



# The Palace of Queen Anne Jagiello and Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol by the White Tower in Prague Castle\*

Petr Uličný

From the times of Vladislaus II Jagiello (1456–1516) the residence in Prague Castle had two parts. After a costly refurbishment, the Old Royal Palace was adapted as the King's seat and a new palace was built for the Queen by the White Tower on the west side of Prague Castle. Later it became the residence of Queen Anne Jagiello (1503–1547), wife of Ferdinand I, and after her death, in 1547, it became the residence of the second-born, Bohemian Governor Archduke Ferdinand II. Although not much has survived after numerous reconstructions, one can get a rough idea of its extent and furnishings on the basis of several fragments, written sources and iconography.

## KEYWORDS:

Prague Castle; Queen's Palace; residence; Habsburgs; Ferdinand I; Anne Jagiello; Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol; architecture; topography

For centuries the King and Queen in Prague Castle shared residential quarters in one palace. Vladislaus II Jagiello (1456–1516) was evidently the first Bohemian ruler to separate the residence of the Queen from that of the King sometime after he moved back to the castle from Prague's Old Town in 1485. He moved the site of the Queen's residence one hundred metres to the west from the Old Royal Palace, which he had magnificently renovated over the course of his long reign (1471–1516), beside the castle's main gate, which was guarded by the White Tower. This division of the royal residence into two parts was something new in the history of Prague Castle. The division was all the more curious in that the new palace for the Queen was not even a direct part of the castle but rather jutted out from the side of the castle in the direction of the moats. It was wedged between the south-west corner of the Romanesque castle walls and the road connecting the gate beside the White Tower to its barbican (the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> castle gates). There are no sources documenting when exactly the separation of royal residences occurred. The only written sources in which the Queen's palace is mentioned as being next to the White Tower date moreover from a later period, when the wife of King Ferdinand I, Anne Jagiello (1503–1547), was living there. From this evidence it can be assumed that the palace was built during the reign of Vladislaus II Jagiello and that Ferdinand I adopted the arrangement of the Queen having a separate residence from his Jagiellonian predecessors. If the Queen's palace by the White Tower did indeed originate under Vladislaus II, it must have been built for Queen Anne of Foix (1484–1506), whom he married after two previous, unrecognised marriages, and so after 1502, the year of Anne's and Vladislaus's wedding. This could mean it was built in 1504 or 1505, when

Anne's journey to Bohemia for the coronation ceremony was planned. The journey ultimately never took place<sup>1</sup> as the Queen died in 1506 and never had a chance to live in the palace in Prague Castle.

The south-west corner of the castle in which the Queen's palace was built had previously been an area of great strategic importance and that importance was then passed on to the Queen's palace. This strategic status is reflected in the palace's appearance and is visible in a view of Prague from 1536 depicting Prague Castle a few years before the catastrophic fire that struck the castle and the Lesser Town (Malá Strana) in 1541. While the view just shows the palace in outline (the artist, probably Mathias Gerung, was only in Prague for a short stay and just had enough time to sketch the outlines of the city, and he completed the view later in his workshop),<sup>2</sup> it captures the sharp protrusion of the half-timbered upper storey, which, like the bastions depicted in the eastern side of the castle, most certainly served a defensive function [Fig. 1]. Because the palace extended out in front of the earlier outer curtain wall, a row of embrasures had to be constructed in the wall of the ground level, and these can still be seen today in the cellar of the south wing in the former emperor's residence.<sup>3</sup> Apart from that, very little of the original Queen's palace has survived to the present day after the numerous renovations that have been done over time. Among the elements that are still apparent, is the late 15<sup>th</sup>-century portal in the passageway of the former 3<sup>rd</sup> castle gate [Fig. 3, No. 13]. A new square-layout gate was built to the east of the portal when the new palace was built and this new gate became the 3<sup>rd</sup> castle gate [Fig. 3, No. 12]. Since the portal of the barbican is a late-15<sup>th</sup>-century work, construction of the palace must have begun in the later stage of the Jagiellonian renovation of Prague Castle. Some construction activity occurred there around the year 1492, when Vladislaus's builder, Hans Pehem, wrote that the walkways on the castle walls had been completed and that a stone bridge had to be



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- 1 Josef MACEK, *Tři ženy krále Vladislava* [Three Wives of King Vladislaus], Praha 1991, p. 169.
- 2 Angelika MARSCH — Josef H. BILLER — Frank-Dietrich JACOB (edd.), *Die Reisebilder Pfalzgraf Ottheinrichs aus den Jahren 1536/1537, von seinem Ritt von Neuburg a. d. Donau über Prag nach Krakau und zurück über Breslau, Berlin, Wittenberg und Leipzig nach Neuburg*, Weissenhorn 2001, pp. XXVIII–XXXIII.
- 3 František KAŠIČKA, *Stavebně historické průzkumy SÚRPMO na Pražském hradě z posledního období (Západní díl Jižního křídla a kaple sv. Kříže)* [Architectural Research of the SÚRPMO in Prague Castle in the Last Period (The West Part of the South Wing and the Chapel of the Holy Cross)], *Archaeologia historica* 13, 1988, pp. 199–208, here p. 220; Kašička considers the wall with the embrasures to be the gothic wall from the time of Charles IV, that wall however lay further to the north.



built in the coming year. This might have been the bridge in front of the new third gate<sup>4</sup> or in front of the older barbican.<sup>5</sup>

The Queen's palace also contains an irregularly shaped room in the western part, the vaulting of which is set on an octagonal pillar made of hewed stone [Fig. 5]. Details on the pillar indicate that it dates from the time of Vladislaus II Jagiello, but its simplicity shows it to be the work of someone other than the excellent stonemasons who at that time were renovating the Old Royal Palace for the King. The house opposite to the 3<sup>rd</sup> moat and to the east of what is today Matthias Gate had the same style of vaulting [Fig. 3, No. 7].<sup>6</sup> This similar style of simple vaulting raises doubts as to whether the palace by the White Tower was actually built for the Queen when it was constructed late in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Given that King Vladislaus could only have begun to consider the idea of building a residence for the Queen at Prague Castle sometime in 1504 or 1505 in connection with the planned coronation journey of his wife Anne of Foix, such doubts are probably justified. It can therefore be assumed that sometime in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century a large residential and partially reinforced building was built during the reign of King Vladislaus near the White Tower, and given its strategic location it probably served as the residence for an official who was responsible for the defence of the castle, probably the castellan of Prague Castle, whose house was later on located to the north of the palace (see below). It seems that in connection with the planned arrival of the King's wife this residence was renovated to serve as the Queen's palace, and even though Vladislaus's wife never got to live in it, it retained the function of Queen's residence up until the time of King Ferdinand I.<sup>7</sup>

A small section of what must have been a window or door jamb that was uncovered in the former northern wall of the first floor of the palace may date from the time when the house was converted to the Queen's residence. The opening was walled up when Rudolf II's *Kunstkammer* was built (1601), one wall of which ran directly up against the western jamb, and this preserved the jamb to the present [Fig. 11].<sup>8</sup> The

4 Milada VILÍMKOVÁ, *Stavebně historický průzkum Pražského hradu: Pražský hrad. Jižní křídlo. Dějiny* [Architectural Research of Prague Castle: Prague Castle: South Wing: History], typewriter script, Praha 1972, p. 19.

5 Václav MENCL, *Architektura* [Architecture], in: Jaromír Homolka — Josef Krása — Václav Mencl — Jaroslav Pešina — Josef Petráň, *Pozdně gotické umění v Čechách (1471-1526)* [Late Gothic Art in Bohemia (1471-1526)], Praha 1978, pp. 73-166, here p. 85; Mencl however believes that this refers to the bridge leading to the oratory in St Vitus Cathedral.

6 The building was uncovered in 1965 by Ivan Borkovský. Its eastern facade formed the wall of the moat, which is why survived up to the time of the archaeological research. The wall was filled with openings whose jambs indicate they must have originated around the year 1500. The central column was taken down and moved into the Old Royal Palace. Archiv Pražského hradu [Archive of the Prague Castle, hereinafter APH, Prague], *Nová plánová sbírka* [New Plan Collection, hereinafter NPS], Sig. 10 106, Inv. Nos. 53, 59 and 61.

7 V. MENCL, *Architektura*, pp. 130-131, believes that the palace by the White Tower was not the Queen's residence but the castellan's, and he erroneously looks for the Queen's rooms in the southern section of the 3<sup>rd</sup> courtyard.

8 Eliška FUČÍKOVÁ — Petr CHOTĚBOR — Zdeněk LUKEŠ, *Prague Castle: Windows*, Praha 2002, p. 12.



diamond-patterned shaft of the moulding of the jamb is typical of the period around 1500. The jamb curves towards the top indicating that the opening either tapered to a point or terminated in a half-rounded top section. Beside the jamb there is a piece of sgraffito from the northern face of the palace, likely date from after the 1541 fire and provide an idea of what the palace face, now long vanished, must have looked like.

There are sources that report on renovations that Ferdinand I (the King of Bohemia in 1526–1564) carried out on the palace and the area around by the time prior to the catastrophic fire. In October 1533 Ferdinand ordered a bath to be built in the Queen's apartment. The Bohemian Royal Chamber however told him that there was not enough money to build a bath, which would have cost 600 schock (*kopa, sexagena*) of Groschen, so it is not clear whether this was ever built.<sup>9</sup> If it was, then it may have been in the south-west corner of the palace, as in the above-mentioned room with the octagonal pillar there was a large niche in one corner that could have been a fitting site for a bath. There was an oriel above the niche, the existence of which is indicated by a rare surviving fragment of the southern facade: a corbel set directly in what used to be the south-west corner of the palace [Fig. 6].<sup>10</sup>

Several buildings used to stand in the vicinity of the Queen's palace, one of which was the goldsmith's house. During the reign of Vladislaus II Jagiello it was owned by goldsmith Jan Knopf. There was a shop attached to it, and sometime before the year 1538, by which time the house belonged to another goldsmith by the name of Jacob Gruntmann (Jakub Grundman), and by which time it was referred to as standing below the White Tower "between the gates", the house burnt down. In 1571 the house was licensed to goldsmith Mikuláš Miller, and at that time it was identified as standing "on the right-hand side on the way from the White Tower to the large courtyard", which is the very site where later the Chapel of St Wenceslaus in the 3<sup>rd</sup> courtyard was built.<sup>11</sup>

9 Nationalarchiv Prague (hereinafter NA), Register (RG) 8, fol. 206<sup>r</sup> and 212<sup>r</sup>; M. VILÍMKOVÁ, *Stavebně historický průzkum*, pp. 23–24.

10 František KAŠIČKA — Milada VILÍMKOVÁ, *Pražský hrad, Jižní křídlo 3–4 (západní část), I. koncept* [Prague Castle, South Wing 3–4 (Western Part), I. Draft], typewriter script, 1983, p. 17. This corbel survived thanks to the fact that Maximilian II built a new wing onto the palace's south-west corner and at the site of the corbel the new wing fell in front of the facade of the older palace by the White Tower and thus engulfed a portion of the oriel.

11 NA, RG 5, pp. 412–413, Ferdinand I., 1538: "My, Ferdinand etc, oznamujeme tímto listem všem, jakož někdy opatrný mistr Jan Knopf zlatník, od [...] Vladislava, uherského a českého krále [...] majestátem Jeho Milosti domek a krám, kterýž pod Bílou věží na hradě pražském mezi branami jest daný a na něm padesáte kop grošuoiv českých zapsaný měl. A jež ten domek a krám dědicově téhož Jana Knopfa zlatníka po smrti jeho opatrnému Jakubovi Gruntmanovi, zlatníkovi J. M. prodali jsau, ale poněvadž ten domek a krám [...] velmi opuštěn jest a nedávno i škodu vohném vzal, že jest ho díl zhořelo, dal jest nás týž Jakub Gruntman, skrz některé podané naše věrné milé se vši poddaností prositi, abychom jemu na opravu toho domku a krámu některau sumu peněz pronaložiti a dopustiti a listem našim na témž domečku a krámu zapsati ráčili. [...]" Jahrbuch X, č. 5995, p. LXXVI; Václav VOJTÍŠEK, *Z minulosti naší Prahy. Kapitoly z místopisu, zřízení a života města* [From History of Our Prague: Chapters on the Topography, Constitution, and Life of the City], Praha



The later location in 1571 may seem confusing in relation to the original location of the house between the gates, but it is the result of the changes that were made to this area after 1541. Before that, there was another gate beyond the gate by the White Tower, and that was the fifth castle gate, which at that time was located within the 3<sup>rd</sup> castle courtyard and led into the southern part of the courtyard. A small fragment of this gate that had survived the fire was unearthed during an archaeological excavation in the courtyard [Fig. 3, No. 21].<sup>12</sup> The jamb of the west portal of the gate is depicted in a plan of Prague Castle that originated around the year 1560 and is preserved in a copy made in the 1620s that is now in the Uffizi, a survey that is a valuable resource for understanding the entire topography of Prague Castle in the time of Ferdinand I.<sup>13</sup> This document also shows the goldsmith's house, which stood in a separate area to the south of the road that ran between the fourth and fifth gates [Fig. 3, No. 20]. The eastern section of the house, the foundation of which were not destroyed when the Chapel of St Wenceslaus was later built, was also unearthed during the archaeological excavation.<sup>14</sup> The Uffizi plan shows a spiral staircase attached to the house, and its location is identical to the spiral staircase that was later in the chapel, so it is possible that the original staircase was either converted for its new function when the chapel was built, or a new one was built on the foundations of the original.

The house of the castle castellan also stood in the immediate vicinity of the Queen's palace. There is a mention of it that dates from 1533, when the castellan was Delfin Haugwicz, and at that time it was located close to the White Tower.<sup>15</sup> It was on the external side of the tower, strategically located by the main entrance to the castle, which is indicated in a report that dates from around a decade later, by which time the palace was inhabited by Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol (see below). Around that time, in 1555, a hole was dug near the rooms of the castellan that led under the bridge to allow water to flow out from the castellan's house. The moat beneath the Archduke's room was cleaned out and a wheel was installed to ensure the runoff of water in a direction away from the castellan's house to prevent water from leaking into its cellar.<sup>16</sup> Since the palace of the Archduke, like the original Queen's residence, jutted out in front of the Romanesque walls, so, too, the castellan's house must have stood outside the castle area at that time. The palace and the house must have been separated from each other only by the road between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> castle gates. The castellan's house is also mentioned in a description of the ceremonious entry of Emperor Ferdinand I into Prague Castle in 1558. After passing through the 3<sup>rd</sup> gate, which was "close to the palace of the Archduke", one came through "a very fine

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1919, p. 20; M. VILÍMKOVÁ, *Stavebně historický průzkum*, p. 23.

12 Karel FIALA, *Hrad Pražský v době románské* [Prague Castle in the Romanesque Period], Praha 1933, plánová příloha; V. MENCL, *Architektura*, Fig. on p. 130.

13 Petr ULÍČNÝ, *Stavební podoba Pražského hradu za prvních Habsburků (1526–1657). Ikonografické a plánové prameny* [Architecture of Prague Castle in the Time of the First Habsburgs (1526–1657): Views and Plans], *Castrum Pragense* 13, 2015, forthcoming.

14 K. FIALA, *Hrad Pražský*, plánová příloha; V. MENCL, *Architektura*, Fig. on p. 130.

15 M. VILÍMKOVÁ, *Stavebně historický průzkum*, pp. 20–23.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

arch, which at one corner touched the house of the castellan of Prague Castle and at the other the White Tower”.<sup>17</sup> The north-west corner of the castellan’s house was recently uncovered during an archaeological excavation,<sup>18</sup> which showed that it was a relatively large-sized building, and only slightly smaller than what was originally the Queen’s and later the Archduke’s palace [Fig. 3, No. 17].

It is also possible to identify the location of the royal stables, which stood not far from the palace by the White Tower. There were in fact two stables, and one, the larger of the two, was built by Vladislaus around 1489, when “to build the stables” a house was purchased that had belonged to the “archers”, i.e., the castle’s defenders.<sup>19</sup> The other stable was located close to the castellan’s house according to a document from 1513, when Vladislaus gave his builder, Ondřej of Bork, a house, which according to a re-inscription in the Land Tables (Zemské desky) in 1545 stood “by the middle gate, where the guards usually sat, opposite the house of Závíš Sulek of Hrádek, at that time castellan of the castle that lay opposite our stables”.<sup>20</sup> The “middle gate” meant the 3<sup>rd</sup> gate, so the house stood to the north of that gate and was separated from the castellan’s house by just the last castle moat [Fig. 3, No. 15].

Both the castellan’s house and the 3<sup>rd</sup> gate stood on an earthwork separating the third and fourth castle moat. The presence of these two large defensive moats, which cut through the space of what is now the 2<sup>nd</sup> courtyard, meant that in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries structures could only be built along the top of the narrow earthwork

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- 17 Matthaëus COLLINUS — Martinus CUTHAENUS, *Brevis et svccincta descriptio pompae in honorem sacratissimi ac invictissimi imperatoris Ferdinandi primi* [...], Praha 1558, pp. Hii<sup>r</sup>–Hii<sup>v</sup>; Pierre Andrea MATTHIOLI, *Le solenni pompe, i sverbi, et gloriosi apparati, i trionfi, i fvochi, et gli altri splendidi, et diletteuoli spettacoli, fatti alla uenuta dell’inuictissimo imperadore Ferdinando primo* [...], Praha 1559, pp. Eii<sup>r</sup>–Eii<sup>v</sup>; Antonín REZEK (ed.), *Jan Beckovský: Poselkyně starých příběhův českých II (Od roku 1526–1715), 1: (L. 1526–1607)* [Jan Beckovský: The Bearer of the Old Bohemian Stories II (1526–1715), 1: (1526–1607)], Praha 1879, p. 243. According to this description it might seem that the castellan’s house adjoined on to the Archduke’s palace on the eastern end, but at that end there was an area that was not built on, later called the Lion’s Court, which was not vaulted until the time of Rudolf II (Fig. 3, No. 19). Petr ULIČNÝ, *Architektura v českých zemích 1600–1635* [Architecture in the Czech Lands in 1600–1635], in: idem (ed.), *Architektura Albrechta z Valdštejna*, Praha 2015, forthcoming. The arch, created in 1558, was probably built in such a way that its north side was at the same site where the White Tower bordered with the castellan’s house, adjoining the tower from the west.
- 18 Drahomíra FROLÍKOVÁ — Josef MATIÁŠEK, *Archeologie v budově kaple sv. Kříže na Pražském hradě* [Archaeological Research into the Chapel of the Holy Cross in Prague Castle], *Archaeologia historica* 37, 2012, pp. 513–527, here pp. 521–522, Fig. 9. The authors however do not interpret the masonry that was on the inside faced with bricks to be part of the residential house.
- 19 Emanuel LEMINGER, *Stavba hradu Pražského za krále Vladislava II.* [Building of Prague Castle in the Time of Vladislaus II], *Památky archaeologické a místopisné* 14, 1889, pp. 625–630, here p. 625.
- 20 Jan HERAIN, *Stará Praha* [The Old Prague], Praha 1902, p. 262; V. VOJTÍŠEK, *Z minulosti*, p. 19.



in between them. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the top of the earthwork was thus filled with various buildings that together formed an almost continuous wing that ran parallel to what is today the central wing between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> courtyards. The two stables stood in the middle and northern sections of this “wing”, the existence of which is documented in two sources dating from 1638, when the decision was made to demolish the northern part of the wing. The first source is a plan of Prague Castle and Malá Strana created by Alessandro Borri, which is, however, somewhat schematic in form.<sup>21</sup> The second source was created when the decision was made to cut an opening in the castle’s central wing — where the *Kunstkammer* of Rudolf II was located at that time — to make a passageway between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> courtyards. A plan for this project was created in 1638, in which the Imperial architect Giuseppe Mattei drew a cross-section of the central wing and the surroundings. In this drawing he captured the Mathematical Tower and to the left of it, where the 2<sup>nd</sup> courtyard is located today, the tall building of the parallel wing (formerly on the earthwork).<sup>22</sup> The budget for the planned cut through the central wing was prepared by the builder Santini de Bossi, who wrote the following: “First of all, from the square of the royal guards to under the treasury [i.e. *Kunstkammer*] the earthwork must be dug up to the level of the square and to the floor of the saddle house to a length of 9 cubits. The earthwork is roughly 2 ½ cubit in height. And the old building near the well that is said 9 cubits wide must be changed and demolished.”<sup>23</sup> That old building intended for demolition and 9 cubits (5.4 metres) wide is the one that is depicted on the left side of Mattei’s plan. The well that is referred to, which was located opposite the saddle house (which was on the ground floor below the northern part of the *Kunstkammer*), is the well that still exists today and is located in the 2<sup>nd</sup> courtyard opposite the passageway to the 3<sup>rd</sup> courtyard, cut through in 1638 [Fig. 3, No. 25]. This well is also mentioned in a report dating from a few years earlier. In the winter of 1635 the water piping for the castle froze and there were only two wells that could still be used, one of which was located “between the stables and the saddle house”.<sup>24</sup> This indicates that the

21 P. ULIČNÝ, *Stavební podoba*, forthcoming.

22 The plan was published by Jan MORÁVEK, *Giuseppe Mattei a “Nová stavení” Pražského hradu 1638–1644* [Giuseppe Mattei and “The New Building” of Prague Castle 1638–1644], *Umění* 5, 1957, pp. 340–355, here pp. 346 and 348; but the existence of the parallel wing led him to mistake the Mathematical Tower for the White tower and the parallel wing for the old tax building at the 3<sup>rd</sup> castle gate. P. ULIČNÝ, *Stavební podoba*, forthcoming.

23 NA, Stará manipulace [hereinafter SM] S 21/4, kart. 2098: “Facio noto delli ripezamenti ordinati dal Sig. Gioseffo architetto di Sua Maestà Cesarea. Principalmente della piazza della guardia sino sotto alla guardia gioia si deve cavar via il terreno sino al piano della piazza et del pavimento della guarda selle di grandezza braccia 9 il terreno è alto circa braccia 2 ½ e si deve trasformare e rompere la fabbrica vecchia vicino alla cisterna di detta larghezza braccia 9 per questa fatica fiorini 35.” Transcription and translation by Guido Carrai and Klára Löwensteinová; J. MORÁVEK, *Giuseppe Mattei*, pp. 348–349.

24 NA, SM P 125/29, kart. 1877, Jindřich Kolčava, deputy castellan, early February 1635: “Poníženě tajna Vašich Milostí nečiním, kterak pro náramný mrazy a zimu již několik neděl po řadem voda do Hradu pražského hnáti se nemůže, a tudy veliký nedostatek vody po celém Hradě pražském jest a žádná jiná voda, kromě dvě studnice nespravené, jedna v pla-



well, referred to in 1638 by de Bossi, stood in between two stables. The parallel wing depicted in Mattei's drawing was thus the site of the royal stables, and this is also confirmed in a description of Prague Castle from 1620 that refers to the "old stable", which had 20 stalls and supported part of the corridor running from the central wing towards the Powder Bridge.<sup>25</sup> Since this corridor ran above the stable (in the attic), the stable building was demolished in 1638 except for a small section large enough for the corridor to run across, as can be seen in a plan dating from before the period of extensive renovations carried out under Empress Maria Theresa [Fig. 4]. It was not until those grand renovations were done that the last fragment of the old stable of Vladislaus and Ferdinand were demolished. That stable, with its twenty stalls, can be linked to the one most often referred to in sources from the time of Ferdinand I as in need of repair. There are very few mentions of the second stable, also known as the "small" or "front" stable, located somewhere in the middle of the parallel "wing".<sup>26</sup>

Builder Bonifaz Wohlmuth wrote of the large stable in 1559–1568 that it was in poor condition and at risk of collapsing. He argued for its renovation and for building an upper floor with a room, and strengthening its three sides.<sup>27</sup> The stable was consequently partly renovated in 1569, when Wohlmuth raised the height of the wall on one side and covered "all three sides" of the structure with shingles.<sup>28</sup> If three sides

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ce prostředním pod J. M. král. pokoji právě při třešni a druhá mezi marštalemí při sadelkomoře se v zámku nachází [...]" Source and transcription by Martin Halata, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Studia Rudolphina.

- 25 APH, Prague, Dvorní stavební úřad [Court Construction Administration], Inv. No. 398, kart. 22, a description of Prague Castle from 28 July 1620, fol. 7r: "Auf der rechten seitten, von man aufm Spanischen stall gehet, undern alten hulzern gang 1 stall auf 20 pferdt, darzwischen ein ziehe brunnen." Ibid., fol. 7v: "<Kegen dem alten stall uber> unten auf der erden. 3 grosse gewelb, darinnen beeder Irer Mt. etc. der kun. undt kunigin sattelkammern [...]" Transcription by Jaroslava Hausenblasová.
- 26 Milada VILÍMKOVÁ — František KAŠIČKA, *Pražský hrad. Severní křídlo. I. koncept* [Prague Castle: North Wing: I. Draft], Praha 1969, p. 10; IDEM, *Křídlo Španělského sálu ve stavebním vývoji Pražského hradu* [The Wing of the Spanish Hall in the Architectural Development of Prague Castle], *Památky a příroda* 36, 1976, No. 7, pp. 385–391, here pp. 386 and 388, placed the site of the small or front stable to the north of what is now Matthias Gate and the rear stable in the space of the north wing. This may be because the authors did not consider the existence of the parallel wing running across what it is now the 2<sup>nd</sup> courtyard, which can now safely be identified as the site of the larger of the two stables.
- 27 IDEM, *Pražský hrad. Severní křídlo*, pp. 7–11.
- 28 NA, České oddělení dvorské komory [hereinafter ČDKM] IV-P, kart. 192, fol. 602v–603r, Bonifaz Wohlmuth to Maximilian II., 7 August 1569: "13: Die stallung im prager schloß hab ich iczo im werck, und hab sie angefangen zuflicken, an der einen seiten die maur zuerhöhen, mit einem schlechten schindel dach, auch alle drei seitten, mit schindeln zubedecken. Und wil die standt zum roßen, budtmen [!], die baren und raufen, thun, und allerley notturfft machen lasen, dann die zeidt fur stehendes wintters iczt nit mehr arbeit erleiden mag, biß zu einer anderen zeidt, in welcher sich die Kay. Mt. diß gepeu halben weiter endtschlissen werden, wurdit diß flicken fur alle pausortten und macherlohn, ohn gefher gestehen. ... Id est 70 fl."





were covered with shingles, then a fourth side must have been attached to some other structure, and that structure was the wall that encloses the space of what is now the 2<sup>nd</sup> courtyard from the north side. The saddle house that a report from 1635 indicates stood close to the point where the two stables met and to the site of the well already existed in the time of Ferdinand I. Some unspecified work that was done in 1567–1568 was referred to as “between the stables and the saddle house”,<sup>29</sup> which means that the topography of the castle had remained in this case the same and was left unchanged even by the extensive construction work done under Rudolf II. A description of Prague Castle from 1620, however, places the saddle house under the *Kunstammer*, which means that it did not stand in a direct row in between the stables but on the other side of the moat near the Romanesque wall of the castle.

The first chapter in the history of the palace by the White Tower and its function as the Queen’s residence was brought to an end by the catastrophic fire at the castle in 1541, when according to Václav Hájek of Libočany, “all the Queen’s rooms burned down in their entirety and so horribly that the sight of it is hard to take. The White Tower above the gate burned long until everything inside was destroyed by the fire.”<sup>30</sup>

King Ferdinand responded to the situation in November of that same year when the assembly was being convened in Bohemia. Against the recommendations of the Bohemian Council, councillors, and officials to hold the assembly planned 4 December in Kutná Hora, the King decided instead for Prague Castle and sent a detailed list of necessary repairs to the castle. He ordered the rooms in the western wing and in the Ludwig Wing of the Old Royal Palace, which were not as severely damaged, to be fixed up. He also asked whether it was possible to adapt the rooms in which his wife and the *Frauenzimmer* lived in could be used by his councillors, and ordered the brick and vaulted stable, that is the above-mentioned stable on the earthwork, to be tidied up.<sup>31</sup> However, the Queen’s rooms must truly have been in the state that Hájek

29 NA, ČDKM IV-P, kart. 192, fol. 580<sup>v</sup>, Michael Keckh to the Bohemian Chamber, 8. July 1569: “Item im schloß zwischen den stallungen uber den sattelkammern.” M. VILÍMKOVÁ — F. KAŠIČKA, *Pražský hrad. Severní křídlo*, p. 11.

30 Václav HÁJEK Z LIBOČAN, *O nesstiaťnee przihodie kteráž gse stala skrze ohen w Menssim Miestie Pražském, a na Hradie Swatého Waclawa, y na Hradczanech etc. Leta M.D.xxxj*, Praha 1541, Národní knihovna České republiky [National Library of the Czech Republic], sign. 54 J 1484, pag. Aiii<sup>v</sup>: “Králové pokoje vsecky z gruntu tak hanebně vyhořaly, že jest hrozno na ně pohleděti. Bílá věže nad branau ta velmi dlauho hořela, až vsecka vnitř vyhořala.”

31 Jahrbuch X, p. C, Ferdinand I to the Bohemian Chamber, Linz, 12 November 1541. On this letter recently, see Eliška FUČÍKOVÁ, *Císař Ferdinand I. a arcivévoda Ferdinand II. — dva starostliví stavebníci* [The Emperor Ferdinand I and Archduke Ferdinand II — Two Attentive Builders], in: Beket Bukovinská — Lubomír Konečný (edd.), *Ars longa. Sborník k nedožitým sedmdesátinám Josefa Krásy*, Praha 2003, pp. 107–122, here pp. 110–113. In this paper, the author mistakes the Ludwig Wing for the palace by the White Tower, and the spiral stairs in the Ludwig Wing for the stairs in the western section of the southern wing of the new imperial palace in the 2<sup>nd</sup> courtyard. Maximilian II only purchased this western section from Count of Thurn in 1567 and the spiral staircase was built there in 1579–1580. M. VILÍMKOVÁ, *Stavebně historický průzkum*, p. 41. The letter is correctly interpreted by Václav MENCL, *Architektura*, p. 113. The sgraffito published by Fučíková,



described them to be, as there is mention from March 1543 of two rooms in the Old Royal Palace belonging to Ferdinand that the Queen had to live in.<sup>32</sup> And since there are no surviving reports that renovations had begun on her palace by the time of her death in January 1547, she was never able to return to her rooms.

In the year of the Queen's death the King's second-born son, Ferdinand II, later Archduke of Tyrol, became the governor of Bohemia. Initially he too had to live in rooms that belonged to the King, but he soon had the former Queen's palace by the White Tower renovated for his use. The construction work on the "new house for the Archduke Ferdinand" likely proceeded in two phases. In 1553 13 *groschen* were paid for the making of a stove in the palace and for painting of roses in one of the rooms, which indicates that work was reaching completion. In 1554 however further construction work was paid for, and although the builder Hans Tirol was promising in May of that year that the work would soon be completed, it was not until 1555 that a payment was made for the glass in the windows.<sup>33</sup> The division of work into two phases is confirmed by a report from December 1555, in which first the Archduke expresses surprise that Hans Tirol, without his knowledge, had raised the height of the tower, which could cause difficulties because it was standing on a bridge. He nevertheless ordered that structure to be completed by the time of his arrival. A room in the "old building", which was entered from the dining room in the "new building", and which was referred to as a "small hall" (*sälel*), was to be fitted with a fireplace in the place of a stove that had been demolished.<sup>34</sup> This report thus states that towards the end of the year work was being done on the tower above the 3<sup>rd</sup> castle gate adjacent to the north-west corner of the palace, and some older section that had housed a hall and was connected to the dining room in the new section was being renovated. What parts of the structure "old" and "new" referred to is not easy to determine with certainty today after so many renovations. A view of Prague by Jan Kozel and Michael Peterle from 1562 show however the Archduke's palace retained the same boundaries of the older Queen's residence. It was neither expanded to the east into the area of what were later Rudolf's summer rooms nor to the west where a very steep moat still existed at that time. If a small hall was located in the "old" structure and a dining room in the "new" one, this suggests that the old section was smaller in size. The new section thus probably simply referred to a new floor built onto the old palace, adjoined to which was a room that was situated either above the 3<sup>rd</sup> gate (heightened by Hans Tirol) or, which is more likely, above the 4<sup>th</sup> gate, to the south of the White Tower.

The room above the 4<sup>th</sup> gate by the White Tower not only formed part of the residence of the Archduke but was a very significant part of it. The above-cited description of the glorious arrival of Emperor Ferdinand I in Prague in 1558 — three

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which was found on former Thurn buildings and was presented in the paper as evidence of the extensive building activities of both Ferdinand, was likely not even done under any Habsburg, but by Thurn instead.

32 M. VILÍMKOVÁ, *Stavebně historický průzkum*, p. 25.

33 *Ibid.*, pp. 25–27.

34 Jahrbuch XI, 1890, No. 7180, pp. CLXII–CLXIII, Archduke Ferdinand to Hans Tirol, Vienna, 6 December 1555.



years after work on the palace was completed — indicates that that room was where the Archduke had his personal armoury, the beginnings of what would become his great collection of weapons, which today can be found at his palace in Ambras.<sup>35</sup> The author of one description of the Emperor's entry, Pietro Andrea Mattioli, referred to it as “bella, et rara Armaria di sua Altezza”.<sup>36</sup> The small hall (*sälel*) with a fireplace was probably this armoury because it had to be located on the second floor as, owing to the height of the vaulting of the passageway of the gate below, the first floor was just a mezzanine [Fig. 10]. There must have been some corridor leading from the armoury into the dining room in the newly built storey in the main section of the palace and it would likely have been located at the top of the Romanesque castle wall [Fig. 11, No. 7]. After Archduke Ferdinand left Bohemia in 1567 the armoury was converted, in the same year, into rooms for the *Frauenzimmer* and later, in 1598, under Rudolf II, Paul Vredeman de Vries decorated the walls and ceilings of the room with illusionary paintings.<sup>37</sup> After that this area was renovated many times, and the only guideline to what it looked like in the time of Archduke Ferdinand are some surviving Baroque plans. A survey of the second floor in the western section of Prague Castle dating from probably 1722 depicts this area to a partial extent as it would have originally appeared. The small hall of the former armoury is easily distinguishable in the drawing as the room to the south of the White Tower, its dimensions given as approx. 5.5 × 8 m [Fig. 9, No. 34]. The western and likely also the southern wall of the room at that time contained features that must have dated from before the time of Rudolf II. In 1601, Rudolf had the middle wing built along the western Romanesque wall and to the west of this room, with the *Kunstkammer* on the first floor and a gallery on the second [Fig. 9, No. 32]. The addition of the new wing covered the western facade of the small hall and its biforium [Fig. 9, near No. 30]. The drawing confirms written sources and shows the presence of a fireplace in the room along the southern wall.

Given that the dining room mentioned in 1555 had to be in the northern section of the palace, from where it was possible to reach the armoury, it must have been located above the space on the first floor that may have been a chapel. Written records only confirm the existence of a chapel at this spot from the time of Rudolf II,<sup>38</sup> so the proposition that it was already there during the time of Vladislaus or Archduke Ferdinand is nothing more than a hypothesis. It is supported however by the prominent location of the first palace chapel that existed before the new Chapel of St Wenceslaus was built in the corner of the 3<sup>rd</sup> courtyard (1644), as that earlier first chapel was lit (if a window) or entered (if a door) by the above-mentioned half-rounded or pointed opening [Fig. 8]. So it cannot be ruled out that the chapel to which

35 M. COLLINUS — M. CUTHAENUS, *Brevis et succincta descriptio*, pp. Hii<sup>r</sup>–Hii<sup>v</sup>; P. A. MATTHIOLI, *Le solenni pompe*, pp. Eii<sup>v</sup>–Eii<sup>v</sup>; A. REZEK (ed.), *Jan Beckovský: Poselkyně*, p. 243.

36 P. A. MATTHIOLI, *Le solenni pompe*, p. Eii<sup>v</sup>: “Lui apresso sopra un'altro arco di muraglia che si contiene noc la bella, et rara Armaria di sua Altezza, erano di bella pittura di colori l'imagini dell'Honore, della Gloria, et della Fama ben compartite con questo uerso descritto.”

37 Petr ULIČNÝ, *Hans and Paul Vredeman de Vries in Prague Castle of Rudolf II*, *Studia Rudolphina* 15, 2015, forthcoming.

38 P. ULIČNÝ, *Architektura*, forthcoming.

a number of references have survived only from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century may have been older and existed before that time.<sup>39</sup> If this palace chapel did exist already in the times of Vladislaus and Ferdinand, it must have been much larger than how it is depicted in the Baroque plans of Prague Castle [Fig. 8]. According to a report from 1635 there was an oriel window jutting out from the chapel into the Lion's Court on its eastern wall,<sup>40</sup> while the Baroque plans show a corridor running in between the chapel and the former yard (which is where at that time the music gallery of the new Chapel of St Wenceslaus stood, supported on four columns), which suggests that the space of the earlier chapel was cut back at its eastern end. There is, however, another possible explanation for the existence of the first palace chapel in given location, which is that the chapel was added later (perhaps in the time of Rudolf II), and the reason for that was the form of the window, the shape of which (half-rounded or pointed) was frequently used in sacred architecture. Furthermore, since it is not certain whether it was window or door, one can also imagine a portal leading to some outdoor access route,<sup>41</sup> perhaps a corridor, leading from the Queen's rooms through the stable to the Powder Bridge and to the Royal Gardens. Such a corridor was commissioned by Ferdinand I in 1534.<sup>42</sup> Only minor elements of the original layout and appearance of the first floor have survived and several interpretations are possible on their basis. Hopefully in the future it will be possible to arrive at a more precise picture.

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The above findings indicating that the palace by the White Tower had two functions during the reign of Ferdinand I. Until the fire at the castle in 1541 it was the residence of Queen Anne, which was separate and located 100 metres away from the Old Royal Palace where the King resided, the only direct connection to which was a corridor that ran along the top of the castle wall. After the Queen's death in 1547 and the arrival of Archduke Ferdinand II as governor of the Bohemian Kingdom that same year the palace underwent renovations in 1553–1555 and was turned into the seat of the ruler's second-born son. Although there are only a few surviving fragments of the palace it is possible to say that the residence was very modest and in no way comparable to the Old Royal Palace at the centre of Prague Castle. The cramped nature of the residence and its position so close to the moat even sparked insinuations about it being an affront to the Habsburg dynasty and in letters written by architects in the employ of Ferdinand I and Maximilian II there appeared serious proposals about joining the residence to the Old Royal Palace to create a single grand structure. This however did not happen, and when in 1562 as preparations were being made for the coronation of Maximilian II as King of Bohemia, Jáchym of Hradec suggested to

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, forthcoming.

<sup>40</sup> J. MORÁVEK, *Giuseppe Mattei*, p. 340.

<sup>41</sup> V. MENCL, *Architektura*, p. 132.

<sup>42</sup> NA, Prague, RG 13, pp. 99–100, Ferdinand I, 3 December 1534: “[...] k týto zimě [1534/1535] tu pavlač pod pokoji králové, manželky naší nynější, až k mostu předse přes ty maštale dělati dal.” *Jahrbuch X/2*, p. LXXI, No. 5962.

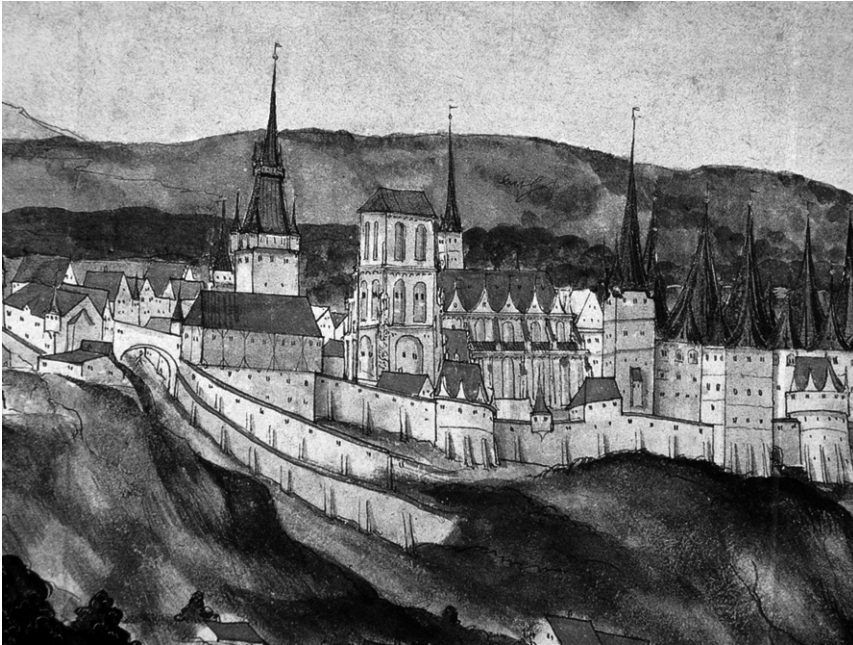


Emperor Ferdinand that the future King not reside at all in the Archduke's palace because it was too cramped and smelly, and that it would be better for him to stay in much "cheerier" rooms in one of the other palaces of the Švamberks, Rožmberks, or Pernštejns that were built in Prague Castle at the same time as the Archduke's palace.

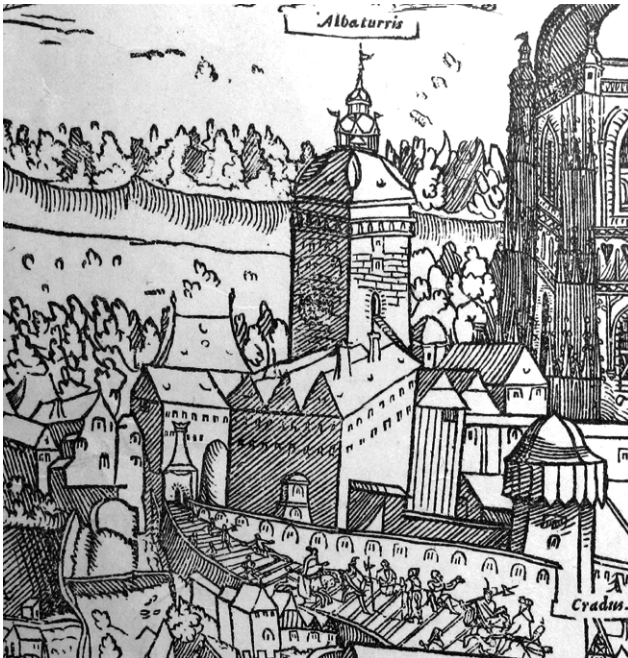
The story of the Queen's and Archduke's palace by the White Tower is remarkable episode in the history of Prague Castle, and one that owing to the later renovations made to the palace may never be known in full. But it is one that also had a much grander sequel during the reign of Emperor Rudolf II, who took a radical step and moved the imperial residence out of the Old Royal Palace and into the palace by the White Tower.<sup>43</sup>

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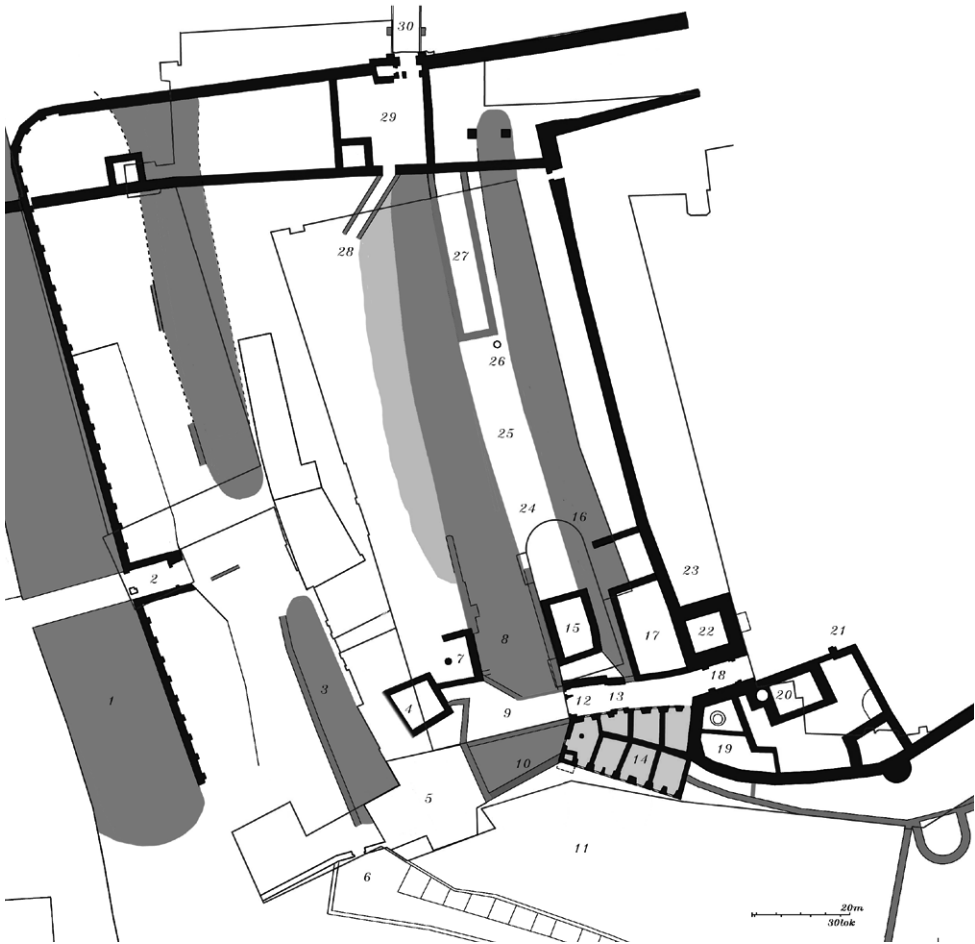
<sup>43</sup> Petr ULIČNÝ, *The Making of the Residence in Prague Castle: Why the Habsburgs Moved their Palace Out Toward the Moats?*, forthcoming.



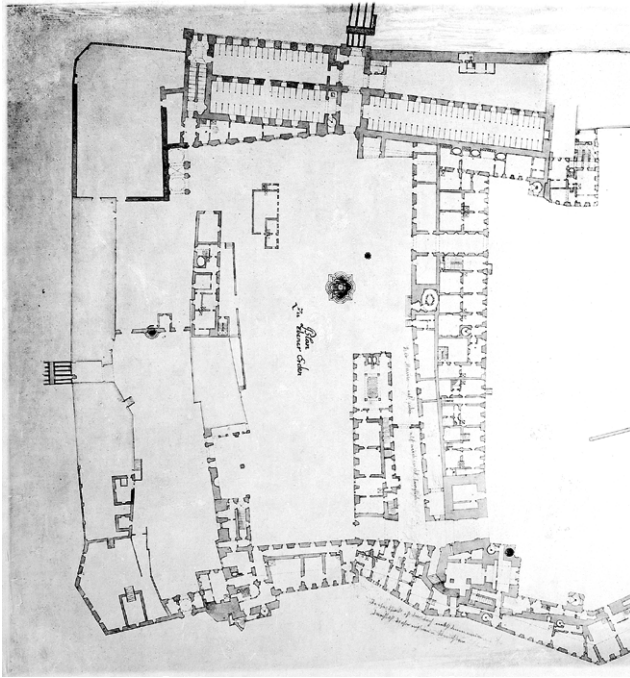
**FIG. 1:** Prague Castle. Detail of the palace by the White Tower from a view of Prague by Matthias Gerung (attributed to), 1536. From: A. MARSCH — J. H. BILLER — F.-D. JACOB (edd.), *Die Reisebilder*.



**FIG. 2:** Prague Castle. Detail of the palace by the White Tower from a view of Prague by Jan Kozel and Michael Peterle, 1562.



**FIG. 3:** Prague Castle, the area of what are today the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> courtyards as they looked ca 1560, a reconstruction. 1: first moat, 2: first gate, 3: second moat, 4: the probable location of the second gate, 5: the houses of the Count of Thurn, 6: castle steps, 7: the building with the octagonal pillar, 8: third moat, 9: bridge, 10: a wall from 1559 and the site of Maximilian II's later wing (1567), 11: Paradise Garden, 12: third gate, 13: early barbican, 14: the palace of Archduke Ferdinand II, 15: house on the earthwork (probably the house of the priest), 16: fourth moat, 17: castellan's house, 18: fourth gate, 19: location of what was later called the Lion's Court and the site of the well, 20: the goldsmith's house, 21: fragment of the former fifth gate, 22: White Tower, 23: buildings around the White Tower, former pubs, 24: buildings on the earthwork (of Doctor Gall), 25: location of the front/smaller stable, 26: well, 27: location of the rear stable, 28: route to the Powder Bridge, 29: barbican of the Powder Bridge, 30: Powder Bridge. Structures not marked with the line are hypothetical, lines indicate the situation today. This reconstruction was made using information from the plan of Prague Castle dating from ca 1560 (Uffizi, 4521 A), the survey dating from the period before the extensive renovations carried out by Maria Theresa (APH, Prague, Stará plánová sbírka [Old Plan Collection, hereinafter SPS], Sig. 157A, Inv. No. 2), and for archaeological research (APH, Prague, NPS, Sig. 10 106, Inv. Nos. 53, 59 and 61) (© Petr Uličný).



**FIG. 4:** Prague Castle, former imperial residence. Ground floor of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> courtyards from the period before the extensive renovations carried out by Maria Theresa. APH, Prague, SPS, Sig. 157A, Inv. No. 2 (© Ondřej Příbyl).



**FIG. 5:** Prague Castle, the former palace of Archduke Ferdinand by the White Tower. A room in the western section of the ground floor. View from the south (© Petr Uličný).

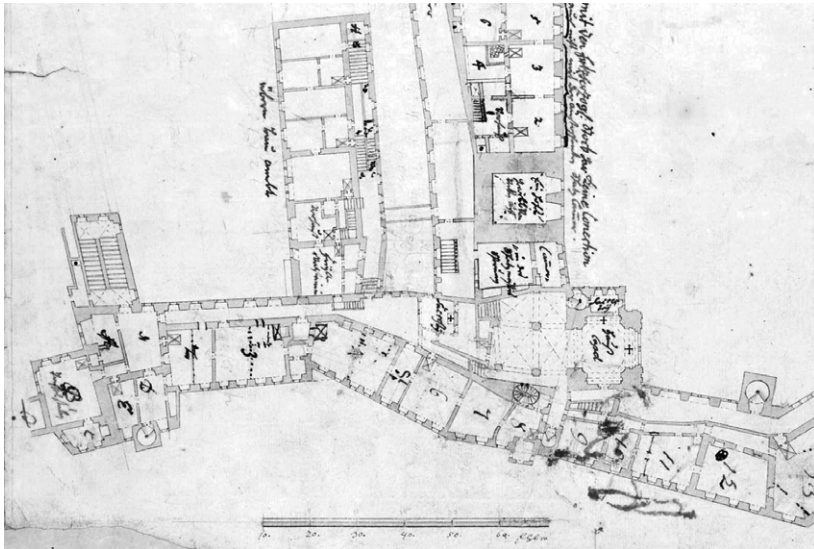




**FIG. 6:** Prague Castle, the former palace of Archduke Ferdinand by the White Tower. Corbel of the oriel that used to be on the first floor on the western end of the palace's southern facade (© Petr Uličný).



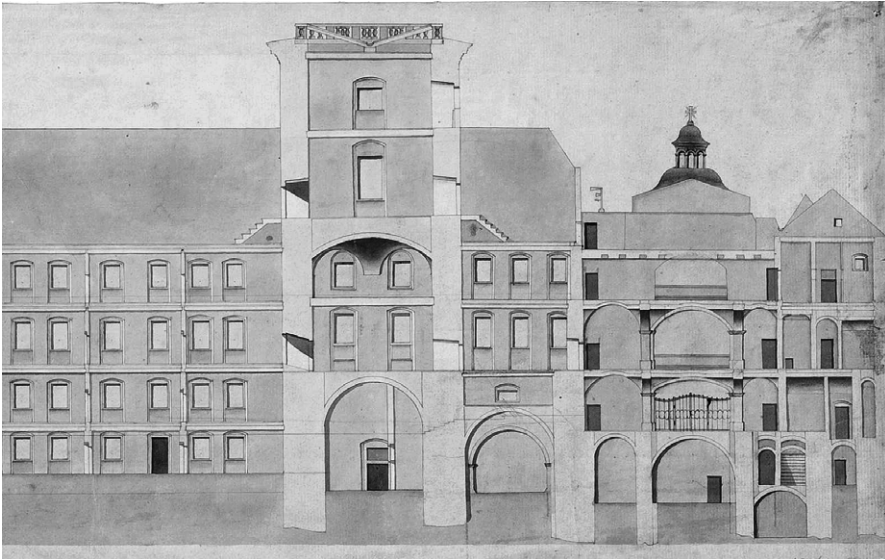
**FIG. 7:** Prague Castle, the former palace of Archduke Ferdinand by the White Tower. Part of a window (or door) on the eastern end of the palace's northern facade on the first-floor level (© Petr Chotěbor).



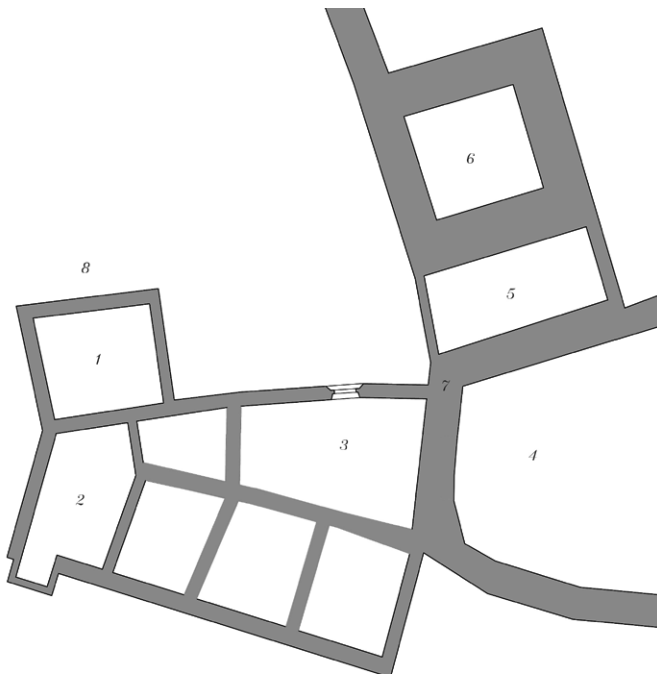
**FIG. 8:** Prague Castle. Plan of the first floor of the imperial residence dating from the period before the renovations carried out under Maria Theresa. A detail of the southern wing. Numbers 4–8 indicate the area covered by the palace of Archduke Ferdinand II; the old chapel is located above number 6 (north-up orientation). APH, Prague, SPS, Sig. 113, Inv. No. 7 (© Ondřej Příbyl).



**FIG. 9:** Prague Castle. Plan of the second floor of the imperial residence dating from the period before the renovations carried out under Maria Theresa, ca 1722. A detail showing the White Tower and the southern wing. No. 34 indicates the former armory of the Archduke, Nos. 5–7 and 10 indicate the area covered by the palace of the Archduke (north-up orientation). APH, Prague, SPS, Sig. 111, Inv. No. 1, detail (© Ondřej Příbyl).



**FIG. 10:** Prague Castle, former imperial palace. Longitudinal section of the central wing between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> courtyard from the period before the renovations carried out under Maria Theresa. A detail of the area between the White Tower and the southern wing — the former palace of Archduke Ferdinand. Above the entranceway of the fourth castle gate and at the second-floor level is the former armoury. APH, Prague, SPS, Sig. 113, Inv. No. 17 (© Ondřej Příbyl).



**FIG. 11:** Prague, Prague Castle, the palace of Archduke Ferdinand by the White Tower. Hypothetical reconstruction of the first floor: 1: third gate, 2: room with the oriel, 3: room with a window (or door) — possible a chapel and the dining room on the floor above it, 4: the later Lion's Court, 5: room above the fourth gate and the armoury on the floor above it, 6: White Tower, 7: the assumed corridor leading to the armoury, 8: the assumed corridor leading to the Powder Bridge. Structures not marked with the line are hypothetical (© Petr Uličný).

**RÉSUMÉ:**

From the times of Vladislaus II Jagiello the residence in Prague Castle had two parts. After a costly refurbishment, the Old Royal Palace was adapted as the King's seat and a new palace was built for the Queen by the White Tower on the west side of Prague Castle. Later it became the residence of Queen Anne Jagiello, wife of Ferdinand I, and after her death, in 1547, it became the residence of the second-born, Bohemian Governor Archduke Ferdinand II. Although not much has survived after numerous reconstructions, one can get a rough idea of its extent and furnishings on the basis of several fragments, written sources and iconography. The refurbishing work led by Hans Tirol is documented for the years 1553–1555. Above the gate next to the White Tower was an armoury on the second floor, described by Pietro Andrea Mattioli as “bella, et rara Armaria di sua Altezza”. Only a ground-floor chamber of Ferdinand's palace has survived to this day.

**Ing. arch. Petr Uličný** is a historian of architecture and architect. He specialises in the architecture of Prague, Rudolf II and Albrecht of Wallenstein, architectural imitation in medieval Bohemia, and synagogue architecture (petrulichny@seznam.cz).

