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«...templum nova forma constructum...»: *Early 17th-Century Late Gothic Churches in Wolfenbüttel and Bückeburg*

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Abstract

«...templum nova forma constructum...»: Early 17th-Century Late Gothic Churches in Wolfenbüttel and Bückeburg

In the years around 1600, a change was noted in architecture towards a return to Gothic elements in Europe. The Gothic, in contrast to the Classical or Ancient, became a "new manner", a modern style. The residence churches at Wolfenbüttel and Bückeburg, which were erected around 1600 by Lower Saxon territorial princes, are Late Renaissance constructions that were made to look partly Gothic. This was neither a lingering on of Late Gothic design nor a misunderstanding of Renaissance architecture: it was rather a conscious evocation of the past and its merger with contemporary architecture. The forms of the churches recreated thus the sociopolitical reality of both Roman antiquity and the Middle Ages. This architecture was also emblematic in that it used the concrete objects of the churches as a means to convey an abstract content. Indeed, the aim was to provide a powerful political message, the confirmation of princely rule. In the rising absolutism of the beginnings of the 17th century, the builders of the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche* and the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche* used court architecture to construct their princely image and house mythology.

Résumé

«...templum nova forma constructum...» : églises de style gothique tardif du début du 17e siècle à Wolfenbüttel et Bückeburg

Aux alentours de 1600, un retour vers des formes d'architecture gothiques a été constaté en Europe. Le gothique est devenu une "nouvelle manière", un style moderne, par contraste avec le style classique ou "ancien". Les églises des résidences princières de Wolfenbüttel et Bückeburg en Basse-Saxe, érigées à cette époque, sont des monuments religieux de la fin de la Renaissance auxquels on a donné l'ordonnance d'édifices gothiques. Il ne s'agissait pas d'une persistance du gothique tardif ou d'une interprétation erronée de l'architecture Renaissance. Il s'agissait plutôt d'une évocation consciente du passé mediéval et de sa fusion avec les formes de l'architecture contemporaine, cette combinaison recréant la réalité socio-politique de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge. Cette architecture était aussi un emblème dans la mesure où l'élément concret de l'édifice religieux constituait le moyen de communiquer un contenu abstrait, soit l'affirmation de l'autorité princière. En ce début du 17e siècle témoin de la montée de l'absolutisme, les bâtisseurs de la *Marienkirche* et de la *Stadtkirche* se sont servi de l'architecture pour construire leur image et le mythe de leur dynastie.

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Introduction

1. Presentation of subject

In an engraved series of architectural designs he produced in 1604, the Dutch architect and painter Jan Vredeman de Vries described one of his models as "*...templum nova forma constructum...*" (Vredeman de Vries, 1604: XLVII). With a description like this, one might have anticipated a church with the most recent forms of the Late Renaissance. However, the religious edifice designed by Vredeman showed an interior combining Gothic-like piers with Gothic vault and windows (Fig.7). Apparently, the Gothic was considered modern at the time in contrast with the buildings in the "ancient" or "old" style, epithets applied to the Classical idiom. The present thesis deals with two Lower Saxon residence churches that, in a manner reminiscent of Vredeman's design, were made to look partly Gothic even though they were erected around 1600.

In Germany, Gothic architecture had come to an end in the first quarter of the 16th century. Beginning with the Renaissance, a new element was introduced into architectural works. This new component was a message from the past. In early 15th-century Italy, the Renaissance had broken with Gothic traditions and had revived antique types in the arts because they were thought to possess eternal validity. The use in architecture of particular types from antiquity gave a specific meaning to the buildings of that period. For example, the Ionic order, halfway between the severe Doric and the rich Corinthian, conveyed a message of moderation and it became commonly used in the city halls of the North in the latter part of the 16th century. Because of its omnipresence in Imperial Rome, the Corinthian order became on the other hand the Imperial symbol *par excellence*. By the late 16th and early 17th centuries, however, the Gothic style had also acquired eternal validity alongside the antique models in the Holy Roman Empire, made up chiefly of German-speaking lands. In the Empire, one refused to consider the Middle Ages and the medieval Roman Empire as an age of decline, as the Early Renaissance had done in Italy. On the contrary, it was believed that it constituted a continuation of the Roman Empire founded by Julius Caesar (Borggrefe, 1994: 71-72; Johannsen, 1974: 101-4). In the German imperial lands,

architectural elements were thus drawn from both aspects of the great German-Roman past and combined in contemporary "modern" architecture. A similar phenomenon could be observed in England when the sense of the greatness of the English medieval past found expression in the architecture of Robert Smythson (1535-1614), which also combined Gothic and Classical elements, and in the literary works of Shakespeare.

The "*anciens*" and "*modernes*" were not yet in dispute but the combination of Classical and traditional German late Gothic elements in the churches studied in the present work could perhaps be regarded as prefiguring the late 17th- century French "*querelle*". Indeed, the latter was directed against the traditional acceptance of antiquity as a superior model in literature and art. During the Renaissance, humanists in Europe had devoted themselves to the spiritual revival of the classical past, but they were also proud to be French, German, Spanish and English nationals. In the late 16th and especially early 17th centuries, this advocacy of the superiority of the contemporary age over Roman antiquity finds its reflection in architecture where elements of the national past are combined with elements from antiquity (Baron, 1959: 17). Indeed, a change can be noted in architecture at the beginning of the 17th century involving a return to Gothic elements. This will be seen mainly in Germany and England but also in France and Italy.

Traditional styles allude to the past. The *Marienkirche* at Wolfenbüttel (Fig. 1-3) and the *Stadtkirche* at Bückeburg (Fig. 4-6) are Renaissance churches that were made to look traditionally Gothic. The fusion of opposites in these sacral buildings i.e., the Classical and indigenous Gothic architectural systems, produces an awareness of history, the structures reflecting the history of the place where they were built. At Wolfenbüttel and Bückeburg, the synthesis of the two differing styles results in an architecture that is elevated to a higher level of historicity and meaning. It transcends therefore its appropriated models, being neither Gothic nor Italian Renaissance (Sankovitch, 1995: 173).

The *Marienkirche*, or *Hauptkirche* Beatae Mariae Virginis, at Wolfenbüttel and the *Stadtkirche* at Bückeburg constitute the largest and grandest

Lutheran sacral buildings of the Renaissance. In size and magnificence, both Lutheran churches range with the big new Catholic churches of the day such as St Michael in Munich (1583-97) (Hitchcock, 1981: 276). They belong to a style called in German *Weserrenaissance*, an architectural style that was created between c.1520 and c.1620 in the valley of the river Weser and its adjacent areas in northwestern Germany (Fig.8). The buildings of the *Weserrenaissance* are generally Late Gothic in structure with the decorative details and articulating elements deriving from Late Renaissance or Northern Mannerist forms (Fig. 9, 10, 65).

In Northern Europe the architecture erected between 1570 and 1630 belongs to the European movement in the arts occurring between the Northern Renaissance of the 16th century and the Baroque of the 17th. Originally termed "Renaissance", this period is now called Mannerism by art historians (Stenvert, 1990: 93). The buildings of the *Weserrenaissance*, with their combination of indigenous Late Gothic structures and Classical ornament seem to fit properly into this category.

In Germany, Gothic had become an essentially German style ever since Goethe epitomized the style as the expression of the German spirit in his 1772 praise to Strasbourg cathedral called *Von deutscher Baukunst* (On German architecture) (Glaser, Lehmann and Lubos, 1972: 123-24). Gothic architecture, therefore, became the subject of research in the German lands from the beginning of the 19th century. The architecture of the German Renaissance, however, did not arouse the same interest. It was only in the 1870s that one finds new interest for the buildings of that period. From 1871 to 1889, Ortwein and Scheffers published in Leipzig a 9-volume illustrated work on German Rernaissance architecture called *Deutsche Renaissance*. This publication initiated a systematic investigation of post- medieval art in Germany (Großmann.1989: 7). In this context, Northern Mannerist architecture of the late 16th and early 17th centuries became much admired and imitated because it was considered specifically Teutonic as opposed to the imported Italian Early Renaissance style of the early decades of the 16th century (Hitchcock,1981: 276).

2. State of scholarship

2.1 *Marienkirche* at Wolfenbüttel (1608- c.1626; 1648-1751;1890)

One of the earliest art historical books to deal with the *Marienkirche* after P.J. Meier had published his work on the town of Wolfenbüttel in 1904, was done within the scope of Georg Dehio's research in the collection *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler*. In 1912, *Bremen Niedersachsen*, an investigation of the artistic monuments of Lower Saxony, was published as fifth volume of the collection. Dehio's enthusiastic art historical evaluation of the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche*, which appeared in the original edition, has been quoted repeatedly ever since by almost everyone who has discussed the church.

In 1914, Gustav Spies published an account of the history of the construction of the church and of the genesis of its furniture, a work that was corrected and completed in the 1950s and 1960s by the writings of Friedrich Thöne. In *Wolfenbüttel: Geist und Glanz einer alten Residenz* published in 1963, Thöne was the first art historian to raise the question of symbolism in terms of the iconographic program of the *Marienkirche*. In 1970, H. Appuhn issued an article on the significance of the organ for the church.

The first author to really tackle the problem of the symbolism of architectural forms and ornament in the Wolfenbüttel church was Eberhard Grunsky in an article he published in 1973. In 1981, Hans Joachim Kunst wrote on the organization of the *Marienkirche*'s interior space. He also examined the characteristic mixture of Late Gothic and Late Renaissance forms in the church and arrived at quite interesting conclusions.

In 1984, Wolfgang Kelsch and Wolfgang Lange published a work that investigated in depth the richly carved bosses that decorate the west façade of the *Marienkirche*, elements that had been treated for the first time by Grunsky in 1973. This publication, *Predigt der Steine: Der Bildschmuck der Turmfassade an der Hauptkirche* Beatae Mariae Virginis *in Wolfenbüttel*, was not available to me. However, Wolfgang Kelsch is also the author of an article that appeared in a book edited in 1987 by Hans-Herbert Möller (Kelsch, 1987). The article deals once again with the ornamented bosses of the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche*, but this time

it treats the ones that cover the exterior of the church choir. Kelsch comes up with new conclusions that complement Grunsky's findings concerning the funerary aspect of the church's decoration.

Finally, the most recent work on the *Marienkirche* at Wolfenbüttel is an article by Harmen Thies that was published in 1990 within the framework of the *Weserrenaissance* studies done at *Schloß* Brake, the *Weserrenaissance* museum in northern Germany (Thies, 1990). Thies examined the combination of Late Gothic and Late Renaissance forms in the *Marienkirche*, and he came to a series of conclusions that supplemented the ones already established by Kunst in 1987.

In addition to the above-mentioned works, there are two articles that deal exclusively with the monumental altar of the *Marienkirche*. The first one, written in 1959 by Eberhard Hempel, deals with the very important element of eirenic theology, a teaching promoted at the University of Helmstedt at a time when Duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, the builder of the *Marienkirche*, was its rector. The second article, published by Hilda Lietzmann in 1974, revises and completes Hempel's research. The author detects Rosicrucian influences in the altar's iconography.

2.2 *Stadtkirche* at Bückeburg (1610-1615)

The first art historical study of the buildings and artistic works commissioned at Bückeburg by Count Ernst of Schaumburg-Holstein was completed at the end of the 19th century. However, this research was done within the scope of larger works dealing with the German Renaissance as a whole. It was only in 1891 that Albrecht Haupt investigated specifically the count's artistic enterprise for the first time. In 1896, he was also the first to recognize the influence of Wendel Dietterlin's (1550/51-1599) engraved work *Architectura* published in Nürnberg in 1598, in the decorative sculpture of the *Stadtkirche* (Haupt, 1896). Nevertheless, little remained known about the connection between the count's personality and the outstanding early 17th -century artistic production at Bückeburg. It was only with Johannes Habich in 1969 that the *Stadtkirche* was first discussed in great detail and that some explanations were proposed as to the

symbolism of its architectural program. The emphasis in Habich's work was on the sculptural decoration of the church interior and on its furniture.

In 1990, Hermann Hipp published an article where he examined the mixture of Late Gothic architecture and Late Renaissance ornament characteristic of the *Stadtkirche* (Hipp, 1990). In 1994, Heiner Borggrefe published a book on the residence of Bückeburg, a publication that dealt in detail with the *Stadtkirche*. It is an extremely comprehensive work that was the author's 1992 Ph.D. thesis at Osnabrück University. Borggrefe discusses first and foremost the architecture of the church, thus his work can be considered as a supplement to Habich's 1969 book.

Chapter I – Architectural and Historical Context

1. *Weserrenaissance*

The architectural style called *Weserrenaissance* arose between c.1520 and c.1620 in and around the valley of the Weser, a river that flows toward Bremen and the North Sea (Fig. 8). The larger part of the valley is located in Lower Saxony, where Wolfenbüttel and Bückeburg are situated, while the other part lies in Eastern Westphalia. In the third quarter of the 16th century, it was the largely Protestant lands in that region that were most productive architecturally in Germany (Hitchcock, 1981: 174).

The *Weserrenaissance* architecture is mostly secular and includes few churches, the most important being the *Marienkirche* at Wolfenbüttel and the *Stadtkirche* at Bückeburg. The basic structures of the castles, civic buildings (Fig.10) and town houses (Fig.9, 65) of the *Weserrenaissance* are usually pre-existing Late Gothic constructions. These narrow, deep and vertically accented structures are completed in the Late Renaissance style or given Late Renaissance details. In the case of new architectural works, as with the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche* and the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche*, the Late Gothic style is used once more for the basic construction (Kreft and Soenke, 1975: 10-12).

In *Weserrenaissance* architecture, Late Renaissance ornament is applied to the façades and to isolated structures of the Late Gothic buildings. These structures are the gable (Fig.6, 9, 10, 65), the oriel (Fig.9, on the right), the *Utlucht* (pl. *Utluchten*) (Fig.9 and 65, on the left) and the *Zwerchhaus* (pl. *Zwerchhäuser*) (Fig.1,2,10). The gable was a typical feature of Late medieval architecture in the Netherlands and in Germany in particular. It became the major theme of the Renaissance in these countries in the 16th and early 17th centuries. The *Utlucht* is a rectangular bay that rises on the façade supported from the ground floor. A *Zwerchhaus*, finally, is a gabled dormer-type structure, often several storeys high, which is placed at right angles to saddle roofs and is sometimes nearly equal in height to the main roof. The *Marienkirche* at Wolfenbüttel counts several *Zwerchhäuser* decorated in the most extravagant

way (Fig. 1, 2, 11). In the latter part of the 16th century, the Late Renaissance forms were gradually replaced on these structures by rich Late Northern Mannerist elements.

Henry Russell Hitchcock maintains that the first architectural work of the Renaissance in Germany is the Fugger burial chapel of St. Anna built in 1509 in Augsburg (Hitchcock, 1981: 1). However the vault of St Anna, which shows an "elaborate decorative pattern of ribbing," is Gothic while "the architecture of the chapel is consistently quattrocento" (Hitchcock, 1981: 9). This particular fusing of Gothic and Renaissance makes it basically the same type of building as the residence churches at Wolfenbüttel and Bückeburg.

In the Weser region, the first Renaissance forms appeared c. 1524 at *Schloß* Neuhaus near Paderborn. The Italian motifs were applied there to isolated architectural elements like windows, portals and gables (Großmann, 1989: 18-19). In the 1530s, the architecture of the Weser area began to show links with the Netherlands. Indeed, it seems that most Renaissance forms in the 16th century, chiefly Late Renaissance ones, entered northwestern Germany transmitted by its western neighbor, the Netherlands. Trade relations between the east of the Netherlands and northwestern Germany had been common since the time of the Hanseatic League, which was active between the 13th and the 15th centuries. Moreover, from the point of view of local dialects, the territory within which German and Dutch are spoken is a single language area (Polenz, 1978: 68-71). The important relations established in the Middle Ages were maintained in the 16th and early 17th centuries, especially between 1568 and 1648, because of the religious and independence wars in the Low Countries and because of some commercial factors. One of these was the absence in the Netherlands of sandstone, an element that came essentially from Germany and particularly from the Weser region in the 16th and early 17th centuries. This situation probably helped the dissemination of the architectural forms of the Renaissance in northwestern Germany (Stenvert, 1990: 93-94). Another factor was the significant number of artists and master-builders from the Netherlands who came to work for princes of the Weser region in the second half of the 16th century because of the

religious wars in their country. They were usually Protestants fleeing Philip II's Inquisition in the southern Netherlands. Jan Vredeman de Vries, who worked in Wolfenbüttel from 1586 to 1590, was one of them (Thöne, 1963: 49). Nevertheless, there were also Catholics who left the Calvinist Republic of the United Provinces in the northern Netherlands, after it had declared its independence from the Spanish Crown in 1581. Employment of these itinerant foreigners brought the influences from the Netherlands to the Weser area (Stenvert, 1990: 94,103).

In the Netherlands, Renaissance forms had arrived directly from Italy in the first half of the 16th century, thanks to the occasional employment of Italians. Already in the 1530s, several Italian architects and military engineers worked in the Netherlands on the construction of fortifications. The employment of Italians continued all through the second half of the 16th century (Hitchcock, 1978: 30).

In the 1540s, Late Renaissance forms were also transmitted to Antwerp in the Netherlands through Fontainebleau (Fig. 12). The forms that had been evolved in France formed the basis for the Mannerist ornament of the northern sort that will appear at mid-century in Antwerp (Stenvert, 1990: 94).

Prints and treatises followed the same northbound route. *De architectura* (*Ten Books on Architecture*), the architectural treatise of the Roman military engineer and architect Vitruvius of the 1st century BC, had been rediscovered in the Early Renaissance and first printed in Italy probably in 1486. Nevertheless, far more important than the work of Vitruvius for the transmission of the elements of High Renaissance architectural design across Europe were the books of architect Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1551). In 1537 in Venice, Serlio had brought out an illustrated treatise on the five architectural orders (Book IV: *Regole generale*) (Fig.13, 14) and, in 1540, another one illustrating major works of the ancient Romans and some modern buildings in Rome by Bramante and Raphael (Book III: *Delle antichità*). Book IV was translated into Dutch by Pieter Coecke in 1539 and into German in 1547 (Hitchcock, 1981: 92). Serlio's starting point was Vitruvius' *De architectura*. His aim was to clarify and illustrate Vitruvius' rules and to give advice on their use. Serlio's volumes with their lively illustrations

could be used by craftsmen as pattern books in the long established medieval tradition.

In Antwerp, the Late Renaissance forms derived from Fontainebleau and from Serlio's books underwent a change and acquired a character of their own under the influence of artists such as Cornelis Floris (1514-1575). Floris had designed and erected festive features and triumphal arches inspired by Roman antiquity to decorate the streets for the ceremonial entry of Charles V and his son Philip into Antwerp in 1549. His designs were illustrated in the *Triumphe d'Anvers faict 1550 en la susception du Prince Philips, Prince d'Espaigne* published at Antwerp in 1550 by Pieter Coecke (Fig.15, 16, 17). Floris' Mannerist decoration appears on the crowning parts of various features in the street decorations and consists mainly of strapwork often combined with elements of the style known as «Grotesque» (Hitchcock, 1981: 92, 130). Floris had been in Rome and was therefore acquainted with the decoration of Emperor Nero's 1st-century palace, the *Domus Aurea* (Lat.: Golden House), a decoration that was the basis for the Grotesque (Uppenkamp, 1993:16). His is the new type of architectural ornament that will be called Northern Mannerist and that became very popular in the North in the second half of the 16th century . This is also the type of decoration that was applied in the Weser region to gables, oriels, *Utluchten* and *Zwerchhäuser*.

From 1561-1565, a vast new town hall was erected at Antwerp (Fig.19). This building, which was probably planned by Cornelis Floris, showed obelisks on a gable for the first time (Hitchcock, 1978: 49). The idea was possibly derived from the triumphal arch prepared by the Spanish community of Antwerp for the ceremonial entry of 1549 (Bevers, 1985: 80) (Fig.20). From that time on, obelisks were used on innumerable scrolled gables in northern Europe, particularly in the Weser region (Fig.4,5,6,10,65).

In the Weser area in the late 1550s, architects began to articulate the façades with the architectural orders in the manner illustrated in Serlio's works. At the same time, scrolled gables with volutes decorated with strapwork made their first appearance in the region. These architectural influences and elements

probably came from the Netherlands with the masons that Duke Erich II of Braunschweig-Calenberg brought with him in 1559 from his estates in the Netherlands to work on his *Schlösser* at Münden and Uslar in the Weser region. It is also on works carried out the same year for the duke at Uslar that the earliest examples of ornamented bosses, called in German *Bossensteine* or *Bossenquader*, appeared. These were carved blocks of stone decorated first with rustication suggesting chip-carving and later with geometric motifs. These bosses will become one of the characteristic devices of the *Weserrenaissance*. The *Marienkirche* at Wolfenbüttel displays a large number of them carved with animal and figural motifs (Hitchcock, 1981: 21, 58) (Fig. 22-28).

In 1563, Jan Vredeman de Vries (1527-?1606), the painter, sculptor and architect who provided the title for the present work, published in Antwerp a volume of plates called *Architectura* (Fig. 31). This work contained the development of Floris' Northern Mannerist kind of ornament as well as de Vries' own inventions. Vredeman also supplied actual models for gables where he integrated obelisks, strapwork and chip-carved members of stone used in alternance with undecorated blocks to band portal and window frames (Fig. 32). These bosses are similar to the ones that had already appeared at Uslar in 1559. His books of engraved plates were widely circulated all over northern Europe and were very influential until the 1580s (Hitchcock, 1978: 51). The rich inventiveness of his engravings is a forerunner of Baroque decoration.

In the late 1590s the ornamental forms were borrowed almost exclusively from the books of engraved plates, particularly from the ones by Wendel Dietterlin (1550/51-1599) (Hitchcock, 1978:13). Dietterlin, a citizen of Strasbourg, exerted a major influence especially in Germany from 1598 onward with the publication in Nuremberg of the second edition of his architectural treatise called *Architectura* (Fig. 33, 34, 82). His plates of heavily ornamented architectural features in the Late Northern Mannerist vein modified and eventually supplanted the Vredemanian influence. The façade of the *Stadtkirche* at Bückeburg with its exuberant decoration and its sense of *horror vacui* is a more or less free translation of Dietterlin's *Architectura* (Fig.4,5,6).

Around 1612, there appeared an ultimate Late Northern Mannerist ornament that will eventually lead to Baroque forms. This is the *Ohrmuschelstil*, or conch-style, which is made of forms of a strange, almost biomorphic character, different from the crisply organized strapwork seen in Vredeman's designs. The name suggests the human ear that conch-shells somewhat resemble (Fig.35). The richly carved bosses that decorate the exterior of the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkiche* exhibit forms in the *Ohrmuschelstil* (Fig. 22-28). This style seems to have appeared simultaneously around 1612 on the façade of the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche* and on the remodeled façade of the Bremen Town Hall (Großmann, 1989: 23, 66-67).

2. Germany and the Weser region between the Reformation and the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648)

On the eve of the Reformation, Germany comprised a variety of independent powers included in the Holy Roman Empire (Fig. 8). Besides present-day Germany, the Empire was composed of parts or the whole of the following modern countries: Italy, France, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Poland, the Czech Republic and Austria. From 1519 to 1556, the emperor was Charles V of the House of Habsburg. The Weser region in northwestern Germany comprised at the time more than a dozen lay or ecclesiastical principalities. The most important among the secular powers of the area was the dukedom of Braunschweig, which was divided into several branches (Großmann, 1989: 10).

In 1517, Luther affixed his theses to the doors of the *Schloßkirche* at Wittenberg in Upper Saxony, an event that marked the beginning of the Reformation. In the Edict of Worms of 1521, Emperor Charles V banned Luther and his teachings, but in 1526 a compromise was reached between Luther's followers and the emperor and his Catholic allies. This settlement allowed the introduction of the Reformation into a large part of Germany. However, the emperor's reissuing of the Edict of Worms at Speyer in 1529 evoked protest (whence the name "Protestants") from a number of German princes and several imperial cities (Großmann, 1989: 11; Press, 1994: 453).

At Augsburg in 1530, the Lutherans submitted their statement of faith called the Confession of Augsburg. Its rejection by the Catholic side led to the organization of the Schmalkaldic League. The latter was a military alliance formed by Protestant princes and a number of imperial cities to defend the Lutheran churches from attack by the Catholic emperor. It derived its name from Schmalkalden, the Thuringian mountain town under the control of Hesse where it was established in 1531. The League was led by Landgrave Philip of Hesse and the elector of Saxony. It must be said, however, that the princes in the League were not altogether exempt of personal considerations. Indeed, they sometimes acted for their own aggrandizement under the cover of religion (Brady, 1998: 109, 120-21).

In the following years, the Protestants' position in the empire was strengthened by the threat of a new war against France and by stronger pressure from the Ottoman Empire. These events tied the hands of the Habsburg who needed the Empire's aid to defend their lands from the Turks. Between the 1530 Confession of Augsburg and the Schmalkaldic War of 1546-47, the Lutheran Reformation gained time and space to spread, to grow strong, and to assume its institutional shapes. In 1544, a peace treaty with France and a truce with the Turks freed the hands of Charles V who then sought a military solution against the Schmalkaldic League. In 1547, he gained victory over the Saxon elector near Mühlberg, a success that led to the collapse of the League (Press, 1994: 454; Brady, 1995: 349; Press, 1994: 455; Großmann, 1989: 11).

In 1555, the Religious Peace of Augsburg recognized territorial sovereignty in matters of religion according to the principle *cuius regio, eius religio*. The latter gave each lord the right to determine the religion of his subjects. In the Weser region, Count Otto IV of Schaumburg introduced Protestantism into his earldom in 1558, while Duke Julius introduced it into Braunschweig-Lüneburg after the death of his Catholic father in 1568. The year the Religious Peace was implemented, Emperor Charles V surrendered control of the Netherlands and Spain to his son Philip II (Fig.36). He abdicated in 1556, after

handing over his imperial authority to his brother Ferdinand (Brady 1995 : 352-53; Press, 1994 : 456).

The partition of Charles V's dominions meant that there were henceforth two Habsburg lines, the Austrian and the Spanish, closely linked to one another and both Roman Catholic. Emperor Ferdinand was succeeded by his son Maximilian II, and in 1576, Maximilian's eldest son, Rudolf II, became emperor. At the beginning of his reign, Rudolf transferred the imperial court from Vienna to Prague, transforming the city into an artistic and cultural center. Rudolf was a devout Roman Catholic though tolerant towards Protestants. He was very interested in the arts and in other matters of intellectual life. He was known for his good political judgment but was nevertheless of an odd reclusive nature, hiding himself away in Hradcany Castle at Prague. Eventually, he became incapable of making political decisions. In 1606, his brother Matthias was declared head of the house of Habsburg in his place. He became emperor after Rudolf's death in 1612 (Brady, 1998: 392).

When Matthias died without legitimate heir in 1619, his cousin Ferdinand II was elected emperor. The preceding year, the Calvinist estates of Bohemia had objected to recognizing Ferdinand II as their future king. Now that he had been elected, they chose themselves an alternative king, Count Palatine Frederick, a German Calvinist prince. In 1620, Ferdinand II and his Catholic allies crushed the estates' rebellion. The Bohemian revolt and its suppression are generally regarded as the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, a complex European struggle that lasted from 1618 to 1648 and devastated Central Europe. This conflict lies, however, outside the scope of discussion here (Brady, 1995: 371-73).

In the Weser region, the favorable climate and fertile soils of the river valley had contributed to an early economic development with smaller trading towns. In the 16th century, particular political, economic, and social conditions brought prosperity to the region. First, the numerous wars that took place in the empire during the century became a good source of income for the lesser nobles of the region who entered the service of the major fighting powers as *condottieri*. Until 1559, the main focus of conflict was the rivalry between France and the

Spanish Habsburg Empire. Count Otto IV of Schaumburg and two dukes of Braunschweig fought on the Spanish side throughout the period. During that time, there was also internal warfare within some Weser region territories. In 1550 and 1553, the Welf Duke Heinrich the Younger besieged the city of Braunschweig, which had proclaimed its independance. Siege was laid again to the city, unsuccessfully once more, at the beginning of the 17th century by his grandson Duke Heinrich Julius. Braunschweig was only to surrender finally in 1671 (Großmann, 1989: 12, 14).

Other profitable wars for the Weser region's landed nobility were the ones waged in the Netherlands. In the 1560s, revolt had begun in this territory ruled by the Spanish Habsburgs. The attempt at coexistence between Catholics and Protestants had failed due to iconoclasm in Antwerp and to Philip II's unreadiness to make concessions. The execution of the Catholic aristocrats Egmont and Horn launched the beginning of the wars of independence in the Netherlands. The separate United Provinces of the North were constituted in 1579, and they declared their independence in 1581. The religious conflict in the Netherlands generated high revenues for the Weser region leaders of mercenary troops. It also produced an emigration of Protestant artisans and merchants from the southern Netherlands, an emigration that stimulated the region's economy (Großmann, 1989: 13; Yun, 1994: 137).

The acquisition of new land and the intensification of agriculture were other ways for Weser region aristocrats to raise their incomes. In the mid-1500s, high grain prices, produced by a rise in population since the beginning of the century, stimulated wheat farming on large estates. Peasants, who had once been relatively free, were brought under the progressive control of noble landlords who wanted to enlarge their domains. In the late 16th century, the land rents went up drastically. The tenant farmers that could not pay the skyrocketing rents were usually expelled but continued to work as landless laborers for the same landlords. The development of the 16th-century princely states depended in large part on the agricultural resources. The high revenues that were derived from the latter in the Weser region often went into the building of stately *Weserrenaissance Schlösser*.

In Renaissance society such ostentation played an important role because it generated the social prestige that brought power. While a part of the aristocracy became large landowners, another portion of the landed nobility became impoverished and sometimes disappeared altogether (Großmann, 1989: 15; Fulbrook, 1983: 48; Robisheaux, 1994: 92).

The demand of urban markets in the Netherlands also helped to stimulate profits for the landholders since the agricultural products were sometimes much better priced there than in the Weser region. The commerce towards the north and the northwest thus became very lucrative, an element which intensified the already close relations existing between the two regions (Großmann, 1989: 15).

Another source of income for the nobility was state service for the territorial lords. One important social change that took place during the 16th century was the changing nature of the nobility and its relationship to the state. From being independent feudal magnates, the nobles became oriented towards central state power either as civil servants or as army officers. It was this conversion of the political power of the landed nobility that allowed for the establishment of the early modern territorial state with its characteristic central administration. In the Weser region, this historical process of change was accompanied by a prospering economy, which assisted in the creation of a representative architecture. The architecture of the residence churches at Wolfenbüttel and Bückeburg aimed at confirming the rule of the territorial lords who erected them. In the rising absolutism of the period, court architecture was indeed meant to construct the princely image and house mythology (Robisheaux, 1994: 90; Fulbrook, 1983: 49, 50, 53, 55; Borggrefe, 1994: 13).

The towns of the Weser region also prospered during the 16th century, thanks to commerce and trade. The Weser River was a highly important transport route for goods such as lumber, pottery, glass, and sandstone. The latter was shipped down the Weser to Bremen and from there to the Netherlands. Weser sandstone was used, for example, in the construction of the Antwerp Town Hall in the 1560s (Fig. 19), a factor that helps to explain some of the art historical links between the region and the Netherlands (Großmann, 1989: 16).

Chapter II - The Residences and the Patrons

1. Wolfenbüttel and Duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg

At the beginning of the 17th century, Wolfenbüttel in Lower Saxony was the residence and seat of government of the Dukes of Braunschweig-Lüneburg of the House of Welf (Möller, 1987: 6) (Fig.8, 37). One of the first notable patrons of the Welf dynasty had been Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria (*reg* 1142-80), who had married Mathilda (1156-89), daughter of King Henry II Plantagenet of England. In 1173 Duke Henry initiated the building of the collegiate church (also called *Dom*) of St Blasius in the city of Brunschweig, his residence at the time. From that time on, St Blasius became the burial-place of the Welf dynasty and the duke and his wife were inhumed there. One of Henry the Lion's sons became Holy Roman Emperor as Otto IV (c. 1174-1218) in 1209 (Zahlten, 1996: 50-51).

The town of Wolfenbüttel became a Welf possession in 1255. It was the site of a fortified castle intended to protect the territory against the neighboring bishops of Hildesheim and also against the proud city of Braunschweig, which from an early time had resisted the ducal power. In 1432, Wolfenbüttel became the residence and seat of government of the Welf Dukes of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. On the eve of the Reformation, their dukedom was one of the most important powers in the Weser region (Ruppelt, 1996: 292-93).

During the Schmalkaldic War (1531-1547), Wolfenbüttel was the scene of many skirmishes between the Catholics and the Schmalkaldic League of Protestants. The Catholic Duke, Henry the Younger, lord of Wolfenbüttel, had remained loyal to Charles V. In 1542 and 1545, there were two invasions of Wolfenbüttel by the League which, along with the occupation of the town, brought great suffering to the inhabitants. The aim of the League was to remove the last hostile power on the flank of their main target of interest, the shield of Catholic prince-bishoprics (Münster, Paderborn, Osnabrück, Cologne and Trier) that lay between their own lands in Central Germany (Hessen and Saxony) and Emperor Charles V's Netherlands. This threat to northwestern Germany caused

the emperor to set in motion the train of events that would bring down the League in 1547 (Brady, 1998: 124-25,118-19, 121, 109, 112).

After the end of the Schmalkaldic war, Duke Henry the Younger restored the damaged town of Wolfenbüttel. From 1558 on, the ducal *Schloß* was partly rebuilt (Fig. 37), first by the Italian specialist in fortifications Francesco Chiaramella and then between 1569 and 1575 by the Weimar-born architect Paul Francke (Hitchcock, 1981, 279). Henry the Younger created a suburb east of the castle, which his son Julius later named *Heinrichsstadt* in his honor. The end of the Schmalkaldic war did not mark the end of the conflicts within the territory. Duke Henry the Younger wanted to win back the city of Braunschweig, which he besieged in 1550 and 1553. Nevertheless, he could never subjugate the city, which was not brought under ducal control until 1671 (Großmann, 1989: 14).

Duke Julius (1528-1589), son of Duke Heinrich the Younger, was a man with an outstanding personality. He was born physically handicapped (crippled feet), and he was not attractive, being described by a visitor as "... *ein Ungeheuer, ... einem Affen ähnlicher als einem Fürsten*" (monstrous, resembling more an ape than a prince) (Thöne, 1963: 47). In spite of all this, he managed through intelligence and very hard work to bring prosperity to his lands and when he married Hedwig, a daughter of the Margrave of Brandenburg, his marriage was contracted out of mutual love. Duke Julius ruled from 1568 to 1589 and introduced Protestantism into his territory. While he was studying at the Protestant university of Leuven (Louvain) in the Netherlands, he had seen how hard work, good use of the soil, trade and industry could bring wealth to a territory (Borggrefe, 1994: 70). He kept this experience in mind and when he succeeded his father, he called Netherlanders to help him carry out his plans for the residence of Wolfenbüttel. From 1571 on, Duke Julius made further alterations to the ducal *Schloß* and began to construct an elaborate system of bastions to protect Wolfenbüttel against the city of Braunschweig, which still remained a threat (Thöne, 1963: 48, 54). For this purpose, he employed the Antwerp military engineer Willem de Raet, who was assisted by Paul Francke. In the northern and southern Netherlands the pressure of the wars of independence

against the Spanish, a conflict that had begun in 1568, had led to the rapid development of military architecture on both sides and a bastioned citadel had been built in 1567 in Antwerp for the Spanish army. From 1586 to 1589, the architect Jan Vredeman de Vries also worked in Wolfenbüttel on different tasks such as the completion of canals and locks for the navigation. Furthermore Duke Julius established a suburb called *Neue Heinrichsstadt*, east of the existing *Heinrichsstadt*, and by means of the fortifications, which were continully rebuilt at the time to encompass new suburbs, he joined both districts with the *Schloß* to form a single fortified residential area, the town of Wolfenbüttel. The duke had required that houses, all the same width and height, and spacious straight streets be constructed in the *Neue Heinrichstadt*, a feature that made it the first planned Renaissance town in Germany (Hitchcock, 1981: 64, 264).

Duke Julius's son, Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1564-1613), the builder of the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche*, was one of the most outstanding rulers of Lower Saxony (Fig.38). He was a multi- talented personality and one of the best educated German-speaking princes of his time. His father had been extremely careful to give him the best education possible. Duke Julius had stressed an overall education, asking that his son be also «instructed in the rules of Euclid and of Vitruvius and in Serlio's teaching on perspective so that he be able to design and build fortresses or graceful buildings according to Vitruvius' five orders» (Lietzmann, 1993: 15, 11, 11). Duke Heinrich Julius is said to have designed at least one of his palaces, the one at Gröningen, which unfortunately is no longer extant. Given his architectural knowledge, Heinrich Julius must certainly have collaborated very closely on the design of his great church with his architect Paul Francke. Until the end of the 16th century, the concept of the architect did not really exist. It was the patron who made the designs together with his master builder who then carried them out (Lietzmann, 1993: 15, 11, 18).

From 1607 until his death, Duke Heinrich Julius lived at the imperial court at Prague. There were two reasons for his stay there. One was the fact that he was director of Emperor Rudolf II's Privy Council , the other was his claim to the city of Braunschweig. The duke did manage to secure an imperial ban against the city

but he could never bring about its subjugation (Thöne, 1963: 55). Heinrich Julius was a close confidant of the emperor and like him, was a patron of literature, science and the arts. Like the emperor and his learned contemporaries, he was also very interested in alchemy (Lietzmann, 1974: 213). He wrote plays in prose, and he was the first German prince to maintain a team of actors at his residence. The latter were from England and such traveling artists have been suggested as contributors to the exchange and the spread of ideas between Britain and the Continent at that time (Hart, 1994: 5). The duke's second wife, Elizabeth, whom he had married in 1590, was a sister of Anne, consort to King James I of England (1566-1625), and also a sister of King Christian IV of Denmark. From 1604 to 1621, the great composer Michael Praetorius was musical director and organist at the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche* (Appuhn, 1970: 140).

Between 1592 and 1597, Duke Heinrich Julius commissioned the construction in the neighbouring town of Helmstedt of the *Juleum*, which was the first university building of modern times. His architect was Paul Francke (1538-1615) who had worked for his father Julius in the 1570s on the fortifications of the city. Heinrich Julius himself was rector of Helmstedt University, which had been founded by Duke Julius in 1576. In 1589, the year of Heinrich Julius' accession, the university had acquired international prestige from the presence there of the Italian philosopher Giordano Bruno (?1548-1600), an indication of the new ruler's up-to-date intellectual interests. In the last decade of the 16th century, Helmstedt became a very important center of learning in northern Germany. One of its main contributions was the enrichment of Protestantism with Aristotelian thought, mainly through the teaching of the philosopher Johannes Caselius (1533-1613). In 1584, Count Ernst of Schaumburg-Holstein, the builder of the *Stadtkirche* at Bückeburg, studied at Helmstedt (Borggrefe, 1994: 164, 70).

It was in Wolfenbüttel, nevertheless, that the duke's main building activity took place. He continued the development of the fortifications and employed Paul Francke in 1613 on the construction of the rectangular *Zeughaus* (arsenal) on the *Schloßplatz*. A year later, Francke added to the *Schloß* the high *Hausmannsturm* that displays ornamental gables decorated with strapwork that evoke the gables of

the *Marienkirche*'s dormers. Francke might have become first acquainted with strapwork of the Netherlandic sort in the 1570s while working on the *Heinrichstadt* fortifications with Willem de Raet from Antwerp (Hitchcock, 1981: 256). Francke's principal work, however, was the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche* or *Hauptkirche*, the main church of the duke's territory. The *Hauptkirche* Beatae Mariae Virginis, which is the other name for the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche*, was the first significant monumental Lutheran temple in Germany along with the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche*. One might wonder nevertheless why it should have been dedicated to the Virgin since it was the Catholics who particularly sponsored the cult of the Virgin. This aspect will be treated particularly in Chapter IV and to a lesser extent also in Chapter V.

On the border of the suburbs of the *Heinrichsstadt* and *Neue Heinrichsstadt* there had been since around 1301 a chapel dedicated to the Virgin called *Marienkapelle*. Heinrich Julius's grandfather, Heinrich the Younger, had enlarged the chapel and had turned it into the ducal burial-place after the desecration in 1542 of ducal family graves in their former site near Braunschweig by the rebellious citizens of that city. By the early 17th century, nevertheless, the chapel had become too small for the community (Thöne, 1963: 47, 43).The citizens of Wolfenbüttel thus asked Duke Heinrich Julius for a church that could accommodate the increasing population of the city. The wish of the community was opportune, since it concurred with Heinrich Julius's desire to erect a more dignified burial- place for his family. It also suited his need for a representative residence church that would express the power and importance of his house, an element characteristic of princely thought in these early years of absolutism (Mayer, 1987: 25).

The church that was subsequently erected, the *Marienkirche*, with its west tower, transept and princely funerary chapel and burial crypt, was the largest church built by the Welf after Henry the Lion's collegiate church at Braunschweig (Appuhn, 1970: 137). The planning for the church began in 1604. By 1607 the first piles had been driven for the foundations and in 1608, the cornerstone was laid with Francke in charge (Hitchcock, 1981: 334). From 1608 to c. 1626 the

Marienkirche was built as parish church, court church and ducal burial-place for Duke Heinrich Julius in a mixture of Late Gothic and Renaissance forms, with a richly furnished interior.

When the church was planned, its architect Paul Francke was 65 years old and he had been in ducal service for 40 years. Francke's original designs for the *Marienkirche* are not preserved. Only two woodcuts, one of the north side and one of the façade and steeple (Fig. 72), done by Elias Holwein and published in 1625 and one anonymous and undated copper engraving of a longitudinal section of the interior allow one to draw conclusions about his plans. According to the anonymous print, the architect had planned a space with piers similar to the great hall of the *Juleum* he had built previously at Helmstedt University (Fig. 39, 68).

Duke Heinrich Julius died unexpectedly in Prague on July 20th, 1613. The work on his new church, which had first started on the choir and transept, had progressed so far that the east end could be vaulted and roofed and prepared for the funeral (Thies, 1990: 174) After Francke's death in 1615, modifications were made to the Northern Mannerist interior he had planned originally in favor of a more traditional design (Fig. 40, 41). In 1618, the old *Marienkapelle*, which had probably been used all along inside the new construction, was demolished and the octagonal pillars of the new church were erected in its place. The walls were now standing and the three naves could be vaulted and roofed. The interior was probably terminated in the course of 1622. The installation of the *Zwerchhäuser* and the gable of the north transept arm lasted until the 1650s because of the Thirty Years' War. Due to foundation problems resulting from marshy subsoil the tower could not be completed according to Francke's design. For the same reason, the south transept gable could not be installed before the 1880s. It was modelled on the gable of the north transept (Thies, 1990: 175).

2. Bückeburg and Count Ernst of Schaumburg-Holstein

The family of Count (Prince after 1619) Ernst of Schaumburg-Holstein, the builder of the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche*, originated from nearby Schaumburg (Fig. 42). In the 12th century, the family was entrusted with the small territory of Holstein north of Hamburg (Habich, 1969: 5). In the second half of the 16th century Count Otto IV (1517-1576), Count Ernst's father, moved the seat of his government from the town of Stadthagen in the Weser region to the neighbouring small market-town of Bückeburg. The reason for this move was twofold: the count wanted to get away from Stadthagen whose prosperous urban bourgeoisie challenged his rule, and he also wished to keep at a distance the lesser nobles working in his administration. From 1560-1563, Count Otto transformed the early 14th-century fortified castle at Bückeburg into a four-wing *Schloß* on the model of his Early Renaissance residence *Schloß* at Stadthagen (Borggrefe, 1994: 15-20).

Count Otto was a Catholic and remained attached to Catholicism even after he had introduced Protestantism into his territory in 1558. His adoption of Protestantism had been done mainly for tactical reasons. At that time, indeed, he was the only territorial secular prince of the Weser area to be a Catholic and this could have proven dangerous for him and his territory. He might also have been urged to convert by his second wife, Elizabeth of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, a staunch Lutheran whom he married in 1558 and who became Count Ernst's mother in 1569. Nevertheless, the count continued to work for Catholic princes and in 1566, he was fighting on the side of Catholic Spain against the Calvinist Netherlands.

Like the majority of the lay territorial lords of the Weser region, Count Otto spent his entire military career as a commander of mercenary troops in imperial and Spanish service. This activity was usually a very good source of income, but Otto IV, who had served under both Charles V and Philip II, especially in the Netherlands, never received his due from the Spanish Habsburgs and he had to pay his troops out of his own purse. This situation brought his earldom to the brink of ruin (Borggrefe, 1994: 15-19).

Count Otto's son, Count Ernst of Schaumburg-Holstein (1569-1622), ruled the earldom of Schaumburg from 1601 to 1622 (Steinwascher, 1986: 6). In 1619, he was promoted prince of the Empire, a title his ancestors had carried previously in Holstein. Count Ernst's mother raised him in the Lutheran faith. In 1584, at the age of fifteen, he studied history and law at Helmstedt University. He was influenced there by Reiner Reineccius (1541-1595), a scholar who supervised the history studies of the young Duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Ernst held Reineccius in high esteem and one may assume that he, together with Duke Heinrich Julius, adopted the scholar's view of history, a view that conformed to the intentions of the princes of rising absolutism. This interpretation of history had been characteristic of medieval thought. It was the doctrine that asserted that the Roman Empire, which Christ had recognized, was to last to the end of the world. This belief had produced a lack of historical understanding of the differences between the ancient and the medieval empires (Baron, 1959: 11). In the 16th century, this medieval dream of an empire was achieved in the universal empire of Charles V, a fact that caused a strong revival of imperial symbolism everywhere in Europe (Johannsen, 1974: 101-4).

Such a conservative understanding of history must have been behind Count Ernst's commission in 1614 of the Schaumburg genealogy which was meant to found historically his claims to the title of prince (Borggrefe, 1994: 71-72) (Fig. 78). The growing interest in history during the 16th century was connected, in the Habsburg lands, to the developing mystique of the origins and privileges of the ruling house and the high aristocracy. The genealogical labours were aimed at the propounding of the virtues of the dynasty and the acceptance of its role (Evans, 1984: 127-129).

In the late 1580s, Ernst spent some time at the imperial court in Prague where his tutor, Simon VI zur Lippe, was a member of the Imperial Council (Borggrefe, 1994: 74). In 1589 and 1590 he traveled to Italy where he visited Rome and Naples. Afterwards, he went to Malta, an island that belonged to the Order of the Knights of St John. Valletta, the capital city, was then the most modern fortified city that existed in the Mediterranean world. Ernst must have

been very impressed by its immensely strong fortifications, and they might have influenced the design of the defensive military works he built later at Bückeburg (Fig. 43). In the past, the prestigious military Order of St John had been particularly associated with the Crusades. In the late 16th century, its members, who had successfully withstood the Ottoman siege of Malta in 1565, were a kind of modernized and very competent version of the medieval Christian knights. Politically, Malta was a republic in itself and the study of this efficient state was certainly interesting for the count who might already have had in mind the modern territorial state with its central administration that he would build in the early 17th century (Hughes, 1996: 211-13; Barber, 1996: 150-53).

In 1593, Ernst studied law in Bologna and Florence, and in 1594 he returned to Germany. The Dutch humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam had stressed the importance of a humanistic education for princes. It was linked to the formation of character and the inculcation of virtue. Indeed, one believed that the revival of letters, and an education based thereupon, would produce a better and more enlightened person and that social improvement would follow. Count Ernst, like other progressive princes of the North, had recognized the necessity of such an education, which explains his travels and studies abroad (Borggrefe, 1994: 74-75).

After his return from Italy, Count Ernst married Hedwig (1569-1644), the daughter of Landgrave Wilhelm IV of Hesse-Cassel (1532-92). In 1601, after the death of his half-brother Adolf who had been ruling the earldom until then, he began to govern. The count had been without financial means at the beginning of his life, in great part because of the debts accumulated by his father Otto IV. However, he managed through very shrewd business deals to cancel these debts, and he even became wealthy enough to lend money to other princes. With the help of civil servants, he centralized his administration and intervened in all spheres of social life, which he brought under official control. He issued regulations for church, police, taxes and the mint and organized public and primary schooling. In Altona, near Hamburg in his territory of Holstein, he established a privileged place for expelled Iberian Jews and religious refugees from the Netherlands (Habich, 1969: 6).

In 1602, still residing in Stadthagen, Ernst appointed some of the most prominent artists of the time to remodel the neighboring market town of Bückeburg, seat of the territory's administration since the time of Otto IV, and construct new buildings there. In 1606, the count permanently moved his residence from Stadthagen to Bückeburg (Habich, 1969: 11). From that time until his death in 1622, he attempted to transform his small earldom of Schaumburg into a modern state on the Italian model, employing some internationally renowned artists for that purpose (Borggrefe, 1994: 75).

Ernst had acquired knowledge of architecture during his travels abroad, and he had a very precise idea of the buildings he wanted to commission. At Bückeburg, he must have played a large role in the design of the new edifices, and he was probably responsible for the things that were most novel about them (Habich, 1969: 180-81). Between 1603 and 1610, he built a gateway and two contiguous structures at the entrance to the grounds of the *Schloß* in order to provide a stately approach to the castle. The gateway, which faces the market place, is crowned with the figure of Envy flanked by 2 dragons. On either sides of it are two government buildings, the *Kanzlei* (chancellery) to the left, housing police and civil administration and with a ground-floor arcade like a medieval town hall, and the *Kammerkasse* (rent-office) to the right (Fig. 44).

The monumental residence church, the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche*, is powerfully placed at an oblique angle to the *Lange Straße*, the main axis leading from the Bückeburg *Schloß*. The *Lange Straße*, which is lined with 17th century patrician houses, ends at the entrance to the grounds of the *Schloß*. From the market place, which lies in front of the *Schloß* gateway, one can see the upper parts of the impressive church. The *Stadtkirche* is oriented north towards the *Schloß* and the market place. This is a provocative element because a church is normally oriented west. Moreover, it looks like a magnified *Weserrenaissance* patrician house and seems thus to be a part of the urban bourgeois environment of the *Lange Straße* (compare Fig. 4, 5, 6 and Fig. 9 and 65).

The Bückeburg *Stadtkirche* was built from 1610 to 1615 as a court and parish church (Fig. 4, 5, 6). In 1608, Ernst had obtained a church model from the

Dresden court architect Giovanni Maria Nosseni, a model that has been lost. The *Stadtkirche* was at first meant to be a wooden structure, but by 1610, the count had decided to build in stone. The use of stone instead of wood in the construction of an edifice and the imposing size of the latter were ways for a prince to impress and display the magnificence of his house. It meant that he had the means and thus the power. In 1611, the church was under construction. A steeple was originally planned for the façade but was later omitted because of weak foundations (Borggrefe, 1994: 128-30).

The façade of the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche* shows a classical system of support and lintel combined with Gothic elements, such as string-courses, tracery windows, and obelisks serving as finials and emphasizing verticality (Fig. 4, 5, 6). The general effect is strongly underlined by the exuberant ornamentation. No other sacral building seems to have provided a direct model for this show-front. Nevertheless the façade of the Augsburg *Zeughaus* (arsenal), which was built from 1602 to 1607 by the Ausgsburg-born architect Elias Holl, shows certain similarities to the façade of the *Stadtkirche* (Fig. 45). Indeed, the vertical tri-partite division of the Augsburg façade, its portal with a figural group flanked with columns and its projecting entablature are comparable to the ones at Bückeburg and lead to the same emphasis on verticality. Augsburg was well known to Ernst. Hans Rottenhammer (1564-1625), a painter who had become Ernst's artistic advisor, had been living there since 1606. It was Rottenhammer who had executed in 1604 the ceiling paintings in the celebrated *Goldener Saal* (Golden Room) of the count's Early Renaissance *Schloß* at Bückeburg. Anton Boten, who was to become Ernst's court painter, was an apprentice to him. In 1612, Rottenhammer and Boten were at Bückeburg, and they might have influenced some of the design of the church's façade (Borggrefe, 1994: 131-34).

It seems that several master-builders or persons similarly competent have worked on the construction of the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche*. We know for certain that a first plan was due to Nosseni. Contrary to Hitchcock (Hitchcock, 1981: 340), Heiner Borggrefe does not believe that the sculptor Hans Wulff was responsible for the design of the façade. He thinks however that Wulff might have

executed its plastic decoration. The figural group of the portal might go back to Rottenhammer's and possibly Boten's ideas, since both were at Bückeburg during the construction of the façade. Finally, individual details of the decoration go back to Wendel Dietterlin's engraved work (Fig. 33, 34, 82). The church shows therefore a conglomerate of various influences that occurred in succession. Nevertheless, the sacral building is first and foremost strongly influenced by the count's personality and intentions. The elaborately carved façade, the sumptuous interior and the exclusive use of stone for the exterior reflect both the prestigious character of the building and the ambition of its builder (Borggrefe, 1994: 136).

Chapter III – The Monuments

1. *Marienkirche* at Wolfenbüttel (1608-1626) (1648 -1660) (1751: steeple completed) (1890: gable south transept)

1.1 Plan and interior

In its basic scheme the *Marienkirche* at Wolfenbüttel is a hall-church with four oblong bays and side aisles in the nave, with transepts and a choir ending in a polygonal apse (Fig. 46). All three vessels are cross-rib vaulted. The tower is situated over the west entrance. There are prominent external buttresses on the side and rear of the church. The edifice is made of sandstone while the sculptural decoration is of limestone (Dehio, 1992: 1389).

Inside the church, a gallery runs on both lateral sides and across the west end, where it is occupied by the organ (Fig. 47, 75). In the transept, the gallery shelters the ducal loge and that of the ducal family. The former is situated in the south arm of the transept above the burial chapel (Fig. 41) while the latter occupies the area above the sacristy in the north arm of the transept. The gallery that houses the loges is higher than the lateral galleries and hints at a hierarchy of the church space. The presence of the ducal loge in the transept should not surprise since the latter was often the seat of the temporal lordship in medieval times. In the collegiate church of St Blasius at Braunschweig, for example, Henry the Lion had his seat in the north transept gallery, which was linked through a passage with the ducal residence. The gallery allowed the princely family to isolate itself from the other classes (Kunst, 1981: 33).

The quadripartite rib vault of the nave is semicircular, not pointed (Fig. 40). The ribs are decorated with painted Northern Mannerist ornament. The piers carrying the vaulting are octagonal in section and they rest on bases that are much higher than a man's height. The «Corinthianesque» capitals of both piers and wall consoles are made up of various Northern Mannerist elements consisting of small heads, leaves and strapwork (Fig. 48, 49). A carved decoration made up of angels' heads bands the columns (Fig. 40, 41). This ornament is at the same height as the organ and ducal galleries (Kunst, 1981: 32). The arcade arches are wide and flat and are decorated with painted Northern Mannerist ornament (Fig. 40). The tall

windows inside the church have pointed tops. They are set in plain rectangular niches (Thies, 1990: 178).

The choir houses the altar, which is made of wood (Fig. 50, 51). The Italian-Swiss sculptor from Lugano Giovanni Maria Nosseni (1544-1620), who was court architect at Dresden, made the sketch and the model for it. The carving was done by Bernhard Dietterich. Nosseni worked for the Elector of Saxony Johann Georg I, who was also the nephew of Duke Heinrich Julius. The altar was finished in 1618 and installed in 1623. It displays the regular cycle of Protestant altars i.e., the Redemption of mankind through the Passion and Resurrection of Christ (Lietzmann, 1974: 202-4). This is underlined by the presence of a pelican on either side of the main stage, which is occupied by a Crucifixion group. There is a rose at the meeting-point of the arms of the cross. On the architrave above the lateral passages of the altar, there are two *putti* with skulls. The altar is crowned with a figure of the resurrecting Christ. Grunsky notes that the altar has been modified in such a way that its original reading, which was that of an epitaph, hardly applies anymore (Grunsky, 1973: 220-21).

The pulpit (1619-23), which is also made of wood, is placed against the corner of the south transept where the ducal loge is situated (Fig. 47). It lies below the latter. It is supported by the figure of Moses holding the tables of the Law. On the parapet of the stair and on the pulpit's door are statuettes of the twelve Apostles. On the pulpit itself, there are reliefs of the Last Judgment, of the Heavenly Jerusalem and of Ezechiel's vision of the Resurrection of the Dead (Grunsky, 1973: 221).

The monumental and sumptuous organ fills the whole west end all the way to the church vault. It is decorated with numerous music-making angels (Appuhn, 1970: 140) (Fig. 75). It is a reconstruction of the original organ, which was built between 1620 and 1624 by Gottfried Fritzsche from Dresden (Fig. 47). The composer Michael Praetorius participated in its design (Dehio, 1992: 1391). The organ gallery is at the same height as the ducal gallery and the carved decoration made up of angels' heads that bands the octagonal piers (Appuhn, 1970: 140).

1.2 Exterior

1.2.1 Façade

Even though the church was mostly finished by 1626, the tower was completed only in 1751, in a design different from the one planned by Francke (compare figures 2 and 72). However, the base of the tower with its portal and ducal statues was completed in 1618 before the Thirty Years' War broke out (Fig. 52). The edges of this older part of the tower display bosses carved in the *Ohrmuschelstil*. The portal shows in the lower stage a broad arched doorway, two overlapping sets of Corinthian columns and statues of Moses and Aaron. In the next stage, an additional Corinthian order appears between the statue of Duke Heinrich Julius and that of his son Duke Friedrich Ulrich. Above, *Ohrmuschelstil* scrolling supports a figure of Christ in front of the west window. The latter is set in a broad field of plain ashlar and is identical in its detailing to the windows along the aisles. It is cut off by the second storey of the portal at half-height.

Big buttresses crowned by molded caps project between the bays of the church. Statues of the twelve apostles stand on top of the buttresses situated on the long sides and on the transept arms (Fig. 1-3). Peter and Paul, the princes of the Apostles, are prominently placed on either side of the west façade. The Evangelists occupy the four buttresses of the choir (Fig. 3). Two buttresses on the south side are without statuary (Grunsky, 1973: 207). All these statues break across the terminal entablature at the top of the church walls and evoke the pinnacles of Gothic architecture. Like the octagonal pillars inside, the buttresses stand on high podia topped by a string-course that runs all around the walls just below the window-sills. Like the pillars of the interior, they also carry a single band of carved ornament made up of angels' heads set about a third of the way up their shafts (Fig. 1, 2, 3). The band is continued on the tower base and passes directly behind the ducal statues (Appuhn, 1970: 140) (Fig. 52). On either side of the façade, at transept level and at the angles of the apse, the buttresses project diagonally (Fig. 46). The walls, like the entablatures that crown them, and the buttresses, are made up of large areas of plain ashlar.

The polygonal choir has a medieval air about it (Fig. 3). In the corners between the apse and the transept arms, there is a pair of stair turrets that allowed

the duke and his family to have easy access to the galleries in the transept (Fig. 46). There are 390 bosses, carved in a manner reminiscent of Romanesque sculpted reliefs, that are situated on the jambs, archivolts and tracery mullions of the choir and transept arms windows (Fig. 21-28, 53). They are similar to the ornamental bosses found on the edges of the tower base but their theme is generally different. Funerary elements dominate here. There are *putti* with different sepulchral attributes such as skull, hourglass and extinguished torch (Fig. 24, 25). Other *putti* carry a cross or a palm branch or blow the trumpet (Fig. 23, 26). There are also owls, phoenixes, pelicans, swans and doves with olive branch, all depicted very realistically (Fig. 27, 28). The keystone of several of the windows is made up of an angel's head (Fig. 54). The ornament on the bosses that incorporates both figural and animal designs approaches the so-called *Ohrmuschelstil*, characteristic of the late Weserrenaissance (Grunsky,1973: 210-19).

1.2.2 Windows

The carved Late Gothic tracery in the heads of the tall three-light windows on the exterior of the church is made up of early 17th-century Northern Mannerist foliate ornament arising from the Corinthian capitals of the mullions (Fig. 53). This kind of tracery makes the church look old even though the elements used to fashion it are "modern" i.e., contemporary with the church construction (Forssmann, 1961: 101). The windows are framed at the sides by bosses. The imposts of the pointed arches and their archivolts are also banded with bosses in the Weserrenaissance style. The windows have a rectangular frame that stretches from the string-course, below, to the entablature of the walls above (Fig. 1, 3). Here, the relation between the window opening and the wall is not Gothic, but rather Baroque in its sense of framing. The Gothic-looking pointed-arch windows are encased instead of carved out of the wall, an element that makes them differ from Gothic windows (Thies, 1990: 177-78).

1.2.3 *Zwerchhäuser*

The extravagant *Zwerchhäuser* on the long sides of the church may be of Francke's design but they were mostly executed well after his death in 1615 (Fig. 1, 2, 11). Several of them were completed between 1657 and 1660. These dormers

have gables with two stages. The lower stage shows a triumphal arch motif with four engaged columns. Many of the gables have a second order on the second stage. The orders are flanked by scrollwork in *Ohrmuschelstil*. A statue tops each one of these gables. Masks are present underneath the columns of the lower stage. The crowning part of several of the gables is reminiscent of the crest of certain street decorations erected in 1549 on the occasion of Charles V's triumphal entry at Antwerp (Fig. 16, 17).

The gables of the transept arms have three stages and are crowned with three statues (Fig. 18). They evoke the gables realized by Francke for the Helmstedt Juleum built from1592 to 1597 (Fig. 74). Their lower stage also displays a triumphal arch motif. The gable of the central projection of the Antwerp City Hall (1561-65), which shows a triumphal arch motif derived from ancient Roman architecture, was possibly the inspiration for both the Juleum and the *Marienkirche* gables (Fig. 19). At Wolfenbüttel, however, statues replace the Antwerp obelisks and punctuate the edges of the gables like finials.

1.2.4 Statues on gables of *Zwerchhäuser* and transept arms

The gables of the five *Zwerchhäuser* on the north side of the church show from west to east allegorical representations of Abundance and of the cardinal virtues of Temperance, Fortitude and Prudence, all with their attributes (Fig. 55). The fifth statue has lost its attributes but it might have represented Justice, the fourth cardinal virtue (Grunsky, 1973: 207-8).

On the south side, the *Zwerchhäuser* gables display the following figures: the fourth statue from the west, with a flower basket at her feet, is Saint Dorothy; east from her, with a wheel and a (vanished) sword, is Saint Catherine; first from west, with the dragon, is Saint Margaret. The second statue from the west is unidentifiable today. According to old pictures it had two snakes coiled around its left arm and it could thus have represented Saint Christina. The 17th-century third statue from the west is not preserved but it might have been a representation of Saint Barbara. The latter would have thus completed, with the statues of Dorothy, Catherine and Margaret, the group of the four principal virgins or *Virgines capitales* (Grunsky, 1973: 207-8). The presence of these statues on a Protestant

church is rather surprising since the Protestants strongly criticized the Catholics' reliance upon the saints. This unusual element will be discussed in Chapter V.

The gable of the north transept arm carries the statues of the three theological virtues. They are shown as classically robed female personifications equipped with their attributes: faith with cross, hope with anchor and charity with a child (Grunsky, 1973: 207). The south gable was completed only in 1890 and it was modeled on the north gable (Dehio, 1992: 1388).

2. *Stadtkirche* at Bückeburg (1610 –1615)

2.1 Plan and interior

Like the *Marienkirche* at Wolfenbüttel, the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche*, too, is built as a Gothic hall-church. The plan shows a church without transept and with an almost flat east end, except for the ends of the aisles that are canted (Fig. 56). The choir and the nave are integrated but until the 19th century, there was a screen separating the sacral area from the rest of the church at the crossing of the central nave and the walkway linking the side portals (Dehio, 1992: 307). The central nave, with seven oblong bays, is wider than the aisles. There are external buttresses and three entrances, one on the west front and the other two on the sides.

The interior shows a gallery that runs on both lateral sides and across the east and west ends. The east gallery supports a monumental organ while its western correspondent is occupied by the princely loge (Fig. 57). One of the lateral galleries might have been reserved for the city council, while the other one might have been used by the women and men of the count's family.

The vault is quadripartite cross-ribbed (Fig. 57). The ribs are heavily molded and only slightly pointed. The big piers of the nave are cylindrical and show proper Corinthian columnar proportions (Hitchcock, 1981: 338). With their large volutes at the corners below square abacuses, the capitals can be recognized as Corinthian in their general form. Together with the wall consoles they are made up of different Northern Mannerist ornament such as heads, strapwork, shells and pine cones, the latter present on the consoles only (Fig. 58, 59). There are entablature blocks between the abacuses and the springing of the vault ribs (Fig. 58). A similar feature can be seen in the Carolingian Westwerk of the abbey church of Corvey, south of Bückeburg on the Weser. Brunelleschi's Santo Spirito and San Lorenzo in Florence, a city where Count Ernst had sojourned in 1593, show also these entablature blocks (Fig. 60). The latter answered the need to connect the church's capitals with its arches and vaults (Böker, 1996: 58).

The tall windows of the church are tripartite except for the window above the loge, which has four lights (Fig. 57). The windows have beveled sides and

tops. In their round-arched heads there is simple tracery made up of circles and half-circles and filled with blank glass.

The rich pulpit is placed against the middle pier of the north side (Fig. 57, 61, 64). It was probably carved by the sculptor Hans Wulff (c.1570-bef.1641). Finely curved decorative elements project from the jambs of the pulpit and end in beautiful cherubs' heads. *Putti* with the instruments of the Passion stand on the canopy surmounting the pulpit while other cherubs' heads appear between them on the ledge. On the back wall under the canopy, there are wood sculptures of the Apostles Peter and Paul (Fig. 62). The pulpit shows reliefs of the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection and the Ascension (Habich, 1969:141-42).

The baptismal font (Fig. 63) is situated at the crossing where the choir screen used to be. It is dated 1615 and was executed by the Italian-trained Prague court-sculptor Adriaen de Vries. The Evangelists, the Rivers of Paradise and the Virtues are represented on it. This is an iconographic program that appeared repeatedly in the Middle Ages. The lid displays the Baptism of Christ (Dehio, 1992: 307). The font is held by two *putti* sitting on a sphere symbolizing the world (Steinwascher, 1986: 11). From 1618-20, de Vries also executed the figural group on Count Ernst's tomb in his mausoleum at Stadhagen (Hitchcock, 1981: 275).

The sumptuous princely loge with its glazed openings occupies the west end of the church (Fig. 57). It is made of polychrome and gilded wood and carved with a profusion of Northern Mannerist ornaments (Hitchcock, 1981: 338). Its original design was somewhat modified when it underwent restoration between 1885 and 1895 (Borggrefe, 1994: 140).

The particularly splendid monumental organ, which faces the count's loge, fills the east end of the church above the altar (Fig. 64). It is the work of Jesaias Compenius (1560-1617), and it was executed between 1613 and 1615. It was restored to its original appearance in 1962 after it was seriously damaged by fire. It displays a Northern Mannerist decoration of obelisks and volutes (Dehio, 1992: 306).

The altar, which is quite modest, was given a large altarpiece in 1869 (Dehio,1992: 306-7).

2.2 Exterior

2.2.1 Façade

The grandly monumental façade was originally meant to have a steeple (Fig.4,5,6). The latter was begun but later removed because of weak foundations. There is a marked contrast between the plain walls of the sides and this amazing west front. Certain elements of the façade might have been painted or gilded such as the capitals, the shells and the figurative sculpture (Habich,1969:74).

2.2.1.1 Lower storey of the façade

The lower storey of the façade is made up of a high base of plain ashlar, which is topped by a string-course interrupted in the front by the main portal. Four colossal Corinthian terms, pedestals that taper downwards and merge at the top into an abstract figure, rise from the string-course on either side of the central portal. These terms are decorated with shells, and backed by vertical strips of ashlar. They correspond to the vertical articulation effected by the stepped buttresses on the lateral sides.

Two mighty Corinthian columns flank the round-arched main portal. Above the portal there is a four-paneled window that has an oval light at the top. This window is enclosed by shorter terms and topped by the wings of a broken pediment. Between the wings there is a scrolled foliated finial that rises into the storey above. The whole is quite reminiscent of Wendel Dietterlin's designs (Fig. 33). The flanking bays are occupied by two tall, round-arched three-light windows, which are framed by plain bevels. Above the ends of the entablature of the portal, two *genii* rest on the s-curved wings of a broken pediment, on either side of a coat-of-arms set within an oval held by two *putti* in front of the central window (Fig. 66). The *genii* are flanked by obelisks. With their palm branch, they evoke the victories in the spandrels of the Roman triumphal arches. A platform with a balustrade decorated with obelisks and spheres extends in front of the main portal and separates it from the city. Above the windows there is a full entablature that bears in the frieze the inscription *Exemplum Religionis Non Structurae*

(example of piety and not of architecture). In spite of the statement, the show-front is a monument to the count. Indeed, the inscription contradicts itself since its first letters are gilded to spell out the count's name (ERNST) (Steinwascher and Seeliger, 1986: 11).

2.2.1.2 Upper storey of the façade

The upper storey of the façade is made up of a large gable that fronts the main roof of the church. The first or lower stage of the gable shows Ionic terms that continue the inner Corinthian terms of the lower storey. The terms are flanked with blind oculi, which are capped by segmental pediments and framed by c-scrolls. Similar oculi can be seen in Dietterlin's *Architectura* (Fig. 34). The oculi are flanked on their outer sides by finials, which have scrolls at their base and which are topped by small obelisks. In the center of the stage there is a square panel with a clock set under a pediment. The clock is decorated with shells and the wings of Chronos. The frame of the clock can be assigned to the Doric order in accordance with Serlio's portal designs (Borggrefe, 1994: 158). Below the clock there are semicircular urns and scrollwork.

The second stage of the gable shows a projecting gallery with a balustrade. There are tall obelisks near the ends of the balustrade. They continue the Ionic terms of the lower stage and add verticality to the façade.

The third stage of the gable displays elements shaped like ear-conches set back from a rectangular plane that has a pediment-topped door in the center. Above, there is a small belfry with an opening for a bell set under a pediment crowned by a cross. The severe architectural forms of the belfry can be included in the Doric order again in accordance with Serlio (Borggrefe, 1994: 162).

The lateral façades of the church are plain and contrast with the plastic elaboration of the main façade. Stepped buttresses, two side portals with three-tiered arches surmounted by *Ohrmuschelstil* scrolling (Fig. 81) and tall round-arched windows break their surfaces of plain ashlar. The windows of the lateral sides have beveled sides and tops like the windows flanking the main portal on the façade. Their simple tracery of circles and half-circles is made up of sandstone (Hipp, 1990: 161).

Chapter IV –Analysis and Interpretation of Architectural Elements Common to Both Churches

1. Basic scheme: the late Gothic hall-church

The Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche* and the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche* are both hall churches, a type of church that evolved in Northern Germany from c.1250. A hall church usually consists of three vessels of equal or nearly equal height. The transept is often omitted and the choir and nave are usually integrated to increase the effect of a unified space, as can be seen at Bückeburg. This type of church was used widely in northern Germany in the late 15th and early 16th centuries.

In the Weser region there were two important types of hall churches that served as residence churches from the late Middle Ages to the early 17th century. There was first the hall-church that was used as burial-place for the ruling family. This had a family grave underneath the choir and a burial chapel and princely loge situated respectively at ground level and in an upper gallery of the choir. This type of church was usually endowed for a chapter of canons, a group of clerics who were attached to the church and prayed for the souls of the deceased endowers. One such church was the 14th-century church of St Martin and Elisabeth in Kassel, the main residence of the Landgraves of Hesse. St Martin and Elisabeth quoted the former burial place of the landgraves, the famous church of St Elisabeth in the earlier family seat of Marburg. This type of sacral construction had many functions. It served the memory of the deceased of the princely family, it provided private space to the princes in the gallery-storey and it served as a parish church for the city people. It therefore sheltered and organized the social classes found in the lands of the princes i.e., nobility, Church, and bourgeoisie. In other words, this type of residence church, which is exemplified in the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche*, was the architectural transposition of the sociopolitical model prevailing in the territory (Böker, 1990: 148-50).

A second type of residence church was the hall-church with an ambulatory hall-choir that was derived from politically important late medieval hall-choirs with imperial connotations. This type, which was exemplified in the Schaumburg family's earlier residence church at Stadthagen, became the model for the

Stadtkirche at Bückeburg (Fig. 56). The Stadthagen church had been built as a reduced version of the 14th-century Verden *Dom* hall-choir (c.1350-66), a Weser region structure that slightly predated the hall-choir at St Sebald in Nürnberg built by Emperor Charles IV from 1362 to1372 (Böker, 1990: 153-54). At Bückeburg the adjoining of the Corinthian order added another imperial connotation to the one already provided by the link with St Sebald.

The architectural models used for the new residence churches at Wolfenbüttel and Bückeburg did not point to the present reality. They rather introduced Gothic forms as quotations or allusions evoking the heritage and authority of feudal rule, a period characterized by its sense of order and seen as a continuation of the Roman Empire. The Wolfenbüttel residence church's cruciform plan evoked the plan of St Blasius in Braunschweig, a princely foundation by one of the most famous members of the Welf dynasty (Fig. 67). Duke Heinrich Julius could recapture therein the time when the Welf ruled in Braunschweig and when a family member, Otto IV, son of Henry the Lion, was Holy Roman emperor. The Bückeburg *Stadtkirche* quoted the Schaumburg's earlier residence church, itself connoting a 14th-century imperial hall-choir. At Bückeburg and Wolfenbüttel the use of the Late Gothic hall-church as basic scheme for the new residence churches symbolized the continuity of power and tradition. Half a century earlier the church of St –Eustache in Paris, built through the funding of King François Ier, who was the monarch at the time of the first campaign of construction (1532-c.1545), had also evoked with its five-aisled plan a medieval model, the royal cathedral of Notre-Dame. Through the architectural forms of the new church, François Ier had thus established a connection with the glorious French medieval past. On the political plan, François might also have sought to recapture an age when citizens did not question the rule of the king. The archaic appearance of St.-Eustache offered worshipers a spiritual and historical link to the earlier era of great piety when the Catholic Church had reigned unopposed.

By reproducing established models of residence churches, the *Marienkirche* at Wolfenbüttel and the *Stadtkirche* at Bückeburg maintained continuity with earlier tradition and constituted an affirmation of the princes'

legitimacy. They substantiated princely claims through reference to the families' anterior medieval constructions.

However, both sacral buildings are not "real" Gothic buildings, because they do not display the Gothic architectural system and forms in their entirety. Indeed, the churches show elements that are in fact contemporary or "modern" and thus cannot be traced back to medieval architecture. For example, both churches have Gothic vaults that rest on supports with Corinthian capitals (Fig. 40, 57). At Wolfenbüttel, the windows on the exterior of the *Marienkirche* have a rectangular frame, which disguises the opening in the wall (Fig. 1, 53). These windows, as opposed to their medieval counterparts that were holes in a wall, are more like blocks that are put in the wall. This particular device is not Gothic but rather distinctive of the Baroque. Besides, the Late Gothic tracery of these windows is made up of Northern Mannerist ornament (Fig. 53). The bosses with animal and figural reliefs, the carved band of ornament on the buttresses and the statues of saints that crown the latter are not Gothic elements either (Fig. 22-28, 1-3). Inside the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche*, the pointed windows are set in plain rectangular niches that resemble the ones seen in the church interior described as *templum nova forma constructum* in Vredeman's *Perspective* (Fig. 41, 7). These niches have no arch molding or bevel as is characteristic in Gothic architecture (Thies, 1990: 178). In addition to this, the wide arcade arches do not show any molding but are articulated instead through painting (Fig. 40).

Paul Francke had originally planned a space with three naves more or less equal in width and Mannerist terms for the *Marienkirche*'s interior (Fig. 39). If this plan had been executed, the church interior would have resembled the great hall of the *Juleum* at Helmstedt (Fig. 68). After the architect's death, there was a change in design, which resulted in an interior more akin to the one called "new", illustrated in Vredeman's plate XLVII (Fig.7). The columns in Vredeman's 1604 design have high polygonal bases similar to those seen in the *Marienkirche*. The change in plan produced a situation where the corners of the tower and those of the transept galleries were too far from the main arcade. Consequently, the latter had to be distorted and pushed out of its course to connect with the mighty piers

of both tower and transept, thus causing a further breach of the Gothic system in the church (Thies, 1990: 180-81) (Fig. 69).

The plan and the exterior of the *Marienkirche* show a startlingly Gothic-looking east end (Fig. 46, 3). Inside, however, the pieces of wall between the windows show a flat surface against which the shafts for the ribs of the vault are placed, instead of forming an angle as in Gothic architecture (Fig. 70, 71). As seen in figure 71, the lines of the angles of the choir polygon are directed towards the edges of the buttresses rather than towards their center as in figure 70 (Thies, 1990: 182-83).

2. Gothic style

Around 1600, one sees a return to Gothic forms in sacral architecture and church furniture in Germany, on both Protestant and Catholic sides (Borggrefe, 1994: 143). The term "Gothic" had been used for the first time in Italy in the early 15th century by Alberti and other humanists, who had derived the adjective from the barbarian Goths who had sacked Rome in 410. The word was thus pejorative and conveyed the sense of an architecture that was rough and crude compared to that of ancient Rome. The Gothic style finally came to designate the language of the Germans, or of northern Europe generally (Kidson, 1996: 33-35). After the Reformation, the style acquired the meaning of Protestant and anti-Classical (or anti-Rome), since it was the style the heretics north of the Alps had applied to their churches (Wittkower, 1974: 27).

The Gothic style had nevertheless acquired religious connotations since its inception in the Middle Ages. By the late 16th century it had come to express piety and long-standing tradition. It symbolized the true devoutness of a pre-Renaissance world conceived to be the embodiment of a universal order one longed for almost desperately at the turn of the 17th century. The pious reflected on an age that could propitiate God so lavishly. Protestants and Catholics alike consciously looked back to the untarnished teachings of an age of great spirituality, a character expressed in the verticality of its cathedrals. The return to medieval models at the end of the 16th century was in a way an appeal to an authority that would bridle the petty quarrels of the sectaries and bring order and

peace to society. For the faithful, this style acquired a particular sense in a period which was in the process of fractioning (Evans,1984: 273, 254). The Gothic might be attractive to us today at the end of the 20th century because our world is also unable to provide sense.

The recourse by Duke Heinrich Julius to the Middle Ages had deep spiritual and intellectual motives. His father Julius, who had been the first Duke of Braunschweig to turn Lutheran, had become acquainted in England with the High Church movement that tended toward oecumenism. The humanist Jacob Acontius, who had come to England in the mid-16th century, pleaded for tolerance there. The eirenic theologian Georg Calixtus, who from 1616 was professor of theology at Helmstedt, was a follower of Acontius. Both scholars were united in their admiration for the greatness of the old Church and in their criticism of the contemporary theologians (Hempel, 1959: 256-57). At the end of the 16th century, there will be a tendency to return to Catholicism in England. At Oxford and Cambridge, where the classical Italianate style had been introduced in the 16th century, things will turn to Gothic revival toward 1600. This revivalism had a high intellectual meaning. It brought associations with the Catholic medieval past, at the same time that it responded to the historicism of the place, at Oxford in particular (Böker, 1984: 350-52; Schmitt, 1983b: 64-67). In Italy likewise, the study of the projects for the façade of Milan Cathedral reveals that the planners of the middle of the 17th century turned away from classical designs, either back to Gothic or to mixed designs. The project submitted by architect Buzzi in the mid-17th century was done in a mixture of Roman and Gothic styles. With slight changes, this is the design that was used for the completion of the façade in the early 19th century (Wittkower,1974: 35, 46, 64).

The term eirenism (Grk.: *eirêne* = peace) appeared at the end of the 16th century to characterize the efforts towards religious understanding between Protestants and Catholics in particular. Eirenic theology, which was a Protestant field of thought, emphasized continuity and the historical tradition of the early Church and pleaded for reconciliation with the Catholic Church (Grunsky, 1973: 209-10). The faculty of theology at the University of Helmstedt, with Duke

Heinrich Julius as its rector, evolved as the most important center of eirenic theology in the German lands. As a forerunner of 17th-century eirenism, one can mention the efforts of Nikolaus von Kues (d. 1469) who worked for the reconciliation of the Roman and Orthodox Churches in the 15th century.

The eirenic movement owed its strength in the late 16th century to the heightened confessional tensions that were so repellent to its supporters. In the early 17th century, the moderate program of this movement was widely supported by learned circles. However it was an attitude of mind that found little practical application, save in the world of the academic and the artist (Evans, 1984: 92, 274). For many years until his death, Duke Heinrich Julius pleaded for moderation and confessional reconciliation at the imperial court (Grunsky, 1973: 209-10). His efforts were nevertheless to prove abortive, and the cataclysm of the Thirty Years' War suggests that his expectations had been unrealistic. Religious eirenism remained a utopia like the architectural utopia of the Duke's residence church at Wolfenbüttel.

Religious eirenism was assisted by the intellectual attractiveness that the old Catholic faith exercised in the early 17th century. For many, the intellectual superiority of Catholicism was related to its universal values, its symbolic content and its sense of hierarchy and mystery. The qualities of the Counter Reformation that brought its triumph in the first two decades of the 17th century and the forces of continuity also played a dominant role in this attraction (Evans, 1984: 156-57, 287). The Jesuits, who were the leaders of the Counter Reformation, advocated reform and a return to traditional Christian virtues. Their zeal for educational improvement and their use of elaborate displays of ceremony and drama were attractive to the people. Moreover, the Society of Jesus came close to the ideal of the learned or secret society in its Fellowships, something that agreed with the mentality of the period (Evans, 1984: 159). The humanism of the early Jesuits and their educational apostolate was in tune with the best and most progressive current of the times. The Jesuit theologian Francisco Suarez (1548-1617) must be mentioned in this context. Suarez was of extreme importance as an intermediary between scholasticism and modern philosophy. His *Disputationes metaphysicae*,

which he wrote in 1597, exercised a profound influence on 17th-century philosophy. It served as textbook in the Roman Catholic universities of southern Europe, and it was also used in Protestant Germany where it was printed as early as 1600 (Dreitzel, 1970: 62-64). It is within this revitalized Catholicism that one finds evidence of earlier traditions and signs that those traditions contributed to the prosperity of the Catholic cause and to a return to medieval models at the time (Evans, 1984: 284).

The recognition of the ineffectiveness of its idealistic social concepts brought Protestantism increasingly into a state of crisis after 1570. Its fundamentally austere attitude was challenged and had to be curtailed. This resulted in a rapid revival of hedonistic views and habits that opened the doors wide for the Jesuits. Some of the German Lutheran princes even thought of re-catholicizing their lands or at least of getting closer to Counter-Reformatory positions. The building of the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche*, the retaining of its Marian advocation and the recourse to medieval forms, especially Gothic ones, are the products of such a vision (Borggrefe, 1994: 167).

The early 17th century saw indeed a reversal of the situation that had held for most of the 16th century. Increasingly, Protestant intellectuals saw that one could accept certain aspects of Catholic philosophy and theology without accepting it all. One could agree with parts of Suarezian political theory without committing oneself to papal supremacy or Jesuit domination (Schmitt, 1983b: 66). The Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche* constitutes a magnificent expression of this attitude, without the indigenous architectural tradition or Lutheran tradition of sacral architecture being given up through an imitation of counter reformatory art. Francke's *Marienkirche* differs markedly from St Michael in Munich or from the Jesuits constructions in the Rhineland such as *St Mariä Himmelfahrt* at Cologne begun in 1618 (Hempel,1959: 256-57).

Apart from their religious connotations, the medieval types had the same value as the "old" types of Roman antiquity for the educated Germans. As mentioned before, the latter believed in a continuous tradition that had begun in antiquity with the Roman Empire, had continued with the medieval Roman

Empire and found its conclusion in the contemporary Habsburg Empire. For them, traditional Gothic suggested history, continuity and authority, the authority of a past world conceived to be the embodiment of a universal order (Evans,1984: 273).

At Wolfenbüttel and Bückeburg, the use of the Gothic style provided associations with the past. It was a means for Duke Heinrich Julius and Count Ernst to restore historical continuity with the former medieval residence churches at Braunschweig and Stadthagen respectively. The princes thus affirmed possession and advertised a dynastic permanence. Elsewhere in Europe, the same blending of old and new was also appearing, in England and in Bohemia in particular. Emperor Rudolf II's architects worked likewise in a style that combined Late Renaissance features with strong echoes of Gothic. The city of Prague was the setting for this symbolic medieval architecture, which recalled the grandeur of the Prague of the Luxembourgs, with its great monuments of the Parler school commissioned by Charles IV (Evans, 1984: 184, 272).

At Wolfenbüttel, the Gothic style gave the *Marienkirche* an old-fashioned character and made it look older than it was. With the use of medieval forms, Duke Heinrich Julius aimed at restoring the historical continuity that had been broken in the 16th century when the family's burial-place had been forcibly moved from Braunschweig to Wolfenbüttel. In the Gothic-looking *Marienkirche*, the duke incorporated all the important medieval churches of Braunschweig, including the *Dom*, in particular its north aisles, which the Wolfenbüttel church replaced as the burial place of the dynasty. Duke Heinrich Julius made all those churches superfluous, overcoming in this fashion the Braunschweig tradition, which ended thus in Wolfenbüttel. The *Marienkirche* might therefore be seen as the duke's personal wishful thinking i.e., as a monument to his anticipated victory over Braunschweig. According to the original design of Francke for the *Marienkirche*'s steeple, the latter would have imitated the highest church tower in Braunschweig, the south steeple of the early 16th-century Andreaskirche and the central stairtower of the Juleum at Helmstedt, both octagonal and with "Italian bonnet" (Fig. 72, 73, 74). It would therefore have created links with both the city

of Braunschweig and the University of Helmstedt (Kunst, 1981: 45, 39). One will recall that the duke was rector of the university, which was a center of eirenic theology in northwestern Germany.

The conscious return to the medieval formal tradition goes further at Wolfenbüttel than at Bückeburg, as seen in the octagonal pillars, the tracery windows, the Romanesque-like design of the ornamental bosses and the medieval-looking buttresses articulating the outside walls. At Bückeburg, the vault and the other Gothic elements and references, such as those concerning DeVries's font, might suggest that Count Ernst was attracted to the contemporary Counter-Reformatory thought (Fig. 63). This is a hypothesis that was put forward by Neukirch in 1939, a proposition Johannes Habich does not agree with (Habich,1969: 8, n. 19).

Because it represented seriousness in religion, the Gothic style was also a means to legitimatize one's true faith, either Lutheran or Catholic. Indeed, it constituted a way to negate the very interlude of the religious schism. In this period preceding the Thirty Years' War, religion became a pretext that was used for princely interests on both sides of the confessional rift. The Protestant and Catholic princes employed the same vocabulary because they participated in the same discourse, that of their own aggrandizement.

3. Blend of German Gothic tradition and Italian Renaissance idiom

In the Wolfenbüttel and Bückeburg residence churches, Renaissance ornament is applied to basically Gothic structures. This adherence to the Gothic might have resulted, in part, from the fact that it was still the natural way of building in the North. Many local builders and craftsmen still clung to the old tradition. However true that may be, this mixture responded above all to precise political and social interests of the princes who participated actively in the design of their churches. According to Francke's original design, which blended Gothic and Northern Mannerist elements, the *Marienkirche*'s interior would have looked like the great hall of the *Juleum* at Helmstedt (Fig. 39, 68). It would therefore have taken on the character of a university hall. This original choice, made probably by the patron, is not surprising when one recalls that Helmstedt was a

stronghold of eirenic theology, supported by Duke Heinrich Julius (Kunst, 1981: 35).

At Wolfenbüttel and Bückeburg elements of the Gothic and Renaissance systems were taken up and combined, a blending which resulted in a system that was neither bound to the Gothic nor to the Renaissance. In the late 15th and early 16th centuries, Albrecht Dürer had studied the works of the North Italian Renaissance in Venice and had reshaped the Italian images in his mind according to his own northern sensibility. In so doing, he had set the basis for a specific German Renaissance, as we see it expressed at Wolfenbüttel and Bückeburg, because his architectural drawings became in the North at least as important as the Italian models. Besides, the mixture of Gothic constructions with Renaissance elements, bearers of imperial connotations, was a means for the learned Germans to exemplify their particular view of history. According to this historical interpretation, the medieval Roman Empire had been the heir of the Roman Empire, and consequently there was a direct link of continuity between the latter and the contemporary Holy Roman Empire. The combination of Gothic structure and Renaissance ornament, as seen in both residence churches, was therefore not the result of a misunderstanding of Italian Renaissance or Gothic architecture. "Real" Renaissance architecture had been known and built in Germany already for a long time (Thies, 1990: 183-84,187). The fusion of both systems was rather a means to produce a higher level of architecture, that is an architecture that expressed or symbolized more than its appropriated models.

4. Church galleries

The custom of having galleries in a church goes back to Byzantium, and this custom was known to the west principally through the church of San Vitale in Ravenna. This church, which was built by the Byzantine emperor Justinian in the 6th century, is perhaps the most famous gallery-church of the west. The gallery in San Vitale served to house the ruler's (or his representative's) seat or throne. In Byzantium, it seems that part of the gallery was also reserved for court members. The formula was adopted by Charlemagne around 798 when he built his Palatine Chapel in Aachen on the model of San Vitale; he had his throne placed in the

gallery facing the altar, from which seat he attended mass. The church thus gave a representative place to both supreme authorities : God and the emperor. After Charlemagne, the principle of dividing the ruler's church in an upper and lower church was taken over in princely church buildings, such as the Carolingian abbey church of Corvey on the upper Weser and the collegiate church of St Blasius in Braunschweig (Wex, 1984: 117-18).

The galleries allowed, thus, for the division of the church interior into different, hierarchized spaces corresponding to and confirming contemporary social classes: space for the ruler, space for his family, and space for the «others». This type of architecture answered equally the need for placing the secular ruler in a representative place within the church, isolating him from the other classes and placing him visibly above his subjects. The galleries were also useful as display and presentation platforms. This feudal or aristocratic form of representation exemplified the strong dependance of the Church on the State, institutions which, in Protestantism, became almost the one and same thing. Indeed, after the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, each ruling prince became *summus episcopus* or *Landesbischof* (highest ecclesiastical authority) in his own territory (Wex, 1984: 118, 171-75, 119).

Chapter V –Analysis and Interpretation of Architectural Elements and Decoration

1. *Marienkirche* at Wolfenbüttel

1.1 Interior

1.1.1 Plan

The plan of the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche* is characteristic of cruciform Romanesque basilicas such as the *Dom* of St Blasius in Braunschweig begun by Henry the Lion in 1173 (Fig. 46, 47). The Welf burial-place had formerly been in the north aisles of the Braunschweig *Dom*. Duke Henry the Younger, Duke Heinrich Julius' grandfather, had been forced to move it to the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkapelle* after family graves had been desecrated in 1542 by the Braunschweig mobs. The plan alludes thus to dynastic permanence and to the Welf family's claim to the insubordinate city of Braunschweig (Kunst, 1981: 38-39).

1.1.2 Choir, altar and transept

The choir and the transept constitute the most princely referential part of the church (Fig. 40, 41). The princely loge was situated in the upper level of the south transept arm, above the funerary chapel, while the ducal burial-place was located in the crypt underneath. The upper level of the north transept arm above the sacristy was reserved for the duke's family. The focus in the east end is on the altar, which was originally meant to serve as an epitaph for the duke. The ducal presence was thus felt everywhere in the most sacred part of the church, an element that expresses the fact that the ruler was the highest ecclesiastical dignitary (*summus episcopus* or *Landesbischof*) in his territory. It shows the strong dependence of the Lutheran Church on the State or even the identity of the Church with the State at the time (Grunsky, 1973: 224). The duke was also present outside, above the main portal, where he was topped only by the figure of Christ (Fig. 52). Together with the statuary of the west portal, the choir asserted the grandeur and power of the ducal family. In the late 16th and early 17th centuries such display of princely references was an instrument of political power.

There was a clear line of demarcation between the privileged space of the choir and the public space of the nave. This marked spatial hierarchy reflected the contemporary divisions of society into nobility, Church and common people. The architectural and sculptural fabric of the residence church was intended to convey the image of the prince as sole head of State and Church, an emperor in his own realm who ruled as vice-regent of God and Christ.

The fact that the duke had his seat in direct proximity to the ducal tombs underlines the fact that the most important function of the church was that of a *memento mori*. The Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche* is therefore almost like a private burial church for the duke even though it was built largely with public funds (Kunst, 1981: 33). The altar in the choir was intended to serve as a reminder of the duke, his parents and his widow Duchess Elizabeth (Fig. 50). It features a large Crucifixion wherein a rose is set at the meeting-point of the arms of the cross. The rose relates to the Rosicrucian society, a movement that professed esoteric principles of religion. Hilda Lietzmann quotes Frances A. Yates who characterizes the movement as "the expression of a religious movement which had been gathering force for many years, fostered by secret influences moving in Europe, a movement towards solving religious problems along mystical lines suggested by Hermetic and Cabalist influences". In a Rosicrucian document from 1617, one reads: "*Wir waren ... Rosen von Gott dem HERRN selbsten in den Baum dess Lebens gepflanzet ...*" (Lietzmann, 1974: 214, 212 211). Like his father and many of his contemporaries, starting with Emperor Rudof II himself, Duke Heinrich Julius was very interested in alchemy, whose brotherhoods were closely connected to the Rosicrucian movement. As the head of the emperor's Privy Council at Prague, the duke was most probably connected with the movement (Kelsch, 1987: 99). He had acquired from Simon VI zur Lippe, brother-in-law and tutor of Count Ernst of Schaumburg, a palace with a laboratory for alchemical studies on the Hradschin. However, the rose cross is the only proof one possesses of the duke's appurtenance to the Rosicrucian movement. Nevertheless, we know for certain that Heinrich Julius participated in the design of the altar since he was its donor (Lietzmann, 1974, 212, 214, 211).

1.1.3 Pulpit

The pulpit is situated below the princely loge (Fig. 47, 51). The minister therefore had to speak up to the duke who sat above, another sign of spatial hierarchy in the church. The role of the pastor is made evident through the architectural and sculptural arrangement of the pulpit. The latter is supported by the figure of Moses and is decorated with statuettes representing the twelve Apostles. The pastor stands literally on Moses, the basis of the Old Testament, and he founds his sermons on the Ten Commandments (the Law). The Apostles are his New Testament precursors. They were contemporary witnesses of the Life and Passion of Christ whose message the pastor delivers from the pulpit. He thus rests against and on the authority of both Old and New Testaments, and he shows clearly that God acts through the Word he proclaims (Reimers, 1993: 63). The emphasis is placed here upon the interpretation of the Word of God. The program agrees with the regular iconography of Protestant pulpits. The reliefs on the pulpit, which show the Last Judgment, the Heavenly Jerusalem and Ezechiel's vision of the Resurrection of the Dead do not belong to pulpits' iconography however. They are rather in keeping with the funerary program of the church (Grunsky, 1973: 221).

1.1.4 Organ

The Wolfenbüttel organ, which fills the west end gallery, is decorated with numerous small music-making angels (Fig. 47, 75). In the Middle Ages, the church was seen as the heavenly abode where the angels sang to the congregation. In the Renaissance the church vault became the symbolic image of heaven. These two notions were still alive around 1600. This might explain the presence of angels' heads on the carved band of the octagonal piers of the nave (Fig. 40, 41). Since this band is at the same height as the organ gallery, the angels it depicts might also be placed in the category of the music-making angels. Being placed high above people's heads, they might have indicated the first step on the way to heaven. Angels' heads also appear outside at the same level on the ornamental band of the buttresses (Appuhn, 1970: 140) (Fig. 1-3).

Music held a prominent place in the Lutheran service as the most suitable instrument to praise the divine majesty. It was regarded as the sound of angels glorifying the Creator. In the Neo-Platonic concept of perfect harmony, music was considered as the embodiment of harmony because it was able to combine oppositions and turn them into harmonious sounds. Listening to these was thought to promote virtue (Borggrefe, 1994: 63). Music had thus a moral compass and it achieved momentarily the utopia of harmony on earth (Ose, 1997: 15). In the late 16th and early17th centuries, music was also believed to offer contact with the cosmic forces and was linked to alchemy (Evans, 1984: 190).

The most important liturgical places of proclamation of the Gospel and music were significantly set opposite from the prince's loge. Duke Heinrich Julius was a notable patron of music, particularly of the organ. In 1604 Michael Praetorius (c.1571-1621), the great precursor of Bach, was appointed *Kapellmeister* at Wolfenbüttel. He also served the duke as organist in the *Marienkirche* until his death in 1621. His grave is said to be located under the organ (Appuhn, 1970: 140).

1.1.4.1 Sumptuousness of altar, pulpit and organ

The sumptuousness of the altar, pulpit and organ at Wolfenbüttel might seem inappropriate for a Protestant church. At the beginning of the 17th century, however, Lutherans and Catholics in Germany were vying to attract the faithful. The Society of Jesus, created in 1534 by Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), had become during the later 16th century a powerful tool in the battle against Protestantism. Art, whose pedagogical benefits had been reaffirmed at the Council of Trent, had emerged as a potent weapon in the Jesuits' crusade to re-catholicize the world. Thus the Jesuits entered sumptuous sculptural programs into the confessional battle. The figures used bold overstated gestures to animate the telling of the holy story, an element seen on the Wolfenbüttel altar (Fig. 50). The latter reflected the art at the Catholic court of Prague (Lietzmann, 1974: 211). The splendor of the furniture in the Protestant churches at the beginning of the 17th century seems in the end to have answered the same objectives as with the Catholics. The Lutherans were simply trying to fight the Counter Reformation

using its own weapons. Holger Reimers proposes nevertheless a further explanation for an area in northwestern Germany. In the early 17th century, a sculptor called Ludwig Münstermann (1570/80-1637/38) crafted splendid altars, pulpits, fonts, and organs for the churches of the lands of the Counts of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst (two cities west of Bremen). Most of the pastors who were appointed to these churches had received part of their theological formation at Helmstedt University. Duke Heinrich Julius was rector of that university and he was also the cousin of the wife of Count Anton II of Delmenhorst. It is possible that the eirenic theology prominent at Helmstedt influenced the pastors' view as to how the religious themes should be represented on pulpits, altars, etc., and led to their similarity to Counter-Reformatory works (Reimers, 1993: 43, 65, 67, 79). At Wolfenbüttel the sumptuous programs belonged moreover to princely self-display and to the duke's self-advertisement as bishop.

1.1.5 Octagonal pillars

The octagonal pillars at Wolfenbüttel underline anew the hierarchy in the church space (Fig. 40, 41). They divide the church into two planes that reflect its two different types of spaces, the public and the privileged. They stand in the nave, the area reserved for the common people, and demarcate it from the choir reserved for God and the ducal power. The lowest social class moved between the tall plain pillar bases, which are moreover much higher than a man's height. The carved band of ornament that decorates them is at the same height as the princely gallery, thus indicating clearly the location of the privileged ducal space (Appuhn, 1970: 140). Outside, the same carved decoration is set on the shafts of the buttresses and continues along the west façade above the main portal behind the ducal statues. The latter indicated clearly to the faithful who ruled and protected the Church.

The traditional Late Gothic octagonal pillars at Wolfenbüttel alluded also to the Gothic churches of the city of Braunschweig. The *Petrikirche* for example, built between 1290 to 1310, had similar piers (Fig. 76). The high polygonal bases of the Wolfenbüttel piers are reminiscent on the other hand of the ones depicted in Vredeman's plate XLVII in the 1604 *Perspective* (Fig.7). With the other Gothic

elements of the church they belong to the "new" style of the period as formulated by Vredeman. The difference between these pillars and the Mannerist terms originally planned by Francke (Fig. 39), manifests the change in architecture toward a return to Gothic elements in the early 17th century.

1.1.6 Capitals of pillars

In the Early Renaissance Italian humanists had transferred to Christian saints the pagan symbolism that Vitruvius had ascribed to the orders. Thus the graceful and elegant Corinthian order, which the Roman engineer suggested for temples dedicated to goddesses like Venus, was assigned to churches consecrated to the Virgin Mary. Eventually, it became the most appropriate order for all churches since it was the most magnificent of the orders. Furthermore, the Corinthian acquired the connotation of imperial and triumphal because of its presence in the majority of the Roman monuments from antiquity, the triumphal arches in particular. It became therefore a most favored element for conveying majesty (Forssman, 1961: 91, 11). At Wolfenbüttel, the Corinthian capitals are not made of acanthus leaves but rather of small heads and vegetal forms (Fig. 48). According to Heiner Borggrefe, the former represent creatures of demonic origin while the latter hint at nature and its dark forces. The author attributes to the former a chtonisch origin, an element that will be dealt with in the treatment of the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche* capitals which have a more or less similar composition and meaning (Borggrefe, 1994: 145-46).

1.2 Exterior

1.2.1 Choir

When he commissioned the church's altar from the Dresden court architect G. M. Nosseni in March 1612, Duke Heinrich Julius also asked him for a certain design regarding the new church at Wolfenbüttel (Lietzmann, 1974: 204). It is possible, moved by the death of Rudolf II on January 20, 1612, that he planned a mausoleum at Wolfenbüttel. He knew Nosseni's remodelled choir (1585-95) of the *Dom* at Freiberg with its princely burial chapel for the Wettin family. The *Dom* itself had retained its Late Gothic structure of c.1400 (Fig. 77). Heinrich Julius' sudden death probably impeded the construction of a mausoleum

of this style. On the exterior of the Freiberg choir the buttresses seem an early indication of those on the sides and rear of the *Marienkirche* (Fig. 3) and perhaps are linked to the above-mentioned facts (Lietzmann, 1993: 19-20). The duke equally knew that Ernst von Schaumburg had commissioned from Nosseni in 1608 a polygonal mausoleum which was to function as a princely funerary chapel. It was begun in 1609 and is attached to the east end of the *Stadtkirche* at the count's earlier family seat of Stadthagen (Hitchcock, 1981: 219). The bosses carved with funerary elements that decorate the choir and transept of the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche* underline the sepulchral destination of the church and manifest the eternal presence of the duke and his house (Kunst: 1981, 34). (Fig.19-24;p.8)

1.2.2 Statues on external buttresses

On the external buttresses of the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche*, the Evangelists (Fig.3) and the Apostles are shown as messengers of the Word of God to the community. St Paul had compared the Apostles to the columns that support the Church. Inside the Paris Ste-Chapelle (c.1250), figures of the Apostle are attached to the columns giving the impression that they indeed help bear the church vault (Katzenellenbogen, 1937: 821). At Wolfenbüttel, the Apostles crown the buttresses that support the church evoking somewhat the idea conveyed by the medieval model. The Evangelists and the Apostles, as well as Moses and Aaron on the west portal, are not part of the funerary program of the church (Grunsky, 1973: 222). On the other hand, it must be mentioned that in Protestant areas, at the time, the Evangelists were more frequently represented with the four great prophets Jesaias, Hesekiel, Jeremias and Daniel rather than with the figures seen at Wolfenbüttel (Bloch and Förster, 1973: 508). This is a first indication that the iconography of Duke Heinrich Julius' residence church is not really typically Protestant. Interestingly, the Jesuit church in Münster, which was built a few years earlier in the 1590s, looks more «Protestant» than the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche*. Indeed, there are no statues on the outside but only closed books with the symbols of the Evangelists that crown the four buttresses of the choir (Geisberg, 1941:

348). It thus illustrates better than the *Marienkirche*'s statuary something that is typically Protestant i.e., a church teaching grounded in the Word alone.

All gables on the outside of the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche* show a triumphal arch motif on their lower stage (Fig.11, 18) This motif was probably derived from the central projection of the Antwerp Town Hall, itself inspired by the triumphal arches of Charles V's 1549 ceremonial entry (Fig. 19, 16, 20). Its origin lies in ancient Roman architecture. This triumphal architecture of Roman Imperial inspiration was used by rulers after mid-16th century when political messages had to be spread with visual means of a monumental type.

1.2.3 Statues on the north side *Zwerchhäuser*

According to their attributes, the figures on the gables of the five *Zwerchhäuser* of the north side represent Abundance and the three cardinal virtues of Temperance, Fortitude and Prudence. The statue on the *Zwerchhaus* that is closest to the east end has lost its attributes. According to Grunsky, it might have represented the 4th cardinal virtue of Justice. The presence of the virtues at Wolfenbüttel was meant to enhance the merits of the prince. In the Renaissance, they also belonged to the program of princely tombs. They thus form part of the *Marienkirche*'s funerary cycle like the ducal statues above the west portal and the bosses with funerary elements on the choir and transept (Grunsky, 1973: 219).

1.2.4 Statues on the south side *Zwerchhäuser*

On the south side of the church, the statues on the *Zwerchhäuser* represent female saints often associated with the Virgin Mary in late medieval times, a rather unusual element in a Lutheran church. Indeed, the Protestants sharply criticized the Catholics' reliance upon the saints, which had been reaffirmed in the last session of the Council of Trent (1535-1563). At Trent, it had been strongly affirmed that the saints "who reign together with Christ offer up their prayers to God for men" (Smith, 1994: 108-9). Consequently, Catholic art was to champion the efficacy of the saints. The Jesuits particularly sponsored the cult of the Virgin (Borggrefe, 1994: 147). The iconography at Wolfenbüttel, which one would expect to be Protestant, seems in fact to reconfirm the power of saintly intercession. The statues represent the crowned martyrs Saint Margaret of

Antioch, Saint Dorothy, and Saint Catherine of Alexandria who, with a missing statue possibly representing Saint Barbara, would have completed the group of the *virgines capitales*. The latter were a group of virgin martyrs often found in central and northern Europe in the late Middle Ages. As virgin martyrs they were commonly represented with the crown of martyrdom. These saints were also noblewomen, and their presence on the ducal residence church may have been part of a conscious political strategy meant to reflect glory and prestige on the Welf dynasty, in order to strengthen its political legitimacy. This particular process of promoting the dynasty would seem appropriate in the age of early absolutism in which ideas of divine right were fostered to provide dynastic authority and legitimacy (Scribner, 1995: 244).The *virgines capitales* often flanked the Virgin Mary as *virgo inter virgines* in late medieval representations thus underlining her virginity (Hofstätter, 1985: 222). It is tempting to think they play the same role here, the Virgin being represented by her church, the *Marienkirche*. Grunsky strongly believes that their presence at Wolfenbüttel is related to the duke's oecumenical disposition and to the eirenic theology developed at his University of Helmstedt (Grunsky, 1973:209-10). One would thus hesitate to call the *Marienkirche* one of the earliest specific "Protestant" churches, because too many elements link it to medieval Catholic tradition.

1.2.5 Windows

The Late Gothic window tracery at Wolfenbüttel shows a cascade of vegetal forms in the contemporary or "modern" Northern Mannerist trend (Fig. 53). The tracery arises from the Corinthian capitals of the mullions, repeating the shape of their acanthus leaves. Its strong similarity with "real" Gothic tracery comes from the fact that Corinthian capitals and Gothic foliate capitals bear an air of resemblance. In this evocation of the Late Gothic capitals, one has combined here the Gothic desire for expression with the Corinthian order recommended for churches by Renaissance architecture theory. Using the Corinthian to fashion the windows and the tracery in the Gothic style, synonymous with churchly, was almost like repeating twice that the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche* was a church. The Corinthian capitals and elements of the window tracery repeat the Corinthian

order of the west portal and the pillars inside. The decorative richness of the order and its imperial connotations, Roman as well as German, was the most appropriate element of self-display for the princes in this period of rising absolutism. By assigning the Corinthian order to the monumental burial place of his family, Duke Heinrich Julius brought a further message of grandeur and awe to his church. The order possibly underlined also his closeness with the emperor and the imperial court and the fact that one of his forebears had been Holy Roman Emperor. The Corinthian will become the order *par excellence* of later 17th-century absolutism represented in particular by Louis XIV (Forssman, 1961: 111).

1.2.6 Bosses

The bosses on the edges of the church tower and on the jambs and tracery mullions of the pointed windows are a distinctive characteristic of the *Weserrenaissance* (Fig. 52, 53). At Wolfenbüttel, the Romanesque-like treatment of the bosses renews with the early medieval formal tradition, perhaps because of the link between the *Marienkirche* and the Romanesque church of St Blasius in Braunschweig (Fig. 22-28). From afar, the bosses look like rusticated ashlar. As a form imitating nature, such rustication would belong to the natural realm according to Late Renaissance architecture theory. Besides, certain bosses must also be included in this domain because of their subject matter, namely birds and animals. Nature played an extremely important role in the philosophical thought of the early 17th century.

Most of the reliefs on the bosses of the church's east end relate to death and its overcoming in the resurrection. On the choir, there are *putti* with different funerary attributes such as the skull, the hourglass and the extinguished torch (Fig. 25, 24). Other *putti* carry a cross or a palm branch (Fig. 26). There are also phoenixes and pelicans, which have been Christian symbols ever since the Middle Ages (Fig. 27, 28). The pelican, which is present on the altar inside the choir, was also a symbol of the Christian prince who would readily die to save his Church and his subjects (Johannsen, 1974: 99). In addition, there are numerous representations of owls. According to the 16th-century emblem book of Joachim Camerarius, these were messengers of oncoming death in antiquity. The Last

Judgment is suggested in the *putti* in the guise of Judgment angels blowing their trumpets (Fig. 23). However, the latter could likewise be understood as celebrating the fame of the dead duke. The dove with an olive branch could allude to the peace-loving prince who brings prosperity and happiness to his subjects and the crane and the cock could imply his vigilance. The swan, Apollo's bird, could hint at Duke Heinrich Julius' fame as a writer. Several of the representations on the bosses of the choir and transept such as the eagles, the centaurs, the sirens and the griffins belong to the funerary art of antiquity (Fig. 22). On the tower, the relief of Jonas spewed out by the whale is an allusion to the overcoming of death and to resurrection (Grunsky, 1973: 210-19). Many of the reliefs can be traced back to illustrations found in contemporary emblem books (Fig. 29, 30).

The snake- and dragon-like creatures, which predominate on the tower base, may have stood for human vices as they already did in literature and the fine arts. These were the vices that were held responsible for the wars and other social conflicts that had been so numerous in the 16th century. At Bückeburg, it must be remembered, the gateway at the entrance to the grounds of the *Schloß* is crowned with the figure of Envy flanked by two dragons (Fig. 44). According to Borggrefe, the latter symbolize social disorder that is bred by human vices (Borggrefe, 1994: 95).

All animals, birds and other creatures, fabled or not, represented on the bosses are depicted very realistically. In the early 17th century, rational science in the modern sense was as yet unknown, especially in Northern Europe (Evans,1984: 212). The natural sciences were in their infancy and magic, mythical and superstitious notions, partly medieval, partly ancient in origin, were frequently intertwined with new scientific discoveries (Kelsch, 1987: 114). The observation of nature was an important aspect of the art of the period. The first realist landscapes, such as the ones of Pieter Brueghel the Elder, much appreciated by Rudolf II, appeared in the late 16th century. They will become very familiar among the artists of the Dutch school of the 17th century. Their origin is linked to the new book-illustrations, especially botanical and zoological. This

realism possessed, however, an intellectual meaning beyond its value as diversion, an element we shall come back to later (Evans,1984: 171,173,185,291).

2. *Stadtkirche* at Bückeburg

2.1 Interior

2.1.1 Choir

At first sight, the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche* displays a spatial hierarchy that is not as conspicuous as that exhibited by the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche*. In fact, there even seems to be a lack of space for the choir (Fig. 56), an element probably compensated for originally by the presence of the choir screen, which was located where the font is now situated (Fig. 57). The *Marienkirche* on the contrary has a well-defined choir and transept occupied by representations of the ducal power, characteristics related to its funerary character (Fig. 46). In any case, the Bückeburg church as well as the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche* exemplify well established and very respected types of residence church in northwestern Germany. As a matter of fact, the Bückeburg type of choir, the so-called hall-choir, is the same as was chosen in the early 1460s by Pope Pius II for his cathedral at Pienza in Tuscany. This was a type he had seen in the 1440s "*apud Germanos in Austria*" when he was secretary to the Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich III (Böker, 1996: 57,63,68).

In the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche*, the altar, the organ, the baptismal font and the princely loge are all arranged along an axis from east to west. The setting draws the spectator's eye towards the prince as the central figure, in a manner distinctive of this period of rising absolutism. The emphasis is not on God but on the patron, a characteristic introduced by the Renaissance. Indeed, for the first time since antiquity, artists and architects of the Renaissance cast man at the center of the cosmos using the rules of linear perspective developed by Brunelleschi and Alberti. Perspective was increasingly employed thereafter to focus on and emphasize the figure of one person in particular, namely the prince (Hart, 1994: 85).

2.1.2 Count's loge

The very sumptuous loge clearly constituted an element of princely self-display as well as a reflection of the count's personal tastes (Fig. 57). Count Ernst

used the visual arts to glorify his house and display his power. He participated in the religious service not as *primus inter pares* but rather as someone who saw himself as part of a divine order and who, as such, stood above the rest of the community. The function of the exuberant main entrance, which is back to back with the luxurious loge, must be seen in direct connection to the purpose of the latter (Borggrefe, 1994: 140) (Fig. 4-6, 57).

2.1.3 Organ

The organ is situated in the gallery above the altar, facing the count's seat (Fig. 64). There might have been orchestral music during the divine service, something that is suggested by the presence of free space on the organ gallery. Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672), who worked for the Elector of Saxony at the Dresden Hofkapelle, and Michael Praetorius, the Wolfenbüttel organist and *Kapellmeister*, were musical advisors to Count Ernst's excellent court orchestra (Habich, 1969: 7-8).

The sumptuousness of the organ matches the luxury of the count's loge that faces it. As the optical goal of the room, the organ betokens its liturgical importance as the place of musical praise of the Lord. Given its situation opposite the princely loge, one may wonder if Count Ernst did not rely upon the harmonious effect of music on the soul to educate his subjects (Borggrefe, 1994: 63). According to Renaissance aesthetic theory, beauty lay in symmetry and proportion and it was thought that the listening to harmonious sounds, which embodied harmonic proportions reflecting these qualities, affected both the senses and the intellect and facilitated the ascent of the human soul to virtue (Hart, 1994: 14). Indeed music, whose noblest effect lay in harmony attained by its combining of oppositions, was thought to have the power to overcome the negative aspects of human nature (Borggrefe, 1994: 114).

2.1.4 Pulpit

The program of the pulpit adheres to Protestant iconography with the reliefs of the Annunciation, Nativity, Crucifixion, Resurrection and Ascension and the presence of *putti* holding the instruments of the Passion (Fig. 61). However, Johannes Habich finds that the presence of the Apostles Peter (Fig. 62)

and Paul is peculiar because they do not usually belong to the iconography of Protestant pulpits (Habich, 1969: 142). At Wolfenbüttel, Peter and Paul occupy a privileged place as princes of the Apostles on the buttresses flanking the west façade of the *Marienkirche*.

2.1.5 Font

The association of the Evangelists, the Rivers of Paradise and the Virtues on Adriaen de Vries' font is a rather unique case of the revival of an iconographic program, which appeared repeatedly in the Middle Ages (Bloch and Förster, 1973: 508) (Fig. 63). The end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries were a period of renewed spiritual fervor combined with a deep concern for the reality of death. These elements were particularly characteristic of counter-reformatory thought but it seems that they were also distinguishing features of Protestantism (Evans, 1984: 159; Habich, 1969: 8, n. 19). In the sermon delivered at Count Ernst's funeral in 1622, it was mentioned that in the last years of his life he kept a skull in his room, symbol of the reality of death. Accompanying the skull was the text "*Da Domine, ut noverim te, et noverim me*" (Allow God that I know Thee and that I know me). The words reminded him of the brevity of human life, a point reinforced by the accompanying skull. One also finds on the title page of the Schaumburg genealogy, commissioned by the count from Cyriacus Spangenberg in 1614, the personifications of *Tempus* and *Mortalitas* (Fig. 78), besides the usual representations of princely lordship such as *Fama*, *Gloria*, *Dignitas* and *Justitia*. Their presence in this highly official document is another proof of the importance held by the contemporary concerns for the transience of life. The insecurity displayed by the count's disposition seems to reveal a desperate search for certainty (Borggrefe, 1994: 155-56). Together with de Vries' font, with its pre-Reformatory program, this attitude appears to be the reason why Neukirch deduced in 1939 that the count was attracted to South German Counter Reformation influences. Habich does not agree with this conclusion, however (Habich, 1969: 8, n. 19). Nevertheless it seems to be a fact that at the time one longed for the period when the Catholic Church reigned

unopposed and when a sense of order and authority dominated, bringing with it a feeling of security.

2.1.6 Corinthian piers, capitals and consoles

The piers in the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche* can be ascribed to the Corinthian order through their proportions and through some basic forms such as their large volutes below square abacuses and the acanthus-like elements in their capitals (Fig. 57). The Corinthian order had been applied to churches since the Early Renaissance when the Italian humanists transferred its pagan religious symbolism to Christianity. As the most magnificent of all orders, it was indeed considered the most appropriate for sacral buildings. It was also particularly suited for the princes of the beginnings of absolutism because of its imperial connotations. As someone who sought to become prince of the Empire, Count Ernst surely thought it especially appropriate for him, something that is quite manifest on the main portal.

The Corinthian capitals and consoles are made up of small bald heads, strapwork and shells. On the wall consoles, pine cones are added to these elements (Fig. 58, 59). The bald creatures do not represent cherubs. As celestial beings, the latter could not be portrayed without hair, considered to be the seat of spiritual power and strength since antiquity. When looking carefully at these heads, it appears that some show a stylized, hardly visible curly lock. As in the capitals of the octagonal pillars at Wolfenbüttel, we have here negative chthonic creatures that represent the demonic forces of nature. In Greek mythology, Chthonic creatures were deities of the earth and the realm below, opposed to those of the upper world and upper air living on Mt. Olympus. Their presence always signified that one acknowledged their existence, therefore ensuring protection from their vengeance. They were also related to fertility rites (Borggrefe, 1994: 145-46,149-50).

In the Renaissance, there was a revival of funerary symbolism from classical antiquity. In ancient Greece, the shell was a grave-gift meant to guarantee eternal life. In the Renaissance it reappeared with the same meaning, for example in the Medici tombs in San Lorenzo. Count Ernst might have visited the

chapel while in Florence in 1593. The cone, on the other hand, was a pagan symbol of revival of life that was taken over by Christian mythology as a symbol of immortality (Borggrefe, 1994: 151). The Corinthian capital itself had been the symbol of immortality and life after death since Vitruvius had related the myth of its origin. Its form is said to have been inspired by chance, after a basket containing the few belongings of a young girl from Corinth was covered with a tile and laid on her tomb. The basket was over the roots of an acanthus plant, and when spring came, the foliage grew around it, the leaves curling outwards under the tile's weight. The acanthus leaves thus became a symbol of the continuation of the life of the dead girl.

We have already mentioned that Count Ernst had close ties with the South German town of Augsburg. Interestingly enough, the Corinthian capital, the pine cone and the head with a curly lock constitute the city's emblem, the so-called "*Pyr*", which surmounts the gable of the city hall (Fig. 79, 80). The Romans had founded the colony of Augusta Vindelicorum, the later Augsburg or "Augustusburg", in 12 BC. In the second half of the 16th century, Augsburg humanists tried to renew with the ancient Roman tradition of their city as a means to restore historical continuity. This included pagan elements such as the tradition of the city-goddess Cybele-Cisa, a fertility divinity. The enterprise was far from welcome on the part of the Protestant authorities who had an aversion for sacrificial cults and fertility rites. In 1614, the city struck a commemorative coin showing the seated mother-goddess Cybele with a pine tree in her hand (Zimmer, 1977: 192, 201, 216,n. 95). This relates to the myth of Attis. Cybele fell in love with Attis, a vegetation god. However, he loved another and Cybele in her jealousy drove him mad. In his madness he castrated himself, died and was turned into a pine tree. Attis was a resurrection god. He died as vegetation died and came back to life with the rebirth of vegetation. The latter suggested a belief in the afterlife. The pine cones became symbols of fertility and, eventually, of immortality (Frazer, 1954: 352-53; Morford and Lenardon, 1977: 112-13). At Bückeburg, the cones are also present on the church façade, on the ends of the

entablature of the portal and underneath the segmental pediments of the blind oculi in the gable (Fig. 6).

It seems that at the time of the construction of the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche*, the ideals and utopias of the preceding century had been replaced by a pessimism that caused a great fear of death. At the beginning of the 16th century, it was believed that the conduct of a virtuous life could allow man's spirit to triumph over human nature, the source of social conflicts and discord. Around 1600, however, one realized that wars endured, that faith alone did not have the power to create a harmonious world and that nature was stronger than the spirit. The recognition of these facts shook the belief in man's immortality after death. Jakob Böhme (1575-1624), a German mystic, saw the guarantee of immortality in nature's power of renewal and not in the divinity, a philosophical outlook that was shared by a large part of his contemporaries. Hope of life after death thus became linked to nature. In antiquity, men had overcome their fear of death by taking part in fertility rites such as the Eleusinian mysteries, which offered hope of a better and happier life after death. According to Lutheran teaching, the fear of death was unfounded, as long as one had faith in Christ who guaranteed eternal life after death. It seems that Christian teaching had lost part of its credibility, given the great anxiety regarding man's destiny after death that reigned at the time (Borggrefe, 1994: 168, 154, 157).

The Corinthian capitals and consoles of the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche*, together with their decoration of cones and shells, are elements of the sepulchral art of antiquity that probably illustrate a fearful attitude to man's afterlife in the early 17th century. A similar iconography reflecting anxiety towards life's transient character is also present on the carved bosses of the east end of the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche*, where it is linked moreover to funerary symbolism (Borggrefe, 1994: 168).

Interestingly enough, Johannes Habich saw in the Corinthian order and in the shells at Bückeburg an allusion to the Virgin Mary (Habich, 1969: 75). The Christian interpretation of Vitruvianism recommended the Corinthian order for churches dedicated to Mary, who was also often compared to a pearl in the

Middle Ages. However, Habich does not explain why a Lutheran church should show elements referring to the Virgin so conspicuously, something more in tune with Counter-Reformatory thought. Indeed, it was required in Lutheran churches that the iconography concentrate on the figure of Christ. Besides, the Bückeburg church, contrary to the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche*, was not dedicated to the Virgin (Borggrefe, 1994: 62).

The decoration of the Bückeburg Corinthian capitals and consoles expresses end -of-century pessimism. During the 16th century, humanism was forced by the crisis of the Church to an increased awareness of larger problems. Moreover, the discoveries, economic pressures, political separatism, and constant warfare were challenging the old world view. At the end of the 16th century there was an obvious insecurity in the Empire, which resulted in a desperate search for reassurance and harmony, often by way of the occult sciences. Much of the melancholy mood at the turn of the 17th century can be understood when the striving for harmony is juxtaposed with the confessional and political rifts which were gradually being recognized as an accomplished fact. This pessimistic view is reflected in Pieter Breughel the Elder's canvases, which show the world as an uncontrollable and undifferentiated mechanism (Evans, 1984: 271-72).

A characteristic of the later 16th century was its obsession with astrology, horoscopes and predictions. The last years of the 16th century saw a great increase in prophecies of imminent doom and revelation. Like his tutor Simon VI zur Lippe and Emperor Rudolf II, Count Ernst believed in the accuracy of astrological observations, employing astrologers at his court. At Prague, a physician and cosmographer to the emperor issued a book of medieval prophecies, a sign of the continuing interest in medieval predictions. The contemporary state of pessimism was felt most of all in the decade of the 1590's. Around 1600, the culmination of the mood of prophecy was in the Rosicrucian Movement, discussed in relation with Duke Heinrich Julius at Wolfenbüttel (Evans, 1984: 278-79, 281).

2.2 Exterior

2.2.1 Façade

The entire façade of the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche* is characterized by extravagant ornamental detail (Fig. 4,5,6). This impressive architectural work, or more precisely its decorative veneer, was of great symbolic moment, being the showpiece of both the Count and the Church, one and the same thing in Lutheranism. With its exuberant ornamentation, this grandly monumental façade was consistent with the elaboration of the princely loge, the pulpit and the organ inside.

Count Ernst of Schaumburg-Holstein had received a humanistic education in Germany and Italy. He had traveled extensively in Italy and Northern Europe and had spent some time at the highly cultured imperial court in Prague. There is no doubt he knew the contemporary architectural works of home and abroad. The façade of his residence church at Bückeburg shows a classical system of support and lintel and classical elements derived from architecture theory, with which he was undoubtedly familiar. These classical features are combined nevertheless with Gothic characteristics, such as the string-course, the tracery windows and the emphasis on verticality through the use of the buttresses, the terms and the obelisks reminiscent of medieval pinnacles (Borggrefe, 1994: 131).

With its imposing gable and its synthesis of classical and Gothic elements, the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche* looks like one of the patrician houses that line the *Lange Straße*, the street stretching in front of it. The term 'house' designates not only a building but also the family that lives in it. In addition, in the aristocratic sphere, it signifies the reigning princely family or dynasty (Schütte, 1997: 129). In the early 15th century, Emperor Friedrich III had revived the architectural metaphor of the house in the term *domus Austrie* for House of Austria, an expression that became *Casa de Austria* under Charles V in 16th-century Spain (Böker, 1996: 68).

Count Ernst wished to model his rule on Erasmus' ideal of the early absolutist prince. This ideal ruler was a peace-loving sovereign who played the role of paterfamilias for the inhabitants of his territory (Borggrefe, 1994: 141).

The Church was an important instrument in the count's attempt to educate his subjects according to his ideals of harmony. His ecclesiastical dominion over his land was expressed in the architectural forms of his church. It would not have been possible for Duke Heinrich Julius or for Count Ernst to exercice their lordship as *Landesbischöfe* in their territories without their residence churches. At the time, architecture organized society, and the church building was one of the primary conditions for the existence of the Church as an institution in a given place (Schütte, 1997: 132,134, 144). The Bückeburg *Stadtkirche*, which looked deceptively like a *Weserrenaissance* patrician house and thus seemed to be a part of the urban bourgeois environment, held the representatives of the count's household i.e., all those he ruled. It symbolized the count's territory with all its social classes. This common roof under which all classes were united expressed the political and economic unity of the territory. Count Ernst was the head of this "house", which was not only the house of God but represented also the dynastic House of Schaumburg-Holstein, to which it constituted a monument. One need not wonder why the count occupied so much space in this "church-house". In the *Stadtkirche*, both God and prince were paid tribute to, an element reflecting the idea of divine right fostered by the early absolutist princes to provide them with dynastic authority and legitimacy (Borggrefe, 1994: 162,164).

In the main storey of the façade, the *putti* and *genii* holding and flanking the count's coat of arms and the Corinthian order of both portal and terms constitute references to the count (Fig. 6, 66). In antiquity, the Corinthian order enjoyed widespread predominance in the Roman Empire and according to Vitruvius, it was the highest in the hierarchy of orders. *Genii* were elements commonly seen on Roman triumphal arches. The latter were erected to commemorate a Roman triumph, an event that took place on the occasion of a commander's military victory. It was the highest honor Rome could bestow on a hero. The motif of the triumphal arch was taken over in the North in the street decorations at Antwerp in 1549 (Fig. 16, 20). *Genii* holding palm branches were furthermore part of the apotheosis of the emperor in ancient Rome. Together with the obelisks, they also belonged to the funerary symbolism of antiquity. In Roman

religion, the genius of a man lived on after his death as one of the domestic lares who watched over his house. In the Renaissance, *putti* and *genii* were interpreted as positive creatures of light and Count Ernst seems to have claimed them for his own person on the church façade. This invocation of the Roman Empire by the count must have contributed significantly to the self-propagandistic nature of his architecture.

The iconography of the west portal with its imperial connotations asserted the prince's claim to power and expressed his episcopal authority. According to Heiner Borggrefe, this entrance was most probably reserved for the count and his suite while the city people would use the lateral doorways. The author admits that he has no proof of this, but he argues that there is an element supporting his hypothesis. It is the presence, in front of the main portal, of a rectangular platform with a parapet bearing obelisks and spheres, which separates the west entrance from the city (Fig. 6). The sphere symbolizes the earth and the dominion over it, namely temporal power. For Count Ernst, the elements of evil, envy and discord illustrated by the figure of Envy and by the dragons on the Bückeburg *Schloß* gate were present in the city and this was his way to protect himself from them (Borggrefe, 1994: 140) (Fig. 44).

The façade of the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche* shows the influence of Wendel Dietterlin's *Architectura* in its many varieties of terms, the s-curved broken pediments, the short convex c-scrolls, and the blind oculi (Fig. 33, 34). The west portal looks like a transcription on a monumental scale of architectural and ornamental designs seen in Dietterlin's work. Around 1600, architecture merged increasingly with the graphic arts and the ornaments of the engraved plates were simply converted into stone. The Bückeburg façade shows a sense of movement and decorative richness closer to the Gothic than to Renaissance regularity and restraint. Imitation, in the Renaissance sense of copying nature faithfully, was no longer something to strive for (Evans, 1984: 262). Dietterlin's designs might have acted unconsciously as an outlet for repressed inclinations for the fantastic and the bizarre, so strong in the early 17th century. With its stoic and rational stand, Protestantism had tried very diligently to eliminate these inclinations, viewed as

medieval hedonism and superstition, but it had not been completely successful (Forssman, 1990: 14, 16). Even though the turn of the 17th century was a time of vast scientific discoveries, it also remained a time of superstition and alchemy, elements particularly manifest at the eccentric court of Emperor Rudolf II in Prague (Placzek, 1968: 2).

Count Ernst had been a student at Helmstedt University in 1584. There, around 1600, classical scholars began using the philosophical works of the Jesuit Francisco Suarez (1548-1617) in their teaching of Aristotelian rhetoric (Borggrefe, 1994:71). The latter, a system of philosophy in the service of science, was considered at the time the most advanced and best adapted teaching method to achieve a modern scientific understanding of reality. Post-Reformation Aristotelianism was not confined to the areas of Catholic religion. One can almost say that from 1550 to 1650 the tradition was stronger among Protestants than among Catholics. With few exceptions, Catholic Aristotelians influenced Protestant ones (Schmitt, 1983a: 26, 28). At the turn of the 17th century, the most renowned scholar at Helmstedt was Johannes Caselius (1533-1613). In opposition to Lutheran orthodoxy, he had asserted the role of free will as cooperating with grace in the process of salvation, a position similar to that of the Catholics. The philosopher also proposed an aesthetic theory, strongly influenced by Aristotelian rhetoric, wherein the aim of the work of art was not only to please the senses and divert but to offer a philosophical content as well. According to Borggrefe, this philosophical view, which dominated at Helmstedt, might have incited Count Ernst to make of his church façade a decor "*parlant*" in the sense of an "*architecture parlante*." The inscription *Exemplum religionis non structurae* that runs in the frieze (Fig. 5) would thus be understood as the following: the church, and especially its façade, is not only an architectural work with a "diverting" exterior, but it is the bearer of serious metaphysical principles that must be read (Borggrefe, 1994: 164). Such art would then have usefulness as its first purpose without, however, overlooking enjoyment as another attribute. In contemporary painting, such as in Arcimboldo's composed heads with their conscious medievalism of motif, there was also a deeper meaning behind the amusing

exterior. The landscapes of Breughel were likewise rarely as simple as they may appear to us today (Evans, 1984: 173,273). The inscription in the frieze could have meant, moreover, that the church 's Gothic style with its connotation of serious devotion expressed religion itself (*Exemplum religionis*). The church was thus a monument to piety, but since the first letters of the inscription were gilded to spell out the count's name, it was also a monument to the prince (Steinwascher and Seeliger, 1986: 11). The fusion of the two opposite styles of the Gothic and the classical was a particularly good tool to convey the different meanings inherent in the church's architecture and decoration.

There are several symbols on the façade that relate to the transience of life, the terms for example. The use of symbols as a means of communication was typical of the late 16th century. Symbolically, the terms were thought to allude to the passing of life because of their shape that tapered downward (Fig. 6). As such, they constituted an element of funerary art and Michelangelo (1475-1564) had used them on Pope Julius II's tomb in S. Pietro in Vincoli in Rome. Their upside-down anti-Classical superposition at Bückeburg, starting with the Corinthian order at the ground level and terminating with the Doric order on either side of the clock, might be related to Vredeman de Vries's *Theatrum Vitae Humanae*. The latter was a series of engravings that appeared in Antwerp in 1577. In the later 16th century, the enlightened mood of the Early Renaissance had largely disappeared. It had given way to a more introspective and fearful attitude to the world. Man recognized the relative limitation of his time on earth. Consequently he had to come to terms with the transience of everything, most of all with death. Man was also conscious of the different stages of his life span. The insight stimulated him to depict the ages of man. In *Theatrum Vitae Humanae* Vredeman attempts to depict the passage of time by associating the orders with the ages of man. In this "Northern architectural mysticism", as it is called by Würtenberger (Würtenberger, 1963: 88), the Doric order is associated with the adult stage of a man's life, the Ionic order with that of a woman's life, while the Tuscan order is connected with old age. The Corinthian order symbolizes youth (Borggrefe, 1994: 159). The terms on the façade of the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche* act as a reminder of

the brevity of human life. This could explain why the shell, which is a symbol of birth, regeneration and resurrection, is found only on the Corinthian terms, themselves a symbol of rebirth.

On the lower stage of the gable, one finds the "feminine" Ionic order together with a plastic decoration, such as scrolls and vases, which contrasts with the order and rationality implied by the clock and its Doric frame. For the ancients, the Ionic volute derived its feminine connotations from the fact it resembled a woman's forelock. Vases were likewise regarded as feminine forms. The Ionic order and the vegetal elements of the *Ohrmuschelstil* seen on this stage of the gable refer to human nature and its negative aspects. We have here an opposition between the feminine and the masculine elements in the world. The human vices that breed strife and discord on earth were seen as inherent to human nature, which appeared to be responsible for the failure of the ideals of the early 16th century. Because of its strong link with fertility and human life, the "feminine" was thus regarded as closer to nature than the "masculine", which was idealistically perceived as generating peace and harmony. In the course of the 16th century, the princes of the beginnings of absolutism had been forced to admit that their social utopias were unachievable. On the façade of the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche* there is a characteristic mixture of forms derived from nature and of creatures of divine origin, such as cherubs and victories. The earlier Neoplatonic polarization on idealism and rationality is abandoned here in favor of a view that admits the working of the forces of human nature in society. The terrestrial and celestial divine forces, respectively symbols of vice and virtue, are now seen as equally strong. The scrolls, vases and *Ohrmuschelstil* ornamentation of the gable of the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche* possibly stand for human nature seen in a fatalistic and negative way. At this level, the obelisks remain very small as opposed to their heroic size above. Characteristically, both side portals, which were used, according to Heiner Borggrefe, by the common people, are decorated with the same type of *Ohrmuschelstil* scrolling (Borggrefe 162, 111-13, 164) (Fig. 81). These portals are reminiscent of Dietterlin's final plate in *Architectura* (Fig. 82).

In the early 17th century, there seems to have been a decline in public morality. This may have resulted from the destruction of old social norms and values by the religious schism. It may also have arisen from the attempt of territorial authorities to impose by ordinance new criteria of social conduct (Gagliardo,1991: 10-11). The ordinances regulated deeds and acts within the territory and imposed an order in many cases on the behavior of the subjects (Theibault, 1995: 25,34). For a long time, the enforcement was more successful at suppressing old habits than at replacing them with new ones (Gagliardo, 1991: 10-11).

In the 16th century, the search for a concept of order had become increasingly a study of the state and of a theory of political order. This new notion of order, with its focus on the creation of an ideal state that would direct mankind toward the attainment of the good life on this earth, permeated the most famous of all ideal states, Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516). In the land of Utopia all aspects of social and political life were governed by the objective of order. By focusing on the close regulation of the activities of the citizens of Utopia, human behavior could be regularized and disorder could thus be eliminated (Donnelly, 1998: 66, 70). More proposed in his *Utopia* that order in this world depended entirely on the constant exercise of political authority. There was therefore much emphasis placed on discipline and obedience within the state, an element at the root of the early 17th century ordinances.

The ordinances touched on all spheres of life: clothing and holidays, police, administration, finance, trade, the army and even the persecution of witches (Hipp, 1990: 168). There were also church ordinances that gave rise to the creation of a force for policing morals, a force that was directed by both secular and ecclesiastical authorities (Theibault, 1995: 25, 34). After the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, each ruling prince became *summus episcopus* in his own territory. He gained rights over ecclesiastical organization, discipline and doctrine, as well as over the lives and moral consciences of his subjects (Gagliardo, 1991: 14). In the rising absolutism of the first decades of the 17th century, the church came to be conceived as an instrument of the apparatus of

power (Theibault, 1995: 30,35). The aim of this apparatus was to educate the subjects according to the prince's idealistic ideas of harmony. At Bückeburg, the church allowed Count Ernst's subjects to attend the Lutheran service, which was meant to educate them in the sense of the fear of God *ergo* the fear of the prince (Borggrefe, 1994: 141). The piety of the people and their acknowledgement of the obedience concept of the fear of God were the best means to promote an absolutist government that could procure peace and order for society. Later 16th-century thought had laid a humanist emphasis on the virtuous exercice of power and patronage. It had also given support to traditional social order with the emperor as its greatest personification (Evans, 1984: 275, 295). The emperor's role was made analogous to God's ruling over the cosmos, the empire representing God's own order. The princes of the realm, like Count Ernst, believed that they formed part of that cosmic order. They belonged to a divine realm, far above their subjects, and they were God's chosen agents to educate their people in the ways of virtue (Borggrefe, 1994: 140).

2.2.2 Clock and bell of the gable

The clock frame and the architecture of the belfry reveal the "severe" forms of the Doric order (Fig.6). The clock and the bell were elements that served to regulate everyday life in the early 17th century. Their presence on the façade were probably intended to remind the count's subjects of their duties and to act as symbols of the virtuous and regulated life, which explains why they would be assigned the "severe" Doric order. The concluding plate in Dietterlin's *Architectura* (Fig. 82), showing the entrance to an ossuary with an hourglass on top flanked by the wings of Chronos, suggests that the Bückeburg clock, also with Chronos' wings, is a reminder of the swift passage of time and the final triumph of death. Nevertheless, the concomitant use of wings and shells about the clock brings in an element of hope. Indeed, while the wings refer to man's finality, the shells symbolize rebirth and immortality (Borggrefe, 1994: 161-62, 166, 155, 157).

In the early 16th century, one believed that the use of mathematical principles and harmonious forms in art could educate the beholder to a virtuous

life. Even music, which involved listening to harmonious sounds, was believed to have the effect of maintaining moral values among men. Because of its canons of symmetry and proportion, Vitruvian architecture was accordingly supposed to promote virtue (Hart,1994: 14-15). The absolutist princes thus thought that the esthetic experience of the geometric forms in architecture would produce in their subjects a turn towards a moral life. Accordingly, they sought to eliminate disorderly conduct such as drinking, fighting and fornicating, which were described as "medieval hedonism". The history of the 16th century with its religious schism and its numerous wars revealed, however, that harmony did not exist and that the virtue-generating effect of art was a utopia. The harmonious forms of the Early Renaissance were therefore replaced at the end of the 16th century by forms imitating nature, such as the ones seen on the gable of the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche*, particularly the forms of the *Ohrmuschelstil* (Borggrefe, 1994: 61,169). Thus, for Count Ernst, the use of artistic symbols might very well have been a way for him to give expression to his repressed ideals.

In western Europe, the public clock had become an urban attribute ever since the early 15th century. Its location had always been a highly sensitive site politically, since he who had the main clock could regulate time. The communal clock was usually installed in the communal tower, which also housed the communal bell. Both clock and tower were signs of authority and legal and symbolic expression of a city's autonomy (Dohrn van Rossum, 1996: 125, 197, 200, 139).

In 1607, Count Ernst had presented the citizens of Bückeburg with a new town hall. The structure was plain, having neither a clock nor a splendid gable, which was the contemporary version of the medieval communal tower. These symbols of communal autonomy were now characteristically found on the façade of the *Stadtkirche*. On the other hand the *Kanzlei*, which faced the market place, had a ground floor arcade like a medieval town hall, an arcade which the new city hall lacked. In the Middle Ages, justice was often administered under the arcade. The use of this medieval element by Count Ernst was probably done consciously, since the *Kanzlei* housed both civil and judiciary administration of his territory.

The granting of a new town hall to the people of Bückeburg seems to have been a gesture designed to give them the impression that they still had a say in the town's government, although this was hardly the case any more. The same intention is probably behind the architectural forms of the *Stadtkirche*. The latter was made to look like a magnified version of the house of a Bückeburg wealthy burgher. It made the people feel the church belonged to their own patrician environment, even though it was, in reality, an expression of the counts's absolute power and a monument to his dynasty (Borggrefe, 1994: 78-79).

2.2.3 Obelisks

The obelisks may be regarded as classical counterparts to the tapering pinnacles of Gothic structures. As a symbol of fame, they appeared for the first time in 1515 on Raphael's Chigi tomb in S. Maria del Popolo in Rome (Panofsky, 1964: 73). In the North, they were seen initially on the street decoration ordered by the Antwerp Spanish community for Charles V's 1549 triumphal entry (Fig. 20). They were used later by Cornelis Floris on the gable of the Antwerp Town Hall (Fig. 19). Subsequently, their design spread through the engraved works of Vredeman de Vries in particular (Fig. 32). They became eventually a most effective instrument to proclaim the munificence of a prince. For the ancients, the essence of the obelisk's symbolism lay in its symbolic association with light. This analogy was derived from its shape, reminiscent of the rays of the sun, to whose divinity the Egyptians had consecrated it. Light was also equated in antiquity with the element of fire, which symbolized "eternal divine light". From a symbol of eternal light, the obelisk thus became a symbol of eternity. In this sense, it became part of the sepulchral symbolism of antiquity and appeared first in connection with the funerary pyramids of the Egyptians. In the Renaissance, it was adopted along with the ancient tomb cult. In the iconographic tradition of Hercules at the crossroads, the obelisk marks the road to virtue. On the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche* façade, the difference in the obelisks' size could mean that a virtuous and ordered life has a bigger claim to eternity than life dominated by hedonistic conduct (Borggrefe, 1994: 165-66).

The Augsburg *Zeughaus*' façade might have served as model for the façade of the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche* (Fig. 45). However, the strong individuality of the church leads one to think that its initial conception and much of its stylistic creation were the result of Count Ernst's ideas and intentions. The impressive façade with its exuberant decoration constitutes an element of princely self-display, the church itself being a monument to the House of Schaumburg-Holstein. However, the church decoration also seems to enclose a complex network of meanings reflecting important contemporary problems, contradictions and fears that must have had their origins in the count's thoughts (Borggrefe, 1994: 159-60). As in the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche*, funerary symbolism and symbols of time and transience play an important role at Bückeburg, indicating the relevance of the mood of pessimism and fear of death already noted for the period around 1600 (Evans, 1984: 280). It was only through the fusion of the Gothic and classical styles that the numerous levels of signification, and therefore the higher meaning of the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche*, could be expressed.

Conclusion

At the beginning of the 17th century, a change was noted in architecture involving a return to Gothic elements, in Northern Europe especially, but also in France and Italy. The Gothic became a "new manner", a modern style that could supplant pure Italian Renaissance forms (Borggrefe, 1994: 143). This was particularly evident in certain works of religious architecture that fused the traditional Late Gothic with Late Renaissance elements. The Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche* and the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche* belong to this trend. Such combining of the Gothic and the Renaissance can also be discerned in literature. In England, it could be seen in Shakespeare's works and in the chivalrous epics popular at the court of James I, brother-in-law to Duke Heinrich Julius. It could equally be observed in Spain in the Quijote (1605-15) of Miguel de Cervantes.

The residence churches at Wolfenbüttel and Bückeburg are "modern" stylistically, but they are also modern in their intention. In their blending of Gothic and Renaissance they combine the contemporary attraction for the religious and universal connotations of the medieval Church and the princes' pride in their German medieval past, with the characteristic Renaissance elements of princely self-display and self-reference. The mixing of the two styles is neither a lingering on of Late Gothic design nor a misunderstanding of Renaissance architecture, but rather a conscious quotation of past and contemporary architecture. The classically derived Northern Mannerist ornament and the Gothic forms were historic in that they recreated the sociopolitical reality of Roman antiquity and the Middle Ages. In the Wolfenbüttel *Marienkirche* and the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche*, contemporary times were explained through the historical connotations conveyed by architectural forms. The combining of the architecture derived from Imperial Rome with the "new" one that alluded to the indigenous medieval past fused the styles into something new that offered a much higher level of historicity and meaning than its appropriated models.

With the building of the *Marienkirche* at Wolfenbüttel Duke Heinrich Julius tried to construct an order that did not exist in the early 17th century. He erected an architectural utopia, hoping perhaps that his dream of reconciliation

between Catholics and Protestants would come true if he built an architectural equivalent to it. Ideal architectural works belonged to the same realm as ideal societies or worlds, which were distinctive features of 16th- and early 17th-century thought. Harmony on earth had always been one of the most fervent wishes of humankind as well as a recurring utopia, which one aspired to achieve through peace and unity. The *Marienkirche* at Wolfenbüttel could well have been the expression on the artistic level of the duke's desire to insert this ideal of harmonic order into the chaos of profane everyday living.

The later 16th century was a period of reforming activity, which was apparent in the religious Eirenists and the Utopians, among others. All their hopes for a better world ended in practical failure, shattered in the Thirty Years' War. The artificial and fantastical world of Wendel Dietterlin might have been a premonition of this frightful conflagration. The result of the Great War was to prevent the *Marienkirche* utopia from influencing contemporary Lutheran architecture (Forssman, 1983: 11), although some believe that it might have affected the design of the Bückeburg *Stadtkirche* (Thöne,1963: 67; Appuhn,1970: 141).

In the early 17th century, the passion for emblems constituted an intellectual compensation for the evident lack of harmony in the world. The architecture at Wolfenbüttel and Bückeburg, similar to the early Baroque music of Heinrich Schütz, was like an emblem that took the concrete objects of the churches as an occasion to speak of something else in a stylized fashion, on an abstract and higher level. The artistic symbols used were not just means of aesthetic satisfaction but they had a philosophical value and a moral compass. They also aimed at providing a powerful political message, the assertion of the princely rule. Indeed, Duke Heinrich Julius and Count Ernst, together with their architects or master-builders, were not primarily creators of beauty for beauty's sake alone. Rather, they were architects of symbols whose key task was to construct the princely image and house mythology through their architectural works. At Wolfenbüttel and Bückeburg the churches were works of self-promotion that took their inspiration from the rising absolutism of the early 17th

century with its divinisation of the leader. While architecture and ornament were in tune with the taste and the mood of the day, they also reflected the history of northwestern Germany and that of the Braunschweig-Lüneburg and Schaumburg-Holstein dynasties.

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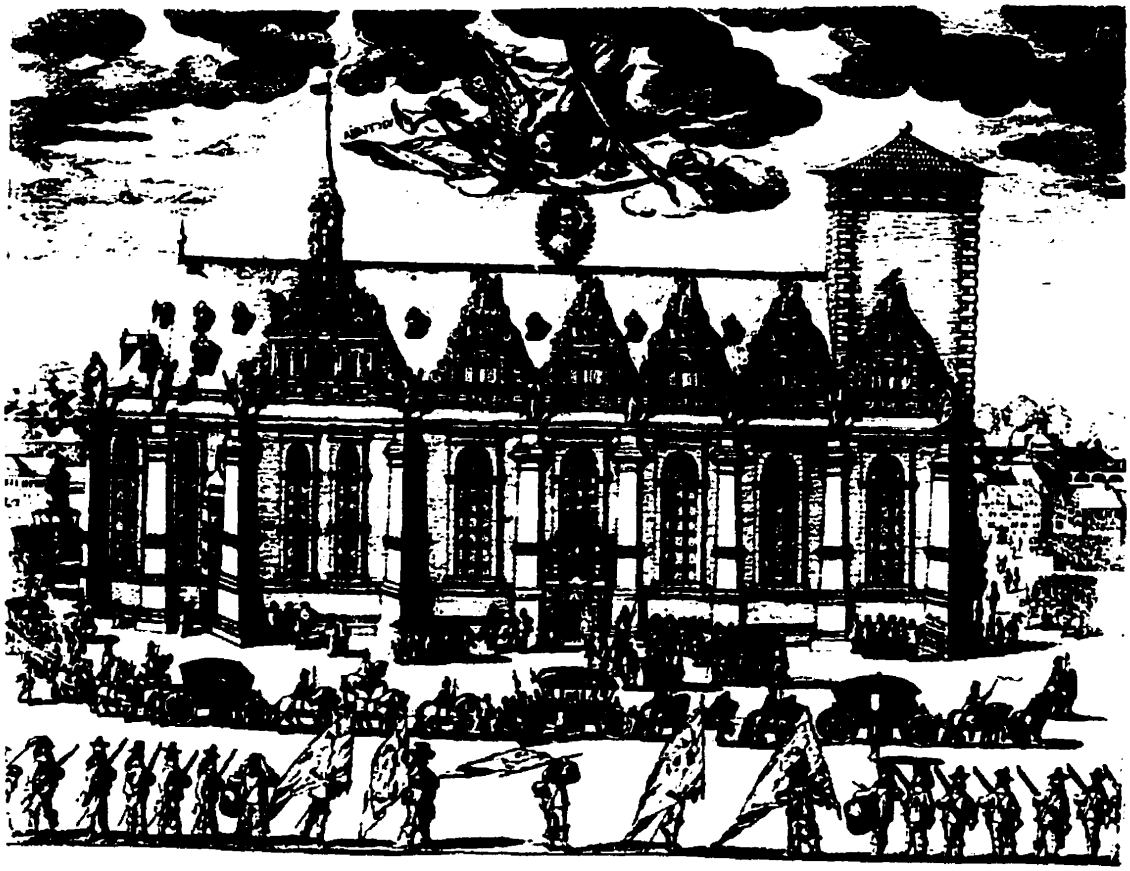

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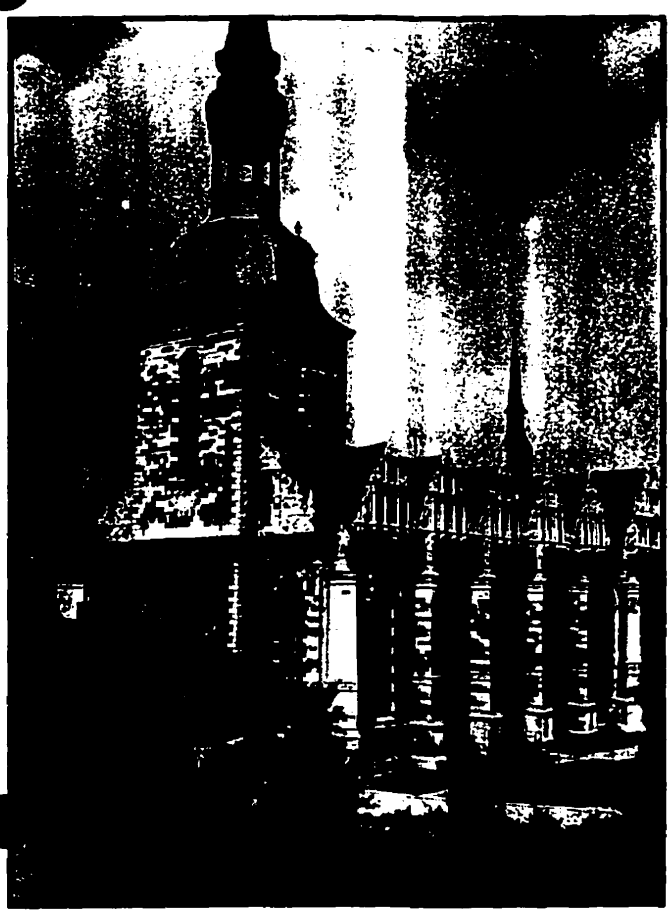

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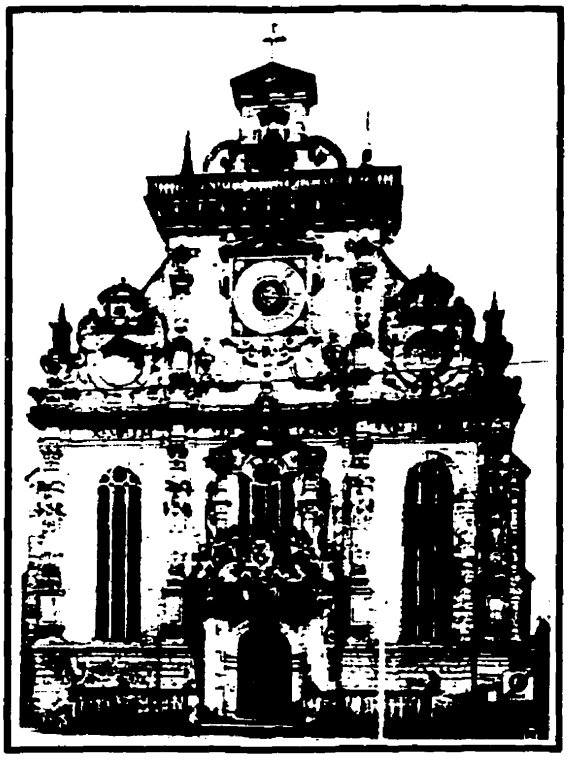

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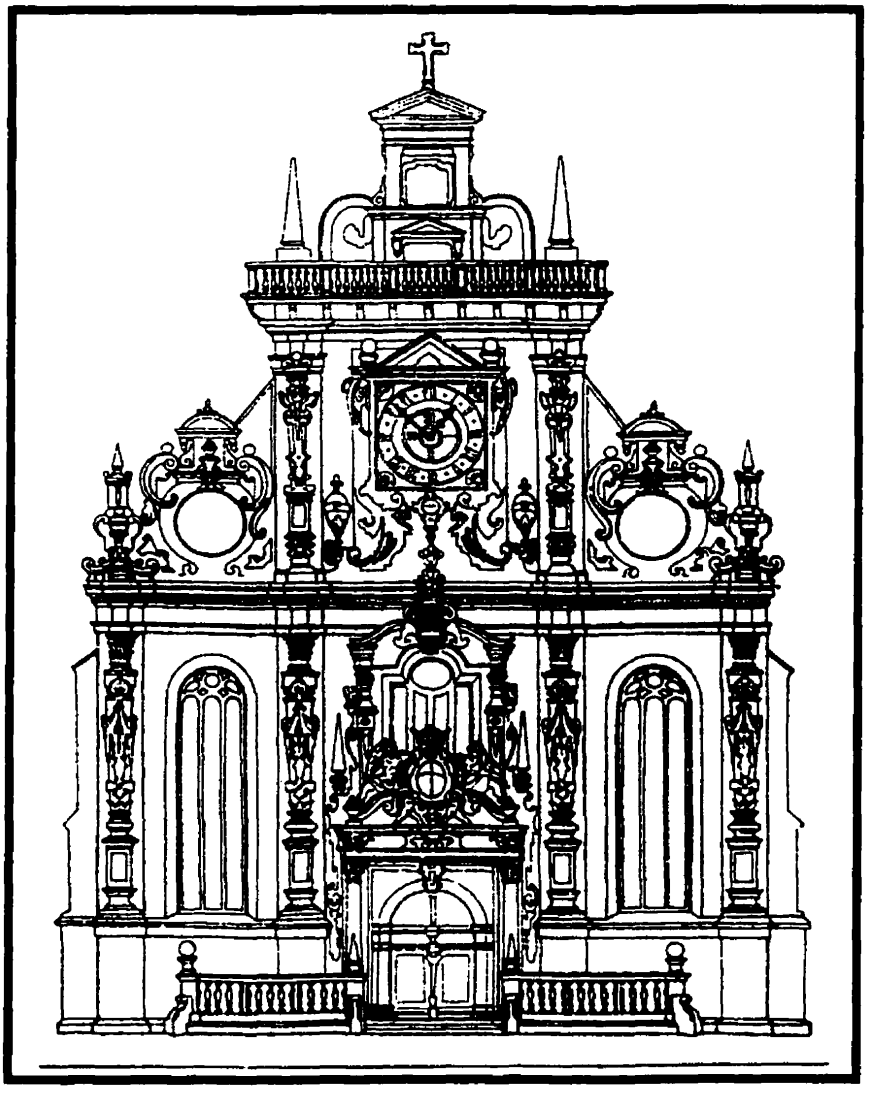

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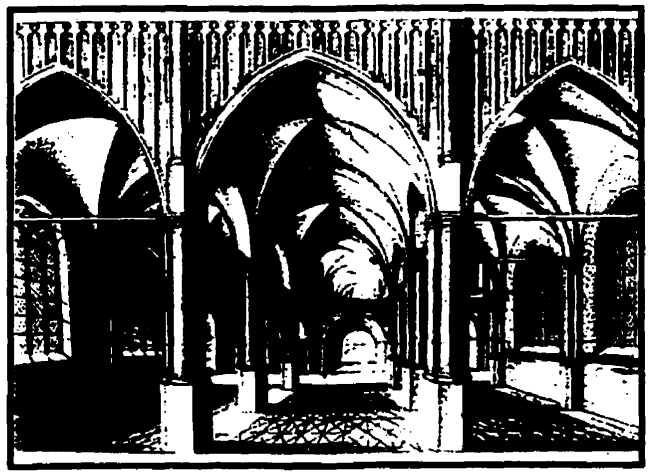

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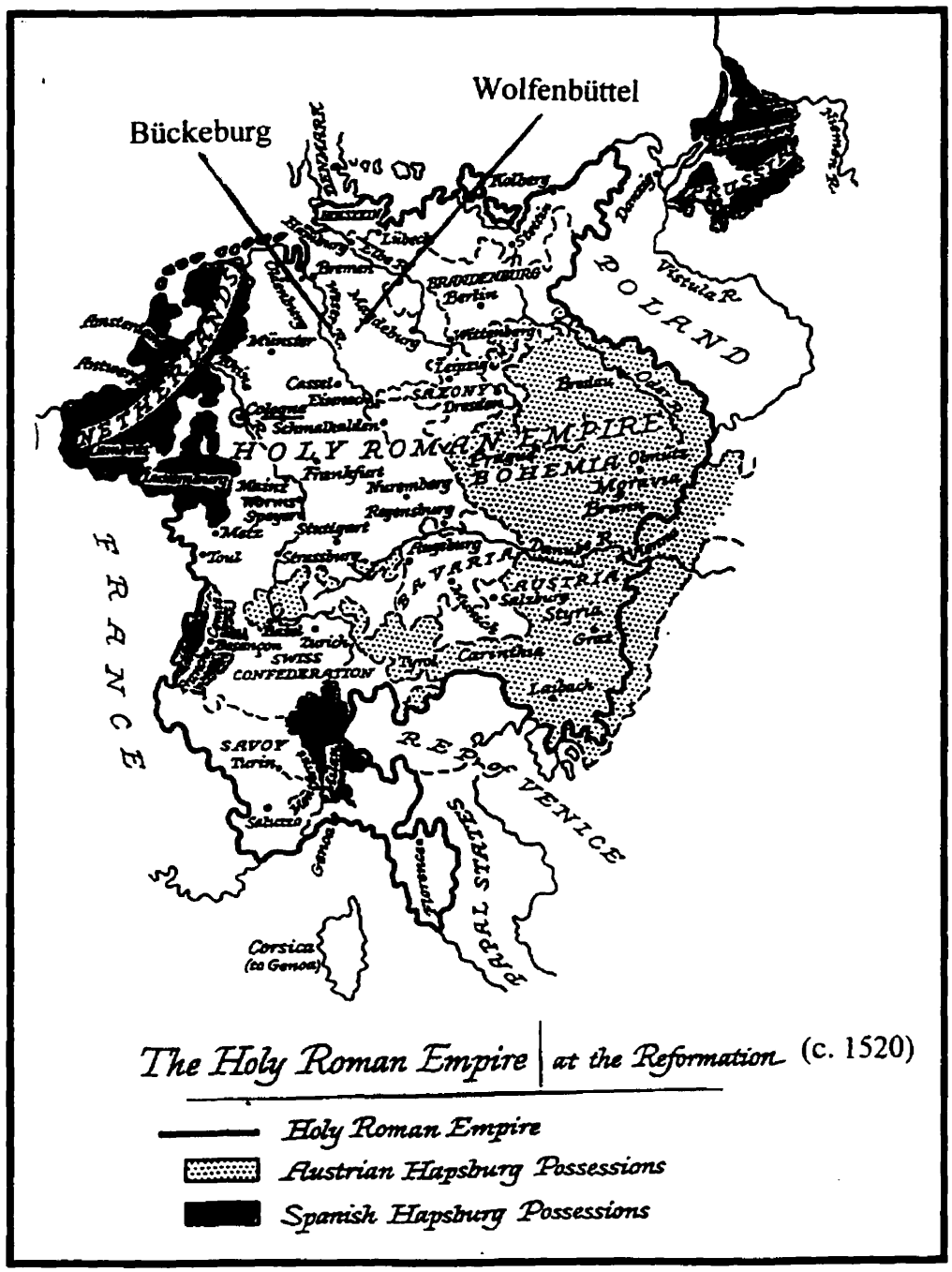

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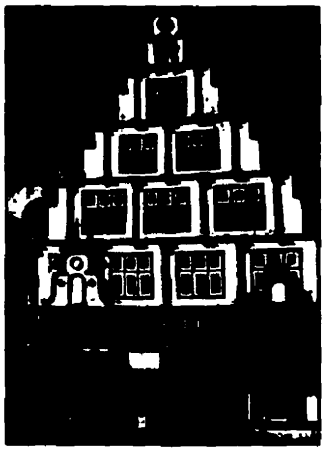

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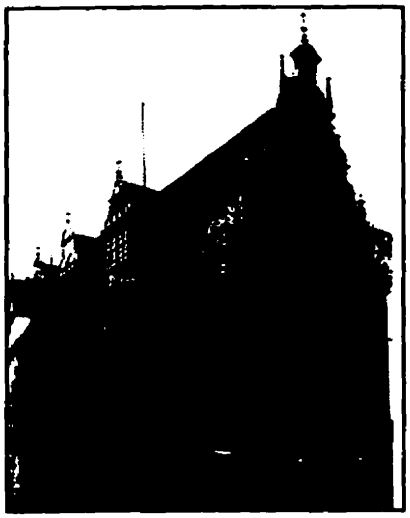

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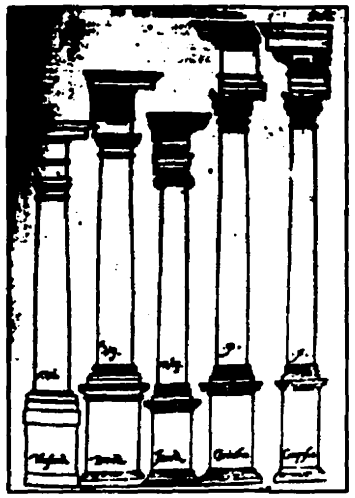

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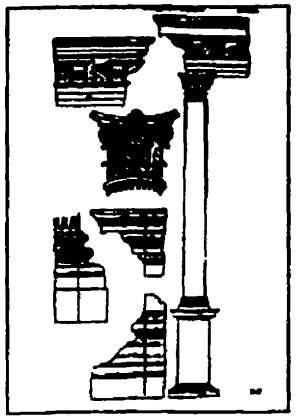

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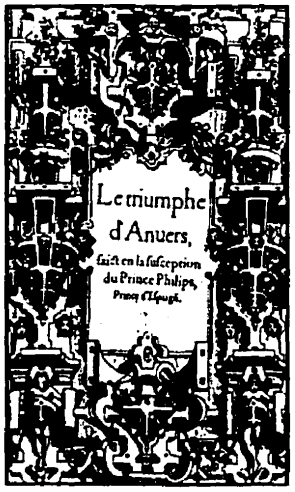

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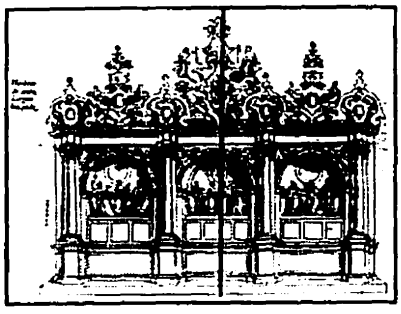

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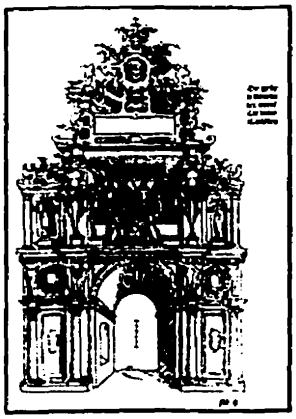

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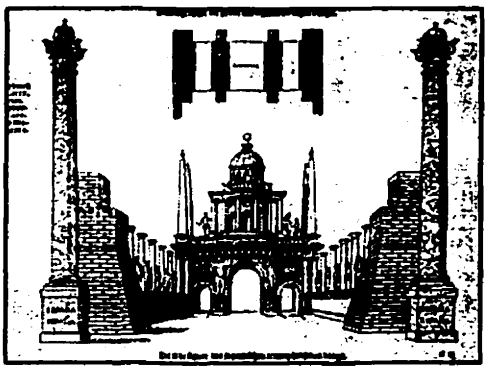

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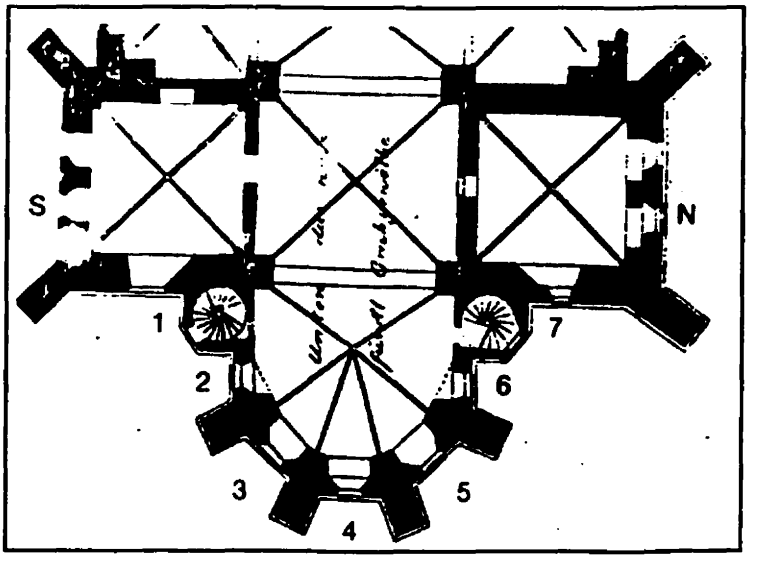

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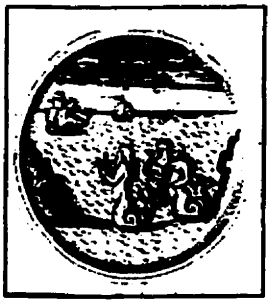

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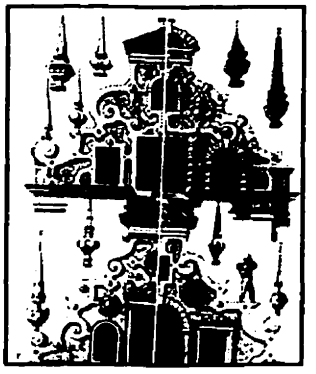

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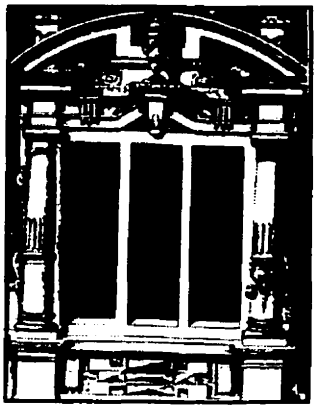

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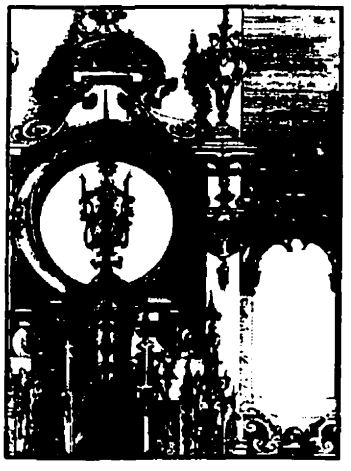

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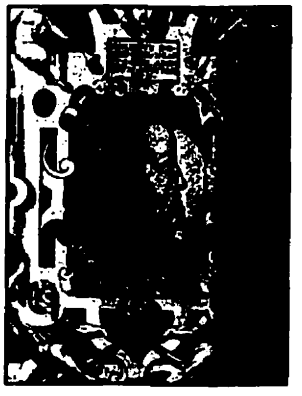

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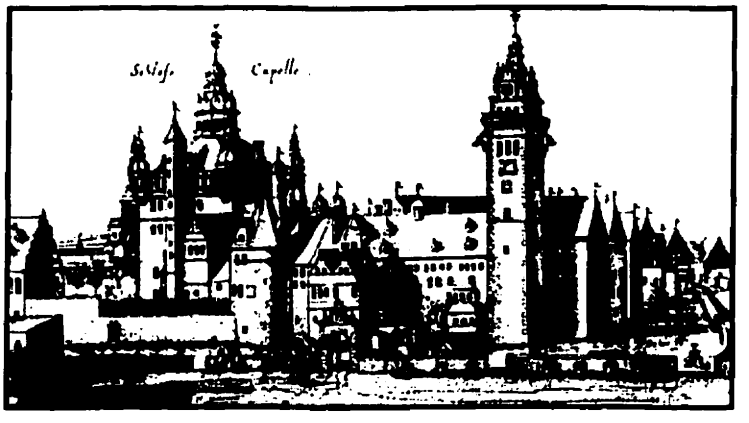

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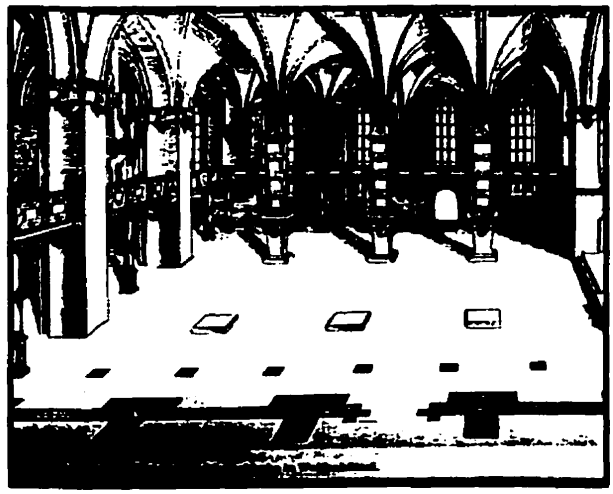

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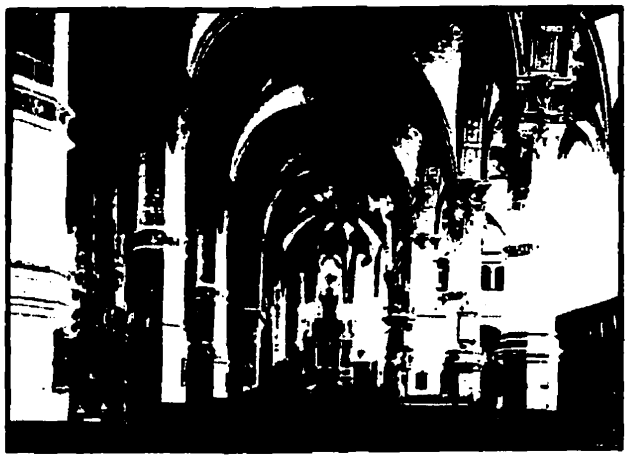

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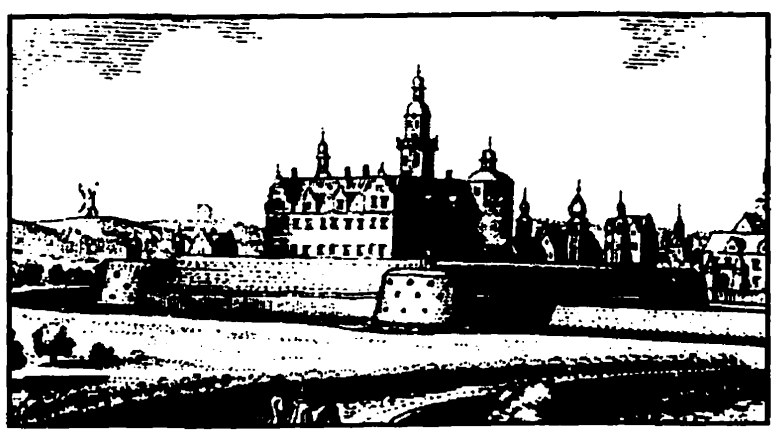

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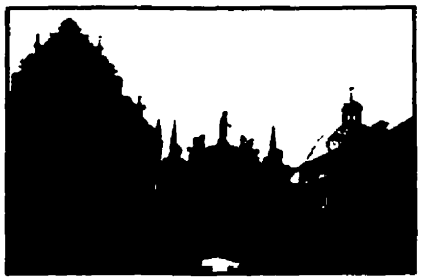

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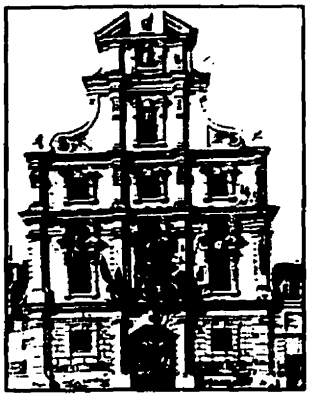

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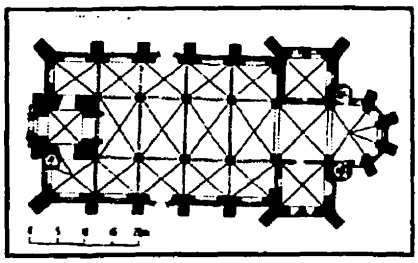

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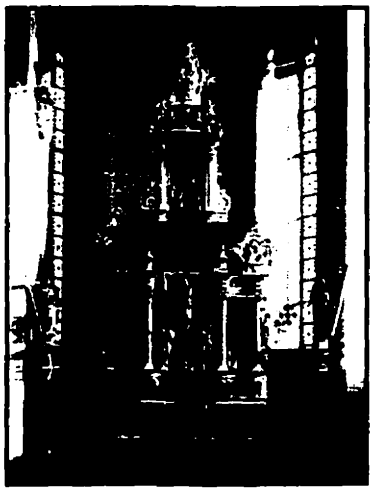

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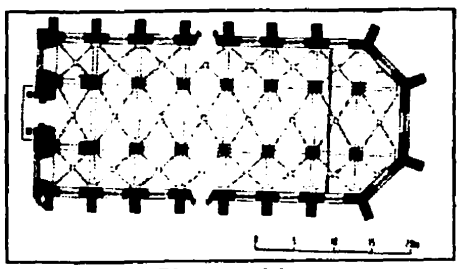

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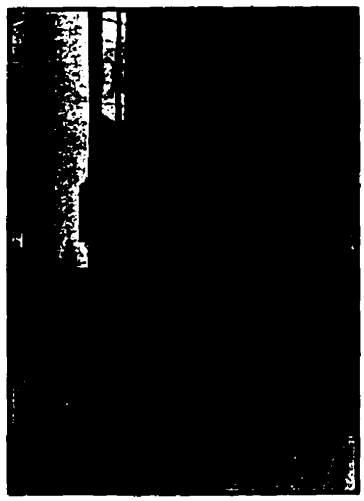

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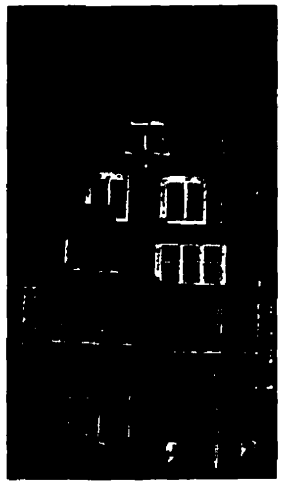

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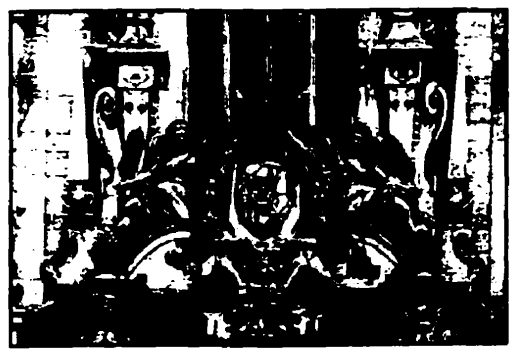

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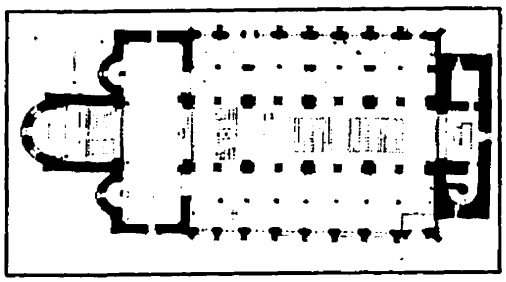

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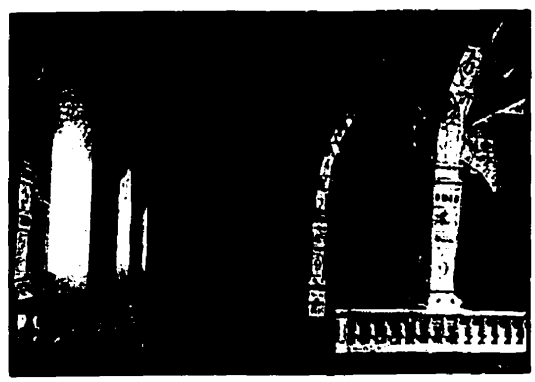

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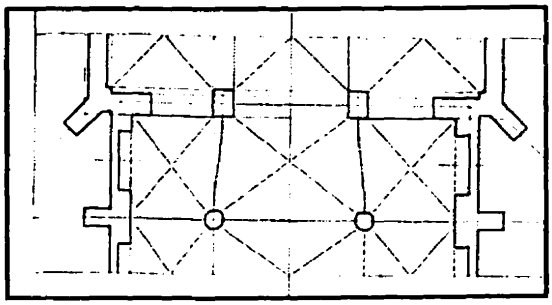

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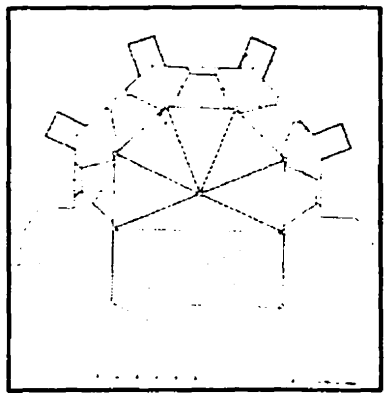

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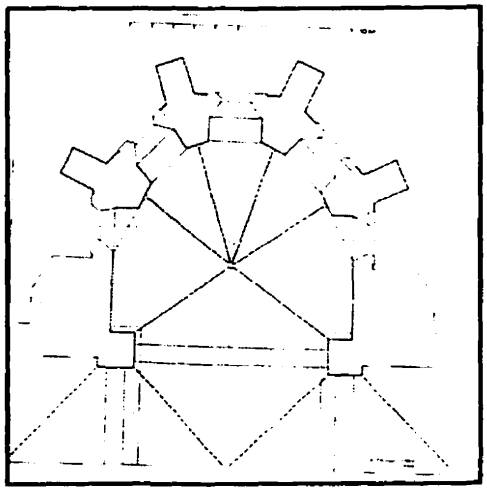

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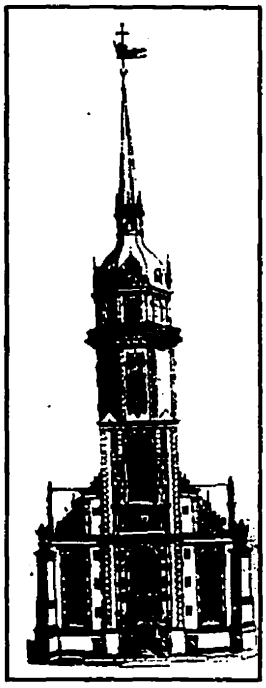

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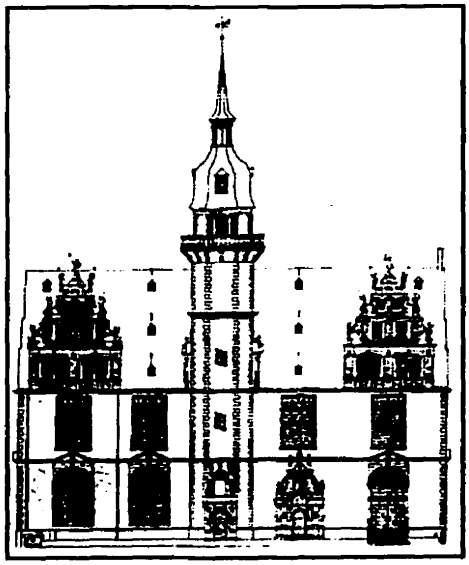

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Uppenkamp, Barbara. "Roll- und Beschlagwerk in der Weserrenaissance." *Baudekoration als Bildungsanspruch.* Ed. Petra Krutisch and G. Ulrich Großmann. Marburg: Jonas, 1993. 13, Fig. 3.

Figure 13 *Serlio, the five orders*
Bevers, Holm. *Das Rathaus von Antwerpen (1561-1565): Architektur und Figurenprogramm.* Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1985. 210, Fig. 18.

Figure 14 *Serlio, Composite order*
Bevers, Holm. *Das Rathaus von Antwerpen (1561-1565): Architektur und Figurenprogramm.* Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1985. 210, Fig. 20.

Figure 15 *Cornelis Floris or Pieter Coecke,* Triumphe d'Anvers..., *Antwerp, 1550, title-page*
Hitchcock, Henry Russell. *Netherlandish Scrolled Gables of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries.* New York: New York University Press, 1978. Fig. 35.

Figure 16 *Cornelis Floris or Pieter Coecke, reviewing stand on the Coepoortbrugge, 1549, in* Triumphe d'Anvers, *Antwerp, 1550*
Hitchcock, Henry Russell. *Netherlandish Scrolled Gables of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries.* New York: New York University Press, 1978. Fig. 34.

Figure 17 *Charles V's entry, 1549, triumphal arch on the* Vlasmarkt
Bevers, Holm. *Das Rathaus von Antwerpen (1561-1565): Architektur und Figurenprogramm.* Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1985. 220, Fig. 39.

Figure 18 *Wolfenbüttel,* Marienkirche, *begun 1608, north side transept, gable*
Thöne, Friedrich. *Wolfenbüttel: Geist und Glanz einer alten Residenz.* München: F. Bruckmann, 1963. Fig. 224.

Figure 19 *Antwerp, Town hall (1561-1565)*
Bevers, Holm. *Das Rathaus von Antwerpen (1561-1565): Architektur und Figurenprogramm.* Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1985.198, Fig. 2.

Figure 20 *Charles V's entry into Antwerp, 1549, triumphal arch of the Spanish community*
Bevers, Holm. *Das Rathaus von Antwerpen (1561-1565): Architektur und Figurenprogramm.* Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1985.221, Fig. 41.

Figure 21 *Wolfenbüttel,* Marienkirche, *plan of choir (windows are numbered)*
Kelsch, Wolfgang. "Alle Kreatur der Welt: Mythos und Wissenschaft am Chor der Hauptkirche *Beatae Mariae Virginis.*" *Die Hauptkirche* Beatae Mariae Virginis *in Wolfenbüttel.* Ed. Hans-Herbert Möller. Hameln: C.W. Niemeyer, 1987. 102, Fig. 93.

Figure 22 *Female sea creature with fish tail (Nereid) (Choir window 3)*
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Figure 23 *Music-making angels with wind instruments (Choir windows 3,4)*
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Figure 24 *Angel with extinguished torch (Choir window 4)*
Kelsch, Wolfgang. "Alle Kreatur der Welt: Mythos und Wissenschaft am Chor der Hauptkirche *Beatae Mariae Virginis.*" *Die Hauptkirche* Beatae Mariae Virginis *in Wolfenbüttel.* Ed. Hans-Herbert Möller. Hameln: C.W. Niemeyer, 1987. 104, Fig. 94.

Figure 25 *Angel with skull and sandglass (Choir window 5)*
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Figure 26 *Angel with cross (Choir window 7)*
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Figure 27 *Phoenix (Choir window 6)*
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Figure 28 *Pelican (Choir window 3)*
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Figure 29 *Sirens (book-illustration)*
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Figure 30 *Pelican (book-illustration)*
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Figure 31 *Jan Vredeman de Vries*, Architectura, *Antwerp, 1563, title-page*
Hitchcock, Henry Russell. *Netherlandish Scrolled Gables of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries*. New York: New York University Press, 1978. Fig. 47.

Figure 32 *Jan Vredeman de Vries*, Architectura, *Antwerp, 1563, plate 146*
Hitchcock, Henry Russell. *Netherlandish Scrolled Gables of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries*. New York: New York University Press, 1978. Fig. 48.

Figure 33 *Wendel Dietterlin, plate 191*, Architectura, *1598*
Dietterlin, Wendel. *Architectura*. Ed. in collaboration with Deutsches Architekturmuseum Frankfurt am Main. Braunschweig: F. Vieweg & Sohn, 1983. Reprint of *Architectura*. Nürnberg, 1598. Plate 191.

Figure 34 *Wendel Dietterlin, plate 196*, Architectura, *1598*
Dietterlin, Wendel. *Architectura*. Ed. in collaboration with Deutsches Architekturmuseum Frankfurt am Main. Braunschweig: F. Vieweg & Sohn, 1983. Reprint of *Architectura*. Nürnberg, 1598. Plate 196.

Figure 35 *Cartouche in* Ohrmuschelstil. *Lucas Kilian*, Newes Schildtbyhlin, *plate 2, Augsburg, 1610*
Uppenkamp, Barbara. "Roll- und Beschlagwerk in der Weserrenaissance." *Baudekoration als Bildungsanspruch*. Ed. Petra Krutisch and G. Ulrich Grossmann. Marburg: Jonas, 1993. 26, Fig. 21.

Figure 36 *Philip II of Spain*
Grossmann, Georg Ulrich. *Renaissance entlang der Weser: Kunst und Kultur in Norddeutschland zwischen Reformation und Dreissigjährigem Krieg.* Köln: DuMont Buchverlag, 1989. 15, Fig. 5.

Figure 37 *Wolfenbüttel,* Schloß
Thöne, Friedrich. *Wolfenbüttel: Geist und Glanz einer alten Residenz.* München: F. Bruckmann, 1963. 44, Fig. 19.

Figure 38 *Duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg by Lukas Kilian (1579-1637).*
Lietzmann, Hilda. *Herzog Heinrich Julius zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg (1564-1613). Persönlichkeit und Wirken für Kaiser und Reich.* Braunschweig: Selbstverlag des braunschweigischen Geschichtsvereins, 1993. Fig. 2.

Figure 39 *Wolfenbüttel,* Marienkirche, *interior, sketch by Paul Francke*
Kunst, Hans-Joachim. "Die Marienkirche in Wolfenbüttel eine Siegeskirche?" *Daphnis* 10 (1981): 36, Fig. 3.

Figure 40 *Wolfenbüttel,* Marienkirche, *begun 1608, nave and choir*
Thies, Harmen. "Die Wolfenbütteler Hauptkirche *Beatae Mariae Virginis* von Paul Francke." *Renaissance in Nord-Mitteleuropa I.* Ed. Georg Ulrich Grossmann. München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1990. 176, Fig. 6.

Figure 41 *Wolfenbüttel,* Marienkirche, *begun 1608, gallery in south transept with burial chapel at ground level and ducal loge above*
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Figure 42 *Count (Prince after 1619) Ernst of Schaumburg-Holstein, engraving by Lukas Kilian (1579-1637)*
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Figure 43 *View of Bückeburg, engraving by Matthäus Merian, 1646*
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Figure 44 *Bückeburg,* Kanzlei *(chancellery) on the left,* Kammerkasse *(rent-office) on the right, and gateway in the center*
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Figure 45 *Augsburg,* Zeughaus *(arsenal), 1606, façade*
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Figure 46 *Wolfenbüttel,* Marienkirche, *begun 1608, plan*
Dehio, Georg. *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler, Bremen Niedersachsen.* Ed. Gerd Weiss *et al.* München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1992. 1389.

Figure 47 *Wolfenbüttel,* Marienkirche, *c. 1650, interior looking west, by Albert Freise*
Kunst, Hans-Joachim. "Die *Marienkirche* in Wolfenbüttel eine Siegeskirche?" *Daphnis* 10 (1981): 31, Fig. 2.

Figure 48 *Wolfenbüttel,* Marienkirche, *begun 1608, capital of pillar*
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Figure 49 *Wolfenbüttel,* Marienkirche, *begun 1608, console in the aisles*
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Figure 51 *Wolfenbüttel,* Marienkirche, *c. 1650, interior looking east, by Albert Freise*
Kunst, Hans-Joachim. "Die Marienkirche in Wolfenbüttel eine Siegeskirche?" *Daphnis* 10 (1981): 30, Fig. 1.

Figure 52 *Wolfenbüttel,* Marienkirche, *begun 1608, west portal, 1618*
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Figure 53 *Wolfenbüttel,* Marienkirche, *begun 1608, window, north side of the west façade*
Thöne, Friedrich. *Wolfenbüttel: Geist und Glanz einer alten Residenz.* München: F. Bruckmann, 1963. Fig. 223.

Figure 54 *Wolfenbüttel,* Marienkirche, *begun 1608, keystone of a choir window*
Thöne, Friedrich. *Wolfenbüttel: Geist und Glanz einer alten Residenz.* München: F. Bruckmann, 1963. Fig. 216.

Figure 55 *Wolfenbüttel,* Marienkirche, *begun 1608, allegorical figure on a* Zwerchhaus
Karpa, Oskar. *Wolfenbüttel.* München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1965. Fig. 34.

Figure 56 *Bückeburg,* Stadtkirche, *1610-15, plan*
Dehio, Georg. *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler, Bremen Niedersachsen.* Ed. Gerd Weiss *et al.* München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1992. 305.

Figure 57 *Bückeburg,* Stadtkirche, *1610-15, interior looking towards the loge*
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Figure 58 *Bückeburg,* Stadtkirche, *1610-15, capitals of the Corinthian piers*
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Figure 59 *Bückeburg,* Stadtkirche, *1610-15, capital of console with hanging pine cone*
Borggrefe, Heiner. *Die Residenz Bückeburg: Architekturgestaltung im frühneuzeitlichen Fürstenstaat.* Marburg: Jonas, 1994. 146, Fig. 60.

Figure 60 *Interior of* Santo Spirito, *Florence, designed by F. Brunelleschi, begun 1436*
Hartt, Frederick. *History of Italian Renaissance Art. Painting, Sculpture, Architecture.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1975. 122, Fig. 138.

Figure 61 *Bückeburg,* Stadtkirche, *1610-15, pulpit, 1613-15*
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Figure 62 *Bückeburg,* Stadtkirche, *1610-15, Hans Wulff: the Apostle Peter, wood sculpture of the pulpit, 1613-15*
Habich, Johannes. *Die künstlerische Gestaltung der Residenz Bückeburg durch Fürst Ernst 1601-1622.* Bückeburg:Verlag Grimme,1969. Fig. 69.

Figure 63 *Bückeburg,* Stadtkirche, *1610-15, Adrian de Vries' font, 1615*
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Figure 64 *Bückeburg,* Stadtkirche, *1610-15, interior looking east*
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Figure 65 *Hameln, Osterstraße 9, house of Gerd Leist (Architect: Cord Tönnis, 1585-89)*
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Figure 67 *Braunschweig,* Dom *(St Blasius), begun 1173, plan*
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Figure 68 *Helmstedt,* Juleum, *great hall*
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Figure 70 *Wolfenbüttel,* Marienkirche, *«normal plan» of a Gothic polygonal choir superimposed on the* Marienkirche's *choir*
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Figure 71 *Wolfenbüttel,* Marienkirche, *plan of the church's polygonal choir*
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Figure 72 *Wolfenbüttel,* Marienkirche, *design for the tower. Woodcut by E. Hohwein after Paul Francke, 1625*
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Figure 73 *Braunschweig,* Andreaskirche, *(south tower: 1518-32)*
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Figure 76 *Braunschweig,* Petrikirche, *late 13th century*
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Figure 77 *Freiberg,* Münster, *exterior of east end, c.1400; 1585-95*
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Figure 78 Mortalitas *(left) and* Tempus *(right). Detail from the title-page of Cyriakus Spangenberg's* Schaumburger Chronik *(Schaumburg genealogy), 1614*
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Figure 79 *Augsburg, city hall,* "Pyr" *surmounting the gable*
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Figure 81 *Bückeburg,* Stadtkirche, *1610-15, side portal*
Habich, Johannes. *Die künstlerische Gestaltung der Residenz Bückeburg durch Fürst Ernst 1601-1622.* Bückeburg:Verlag Grimme,1969. Fig. 16.

Figure 82 *Wendel Dietterlin: entrance to an ossuary, from* Architectura, *1594*
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