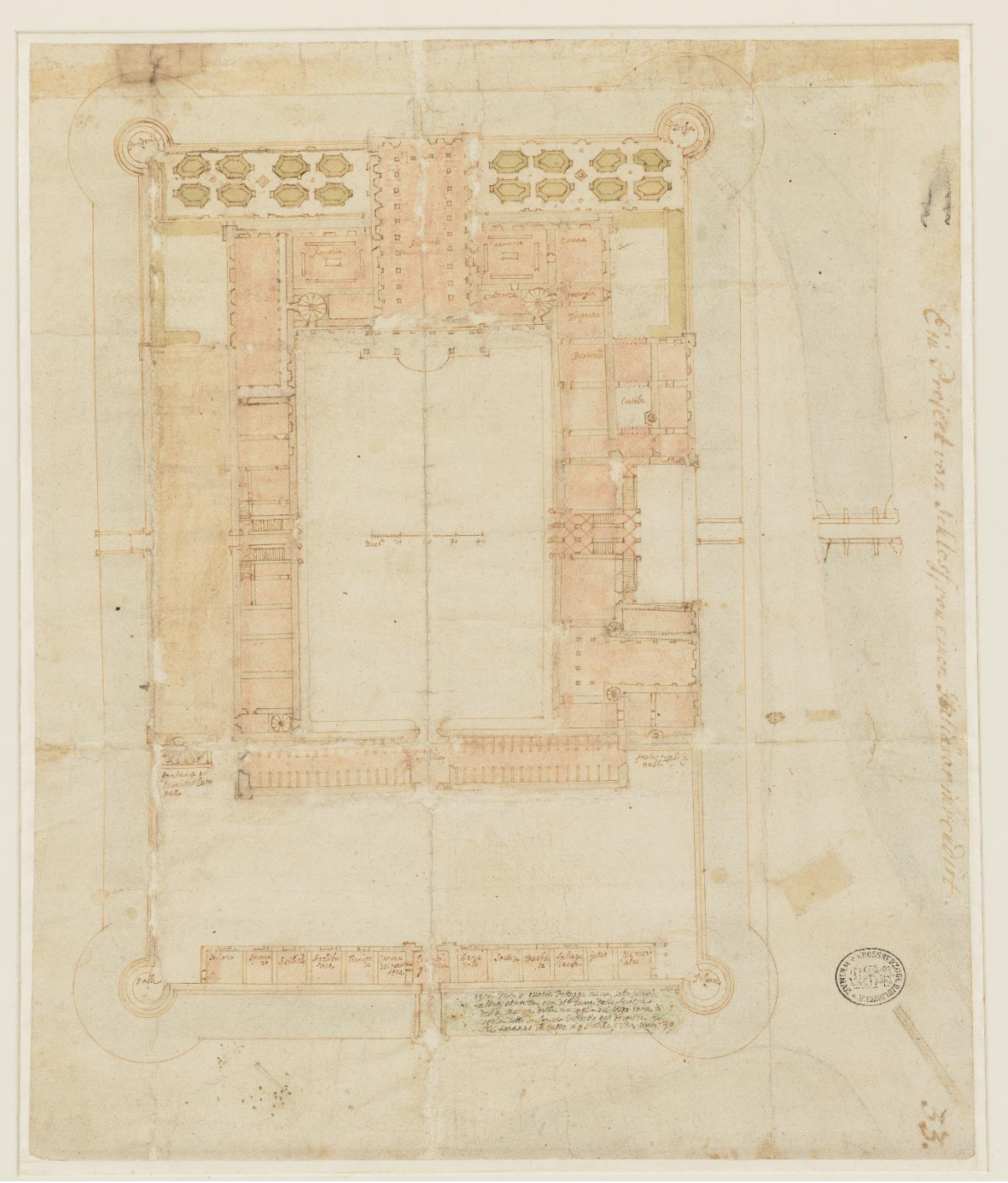
The 1618 reconstruction plan of the Weimar *Residenzschloss* by Costantino de' Servi

In the 1610s the Weimar Residenzschloss *was partially rebuilt following a fire. The only surviving visual source for this reconstruction, an anonymous ground plan, has been attributed to Giovanni Bonalino, a master-builder from the Grisons. This article shows that the plan was in fact by Costantino de' Servi, a Florentine polymath. The Italianate style of the ground plan has been noted in previous literature; here, some of de' Servi's sources of inspiration will be identified: Palazzo Marino in Milan, but also Litomyšl Castle in Bohemia, Richmond Palace in England and the local Saxon architectural tradition. Comparing archival sources held in Weimar and Florence thus allows this article to place the reconstruction of the Weimar* Residenzschloss *within its transnational, European context.*

In the afternoon of 2 August 1618, a fire broke out in the Weimar *Residenzschloss*. In a matter of hours, the flames ravaged the church of St Martin, the princely apartments, and the reception rooms located in the east and north wing of the castle. The conflagration seems to have been caused by an explosion in the workshop of "Samuel Kluge", a Bohemian alchemist.[1] Duke Johann Ernst "der Jüngere" (the Younger) von Sachsen-Weimar (1594–1626)[2] had hoped that the fruits of Kluge's experiments might supplement his revenue; instead, he had to find additional funds to finance the reconstruction of his castle. The assembled estates of Sachsen-Weimar agreed to an extraordinary tax to pay for the building in March 1619; works began shortly thereafter.[3]

A ground plan of the new Weimar *Residenzschloss* is kept in the Graphische Sammlungen of the Klassik Stiftung Weimar (fig. 1).[4] Only a portion of the planned building—the south-eastern pavilion, containing the new church—was effectively constructed, between 1619 and 1630. Anonymous

[1] The fire was already blamed on the "Verwahrlosung eines welschen Goldmachers und Distillirers" ("neglect of a foreign goldmaker and distiller") by Gottfried de Wette in 1770, as quoted in Angela Michel, *Der Graubündner Baumeister Giovanni Bonalino in Franken und Thüringen*, Neustadt an der Aisch 1999, p. 40. See also Rolf Bothe, *Dichter, Fürst und Architekten. Das Weimarer Residenzschloß vom Mittelalter bis zum Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Ostfildern 2000, p. 10.
[2] Also referred to as Johann Ernst I or Johann Ernst IV: see Michel 1999 (as note 1), p. 33. He is referred to as Johann Ernst "der Jüngere" throughout this article.
[3] Michel 1999 (as note 1), pp. 38–51.
[4] First published in Ina Bahnschulte, *Das fürstliche Residenzschloß in Weimar 1619–1630: Giovanni Bonalinos Plan einer Vierflügelanlage*, unpublished Master's dissertation, Marburg 1995.



1 Anonymous, *Ground plan of the new Weimar* Residenzschloss, undated (1618/1619), pen and watercolours on paper, 32.3 cm x 30 cm. Weimar, Klassik Stiftung (KSW), Graphische Sammlungen.

and undated, the ground plan has been attributed to Giovanni Bonalino (c. 1575–c. 1633), a master-builder from Roveredo, in the Grisons, who directed the reconstruction works of the Weimar *Residenzschloss* from 1619 to 1623.[5] As the present article shows, the author of the ground plan, and mastermind of the whole reconstruction project, was actually the Florentine polymath Costantino de' Servi (1554–1622), whose presence in Weimar in 1618–1619 has so far been overlooked.

This new attribution has profound implications for our understanding of Bonalino, de' Servi, and the Weimar *Residenzschloss*. The latter's reconstruction is the first major project to which Bonalino's name has been associated.[6] De' Servi, by contrast, was a well-known artist by 1618: he had worked as a painter, sculptor, *impresario*, architect, and artistic advisor for the Medici Grand Dukes of Tuscany, King Henri IV of France, Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II, Prince Maurits of Nassau, and Duke Johann Friedrich von Württemberg. In 1611–1612, he was commissioned to overhaul Richmond Palace and its gardens by Henry Stuart, Prince of Wales; the latter's premature death, however, prevented de' Servi from carrying out his plans.[7]

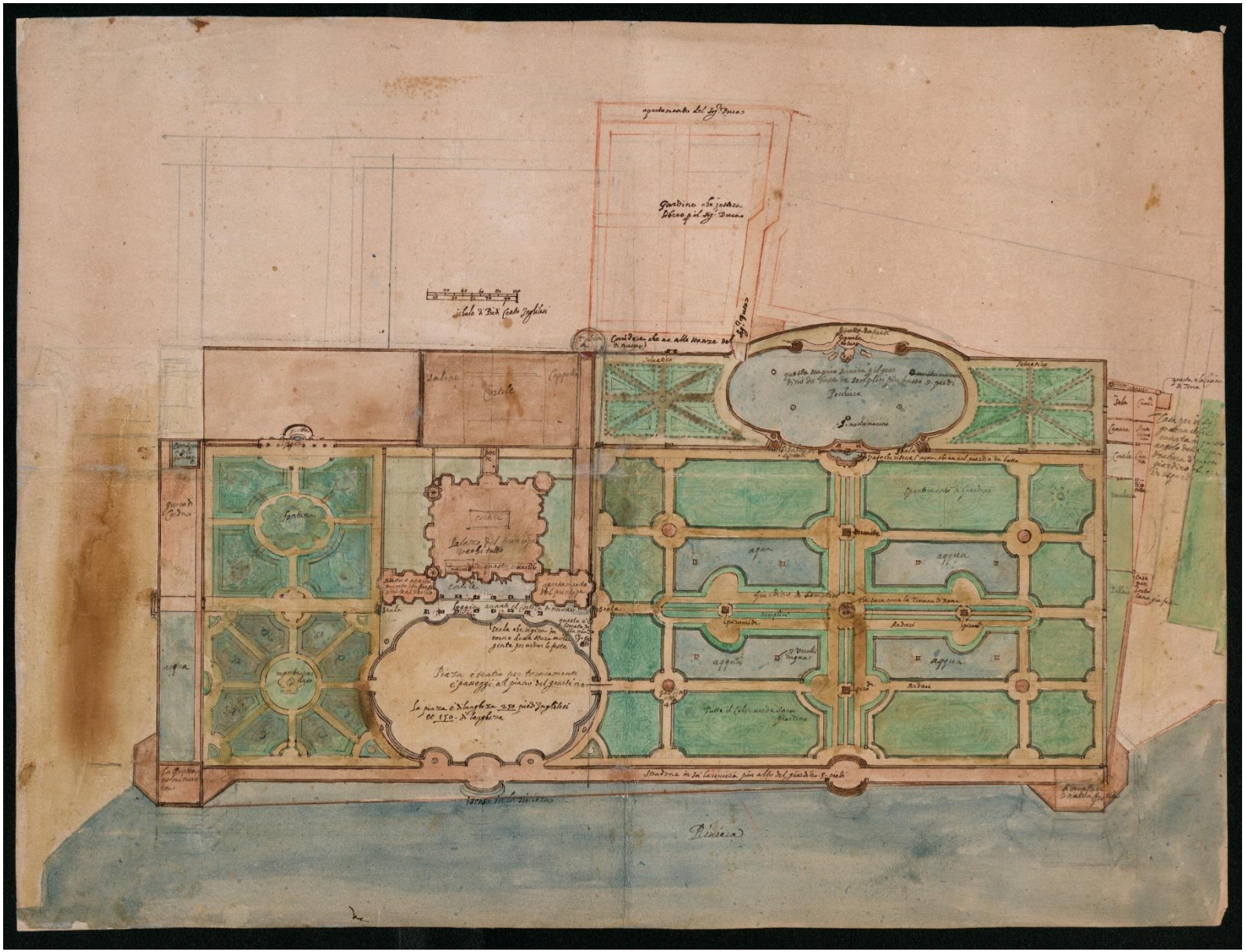
In 1998, a ground plan of de Servi's project for Richmond was re-discovered in the Florence Archivio di Stato, allowing scholars to appreciate the full extent of its ambition: the new gardens would have rivalled Bernardo Buontalenti's masterpiece at Pratolino and Salomon de Caus's famous *Hortus Palatinus* at Heidelberg (fig. 2).[8] De' Servi's project for the Weimar *Residenzschloss* was entirely different, yet equally ambitious. Confronted with the challenge of rebuilding an entire castle—whereas at Richmond he had been confined to the renovation of an existing building, and the laying out of

[5] This attribution was first put forward by Hans Heinrich Heubach in his *Geschichte des Schlossbaues in Thüringen, 1620 bis 1670*, Jena 1927; previously, responsibility for the reconstruction of the Weimar *Residenzschloss* had been attributed to a member of the Richter family (see infra). See Bahnschulte 1995 (as note 4), pp. 1–5; and Michel 1999 (as note 1), p. 17.

[6] Georg Scalecki, *Deutsche Architektur zur Zeit des dreissigjährigen Krieges: Der Einfluss Italiens auf das deutsche Bauschaffen*, Regensburg 1989, pp. 223–228. As Michel 1999 (as note 1) points out (*passim*, e.g. pp. 13–23), Bonalino is mainly known as an architect of sacred buildings in the diocese of Bamberg.

[7] Silvia Meloni Trkulia, De' Servi, Costantino, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 31 Rome 1991; Simone Bardazzi, *Sguardi fiorentini sull'impero. Notizie dei residenti fiorentini presso la corte cesarea a Praga e a Vienna da Massimiliano II a Ferdinando II*, unpublished Master's dissertationFlorence 2004; and Caterina Pagnini, *Costantino de' Servi: architetto-scenografo fiorentino alla corte d'Inghilterra (1611–1615)*, Florence 2006.

[8] Sabine Eiche, Prince Henry's Richmond: The Project by Costantino de' Servi, in: *Apollo: The international magazine of the arts* 148, 1998, issue 441, 10–11.



2 Costantino de' Servi, *Project (unrealised) for Richmond Palace and Gardens*, 1611–1612, pen, stylus, chalk and washes on paper, 41.1 cm x 55 cm. Florence, Archivio di Stato (ASFi), Miscellanea Medicea.

gardens—de' Servi planned to transform the smoking ashes of a medieval fortress into the well-proportioned, geometrically arranged four wings of a *Palazzo*.

The sources of inspiration which might have guided de' Servi's pen are numerous. The thorough scrutiny they deserve is beyond the scope of this article, which will limit itself to identifying three directions of inquiry. First, de' Servi's design is clearly Italianate in style:[9] the Florentine architect looked to Galeazzo Alessi's work at Palazzo Marino, in Milan, but also to Giovanni Maria Aostalli's and Ulrico Aostalli's overhaul of Litomyšl Castle, in Bohemia. Second, de' Servi is likely to have been influenced by his work on Richmond Palace, in London, during which he collaborated with a number of other architects and engineers. Third, de' Servi most probably looked to the local architectural tradition for inspiration, both in Weimar itself and elsewhere in Saxony.

I

The west bank of the river Ilm, where the Weimar *Residenzschloss* presently stands, has been fortified since at least the tenth century. Together with the parish of St Jacob and the Cistercensian nunnery of Oberweimar, the moated castle on the Ilm formed the nucleus of the city of Weimar, which was founded in the mid-thirteenth century.[10] It remained under the control of the Counts of Orlamünde until 1372, when the line died out and their lands escheated to the Wettin Landgraves of Meißen, who had established themselves as the most prominent princely family in Saxony and Thuringia.[11]

In 1424, a large fire razed the castle and the whole city—as a result, none of Weimar's remaining buildings predates the fifteenth century.[12] Large parts of the castle, including the entrance building with its gateway (known today as "Bastille"), the church of St Martin, and the residential east wing were rebuilt over the following century.[13] The 1485 Leipzig partition, which divided Wettin lands

[9] See for example Michel 1999 (as note 1), pp. 30–32.
[10] On the early history of Weimar, see Walter Scheidig, *Das Schloss in Weimar*, Weimar 1949, pp. 5–8; Bothe 2000 (as note 1), pp. 8–14; and Annette Seemann and Constantin Beyer, *Weimar: die bedeutendsten Bauten vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, Halle (Saale) [2]2014, pp. 10–15.
[11] Bahnschulte 1995 (as note 4), pp. 5–10; and Bothe 2000 (as note 1), pp. 8–14.
[12] Seemann and Beyer 2014 (as note 10), pp. 10–15.
[13] Bothe 2000 (as note 1), pp. 8–14.

among Ernst and his younger brother Albrecht, accelerated the process: Weimar remained in the possession of Ernst and his descendants, who as the senior branch of the Wettin family also retained the Electoral title.[14] In 1531, Elector Johann Friedrich "der Groβmütige" (the Magnanimous; r. 1532–1554) designated Weimar as a *Residenzstadt* of Electoral Saxony, alongside Torgau, Coburg, and Wittemberg.[15] Weimar castle accordingly became a *Residenzschloss*; its residential east wing was embellished with the addition of a large representative staircase and an imposing oriel, while the entrance portal was redesigned in Renaissance fashion. The rest of the complex, including the church, was also renovated by the princely architects Conrad Krebs and Nicol Gromann, who added elaborate gables to the roofs.[16]

Weimar's fortunes turned at the Battle of Mühlberg, in 1547. The defeat of the Schmalkaldic League by Imperial forces precipitated the downfall of Elector Johann Friedrich, who was imprisoned and obliged to cede the Electoral title—together with large swathes of land—to his Albertine relative, Moritz of Saxony. Now a simple Duke, Johann Friedrich came out of gaol in 1552 and chose Weimar as the seat of his court; his descendants would rule the city until the early twentieth century.[17] What had been a catastrophe for the Ernestine Wettins was in fact a boon for Weimar: the city's population boomed in the second half of the sixteenth century, and a flurry of building activity transformed its appearance.[18] A bird's eye view drawn in 1569 captures some of the vibrancy of the Ernestine *Residenzstadt* (fig. 3). The city expands well beyond its bastions and moats, which contain tightly packed rows of houses, arranged around the parish church of St Peter and Paul and the market square. At the top of the view, to the east, "das Schlos Hornstein" is depicted as an assemblage of buildings, roughly oval in shape, stretching along the bank of the Ilm and surrounded by a moat. The residential and representative east wing stands out, as does the south-western entrance portal opening towards the market square. To the south of the *Residenzschloss* is a second castle, with an adjoining formal garden.

[14] Bahnschulte 1995 (as note 4), pp. 5–10.
[15] Bothe 2000 (as note 1), pp. 8–14.
[16] On Krebs's and Gromann's work after 1531, see Bothe 2000 (as note 1), pp. 8–14; and Seemann & Beyer 2014 (as note 10), pp. 16–27.
[17] On Mühlberg and the fate of Johann Friedrich, see Bahnschulte 1995 (as note 4), pp. 5–10.
[18] From 2200 inhabitants in 1542, Weimar had reached over 3500 by 1600: Seemann and Beyer 2014 (as note 10), pp. 16–27. On the building activity, see Bahnschulte 1995 (as note 4), pp. 5–10.

3 Johannes Wolf (after Veit Thiem), *Weimar aus der Kavalierperspective*, ca 1569 (published 1593), copperplate engraving, 34.8 cm x 47.5 cm. Weimar, Klassik Stiftung (KSW), Graphische Sammlungen.

This "Grüne Schlösschen" had been commissioned in 1562 by Johann Wilhelm, who was then governing the Duchy on behalf of his brother Johann Friedrich "der Mittlere", and who would become Duke in his own right in 1566.[19]

At Johann Wilhelm's death in 1573, his wife Dorothea Susanna commissioned a third castle, the "Rote Schloß", which was erected between the *Residenzschloss* and the "Grüne Schlösschen", and which served as her seat in widowhood.[20] The three castles were connected by an elevated passageway, a wooden structure which allowed the ducal family and their courtiers to come and go without mixing with the citizens of Weimar in the streets below. After the 1618 fire, the court temporarily relocated to the "Rote Schloß" as the *Residenzschloss* underwent reconstruction.[21]

The last major building project before the 1618 fire was the erection of the "Grüne Haus", a tall, well-proportioned pavilion attached to the east wing of the *Residenzschloss*. It enclosed a small courtyard with its own spiral staircase, and on the ground floor to the east it opened on to a bridge on the castle moat.[22] Its burned out walls can be seen in a drawing by Wilhelm Richter, documenting the state of the east wing of the *Residenzschloss* after the conflagration (fig. 4).[23] Whilst the south and west wing of the castle had been largely preserved, the north and east wing were ravaged by the 1618 fire, which only left their walls standing. The remains of the representative staircase and the large oriel decorating the east wing's façade are also visible on Richter's drawing, as is the ruined church of St Martin. A crane was erected atop the church tower to remove the rubble and clear the way for the reconstruction works.[24]

[19] Bahnschulte 1995 (as note 4), pp. 5–10. On the "Grüne Schlösschen" and its garden, see also Seemann and Beyer 2014 (as note 10), pp. 16–27; and Martin Salesch, Höfische Gärten der Ernestiner, in: Werner Greiling et al. (eds), *Die Ernestiner: Politik, Kultur und gesellschaftlicher Wandel*, Köln, Weimar, Wien 2016, 397–409, here pp. 399–401.
[20] Bahnschulte 1995 (as note 4), pp. 5–10; Seemann and Beyer 2014 (as note 10), pp. 16–27.
[21] Seemann and Beyer 2014 (as note 10), pp. 16–27.
[22] Bothe 2000 (as note 1), pp. 8–14.
[23] The Richter were a prominent Saxon family of artists and architects: Wilhelm's brother Johann Moritz is the architect who designed and oversaw the construction of the new *Residenzschloss* from 1650 to 1662. See Scheidig 1949 (as note 10), pp. 10–12; and Bothe 2000 (as note 1), *Dichter, Fürst und Architekten*, pp. 19–24.
[24] See Michel 1999 (as note 1), pp. 38–51 on the preliminary works to clear the rubble.

4 Wilhelm Richter, *The east wing of the Weimar Residenzschloss* (copy?), 1652, pencil and paint on paper, 32.4 cm x 39 cm. Weimar, Klassik Stiftung (KSW), Graphische Sammlungen.

II

On 20 April 1618, three months before fire destroyed his *Residenzschloss*, Duke Johann Ernst "der Jüngere" wrote to Cosimo II de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany to "ask for a favour, which is, that Your Highness may please give six months' leave to Your servant and engineer Giulio Parigi, so that he may come find us and serve us here at our Court".[25] Giulio Parigi (1571–1635) had studied with Buontalenti; from the latter's death in 1608 until the end of his own life in 1635, Parigi was the chief court architect and scenographer in Florence. Since 1616, he had been commissioned by Grand Duke Cosimo II with the enlargement of the princely residence, Palazzo Pitti.[26]

Duke Johann Ernst "der Jüngere" had been educated at the University of Jena, and in 1613–1614 he travelled to France, the United Provinces, and England.[27] The regency of his Albertine relative, Elector Johann Georg I of Saxony, ended in 1615, and from the very first years of his rule the young Duke signalled his ambition to raise the cultural and artistic status of his capital, Weimar.[28] In 1617, for example, he was among the founders of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* (Fruitbearing Society), which pursued the standardisation and promotion of German as a literary language "without the mixing of foreign, alien words".[29] Although Duke Johann Ersnt "der Jüngere" had never visited Tuscany, he must have been informed of Parigi's skills, and it is likely that he wished to recruit the Florentine architect to pursue his artistic ambitions. In his letter to Grand Duke Cosimo II he only mentioned a "thing of his profession", without giving any more precision as to what Parigi would do at his court.[30]

Parigi never travelled to Weimar; instead, Grand Duke Cosimo II dispatched to Saxony another of his court artists, Costantino de' Servi. In the spring of 1618 de' Servi was in Milan, at the court of the Spanish Governor Don Pedro de Toledo;[31] it was therefore logistically more feasible to send him

[25] "di chiederle vn favore, il qual'è, ch'á V.A. piaccia, dar licenza, per lo spazio di sei Mesi, al suo servitore ed ingegniere Giulio Parigi, acciò ch'egli, con buona grazia di V.A. possa venire a trouar e servirci qui nella nostra Corte". ASFi, MdP, Relazioni con Stati italiani ed esteri, 4467, fol. nn(2).
[26] Annamaria Negro Spina, Parigi, Giulio in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 81, Roma 2014.
[27] Michel 1999 (as note 1), pp. 33–35.
[28] On the Albertine regency, see Bahnschulte 1995 (as note 4), pp. 5–10.
[29] "ohne einmischung frembder ausländischer", as quoted in Seemann and Beyer 2014 (as note 10), p. 29. On the cultural and artistic ambitions of the young Duke, see also Bahnschulte 1995 (as note 4), pp. 5–10; and Michel 1999 (as note 1), pp. 33–35.
[30] "in cosa, di sua professione". ASFi, MdP, Relazioni con Stati italiani ed esteri, 4467, fol. nn(2).
[31] See his 1617 passport to travel from Florence to Milan, at ASFi, Miscellanea Medicea, 612, fol. 191.

across the Alps rather than Parigi, who was in Florence. Furthermore, Parigi was one of the most prominent artists at the Medicean court, and he was busy working on Palazzo Pitti. De' Servi, on the other hand, had spent large parts of his career at foreign courts, and he had not received a major commission from the Medici since 1608–1609.[32]

De' Servi, however, should not be considered as a mere back-up, chosen by default given Parigi's unavailability. At least one quality made de' Servi stand out in the eyes of Grand Duke Cosimo II as *the* most suitable person to send to Weimar: his ability to collect precious information and act as an informal diplomatic agent. In Prague in 1603–1605, for example, his artistic skills had enabled him to approach an increasingly secluded Rudolf II.[33] Whilst foreign ambassadors were rarely given access to the Emperor, de' Servi became his artistic advisor and was assigned "some rooms which are in the Corridor where His Majesty can daily come and go".[34] In London in 1611–1612, de' Servi's work as an architect and portraitist similarly offered him unrivalled access to Henry Stuart—which he used to further Medicean matrimonial ambitions.[35]

In 1618, confessional tensions were brewing in the Empire: in May, Bohemia rebelled against Habsburg rule, and started gesturing towards Protestant princes and monarchs for support. Duke Johann Ernst "der Jüngere"'s letter offered Grand Duke Cosimo II the opportunity to dispatch a Florentine courtier to Saxony, close to the revolt's epicentre. At once a polyvalent artist and an experienced informant, de' Servi was ideally placed to satisfy both Cosimo II and Johann Ernst "der Jüngere". He accordingly left Milan in the summer of 1618, and "arrived here [in Weimar] just after a disgrace happened to this palace: a fire that started secretly and ended up destroying more than half its buildings and yet other things", as Duke Johann Ernst "der Jüngere" wrote to Grand Duke Cosimo II in November

[32] For a biography of de' Servi, see Meloni Trkulia 1991 (as note 7); Bardazzi 2004 (as note 7), ch. 2.1.5; and Pagnini 2006 (as note 7).
[33] The Florentine ambassador to Prague, Giovanni Uguccioni, reported (not without jealousy) in his dispatches how quickly de' Servi had been able to gain access to the Emperor: see Bardazzi 2004 (as note 7), ch. 2.1.5.
[34] "[…] alcune stanze che sono nel Corridore doue giornalme*n*te puo andare évenire S.M." ASFi, MdP, Carteggio Universale di Ferdinando I, 920, fol. 692.
[35] De' Servi showed Prince Henry a drawing of a beautiful lady, claiming it represented Caterina de' Medici, his proposed Tuscan match (and thereby hoping to overcome the Prince's aesthetic objections to his marriage with Caterina): see ASFi, MdP, 6363, fol. nn (letter from Ottaviano Lotti, in London, to Belisario Vinta, in Florence – 2 Sep 1611) as quoted in Pagnini 2006 (as note 7), ch. II, p. 143.

1619.[36] De' Servi's presence in Weimar in the aftermath of the 1618 fire was thus a coincidence: his Saxon trip had been arranged before the conflagration took place.

During his stay in Weimar, de' Servi wrote two letters to the grand-ducal secretary Curzio Picchena. The first of these, dated 5 April 1619, expressed concern for his financial situation: his wife had been forced to sell their house in Florence to repay a debt. De' Servi was keenly aware that his new patrons "are poor Princes with many brothers, whose incomes cannot sustain the expenses of so many moods";[37] he was therefore planning to return home as soon as "the stonemasons from Italy, who will get here in 20 days' time",[38] would begin work at the *Residenzschloss*. The letter even included a plea to Grand Duchess Dowager Cristina di Lorena, asking to be appointed to a civic office upon his return to Florence, so as to stabilise his finances with a fixed salary.

Five months later, however, de' Servi was still "here, it can be said, buried amidst the woods in a miserable city where these Princes of Saxony reside".[39] In this second letter from Weimar de' Servi retold a conversation he had had with Duke Johann Ernst "der Jüngere", "in private and in Italian",[40] about the recent military, political, and religious manoeuvres in the region. De' Servi had accused the German Princes of "thinking more about the Interest of the State than that of the Soul, neither do they think of anything else but to occupy that which belongs to others with a thousand excuses of religion".[41] In his opinion, "It would be much better if you Princes would unite all together out of common agreement against the Infidels and the non-believers in Christ, for you would acquire greater states and kingdoms".[42] This is the first of a number of irenicist suggestions made by de' Servi in the course of the conversation: he also exhorted Johann Ernst to "leave religion alone and you'll see that you'll be

[36] "il quale arrivò quà appunto dopo una disgrazia auvenuta in questo Palazzo, d'un fuoco appiccatosi di nascosto, che ne levò più della metà di fabriche e altro". ASFi, MdP, Relazioni con Stati italiani ed esteri, 4467, fol. nn(3).
[37] "son Poueri principi con tanti fratelli che lentrate loro no*n* posson suplire alle spese di tanti vmori". ASFi, MdP, Carteggio Universale di Cosimo II, 996, fol. 75.
[38] "li muratori di Talia che in 20 Giorni compariranno". Ibidem.
[39] "qua si puo dir sepolto fra le boscaglie in Vna meschina Citta á doue risegono questi Principi di Sassonia". ASFi, MdP, Carteggio Universale di Cosimo II, 996, fol. 900.
[40] "solo á solo in lingua Italiana". Ibidem.
[41] "pensa pi[u] [all']Interesso di Stato che á quel del Anima nè se pensa adaltra cosa che ochupar quel daltri con mille scuse di religione". Ibidem.
[42] "meglio sarebbe assai che vi unissero in sieme dacordo voi altri Principi contro á glinfedeli e' no*n* fedeli di Chisto che acquisteresti magiori stati e regni". Ibidem.

left alone by us Catholics, for we also love the freedom of state and preservation of our religion".[43] Being keenly aware of the influence exerted over Johann Ernst by his relatives Prince Ludwig I of Anhalt-Köthen and Prince Christian I of Anhalt-Bernburg, both prominent leaders of the Protestant Union,[44] he deployed an economic argument as well, adding that in case of war, "Your Highness will spend so much money that You would afford two of the Palaces just begun".[45]

Despite de' Servi's best efforts—which showcase his talents as informal diplomatic agent—Duke Johann Ernst "der Jüngere" adopted a hardline position among the Protestant Princes of the Empire, offering his full support to the Elector Palatine Frederick V, soon to be crowned King of Bohemia by the rebellious Estates.[46] In November 1619, Duke Johann Ernst "der Jüngere" attended a meeting of the Protestant Union in Nuremberg where he put forward these views.[47] De' Servi travelled with him and resided in the city for a while; thence he travelled southwards to the Catholic territory of Pfalz-Neuburg. It is unclear whether Duke Johann Ernst "der Jüngere" had given his consent to this part of the journey. De' Servi described it in an emotional letter from Neuburg, dated Christmas' Eve 1619, as a passage "from purgatory to paradise […] by the grace of God and the Virgin Mary, for I have passed many dangers for the soul and the body".[48] This might suggest a perilous flight; it might also refer to the difficulties of travel in the midst of winter and impending conflict. As has been mentioned, de' Servi had been planning to return home since the spring: he might have suddenly decided to flee Nuremberg, but he might also have reached an agreement with his patron before parting ways.[49]

[43] "lassate stare la religione e' uedrete che sarete contenti dá noi Cattolici che ancora noi amiamo la liberta di stato e' conseruatione di nostra Religione". Ibidem.
[44] "Se no*n* fussi la persuasione delli Principi di Analt sua Zij no*n* sarebbe in questi pensieri, come é dal prin*cip*e Lodouico et pri*ncip*e Christiano che é oggi per esser Generale d[ell'V]nione" [If it wasn't for the persuasion of his uncles the Princes of Anhalt he would not have these thoughts, but he is (persuaded) by Prince Ludwig (I of Anhalt-Köthen) and Prince Christian (I of Anhalt-Bernburg), who is to be General of the (Protestant Union) today]. Ibidem.
[45] "V.A. spendera gran' Dinari che si farebbe dua Palazi cosi cominciati". Ibidem.
[46] Bahnschulte 1995 (as note 4), pp. 11–13.
[47] On this meeting see for example Geoffrey Parker (ed.), *The Thirty Years' War*, London and New York 1997, p. 53.
[48] "Dal Purgatorio al Paradiso mi ritrouo per gratia de Dio e di Maria Vergine poi che hopassato tanti pericoli del Anima e' del Corpo". ASFi, MdP, Carteggio Universale di Cosimo II, 997, fol. 545.
[49] Duke Johann Ernst "der Jüngere"'s 10 November 1619 letter to Grand Duke Cosimo II, recommending de' Servi to the Tuscan Grand Duke (ASFi, MdP, Relazioni con Stati italiani ed esteri, 4467, fol. nn(3)), could have been written upon this agreed departure, and have been carried to Florence by de' Servi himself.

Either way, by the end of 1619 de' Servi had left Weimar, never to return: he died three years later in Tuscany.[50] Duke Johann Ernst "der Jüngere" went on to join the army of the "Winter King" Frederick of Bohemia. After surviving defeat at the White Mountain on 8 November 1620, he continued to fight the Habsburg, first with the Dutch, then with the Danish, leaving the government of Sachsen-Weimar to his brother Wilhelm IV.[51] The latter oversaw the completion of reconstruction works on the south-eastern pavilion of the *Residenzschloss*, containing the new *Schlosskirche* which was consecrated in 1630.[52]

From 1619 to 1623, the reconstruction works were directed by Bonalino. The Grison master-builder was first mentioned on 5 January 1619, in a letter asking Johann Gottfried I von Aschhausen, Prince-Bishop of Würzburg and Bamberg, to allow him to leave the diocese of Bamberg to work on the Weimar *Residenzschloss*.[53] In April, the ducal court at Weimar was in correspondence with Bonalino himself; his first trip to Weimar can be dated to May 1619.[54] Previous scholarship has taken this to be the occasion when Bonalino surveyed the ruins of the *Residenzschloss* and laid out his project for the castle.[55]

Given that the unsigned and undated ground plan of the projected *Residenzschloss* (fig. 1) has captions in Italian, and that Bonalino came from Roveredo, in the Italian-speaking Alpine valley of Misox, this attribution is a plausible inference.[56] However it needs to be revised in light of de' Servi's presence in Weimar. De' Servi was older, more experienced, and of higher social status than Bonalino. As Angela Michel has pointed out in her biography of Bonalino, "these Grison master-builders often

[50] As recorded in ASFi, Tratte, 992, fol. 33.
[51] On the military career of Duke Johann Ernst "der Jüngere" and his succession, see Bahnschulte 1995 (as note 4), pp. 11–13; and Michel 1999 (as note 1), pp. 33–35.
[52] Bothe 2000 (as note 1), pp. 15–19.
[53] Michel 1999 (as note 1), pp. 38–51.
[54] Ibidem. It should be noted that the letters written by Bonalino to the ducal court in Weimar were in German, whereas (as will be discussed below) the annotations on the anonymous ground plan for the new Weimar *Residenzschloss* are in Italian (KSW, GraphSam, KK 10651 (Richterband, 33)). Therefore, although Bonalino hailed from the Italian-speaking valley of Misox (see infra, note 56), it would appear that the working language which he employed most often in Saxony was German, not Italian.
[55] Ibidem. See also Seemann and Beyer 2014 (as note 10), pp. 28–59.
[56] "Da sämtliche Bezeichnungen einzelner Räume und Teile der Anlage in italienischer Sprache eingetragen sind und kein weiterer Baukundiger aus diesem Sprachraum in der Akten bezeugt ist, wird Bonalino der Urheber gewesen sein." (Since all of the labels of individual rooms and parts of the plan have been registered in Italian, and [since] no other building expert from this language area is mentioned in the documents, Bonalino would have been the author [of the ground plan].) Michel 1999 (as note 1), p. 43.

carried out others' plans, acting as *Werkmeister oder Bauleiter* (work masters or building managers)".[57] Michel has also noted that Bonalino's April letters to the Weimar court suggest that he himself was unsure whether another architect had already begun work on the *Residenzschloss*.[58] By the spring of 1619 de' Servi had already been in Weimar for at least six months; as the next section of this article will show, there is little doubt that he was the author of the unsigned ground plan.

A new picture of Bonalino's role can thus be formed. As Michel has shown, the Grison master-builder was able to pay low wages by recruiting his workers among the bands of young men from Grisons who crossed the Alps in the summer months to find employment in the Empire. Having kept his workforce costs down, Bonalino could offer bargain prices to his employers.[59] It is possible, therefore, that when on 5 April 1619 de' Servi wrote of "the stonemasons from Italy, who will get here in 20 days' time", he was actually referring to Bonalino and his men.[60] As will be shown, de' Servi was the courtly architect, who masterminded the reconstruction; from May 1619 Bonalino started managing the building site, effectively acting as de' Servi's adjutant.

On 6 November 1619, a contract was signed between Bonalino and Nicol Thenier "der Jüngere", entrusting the administration of the works to the latter for the winter months, while Bonalino returned home to his family, in Scheßlitz.[61] In the same month, de' Servi left Weimar for Nuremberg, and thence travelled to Neuburg and Florence. Thus, from the end of 1619 Bonalino was the most senior person in charge of the reconstruction project, himself now able to rely on an adjutant, Thenier. Over the following three years, the sources suggest that Bonalino spent the summer season (March to October) in Weimar; presumably he returned to Scheßlitz every winter, leaving Thenier in charge.[62] In 1623 he left altogether, protesting that his job was impeded by the lack of cooperation of local officials.[63] On one occasion, according to Bonalino's correspondence with the Weimar court, one of his workers had

[57] Ibidem, p. 30.
[58] Ibidem, p. 42.
[59] Ibidem, pp. 25ff.
[60] Italophone Grisons were included in the German label "welsch"; it is plausible that de' Servi would have employed "ditalia" (*sic*; "from Italy") in a similarly broad sense.
[61] Michel 1999 (as note 1), pp. 38–51.
[62] Ibidem.
[63] Ibidem, pp. 23–32. See also Seemann and Beyer 2014 (as note 10), pp. 28–59.

died on the job, but he had been refused burial in Weimar's graveyard, and had eventually had to be buried on the building site.[64] After Bonalino's departure, it was Thenier who managed the works until completion, in the late 1620s; the *Schlosskirche* was finally consecrated in 1630, twelve years after the fire.[65]

III

The precise status of the unsigned and undated ground plan for the new Weimar *Residenzschloss* (fig. 1) is unclear. It is unlikely to have been a sketch or a preparatory drawing, given the amount of detail presented and the numerous annotations. The absence of tears, penpricks, or other marks of use suggests that it was probably not the reference plan used on the construction site by Bonalino, Thenier, and their workers. Its finished state, particularly the use of watercolours to shade in bodies of water (light blue), vegetation (light green), and built areas (pink), hints instead to the possibility that it was intended as a presentation copy: it would have been given to Duke Johann Ernst "der Jüngere" as a statement of intent, illustrating the architect's ambitions, perhaps jointly with plans of the upper floors, and elevations of the façades. Sabine Eiche made a similar suggestion for de' Servi's plan for the overhaul of Richmond Palace and its gardens, pointing to the fact that it is "neatly rendered and attractively coloured".[66]

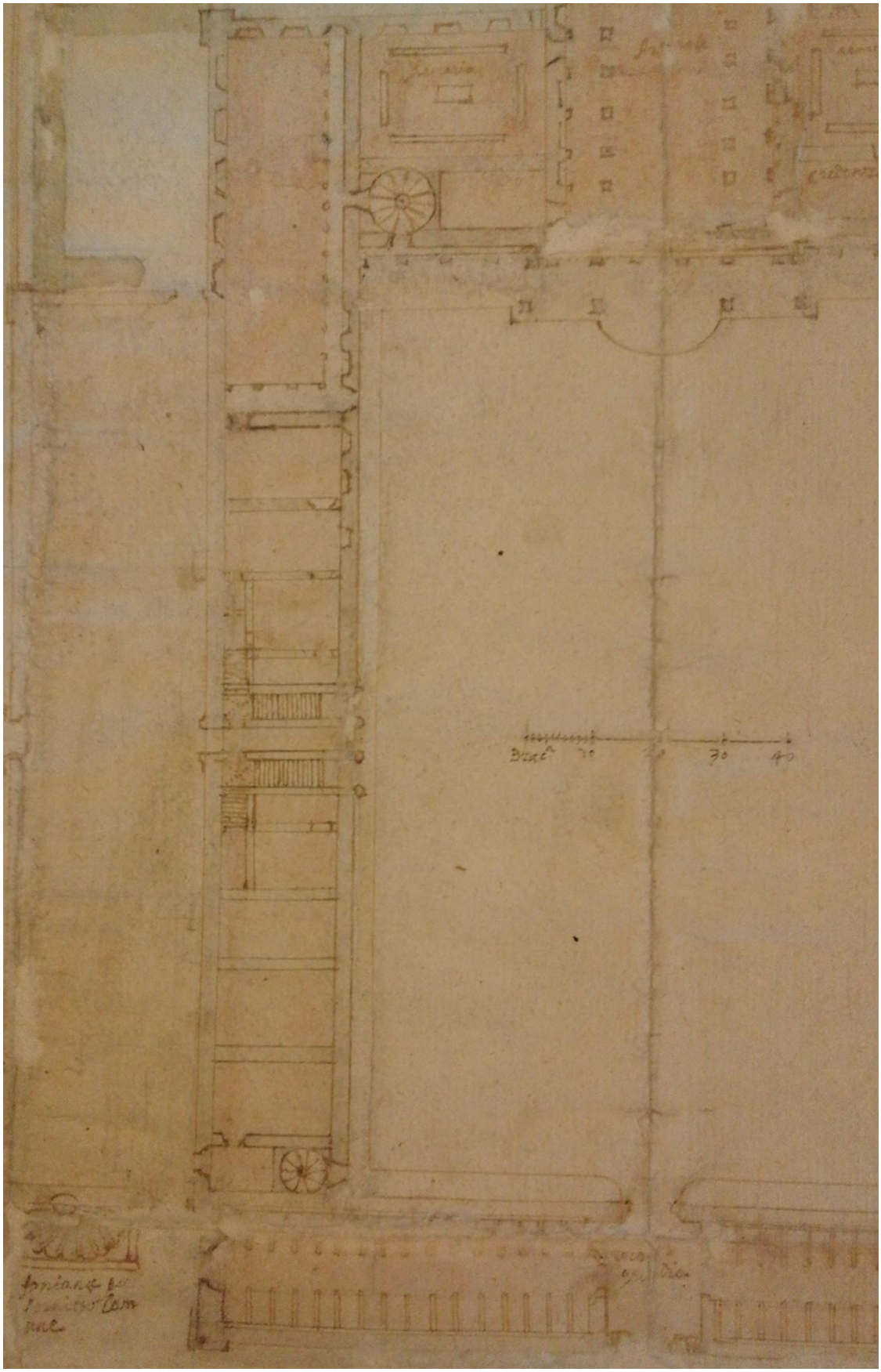
Whatever its precise status, the unsigned and undated ground plan is the only visual source outlining the reconstruction project for the *Residenzschloss* which appears to have survived, in Weimar or elsewhere.[67] As a consequence, previous literature has focused on it as the expression of Bonalino's intentions for the new castle.[68] Similarly, this article will treat it as the illustration of de' Servi's

[64] Michel 1999 (as note 1), pp. 38–51.
[65] Bothe 2000 (as note 1), pp. 14–19.
[66] Eiche 1998 (as note 8), p. 11.
[67] The only other visual source pertaining to the reconstruction project which has been preserved in the Graphische Sammlungen of the Klassik Stiftung Weimar (KSW) is an anonymous and undated draft elevation of the planned interior of the *Schlosskirche* (KSW, GraphSam, KK 10638 (Richterband, 20)). It has been attributed to Bonalino (see for example Bothe 2000 (as note 1), p. 17); re-attributing it to de' Servi would make sense, in light of the re-attribution of the reconstruction project proposed here. The absence of written annotations on the draft elevation, however, make a palaeographic comparison impossible, and the re-attribution all the more complex. Further research is probably needed to clarify the question of its authorship.
[68] See for example Bahnschulte 1995 (as note 4), or Bothe 2000 (as note 1), p. 16.

ambitions, which are also made explicit in his second Saxon letter, dated 25 September 1619. In it, de' Servi wrote that "a great building has been started, following my design and model".[69] He went on to describe the new *Residenzschloss* in detail, including measurements in "*braccia*" (a traditional Italian unit of measurement of circa 1.83 m); he also explained the function of some rooms within the building. This description corresponds in every point to the ground plan, whose distances can be measured in "*braccia*" using a scale bar drawn in the middle of the central courtyard (fig. 1). Putting the letter and the ground plan side by side it is therefore possible to gain an insight into de' Servi's intentions for the new Weimar *Residenzschloss*.[70]

De' Servi started describing the new *Residenzschloss* by noting its "square shape", a feature that is immediately evident to anyone observing the ground plan.[71] As has already been mentioned, de' Servi chose to re-model the half-burnt assemblage of medieval and Renaissance buildings, roughly oval in shape, known as "Schlos Hornstein", into a rectangular fortress, with "four bastions 300 *Braccia* long and 200 wide".[72] Enclosed within these walls was a four-winged "*Palazo* [sic]", with a central courtyard "160 *braccia* long and 98 *braccia* wide […] which will serve for the barrier",[73] and a further "four [small] courtyards 50 *braccia* long and 30 wide".[74] The central courtyard is visible on the ground plan, as are three of the four small courtyards, one along the east wing, one in the north-eastern and one in the north-western corners. The mention of "four [small] courtyards" by de' Servi might thus have been an oversight, where he intended to write three; it might also reflect an earlier version of the reconstruction plans. Given the great importance given to symmetry and proportions in his project, it is possible that de' Servi had planned a second courtyard along the west wing, on the central east-west axis where the east wing courtyard can be found.

[69] "si é prencipiato vna gran fabrica conforme al mio disegnio e' Modello". ASFi, MdP, Carteggio Universale di Cosimo II, 996, fol. 900.
[70] A detailed description of the 1619 ground plan is given in Bahnschulte 1995 (as note 4), pp. 19ff. Many of Bahnschulte's suggestions and guesses (for example that the great hall would be above the arsenal), based solely on the ground plan, are confirmed by de' Servi's letter.
[71] "forma quadra". ASFi, MdP, Carteggio Universale di Cosimo II, 996, fol. 900.
[72] "quatro baluardi di lungheza 300 Braccia e' largo 200". Ibidem.
[73] "la lunggeza del Cortile di dentro del Palazo longo 160 braccia e' largo braccia 98 [...] Doue deuerra seruire per barriera". Ibidem.
[74] "4 Cortili di lungeza 50 bracc*i*a e' 30 larg<o>i". Ibidem.



5 Anonymous, *Ground plan of the new Weimar* Residenzschloss, undated (1618/1619), pen and watercolours on paper, 32.3 cm x 30 cm. Weimar, Klassik Stiftung (KSW), Graphische Sammlungen. Detail (left-hand side, west wing).

The area of the ground plan where the fourth courtyard might originally have been intended is coloured in the same shade of pink used to indicate all other built areas of the castle (fig. 5). This large space with no walls separating it into rooms and no written label indicating its function has confounded scholars, who have suggested that it might be an unfinished part of the plan.[75] De Servi's letter, however, points us in a different direction: the area's size singles it out as the "horses' covered yard, 30 *braccia* wide and 180 *Braccia* long".[76] Although its contours are only sketched, the yard would probably have had four doors: one opening on a bridge spanning the western moat of the castle, one giving access to the west wing of the *Palazzo*, one opening on to the north-western small courtyard, and one to the south, giving access to the great square in front of the *Palazzo*. De' Servi pointed out that this great square—"200 *braccia* long and 70 wide"— is "where ring runs and other festivals will be held without leaving the castle".[77] Furthermore, the south wing of the *Palazzo* is also where "the stables for 90 horses"[78] could be found: they are easily distinguishable on the ground plan, either side of the southern gateway to the *Palazzo*, due to the individual boxes in which they are subdivided.[79]

To the east of the stables de' Servi placed a "fountain for the horses", which is not mentioned in his letter.[80] Symmetrical to this one, to the west of the stables, was another fountain "for common service":[81] larger than the horses', it is decorated with a shell-shaped pattern on the ground plan, suggesting that it might have been an ornamental fountain, even though it was primarily intended for service, not leisure. No fountain, on the other hand, seems to have been planned to decorate the "two little gardens behind the great hall which border on the moated wall, 30 *bracci* in width and 50 *braccia* in length each".[82] This stands in contrast with de' Servi's plan for the overhaul of Richmond Palace, where the gardens occupied a surface larger than the built area, and contained numerous water features

[75] See for example Bahnschulte 1995 (as note 4), pp. 19ff.
[76] "Maneggio de Caualli Coperto di largeza bra*cci*a 30 e' lungo 180". ASFi, MdP, Carteggio Universale di Cosimo II, 996, fol. 900.
[77] "et di piu la piaza ho lassata pur dentro del Cast*ell*o di lungeza 200 braccia e 70 larga á doue si deuerra Correre al Anello et altre feste senza vscir del Castello". Ibidem.
[78] "le stalle per 90 Caualli". Ibidem.
[79] There are 66 boxes on the plan, but it is likely the lines were purely illustrative, and once built the stables would have been subdivided in 90 boxes. De' Servi might otherwise have overstated their size in his letter.
[80] "fontana p*er* li Caualli". KSW, GraphSam, KK 10651 (Richterband, 33) (fig. 1).
[81] "Fontana per seruitio comune". Ibidem.
[82] "dua Giardinetti dietro alla Gra*n* Sala che son confini alla Cortina del fosso di 30 bracci di largeza e' 50 braccia luno di lungeza". ASFi, MdP, Carteggio Universale di Cosimo II, 996, fol. 900.

and fountains (fig. 2). As has already been mentioned, however, the focus in Weimar was on the reconstruction of a largely destroyed castle, whereas in Richmond the palace was in good standing, requiring only renovation and extension. Furthermore, planning a walled garden adjacent to the castle was in keeping with at least one local precedent in Weimar: the 1560s "Grüne Schlösschen" included one such garden, which bordered on the city walls (fig. 3).[83]

Along the southern wall of the *Residenzschloss*, either side of the main bridge and gateway, de' Servi planned "twelve workshops all for the service of the Castle and of the Prince, farrier, blacksmith, arrow-maker, arquebus-maker, gunsmith, locksmith, with other needed crafts".[84] The list can be completed by relying on the labels of the ground plan: the "other needed crafts" were an eperon-maker, a potter, a tailor, a barber, a carpenter, and a porter to guard the door.[85] As de' Servi pointed out in the short text which he wrote in the bottom right corner of the ground plan,

> each of these workshops will have another room underground, lit through the slits in the foot of the moated walls, as [another room] upstairs under the roof to sleep, so that there will be in total 3 rooms, for a [grand total] number of 39 [86]

The round towers in the four corners of the castle were also to accommodate services. The south-eastern tower would house "gunpowder", while "balls" would be stored in the south-western tower and a "foundry" would occupy the north-western tower.[87] The arrangement for the north-eastern tower is the only one mentioned in de' Servi's letter:

[83] On the "Grüne Schlösschen" and its garden, see Salesch 2016 (as note 19), pp. 399–401. Bahnschulte attributes this walled "Wälscher Garten" to two Italians, but does not mention their names (Bahnschulte 1995 (as note 4), pp. 5–10).
[84] "12 Bottege tutte per seruitio del Castello e' del Principe Maniscalco fabro Settaro Archibusiere Armarolo Chiauaro con altri necessarii mestieri". ASFi, MdP, Carteggio Universale di Cosimo II, 996, fol. 900.
[85] Respectively "Spronaro"; "Tornitore"; "Sartore"; "Barbiere"; "Fallegniame"; "Camera del portiere". KSW, GraphSam, KK 10651 (Richterband, 33) (fig. 1). In addition to these, all workshops mentioned by De' Servi in his letter are labelled on the ground plan, except the "Chiauaro". Instead, the third workshop from the left is that of a "*Scitosser*", a word whose meaning is unclear.
[86] "ogni Vna di queste Bottegge auera sotto terra altra stanza con il lume dalle feritoie della scarpa della muraglia del fosso come di sopra sotto la Conceta del tetto per dormire si che saranno in tutte à 3 stanze per vna numero 39". KSW, GraphSam, KK 10651 (Richterband, 33) (fig. 1). De' Servi is presumably counting here the twelve workshops plus the central gateway ("Corpo di guardia") which brings the total number of three-floor buildings to thirteen.
[87] Respectively "Poluere"; "Balle"; "Fonderia". KSW, GraphSam, KK 10651 (Richterband, 33) (fig. 1).

> I have made the mint on top of a bastion because only on that side flows the river, which has a good stream flow, so that with wheels all of the services of the mint will be done [88]

This is visible on the reconstruction plan: the course of the Ilm is sketched and shaded in the same light blue which also indicates the moats. The latter are connected to the river just outside the north-eastern corner of the castle, right by the proposed location of the mint bastion. Thus, while meeting the high expectations of his times in terms of symmetry and proportions, de' Servi adapted his design to make the most of the opportunities offered by the terrain on which the *Residenzschloss* stood.

Placing all workshops along the southern wall and in the four towers had another advantage: it freed up the west wing of the *Palazzo* itself. In the medieval and Renaissance castle residential and representative functions had been confined to the east wing, together with part of the north wing, whilst the rest of the castle comprised service buildings such as kitchen, stables, and workshops.[89] This is very visible in the 1569 bird's eye view of Weimar (fig. 3): if the east wing stands out by its height, the tower of its church, and its blue ornate roof, the rest of the castle—with the exception of the main gateway and its tower—is depicted as a ring of buildings no different from the houses of the city. De' Servi's ground plan suggests a different allocation of spaces: in addition to the workshops which have already been discussed, the only parts of the castle to be used for services seem to have been the ground floor of the north and south wing of the *Palazzo*. The entirety of the east and west wing, together with the upper portion of the north and south wing, would thus have been devoted to residential and representative functions.[90]

It is unfortunately impossible to form a complete picture of the intended allocation of rooms and spaces within the *Palazzo* from the available sources. De' Servi's letter is vague in this respect,

[88] "ho fatto la Zecha sopra dun Baluardo che da quella sola parte vi volto il fiume che á buona corrente che con le ruote <si> si faranno tutti li detti seruitij della Zecha". ASFi, MdP, Carteggio Universale di Cosimo II, 996, fol. 900.

[89] This was in keeping with German traditions which continued well into the Renaissance: see Bothe 2000 (as note 1), pp. 15–19.

[90] This is tentative, as the labelling of the ground plan is incomplete, and the letter does not give much detail as to the distribution of spaces within the Palazzo. However, scholars agree in identifying the entire east and west wing of the ground plan as residential and representative spaces, together with the upper portion of the north wing. It is unclear whether the south wing had an upper portion, or whether it simply consisted of the stables on the ground floor. De' Servi's mention of "200 rooms" and his description of the southern façade (see infra) could be enough evidence to suggest the south wing did have three floors, like all other wings.

mentioning only that there would be "50 rooms per floor, so that including the attics one could say there are 200 rooms".[91] As for the ground plan, it is not only restricted to the ground floor of the *Residenzschloss*; its labelling is also incomplete, leaving scholars in the dark as to the function of many rooms. The large room in the north-western corner of the *Palazzo* is a case in point. Ina Bahnschulte has suggested that it might have served as ballroom, pointing to its size, shape, and the existence of a gallery along its eastern and southern walls, where musicians and singers might have been placed.[92] It might also be the "wide and long *giuoco di Corda*" (game of rope)[93] mentioned in de' Servi's letter, which would otherwise not find correspondence anywhere else in the ground plan. In the absence of further sources making the architect's intentions explicit no conclusion can be reached.

De' Servi fortunately labelled, and discussed at length in his letter, the centrepiece of his *Palazzo*, the large room in the middle of the north wing, which was prolonged at the back as far as the northern wall of the castle. On the first floor, this was to be "the great hall, 30 *braccia* wide and 60 long, with a loggia situated in the middle of the main façade of the courtyard".[94] This loggia would have been the first thing visitors would see if they entered the castle, then the *Palazzo*, through their main gateways along the north-south axis. As Bahnschulte has suggested, the great hall's loggia might have included some form of representative staircase reaching down to the courtyard: the only other staircases in the north wing were two small spiral staircases, which cannot have been the intended way to access such a majestic space.[95] The ground plan, however, does not bear any trace of this; furthermore, de' Servi wrote in his letter "[There are] four principal staircases, two large ones like those at the Pitti, not as wide but with height to match, with two further principal ones in spiral shape, and other secret staircases".[96] Therefore, guests were probably intended to use the "two large [staircases] like those at

[91] "50 Camere per piano che con le soffitte si puo dire 200 Camere". ASFi, MdP, Carteggio Universale di Cosimo II, 996, fol. 900.
[92] Bahnschulte 1995 (as note 4), pp. 19ff.
[93] "Vn largo e' lungo guoco di Corda". ASFi, MdP, Carteggio Universale di Cosimo II, 996, fol. 900.
[94] "la gran sala 30 braccia larga e' 60 lunga posta nel mezo della facciata del Cortile in testa con loggia". Ibidem.
[95] Bahnschulte 1995 (as note 4), pp. 19ff.
[96] "Quatro scale principale dua Grande come quelle de Pitti no*n* tanto large ma con la ateza a propozione con dua altre principale á lumaca, et altre scale segrete". ASFi, MdP, Carteggio Universale di Cosimo II, 996, fol. 900.

the Pitti" in the east and west wing, and to go through a series of (presumably representative) rooms on the first floor before reaching the great hall.

Below the great hall, on the ground floor, de' Servi set aside the vaulted space for use as "arsenal", with two symmetrical "armouries" either side.[97] Here were to be stored

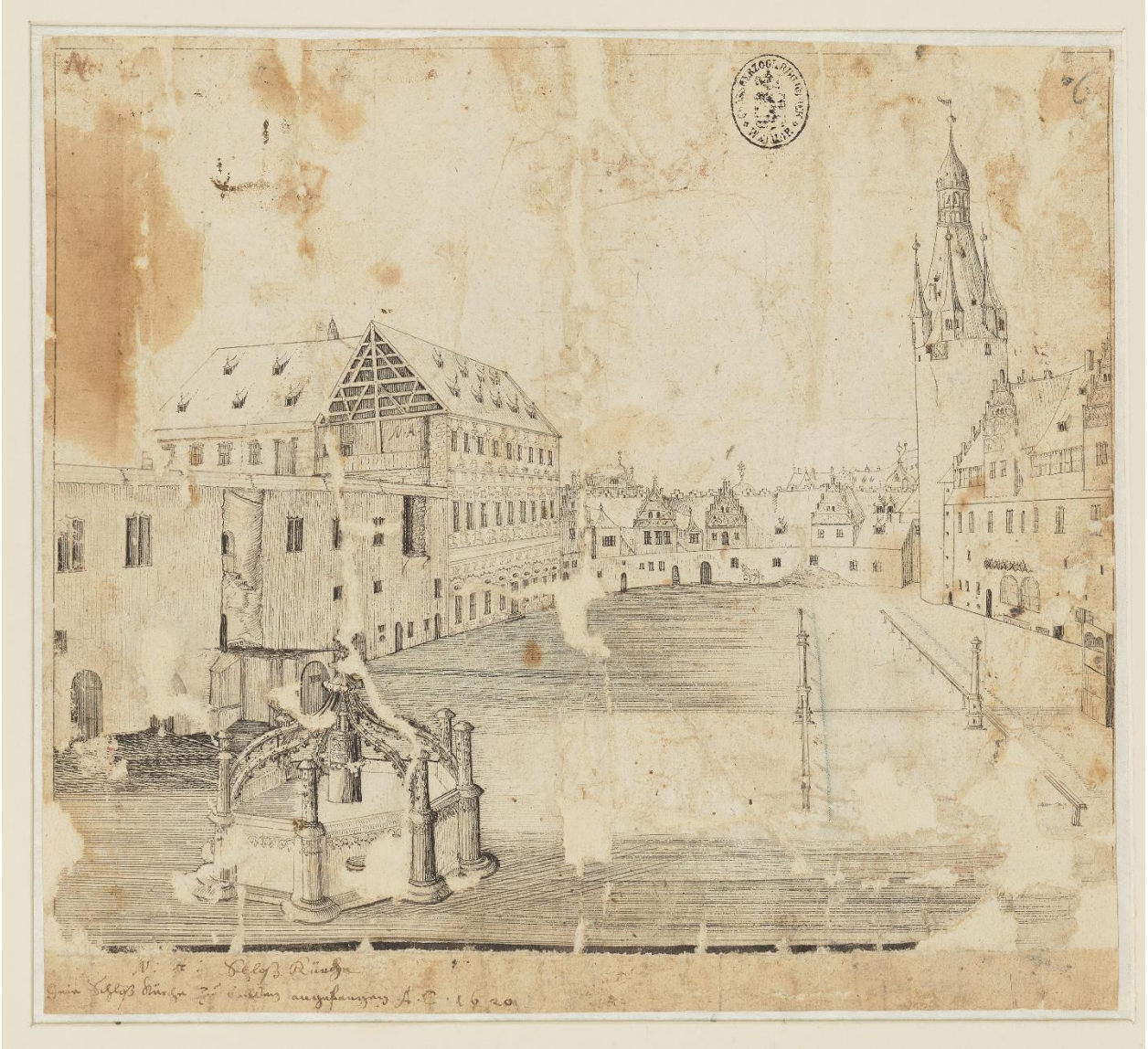
> artilleries and at each pillar an armed horse and on each side, under the apartments, on this same floor will be all of the arquebuseries, breastplates and other different weapons in good number [98]

The decision to store weaponry at the heart of the *Palazzo*, under the floor of its grandest hall, might have responded to a symbolic wish to underscore the military might and prowess of the Dukes of Sachsen-Weimar. It may also seem a dangerous choice, which could jeopardise the lives of the Duke and his guests, if an accident were to occurr during a reception in the great hall upstairs. However, it should be remembered that gunpowder was to be stored separately, in the south-eastern tower, away from the residential and representative quarters.

The north-eastern corner of the ground floor was devoted to the preparation of food, which was presumably to be consumed in the great hall upstairs, and in one or more private dining rooms for the ducal family. Immediately south of the eastern armoury was the larder; then a flight of rooms, from north to south the kitchen, passageway, pantry, and *pasticceria* (bakery, pastry), were to stretch out into the ground floor of the east wing.[99] To the south of this series of service rooms was a square pavilion with a small internal courtyard, which reached out as far as the eastern walls of the castle. This was to be built on the remains of the "Grüne Haus": the spiral staircase which de' Servi incorporated in his design can be seen in Richter's drawing of the *Residenzschloss* after the fire (fig. 4).

In order to maintain symmetry de' Servi planned a second square pavilion in the east wing, which was to house the church of St Martin. In the medieval and Renaissance *Residenzschloss* the

[97] Respectively "Arsenale"; "Armeria"; "Armeria". KSW, GraphSam, KK 10651 (Richterband, 33) (fig. 1).
[98] "Artiglierie e' á ogni pilastro vn Cauallo Armato et per fianco li appartamenti sotto al medesimo piano saranno tutte li archibuserie Corsaletti et altre diuerse arme in buo*n* Numero". ASFi, MdP, Carteggio Universale di Cosimo II, 996, fol. 900.
[99] Respectively "credenza"; "cucina"; "passaggio"; "dispensa"; "Pasticeria". KSW, GraphSam, KK 10651 (Richterband, 33) (fig. 1).



6 Christian Richter, *View of the courtyard of the Weimar* Residenzschloss *from the north*, ca 1638, pen on paper, 25.4 cm x 28 cm. Weimar, Klassik Stiftung (KSW), Graphische Sammlungen.

church had been a separate building with a prominent bell tower, as can be seen in the 1569 bird's eye view of Weimar (fig. 3); de' Servi incorporated it instead within his *Palazzo*. How radical this choice was can be fully appreciated because the south-eastern pavilion was the only part of de' Servi's design to be effectively realised, between 1619 and 1630.[100] A drawing by Christian Richter shows it shortly after completion, in the 1630s (fig. 6): the pavilion is a square structure with three floors and a sloping roof, without a bell tower. Nothing on the façade betrays the existence of a church inside. De' Servi thus transformed St Martin into a *Schlosskirche*, subordinating the sacred to the proportions and symmetry of his overall design.

In between the two pavilions of the east wing the ground plan shows the largest, most elaborate staircase of the whole *Palazzo*. It is placed on an east-west axis with the other representative staircase in the west wing, and with a bridge on the moat, then a bridge on the Ilm to the east. A second approach to the castle is thus created, with its own symmetry: visitors arriving from the east rather than the south would cross two bridges and be faced with two symmetrical pavilions framing a gateway which immediately led them to the grand staircase. The absence of staircase in the north wing might have been intended to highlight the double symmetry of the *Palazzo*, its two axes corresponding to the two main approaches.[101]

The elegance of de' Servi's design was to be matched, in the architect's intentions, by the richness of decoration. The south wing receives particular attention in de' Servi's letter:

> the external façade overlooking the square will be in Rustic order with diamond-shaped *Boze* (bosses), with the *scarpa* reaching as high as the first floor, prolongated by two orders over the gateway which leads into the great courtyard […] [102]

[100] On the radical choice of incorporating the Schlosskirche within the castle building (albeit attributed to Bonalino), see Seemann and Beyer 2014 (as note 10), pp. 28–59.
[101] The importance of symmetry in the 1619 reconstruction project has already been noted by Bahnschulte 1995 (as note 4), pp. 19ff.
[102] "alla facciata di fuora sopra la piaza sara ordine rustico con Boze á punta di diamante con la scarpa fino al primo piano con vna rocha continuata dua ordini sopra il corpo di guardia che entra nel Gran' Cortile". ASFi, MdP, Carteggio Universale di Cosimo II, 996, fol. 900.

7 Weimar *Residenzschloss*; internal façade, south-eastern corner, photographed from the courtyard.

As impressive as it could have been, this façade of the *Residenzschloss* was never realised. Another of de' Servi's planned façades did see the light of day: the four sides of the south-eastern pavilion are to this day embellished by "the vertical elevation [featuring] the three orders of architecture, Tuscan, Doric, and Ionic, which will give magnificent appearance to the perspective all around the said courtyard with the same order" (fig. 7).[103]

In the second half of the seventeenth century Duke Wilhelm IV embarked on the completion of the *Residenzschloss.* His architect Johann Moritz Richter (b. 1620) broadly followed de' Servi's 1619 project, albeit reducing the wings of the *Palazzo* from four to three. Richter incorporated within his design de' Servi's south-eastern pavilion, and he decided to extend the superposition of Tuscan, Doric, and Ionic orders to the whole *Residenzschloss*.[104] The ducal palace in Weimar has undergone many more reconstructions, renovations, and restorations, but as Walter Scheidig put it in 1949, "the general appearance of the external walls of the castle, with the arrangement of the floors, the design of the windows, the disposition of pilasters and rustic bosses goes back to [de' Servi's] 1619 project".[105]

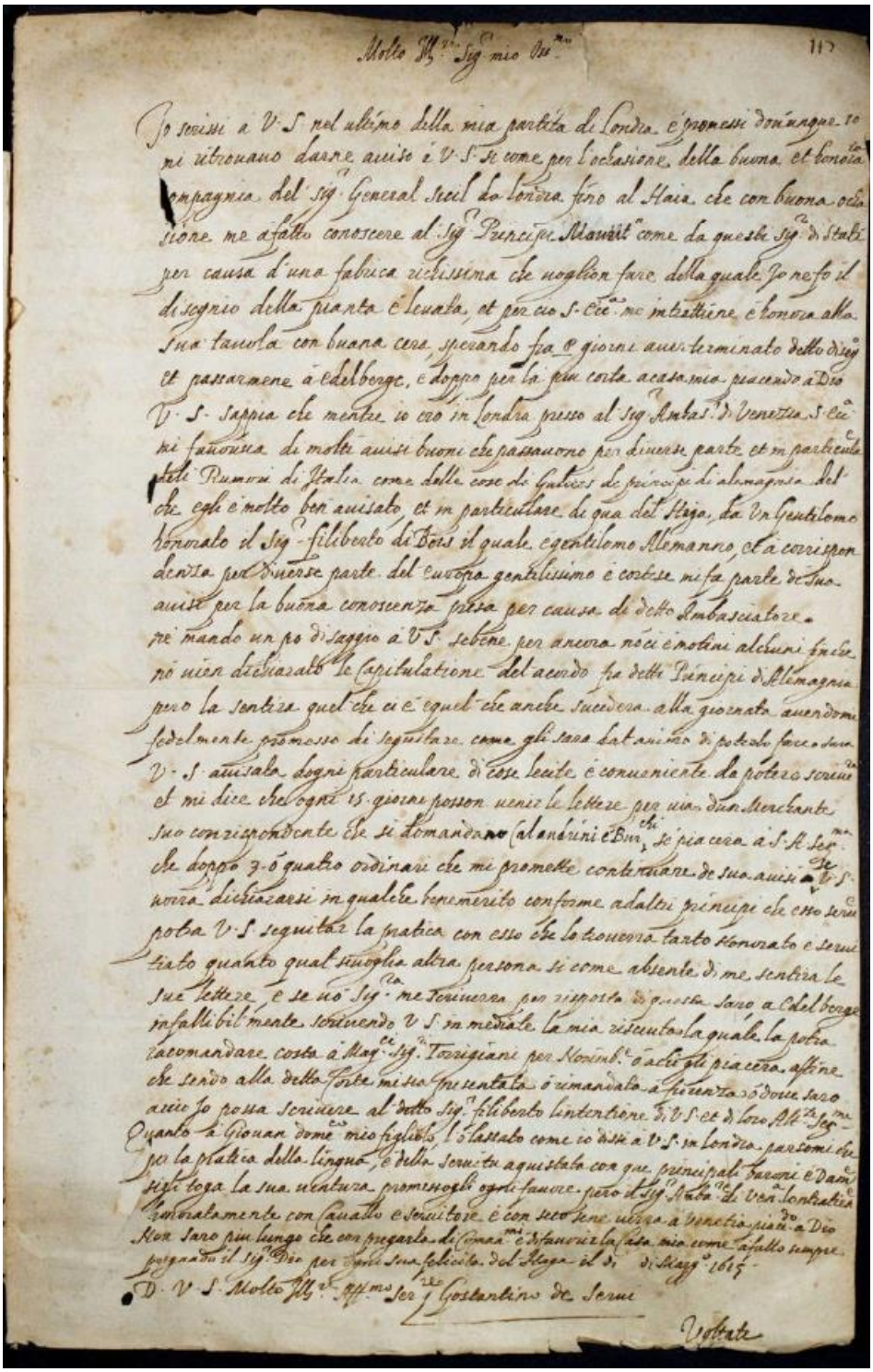
IV

The virtually exact correspondence between the description contained in de' Servi's 1619 letter and the anonymous ground plan leaves little doubt as to the attribution of the new Weimar *Residenzschloss*: the architect was de' Servi, whilst Bonalino was solely executor of plans laid out for him. Further evidence

[103] "la leuata di 3 ordini di Architetura Toscano Dorico e Ionico con magnifica apparenza per la prospettiua al intorno di detto Cortile con il medesimo ordine". Ibidem. For a detailed description of the present appearance of the Weimar Residenzschloss, see Michel 1999 (as note 1), pp. 36–38; and Helmut-Eberhard Paulus (ed.), *Residenzschloss Weimar. 15 Jahre – 15 Millionen Invesitionen. Die Grundsanierung in 15 Jahren durch die Stiftung Thüringer Schlösser und Gärten*, Petersberg 2009.

[104] On Richter's completion of the *Residenzschloss*, see Scalecki 1989 (as note 6), pp. 223–228; and Seemann and Beyer 2014 (as note 10), pp. 28–59.

[105] "Darüber hinaus geht die gesamte Erscheinung der Außenmauern des Schlosses, mit der Stockwerkeinteilung, der Fenstergestaltung, der Verwendung von Pilastern und Rustikaquadern auf Bonalinos Plan von 1619 zurück." Scheidig 1949 (as note 6), p. 10. The seventeenth-century façades were preserved in the 1780s-90s reconstruction after the 1774 fire, not least because it was cheaper to do so: see Scheidig 1949 (as note 6), pp. 13ff; Bothe 2000 (as note 1), pp. 19–24; and Seemann and Beyer 2014 (as note 10), pp. 68–76.



8 Florence, Archivio di Stato (ASFi), Mediceo del Principato (MdP), Minute di lettere e registri, 86, fol. 117 – letter from Costantino de' Servi, in The Hague, to Andrea Cioli – 10 November 1615.

for this new attribution can be found by comparing the labels on the ground plan with de' Servi's letters (fig. 8): they have most probably been written by the same hand. Another fruitful comparison can be made between the *Residenzschloss* ground plan and de' Servi's 1611–1612 plan for the overhaul of Richmond Palace and its gardens (fig. 2): the stylistic similarities are striking, and the writing appears again to have been done by the same hand.[106]

The strongest evidence for the new attribution comes from Duke Johann Ernst "der Jüngere" himself: in his letter to Grand Duke Cosimo II dated 10 November 1619, he wrote:

> It pleased Your Highness to favour me, instead of Giulio Parigi, with Costantino de' Servi, who arrived here [in Weimar] just after a disgrace happened to this palace: a fire that started secretly and ended up destroying more than half its buildings and yet other things. In these reparations I have employed him, and he used due diligence both in the model as in other related commands.[107]

The phrasing of this passage suggests that de' Servi had also created a scale model (*modello*) of the projected *Residenzschloss*, in addition to the ground plan discussed here. Indeed, de' Servi himself in his second Saxon letter had written that "a great building has been started, following my design and model" (*disegnio e' Modello*).[108] The model, together with any other drawings or plans pertaining to the project, has not survived.[109]

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[106] This double similarity, both stylistic—in the plans themselves—and palaeographic—in the annotations—between the Richmond and Weimar plans rules out the possibility that the annotations alone may have been by de' Servi, while the Weimar ground plan had been drawn by another hand.

[107] "Egli è piaciuto all'Altezza vostra, in vece di Giulio Parigi, favorirmi di Costantino de' Servi, il quale arrivò quà appunto dopo una disgrazia auvenuta in questo Palazzo, d'un fuoco appiccatosi di nascosto, che ne levò più della metà di fabriche e altro. In questi riparamenti, l'ho adoprato, e' egli tantò nel modello, quantò in altri ordini a ciò convenienti, v'ha usata la debita diligenza." ASFi, MdP, Relazioni con Stati italiani ed esteri, 4467, fol. nn(3).

[108] "si é prencipiato vna gran fabrica conforme al mio disegnio e' Modello". ASFi, MdP, Carteggio Universale di Cosimo II, 996, fol. 900. Duke Johann Ernst "der Jüngere" in his 10 November 1619 letter had not explicitly mentioned a "design" ("disegnio") by de' Servi, writing instead of the latter's "due diligence both in the model as in other related commands" ("tantò nel modello, quantò in altri ordini a ciò convenienti, v'ha usata la debita diligenza." ASFi, MdP, Relazioni con Stati italiani ed esteri, 4467, fol. nn(3)). Although this could be seen as a contradiction between the two sources, it is not plausible to suggest that de' Servi only completed a "model" ("modello") for the new Weimar *Residenzschloss*: in light of the other evidence presented in this article, de' Servi was most likely the author of the anonymous ground plan and of the whole reconstruction project. Therefore, the generic formulation "as in other related commands" ("in altri ordini a ciò convenienti") employed by Duke Johann Ernst "der Jüngere" should be understood to have included de' Servi's design.

[109] See note 67 for the only other surviving visual source, a draft elevation of the internal façade of the *Schlosskirche* (KSW, GraphSam, KK 10638 (Richterband, 20)).

Previous scholarship on the Weimar *Residenzschloss* overlooked de' Servi's role in planning the 1619–1630 reconstruction for two reasons. First, de' Servi's stay at the ducal court in 1618–1619 was brief, and took place at a tumultuous time. Second, there appear to be few or no references to de' Servi in the archival material in Weimar. The Florentine polymath's letters from Saxony, just like Duke Johann Ernst "der Jüngere"'s correspondence with the Medici, are kept in the Florence Archivio di Stato, and are neither indexed, nor available in digital format (yet). In the absence of a more plausible author, attributing the ground plan—and with it the whole project—for the new Weimar *Residenzschloss* to Bonalino, who effectively directed the reconstruction works, was a reasonable suggestion.

Re-attributing this project to de' Servi is the starting point to rethink the stylistic influences shaping the reconstruction plan. As has been noted, Bonalino was a young master-builder in 1618–1619; he had not yet been associated with any major building project. Scholars working on the Weimar *Residenzschloss* have thus found themselves at a loss to identify the sources of inspiration which might have guided his hand in designing the new castle. De' Servi, by contrast, had led a successful career at princely and royal courts around Europe, and the possible sources of inspiration therefore abound. They merit a systematic analysis extending well beyond the scope of this article; the three directions of inquiry sketched here are thus intended not as definitive statements, but only as invitations for further research.[110]

The first and most obvious influence permeating de' Servi's design is Italianate in conception and style. The four-winged building organised around a courtyard, its façades decorated with the superposition of architectural orders, is a cousin of the Renaissance *palazzi* gracing many towns and cities of the peninsula. The importance of Palazzo Pitti as a source of inspiration for the *Residenzschloss*'s staircases has already been noted; the similarities with the grand-ducal residence in Florence, however, seem to end there. This is not surprising: if his son Francesco de' Servi did work

[110] Nor are these suggestions exhaustive: Scalecki has looked to the work of Domenico Fontana and Andrea Palladio as other possible sources of inspiration for the 1619 reconstruction project (Scalecki 1989 (as note 6), pp. 223–228); Michel has looked to the fortified castles of France, such as Chambord (Michel 1999 (as note 1), pp. 59–67); Bothe has suggested the Baroque *Rathäuse* (Town Halls) of Augsburg, Antwerp, and Amsterdam (Bothe 2000 (as note 1), pp. 15–19).

for Parigi on the overhaul of Pitti and its gardens, Costantino de' Servi himself was never directly involved in building activities in Florence. [111] There, his professional activity seems to have been limited to what we would call "decorative arts": sculpture, painting, medal-making, and *pietre dure*.[112] The building projects in which de' Servi was involved before the Weimar *Residenzschloss* all took place north of the Alps, while he was residing at foreign courts.

In particular, we know from de' Servi's earliest surviving letter that in 1574 he was in "the castle of Litomyšl belonging to the most illustrious Milord Pernstein".[113] Wratislaw von Pernstein (1530–1582) was a Bohemian magnate, Catholic convert of moderate views, and in addition to membership of Maximilian II's and then Rudolf II's Secret Council he held the Supreme Chancellorship of the Kingdom of Bohemia.[114] A great patron of the arts, between 1568 and 1581 Pernstein was having his castle at Litomyšl rebuilt in Renaissance style by two architects from Lugano, Giovanni Maria Aostalli and Ulrico Aostalli.[115] On the basis of de' Servi's letter from Litomyšl it is unfortunately impossible to say whether the young Florentine had any involvement with the building works: he merely remarked that "as for the lodging of Milord it is a very nice building".[116]

Litomyšl castle still stands, and it bears some interesting resemblances to de' Servi's reconstruction project for the Weimar *Residenzschloss*: it also consists of a four-winged *palazzo*, with a *Schlosskirche* incorporated within the main building. Its most striking feature is the courtyard, surrounded on three sides by a triple loggia, with three different architectural orders superposed *(*fig. 9*)*. Although de' Servi did plan a small loggia in front of the great hall, the façades of his projected Weimar *Residenzschloss* have little in common with the arrangement at Litomyšl. Their closest precedent in

[111] On Francesco de' Servi's involvement with the works at Pitti, see ASFi, Miscellanea Medicea, 667, ins. 9, fols 109–110.
[112] For a biography of de' Servi, see Meloni Trkulia 1991 (as note 7); Bardazzi 2004 (as note 7), ch. 2.1.5; and Pagnini 2006 (as note 7).
[113] "Laitemis chastello delo Ill*ustrissi*mo Sig*no*re Pernestan mesegnior". ASFi, Carte Strozziane, 301, fol. 77.
[114] On von Pernstein, see Robert J.W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his World: A Study in Intellectual History, 1576–1612*, Oxford 1973.
[115] On the history of Litomyšl castle see Květa Křížová and Jiří Slavík, *Litomyšl: Castle and Town*, Nymburk 2015.
[116] "quanto alla stanza del signior e molto bella fabricha". ASFi, Carte Strozziane, 301, fol. 77. The letter is more explicit on de' Servi's other artistic pursuits, especially the paintings which he was executing for von Pernstein.

9 Litomyšl Castle; internal façade, southern side, photographed from the courtyard.

terms of superposition of orders and arrangement of decoration can probably be found at Palazzo Marino, in Milan, which de' Servi may have visited during his brief stay at the Spanish Governor's court, in the spring of 1618 (fig. 10).[117] Although not identical, the façades of Palazzo Marino and the *Residenzschloss* present many similarities, from the superposition of three architectural orders in the pilasters framing the windows to the detail of the flutings of the top-floor pilasters, which converge downwards on both façades.

Designed by Galeazzo Alessi in 1557, Palazzo Marino was erected for a Milanese banker of Genoese origins, Tommaso Marino, in a style reminescent of Roman Mannerism: scholars have cited Antonio da Sangallo's Palazzo Farnese as an important influence on Alessi's civil architecture.[118] Investigating the Italianate influences on the reconstruction project for the Weimar *Residenzschloss* thus yields surprising insights: the path does not lead to Medicean Tuscany, de' Servi's fatherland, as much as to Rudolfine Bohemia, Spanish Milan, and Mannerist Rome. De' Servi's upbringing in Bohemia, so far overlooked by his biographers, and his long career at various European courts help to explain why the repertoire of skills and themes on which he drew to design the Weimar *Residenzschloss* is more eclectic in origin than it might first appear.[119]

Another building project with which de' Servi's name is associated is the overhaul of Richmond Palace and its gardens, in 1611–1612. Comparisons have been drawn throughout this article between the commissions of Henry Stuart, Prince of Wales, in London and Johann Ernst "der Jüngere", Duke of Sachsen-Weimar, in Weimar: in particular, the difference in focus between the two undertakings—gardens in Richmond, the castle itself in Weimar—has been noted. De' Servi's English experience, however, must have influenced his work in Saxony. This second source of inspiration is connected to the first one: Henry Stuart had sought the assistance of a Florentine architect precisely because he

[117] See his 1617 passport to travel from Florence to Milan, at ASFi, Miscellanea Medicea, 612, fol. 191.
[118] On Galeazzo Alessi and Palazzo Marino, see Mario Labò, Alessi, Galeazzo, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 2, Rome 1960; Aurora Scotti Tosini, Alessi, Galeazzo, in: *Grove Art Online*, 2003, URL: https://doi-org.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T001682 (date of last access 1 April 2019); and Rebecca M. Gill, Conception and Construction: Galeazzo Alessi and the Use of Drawings in Sixteenth-Century Architectural Practice, in: *Architectural History* 59, 2016, 181–219.
[119] The Bohemian half of de' Servi's upbringing has so far been overlooked by his biographers, who tend to describe as "Florentine" if not "Italian": see Meloni Trkulia 1991 (as note 7); Bardazzi 2004 (as note 7), ch. 2.1.5; and Pagnini 2006 (as note 7).

10 Palazzo Marino, Milan; external façade, south-eastern side, photographed from Piazza San Fedele.

wished to turn Richmond into a Renaissance palace in the Italian style.[120] When investigating the English influence, thus, it might be especially fruitful to focus on de' Servi's interactions with other prominent artists at the English court: the local architect Inigo Jones, for example, or the French hydraulic philosopher Salomon de Caus.[121] The latter worked at Richmond before de' Servi's arrival, building some preliminary water conduits and reservoirs for the gardens. He went on to design and partly build the Heidelberg *Hortus Palatinus* for Elector Palatine Frederick V, from 1614 to 1619.[122]

Finally, local influences must also have played an important part in guiding de' Servi's pen. The precedent of the walled garden of the "Grüne Schlösschen" has already been discussed; the *Schlosskirche* also deserves a mention. As Rolf Bothe has noted its design, which included galleries on two floors to allow the ducal family and other nobles to be separated from other churchgoers, was conventional for Saxon *Schlosskirchen*, and might have been directly inspired by the church of Schloss Hartenfels in Torgau, which had been consecrated by Martin Luther in 1544.[123] Furthermore, Duke Johann Ernst "der Jüngere" aspired to be a great cultural and artistic patron; exploring the range of talents which he assembled at his court between 1615, when he became Duke, and 1619 would allow us to understand the kind of intellectual milieu within which de' Servi worked in 1618–1619.

Attributing the reconstruction project for the Weimar *Residenzschloss* to Costantino de' Servi is thus not an exercise in pedantry. It is a poignant reminder of the importance of crossing modern national and linguistic boundaries for the purposes of historical research: this article relies on a comparison between archival documents in Weimar and in Florence, and on an analysis of literature in German, Italian and English. Furthermore, the Weimar *Residenzschloss* is placed within a wider European context through de' Servi's reconstruction project. Rather than owing its design to a Swiss master-builder and a vague Italianate style, the *Residenzschloss* can be put in direct connection with

[120] See Eiche 1998 (as note 8); and also Luke Morgan, *Nature as model: Salomon de Caus and early seventeenth century landscape design*, Philadelphia 2007, ch. 4.
[121] These interactions might not always have been positive: in one of his letters from London, de' Servi complains about "emulators and similar persecutions" ("emuli et persegutioni simili"). ASFi, MdP, Carteggio Universale di Cosimo II, 971, fol. 9. Jealousy might have been partly justified by de' Servi's salary, which at £200 a year was four times Inigo Jones's: see Pagnini 2006 (as note 7), pp. 207 and 232.
[122] Salomon de Caus's life and career is described by Morgan 2007 (as note 120); ch. 4 deals specifically with his period of employment in England, at Richmond and elsewehere.
[123] Bothe 2000 (as note 1), pp. 15–19.

Palazzo Marino in Milan, Litomyšl Castle in Bohemia, Richmond Palace in London, and Schloss Hartenfels in Torgau. This new attribution, therefore, can enrich both our understanding of the architectural history of the Weimar *Residenzschloss* and our appreciation of the development of late Renaissance architecture.

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Work in the public domain – downloaded from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Weimar_1569.jpg

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Figure 5 — Anonymous, *Ground plan of the new Weimar* Residenzschloss, undated (1618/1619), pen and watercolours on paper, 32.3 cm x 30 cm. Weimar, Klassik Stiftung (KSW), Graphische Sammlungen. Detail (left-hand side, west wing).

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Photograph by the author

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Figure 9 Litomyšl Castle; internal façade, southern side, photographed from the courtyard.

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All transcriptions of the primary sources, with punctuation and spelling unaltered, are by the author. Quotations in the original language have been placed in the footnotes, and a translation by the author has been supplied in the body of the text.

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