

*The Influence of the Spanish Habsburgs' Culture
of Spatial Representation
on the Imperial Courts in Central Europe*

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In comparison to other Habsburg residences, research on room sequence and apartment structure in the Vienna Hofburg at the beginning of the Early Modern period is inhibited by the very limited source material. We still have no architectural drawings –such as groundplans or sketches of apartments– for the Hofburg from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For those colleagues working on Habsburg residences in Spain and Belgium, the situation is incomparably better. There one has informative and revealing written and plan material on the Alcázar in Madrid and the Coudenberg Palace in Brussels from the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries ¹.

Vienna's disadvantage, however, can be balanced out if one relates the sparse source material –which is exclusively of a written nature– to what is known about, or at least to well founded theses on, spatial cultures in the Habsburg palaces in Madrid and Brussels. This procedure is made necessary not only by the problem already described, but also by the material itself, as will be shown here.

If one examines the relevant Early Modern written sources with regard to terminology –that is, the names used at that point for the rooms of the Vienna Hofburg– a complex picture emerges. The data from the time of Ferdinand I, whose rule over the Austrian territories in Central Europe began in 1521, is limited:

¹ More detailed remarks to this topic see H. KARNER: „Raumordnung und Identität. Spanisches in Wien?“, in W. PARAVICINI & J. WETTLAUER (eds.): *Vorbild, Austausch Konkurrenz. Höfe und Residenzen in ihrer gegenseitigen Wahrnehmung. Residenzenforschung XXIII*, Ostfildern will be published 2010.

In 1538, there is reference to a new royal room at the bastion („*Newen Kuniglichen Zimer bey der Pasteyn*“), in 1549, we hear of a royal chamber („*kunigliche Stubn*“), and a new hall („*newen Saal*“); in 1551, the waiting room before his royal majesty’s room is mentioned („*wart Stuben vor Ewr. Ku. Mt. Zimer in der Burkh hie, darinn Ewr Mt. jüngist gemont*“). From the source of 1549, it is also apparent that the creation of a “Guard Room” (*Wachtplatz*) was planned and that this would take the form of an area separated off from the great hall². It is thus possible to establish the following sequence of rooms for the mid-sixteenth-century royal castle in Vienna: great hall, with a separate area for the guard, waiting room and royal chamber.

In June 1560, a large dining chamber (*Tafl stuebn*) was named and represented in a coloured copper engraving by Francolin, allowing us to gain an impression of the quality of the fittings and furnishings³. The 1573 mention of the imperial knights’ and dining chamber (Ritter- and Tafelstube; “*Jrer Khay: Mt: etc. Ritter vnnnd Taffl Stuben*”) represents a first documentary reference to a knights’ chamber (*Ritterstube*), a room type that was to become so important⁴.

² ÖStA, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Niederösterreichische Herrschaftsakten, W, 61/A 2,1, fol. 68r. (1549 September 23, Brief des Königlichen Rates Hermes Schallautzer an die niederösterreichischen Kammerräte):

„*Ich hab mit der Römischn Khu: Mt. Wälhischn, vnnnd teutschn, Paumaistern, vnder anderm beradtschlagt, von wegen Setzung des Ofen, vnnnd auffuerung des Rauchfänngkh, der Newen Khuniglichen Wardstuben, Vnnnd durch Sy samennlich, Jn Ratt befunden, das die Einhaitz Chamer khaines wegs, in den Saall, vor der Khuniglichen Stuben, Zumachen sey, Somnder durch den khlain thurn, fueglich beschehen mag: Daselbs dann An das der Wacht Platz inndert stattlicher sein khan (...)*“.

I think, that this „*Wacht Platz*“ is identical with a „*wacht stubl*“ erected in the Hofburg in the same year; see: ÖStA, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Verband deutscher Archivarinnen und Archivare, 583 (1549), fol. 212r.: „*den Zimerleütten so die Penckh in das wacht stubl eingemacht*“.

³ H. VON FRANCOLIN: *Rerum Praeclare Gestarum Intra et Extra Moenia... civitatis Viennensis, pedestri et equestri proelio, terra et aqua... mense Junio Anni... M.D.LX... Per Ioannem a Francolin Burgundum... explicatio*, Vienna 1560. The copper engraving first was published by M. DREGER: *Baugeschichte der k.k. Hofburg in Wien (Österreichische Kunsttopographie 14)*, Wien 1914, fig. 102.

⁴ ÖStA, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Niederösterreichische Herrschaftsakten, W, 61/A, 42, fols. 13r-18r:

„...*Item Mer seindt das danntze [sic!] Monnat Juny des 73. Jars in Jrer Khay: Mt: etc. Ritter vnnnd Taffl Stuben Aufgesteckht worden Acht gelbe wax khertzen die wegen 2 lb*“.

Less clear, however, is the spatial proximity of the knights' chamber (*Ritterstube*) to the forementioned triad of rooms.

In the literature, it has been rightly pointed out that the clear existence of a waiting room before a domestic room deviates from princely custom in German residences in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries⁵ (although only the Central German area has been the subject of systematic research)⁶. In that area, the so-called chamber apartment (*Stubenappartement*) –comprising a living room and bedroom– was the established form. An antechamber in the form of a waiting room, an antecamera, remained extremely unusual within apartments into the seventeenth century⁷. As places of dispersal and waiting for admission into a further room, antechambers –normally in connection with stairways– commonly served several chamber apartments (*Stubenappartement*) simultaneously: they were thus in no sense individual antechambers. The naming of the waiting room and its formation together with the royal chamber and the new hall, however, implies its concrete subordination to the apartment of Ferdinand I – a peculiarity that can perhaps be explained by the different, ceremonially more complex needs of the apartment.

In an important document from 1597 relating to a furnishing campaign in the Imperial Castle (*Khayserliche Burckh*) during Rudolf II's reign, which was based at the Prague Hradčany, there is reference to hitherto unknown room-types in the Hofburg: a council chamber (*Ratsstube*), a dressing room (*Anlag Stuben*), a study (*Schreibstübl*) and three chambers (*Cammern*) and a great hall⁸. The sequence of these rooms cannot clearly be determined from the document. With the council chamber (*Ratsstube*), dressing room (*Anlag Stube*) and the

⁵ F. POLLEROB: „Tradition und Recreation, Die Residenzen der Habsburger in der frühen Neuzeit (1490–1780)“, *Majestas* 6 (1998), pp. 91–148, here p. 97.

⁶ S. HOPPE: *Die funktionale und räumliche Struktur des frühen Schloßbaus in Mitteldeutschland. Untersucht an Beispielen landesherrlicher Bauten der Zeit zwischen 1470 und 1570*, Köln 1996.

⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 443f.

⁸ ÖStA, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Niederösterreichische Herrschaftsakten, W, 61/A, 14,1, fols. 32v–68v; the first, very general mention of this source in U. THIEME & F. BECKER: *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Leipzig 1999, II, p. 27 (Apfelmann, Hans).

study, however, new functional areas appear for the first time in the documents. The last one, the so called “*Schreibstübl*” is mentioned in isolated cases from the early seventeenth century in Central German castle inventories – always as a small side-room of the main living chamber (*große Wohnstube*)⁹. The “Anlagstube” is the dressing room, which is to be found directly adjacent to, or following after, the bedroom.

Whilst the programme of rooms contained in the 1597 document reveals increased differentiation between space and function, it remains nonetheless fragmentary, particularly concerning the official apartment. From the latter we hear only of the council chamber (*Rathstube*), mentioned here for the first time and to be identified as the emperor’s audience chamber, as we know from seventeenth-century sources.

It should be borne in mind that the works took place explicitly in the “imperial” castle; the Hofburg was thus also imperial in the time that Rudolph resided almost exclusively in Prague. If one assumes that the Hofburg was of the same rank as the Hradčany in terms of imperial competence, then it is only logical to conclude that both spatial typology and decorative modes must have been interchangeable – at least in their fundamental character (if not in their dimensions).

Concerning Prague Castle, a description of an audience of the French ambassador with Rudolf II in 1600 is preserved, from which an analogous room situation can be determined¹⁰: after the entrance (with its hundred-man guard), there were two rooms, followed by a third – the imperial audience chamber. Even if the rooms are not named more precisely, probably due to the

⁹ S. HOPPE: *Die funktionale und räumliche Struktur des frühen Schloßbaus in Mitteleuropa...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 383ff.

¹⁰ F. B. PARISET: “Pierre Bergeron à Prague (1600). Relations artistiques entre les Pays-Bas et l’Italie à la Renaissance”, *Études d’histoire de l’art publiées par l’Institut historique Belge de Rome* 4 (1980), pp. 185-198:

“À l’entrée, deux bandes de cent hommes, l’une de cavaliers portant de grands couteaux en forme de pertuisanes, l’autre de hallebardiers... Puis entrames en deux grandes salles pleines de seigneurs. Et Monsieur le Maréchal trouva S(a) M(ajesté) dans la troisième, tendue de cuir doré comme les deux autres qui sont les tapisseries don’t on se sert le plus en ce pays”.

Quoted after I. MUCHKA: „Die Prager Burg zur Zeit Rudolfs II. – Neue Forschungsergebnisse“, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 85/86 (1989-1990), pp. 95-98, here p. 95.



Fig. 1: Vienna, Hofburg: Structure of the official apartment, 1597

French envoy's ignorance of the terms used at the Hradčany, the ceremonial apartment is clearly recognisable as a series of three rooms preceded by an area for the guard (a room?), the third being the reception chamber. With knowledge of the Vienna sources, one can identify the spaces as knights' chamber (*Ritterstube*), waiting chamber (*Wartstube*) and council chamber (*Ratstube*). (Fig. 1, Fig. 2)

The obligatory character of this “representation” apartment in the residences of the Central European Habsburgs is documented by a written source of 1604 concerning Graz Castle¹¹, which shows even greater precision with regard to room names. Archduke Ferdinand, the future Emperor Ferdinand II, had ruled Inner Austria since 1595 and, in this capacity, undertaken the extension of Graz Castle [guardian Archduke Ernst!]. The mentioned document lists the rooms of the archducal apartment as follows: great hall (= *Wachesaal*) – knights' chamber (*Ritterstuben*) – antechamber (*Ante Camera*) – audience chamber (*Audienzzimmer*) – bedroom (*Schlafkammer*) – arms room (*Büchsenkammer*) – small hall (*kleiner Saal*) – above this was the treasury (*Schatzkammer*)¹². The two antechambers are named as the knights' hall (“*Ritterstube*”; originally the audience chamber for members of the estate of lords and knights) and “Ante Camera” (accessible for the upper ranks of the nobility).

¹¹ The building history of Graz castle see V. THIEL: *Die Landesfürstliche Burg in Graz und ihre historische Entwicklung*, Wien–Graz–Leipzig 1927.

¹² HHStA, Familienarchiv, K, 16; 1604 May 6, fols. 19r-22v; see H. KARNER: „Raumordnung und Identität...“, *op. cit.*, Doc. 1.



Fig. 2: Prague, Hradšchin: Structure of the official apartment, 1600

In the time around 1600, the following spatial canon was thus established in Prague and Graz: entrance hall, used by the guard (“Trabanten- oder Hatschierersaal”) – knights’ chamber (*Rittersaal*) – antechamber – audience chamber (= *Ratstube*). Inventories of the Prague Hradčany from 1621 and 1635 give the triad, knights’ chamber (*Ritterstube*) – antechamber – council chamber (*Ratstube*)¹³. In analogy, corresponding arrangements can be assumed for the castle in Vienna, especially as the council chamber (*Ratstube*) was so-to-say on record by 1597.

Further valuable information on the spatial disposition of the castle in Graz comes from a chamber regulation (*Kammerordnung*) that probably date within the lifetime of Archduke Karl, in the last third of the sixteenth century. It is known to us from a transcription now in Munich¹⁴. Among other things, the

¹³ I. MUCHKA: „Die Prager Burg zur Zeit Rudolfs II.“, *op. cit.*; the existence of a second Antechamber at the Hradšchin is definitively proved not until 1743, where it is named in a ground plan of the castle, published by Muchka.

¹⁴ Munich, Bayrisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, GHA Korrespondenzakten, 616/1 („Grätzerische Cammerordnung“):

„[...] Item nach gehalltner Audienntz, werden die Potschaffter von ettlichen Camerern, aus der Camer bis ꝛn die Ritterstuben, von dannen durch das Hofgesimnd bis vber den Saal ꝛn den Hof Hinvnnder, vnnd durch ettliche gar bis ꝛn das Losament belaidt [...]“ (fol. 20r).

„Wann Jr F: D:lt Zu seiner Gemahel, vnnd ꝛn derselben Zimmer geen wellen, so belaiten Jr F: D:lt die Cammerer vnnd Cammerdiener, wieuil etwan deren verhanden sein, hinumb, Aber in der Ertzhertzogin Zimmer, kommen Sy nit hinein, Sonner in der

source mentions the archduke's study ("*Zimmer, darInnen Jr F: D:lt Pflegen Zuschreiben*"), which he also used for audiences and confidential discussions. The archducal apartment in the time around 1600 was thus composed of two organisational units: the official area with great hall, knights' chamber (*Ritterstube*), antechamber and audience chamber; and the connecting private area with a study (as a retreat for important governmental matters of unofficial character, such as secret discussions).

The Habsburg apartment of this type was taken on by the Wittelsbachs at the Residenz in Munich. The responsible figure here was the Bavarian Prince-Elector Maximilian I with his remodelling of the Residenz from 1601 on. A groundplan of the main floor from 1630/50 contains the names of all important spatial entities at that time (Fig. 3)¹⁵. On the north side of the elongated chapel court was the old Hercules Hall (marked "*Saal*" on the plan), which under Maximilian was heightened by a storey and decorated with a series of history paintings and a Hercules statue. Connecting directly to the Hercules Hall and reached by means of a stair on the north side was the area for the guard (*„Hatschir Pfletz“*). To the south, at a right angle, followed the knights' chamber (*Ritterstuben*), "Antecamera", audience chamber (*Audienzzimmer*), a small chamber (study?) and the bedroom (*„Schlaff Camer“*) with direct access to the "Galleria".

The reasons for this orientation around Habsburg customs, and the related tapping into a different tradition with regard to spatial and ceremonial aspects,

lanngen stuben, welche an der Ertzhertzogin Cammer stosst wartten vnnnd bleiben, bis der Ertzhertzog widerumb herum geen will [...]

Das Zimmer, darInnen Jr F: D:lt Pflegen Zuschreiben, ist nie versPerrt, vnnnd mügen die CammerPersonen wol darein geen, alain wann Jr F: D:lt ettwann ainem Audientz, oder sonnst in geheim mit ainem reden, soll allsdann niemandt vnberueffen hinein khommen“ (fol. 26r).

¹⁵ K. FALTLHAUSER (ed.): *Die Münchner Residenz. Geschichte – Zerstörung – Wiederaufbau*, Ostfildern 2006, pp. 40-51; a reproduction of the plan is added in L. LONGO-ENDRES (ed.): *Pistorini Baldassare, Kurz gefasste Beschreibung des Palastes, Sitzes der Erlauchtesten Fürsten von Bayern. Descriptione compendiosa del Palagio sede de' Serenissimi di Baviera*, München 2006. See also H. GRAF: *Die Residenz in München. Hofzeremoniell, Innenräume und Möblierung von Kurfürst Maximilian bis Kaiser Karl VII.*, München 2002, pp. 64-68.

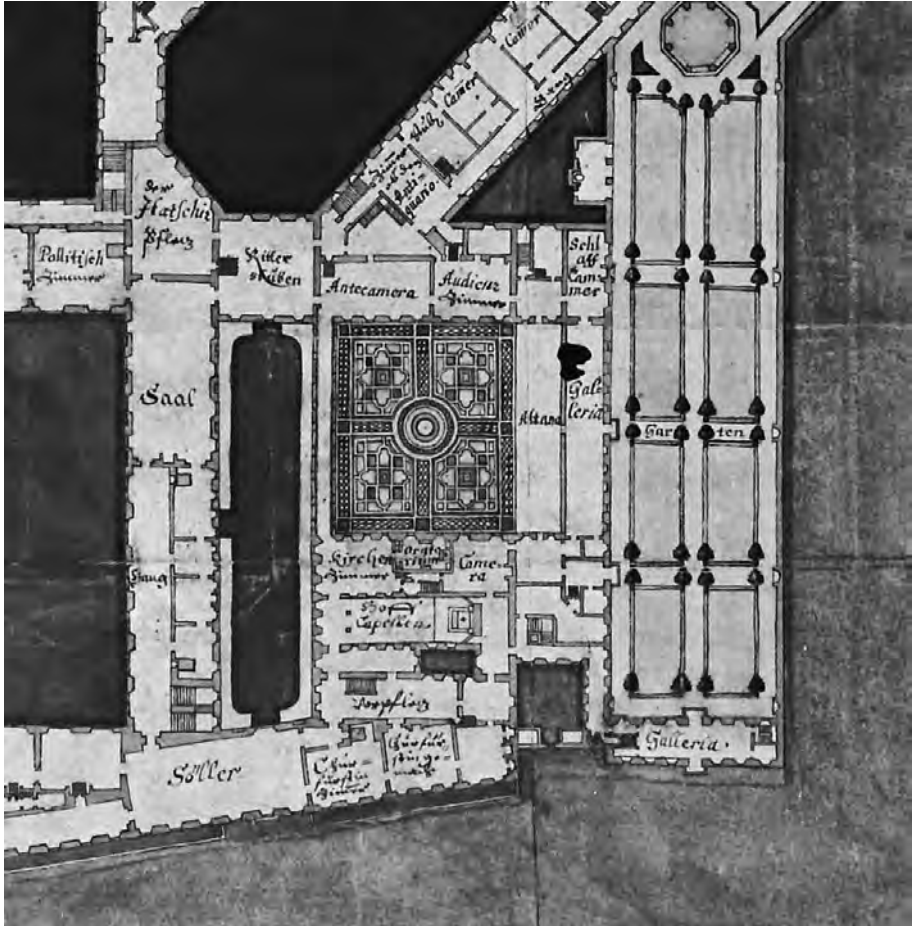


Fig. 3: Munich, Residenz: Ground plan, 1630/50 (detail)

are most likely diverse. The close familiar connections of the two houses were surely decisive. Maria Anna of Bavaria was the mother of Emperor Ferdinand II, who studied with his cousin, the future Prince-Elector Maximilian, under the Jesuits in Ingolstadt. Ferdinand's first marriage was also to Maximilian's sister.

The prince-electors' apartment in Munich showed the state of the Habsburg apartment shortly before it experienced a decisive extension in Vienna. This is apparent from Carlo Caraffa's "Relazione" of 1628, written about his time as

nuntius at the Vienna imperial court¹⁶. Caraffa's room sequence begins with a "sala a Retrostufa", a room that was equipped with a rear-loading stove and used for the reception of "Arcieri, Trabanti e gentiluomini". Attached to this guard room (Trabantensaal) were three antechambers, "due prime anticamere" (for the "Camerieri et altri Ministri e Consiglieri") and an "ultima" (for the "Prencipi, li Ministri supremi et Ambasciatori de' Principi"), before the audience room, the "stanza, dove Sua Maestà dá audienza", could be reached. With the first of the due prime anticamere is meant the knights' chamber (Ritterstube), as is shown by another Italian account – this time from the Mantuan envoy concerning his audience with Ferdinand II in 1627. He writes that he was received by the master of the household (Obersthofmeister) "ala porta che entra nel ritterstuben, sala de' cavallieri", and then led on through the prima antecamera¹⁷. We are thus confronted with a room sequence that was decisively documented for the first time around ten years later in the antechamber regulations (Vorzimmerordnung) of Ferdinand III of 1637 /38¹⁸. Even if it is presently not possible to confirm the

¹⁶ J. G. MÜLLER (ed.): "Carlo Caraffa Vescovo d'Aversa. Relazione dello Stato dell'impero e della germania fatta dopo il ritorno della sua nuntiatura appresso l' imperatore 1628", *Archiv für Kunde österreichische Geschichts-Quellen* 23 (1860), pp. 101-445, here p. 263:

"Nel tornare di fuori gli Arcieri, Trabanti e gentiluomini restano nella sala a „Retrostufa“, non entrando nelle due prime anticamere se non Camerieri et altri Ministri e Consiglieri, e nell' ultima li Prencipi, li Ministri supremi et Ambasciatori de' Principi. Nelle tre stanze avanti quella, dove Sua Maestà dà audienza, non è lecito coprire ad alcuno".

See also M. HENGERER: *Kaiserhof und Adel in der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Eine Kommunikationsgeschichte der Macht in der Moderne*, Konstanz 2004, p. 220.

¹⁷ E. VENTURINI: *Le Collezioni Gonzaga. Il Carteggio tra la Corte Cesarea e Mantova (1559-1636)*, Milano 2002, p. 705:

"1627/02/10, Vienna. Notizia del ricevimento dell'ambasciatore mantovano: (...) a palazzo, ove ala porta che entra nel ritterstuben, sala de' cavallieri, dal signor conte di Meccau [Meggau] cavaliere del Tosone, consigliere segreto et maggior duomo maggiore dell'imperatore et dal signor conte Schisel [Khiesl] cameriere maggiore di sua maestà cesarea; ala porta dela prima antecamera fu ricevuto, accompagnato e introdotto nella camera dell'imperatore (...)".

¹⁸ See M. HENGERER: *Kaiserhof und Adel in der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 219f.; also H. KARNER: „Raum und Zeremoniell in der Wiener Hofburg des 17. Jahrhunderts“, in R. KAUF, G. ROTA & J. P. NIEDERKORN (eds.): *Diplomatische Praxis und Zeremoniell in Europa und im mittleren Osten in der frühen Neuzeit*, Wien 2009, pp. 55-78, 379-385 (Fig.).

Wien, Hofburg, 1628



Fig. 4: Vienna, Hofburg: Structure of the official apartment, 1628

existence of two antechambers in the 1620s on the basis of the Vienna sources, there is no reason to doubt the information given by the two Italians. In the course of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, a second antechamber was inserted into the room structure of the apartment (Fig. 4). Without having decisive proof, we suspect that it was not Emperor Matthias who was responsible for this decision, but his successor, Ferdinand II, with whom we have already become acquainted as Archduke of Inner Austria at the Graz residence. It seems plausible that he ordered the extension by a further chamber in the very first years after his crowning as emperor in 1619.

In attempting to explain the enlargement of the room layout by a further antechamber, it seems necessary –as mentioned at the start– to look beyond the Habsburg residences in Central Europe. This is made clear by a very similar alteration, also from the early seventeenth century, at another important Habsburg residence, the Coudenberg Palace in Brussels.

In the course of several investigations based on the written sources, court regulations (*Hofordnungen*) and the sparse plan material, Krista de Jonge has demonstrated the expansion and marked complexity of the palace's spatial structure¹⁹. These changes were made after 1598, when the new governor of

¹⁹ K. DE JONGE: „Der herzogliche und kaiserliche Palast zu Brüssel und die Entwicklung des höfischen Zeremoniells im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert“, *Jahrbuch des Zentralinstitutes für Kunstgeschichte* 5/6 (1989-1990), pp. 253-282; K. DE JONGE: „Hofordnungen als Quellen der Residenzforschung? Adlige und herzogliche Residenzen in den südlichen Niederlanden in Burgund“, in H. KRUSE & W. PARAVICINI (eds.): *Höfe und Hofordnungen 1200-1600*, Sigmaringen 1999, pp. 175-220; K. DE JONGE: “Espacio ceremonial. Intercambios en la

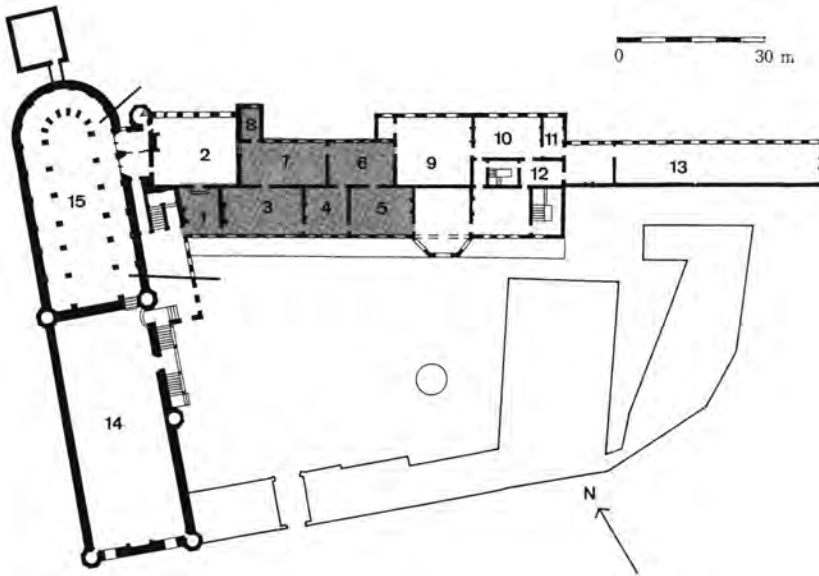


Fig. 5: Brussels, Coudenberg Palace, Reconstruction of the apartment, early 17th century (Krista De Jonge)

the Spanish king in the Spanish Netherlands, Archduke Albert –the brother of Archduke Ernst!– took up residence in Brussels with his consort, the Spanish Infanta Clara Eugenia. (Fig. 5)

A highly complicated building process was set in motion, whereby a main aim was the remodelling of the upper storey of the old domestic wing between the chapel and apartment of Karl V's sister, Maria of Hungary, into a representative wing on a modern plan. After the entrance area (1), next to the new staircase, followed the great hall for the guard: “*Salle de archers*” (2). The visitor could also go directly into the smaller room No. 3 (where the royals ate in public), to which were attached two rooms, the “*chambres des grandes*” (4), and the “*chambres des cavailleurs de la chambre*” (5) – two antechambers that lay before the audience chamber (6); from there, access could be gained either to

arquitectura palaciega entre los Países Bajos borgoñones y España en la Alta Edad Moderna”, in K. DE JORGE, B. GARCÍA & A. ESTEBAN (eds.): *El legado de Borgoña. Fiesta y ceremonia cortesana en la Europa de los Austrias (1454-1648)*, Madrid 2010, pp. 61-90.

the private chamber, the apartment of Maria of Hungary, or to the left into a room that had previously been used as a bedroom. Even if the rooms' names are different, we find here the system already identified for the castle in Vienna under Ferdinand II. This system is characterised by a strictly differentiated hierarchy of reception rooms, whereby the degree of access into the depths of the residence (and thus into the proximity of the ruler or his representative) was determined by the visitor's rank and regulated by five rooms. The arrangement of the apartments in Brussels and Vienna is, in terms of ceremonial matters, identical, but shows differences with regard to the greater potential for communication between individual rooms at the Coudenberg Palace, which is made possible by the double-hipped wing.

This architectural transformation of Coudenberg, as De Jonge has (convincingly) argued, stood in direct connection with the exchange of the old-Burgundian ceremonial for the modified, current Spanish-Burgundian version by the Austrian archduke, Albrecht, and his wife.

Just the close personal connections between rulers, archdukes and governors in the three areas of Habsburg power, Austria, the Netherlands and Spain, were enough to ensure that within the house of Habsburg the exchange and migration of courtly styles –to put it in very general terms– were probably inevitable and also a matter of identity formation. It was the rule that Austrian archdukes were educated in Spain and took up offices there; Austrian archduchesses married into Spain, Spanish Infantas into Austria. At the centre of the house thus stood the Spanish line; and indeed there are plentiful indications of the extent to which their residence culture remained the yardstick in many areas until deep into the seventeenth century²⁰. It is thus necessary to ask whether the residential spatial culture of the emperor, which had developed in Vienna by 1627 at the latest and become mandatory for other residences, did not orientate itself around that of the Spanish royal house. We turn thus to the Alcázar, the royal residence in Madrid, and its spatial situation in the early seventeenth century. A groundplan of the main floor of the Alcázar from the architect, Juan Gómez de Mora, in 1626, which is here given in a reworking of José Manuel Barbeito (Fig. 6), shows the

²⁰ K. RUDOLF: „Die Kunstbestrebungen Kaiser Karl Maximilians II. im Spannungsfeld zwischen Madrid und Wien. Untersuchungen zu den Sammlungen der österreichischen und spanischen Habsburger im 16. Jahrhundert“, *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums* 91 (1995), pp. 166-254.

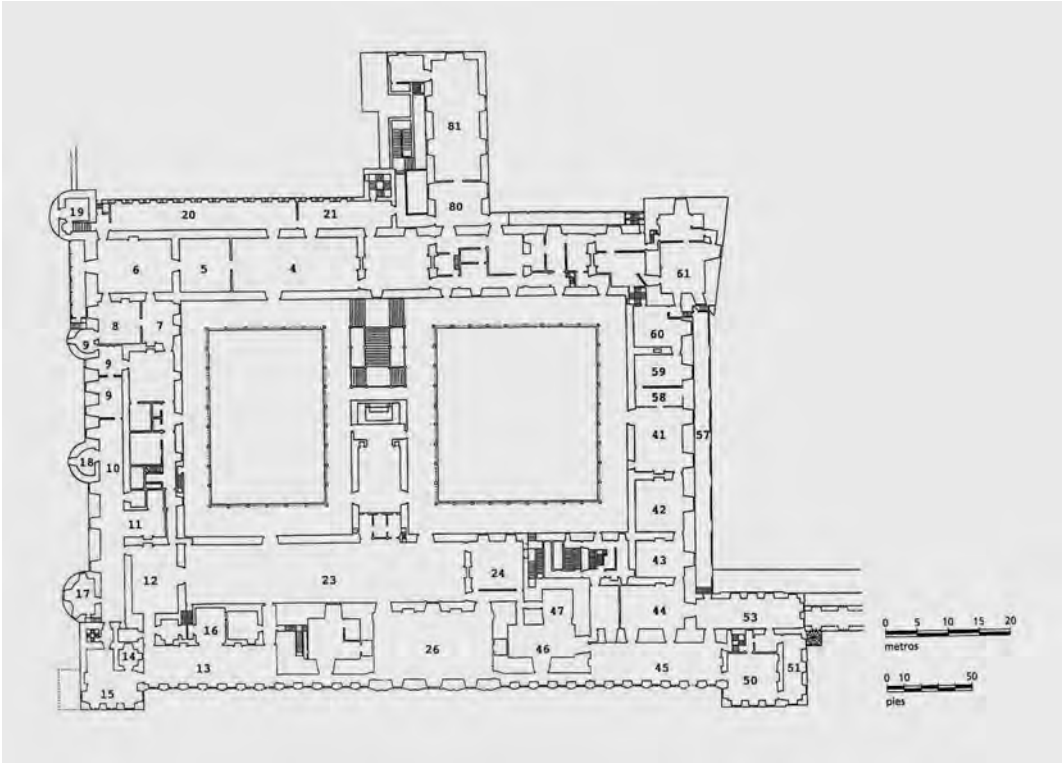


Fig. 6: Madrid, Alcázar, Reconstruction of the main floor, 1627
(José Manuel Barbeito)

castle after the conclusion of extension works that primarily affected the wing to the square²¹.

Whilst the building mass had grown substantially with new large-scale rooms on the south side, the area around the entrance to the royal apartment on the north side showed an unchanged situation; this is a room typology that

²¹ See above all J. M. BARBEITO: *Alcázar de Madrid*, Madrid 1992; also S. N. ORSO: *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid*, Princeton 1986. The essay of José Luis Sancho published 2009 I could not integrate in my reflections, I was informed too late on it; see J. L. SANCHO: “L’espace du roi à la cour d’Espagne sous les Habsbourg”, in G. SABATIER & M. TORRIONE (eds.): *Louis XIV espagnol? Madrid et Versailles, images et modèles*, Paris 2009, pp. 119-136.

goes back to the middle of the sixteenth century²²: 1: staircase – 2: the German and 3: the Spanish guard – 4: Guard room („*Sala de la guarda*“) with the Burgundian guard – 5: “*Saleta*” – 6: “*Antecámara*” for public meals, assemblies and feasts – 7: “*antecamarilla de los embajadores*”, which was perhaps used for the reception of a new ambassador upon his taking up office – 8: “*cámara*”: formally the ceremonial bedroom, this was the general audience chamber; access to subsequent rooms, however, was highly restricted. – 9: Two passageways („*cubillo*“) to a small room for private audiences, also a dining room, which corresponds to the “Retirade” in Vienna. – 10: The west gallery or “*galeria dorada*”, which occupied half the west wing and lead directly to the (medieval) Golden Tower, the “*torre del despacho*”, with its study (15). On the east side, the gallery was accompanied by the private rooms of the king: 11: room with a stove, for everyday lunches, (12): “*pieza oscura*”, a bedroom, but also for audiences – 34: Garderobe.

Between the staircase and the *cámara*, the audience room, there are four rooms: “*Sala*” – “*Saleta*” (lesser hall) – antechamber – lesser antechamber.

This room sequence is, as it were, the matrix for the Vienna, but also the Brussels, solution. What has already been observed in the comparison Brussels-Vienna applies too for the comparison Madrid (Fig. 7)-Vienna (Fig. 4). As in Coudenberg, so too in the Alcázar the disposition of the rooms is outstanding in the increased degree of inner communication. It was possible to take short-cuts, to go from the *Antecámara* directly into the *Cámara*, or from the *Antecamarilla* to enter directly the private sphere of the king. The Hofburg shows nothing like this: the rooms are threaded together in single line “*enfilade*”; only an accompanying exterior passageway, a gallery, ensures accessibility independent of the ranked succession of spaces. These distinctions can be explained on the basis of differing architectural conditions at the respective sites. The Vienna castle arrangements dated to the second half of the sixteenth century and were created within the boundaries of the medieval building; spatial resources were thus very limited. The decisive achievement seems to us, however, to have been the incorporation, despite these limitations, of a room structure identical to Madrid –the four antechambers with adjoining “*cámara*” (= Ratstube, Audienzhammer)– as well as their hierarchically conceived, function- and ceremonial-based order.

²² J. M. BARBEITO: *Alcázar de Madrid, Op. cit.*, pp. 85-174, here 127-136; S. N. ORSO: *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-31.



Fig. 7: Madrid, Alcázar, Structure of the official apartment, 1627

An orientation towards Spanish spatial organisation is the expression of an orientation towards the court ceremonial that stood behind it. In this way we touch on a more complex problem, which is raised by the frequently asked and often hastily answered question concerning the adoption of Spanish court ceremonial at the imperial court, whether by Ferdinand I or one of his follows. Exhaustive comparativistic evaluations, which would prove or disprove a total or partial adoption, are lacking²³. It is possible, however, as I have tried to show, that architectural historical investigation can contribute to this open research field.

It should be emphasised, in conclusion, that a comparative view of the Spanish residences and the Coudenberg Palace is, in any case, a real gain for the building and functional history of the Vienna Hofburg. Such a view makes it possible to recognise a tradition that for Vienna (and Prague) emerged in the late sixteenth, and early parts of the seventeenth, century. On this basis, future research will have to consider whether there was something in the manner of an international, Habsburg, ceremonial-led culture of representation, which, in Vienna, became “*imperial*” in such an unmistakable way. The conclusion can be reached that the Spanish side of the house as a whole, the “*Casa de Austria*”, made a very considerable contribution to the nature of the imperial residence in Vienna.

²³ This complex topic is treated by C. HOFMANN: *Das Spanische Hofzeremoniell von 1500-1700*, Frankfurt am Main 1985; C. HOFMANN-RANDALL: “Die Herkunft und Tradierung des Burgundischen Hofzeremoniells”, in J. BERNIS & T. RAHN (eds.): *Zeremoniell als höfische Ästhetik in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Tübingen 1995, pp. 150-156; W. PARAVICINI: “The Court of the Dukes of Burgundy. A Model for Europe?”, in R. G. ASCH & A. M. BIRKE (eds.): *Princes, Patronage and Nobility*, Oxford 1991, pp. 69-102; W. PARAVICINI: “Zeremoniell und Raum”, in W. PARAVICINI (ed.): *Zeremoniell und Raum*, Sigmaringen 1997, pp. 11-36.