



THE INFLUENCE OF "PHILIPPIENNE" FORTIFICATION IN WESTERN GERMANY

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IT HAS LONG BEEN KNOWN THAT THE DEVELOPMENT of French architecture had a strong influence on the German region in the 13th century, for example at Cologne Cathedral, which was begun in 1248 in the style of Amiens Cathedral, and the cathedrals of Bamberg and Naumburg, whose towers were modelled on Laon. It is therefore obvious that these influences were also felt in the field of fortification, *i. e.* castles and urban fortifications, but so far this has only rarely been recognised by German researchers. A few castles and urban fortifications on the western edge of the German-speaking area (as it was in the Middle Ages), whose ground plans and architectural concept more than suggest French influence, have occasionally been interpreted in this context in recent decades. But in the case of many comparable sites, for which more recent studies are lacking or whose local experts have no knowledge of more recent French research, there has so far been no attempt at derivation, or in individual cases they have been attributed without any proof to “oriental” influence via the crusaders.

My article attempts to give the first overview of such buildings in the region west of the Rhine, from Alsace via the Middle Rhine-Palatinate region to the Lower Rhine. I will focus on the question of how French models were assimilated *i. e.* how mixed forms were sought between indigenous types of construction and the quite different Philippine concepts. It will be shown that, in the case of urban fortification, relatively direct adoptions took place, while compromises had to be sought much more laboriously in the field of castle construction.

Due to the limited space available, I will concentrate on a type of castle called “Kastelle” in German,² meaning rectangular constructions with round corner towers (and mostly long slit embrasures). Of course, limited adoptions of French or Philippine building forms had occurred earlier on, some of which have already been treated in German research, such as circular great towers with several vaulted storeys, twin-towered gatehouses—in German “Doppelturmtore”³—rows of round flanking towers, and long slit-shaped

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2. In the following, I will use the German word „Kastelle“ for this type, because in German it means a specific type of construction, whereas „castellum“, „château“, „castle“ or „castello“ is, in other languages, a much more general term referring to what is called „Burg“ in German, *i. e.* a (medieval) fortification primarily in the sense of a noble seat.

3. In German, a „Doppelturmtor“ means a gate that is flanked by two towers of basically the same design – *i. e.* not a gate with several towers arranged one behind the other.

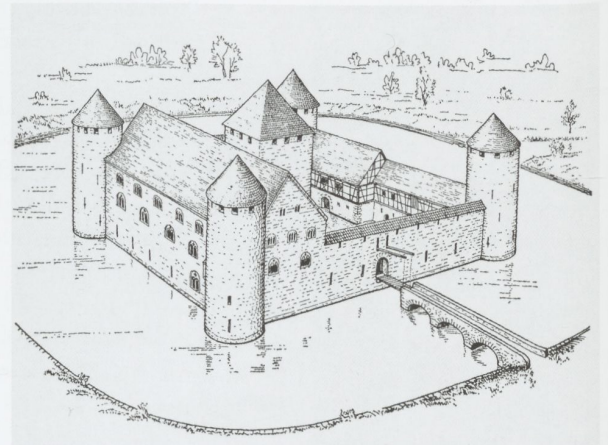
FIG. 1. THE WESTERN PARTS OF THE MEDIEVAL GERMAN-SPEAKING AREA ON THE RHINE, MAP SHOWING CASTLES (TH. BILLER)



FIG. 2. LAHR CASTLE IN BADEN, RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SITE IN THE 13TH CENTURY (KARL LIST)

concentration in the north, on the Lower Rhine around Cologne and to the north of it, by itself illustrates a fundamental point: “Kastelle”, and other geometrically regular castle forms, are more suitable for lowland topography; further south in the mountain zone they are clearly rarer (although even there some are located in lowlands).

According to current research, the earliest example of a regular “Kastell” with round corner towers in Germany is the castle in Lahr at the western foot of the Black Forest.⁴ (fig. 2) According to the dendrochronological dating of a board, made from fir, it was built around 1218 by the Lords of Geroldseck, an influential family in the 13th/14th centuries, and demolished in the middle of the 18th century. Only a corner tower has survived, but excavation has revealed further walls. Lahr is rather well-suited to illustrate the typical mixture of French and German elements. The shape of the castle and its embrasures, also the shape of the windows, are clearly influenced by French structures; the lost square keep or residential tower, on the other hand, follows German customs that are even more evident in the use of bossed ashlar (in German “Buckelquader”) which, among my group of sites, is confined to Lahr.



embrasures. In reality these forms also appear far to the east of the Rhine, for example in the Duchy of Bavaria; I will not deal with this topic here, but I will at least mention some examples.

“Kastelle”

The map (fig. 1) shows the locations of the 13th and early 14th century “Kastelle” that I will discuss. The

4. Wingenroth M., 1908. *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Grossherzogtums Baden*, vol. 7.: *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Offenburg*. Tübingen, 42-56 and 47-56. List K., 1966. Die Tiefburg Lahr, ein staufisches Schloß. *Nachrichtenblatt der Denkmalpflege in Baden-Württemberg*, 9, vol. 3/4, 80-91. List K., 1969. Ergebnis einer Jahrringchronologischen Untersuchung von Hölzern aus der Burg Lahr. *Nachrichtenblatt der Denkmalpflege in Baden-Württemberg*, 12, vol. 4, 98-99. List, K., 1984. Die Tiefburg Lahr. Schneider, H. (ed.), *Burgen und Schlösser in Mittelbaden* (= Die Ortenau 64), 313-319. List, K., Brucker, P., 1977. *Die Wasserburg Lahr, eine Burg aus der Stauferzeit*. Lahr.

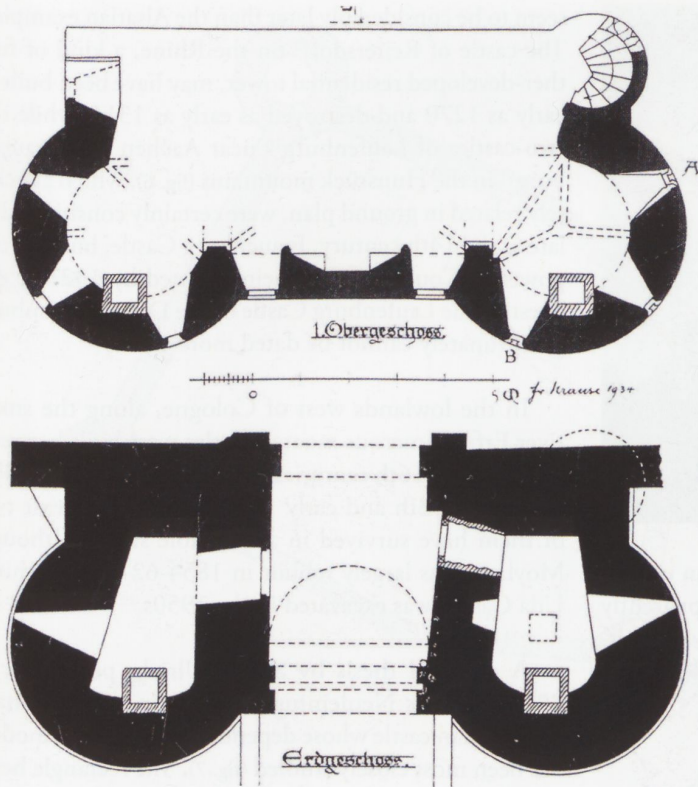


FIG. 3. WELSCHBILLIG CASTLE NEAR TRIER, "DOPPELTURMTOR", FLOOR PLANS AND PHOTO (KUNSTDENKMÄLER SAARBURG, SEE NOTE 4; TH. BILLER)

The castle in Welschbillig near Trier, built by the archbishopric of Trier before 1299,⁵ was obviously much more "French". Unfortunately, only a remnant of the gatehouse and a corner tower have survived (fig. 3). At least they show that, as in all the other cases I will consider here, smooth masonry following French models was adopted, along with French window shapes. In Alsace, which is one of the most castle-rich regions of the area and was German in the Middle Ages, we find three examples of "Kastelle" with round corner towers, all situated on mountains. Two of them—Zellenberg and Delle—⁶ (fig. 4) with their circular great towers at one corner, can be considered smaller and simplified adaptations of French castles such as Dourdan or Nesles-en-Dôle;⁷ they were built around the third quarter of the 13th century and, at least at Delle, the builder was a member of the

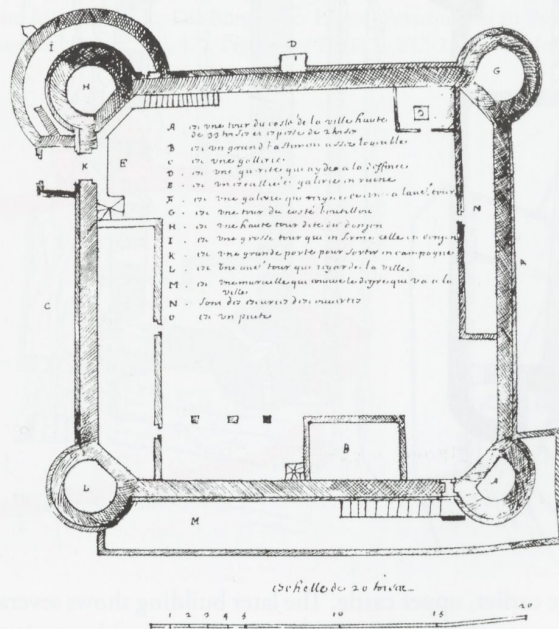


FIG. 4. DELLE CASTLE (TERRITOIRE DE BELFORT), VANISHED CASTLE, PLAN FROM 1662 (R. WILL, LES CHÂTEAUX DE PLAN CARRÉ...)

5. Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz, vol. 15, pt. 2., Ernst Wackenroder, Heinrich Neu: Die Kunstdenkmäler des Landkreises Trier, Düsseldorf, 1936, S. 391-399.

6. Robert Will: Les châteaux de plan carré de la plaine du Rhin et le rayonnement de l'architecture militaire royale de France au XIII^e siècle, in: *Cahiers alsaciens d'archéologie, d'art et d'histoire*, vol. 21 (1978) p. 65-86.

7. For Dourdan: Denis Hayot: L'architecture fortifiée capétienne au XIII^e siècle..., vol., Chagny 2021, p. 159-182, with literature.—For Nesles: Jean Mesqui, *Ile de France gothique*, 2: Les demeures seigneuriales, Paris 1988, p. 256-261, with literature.

Habsburg dynasty. The third example, Landsberg on Mont Ste.-Odile,⁸ (fig. 5) is quite unusual because here a

8. Thomas Biller, Bernard Metz: Die Burgen des Elsass, Bd. II, München Berlin 2007, p. 302-316, with literature.



FIG. 5. LANDSBERG CASTLE (ALSACE), A POSTCARD FROM THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY SHOWING THE TWIN-TOWERED FRONTAGE, WHICH TODAY IS HIDDEN BY TREES.

“Kastell”, comprising only half the ground-plan usually employed, was built close to an earlier castle, apparently without any connection between the two but also without any possibility of defending the new castle against

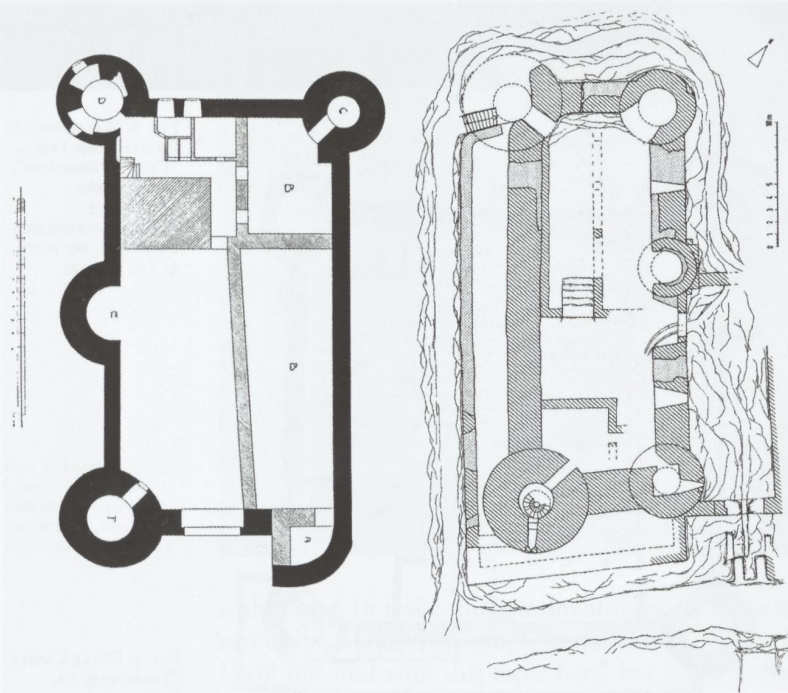


FIG. 6. LAUFENBURG CASTLE (LEFT) AND FRAUENBURG CASTLE (RHEINLAND-PFALZ), PLANS (LAUFENBURG: KUNSTDENKMÄLER DÜREN, SEE NOTE 9; KUNSTDENKMÄLER BIRKENFELD, SEE NOTE 10)

the earlier, upper castle. The later building shows several changes of plan; it has not yet been dated with certainty (but was perhaps built before the middle of the 13th century), and there are various theories about the builder and the circumstances of its construction.

In the northern Rhineland, too, there are smaller “Kastelle” of reduced plan-form, most of which however

seem to be considerably later than the Alsatian examples. The castle of Reitersdorf⁹ on the Rhine, a kind of further-developed residential tower, may have been built as early as 1270 and destroyed as early as 1314, while the two castles of Laufenburg¹⁰ near Aachen and Frauenburg¹¹ in the Hunsrück mountains (fig. 6), which are closely related in ground plan, were certainly constructed as late as the 14th century. Frauenburg Castle, built by the powerful Counts of Sponheim, existed by 1327 at the latest, while Laufenburg Castle of the Dukes of Limburg unfortunately cannot be dated more closely.

In the lowlands west of Cologne, along the small river Erft, numerous moated castles were built between the 13th and 16th centuries, including several “Kastelle” in the late 13th and early 14th centuries. At least two of them have survived in a habitable state—although Moyland was largely rebuilt in 1854-62—and a third, Uda Castle, was excavated in the 1950s.¹²

A doctoral thesis by Stefan Ulrich, published in 2005,¹³ makes Neuleiningen Castle in the Palatinate the German castle whose dependence on French models has been most closely studied (fig. 7). The rectangle here, adapted to the hilltop location, became an asymmetrical hexagon, but unfortunately we no longer see much of

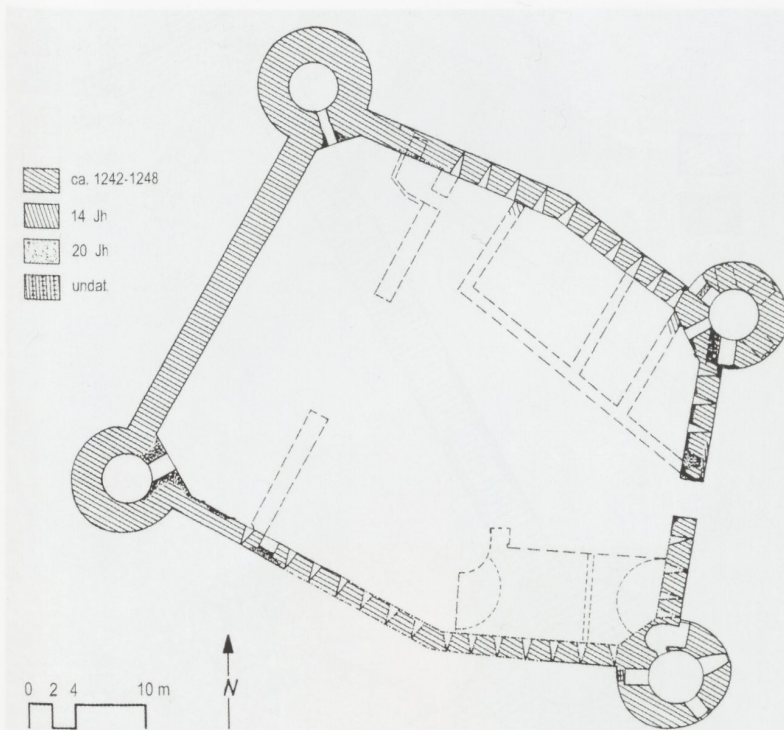
9. Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz, vol. 5, part IV, Edmund Renard: Die Kunstdenkmäler des Siegkreises, Düsseldorf 1907, p. 794.—Manfred Rech: Ausgrabungen in der Pfarrkirche St. Johann-Baptist und an der Burg Reitersdorf, Rhein-Sieg-Kreis, in: Beiträge zur Archäologie des Mittelalters III (Rheinische Ausgrabungen, 25), Klön 1984, p. 233-268.—Wilhelm H. Hamacher: Reitersdorf, die Geschichte eines untergegangenen Dorfes und seiner Burg (Studien zur Heimatgeschichte der Stadt Bad Honnef am Rhein 12), Bad Honnef 1998.

10. Paul Hartmann, Edmund Renard: Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Düren (Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz, 9. vol. I), Düsseldorf 1910, p. 344-345.—Friedrich H. Moll: Die Laufenburg, Höhenburg im Wenauer Forst, in: Jülicher Geschichtsblätter, vol. 87, 2019 S. 133-156.

11. Ulrike Weber-Karge, Maria Wenzel: Kulturdenkmäler in Rheinland-Pfalz, vol. 11: Kreis Birkenfeld, Worms 1993, S. 78-79.

12. Konradshem: Hans Josef Domsta: Burg Konradshem im Mittelalter..., in: Hanns Peter Neuhäuser, Horst Schmitz u. a.: Archiv und Geschichte, Festschrift Rudolf Brandts, Köln, 1978, S. 61-78.—Frank Kretschmar: Erftstadt, Burg Konradshem, in: Denkmalpflege im Rheinland, vol. 18, 2001, p. 126-127.—Moyland: Fritz Getlinger, Matthias Graß: Schloss Moyland, Zerstörung und Wiederaufbau, Geldern 1997.—Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland (ed.): 700 Jahre Schloss Moyland, Museum Schloss Moyland 2007. - Uda: Kurt Schietzel: Burg Uda, Köln/Bonn 1982.

13. Stefan Ulrich: Die Burg Neuleiningen, ihre Baugeschichte unter Berücksichtigung der Stadtbefestigung (Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Pfalz, Bd. 7), Neustadt an der Weinstraße 2005.



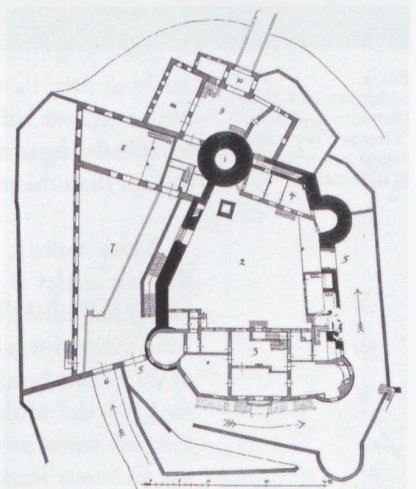
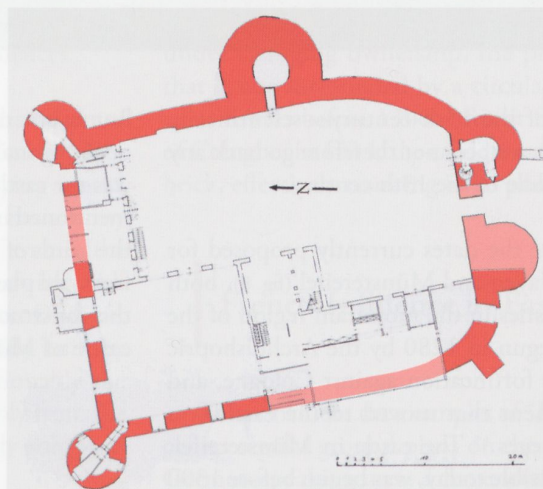
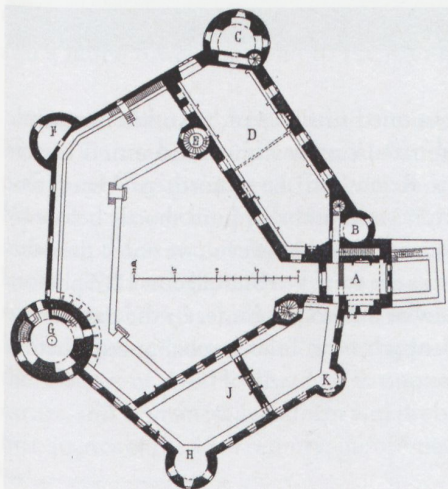
on an undeveloped site, it replaced a motte-and-bailey castle revealed in archaeological investigations. Linn is also virtually the opposite of Neuleiningen in terms of the state of research, for in around 1900 an extremely early date for the castle was suggested, and is still repeated to this day. The curtain wall with its six round towers was, it is claimed, built in seven phases between the 1170s and the 1190s; it is still maintained by researchers that the builder had become acquainted with such forms while on crusade.¹⁴ In truth, while seven phases have been confirmed through modern methodologies, they have not been reliably dated while there is no evidence that this nobleman of Linn participated in a crusade. The earliest dating evidence is a jug made of Siegburg stoneware, which was found in an elevation of the circular wall and can be dated

FIG. 7. NEULEININGEN CASTLE (PALATINATE REGION), CONSTRUCTION PHASE PLAN (STEFAN ULRICH)

the original interior buildings. On the other hand, the slit embrasures—a feature that only appears in Germany through Philippine influence—are here arranged in a density that cannot be found anywhere else in Germany.

14. Last: Christoph Reichmann: Backstein im frühen Burgenbau am Mittelrhein, in: *Die Burg in der Ebene (Forschungen zu Burgen und Schlössern, vol. 17)*, Petersberg 2016, S. 232-237.—Christoph

FIG. 8. THE CASTLES OF LINN, MÜNSTEREIFEL (NORDRHEIN-WESTFALEN, LEFT AND CENTRE) AND MAYEN (RHEINLAND-PFALZ), PLANS AT DIFFERENT SCALES (LINN: KUNSTDENKMÄLER GLADBACH UND KREFELD, SEE NOTE 13; MÜNSTEREIFEL: R. FUCHS, C. NOTARIUS + TH. BILLER; KUNSTDENKMÄLRT MAYEN, SEE NOTE 14)



The castle was built around 1240, along with a defended town whose wall shows the same details.

At first glance, Linn Castle (fig. 8) in the northern Rhineland resembles Neuleiningen, but it is a moated castle; the ruins were rebuilt from 1926 onwards. Moreover, unlike Neuleiningen, which was founded

Reichmann: *Burg Linn*, in: *Burgen Aufrühr*, Essen 2010, p. 248-251.—*Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, part 3,4, Paul Clemen: *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Städte und Kreise Gladbach und Krefeld*, Düsseldorf 1896; Neudruck 2019, S. 133-144.—Albert Steeger: *Burg Linn (Rheinische Kunststätten. 70)*. 6. ed., Neuss 1972.—Johanna Klümpen Hegmans: *Linn, Burg und Stadt vom Mittelalter zur Gegenwart*, Linn 1993.—Christoph Dautermann: *Krefeld-Linn (Rheinische Kunststätten, 509)*, Köln 2009.



FIG. 9.
MÜRLENBACH CASTLE
(RHEINLAND-PFALZ),
"DOPPELTURMTORE"
AND MURAL TOWER
(TH. BILLER)

to the second half of the 13th century—scientifically reliable dating of this wall cannot therefore go back any further than the middle of the 13th century.

More realistic are the dates currently proposed for the two castles of Mayen and Münstereifel (fig. 8), both polygonal hilltop castles in the mountain region of the Eifel. Mayen was begun in 1280 by the Archbishopric of Trier as a border fortification against Cologne, and in 1291 the settlement that moved to the castle was granted town privileges.¹⁵ The castle in Münstereifel, which is very inaccessible today, was begun before 1300 by a member of the dynasty of the Dukes of Jülich,

but is not mentioned until 1314.¹⁶ Another example of polygonal moated castles with round mural towers was the castle in Reichshof(f)en in northern Alsace, first mentioned in 1275 and probably built shortly before by the Lords of Ochsenstein.¹⁷ However, we only know this from old plans, as the ruins were levelled in 1769, before the construction of a Baroque castle. In the case of the castle of Mürlenbach near Trier, probably built before

15. Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz, vol. 17, part 2,2: Hanna Adenauer, Josef Busley etc., *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Mayen*, Düsseldorf 1943, repr. 1985, p. 194-205. - Fridolin Hörter: *Die kurfürstliche Burg und das Landschaftsmuseum in Mayen (Rheinische Kunststätten, 236)*, Neuss 1980. - Udo Liessem: *Die Burg in Mayen. Eine gotische Anlage westlicher Prägung*, in: *Burgen und Schlösser* 23, 1982, p. 2-6.

16. *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz* vol. 4, part II, Ernst Polaczek: *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Rheinbach*. Düsseldorf 1898, p. 106-109. —Harald Herzog, *Burgen und Schlösser, Geschichte und Typologie der Adelssitze im Kreis Euskirchen*, Köln 1989, p. 395-400. —Lutz Jansen, *Die Burg der Herren von Bergheim in Münstereifel*, in: *Geschichte in Bergheim, Jahrbuch des Bergheimer Geschichtsvereins*, vol. 10, 2001, p. 26-76.

17. Will, *châteaux de plan carré...* see note 5, p. 71-72, fig. 15-18.

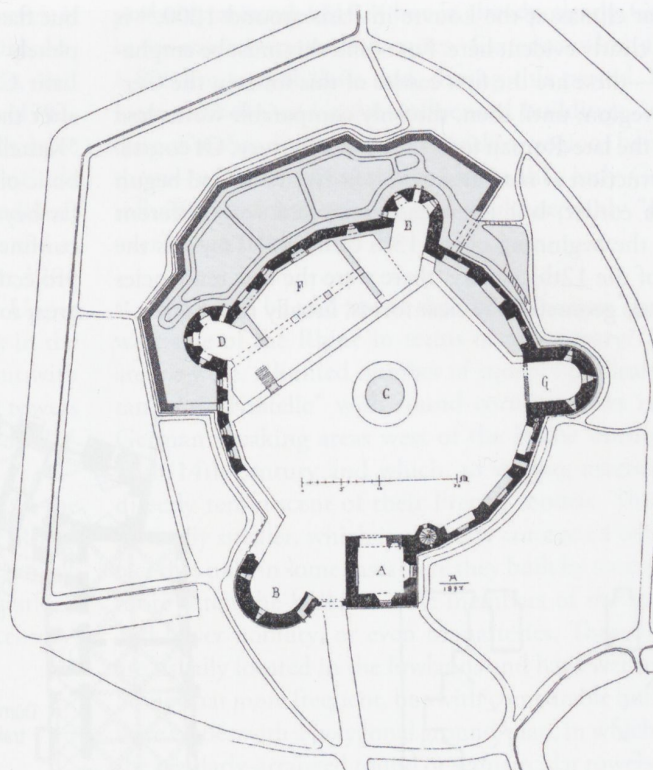
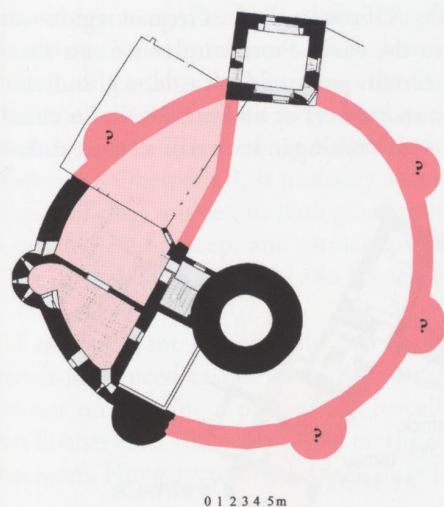


FIG. 10. THE CASTLES OF MÜNCHHAUSEN (LEFT) AND HÜLCHRATH (NORDRHEIN-WESTFALEN), PLANS (MÜNCHHAUSEN: JANSEN, MÜNCHHAUSEN; HÜLCHRATH: KUNSTDENKMÄLER GREVENBROICH, SEE NOTE 19)

1331 by the important monastery of Prüm,¹⁸ the ground plan has become so irregular that one can hardly speak of a deformed "Kastell"; it is rather an irregular complex adapted to the mountain, as is often the case in Germany. Only the twin-towered gatehouse ("Doppelturm", fig. 9) and a mural tower still point to French influences.

One of the more frequent theories on the origin of North German moated castles is that their round or polygonal shape is derived from an underlying motte. However, I cannot support this idea on the basis of my material. Truly round castles are quite rare, even in the lowlands; at least I found only two whose features, with round mural towers, indicate French influence. Of these, Münchhausen¹⁹ near Bonn (fig. 10), apparently built by the Counts of Are-Hochstaden, is unquestionably the earlier, still Romanesque in form and probably from the first quarter of the 13th century; unfortunately only parts

of the main castle have survived. And Hülchrath²⁰ (fig. 10) near Düsseldorf is the only example among my sites, apart from Linn Castle mentioned before, that can probably be described as a remodelled motte. Likely to have been established as a comital castle, and subsequently under changing ownership, the prevailing opinion is that it was surrounded by a circular wall with semicircular towers before 1300. After it fell to the Electorate of Cologne, in 1314, the castle was further developed in brick, effectively resulting in its present form.

French Influence in Eastern Germany

This concludes the examples of "Kastelle" with more-or-less regular ground plans on the western edge of the German-speaking area. I have started my article with them because influence from development in France, as it began in the late 12th century and reached its first spec-

18. Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz, Bd. 12, 2, Ernst Wackenroder: Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Prüm, Trier 1927, S. 314-317.—Michael Losse: Die Bertradbung in Mürtenbach an der Kyll (Schriften zur Kunst, Geschichte und Kultur der Eifel, booklet 3), Marburg a. d. Lahn/Adenau 1997.—same: Bertradbung/Kyll (Edition Burgen, Schlösser, Altertümer Rheinland-Pfalz, booklet 18), Regensburg 2002.

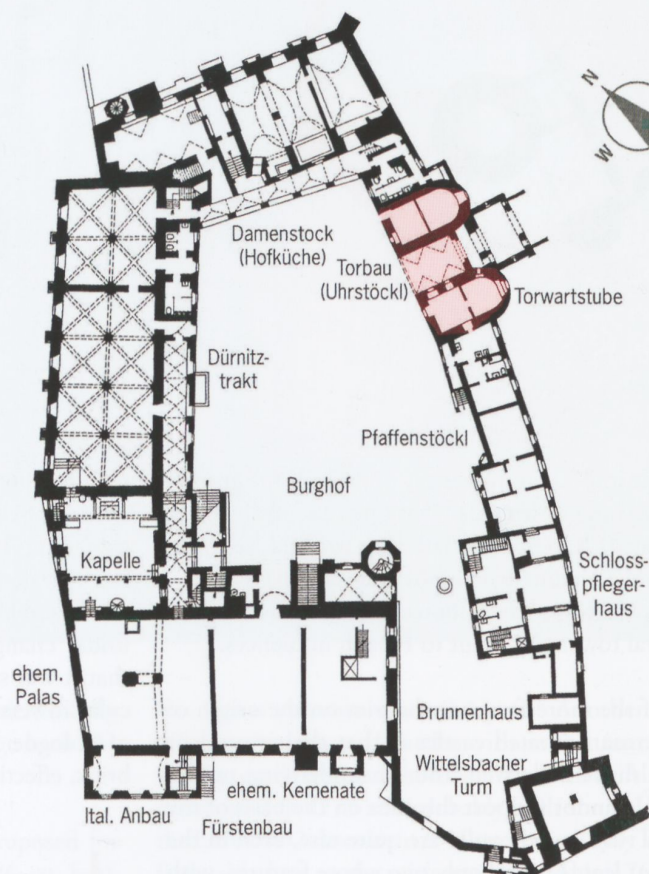
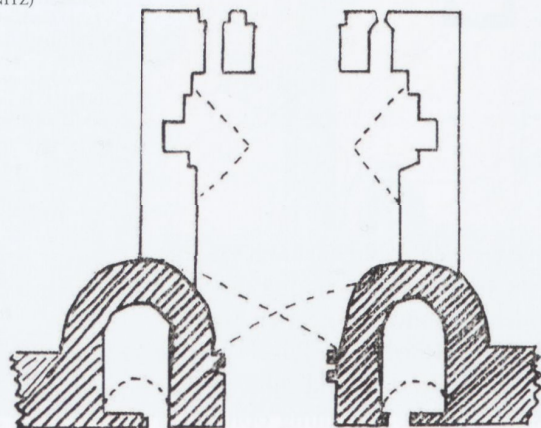
19. Lutz Jansen: Münchhausen, eine übersehene Wasserburg der Stauferzeit im nordöstlichen Eifelvorland (Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Burgenvereinigung, ser. A, vol. 19), Braubach 2018

20. Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz, vol. 3, part 5, Paul Clemin: Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Grevenbroich, Düsseldorf 1897, S. 43-51.—Brigitte Janssen, Walter Janssen: Burgen, Schlösser und Hofesfesten im Kreis Neuss, Neuss 1980, S. 120-139. - Hans Kisky: Hülchrath (Rheinische Kunststätten, booklet 9), Neuss 1964.

tacular climax at the Louvre in Paris around 1200,²¹ is most clearly evident here. For—and this must be emphasised—these are the first castles of this form in the German region; until then, the only comparable forms had been the late-Roman forts of the 4th century. Of course, construction of medieval castles in Germany had begun much earlier, but these castles looked very different until the beginning of the 13th century.²² Towards the end of the 12th century, there were the first tendencies towards geometrically clear forms, usually rectangular,²³

but flanking towers and embrasures were almost completely absent in Germany—until the construction of Lahr Castle in 1218 (fig. 2), about a decade and a half after the Louvre in Paris had turned the concept of the “Kastell” with round towers into a classical form, symbolic of royalty. Of course, in the German region—and far beyond to the east—French influence can also be confined to certain parts of the castle, e.g. individual projecting round towers or embrasures,²⁴ also circular great towers with vaulting in several or all storeys. Some

FIG. 11.
“DOPPELTURMTORE”
IN BAVARIAN CASTLES
OF THE 13TH C.:
VOHBURG (LEFT)
AND LANDSHUT,
TRAUSNITZ CASTLE
(WALDBURG-
WOLFEGG,
NORDREICH...;
LANGER, BURG
TRAUSNITZ)



21. Denis Hayot: *Paris en 1200, histoire et archéologie d'une capitale fortifiée par Philippe Auguste* (Collection L'Esprit des lieux), Paris 2019.

22. Summarising literature: *Burgen der Salierzeit*, 2 vols., Sigmaringen 1991.—*Schloß Tirol, Saalbauten und Burgen des 12. Jahrhunderts in Mitteleuropa* (Forschungen zu Burgen und Schlössern, 4), München/Berlin 1998.—Thomas Biller, Bernhard Metz: *Die Burgen des Elsaß - Architektur und Geschichte*, hg. vom Alemannischen Institut Freiburg/Br., Bd. I: *Die Anfänge des Burgenbaues im Elsaß (bis 1200)*, Berlin/München 2018.

23. Thomas Biller: *Die Entwicklung regelmäßiger Burgformen in der Spätromantik und die Burg Kaub (Gutenfels)*, in: *Burgenbau im 13. Jh.*, München (Forschungen zu Burgen und Schlössern, vol. 7), Berlin 2002, S. 23-43.

of these forms had been noticed and published by German researchers a long time ago—but their observations remained the exception. Almost 50 years ago, the architectural historian Cord Meckseper, from Hanover, drew attention to a series of circular great towers at castles, especially in Baden-Württemberg, whose vaulting on all floors suggests that round donjons from the Kingdom

24. Thomas Biller (with a contribution by Bernhard Metz): *Die Burgen des Elsaß - Architektur und Geschichte*, hg. vom Alemannischen Institut Freiburg/Br., Bd. III: *Der frühe gotische Burgenbau im Elsaß (1250-1300)*, Berlin/München 1995.

of France were their models.²⁵ Among them, however, is the particularly mighty tower in Abbach on the Danube, built before 1226 by the powerful Duke of Bavaria. And in the Duchy of Bavaria itself, other early examples of Philippine influence can be found, which, however, have not yet been recognised by local research. These include two twin-towered gatehouses, albeit heavily modified, in the ducal castles at Vohburg²⁶ on the Danube and at Landshut,²⁷ both of which were developed from 1204 onwards (fig. 11). The castle at Kallmünz in the Upper Palatinate ("Oberpfalz"), is probably also ducal; in the absence of clear sources, its dating is disputed but with its isolated round keep, and semicircular shell towers facing the field, it is probably also French-influenced.²⁸

I do not want to conclude this excursion to the French-influenced castles far to the east of the Rhine without mentioning a particularly revealing example even further east. The small chapel on the royal castle in Esztergom, Hungary, was built in the early 13th century,

probably around 1210,²⁹ but is already clearly Gothic in its most important features. Esztergom lies about 1,500 km east of Paris and, during this period, there were virtually no Gothic-influenced buildings, including churches, in the German-speaking regions between them—which is interesting evidence that early Gothic influences reached very far and could certainly "jump over" large areas.³⁰

What can be said about the "Kastellburgen" on the west side of the Rhine in terms of a summary? There are, or were, a limited number of square or at least rectangular "Kastelle" with round corner towers in the German-speaking areas west of the Rhine during the 13th/14th century and which, to varying extents, are directly reminiscent of their French models. They are generally smaller, which is probably connected with the fact that only in some cases were they built by sovereigns; more often the builders were members of the middle and lower nobility, or even monasteries. These castles are usually located in the lowlands and have wet moats. Somewhat more frequent, but with comparable builders, were castles with a polygonal ground-plan, in which only the regularly-arranged round or semicircular towers reference French models. As a rule, these are hilltop castles in which the ground plan was adapted to the topography and, in this respect, perpetuate the customs of German castle building in the 11th/12th century. Castles with circular plans, which earlier researchers liked to refer to as remodelled motte castles, are on the other hand exceptional.

Apart from the influence of Philippine castles, in the Kingdom of France, upon the western German castles under consideration here—which I consider to be undoubted—the most interesting question in this

25. Ausstrahlungen des französischen Burgenbaus nach Mitteleuropa im 13. Jh., in: Beiträge zur Kunst des Mittelalters, Festschrift für Hans Wentzel, Berlin 1975, p. 135-144.—Cord Meckseper: Die Bergfriede von Besigheim und Reichenberg, in: Château Gailard, 9/10, Caen 1982, p. 199-212.

26. Hubert Graf Waldburg-Wolfegg, Vom Nordreich der Hohenstaufen, München, Zürich 1961, p. 90-92, with plan. — Birgit Friedel: Die Vohburg, in: Vohburg, Beiträge zur Natur- und Kulturgeschichte von Vohburg, Vohburg 2002, p. 131-159.—Birgit Friedel: Die Vohburg, eine frühe Burg an der Donau, in: Neue Forschungen zum frühen Burgenbau (Forschungen zu Burgen und Schlössern, vol. 9), p. 123-142.

27. Felix Mader: Die Kunstdenkmäler von Bayern, Niederbayern, XVI: Stadt Landshut, München 1927, S. 320-405.—Georg Stahl-eder: Die Burg Landshut, gen. Trausnitz, im Mittelalter, in: Witelshaus und Bayern, vol. 1, 1, catalogue of an exhibition, München, Zürich 1980, p. 240-252.—Brigitte Langer: Burg Trausnitz Landshut, official guide, München 2013.

28. Die Kunstdenkmäler von Bayern, Oberpfalz, vol. V, Georg Hager: Bezirksamt Burglengenfeld, München 1906, S. 73-84.—Andreas Boos: Burgen im Süden der Oberpfalz (Regensburger Studien und Quellen zur Kulturgeschichte, 5), Regensburg 1998, p. 217-223.—Ruth Sandner, Andreas Boos: Kallmünz, Metallzeitliche Höhensiedlung und mittelalterliche Burg auf dem Schlossberg, in: Führer zu archäologischen Denkmälern in Deutschland, vol. 44, Stuttgart 2004, p. 129-134.

29. Dezső Dercsényi: Der königliche Palast von Esztergom (transl. Peter Lieber), Budapest 1965.—Ernö Marosi, Die Anfänge der Gotik in Ungarn, Esztergom in der Kunst des 12.-13. Jahrhunderts, Budapest 1984. Pál Cséfalvay, Die Basilika, der Domschatz und der Burg von Esztergom, Berlin 2011.—Mária Prokopp, Konstantin Vukov etc.: A feltárástól az újjászületésig. Az esztergomi királyi várkapolna története (From uncovering to rebirth, the history of the chapel of the royal castle of Esztergom), Esztergom, 2014.—Emese Nagy: z esztergomi királyi palota, az 1934-1969 között végzett régészeti ásatások eredményei (The history of the Royal Palace of Esztergom, archeological discoveries 1934-1969), Budapest-Esztergom, 2018.

30. Thomas Biller: Das „wüste Steynhus“ bei Oschatz in Sachsen, frühe Gotik auf dem Weg nach Osten, in: Architektur und Monumentalskulptur des 12.-14. Jh., Produktion und Rezeption, Festschrift für Peter Kurmann zum 65. Geburtstag, Bern, Berlin etc., 2006, p. 237-261 (supplemented reprint Oschatz 2007), with literature.

context is the way in which the traditions of western regions of Germany were integrated into the “foreign” concept, and the hybrid forms—sometimes even conflicting forms—that arose from this encounter. The compromises that the designers made between German traditions and forms imported from France are sufficiently evident in the small size of most German complexes, compared to royal French castles such as the Louvre or Dourdan—the power-base of the builders was, as a

Catania, Syracuse and Castel del Monte.³¹ They are a special development in the kingdom of Sicily that was most probably inspired by French buildings, but went far beyond them.

Unquestionably more characteristic of the German response to French models, however, is the use of certain specific elements rather than the overall form. I have already mentioned examples of this, such as



FIG. 12.
“DOPPELTURMTORE”
OF THE 13. C. IN
THE RHINELAND:
COLOGNE,
HAHNENTOR,
RECONSTRUCTION
IN THE 15TH C.
(LEFT) AND JÜLICH,
AACHENER TOR
(SIEGFRIED GLOS,
WILLKOMMEN IM
ALTEN KÖLN, BAD
BENTHEIM 2016; TH.
BILLER)

rule, far more limited than that of the King of France. However, this had an aesthetically positive side-effect in that the buildings appear much more compact than many French “Kastelle”, where the few manorial buildings can be somewhat lost in the wide interior space. In smaller German castles, the residential buildings often take up an entire side of the curtain wall, or even two—in most cases, however, this can only be determined through intensive research, because in both countries much of the castle, especially its residential buildings, was later heavily rebuilt.

What the “Kastelle” in both countries are very far from, however, is the aesthetically highly-sophisticated, symmetrical regularity found in the most famous castles of Emperor Frederick II in southern Italy, especially at

round flanking towers or long slit embrasures; to these, of course, we would have to add design details such as gates, portals or chimney stacks. They were already present in the earliest German example in Lahr, although High Gothic forms such as traceried windows did not become established in Germany until the middle of the 13th century (and hardly ever appeared in castles anyway). I would also interpret the disappearance of bossed ashlar-work (“Buckelquader”), use of which, exceptionally, persisted at Lahr, as an effect of French influence. The subtleties of this interaction can also be seen in the great towers of the castles. For as in France,

31. Thomas Biller: Die Burgen Kaiser Friedrichs II. in Süditalien-Höhepunkt staufischer Herrschaftsarchitektur, Darmstadt 2021, with literature.

one finds here two distinct patterns: on the one hand, a circular corner tower somewhat larger than the others, and on the other the absence of an obvious dominant tower *i. e.* four equally large corner towers. What is not found at all in Germany, however, is the tower isolated by a separate moat and drawbridge. And on closer inspection, one can recognise further features in large circular corner towers which distinguish them from French donjons: comparable towers in Germany were, as a rule, not residential, as shown primarily by their much simpler internal appointments. Vaults are the exception here and even where they do exist, they are far plainer, while large windows and fireplaces are also relatively rare and normally limited to one storey. In short, even the larger corner towers of French-influenced castles in Germany remain the "Bergfriede" of German tradition; the isolated and well-equipped residential tower for the lord of the castle does not occur here.

Urban fortifications

My second and last topic is urban fortification. It is well known that King Philippe Auguste of France not only developed new castle forms, but also commissioned urban fortifications using the same essential forms *i. e.* mainly equipped with round flanking towers and numerous slit embrasures. The most famous example, only preserved in remnants but now well researched, is, like the Louvre, in Paris—the wall of the city itself.³²

The starting point for all considerations on this topic, when looking at the area west of the Rhine, must be the doctoral thesis by Udo Mainzer from 1973.³³ At that time, Mainzer examined the city gates on the Lower Rhine, in the Cologne area, and it became clear that twin-towered gatehouses in particular played a major role there in the late 13th and 14th centuries. The French origin of the form was not discussed at that time, but the wall of the largest city in the region, Cologne itself,

was seen as the starting point. Cologne had seven "Doppelturmtore" of somewhat variable size and shape, three of which have survived (fig. 12). They have long been discussed, mainly in relation to the question whether they could be a development from the Roman gates, of the early 4th century AD, in the fort at Deutz directly opposite Cologne. In fact, these gates show certain attributes that can hardly be derived from French models. Foremost among them is the fact that they are actually rectangular gatehouses, with rich Romanesque windows in their rear, city-side faces, which are merely supplemented by two "shell" towers in such a way that they look like twin-towered gatehouses from the field. Here, therefore, an independent, new form was developed, and it remains difficult to decide whether French influence played the more important role, or the local Roman model. *One observation that rather supports the idea of a special local development is that twin-towered gatehouses in France were apparently used at castles right from the beginning (e.g. at the Louvre), initially as symbols of royal power but quickly becoming more widespread. However, although twin-towered gatehouses appeared at Paris in about 1210, and in other Philipienne city walls of around the same period, they do not seem to have been used again in French urban fortifications until the 1270s, at Aigues-Mortes.*³⁴ In the Rhineland, on the other hand, they are often the original city gates, beginning with Cologne from about 1210-50, and then predominate until the 14th century.

In my opinion the Cologne model, which is apparent at Bonn, Andernach and Ahrweiler, was replaced from the second half of the 13th century onwards by a more direct French influence, which manifested itself in walls with slimmer towers, round and semicircular, and is even more clearly seen in numerous Rhenish twin-towered gatehouses of more modest dimensions, which were mostly equipped with typically "French" slit embrasures (fig. 12).

32. Denis Hayot, see note 20.

33. Udo Mainzer: Stadttore im Rheinland (phil. Diss. Köln 1973; 3. Veröffentlichung der Abteilung Architektur des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Köln), Köln 1973.—Udo Mainzer: Stadttore im Rheinland (Rheinischer Verein für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz, Jahrbuch 1975), Neuss 1976.—Thomas Biller: Die mittelalterliche Stadtbefestigung im deutschsprachigen Raum, ein Handbuch, I: Systematischer Teil, II: Topographischer Teil, Darmstadt: Philipp von Zabern/ Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft), 2016 (revised ed. in 1 vol. 2019).

34. Canton d'Aigues-Mortes (Gard; Inventaire général des monuments et richesses de la France), 2 vol., Paris 1973.—Bernard Sourina: Les fortifications d'Aigues Mortes, in: Congrès archéologique des France, CXXXIV, 1976, p. 9-26.—Michel-Édouard Bellet, Patrick Florençon: La cité d'Aigues-Mortes (Itinéraires), réimpression Paris 2020.