CHAPTER 12

Architecture and Early Humanism at German Princely Courts: Lower Bavaria, Salzburg and Passau and the Romanesque Renaissance (c. 1480–1500)

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The fifteenth-century history of architectural styles in in the German-speaking lands has mainly been written about on the basis of the extremely rich array of monumental ecclesiastical buildings of this time.[1] During the century, great numbers of church buildings were built or renovated. Typical features of these buildings were their impressive interiors with elaborate vaults above complex ribbed constructions as well as reduction of the mass of load-bearing structures.[2]

In what follows, we shall consider especially the Duchy of Lower Bavaria and the two adjacent ecclesiastical principalities of Salzburg and Passau. Here, the St Martin's church at Landshut (c. 1385–c. 1500), the Gothic parts of Passau Cathedral (begun 1407), the choir of the parish church and later

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1   There is no publication dedicated specifically to the development of German architecture in the fifteenth century. As a rule, the focus is on the innovations of the period of the Parler family in the late fourteenth century and their further development in the fifteenth century. In 2000, Norbert Nußbaum presented an fundamental survey which also deals with the fifteenth century (N. Nußbaum, *German Gothic Church Architecture*, New Haven 2000). For a more recent overview of the art scene in the Holy Roman-German Empire during the fifteenth century in general, see K. Krause (ed.), *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Deutschland*, Vol. IV, Munich 2007. Thomas DaCosta Kaufman only marginally deals with the last third of the fifteenth century and omits the regions west of the Rhine (T. DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister, and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1450–1800*, Chicago 1995). This restricted view probably corresponds to an older historiographical approach in the twentieth century, which assesses the role of the lands of the Roman-German Empire as rather minor for the development of contemporary art at this time. Among many others, I would like to thank Konrad Ottenheym and Magdalena März, who provided particularly valuable clues as well as important ideas and information. My thanks also to Andrea Gáldy for her assistance with the English version.

2   Nußbaum, *op. cit.* (note 1); N. Nußbaum, S. Lepsky, *Das gotische Gewölbe. Eine Geschichte seiner Form und Konstruktion*, Munich/ Berlin 1999; S. Bürger, *Figurierte Gewölbe zwischen Saale und Neiße. Spätgotische Wölbkunst von 1400 bis 1600*, 3 vols., Weimar 2007.

FIGURE 12.1   Wolfgang Wiser (Wiesinger), St Hedwig's Chapel (outer chapel) at Burghausen
Castle, c. 1489
PHOTO: AUTHOR

Franciscan church of Salzburg (c. 1408–1432), and the outer chapel, St Hedwig, in Burghausen Castle (c. 1489) are important examples of this genre of ecclesiastical architecture (fig. 12.1).[3]

North of the Alps, the fifteenth century still seems to be a purely late-Gothic century, as far as style is concerned. This architectural style also influenced secular buildings, and its typical motifs characterise residences of the nobility, town halls and town houses of the bourgeoisie. Against the backdrop of this boom in Gothic formal language, stylistically variant developments have for a long time been something of a Cinderella within art history. As was already noticed by some earlier scholars, certain architectural features in given German buildings of this period stylistically recall the architecture of the Romanesque

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3   J.W. Cook, 'A New Chronology of Hanns von Burghausen's Late Gothic Architecture', in: *Gesta* 15 (1976), no. 1/2, 97–104; V. Liedke, 'Hanns Purghauser, genannt Meister Hanns von Burghausen, sein Neffe Hanns Stethaimer und sein Sohn Stefan Purghauser, die drei Baumeister an St. Martin in Landshut', in: V. Liedke, N. Nussbaum, H. Puchta, *Beiträge zum Leben und Werk des Meisters Hans von Burghausen (Burghauser Geschichtsblätter)* 39 (1984), 1–70; G. Pretterebner, 'Baumeister Wolf Wiser', *Burghauser Geschichtsblätter* 30 (1970), 5–43.

period of the High Middle Ages.[4] One early example may be the cell vaults of the Albrechtsburg above Meissen, begun in 1471 for the court of the Saxon electors of the Wettin dynasty and their more minor derivates.[5] Furthermore, building phenomena of the period were noted, the allocation of which either to the Romanesque era or to the fifteenth century seemed uncertain, for formal reasons. Such phenomena were particularly frequently observed in the Austrian region, for example at the collegiate church of St Candidus and Korbinian in Innichen (South Tyrol) or at the Church of Our Lady in Schöngrabern (Lower Austria), where stylistic criteria did not allow for a reliable assessment of its time of construction.[6]

In other cases, the situation is quite clear and reveals a new boom in the reuse of Romanesque building spolia.[7] An example is the relocation of the *Goldene Pforte* (Golden Gate) to the southern entrance of the collegiate church at Freiberg in Saxony, when the church as a whole was newly built in modern Gothic style from 1484 on. In Millstadt in Carinthia, a new portal was composed

4   V. Birnbaum, *Románská renesance koncem středověku*, Prague 1924, has a very different interpretation as regards the role of Humanism than the one presented in this study. W. Körte, *Die Wiederaufnahme romanischer Bauformen in der niederländischen und deutschen Malerei des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Diss. Leipzig, Wolfenbüttel 1930.

5   M. Radová-Stiková, 'Über die Quellen des architektonischen Schaffens Arnold von Westfalen', *Acta Polytechnica* 1 (1974), 29–50, esp. 45; S. Hoppe, 'Die Albrechtsburg zu Meißen als Beispiel eines retrospektiven Architekturstils? Beobachtungen zu möglichen Wechselwirkungen zwischen Architektur und Bildkünsten im letzten Drittel des 15. Jahrhunderts', in: C. Striefler (ed.), *Schlossbau der Spätgotik in Mitteldeutschland. Tagungsband*, Dresden 2007, 64–74; S. Hoppe, 'Translating the Past. Local Romanesque Architecture in Germany and Its Fifteenth-Century Reinterpretation', in: K.A. Ottenheym, K. Enenkel (eds.), *The Quest for an Appropriate Past in Literature, Art and Architecture* (Intersections, 60), Leiden/Boston 2018, 511–585. About the Albrechtsburg in general: S. Bürger, *MeisterWerk. Von fürstlichen Ideen, faszinierenden Formen und flinken Händen*, cat. exh. Meissen (Albrechtsburg), Dresden 2011, cat. no. 4; H.-J. Mrusek (ed.), *Die Albrechtsburg zu Meißen,* Leipzig 1972

6   Among the complexes and artefacts that art-historical scholarship has so far not been able to date conclusively is the southern porch of Innichen; cf. E. Dobler, 'Die Portalschauwand an der Südseite der Stiftskirche von Innichen', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 25 (1972), 177–186; E. Dobler, 'Zum Lettnerproblem und zum Südportal an der Stiftskirche von Innichen', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 28 (1974), 185–187. The same applies to Schöngrabern, cf. H. Fillitz (ed.), *Schöngrabern*, (conference volume of the international Colloquium of the Austrian National Commitee of the c.i.h.a. 17–18 September 1985) Vienna 1985; E. Doberer, 'Abendländische Skulpturen des Mittelalters und ihre metamorphischen Veränderungen', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 46/47 (1993/1994), 161–163; M. Pippal, *Die Pfarrkirche von Schöngrabern. Eine ikonologische Untersuchung ihrer Apsisreliefs*, (Schriftenreihe der Kommission für Kunstgeschichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1), 2nd ed., Vienna 1996. Similar debates were conducted about the so-called Schottenportal in Ratisbon: V. Greiselmayer, 'Anmerkungen zum Nordportal der Schottenkirche St. Jakob in Regensburg', in: *Romanik in Regensburg*, Regensburg 1996, 154–167.

7   Hoppe, *op. cit.* (note 5), 554–561.

from Romanesque spolia in the redesigned cloister around 1490.[8] In 1497, the architect of the aforementioned late-Gothic St Hedwig's Chapel at Burghausen rebuilt the church of the Nonnberg monastery in nearby Salzburg. Here, the trained Gothic master Wiser added a Romanesque architrave decorated with tendrils and a figured tympanum.[9]

Buildings with stylistic references to the Romanesque period can also be observed in a number of coeval transalpine paintings and drawings.[10] As early as c. 1435, Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden had already synthesised their own studies of Romanesque architectural details into an idealised style of painted architecture.[11] From about the mid- fifteenth century onwards, more and more paintings from German-speaking lands made reference to these Netherlandish notions and started to display architectural backdrops in a style that was not contemporary Gothic but instead reminiscent of the Romanesque style. Around 1455, in the Franconian bishop's seat of Bamberg, the painter Hans Pleydenwurff (c. 1420–1472) moved his painted *Adoration of the Magi* on the Löwenstein altarpiece into a ruined palace in Romanesque style.[12] The stylistic features of this historic scenery were clearly inspired by the neo-Romanesque architecture of Rogier van der Weyden's famous and slightly older Columba Altar in Cologne.

From the time of Pleydenwurff onwards, detailed knowledge of the features of a pre-Gothic architectural style spread to the regions north of the Alps and, by the generation of Albrecht Dürer, formed part of the ready repertoire of ambitious and knowledgeable painters in Germany.[13] In general, these paintings

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8   E. Doberer, 'Eingefügte Fragmente am Kreuzgangsportal der Millstätter Stiftskirche', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 24 (1971), 49–58.

9   H. Tietze, *Die Denkmale des Adeligen Benediktiner-Frauen-Stiftes Nonnberg in Salzburg* (Österreichische Kunsttopographie 7), Vienna 1911.

10   Körte, *op. cit.* (note 4); E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish painting. Its Origins and Character*, 1 vol., Cambridge, Mass. 1953, 134 ff.

11   S. Hoppe, 'Romanik als Antike und die baulichen Folgen', in: N. Nußbaum, C. Euskirchen, H. Müller, *Wege zur Renaissance*, Cologne 2003, 89–131; S. Hoppe, 'Die Antike des Jan van Eyck. Architektonische Fiktion und Empirie im Umkreis des burgundischen Hofs um 1435', in: D. Boschung, S. Wittekind (eds.), *Persistenz und Rezeption*, Wiesbaden 2008, 351–394.

12   Coll. Germanisches National Museum (Nuremberg) [GNM Gm 132]. For fundamental work on fifteenth-century Franconian painting, see R. Suckale, *Die Erneuerung der Malkunst vor Dürer*, 2 vols., Petersberg 2009, here vol. 2, cat. no. 25 'Löwensteinsches Marienretabel'. Cf. cat. no. 42 and 47 for more painted Romanesque details and vol. 1, 134–136, for general thoughts on Humanist aspects such as inscriptions.

13   For a general survey of the process of adoption of the main features of Netherlandish painting in fifteenth-century Germany, see T.H. Borchert (ed.), *Van Eyck to Dürer: The Influence of Early Netherlandish Painting on European Art, 1430–1530*, London/New York 2011. In Nuremberg, this Romanesque Renaissance idea was integrated, for example, by Michael

aimed to add credibility to depictions of Biblical and pagan antiquity, as well as to showcase the artists' newly-acquired knowledge. The Löwenstein altarpiece in general displayed clear references to early humanistic culture, for example by its use of correspondingly antique typefaces such as the characteristically humanist Antiqua (*litterae antiquae*) and an ancient medal used as a type for the roundel portraying the head of King David as a relief decoration in the Romanesque window. No exact reconstruction of antiquity was necessary or even possible in this period. Nevertheless, even the early pictorial examples show a continuing interest in the study of Romanesque remains, as evidenced by the gradual integration of particular authentic Romanesque motifs – such as decorated column shafts and the characteristic cushion capitals (*Würfelkapitelle*: cf. Pleydenwurff's Löwenstein altarpiece) – into a fictitious architecture, initially one unknown to and unused by Jan van Eyck. The then expanding new ideal of studying nature and artefacts, present in both Italian and Dutch art, of course also encompassed local architectural relicts of older periods. A similar interest in Romanesque architecture can also be observed in contemporaneous art from other European regions, as other contributions in this volume clearly show.

The intellectual background for the growing interest in an old-fashioned artistic style and its stylistic recognition in the North is presumably provided by a field that can be described as the dissemination of humanistic culture and its practical application. In Germany, the two major ecclesiastical councils of Constance and Basel played a role as initial catalysts for the dissemination of a movement of cultural renewal arriving from Italy.[14] Here, not only did high-ranking representatives of ecclesiastical and secular powers from all over Europe come together, but these assemblies accelerated, for an early and specialist humanistic culture, the development of personal networks and the establishment of new spheres of action in many ways. The latter trend included, for example, the establishment of the new function of the learned counsellor at princely courts or the practice of a new advisory office at the imperial cities.[15] German philologist Marco Heiles has drawn some maps showing the

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Wolgemut (1434–1519) into the Nuremberg Chronicle 1493; H. Schedel, M. Wolgemut W. Pleydenwurff, *Liber chronicarum*, Nuremberg 1493, i.e. *Beheading of John the Baptist*, fol. XCIIII; *Pentecost*, fol. CII; and *Mohammed*, fol. CLI; and later by his student Albrecht Dürer (Paumgartner Altar, c. 1503).

14   J. Helmrath, 'Diffusion des Humanismus und Antikerezeption auf den Konzilien von Konstanz, Basel und Ferrara/Florenz', in: L. Grenzmann, K. Grubmüller, F. Rädle, M. Staehelin (eds.), *Die Präsenz der Antike im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Frühen Neuzeit. Bericht über Kolloquien der Kommission zur Erforschung der Kultur des Spätmittelalters 1999 bis 2002*, Göttingen 2004, 9–54.

15   G. Annas, 'Fürstliche Diplomatie und gelehrte Räte. Zur Rolle und Bedeutung einer politischen Funktionselite auf Reichsversammlungen und Fürstentagen in der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts', in: A. Thieme, U. Tresp (eds.), *Eger 1459. Fürstentreffen zwischen Sachsen,*
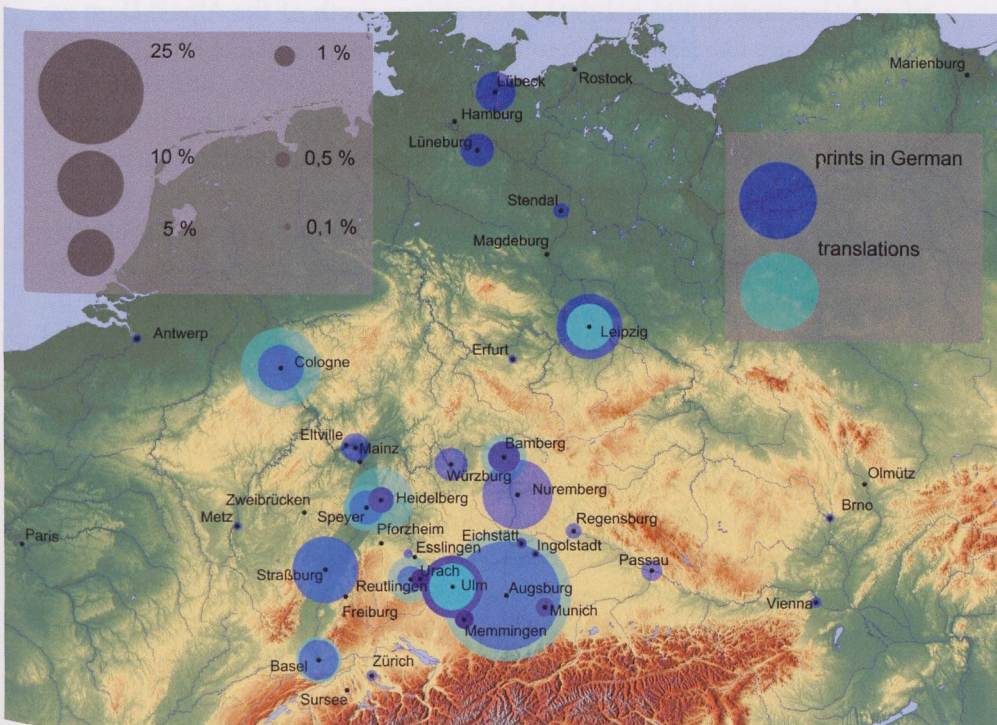
FIGURE 12.2   Marco Heiles, publications in German and translations of classical texts 1481–1490
SOURCE: HEILES 2010

spatial distribution and intensity of early humanist activities in Germany in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The maps refer only to translations from the classic authors into German and early prints. Although they omit other aspects, they do provide a first overview of the main centres of the new culture imported from Italy (fig. 12.2).[16]

The careers of the German Nikolaus von Kues (Cusanus) (1401–1464) and of the Italian Enea Silvio Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II (1405–1464), are well known for the German reach of the 'diffusion of humanism' (Johannes Helmrath).[17] Even more important, however, are the biographies of German students of a younger generation who, after their studies, emerged less frequently as productive authors of this rank, while they did carry the new ideas

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Böhmen und ihren Nachbarn. Dynastische Politik, fürstliche Repräsentation und kulturelle Verflechtung (Saxonia 13), Dresden 2011, 154–175.

16   M. Heiles, Topography of German Humanism 1470–1550. An approach, Oxford 2010, http://dx.doi.org/10.17613/ktg9-nm81.

17   J. Helmrath, 'Vestigia Aeneae imitari. Enea Silvio Piccolomini als "Apostel" des Humanismus. Formen und Wege seiner Diffusion', in: J. Helmrath, U. Muhlack, G. Walther, Diffusion des Humanismus. Studien zur nationalen Geschichtsschreibung europäischer Humanisten, Göttingen 2002, 99–141.

of early humanism into political key positions north of the Alps.[18] Here we find the names like Heinrich Steinhöwel (1410–1479), Niklas of Wyle (c. 1410–1479), Albrecht of Eyb (1420–1475), Peter Luder (c. 1415–1472) and Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514). These young Germans usually studied at the Universities of Bologna and Padua or at private humanist schools, such as the most influential ones of Guarino da Verona (1374–1460) or Vittorino da Feltre (1378–1446).[19] After their return to Germany, it was above all their legal, medical or rhetorical knowledge that would pave the way for early humanism to penetrate Germany from about the middle of the fifteenth century.[20]

From the very beginning, reflections on the specific history of individual peoples or nations and on their special position within entire Christendom played an important role in these circles.[21] Piccolomini's writings are well known, since he dealt with the historical and current roles of the Germanic and Bohemian peoples and thus created far-reaching impulses, prompting deliberations in the regions north of the Alps, and in particular in Bavaria, about the locals' own cultural identity.[22] In 1457, for example, Piccolomini and the later counsellor of Lower Bavaria, Martin Mair (c. 1420–1480), entered into a written dispute that also addressed the Germans' cultural levels of attainment

18   P. Moraw, *Gesammelte Beiträge zur deutschen und europäischen Universitätsgeschichte. Strukturen – Personen – Entwicklungen*, Leiden 2008. On Piccolomini as recent literature with reference to his activities in Germany: F. Fuchs (ed.), *Enea Silvio Piccolomini nördlich der Alpen. Akten des interdisziplinären Symposions vom 18. bis 19. November 2005 an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*, Wiesbaden 2008.

19   Cf. E. Garin, *L'educazione umanistica in Italia*, Bari 1953. R. Schweyen, *Guarino Veronese. Philosophie und humanistische Pädagogik*, Munich 1973.

20   F.J. Worstbrock (ed.), *Deutscher Humanismus 1480–1520. Verfasserlexikon*, vols. 1–3, Berlin 2008–2015; J. Helmrath, *Wege des Humanismus. Studien zu Techniken und Diffusion der Antike-Leidenschaft im 15. Jahrhundert*, Tübingen 2013; H. Müller, *Habit und Habitus. Mönche und Humanisten im Dialog*, Tübingen 2006; N.L. Brann, 'Humanism in Germany', in: A. Rabil (ed.), *Renaissance Humanism. Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, vol. 2, Philadelphia 1988, 123–155.

21   C. Hirschi, *The Origins of Nationalism. An alternative history from Ancient Rome to Early Modern Germany*, Cambridge 2012.

22   C. Märtl, 'Liberalitas Baioarica. Enea Silvio Piccolomini und Bayern', in: H. Dopsch, S. Freund, A. Schmid (eds.), *Bayern und Italien. Politik, Kultur, Kommunikation (8.–15. Jahrhundert)*, (Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte, Beihefte, B 18), Munich 2001, 237–260; C. Märtl, 'Weltläufige Prälaten, wankelmütige Fürsten, wohlhabende Städte. Der Humanist Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Papst Pius II., 1405–1464) und Bayern', in H.M. Körner, F. Schuller (eds.), *Bayern und Italien. Kontinuität und Wandel ihrer traditionellen Bindungen*, Augsburg 2010, 103–123; C.B. Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae. Tacitus' Germania und Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Giannantonio Campano, Conrad Celtis und Heinrich Bebel* (Hypomnemata. Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben, 158), Göttingen 2005.

in the ancient and modern periods and which would lay the foundation of Piccolomini's renowned work *Germania*.[23]

12.1 Early Humanism in German Imperial Cities

An idea connected with this humanist interest – one more elitist, but nevertheless extremely powerful – was fresh attention paid to meaningful creative differences in the fine arts, i.e. the 'discovery of styles'. Art historian Ulrich Pfisterer described them paradigmatically for this era, using the example of the Florentine milieu of the 1430s.[24] A general source was the idea of decorum, which as preferred methodology formed the central element of the now so influential art of rhetoric.[25] A further foundation was the humanist awareness – to increase manifold as the fifteenth century progressed – that the shape of the material world had changed significantly and fundamentally since antiquity. The humanist Biondo Flavio (1392–1463) addressed this keen sense of form from a temporal perspective around the mid-century under the term of *mutatio rerum*, when describing Italy, the material-visual culture of which had changed since antiquity, in his Latin account of *Italia Illustrata* (written between 1448 and 1458).[26]

It was a German imperial city which first rewrote its own early history for political reasons and where the thoughts of the *mutatio rerum* gained an early foothold north of the Alps. By extending the history of Augsburg beyond its well-known Trojan and Roman origins into the prehistory of indigenous peoples, a group of Augsburg humanists and counsellors around Sigismund Gossembrot the Elder (1417–1493) claimed historical precedence over all political rivals, in particular the Bishop of Augsburg. The young monk Sigismund Meisterlin (c. 1435–post 1497), who was highly influenced by early humanism, was a gain to the city as an author. In 1456, he presented a new account of Augsburg's history that can be reckoned among the earliest examples of humanist historiography in Germany. There are serious reasons to assume that the new model of autochthonous origins was inspired by the newly discovered

23   A. Schmidt, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini: Deutschland. Der Brieftraktat an Martin Meyer*, Cologne/Graz 1962.
24   U. Pfisterer, *Donatello und die Entdeckung der Stile, 1430–1445*, Munich 2002.
25   B. Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, Oxford 1988.
26   O. Clavuot, *Biondos "Italia Illustrata". Summa oder Neuschöpfung? Über die Arbeitsmethoden eines Humanisten* (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 69), Tübingen 1990. On the reception of these thoughts by Konrad Celtis see: G.M. Müller, *Die "Germania generalis" des Conrad Celtis* (Frühe Neuzeit, 67), Berlin 2001, esp. 238.

manuscript of Tacitus' *Germania*, as Dieter Mertens has pointed out.[27] This new historical model was formulated not only textually but also illustrated by new imagery as another kind of proof. Such an illustrative programme corresponded clearly to humanism's novel appreciation for the rhetorical potentials of the visual arts and to the re-evaluation of drawing as a medium of debate. Particularly elaborate is the 1457 illuminated manuscript of the *Meisterlin Chronicle*, now preserved at Stuttgart (WLB Cod. HB V 52).[28]

The pagan past of the city of Augsburg was represented in the illustrated history of the Stuttgart version in the progression from wooden dwellings to real stone buildings in the Romanesque style (fig. 12.3).[29] The Romanesque architectural style marked by round-arched windows, i.e. the architectural style of local ancient history, could still be seen in the imperial city of Augsburg by 1457. In another illuminated manuscript version of the Augsburg Chronicle, which was produced in the same year for the local book collector Hector Mülich (Augsburg Codex Halder 1), the distant origins of the city of Augsburg are additionally symbolised by the use of the Antiqua typeface (*littera antiqua*) in upper-case letters, which stylistic system had only just been rediscovered and introduced among Northern humanists (fig. 12.4).[30] This book page, with

27   D. Mertens, 'Die Instrumentalisierung der Germania des Tacitus durch die deutschen Humanisten', in: H. Beck (ed.), *Zur Geschichte der Gleichung germanisch-deutsch. Sprache und Namen, Geschichte und Institutionen*, Berlin/New York 2004, 37–101, esp. 39 and 59–61.

28   S. Meisterlin, *Augsburger Chronik*, Augsburg 1457, repository: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. HB V 52; Cf. N.H. Ott, 'Von der Handschrift zum Druck und retour. Sigismund Meisterlins Chronik der Stadt Augsburg in der Handschriften- und Druck-Illustration', in: J.R. Paas (ed.), *Augsburg, die Bilderfabrik Europas. Essays zur Augsburger Druckgraphik der frühen Neuzeit*, Augsburg 2001, 21–29, esp. 22, note 12; L.E. Saurma-Jeltsch, T. Frese (eds.), *Zwischen Mimesis und Vision. Zur städtischen Ikonographie am Beispiel Augsburgs* (*Kunstgeschichte*) vol. 87, Berlin 2010; N.H. Ott, 'Zum Ausstattungsanspruch illustrierter Städtechroniken. Sigismund Meisterlin und die Schweizer Chronistik als Beispiele', in: S. Füssel, J. Knape (eds.), *Poesis et pictura. Studien zum Verhältnis von Text und Bild in Handschriften und alten Drucken, Festschrift für Dieter Wuttke zum 60. Geburtstag*, Baden-Baden 1989, 77–106.

29   On the historicizing interpretations, see Hoppe 2018, *op. cit.* (note 5), 534–535, 548; in general, cf. Ott, *op. cit.* (note 28); Z.A. Pataki, 'Bilder schaffen Identität. Zur Konstruktion eines städtischen Selbstbildes in den Illustrationen der Augsburger Chronik Sigismund Meisterlins 1457–1480', in: C. Dartmann, C. Meyer (eds.), *Identität und Krise? Zur Deutung vormoderner Selbst-, Welt- und Fremderfahrungen* (Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme, 17), Münster 2007.

30   B.L. Ullman, *Origin and Development of Humanistic Script*, Rome 1960 (concerning early efforts to regain a majuscule script around 1405: esp. p. 54–57); M. Steinmann, 'Die humanistische Schrift und die Anfänge des Humanismus in Basel', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 22 (1976), 376–437; R. Neumüllers-Klauser, 'Epigraphische Schriften zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit (Grundsatzreferat)', in: W. Koch (ed.), *Epigraphik 1988. Referate und Round-table-Gespräche. Fachtagung für Mittelalterliche und Neuzeitliche Epigraphik, Graz, 10.–14. Mai 1988*, Vienna (1990, 315–328). In German language terms such as 'frühhumanistische Kapitalis' and 'humanistische Majuskel' are used for this early non-Gothic upper-case typeset. Cf. Neumüllers-Klauser,

FIGURE 12.3   Sigismund Meisterlin, *Augsburger Chronik*, Veneration of the pagan goddess Cisa
with an imagination of ancient Augsburg built in the Romanesque manner, Stuttgart
version of the chronicle from 1457 (Stuttgart WLB, HB V 52, fol. 21r)
IMAGE WLB IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

its *capitalis* font, clearly imitates a Roman inscription plate and uses Latin and
German in admixture.[31] In this early humanist context, real and faked inscrip-
tions and certain stylistic features began to reveal their ability to authenticate
historical narratives.

31   L.E. Saurma-Jeltsch, 'Die Wahrheit der Fiktion', in: L.E. Saurma-Jeltsch, T. Frese (eds.),
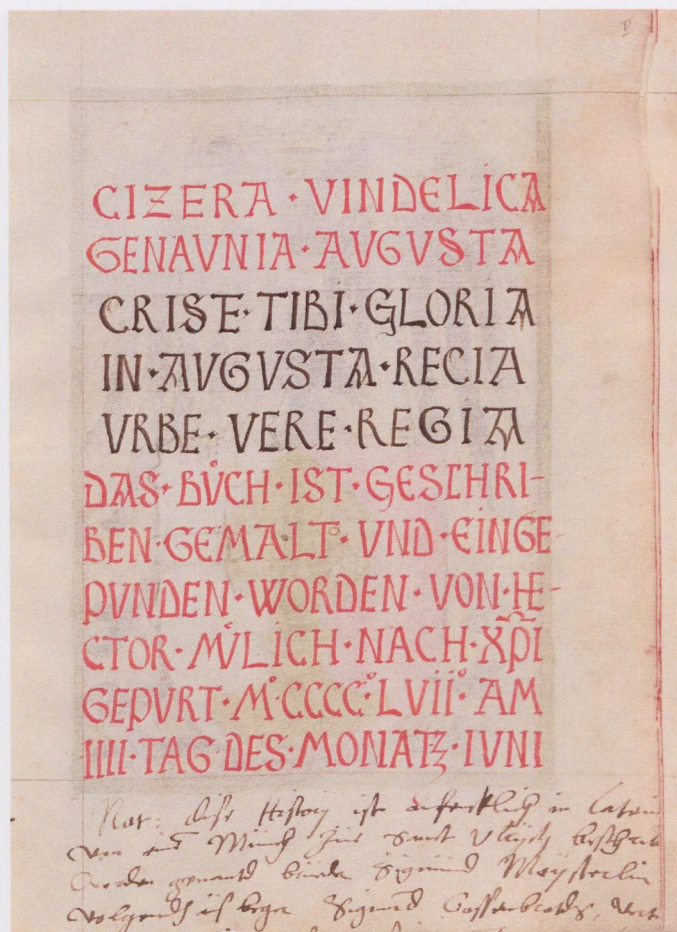   *Zwischen Mimesis und Vision. Zur städtischen Ikonographie am Beispiel Augsburgs*

FIGURE 12.4   Sigismund Meisterlin, *Augsburger Chronik*, Hector
                Mülich's version of the chronicle from 1457 (Augsburg
                SuStaB 2 Cod. H1 (Codex Halder 1), fol. Vr)

The pre-Gothic architectural style used in the images of the Augsburg
Chronicle was obviously not limited to the Romanesque period as defined later
by nineteenth-century art history. It had a history of its early revival totally in
accordance with the ideas of the day. In Florence, some early humanists saw
a Roman temple of Mars in the Romanesque architecture of the Baptistery.[32]

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32   See the contribution by Eliana Carrara and Emanuela Ferretti to this volume. G. Straehle,
       *Die Marstempelthese. Dante, Villani, Boccaccio, Vasari, Borghini. Die Geschichte vom
       Ursprung der Florentiner Taufkirche in der Literatur des 13. bis 20. Jahrhunderts*, Munich

In this Italian city, as in Augsburg, the Romanesque architectural style was not used for a pseudo-Biblical and thus as it were proto-Christian antiquity, as it was by Pleydenwurff or his role model Rogier van der Weyden, but rather as a hallmark of the gaze of the community during pagan antiquity.

When Meisterlin later, in 1488, would be commissioned by humanists from Nuremberg to modernise the historiography of this imperial city, he identified material remains from the ancient foundation phase of this city. In his opinion, the Romanesque chapel of Nuremberg's Imperial Castle, built about 1200 as we know today, was a relic from the time of Tiberius and thus, obviously, material proof of the city's claim to old age. In his *Nieronbergensis Cronica*, Meisterlin dated the foundation of Nuremberg to the year 12 BC and named Margaret's Tower of the Nuremberg Kaiserburg and the abutting Romanesque chapel as material proof of the city's great antiquity.[33] As suggested by this interpretation, Tiberius had commissioned the building of '*ain alten starcken turen auff den velsen seczen zu ainer wart*' ('an old strong tower set onto the castle hill as a watch tower'). Here, the stylistic diversity of Roman architecture was to be studied in detail on a well-accessible and visible monument.

These new ideas unsurprisingly also gained an early foothold in the imperial city of Ulm. There, encounters with humanist intellectuals with a special interest in the fine arts and with the right social influence, such as Dr Heinrich Steinhöwel (1410–1479) or Heinrich Neithardt the Younger (c. 1425/1430–1500), served as catalyst for the genesis of a new architectural language with a reference to antiquity that could also be applied in practice.[34] The venue for this endeavour was the major project of the artistic accoutrement of the choir of the newly-built Ulm parish church (Münster), undertaken by the end of the

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2001. Further literature on the topic in general: E. Gombrich, 'From the Revival of Letters to the Reform of the Arts: Niccolò Niccoli and Filippo Brunelleschi', in: D. Fraser, H. Hibbard, M.J. Lewine (eds.), *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, London 1969, 71–82; J.S. Ackerman, 'The Certosa of Pavia and the Renaissance in Milan', *Marsyas* 5 (1950), 23–37; H. Tietze, 'Romanische Kunst und Renaissance', *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* 6 (1926/1927), 43–57; A. Nagel, C.S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, New York 2010; C.S. Wood, 'The Credulity Problem', in: P.N. Miller et al. (eds.), *Antiquarianism and Intellectual Life in Europe and China, 1500–1800*, Ann Arbor 2012, 149–179.

33 R. Kießling, '"Wer etwas sucht, der sucht es offt an viel steten, da is nit ist". Stadtgründungslegenden schwäbischer Reichsstädte im Spätmittelalter', in: V. Dotterweich (ed.), *Mythen und Legenden in der Geschichte*, Munich 2004, 47–75, esp. 68–72; P.H. Stemmermann, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Vorgeschichtsforschung. Deutschlands Bodenaltertümer in der Anschauung des 16. und. 17. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1934, esp. 14; cf. P. Joachimsen, *Die humanistische Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland (Die Anfänge: Sigismund Meisterlin* 1), Bonn 1895, esp. 181.

34 Hoppe 2018, *op. cit.* (note 5), 548–554.

1460s.[35] Obviously, quite unorthodox efforts were made here towards a synthesis of pagan-antique and Christian culture. Two rows of wooden choir stalls were created between 1469 and 1474 by the artistically trained carpenter Jörg Syrlin the Elder (c. 1425–1491) and the wood-carver Michel Erhart (c. 1440–c. 1522). Here, we see an extended iconography as well an uncommon style applied. In the lower registers, the placement of the busts of the pagan poets and rhetoricians outdoes the integration of ancient philosophers (scientists) into the Christian domain of knowledge, something that was tolerated even during the Middle Ages. Furthermore, the micro-architecture of the choir stalls evidently drew upon models from the Romanesque period. Here, in the lower register, the column shafts cite knotting and twisting motifs, as known from Romanesque architectural ornaments.

That ideas for the reactivation of Romanesque architectural motifs then had a particular effect in the imperial city of Ulm is attested by a column, originally from a town house, now in the Stadtmuseum and dated to 1482 by an inscription. The wooden column combines the Romanesque elements of cushion capitals and ornamented shafts with contemporary details (fig. 12.5). The fact that the city of Ulm also began to take an interest in its own early history by using proto-archaeological methods is documented in the chronicle by Felix Fabri (c. 1438/1439–1502), *Tractatus de civitate Ulmensi*, composed in c. 1488, in which the rediscovery of the foundations of long-lost old buildings was described in humanist mode.[36]

These are just a few examples of the interest arising around the middle of the fifteenth century in some places and under particular political and societal

35   W. Vöge, *Jörg Syrlin der Ältere und seine Bildwerke*, (Stoffkreis und Gestaltung 2), Berlin 1950; W. Deutsch, 'Der ehemalige Hochaltar und das Chorgestühl. Zur Syrlin – und zur Bildhauerfrage', in: H.E. Specker, R. Wortmann (eds.), *600 Jahre Ulmer Münster*, Ulm 1977, 242–322; D. Gropp, *Das Ulmer Chorgestühl und Jörg Syrlin der Ältere. Untersuchungen zu Architektur und Bildwerk*, Berlin 1999; B. Reinhardt (ed.), *Michel Erhart und Jörg Syrlin d. Ä. Spätgotik in Ulm*, Stuttgart 2002.

36   An edition of the chronicle was published by G. Veesenmeyer, *Fratris Felicis Fabri Tractatus de civitate ulmensi, de eius origine, ordine, regimine, de civibus eius et statu*, Tübingen 1889. The quotation used here is based on the German translation by K.D. Haßler, *Bruder Felix Fabris Abhandlung von der Stadt Ulm nach der Ausgabe des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart verdeutscht*, Ulm 1909, 117–118; cf. F. Fabri, *Tractatus de civitate Ulmensi*, trans. F. Reichert, Eggingen 2012. Fabri's Ulm chronicle has remained largely understudied; a recent work on subject is Kießling, *op. cit.* (note 33), esp. 59–64; also cf. K. Graf, 'Ulmer Annalen und Ulmer Chronik', in: W. Stammler, K. Langosch, K. Ruh (eds.), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters, Verfasserlexikon* [Lexicon of Editors], vol. 11, 2nd ed., instalment 5, Berlin/New York 2004, 1580–1583.
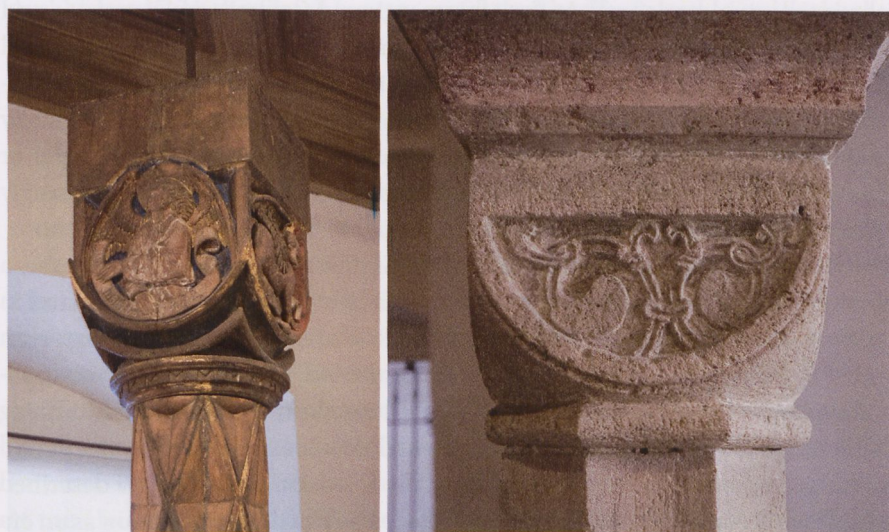
FIGURE 12.5   (*left*) Carved Column from an Ulm townhouse in the Romanesque
Renaissance style, dated 1482; Stadtmuseum Ulm. (*right*) Example of a real
Romanesque column in southern Germany: Regensburg, St. Emmeram's West
Crypt, c. 1050
PHOTOS: AUTHOR

constellations in key cities of the Holy Roman Empire. This interest addressed
the diverse architectural environment of the locals' ancient past and the inte-
gration of foreign forms into contemporary art production. The peculiar politi-
cal position of the imperial cities within the empire, and the modern, largely
early-humanist, education of some of their élites, obviously played a vital role
here. Not only was the locals' own history written and rewritten with great ef-
fort, but both material remains and contemporary art production were given a
new and meaningful role as supporting arguments.

12.2   Humanist Culture and the Princely Court

From the mid-fifteenth century, German princes too, and parts of their court-
ly elites, developed a new urge to use references to antiquity for their argu-
ments and thus to assign specific functions to humanist cultural innovation.
The efforts to reform church and empire became an essential catalyst for the
reception and adaptation of the ideas of Italian humanism. The widening in-
ternational political and diplomatic scope thus also brought an expansion of

the intellectual horizon.[37] At the aforementioned Councils of Constance and Basel, church representatives and secular princes with their envoys from all over Europe had met at locations north of the Alps to discuss a comprehensive reform of the ecclesiastical and secular worlds.[38] Antiquity was gradually appreciated as the unsurpassable summit of civilisation, while its pagan or secular elements, which had been suppressed up to that point, increasingly attained the status of acceptable arguments.

Historians of the fifteenth century in Germany have long emphasised a period of crisis that began in the fourteenth century and that culminated in the great revolution and innovation of the Reformation in the early sixteenth century. Before the appearance of the reformer Martin Luther, the contemporary arts were regarded as witnesses to traditionalism and mediaeval thinking which resisted the inclusion of fundamental new ideas. Nowadays, the period is judged in a more differentiated way. The historian Peter Moraw described the developments taking place in the decades before the Reformation as an era of *territorial* consolidation (*Verdichtung*).[39] Moraw concluded that by 1470, the Empire was in the most remarkable process of change of its long history. From the state of the 'Open Constitution', which had evolved as a result of the fall of the Staufer dynasty (c. 1250), it entered the age of 'consolidation' (*Verdichtung*). This was the end of a period in which very few had felt responsibility and in which most princes had conducted themselves politically towards the outside world in a manner practically devoid of obligation and merely introverted. It was a time of new ideas and of men who felt a new responsibility.[40]

Politically speaking, the Mainz archbishops and chancellors of the empire, Dietrich Schenk von Erbach (r. 1434–1459), Diether von Isenburg (r. 1459–1461; 1475–1482) and, finally, Berthold von Henneberg (r. 1484–1504), the Trier

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37   See the survey by E. Meuthen, *Das 15. Jahrhundert* (*Grundriss der Geschichte* 9), 4th ed., Munich 2006. The political background and the long period of previous reform efforts in the Empire, which had somewhat faded into the background compared with the later period of the Reformation, are explained in some detail in a more recent survey: T.A. Brady, *German Histories in the Age of Reformations 1400–1650*, Cambridge 2009. For the early phase of interest, see the overviews by: K.-F. Krieger, *König, Reich und Reichsreform im Spätmittelalter*, Oldenbourg 2005; H. Angermeier, *Die Reichsreform 1410–1555: Die Staatsproblematik in Deutschland zwischen Mittelalter und Gegenwart*, München 1984; P. Moraw, 'Fürstentum, Königtum und „Reichsreform" im deutschen Spätmittelalter', in: W. Heinemeyer (ed.), *Vom Reichsfürstenstande*, Cologne/Ulm 1987, 117–136.

38   Helmrath, *op. cit.* (note 14).

39   P. Moraw, *Von offener Verfassung zu gestalteter Verdichtung. Das Reich im späten Mittelalter 1250–1490*, Berlin 1985.

40   P. Moraw, *Mittelrhein und fränkischer Oberrhein im ausgehenden 15. Jahrhundert*, cat. exh. Frankfurt (Städtische Galerie im Städelschen Kunstinstitut), Stuttgart 1985, 31–37.

Archbishop Jakob von Sierck (r. 1439–1456), the Electors Palatine Frederick I the Victorious (r. 1451–1476) and Philip the Sincere (r. 1476–1508) and the Bavarian Dukes Ludwig the Rich (r. 1450–1479) and his son Georg the Rich (1479–1503) were at the forefront of this process.[41] The reforming efforts of these princes also required new specialist staff in addition to established aristocrats. Therefore, a new range of activity for this new type of humanistically-educated counsellors was established at these ecclesiastical and secular courts.[42]

For several reasons, the Wittelsbach electoral court at Heidelberg assumed a leading function here, in particular concerning the matter of modernisation through the reception of Italian humanism, thus elevating the rank and influence of this family.[43] Working in Heidelberg were the renowned humanists Peter Luder (c. 1415–1472; educated in Ferrara), Matthias von Kemnath (c. 1430–1476), Rudolph Agricola (1443/1444–1485; educated in Pavia and Ferrara), Petrus Antonius de Clapis (a pupil of Francesco Filelfo, employed at the Heidelberg court 1465–c. 1500) and Johann von Dalberg (educated in Padua and Pavia, at the Heidelberg court 1480–1503).[44] One reason for the

41   For an introduction to the topic, see I. Miller, *Jakob von Sierck. 1389/99–1456* (Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte, 45), Mainz 1983; W. Voss, *Dietrich von Erbach. Erzbischof von Mainz (1434–1459); Studien zur Reichs-, Kirchen- und Landespolitik sowie zu den erzbischöflichen Räten* (Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte, 112), Mainz 2004; E. Hühns, 'Theorie und Praxis in der Reichsreformbewegung des 15. Jahrhunderts. Nikolaus von Cues, die Reformatio Sigismundi und Berthold von Henneberg', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität Berlin* 1 (1951/52), 17–34; I. Lackner, *Herzog Ludwig IX. der Reiche von Bayern-Landshut (1450–1479). Reichsfürstliche Politik gegenüber Kaiser und Reichsständen* (Regensburger Beiträge zur Regionalgeschichte, 11), Regensburg 2011; R. Stauber, *Herzog Georg von Bayern-Landshut und seine Reichspolitik. Möglichkeit und Grenzen reichsfürstlicher Politik im wittelsbachisch-habsburgischen Spannungsfeld zwischen 1470 und 1505* (Münchener historische Studien. Abteilung Bayerische Geschichte, 15), Kallmünz 1993.

42   P. Moraw, 'Gelehrte Juristen im Dienst der deutschen Könige des späten Mittelalters', in: R. Schnur (ed.), *Die Rolle der Juristen bei der Entstehung des modernen Staates*, Berlin 1986, 77–147; H. Noflatscher, *Räte und Herrscher. Politische Eliten an den Habsburgerhöfen der österreichischen Länder 1480–1530*, Mainz 1999; P.-J. Heinig, 'Musik und Medizin am Hof Kaiser Friedrichs III. (1440–1493). Studien zum Personal der deutschen Herrscher im 15. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 16 (1989), 151–181; P.-J. Heinig, *Kaiser Friedrich III. (1440–1493). Hof, Regierung und Politik*, 3 vols., Böhlau/Cologne 1997.

43   H.J. Cohn, 'The early Renaissance Court in Heidelberg', *European Studies Review* 1 (1971), 295–322.

44   F.E. Baron, *The Beginning of German Humanism: The Life and Work of the Wandering Humanist Peter Luder*, Diss. Berkeley 1966; D. Mertens, 'Bischof Johann von Dalberg (1455–1503) und der deutsche Humanismus', in: K. Andermann (ed.), *Ritteradel im Alten Reich. Die Kämmerer von Worms genannt von Dalberg. Hessische Historische Kommission*, (Arbeiten der Hessischen Historischen Kommission, Neue Folge, 31), Darmstadt 2009, 35–50; H. Hubach, 'Johann von Dalberg und das naturalistische Astwerk

modernisation of princely self-representation in Heidelberg might have been the fact that the family of the Palatine Wittelsbacher had managed to position Ruprecht von der Pfalz as King of Rome in 1400–1410. In particular, the German philologist Jan-Dirk Müller has formulated the political functions and cultural consequences of humanist ideas at the Heidelberg electoral court from the 1450s onwards under the heading of 'Courtly Knowledge' (*Wissen für den Hof*). Müller views the influence of Italian humanist scholarship at the Heidelberg court as being a result of the rediscovery of ancient authors in conjunction with contemporary Italian writing. At the university in particular, such influence raised the level of education and the visibility of patrons.[45]

The Duchy of Bavaria-Landshut was only a little behind. Between 1459 and 1480, the humanist councillor Martin Mair (c. 1420–1480) played a decisive role in the dissemination of humanist thought and associated skills and practices in this duchy, which was ruled by another branch of the House of Wittelsbach.[46] Mair had studied in Heidelberg, had met Enea Silvio Piccolomini at the imperial court and, in 1472, was instrumental in the founding of the second Wittelsbach State University at Ingolstadt on the Danube and for its opening-up to humanist tenets.

At the larger secular courts of the Empire, such as Heidelberg, Landshut or Dresden, often it was the learned councillors, such as Mair, who had experienced the most comprehensive humanist education, and they now implemented it in their professional life. From the middle of the century onwards, ecclesiastical principalities and executive positions in the Empire were filled directly by men who had become familiar with the new humanist educational tenets and patterns of debate during their studies in Italy. Some time ago, Alois Schmid coined the term 'humanist bishop' (*Humanistenbischof*) for this purpose.[47] These included, for example, the Salzburg archbishop Bernhard

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in der zeitgenössischen Skulptur in Worms, Heidelberg und Ladenburg', in: G. Bönnen, B. Keilmann (eds.), *Der Wormser Bischof Johann von Dalberg (1482–1503) und seine Zeit* (Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte, 117), Mainz 2005, 207–232.

45   J.-D. Müller, 'Der siegreiche Fürst im Entwurf der Gelehrten. Zu den Anfängen eines höfischen Humanismus in Heidelberg', in: A. Buck (ed.), *Höfischer Humanismus* (Mitteilung der Kommission für Humanismusforschung, 16), Weinheim 1989, 17–50, esp. 24.

46   R. Hansen, *Martin Mair. Ein gelehrter Rat in fürstlichem und städtischem Dienst in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Kiel 1992; C. Märtl, 'Herzog Ludwig der Reiche, Dr. Martin Mair und Eneas Silvius Piccolomini', in: F. Niehoff, *Das goldene Jahrhundert der Reichen Herzöge* (Schriften aus den Museen der Stadt Landshut, 34), Landshut 2014, 41–54.

47   A. Schmid, 'Humanistenbischöfe. Untersuchungen zum vortridentinischen Episkopat in Deutschland', *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 87 (1992), 159–192.

von Rohr (1421–1487), the Augsburg bishop Johann von Werdenberg (c. 1430–1486), and the Bishop of Worms (and Chancellor of the Palatine Electorate) Johann von Dalberg, mentioned above. Besides them, the Bishops of Eichstätt Johann III von Eych (1404–1464, educated in Vienna and Padua) and Wilhelm von Reichenau (1426–1496 educated in Erfurt, Vienna and Padua) were particularly distinguished in this field.[48] In addition, this group included the Meissen bishops Dietrich III von Schönberg (c. 1400–1476, educated in Rome) and Johann von Salhausen (1444–1518, educated in Rome) and the aforementioned Berthold von Henneberg (1441–1504, educated in Erfurt and Padua) as Archbishop and Arch-Chancellor of the Empire in Mainz.[49] At the end of this article, we will also encounter the Passau bishop Christoph von Schachner (c. 1474–1500, educated in Vienna and Bologna).

Frequently, in these smaller and politically less influential territories, ecclesiastical office, princely power and political impact on the surrounding areas could hardly be separated from one another. This is not the place for a detailed discussion of the cultural projects undertaken by these representatives of an old system and of a new era, notwithstanding their importance; some of them display interesting innovations and new aspects of applied humanist ideas.

12.3 Modernising Wittelsbach Palaces in the Duchy of Lower Bavaria

Certain fundamental ideas of a new humanist culture circulating from the outset as elements of new political demands also carried great potential for expanding the role of the fine arts and for artistic innovation as a medium of self-representation. Architecture and its semantic potential were emphasised early on by Italian humanists such as Piccolomini and Leon Batista Alberti. For fifteenth-century Italy, this development and its semantics have already been investigated and described many times for both sacred and profane architecture.[50] In particular, the palace as princely residence and other secular roles taken on by these buildings, together with the development of

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48   J. Dendorfer, *Reform und früher Humanismus in Eichstätt. Bischof von Eych (1445–1464)*, (Eichstätter Studien, 69), Regensburg 2015; M. Fink-Lang, *Untersuchungen zum Eichstätter Geistesleben im Zeitalter des Humanismus* (Eichstätter Beiträge, Abteilung Geschichte, 14), Regensburg 1985.

49   U. Schirmer, 'Der Verwaltungsbericht des Bischofs Johannes aus dem Jahr 1512. "Johannis de Salhausen XLII. Episcopi administrationis epitome"', *NArchSächsG* 66 (1995), 69–101.

50   C. Smith, *Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism. Ethics, Aesthetics, and Eloquence 1400–1470*, New York/Oxford 1992; C. Burroughs, *From Signs to Design. Environmental Process and Reform in Renaissance Rome: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome*, Cambridge 1990; A. Cole, *Italian Renaissance Courts. Art, Pleasure and Power*, London 2016.

their magnificence, gained in importance. This approach applied especially to princely territories and their residences, such as Naples (under King Alfonso 1443–1458), Mantua, Ferrara and, from the pontificate of Nicholas V (1447–1455) onwards, also more and more pronouncedly to Rome.

In the Holy Roman Empire, the Bavarian dukes of the House of Wittelsbach and the Saxon House of Wettin were among the first German princes to commence a structural modernisation of their residences and seats of government, which can be understood as demonstrative gestures and thus as acts of political architecture.[51] These campaigns included the extension of the Alte Hof (c. 1465) and its furnishing with a new iconography[52] in the Upper Bavarian city of Munich, and the expansion of the main residence of Lower Bavaria at Trausnitz Castle above the city of Landshut. In the vicinity of the main residences, a new type of smaller hunting lodges were updated, for example at Blutenburg Castle (c. 1488) north-west of Munich.[53] However, these new ambitions and the new level of architectural aspiration are most evident in the Duchy of Lower Bavaria, with its capital at Landshut. In Lower Bavaria, extensive new courtly buildings were erected and are still largely preserved: the Neues Schloss in Ingolstadt, and the castle in Burghausen.

From 1479 to 1503, Lower Bavaria was ruled by Duke Georg the Rich, who in 1475 had married Hedwig (Jadwiga), daughter of the Polish king Casimir. His mother, Amalie of Saxony, descended from the house of Wettin; his uncles, Ernst and Albrecht von Wettin, had emerged as ambitious builders in Saxony in 1468 (Dresden Castle) and in 1471 (Albrechtsburg in Meissen). It is therefore no coincidence that the extent and innovative orientation of the architectural design of residences in Saxony and Bavaria clearly showed structural parallels. Nonetheless, nothing is known so far about any direct exchange of artists, and indeed the varying architectural forms used in each case seem to argue against there having been any such exchange.

In Ingolstadt, where recent research has been able to correct the erroneous early date of the Neues Schloss, a new core building on a rectangular ground

51   Essential for the German territories: M. Müller, *Das Schloß als Bild des Fürsten. Herr-schaftliche Metaphorik in der Residenzarchitektur des Alten Reichs (1470–1618)*, Göttingen 2004; K. Neitmann, 'Was ist eine Residenz? Methodische Überlegungen zur Erforschung der spätmittelalterlichen Residenzbildung', in: P. Johanek (ed.), *Vorträge und Forschungen zur Residenzfrage* (Residenzforschung, 1), Sigmaringen 1990, 11–43.

52   A.M. Dahlem, *The Wittelsbach Court in Munich. History and Authority in the Visual Arts (1460–1508)*, Glasgow 2009, esp. 187–189 & 194–196; E. Burmeister, *Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Alten Hofes in München*, Munich 1999.

53   J. Erichsen (ed.), *Blutenburg – Beiträge zur Geschichte von Schloß und Hofmark Menzing*, Munich 1985.

plan, separated from the city by a deep ditch, was constructed from 1479 onwards (fig. 12.6).[54] Here, it is only possible to mention in passing the structural innovations, including the decision to provide the representative first floor with mainly stone vaults. The resulting structural effort, as well as an unusual level of demand on the statics, may be interpreted as a demonstrative increase in material expenditure and splendour. An exemplary role here might have been played by the Albrechtsburg owned by the Wettins' relatives in Meissen, under construction at the time, or even by new Italian buildings, such as the palazzo of Urbino with its vaulted staterooms. Contrary to the situation in Meissen (and Urbino), however, the formal language at Ingolstadt can largely be understood as being in traditional late Gothic idiom. Artistically ribbed vaults over richly figured floor plans determined the impression of the rooms (fig. 12.7); their technical and design roots lay in the sacred architecture of the High Middle Ages. It seems as if there was no-one at the Lower Bavarian court who went on to develop an innovative formal language comparable to that of Arnold von Westfalen at the Wettin court of c. 1471. Perhaps Duke Georg's father had no wish to do so; obviously, the circumstances can no longer be reconstructed in detail.

Within a few years, however, this situation would change at the Lower Bavarian court. Only a little later – the exact building dates have unfortunately not yet been established – but certainly not long before 1483,[55] Duke Georg the Rich began another extensive new building of a secondary Wittelsbach residence. This was the castle of Burghausen on the Salzach river, which had

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54   The traditional dating: S. Hofmann, 'Die Baugeschichte des Ingolstädter Schlosses im Spiegel der erhaltenen Baurechnungen', I–III, *Sammelblatt des Historischen Vereins Ingolstadt* 88 (1979), 78–109, 89 (1980), 25–99 (1990), 173–202. For the new dating: C. Syrer, 'Des Herzogs "newe veste". Zur Bautätigkeit unter Ludwig dem Gebarteten in Ingolstadt in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Kunstgeschichte. Open Peer Reviewed Journal* (2013), (urn:nbn:de:bvb:355-kuge-350-4); S. Hoppe, 'Die Residenzen der Reichen Herzöge von Bayern in Ingolstadt und Burghausen. Funktionale Aspekte ihrer Architektur um 1480 im europäischen Kontext', in: A. Schmid, H. Rumschöttel (eds.), *Wittelsbacher-Studien. Festgabe für Herzog Franz von Bayern zum 80. Geburtstag* (Schriftenreihe zur bayerischen Landesgeschichte, 166), Munich 2013, 173–200.

55   At present, the inscription '1483' on a beam in the upper floor of the core building is all that can be used as a reference for dating this building campaign. B. Langer, *Burg zu Burghausen. Amtlicher Führer*, Munich 2004; Hoppe 2013, *op. cit.* (note 54). Magdalena März is currently also preparing a dissertation that will deal intensively with Burghausen Castle under the author's supervision. M. März, 'Fürstliche Bauprojekte als Manifestationen neuer Herrschaftskonzeptionen im 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhundert. Untersucht an der herzoglichen Residenz zu Burghausen und Ansitzen im Inn-Donau-Raum', *Mitteilungen der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Neue Folge: Stadt und Hof* 6/6 (2017), 77–116.

FIGURE 12.7   Ingolstadt, Neues Schloss (1479 onwards), ducal reception room (Stube) (room
                        no. 4 in Figure 12.6)
                        PHOTO: BAYERISCHES ARMEEMUSEUM

traditionally been used as the residence for the female court and was at that time inhabited by his wife Hedwig.[56] First, the ducal living quarters at the southern end of an elongated mountain ridge was extended; then, from 1488, the complex was enclosed by a spacious and very modern fortification for the deployment of artillery (figs. 12.8 and 12.9).

In Burghausen, an architectural formal language was now implemented which left behind the rather filigree Gothic architectural language in Ingolstadt by its widespread use of round arches, and by the employment of pre-Gothic vaulting schemes such as the barrel vault and burr vault. Individual ribbed vaults were given a massive and archaic effect by band mouldings from the late Romanesque period. This is the case at least in the secular areas of the palace, while in the two palace chapels, which were also completely or largely constructed from scratch, traditional Gothic ribbed vaults can be seen, the craftsmanship of which was enhanced in accordance with the latest fashions (cf. Fig. 12.1). The spatial impression of the upper castle chapel, which was largely redesigned together with a new residential building, is determined by an extensive net vault with typical Gothic ribs. In addition, this room also includes architectural elements unusual for the Gothic period, such as large *tondi* windows and a west gallery with a Romanesque-style vault. Here, traditional ribbing was renounced, and instead of the linear net of ribs, surface and volume present a different effect (fig. 12.10). The art-historical concept of the Gothic vault can no longer be applied when it comes to this gallery vault. The aesthetic effect is reminiscent of Romanesque vaults of the twelfth century and of architectural solutions from the early Italian Renaissance.

In the neighbouring new princely palace at Burghausen, several interconnected vaulted rooms extend along the ground floor (fig. 12.11). For a long time, art-historical research had dated these rooms back to the Romanesque period of the thirteenth century,[57] although the stonework and the unbroken structural connection with the new princely apartments on the two upper floors suggest that they were built in the early 1480s. Here, it was not the burr vault reminiscent of Romanesque models but the massive style of the band ribs and cubic consoles that misled art historical research and that can be regarded as a reference to Romanesque-style ideals. These new vaults in Burghausen are supplemented by an almost iconic use of the rounded arch instead of the Gothic

56   J. Dorner, *Herzogin Hedwig und ihr Hofstaat. Das Alltagsleben auf der Burg Burghausen nach Originalquellen des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Burghausen 2002.

57   A. Landgraf, 'Mittelalterliche Holzeinbauten in der Burg zu Burghausen', *Burgen und Schlösser* 22 (1981), no. 2, 108–111.
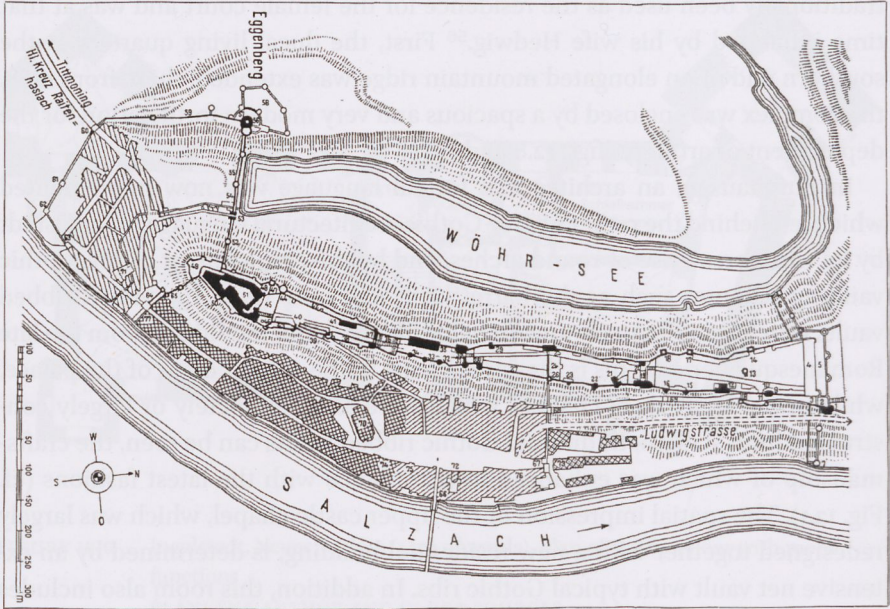
FIGURE 12.8   Burghausen Castle, overall plan
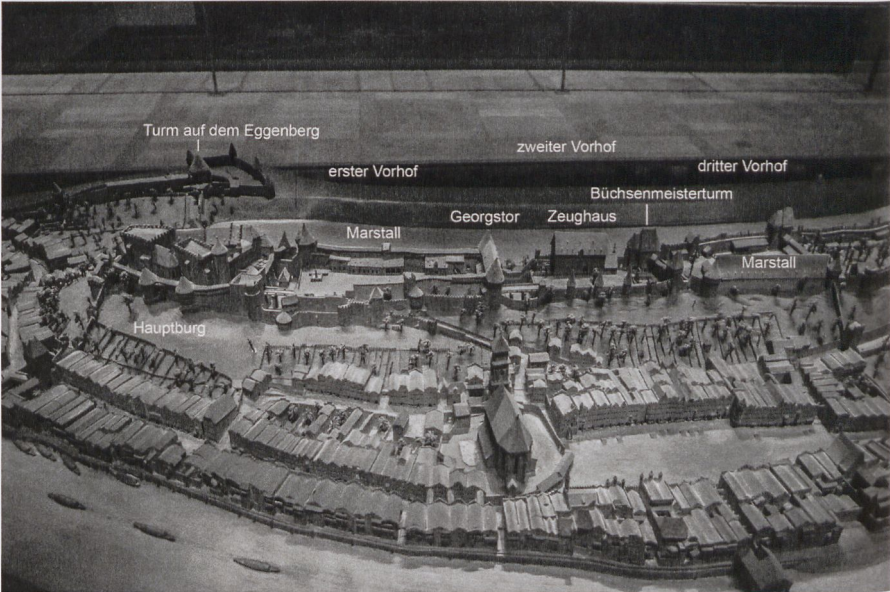PHOTO: PUBLIC DOMAIN

FIGURE 12.9   Jakob Sandtner from Straubing, contemporary wooden scale model of
Burghausen (1574), detail with the castle from the east (Coll. BNM)
PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 12.10   Burghausen Castle, St. Elisabeth's Chapel (inner chapel), west gallery with a Romanesque Renaissance style vault, c. 1480/90
PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 12.11   Burghausen Castle, ground floor rooms in the palace with Romanesque Renaissance style vaults, c. 1480
PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 12.12   Burghausen Castle, inner courtyard with facade of the western wing
                PHOTO: AUTHOR

pointed arch for portals. The multiple layering of the wall surfaces of single fa-
çades in the palace's inner courtyard is also reminiscent of Romanesque design
principles (fig. 12.12).

In sum, the Burghausen architecture creates the impression of monumen-
tality and solidity of stone building, with motifs borrowed above all from the
local Romanesque. In c. 1480, the historical self-image of the ducal court of
Lower Bavaria had obviously evolved so that such a new specific stylistic lan-
guage became a desirable reference, one which was associated in elite circles
with a distant past. This new style of Burghausen Palace also corresponds to a
direct iconographic reference to antiquity at the site, since the duchess's court
master and ducal counsellor Hans Ebran von Wildenberg (c. 1426–c. 1503)
inserted a Roman stone with an inscription commemorating an obscure
Decurio L. Bellicius Quartio visibly into the innermost gate of the core castle
(Elizabeth's Gate) (fig. 12.13).[58] It could be seen there until 1765 and it has later
been replaced with a replica. Elizabeth's Gate was built shortly after 1482 in the

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58   Langer, *op. cit.* (note 55), esp. 47.

FIGURE 12.13 Burghausen Castle, Roman inscription stone commemorating the Decurio L. Bellicius Quartio, inserted c. 1482 at the newly built Elisabeth's Gate (replica)
PHOTO: AUTHOR

new monumental style reminiscent of Romanesque design principles. With the attached Roman stone tablet, old and new formal references to antiquity meet here, and style again played a crucial role to authenticate historical narratives.

Around 1479 the courtier Hans Ebran had composed the first version of a new chronicle of the princes of Bavaria (*Chronik von den Fürsten aus Bayern*), the first text in which the Roman rule in Bavaria was emphasized as an epoch in its own right connected with the first local princes.[59] Afterwards Hans Ebran

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59 F. Roth (ed.), *Johann Ebran von Wildenberg. Des Ritters Hans Ebran von Wildenberg Chronik von den Fürsten aus Bayern*, Munich 1905; J.-M. Moeglin, *Les ancêtres du prince*.

travelled to the Holy Land accompanied by the Dominican scholar Felix Fabri. The latter had lived and worked in the imperial city of Ulm since 1468, and on the long joint journey of 1480 the courtier Hans Ebran might have become familiar with some new basic ideas on Swabian humanism. The Ulm monk was clearly interested in the architectural legacies of ancient times. He regarded the Romanesque abbey church of Wiblingen (not far from Ulm) as a late-antique building: '*pars antiquae ecclesiae quae constructa fuit anno domini 444 sicut sculptura docere videtur*'.[60] Hans Ebran was also in touch with the humanist influenced Wittelsbach court in Heidelberg, where historiography was given a new role in the communication of the prince's fame according to ancient patterns and where remnants of the local ancient culture were collected. Ebran was certainly not a humanist but it can be assumed that the Bavaria courtier developed a still quite exclusive new attention for the new humanistic idea of *mutatio rerum*.

Hans Ebran was interested in new ideas of princely self-expression and certainly enjoyed some practical influence in Burghausen. But he certainly did not design the new architectural style. Who is a possible candidate here? In 1486, a certain Ulrich Pesnitzer who was mainly an expert in military matters was entrusted with the important office of court architect for the ducal building industry following new developments for example in Burgundy and Saxony. He had appeared in the sources a few years earlier in the sphere of the ducal court.[61] He was the scion of a knightly family from Slovenia that had cultivated connections to the imperial court in his father's generation. Other master builders, such as Wolfgang Wiser (also known as Wiesinger) – a specialist for vaults who probably came from the neighbouring Wasserburg to Burghausen and who, unlike Pesnitzer, had certainly enjoyed a thorough education in practical construction engineering – were involved in some of the tasks involved

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     Propagande politique et naissance d'une histoire nationale en Bavière au Moyen-Âge (1180–1500), Geneva 1985, 144–171; G. Veesenmeyer (ed.), *Fratris Felicis Fabri Tractatus de civitate ulmensi, de eius origine, ordine, regimine, de civibus eius et statu*, Tübingen 1889; H.J. Cohn, 'The Early Renaissance Court in Heidelberg', *European Studies Review* 1 (1971), 295–322; B. Studt, *Fürstenhof und Geschichte. Legitimation durch Überlieferung*, Cologne/Weimar/Vienna 1992.

60   Fabri (ed. Veesenmeyer), *op. cit.* (note 59), 175.

61   S. Hoppe, 'Baumeister von Adel. Ulrich Pesnitzer und Hans Jakob von Ettlingen als Vertreter einer neuartigen Berufskonstellation im späten 15. Jahrhundert', in: A. Lang, J. Jachmann (eds.), *Aufmaß und Diskurs. Festschrift für Norbert Nußbaum zum 60. Geburtstag*, Berlin 2013, 151–186.

in the construction of the new residential wing of Burghausen.[62] This fact is attested by the Hedwig Chapel at Burghausen Castle, built by him in c. 1489, which is a masterpiece of the innovative art of the late Gothic vault (cf. fig. 12.1).

Today, it is no longer possible to comprehend in detail whether these verifiable or presumed figures were involved in the development of the new formal language that included references to Romanesque models. The knight and military man Pesnitzer may have been an experienced coordinator, but he probably cannot be credited with the development of a new formal language. Wiser has not left any clues either, especially not if one considers his other work, e.g. at Nonnberg Monastery in Salzburg. It can therefore be assumed that the vital and innovative role in the creation of a new architectural style fell to another expert who was able to design new building forms and then to instruct the traditionally trained builders.

Before the grand wedding of the Duke's young son Georg to Hedwig of Poland in 1475, the Lower Bavarian court had been searching for a new court painter. Recently, Björn Statnik convincingly ascribed a work by a master previously known as 'Attel's Master' (*Meister von Attel*) to Sigmund Gleismüller, the court's preferred painter over the following years, and proved his comprehensive and internationally extensive body of knowledge.[63] Gleismüller's extant work shows that he had visited the Rhineland and probably also the Low Countries before settling down in Landshut; there are hints that he might even have been to Italy. In particular, there are clear parallels to Italian frescoes. In any case, it is evident that the ducal court had decided in favour of an outstanding and supra-regionally experienced painter and thus also demonstrated a sophisticated understanding of the arts.

Two altarpieces by Gleismüller, created shortly before 1482 and still preserved today, stand out like a thunderbolt against the backdrop of the more traditional art of painting at the Landshut court prior to 1475. On what is known as *Mörlbacher Retabel* in Mörlbach, and on the five panels preserved from the monastery at Attel am Inn (today exhibited in the State Gallery at Burghausen Castle), not only is Netherlandish influence on the representation

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62   G. Pretterebner, 'Baumeister Wolf Wiser', *Burghauser Geschichtsblätter* 30 (1970), 5–43; F. Bischoff, *Burkhard Engelberg "der vilkunstreiche Architector und der Statt Augspurg Wercke Meister". Burkhard Engelberg und die süddeutsche Architektur um 1500. Anmerkungen zur sozialen Stellung und Arbeitsweise spätgotischer Steinmetzen und Werkmeister*, Augsburg 1999, 344ff; März 2017 (note 55), 93–96.

63   B. Statnik, *Sigmund Gleismüller. Hofkünstler der reichen Herzöge zu Landshut*, Petersberg 2009.

FIGURE 12.14   Sigmund Gleissmüller (attr.), *Disput der heiligen Katharina mit dem Kaiser*,
                panel from the Attel altar piece (c. 1482), Bavarian State Gallery at Burghausen
                Castle, no. 1444
                FROM STATNIK 2009

of landscape discernible, but the theme of the architecturally complex interior
is also presented.

On painted scenes of Biblical and legendary events (Attel: *Gastmahl des
Herodes, Disput der heiligen Katharina mit dem Kaiser* (fig. 12.14), *Disput der hei-
ligen Katharina mit den heidnischen Rhetoren, Ausgießung des Heiligen Geistes*;
Mörlbach: *Verlobung Mariens, Heimsuchung, Epiphanie*), Gleismüller elabo-
rated an architectural-stylistic idiom that strikingly reveals motifs and stylistic
elements of monumentality parallel to that of real architecture in Burghausen
shortly afterwards. The predominance of the round arch, round windows and a
partitioning of the thickness of the walls into several layers (*Wandschichtung*)
can be found here. All these motifs are typical of the Romanesque style.
Furthermore, with barrel vaults and apses on a semi-circular ground plan

(Attel: *Disput der heiligen Katharina mit dem Kaiser*), building forms were adopted which could be found both in the Romanesque period and in antiquity as well, and which underpin an impression of gravity and monumentality in the painted interiors. Statnik associated the intended scenographic effects of single interiors with direct Italian models and speculated whether Gleismüller might have seen Mantegna's Eremitani frescoes in Padua beforehand.

Unfortunately, large parts of Sigmund Gleismüller's later work in Landshut have probably been lost, while even the date of his death is also unknown. However, the later architectural pictorial inventions of the younger painter and engraver Hans Mair ('Mair von Landshut', c. 1450/60–c. 1504) indicates that the development of an architectural idiom based on Romanesque models and reinforcing the elements of gravity and monumentality was also pursued after 1482 in Landshut.[64] Mair probably worked in the 1480s as a journeyman in the workshop of a colleague of Gleismüller's – presumably Jörg Breu of Landshut – and later moved to Munich and Freising around 1490. Here, he not only created paintings with an imaginative architectural stage, clearly reminiscent of the Romanesque period, but c. 1500 also made a number of signed and dated copper engravings, in which the new cubic architectural style so prominent at Burghausen Palace once again had a distinctive effect. The fictional architectural setting of his *Frauenhaus* or his *Geburt* (Nativity) print is a good example (fig. 12.15).

Mair's individual engravings almost seem precursors of the later monumental interiors in the antique style employed by Albrecht Dürer in his engravings. At this point, the continuity, developed over generations of painters, between the experiments in early Romanesque style of the late fifteenth century, and the particularly transalpine idea of the ancient monumentality of the early sixteenth century, can be clearly observed. The built examples of this first style of the early Renaissance, such as Burghausen Palace, also reach far into the sixteenth century and, in their continuity, document a united direction in intellectual history.

12.4   The Bishop's Castle: Hohensalzburg under Johann Beckenschlager

The new architecture at Burghausen did not remain an isolated case in the Inn-Salzach region; it unsurprisingly disseminated through its environs. In the 1480s, the royal Bohemian palace of Krivoklat (Pürglitz) (fig. 12.16) and the

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64   M. Gammel, *Studien zu Mair von Landshut*, diss. TU Berlin, Berlin 2011; Statnik, *op. cit.* (note 63), esp. 217–221.

FIGURE 12.16   Krivoklat (Pürglitz) Castle, Bohemia, Royal Palace with Romanesque
Renaissance style vaults, 1480s
PHOTO: AUTHOR

politically linked Bohemian castle of Svihov (Schwiehau) show similar secular interiors, designed with a preference for bare groin vaults and barrel vaults.[65] In the immediate vicinity of Burghausen, the Archbishop of Salzburg took up these new-style experiments in the area south of Burghausen. At the time, the imperial principality and archbishopric of Salzburg was going through an eventful and complicated political history in the buffer zone between the Wittelsbach and Habsburg dynasties. Emperor Frederick III had attempted to dismiss Archbishop Bernhard von Rohr (1421–1487)[66] in order to install Johann Beckenschlager (also: Beckensloer, c. 1435–1489), a candidate close to him, in the archiepiscopal see. Bernhard von Rohr was already following the

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65   J. Fajt, M. Hörsch, V. Razim, (eds.), *Křivoklát–Pürglitz. Jagd–Wald–Herrscherrepräsentation*,
Stuttgart 2014; The ribless vaults in Křivoklát were probably built at least in part before
those in Svihov, probably in the early 1480s; D. Menclová, *České hrady* (České Dějiny, 46),
2 vols., Prague 1976, esp. 393–405. Here, the date of the ribless vaults and the staircase at
Svihov is probably too late and should actually fall in the first construction phase of the
1480s.

66   F. Zaisberger, *Bernhard von Rohr und Johann Beckenschlager, Erzbischof von Gran, zwei
Salzburger Kirchenfürsten in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Phil. Diss. (masch.)
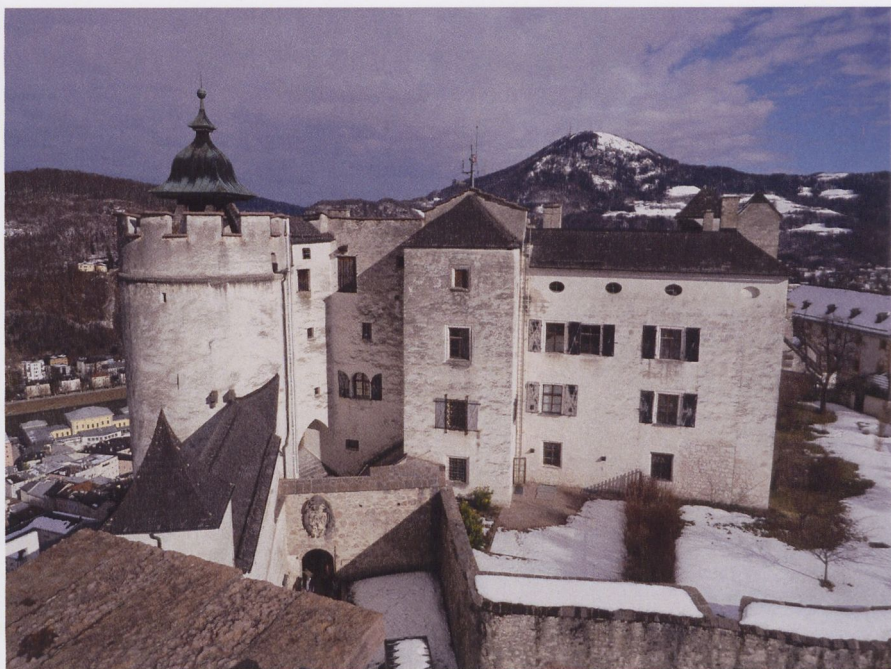Vienna 1963.

FIGURE 12.17   Salzburg Castle, central palace ('Hoher Stock')
PHOTO: AUTHOR

new movement of humanism and was regarded as an active building patron. Nevertheless, it was not von Rohr but his successor Beckenschlager who introduced the new monumental style in Hohensalzburg Castle above Salzburg, when he *de facto* took over the government in 1482 (fig. 12.17).

In Salzburg, likewise, with the Hohensalzburg an older mediaeval castle was converted into a presentable palace with the sovereign's residence to complement the traditional bishop's court north-west of the city cathedral.[67] Johann Beckenschlager can be regarded as a dazzling personality who made his ascent as protégé of the Archbishop of Esztergom (Gran), János Vitéz (1465–1472). Vitéz was one of the first influential supporters of early humanism and of the Renaissance in Hungary and probably played a role as intermediary with Italy even before King Matthias Corvinus adopted these ideals. After the fall of Archbishop Vitéz, Beckenschlager took over his office and property, which included a richly equipped humanist library that he ultimately transferred to Salzburg. Beckenschlager himself cannot be regarded as a humanist bishop in accordance with Schmidt's aforementioned concept, but he was well acquainted

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67   R. Schlegel, *Veste Hohensalzburg*, Salzburg 1952; P. Schicht, *Bollwerke Gottes. Der Burgenbau der Erzbischöfe von Salzburg*, Vienna 2010.

FIGURE 12.18   Salzburg Castle, Hoher Stock, central hall with Romanesque Renaissance style vaults, c. 1485
PHOTO: AUTHOR

with the rhetorical potential of the new culture and obviously knew how to use it to great effect. Immediately after taking over the government in Salzburg, he began to leave his mark on the city's architecture, naturally enough resorting to the new stylistic developments known from neighbouring Bavaria.

A palace was created by reconstructing the older castle together with the archbishop's apartment. The presentable central upper floor, serving as an anteroom to the apartment, displayed monumental, extensive vaulting in the style of Romanesque models.[68] In fact, this vaulting was only risked in the statically safe central area of the staircase. Here as well, strikingly massive round arch portals were installed and a number of red marble columns with allusions to Romanesque models were used (fig. 12.18). As in Burghausen, the princely apartment was given a third room in addition to the reception room and the bedroom; it can probably be interpreted as some kind of study offering an impressive view of the landscape around the princely castle. Perhaps the Esztergom library, well equipped in the humanist sense, was set up here. It

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68   Hoppe 2018, *op. cit.* (note 5), esp. 525–527.

also contained an Italian manuscript of the letters of the younger Pliny and his descriptions of the views from his villas.[69]

12.5   Passau in the Days of Christoph von Schachner

Somewhat later, a German prince-bishop followed suit with a third secular Romanesque-inspired building project in the Inn-Salzach region, this time in Passau, north of Salzburg and Burghausen. Here, as in Salzburg, from the thirteenth century onwards the bishop's court in the city had been complemented by Oberhaus Castle in an elevated position. After some political turbulence, the result of the diocese's location in the buffer zone between the Wittelsbach and Habsburg spheres of influence, Christoph von Schachner (c. 1447–1500), a staunchly humanist bishop, succeeded to the see in 1490. Towards the end of his life in 1498/99, he decided to extend the largely traditional and mediaeval Oberhaus Castle by a striking new building at its western end. The 'Schachner Building', named after him, was built at this point but has only recently been recognised in its entirety as a monumental 'crossbar' between the outer castle and the core castle. Only the most recent dendrochronological investigations have proven a building date under Schachner (fig. 12.19).[70]

This new architecture also combined several aspects that had previously been developed in connection with the then new humanist culture, particularly in Italy but recently also adopted at German courts. As in Burghausen and Salzburg, the presentation of the view from the new princely rooms out to the surrounding impressive landscape played a role in the specific design of the building. In Passau, elaborate substructures were adopted to provide the building with a three-part faceted front facing the city above the Danube. Large windows provided a view in several directions and thus created a variety of images. The Schachner building was not vaulted on the upper floor, while on the ground floor the way led from the main gate via a vaulted room and up a straight-running staircase to the upper floor (fig. 12.20). Straight staircases were the norm in the Bavarian area in the domain of monumental stone staircases from the middle of the fifteenth century and are difficult to classify stylistically. Nonetheless, at Passau the plain vault in the anteroom in front of the staircase

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69   Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Cod. 141 (Salisb. 7). Cf. Amt der niederöster-
      reichischen Landesregierung, *Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn 1458–1541*,
      cat. exh. Schallaburg (Renaissanceschloss Schallaburg), Vienna 1982, esp. 147, cat. no. 20.
70   J. Dupper, S. Buchhold, B. Forster (eds.): *Mächtig prächtig! Fürstbischöfliche Repräsentation
      zwischen Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Regensburg 2019.
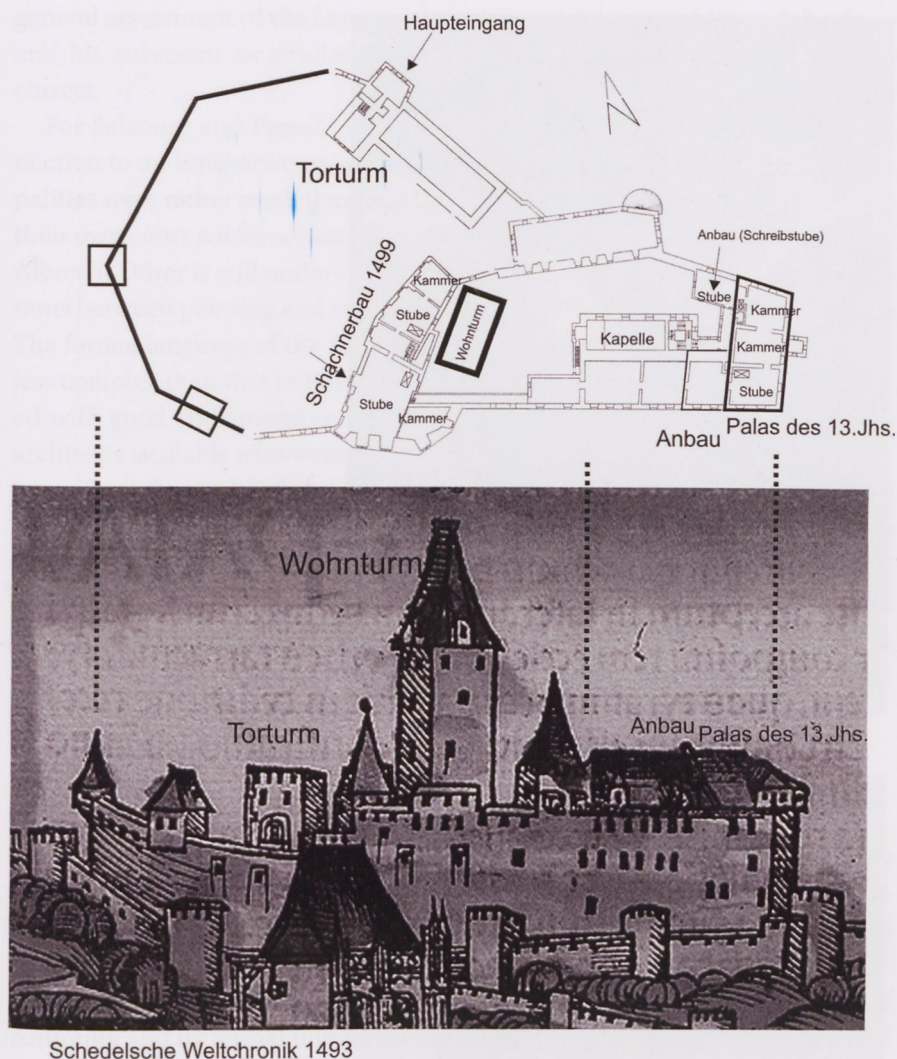
FIGURE 12.19   Passau, Veste Oberhaus, the situation around 1500
DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR WITH OLDER SOURCE MATERIAL

obviously follows the Romanesque-style patterns in Burghausen, Salzburg and also in Krivoklat and Svihov, all dating from the 1480s.

It currently remains unclear whether this construction phase in Passau of 1499 also includes other components east of the core castle. Should this be the case, then the study will have been added at that time. It was erected above a solemnly vaulted pergola with groin vault in Romanesque style. The façade of a tower attached to the castle chapel, with its compact corner columns reminiscent of thirteenth-century architecture, dates back to 1508 (fig. 12.21). The

FIGURE 12.20
Passau, Veste Oberhaus, ground
floor entrance hall at the
Schachner Bau with Romanesque
Renaissance style vaults,
1499 (with modern technical
additions)
PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 12.21
Passau, Veste Oberhaus, facade of
the chapel, c. 1508
PHOTO: AUTHOR

general assessment of the construction phase under prince-bishop Schachner and his successor as emulating Romanesque models is therefore certainly correct.

For Salzburg and Passau, in contrast to the Landshut court, a direct connection to an innovative painter's culture cannot be established. Both principalities were rather small temporal territories and could not afford to establish their own court painters. Nonetheless, the generation of German artists before Albrecht Dürer is still under-researched in many aspects, so that new connections between painting and architecture may perhaps be established in future. The formal language of the Salzburg and Passau building projects is, however, less complex than that of Burghausen, and could certainly also be implemented with good craftsmanship. Here as well, there were probably no specialist architects available who were able to develop a complex new architectural language from the model of antiquity. This circumstance has certainly contributed to the fact that the buildings of this period in Burghausen, Salzburg and Passau have so far received little to no attention from art historians. Nevertheless, the stylistic context, and thus the presumed processes of exchange at a courtly level and by personnel acting within this framework, should be evident.

12.6   The New Style of the Romanesque Renaissance and Its Potential Semantics and Aesthetics

Some developments of architecture in Germany during the last third of the fifteenth century are presented here using three courtly examples rather little-known to art history but at the time highly regarded. They can be interpreted in several regards.

These examples can be understood as a general turn towards the culture of Antiquity and its formal phenomena as differing from the cultural practice of the previous two or three centuries in Germany. This stylistic difference forms one of the fundamental ideas of Renaissance humanism developed in Italy, not invented by but nevertheless particularly propagated by the Italian Biondo Flavio (1392–1463) around the middle of the fifteenth century. It would influence artistic projects in Europe throughout the early modern period by the repeated use of ancient motifs and styles as meaningful references to a famous past. From now on, history had a face of its own and new visual arguments could be put forth. This new idiom was used in Augsburg in the mid-1450s, in Ulm in the 1460s, and was relevant for Meisterlin's later findings concerning the architectural legacy of Nuremberg's ancient past. Naturally, this newly discovered language became also significant to a new generation of princes of Bavaria, Salzburg and Passau born around the middle of the century and

as their realms vied for new roles as politically active members of the Holy Roman Empire. Historians should reflect on the respective functions of these new references to Antiquity in their specific contexts.

However, there is also an aesthetic perspective regarding these new German buildings, even if ultimately it cannot be separated from the semantic view. It was probably a formal characteristic of Antique and, in the specific case of the areas north of the Alps, Romanesque buildings that particularly fascinated the artists and their patrons. This special aesthetic quality can be described as the immediate 'force of expression' (*Wucht des Ausdrucks*, Aby Warburg 1912), an expression of monumentality, 'strength' (*Stärke*, Meisterlin 1488) and durability of these old stone buildings.[71] This typical stylistic characteristic of both Roman and Romanesque architecture, which is still perceptible today, presumably appeared particularly desirable for the newly conceived purpose of princely castles and other state buildings at that time.

The German humanist, companion of Piccolomini, imperial councillor and ultimately Bishop of Trent, Johannes Hinderbach (1418–1486), commented in 1475 on the extensive new construction of his residence of Buonconsiglio in Trent to his friend Raffaele Zovenzoni with the classical allusion '*Rifacemmo in marmo già quasi tutto il castello che era in mattoni e, in parte, in legno*'.[72] To make the new stone quality particularly clear, Hinderbach and his architect used a trick in the newly-built large hall on the first floor of Buonconsiglio. By moving the window fronts outwards by means of oriel-type extensions to such an extent that particularly deep niches were created, spanned by the two-dimensional cross vaults in the Romanesque style, a thickness of the walls was emphasised that was actually not present at all (fig. 12.21).

Almost exactly the same trick was used by the Wettin court architect Arnold of Westfalen when, around 1472/73, he pulled the inner front of the walls of the converted second floor of the Wettin castle Rochlitz inwards to such an extent that they finally rose unstably above the empty spaces of the lower floors

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71   In 1912/1922, Aby Warburg used these words to describe the human body. However, architecture was also given new rhetorical tasks in the Renaissance. A. Warburg, 'Italienische Kunst und internationale Astrologie im Palazzo Schifanoja zu Ferrara', Rome 1912/1922, in: A.M. Warburg, D. Wuttke (eds.), *Ausgewählte Schriften und Würdigungen*, 2nd ed., Baden-Baden 1980.

72   G. Dellantonio, 'Il principe vescovo Johannes Hinderbach e l'architettura: interessi umanistici, motivazioni archeologiche ed impegno pratico', in: I. Rogger, M. Bellabarba (eds.), *Il principe vescovo Johannes Hinderbach (1465–1486) fra tardo Medioevo e Umanesimo, Atti del convegno di Trento del 1989*, Bologna/Trento 1992, 253–270; cf. G. Dellantonio, 'In viridario novo Castri Boni Consilii. Architettura e umanesimo al tempo di Johannes Hinderbach', in: E. Castelnuovo (ed.), *Il Castello del Buonconsiglio*, 2 vols., Trento 1996, 71–87.

FIGURE 12.22   Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, large hall on the first floor from around 1470–'75 and its facade with the fake oriel windows

PHOTOS: AUTHOR

(fig. 12.22).[73] Here, as well, the normal building principles were stretched to create particularly deep window recesses, which were provided with vaults of the new ribless type (fig. 12.23). Hinderbach's Castello del Buonconsiglio, incidentally, contains further adoptions of Romanesque building motifs, such as column bases with typical twelfth-century Romanesque corner decoration. The connection between such artistic tricks in Trent and Saxony which occurred contemporaneously, almost to the year, should be pursued further in research.

Given the emphasis on monumentality, strength and durability, in the architectural task of the princely castles and other princely and stately buildings of the era, the architectural development north of the Alps concurred with some of the key developments in Italy. For example, comparison of the residence in Urbino, largely rebuilt in the 1460s, with the residence in Meissen, rebuilt in the 1470s, reveals a number of structural similarities. These include the great effort that was put into extensive stone vaults in the residence. Their monumentality was expressed in Urbino, as well as in the roughly contemporaneous Northern buildings at Meissen, Burghausen, Salzburg and Passau, by a suitable formal language learned from older patterns, and Meissen – with its vaults even on the second floor – even surpassed Urbino in this respect.

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73   S. Reuther, 'Bautätigkeit auf Schloss Rochlitz in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts', in: C. Striefler (ed.), *Schlossbau der Spätgotik in Mitteldeutschland. Tagungsband*, Dresden 2007, 146–154.
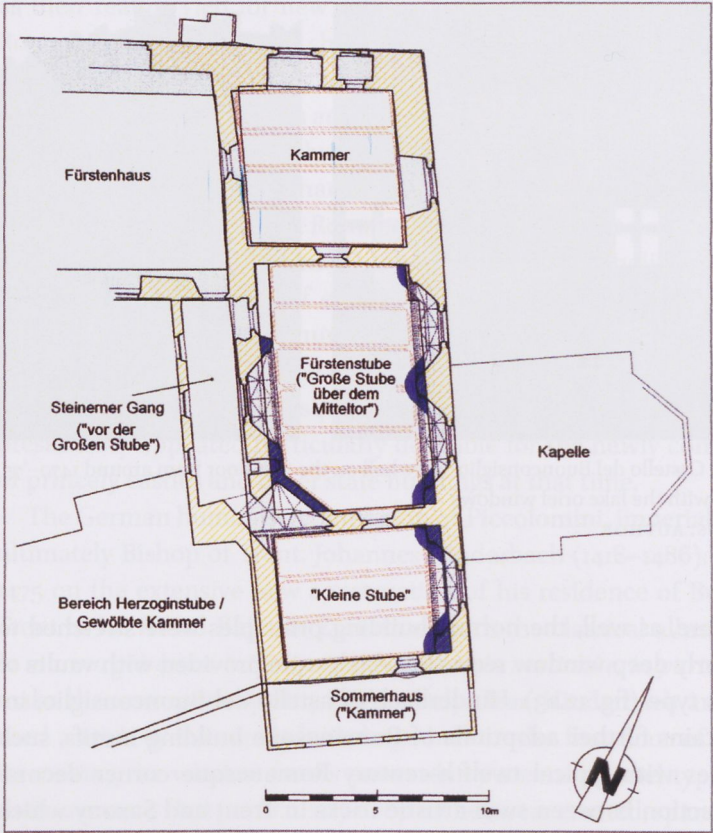
FIGURE 12.23   Rochlitz castle (Saxony), in 1472–'73 an older set of walls
was doubled from the inside to achieve more monumental
niches for the new windows and their vaults in a new style
FROM REUTER 2007, PHOTO: AUTHOR

In this experimental phase, the stylistic results obviously differed in individual regions, but in all cases they specifically referred to the ideas of ancient architecture, inspired by ideals of humanism and linked by its culture of exchange and intellectual networking. Thus, all these princely secular building projects bear witness to the intention to 'reawaken' the arts in those areas considered neglected over previous centuries. This new formal consciousness of difference cannot be separated from the question of the formal conditions of the transfer of ancient cultural components into the early modern era, as discussed among humanists at the time. Although the revival of Latin in accordance with classical models was one of the key points of humanist innovation, another important issue was the role and value of the vernacular, i.e. local languages.[74] For this reason, humanists from north of the Alps paid vigorous attention to the reform of the German language and dealt with questions of the appropriate translation of ancient and humanist material into other recipient cultures.[75] German humanists such as Gregor von Heimburg, Niklas Wyle or Heinrich Steinhöwel, the latter already mentioned above in his relation to Ulm, addressed in their linguistic works the challenges of translating ancient materials to achieve as comprehensive an effect as possible and to extend the idea of reform to other areas as well.[76]

Thus, despite its already-existing knowledge and awareness of the irretrievable difference and distance from Antiquity, the humanist movement nearly always intended to have a positive impact on its own time and to initiate a reform of as many areas of life as possible. In this sense, recourse to previous art forms could be understood as a *widererwachsung* (Albrecht Dürer) or 'renaissance'. This renaissance was not meant to be a mere copy of Antiquity, but rather dealt creatively with the ancient material in accordance with contemporary and also regional or even national requirements. This fits well with Christiane Smith's findings in her ground-breaking study on 'Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism' concerning one often overlooked aspect of the Italian discourse in the era when many of the German humanists who later took the lead in the 1480s had been educated. As an example, she cites Alberti's endeavours to reconcile a classical architectural style with modern needs, i.e. tradition with modern culture, in an emulation of mainly Ciceronian ideas.

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74   G.P. Norton, 'Humanist Foundations of Translation Theory (1400–1450): A Study in the Dynamics of Word', *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature. Revue Canadienne de Litterature Comparee* 8 (1981), no. 2, 173–203; P. Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti, Erasmus*, Cambridge 2004.

75   H.J. Vermeer, *Das Übersetzen in Renaissance und Humanismus (15. und 16. Jahrhundert). Der deutschsprachige Raum* 2, Heidelberg 2000; W. Schwarz, 'Translation into German in the Fifteenth Century', *The Modern Language Review* 39 (1944), 368–373.

76   Hoppe 2018, *op. cit.* (note 5), esp. 571–580.

While the focus was on cultural development, architecture was also compared to linguistics. An eclectic use of sources in this context meant that Alberti might praise the Gothic cathedral of Florence and even include mediaeval elements in his own designs. Tradition and innovation can thus be reconciled, as long as the new is as good the old.[77]

German humanists, too, were aware of the fact that engagement with history always contains creative and constructive elements and that these parts in no way diminish the quality or meaning of historical concepts. As a matter of fact, their image of Antiquity was different from that of the sixteenth century and, even more so, of the eighteenth century, when the foundations of modern art history were laid. An analysis of the buildings presented here provides an initial indication of this divergent picture of Antiquity held by given individual intellectuals, as well as in politically influential circles, during the fifteenth century. In Germany, unlike in Italy, these reform ideas and the styles associated with them were not automatically applied to architecture as a whole. Rather, and especially in the field of ecclesiastical architecture, particular motifs such as tracery and special artistic achievements such as the figured ribbed vault were retained from the regional repertoire as indicators of a 'sacred mode' in the sense of the rhetorical and Vitruvian decorative theory. Gothic as a period style (*Epochenstil*) gradually turned into an optional stylistic mode. In the 1970s, the German art historian Hermann Hipp came to understand this fact through statistical studies of the sixteenth-century German building industry, and he described the Gothic motifs current during the Renaissance as a 'church mode' (*Kirchischer Stil*).[78] The reception of Romanesque architecture in German architecture from around 1470 onwards was therefore not a phenomenon of a natural emergence of new stylistic forms, but rather a deliberate choice for a specific purpose and, from then on, one mode among several.

It is not the aim of the present article to replace the traditional art-historical perception of the late German Gothic around 1500 with that of a German Romanesque Renaissance as a new period style, but rather to describe and interpret the beginning of an intentional stylistic plurality during the last third of the fifteenth century, one arising on the basis of the political and intellectual conditions of the time. The new stylistic plurality, and components of the Romanesque Renaissance, thus reveal themselves as revolutionary innovation and reform within the overall framework of the European Renaissance.

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77   Smith, *op. cit.* (note 50), esp. 78–79.

78   H. Hipp, *Studien zur "Nachgotik" des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland, Böhmen, Österreich und der Schweiz*, diss. 1979; H. Hipp, 'Early Modern Architecture and "the Gothic"', in: M. Chatenet (ed.), *Le Gothique de la Renaissance. Actes des quatrième Rencontres d'architecture européenne, Paris, 12–16 juin 2007* (De Architectura, 13), Paris 2011, 33–46.