Architecture at the Time of the Thirty Years' War: Churches and castles in the German-speaking countries*

Wolfgang Lippmann

The effects of the Thirty Years' War varied widely with respect to individual regions. Some areas suffered more heavi-ly[1] than others. Nor did the battles rage equally strong in all parts of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. It is therefore impossible to speak of a con-sistent architectural development in Ger-many.

During the Habsburg Dynasty to-wards the end of the sixteenth century, hardly any significant buildings were erected, as most moneys were needed for the war against the Turks. When some-thing was built, it was usually a fortress along the Hungarian border. Around the turn of the century, Vienna experienced a strong resurgence of architectural activ-ity. 1603 saw the beginning of construc-tion on the Franciscan Church, and in 1607 the Jesuit Church "am Hof" was renovated in a baroque style. But build-ing activity did not really gain momen-tum until 1618, when Emperor Matthias moved his residence to the city. In short succession a host of order churches were founded or renewed.[2] Meanwhile around 1620–30, at a time when construction had virtually come to a standstill in most of Germany, other parts of the Habsburg dynasty were experiencing the beginning of various major building projects. While modernisation work around 1620 on Kremsmünster and Göttweig monastery concentrated on the churches, the monas-teries of Seckau (from 1619–1625) and St. Lambrecht (1639/40–ca. 1660) pri-marily had their cloister buildings reno-vated. In Innsbruck, the former Jesuit Church (1619–22) was begun, but not completed until 1646, during which a comedy theatre was built from 1628 to 1630. Starting in 1625, the impressive castle of Eggenberg[3] was built near Graz. In 1628, after years of construction, the consecration of the Salzburg Cathedral could finally be celebrated, where nearly all members of the Catholic League were in attendance.[4] Building activity in Salzburg, as in many other cities after 1620, concentrated on reinforcing city fortifications.

Bohemia and Moravia were also spar-ed, for the most part, from the destruc-tion of war. Following the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620, a semblance of peace could be established there, despite the persistent fighting in neighbouring regions. These two Bohemian provinces saw not only the raising of religious buildings, as in Bavaria, but also of numerous noble residencies and palaces.

The duchy of Bavaria experienced a similar development. Though it was initial-ly weakened financially through its con-tributions to the League, it was not real-ly affected by the war until sometime later. It is therefore not surprising that much building activity even occurred during the Thirty Years' War and con-tinued through the beginning of the 1630s. The buildings were predominate-ly churches. A host of pilgrimage church-es and order churches were established through the support of the Wittelsbachs, who assumed the role of protector of Catholicism in Germany, fortifying the Catholic church in its territories.[5] The Jesuits played a central role in Bavaria, founding almost twenty settlements betw-een 1556 and ca. 1630, as well as build-ing some order churches after the out-break of war.[6]

Additionally, a variety of cloister churches[7] and above all pilgrimage church-es were built in the years between 1618 and 1630: St. Michael in Violau (1617–20) and the Chapel of the Five Saints in Aislingen (1629–30), both near Dillingen; the parish and pilgrimage church Maria Himmelfahrt in Tuntenhausen (1628–29, consecrated 1630), as well as the
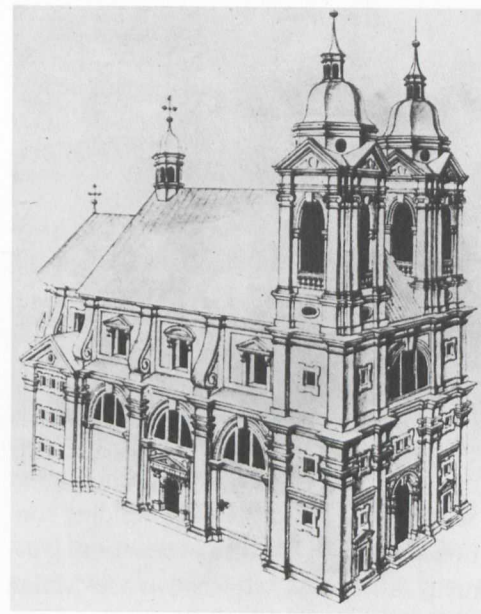

Fig. 1: *Draft of the Holy Trinity Church in Prague* (since 1624: S. Maria de Victoria), ca. 1611; Prague, Muzeum hlavního města Prahy

Maria Eck Chapel near Traunstein, com-pleted in several phases between 1635 and 1642–43. But can these various foun-dations in Bavaria be explained merely from the historical context, as a result of a more widespread turning to religion in the face of impending war?

In the Imperial free city of Augsburg, which was pulled into war in 1632 and besieged and occupied by various aggres-sors thereafter, construction of the town hall's exterior continued until 1618, while the interior was not finished until 1624. Similarly, the town hall in the Imperial free city of Nuremburg was expanded between 1616 and 1622 with an imposing addition. The elaborate de-signs of both buildings, as representative structures of the wealthy trade centres, are worthy architectural challengers for the palaces of the time.

With the outset of war, many cities renovated their peripheral walls with re-spect to the new defensive technologies. Munich placed massive bastions in front

of the city gates. Bremen began building large rampart systems in 1623 and Lübeck accelerated the development of its fortification system, as decided in 1595 (but not completed until 1660–70). Ulm also continued strengthening its bastions and outer walls, as begun at the start of the century, transforming the city between 1616 and 1623 into a veritable fortress of the Union. Frankfurt, on the other hand, decided relatively late (1627) to set up defences, which were not completed until the end of the century. The bishopric of Mainz, because of its central position on the Rhine and Main Rivers, constantly played an important role: after the city's fortifications were developing too sluggishly at the start of the seventeenth century, work began in 1620 on the Jakobsfeste, then known as Schweickhardtsburg, where building continued through Swedish occupation. Gustavus Adolphus, who had made Mainz his headquarters, also had a military city built on the opposite bank of the Rhine in 1631, the so-called Gustavsburg, which was destroyed four years later, after the withdrawal of the Swedish troops.[8]

1. Religious architecture

The conflict between the Protestant and Catholic confessions had a major influence on the tractate literature of the sixteenth century. The Protestants, in particular, attempted to distinguish their churches, even architecturally, from those of the Catholics.[9] John Calvin, in his 1536 treatise, *Institutiones Christianae religionis*, criticised the "Dei habitacula",[10] the imposing houses of God. Johannes Aeschardt also denounced the architectural extravagance of churches in his 1617 tractate on church architecture, *Examen disputationis R. Bellarmini de Templis*, in which he proposed using the money instead for charitable Christian causes.[11] Beyond such references, however, the texts fail to offer any more concrete discussion of the form and appearance of Protestant churches, though the Temple of Solomon is often referred to as a paragon, and reconstructed mostly at
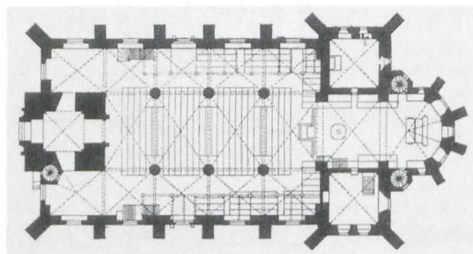

Fig. 2: Paul Francke, *Principal Church Beatae Mariae Virginis, Wolfenbüttel*, outline, 1608–ca. 1615

that time as an oblong building with three longitudinal aisles, and occasionally in the form of a basilica. Joseph Furttenbach, in his 1628 treatise *Architectura civilis* refers mainly to the Florence Duomo, expressing his partiality for the three-aisled, oblong structure with free-standing columns and a trefoiled apse.[12] Later, his 1649 thesis on *KirchenGebäw*, published posthumously by his son, offers more detail about his ideas on church architecture. Furttenbach describes the ideal church as a utilitarian building without great aesthetic elaboration: a simple rectangular space free of vaults (for better acoustics) and of supports (for unhindered views) with free hanging galleries, which he called "stages". Above the small apse there should be a library with direct access to the pulpit.[13]

While architectural theory does not offer any clear definition about the form of Protestant churches, it should not come as a surprise to discover very contradictory solutions in architectural praxis. A unique version of Protestant architecture appears in palace chapels, built primarily in Saxony and eastern regions of the empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[14] The first of their kind was constructed in Hartenfels Palace near Torgau in 1543–44 and consecrated by Martin Luther, who, it is therefore believed, also influenced its design.[15] The building is twenty-three meters long with late Gothic vaults and double galleries along the sides. The altar is set just before the chancel's back wall, with a musicians' gallery above it; a choir, as such, was not included. In the subsequent decades, the church was frequently referred to as a model of Protestant church architecture.

The choice of a more Gothic architecture around 1600 could be seen as a conscious opposition to the Renaissance and early baroque style in Italy, the centre of Catholicism. Yet this position was not always consistent. Increasingly after 1600, Renaissance forms began to appear throughout Germany. Even Protestant churches began to show "modern" Italian architectural detail, as demonstrated on the two most important churches in the Weser river region, the Stadtkirche in Bückeburg (1610–15) and the main church of Beatae Mariae Virginis in Wolfenbüttel (ca. 1608–20). Both employ the traditional Gothic hall church structure, yet the columns are topped with modern Renaissance capitals.

In this context, the construction of two other churches are of particular importance: the court Church of Our Lady in Neuburg and the former Church of the Holy Trinity in Prague. The Protestant Duke Philipp Ludwig wanted the new church of Neuburg (founded in 1603) to represent the Italian style, with two flanking towers each crowned with a dome. He intended to create a "Trutz-Michael" (Defiant Michael), and to outdo the Jesuit St. Michael's Church in Munich, completed just a few years earlier. Joseph Heintz designed the plans in obvious reference to Bohemian projects. Yet the church council found the plans problematic, and criticised the niches between the supports as dysfunctional: they could make it difficult to hear the sermon, they might lead to increased costs, and beyond that, these "anguli" (niches) were too reminiscent of the "old papal churches".[16] Ultimately, all sides agreed to build a hall with three aisles, setting galleries between the piers. The church was erected between 1607 and 1624. The difference from St. Michael's lies de facto in the design of the galleries as well as in the loss of the side chapels and transept, thereby essentially achieving a re-dimensioning of the architecture in favour of functionality.

Yet, as much as the outward appearance of the church ostensibly shares fea-

tures with the Catholic church architecture in Bavaria, particularly the Italian capitals and the ornamentation, clear references to contemporary Protestant church architecture do exist. For example, the rectangular floor plan corresponds to the main church in Wolfenbüttel, with its six piers divided into three aisles, while the elevation is reminiscent of the palace chapels in Hillerød and Heidelberg. Both Heidelberg's Friedrichsbau chapel (1601–07) as well as the church in Hillerød's Frederiksborg Palace (1602–16) are oblong buildings with side spaces instead of a transept, with a gallery above them.[17]

Catholic models played a much more significant role in the planning of the former Trinity Church in Prague. Following the 1609 decree of the "Majesty's Letter", the Lutheran parish began building a church in the Lesser Town (Malá Strana) in 1611. The project was subsidised by the Protestant rulers, as they saw it their duty to establish a Protestant cathedral in the primarily Catholic, Imperial residence city.[18] The double-tower facade of the Protestant church had a Catholic church as its model, the Trinità dei Monti church in Rome. In this way, a patron saint became crucial for the architectural form. The lack of any galleries in the interior is just as contrary to Protestant church architecture as the three chapel niches on each side of the nave. It is probable, because of the clear precedence set by the Catholic churches of the previous decades in Prague, that the Protestants – just as in Neuburg initially – were attempting to emulate the Catholic churches of the city by building the most representative church possible.

Such interchanging of floor plan types and architectural models was not only possible in multi-confessional Prague. Even in the thoroughly Catholic region of Upper Bavaria church types were borrowed from the other confession, but in this case, the Catholics sampled from Protestant church architecture. The court chapel in the Munich Residence of 1600–03 is a startling example.[19] Prince Elector Maximilian I of Bavaria, the self-named patron of the Catholic church in Germany, had his court chapel built in the style of a Saxonian Protestant palace church, initially even doing without a choir, which was later added around 1630. Another remarkable example is the St. Michael's church in Munich, which was to a great extent based on the Gesù Church in Rome. Yet during building, the Jesuits replaced the screened-off oratories with open galleries, which at that time were more common in Protestant churches.

In this regard, it would seem that the Catholics were not particularly interested in distinguishing their churches architecturally from those of the Protestants. Rather than considerations of confessional specificity, functionality and the respective regional style seem to have been more decisive criteria in choosing the type of church to build. In the case of the pilgrimage church in Tuntenhausen, the hall church form was selected as being more functional for processions.[20] Maximilian I of Bavaria appears to have opted for the Protestant palace chapel, as it economised space and it had already proved itself as a palace church.

Likewise, just as the Protestants employed the more common early baroque style in Prague and Neuburg, even reaching compromises in terms of their church forms, the Jesuits decided in favour of galleries for their monastic order churches in the Rhineland between 1590 and 1620, even decorating them mostly with late Gothic motifs.[21] This is evident insofar as the orders strove for a more uniform church architecture. The order churches in Bavaria are mainly modelled after the pilastered church, as exemplified by St. Michael's in Munich, but also show some early baroque influence. Meanwhile, the Rhineland Jesuit churches corresponded to the churches of the Bohemian Brothers, a religious community founded by fifteenth-century Hussites.[22] But here again, of primary concern was not religious belief but functionality. Both the Jesuits and their Bohemian brothers needed a place of
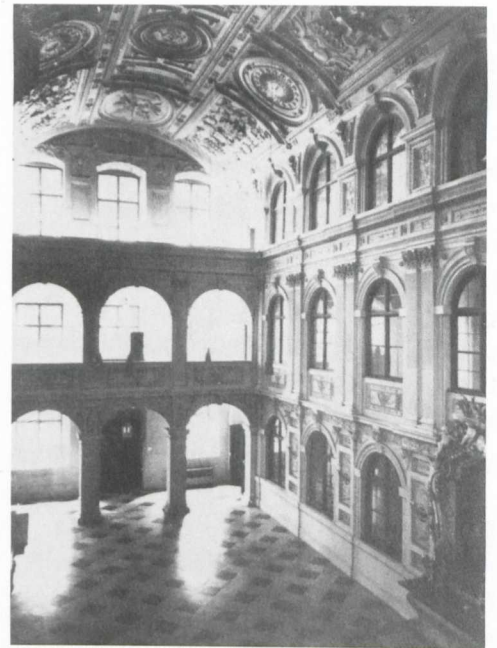

Fig. 3: *Munich Residence, Court Chapel,* interior view, 1600–30

worship tailored to their respective services, which also accommodated a larger congregation; and independent of their confession, they each favoured the church with galleries.

Confessional reasons were repeatedly used, especially by the Protestants, when choosing the architectural style, but ultimately such reasons were only of secondary importance. Though Catholics tended to favour churches with chapels and barrel vaults, while Protestants preferred galleries and Gothic hall churches, religious architecture in the seventeenth century cannot be defined absolutely according to confession.

During the Thirty Years' War, many churches were plundered and damaged, then often re-consecrated. When Imperial troops conquered a city, Protestant churches would be re-sanctified as Catholic. Or the other way around, if the Swedes and their allies took over a town, all Catholic churches became Protestant. Following the peace treaty, confessions were re-established in the various regions of the empire. The treaty stated, for example, that the Silesian principalities belonging to the Habsburgs were to be re-Catholicised, meaning all the Protestant churches had to be closed. Only
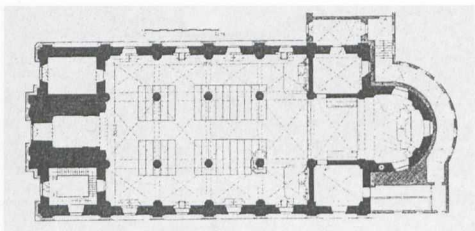
Fig. 4: *Court Chapel of Our Beloved Lady, Neuburg a. D.*, outline, 1607–18

three churches, the so-called Churches of Peace, were allowed to be built in front of the town gates of Schweidnitz (Świdnica), Jauer (Jawor), and Glogau (Głogów), between 1654 and 1658.

II. SECULAR ARCHITECTURE: ROYAL PALACES AND NOBLE RESIDENCES

Not all areas were directly affected by the initial events of the war, which allowed the completion of those buildings already under construction. This was the case with two residences, which, because of their close geographic proximity to one another, shared many similarities: the residence of the archbishop of Salzburg and that of the Wittelsbach dukes in Munich. As Bavaria's political importance grew increasingly stronger, its capital city Munich also gained new significance, which in turn was intended to be reflected in the renovation of the residence. What began as sporadic alterations under Duke Albrecht V (1550–79) to accommodate his art collection, later became a systematic renovation under his grandson Maximilian I (1597–1651).[23]

The expansion of the residence occurred mainly between 1612–17. Work on the Imperial court took precedence, with its imperial staircase and hall. From 1612 to 1616 a new frontal element, with a thirty-three window fenestration, was set before the various building section of different heights, becoming one of the most monumental facades of the residence.[24] In the years after 1618, the interior design of the residence and the completion of the garden followed, yet in general, the building activity seems to have slowed. Between 1619 and 1638, massive bastions

had to be built to protect the city from aggressors. Construction was brought to a complete standstill in the spring of 1632, when Gustavus Adolphus' advancing troops conquered much of Bavaria, and Munich was only able to buy its freedom through a large ransom.

The architectural division of the residence's various facades was merely painted on, and was intended to articulate to the viewers of the day through the selection of historical models certain political ideas and issues. While rustication can be seen as a general trait of royal residences, the colossal order over two stories could be a reference to the Emperor's Palace in Granada, begun in 1536, or to Amalienburg, a wing of the Habsburg residence in Vienna, begun in 1575. Individual window forms, particularly the rondel above the rectangular windows, can be traced back to the Ambras Palace near Innsbruck.

The construction of significant palaces and residences was also started during the first years of the war: after the Weimar Palace suffered damages from fire in 1618, work on the new building was started immediately. In 1627, margrave Christian von Bayreuth began building his residence, Scharffeneck Palace near Baiersdorf in Franconia. However, the war brought both projects to a halt in 1630. The Weimar Palace could later be completed after the war, albeit according to revised plans, but the Scharffeneck Palace was destroyed in 1632 and never reconstructed.[25] Both buildings were laid out symmetrically in four wings, a popular plan for palaces and residences throughout Germany, which, like much of the architectural detail, was based primarily on Italian forerunners.

Yet the Italian forms were interpreted in different ways. For instance, the archi-

Fig. 5: *Protestant Church of Peace in Schweidnitz (Świdnica)*, interior view
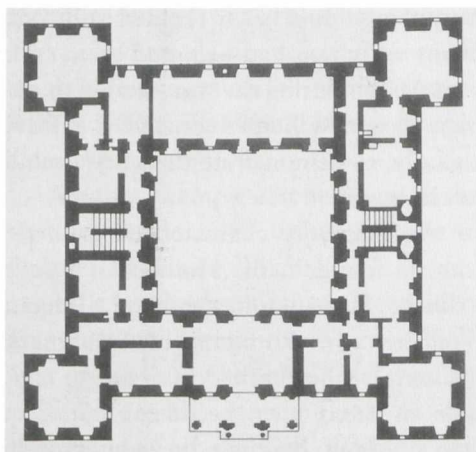
Fig. 6: Valentin Juncker, *Former Scharffeneck Castle, Baiersdorf*, outline, begun in 1627, destroyed in 1632; Nuremberg, Staatsarchiv

tect of the Scharffeneck Palace, the court master builder Valentin Juncker, was German; as a result, he was reliant on engravings and architectural tractates for understanding the Italian forms. An important model for Juncker was the Palace in Ancy-le-Franc (Burgundy) built by Sebastiano Serlio from 1538–46, which Serlio published in his *Tutte l'opere d'architettura*.[26] However, Juncker seems to have been less impressed by Serlio's engravings, depicting an early (or a revised?) version, and more focused on the views provided by J. Androuet Ducerceau,[27] who depicted the finished building.

For the new palace in Weimar in 1618, an architect was employed who was familiar with Italian style from first-hand experience: Giovanni Bonalino from Grisons, who brought with him a team of Italian-Swiss builders. According to Bonalino's plans, the palace was to be three-storied throughout with slightly protruding corner wings of the same height as the rest of the building. The look of a city palace was to be diminished through the addition of rounded bastions at the corners and entrances, which would give the residence the semblance of a fortification.

Like the wall sections dividing[28] the exterior facade, the rhythmic, pilastered facade of the courtyard also reflects the influence of Italian palazzo architecture. Pilastered facades were widespread in

Italy since the "Cancelleria" in Rome (1489–1511), whose courtyard also demonstrates a change in orders. Only the staircases are not Italian. Bonalino planned to house them in four corner towers in the courtyard, a solution which could also be found in the palaces of Chambord (ca. 1519–50) and Dresden (ca. 1549).

Bonalino left Weimar in 1526, though work on the palace continued, if only slowly during the war. Building was ceased entirely in 1630, but resumed years later and was finally completed in 1662 according to revised plans no longer based on Italian models, but instead on French palace architecture. Respectively, only three of the four originally planned wings were built.[29] The French tradition employed only three wings, defining a court of honour or *cour d'honneur*,[30] as well as a so-called pavilion, which served both as eye-catcher and as a final fourth facade to the courtyard. The pavilion-like building with its curved roof was later removed during renovation work following the fire of 1774.

Such a stylistic shift could be understood as a reaction to the events of war and the resulting political and confessional situation. Weimar had been ruled by the Protestant Wettin Dynasty. While the Catholic rulers of the empire, foremost the emperor in Vienna, as well as the Wittelsbachs in Munich, and the archbishops of Salzburg, all built their residences clearly in the Catholic Italian tradition, Protestant Weimar abandoned its original plans in favour of architectural traditions found in France, the emperor's arch enemy.

The three-winged model was even used during the war in the northern and eastern areas of the empire. The earliest example is the hunting palace in Neustadt-Glewe, south of Schwerin, built for Duke Adolf Friedrich I of Mecklenburg. The Emden architect Ghert Evert Piloot (died 1629) designed the plans for this prototypical three-winged structure with its nearly square *cour d'honneur*. Piloot had been working in the area for some

years prior, and had been involved with the Schwerin Palace. The hunting palace was damaged by Imperial troops in 1637 as it was nearing completion.[31]

Another such three-winged residence is the palace in Plön (1633–36) which opened to the sea, and was home of the Protestant Schleswig-Holstein-Plön nobility. The Plön Palace is one of the few residences that could be completed during the war, probably due to its peripheral location, but mainly because of Peace of Lübeck (1629) allowed work to continue undisturbed.

In another example of switching plans, the building of the Friedenstein Palace in Gotha began according to Italian models, but was later re-conceived as "non-Italian". Gotha became a residence city in 1640–41, following the division of the estate. Duke Ernst von Sachsen-Gotha (1643–54) had a new palace built, which he named the Friedenstein (stone of peace) Palace[32] as expression of his longing for peace. In 1646 the Duke and his administrators were able to move into the new building. After the palace building itself was complete, excavation of the walls and the construction of the bastions could begin, which were finished in 1662–65.

However, before the actual building began, there was a complicated planning phase, from which numerous documents and particularly several models remain intact.[33] One of the earliest models, dated 1643 and attributed to Andreas Rudolph (1601–79), the court's master builder and fortress engineer, reveals a symmetrical, three-storied, four-winged building

Fig. 7: Valentin Juncker, *Former Scharffeneck Castle, Baiersdorf*, elevation sketch, begun in 1627, destroyed in 1632, Nuremberg, Staatsarchiv

with a rectangular courtyard, lined with arcades on almost all sides and stories (only on the north wing was an arcade sacrificed to accommodate a large hall). A second model, until recently thought to be the work of the master fortress builder Matthias Staudt, has been newly attributed to the master builder Nikol Teiner by Georg Skalecki.[34] The building was planned in four wings with a uniform facade design, despite the various window forms. When it came to the realisation, a third model was brought into the planning, which has been attributed to the master fortress builder Caspar Vogel from Erfurt. This new model was based on a completely different concept. The four wings were replaced by three wings opening to the garden, with monumental arcades on the ground floor. Although the three wings and the two tower-like pavilions on the garden side attest to French influence, the palace has neither the court of honour as an entrance, nor does the long fenestrated facade indicate the buildings subdivisions. The form of the windows is conspicuously simple, with Gothic window splays. Otherwise, little attention is paid to decorative detail, allowing the building's volume to achieve maximum effect.

Sharing architectural responsibility for the palace project was the master builder Andreas Rudolph, who is probably to thank for the incorporation of elements derived from earlier projects. Many details can be traced back to buildings erected decades earlier. Duke Ernst was not interested in innovative palace
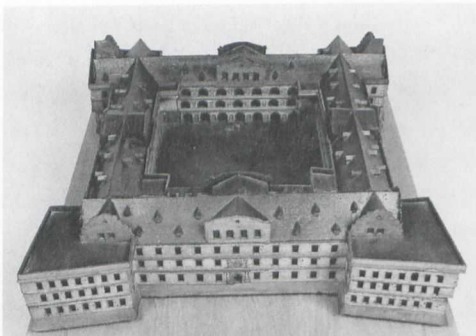

Fig. 8: M. Staud (attributed to), *Friedenstein Castle, Gotha*, view of the second wooden model; Gotha, Schloßmuseum
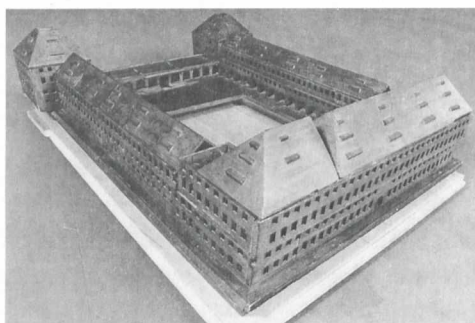

Fig. 9: *Castle Friedenstein, Gotha*, view of the third wooden model; Gotha, Schloßmuseum

architecture, but wished instead to demonstrate dynastic continuity through references to earlier Saxonian residences, such as Augustusburg Palace. However, for the subsequent development of palace architecture in Saxony, particularly for the palaces in Zeitz and Weissenfels, it was not the Gotha palace which was held up as the paragon, but the palace in Weimar, with its finer-looking and more modern architectural details.

III. SECULAR ARCHITECTURE:
PALACES OF ARMY COMMANDERS
AND ARMY SUPPLIERS

While the construction of royal residences were plagued with problems during the war years and, save for the palaces in Plön and Gotha, rarely completed, the palaces of military commanders and the business-savvy army suppliers were usually finished by war's end. Here as well, the owner's confession and respective political orientation played a decisive role in the determination of architectural style. Palaces in Catholic Bohemia and Moravia uniformly emulated the Italian style, while the only residence built at this time in a correspondingly Protestant region was designed by a French architect. This was the palace for the Major General Joachim Heinrich Vieregge, built in 1657 in Rossewitz in the region of Mecklenburg, and designed by Charles Philippe Diessart.[35]

Palaces in Bohemia and Moravia, on the other hand, were built for Catholic commanders and war profiteers, who had acquired land after the Protestants were forced to flee after their defeat at White Mountain (1620). Thus, it is not

surprising that such landed officers, many of whom had acquired their rank and wealth during the war, tended to design their new homes somewhat extravagantly, to demonstrate their new-found social status.

An especially characteristic example can be found in the Holleschau Palace (Czech: Holešov) in Moravia. Johann Freiherr von Rottal from Steiermark (Austria), who reached the rank of captain in 1610, then became a count in 1641, began building the residence in 1652.[36] He hired the architect Filiberto Luchese (1606–66), a moulding master and architect, whose presence in Austria can be documented back to 1640, when he renovated and restored numerous noble palaces. This new job involved a rectangular palace with small, hexagonal corner towers and an interior courtyard lined with arcades. While the two main stories are described by pilaster strips on the outer facade, a colossal Tuscan order with an angulated cornice extends over both stories on the courtyard facade. The colossal order, though originally used exclusively in religious architecture, was also used in Germany, for example on the Viennese Hofburg and on the so-called Kaiserhof (Imperial Court) of the Mu-
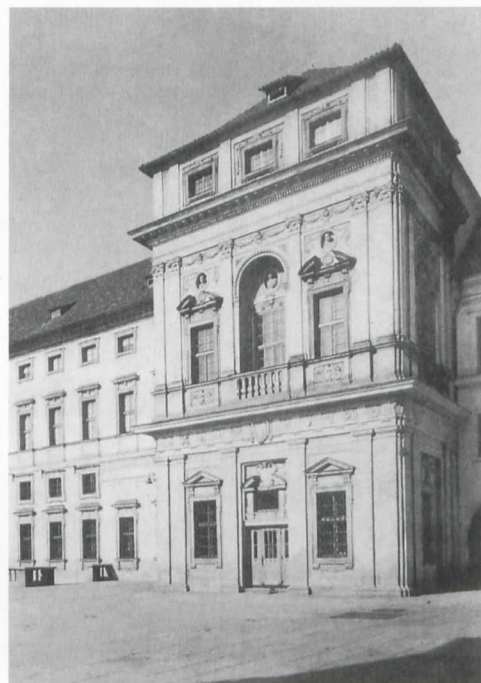

Fig. 10: *Palais Michna, Prague*, exterior view

nich Residence (1612–18). That a former captain, who only just received his noble status a few years earlier, would choose such a court design, could almost be considered presumptuous.

Another example can be found in the summer residence of Count Michna in Prague. Paul von Michna (ca. 1572–1632), a butcher's son, made a considerable fortune during the Thirty Years' War as an army supplier. He was ennobled for his contributions to the strengthening of the Catholic faith and even served as secretary in the Bohemian Court Chamber. In 1625 he acquired a small summer residence in Prague's Lesser Town. His nephew, Count Wenzel Michna, then renovated and expanded the building in 1644–45. Financial problems permitted only the north projection-wing facing the garden to be completed. The details are of Italian influence, though no single reference can be named: the prominent, large niche with the glassed door in the middle story recalls Vignola's Villa Giulia (1551–55) in Rome. The busts in the round niches above the windows are often compared to their Roman predecessors: the Villa Medici (renovated in 1564) and the Casino Borghese, designed by Hans von Xanten, known as Giovanni Vasanzio, in 1613–15. The stucco garland motif can also be found in the stucco ornamentation in the courtyard of the Palazzo Spada, also in Rome. Even the attic story can be traced to an Italian forerunner.

The Eggenberg Palace provides yet another example. The owner, Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg (1568–1634), was neither a commander nor a supplier, but his success was a result of the war. Born into a Protestant family, he converted to Catholicism which enabled his quick career achievement. He was named Imperial prince in 1623 and five years later attained the title of duke. Parallel to his advancement, he acquired a variety of properties. For his new social standing, he now required a representative residence. Thus, under the direction of Giovanni Pietro de Pomis (1569–1633),

Fig. 11: *Eggenberg Castle*, Graz, exterior view

work began around 1625 to renovate the old residence on the periphery of the city of Graz. Eggenberg did not live to see it completed. The courtyard was finished in 1644–1646, while work on the interior continued into the eighteenth century.[37]

The palace was surrounded by a moat and comprised four wings with tower-like corner projections. The large oblong courtyard was set slightly off-centre with the building itself and surrounded on three sides – as was common in the Steiermark, and throughout Austria – with loggias, arcaded with rounded arches and Tuscan half columns, which are doubled at the entrances. A mezzanine level tops off the courtyard's facade. The protruding half columns suggests the influence of the Escorial, particularly because the architect and owner travelled to Spain together in 1626 and because Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg served as a diplomat to the Spanish court.

A completely different situation is introduced with the Wallenstein Palaces in Prague and Jičín. Though he also experienced quick success, his city residence in Prague, built from 1624–30, was not lavishly designed, though twenty-five houses had to be demolished to make room for it, and its facade had a fenestration of

nineteen window axes. Yet, compared to Italian *palazzi*, the individual stories appear surprisingly flat. Furthermore, the ground-floor windows extend so low as to allow passers-by a look inside. Even the stocky side portals appear to belong more to a middle-class house than to a palace.

The more impressive parts of the estate are the more private areas: the garden with bronze figures, the palatial riding stall, whose grandeur easily matched the Imperial Stallburg in Vienna, and the monumental "sala terrena", a garden loggia with three aisles and double columns, whose height with the roof almost surpasses that of the palace itself. Yet, as grand and imposing as Wallenstein's loggia might appear, it seems as modest as the main facade of the palace when compared to the imperial garden loggia near Vienna, the Neugebäude[38] built under Maximillian II between 1569–ca.1587.

Wallenstein also seems to have practised the art of moderation on the facade of his palace in Jičín,[39] the capital of the duchy of Friedland. From 1625 to 1633 he expanded the residence, thereby transforming the original building into a secondary wing, and adding two additional

courtyards. The additions more than doubled the breadth of the front facing the market, creating, as with his palace in Prague, an elongated facade with only slight architectural subdivision. The individual stories are noticeably low, and the portico is unusually long, extending the entire length of the facade, an indication perhaps that a uniformity in the frontal design took priority over the prince's desire for a representational building.

In conclusion, the building activity of these regal residencies can be seen to decline during the Thirty Years' War. Yet, as in the case of the Scharffeneck Palace, only seldom were they destroyed,[40] as though the acting Generals were not interested. It has even been reported that the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus disgustedly rejected the suggestion from Frederick V and other Protestant princes to destroy the residence of Munich.[41] Similarly, Wallenstein apparently was so impressed by the hunting palace in Neustadt-Glewe that he ordered it restored, which nevertheless did not prevent the Imperial troops from later damaging the building.

Architectural masterpieces, like those from the first two decades of the seventeenth century, are a rarity, with the exception of Wallenstein's palace in Prague. Significant for palace architecture is the political/confessional influence on the selection of models. Ultimately, it is a wonder that during the Thirty Years' War the palaces were not secured with massive fortifications, nor the residences moved to fortresses.

* The following text is a much abridged version of a more comprehensive original text.

1. Among those cities severely damaged were Bautzen, Magdeburg, Rothenburg ob der Tauber, and Meissen; other cities such as Munich were spared, but at a high price.
2. The Jesuit and University Churches (1628–31), the Carmelite Church of St. Josef in Leopoldstadt (1622–24/39), the Paulaner Church Zu den Hl. Schutzengeln (1627–51), the Schotten Church (1638–48), and the Domenican Church (1631–34, completed 1674); cf. Brucher 1983, p. 56 ff.
3. Cf. Feuchtmüller 1973, II, pp. 17 ff.; Skalecki 1989, pp. 116 ff., 132 ff. See below for more on the Eggenberg Castle.
4. Cf. Heinisch 1968, pp. 117 ff. An overview of the most recent research papers can be found in: Österreichische Ingenieur- und Architekten-Zeitschrift 140 (1995), no. 12.
5. For example, the Loreto Chapel in Reutberg (1608), the churches in Landshut (1624) and in Berg am Laim (1632), as well as the churches of Maria Eck and Tuntenhausen (see below). More on the Wittelsbachs' role in church building can be found in: Albrecht 1980, pp. 13 ff., Schnell 1936, pp. 28 ff.
6. Among them, the Schutzengel-Kirche in Eichstätt (1617–20), the Church of the Holy Trinity in Aschaffenburg (1619–21), St. Joseph's Church in Burghausen (1629–31), and the Church of St. Ignatius in Landshut (1631–41). Cf. Braun 1908–10, II. For more on the first Jesuit settlements in Bavaria, cf. exhib. cat., Munich 1997.
7. Such were the former Benedictine Abbey Church of St. Peter and Paul in Obertaltaich (1622–30), the Augustinian Canonical Church (Chorherrenstiftskirche) Beuerberg (1628/30–35), and the former Paulaner Church of St. Karl Borromäus in der Au in front of the gates of Munich (1621–23), which was demolished in 1903. Cf. Bauer/Bauer 1985, pp. 61f., 122 ff., 200 ff.
8. Cf. Kahlenberg 1963, pp. 95 ff.; Eimer 1961, pp. 214 ff.
9. Cf. Schütte 1984.
10. Cf. Hipp 1979, pp. 440, 1006 (note 823).
11. Cf. Hipp 1979, pp. 444 ff.
12. Furttenbach (1628, plate 28) discusses church architecture only in general terms, but clearly favours a more modern Italian facade (plate 27). Before him, Johann Fichard, in his Italia of 1536, also emphasises the exemplary nature of the Florence Duomo, because, as he claims, its form is based on the Temple of Solomon. Cf. Hipp 1979, pp. 448, 664.
13. Furttenbach 1649, cf. Hipp 1979, pp. 487 ff. Furttenbach's concept of the church space can be seen as a reaction to the churches built in the Netherlands and in the Danish Christianstad around 1620, as well as to those churches built directly thereafter in Germany.
14. Mentioned are the palace chapels in Dresden (1549–55, destroyed in 1945), Schwerin (1560–63), Stuttgart (1566), Stettin (1577), Augustusburg (1568–72), and Schmalkalden (1586–90), as well as the palace chapels in former Carolath (Polish: Siedlisko) in Silesia (completed 1618) and in Weikersheim Palace near Heilbronn (after 1595). For more on palace chapels in Saxony, cf. Jöckle 1994.
15. Cf. Kadatz 1983, pp. 104, 117 ff., Hitchcock 1981, pp. 101 ff., fig. 125.
16. Cf. Zimmer 1971, pp. 32 ff. 144; Hipp 1979, pp. 780 ff.
17. While Heidelberg's Protestant reformed palace chapel is a late Gothic building (cf. Hitchcock 1981, pp. 332 ff., fig. 425), the palace church of Frederiksborg uses Renaissance forms (cf. Beckett 1914, pp. 142 ff.).
18. After the Battle of the White Mountain (1620), the church was turned over to the Catholics and taken over by the Carmelites. By the time it was completed in 1626, it had undergone major changes and was now known as S. Maria de Victoria; cf. Krčálová 1982; Skalecki 1989, pp. 45 ff., 173 ff.
19. Cf. Lieb/Sauermost 1973, pp. 101 ff.; Schalkhausser 1958, p. 265.
20. Cf. Hauttmann 1923, pp. 122 ff.
21. These are the Peterskirche (St. Peter's Church) in Münster (1591–97), the Church of St. John the Baptist in Koblenz (1607–17), the Dreifaltigkeitskirche (Trinity Church) in Molsheim (1614–17), Himmelfahrtskirche (The Church of Ascension) in Cologne (1617–24), and the Michaelskirche (St. Michael's Church) in Aachen (1618–23). The only exception is the Church of St. Andreas in Düsseldorf (1621–29/37), which is more Italian early baroque. Cf. Braun 1908–10, I.
22. For example, the church in Jungbunzlau (Czech: Mladá Boleslav) built around 1550; cf. Seibt 1985, pp. 168, 193 ff., fig. 139–41.
23. Cf. Stierhof 1980; Klingensmith 1993, pp. 20 ff.
24. For the engravings by G.P. Fischer (1644) and by M. Wening (1701) see exhib. cat. Munich 1980, II, book 1, plate 36, figs. 115–17. Concerning the architects, see Diemer 1980, pp. 279, 287 ff., cf. also Stierhof 1980, p. 277.
25. Floor plan and elevation plan of the palace near Erlangen are known through copies of the original plans. Cf. Skalecki 1989, p. 94.
26. Serlio 1584, book 7, chapter 2, pp. 208 ff.
27. Ducerceau 1576–79, part 1. He shows the original appearance of the palace before later alterations. For more on the palace construction cf. Prinz/Kecks 1985, pp. 625 ff.
28. First employed by Bramante (Belvedere-Hof, pp. 1503 ff.), this motif quickly became popular in Rome (e.g. Palazzo Vidoni-Caffarelli, Palazzo Maccarani, Palazzo Alberini), and was later used in northern Italy (e.g. Palazzo della Pilotta in Parma, the so-called "Corridore", and on the Palazzo della Galleria in Sabbioneta); cf. Benedetti 1984, figs. 167, 169. These wall divisions also appear in several courtyards of the Escorial.
29. After 1623 construction was directed by Nikol Teiner, who was later involved in the planning of the Friedenstein castle in Gotha; cf. Heubach 1927, pp. 116 ff.; Skalecki 1989, pp. 224 ff.
30. The paragon example would be the Palais du Luxembourg (1615–31, architect: Salomon de Brosse) in Paris, built for the reigning monarch Maria de Medici just outside the city; cf. Coope 1972, pp. 110 ff. The development of the three-winged palace began as early as the fifteenth century in France, salient forerunners are the Bury castle (ca. 1520) in Loire-et-Cher and the castle in Anet (1545–55); cf. Prinz/Kecks 1985, pp. 545 ff. French three-winged palaces were also published by Ducerceau and by Serlio; cf. Serlio 1584, book 7, chapter 24, pp. 56 ff.
31. Cf. Skalecki 1989, pp. 236 ff.
32. Since ca. 1650, the so-called "Kiss of Peace" can be found on the palace portal. The name might also be understood as a reaction to the name of the earlier "Grimmstein" castle.
33. An evaluation of the archive files was under-

taken most recently: Schütte 1994, pp. 76 ff. For more on the models see Skalecki 1989, pp. 228 ff.; Heubach 1927, pp. 65 ff., esp. pp. 70 ff.

34. N. Teiner was involved from 1623 to ca. 1630 with directing the building of the Weimar Palace and has been traced to Gotha through a payment slip. Cf . Skalecki 1989, pp. 230–31.

35. Cf. Schlie 1898, pp 480 ff.; Skalecki 1989, pp. 238 ff.

36. Cf. Skalecki 1989, pp. 214 ff.; Umelĕcké památky Moravy a Slezska, 1 (1994), pp. 500 ff.

37. Cf. Luchner 1983, pp. 83 ff., fig. 58 ff.; Kaiser 1994.

38. Emperor Ferdinand II (1619–37), then owner of the Neugebäude, was Wallenstein's direct employer. The imitation is quite detailed: like the new imperial loggia, the arcades of Wallenstein's garden loggia are supported by a double entablature resting on double Tuscan columns on flat bases. Furthermore, Wallenstein's arcades incorporate similarly prominent keystones, as in the imperial loggia, and the roof in both cases includes dormers. For more on the reconstruction of the new imperial loggia: cf. Lietzmann 1987, pp. 49 ff. fig. pp. 13, 39, 97.

39. However, Wallenstein was planning a palace in Sagan, which would have outdone all previous buildings and whose proportions would have matched those of the great royal residences of Italy. The facade of the Jičín residence was significantly altered in the eighteenth century. Cf. Skalecki 1989, pp. 152 ff.

40. An especially tragic example is the archbishop's residence in Mainz. Building began in 1627 but had to be interrupted in the winter of 1631/32 with the invasion of the Swedes. Finally, it was inadequately completed in 1675–78.

41. Cf. Rystad 1980, p. 425.