

Anatomy of an Early «Villa» in Central Europe

The Schloss and Garden of the Saxon Elector Frederick the Wise in Lochau (Annaburg) according to the 1519 Report of Hans Herzheimer

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At the turn of the 16th century in Central Europe, hunting was the traditional reason or pretext for a member of the high nobility to spend time in the country, in rural surroundings far removed from the normal arena of his everyday life, spent usually in a town¹. Seen against this backdrop, the decision by the Saxon Elector Frederick the Wise (reign 1486-1525) to remodel an old hunting seat located some 20 km outside his main residential town of Torgau, and to extend it by adding an extremely costly pleasure garden, was an expression of changing conceptions of what it meant for a prince to spend time in the country.

This article presents the Lochau complex, which is little known today, with its pleasure and its separate structures, describing them as far as the sources and the meagre structural remains permit². A substantial portion was destroyed as early as 1572 when a new building, still in existence, was constructed on the site. At that time the name Annaburg, still in use today, was introduced (fig. 1-3).

According to his distinguished ancestry and office, Frederick the Wise was one of the highest-ranking princes in the *Altes Reich*³. Among his direct forebears were Emperor Ludwig the Bavarian, Margaretha of Habsburg (the sister of Emperor Frederick III) Grand Prince Olgard of Lithuania, Count Ziemowit IV of Masovia, Duke Barnabò Visconti of Milan, Barnabò Doria of Genoa and numerous other members of important European noble houses. Between 1494 and 1498, the Elector had regularly spent considerable time at the court of Emperor Maximilian I. As one of the closest personal and political confidants of the emperor, Frederick knew at first-hand the courtly life at his preferred palaces in the Netherlands, southern Germany and Austria. In 1493, Frederick went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

* The full titles of the works cited in abbreviated form are given at the end of article.

1. In Saxony, the way of life of the sovereigns changed significantly beginning around 1474. Instead of a form of itinerant rule, moving around among a large number of castles from one fortress to another, sovereigns began to stay longer in the principal cities of the territory, such as Dresden, Torgau, Weimar and Coburg, consolidating their residence (B. Streich, *Zwischen Reiseherrschaft und Residenzbildung: Der wettinische Hof im späten Mittelalter*, Cologne and Vienna 1989, p. 295). For recent research linked to the topic of courtly hunting in 15th and 16th century Germany, see: S. Selzer, *Jagdscenen aus Sachsen. Die Jagd als höfisches Fest auf einem Tafelgemälde vom ernestinischen Hof (1540)*, G. Fouquet, H. von Seggern, G. Zeilinger (ed.), *Höfische Feste im Spätmittelalter*. (= *Mitteilungen der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Sonderheft 6*), Kiel 2003, pp. 73-90. Unfortunately, we lack comprehensive studies on German hunting houses in the 15th and 16th century.

The author would like to express his thanks to Mary Whitely who helped to put this text into its final shape.

2. For recent work, see DONATH, SCHULZE 1994 and U. Fiedler, *Eine Ausgrabung im Hof des Hinterschlusses von Annaburg (ehem. Lochau)*, Ldkr. Wittenberg, *Burgen und Schlösser in Sachsen-Anhalt* 11 (2002), pp. 41-71. Older literature and sources are reviewed there.

3. For an authoritative biography, see LUDOLPHY 1984.

During his journey, he came into direct contact with parts of Italy (Venice) and the world of Mediterranean culture.

Early on, the Elector developed a keen interest in the new trends in Renaissance art and humanism. In 1487, he promoted the imperial crowning of the poet laureate, the humanist Conrad Celtis. From 1496 on, he commissioned Albrecht Dürer a number of times. Later, the Renaissance artists Jacopo de Barbari, Conrad Meit and Lucas Cranach, among others, worked at his court. The University of Wittenberg, founded in 1502, developed into one of the most important early centres of humanism in Germany. These brief facts must suffice here to indicate the cultural horizon within which Frederick chose to shape his preference for staying in the country and its distinctive architectonics⁴.

We can only determine the approximate date when the character of the old hunting lodge in Lochau began to undergo a significant change. The decision to expand the Lochau lodge by the addition of a pleasance, transforming it into a kind of "villa" in a northern clime, was probably taken around 1500, i.e. soon after the Elector decided to withdraw from permanent service at the imperial court. In 1502, the *Sant Magdalen Capellen zur Lochau im Garten* (Saint Magdalene Chapel at Lochau in the Garden) was consecrated⁵. In 1504, the Italian court painter Jacopo de Barbari, whose services had been recently engaged, was put to work in Lochau⁶. For this reason, it is at least possible to surmise that the Lochau was provided with figurative wall decorations in the style and manner Frederick had commissioned at the time for the reconstruction of his urban palace at Wittenberg. There a contemporary description was made in 1508 of the humanistically inspired mixture of allegorical themes culled from Christian *heilsgeschichte* and of classical mythology. This was recently discussed in detail by Heiner Borggrefe⁷. Unfortunately, there is no concrete evidence on the matter for Lochau. In 1517, the palace was expanded by the addition of a horseshoe-shaped outer castle; at that time, the buildings and adjoining garden were surrounded by an earthen rampart and an external moat⁸. South of the garden was a deer park encircled by a wall.

The most detailed description of Lochau at the time of the Elector Frederick is contained in the travel account by the nobleman Hans Herzheimer, who visited the complex for the first time on January 10, 1519⁹. It was explicitly the unusual character of the complex which prompted Herzheimer to write a long account: «Lochau is a decorated hunting seat the likes of which I have never seen. For that reason, I wish to describe the small section which I have personally inspected and was able to take note of»¹⁰. The main buildings at that time consisted of an older inner Schloss (fig. 4, n° 1) and the recently added outer Schloss (fig. 4, n° 2), both moated and connected with one another by bridges. For the main part, the inner Schloss was still the building which had been constructed in 1445, part of which was half-timbered. From the reports on the remodeling undertaken in 1572, it is known that the

4. BRUCK 1903. We lack a new comprehensive study on Frederick the Wise's patronage of the arts. See H. Borggrefe, *Die Bildausstattung des Wittenberger Schlosses. Friedrich der Weise, Albrecht Dürer und die Entstehung einer mythologisch-höfischen Malerei nach italienischem Vorbild*. H. Borggrefe, B. Uppenkamp, (ed.), *Kunst und Repräsentation – Studien zur europäischen Hofkultur im 16. Jahrhundert*, Bamberg 2002, pp. 7-68. E. Bierende, *Lucas Cranach der Ä. und der deutsche Humanismus. Tafelmalerei im Kontext von Rhetorik, Chroniken und Fürstenspiegel*, Munich, Berlin 2002, pp. 157ff.

5. G. Spalatin, *Das Leben und die Zeitgeschichte Friedrichs des Weisen*. Aus den Originalhandschriften herausgegeben von Chr. Gotth. Neudecker und Ludw. Preller (= Georg Spalatin's historischer Nachlaß und Briefe Bd. 1), Jena 1851, p. 144.

6. Proof in BRUCK 1903, p. 288: «Master Jacoff came back again from the Lochau.»

7. E. C. Reinke (ed.), *The Dialogus of Andreas Meinhardi. A Utopian Description of Wittenberg and its University, 1508*, Ann Arbor, Michigan 1976. Borggrefe 2002.

8. BRUCK 1903, p. 268: «Schösser zu Lochau Anschlag des neuen Schüttenbavs... 1517.»

9. HERZHEIMER 1518. Excerpts in LUDOLPHY 1984.

10. HERZHEIMER 1518, fol. 161r

Annaburg Schloss, including its corner towers, had been built for a large part on the foundations of the Lochau. The ground plan of the buildings still standing today thus provide an impression of the dimensions of the earlier architecture at the time of Frederick the Wise. Like the Annaburg later on, the Lochau also had a gate tower whose height, according to Herzheimer, made it possible to see as far as Wittenberg. At certain times, wild animals were allowed to run freely in the inner palace courtyard, where they were protected from hunters :

In the same front courtyard, deer and other wild animals romp. When the Elector is in residence and is desirous of some pleasure, the inner gate of the inner palace is opened. Then these deer and wild creatures run to a trough to eat and are not shy in any way. Once they have finished their repast, they run back into the outer Schloss area ¹¹.

Most of the section in Herzheimer's report dealing with the Schloss building itself has been published elsewhere and unfortunately has only limited value as a description of the actual form of the architecture ¹². For that reason, and given the restriction of space here, I wish to concentrate primarily on his description of the garden with its satellite structures, a highly unusual ensemble for the period in question. This is the first time a full description has been published :

11. HERZHEIMER 1518, fol. 261r and v.

The German originals of this and the following quoted passages read : "In dem selben vorhof laufen hirsche und wild umb. Wenn der Kurfürst alda ist und will ein lust haben, so tut man das innere Tor im inneren schloß auf, alsdann so laufen dieselben hirsch und wilde in das inner schloß zu einem trog zum essen ohne alle scheu. So sie gegessen haben, laufen sie wiederum heraus in das vorschloß. // Von dem lustgarten : Das innere und äußere schloß ist umgeben mit einer künstlichen gschudt, welche zu der were und der erden wohl erbaut ist. Verporgenlichen darinnen ist ein groß und schöner weingarten, der über rayff gezigt ist. Und als ich bericht bin, trägt der weingarten zu gewöhnlichen Jahren bei dem 800 und mehr eimer weins dem frankenwein gleichmäßig. // Trinckstubenpress : Im weingarten ist eine schön erbaute weinpress aufs allerbest gemacht mit aller zugehorung. Oben auf der weinpress ist ein schöne getäfelte stube und cammer, nennet man auf der trinckstube, ist aufs lustigisst ausgeputzt. Und oben umb ein schöner gang gebaut, darauf setzt man im Sommer vol mit nagelstock, zypress, lafendl und allerlei würtzgarten und edler kräuter. // Frucht allerlay : In dem selben lustgarten wachsen manigerlai fruchte und sonderlich dergleichen, die im paradies wachsen, die Ihr Churfliche gnaden durch die Fugger und andere aus den walischen landen sein zugeschickt, als veignbaum, margranten, mandlbaum und pfersichbaum, [ein Wort unleserlich] roßmarinbaum. // Ein Capelln : In dem selben lustgarten sind noch mehr lusthäuser, die nach lustberlichen künstlichen gemall aus sind geziret, insunder ist ein schöne cappellen in der Ehr S. M[aria] Magdalen in derselben lusthaus einen. // Und in dem anderen [...] lusthaus ein wolgemachte schieszhuttl und oben auf eine lustige trinkstube, daraus mag man dem schießen zusehen, und unten im garten sein zwei zeyl von der schiesshutten bis Zum peuch von ein weichselbaum überpayn als ein gewelib. [...] Im dritten lusthaus steht ein schönes grünes grosz vogelhaus, ist auf 20 schritt lang, und 5 schritt weid, daran ein stuben gepawen, mögen die vögel winder Zeit ein fliegen. Und die vögel sein von allerley geslechten. So die vögel sümer seit zu singen gewohnt sind, kann man sie im schloß in allen gemachen singen hören. Nicht weit davon ist aber ein lusthaus ganz rund mit schönen fenstern gebaut. Dabei ist ein fließender brunnen, den leitet man über ein fließent groß wasser genannt die schwarze elster auf i meil weg hinein in den lustgarten von einem berg genannt der Gurenperg. // Vinckenherdt : [...] Hinter hinaus, von dem runden lusthaus, geht ein künstlicher vinckenherdt, auf vor bemelter schudt im lustgarten. Darunder eine grosse passtein zu der were, auf der selben passtein ist ein vogel...er gemacht. [...] Außerhalb der gedachten passtein ist ein großer teich darinne gehen groß Karpfen : und Hechten, und andlay fisch, so der kurfürst einen frembden lieben gast dasselbst hinbringt, oder ein schönes hochgeadelts gefürsttes frauenzimmer, last ihr kurfürstlich gnaden [...] in vorangezeigtem vorichem schönen forst, so zunächst an den selben teich rayndt, ein jaidt bestellen und die hirschen in den teich daselbs jagen, das die gemelten frembden lieben gass : jungfr[auen] und frauen, auch arm und reich, aus dem runden lusthaus darinne sie mögen nichts wenig setzen karten und spielen, essen und trinken, singen und saitenpiel und alle freude haben, das wildpredt in den teich schön jagen und pirschen nach allem lust, [...] Auf dem selben teich kann man zu seinen zeiten, wenn der Kurfürst eine lust haben will, rayger paise, das mag man auch nach lust aus dem runden lusthaus gesehen. // Das fünfte lusthaus steht auch auf der erwähnten Schütt ungefährlich von dem finkenpuchel 200 schritt, das ist noch köstlicher gebaut. Dies lusthaus ist alles mit sambt dem dache darüber grün und auf die niederländisch art gebaut. Inwendig hat es viel lustige gemache, die aufs künstlichst ausgemacht sind. Es hat gar schöne ausladungen mit großen fenstern. Darein ist ein römischkaiser mit sambt seinen geistlichen und weltlichen Kurfürsten in ihren [unleserliches Wort] aufs kunstreichsst gemalt. Und inmitten desselben lusthaus ist ein zymlichs hofflen, darinne stehen manigerley edler krauttlein. Und in desselben mitten setzt man ein schönes großes vogelhaus mit singenden vögeln, die kann man das ganz lusthaus singen hören. Und kostet das lusthaus zu pawen mehr denn 1200 gulden. »

12. LUDOLPHY 1984, pp. 128 ff.

The pleasure : the inner and outer Schloss is surrounded by an artificial earthen rampart, built for protection. Hidden therein is a large and beautiful vineyard which is spread over trellises. As has been reported to me, the vineyard usually has an annual yield of 800 and more buckets of wine, similar to Franken wine¹³.

The rampart (fig. 4, n° 3) surrounding the entire complex is clearly discernible in a map¹⁴ from 1598 (fig. 5). It not only surrounded the inner Schloss in the north and east, running relatively close to them, but also enclosed a fairly large area to the south and especially the west (fig. 4, n° 4), so that the entire complex including the garden was approximately 300 to 500 meters. A moat ran in front of the rampart. To the south, a rectangular pond (fig. 4, n° 5, mentioned below by Herzheimer) extended up to the rampart, which curved in slightly at this point. At the end of the 19th century some pieces of the rampart still remained here and at the southwest corner. Another section was removed to the south of the main palace in 1696 when the garden was extended¹⁵.

The mention of a rampart surrounding the Schloss and garden and a "bastion" (see below) suggest a kind of military complex. Yet that is not in keeping with its quite massive size and irregular form. The neighbouring town of Wittenberg was not fortified in a similar manner till the beginning in 1526. Therefore it is possible to surmise that coupled with its function to provide fundamental protection to the garden, it served equally as a structure with a high vantage point, affording a view out over the garden.

This motif of an elevated position, offering a view from above, appears repeatedly in the garden and its architectonics :

Winepress and drinking room (*Trinckstuben press*) : In the vineyard there is a beautifully crafted winepress, excellent in its execution, with all requisite accessories. Above the winepress you enter a beautiful panelled *Stube* and *Kammer*, called the drinking room, decorated in a most pleasing manner. Above there is a beautiful balcony (*gangk*) where one can sit in the summer, surrounded by carnations, cypress, lavender and all sorts of herbs and spices¹⁶.

Both a *Stube* (room with a stove) and *Kammer* (room without that feature) are mentioned. Since the latter, based on analogous contemporary cases, is most probably a separate bedroom¹⁷, the two-storey pleasure house over the winepress could also have had the function of a place of retreat for at least sporadic overnight stays. The description of this pleasure structure with a balcony or passageway in front of the upper floor is reminiscent of two woodcuts made between 1517 and 1520 for the German translation of Petrarch's *de remediis* (fig. 6)¹⁸. It is likely that these fictional structures stem from the imagination of the Augsburg circle of artists where these illustrations were made.

Herzheimer's account also provides evidence of an Augsburg connection : it indicates that at least certain exotic plants for the Lochau complex were obtained through Augsburg-based agents :

All sorts of fruits : In the same pleasure garden, there are all kinds of fruits growing, especially those which grow in paradise. They are sent to his Electoral Majesty by the Fuggers and others from foreign [*walischen*] lands, including figs, pomegranates, almonds and peaches [illegible word], rosemary¹⁹.

13. HERZHEIMER 1518, fol. 262v.

14. Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Plan Schrank II, Fach 44, Nr. 3

15. See DONATH, SCHULZE 1994, pp. 55ff.

16. HERZHEIMER 1518, fol. 262v.

17. S. Hoppe, *Die funktionale und räumliche Struktur des frühen Schloßbaus in Mitteldeutschland, Untersucht an Beispielen landesherrlicher Bauten der Zeit zwischen 1470 und 1570*, Cologne 1996. On German lodging types pp. 365 ff.

18. Franciscus Petrarca, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück...* Augsburg 1532.

19. HERZHEIMER 1518, fol. 262v. Many thanks to Jürgen Wiener and Wolfgang Metzger for their generous assistance in transcribing and translating the Fugger names for the plants.

Another garden building housed a chapel, which was in addition to the chapel integrated in the main buildings of the palace. This was the chapel of St. Magdalene, mentioned above, which was dedicated in 1502.

A chapel : The same pleasance contains several more pleasure houses [*Lussthewser*], which are decorated with artistic paintings. One is a chapel in honour of St. Magdalene within one pleasure house²⁰.

Rather astounding, though in keeping with the amalgamate character of the entire complex, is Herzheimer's choice of the word « pleasure house » (*Lusthaus*) for the architectonic frame of this sacred space. There were three more which had a variety of other functions :

And in the other [...] pleasure house there is a nicely done shooting room, with a cheery drinking room (*trinckstuben*) above it. You can sit there and watch the shooting. And down in the garden below two rows, which are covered with a kind of trellis, extend from the shooting hut to some sour-cherry trees.

Green bird house : The third pleasure house contains a large, beautiful, green bird house, some 20 paces long and five paces wide. It has within a *Stube* where the birds can stay in the wintertime. And there are all sorts of birds. When the birds sing in the summertime, you can hear them in all the rooms of the Schloss.

Not far from there stands another pleasure house which is entirely round (*ain Lusthaus gantz Rund*), fitted with beautiful windows. Next to it is a running fountain. The water is brought into the pleasance by a riverlet called the Black Elster from a mountain called Gurenperg [*Correnberg near Schweinitz*] about 9 km away²¹.

From the description given further below it is clear that the round pleasure house with its expensive glazing was located to the south of the inner Schloss on top of the rampart encircling the garden (fig. 4, n° 6). Its foundation may have been on a projection of the garden rampart extending out into the space to its front. The site for this structure is probably the rampart projection visible on the 17th and 18th century maps at the eastern side of the pond. At that time the projection was covered by a rectangular towerlike construction.

Finkenherd :²² Out behind the round pleasure house, there is a *finkenherd* (sort of birdhouse) on the rampart mentioned around the pleasure garden. Beneath it is a large bastion for protection. This same projection has a bird [cage] on top of it.

Pond : In addition to the bastion there is an extensive pond containing large carp and pike and other kinds of fish. His Electoral Majesty can bring an invited guest there, or a beautiful noble lady. His Electoral Majesty then orders a hunt in the earlier mentioned beautiful forest adjoining this pond. And the deer are chased into the pond where the invited guests, young ladies and women, poor and rich, amuse themselves nearby. In the round pleasure house, where they can play cards, eat and drink, sing, play instruments and make merry. They chase the wild creatures into the pond and then shoot them as they desire [...] On this same pond, when the Elector wishes some amusement, a heron hunt is arranged. It can be watched as one chooses gazing out from the round pleasure dome²³.

This passage makes especially clear the functional and spatial context of the complex. Here there is a synthesis of games, playing of musical instruments, feasting and the optical delights of watching the hunt organised for the Elector's guests. This is achieved by the architecture of the round pleasure building and by its elevated position as a belvedere on top of the rampart, i.e. between the garden and the hunting park (fig. 4, n° 7).

On the raised rampart, according to the reconstructable topography in the western part

20. HERZHEIMER 1518, fol. 262v.

21. HERZHEIMER 1518, fol. 262v to 263r.

22. In 1517, remodeling work is mentioned in connection with the bathroom on the Finkenherd (BRUCK 1903, *ibid.*, p. 268). Perhaps the room was located in the round pleasure dome described in the close vicinity of the Finkenherd.

23. HERZHEIMER 1518, fol. 263r und v.

of the garden, there was another pleasure house, which was of a considerable size (fig. 4, n° 8) :

The fifth pleasure house is located on the rampart mentioned, about 200 paces from the *finckenherd*. It is even more sumptuously constructed. This pleasure house is done in green, everything including the roof, and is built in a Dutch fashion (*auf die Niderlendisch art gepawet*). It contains many nice rooms (*gemache*) that are appointed in the most artistic manner. The house has exceptionally beautiful bays [*auszladungen* : oriels or projecting towers] with large windows. Inside, there is a superbly painted portrait of a Roman emperor with his ecclesiastical and worldly electors in their [illegible word]. And at the centre of this pleasure house is a large courtyard (*Zymlichs hofflen*) where many special herbs and plants are growing. In the middle stands a large birdhouse with songbirds. You can hear their melodious song anywhere in the pleasure house. This pleasure house cost more than 1,200 guilders to construct²⁴.

This fifth pleasure house, like its smaller counterpart, permitted a striking view of the garden to the south, the pond to the southeast and the garden proper in the north. The construction type of a multi-wing complex (probably regular) around the courtyard is very unusual for a garden house at this time. As a rule, what you may generally observe are pavilion-like or tower-like compact structures, as is the case in the other pleasure houses in the Lochau garden. According to Herzheimer's description, the building also was embellished by several oriels or corner towers (the word *ausladungen* he uses can mean both). These were apparently glazed in a remarkable fashion. There is a probable reference here to the motif of a three-sided panoramic view which shaped Electoral Saxon architecture from 1470 and was cultivated by the architect Arnold von Westfalen²⁵. It is likely that this building, which clearly exceeded the dimensions and customary layout of a garden pavilion, is identical with the « new Lochau », a complex which is first mentioned in the bills of 1506, but was already declared dilapidated in 1537²⁶. In its entirety, the fifth pleasure house with its inner courtyard and tower-like appurtenances bears a surprising resemblance to the architecture of Poggio Reale near Naples, though it is impossible to determine how the Electoral Saxon court could have had any knowledge of this villa, built around 1485²⁷. Herzheimer's description of the garden ends with the depiction of the fifth pleasure house. Space prevents the inclusion here of the following section, which deals with the deer park.

It is difficult to place properly Frederick the Wise's "villa" in Lochau in terms of art history and the history of ideas, especially since the interpretation is necessarily always based on the reconstruction, with its imprecise details. Various elements and Herzheimer's perception of them belong to the familiar topics of medieval garden description. For example, the list of part indigenous, part exotic flora, the trellises, the vineyard and its plentiful yield, the observation of tame animals, the pleasant song of the birds, and even the unfolding of beauty only when someone steps inside its "hidden" charms ("*verporgenlichen darinnen*")²⁸.

24. HERZHEIMER 1518, fol. 263v.

25. On view in German Schösser construction, see S. Hoppe, *Wie wird die Burg zum Schloss? Architektonische Innovation um 1470*. H. Laß (ed.), *Von der Burg zum Schloss. Landesherrlicher und adeliger Profanbau in Thüringen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Bucha bei Jena 2001, pp. 95-116. S. Hoppe, « Blickregie ». W. Paravicini (ed.), *Höfe und Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Reich. Bilder und Begriffe*, Ostfildern 2005, pp. 449-453.

26. LUDOLPHY S. 135.

27. G. L. Hersey, Poggioreale. Notes on a Reconstruction and an Early Replication. *architettura* (1973), pp. 13-21. F. E. Keller, Die Zeichnungen Uff. 363 A von Baldassare Peruzzi und das Bad von Poggio Reale. *architettura* (1973), pp. 22-35. Chr. L. Frommel, Poggioreale. Problemi di ricostruzione e di tipologia, D. Lamberini, M. Lotti, R. Lunardi (ed.), *Giuliano e la bottega dei da Maiano*, Firenze 1994, pp. 104-111. A. Beyer, *Parthenope. Neapel und der Süden der Renaissance*, Munich, Berlin 2000.

28. See the descriptions of gardens in Petrus de Crescentiis *ruralia commoda* (especially VIII, 3 : *de viridariis regnum et aliorum illustrium et divitum dominorum*) or Boccaccio. A mid-15th century manuscript with a German translation of the *ruralia* is now in the Dessau Municipal Library (cod. Georg. 228. 4^o). A printed German translation was published in 1493 in Speyer entitled *Petrus de crescentiis zu teutsch mit figuren*. Petrus de Crescentiis, *Ruralia commoda. Das Wissen des vollkommenen*

Yet we can safely rule out direct regional models for Frederick the Wise's complex. In 1520, no German territorial prince had such a complex and costly decorative garden. Nor do is there any real evidence for the idea of place of retreat connected directly with a garden in the country among this stratum of potential clients. Only the emperors are recorded to have had access to gardens of some size, but little is known of their actual appearance : Frederick III at his residential town Wiener Neustadt (around 1450) and Maximilian I at the hunting seat of Vellenburg (Tirol, from 1517 onwards). Frederick the Wise himself ordered in 1520 a two-story "summer house" built in a garden (perhaps somewhat earlier) directly before the gates of his residential town of Torgau. More early princely pleasure gardens with pavilions before the gates of residential towns were constructed from 1518 outside Munich, from 1529 outside the town of Neuburg on the Danube, from 1533 outside the gates of Halle/Saale, and from 1534 near Prague. The Lochau precedes all these princely complexes, even if certain key structures (the rampart and individual pleasure houses) are dated to a relatively late period, around 1517. We cannot exclude the possibility that the early gardens of the Fuggers (esp. the *Baugarten* in Augsburg)²⁹ contained more than just exotic plants. They may also have served as individual models for the architectural configuration of the complex, as perhaps suggested by the reference above to the type of pleasure that appears in the edition of Petrarch illustrated in Augsburg. Nonetheless, the early Fugger gardens are urban complexes, and thus could not provide a model for a separate arrangement and for the topographic and visual connection with the hunting grounds. Likewise, there are no earlier models for the striking number of separate pleasure houses inside the garden³⁰. For example, in the *jardin de la Feuillée*, the royal garden outside the Coudenberg in Brussels, there were only two pleasure houses around 1520/1530 ; a third was added around 1540 in the form of a large *volière*.³¹

So it is not possible to determine any specific architectural source for typological stimuli. Nor can any individual be identified in the close circle of the Elector who might have worked out the entire idea. Nonetheless, we can point to striking similarities with certain humanistic circles in the ambit of the Elector. Since the time of Petrarch, scholars had begun in general to express praise, influenced by models from classical antiquity, for the virtues of a life in the country. This was connected with descriptions of the architectural framework for this type of rustication. Yet at the present time it is difficult to estimate when such ideas started to become popular among the Central European princes.

Among the humanists known to have a demonstrable connection with Frederick the Wise, it was Conrad Celtis in particular who, beginning in the 1490s, praised ever more clearly the merits of rural life. In 1501, for example, he glorified the combination of hunting, life in the country and bacchanalian social conviviality in the *ludus dinae* performed in Linz with the Emperor in attendance. Unfortunately, the relationship between Frederick the Wise and German humanism at this juncture has been insufficiently investigated. The circle of

Landwirts um 1300, ed. by W. Richter, Heidelberg 1995, here *Index editionum huius operis latiorum* (p. LXXXIV) lists nine Latin editions between 1471 and 1500. Cf. also : T. Alfonsi et al. (ed.) *Pier de' Crescenzi. Studi e documenti*, Bologna 1933.

29. Some time around 1500, Jakob Fugger bought two houses and a garden in the Jakober Vorstadt (Augsburg) where he built a *Lusthaus* (See H. Dormeier, Kurzweil und Selbstdarstellung. Die « Wirklichkeit » der Augsburger Monatsbilder, « Kurzweil viel ohn' Maß und Ziel ». *Alltag und Festtag auf den Augsburger Monatsbildern der Renaissance*, Munich 1994, pp. 148-221, here p. 150).

30. I. Markowitz, *Zur Formengeschichte des Gartenhauses in Deutschland*, Diss. Cologne 1955 cannot demonstrate any German examples dating from first half of the 16th century.

31. K. De Jonge, Sites et Monuments. A. Balis, K. De Jonge, G. Delmarcel, A. Lefébure, Amaury (eds.), *Les Chasses de Maximilien*, Paris 1993, pp. 80-101, here 84. The smaller, two-story pleasure house was constructed anew in 1517 ; these tower-like buildings had no raised passways or oriels.

Celtis stressed the health benefits accruing from a temporary withdrawal to rural surroundings, modeled on examples from classical antiquity. The reference indicating that Frederick visited the Lochau in 1522 for the purpose of taking a « cure in the fresh air », confirms that such motives were among the reasons for using the Lochau.

Unfortunately, only fragmentary information survives about the full scope of the actual utilization of the Lochau complex. Of course, hunting still continued to play a key role there, as Herzheimer's account confirms. At the latest after the addition of the outer schloss in 1517, the complex was suitable for longer periods of stay by the princely household. Frederick also spent relatively long periods of time here, far from a large city. Spalatin reports that the Elector planned to stay there continuously from December 8, 1524 until Easter 1525. Before that, he had been in Lochau from May 1 to June 26 and from August 1 to October 11, 1524.³² On May 8, 1525, Frederick died here. It is an interesting fact that the humanistic privy secretary of the Elector, Georg Spalatin, apparently lived for long periods in Lochau, even in the absence of the Elector. It was here in 1521 that he finished his German translation of Petrarch's *de remediis*, a fact he records in the preface to the printed edition mentioned above.

Of novel and decisive importance in the Lochau complex is the multiple staging first of the view from above down to the garden and then the commanding view from the garden out into the surrounding landscape, even if this did not provide the full charm of the glorious prospects sung by the humanists. Beginning with Petrarch, one of the repeatedly stressed merits of living quarters in keeping with the new humanistic spirit was a view not only of the walled garden, but also out into the surrounding countryside. The new gardens of the Renaissance differed fundamentally in this regard from the medieval *hortus conclusus*, with its visual separation from the everyday world. Herzheimer notes this distinctive feature of the Lochau garden and its architecture, at least in certain areas. In addition, the type and array of visual vantages it provided can be concluded from the shape of the architecture. This parallels with the understanding and perception of space that can be reconstructed from other secular structures in Saxony at that time³³.

The value of a vantage position providing a commanding view in the context of garden architecture has a counterpart in the description of an imaginary humanist garden with two-story surrounding galleries as developed by Erasmus in his *convivium religiosum*³⁴. Though this book was not written until 1522, it is possible that Erasmus' ideas on forms of conviviality and intellect in nature, renewed along the model of classical antiquity, had a certain influence on Frederick. He had personally met the humanist 1519 in order to hear his opinion on Martin Luther.

The link with Christian elements and a new turn toward nature, as manifested in the Lochau pleasure complex, can also be viewed in connection with ideas regarding the return of a Golden Age. This was a conception idea nurtured at the court of Emperor Maximilian I, and also found favour at the Courts of other European regents at the time. For example, Anne de Bretagne, from the year 1500 at the earliest, owned a chapel incorporated into a garden house in the newly designed garden at Blois. But the fact that the two gardens were created at approximately the same time makes it unlikely there was any direct influence.

32. LUDOLPHY 1984, p. 129.

33. We find the topic of views already in the *ruralia comoda*, but in a more restricted manner: *Sint autem acies arborum viridarii a palatio ad nemus multum distantes, ut facilius de palatio videantur, quaecumque agunt animalia in viridario posita* (Crescentiis VIII, 3).

34. L. Schlüter, *Niet alleen. Een kunsthistorisch-ethische plaatsbepaling van tuin en woning in het Convivium religiosum van Erasmus*, Amsterdam 1995. Chr. Lauterbach, *Gärten der Musen und Grazien. Mensch und Natur im niederländischen Humanistengarten 1522-1655*, Munich, Berlin 2004, on Erasmus pp. 43-71.

Interesting is the fact that during the reign of King Louis XII of France (reigned 1498-1515), the royal and princely gardens of Amboise, Blois and Gaillon, designed by an Italian gardener, featured another significant motif for the Lochau structure. The raised galleries running round the French gardens may have provided a conceptual stimulus for the surrounding rampart in Lochau, with its raised pleasure houses. The visitor here experienced a « modern » view in its combination of introversion and extraversion, with a vantage both into the interior of the garden and out into the environs.

As far as can be determined, the « villa » Lochau had no direct successors. The idea of temporary rustication not geared exclusively to the hunt initially found little response among German princes. For example, the satellite house of the Grünau outside of Neuburg on the Danube, constructed beginning in 1530 and lavishly embellished in an artistic manner in the subsequent period, was solely a hunting lodge, without the added pleasure of a garden³⁵. By contrast, the spatiality of the new courtly gardens being created at the time differed: they were near the respective urban residence and could often be seen directly from the palace. However, it is perhaps no accident that a new era began for the Lochau in 1572 under the Elector Princess Anna (1532-1583), who personally devoted herself to agricultural reform and the cultivation of medicinal herbs.

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35. See the article by Uwe Albrecht in the present book.

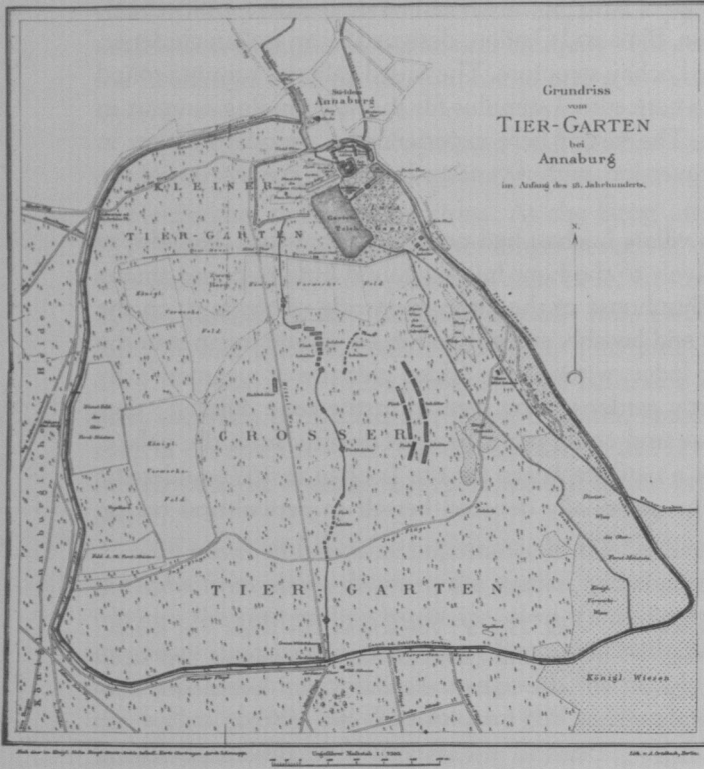
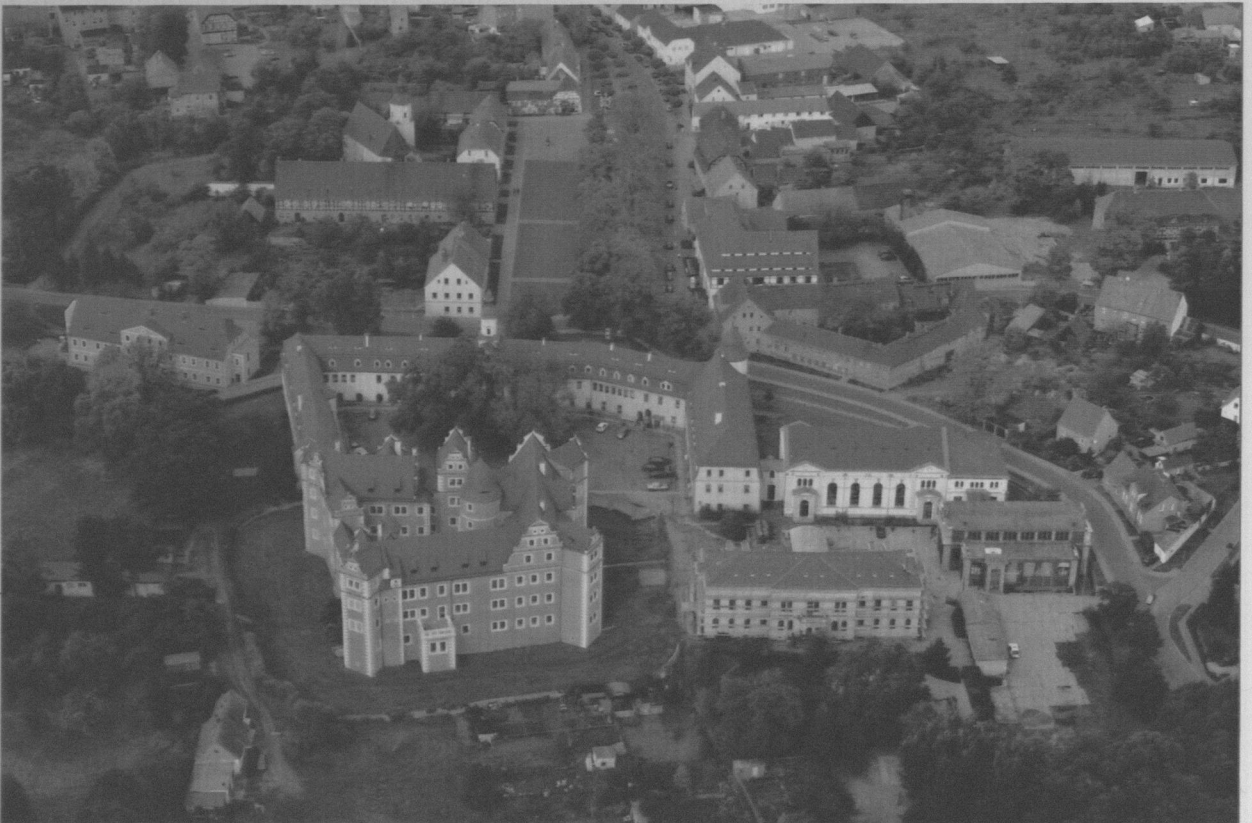


Fig. 1. Annaburg (Lochau), plan of the site including the deer park to the south of the Schloss. 19th century print based on a source from the 18th century.

Fig. 2. Annaburg, aerial photograph (c. 2003) of the new Schloss built in 1572 on the foundations of the Lochau. To the left the site of the former 16th century garden.



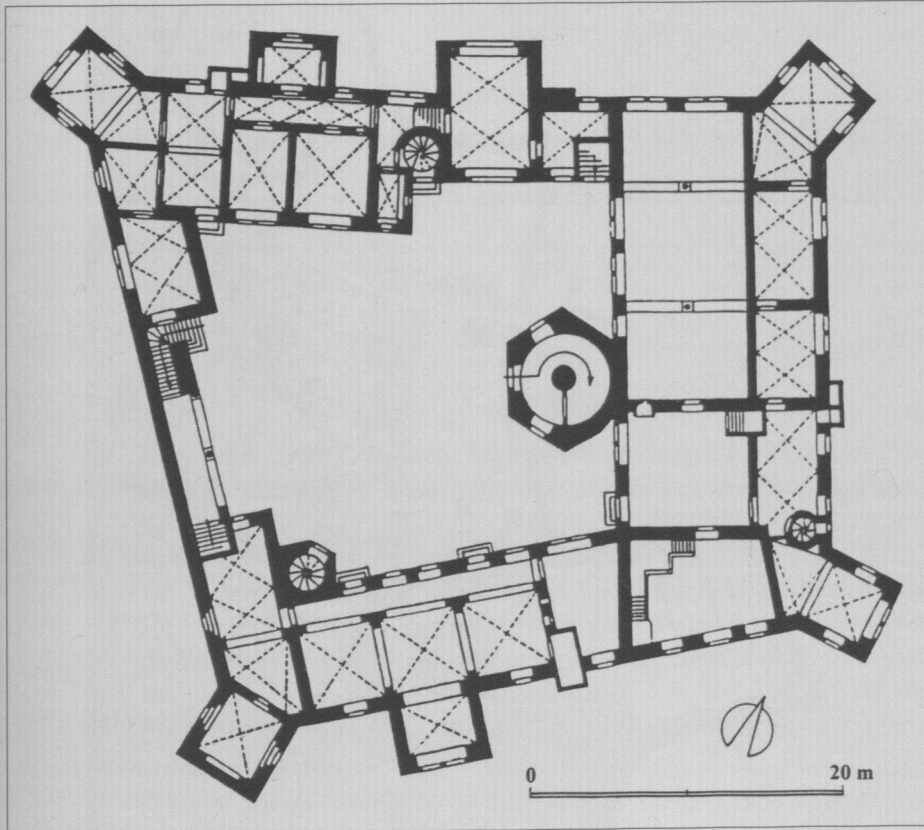
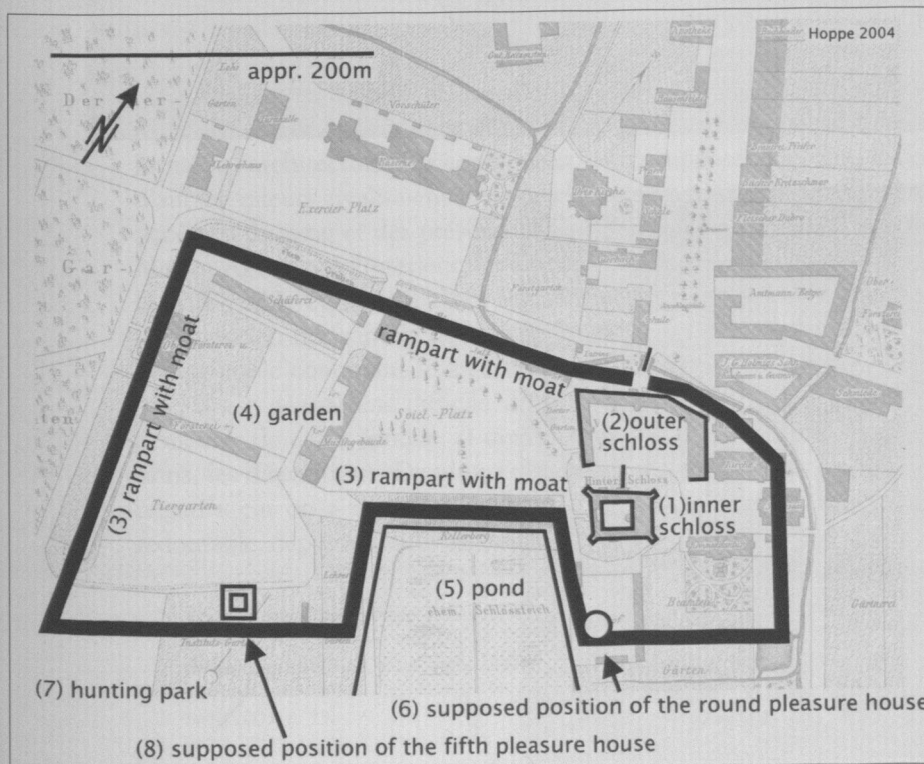


Fig. 3. Annaburg (Lochau), ground plan of the 1572 Schloss.

Fig. 4. Lochau, reconstruction of the situation in 1518 superimposed on a plan from 1888 (Hoppe).



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Fig. 5. Annaburg (Lochau), part of a plan attributed to Matthias Öder 1598 (kursächsische Landesaufnahme) showing the new Schloss and the older ramparts around the garden (Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, Bestand 12884 Karten und Risse, Schr. 5, F. 68, Nr. 9dd).

Fig. 6. Lusthaus (pleasure house) from the 1532 Augsburg print of Petrarch *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* (de remediis utriusque fortunae). The woodcut itself was completed between 1517 and 1520 by the so-called «Petrarcameister».



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