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**“UNICORNU IN MEMBRANA ELEGANTISSIME DEPICTUM”: SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF ARCHDUKE FERDINAND II IN PRAGUE, 1547–1567**

I started my research on the activities of Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria (1529–1595) years ago, with the ambiguous title “The Theatre of Representation: The Governorship of Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria in Prague between 1547 and 1567”.<sup>1</sup> I have made a chronological account, but there are still many unknown areas or “blank spots” to be filled in. In this lecture I shall concentrate on two aspects of this project.

**LUSTSCHLOSS STERN**

Archduke Ferdinand developed several exceptional projects in Prague (Fig. 1). I presume that his passion for collecting, based on his experiences as a child in Innsbruck, was intensified during his stay in Prague. I have found only a few traces of his collections, since there are no inventories of his residences in Bohemia left, but I agree with other authors that he started them here.<sup>2</sup> In the early 1550s the sources start to reveal his interest in different kinds of armor. Archduke Ferdinand II collected armor for practical use as well as ‘historical’ armor, worn by famous knights on the battlefield.<sup>3</sup> He must have had storage rooms within Prague Castle for the armor used at tournaments, but he may have used *Lustschloss Stern* for the “exhibition” of “historical” armory.

*Stern* was built in 1555 for King Ferdinand I, under the careful direction of the Archduke (Fig. 2). It is a star-shaped building, has an octagonal hall and rooms and corridors with a remarkable number of niches, large enough to show pieces of armor next to busts and statues. As *Stern* was used for this purpose,

it can be considered the predecessor of the *Harnischzimmern* in Ambras, although its architecture is incomparable.

*Lustschloss Stern* is unique not only in its design, but also because of the rapidity of its building process. The foundations were laid in 1555, and in 1557 the ceiling decoration on the ground floor was carried out. I have to leave aside here remarks on the iconography of this decoration. I still presume there is no cosmological program in the form of the building or in the beautiful plaster decorations. I don’t recognize a program since there are several symbolic elements missing—for example all seven gods representing the seven planets—but I am of course anxious to learn the results of research about the hypotheses that there are cosmological references within *Stern* and its decorations.

Compared with the building sites in the gardens next to the Castle, *Stern* must have had a high priority, probably explained by the archduke’s personal involvement in its design. The texts written for the foundation stone, which survive in design, praise the Archduke for his work as an architect. I don’t think Ferdinand II was able to design such a complex building. The prince had a broad, but rather superficial, knowledge of architecture. He must have collaborated with an inspired builder to come to the first plan of the unique star form. The sources reveal the builder must have been Italian. The form of *Stern* is closely related to fortress-construction, an Italian specialization, and the fact that *Stern* is built in brick indicates Italian building techniques. Who was this inspired Italian architect?

I propose it must have been Pietro Ferrabosco. He was not only theoretically and intellectually capable of making this design, he had also built fortresses before. His career is documented only fragmentary.<sup>4</sup> In 1544 Ferrabosco's name is mentioned in relation to King Ferdinand I for the first time. He was a so-called war painter, a soldier, and he had built fortresses around Bratislava. At the beginning of the 1550s he was connected with several projects in Vienna.<sup>5</sup> In Prague, Ferrabosco's position is even more unclear. He can certainly not be seen as a successor of the court architect Benedikt Ried. King Ferdinand I had probably decided after Ried's death in 1534 not to continue the so-called traditional building lodge. Every project had its own supervisor, and there was no dynamical figure who directed it all. To compare Prague with Mantua or Florence: there was no one like Giulio Romano or Giorgio Vasari to advise the king and to supervise the new styling of King Ferdinand's court. Romano and Vasari were not only architects, but also involved in all kinds of courtly projects.

Within the walls of the castle, the German-speaking Bonifaz Wolmut and Hans von Tirol kept supervision and reported to the King. In the gardens Paolo della Stella was the executive builder, after his death Ferrabosco got his position in 1539. In comparison to Ried, neither Wolmut nor Ferrabosco had the status and the position as royal architect, but they both were in contact with the king. In the summer of 1555 Ferrabosco and Wolmut traveled to Augsburg, where the King attended the Reichstag, in order to report to him.

An indication that the Italian builders were well-esteemed within the royal court can be found in the fact that a number of them were knighted. The king badly needed them in his continuous battle against his worst enemies, the Turks, since they were his fortress-builders. But their ennoblement didn't guaranty an honorable and financially secure career. The king generalized the status of the court artist, with

fixed duties and rights, as Warnke constructs in his monograph on the court artist, does not seem to fit the royal court of King Ferdinand I or the court in of the Archduke in Prague.<sup>6</sup>

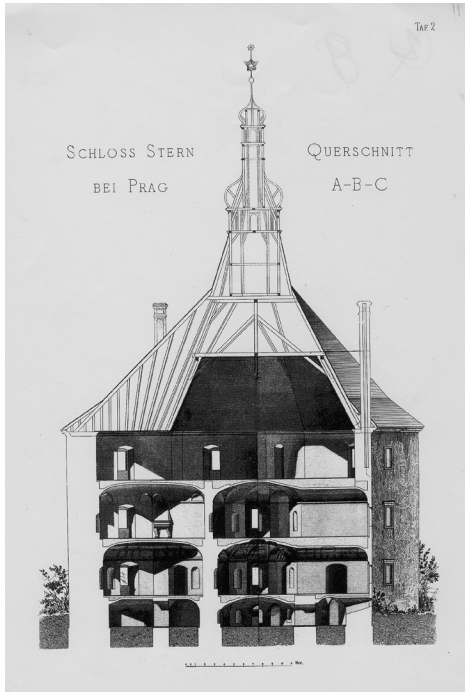
Pietro Ferrabosco was highly esteemed, and he was knighted just after *Stern* had been built in 1556, but his salary and status were not raised. Several years later, Ferrabosco still



1. Jacob Seissenegger, Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria (Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien)

had to plead for a higher salary. To make his case, he gave a summary of all his work for the king during the past fifteen years. He had built houses and fortifications, he had made models, but he was paid less than his colleagues. It is, by

the way, not peculiar that the architect doesn't mention the building of *Stern* here, since he had designed it with Archduke Ferdinand. It would have been very impolite to reckon *Stern* to his oeuvre and surpass the Archduke, the son of his boss.



2. Philipp Baum, *Schloss Stern bei Prag* (Leipzig 1877), pl. 2

I am aware of that I follow a rather traditional art-historical path here with the search for a name and this attribution of *Stern* to Ferrabosco. I once suggested that I would not block the research on the theatre of representation of Archduke Ferdinand II by focusing too much on attributions, but in this case I couldn't leave *Stern* without an architect. I really would like to imagine the archduke as inspiring commissioner who asked a specific builder, probably Ferrabosco, to sit with him and make plans for a building the Archduke had in mind.<sup>7</sup> We will never get

to know the content of their conversations, but some suggestions about the contribution of the Archduke can be made. He probably did know something about the geometrical projections needed to construct fortresses, since it had been part of his education, and he must have been capable to make the design on paper, and more importantly, he knew what kind of functions he wanted to give this building within the walls of the large hunting grounds of the "Neue Tiergarten".<sup>8</sup> The versatile Ferrabosco, in turn, must have made the spatial design of *Stern* that resulted in the specifically formed rooms around the impressive central hall, since he was an engineer building fortresses and he had some education in the theory of architecture.<sup>9</sup> The most intriguing subject of their conversation will stay, I am afraid, also the most unexplained. What did the archduke wanted with these rooms and corridors? The rooms and even the hall are not big enough to accommodate a large group of people, and tables for a banquet will not fit in. Why are there so many niches in all those rooms? For what kind of object are they meant? For the armor the archduke had started to collect? If guests were invited into *Stern*, did he foresee a special program, and when were they allowed to climb the special spiral stairs? How was *Stern* to be furnished? And what was the function of the terraces on the slope of the White Mountain, where the Italian builders had made a galleria?

I must conclude that the unique and superior *Lustschloss Stern*, in the enclosed hunting grounds at a distance of some miles from Prague Castle, will stay some kind of mystery. Since neither the building nor the sources revealed its functions other than its use as gathering place for more or less important quests, who went for a ride or a shoot and possibly wanted to eat or to dance on the second floor, after they had made a tour in the beautiful ambiance of the stucco-decorated rooms of *Stern*.

### SCHOLARS IN PRAGUE

In the frontispiece of Pier Andrea Mattioli's *Opera Omnia*, the tasks of a physician are represented beautifully (Fig. 3).<sup>10</sup> In the lower left hand corner, Mattioli is portrayed as he visits a patient, and to the right the scholar is seen in his pharmacy, where herbs were prepared and kept in pots. The garden in the medallion in the middle wasn't one of the gardens next to the Castle in Prague. In those gardens there were identical footpaths between the beds of plants, but the flower garden was separated from the garden with beds used to grow herbs for medical use.<sup>11</sup>

The frontispiece illustrates only a small part of the activities of Mattioli. Instead of visiting patients, he must have sat more often in his study full of books and objects. Mattioli, born in Siena in 1501, was during the governance of Archduke Ferdinand the eldest and by far the most famous scholar in Prague.<sup>12</sup> Officially he was the emperor's physician, but this must have been an honorary function, since Ferdinand I didn't visit Prague often. Mattioli was sent to Prague in 1554 to be a physician, do research, and to publish. He had studied law in Venice, and later medicine in Padua. After the Sack of Rome, he fled North to Gorizia, near Trento, where he worked on his commentaries of a large illustrated edition of the classical botanical handbook *De Materia Medica*, written by the Greek physician Pedanius Dioscurides.<sup>13</sup>

In Prague Mattioli continued his botanical studies, but he must have had intensive contacts before his arrival, because in April 1554 the publisher Melanchtrich got permission to print a Czech translation of Mattioli's commentary on Dioscurides.<sup>14</sup> The translation into Czech made by Thaddeaus Hajek appeared for the first time in 1562. In 1563 an edition in German with the translation by Georg Hantsch was published.<sup>15</sup> During the years Mattioli stayed in Prague a large number of Latin editions were published at Melantrich, too.<sup>16</sup>

This Bohemian, Georg Hantsch von Limuzy (1529 – after 1578), is of interest

because I want to focus on reconstructing the activities of Archduke Ferdinand II. In Prague Hantsch was a poet in the circle of Matthias Collinus and worked as a librarian for the patron Jan Hodějovský z Hodějova, who was a poet, historian and judge at the

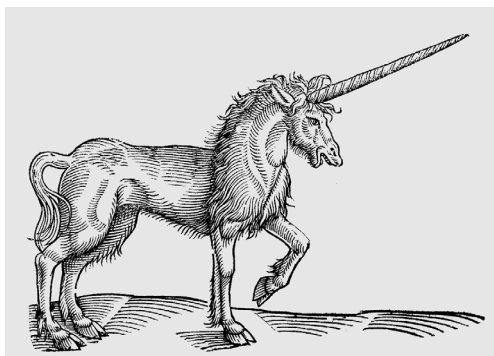


3. Petri Andreae Mattioli Opera quae extant omnia [...] (Basel 1674), frontispiece

same time. Hantsch went to Italy as escort of the nobleman Karl von Dietrichstein (1532–1562). He studied medicine in Padua for three years, took his doctoral degree, and went back to Prague, where he again started working for Hodějovský, a job he possibly did in combination with medical practice. Hantsch was a good observer and a sympathetic doctor who visited very sick patients daily, sometimes

even at night.<sup>17</sup> Hantsch's memorandum notes were kept in several manuscripts.<sup>18</sup>

The manuscript titled *Historia Medica*, for example, was probably meant to be published, since it contains all kinds of editorial signs and corrections. The text is undated, but according to the nature of the notes, it must have been written between 1560 and 1575. It is not quite clear when Hantsch officially became the physician of the Archduke. Hirn says he

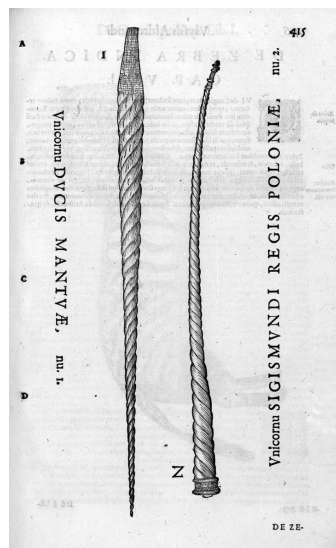


4. Unicorn, in: Conrad Gesner, *Historia animalium*, Lib.I, *De quadrupedibus viviparis* (Zurich 1551)

went to serve him in 1554; maybe he got the title officially after Mattioli had left in 1568.<sup>19</sup> According to his notes in his manuscripts, Doctor Hantsch had seen members of the court and the Archduke and his family regularly since the mid-fifties.<sup>20</sup> An analysis of his notes will surely give more information on the people living in the Archduke's proximity. Hantsch sold forty-seven of his manuscripts to Archduke Ferdinand II in 1578, just before he died, together with his library.<sup>21</sup>

Mattioli and Hantsch collaborated in Prague. They worked together on an *Animalium historia*, an encyclopedic project on animals.<sup>22</sup> Mattioli was able to work on this project while other physicians were attracted to the court. Mattioli mentioned the 'hard working' doctor Johannes Willebrochius from Prussia, who was paid to be his assistant, in order that he, Mattioli, could continue working on this 'animalium historiae.'<sup>23</sup>

I presume that some of Hantsch's contribution to this project on animals is kept in manuscript in five volumes titled *Historia Animalium*.<sup>24</sup> These notes were surely not ready to be published, since there are many corrections and additions that Hantsch made within the texts and in the margins. Some parts are a beautiful, and at the same time very traditional, example of a sixteenth-century *Tierbuch*, a mixture of an empirical and humanistic tradition, comparable to the work of contemporaries like Conrad Gesner (1516–1565) in Zürich and Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605) in Bologna, although their studies were published in massive volumes.<sup>25</sup> Other parts of Hantsch's writings are first sketches of an animal, not systematically



5. Two horns of the Unicorn, in: Ulisse Aldrovandi, *De quadrupedibus solipedibus*, I (Bologna 1616)

described or positioned as Sea Monsters, for example, and there is a pragmatic description of the breeding of fish.<sup>26</sup>

One traditional element in Hantsch's text is, for example, the appearance of a description of a unicorn.<sup>27</sup> His colleague Gesner prints an image, although he indicates that the animal had not been seen alive (Fig. 4).<sup>28</sup> Hantsch's

text on this mythical creature is, as in the one Gesner wrote, a compilation of texts of classical authors and more recent ones.<sup>29</sup> The most important aspect of this animal and its remarkable horn is the magical medical power as antidote. Hantsch's text shows also that he must have done some detailed observations. In his manuscript he arranges the unicorn between other quadrupeds, but doesn't give much attention to the animal itself. He does not even give a description. The author has turned to the horn to identify it and to distinguish its medical use. His description shows that the physician is well aware of the promotional rhetoric and the forgeries of the unreliable merchants who probably paid his archduke a visit too. The suspicious merchandise is sometimes nothing more, Hantsch writes, than horse hoof that had been in the ground for some time or even only some white stone with grooves, offered as a real unicorn horn. Later Hantsch answers the question if the horn comes from living creature. He appears to have been studying real horns, and is convinced these horns can not be made by hand, not from an elephant's tooth or from a whale or another sea animal. The horn is perfect, as straight as a lance and as large as a human being, and therefore a unicorn's horn cannot be the tooth of an animal, he concludes—but he avoids talking about the animal itself and its existence.

It is not quite sure Hantsch had really seen the unicorn in possession of Emperor Maximilian II, since his observations are not so specific that he cannot have copied them from another text. On the other hand, he mentions his astonishment on the weight: it is much more than to be expected as one looks at the animal itself, and he describes the spirals as if he had touched them: "there are seven, they are unique, not too deep and not quite striking".<sup>30</sup>

In the context of the search for a specimen from the collections of the Archduke in Prague, Hantsch reveals that he knew some of the objects offered to the Archduke. He probably even was called in to give his opinion. Reading

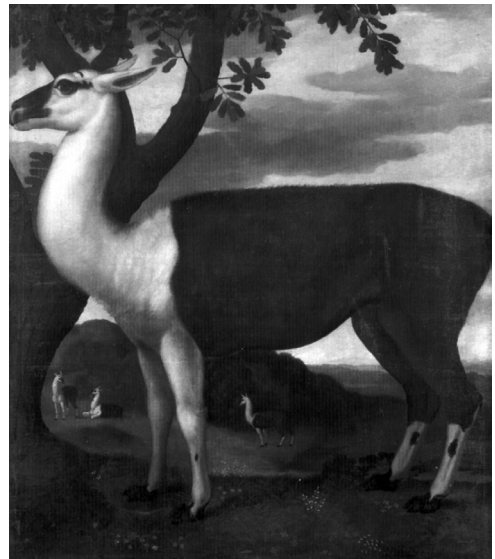
Hantsch's texts, we are invited to sit with the collector and have look. Hantsch mentions a "Unicorno in membranna egantissimè depictum," a beautiful painted cloth or canvas with the picture of a unicorn offered to the archduke in Prague by Sigismund Kiserum Mercato".<sup>31</sup> Hantsch doesn't write that the Archduke eventually bought this picture, so we only can assume that the Archduke started a collection of natural objects and pictures related to them. But Ferdinand II was surely known, while living in Prague, for being in search for very special objects, since he was offered a unicorn's horn, too, by a salesman who knew such an object in Antwerp. Hantsch must have heard the description this man gave about its color and form, since we read the man's words rather in detail: the horn was as thick as an arm on the spot where it must have been in the animals head, and as thin as a pink at the point which is not sharp, but blunt and a little flat. The physician ends his description of this offered unicorn's horn in a way that is rather characteristic for his text and probably also for a man in his position. The merchant tries to explain the bad condition of the horn: it had been in the ground for quite a while and the finder had damaged the surface while polishing it. I assume that Hantsch thought this horn must have been phony, but he does not mention it in this text. The horn is offered to his own "Domino meo clementissimo". It would have meant Hantsch criticized his employer since the Archduke listened to this kind of talk.

Later in his text Hantsch finds a way to position himself as an expert. He refers to unicorn horns in other collections. He knows that there are horns in Venice, and that the cathedrals of Strasbourg and Metz own one, as do the Kings of Poland, France, and England. Hantsch declares his astonishment that so many "kings and states" had such a bad judgment and bought forgeries for high prices, since unicorn horns cost 40,000 or 50,000 ducats, or sometimes even more. The fact that Hantsch mentions the unicorn horns

in collections appears to be traditional within the literature of the unicorn. Aldrovandi added an image of two unicorn horns in collections: one of unicorn horn in Venice and of the one owned by the duke of Mantua, although Aldrovandi, just as Hantsch and Gesner, is not convinced of the animal's existence (Fig. 5).<sup>32</sup> The end of Hantsch's description reveals something of the ultimate goal of collecting unicorn horn powder for a physician, as he describes a rather clumsy experiment. Hantsch, again just as his colleagues, is convinced that the powder of unicorn horn is effective as an antidote to poison. He says that he cannot rely on a classical text, since Pliny nor Aristotle write on this matter, but he proposes to test the powder by giving two doves some arsenic and only one some unicorn horn powder. The text does not mention the outcome of this test, but it gives some insight into the opportunities this physician had at the court of an archduke who opened his collections to him.

In *Historia Animalium* Hantsch also writes about living animals the Archduke must have kept. The first group of exotic animals, he mentions, form a real historical puzzle by their number. Six camels visited Prague sometime in the autumn of 1562, being part of the gift of the Turkish sultan to the future king Maximilian II. The caravan with the Turkish envoy Ibrahim and the ambassador of the emperor Augier Ghilslain Busbecq had to travel from Vienna to Frankfurt via Prague, since there was plague in the western part of Austria.<sup>33</sup> The camels probably were kept in the Castle gardens before they went on to Frankfurt. The six camels are mentioned in the most extensive source on the coronation festivities by Habersack, but some pages later only four camels are handed over to the king.<sup>34</sup> Hantsch notes that he saw two camels in Prague. It is possible those two stayed there in the zoo of the Archduke and astonished Hantsch. He saw them at twilight and as they saw their keeper coming from afar, they got on their knees to let their keeper climb up and then they went without any force: the keeper

didn't have to shout, or even say something, to get the camel to move to his dormitory. The stable had no straw on the ground, since the camels were accustomed to sleeping on a cold ground.<sup>35</sup> Hantsch was told that the camels moved like dancers do, while hearing music from a flute (*tibia*). He himself heard their complaining as they were loaded. "It started like hissing in the throat and as it got louder it was a sound keeping the middle between the



6. Anonymous Italian artist, *Llama*  
(Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien)

roaring of a lioness and braying of a donkey", sounds he must have heard somewhere before. These observations Hantsch could have made also in the days that the Turkish caravan was in Prague, as there was a keeper they knew and there was Turkish music to which to dance, but maybe the Archduke was allowed to keep two of the six camels. Or perhaps Hantsch observed two totally different camels in Prague, since Busbecq speaks of six female camels and Hantsch addresses them as masculine.

The observations about the camels that visited or even stayed permanently in



Prague were incorporated in an encyclopedic description. As if he planed an index, Hantsch gives the names of the camel in nine different languages, followed by the description of its biotope, its appearance, movement, its difference from a dromedary, its sexual intercourse and calving, food and character. These aspects are also mentioned in other descriptions of the quadruped, but not always as systematically. It seems Hantsch's writing used the publications of the aforementioned zoologist Conrad Gesner, who had published his book on the quadruped in 1555.

The most interesting contribution of Hantsch's *Tierbuch* to the knowledge of living exotics in Prague is a llama. He calls this animal, rare for a physician in the sixteenth century, a Cervo Camello from the West Indies.<sup>36</sup> Hantsch reveals that the archduke had got the llama from a certain Theodoricus from Cologne, who had bought it from a merchant in Middleburg, who had got it from the harbor in Antwerp. This implies that also living creatures traveled through Europe to end up in a collection of Bohemia's sovereign. I assume that the llama in Prague was portrayed, since a sixteenth-century picture of a llama in a European landscape is kept in the collections of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Fig. 6).<sup>37</sup>

Hantsch's manuscripts mentioned here are interesting because of the insight they give about the way he and Mattioli dealt with research. The Archduke gave these men possibilities to make observations, to write, and to publish. Literally in the margins it can be read that the Archduke had started collecting already at a very early stage of his life.<sup>38</sup> These objects and the images made were probably kept somewhere in the Castle and moved with him to Ambras.

I have shown here some aspects of my study of Archduke Ferdinand II in relation to his stay in Prague. *Lustschloss Stern* is the most fascinating center of the Archduke's activities there. I think Pietro Ferrabosco can be designated as its architect, but this attribution

doesn't clarify the relations between the builders or their archduke in Prague around the middle of the century.

In the circle of the scholars at the court of Archduke Ferdinand the work of physician and botanist Pier Andrea Mattioli and the manuscripts of the poet and physician Georg Hantsch appeared to be interesting. Hantsch, for example, never intended to describe the court from nearby, but he does reveal some aspects, literally in the margin! His manuscripts and other sources give the opportunity the fill in some blank spaces. The archduke not only started his collections in Prague but scholars were invited to study the objects, and merchants were able to find the archduke for the sale of rarities, dead or alive. The twenty years Ferdinand II stayed in Prague must have been a fascinating period. Although the archduke himself and his scholars were very anxious to make notes and to keep these notes in a library, compared with the activities of Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria in Ambras, his years in Prague—and the building activities and research in and around the collections—are very poorly documented by records left behind in 1567.

This is paper was presented at the Institute of Art History, ASCR, Prague, on Wednesday, January 25, 2006.

1. For example, Madelon Simons, King Ferdinand I of Bohemia, Archduke Ferdinand II and the Prague Court, 1527–1567, in *Rudolf II and Prague*, pp. 80–89; eadem, Archduke Ferdinand II, Governor in Bohemia and the Theatre of Representation, in *Rudolf II, Prague and the World*, pp. 270–277; eadem, “Das Werk erdacht und cirkulirt”: The Position of Architects at the Court of King Ferdinand I of Bohemia and His Son, Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria, in *The Learned Eye: Regarding Art, Theory, and the Artist's Reputation. Essays for Ernst van de Wetering* (Amsterdam 2005), pp. 140–150.

2. For instance: Josef Hirn, *Erzherzog Ferdinand II. von Tirol*, I (Innsbruck 1885), p. 37, doesn't mention collections, only large expenses for art and artifacts. See also Elisabeth Scheicher, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern*

- der Habsburger (Vienna, Munich and Zurich 1979), p. 80. Scheicher thinks the collections must have been at Castle Búrglitz, where the Archduke is presumed to have been living more or less in secrecy with his wife, Philippine Welsler. I think the couple did not hide from the court, but stayed also in Prague. The growing collection was not meant for the Archduke's private household, but must have been in the centre of representation—in Prague castle or somewhere nearby.
3. Alfred Auer, Die Sammeltätigkeit Erzherzogs Ferdinand II. in Böhmen, in *Kaiser Ferdinand I. 1503–1564: Das Werden der Habsburgermonarchie*, exh. cat. (Vienna 2003), pp. 297–303.
4. B. C. K., in U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Kuenstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig 1907–1950), vol. 28, 1934, p. 394–395.
5. Ferrabosco was paid as a court painter and was, for example, responsible for the decoration of the Schweizer Tor. This arch shows Ferrabosco's knowledge of the classical theory of architecture, as evidenced in Leon Battista Alberti, *Libri de re aedificatoria decem* (Paris 1512).
6. Warnke proposes that the official court architect or artist had several privileges: he had his position for life, lived at court, and had supervision over all other artists at court. This is comparable to Benedikt Ried's position, but the status of artists and architects at the courts of King Ferdinand I don't meet Warnke's criteria. See Martin Warnke, *Hofkünstler: Zur Vorgeschichte des modernen Künstlers* (Cologne 1985).
7. Simons, Archduke Ferdinand II (note 1), p. 270.
8. Gernot Heiss, Standeserziehung und Schulunterricht. Bildung des niederösterreichischen Adelige[n] in der frühen Neuzeit, in *Adel im Wandel: Politik, Kultur, Konfession, 1500–1700*, exh. cat. (Rosenburg 1990), pp. 397–398.
9. Hubert Roosens, *Habsburgse defensiepolitiek en vestingbouw in de Nederlanden* (Diss., Leiden 2005), pp. 388–400, about the position of some Italian architects and engineers in the Netherlands around 1550.
10. Petri Andreae Matthioli, *Opera quae extant omnia, hoc est Comm. In VI libros, Pedacii Dioscuridis Anazarbei de medica materia [...]* (Basel 1674), frontispiece.
11. Hilda Lietzman, Ferdinands I. Verdienste um die Gartenkunst, in *Kaiser Ferdinand I. 1503–1564* (note 3), pp. 259–263.
12. Giuseppe Fabiani, *La vita di Pietro Andrea Mattioli* (Siena 1872).
13. The first edition of Mattioli's commentaries was published in Venice in 1544, and followed in the same year by an Italian translation: *Commentarii in libros sex Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei, de medica materia*. See Fabiani (note 12), p. 75.
14. Mirjam Bohatcová, Prager Drucke der Werke Pierandrea Mattioli aus dem Jahren 1558–1602, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 60 (1985), pp. 167–185 (172).
15. *New Kreuterbuch Mit den allerschönsten und aertlichen Figuren aller Gewechez/dergeleichen vormals in keener sprach nie an tag gekommen. Von dem Hochgelerten und weitberuementen Herrn Doctor Petro Andrea Matthiolo, Roe: Kay:Rath/lauch derselben/und Fuerstlicher Durchleutigkeit Ertzhertzog Ferdinanden etc. Leibdoctor. Erstlich in Latein gestellet. Folgendt durch Georgium Handsch/der Arntzney Doctorem deutsch/unnnd endlich zu gemeinem nutz und wolfart Deutsche Nation in druck verfertigt. Gezieret mit vilen feinem neuen experimenten/kuenstlichen Distillierofen/dreyen wolgeordneten Registern/und andere nutzbarkeit/wie auch der Vorred zuersehen.* Gedruckt in Prag / durch Georg Melantrich von Auentin / auff sein und Vincenti Valgriss Buchdruckers zu Venedig uncosten (Prague 1563).
16. Bohatcová (note 14), p. 167–185, the Latin editions published in Prague: 1554, 1558, 1559, 1560, 1563, 1565, 1569, 1570.
17. See the manuscript by Georg Hantsch, *Historia Medica* (Vienna, ÖNB, Ms 11183), unpaginated, which contains notes on patients, reports on the ravages of the Plague in 1562/63 and parts of a discussion between physicians in Prague and colleagues from elsewhere. On Hantsch (Handschius, Handsch), see Leopold Senfelder, Georg Handsch von Limus. Lebensbild eines Arztes aus dem 16. Jh., *Wiener klin. Rundschau*, Sonderabdruck aus Nr. 28, 29, 30 (Vienna 1901).
18. Forty-seven manuscripts were originally kept in the Ambras Library and are today in the Handschriftensammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna: “Hanschius, Georgius” has 61 entries.
19. Hirn, I (note 2), p. 362.
20. Georgius Handschius, *Historia praxeos* (1554), ÖNB Ms 11206.
21. Hirn, I (note 3), p. 363; Alfred Auer, Die Bibliothek, in *Natur und Kunst. Handschriften und Alben aus der Ambraser Sammlung Erzherzog Ferdinands II. (1529–1595)*, exh. cat. (Vienna 1995), p. 18.
22. The term “encyclopedic” is somewhat problematic. I use it as the description of a project that involves all living animals mentioned in literature and studied in nature. See Bohatcová (note 14), p. 170.
23. P. Mattioli, *Epistolarium medicinalium libri quinque* (Lyon 1564), p. 380, letter to Iohannes Odoricus, “ser. Reginae Boemia medicus”.
24. Georgius Handschius, *Historia Animalium*, 5 vols: ÖNB, Ms. 11143 (Pars I), 11153 (Pars II), 11130 (Pars III), 111341 (Pars IV), 11142 (Pars V).

25. Conrad Gesner, *Historia animalium*, I–IV (Zurich 1551–1565); Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Opera omnia*, I–XIII (Bologna 1599–1668).
26. “Piscinarum Institutio et cultus, per Bohemiam, Moraviam et Silesiam usitatus a nemine antea literis illustratus, et iamprimum Georgis Handschii”, Ms 11130, pp. 50–60.
27. *Historia Animalium*, I, pp. 94–102.
28. Gesner (note 25), I, p. 28, adds under the image a text that “painters picture the animal like this, as to that I am not sure of anything”.
29. Gesner (note 25), I: “quadrupedibus viviparis”.
30. The fact that Hantsch mentions the Horn of Maximilian dates his text after 1564, since the unicorn horn was part of his inheritance after his father, the Emperor, died. I think Hantsch wrote the manuscript while living in Innsbruck or Ambras, but many of the observations are said to have been done in Prague.
31. *De Unicornes seu Monocerote*, in Handschius (note 24), Pars II (Ms 11153), p. 120: “Unicornu in membrana elegantissime depictum”.
32. The discussion on the existence of the Unicorn started around 1500. Around the fifties there are several scholars doubting its existence. Hantsch does not describe his doubt in words, but he is doubting. In the same years the narwal had been described and in 1577, a dead one was caught by Martin Frobisher. It was the Danish scholar Ole Worm who demonstrated the ineffectiveness of the skull of a narwal; by poisoning two doves and two cats, he showed that the powder of a unicorn horn is no antidote. See Willem P. Gerritsen, *De eenhoorn en de geleerden: Het debat over het bestaan van de eenhoorn van de zestiende tot de negentiende eeuw*, exh. cat. (Leiden 2003), pp. 30–38.
33. Z. R. W. M. Von Martels, *Augerius Ghislainius Busbecquius: Leven en werk van de keizerlijke gezant aan het hof van Süleyman de Grote* (Diss. Groningen 1989), pp. 295–296.
34. *Die Krönungen Maximilians II. Zum König von Böhmen, Römischen König und König von Ungarn (1562/63) nach beschreibung von Hans Habersack*, ed. nach CVP 7890, ed. F. Edelmayr et al. (Vienna 1990), p. 155: “unndter annderm sechs camelthier”, p.166: “vier camelthier”.
35. *De Camelo*, in Handschius (note 24), Pars I (Ms. 11143), fol. 1–5.
36. This attribution of the llama to the family of the *Camellus* appears to be right: the camel and the llama belong to the *Mammalia*, *Ungulata*, *Artiodactyla* (two-hoofed).
37. This picture probably belongs to the project on animals, since according to Mattioli, the Archduke had ordered that images be made “diligentissimo delieant ac propriis pingunt coloribus”. See Bohatcová (note 14), p. 170.
38. On collections of natural curiosities, see *Die Entdeckung der Natur: Naturalien in den Kunstkammern des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, exh. cat. Ambras and Vienna (Vienna 2006).