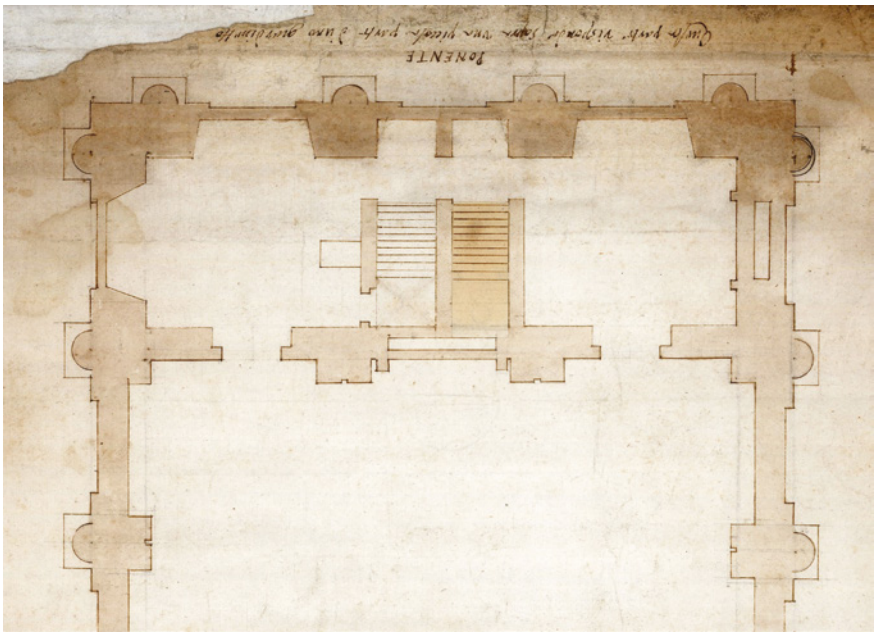


FIGURE 8.19 Jacopo Strada, ground plan of the Antiquarium; detail: the 'Stanze dele teste'.

suggest that they were intended to house some of the many portrait heads and busts in the collection, doubtless the smaller ones, that would not really be suitable to be exhibited in the large hall.[37] Possibly Strada also intended them to house the Duke's coin cabinet, providing means for a comparative study of ancient Roman iconography. But their principal function must have been to provide a comfortable *ambiente*, a 'stufa' or 'Stube' for use by the Duke and his guests. This would be more suitable for private study and conversation than the large hall, if only because it could be heated in winter. It may be that the same chimneystack served a similar private room in the library above, to which the 'stanze dele teste ' were connected by the ample secondary staircase in the middle bay.[38]

37 *Ibidem*; it should be noted that the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua does have a 'sala delle teste' which at one time was decorated by antique portrait busts in circular niches.

38 A chimneypiece may have been included instead of a second *Kachelofen* to allow the use of a crucible, to do some minor metalwork in silver, gold, bronze and lead, such as the casting of medals and small statuettes—this would be the type of manual activity in which even a princely patron might engage in, in his leisure hours.

The fireplace Strada planned in the main hall of the Antiquarium was located in the central bay of the end wall [Fig. 8.19]. Though huge, it would barely suffice to keep the main hall above freezing point during the Bavarian winters. Strada probably included it primarily to serve in spring and autumn, on the festive occasions—banquets, receptions, concerts, perhaps dances and masques—for which this huge room was perfectly suitable and for which it probably was also intended. On such occasions the doubtless monumental chimneypiece would serve as a backdrop for the Duke, his consort, and their most important guests. Strada's design thus foreshadows the adaptation of the Antiquarium to a predominantly representative use by Albrecht's son, Duke Wilhelm V, and his grandson, Duke Maximilian I, in the last two decades of the sixteenth century.[39] [Fig. 8.23]

As we have seen, the main hall as Strada planned it was fifteen bays long and three bays wide, which corresponds to a proportion of 5 : 1. Measured in the Bavarian 'Schuh' or foot of ca 29, 1 cm which Strada used, this results in a huge hall of about 60 × 12 meters. The ground plan shows that both long and short walls were articulated by coupled pilasters or columns. These correspond to the larger semicolumns articulating the outside walls, basically creating voluminous wall-piers, the mass of which could possibly carry the transverse beams of a wooden roof, but which were actually intended to receive the landing points of the vaults planned to span the hall. The projecting piers created wide rectangular niches all of exactly the same dimensions, which were lit by the windows indicated in the outer walls; the central bay of the west wall was taken up by the entrance, that of the east wall by the mantelpiece; the latter was flanked by smaller doors giving access to the two cabinets in the lateral bays.

8.6 The Interior Elevation

Whereas the ground plan has been carefully drawn in great detail, the interior elevation [Fig. 8.20] at first sight seems much more cursory, and that is precisely what it is: a quick sketch to visualize Strada's intentions, to be discussed during the planned meeting with the Duke and Fugger. Apparently Strada did not care to waste his time in drawing definitive designs before definitive decisions had been taken. So he sketched a mere three bays, the elevation of which is valid

39 On this restructuring and redecorating, see Von Busch 1973, pp. 164–174; Weski/Frosien Leinz 1987, pp. 50–56; Diemer/Diemer 1995, in which they point out that the existing chimneypiece was preceded by an earlier one (p. 83 and Fig. 25).

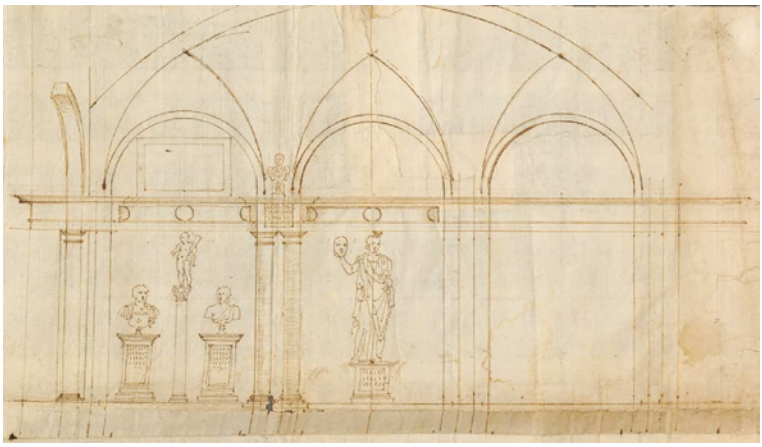


FIGURE 8.20 Jacopo Strada, design for the Munich Antiquarium, interior elevation; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung.

for the treatment of both long and short walls, but which doubles as a section through the width of the hall showing its proposed vaulting system. Any interpretation of the drawing should take this into account.

A comparison with the relevant section of the ground plan [Fig. 8.21] shows how precisely the interior elevation conforms to the ground plan. It also makes clear that the piers articulating the walls and carrying the vault consist of coupled, disengaged Doric columns, rather than engaged columns or pilasters. These columns carry a full entablature which is continued within the window niches. Its frieze includes circular and semi-circular decorative elements possibly intended as an abbreviated reference to the metopes of the Doric order, but more likely to be read as medallions, to be executed as plaques in semi-precious stones or intended to contain small stucco reliefs.[40]

The piers serve as supports for the vault, which is of a quite conventional Italian type, the best known example of which is doubtless the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. It consists of a slightly depressed or elliptical barrel vault, cut into at right angles by lower and narrower purely semi-circular savoury vaults or 'Stichkappe'. These vaults create the window niches topped by correspondingly semi-circular lunettes over each window bay, which implies that the interior facades can be read as arcades. It is more than likely that the end-walls

40 A comparable use of precious stones is found in in the Palazzo Grimani, but it is any case a conventional type of decoration in Lombardy and the Veneto; an execution as portrait medallions based on coin-types is unlikely, because most of the plaques are in fact semi-circular, but they might be intended to contain small stucco reliefs as in similar medallions in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua, for instance in the *Loggia dei Marmi*, and in the *Loggia di Davide* of the Palazzo del Te (cf above, Figs. 8.7–8.8 and 8.22).

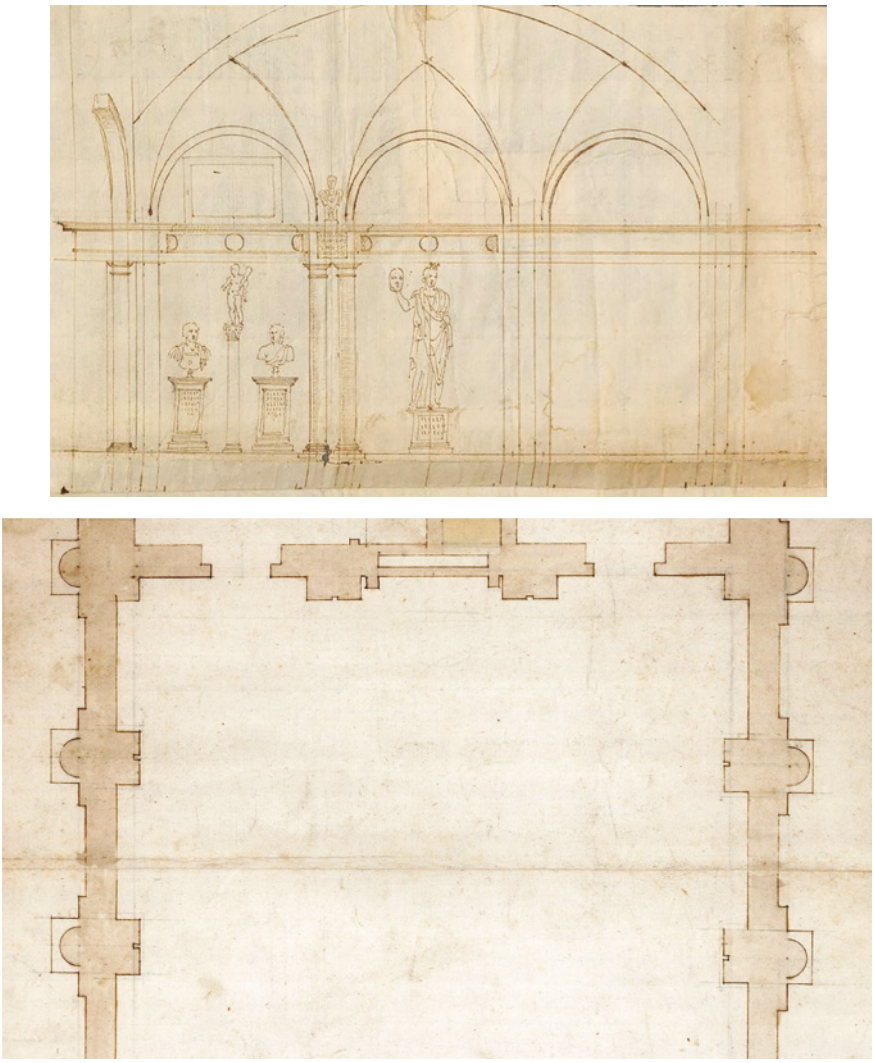


FIGURE 8.21 Comparison on scale of interior elevation and ground plan of Jacopo Strada's design for the Munich Antiquarium.

were to be treated likewise, though it cannot be completely excluded that Strada intended the barrel vault to end in a huge, flat, segmental wall face, offering space for a monumental decorative scheme somewhat along the lines of Giulio Romano's *Loggia di Davide* in the Palazzo del Te [Fig. 8.22], and as was realized in the Antiquarium as actually built.[41] [Fig. 8.23]

41 Such a solution would be reminiscent of the main reception hall of the castle of Mary of Hungary at Binche in Hainaut, known from an anonymous drawing of the *Triomphes de*

FIGURE 8.22 Giulio Romano, Loggia di Davide in the Palazzo del Te, Mantua, 1535.

The *Loggia di Davide* [Figs. 8.22] can be considered as Strada's most immediate source: here one finds a similar space covered by a barrel vault carried on pillars consisting of coupled columns framing wide, deep niches. The correspondence is sufficiently close to assume that Strada, who had known the Palazzo del Te since his teens, had it in the back of his mind when designing the Antiquari-

Binches, festivities organized in 1549 honour of a visit of Charles V (Brussels, Royal Library Albert I); designed by Jacques du Broeucq 1545–1548, its shows other elements apart from the barrel vault that seem to prefigure the Antiquarium in its later function as festival hall, such as the huge fireplace preceded by a high dais surrounded by a balustrade.

FIGURE 8.23 The end wall of the Munich Antiquarium, with monumental chimneypiece and ceremonial dais (ca 1590).

um, even though in Mantua the coupled columns are more widely spaced and enclose round-headed niches, in the tradition of Bramante's facades of the Belvedere, and Giulio's design is more strictly, even pedantically classical than Strada's—witness his original solution to avoid the pointed or rounded *Stich-kappe* over the arches intersecting the perfectly semi-circular barrel vault.[42]

8.7 The Exterior Elevation and Its Models

The exterior elevation [Fig. 8.15] is drawn on paper with the same watermark as the interior elevation, and it is on the same scale as the interior elevation and the ground plan. Though its architectural elements are drawn in greater detail than in the interior elevation, it is a proposal rather than a definitive design in exactly the same way: again a mere three bays stand for both long and short sides of the entire eighteen-bay building, and even of those three only two are worked out. The design moreover presents alternative solutions for the window-frames and -surrounds of the ground floor and for the pedes-

42 The great hall at Binche showed a similar solution (*ibidem*).

tals of the coupled pilasters on the upper level. The manner of projection and the drawing technique is exactly the same in both elevations, and there can be no reasonable doubt that, with the ground plan, these are the drawings for his Antiquarium project that Strada handed over to Hans Jakob Fugger in the first days of March 1569.

Yet whereas the interior elevation tallies in all respects with the ground plan, the exterior elevation presents at least one major problem, which well explains the doubts as to its connection with the ground plan registered by some authors. This is the inclusion of basement windows, whereas neither ground plan nor interior elevation give any indication of the presence of a basement. In view of the weight of the statues to be placed in the main hall, a cellar under it would pose specific structural problems, the more so in that Strada's interior elevation places the larger statues on pedestals exactly above the hypothetical cellar windows in the exterior elevation [cf. Figs. 8.17 and 8.20]. And even if a basement would be feasible, under the large hall its ceiling would be too low—actually at, or even below ground-level—to allow illumination directly from the outside. If a cellar had been planned only under the entrance and/or the service spaces at either end, this would have implied a higher floor level in these areas, and a set of steps leading down from the vestibule into the main hall. This might certainly create a satisfying, even a monumental effect—but again the ground plan provides no indication of any such difference in level.

This problem accentuates the provisional nature of Strada's design. It is clear that at the time of his discussions with Fugger many decisions as to the nature of the building had not yet been taken in Munich: the question of its foundations and the possible inclusion of an accessible substructure probably was one of these. Another one is the question of its access: in his ground plan Strada opts for a monumental vestibule, implying an equally monumental entrance portal in the center of the short east facade, but in his elevations he does not include this, probably because at that point of time it had not yet been decided how access to the Antiquarium was to be realized: a covered corridor or arcaded gallery connecting it to the Ducal residence may have been a serious option.[43]

The presence of the basement windows in the elevation can better be explained as Strada's perhaps not completely satisfying solution to a complicated design problem. This problem was caused by the decision to construct a

43 Strada notes that the Duke could reach the Antiquarium unseen: 'Huc Celsitudo tua nulli conspecta, è suo castello, quoties libet, commeare potest... (Caesar 1575, p. *4v.); cf. Diemer/Diemer 1995, p. 59 and note 19.

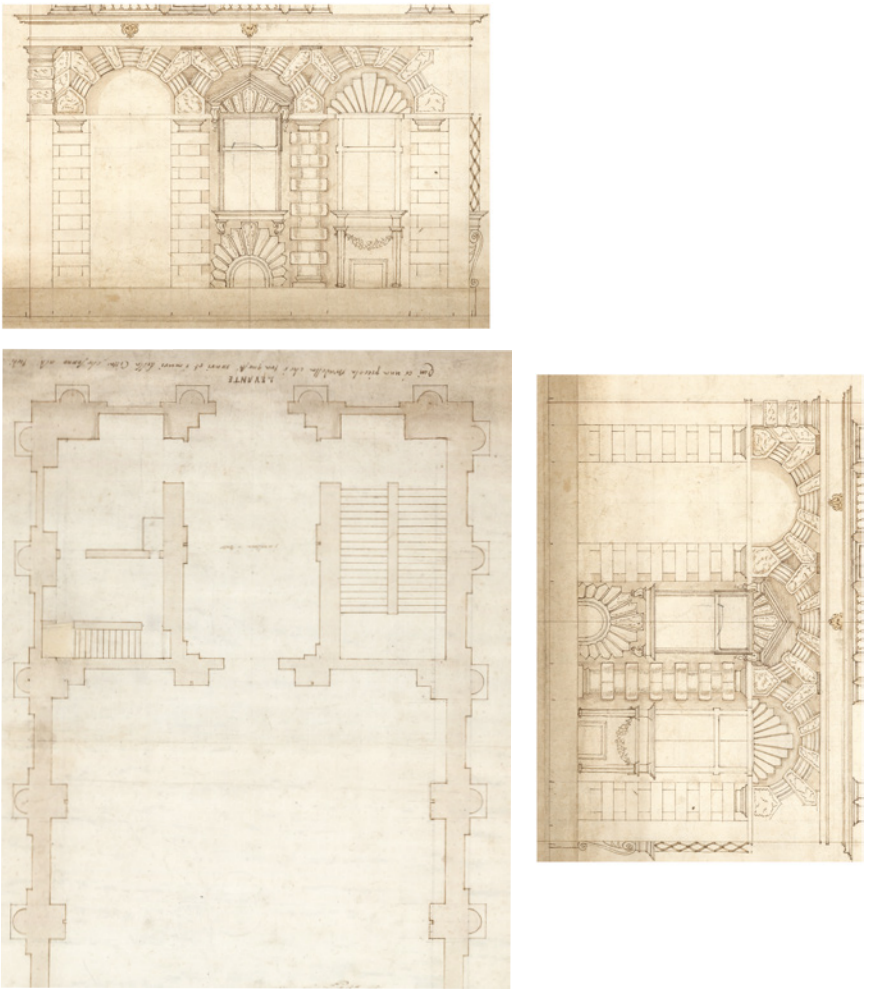


FIGURE 8.24 Comparison on scale of the exterior elevation and the ground plan of Jacopo Strada's design for the Munich Antiquarium.

vault to cover the exposition hall. This was probably a set condition, related to the planned function of the building, which was to house not only the antiquities but also the library, which was to be protected from fire at all cost.[44]

44 Strada himself praises the Duke for building the Antiquarium *cum* library as a freestanding building, thus protecting it from the risk of fire contingent on residential buildings (*ibidem*).

As we have seen, it is likely that the Antiquarium was to double occasionally as a hall for festivities, and a vaulted ceiling would better protect it from the fire necessary to heat it—Strada's design includes a fireplace—and even more, to light it: in particular the torches used in festivities would pose a serious fire-hazard. Both the Munich design of 1568 and Strada's therefore include vaulting on the ground floor, the lateral forces of which were to be contained by the buttress-like piers structuring the walls. Strada's wish—in contrast to the Munich design—not to divide the space demanded a huge and therefore quite high vault, high certainly in proportion to the height of the wall: the proportion of vault (from its apex to the top of the cornice) to wall (from top of the cornice to floor level) is almost exactly 1 : 1.

This means that the ground floor, the Antiquarium, takes up almost twice as much of the height of the building as the top floor, the library. Though we cannot be certain that Fugger and Strada considered these two functions as equivalent, this seems rather likely; that they also would have wished this equivalence to be expressed in the architecture of the building would well explain why both Strada and the anonymous Munich designer in their facades tried

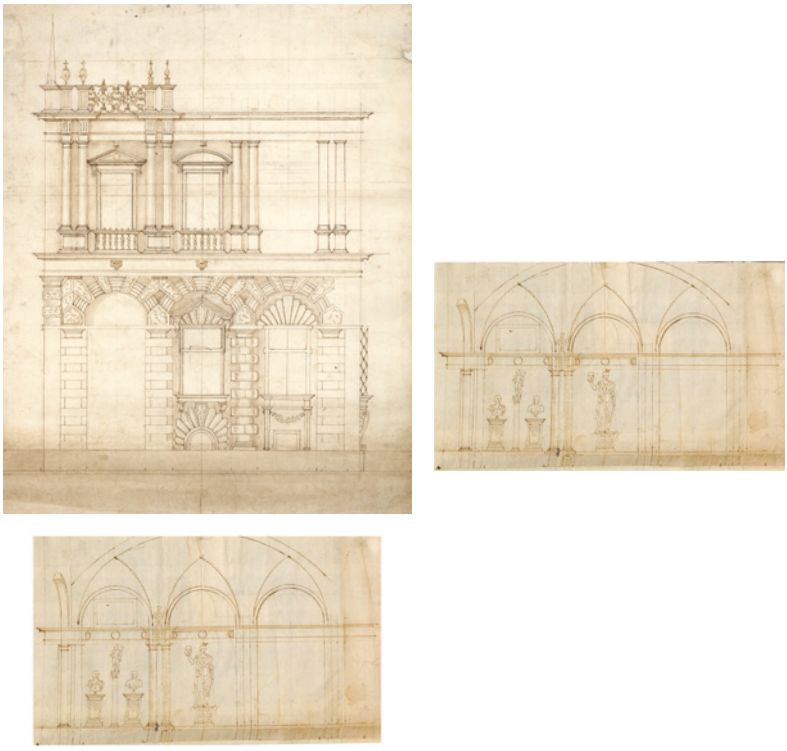
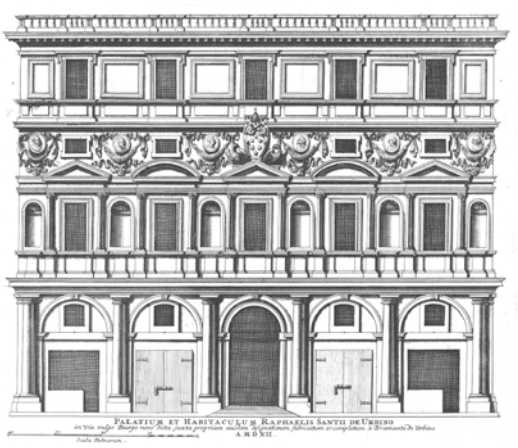
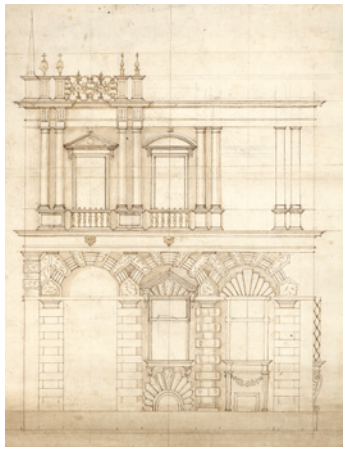


FIGURE 8.25 Comparison on scale of the interior and the exterior elevation of Jacopo Strada's design for the Munich Antiquarium.





FIGURES 8.26–8.27 Raphael's palazzo Branconio dell'Aquila in Rome (1520; engraving by Pietro Ferrerio, 1634), compared to Strada's design for the Antiquarium.

to camouflage the discrepancy in height between the two floors. The Munich designer did this by lifting the windows lighting the Antiquarium above the lower entablature, that is, into the balustrade level of the top floor. In fact he may have chosen to imitate Michelangelo's top floor in the Palazzo Farnese courtyard as illustrated in Etienne Du Pérac's engraving, not just because it was a prestigious and trendy example, but because it suggested a suitable technical solution to precisely this problem [Figs. 8.5–8.6].[45]

Strada opted for a more strictly expressive solution: in his design the top of the entablature of the lower level does correspond with the actual floor level of the library. This means that he had to camouflage the greater height of the antiquarium level in a different way, as well as finding a solution for the low rectangular windows which he planned immediately under the arches, windows of an awkward shape and in an awkward position for the exterior facade. Strada solved his problem in a quite unusual, perhaps even original fashion. His facade is basically modelled on Sansovino's Biblioteca Marciana [Fig. 8.11–8.12]. Though quite dissimilar in its details, Strada adopts Sansovino's corner pilasters framing an ongoing arcade. In his project the lower level is, however, too high to adopt Sansovino's arcade carried on piers with superimposed columns of the same scale as the framing corner pilasters: a very classical design itself going back to the Basilica Aemilia in the Forum Romanum. So Strada's corner

45 Michelangelo's windows in the balustrade level of the second floor light a low mezzanine corridor above the first floor arcade, but the principle is the same as in the anonymous Antiquarium design.

pilasters become extremely elongated, while the arches are carried not by piers, but by an order of encased Tuscan semicolumns lacking an entablature, its capitals separated from the springing of the arch merely by a narrow string-course. The arcade is blind and the columns are half-columns not really carrying the full weight of the arches.

The result constitutes a very unorthodox solution for which I have not been able to find an immediate example.[46] Its consequence is that, when the windows with their pediments are fitted into the arches, they remain quite high above the ground: a vacuum that Strada filled up by inserting the basement windows which, as we have seen, must have been dummies. According to the interior elevation the lower parts of the windows on the ground floor were blind likewise, in order to provide wall space as a backdrop for the monumental statues and busts on their pedestals, though the possibility to include full-size windows in one of the long facades may have remained open.[47]

Strada was sufficiently aware of architectural theory and practice to have consciously opted for this solution, ignoring simpler, more classical solutions.[48] Though at first sight the superposition of a first floor articulated by coupled columns or pilasters over a rusticated ground floor is reminiscent of the Palazzo Caprini [above, Fig. 7.14], its effect is completely different. The coupled pilasters rest upon single semicolumns, giving a top-heavy effect, slightly reminiscent of the manner in which Raphael placed a void over a solid in his late Palazzo Branconio dell'Aquila [Fig. 8.26–8.27]. Moreover, in Strada's Antiquarium design the entablature, or rather the whole top floor of the building, seems to rest directly on the apex of the arches—a static nightmare—rather than on columns or piers; the narrow, elongated pilasters at the corners in no way mitigate the resulting sense of instability.[49]

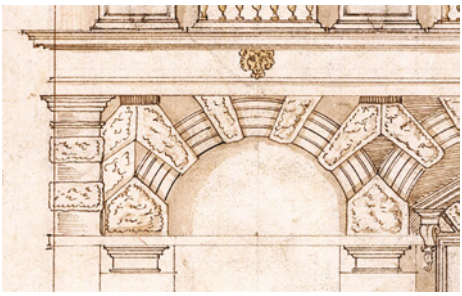
This sense of instability is reinforced by the format of the lateral, rusticated voussoirs of the arches, which do not quite reach to—and therefore do not help carry—the entablature: a quotation in the spirit, if not to the letter, of

46 Or even a comparable contemporary or later parallel. When used in conjunction with true arcades carried on columns, it is a common solution in Quattrocento architecture though, going back at least to the facade of Brunelleschi's Ospedale degli Innocenti in Florence.

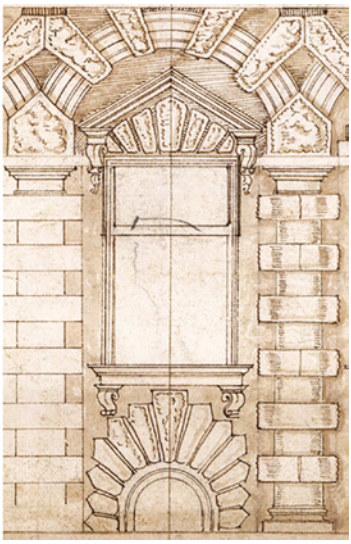
47 Both the siteplan and Strada's ground plan refer to this: 'Mezzo Giorno / Questa parte risponde sopra un giardino de' frati di S.^{to} Fran.^{co} / et se potra fare fenestre', which implies, I think, windows that would provide a view as well as largely amplify the access of light.

48 He could for instance have opted for a high plinth or podium instead of including the blind arcade, in which case his columns could have supported the entablature.

49 This would be most notable on the long side-facades; repeating the pilasters every three bays might have reduced the effect of instability, and rhythmically articulated the long facades, but there is no space for that.



FIGURES 8.28–8.29 Slipped keystones and voussoirs in Giulio Romano's palazzo del Te and in Strada's design for the Munich Antiquarium.



FIGURES 8.30–8.31 Window surround in Giulio Romano's Palazzo del Te and in Strada's design for the Munich Antiquarium.

the Mantuan work of Strada's earliest master, Giulio Romano [Figs. 8.28–8.29]. The window surround with the heavy rusticated voussoirs pushing into the finely chiselled pediment above it is another quotation from the Palazzo del Te [Fig. 8.30–8.31]. And the flat, cardboard-like type of *rustica* Strada proposed again is Mantuan in origin: it can be compared to that of the exterior facade of Giulio's *Loggia dei Marmi* in the Palazzo Ducale. This was later continued by Giulio's successor Bertani on all sides of the *Cortile della Cavallerizza* [Fig. 8.32], a space with a similar, even more explicit representative function as the Munich Antiquarium: as *Cortile della mostra* it served—literally—as the 'showroom' of the Gonzaga's internationally famous stud farm. Similar rustica

FIGURE 8.32 Giulio Romano and Giovanni Battista Bertani, Cortile della Mostra, Mantua, Palazzo Ducale (1556).

is found in the *Pescheria*, the Mantua fish market, also built by Bertani basing himself on Giulio's designs, and in many later buildings in the region.

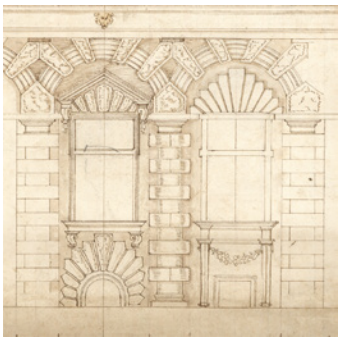
The direct source for Strada's encased semicolumns, on the other hand, are probably those articulating the top floor of Ammanati's garden facade of the Palazzo Pitti in Florence. In Strada's drawing only one of these is worked out, the others show that he constructed them just as Ammanati had done, from superimposed square blocks of rough stone alternately cut away to the column's shaft—a technique which can also be found in Giulio's work, such as the Palazzo Thiene in Vicenza [Figs. 8.33–8.35].[50]

By the 1560s most of these elements were part of the general stock-in-trade of Italian and Italianate alrchitects, and it is only in the composition of these conventional elements that Strada's Antiquarium design shows any originality, or rather eccentricity. Eccentricity in a literal sense: although having repeatedly and also recently revisited his native Italy, Strada had spent the greater part of his professional life in travel and had been settled abroad for close on thirty years. It is not surprising that the one unusual element in his facade betrays

50 Perhaps Strada intended the unfinished, squarely cut version as a possible alternative, in the manner of the Palazzo Pitti's first floor. Strada's source may have been Sansovino's much earlier Zecca at Venice (1537–1545).

Strada's receptivity to the art with which he had been surrounded in his adoptive country. This is the ornamental parapet on the roof, or strictly speaking the odd arabesque ornamental balustrade with which Strada intended to fill the gaps between the pedestals carrying obelisks and vases which topped the Antiquarium [Fig. 8.36] in the manner of Sansovino's Biblioteca Marciana [Fig. 8.11–8.12].

It is difficult to decide how Strada intended this ornament to be executed—perhaps as the type of parapet in stone that would remain habitual for civic architecture in central Europe, though in quite different forms. Much closer in effect is an ornamental parapet in stone found, oddly enough, in Spain, in the Palacio de Monterrey in Salamanca, built from 1539 onward after designs by Rodrigo Gil de Hontañon and Fray Martín de Santiago [Fig. 8.37]. This is



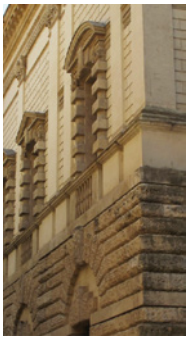


FIGURE 8.33 Bartolommeo Ammanati, garden facade of the Palazzo Pitti, Florence, 1560.
FIGURE 8.34 Jacopo Strada, exterior design for the Munich Antiquarium, exterior elevation, detail.
FIGURE 8.35 Andrea Palladio after a design by Giulio Romano, Palazzo Thiene, Vicenza, window surround.

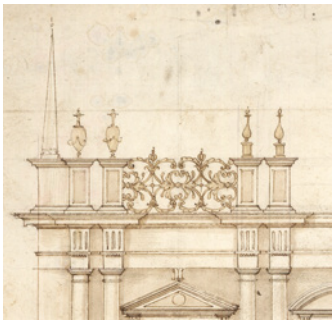


FIGURE 8.36 Jacopo Strada, ornamental balustrade, detail of the exterior elevation for the Antiquarium.
FIGURE 8.37 Rodrigo Gil de Hontañon et al., Palacio de Monterrey, Salamanca (begun 1539).

FIGURE 8.38
Cornelis Floris de Vriendt and Adriaan Michiels, the screen around the Sacrament altar, ca 1550–1560. Church of St Leonard, Zoutleeuw (Belgium).

FIGURES 8.39–8.41 Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, designs from a series of ornamental motifs to be used—among others—in balustrades.

generally considered as a late but prime example of *plateresque* architecture, the style that derived its forms and took its name from the art of the silver- or goldsmith.

In view of his close connections with the craft and the trade of the goldsmith it is not strange that Strada, like his Spanish colleagues, would have been inspired by their work. But his sources would have been among the works of German and Netherlandish goldsmiths and ornament designers, for instance Cornelis Floris de Vriendt, the designer of Antwerp town hall who had published a number of series of ornament designs in the 1550s.

If Strada's balustrades were thought in metalwork, instead of in stone, the balustrade associated with Cornelis Floris' superb Sacrament tower in the church of St Leonard at Zoutleeuw in Brabant (1550–1552), might give us some idea of his intentions [Fig. 8.38]. Du Cerceau's designs for ornamental motifs for balustrades and other uses seem quite close as well [Figs. 8.39–8.41].[51]

51 Du Cerceaux's motif for 'Balustrades ou petits nielles' preserved in a set in the library of the Institut Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Art, Paris, collections Jaques Doucet, 4° RES 88.

8.8 Conclusion: Strada's Role in the Creation of the Antiquarium

Summing up, Strada's design for the Munich Antiquarium is a rather eclectic mixture of the architecture he knew best. In general it reflects his Mantuan upbringing: its general manner and style is far from the more strictly classical manner of contemporaries such as Vignola, Sansovino and Palladio, but close to that of Mantuan colleagues and fellow-pupils of Giulio's, such as Ippolito Pedemonte and Giovanni Battista Bertani: the latter an exact contemporary whom he must have known from childhood, and with whom he still was in contact. Though the design reflects his awareness of such sources, he never appears to have directly imitated a given example, and in so far his design is original, at times even eccentric. Its attention to the practical, functional aspects of the building reflect Strada's familiarity with the work of Serlio, who displays a similar care for practical details, and his close concern with the function of the building, which was to house the library and the museum to which he himself had significantly contributed over the past twenty-five years.

Remains the question in how far Strada's design determined the actual fabric of the Antiquarium. It is quite clear that it was not used as the blueprint for the new building, which was eventually built according to the plans of the Augsburg master-mason Simon Zwitzel, the son of the builder of the Augsburg town library. Gabriele Dischinger first identified Zwitzel as the draughtsman of a design preserved in Munich of which the pertinence to the Antiquarium as actually built had not been recognized earlier. This is a purely technical drawing, a section through the main hall of the building, showing the construction of the vault [Fig. 8.42].[52] Photographs of the damage caused by bombs in the Second World War demonstrate that this solution was basically followed, showing the filling of the vaults and even the iron tie-rods anchoring the side walls to the beams carrying the floor of the library [Fig. 8.43].

This drawing was made in preparation for the actual construction, and was probably presented at—or was the result of?—a meeting in June 1569 when Fugger and Duke Albrecht's *Cammermeister* discussed the project with the (un-named) master-mason who was to execute it, doubtless Simon Zwitzel.[53]

52 BHStA, *Plansammlung* nr. 7940; published in Dischinger 1988. Hartig found the drawing together with the minutes of a meeting in June 1569, in preparation of the actual construction of the Antiquarium (cf. below). Stierhof, in Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987, *Textband*, p. 22, n. 22, refers to it but oddly enough thinks that its proportions cannot be linked to the Antiquarium, and interprets it as a section of a 'Ganggebäude', a corridor- or gallery-building.

53 These minutes, now lost, were originally found with Simon Zwitzel's drawing, and published by Hartig 1933, p. 223; cf. Von Busch 1973, p. 133–135 and p. 300, n. 105–119; Dischinger 1988. An added note dates it June 1570, but Hubala and Von Busch plausibly argue that

Fugger's minutes record the crucial decisions taken, which clearly indicate that the Duke's primary concern was to have his collection arranged in their new home as soon as possible, rather than wait longer for—and spend much more money on—the representative, monumental and richly decorated palace proposed by Strada. The expense involved in Strada's project would have been considerable. Were the exterior facades, counting forty-six semicolumns on the ground floor and double that number of semicolumns or pilasters on the first floor, to be executed purely in brick, as in Lombard architecture, this would have been quite labour-intensive; and the specialized brickmakers and -layers would have been difficult to find in Bavaria and expensive to employ.[54] Were the facade—or even only the columns themselves—to be executed in stone, the expense would be even more staggering, and that holds as well for the interior, were Strada planned to use no less than eighty-two Tuscan columns in stone.[55]

It is not surprising that the Duke, whose counsellors constantly upbraided him for his exorbitant spending, and influenced by Fugger, who himself had always preferred to patronize learning rather than conspicuous display, should have decided for a more sober execution: 'Auswendig soll alles glatt sein'.

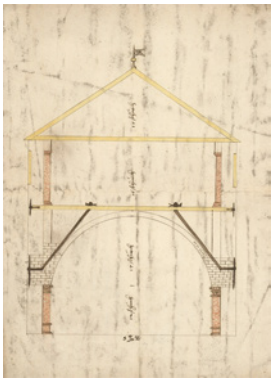


FIGURE 8.42 Simon Zwitzel, design for the Antiquarium, section, 1569.
FIGURE 8.43 The Munich Antiquarium after the air attack of April 1944, showing the construction of the vault and the iron tie-rods.

the meeting actually took place in June 1569 (Hubala 1958/59 p. 136; Von Busch 1973, pp. 133–135; 300, n. 105).

54 The *Italienische Bau* at Landshut had been completely built by masons and bricklayers recruited in Mantua.

55 This calculation does not consider the columns articulating the walls of the library indicated in Zwitzel's drawing.

Likewise the columns planned to articulate the interior walls were replaced by heavy masonry piers; their sculpted capitals appear to have been the only ornament planned at the time.[56] [Fig. 8.43] Zwitzel's drawing illustrates the Antiquarium basically as it was actually constructed, and his project is certainly not identical to Strada's plans. The most striking difference is the predominance of the huge vault: whereas Strada's segmental barrel vault took up exactly half of the height of the hall, Zwitzel's almost complete half-circle takes up a much larger proportion, and the main vault intersected by the almost equally spacious lunettes becomes the dominating feature of the room.[57]

Given that Strada's plan was not executed, the large share that he claimed in its creation is somewhat perplexing. In the dedication to Duke Albrecht of his edition of Caesar's complete writings, published in Frankfurt in 1575, Strada praises the Duke for his enlightened and liberal patronage of learning and the arts, and refers to the ample acquisitions he himself had made of books and of antiquities first for Hans Jakob Fugger, and then for the Duke himself. Then he relates how, the Duke having decided

> … to bring all these treasures [library and antiquities] together in one convenient place, protected from the danger of fire, at your command a most elegant palace was built, a freestanding block, the interior organisation of which was designed by myself. In it are two spacious halls: in the lower of these, which is provided with a stucco ceiling, the aforesaid antiquities are arranged in a not unsuitable order; the upper hall is decorated by an elegant wainscoting of exquisite workmanship. This is the library which can never be praised sufficiently.[58]

Apart from this claim there are no indications, at least no documents, indicating that Strada was in any way involved in the actual construction of the Antiquarium after having handed over his designs to Fugger in Mach 1569.

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56 BSB-HS, Cod. icon. 198c; these capitals were reworked and covered in stucco at a later date; Diemer/Diemer 1995, ill.4 illustrate a photograph of an original capital temporarily uncovered during work in the Antiquarium in 1924. The stucco ceiling later mentioned by Strada may have been an afterthought.

57 Well described and analysed in Hubala 1958–59, pp. 137–138.

58 Caesar 1575, f. *4v.: 'Iam verò cùm constitutum esset haec omnia comportare in unum aliquem commodum locum, et à calamitatibus ignis immunem, fabricatum est iussu tuo elegantissimum palatium, ac in insulam, totius structurae ordine interiori à me delineato, redactum. In eo sunt cellae duae spaciosissimae, quarum inferior fornice incrustato munitur, collocatis hic illîc ordine non inconcinno, ipsis antiquitatibus: superior eleganti tabulato ornata est, ex opere sumptuosè secto. Hîc nunquam satis laudata Bibliotheca est'. Cf. Diemer/Diemer 1995, p. 59 and note 19, whith a German translation.

Nevertheless there are various ways in which his claim might be explained. First, we have seen that there is little doubt that the concept of the combined library and Antiquarium was the fruit of an exchange between Strada and Fugger, and was in fact Strada's idea: 'il disegno et parere del Strada'. Moreover the Antiquarium as built can be considered as a simplified, vernacular adaptation of Strada's Italianate design. Though of different proportions and lacking the architectural articulation proposed by Strada, several of its features are similar, in particular the huge barrel vault carried on piers framing window niches: a case can be made that Zwitzel's drawing is an adaptation of Strada's design to local conditions, competences and taste.[59]

Strada, however, does not claim responsibility for the design of the whole building, but only for its interior: 'totius structurae ordine interiori à me delineato'. Again it is difficult to interpret what exactly he means by this. He draws particular attention to the stucco ceiling of the Antiquarium, and to the sumptuous carved panelling of the library—can it be that he provided designs for these? If so, were those for the stucco ceiling ever executed? The 'Baubesprechung' of June 1569 states unequivocally 'Das Gwelb soll flach sein', and if a rich stucco ceiling had been executed at the time, it would hardly have been replaced within a few years by the painted grotesque decoration planned by Friedrich Sustris and executed by Antonio Ponzano, Carlo Pallago and others which is still partly in existence.[60]

The 'tabulato ex opere sumptuosè secto' of the library level to which Strada refers must have replaced the columns articulating the walls proposed in Zwitzel's drawing (which may go back to a Strada suggestion)[Fig. 8.42], and which doubtless were left out for economy's sake. Following Strada one should conclude that the library's bookcases were incorporated in an ornamental architectural panelling, perhaps similar to the *Stübchen* of the Fuggerhaus at Donauwörth (cf. above, Ch. 3.4).[61] [Figs. 3.43–3.45] It should be noted that Strada also made concrete proposals for the decoration of the ceiling of the principal room of the library. This was probably planned as a wooden compartmented ceiling similar to that earlier realized in the Vienna *Taflstube*

59 Certainly Strada may have considered it as such, and it remains possible that the definitive design was discussed with and approved by him.

60 The present ceiling decoration is a reconstruction after the severe damage in World War II; the execution of the ornamental part of the original is attributed to Carlo Pallago and datable ca 1584–1590; but perhaps some of the (modest) stucco elements were already in existence, particular the fruit garlands along the edges of the lunettes? Cf. Diemer/Diemer 1995, pp. 80 ff.

61 It might be worthwhile to check whether sections of this panelling were reused and preserved elsewhere in the Residenz, after the library was moved elsewhere, and the space converted into guest apartments.

[cf. above, Figs. 5.75 and 6.13]. It was to include octagonal compartments filled by copies of Giulio Romano's scenes from the myth of Cupid and Psyche in the *Camera di Psiche* of the Palazzo del Te.[62]

The minimal interpretation of Strada's claim would be that he merely had organized and designed the 'order', that is the placing, of the antiquities in the ground floor hall. We have seen above that Fugger considered this as Strada's most essential contribution, and Strada may well have thought so himself. He had insisted on bringing some of the portrait heads to Vienna, in order to have the busts sculpted to his own specifications and under his close supervision, and he had already at an early date begun to design and to commission the plaques in black marble he considered necessary adjuncts to identify the individual statues. Though soon the Duke decided to have this work done in Munich, rather than in Vienna, it was Strada who provided the identification of the statues, drafted the exact texts for the name-tablets and prepared the detailed lay-out of their arrangement. Apparently a version of his plan for the collocation of the statues was already available at the preparatory meeting for the building of the Antiquarium in June 1570, since in its minutes it is noted 'The columns [should be] separate, in order for the statues to be placed according to the survey'.[63]

This plan for the arrangement of the collection has not been preserved, and even its original composition cannot be confidently determined, so it is difficult to reconstruct the earliest arrangement of the Munich antiquities, and to know in how far this corresponded to Strada's intentions. But his interior elevation gives at least some indication of these [Figs. 8.20 and 8.45]: the larger statues were to be placed separately on low pedestals, each in the centre of a niche, whereas the larger portrait heads are placed in busts on tall pedestals; smaller full-length figures are placed on columns and smaller busts find a place on top of the cornice over the piers between the niches. The inscriptions identifying each object were engraved on separate plaques of black marble which were inserted into the pedestals. The slightly later drawing already referred to [Fig. 8.44] documents the interior before the redecoration commissioned by Albrecht's successor, and probably gives a good impression of how Strada's plans were realized in the building as actually constructed.

62 Related in Fugger's letter to Duke Albrecht of 5 March 1569, excerpts given in Hartig 1933, p. 221–222; cf. Von Busch 1973, p. 128 and 299, n. 99.

63 'Die Seulen von ainander, das die Pilder steen mögen vermög der Verzaichnus' [Weski/Frosien-Leinz 1987, Textband, p. 468, nr. 173, quoted from Hartig 1933, p. 223]. The process discussed in detail in Diemer/Diemer 1995, pp. 62 ff. The sculptors Jordan Prechenfelder, Carlo Pallago and Hans Ernhofer were charged with making the busts, Prechenfelder was also paid for a large number of the inscription tablets.

Having consistently profiled himself as a learned connoisseur of antique coins, inscriptions and sculpture, it is quite possible that Strada deemed the acquisition and arrangement of this ensemble, the well-ordered contents of the Antiquarium, of greater importance than any contribution he may have made to its architecture. If so, this would correspond closely to the attitude of Fugger's circle, which he must have largely shared and to which he must have contributed.

In this light it is significant that Strada actually was not quite so eager to have his designs realized in Munich as one would expect. The immense energy he expended during his several trips to Venice and Mantua in 1566–1569 in acquiring the Loredan collection and many other works of art—including documentation on contemporary architecture and decoration—stands in surprising contrast to his procrastination in actually producing his designs for the Antiquarium, so eagerly awaited by the Duke and Hans Jakob Fugger. When Fugger writes to Stopio in August 1568 that the Duke intended to use Strada's plans and designs for the Antiquarium, he adds sceptically 'se però si vorra degnare di venire in qua', 'if at least he would deign to come down here', which implies little confidence in Strada's eagerness for the job.

Fugger may not have been mistaken in this: after he had received the siteplan, it took Strada over four months to prepare his designs, even while probably daily incited by Fugger, who was staying in his house part or all of that time. Even more significant is that Strada did not take the trouble to work out his design in full: had he really wished and hoped to obtain an important and lucrative commission such as this, he might at least have made a finished

FIGURE 8.44 Anonymous drawing of the interior of the Munich Antiquarium, showing the disposition of the statues as planned by Jacopo Strada and the simple decoration, limited to the capitals of the piers between the windows.

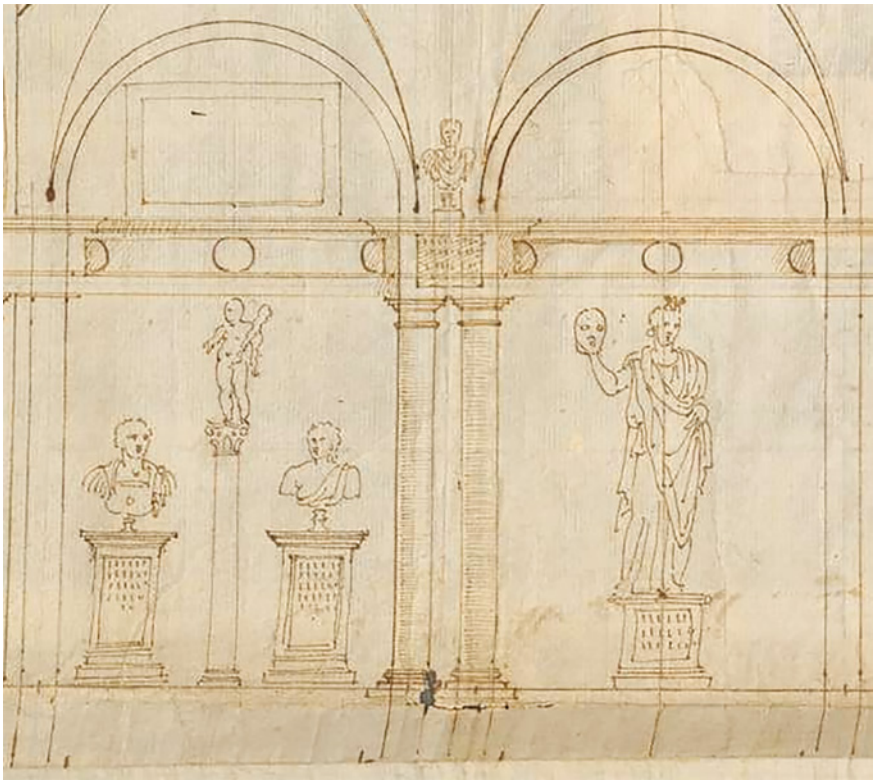

FIGURE 8.45 Jacopo Strada, proposal for the arrangement of the statues in his design for the interior elevation of the Antiquarium (detail of Fig. 8.20).

drawing of the entire building [cf. the reconstruction in Fig. 8.14], which would have been far more impressive and more easily readable to the patron than the extremely abbreviated sketch he did provide. Even had he not had the time himself, he could easily have asked one of his sons or one of the draughtsmen he habitually employed to do this.[64]

There are two quite practical reasons which may have caused this lack of motivation. In the first place, Strada had already spent months and months of his time on his commissions for Duke Albrecht, and the Emperor, who never stopped paying him his salary, may have expressed his dissatisfaction with

64 Moreover he might have presented his plans in a three-dimensional model: the commission was sufficiently important for such a procedure, which was not uncommon, and familiar to both Strada himself and his patrons, as is indicated in his letter to Archduke Ferdinand [DOC.1556-12-22; cf. above, Ch. 2,.5.3]. Elias Holl's model for Augsburg town hall is perhaps the most impressive example preserved.

this. Certainly at one time Fugger warned the Duke that Maximilian had been heard to express himself rather caustically on this head. So Strada literally may not have had the time to work on the project, and Fugger may have preferred to take the sketches once they were finally available—they were after all complete in all essentials—than wait for the preparation of a complete set of finished drawings. The second reason may have been that Strada was well aware of the financial limits that would be imposed on the project and that even while making his designs he realized that his project would never be executed in this form. What is certain is that Strada was not expected, and neither seems to have been expecting, to go to Munich to actually supervise the building of the Antiquarium, even had his designs for it been accepted. This implies that, though the commission might be lucrative, the lucre would go to someone else.[65]

Strada's role in the building of the Munich Antiquarium does illuminate his position in Vienna, where there is likewise no evidence that he ever functioned as a supervising, executive builder. Strada's role in Munich was largely advisory, and consisted in helping to formulate the purpose of the project and to invent solutions for the problems it posed. Doubtless he referred to examples of similar buildings he knew and illustrated the points he made by providing examples drawn from his own library and huge graphic collection. He put himself in the position of the patron, and helped the patron make up his own mind about his desires, and about the means to be chosen to realize these. In Munich at least the next step was demonstrably also taken, that is the providing of a workable, concrete proposal, worked out in a set of detailed designs. Strada's competence in this was based on his early training and his expertise in architectural theory and draughtsmanship; but his attention to practical and functional detail is surprising for someone not actually charged with the execution of a project. It can be explained partly by his familiarity with Serlio's treatises, partly by his own earlier experience, in any case as a patron in his own right.

65 Fugger's letter of 19 February from Vienna is interesting in this respect: doubtless prompted by Strada he advised the Duke that the 'graue Stain' used for the windows and stairs of the Hofburg, the Stalburg and 'dess Ertzherzogen Hauß' would be particularly suitable; if one could not find anything similar out there in Bavaria, one could order the windows to be made here at the same price paid by the Emperor and the Archduke, 'die marckhten auffs genauist'; the transport by ship would not be expensive either, and they would last for ever, 'so die hiltzin Fenster nimmer sein...'. It is tempting to see here an attempt on Strada's part to increase his income: while he would not be paid a separate fee for his designs, he doubtless would obtain some recompense if he supervised such a commission, not counting the provision he might obtain from the local supplier with whom he placed the order.

Strada's value to his patrons was that his expertise was much wider than that of a simple contractor or builder: he did not limit himself to the architecture pure and simple, but also could provide visually satisfying and iconographically suitable suggestions for the decoration of the buildings projected, and disposed of a network of artists and artisans by whom these could be executed. He thus appears to have functioned as a broker or middleman between artist and patron. What we know of his role in Munich, which is so well documented, will be of use in trying to define and reconstruct his role in the projects undertaken by his principal patron, the Emperor Maximilian II, in the last decade of his reign, about which very little is known.

CHAPTER 9

The Neugebäude

FIGURE 9.1 Nicolas Neufchatel, Emperor Maximilian II, 1566, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

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9.1 The Tomb of Ferdinand I and Anna in Prague; Licinio's Paintings in Pressburg

While in the act of drawing his proposals for the Munich Antiquarium, Strada appears to have been quite busy with other concerns. It is likely that these concerns included important commissions from his principal patron, the Emperor Maximilian II [Fig. 9.1], who had been heard to express himself rather dissatisfied with Strada's continued occupation for his Bavarian brother-in-law. Already two year earlier, when Duke Albrecht had 'borrowed' Strada from the Emperor to travel to Italy to buy antiquities and works of art and to advise him on the accommodation for his collections, Maximilian had conceded this with some hesitation, telling the Duke that he could not easily spare Strada, whom he employed in several projects.[1]

Unfortunately Maximilian did not specify what projects these were. They certainly included the tomb for his parents in St Vitus' Cathedral in Prague, that was to be executed by Alexander Colin, and for which Strada had been sent to Prague already in March of 1565 [Figs. 9.2–9.3]. As with his earlier involvement in the completion of the tomb of Maximilian I in Innsbruck, his role is not specified, but in both cases it probably included specific advice on Imperial iconography as well as more general artistic expertise.[2]

Strada's advice may have been sought likewise on the decoration of the Castle at Pressburg/Bratislava, which functioned as Royal residence in Hungary since

FIGURES 9.2–9.3 Alexander Colin, Tomb of Emperor Ferdinand I, his consort Anna of Hungary and their son, Emperor Maximilian II, 1565–83; Prague, St Vitus Cathedral; details showing the effigy of Maximilian II and a medallic portrait of King Wenceslaus IV.

1 'So fil den Strada betrift, wiewol ich sainer in etzlichen sachen nit wol geraten khan, wie dem awer allen, so will ich flais furwenden, damit ich ine E[uer] L[iebden] mit den ehisten möge zueschiken'; Doc. 1566-11-18; cited in Von Busch 1973; cf. Lietzmann 1987, pp. 115–116.

2 Doc. 1565-03-28; on the *Maximiliangrab*, cf. above, Ch. 6.2.

FIGURES 9.4A–B AND 9.5 Giulio Licinio?, Cesare Baldigara and Ulisse Romano, remainders of stucco and painted decoration in the chapel of the Royal castle at Bratislava, ca 1563–1569.

Buda had fallen to the Turks. The rather attractive decorations in stucco and painting in the chapel that were executed between 1563 and 1569 by Giulio Licinio, Cesare Baldigara and Ulisse Romano have recently been uncovered and restored [Figs. 9.4–9.5]. With his colleagues, the medallist Antonio Abondio and the sculptor Mathias Manmacher, Strada was sent there in April of 1569 to examine them in order to provide an estimate for the payment of Licinio's work, and he may earlier have been involved in formulating Licinio's commission.[3] The sophisticated architecture of the chapel and the type of decoration chosen strongly suggests that Strada had been involved in some capacity: it is derived from Raphael's Vatican *Loggia*, and must have been directly inspired by the detailed documentary drawings which Strada had commissioned a decade earlier [cf. above, Figs. 3.92–3.93 and below, Figs. 13.102–13.107].[4]

9.2 Kaiserebersdorf and Katterburg

Though positive evidence is lacking, it seems likely that Strada's tasks at court included expert advice and perhaps designs for interior decoration, principally in the Hofburg itself, in the Stallburg and in the castle at Kaiserebersdorf, in all of which work was continually going on. Apart from the Stallburg,

3 Doc. 1569-04-00. Licinio's paintings in oil on panel that filled the stucco compartments were destroyed in a fire in 1811. Licinio was greatly offended that his own estimate was questioned and left Pressburg in a rage; cf. Vertova 1976, p. 561 ff; Podewils 1992, pp. 132–135. I am very grateful to Annemarie Jordan-Gschwend to have shared with me the images she has obtained of the remains of this remarkable work of art.

4 Cf. above, Ch. 3.8.2, and below, Ch. 13.8.1.

Kaiserebersdorf was the principal commission for a largely new-built residential construction initiated by Ferdinand I. It was the only country and hunting residence close to Vienna that was sufficiently large to lodge a substantial portion of the Imperial entourage, and it must have played a significant role in Imperial representation. Its relative importance is indicated by the fact that it was included in the selection of Austrian sites—the principal cities of the *Erblande*—depicted on the walls of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence when in the autumn of 1565 this was richly decorated to serve as a welcome for Ferdinand's daughter, Archduchess Johanna of Austria, bride of Francesco, eldest son and heir of Cosimo I de' Medici [Fig. 9.6].[5]

The earliest reliable image we have is much later, a print by Georg Matthäus Vischer of 1672 [Fig. 9.7], but coupled with the evidence provided by recent detailed research of the remaining fabric, it is clear that the castle as rebuilt by Ferdinand and Maximilian from 1551 onward was a square block consisting of four wings around a small inner courtyard. It may have been designed by Lorenzo Ferrabosco, a master mason who died shortly after the ceremonial laying of its foundation stone on 15 February 1551, when he was succeeded by his brother Pietro. As we have seen, the painter Pietro Ferrabosco would change career and become one of the principal executive architects at court.[6] Its structure and the sober, regular articulation of its facades relate Ebersdorf both to the restructuring of the Hofburg in the late 1540s and to the Stallburg. Structural building went on until about 1565, when the 'steinmetze' Bartholomäus Bethan

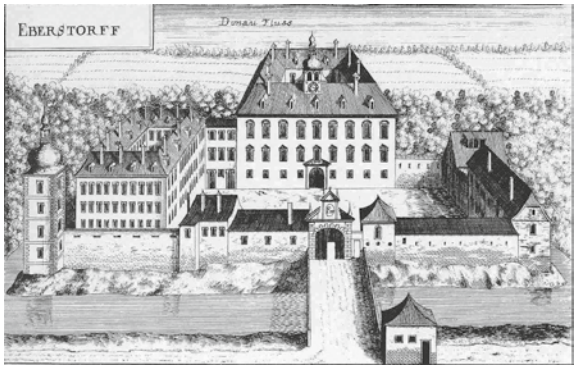


FIGURE 9.6 View of Ebersdorf, wall-painting in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, 1565.
FIGURE 9.7 View of Ebersdorf, engraving by Georg Matthäeus Vischer, 1672.

5 Kaiserebersdorf, nowadays a high-security prison, has recently been subjected to detailed structural and archaeological research, the results of which were lavishly published in Müller/Krause 2008.

6 The death of his brother, forcing Pietro to take over his responsibilities, may have been a prime motif for his change of direction. Later Schallautzer and Thomas Eiseler appear to be coordinating construction at Ebersdorf; cf. Müller/Krause 2008, pp. 44 and 46.

and Antonio Pozzo were still providing window- and doorframes. Payments in the years following to glaziers, carpenters, plasterers, locksmiths, furniture-makers, stove-makers and so on, suggest that it was being decorated and finished about this time. Unfortunately, as in the Hofburg itself, next to nothing of all this has survived, and the earliest description of its interiors dates only from 1660. This mentions a number of portraits and quantities of stuffed heads and antlers, hunting trophies that filled almost every room—as was fitting for what was essentially a hunting lodge—but says nothing about any fixed decoration.[7]

The modest size of Kaiserebersdorf, the simplicity of its design, and the apparent sobriety of its decoration are remarkable for an Imperial residence that was quite intensively used both for representative purposes and for private recreation. A ferry and later a bridge crossed the arm of the Danube separating it from the Prater and its *Lusthaus*. Maximilian's interest in animal life was expressed by his laying out, from 1566 onward, a *Fasangarten* or pheasant preserve, in the river meadows immediately west of Ebersdorf, halfway along the road connecting the castle with this bridge. Both the Prater *Lusthaus* and this new *Fasangarten* were favourite excursions for the Emperor, as is clear from his private account book for 1568 and 1569.[8]

Maximilian's fondness of nature as exemplified in Tanner's panegyric on the Prater *Lustgarten* finally found an expression in his acquisition, in 1569, of another small-scale retreat, the Katterburg [Figs. 9.11–9.12]. This was a modest manor house that had been built twenty years earlier for Hermann Bayr, a *Bürgermeister* of Vienna, as a tenant of Klosterneuburg monastery. Located to the west of Vienna on the banks of the Wien river, next to a 'schönen Brunnen', that is a 'beautiful spring', it was the nucleus from which, in the seventeenth century, the palace of Schönbrunn would develop. At the time it consisted of two simple rectangular blocks placed at a straight angle, one of which was topped by a clocktower, and a garden entered by means of an ornamental gate. Within easier distance of the Hofburg as either the Prater *Lusthaus* and Kaiserebersdorf, its modest size made it more convenient for the personal, private recreation of the Emperor and his consort, whose ownership was marked by the beautiful stone bearing a double M under an Imperial crown, for Maximilian II or, more likely, for Maximilian and Maria, which is still preserved at Schönbrunn. The same monogram was used in the dedication of

7 Travel diary of Johann Sebastian Müller, reporting visits made in April 1660; quoted in Müller/Krause 2008, p. 49.

8 The Prater *Lusthaus* discussed above, Ch. 5.3; on the *Fasangarten*, see Lietzmann 1987, pp. 59–64; she cites (p. 61 and note 21) the *Geheimes Kammerrechnungsbuch* of Maximilian II for 1568–1569 (ÖNB-HS, Cod. 9089).

Georg Tanner's ms. description of Maximilian's Prater *Lusthaus* [Fig. 9.8–9.9].[9] The connection of this double monogram with both the Prater *Lusthaus* and the Katterburg suggest that the love of gardens was a shared interest of the couple, a suggestion underlined by the charming relief in the Kunsthistorisches Museum showing them together in an open pavilion set next to a fountain in the middle of a luscious garden or park, inhabited by red deer as well as by the exotic animals Maximilian prized so much, including his famed elephant [Fig. 9.10].

As at the Prater, the garden and the *Tiergarten* or game preserve were its principal attraction: Maximilian left the house as it was, but had its demesne first fenced in and then, shortly before his death, surrounded by a wall. The monumental gate within this wall visible in Visscher's print was probably constructed at this same time [Fig. 9.12].[10] Neither for Kaiserebersdorf nor for Katterburg there are any documents indicating that Strada may have been involved in their development. Even had he been, it seems likely that his intervention remained limited to some advice, or at most some sketches for decorative elements, such as this portal.[11]

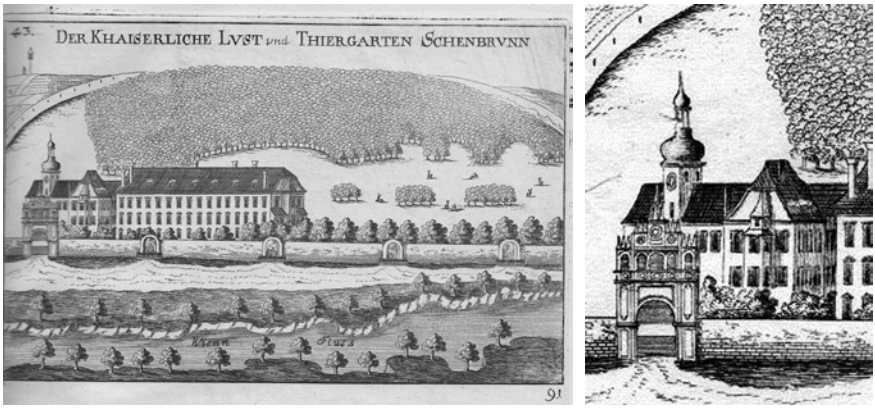
FIGURES 9.8–9.9 Stone with the monogram of Emperor Maximilian II and Empress Maria, from their hunting lodge at Katterburg (now Schönbrunn) near Vienna, and their monogram under the Bohemian crown as included in the dedication of Tanner's treatise of the Prater Lusthaus; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

9 The stone has earlier been attributed to the Emperor Matthias, but Hassmann 2001, p. 444 and note 55, rightly interprets it as referring to Maximilian II, as it was used on the marble plaque covering the casket in which Maximilian's intestine was buried in Regensburg cathedral after his death. Its use in Tanner's ms. is certainly conclusive (ÖNB-HS, Cod. 8085, fol 2v.; cf. above, Ch. 5.3). Compare its use with the famous monogram HD of King Henri II and Diane de Poitiers at the Louvre, Fontainebleau and elsewhere.

10 Hassmann 2001, p. 444.

11 The monumental gate of the Katterburg visible in Fig. 9.12 appears to owe something to designs for portals such as those illustrated in Serlio's *Extraordinario Libro*.

FIGURE 9.10 Severin Brachmann, King Maximilian II and his consort Maria of Spain in a pavillion in one of their gardens, limestone relief, ca 1560; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



FIGURES 9.11–9.12 View of Schönbrunn, engraving by Georg Matthäus Vischer, 1672: on the left the original Katterburg, on the right the wing built in 1640–45 for Eleanora Gonzaga, widow of Emperor Ferdinand II, later incorporated in the central block of the present Schönbrunn palace; the detail shows the Katterburg, with an ornamental gate commissioned by Maximilian II.

9.3 Sobriety versus Conspicuous Consumption

In view of Maximilian's passion for gardens and gardening, it should not surprise that his one act of patronage on a really imperial scale again was the laying out of a garden, and the construction of a *Lusthaus* within it: the Neugebäude, plans for which began to be made in the course of 1568 [Fig. 9.13].

The tremendous scale of this project is indeed surprising: up till this time, except for festive occasions, all pomp and circumstance at the Imperial court, any conspicuous consumption in general, seems to have been restricted to interior furnishings and hangings, to sumptuous dress and armour, to precious gold- and silverware, to collector's items and to ephemeral pomp on festive occasions.[12] During his father's reign Maximilian used the scanty funds at his disposal mostly for projects which were really necessary. Thus his architectural patronage was primarily directed towards realizing decent and representative lodgings for himself, his household and his guests, and any display of architectural pomp or luxury was dispensed with.

The sober, functional style of the Stallburg is exemplary for this attitude, to which even the Prater *Lusthaus* conforms: basically a modest hunting lodge, its practical use is explicitly stressed in Tanner's description. Therefore the huge scale of the Neugebäude project comes as somewhat of a surprise, in particular because its principal element, the huge, open colonnade of a length of a hundred and eighty meters, appears to have had no practical function other than

FIGURE 9.13 The Vienna Neugebäude in its present state.

12 Note that the expense of ephemeral architecture for festive occasions could be phenomenal, witness the wooden apparatus planned by Ferrabosco at Pressburg/Bratislava for the celebration of Rudolf's coronation as king of Hungary, discussed above, Ch. 4.3.4; the wood alone for the ephemeral apparatus and temporary town built to lodge the participants would cost about 6.000 *Gulden* (Doc. 1572-009-03).

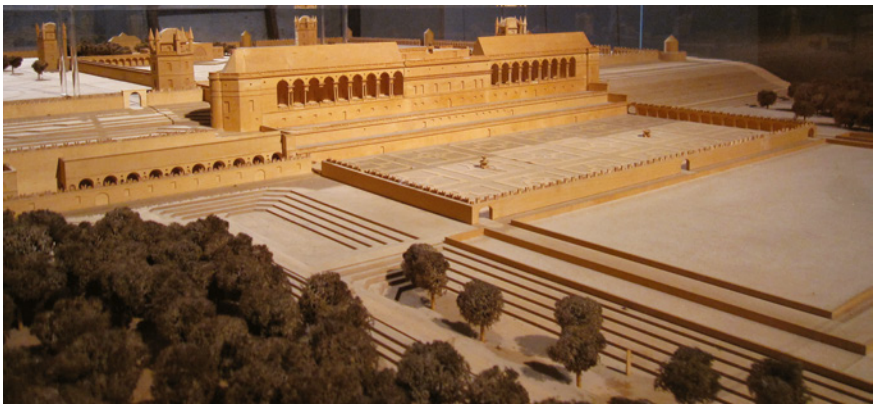


FIGURE 9.14 Reconstruction model of the Vienna Neugebäude.

display [Fig. 9.14]. It is plausible that Maximilian's change of heart was largely caused by his accession to the Imperial throne: he may well have felt that his status required greater display than before. But I suspect that a subconscious wish to compensate the disillusion he suffered in the summer of 1568, with his failure in the inconclusive military campaign against the Turks, may have played some role. The fact that the Neugebäude was laid out exactly on the spot where Suleiman the Magnificent had pitched his tents during his siege of Vienna in 1529 certainly does not contradict this.[13] In contrast to the Katterburg and perhaps even Kaiserebersdorf, it was a project of sufficient scale to be consulted with all resident experts, including Jacopo Strada.

9.4 Hans Jakob Fugger's Letter

That Strada was involved in some way in the genesis of the Neugebäude was first suspected by Renate Wagner-Rieger, chiefly on the basis of the French and possible Ottoman influences in its design, both of which she explains with reference to Strada's career. A strong argument for this hypothesis was provided by Renate von Busch, who found and published a passage in a letter by Hans Jakob Fugger to Strada which appears to corroborate Strada's participation. In her monograph on the Neugebäude Hilda Lietzmann accepts this interpretation of the source, and critically discussed what Strada's contribution

13 The significance of this fact was recognized by Renate Wagner-Rieger and Renate von Busch, and amply discussed by Hilda Lietzmann, whose findings, however, have met with little appreciation.

might have been.[14] Since then Strada's contribution to the design of the Neugebäude is generally accepted, though no further attempts have been made to define this contribution more precisely. In the following I will first discuss the passage in Fugger's letter, and then describe the complex and its architectural and iconological sources. On the basis of those I will try and summarize the ways in which Strada may have influenced the genesis of the Neugebäude. It is necessary to quote, to translate and to discuss the passage in Fugger's letter in detail, because in earlier literature it has not always been correctly read or interpreted.

In the midst of their strenuous activities relating to the acquisition of the Loredan statues for the Duke of Bavaria and the design of the Munich Antiquarium, Fugger and Strada, who were old business associates and friends, also informed one another about other matters. Thus it appears that Strada had told Fugger about an architectural design he had prepared for the Emperor, who had been pleased with the result. In a letter written from his castle at Taufkirchen of 13 November 1568 Fugger compliments Strada on his success in the following words:

> I am pleased no end that you have succeeded so well with your design for His Majesty the Emperor, although I have never doubted what you could do, having known you for so many years; and the site of the palace being by its nature so suited to the purpose, he was lucky to find someone who could well design the building. I thought it was in the city, but now I understand it is in the country, please let me know in what place it is, and whether it will be merely a palace for pleasure, or whether it will be provided with some sort of fortification.[15]

From this passage Renate von Busch and Hilda Lietzmann concluded that it referred to Maximilian's plans for the Neugebäude, and that seems a natural

14 Rieger 1951, pp. 142–143; Von Busch 1973, pp. 207 and 343, n. 102; Lietzmann 1987, pp. 110 and 127–128. Lietzmann's contention (p. 118, n. 109) that the present author merely quoted this source from Von Busch in a note (Jansen 1982, p. 67, n. 25) without recognizing its implications, is contradicted by the passage on the Neugebäude to which this note refers: 'Renate von Busch had discovered, moreover, that in 1568 Strada made a design for it which was well received' (*ibidem*, p. 59).

15 Doc. 1568-11-13: '<…>Io me rallegro infinitamente che siate così ben reuscito col Vostro dissegno per la Maestà del Imperatore, benchè non dubito punto di fatti Vostri, havendoVi conosciuto tanti anni; et essendo la piazza del palazzo di natura così accomodata, ha havuto ventura di trovare chi sapesse ben dissegnar la fabrica. Io pensava che fusse nella città, però intendo che è in campagna; Vi prego avisarme in che luocho sia, et se'l sara solamente palazzo di piacere, o pure con qualche fortezza appresso. A tanto Iddio da mal Vi guardi'; first published in Von Busch 1973, p. 343, n. 102.

conclusion, since we know of no other projects at that time that would fit the bill. The conclusion that Strada had made some design connected with Maximilian's plans for the Neugebäude seems perfectly warranted, but it has been questioned nevertheless.[16] To my mind, the passage permits the following conclusions:

- Strada had earlier informed Fugger by letter that an architectural design he had made for the Emperor had been well received.
- The tenor of Fugger's letter suggests that Strada had mentioned the project to Fugger in passing at an earlier occasion, either in conversation or in correspondence, and now kept him informed of developments.
- On this earlier occasion Fugger had received the impression that the project was planned within the city—probably Vienna—but now he understood—either from the wording of Strada's own letter or through information received from elsewhere—that it was intended for the countryside.
- Fugger was sufficiently interested to wish to know its precise location and details about its character.
- The design was for a secular building of a residential character (though 'palazzo' can also be just 'building', Fugger's reference to a 'palazzo di piacere' suggest that it was residential, not utilitarian)
- It was to be built for the Emperor Maximilian II; the reference to the site presupposes a new construction, rather than the adaptation of an existing building.
- This building was planned in the countryside.

All in all it is warranted to assume Strada had indeed made a design for the Neugebäude, and that it had been well received by the Emperor. But the

16 For instance in the unpleasantly biased, negative review of Lietzmann's book by Bernt von Hagen, which is itself full of mistakes and inconsistencies (Hagen 1991, p. 167). Karl Rudolf (Rudolf 1995, p. 177, n. 131) has rightly corrected Lietzmann's reading of the passage, pointing out that Fugger is not writing about a hypothetical 'palazzo di natura', whatever that might be, but about a site (for a palace) which is 'by its nature' so well adapted to its purpose: 'Die Stelle *et essendo la piazza di natura cosi accomodata* kann nur als *Ort von derart passender Natur für den Palast* verstanden werden und nicht als Palast in der Natur wie bei Lietzmann'. He is right that the passage seems to refer to a palace, rather than to a garden lay-out, but ignores that it is also quite clear that it refers to a palace in the countryside, which presupposes the inclusion of gardens. In any case, even if Strada here talks about a design for the building, this is no reason to assume that he may not have been asked to make designs for the gardens as well; on the contrary, it makes it all the more likely. In his otherwise illuminating article on the Neugebäude, Wolfgang Lippmann (Lippmann 2006–2007, p. 147 and note 164, notes 37–41) misreads the passage in an even more alarming way than Lietzmann, not only echoing her 'Palast in der Natur', but also implying that Fugger referred to another, unidentified draughtsman who was to execute the finished designs, which is not warranted by the actual text: it is clear that Fugger refers to (and compliments) Strada himself.

passage does not tell us whether Strada had presented his design on his own initiative or whether the Emperor had explicitly asked for it, though Fugger's formulation suggests the latter. Neither does it give any indication of the nature of the design. To get some idea in what way Strada's design may have contributed to the development of the Neugebäude, it is necessary to provide a sketch of its layout and of its early history.

9.5 Description of the Complex

The earliest and best impression of the Neugebäude as it was planned and partly finished by Maximilian II is Lucas I van Valckenborch's conversation piece of 1593 [Fig. 9.15–9.16].[17] It shows Emperor Rudolf II with his two brothers Ernest

FIGURES 9.15–9.16 Lucas van Valckenborch, Rudolf II and his brothers in front of the Vienna Neugebäude, ca 1593, and a detail showing the huge extent of the complex; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

17 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv.nr. 9863; a second version has recently come to light and was acquired by the Vienna Historical Museum (Wien Museum), Inv. nr. 206.670; cf.

and Matthias and his good friend Duke Julius of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel taking a walk in a wood on the outskirts of Vienna; in the background, through the threes, can be seen a huge complex of towers, walled gardens and a huge gallery. This is the Neugebäude, the huge complex begun in 1568 by Rudolf's father close to the castle at Kaiserebersdorf, hardly visible in background to the left.

The painting gives a good impression of the size and the context of the complex, on the southern edge of the *Donauauen*, the meadows bordering the Danube to the east of Vienna, between the village of Simmering and the Imperial hunting lodge at Kaiserebersdorf. With the Prater, immediately across the branch of the Danube to the north—past the left margin of the painting—this territory formed the principal hunting preserve for the Emperor, his guests and his court, which explains the construction of his new *Lusthaus* in this area. The exact site of the building, moreover, is perfectly suited to its purpose, as stated in Fugger's letter: its principal element, the long gallery, is constructed exactly on the edge of a ridge sloping steeply down towards the meadows. Before the twentieth century it afforded a wonderful view over the hunting grounds, the river landscape and far beyond.

The order in which the various elements of the complex were built and the extent to which it was actually finished at Maximilian's untimely death in 1576 can be partially reconstructed on the basis of Hilda Lietzmann's archival research as published in her 1987 monograph, and the results of archaeological research and technical analysis of the remaining fabric done around and since that time, which however have been only published in abstracts.[18] From this information it appears that two years after Maximilian had begun his 'Fasangarten', his bird-preserve in the Donauauen, he began realizing his plans for a new and large garden complex close to Kaiserebersdorf. Payments suggest that the site had been surveyed and the plan laid out towards the end of 1568, when the engineer Hans Gasteiger was ordered to procure iron pipes for the water conduits of the gardens, and that building began early in 1569.

The engraving by Matthäus Merian of 1649 [Fig. 9.17] gives a more precise impression of the composition of the complex, and helps to visualize its genesis.[19] The complex is symmetrically arranged around a north-south axis—that

Wied 1971, p. 159, Abb. 144 and p. 204, Kat. Nr. 55; Wied 1990, pp. 169–170, Kat. Nr. 68; Wied 2004, pp. 244–245; Griemann 2008, pp. 16–24.

18 This summary is based on Lietzmann 1987; Seebach/Schreiber 1989; Wehdorn 2004.

19 What is probably the original print is illustrated in Lietzmann 1987, p. 13, Fig. 3; Ilg 1895, p. 109, illustrates the slightly divergent version taken from *Hortorum viridarumque noviter in Europa praecipue adornatum elegantes et multiplices formae ad vivum delineatae*, published by the Cologne printers Overadt in 1655. Here the cartouche with the *legenda* is

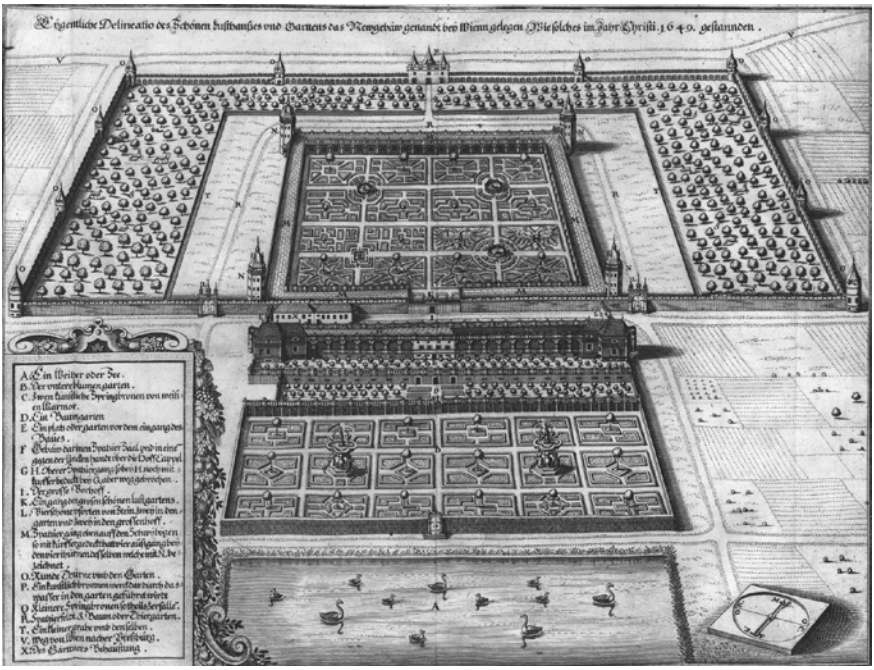


FIGURE 9.17 Matthäus Merian, 'Eijgentliche Delineatio des Schönen Lusthauses genannt das Neugebäu', bird's-eye view from the north, engraving, 1649.

is at right angles to the edge of the plateau and the ridge falling down steeply towards the Danube—and is composed of three principal sections. At its centre a narrow, extremely elongated building consists of a central pavilion connected by huge arcades to two polygonal pavilions at either end. It is built on the edge of the ridge on a podium consisting of two stepped terraces above the lower gardens to the north of it, and is backed by the rectangular entrance courtyard, accessible through monumental entrance gates on either end: from Vienna on the west, and from Kaiserebersdorf to the east.

At the bottom of the ridge a flower garden, the 'Untere Blumengarten', is situated between the terraces below the main building and a huge rectangular fishpond, which closes off the complex towards the north.[20] In this garden the French humanist and diplomat Jacques Bongars (1546–1612), who visited the

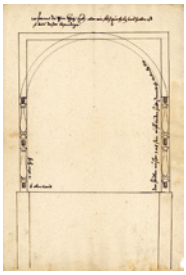
shifted to the other side of the print, some of its items are omitted or inscribed directly in the image, and a coat of arms is added to the left, but the image itself is identical in most essentials.

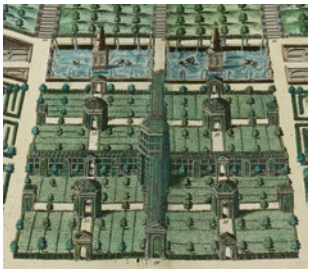
20 In the course of the rehabilitation of the complex the lower garden, which had long since disappeared, has now been replaced by a modern garden suggesting its original outlines.

Neugebäude in April 1585, noticed 'parterres faicts a chifres et armaris', that is flowerbeds formed as monograms and coats of arms. It is surrounded by walls articulated by piers or pilasters, whereas the sustaining walls of the terraces were provided with round-headed wall niches, possibly intended for the collocation of sculptures. Some remains found during the excavation show that initially waterworks of some sort were planned at either end of these long terraces, but these were never executed.

The third element of the complex is situated on top of the plateau to the south of the entrance courtyard. It consists of a huge enclosure of 375 × 335 meters, entirely surrounded by a crenelated wall of over five meters high. This wall is interrupted at regular intervals and at the corners by in total ten round towers topped by peaked roofs. In the centre of its southern wall a tower-like pavilion topped by three similar pointed roofs, now demolished, once housed the pump works designed to feed the fountains. The outer section of this enclosure was planted with trees, but its centre, immediately adjoining the entrance courtyard, was filled by a second enclosure, the inner garden, an ample rectangle of 196 x 155 meters.

The four corners of this *giardino segreto* were marked by huge hexagonal towers of three levels, topped by cupola's surrounded by a narrow walkway marked by pinnacles placed at the angles: they are clearly recognizable in Valckenborgh's painting. The excavation has shown that the tower in the north-east corner was slightly larger than the others. They were largely finished by the end of 1570, since by that time their roofs had been covered in copper from Neusohl (now Banská Bystrica in Slovakia). The towers were connected on three sides of the rectangle by arcades carried on stone columns, topped with flat walkways, 'Spatziergang oben auff den Schwibbogen'.





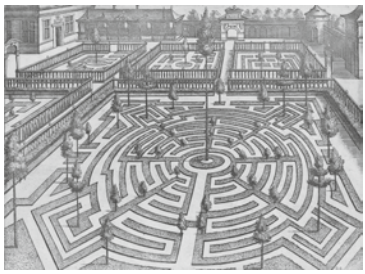


FIGURE 9.18 Andreas Altmann, Design for the frame of a green tunnel for the garden at Prague Castle, 1563 and detail from an anonymous plan of the garden.

FIGURE 9.19 The green tunnel at the Villa d'Este in Tivoli, detail from an engraving after Etienne du Pérac (1571).

FIGURE 9.20 Hans Vredeman de Vries, design for garden labyrinth, ca 1587.

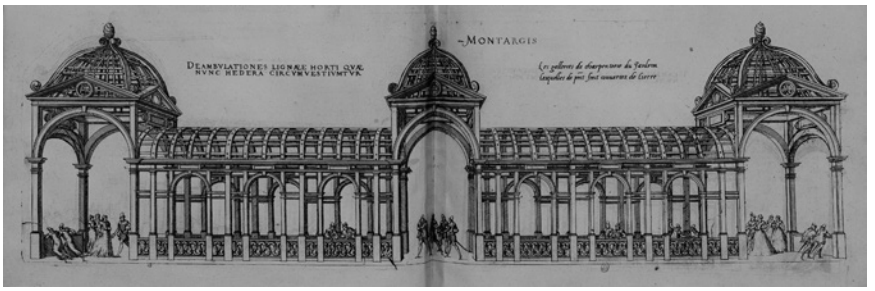


FIGURE 9.21 The 'gallery in carpentry to be covered in ivy' at the Château de Montargis, in Jacques Androuet du Cerceau's *Les plus excellent Bastiment de la France*, I, 1576.

From these walkways one looked down upon the inner garden, which was divided by garden paths into four identical sections, each of which in its turn was divided into four compartments and had a fountain at its centre. It probably included a green tunnel, similar to the 'tria amoenissima cubicula', the 'three most pleasant chambers' of evergreen shrubs that Maximilian had had constructed fifteen years before in his Prater garden.[21] Such a green tunnel soon became a standard element in gardens of the late Renaissance: one of the best examples is that in the garden of the Villa d'Este in Tivoli [Fig. 9.19].[22] A similar green tunnel in the Royal Gardens at Prague castle had been commissioned by Ferdinand I only a few years before, for which not only the documents, but even the designs have been preserved [Fig. 9.18]. The finished result may have looked a little like the 'galleries de charpenterie' at Montargis, bowers in carpentry intended to be overgrown with ivy, illustrated by Jaques Androuet du Cerceau [Fig. 9.21].[23]

Bongars described the outer garden which surrounded the *giardino segreto* as 'un parc d'arbres fruitiers bien plantez à ligne et un beau labyrinthe'. The

21 Hagen 1874. Bongars described 'palissades, fleurs, etc', which Lietzmann translates by 'Sträuchern, Blumen usw', that is 'shrubs, flowers and so on'; but Bongars' 'palissades' more likely referred to the wooden railings dividing the compartments, and the frame of wooden posts and latticework supporting climbers or evergreens.

22 This famous engraving by Etienne du Pérac was commissioned in 1571 by Cardinal Ippolito d'Este in response to a request from Maximilian II.

23 Prague, National Archives, CDKM IV, Kart. 191, fol. 457v, 452, 457r., published in Dobalová/ Hausenblasová/ Muchka 2008; a megalomaniac version is illustrated in Hans Puechfeldner *Ein Nützliches Künstbüech der Gärdtnerey*, one of three volumes full of idealized gardens designs presented to Rudolf II between 1591 and 1594, which to some extent reflects the practice at the Imperial court, cf. De Jong 1998 and Dobalová 2005, p. 46, Fig. 7; Androuet Du Cerceau 1576, pl. 33.

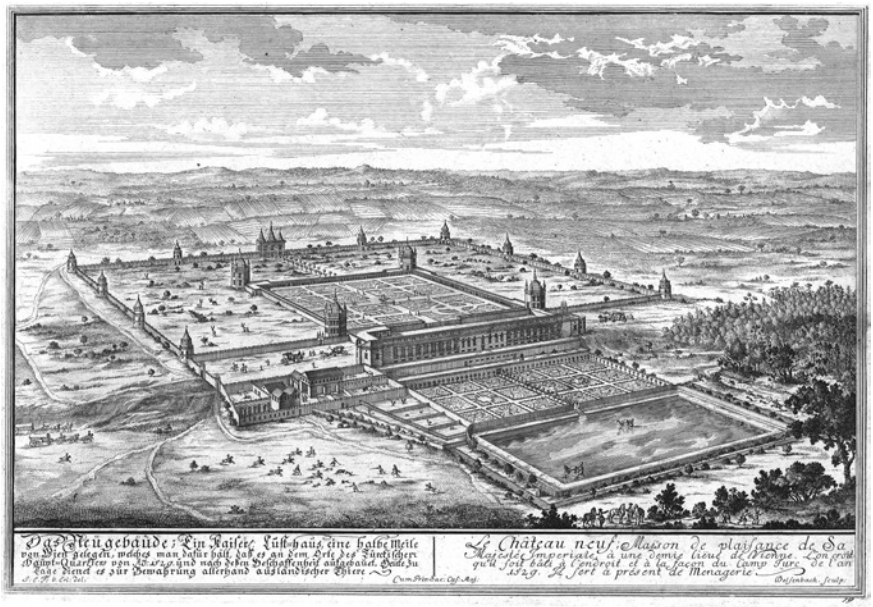


FIGURE 9.22 Johann Adam Delsenbach, Das Neugebäude: Ein Kayserl: Lust-Haus, bird's-eye view from the north-east; engraving after a design by Joseph Emanuel Fischer von Erlach, 1715.

labyrinth may have looked something like the one illustrated by Hans Vredeman de Vries [Fig. 9.20] and it was particularly noted by early visitors.[24] The outer garden was divided in two sections separated by a moat or canal of three to four paces wide, which at the time of Bongars' visit still was to be lined

24 An eleven-year old Czech noble, Ladislav Velen z Žerotína, visited the garden with his tutor on 13 July 1590, and described it in his diary, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Cod. Regin. Lat.* 613, fol. 6r–7 r, as cited in Lietzmann 1987, p. 44 and n. 12: 'There are most beautiful buildings, long and high courtyards ["atria"] adorned with most high columns of white stone; an ample stable underground and some fishponds within the walls; fountains constructed of precious English alabaster; towers covered in copper and adorned with various paintings and statues. In one of the towers is a very deep well, from which water is carried in some hundres of buckets, attached to a long chain, up to a very high place, built to be used for baths, and is there poured into a big cistern similar to a well. In the gardens the arms ["insignia"] of his Imperial Majesty, of all the Electors and of the first Princes [of the Holy Roman Empire] are depicted in all their colours by means of various flowers. There is also a maze ["Labyrinthus"] which it is not easy to get out of without making mistakes. From a storeroom ["cella"] an underground corridor ["cuniculus"] leads into the Castle ["in Arcem"] in Vienna [= the Hofburg], which is a whole mile away <…> At lunch we went to Ebersdorf, half a mile under beautiful trees; there we saw the castle, lions, some other bears of stupendous size, and two tigers'.

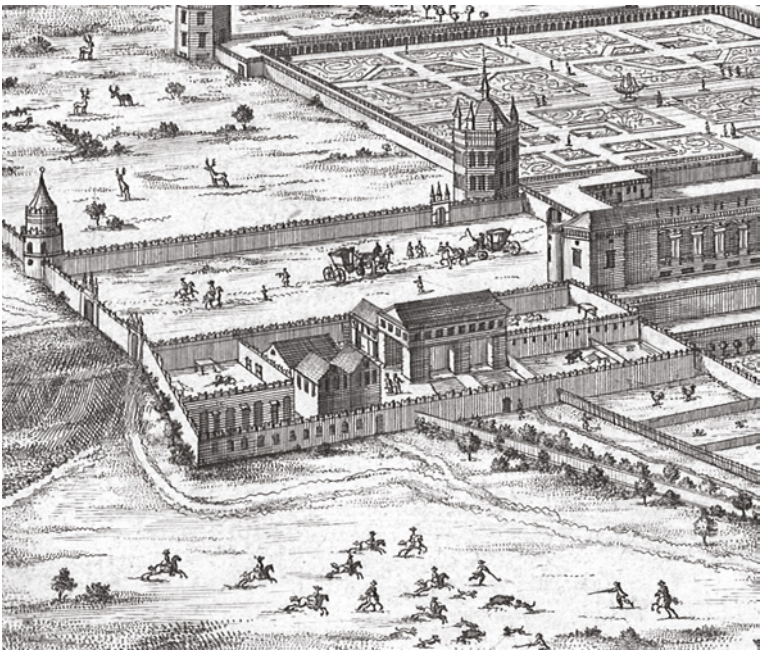


FIGURE 9.23 View of the service buildings east of the main block of the Neugebäude (tennis court, stabling, fishponds, perhaps a menagerie (detail of Fig. 9.22).

with stone, and which was to receive water carried to the Neugebäude from a mountain a mile and a half away. It is recognizable in Merian's print, where it is identified as 'Ein kleiner Graben umb den Thiergarten'. Bongars paid special attention to the water tower, of which he both gives its German name, and an explanation of its functioning.

Not shown on Merian's print is a fourth component, the service court, a complex of asymmetrically placed secondary buildings immediately to the east of the principal block, along the road of access from Ebersdorf. Some of these certainly date back to the original construction: they can be seen in a topographical print from 1715 by Johann Adam Delsenbach, after a design by the architect Joseph Emanuel Fischer von Erlach [Fig. 9.22–9.23]. They included several buildings, and a tennis court surrounded by high walls, which apparently was roofed over only in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Its long north side is flanked by an arcade opening over a set of five stone-lined fish ponds or aquaria (not represented in Delsenbach's print) [Fig. 9.24]. More to the east a complex of other constructions included the still existent monumental stable [Fig. 9.25].

FIGURES 9.24–9.25 The service court of the Neugebäude with the fishponds (on the left); the stable.

To the north these buildings are preceded by a service courtyard surrounded by brick walls articulated by blind arcades echoing the arcade opposite. On its west side it provided access to the terraces of the main building and to the lower gardens. To the west of the principal building some other outhouses

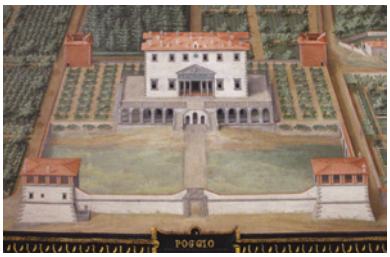


FIGURE 9.26 The Villa Medici at Poggio a Caiano (Giuliano da Sangallo., ca 1480), detail of the painting by Giusto Utens, ca 1600; Florence, Museo Firenze com'era.

FIGURE 9.27 Villa dei Vescovi at Luvigliano (Padua), Giovanni Maria Falconetto and others, ca 1535–1540.

may have been built.[25] While the building of all this was going on, the gardens and orchards were already being planted, for instance with fruit trees sent to Vienna from the Royal gardens in Prague, doubtless under the supervision of the two (chief) gardeners, Claude Rennart and Carl de Seiniß, both of French origin, who had meanwhile been appointed.

The upper gardens, their surrounding walls and the various towers and galleries seem more or less to have been constructed as initially planned. This was not the case, however, for the construction of the building that was to provide the focus of the whole lay out. While work in the gardens continued, exactly in the centre of the long terraces new foundations were dug for a building apparently as wide as the central part or 'Mittelrisalit' of the Neugebäude as it was eventually built. The few remains of this project, soon abandoned, suggest that at least at the north and south side this building was to rest on a substructure consisting of an arcade carried on heavy piers. This is a construction which suggests various possible models among the villa architecture of the Italian Renaissance, such as Giuliano da Sangallo's Villa Medici at Poggio a Caiano [Fig. 9.26], Raphael's Villa Madama, Gerolamo Genga's Villa Imperiale at Pesaro, or Falconetto's Villa dei Vescovi at Luvigliano [Fig. 9.27].[26]

When laying the foundations of this villa had hardly begun, its plan was abandoned in favour of a larger and more monumental concept: apart from the central building this would include two pavilions on either side, on the location of the present corner blocks or *Eckrisalite*. The existing upper terrace

25 The existence of the adjuncts to the west only to be deduced 'auf grund baulicher Indizien' (Seebach/Schreiber 1990, p. 376), it is not indicated whether these are remains of the foundations or traces preserved in the existing fabric of the main building.

26 Discussed by Holzschuh 1990 and Seebach/Schreiber 1989, pp. 375–376.

initially was only dug away where the foundations for these pavilions were to come, so at this point a connecting gallery was not yet envisaged.[27] The substructures were constructed in very heavy, massive masonry, and already included the two grottoes in either corner pavilion.

This plan, in its turn, was abandoned for, or adapted to a new concept. First the ground floor level of the whole building was raised considerably, and for this reason the vaulting of the grottoes was demolished and replaced at a higher level. The corner pavilions were now connected to the central block by long and wide corridors, the floors of which were laid on the new level. The walls were built not in the massive masonry of the central and corner pavilions, but by using piers buttressing a lighter curtain wall. Pierced by round-headed niches, these piers carried wide arches cutting into a huge but shallow barrel vault—creating two very long and relatively low halls on the ground floor [Figs. 9.28]; though much smaller, they are very reminiscent of the Munich Antiquarium. On the courtyard side foundations have been found for what

FIGURE 9.28 Neugebäude, 'Schöne Saal' on the ground floor of the west gallery.

27 Seebach Schreiber 1989, p. 376, 'Bauphase IV'; from this it is not quite clear whether the foundation of the corner pavilions preceded those of the connecting arcades. Wehdorn 2004, pp. 20–21 seems to assume that the 'corner towers', or at least the grottoes in them, had been begun even in an earlier phase.

must have been a low vaulted gallery, probably carrying a terrace accessible from the principal gallery on the *piano nobile*.

This principal gallery on the *piano nobile*, stretching for fifty meters on either side of the *Mittelrisalit*, was the most spectacular and unprecedented among the many eccentric features of the Neugebäude. When Maximilian died the west gallery had begun to be built, the east gallery would only be completed in 1579. We know what it looked like thanks to the drawings made in 1601 by the Imperial Architect Anton de Moys to indicate the damage due to infiltration of rainwater through a defective roof [Figs. 9.29 and 9.30].[28] It is possible also to reconstruct it because the paired columns and appertaining entablature blocks were reused in the construction, in 1775, of the *Gloriette* on the hill behind Schönbrunn Palace. Its design, by Johann Ferdinand Hetzendorf von Hohenberg, can be considered as a conscious memorial to the Neugebäude, which Hetzendorf had dismantled on the orders of Empress Maria Theresa [Figs. 9.31, 9.33–9.35].[29]

The two galleries which connected the central pavilion or *Mittelrisalit* to the two end pavilions or towers each consisted of nine arches carried on paired doric columns. These column pairs each carried a complete doric entablature consisting of architrave, frieze of two triglyphs flanking a bucranium, and cornice. Though almost pedantically correct, this solution looks very odd and unclassical: instead of stressing the horizontal lines of the facade, the openings

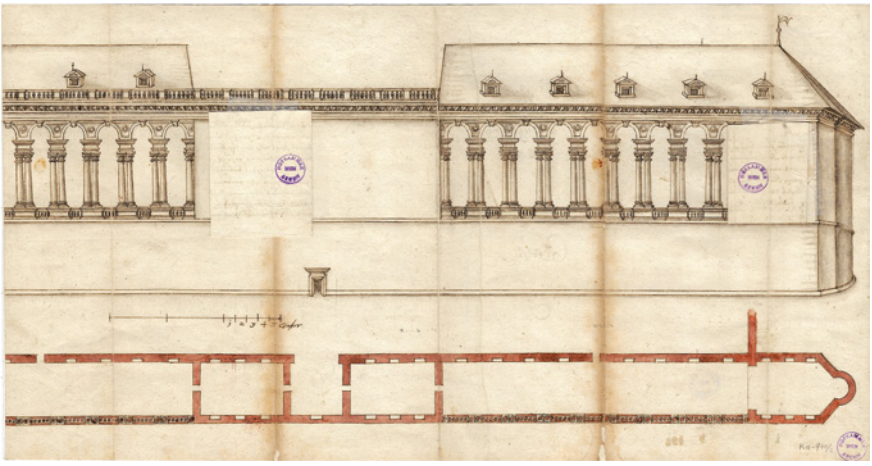


FIGURE 9.29 Anton de Moys, elevation and plan of the gallery of the Neugebäude, 1601.

28 Vienna, HHStA, Sammlung der Karten und Pläne, Ra-940-2.

29 Lietzmann 1997, pp. 100–101. The *spolia* of the Neugebäude reused at Schönbrunn have been identified and discussed in Knöbl 1988, pp. 102–118.

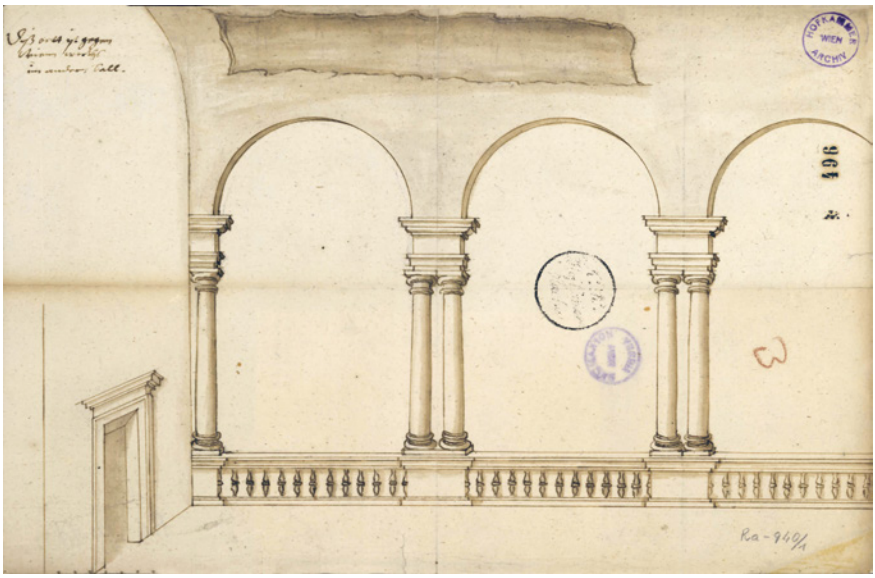


FIGURE 9.30 Anton de Moys, drawings of the interior of the gallery of the Neugebäude, indicating the damage to its vaulting, 1601.

FIGURE 9.31 Johann Ferdinand Hetzendorf von Hohenberg, the Gloriette at Schönbrunn, built 1775 reusing the Neugebäude arcades.

FIGURES 9.32–9.33 The one section of the entablature block which has remained in situ in the Neugebäude, compared to the entablature of the Schönbrunn Gloriette.

of the arches alternating with these rather heavy blocks of entablature give a rhythmical and sculptural effect to the facade. One of these entablature blocks has remained *in situ* in the Neugebäude [Fig. 9.32–9.33]. The gallery was covered by a simple barrel vault, which undoubtedly was intended to be decorated in stucco.[30]

In the last phase before Maximilian's untimely decease, further changes were initiated: heavy foundations were laid in front of the central block or *Mittelrisalit* on the courtyard (south) side, suggesting the construction of a shallow vestibule section and a monumental facade, work on which was immediately stopped after Maximilian's death. But even the remains of the foundation provides indications of several changes in plan during its construction. Now the western arcade was put into place, and the western wing largely completed, and some of it perhaps already decorated.

After Maximilian's unexpected death—he had left no will, and staggering debts—his elder son Rudolf succeeded him as Emperor, and inherited the responsibility to complete his father's project. It is clear that, however straitened his means, he intended to do what was possible. He almost immediately requested the architect Pietro Ferrabosco and the treasurer David Hag to come to Linz to discuss the project with him. In the following years the eastern gallery of the main block was completed, but the construction of the terraces and the projecting monumental facade on the courtyard side was discontinued.

30 The vaulting appears to have had a flat surface, which presupposes a very lightweight stucco decoration, perhaps similar to that in Hvězda, rather than a coffered ceiling. But the decoration was probably never executed.

By the end of 1580, when the copper for the roof of the eastern gallery was ordered, the Neugebäude was more or less as complete as it ever would be, though some work at the decoration still went forward: the last, third fountain Maximilian had ordered from Alexander Colin a year before he died, was delivered and placed by the artist only in 1584. Visitors in the following years, such as Jacques Bongars, give the impression that the complex was well kept up. When the eleven-year old Czech noble Ladislav Velen z Žerotín visited the garden with his tutor in 1590, he saw the coats of arms of the Emperor, the Electors and most important princes of the Empire beautifully figured in colours by the flowers planted in the various compartments, a fact which presupposes knowledgeable and industrious gardeners.[31]

But such was not to last for long: Rudolf had moved his court to Prague, and slowly lost interest in the unfinished building. The huge size of the Neugebäude—its facade is 185 meters long, as long as that of Schönbrunn—coupled to the fact that, in contrast to its gardens, it had no practical function, made it a liability for the Habsburg Emperors rather than an asset. Nevertheless it remained standing more or less until the end of the eighteenth century, when Maria Theresa decided to have it dismantled and transformed into a munitions depot. It was stripped of its decorations, sculpture and even its

FIGURES 9.34–9.35 The column pairs from the Neugebäude as reused in the Gloriette at Schönbrunn.

31 Quoted above, note 24.

architectural features, which would be reused to some extent in the embellishment of Schönbrunn.[32]

9.6 The Personal Involvement of Emperor Maximilian II

Both written sources and the building itself provide evidence that the Emperor closely followed the development of his new project. His assiduous personal involvement is reported by the Mantuan envoy, Guglielmo Malaspina, in a letter to his master written in April 1569:

> After the dispatch of business His Imperial Majesty attends to a garden he is newly planting, and it seems that he spends as much time there as he can spare from business in which he is involved, for he doesn't care about wind or rain, but continuously goes to that place; the Duke of Ferrara has sent him several crates of trees, and likewise Archduke Ferdinand, considering this is his [the Emperor's] [principal] pastime.[33]

Maximilian's personal interest is mentioned in similar terms by the Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Michiel, in a dispatch of 1571; discussing Maximilian's occupations, he relates that at present the Emperor:

> <…>has another one, which is greatly to his taste, and in which he spends all the time he can spare from business; this is the building of a garden, half a league from Vienna; which will be, once it is finished, of truly regal and imperial aspect.[34]

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32 The later history of the complex is summarized in Lietzmann 1987, pp. 82–101, and Kefelder 2010, pp. 26–71; on the Schönbrunn connection, see Knöbl 1988; Holzschuh-Hofer 1990; Dahm 2002; Dahm 2003.

33 Vienna, 13 April 1569; ASMn, *Archivio Gonzaga*, *busta* 451, *filza* 1 -3, ff. 115–117; published in Venturini 2002, nr, 48, p. 197. The formulation is not quite clear: 'Sua maestà cesarea atende doppo gli negocii a un giardino che pianta di nuovo et tanto vi atende che par che possa robar tempo alli negocii in che assiduamente si trova, che non cura né di vento né di pioggia, ma continuamente va a questo luocho; il duca di Ferara li ha mandato parechie casse d'arbori insseriti, medemamente l'arciduca Ferdinando a tal che questo è il suo passatempo<…>'.

34 Fiedler 1870, p. 280, as cited in Lietzmann 1987, pp. 34–35: 'al presente [ha] un altra [occupazione], di grandissimo suo gusto, nella quale vi mette tutto quel più tempo, che può robbare alli negotij, che è la fabrica d'un giardino, una meza lega lontano da Vienna; cosa per dover riuscire, finita che sia, regia veramente et imperiale'.

Maximilian himself explicitly formulated his personal concern in a letter of 4 December 1568 to Count Prospero d'Arco, his ambassador in Rome, asking for detailed information on garden projects in Rome:

> Because in the grave and manifold cares and troubles we sustain for the benefit and safety, not only of our own kingdoms and dominions, but of the whole Christian world, we are used to seek for recreation and relaxation of the soul in the cultivation of gardens, we desire to see plans and images both of gardens and of pleasure houses and other garden ornaments that can be found in Rome.[35]

He stresses that these should include both plans and elevations, and he asked in particular for designs for 'artificial fountains and grottoes'. Maximilian moreover asked Count d'Arco to try and obtain as many antiques suitable for the decoration of gardens as he could lay his hands on in Rome. Similar requests for information on other projects, especially gardens and garden buildings, for plants and seeds, for animals, and for antiquities and works of art to be used in his own new garden were sent to his representatives in Venice, in Mantua and in Genoa. He employed his envoy in Madrid, Adam von Dietrichstein, to the same purpose (commenting on a plan of Aranjuez which Dietrichstein sent him), as he did his officials within his own territories.[36]

Maximilian did not only look for inanimate objects, but also for lively talents who might contribute to the success of his undertaking. His letters to his envoy repeatedly ask them to be on the look out for good architects who might be tempted to come to Vienna. In most cases these requests have been motivated by his need to improve the defence of his lands against the Turks largely dictated this initiative: most of the names that crop up in this correspondence were military engineers, of whom only a few actually arrived in Vienna. The foremost

35 Maximilian II to Prospero d'Arco, Linz, 4 December 1568, printed in *JdKS* 13, 1892,2, pp. xlvii–xlviii, *Regest* 8805; cf. Lippmann 2006–2007, p. 162 and cited in Lietzmann 1987, p. 29 en pp. 164–165; Podewils, 1992, p. 25, n. 88; from the following correspondence it appears that Count d'Arco did indeed succeed in obtaining a number of antique statues and also commissioned some modern sculpture, some of which was explicitly intended for use in one or more fountains. On Arco's acquisition and transport of sculptures, cf. Lietzmann 164–166; Podewils 1992, pp. 25–33.

36 'La tratza del jardin de aranjues dunkt mich saie nach gelegnhait des platz wol aufgetailt glaichwol kan mans also gar nit wol sehen. Sino poco mas o menos', as given in Rudolf 1995, pp. 180–181; the relevant passage (p. 181, n. 176) gives some inkling of Maximilian's way of thinking—in his informal letters to what was also a close personal friend he freely mixes German, Spanish and Latin—and demonstrates that he himself did critically think about the architectural aspects of gardening. Maximilian also asked the supervisors of mines in his territories to send him 'Handsteine' to decorate his grottoes and fountains (Lietzmann 1987, p. 70).

of these was Giovanni Sallustio Peruzzi, the son of Baldassare, the architect of the Farnesina and the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, and himself a renowned military engineer. Soon after he arrived in Vienna in 1567, he was appointed superintendent of the fortification on the Croatian borders. But he certainly also was an accomplished architect, as is evident from the gate of the castle at Ptuj/Pettau in Slovenia, which was executed after his design of 1570 [Fig. 9.36].[37]

FIGURE 9.36 Ptuj (Pettau), Slovenia: entrance portal gate of the castle, designed by Sallustio Peruzzi.

37 On Sallustio Peruzzi, see now the detailed and richly documented monograph by Wolfgang Seidel (Seidel 2002).

Whether Peruzzi was asked to contribute to the plans of the Neugebäude is not clear: in December 1568 Maximilian asked Veit von Dornberg, his envoy in Venice, if he knew about some outstanding architect that might be available, and in the same letter he also asked for information about the sculptor Alessandro Vittoria and the architect Giacometto Tagliapietra. Since he cannot have intended to employ Vittoria in his fortifications, his letter must have been motivated by his plans for the Neugebäude, work at which was about to begin just at this time. So at least in this case it seems that his quest for an architect was related to this, rather than to any military project. But if so, his attempts to entice competent Italian architects to come to Vienna were rather half-hearted: when in his reply Dornberg reported extensively on Tagliapietra, gave some information about another, better known architect, Giovanni Antonio Rusconi, and proposed an attempt to persuade Andrea Palladio to come to Vienna for a month or two 'to compose and draw the plan of some building', the Emperor seems not have reacted to this: none of these three names crop up in the Vienna sources again.[38]

On the other hand it may be that Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, a theorist as important as Palladio, and architect of, among other masterpieces, the Gesù in Rome and the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola, did contribute in some way to Maximilian's project. That at least is suggested by a substantial payment to his son and heir, the architect Giacinto, ordered by Rudolf II almost immediately after Maximilian's death.[39] But if so, we do not know what this contribution may have been; it may well have consisted of sets of drawings of one or more of the villa and garden projects for which he had been responsible. Besides Caprarola these included the Orti Farnesiani and the Villa Giulia in Rome and the Villa Lante in Bagnaia, all key monuments in the history of garden design.

The fact that Maximilian collected such information and source material for his pet project in person, instead of leaving it all to a trusted underling, again suggests that he was himself closely involved in the development of his project. Evidence that has come to light during the excavations of parts of the Neugebäude in the late 1980s confirms that he must have critically followed what was done. Whereas the upper and lower gardens of the Neugebäude,

38 Podewils 1992, pp. 43–46. This does not mean that there may not have been further contact through other, more informal channels, but we have no indication for that.

39 *JdKS* 7, 1888, II, p. CCLXVIII, *Regest* 5357, cited by Lietzmann 1987, pp. 190–191, who points out that the payment was not made to Giacomo (†573,) but to his son Giacinto. It was a substantial sum, 100 *Kronentaler*, paid 'aus besonderer Gnaden', without giving a concrete motivation.

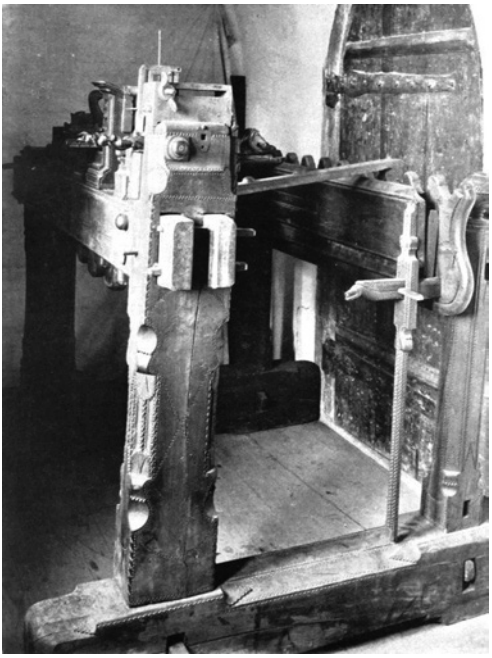
including their surrounding walls and the towers, appear to have been built more or less according to plan, without substantial changes during the execution, the project for the central building developed rapidly while it was actually executed. This led to many smaller and larger adaptations that can still be traced in the existing brickwork, and which occasionally even entailed demolishing parts that had already been constructed. It is unthinkable that the local master masons would have been allowed to exercise their fantasies in such a way: on the contrary, it is likely that these continual changes in plan, which must have been expensive, may have led to some irritation with those charged with their execution. So it is highly probable that these changes must have been not only condoned, but were instigated by the patron, Maximilian II, himself. They indicate the importance the project had for him, and how far he was prepared to go to realize his ideal. A good example is the change in floor level of the Neugebäude proper, which altered the relation of the central building to its surroundings, as a consequence of which the terraces were restructured and the level of the whole of the northern garden was raised appreciably (which implied that it also had to be planted anew).[40]

It is true that the documentation on the artistic patronage at the Imperial court in the sixteenth century is extremely scanty and incomplete; yet it remains very odd that even for a project of the size and the extraordinary character of the Neugebäude no name of a designing architect should have come down to us. To my mind this indicates at the very least that no one single professional was responsible for the project as a whole. Coupled to Maximilian's amply documented personal involvement and the changes to the project realized during actual construction this suggests that he not only supervised, but personally participated in the designing process. Though doubtless the final designs were prepared for execution by one or more of his professional architects, such as Ferrabosco, the general concept of the complex and many of its eccentric details—such as the four hexagonal corner towers of the inner garden—may well be due to Maximilian himself. That he should have himself sketched out some of his ideas is not so strange at it may seem to some historians, if he also worked with his hands in various crafts, as has been documented of many other princes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including his own great-grandfather Maximilian I, whose splendid working bench and

40 Seebach/Schreiber 1989, p. 376, 'Bauphase V'; of course there may have been other reasons to raise this garden: lying at the bottom of the ridge, it may have been waterlogged in autumn and winter.

lathe has been preserved [Fig. 9.37].[41] From the reports of several envoys at the Imperial court we know that Maximilian II likewise filled his 'otium' by similar forms of manual and technical workmanship, and that he also engaged in drawing and in various alchemical experiments:

> His Majesty is most inimical to idleness; and he never loses an hour in which he does not do something, and if he has no other things to do, he is used to work with his hands, making things in gold and silver<...>[42]



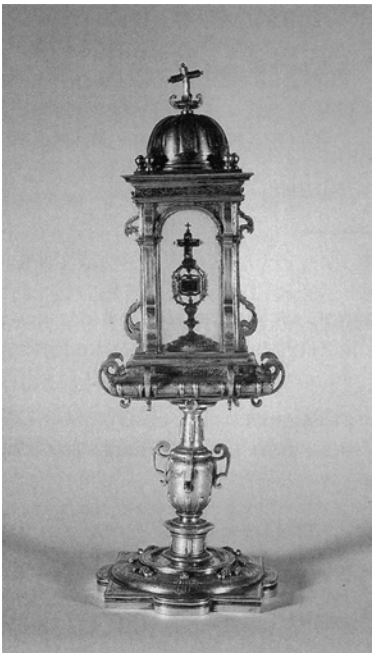


FIGURE 9.37 The workbench for turning wood made for the Emperor Maximilan I, ca. 1518; Burg Kreuzenstein, Lower Austria.

FIGURE 9.38 Reliquiary of the True Cross; the mount of the actual relic was made by Maximilian II; Madrid, Monastery of the Descalzas Reales.

41 In the collection of Dr. Hans Graf Wilczek, Burg Kreuzenstein; cf. Walcher-Molthein 1925, pp. 17–22; *Ausstellung Maximilian I - Innsbruck* 1969, p. 159, cat. nr. 592, fig. 129; on turning of wood and ivory as a popular princely occupation, see Paravicini 2004, nr. 1, pp. 39–44. Another example is the splendid machine for various types of metalwork made for Maximilian's close friend, Elector August of Saxony, now in the Musée National de la Renaissance at Ecouen.

42 'Si diletta grandemente oprar di mano sua, et dissegna, et lavora al torno et altre cose tali' (report from Giacomo Soranzo, 1563); 'S. Mta. C. è inimicissimo quanto piu dell' ocio;

The Carmelite Monastery of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid preserves a relic of the True Cross, which is set in a small reliquary that was made by Maximilian II, as is attested by an inscription on the foot of the monstrance in which it is placed [Fig. 9.38].[43] The inventory of the Munich *Kunstkammer* drafted by Johann Baptist Fickler in 1598 likewise lists some objects that were made by Maximilian himself.[44] We have seen above that Maximilian had collaborated in the physical creation of his earlier garden in the Prater, not only plotting its outlines himself, but actually planting some of its trees with his own hands. And we know that even before that, when acting as Charles V's viceroy in Spain, he had been personally engaged in the plans to improve the course of the Pisuerga and the water supply of his capital, Valladolid.

It is difficult to imagine that someone with these interests would have left the fun of the planning of his grandest project to someone else. On the contrary, it can be expected that he participated in its planning and supervised its execution as closely as his heavy political responsibilities allowed. Certainly this is not contradicted by Giovanni Michiel's report quoted above, which explicitly lists the 'building of a garden' among Maximilian's preferred occupations.[45]

So it is quite possible that perhaps the general plan or concept of the Neugebäude and at least some of its more eccentric features should be considered as the fruits of Maximilian's leisure hours, of precisely 'quel più tempo, che può robbare alli negotij', as the Venetian Ambassador phrased it. These fruits ripened by spurts and starts—whenever Maximilian found some time to spend on his plans, when Dietrichstein or Arco had sent some interesting material, or a visiting dignitary gave an account of a rival project elsewhere in Europe. They were fertilized by the scientific and scholarly literature Maximilian perused,

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perche non perde mai hora, che non faccia qualche cosa. Et quando altro manca, soleva lavorar di sua mano in cose d' oro et argento, hora attende à destilationi d' olij, d' acque et di minere, nelle quali sà mirabili secreti'. (Fiedler 1870, p. 280, as cited in Lietzmann 1987, pp. 34–35).

43 Rudolf 1995, p. 166, pl. 144. He may have made it for his wife, who would spend the last years of her life in the Descalzas Reales; it was presented to the monastery by their daughter, Archduchess Margaretha.

44 One of these was an artificial *vivarium*, a habitat filled with plaster casts of all sorts of animals (Diemer 2004, p. 129, nr. 1455); the other a 'Schauessen', a faience plate decorated in the manner of Bernard Palissy with casts or naturalistic representations of various fruits and 'Lebkuchen' (ibid. pp. 131–132, nr. 1457). The technique of casting animals from life was also extensively used by Wenzel Jamnitzer, Maximilian's favourite goldsmith and Strada associate.

45 'Oltre le quali occupationi ne ha al presente un altra, di grandissimo suo gusto, nella quale vi mette tutto quel più tempo, che può robbare alli negotij, che è la fabrica d'un giardino, una meza lega lontana da Vienna; cosa per riuscire (finita che sia) regia veramente et Imperiale'. (Fiedler 1870, p. 280, as cited in Lietzmann 1987, pp. 34–35).

the classical and contemporary literature he read, and not least the discussions with the scholars and artists who, with some congenial spirits among the court nobility, made up what has been called Maximilian's *Hofakademie*.[46]

This is very much the same soil from which sprouted the themes, the texts, the iconography and the designs for the courtly festivities that occasionally were organized at court; before his accession some of these had been directed by Maximilian himself. The Neugebäude was the result of a similar collective effort as was needed to organize such representative triumphs. Just as the physical components of the building were carried to Vienna from all over Maximilian's territories, and its contents arrived from all over Europe and beyond, so the ideas informing its conception and the visual forms chosen to realize this had very heterogeneous origins. As in the creation of the Prater *Lusthaus*, many of these ideas and forms must have been provided by the intellectuals and artists at Maximilian's court, but unlike the Prater, which is so well documented in Tanner's treatise, their individual contributions cannot be attributed with any certainty.

What is certain is that such heterogeneous ideas and forms were combined in quite unusual ways, and it is the resulting eclectic mixture which gives the Neugebäude its very individual, even eccentric character, and provides the strongest argument to attribute the final responsibility of its concept, its overall design and even many of its details to its patron himself, rather than to any one hypothetical master designer. A detailed analysis of these various elements and their sources is indispensable for a better comprehension of this exceptional work of art, its purpose and its patron's intentions. It might moreover help to tentatively attribute the responsibility for some of its individual features to plausible candidates. Because such an analysis would amply transcend the limits of this study, here I will discuss only those features of the complex and their probable sources when these can be connected with Jacopo Strada and the materials in his *Musaeum*.[47]

Strada contributed to the development of the Neugebäude in two ways. In the first place he contributed a least one concrete design, either for the general lay-out of the project, or for one or more of its individual components.

46 This term, first used in connection with Maximilian in Aschbach's history of Vienna University, should not be taken too seriously: it merely indicates the presence of a large number of learned men connected with Maximilian's court, who doubtless regularly exchanged information, ideas and opinions; but there is no evidence that this happened in any institutional setting (other than Maximilian's *Kammer* and the University); cf. Aschbach 1888, p. 349; Mühlberger 1992, p. 212, n. 35; Almási 2009, p. 99.

47 A first attempt published in my contribution to *Looking for Leisure*, the Palatium Colloquium in Prague in 2014: Jansen 2017.

In the second place his expertise and his huge collection of documentation provided inspiration, concrete examples and technical solutions, again both for the project as a whole and for individual components. Perhaps most important was that he could comment most of the drawings in his collection often on the basis of his own personal experience of the constructions they documented. When the example was Antique, he could cite from his background knowledge of antiquarian and literary sources; when the model was modern he could comment on its raison d'être, its form and function, often on the basis of his personal acquaintance with the artists that had created, and sometimes even with the patrons that had commissioned it. Before attempting to individuate what concrete features of the Neugebäude may be due to Strada, it is good to discuss some of the sources—both iconological and formal—that Maximilian and his architects could have seen in Strada's *Musaeum*. I divide them into three sections: Ottoman, Ancient Roman and contemporary Italian architecture.

9.7 Ottoman Influence?

Over the course of time the odd, mysterious, slightly lugubrious complex of the Neugebäude has given rise to several legends. Principal among these is the story that the gardens, laid out on the exact spot were Suleiman the Magnificent had pitched his tents during his siege of Vienna in 1529, were intended as a reconstruction in stone of the Sultan's sumptuous 'Zeltburg', the bivouac or camp that served as his headquarters and personal residence. This would explain both the odd plan and the many towers topped by their tent-like pavilion roofs. In the first serious publication on the Neugebäude Albert Ilg discarded the story as a ridiculous fabrication, also because the earliest sources mentioning it only date from the later seventeenth century.[48] Renate Wagner-Rieger conceded that a direct imitation of Ottoman example was out of the question, but suggested that oriental culture might nevertheless have provided some

48 Ilg 1895. For a survey of the sources of the legend, see Lietzmann 1987, pp. 9–23; the earliest mention she found is in Thomas Crowe, *A True relation of all the Remarkable Places and Passages observed in the travels of the right honourable Thomas Lord Howard*, London 1637 (reprint as *Travels of Thomas Lord Howard*, Amsterdam/ New York 1971), who reports Lord Arundel's visit to Vienna in 1636, where he 'went to see a garden of the Emperours a Dutch mile off, called Nigobath, upon which place the Turke once intrenched himself, when he would have taken Vienna, and was then two hundred thousand man strong, in the Emperour Rodolphus his time, an after they were driven out of the countrey, the Emperour built this on their works for a memorial'.

inspiration for the Neugebäude, as it did for various festivals at court. She was the first to attribute the design to Jacopo Strada, and pointed to his apparent knowledge of the Near East, suggesting that he even may have visited Constantinople. In his small monograph on the Neugebäude Rupert Feuchtmüller largely followed Ilg, discarding any possible Ottoman influence.[49]

In contrast Hilda Lietzmann took the legend as point of departure for her detailed and carefully documented study, and referred to it in its title. She pointed out that the Turks themselves did recognize Suleiman's bivouac in the Neugebäude, witness the romanticized travel journal of Evliya Çelebi, who visited Vienna in 1665.[50] Lietzmann indicated some typological sources in Cairo and Istanbul, but also suggested a direct derivation from Suleiman's actual encampment, documentation of which was in Strada's possession. Unfortunately neither this nor any other similar material has been preserved or identified, so Lietzmann can show little convincing evidence. Of course she uses the print of Kara Mustafa's tent, among the spoils captured after the 1683 siege, merely to explain how by the second half of the seventeenth century even people in Europe could actually recognize a Turkish tent in the Neugebäude. Lietzmann's contention has not found much acceptance—in Vienna itself it is contradicted or, more often, ignored.[51]

It is true that there are no contemporary sources explicitly linking the Neugebäude and Suleiman's headquarters, but in view of the extreme scantiness of contemporary documentation on the *raison d'être* of the building that can hardly be taken as evidence that such a link has not existed. And in view of the importance of the Ottoman Empire and the memory of the 1529 siege for Maximilian's politics, it seems plausible that the fact that he constructed his *Lusthaus* exactly on the spot were Suleiman had pitched his tent would have had some special significance for the Emperor, in which case it well might have influenced its appearance in some ways.

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49 Rieger 1951; Feuchtmüller 1976.

50 Lietzmann 1987, pp. 14–16. During the 1683 siege of Vienna the Turkish commander Kara Mustafa or his entourage explicitly linked the Neugebäude with Suleiman's camp, reason why he forbade his soldiers to plunder and damage it, this in contrast to other imperial castles and villas around Vienna.

51 Zimmermann 1987 does not refer to the *Bausage* at all; *Wehdorn* 2004, p. 10, merely mentions, but does not discuss it. Lippmann 2006–2007, p. 160 holds that the occidental idiom of its forms, classical (or 'antique') for the arcades, contemporary (or 'modern') for the upper gardens, precludes any wish to refer to Turkish culture and traditions. In September 2010 the present author attended a long, competently guided tour of the building: though this was very interesting, the 1529 siege was never mentioned, let alone the location of Suleiman's camp and its possible influence on the Neugebäude.

Given that, it still remains the question what form such influence would have taken: it might, for instance, have remained limited to using the exact site of the Sultan's camp for the Neugebäude. But the fact that Çelebi in 1665 and Kara Mustafa in 1683 saw a sufficient resemblance to Suleiman's headquarters suggests at least some imitation of Ottoman models in its lay-out.[52] It is here that the material collected by Jacopo Strada—some of it obtained with the help of Imperial envoys to Constantinople—may have played a role. In his *Index sive catalogus*, the list of works he hoped to publish or to sell, no less than five items relate to Ottoman military matters: a clear indication of the importance of the theme for his patrons. They documented the battle-order of the Sultan and his 'castrametatio', the manner in which his armies organized their bivouacs. The first item in the list was 'a large table or map of the *castrametatio* of Suleiman, the Emperor of the Turks, before the city of Vienna in Austria'. It was a detailed copy of a painting in the possession of the Duke of Mantua that had been painted by a Flemish master at the time of the siege, and showed the tents of the Sultan and the various ranks of the Ottoman army. It is perhaps significant that when Strada asked Guglielmo Gonzaga to borrow this painting in order to copy it, he explained his wish by the affection he had for it, because it documented 'all these surroundings of the villa which I know particularly well'. His use of the word 'villa', rather than 'città' implies that he specifically refers to the surroundings of Neugebäude or perhaps of Ebersdorf, rather than to those of Vienna in general. In any case his initiative makes clear that the historical significance of this particular spot had not yet been forgotten at court.[53]

52 During the 1683 siege of Vienna the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa or his entourage explicitly linked the Neugebäude with Suleiman's camp, reason why he forbade his soldiers to plunder and damage it, this in contrast to other imperial castles and villas around Vienna (Lietzmann 1987, pp. 14–16). Veronika Szűcs has argued that Strada, to whom she attributes the concept for the entire complex, intended to represent the Sultan's camp by using 'units and forms of a Roman military camp, forms which generally can be observed in any—also Turkish—military camp or fortress' (Sczűcs 2012). Her article contains other valuable ideas and insights, but her unquestioning acceptance of Strada's single responsibility for the Neugebäude's concept is at the least simplistic, and she is unaware of much essential background information, especially on Strada and his activities.

53 *Index sive catalogus* (= App. D), nr. 8. In March 1571 Strada had asked Duke Guglielmo to borrow the original, which he described as 'una pittura in tela collorita a guazzo da un fiamingo, molto guasta per la vecchiezza, nelle quale viè l'assedio di Vienna dal Turcho, et io perché conoscho tutti quelli contorni della villa, li porto molta efitione' (Doc. 1571-03-19). Though Strada had to repeat his request (Doc. 1571-11-20), the loan was conceded (Doc. 1577-10-04: Strada to Duke Guglielmo, 4 October 1577: 'Doppo ch'io mandai la pittura di Vienna costì a vostra altezza, al quale fu a me prestata da parte sua<…>'). The painting arrived in Vienna too late to have influenced the lay-out of the Neugebäude, but Strada

FIGURE 9.39 Barthel Beham, Suleiman's *Zeltburg* at the siege of Vienna of 1529, detail of a drawing in pen and wash.

FIGURE 9.40 Nakkaş Osman, miniature from *Hünernāme*, depicting the siege of Vienna of 1529.

Had we still had this painting or Strada's copy of it, we might have drawn some conclusions as to the extent in which the Neugebäude was reflecting Suleiman's *otağ-ı hümayun*, his imperial tent complex, as perceived by his Christian opponents. As it is, the only correspondence shown in the few available contemporary images—both European and Ottoman—is that the Sultan's tent was surrounded by some improvised, crenelated wall of canvas, the 'zokak', interrupted, in Barthel Behams view, by pavilion-like tents [Fig. 9.39 and 9.40].[54]

knew it very well because on one of his visits to Mantua he had been lodged for several months in the room where it was kept, and presumably already had sketched it on that occasion. The *Index* describes other Turkish 'Castrametationi' under nrs. 9 and 39; two large tables illustrating the Turkish battle order under nrs. 10 and 11. Some of the material Strada had obtained through the Imperial ambassadors Vrančić (nr. 9) and Busbequius (nr. 11).

54 Drawing in pen and wash, Wien, Museen der Stadt Wien; cf. *Kaiser Ferdinand I* 2003, cat. nr. V.17, pp. 411–411. Suleiman's *Zeltburg* must have been a quite extraordinary spectacle, somewhat akin to the celebrated 'Field of cloth of gold' of Francis I and Henry VIII: 'During military campaigns the Ottomans established nomadic tent cities, just as the Turks had done in much earlier times. In these cities the tents of the janissaries took the place

With a lot of imagination this z*okak* might be considered as model for the wall and the round towers surrounding the upper garden at the Neugebäude. Certainly it is the tent-like roofs of these wall-towers that most contributed to the idea of the Neugebäude as an image of the Sultan's camp.[55] Less convincing as potential models are the desert castles suggested by Renate Wagner-Rieger or the Ibn Tulun mosque at Cairo suggested by Hilda Lietzmann.[56] Nevertheless the possibility that Ottoman architecture provided a source for the concept of the Neugebäude must not be completely discarded; more detailed research might possibly provide more convincing models.

9.8 Classical Sources: Roman *Castrametatio* and the Fortified Palace of Diocletian at Split

9.8.1 *The Imperial Theme*

On the other hand Maximilian may well have opted to express the superiority of his rule over that of Sultan Selim II, by replacing the camp of his opponent's predecessor, Suleiman the Magnificent, by a building evoking the importance of his own illustrious predecessors, the rulers of the Roman Empire. Identification of contemporary rulers with the Emperors of ancient Rome—in political theory, in historiography, in the arts, in short in any sort of representation—had become almost a commonplace in the Renaissance. Clearly members of the House of Austria who bore the Imperial crown that had come to down to them from Charlemagne had even more right and reason to identify themselves with the Roman Emperors than other monarchs. This revival of the universal aspirations of the Holy Roman Empire was mainly due to Habsburg

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of dwellings of the common people, and larger, grander tent complexes the place of the palaces and mansions of the ruling classes. Central to these nomadic cities was the *otağ-ı hümayun* or imperial tent complex of the sultan, surrounded by a *zokak*—a screen wall made of fabric known as *seraperde*. This 'walled' tent palace was as much a symbol of his power and splendour as the stone palace in the capital'. (quoted from www.turkishculture.org/military/tents-176.htm, adapted from Nurhan Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun: The Ottoman Imperial Tent Complex*, Istanbul 2000, which I have not been able to consult.

55 It should be noted that the Ottomans themselves imitated tents—as the traditional residence of their nomad ancestors—in their architecture, especially garden pavilions; see Atasoy 2004. This tradition doubtless stimulated acceptance of the Neugebäude as a similar imitation.

56 Wagner-Rieger 1951, p. 144; Lietzmann 1987, p. 197.

dynastic policy and the forceful personality of Charles v.[57] Jacopo Strada's decision to seek patronage at the Imperial court, rather than in Spain, in France or with one of the lesser but factually more powerful princes of the Empire on either side of the Alps, may have had something to do with the mystique of the Emperor as universal monarch: certainly Strada was very well aware of the status he derived from it, if he pointedly referred to himself as 'servidor del primo signore del mondo'.[58]

Maximilian himself was naturally interested in the history of the Emperors. Such interest was in any case a commonplace of intellectual life of the Renaissance, witness the hundreds of series of imperial portraits decorating palaces and public buildings all over Europe and the many publications, often illustrated, dedicated to the lives of the Emperors—including Strada's own *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*. The Imperial court fully partook of this tradition, as has been well sketched in a paper by Friedrich Polleross.[59] This helps explain the great importance that Ferdinand I and his elder son accorded to the imperial coin collection and its catalogue. Strada's letter to Maximilian of June 1559 includes a detailed interpretation of a coin of Mark Antony which presupposes a high level of interest and expertise in its recipient.[60] This interest remained with Maximilian to the end of his career: in November 1572 he sent the painter Giovanni de Monte to Mantua to have copies made of Titian's famous portraits of the first twelve Emperors in the *Gabinetto de' Cesari* in the Palazzo Ducale and at some date he also acquired an exquisite series of modern gesso busts of the twelve Emperors from Strada's own collection.[61] More in general the

57 Kaufmann 1978(a), p. 14: 'It is at the imperial court that imperial themes were obviously crucial'.

58 Doc. 1568-00-00, undated draft of a letter by Strada to an unknown correspondent.

59 Haskell 1993; Cunnally 1999; Polleross 2006: '*Romanitas* in der habsburgische Repräsentation von Karl V. bis Maximilian II'; I am obliged to Dr Polleross for an offprint of his paper and an interesting discussion of the theme.

60 Doc. 1559-06-00; published in Jansen 1993a, pp. 233–235.

61 Discussed in detail by Jürgen Zimmer, who adds an excursus on the career of the court painter Giovanni de Monte (who should not be confused with the sculptor Hans Mont): Zimmer 2010; Maximilian II to Guglielmo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, Vienna 26 November 1572, ASMn, Archivio Gonzaga, *busta* 431, *filza* VII, f. 210–211; published in *JdKS* XVI, 1895, *Regest* n. 14.000 and in Venturini 2002, nr. 106, pp. 223–224 (and cf. *ibidem*, nr. 114–115, pp. 226–227); on Strada's commission, for the Duke of Bavaria, of Giulio Romano's scenes from the lives of the first twelve Emperors, painted to go under Titian's famous portraits, see below, Ch. 12.5. Strada's gesso heads are mentioned in the account of a payment made to him; he had acquired them in Venice: they are mentioned in the Stopio-Fugger correspondence and a letter from Strada to Hans Jakob Fugger, see below, Ch. 12.4.2.

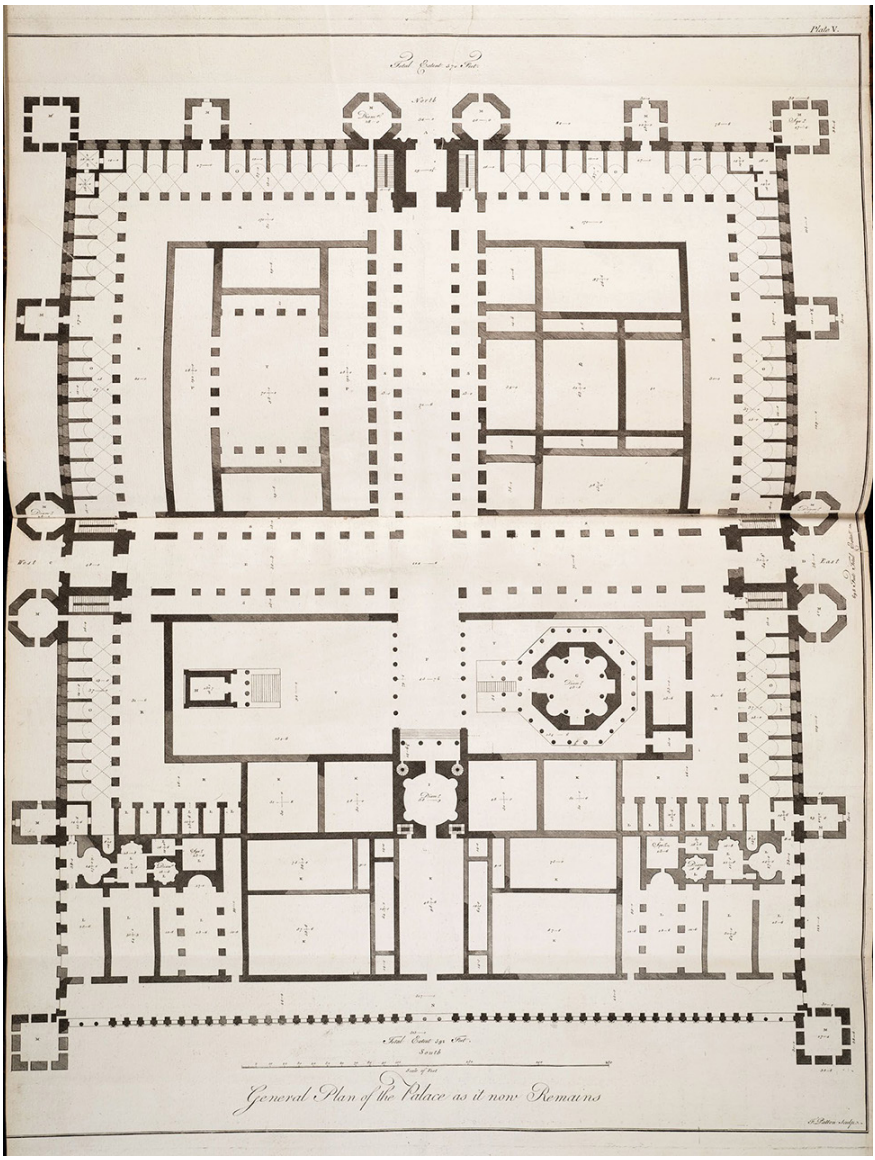


FIGURE 9.41 Sebastiano Serlio, Plan of Polybius' *Castrametatio* adapted to a fortified town; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

Imperial theme was the recurrent motive in the festivals organised at court both by Maximilian himself, his siblings or occasionally his subjects.[62]

62 Discussed in Kaufmann 1978, *passim*.

9.8.2 *Roman* Castrametatio

Given that this Imperial theme was very much alive at court, it is probable that Maximilian intended that the Neugebäude included explicit references to his Roman predecessors. Given the spot and its historical association, the most obvious way to do this was to imitate, instead of the Sultan's camp, the *castrum* of a Roman army. Maximilian can at least have had an inkling of what that may have looked like, if not directly from the historical sources such as Polybius, Vegetius or Caesar, than from contemporary popularizations or from discussions with humanist experts. But even had he not, in Strada's collection he disposed of expert visual documentation. Not only was Strada himself studying Caesar's wars, in order to be able to provide his planned complete edition of the *Commentaries* with detailed and reliable illustrations, but fifteen years earlier he had explicitly commissioned Sebastiano Serlio to prepare a detailed reconstruction of the *castrametatio* of the Romans as described by Polybius, which he intended to publish likewise.[63]

Serlio had been working on this theme earlier: at the behest of Francis I, he had made a huge plan (of nine feet square) of Polybius' entrenched camp, and a similar map of a modern fortified town based on Polybius' plan, intended for two fortified garrison-towns the French king intended to build at his borders with Piedmont and Flanders. These projects had likewise been acquired by Strada, and thus were accessible to Maximilian [Fig. 9.41].

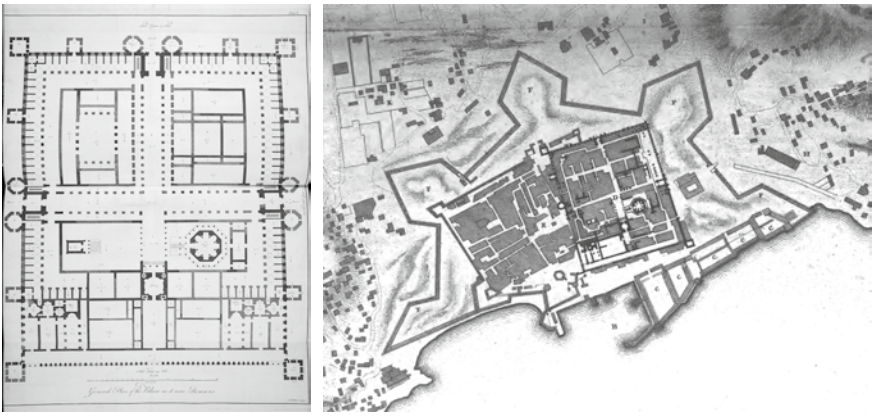
The square plan, the round towers at the corners and along the walls which consist of piers buttressing a curtain wall are features that correspond to the upper garden of the Neugebäude; the location of the staff headquarters, the *Praetorium* or *Principium*, might be related to that of the main building of Maximilian's palace. These correspondences suggest that Serlio's drawings did influence Maximilian to some extent when he was conceiving his new garden. Nevertheless it is very questionable that Maximilian intended a more or less precise imitation of a Roman camp: in that case he doubtless would have also imitated its most salient feature, its inner division in more or less equal

63 *Index sive catalogus*, nr. 33. Strada had these illustrations engraved in Venice; in his preface to the Settimo Libro he describes them as Serlio's 'Eight book'. A set of drawings from Fugger's library, now in the Staatsbibliothek München, Cod. Icon. 190, doubtless acquired through Strada's mediation, may have been his source, but in view of the differences in his description it is more likely that Strada owned a second, slightly different version; see Serlio/Fiore/Carrunchio 1994. On Strada's illustrated edition of Caesar (Caesar 1575(a), which is paralleled by Palladio's project, which came out in the same year (Caesar 1575(b), see Jansen 2004, pp. 188–191. It should be noted that Strada's Lyon friend Guillaume du Choul also published a treatise, *Discours sur la castrametation et discipline militaire des Romains* (Lyon 1554), which was repeatedly reprinted and translated in Italian (1559).

sections by *cardo* and *decumanus*, two streets crossing at right angles and connecting the gates in the centres of each side.

9.8.3 *The Fortified Palace of Diocletian at Split*

It is interesting that Serlio himself says that he based his plan on the description he had been given by Cardinal Marco Grimani, Patriarch of Aquilea, of the remnants of a Roman *castellum* he had seen in Dacia, the former Roman province in present Serbia and Romania. This *castellum*, a permanent garrison town basically planned along the same lines as the temporary *castra*, has been identified with Pontes, one of two fortified settlements built to protect the bridgeheads of the spectacular bridge across the Danube built by Trajan near present-day Kladovo on the Serbian-Romanian border. It is not totally impossible that Maximilian may have been aware of this rather remote and obscure monument.[64] There was, however, one monument in one of the north-eastern provinces of the Roman Empire that was still standing and was reasonably accessible: the fortified palace built in the first years of the fourth century by the Emperor Diocletian at Split, close to his birthplace Salona (Solin) in Dalmatia.



FIGURES 9.42–9.43 A measured ground plan of the existing remains of Diocletian's palace at Split and a view showing how its remains were incorporated in the fabric of the later medieval and Renaissance town, engravings from Robert Adam, *Ruins of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London 1764.

64 BSB-HS, Cod. Icon. 190, f. 1r; quoted in English translation and discussed in Hart 1998, p. 76. In view of the argument on dilettante architects it is interesting to note that Grimani had himself 'measured it and put [it] in a design to the best of his abilities' (*ibid.*). The bridge is illustrated on the shaft off Trajan's column in Rome commemorating the Dacian campaign, of which Strada possessed complete and detailed documentation.

Split had a huge influence on the development of the Neoclassical style in the eighteenth century, thanks to the splendid, very detailed documentation that was prepared by the English architect Robert Adam and published in 1764 [Figs. 9.42–9.43; 9.49–9.52, 9.54]. But we know surprisingly little about how far it was known to and perhaps studied by the architects and antiquaries of the Renaissance. However, John White's suggestion that the Palace inspired the background architecture in Giotto's frescoes in the Arena Chapel in Padua is convincing. Two detailed measured drawings dating from middle of the sixteenth century traditionally attributed to Andrea Palladio, providing a plan of Diocletian's mausoleum and an elevation of its doorway, indicate that its significance was known by that time [Figs. 9.53 and 9.46].[65] Serlio illustrated other monuments in Dalmatia, such as the triumphal arch in Pola/Pula. If he also owned material documenting Split, this passed into Strada's hands with his other manuscript material.[66]

Apart from the Strada/Serlio connection there are two further ways in which knowledge of Split could have reached Maximilian's court. In 1553 the

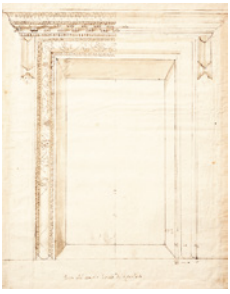


FIGURE 9.44 Martino Rota, detail of a map of Spalato (Split) and its countryside, 1570.

FIGURE 9.45 Martino Rota, engraved portrait of Antun Vrančić, Imperial Ambassador in Constantinople, afterwards Archbishop of Esztergom and Primate of Hungary; ca 1570.

FIGURE 9.46 Anonymous draughtsman (Andrea Palladio?), design of a doorway in Diocletian's palace at Split, mid-sixteenth century (London, RIBA).

65 Adam 1764; White 1973, pp. 443–445.

66 That holds as well for the copies of Marco Grimani's drawings in Serlio's possession referred to above. In view of both Grimani's and Serlio's own classical erudition the suggestion in Dinsmoor 1942(a), p. 90, that Serlio's reference to 'Dacia' was his own or his scribe's spelling mistake for 'Dalmacia', and that Grimani's drawings in fact documented Split, rather than any hypothetical Roman ruin in Transylvania, seems unlikely, but it cannot completely be discarded. The mistake might have been the printer's: the description fits Split like a glove.

Croatian-Hungarian diplomat and prelate Antun Vrančić had been sent to Constantinople as Imperial ambassador; with Busbequius, who headed the delegation that arrived to support and replace him in 1555, he discovered the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. As a native of Šibenik (Sebenico), the medieval successor to Diocletian's birthplace Salona, which is quite close to Split, Vrančić certainly would have been aware of Diocletian's palace and could have given a report on it to Maximilian and his architects. The engraver Martino Rota (Martin Rota Kolunić, 1520–1583), who worked at and for the Imperial court, also was a native of Šibenik. He had worked as an engraver in Rome and Venice in the 1560s; his antiquarian interest is documented by prints of Roman antiquarian topics, his knowledge of his native country by a set of maps of Šibenik and its region, including one of Split [Fig. 9.44]. Like Vrančić, of whom he made two engraved portraits [Fig. 9.45], he must have been very much aware of the principal Roman monument in his fatherland.[67] Moreover both Vrančić and Rota were close associates of Strada. Vrančić was a friend and colleague-antiquary who contributed to Strada's collection, as we have seen above, and greatly respected his expertise and culture.[68] Rota worked as a draughtsman and engraver in Strada's projects, as is clear from a letter by Ottavio Strada to his father of November 1574 and his engraved portrait of the young Ottavio (*Ch.11, Fig. 11.08*).[69] Finally, a third learned Croatian from Šibenik, the *Protonotarius apostolicus* Stefano (Stjepan) Pisani, had an influential position in Vienna as Canon and Cantor of St Stephen's Cathedral.[70]

67 Illustrated and described in Pelc 1997, nr 179–182, pp. 229–232: *Il Vero retractor di Zara et di Selenic co*(*n*) *diligenza ridotte in questa forma a commodita de lettori si come elle si ritrovano al presente del anno* MDLXX *da Martino Rota Sebenzan*(*o*) *ac Reverendissimo Domino Marco Loredano Episcopo Enonien*(*si*) *D*(*edit*), Venice 1570; the map of Spalato (Split) is nr. 181 (p. 231). Earlier, less detailed maps of the region had been printed in 1560 by the Venetian cartographer Paolo Forlani. Among Rota's antiquarian subjects a.o, a set of 24 engravings of portrait busts of Roman Emperors, published by Claude Duchet stands out: *Imperatorum, Caesarumque, vigintiquatuor effigies, A Iulio usque ad Alexandrum Severum ex antiquis marmoribus ac numismatibus desumptae*, (*ibidem*, nr. 77–101, p. 161 ff); the portraits of Vrančić dating from ca 1570 (*ibidem*, nr 127–128, pp. 189–192).

68 Doc 1558-12-04. On their relationship, see below, Ch. 11.3.

69 Doc. 1574-12-05: Ottavio Strada to his father, Nuremberg 5 December 1574: 'Del Martino non è pacato, se ben è povero homo e superbo; Voi vedrete che Dio lo castigara. Et se lui non vi vole render quelli danari che li prestai bisogno far conto che li abbia per 'l mio ritratto. Quando havera fame 'l vera a lavorare, et fate lavorare in la Series se'l vora lavorar; più presto ci daria di più quache [sic] coseta per rame, acciò che andasi inanti'. This passage suggests that other works by Rota—such as the Emperor's portraits cited in the preceding note—may have been commissioned by or through Strada.

70 His portrait was also engraved by Rota in 1573, see Pelc 1997, nr. 141, p. 204.

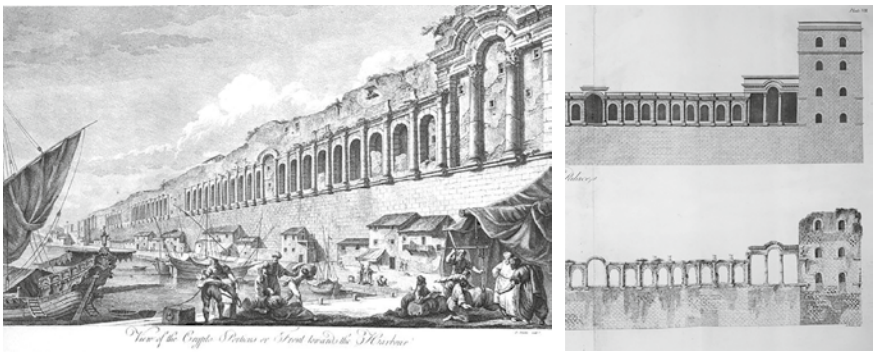
FIGURES 9.47–9.48 The closed central arch of the south facade of the Neugebäude, compared to the reconstruction model of the Neugebäude, hypothetical reconstruction of the portico in front of the south facade.

It should be noted that even before any of these Dalmatians had arrived at court, Georg Tanner, in his panegyric on Maximilian's Prater gardens, had noted Diocletian's voluntary abdication and retirement to his native region. Citing how political circumstance recalled Diocletian 'from his Dalmatian gardens', he explicitly considered him one of the young king's illustrious predecessors in the practice of horticulture.[71] Notwithstanding his persecution of the Christians, Diocletian was considered a 'good' Emperor, so worthy of emulation: his palace has been cited as a possible source for elements of Charles V's palace at Granada and for the Escorial.[72] Since the mid-1550s he was, moreover, of particular interest to the dynasty in providing the only precedent for Charles V's peaceful abdication. In all, it is quite probable that Maximilian and his advisers, such as Strada, were aware of the existence of Diocletian's palace, and may have had some idea of what it looked like.

The first to suggest a connection between Split and the Neugebäude was Renate Wagner-Rieger, who in a note suggests that the huge arch on the south facade of the Neugebäude, which was later closed [Fig. 9.47], may have been intended as the central part of a huge Serliana or, as she called it, a 'Palladiomotiv', a central arch flanked by lower straight-topped apertures, all covered by a continuous entablature which is curved over the central arch. She related

71 ÖNB-HS, ms. Lat. 8085, fol. 50 verso: 'DIOCLETIANVM iam senem ab Herculio atque Gallerio ad Romani Imperij gubernationem. qua se sua sponte abdicaverat ex Hortis Dalmaticis revocatum. Eutropius Historicus scribit. in hunc modum respondisse: Utinam SALONAE possetis visere olera nostris manibus instituta. Profecto nunquam istud tentandum iudicaretis'.

72 Rosenthal, pp. 166, 208, 254; Kubler 1982, part 1, Ch. 4.



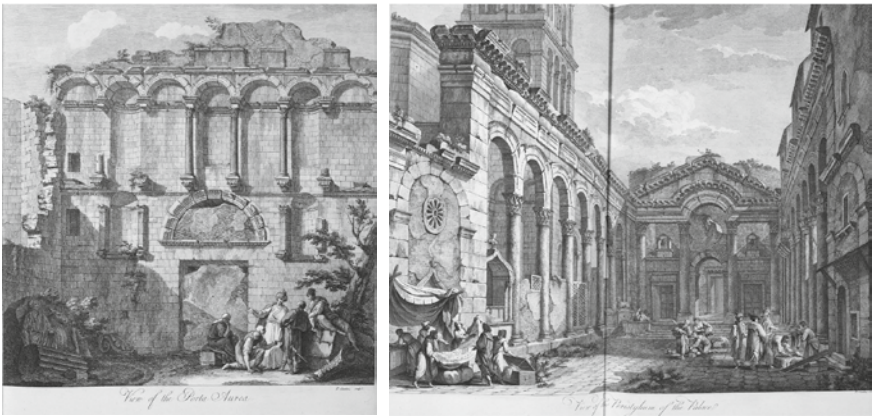
FIGURES 9.49–9.50 Robert Adam, general view and (details of) his measurement and reconstitution of the south facade of Diocletian's palace at Split, showing the Serliana at the east end.

this to the similar motifs on the south or harbour front of Diocletian's palace [Fig. 9.49–9.50].[73]

Rieger's suggestion is not very forceful, since the source for a hypothetical 'Palladiomotiv' can easily be found in Italian Renaissance architecture. Basically a variation on Bramante's rythmic bay as used in his design for the Belvedere gardens at the Vatican, many variations on this motif can be found in Serlio's treatise, which explains its more common name, 'serliana'. Moreover, though the central arch of the Neugebäude could well have been preceded by a portico in the form of such a *serliana*, it can just as well be reconstructed in other ways: the triumphal arch motif chosen by the architects who designed the existing scale model seems more plausible [Fig. 9.48]. Hilda Lietzmann makes no mention at all of Split. Lippmann, in his excellent analysis of the possible sources of the Neugebäude, mentions Rieger's suggestion in passing, but he merely uses it as a stepping stone to his discussion of other possible classical models. Neither Rieger nor Lippmann mention what is surely the Neugebäude's most obvious resemblance to Split, its typology: a huge square surrounded by high crenelated walls interrupted by towers, but opened on one side to the view, of the Adriatic and the Danube respectively, by means of a long *porticus* or arcade over a high closed socle zone. The splendid remains of this gallery overlooking the sea must have made a tremendous impression on anyone who saw it and had some knowledge of and interest in architecture [Fig. 9.49].

A further similarity is the use of arches carried on columns each topped by an individual entablature, in the blind arcade in the facade of the Porta Aurea,

73 Rieger 1951, p. 137, n. 3a.



FIGURES 9.51–9.52 Robert Adam, views of the Porta Aurea and of the peristyle of Diocletian's palace in Split.

the principal gate of the palace [Fig. 9.51]. In this respect it is interesting that the *peristylium* serving as anteroom to the entries of the Imperial residence and Diocletian's mausoleum is lined with huge arcades, in which the arches rest immediately on top of the capitals [Fig. 9.52]. This is one of the earliest examples of a practice which would become more common in Late-antique and Byzantine architecture. Being undoubtedly antique, it legitimizes what could be considered a sin against Vitruvian precept. If we would know for certain that the designer of the Neugebäude knew Diocletian's palace, his choice not to imitate this 'sin' would perhaps have some significance.

Another correspondence is the use of polygonal towers: octagonal towers flank the entrance gates at Split, unusual hexagonal towers mark the corners of the Neugebäude's upper garden [cf. Figs. 9.22–9.23]. The polygonal motif is repeated in Diocletian's mausoleum, which is octagonal and surrounded by a lower exterior colonnade [Fig. 9.53]. Its interior is articulated by a double order of Corinthian and Composite columns framing alternating square and round niches; the columns are placed at some distance from the wall, to which they are united by a continuing entablature strongly projecting over the individual columns, stressing the vertical element [Fig. 9.54]. Certainly the mausoleum made some impression in the sixteenth century: it was the subject of a detailed measured drawing by an as yet unidentified draughtsman from the middle of the sixteenth century [Fig. 9.53].

Likewise the interior of the hexagonal towers at the Neugebäude was articulated by columns placed in front of the wall, though here the distance was sufficient to create some form of ambulatorium, according to a description from 1708: '[These towers] are three stories high, and present on every floor a round

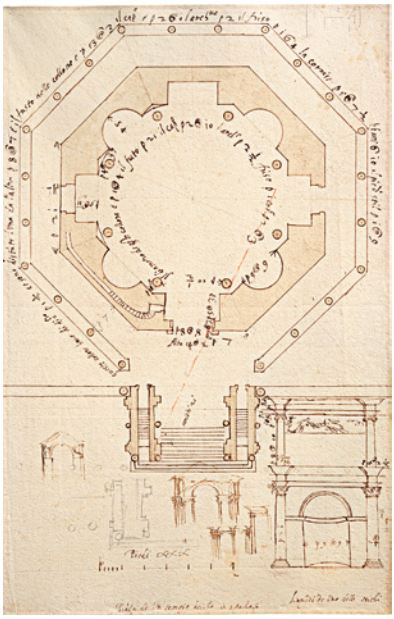


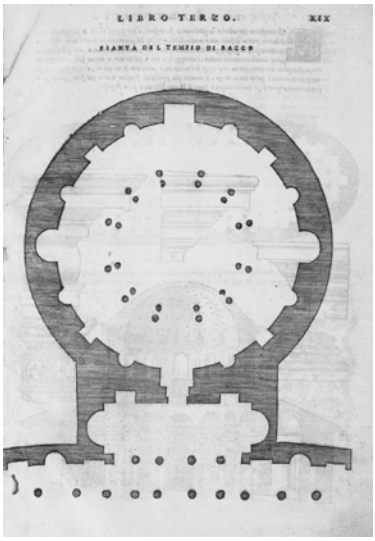
FIGURE 9.53 Anonymous draughtsman, groundplan of Diocletian's Mausoleum in his palace at Split, mid-sixteenth century.

FIGURE 9.54 Robert Adam, interior elevation of the Mausoleum at Diocletian's palace in Split.

temple, in which a row of columns is placed in a circle, so that in the centre a rather large space [remains open], but between column and wall a gallery'.[74]

So both the Neugebäude towers and Diocletian's mausoleum are centrally planned polygonal spaces lined with freestanding columns, and possibly the sight of the mausoleum, which had remained intact as the principal church of Split, or a design of it, may have inspired the designer of the Neugebäude. But it remains a correspondence, a possible source of inspiration at the most, for the towers are certainly no straightforward imitation of the mausoleum:

74 Eucharius Gottlieb Rink, *Leopold des Grossen, Römischen Kaysers, wunderwürdiges Leben und Thaten*, Leipzig 1708, as quoted from the edition Cölln 1713, pp. 135–137, quoted in Lietzmann 1987, pp. 21–22: 'Der Umkreis [of the garden] besteht aus einer starcken Mauer / welche an allen vier Ecken / und an der Mitten der Seiten / hohe rundte Thürme hat / mit Kupffer gedeckt / in gestalt der Türkischen Zelte. Diese sind drey Etagen hoch / und praesentiren in einer jedweden Etage einen runden Tempel / in welche eine Reihe Säulen in die runde gesetzet / daß in der Mitten ein ziemlich grosser Platz / zwischen Seul und Wand aber eine Gallerie'. Rink mixes up the hexagonal corner towers of the inner garden and the round towers along the perimeter of the outer garden, but in this description doubtless refers to the richly decorated hexagonal towers.



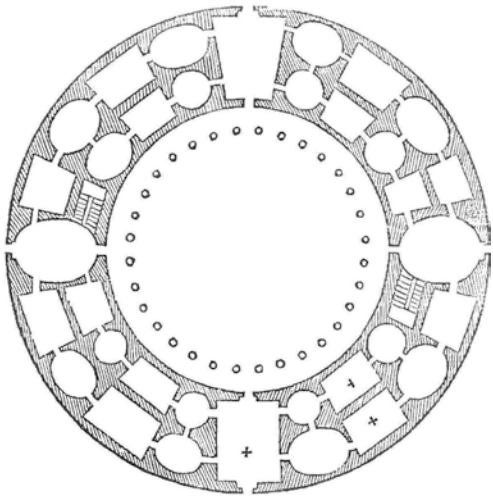


FIGURE 9.55 Sebastian Serlio, plan of a 'Temple of Bacchus '(Santa Costanza in Rome), from his *Terzo Libro*, 1544.

FIGURE 9.56 Pietro Cataneo, plan of a 'palazzo circolare' from the Quarto Libro of his *Quattro libri dell'Architettura*, 1554.

whereas that is octagonal, the towers are hexagonal; whereas the columns in the mausoleum are engaged, those in the towers are freestanding and create a concentric aisle or gallery around the central space. Moreover for both characteristics earlier examples can be found elsewhere either in ancient remains or in contemporary design. Hexagonal spaces are found for instance among Baldassare Peruzzi's designs and also in Serlio's *Quinto Libro*, *On Temples*, first published in Paris in 1547.

Circular colonnades are found in many places and were often inspired by Santa Costanza in Rome. Built by Constantine the Great in ca 350 A.D. as a mausoleum for his daughters, this earliest Christian sanctuary was illustrated by Serlio as a 'Temple of Bacchus' [Fig. 9.55]. An interesting contemporary example in a domestic setting is the design for a 'palazzo circolare', last of the 'capricci' in Pietro Cataneo's *I quattro libri dell'Architettura* of 1554 [Fig. 9.56].[75] So by itself the resemblance between towers and Diocletian's mausoleum provides no conclusive evidence for a possible dependence of the concept of the Neugebäude on Split.

The same holds, finally, for what is probably the most obvious correspondence between Split and the Neugebäude, the long and monumental gallery or

75 Cataneo 1554, pp. 54; on Cataneo, cf. above, chs. 5.2.3 and 5.3.1

FIGURES 9.57–9.59 The substructures of the Palace at Jülich (9.58) look remarkably similar to those at Split (9.57); but in this case dependence on a more accessible example, such as the third-century cryptoporticus at Reims (9.59) is more probable.

porticus constructed over an equally monumental closed substructure or *cryptoporticus*. Because of their massive masonry and often subterranean location, many ancient cryptoportici had been preserved sufficiently intact to allow some inkling of the pomp of the palaces their huge concrete walls and piers had once supported. Such monumental remains contributed substantially to the image of 'the grandeur that was Rome' in the mind of the lesser mortals of the Renaissance.

Type and function of the cryptoporticus were, moreover, known from descriptions in classical literary sources, such as Pliny the Younger's descriptions of his villas at Laurentinum and in Tuscany.[76] They were imitated by Renaissance patrons and their architects: the porticoed terraces at the Villa Medici at Poggio a Caiano and the Villa dei Vescovi at Luvigliano mentioned and illustrated above can be considered adaptations of the type [Figs. 9.26–9.27]. Substructures such as these were imitated by contemporary architects: thus the substructure of Pasqualini's palace in the Jülich Citadel looks surprisingly similar to the substructure of Split, though in this case dependence on a more accessible example—perhaps the cryptoporticus at Reims, dating from the third century AD—is more probable [Figs. 9.57–9.59].[77]

An elegant, ornamental imitation of the type on a small scale is the *cryptoportique* at the Château d'Anet, designed and built in 1547–1552 by Philibert de l'Orme for Diane de Poitiers, mistress of King Henry II of France [Fig. 9.60].

76 In a description of his villa in Tuscany in his letter to Domitius Appolinaris Pliny the Younger gives the classic reference of the cryptoporticus: 'Underneath this room is an enclosed portico resembling a grotto, which, enjoying in the midst of summer heats its own natural coolness, neither admits nor wants external air' *Epistulae*, II, 17, 16–17; V, 6, 29–30].

77 Jülich is interesting because it also imitates the ancient cryptoporticus carrying a loggia or peristylium surrounding a courtyard or atrium, examples of which can be found in Rome and many other places, such as Hadrian's villa at Tivoli.

FIGURE 9.60 Philibert de l'Orme, Cryptoportique at the Château d'Anet, built 1547–1552 for Diane de Poitiers.

FIGURE 9.61 The lower hall in the west wing of the Neugebäude (looking east).

This is very close in design and feeling to the so-called 'Schöne Säle' located under both the colonnades of the main building of the Neugebäude [Fig. 9.61]. Taking the place of the substructure of the South Gallery at Split, these can be considered as a Renaissance interpretation of the antique cryptoporticus, as at Anet doubtless a conscious interpretation.[78]

9.9 Classical Sources: Monuments of Ancient Rome

Though the Neugebäude does not imitate elements of Diocletian's Palace exactly, there is some correspondence in its general lay-out and some similiarity in various individual elements. The remnant of similar ancient monuments in Rome itself were much better known than Split, through countless learned, often illustrated publications, as well as through many topographical prints. Moreover Maximilian could consult the huge quantity of visual documentation in the field in Strada's collection, including sketches and reconstructions by Raphael, Giulio Romano and Sebastiano Serlio and also including a set of measured drawings of ancient monuments prepared by Strada himself.[79]

78 To avoid confusion, I should note that in the literature on the Neugebäude the term 'Kryptoporticus' is occasionally used for the subterranean corridors leading down to the Lower garden from the *Mittelrisalit*. I will refrain from using the term *cryptoporticus* to refer to any of the existing spaces in the Neugebäude, using 'Schöne Säle' or 'lower halls' for the principal spaces on the lower level of the main building, and 'garden passages' for the corridors to the garden.

79 *Index sive catalogus*, nr 34: 'Item aliquot libri, manu delineati, de aedificiis et architectura, quibus imprimis delector, et quos ipsemet delineavi de antiquissimis aedificiis, et quantum fieri potuit in unum contraxi; una cum partibus dimensuratis'.

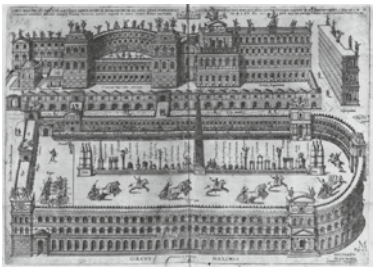


FIGURE 9.62 Sallustio Peruzzi, plan of the Circus of Maxentius on the Via Appia in Rome, drawing; Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

FIGURE 9.63 Reconstruction of the Circus Maximus and the Imperial palaces on the Palatine Hill, from Onofrio Panvinio's *De ludis circensibus libri duo*, Rome 1565.

Wolfgang Lippmann noted a correspondence between the main building of the Neugebäude and the huge *loggia* interpreted as a *tribuna*, a sort of imperial box or grandstand, in Sallustio Peruzzi's reconstruction drawings of the Circus of Maxentius on the Via Appia [Fig. 9.62], and the similarly monumental gallery framed by tower-like pavilions, overlooking the Circus Maximus, shown in Onofrio Panvinio's fanciful reconstruction of the imperial palace on the Palatine hill [Fig. 9.63]. He relates this correspondence to the possible function of the oblong courtyard of the Neugebäude as a tiltyard, in which the main building, in particular the planned south facade of the centre block would have fulfilled a similar function.[80] He also relates the Neugebäude to the impressive arcades of the celebrated monument at Tivoli identified at the time with the villa of Maecenas or of Augustus, but now recognized as the sanctuary of Hercules Victor, dating back to Republican times [Fig. 9.64].

Clearly these monuments, images of which Maximilian could have seen among Strada's material, may have influenced his ideas, but I am not convinced that the Neugebäude is directly derived from them. The stepped structure of the equally famous sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste (Palestrina) with its terraced structure leading up to a monumental block-like central pavilion [Fig. 9.65] would be a better candidate, as it was a source for important monuments such as Pirro Ligorio's completion of Bramante's Belvedere courtyard in the Vatican for Pope Pius IV (1562–1565), and Philibert de l'Orme's Château Neuf at Saint Germain, built for Henry II and Catherine de Medici (1556–1559). But even here it should be noted that the Neugebäude conspicuously lacks the external ramps leading up from one terrace level to the next.

80 Lippmann 2006–2007, pp. 152–153 and 156–157.

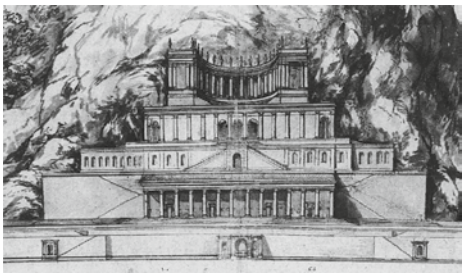


FIGURE 9.64 Giovanni Battista Piranesi, remains of the Villa of Maecenas at Tivoli, etching, 1763.

FIGURE 9.65 Pietro da Cortona, reconstruction of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigeneia at Palestrina (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ 26441).

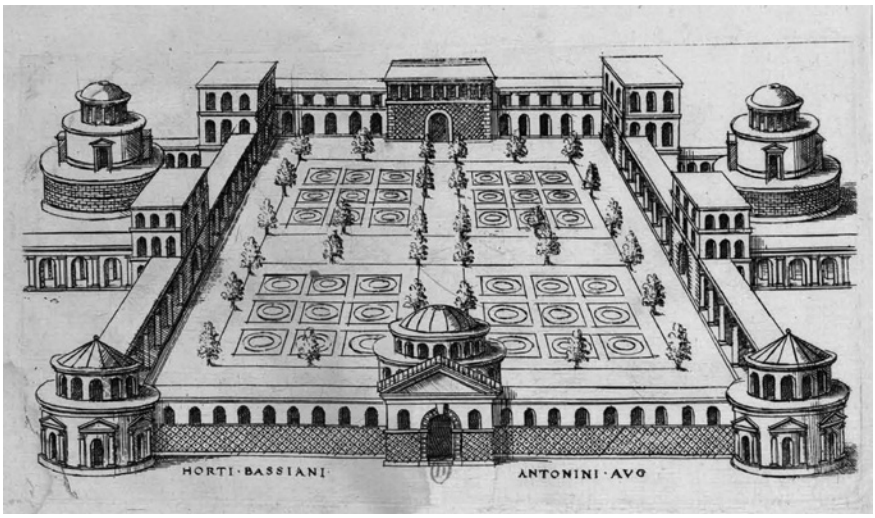


FIGURE 9.66 Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, the 'Horti Bassiani', after Pirro Ligorio's 1561 plan of Ancient Rome.

Instead it shows three closed levels or terrace steps rising one above the other, virtually inaccessible were it not for the small centrally placed porches giving access to internal ramps and staircases: internal, that is hidden to the eye.

9.9.1 *Roman Gardens as Reconstructed by Pirro Ligorio*

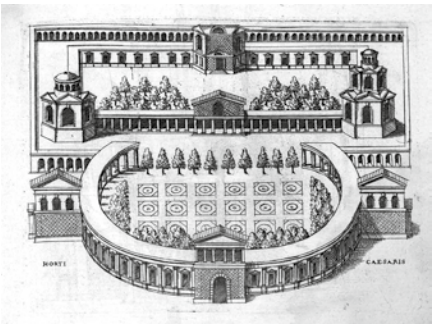
Examples of reconstructions of ancient gardens, none of which had survived, are included in Jacques Androuet du Cerceau's *Livres des édifices antiques romains* of 1584.[81] These of course can have had no influence on the plans for

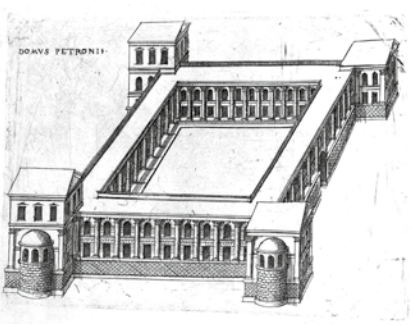
81 Androuet Du Cerceau 1584.

the Neugebäude, but they were mostly derived from Pirro Ligorio's *Anteiquae Urbis Imago*, his famous detailed plan of ancient Rome, printed in 1561 and consisting of 15 separate sheets together measuring 149 x 126 cm.[82] This plan was basically a bird's eye view of Rome and its immediate surroundings and illustrated the individual buildings in detail. Since these were often identified on the basis of literary sources, it offered an ample choice of authoritative models. It is significant that almost every garden illustrated was surrounded by a continuing *porticus*, interrupted by higher pavilions on a square, a circular or a polygonal ground plan.

Particular striking are the plans of the 'Horti Bassiani Antonini Aug.' (i.e. the gardens of the Emperor Caracalla) and the *Horti Caesaris*. The plan of the former [Fig. 9.66] is quite close to the Neugebäude: a huge rectangular garden surrounded on three sides by colonnades interrupted by round and square pavilions or towers, and on the fourth side by a long building consisting of a central block and connected with a two-story arcade to square pavilions at either end.

In the reputed garden of Caesar [Fig. 9.67] the gallery enclosing the central garden is flanked at either end by towers which appear to be hexagonal rather than octagonal. This provided an authority for the hexagonal towers of the Inner garden of the Neugebäude. Another monument of some interest is the 'Domus Petronii', the principal facade of which (on the right in the illustration) consisted of a huge open colonnade over a closed, rustic socle zone between two corner pavilions; possibly this provided some of the inspiration for the Neugebäude's principal building [Fig. 9.68].[83]





FIGURES 9.67–9.68 Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, the 'Horti Caesaris' and 'Domus Petronii', after Pirro Ligorio's 1561 plan of Ancient Rome.

82 Mandowksy/Mitchell 1963, p. 41; Burns 1988. Ligorio was also the first to publish a reconstruction of the Villa of the Emperor Hadrian at Tibur (Tivoli).

83 Other plates of possible interest are 'Lucus Petilinus', 'Collis Hortulorum' (i.e. the gardens on the Palatine), the 'Horti Domitiorum' (included twice), and the 'Monumentum sextanniorum'. I have used the digital version accessible on the site of the Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art: http://inha.divvalib.net/collection/365-livre-des-edifices-antiques-romains/?n=9.

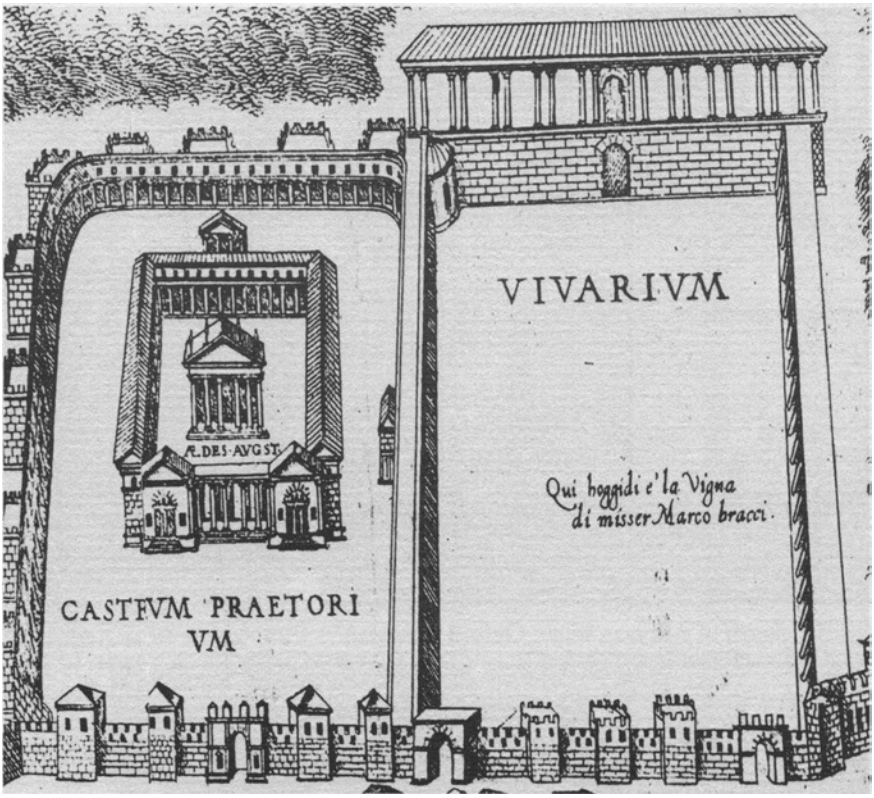


FIGURE 9.69 The Castrum Praetorium and an adjoining Vivarium, from Pirro Ligorio's 1561 plan of Ancient Rome.

The most spectacular resemblance, however, is that with Ligorio's reconstruction of a *Vivarium*, that is a place to keep live exotic animals, a functioned it shared with the Neugebäude [Fig. 9.69]. Here a rectangular space is surrounded on two sides by crenelated walls interrupted by square towers and by a colonnade (actually part of Rome's city walls), and closed off by a huge loggia carried by coupled columns over a closed rustic zone: again very similar to the Neugebäude's main gallery.

9.9.2 *Roman Baths*

If the *Vivarium* shared a function with the Neugebäude, the same is true for the *Thermae*, the Roman Imperial baths or *Thermae*. Maximilian's poor health required him regularly to have recourse to bathing, and one of the towers of the Neugebäude is identified as 'Badeturm', 'bath-tower'.[84] More in general, the

84 During one visit to Kaiserebersdorf he is reputed to have spent about sixty hours in his bath (Fichtner 2001, p. 207). The 'Badeturm', with some of its sumptuous decoration, was

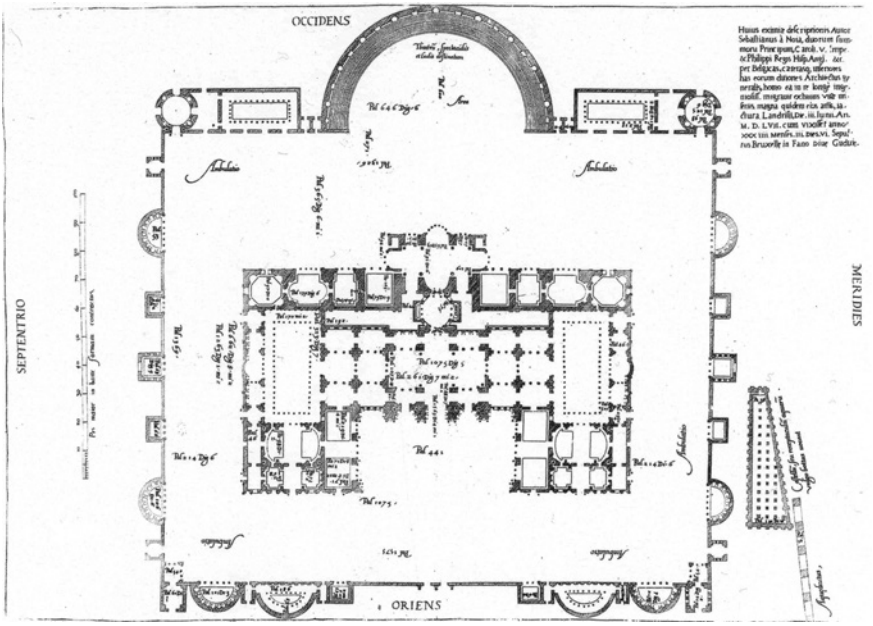


FIGURE 9.70 Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum, after Sebastiaan van Noye, plan of the Baths of Diocletian, from the print series *Thermae Diocletiani imperatoris*, Antwerp 1558.

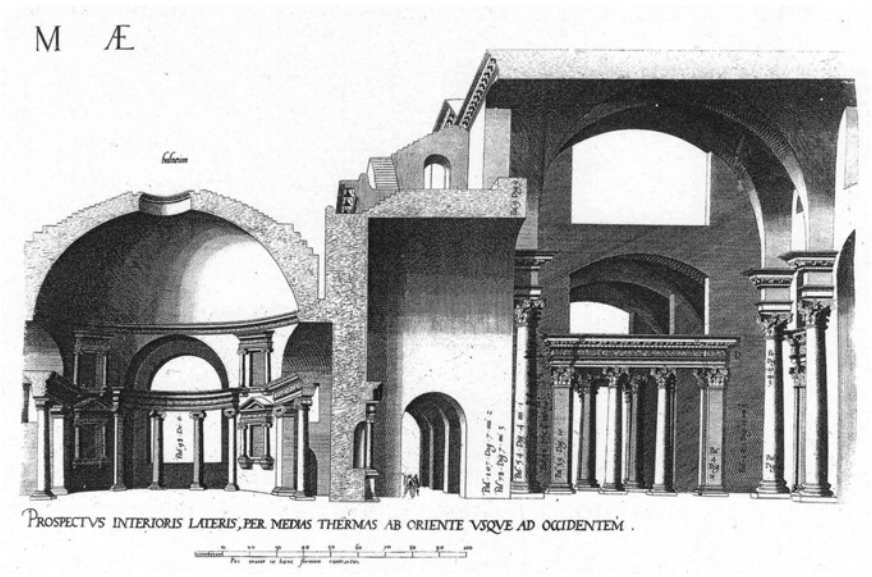


FIGURE 9.71 Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum, after Sebastiaan van Noye, section of the central part of the Baths of Diocletian, from the print series *Thermae Diocletiani imperatoris*, Antwerp 1558.

functions of the Roman *thermae* both as places of physical and mental recreation or regeneration and of social and cultural exchange, and as an expression of imperial splendour and munificence, made them suitable examples on which to draw for the Neugebäude project. Their existence and their character were well known from classical sources, conveniently summarized in, for instance, *Des bains et antiques exercitations grecques et romaines*, written by Jacopo Strada's Lyon associate Guillaume du Choul, first printed in 1554 and repeatedly reprinted and also translated into Italian in 1559.

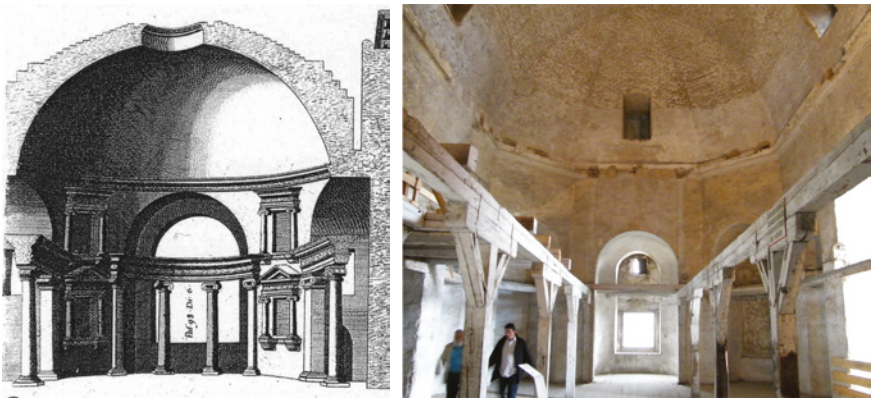
Their imposing physical remains allowed a good idea of what they originally had looked like, and these remains were assiduously studied, measured and sketched by Renaissance antiquarians, architects and artists. Just as Bramante's design for St Peter's and many other Renaissance buildings, the 'Massivbauweise' or massive brick construction of several elements of the Neugebäude was derived from such Roman monuments. Apart from material doubtless included in Strada's collection, the architecture of the Roman baths was known in Vienna through the suite of 25 plates engraved by Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum after drawings by Sebastiaan van Noye. Published by Hieronymus Cock in 1559, these illustrated the Baths of Diocletian in detail [Figs. 9.70–9.72 and 9.74].[85]

A comparison of a detail of one of these prints with the huge reception hall in the West pavilion of the Neugebäude [Figs. 9.72–9.73] strongly suggests that the latter was a direct imitation of the former: note the huge window niche and the equally large blind niches in the corners (perhaps intended for fountains?), but also a detail such as the simple but elegant cornice dividing the wall from the vault. Van Noye's print provides a hint as to what further architectural articulation may have been intended for this space.[86] Also the plan of Diocletian's

described by Carlo Francesco Manfredi, envoy of the Duke of Savoy, cited in Lietzmann 1987, p. 159.

85 *Thermae Diocletiani imperatoris, quales hodie etiamnum exstant sumptibus et ardenti erga venerandam antiquitatum studio Antoni Perenoti, episcopi Atrebatensis, in lucem eductae, industria et incomparabili labore Sebastiani ab Oya, Caroli V architecti, tanti herois impulsu quam exactitudine ad vivum a fundo usque descriptae, ab uberiori prorsus interitu vindicatae et ab Hieronimo Coccio Antwerpiano in aes incisae*; a suite of 27 prints, engraved by Johannes and Lucas van Doetecum after designs by Sebastiaan van Noye, published at the expense of Cardinal Granvelle in Antwerp, 1558; integrally published by Nalis 1998, pp. 44–63; see also Peter Fuhring's catalogue entry in *Hieronymus Cock* 2013, pp. 118–123. The Duke of Bavaria possessed a set pasted on canvas, cf. Diemer/Diemer/Sauerländer 2008, 1,1, pp. 52–53, nr. 136.

86 Unfortunately the wooden construction that once carried the floors of the later munitions depot obstructs the view in my photograph. Perhaps a similar wall articulation of columns and entablatures was envisaged, which could have carried galleries for



FIGURES 9.72–9.73 Section through the centyral rotunda of Baths of Diocletian in Rome, detail of *Fig. 9.71*, compared to the hall in the West pavilion of the Neugebäude.

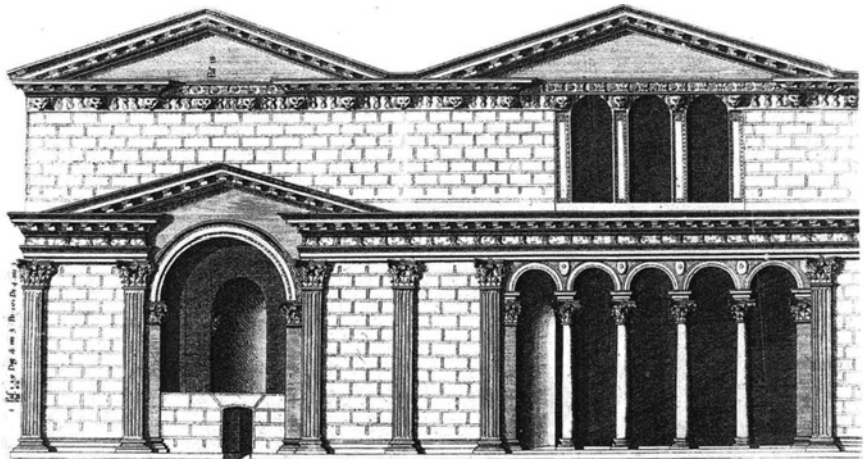


FIGURE 9.74 Reconstruction of a facade of the Baths of Diocletian in Rome, showing an arcade carried on free-standing columns; engraving after Sebastiaan van Noye, 1558.

thermal complex, a huge rectangle surrounded by walls interrupted by wall towers and *exedrae* [Fig. 9.70], may have had some influence on the planning of the Neugebäude.

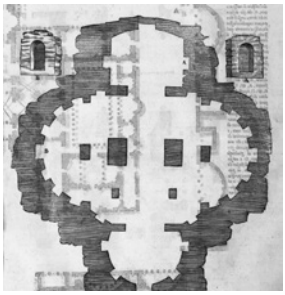
Perhaps equally significant is the presence in this reconstruction of arcades consisting of free-standing columns carrying arches [Fig. 9.74]. As we have seen, this is a signature feature of Diocletian architecture, but unlike the arcades in

performances by Maximilian's chamber singers and instrumentalists during banquets or other festivities (see below).

the Peristylium at Split, their capitals carry blocks of an (abbreviated) entablature, consisting of frieze and cornice. These arcades are the closest antique parallels to the Neugebäude's colonnade of coupled columns carrying arches.

9.9.3 *Serlio: The Tomb of the Kings of Jerusalem*

Finally there is one more possible ancient—though perhaps not antique—source of inspiration for the Neugebäude, and for one of its most extraordinary features, the immense grotto in the basement of the western pavilion of the main building [Figs. 9.76–9.79]. Maximilian was certainly aware of the grottoes constructed in Italian gardens, and he had obtained drawings and even three-dimensional models of a few of these. But the plan of a subterraneous tomb in Jerusalem, which Serlio included in his *Third Book* [Fig. 9.75], is sufficiently close to suggest that it may have influenced Maximilian's concept as well [Fig. 9.76 and 9.77]. It is a not very regularly shaped room consisting of a central space the roof of which is carried by heavy piers in solid rock left standing. This is surrounded by exedra-like spaces the walls of which are pierced by shallow niches or *capellette* which were 'places where they buried the Kings of Jerusalem, as was told me by the Patriarch of Aquileia'. So again Serlio based his design on a drawing by Marco Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia, who, perhaps repeating a local tradition, interpreted it as the tomb where a number of the Kings of Jerusalem had been buried. From Serlio's description it is not clear whether he understood this as the Jewish, Biblical Kings of Judah or Israel, or the Crusader Kings of Jerusalem.[87]



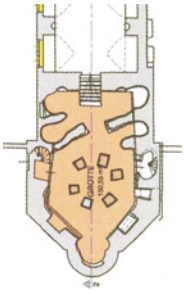


FIGURE 9.75 Sebastiano Serlio, plan of a tomb of the Kings of Jerusalem, from the *Terzo Libro*, 1544.

FIGURE 9.76 Plan of the grotto in the west pavilion of the Neugebäude, reconstruction Manfred Wehdorn.

FIGURE 9.77 The central cupola of the grotto in the west pavilion of the Neugebäude.

87 'e queste capellette erano luoghi, dove si sepellivano i Re di Gierusalemme, per quanto mi disse il Patriarca di Aquileia'. The passage is discussed by Daly Davis 2011, who interprets

FIGURES 9.78–9.79 A general view of the grotto in the West pavillion of the Neugebäude, and a detail showing its building method and –material.

9.10 Contemporary Italian Architecture

Though in the planning and design the awareness of ancient precept is self-evident, except perhaps for Split there are actually no really convincing immediate parallels between the Neugebäude and any one particular ancient monument. As Lietzmann has pointed out, the planning of the Neugebäude was not based on one or a few examples, 'vielmehr führte die Summe zahlreicher desparater Anregungen zu der Wiener Neuschöpfung'.[88] As in the planning of the Prater *Lusthaus*, these manifold stimuli may have included the recent projects by Maximilian's peers and rivals elsewhere in Europe. Probably these were of far greater importance than classical example: it is significant that in all his requests of information Maximilian always asked for drawings and plans of existing or planned villas and garden projects, rather than of ancient monuments and ruins.

Lietzmann rightly stressed that the Emperor's choice of examples was partly determined by a certain awareness of the rank of their respective patrons: 'It is obvious that the Emperor would orient himself on the residences of the members of his rank, rather than, for instance, the villa's of Venetian patrician families', and she even uses this argument to explain Maximilian's preference for a second-rate Sallustio Peruzzi, a former servant of the Pope, over a genius

is as 'the tomb of the Israelite Kings in Jerusalem' (p. 10–12), but unfortunately does not identify the actual rock tomb.

88 Lietzmann 1987, p. 185 (referring this plan to Strada).

such as Palladio, servant of a mere city republic.[89] Though this corollary is not convincing, the theorem itself is quite plausible, and it is borne out by the examples that in general have been suggested as possible sources for the design of the Neugebäude, almost without exception residences built by popes, kings, princes and cardinals.[90] Many of these were famous projects, the repute of which influenced patrons all over Europe. I will limit my discussion to those examples where the correspondence with aspects of the Neugebäude appear to me more than merely generic or functional.

9.10.1 *Contemporary Roman Villas: Villa d'Este*

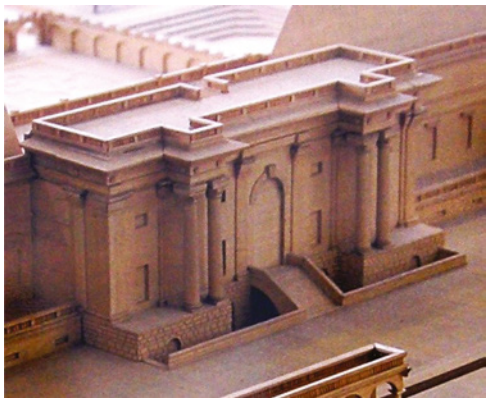
The terraces system of the lower garden of the Neugebäude, which has already been compared to the ancient sanctuary at Palestrina, can also be compared with the various contemporary projects derived from it: the Belvedere courtyard, the Orti Farnesiani on the slope of the Palatine hill, and the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, all of which could be known in Vienna through prints and by repute even if they would not have been documented in Strada's collection. As with Praeneste, if the system served as an inspiration at all, it was not imitated exactly, since the connecting external ramps and staircases, crucial element in all of these designs, are lacking at the Neugebäude. The drawing of the gardens of Pirro Ligorio's Villa d'Este, made for Maximilian II by Etienne du Pérac, and the accompanying description arrived too late to influence this part of the design.[91]

On the other hand Du Pérac's drawing possibly played a role in the conception of the central pavilion of the Neugebäude: the long promenade creating a transverse axis immediately below the *casino* at the Villa d'Este, which could double as a tiltyard, just possibly influenced the design of the oblong courtyard

89 Lietzmann, p. 194: 'Es liegt auf der Hand daß sich der Kaiser an den Residenze seiner Standesgenossen orientierte, und nicht etwa an den Villen venezianischer Patrizierfamilien'.

90 Rieger 1951: Palazzo del Principe Doria, Fassolo, Genoa; Feuchtmüller 1976: Villa Medici in Fiesole, Villa Medici at Poggio a Caiano; Villa Madama and Villa Giulia in Rome, Casino Farnese in Caprarola; Lietzmann 1987: Palazzo del Te, Mantua, garden facade; Giuliano da Sangallo, palace design for Ferrante I, king of Napels; Giuliano da Maiano, Villa di Poggio Reale for Alfonso II, duke of Calabrië, 1487–1490; Palazzo Farnese, Belvedere courtyard, Villa Madama, Orti Farnesiani, all in Rome; Villa Farnese at Caprarola, Villa d'Este at Tivoli, Villa Lante at Bagnaia, Villa Imperiale at Pesaro; Zimmermann 1987, Hortus Palatinus, Heidelberg; Caprarola; Château de Bury; Chambord; Château-Neuf, Saint-Germain-en-Laye; Lippmann 2006–2007, p. 144, cites many examples of regal country retreats, including a.o. Chambord, Madrid, Nonesuch as well as many correspondences with projects dating after the Neugebäude.

91 Above, Ch. 9.5. But doubtless Strada possessed some information on the complex and may have visited it during his visit to Rome in 1566.



FIGURES 9.80–9.81 Pirro Ligorio, Gran loggia of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, functioning as a belvedere and banqueting hall, compared to the reconstruction model of the Neugebäude, detail of the central block.

in front of the south facade of the Neugebäude. The most interesting parallel, however, is the spectacular *Gran Loggia* constructed at the end of this promenade, allowing a splendid view towards the sea and the Eternal City, on a clear day to be located by the grey bulk of the dome of St Peter's. This Loggia was intended as an external banqueting hall: it now functions as a bar or restaurant [Fig. 9.80]. It consists of a central bay opening unto the terrace and unto the view by one really huge central arch on either side, which is flanked by two slightly narrower bays in two levels, filled by niches. This is basically the scheme of the triumphal arch, and one of the earliest modern examples of the independent use of this motif in a permanent structure. The presence of a similar huge arch in the centre of the south facade of the Neugebäude strongly suggests that a comparable solution was envisaged for the *Mittelrisalit*, which then could have likewise functioned as a combined belvedere and banqueting hall 'al fresco'. As such it has been interpreted by the makers of the modern reconstruction model [Fig. 9.81].[92]

9.10.2 *Contemporary Roman Villas: Villa Madama*

Another borrowing from an important Roman villa has been generally accepted. Its source was the villa on the slope of the Monte Mario designed by Raphael for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Pope Clement VII, and continued after Raphael's death by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. Through Alessandro de' Medici, Duke of Florence, in 1537 it became the property of his widow

92 Lippmann 2006–2007 suggests a similar function, but takes as a (later) parallel the *arcone* in the Villa Aldobrandini in Frascati, built 1598–1604 after designs by Giacomo della Porta.

FIGURES 9.82–9.83 Villa Madama, Rome: the peschiere or fishponds, compared to the relics of the fishponds at the Neugebäude.

Margaret, natural daughter of Emperor Charles V. Known as Madama d'Austria, she gave the name to both this villa and the Medici Palace in Rome, which she brought into the Farnese family through her second marriage to Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, the following year. Though the Villa Madama was never finished and was very heavily damaged in the Sack of Rome, it remains one of the principal and most influential monuments of the High Renaissance, not only for its extraordinary planning, but also for its exquisite decoration *all' antica*, executed by Raphael's best pupils, including Giulio Romano and Giovanni da Udine. Both its architecture and its decoration were very well known to Strada, who must have known about it from Giulio even before his first stay in Rome in the 1530s. Doubtless he possessed visual documentation of the building and its decoration, possibly even in original drawings from among the remains of Raphael's estate he had acquired with the graphic material he bought out of the estates of Raphael's own direct and indirect heirs, Giulio Romano and Perino del Vaga.

Maximilian II would in any case have been aware of the Villa Madama as the property of his first cousin, an important and influential member of his dynasty. Certainly a number of aspects indicate its influence on the development of the Neugebäude. The most obvious of these are the fishponds or *peschiere* in the service court of the Neugebäude and the retaining wall opening up into niched recesses above them [Fig. 9.83–9.84]. They are an obvious and immediate imitation of the *peschiere* and the contiguous, interconnected niches in the retaining wall of the *giardino segreto* of Villa Madama [Fig. 9.82]. Raphael derived the motif, huge masonry arches carried on massive piers pierced by niches, from his study of the ruins of the Palatine and the Imperial Baths in Rome. It can be considered as a sober variation of the repeated triumphal arch motif used by Bramante in his Belvedere courtyard (often indicated as *serliana*, because of the repeated use of this motif in Serlio's treatise), and it was

FIGURE 9.84 The Neugebäude service court: the peschiere or fishponds to the left; the wall opposite echoes, but does not exactly repeat the 'Neugebäude motif'.

very influential: Philibert de l'Orme's *cryptoportique* at Anet, illustrated above, is another variation on the theme [Fig. 9.60].

The rhythm of this solution appealed so much to the designer of the Neugebäude that he used variations of the motif elsewhere, sufficiently often for it to be named 'the Neugebäude motif' in the more recent literature.[93] Thus the brick wall surrounding the service court in front of the *peschiere* consists of square piers carrying alternating wide segmental arches and narrow, round arches framing blind niches [Fig. 9.84].

Finally the walls of the two huge halls under the arcades of the main building, the so-called 'Schöne Säle', are articulated in a similar manner. In combination with the low wide vaulting they create a quite monumental, though not particularly Italian or even classical effect [Fig. 9.85]. The close resemblance of these halls with the Munich Antiquarium as actually executed at about this same time [Fig. 9.86] may reflect the close connection of Maximilian's court with that of his sister Anna and his brother-in-law, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria. In that case Strada, being involved in both projects, was probably the channel by which knowledge of the solution chosen for the vault of the Antiquarium came to Vienna.[94]

There is another parallel between the Villa Madama as planned and the Neugebäude: that is the long and narrow courtyard or hippodrome in front of the building, overlooked from a huge open loggia in the centre of the main floor (and from the other windows of the villa), and fronted on the other side by a long colonnade or arcade behind which was found stabling for no less than

93 Wehdorn 2004, p. 14 ff.

94 But note that the niches in the piers of the Antiquarium were fruit of a refurbishment at the end of the sixteenth century.

FIGURES 9.85–9.86 'Schöner Saal' in the west wing of the Neugebäude, compared to the Munich Antiquarium; the similarity was even greater before the floor level of the Antiquarium was lowered by the height of the plinth in red marble.

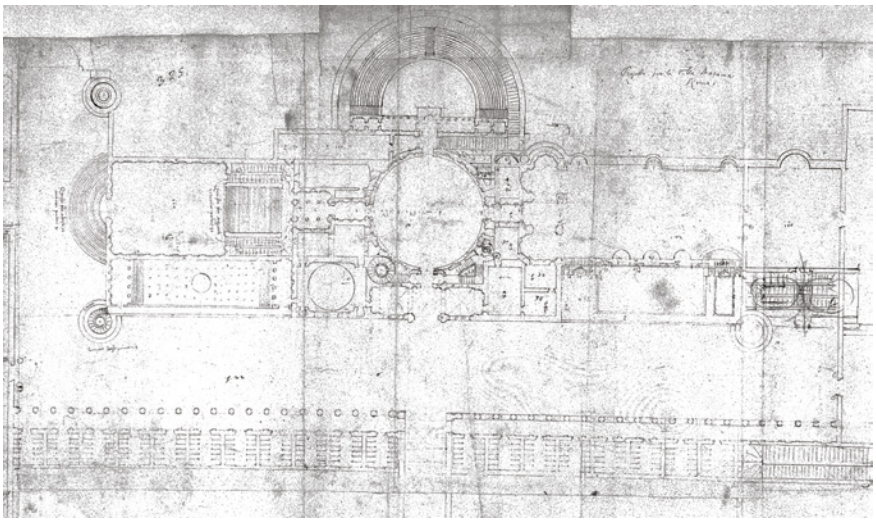


FIGURE 9.87 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, plan of the Villa Madama in Rome; the peschiera, backed by three deep, niched recesses, is on the right, between the oblong court- (or tilt-?)yard and the giardino segreto; Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

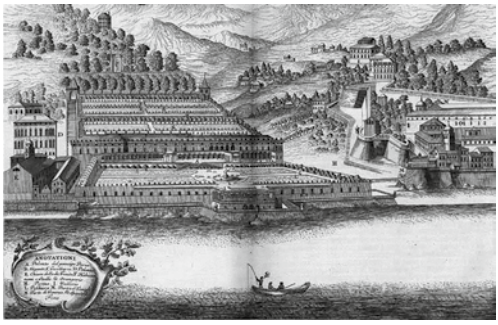
228 horses! [Fig. 9.87]. This parallel strengthens Lippmann's hypothesis that the semi-subterraneous rooms in the main building of the Neugebäude, the 'schöne Saale', were intended as stables, and the courtyard as a 'giostra', that is a tiltyard or space for chivalrous display: a fruitful suggestion in view of the representative functions for which the Neugebäude was possibly intended.[95]

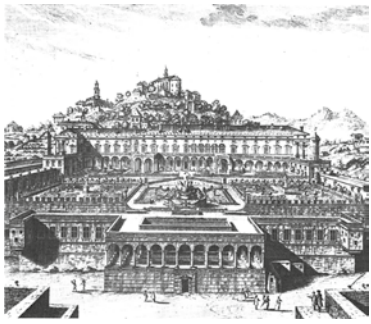
95 Lippmann 2006–2007, p. 153. This hypothesis will be further discussed in a more detailed analysis of the Neugebäude, its sources and its intended functions significance I hope to accomplish in the future.

9.10.3 *Palazzo del Principe in Genoa and the Villa Gonzaga in Milan*

Maximilian never visited Rome, and had seen very little of Italy. He did, however, know three important monuments of the Italian High Renaissance at first hand, two of which have been mentioned in connection with the Neugebäude. The first of these is the Palazzo Doria at Fassolo, a *villa suburbana* built on the shore of the Mediterranean, just outside the city walls of Genoa, for Andrea Doria, virtual prince of that maritime republic: the villa's more common name is Palazzo del Principe [Figs. 9.88–9.89]. As we have seen above, Maximilian visited Genoa four times, in his trips to Spain and back again in 1548, 1550 and 1551. On each occasion Andrea Doria, as Imperial Admiral, was charged to arrange and safeguard the passage to and from Barcelona of the young King and his suite, and it was natural that he would offer his hospitality while awaiting a favourable wind. It was here that, in July 1548, Maximilian first saw the Mediterranean, and it was here that, in November 1551, he spent a week with his beloved wife, his young family, and the elephant he had been given by the King of Portugal. So it is not impossible that memories of this spot played a role when he was shaping his own villa suburbana.[96]

The typological similarity between the Palazzo del Principe and the Neugebäude is striking: both complexes are centred upon extremely elongated buildings, in itself a quite unusual concept at the time. Both of these buildings are provided with arcaded promenades opening towards an ample view, over the Mediterranean at Genoa, towards the Danube in Vienna. Both are placed





FIGURES 9.88–9.89 The Palazzo del Principe in Genoa, built for Andrea Doria, seen from the South, in prints dating from the early and mid- eighteenth century.

96 Renate Wagner Rieger was the first to suggest a link between the Palazzo Doria and the Neugebäude, an intuition ignored by Lietzmann in her 1987 monography, but taken up by Lippmann 2006–2007, p. 155. On the Palazzo del Principe, see Stagno 2005. The coupled columns of the *logge* on both end facades cannot have influenced the Neugebäude, because they date from the extension of the villa under Giovan Andrea Doria in the late sixteenth century (Gorse 1985–1986, p. 35, n. 97).

between two gardens, one of which is enclosed within crenelated walls, surrounded partly or wholly by covered walkways, and decorated by statuary: in Genoa at least two white marble fountains were already *in situ* at the time of Maximilian's visit.[97] Both buildings were—or were planned to be—very richly decorated: the Palazzo del Principe by one of Raphael's favourite pupils, Perino del Vaga. Commenting on the decoration and furnishing Andrea Doria had prepared for the visit of Charles V in 1533, Ludovico da Bagno, the Mantuan ambassador, told Isabelle d'Este that 'the said decoration is not that of a nobleman, but rather of a great king'.[98] The richly planted gardens of the Palazzo del Principe and others in Genoa, favoured as they were by the extraordinary mild climate of the Italian Riviera, also must have made a big impression on Maximilian, who had never seen anything similar before. They were singled out for particular praise in Ludovico da Bagno's letter, who thought the Genoese gardens were so beautiful that 'it seems to me that being born in Genoa much obliges its inhabitants to Nature'.[99]

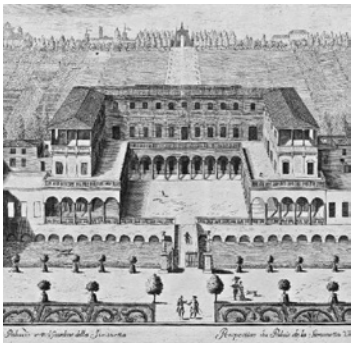
Thanks to Charles V's visit, Andrea Doria's splendid villa was well known at the Vienna court even before Maximilian's own visits: we have seen how Ferdinand asked his architect Paolo della Stella to bring back drawings or a model of it from Genoa, which influenced the appearance of the summer palace he had built in the gardens of the castle at Prague. This model probably was still available in Prague or Vienna.[100] Moreover, if Maximilian would have wished to refresh his memories, he could have recourse to Jacopo Strada. Though we have no positive evidence that Strada visited Genoa, this is not unlikely: if he had not visited it during his peregrinations in his youth, he may have passed it when he travelled from Lyon to Rome in 1553. In any case he

97 Particularly interesting is the galleried hall providing a splendid ceremonial space protruding from the garden out unto the quay edging the shore: consisting of an open arcade above a closed podium, which possibly inspired the more ambitious, though not more monumental principal arcade of the Neugebäude. Its position and its concept remind one of the monumental arcade at Split: could Andrea Doria, familiar as he was with the shores of the Mediterranean, have known Split and have used it as an example? A splendid portal in the rustic zone under the loggia opens unto a breakwater or jetty thrown out into the water, so possibly it also functioned as a ceremonial entrance: Doria's flagship and the state galley he had had built on purpose for Maximilian's and Philip's 1548 visit could be anchored there.

98 'dicto apparato non e da un gentilhomo, ma da un gran Re', quoted in Gorse 1986, p. 322.

99 *Ibidem*: 'ogni di andanno in brevibus a veder giardini, che son tanto belli che me par ch'el esser nasciuto a Genova oblighi molto li habitanti alla natura'.

100 Cf. above, Ch. 5.2.1. When Maximilian asked his agent in Genoa, Marc Antonio Spinola, for drawings and models of gardens and pleasure houses, he probably expected material relating to projects dating from after his own last visit.



FIGURES 9.90–9.91 The Villa Gonzaga-Simonetta in Milan, built 1547–1555 after designs by Domenico Giunti, in a print by Marc'Antonio dal Re (1726); and the principal façade.

would have heard about the Palazzo del Principe from Perino del Vaga himself, 'in vita sua mio amicissimo', and would have obtained drawings of it, possibly with the graphic remains from Perino's studio he acquired from his widow in 1554–1555.

Just as Maximilian was received in and was shown around the Palazzo Doria at Fassolo by its owner, Charles V's admiral, he must have been shown around the Villa Gonzaga in Milan while passing through the city on his travels to and from Spain: its patron was Ferrante Gonzaga, governor of Milan for Charles V, and therefore Maximilian's host.[101] During Maximilian's first trips the villa, now named Vila Gonzaga-Simonetta, was still under construction; but as at Genova there can be no doubt that Maximilian would have been shown it on one of his later visits, if he was not actually lodged there: receiving high-ranking guests was one of the principal functions of such representative residences. Like the Palazzo del Principe, the Villa Gonzaga, built by the Tuscan architect Domenico Giunti, opens up towards its gardens and surrounding landscape by means of ample loggias [Fig. 9.90–9.91], in this case consisting of colonnades, rather than columns carrying arcades. It was thus more Vitruvian and up-to-date than the Palazzo del Principe. Both these loggias and the twin fishponds in front of the garden facade may later have stimulated Maximilian's ideas for the Neugebäude.

101 On the villa Gonzaga-Simonetta, see Robert Ribaud, 'Villa Simonetta' [= *scheda* on the website LombardiaBeniCulturali, www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/architetture/schede/LMD80-00549/, consulted 12-12-2013. Engravings of the villa by Marc'Antonio Dal Re were included in *Ville di delizia nello Stato di Milano*, 1726. Maximilian visited Milan in 1548 (7–9 July), in 1550 (late in November), 1551 (30 June–1 July and 2–5 December) [Holtzmann 1903, p. 83 and note 6; p. 99; p. 141, 144–145].

9.10.4 *Palazzo del Te, Mantova*

The third relevant example Maximilian knew at first hand was Giulio Romano's Palazzo del Te at Mantua. Like Genoa and Milan Maximilian visited Mantua four times on his trips to Spain, and his relationship with its owner, and his host, was even closer than with Andrea Doria. During his first visit Francesco Gonzaga, second Duke of Mantua, was betrothed to his sister Catherine, whom he would marry in 1549. Francesco's younger brother Guglielmo, who succeeded him after his premature death in 1550, would eventually marry another of Maximilian's sisters, Eleanora. The splendour of the Gonzaga court was known to Maximilian by repute even before he first arrived in Mantua in June 1548: two year before he had spent ten days in Landshut, and had thus come to know the brand new imitation of the Palazzo del Te built and decorated for Duke Ludwig X of Bavaria-Landshut by Mantuan artisans and after a Mantuan design.

Apart from his own experience of the Palazzo del Te, Maximilian could study the set of extremely detailed measured drawings documenting the plan, the facades and the decoration of every single room that had been commissioned by Jacopo Strada in the summer of 1567: a study which would be accompanied Strada's first-hand account of the history of the building and his expert comment on its various features.[102] Nevertheless the palazzo del Te did not greatly influence the design of the Neugebäude: probably the two were too different in conception. For Maximilian the gardens were the *raison d'être* of the complex, whereas in Mantua it was the building itself. Yet there are some features of Giulio's creation that may have influenced the ideas of Maximilian and his architect: significantly, these are all related to the garden facade of the Palazzo del Te.

The most evident and important example is the extended garden facade [Fig. 9.92]. This consists of a *piano nobile* opened up by arcaded galleries over a rusticated substructure which is similar to that of the Neugebäude, though

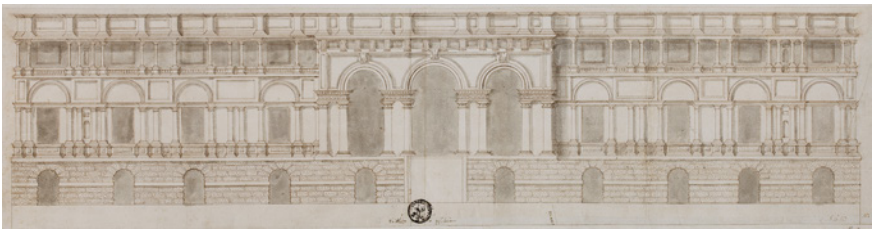


FIGURE 9.92 Ippolito Andreasi, the garden facade of the Palazzo del Te, drawing, 1567.

102 Discussed and illustrated below, Ch. 12.5.2.

the facade of the Te—blind galleries consisting of a screen-like series of interconnected *serliane* flanking a huge central loggia of three arches resting on coupled columns, and topped by a monumental attic actually masked by an airy gallery—is far more inventive and sophisticated. It is so unusual that the eighteenth-century restorer, Paolo Pozzo, decided to replace Giulio's playful *capriccio* by a more strictly correct classical facade [Fig. 9.93]. Like the Neugebäude this facade has been compared to Split; one should note, however, that whereas Split and the Neugebäude consciously use the socle zone as a podium elevating the principal level of the building and emphasizing its prestige, the substructure at Mantua overlooks a set of fishponds conceived as a deep but narrow moat separating the building from the garden, which is situated at the same level as the *piano nobile*, to which it is connected by a wide bridge in the centre. In this way Giulio succeeded in making this stupendous palace, which contains three floor levels, look like an elegant, one-story garden pavilion.[103] As such the palace may have appealed to Maximilian, and his visit may have inspired him with the idea of adding architecturally framed fishponds to his

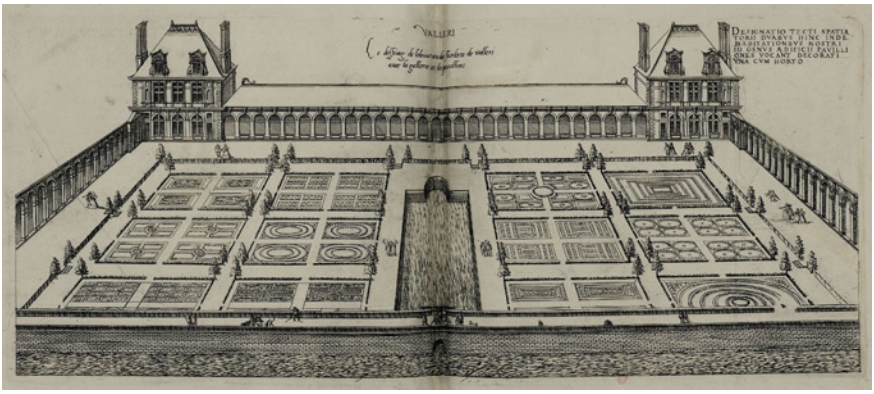


FIGURE 9.93 The garden facade of the Palazzo del Te, as adapted by Paolo Pozzo in the late eighteenth century.

103 But note that Andreasi's drawing does not indicate the water level, and thus strongly suggests a socle zone similar to those in Split and Vienna.

own complex, though the form these would take was derived from those at the Villa Madama, as we have already seen.[104]

9.11 Strada's Contribution

This summing up of possible sources confirms Hilda Lietzmann's observation that the design of the Neugebäude was not based on one or even a few individual models. On the contrary, it is eclectic, merging many disparate elements into what is in fact a quite extraordinary and rather original creation. Much of the material documenting such models was already in print, and could have been available at court through other channels than Jacopo Strada. So there is no positive evidence indicating which particular features he may have contributed to the design of the Neugebäude. Nevertheless it seems quite likely that Maximilian, his advisers and the architects who had to execute the working-drawings for the building had made ample use of the material in Strada's collection: as an Imperial Architect and Antiquary he could be expected to make the relevant documentation available to his patron and his colleagues. Moreover, as none other—except possibly Sallustio Peruzzi—he could explain and comment on this material, on the basis of his expertise and his first-hand acquaintance with many of the monuments illustrated.

Of course the use of material from Strada's *Musaeum* by no means allows the conclusion that Strada would have been responsible for all or most of the designs for the complex and its various elements; but neither does it exclude that possibility. The only concrete evidence which links Strada with the design of the Neugebäude is the Fugger letter cited at the beginning of this chapter. From its date and its wording it can be concluded that Strada either made a design or a plan for the lay-out as a whole, work on which would begin shortly afterwards, or that he made a first design for the principal building planned in it. The latter option may be the most likely. If so, we don't know what this design looked like, but the results of the excavations in the 1980s indicate that it may have consisted of a complex of three separate pavilions, rather than one huge and monumental block. The planning of the project as a whole probably

104 Those at the Palazzo del Te were themselves perhaps influenced by those at the Villa Madama, where Giulio had assisted Raphael; *peschiere* appear to have been a standard feature of Italian villa's, as Maximilian saw them also at the Villa Gonzaga at Milan. Moreover, pisciculture as such was widely known also in his own territories, especially in Bohemia: the powerful Rožmberk family derived a very substantial part of their revenue from it, and already in the fifteenth century had had dug the fishpond called Rožmberk near Třeboň, for long the largest artificial lake in Europe.

was a collective effort, to which many members of Maximilian II' entourage—including Strada—may have contributed.

We don't have written sources that confirm that Strada remained involved in the development of the project after this initial stage; but again, in view of Strada's formal appointment as architect, his expertise and his tremendous collection of source material, it is very unlikely that this would not have been the case. Moreover, certain stylistic elements of the principal building of the Neugebäude do suggest that he remained the architect chosen to draft the new designs necessary when the Emperor decided to expand his project: chiefly the decision to connect the three separate pavilions by two huge and monumental arcades, carried on a substructure containing two low but almost equally monumental halls.

Galleries or loggias looking into a garden, sometimes interrupted or combined with pavilions or towers, were not rare in the Renaissance as such, and were found also outside of Italy. A very good example which is close to the Neugebäude in spirit is the walled private garden laid out in 1555–1556 as a separate entity beside the Château de Vallery [Fig. 9.94]. It was commissioned by Jacques d'Albon, Maréchal de Saint-André, favourite of King Henry II of France, and designed by the king's architect, Pierre Lescot.[105] One side of the garden is closed off by an elegant arcade, flanked on either side by equally elegant pavilions of two stories, provided with huge chimney's and thus offering the possibility of enjoying the garden even in winter. These pavilions served as banqueting halls and could be used for musical performances, and probably also housed a choice collection of works of art.

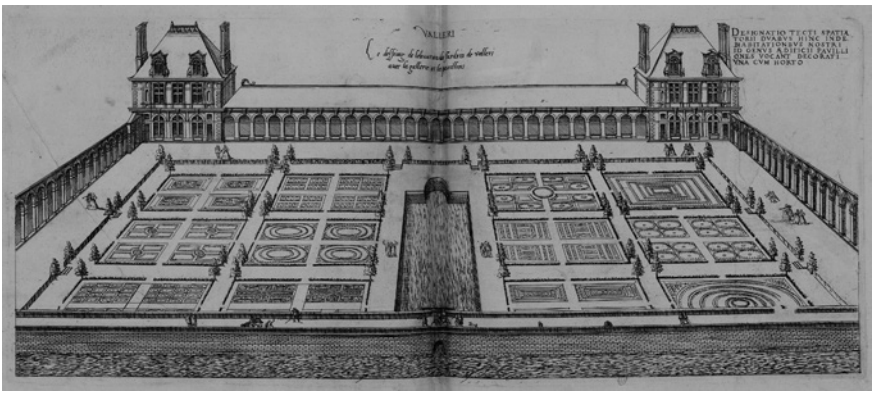


FIGURE 9.94 Pierre Lescot, the private garden of the Château de Vallery, built 1555–1556; from Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, Les plus excellents bastiments *de France*, 1576.

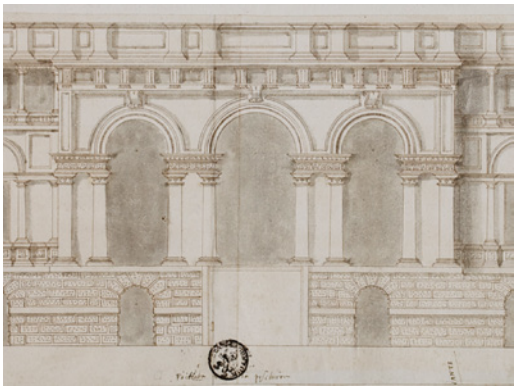
105 Androuet Du Cerceau/Thomson 1988, pp. 108–117.

That was certainly the case at the private garden laid out for Maximilian II's sister Anna, by her husband Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria in about 1560. Here a quite similar open gallery carried on red marble columns was flanked on one side by a similar *Lusthaus*. On its first floor this contained a huge and richly decorated banqueting and dancing hall which held up to four hundred people, and which gave access to a promenade on top of the arcade. Its ceiling was painted with mythological scenes by Melchior Bocksberger; adjoining spaces were also richly decorated with inlaid wooden ceilings, and doubtless contained some works of art; at a later date its small chapel was provided with an altarpiece by Hans von Aachen.[106] It were such models that Maximilian had in mind when planning the Neugebäude.

Coupled columns ... carrying arches

So in themselves the various galleries of the Neugebäude are by no means exceptional. What is exceptional, apart from its huge scale, is the concept of a gallery consisting of arcades carried on freestanding coupled columns [Fig. 9.96]: this can be considered the single most distinctive feature of the Neugebäude. The most likely source of inspiration for this is the *Loggia di Davide*, the central feature of—again—the garden facade of the Palazzo del Te [Fig. 9.95].

Though the rhythmic placement of columns such as in Bramante's Belvedere courtyard, and in the *serliana* derived from it, was quite common in Renaissance architecture, the use of coupled columns—that is, two columns (or pilasters) placed as close together as possible—was quite rare. The motif was



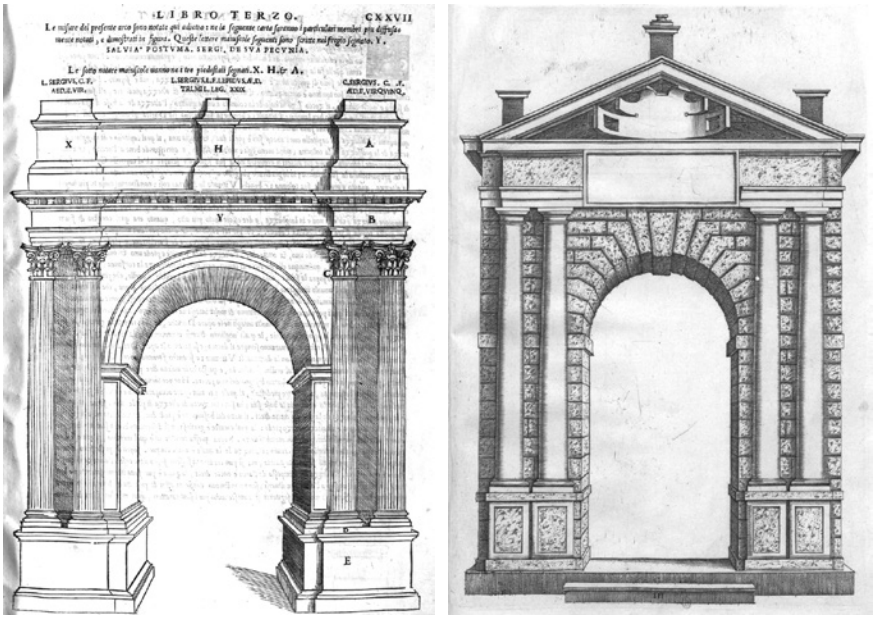
FIGURES 9.95–9.96 The Loggia di Davide of the Palazzo del Te, detail of *Fig. 9.90*, compared to the arcade of the Neugebäude in situ, drawing by Anton de Moys, 1601.

106 Except for the gallery the complex was demolished early in the nineteenth century, but measured plans and descriptions survive: see Hartig 1933(a), pp. 190–198.

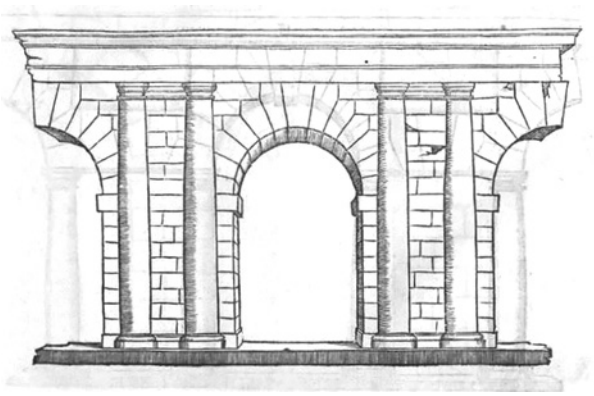
not considered antique, unless used to stress the corners of a (section of) a facade, in particular town gates and triumphal arches, such as the arch of the Sergii at Pola (Pula) illustrated in Serlio's *Third Book* [Fig. 9.97]. In his *Extraordinario libro* Serlio provides several designs for such portals [Fig. 9.98]. But he gives only a few examples where coupled columns are used to articulate a loggia or *porticus*. In his *regole generale* he motivates such lavish use of columns, where 'ornament exceeds necessity', as a means of expressing the wealth of the patron [Fig. 9.99]; typical for his practical approach, he presents another example as a good solution to dispose of any surplus columns accidentally left over [Fig. 9.100].

Using coupled columns or pilasters to articulate a complete (section) of a facade is found occasionally in Raphael's circle: in the Palazzo Caprini and the Palazzo Stati-Maccarani mentioned above [Figs. 7.14 and 7.18] and, most tellingly in this context, in the central section of the facade of Charles V's Palace at Granada [Fig. 5.36]. A rare instance outside of Raphael's immediate circle is Sanmicheli's Palazzo Canossa in Verona, begun in 1527.

Coupled columns occasionally were used also in French sixteenth century architecture, notably in the courtyard of the Hôtel d'Assézat in Toulouse (Nicolas Bachelier, 1552–1556), and in the 'gallerie dans la court' of the Château de Verneuil, built from about 1558 onward for Philippe de Boulainvilliers, *comte* de



FIGURES 9.97–9.98 Sebastiano Serlio: the Arch of the Sergii at Pola (Pula), from the *Terzo Libro*, 1544, and a design for a rustic Tuscan entrance portal, nr. iii from the *Libro extraordinario*, 1551.



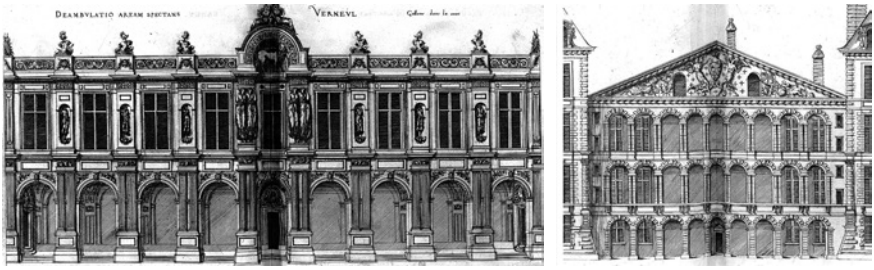
FIGURES 9.99–9.100 Sebastiano Serlio, rustic portico, featuring coupled Tuscan columns and a design for a courtyard facade in the Corinthian order, both from the Quarto Libro, proposals XII and LVII.

Dammartin, 'homme fort amateur de l'architecture' according to Du Cerceau. It was probably designed by the patron himself and/or his close friend, the Pléiade poet Etienne Jodelle [Fig. 9.101]. Another instance is the central section of the facade of the Château de Saint-Maur, originally built for Cardinal Jean du Bellay, Archbishop of Paris, by his protégé Philibert de l'Orme, but later adapted by Cathérine de Médicis for her son Charles IX [Fig. 9.102]. Its coupled rustic pilasters supporting the two superior arcades are of particular relevance in this context, since they carry arches instead of a straight entablature.[107] In any case none of these possible precedents can compare in scale with the colonnade on coupled columns as realized at the Neugebäude, nor was it equalled until the construction of Claude Perrault's celebrated east facade of the Louvre, a century later.[108] Moreover, the concept of a continuing series of paired columns or pilasters carrying arches instead of architraves makes it unique: I have not been able to find one single earlier example, and even later it is a relatively rare phenomenon.[109]

107 On the Hôtel d Assézat, cf. Rosci/Brizio 1966, p. 50; on Saint-Maur, see Androuet Du Cerceau/Thomson 1988, pp. 226–233; on Verneuil, *ibidem*, pp. 118–139. The recent paper by Sabine Frommel is relevant to this argument [Frommel 2013].

108 Perrault, who had earlier published his learned translation and commentary of Vitruvius, devoted some space to the coupled column, defending its use against critics who condemned it as unknown in ancient architecture; a full discussion in Berger 1993, pp. 94–99, appendix B: 'The Coupled Columns Debate'.

109 Later examples are, for instance, the *logge* at the end facades of the Palazzo del Principe in Genoa and, significantly, Ippolito Pedemonte's galleries surrounding the *Giardino Pensile* at the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua of the 1570s: since the Duchess was Maximilian's sister, this is probably a conscious citation of the Neugebäude.



FIGURES 9.101–9.102 The loggia and gallery of the Château de Verneuil, and the facade of the Château de Saint-Maur, from Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Les Plus excellents bastiments de France*, 1576–79.

Even Giulio's *Loggia di Davide*, though it doubtless inspired the design of Neugebäude gallery, is sufficiently different not to consider it as an exact model. The *Loggia di Davide* is still basically a variation on the *serliana*: Giulio contracted the width of the bays flanking the three central arches to create a strong contrast with the more regular proportions of the screen-like series of *serliane* articulating the facade on either side [Fig. 9.103]. But there remains some space in between the columns, and their capitals do not touch, whereas in the Neugebäude the columns were set as close together as possible [Fig. 9.104].

In Mantua, moreover, the sets of coupled columns are doubled: each deep arch is carried by a set of four columns placed in a square, and these sets should be read as replacing the piers supporting an arcade in a more traditional building, giving a quite solid and sculptural quality to the loggia, whereas in Vienna the sets of coupled columns are single, and provide what is basically an elongated screen, the lightness of which is emphasized by each pair being placed on separate pedestals, which are interconnected by balustrades. This effect is strengthened by the full entablatures topping the coupled columns, instead of the abbreviated entablature, lacking its frieze, used by Giulio. The Schönbrunn Gloriette, incorporating the columns and entablatures of the Neugebäude galleries, also imitates this aspect, and gives at least some idea of the effect.

All in all, the Neugebäude's main building, consisting of a gallery of coupled columns carrying arches set upon a huge, closed socle zone, is an original concept for which no clear-cut precedent can be cited. As we have seen, the documents do not give any indication of the designer responsible, but the use of coupled columns strongly suggests that Jacopo Strada had a hand in it. Coupled pilasters and columns are a signature feature of the two buildings he certainly designed. In his own house the upper levels of the facades are articulated by flat coupled pilasters [Figs. 7.11–7.13]. In the Munich Antiquarium the

FIGURES 9.103–9.104 The Loggia di Davide of the Palazzo del Te, Mantua, compared to the arcade from the Neugebäude, as reused in the Gloriette, Schönbrunn, Vienna.

FIGURES 9.105–9.106 North facade and West Pavilion of the Neugebäude, showing remains of the heavy stringcourses originally encircling the whole building.

top floor of the exterior is articulated by coupled half columns [Fig. 8.15], and the interior by coupled freestanding columns carrying a continuous entablature, from which spring the vaults of the window niches. In Strada's design [Fig. 8.20] the effect of the long sides of the Antiquarium interior would be very much like a colonnade of coupled columns carrying arches.

Another Mantuan feature, prominent in the Palazzo del Te and elsewhere, can also be related to Strada's influence. This is the use of prominent continuous, heavy stone stringcourses stressing the base and the frieze level which accentuate the horizontal aspect of the facades [Fig. 9.105–9.106].[110] Since the Neugebäude was never finished, there are no indications what this finish would have looked like. There seem to be no indications for a brickwork relief

110 It is also found in his own house and, less prominently, in his Antiquarium design.

supporting a stucco *bugnato* finish, as was the habitual technique in Mantua, and is suggested in Strada's design for the Antiquarium. Perhaps a stucco rendering decorated with *sgrafitto* grotesques such as those of Bonifaz Wolmut's Prague *Ballhaus* was intended; if so, it was never executed.[111]

9.12 Conclusion: Strada's Role in the Design of the Neugebäude

Apart from Strada many other architects at court must also have contributed to the development of the Neugebäude project, in any case the architects or master-masons who were charged to supervise its actual construction. Had Strada been its sole designer he would probably have mentioned it somewhere, for instance in his preface to his 1575 edition of Serlio's *Settimo Libro*.[112] Above I have already listed the arguments for the hypothesis that Maximilian himself closely supervised the designing process, regularly communicating his ideas and his wishes to his collaborators. The conception of the Neugebäude presupposes a wide and profound study of an ample range of technical, artistic and literary sources and models. Even if Maximilian did not himself commit his ideas to paper, there is a real possibility that he can be considered the *auctor intellectualis* of the Neugebäude to a greater extent than was habitual for a patron of his rank.

The idiosyncrasies of the Neugebäude would hardly have been proposed to a patron by a professional architect: at the very least they presuppose some consultation between designer and patron, resulting in the first sketches and drafts of the general lay-out and the most salient components of the building. But the definitive designs, as well as the working-drawings for the building-site derived from these, may have been drawn by the architects and/or the master masons charged with the execution of the several elements. Here Ferrabosco seems to be the principal candidate, because he is documented in connection with the Neugebäude, because he was more often engaged in civil (as opposed to military) projects at the Imperial court than other architects working there, and because he can have been expected to better understand the Emperor's artistic ambitions than most of his German colleagues. Moreover it was Ferrabosco who was asked to come and report to Rudolf II on the project

111 This is understandable, since the building was never really finished; the south front does show traces of an original, very thin layer of stucco covering the brick, too thin for a *sgraffito* decoration, probably applied merely to protect the brickwork and to give it a pleasingly smooth appearance (Wehdorn 2004, pp. 54–55).

112 He did refer to his participation in the Munich Antiquarium in his dedication to Albrecht V of his edition of Caesaer's *Commentaries* of the same year.

shortly after Maximilian's death.[113] But it is unlikely that he was the only expert involved. In view of the scope of the project, the most ambitious artistic commission he undertook, Maximilian would probably have involved many people, including the various architectural and other professionals at his court.

Among those who may in various ways have contributed to Maximilian's plans for the Neugebäude, Jacopo Strada is the only one who is documented as having made a design for it, which was, moreover, well received by its patron. Given the time when he made it, probably in the autumn, at the earliest in the summer of 1568, it must have been a design related to Maximilian's earliest plans for the Neugebäude, since the first preparations for its laying out began only in the last month of this year.[114] But if Strada had made the original design for the central building, he was probably also involved in working out the later adaptations required by his patron, and several stylistic features of the main building do seem to confirm that supposition.

On the other hand there are also features which do not invite an attribution to Strada, such as the odd, irregular plan of the two end pavilions of the main building, which seem quite un-Italian and un-classical. Having lived in and travelled throughout Germany Strada knew the German architectural tradition and he was of course aware of fortification architecture, the probable source for the odd plan of the two end pavilions. Yet his Antiquarium design, his own house, his efforts to publish Serlio's treatise on architecture, his insistence in his letter to Archduke Ernest that he was competent in designing palaces 'al modo di Roma o Napoli, con bel' modo et ordine di architettura' make clear that he considered himself a champion of the correct, Vitruvian style.[115] The final designs of such elements may have been due to one or more of the other architects or engineers Maximilian involved in the development of his project.

We cannot be certain how Strada's consultancy in this project functioned, but we can hazard a guess. We know that there seems to have been a relationship of mutual respect and confidence between Emperor and his Antiquary,

113 On Ferrabosco's role at the Neugebäude, see Lietzman 1987, pp. 107–110, who does not realize that the permanent supervision of the execution of the project, which she rightly concludes cannot have been Ferrabosco's task, does not preclude his having prepared drawings for it. Ferrabosco is documented working at the castles of Pressburg, Kaisersebersdorf and the Hofburg in Vienna; after Maximilian's death he was occupied with the construction of the residence for Archduke Ernest (the *Ernestinische Trakt* or Amalienburg of the Hofburg). It is doubtful that he was the architect of Bučovice Castle in Moravia (cf. below Ch. 10. 4).

114 In June Strada was still in Venice (Doc. 1568-06-16), but presumably already back in Vienna for some time by the middle of August, when he was paid his salary as Imperial Antiquary (Doc. 1568-08-17).

115 Doc. 1579-05-00 (Strada to Archduke Ernest); the letter quoted and discussed in Ch. 4.4.1.

which was expressed in various favours Maximilian accorded Strada and members of his family, and in the support he gave him for some of his editorial projects. Strada's house and *Musaeum* could be reached from the Imperial apartment by means of a three minutes walk along a covered way on top of the battlements. From a letter by Strada to Jacopo Dani we know that Maximilian occasionally availed himself of that possibility, and called it 'the delight and museum of Strada, because he saw there so many rare and various things as ever struck the eye'.[116]

Strada's studio included the workshop where he prepared his *libri di disegni*, such as the numismatic drawings he made for Hans Jakob Fugger and the Duke of Bavaria and for other patrons, including Ferdinand I and Maximilian II. For Strada the design was central to his activities, and a faculty indispensable for all artistic, scientific and technical endeavour; and also to gain a better understanding of the world, as he explained to Adam von Dietrichstein, preceptor of the young Archdukes Rudolf and Ernest:

> In truth, my lord, by drawing one gains knowledge of an infinite number of things, and one's judgment in all fields is far more excellent, and amply transcends that given by any other discipline, the more so when engaged by a literate gentleman such as you.

If the Emperor had sent his two eldest sons to study drawing under Strada's guidance, as this letter implies, it appears that Strada had convinced him of this point of view.[117] As we have seen, Strada's *Musaeum*—an amalgam of studio, library and *Kunstkammer*, of artist's workshop, and of bookshop and emporium of works of art and antiquities—housed an immense quantity of documentation in drawings and prints both of Roman antiquities and of the contemporary Italian architecture that was inspired by them. Titian's portrait gives an indication of Strada's enthusiasm, of the conviction with which he presented his choicest objects to his august visitors. In the same way he will have shown his drawings, his prize possession documenting the canonical examples of his own profession. In view of Maximilian's interest in architecture and engineering, such meetings must have increased his understanding of architecture and have stimulated his ambitions to create at least one monument that could compete with those commissioned by his peers in Italy and elsewhere in Europe. As a cosmopolitan courtier who was at the same time an expert in the field of the most up-to date architecture and design, Strada is the

116 Doc. 1581-11-02 (Strada to Jacopo Dani).

117 Doc 1566-03-01 (Strada to Adam von Dietrichstein); cf. below, Ch. 11.6.

most likely candidate to have guided Maximilian's steps in the development of his project for the Neugebäude. Thus he may have suggested possible models, searched for additional documentation in his own collection or tried to obtain it through his contacts in the book- and print trade, and he may have provided an appreciative but critical sounding board for the Emperor's ideas.

Subsequently Strada was one of the professionals charged to translate the Emperor's ideas into workable designs. His Antiquarium designs give an impression of what such drawings may have looked like. Then he may have discussed these with the masters charged with the execution of the project in order to ensure that they well understood the Emperor's wishes. This means that, as an agent of his patron, he may have instructed and to some extent supervised the Imperial architects, the master-masons and other contractors—a task that would fall well within the scope of his function as a courtier and a court-antiquary, and for which his ample knowledge and exclusive experience coupled to his formal appointment as an Imperial architect gave him sufficient authority. But there are no indications that he ever directly managed or even supervised the masons, carpenters and gardeners doing the actual work.

This may have been different for the decoration of the complex. Not much is known about the decoration of the Neugebäude, and in any case very little was completed at the time of Maximilian's death.[118] Strada's humanist erudition coupled to his practical artistic expertise made him the ideal intermediary to develop decorative programmes, to select suitable artists and to supervise their work, in the same way as he helped organize and direct the team of artists that prepared the costumes for the tournament organized in Pressburg on the occasion of the coronation of Archduke Rudolf as King of Hungary in 1572.[119] Strada's acquaintance and sometime close connections with many artists, particularly in Venice but also in Mantua, in Nuremberg, and in Vienna itself, point in this direction, as does the fact that he himself employed numbers of artists: scribes, miniaturists and draughtsmen working on his *libri di disegni*, engravers such as Martino Rota and Jost Amman preparing the illustrations for the publications he planned, sculptors restoring the antique sculptures bought for Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria and stonecutters incising the black marble plaques identifying these.[120] He probably also owned a small goldsmith's workshop where he could occasionally practice this craft in so far as it related to his numismatic

118 Aspects of the decoration and furnishing of the Neugebäude will be included in my planned, more detailed analysis of the Neugebäude project.

119 Cf. above, Ch. 4.3.4.

120 Cf. below, Ch. 12.3.2.

pursuits, as he described in his letter to King Maximilian cited above.[121] And his own house included at least one sumptuous room, decorated with a set of plaster bust of Roman Emperors and Empresses cast from the best exemplars to be found in Italy, which he had explicitly commissioned in Italy for that purpose.[122] Altogether it is rather likely that he was involved as an advisor in the splendid decoration of the interiors of at least one tower of the Inner Garden, and of one pavilion of the main building of the Neugebäude, executed in painting and stucco by the painters Giulio Licinio and Bartholomaeus Spranger and the sculptor Hans Mont; what they realized may have been but a fraction of what Maximilian intended.[123]

It is equally likely that Strada was involved in the selection of sculpture, both antique and contemporary, that was acquired or commissioned to decorate the gardens and galleries. Great attention was paid to the fountains, which were commissioned from Alexander Colin, the Flemish sculptor who was responsible for the completion of the tomb of Maximilian I in Innsbruck and for the tomb of Ferdinand I and his consort in Prague. Of the many fountains commissioned, in the end only three would actually be delivered, some years after Maximilian's death; only recently one of them has been rediscovered and reconstructed at Schönbrunn [Fig. 9.107].

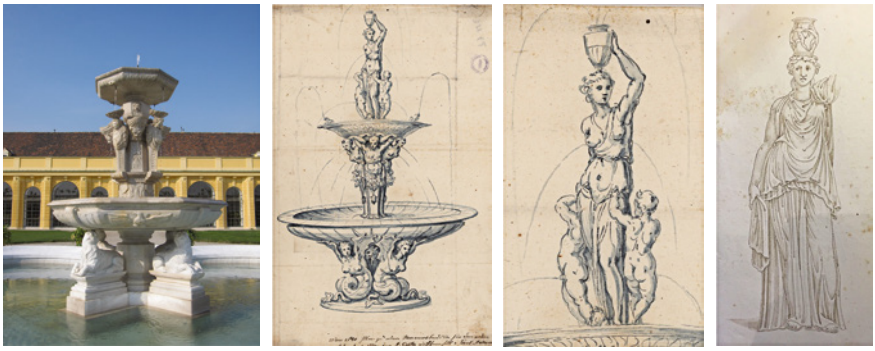


FIGURE 9.107 Alexander Colin, fountain for the Neugebäude, now in Schönbrunn.

FIGURES 9.108–9.109 Giuseppe Arcimboldo, design for a fountain for the Neugebäude, and detail.

FIGURE 9.110 Jacopo Strada, drawing of an antique female marble statue now in Munich (shown in reverse).

121 Doc. 1559-06-00

122 Cf. below, Ch. 12.4.2.

123 On these, Lietzmann 1987, pp. 139–160.

Strada had been involved in the commissions for both tombs, and must have known Colin personally; he probably granted him access to his own antiquarian and artistic documentation. He must have regularly shared his knowledge and documentation with him, as with other artists working at or for the Imperial Court: at least that is suggested by a design, now attributed to Giuseppe Arcimboldo, for one of the several fountains Colin was commissioned to execute for the Neugebäude. Now in the Tiroler Landesmuseum, this drawing shows a beautiful two-tier fountain, the upper basin of which is carried by four female herms, with their arms interlaced and their breasts spouting water. It is topped by the statue of a goddess, accompanied by two putti, carrying a water jar on her head [Figs. 9.108–9.109].[124] This goddess is an adaptation in reverse of a statue of a *canephore* now in Munich, which is illustrated in Jacopo Strada's *Statuarum antiquarum*, an album of drawings of classical statues still preserved in the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek [Fig. 9.110].[125]

To sum up: in the development of the Neugebäude Strada acted as an artistic advisor for his patron, as a designer, as an iconographer and as an agent. These activities represented only the artistic and antiquarian aspects of his patron's brief. In practice decisions were taken and problems were solved in small committees meeting on the spot, such as we have earlier seen discussing the tomb for Maximilian I, the ceiling of the *Goldene Saal* in Innsbruck, and the Vienna Hofspital. In view of Maximilian's close involvement in the project, such meetings may have taken place when he could be present in person; but often he would be absent from Vienna, and hoped to see something finished when he returned. Such informal meetings would be attended on the one hand by those responsible for the execution of the project: the managing architects, the master masons, the 'Bauschreiber' who administered the available funds and materials and, not least, the head gardener. On the other hand the patron would be represented by a group of counsellors, trusted members of the Emperor's immediate entourage, representing the courtly and the financial interests, and including Strada as the adviser best versed in the designs.[126] Strada may have occupied a key position in this constellation: speaking the language

124 Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, inv. nr. DM 62; Lietzmann 1987, pp. 145–146; I am grateful to Rosanna Dematté, who drew my attention to the plausible attribution of this drawing to Arcimboldo: *ARCIMBOLDO: ARTISTA MILANESE* 2011, p. 200.

125 ÖNB-HS, *Cod. min.* 21,2, fol. 151.

126 One of the likely candidates is Reichard Strein von Schwarzenau, who as *Hofkammerpräsident* would have represented Maximilian's financial interests; but he was also an intellectual, a dedicated historian and antiquary and an important patron of architecture in his own right (see below, Ch. 10.6).

of both groups, he was well placed to mediate in case of misunderstandings, and to help find efficient solutions to practical problems.

So Jacopo Strada was involved in the realization of the Neugebäude complex in three ways. In the first place he made available his huge collection of visual documentation of ancient Roman architecture and of contemporary Italian architecture, which itself was strongly inspired by classical Antiquity, and from the 1540s onward the style generally preferred by a cosmopolitan avant-garde consisting of princes and a happy few of their close associates. In the second place Strada provided expert advice: on the basis of his own ample first-hand experience of ancient and contemporary architecture he commented on the designs prepared for the project; this may have included technical advice, for instance on the waterworks necessary for the various fountains. In the third place he prepared at least one—but probably more—designs for the project himself.

When in his letter to Archduke Ernest Strada claimed that Maximilian 'continually had employed him in his building projects', that statement must have had at least some foundation in fact. Strada's principal task as Imperial architect must have been to inspire and critically follow the imperial building projects, and advise on them both informally and formally in the manner described above. The palace 'in the manner of Rome or Naples' Strada offered to design for the Archduke reads almost as a succinct description of the Neugebäude: not only is its design in accordance with up to date, Italianate architecture, but it is provided with 'beautiful gardens, fishponds, fountains and other delights that are suitable for a great Prince such as Your Highness'.[127] He could offer that with such assurance because earlier he had been involved in the realization of Maximilian's most prestigious project, the Neugebäude.

127 Doc. 1579-05-00 (Strada to Archduke Ernest); the letter quoted and discussed in Ch. 4.4.1.

CHAPTER 10

Other Patrons of Architecture

It might be expected that the presence of Strada and his huge collection of documentation in Vienna, his function as imperial architect and, not least, the example he set with his own house would have exerted some influence on the development of architecture in the lands directly ruled by his patrons. I will discuss a few items where a direct influence of Strada and his *Musaeum* seems discernible, in two cases sufficiently strong to warrant an attribution to him.

FIGURE 10.1 Domenico dell'Allio (?), courtyard of the Landhaus in Graz (ca 1560–1562).

10.1 The Courtyard of the Landhaus in Graz

In Chapter 5 I have paid brief attention to the Landhaus in Graz, which was built between 1557 and 1564 after designs and under the supervision of Domenico

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dell'Allio (ca 1515–1563). After Dell' Allio died in 1563 it was finished by his two assistants, Benedikt de la Porta and Peter Tadei. The Landhaus is one of the foremost monuments of the Renaissance in Austria, and Dell'Allio was a very talented designer, as is clear from the beautifully proportioned facade [above, Fig. 5.83]. He was one of the many Lombard engineers active in Italy, and his facade betrays his schooling in the Lombard tradition of the late Quattrocento and early Cinquecento: note the spacing of the windows, in particular the central bay, and the typical double window surrounds. It is clear that when Dell'Allio produced his design for it, he had not yet been exposed to more up-to-date design in the style of the Roman or Venetian High Renaissance. That seems to have changed in the last years of his life, witness the totally different character of the beautiful courtyard [Fig. 10.1]. This is surrounded by three levels of well-proportioned arcades carried on piers, on which is superimposed a carefully detailed order of pilasters, pedestals and entablatures, culminating in a cornice of protruding consoles carrying the roof.

In fact the difference with the facade is so great that one wonders whether Dell'Allio himself can have been responsible for it—if so, he must quite suddenly have been confronted with a more avant-garde style. Perhaps he paid a visit to one of the more advanced centres in Italy, such as Verona, Vicenza or Venice, where he could have seen some of the works of Sanmicheli, Palladio or Sansovino. But it might also be that he was made aware of more recent developments by a meeting with his newly appointed colleague at the Imperial court, Jacopo Strada, and a study of the materials in his possession. Probably Dell'Allio occasionally visited Vienna, or Strada made the acquaintance of Dell'Allio when spending a few days in Graz on his way to or from Venice.[1]

To my mind the similarity between the courtyard of the Landhaus and that of the Vienna Stallburg—which were built at exactly the same time—can hardly be a coincidence: together, they are the first two examples in Austria of a courtyard lined with arcades—a 'Laubenhof'—where the arches are carried on piers instead of on columns, and where the proportions are based on Vitruvian principles [Figs. 10.2–10.3]. Yet there are also significant differences: the Stallburg courtyard is very slight and sober, almost pedantically correct, with

1 Graz was a natural stop over in the habitual route Vienna–Venice and *vice versa*. Strada visited Venice in the late 1550s to prepare his edition of Onofrio Panvinio's books, and probably also in the early 1560s, when he travelled to Rome to buy antiquities for Hans Jakob Fugger. At the Landhaus Dell'Allio's patrons were the Estates of Styria, but as an engineer in fortification he was directly employed by the dynasty, for whom he also remodelled the Burg, their residence in Graz. It is perfectly possible that Strada would have taken the trouble to get acquainted with these buildings, and to meet his colleague, if available during one of his visits.

FIGURES 10.2–10.3 The articulation of the courtyard of the Landhaus in Graz compared to that of the Stallburg in Vienna.

very low relief; whereas the Landhaus courtyard seems to handle the Vitruvian precept with greater freedom and strives for greater monumentality and splendour. A quite fascinating detail is the superposition of two orders of pilasters, with a consequent reverse in the corresponding entablature, a motif possibly derived from Raphael's house for Jacopo da Brescia [above, Fig. 7.15]. It is difficult to decide whether the odd way in which the arches cut into the lower pilasters reflects a lack of detailed understanding of the rule that would characterize a provincial architect: in view of the general quality of the courtyard, I would rather read it as conscious, 'learned' playing with the rules, similar in spirit to Giulio's mannerist conceits in the facades of the Palazzo del Te. Of the two buildings I am confident the Stallburg can be attributed to Jacopo Strada, whereas the Landhaus seems to reflect a very different artistic personality. Yet their close relationship in time and in conception strongly suggests to me that the designer of the Landhaus—and the attribution to Domenico dell'Allio remains plausible—had been strongly influenced by the new materials he could

have been shown, and the ideas he could have heard expound, by his new colleague at the Imperial court.[2]

10.2 The Residence for Archduke Ernest

In view of Strada's position as architect at court, and his bid for employment as an architect to Archduke Ernest, it is tempting to suspect his involvement in the first plans for the Amalienburg. From 1711 to 1742 the residence of the dowager Empress Amalia Wilhelmine, this building, on the north side of the Hofburg complex, was originally built as the residence for Archduke Ernest, who functioned as his brother's Lord-lieutenant in Austria after Rudolf II moved his court to Prague. At the time it was known simply as the 'Neue Stockh', 'das neue Gebeu <…> in der Burg', or even the 'Neue Burck'. Apart from the Stallburg, it constitutes the most voluminous addition to the Hofburg in the sixteenth century, yet the early history of this impressive block was until recently even less documented than that of the Stallburg. Thanks to Renate Holzschuh-Hofer's research within the framework of the Hofburg project, many open questions have finally been answered.[3]

The Amalienburg, Neue Burg or Ernestinische Trakt, was constructed on the site of the old Zeughaus or arsenal, a complex of several smaller buildings used for various practical, administrative and residential functions. For some of these Maximilian II had, shortly before his unexpected death, initiated modest repairs and extensions. These were continued by Archduke Ernest, and between 1582 and 1585 he had the whole complex, part of which he destined for his own residence, reconstructed and renovated. The use of the pre-existent fabric of the Zeughaus determined the odd, trapezium-shaped ground plan, but the elevation of the building was given a unified aspect, very simple and severe, and quite reminiscent of the Stallburg.

Its exterior, as can be surmised on the basis of two prints from 1598 and 1601 [Fig. 10.4], was as simple and severe as the exteriors of the Stallburg: a quite sober block consisting of two floors over a closed rustica zone, anticipating the later, still existent articulation of the façade.[4] But its finish closely resembled

2 On the other hand a case could be made for an attribution of the design to Bonifaz Wolmut on stylistic grounds: the Landhaus courtyard is close in spirit to his Ballhaus and the organ loft in the Cathedral, both in Prague.

3 Holzschuh-Hofer 2014(d); the information available earlier summarized in Kühnel 1958, pp. 268–272 and Kühnel 1971, pp. 45–49.

4 The prints illustrate the executions of respectively Count Ferdinand von Hardegg (1595) (Stadtbibliothek Wien, Signatur A 3302, illustrated in Kühnel 1956, p. 229 and *Tafel* 1) and

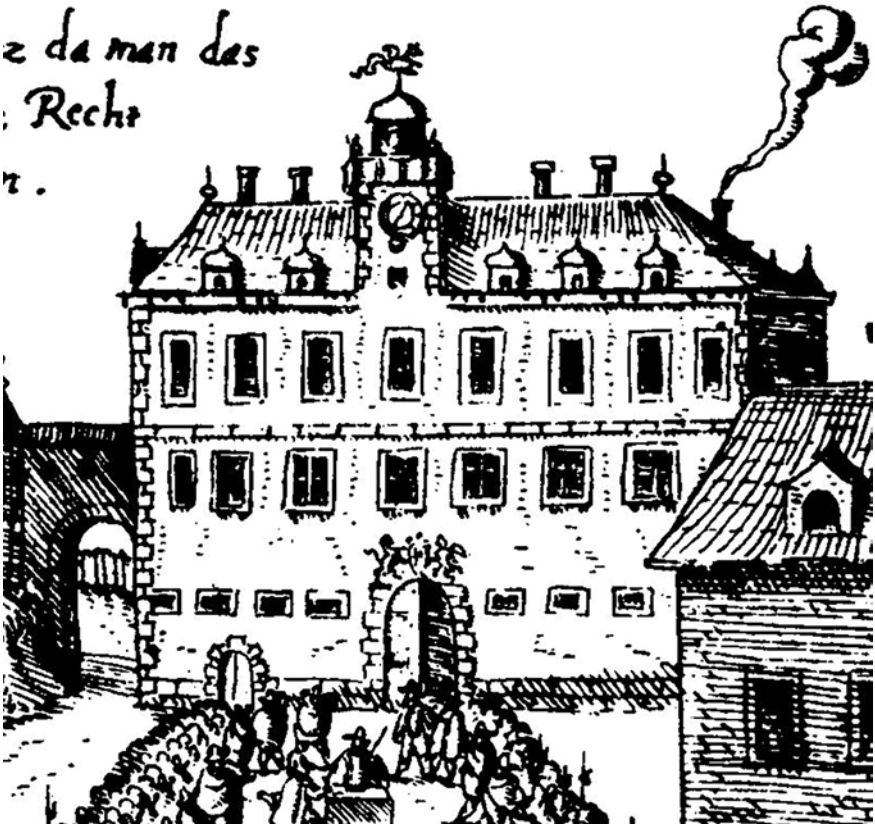


FIGURE 10.4 The Amalienburg, built as a residence for Archduke Ernest in the Hofburg at Vienna, detail of a print depicting the execution of Georg Paradeiser, 1601.

the Stallburg exterior, a plain stucco surface with stringcourses marking the levels, and heavy quoins accentuating the corners. The monumental entrance gate was topped by a coat of arms flanked by heraldic lions, and marked by a square clock tower rising above it.

Again like the Stallburg, three sides of its interior courtyard appear to have been faced with open arcades on all three levels. Its arches were carried on piers, which originally probably were articulated by a similar order of shallow pilasters or lesenes in masonry or stucco: at least that is suggested by the

Hauptmann Georg Paradeiser in 1601 (Wien, Historisches Museum, inv.nr. 96.646) (both commanders had been guilty of too easily surrendering a stronghold to the Turks). Samuel van Hoogstraten's view of the inner courtyard of the Vienna Hofburg (1652) in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv.nr. GG-1752.

presence on the narrow northwest facade of strongly accentuated balustrades between heavy stringcourses, all in stone, which is all that remains after the loggias were closed and filled with windows.[5]

Since the first adaptations of the Zeughaus were commissioned by Maximilian II, it is possible that Strada may have been consulted on these, as he had been for other Imperial projects; but it is not known whether a unified new construction was envisaged already at that date. Possibly Strada's approach of Archduke Ernest in 1579, offering himself as a designer of palaces and gardens, may have been triggered by a rumour of plans for the construction of a Vienna residence of the Archduke, and initially he may have been involved in some consultative capacity. But the generic resemblance to the Stallburg provides too little basis for either a positive or a negative conclusion as to Strada's participation in its earliest designs. Moreover, the documents presented by Dr Holzschuh-Hofer make clear that the construction was supervised by Pietro Ferrabosco, who by this time surely may be assumed to have been capable of coming up with a competent design on his own account. So a direct involvement of Strada appears rather unlikely, though as elsewhere his influence and that of the graphic documentation of architecture he made available to his patrons and colleagues is unmistakable.

That is even true, though at one remove, for the present, more richly articulated facade of the Amalienburg, which was commissioned by Rudolf II in 1604. It was constructed somewhat in front of the original facade (as is clear from the position of the clock tower) and extended on the right with two additional bays; it continued around the corner and along the north façade, where it is still preserved in its original colour scheme.[6] Its articulation, best seen in Samuel van Hoogstraten's painting of 1652 [Fig. 10.5], demonstrates a profound awareness of the architecture of Raphael and Giulio Romano. The style of this, for Germany, very unusual facade is reflected in the manor house at Dürnstein [Fig. 10.6], which is dated 1630, and is an equally sophisticated example of the careful reception of the architecture of the Roman High Renaissance, in particular of Raphael's Villa Madama. By this time such reception need no longer be derived from Strada's presence: both Dürnstein (sometimes attributed to Cipriano Biasino, 1580–1636) and the Amalienburg facade were designed by architects who probably knew Italian architecture—including that of Sanmicheli, Palladio and Scamozzi—at first hand. Yet Strada's presence prepared the way for the acceptance of this intellectually demanding style among at least a few of the patrons of architecture in Austria, as will be shown below.

5 Illustrated and reconstructed in Holzschuh-Hofer 2014 (d), *Abb.* IV.180–181.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 345, Abb. IV.183.

FIGURE 10.5 The Amalienburg in the painting by Samuel van Hoogstraten, 1652; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

FIGURE 10.6 Cypriano Biasino(?), Schloss Dürnstein, 1630.

10.3 Other Patrons: Vilém z Rožmberk

From a survey of Strada's emoluments as court antiquary and architect it appears that his employment at court only provided a part, probably no more than a small part of his income.[7] Nevertheless his position was of great advantage because of the prestige it accorded to him personally, and to the services and products he could offer other patrons. Moreover the court itself provided a lucrative market: a trendsetting community of individuals many of whom were well educated and shared many of the basic assumptions informing Strada's activities; who were rich, or at least needed to appear so; who were competing with one another in prestige and, as members of the imperial household, were in any case expected to contribute to the splendour of the court; and who were therefore willing to invest in display and other activities or objects that would enhance their prestige. Strada's house and *Musaeum*, which was a minor cultural centre in itself, was an explicit advertisement of the ways in which he himself and his workshop could satisfy such needs.

Strada's house and his collection would in any case be accessible at least to the higher-ranking members of the court. Just as his collections probably influenced the Emperor himself and his architects when planning the Stallburg and the Neugebäude, they must have influenced those members of the imperial entourage who themselves engaged in constructing houses in town or on their possessions in the country. In those cases they would have profited from Strada's comment on the materials he showed them, and from his informal advice on their projects. It can be expected that some of them would also have

7 Cf. Jansen 1988(c); slightly revised English version: Jansen 1992.

asked Strada to provide plans and designs, especially from about 1568 onward, when his own house was sufficiently finished to show what he was capable of. We have few concrete data, but there is sufficient circumstantial evidence to support the hypothesis that Strada was directly involved in projects undertaken by four different patrons in Austria and Bohemia.

The first and most prominent of these is Vilém z Rožmberk (1535–1592), perhaps the grandest nobleman of Bohemia and as *Oberstburggraf* of Prague one of the highest ranking officials in the kingdom [Fig. 10.7]. Strada had some contacts with him, as is clear from a letter of December 1573, mentioning that Strada had recently seen Rožmberk in Prague. He tells him that he is obliged to sell his house and library to be able to have his books printed, and offers it first to Rožmberk 'as my gracious Lord and patron'; he tells Rožmberk that he will give him a better price than others, 'because of your longstanding patronage and the daily favours your grace grants me, equalled by no other Prince whomsoever'.[8] Apart from a drawing of the complete relief on the shaft of Trajan's Column in Rome which Strada had sold to Rožmberk and which is mentioned in the letter, we do not know what was implied in this 'Kundschaft'—that is 'patronage'.

The tone of Strada's letter suggest that it had been no minor act of patronage, and that idea is reinforced by the fact that Strada dedicated his 1575 edition of Serlio's *Settimo Libro* to Rožmberk [Figs. 10.8–10.9]. That in itself might suggest that Rožmberk had at one time employed him in his building projects, which Strada refers to in a rather general way, praising Rožmberk for

> the fishponds you have had dug, the most sumptuous palaces <…> you have had built, and in the first place that outstanding palace that, contracting two other large buildings into one, you had constructed on the castle of Prague itself' [Fig. 10.10].

But Strada continues that he dedicates Serlio to Rožmberk, just because 'at present I cannot myself serve your Excellency in this matter'—that is, architecture—and he does not mention any concrete services in that field he might have provided earlier.[9] If Strada had earlier provided designs for any major part

8 Doc. 1573-12-18: 'als meinem gnedichen Herrn'; 'von Wegen der alten Kundschaft unndt deglige Dienst die mir Euer Gnaden thuen, der kainem Firsten, er sey gleych wer er wel'. Strada had been in Prague quite recently, sometime in the autumn of the same year.

9 Serlio 1575, f. a ii *verso*: '<…> alios praeficit effodiendis piscinis: alios sumptuosissimis aedificiis (quibus impensè delectatur) erigendis, et in primis in palatio illo eximio, quod in ipsa arce Pragensi ex duobus alioqui magnis aedifcijs in unum coeuntibus, extruit. Qua in re quum Excellentia tuae praesens inservire ipse non possem, mitto, dono, ac dedico hunc septimum librum Sebastiani Serlij <…>'.

FIGURE 10.7 Anonymous, Portrait of Vilém z Rožmberka: Český Krumlov, Castle.
FIGURES 10.8–10.9 Title page and Jacopo Strada's dedication to Vilém z Rožmberka of his edition of Sebastiano Serlio's *Settimo Libro*, Frankfurt 1575.

of the Rožmberk palace on castle hill in Prague, it seems likely that he would have mentioned it on this occasion.[10] So it may well be that he merely contributed documentation on other ancient monuments besides Trajan's column, and had purveyed other books, prints and drawings and other collectibles: that at least is suggested by the apparent provenance from the Rožmberk library of the Prague copy of Strada's *A.A.A. Numismatωn Antiquorum Διασκευέ*.[11]

Since Vilém z Rožmberk had visited and stayed in Strada's house at some unspecified date, he had had the opportunity to inspect the documentation in Strada's collection and let himself be inspired by this.[12] Possibly Strada's technical expertise, relating to mills, pumps, fountains and other waterworks may have been of interest to Rožmberk, as the owner of an extensive complex of artificial fishponds, which provided a substantial part of his immense revenue; but we have no concrete evidence for that. Neither do we have concrete

10 Jaroslav Pánek suggests that Strada may well have contributed to the plans of the Rožmberk palace in Prague, but does not provide further sources [Pánek 1989, p.258]; on the palace, see Krčalová 1970. Strada's name is not mentioned in Václav Březan's history of the Rožmberk family: Kubiková 2005.

11 Prague, National Library, cod. VII A 1, a-l; inscriptions in the volumes documenting their provenance from the Jesuit College in Český Krumlov, combined with the initials 'W R' in each volume, strongly suggest that the book was commissioned or bought by Vilém z Rožmberk. In that case it is likely that Strada had also provided him with either a selection of authentic original coins or one or more of his albums of numismatic drawings.

12 In his letter Strada refers to Rožmberk's visit, when he had expressed the wish to buy the house whenever Strada would think of selling.

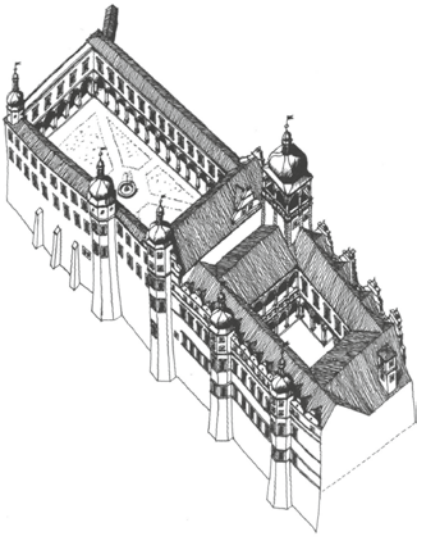


FIGURE 10.10 The Rožmberk palace on Caste Hill in Prague, restructured ca. 1554–1574; reconstruction drawing by Michael Brix.

FIGURE 10.11 Kratochvíle, built for Vilém z Rožmberka 1583–1589 by Baldassare Maggi, in a painting by Jindřich de Veerle; Netolice, Kratochvíle Castle.

information about whether at a later date Strada may have been employed or consulted by Rožmberk in connection with his later projects, such as the charming country retreat Kratochvíle [or 'Kurzweil', that is: 'Pastime'], built between 1583 and 1589 near Netolice in Southern Bohemia [Fig. 10.11].[13] Certainly Strada maintained contact with Rožmberk, who in 1576 had written a quite friendly recommendation for Strada to the Elector August of Saxony; and Strada was still corresponding with Rožmberk's secretary, Václav Březan, in 1585. Yet there are no concrete data at all on Strada having been directly involved in Rožmberk's projects, and neither do we know of contacts between him and the architects who realized these projects, such as Ulrico Aostalli and Baldassare Maggi. My conclusion would be that Rožmberk indeed was a patron of Jacopo Strada, but that his patronage was mostly directed towards his library and collections, though it may have included some general, informal advice on the architecture and decoration of Rožmberk's residences.

13 On Kratochvíle, see Jakubec 2012.

10.4 Jan Šembera Černohorský z Boskovic and Bučovice Castle

Just as Strada had business dealings—'Kundschaft'—with Vilém z Rožmberk he had business dealings with one of the principal noblemen in Moravia, Jan Šembera Černohorský z Boskovic (1543–1597). Strada spent several months at the end of 1583 and the beginning of 1584 at the latter's newly built country seat at Bučovice, near Slavkov (Austerlitz) not far from the Moravian capital Brno, 'meiner geschäffte halben'—that is, for business reasons.[14] On the basis of the notes of an archivist of the early nineteenth century, it has been assumed that a first estimate of the cost—and thus probably also a plan or design for this building—had already been made in 1567 by Pietro Ferrabosco; if so, that plan was executed by the Brno architect Pietro Gabri only in the 1570s, whereas the last section, the south wing, was only begun in 1579, after a change in plan doubtless due to lack of funds [Figs. 10.12–10.13; 10.21].[15] The west wing carries a stone with the date 1581, and by the time Strada was at Bučovice the windows were being glazed.

As Lietzmann has pointed out, this strongly suggests that Strada was advising Jan Šembera z Boskovic on its interior decoration. The ground floor of the west wing includes a suite of five modestly-sized but quite sumptuous rooms decorated with painted panels, partly painted on wooden panels, partly onto the plaster, set within stucco frames surrounded by painted grotesques, the

FIGURES 10.12–10.13 The castle at Bučovice: west- or garden front and courtyard.

14 We only know of this long visit because Strada was taken dangerously ill, and had himself carried to Brno for medical attention, where he drafted the first version of his will in April of 1584: Docs. 1584-1584-04-30; the definitive version of the will made up in Vienna on July 1st of the same year, Doc. 184-07-01. Cf. Jansen 1987, pp. 16 and 21, n. 71; Lietzmann 1987, pp. 133–134.

15 On Bučovice, see Krčalová 1969; Krčalová 1979; Vacková 1979; Hubala 1983; Hubala 1983; *Renaissance in Böhmen*, pp. 154–163; Lietzmann 1987, pp. 133–134 and 156–160.

FIGURES 10.14–10.15 Bučovice, the Chamber of the Birds and the Chamber of Venus.
FIGURE 10.16 Bučovice, a detail of the decoration of the Chamber of the Hares.

latter quite elegant and quite Italian in spirit [Figs. 10.14–10.16]. In two of the rooms these decorations are complemented by sculpted figures.

In particular the *Imperial Chamber*, the central and most splendid of the five, may very well have been conceived by Jacopo Strada, not only because of its theme, but also because of its style [Fig. 10.17–10.20]. The division of its ceiling is adapted from the *Camera degli Imperatori* or the *Camera di Attilio Regolo* in the Palazzo del Te, but the style of the stucco decorations, especially the frames of the round medallions, are very close to similar *stucchi* in the Palazzo Ducale in Venice which Strada would have known from his visits in the 1560s. The four plaster busts of the Emperors Augustus, Nero, Antoninus Pius and

FIGURES 10.17–10.18 Bučovice, two views of the Imperial Chamber.

FIGURES 10.19–10.20 Bučovice, two details of the Imperial Chamber: Charles V vanquishing the Turks and the portal with the coats of arms of Jan Šembera Černohorský z Boskovic.

Marcus Aurelius placed over the windows were probably based on or cast from models provided by Strada himself [Fig. 10.18].

Jarmila Vacková has found out that the full-length figures in the lunettes, representing Europa, Mars, Diana and the Emperor Charles V [Fig. 10.19], are

not executed in stucco but in terracotta pressed into a mould, while other elements are actually in wood, metal and glass.[16] These are techniques that were used in the ephemeral decorations made, for instance, for the triumphal entry of Rudolf II in Vienna in 1577, which are described in Van Mander's life of Bartholomaeus Spranger, who together with Hans Mont was responsible for them.[17]

It has been plausibly suggested that the decoration of these rooms more or less reflects the decoration prepared by Spranger, Hans Mont and Giulio Licinio in Maximilian II's Neugebäude, and that Hans Mont may therefore be held responsible for the sculptural parts of the decoration at Bučovice. It seems very likely indeed that Strada, asked to devise the decoration of these rooms, would have fallen back on one or more of the artists he knew personally as close colleagues in Vienna, and with whom he probably had collaborated both at the Neugebäude and in one or more of the festivities organized at court. Given his presence at Bučovice for several months just at the time these decorations were realized, I think it is safe to assume that he had been charged with organizing and supervising the decoration of this cycle of rooms, which probably was intended to serve as its patron's *studiolo* and to house his library and collections. On the basis of the particular theme and its style, I am also inclined to attribute the design of the *Imperial Chamber* to him.[18]

Strada's presence at Bučovice at the time these decorations were executed obviously also raises the question whether he may earlier have had some role in the design of the castle itself. In her monograph on the Neugebäude Hilda Lietzmann was the first to propose him as its architect, instead of Ferrabosco,

16 She cites an unpublished restoration report of 1952, and investigated the room herself with specialist assistance (Vacková 1979, pp. 241–242).

17 Van Mander 1604, fol. 272r. 'Hier toe maeckte hy oock eenighe groote beelden van acht oft neghen voeten hoogh, eerst opgheraemt van hort hoy ghebonden, en daer nae met pot-eerde <…>, alle de beelden van aerde wesende, werden geschildert wit van Oly-verwe, datse glans hadde*n* als witten Marber'.

18 A general survey of the decoration in Krčalová 1969, pp. 190–192; on the Imperial Chamber, see Royt 1997. These rooms merit a more detailed investigation, also as to their remarkable iconography and its sources: the *Chamber of the Five Senses* appears to be based on a set of 1581 prints by Raphael Sadeler after Martin de Vos; the *Chamber of the Birds* uses princely emblems such as those later printed in Ottavio Strada's *Symbola;* the *Chamber of the Hares* is probably inspired by a cycle painted a few years earlier by Heinrich Krönung in the *Hasensaal*, the principal reception room of the Augustusburg, a splendid Renaissance hunting residence built by the Elector August of Saxony only a few years earlier, which itself was based on Georg Pencz' woodcut to a poem by Hans Sachs, printed already in 1535.

whose links with Bučovice are questionable in any case.[19] At first sight this is an attractive proposition: Bučovice is one of the most carefully designed Italianate mansions in the Habsburg dominions [Figs. 10.12–10.13 and 10.21]. Its lay-out clearly represents an early version of the 'palazzo in fortezza', that is a manor house designed on a plan or protected by outworks that imitate modern, Italianate fortification, such as those planned by Antonio da Sangallo around the Farnese villa at Caprarola and illustrated in various versions in Serlio's *Sesto Libro*.[20] It had already inspired other castles in Bohemia, notably Nelahozeves (Mühlhausen), built from 1553 onward on the banks of the Vltava north of Prague for Florian Griespek von Griespach (1509–1588), secretary of the Bohemian Chamber.[21] At Nelahozeves the corner towers of the house itself are shaped as bastions, that is, the castle itself was planned as a fortress; in other versions, such as Bučovice and, slightly later, at Vilém z Rožmberk's country house Kratochvíle [Fig. 10.11], a more straightforward manor house and its garden is set within an enclosure protected by a curtain wall and bastions at the corners and surrounded by a moat.

19 It is not clear whether the lost documents reported by the Liechtenstein archivist actually mentioned Ferrabosco's name. 1567, when Jan Šembera was only twenty-four years old, seems rather early for the huge project as was finally realized: (copies of) documents recording building activities from 1575 and 1579 have been preserved, and its main fabric seems only to have been finished by 1583. It is perhaps more likely that Bučovice was built according to plans made after 1572, when Jan Šembera's elder brother Albrecht died without issue, and he became the head of his illustrious family (of which he also would be the last male representative). Krčalová 1969, pp. 183–188, sums up Ferrabosco's documented activities, exclusively imperial commissions, in which he was very strenuously occupied (both in military and civil architecture; in 1566 and 1567, when he would have made the plans for Bučovice, he was chiefly occupied with fortifications in Hungary). One wonders whether he would have time and occasion to work for private patrons.

20 On the *palazzo in fortezza*, see Frommel 1999. The citadel of Jülich was one of the earliest versions north of the Alps, though it is perhaps not quite representative of the type, since here the citadel is a very serious, complete and very up to date fortress. Serlio's relevant projects in the Munich ms. of the *Sesto Libro,* BSB-HS, *Cod. Icon*. 189, ff. 16v–18r: 'Della casa del principe illustre a modo di fortezza' (an Italianate version of his design for Ancy-le-Franc); idem, ff. 18v–19r; ff. 25v–27r: 'Della casa del principe illustrissimo per fare alla campagna'; ff. 27v–29r.: 'Della casa del principe Tiranno per far fuori alla campagna'; ff. 29v.–31r.: 'Della casa del principe tiranno di un altra forma' (a variation on the Villa Farnese at Caprarola). Even more or less cosmetic fortifications such as that at Bučovice did have a practical defensive function, witness the fact that sometime during the Thirty Years' War the house withstood a siege by a marauding Protestant army (which burnt the village instead).

21 Griespek was a very avant-garde patron of architecture, on his two beautiful creations at Kaceřov and Nelahozeves, cf. Erich Hubala, 'Die Schloßbauten des Florian Griespeck in Katzerow und Mühlhausen', in *Renaissance in Böhmen* 1985, pp. 63–105.

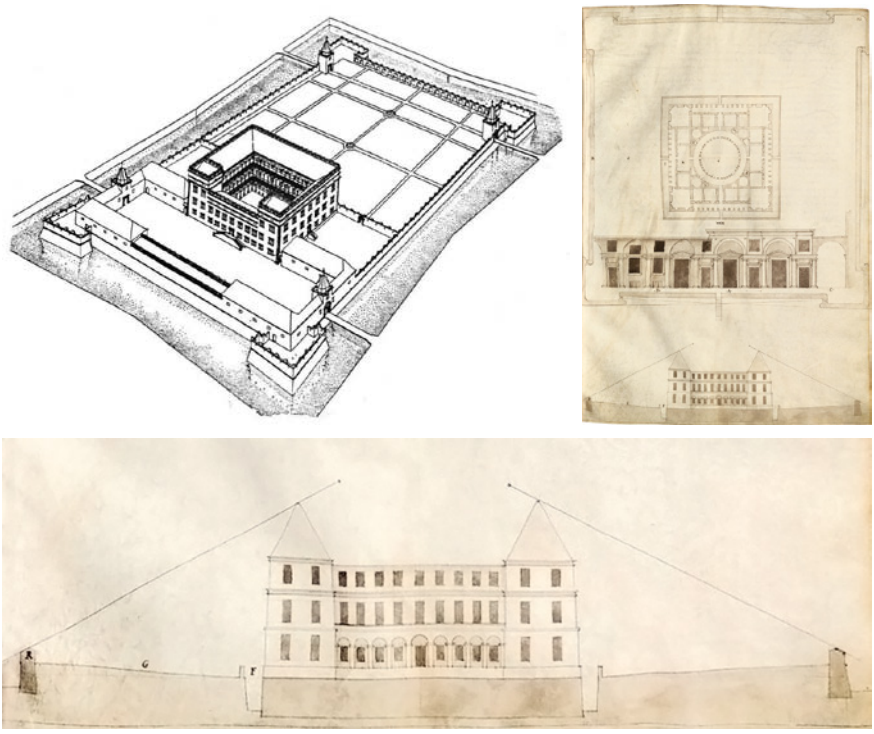


FIGURE 10.21 Reconstruction of the original appearance of Bučovice.
FIGURES 10.22–10.23 Sebastiano Serlio, design for a palace for an illustrious prince in the countryside, from the Munich ms. of the *Sesto Libro.*

Both types are represented in Serlio's *Sesto Libro*: the example closest to Bučovice, both in form and in function, is his project nr. X, 'Della casa del principe illustrissimo per fare alla campagna' [Figs. 10.22–10.23]. If Serlio provided the inspiration for Bučovice, as seems likely, Strada must of necessity have been the intermediary, since the *Sesto Libro* was never published. So Lietzmann's intuition that Strada was in some way involved in the project in the 1570s, or perhaps even earlier, seems rather plausible.

But though it seems likely that Strada advised or even coached the patron of Bučovice or his architect, which might well explain the systematic rigor of the planning of the castle, I think it rather unlikely that the actual design was due to him. My doubts are due in particular to the colonnades, where the arches are carried directly on single columns, without entablature whatsoever [Fig. 10.13]. Though these arches and the columns that support them are well-proportioned, in Italy this would be a quite old-fashioned solution by this time. I would have expected Strada to have opted, as at the Stallburg, for the more

correct solution of piers carrying the arches. Moreover it is difficult to accept that Strada would have agreed with the asymmetrical division of the windows in the west or garden wing, which spoils the monumentality of this otherwise quite grand facade [Fig. 10.12]. And finally the doubled windows, however classically detailed, appear to me to reflect a vernacular tradition: Strada doubtless would have opted for more classical, single, vertically spaced windows, as in his own house and in his design for the Antiquarium. So if Strada was involved in the design of Bučovice, his contribution probably remained limited to its planning, while the actual design of the elevation was left to Pietro Gabri, the North-Italian architect active in Moravia who was actually paid for building Bučovice.

10.5 Christoph von Teuffenbach: The House in Vienna and the Castle at Drnholec

Strada's house functioned as a clearing house for cultural information within the overlapping worlds of courtiers, diplomats, scholars, artists and merchants that made up and surrounded the Imperial court. This function, which will be investigated in greater detail in the next chapter, was of great importance to Strada, probably both for economic reasons and for reasons of personal and family prestige. To emphasize this function he kept a sort of guestbook in which his most important guests, in particular princes and great magnates, were asked to write their name, which he then complemented by a carefully illuminated illustration of their coat of arms. His second son, Ottavio, perhaps imitating this procedure, kept a personal *album amicorum* or *Stammbuch*, in which he asked his aristocratic acquaintances to write their names.[22]

I have often wondered where Strada took the idea of having such a guest book for his *Musaeum*, and why his son Ottavio, who never studied at a university, nevertheless kept a *Stammbuch*, a typically German tradition that had only very recently originated at the Protestant universities.[23] I was alerted to a plausible solution by an article by Günther Buchinger, Paul Mitchell and Doris Schön of the Vienna *Denkmalamt*, which presents the results of their research into the building history of the so-called Concordia house. Situated at nr 8 of the Bankgasse, opposite the Stadtpalais Liechtenstein in Vienna, this was at one time the next-door neighbour but one of the house of Jacopo Strada. Though

22 On Jacopo Strada's guest book and his son Ottavio's Stammbuch, see below, Ch. 11.1; Jansen 1992, pp. 199–201.

23 On *Stammbücher* in general, see Fechner 1981; Klose 1982; Klose 1989.

its facade dates from the late seventeenth-century, its basic fabric dates back to the period when it was originally built by Christoph von Teuffenbach, *Freiherr* von Mairhofen, after his acquisition of the site sometime in 1568.[24]

Teuffenbach, a member of a Protestant Styrian noble family, studied with Melanchton in Wittenberg, where he matriculated in 1546. He began his military career under the aegis of the Imperial General Lazarus von Schwendi and fought against the Turks in Hungary. In 1567 he was sent, with Antun Vrančič and Albert de Wyss, as ambassador to the Sultan, Selim II, with whom they negotiated the truce of Adrianople (1568). Upon his return he served as a diplomat and a military commander in Hungary, jobs in which he was quite successful. He died in 1596, only a year after Hans von Aachen had painted—as a gift to its sitter—a splendid portrait which is lost, but known through Sadeler's attractive engraving [Fig. 10.24].[25] Strada's probable contacts with his near-neighbour may provide a neat solution to my problem: as Teuffenbach's own *Stammbuch* is an early example of the type, he could well have provided the inspiration for Jacopo's guest book and Ottavio's *album amicorum*.[26]

It is very suggestive that Teuffenbach began building his house next door to Strada at a time when Strada's own house neared at least partial completion. Though its facade dates from the late seventeenth century, from the research by Buchinger *cum suis* it results that its basic fabric dates back to the period when it was originally built. I have found no documents proving that the two neighbours and fellow-courtiers discussed their projects together, but some such informal exchange doubtless has taken place. Teuffenbach, who was a soldier, a diplomat and an intellectual, would have been curious to consult the architectural material in Strada's possession and discuss his plans with him, while Strada would have been eager to merit the good graces of an influential courtier, as well as willing to oblige a respected neighbour. Such compliance may have remained limited to comments and advice. Yet from the point of view of Teuffenbach, it would have made sense to ask Strada to prepare the drawings: in this way he would be assured of a quite up-to-date design, of which Strada's own house gave him already an idea. In view of his absence for

24 Buchinger/ Mitchell/ Schön 2006. But the *Hofquartierbücher* already mention it as the possession of 'Herr von Tieffenpach. Freyhaus' in 1863 [Birk 1869, p. 126].

25 Joachim Jacoby, *Hans von Aachen*, Rotterdam, 1996, nr. 101, pp. 219–222. The inscription on the print states: 'Sacra Caes: Mai.tis pictor Joan ab Ach pinxit, eidemque Fig. Dno. d<ono> d<edit>', i.e. 'The Imperial Painter Johannes von Aachen painted this and presented it as a gift to the same illustrious gentleman'. The print was often copied or adapted, among others for Dominicus Custos' portrait collection, *Atrium Heroicum* … , of 1600–1602.

26 Salomon 1955; Klose 1989; Kurras 1989. On Teuffenbach: Schweigerd 1852, s.v. Teuffenbach, pp. 466–469; Wurzbach 1856–1891, 44, 1882, 44, pp. 63–65.

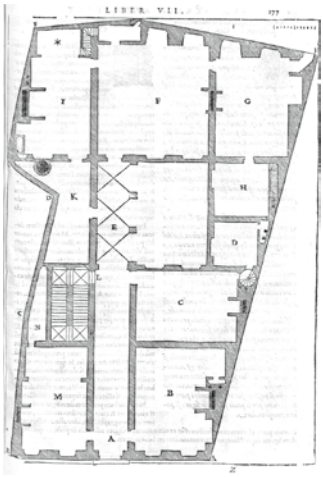


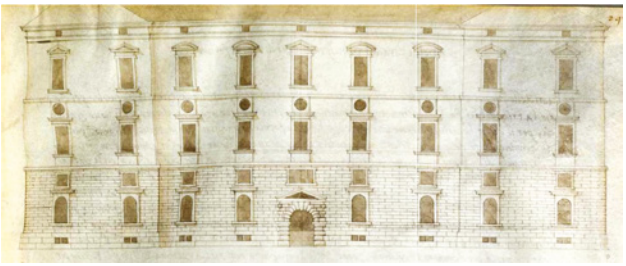
FIGURE 10.24 Johannes Sadeler, Christoph von Teuffenbach, engraving after a lost portrait by Hans von Aachen, 1595.

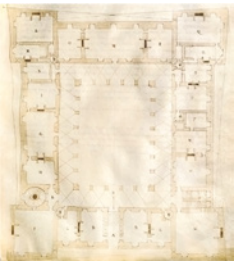
FIGURES 10.25–10.26 Plan of the house built ca. 1565–1570 in Vienna for Christoph von Teuffenbach, compared to one of the projects for houses on an irregular site from Serlio's *Settimo Libro* (1575).

FIGURES 10.27–10.28 Drnholec, the castle built ca. 1583–1587 for Christoph von Teuffenbach, restructured in the late eighteenth century; and a detail of one of its stucco ceilings.

more than a year, it would be a great advantage that its designer was living next door, and could closely supervise the building's progress. Moreover Strada's connection with the Imperial building works would be favourable, making it easier to find labourers and specialized artisans and perhaps materials as well.

In any case the lay-out of Teuffenbach's house [Fig. 10.25], built on a site of irregular proportions, demonstrates an intelligent application of Serlio's proposals for building on irregular sites [Fig. 10.26]. These were included in





FIGURES 10.29–10.30 Serlio's plan and elevation for a fortified palace for a 'principe tiranno' in the countryside, from the Munich ms. of the *Sesto Libro.*

FIGURES 10.31–10.32 Drnholec, the entrance gate to the castle built for Christoph von Teuffenbach.

his *Settimo Libro*, the manuscript of which was in the possession of Strada, who was preparing it for publication. As we have seen above, his edition would come out only in 1575, with a preface of his own, and a dedication to another important patron, Vilém z Rožmberk. It is likely that Strada had offered access to his manuscripts to Teuffenbach and to his architect, whoever he was. But it would have been quite efficient if he had made the designs himself, and had made the crew he had already brought together to construct his own house available to Teuffenbach.

Some fifteen years later Christoph von Teuffenbach began building a huge mansion on his newly acquired manor at Dürnholz or Drnholec in Moravia. Also for this project it is possible that he may have had recourse to his Vienna neighbour and may have made use of the materials kept in his *Musaeum*.[27] The castle itself has been largely reconstructed in the eighteenth century, but some of its basic structure has been preserved, witness the beautiful late

27 On Drnholec, see *Hrady, Zámky a tvrze v Čechách, Na Moravě a ve Slezsku* 1981, pp. 94–95; Samek 1994, p. 416–417. I am grateful to Ivan Muchka for having provided me with photocopies of these entries.

sixteenth- and early seventeenth- century stucco ceilings that have recently been restored [Fig. 10.28]. With its quite huge bastion-like pavilions at the corners of the main block [Fig. 10.27], this again appears to be a variation on the 'palazzo in fortezza' type, perhaps based on Serlio's two related projects 'Della casa del principe tiranno per far fare alla campagna' [Fig. 10.29–10.30].[28]

Any speculation as to Strada's possible involvement in the design for the main block must depend on future research providing more evidence as to its original appearance. Yet the castle preserves one feature relatively intact that does allow some further discussion: the entrance portal, originally part of the demolished gatehouse, which is dated 1583 [Figs. 10.31–10.32]. This is a beautiful example of Italian classical architecture, very close to Serlio and to Giulio Romano, and in its sobriety close to Strada's own house and the Stallburg. Considering that this is exactly the time that Strada was involved in projects at Bučovice, elsewhere in Moravia, I am tempted to tentatively attribute its design to him. In any case I think it can be considered as a prime example of the influence of Strada's presence and of the documentary materials available to his patrons in his *Musaeum*.

10.6 Reichard Strein von Schwarzenau and the Castle at Schwarzenau

There is still one more example where it seems possible that Strada's materials and his personal comments on them may have influenced one—or perhaps even more—of a patron's projects. The patron in question was Reichard Strein von Schwarzenau, a young and cultured member of one of the richest Protestant noble families from Lower Austria [Fig. 10.33].[29] Born in 1538, he had studied in Padua and Strasbourg, after which he soon became a trusted servant of Maximilian II, filling in quick succession ever higher posts. In 1567, when he was only 29 years old, he became president of the *Hofkammer*, the principal financial official at court. Already at twenty-one he had published in Geneva a small treatise on the genealogies of ancient Roman *gentes*, and he continued this study with sufficient diligence to publish in 1571 a far more ample version, printed by Paulus Manutius in Venice, with a dedication to Archduke

28 Munich ms. of the *Sesto Libro,* BSB-HS *Cod. Icon.* 189, fol. 27v–29r.

29 The name was and is also spelled Streun; I have opted for the spelling used on the titlepage of Reichard Strein's own publications (see following note); on Strein, see Grossmann 1929; Evans 1973/1984, pp. 127–128.

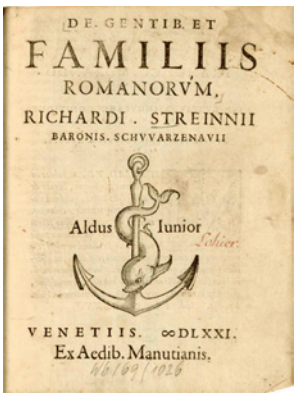


FIGURE 10.33 Anonymous, Reichard Strein von Schwarzenau, from the portrait book of Hieronymus Beck; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

FIGURE 10.34 Reichard Strein's *De gentibus familiis Romanorum*, printed by Paulus Manutius in 1571.

FIGURE 10.35 A page from the *Codex Argenteus*, the Gothic bible translation acquired by Strein for the Imperial library.

Charles [Fig. 10.34].[30] His interest in Roman civilization also expressed itself in the acquisition of antiquities such as inscriptions and sculpture.[31] He was also interested in the history of the Late Roman Empire and its textual sources, and managed to acquire the famous *Codex Argenteus*, containing Wulfila's Gothic Bible translation, for the Imperial library [Fig. 10.35].[32] In addition he published on the laws of his homeland, Lower Austria. In view of his interests and erudition it is not surprising that at one point his functions included the supervision of the Imperial library.

Merely in view of his position Strein would have had access to Strada's *Musaeum*, but sharing many interests it is possible that they maintained informal contacts—the more so because, just as Strada and Teuffenbach, they

30 *Gentium et familiarum Romanorum stemmata. Richardo Streinnio barone Suuarzenauio auctore*, [Geneva] 1559 (published by Henri Estienne with the type of Ulrich Fugger); *De gentibus et familiis Romanorum*, Venetiis [Aldus Manutius] 1571.

31 These included two inscriptions from Ravenna, which Strein had obtained from the collection of Matthäus Cardinal Lang von Wellenburg, Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, and an inscription from Lorch (Lauricum); cf. Langeder 2009.

32 Now in Uppsala University Library; cf. Unterkirchner 1968, p. 72; cf. H.F. Massmann, 'Gothica minora' in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* 1, 1841, pp. 294–393, esp. pp. 315–319; Dorothea Diemer, 'ein adenlichs hausgerette, und nit jedermans Ding': zum Schicksal des Codex Argenteus Upsaliensis im 16 Jahrhundert', in Diemer/ Diemer/ Sauerländer 2008, 3, pp. 331–344.

were neighbours: Strein lived on the site of the present Palais Starhemberg, across the Vordere Schenkengasse, almost opposite Strada.[33] That they did have contact on scholarly topics is clear from the fact that it was Strein who, in June 1573, presented Strada's request for letters of recommendation from the Emperor to various princes of the Empire, to induce them to subsidize the huge scholarly publishing programme he was setting up.[34]

Strein may well have been willing to promote Strada's scholarly projects in other ways. Thus it may have been through his recommendation that Strada came in contact with Henricus Glareanus and François Hotman, two of the teachers Strein had studied with, and whom he highly praises in the preface of his *De gentibus*. With Aldus Manutius the younger and Fulvio Orsini, whom Strada knew through his presence or contacts in Venice and Rome, these two outstanding scholars contributed to the first complete edition of Caesar's *Commentaries*, which Strada intended to publish in France, and for which he obtained a copyright privilege of King Charles IX on Christmas day of 1572.[35]

If they shared such interests and enthusiasm, it is obvious that—once Strein began planning architectural projects—he would have recourse to the documentation in his neighbour's *Musaeum* and to his expertise in this field. And Strein was planning architectural projects almost all the time: his family was very wealthy, and he and his brothers together owned and sometimes rebuilt something close to twenty-five castles and country houses in Lower Austria and Moravia.[36]

Reichard Strein's principal seat was the huge castle of Freidegg in Ferschnitz in Lower Austria, which he had almost completely reconstructed between 1575 and 1594 [Fig. 10.36]. Almost nothing of all this remains; the Streins died out in the seventeenth century and there are no family archives documenting the genesis of this or the other projects undertaken by Reichard. Nevertheless one of his creations is still standing, the ancestral seat from which he derived his

33 Grossmann 1927.

34 Doc. 1573-06-00, Strada to the Imperial Vice-Chancellor Weber: 'Io creddo che la Signoria Vostra avera auto la mia suplica che'l Signor Strain à mandato avanti hieri alla Signoria Vostra'. On this project, see Jansen 2004, pp. 184–185 and below, Ch. 14.

35 On this edition, printed in Frankfurt in 1575, see Jansen 2004, pp. 189–191 and below, Ch. 14.5.3.

36 Recently discussed in Alena Skrabanek's outstanding master-thesis dedicated to the architecture of Ungarschitz/ Uherčice, the one substantial estate the Strein family owned in Moravia: Skrabanek 2008, esp. pp. 35–38 'Exkurs: Genealogie und Herrschaftsstruktur der Streun von Schwarzenau' and pp. 39–40 'Exkurs: Nebensitze der Streun in Niederösterreich'.

FIGURES 10.36–10.37 Two castles rebuilt for Reichard Strein von Schwarzenau, from Georg Matthäus Vischer's printseries *Topographia Archiducatis Austriae Inf. modernae* (1672): Schloss Freidegg (1575–1594) and Schloss Schwarzenau (1583?–1592).

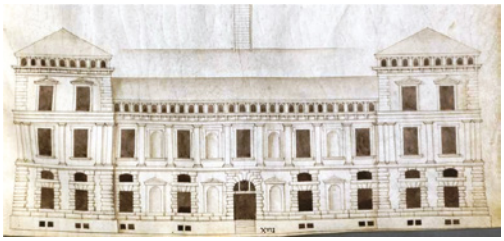
FIGURES 10.38–10.39 Schloss Schwarzenau, views of the west or entrance facade and the south facade.

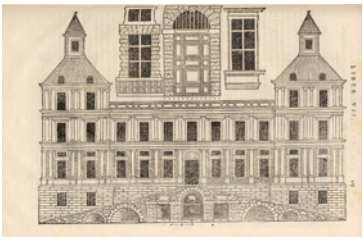
title, the castle at Schwarzenau in the west of Lower Austria, close to the Czech border [Fig. 10.37; 10.38–10.39].[37]

It is not exactly known when it was begun, perhaps slightly later than Reichard's projects in Freidegg (1575–1594). The date 1592 on the sundial on one of Schwarzenau's towers is generally considered its date of completion—in view of the long construction period of Freidegg a projecting date for Schwarzenau in the early or the mid-1580s at the latest is plausible. Schwarzenau is a very big house, which was built largely *ex novo* according to a rigorous, symmetrical plan; its main focus is the wide entrance facade on the west, which is flanked

37 Daim/Kühtreiber/Kühtreiber 2009, pp. 472–473 (with refs. to earlier literature); Skrabanek 2008, pp. 51–52, 63 ff. (comparison with Ungarschitz and other Strein castles). I am very grateful to Mr. Juergen Hesz for having generously allowed me full access to the house.

FIGURES 10.40–10.41 Schloss Schwarzenau: the one surviving bastion-like outbuilding.





FIGURES 10.42–10.43 Sebastiano Serlio's non-executed designs for the châteaux at Ancy-le-France (from the *Sesto Libro*) and Lourmarin (from the *Settimo Libro*).

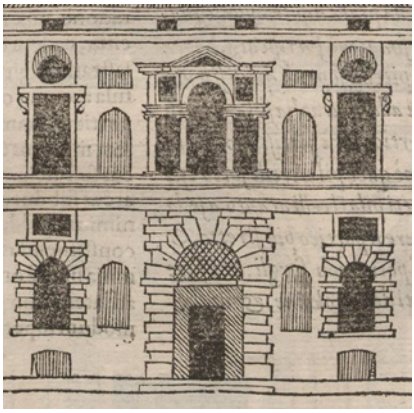
by two huge square pavilions; above the two principal floors these develop into ample octagonal towers. It is not clear whether the original plan included a repetition of these pavilions at the north- and southeast corners. The semi-circular courtyard seen in Vischer's print is probably a relic of the earlier castle which was intended to be eventually replaced (is has been demolished since then).[38]

In her recent thesis on the castle of Uherčice in Moravia, restructured for Reichard's brother Hanusch Wolfhart, Alena Skrabanek has compared the various projects undertaken by the Strein in these years. In an excursus she points out that in many of these projects various architectural details, in particular portals, are directly derived from illustrations in Serlio's treatises.[39] She makes

38 Though it might be worthwhile to consider whether it may have been the relic of a planned, but unfinished circular courtyard as at the Villa Madama, the Palace at Granada, and in several of Serlio's palace projects. No remnants of this fabric appear to have survived.

39 Notably the portal of the church at Ferschnitz, the parish church next to Reichard's principal seat at Freidegg, and where he arranged the tombs for himself and his two wives; Skrabanek 2008, Ch. 10.5. 'Serliorezeption bei Bauten der Streun' pp. 94–100.

FIGURES 10.44–10.45 The entrance facade of Schwarzenau compared to Serlio's proposal for 'a house for a tyrant prince in the countryside' in his *Sesto Libro.*

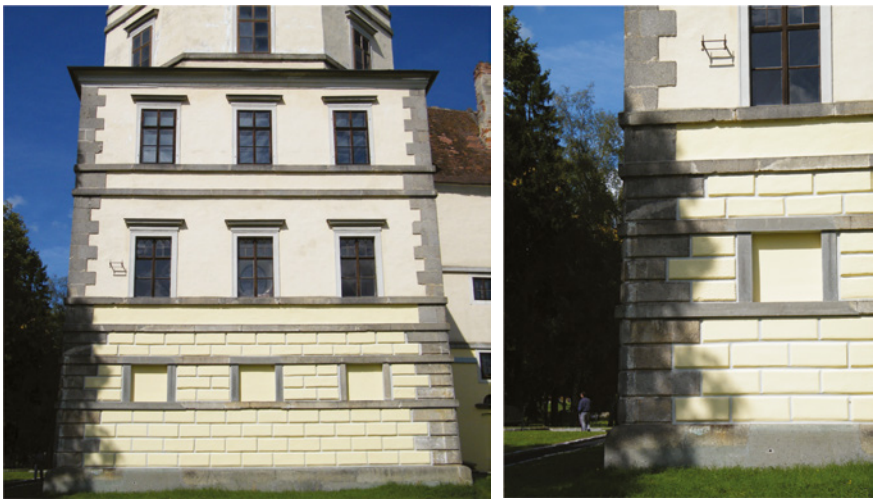


FIGURES 10.46–10.47 A detail of the entrance facade of Schwarzenau, compared to one of Serlio's proposals for the refurbishment of an old town house, in his *Settimo Libro.*

no mention of Schwarzenau in this context, but a case can be made that here Serlio's example likewise provided some inspiration.

The castle at Schwarzenau is of a similar type as Bučovice, its lay-out another version of a 'palazzo in fortezza' as presented in Serlio's *Sesto Libro* [Fig. 10.22–10.23]. One of the bastion-like outbuildings at the angles of the forecourt, here placed quite close to the main building, is still preserved [Fig. 10.40–10.41]. The type of the house, an ample facade flanked by huge square towers, is even closer to its type than is Bučovice.

This type itself is close to the type Serlio developed for two of his French patrons at the castles at Ancy-le-Franc and Lourmarin, likewise illustrated in the *Sesto Libro* and in the *Settimo Libro* respectively [Figs. 10.42 and 10.43]. Both here and in Schwarzenau—and at Bučovice for that matter—the corner blocks may have been inspired by the corner towers of the medieval castles these houses replace, but their bulk far exceeds that of such towers. Unlike as at, for instance, the Escorial, these towers have developed into pavilions,



FIGURES 10.48–10.49 Schwarzenau: the southwest pavilion and a detail of its rustic story.

building blocks so substantial that they draw attention away from the centre of the building. It is not surprising that at Schwarzenau, where the pavilions are separated by a more extended front facade than in Serlio's designs, it was felt necessary to accentuate its centre with a bell tower on the roof.

The composition of the entrance facade at Schwarzenau also appears to reflect Serlian example. Though less markedly rhythmical, the placement of the windows accentuates the centre in a rather similar way as in Serlio's facade for a 'casa del principe tiranno' in the *Sesto Libro* [Figs. 10.44 and 10.45]. And its central bay seems a rather close variation on Serlio's eighth proposal for the refurbishment of an old town house in his *Settimo Libro*, down to the placement of the niches on either side of the Serliana (which at Schwarzenau is reduced to a minimal tripartite window) and the sparse detailing of the entrance portal [Figs. 10.46 and 10.47].[40]

Apart from Serlio, Schwarzenau owes some of the elements of its design to Mantua, to the spare, well-proportioned architecture in modelled brick covered in stucco as it was developed by Giulio Romano and continued by his

40 It is not quite clear whether the four niches with statues of female personifications date from a later, Neoclassical refurbishment in the early nineteenth century; neither Vischer's image of the castle nor that in an eighteenth century painted wall-hanging discussed and illustrated in Donin 1963, pp. 73–75, are sufficiently clear to determine whether the niches were already there. But the Serlio example indicates that it is perfectly plausible that they were. Physical investigation of the niches themselves and of the four statues (are these the originals?) might contribute to an answer to this problem.

FIGURES 10.50–10.52 Schwarzenau: the entrance to the ground floor from the androne; a door surround on the first floor; remains of the stucco ceiling in one of the octagonal rooms in the north-west pavilion.

pupils Giovanni Battista Bertani and Ippolito Pedemonte. Note in particular the carefully designed and beautifully proportioned corner pavilions, and the flat *bugnato* of the rustic level [Fig. 10.48–10.49]. The strongly marked, heavy stone string courses, emphasizing the horizontals of the facade and pulling the whole building together, are another Mantuan feature. It is moreover an element which immediately links Schwarzenau to the design of the Vienna Neugebäude [above, Fig. 9.105–9.106].

The careful detailing is a quite exceptional feature of Schwarzenau: elements such as the elegant niches flanking a segmental entrance portal in the *androne* [Fig. 10.50], the well proportioned door-surrounds [Fig. 10.51] and some of the remains of the stucco decorations [Fig. 10.52] are purely classical and Italian in taste. Over all the design of Schwarzenau is of exceptional quality: it demonstrates a profound grasp of the principles of classical, Vitruvian architecture, and no concessions are made to vernacular tradition.[41] This sophistication well fits the patron, an intellectual aristocrat who may well have owed this sophistication in the field of architecture not only to a first-hand knowledge of printed architectural treatises, but also to his familiarity with the many materials he had seen in Strada's *Musaeum* and to the explanations and comments their owner had provided.

Whether Strein had asked Strada to prepare designs for his project cannot be determined. I am inclined to think that this has been the case, in the first

41 Alena Skrabanek signals a similar understanding in the use of Serlio's example in other commissions of Strein and his brothers: 'Die nicht mehr wörtliche Übernahme des Vorbildes bei den weiteren Anwendungen zeugt von einem tieferen Verständnis der Lehre des Traktates, dessen Gebrauch zwar für eine praktische Benützung, aber nicht für ein geistloses Nachbauen der dort illustrierten Exempel gedacht war'. (Skrabanek 2008, p. 95).

place because there are few—if any—other architects in the region to whom it could plausibly be attributed; but also because its style is quite close to what one could expect from Strada on the basis of his architectural background—Mantua, Giulio and Serlio—and of the little we know of his architectural practice, in particular his drawings for the Munich Antiquarium and the design of his own house in Vienna.

10.7 Conclusion

The exact significance of Jacopo Strada's position as Imperial Architect is very difficult to determine with certainty, chiefly because it appears that he was hardly—if ever—employed as an executive architect or master mason actually supervising the construction of his projects. There is little concrete information even on his role as a designer, which is documented only for the Munich Antiquarium and an unspecified section of the Vienna Neugebäude, and is self-evident in the case of his own house. Moreover Strada himself hardly presented himself as an architect: he preferred to sign with his title as Imperial Antiquary, and even in his Serlio edition he did not present himself as an architect or builder, but merely implied that he was capable of editing Serlio's drawings 'because of the familiarity I have with his things'. Though well aware of the importance of constructive and technical aspects of building and quite adept at practical detailing in an architectural design, as the Antiquarium design makes abundantly clear, it is obvious that he did not consider himself a builder or contractor. It is unlikely that he ever acted as such, except in the case of his own house. It was only towards the end of his career, when his other activities had became less lucrative, that he explicitly solicited for architectural commissions, first with the Elector August of Saxony, and later with Archduke Ernest, as governor of Lower and Upper Austria for his brother, Emperor Rudolf II. In neither case there is evidence that his attempts were successful, though in view of the type of services he offered, this absence of documentation does not necessarily imply that they were not. Advice given, a sketch or even a worked-out design made at an informal request, an expert coaching given to a fellow court-architect in the guise of collegial consultation are not things that necessarily are recorded on paper.[42]

42 Hilda Lietzmann 1997 exhaustively presents the evidence of Strada's contact with the Dresden court, and makes a quite convincing case that Strada did not get very far with Elector August, who had just appointed a new, young Italian architect, Giovanni Maria Nosseni. But here again we only know what happened before Strada actually met the Elector in person. For Strada's approach to Archduke Ernest in 1579, cf. above, Ch. 4.4.1; it is not unlikely that the Archduke did occasionally employ him even in the 1580s: as a

In any case this lack of practical building experience by no means precludes his immediate influence on the architectural patronage at the Imperial court and its *Umkreis*. Strada is certainly not the only Renaissance architect who did not come to the job out of the building industry: Alberti, Michelangelo, Raphael and Giulio Romano are merely the most exalted examples. There can be no doubt that Strada's role as an architectural designer was taken seriously at court: the trouble Maximilian II took during his last diet at Regensburg, only a few weeks before his death, to recommend his faithful servant to Elector August of Saxony is sufficient evidence of his confidence in Strada's powers.

Summing up, we may conclude that Strada's position as an Imperial Architect and as an expert in the design both of classical Antiquity and contemporary Italian architecture and decoration cannot have failed to have had a certain significance. His position was so firm, his network so wide, that it can be confidently assumed that he had a considerable influence on the development of architecture and decorative design at the Imperial court, and occasionally elsewhere in Austria and Bohemia. This effect was linked to the tastes and preferences of his chief patrons, the Emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II, and on those of a select group of their courtiers. Moreover his expertise may have influenced the architects and other artists active at court.

Strada exerted such influence partially by means of his own example: at least by the splendid house he built for himself. But doubtless of far greater importance was the collection of relevant graphic documentation on classical Antiquity and contemporary art, architecture and decoration that was housed in it, and which was accessible at least to the upper ranks of courtiers and to Strada's immediate colleagues. These materials were instructive in themselves, but in view of Strada's enthusiasm for his drawings, it is quite likely that he would explain them to, and critically discuss them with his visitors. In this way his *Musaeum* provided a modest and informal academy of architecture and design. It is for this, perhaps more than for his own designs, that Strada can be considered as an important channel by which the ideas and the formal language of the Italian High Renaissance came to be received in Central Europe. This was only one function of the minor but quite lively centre of artistic and intellectual activities that his house and collection offered to the Imperial court and its many visitors, and which will be sketched in the next chapters of this study.

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resident of Vienna he was close at hand, and through his eldest son Paolo was represented in the household of the Archduke Ernest, who may also have occasionally referred to him purely out of courtesy to an old, faithful servant once highly prized by his father.