

THE PRINCELY HORSE AS A WORK OF ART AND ITS ARCHITECTURAL FRAME A Munich Example, a Hapsburg Model

Esther Hoppe-Münzberg

VERY OFTEN ASPECTS OF EARLY MODERN BUILDINGS AND CITIES have disappeared today. In these cases contemporary observers are insightful sources for subsequent generations. These writers provide us with literary equivalent of an Ariadne's thread—not to escape the labyrinth, but a guide for immersing oneself into a time, a place and a culture, which are at times distant and difficult to comprehend. I shall begin with an examination of the journey of Michel de Montaigne and the account of this literate foreigner. On his voyage to Switzerland and Italy he passed Germany and made several reflections—precious testimonies on every day life in early modern times in central Europe. Hardly known are his notes on his fleeting visit of his very short stay in Munich, which he summarizes with just a few lines¹. Approaching from Augsburg via Fürstenfeldbruck he arrived in Munich at 20 October 1580. He describes the city in a very generous way thus the reader could simply understand that the traveller would reach Italy as quick as possible.

The cosmopolite nobleman states the size of the capital of the Bavarian Duchy (as big as Bordeaux), the location (at the River Isar), the confession of the citizens (strongly catholic) and other facts (nice, populated and with a vivid commerce). What would the author of the famous *Essais* mention as most impressive of the capital of the Duchy of Bavaria? Neither the church of Our Lady nor the quite recently erected spectacular *Antiquarium*² or the splendid garden, the appropriate location for an imperial dinner. He dedicates only one phrase to two buildings: «*Ella a un beau château & les plus belles écuries que j'aye jamais veues en France ny Italie, voutées, à loger deus cens chevaux*».

Today the former stable building³ is—like most of other princely stable buildings of that time—heavily transformed and altered. In the nineteenth century it was used as mint and even Johann Andreas Gärtner (1744-1826) was called to

deliver drafts for the new building. Rebuilding of the heavily damaged building after World War II lasted until the 1950s. The most recent building campaign occurred in the 1980s, when it was—with special attention to the courtyard and the façade—delicately reconstructed to preserve the remaining traces of one of the remnant Renaissance buildings in Munich. Today it houses the offices of the Bavarian State Office for the Preservation of Historical Monuments. The reconstructed courtyard and some parts of the interior reveal its former use as a stable. Therefore we rely much more on other sources to gain an impression of the once stunning building.

The building was erected between 1563 and 1567. Previous research attributed its design to Wilhelm Egckl (1520-1588)⁴, but his task was more of an administrative character. Archival sources in the form of accounts document the monetary payments Egckl received for his involvement in several building campaigns like the *St.-Georgs-Festsaal* or the *Antiquarium*. But there is not any evidence in any of these accounts, which would point to Egckl's part in the construction of the stable building⁵.

Some names appear on the documents. The Augsburg master masons Bernhard Zwitzel (1496-1570, father of Simon Zwitzel, who was employed at the *Antiquarium*) and Georg Sitt⁶. Zwitzel negotiated a comparable project just a few years before in 1562/1563: the construction of the Augsburg town library⁷ (fig. 1 and 2). The task was to create a separate building with room for the theatrical performances of the scholars of St. Anna on the ground floor and a huge hall for the books of the Augsburg *Rat* (town council). Apparently Zwitzel had to manage with a previous building, a *Jeu de paume* court. The Augsburg town council in favour to the bishop Anton of Arras initiated this building only in 1548⁸. Therefore we could not be sure about the reusable parts—if the *jeu de paume* court was a massive construction— of the precedent building, the functional requirements of both building types does not differ much one from another.

Several craftsmen who worked at the stable building can also be identified: for example Kaspar Weinart⁹, the sculptor of the elegant red marble columns on the courtyard's third floor and Hans Aesslinger¹⁰, who produced the tuff columns in the arcades below. Hans Ostendorfer created the mural paintings at the ducal castles Sarnberg and Dachau¹¹. The archival document the names of several other craftsmen of whom we hardly know little more than their names. Thus Michael Petzet concluded convincingly that the stable building was the joint effort of court artisans and foreign craftsmen.



Fig. 1. Johann August Corvinus, Augsburg town library with St.-Anna School (around 1700).



Fig. 2. Andreas Geyer, Augsburg town library inside, 1713.



Fig. 3. Jakob Sandtner, model of the city of Munich, 1571. Detail with the stable building seen from north. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum.

The exterior of the ducal stable building

An examination of the wooden model of Munich of 1570 by Jakob Sandtner¹² provides an impression of the building's exterior (fig. 3). This model is the only contemporary visual document because of the absence of drafted plans or projections. The first preserved plans stem from the transformation of the building into the Bavarian Mint at the early nineteenth century, which only document the existence of earlier architectural fabric in each floor.

Sandtner's model depicts a very plain and unostentatious three-storey building with four wings around a central courtyard (fig. 4 and 5). Only the western façade received a decorative accent with a small pediment. Possibly the plain walls with the small windows were lavishly covered with mural paintings like many of other impor-

Fig. 4. Jakob Sandtner, model of the city of Munich, 1571. Detail with the stable building, western façade. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum.

Fig. 5. Jakob Sandtner, model of the city of Munich, 1571. Detail with the eastern façade to the runnel Pfisterbach. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum.



tant contemporary buildings, not least the palaces of the Bavarian dukes themselves. These days only a small number with decorative schemes on their facades like the *Weinstadel* with Hans Mielich's murals survived (fig. 6). The association of several painters like Hans Ostendorfer and Hans Thonauer with the stable building could support this conjecture, but there are not any traces neither at the building itself nor in archival sources. The size of the windows¹³ illustrates the specific function of each floor. Small windows situated almost at the top of the ground floor are commonly used for horses' accommodation to prevent light and draught from harming the horses' eyes. The slightly bigger windows above belonged to the offices and lodgings of the stable staff, but also to the *Kunstkammerer*, the officer of the *Kunstkammer* collection. The large windows of the third floor are ideal for large halls with need of extensive light. The third floor of the stable building housed the ducal *Kunstkammer* in four large rooms without any interrupting internal partitions.

The Sandtner model depicts three wide entries to the building—one at each side except for the eastern façade facing to the *Pfisterbach* runnel. It also shows two passageways to the nearby buildings, the northern one lead directly to the new palace (the former *Neuveste*), the southern one connected the stable building with the former ducal residence (*Alter Hof*). Thus the duke could reach the building regardless of rain or snow. The passageways were connected to the building's low-ceilinged first floor.

It is not a shortcoming of Sandtner's model that the quadrangle is slightly irregular; it rather documents the condition of the building with high accuracy. The courtyard's shape is determinate by three levels of arcades (fig. 7): there are three arches on each narrower side of the courtyard, nine on the northern side and eight at the southern side. The measurements of the columns and the different amplitude of the arches are at least not based on the canonical manuals. The proportions of the columns represent a creative adaptation according to the demands of the building's measurements and function. These and other obliquities were interpreted recently



Fig. 6. Weinstadel, built at the beginning of 16th century, façade decoration by Hans Mielich from 1552.



Fig. 7. Ducal Stable building Munich, courtyard.

as German or Bavarian particularity or as a specific characteristic of the architect. Only Michael Petzet could verify that the walls of the stable building and the passages coincide exactly with the basements of the previous buildings. The remaining spaces were divided into arcade bays afterwards. The neighbourhood of the runnel *Pfisterbach* created a difficult surface and hence practical reasons promoted the choice of the old cubature for the new building. But the perilous proximity of the runnel was also a much-requested item for the stable business. We now numberless prestigious stable buildings with waterlines under the pavement for comfortable feed charge of water, for cleaning the horse's stands and easy delivery of drinking water for the precious animals.

At the eastern façade two toilet jutties served at least to lead the waste of the upper floors into the *Pfisterbach* below. Here a small bridge connected the stable building with the opposite magazine of hay and straw.

The Interior

The 1807 plan shows of the ground level¹⁴ large columned halls that were divided into three naves and covered the building's ground floor almost completely. Two rows of red marble columns support the vaults (fig. 8). The three passageways¹⁵,



Fig. 8. Ducal Stable building Munich, rest of the ground floor halls, the former stable halls.

providing access to the courtyard from the outside, interrupt the building's four-winged footprint and thereby created three separate stable halls. The entries to the stable halls were situated in the eastern passageway and the pediment crowned front gate on the western side. At this point we have to note some differences between the sixteenth century Sandtner model and the nineteenth century drawing. Gärtner generically indicated all structures that predate the nineteenth century in his plans. He did not discern their origins in history. Thus it cannot be reconstructed from his plans which of the highlighted walls had been erected in the sixteenth century. There are some striking differences between model and drawing. For example the building as depicted in the Sandtner model particularly lacks the grand departure gate on the buildings eastern side, facing the *Pfisterbach* runnel. Obviously access to the bridge leading to the hay magazine must have already existed by the sixteenth century. However the records that are available to us do not give any details about its dimensions and structure¹⁶. Further research is necessary to identify whether alterations have been made to the gate between the 1560s and 1807, but from a visual analysis of the architecture's disposition this observation appears very plausible.

The Sandtner model shows very small windows, which are echoed in the observation of the Augsburg agent and merchant Philipp Hainhofer. He describes the stables as very dark and poorly lit light. He clearly preferred the Heidelberg or Stuttgart stables for this reason. Apparently light could not enter the stable halls

through the courtyard walls, because the arcades between the stable halls and the courtyard housed additional rooms. The wooden stands for the 200 horses were arranged under the outer naves in the halls apparently in a relatively simple outline. Hainhofer would have certainly noted an exaggeration of the stands or interior fittings, if it did not reflect the actual condition¹⁷. From the 1807 ground plan we know the general disposition of the now defunct columns and vaults. Regardless of the building's difficult layout the inner partitions including the parts of the corners appear as regular as even possible. Only a small part remained unaffected by the heavy alterations of the nineteenth and the damages of the twentieth centuries. We have to take this as *pars pro toto*. The horses' stands were distributed along the walls, interrupted only by the entrances and the connecting passage bridge to the hay magazine. In the western wing near the staircase appears a separated room with only one column. This room may have been used for stable utensils and as an office. The staircase with three flights on a square layout situated in the building's south-western corner is remarkable (fig. 9). It leads above around a stonework funnel with platforms in each corner. Michael Petzet described it as «*das bisher in dieser Form unbekannte*» [hitherto unknown in this form]. Even though it is appearing on the 1807 plan as «old substance» —we have to assert that this kind of staircase is rather unusual for 16th century buildings. Usually spiral staircases were incorporated into such buildings or

Fig. 9. Ducal Stable building Munich, staircase.



situated in the courtyards' corner. There is no evidence of a comparable grand quadrangular staircase in the sixteenth century. However this evidence could hint at a —hitherto unknown— reconstruction in the early seventeenth century, when this kind of staircases became quite popular because of its greater comfort. Furthermore Seelig offers two conjectures on the possible entries of visitors into the *Kunstkammer*. First, they could have climbed the foursquare staircase and passed through the arcade on the second floor to reach the *Kunstkammer's* entrance in the buildings north-western corner. Seelig regards this as an unconvincing suggestion since it conflicts with the testimonies of contemporary visitors and the preserved inventory by the *Kunstkammer* secretary Johann Baptist Fickler. Seelig proposed a second and more plausible access route based on the description, succeeding item 3372, in Ficklers inventory: a staircase in the north-western corner, connecting the first with the second floor, provided (direct) access to the *Kunstkammer*, which is replaced by a new one in Gärtner's nineteenth-century plan in exactly the same location¹⁸. Far more cogent than Seelig's suggestion would be the hypothesis of a spiral staircase in the north-western angle which was transformed into a straight flight of stairs in later times — maybe corresponding with the construction of the impressive four winged construction south-east of the building. Such a hypothesis would fit with a literary source, *Contrafactur und Beschreibung von den vornembsten Stät der Welt, Liber quartus* published by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg in Cologne 1590¹⁹. The author described the entrance to the *Kunstkammer* as «Auß dem neuen Schloß kan man durch eine Schnecken in einen Saal steigen [...]» [coming from the new palace one entered the *Kunstkammer* through a spiral staircase]. The twentieth-century publishers of this text interpret spiral staircase as a translations mistake caused by a misunderstanding of the meaning of the Latin original *anfractum*. But possibly we can trust in the translation and knowledge of the sixteenth century authors.

Unfortunately hardly any detail about the low-ceilinged first floor rooms is known today. A plan²⁰ by Andreas Gärtner (1744-1826) documents the condition before the conversion into a mint, but there is no further evidence that this part of the building had remained unchanged since 1567. From archival resources we know that the *Stallmeister* occupied an apartment in the stable building. According to his position we could assume that this apartment had more ample dimensions and greater comfort than those of the low ranking attendants. But we have to consider a particularity on the 1613 map of Munich by Tobias Volckmer the Younger. According to his meticulous observations the stable building's roof did not feature chimneys. Generally he documented each detail with great diligence. He did not omit the tiny gables and even the flags in each corner of the roof of the stable building nor the chimneys on other roofs. Still today a research concerning wall holes for stoves

is lacking. According to these pictorial sources and the Sandtner model we have to conclude that there existed no permanent heating system, which was an essential component for comfortable housing at this time. Possibly the *Stallmeisters* lodging has to be understood more in the sense of an office and not primarily as living quarters. Because of the lack of research on living quarters of princely servants we cannot be sure if the quality of life for the Munich stable servants was a particularly low standard since their quarters did not incorporate any heating. However it has to consider that the danger of fire in such a building for tremendously expensive horses and precious *Kunstammer*-objects was not to neglect and may have prompted the decision to exclude heating facilities in the servant quarters.

The Kunstammer

Only recently Lorenz Seelig published his research on the Munich *Kunstammer* and its location. He was the first to identify the third floor of the stable building as the location of the *Kunstammer* collection²¹. Based on archival resources Seelig came to the conclusion that the construction work was finished around 1570; later accounts up to 1578 mostly relate to works for etuis, boxes and glasswork for display cabinets or decoration²². Seelig's commendable visualization (fig. 10) of the *Kunstammer* storey stems from the precise descriptions of Philipp Hainhofer and the inventory notes by Johann Baptist Fickler²³. Hainhofer recounted a small vestibule, four great halls²⁴ with numerous tables for display of the precious objects and two separate rooms in the building's corners for the most precious objects. Concerning the special dimensions, Seelig referred on the 1807-plan and accepted the distinction of «original structure» and «alteration». Thus he proposed hypothetically a corridor directly behind the arcade front. However this structure would be highly exceptional for sixteenth century architecture. The enormous efforts to create a separation wall of this length and a height of almost 5 m with no special use are not convincing. The arcade offered already a separate passageway. Seelig's conjecture is based on a very detailed but in the same time also very obscure description by Hainhofer in 1611²⁵:

Above the stables there is the 'Kunstammer'. One could enter it through a doubled door passing a small entrance-room. Outside of the door there are displayed some portraits of male and female fools. There are more fools portraits inside the main room but outside a special fence (*Gätter*). This fence has four doors and separates the rows of tables with the displayable objects from an outer corridor. In the small entrance-room a artificially painted

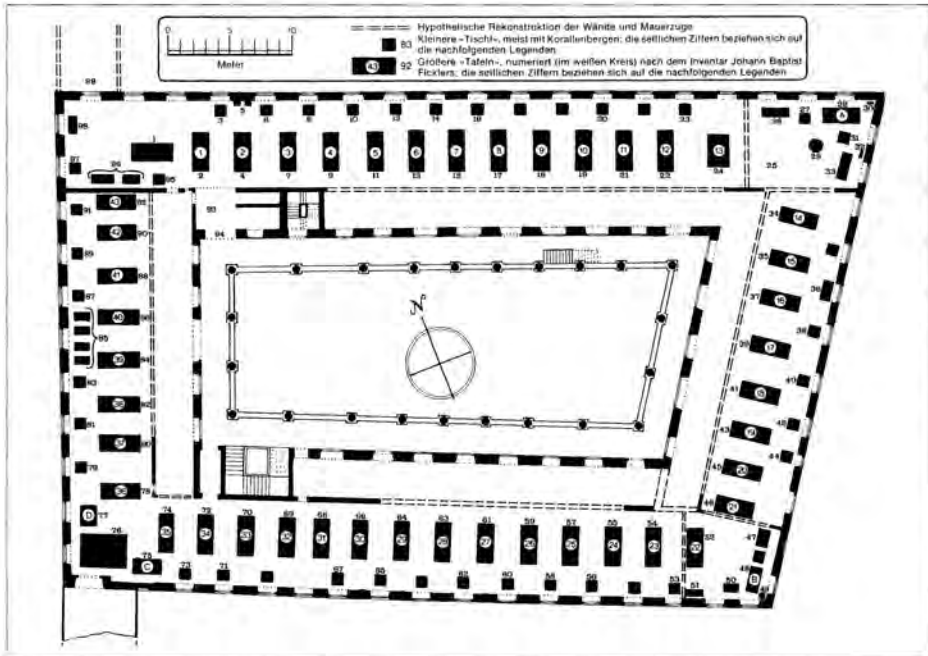


Fig. 10. Reconstruction of the *Kunstammer*-floor in the stable building by Lorenz Seelig (1989).

table is to be seen. To the fence is attached a wooden diorama showing the 'Paradise' with lots of beautiful animals and it is a pity that there is no protective glass screen on it. There is attached also a big turtle shell. On the fence there is placed a Hydra with 7 heads, 2 claws and 4 paws and 4 tails.²⁶

In 1603 he described the location in the following way:

Passing a small entrance-room with portraits of fools, one enters a grand space divided by a wooden fence. Approaching the room a wild boar with 7 heads, 2 claws, 4 paws and 4 tails is placed on a fence. Then you enter and inside you see tables with curious things roundabout [...] ²⁷

These precious details became less intelligible because of the use of the enigmatic term *Gätter*. According to Hainhofer there must have existed a kind of fence or railing—but only in the first large room of the collection—around the whole hall that left a smaller passage way at the exterior side and enclosed the numerous tables with the objects inside. This construction included four entries for accessing the inner part. The fence must have had a remarkable height to allow the decoration

with various objects (reliefs, turtle shells) and depth to place the famous hydra on it, which Hainhofer described during first visit as a kind of boar. It is rather difficult to imagine such a semitransparent structure of these dimensions. Seelig understood Hainhofer's remarks respective the *Gätter* as situated in not only one room but in all four wings. According to Hainhofers reliable specifications we have no evidence of such a *Gätter* in the other rooms.

We know of the existence of marble portals and a wooden carved ceiling. Based on Zwitzel's experience to construct a huge hall to a similar purpose in Augsburg we could imagine a quite similar arrangement obviously with more sumptuous details and qualities.

Duke Albrecht invested enormous sums in his buildings, his collections, but also in festivities, music, cloths—in short in all facets of princely representation²⁸. The buildings initiated by him were raised within 10 years: beside the stable building the *Lusthaus* (pleasure house) in the *Hofgarten* and the *Antiquarium*, which was a collection building for antique sculpture and library. To understand the collecting efforts of Albrecht it is worth studying the treatise *Inscriptiones vel Tituli Theatri Amplissimi* of the physician and theorist Samuel Quiccheberg who analysed the several classes of collectible objects. He favoured objects that—despite their material diversity—refer not only to prosperity and magnificence of the Duchy, but they display the whole institution, the princely «dominion» in its totality²⁹. Quiccheberg stated that the inanimate collections had to be complimented by with their botanical specimens and princely menageries with animals. In this context the princely horse has also to be regarded as collectible and displayable item.

A princely horse has to provide qualities of character and aesthetic criteria: the prince riding in front of thousand of spectators is demonstrating not only his riding skills but also—in a symbolic way—his abilities as a sovereign of a territory. In the wide spread edition of *Emblemata* by Andrea Alciati, the necessity of a sharp bit is explained as a means to control the horse and the subject as well.

Unsurprisingly, the topic of the bridled and courageous horse appears often for instance in illuminated manuscripts, so called bitbooks³⁰, accompanied by the newest and most precious bits; but also in life size mural painting, of which the most famous example is undoubtedly the *Sala dei cavalli* at Mantua Palazzo Tè. This kind of wall decoration was also common in the northern parts, where the *Langer Gang* Gallery³¹ in Dresden is a famous example. It was once visible in the Stallhof where the tournaments took place. Another, but very late example is the Salzburg horse pond beside the famous riding hall, now *Festspielhaus*.

I am going to conclude with another early modern description to highlight the importance of the external of a princely horse and to the significance of displaying

these horses to promote the prince's reputation: it is the description of a festivity, arranged by Albrecht V to celebrate his son's marriage with Renée of Lorraine in February 1568³². Massimo Troiano, musician and *Kunstintendant* at the Bavarian court published his detailed description *Dialoghi* in German, Italian and Spanish. Troiano meticulously describes the ceremonial and musical parts of the festivities as well as the cloths and decoration. He begins with an account of the guest's entrance, unsurprisingly his account emphasises the role of the horse and thereby illustrates the eminence of the princely horse's function as status symbol³³. On 15 February, the entry of Archduke Ferdinand who came from Innsbruck with more than 700 horses. Troiano was astonished by the sheer number of horses and the regularity of their movement that he was lost for words to recount the scene and compares the sight with becoming blind and mute. 400 horses were followed by 12 splendidly clad, mounted lackeys, each of them guiding a bold bareback horse, the majority were covered black velvet cloths, four with exquisite saddlecloths, finally two adorned with carmine velvet cloth that featured opulent embroidery, large and long tassels made of silver and gold. Only kings and princes were rightfully entitled to bring along horses as augmentation of their magnificence³⁴.

From the second half of the sixteenth century onwards the Holy Roman Empire featured a significant number of extraordinary stable buildings which housed collections of rare and particular objects, armour, books and scientific instruments in their upper floors. The courts invested a large sum to create an adequate framework for their precious horses as part of their extraordinary collections of art. This model seems to be a Hapsburg conception which was adopted quickly by other —mostly German— courts: Vienna (*ca.* 1559), Prague (*ca.* 1580), Munich (1563-1570), Dresden (1586-1591), Kassel (1591-1593). Evidently, the model first documented in the Hapsburg sphere (*Alcázar* in Madrid, *Stallburg* in Vienna, Prag, Innsbruck) was the incentive for the other princely courts to mimic the imperial model³⁵. The Wittelsbach family was closely connected with the Hapsburg family through friendship and relationship; numerous (reciprocal) visits are documented in addition to the Hapsburgs participation in the festivities of the ducal wedding in 1568. The shared interests particularly in collecting, architectural commissions and solemn festivities suggests a close transfer of ideas such as the new type of buildings for housing the prince's animate and inanimate collections.

In comparison with the Wittelsbach's other architectural commissions in Munich's city centre, the stable building may appear rather less spectacular. However one should not be deceived by its plain appearance. One has to keep in mind that this building has a very special place in Munich's architectural history: «The ducal stable building represents Munich's first actual renaissance building» (Seelig)³⁶. Compared

to the earlier buildings in the Sandtner model it appears clearly distinct from the medieval structures because of its enormous size and regularity. The juxtaposition of the stable building's grand dimensions and regular layout with the disposition of the older buildings that surround it emphasises its outstanding importance as the first real example of Renaissance architecture in Munich. Until today it features the first courtyard surrounded by arcades in Munich, a prestigious architectural motif in Renaissance palace architecture. It is one of the very early separate residential buildings for displaying collections in Europe. A very fashionable model was used: an intricate building for displaying precious horses and esteemed objects of art. This model quickly became popular with the German princes who spent enormous sums on these projects. The public accessibility of these buildings allowed a quick spread of information because of the intensive communication between the courts. Visitors like Hainhofer or princes on their grand tour were transmitters of these collection's fame and thus of their owners and supported the symbolic language of princely representation.

¹ Michel de MONTAIGNE, *Tagebuch einer Reise durch Italien, die Schweiz und Deutschland in den Jahren*, Berlin, Suhrkamp Verlag, 1988.

² At this time the building housed the ducal collection of antique sculptures and the library after ideas by Jacopo Strada and constructive plans by Simon Zwitzel. Friedrich Sustris began 1580 to alter the function and inner decoration in a way to be used for festivities and banquets. Montaigne must have seen at least the building but not the internal because of the transformation works. S. HEYM, *Das Antiquarium der Münchner Residenz*, Munich, 2007, p. 9; D. and P. DIEMER, «Das Antiquarium Herzog Albrechts V. von Bayern. Schicksale einer fürstlichen Antikensammlung der Spätrenaissance», *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 58 (1995), pp. 55-104; and M. REUTER, *Beschreibung der Handschrift Cod. icon. 198c*. in BSB-CodIcon Online. Electronic catalogue of the *Codices iconographici monacenses* of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München (see in 30 Aug. 2011).

³ M. PETZET, *Die Alte Münze in München. Marstall- und Kunstkammergebäude - Hauptmünzamt - Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege*, Munich, 1996; L. WALLNÖFER, «Das ehemalige Marstall- und Kunstkammergebäude in München. Stationen eines Gebäudes», *Arx*, 12-2 (1990), pp. 563-566; H. HABEL, J. HALLINGER, and T. WESKI (eds.), *Denkmäler in Bayern*, Landeshauptstadt München Mitte, vol. I 2/1, pp. 330-336; and L. SEELIG, «Die Münchner Kunstkammer», in W. SAUERLÄNDER (ed.), *Die Münchner Kunstkammer. Aufsätze und Anhänge* (vol. 3), Munich, 2008, pp. 1-114, especially pp. 1-26.

⁴ His name appears also in these variations: Eggl, Egkl, Eckl, Egckhl, Oeggl, Oegckhl; see PETZET, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp. 10-13.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 10. Otto Hartig published an interesting document by Friedrich Sustris. He mentioned the construction of a garden pavilion in Dachau castle and communicates that Egckl «auf angezogene visier durchaus nicht verstehe» —he didn't trust in Egckls architectural capabilities. O.

HARTIG, «Münchner Künstler und Kunstsachen, Auszüge aus Archivalien der staatlichen und städtischen Archive und Bibliotheken Münchens... Vom Jahre 1560-1575», *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, Neue Folge, VIII (1931), pp. 322-381, here p. 343.

⁶ G. DISCHINGER, «Ein Augsburger Plan für das Münchner Antiquarium», *Oberbayerisches Archiv*, 112 (1988), pp. 81-86; and M. PETZET, «Die Arkaden am Unteren Hofgarten und die Münchner Architektur der Renaissance», in *Denkmäler am Münchner Hofgarten* (Arbeitshefte des Bayerischen Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege, 41), Munich, 1988, pp. 9-27.

⁷ The impressive library building beside the St-Anna-Gymnasium was teared down in 1893. There survived three views of the library: by Lukas Kilian 1632, by Johann August Corvinus 1731, and a view inside the first floor with the reading hall by Andreas Geyer 1713, see PETZET, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp. 22 and 23, and N. LIEB, *Münchner Barockbaumeister*, Munich, 1941, pp. 23-24.

⁸ H. KAISER, *Augsburg in seiner ehemaligen und gegenwärtigen Lage*, Augsburg, 1818, p. 27; and Ch. MEYER, *Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg* (Tübinger Studien für Schwäbische und Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte, 1/4), Tübingen, 1907, p. 86. The precious book collection of the Augsburg town council results from the liquidation of monasteries and convents caused by the Reformation. The council spent 50 fl. every year to purchase new volumes at the Frankfurt fair. See *Ibidem*.

⁹ Weinhart was involved in the completion of the New Baden-Baden castle in 1574 and for the Bavarian court the famous *Lusthaus* (pleasure house) of Albrecht V in his garden in München. See PETZET, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp. 11-12.

¹⁰ Aesslinger worked as a sculptor, mason and medallist. In 1536 he became a master sculptor in Munich and shortly afterwards entered the service of Ludwig X, Duke of Bavaria. He was involved in the construction of the Italian wing of the ducal *Stadtresidenz*.

¹¹ Ostendorfer was coeval to the painter Hans Mielich. He was involved in the decoration of numerous ducal buildings. His title of *Hofmaler* was apparently more to interpret as a limer or decorations painter than a painter specialized like his colleague Mielich. He died before 1577 when his son wrote a memorial to the duke. See PETZET, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 12.

¹² Sandtner was a wood turner and born in Straubing, his life dates are unknown; his famous works the wooden models of Bavarian towns Straubing, Munich, Landshut, Ingolstadt and Burghausen were produced from 1568 onwards. See A. VON REITZENSTEIN, *Die alte bairische Stadt in den Modellen des Drechslermeisters Jakob Sandtner, gefertigt in den Jahren 1568-1574 im Auftrag Herzog Albrechts V. von Bayern*, Munich, 1967.

¹³ At the smaller sides (versus east and west) the building is divided in 11 axis, at the northern wall into 18 axis and at the southern wall into 14 parts, little space is occupied by the passageways in north and south.

¹⁴ There exists a plan of the ground floor done before the heavy alterations by Andreas Gärtner in 1807 which describes the existing structures. See PETZET, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 13 (Plansammlung Landbauamt München).

¹⁵ To north, south and east; from the representative western façade there was only an entry directly into the stable hall and no passageway.

¹⁶ I will return later to the ground plan and its problems.

¹⁷ See also the meticulous descriptions of the Dresden stable building done during two of his voyages. Ph. HAINHOFER, «Reisen von Innsbruck nach Dresden 1629», ed. by O. DOERING, *Quellschriften für Kunstgeschichte*, N.F. 10, Vienna, 1901, pp. 141-248; see also F. L. MEDEM (ed.), «Philipp Hainhofers Reise-Tagebuch, enthaltend Schilderungen aus Francken, Sachsen, der Mark Brandenburg und Pommern im Jahr 1617», *Baltische Studien*, 2 (1834), pp. I-XXXII, and 1-180.

¹⁸ SEELIG, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 20.

¹⁹ D. and P. DIEMER (eds.), «Ausgewählte Quellen zur Münchner Kunstammer 1565-

1632», in W. SAUERLÄNDER (ed.), *Die Münchner Kunstammer. Aufsätze und Anhänge* (vol. 3), Munich, 2008, p. 365.

²⁰ Set of drawings called «Lit.A.», see PETZET, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp. 15, 18-19.

²¹ SEELIG, *op. cit.* (note 3); L. SEELIG, «The Munich Kunstammer, 1565-1807», in O. IMPEY, and A. MCGREGOR, (eds.), *The origins of Museums. The cabinet of Curiosities in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe*, Oxford, 1985, pp. 76-89; and L. SEELIG, «Die Münchner Kunstammer, Geschichte, Anlage, Ausstattung», *Jahrbuch der Bayerischen Denkmalpflege*, 40 (1989), pp. 101-138.

²² SEELIG, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.2.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 5 and SEELIG, *op. cit.* (1985, note 21).

²⁴ The size of the longest wing is astonishing: 45 m x 7 m with a height of 5 m; the size of the windows is also remarkable: 2,5 m x 1,6 m. SEELIG, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 18.

²⁵ Highlighted by E. M. Hainhofer used the possibility to visit the Kunstammer extensively and made his observations about three days. The Kunstammerer Wilhelm Büchler had not much sympathy for the tireless specialist. But soon he learned much about the objects in his duty and so it became a fruitful exchange. DIEMER (eds.), *op. cit.* (note 19), p. 377.

²⁶ «*Ob der stallung ist die Kunst Cammer in welche man durch doppelte thürn und durch ain kleines tennelein ingebet. Vor der innern thür herausen hangen etlicher geborner narren und nährinnen Conterfett. Innwendig sobald man hinein kombt außßerhalb dess außgeschnitten gätters (welches vier thürn hat, alle tisch gängweiß, gegen den vier teilen der welt darmit eingefasst sein) hangen under den gebornen auch etlicher schalckbnarren und kurtzweiliger tafelhät Contrafett.*

In diesem vorzimmer stehet auch ein gevierter, oben gemahlter tisch [...]

An dem gätter hängt ein ziemlich groß, flach in holz geschnitten Paradeyß, mit vielen schönen thierlein, ist schadt, daß mans nit mit einem glaß bedeckht. Es hanget auch af der einen seitten des

gätterß aine gar große Schildtkrotten, ob dem gätter stehet eine hydra mit 7 köpfen, 2 händen, 4 füßen, und vier schwänzen». Quoted in *Ibidem*, pp. 370-377.

²⁷ «*Durch ain klains dennelein geht man hinein, auf welchem lauter narren ab tafflen abkunterfeet sein, alß dan kumbt man in ein sebr groß gevierts zümmer in der mit ain gevierts hülzins getter rumb, wen man zur thür hinein khombt, so sicht man auf dem hülzins getter stehn ain eber, hat 7 köpf, 2 hendt, 4 fueß, und 4 schwentz, alß dan gehet man hinein, da ist ringsweißumb ain tisch am andern mit seltzamen sachen [...]*». Quoted in *Ibidem*, p. 368. After Hainhofers writing about his first visit of the Kunstkammer, we are not sure if he had seen more as the first hall with the quoted *gätter*. The smaller rooms and also the other halls are at least not mentioned.

²⁸ J. STOCKBAUER, *Die Kunstbestrebungen am bayerischen Hof unter Herzog Albert V. und seinem Nachfolger Wilhelm V.*, Vienna, 1874 (reprinted in Osnabrück, 1970); and O. HARTIG, «Die Kunsttätigkeit in München unter Wilhelm IV. und Albrecht V. 1520-1579», *Münchener Jahrbuch für bildende Kunst*, N.F., 10 (1933), pp. 147-225.

²⁹ G. GÖHLER, «Der Zusammenhang von Institution, Macht und Repräsentation», in G. GÖHLER (ed.), *Institution-Macht-Repräsentation. Wofür politische Institutionen stehen und wie sie wirken*, Baden-Baden, 1997.

³⁰ P. CUNEO, «Just a Bit of Control: The Historical Significance of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth German Bitbooks», in K. RABER (ed.), *The culture of the horse. Status, discipline, and identity in the Early Modern World*, New York, 2005 pp. 141-173; P. CUNEO, «(Un)stable Identities: Hippology and the Professionalization of Scholarship and Horsemanship in Early Modern Germany», in K. A. E. ENENKEL and P. J. SMITH (eds.), *Early Modern Zoology. The construction of animals in science, literature and the visual arts*, Leiden & Boston, 2007, pp. 339-359; and P. CUNEO, «Das Reiten als Kriegstechnik, als Sport und als Kunst. die Körpertechnik des Reitens und gesellschaftliche Identität im frühneuzeitlichen

Deutschland», in R. VON MALLINCKRODT (ed.), *Bewegtes Leben. Körpertechniken in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Wiesbaden, 2008, pp. 167-187.

³¹ E. MÜNZBERG, «*Aula enim Principis non equorum videbatur - Der neue Stall- und Harnischkammerbau in Dresden 1586*», in S. EBERT-SCHIFFERER (ed.), *Scambio culturale con il nemico religioso. Italia e Sassonia attorno al 1600* (Studi della Bibliotheca Hertziana, 2), Milan, 2007, pp. 143-151.

³² Seelig is mentioning that the princely guests of these wedding festivities used the passage ways from old to new residence transiting the new built stable building. SEELIG, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 2.

³³ M. TROIANO, *Die Vermählungsfeier des Herzogs Wilhelm des V. von Bayern und Renata, der Tochter Franz des I. von Lothringen zu München im Jahre 1568* (transl. by Friedrich Würthmann), Munich, 1868, digitized by Google books.

³⁴ «*Staunen und Bewunderung erfüllte das beschäftigte Auge, welches die Masse und die Ordnung, mit welcher die gesamte Reiterschar einherzog, erblickte; es war gleichsam des Lichtes beraubt und die Worte fehlen noch, es zu erzählen. Es waren 400 an der Zahl vorüber, da kamen 12 Lakeien in prächtiger Kleidung zu Pferde, von denen jeder am Zügel ein mutiges, ungesatteltes Reitpferd führte; die Mehrzahl derselben bedeckt mit schwarzem Sammt, vier mit herrlichen Satteldecken, endlich zwei davon geschmückt mit carmesinfarbigem Sammt, mit reicher Stickerei und großen, langen Quasten von Silber und Gold. Die Pferde wurden zur Erhöhung des Glanzes mitgeführt, wozu nur Könige und Fürsten das Recht haben*». Quoted in *Ibidem*, p. 3.

³⁵ F. POLLERROSS, «Tradition und Recreation. Die Residenzen der österreichischen Habsburger in der frühen Neuzeit (1470-1780)», *Majestas*, 6 (1998), pp. 91-148.

³⁶ «*Das herzogliche Marstall- und Kunstkammergebäude stellt Münchens ersten eigentlichen Renaissancebau dar*», in SEELIG, *op. cit.* (note 3).