Hunting Lodges

It was Peter Kaellgren who first suggested that I have a closer look at the history of German hunting lodges. We all have some image about idyllic chateaus set in ancient woods among well trimmed alleys and picturesque lakes or waterways, such as Amalienburg in Munich or Schloss Moritzburg near Dresden. However, these palatial lodges are the exception of the norm.

Interestingly enough, there are no publications on hunting lodges in Germany, apart from a few monographs. A look at 18th century sources shows us that this lack is not due to scholarly ignorance but rather due to difficulties in defining the subject. Johann Georg Krünitz, the enlightened publisher, tried to give a definition in his 1783’s "Economical Encyclopedia". He made a distinction between “Jagdschloss” (hunting palace) and “Jagdhaus” (hunting lodge). His short explication on the hunting palace describes a typical maison-de-plaisance ornamented with rustic decoration including animals, still lifes, figures like Diana or Meleager, and others, and rooms for entertaining guests or to host the patron. The function of hunting was not specific to the palace’s construction.

This description differs from smaller lodges which consisted simply of an apartment for the owner and additional rooms for lodging keepers, storing weapons etc. The adjacent grounds often featured stables, kennels, sometimes an inn, a small formal garden, kitchen gardens etc. These outbuildings and grounds are often more characteristic for hunting lodges than the lodge itself, which sometimes looks like an ordinary keeper’s house.

Krünitz does not suggest a typology. Nevertheless I will try do work out a classification and show the differences between the palatial and the rustic hunting lodges. I estimate that some 3-400 such buildings once existed in Germany, of which 100 have survived.

An interesting clue to understanding the historic role of hunting is found in halls built and ornamented around 1600. One of the earliest examples was built in the East-Prussian residence Königsberg, now destroyed, in Ambras /Austria and in Güstrow in Mecklenburg. A strange combination of sculptures of deer and armor adorn the upper part of the walls, bringing together a form of ancestral commemoration with elements of hunting. In Güstrow the decorations were crafted in stucco by Christoph Parr from 1569-1571. A ceiling-decoration with plastered hunting reliefs after Jan van der Straet’s prints was added in 1620 by Daniel Anckermann. The same combination of elements can be found in Weikersheim, where Wolfgang II. von Hohenlohe-Langenburg decorated the hall (“Rittersaal”) with a similar hunting-iconography, also going back to Stradano.

There were several reasons to establish such halls in princely residences at that time. They show a dynastic legacy and represent the status of the owner. This was certainly needed in all families mentioned: When the house of Hohenzollern inherited Prussia from the German Order in 1525, they were relatively newly installed rulers in Königsberg, an important city that did not belong to the Holy German Empire but was later the site of the coronation of Fredrick, the first King of Prussia in 1701.

At the same time, in 1534/55, the house of Mecklenburg-Güstrow, a side-branch established by the third-born-son of the duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, started to build one of the most exciting renaissance-castles in Northern Europe as a symbol of their power. And Wolfgang von Hohenlohe-Langenburg acted in a similar way: His
family had just separated from the main branch of Hohenlohe to form the house Weikersheim. All of these families were rulers of independent states. We have to understand that The Holy Roman Empire until 1806 consisted of approximately 300 independent states, territories, cities and monasteries. Each maintained separate diplomatic relations, ministers, taxes, laws, court-architects... Representation meant to demonstrate one’s position relative to the 300 other independent German states. It was a question of a prince, an abbot or city council wanting to compare themselves with states like Ochsenhausen, Bretzenheim, and Blankenburg or Prussia, Bavaria and Württemberg. The representation of status, rank, seniority, and wealth was absolutely essential to distinguish oneself from other countries and to claim a higher status. This is, for instance, obvious in Hohenlohe’s marriage-policy with respect to the rising families of Europe: Wolfgang von Hohenlohe, lord of Weikersheim, married Magdalena of Nassau (1547-1633), a sister of William I., head of the most important house of Orange; their son married Eva von Waldstein-Lubkowitz (1550-1631), who was the aunt of the famous Albrecht of Wallenstein.

The question to be answered is why – in all our examples - hunting is combined with family trees? To answer this we have to go back to the beginning of the German Empire in around 800. Under Roman law, which was established under Charlemagne and his successors, hunting was a “Regal” – a privilege granted by the emperor to his noble vassal. This was in contrast to Saxon law where everybody was allowed to hunt. The contradiction was still alive in the 16th century. To suppress the Saxon customs, first hunting regulations were proclaimed by local rulers in the second half of the 16th century (some exceptions are found before then). Hunting law was not codified, nor was there a common body of German law. If a Prince started to enact laws and regulations, he strengthened his legal position, which, at the same time enhanced his power. It is no coincidence that hunting regulations were promulgated in Mecklenburg in 1562, in Prussia (Brandenburg) in 1573/74 and 1582, and in Hohenlohe in 1579. Moreover one finds also a differentiation between high and low hunting (“hoher und niederer Jagd”). This regulates which animal species might be shot by whom. Most such laws stipulate that bears, boar, deer, eagles, swans and cranes are reserved for princely hunts. If someone else shot such an animal, severe penalties were invoked or a special permission was granted which showed a close relationship to the sovereign. He, the central power and head of the state, generally regulated hunting. Most histories of hunting draw the conclusion that hunting was a noble pastime. This is certainly not true. Even a lowly farmer was allowed to hunt if he had the permission of the head of the state, the monarch or prince.

All this was ardently discussed in the 16th century. And if we come back to the „deer-halls or galleries“ the representation of hunting automatically supported the status of the sovereign – not of nobility itself. In this way it was immediately recognizable that the owner of the lodge was a ruler of an independent state with a close relationship to the Emperor. In the 17th century these halls were replaced by “Kaisersäle” – emperor’s halls. Nevertheless the iconography was still present. When Prince Carl Ludwig of Hohenlohe-Oehringen (1674-1756) married Dorothea Charlotte von Brandenburg-Kulmbach (1691-1712), a sister of the Danish Queen Sofie Magdalene and close relative of the newly crowned King Frederick I in Prussia, he redecorated the hall in Weikersheim. But instead of putting emperor effigies in the room he ordered 51 views of different palaces, most of them depicting Versailles or other Royal Palaces in France, the nation which was in war with the German Emperor at
that time. The political implications must have been well understood by the contemporaries: The hall was turned into a homage for Louis XIV.

The examples mentioned show that emblems of hunting were used in the 18th century to represent the power of a sovereign prince. Carved or stuccoed ornaments of horns, trophies, animals etc. were used as a metaphor of sovereignty. This is the reason why Frederick II the Great of Prussia, who in his book “Anti-Machiavel” in 1741 argued strongly against hunting, used the same iconography in decorating the hunting chamber in the Neues Palais in Potsdam. After the Seven-Years War he realized a tight figural concept using traditional symbols that were generally understood but the meaning came off from hunting.

I have mentioned the 16th century, a period in which the first hunting castles or lodges were built. After the Peasant’s War, a time of political consolidation and wealth offered possibilities to erect mansions outside fortifications and cities. But it seems that the first ones were already dedicated to hunting. Some of them were built on the secularized land of former monasteries which offered vast contiguous tracts of well kept woodlands. They were quite small and sometimes looked like the stone houses of the local gentry. A typical example is found in Maulbronn (1588), a former cistercian monastery in Württemberg or Lorsch in the Palatinate. Other examples are Groß Schönnebeck and Grunewald, both situated near Berlin. A rare example of a palatial hunting lodge is found in Gottesau, it was built by the Markgraf of Baden-Durlach in 1588. The towers on the edges offered a wide view, signaling the beginning of an interrelation between landscape and architecture. In Joseph Furttenbach’s „Architectura Recreationis“ of 1640 such an edifice was introduced, situated next to a deer-park and a Belvedere, to observe or shoot game. In 1569 a similar park was already realized on the grounds of Emperor Maximillian’s Il Neugebäude near Vienna.

After the Thirty Years’ War Germany recovered slowly from the ruin. It is no wonder that most of the hunting lodges after 1650 were modest buildings, very much like those of the renaissance. Half-timbered houses like the one in Bückeburg-Baum are typical. But the increasing wealth in the 18th century did not necessarily bring general changes. The Fasanerie near Wiesbaden or the new lodge in Baum were perfect examples for the majority of hunting lodges built then, like Hasselfelde, Wildenhof, Plessenburg, Röhrkopf, Klein Friedethal and others long since forgotten. An anecdote tells us that Frederick the Great spontaneously came to visit the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz at his summer residence. Unfortunately His Grace was staying at his hunting palace, Canow, where Frederick went immediately. He had to be reassured by peasants that the house he took for the estate manager’s was in fact the Duke’s hunting lodge...

Such houses served as private retreats and sometimes housed the forestry commission. Larger hunting parties could not be entertained there. Count August Wilhelm Mellin, author of “Versuch einer Anweisung zur Anlegung... der Wildbahnen so wohl im Freyen als in Thiergärten” in 1779 recommended three types of hunting lodges to his reader. The biggest sited in a deer-park covering ⅔ of a square mile,

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2 build on the side of a benedictine monastery, architect Johannes Schoch.
consisted of a one-floor lodge of approximately 750 square feet. The others were even smaller.

This leads us to the significance of the surroundings of hunting lodges: The park setting for lodges, menageries and pheasant-houses that were all connected to hunting. The surrounding grounds offered undisturbed hunting and facilities for breeding animals for a rich hunt and for the table. Interesting species could be displaced, and legal restrictions were negligible. Such parks were usually situated near a residence, like the Favorite-pavilion in Ludwigsburg, constructed just for hunting parties and other festivities. The architect Donato Guiseppe Frisoni modeled it in 1716-19 after Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach’s design for Schlick-Eckardt’s summer palace in Vienna (1690-92).

A more elaborate lodge was built in the midst of a menagerie in Weimar from 1724 onwards by Adolf Richter and Gottfried Heinrich Krohne for Duke Ernst-August von Sachsen-Weimar (1688-1748). It was named after Fischer von Erlach’s Upper Belvedere in Vienna, the clear model for the building which the Duke visited on his trip in 1727. Next to a menagerie a pheasant house (Fasanerie) was built in the parterre, facing the mansion. Although a pheasant house is not a proper hunting lodge, one has to be aware that bird hunting was a difficult proposition: snipe, peewit, pheasants are not suitable for drives. They have to be bred or collected for a successful hunt.

One of the most charming and peculiar hunting lodges within a park is Jagdschloss Stern – a little Dutch house in a deer-park built near Potsdam by Frederick William I between 1730-32. On the one hand the house corresponded to the typical hunting lodge, on the other hand the king might have built it as a joke. He compared, for instance, the useful kitchen-garden in Potsdam in reference to Louis XIV’s celebrated and useless water-garden at Marly. It likely that he also wanted to compare his little house to projects of his Saxon neighbor, Augustus the Strong, who erected Hubertusburg, designed by Johann Christoph Naumann between 1721-24, and enlarged by Johann Christoph Knöffel, or Moritzburg – a renaissance-castle – altered in 1723-36 by Matthäus Daniel Pöpplemann and Zacharias Longuelune and others.

What might have been the reason for these residence-like palaces in Saxony, the biggest and most elaborate hunting lodges built in Germany?

Around 1700 great wealth offered the possibility for huge architectural projects. The elevation of some families to higher ranks gave them more power: Augustus the Strong was elected king in Poland, Frederick I crowned himself king in Prussia, and the house of Hanover was awarded the ninth electorate, followed by the English throne. This gave reason to establish new nobility but it also stimulated other sovereign families to upgrade their own position with help from the Imperial Court. Most of the sovereign counts reached the title of Prince (Fürst) within the 18th century. One of the best examples is Waldeck-Pyrmont, a tiny state where Count Anton Ulrich started to built a huge palace, whose size and iconography resulted in the ruler’s elevation to the title of a “Prince” in 1711. Interestingly enough, the Prince paid much attention to show off his status in hunting.

In addition, the legal status of hunting was newly defined at the beginning of the 18th century. Because Roman law views the Emperor as the central power who grants hunting-privileges to his vassals, the upgraded families took over this role for themselves with the formation of the hunting orders: Duke Georg Wilhelm of Liegnitz founded the Order of the Golden Stag in 1672, thirty years later Friedrich Wilhelm of Württemberg came out with his Order of Saint Hubert. In 1709 the Prince Palatinate Friedrich Wilhelm re-established the Hubertus-Order of 1444, and in 1738 Count Spork of Bohemia created an order of his own.
The contemporary lawyers also discussed the position and honorary title of the Reich-hunting-master, a central position which implies a superiority to other families of the higher nobility and a special proximity to the emperor. The house Württemberg claimed the position when Eberhard Ludwig founded the Order. In 1704 he started to build a hunting lodge to provide a residence for the order. After visiting Rastatt and Bavaria he engaged Johann Friedrich Nette and Donato Guiseppe Frisoni in 1707-1714 to enlarge the lodge, and to design a hall for the assembly of the knights. In 1709 he started to lay out a town, and in 1720 the court moved from Stuttgart to Ludwigsburg. But the major problem was that an Imperial document of 1356 codified the position of the Reich-hunting-master to the electorate of Saxony. After August the Strong increased his power in Poland and arranged a marriage of his son with Maria Josepha of Austria, he started to build his own hunting-residences of Moritzburg and Hubertusburg to show the seniority of his claim. His hereditary official ("Erbbeamter"), Prince Anton Günther of Schwarzburg, started to build a free-standing Kaisersaal at the ancient hunting castle and summer residence of his family (1699-1719). Despite person’s rank, there were some limits to the reach of their power. Although a Prince was the central power, and this enabled him to regulate hunting or hunt special animals, it did not automatically allow him to hunt everywhere. The legislation, often dominated by the local state parliaments, protected property and traditional laws. Many court-cases show that the Sovereign often faced problems of domain. Most of the German Princes did not have the space for proper hunting, even Frederick William I in Prussia always feared that a stag would flee over the state boarder to Mecklenburg and end the hunt. Such limitations gave reason for a princely representation that implied freedom from borders or restrictions.

Thus, the easiest way of hunting was represented by ceremonial hunts that were often painted or described in long reports such as Bärenhatz, Fuchsprellen and so on. These hunts were mere show-cases that demanded a vast stock of animals. In theory such activities – rather slaughters than hunts - could take place without any hunting grounds, near or even in the residence - “Sport” for show with immense costs and barely any economical use. Some courts even had to buy animals or import them from far away to enrich the home stock. Such hunts meant a representation of wealth which often was not equivalent to the real financial power of the Sovereign. Hunting lodges were not necessary for such activities, in contrary, ephemeral buildings and colorful stage settings were appreciated.

Two other hunts represented wealth and luxury without any real economical use: The most expensive way of hunting was copied from France at the end of the 17th century. Perforce hunts needed good horses, trained dogs, plenty of men, huge grounds, a “Jägerhof” (hunting-center), and a place to rest, to start the hunt or end it with a meal.

The main problem was to find a contiguous area. Only rich and old families had enough land where they were the sole owners. Most of the electoral princes did, and were copied by ambitious tiny states like Waldeck and Bernburg. Even if there were no perforce hunts, huge woodlands were required to run a successful drive, popular in the 18th century. Property, hunt, wealth and rank were interrelated.

Hawking or falconry was also a good way to express financial power. Often echoed in decorative art, there were only a few lodges built next to lakes or moors to catch herons. Clemens August (1700-1761), brother of the Emperor Karl August, and electoral prince of Cologne, and bishop of five dioceses, engaged Francois Cuvillies to build the wonderful chateau of Falkenlust near his summer residence Brühl-Augustusburg. A walled park surrounds the little palace which dates from 1729-40. It
was used for small meals, for the mistress, and for hunting. When the architect Johannes Joseph Couven was commissioned to build the Jägerhof for Clemens August's hunting master in Düsseldorf 1748-63, he copied the scheme in a far more modest way.

Falkenlust was a perfect maison-de-plaisance dedicated to a special form of hunting. The interior closely followed Francois Blondel’s instructions for laying out such houses, bringing together the most elaborate designs, materials and artists. It is almost certain that this lead to other hunting palaces like Schloss Amalienburg in Nymphenburg, summer residence of the electoral prince of Bavaria, his brother. It was again Cuvillies who was chosen to erect the chateau for Maria Amalia, daughter of Emperor Joseph I of Austria, in 1734-39. Although it was possible to shoot pheasants from the terrace on the roof, the over-decorated and precious house was primarily a prestigious architecture intended to represent luxury in the modern manner.

Clemens August responded by building the hunting lodge of Clemenswerth – a sort of carthusian hermitage designed by Johann Conrad Schlaun from 1736-1746. It was the center piece of a radial star of alleys, surrounded by little lodges.4 Carl Theodor, electoral prince of the Palatinate, and nephew to Clemens August, reused the hunting lodge and Park Benrath to build a maison-de-plaisance by Nicolas de Pigage from 1755-1766. He and his wife Elisabeth Auguste were passionate hunters and liked to have a clear iconography shown outside and inside the palace. On the front, the symbols of the order of St. Hubert are inscribed, and the south front is decorated with a group showing Diana and hounds. Like Amalienburg and Falkenlust this hunting palace was built for representation only. The only visits recorded were a three-hours stay by Carl Theodor and a stop-over by his wife. Seeeschloss near Ludwigsburg, is the last palace that combines the function of a maison-de-plaisance with the function of hunting. Philippe de La Guêpière executed the first alterations in the Park in 1755 for Carl Eugen of Württemberg (1728-1793), followed by the chateau in 1760. And again strong influences can be traced back to Jean Francois Blondel „De la Distribution des Maisons de Plaisance“ /1737/38) and his „Architecture François“ (1752). It is significant that it was never finished. The time for such expensive enterprises was over.

These examples are the zenith of hunting culture. They are pure luxury and only executed in courts high in the hierarchy and of a great wealth.

Several examples in Germany show hunting lodges turned into residences. Following the history of Versailles where a new city was built up in an open space: Stimulated by his sister’s husband Eberhard Ludwig of Württemberg, Markgraf Karl-Wilhelm of Baden-Durlach had plans to erect a hunting lodge in the middle of his deer-garden, centered in a radial system of alleys. A watchtower was planned in the middle of it. Very soon after the beginning he changed his plans to build a huge palace and an entire new city. In 1715 Carlsruhe was founded.

A very late example of such developments is found in Klenow, a hunting lodge 15 miles south of Schwerin. Duke Ludwig of Mecklenburg started to enlarge this lodge into a summer residence, based on designs of Jean Legeay and Johann Busch. His son Friedrich completed the site in the 1770s. The design was very much a traditional baroque city. It was not laid out for hunting any more which does not mean, however,

4 Möglicherweise handelt es sich dabei um eine familienbezogene Ikonographie der Wittelbacher, zudem Clemenswerth den wittelsbacher Schlösser Bouchefort bei Brüssel und Fürstenried bei München ähnlich war.
that hunting was a subordinated aspect of such a palace. Another example is found in Neustrelitz, the capital of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

The turn of the 19th century was dominated by classicism but in general there are only very few examples of hunting lodges. After the excessive hunts of the baroque period voices like Mellin and Krünitz demanded a sensible relation with nature and economy. The reasons for this are clear: The Seven-years-War was followed by an economical depression. None of the states had sufficient financial resources, which means that Kassel and Braunschweig supplied mercenary soldiers for America, and states like Württemberg and Waldeck were simply bankrupt. The question was therefore, what was an appropriate representation? The enlightenment supported bourgeois ideals and opened the eyes to the beauty of nature. As a result, for a period of one hundred years no Prussian king was fond of hunting until Frederick William IV came onto the throne in 1841. Strangely enough, there are very few hunting lodges built in classicism of the 19th century: Greiffenburg near Krefeld was erected in a pure and antique style, also the emperor Franz-Joseph’s (1848-1916) Villa in Bad Ischl, Austria. But classicism did not seem to be an architecture appropriate to such function. When the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau asked his architect Erdmannsdorff to build a hunting lodge for him, he created the Haidburg near Wörlitz in a gothic style (1782/83, similar to Schloss Königsberg). When Karl Friedrich Schinkel had to design the hunting center for Schloss Glienicke for Prince Karl of Prussia in 1827, he also used forms of the castellated gothic – instead of the classicist style of the mansion. Situated in the woods it was meant to be a northern counterpart to the Italian villa. It was one of Schinkel’s earliest gothic buildings. He liked to use the style in connection with romantic landscape gardens or as a form of historic-nationalistic iconography. In his design for a hunting castle for Prince Putbus in Granitz, in 1834, he replaced an old gothic hunting lodge with a mansion where he used the castellated gothic again to create an outstanding landmark. One very late hunting castle was built by Schinkel’s pupil Ludwig Persius for Friedrich Wilhelm IV in Letzlingen, where he replaced an unattractive renaissance-castle with a gothic edifice in 1841. In doing this, he was referring to the traditional hunting ground of the electoral princes of Brandenburg. A similar romantic architecture was planned in Potsdam-Wildpark, a hunting ground near Sanssouci. After alterations by the king and Peter Joseph Lenné in 1841-42, Ludwig Persius and Ferdinand von Arnim made designs for the hunting master’s house (“Wildmeisterwohnung”) and the Royal hunting lodge, a building copying north Italian Castles of the 15th and 16th century. It was never executed.

A wooden house, based on an octagonal ground, is found in Antonin, where Schinkel designed a three-storey hunting lodge for the Prince Radziwill. It is reminiscent of baroque lodges situated in hunting stars (Schinkel: Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe, 1824, pl. 28). The adaption of vernacular architecture of South German regions were also fruitful in Mecklenburg-Strelitz where the Duke built himself a little Tirolean hunting-hut called Serrahn, his favorite spot which he used very often.

The second half of the 19th century is defined by new hunting legislation. The German Parliament in 1848 created a law that repealed privileges and allowed free hunting everywhere. But the changes were not fundamental: The huge hunting grounds still belonged to nobles like Prince Reuss, Prince Schaumburg-Lippe or the King of Prussia, later emperor. After 1871, when the German Reich was founded, William I and William II used hunting invitations for private or semi-official exchanges. The atmosphere at the hunting lodges was intimate and personal, without any court
ceremonies. William II liked to invite his courtiers either on an annual sailing tour to Norway or to hunts in Letzlingen, Rominten or Grunewald. Ladies were not permitted. It is no wonder that several new hunting lodges were built like bourgeois villas: not to big in order to produce a cozy atmosphere. There were examples like Gelbensande, the birth-place of the late German crown-princess Cecilie, for instance, or Prillwitz, a hunting villa of her uncle near Neustrelitz. Nevertheless vernacular architecture was still appreciated such as William II’s hunting lodge Rominten in East Prussia or Schloss Hubertusstock near Berlin.

The Nazis, who copied many aspects of the Imperial court, also followed this example. After Hermann Göring re-established the position of the Reich-hunting-master for himself, he started to build new palatial hunting lodges. He re-used the traditional Imperial hunting grounds of Hubertusstock and Rominten. For the first area he built Karinhall, a house named after his wife, in 1934, and for the second, Rominten, a wooden lodge in 1935. Like the Jägerhof in Braunschweig, opened by Göring in 1935, they all refer to traditional and vernacular architecture. Neither his concepts nor the function of the buildings were new. But it is evident, that he recognized the potentials of representation through hunting.

This was certainly the reason why the East German government followed in Göring’s footsteps when they used Hubertusstock for state and private hunts. Ceaucescu was once entertained in the Kaiser’s hunting lodge, not far away from the ruins of Karinhall...

I don’t want to end my remarks in our time. I like to go back to the 19th century again, the century in which it was clear that a hunting palace or even lodge was an anachronism. Ludwig II of Bavaria made this amply clear. In 1869/70 he built the hunting lodge (“Jagdschloss”, sic!) Schachen near Garmisch-Patenkirchen. It looked like a wooden hut, with a dining-hall, bedroom, chapel and study. In 1871 he altered the house. Luise von Kobell described a typical scene in this hunting lodge:

“He sat, reading in a Turkish costume, while the retinue of his servants, dressed as muslims, lay around on carpets and cushions, smoking tobacco and sipping mocca, as the Royal Patron had ordered, who would often glance over his book with a superior smile at the tasteful scene. At the same time incense perfumed the air while huge peacock-fans were waved in the air to make this illusion even more deceptive.”

So in conclusion, as you see, hunting lodges are neither easy to define nor to classify. The subject has not received much scholarly attention, and this conference provided the opportunity to initiate a dialogue that I hope will continue. A future task would be to so further research on the subject of the legalization, representation of the hunt. Nevertheless, I hope that I have shed some light on what is a rather complex topic and that I have presented to you a new aspect of the history of the country house.