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rchitectonic Parity

The Coordinated Apartments of Ruling Princes and Princesses in German Court Residences, 1470-1547

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The present essay discusses the location, function and architectural details of princely apartments in court residences in the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation between 1470 and 1547. The first date marks in general the transition point from the mediaeval lodgings of the nobility to the princely palaces of the Early Modern era in the German-speaking lands. These palaces are the result of large-scale construction campaigns, such as in Dresden (from 1468), Meißen (from 1470/71), Ingolstadt (from 1479), Halle an der Saale (1484), Wittenberg (from 1489) or Salzburg (ca. 1495). From this time onwards, the internal structures of German court residences are much better known than in earlier eras. The second date, 1547, marks the caesura of the Schmalkaldic War, in the aftermath of which the electoral dignity in Saxony was transferred to the new Saxon Prince Elector Maurice in Dresden. It provided the impetus for the construction of a magnificent palace in the new Saxon residential city, setting new benchmarks of excellence for princely residences in the Old Empire.

During the period in question, we find an architectonic innovation in German palaces that has to date been given but scant scholarly attention: the formation and establishment of an architectural symmetry or parity of the personal living quarters of ruling princes and princesses.

The Mediaeval Stubenappartement

From the time of Charles IV King of the Romans from 1346 (King of Bohemia from 1347, Holy Roman Emperor from 1355 to 1378), the living quarters of a regal or princely residence in Central Europe contained at least one sequence of a reception room heated by a smoke-free stove, and an attached sleeping chamber without this device. Since the High Middle Ages in Central Europe, smoke-free heating was a widespread feature of residential comfort, although traditionally it was limited only to certain specific functional types of rooms. The smoke-free heated room was called *Stube* (the word in German is closely related to the English word *stove*, the Flemish term *stoof* and the French *étuve*) or *Dornse*¹ (fig. 1).

1. Joachim Hähnel, *Stube. Wort- und sachgeschichtliche Beiträge zur historischen Hausforschung*, Münster, 1975.

Since the 10th/12th century, in the large palatial residences (*Pfalzen*) in the German Empire, with their numerous personnel, retinue and visitors, it was principally a large, hall-like room (later: *Hofstube*, “court room”) on the ground floor of the palaces that embodied these advantages (for example, in Werla, Goslar and Braunschweig)². It served to accommodate the common meals at court, and was situated below the large ceremonial halls³ for festivities and negotiations located on an upper floor. The court room (*Hofstube*) and ceremonial hall (*Saal*) were often of similar size, but differed substantially in terms of function. Only the *Hofstube* on the ground floor possessed a truly efficient, and most particularly smoke-free, heating facility. The technology involved here was either a hot-air heating system known from the Roman period and generally restricted for technical reasons to the ground floor⁴, or later on (14th century), the increasingly common back-loading stove (*Hinterladerofen*)⁵. By contrast, the ceremonial halls on the representative first storey had to suffice with a fireplace for heating. Thus, hot-air heating, stoves and fireplaces were closely associated in Central Europe with specific spatial functions and types of rooms, and in architectural research can also be employed as an indicator for reconstructing such functions.

Moreover, from the beginning of the 13th century, we find stoves in ever greater numbers in the smaller rooms of the personal living areas; perhaps they were initially preferred by the female members of the princely household.⁶ In the 14th century, we observe a process of close functional combining of these smoke-free and thus comfortably heated rooms with the traditional personal and then multifunctional rooms (*Kammer*) of regents, which were traditionally used for reception as well as for sleeping. These multifunctional rooms were originally heated in representative, regal style by a fireplace (thus the term *Kammer*), not by a stove. Since, as a rule, the fire was extinguished during the night, the type of heating employed was technically irrelevant for the function of sleeping areas.

Beginning in the mid-14th century in Central Europe, the function of reception and representation shifted from its traditional location in the sleeping chamber (*Kammer*). It migrated to a room located directly in front of the sleeping chamber, which acquired the stove already known and admired from elsewhere, and was termed *Stube*⁷. This gave rise to an early – and for Central Europe specific – form of an apartment or functional sequence of rooms. That

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2. Klaus Bingenheimer, *Die Luftheizungen des Mittelalters. Zur Typologie und Entwicklung eines technikgeschichtlichen Phänomens*, Hamburg, 1998, p. 70-106; Paul Grimm, “Zum Ofen der frühmittelalterlichen Archäologie. Archäologisches zu niederdeutsch Döns, bairisch Türnitz”, in *Ausgrabungen und Funde in Westfalen-Lippe*, 1971, n° 16, vol. 6, part B: p. 171-189, p. 279-282, plate 41-45; Cord Meckseper, “Die Goslarer Königspfalz als Herausforderung für Heinrich den Löwen?”, in Jochen Luckhardt, Franz Niehoff (ed.), *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit. Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125 - 1235*, vol. 2 essays, Munich, 1995, p. 237-243; HOPPE 2010.
 3. Judith Bangerter-Paetz, *Saalbauten auf Pfalzen und Burgen im Reich der Staufer von ca. 1150-1250*, tech. Diss., Hannover, 2007.
 4. Klaus Bingenheimer, *Die Luftheizungen des Mittelalters. Zur Typologie und Entwicklung eines technikgeschichtlichen Phänomens*, Hamburg, 1998; Rüdiger Schniek, “Mittelalterliche Warmluftheizungen in Norddeutschland und Dänemark. Ergänzende Bemerkungen zum neueren Stand der Forschung”, *Offa*, 1999, n° 56, p. 171-181.
 5. Claudia Hoffmann, Manfred Schneider (ed.), *Von der Feuerstelle zum Kachelofen. Heizanlagen und Ofenkeramik vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit. Beiträge des 3. wissenschaftlichen Kolloquiums Stralsund*, Stralsund, 2001; Eva Roth Heege, *Ofenkeramik und Kachelofen. Typologie, Terminologie und Rekonstruktion im deutschsprachigen Raum (CH, D, A, FL). Mit einem Glossar in siebzehn Sprachen*, Basel, 2012; Annamaria Matter, Werner Wild, “Neue Erkenntnisse zum Aussehen von Kachelöfen des 13. und frühen 14. Jahrhunderts. Befunde und Funde aus dem Kanton Zürich”, *Mittelalter - Moyen Age - Medioevo - Temp medieval*, 1997, n° 2, p. 77-95; Jürg Tauber, *Herd und Ofen im Mittelalter. Untersuchungen zur Kulturgeschichte am archäologischen Material vornehmlich der Nordwestschweiz, 9.-14. Jahrhundert*, Olten/Freiburg i. Br., 1980; Fritz Blümel, *Deutsche Öfen. Der Kunstofen von 1480 bis 1910. Kachel- und Eisenöfen aus Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz*, Munich, 1965.
 6. Tomáš Durdík, “Wohneinheiten der böhmischen Königsburgen Přemysl Otokars II”, in *Burgenbau im späten Mittelalter II*. (Forschungen zu Burgen und Schlössern 12), Munich/Berlin, 2009, p. 213-220.
 7. HOPPE 1996, p. 363 ff.; HOPPE 2010. See Michael Rykl, “Die Feste Týnec nad Labem (Elbeteinitz) als Beispiel der Raumanordnung einer böhmischen Feste und deren Wandlung”, in *Burgen und Schlösser*, 49, 2008, no. 4, p. 250-261.

can initially be demonstrated in the ambit of Emperor Charles IV: Thus, on the first storey in the double-towered main building of Karlsberg Castle (Kašperk), built in 1365 in Bohemia, a medium-sized room with a group of windows and wooden panelling adjoined a room of almost equal size with a fireplace and toilet facility, most probably the royal sleeping chamber⁸. The regal castle built around 1460 by the same builder in Lauf near Nuremberg displays a similar sequence of rooms extending from a ceremonial hall (a), a larger room (*Stube*, b) with probable stove heating and an adjacent room (c) accessible only via the *Stube*, equipped with a fireplace and toilet facility⁹ (fig. 2).

By dint of the difference in heating and the resultant restricted use of the sleeping chamber during the day, this type of apartment differs fundamentally from the sequence of hall (*salle*) and chamber (*chambre*) customary in Western Europe, a sequence at first glance similar in layout. Of course, that does not exclude the possibility of certain influences and processes of reception. This new Central European apartment is designated in German research as *Stubenappartement*; it will determine the standard of a princely or noble residence in Central Europe well into the 17th century¹⁰.

Separate Women's Lodgings

While at present we can only provide a summary sketch of the beginning and early spread of the *Stubenappartement* in the 14th century, its use in German palace construction in the period from 1470 on is well documented. In the following, I will present several representative residences of ruling German princes and princesses from the close of the Middle Ages and the threshold of the Early Modern era.

Basically, it would appear plausible that a large proportion of the Early Modern palaces were the joint residences of princely couples. But it has actually proven very difficult up to now to clarify the relation between the living quarters of the prince and his female consort before about 1470, and to determine how the basic independence of the respective households was reflected architectonically in mediaeval and Early Modern Central Europe. Thus, we can only clearly discern one single large apartment, connected with the large ceremonial hall in the imperial castle at Lauf (constructed from 1360 and mentioned above). Its patron Emperor Charles IV was married four times, so there must have been most certainly women's living quarters in the imperial castles. But to date it has not been possible to localize these concretely. Likewise in the residences of Margrave William I of Meißen (Saxony) (reigned 1382-1407), which have become better known through quite recent research, it is somewhat disconcerting to note that we are unable to clearly identify any separate living quarters for the consort princesses¹¹. The implications of these findings are still unclear. We have evidence that in Saxony, the household of the ducal consort travelled independently from the main court, and this practice was not supplanted by a centralised court life until the years around 1470¹².

8. Dobroslava Menclová, *České hrady*, 2 vols., second rev. ed., Prague, 1976.

9. Georg Ulrich Großmann (ed.), *Burg Lauf a.d. Pegnitz. Ein Bauwerk Kaiser Karls IV*, Regensburg, 2006.

10. HOPPE 1996, p. 365-412.

11. Matthias Donath, "Schlösser als Herrschaftszeichen. Die Schlossbauten Wilhelms I. von Meißen", in *Wilhelm der Einäugige. Markgraf von Meißen (1346-1407)*, conference transcript, Dresden, 2009, p. 141-159; Stefan Reuther, "Schloss Rochlitz in der Zeit von Markgraf Wilhelm I. Ein Überblick zum Baubestand", in *Wilhelm der Einäugige. Markgraf von Meißen (1346-1407)*, conference transcript, Dresden, 2009, p. 173-184; Norbert Oelsner, "Zur Typologie der Dresdner Burganlage bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts", in Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen (ed.), *Das Residenzschloss zu Dresden. Volume 1: Von der mittelalterlichen Burg zur Schlossanlage der Spätgotik und Frührenaissance*, Petersberg, 2013, p. 175-188.

12. STREICH 1989, p. 406.

Among the most elaborate German princely courts around the mid-15th century were those of the so-called “Rich Dukes” (*Reiche Herzöge*) of Lower Bavaria. Legendary were the splendid weddings that Duke Louis IX (also known as Ludwig the Rich, reigned 1450-1479) arranged in 1452 for himself and his consort Princess Amalia of Saxony (1436-1501), and in 1475 for his son George and the Polish princess Hedwig Jagiellon, daughter of King Casimir IV of Poland, in Landshut. It is probable that for the first wedding in 1452 the west wing at Castle Trausnitz in Landshut, the so-called *Fürstenbau*, was expanded by adding another storey for Amalia of Saxony and her household¹³. Today the wing is substantially changed, and even for this important residence, we cannot precisely answer the question as to how the living quarters of the female members of the court were internally structured. Duchess Amalia resided 11 years in her new women’s room in Landshut, and in 1463 relocated her court to Burghausen¹⁴. Later in the 1480s her daughter-in-law Countess Hedwig Jagiellon would also use Burghausen as her main residence¹⁵.

A letter written in 1470 by the Brandenburg Elector contains the oldest known written reference to the interior structure and partitioning of such a separate living area of the household of a princess. At that juncture, in the castle in Berlin, then some 30 years old, it was planned to create a so-called *frauenzimmer* or “women’s room” on an upper storey, patterned after the castle in Ansbach. In this connection, there is mention of the “maiden rooms and chamber” (*junkfraustuben und cammer*), that is to say, the two principal rooms of a Central European *Stubenappartement*¹⁶.

The separate location of the living area for the female princely household on the upper storeys of a castle, such as in Landshut, Ansbach and Berlin, was not accidental. This can be substantiated by various court regulations. Thus, court regulations in 1546 state: “It is our wish to have the young princesses and the female royal court living together. For that reason, in order to avoid any danger, we would like no one to enter these rooms. Whoever wishes to speak with the women [the chamber maids], has enough time and the possibility to do so during meal times”¹⁷.

Around 1560, it was decided: “When the chamber maids cross through the hall in order to go from the chambers of the Duchess to other rooms, they should comport themselves in an especially respectable manner. They must not run to and fro unnecessarily but rather should remain in their quarters. If they require something, they should send the pages to fetch this and avoid running about themselves. Most particularly, they must never go alone without the mistress of the court down the stairway and approach the lowermost door”¹⁸.

13. The new “women’s room” is mentioned in 1451 in the official bill. See Irmgard Biersack, “Die Hofhaltung der ‘reichen Herzöge’ von Bayern-Landshut (1392-1503). Hofgesinde, Verpflegung, Baumaßnahmen”, *Mitteilungen der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 15, 2005, no. 2, p. 17-45, here p. 39 ff.

14. Joseph Baader, “Haus- und Hofhaltungsordnungen Herzogs Ludwig des Reichen von Niederbayern für das Residenzschloß Burghausen während des Aufenthalts seiner Gemahlin Herzogin Amalie dortselbst”, *Oberbayerisches Archiv*, 36, 1877, p. 25-54.

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

16. Elector Albrecht Achilles Letter, 18 August 1470; cited in Goerd Peschken, Hanns-Werner Klünner, *Das Berliner Schloß*, Frankfurt am Main/Vienna/Berlin, 1982, p. 18. See also NOLTE 2005.

17. Anhalt Court Regulations 1546, cited in KERN 1905/1907, here vol. 2, 1907, p. 25. “Weil wir auch unser junge freulein und das frauenzimmer bey einander haben werden, So wollen wir, das Niemand dahinein gehe, zu verhütung allerley gefhar, Sonder, wer mit der junkcker etwas zu reden hat, kan uber tisch zeit und platz genug darzu haben”.

18. Regulations for the women’s room (*Frauenzimmerordnung*) from the time of Duke Albrecht of Prussia (reigned 1525-1568) (n.d.; perhaps 1560s) in KERN 1905/1907, vol. 1, 1905, p. 93: “Es sollen sich die jungfrauen im Durchgehen des Sahls aus dem geordneten frauenzimmer in der herzogin oder auch andere Zimmer aller jungfreulichen, ehrbarlichen Zucht befeißigen und, sovil muglich, des vielen aus[-] und ein[-], auch hin[-] und widerlauffens enthalten und an den orten, dahin sie geor-

It is difficult today to determine whether these regulations were always actually adhered to in practice, as is the case with many rules in such normative texts. But there can be no doubt whatsoever as regards the general intention to quarter the female princely household separately and under controlled conditions in the castle. That is also in keeping with the contemporary situation elsewhere in Europe. Thus, in 1560 in the Alcázar in Toledo, the women in the royal retinue were quartered in rooms on the higher storeys of the buildings; this was also the case in the castles in El Pardo, Aranjuez and Segovia¹⁹. Likewise in the Louvre in Paris, in 1559 only partially completed, the female royal household was then quartered in the attic, i.e. the second storey²⁰.

Symmetrical Arrangements for Husband and Wife in Meißen

Our current knowledge about the living circumstances of German princesses and the architectonic relations of their quarters to the living quarters of their spouses does not change until about 1470: today in the Albrechtsburg Castle above Meißen (fig. 3), we have the total layout of a sovereign castle available for detailed analysis, likewise still well-preserved in regard to interior structures.²¹ Here for the first time we can substantiate the existence of a demonstrable parity and symmetry between the living areas of the regent and his consort.

Constructed from 1470/71 onward, on both its second and third storeys (attic) the castle houses a highly elaborate and ornate apartment; the lower *Stubenappartement* was presumably intended for Elector Ernest of Saxony (1441, reigned 1464-1486), while the upper one was for his consort Elisabeth of Bavaria (1443-1484) (fig. 4, rooms 23, 25 and 38-40). In the older research literature, this architectural symmetry was previously interpreted as an expression of the joint reign of the two brothers, Elector Ernest and Duke Albrecht. But this interpretation has now been altered and supplanted by recent new findings pertaining to comparable buildings. Duke Albrecht was almost constantly underway attending to external duties, so that it remains uncertain how he represented himself architecturally in Meißen. Moreover, despite their structural similarity, the two apartments in Meißen differ in a number of significant details, as I will discuss below.

Both apartments were entered through an antechamber (fig. 4, rooms 26 and 31) adjacent to the grand spiral stairway, opening with large heated rooms (*Stuben*, 24 and 39) as reception areas. These reception rooms in the two apartments each had a back-loading stove in the southwest corner, today no longer extant. Presumably, these stoves were richly ornamented, as we can still see today, for example, in the stove installed in 1500 in the archiepiscopal castle in Salzburg (fig. 1). As reception rooms, the *Stuben* in the Meißen apartments have windows on two sides, looking out into the courtyard while also affording a view of the Elbe River. Just how important regents viewed the variety and concrete location of such vistas is substantiated by a statement made by Elector Albrecht of Brandenburg in regard to his residential quarters in Ansbach in 1472²².

denet, in stille verharren. Do sie aber was holen solten laßen, sollen sie, soviel muglich, die geordenten knaben darnach schicken, vor Ire person aber des vielen lauffens [sich] enthalten, Sonderlich aber alleine und ohne der hoffmaisterin beisein die treppen ab vor die underst thur keineswegs sich begeben".

19. WILKINSON ZERNER 1994, here p. 132.

20. Likewise WILKINSON ZERNER 1994, p. 133.

21. Hans-Joachim Mrusek (ed.), *Die Albrechtsburg zu Meißen*, Leipzig, 1972; HOPPE 1996, p. 35-77; Dietmar Fuhrmann, Jörg Schöner (ed.), *Albrechtsburg Meissen. Ursprung und Zeugnis sächsischer Geschichte*, Halle, 1996; HOPPE 2000, p. 155-156.

22. 19 March 1472. Burkhardt, *Fünfft Merckisch Buech*, Nr. 31, p. 67f. "But we do not wish to do without our vault [room], no matter whether it renders the *Stube* light or dark. Because if the *Stube* were to have only the windows that look out into the courtyard, we would find that preferable to a multitude of windows that afford a vista of the city. Since one already has

The staging of the vistas in Meißen was enhanced even further in the small adjoining rooms on the Elbe River side (fig. 4, rooms 25 and 39), accessible in both apartments via the reception rooms. These side rooms also were each equipped with their own stove, and on both storeys were elaborately and artistically vaulted. In accordance with more recent analogous structures, these intimate special rooms are a variant of the Italian *studiolo*, or of the French *Estude*, which can be demonstrated for the first time in castle construction of the German Empire in Meißen. In the subsequent period, they appear more frequently as a part of German princely apartments²³. Almost always, these special rooms, spaces reserved for study and for withdrawal from the hectic life at court, were at the equal disposal of both the prince and his consort, as shown in Ingolstadt, Burghausen, Grünau and Torgau (see below). In Saxony, however, only the princes of the next generation, Frederick the Wise and John the Steadfast, were educated on a higher level by a baccalaureus in the 1470s.²⁴ Thus, the Meißen study originally may have been intended more as a symbolic showpiece than as a practical item.

In addition to the reception room (*Stube*) and writing or study room, the Elector and his consort in Meißen each had a sleeping chamber at their disposal (fig. 4, rooms 23 and 40). It was clearly smaller than the reception room, equipped with fenestration only on one side, and like almost all rooms of similar function in the castle, it was unheated. However, part of the standard of such a noble bedroom was its own toilet facility and a rear exit serving for security and comfort, which led to a second smaller stair tower.

Although the tripartite layout of rooms described in the two state apartments in Meißen was identical, the upper apartment had a significant addition that is today easily overlooked: going from the reception room (38), a wall stairway led up to the upper attic level, where the extant beams from the time of construction, with their ornamentation, indicate the existence of a further living area. Most probably, and in accordance with contemporary analogies elsewhere, the living and residential quarters of the “*Frauenzimmer*” – the noble but not exclusively female members of the household of the princess – were established here, directly connected with the apartment of the princess. This extension of the female princely apartment was just as customary as was its placement nearby on the upper storeys of the castle – this arrangement so as to keep its female residents at some distance from everyday court life.

To date, we have only been able to sketch in rudimentary form how the prince and princess made wedded use of the two virtually equivalent apartments. In Germany in the 15th and 16th century, it was considered customary for the princely married couple to share a bedroom when they were both present at court²⁵. For example, Electress Anna of Brandenburg noted in a letter in 1481 that her daughter-in-law Sophia had made use in the Ansbach Castle, together with her consort Margrave Frederick, of an “apartment where they both lay side by side”, and likewise mentioned an “apartment where we lie, together with our lord”²⁶. In other

a good view of the town and the garden from the chamber.” Original: “Wir wollen aber Vnsers gewelbs nicht entbern, es mache die stuben liecht oder Vinster. Dann ob Inn der stuben nicht mer Wern, dann die fenster, die In den hof geen, Wer vns lieber, dann das vil venster In die Stat giengen, Nachdem man vß der kamern Wol In die stat vnd den garten sehen kann.” Quoted in NOLTE 2005, p. 209.

23. Wolfgang Liebenwein, *Studiolo. Die Entstehung eines Raumtyps und seine Entwicklung bis um 1600*, Berlin, 1977; Stephan Hoppe, “Rückzugsorte”, in Werner Paravicini (ed.), *Höfe und Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Reich. Bilder und Begriffe*, Ostfildern, 2005, p. 417-420; Matthias Müller, *Das Schloß als Bild des Fürsten. Herrschaftliche Metaphorik in der Residenzarchitektur des Alten Reichs (1470-1618)*, Göttingen, 2004, p. 251 ff. On princely renaissance education in Germany in the 15th century cf.: Christian Kahl, *Lehrjahre eines Kaisers - Stationen der Persönlichkeitsentwicklung Karls V. (1500-1558). Eine Betrachtung habsburgischer Fürstenerziehung, -bildung zum Ende des Mittelalters*, Trier, 2008. The only older, still extant German exemplum of a *studiolo* is from the Marienburg Castle of the Teutonic Knights, ca. 1380/1400, in Malbork, Poland.

24. STREICH 1989, p. 408: first appearance, 1474.

25. Examples in NOLTE 2005, p. 210-213.

26. Letter to her daughter Barbara, 21 May 1481. PC 3, n 743, p. 60, footnote 3. Cited in NOLTE 2005, p. 210, footnote 58.

places as well, we can demonstrate the use of a joint bedchamber. At first glance, the architectural situation at the Albrechtsburg contradicts this. To go from one princely apartment to the other, it was either necessary to use the large spiral staircase to the south, located at the front, or the smaller one to the north; the latter perhaps had a more intimate character, and was generally less open to access. The members of the female royal court also had to make use of these smaller spiral staircases if they wished to go from their residential quarters on the third storey down to their dining chamber (*Stube*, 21), a room with windows on three sides located on the second storey at the upper end of the west wing. Reasoning from analogous structures, this may well have been the separate dining quarters for the household of the princess. It permitted the female members of the royal household to avoid joining the common court meals down below in the large court room (*Hofstube*) on the first storey.

Dresden and Ingolstadt

At the time of its large-scale new construction, the Albrechtsburg Castle perched high above the city of Meißen was more a residence for festive occasions for the Saxon Prince Electors, with special and temporally limited functions. The maintenance of court life and administration increasingly shifted to the nearby palace in Dresden, in renovation from 1468 on. Due to later building alterations, the situation of the rooms there is far less clear. But it would appear that the two-storey north wing with the large castle tower, constructed around 1390/1400 under Margrave William I of Meißen as mentioned earlier, originally only had a bipartite apartment on the first storey, analogous to the pattern of the residences of Emperor Charles IV.

From 1468 on, the living quarters in the Dresden palace were extensively expanded. In 1423, its owners had been elevated from the status of mere margraves to the elite office of Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. The north wing in Dresden was now expanded by the addition of a second storey; its use of room space can, at least in its fundamental contours, be reconstructed from a wooden model made around 1530 and preserved down to the 1960s²⁷. The situation thus recalls the modification of the castle in Landshut in 1451. In Dresden, the older apartment on the first storey in the western section, dating from around 1390/1400, was replaced by a series of rooms at the renovated eastern end. It was probably designed for use by Elector Ernest, the third elector from the house of Wettin and later builder of the Albrechtsburg. The addition of another storey (as most probably also in Landshut) was intended to accommodate the female princely household. In the 1530 wooden model, directly above the apartment of Elector Ernest, a similar, smaller structured area was visible, called “quarters of the princess” (*Der Fürstin Gemach*), where the Electress probably resided, who then, as in Meißen, would have lived in direct propinquity to her female household. To the extent that the layout of rooms in Meißen was in keeping with the actual daily habits of the electoral couple, two additional writing rooms (or studies, *Schreibstuben*) must also have been available in Dresden for both the elector and his consort. Perhaps they were located in the addition on the moat side of the north wing reflected in the 1530 wooden model. Then, turning from the castle courtyard as in Meißen, they would have provided a broad vista of the Elbe River. Unfortunately, even after the most recent painstaking monographic study on the Dresden castle, many details still remain unclear.

Clearer than in Dresden is the extant architectonic parity of the two princely living

27. Norbert Oelsner, “Die Errichtung der spätgotischen Schlossanlage (1468 bis 1480) und ihre weitere Entwicklung bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Bauaufgabe - Strukturen - Befunde”, in Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen (ed.), *Das Residenzschloss zu Dresden. Volume 1: Von der mittelalterlichen Burg zur Schlossanlage der Spätgotik und Frührenaissance*, Peterberg, 2013, p. 189-231, here 214 ff.

quarters in the court residence of the Dukes of Lower Bavaria-Landshut in Ingolstadt, a well-preserved palace that to date has been but very inadequately researched²⁸. Although Duke George the Rich (reigned 1479-1503) resided principally in Landshut, and the female court, including his consort Hedwig of Poland (1457-1502), stayed mainly in Burghausen, in 1479 construction was begun on a ducal palace in Ingolstadt (fig. 5). Here the internal floor plans of the first and second storeys were largely identical. In this way, they offered the ducal family during their sporadic visits to Ingolstadt apartments that were, at least in principle, similarly furnished, one lying above the other. However, it remains unclear whether any use was made in reality of this possibility for joint maintenance of court life, given the fact that the residential focal point of the Duchess was in Burghausen. In any event, this represented a highly symbolic value: not only did it vividly demonstrate the economic and cultural resources of the Bavarian duchies. In the medium of architecture, it also pointed to an exemplary marital relationship, grounded on mutual respect. It should not be forgotten that Hedwig, as the daughter of a reigning Polish king (Casimir IV), was clearly far more elevated in rank than her ducal consort George the Rich.

The apartment for Duke George the Rich on the first storey in Ingolstadt, connected to an anteroom, consisted of a spacious *Stube* (4) with an elaborate rib vault resting on a central pillar with a spiral shaft (fig. 6). In architectonic terms, it was thus far more elaborately appointed than the older apartment in Landshut and the new electoral apartment of 1468 in Dresden as well. One possible exemplary paradigm could have been Meißen, still under construction in 1479, about which Duke George was doubtless well informed by his mother, living once again since 1480 in her native Saxony. There has been relatively little research to date on the cultural communication between the Electorate of Saxony and the Bavarian duchies in this period.

In Ingolstadt, the *Stube* as representative reception room also included a small adjoining room in the corner tower (5), accessible via an unusually rich and ornate portal. But we cannot say anything concrete about the function of that adjoining room, even reasoning from analogous structures. Here too, the princely sleeping chamber (*Schlafkammer*) (6) was an indispensable supplement to the *Stube* of the Duke; in Ingolstadt, it adjoined the *Stube* on the east, and like in Meißen, it had its own toilet facility. In contrast with Meißen, in Ingolstadt there was a definite interior connection between the two state apartments: in the northwest corner of the room, a small winding staircase (no longer extant) connected the ducal apartment (or its sleeping chamber) with the apartment of the Duchess situated above, thus offering a level of comfort exceeding that available in Meißen.

Behind the interior staircase leading to the storey there was (like in Meißen) a vaulted writing/study room (7), accessible here both from the bedroom (6) and from the main *Stube* (4). In addition, this room to which prince or princess could withdraw possessed a small oratory in the separation wall with the adjoining chapel, located here at the same level with the royal living quarters. We also find oratories (small chapels for private prayer) connected with the palace chapel by a see-through opening in Burgundian ducal residences from the same era: still extant, for example, is such an oratory in the palace chapel constructed from 1453 in the ducal residence in Lille, today's Palais Rihour²⁹. In a certain sense, it is possible to see the chapel (9), located in the middle of the eastern facade of the central palace building in Ingolstadt, as an

28. HOPPE 2013; Hans-Heinrich Häffner, Georg Ulrich Großmann, *Neues Schloss Ingolstadt*, Regensburg, 2003; Siegfried Hofmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Ingolstadt, Volume I: Von den Anfängen bis 1505*, Ingolstadt, 2000; Siegfried Hofmann, "Die Baugeschichte des Ingolstädter Schlosses im Spiegel der erhaltenen Baurechnungen", in *Sammelblatt des Historischen Vereins Ingolstadt*, 1979, n° 88, p. 78-109, part II in 1980, n° 89, p. 25-108, part III in 1990, n° 99, p. 173-202.

29. Krista De Jonge, "Bourgondische residenties in het graafschap Vlaanderen. Rijsel, Brugge en Gent ten tijde van Filips de Goede", *Handelingen der Maatschappij der Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, new series, 54, 2000, p. 93-134, p. 101 ff.

addition to the princely apartment³⁰. It is of the same height as the adjoining living quarters. However, the chapel room on the level of the first storey is connected by an opening in the ceiling with a similar room on the second storey.

A similarly partitioned and structured apartment for use by Duchess Hedwig was located on the second storey above the ducal apartment. Functionally it was supplemented by the area of the “women’s room” on the northern side, thus offering a total programme similar to what we can reconstruct for the slightly older princely residences in Meißen and Dresden.

As already mentioned, the ducal couple did not stay principally in Ingolstadt. The main residence of the princely house was in Landshut, where, along with a chateau on a hilltop overlooking the town (Tausnitz), a town house was at their disposal, although its interior structures for this period are unknown. Duchess Hedwig lived most of the time in the heavily fortified castle at Burghausen (fig. 7)³¹. Here the living area in the main wing (A) was expanded, presumably around 1484; it showed a similar parallel programme of two princely apartments, located on the first and second storeys of the palace at the western end of a mountain ridge. Here too, probably, the upper-level apartment was set aside for the Duchess; unfortunately, we have no concrete accounts on its actual use during Duchess Hedwig’s long stay there.

We also have knowledge of the room structures of additional German palaces at the end of the 15th century. But since these are either the residences of princes of the Church (Wurzen, Hohensalzburg) or the residence of unmarried princes (Wittenberg), they will not be considered within the scope of our essay³².

Symmetrical Apartments in the Early 16th century

The parity of princely apartments also continued as a trend in the 16th century. Elector Palatine Otto Henry (1502-1559) is probably best known today as the builder of the later Otto Henry wing (*Ottheinrichsbau*) in Heidelberg Castle (1556)³³. There too, there was only a single apartment on the ground floor for the widowed prince; it is still extant in its basic features. Yet Otto Henry’s life as a prince began on the Danube in 1522 together with his brother as regent of the then just established duchy of Palatinate-Neuburg. At the time, in his new residential city of Neuburg on the Danube, all he found was a mediaeval fortress, which unlike other princely residences with a comparable function had not yet been modified and adapted to the demands of princely court life that had unfolded since the final decades of the 15th century. Although in respect of financial resources, Otto Henry could scarcely compete with the princely patrons in Dresden, Meißen or Ingolstadt, his pretensions and wish for a suitably appointed residence

30. For an overview of German castle chapels, see: Barbara Schock-Werner (ed.), *Burg- und Schloßkapellen. Kolloquium des Wissenschaftlichen Beirats der Deutschen Burgenvereingung*, Stuttgart, 1995; Ulrich Stevens, *Burgkapellen. Andacht, Repräsentation und Wehrhaftigkeit im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt, 2003.

31. Brigitte Langer, *Burg zu Burghausen. Amtlicher Führer mit einem Verzeichnis der Staatsgalerie*, Munich, 2004; HOPPE 2013.

32. HOPPE 1996, 78-129 (Wittenberg); Günther Kavacs, Norbert Oelsner, “Das Bischofsschloss in Wurzen. Eine ‘Inkunabel’ spätgotischer Architektur”, in *Sachsen Schlossbau der Spätgotik in Mitteleuropa*, conference transcript, Dresden, 2007, p. 168-179; Nicole Riegel, *Die Bautätigkeit des Kardinals Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg (1468-1540)*, Münster, 2009; Nicole Riegel, “Hohensalzburg unter Leonhard von Keutschach und Kardinal Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg. Fortifikation und Repräsentation 1495-1540”, in *Forschungen zu Burgen und Schlössern*, 14, 2012, p. 95-109; Anke Neugebauer, “Wohnen im Wittenberger Schloss. Zur Nutzung und Ausstattung der fürstlichen Gemächer, Stuben und Kammern”, in Leonhard Helten, Armin Kohnle, Dorothée Sack, Hans-Georg Stephan (ed.), *Das ernestinische Wittenberg. Stadt und Bewohner* (Wittenberg-Forschungen vol. 2 of 2), Petersberg, 2013, p. 315-334.

33. Hanns Hubach, “Kurfürst Ottheinrich als Hercules Palatinus. Vorbemerkungen zur Ikonographie des Figurenzyklus’ an der Fassade des Ottheinrichbaus im Heidelberger Schloss”, *Neuburger Kollektaneenblatt*, 2002, no. 151, p. 231-248; Hanns Hubach, “‘Architectus Heidelbergensis illustrissimo principi Othoni Henrico’. Materialien zur Biographie des Steinmetzen und Architekten Heinrich Gut”, in AMMERICH 2008, p. 151-187.

in keeping with his status clearly intensified³⁴. He doubtless had encountered many relevant stimuli during his trips to Spain, Burgundy and the Holy Land. In addition, in 1529 he had married his distant Wittelsbach relative Susanna (1502-1543), who as the daughter of Duke Albrecht IV of Bavaria (1447-1508) and granddaughter of Emperor Frederick III, most probably expected him to maintain an ambitious and demanding way of life in appropriate style.

In 1530, outside the gates of Neuburg, the hunting lodge of Grünau was built for the princely couple³⁵ (fig. 8). Its core construction was reminiscent of small fortified houses constructed next to ponds to protect them (*Weiherhäuser*), and suburban patrician vacation houses. Yet despite the restricted spatial relations, on the third floor it housed the, now modern, set of two princely apartments, disposed symmetrically on both sides of the entrance to a spacious stair tower. All the rooms on this floor were elaborately vaulted, and the details alluded to paradigms from classical antiquity. On the right, the door opened to the living quarters of the Duke, with a sleeping chamber in the background; to the left lay the somewhat smaller reception room with the sleeping chamber of his consort, which given the reference to the buffet painted on the wall, probably simultaneously had to fulfil the function of a dining room for the female members of the royal household. In the rear area, as a special feature of both apartments, there was a joint, barrel-vaulted writing/study room, added on as a space for withdrawal and contemplation (fig. 9). It was accessible from both sleeping chambers, and had a third entrance from the antechamber at the stair tower.

The first large-scale construction in Otto Henry's actual court palace in Neuburg (fig. 10) was the building of a new north wing between 1534 and 1538. The building structure, intentionally left open almost completely on all four sides in order to allow for impressive vistas, was originally accessible vertically via a winding staircase in the eastern corner of the courtyard (fig. 11). Both storeys were divided structurally in a similar way: on both floors, the staircase initially opened onto a short longitudinal corridor, on whose northern side there was a *Stube* with an oriel window (*Erker*) and a bedroom, complemented on the west by a large *Stube* that had no direct connection with the apartment. Today it is no longer possible to determine clearly for whom the two apartments, marked by parity in their structure, had concretely been intended. But we can assume that Otto Henry lived in the lower apartment on the eastern side, and his consort above in the upper apartment. The building was crowned by a spectacular artistic garden on its flat roof, with which Otto Henry, as builder of a second Palatine Palace, joined the ranks of the Roman emperors, at least on the cultural level³⁶.

The final example of the period under investigation here are the two similar princely apartments constructed in 1544 in the main residential castle of one of the leading figures of

34. Horst H. Stierhof, *Wand- und Deckenmalereien des Neuburger Schlosses im 16. Jahrhundert*, diss., München, 1972 (special reproduction in *Neuburger Kollektaneenblatt* 1972, n° 125); Ulrike Heckner, *Im Dienst von Fürsten und Reformation. Fassadenmalerei an den Schlössern in Dresden und Neuburg an der Donau im 16. Jahrhundert*, Munich, 1995; Fritz Grosse, *Image der Macht. Das Bild hinter den Bildern bei Ottheinrich von der Pfalz (1502-1559)*, Petersberg, 2003.

35. Uwe Albrecht, "Princes et bourgeois à la campagne dans l'Allemagne du Sud. Les cas de Grünau et de Nuremberg", in Monique Chatenet (ed.), *Maisons des champs dans l'Europe de la Renaissance. Actes des premières rencontres d'architecture européenne, Château de Maisons, 10-13 juin 2003* (De Architectura, 11), Paris, 2006, p. 181-190; Enno Burmeister, "Das Jagdschloß Grünau", *Neuburger Kollektaneenblatt*, 1976, n° 129, p. 13-52; Sigrid Gensichen, "Le château de chasse de Grünau en Bavière", in Claude d'Anthenaise (ed.), *Chasses princières dans l'Europe de la Renaissance. Actes du colloque de Chambord, 1^{er} et 2 octobre 2004*, Arles, 2007, p. 327-342.

36. Reinhard H. Seitz, "Die Repräsentationsbauten von Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich für das Schloss zu Neuburg an der Donau und ihre Vollendung durch Pfalzgraf Wolfgang", in AMMERICH 2008, p. 73-149 (fn. 30); Stephan Hoppe, "Antike als Maßstab. Ottheinrich als Bauherr in Neuburg und Heidelberg", in Suzanne Bäuml, Evamaria Brockhoff, Michael Henker (ed.), *Von Kaisers Gnaden. 500 Jahre Pfalz-Neuburg. Katalog zur Bayerischen Landesausstellung 2005 Neuburg an der Donau 3. Juni bis 16. Oktober 2005*, Augsburg, 2005, p. 211-213.

the Protestant Reformation and his consort. In the residential palace at Torgau³⁷, two apartments, each approximately 124 m² in area, were constructed together with the new court chapel demonstratively consecrated in 1544 by Martin Luther (fig. 12). One sequence of rooms was intended for the Saxon Elector John Frederick the Magnanimous (1503-1554) and the other for his consort Sibylle of Cleves (1512-1554). Unfortunately, in contrast with other examples described, the room layout today has undergone substantial changes. Originally the respective living areas were located one above the other, and corresponded in their basic floor plan. On the first storey was the two-room apartment of the Elector, on the second storey that of the Electress. Both the Elector and his consort also had at their disposal a writing room, partitioned off from the *Stube* (termed “*stublein*”, and not shown in the reconstruction) and a chamber similar to an oratory in the wall connecting with the palace chapel. These served as especially intimate and private spaces to which they might withdraw. The two Torgau apartments were, as in Ingolstadt, connected by a secret interior circular staircase, which led down below into an archive and continued on above into the attic area of the castle.

In the aftermath of the Schmalkaldic War of 1547, Torgau Castle and the Saxon electoral dignity were passed on to the Albertine branch of the House of Wettin. The apartment on the second storey was then used as living quarters by the new Albertine Electress Anna (daughter of King Christian III of Denmark; 1532-1585). A Torgau inventory from the year 1563 describes the interior furnishings as follows:

“In the chamber of the most gracious lady the Electress [are found the following] 1 Table with a tabletop made of maplewood, 1 large bench with a back, covered in leather and padded, 2 small benches with a back, likewise covered in leather and padded, 2 small benches with front board, covered with black cloth, 2 chairs covered in leather and with yellow studs, [...] a closed small room for my most gracious lady the Electress [which contains] a table covered by a green cloth, a closed cabinet with two doors, a bookshelf attached to the wall, three wall paintings, two paintings on canvas, two credence tables covered by a green cloth, 1 [illegible] small chair, 6 green curtains before the windows, two closed cabinets set into the wall, 1 andiron, one iron stoking fork, 1 broken andiron, [...], 1 painting “Passion” with small carved houses on the gallery, a carved relief with 5 figures,

In the sleeping chamber located next to it [can be found] 1 small table covered in green cloth, two chairs covered in leather with yellow studs, 1 small corded bedstead with bolster [*Spannbett*], 2 box-beds, 2 night chairs, in one a copper night pot, 2 cabinets standing on the floor, with four closed doors, 1 cabinet set into the wall, 1 carved, gilded crucifix with two figures of angels, 1 painted Passion with two folding shutters, two wall paintings, 1 sand clock with 3 glasses, 1 fly swatter made of peacock feathers, 2 steps for the bed with shutters and bottoms, 2 andirons, 3 shelves”³⁸.

37. On the history of the schloss generally, see: Peter Findeisen, Magirus Heinrich, *Die Denkmale der Stadt Torgau* (Die Denkmale im Bezirk Leipzig), Leipzig, 1976; Peter Findeisen, “Zur Struktur des Johann-Friedrich-Baues im Schloß Hartenfels zu Torgau”, in *Sächsische Heimatblätter* 20, 1974, 1, p. 1-12; HOPPE 1996, p. 130-244; HOPPE 2000, p. 159; Guido Hinterkeuser, “Sächsische Architektur für Brandenburg. Der Johann-Friedrich-Bau von Schloss Hartenfels in Torgau und das Berliner Schloss unter Kurfürst Joachim II. (1535-1571)”, in Harald Marx, Cecilie Hollberg, Eckhard Kluth (ed.), *Glaube und Macht. Sachsen im Europa der Reformationszeit. Eine Ausstellung des Freistaates Sachsen ausgerichtet durch die Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden*, Dresden, 2004, p. 220-235.

38. *Inuentarium Im Schloss Zu Torgau den 21 Martii vorzeichnet 1563* (Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden: Rep. A 25 a, I, 1 Nr. 2336, fol. 5r-6v). Original: “In Mc. Gndsn frauen der Churfürstin gemach, 1 Tisch mit 1 ahornen blate, 1 Grosse lehnn banck mit leder uberzogen gefütteret, 2 Cleine Lehn bencklein auch gefütteret und mit leder uberzogen, 2 Cleine Vorsetzbencklein mit schwarzem tuch uberzogen, 2 Stule mit leder uberzogen und gelbenn Buckeln beschlag[en], [...] Ein verschlossen stublein vor M. gnds. F die Churfürstin, 1 Tisch dorinnen mir grünem tuch uberzogen, 1 verschlossen schranck mit 2 thürlein, 1 Angenagelt Buchbret, 3 Gemahlte taffeln uff breth, 2 Gemahlte taffeln uff leintuch, 2 Schenckttisch mit grünem Tuch behang[en], 1 [ein Wort unleserlich] stulin, 6 Grüne vorhenge vor die fenster, 2 Verschlossene schrenk In der maur, 1 Brand-

In addition to the princely apartments constructed in 1544, various other areas for the female household can also be identified in the Torgau palace. We can still fully reconstruct the women's area on the second storey of the new hall wing, planned in 1533³⁹. It consisted of at least two apartments located at opposite ends of the wing (rooms 52, 53 and 60, 61). These apartments were occupied at the beginning of October 1548, on the occasion of the festivities for the wedding between the later Elector August and Anna of Denmark, by "the old queen" (probably Dorothea, Queen of Denmark; 1511-1571) and "the bride"⁴⁰ (Anna of Denmark) respectively⁴¹.

Conclusion

The present survey has sought to present in more precise form than before an architectonic phenomenon of interest: the striking and probably significant architectural parity between the two main apartments in German residential castles from about 1470 on. Unfortunately, many questions must await further research: for example, the fundamental question regarding the functional and social reasons for this architectonic innovation. In the examples presented, of central interest were the architectural living quarters of ruling princes and their female consorts. Due to the special constitutional situation in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, the actual princely rank of this circle of individuals cannot be readily classified in terms of the conditions prevailing among their European neighbours. Although real sovereigns of high rank – such as the king and emperor among those neighbours – were not involved, the marriage circles described here, extending on into regal spheres, allude to a special self-positioning or self-assessment by the German territorial princes. It would thus be a useful task to classify their room structures within a broader European context – not just as a phenomenon in architectural history, but also increasingly as a signifier of social configurations. Yet that must remain a challenge for future studies⁴².

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teisen Im Camin, 1 Eisern Gebelein, 1 Zerbrochen Brandteisen, [1 Runde geschribene laß[?]taffel eingefast], 1 Passion gemahlt, mit geschnitzten heüßelin uff der porkirchen, 1 Geschnitzt teffelein mit 5 figurenn.

In der Schlaffcammer dobei, 1 Clein tischlein mit grünen tuch überzogen, 2 Stuel mit leder überzogen und gelbenn Buckeln beschlagen, 1 Clein Spanbette, 2 Castenbette, 2 Nachtstuel In dem Einen ein Kupffern gefeß. 2 Schrenck auff der Erden mit 4 verschlossenen thürlein, 1 Verschlossen schranck In der maur, 1 Geschnitzt Crucifix übergult mit 2 Bilden 2 Engeln gefast, 1 Gemahlte passion taffel mit 2 lidenn, 2 Gemahlte taffeln auff breth, 1 Sandtßeiger [Sanduhr] mit 3 glasen, 1 fligenwedel von pfaufenfedern, 2 Ufftritt für 1 beth mit liden unnd Boden, 2 Brandteisen Im Camin, 3 Angenagelte breth".

39. According to a report by the Torgau bailiff, dated 1534 (ThHStA Weimar, EGA, Reg. S. fol. 284r, Nr. 1r, fol. 20r).

40. According to the Torgau inventory of 1548 (Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, Loc. 8695 Nr. 8).

41. But in 1563, in one of the two, a "Duke Ernest room" is localized (according to the Torgau inventory of 1563, Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, Rep. A 25 a I, I, Nr. 2336).

42. See: Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, edited by Stephen Mennell (German ed. 1969), Dublin, 2006; Mark Girouard, *Life in the English country house. A social and architectural history*, New Haven, 1979; Jean Guillaume (ed.), *Architecture et vie sociale. L'organisation intérieure des grandes demeures à la fin du Moyen Âge et la Renaissance. Actes du colloque tenu à Tours du 6 au 10 juin 1988*, Paris, 1994; Mark Girouard, *Life in the French country house*, London, 2000; Gottfried Kerscher, *Architektur als Repräsentation. Spätmittelalterliche Palastbaukunst zwischen Pracht und zeremoniellen Voraussetzungen*, Avignon – Mallorca – Kirchenstaat, Tübingen/Berlin, 2000; Monique Chatenet, *La cour de France au XVI^e siècle. Vie sociale et architecture*, Paris, 2002.

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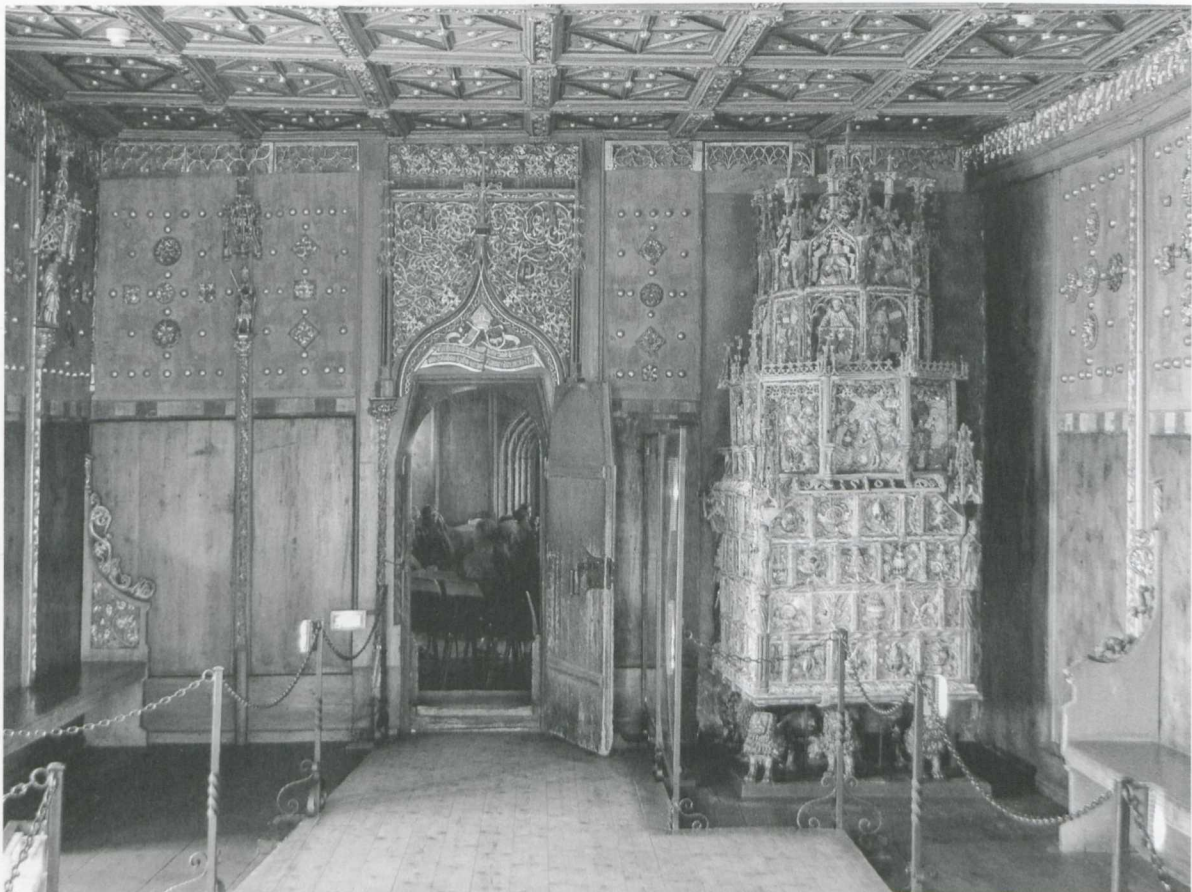


Fig. 1. Hohensalzburg Castle (Austria), *Stube* (reception room) with original stove dated 1501 (cl. Hoppe 2003).

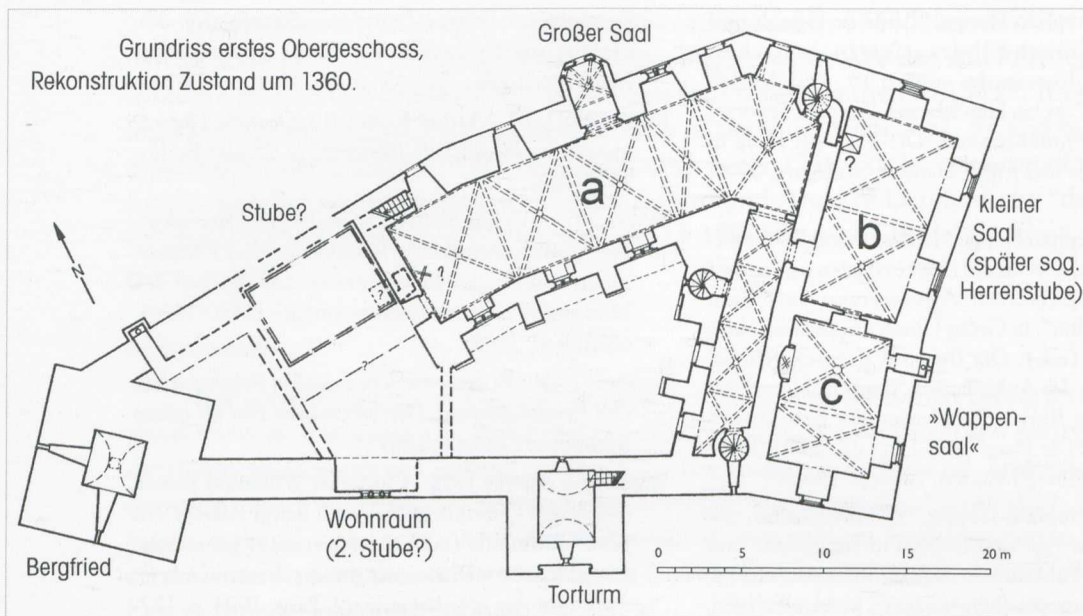


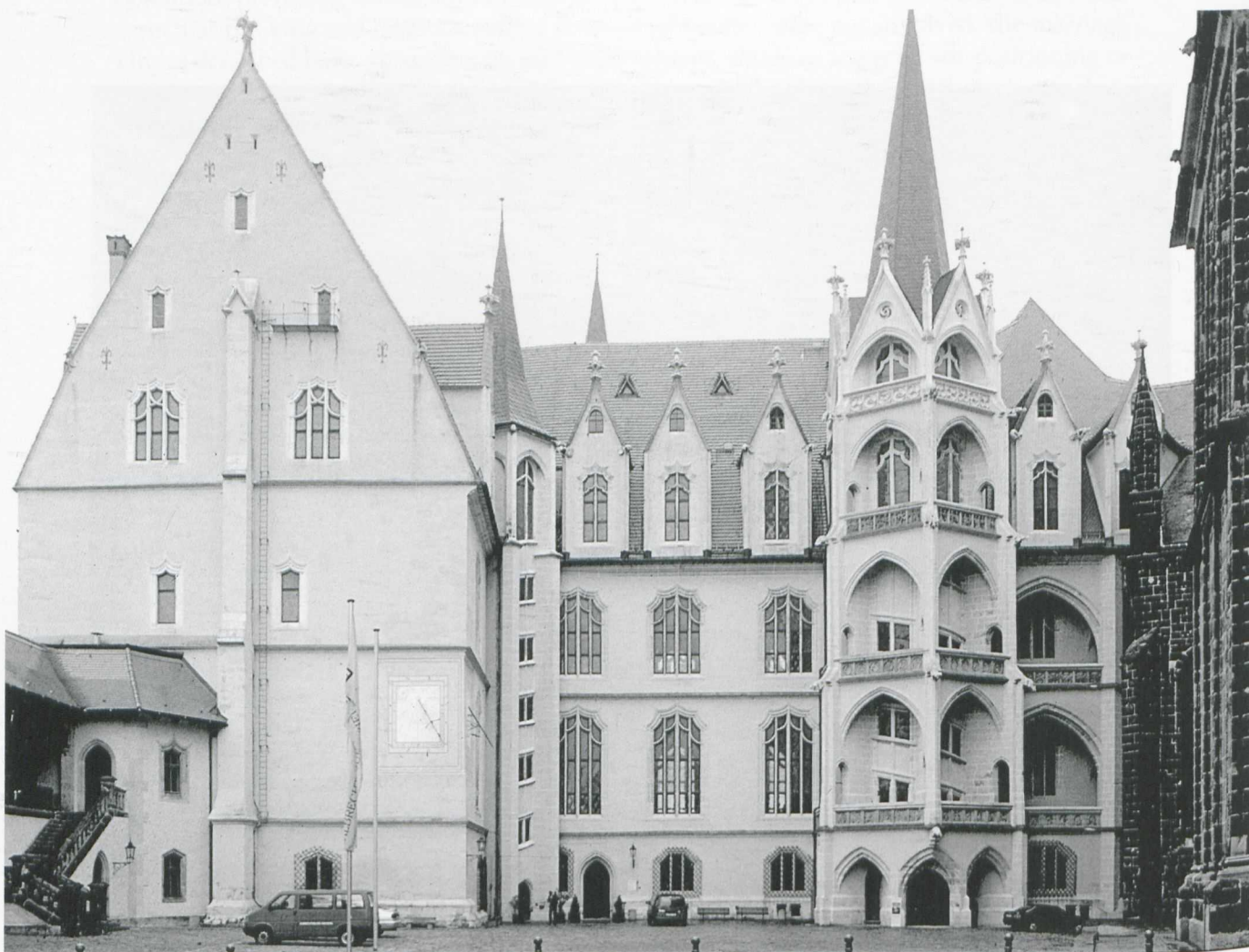
Fig. 2. Lauf Castle (Franconia), c. 1360, reconstructed plan of the first storey, (a) hall, (b) reception room (*Stube*), (c) bedroom (plan Burger und Rykl 2006 and Hoppe).

Fig. 3. Albrechtsburg Castle, Meißen (Saxony), 1471-c. 1490, western façade (cl. G. Ulrich Großmann).

Fig. 4. Albrechtsburg Castle, Meißen (Saxony), 1471-c. 1490, 2nd and 3rd storey (Hoppe 1996).

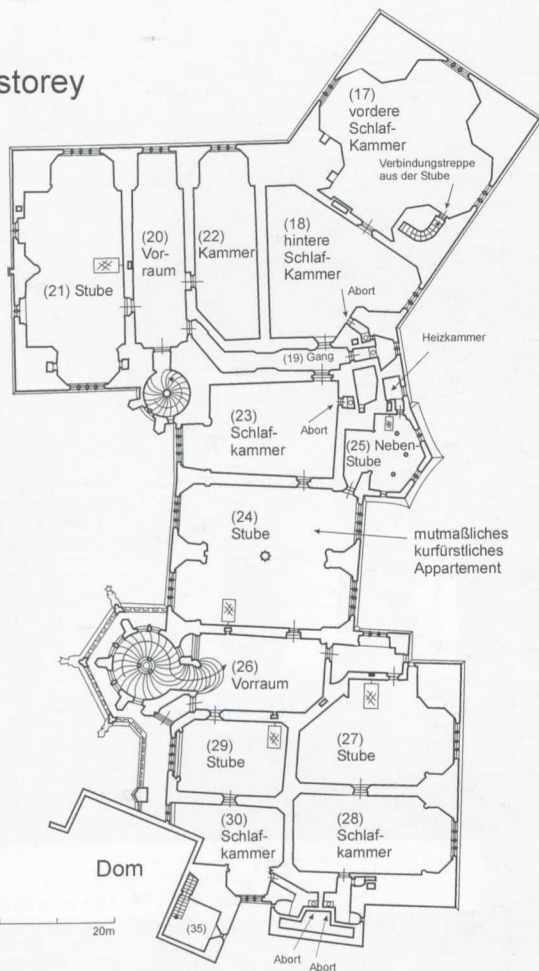
Fig. 5. Ingolstadt Castle (*Neues Schloss*), 1479-c. 1489, plan of the 1st storey (plan Staatliches Bauamt Ingolstadt 2007 and Hoppe).

2



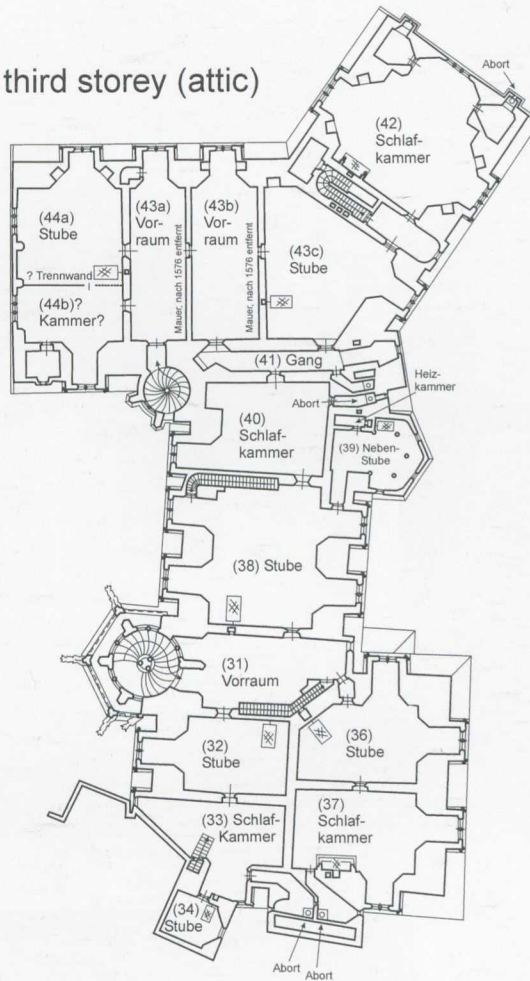
3

second storey

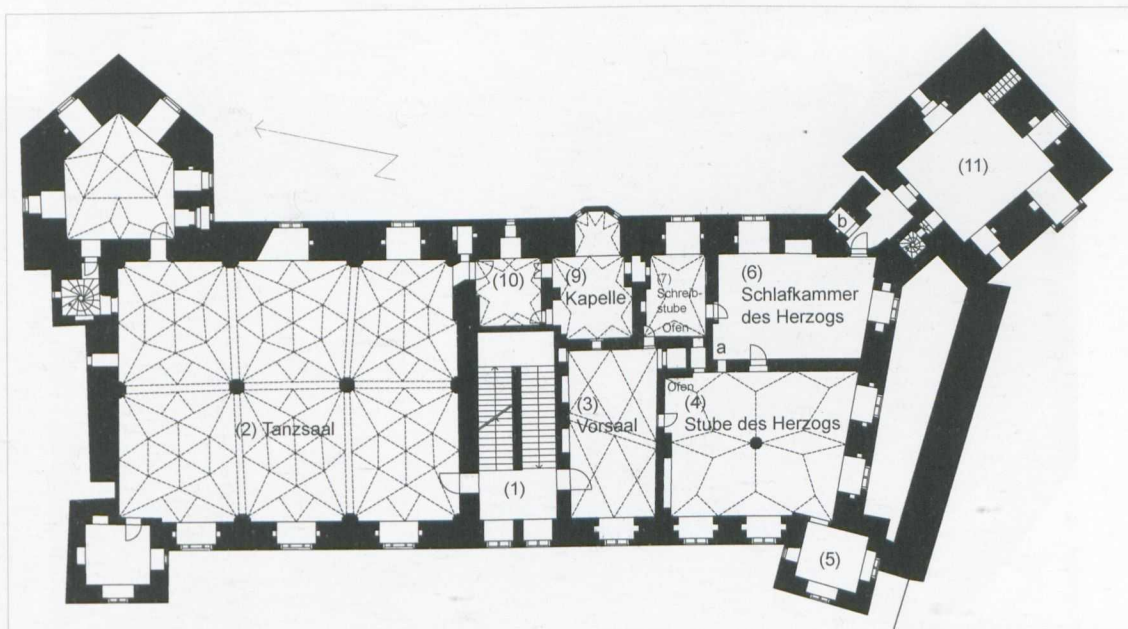


Hoppe 1996
0 20m

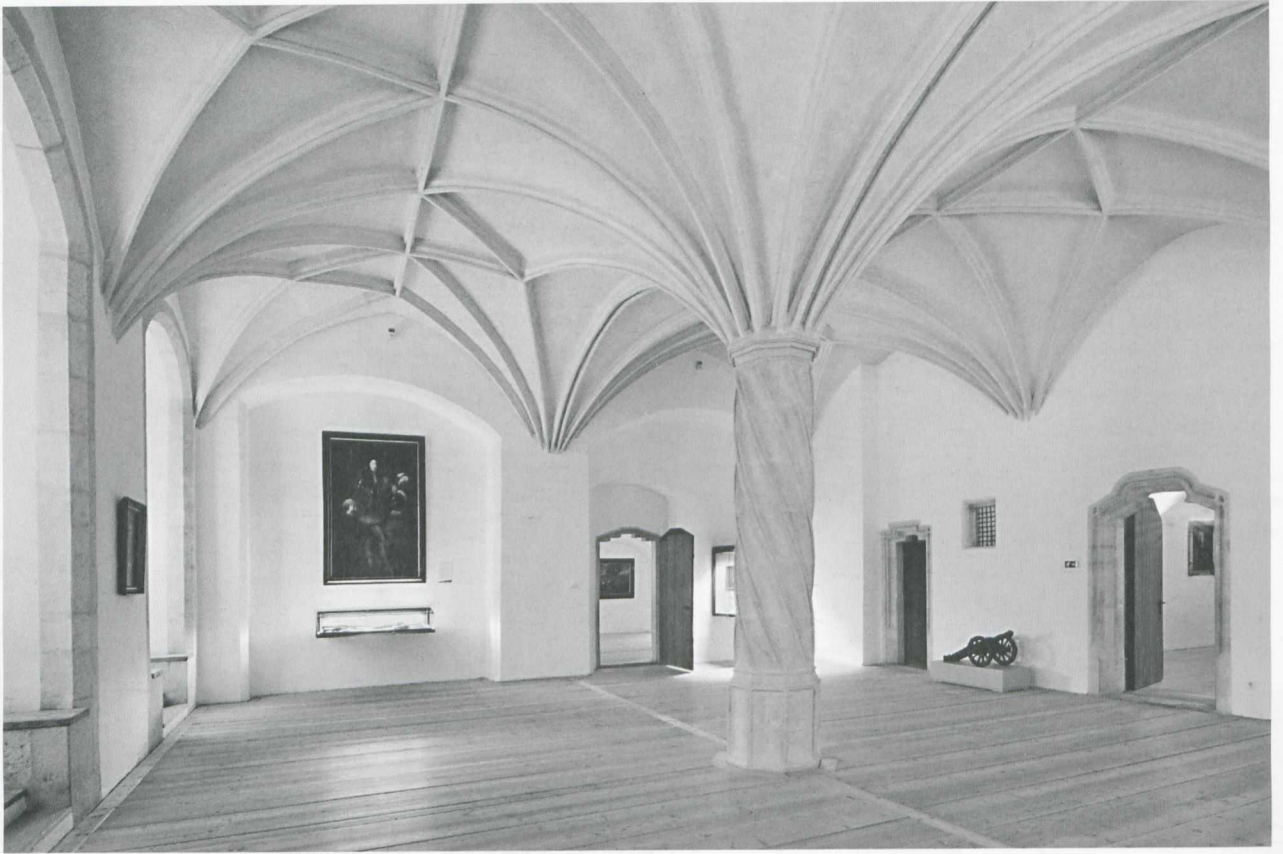
third storey (attic)



4



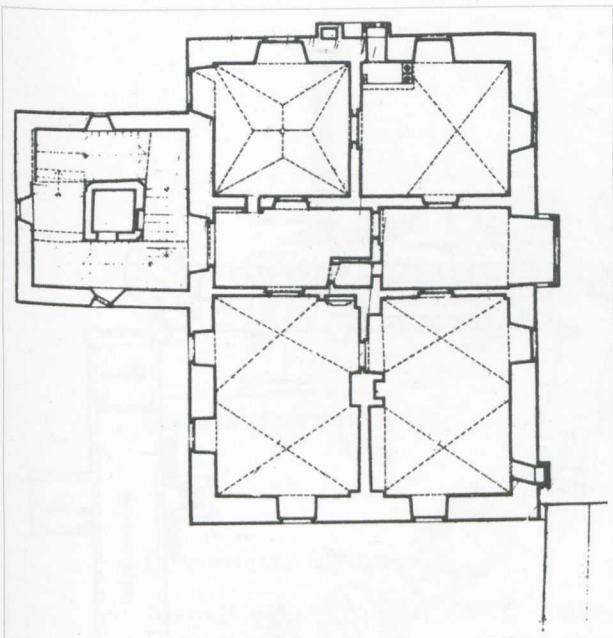
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8

Fig. 6. Ingolstadt Castle (*Neues Schloss*), 1479-c. 1489, the ducal reception room (*Stube*) in the 1st storey (cl. Bayerisches Armeemuseum).

Fig. 7. Burghausen Castle, building campaign c. 1484, wooden model (detail) from 1572 by Jakob Sandtner, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (cl. Hoppe).

Fig. 8. Grünau, Hunting Lodge, 1530, plan of the 1st storey.

Fig. 9. Grünau, Hunting Lodge, 1530, *Schreibstube* (studiolo) (cl. Hoppe 2003).

Fig. 10. Neuburg an der Donau, *Schloss*, c. 1534-c. 1560, court facade of the northern wing (cl. Hoppe).



10



9

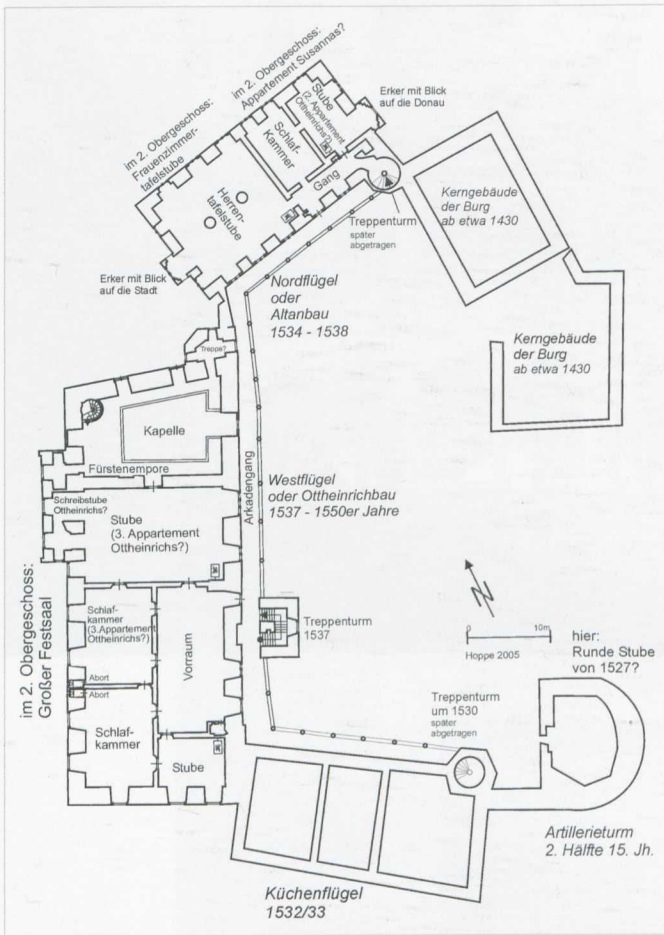


Fig. 11. Neuburg an der Donau, Schloss, c. 1534-c. 1560, plan of the 1st storey (Hoppe 2005).

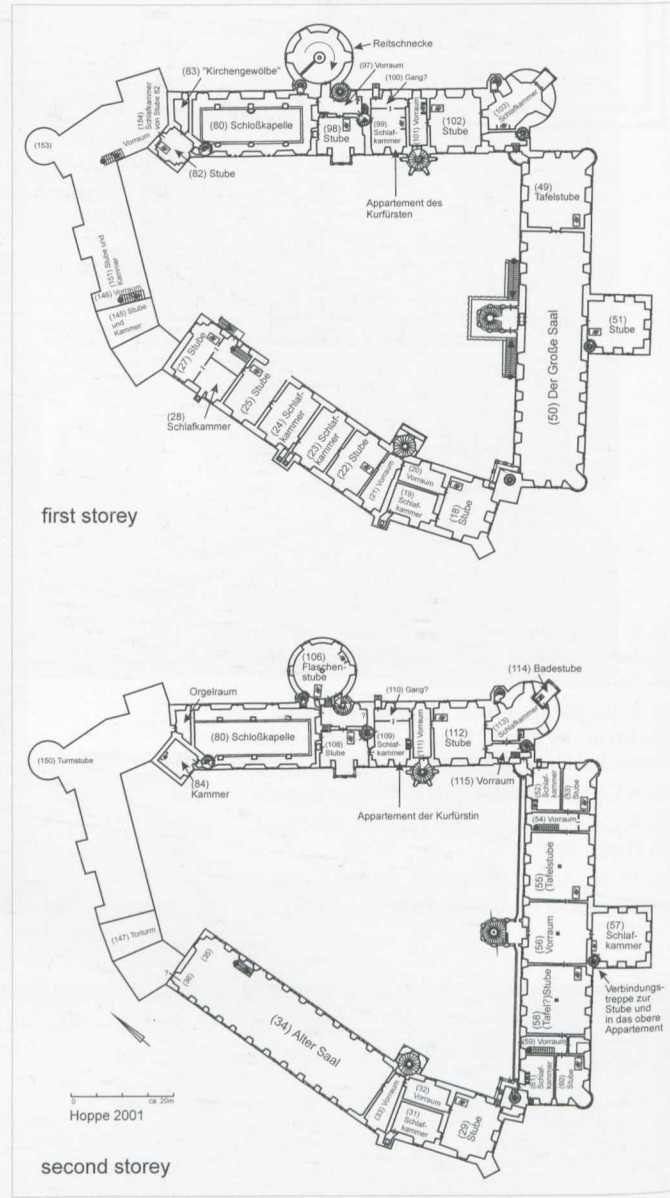


Fig. 12. Torgau, palace of the Saxon prince electors Schloss Hartenfels, 1533, 1544, reconstructed plans of the 1st and 2nd storey (Hoppe 1996).