

MATERIAL CULTURE AND DAILY LIFE
IN THE NEW CITY OF PRAGUE
IN THE AGE OF RUDOLF II

MEDIUM AEVUM QUOTIDIANUM

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON GERHARD JARITZ

SONDERBAND VI

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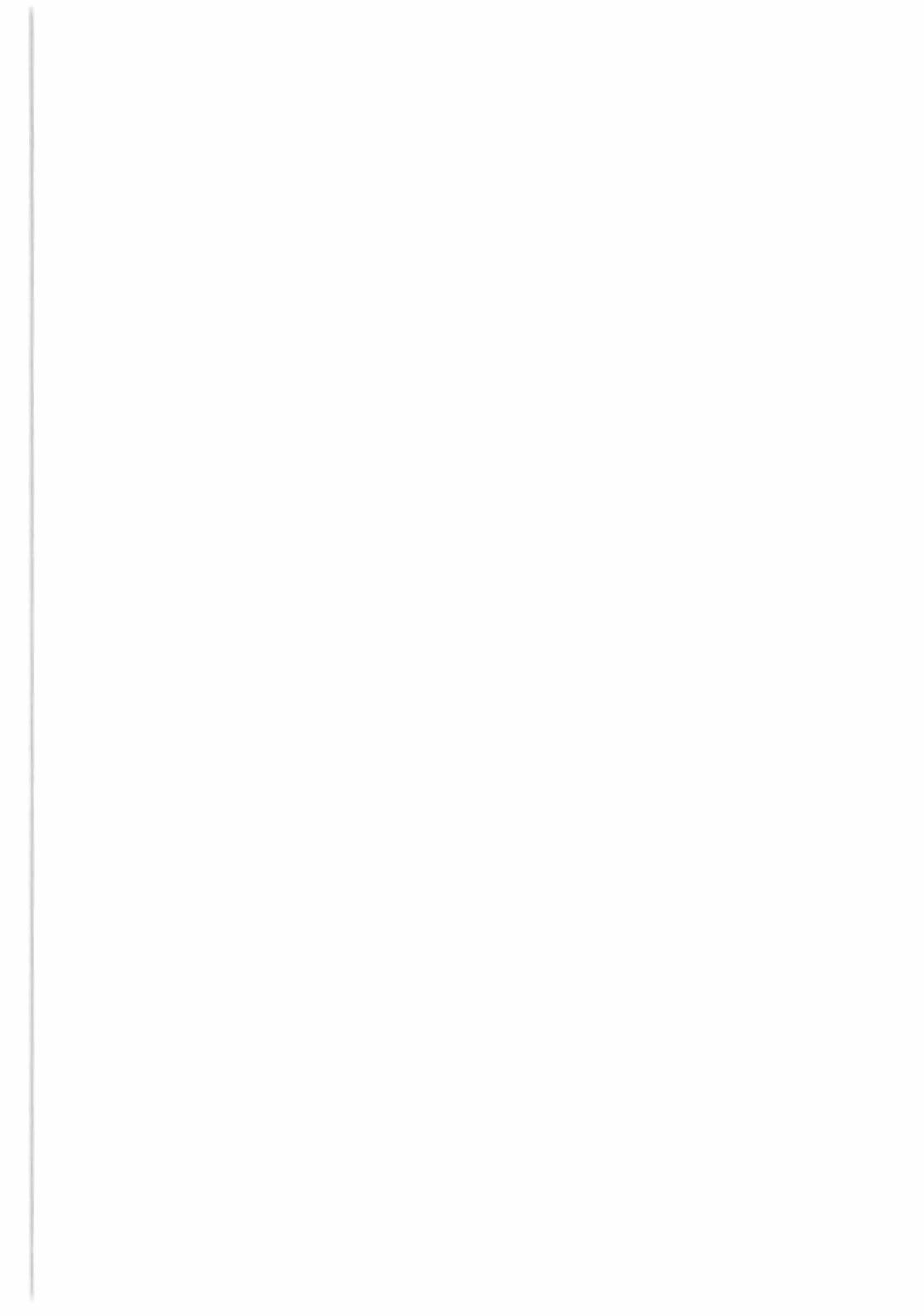
Cover illustration: Detail of the New City of Prague from the Sadeler engraving of 1606. The nine-part copper etching measuring 47.6 x 314 cm. is one of the largest of any city in its day. It was a cooperative project of a three-person team belonging to the large and sophisticated group of artists at the court of Emperor Rudolf II in Prague. Aegidius Sadeler, the imperial engraver, commissioned the project and printed the copper-etching which was executed by Johannes Wechter after drawings by Philip van den Bosche. In the center of the illustration are the ruins of the Church and Cloister of Mary of the Snow (item no. 84). The broad thoroughfare *Na přikopě* ("im Graben"), item no. 83, separates the Old City (to the left) from the New City (to the right). To the right of the Church and Cloister of Mary of the Snow is the long Horse Market (today Wenceslaus Square), item no. 88. The New City parish church *Sv. Jindřicha* (St. Henry) can be located just above the church and cloister (item no. 87).

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Foreword

This study is a shortened version of a doctoral dissertation accepted by the Department of History, New York University, in the Spring of 1995, entitled *House, Home & Neighborhood on the Eve of White Mountain: Material Culture and Daily Life in the New City of Prague, 1547-1611*.

Research and writing of this dissertation were supported by grants from the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) and the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS).

I would like to thank R. Po-chia Hsia, my mentor, to whom I owe my largest intellectual debt. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann provided continuous feedback, especially from the perspective of the history of art and architecture. Christopher R. Friedrichs and Miriam Usher Chrisman read earlier drafts and gave constructive criticism. Virginia Reinburg has provided long-time encouragement. Richard van Dülmen met with me early on in my research, once in Prague and once in Saarbrücken, to discuss my sources and perspectives. Winfried Eberhard supported my attendance at a conference in Berlin after I had written drafts of the first chapters which helped me pull together my ideas.

In the Czech Republic, I was graciously received and provided general support by the Department of Czech and Slovak History, and the Department of Archival Studies at the Charles University in Prague; and the Historical Institute and the Institute for the History and Theory of Art of the Czech Academy of Sciences. Zdeněk Hojda provided continual assistance, advice and intercession of various kinds, which were invaluable to foreign scholars, such as me, doing research in Prague. Jiří Kuděla gave me paleography lessons and corrected many of my transcriptions, supposedly in exchange for English lessons (which never took place), at first as a staff member of the City Archive and continuing into the period after he joined the Office of the President of the Czech Republic, Václav Havel. Josef Petráň and Jaroslav Pánek both shared with me on a number of occasions their extensive knowledge of Bohemian history of the Pre-White

Mountain period. Luboš Lancinger provided me with files of the State Office of Landmark Preservation as well as access to his handwritten notes, and assisted me through some of the tricky tasks of historical house reconstruction. Václav Bůžek offered constructive criticism on drafts of earlier chapters drawing on his own work in material culture. In addition to these individuals, I also benefited from discussions with Josef Janáček, Josef Válka, Jiří Kejř, Jiří Mikulec, Jiří Pešek, Václav Ledvinka, Zdenka Hledíková, Noemi Rejchrtová, Karel Malý, Zdeněk Beneš, Thomas Fröschl, and Karl Vocelka.

This dissertation was undertaken between moves and places, partly amidst the transformation and chaos following the so-called Velvet Revolution. A sense of community was created by a network of friends and family in the United States, Germany and the Czech Republic: four generations of Bings (Kappel-Grafenhausen), the Leibfrieds (Heidelberg and Seattle), Friedrich and Irmgard Thiessen (Frankfurt/Main and Buchschlag), Stanislav and Judita Úlovec (Planá u Mariánských Lázní), John and Joanne Concato (New York and New Haven), the Tamirian family (Allendale), and my parents and sister (Cliffside Park).

My wife, Gabriela Úlovcová-Palmitessová, put up with my charts, graphs, and constant complaining. Little did she know when she first met me that she would be forced to leave the idyllic setting of her native Bohemian forest to go to Brooklyn, Flint and beyond.

Lastly, I would like to give special thanks to Gerhard Jaritz of the Institute for the Study of Material Culture of the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period who made it possible for this dissertation to be published in the series *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*.

I.1. Introduction

I.1.1. PRAGUE IN THE LATE 16th AND EARLY 17th CENTURIES: HABSBURG RESIDENCE, URBAN COMPLEX OF FOUR CITIES, BILINGUAL AND MULTI-CONFESSIONAL POPULATION

During the 16th century, Prague underwent a transformation from a small town on the eastern border of the Holy Roman Empire to the largest city in all of central and eastern Europe, an important Habsburg residence, and a major center of late Renaissance culture. This transformation was initiated by the residence in the city beginning in 1547 of Archduke Ferdinand, the son and regent of Ferdinand I (who had been elected first Habsburg King of Bohemia in 1527); and culminated in 1583 with the arrival of Emperor Rudolf II and the imperial court from Vienna (where they remained until 1612). In reality, Prague was not one but a complex of four legally independent, economically linked cities: the Castle Hill and Small Side on the left bank of the Vltava river, the site of the royal/imperial castle and noble palaces; and the Old and New Cities on the right bank, the center of commercial and artisanal life. [See fig. II.4.1.] In addition to its political stature and distinctive administrative and topographical structure, Prague was bilingual and multi-confessional, with native German and Czech speakers, Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Jews, Utraquists and the Bohemian Brethren (the latter two being descendents of the Hussites).

I.1.2. RUDOLFINE PRAGUE & “*PRAGA CAPUT REGNI*”: TWO HISTORICAL PARADIGMS OF SOCIETY & CULTURE

As with most large European cities, there is a vast secondary literature on Prague, embedded in local tradition and in national and nationalist historiographies. Most of the literature is in Czech, but there are also important English and German language works. Amidst the vast literature, two paradigms of the city during the late 16th and early 17th centuries stand out. Seen by contemporary chronicles and memoirs of burghers and nobles whose stories were later integrated into the Czech national historical tradition, Prague was *Praga caput regni* (“Prague Capit-

al of the Bohemian Kingdom”), a phrase that was gilded on the windows of the Old City Hall. As capital of the kingdom, Prague was the central stage of events in a growing national struggle which began in the mid-15th century in the wake of the Hussite Revolution, and which led to the defeat of the Bohemian Estates at the Battle of White Mountain in 1621.¹

The city’s central political status as capital has served as an important framing concept for cultural developments as well. In the late 19th century, Zikmund Winter, the father of Czech cultural history, wrote a series of cultural historical studies focusing on education, commerce, industry, and church life in Prague and other Bohemian cities in the 15th and 16th centuries.² According to Winter, the 16th century represented “The Golden Age” of Czech cities, at whose head stood Prague. This golden age was characterized by a reflourishing of guild life by Czech artisanal masters after a century of stagnation caused by the dispelling of German masters in the Hussite Revolution.³

In the same encyclopedic style and scope of Winter is the multi-faceted and dense, twelve-volume survey history of Prague by Winter’s contemporary, Václav Vladivoj Tomek. Three volumes of the Tomek history deal with the period from the Hussite Revolution to the Thirty Years War.⁴

¹ J. Janáček, *České dějiny. Doba předbělohorská* [Czech History. The Pre-White Mountain Period], two volumes, Praha 1968 & 1984; W. Eberhard, *Konfessionsbildung und Stände in Böhmen 1478-1530*, München 1981; *Monarchie und Widerstand. Zur ständischen Oppositionsbildung im Herrschaftssystem Ferdinands I. in Böhmen*, München 1985; J. Pánek, *Stavovská opozice a její zápas s Habsburky 1547-1577* [Estate Opposition and the Conflict of the Estates with the Habsburgs 1547-1577. Towards an Understanding of the Political Crisis of Feudal Classes in Pre-White Mountain Czech State], Praha 1982.

² Z. Winter, *Kulturní obraz z XV. a XVI. století* [Cultural Pictures from the 15th and 16th centuries], Praha 1889; *Život církevní v Čechách. Kulturně-historický obraz z XV. a XVI. století* [Church Life in Bohemia. Cultural Historical Pictures from the 15th and 16th centuries], I & II, Praha 1895 & 1889; *Řemělnictvo a živnosti XVI. věku v Čechách* [Artisan and Trade Life in Bohemia in the 16th century], Praha 1909; *Český průmysl a obchod v XVI. věku* [Production and Commerce in Bohemia in the 16th century], Praha 1913.

³ Z. Winter, *Zlatá doba měst českých* [The Golden Age of Czech Cities], reprint, Praha 1991.

⁴ V. V. Tomek, *Dějepis Města Prahy* [The History of Prague], Tom. 8-12, Praha 1883-1901.

In his day, Zikmund Winter became the center of a major scholarly debate over competing methodologies of political and cultural history, similar to the one in the German-speaking world over Jakub Burkhardt. Winter and Tomek have both been criticized for their arbitrary and ad hoc choice of sources. Their descriptions of customs and habit seem static to us today. Nevertheless, their work is important because of the wealth of information and breadth of perspective they provide, drawing on extensive sources, many of which are no longer available. Contemporary Czech cultural historians, such as Jiří Pešek and Zdeněk Hojda have followed in the same path as their 19th-century forebears, investigating many of the same themes, but through systematic, critical study of sources.⁵

Alongside the perspective of *Praga caput regni* and its emphasis on Prague as the center of the nation, “Prague of Rudolf II” represents a second perspective of the city in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The key theme of this perspective is the dominant influence that the imperial residence exerted on the society, politics, religion, economy, and culture of the city. The arrival of the imperial court in 1583 is implicitly given as the singular explanation for the transformation of Prague into a cosmopolitan city and an international center of late Renaissance culture.

The first mention of Rudolfine Prague as an important center dates back to a small book, *Pictures from the Life of Rudolfine Prague*, published in 1958, by the Czech historian Josef Janáček.⁶ Although the book was meant more for the wider reading public than for the professional historian, it is interesting because of the larger view of the city it portrays. Based on protocol books of the professional coachmen’s guild, Janáček recounts stories of the men who earned a living transporting goods and people in and out of Prague, and portrays the city as a vibrant and bustling community of artisans and traders who supply the residence of the Holy Roman Emperor. In a number of

⁵ A summary of Jiří Pešek’s extensive studies appearing in periodic literature can be found in *Měšťanské vzdělanost a kultura v předbělohorských Čechách 1547-1620 (Všední dny kulturního života)* [Education and Culture in Pre-White Mountain Urban Bohemia 1547-1620 (Daily Cultural Life)], Praha 1993. See note 12 for citations of Zdeněk Hojda’s work.

⁶ J. Janáček, *Obrázek ze života rudolfinské Prahy* [Pictures from the Life of Rudolfine Prague], Praha 1958.

scholarly studies of commerce and trade life in 15th and 16th century Prague and other Bohemian cities, Janáček pointed to the important commercial ties of Prague with the large Southwest German cities, especially Nurnberg.⁷ In *Pictures from the Life of Rudolfine Prague*, Janáček implicitly made a connection between the imperial residence, its booming economy, and its bustling life.

While the first mention of Rudolfine Prague in the secondary literature is attributed to Janáček, it was the work of the British intellectual and cultural historian R.J.W. Evans that was seminal in establishing “Rudolfine Prague” as an important historiographical concept. In *Rudolf II and his World*, published in 1973, Evans drew attention to the court of Rudolf II in Prague as a major cultural center of its day.⁸ Evans explained the interest and investigations into astronomy, astrology and alchemy at the court as characteristic of a Central European, late Renaissance culture, challenging the views of 19th-century historians who saw these pursuits as the eccentric interests of the mentally-disturbed loner, Rudolf.⁹

Evans’ book immediately brought together under a common banner research in a number of disciplines and sub-disciplines. Art historical research into the painting, sculpture, architecture, and applied arts of the Bohemian Renaissance, which had been carried out at least for the last twenty years by scholars at the Art Historical Institute at the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, immediately found a common home at the Court of Rudolf II.¹⁰ Rudolf’s *Kunstkammer*, located in the Prague castle, the largest art and curiosity collection of its day in Central Europe, became a

⁷ J. Janáček, *Dějiny obchodu v předbělohorské Praze* [The History of Commerce in Pre-White Mountain Prague], Praha 1955; *Řemělná výroba ve českých městech v 16. století*, [Artisanal Production in Bohemian Cities in the 16th century], Praha 1961; “Prag und Nürnberg im 16. Jahrhundert (1489-1618), *Der Aussenhandel Ostmitteleuropas 1450-1650*, Ingomar Bog (Hrsg.), Köln & Wien 1971.

⁸ R.J.W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his World*, Oxford 1973.

⁹ A. Gindeley, *Rudolf II. und seine Zeit 1600-1612*, Prag 1862-68; J.B. Novák, *Rudolf II. a jeho pad* [Rudolf II and his Fall], Praha 1935.

¹⁰ Works are too numerous to cite. See the following surveys: J. Hořejší et al., *Die Kunst der Renaissance und des Manierismus in Böhmen*, Hanau 1979; E. Fučíková, B. Bukovinská & I. Muchka, *Kunst am Hofe Rudolf II.*, Praha 1988. See also T.D. Kaufmann (ed.), *Bibliography to Art and Architecture of Central Europe*. An annotated bibliography, Boston 1988.

topic of international scholarly interest.¹¹ Other scholars investigated the special role of the court in fostering developments in music and science, including pioneering discoveries in astronomy by Johannes Kepler and Tycho Brahe under Rudolf's patronage.¹²

By the end of the 1980s, an international Rudolfine scholarship had emerged. In 1987 appeared Josef Janáček's *Rudolf II and his Day*, in its breadth of perspective the most ambitious work of Rudolfine scholarship.¹³ A year later, the international conference "Prague in the Year 1600" was convened, bringing together scholars in the fields of history, and the history of art and architecture;¹⁴ and the publication of two surveys of the history of art of the period.¹⁵

I.1.3. TRANSFORMATION OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF HOUSE & NEIGHBORHOOD AS PRAGUE BECOMES RESIDENCE CITY: DIFFUSION OF RENAISSANCE STYLES AND MODES?

Despite the difference in focus, both perspectives have viewed the widespread cultivation of various innovations in art, architecture, and interior design, as the primary manifestation of a fundamental transformation in the material culture of home and neighborhood which accompanied the transformation of

¹¹ T.D. Kaufmann, *Variations on the Imperial Theme in the Age of Maximilian II and Rudolf II*, New York 1978; T.D. Kaufmann, *The Mastery of Nature. Aspects of Art, Science and Humanism in the Renaissance*, Princeton, 1993, chapter 7; E. Fučíková, "The Collection of Rudolf II at Prague. Cabinet of Curiosities or Scientific Museum," *The Origins of Museums*, O. Impey & A. Macgregor (eds.), Oxford 1985.

¹² Z. Horský, *Kepler v Praze*, Praha, 1980; R. Lindell, "Relations between Musicians and Artists at the Court of Rudolf II," *Jahrbuch der kaiserlichen Sammlungen Wien*, 15/86, Sonderheft Nr. 327; J. Pešek, *Měšťanské vzdělanost a kultura* (note 5); Z. Hojda, "Hudebníci Rudolfova dvora v ubytovací knize Malé Strany a Hradčan z roku 1608" [*Musicians at the Rudolfine Court in the Quartermaster Book of the Small Side and Castle Hill*], *Hudební věda*, 24, 1987, p. 162-67.

¹³ J. Janáček, *Rudolf II. a jeho doba*, Praha [Rudolf II and his Age], Praha 1987.

¹⁴ Conference papers are collected in E. Fučíková (Hrsg.), *Prag um 1600. Beiträge zur Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Rudolfs II.*, Freven 1988

¹⁵ E. Poche et al., *Praha na úsvitu nových dějin. Architectura, sochařství, malířství, umělecké řemeslo /Čtvero knih o Praze/* [Prague on the Dawn of the Modern Age. Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Artisanal Work (Fourth Book on Prague)], Praha 1988; E. Fučíková et al., *Kunst am Hofe Rudolfs II* (note 10).

Prague, as a whole, into a Habsburg residential city. One scholar has even talked about a symbiosis which took place in the 16th century between the material cultures of the different landscapes of the cities.¹⁶

To explain the dynamic of these changes in material culture, a diffusion model is commonly put forth. According to this model, Renaissance and other innovative styles and modes were first transmitted from Italy to Bohemia at the end of the 15th century via the Hungarian court of Matthias Corvinus. At that time, Václav Jagellon, then King of Bohemia, was also elected King of Hungary. King Václav became acquainted in Buda with the Renaissance art of his predecessor (Corvinus), and introduced these styles at the Prague court. During the course of the 16th century, the early Habsburg rulers - Ferdinand I, Maximilian II and Rudolf II - intensively patronized and cultivated these styles and they, subsequently, became passed on or diffused to the nobility and then to burghers and other city dwellers. Central to the diffusion process is the notion that city dwellers adopted or cultivated styles and modes of the court and the nobility as a way to compete or compensate in the changing political and socio-economic environment brought on by the introduction of Habsburg rule.¹⁷

1.1.4. THE HISTORICAL AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL TENSION BETWEEN THE CITY AND THE CASTLE

Between these two perspectives, wide differences of focus are evident in the explanation of the nature of cultural change and its relationship to political centralization. Rudolfiner scholars have pointed to a number of innovations in art, architecture and interior design in noble palaces and in the homes of burghers, as evidence of the Habsburg court's central, almost dominant role in the society, politics and culture of the city. These innovations include Renaissance style windows, portals and gables; *sgraffiti*,

¹⁶ K. Hetteš, "O hmotné kultuře pražského měšť 16. věku" [On the Material Culture of the Prague Cities in the 16th Century], *Knihy o Praze*, 1964, p. 197-214.

¹⁷ J. Bialostocki, *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe*, Ithaca 1976; F. Seibt (Hrsg.), *Renaissance in Böhmen*, Münster 1985; T.D. Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister, and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe 1450-1800*, Chicago 1995.

fashionable Italian geometric patterns on facades; furniture enlaid with expensive wood; portraits; gold and silver jewelry and dishware; and items from nature and the exotic. Other cultural historians, informed by Czech national historiography, have pointed to cultural activities originating from within the cities, such as a thriving printing industry, book collections, the university, parish, school and literary societies.¹⁸ Implicitly they make the argument for an urban culture influenced by, though largely independent from the court.

The difference in focus and explanation can be seen as arising both out of natural, disciplinary interests, as well as from less overt national-ideological inclinations. It is to be noted that the predominant research on late 16th and early 17th century Prague has been undertaken by intellectual cultural historians, such as R.J.W. Evans and Jiří Pešek, and art historians, such as Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Eliška Fučíková. To R.J.W. Evans and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Rudolfine Prague" is important because it represents a special fusion of cultural elements that were present across Central Europe. To most Czech art historians and some cultural historians, "Rudolfine Prague" is interesting primarily because it represents a developed expression of the inclusion of Bohemia into the culture of the West.

The inclusion of Bohemia into western European culture filled a deep need in normalized Czechoslovakia, and cosmopolitan Prague of 1600 offered itself as an enticing scholarly refuge to Prague of the early 1970s. Foreign interest in the city and its culture, by scholars such as R.J.W. Evans and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, served to strengthen Bohemia's ties to the West. This may help explain the compatibility of these two directions, despite the tension between them, and the galvanizing effect that the work of the Englishman R.J.W. Evans had when it came out in 1973. Czech cultural historians, such as Jiří Pešek, rejecting the cosmopolitanism of Rudolfine Prague offered by Anglo-American scholars, found their refuge in another area: university and book culture.

These disciplinary and ideological inclinations are not mere personal footnotes to the literature but go a long way in explaining the fragmented state of scholarship of the city and the tension between the culture of the castle and the culture of the

¹⁸ J. Pešek, *Měšťanské vzdělanost a kultura* (note 5).

cities, which should be seen as both an historiographical as well as an historical problem.

The allure of the city during this period has contributed, in large part, I believe, to the acceptance of a number of generalizations, and to some extent exaggerations, of the impact of the Habsburg court in the city; in particular, to a too-ready acceptance of the diffusion model of material culture. While we know much about the art and architecture of the castle complex and noble palaces - that is where the primary focus of research has been - there exists no comparable picture of art and cultural innovations associated with burgher homes to support the diffusion model or any other model of cultural change. For art associated with noble palaces, for example, much of the material culture has survived; beyond that we also know about its function and use. Beyond mere accumulations of the valuable, we know that objects were collected, organized and displayed in banquet halls, silver chambers and libraries.¹⁹ For burgher homes, nothing close to that picture exists. The argument for cultural diffusion to burgher homes has been based mostly on anecdotal or incomplete evidence: descriptions of Prague by foreign visitors;²⁰ the appearance of Renaissance elements on a few surviving buildings, and in panoramas and broadsheets of the period;²¹ and from the studies of the distribution of a few cultural objects, such as books and paintings, in probate inventories.²²

¹⁹ See F. Seibt (Hrsg.), *Renaissance in Böhmen* (note 17).

²⁰ The two major travel diaries of foreigners in Prague are (in recent Czech translations): *Tři francouzští kavalíři v rudolfínské Praze* [Three French Cavaliers in Rudolfine Prague], Praha 1989; Fynes Morison, John Taylor, *Cesta do Čech* [Fynes Morison's & John Taylor's Travels to Bohemia], Praha, 1977. On how they have informed our view of the city, see E. Fučíková, "Prag zur Zeit Rudolfs II.," *Kunst am Hofe Rudolfs II* (note 10).

²¹ In particular, the panorama of Prague from 1606 printed by the imperial engraver Aegidius Sadeler, available from Odeon reprint 15, 961, VI, 1979. See E. Fučíková, "Prag zur Zeit Rudolfs II.," *Kunst am Hofe Rudolfs II* (note 10).

²² See literature in J. Pešek, *Měšťanske vzdělanost a kultura* (note 5).

I.1.5. MATERIAL CULTURE & DAILY LIFE OF A NEIGHBORHOOD AS A WINDOW TO STUDY THE TRANSFORMATION OF PRAGUE INTO A HABSBURG RESIDENTIAL CITY

This study pursues a new approach to the history of Prague in late 16th and early 17th centuries by studying the material culture of housing and daily life in the sixty-year period before the outbreak of the Thirty Years War. It attempts to deepen our understanding of Prague and its culture in this important period as the city became a Habsburg residential city: geographically, by shifting the focus of attention from the castle to the burgher house and home (though without losing sight of the castle); and thematically, by considering broad aspects of culture and cultural experience in addition to "high culture." It seeks a different vantage point from which to view the major theme of the city's history during this period: the tension between the castle and the city.

Specifically, this dissertation explores the extent to which the imperial court served as a unifying cultural force in the cities of Prague below the imperial castle by examining the transformation of the material culture of homes located in one New City Prague neighborhood, as the city, as a whole, underwent a transformation into a residential city. The core of the study is a reconstruction of this section of the city based on an in-depth computer analysis of written sources - including probate inventories, civic wills, marriage contracts, building disputes and house price series corresponding to the section of the city under study.

In terms of its general approach, this is a neighborhood study. It shares with two recent studies of European neighborhoods in the early modern period - Jeremy Boulton's study of Southwark London in the 17th century and Dale and Frances Kent's study of the district of the Red Lion in 15th-century Florence - the fact that the object of attention is a small area of the city.²³ It shares with the Kent study and some other urban studies an informal understanding of neighborhood; namely that neighborhood could mean something more than just an administrative jurisdiction,

²³ J. Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society. A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge 1987; D.V. & F.W. Kent, *Neighbours and Neighbourhood in Renaissance Florence*, Locust Valley, NY 1982.

but also the broader stage on which many of the events of a person's life were acted out with relatives, neighbors, and friends.²⁴ It differs from these two works, however, in its focus. Although Jeremy Boulton prefaces his study by stating that a small section of the city was studied "in order to shed new light on 17th century London society as a whole," in reality, his sole focus is the neighborhood. This study of Prague is interested in the small area of the city less as a society in itself than as a window through which to view Prague society as a whole.

In terms of its methodology, the dissertation combines aspects of structural history, social cultural history, and urban politics. In doing so, it attempts to bridge a gap between a narrow, micro-analytical approach whose ultimate value lies solely in the understanding of a small neighborhood, and the sweeping, broad generalizations of a macro-analytical approach which often glosses over smaller though meaningful structures and experiences. It also seeks to highlight links, where they exist, between aspects of short-term political and religious change, and long-term social-economic processes. Sometimes the links are explicit, sometimes implicit, other times just suggested.²⁵

Material culture and daily life serve as a useful conceptual focus because of their breadth of perspective, their special importance for Prague, and because of the availability of sources. Material culture and daily life are understood in a broad, non-dialectic sense, embracing all the material objects that are in a man's environment (including clothes, furniture, ceramics, food, and all types of building structures) and the spaces in which they are located.²⁶ It includes objects of ordinary life as well as those

²⁴ J.-P. Gutton, *La Sociabilité villageoise dans l'ancienne France*, Paris 1971; R. Schneider, *Public Life in Toulouse 1463-1789*, Ithaca & London 1989; N.Z. Davis, "Sacred and the Body Social in Sixteenth-Century Lyon," *Past and Present* 90 (1980): 40-70; C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, Chicago 1985.

²⁵ J. Kocka, "Sozialgeschichte zwischen Strukturgeschichte und Erfahrungsgeschichte," *Sozialgeschichte in Deutschland. Entwicklungen und Perspektiven im internationalen Zusammenhang*, W. Schieder & V. Sellin (Hrsg.), Band I, *Die Sozialgeschichte innerhalb der Geschichtswissenschaft*, Göttingen 1986, pp. 67-87.

²⁶ Some of the most fruitful discussions within the enormous literature on material culture can be found in the multi-volume series published by the Institute for the Study of Material Culture of the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Krems, Austria. See *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen des*

of "high" culture. The approach to material culture in this dissertation differs from some earlier studies in two important ways. First of all, it situates material culture within a political context. To Fernand Braudel and other scholars influenced by the Annales school, material culture was a level of historical reality which responded least quickly to change, and then only in the long duration. It is part of the repetitive quality of daily life.²⁷ This dissertation views politics, both formal and informal, as an integral part of the history of daily life.²⁸ Second, this dissertation is not only interested in material culture as products but also as ways of interacting, consuming, and experiencing objects.²⁹

While material culture represents a central aspect of any society, it is a topic of special importance in the history of Prague in the late middle ages and early modern period. More than merely a setting for the activities of daily life, the Prague burgher house, church, street and square were central objects of social, political, and religious tension and conflict. In the mid-14th century, when Emperor Charles IV chose Prague as his residence,

Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse (=Sb. Ak. Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.). On historical housing and living styles, I have been informed by K. Bedal, *Historische Hausforschung, Eine Einführung in Arbeitsweise, Begriffe, Literatur*, Münster 1978.

²⁷ This perspective is reflected in three recent works - D. Roche, *The People of Paris*, Berkeley 1987; *The Culture of Clothing*, Cambridge, 1994; N.J.G. Pounds, *Hearth & Home. A History of Material Culture*, Bloomington 1993.

²⁸ P. Borscheid, "Plädoyer für eine Geschichte des Alltäglichen," *Ehe, Liebe, Tod. Studien zur Geschichte des Alltags*, Münster, 1983, p. 6-7; "Alltagsgeschichte - Modetorheit oder neues Tor zur Vergangenheit," *Soziales Verhalten und soziale Aktionsformen in der Geschichte*, Band III, *Sozialgeschichte in Deutschland*, Göttingen 1987; H. Medick, "Missionäre im Ruderboot? Ethnologische Erkenntnisweisen als Herausforderung an die Sozialgeschichte," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 10, 1984, p. 295-314; D. Harmening & E. Wimmer, Hrsg., *Volkskultur-Geschichte-Region*, Würzburg 1990.

²⁹ H.-W. Goetz, "Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Alltags," *Mensch und Objekt im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (=Sb. Ak. Wien, phil.-hist. Kl. 568/13), Wien, 1990; "Vorstellungsgeschichte: Menschliche Vorstellungen und Meinungen als Dimension der Vergangenheit. Bemerkungen zur einem jüngeren Arbeitsfeld der Geschichtswissenschaft als Beitrag zu einer Methodik der Quellenauswertung," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 61/2, 1979, p. 253-271; Christoph Daxelmüller, "Das Dilemma der 'signalements.' Quellen zur vorindustriellen Sachkultur im Spiegel der Perzeptionsforschung," *Volkskultur-Geschichte-Region*, Hrsg. D. Harmening & E. Wimmer (note 28).

he rebuilt the city based on a symbolic design of imperial power. Fifty years later, Prague was the center of a learned debate about the use of images and symbolism that lay at the heart of the Hussite movement. Twice within a two hundred year period, during the Hussite Revolution and the Thirty Years War, Europe's two most destructive upheavals prior to the 20th century, Prague was the site of defenestration and destruction of property.³⁰

I.1.6. OBJECT OF STUDY

The area selected for intensive study is a core section of the New City, located approximately two kilometers by foot from the Prague castle, which is comprised of the lower end of the Horse Market (today Václavské náměstí - Wenceslaus Square - Wenzelsplatz), the Church and Cloister of Mary of the Snow, part of Široká Street ("Broad Street" - today Jungmann Street), and *Na příkopě* ("In the Moat"), the broad thoroughfare located just outside of the walls of the Old City. [See figs. II.4.1 & 2.] In terms of ecclesiastical jurisdictions, this area was divided between the two parishes of the New City - part was located in the parish of St. Henry (*Sv. Jindřicha*), part in St. Stephen's parish (*Sv. Štěpána*).

I.1.7. SOURCES

The area was chosen on the basis of the number and variety of extant sources, including archival sources, manuscripts, rare books, and published and unpublished government records.

The major body of sources, the basis for the structural reconstruction, include the following records of communal government: probate inventories, civic wills, marriage contracts, building disputes and house price series.

In addition to sources of communal government, a large variety of other sources have been drawn on which provide rich qualitative information about this area of the city. Pictorial sources include woodcuts and etchings of the city's panorama, including the engraving of the city from the year 1606, one of the largest panoramas of any European city, printed by Aegidius

³⁰ H. Bredekamp, *Kunst als Medium sozialer Konflikte*, Frankfurt/Main 1975.

Sadeler, the imperial engraver at the court of Rudolf II.³¹ Although not specially related to the pre-White Mountain period, the woodcuts from *Orbis Sensualium Pictus Quadrilinguis* by the humanist Johannes Amos Comenius, offer important insight into the period.³² Pictorial information on the material environment of metal workers is provided by *De re Metallica libri XII* (1556) by Georgius Agricola, a great work of early modern technology.³³

I.1.8. METHODOLOGY

The study rests on the following working assumptions: first, salient aspects of material culture can be reconstructed from an analysis of written sources, the most important being probate inventories. Second, the study of the distribution of individual objects of high culture through an analysis of inventories and other sources, as has been done, does not sufficiently explain or support the diffusion process or any other model of cultural change; it supports only the diffusion of objects but does not explain the reasons, mentality and motivations of the city dwellers who adopted them. To approach an understanding of how city dwellers conceptualized and responded to the innovations introduced by the court, it is important to go beyond a study of the distribution of individual objects of high culture, and examine the full range of innovations within the larger setting of the material culture of the burgher house - looking at the context where people and objects interacted, what has been described as the nexus of person, object and situation.³⁴ One important way to capture this nexus, and with it determine the function and conceptualization of material culture to contemporaries, is to examine the setting and organization of objects. Elisabeth Scheicher has underscored the importance of setting and organization in her study of the *Kunstammer* of Archduke

³¹ See Note 21 above.

³² J.A. Comenius, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus Quadrilinguis*, original edition 1685, reprint, Praha 1989.

³³ G. Agricola, *De re Metallica libri XII*, 1556.

³⁴ G. Jaritz, "Seelenheil und Sachkultur. Gedanken zur Beziehung Mensch-Objekt im späten Mittelalter," *Europäische Sachkultur des Mittelalters* (=Sb. Ak. Wien, phil.-hist. Kl. 374/4), Wien 1980, pp. 57-81; "Mittelalterliche Realienkunde: Quellenbefund und Quelleninterpretation," *Erforschung von Alltag und Sachkultur des Mittelalters. Methode - Ziel - Verwirklichung* (=Sb. Ak. Wien, phil.-hist. Kl. 433/ 6), Wien 1984, pp. 33-44.

Ferdinand which Ferdinand established in the Tyrol after leaving Prague.³⁵ The organization of Emperor Rudolf's *Kunstammer* has been a major issue of debate with art historical scholarship.³⁶ It is argued here that setting and organization can be useful in understanding art and other manifestations of material culture in burgher homes as well.

Location, organization and function of material culture are the central themes examined in the structural reconstruction. In methodological terms, this was accomplished by the location of individual sources with specific house parcels in the city, followed by the location of individual objects and structures listed in the sources within different parts or sections of the house.

I.1.8.1. LOCALIZATION OF SOURCES

The first step of the localization process was the identification of a number of interesting building disputes and inventories with parcels in a specific location of the city - Široká Street ("the Broad Street") in the New City. This was accomplished by matching names and dates of neighborhood pairs in these sources with those of house owner series and house parcels that had been compiled by the State Office for Landmark Preservation (SÚRPMO).³⁷ After this initial match, further matches were sought for the surrounding area. A total of fifty-six households, corresponding to fifty-two probate inventories of fifty-one individuals, were successfully matched with forty-six burgher houses. These households can be located on the Jüttner plan of 1815, the oldest map of Prague showing individual parcels. [See fig. II.4.2.]

³⁵ E. Scheicher, "The Collection of Archduke Ferdinand II at Schloss Ambras: Its Purpose, Composition and Evolution," *The Origins of Museums*, O. Impey & A. MacGregor (eds.), note 11, pp. 29-38; *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Habsburger*, Wien 1979.

³⁶ T.D. Kaufmann, "Remarks on the Collections of Rudolf II: the *Kunstammer* as a form of Representatio," *Art Journal* 38, Fall, 1978; E. Fučíková, "The Collection of Rudolf II in Prague. Cabinet of Curiosities or Scientific Museum," *The Origins of Museums*, O. Impey & A. MacGregor (eds.), note 11.

³⁷ With the assistance of Luboš Lancinger of SÚRPMO.

I.1.8.2. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMPUTER DATA BASE & LOCALIZATION OF OBJECTS WITHIN THE HOUSE

A computer data base was then set up for the inventories, listing every object, room by room, storage location by storage location. A separate data base was set up for the building disputes, listing names, occupation and other personal information of the parties, type of dispute, location of dispute, and outcome.

The inventory data base was used to study the frequency and distribution of different types of objects among the different households and among different locations within individual households. By using the data base in this way, it was possible to study the structure and function of the household and the different locations which comprised it.

I.1.8.3. THE STUDY OF FUNCTION: OBJECT-DISTRIBUTION THEORY

The key to understanding the functional structure of burgher households is to identify those locations where the distribution of clusters of objects of related use are found. For example, the cooking area can be found where there is a combination of heating and cooking sources and cooking utensils.³⁸ [See chart II.5.11.]

The process of determining the function of a location is not a simple one, as the distribution of objects among locations is a complicated phenomenon. Most objects can serve various functions - a knife can be used in cooking or eating or as a work tool; a jug can be used to cook, to carry hot water to wash, or keep the bed warm. Other objects have primary or nearly singular functions; for example, a spit is primarily or only used in cooking. Another complicating factor is that objects can be found in various locations in the house. Also, locations usually serve more than one function; a room can be used for sleeping and eating. The names of objects and locations usually are not the same as those of their modern equivalent; for example, a "cellar" in the 16th century was not the same type of room as it is today.

³⁸A three-tiered structural model for the study of the pre-modern house - embracing structure, function, meaning, was proposed by K. Bedal in *Historische Hausforschung* (note 26).

Some locations that sound like rooms may instead be sections of rooms. Lastly, the linguistic differentiation of different types of objects does not always mean that the objects themselves were distinguished.³⁹

While the multi-functional character of objects and locations complicates, it does not preclude a study of the function of households. The identification of one particular object in a location does not alone determine the function of a location. The proper methodological approach consists of delineating areas of single and multiple functionality through the study of the distribution of groups or constellations of name-designated objects among the various named locations of a household.⁴⁰

I.1.8.4. USING STRUCTURAL DATA AS A SOURCE FOR THE STUDY OF CHANGE

Beyond the study of function, which is largely a repetitive, non-changing feature over the short duration of half a century, the structural component of the study provides the basis for the investigation of cultural change. It does so on two levels: one, by its identification of cultural innovations in the home (objects and design of objects); two, by providing a breadth of contrasts that embrace the ordinary and the exceptional, the high and the low, which is necessary to appreciate innovations fully; that is, Renaissance elements within the larger setting of specific households. Studies that concentrate on exceptional objects present a skewed picture. On the identification of objects as Renaissance innovations, the dissertation draws on the rich literature of the history and art and architecture of Rudolfme Prague described earlier.⁴¹

The study is divided into two major parts. Part I contains the main text of the study. Chapter 2 introduces the New City and

³⁹ On the changing functionality of objects in various situations, see H.-W. Goetz, "Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Alltags," (note 29). On the relationship of object names and objects, see R. Schmidt-Wiegand, *Neue Ansätze im Bereich 'Wort und Sachen,' Geschichte der Alltagskultur*, Münster 1980.

⁴⁰ K. Bedal in *Historische Hausforschung* (note 26).

⁴¹ On the methodological issue of identifying "innovations," see R.-E. Mohrmann, *Alltagswelt im Land Braunschweig. Städtische und ländliche Wohnkultur vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Band I, Münster 1990, pp. 25ff.

the neighborhood under study, describing the heritage left to material culture by Emperor Charles IV and the Hussite Revolution, physical and spatial configuration of houses, social topography, and wealth and property statistics. Chapter 3 examines the structure and function of the New City Prague burgher household. Chapter 4 explores the range and hierarchy of choices which were available and chosen by residents of the New City in fashioning and constructing the living spaces of house and neighborhood. Chapter 5 studies the impact of the Renaissance in the neighborhood. Part II - the structural reconstruction - is presented as both a text summary ("The Anatomy of House and Street") and a series of figures and charts.

I.2. The New City of Prague

We went into the New City and saw beautiful streets there, all inhabited by Hussites. There they speak only Czech, in contrast to the inhabitants of the other cities where German is just as common.¹

Pierre Bergeron's description of the New City of Prague in the year 1600 is an exaggeration. Not all of its streets were beautiful, and it was not a Czech-speaking enclave. Though perhaps less so than the Castle Hill and Small Side, the New City was also a diverse, mixed-use area where burghers and noblemen, artisans and office-holders lived side by side and both German and Czech were spoken. Over a century earlier, the New City had been the center of the Hussite Revolution which left its mark on the city's monumental streets and squares. Just as important for the city as the Hussite Revolution was the reign of Emperor Charles IV which preceded the Revolution. In order to understand Prague in the late 16th century, especially the New City, it is important to understand this dual legacy of imperial rule and revolution.

I.2.1. THE LEGACY OF CHARLES IV AND THE HUSSITE REVOLUTION TO THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

The area bordered by Vodičková and Široká streets, the southwestern end of the Horse Market, and the thoroughfare *Na příkopě* was originally known as "on the gravel" (*na písku*). [See figs. II.4.1 & 2.] It was one of many communities in the loose but coherent band of settlement on the right bank of the Vltava river which ran from the bend of the river in the North to the *Vyšehrad* in the south. It was four kilometers long and six hundred meters wide, and encircled the Old City.² It lay just west of the walls of the Old City, opposite the parish church of St. Martin-at-the-Wall. To the southeast of this area lay the "Jewish Garden," a cemetery where all Jews who died in Prague in the Middle Ages were

¹ *Tři francouzští kavalíři v rudolfinské Praze* [Three French Cavaliers in Rudolfine Prague], Praha 1989.

² On the early development of the New City see V. Lorenc, *Nové město pražské* [The New City of Prague], Praha 1973, especially, pp. 181ff; Staletá Praha [Prague Through the Centuries] IX (1979); V.V. Stech, Z. Wirth & V. Vojtíšek, *Staré a Nové Město s Podskalím* [The Old and New Cities of Prague and the Podskali Cliffs], volume 1, Zmizelá Praha, Praha 1945.

buried. To the north, lay the village of Chodobice and the properties which had been accumulated by the Order of the Knights of the Red Cross since the 12th century. The most important of these properties was the settlement of German colonists and their descendants around the Church of Peter and Paul.

In 1346, the year he was elected Holy Roman Emperor, Charles IV chose to make Prague his residence and the center of a revived Holy Roman Empire. The founding of the New City was a key element of his *renovatio imperii*. Within twenty years, these loosely organized settlements outside of the Old City were transformed according to a grand plan of design into an independent urban entity, characterized by uniformity and orderliness both in administration and in physical form.³

Charles became acquainted with governance and city planning during his education as a youth at the French royal court in Paris and later in extensive travels throughout the Holy Roman Empire, northern Italy, Poland, and Hungary. During a prolonged residence in papal Avignon at the beginning of 1344, a city which had become a bustling center due to the recent arrival of the papal court, Charles consolidated his long accumulated ideas for a *renovatio imperii* and discussed them with his earlier tutor and friend, Pope Clement VI.⁴

Central to Charles' concept of *renovatio* was to make Prague the imperial capital, the center of worldly power on the Christian earth, as Jerusalem and Rome had been in the past, and which Avignon had recently become. Charles had observed that, although magnificent buildings had been constructed for the papal

³ On Charles IV and his plans for a *renovatio imperii*, see J. Spěvaček, Karel IV. Život a dílo 1316-1378 [Charles IV. His Life and Work], Praha 1979; F. Seibt, Hrsg., Kaiser Karl IV. Staatsmann und Mäzen, München 1978; and P. Moraw, "Kaiser IV / 1378-1978/, Ertrag und Konsequenzen eines Gedenkjahres," Giessener Festgabe für František Graus zum 60. Geburtstag, H. Laudat und R. Christoph (Hrsg.), Köln & Wien 1982, pp. 224-318. Lorenc provides the most important treatment of the plan, design, and execution of the New City (note 2). See also V. Kotrba, "Nové Město Pražské. 'Karlstadt' v universalní koncepci císaře Karla IV" [The New City of Prague. "Charles' City in Charles IV's Concept of Universality"], Z tradic slovanské kultury v Čechách, Praha, 1975, pp. 53ff.; and V.V. Štech et al, Staré a Nové Město s Podskalím (note 2). For a concise overview in German, see W. Brosche, "Zu einem Modell der Prager Neustadt," Kaiser Karl IV. Staatsmann und Mäzen, F. Seibt (Hrsg.), see citation above, pp. 242-49.

⁴ V. Lorenc, Nové město pražské (note 2), p. 185.

court, Avignon lacked adequate residential and commercial space. While in Avignon, Charles conceived detailed plans for the transformation of Prague into a residential city; the expansion of the city was a key element in the plans.

The realization of Charles' plans began in 1346 after his election to Holy Roman Emperor following the death of his father. On April 3, 1347, an official announcement was made declaring that "after much advice and thought" Prague was to become the chief residential city of the Holy Roman Empire and that the city was to be expended. On March 8, 1348, an imperial majesty was issued, legally founding the New City.⁵

Three characteristic features of the landscape of the New City - its spatial patterns, its administrative institutions and jurisdictions, and the organization and layout of ecclesiastical institutions - were direct products of this imperial design.

Already a year before the founding of the New City, a grid of major streets and squares were laid out and measured, beginning with north/south and east/west axes. The major directional spaces in the New City became *Dlážďení* street (today *Hybernská* street), *Ječná* street, and the Horse Market. *Dlážďení* and *Ječná* streets were laid out east to west. The Horse Market was placed Northwest, at a right angle to the Havel Market in the Old City. This intimate joining of the two markets served to make the Old and New Cities into one physical entity. [See fig. II.4.3.]

The parceling and distribution of properties took place in two phases. The first phase began immediately in April 1348. The properties on the lower Horse Market (House nos. 695-699-II) and major adjacent thoroughfares, such as the street *Na příkopě* (House nos. 846-859-II) and both sides of *Vodičková* Street (House nos. 695-699-II, 703, 707-709, 711-715-II), were among the first to be parceled out in the New City during this first phase.⁶ Construction of houses followed within eighteen months.⁷ *Široká* Street and the southwest corner of the square in the front of the Church and Cloister of Mary of the Snow were laid out in

⁵ Texts (in original Latin and in Czech translation) of the Majesty and relating founding documents can be found in V. Lorenc, *Nové město pražské* (note 2), pp. 201-205.

⁶ V. Lorenc, *Nové město pražské* (note 2), p. 100.

⁷ The construction of houses within eighteen months was a stipulation in the original localization plan to avoid speculation. Within the first year, some 180 residential structures were built; by 1351, there was a total of 600 houses in the New City. V. Lorenc, *Nové město pražské* (note 2), p. 98

the last two decades of the 14th century during the second phase of parceling. Široká Street was initially part of the cloister garden. The southwest corner of the square was laid out on the edge of the cloister's garden and cemetery.⁸

The creation of administrative bodies and jurisdictions following the foundation of the New City established a pattern of control over these landscapes. At the time of the first localization, the whole territory that would make up Vodičková, Palacký, and Široká streets, including a section of the Horse Market, became the property of the Church and Cloister of Saint Mary of the Snow, one of nine ecclesiastical institutions in the New City that were given extra-territorial status before the end of the 14th century.⁹

The Church and Cloister were officially founded the day after Charles IV's coronation as King of Bohemia (September 3, 1347). Charles is said to have donated wood to the order from the tribunal built on Havel Market for his coronation ceremony. Of the properties within the church's jurisdiction, all were subject to various aspects of its administration, but only a few fully subjected to its courts, and required to pay tithes (House nos. 740-750 and 751).¹⁰ The owners of the other houses were subjected to some aspects of extra-territorial law; however, at the same time, they were also citizens of the New City and subject to its jurisdiction.

A crucial feature of Charles IV's design of the New City was the reorganization and expansion of ecclesiastical institutions. Before the founding of the New City, nine parish churches served the settlement in the area along the Vltava river. In 1350, two new churches were founded - the churches of St. Stephen (*Sv. Štěpána*) and St. Henry (*Sv. Jindřicha*) in the upper and lower

⁸ Tomek, *Dějepis Prahy* [The History of Prague], II, Praha 1883, p. 246; SÚRPMO pasport domu čp. 751-II.

⁹ The nine institutions with extra-territorial status in the New City are the following: the Church and Cloister of Mary of the Snow, St. Catherine's, the Cloister of the Slavonic Benedictines, St. Apollinaris, the Karlov Monastery, the cloister on Zderaz hill, St. Benedict's, St. Peter at Poříčí, and the Břevnov cloister at Poříčí. M. Svobodová -Ladová, "Zvláštní místní práva v Praze" [Special territorial law in Prague], PSH 8 (1973), p. 119; V. Lorenc, *Nové město pražské* (note 2), p. 100.

¹⁰ V. Waage, "Městský pozemkový majetek a postranní právo kláštera Panny Marie Sněžné" [Urban Property Holdings and Extra-territorial Law of the Church of Mary of the Snow], *Diplomová práce, Filosofická fakulta UK, Katedra pomocných věd historických a archivnictví*, 1978, p. 119.

sections of the New City respectively.¹¹ They became the sole parish churches in the New City.

A total of eight cloisters and monasteries were founded in the New City during Charles' reign, including the collegiate canon church, St. Apolinaris' (*Sv. Apolináře*), and the only female order, St. Catherine's (*Sv. Kateřiny*).¹²

Through patronage or design, many of these institutions commemorated Charles' rise to imperial power or embodied the idea of imperial renewal.

On one of the cliffs overlooking the Vltava river, a Benedictine cloister was founded where the Slavonic liturgy could be used. The site chosen for the cloister was next to the former Podskali parish church of SS. Cosmos and Damian, whose Eastern martyrdom was revered by 12th-century Premyslide prince Václav, one of Charles' predecessors. Charles IV probably became acquainted with the Benedictine order of the Slavonic rite in his earlier travels in Croatia or as *Markgraf* of Moravia, where the legacy of Saints Cyrill and Methodius, the ninth-century apostles to the Slavs, were still active. The foundation of the Benedictine cloister created a mythological bond between the Slavonic past and the Holy Roman Empire and strengthened political ties with the states of Central Europe.¹³

Exactly one year to the day after Charles IV's coronation as King of the Romans, the Church and Cloister of Mary the Assumption and Charles the Great was founded (1350). The church and the cloister dedicated to Charlemagne, the first Holy Roman Emperor, became Charles' personal patronage.¹⁴ The church's octagonal shape is reminiscent of the imperial chapel in Aachen, and its location on the highest hill in the New City

¹¹ V. Lorenc, *Nové město pražské* (note 2), p. 104

¹² St. Mary of the Snow (1346) for the Carmelites; Slavonic Cloister (1346) for the Benedictines; Church and Cloister of Mary the Assumption and Charles the Great (1350) for the Lateran Augustinians; St. Catherine's (1355), the only female monastery in the New City, for the Augustian Hermites; St. Ambrosius' (1355), founded in commemoration of Charles IV's coronation as King of Lombardy in Milan on St. Ambrogio's Day (January 5); Our Lady of the Annunciation na Trávníčková, known as Marie na Trávníčka or na Slupi (1360) for the Servite order; and St. Apolinaris' (1362), a collegiate canon church.

¹³ V. Lorenc, *Nové město pražské* (note 2), p. 91.

¹⁴ The church and cloister complex is commonly referred to as Karlov (possessive noun form of Karl). This term will be used throughout the text of the dissertation.

testified to its function as a symbol of imperial renovation and the Augustan concept of princely rule.

As a counterpart to the Karlov monastery, in the lower part of the city, the cloister of St. Ambrosius was founded in commemoration of Charles IV's coronation as King of Lombardy in Milan on St. Ambroglio's Day (January 5, 1355).

One of the most unique ecclesiastical institutions in the city, the Chapel of the Body of Christ (*Boží tělo*), was constructed in 1382 in the center of the Cattle Market. The chapel served as the site for the display of the imperial reliquaries, including those of Charlemagne, which Charles had received in 1350. The reliquaries were normally deposited in Karlstein Castle, located outside of Prague, which was also built by Charles IV. Every year during the market fair, Charles had the reliquaries marched into the New City as a display of imperial power.¹⁵

The foundation of ecclesiastical institutions in the New City took into consideration not only the location of individual institutions but their relation to each other and to the landscape as a whole. Representation, idealism, and symbolism were key concepts invoked to express the imperial idea in urban design. With the exception of the Church and Cloister of Mary of the Snow and the Monastery of St. Ambrosius, all of the monastic institutions were located in the upper part of the New City. The Karlov Monastery was situated on the highest hill in the New City, followed by the Monastery of the Slovanic Benedictines (*Na Slovanech*) on the second highest. Karlov, the Monastery of the Slovanic Benedictines, St. Catherine's, Mary's-on-the-Lawn (*Marie na Trávníčka*), and St. Apolinarius, form a cross, reflecting the importance attributed to symbolism in medieval design. These institutions spatially link the Castle Hill with Vyšehrad, integrating the former loose terrain into the landscape of the rest of the city. Integration and linkage were also created symbolically. The high tower of the St. Jacob's in the Old City, and St. Stephen's and the tower of St. Catherine in the New City are all located at 32 degrees 5' 31" from the meridian.¹⁶

The design and construction of the New City was one of the greatest projects of urban design in the Middle Ages. In its

¹⁵ J. Kropáček, "K fundacím Karla IV. na Novém Městě pražském" [Charles IV's Ecclesiastical Foundations in the New City of Prague], *Stará Praha IX* (1979), p. 240.

¹⁶ V. Lorenc, *Nové město pražské* (note 2), pp. 67 & 73; Kropáček, "K fundacím Karla IV" (note 15), p. 242.

physical dimensions and the speed of construction, it greatly exceeded other large programs of urban founding in the Middle Ages, such as those in Avignon and Florence. Within twenty years, the city walls were built, the major thoroughfares laid out, and the first stages of parceling and construction undertaken.

Only a half of a century after Charles IV had founded the New City and redesigned the landscape of Prague, the center of the New City became a center of a city-wide learned discussion about images and symbolism and later itself became an object of destruction in a number of popular religious and iconoclastic revolts associated with the Hussite Revolution.

Formal opposition to the use and display of images arose in Prague in the late 14th century. Pre-Hussite reformers, such as Milíč of Kroměřice and Matauš of Janov, called for an aesthetic spirituality that questioned the use of images, reliquaries, and symbolism, the very concept embraced by Charles IV in his *renovatio imperii* and propagated in the annual procession from Karlstein Castle to the Cattle Market. By the beginning of the 15th century, a battle against images had already begun in Bohemia and was a characteristic theme of the reform movement centered around Master Jan Hus at the University and at the Bethlehem Chapel in the Old City, where he preached.¹⁷

Although the seeds of the Czech reform movement are to be found in the Old City, it is in the New City that the revolution began.¹⁸ More specifically, it was at the Carmelite Church and Cloister of the Mary of the Snow that a radical reform movement had formed. The Carmelites were outspoken critics of Hus and made themselves an easy target for attack. In 1412, the first of many attacks on the cloister took place, personally attended by Jerome of Prague, a Hussite leader. After the burning of Jan Hus at the Council of Constance, the cloister was attacked a second time. Following this, most of the Prague Carmelites left for Vienna; those who stayed behind were killed.¹⁹

Beginning in 1414, the cloister became the site of speeches by the “preacher of the poor,” Jan Želivský. On May 5, 1419, Jan

¹⁷ H. Bredekamp, *Kunst als Medium sozialer Konflikte. Bilderkämpfe von der Spätantike bis zur Hussitenrevolution*, Frankfurt/Main 1975, p.242; Josef Macek, *Jean Hus et les traditions Hussites (XV^{ème}-XIX^{ème} siècles)*, Paris 1973, pp. 210-1.

¹⁸ See B. Kopičková, “Želivského Praha” [Prague in Želivský’s Age] *FHB* 3 (1981): 103-104.

¹⁹ V. Waage, “Městský pozemkový majetek” (note 10), p. 52.

Želivský gave his famous sermon in the Church, followed by the march to the New City Hall and the defenestration of the magistrates from its tower - the first radical, violent acts of the reform movement, the beginning of the revolution.

The initial revolt and subsequent attacks of the Hussite Revolution seemed to possess a symbolism of their own, quite distinct with respect to the symbolism of Charles IV. After Želivský's sermon, he led the people in a procession, he himself carrying the consecrated eucharist in a monstrance and at least some of his followers carrying pikes, swords, and clubs.²⁰ The procession moved to the parish church of St. Stephen. The priest, who was inside celebrating the mass, locked the doors and refused to open them. The group smashed the door and entered the church, and Jan Želivský celebrated mass and gave communion "in both kinds" (*sub utraque specie*), according to the Hussite custom.

From St. Stephen the procession moved on to the tower at the New City Town Hall. Inside the Town Hall were the Burgomaster, the Magistrate, three town councilors, one of the Magistrate's assistants, and five burghers of the New City, all anti-Hussite. The Hussites demanded that their fellow citizens who had earlier been imprisoned by the magistrates for having promoted communion in both kind should be released. The magistrates, speaking from one of the windows, refused. One contemporary account of the incident says that they abused the Hussites, another that someone inside threw a stone at the priest carrying the monstrance. In any case, the Hussites were enraged. They broke into the Town Hall, assaulted those inside, and then threw thirteen of them out of the window. Those who were not killed in the fall were finished off by the Hussites in the street and their bodies beaten. The dead were not looted; their hats and chains of office were left on their bodies. During the violence, Jan Želivský stood by in the street, holding up the monstrance and urging his followers on.

The Prague defenestration was the chief catalyst in the transformation of Prague "from impotent passivity to Hussite militancy."²¹ During the four years following the revolt, Prague became a center of the revolutionary movement. The city was

²⁰ On the sequence of events, I am following H. Kaminsky, "The Prague Insurrection of 30 July 1419," *Medievalia et Humanistica* XVII (1966): 106-126.

²¹ H. Kaminsky, "The Prague Insurrection of July 30 1419" (note 20), p. 126.

subjected to three waves of attacks.²² The first attack was by a radical alliance of burghers, peasants, and the poor (July-September 1419); the second, a ransacking by troops of the Taborites, a radical Hussite sect that had established itself in Southern Bohemia (May 20-22, 1420); and third, a counter-offensive of Prague burghers and nobles (beginning of 1421-Spring 1422). In all three of the attacks, many paintings, sculptures, and buildings were destroyed.²³

On May 8, 1419, the Church and Cloister of Mary of the Snow was ransacked.²⁴ In the subsequent battles, the cloister was heavily destroyed, including, above all, the tower-bell that was rung to call the poor to pay dues and fight against enemies.²⁵ On August 17, 1419, one day after the death of King Václav, Charles IV's son and successor, many churches and bordellos were destroyed, beginning with the Carthusian Cloister on the left of the Vltava river opposite the New City which was burnt to ashes.²⁶ In October 1419, after the royal forces left the city, cloisters in the Old City were attacked by Taborites. During the attack, the Strahov monastery was burned down and the monks brought to capture in the New City. On November 1, 1420, the same day that city troops took *Vyšehrad* in the counter-offensive, mobs ransacked the church, attacking pictures, altars, the organ, and the choir stalls. On the following day, mobs attacked houses of the clergy, took down the wall around the cloister, and stole everything that they could carry and took it all back into the city. On June 10, 1421, the castle was taken.²⁷

In the spring of 1422, the radical movement was pushed out of communal government. In March of that year, Želivský was arrested and killed, and order was restored to the city.²⁸ Nevertheless, with the expulsion or voluntary departure of the King, the Archbishop, and the religious orders, Prague had ceased to function as a residential city.

²² On revolts in Hussite Prague, in addition to Kaminsky and Bredekamp (pp. 231ff); see J. Macek, *Jean Hus* (note 17), pp. 210-11; *Tábor v husitském revolučním hnutí* [Tabor in the Hussite Revolutionary Movement], I & II, Praha 1956; in volume I, pp. 206a, 231-33; in volume II, pp. 122-123.

²³ H. Bredekamp, *Kunst als Medium sozialer Konflikte* (note 17), pp. 261-262.

²⁴ V. Waage, "Městský pozemkový majetek" (note 10), p. 53.

²⁵ V. Waage, "Městský pozemkový majetek" (note 10), p. 54.

²⁶ H. Bredekamp, *Kunst als Medium sozialer Konflikte* (note 17), p. 262.

²⁷ H. Bredekamp, *Kunst als Medium sozialer Konflikte* (note 17), p. 267.

²⁸ H. Bredekamp, *Kunst als Medium sozialer Konflikte* (note 17), p. 267.

The Hussite Revolution inflicted large-scale physical destruction on the center of the New City, turned its administrative and legal jurisdiction on its head, and placed the area in control of the moderate Hussite elite, which came to power following the execution of Želivský.

Whether the initial revolt and subsequent mob attacks were planned or developed spontaneously, the acts themselves clearly were iconoclastic. The iconoclasm manifested itself not only in the attack against pictures but also against images and symbolism in the broadest sense, including an attack on physical structures and interiors and the urban landscape itself. Destruction, defenestration and expulsion represented powerful symbolic actions over the structures and spaces of power.²⁹ Charles IV's plan of imperial Prague and Hussite Iconoclasm can be seen as two different, yet related, relationships to the urban landscape, which left a significant, though ambivalent, mark on the city, that lasted into the sixteenth century; one of design and order, and another of destruction and disorder.³⁰

1.2.2. THE NEW CITY PRAGUE BURGHER HOUSE

In addition to the larger spatial aspects of the urban landscape, houses made up a significant part of the living spaces of residents of the New City. The physical structures of houses helped to define the street landscape and physically created a division between the inside and outside. Most of the houses within a two-block radius of the lower Horse Market - those on Široká Street, Vodičková Street, and the broad thoroughfare outside of the wall separate the Old and New Cities (*Na příkopě*) - can be seen as a product of the imperial plan even though they were not directly a product of imperial design. They were among

²⁹ According to Bredekamp (Kunst als Medium sozialer Konflikte, note 17, p. 270), it is not possible to determine a ritual scheme to the attacks. Some of the violence was indeed random. For example, in the initial revolt on the New City Town Hall, the document founding the city was destroyed (V. Lorenc, *Nové město pražské*, note 2, p. 98). Other acts, however, were clearly ritualistic, such as defenestration, and the carrying off of looted property.

³⁰ Horst Bredekamp presents the thesis that the relationship between the realization of Charles IV's plan of imperial Prague and Hussite Iconoclasm is not just casual but represents a medieval manifestation of an intellectual and social debate about production and negation of images that dates back to late antiquity.

the first built in the New City in the first half of the century following its founding in 1348.

Most of the houses in the center of the New City were constructed of stone quarried outside of the city.³¹ Houses that were built later, in the 15th and early 16th centuries, probably utilized more wood; they were of a frame type construction, in contrast to houses of Fachwerk construction that proliferated in southern German areas and western Bohemia.³² Two burgher house configurations commonly found in the New City and in other Central European cities in the late 16th century were the row house and the Gothic Hall-type house (*siňový dům*).³³ The row house was characterized by a narrow street width (a row of two to three windows), great height, and great depth from its large street facade inward. The Gothic hall-type house was characterized by its large, simple rectangular shape; walled staircases; and complicated room structure.

The hall-type house originated in the mid-15th century and remained common through the beginning of the 17th century. A surviving house with this configuration is number 462-I, located on Celetná Street in the Old City. The House "At the Golden Bear" (House no. 475-II), located on the corner of Melantrich Street (*Melantrichova*) and Tanner's Alley (*Kožená ulice*) in the Old City, was not of rectangular shape but was similar to the hall house in its basic configuration.

A house configuration particularly common on the Horse Market, and other major squares in the New City was the so-called "market house."³⁴ The Market house was characterized by a wide front and wide entrance gate in the center that led to a large courtyard. It met the needs of artisan households serving

³¹ V. Lorenc, *Nové město pražské* (note 2), pp. 101 & 104.

³² On the Fachwerkhaus, see G.U. Grossman, *Der Fachwerkbau*, Köln 1986; G. Binding, U. Mainzer & A. Wiedenau, *Kleine Kunstgeschichte des deutschen Fachwerkbaus*, 4. Auflage, Darmstadt 1989.

³³ On the physical-spatial disposition of Bohemian burgher houses, see V. Mencl, "Měšťanský dům českého středověku" [The Czech Burgher House of the Middle Ages], *Zprávy památkové péče* 13 (1953): 161-192; V. Dražan, "Gotický a Renesanční měšťský dům z jižních Čech a Moravy," [The Gothic and Renaissance Burgher House of Southern Bohemia and Moravia], *Zprávy památkové péče* 10/5 (1950): 129-160; Felix Haas, "Český měšťanský dům pozdní gotiky a renesance," [The Bohemian Late Gothic and Renaissance Burgher House], *Sborník vysokého učení technického v Brně* 2-3 (1964): 97 - 135.

³⁴ See V. Lorenz, *Nové město pražské* (note 2), pp. 102-107.

large markets from the mid-14th century, when they were first built, through the 17th century. The front facade of a Prague market house is captured in an illustration from the early 17th century based on a drawing by the Flemish artist Roelandt Savery.

Houses of similar configuration (though not in the same characteristic proportions) dating from earlier periods, such as house no. 463-I in Melantrich Street from the late 16th century and house no. 181-I on Celetná Street, have survived in the Old City.³⁵ With respect to its basic configuration, the New City Prague Market House resembled more the southern, Mediterranean-style market house than those in German, Flemish, French, or English cities. Houses of the same configuration type were also found in Budapest, some of which have survived to this day.³⁶

Market houses located on corners had two large entrance gates, one leading onto the market or main street and the other onto the side street. The corner market house in the New City was a huge structure that stood on a parcel whose size measures 2,920 square meters on the average and 5,100 square meters in exceptional cases.³⁷ This was the configuration at least of one house on the west corner of Široká Street, the house on the corner of Široká Street and Na příkopě (House No. 36-II), and six on various corners of the Horse Market.³⁸

The houses on the east side of Široká Street were a combination of market and row houses of the basic configuration described above. Although the houses no longer exist, their parcels have retained their original size (House nos. 747-751-II). Widths vary from 6.5 meters (House nos. 749a-II, 749-II) to almost 14 meters (House nos. 747-II, 748-II). Building disputes before the Six-Man Councils provide evidence that the block making up the west side of Široká Street around Charvatská Street, however, was much more complicated. The houses were

³⁵ V. Mencl, "Měšťanský dům českého středověku" (note 33), pp. 170-71.

³⁶ V. Lorenz, *Nové město pražské* (note 2), p. 102.

³⁷ V. Lorenz, *Nové město pražské* (note 2), p. 102.

³⁸ House nos. 832-II (west corner of Jindřišská Street and Horse Market), 846-II (north corner of Horse Market and Na příkopě), 791-II (west corner of Vodičková street and the Horse Market), 792-II (east corner of Vodičková Street and the Horse Market), 795-II (west corner of Květonská Street, today Štěpánská Street, and the Horse Market), the house of Jan Kříž (u Škrabků) on one of the corners of the Horse Market.

neither simple row nor corner houses. Nine houses adjoined each other in various configurations.

The earliest houses built in the New City were two stories in height, consisting of a ground floor and first floor. During the 15th and early 16th centuries, one or two floors were added on to them. The Sadeler engraving shows that the houses on *Na příkopě* and the northwest side of the Horse Market were two, sometimes three stories in height. Only the first few houses on Široká Street are visible on the engraving.

Depending on the house size and configuration, each floor of the houses in the center of the New City contained anywhere from five to twelve rooms. Houses with up to twenty-three rooms on the first floor, such as House no. 181-I in the Old City, were probably not as common in the New City as they were in the Old City.

A characteristic structural feature of burgher houses in Bohemia and other areas of Central Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries was their balconies, constructed of wood and located mainly in the courtyard. Some had only a railing, others were partially or fully enclosed, serving as a separate room. Other structures that were connected to or located on the same property of the main structure of the New City Prague burgher house were stables, barns, and sheds of all sizes and shapes.

I.2.3. PROFILE OF THE NEIGHBORS & THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The center of the New City, made up of the lower Horse Market and Široká Street, represented a diverse, mixed-use area, inhabited by artisans, merchants, and patricians, rich and poor, similar to many sections of large European cities of the period, less so to other Bohemian cities that were much less economically diversified.³⁹ In terms of social topography, some sections were characterized by patterns of long-term continuity. One finds, for example, members of the ruling elite who were descendants of Jan Želivský in March of 1421. Other areas exhibited signs of changes which were related to the transformation of Prague into a residential city; they included estate office holders, members of

³⁹ F. Kavka, "Majetková, sociální a třídní struktura českých měst v první polovině 16. století ve světle knih a rejstříku městské dávky" [Property, Social and Class Structure of Bohemian Cities in the First Half of the 16th century], *Historický sborník VI* (1959).

the imperial court, and wealthy merchants with ties to the long-distance market economy.⁴⁰

While members of the imperial court were primarily concentrated in enclaves on Castle Hill and the Small Side, 150 of them lived on the right bank of the river, mostly as home owners in the busy squares and axes of the Old City.⁴¹ Some chose to settle in the New City. The imperial guard (*trabant*), Thomas Kyndrmon, owned a house on the corner across from the New City Hall, near the imperial watchmaster Kundrat Šteffanaur, also a house owner. At the time of his death, the royal builder Bonifacius Wolmut lived across from the bell tower of the parish church St. Stephen (*Sv. Štěpána*).

A small enclave of office-holders of the lower nobility lived on a block on the east side of Široká street. These included Řehoř Pátek and his neighbor Pavel Čerhovský z Ružetina, who were both notaries at the Appellate Court; Jan Kubiš z Býtyšky, a noble; and Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké, a noble who was a notary at the Office of the Chamberlain of the Castle.⁴² This was not, however, a homogenous enclave. Martin Jan, Nejedlý's next-door neighbor around the corner on the thoroughfare Na příkopě, was a burgher.

Široká Street, in general, especially the west side of the street, had retained its traditional character as a metal-working district. At least a quarter of the house owners belonged to one of the eight guilds in which metal workers were organized in the New City:

⁴⁰ On estate office holders, see J. Pánek "K úloze byrokracie při přechodu od stavovského k absolutní monarchii" [On the Problem of Bureaucratization during the Transition from Estate to Absolute Monarchy], *AUC Philosophica et Historica* 3, *Studia Historica* XXXVI, pp. 75-86. On members of the imperial court, see Z. Hojda, "Dvůr Rudolfa II. na Malé Straně a Hradčanech podle údajů ubytovací knihy z roku 1608" [The Court of Rudolf II. on the Small Side and Castle Hill according to Quartermaster Books from 1608], unpublished manuscript; "Der Hofstaat Rudolf II.," Prag um 1600, E. Fučíková (Hrsg.), Freven, 1988, pp. 118-123. On merchants, see J. Janáček, "Kupecká dynastie rudolfínské Prahy" [Merchant Dynasties of Rudolfin Prague] *Věda a Život* 32 (1987): 553-57.

⁴¹ Z. Hojda (note 40).

⁴² On the social status of the nobility, see V. Press, "Adel in den österreichisch-böhmischen Erbländen und im Reich zwischen den 15. und 17. Jahrhunderten," *Adel im Wandel. Politik-Kultur-Konfession*, Wien 1990; V. Bůžek, "Nižší šlechta v předbělohorských Čechách (Prameny, metody, stav a perspektivy bádání)" [The Lower Nobility in Pre-White Mountain Prague (Sources, Methodology, State and Perspectives of Research)], *ČČH číslo 1*, 91/1993: 37-53.

those for smith, kettlesmiths, knife makers, swordsmiths, goldsmiths, locksmiths, cartrights, and lathe-makers.⁴³ The bellmaker Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperka owned four houses on the east side of Široká Street. Markyta Kotlářka, one of Brikcí's next-door neighbors, took over the metalworking shop of her husband Buryan Kotlář, a long-time smith and house owner on the street. Some of these artisans were members of the city council. Many had also received the privilege to carry an honorific, heraldic title, such as "z Cimperku" (corresponding to the German "von Cimperg.") Such burghers were called *erbovníci* ("herald bearers") in Czech.

In the late 15th century, in the row of nine to ten houses in front of the Church and Cloister lived a medley of sword and gun makers.⁴⁴ In the late 16th century, at least six trade groups were represented among the house owners, including painters and cloth traders.

The lower Horse Market, like Široká street, retained continuity in some areas. As a whole, it was a diverse, mixed-use area, as it always had been. At the beginning of the 15th century on the southwest side of the Market lived artisans representing thirty-three different trades, a third of them purse and luggage makers. This side of the lower Horse Market retained its diversity into the 16th century. In the center of the block in the middle of the 16th century lived Jiřík Lesar, a modest candlemaker. Across from his house on the Horse Market were the stalls where bread was sold. Down and across the street on the corner of the Horse Market with the boulevard that ran along the border of the Old City (Na příkopě) lived Václav Kamaryt z Rovin, who was royal judge (rychtář) in the years 1555 and 1557 before he was raised to noble status.⁴⁵

By the end of the 16th century, a small area of prominent burghers - a corner of prestige, if you will - had established itself on the corner of the Horse Market with Vodičková and Dláždění

⁴³ Z. Winter, *Řemeslnictvo a živnosti XVI. věku v Čechách* [Artisan and Trade Life in 16th century Bohemia], Praha 1909, p. 727; J. Janáček, *Řeměslná výroba ve českých městech v 16. století* [Artisanal Production in Bohemian Cities in the 16th Century], Praha 1961, pp.174-175; 192.

⁴⁴ Pasíři, měšenici, and tobolečníci according to Tomek as reported by V. Lorenc, *Nové město pražské* (note 2).

⁴⁵ F. Roubík, "Královští rychtáři v pražských i jiných městech v letech 1547 až 1783" [Royal Judges in Prague and other Royal Cities in the Years 1547 to 1783], *SPDMHP VI* (1930): 265-355, p. 350.

(today Jindřišská Street). They lived from the fruit of their properties in the city or just outside of the city (wine and beer), as well as through office holding. In mid-century, the household of Václav Haldecký in house no. 832-II, just off the corner, was quite modest.⁴⁶ Jan Římský z Kosmačova, who lived next to Haldecký's (House no. 833-II) one generation later, was a member of the New City Council (1612) and held an estate office (*komorník při deskách zemských*).⁴⁷

Around the corner from the Horse Market on Dláždění (today Jindřišská) lived Daniel Švík z Lukonos, who was a member of the estate court (*Soud nejvyšších Purkrabství pražského*). Švík was royal judge (*rychtář*) from 1581-84.⁴⁸

On the corner on the other side of the street lived leading councilors (*primátor*) of the New City: Matauš Žlutický z Bernarečku,⁴⁹ and Jiljí Perger z Častalovic.⁵⁰ Matauš Žlutický z Bernarečku followed Daniel Švík z Lukonos as royal judge (*rychtář*) from 1584-1586.⁵¹ Daniel Švík's son, Jiřík married Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku.⁵² Jiří Švík z Lukonos served at least once as a member of the City Council (1612).⁵³

The center of the New City was not a Czech-speaking enclave, if book collections are any indication. German-language books were in collections of half of the households whose inventories provide indication of the language of books.⁵⁴ Bonifacius Wolmut, the imperial builder, and Thomas Kyndrmon, the imperial guard,

⁴⁶ AMP 2208, p. 350.

⁴⁷ AMP 2146 f. 248a-269a; K. Navrátil, Paměti hlavního kostela farního, fary a školy Sv. Jindřicha a Sv. Kunhuty v Novém Městě Pražském [Records of the Main Parish Church, Parsonage, and School of SS. Henry and Kunhuta in the New City of Prague], Praha 1869.

⁴⁸ F. Roubík, "Královští rychtáři (note 45), p. 350.

⁴⁹ Burghomaster (Primator) in 1592; AMP 2146 f. 241b.

⁵⁰ Burghomaster (Primator) in 1611 and member of council in 1612; reported in K. Navrátil, Paměti kostela Panny Marie na nebezetě a sv. Karle Velikého a bývalého královského kláštera řeholnických kanovníků Lateranských sv. Augustina, nyní městské nemocnice, na hoře Karlově v Novém městě Pražském [Record of the Church of Maria the Annunciation and St. Charles the Great and the former Royal Cloister of the Order of the Lateran Canons of St. Augustine, now Birthing Hospital, on the Karlov Hill in the New City of Prague], Praha 1877.

⁵¹ F. Roubík, "Královští rychtáři (note 45), p. 350.

⁵² AMP 2146 f. 241b.

⁵³ Navrátil, Paměti hlavního kostela farního, fary a školy Sv. Jindřicha (note 47).

⁵⁴ Ten out of twenty.

both native German speakers, had only German language books. Although this may be an indication that they were literate only in German, it does not preclude the possibility that they had some oral proficiency in Czech. Some proficiency in Czech was likely considering that they lived in the New City rather than in other areas of Prague that had a higher concentration of native German speakers. The patrician Martin Masopust seemed to have only Czech language books; likewise, he may have had some oral proficiency in German. Masopust's neighbor across the street, Jiljí Perger z Častalovic, also a patrician, had about as many Czech as German books. The bellmaker Brikcí Zvonář z Cimperku on Široká Street and his neighbor across the street, Anna Pátková, wife of Řehoř Pátek, a notary at the Appellate court, had an equal number of Czech and German books.

In contrast to language use, confession was a more elusive phenomenon. In the late 16th century, confession could and did quickly fluctuate. Book collections are of little help here, other than to verify that literate residents of the center of the New City had access to a wide variety of works of a theological and confessional, polemic nature.⁵⁵ Other records merely document fleeting associations. Ciprian Lopatský, for example, who lived in the Jewish Garden, was a delegate from the New City to the Estate Diet, which debated and introduced the Czech Confession.⁵⁶ Records of house confiscation following the Battle of White Mountain provide evidence of confessional affiliation in the second decade of the 17th century (which was not necessarily the same for individuals a few decades earlier). Daniel Švík z Lukonos, son or grandson of the royal judge of the same name, went into exile as an Utraquist. Jan Římský z Kosmačova the Younger, of the same generation as Danial Švík z Lukonos and whose grandfather was the neighbor of Lukonos', kept his house as an ardent Catholic.

Property holdings provide an illustration of the upper range of wealth in the New City during the period. The patrician Jiřík Švík z Lukonos had the most extensive property holdings of the individuals in the study. At the time of his death he owned six houses, two fields, two gardens, a vineyard, and a hop garden.

⁵⁵ See chapter 5 for discussion of books and other cultural objects with a religious theme.

⁵⁶ Z. Winter, *Život církevní v Čechách. Kulturně-historický obraz z X. a XVI. století* [Church Life in Bohemia. Cultural-Historical Pictures from the 15th and 16th Centuries], II, Praha 1899.

His neighbor across the street, Jiljí Perger z Častalovic, patrician and long-time councilor, owned four houses, one field, one garden, one vineyard, and two hop gardens. The bellmaker and city councilor, Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku, likewise owned four houses but no other properties. Down along the center of the southwest side of the Horse Market, the gingerbread baker Buryan Pernikář owned two houses. Adam Tatek who owned one house nearby on the Horse Market, also owned four storage cellars on Havel Market in the Old City.⁵⁷ [See chart II.5.7.]

The sale prices of the houses on Široká Street and the southwest and of the Lower Horse Market resemble those of other Prague houses of the period, which at the beginning of the 17th century ranged from 2150-4300 kop Czech groschen to 11,000 Czech groschen (or 10-20,000 Roman gold pieces).⁵⁸

The average sale price of the first seven houses on the east side of Široká Street remained steady (approximately 100 kop Czech groschen) until the beginning of the 17th century, when a rapid rise took place. Individual house sale prices from year 1500 to 1600 remained under 200 kop Czech groschen; from the year 1600 to 1620, the sale price of house no. 748 rose to 1000 kop Czech groschen, house no. 749 to 1800 Czech groschen, and house no. 747 to 200 kop Czech groschen. [See figs. II.4.5 & 6.]

On the west side of the street, the average house sale prices experienced a mild rise in the 1560s and 1570s, and a rapid rise after 1600. Individual house sale prices from 1500 to 1550 also remained under 200 kop Czech groschen, with the exception of house no. 36b, sold at 1400 to 2000 kop Czech groschen. From 1600 to 1620, house no. 35b sold at 1400 to 2000 kop Czech groschen, and house no. 35a for 1200 kop Czech groschen. [See figs. II.4.7 & 8.]

On the southwest side of the Lower Horse Market, the average sale price of the first nine houses (house nos. 773-785-II) from 1500-1580 ranged between 100 to 200 kop Czech groschen, about the same as Široká Street. From 1580 to 1600, the average house sale price rose steadily to 600 Czech groschen. Individual house sale prices were more variable but much less than those on Široká street. In the second half of the 16th century, house no. 774b sold for 500 kop Czech groschen, and house no. 782 for 800

⁵⁷ Adam Tatek was the only individual in the New City sample who owned property in the Old City as well.

⁵⁸ J. Janáček, *Rudolf II a jeho doba* [Rudolf II and his Age], Praha 1987, p. 209

Czech groschen. The house with the highest sale price on the block, house no. 773b, sold in 1607 for 900 Czech groschen. [See figs. II.4.9. & 10.]

The arrival of the court certainly played a role in the rise in house prices, but other important factors included the general price revolution in the 16th century, which Bohemia also experienced; the price of the parcel on which the house locates; the house structure itself (material, construction techniques, special features, such as vaulted ceilings); gardens (which were not always included in every house price); debts; taxes; and especially mortgage installments.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ M. Bělohávek, M. Košťál & J. Tomáš, “K problematice cen nemovitosti v 15. a 16.století do doby předbělohorské” [On the Problematic of Real Estate Prices in the 15th and 16th Centuries until the Pre-White Mountain period], *Zápisky katedry čs. dějin a archiv. studia*, FFUK, ročník VI (1962); Luboš Lancinger, “K otázce studia cen městských domů v Čechách do konce 18. století (Ceny domů V Novém Městě nad Metují)” [On the Price of Burgher Houses in Bohemia until the end of the 18th Century (House Prices in New City on the Metují)], *AUC-Philosophica et Historica* 1: 15-121.

I.3. The Material and Spatial Worlds of Artisans, Merchants, Nobles, and Imperial Servants in the New City

A discussion of the origins, construction, general physical features and spatial configuration of the street landscape and burgher house, as was provided in the previous chapter, represents a mere descriptive background to the material and spatial world in which the residents of the New City lived in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. These worlds were many and multifarious, and so was the interaction between them and between the people who lived within each.

For the resident of the New City, the central focus of life was the burgher house. Much more complicated socially and functionally than modern urban housing, the late medieval and early modern burgher house was both home and workplace for one or a number of families, sometimes also for their servants and apprentices. It was also a place to entertain and a forum for both the formal and informal practices of politics.¹ It was a rich and colorful world, filled with a wide variety of objects, including ordinary items for daily use, such a cleaning, washing, cooking, and eating; specialized tools and objects for trade and commerce; and exceptional and valuable objects, including a wide variety of artistic and cultural objects.²

¹ "Burgher house" is utilized as a descriptive term to refer to those structures that served primarily as main places of residence and work for the majority of inhabitants of pre-modern European cities, as distinguished from urban palaces, castles, buildings for religious worship, communal buildings, and market structures. The use of the term "burgher house" does not imply that they were residences of burghers only. Burghers alone could own houses, but not all residents of houses were burghers.

² For a comparative discussion of urban material culture, as presented in this chapter of the New City of Prague with other Bohemian cities of the period, see the following two groups of studies which adopt a similar approach (i.e. they study many features rather than single object classes): V. Bůžek & J. Stejskalová, "Interiéry domů v jihočeských předbělohorských městech (Životní styl měšťanů v době pozdní renesance a manýrismu)" [House Interiors in Southern Bohemia Cities in the Pre-White Mountain Period (Burgher Living Styles in the Late Renaissance and Mannerist Age)], JSH 1990/LIX/3; 113-137; "Městské domácnosti v předbělohorských jižních Čechách (Prameny, metody, stratifikace)" [Urban Households in Southern

In the “visual world” of Jan Comenius, the house “...is divided into rooms (*komory* or *Gemächer*), which are the atrium (*Pitvor* or *Vorgemach*), the *svietnice* (or *Stube* - no English equivalent), kitchen (*kuchyň* or *die Küche*), the larder (*špízárna* or *Speiss-Kammer*), the eating room (*večeřadlo* or *Ess-Saal*), the chamber (*komora* or *Gewolbe*), and the sleeping chamber (*spací komora* or *Schlaff-Kammer*) with a built-in bathroom (*záchod*). Baskets carry objects back and forth. Chests, which are opened with a key, store objects. Under the roof is a firm floor; in the courtyard are the wall, the tables, and the baths. Under the house is the beer cellar (*pivnice*).³ The *Svietnice* (or *Stube*) in the most distinguished room of the house, the chamber (*komora*) the most utilitarian.

“The *Stube* and *Kammer* are decorated from the ceiling to the floor with pictures, and are lit through the window and warmed by the oven. The objects of the *Stube* are benches, shelves, and tables with their main frames and feet and upholstery. Tapestries are also hung up...The *Schlaffkammer* is for rest; the bed was laid out on the frame on a sack of hay with sheets and blankets. The head lies under the bed’s head with the covering. The spittoon serves to clear the passages.”⁴

In the house described by Comenius in the second half of the 17th century, there is a place for everything and for every place a purpose. The comforts were not the same as in the modern house, but the house resembled the modern house in its organization. There were rooms especially designed for cooking,

Bohemia in the Pre-White Mountain Period (Sources, Methods, Stratification)), JSH 1990/LIX/2: 65-80; J. Mikulec, “Hmotná kultura na Starém Městě Pražském v době Předbělohorské (Domy a domácnosti na královské cestě)” [Material Culture in the Old City of Prague in the Pre-White Mountain period (Houses and Households on the Royal Road)], Diplomová práce, Filozofická fakulta UK, Katedra československých dějin, 1986. To compare the discussion of burgher houses with an urban noble palace, see V. Ledvinka, “Dům pánů z Hradce pod Stupni (Příspěvek k poznání geneze a funkci renesančního šlechtického paláce v Hrade)” [The Palace of the Neuhaus Lords under the Steps (Towards an Understanding of the Genesis and Function of a Renaissance Noble Palace in Prague)], FHB 10 (1986): 269-316; “Renesance feudálního velmože v předbělohorské Praze (Pražské sídlo pánů z Hradce v 2. polovině 16. Století)” [The Residence of a Feudal Magnate in Pre-White Mountain Prague (The Prague Residence of the Neuhaus in the Second Half of the 16th century)], DP LX./II/ (1991): 113-134.

³ J.A. Comenius, *Orbis Pictus Sensualis. Die Sichtbare Welt. Aľátha Világ. Svět Spatřující*, Original edition 1685, Reprint, Praha 1989, LXXI/pg. 144.

⁴ J.A. Comenius, *Orbis Pictus Sensualis* (note 3), LXXI/pg. 144.

eating, sleeping, entertaining guests, and for various work activities.

The New City Prague burgher house had many of the same features, furnishing, and comforts that the Comenius house had. Parts or locations of the New City Prague burgher house, however, as named in inventories of the period, were more numerous than those in the Comenius house. Although Prague was a bilingual (German- and Czech-speaking) city, the names have come down of Prague City government from the Hussite Revolution to the beginning of the Thirty Years War.⁵

The locations making up the New City Prague burgher house, as named in inventories of the period, are the “kitchen” (*kuchyň*), “larder” (*špižárna*), “chamber” (*komora*, *komorka*), “cellar” (*sklep*), “hall” (*siň*), *pokoj* (today having a general meaning, such as “room”), *pokojíček* (linguistic diminutive of *pokoj*), and general room designations for which there are no appropriate English or German equivalents, such as *svietnice* (German *Stube*), *mázhaus*, and its diminutive *mázhausek*.

Some of the location names in New City Prague inventories are the same as those in the Comenius house, such as kitchens, larders and chambers; while others are different, such as cellar and *pokojíček*, *mázhaus*, *mázhausek*. Since Comenius’ visual and sensual world dates from approximately a half century after the New City houses (1685), the differences in location names may relate to a functional change that developed during the 17th century or may merely indicate that a new name developed for a previously existing location.⁶

⁵ J. Pešek, “Pražské knihy kšaftů a inventářů (Příspěvek k jejich struktuře a vývoji v době předbělohorské)” [Prague Civic Will and Inventory Books (Contribution towards their Structure and Development in the Pre-White Mountain Period)], PSH XV (1982): 63-92; M. Urbanová, “Šestipánské úřady na Starém a Novém Městě Pražském v letech 1547-1628” [The Six-Man Councils of the Old and New Cities of Prague in the years 1547-1611], Diplomová práce, Filozofická fakulta UK, Katedra pomocných věd historických a archívniho studia, 1979, 23-84.

⁶ Since the Comenius house has a name designation for a bedroom and the New City houses do not, this might be an indication that a bedroom, as we understand it in the modern sense - a room specifically designated for one or more people containing personal objects in addition to a bed - had developed sometime between the late 16th and mid-17th centuries. On the other hand, it might mean that a name had developed for a particular type of location which had existed earlier. In some cases, locations for parts of a house used by city dwellers in the past are a great linguistic heritage. They represent an important source, just as surviving walls and windows, in the

The modern city dweller walking into a New City Prague burgher house in the late 16th century would be surprised at some of the things he or she would find in a particular room! The defining characteristic of the material and spatial worlds that made up the burghers house and of the large landscape of street and city in which they were embedded was their multi-functional organization.

1.3.1. KITCHEN ("KUCHYŇ")

The kitchen in the Comenius house was a large room furnished with a large stove outfitted with a chimney and an open fire, a large table, and a wall shelf, on which all sorts of cooking instruments were hung.

The head cook enters from the larder bringing the cook food...[after preparing the birds, hares, and other meats]...It is cooked in large and small pots on the fire, and the slime is removed with the spoon. The cooked food is flavored with spices, which are crushed in the mortar or shredded on the grater. It is grilled on the spit, on the grill, or on the pan on the tripod. Cooking utensils include the ox's crutch [*hřeblo ořech*], the blood pan, cooking aids on which large and flat bowls are washed, pincers, the clever, drainer, basket, and broom.⁷

Cooking arrangements in New City Prague burgher houses varied in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. "Kitchens" - i.e. locations where cooking was exclusively performed - can be identified in twenty-four households in the center of the New City during this period. In only fourteen of them, however, are these locations named kitchens. The other ten locations which functioned as "kitchens" are named (*komora*), cellar (*sklep*), larder (*špižárna*), *svietnice*, and *mázhaus*.

It is not clear whether these locations named as kitchens, or which functioned as kitchens, were independent rooms with a cooking source of their own or part of other rooms. Heating and cooking sources represented one of a central group of objects

reconstruction of past living spaces. One must be cautious, however, for alone they provide just a clue, not confirmation, for how a room or space was used. See R. Schmidt-Wiegand, "Neue Ansätze im Bereich Wörter und Sachen," *Geschichte der Alltagskultur. Aufgaben und Neue Ansätze*, Münster 1980.

⁷ The "oxes crutch" and "blood pan" are objects of unknown construction and use.

determining the function of a household. The earliest European burgher houses, comprised of one or two rooms, were organized around an open fire that served as both a heating and cooking source. During the Middle Ages and early modern period, both burgher houses and heating and cooking objects became more complicated. Houses grew from two rooms to many, fires became enclosed, chimneys were installed, and there arose a separation of heating and cooking sources.⁸

An illustration of a 16th-century Bohemian kitchen in the first printed Czech cookbook, dating from the year 1535, shows a large stove with an open fire on top with a chimney.⁹ The technology of the stove is similar to the one in the Comenius house. In terms of date and geography, however, it is closer to late 16th-century New City burgher kitchens than is the Comenius kitchen.

Stoves and ovens are the most common cooking and heating sources identified in New City households. Stoves were located primarily in the location called *svietnice*. While no definitive statement can be made concerning the distribution of stoves and ovens and the identification of cooking areas, the most reasonable explanation for the fact that *svietnice* was the location where stoves were most commonly found is that in many varieties of cooking spaces, the kitchen was an independent room with its own cooking source, while in others, the kitchen was a part or section of the *svietnice*, which used the stove as both cooking and heating source.

Two building dispute cases appearing before the Six-man Councils, one from the New City and one from the Old City, describe a third type of cooking arrangement in late 16th-century Prague.

⁸ On the development of heating and cooking sources in Central Europe, and their importance in the function of the household, see K. Bedal, *Ofen und Herd im Bauernhaus Nordostbayerns*, München 1972; J. Schepers, "Ofen und Kamin," *Vier Jahrzente Hausforschung*, Sennestadt 1973, pp. 75ff; J. Tauber, "Herd und Ofen im Mittelalter. Untersuchungen zur Kulturgeschichte am archäologischen Material vornehmlich der Nordwestschweiz (9.-14. Jahrhundert)," *Schweizer Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Archäologie des Mittelalters* 7, Olten-Freiburg i.B. 1980, pp. 69ff; V. Pražák, "Vývojové epochy a stupně topenišť v českém a slovenském lidovém obydlí" [Developmental Stages of Heating Units in Czech and Slovak Houses], *Český lid*, ročník 53, číslo 6 (1966): 321-348.

⁹ Kuchařství, *O rozličných krměch* [Cookbook. About Various Foods], Praha 1535.

[on Thursday after St. Jacob the Apostle 1548] Václav Hasyk the painter that [accused]... his brother [and next-door neighbor] Kryštof...regarding a kitchen which stood in the garden joined to the property of Kryštof...[Václav showed the Six-Man Council that Kryštof]...broke down the top surface [of their common kitchen] although the bottom frame and the floor were still good...[and then] tore down and sawed beams from the wall...[Kryštof states that he]...dismantled the bottom part because it was bad and that when the top fell down, he destroyed it too...¹⁰

Jan Zvunk accuses his neighbor Anna Hřebenářka of building “an oven [*pec*] next to a wooden structure [*lepenice*]...[causing] great danger...since it once burnt there.¹¹

The outdoor “kitchens” describe above as having an enclosed grill as their main components markedly differ in both construction and method of cooking from indoor kitchens. Outdoor kitchens did not necessarily represent a cooking arrangement of the poor. Kryštof Malíř, the painter and owner of the outdoor kitchen in the New City mentioned above, was of very modest means but not poor. This is indicated in his own civic will, as well as by the fact that he was named the lieutenant of the will of Buryan Kotlář, a wealthy smith from Široká Street.¹²

The documentation of outdoor kitchens by these building disputes, which is not found elsewhere, lends support to the notion of a variety of cooking arrangements in late 16th-century Prague. In some households, cooking was performed outdoors. In others, cooking took place indoors in a multifunctional room on a fire source that also served as heating unit or in a room specially designated for cooking with a fire source of its own (i.e. a kitchen).

Outdoor kitchens may, however, have been dying out in Prague during this period. In the case of Václav and Kryštof, the Six-Man Council decided that the complaint was not justified,

...because the kitchen was not attached to Václav's house...Václav should build a kitchen of his own...and not according to the old style...but

¹⁰ AMP 2149 f. 80a-b.

¹¹ AMP 473 f. 81b.

¹² In his civic will of 1554, Kryštof Malíř left his tin dishware and 225 kop groschen to his wife Martha, 10 kop groschen each to his daughters Anna and Petra, 10 kop groschen to Michala Byrek, and 10 kop groschen to the Church of St. Stephen (AMP 2207 341a). He is named as lieutenant in Buryan Kotlář's civic will (AMP 2207 f. 361a).

with a window from which no water or cleanliness should flow into Kryštof's garden...and the window should be covered with glass and bars.¹³

Anna replied to the complaint against her that

an oven and fireplace had been at this spot for many years...and if [he doesn't like it he can] build a wall up, as long as it doesn't interfere...¹⁴

The kitchens in the Severín cookbook and in the Comenius house were fairly large rooms with extensive equipment. An exact picture of kitchens in burgher houses in the center of the New City remains unclear. Kitchen furnishings described by the inventories ranged from one item (i.e., a pot in the kitchen of Daniel Rubín ze Zvovíř) to the large kitchen of the cloth merchant Adam Tatek. The wide range of kitchen furnishings probably reflects more the particulars of inventory practices than the kitchens themselves.¹⁵

Disregarding the kitchens of Daniel Rubín ze Zvovíř and others that do not contain even the most rudimentary of equipment, the kitchens described in these inventories, if generally representative of New City burgher house kitchens, have similar types of utensils to those found in the Comenius and Severín kitchen but are more modest in their variety and smaller in numbers. The most basic equipment included grills, spits, pots, and frying pans.

1.3.2. THE LARDER OR PANTRY ("ŠPIŽÍRNA")

We are not provided with an illustration of the larder in the Comenius house, from which the head cook entered with the food. "Larders" can be identified in seven out of fifty-six households located in homes within the center of the New City. They were not, however, a storage area exclusively for food, but served as a storage area for general household items, including cooking objects. In two households, the "larder" functioned as a cooking area (i.e., kitchen). In the house of Jiří Švík z Lukonos, the "larder" served as a combination kitchen and general storage

¹³ AMP 4149 f. 80a-b.

¹⁴ AMP 473 f. 81b.

¹⁵ For example, kitchen equipment may have been considered the property of the head woman of the household rather than the house owner for whom most of the inventories in this study were drawn. Unfortunately, this cannot be verified for these houses owing to the lack of adequate comparative data.

area. The Larder was one of many locations in the late 16th-century New City Prague burgher house where one could find almost anything.

I.3.3. THE WASHROOM AND BATHROOM

Locations designated as baths can be identified in only three of fifty-six households located in the center of the New City. One of them was a storage area for bathtubs that were produced in the workshop of Markyta Kotlářka, a smith who specialized in their production. Baths probably existed in other households as well but were not listed in the inventories because of their sparse furnishings. In New City Prague houses that had locations named as baths, “bath” seemed to designate a location where this activity was commonly performed rather than a facility specially designated and used exclusively for this purpose. Markyta Kotlářka’s next door neighbor Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku had a “Bath” with no furnishings off of his courtyard. The inventory of Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké mentions a “bath” but does not describe its contents. Anna Šteffková z Čichanova’s bath consisted of a large pot and a stove located somewhere on her first floor.

Tubs were produced by some metal workers, such as Markyta Kotlářka, who specialized in their production. Markyta Kotlářka sold some of hers to the imperial court.¹⁶ Very few of them, however, appear in houses in the center of the New City. One exception was Kotlářka’s neighbor, Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku, who had a tub in one of the bedrooms of his house, perhaps given to him by or bought from his neighbor. In other New City households the most common objects for cleansing were the wash-basin and corresponding bowl, commonly made out of tin and stored in a cabinet in a bedroom that housed the stove.

New City burghers washed at home with these simple objects but probably bathed in one of the many public baths in the city.¹⁷ Many were located along the riverbank in the New and Old Cities. The records of the Six-Man Councils name two public bath: the “Selenový baths” in the New City and the Old City.¹⁸ Closer to the center of the New City, right around the corner from Široká Street in the Jewish Garden off Charvartská Street next to the house of

¹⁶ This is indicated in her inventory (AMP 1211.21a).

¹⁷ See Z. Winter, “V Lázních” [In the Baths,] *Historické Arabesky*, in Sebrané Spisy VII (1890), pp. 177-214.

¹⁸ AMP 2149 f. 85b; AMP 473f. 230a.

Ciprian Lopatský lived the bath owner (*lazebník*), Jakub Kučera. A dispute between Kučera and Ciprian Lopatský from the year 1564 over a “water pump...that [Kučera] rents out to his neighbors to assist them in transporting wood from the river” provides evidence that not all public baths were located on the water bank.¹⁹

Public bathing was widespread not only among burghers. An ongoing dispute in 1580 before the Six-Man Council of the Old City over uncleanness entering the “New Baths” because of the digging of a fish pond on the river bank mentions that members of the royal court had to leave the bath because of the smell.²⁰ These commercial bathing houses represent one example of the functional division between house and city that was characteristic in Prague during this period; communal institutions often shared with individual houses some of the same function (in this case, bathing).

For the same reason that baths do not appear in inventories (i.e., because of their sparse furnishings), toilets also do not appear. Fortunately (or unfortunately), we do not have any illustrations of that what 16th-century toilets looked like. They must have been of poor, simple construction. Shared bathrooms appear as a major object of dispute in cases appearing before the Six-Man Council of the Old City. One of the major complaints was “uncleanness that seeps through the wall [and]...that brings smell with it.”²¹ Bathrooms in New City houses must have been of the same poor quality. The fact that not a single bathroom dispute case exists before the Six-Man Council of the New City from 1547 to 1611 most surely relates to the small number of bathrooms shared between neighbors, an infrequency due to the difference in house occupancy patterns.

1.3.4. THE BEDROOM AND SLEEPING QUARTERS

The “sleeping chamber” (*Schlaff-kammer*) in the Comenius house is a room furnished sparsely with bed furniture. One of the beds (*postel*) is larger and sturdier than the other (*lože*). Inventories of New City Prague households of the late 16th and early 17th centuries distinguish four types of beds. The most

¹⁹ AMP 2149 f. 136-137b.

²⁰ AMP 473f. 230a-232a.

²¹ AMP 473 f. 5b & AMP 473f. 134a.

common were the *postel* and *lože*, followed by the *lůžko* and *postýlka*. The *lože* and *lůžko* were probably of more simple construction, in contrast to the *postel*, which was raised on legs.²² Forty-three percent of all beds, including *lože* and *lůžko*, were canopied many were decorated with colored curtains. New City Prague households had cradles for infants and children's beds, described as a children's bunk or children's bed (*dětské lože*, *lůžko postýlka*), or in one case as an oval bed.

In only one of fifty-six households in the center of the New City, that of the bell maker Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku, was there a room that actually was called a bedroom. Three quarters of all sleeping locations in New City houses were in locations called chambers (*komora*) and cellars (*sklep*), nine percent in *mázhaus*, and a small number in *svietnice* and workshop locations.²³ In nineteen of the fifty-six households, sleeping locations were designated for specific individuals, such as the deceased or his or her spouse; female cooks, and apprentices. Not all of these sleeping locations, however, were bedrooms in the strict sense, i.e., a room that primarily and exclusively functions as the sleeping location of one or more individuals and where personal objects of daily use are also kept.²⁴

Four different types of sleeping arrangements can be identified in New City Prague burgher houses of the Period. The first type was a location that had a number of functions, including sleeping area. The "cellar at the steps across from the *svietnice*" in the house of Václav Vodička on the Horse Market was a sleeping and

²² L. Soukupová, "Lůžko a postel (Pokus o sémioticko-funkční analýzu)" [Bunk and Bed (Attempt at a Semiotic-Functional Analysis)] Pocta Josefu Petráňovi, Praha 1991, pp. 113-136; Z. Winter, "O staročeské posteli" [The Traditional Bohemian Bed], *Sebrané Spisy III*.

²³ These rooms are the locations where beds are found. While in some areas of pre-modern Europe the location of bed does not serve as an accurate guide to where people slept, two things would suggest that in pre-White Mountain Prague the location of beds does suggest sleeping locations: one, many are canopied and curtain beds, which are difficult to store away in another room; and two, bed linen is always located in the same location as or adjacent to beds, according to the inventories.

²⁴ The emergence of the "bedroom" in the early modern period has been proposed as a central element in the construction of the private sphere; R. Chartier (ed.), *Passions of the Renaissance*, volume III, *The History of Private Life*, P. Aries & G. Duby (eds.), Cambridge, Mass. & London 1989.

cooking area furnished with a bed (*postel*), four pots, funnels, a strainer, and a roasting spit.²⁵

Ciprian Lopatský's bedroom in an upstairs *komora* in his house on *Charvátská* Street in the Jewish Garden served as a personal bedroom, kitchen, and storage area.

Table I.3.1 Upstairs Chamber in the household of Ciprian Lopatský in the Jewish Garden - Bedroom, Kitchen and Storage Area²⁶

"Simple" bed, a chest on legs, containing clothes, bed linen, an herbal book, and an old bible; a smaller chest of cypress, which contained a gilded silver goblet, two silver spoons, ten silver coins, and loose pieces of silver; two large pots for cooking fish; five smaller pots; one larger kettle; a small "spice" chest containing three strainers, a mortar, six spits, two small kettles, a frying pan, five grills; and another red chest containing a pillow, an old tapestry, clothes, a butcher's hatchet, and a scale.

The second type of sleeping arrangement found in households in the center of the New City was a single function sleeping area containing a bed and perhaps some linen, such as the *Schlaff-Kammer* in the Comenius house. The "upstairs chamber" in the house of Václav Vodička on the Horse Market, which was furnished with a bed (*postel*), bed linen, and a wash basin, was also of this type.²⁷

The third type of sleeping arrangement was a more sophisticated arrangement consisting of a bed and personal items and some clothes, books, etc., linking the location to a specific person. This is the private bedroom, which appears more and more frequently in European homes during the 16th and 17th centuries. The "cellar under Bartoloměj's room" in the house of Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku represents a bedroom resembling those of today. It contains a bed (*lože*); bed linen; a bench; a chest containing tin and brass dishware; another chest with clothes, tablecloths, napkins and towels; and a third chest containing documents; a fourth, smaller chest with five tapestries; and, strangely, a bathtub.²⁸

The fourth sleeping arrangement found in New City Prague burgher houses of the period was the bedroom area that also

²⁵ Sklep u schodů proti svietnice (location 2) in house of Václav Vodička.

²⁶ Komora kde nebožtik lihal (location 3) in house of Ciprian Lopatský.

²⁷ Komora hořejší (location 3) in house of Václav Vodička.

²⁸ Sklep pod pokoj Bartoloměj (location 10) of House no. 747-II of Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku.

served as a storage area for many personal items not necessarily relating to daily use, such as art objects.

Table I.3.2 “Dry cellar” in the Household of Jiří Švík z Lukonos in house no. 792-II, “in which the deceased slept”²⁹

...a large canopied bed; a writing desk with drawers containing documents; a small box containing documents (“majestaty”) bestowing coat-of-arms and a few pieces of crystal; a standing armoire containing twenty-three pieces of clothes; sixty-one weapons, including swords and firearms, two of which were gilded; a chest with wooden carvings containing linen. Napkins and tablecloths, clothes (men’s, women’s, and children’s); jewelry; coins; forty-four pieces of tin dishware; a pillow; two small empty chests. One black and the other icon; a piece of a well; and an iron chain for a carriage.

The bedroom of Jiřík Švík z Lukonos’s wife, Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku, as described in her husband’s inventory, was the “Small room (*pokožik*) in which the deceased [female] slept.” It contained a canopied bed with green curtains, a cot (*postýlka*), nine pieces of bed linen, four drinking glasses, large and small, nine pewter mugs with covers, and a gun in holster.³⁰

The household of Jiljí z Častalovic was one of two in the center of the New City whose inventory locations were designated by the names of the children who occupied them. The upstairs “room where the child sleeps” was furnished with a green canopied bed (*postel*), and second (*postel*), a cradle, two pieces of bed linen, a table with “miscellaneous objects [on it] used for healing,” and a clothes rack with pieces of “Children’s bed linen” on it (*děťinské podupačky*).³¹ The “room where [his] son sleeps,” also located on the first floor, probably next to the communal weapons chamber, was furnished with a bed (*lůžko*), “a few personal objects,” three long rifles, and two pistols.³²

The most common sleeping arrangement for cooks was an impersonal location without any personal belongings, for example, the “chamber where the cooks lie” in the house of Markyta

²⁹ Sklep suchný v němž Nebožtik lihal (location 5) in house no. 792-II of Jiřík Švík z Lukonos.

³⁰ Pokojik v němž Nebožka ležela (location 7) in house no. 792-II of Jiřík Švík z Lukonos.

³¹ Pokoj kde dítě lihá (location 14) in house of Jiljí Perger z Častalovic (house no. 791-II).

³² Pokoj kde syn lihá (location 10) in house of Jiljí Perger z Častalovic (house no. 791-II).

Kotlářka, which consisted of a bed (*lože*) and two feather blankets.³³ Somewhat more elaborate but still of the same type is the “chamber off the *mázhaus* where the cook lied” in the house of Václav Vodička on the Horse Market, which was furnished with two beds (*lůžko*), one of them a green canopied bed; two chairs; a black bench; a writing desk; a small chest with sheets; two other chests, one small and one large; a leather pillow; two table cloths; a wooden pipe; and two iron spigots for beer.³⁴ The presence of the writing desk is interesting but it is not clear whether it was used by the female cooks themselves or whether it was used by other house occupants and just stored in the cook’s room.

Apprentices in artisanal households in the center of the New City had sleeping arrangements the same as those of cooks, i.e., an impersonal sleeping location rather than one of the bedrooms. In the household of Markyta Kotlářka, the sleeping quarters of her metal-working apprentice, which consisted of four beds, was located in an upstairs room (“the chamber where the apprentice lies”) next to the female cook’s quarters.³⁵ The “chamber where the apprentices lie” in the house of Jan Zlatý, also on Široká Street, consisted of two beds.³⁶

1.3.5. THE TRADITIONAL BOHEMIAN SITTING-ROOMS (“SVIETNICE” AND “MÁZHAUS”)

In the earliest burgher households, furniture was of a few simple varieties. A standard collection included tables, benches, chests, and perhaps a cabinet. Furniture pieces served a number of purposes at the same time - as a surface on which to sit, cook, wash, place objects, or store dishware, other household objects, or art objects. As the burgher house grew in size and complexity, additional types of furniture developed to take on more specific functions.³⁷ In addition to beds, other types of furniture found in

³³ Komora kde kuchařky lihaji (location 3) of house no. 748 or 746-II of Markyta Kotlářka.

³⁴ Komora na Mázhaus kde kuchařka lihávala (location 16) in House no. 846-II of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin.

³⁵ Komora tovaryše nahoře (location 2) of house no. 748 or 746-II of Markyta Kotlářka.

³⁶ Komora kde lihaji tovaryši (location 6) of house of Jan Zlatý.

³⁷ On the history of Central European furniture and interior design, see H. Kreisler & G. Himmelheber, *Die Kunst des deutschen Möbels. Möbel und Vertäfelungen des deutschen Sprachraums von den Anfängen bis zum Jugendstil*, Band 1, Von den Anfängen bis zum Hochbarock, München 1968;

the New City Prague burgher house were tables, benches, chairs, cabinets, chests, and desks.

Most of the tables found in New City Prague burgher houses were of a sturdy type common throughout the Middle Ages, available in standard (*stůl*) or small (*stoliček*) variety, constructed of wood or stone. Most common was the standard table found in eighty percent of the households in the center of the New City, while the shorter variety was found in only forty-three percent. Even less numerous than tables were benches, distinguished in the inventories as *stolice* and *lavice*, found in thirty and fourteen percent of the households, respectively.

One of the most distinguishing features of late 16th- and early 17th-century households in the New City was the low ratio of chairs to tables and, more generally, the limited number of chairs at all in the household. Chairs distinguished in inventories in a standard (*židle*) and smaller variety (*židlička*), were found in only forty-three and thirty-eight percent of the households in the center of the New City. Most were of simple, sturdy design. A third of the chairs were of two design types: the long chair (*dlouhá*), and the double, or two-seater, chair (*dvojitá*).

Chests, cabinets, and armoires were the most common pieces of furniture in the New City Prague burgher houses. Inventories distinguish between two types of cabinets - the standard *almara* and the smaller *almárka*- and three types of chests - the standard *truhla*, and the smaller *truhlička* and *truhlice*. Many cabinets and chests were simple construction and design, constructed of wood or iron. Some were decoratively painted or carved.³⁸ They served as a place of storage for all types of objects, including dishware, cooking utensils, clothes, bed linen, books, and art objects. The cabinet frequently served as holder for wash basins; it often contained drawers and sections.

In the Comenius houses, benches, shelves, and tables, together with the stove and paintings, were defining characteristics of the *Stube*, the central living area of the house. Together with chairs and cabinets, they were a standard furnishing of the banquet hall. In burgher houses in the center of

S. Hinz, *Innenraum und Möbel. Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Berlin 1980.

³⁸15% and 14% of *almara* and *almárka* respectively were painted, and 32%, 20% and 30% of *truhla*, *truhlička*, and *truhlice*, respectively. On color motifs in popular material culture, see W. Brückner, "Farben als Zeichen," *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 78 (1982): 14-27.

the New City, there were numerous general living areas. Not all of these areas were called the *Stube*. *Svietnice*, *mázhaus*, *pokoj* and *siň* also served as central living areas. It is in these areas that one finds a combination of general furniture, furnishings such as antlers, candlestick holders, paintings, and the oven.³⁹

In contrast to other rooms, *svietnice* were areas where one might bring guests. They were what one might call representational or presentational. For many of these locations, the actual distinction between these two qualities - "presentational" corresponding to a general, traditional feature of decor, and "representational" relating to a particular, individualistic display - is not clear.⁴⁰ The findings from the study of New City Prague inventories call into question conceptual terminology found in the literature of vernacular architecture and the history of architecture, which have associated these rooms with specific spatial locations.⁴¹ The inventories remind us that room functions are very specific to time and place and change over time.

As a whole, rooms named *svietnice* in New City Prague burgher houses resembled the *Stube* in the Comenius house; a general living area where one most often found the stove, general furniture, and a few paintings. Individual *svietnice* varied, however. The traditional Bohemian *svietnice* was, in reality, a multi-functional location in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Seven general variations can be distinguished.

Two *svietnice* in the center of the New City resembled the *Stube* in the Comenius house and can be seen as a central living area with a presentational or representational quality. In the house of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin, the *svietnice* was furnished with a stove; a canopied bed; two large tables; a small table; one bench; a cabinet; a glass lamp; a mirror; and twenty-five

³⁹ In the New City Prague burgher house, tables and chairs are found, in descending order of frequency, in *svietnice*, *mázhaus*, *sklep*, *pokoj* and *siň*, cabinets in *svietnice*, *sklep*, *mázhaus*, *komora*, *siň*, and *pokoj*; and chests in *sklep*, *komora*, and *svietnice*.

⁴⁰ I am borrowing this conceptual distinction from S. Kinser, "Presentation and Representation: Carnival at Nuremberg, 1450-1550," *Representations* 13 (Winter, 1986): 1-41.

⁴¹ According to Václav Mencl, *mázhaus* was a large central hall, located mainly in the major living area of the house from which in an earlier stage in the development of eating and cooking stages, the stove was removed to an adjacent location; V. Mencl, *Lidová architektura v Československu* [Vernacular Architecture in Czechoslovakia], Praha 1980.

paintings, large and small.⁴² Similar was the upstairs *svietnice* of Jilji Perger z Častalovic which contained two large tables, two small leather tables, three cabinets filled with books and precious objects, and seventeen framed pictures.⁴³

The *svietnice* could also function as a kitchen.

Table I.3.3 Lower “Svietnice” in the household of Václav Vodička on the Horse Market - Kitchen⁴⁴

...eight bowls, nine tin dishes, four tin mugs, three tin salt bowls, a pot for cooking fish, two roasting spits. A copper pot, a knife in a pouch, and a large pot for washing clothes.

A third type of *svietnice* functioned as a bedroom, eating room, and general living area. In the household of Simeon Polidor z Balbinus on Vodičková Street, the “children’s bedroom” was furnished with two beds (*lůžko*), one of them in bars; a wash basin; five tin plates; five tin mugs; three goblets; a candle stick holder; and a mortar.⁴⁵

A fourth type of *svietnice* served as a sleeping and general living area. The *svietnice* of Magdalene Hvězdová in house no.782-II on the Horse Market was furnished with a stove, a white cot (*postýlka*), two small cabinets, a tin wash basin with draws, a large and a small table, two simple chairs, a long bench, a small chair, and a coat rack. It was decorated with a picture of the birth of Christ, another of his baptism, and a third picture.⁴⁶

The “upstairs *svietnice*” of Magdalena Grafeus in the Jewish Garden was furnished with a stove, a canopied bed (*lůžko*) with green curtains, two large tables, one small table, a small copper wash basin, a small pot to carry water, three jugs, eight goblets of various types, four plates, nine bowls, two salt bowls, silver pieces on a string. And a silver coin with a figure of Paul, and a silver coin with eight small figures in silver.⁴⁷

⁴² Svietnice (location 17) in house no. 846-II of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin.

⁴³ Svietnice nahore (location 5) in house no. 790-II of Jilji Perger z Častalovic.

⁴⁴ Svietnice dolejší (location 7) in house of Václav Vodička.

⁴⁵ Dětinská svietnice (location 6) in house no. 698-II of Simeon Polidor z Balbinus.

⁴⁶ Svietnice (location 1) in house no. 782-II of Magdalena Hvězdová.

⁴⁷ Svietnice nahore (location 1) in house of Magdalena Grafeus in Jewish Garden.

A fifth *svietnice* was one that served as a general work and storage area. The “upstairs *svietnice*” of Matěj Brzobohatý was furnished with two tables, a large pot for washing clothes, three pieces of bed linen, six ice cleavers, a piece of horse-riding equipment, a piece of armor, and six firearms.⁴⁸

A sixth type of *svietnice* was a general living and eating area. The “large upstairs *svietnice*” in the house of Mikuláš Růže z Orličné was furnished with a stove, three tapestries, six antlers, one large table, three smaller tables, three armoires, one chair, a wash basin, a candlestick holder, a salt shaker, and a pot.⁴⁹

Lastly, in six households, the *svietnice* represented an indistinguishable living area, furnished with only a wash basin and pot.

The *mázhaus*, found in half of the houses in the center of the New City, like the *svietnice*, was also a multi-functional location where one commonly found furniture and beds. Individual *mázhaus* varied much more than the *svietnice*. Nine variations are distinguished.

The first is the *mázhaus* that served as a general living area with representational character. This can be identified in only one house in the center of the New City of the period: the *mázhaus* of Jiljí Perger which was furnished with a marble table, eight framed pictures, and a cabinet filled with thirteen weapons.⁵⁰

The second variation in the *mázhaus* was a mixed area with representational quality, such as the mixed sleeping, representational area of the “large *mázhaus*” in Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku’s household in house no. 792-IIa. This room was furnished with fourteen miscellaneous pictures, antlers, one bed (*lůžko*), two large and three small tables, one leather table with a white leather pillow, three large red chairs, one small chair, five cabinets, one small red cabinet, and another small standing cabinet.⁵¹ Another example is the *mázhaus* in the new structure of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku, furnished with antlers,

⁴⁸ Svietnice nahore (location 4) in house no. 1056 or 1057-II of Matěj Brzobohatý.

⁴⁹ Velká svietnice dole (location 17) in house no. 853-II of Mikuláš Růže z Orličné.

⁵⁰ Mázhaus (location 7) in house no. 790-II of Jiljí Perger z Častalovic.

⁵¹ Mázhaus velký (location 2) in house no. 792-II of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku.

a stone table, two beds, a suit of armor, seven weapons, and equipment for serving beer.⁵²

Third, the *mázhaus* could be a household work area, as it was in the household of Markyta Kotlářka in house no.748 or 746-II, which consisted of two large boiling pots for washing, twelve large copper pots. One large brass pot, two additional copper pots, one frying pan, and one striking clock.⁵³

Fourth, it could be a simple sleeping location, as in the household of Anna Patková, which held a canopied bed and four empty chests.⁵⁴

The *mázhaus* could be a storage room for general households items, such as in the house of Jan Zlatý.⁵⁵

It could be a kitchen, as in the “upper *mázhaus*” of Jan Kalvoda, which contained one table, six pots for cooking fish, one stew pot, four spits, two grills, and one empty white cabinet.⁵⁶

A seventh variation of the *mázhaus* is a cooking and eating area, such as the “middle *mázhaus*” of Jan Kalvoda, in which lay two large tables; two small tables; three benches for four; and three cabinets, one green and two red, one containing a mortar, stew pot, and small box.⁵⁷

It could be a general dining room area, as in the house of Adam Tatek, which consisted of two large tables, one small table, and one chair.⁵⁸

The *mázhaus* could also be a location with indistinguishable function as was the “upstairs *mázhaus*” in the house of Brikcí Zvonař, which was furnished with two tables, a yellow chest containing fourteen sheets of bed linen, and a horse bridle hanging on the wall.⁵⁹

1.3.6. THE COMMON AND UNCOMMON CELLAR (“SKLEP”)

The “cellar” was perhaps the most enigmatic room in New City Prague burgher houses. Looking at all cellars in the center of the New City as a whole, the cellar was a location with no

⁵² Mázausek (location 6) in nové stavení of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku.

⁵³ Mázhaus (location 5) in house no. 748 or 746-II of Markyta Kotlářka.

⁵⁴ Mázhaus (location 2) in house of Anna Patková.

⁵⁵ Mázhaus (location 5) in house of Jan Zlatý.

⁵⁶ Mázhaus hořejší (location 9) in house of Jan Kalvoda.

⁵⁷ Mázhaus prostřední (location 7) in house of Jan Kalvoda.

⁵⁸ Mázhaus (location 12) in house no. 783 and 784-II of Adam Tatek.

⁵⁹ Mázhaus nahoře in house no. 747-II of Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku.

recognizable function. It could serve a number of functions, one of which corresponds to its modern use as a place for storage. Twenty-eight *sklep* were storage areas for particular objects, including the so-called “wet” (*mokrýj*) cellar for wine and beer, and “dry” (*suchýj*) cellar for dishware, wood, food, and horse-riding equipment, tools, artisanal objects, bed linen, and clothes. Three were mixed wet and dry storage areas for wine and other items. Eleven were mixed dry storage areas for a wide selection of items, including art objects. Seventeen cellar were mixed, dry storage areas for a wide selection of item without art objects. Fifteen cellars were bedrooms; an additional fifteen were bedrooms where large numbers of personal items were also stored.

I.3.7. THE BALCONY OR TERRACE (“PAVLAČ”)

A terrace or balcony around part or all of one or more of the upper floors of the house, overlooking either an inner or rear courtyard and in some cases facing the street, opened or enclosed, was one of the most distinctive features of Central European houses. Inventories identify them on only eight of the fifty-six houses in the center of the New City but more of them probably had them. Six of the eight terraces in the New Cities were used as storage. The most interesting was the terrace in the house of Jan Kalvoda.

Table I.3.4 The Balcony (pavlač) of Jan Kalvoda⁶⁰

“New” armoire containing three coats; another armoire with doors containing six pieces of clothes; five chests containing old bed linen; a bib chest containing clothes, among them a cloth belt (“vinek”?) with silver buttons; a small chest containing a silver belt, a gilded silver jug, gilded silver goblet with a cover, two hats, table cloths, and a prayer book of Jan Haberma; a medium-sized chest containing collar, shirt and vests of the deceased, worn women’s shirts and vests, bed linen; a “long” box with Hungarian golden coins; another small, yellow chest containing rolled-up clothes.

While the New City Prague burgher house of the late 16th and early 17th centuries shared many of the features, furnishing, and comforts that the Comenius house had, it contrasted with it in its complexity. Whereas the Comenius house had a kitchen, a bedroom, a general living area, etc., many burgher houses in the

⁶⁰ Pavlač (location 3) in house of Jan Kalivoda.

center of the New City had a number of areas for living, working, sleeping, etc. A more important difference than their complexity was their organization, or functional disposition of space. In the Comenius house, each room had a major function and every function a room. Many rooms and areas of the New City Prague burgher house, in contrast, were multi-functional, and many functions took place in different areas of the house.⁶¹

In some households, cooking took place in a specific room, in others in a general living area. Eating and cooking, which in many modern households take place in the same location, were spatially separated in the New City Prague household. In New City Prague burgher houses in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, eating was an activity that could and often did take place in many areas of the house. Some individuals slept in their own bedrooms, where they also kept some of their personal belongings. Cooks, apprentices, and other members of the household, including relatives of the house owner, slept in undefined sleeping locations. Some locations of the house were specifically designated for storage, many more than in the modern household. Some areas of the house appear less as traditional storage than as places where things are just laid.

While multi-functionality of the burgher house was the distinguishing characteristic of New City burgher homes, it was not a feature limited to burgher homes. An engraving of the Vladislav Hall of the Prague castle from the year 1607 by Aegidius Sadeler provides evidence of multi-functionality at the Prague castle as well. The room that had been built at the beginning of the 16th century as a horse parade room for ceremonial occasions and that served the imperial court of Rudolf II as a reception room for foreign dignitaries and other important visitors also functioned as a market place for articles such as popular prints.

Was there an order to this multi-functionality or was it a disorganized heap?

In a small household consisting of four to six rooms, it is not surprising that one cooks, eats, and sleeps in a single room or set of rooms located around the cooking and heating sources the few

⁶¹ One of the few mentions of multi-functionality as an important feature of household organization is R.-E. Mohrmann, "Städtische Wohnkultur in Nordwestdeutschland vom 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert (aufgrund von Inventaren)," *Nord-Süd Unterschiede in der städtischen und ländlichen Kultur Mitteleuropas*, Münster 1985, 89-155. See also R.-E. Mohrmann, *Alltagwelt im Land Braunschweig*, 2 volumes, Münster 1990.

precious objects that one owns along with ordinary household objects, creating a "cluttered" environment. Special rooms for representational purposes do not come into question. With a limited amount of space at one's disposal, multi-functionality was a necessity, and no explanation needs to be sought for a particular pre-modern European spatial organization pattern.

Beds, bed linen, and cooking equipment were kept in both locations of the two-room ground-floor household of the imperial builder Bonifacius Wolmut, which was located across from the bell tower of St. Stephen's Church. The garden was used as a storage area.⁶² The central living area of Jiřík Lynder's three-room household on Široká Street was made of the *svietnice*, the side where a stove was located, and "the cellar across from the *svietnice*," furnished with five beds and cooking utensils.

In the six-room, two-story household of the painter Baptista and Mandalena Grafeus, which was located in the Jewish Garden, the upstairs *pokoj* and adjacent *komora* served together as the central living space of the house.⁶³ In the *komora*, furnished with cooking utensils and two beds, one slept and stored cooking utensils; in the *pokoj*, furnished with an oven and two tables, one cooked, ate, and probably generally amused oneself.

The same type of arrangement can be seen in the six-room, two-story household of Jiřík Frič on the lower Horse Market. The *komora* "off the *mázhaus*" was furnished with a bed, bed linen, and cooking equipment. The adjacent *svietnice*, furnished with a stove and dishware, was the location where one ate and generally came together. Two additional beds were located in the upstairs porch (*laube*).

While multi-functionality in smaller households should be seen as a spatial necessity, multi-functional organization of larger houses or households is another matter. With more available space, there are more choices on how to organize one's living and work space. The availability of certain locations of the home as representational space, thus, becomes a real option. Another important factor in the spatial organization of one's home, in

⁶² Wolmut's inventory identifies three locations, one of which is "the space in the garden."

⁶³ The inventory of Baptista Grafeus identifies four locations; that of his wife Mandalena six. From this it is to be assumed that the household was made up of at least six rooms.

addition to available space, was social occupational requirements and demands.

In considering the organizational structure of households, it is important to distinguish the contributing factors to the problem (how a household could be organized) and the solution to that problem (how a household ultimately was organized). Occupational requirements and socio-economic limits were important factors which shaped the functional-spatial organization of the household. The house was the physical environment where the local and market economy was translated into the daily life of home and work. At the same time, however, it is not possible to show that these factors went beyond a general influence to actually determine the functional spatial organization of the burgher house.

The presence of the hearth, for example, was indeed an important factor in a house's functional structure, particularly with respect to cooking. However, in the large, complex environment of the burgher house of the late 16th and early 17th century, it was not the center of house and home, as it was in the beginnings of urban society in one-floor houses composed of two or three rooms. It is difficult to identify the center of some of these large houses where multi-functionality is the principle of organization. That is not to say, however, that there are no patterns.

This study contends that no socio-economic factors can be identified that predetermine the organizational layout of specific households. Each household in the center of the New City represents a particular multi-functional solution based on a cross of prototypes, which correspond to a particular requirement or demand: residential, artisanal workshop, merchant, and rentier-agricultural.

What follows is a presentation of the functional organization structures of a few households from the center of the New City. They are classified according to the dominant prototype.

I.3.8. LARGE ARTISANAL HOUSEHOLD: BRIKČÍ ZVONÁŘ Z CIMPERKU (BELLMAKER, COUNCILOR) - 1550-1602

The household of Brikcí z Cimperku, master bellmaker and New City councilor, located in the two-story "Bell House" on Široká Street, took up more than thirty locations. [See fig. II.4.11.] He resided and worked in the house from his birth in

1550 to his death in 1602. Right before his death, the household consisted of Brikcí himself, his second wife Alžběta z Volfenburgu, his son Bartoloměj, Bartoloměj's wife Kateřina and their son Brikcí Jan, Ludmila, who was the widow of Brikcí's son Brikcí, Jr., their child Jan Křištof, two female cooks, and three apprentices.⁶⁴

Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku was a member of the city council, but he probably spent much of his day in the workshop that his grandfather had inherited in the first quarter of the 16th century.⁶⁵ Brikcí's workshop took up seven locations around the courtyard on the ground floor. Široká Street had remained in the 16th century the metal-working district of the city that it had become after the founding of the New City in the mid-14th century. Mining and metalwork were at a sophisticated level in Bohemia and metalwork had become a highly specialized and diversified trade.⁶⁶ Urban metal-working shops like Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku's were comprised of an area in a house where material culture was both used, as tools, as well as produced, as finished products.⁶⁷ Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku's bellmaking workshop on Široká Street in the New City was one of the most elaborate in the city.

In addition to the foundry (*hut*), which was only on the west end of Široká Street, the workshop included four storage areas for raw materials and finished products, and additional storage areas for miscellaneous items affiliated with the workshop. Adjacent to these work areas was a mixed-storage area and a wine storage area.

⁶⁴ Brikcí was married twice, first with Voršile, and later with Alžběta z Volfenburgu. With Voršile he had four children: Bartoloměj, Brikcí Jr., Simon, and Anna. The oldest child, Bartoloměj, married Kateřina in 1602 and they had a child: Jan Brikcí. Brikcí Jr. was married twice and had a son: Jan Křištof. Simon married Anna Štefková z Čichanova. Anna married Ondřej Kociur z Votina. Z. Winter, "Zvonařové z Cimperku" [The Bell Makers of Cimperc], PA XVII (1896-97): 444-49.

⁶⁵ On the material world of artisans, see Handwerk und Sachkultur im Spätmittelalter (=Sb. Ak. Wien, phil.-hist. Kl. 513/11), Wien 1988.

⁶⁶ On iron mining and iron technology in Bohemia during this period, see R. Pleiner et al., Dějiny hutnictví v Československu [The History of Mining in Czechoslovakia], díl 1, Praha 1984.

⁶⁷ On the artisanal work of workshops such as Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku, see D. Stará, Cín. Z dějin konvářství. Katalog výstavy v NM z Praze [Tin. From the History of Bohemian Metalwork. Exhibition Catalogue of the National Museum in Prague], Praha 1972.

In spite of its sophistication, its operations and equipment were simple. The bellmaking process involved melting down metal that had been mined and produced elsewhere, pouring the molten metal into molds, and finish shaping and decorating the product. Of the three major types of foundry used in the period - reduction fire, "fine" oven (*zkujňovací*) and shaft furnace - the type that Brikcí had is unknown.⁶⁸ The tools of the trade included weights and small shovels, to measure and move raw material, hammers to work the metal, saws, and cutting knives (*radlice, krojidlo*). Acid was used in cutting and engraving the metal. The raw metal came in different sizes and shapes: tin, small and large brass balls; and iron pieces of various types, including rails (*šínů*) and an unknown type (*klygerasů*). The products of Brikcí's workshop included cow bells, cymbals, bells, and small and large shovels.

Next to the workshop, which was located on the ground floor off of the courtyard, was a bedroom containing one bed and a sleeping location furnished with three beds, a bath, and a wine storage. These locations may have been for apprentices or other servants. Some apprentices slept in a room on the first floor specially designed for them, which was furnished with a bed.

Brikcí's wife had a bedroom of her own on the first floor furnished with two beds. Adjacent to her bedroom were two additional locations, each containing two beds and a storage area for clothes. One of them was probably the room where Brikcí's son Bartoloměj slept. A cooking storage area "in front of the room where the windows lie" and a "kitchen" were also on the first floor. A chest belonging to Brikcí's wife is found alone in a nearby "room" (*pokoj*).

Brikcí himself probably slept in the "large upstairs *svietnice*" containing one bed and decorated with a portrait of the emperor, a map of Vienna, and a map of Moravia. Adjacent to the *svietnice* were other rooms of representational character. One room (*pokoj*) was decorated with twenty-eight pictures. A location of a wash basin in the room indicates that Brikcí probably washed up here in privacy when he did not wish to wash in the "bath" located in the courtyard. The "large *svietnice*," decorated with eight pictures, had a desk that contained books and art. Across from the "large *svietnice*" was a "gentlemen's room" (*pánský pokoj* or *Herrenzimmer*). The room off the balcony was furnished with two large tables and a small table.

⁶⁸ R. Pleiner et al., *Dějiny hutnictví* (note 66), pp. 71-80.

A few important things to note in this household are, on the one hand, how few bedrooms it had relative to the total size of the house, and, on the other hand, the presence of separate bedrooms for the head of the household and his wife. Brikcí's oldest son, Bartoloměj, and Bartoloměj's wife and child lived in the house, but there does not seem to have been a bedroom for them nor is there a specifically named location for where they slept. While bedrooms are few, representational rooms are more numerous.

The most striking feature of his household was its relative functional and physical orderliness. While neither individual rooms nor floors can be described as having a particular function, specific "blocks" of the house seem to be related to specific individuals, i.e., the workshop, the servant's block, Brikcí's block and Brikcí's wife's block.

I.3.9. MEDIUM-SIZE ARTISANAL HOUSEHOLD: MARKYTA KOTLÁŘKA (SMITH), 1537-1580

The smith Markyta Kotlářka was Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku's next door neighbor. She kept two households on Široká Street. The eleven-location, two-story residence in house no. 748 or 746-II was her main residence and a central work area for her metal workshop.⁶⁹ [See fig. II.4.12.]

The main household was made up of five rooms on the ground-floor and five on the first floor around a courtyard (hence, eleven locations).

The courtyard served as the workshop area. While Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku's production specialized in bells, Markyta produced the ubiquitous and versatile pots and kettles of various sizes (*kotly*, *kotlíky*, *hrnce*, and *hrníčky*), made out of brass and copper, that were found in large quantities in New City households and used for cooking, bathing, and washing; she also made tubs, which were less common in New City households.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ She and her husband Buryan Kotlář bought the house in 1537 (SÚRPMO pasport čp 748-II). After Buryan's death in 1562, she lived there with her second husband Tomáš Krumlovský until her death in 1580. Buryan Kotlář probably died shortly after registering his Civic Will in 1562 (AMP 2207.f. 403a); Marketa died in 1580 (AMP 2208 f.498a).

⁷⁰ D. Stará, *Cin. Z dějin konvářství* (note 67).

Other locations on the ground floor included a kitchen; a “second kitchen” and “larder”, both of which served as storage areas for kitchen utensils; a “large *svietnice*” furnished with a stove, six tables, three chairs, and a bed; and a bedroom furnished with two beds and two chests containing clothes and books.

On the second story were an empty “upstairs chamber;” “the chamber where the female cooks sleep,” furnished with one bed; “the chamber where the apprentices sleep,” furnished with four beds; the *mázhaus*, which functioned as a tool storage room; and “the upstairs cellar” containing one bed and eleven chests filled with dishware and objects of applied art.

Also on Široká Street was a seven-room, two-story household, which served as Kotlárka’s second residence and workshop storage area. The second household was made up of three locations on the ground floor and three on the first floor around a courtyard. On the ground floor was a *svietnice* furnished with a stove; a “rear *svietnice*,” also furnished with a stove; and “the bath,” which served as a storage room for finished bath tubs. On the first floor were a “cellar” furnished with a stove; another “cellar” which served as a mixed-storage area; and an “upstairs chamber” containing bed linen.

What is striking about this second household is the large percentage of rooms that were devoted directly or indirectly to the workshop - including the two sleeping locations and the storage location on the second floor, the cooking and eating facilities on the ground floor, and almost the entire second house.

1.3.10. MEDIUM-SIZE RENTIER-AGRICULTURAL HOUSEHOLD: MARTIN MASOPUST - UNTIL 1592

The eleven-location, two-story household of Martin Masopust located on the corner of the Horse Market and *Nově Dláždění* (today *Jindřišská* street), was exactly the same size as Markyta Kotlárka’s household. [See fig. II.4.13.] Martin Masopust lived in the house with his wife Dorota and daughter Eva until his death in 1592.⁷¹

Martin Masopust, a member of the New City Council, earned a living from his agriculture holdings. From these agricultural holdings, Masopust produced and served beer. By the late 15th

⁷¹ AMP 2209 f.77a; AMP 2146 248a-249a.

century, beer brewing had developed to a profitable economic activity in Bohemia and an issue of dispute between the nobility and the royal cities, at whose head stood Prague. In the capital city, beer brewing was not practiced as an organized trade, nor was the right to brew beer open to all burghers or to house owners. Only a few houses held the privilege of beer brewing, such as the Masopust house.⁷²

Since beer brewing was not a trade, those engaging in it did not take on apprentices, as did smiths, such as Markyta Kotlářka, with medium-sized workshops. Nevertheless, Martin Masopust's household illustrates that beer brewing and beer serving in the home also demanded a major percentage of space just as the metal working trade did.

In the Masopust house, the process of beer production, which involved the production of malt from barley, as well as the brewing process, were performed in the barn where the barley was stored, the "malt room" (*hvozda*) and the "chamber on the balcony." The serving of beer, an additional economical activity, took place in the hall (*siň*), which was furnished with eight tables and three chairs, and in the "downstairs *svietnice*," which was furnished with a stove and four tables.⁷³

At the time an inventory was taken, nineteen chairs were located in the "cellar that lead from the [downstairs] *svietnice*." Although these chairs were placed there at that time, they probably belong to the *svietnice*. This cellar served primarily as a bedroom and was furnished with three beds and a picture. In the adjacent "second *svietnice*" were located two tables and a picture.

Cooking in the Masopust house was performed in the room called "the larder." The adjacent or semi-adjacent "large *svietnice*" probably was one of the central living areas of the household where the family ate. As was true with the Kotlářka house, the

⁷² On the history and economics of beer brewing in the Pre-White Mountain period, see J. Janáček, *Pivovarnictví v českých královských městech v 16. století* [Beer Brewing in the Royal Cities of Bohemia in the 16th Century], *Rozpravy ČSAV*, řada S, ročník 69, 1959, sešit 1. On the history of beer, in general, see J. Staněk, *Blahoslavený sládek. Kapitoly z dějin piva*. [The Blessed Brewer. Chapters in the History of Beer,] Praha 1984.

⁷³ On the technology of beer brewing, see J. Daněk, P. Ferkl & S. Procházka, *Technologie pro 4. ročník SPŠ potravinářské technologie-obor kvasná technologie* [Technology for Fourth-year Level Studies in Food Technology-Brewing Technology] Praha, 1982.

Masopust house had a bedroom (furnished with three beds) along with a chest, which contained clothes, art, and jewelry.

1.3.11. MEDIUM-SIZE MERCHANT HOUSEHOLD:
ADAM TATEK (CLOTH MERCHANT) - 1582

The cloth merchant Adam Tatek owned a fourteen-room, two-story house on the lower Horse Market, which provides a further example of a medium-size household. In the last years before his death, Tatek lived in the house with his children Viclav, Eva, and Salomena (a minor).⁷⁴ [See fig. II.4.14.]

Although he lived in the New City, Tatek probably sold his goods in the Old City because he owned three storage cellars on Havel Market.⁷⁵ He must have been fairly successful in his business activities. In contrast to his artisan and patrician neighbors, he had, in addition to a cook who slept in an upstairs chamber, a number of other servants (*pacholíci*) who slept in two beds in a "chamber under the roof" which was located adjacent to the female cook's room.

In Tatek's house, cooking and eating probably took place in the same upstairs "kitchen." The four rooms adjacent to the "kitchen"- the "large *svietnice*," the "*mázhaus*," the "*svietnice* next to the kitchen," and the "room" (*pokoj*) - were furnished with multiple tables and chairs, suggesting that these were rooms where guests were served. Given the absence of beer or wine storage, the presence of such large numbers of rooms for this purpose appears curious.

An additional characteristic feature of the Tatek house, in contrast to the medium-size artisanal and patrician households of Markyta Kotlářka and Martin Masopust, is the large number of bedrooms. In addition to the locations on the ground floor where beds were located, two of these locations (the *svietnice* and "the cellar on the stairs") were sleeping locations furnished with beds and chests, one containing art objects and clothes, the other containing art objects and bed linen. The *mázhaus* on the ground floor contained two cabinets in which dishware was stored.

⁷⁴ AMP 2208 f. 228b.

⁷⁵ This is provided by his inventory.

I.3.12. LARGE-SIZE MERCHANT HOUSEHOLD ("AT THE GOLDEN BEAR"): LORENC ŠTORK Z ŠTORKENFELSU (CLOTH MERCHANT - OLD CITY)

The household of the cloth merchant Lorenc Štork z Štorkfelsu in the still surviving house "at the Golden Bear" on the Tanner's Alley (*Kožená ulice*) in the Old City (House no. 475-I) provides an interesting counterpart to Adam Tatek's.⁷⁶ The Štork house is interesting not only because of its large site and curious, irregular shape. The four-story corner house with two subterranean basement rooms would be even more imposing in the more spatial environment of the New City than in the crowded, narrow landscape of the Old City. But the household represents one of the most enormous storage spaces of any cloth merchant's house in any of the Prague cities of the period.

With the exception of six or seven rooms on the top floor, all the rooms in this house containing over fifty rooms were devoted to the cloth trade. Among the business areas of the house were three or four offices (*Schreibstuben*). Storage took over the rest of the house. This is not the case in the house of cloth merchant Adam Tatek in the New City, because Tatek stored the bulk of his stock in two cellars in the Old City. Štork's interior, which was literally stuffed from floor to ceiling with cloth, boldly contrasted with the exterior that had undergone trendy Renaissance renovation.

I.3.13. MEDIUM-SIZE ARTISAN HOUSEHOLD: BURYAN PERNÍKÁŘ (GINGERBREAD BAKER)

While the home cloth trade could result in a particularly crowded environment, the home as storage facility was not limited to this trade. The main residence of the gingerbread baker Buryan Perníkář in house no. 778-II on the lower Horse Market is another example of a large storage area in a living area. In this case, the major household and bakery were located in eleven rooms.⁷⁷ Cooking and sleeping were performed in the *svietnice*,

⁷⁶ The inventory of Lorenc Štork z Štorkenfelsu is AMP 1175. Fol. 79.; inventory of previous owner, Jan Netter z Glauchova and followers in J. Teige, *Základy starého mistopisu Pražského* [Foundations of the Historical Topography of Prague], Praha 1910.

⁷⁷ The three locations of the second adjacent house are the balcony, courtyard and cellar.

and cooking utensils were found in “the space before the kitchen” rather than in the kitchen. Honey was found in a total of five other locations, including the bakery and the room where the cook sleeps! (The bakery of Martin Cukrář, which engaged the related, more general baking field, located in his home on the south end of the street.)

1.3.14. LARGE-SIZE RENTIER-AGRICULTURAL HOUSEHOLD OF THE LOWER NOBILITY: TOBIÁŠ NEJEDLÝ Z VÝSOKÉ

Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké owned and lived on two properties on the corner of *Široká* Street and *Na příkopě*. His main residence was the twenty-seven location “Strnada House” (house no. 36b-II). In the adjacent “Caltovský house” (house no. 37a?-II), Nejedlý inhabited four ground-floor locations. In size, the Nejedlý household in the “Strnada house” was one of the larger households on the street and was comparable to the household of the “Bell Makers of Cimperku.” In its organization, however, it differed. Unlike many of his artisan neighbors, Nejedlý was a member of the lower nobility.

The kitchen and the adjacent “cellar” were the areas of the house where cooking and eating, respectively, took place. A “larder” located next to the kitchen served as a storage place for kitchen utensils. Furnished with a stove, a bed and three tables, the *svietnice* also served as sleeping location, eating room, and place to gather. The adjacent “cellar” with one bed and “second cellar” with three beds served as additional sleeping locations. Five “chambers,” including two across from the stables and two underground were storage locations for wine.

Six locations on the first floor served as sleeping locations: “chambers” (one of them “where Jindřich slept”), the “room (*pokoj*) on the balcony” and the “second *svietnice*,” and an additional adjacent “chamber” as a storage room for bed linen.

Tobiáš himself slept in a “cellar [of the Caltovský house] which led from the Strnada house.” Next to this room was a “second cellar” that served as eating and washing room and a *svietnice* with five tables that probably also served as an eating room. Tobiáš also had wine stored in an “underground cellar” of the Strnada house.

I.3.15. LARGE-SIZE RENTIER-AGRICULTURAL HOUSEHOLD OF THE LOWER NOBILITY: VÁCLAV KAMARYZ Z ROVIN

Václav Kamaryt z Rovin the Younger was a member of one of the most distinguished families in the New City. With its twenty-two locations, his household in the Strabachovský house on the north corner of the Horse Market and *Na příkopě* was closer in size to the household of Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku. In its organization, however, it resembled more the household of Martin Masopust.

Like Masopust, Kamaryt's income was based on agriculture holdings. In contrast to Masopust, he translated this income into wine rather than beer. Since the mid-14th century when Emperor Charles IV ordered the first vineyards planted outside of the city, Prague and the rest of Bohemia became bi-alcoholic (beer and wine drinking) in addition to being bilingual (German and Czech-speaking).⁷⁸ If one were to draw borders in Europe according to beverage, Eastern Europe would begin in Poland, where the wine border ends and the vodka border begins. Bohemia lies firmly in the part of Central Europe where beer and wine intermingle. In the heart of the New City of Prague, beer and wine intermingled among the houses and inns.

Wine production is a much simpler process than beer brewing. The crushing of the grapes often took place in the vineyard *outside* of the city. Václav Kamaryt z Rovin stored his wine in the stables and in the "cellar on the courtyard on the left side under the upper *svietnice*." Wine would have been served in the Kamaryt house in the downstairs "*svietnice*," the "large downstairs *svietnice*," in the "*svietnice* of deceased," the "large *mázhaus*," or "the big chamber off the *mázhaus*," which were furnished, respectively, with a table and two chairs; four tables and three chairs; one large table; three small tables, three benches and a bed (*lůžko*); one large table, two small tables, and a bed (*lože*); and two small tables, two benches, and six beds (*postel*).

It is not possible here to distinguish between wine serving rooms meant as a source of income and drinking rooms meant to serve private guests. It is interesting to note here not only the

⁷⁸ On the planting of Prague vineyards, see M.Válková-Frýzová, "Úřad perkmistra pražských viničných hor" [The Office of the Master of the Prague Vineyards], SPDMHP IV (1930): 1-48.

relatively large number of rooms meant to receive guests but also the presence of beds in these rooms, and the large number of rooms in which beds are found (seven rooms).

The "svietnice of the deceased [Václav Kamaryt z Rovin]" was furnished with a bed, a large table, three small tables, and three benches and is much less a bedroom and much more equipped to receive guests than Brikcí's bedroom. Like Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku's room, however, it too was decorated with a large picture collection (twenty-five large and small). This room, along with the "mázhaus in front of the svietnice of the deceased," furnished with a table and two paintings, could be seen as a much smaller, though nevertheless personal block within a much more open, public household. The female cook in the Kamaryt household, as in the household of Brikcí Zvonař, resided on the first floor, but in much closer proximity to Kamaryt's personal block than Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku's cook did.

I.3.16. LARGE-SIZE RENTIER-AGRICULTURAL HOUSEHOLD: ANNA ŽLUTICKÁ Z BERNAREČKU & JIŘÍK ŠVÍK Z LUKONOS

Across the street from the Masopust house on the southwest and southeast corners of the Horse Market and *Vodičková* Streets were some of the most important patrician households in the New City - respectively, the household of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku and her husband Jiřík Švík z Lukonos in the Žlutický house, and the household of Jiljí Perger z Častalovic in house no. 791-II.

Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku and her husband Jiřík Švík z Lukonos had two adjacent houses: the corner house (house no. 792-II) and the "new structure." Unlike the two houses of Markyta Kotlářka on Široká Street in which one was primary and the other secondary, these houses were functionally and perhaps also spatially joined. The inventories indicate that Ann Žlutická z Bernarečku's household in the "new structure" had twenty-seven locations and the household in house no. 792-II six locations. Jiřík Švík's inventory in house no. 792-II shows eight locations and the "new structure" eleven.

Jiljí Perger z Častalovic's household is perhaps the most complex, the most revealing, and the most interesting in the center of the New City. Perger, like Kamaryt, was of a distinguished family and had served as a prominent councilor of the New City. The household of Jiljí Perger can be described as a combination of the three prototype homes: rentier-agricultural,

host, and communal. House no. 791-II, the physical structure in which Jilji Perger z Častalovic's household was located, served at the same time as his home, a location of wine and beer production, wine and beer sale, as well as a proxy city hall.

In the basement floor were two storage rooms for wine. On the ground floor, one location was devoted to beer brewing; another was a bedroom and storage area for an extremely large collection of art, books, and clothes; one room was a representational living area furnished with a marble table, a cabinet with weapons, and eight pictures; and another was a representational room "where office was held."

On the first floor were a room where tools and equipment only were stored; a room "where children sleep;" a room "where the son sleeps," a bedroom containing thirty-two beds and a large collection of art, books, and clothes in storage; and a chamber for weapons in an amount that suggests that they were for civic rather than personal use.

In this chapter, multi-functionality was presented as a major characteristic of household and street organization. While it was not an exclusive feature of the New City or even of Prague as a whole, it manifested itself in a particular way in the New City. The layout of the Market House; the sharing of bathing and cooking activities between the house, street, and communal institutions; and the division between residential areas of the house and those devoted to beer brewing, wine making, and artisanal work met the specific local needs of New City artisans, merchants, and those engaged in agricultural-rentier activities. Together with the dual heritage of earlier imperial rule and revolution, multi-functionality helped to shape the particular nature of the landscape of the New City in the second half of the 16th century, into which the artisan, merchant, or noble was born or moved.

I.4. The Range and Hierarchy of Choice

In contrast to the Bohemian nobles who in the wake of the fire of 1541 increasingly set up residence in Prague's Castle Hill and Small Side, residents of the New City did not have much choice on the basic layout of their streets, or the size and configuration of their houses. And they possessed a significantly smaller piece of their wealth in the kingdom.¹ But even with these limitations, they had a similar set of options available to them in fashioning their homes and neighborhoods.²

House construction, renovation, changes in interior design, and investment in expensive jewelry, dishware, clothes, and art objects can be identified with households in the center of the New City during the second half of the 16th century. Many of these activities testify to the wide diffusion of Renaissance styles and modes within the city beyond royal/imperial and noble circles. Others provide evidence of the participation by residents of the New City in the renewal of the ecclesiastical landscape. What distinguished the cultural activities of the city dweller, as they related to Renaissance styles and modes and a new approach to the material culture of the sacred associated with Catholic reform, was the piecemeal, hodgepodge way they were appropriated. This piecemeal approach must be seen as part of a larger characteristic relationship to material culture relating to the multi-functional setting of the city and Hussite traditions.

¹ After the Hussite Revolution, approximately 90% of the total real estate of the Kingdom was in the hands of the nobility. The royal cities together possessed only 5%, the church also approximately 5%. F. Seibt, "Renaissance in Böhmen," in *Renaissance in Böhmen*, F. Seibt (Hrsg.), München 1985, p. 16.

² The relationship between art and economics is an age-old theme. Two recent works address the theme as it relates in particular to European cities in the early modern period. Richard Goldwithe's *Art and Wealth in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore, 1993) is a sophisticated elaboration of his thesis of conspicuous consumption first put forth in *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, Baltimore 1980. Many key problematic issues are also raised in B. Roeck, K. Bergholt & A.J. Martin (Hrsg.), *Venedig und Deutschland in der Renaissance: Beziehung zwischen Kunst und Wirtschaft*, Sigmaringen 1983.

I.4.1. LOCATION OF RESIDENCE - NEW HOUSE CONSTRUCTION, RESIDENCY PATTERNS, HOUSE SALE FREQUENCY

Foreign visitors to Prague during the period noted that the settlement on the right bank of the Vltava was much denser than that on the Castle Hill and Small Side. Space was available, however, in the Old City and even to a greater extent in the New City for burghers wishing to build new houses. The Sadeler engraving shows the wide open areas that still existed within the walls of the New City at the beginning of the 17th century.

Even in densely built up areas, it was possible to find room for new construction at sites where existing houses did not take up the whole plot. Surviving examples of new houses dating from the mid-16th century in the Old City are the house of Jakub Granovský z Granova, located off the courtyard of the church of Maria-on-the-Teyn near the Old Town Square; and House no. 463-I in Melantrich Street.³ Granovský's father received the plot from Ferdinand for his loyalty during the Uprising of 1547.⁴ Approximately twelve-hundred new residential houses were constructed on the right bank of the Vltava river during the second half of the 16th century: 950 in the Old City; 250 in the New City.⁵

On the lower Horse Market and west end of Široká Street, areas that had been parceled out and built up during the late 14th and early 15th centuries, only one new house construction can be documented for the late 16th century: the "new structure" (*nové stavení*) adjacent to the Žlutický house (house no. 792-II) on the corner of the Horse Market and one of its major cross streets, Vodičková Street. This structure was the site of the households of Anna Žlutická b Bernarečku and Jiřík Švík z Lukonos, husband and wife.

³ D. Libal, "Bürgerliche Architektur in Prag zur Zeit Rudolfs II.," Prag um 1600. Beiträge zur Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Rudolf II, E. Fučíková (Hrsg.), Freven 1988, pp. 171-75.

⁴ E. Šamánková, Architektura české renesance [Architecture of the Bohemian Renaissance], Praha 1961, p. 67.

⁵ F. Dvorský, "O počtu domů v Praze a královských městech v Čechách v 16.-19. století," [On the Number of Houses in Prague and other Royal Cities in Bohemia from the 16th to the 19th Centuries], ČČM LV (1881): 478-494 & LVII (1882): 57-73.

House sale patterns suggest that there was a prestige of living in the densely built areas around the Horse Market despite the availability of open land in many areas of the New City. For some areas, a partial explanation for residency patterns can be found in both necessity and tradition. Široká Street, for example, was the only area of the city where metal-working could be undertaken. Many metal-workers chose the street, however, not only for their main place of residence and work (which they were required to do) but for additional property investment as well. Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku owned three houses on Široká Street, at least two of them on the west end of the street. Markyta Kotlářka had two houses, each of which bordered on one of Brikcí's houses. In effect, within the provided limitations, metalworkers such as Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku and Maryta Kotlářka used the trade restriction to their advantage, building influence through acquisition of property in local neighborhoods.

Moreover, even in other areas where there were no trade restrictions, house sale patterns support the notion that people tended to choose their residence in one specific area, sometimes even their second or third house on the same block or side of the block. Three residential sub-districts can be identified in the center of the New City for the second half of the 16th century: metal-workers on the west end of Široká Street, a small enclave of estate office houses on the east side of Široká Street, and a group of influential families on the corner of the Horse Market with Vodičková Street and Dlaždění (today *Jindřišská ulice*).

The large intersection of the Horse Market with Vodičková Street and Dlaždění was a natural, strategic location. The attraction and development of the enclave of house holders to the east of Široká Street is not so clear. House ownership patterns do not provide any revealing information. Perhaps the first office-holder landed there by chance and the others came through word of mouth. Also, it is not clear why the imperial guard Thomas Knydrmon chose to live across from the New City Hall and the imperial architect Bonifacius Wolmut across from the parish church of St. Stephen (*Sv. Štěpána*). In any case, however, house ownership patterns do demonstrate that the New City presented itself as an attractive location for both natives and newcomers to the city.

The frequency of house sales in the center of the New City was high, and the length of occupancy correspondingly short. [See fig. II.4.4.] As interesting as these figures are in dispelling the notion

of long, intergenerational ties to particular houses, they can also be deceiving. The quick turnaround of houses is not necessarily a sign of major changes in social topography. First of all, it is important to note that the rate of change of individual houses varied. Some owners and their families did live for decades in a single house. Bartoš Beraunský, the grandfather of Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku, took over ownership of the "Bell House" (House no. 747-II) on Široká Street in 1528, when he married the widow of the previous owner. It remained in the hands of the "Bellmakers of Cimperku" until 1602, when Brikcí's estate was divided into three parts a year after his death.⁶ Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné likewise took over ownership of the house "At the Black Rose" (*u černé Růže* - House no. 853-II) on *Na příkopě* in 1542 by marrying the previous owner's widow. He remained owner and lived in the house until 1583.⁷ Furthermore, as has been mentioned above, in many cases, people sold one house just to buy another in the same area or bought multiple houses in one area.

I.4.2. HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND HOUSEHOLD OCCUPANCY PATTERNS

Whether one owned or rented a house did not automatically determine one's living space. In one extreme, one could own a house and live in only one small part of it; in the other, one could rent a whole house.

House occupancy sizes in the center of the New City tended to be larger than 7 to 10, which is the range estimated for the city as a whole.⁸ House occupancy generally followed one of three models.

Occupancy of the whole space of the house by the owner's household is the model for only seven of fifty-six New City

⁶ SÚRPMO pasport domu čp 747-II; Z. Winter, "Zvonařově z Cimperku" [The Bell-Makers of Cimperg], PA XVII (1896-1897): 444-49.

⁷ SÚRPMO pasport domu čp 853-II.

⁸ The estimate of the occupancy figure of 7-10 for pre-White Mountain Prague has been put forward by A. Mika, "Počet obyvatelstvo zvláště městského v českých zemích před tri. Valkou," [The Size of the Urban Population in the Czech Lands before the Thirty Years War], *Demografie* 14 (1972): 194. Ladislav Žilka believes that the figure is higher; L. Žilka, "Hospodaření týnské farnosti na Starém Městě pražském koncem 16. a začátkem 17. století" [The Administration of the Teyn Parish in the Old City of Prague at the end of the 16th and the Beginning of the 17th Century], diplomová práce, Filozofická fakulta UK v Praze, 1988.

households that can be identified with particular houses in the center of the city. Among these were the households of Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku, Jilji Perger z Častalovic, and Václav Kamaryt z Rovin. In these cases, households were made up of the house owner (*držitel*); his wife and children; sometimes the wife and children of one of his sons; his widowed or divorced daughter and her children; servants (*pokojníci, domovníci*); perhaps a few tenants (*nájemníci*); and, in the case of artisan households, apprentices (*tovaryše*). In the last fifteen years of the 16th century, the household of Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku in the “Bell House,” which Brikcí had inherited from his father, consisted of at least twelve persons, including his wife and the family of his older son.⁹

The most common model of house occupancy was occupancy by two households. In these cases, the owner’s household occupied one portion of the house, and the remaining space was rented to another household.

Table I.4.1 Number of Locations occupied by Selected Households in Prague, 1547-1611¹⁰

<u>House Size Class I (1-5 Locations)</u>		
Kašpar Albrecht	House no. 837-II (1583)	3
<u>House Size Class II (6-10)</u>		
Jiřík Frič (painter)	House no. 785/442-II (1587)	6
<u>House Size Class III (10-16)</u>		
Markyta Kotlářka (kettle smith)	House no. 748 or 746-II (1580)	11
Martin Masopust (patrician)	House no. 832-II (1592)	11
Adam Tatek (cloth merchant)	House nos. 783-784-II (1582)	14
<u>House Size Class IV (17+)</u>		
Jilji Perger z Častalovic (patrician)	House no. 791-II (1613)	21
Václav Kamaryt t Rovin (patrician)	House no. 846-II (1595)	22
Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné (patrician)	House no. 853-II (1583)	24

⁹ Z. Winter, “Zvonařové z Cimperku” (note 6).

¹⁰ House-size classes were selected as meaningful classifications based on the data selection of this study. No other classification system is known.

Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku (bell-maker)	House no. 747-II (1601)	30
Lorenc Štork z Štorkenfeltu (cloth merchant)	House no. 475-I (1618)	50 +

Martin Masopust occupied only eleven locations in the house, representing less than a half of the total house space.¹¹ The household of the painter Baptista Grafeus and his wife Mandalena and the household of the imperial builder Bonifacius Wolmut consisted of five rooms located on the first and ground floors of their respective houses. While their houses may not have been as large as market houses, they were probably larger than the five rooms identified in their inventories.

A third model of house occupancy in the center of the New City was occupancy by one or more households, all of which rented from the owner. Pavel Cerhovský z Ružetina, a notary of the Appellate Court, rented quarters in Charvatská Street in the house next to Řehoř Pátek, likewise a notary at the Appellate court, who was a house owner. Pátek's other neighbor, Jan Nysl, likewise rented rooms.

House occupancy may have been an important option available to someone choosing to live in a prestigious area but unable to afford a large house for his or her single household.

In addition to the number of locations that were available for one's household, the burgher or city inhabitant had a wide variety of other options in fashioning that space. High among these was reconstruction of exterior or interior structural features of the house.

I.4.3. EXTERIOR HOUSE RECONSTRUCTION

As opposed to the isolated cases of new house construction, reconstruction of existing houses was widespread.¹² Most of the

¹¹ Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku's row market house on Široká Street (House no. 747-II) contained a minimum of thirty locations. Martin Masopust's corner market house on the Horse Market must have contained at least as many.

¹² On structural changes to Prague burgher houses in the 16th century, see O. Pollark, "Studien zur Geschichte der Architektur Prags 1520-1600," JKSAK XXIX, Heft 2 (1910): 12-170; D. Libal, "Bürgerliche Architektur zur Zeit Rudolfs II.," Prag um 1600, E. Fučíková (Hrsg.), note 3, pp. 171-5; E. Šamánková, Architektura české renesance (note 4); V. Kotrba, "Die nachgotische Baukunst Böhmens zur Zeit Rudolfs II.," Umění 18 no. 3 (1970): 298-332.

dispute cases appearing before the Six-Man Councils involved reconstruction, over one-third involving structures on the house exterior, such as walls, roofs, and windows.¹³

Exterior structural changes can be identified through building dispute cases on six houses in the center of the New City under study.

Table I.4.2 Exterior Structural Changes on New City Prague Houses documented in Building Contract and Dispute Cases

Jilji Perger z Častalovic (House no. 791-II) - three windows in his gable over the "svietnice" (1612).¹⁴

House no. 890-II - the widening of four windows (1606).¹⁵

House no. 772-II - the widening of windows and construction of a chimney (1607).¹⁶

Jiřík Frič (House no. 775/442-II) - upstairs loggia (*taube nahore*).¹⁷

House of Zikmund Zvonař z Cimperku on the Horse Market - the widening of the kitchen windows.¹⁸

Dorota Nejedlý z Školská - "improvements" ("zlepšeni") of the Castovský House (House no. 37a?-II) involving placing wood on the wall.¹⁹

Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku's house (House no. 747-II) - construction of eaves (*přístřešek*) in which two chimneys were installed (1556).²⁰

Windows in the late medieval Prague burgher house commonly consisted of a small hold in the wall, covered perhaps with a wooden board or a piece of animal skin. The widening of windows and the installation of window frames on burgher houses, described in a detailed fashion by building contracts, such as the one below, was an innovation of the 16th century -

Zikmund Zvonař z Cimperku [the brother of Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku who lived in Květonská Street, today's Štěpanská Street in the New City [and]...Jiřík Taupel...agreed that in the place where there was a window that let in light into the kitchen of Zikmund Zvonař, which looks into the

¹³Thirty-four percent of the building disputes in the New City and thirty-seven percent in the Old City related to the house exterior; these cases represent only a small fraction of reconstruction cases. See Part II of this study for a detailed structural breakdown of building contract and dispute cases.

¹⁴ AMP 2149 f. 284a.

¹⁵ AMP 2149 f. 256a.

¹⁶ AMP 2149 f. 259b-260.

¹⁷ Documented by his inventory; see index for reference.

¹⁸ AMP 2149 f. 158b-159a.

¹⁹ AMP 2149 f. 212a-213a.

²⁰ AMP 2149 f. 98b.

courtyard of Jiřík Taupel...Zikmund may expand and renovate this window and secure it with iron gates and glass...²¹

The “widening of the windows” that lay at the heart of many building dispute cases referred, in most cases, to the installation of simple, elegant Renaissance windows. The installation of these windows often meant, however, the installation of new frames, not necessarily frames with sheet glass. Until the late 16th century, burgher houses with glass windows used an ordinary type of glass known as green glass, which consisted of a sheet of small glass balls, which was common throughout Central Europe.²² Sheet glass windows could be found in some burghers houses in the 15th century, but they were expensive. Only beginning in the middle of the 16th century did it become a common feature on some noble palaces and burgher houses. A detail of the Sadeler engraving of the Vladislav Hall at the beginning of the 17th century shows that even its delicate, Renaissance windows had glass with small balls rather than sheet glass.

The installation of new window frames often but not always was accompanied by their redesign into a symmetric scheme. A photograph of the Masopust house (House no. 832-II) taken at the end of the 19th century when it still stood, shows its Renaissance gables and windows arranged assymmetrically. In 1600-01 the neighboring house (House no. 833-II) underwent massive reconstruction in which two rectangular windows, two circular windows, and an arbor (*altán*) were installed, and a wall was repaired.²³ Renaissance gables and windows can also be seen on a drawing of the facade of house no. 783-II before its reconstruction in 1804. An old photograph capturing a corner section of the Perger house (House no. 791-II), taken at the turn of the 20th century before it was destroyed, identifies this structure as a tower with Renaissance gables.

Other common reconstruction features documented by building disputes were the installation of Italian-style *loggia*, which included in some cases the replacement of traditional terraces and balconies (*pavlač*), as well as roofs, gables, eaves, and overhangings. Building disputes identify *loggia* on two

²¹ AMP 2149 f. 158b-159a.

²² Z. Winter, V měšťanské světnici starodavné. Kulturní studie o patnáctém a šestnáctém století [In the Traditional Urban Světnice. A Cultural Study about the 15th and 16th Centuries], Praha, no date, p. 12.

²³ AMP 2149 f. 223a-224a.

houses beside the Horse Market.²⁴ The first building in Prague to have Italian-style *loggia* was the Belvedere in the gardens of the Prague castle. After 1550, *loggia* began to appear on burgher houses as well, such as the house “At the Golden Bear” (*u zlatých medvíků*) and the Granovský house, both located in the Old City.²⁵

These exterior renovation features, including new Renaissance-style window frames, a new symmetric ordering of windows, gables, and *loggia*, brought about a major visual transformation of the house and street landscape and can be seen, therefore, as indications of pretension. New facade decoration, known as *sgraffito*, and new stone portals, also Renaissance innovations, many of which have survived to this day, appear neither in inventories nor in building dispute cases but should be considered, nevertheless, together with the other innovations as important signs of pretension.²⁶

I.4.4. INTERIOR HOUSE CONSTRUCTION

Interior structural innovations were just as frequent in New City Prague burgher houses as exterior renovations. In almost all cases, the interior renovations were the construction of vaulted ceilings, a Renaissance innovation.²⁷

Table I.4.3 Interior Structural Renovations in New City Prague Houses as documented by Building Disputes and Inventories

Václav Kamaryt z Rovín (House no. 846-II) - a new room; “pokoj nový v siní před svietnice” (location 9).

Václav Kamaryt z Rovín (House no. 846-II) vaulted study; “kancelář klenutý” (location 18).

Mikuláš Sklenář - a “structure” built in his home along the common wall to House No. 34a-II of Magalena Jilovská (1521).²⁸

²⁴ The beginning of the nine folio-page dispute reads “In response to a dispute between Lev Vokatý and his neighbor Markus Meyzl...Lev Vokatý shows the officers [of the Six-Man Council]...the loggia and arcade under the house of Markus Meyzl...and in the place where there had been one window...there were now thirteen windows... which Meyzl had built.” AMP 2149 f. 284a.

²⁵ The Granovský house added on a loggia in 1559-60; E. Šamánková, *Architektura české renesance* (note 4), p. 67

²⁶ On burgher portals, see O. Pollark, “Studien zur Geschichte der Architektur Prags (note 12).

²⁷ E. Šamánková, *Architektura české renesance* (note 4), p. 44.

²⁸ AMP 2149 fl. 169b.

Magdalena Hvězdová (House no. 782-II) - room with vaulted ceiling; "svietnice klenutý" (location 3).
 Jan Slon (House no. 777-II) - rooms with vaulted ceilings; "sklipek klenutý na schodich" (location 3) and co-adjacent "sklep klenutý proti svietnici dole v sin" (location 5)
 Jiřík Frič (House no. 775/442-II) - vaulted room; "sklipek klenutý na dvoře" (location 5) and "Iaube nahoře."
 Kateřina Vodičková (House no. 699-II) - vaulted room; "svietnice malá v klenutý jda po schodily na dvoře" (location 10)
 Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké (The Caltovský House - House no. 37a?-II) - construction of a vaulted room (1582).²⁹

Vaulted ceilings represented as significant a visual change in the interior of burgher houses as windows, gables, and portals represented on the outside. As such, they too can be seen as signs of pretension.

In short, for nearly every house beside the lower Horse Market, inventories and building disputes document an interior or exterior structural change in the second half of the 16th century. The center of the New City, like Prague as a whole, underwent a face-lift. The Sadeler engraving shows extensive Renaissance facades in the Old and New cities in the year 1606. Popular pamphlets of the execution of the leaders of the Estate Rebellion of 1618 on Old Town Square in the year 1620 show Renaissance facades on the houses on the entire north side of the square. These facades provide just the surface of the widespread visual transformation Prague and other Central European cities underwent during the period.

Renaissance architecture became fashionable in the whole city, including in the castle of Rudolf II, noble places and in burgher houses of Catholics and Utraquists. Six-Man Council records describe the extensive Renaissance features on the large house that was owned by Markus Meyzl, son of the famous rabbi Mordecai Meyzl on the Wide Street in the Old City.³⁰ This house illustrates that Renaissance features extended beyond Catholic and Utraquist circles to Jews as well. Meyzl's house was comparable in its grand scale and widespread Renaissance structural features to burgher houses in the New City, such as the Masopust house on the Horse Market.

²⁹ AMP 2149 f. 170 a & b.

³⁰ AMP 473 f. 89a-107b.

I.4.5. DECORATING THE INTERIOR OF THE NEW CITY BURGHER HOUSE: EXCEPTIONAL FURNITURE, WALL DECORATIONS

In addition to exterior and interior structural changes to the burgher house, a number of innovations can be identified in the interior of burgher houses that were similar to those undertaken by nobles in the city. The most frequent innovations were the acquisition of exceptional or valuable pieces of furniture, wall furnishings, paintings, and maps.

Exceptional tables can be identified only in a handful of burgher homes in the center of the New City. Exceptional tables, described by New City inventories, were those that were constructed of expensive materials, such as marble, or those that were designed with a non-rectangular top or an arching of the undertable between the legs, both Renaissance innovations.³¹

Table I.4.4 Exceptional Tables in New City Prague Burgher Homes

Kašpar Albrecht (House no. 837-II) - marble table.
Václav Kamaryt z Rovin (House no. 846-II) - small circular table ("stoliček")
Martin Masopust (House no. 832-II) - small blue table ("stoliček") - the only blue piece of furniture in the whole group.
Jilji Perger z Častalovic (House no. 791-II) - marble table.
Adam Samec (House no. 843-II) - marble table.
Anna Štefíková z Čichanova (Široká Street) - oblong-shaped tables.
Václav Vodička (Horse Market) - marble table.
Simeon Polidor z Baubinus (House no. 698-II) - granite table and a pull-out table ("vytahovaný")
Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (House no. 792-II & new structure) - a marble table.
Zikmund Zvonař z Cimperku (Květonská Street) - table made of grained wood.

"Desks" and "writing tables," which developed out of the writing pult of medieval cloisters and chanceries, represent new pieces of furniture that begin to appear in Prague and other

³¹ In "V měšťanské svietnice starodavné" (note 22) Zikmund Winter discusses exceptional furniture in 15th and 16th century Bohemia on the basis of archival sources; regarding tables, see pp. 30ff. For comparison with furniture in German lands during the period, see H. Kreisel & G. Himmelheber, *Die Kunst des deutschen Möbels. Möbel und Vertäfelungen des deutschen Sprachraums von den Anfängen bis zum Jugendstil*, Band I, *Von den Anfängen bis zum Hochbarock*, München 1968.

European homes in the 16th century.³² Seventeen pieces of furniture designated as desks are found in ten New City Prague burgher houses of the period. Ten are designated by the German term *šrybtyš* (*Schreibtisch* written in Czech), five as *kancelář*, and two as *kancelářka* (diminutive of *kancelář*).

Table I.4.5 Desks (*kancelář*, *kancelářka*, *šrybtyš*) in New City Prague Burgher Homes

Václav Kamaryt z Rovin (House no. 846-II) - “*kancelář*,” “*kancelářka*,” and “*šrybtyš*” in

three different house locations.

Václav Vodňanský (House no. 698-II) - three “*šrybtyš*” (two large and one small) in

one house location!

Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (House no. 792-II) - one desk.

Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku (House no. 747-II) - two “*kancelář*” in two house locations.

Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké - two “*šrybtyš*” in the Strnada House (House no. 36b-II), and

a third in the adjacent Caltovký House (House no. 36a?-II).

With the exception of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku’s desk, described as “done in the style of a pretty piece of cabinet work,” the inventories do not provide any details on the design and quality of the desks.

The fact that different names are utilized in different locations for desks - i.e. *kancelář* and *šrybtyš* - suggests that the distinguishing of names refers not just to a notary’s convention but to a distinguishing of furniture types as well. Further indication that the terms *kancelář* and *šrybtyš* refer to objects of different use (if not different in design) is provided by their contents. The *šrybtyš* contained documents only - various registers, letters of debt, privileges, etc.³³ In contrast, *kancelář* contained a wide variety of objects.

³² On the development and construction of desks, see H. Kreisel & G. Himmelheber, *Die Kunst des deutschen Möbels* (note 31), p. 57.

³³ One of Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké’s *šrybtyš* contained a register of debts owed him and “miscellaneous” other documents; a second contained the privileges granting nobility with an emblem, bestowed on his father by King Vladislav; a “letter of counsel” (*ratbryff*) from the Holy Roman Emperor; and

Table I.4.6 Contents of "Kancelář"-type Desks in New City Prague Burgher Homes

One of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin's (House no. 846-II) "kancelář" contained two pairs of pants, two jackets, and a small chest containing shirts, pants, socks, towels, and tablecloths.

One of Zikmund Zvonař z Cimperku's (House no. 1074-II) "kancelář" contained clothes, a musical instrument (czytara), four guns, a sword, and a copy of the Bohemian estate constitution.

Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku's (House no. 792-II) "kancelář" contained, in addition to a debt list, spits, two pots for cooking fish, other cooking utensils, four bibles, a gilded silver goblet, silver spoons, bed linen, and a towel.

One of Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku's (House no. 747-II) "kancelář" contained a suit of armor; a second contained a debt register, various Czech and German books, including a "wine cookbook" (vinná kuchářka), his silver seal, keys and a small box containing two documents relating to the status of his garden, one from the Emperor and the other from the Archbishop, documents from communal offices and from the Church of St. Stephen.

Not all *kancelář* were large pieces of furniture. One of Zikmund Vodak's *kancelář*, which contained three books and various documents relating to wine, was itself located within a larger cabinet.

Some surviving cabinets, armoires, chests, and trunks in museum collections testify to the high quality of workmanship and highly decorate character of many of these pieces of the period. None of the tables in burgher houses were probably as elaborate as the table with a Florentine mosaic in the collection of the Prague Museum of Applied Arts.³⁴

The inventories of pre-White Mountain households generally do not contain any additional description of furniture beyond an indication that up to a third of pieces were painted. The most popular colors were green and white, the next yellow and red. Painted wooden chests and armoires represent a traditional decorative feature rather than a Renaissance innovation. The bright colors may perhaps be seen as a kind of personal expression not allowed in clothing, which was controlled by strict

a letter of assurance (jistota) from the Emperor to Nejedly's underage children.

³⁴ See photographs Nos. 173-4 in *Renaissance in Böhmen*, F. Seibt (Hrsg.), note 1, p. 229.

sumptuary laws.³⁵ The inscriptions such as “fortitude,” which was found on a piece of furniture owned by Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku, can be seen as a Renaissance innovation.

The possession of desks both in the New City and in other Central European cities can be seen as an indication of the affiliation of its owner with an important social transformation: as a sign of the participation of its owner in the leadership activities of his age either as a prominent merchant, artisan, or council.³⁶

Tapestries and antlers were the furnishings most commonly found in the burgher household. Antlers (mostly deer), were found in more than half of the households, primarily in *svietnice*.³⁷ Tapestries were found as main decorative furnishing items (i.e. they were not stored) in eleven households.³⁸ With the exception of the tapestries of Jiljí Perger z Častalovic’s larder (*špižirna*) and the *svietnice* of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin and Mikuláš Růže z Vorlice, all the tapestries were located in ground-floor “cellars” (*sklep*) near the entrance to the house.

Many of the tapestries were described in inventories as “old” or “plain”;³⁹ a few were of higher quality.

Table I.4.7 Exceptional Tapestries in New City Prague Burgher Homes

Jiřík Švik z Lukonos (nové stavení) - five Turkish tapestries.
Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (House no. 792-II) - three Turkish tapestries.
Jiljí Perger z Častalovic (House no. 791-II) - three Turkish tapestries.
Matěj Brzobohatý (House No. 1056 or 1057-II) - two Turkish tapestries.
Jan Slon (House no. 777-II) - one leather tapestry.
Daniel Rubin ze Zvoviř (Na blatě) - one Turkish tapestry.
Václav Vodička (Horse Market) - one multi-colored Turkish tapestry.

Leather tapestries such as Jan Slon’s were common in noble palaces of the period.⁴⁰ In the burgher households, tapestries which covered tables and chests were more common than

³⁵ W. Brückner, “Farben als Zeichen,” *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 78 (1982): 14-37.

³⁶ H. Kreisel & G. Himmelheber, *Kunst des deutschen Möbels* (note 31), p. 57.

³⁷ 24 of 56 (42%).

³⁸ 11 of 56 (20%).

³⁹ Starý, prostý.

⁴⁰ The Rosenberg palace, for example, had leather tapestries; J. Krčálová, “Palác pánů z Rožmberka,” [Palace of the Rosenbergs] *Umění* 18 (1970): 469-85. See also J. Kybalová, “Innenraum und Kunstgewerbe,” *Renaissance in Böhmen*, F. Seibt (Hrsg.), note 1, pp. 205-244.

hanging tapestries. This feature was found in almost half of all the households under study. The tapestries were rather traditional furnishings, but the antlers perhaps may be seen as serving as an innovation adopted from the nobility.

I.4.6. ART IN THE BURGHER HOUSE INTERIOR: PICTURES

Against the backdrop of fairly traditional furnishings spiced up with a few pieces of exceptional furniture, some burgher houses in the center of the New City could boast more than modest collections of pictures. A total of two hundred four pictures, designated in the inventories as *figura*, *kontrfekt*, *tabule*, and *obraz*, were found in twenty-one of the fifty-six households (thirty-eight percent).⁴¹ This represents a much larger figure than for the New City as a whole (only twenty percent of whose houses had pictures).⁴² Four of the households contained over twenty-five pictures; the remaining possessed fewer than ten.

**Table I.4.8 No. of Pictures in the Largest Picture Collections
In New City Prague Burgher Homes**

	<u>No.</u>
Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (House no. 792-II and new structure)	39
Jilji Perger z Častalovic (House no. 791-II)	37
Václav Kamaryt z Rovin (House no. 846-II)	33
Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku (House no. 747-II)	28
Jiřík Švik z Lukonos (House no. 792 and new structure)	12

The portrait, a classic Renaissance genre, was found in a number of New City Prague burgher houses. Portrait themes were either the owners or family members or Emperor Rudolf II. Burgher portraits were in the houses of Ladislav Gallus z Rajstějna, Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku (of Tobiáš and his first wife Voršile), Ciprian Lopatský (of Jan Romanis), and Jiřík Švik z Lukonos. Portraits of Rudolf II were found in the homes of Anna

⁴¹ Four were described as “wood,” four as painted on canvas (na platně), and three as “illuminated.”

⁴² Pictures were found in approximately 20% of the inventories in the city as a whole during the period 1570-1620; J. Pešek, “Inwestycje kulturaljne mieszczyzn praskich przed 1620 r. stan I wyniki badań nad inwentarzami spadkowymi I testamentami” [Cultural Investments of Prague Burghers before 1620. The State and Development of Research on Probate Inventories and Civic Wills], *Sztuka miast i miszczyznstwa XV-XVIII w. w Ewropia srodkowoschodniej*, Warszawa 1990, p. 337.

Žlutucká z Bernarečku (two portraits) and Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku. The portrait in the inventory of Bartoloměj Zvonař, entitled Caesarius, is perhaps the same portrait of Rudolf II as that owned by his father Brikcí.

In addition to paintings, maps were also found in New City Prague burgher houses. Although not a Renaissance stylistic innovation, they perhaps indicate a heightened interest in topography following the Habsburg ascent to the Bohemian throne. With the exception of the map of Simeon Polidor z Baubinus entitled *Europa segerintri*, all of the maps in burgher homes in the center of the New City had Bohemian or Austrian themes. Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku possessed a picture of the city of Vienna and a map of Hungary. His son Bartoloměj had a framed map of Moravia. Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku had a map of the Kingdom of Bohemia.

It is interesting to note the number of maps and pictures with associations to Habsburg rule, such as portraits of the Habsburg Emperor and maps of Habsburg lands or cities in Habsburg lands. It should also be noted that historical and topographical themes other than Central European were also found in Prague during the period. For example, the Old City patrician Ludvík Korálka z Těšín, who was a contemporary of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku and Brikcí and Bartoloměj Zvonař z Cimperku, had maps in his home of Venice and Jerusalem.⁴³ The paintings and maps in New City homes with Central European themes could be seen as an expression of political affiliation. The map of Vienna, for example, is a direct affiliation with the recent joining of Bohemian with the Habsburg Crown (in 1527). The maps of Bohemia, on the other hand, are somewhat ambiguous. They could be a symbol of anti-Habsburg sentiment or just a symbol of local pride without necessarily being anti-Habsburg.

I.4.7. COLLECTIONS OF ARTISANAL WORK OF EXCEPTIONAL QUALITY

In addition to exceptional pieces of furniture, tapestries, and paintings, burghers and other city dwellers in the center of the

⁴³ J. Pešek, "Veduty v pražských interiérech doby předbělohorských," [Vedutas in Prague Interiors in the Pre-White Mountain Period], *Umění* 31 (1983).

New City accumulated in their homes artisanal work of high artistic quality, such as clocks, decorative dishware, jewelry, other decorative clothing accessories, and other art objects.⁴⁴

Clocks were found in the New City only in a few households of prominent burghers and wealthy artisans.

Table I.4.9 Clocks in New City Prague Burgher Homes

Václav Kamaryt z Rovin (House no. 846-II) - clock hung in a closet.
Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku (House no. 747-II) - a "striking" ("bici") clock with two cymbals.
Bartoloměj z Cimperku (House no. 747-II) - a gilded watch hanging from a string.
Markýta Kotlářka (House no. 746) - a "striking" clock.
Václav Vodička (Horse Market) - a "striking" clock and an alarm ("budici") clock.

The low frequency of clocks is surprising in view of the fact that clocks were not rare in Prague during the period. A large, elaborate astronomical clock with figures that came out on the hour stood in the tower of Old City Hall.⁴⁵ In the second half of the 16th century, imperial clock-maker Kundrat Šteffanaur lived near the City Hall in the New City. His works, clocks of all types, filled up almost every room of his house.⁴⁶

The types of exceptional dishware found in New City Prague burgher homes included silver and gold spoons, chalices; cups (*koflík*), goblets (*číska*), and mugs (*žejdlík*); some "in pairs of two"

⁴⁴ For brief, contemporary surveys of artisanal artwork in Bohemia of the period, see B. Bukovinská, "Umělecké řemeslo" [Artisanal Artwork], *Umění na dvoře Rudolfa II.*, E. Fučíková et al., Praha 1988, pp. 141-77; J. Kybalová, "Innenraum und Kunstgewerbe" and R. Distelberg, "Gold und Silber, Edelstein und Elfenbein," in *Renaissance in Böhmen*, F. Seibt (Hrsg.), note 1, pp. 205-244, 255. For a comparison of these New City collections with those of Old City residents, see J. Studihradová, "Kulturní úroveň staroměstských domácností předbělohorského období /Umělecké řemeslov měšťanské domácnosti v Praze/" [The Cultural Niveau of Old City Households in the Pre-White Mountain Period (Artisanal Artwork of Bourgeois Households in Prague)], diplomová práce, Filozofická fakulta UK, Katedra československých dějin, 1982.

⁴⁵ Z. Horský, *Pražský Orloj* [The Prague Astronomical Clock], Praha 1988; S. Michal, "Hodinářství a technika měření času" [Clockmaking and the Technology of Measuring Time] in *Dějiny technice v Československu do r. 1800*, Praha 1974, pp. 555-62; *Vývoj hodinářství v českých zemích* [The History of Clockmaking in the Bohemian Lands], Praha 1976.

⁴⁶ See Šteffanaur's inventory: AMP 1214 f. 198.

(*dosebe vcházející*), “in the style of a glass” (*na způsob sklenice*), or with covers (*s přikryvadlem*). Many silver objects were gilded on the inside, outside, or both. Wooden spoons were also gilded. Martin Masopust, had a large silver cup with up to two hundred inlaid stones!

Many of the objects may have come from Prague workshops, such as the workshop of Phillip Junger, which was located next to Martin Masopust on the Horse Market.⁴⁷ Some households also had work by foreign artisans. Matěj Brzobohatý, for example, had two gilded cups (*koflík*) identified as originating from the Seven Mountain region, an area located in today’s Romania.

Dishware with monograms and engraving were found in four households. Zikmund Vodak owned twelve silver spoons engraved with the initials “RF,” an additional twelve with the initial “R,” and four with the initials “HR.” Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku owned a gilded cup, under which was written “Kryštof Freylich z Frandenfelzu,” relationship unknown. Ladislav Gallus z Rajětějna owned thirteen silver spoons with his seal on them.

The noble Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké had two tin services, including plates, bowls, and jugs, one with the coat of arms of his second wife Dorota and himself, and the second with that of his first wife Marta and himself. Their location in the kitchen and adjacent rooms indicate that they served as objects for everyday use as well as for special occasions.

Glass dishware and other household objects were rare in New City Prague inventories of the period, Václav Kamaryt z Rovin had a glass table, glass lamp (*sklená lucerna*), thirteen small and large glasses, and a mirror.⁴⁸ This is surprising considering that common glass of the plain type found in Central Europe, called “green glass,” had been produced in Bohemia since the Middle Ages. By the end of the 16th century, the exhaustion of silver mines contributed to investment in a domestic glass industry that developed in Northern Bohemia. In the late 16th century, Bohemian artisans developed innovative techniques in glass workmanship, such as glass cutting. At the court of Rudolf II, artistic glass work reached a high quality, represented by the

⁴⁷ On goldsmiths associated with the imperial court, see B. Bukovinská, “Zu den Goldschmiedearbeiten der Prager Hofwerkstätte zur Zeit Rudolfs II.,” *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* (1992), pp. 71-82; R. Distelberg, “Gold und Silber, Edelstein und Elfenbein” in *Renaissance in Böhmen*, F. Seibt (Hrsg.), pp. 255-89.

⁴⁸ Svietnice (location 17).

work of Kašpar Lehman. No explanation for the infrequency of glass objects in New City households has yet been found.

Jewelry and other valuable clothing accessories were common among residents of the center of the New City, found in forty percent of the households.⁴⁹ The major types of jewelry were rings, long and short necklaces (*řetež, řetězek*), pins (*zápona*), earrings, and a few unknown items, such as *pentik*. Many of the rings were in gold and silver, and inlaid with precious gems and stones, such as sapphires, rubies, diamonds, and some unknown stones (*sekryt, hřezokyt, hyacinth*).

The largest jewelry collections were those of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin, Jan Kříž, Zikmund Vodak, and Jiřík Švík z Lukonos.⁵⁰ Jan Kříž's jewelry collection consisted of a golden circle and fourteen rings, including a gold one with sapphires, two with a "red stone in the manner of a *sekryt*," two with a *sekryt*, one with a *hřezokyt*, one with a *hyacinth*, one with a ruby, and one with a diamond.

Two households had medium-size collections: those of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku and Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné. Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku possessed a golden comb with a garnet and twenty-five rings. Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné had two gold rings, one with a stone and one without, and twenty-three rings "on a string."

Small collections consisting of one or only a few items were found in the households of the Utraquist administrator Daniel Rubín ze Zvovíř and imperial guard Thomas Kyndrmon. Daniel Rubín ze Zvovíř owned one golden necklace, one ring with a pearl, and one ring with a ruby. Thomas Kyndromon owned three rings: two gold ones with *supply* (unknown gem), and one broken, gold one with a ruby.

Clothing accessories other than jewelry containing gold, silver, or rare gems and stones are found in twenty-three households in the center of the New City. The most common pieces were belts made of silver, owned by Jan Kalivoda, Thomas Kyndrmon,

⁴⁹ 24 of 56, or 43%.

⁵⁰ The scale used for the size of jewelry collections was chosen as appropriate for the data of this study. No other classification system is known. It is a relative scale arising out of the comparison of collections of individuals in the study. It is not based on any absolute numerical values. "Large" refers to the largest collection in the sample along with those similar to it, etc. Considering the exceptional nature of the workmanship it seemed reasonable to use a relative rather than an absolute scale.

Martin Masopust, Václav Vodička, or belts made of cloth with ornamental pieces of gold or silver, such as a "belt with a silver chain with a golden apple on it" owned by Daniel Rubín ze Zvovír, Jan Kříž, and Jiřík Švík z Lukonos. Matěj Brzobohatý had a "belt with pearls and a copper lock" and a "gilded silver belt with small clocks on it."

Other accessories in New City homes were coats with twenty-four silver buttons, owned by Matěj Brzobohatý and Václav Kamaryt z Rovin and ornamental hats, such as "the pearl hat with gold" owned by Jiřík Švík z Lukonos. Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné possessed an "old bag (*taška*) with silver buttons and stones."

Women's clothing accessories were either more decorative than men's or were at least described that way. The collection of Maryanna Pergerová, wife of Jiljí Perger z Častalovic, consisted of a silver belt with golden locks, a silver belt with thirty-one golden dots (*pukličkami*), a silver belt with thirty-four silver dots, two smaller belts with silver dots, a pearl hat with fifty-four golden dots, and four colored hats with gold. Her neighbor across the street, Anna Žlutický z Bernarečku, owned a "cloth belt with a gilded silver chain with apples and decorated with garnet," a "silver belt with silver blade and knife," and another "silver belt with a silver blade and two knives."

Burgers and other city dwellers who lived in the center of the New City of Prague collected pieces of art with styles, motifs, and objects from nature and the exotic. Jan Kříž owned a "silver apple;" Jiljí Perger z Častalovic had "a gilded silver apple." Václav Kamaryt z Rovin owned "a pear in silver." Martin Masopust owned two corals. Zikmund Vodak had an "ivory comb" and a "crystal stone." Jan Kříž owned a number of pearl necklaces.

Exotic nuts and shells fashioned with silver, gold, and gems in ornamental drinking vessels, common pieces in the *Kunstkammer* of the emperor and noble circles, were in two New City households. Jiřík Švík z Lukonos possessed "an Indian nut in gilded silver with a cover" and "a nutmeg fashioned into silver." Matěj Brzobohatý had two large vessels made out of ostrich eggs.

Other items include circles made of gold and silver and coins. Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku had a silver seal. Václav Kamaryt z Rovin had "two groschen with pictures of the deceased Kamaryt the Elder, one silver, one gold."

1.4.8. BOOKS

Books represent a special kind of cultural commodity. Their primary value relates not to their economic worth or rarity, as printed books could be quite inexpensive, but rather to their link to written culture. In addition to this intellectual value, books could also be valued for their workmanship.

Many residents of the New City had books but only a fraction of these can be classified as libraries; in other words, a collection of books in a specially allocated space.⁵¹ In burgher houses in the center of the New City, books were located in thirty-eight (sixty-six percent) of fifty-six households. A quarter of the households had only a handful of books (one to three books); approximately half had small collections (four to twenty-six books).⁵² Four households had medium-sized book collections (twenty-six to one hundred books). Three households had large-sized book collections (more than one hundred books).

Table I.4.10 Large and Medium-size Book Collections in New City Homes

<u>Household</u>	<u>No of Books</u>
Václav Kamaryt z Rovin (House no. 846-II)	148
Anna Žlutický z Bernarečku (House no. 792-II & the New Structure)	123 tot.; 34 in House no. 792-II, 89 in the New Structure
Jiřík Švik z Lukonos (House no. 792-II & the New Structure)	111 tot.; 60 in House no. 792-II, 51 in the New Structure
Mikuláš Řůže z Vorličně (House no. 853-II)	88
Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku (House no. 747-II)	56
Václav Vodička (Horse Market)	41
Jilji Perger z Častalovic (House no. 791-II)	28

⁵¹Jiří Pešek uses the term “library” to refer to an individual’s books. I find it more useful to make a distinction between “book collections” and “libraries”; “book collections” are just what the name designates; “libraries” refer to a collection found in a specific location. See J. Pešek, “Inwestycje kulturalne mieszczan praskich przed 1620 r.” (note 42), pp. 335-342.

⁵²For the size of the book collection, I adopt the scale used by Jiří Pešek: small collection (4-25 books), medium (26-100), and large (100+). See J. Pešek, “Inwestycje kulturalne mieszczan praskich przed 1620 r.”(note 42), p. 335.

As a whole, the book collections in this section of the city corresponded in size with those of the city as a whole for this period. The larger individual collections in the New City, however, tended to be small. As a comparison, two Utraquist pastors of this period had book collections three times as large.⁵³ The conservative Utraquist administrator, Václav Dačický who lived in the New City settlement around St. Clement's Church, had one of the largest book collections in the city: 349 printed books. Mikuláš Rejský z Heřmanova Městce, pastor of St. Aegidius (*Sv. Jilji*) in the Old City, had 302 books when he died in 1602. In contrast, Daniel Rubín ze Zvovíř, administrator of St. Henry (*Sv. Jindřicha*) in the New City, had only four books.

Also, there were ten-percent more medium-size and ten-percent fewer small book collections in this section of the New City than in Prague as a whole during this period.⁵⁴

Half of all the books (forty-eight percent) in New City Prague burgher homes had religious themes.⁵⁵ The religious books included bibles (New and Old Testaments) and books of psalms, prayers, and sermons. At least four percent of the books dealt with historical topics, two percent with law, and a handful with medicine or healing.⁵⁶ The most common law books are collections of "urban law" (*právo městské*) and estate law (*zřízení zemské*).⁵⁷

Václav Kamaryt z Rovín's book collection, the largest in the center of the New City (one hundred forty-eight books total), consisted of more than eighty books having a religious theme,

⁵³J. Pešek, "Knihovny pražských předbělohorských farářů" [Libraries of Prague Ministers in the Pre-White Mountain Period], DP IX (1991), p. 418.

⁵⁴In this part of the city, 8% of all the inventories had book collections larger than 100. For the city as a whole in the period 1571-1620, the figure is 7%. J. Pešek, "Inwestyce kulturaljne miesyczan praskich przed 1620 r." (note 42), p. 335.

⁵⁵28% have religious titles; approximately another 22% are identified in the inventories along with other books. Information about book subjects are provided by approximately two-thirds of the books in the study.

⁵⁶On healing and medical book collections of the period, see J. Pešek, "Zdravotni literatura v pražských měšťanských knihovnách přelomu 16. a 17. století" [Medical Literature in Libraries of Prague Burghers on the Turning-Point of the 16th and 17th Centuries], DP VII/1: 236-252.

⁵⁷A more extensive breakdown of book collections by themes can be found in Part II of this study. For a comparison of book collections in the New City of Prague with Strasbourg of the period, see M. Chrisman, *Lay Culture, Learned Culture: Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1480-1599*, New Haven & London, 1982.

included the works of Augustine (*the City of God*), Martin Luther, and Hussite and Bohemian Brethren authors; works on urban law; two historical calendars; and an herbal book. Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku's book collection (one hundred twenty-three books) included a Czech bible, an "everyday" Evangelium, five "prayer and other" books, and twenty-seven calendars.

The book collection of Jiřík Švik z Lukonos, Anna's husband, was comparable in size (one hundred eleven books total) to that of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin, but varied more in theme. It included forty books of "various classical authors," and two school books. The modest book collection of Daniel Rubín ze Zvovíř, administrator of the Utraquist parish St. Henry (*Sv. Jindřicha*), consisted of one song book of the Bohemian Brethren, one medical book, and two books of unknown theme.

Among the small collections, religious books were the most popular. Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké possessed nine books: three bibles, one song book (in Czech), one book of Spangenberg's sermons, three books on estate law, and an additional book on an unknown topic. Ladislav Gallus z Rajstějna, who lived in the house across the street from the Nejedlý house, also possessed nine books: one Czech bible, four books of sermons (in German), a book of Spangenberg's sermons (in Czech), a book entitled *Gulden Areh* (in German), a book of estate law, and a book of urban law. Jan Kalivoda's collection of nine books included one book of Master Jan Haberman's sermons (in Czech), another book of sermons by an unknown author (in Czech), the prolegomena of the dissertation of Petrus Codicillus, and a few miscellaneous books. Mandalena Grafeus, the wife of the painter Baptista Grafeus, possessed five books: three books of prayers, one book of songs, and the New Testament (in Czech).

Of those who had only a handful of books, the books were almost all religious in theme, usually a bible. Jan Brzobohatý possessed only two books: a bible and a book of psalms (both in Czech); Ciprian Lopatský, a bible and an herbal book; Kateřina Vodičková, a Czech bible and a book of Spangenberg's sermons; Martin Hranický possessed one book, a Czech bible; Vít Vodička, a Czech bible printed by Melantrich.

In a few cases, the book design was also described. Kateřina Vodičková possessed a Czech bible "in red leather"; Jan Kalivoda a book of Czech sermons "in white leather." Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku possessed a Czech bible "bound in black silk with silver" and a German bible decorated "with silver studs." Account

and debt registers were sometimes decorated in a similar fashion. Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku had three registers (two of them beer registers) in red leather.

1.4.9. NEW CITY RESIDENTS - RELIGIOUS ART & RENOVATION OF CHURCH STRUCTURES

In addition to books with religious themes, indications of religious piety can be found in other material objects with religious motifs.

Art objects with religious motifs include Anna Žlutický z Bernarečku's "golden cross shaped into a key." Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku had a silver cross and silver heart. Bartoloměj Zvonař z Cimperku possessed five crucifixes. Jiřík Švík z Lukonos had a silver crucifix and a "large coral necklace with a groschen coin with a passion motif and a pearl." Daniel Rubín ze Zvovíř had "a silver heart with a passion motif on it" and a "golden groschen with crucifix motif on it." Vít Vodička had a "golden groschen with the passion motif and pearl on it."

For reasons that are unclear, only fifteen percent of paintings and other works of art had religious motifs, as opposed to two-thirds of all books in Prague inventories of the period.⁵⁸

Six of the pictures owned by individuals in the study from the New City had a religious theme. The noble Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké possessed one picture of Adam and Eve. The burgher Magdalena Hvězdová had one of the birth of Christ and one of Christ's baptism. Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku had three paintings of saints, including those of SS. Václav and Adalbert (*Vojtěch* in Czech), two patron saints of Bohemia. Zikmund Zvonař z Cimperku, Brikcí's brother, possessed one of the Virgin Mary.⁵⁹

While books, paintings, and art with religious themes and motifs do demonstrate a widespread interest in religious among

⁵⁸J. Pešek, "Výtvarná díla s náboženskou tematikou v pražských předbělohorských interiérech" [Artisanal Work with Religious Themes in Prague Interiors of the Pre-White Mountain Period], *Umění* 30 (1982): 263-267.

⁵⁹In a breakdown of pictures and other works of art with a religious theme according to property ownership of collectors, Jiří Pešek noted that the largest group of collectors of this genre owned only one house or slightly more; see J. Pešek, "Výtvarná díla s náboženskou" (note 58), p. 265. In the group under study, Magdalena Hvězdová and Zikmund Zvonař z Cimperku each had one house but Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku had four houses, and Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké had three houses.

residents of the New City, they do not reveal confessional affiliation or the support of Prague residents for Catholic renewal. For these areas one needs to look elsewhere.

In 1591, the administrators of St. Adalbert (*Sv. Vojtěcha*) complained to the Six-Man Council of the New City that Jindřich Tichý took bricks from the roof and carried them to a structure that he was building in his garden without the permission of the administrators. Besides his removing the bricks, they complained further that the garden on which he was building had been given to the settlement by an earlier house owner.⁶⁰ Jindřich Tichý's removal of bricks might be explained as self-serving or less than "pious." His relationship to church structures, however, may not have been significantly different from that of his neighbors.

Only 3.3% of all New City burghers for whom civic wills are extant for the period 1571 to 1620 left gifts to ecclesiastical institutions, hospitals, or parish literary brotherhoods.⁶¹ Only six were inhabitants of the center of the New City for whom property and other information is available.

Table I.4.11 Gifts to Ecclesiastical Institutions in Civic Wills of Inhabitants of the Center of the New City

<u>Individual</u>	<u>Institution</u>	<u>Amount</u> <u>(Groschen)</u>	<u>Purpose</u>
Kryštof Hasík ⁶²	St. Stephen	10 kop	Wine
Magdalena Hvězdová ⁶³	St. Stephen	70 kop	Repair
		Meissen	
Kateřina Kobiška ⁶⁴	New City	400 kop	Poor in
	Council	Meissen	Hospitals
	St. Lazarus	100 kop	Repair
		Meissen	
	Chapel of the	100 kop	Decoration of
	Body of Christ	Meissen	Interior
	St. Peter on	200 kop	-
	the Poříčí	Meissen	
	St. Martin-in-	100 kop	-
	the-Wall		

⁶⁰ AMP 2149 f. 189a.

⁶¹28 out of 835; J. Pešek, "Pražské knihy kšaftů a inventářů. Příspěvek k jejich struktuře a vývoje v době předbělohorské" [Prague Civic Will and Inventory Books. Contribution to their Structure and Development in the Pre-White Mountain Period], PSH 15 (1982), pp. 73-76.

⁶² AMP 2207 f. 361a.

⁶³ AMP 2209 f. 150a.

⁶⁴ AMP 2209 f. 343a.

Jan Kříž ⁶⁵	St. Henry	50 kop Meissen	Completion of tower
	St. Stephen	100 kop Meissen	-
Jiřík Lesnar ⁶⁶	Karlovo Monastery	20 kop Meissen	Construction of Chapel St. Marketa
	St. Stephen	50 kop Meissen	Construction of bell
Řehoř Pátek ⁶⁷	St. Martin-in- the-Wall	29 kop Czech	
	St. Jakub in the city of Příbram	-	(where parents are buried)
No gifts - 11 individuals. ⁶⁸			

Of these six residents of the center of the New City who left gifts to ecclesiastical institutions, four allocated funds for repair or renovation of structures; specifically, for the repair of the tower of St. Henry's (*Sv. Jindřicha*), and the bell tower of St. Stephen's (*Sv. Štěpána*), and for the construction of the Chapel of St. Marketa in the Karlov Monastery.

A new tower was installed on St. Henry's (*Sv. Jindřicha*) in 1585. The Sadeler engraving of 1606 provides a pictorial representation of this tower, showing the Gothic elements that it retained in its upper portion.⁶⁹ The tower was evidently placed slightly off mark, because it fell off on the day after its ceremonial lowering onto the church, causing damage to the rectory before landing on church grounds. The repair of the new tower was supervised by Daniel Rubín ze Zvovíř, administrator of the parish. It involved the support of leading citizens of the New City. Jan Facilis Boleslavský, the then current pastor, recorded in the parish records the names of the New City burghers who assisted

⁶⁵ AMP 2209 f. 125a.

⁶⁶ AMP 2209 f. 271a.

⁶⁷ AMP 2209 f. 223b.

⁶⁸ Martin Cukrář, Baptista Grafeus, Václav Hradecký, Martin Hranický, Buryan Kotlář, Markyta Kotlářka, Martin Masopust, Anna Šteřlková, Adam Tatek, Brikcí Jan z Cimperku, Bartoš Zvonař z Cimperku.

⁶⁹ K. Navrátil, Paměti hlavního kostela farního, fary a školy Sv. Jindřicha a Sv. Kunhuty v Novém Městě Pražském [Records of the Main Parish Church, Parsonage, and Schools of SS. Henry and Kunhuta in the New City of Prague], Praha 1869, p. 94.

in the total repair of the tower.⁷⁰ Four of the benefactors were prominent residents of the New City: Václav Kamaryt z Rovin, Daniel Švik z Lukonos, Martin Masopust, and Daniel Rubín ze Zvovíř. The renovation of the tower dome with copper was undertaken by the smith Tomáš Krumlovský of Široká Street for 35 kop Meissen groschen. The star was constructed by a locksmith named Šimon for one kop groschen.⁷¹

In 1591, the tower underwent additional repairs during which a new bell was also installed which carried the inscription: “this bell was cast in the year of the lord 1591 by me, Vavřinec Hodinář [the bell maker] in the New City of Prague.”⁷² Being a bellmaker, Vavřinec probably lived in Široká Street with Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku and Tomáš Krumlovský.

In addition to gifts for upkeep and repair, parish records document twenty-five monetary gifts for unspecified purposes to St. Henry (*Sv. Jindřicha*) for the period 1550-1611. The gifts were modest in size, ranging from 2 to 80 kop groschen (with one exceptional gift of 100 kop groschen). None of the gift givers were residents of the New City in this study.⁷³ Only four of these individuals left monetary gifts for unspecified purposes in their civic wills.

The widespread presence of religious motifs and themes in literature and art in New City Prague burgher houses in the late

⁷⁰The New City burghers who assisted in the repair of the tower of St. Henry's church in 1585 were: Václav Kamaryt z Rovin (Imperial Appellate Court), Jan Černohorský (New City Primas), Daniel Švik z Lukonos (Office of the Chamberlain of the Castle), Martin Masopust (New City Senator), Lukáš Tunský z Taurberku (New City Senator), Václav Někniřský (New City Senator), Matěj Hostfounský z Kosmačkova (Prokurator), Václav z Kaliště z Otrsfeldu (Prokurator), Šimon Kamaryt z Rovin, Daniel Rubín (Administrator St. Henry's), Eliáš Rosína (Principal Notary of the New City), Jan Bakaláře, Cyrill (Brother of Jan, Administrator of the Latin circle), Daniel Chrudimský (literary circle), Pavel Balous (literary circle), Pavel Táborský (Hejtman of St. Henry's quarter), Jan Bakalář Kolinský (administrator of the Czech circle), Doctor Jakob od Mathiáš, Vavřinec Hodinář, Václav Kbelšlý z Kapi Horý, František Nejšnař; from the Památná kniha f. I. 224 as quoted in K. Navrátil, *Paměti hlavního kostela farního, fary a školy Sv. Jindřicha* (note 68), pp. 97-8.

⁷¹ K. Navrátil, *Paměti hlavního kostela farního, fary a školy Sv. Jindřicha* (note 69), p. 97.

⁷² K. Navrátil, *Paměti hlavního kostela farního, fary a školy Sv. Jindřicha* (note 69), pp. 94-95.

⁷³ For a list of the gifts and gift-givers, see K. Navrátil, *Paměti hlavního kostela farního, fary a školy Sv. Jindřicha* (note 69), pp. 89-90.

16th century shows that the Hussite Revolution, like the Evangelical Protestant movement, did not destroy piety in art.⁷⁴ Considering the Hussite attack on wealth, the large collection of gold and silver especially by Utraquist administrator Daniel Rubín ze Zvovír of the Church of St. Henry (*Sv. Jindřicha*), but also by other Utraquists, such as Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku, is also interesting. They demonstrate the belief or practice that churches needed to be poor. This did not mean, however, that the administrators or believers had to be.

1.4.10. MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE CREATION OF SOCIAL TIES

Beyond serving just the functional needs as home and work place, the material culture of the house, which included the structure of the house and all the objects in it, served the residents of the New City in a number of important social and cultural functions. Above all, it aided in the creation, definition, and shaping of ties of kinship, friendship, neighborhood, and spirituality. In doing so, it helped to define the borders of one's world.⁷⁵ For example, the participation of prominent and less prominent burghers in the repair of the parish church of St. Henry (*Sv. Jindřicha*), discussed above, is an indication of the strong affiliation with the New City rather than with the larger landscape of the four cities of Prague.

Serving as an executor on large and small estates served to create ties of potential or real influence between burghers. Daniel Švik z Lukonos and Jilji Perger z Častalovic, who lived across the street from one another, served as executors for Václav Kamaryt z Rovin, who lived at the other end of the Horse Market. The three men were among the most powerful in the New City. Jan Kamaryt z Rovin served as executor of Ladislav Gallus z Rajštejna

⁷⁴ In *Art and the Reformation in Germany*, Athens, Ohio, 1979, Carl Christensen addressed the issue of whether the Protestant movements of the 16th century destroyed religious piety in light of the iconoclastic attacks. Since then, a number of works have sought to highlight the ways Protestant movements have positively shaped visual culture. See R.W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk. Popular Propoganda for the German Reformation*, Cambridge 1981; and K. Zapalac, *In His Image and Likeness: Political Iconography and Religious Change in Regensburg, 1500-1600*, Ithaca 1990.

⁷⁵ On the relationship of urban space to social ties in early modern Europe, see C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, Chicago 1985.

from House no. 749-II in Široká Street. Václav Haldecký of the Horse Market had Buryan Kotlář of Široká Street as an executor.

Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku served as an executor of the modest estate of Kateřina Živnostková.⁷⁶ As compensation Kateřina left Brikcí 30 kop Prague groschen. To Brikcí this was certainly a small, token sum, indicating perhaps that this tie to him may have been a sign of good will. Having Brikcí serve as executor was certainly a matter of prestige to Kateřina. This relationship indicates perhaps that to people of lesser means, prestigious ties might be sought from the same street. Mikuláš Jordan, for example, who lived on the west side of Široká Street, served as an executor for Melichar Fayfr, a locksmith living on the east side of the street.

Business and personal debts represent another certain kind of material relationship. A cloth merchant such as Adam Tatek owed money to, and was owed money by, over a hundred people, including the city councilors Václav Vodička (30 kop groschen) and Martin Masopust (8 kop groschen 45), who were his neighbors. Adam Tatek owed 12 kop 16 groschen to Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku for beer, 22 kop groschen to Matauš Žlutický z Bernarečku for some unknown reason, and 6 groschen 24 to Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku for an unknown reason.

The material and spatial worlds of most of the inhabitants of the center of the New City in the late 16th and early 17th century only sketch out some of the outlines of the various worlds in which they lived. As with all large European cities in the early modern period, the borders and ties between residents were intertwined and precarious. They included the ties defined by blood, administration and geography; ties of family, occupation and parish affiliation;⁷⁷ ties of sociability, including those of friendship, godparentage of confraternities;⁷⁸ and those of a more ephemeral nature.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ AMP 2208 f. 160b.

⁷⁷C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy* (note 75); J. Janáček, "Hranice mezi Pražany" [Borders between Praguers], *Kniha o Praze* (1965): 245-263.

⁷⁸ J.-P. Gutton, *La sociabilité villageoise dans l'ancienne France: Solidarités et voisinages du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1971; R. Schneider, *Public Life in Toulouse 1463-1790. From Municipal Republic to Cosmopolitan City*, Ithaca & London 1989; R.F.E. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence*, New York 1981.

⁷⁹ N.Z. Davis, "Glaube und nachbarschaftliche Beziehungen. Die Steine von Ste. Croix" in *Frauen und Gesellschaft am Beginn der Neuzeit. Studien über*

For many who lived around the Horse Market in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, their lives were focused on the New City. Property and commercial ties did not largely intersect with those of the Old City except in the cases of merchants such as Adam Tatek. This economic border, however, did not necessarily define a social border. Unfortunately, we do not have records of those New City residents who went for communion in the Old City to the Catholic parish of St. Jacob, or who were attracted to the Jesuit College.

As an artisan - a producer of material culture - Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku's ties extended well beyond Široká Street and the New City. His grandfather made a bell for Ferdinand I. Brickí made bells for churches all over Bohemia, including one for the Chapel of Jan Hus on the Small Side.⁸⁰ He also made a bell personally dedicated to Petr Vok Rosenberg of Bohemia's leading noble family in Krumlov in Southern Bohemia. Brikcí's business ties with Catholic circles did not interfere with his ties to the Utraquist churches of St. Stephen (*Sv. Štěpána*) where he was a parishioner, or to St. Henry's (*Sv. Jindřicha*) where he was a member of the literary society. Brikcí's next-door neighbor, Markyta Kotářka, who took over the metal-working shop of her husband Buryan Kotlář upon his death, produced bath tubs for the imperial court.

Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku's neighbor across the street, Jan Kobiš z Bytýšky, had ties that also extended beyond Široká Street; he studied at the university and taught at the Old City schools of St. Nicholas (*Sv. Mikuláše*) and Mary-on-the-Teyn. He also wrote a book on the measuring of wine barrels.⁸¹ The professional ties in Bohemia of the imperial builder Bonifacius Wolmut extended way beyond the Habsburg court. In his later years, probably

Familie, Religion und Wandlungsfähigkeiten des sozialen Körpers, Frankfurt/Main 1989; "The Sacred and the Body Social in Sixteenth-Century Lyon" *Past and Present* 90 (1980): 40-70; R. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, New York 1989; *Persons in groups: social behavior as identity formation in medieval and Renaissance Europe*, Binghamton 1985.

⁸⁰ F. Hrejsa, *U Salvatora. Z dějin evangelické cirkve v Praze (1609-1632)* [At St. Salvatore. About the History of the Evangelical Church in Prague 1609-1632] Praha 1930.

⁸¹ Jan Kobiš z Bytýšky, *Správa aneb narčení o měřách vinných sudů* [On the Construction of Wine Barrels], 1596.

during the time he lived in the New City, he built the Peter and Paul Church in Kralovice.⁸²

I.4.11. THE HIERARCHY OF CHOICES

A survey of the innovations in architecture, interior design, and the collections of exceptional and valuable cultural objects embraced by New City burghers and city dwellers shows their piecemeal adoption. With regards to architecture, interior design, and art, ones sees no attempt by city dwellers to adopt Renaissance innovations as a total cultural system but merely as an addition to familiar medieval possessions. The collections of city dwellers was a hodgepodge or jumble of the traditional and the new, the high and low - a new window on every other home, portraits in a few, a handful of marble tables, all amidst rather traditional surroundings.

Behind the hodgepodge and jumble one can identify a hierarchy of choice. Architectural structural changes on the exterior of the house, especially the construction of new Renaissance windows and doors, represent the most common innovation chosen, followed by collections of books, exceptional dishware, general art objects, jewelry, valuable clothing accessories, and pictures. The individual burgher or city dweller invested most readily in portals, books, and paintings; then, in decreasing order, in general art objects, jewelry, clothing accessories, and pictures.

Table I.4.12 The Hierarchy of Choice - Renaissance and other Cultural Innovations in the New City Prague Burgher Homes

	<u>Percentage of Homes</u>
Book Collections	68%
Exceptional Dishware	64%
Exterior Structural Changes	50%
General Art Objects	46%
Jewelry	43%
Exceptional Clothes	39%
Pictures	38%

⁸² Renaissance in Böhmen, F. Seibt (Hrsg.), note 1, p. 106; J. Krčalová, "Kostel sv. Petra a Pavla v Kralovicich a Bonifác Wolmut" [The Church of SS. Peter and Paul in Kralovice and Bonifacius Wolmut], *Umění* 20/4 (1972): 297-317.

This hierarchy of choice represents only a rough illustration of modes. It does not provide a picture of the breakdown of choice within a particular household, nor does it provide any understanding of why specific individuals chose some innovations and not others.

Individual choice alone does not explain why certain cultural objects were collected more than others. While burghers and city dwellers had a similar set of options as nobles had in fashioning their living space, the actual construction of this space - the physical structure of the burgher house, its interior design, and the collection of objects in it - were bounded by the limits of the economy. The explanation for actual choices by individuals lies beyond the sphere of economic limitations.

Of the selected art and cultural objects, only books and general art objects were represented in more than half of the households. Only the households of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku and her husband Jiřík Švík z Lukonos contained an exceptional collection of pictures, jewelry, artistic dishware, general art, and books. Other households have strengths in some areas, weaknesses in others. Daniel Rubín ze Zvovíř possessed only four books but accumulated fairly exceptional jewelry, clothing accessories, and general art. The only art and cultural object of mention possessed by Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké was his monogrammed dishware.

How do we understand this piecemeal, hodgepodge approach by individual residents of the New City? Was each a well-endowed family man, tasteful collector, or wily spectator?⁸³ A breakdown of individual collections can provide only a partial answer. The next chapter will further examine the meaning of collecting art in this hodgepodge setting.

⁸³ This question has been raised for the general city dweller in early modern Europe in the provocative work: K. Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities. Paris and Venice, 1500-1800*, Cambridge 1990.

I.5. Chests, Cabinets, Armoires - Burgher *Kunstkammer*? The Bohemian Renaissance on the Horse Market

In the second courtyard of the Prague Castle in two rooms on the first and second floors above the stables was located the famous *Kunstkammer* of Emperor Rudolf II, the largest and best collection of art in Europe of its day. In the newly constructed Spanish room was a picture gallery. Next to it was the New Room, a hall for the display of sculpture, which was articulated into niches, in which were placed stucco and bronze statues. The ceilings of both rooms had illusionist paintings. In a series of smaller, vaulted rooms in the adjoining wing were placed *objets arts*, small structures, jewels, books, and natural objects.¹

Near the Prague castle in palaces of prominent noble families, such as the Lobkovický, Rosenberg and Neuhaus (*pánů z Hradce*), and of the less prominent, such as Pavel Sixt Trautson, there were representational rooms - *kabinet, pánský pokoj, mázhaus* - specially allocated for the display and storage of paintings, precious silver and gold objects, and books.²

The imperial *Kunstkammer* and the representational rooms in noble palaces on Castle Hill and the Small Side reflected a new awareness of art, nature, and the exotic, which manifested itself in the fondness for collecting "whatsoever singularity, chance, and the shuffle of things hath produced" and their ordering and

¹ T.D. Kaufmann, "Remarks on the Collections of Rudolf II: the *Kunstkammer* as a Form of Representatio," *Art Journal* 38 (Fall 1978), p. 23. See also E. Fučíková, "The Collection of Rudolf II at Prague. Cabinet of Curiosities or Scientific Museum," *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities or Scientific Museum*, O. Impey & A. MacGregor (eds.), Oxford 1985; B. Bukovinská, "Die Kunst- und Schatzkammer Rudolf II. Der Weg vom Rohmaterial zum Sammlungsobjekt als Erkenntnisprojekt," *Der Zugang zum Kunstwerk: Schatzkammer, Salon, Ausstellung, "Museum," Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte*, Wien, 1983, Wien, Köln & Graz 1986.

² F. Seibt (Hrsg.), *Renaissance in Böhmen*, München 1988; E. Poche, *Pražské paláce* [Prague Palaces], Praha 1977; V. Ledvinka, "Dům pánů z Hradce pod Stupni (Příspěvek k poznání geneze a funkci renesančního šlechtického paláce v Praze) [The Palace of the Neuhaus Lords under the Steps (Towards an Understanding of the Genesis and Function of a Renaissance Noble Palace in Prague)], *FHB* 10 (1986): 269-316; J. Krčálová, "Palác pánů z Rožmberka," *Umění* 18 (1970): 469-483.

organization into special chambers and cabinets for their contemplation or display.³

Below the castle, in homes on and around the Horse Market in the New City, burghers and city inhabitants accumulated many of the same types of cultural objects and adopted many of the same styles as those found in court and noble circles, although not in the same quantity. A more fundamental difference between art collections on Castle Hill and those in the cities below the castle, however, was not their size and composition, but their setting and organization. In contrast to the emperor's *Kunstkammer* and the art picture galleries, libraries, and silver chambers of the nobles, the setting of art in burgher homes in the New City was not in rooms specially designed for their display but in chests and armoires located in multi-functional rooms. Within these chests and armoires, art objects were often mixed together with objects of the same type, as well as with quite ordinary objects. This distinctive setting and organization helps us to understand the piecemeal and hodgepodge ways burghers and other city dwellers adopted and appropriated Renaissance styles and modes, and to better access what Renaissance styles and new attitudes towards ecclesiastical culture meant to urban residents.⁴

³ Reference is from Francis Bacon's *Gestra Grayorum* (1594), as quoted in the introduction to *The Origins of Museums*, O. Impey & A. MacGregor (eds.), note 1. In the past ten years, collections of art, nature and the exotic have been an active area of scholarly research. *The Origins of Museums* provides an introduction to the literature around its date of publications. A few important works among the plethora of studies which have appeared since then are: A. Schnapper, *Le géant, la licorne, la tulipe. Collection françaises au XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1988; K. Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities. Paris and Venice, 1500-1800*, Cambridge 1990; Jonathan Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe*, Princeton 1993. Curiosity cabinets have been the subject of a few recent exhibitions: A. Lugli, *Naturalia et Mirabilia. Il collezionismo enciclopedico nelle Wunderkammern d'Europa*, Milano 1983; *Wunderkammer. XLII. Esposizione Internazionale d'Arte la Biennale di Venezia, Venezia 1986*; *Schatzkästchen und Kabinettschrank. Möbel für Sammler*, Berlin 1989; *Der Zugang zum Kunstwerk: Schatzkammer, Salon, Ausstellung, "Museum"*; J. Kenneth (ed.), *The Age of the Marvelous*, Hanover, NH, 1991. See also T.D. Kaufman, "From the Mastery of the World to the Mastery of Nature," chapter seven of *The Mastery of Nature. Aspects of Art, Science and Humanism in the Renaissance*, Princeton 1993.

⁴ While many studies have focused on the composition of art collections, Elisabeth Scheicher has drawn attention to their setting and organization; E. Scheicher, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Habsburger*, Wien,

1.5.1. BOOK LOCATIONS AND LIBRARIES

The house in the visual world of Johannes Amos Comenius had a "study room" (German *Studierstube*; Czech *pokoj k učení*), which...

...is the place where the student separated from other people sits by himself to pursue his studies, in which he reads books that are open before him on the reading pult, and from which he writes notes in his notebook or underlines or writes a star on the side of the margin.⁵

A room specially designed for the storage of books (i.e. a library), similar to the Comenius study began to appear in Bohemian noble palaces in the middle of the 16th century.⁶ While some residents of the New City accumulated sizable book collections, only in a handful of cases can they be classified as "libraries" or "studies" in the strict sense.

That is not to say, however, that books were kept randomly throughout the house. In small and medium-size households books were usually found only in one or two locations of the house; in large households, up to five locations. Neither the size of the collection nor the size of the household was a determining factor in the setting of the book collection. While one cannot define a single characteristic type of location where books were kept, three general types of locations can be identified: bedrooms with a presentational or representational quality (i.e. a room that is designated to be a sleeping location for a specific person or persons, containing their personal belongings, such as their clothes as well as decorative furnishings and art work); presentational or representational rooms without beds (usually

München & Zürich 1979; "The Collection of Archduke Ferdinand II at Schloß Ambras: its purpose, composition and evolution," *The Origins of Museums*, O. Impey & A. MacGregor (eds.), note 1, pp. 29-38.

⁵ J.A. Comenius, *Orbis Pictus Sensualis. Die Sichtbare Welt*. Alithato Világ, Svět Spatřujici, Original edition 1685, Reprint Praha 1989, XCVIII, pp. 198-99.

⁶ Only two "libraries" from the period have survived in Bohemia; one in the Castle of Groß Ullersdorf, and another in Březnice Castle which was founded in 1558 by Katerina von Lokschan. F. Seibt (Hrsg.), *Renaissance in Böhmen* (note 2), p. 213.

svietnice and *mázhaus*); and locations used primarily for storage ("cellars" and "chambers").⁷

Václav Kamaryt z Rovin's collection of 148 books, the largest among the individuals in the center of the New City of whom inventories are available, was distributed among three locations of his house. In all three of these locations there were beds; in two, art objects were also stored. In the *svietnice*, the books were kept in a cabinet along with documents, coins, and other art objects.⁸ In a "cellar off the *mázhaus*" thirty-one books were exclusively stored in one chest.⁹

Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku's collection of one-hundred twenty-three books was divided between the Žlutický house (thirty-four books) and the new structure or *nové stavení* (eighty-nine books). The books in the Žlutický house were in four locations (in one of which beds are found). Two books were in a "cellar" (*sklep*) with boxes and trunks containing documents, clothes, coins, and art objects.¹⁰ Twenty were stored exclusively in a trunk which was located in a small room (*malý pokoj*) decorated with twenty-three pictures, two tapestries, two large tables, two small tables, two candlestick holders, a saltbox, some dishware, and guns.¹¹ In an adjacent *komora*, four books were kept in a long chest along with four tapestries, two jugs, a drinking bottle, some dishware, a tin salt holder, and a spit.¹² In a large *svietnice*, books were stored in a desk along with art objects, dishware, documents, bed linen, and textiles in a room that was decorated with two portraits of the Holy Roman Emperor and five antlers, and furnished with two large mirrors, three tables, two benches upholstered in leather, five chairs, a set of armor, and a gun.¹³

In the large *svietnice* in the new structure Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku kept twenty-nine books in a cabinet along with four

⁷ These locations make up 40 of 56 or 72% of all locations where books are kept.

⁸ *Svietnice* (location 17) of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin (House no. 846-II).

⁹ *Sklep na velkém mázhauze* of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin (House no. 846-II).

¹⁰ *Sklep* (location 1) of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (House no. 792-II).

¹¹ *Malý pokoj* (location 3) of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (House no. 792-II).

¹² *Komora* (location 10) of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (House no. 792-II).

¹³ *Svietnice velká* (location 6) of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (House no. 792-II).

registers.¹⁴ In a *pokoj* two books were exclusively stored in a chest.¹⁵

Jiřík Švík z Lukonos' collection of one-hundred eleven books was divided between the Žlutický house (sixty books) and the new structure (fifty-one books). In a *komora* of the Žlutický house, seven books were listed in the inventory alone and forty-one were exclusively located in a cabinet located in a room in which large amounts of clothes and art objects were stored.¹⁶ In this room, seven books were also kept alone in no piece of furniture. In the *mázhaus* in the new structure, five books were exclusively stored in a standing cabinet which was located in a room together with miscellaneous iron objects.¹⁷ In a *komora*, two books were exclusively stored in a tin chest.¹⁸

In the house of Jiljí Perger z Častalovic, books were distributed among five locations, two of which were furnished with beds. In the "dry cellar," one newly printed bible was kept in a small chest along with two belts, an old gilded silver spoon, and a gilded silver apple.¹⁹ In the *svietnice* which was decorated with seventeen framed pictures, a table, five leather-upholstered benches and contained a wash basin, fifteen books were stored in a cabinet along with twelve golden goblets and a knife.²⁰ In the small downstairs *svietnice* which was decorated with eight framed pictures and a large and small table, ten books were stored in a cabinet with many documents, a silver cup in a case, four knives, and another unidentified silver object.²¹

In the large household of Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné, books were distributed among three locations. Only one of these locations contained a bed. In a *komora*, a "gentleman's bible" (*biblia pánská*) was kept in a room containing bed linen.²² In the "large downstairs *svietnice*," which was decorated with six antlers and a tapestry and furnished with an oven, a large table, three small

¹⁴ Svietnice velká (location 25) of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (nové stavení).

¹⁵ Pokoj (location 22) of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (nové stavení).

¹⁶ Komora (location 6) of Jiřík Švík z Lukonos (House no. 792-II).

¹⁷ Mázhaus (location 2) of Jiřík Švík z Lukonos (nové stavení).

¹⁸ Komora (location 4) of Jiřík Švík z Lukonos (nové stavení).

¹⁹ Suchý sklep (location 1) of Jiljí Perger z Častalovic (House no. 791-II).

²⁰ Svietnice (location 5) of Jiljí Perger z Častalovic (House no. 791-II).

²¹ Svietnice (location 13) of Jiljí Perger z Častalovic (House no. 791-II).

²² Komora (location 13) of Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné (House no. 853-II).

tables, and two cabinets, more than seventy books were stored in cabinet.²³

Of the fifty-six households under study, only two locations can be identified which resemble a library or study. One of these locations, the “small room” of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku, resembles a library or study on the basis of its contents (not its name).

Table I.5.1 The Small Room (“Pokojik”) of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (nové stavení)²⁴

A cabinet containing fifty-seven books: a Czech bible, books by Dr. Rathaus, Dr. Campi, “Ertaudia Mioni lamentaci” and thirty-eight “all Christian” books.

The second, the study of Simeon Polidor z Baubinus, is identified as a study by its name. It was the only room in the center of the New City named as a library or study during the period.

Table I.5.2 The Study (Kancelář) of Simeon Polidor z Baubinus (House no. 698-II)²⁵

One pull-out table, one small table “on which one writes,” another small table, one cabinet containing two legal documents, another cabinet with unspecified contents, six chairs, four seats (*sesle*), and a painted chest.

The specific name used for this location in the house of Simeon Polidor z Baubinus is chancellery (*kancelář*) rather than the term used in the Comenius house (*pokoj k učení*). Chancellery is most commonly used in Prague during this period as the name for a communal, estate or royal office. It is also the term that is used to designate a desk (i.e. a piece of furniture). The multiple tables and chairs that furnished Simeon Polidor z Baubinus’s study indicate that this was not a room meant for solitude. Both rooms, the study of Simeon Polidor z Baubinus and the “small room” of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku, were a rare phenomenon in the New City of Prague during this period.

²³ Velká svietnice dole (location 17) of Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné (House no. 853-II).

²⁴ Pokojik (location 26) of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (nové stavení).

²⁵ Kancelář (location 1) of Simeon Polidor z Baubinus (House no. 698-II).

I.5.2. LOCATION OF PAINTINGS AND MAPS

Pictures of New City Prague burghers were, like books, generally localized in only one location of the house.²⁶ These locations cannot be classified as painting galleries because, as their contents testify, the locations served a number of different functions other than just as a room for the display of art.

Table I.5.3 Description of Painting Locations in New City Prague Burghers Homes

In 39% of the locations where pictures were found, bed were also found.²⁷
In 39% of the locations where pictures were found, books were also found.²⁸
In 26% of the locations where pictures were found, exceptional works of artisanal art were also found.²⁹

In the households that had the three largest collections, those of Jiljí Perger z Častalovic, Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku, and Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku, pictures were distributed among three to five different locations of the house. These locations were generally rooms with a presentational or representational character.

Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku's collection of thirty-nine pictures was kept in three locations in the Žlutický house (House no. 792-II). Fourteen pictures were hung in the presentational or representational *mázhaus veliký*.³⁰ In the adjacent *malý pokoj*, twenty-three large and small pictures were hung in a room with two tapestries, two large tables, two small tables, a chest of books, two candlestick holders, a saltbox, some dishware, and guns.³¹ Two portraits of Emperor Rudolf II decorated the large *svietnice*, which contained five antlers, two large mirrors, three tables, two benches upholstered in leather, five chairs, a set of

²⁶ Pictures are found in 21 households in 31 locations. In 7 households they are found in more than one location.

²⁷ 12 out of 31 - 39%

²⁸ 12 out of 31 - 39%.

²⁹ 8 out of 31 - 26%.

³⁰ *Mázhaus veliký* (location 2) of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (House no. 792-II).

³¹ *Malý pokoj* (location 3) of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (House no. 792-II).

armor, and a desk filled with documents, books, and art objects.³²

Jilji Perger z Častalovic's collection of thirty-eight pictures was distributed among four locations. Seventeen framed pictures hung in the *svietnice veľká*, which was furnished with a table, five leather-upholstered benches, a wash basin, and a cabinet of books, goblets, and a knife.³³ Four framed pictures hung in a bedroom that was also furnished with a table and a chair.³⁴ Eight framed pictures hung in a small downstairs *svietnice*, which was furnished with a large and small table, a cabinet containing gold and silver objects, documents, and four knives.³⁵ In the *mázhaus*, an additional seven pictures were stored in a cabinet along with guns.³⁶

Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku's collection of twenty-eight pictures was distributed among five locations of the Bell House (House no. 747-II). In the large upstairs *svietnice* hung a portrait of the Emperor, a portrait of "Tobiáš" (relationship unknown), a veduta of Vienna, and a map of Hungary.³⁷ In an upstairs *komora* hung three large, seven small, and two other pictures.³⁸ In an upstairs *pokoj*, four pictures hung in a large presentational or representational setting.³⁹ A portrait of Brikci's first wife of Voršile was stored in a box in an upstairs *komora*.⁴⁰

In the house of Martin Masopust (House no. 832-II), pictures were distributed among two locations. Two pictures hung in the *druhá svietnice*, which was not a particularly presentational or representational room.⁴¹ A portrait of Samson decorated a presentational or representational bedroom.⁴² In the house of Tobiáš

³² Svietnice veľká (location 6) of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (House no. 792-II).

³³ Svietnice veľká (location 8) of Jilji Perger z Častalovic (House no. 791-II).

³⁴ Sklep (location 9) of Jilji Perger z Častalovic (House no. 791-II).

³⁵ Malá svietnice dole (location 13) of Jilji Perger z Častalovic (House no. 791-II).

³⁶ Mázhaus (location 7) of Jilji Perger z Častalovic (House no. 791-II).

³⁷ Svietnice veľká nahoře (location 1) of Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku (House no. 747-II).

³⁸ Komora z mázhausu na ulici (location 21) of Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku (House no. 747-II).

³⁹ Pokoj (location 28) of Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku (House no. 747-II).

⁴⁰ Komora skrze pokoj panský (location 27) of Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku (House no. 747-II).

⁴¹ Druhá svietnice (location 2) of Martin Masopust (House no. 852-II).

⁴² Sklep (location 3) of Martin Masopust (House no. 852-II).

Nejedlý z Vysoké (House no. 36b-II), two pictures hung in the *svietnice*.⁴³ A picture of Adam and Eve hung in the adjacent cellar (*sklípek*).⁴⁴

I.5.3. LOCATION AND STORAGE PATTERNS OF JEWELRY, OTHER CLOTHING ACCESSORIES, EXCEPTIONAL DISHWARE, AND GENERAL ART OBJECTS

Jewelry, other valuable clothing accessories, artistic dishware, and other artistic or exceptional artisanal work, just like books and pictures, were generally distributed among a small number of locations of the household. Just as there were neither libraries nor portrait chambers in burgher houses, were there locations specially allocated for other objects.

With the exception of paintings, all other artistic and cultural objects were stored in cabinets and chests. Moreover, they were not the only objects stored in these pieces of furniture, but were stored there along with other objects.

Table I.5.4 Storage Patterns of Books, Jewelry, Clothing Accessories, Dishware, and other Art Objects

Clothing Accessories - 93% was stored in a piece of furniture; none was stored there exclusively.

General Art Objects - 84% was stored, none exclusively.

Exceptional Dishware - 75% was stored, but only 9% was stored exclusively.

Books - 74% was stored, only half exclusively.

Jewelry - 72% was stored; all was stored along with other types of items (with the exception of three boxes of only jewelry of Voršile Cukrářka).

Most of the art and cultural objects were stored with a mixture of other types of art and cultural objects as well as with ordinary, everyday objects. This mixture of art and ordinary objects is one of the characteristic features of the organizational pattern of art objects in burgher homes in the New City.

⁴³ Svietnice (location 1) of Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké (House no. 36a-II).

⁴⁴ Sklípek (location 2) of Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké (House no. 36a-II).

Table I.5.5 Examples of the Most Common Settings of Art & Cultural Objects in New City Prague Burgher Homes

Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku - a "beautifully fashioned desk" containing a Czech bible, an everyday gospel, and an illuminated book of prayers along with six cooking spits, two pewter pots for cooking fish, a brass pot, and a brass jug.⁴⁵

Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku - a chest containing a German bible and rolled-up clothes, including "good and bad" men's shirts.⁴⁶

Jilji Perger z Častalovic - an armoire containing fifteen books, a pair of scissors, and two pairs of cutting pliers.⁴⁷

Only in a few cases can one identify chests or armoires containing one specific type of object, such as dishware or clothing accessories. For example, chests in which books were stored exclusively - library chests as opposed to libraries (i.e. rooms) - can be identified in three households.

Table I.5.6 Library Chests in New City Prague Burgher Houses

In the house of Jiřík Frič on the Horse Market, books were exclusively located in two cabinets (one painted) in a room with a stove, antlers, three tables, some dishware, and another cabinet filled with art objects.⁴⁸

In the house of Magdalena Křížová, her three books were exclusively located in a cabinet in a room with antlers, a table, two chairs, an empty cabinet, and a wash basin.⁴⁹

In the house of Buryan Pernikář, a Czech bible, an herbal book, and three other books were exclusively located in a chest in a room with another chest filled with clothes.⁵⁰

Many of the rooms in the center of the New City where exceptional art and cultural objects were found - whether *svietnice*, *mázhaus*, chamber, or cellar - possessed a presentational or representational character independent of these art objects, which was defined by a combination of traditional furniture and furnishings. While these rooms were not created or designed for the sole purpose of displaying or storing art, the art

⁴⁵ Svietnice veliká (location 6) of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (House no. 792-II).

⁴⁶ Komora (location 21) of Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku (House no. 747-II).

⁴⁷ Svietnice (location 5) of Jilji Perger z Častalovic (House no. 791-II).

⁴⁸ Svietnice (location 1) of Jiřík Frič (House no. 785/442-II).

⁴⁹ Nejhorši svietnice (location 5) of Magdalena Křížová (across from the parish house of St. Stephen).

⁵⁰ Komora (location 2) of Buryan Pernikář (House no. 778-II).

nevertheless imparted to these rooms a presentational or representational character in addition to the other furnishings.

A few of the 543 locations of the homes studied in the center of the New City were of exceptional presentational or representational character; for example, the bedroom *svietnice* in the house of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin.

Table I.5.7 “Svietnice” (location 17) in the Household of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin (House no. 846-II)

One covered bed, an oven, a glass table, a smaller table, a clothes rack (*šrák*), 25 portraits and pictures, two old tapestries, a mirror, a glass light, and books were kept in a cabinet along with documents, coins, and other art objects; a desk (*kancelářka*) containing clothes, documents, art objects; a small chest containing art objects; guns; a small table; and a leather upholstered bench.

A chamber in the house of Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku was also highly presentational or representational.

Table I.5.8 “Komora” (location 27) in the Household of Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku (Household no. 747-II)

Illuminated Czech bible bound in black silk with silver studs (*puklami stříbrnými*) and three other books were located on a shelf, along with four chests with coins; a bag of coins; a small box containing coins, art objects, his coat of arms, and a portrait of his first wife; a chest with art dishware; a box with documents; guns; a bed; and various tools.

Although not as elaborate as the two rooms mentioned above, a bedroom in the household of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku in the Žlutický house possessed a distinctive presentational or representational quality.

Table I.5.9 “Sklep” (location 1) in the Household of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (House no. 792-II)

Two books; a bed covered with green curtains; three colorful tapestries; a children's bed with bars; a third bed; three tapestries; a basket with documents; four boxes of documents (including “memoires”); a chest with glasses; a cabinet with “miscellaneous objects used in business (*rozličné hospodářské věci složené*); another cabinet filled with clothes; a chest filled with art objects, coins, jewelry and valuable clothing accessories; a second filled with documents and art dishware; and a third one with art dishware, jewelry and coins.

In addition to the art collections in his bedroom, Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku had a modest presentational or representational room in his house containing art and cultural objects.

**Table I.5.10 “Velká Svietnice” (location 30) of
Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku (House no. 747-II)**

Three pictures, including those of “SS. Václav and Adalbert” (higher); a mirror; a desk filled with documents, books, and art objects; a box containing art objects; a small chest containing tools; a gun; two small bells; and produced dishware.

The most interesting interior in the center of the New City was a chamber of Jiřík Švik z Lukonos.

**Table I.5.11 Multi-Functional Art Chamber - “Komora” (location 6)
in House no. 792-II of Jiřík Švik z Lukonos**

Seventeen books; a cabinet with an additional forty-one books; a chest with tablecloths and towels; a carved medium-size chest with sixty-six pieces of rolled bed linen; a small green chest with thirty-three pieces of women's clothes; a yellow chest with sixty-seven pieces of shawls (*řertuch*) and skirts (*řatek*); a smaller older chest with two pieces of women's clothes; a simple black chest with seventy-three pieces of art dishware, art objects, and a Czech psalms book in samite cloth; a yellow chest filled with thirty-eight pieces of jewelry, a small box containing eighteen ducat coins, a second box containing 281 Thalers, eleven double Thalers, 270 “sixtieth” coins, and a fifth box with ducats;⁵¹ a “sealed” chest containing a small box filled with three gold coins, three medallions, and two pieces of gold; and a large yellow chest with twenty-two pieces of clothes, twenty-seven pieces of valuable dishware, a pocket watch, four pieces of jewelry, and some cash.

The five rooms described above were the only ones among the 543 rooms in the center of the New City where evidence can be found that the collection of art objects was the centerpiece of the room or actually changed the character of the room to the extent that might justify classifying these locations as truly

⁵¹ The Thaler (linguistic derivation of “dollar”) is the name of the silver coin from the mines of the Northern Bohemian city of Jachymov, which took its name from the German name of the town (Joachimstal); J. Pořvář, *Měna v Čechách na Moravě a ve Slezsku (do počátku 20. století)* [Currency in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia to the Beginning of the 20th Century], Praha 1977.

representational, a symbol of individual or family prestige. Furthermore, they are the only locations showing a particular fondness for “collecting” in any sense similar to noble collections in Prague or to Rudolf’s *Kunstkammer*.

With the exception of these five rooms, most of the rooms where art was kept in burgher houses in the center of the New City were multi-functional. This multi-functional setting of art raises the question of what collecting means in such an environment.

1.5.4. THE SETTING OF ART & CULTURAL OBJECTS IN THE NEW CITY PRAGUE BURGHER HOUSE

The lack of separate rooms for art and cultural objects in burgher houses and the multi-functional nature of their setting cannot be explained simply as lack of sufficient space. In terms of size and area, the noble palaces on Castle Hill were indeed greater than the largest households in the New City. The ground floor of the Neuhaus palace had approximately fifty rooms and the Rosenberg Palace twenty-six, as opposed to Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku’s thirty-room house, Václav Kamaryt z Rovin’s twenty-two room house, and Jilji Perger z Častalovic’s twenty-one room house. Nevertheless, large burgher houses did indeed have sufficient space. No convincing argument can be made that noble places had specially allocated rooms because they had more space, and that burgher houses did not have them because there was no available space. Noble palaces had art chambers because the owners wanted them. Burghers who owned large picture collections, such as Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (39 pictures) and Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku (28), did not decline to exhibit them in painting galleries because they did not have room in their houses for galleries but because they chose another setting for art. Any one of the ubiquitous storage rooms in their houses could have been converted into a library or painting gallery if they chose. Even some nobles struggled to find an acceptable balance in their palaces between functional and representational rooms. Jáchym z Hradce, for example, renovated and added on rooms to the Neuhaus palace to provide him with additional space for representational purposes.⁵²

⁵² V. Ledvinka, “Dům pánů z Hradce pod Stupni” (note 2), pp. 275ff.

The setting of art in burgher homes represents less a functional solution to living space than a characteristic type of organization. The strongest support for the existence of a characteristic type of organization is provided by the patterns of organization discussed at the beginning of the chapter. In New City burgher houses, not only were rooms multi-functionally organized but chests were too; in effect, representing a second-level multi-functionality. This would seem to suggest that patterns of organization were linked to patterns or customs of cultural behavior. In other words, the jumbled setting of art did not just exist; it was planned and organized that way, albeit unconsciously. The piecemeal, hodgepodge collections of art in burgher homes did not just mirror the multi-functional, disordered setting of the burgher house, but had a multi-functional setting of its own which was linked to the way people during this period ordered and sorted objects within that setting.

Seen in this way, art collections in New City Prague burgher homes were not the anachromisms they first appear to be, but rather represent one *sui generis* of a broad range of collecting practices that have been identified in Central Europe during the period, such as the *Kunstkammer* of Emperor Rudolf II in the Prague castle, the *Kunstkammer* of Archduke Ferdinand in the castle at Ambras, and the cabinets of art and curiosities in burgher houses in Basel.⁵³

Archduke Ferdinand set up his *Kunstkammer* in his castle in Ambras after leaving Prague in 1564 to take up the appointment as governor of Tyrol and the Austrian *Vorlande* following the death of his father. It was a unique space, consisting of a large, undecorate hall, lit on both sides, where viewers could gaze at objects grouped together by material in single cupboards. Basel burghers added extensions onto their homes, often with vaulted ceilings, for the storage of their art and curiosity cabinets.⁵⁴

One might expect that the collections of New City burghers would be more similar to those of burghers in Basel than those of

⁵³ E. Scheicher, "The Collection of Archduke Ferdinand at Schloß Ambras" and *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Habsburger* (note 4); H.-C. Ackermann, "The Basle Cabinets of Art and Curiosities in the Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Centuries," *The Origins of Museums*, O. Impey & A. MacGregor (eds.), note 1, pp. 62-68.

⁵⁴ E. Scheicher "The Collection of Archduke Ferdinand at Schloß Ambras" (note 4); *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Habsburger* (note 4); H.-C. Ackermann, "The Basle Cabinets (note 53).

the Habsburg Emperor and governor. The Basel collections, however, were much more sophisticated than those of the New City, more closely related in both their composition and setting to the *Kunstkammer* of Emperor Rudolf II and Archduke Ferdinand than to collections of New City Prague burghers. The art and curiosity cabinets of many Basel burghers, such as Andreas Ryff (a silk merchant and statesman) and Theodor Zwinger (a professor of Greek at the local university), had clear connections to circles of humanists surrounding Erasmus. Humanism may have informed the New City collections, though not as extensively as in Basel.⁵⁵ Moreover, not all of the collections in the New City Prague burgher homes, not even the most elaborate, can be considered *Kunstkammer*.

In general terms, the art collections of residents of the New City - chests and armoires laden with a variety of objects located in presentational and representational rooms - resembled more the *Kunstkammer* of the Emperor than the separate chambers (i.e. silver chambers, libraries, banquet halls) of the nobles.

Considering the many differences between collections, it may be a futile exercise to seek detailed comparisons between the various *Kunstkammer* and art collections of the 16th and 17th centuries; a task similar to comparing apples to oranges. Rather than forcing comparisons or, in the other extreme, treating each collection as an individual case, it seems more fruitful to look at the many and broad purposes, functions, and motivations of the respective collections.⁵⁶

I 5.5. THE MEANING OF "DISPLAY" IN NEW CITY PRAGUE BURGHER HOUSES AND OTHER PURPOSES OF ART COLLECTIONS

In all collections of art and cultural objects, art possessed a number of qualities and served a number of functions, depending

⁵⁵ New City book collections do contain books with broad humanistic content; however, with the exception of religious books, the inventories rarely provide detailed information on authors and titles. Of the residents of the New City who had sophisticated art collections, only Václav Kamaryt z Rovin had a book collection with broad humanistic content. His collection of 148 books contained histories, historical calendars, law codes (including the Justinian code), and Erasmus' *Explicatio Symboli Apostoli*.

⁵⁶ C. Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*; pp. 4-5 (see note 3 above); T. Kaufmann, *The Mastery of Nature*, p. 175 (see note 3 above).

on the type of object and situation.⁵⁷ One of its functions was to serve as an object of display. Ferdinand's *Kunstammer*, which was situated in cupboards of an armoire placed in the center of a lit room, clearly was designed for display. *Kunstammern* of prominent Prague burghers also appear to have been designed for display. Whether Emperor Rudolf II's *Kunstammer* was meant for display or private contemplation has been a controversial issue.⁵⁸ What about collections of residents in the New City?

One custom of art display in Prague during the period is described by Pierre Bergeron. At noble palaces in Prague during the reign of Rudolf II, banquets were followed by a promenade to special palace rooms to observe displayed art. At a lunch at the residence of the Spanish Ambassador on Wednesday, July 26, 1600, which was attended by the ambassadors of the Holy See, Venice, and Florence:

The head of the house sat at the lower end of the table; next to him sat the Ambassador of Malta, a few Spanish noblemen, and his nephew. He toasted all of his guests from various goblets...He gave forks because he didn't manage well with his hands...the banquet was great because of the large number of important people who usually come to such parties. According to the custom of this land, a great credenza (*kredenc*) with four levels was used, from which drinks in gilded silver cups were brought on large silver trays to the guests with a small flask (*baňka*) with cold water. Ice was on the credenza and on all the fruit. After leaving the table, we went with the host through many ante-chambers (*předpokoj*) to the *kabinet*, as is

⁵⁷ The situational aspect of objects, in general, has been discussed by H.-W. Goetz, "Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Alltags," *Mensch und Objekt im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Leben-Alltag-Kultur* (=Sb. Ak. Wien, phil.-hist. Kl. 568), Wien 1990, pp. 67-101. The argument seems valid for art as well.

⁵⁸ R.J.W. Evans and many Czech scholars contend that Rudolf's *Kunstammer* was primarily intended for "private contemplation" and that Rudolf was "secretive about its contents"; R.J.W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his World: A Study in Intellectual History*, Oxford 1973, p. 178. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann has argued that "Rudolf's collection was by no means kept secret from outsiders. While Rudolf's collection, like other princely/royal collections of the period, was not normally accessible to commons (although several saw it), it was regularly used for formal diplomatic functions. See T.D. Kaufmann, "Remarks on the Collections of Rudolf II" (note 1), p. 23.

common here. There were two tables of Augsburg craftsmanship covered with silver plates in a relief.⁵⁹

On Thursday, July 27, 1600, Bergeron and the French delegation were invited for lunch by Pavel Sixt Trautson at his palace on Castle Hill square.⁶⁰ Bergeron wrote that they were “splendidly entertained” (*“velmi skvěle pohoštěn”*) and describes a similar occasion:⁶¹

Lunch lasted more than four hours and consisted of nine courses, of which the last was made up of only exquisite fare. The delicate, decorated crystal glasses were the most beautiful that I have ever seen, each costing more than 100 ducats. Madame Trautson sat with us at the table located in a big hall whose walls were covered with more than 400 portraits of the great men of the century. Three large crystal lamps were also there...From the banquet hall we went to the *kabinet* which was furnished with six pieces of German furniture, decorated with silver in the place of intarsia. I also saw there are a few portraits. One of them was of Charles V, triumphant on the whole world above all French cities, and then the last was the King François portrayed with his hands bound like the French knights in his entourage.⁶²

Rooms for serving guests can be identified in a number of New City Prague burgher homes. One needs to question, however, to what extent the locations in New City Prague burgher homes, and the form of sociability that went on there, can be compared to the banquet halls and banquets at the residences of the Spanish Ambassador, Pavel Sixt Trautson, and other nobles.

The furnishings in the rooms of New City Prague burgher homes where guests were entertained were quite modest. In the house of Jilji Perger z Častalovic, there were two locations where guests were served both beer and wine. The “downstairs drinking *svietnice*” was furnished with nine tables and thirteen chairs; the

⁵⁹ Tři francouzští kavalíři v rudofinské Praze. Jacques Esprinchar, Pierre Bergeron, François de Bassonpierre [Three French Cavaliers in Rudolfine Prague], Praha 1989, p. 57.

⁶⁰ Pavel Sixt Trautson married Anna, daughter of Mikuláš z Lobkovic and former wife of Jiří z Montfort. Trautson received his palace (House no. 186-I) from Rudolf II. It was located on Castle Hill Square next to the Lobkovický palace. He sold it in 1601 to Petr Vok z Rožmbergu for 8500 gold pieces. Tři francouzští kavalíři v rudofinské Praze (note 59), pp. 119-120, footnote no. 77.

⁶¹ Tři francouzští kavalíři v rudofinské Praze (note 59), p. 58.

⁶² Tři francouzští kavalíři v rudofinské Praze, (note 59), pp. 58-59.

siň with six tables and five chairs.⁶³ In the house of his across-the-street neighbor, Martin Masopust, there were two rooms for serving guests. The large *svietnice* was furnished with a stove, eight tables, five chairs; the adjacent *siň* with eight tables and three chairs.⁶⁴ In none of these locations was there a credenza, a multi-tiered piece of furniture, as there were in the residences of the Spanish ambassador and Pavel Sixt Trautson. In serving rooms of New Prague burgher houses, drinks were served from an armoire (*almara*), which could have been used for a number of other purposes as well.

A “Conversation about Dinner” from Ondřej Klatovský z Dalmanhorstu’s *Book written in Czech and German* provides insight into table etiquette in guests houses in the New and Old Cities of Prague in the late 16th century⁶⁵ -

Host: Servant, make the horseradish and set the table.

Servant: I’ve already made the horseradish. Only the food is missing.

Host: Don’t worry about the food. Cut some bread for the table.

Servant: The bread is already ready. Would you like me to go for wine now before the guests arrive...At Markus’ on the Horse Market they have a good Hungarian wine for 8 large pfennig and a Bohemian wine by Mastojten for 4 Pfennigs...

Host: Haven’t you brought any water to the table? What are you thinking about?

Servant: The Barkeeper hasn’t even taken out the hand bowl and jug.

Bar-woman [to the servant]: Everything is ready. Why don’t you go to the cook. You are a real ass. You have to meddle into everything. Where do you have the dishes and spoons?...Can’t you take care of anything?

Host [to the servant]: Are you blind, that you don’t have the table ready yet? Give me a white hand towel. How did you get it so white? Did you hang it in the smoke chute?⁶⁶

⁶³ Dolejší pitevně svietnice (location 6) and siň (location 20) of Jilji Perger z Častalovic (House no. 791-II).

⁶⁴ Velká svietnice (location 6) and siň (location 7) of Martin Masopust (House no. 852-II).

⁶⁵ Table etiquette, which is being considered here, is only one issue. This and similar dialogues in the Klatovský book address broader social-moral issues.

⁶⁶ O. Klatovský, *Knižka v českém a německém jazyku složena/kterakby Čech německy a němec česky čisti, psáti, i mluviti učiti měl* [Book Written in the Czech and German Language (to teach Czechs German and Germans Czech)], Olomouc 1564, fol. LXb ff.

This dialogue provides, among other things, a verification of the lack of fork use in the urban milieu, a phenomenon raised in the inventory study. In Prague burgher homes, no forks were found, only knives and spoons. Nevertheless, while the table etiquette described in the Klatovský piece is not as sophisticated as in noble palaces, it does illustrate a cultivate of a certain etiquette. This dialogue, supported by inventories of burgher homes, illustrates widespread use of napkins, tablecloths, specific drinking jugs, and the practice of washing hands at the table.

The rooms for serving guests in New City homes would appear to be establishments for serving wine and/or beer, which had been common in Prague at least since the late Middle Ages.⁶⁷ Just because these locations in burgher homes were characteristically different from the banquet halls of the Castle Hill does not automatically mean that they could not have served at a social occasion at which one would also observe displayed art. This would appear unlikely, however, for reasons other than the differences between burgher drinking halls and noble banquet halls.

The two rooms where guests were served in the house of Jiljí Perger z Častalovic were located on the ground floor off the courtyard where beer was brewed.⁶⁸ Perger's art and cultural objects were located in four adjacent rooms, also on the ground floor, but on the other side of the courtyard. The furnishings of these locations indicate that they could have served as places where guests were received. The *svietnice* was furnished with a table, five leather benches, seventeen pictures, and a small book collection in an armoire.⁶⁹ The *mázhaus* contained a marble table and an armoire containing fourteen pieces of firearms and firearm equipment and eight framed pictures.⁷⁰ A "cellar" was furnished with a large table, a smaller table with drawers, weapons, four framed pictures, and three beds.⁷¹ The small *svietnice* was furnished with eight framed pictures, a table, and an armoire

⁶⁷ In late 16th century Prague, wine and beer were served in the same locale, in contrast to the modern custom of separate locales for serving wine and beer (i.e. *vinárna* and *pivnice*, respectively).

⁶⁸ Dolejší pitevně *svietnice* (location 19) and *siň* (location 20) of Jiljí Perger z Častalovic (House no. 791-II).

⁶⁹ *Svietnice* (location 5) of Jiljí Perger z Častalovic (House no. 791-II).

⁷⁰ *Mázhaus* (location 7) of Jiljí Perger z Častalovic (House no. 791-II).

⁷¹ *Sklep* (location 8) of Jiljí Perger z Častalovic (House no. 791-II).

containing books, documents, and small silver art objects.⁷² Yet the access to art was probably not through the drinking establishment but through the adjacent *svietnice*, “where the deceased held office.”⁷³ The room was a representational room furnished with seventeen framed pictures, a table, five leather benches, an armoire containing books, weapons, and five pictures.

Like Jilji Perger z Častalovic, access to the art collection of the bellmaker and city councilor Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku was through rooms in his house associated with his position and stature in the community. Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku probably received guests in the large *svietnice* located on the first floor of his household, identified as an office retreat from its contents though not its name.⁷⁴ This office retreat was furnished with furniture containing a debt register, books, a seal of his status as titled burgher, two coats of arms, a mirror, five illuminated pictures, and three wooden paintings of saints. The predominant location for art in the Bell House, however, was not Brikci’s office retreat but two first-floor bedrooms with a strong presentational or representational quality.⁷⁵ These bedroom collections raise the tantalizing question of whether these objects were meant for display. If they were, were guests actually received or taken to these bedrooms, or was the display meant for “private contemplation”?

The bedroom has been proposed as one of the first “refuges of intimacy” in the otherwise public world of the early modern European city.⁷⁶ As has been discussed in an earlier chapter, in New City Prague burgher houses in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, only some sleeping locations were bedrooms, whereas most areas where people slept were impersonal. The personalization of a formerly impersonal sleeping location meant that the location took on the additional function of storage area

⁷² Malá svietnice dole (location 13) of Jilji Perger z Častalovic (House no. 791-II).

⁷³ Svietnice kde nobožtik ůrad dřival (location 5) of Jilji Perger z Častalovic (House no. 791-II).

⁷⁴ Svietnice (location 30) of Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku (House no. 747-II).

⁷⁵ Komora (location 27) and Svietnice velki nahoře (location 1) of Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku (House no. 747-II).

⁷⁶ O. Ranum, “The Refuges of Intimacy,” *Passions of the Renaissance*, R. Chartier (ed.), volume 3, *A History of Private Life*, Phillipe Ariès & Georges Duby (eds.), Cambridge, Mass 1989, pp. 207-263, especially pp. 217ff.

for personal items, such as clothes, books, and art objects. The New City Prague bedroom on the eve of the Battle of White Mountain appears to be the location where small blocks of privatization developed within the multi-functional environment that still retained some public functions. It suggests that privacy in the household developed, at the very least alongside, if not as a result of the development of other forms of collecting.

Searching for occasions and modes of display is one, but not the only, path to understanding the purposes of art collections in the New City. Display was only one of a number of functions and meanings that New City art collections could have served. Cultural objects and collections could have had a symbolic quality, even if they were not formally displayed.⁷⁷ This might be the case for most of the households in the center of the New City that did not have rooms with exceptional representational character.

In many cases, the distinctive storage patterns of art objects in burgher houses can perhaps best be understood as their being placed “out of circulation” for later use by the owner or at the bequest of the owner.⁷⁸ This use is suggested by gifts left by burghers to friends and relatives in the handful of civic wills which are available. Anna Šteffková z Čichanova, for example, left Voršile four silver belts, three gold belts, other jewelry including rings with stones, clothes, and bed linen.

In some cases where objects were placed out of circulation, they served a function similar to that of money; that is, one bequeathed an object for its monetary value. In other cases, objects were left for one’s family and friends not as a financial bequest but as an act of memorial. Daniel Švík z Lukonos left his son Jiřík two golden goblets “in memory of [his] grandfather Jiřík” and a ring on which was engraved “in memory of [his] grandfather Mikuláš Karyta z Řezna.” Objects left as memorials served a function similar to that of tombs and gravestones. Unfortunately only a few gravestones from this period have survived in Prague; such as the tombstone of the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe in the church of Mary-on-the-Teyn and a few graves outside of the parish church St. Henry (*Sv. Jindřicha*) in the New City.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ K. Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, pp. 7-9 (note 3).

⁷⁸ K. Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, pp. 11f (note 3).

⁷⁹ On the function of gravestones and tombstones as acts of memorial, see K. Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities* (note 3), pp. 16ff and 79ff. None of

Civic will bequests of material culture provide information on the hierarchy of choice and burgher conceptions of the exceptional and the ordinary. The two general principles of bequest with regards to material culture were: first, that a person left behind what he or she had; second, one bequeathed objects in decreasing order of their importance. Wealthier burghers left gold and silver; those who did not have gold and silver left pewter and kitchen items. Václav Haldecký, who was of more modest means than his neighbor, Martin Masopust, left Jan Vgyř (relationship unknown) his tin dishware and kitchen utensils, including an old copper mortar; and his servant Sibille the wash basin which was in the upstairs *svietnice*.

The sweet baker Martin Cukrář left his house and its contents to his wife Voršile, with the exception of a large amount of pewter dishware (measured by weight) to his daughter Lidmile.⁸⁰ As Lidmile's inventory indicates, she was left with more than a modest collection of art objects. Either Voršile's art was her own - which would provide an interesting example of gender differentiation of art collecting or of large wealth differences according to gender - or Lidmile, her daughter, may have been cheated (i.e. her mother received the gold and she the pewter). Martin did possess gold and silver and could have left his daughter at least one gold piece. Jiřík Švik z Lukonos' father, who left him two gold goblets, was more generous.

Some burgher art collections were, thus, meant for display, though not in rooms specially designed for that purpose; while other collections were meant for other purposes. If the purposes of collecting varied among the residents of the New City, what about the motives of collecting? This brings us back to a question raised at the beginning of the last chapter. Considering the piecemeal, hodgepodge composition of the collections of art and cultural objects of residents of the New City, and their quite distinctive setting and organization, how would one classify the

the surviving gravestones outside of the Church of St. Henry (Sv. Jindřicha) in the New City seem to be those of New City burghers in this study. Epitaphs of these gravestones are printed in K. Navrátil, *Paměti hlavního kostela farního, fary a školy Sv. Jindřicha a Sv. Kunhuty v Novém Meště Pražském* [Records of the Main Parish Church, Parsonage, and Schools of SS. Henry and Kunhuta in the New City of Prague], Praha 1869.

⁸⁰ One centýř of tin dishware was left.

owners of these collections: Harmless eccentrics? Wiley spectators? Well endowed family men and women?⁸¹

1.5.6. CHARACTERISTIC STYLE OF ORGANIZATION -
CHARACTERISTIC STYLE OF APPROPRIATION:
THE BOHEMIAN RENAISSANCE ON THE HORSE MARKET

Not one of the prototypes used to classify the modern art collector can alone explain the composition and organization of collections, and the motives for collecting of New City Prague residents in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Some residents of the New City who have been considered in this study were members of wealthy, well established families, but wealth and prestige represent only a partial explanation for the composition of collections and the motives for collecting. Eccentricity and amateur connoisseurship are equally inadequate, as they fail to duly take into account the characteristic organization of collections. Residents of the New City were neither mere spectators nor passive agents of the diffusion of Renaissance styles and modes or the new approach towards the material culture of churches and monasteries. Although many of the new ideas, styles and modes in art and architecture were initiated by noble and royal/imperial circles on Castle Hill, residents of the New City did not passively adopt them but appropriated them on their own terms and for their own reasons.

A style of appropriation characteristic of city dwellers, as opposed to the Emperor and the nobility, is reflected in the setting and organization of architectural features and collections of art and cultural objects in burgher houses in the center of the New City. Literate city dwellers could and did have access to learned debates about religion, law, and other subjects, and the composition of their book collections demonstrates their interest in them, but book collections did not translate into a library or place of study or refuge. The Renaissance style of portraiture, windows, gables, its treatment of nature and the exotic, as well as the maintenance and renovation of churches and monasteries, did attract residents of the New City, but did not translate into *Kunstammer*, painting galleries, new house structures, or church endowment.

⁸¹ K. Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities* (note 3), p. 1.

The lack of painting galleries and *Kunstkammer* and the piecemeal renovation of houses and ecclesiastical structures can be associated, on one level, with a partial, rather than a full adoption of new styles and modes. In other words, while the diffusion of Renaissance styles and a new approach to the sacred was a widespread phenomenon, it did not result in their wholesale adoption as a system. Such a statement, while descriptive, provides no explanation for why art collections, architectural elements, and other features of material culture were organized or not organized in a particular way. An explanation for the characteristic setting and organization of art and cultural objects and for the motives for collecting requires a differentiated model of social compensation and aesthetics.⁸²

The adoption of new features of material culture by residents of the New City can be explained as a complicated action of social and political competition and compensation among social groups (city residents, nobles, and the Emperor) or among city residents. The different composition, setting, and organization of new styles and modes among individuals reflect a broad spectrum of responses and meanings.

For many city dwellers, new styles of art were merely a new type of material culture for old purposes. In these cases, the setting and motive remained the same as for the objects they were replacing. Instead of collecting tin, silver and gold in old shapes and sizes, one collected more tin, silver and gold in new shapes and sizes to use as money, memorial, or decoration. One did not necessarily need to display them. In the case of architectural structural elements, such as the construction of new windows, tables, portals, and vaulting ceilings, the setting did not change, but the mere presence of the new features served to act in a new powerfully pretentious manner. This style of appropriation, characterized by apish copying, pretension, and conspicuous consumption, can be attributed to a large majority of the

⁸² Gerard Turner presents an interesting, differentiated explanation. He has proposed that private collections and cabinets served a three-fold purpose: self advertisement (i.e. individual family and prestige), economic advancement and utility, and intellectual satisfaction. According to Turner, the economic advantage behind the cabinets was used and seen as a means of development, the raw material of trade and prosperity. See G. Turner, "The Cabinet of Experimental Philosophy," *The Origins of Museums*, O. Impey & A. MacGregor (eds.), note 1, pp. 214-222.

inhabitants of the New City - those of modest means as well as some of the wealthier.

The appropriation of new styles and modes in art and architecture by residents of the New City often represented a highly ambivalent form of compensation and competition, related both to traditional social, cultural and political systems and to new ones. Often, city dwellers did not simply copy or adopt a style or mode to gain influence or compensate for loss of prestige at the expense of the nobility, but to reassert their position over that of their peers in a changing environment. Martin Masopust, for example, a member of the old order in the New City, changed all of his windows in the late 16th century - an ultimate sign of pretension - but the interior design of his house remained the same, with traditional parlors but no truly representation rooms for the display of art.

To the bellmaker Brikcí Zvonář z Cimperku, compensation was all at once conspicuous consumption, pretension, as well as a process of deeper, inner commitment. The reconstruction of his roof must be seen as a pretentious act, but his office retreat and his maps and pictures with Habsburg themes represented neither a copying of styles to reassert himself among his peers in the New City, as Martin Masopust seems to have done, nor simple compensation for his status and competition with nobles on Castle Hill. Brikcí Zvonář z Cimperku embodied a style of cultural appropriation characterized by a willingness to partake in the acculturation process brought forth by the reintroduction of Habsburg rule in the city.

Václav Kamaryt z Rovín the Younger, Jiljí Perger z Častalovic, and Jiřík Švík z Lukonos adopted new styles in a broad and complicated fashion. They did not merely accumulate gold and silver, they collected them along with items from nature and the exotic, and ordered them into *Kunstkammer*, albeit in their own way. These were individuals who had extensive ties within the local neighborhood all the way up to the castle. Two of them, Václav Kamaryt z Rovín and Jiřík Švík z Lukonos, were from upwardly mobile families who chose to make a future with the Habsburgs; Václav Kamaryt z Rovín was even elevated to noble status.

The importance of an individual's relationship to the Habsburg presence in Bohemia bore on the extent to which he or she adopted new styles and modes and appropriated them in an

orderly, organized fashion. This is strongly suggested by the case studies of residents of the New City and is supported by the cases of two Old City residents, Jakub Granovský z Granova and Markus Meyzl, individuals who were introduced in previous chapters. Both were associated with families whose social and political fortunes were tied to the Habsburg cause. Jakub Granovský z Granova's father had received from Emperor Ferdinand I a building plot strategically located off the courtyard of the Church of Mary-on-the-Teyn off Old Town Square for his loyalty during the Uprising of 1547. Markus Meyzl's father, the famous rabbi and philanthropist Mordecai Meyzl, was a confidante of the Emperor. Both of these individuals appropriated Renaissance features into their homes in an extensive fashion that included not only new windows, but also the construction of Italian-style *loggia*.

The comparison of these New and Old City case studies brings to the foreground the issue of confession. Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku, Jiřík Švík z Lukonos, Jiljí Perger z Častalovic, and Markus Meyzl, all individuals who appropriated new Renaissance styles and modes in an extension fashion and showed an interest in the renovation of ecclesiastical buildings, did not see a problem with the fusion of Bohemian local pride and Utraquism (Zvonař, Švík and Perger), or of Bohemian local pride and Judaism (Meyzl), with Habsburg internationalism (which used Catholic reform as a tool of centralization). Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku had no problem being a parishioner at the Utraquist parish church of St. Stephen (*Sv. Štěpána*), a member of the literary circle of St. Henry (*Sv. Jindřicha*), and an agent to the Catholic Petr Vok z Rožmberka; just as his grandfather did business with Habsburg King Ferdinand I and made a deal with the Archbishop over his garden. Similarly, Markus Meyzl's father was a major patron of synagogues and Jewish communal buildings but had no problem in dealing with the Habsburg Emperor. These cases represent, at the very least, the fluid and ambiguous confessional situation of the late 16th century. In such an environment, any links between culture, politics, and confession must be seen as accidental. The apparent similarities in cultural appropriation may illustrate the material embodiment of what has been described as "the third path" - the conscious attempt by many contemporaries to avoid

the sectarianism brought forth by the Reformation.⁸³ If so, similarities in cultural appropriation may be common approaches to material culture among such apparently different figures as the Habsburg Emperor, a Catholic, the Utraquist artisan, and the rabbi's son.

⁸³ F. Heer, *Die dritte Kraft. Der europäische Humanismus zwischen den Fronten des konfessionellen Zeitalters*, Frankfurt/Main 1959.

I.6. Conclusion

The New City shared in the transformation of Prague, as a whole, into a Habsburg residential city. Its residents adopted Renaissance styles and modes introduced by the Habsburg court and the Bohemian nobility, and participated in the renovation of the material culture of the sacred associated with Catholic reform. In the New City, the adoption of Renaissance styles and modes and Catholic Renewal brought about a silent transformation of home and neighborhood, characterized by the slow refurbishing of house, street and parish church. At the same time, a detailed study of these innovations has shown that as widespread and pervasive as this transformation was, it is a gross oversimplification to state that Prague society underwent a cultural symbiosis in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, whereby different groups began to assimilate their styles and tastes, as has been proposed.¹ The case of the New City shows that the transformation of Prague into a Habsburg residential city was a complex process.

First of all, Renaissance styles and modes throughout the 16th century represented just one of a number of cultural systems drawn on by city residents to conceptualize and orient themselves in the material and spatial worlds of the city. In addition to Renaissance styles and modes, there were those associated with the long, accumulated tradition of the material culture of housing which dated back centuries, as well as others of the more recent past associated with the Hussite movement. Renaissance styles and modes did not replace but joined other traditions. The adoption of Renaissance features and other innovations by burghers and city dwellers involved the redefinition of earlier styles, models and practices in the face of new ones, and the adaptation of new Renaissance styles in contact with traditional ones.

Secondly, and more importantly, burghers and others city dwellers adopted many Renaissance and other innovations in a hodgepodge, piecemeal fashion. Art in New City burgher homes differed from those on the Castle Hill and the Small Side in four important ways: in the composition and range of innovations, and

¹ K. Hetteš, "O hmotné kultuře pražského měšť 16. věku" [About the Material Culture of the Prague Cities in the 16th Century], *Kniha o Praze* (1964): 197-214.

in their setting and organization. An important finding to come from this study was the identification of multi-functionality as the primary feature of burgher households, relating both to the overall organization as well as to storage patterns. Multi-functionality has been noted before in the literature;² the case of the New City of Prague suggests that we devote more attention to it, not just in burgher homes but in other landscapes as well. This study has pointed to the importance of multi-functionality as a setting and style of organization for burgher art; it would make sense to consider it an important factor shaping other art collections, burgher and noble, in Prague and elsewhere.

The limited composition, multi-functional setting and organization of art and cultural innovations in the New City burgher homes point to a model of cultural change going on in the cities of Prague in the 16th century which can best be described as appropriation rather than diffusion; and this appropriation was part of a larger, complex acculturation process which was introduced by the arrival of the Habsburgs on the Castle Hill. For most city residents, the style of appropriation can be described as apish copying and pretension, and is identified by the limited number of innovations which were distributed or stored in no recognizable patterns. To only four out of fifty-six individuals studied can an intensified style of appropriation be attributed. This style of appropriation can be characterized by a new mode of collecting and display which is identified not just by new types and a broad range of innovations, but also by their distinctive setting and organization.

The appropriation of new styles and modes in art and architecture of residents of the New City should be viewed as a highly ambivalent form of compensation and competition which crossed linguistic and confessional lines, embracing both the Czech and German speaker, Catholic, Utraquist, Lutheran, and Jew; and which can be related as much to values and motives rooted in the neighborhood as it was to those introduced by noble and royal/imperial circles.

² R.-E. Mohrmann, "Städtische Wohnkultur in Nordwestdeutschland vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert (aufgrund von Inventaren)," Nord-Süd Unterschiede in der städtischen und ländlichen Kultur Mitteleuropas, G. Wiegmann (Hrsg.), Münster 1984, pp. 89-155; Alltagswelt im Land Braunschweig, städtische und ländliche Wohnkultur vom 16. bis 20. Jahrhundert, Münster 1990.

The identification of a style or styles of cultural appropriation with Prague burghers and city dwellers, as this study has done, is not to say that they are distinctive to burghers and city dwellers in an absolute sense, but merely characteristic of those individuals studied. The characteristic style of appropriation of Prague burghers should not be seen as indicative of a mentalité distinctive to burghers per se, but a manifestation of cultural practices which are best understood in association with the specific artisanal, rentier-merchant environment of the New City. An area of potential fruitful future research would be to study other areas of Prague and other cities.

The forms of appropriation identified by the study present us with a few enigmas. The first enigma relates to the overall character many city dwellers appropriated innovations. It is easier to identify new objects and innovations than it is to distinguish them from older, traditional forms of expression. For example, with respect to its interior furnishings and design, the burgher house possessed an expression of status or prestige that was independent of the individual Renaissance innovations present. This study has borrowed the distinction between "presentation" and "representation" as a useful concept; however, only in a few homes, was it possible to identify a mode of expression that can be called representational rather than presentational. In most cases, the Renaissance appears to have provided new ways of expression, not a new language of expression.

Another enigma revealed by this study is the relationship between the organization of households and the introduction of Renaissance styles and modes. As discussed in this study, the multi-functionality of household organization was a feature associated with early European development (i.e. the Middle Ages), whereas Renaissance styles and modes were innovations of the 16th century. However, those households that exhibited the most Renaissance features, possessing rooms with a pronounced representational character resembling *Kunstkammer* and special galleries, were largely disorganized. The two most organized households differed from each other with respect to Renaissance features and all other factors.

Neighborhood studies often raise more problems that they solve, and one needs to remind oneself that their conclusions rest ultimately on the community under study. At their best, local

studies suggest links between meaningful structures and processes and other larger issues. The study of this small microcosm of Prague on the eve of the Thirty Years War suggests some interesting links between larger developments in politics, society and culture which can be further explored in other studies.

Recent scholarship on the social history of the Reformation has shown how both Catholicism and Protestantism assisted state-building in the late 16th and 17th centuries by serving as tools of “social disciplining,” both from above and below. To say that Catholic reform served as a tool of Habsburg confessionalization and that the diffusion of Renaissance styles and modes was intensified and accelerated with the Habsburg presence, as has been proposed in the secondary literature, does not make a connection between Catholicism and the Renaissance. As the experience of the New City demonstrates, Utraquists and Jews embraced the Renaissance as strongly as Catholics. I believe that there is evidence to suggest that Renaissance cultural innovations patronized and cultivated by the Habsburg court could also be seen in a similar light, as a cultural medium, for different elements of society to - subtly - accommodate to some of the challenges introduced by the Habsburgs. The material culture of housing was not just a reflection of these larger developments, but a focal point where the residents of the city could integrate new styles and modes with those of their traditional value systems rooted in neighborhood and commune. One interesting link revealed by this study is one between an individual’s embracing of new innovations and his or her’s identification with the new sense of order which the Habsburg regime presented; not with confession, as one might believe.

While one explanation for the multi-confessional embrace of Renaissance styles and modes and the Habsburg cause might be sought in viewing it as a cultural manifestation among city dwellers in the search for a “third way” between the polarization of confessional boundaries that was underway in the late 16th century, a more sober one lies in seeing them as manifestations of the “peaceful coexistence” (though not necessarily tolerance) of different confessional groups that was characteristic for Rudolfine Prague.³

³ Josef Válka, “Tolerance či koexistence? (K povaze soužití různých náboženských vyznání v českých zemích v 15. a 17. Století)” [Tolerance or

The New City of Prague presents a wonderful laboratory in which to view the series of complicated changes going on during the period known in Czech national history as “the Pre-White Mountain” period. The case study of the New City shows that this period represents, on the one hand, a period of continuity of important structures and processes with the post-Hussite period; though, on the other hand, also one of innovation, especially in the areas of politics and religion. These features of continuity and innovation seen together point to the usefulness of viewing the early years of Habsburg rule in Bohemia’s central city as a period in its own right characterized by the intimate interplay of politics, society and religion.⁴

Coexistence? (Some Thoughts Concerning the Coexistence of different Religious Confessions in the Bohemian Lands from the 15th to the 17th Centuries)], *Studia Comeniana et Historica*, 18, 1988, číslo 35pp. 63-75.

⁴ Heinz Schilling, “Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich. Religiöser und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland zwischen 1555 und 1620,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 246 (1988): 1-45; Wolfgang Reinhard, “Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 68 (1977): 226-52).

II. The Anatomy of House & Street

This part of the study presents a detailed, summary reconstruction of salient features of the material culture of daily life in the New City of Prague in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, based on the critical analysis of two major overlapping bodies of written sources: probate inventories and building contracts and disputes, supplemented by civic wills and marriage contracts. [See the introduction for a discussion of the sources and methodology.]

The reconstruction is divided into five sections:

Section 1 presents a reconstruction of major features of physical structures and of the street landscape by providing an overview analysis of all the cases that appeared before the Six-Man Councils of the New and Old Cities of Prague in the years 1547-1611, with a more in-depth analysis of the contract and dispute cases for the years 1566 to 1583. Of the total number of cases in the New City, thirty-one (31) correspond to houses located in the center of the New City; specifically, within a two-block radius of the lower Horse Market (today's Wenceslaus Square).

Section 2 introduces fifty-six (56) households corresponding to forty-six (46) burgher houses in the New City. All but eight of these houses were located in the center of the New City. Fourteen of the households were subjects of building contract and dispute cases; the remaining were in houses adjacent or almost adjacent to houses corresponding to these cases.

Section 3 represents a reconstruction of the material and spatial features of house interiors. It presents a structural profile of these fifty-six households according to typology of locations and objects, distribution of key objects, and the spatial functional division of the households.

Sections 4 and 5 consist of a series of figures and charts. They represent a key element of the reconstruction. They do not just document material covered in the first three sections.

II.1. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE AND THE STREET LANDSCAPE

II.1.1. CASE BOOKS OF THE SIX-MAN COUNCILS, 1547-1611

Building contract and dispute cases were drawn from the case books of the Six-Man Councils of the Old and New Cities of Prague for the period 1547 to 1611, and the book of appeals from the Six-Man Council of the New City to the New City Council (covering the years 1603 to 1611).¹ The case books provide almost continuous documentation during the period (with the exception of the years 1583 to 1610 for the Old City).

The case books contain a total of 407 entries for the Old City and 854 entries for the New City for the period 1547 to 1611 (including a few additional ones for the period from 1611 to 1613). Contracts and disputes over building and property make up 45% of the total entries for the Old City and 50% for the New City. The rest are transactions of the rent or sale of market stalls, vineyards, and hop fields; records of debt; a small number are records of on-site visitations of the Six-Man Councils; and a few are civic wills and marriage contracts. [See chart II.5.2.]

The total number of contract and dispute cases for this period are 182 for the Old City and 425 in the New City. Seen in the context of the total number of houses, this equates to, on the average, 10-22% of all houses in the Old City and 20-26% in the New City that came to the attention of the Six-Man Councils in the period 1547 to 1611.²

The book of appeals from the Six-Man Council of the New City contains 97 appeals for the period 1603-1611.

Of the 182 contract and dispute cases in the Old City, five cases involved ecclesiastical institutions; nineteen involved Jews. Of the 425 contract and disputes cases in the New City, five involved ecclesiastical institutions, four hospitals, and a Jew. Of the 97 appeals of decisions of the Six-Man Council of the New

¹ For the Old City, Sign. AMP 473, 474, 2154; for the New City, Sign. AMP 2149 and 2150. The Book of Appeals for the New City is Sign. AMP 521.

² The estimates of the total number of houses are as follows: in 1562, 816 in the Old City and 1607 in the New City; in 1605 1766 houses in the Old City and 1908 in the New City; F. Dvorský, "O Počtu domů v Praze a v královských městech v Čechách v 16.-19. století" [On the Number of Houses in Prague and other Royal Cities in Bohemia from the 16th to the 19th Centuries] ČČM LV (1881): 478-494 & LVII (1882): 57-73.

City to the city council, four involved ecclesiastical institutions, one hospital, and three Jews.

Information on estate is provided for only 7% of the individuals (66) appearing in cases of the Six-Man Council of the New City and for only one individual in the Old City. More than two-thirds (44) of the New City individuals were citizens of the New City, ten were nobles, and two were knights.

Trade and profession was provided for 6% of the individuals (23) involved in cases in the Old City and 8% (72) in the New City. In the Old City, they included 18 artisans, two doctors from the university, a servant, a merchant, and an estate office holder.³ In the New City, they included 41 artisans, 16 imperial officials and servants, 5 government office holders, 2 royal judges (*rychtář*), a sheriff (*Hejtman*), 2 servants of the commune, two chamber servants, a caretaker, a parish administrator, and a teacher.⁴

II.1.2. CLOSE-UP STRUCTURAL PROFILE OF CONTRACT AND DISPUTE CASES (1566-1583)

In the years 1566 to 1583, 78 cases appeared before the Six-Man Council of the Old City, 74 cases in the New City. These figures represent 19% and 22% of the total entries for the Old and New Cities, respectively, for the period 1547 to 1611.

Types of Cases: For the years 1566-1583, almost all cases in the Old City were recorded as disputes.⁵ In the New City, most of the cases were recorded as contracts.⁶ [See chart II.5.5.]

Parties in Contract and Dispute Cases: For the years 1566 to 1583, almost three-fourths of the cases in the Old City (71 cases),

³ The eighteen artisans were broken down as follows: three masters of an unknown trade, two carpenters, two masons, one apothecary, one barrel maker, one wheel maker, one miller, one baker, one jeweler, one goldsmith, one bagmaker, one weaver, one second-hand dealer, and one *vackář* (?).

⁴ The forty-one artisans break down as follows: five millers, five bakers, four carpenters, three smiths, two goldsmiths, two masons, two tanners, two rope makers, two dyers, one bell-maker, one weaver, one tawer, one soap maker, one coachman, one leather dyer, one bath attendant one gingerbread baker, one painter, one gardener, one brew master, one master of an unknown trade, one *rohožník* (?) and one *klobauč* (?).

⁵ Of the total of 78 cases for this period, 76 were disputes, one was a contract following an agreement, another was of another type.

⁶ Of the total of 74 for this period, 47 were recorded as contracts following disputes, 13 as contracts following agreement, one dispute, and thirteen of another type.

and more than half in the New City (53 cases) involved residential houses. One case was a building dispute between a Jew and his neighbor, the Church of the Holy Cross in the Old City.

Site: Between 1566 and 1583, a quarter to a third of the cases involved structures of the exterior of the house (37 cases in the Old City, 32 in the New City), and approximately a third (21 cases) with residential sites distinguished from the house but other than the garden or courtyard. Eleven percent (8) of the cases in the New City involved communal property. [See chart II.5.6.]

Structure: In more than a quarter of the cases in the New City (20), the wall was the structure in question, followed by windows (11%/12 cases), walls with other structures (8%/6 cases), roofs and other structures (5%/4 cases), gutters and fences (each 4%/3 cases), and a well. [See chart II.5.6.]

II.1.3. LOCALIZATION OF THE BUILDING DISPUTES

Of the total number of cases in the New City, thirty-one (31) involved houses that were located within a two-block radius of the lower Horse Market (today's Wenceslaus Square). [See chart II.5.1. & fig. II.4.2.]

II.2. LOCALIZATION OF HOUSEHOLDS & INDIVIDUALS

For the center of the New City, the area where thirty-one building disputes were localized, inventories were identified for fifty-six households. The fifty-six (56) households correspond to fifty-two (52) probate inventories of fifty-one (51) individuals who resided in forty-six (46) houses. [See chart II.5.1. & fig. II.4.2.]

The fifty-two inventories span the period 1577 to 1627: 4 date from the decade 1570-79, 12 from 1580-89, 13 from 1590-99, 13 from 1600-1609, 8 from 1610-1619, one from the year 1621, and two from 1627.

For eight houses, two inventories are available from two different individuals;⁷ for one, two inventories are available from

⁷ House nos. 698-II (1609 & 1627), 747 (1599 & 1601), 791 (1613 & 1637), 792 (1604 & 1613), the "New Building" (nové stavení) adjoining House no. 792 (1604 & 1613), the Grafeus house near the Jewish Garden (1588 &

the same individual.⁸ In five cases, one inventory describes the contents of two houses belonging to one individual.⁹ In numerous cases, series of inventories correspond to adjacent (i.e. next-door) and co-adjacent houses, or houses across the street from one another. In four cases, inventory pairs do correspond to real next-door or across-the street neighbors.¹⁰

Among the fifty individuals whose inventories were selected are two painters, the wife of a painter, two bellmakers, a goldsmith, a kettlesmith, a locksmith, a butcher, a baker, a gingerbread baker, the wife of a confectioner, a candlemaker, a cloth merchant, the wife of a secretary of the Appellate Court, an imperial guard, and the imperial architect. Two were nobles.¹¹ Inventories of five individuals identify them as heraldic burghers (*erbovnici*), burghers who had acquired the right of a predicate name similar to that of the nobility.¹² Seven others are identified as heraldic burghers in the secondary literature or in records of the State Office for Landmark Preservation (SÚRPMO).¹³ At least four had served as members of the New City Council;¹⁴ one

1601), Brzobohatý house near Poříčí Gate (1577 & 1617), and “u Křížů” (1584 & 1603).

⁸ House no. 36b or 37a-II.

⁹ House no. 669-II and a second, adjacent house (Kateřina Vodičková); House nos. 748 or 746 and a second house on Široká Street (Markyta Kotlářka); House nos. 792 & “new structure” (Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku); House no. 778 and a second house (Buryan Pernikář); House nos. 780 and 78I (Jiří Smolik). In the case of the Smolik inventory, it is not clear if the inventory corresponds to one or both of the houses.

¹⁰ The first and second houses of Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku and Markyta Kotlářka, both in Široká Street, were next door to each other; the first were probably house nos. 747-II and 748-II. Řehoř Pátek and Jiřík Lynder were across-the-street neighbors; Adam Samec and Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné (House nos. 852-II and 853-II), Jan Brzobohatý (House no. 1056-II or 1057-II) and Tomáš Vodička z Radkova (House no. 1057-II or 1058-II) were next-door neighbors.

¹¹ Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké and Václav Kamaryt z Rovin.

¹² Martin Masopust, Václav Vodička, Vit Vodička, Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné, and the bell-maker Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku.

¹³ Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku, Baroloměj Zvonař z Cimperku, Zikmund Zvonař z Cimperku, Jilji Perger z Častalovic, Anna Šteffková z Čichanova, Jiřík Švik z Lukonos, and Daniel Rubin ze Zvoviř.

¹⁴ Jilji Perger z Častalovic, Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné, Vit Vodička, Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku. This was indicated in their own or other's inventories. No list of New City Council members has been compiled for the pre-White Mountain period.

served as burghomaster (*primas*), and one as chancellor.¹⁵ [See chart II.5.7.]

All but three of the fifty individuals were house owners.¹⁶ One owned six houses;¹⁷ two owned four houses;¹⁸ four owned three houses; eleven owned two houses; and twenty-nine owned one house. One was the wife of a house owner;¹⁹ one was the son of a house owner;²⁰ and one was a servant.²¹ All the houses in Prague in this study were located in the New City.²² The households described by the inventories refer in most cases to the principal residential house of the period; in a few cases, they refer to adjoining houses as well. [See chart II.5.7.]

Four inventories were identified with four houses located on the east side of Široká Street; one each of the father and son bell-makers Brikcí and Bartholměj Zvonař z Cimperku from the years 1599 and 1601, respectively, with House no. 747-II; one inventory of their next-door neighbor, Markyta Kotářka, a kettlesmith (*kotlár*), from 1580, relating to two houses (House no. 746 or 747-II, as well as an additional house on Široká Street adjacent to a second house of Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku; and one inventory from Ladislav Gallus z Rajštejna (1601) with House no. 749-II.

Five inventories were identified with five houses on the west side of Široká Street or Charavatská Street: one of Anna Pátková (1610), the wife of Řehoř Pátek z Freytok, a secretary of the Appellate Court (*sekretář při apelacích*); one of their neighbor across the street, Jiřík Lynder, a carrier (*forman*) from 1597; one of the goldsmith Jan Nysl (1601) with House no. 35a-II; and two inventories of Tomáš Nejedlý z Vysoké (1583 & 1585) with House no. 36b and 37(a)-II, located on the west corner of Široká Street and *Na přikopě*.

¹⁵ Jilji Perger z Častalovic served as burghomaster, Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné as chancellor.

¹⁶ In the cases of multiple-house ownership, the inventories describe one, sometimes two, of the houses, usually the major place of residence.

¹⁷ Jiřík Švik z Lukonos.

¹⁸ Jilji Perger z Častalovic and Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku.

¹⁹ Maryanna Pergerová.

²⁰ Baroloměj Zvonař z Cimperku.

²¹ Jan Nysl in the house of Jiří Zygľ.

²² Two of the house-owners in the study also owned property outside of the New City. Adam Tátek owned cellars on Havel Market in the Old City; Ladislav Gallus z Rajštejna owned a house in the city of Pisek in Southern Bohemia.

Four additional inventories correspond to four unidentified locations on Široká Street: one each of the locksmith Melichar Fayfr (1599); the baker Jan Zlatý (1583); Anna Šteffková z Čichanova (1621); and Voršile, the wife of the deceased confectioner Martin Cukřář (1605).²³ Three inventories correspond to two houses located just southeast of Široká Street in the Jewish Garden: one each of the painter Baptista Grafeus (1601) and his wife Mandalena (1588) at a house “near the Jewish garden;” and one of Ciprian Lopatský (1604) at a house “in the Jewish Street.”

Nine inventories were identified with nine houses on the southwest side of the lower Horse Market: one of the candlemaker Jiřík Lesnar (1604) at the house “u Vovsů” (House no. 775-II); one of Jan Slon (1607) at House no. 777-II; one of the gingerbread baker Buryan Pernikář from the year 1595 at House no. 778-II and the adjoining house; one of Jiří Smolík (1582) at House no. 780-II; one of Magdalena Hvězdová (1599) at the house “u Hvězdů” (House no. 782-II); one of the cloth merchant Adam Tatek (1582) at House nos. 783 and 784-II; one of the painter Jiřík Frič (1587) at House no. 785/442-II; one each of Jiljí Perger z Častalovic (1613) and Maryanna Pergerová/Alžběta Švíková (his wife and daughter) from the year 1627 at House no. 791-II.

Four inventories were identified at four houses on the southeast side of the Horse Market: one of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (1604) at the house “u Žlutických” (House no. 792-II) and the “new structure” (*nové stavení*) adjacent to it; two of Jiří Švík z Lukonos, one from early 1613 at the Žlutických house (House no. 792-II), and another from December 13, 1613 at the “new structure;” and one of Lidmila Makalka (1579) at House no. 795-II.

Three inventories were identified with three houses located on the northwest side of the lower Horse Market: Kašpar Albrecht (1583) at “the Winters’ house” (*u Winterů*) (House no. 837-II); Martin Masopust (1592) at “the Masopust house” (*u Masopustů*) (House no. 832-II); and Václav Kamaryz z Rovin the Younger (1595) at House no. 846-II. The inventory of Martin Hranický (1591) was identified with the house located at Jindřišská Street adjacent to the house on the northwest corner of the lower Horse Market (House no. 902-II). Two inventories corresponded to

²³ In the accompanying charts she is referred to as Voršile po Martinu Cukřáři [“after Martin Cukřář.”]

houses at unidentified locations on the Horse Market: one of Václav Vodička (1610); and one of Jan Kříž (1596) at the house “u Skrabů.”

Three inventories were identified with three houses on Vodičková Street: one each of Václav Vodňanský (1609) and Simon Polidor z Baubinus (1627) at the house “u Klobouků” (House no. 698-II); and one of Kateřina Vodičková (1593) at House no. 699-II and an adjoining house.

Two inventories were identified with two houses on *na Příkopě*: one of Adam Samec from the year 1578 at the house “u Halírů” (House no. 852-II); and one of Mikuláš Růže z Vorličně from the year 1583 at “the House of the Black Rose” (*u černě růže*), House no. 853-II.

Seven inventories were identified with six houses located in the northern section of the New City: one of Daniel Rubín ze Zvovíř from the year 1599 at “the Rubín house” (*u Rubinů*) on *Na blatě*; one of Zikmund Vodak from the year 1596 at the house “u Broznov” (House no. 1074-II); one of Jan Eustachious Brzobohatý (1617) at a house *na Poříčí*; one each of Jan and Matěj Brzobohatý (father and brother of Jan Eustachius) from the years 1577 and 1616, respectively, at House no. 1056-II or House no. 1057-II located across from Poříčí gate; and one of their next-door neighbor Tomáš Vodička z Radkova (1606) at House no. 1057-II or House no. 1058-II.

The inventory of Zikmund Zvonař z Cimperku (brother of Brikcí and uncle of Bartholoměj) from the year 1581, corresponding to a house on Květonská Street (today’s Štěpánská Street); one of the imperial guard (*drabant*) Thomas Kyndrmon from the year 1618, corresponding to a house located “near City Hall on the corner.” In the settlement around St. Stephen (*Sv. Štěpána*) correspond: one inventory each of Magdalena Křížová (1584) and Jan Kalivoda (1603) at “the Kříž house” (*u Křížů*) located “opposite the parish house of St. Stephen on the corner;” one from the year 1579 of Bonifacius Wolmut, the imperial architect, at the house “opposite the Bell Tower of St. Stephen.” The inventory of the butcher Vít Vodička (1603) corresponds to a house at an unidentified location in the New City.

II.3. RECONSTRUCTION OF HOUSE INTERIORS

II.3.1. TYPOLOGY OF LOCATIONS

The items contained in the inventories include a wide variety of objects including furniture, cooking and eating utensils, other general household objects, tools, clothes, book, paintings, and gold and silver objects. An inclusive list of all items listed in these inventories does not exceed 200.²⁴ [See chart II.5.10.]

The inventories provide information on the specific number of objects as well as, in many cases, their size (small, medium or large) and color. A number of items are represented by specific types. For example, four varieties of beds and three types of tables are distinguished. Some of the object varieties are designated as linguistic diminutives of other objects. In some cases, they refer to real, small-size versions of an object.

II.3.2. FREQUENCY OF KEY OBJECTS AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION BY HOUSEHOLD

II.3.2.1. Heating and Cooking Sources - *kamna* (stoves), *ohnište* (fire), and *ohřívadlo* (heaters)

38 *kamna*, 3 *ohniště*, and 2 *ohřívadlo* are identified in 28 of the New City households. In three households, three *kamna* are found (House nos. 780 & 781, Vit Vodička, 36b-II); in five households, two. In two households (Jan Kalivoda, Markyta Kolářka's second house), two *kamna* and one *ohnište* are identified; in two other households (Thomas Kyndrmon, Bartoloměj Zvonař z Cimperku), one *kamna* and one *ohřívadlo*. In the household of Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké are identified three *kamna* and one *ohniště*.

II.3.2.2. Knives, Forks, and Eating Utensils

Knives are found in only eleven of the households; in three cases, in the locations where the cooking location is identified. Spoons are found in ten households; in all but two cases in cooking locations. Salt boxes are found in 13 households; in

²⁴ An extensive, nearly comprehensive list of all objects found in New City Prague burgher homes comes to 175.

three cases where cooking was identified, and in all other cases in a location adjacent to where cooking was identified. Dishes are found in 14 households; in four cases in cooking locations, in three cases in adjacent cooking locations, and in three cases in no proximity to the cooking locations. [See chart II.5.12.]

II.3.2.3. Objects of Personal Hygiene - *vána, vanička, umývadlo, mēděnice*

Tubs (*vána, vanička*) appear in very small numbers. The most common objects for cleansing were the *umývadlo* (wash basin) and the *mēděnice* (copper pot). As small objects, *Umývadlo* and *mēděnice* could be moved around, but inventories identify them in fairly regular locations. *Umývadlo* are almost always found in a room where the heating source is located; *mēděnice* where beds are found.

II.3.2.4. Tables - *stůl, stoliček*

A total of 291 *stůl* are located in forty-five (80%) of the households. Further description is provided for only fourteen percent of the tables. Most tables found in Prague burgher households in the late 16th century were probably an undistinguished, study type common in Europe throughout the Middle Ages, constructed of wood or stone.²⁵ Nine percent were painted.²⁶ Only a handful of tables are indicated as being exceptional. Marble tables were owned by Albrecht Kašpar, Jiljí Perger z Častalovic, and Adam Samec. Simeon Polidor z Baubinus possessed a table decorated with garnets and a pull-out table (*vytahovaný*). Zikmund Zvonař z Cimperku had a table described as “ringed” or “grained” (*fladrový*).

A total of 114 *stoliček* (diminutive of *stůl*) are found in 24 (43%) of the households. They too are mostly plain.²⁷ Information is given for the use of a number of the tables. Jiří Smolík had a *stoliček* for reading; Simeon Polidor z Baubinus had two

²⁵ Seven tables are described as “old,” five as “simple” (*prosté*), two as “not fine” (*nedobré*), and one as broken. Seven were described as “stone,” two “wooden,” and one “oak.”

²⁶ Twelve are described as white, five red, four green, one yellow and one black.

²⁷ Two are described as made of iron.

tables “for instruments.” A children’s table (*dětský*) was found in the house of Jan Kalivoda. *Stoliček* could be of a more complicated construction than *stůl*. Jiljí Perger z Častalovic had five *stoliček* with draws; Ladislav Gallus z Rajštejna had one.

Two of the *stoliček* had non-rectangular tops. Václav Kamaryt z Rovin had a circular *stoliček*; Anna Šteffková z Čichanova had an oblong one. A fourth of them were painted.²⁸ Martin Masopust possessed a blue *stoliček*, the only blue piece of furniture in the whole neighborhood. [See chart II.5.20.]

II.3.2.5. Chairs (*židle, židlička*)

A total of 107 *židle* are located in 24 households; a total of 98 *židlička* (diminutive of *židle*) in 21 households. Only a third of the *židle* and none of the *židlička* are described in the inventories in any further way; most were probably of simple design. A third of the *židle* were constructed in two design variations: the long (*dlouhé*) and the double or two-seater (*dvojě, dvojata, dvojnásobná*).²⁹ Only sixteen percent of the *židle* and twenty-three percent of the *židlička* were painted.³⁰ [See chart II.5.20.]

II.3.2.6. Benches (*stolice, lavice*)

Less common than tables in New City Prague burgher houses were benches. A total of 83 *stolice* were located in 16 households; 8 *lavice* were located in 4 households. They were used to sit or lay something on. The *stolice* were ordinarily made of wood or stone. Only 16% of the *stolice* were painted;³¹ none of the *lavice* were. More than a quarter of the *stolice* were upholstered with leather; one with a plain, another with a knitted, piece of textile.³² The only exceptional pieces were two low benches (*lavice*), one covered with marble (owned by Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku), and

²⁸ 32 of 114, or 28%, were painted; 21 were green, seven black, two white, and two red.

²⁹ Of 107 total *židle*, fourteen are long and seventeen are double.

³⁰ Of the seventeen painted *židle*, eleven were red, four green, and two white; of the twenty-three *židlička*, seventeen were green and six were red.

³¹ Seven were painted red, three green, and three black.

³² 22 of 83, or 27%, were covered with leather; Václav Kamaryt z Rovin had a *stolice* covered with cloth; Kateřina Vodičková had a *stolice* covered with a knitted cloth.

a glass *stolice* owned by Václav Kamaryt z Rovin. [See chart II.5.20.]

II.3.2.7. Cabinets & Armoires (*almara*, *almárka*)

One of the most common pieces of furniture in New Prague burgher homes was the cabinet or armoire, named in the inventories as *almara* and its diminutive *almárka*. A total of 166 *almara* were located in forty-four households. A total of 35 *almárka* were located in thirteen households. They could be of simple construction and design, serving as a holder for the wash basin (*umývadlo* or *měděnice*) and for storage for all types of items, including dishware and cooking equipment, clothes, books, art objects, and more. They were placed against the wall in the middle of the room, in the corner, or stood alone (*stojatá*).³³ As a piece of storage furniture, they often contained drawers and sections enclosed by doors.

Fifteen percent of the *almara* and fourteen percent of the *almárka* were painted.³⁴ These pieces of furniture were a traditional (*starodávná*) part of the burgher households, as many of the inventories indicate. Two pieces were exceptional. Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku had an *almara* on which was painted “Fortitudo.” Anna Pátková had an *almara* which was described as “in the style of a desk [*šrbtyš*].” [See chart II.5.19.]

II.3.2.8. Chests (*truhla*, *truhlička*, *truhlice*)

Chests and trunks were the most common pieces of furniture in New City Prague burgher houses. They are identified in the inventories as *truhla* and its diminutives *truhlice* and *truhlička*. A total of 280 *truhla* were located within forty-eight households; 138 *truhlice* in forty-two households; and 70 *truhlička* in twenty-two households.³⁵ They were used for storage of all types of items. Approximately one third of the *truhla* and *truhlice*, and one fifth of the *truhlička* were painted. [See chart II.5.19.]

³³ Five *almara* are described as “corner,” eight “standing.”

³⁴ Of the 25 painted *almara*, eight were green, four red, four white, five yellow, and one described only as “painted.” Of the 5 painted *almárka*, four were green, and one was red.

³⁵ The household of Jiřík Lynder was the only one in the neighborhood without a *truhla*, *truhlice*, or *truhlička*.

II.3.2.9. Desks (*kancelář, šrybtyš*)

Seventeen pieces of furniture designated as desks were found in ten New City Prague burgher houses of the period. Ten were designated by the German term *šrybtyš* (*Schreibtisch*), five as *kancelář*, two as *kancelářka* in three different rooms. Václav Kamaryt z Rovin had a *kancelář*, *kancelářka* and *šrybtyš* in three different locations. Tobiáš Nedjedlý z Vysoké had two *šrybtyš* in the Strnada house, and a third in the adjacent Caltovský house. Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku had two *kancelář* in two locations of the house. Václav Vodňanský had three *šrybtyš* (two large and one small) in one location!

With the exception of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku's desk, described as "done in the style of a pretty piece of cabinet work," the inventories do not provide any details on the design or quality of the desks.

The contents of these two rooms suggest that they were objects for different uses, if not of different design. The *šrybtyš* all contain documents (and documents only): various registers, debt registers, privileges, etc. In contrast to *šrybtyš*, the *kancelář* contained a larger variety of objects.³⁶

II.3.2.10. Beds (*lože, lůžko, postýlka*)

Beds are indicated in the inventories according to four named designations: *postel* and *lože* and their respective diminutives, *postýlka* and *lůžko*. A total of 373 beds were located in 194 locations within the fifty-six households. The most common were the *postel* (124) and *lože* (138), followed by the *lůžko* (76) and the *postýlka* (18). The name designations appear to be used rather freely, making it difficult to determine whether they designate actual differences or are synonymous terms used at the whim of the notary.

Half of the beds are covered beds that were difficult to store away. Seventy-two of the *lože* (52%), thirty-two *lůžko* (42%), and fifty-eight *postel* (41%) were "canopied" (*pod Nebesy*). Many of the canopied beds had curtains. One *lože*, three *postýlka*, and eight

³⁶ See discussion in chapter I.4, pp. 79-81.

lože were identified as children's beds.³⁷ One cradle (*kolíbka*) is listed.³⁸ Many other beds were further described as "simple," "old," "rising" (*vstlané* - fold-up?), or "broken."

Many beds were plain, but some were decorated. One fifth (78) were decoratively painted: 38 green, 34 gold, 14 white, and two listed simply as painted.³⁹ In addition to being painted, beds were decorated with colorful curtains. Green was the most popular color of curtains found on covered beds in eleven households.⁴⁰ Covered beds with red curtains were in the households of Ladislav Gallus z Rajštejna and Brikcí Zvonaf z Cimperku. Thomas Kyndrmon had a covered bed with white curtains. Curtain material was ordinary linen or *harašový* (?). Jiřík Frič had a bed "beautifully inlaid and painted gold." [See chart II.5.18.]

II.3.2.11. Wall Furnishings

Tapestries (*koberec*) and antlers (*rohý*) were the most commonly found wall furnishings in the burgher household. Antlers, mostly from deer, were found in twenty-four (42%) of the households, mostly in *svietnice*. Tapestries are found as main furnishings in eleven households. With the exception of the tapestries in Jiljí Perger z Častalovic's *špižima*, and the *svietnice* of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin and Mikuláč Růže, all the tapestries were located in ground-floor cellars (*sklep*) in proximity to the entrance to the house.

Many of the tapestries were "old" or "plain." Yet a few were of more exceptional quality. Jan Slon had a leather tapestry.

³⁷ The children's beds were located as follows: one lože in the house of Jan Nysl (House no. 35a-II) in the komora, one lůžko in the house of Jiřík Lynder in the sklep, three lůžko in the house of Jiřík Smoli, (House no. 780 & 781-II) in the komora, one lůžko with bars in the house of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (House no. 792-II) in the sklep, three lůžko kolovaté in the house of Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké (House no. 36b-II) in the second sklipek, one postýlka with bars in the upstairs sklep, and two postýlka in another sklep in the house of Martin Masopust (House no. 832-II).

³⁸ Cradle ("kolíbka") in location 14 (pokoj kde dítě lihá) in House no. 791-II of Jiljí Perger z Častalovic.

³⁹ 78 out of 373, or 21%.

⁴⁰ Baptisa Grafeus (2 beds), Mandalena Grafeus, Thomas Kyndrmon, Martin Masopust, Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku, Voršile Cukrářka, Jiljí Perger z Častalovic (3 beds), Brikci Zvonaf z Cimperku, Jiřík Švik z Lukonos, Ladislav Gallus z Rajstějna, and Daniel Rubin ze Žvovíř.

Turkish tapestries were found in six households: Jiřík Švík z Lukonos had five in the new structure, Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku three in House no. 792-II, Jiljí Perger z Častalovic three, Matěj Brzobohatý two, Daniel Rubín ze Zvovír one, and Václav Vodička one multicolored.

In the burgher households, much more common than hanging tapestries are tapestries that covered tables and chests. This feature was found in twenty-one households.

II.3.2.12. Pictures and Maps

A total of 204 pictures (*figura, kontrfekt, tabule* and *obraz*) were found in twenty-one of the fifty-six households (38%).⁴¹ Four maps (*mapa*) are found in four households.⁴² This represents a much higher figure than that for the New City as a whole (20%).⁴³ A third of the pictures and one of the maps were framed.⁴⁴

Four of the households contained more than twenty-five pictures: Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku had thirty-nine; her neighbor across the street, Jiljí Perger z Častalovic, had thirty-seven; Václav Kamaryt z Rovin thirty-three; and Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku twenty-eight. Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku's husband, Jiřík Švík z Lukonos, possessed twelve pictures. The remaining households with pictures possessed fewer than ten.

Themes are provided for only 20% of the pictures. The portrait was a popular genre. Burgher portraits were in the houses of Ladislav Gallus z Rajštejna, Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku (of Tobiáš and his first wife Voršile), Ciprian Lopatský (of Jan Romanis, relationship unknown), and Jiřík Švík z Lukonos (of himself; his wife Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku, which is not listed in her inventory; Matauš Zlutický, his father-in-law; and others).

⁴¹ Four of them were described as "wood," four as painted on canvas ("na plátně"), and three as illuminated.

⁴² Since the exact nature of the objects is not known, the term map (closest term to the original Czech) rather than "veduta" is being used. See J. Pešek, "Veduty v pražských interiérech doby předbělohorských," [Vedutas in Prague Interiors in the Pre-White Mountain Period], *Umění* 31 (1983): 521-22.

⁴³ Pictures are found in approximately 20% of the inventories in the New City as a whole during the period 1570-1620; J. Pešek, "Inwestycje kulturaljne mieszcyan praskich przed 1620 r.," [Cultural Investments of Prague Burghers before 1620], *Sztuka miast I mieszczanstwa XV-XVIII w. w Europia srodkowoschodniej*, Warszawa, 1990, p. 337.

⁴⁴ 55 of a total of 204, or 27%.

Portraits of Rudolf II were in the homes of Anna Žlutická z Bernarčku (two portraits) and Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku. The portrait entitled *Caesarius*, listed in the inventory of Bartoloměj Zvonař z Cimperku, Brikcí's son, who lived in the same household, is perhaps the same portrait as his father's.

Whereas religion was the theme of two thirds of all books in all Prague inventories of the period, it represents only 15% of those of pictures and other works of art.⁴⁵ Six of the pictures owned by individuals in the study from the New City had a religious theme. Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké possessed one picture of Adam and Eve, Magdalena Hvězdová one of the Birth of Christ and one of Christ's baptism, Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku three paintings of saints including SS. Václav and Adalbert (Vojtěch), and Brikcí's brother Zikmund Zvonař z Cimperku one of the Virgin Mary.⁴⁶

History and geography were the themes of two of the pictures and three of the maps. Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku possessed a picture of the city of Vienna and a map of Hungary. His son Bartoloměj had a framed map of Moravia. Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku had a map of the kingdom of Bohemia. Simeon Polidor z Baubinus possessed a map designated as *Europa segenintri*. It is interesting to note that, with the exception of the map of Simeon Polidor z Baubinus, they are all of Bohemian or Austrian themes. Old City patrician Ludvík Korálka z Těšín, a contemporary of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku and the Zvonař family, had maps of Venice and Jerusalem in his home.⁴⁷ [See chart II.5.31.]

⁴⁵ J. Pešek, "Výtvarná díla s náboženskou tematikou v pražských předbělohorských interiérech," [Artisanal Work with Religious Themes in Prague Interiors of the Pre-White Mountain Period], *Umění* 30 (1982): 263-267.

⁴⁶ In a breakdown of pictures and other works of art with a religious theme according to property ownership of collectors, Jiří Pešek noted that the largest group of collectors of this genre owned only one house or slightly more; in the New City, 80%. See J. Pešek, "Výzvarná díla s náboženskou tematikou," p. 265 (see note 45 above). In the New City under study, Magdalena Hvězdová and Zikmund Zvonař z Cimperku each had one house, but Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku had four, and Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké three.

⁴⁷ See J. Pešek, "Veduty v pražských interiérech doby předbělohorských" (see note 42 above).

II.3.2.13. Jewelry

Jewelry is found in forty percent of the households.⁴⁸ Individual items are rings, long and short necklaces (*řetež*, *řetízek*), pins (*zápona*), earrings, and a few objects of an unknown type (such as *sekryt*). Many of the rings are gold and silver, inlaid with precious gems and stones.

The largest collections were those of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin, Jan Kříž, Zikmund Vodak, and Jiří Švík z Lukonos. Jan Kříž's jewelry collection consisted of a golden circle and fourteen rings, including one gold one with sapphires, two with "red stone in the manner of a *sekryt*," two with a *sekryt*, one with *hřezokyt* (?), one with *hyacinth* (?), one with a ruby, and one with a diamond.

Two households, those of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku and Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné - had medium-size collections. Anna Žlutický z Bernarečku possessed a golden comb with garnets and twenty-five rings. Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné had two gold rings, one with a stone, one without, and twenty-three rings "on a string."

Small collections consisted of one to a few items. Daniel Rubín ze Zvovíř owned one golden *orumpant* (?) necklace, one ring with a pearl, and one ring with a ruby. Thomas Kyndrmon owned three rings: two golden ones with *suplety* (?) and a broken, golden ring with a ruby. [See chart II.5.32.]

II.3.2.14. Decorative Dishware

None of the New City Prague burgher households had any ceramics, but many had modest collections of gold and silver dishware, and much larger amounts of tin, pewter and copper. The inventories are silent on the quality and decoration of the objects. The exception is the collection of the noble Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké. He had two tin services of plates, bowls, and jugs; one with the coat of arms of his wife Dorota and himself, and the second with that of his wife Marta and himself. The location of these objects in the kitchen and adjacent rooms, rather than in storage with art and cultural objects, suggests that they may have been objects for everyday use.

⁴⁸ 24 of 56, or 43%.

II.2.3.15. Glass

Glass, common or exceptional, is not heavily represented in inventories of New City Prague burgher households. Václav Kamaryt z Rovin had a glass table, a glass lamp (*sklená lucerna*), thirteen small and large glasses, and a mirror.⁴⁹

II.3.2.16. Clocks

Clocks and watches were found in only six of the New City households. Václav Kamaryz z Rovin had a clock hung in a closet. Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku had a “striking” (*bicí*) clock with two cymbals; his son Bartoloměj a gold-plated watch on a chain. Their neighbor Markyta Kotlářka had a striking clock. Václav Vodička had a striking clock and an alarm (*budicí*) clock.

II.3.2.17. Books

Books were located in 38 (66%) of all households. A quarter of the households had only a handful of books (one to three books); approximately half had small collections (4-26 books).⁵⁰ Four households had medium-size book collections (26-100 books): Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné (88 books), Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku (56 books), Václav Vodička (41 books), and Jiljí Perger z Častalovic (28 books). Three households had large book collections: Václav Kamaryz z Rovin (148 books), Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (123 total; 34 books in House no. 792-II and 89 in the new structure), Jiřík Švík z Lukonos (111 total; 60 in House no. 792-II and 51 in the new structure).

The book collections in this section of the city correspond in size with those of the city as a whole for the period. The three largest book collections tended towards the small side. Daniel Rubín ze Zvovíř, administrator of St. Henry (*Sv. Jindřicha*) in the New City, had only four books. Also, there were ten percent more

⁴⁹ Svietnice (location 17) of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin (House no. 846-II).

⁵⁰ For the size of the book, I adopt the scale utilized by Jiří Pešek in “Inwestyce kulturaljne miszczan praskich przed 1620 r.,” p. 335 (see note 43 above).

medium-size and ten percent fewer small-size collections in this group than in the city as a whole.⁵¹

For approximately two thirds of the books in the study, information is provided by the inventories on the books' title, author, or theme; in some cases, the language (Czech, German, or Latin). About half of all the books (48%) possessed by those in the study had religious themes; at least four percent dealt with historical topics, and at least 2% with law.⁵² The religious books include bibles (New and Old Testaments), books of psalms, prayers, and sermons. The most common law books are collections of "urban law" (*právo městské*) and estate law (*zřízení zemské*).

Václav Kamaryt z Rovin's book collection, the largest in the study (148 books), consisted of more than eighty books having a religious theme (including works by St. Augustine, Martin Luther, Hussite and Bohemian Brethren authors); works on urban law; two historical calendars; and an herbal book. Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku's book collection (123 books) included a Czech bible, an "everyday" Evangelium, five "prayer and other" books, and twenty-seven calendars. The book collection of Jiřík Švik z Lukonos, Anna's husband, was just as large (111 books) but more varied in theme. It included forty books of "various classical authors," and two school books. The modest book collection of Daniel Rubin ze Zvovíř, administrator of the Utraquist parish St. Henry (*Sv. Jindřicha*), consisted of one song book of the Bohemian Brethren, one medical book, and two books of an unknown theme.

Among the small-size collections, religious books were the most popular. Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké possessed nine books: three bibles, one Czech song book, one book of Spangenberg's sermons, and three books on estate law. Ladislav Gallus z Rajštejna, who lived in the house across the street from the Nejedlý house, also possessed nine books: one Czech bible, four sermon books in German, a book of Spangenberg's sermons in

⁵¹ In this part of the city, 8% of all the inventories had book collections larger than 100; for the city as a whole in the period 1571-1620, the figure is 7%; see J. Pešek, "Inwestyce kulturaljne miszczan praskich przed 1620 r.," p. 335 (see note 43 above).

⁵² 28% are directly religious, and approximately another 22% are identified in the inventories along with other books. The figures for the amounts of books with historical and legal themes will be higher, as they too are contained in mixed-theme collections.

Czech, a book in German entitled "Gulden Areh," a book of estate law, and book of urban law. Jan Kalivoda's collection of nine books included one book of Master Jan Haberman's sermons, another book of sermons of an unknown author (also in Czech), the prolegomena of Petrus Codicillus' dissertation, and a few miscellaneous books. Mandalena Grafeus possessed five books: three prayer books, one song book, and the New Testament in Czech.

Of those who had a handful of books, the books were almost all religious in theme, usually containing the bible. Jan Brzobohatý possessed only two books: a bible and a book of psalms, both in Czech. Ciprian Lopatský had a bible and an herbal book. Kateřina Vodičková had a Czech bible and a book of Spangenberg's sermons. Martin Hranický possessed one book, a Czech bible. Vít Vodička had a Czech bible in an edition by the Prague printer Melantrich.

In a few cases, the book design is designated in the inventory. Kateřina Vodičková possessed a Czech bible "in red leather;" Jan Kalivoda a book of Czech sermons in "white leather." Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku possessed a Czech bible "bound in black silk with silver studs" (*u aksamitě černým svazena s puklami stříbrnými*) and a German bible "with [silver] studs" (*s puklami*). Business registers were often decorated in a similar fashion. Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku had three registers in red leather; two of them debt registers from the brewing business. [See chart II.5.30.]

II.3.3. DISTRIBUTION OF KEY OBJECTS BY LOCATION & FUNCTIONAL STRUCTURE OF LOCATION

II.3.3.1. Distribution of Beds

All except seven households had beds.⁵³ Three quarters of all the beds were located in *komora* (143) and *sklep* (132). Approximately nine percent of the beds were located in *mázhaus*

⁵³ The following households did not have beds: Jan Kříž, Tomáš Vodička z Radkova, Václav Vodňanský (House no. 698-II), Maryanna Pergerová and Alžběta Šviková (House no. 790-II), Caltovský House of Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké (House no. 37a?-II), and the second houses of Kateřina Vodičková and Markyta Kotlářka.

(33). Small numbers were also distributed among *svietnice*, *verkštat*, *dřevnice*, and *laube*. In most of the households, beds were distributed among one-third to one-half of all the rooms in the house. [See chart II.5.18.]

II.3.3.2. Sleeping Locations and Bedrooms

Among all the rooms in all the households (543 in number), only one was specifically named a bedroom: the “second bedroom” (*druhá lože*) in the house of Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku (House no. 747-II).⁵⁴ In nineteen households, twenty-five sleeping locations were designated for specific individuals; such as the deceased, a spouse, cooks (all female), or apprentices.

II.3.3.3. Kitchens (*kuchyň*, *kuchyňka*) and Larders (*špižirna*)

Sixteen rooms are designated as kitchens (15 *kuchyň* and one *kuchyňka*) in fourteen households (House nos. 846 and 748 or 746-II each have two kitchens). In seven cases, the kitchens were located near heating or cooking sources or both. In House no. 748 or 746-II, two adjoining kitchens were located adjacent to the *kamna* which is located in the *svietnice*. In House no. 780/781, House no. 846, and House no. 853-II, the kitchen is adjacent to the *kamna* which is in the *svietnice*. In the Kalivoda and Kyndrmon households, the *ohniště* and *ohřívadlo*, respectively, are located directly in the kitchens. In eight cases, the kitchens were not identified in locations adjacent to the indicated heating and cooking sources.

A summary breakdown of the contents of the sixteen locations designated in kitchens, as a whole, as well as that of individual kitchens, show that kitchens were made up almost exclusively of cooking-related (but not eating-related) objects. [See chart II.5.12.] Individual kitchens varied in their composition (i.e. types and amounts of items). The kitchen of Daniel Rubín ze Zvovíř listed one item: a pot. Adam Tatek’s kitchen was the largest. In all but two of the households that had kitchens, the kitchens were the main locations where there was a constellation of primary cooking-related items: *rošt*, *rožeň*, *pekáč*, and *rendlík* -

⁵⁴ Despite the fact that this room is named “second bedroom,” no other rooms in the inventory are named as bedrooms.

with secondary cooking-related objects - *hrnec*, *kotlík*, *kotlíček*, *moždír*, *štauda*, and *nálevky*.⁵⁵

A location with a similar composition to the kitchen was the *špižírna*. A summary breakdown of the contents of the seven *špižírna*, as a whole, shows a composition similar to, but broader than, the contents of the kitchens. The composition of individual *špižírna* varied between locations identical to those of kitchens (i.e. constellations of primary and secondary cooking-related items) and locations with various kitchen and other household utensils, though not necessarily in a combination to define a cooking area. In three of the households that had *špižírna* (House nos. 749, 832, and 790-II), there was no designated kitchen. In two (House nos. 749 and 832-II), the *špižírna* had combinations similar to those of kitchens. In House no. 790-II, the *špižírna* was both the main location of cooking-related objects as well as a location of more general household objects. The *špižírna* in two households (House no. 749 and the new structure of Jiřík Švík z Lukonos) contained a wide variety of objects. The *špižírna* in the new structure of Jiřík Švík z Lukonos is especially broad in composition and differed the most from those of all of his neighbors; it included not only cooking utensils and general household goods, but also a large amount of dishware, a bed, clothes, and many other items.

Three households had locations designated as kitchens and *špižírna* (House nos. 36b, 748 or 746, and the new structure of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku). In House no. 748 or 746-II, there were two kitchens adjacent to each other, which together served as the main location of cooking-related objects, and a *špižírna* containing more general cooking and household items. Similarly, in House no. 36b-II (Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké), there was one kitchen which was the main location of cooking relating objects, and a *špižírna* which had more general items. In the household of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (new structure), there was both a

⁵⁵ The exceptions were the kitchens in the houses of Bartoloměj Zvonař z Cimperku (House no. 747-II) and Václav Kamaryt z Rovin (House no. 846-II). Both were sparse for households of their size. In the Kamaryt house, location 20 was the location with the largest amount of cooking-related utensils but not in a combination to define it as a cooking area. In the house of Bartoloměj Zvonař z Cimperku, cooking utensils were located in a kitchen (location 9) and in a *sklep* (location 19), also not in a combination to define these locations as central cooking areas.

kuchyňka (location 2) and *špižírna* (location 3) adjacent to one another; however the location of primary and secondary cooking-related items was a *sklep* (location 10).

In another eight households, there was neither a kitchen nor a *špižírna* designated. In these households, however, one can identify a constellation of primary and secondary cooking-relating objects at a number of other locations: in an upstairs *komora* (location 3) in the house of Matěj Brzobohatý, in the *komora na mázhausu* (location 2) in the Frič house (House no. 785/442-II), in the *komora v síni* (location 2) in the house of Baptista Grafeus, in the *mázhaus* (location 4) in the Lesnar house (House no. 775-II), in the *sklep* across from the downstairs *svietnice* in the Pátek house, in the *sklep* at the stairs across from the *svietnice* (location 2) and the downstairs *svietnice* (location 7) in the house of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin, in the *komora na mázhausu* in the Zlatý house, and in the *komora* opposite the *svietnice* (location 20) in the house of Magdalena Křížová.

In the following eleven households, there was neither a kitchen, *špižírna*, nor a location in the house where there was any noteworthy constellation of cooking-relating objects: the households of Václav Vodňanský and Simeon Polidor z Baubinus (House no. 698-II), Jan Slon (777-II), Magdalena Hvězdová (782-II), Adam Samec (852-II), Jan Brzobohatý (1056 or 1057-II), Zikmund Vodak (House no. 1074-II), Mandalena Grafeus, Ciprian Lopatský, Anna Šteffková z Čichanova, and Vít Vodička.

II.3.3.4. Baths (*lázeň, láznička*)

In all the households, one location is designated as a *lázeň* (in the house of Brikcí Zvonář z Cimperku) and two are designated as *láznička* (in Markyta Kotářka's second house and in the house of Anna Šteffková z Čichanova). From the contents of the *lázeň* - two tubs (*vana*) and one barrel (*štauda*) - it is not clear whether this is a storage facility for finished products or a bath house. Markyta Kotlářka's *láznička*, composed of a large kettle or boiler (*kotel*) and a stove (*kamna*) represents a modestly equipped bathing facility.

II.3.3.5. Stall, Shed, Barn, Wood Shed (*marštal, kolna, stodole, dřevnice*)

Nine households had stalls (*marštal*), six had sheds (*kolna*), four had barns (*stodole*), and one had a wood shed (*dřevnice*). All of these locations served a similar function as a storage facility. All contained tools, supplies, and grain; some also served as the primary storage for a specific commodity.

The stall (*marštal*) housed the horses, riding equipment, and carriages (*kočarek* and *viž*), and served additionally as a storage facility for wood, grain, and tools. The stall of the new structure of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku contained beer for delivery and wood used in the process of beer brewing. The stall of Václav Kamaryz z Rovin (House no. 846-II) stored 14 barrels of wine.

The wood shed (*dřevnice*), location 8, in the house of Václav Kamaryz z Rovin (House no. 846-II) was exactly what the name designated: a storage room for wood of various types (boards, "pieces fused together," etc.).

The barn (*stodole*) serve primarily as a storage area for food and grain (meant for eating and brewing beer). Václav Vodňanský (House no. 698-II) stored building materials (wood beams and stone) in his barn. Zikmund Vodak (House no. 1074-II) housed his horse, cow, riding accessories, and grain in his barn.

The shed (*kolna*) was almost identical to the barn, but tools predominated. The *komorka* (locations 5 and 6) in the new structure of Jiřík Švík z Lukonos served as a storage area for flour and various iron tools and objects. [See chart II.5.28.]

II.3.3.6. Beer Brewing locations (*sladovna, hvozda*)

Fifteen locations in eleven households were specifically designated for beer production. These include seven malting houses (*sladovna*) in seven households, four malting kilns (*hvozda*) in four households, three *spilec* (?) in three households, one malting chamber (*sladková komora*), and one malting courtyard (*sladovný dvůr*). The house of Ciprian Lopatský had a malting house and a *spilec*. The house of Magdalena Křížová had a malting house and malting chamber.

Malting kilns, malting houses, and malting chambers were name-designated locations for the production of malt, a central process in the production of beer; however, their contents testify

that these were the locations where other processes, such as the brewing and storing of the finished product, took place. These were the only locations in the households where one finds a constellation of beer ingredients (hops, barley, wheat, and malt), wood (used to roast grain into malt and to make barrels), various tools, barrels, and beer.

In addition to these name-designated locations for beer production, a number of households had other named locations that are identified for beer production by their contents: *druhá komora* in the house of Magdalena Křížová, *komora* in the house of Ciprian Lopatský, *komora* in House no. 795-II of Lidmila Makalka, *siň* and *komora* in House no. 832-II of Martin Masopust, and in the new structure of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku.

Different name locations do not necessarily distinguish different functions. With one exception, households had either a malting room or malting kiln, not both. In those households that have two locations specified for beer production, one of the locations was the main one, and the second served as a storage area for various tools, wood, and barrels. [See chart II.5.28.]

II.3.3.7. Artisanal Workshops (*verkštat, pekárna, huť*)

Seven locations in five households were specifically named as artisanal workshop areas: a bakery (*pekárna*) in the house of Buryan Pernikář in House no. 778-II, a workshop (*verkštat*) in the household of Melichar Fayfr, a “chamber where sugar is made” (*komora kde se cukr dělal* - location 4) in the house of Voršile Cukrářka, a “foundry” (*huť*) and two “cellars where tin dishware is made” (*sklep kde cinového nádobí dělá* - locations 11 & 16) in the household of Bartoloměj Zvonař z Cimperku (House no. 747-II), and a foundry in the household of Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku (House no. 747-II).

The contents of five additional locations identify them as sites of artisanal activity: a *komora* (location 4) in the house of Voršile Cukrářka, the *dvůr* in House no. 748 or 746-II of Markyta Kotářka, and a *sklep* (location 5), *dvůr* and *láznička* in Markyta Kotlářka’s second house on Široká Street.

Buryan Pernikář’s bakery (*pekárna*) contained flour and twenty-five gingerbread forms (*formy na perníky*). Voršile Cukrářka’s *komora* contained “a tub in which one carries sweets to the market” and “a cone and various other shapes of sugar.”

Široká Street was the center of the metal-working trade since the founding of the New City in the mid-14th century. The workshops in this street in the late 16th and early 17th century represented the full scale of operations and specialization in this trade at this time. Melichar Fayfr's *verkštat*, which had hammers, other tools, iron and tin, was a small metal worker's shop that served a small clientele and the home economy of the city. Markyta Kotlářka's middle-size work areas specializing in pots, pans, tubs, and chicken stalls served a larger urban market, as well as making an occasional tub for the imperial court. The foundry (*hut'*) of Bartoloměj and Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku was perhaps the largest metal-working operation on Široká Street, offering a specialized product - bells - to a wider clientele across all of Bohemia. [See chart II.5.28.]

II.3.3.8. Balcony or Terrace (*pavlač*)

Eight locations are identified as balconies or terraces at eight houses.⁵⁶ The balcony of Zikmund Vodak served as a bedroom which contained, in addition to a bed (*postýlka*), two small chests filled with clothes, four firearms, and a pot.⁵⁷ The balcony of the house of Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné lists no furnishings.⁵⁸ The remaining six balconies served as storage areas.

II.3.3.9. *Svietnice*

Based on the distribution of individual objects, the *svietnice*, as a whole, was the location in the burgher house where one most commonly found stoves (*kamna*) and paintings; ten percent of all beds were also found there. Individual *svietnice* were largely multi-functional locations.

⁵⁶ Location 7 in the house of Matěj Brzobohatý (House no. 1056 or 1057-II), location 3 in the house of Jan Kalivoda, location 3 in the house of Buryan Pernikář (druhý dům), location 2 in the house of Zikmund Vodak (House no. 1074-II), location 7 in the house of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku (nové stavení), location 7 in the house of Brikcí Zvonař z Cimperku (House no. 747-II), location 14 in the house of Václav Kamaryt z Rovín (House no. 846-II), and location 7 in the house of Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné (House no. 853-II).

⁵⁷ Pavlač (location 2) of Zikmund Vodak (House no. 1074-II).

⁵⁸ Pavlač nahoře (location 7) of Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné (House no. 853-II).

Seven different variations can be distinguished. *Svietnice* could serve as a cooking area;⁵⁹ a general living, eating, and sleeping area;⁶⁰ a general living and eating area;⁶¹ a general living and sleeping area;⁶² a general living area;⁶³ or a general work area for washing clothes and keeping guns.⁶⁴ Lastly, in a number of households, the *svietnice* represented an indistinguishable living area, made up only of wash basins (*umývadlo*) and pots (*hrnec*).⁶⁵ A number of *svietnice* in the study were of exceptional individual character.⁶⁶ [See chart II.5.15.]

⁵⁹ Dolejší svietnice in the house of Václav Vodička.

⁶⁰ Location 1 in the house of Jan Kalivoda, svietnice nahoře in House no. 775-II of Jiří Lesnar, location 1 in the house of Bonifacious Wolmut, and dětinská svietnice (location 6) in House no. 698-II of Simeon Polidor z Baubinus.

⁶¹ Velká svietnice dole in House no. 853-II of Mikuláš Růže z Vorličně.

⁶² Svietnice (location 1) of Magdalena Hvězdová, svietnice (location 1) in the house of Voršile Cukrářka, svietnice nahoře v posledním štok (location 1) in House no. 747-II of Bartoloměj Zvonař z Cimperku, svietnice velká nahoře (location 1) in House no. 747-II of Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku, svietnice (location 1) in House no. 36b-II of Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké, svietnice (location 1) in the house of Daniel Rubin ze Zvoviř, and svietnice nahoře in the house of Mandalena Baptista.

⁶³ Svietnice velká (location 1) in the house of Matěj Brzobohatý (House no. 1056 or 1057-II), velká svietnice hořejší (location 1) in House no. 792-II of Jiřík Švik z Lukonos, and svietnice nahoře in House no. 749-II of Ladislav Gallus z Rajštejna.

⁶⁴ Svietnice nahoře (location 4) in the house of Matěj Brzobohatý (House no. 1056 or 1057-II).

⁶⁵ Velká svietnice dole (location 6) in the house of Martin Masopust (House no. 832-II), the svietnice nahoře (location 1) in the house of Ciprian Lopatský, the svietnice (location 1) of Lidmila Makalka (House no. 795-II), the velká svietnice (location 1) in House no. 780 & 781-II of Jiří Smolík, the hořejší svietnice (location 3) in the house of Václav Vodička, and the svietnice (location 4) in House no. 37(a or b?)-II.

⁶⁶ The svietnice (location 17) in the house of Václav Kamaryz z Rovin (House no. 846-II). This represented a central living area with a representational quality: a stove, canopied bed, two large tables, one small table, a bench, cabinet, glass lamp, mirror and twenty-five large and small tables. Similar was the upstairs svietnice (location 5) of Jilji Perger z Častalovic (House no. 790-II) which contained one large table, two small leather tables, three cabinets with books and precious objects, and seventeen framed pictures.

II.3.3.10. *Komora*

Forty-seven served as bedrooms;⁶⁷ eleven were bedrooms where large amounts of personal items were stored;⁶⁸ eleven were locations where only bed linen was stored;⁶⁹ ten stored varied items;⁷⁰ eight were mixed-use areas;⁷¹ five were other areas

⁶⁷ Komora kde Adam lehá (location 3) in House no. 1056 or 1057-II of Jan Brzobohatý, location 2 in the house of Jan Eustachius Brzobohatý, komora nahoře kde dětské luháji (location 6) in House no. 1056 or 1057-II of Matěj Brzobohatý, location 3 in the house of Melichar Fayfr, location 2 in House no. 785/442-II of Jiřik Frič, location 4 in House no. 902 of Martin Hranický, location 5 and komora nahoře kde kuchařky luháji (location 11) in the house of Jan Kalivoda, locations 2 and 3 in House no. 748 or 746-II of Markyta Kotlářka, komora nahoře (location 6) in druhý dům of Markyta Kotlářka, location 5 in House no. 775-II of Jiři Lesnar, locations 4, 5, and 7 in House no. 795-II of Lidmila Makalka, komora kde kuchářka luhá (location 7) in House no. 778-II of Buryan Pernikář, komora na dvoře kde kuchařka luhá (location 8) in house of Voršile Cukrářka, location 5 and komora kde kuchářke luhá (location 8) in House nos. 780 & 781-II of Jiři Smolik, location 3 in the house of Anna Šteffková z Čichanova, locations 5 and komora pod krovem kde pacholici luháji (location 8) in House nos. 783 & 784-II of Adam Tatek, locations 3 & 4 in House no. 1074 of Zikmund Vodak, location 6 in House no. 699-II of Kateřina Vodičková, locations 5, 16 & 20 in the new structure of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku, komora nahoře kde tovaryše luháji (location 3) in House no. 747 of Bartoloměj Zvonař z Cimperku, location 3 in the house of Zikmund Zvonař z Cimperku, location 7 in House no. 749-II of Ladislav Gallus z Rajštejna, locations 7 and 13 in House no. 853-II of Mikuláš Růže z Vorličně, locations 18 and 26 in House no. 36b-II of Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké, location 8 in the house of Daniel Rubin ze Zvovíř, and komora kde luháji tovaryši (location 6) in the house of Jan Zlatý.

⁶⁸ Location 16 in House no. 846-II of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin, location 7 in House no. 748 or 746-II of Markyta Kotlářka, location 5 of Thomas Kyndrmon, location 2 in House no. 35a-II of Jan Nysl, location 7 in the house of Anna Pátková, locations 2 and 9 in the house of Voršile Cukářka, location 4 in House no. 747-II of Bartoloměj Zvonař z Cimperku, location 4 in the new structure of Jiřik Švik z Lukonos, and location 20 in House no. 36b-II of Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké.

⁶⁹ Location 4 in House no. 1056 or 1057-II of Jan Brzobohatý, location 3 in House no. 902 of Martin Hranický, komora nahoře (location 4) of House no. 748 or 746-II of Markyta Kotlářka, location 7 in House nos. 783 & 784-II of Adam Tátek, location 6 in House no. 747-II of Bartoloměj Zvonař z Cimperku, locations 14 and 15 in House no. 853-II of Mikuláš Růže z Vorličně, and locations 19, 21 and 22 of House no. 36b-II of Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké.

⁷⁰ Location 2 in the house of Magdalena Křižová, location 6 in the house of Vit Vodička, locations 23 and 24 in the new structure of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku, locations 4 and 9 in House no. 792-II of Anna Žlutická z

related to the domestic household;⁷² four were only storage locations for personal items;⁷³ four were locations where food and grain were stored;⁷⁴ four were beer-brewing areas;⁷⁵ three were locations where wine was stored;⁷⁶ three were sleeping and cooking areas;⁷⁷ two were cooking areas;⁷⁸ two were storage areas for cooking items;⁷⁹ one was a storage area for weapons;⁸⁰ one was a storage area for horse-riding equipment;⁸¹ one was a “living room;”⁸² one was related to communal activities;⁸³ and one was a sleeping location.⁸⁴

Bernarečku, location 10 in House no. 853-II of Mikuláš Růže z Vorličně, locations 10 & 12 in House no. 36b-II of Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké, and location 7 in the house of Daniel Rubin ze Zvovíř.

⁷¹ Location 21 in House no. 846-II of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin, komora hořejší (location 4) in the house of Magdalena Křížová, locations 3 and 5 in the house of Ciprian Lopatský, location 6 in House no. 795-II of Lidmila Makalka, komora dolejší (location 8) in the house of Anna Pátková, location 2 in the new structure of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku, and location 22 in House no. 747-II of Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku.

⁷² Location 12 in the house of Ciprian Lopatský, location 9 in House no. 795-II of Lidmila Makalka, location 9 in House no. 790-II of Jilji Perger z Častalovic, komora kde se cukr dělal (location 4) in the house of Voršile Cukrářka, and location 17 in the new structure of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku.

⁷³ Komora kde věci své vdova má (location 9) in House no. 1056 or 1057-II of Matěj Brzobohatý, location 2 in House no. 775 of Jiřík Lesnar, location 2 of House no. 778-II of Buryan Pernikář, and location 27 in House no. 747-II of Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku.

⁷⁴ Location 13 in the house of Ciprian Lopatský, and locations 9, 21 and 22 in House no. 853-II of Mikuláš Růže z Vorličně.

⁷⁵ Locations 9 and 10 in the house of Magdalena Křížová, location 11 in House no. 832-II of Martin Masopust, and location 8 in the house of Daniel Rubin ze Zvovíř.

⁷⁶ Location 14 in House no. 747-II of Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku, and locations 9 and 11 in House no. 36b-II of Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké.

⁷⁷ Location 2 in house of Baptista Grafeus, location 20 in House no. 846-II of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin, and location 2 in House no. 782-II of Magdalena Hvězdová.

⁷⁸ Komora nahoře (location 3) in House no. 1056 or 1057-II of Matěj Brzobohatý and location 6 in House no. 778-II or Buryan Pernikář.

⁷⁹ Location 10 in House nos. 783 and 784-II of Adam Tatek and location 4 in the house of Jan Zlatý.

⁸⁰ Komora hořejší (location 4) in the house of Václav Vodička.

⁸¹ Location 8 in House no. 853-II of Mikuláš Růže z Vorličně.

⁸² Location 1 in the house of Anna Pátková.

⁸³ Location 11 in House no. 790-II of Jilji Perger z Častalovic.

⁸⁴ Locations 2 and 6 in the house of Magdalena Grafeus.

II.3.3.11. *Siň*

Three appear to be locations for serving guests;⁸⁵ one appears to be a living room-type area;⁸⁶ two were locations serving the domestic household economy;⁸⁷ one was a cooking location;⁸⁸ two suggest an eating area;⁸⁹ one suggests a washing room;⁹⁰ one suggests a location where clothes were washed;⁹¹ one was a food storage area;⁹² one was a storage area for clothes;⁹³ three were bedrooms with personal objects;⁹⁴ one was a bedroom with tools;⁹⁵ two were storage areas for personal objects;⁹⁶ and three contain isolated pieces of furniture, providing no indication of function.⁹⁷

II.3.3.12. *Sklep*

The *sklep* was a location that could serve a number of different functions, one of which corresponds to its modern meaning of storage. Some were storage areas for one exclusive group of objects, others held interesting mixtures of different types.

⁸⁵ Location 8 in the house of Jan Eustachius Brzobohatý, location 7 in House no. 832-II of Martin Masopust, and location 20 in House no. 790-II of Jilji Perger z Častalovic.

⁸⁶ Location 1 in House no. 846-II of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin.

⁸⁷ Location 18 in the new structure of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku and location 9 in House no. 1074-II of Zikmund Vodak.

⁸⁸ Location 3 in the house of Jiřík Frič.

⁸⁹ Location 5 in the house of Anna Šteffková and location 4 in the house of Daniel Rubin ze Zvovíř.

⁹⁰ Location 4 in the house of Vit Vodička.

⁹¹ Location 6 in the house of Thomas Kyndrmon.

⁹² Location 10 in House no. 778-II of Buryan Pernikář.

⁹³ Location 7 in the house of Voršile Cukrářka.

⁹⁴ Location 3 in House no. 699-I of Kateřina Vodičková, location 3 in the house of Magdalena Křížová, and location 4 of House no. 782-II of Magdalena Hvězdová.

⁹⁵ Location 3 in the house of Jiřík Lynder.

⁹⁶ Location 3 in the house of Daniel Rubin ze Zvovíř and location 8 in the house of Jan Zlatý.

⁹⁷ Location 4 in the house of Mandalena Grafeus, location 3 in House no. 795-II of Lidmila Makalka, and location 2 in House no. 699-II of Kateřina Vodičková.

Thirteen *sklep* were locations where only wine was stored;⁹⁸ in three additional *sklep*, wine was stored with other items;⁹⁹ one *sklep* was a storing location for beer only.¹⁰⁰ Three *sklep* were storage areas for pots, pans, and dishware only.¹⁰¹ One was a wood storage area;¹⁰² another was a storage location for horse-riding equipment.¹⁰³ One location was a food storage area.¹⁰⁴ One was a storage area for workshop tools.¹⁰⁵ One was a storage area for artisanal products.¹⁰⁶ In four *sklep*, only bed linen was stored.¹⁰⁷ Two *sklep* were storage areas exclusively for clothes or linen.¹⁰⁸ Eleven locations served as storage areas for mixed items, including art objects.¹⁰⁹ Seventeen locations were storage areas for mixed items with no art objects.¹¹⁰

⁹⁸ Sklep podzemí (location 1) in the house of Kašpar Albrecht (House no. 837-II), sklep podzemí (location 3) in the house of Thomas Kynđrmon, sklep vinný (location 4) and sklep podzemí (location 21) in House no. 790-I of Jiřji Perger z Častalovic, sklep v dvoře (location 9) in House nos. 780 & 781-II of Jiři Smolik, sklep na dvoře (location 6) in House no. 1074 of Zikmund Vodak, location 5 in the house of Václav Vodňanský (House no. 698-II), sklep podzemí (location 11) in the new structure of Jiřik Švik z Lukonos, location 12 in House no. 749-II of Ladislav Gallus z Rajštejna, location 24 of Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné, sklep podzemí (location 14), adjacent sklep (location 15), and additional sklep podzemí (location 27) in House no. 36b-II of Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké.

⁹⁹ Location 4 in House no. 846-II of Václav Kamaryz z Rovin, podzemí sklep (location 15) in House no. 747-II of Briki Zvonař z Cimperku, and sklep podzemí (location 3) in House no. 37(a or b?)-II of Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké.

¹⁰⁰ Location 12 in House nos. 780 & 781 of Jiři Smolik.

¹⁰¹ Location 7 in the house of Ciprian Lopatský, sklep na dvoře in House no. 699-II of Kateřina Vodičková, and location 4 in House no. 36b-II of Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké.

¹⁰² Location 1 in House no. 902-II of Martin Hranický.

¹⁰³ Location 7 in the house of Jan Eustachius Brzobohatý.

¹⁰⁴ Sklep na dvoře (location 6) in the house of Jan Kalivoda.

¹⁰⁵ Location 5 in druhý dům of MarKyta Kotlářka.

¹⁰⁶ Sklep cinového nádobí dělaného (location 16) of House no. 747-II of Bartoloměj Zvonař z Cimperku.

¹⁰⁷ Locations 6, 7, 11 and 12 in House no. 853-II of Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné.

¹⁰⁸ Locations 3 in House no. 853-II of Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné and location 1 in House no. 37(a or b?)-II of Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké.

¹⁰⁹ Location 5 in House no. 782-II of Magdalena Hvězdová, location 11 of House no. 778-II of Buryan Pernikář, sklep nahoře (location 1) in House no. 748 or 746-II of MarKyta Kotlářka, location 1 in House no. 790-II of Jiřji Perger z Častalovic, location 5 in House no. 1074-II of Zikmund Vodak, sklep u schodů in house of Václav Vodička, location 1 in House no. 792-II of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku, locations 5 and 18 in House no. 747-II of Bartoloměj Zvonař z Cimperku, location 5 in House no. 853-II of Mikuláš Růže z

Four *sklep* served exclusively as sleeping locations.¹¹¹ The contents of fifteen *sklep* - including beds, small amounts of clothes, and, in some cases, books and art objects - identify these locations as bedrooms personally identified with a specific individual, in contrast to indistinguishable sleeping locations.¹¹² Fifteen *sklep* were bedrooms that served additionally as storage rooms for large amounts of personal belongings, including books and art objects.¹¹³ One *sklep* served as a sleeping location and a storage area for personal items used in beer production.¹¹⁴

Vorličné, and locations 1 and 7 in House no. 36b-II of Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké.

¹¹⁰ Location 6 in House no. 782-II of Magdalena Hvědová, *sklep* na pavlači (location 4) in the house of Jan Kalivoda, *sklep* podzemí na dvoře (location 6) and location 19 in House no. 846-II of Václav Kamaryt z Rovín, *sklep* dole (location 6) in House no. 775-II of Jiřík Lesnar, *sklep* dole (location 4) in House no. 852-II of Adam Samec, location 3 in the house of Vít Vodička, location 4 in House no. 699-II of Kateřina Vodičková, location 1 in druhý dům of Kateřina Vodičková, location 3 in the house of Bonifacius Wolmut, location 27 of the new structure of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku, location 4 in House no. 747-II of Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku, location 5 in House no. 792-II of Jiřík Švik z Lukonos, location 7 in the new structure of Jiřík Švik z Lukonos, location 4 in House no. 853-II of Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné, and locations 5 and 14 in the house of Daniel Rubin ze Zvoviř.

¹¹¹ Location 2 in the house of Anna Šteffková z Čičanova, location 5 and 6 in the house of Vít Vodička, and location 3 in House no. 792-II of Jiřík Švik z Lukonos.

¹¹² Location 3 in House no. 837-II of Kašpar Albrecht, location 6 in the house of Jan Eustachius Brzobohatý, *sklep* dole (location 6) in the house of Ciprian Lopatský, location 2 in the house of Jiřík Lynder, location 2 in House no. 795-II of Lidmila Makalka, location 3 in House no. 832-II of Martin Masopust, location 1 in druhý dům of Buryan Pernikář, *sklep* nahoře (location 2) of House no. 852-II of Adam Samec, location 11 in the house of Kateřina Vodičková, location 5 in the House no. 698-II of Simeon Polidor z Baubinus, location 21 in the new structure of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku, location 10 in House no. 747-II of Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku, location 16 in House no. 853-II of Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné, location 2 in the house of Daniel Rubin ze Zvoviř, and location 2 in the house of Jan Zlatý.

¹¹³ Location 1 in House no. 1056 or 1057-II of Jan Brzobohatý, *sklep* dole kde nobožtík lhal (location 2) of House no. 1056 or 1057-II of Matěj Brzobohatý, location 2 in the house of Thomas Kynđrmon, *sklep* nahoře (location 4) in House no. 832-II of Martin Masopust, *sklep* skrze svietnice dolejší (location 10) in the house of Anna Pátková, locations 2, 8 and 15 in House no. 790-II of Jilji Perger z Častalovic, location 1 in the house of Anna Šteffková z Čičanova, locations 1 and 4 in House no. 783-II of Adam Tatek, *sklep* dolější přizemí (location 1) in the house of Václav Vodička, location 2

Two *sklep* served as workshop areas.¹¹⁵ Two *sklep*, which contained writing desks (*šrybtyš*), resembled studies.¹¹⁶ Two *sklep*, which contained cooking and other items, resembled kitchens.¹¹⁷ One location contained only a fireplace (*ohviště*).¹¹⁸ [See chart II.5.14.]

II.3.3.13. *Mázhaus*

Mázhaus are found in approximately half of the households in the study (22 out of 56). They were multi-functional locations where one commonly found furniture and beds.

Mázhaus varied more widely than *svietnice*. One can distinguish between eight variations. *Mázhaus* served as a living room containing tables, chairs, pictures, and often candlestick holders;¹¹⁹ a household work area;¹²⁰ a bedroom;¹²¹ a bedroom and storage room for mixed goods, including those of the home economy;¹²² a storage room;¹²³ a personal bedroom;¹²⁴ a storage room for cooking equipment and other items;¹²⁵ and a storage

in the house of Vit Vodička, location 3 in House no. 698-II of Simeon Polidor z Baubinus, location 1 in House no. 853-II of Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné.

¹¹⁴ Location 14 in House nos. 780 & 781-II of Jiří Smolik.

¹¹⁵ Locations 3 and 6 in House no. 747-II of Briki Zvonaf z Cimperku.

¹¹⁶ Location 2 in House no. 698-II of Václav Vodňanský and location 2 in House no. 37(a or b?)-II of Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké.

¹¹⁷ Location 10 on the new structure of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku and *sklep v dvoře* (location 20) in House no. 853-II of Mikuláš Růže z Vorličné.

¹¹⁸ Location 7 in second house of Markyta Kotlářka.

¹¹⁹ The *mázhaus nahoře* (location 2) in the house of Kašpar Albrecht, location 13 in the house of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin (House no. 846-II), location 2 in the house of Ciprian Lopatský, location 7 in the house of Jiljí Perger z Častalovic, and location 3 in House no. 749-II of Ladislav Gallus z Rajštejna.

¹²⁰ Clothes were washed in location 5 in House no. 748 or 746-II of Markyta Kotlářka. Household work areas of a more general type are location 4 in the house of Jiřík Lesnar (House no. 775-II) and *mázhaus nahoře* (location 7) in the house of Vit Vodička.

¹²¹ Location 2 in the house of Anna Pátková.

¹²² *Mázhaussek* (location 6) in the new structure of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku.

¹²³ Location 5 in the house of Jan Zlatý.

¹²⁴ Location 2 in House no. 792-II of Anna Žlutická z Bernarečku.

¹²⁵ Location 3 in the house of Jan Eustachius Brzobohatý, location 5 in the house of Anna Pátková, location 3 in the house of Adam Tatek, location 2 in

room for clothes.¹²⁶ Two *mázhaus* resembled cooking areas;¹²⁷ three resembled eating locations.¹²⁸ Two locations were mixed-use areas of indistinguishable use: one was rather ordinary;¹²⁹ the other more interesting.¹³⁰ One location contained only a table.¹³¹ [See chart II.5.17.]

II.3.3.14. *Kancelář*

One location is designated as a study (*kancelář*), the first location in the house of Simeon Polidor z Baubinus. Its contents confirm its function as a study: one larger table, two smaller ones (“[one] which one writes”), two cabinets, a chest made of gold, and six chairs.

The *sklep proti svietnice* (location 2) in the house of Václav Vodňanský had two *šrybtyš* and appears to have served the function of a study.

House no. 747-II of Bartoloměj Zvonař z Cimperku, and location 25 in House no. 35b-II of Tobiáš Nejedlý z Vysoké.

¹²⁶ *Mázhausek* (location 5) in the house of Anna Žlutická z Bernarčku, and locations 2 and 4 in House no. 792-II of Jiřík Švik z Lukonos.

¹²⁷ Locations 7 and 9 in the house of Jan Kalivoda.

¹²⁸ Location 1 in the house of Jan Kalivoda, location 2 in the house of Jiří Smolik, and location 12 in the house of Adam Tatek.

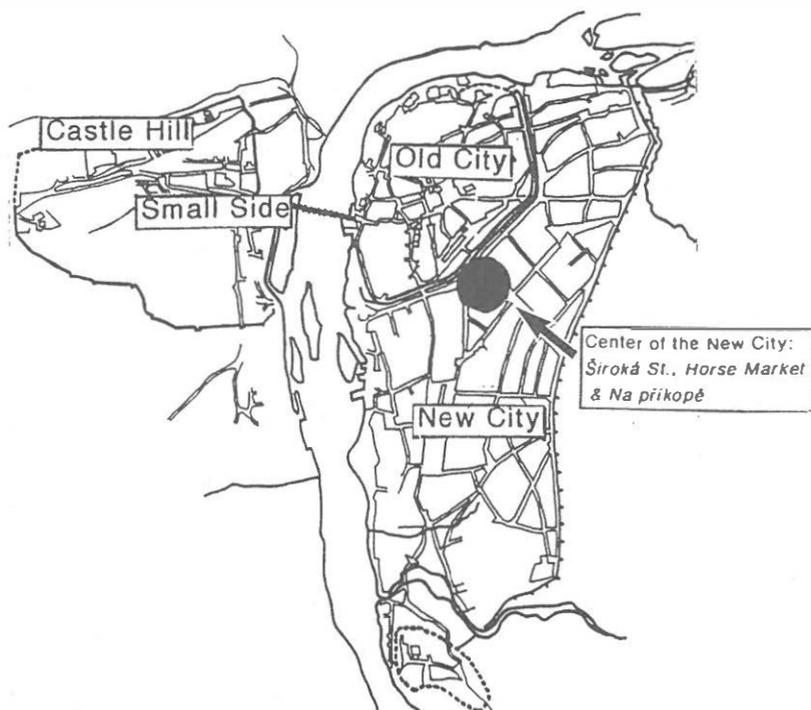
¹²⁹ *Mázhaus nahoře* (location 23) in House no. 747-II of Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku.

¹³⁰ Location 18 in the house of Václav Kamaryt z Rovin (House no. 846-II).

¹³¹ Location 4 in the house of Jiřík Frič.

II.4. & II.5. FIGURES AND CHARTS

**Figure II.4.1. The Royal Cities of Prague
With Location of the Center of the New City**



<u>English</u>	<u>Czech</u>	<u>German</u>
New City	Nové Město	die Neustadt
Old City	Staré Město	die Altstadt
Small Side	Malá Strana	die Kleinseite
Castle Hill	Hradčany	der Hradschin

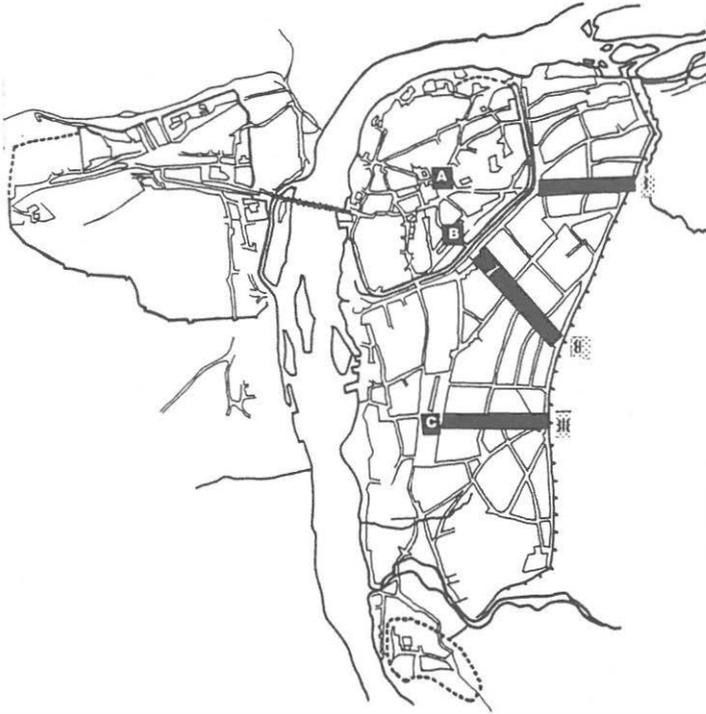
Source: Schematic map drawn by Václav Fred Chvátal based on map in Vilém Lorenc, *Nové město pražské* [The New City of Prague] (Praha, 1973).

**Figure II.4.2. The Center of the New City
with Location of House Parcels
Jüttner Plan of 1815**



Source: Václav Liva, *Pražské města. Benčí rula 3* [The Prague Cities. Tax roll 3] (Praha, 1949)

Figure II.4.3. The Design of the New City



Major Directional Spaces

- I Dlaždění
- II Horse Market
- III Ječná Street

Squares & Markets

- A Old City Square
- B Havel Market
- C Cattle Market

Dimensions of the New City

	<u>Dimensions</u>	<u>Area</u>
End of the 13th Century	4 km long/600 km wide	100 hectares
After 1348	5 km long/800-1200km wide	243 Hectares
		(all four cities 7.5 hectares)

Source: Schematic map drawn by Václav Fred Chvátal based on map in Vilém Lorenc, *Nové město pražské [The New City of Prague]* (Praha, 1973)

**Figure II.4.4. House Sale Frequency
in the Center of the New City, 1500-1619**

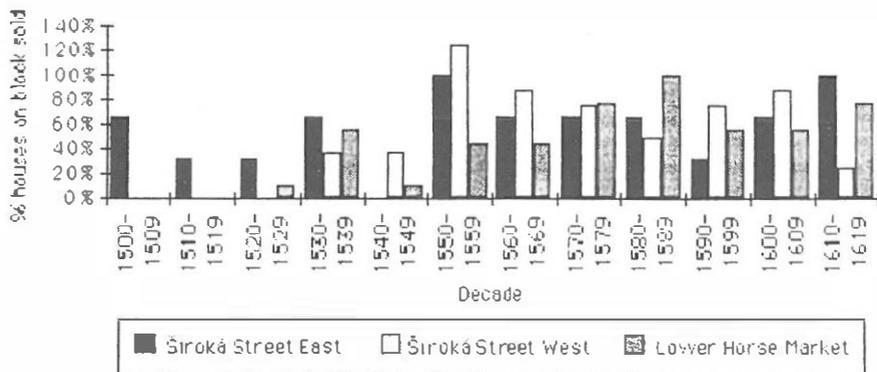


Figure 11.4.5. House Sale Price Series
Široká Street (East), 1500-1619

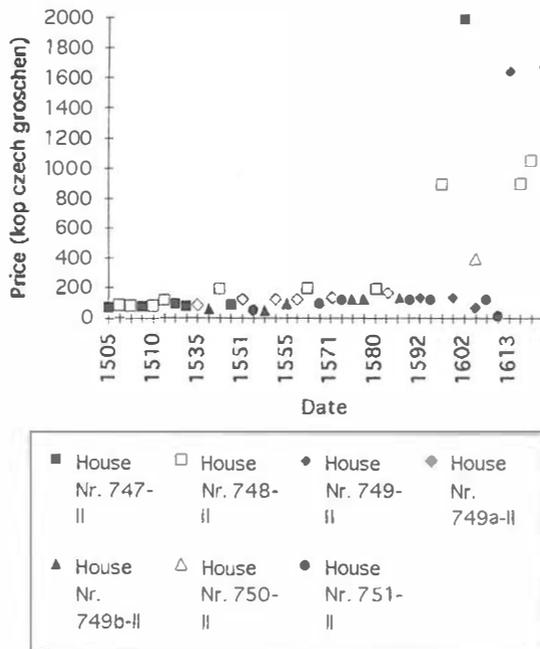


Figure II.4.6. Average House Sale Price
Široká Street (East), 1500-1619

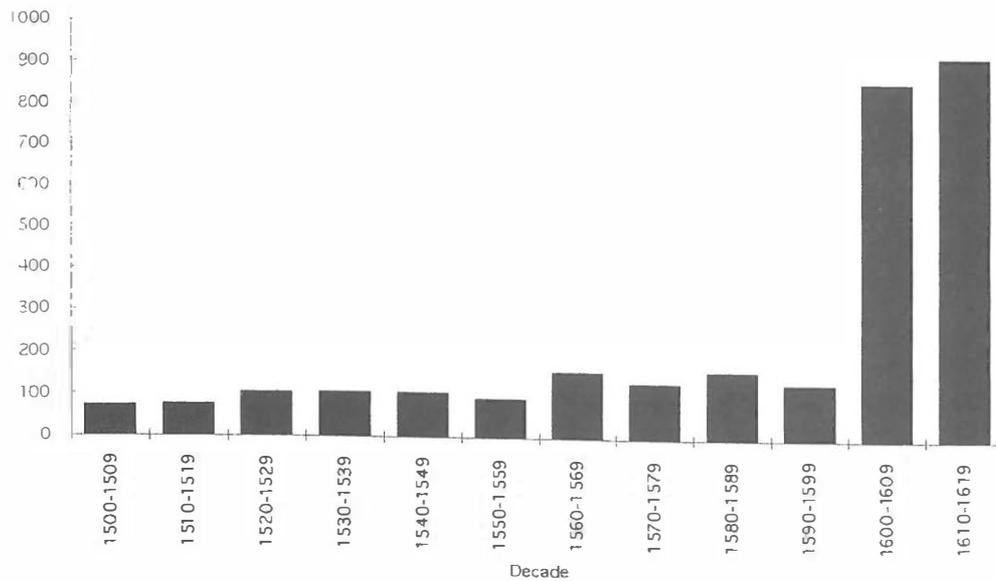


Figure II.4.7. House Sale Price Series
Široká Street (West), 1530-1619

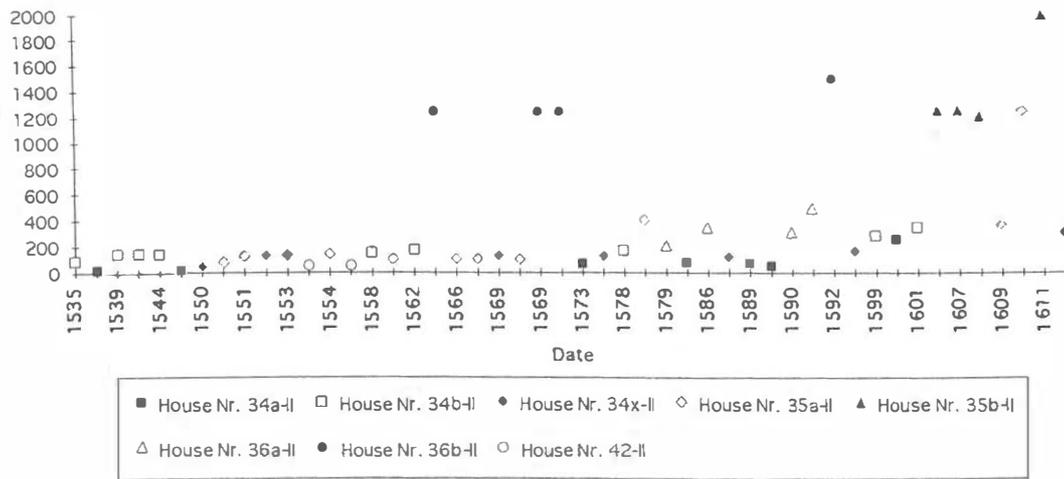
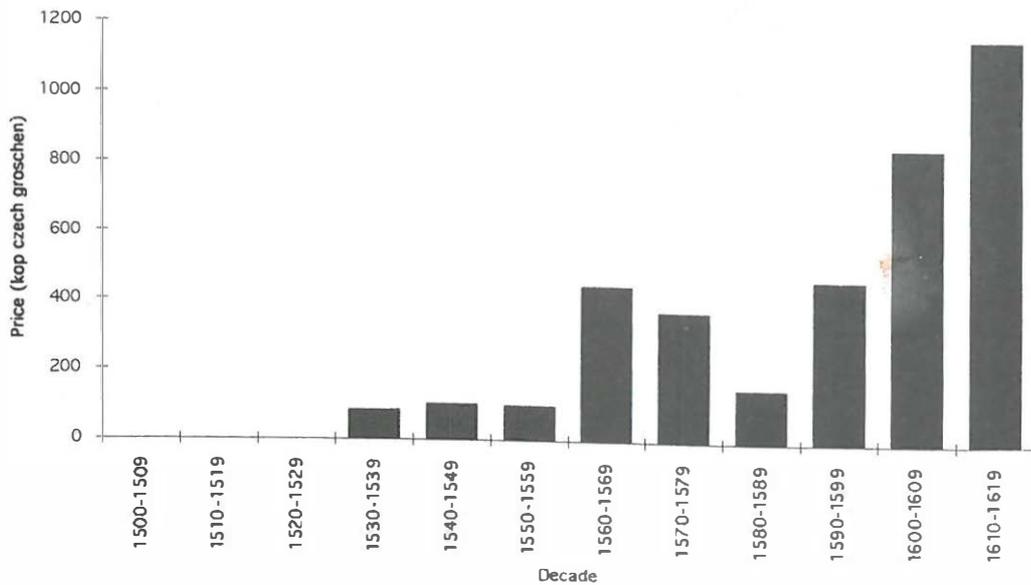


Figure II.4.8. Average House Sale Prices
Široká Street (West), 1530-1619



**Figure 11.4.9. House Sale Price Series
Lower Horse Market, 1520-1620**

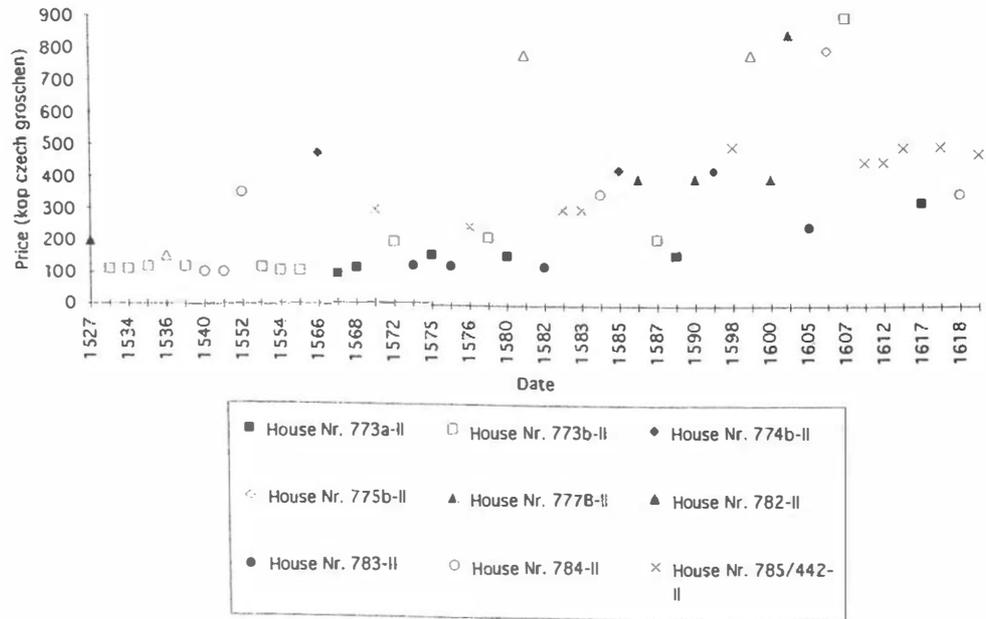
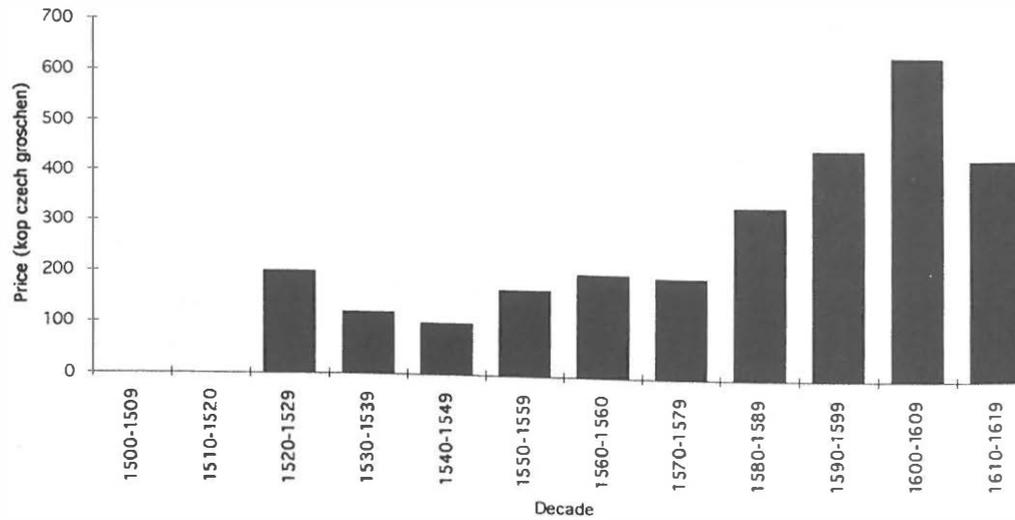
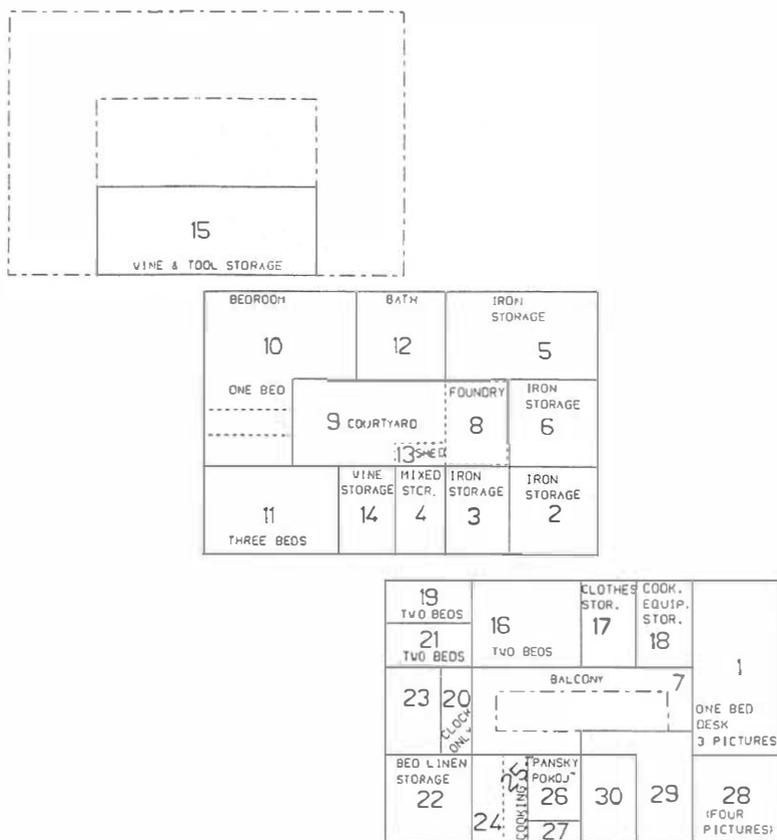


Figure II.4.10. Average House Sale Prices
Lower Horse Market, 1520-1620



**Figure II.4.11. Structural-Functional Plan of Household of
Brikci Zvonař z Cimperku (Bell-Maker)
in the Bell House (House No. 747-II)**

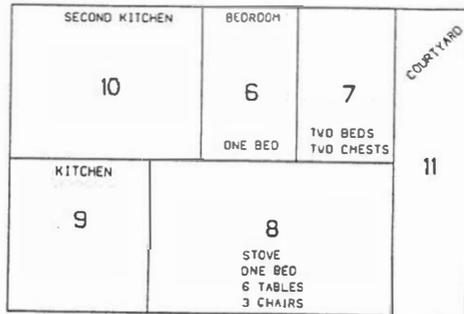
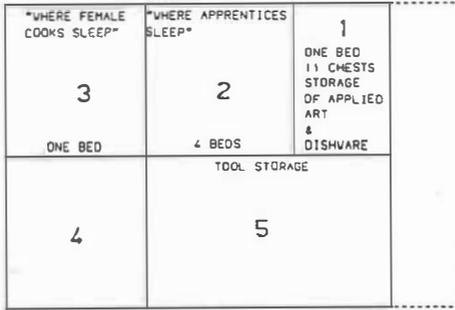


23 - Two tables, Chest with Bed linen, Riding equipment
 24 - Chest belong to wife
 27 - One Bed, Books & Art
 29 - Bench, Children's dishware
 30 - Desk, books, art (eight pictures)

Top: Basement floor
 Middle: Ground floor
 Bottom: First floor

Source: Floor plan drawn by Milan Koza

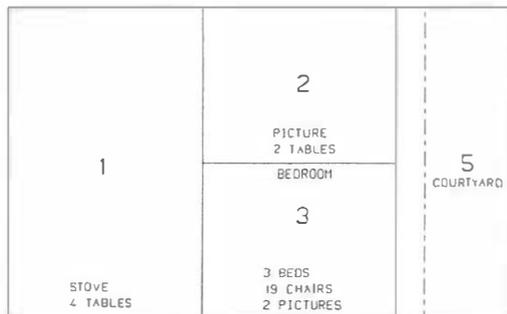
**Figure II.4.12. Structural-Functional Plan of Household of
Markyta Kotlárka (Kettle Smith)
in House No. 748 or 746-II**



Top: Ground floor
Bottom: First floor

Source: Floor plan drawn by Milan Koza

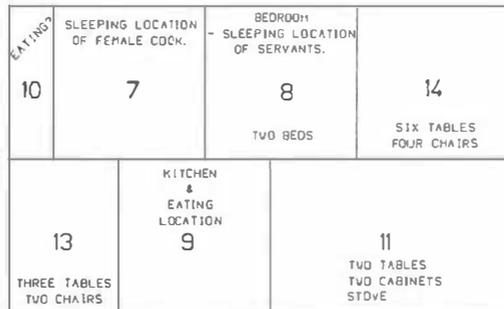
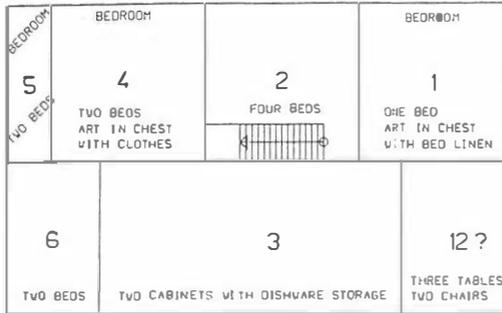
**Figure 11.4.13. Structural-Functional Plan of
 Rentier-Agricultural Household of Martin Masopust
 in the Masopust House (House No. 832-II)**



Top: Ground floor
 Bottom: Firstfloor

Source: Floor plan drawn by Milan Koza

Figure II.4.14. Structural-Functional Plan of Adam Tatek (Cloth Merchant) in House No. 783-II



Top: Ground floor
Bottom: First floor

Source: Floor plan drawn by Milan Koza

Chart II.5.1. Master List of Individuals, Inventories, Civic Wills, Marriage Contracts, Building Contracts & Disputes
(All signatures refer to sources in the Archive of the Capital City of Prague - AMP)

<u>Person</u>	<u>House No.</u>	<u>House Name</u>	<u>Inventory Date</u>	<u>Inventory Sig.</u>	<u>Civic Will Date</u>	<u>Civic Will Sig.</u>	<u>Marriage Contract Date</u>	<u>Marriage Contract Sig.</u>	<u>Building Dispute Date</u>	<u>Building Dispute Sig.</u>
Albrecht, Kašpar	837-II	u Winterů	1583	1210.36a						
Bazilová, Maryanna	835-II							1600		2149.221a
Bazilius, Tomáš	835-II							1596, 1597		2149.200a, 207a
Brzobohatý, Jan	1056 or 1057-II		1577	1208.4b						2149.135a
Brzobohatý, Jan Eustachius	Na poříčí, between Kuliků and Daniel Emden houses		1617	1208.213b						
Brzobohatý, Matěj	1056 or 1057-II		1616	1208.198						
Cukrář, Martin						2209.201b				
Fayfr, Melichar	Široká Street, on corner opposite Mikuláš Jordan		1599	1213.173b						
Frš. Jiřík	785.442-II		1587	1211.88a						
Grafus, Baptista	near the Jewish Garden		1601	1213.182	1599	2209.148b				
Grafus, Mandalena	near the Jewish Garden		1588	1213.71a						
Haldecký, Václav	833-II					2209.446b		1560		2149.130b
Hasik, Kryštof					1554	2207.361a				
Hranický, Martin	902-II		1591	1210.91b	1609	2209.337b				
Ilvězdová, Magdalena	782-II	u Hvězdů	1599	1210.152a	1599	2209.150a				2149.210b
Jilkovský, Magdalena	34a-II							1581		2149.169b
Junger, Filip	833-II	u Zlatníků						1600, 1601, 1607		2149.223a, 229b, 262b
Kalivoda, Jan	on the corner, across from parish house of St. Stephen	u Křížů	1603	1211.209b	1602	2209.228a				
Kobíšky, Kateřina					1609	2209.343a				
Kopac, Václav	772-II							1607		2149.259a
Kotláf, Buryan					1562	2207.403a		1556		2149.98b, 125b
Kotlářka, Markyta	748 or 746-II		1580	1211.20a	1580	2208.498a				
Kotlářka, Markyta	Široká St., second house, next to houses of Brikcí Zvonář z Cimperku		1580	1211.20a	1580	2208.498a				
Krumlovský, Tomáš	748-II							1569		2150.137a
Kříž, Jan	896-II	u Škrabků	1596	1210.122a	1598	2209.125a				2149.225a, 2150.232a
Křížová, Magdalena	on the corner, across from parish house of St. Stephen	u Křížů	1584	1211.72b						

Person	House No.	House Name	Inventory Date	Inventory Sig.	Civic Will Date	Civic Will Sig.	Marriage Contract Date	Marriage Contract Sig.	Building Dispute Date	Building Dispute Sig.
Kyndrmon, Thomas	Near City Hall, on corner		1618	1214.122b						
Lesnar, Jiřík	775-II	u Vovsí	1604	1211.225a	1604	2209.271a				
Lopatský, Ciprian	Židovská Street		1604	1213.202b			2146.229a	1564	2149.136b	
Lukáš, Jan	Charvatská Street							1604	2149.239b	
Lynder, Jiřík	opposite Rehoř Pátek		1597	1213.155b						
Macek, Matěj	773-II							1607	2149.259a	
Makalka, Lidmila	795-II		1579	1211.15b						
Masopust, Martin	832-II	u Masopustů	1592	1210.95b	1592	2209.88a	2146.248a	1560	2149.130b	
Nysl, Jan	35a-II	House of Jiří Zygel	1602	1213.200b						
Pátková, Anna	Charvatská Street		1610	1214.55b				1580, 1601	2149.165b, 227b	
Pátek, Rehoř	Charvatská Street				1604	2209.223b		1580, 1601	2149.165b, 227b	
Pergerová, Maryanna & Alběta Šviková	791-II		1627	1212.143a						
Pernikář, Buryan	778-II		1595	1211.132b						
Pernikář, Buryan	second house		1595	1211.132b						
po Martinu Cukřárovi, Vošile	Široká Street - between houses of Kaurimských and Michal Rozylý		1605	1214.12a						
Rychterova, Anna	790 or 796-II							1612	2149.284a	
Samec, Adam	852-II	u Halířů	1578	1211.13b				1564	2149.133b	
Sklenář, Mikuláš	Široká Street							1581	2149.169b	
Slon, Jan	777-II		1608	1212.41a					521.28a	
Smolík, Jiří	780/781-II		1582	1211.58a						
Strnada, Marta	749-II							1556	2149.98b	
Tatek, Adam	783 & 784-II		1582	1211.48b	1584	2208.228b				
Vejvodka, Anna	42-II	u Vejvodků							2149.166b	
Vodak, Zikmund	1074-II	u Brozov	1596	1208.92a						
Vodička, Václav	Horse Market		1610	1210.189a					2149.99a, 2150186a	
Vodička, Vít	Between houses of Krštof Rychter and Matěj Bilynski		1603	1211.216b					2149.204b	
Vodičková, Kateřina	699-II		1593	1211.118b						
Vodičková, Kateřina	second house		1593	1211.118b						
Vodnanský, Václav	698-II	u Klobouků	1609	1212.45b						
Wolmut, Bonifacius	Opposite the Bell Tower of St. Stephen		1579	1211.17b						

<u>Person</u>	<u>House No.</u>	<u>House Name</u>	<u>Inventory Date</u>	<u>Inventory Sig.</u>	<u>Civic Will Date</u>	<u>Civic Will Sig.</u>	<u>Marriage Contract Date</u>	<u>Marriage Contract Sig.</u>	<u>Building Dispute Date</u>	<u>Building Dispute Sig.</u>
z Baubmus, Simeon Polidor	698-II	u Kloboukú	1627	1214.187a						
z Bernarečku, Ann Žlutická	792-II	u Žlutických	1604	1212.8a		2209.248b	1592	2146.241b		
z Bernarečku, Ann Žlutická	New Structure (nové stavení)	New Structure (nové stavení)	1604	1212.8a		2209.248b	1592	2146.241b		
z Bytyšky, Jan Kubiš	35a-II								1581, 1604	2149.166a, 239.b
z Cimperku, Bartoloměj Zvonař	747-II	dům Zvonařský	1601	1211.198b		1581		2146.210a		
z Cimperku, Briki Jan					1606	2209.294b				
z Cimperku, Briki Zvonař	747-II	dům Zvonařský	1599	1211.182a					?, 1560, ? ?, 1569	2149.108b, 125b, 127.b 167a, 158b, 137a
z Cimperku, Jan Kryštof					1607	2209.312a				
z Cimperku, Zikmund Zvonař	Květonská Street		1581	1211.33b						2149.1581b
z Častalovic, Jilji Perger	791-II		1613	1212.83a						2149.284a
z Cichanová, Anna Šteflková	Široká Street		1621	1214.52b	1608					1585 2149.?
z Javora, Martin Jon	37b-II								1582, 1598	2149.170a, 212a
z Kosmačova, Jan Řimský	834-II	dům Charovský dům Klatovský					1592	2146.248a	1596, 1597, 1600 1600, 1601, 1607	2149.200a, 207a, 221a 223a, 229b, 262b
z Lukonos, Daniel Švik	749-II				1599	2209.251b				
z Lukonos, Jiřík Švik	792-II	u Žlutických	1613	1212.72a		1592		2146.241b		
z Lukonos, Jiřík Švik	New Structure (nové stavení)	New Structure (nové stavení)	1613	1212.82a		1592		2146.241b		
z Radková, Tomáš Vodička	1057 or 1058-II		1606	1208.149a						
z Rajštejna, Ladislav Gallus	749-II		1601	1212.108a						
z Rovin, Václav Kamaryt ml.	846-II	dům Strabachovský	1595	1210.140b						
z Ružetna, Pavel Čerhovský	34-b								1601	2149.227b
z Skalka, Dorora Nejedlá	36a?-II	dům Čaltovský							1598	2149.212a
z Vorlice, Mikuláš	35b-II	dům Mlynařský					1581	2146.198b	1580, 1581, 1581	2149.165b, 166a, 164b
z Voričné, Mikuláš Růžc	853-II	u Černé Růžce	1583	1210.27a					1549, ?, 1563	2149.87a, 97a, 133b
z Vysoké, Tobiáš Nejedlý	36b-II	u Strandů & dům Čaltovský	1585	1213.41u					1582, 1598	2149.170u, 212a
z Vysoké, Tobiáš Nejedlý	37(a?)-II	dům Čaltovský	1585	1213.41n					1582	2149.170a
z Vysoké, Tobiáš Nejedlý	36b or 37a-II		1593	1211.125a						
ze Zvonivř, Daniel Rubín	Na blatě	u Rubínů	1599	1208.114b						2149.171a, 222n
Zlatý, Jan	Široká Street		1583	1211.60a						
Zvonař, Bartoš					1530	2095.311b				

Chart II.5.2. Structural Breakdown of Cases before the Six-Man Councils, 1547-1611/1613

	<u>Date</u> <u>Researched</u>	<u>Contracts &</u> <u>Disputes</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Entries</u>	<u>Main or First</u> <u>Party</u>	<u>Nr. Second</u> <u>Party</u>	<u>Transactions other than Building Contracts & Disputes</u>			
							<u>Property</u> <u>Transactions</u>	<u>Market</u> <u>Contract</u>	<u>Document</u>	<u>Debt</u>
<u>Old City</u>										
AMP 473	1566-1583	88	9	97	97	91				9
AMP 474	1610-1613	34	0	34	34	34				
AMP 2154	1547-1574	60	216	276	60*	46*	124			62
Total		162	225	407						
<u>New City</u>										
AMP 2149	1547-1611	366	0	366	366	343	302	11	9	8
AMP 2150	1547-1611	59	330	389	19*#	11*				
AMP 521	1603-1611	NA	NA	99	NA	NA				
Total		425	330	654						

* represents building contract and disputes only

plus an additional forty "permission to use communal space" cases

Chart II.5.3. Gender of Parties in Building Contract and Disputes Cases, 1566-83

	<u>First Party</u>		<u>New City</u>		<u>Second Party</u>		<u>New City</u>
	<u>Old City</u>				<u>Old City</u>		
	<u>Nr. Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Nr. Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Nr. Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Nr. Cases</u>
Men	62	79%	59	80%	61	78%	49
Women	13	17%	6	15%	12	15%	9
Two Men	2		0		2		0
Man & Woman	0		3		1		7
Two Men & Women	0		0		2		0
City Council	0		1		0		1
Six-Man Council	0		2		0		5
Ecclesiastical	1		0		0		0
Other	0		3		0		3
Total	78		74		78		74

Chart II.5.4. Relationship between Parties in Building Contract and Dispute Cases, 1566-83

	<u>Old City</u>		<u>New City</u>	
	<u>Nr. Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Nr. Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Next-door Neighbors	35	45%	26	35%
In-House Neighbors	3	3%	0	
Next-door/In-House Neighbors	27	35%	25	34%
Partners	2		1	
Other	8		14	
Unknown	3		8	
Total	78		74	

Chart II.5.5. Types of Building Contract and Dispute Cases, 1566-83

	<u>Nr. Old City</u>	<u>Nr. New City</u>	<u>% Old City</u>	<u>% New City</u>
Contract following Agreement	1	13	1%	18%
Contract following Dispute	0	47	0%	64%
Dispute	76	1	97%	1%
Other	1	13	1%	18%
Total	78	74		
	(19% of total 182 cases)	(22% of total 330 cases)		

Chart II.5.6. Issues and Localization of Issues of Contract and Dispute Cases, 1566-83

<u>Site</u>			<u>Structure</u>			<u>Issue</u>	
	<u>Old City</u>	<u>New City</u>		<u>Old City</u>	<u>New City</u>		<u>Old City</u>
House Interior	10	1	Wall	12	20	Construction	9
House exterior	29	25	Fence	0	3	Reconstruction	22
Both	5	0	Window	5	8	Damage	23
Garden	2	0	Door	0	0	Access/Use	27
Courtyard	0	1	Roof	1	0	Smell	6
Other Property	17	21	Gutter	5	3	Uncleanliness	6
House exterior & Courtyard	0	0	Well	1	1	Water/Seepage	9
Street/Market	2	0	Bathroom	10	1	Record	1
Other Communal	1	8	Cellar	2	1	Debt	2
Other	3	9	Kitchen	1	0	Other	0
Unknown	9	9	Other Room	0	1		
			Other	30	23		
			Kitchen & Other	1	0		
			Wall & Cellar	1	0		
			Wall & Other	1	6		
			Roof & Other	3	4		
			Wall & Window	0	1		
			Unknown	5	2		
Total	78	74		78	74		105

Chart II.5.7. Property Ownership

<u>person</u>	<u>Estate</u>	<u>Trade</u>	<u>Nr. of houses</u>	<u>Nr. of fields</u>	<u>Nr. of gardens</u>	<u>Nr. of vineyards</u>	<u>Nr. of hop gardens</u>	<u>Other real estate</u>	<u>Inventory date</u>
Atvecht, Kašpar			1	0	0	0	0	0	01.01/1563
Březobohatý, Jan			2	0	0	0	0	0	01.01/1577
Březobohatý, Jan Eustachus			2	0	0	0	1	0	01.01/1617
Březobohatý, Matěj			3	0	0	1	2	mat barn market stabs (2)	01.01/1616
Fajfr, Melchaj		locksmith	1	0	0	0	0	0	01.01/1589
Friš, Jiřík		painter	1	0	0	0	0	0	01.01/1567
Graeus, Baptista		painter	1	0	0	0	0	0	01.01/1601
Graeus, Magdalena		painter (spouse)	1	0	0	0	0	0	01.01/1588
Hrancký, Martin			1	0	0	0	0	0	01.01/1591
Hvezdová, Magdalena			1	0	0	0	0	0	01.01/1599
Kalivoda, Jan			1	0	0	0	1	0	01.01/1603
Kolářka, Markyta		kettle-smith	2	0	0	0	0	0	01.01/1580
Kříž, Jan	burgher		1	0	0	0	0	0	01.01/1596
Křížová, Magdalena			2	0	0	0	1	pie	01.01/1564
Kyndmon, Thomas		imperial drabant	1	0	0	0	0	0	01.01/1618
Lesnář, Jiřík		condemner	1	0	0	0	0	0	01.01/1604
Lopatský, Čupnan			1	0	0	0	0	0	01.01/1604
Lynđer, Jiřík		carver	1	0	0	0	0	0	01.01/1597
Makalika, Lidmila			1	0	1	0	0	0	01.01/1579
Masopust, Martin	heraldic burgher		2	2	2	3	0	0	01.01/1592

<u>person</u>	<u>Estate</u>	<u>Trade</u>	<u>Nr. of houses</u>	<u>Nr. of fields</u>	<u>Nr. of gardens</u>	<u>Nr. of vineyards</u>	<u>Nr. of hop gardens</u>	<u>Other real estate</u>	<u>Inventory date</u>
Nyst Jan		goldsmith	0	0	0	0	0	0	01./01/1602
Paiková, Anna		secretary of appellate court (spouse)	1	0	0	0	0	0	01./01/1610
Pejgerová Maryanna & Alžběta Šviková	[spouse & daughter of J. Pejger z Castalovic; see below]		0	0	0	0	0	0	01./01/1627
Pemkál, Buryan	burgher	gingerbread maker	2	0	0	0	0	0	01./01/1595
po Martinu Církálovi Vošše		confectioner (spouse)	1	0	0	0	0	0	01./01/1605
Samec, Adam			1	0	1	0	0	0	01./01/1578
Slon, Jan	burgher		1	0	0	0	0	0	01./01/1608
Smolák, Jiří	burgher		3	0	0	1	1	0	01./01/1582
Tatek, Adam	burgher	cloth merchant	1	0	0	0	0	Ceilers on Havel Market (4)	01./01/1582
Vodák, Zikmund			1	0	0	0	0	0	01./01/1596
Vodička, Václav	heraldic burgher		2	0	0	0	0	0	01./01/1610
Vodička, Vít	heraldic burgher, council	butcher	3	2	0	0	0	0	01./01/1603
Vodičková, Kateřina			2	4	0	1	1	0	01./01/1593
Vodňanský, Václav			1	0	0	0	0	0	01./01/1609
Wolnūt, Bonifacius		royal builder	1	0	0	0	0	0	01./01/1579
z Baubirus, Simeon Poldier			1	0	0	1	0	0	01./01/1627
z Bemarečku, Anna Zkřická	heraldic burgher (spouse)		2	0	0	0	0	0	01./01/1604
z Cimperku, Barioloměj Zvonář	heraldic burgher	bellmaker	0	0	0	0	0	0	01./01/1601
z Cimperku, Brněl Zvonář	heraldic burgher, council	bellmaker	4	0	0	0	0	0	01./01/1599
z Cimperku, Zikmund Zvonář	heraldic burgher		1	1	0	1	0	0	01./01/1581

<u>person</u>	<u>Estate</u>	<u>Trade</u>	<u>Nr. of houses</u>	<u>Nr. of fields</u>	<u>Nr. of gardens</u>	<u>Nr. of vineyards</u>	<u>Nr. of hop gardens</u>	<u>Other real estate</u>	<u>inventory date</u>
z Častalovic Jiljí Perger	heraldic burgher, burghomaster		4	1	1	1	2	1	01/01/1613
z Čichanová, Anna Štetlková			1	0	0	0	0	0	01/01/1621
z Lukonos Jiljí švik	heraldic burgher		6	2	2	1	1	0	01/01/1613
z Radkova Tomáš Vodčeka			2	2	0	0	1	0	01/01/1606
z Rajšténa Ladislav Galus			1	0	0	0	0	house in Plsek	01/01/1601
z Rovn Václav Kamaryt ml	noble		1	0	0	2	0	0	01/01/1595
z Vorličné Mikuláš Ruže	heraldic burgher		2	0	0	1	0	0	01/01/1583
z Vysoké, Tobiáš Nejedlý	noble		3	0	0	0	0	0	01/01/1585
ze Zvoví Daniel Rubín	heraldic burgher		1	1	1	1	0	0	01/01/1599
Zlatý, Jan		baker	1	0	0	0	0	0	01/01/1583

**Chart II.5.8. Names of Locations within New City
Prague Burgher Houses and their English Equivalents**

<i>Original Czech</i>	<i>Approx. English Equivalent</i>
dřevnice	wood shed
dům	house
dvůr	courtyard
hut	iron foundry
hvozda	malting kiln
kancelář	study, writing desk
kolna	shed
komora	chamber, room
komorka	chamber (dim.)
kram	shop
kuchyn	kitchen
kuchynka	kitchen (dim.)
lážnička	baths (dim.)
laube	arcade, loggia
lázen	baths
lože	bedroom, bed
marštal	stables
mázhaus	[no equivalent]
mázhauszek	[dim. mázhaus - no equivalent]
místo	place
nové stavení	new structure
pavlač	porch, veranda
pekárna	bakery
pokoj	room
pokojíček	room (dim.)
pokojík	room (dim.)
sin	hall, room
sklep	cellar
sklípek	cellar (dim.)
sladovna	malting house, kiln
spilec	?
špižíma	pantry, larder
stodole	barn
svietnice	[no equivalent]
verkštat	workshop [germanicism]
zahrada	garden

Chart II.5.9. Frequency and Distribution of Location Names

<u>Name</u>	<u>Approx. English equivalent</u>	<u>#of Rooms (of total 543)</u>	<u>in # of Households (of total 56)</u>
komora	chamber	111	41
sklep	cellar	110	46
svietnice	room	87	48
pokoj	room	29	18
mázhaus	[location designation]	27	22
siň	room, hall	24	22
dvůr	courtyard	19	19
kuchyň	kitchen	15	15
marštal	stables	9	8
pavlač	porch, veranda	8	8
sklpek	cellar (dim.)	8	7
siadovna	malting house, room	7	7
kolna	shed	6	6
špižirna	pantry	7	7
stodole	barn	4	4
hvozda	malting-kiln	4	4
pokojík	room (dim.)	4	3
kram	shop	3	3
spilec	?	3	3
huť	iron works	2	2
komorka	chamber (dim.)	2	1
láznička	baths (dim.)	2	2
mázhausek	[location designation (dim.)]	2	1
pokojiček	room (dim.)	2	2
dřevnice	wood shed	1	1
kancelář	study	1	1
kuchyňka	kitchen (dim.)	1	1
laube	arcade, loggia	1	1
lázeň	baths	1	1
lože	bedroom	1	1
pekárna	bakery	1	1
verkštat	workshop	1	1
zahrada	garden	1	1
místo	other unnamed	39	N/A

**Chart II.5.10. Names of Objects within New City Prague
Burgher Houses and their English Equivalents**

<i>Original Czech</i>	<i>Approx. English Equivalent</i>
almara	cabinet, armoire, cupboard
almárka	cabinet (dim.), cupboard
cedidlo	strainer
chmel	hops
chomout	horse collar, harness
cimbálky	cymbals, gongs (dim.)
credence	dresser, sideboard
crucifix	crucifix
džbán	pitcher
džbánek	pitcher (dim.)
figura	picture
flaše	bottle
flašle	bottle (germanicism)
forma na perníky	gingerbread forms
grošek	groschen
hřebíček	cloves
háček	hook
hodiny	clock
hrnec	pot
hruška	pear
indiánský ořech	indian nut
jabličko	apple (dim.)
ječmen	barley
křížek	small cross
kád	tub, vat
kališek	egg cup
kamna	stove
kancelář	study, writing desk
kancelárka	desk
kbelík	pail, bucket
kladivo	hammer
kleště	forceps, pincers
klír	wedge
kniha	book

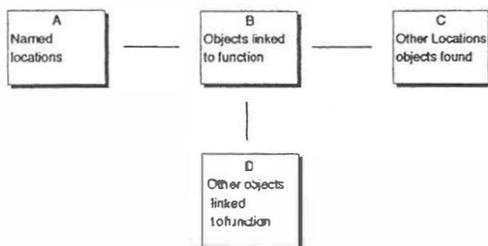
<u>Original Czech</u>	<u>Approx. English Equivalent</u>
knoflík	button
koš	basket
koření	spice
koberec	carpet, tapestry
koflíček	cup (dim.)
koflík	cup (dim.)
konev	can
kontrfekt	portraiture
konvička	pitcher, jug (dim.)
konvice	picture, jug
korál	coral
kord	sword
kost	bone
kotel	cauldron, boiler, kettle
kotlíček	kettle (dim.)
kotlík	kettle
kozlík	andiron
krabička	box (dim.)
krabice	box (dim.)
kropač	sprinkler, watering can
kroužek	small ring
kunstuk	art object (germanicism)
lžice	spoon
lůžko	bed
lavice	bench
listina	document
lože	bedroom, bed
lopata	shovel
luk	bow
mříže	grill
mapa	map
máta	mint
meč	sword
mísa	bowl, plate
miska	bowl (dim.)
mlýn	mill
moždíř	mortar

<u>Original Czech</u>	<u>Approx. English Equivalent</u>
muškát	nutmeg
muškátový kůlka	whole nutmeg
mušket	musket
měděnec	copper cauldron
měděnice	copper pot
nůž	knife
nůžky	scissors
nádoba	vessel, crock
nádobi	dishware
nálevka	funnel
necička	?
nožička	foot (dim.)
nožnice	?
ohřívadlo	heater, warmer
ohniště	fire, fireplace
oves	oats
pšenice	wheat
pánev	frying pan
papír	paper
pas	belt
peřina	bed comforter, quilt
peřinka	bed comforter, quilt (dim.)
pečet	seal
pekáč	baking pan
peníze	money
perkik	sledge hammer
pila	saw
pilka	saw (dim.)
pilník	small file, saw
pistola	pistol
pivo	beer
poduška	cushion, pillow, hassock
police	shelf
polštář	pillow, cushion
polštářka	pillow, cushion (dim.)
postýlka	bed (dim.), cot
postel	bed

<u>Original Czech</u>	<u>Approx. English Equivalent</u>
povlak	bed linen, covering
prostěradlo	bed sheet
pytlík	sack
rapír	rapier, sword
rendlík	saucepan
rožen	spit
rošt	grill
ručnička	?
ručnice	rifle
ručník	towel
šala, šale	bowl, plate (germanicism)
šalíček	bowl, plate (dim.)
sekýr	hatchet, ax
sekáček	cleaver
sekačka	reaper, mower
sekera	hatchet, ax
servítek	napkin
sklenice	glass
škopek	tub
slad	malt
slánka	salt shaker
šmideisen	smith's iron (germanicism)
šnůr	string, necklage (germanicism)
srdíčko	small heart
štauda	barrel
stříkačka	syringe
stůl	table
stoček	bottle, decanter
štok	hop plant, butt
stoliček	table (dim.)
stolice	bench
struhadlo	grater
šraubštuk	screw (germanicism)
šrybtyš	desk (germanicism)
svícen	candlestick
talíř	plate
tesařka	[carpentry tool]

<u>Original Czech</u>	<u>Approx. English Equivalent</u>
tesák	bowie knife
trdlo	wooden roller
truhla	chest
truhlička	chest (dim.)
truhlice	chest (dim.)
trychtýř	funnel (germanicism)
ubrus	table cloth
umývadlo	wash basin
vázeek	small scale
švajnspis, švejnšpis	spit (germanicism)
vana	tub (germanicism)
vanička	tub (dim.)
var	boiling pot, kettle
vino	wine
zázvor	ginger
zbrán	weapon
zbroj	armor
žejdlička	pint, goblet, jug (dim.)
žejdlik	pint, goblet, jug
žito	rye
židle	chair
židlička	chair (dim.)
zrný	granules
zvonánía	small bells (?)

Chart II.5.11. Location-Object Distribution Model



	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>
<u>Cooking</u>	kuchyň (kitchen)	rošt (grill) rožeň (spit) pekáč (baking pan) rendlík (stewpot)	špižima (larder) komora (chamber) mázhaus	hrnec (pot) kotlík (kettle) kotlíček (kettle dim.) móždň (mortar) nálevka (funnel)
<u>Eating</u>		sňánka (salt dish) stůl (table) stůlčák (table dim.) židlo (chair) židlička (chair dim.)		lžice (spoon) nůž (knife) flaše (bottle) láskva (bottle dim.) nádobí (pots, pans, dishes)
<u>Sleeping</u>	komora (chamber) sklep (cellar)	postel (bed) postýlka (bed dim.) lože (bed, coach) lůžko (dim. bed, coach)	mázhaus světnice veržtal (workshop) dřevnice (woodshop) laube (arcade)	bed sheets, pillowcases
<u>Home or Market Economy</u>	marštal (stable)	kočárek (carriage) vůz (waggon) horse-riding equipment	stodole (barn) kolna (shed)	food grain wood
	dřevnice (wood room, shed)	wood	stodole (barn) kolna (shed).	food grain
	hvozda (malt-house) sládovna (malt house) spilec (?)	chmel (hops) slad (malt)	dvůr (courtyard) komora (chamber)	wood sád (barrel)
<u>Other Named Locations</u>	světnice (?)			kamna (stove, oven) paintings
	komora (chamber)			beds clothes jewelry art objects
	mázhaus (?)			furniture
	sň (hall)			
	sklep (cellar)			

Chart II.5.12. Contents of Kitchens, Larders, and Distribution of Cooking-related Objects

Object	Contents of Kitchens			Contents of Larders (Bep'ima)		Total (in all locations) Total Nr. Objects	Total Additional by weight
	Additional English Equiv.	Nr. objects	Additional by weight	Nr. objects	Additional by weight		
Original Czech							
cařdlo	strainer	1		1		10	
flaše	bottle					17	
flaška	bottle					16	
hmec	pot	26		15		180	17.6 centyr
jiná	other	1		20			
ložky	spoons			44			
kobernic	cup,sp. teapetry			12			
koláč	boiler	2		2			17 kiber, 2.6 centyr
kolček	ketle(dm.)					7	32.1cm y n a pecnity
kolík	ketle	70		36		239	
kuřebis	box			1			
kuchyňská nářadí	cooking utensils	14				66	
lžice	spoon	16		15		60	470 kiber, 5.5 centyr
mříže	grill	1					
mrtváček	mortar	3		14			
máček	copper pot			14			
nádobí	dishware	70	72 kiber	215		1457.5	
nůž	knife			2		27	
oděry	clothes			13			
ohřívadlo	heater	1					
ohnisko	fire	2					
plánek	frying pan			1			
pečicí	baking pan	17		6		34	
pečicí předsledek	cover to ?	1					
pečicí	bed			3			
pečicí	saucepan	9		1		24	
pečicí	enders			7			
pečicí	spit	43		49		189	
pečicí	grill	13		25		57	
pečicí, u brusů, se nřítů	lathe linen			48			
pečicí	salt shaker	3		4		34	
pečicí	condensibk			19			
pečicí	cloth			3			
pečicí	chess	1					
pečicí	err objects	13					
pečicí	wash basin			1			
pečicí	basin			5			
pečicí	tub			2			
pečicí	barrel	2		4			

Chart II.5.13. Contents of Chambers ("Komora") - 111 total locations

<u>Object</u>		<u>Nr. Objects</u>	<u>Nr. Locations</u>
<u>Original Czech</u>	<u>Approx. English Equiv.</u>	<u>Nr. Objects</u>	<u>Nr. Locations</u>
almara	cabinet	16	11
flaše	bottle	2	1
flaška	bottle	2	2
hodiny	clock	1	1
hñec	pot	8	6
židle	chair	7	5
židlička	chair	1	1
kamna	stove	1	1
kniha	book	138	12
koberec	carpet, tapestry	8	5
kontřekt/figura	picture	13	2
kotel	boiler, kettle	7	6
kotlíček	kettle	4	2
kotlík	kettle	52	9
krabička	box	7	5
krabice	box	31	5
kuchyňské nářadí	cooking utensils	2	2
lžice	spoon	9	1
listina	documents	17	4
lože	bed	48	21
ložko	bed	23	12
ložní nářadí	bed linen	543	63
moždír	mortar	7	5
médě nec	copper pot	5	1
méděnice	copper pot	6	4
nádoby	dishware	165	13
něstroj	instrument	19	7
nůž	knife	10	1
oděvní doplňky	clothing acces.	82	8
oděvy	clothes	421	48
pekáč	baking pan	8	5
peníze	money	94	
pivní nářadí	items for brewing	65	5
police	shelf	5	2
polštář	pillow	14	5
postel	bed	69	32
postýlka	bed	3	1
pytlík	sack	783	7
randlík	sauce pan	3	1
roha	antlers	13	5
rožeh	spit	28	6
rošt	grill	12	5
ručník	towel	122	36
stoliček	table	22	8
stolička	bench	6	5
stůl	table	7	4
suroviny	dry goods	7	3
svicen	candlestick	2	2
textil	cloth	70	10
truhla	chest	42	27
truhlička	chest	17	7
truhlice	chest	41	22
umělecké předmety	art objects	170	8
umývadlo	wash basin	2	3
vana	tub	3	2
vino	wine	76	4
zbraň	weapon	51	9
zbroj	armor	33	5
řemeslnické nářadí	artisanal material	26	5
škopek	tub	4	1
šytýš	desk	1	1

Chart II.5.14. Contents of Cellars ("Sklep") - 110 total locations

<u>Object</u>	<u>Approx.</u>	<u>Nr. Objects</u>	<u>Nr. Locations</u>
<u>Original Czech</u>	<u>English Equiv.</u>	<u>Nr. Objects</u>	<u>Nr. Locations</u>
almaza	cabinet	32	22
almazka	cabinet	3	2
cedadlo	strawer	12	6
flaska	bottle	15	5
flaska	bottle	16	6
hodiny	clock	1	1
hrnec	pot	221	21
jsidlo	chair	13	2
jsidlo	chair	22	4
kraska	book	124	20
koberec	carpet, tapestry	42	16
konfektuřina	picture	18	5
kolář	collar, kerbie	16	4
kolíček	kefile	3	2
kolík	kefile	112	7
kořen	spice	-	1
krabice	box	5	4
krabice	box	22	9
kuchynské nářadí	cooking utensils	12	3
lavice	bench	4	3
lžice	spoon	13	3
listina	documents	65	15
lože	bed	66	20
ložko	bed	17	10
ložní nářadí	bed linen	1201	48
močál	moat	41	11
méděnac	copper pot	6	1
méděnice	copper pot	47	15
nádobí	dishware	2241	51
nářadí	instrument	331	8
nář	trivle	10	5
oděvní doplnky	clothing accessories	209	14
oděvy	clothes	1463	54
ohně	fire	1	1
ohnivadio	heater	1	1
pekáč	be long pan	9	6
peníze	money	-	12
pivní nářadí	items for brewing	6	3
pivo	beer	16	1
police	shelf	3	3
podstát	plow	42	15
postel	bed	40	23
postýlka	bed	6	4
pylík	sack	11	6
rendlík	sauce pan	2	2
roha	antlers	2	1
rožň	spit	32	4
rohl	roll	6	5
ručník	towel	515	26
šálka	salt shaker	7	2
stůl	table	13	7
stůl	table	9	6
stůl	table	13	7
survoviny	dry goods	16	3
svačar	canola stick	61	25
šedí	cloth	917	17
truhle	chest	183	54
truhlička	chest	31	14
truhlice	chest	66	22
umělecká předměty	art objects	-	30
umývadlo	wash basin	36	13
vanička	tub	7	5
vino	wine	-	17
zbraň	weapon	109	15
zbroj	armor	6	3
řemeslné nářadí	artisanal materials	-	7

Chart II.5.15. Contents of Svietnice – 87 total locations

<u>Object</u>	<u>Approx.</u>	<u>Nr. Objects</u>	<u>Nr. Locations</u>
<u>Original Czech</u>	<u>English Equiv.</u>	<u>Nr. Objects</u>	<u>Nr. Locations</u>
almara	cabinet	57	37
almárika	cabinet	19	9
cedlelo	strainer	2	1
laše	bottle	8	4
laška	bottle	2	1
hodiny	clock	2	1
hrnec	pot	60	36
židle	chair	63	20
kamna	stove	32	32
kancelář	desk	13	7
knihy	book	320	21
koberec	carpet, tapestry	5	2
kontrifid/figura	picture	108	18
kotel	boiler, kettle	2	2
kotlík	kettle	1	1
krabice	box	9	4
krabice	box	9	3
kuchyňské nářadí	cooking utensils	4	2
lavce	bench	1	1
lžice	spoon	2	1
listiny	documents	13	1
lože	bed	7	6
ložko	bed	18	15
ložné nářadí	bed linen	117	21
mapa	map	3	3
módl	mortar	3	3
měděnice	copper pot	18	9
nádoby	dishware	867	26
nástroj	instrument	11	5
nůž	knife	4	3
oděvní dopytky	clothing accessories	29	9
oděvy	clothes	40	6
papír	paper	6	1
pekač	baking pan	1	1
peníze	money	49	7
police	shell	1	1
polstář	pillow	8	4
postel	bed	4	4
postýlka	bed	4	3
pytlík	sack	6	3
rona	antlers	64	17
rožeň	spit	8	3
rošt	grill	1	1
ručníků, ubrusů, servítek	table linen	6	3
slánka	salt shaker	23	10
stocák	bottle decanter	5	18
stůl	table	177	58
stůlček	table	38	18
stůlce	bench	41	15
svíce	candlestick	28	22
textil	cloth	14	5
truhla	chest	2	1
truhlička	chest	18	8
truhlice	chest	6	5
umělecké předměty	art objects	85	14
umývadlo	wash basin	40	30
vanička	tub	1	1
vidlička	fork	47	17
zbraně	weapon	25	10
zbroj	armor	12	7
řemeslnické nářadí	artisanal tools	28	5
štrýps	desk	1	1

Chart II.5.16. Contents of Pokoj – 29 total locations

<u>Object</u>		<u>Nr. Objects</u>	<u>Nr. Locations</u>
	<u>Approx.</u>		
<u>Original Czech</u>	<u>English Equiv.</u>	<u>Nr. Objects</u>	<u>Nr. Locations</u>
almara	cabinet	5	3
almárka	cabinet	4	2
flaška	bottle	1	1
hřelec	pot	5	5
židle	chair	6	3
kanina	stove	5	5
židlička	chair	1	1
knihy	book	49	4
koberec	carpet, tapestry	3	2
kontřekt/figura	picture	28	3
kotel	boiler, kettle	1	1
koření	spices	2	1
krabice	box	3	1
lavice	bench	1	1
listiny	documents	7	2
lože	bed	3	1
lůžko	bed	9	7
ložní nářadí	bed linen	26	7
měděnice	copper pot	1	1
nádobl	dishware	98	2
oděvní doplyňky	clothing acces.	4	2
oděvy	clothes	3	2
peníze	money	38	2
postel	bed	2	1
postýlka	bed	1	1
roha	antlers	1	1
ručník	towel	13	1
slánka	salt shaker	1	1
stůl	table	18	10
stoliček	table	4	3
stolice	bench	2	2
svícen	candlestick	14	1
truhla	chest	2	2
truhlička	chest	1	1
truhlice	chest	5	3
umělecké	art objects	5	2
umývadlo	wash basin	5	5
zbraň	weapon	17	4
štauda	barrel	1	1
jiné	other	19	32

Chart II.5.17. Contents of Mázhaus – 27 total locations

<u>Object</u>		<u>Nr. Objects</u>	<u>Nr. Locations</u>
<u>Original Czech</u>	<u>Approx. English Equiv.</u>		
almara	cabinet	25	14
laše	bottle	3	1
hodiny	clock	2	2
hmec	pot	5	3
židle	chair	7	5
židlička	chair	3	2
kniha	book	28	2
koberec	carpet, tapestry	5	4
kontrékt/figura	picture	30	5
kotel	boiler, kettle	2	1
kotlík	kettle	7	3
lavice	bench	1	1
listiny	documents	10	1
lože	bed	1	1
ložní nářadí	bed linen	14	1
lužko	bed	2	2
mapa	map	1	1
moždář	mortar	10	2
měděnice	copper pot	10	2
nádobl	dishware	130	4
nástroj	instrument	6	3
nůž	knife	6	1
pekáč	bakingpan	1	1
police	shelf	1	1
rendlík	sauce pan	5	2
roha	antlers	13	5
rožeň	spit	10	1
rošt	grill	2	1
stůl	table	32	17
stoliček	table	6	4
stolice	bench	14	4
svícen	candlestick	12	2
truhla	chest	9	5
truhlíčka	chest	2	1
truhlice	chest	2	2
úmyvadlo	wash basin	1	1
zbraně	weapon	11	2
řemeslnické nářadí	artisanal tool	17	2
štauda	barrel	9	3
jiné	other	147	4

Chart II.5.18. Distribution of Beds

location	Αγορα		lože		ložko		postel		poselýlike		total beds		
	Original Czech	English Equiv.	nr. locations	nr.	nr. locations								
dvůr	courtyard		19										
dřevnice	wood shed		1	2	1							2	1
hul'	laundry		2										
hvozdá	melting kiln		4										
karceď	study		1										
kojna	shed		6										
komora	chamber		111	48	24	23	12	69	33	3	1	143	70
komůrka	chamber		2										
kram	shop		3										
kuchyně	kitchen		15										
kuchýňka	kitchen		1										
laube	loggia		1					2	1			2	1
lázeň	baths		1										
lázněčka	baths		2										
lože	bedroom		1					3	1			3	1
manžtel	stables		9										
mězhaus	-		27	1	1	2	2					3	3
mězhaussek	-		2	1	1	1	1					2	2
místo	place		39	2	1			10	5	1	1	13	7
pavlač	porch		8							1	1	1	1
pékárna	bakery		1										
pokoj	room		29	3	1	9	6	2	1	1	1	15	9
poselýček	room		2	1	1							1	1
pokojek	room		4	1	1			1	1	1	1	3	3
sal	hall		24	3	1	2	1	3	1	1	1	9	4
sklep	cellar		110	69	20	17	10	40	24	6	4	132	58
skřípek	cellar		8			4	2	4	2			8	4
stádovna	melting room		7										
stálec	?		3										
stodola	barn		4										
stvebnice	-		87	7	6	18	15	4	4	4	3	33	28
verkháň	workshop		1										
zaháda	garden		1										
žpižma	larder		7					3	1			3	1
Total			543	138	58	78	49	141	74	18	13	373	194

total of 373 beds in 194 locations

Chart II.5.19. Distribution of Storage Furniture

<u>location</u>			<u>cabinet</u>		<u>cabinet (dim.)</u>		<u>chest</u>		<u>chest (dim.)</u>		<u>chest (dim.)</u>	
<u>Approx.</u>			<u>(almara)</u>		<u>(almafka)</u>		<u>(truhla)</u>		<u>(truhlíčka)</u>		<u>(truhlíce)</u>	
<u>Original Czech</u>	<u>English Equiv.</u>	<u>nr. locations</u>	<u>nr.</u>	<u>nr. locations</u>	<u>nr.</u>	<u>nr. locations</u>	<u>nr.</u>	<u>nr. locations</u>	<u>nr.</u>	<u>nr. locations</u>	<u>nr.</u>	<u>nr. locations</u>
dvůr	courtyard	10	1	1							1	1
dřevnice	wood shed	1										
huť	foundry	2										
hvozda	malting -kiln	4										
kancelář	study	1	2	1								
kolna	shed	6										
komora	chamber	111	16	13			42	24	15	8	41	21
komorka	chamber	2										
kram	shop	3	3	2			1	1	2	1	4	1
kuchyně	kitchen	15							1	1		
kuchyně	kitchen	1										
lázně	loggia	1										
lázeň	baths	1										
lázně	baths	2										
lože	bedroom	1							1	1		
maršál	stables	0										
mázhaus	-	27	20	15	6	4	7	3	2	1	2	2
mázhausek	-	2	1	1			1	1				
místo	place	30	4	2			6	4			2	1
pavlač	porch	8	2	1			7	2			4	2
pekarna	bakery	1										
pokoj	room	20	6	3	4	2	2	2			6	3
pokojček	room	2	3								1	1
pokojík	room	4		2								
siň	hall	24	0	7			15	7	1	1	2	2
sklep	cellar	110	32	23	3	2	163	55	29	12	64	25
sklpek	cellar	8	1	1	1	1	0	4	2	2	3	1
sladovna	malting room	7			1	1						
spílec	?	3										
stodole	barn	4										
světnice	-	87	57	34	20	10	2	1	17	0	5	4
verkštal	workshop	1										
zahřada	garden	1										
šplžíma	larder	7	2	2			2	1			1	1
Total		543	165	108	35	20	270	105	70	36	136	65

Chart II.5.20. Distribution of General Furniture

Location	Approx. English Equiv.	table		table (narrow)		bench		chair		chair (dim.)		bench	
		nr.	nr. locations	nr.	nr. locations	nr.	nr. locations	nr.	nr. locations	nr.	nr. locations	nr.	nr. locations
dvůr	courtyard	10	1	1	1								
dřevnice	woodshed	1											
hul	foundry	2											
hvozds	milling - wdn	4											
kancelář	study	1	1	1	2	1				6	1		
kolna	shed	6					6	1					
komora	chamber	111	7	4	21	8	6	6	7	5	1	1	
komorka	chamber	2											
krám	shop	3			1	1							
kuchyně	kitchen	15											
kuchynka	kitchen	1											
laube	loggia	1											
lázeň	bath	1											
lázněčka	bath	2											
lože	bedroom	1											
marštal	stables	9											
májhauz	-	27	31	17	6	4	14	4	7	5	3	2	1
mázhauzsek	-	2	1	1									
místo	place	39	6	3					1	1	6	1	
parčík	parch	8								10	1		
pekárna	bakery	1											
pokoj	room	29	18	10	6	4	2	2	6	3	1	1	1
pokojček	room	2	1	1	24	1							
pokojík	room	4	1	1	1	1	1	1					
stl	hall	24	33	9	2	2	4	2	9	3	2	1	1
sklep	cellar	110	12	7	13	7	9	6	13	2	22	4	4
sklepík	cellar	8			1	1							
stádovna	miling room	7	1	1									
stjec	?	3											
stodce	bern	4											
stvenice	-	67	178	61	36	18	41	15	63	20	47	17	1
workshop	workshop	1											
zahrad	garden	1	2	1					1	1			
žaluzie	larder	7											
Total		543	290	118	114	48	63	36	107	40	98	29	8

Chart II.5.21. Distribution of Paintings

<u>location</u>		<u>Nr. Objects</u>	<u>Nr. Locations</u>	<u>Nr. Households</u>
	<u>Approx.</u>			
<u>Original Czech</u>	<u>English Equiv.</u>			
dvůr	courtyard			
dřevnice	wood shed			
huť	foundry			
hvozda	malting -kiln			
kanceliář	study			
kolna	shed			
komora	chamber	13	2	1
komorka	chamber			
kram	shop			
kuchyň	kitchen			
kuchyňka	kitchen			
laube	loggia			
lázeň	baths			
láznička	baths			
lože	bedroom			
marštal	stables			
mázhaus	-	30	5	4
mázhausek	-			
místo	place			
pavlač	porch			
pekarna	bakery			
pokoj	room	28	3	3
pokojiček	room			
pokojk	room			
síň	hall	6	1	1
sklep	cellar	18	5	5
sklípek	cellar	1	1	1
sladovna	malting room			
spilec	?			
stodole	barn			
svietnice	-	108	17	16
verkštat	workshop			
zahrada	garden			
špižíma	larder			
Total		204	34	31

Chart II.5.22. Painted Furniture

<u>furniture object</u>		<u>white</u>	<u>black</u>	<u>red</u>	<u>green</u>	<u>yellow</u>	<u>blue</u>	<u>unknown color</u>	<u>Nr. total painted</u>	<u>% total painted</u>	<u>total</u>
	<u>Approx. English Equiv.</u>										
<u>Original Czech</u>	<u>Original Czech</u>										
stůl	table	12	1	5	4	1		3	26	9	291
stoliček	table (dim.)	2	7	2	21		1		33	28	114
židle	chair	2		11	4				17	16	107
židlíčka	chair (dim.)			6	17				23	23	98
stolica	bench		3	7	3				13	16	83
lavice	bench										8
almára	cabinet	4	3	4	8	5		1	25	15	166
almárka	cabinet (dim.)			1	4				5	14	35
truhla	chest	29	8	6	12	21		12	88	32	280
truhlíčka	chest (dim.)	2	3	3	4	2			14	20	70
truhlice	chest (dim.)	9	5	2	13	7		5	41	30	138
posteel	bed	8			18	8			34	24	141
postýlka	bed	1			2				3	18	17
lože	bed	2			7	3		1	13	9	138
lůžko	bed	3			11	13		1	28	37	76
Total		74	30	47	128	60	1	23	363		1762
% Total Painted		20.39%	8.26%	12.95%	35.26%	16.53%	0.28%				
% Total		4.20%	1.70%	2.67%	7.26%	3.41%	0.06%				

Chart II.5.23. Storage of Books

<u>Object</u>		<u>Nr. Objects</u>	<u>Nr. Books</u>	<u>Nr. Locations</u>	<u>Nr. Households</u>
	<u>Approx.</u>				
<u>Original Czech</u>	<u>English Equiv.</u>				
almara	cabinet	15	335	15	13
almárka	cabinet (dim.)	3	6	2	2
truhla	chest	10	31	10	8
truhlička	chest (dim.)	2	3	2	1
truhlice	chest (dim.)	14	133	14	12
kancelář	desk	1	28	1	1
lavice	bench	1	40	1	1
police	shelf	7	32	3	3
Total		53	608	48	41
Total alone		-	211 (37%)		

Chart II.5.24. Storage of Jewelry

<u>Object</u>	<u>Approx.</u>	<u>Nr. Objects</u>	<u>Nr. Pieces</u>	<u>Nr. Locations</u>	<u>Nr. Households</u>
<u>Original Czech</u>	<u>English Equiv.</u>				
almárka	cabinet (dim.)				
almara	cabinet	2	4	2	2
jiné	other	1	8	1	1
kancelář	desk	1	2	1	1
krabička	box (dim.)	3	33	3	3
krabice	bix	3	4	3	3
lavice	bench				
police	shelf				
pytlík	sack	1	3	1	1
truhla	chest	9	87	9	8
truhlička	chest (dim.)	2	2	2	2
truhlice	chest (dim.)	7	44	7	7
Total		29	187	29	28
Total alone		-	53 (28%)	10	9

Chart 11.5.25. Storage of Valuable Clothing Accessories

<u>Object</u>		<u>Nr. Objects</u>	<u>Nr. Pieces</u>	<u>Nr. Locations</u>	<u>Nr. Households</u>
<u>Original Czech</u>	<u>Approx. English Equiv.</u>				
almárka	cabinet (dim.)				
almara	cabinet	4	5	4	4
jiné	other				
kancelář	desk	1	1	1	1
krabička	box (dim.)	2	3	2	2
krabice	bix	2	5	2	2
lavice	bench				
police	shelf				
pytlík	sack				
truhla	chest	17	54	16	15
truhlička	chest (dim.)	3	5	3	3
truhlice	chest (dim.)	8	53	8	8
Total		37	126	36	35
Total alone			8 (6%)	4	4

Chart II.5.26. Storage of Dishware in Gold and Silver

<u>Object</u>		<u>Nr. Objects</u>	<u>Nr. Pieces</u>	<u>Nr. Locations</u>	<u>Nr. Households</u>
	<u>Approx.</u>				
<u>Original Czech</u>	<u>English Equiv.</u>				
almárka	cabinet (dim.)				
almara	cabinet	8	87	8	7
jiné	other				
kancelář	desk	1	1	1	1
krabíčka	box (dim.)	1	82	1	1
krabice	bix	2	19	2	2
lavice	bench				
police	shelf				
pytlík	sack	1	1	1	1
truhla	chest	19	332	18	18
truhlička	chest (dim.)	9	77	9	7
truhlice	chest (dim.)	13	107	13	12
Total		54	706	53	49
Total Alone			165 (23 %)	13	11

Chart II.5.27. Storage of General Art Objects

Table II. 27 Storage of General Art Objects

<u>Object</u>		<u>Nr. Objects</u>	<u>Nr. Pieces</u>	<u>Nr. Locations</u>	<u>Nr. Households</u>
<u>Original Czech</u>	<u>Approx. English Equiv.</u>				
almárka	cabinet (dim.)				
almara	cabinet	7	24	7	6
jiné	other				2
kancelář	desk	2	4	2	4
krabička	box (dim.)	6	28	6	2
krabice	bix	2	15	2	
lavice	bench				
police	shelf				
pytlík	sack	1	1	1	1
truhla	chest	15	94	14	13
truhlička	chest (dim.)	6	36	5	5
truhlice	chest (dim.)	8	31	8	8
Total		47	233	45	41
Total alone		-	37 (16%)	12	12

Chart II.5.28. Household Functional Structure

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Locations</u>	<u>Designated Floor location</u>	<u>Heating or Cooking Source location</u>	<u>Cooking location</u>	<u>Eating location</u>	<u>Economic location</u>	<u>Other Designated location</u>
Albrecht, Kašpar	837-II	3	1 (underground) 2, 3 (upstairs)	?	?	?		
Brzobohalý, Jan	1056-II or 1057-II	6	2 (upstairs), 6 (lowest)	?	?	?	5 (malting)	
Brzobohalý, Jan Eustachius	Na počiči - "between the houses called Kulíkú and the late Daněle Emden lying on both sides"	8	1, 2 (on the street)	4	3	?	8 (for guests)	
Brzobohalý, Malěj	1056-II or 1057-II	12	1, 2 (downstairs), 3, 4, 6, 10 (upstairs)	1	3	17	11 (brewing)	12 (stables)
Fayfr, Melchar	Siroká street - "on the corner opposite Mikuláš Jordan"	3	3 (upstairs)	?	3	?	2 (workshop)	

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Locations</u>	<u>Designated Floor location</u>	<u>Heating or Cooking Source location</u>	<u>Cooking location</u>	<u>Eating location</u>	<u>Economic location</u>	<u>Other Designated location</u>
Frl. Jifk	785/442-II	6	6 (upstairs)	1	2, 3	?		6 (loggia)
Grateus, Baptista	"near the Jewish Garden"	4	1, 3 (upstairs), 4 (downstairs)	1, 3	2	1		
Grateus, Mandatiena	"near the Jewish Garden"	6	1, 2, 3, 4 (upstairs), 2 (in front of 1), 3 (under the roof), 6 (downstairs)	1	1?	1?		
Hranický, Martin	902-II	6	3 (across from 2), 4 (next to 2), 5 (under the roof)	2	6?	2?		
Hvězdová, Magdalena	782-II	6	2 (one gets to it from 1), 4 (in front of 3),	1	2?	?		

<u>PERSON</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Locations</u>	<u>Designated floor location</u>	<u>Heating or Cooking Stove location</u>	<u>Cooking location</u>	<u>Firing location</u>	<u>Economic location</u>	<u>Other Designated location</u>
Kalvodá, Jan	"across from the parish house of St. Stephen on the corner"	13	1 (in front of 2). 4, 5 (in/on? 3) 7 (center). 8, 9, 10, 1 (upstairs) 8 (under the roof)	2, 10, 12	12, 7, 9	2? 1?		
Kotlářka, Markyta	748-II or 748-II	11	1, 2, 4 (upstairs)	8	9, 10	?	11 (courtyard)	
Kotlářka, Markyta	"second house on Siroké Street next to the houses of Brkčho Zvoneř"	7	4 (rear), 8 (upstairs)	1, 4, 7	?	?	2 (courtyard), 5 (cellar), 3 ("balns")	
Kříž, Jan	696-II	1	upstairs	?	?	?		
Křížová, Magdalena	"across from the parish house of St. Stephen on the corner"	10	2 (leads from 1), 4 (higher), 5 (highest), 9 (on the courtyard)	1	2	1	8 (brewing), 9 (brewing chamber), 10 (2nd chamber/beer)	

<u>Person</u>	<u>House number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Locations</u>	<u>Designated floor location</u>	<u>Milling or Coquina source location</u>	<u>Coquina location</u>	<u>Falling location</u>	<u>Economic location</u>	<u>Other designated location</u>
Kyndimon, Thomas	"near the City Hall on the corner"	6	3 (underground), 6 (below)	1	1	?		
Lesnar, Jirk	775-II	6	1, 2 (upstairs), 6 (below)	1	4	17 47		
Lopelšký, Ciprian	Zidovská street	14	1 (upstairs), 6 (below), 14 (on the courtyard)	4	37	?	9 (milling), 10 (brewing), 11 (splic ¹)	
Lynder, Jirk	"opposite Rehoř Pátek"	3		1	?	?		
Mškařka, Lidmila	795-II	9	4 (upstairs), 8 (upstairs under the roof)	?	8	?	9 (chamber)	

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Locations</u>	<u>Designated Floor location</u>	<u>Heating or Cooking Source location</u>	<u>Cooking location</u>	<u>Eating location</u>	<u>Economic location</u>	<u>Other Designated location</u>
Masopust, Martin	832-II	11	1 (below) 2 (leads from 27), 4 (upstairs)	6	8	?	7 (hall/beer), 9 (brewing), 10 (barn), 11 (chamber/beer)	
Nysl, Jan	35a-II - "in the house of Jiff 2 Zyger"		1 (upstairs)	?	?	?		
Patková, Anna	Charvatská street	10	1 (across from 2), 3 (in front of four on the porch), 7 (the the roof's), 8 (lower ground-floor) 9 (ground-floor) 10 (across from 4 below)	9	10	?		
Pergerová, Maryanna & Alžběta Šviková	791-II	1		?	?	?		
Pemík, Buryen	778-II	11	2 (opposite 1), 4 (in front of 3) 6 (below 5), 9 (under the steps), 11 (in 10?)	?	1, 3, 4	?	5 (bakery)	

<u>Person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Locations</u>	<u>Designated Floor location</u>	<u>Heating or Cooking Source location</u>	<u>Cooking location</u>	<u>Eating location</u>	<u>Economic location</u>	<u>Other Designated location</u>
Pemkál, Buryen	secondho se	3		?	?	?		
po Mariinu Cukrářovi. Voršile	Siroká street - "between the 9 houses (u Kaufmanských) and of Michal Rožný"		2 (opposite 1) 3 (under the roof) 4 (on the porch) 6 (in 7) 9 (in the courtyard)	1	5	?	4 (room on the balcony where sig r is made*)	
Samec, Adam	652-II	14	2 (in front of 1), 3 (upstairs) 4 (downstairs) 6 (lower) 12 (upstairs))	1	?	?		8 (stable), 6-12, 14 (tenants)
Slon, Jan	777-II	5	2 (in 1) 3 (on the steps) 5 (downstairs opposite 4)	?	?	?		
Srnolik, Jiří	760/781-II	14	3 (from 2) 4 (from 6) 7 (under the roof) 9, 14 (in the courtyard) 13 (before the house)	1, 3, 4	6	2	11 (garden)	7 (for two guests),

<u>PERSON</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Locations</u>	<u>Designated Floor location</u>	<u>Heating or Cooling Source location</u>	<u>Cooking location</u>	<u>Filling location</u>	<u>Economic location</u>	<u>Other Designated location</u>
Tetek, Adam	783-II & 784-II	14	2 (on the steps), 4 (on 3), 5 (across from 6), 10 (under the roof), 13 (next to 9)	11	9	10?, 11? 12?	13 (wine tince), 14 (room)	
Vodak, Zikmund	1074-II	9	2 (in 1), 3 (opposite 2), 4 (on the porch), 5 (downstairs), 6 (on the courtyard)	7	5?	7	7 (brewing), 8 (barn)	
Vodička, Václav	HorseMarket	7	1 (lower ground floor), 2 (opposite 3 at the steps), 3, 4 (higher), 5 (under the roof), 6 (upstairs), 7 (lower)	7	2, 7	7?		
Vodička, Vít	"The house lying between the houses of Kryštof Rychler and Malá Bilynski"	9	2 (across from 1), 3 (in 4), 6 (on the courtyard), 7-9 (upstairs)	1, 8, 9	?	?		
Vodíčková, Karelína	899-II	12	1 (in 2), 3 (in 4), 6 (on the courtyard), 8 (opposite 7), 9 (going upstairs on the steps), 10 (going on the steps to the courtyard) 11 (leading from 7)	7	?	?	13 (barn)	

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr Locations</u>	<u>Designated Floor location</u>	<u>Heating or Cooking source location</u>	<u>Cooking location</u>	<u>Salina location</u>	<u>Economic location</u>	<u>Other Designated location</u>
Vodíčková, Kateřina	second house	4	3 (across the cellars), 4 (upstairs opposite the kitchen)	?	1, 2, 5?, 6? ?	?		
Vodňanský, Václav	698-II	6	2 (opposite 1)	?	?	?	6 (barn)	
Wolmut, Bonifacius	"opposite the bell tower of St. Stephen"	3	2 (in the garden)	?	?	1?		
z Baubínus, Simeon Polidar	698-II	8	1 (across from 2), 4 (on the balcony)	?	?	?		1 (study)
z Bemarečku, Anna Zlatická	792-II	6	1 (in 2), 4 (next to 3), 5 (in front of 3)	?	?	?		

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Locations</u>	<u>Designated Floor location</u>	<u>Heating or Cooking Source location</u>	<u>Cooking location</u>	<u>Filling location</u>	<u>Economic location</u>	<u>Other Designated location</u>
z Bemarečku, Anne Zlutičká	new structure (nová stavba)	27	24 (from 25 to the kitchen), 27 (next to 26)	7	10	7	11 (stables), 12 (shed), 13 (spice ?), 14 (milling), 15 (brewing), 17 (chamber/ beer), 18 (hallway)	
z Cimperku, Bartoloměj Zvonaf	747-II	19	1, 3 (upstairs on the last floor), 2 (in front of 1), 4 (opposite 1), 5 (under 1 below), 7 (on the courtyard behind 8), 14 (in the back house), 17 (from 16)	7	97, 197	97	11 ("cellar where the tin dishware was made"), 15 (foundry), 16 ("cellar where tin dishware")	
z Cimperku, Brikci Zvonaf	747-II	30	1 (upstairs), 5 (opposite 8), 14 (behind 57), 17 (across from 16), 19 (higher on the street), 21 (from 23 on the street), 27 (across from 28), 29 (under the balcony)	7	25	7	8 (foundry), 13 (shed), 14 (chamber/ wine)	12 (bath), 26 ("man's room")
z Cimperku, Zikmund Zvonaf	Květonská street	4	1 (upstairs)	7	7	7	9 (hall)	
z Gestalovic, Jilji Perger	791-II	21	2 (next to 1), 3 (underground), 7 (in front of 5), 11 (under the roof), 12 (in front of 10), 13 (downstairs), 15 (from 15), 19 (lower)	7	16	167	9 (chamber), 18 (milling), 20 (drinking)	5 ("where he held office"), 11 (weapons)

<u>Person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Locations</u>	<u>Designated Floor location</u>	<u>Heating or Cooking Source location</u>	<u>Cooling location</u>	<u>Filling location</u>	<u>Economic location</u>	<u>Other Designated location</u>
z Cichonova, Anna Stefková	Siroká street	9		8	?	5?	6 (spilec ?)	7 (where the small shop is), 8 (bath)
z Lukonos, Jiřík Svík	792-II	8	1 (higher)	?	?	?		
z Lukonos, Jiřík Svík	new structure (nové stavení)	11	5, 6 (under the roof), 7 (on the courtyard) 11 (underground)	?	?	?	6 (chamber/beer), 8 (milling), 9 (milling courtyard),	10 (stables)
z Radkova, Tomáš Vodička	1057-II or 1058-II	1		?	?	?		
z Rajštěna, Ladislav Galus	749-II	13	1 (from 3 on the right side), 2 (from 1), 4 (from 3), 5 (in front of 4), 8 (under the roots), 10 (lower)	1	8?	10?, 1?	8 (chamber)	11 (stables)

<u>Person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Locations</u>	<u>Designated Floor location</u>	<u>Name no. of location</u>	<u>Cooking location</u>	<u>Eating location</u>	<u>Economic location</u>	<u>Other designated location</u>
z Povín, Václav Kemaryt ml.	848-II	22	1, 2 (downstairs), 6 (underground), 12 (under the roof), 21 (upstairs under the roof)	2, 17	117, 157 18720	7	7 (shed), 8 (wood shed)	5 (stables)
z Vorličná, Mikuláš Půze	853-II	24	1 (to the east on the left), 2 (in 1 to the house on the left), 5 (next to 4), 8 (upstairs), 11 (next to 10), 17 (downstairs), 20 (on the courtyard)	17	197207	17, 18	23 (shed)	
z Vysoké, Tomáš Nejedlý	36b-II	27	2 (from 1), 4 (opposite 1), 7 (under 5), 9 (a long 8), 14 (underground), 28 (opposite 25), 27 (downstairs ground floor)	1, 5, 17, 24	5	4, 24	13 (mating)	8 (stables), 17 (room above the bath)
z Vysoké, Tomáš Nejedlý	37(a7)-II	5	1 (from the passage way to the Stráda house), 3 (underground)	7	7	27	9 (chamber/wine), 10 (chamber/wine)	
z Vysoké, Tomáš Nejedlý	36b or 37a-II	1	1 (in the back)	7	7	7		
ze Zvoň, Daniel Rubín	Na bílě	16	2 (lower on the left hand), 5 (in 4), 7 (upstairs), 8 (access from 7), 14 (underground), 15 (in front of the house)	1	7	47	9 (chamber/beer), 11 (shed), 16 (barn)	12, 13 (stables)
Zitlý, Jan	Slouká street	6	2 (on 5), 3 (in front of 1), 4 (on 5)	7	4	7		

Chart II.5.29. Distribution of Furniture by Household

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Table location</u>	<u>Nr. Tables/ location</u>	<u>Chair location</u>	<u>Nr. Chairs/ location</u>	<u>Cabinet location</u>	<u>Nr. Cabinets/ location</u>	<u>Chest location</u>	<u>Nr. Chests/ location</u>	<u>Desk location</u>	<u>Nr. Desks/ location</u>
Albrecht, Kašpar	837-II		3	-	-			3	3	-	-
Brzobohatý, Jan	1056-II or 1057-II			-	-	1	1	1	1		
Brzobohatý, Jan Eustachius	Na poliči - "between the houses called Kulíkò and the tale Danele Emden lying on both sides"	1, 4, 5, 8	2, 2, 2, 4	1, 4	12, 3	1, 3, 6	2, 1, 2	6	2	-	-
Brzobohatý, Matěj	1056-II or 1057-II	1, 4, 8	3, 2, 25	1, 7	2, 10	1, 2, 3, 5	1, 1, 2, 1	2	6	-	-
Fayfr, Melchar	Siroká sleet - "on the corner opposite Mikuláš Jordan"	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	6	-	-
Frič, Jifík	785/442-II	1, 4	3, 1	1	2	1, 2	5, 1	5	3	-	-
Grafeus, Baptista	"near the Jewish Garden"	1	2	1, 4	1, 1	2, 3	3, 1	2, 3	1, 5	-	-
Grafeus, Mandalena	"near the Jewish Garden"	1,	5	6	1	4	1	6	2	-	-
Hranický, Marín	902-II	-	-	-	-	2	1	4	4	-	-
Hvězdová, Magdalena	782-II	-	-	1	3	1, 5	2, 3	3, 4, 5	2, 1, 2	-	-

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Table location</u>	<u>Nr. Tables/ location</u>	<u>Chair location</u>	<u>Nr. Chairs/ location</u>	<u>Cabinet location</u>	<u>Nr. Cabinets/ location</u>	<u>Chest location</u>	<u>Nr. Chests/ location</u>	<u>Desk location</u>	<u>Nr. Desks/ location</u>
Kaivoda, Jen	"across from the parish house of St. Stephen on the corner"	1, 2, 4, 7, 9, 10	1, 10, 1, 3, 1, 1	1, 2, 11	2, 11, 1	2, 3, 4, 7, 9	6, 2, 1, 3, 1	3, 4, 7	4, 4, 1	-	-
Kotlářka, Markyta	748-II or 746 II	8, 6		8	3	8	2	1, 7	11, 2	-	-
Kotlářka, Markyta	"second house on Siroká Street next to the houses of Brikčho Zvonat"	1, 4	1, 2	5	2	4	2	-	-	-	-
Kříž, Jan	896-II	1	2	-	-	1	1	1	3	-	-
Křížová, Magdalena	"across from the parish house of St. Stephen on the corner"	1, 3, 4, 5	3, 1, 1, 1	1	1	1, 3, 4, 5	3, 1, 1, 2	3, 4	2, 4	-	-
Kyndimon, Thomas	"near the City Hall on the corner"	1, 5	4, 4	1, 5	1, 2	1, 2	2, 1	2	4	-	-
Lesnar, Jiřík	775-II	1, 3, 4	2, 1, 1	1	1	-	-	2, 6	2, 3	-	-
Lopatský, Ciprian	Zidovská street	1, 2, 4	5, 3, 4	1, 4	2, 1	1, 2, 3, 4, 5	2, 1, 2, 1, 1	3, 7	7, 1	-	-
Lyndt, Jiřík	"opposite Rehoř Pátek"	1	4	-	-	1, 3	1, 1	-	-	-	-
Makalka, Lidmila	795-II	1, 3	7, 4	-	-	2	3	2, 3	2, 1	-	-

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Table location</u>	<u>Nr. Tables/ location</u>	<u>Chair location</u>	<u>Nr. Chairs/ location</u>	<u>Cabinet location</u>	<u>Nr. Cabinets/ location</u>	<u>Chest location</u>	<u>Nr. Chests/ location</u>	<u>Desk location</u>	<u>Nr. Desks/ location</u>
Masopust, Martin	832-II	1, 3, 6, 7	4, 2, 8, 8	3, 6, 7	19, 5, 3	4, 6	2, 2	4	22	-	-
Nysl, Jan	35a-II - "In the house of Jiří Zygel"	-	-	-	-	-	-	1, 2	1, 1	-	-
Palková, Anna	Charvatská street	1, 7, 8, 10	12, 2, 2, 2, 1	1	1	3, 4, 5	3, 2, 2	1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10	2, 1, 2, 1, 1, 1, 7	-	-
Pergerová, Maryanna & Alžběta Šviková	791-II	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
Perník, Buryan	778-II	-	-	-	-	-	-	2, 6, 11	2, 1, 2	-	-
Perník, Buryan	second house	-	-	-	-	2	1	1, 2, 3	2, 1, 5	-	-
po Martinu Cukrářovi Voršile	Siroká street - "between the houses (u Kaulimských) and of Michal Rožný"	2	1	2	1	1, 7	1, 1	1, 2, 6, 7	4, 9, 1, 4	-	-
Samec, Adam	852-II	1, 5	1, 3	-	-	1	1	3, 4	2, 2	-	-
Slon, Jan	777-II	1, 4	8, 3	-	-	1, 2, 3	2, 1, 1	2, 3	2, 1	-	-
Smolík, Jiří	780/781-II	1, 2, 3, 4, 11	9, 2, 2, 1, 1	1, 2, 11	7, 1, 1	-	-	14	2	-	-

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Table location</u>	<u>Nr. Tables/ location</u>	<u>Chair location</u>	<u>Nr. Chairs/ location</u>	<u>Cabinet location</u>	<u>Nr. Cabinets/ location</u>	<u>Chest location</u>	<u>Nr. Chests/ location</u>	<u>Desk location</u>	<u>Nr. Desks/ location</u>
z Rovín, Václav Kamaryt ml	846-II	1, 2, 3, 10, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20	2, 4, 1, 1, 1, 1, 5, 4, 2, 2	2, 10, 16, 18	3, 2, 2, 1	1, 2, 13, 17, 18, 19	2, 3, 2, 2, 4, 2	4, 6, 10, 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21	1, 1, 2, 1, 3, 1, 2, 15, 1, 4	2, 17, 16	1, 1, 1
z Vodičké, Mikuláš Růžek	853-II	2, 17, 18	1, 2, 2	17	1	1, 2, 17	2, 3, 1	1, 2, 3, 16	11, 4, 1, 1	-	-
z Vysoké, Tobláš Nejedlý	36b-II	1, 2, 13, 17, 24, 25	3, 1, 1, 1, 1, 2, 1	-	-	1, 2, 4, 13, 25	3, 2, 1, 1, 1	1, 2, 4, 7, 21, 22	2, 1, 9, 1, 1, 1	2, 4	2, 1
z Vysoké, Tobláš Nejedlý	37(a?)-II	-	-	4	2	-	-	1, 2	4, 3	2	1
z Vysoké, Tobláš Nejedlý	36b or 37a-II	4	5	-	-	2	1	2	3	-	-
ze Zvovří, Daniel Růbín	Na blaté	1, 4, 7	4, 2, 2	4	2	1, 4	2, 2	2, 3, 4, 5, 6	10, 2, 1, 4, 2	-	-
Zlatý, Jan	Sírková street	1	3	-	-	-	-	8	5	-	-

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Table location</u>	<u>Nr. Tables/ location</u>	<u>Chair location</u>	<u>Nr. Chairs/ location</u>	<u>Cabinet location</u>	<u>Nr. Cabinets/ location</u>	<u>Chest location</u>	<u>Nr. Chests/ location</u>	<u>Desk location</u>	<u>Nr. Desks/ location</u>
z Bernarčocku, Anna Žufická	new structure (nové stavení)	1, 6, 8, 10	1, 1, 3, 1	1, 8, 10	6, 7, 1	22, 25, 26	2, 1, 1	8, 10, 21, 22, 23, 27	3, 2, 3, 1, 1, 1	-	-
z Cimperku, Bartoloměj Zvonář	747-II	1, 2, 4	4, 1, 1	1	3	1, 2, 7	1, 3, 1	4, 5, 7, 18	6, 5, 2, 1	1	1
z Cimperku, Brikcí Zvonář	747-II	1, 19, 23, 28	2, 1, 2, 2	-	-	2, 21, 28	1, 1, 1	2, 4, 10, 11, 17, 21, 24, 27, 30	3, 4, 4, 2, 2, 1, 1, 3, 1	30	1
z Cimperku, Zikmund Zvonář	Květonská street	4	4	-	-	-	-	1, 2	1, 1	-	-
z Castalovic, Jiljí Perger	791-II	5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 19, 20	2, 1, 1, 6, 2, 1, 1, 9, 6	8, 19, 20	4, 13, 5	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 13, 16	1, 1, 1, 2, 1, 1, 1	1, 2, 8, 12, 13, 15	8, 4, 1, 1, 2, 6	-	-
z Cichánova, Anna Stefková	Siroká street	2, 4, 5, 7	1, 1, 6, 1	1, 5	10, 1	1, 3	1, 1	1, 2	8, 3	-	-
z Lukonos, Jilfik Švik	792-II	1, 8	3, 1	2	1	1, 2, 4, 5, 6	1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1	2, 4, 5, 6	1, 1, 6, 9	5	1
z Lukonos, Jilfik Švik	new structure (nové stavení)	3	1	-	-	1, 2	2, 1	1, 4, 7	3, 4, 5	-	-
z Radkova, Tomáš Vodička	1057-II or 1058-II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
z Rajštna, Ledislav Gallus	749-II	3, 6, 10	1, 2, 4	1, 6, 10	2, 6, 1	1, 2	1, 1	2, 5	7, 1	2	1

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Table location</u>	<u>Nr. Tables/ location</u>	<u>Chair location</u>	<u>Nr. Chairs/ location</u>	<u>Cabinet location</u>	<u>Nr. Cabinets/ location</u>	<u>Chest location</u>	<u>Nr. Chests/ location</u>	<u>Desk location</u>	<u>Nr. Desks/ location</u>
Tatek, Adam	783-II & 784-II	1, 11, 12, 13, 14	3, 2, 3, 3, 6	11, 12, 13, 14	4, 1, 2, 4	3, 4, 10, 11	2, 1, 2, 2	1, 2, 4	5, 1, 1	-	-
Vodak, Zikmund	1074 II	1	4	-	-	1, 5	1, 1	2, 5	2, 8	1	1
Vodička, Václav	House Market	3	1	-	-	3, 7	1, 1	1, 2	1, 5	-	-
Vodička, Vit	"The house lying between the houses of Kryštof Rychter and Malá Bělánská"	1, 2, 7, 8, 9	3, 1, 1, 2, 1	2, 8, 9	1, 1, 1	1, 2, 3	2, 1, 2	2, 3, 5, 6	5, 6, 1, 1	-	-
Vodičková, Kateřina	699-II	1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 10	11, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1	1, 10	2, 2	1, 3, 4, 7	2, 1, 2, 1	3, 4, 8	3, 13, 1	-	-
Vodičková, Kateřina	second house	3	1	3	1	-	-	1	1	-	-
Vodňanský, Václav	698-II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wolmut, Bonifaciu	"opposite the bell tower of St. Stephen"	1	1	-	-	1	2	3	9	-	-
z Baublnus, Simeon Polidor	698-II	1, 2, 4	3, 1, 2	1, 4	6, 5	1, 2	2, 1	3	4	-	-
z Bernarečku, Anna Žulická	792-II	2, 3, 6	5, 4, 4	2, 6	4, 3	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	2, 10, 3, 3, 2, 2	1, 2, 4, 5	6, 2, 6, 1	6	1

Chart II.5.30. Master Book List by Household

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Books</u>	<u>Nr. Czech/ German Books</u>	<u>Book theme</u>	<u>Book location</u>	<u>Book storage type</u>
Albrecht, Kašpar	837-II	-	-	-	-	-
Brzobohatý, Jan	1056-II or 1057-II	2	2/0	Religious=2	3, 6	alone / alone
Brzobohatý, Jan Eustachius	Na poříčí - "between the houses called Kůllků and the late Daniele Emden"	-	-	-	-	-
Brzobohatý, Matěj	1056-II or 1057-II	4	-	Other=4	10	alone
Feyfr, Melchior	Slouká street - "on the corner opposite Mikuláš Jordan"	-	-	-	-	-
Frík, Jiřík	785/442-II	25	4/2	Religious=10, Other=10, History=3, Law=2	1	cabine1 (exclusive)
Grafeus, Baptista	"near the Jewish Garden"	10	-	Other=10	3	alone
Grafeus, Mandalena	"near the Jewish Garden"	5	1/0	Religious=4, Other=1	5	alone
Hranický, Martin	902-II	1	1/0	Religious=1	4	ches1 (dishware, bedlinen)

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Books</u>	<u>Nr. Czech/ German Books</u>	<u>Book theme</u>	<u>Book location</u>	<u>Book storage type</u>
Hvězdová, Magdalena	782-II	-	-	-	-	-
Kálivoda, Jan	"across from the parish house of St. Stephen on the corner"	9	4/0	Religious=5, Other=4	2, 3, 4	cabinet (bed linen, art. soap, documents) / chest (exclusive) / chest (exclusive)
Kotlářka, Merkyta	748-II or 746-II	11	-	Other=11	7	chest (other)
Kotlářka, Merkyta	"second house on Široká Street next to the houses of BrikčilloZvonář"	-	-	-	-	-
Kříž, Jan	896-II	26	26/267	Religious=14, Mixed=12	1	shelf (exclusive)
Křížová, Magdalena	"across from the parish house of St. Stephen on the corner"	3	-	Other=3	5	cabinet (exclusive)
Kyndrmon, Thomas	"near the City Hall on the corner"	5	0/2	Religious=2, Other=3	1, 2	cabinet (exclusive) / chest (art. documents)
Lesnar, Jiřík	775-II	-	-	-	-	-
Lopatský, Ciprian	Zidovské street	2	-	Mixed with Religious=2	3	chest (clothes, bed linen)

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Books</u>	<u>Nr. Czech/ German Books</u>	<u>Book theme</u>	<u>Book location</u>	<u>Book storage type</u>
Lýdér, Jiřík	"opposite Rehof Pátek"	-	-	-	-	-
Makalka, Udmilla	795-II	-	-	-	-	-
Masopust, Marlin	832-II	4	1/0	Religious=2, Other=2	3	chest (exclusive), alone
Nysl, Jan	35a-II - "in the house of JIN Zygel"	17	2/15	Religious=6, History=10, Other=1	1	alone
Pačková, Anna	Charvatská street	15	2/2	Religious=4, History=1, Other=10	3, 4, 7, 10	chest (documents) / chest (tools) / alone / chest (dishware)
Pergerová, Maryanna & Alžběta švčkové	791-II	-	-	-	-	-
Pernákůf, Buryan	778-II	5	5/0	Religious=5	2	chest (tools, textiles)
Pernákůf, Buryan	second house	-	-	-	-	-
po Marlinu Cukrářovi, Voršile	Siroká street - "between the houses (u Kaufmanských) and of	15	4/9	Religious=3, History=1, Other=1	1, 2	cabinet (exclusive) / chest (clothes, jewelry, clothes acces., art), alone

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Books</u>	<u>Nr. Czech/ German Books</u>	<u>Book theme</u>	<u>Book location</u>	<u>Book storage type</u>
Samec, Adam	852-II	-	-	-	-	-
Ston, Jan	777-II	6	-	Other=6	2	shelf (exclusive), chest (w apons)
Smolik, Jiri	780/781-II	1	1/0	Religious=1	5	alon
Tatek, Adam	783-II & 784-II	-	-	-	-	-
Vodak, Zikmund	1074-II	5	-	Religious=1, Mixed with Religious=3, Law=1	1. 5	abinet (desk, documents) / alone
Vodička, Válav	Horse Market	41	-	Other=41	2	alon
Vodička, Vit	The house lying between the houses of Kryštol Rychter and Matěj	1	-	Religious=1	2	alone
Vodičková, Kateřina	699-II	-	-	-	-	-
Vodičková, Kateřina	second house	2	-	Religious=2	2	alone

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Books</u>	<u>Nr. Czech/ German Books</u>	<u>Book theme</u>	<u>Book location</u>	<u>Book storage type</u>
Vodňanský, Václav	698-II	-	-	-	-	-
Wolmut, Bonifacius	*opposite the belltower of St Stephen	7	0/3	Other=7	3	chest (exclusive), chest (exclusive)
z Baublnus, Simeon Polidor	698-II	-	-	-	-	-
z Bernarečku, Anna Zlútká	792-II	34	26/207	Religious=21, Mixed with Religious=2, History=1, Other=10	1, 3, 4, 6	alone / cabinet (exclusive), chest (exclusive) / chest (tapestries, dishware)
z Bernarečku, Anna Zlútká	new structure (nové slavení)	89	19/0	Mixed with Religious=67, History=1, Other=21	22, 23, 25, 26	chest / chest (clothes) / cabinet (documents) / cabinet (exclusive)
z Cimperku, Bartoloměj Zvonaf	747-II	19	1/0	Religious=17, Other=2	1, 4	alone / chest (exclusive)
z Cimperku, Brikci Zvonaf	747-II	56	3/38	Religious=39, History=1, Other=16	21, 27, 28, 30	chest (clothes) / shelf (exclusive), alone / alone / desk (documents, jewelry)
z Cimperku, Zikmund Zvonaf	Květonská street	-	-	-	-	-
z Časletovců, Jiří Pergar	791-II	28	6/10	Religious=14, Mixed with Religious=3, Law=1, Other=10	t, 2, 5, 13, 15	chest (clothes, art) / alone / cabinet (household obj., dishware, art) / cabinet (household obj., dishware, art, documents) / alone

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Books</u>	<u>Nr. Czech/ German Books</u>	<u>Book theme</u>	<u>Book location</u>	<u>Book storage type</u>
z Cichanová, Anna Steflíková	Srokástreet	2	2/0	Other=2	1	cabinet (exclusive)
z Lukonos, Jiřík Švik	792-II	60	1/0	Religious=5, History=9, Law=5, Other=41	6	cabinet (exclusive), chest (exclusive), alone
z Lukonos, Jiřík Švik	new structure (nové stavení)	51	-	Religious=2, Other=49	1, 2, 4	cabinet (exclusive) / cabinet (exclusive) / chest (exclusive)
z Radkova, Tomáš Vodička	1057-II or 1058-II	-	-	-	-	-
z Řejištna, Ladislav Gallus	749-II	9	-	Religious=6, Law=2, Other=1	2, 4	alone / alone
z Rovin, Václav Kamaryt ml	846-II	148	22/0	Religious 43, Mixed with Religious=103, History=2	17, 18, 19	cabinet (documents, art, coin, jewelry), bench (exclusive) / alone / chest (exclusive), chest (exclusive)
z Vorličné, Mikuláš Růže	853-II	88	-	Religious=1, Mixed=70, Other=17	13, 17, 18	alone / cabinet (exclusive) / alone
z Vysoké, Tobláš Nejedlý	36b-II	5	?	Religious=2, Law=3	1	alone
z Vysoké, Tobláš Nejedlý	37(a?)-II	-	-	-	-	-

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Books</u>	<u>Nr. Czech/ German Books</u>	<u>Book theme</u>	<u>Book location</u>	<u>Book storage type</u>
Z Vysoké, Tobiáš Nejedlý	36b or 37a-II	4	?	Religious=4	2	alone
ze Zvoníř, Daniel Rubín	Na bílé	4	-	Religious=1, Other=3	2, 5	chest (exclusive) / chest (exclusive)
Zlatý, Jan	Široká street	-	-	-	-	-

Chart II.5.31. Master Picture List by Household

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Pictures</u>	<u>Picture location</u>	<u>Picture Genre</u>
Albrecht, Kešpar	837-II	4	2	Other=4
Brzobohatý, Jan	1056-II or 1057-II			-
Brzobohatý, Jan Eustachius	Na poféč - "between the houses called Kuilkú and the lane Daniele Ernden Ivno on both sides"	6	1	Other=6
Brzobohatý, Malěj	1056-II or 1057-II		-	-
Fayfr, Melkhar	Siroká sleeč - "on the corner opposite Mikulaš Jordan"		-	-
Frik, Jilfik	785/442-II		-	-
Gratous, Baptista	"near the Jewish Garden"	7	3	Other=7
Gratous, Mandalena	"near the Jewish Garden"		-	-
Hranický, Martin	902-II		-	-
Hvězdová, Magdalena	782-II	3	1	Religious=2, Other=1
Kalivoda, Jan	"across from the parish house of St. Stephen on the corner"			
Kolářka, Markyta	748-II or 746-II		-	-

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Pictures</u>	<u>Picture location</u>	<u>Picture Genre</u>
Kotlíčka, Markyta	"second house on Stroká Street next to the houses of Blášků Zvonal"	-	-	-
Kříž, Jan	896-II	-	-	-
Křížová, Magdalena	"across from the parish house of St. Stephan on the corner"	-	-	-
Kyndron, Thomas	"near the City Hall on the corner"	-	-	-
Lesná, Jiřík	775-II	-	-	-
Lopatský, Ctibítan	Zldovská street	2	4	Portrait=1
Lynder, Jiřík	"opposite Řehoř Pátek"	-	-	-
Makalka, Lkdmila	795-II	-	-	-
Masopust, Martin	832-II	3	2, 3	Historical=1, Other=2
Nysl, Jan	358-II - "In the house of Jiří Zygel"	-	-	-
Patková, Anna	Charvatská street	-	-	-
Pergerová, Maryanna & Alžběta Šviková	791-II	-	-	-

<u>Person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Pictures</u>	<u>Picture location</u>	<u>Picture Genre</u>
Pernikář, Ľubyan	778-II		-	-
Pernikář, Ľubyan	second house		-	-
po Martinu Cukrářovi, Voršila	Siroká street - "between the houses (u Kaufmanských) and of Michal Rozvíly"		-	-
Samec, Adam	852-II		-	-
Ston, Jan	777-II		-	-
Smolík, Jiří	780/781-II		-	-
Talx, Adam	783-II & 784-II		-	-
Vodák, Zikmund	1074-II		-	-
Vodička, Václav	Horse Market	1	3	Other=1
Vodička, Vít	"The house lying between the houses of Karel of Rychter and Marie Bilynská"		-	-
Vodičková, Kateřina	699-II	2	1	Other=2
Vodičková, Kateřina	second house		-	-

<u>Person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Pictures</u>	<u>Picture location</u>	<u>Picture Genre</u>
Vodňanský, Václav	698-II		-	-
Wolmut, Bonifacius	"opposite the bell tower of St. Stephen"	7	3	Other=7
z Baubinus, Simeon Polidor	698-II	6	2	Historical=6
z Bemarečku, Anna Zlutická	792-II	39	2, 3, 6	Historical=2, Other=37
z Bemarečku, Anna Zlutická	new structure (nové stavení)		-	-
z Cimperku, Bartoloměj Zvonar	747-II	1	1	Historical=1
z Cimperku, Erik Zvonar	747-II	28	1, 21, 27, 28, 30	Religious=3, Historical=2, Portrait=1, Other=21
z Cimperku, Zikmund Zvonar	Květonská street	1	2	Religious=1
z Castalovic, Jitji Perger	791-II	37	5, 7, 8, 13	Other=37
z Cichanova, Anna Stefková	Siroká street	6	5	Other=6
z Lukonos, Jiřík Švik	792-II	12	1	Portrait=12
z Lukonos, Jiřík Švik	new structure (nové stavení)		-	-

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Pictures</u>	<u>Picture location</u>	<u>Picture Genre</u>
z Radkova, Tomáš Vodička	1057-II or 1058-II		-	-
z Rajštna, Ladislav Gallus	749-II	1	1	Portrait=1
z Rovin, Václav Kamaryt ml	846-II	33	13, 17, 18, 19	Other=33
z Vošičné, Mikuláš Růžička	853-II	2	1	Other=2
z Vysoké, Tomáš Nejedlý	36b-II	3	1, 2	Religious=1, Other=2
z Vysoké, Tomáš Nejedlý	37(a?)-II			
z Vysoké, Tomáš Nejedlý	36b or 37a-II		-	-
ze Zvovří, Daniel Rubín	Na bílém			
Zlatý, Jan	Široká street			

Chart II.5.32. Size of Art & Cultural Object Collections by Household

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Books</u>	<u>Total Nr. Pictures</u>	<u>Jewelry</u>	<u>Clothing Acces.</u>	<u>Art Dishware</u>	<u>Art General</u>
Abrecht, Kašper	837-II		4			small	
Brzobohalý, Jan	1056-II or 1057-II	2					
Brzobohalý, Jan Eustachius	Na poličci - "between the houses called Kutků and the late Daniele"		6			small	
Brzobohalý, Metěj	1056-II or 1057-II	4		small	standard	medium	medium
Fajfr, Melchar	Siroká street - "on the corner opposite Mikuláš Jordan"						
Frič, Jiřík	785/442-II	25		small	small	small	small
Grafeus, Baplista	"near the Jewish Garden"	10	7				
Grafeus, Magdalena	"near the Jewish Garden"	5		small			small
Hranický, Matín	802-II	1		small		small	
Hvězdová, Magdalena	782-II		3		small	small	
Kalivoda, Jan	"across from the parish house of St. Stephen on the corner"	9			small	small	small
Kolářka, Merkyta	748-II or 746-II	11		small		small	
Kolářka, Merkyta	"second house on Siroká Street next to the houses of Brichož Zvonář"						
Klíž, Jan	896-II	26		large	small	small	large
Klížová, Magdalena	"across from the parish house of St. Stephen on the corner"	3			small	small	small

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Books</u>	<u>Total Nr. Pictures</u>	<u>Jewelry</u>	<u>Clothing Acces.</u>	<u>Art Dishware</u>	<u>Art General</u>
Kyndrmon, Thomas	"near the City Hall on the corner"	5		small	small	small	small
Lesnar, Jiřík	775-II						
Lopatský, Ciprián	Zklovská street	2	2			small	
Linder, Jiřík	"opposite Pátek"						
Makelka, Lidmila	795II						
Masopust, Martin	832-II	4	3	small	standard	medium	small
Nysl, Jan	35a-II - "in the house of Jiří Zyger"						
Patková, Anna	Charvatské street	15				small	
Pejgerová, Maryanna & Alžběta Šviková	791-II			small	standard	small	small
Pernikář, Burián	778-II	5					small
Pernikář, Burián	second house						
po Martinu Cukrářovi, Voršile	Stroká street - between the houses (u Kaufimských) and of	15		small	small	medium	medium
Samec, Adam	852-II						
Slon, Jan	777-II	6				small	
Smolík, Jiří	780/781-II	1					

<u>PERSON</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Books</u>	<u>Total Nr. Pictures</u>	<u>Jewelry</u>	<u>Clothing Acces.</u>	<u>Art Dishware</u>	<u>Art General</u>
Talek, Adam	783-II & 784-II					small	small
Vodak, Zikmund	1074-II	5		large	exceptional	large	medium
Vodička, Václav	Horse Market	41	1	small	small	medium	small
Vodička, Vlt	"The house lying between the houses of Kryštof Pychter and	1					small
Vodíčková, Kateřina	699-II		2			small	
Vodíčková, Kateřina	second house	2		small		small	
Vodňanský, Václav	698-II						
Volmut Bonifacius	"opposite the bell tower of St. Stephan"		7				
z Baubinus, Simeon Polidar	698-II		6	small		small	small
z Bernárečku, Anna Žulická	792-II	34	39	medium	standard	large	large
z Bernárečku, Anna Žulická	new structure (nové slavení)	89					
z Cimperku, Bartoloměj Zvonař	747-II	19	1		small	small	small
z Cimperku, Brikcl Zvonař	747-II	56	28	small	small	small	small
z Cimperku, Zikmund Zvonař	Květonská street		1	small	small	small	small
z Castalovic, Jiří Perger	791-II	28	37	small	standard	medium-large	small

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr Books</u>	<u>Total Nr. Pictures</u>	<u>Jewelry</u>	<u>Clothing Access</u>	<u>Art Dishware</u>	<u>Art General</u>
z Cichanová, Anna Štelkiová	Sirokástreet	2	6	small			small
z Lukonos, Jitka Svík	792 II	60	12	large	excellent	large	large
z Lukonos, Jitka Svík	new structure (nové stavení)	51					
z Faulkova, Tomáš Vedčák	1057 II or 1058 II			small		small	
z Rajštléna, Ledislav Gallus	749 II	9	1		standard	medium	
z Pováň, Václav Kamaryt ml	846-II	148	33	large	small	medium	large
z Vorničné, Mikuláš Růžek	853-II	88	2	medium	standard	medium	small-medium
z Vysoké, Tobiáš Nejedlý	36b-II	5	3			medium- exceptional	
z Vysoké, Tobiáš Nejedlý	37(a?)-II					small	
z Vysoké, Tobiáš Nejedlý	36b or 37a II	4				small	
ze Zvoňil, Daniel Rubín	Na blátě	4		small	standard	medium	medium-large
Zlatý, Jan	Sirokástreet						

Chart II.5.33. Location of Art & Cultural Object Collections by Household

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Clothing Access location</u>	<u>Jewelry location</u>	<u>Art Dishware location</u>	<u>Art General location</u>	<u>Clothes location</u>	<u>Bed location</u>	<u>Storage location</u>
Altrechl, Kašpar	837-II			3			3	1 (wine)
Brzobohatý, Jan	1056-II or 1057-II					1	1, 3	1 (personal & art)
Brzobohatý, Jan Eustachius	Na portě - "between the houses called Kulíkú and the late Dantele Emden lying on both sides"			6		6	2, 5, 6	3 (cooking objects plus), 7 (horse riding)
Brzobohatý, Matěj	1056-II or 1057-II	2, 9	2, 9	2	2	2	2, 5, 6, 8, 10	2 (personal & art), 9 (personal)
Fayr, Melichar	Síroká street - "on the corner opposite Mikuláš Jordan"						3	-
Frič, Jilík	785/442-II	2	2	2	1	2	2, 6	-
Grafens, Bapilisa	"near the Jewish Garden"						2	-
Grafens, Mandalena	"near the Jewish Garden"		1		1	5	1, 2, 3, 6	

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Clothing Access location</u>	<u>Jewelry location</u>	<u>Art Dishware location</u>	<u>Art General location</u>	<u>Clothes location</u>	<u>Bed location</u>	<u>Storage location</u>
Hranický, Martin	902-II		4	4		4	4, 5	1 (wood)
Hvězdová, Magdalena	782-II	3		3	2, 3	3, 5	1, 2, 3, 4	5 (mixed & art), 6 (mixed)
Kallivoda, Jen	"across from the parish house of St. Stephen on the corner"					3, 4	4, 5, 10, 11	4 (mixed), 6 (food)
Kotlářka, Markyta	748-II or 746-II		1	1		1, 7	1, 2, 3, 7, 8	1 (mixed & art)
Kotlářka, Markyta	"second house on Široká Street next to the houses of Brikcio Zvonel"						6	5 (tools)
Křiz, Jen	896-II	1	1	1	1	-	-	
Křizová, Magdalena	"across from the parish house of St. Stephen on the corner"	3		3	3	4	3, 4	2 (mixed)
Kyndrmon, Thomas	"near th City Hall on the corner"	2	2	2	2	2	1, 2, 5	2 (personal & art), 3 (wine)

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Clothing Access- location</u>	<u>Jewelry location</u>	<u>Art Dishware location</u>	<u>Art General location</u>	<u>Clothes location</u>	<u>Bed location</u>	<u>Storage location</u>
Lesnor, Jiřík	775-II					2	1. 2. 3. 5. 6	2 (personal), 6 (mixed)
Lopatsky, Ciprian	Zidovská street			3		3. 4	3. 4. 5. 6	7 (dishware), 13 (food & grain)
Lynder, Jiřík	"opposite Rehof Pátek"					2	2. 3	-
Makalka, Lidmila	795-II				8	2	2. 4. 5. 6. 7	-
Masobust, Marlin	832-II	4	4	4	4	4	3. 4	4 (personal & art)
Nysl, Jan	35a-II - "In the house of "Jifi Zypel"	1				2	2	-
Patková, Anna	Charvátská street			1		1. 3. 10	1. 2. 6. 7. 8. 10	5 (cooking objects plus), 10 (personal & art)
Pergerová, Maryana & Alžběta Šviková	791-II	1	1	1	1	1	-	-

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Clothing Access location</u>	<u>Jewelry location</u>	<u>Art Dishware location</u>	<u>Art General location</u>	<u>Clothes location</u>	<u>Bed location</u>	<u>Storage location</u>
Perníkát, Buryan	778-II			11	11	2	1, 7	2 (personal), 10 (food), 11 (mixed & art)
Perníkát, Buryan	second house					1, 2	1	-
po Martinu Cukrářovi, Voršile	Sírká street - "between the houses (u Kaufimských) and of Michal Rozylý"	2, 9	1, 2, 9	1, 2, 9	1, 2, 9	1, 2, 7	1, 2, 6, 8	7 (clothes)
Samer, Adam	652-II					3,	1, 3, 4	4 (mixed)
Ston, Jan	777-II			3		2	3	-
Šneplik, Jiří	780/781-II					14	4, 5, 7, 8, 14	9 (wine), 12 (beer)
Tárek, Adam	783-II & 784-II	4		1, 4	4		1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8	1 (personal & art), 4 (personal & art), 10 (cooking objects)
Vodak, Zikmund	1074-II	2, 5	5	5	5	1, 2, 5	2, 3, 4, 5	5 (mixed & art), 6 (wine)

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Clothing Acces- sories location</u>	<u>Jewelry location</u>	<u>Art Dishware location</u>	<u>Art General location</u>	<u>Clothes location</u>	<u>Bed location</u>	<u>Storage location</u>
Vodička, Václav	Horse Market	1	1	1	1, 2	1, 2	2, 3, 4, 5, 6	1 (personal & art), 2 (mixed & art), 5 (weapons)
Vodička, Vít	"The house lying between the houses of Kryštof Rychler and Malěj Bilynský"				6	2	2, 3, 5, 6	2 (mixed & art), 3 (mixed)
Vodíčková, Kateřina	699 II			4		4	3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11	4 (mixed), 6 (dishware)
Vodíčková, Kateřina	second house		3	3	3	2	-	1 (mixed)
Vodňanský, Václav	698-II						-	5 (wire)
Wolmut, Bonifacius	"opposite the bell tower of St. Stephan"					3	1	3 (mixed)
z Baublinus, Simeon Poljor	698-II		7	7	7	3	3, 5, 6	3 (personal & art)
z Bernerečku, Anna Zuřická	792-II	1, 3	1	1, 3, 6	1	1, 5	1, 2,	1 (mixed & art), 4 (mixed), 5 (clothes), 9 (mixed)

<u>Person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Clothing Access- location</u>	<u>Jewelry location</u>	<u>Art Dishware location</u>	<u>Art General location</u>	<u>Clothes location</u>	<u>Bed location</u>	<u>Storage location</u>
ž Pernarečku, Anna Žulická	renewstructure (nové stavení)					21, 23, 27	5, 6, 8, 16, 20, 21	23 (mixed) 24 (mixed). 27 (mixed)
z Cimperku, Bartoloměj Zvonaf	747-II	4, 7		5, 11	1, 18	4, 5, 7	1, 3, 4, 5, 14	2 (cooking objects plus), 5 (mixed & art), 18 (mixed & art)
z Cimperku, Brikci Zvonaf	747-II	27	30	27	27, 30	10, 11, 17, 21	1, 10, 11, 16, 19, 21, 27	4 (mixed), 14 (wine), 15 (wine plus), 23 27 (personal)
z Cimperku, Zikmund Zvonaf	Květonská street	1	1	1	1	4	3	
z Castalovic, Jilji Perger	791-II	1	1, 13, 15	1, 5, 13, 15	1, 6	1, 2, 15	2, 5, 8, 10, 14, 15	1 (mixed & art), 2 (personal & art), 4 (wine), 8 (personal & art), 15 (personal & art), 21 (wine)
ž Cichanova, Anna Štefková	Sirokástreet		9		9	1, 9	1, 2, 3	1 (personal & art)
z Lukonos, Jiljk Švik	792-II	5, 6	5, 6	6	5, 6	5, 6	3, 5, 7	2 (clothes), 4 (clothes), 5 (mixed)
z Lukonos, Jiljk Švik	renewstructure (nové stavení)			7		1, 4	1, 4	7 (mixed), 11 (wine)

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Clothing Access location</u>	<u>Jewelry location</u>	<u>Art Dishware location</u>	<u>Art General location</u>	<u>Clothes location</u>	<u>Bed location</u>	<u>Storage location</u>
z Radkova, Tomáš Vodička	1057-II or 1058-II	1	1	1	1	1		-
z Rajštléna, Ladislav Galius	749-II			2		2	1, 2, 4, 7	12 (wine)
z Rovin, Václav Kamerýř ml	846-II	17	17, 22	17, 19	17, 19	16, 17, 19	8, 9, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21	4 (wine plus), 6 (mixed), 18 (mixed), 19 (mixed)
z Vorličné, Mikuláš Růžek	853-II	1	1	1, 5	1	1	1, 4, 16, 18	1 (personal & art), 3 (clothes & linen), 4 (mixed), 5 (mixed & art), 6 (bed linen), 7 (bed linen), 8 (horse-riding) 9 (food & grain) 10 (mixed), 11 (bed linen), 12 (bed linen), 21 (food & grain) 22 (food & grain) 24 (wine)
z Vysoké, Tomáš Nejedlý	36b-II			4, 5		1, 4, 23	1, 2, 3, 12, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 28	1 (mixed & art), 3 (wine plus), 4 (dishware), 7 (mixed & art), 9 (wine), 10 (mixed), 11 (wine), 12 (mixed), 14 (wine), 15 (wine), 25 (cooking objects plus), 27 (wine)
z Vysoké, Tomáš Nejedlý	37(n?)-II			2, 3		1, 2		1 (clothes & linen)
z Vysoké, Tomáš Nejedlý	36b or 37a-II					-	1	
za Zvonil, Daniel Rubín	Na bílé	2	2, 3	2, 3	2, 3	2, 8	1, 5, 7, 8	5 (mixed), 7 (mixed), 14 (mixed)
Zlatý, Jan	Siroká street		8			8	2, 6	4 (cooking objects), 5

Chart II.5.34. Gifts of Material Culture

<u>person</u>	<u>Gifts of Material Culture</u>
Cukrář. Martin	half a centýř of pewter dishware to be given to Ludmila (daughter) by Voršile (wife)
Grafeus. Baptista	none
Hasik. Kryštof	all pewter dishware to Martha „who served me and my wife long years”. tablets to write on to Master Jan Sturpanský
Hvězdová. Magdalena	everyday clothes, two goblets, two rings to Kateřina (daughter of Matěj Brzobohatý)
Kalivoda. Jan	everyday clothes from former wife to my daughters in equal parts, cash, clothes and tin and copper dishware to wife and children, silver (daughter) „in order that she remembers her mother”, firearms to Daniel and Ondřej (sons)
Kobišky. Kateřina	none
Kotlář. Buryan	12 centýři of honey to Adam (son), silver goblet to Anna (Adam's daughter), fur coat to Martin Kaudclek in Čáslav
Kotlářka. Markyta	none

person**Gifts of Material Culture**

Křiž, Jan	silver <i>tulich</i> , all everyday clothes, golden ring with herald of Jiřík Skrabka, three flutes, two violins to Adam (son of Anna Sausová), dress, engilded wltun and without to New City burgher Jiřík Brocet, goblet newly engilded wltun and without to Václav Kundrat, two silver belts to A. Appolena, Justine and Ludmile (children of Jan Talkmer), golden ring with onyx stone to Zdeněk Brodsky z Třebon, golden chain and three other items to Lidmila Brodský
Lesnar, Jiřík	see real estate
Masopust, Martin	none
Švik, Daniel	two golden goblets in memory of my grandfather Mikuláš Karyta z Řezna to Jiřík, spoons to Johanna, and two golden goblets, a pear given to me by Mikuláš Karyta, and a third goblet given to my by Mandalenus z Tanniclda
Tatek, Adam	see real estate
z Cimperku, Bartoš	„large bell which Imperial Prince Karl ordered for 1000 kop Meissen“ to wife
z Cimperku, Brikci Jan	two silver goblets, engilded ring to Voršile (daughter of late Simeon Strejc); 12 silver spoons to Jan Kamaryt z Rovin (my ward), other engilded items to other unspecified people
z Cimperku, Jan Kryštof	vest and small glass goblet to Ondřej Knofliček (guardian)
z Čichanova, Anna Štefková	three gold belts, four silver bells, gold necklace, and other jewelry including rings with stones (see description), clothes, bedlinen to Voršile; bedlinen on large and small bed in „komora“ across from svietnice“, bedlinen in „upstairs svietnice“, and in rooms where children sleep to Stefán (son of Tobiaš); golden chain and fur coat to Lidmila (daughter of Tobiaš); two engilded silver mugs to Oldřich Rabštcjnský z Čichanova

Chart II.5.35. Number and Distribution of Beds by Household

<u>Person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr of Beds</u>	<u>Bed location</u>	<u>Nr Beds/location</u>	<u>"Bedroom" location</u>	<u>Designated Sleeping location</u>
Albrecht, Kašpar	837-II	3	3	3	3	-
Brzobohatý, Jan	1056-II or 1057-II	9	1, 3	3, 6	1	3 (Adam)
Brzobohatý, Jan Eustachius	Na poličci - "between the houses called Kuličků and the late Daněle Emden"	7	2, 5, 6	2, 2, 3	6	-
Brzobohatý, Matěj	1056-II or 1057-II	8	2, 5, 6, 8, 10	2, 1, 3, 1, 1	2, 6	2 (deceased), 6 (children)
Fayfr, Melchior	Stoká street - "on the corner opposita Mikulaš Jordan"	2	3	2	3	-
Frič, Jiřík	785/442-II	3	2, 6	1, 2	2	-
Grafeus, Baptista	"near the Jewish Garden"	2	2	2	-	-
Grafeus, Magdalena	"near the Jewish Garden"	4	1, 2, 3, 6	1, 1, 1, 1	-	-
Hranický, Martin	902-II	5	4, 5	3, 2	4	-
Hvězdová, Magdalena	782-II	4	1, 2, 3, 4	1, 1, 1, 1	4	-
Kallvođa, Jan	"across from the parish house of St. Stephen on the corner"	7	4, 5, 10, 11	2, 2, 1, 2	5, 11	11 (female cooks)

<u>Person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr Beds</u>	<u>Bed location</u>	<u>Nr. Beds/location</u>	<u>"Bedroom" location</u>	<u>Designated Sleeping location</u>
Kotlíkka, Markyta	746-II or 746-II	9	1, 2, 3, 7, 8	1, 4, 1, 2, 1	2, 3, 7	2 (apprentices), 3 (female cooks)
Kotlíkka, Markyta	"second house on Siroká Street next to the houses of Brtkučho Žvonař"	1	6	1	6	-
Kříž, Jan	896-II	0	-	-		
Křížová, Magdalena	"across from the parish house of St. Stephan on the corner"	5	3, 4	2, 3	3	-
Kyndrmon, Thomas	"near the City Hall on the corner"	5	1, 2, 5	1, 3, 1	2, 5	-
Lesner, Jiřík	775-II	5	1, 2, 3, 5, 6	1, 1, 1, 1, 1	5	-
Lopatský, Ctibítan	Židovská street	4	3, 4, 5, 6	1, 1, 1, 1	6	3 (deceased)
Lynder, Jiřík	"opposite Rehoř Pátek"	5	2, 3	2, 3	2, 3	-
Makaika, Lidmila	795-II	14	2, 4, 5, 6, 7	1, 1, 4, 3, 5	2, 4, 5, 7	
Masopusl, Martin	832-II	6	3, 4	3, 3	3, 4	-
Nyst, Jan	35a-II - "in the house of Jiří Žygel"	2	2	3	2	

<u>Person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Beds</u>	<u>Bed location</u>	<u>Nr. Beds/location</u>	<u>"Bedroom" location</u>	<u>Designated Sleeping location</u>
Peřková, Anna	Cheravská street	8	1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 10	2, 1, 1, 1, 1, 2	7, 10	-
Pergerová, Maryanna & Alžběta Šviková	791-11	0	-	-	-	-
Pernkář, Buryan	778-11	2	1, 7	1, 1	7	7 (cook)
Pernkář, Buryan	second house	1	1	1	-	-
po Martinu Cukrářovi, Varšile	Široká street - "between the house 66 (u Kaufmanských) and of Michal Plozýř"	4	1, 2, 6, 8	1, 1, 1, 1	2, 8	8 (cook)
Sarnec, Adam	852-11	10	1, 3, 4	3, 2, 5	2	-
Šon, Jan	777-11	2	3	2	-	-
Smolík, Jiří	780/781-11	11	4, 5, 7, 8, 14	1, 3, 5, 1, 1	5, 8	8 (cooks)
Tátek, Adam	783-11 & 784-11	13	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8	1, 4, 2, 2, 2, 2	1, 4, 5, 8	7 (cook), 8 (pachol).
Vodák, Zikmund	1074-11	5	2, 3, 4, 5	1, 1, 1, 2	3, 4	-
Vodička, Václav	Horse Market	7	2, 3, 4, 5, 6	1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 3	6	-

<u>person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr. Beds</u>	<u>Bed location</u>	<u>Nr. Beds/location</u>	<u>"Bedroom" location</u>	<u>Designated Sleeping location</u>
Vodička, Vít	"The house lying between the houses of Kryštof Rychter and Matěj Bilvinsk"	5	2, 3, 5, 6	1, 2, 1, 1	2	
Vodičková, Kateřina	699-II	16	3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11	3, 2, 1, 3, 5, 2	3, 5, 8, 9, 11	5 (female cooks)
Vodičková, Kateřina	second house	0	-	-	-	-
Vodňanský, Václav	698-II	0	-	-	-	-
Wolmut, Bonifacius	"opposite the bell tower of St. Stephen"	1	1	1	-	-
z Baubínus, Simeon Polldor	698-II	7	3, 5, 6	2, 3, 2	3, 5	-
z Bernarečku, Anna Zlůtická	792-II	4	1, 2,	3, 1	-	-
z Bernarečku, Anna Zlůtická	new structure (nové slavení)	10	5, 6, 8, 16, 20, 21	1, 2, 2, 1, 3, 1	5, 16, 20, 21	21 (deceased)
z Cimperku, Bartoloměj Zvonář	747-II	12	1, 3, 4, 5, 14	1, 4, 4, 2, 1	3, 4	3 (apprentices)
z Cimperku, Břikcí Zvonář	747-II	12	1, 10, 11, 16, 19, 21, 27	1, 1, 3, 2, 2, 2, 1	10	
z Cimperku, Zikmund Zvonář	Květoňská street	2	3	2	3	-

<u>Person</u>	<u>house number</u>	<u>Total Nr Beds</u>	<u>Bed location</u>	<u>Nr. Beds/location</u>	<u>*Bedroom* location</u>	<u>Designated Sleeping location</u>
z Časlatovic, Jiří Perger	791-II	42	2, 6, 8, 10, 14, 15	2, 1, 3, 1, 2, 32	2, 8, 15	10 (son), 14 (children)
z Čchanova, Anna Stefková	Sirokástreet	5	1, 2, 3	2, 1, 2	1, 3	-
z Lukonos, Jiřík Švik	792-II	6	3, 5, 7	3, 1, 2	-	5 (deceased), 7 (deceased's wife)
z Lukonos, Jiřík Švik	new structure (nové slávení)	5	1, 4	3, 2	4	1
z Řadkova, Tomáš Vodčeka	1057-II or 1058-II	0	-	-	-	-
z Rajštěna, Ladislav Gallus	749-II	8	1, 2, 4, 7	1, 2, 1, 4	7	-
z Rovín, Václav Kamarýt ml	846-II	23	8, 9, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21	2, 1, 2, 1, 1, 6, 6, 4	16	16 (female cook)
z Vortičné, Mikuláš Růže	853-II	6	1, 4, 16, 18	1, 1, 3, 1	-	13 (Jan), 16 (children)
z Vysoké, Tobiáš Nejedlý	36b-II	21	1, 2, 3, 12, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26	1, 1, 3, 1, 1, 4, 2, 1, 2, 2, 2	1, 7, 13, 16	22 (Jindřich)
z Vysoké, Tobiáš Nejedlý	37(a7)-II	0	-	-	18, 20, 26	-
z Vysoké, Tobiáš Nejedlý	36b or 37a-II	1	1	1	-	1 (deceased)
ze Zvovří, Daniel Růbín	Na blatě	8	1, 5, 7, 8	3, 2, 1, 2	8	1
Zlatý, Jan	Širokástreet	5	2, 6	3, 2	2, 6	6 (apprentices)

Abbreviations

- AMP - Archiv Hlavního města Prahy [Archive of the Capital City of Prague]
APH - Archiv Pražského hradu [Archive of the Prague Castle]
AS - Apelační Soud [Appellate Court]
AUC - Acta Universitatis Carolinae
BVNWD - Beiträge zur Volkskultur in Nordwestdeutschland
ČAFJVSU - Česká akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění [Czech Academy of Emperor Franz Josef for Science, Belle Letres and Art]
ČČH - Český časopis historický [Czech Historical Journal]
ČČM - Časopis českého musea [Journal of the Czech Museum]
ČSČH - Československý časopis historický [Czechoslovak Historical Journal]
ČSAV - Československá akademie věd [Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences]
DP - Documenta Pragensis
FHB - Folio Historica Bohemica
JKSAK - Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses
JSH - Jihočeský sborník historický [Historical Journal of Southern Bohemia]
NM - Národní muzeum v Praze [The National Museum in Prague]
PA - Památky archaeologické a mistopisné [Archaeological & Topographical Monuments]
PSH - Pražský sborník historický [Journal of the History of Prague]
SAP - Sborník archivní práce [Journal of Archival Studies]
Sb.Ak.Wien, phil.-hist. Kl. - Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse
SČ - Sněmy české [Proceedings of the Bohemian Diet]
SPDMHP - Sborník příspěvku k dějinám hlavního města Prahy [Journal for Contributions Towards a History of the Capital City of Prague]
SÚA - Státní ústřední archiv v Praze [Central State Archive in Prague]
SÚA ŘA Fran. Praha - SÚA Řádový archiv Františkánů Praha [Archive of the Prague Chapter of the Franciscan Religious Order in the Central State Archive]
SÚRPMO - Státní ústav pro rekonstrukci památkových měst a objektů [State Office for Landmark Preservation]
UK - Univerzita Karlova v Praze [The Charles University in Prague]
VIEGM - Veröffentlichung des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz. Abteilung für Abendländische Religionsgeschichte.

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