

THE TRANSFORMATION OF MUNICH INTO A ROYAL CAPITAL BY KINGS MAXIMILIAN I JOSEPH AND LUDWIG I OF BAVARIA

by David Watkin

Nineteenth-century Munich was largely the creation of King Ludwig I and his architect, Leo von Klenze, who was exceptional for working almost exclusively for four royal courts, and for doing so in the nineteenth century, rather than in *ancien régime* Europe.¹ Klenze's first patron was Napoleon's brother, King Jérôme of Westphalia, at Kassel, but his principal patron was the Crown Prince of Bavaria, later King Ludwig I; he worked also for Ludwig's son, King Otto I of Greece, and finally for Czar Nicholas I of Russia. We shall see how Ludwig and his father, King Max Joseph, who reigned from 1799-1825, attempted to make Munich rival Paris, following the transformation of the Bavarian electorate into a kingdom in 1806. On his accession to the throne in 1825, King Ludwig declared that his ambition was to make his capital such 'a city that no one can say they have visited Germany if they have not visited Munich.'²

His father Max-Joseph, with the hereditary Wittelsbach antagonism towards the Habsburgs, had sympathised with Napoleon when Austria and Prussia were fighting against him. In 1803-4 the princes of south and west German states negotiated individual terms with Napoleon in this process of liberating themselves from Austria. In 1805, Elector Maximilian of Bavaria became an ally of Napoleon against Austria, and in 1806 Napoleon established the Confederation of the Rhine with himself as protector. The Electors of Bavaria and Württemberg became kings, and the Electors of Baden and of Hesse-Darmstadt grand dukes. The new King of Bavaria had cleverly combined his alliance with Napoleon with an increase in Bavaria's independent sovereignty. The shifting mechanisms of power were now oiled by a succession of Napoleonic marriages: in the single year 1806, the new King of Bavaria's daughter, Princess Augusta, married Napoleon's stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais; Josephine's niece, Stéphanie de Beauharnais, married Crown Prince Charles of Baden; and Jérôme Bonaparte was betrothed to the daughter of the King of Württemberg. The new monarchs were, at the same time, anxious to make clear that their dynastic legitimacy owed nothing to Napoleon. The new King Maximilian IV Joseph of Bavaria, for example, presented his new title, rather questionably, as the restoration of a mediaeval kingdom. He nonetheless took care to adopt a more informal image than that associated with the *ancien régime*, cultivating direct contact with his people.

His son, Crown Prince Ludwig, was the chief promoter of the aggrandisement of Munich following its establishment in 1806 as the capital of a kingdom with new territories and wealth. In 1809 he appointed as Königliche Oberbaurat (royal building supervisor) the architect Karl von Fischer who made unexecuted designs for a new wing at the Residenz, now

¹ The primary source of information on Klenze is Winfried Nerdinger, ed., *Leo von Klenze: Architect zwischen Kunst und Hof, 1784-1864* (Munich, 2000), with an accompanying CD-Rom including nearly 5,000 pages of the mass of documentary material in Munich, such as Klenze's extensive correspondence with Ludwig I and his ministers, his diaries for the 1830's and 1840's, and his memoirs, papers and architectural drawings. In striking contrast to Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841), Klenze's opposite number in Berlin, little has been written in English on Klenze, apart from David Watkin and Tilman Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal: 1740-1840* (London, 1987), ch. vi.

² Norbert Lieb, *München: die Geschichte seiner Kunst* (Munich, 1971), p. 237.

the royal palace.³ North of the Residenz gardens Fischer had already built the Prinz-Karl-Palais in 1803-6, with the first stone portico in Munich. His travels to France and Italy in 1806-8, had been financed by Count Maximilian von Montgelas (1759-1838), the King's principal minister of state from 1799 to 1817. He supported French Enlightenment and even Napoleonic ideals, secularising church property in 1803. The King re-established the Royal Bavarian Academy of Arts in 1808 where Fischer became a Professor. With the support of the Crown Prince, Fischer laid out a new area of Munich named after the King, the Max-Vorstadt (Max suburb). This was a kind of garden city, landscaped by the court gardener, Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell, with, at its centre, the circular Carolinenplatz (1810-33).⁴ It was ringed by twelve palaces of different design for Bavarian noblemen, including one for the Crown Prince.⁵ On a then unbuilt area to the west of the Carolinenplatz, Fischer proposed in 1809-10 to create a Königsplatz (king's square), well outside the city centre with a sculpture gallery on its north side. Fischer also designed the Karlstor (unexecuted), and built the Hof- und Nationaltheater next to the Residenz in 1811-18, commissioned by the King to imitate the Théâtre de Odéon in Paris.⁶

Fischer, a talented neo-classical designer, died aged thirty-seven in 1820, without realising that he would anyway have been supplanted by the more gifted Klenze with his ambitious patron, the Crown Prince. Leo von Klenze was born in 1784, the son of a Catholic lawyer, at Schladen in the Harz near Brunswick; so he was not South German, even though he is especially associated with buildings in Munich and Bavaria. His father sent him to Berlin in 1800 to study law, but he was excited by architecture, for example that seminal building, the Brandenburg Gate of 1789 by Langhans and designs such as a 'City Gate' by the brilliant young Friedrich Gilly.⁷ At the celebrated Berlin Bauakademie in 1800-03, Klenze made copies of drawings by Friedrich Gilly such as a powerful 'Blast Furnace' and 'Moonlit Street in Ancient Greece' with its surrealist flavour anticipating Giorgio de' Chirico. At the School of Architecture Klenze studied public building finance under Friedrich Gilly's father, David, and architectural history under the theorist, Aloys Hirt, an authority on Greek architecture. Klenze was inspired by the visionary design which Friedrich Gilly submitted in the competition run by the Berlin Academy in 1796 for what was called a 'monument of patriotism and morality' for Frederick the Great.

In the summer of 1803 Klenze went to Paris where he came under the influence of the rationalist architect and theorist at the Ecole Polytechnique, Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand.⁸ He seems to have met Napoleon's architects, Percier and Fontaine, and then made a tour of Italy in 1806-7, visiting Rome and also the Doric temples at Paestum which he painted in 1855.⁹ His architectural talent and courtly demeanour led to his being recommended as second court architect to Napoleon's brother Jérôme, who presided over a hedonistic court at the palace of Wilhelmshöhe, near Kassel, formerly seat of the Landgraves of Hesse. Klenze's first executed work, of which only the exterior survives, is the Court Theatre at Kassel of 1809-13, the

³ Winfried Nerdinger, ed., *Carl von Fischer (1782-1820)*, exhib. cat., Technischen Universität München (Munich, 1982), pp. 70-81.

⁴ Oswald Hederer, *Karl von Fischer: Leben und Werk* (Munich, 1960), pp. 50-3.

⁵ Winfried Nerdinger, ed., *Klassizismus in Bayern, Schwaben und Franken: Architektur-Zeichnungen 1775-1825*, exhib. cat., Technischen Universität München (Munich, 1980), pp. 212-14.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-85.

⁷ *Friedrich Gilly 1772-1800 und die Privatgesellschaft junger Architekten*, exhib. cat., Berlin Museum (Berlin, 1987), cat. no. 63, pl. 142.

⁸ There is no evidence that he was formally enrolled at the Ecole Polytechnique, though he seems to have visited Durand's studio in 1803. See Adrian von Buttlar, *Leo von Klenze: Leben, Werk, Vision* (Munich, 1999), p. 31.

⁹ Nerdinger, *Klenze*, p. 48.

facades in the style of Gentz and Langhans, the interior in that of Percier and Fontaine. Also at the court was the French architect, Grandjean de Montigny, whose book, *Architecture toscane* (1815), was to influence Klenze's neo-Renaissance work in Munich.

The Napoleonic kingdom of Westphalia collapsed with Napoleon at the Battle of Leipzig in 1813, and Klenze fled first of all to Paris where he published sumptuously his 'Projet de Monument à la Pacification de l'Europe', inspired by Gilly's Monument to Frederick the Great. In the hope of finding a new patron among the princes gathered at the Congress of Vienna, he set off for Vienna in 1814, where his various designs for monuments to the Napoleonic Wars of Liberation attracted much attention. On the way he met the person who was to transform his life, Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria, on 24 February 1815. Aged twenty-eight, the Prince was two years younger than Klenze, who recorded of this meeting, "Ah-ha, at last a German!" - thus the Crown Prince of Bavaria hailed me, seizing a tuft of my blond hair, "A warm welcome to you."¹⁰ On his second visit to Paris in 1815, Klenze again met the Crown Prince, who appointed him as his architect in November that year. In the following month Klenze moved to Munich where in April 1816 he was also appointed Hofbaumeister (court building superintendent), a post he held for forty-three years.

Born in 1786, Crown Prince Ludwig succeeded his father in 1825 as King of Bavaria. His robes, regalia, and throne at his coronation had a Napoleonic flavour,¹¹ though on his visit to Berlin in 1807 he had been shocked by its humiliating occupation by the forces of Napoleon, with the royal family exiled to Königsberg. He had himself reluctantly been forced to fight in the French army, which heightened his nationalism. He described Napoleon as the 'Arch Enemy of the German nation' because he abolished the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, replacing it with 'modern bureaucratic vassal states.'¹² Crown Prince Ludwig began to conceive the ambition of embellishing Munich with three new public buildings in a mood of nationalist and cultural buoyancy, and persuaded the Royal Bavarian Academy of Art to announce a competition for them in 1814. This followed Napoleon's defeat at Leipzig in 1813, when the King of Bavaria had switched sides to join Napoleon's enemies. The Crown Prince's new buildings were to comprise a monument to Bavarian soldiers who had fought in the Napoleonic Wars; a Walhalla, or national monument; and a museum for antique sculpture, a Glyptothek.

These projects reflected the ambitions of Ludwig's father and of Count Montgelas to turn the modest Residenz Stadt of Munich, with scarcely fifty thousand inhabitants, into a large European royal capital which would vie as a cultural centre with Rome, Paris, or Vienna. The Wittelsbach collections, extended by Ludwig, were to be opened to the public as part of an expression of Bavarian identity and national independence. This was accompanied by the King's renunciation of some prerogatives in 1818 so as to establish a liberal constitution, promoted by the Crown Prince. This included a two-chamber legislature with a royal and aristocratic composition, but even this went further than Montgelas wished, so he fell from favour. At the same time the Napoleonic flavour of aspects of the constitution was combined with Napoleon's love of courts, dukes, ceremonies, and dress, so that Munich could emerge as both a liberal and a courtly capital. It has been claimed that 'the place of museums in German

¹⁰ "Also doch ein Teutscher", so rief mir der Kronprinz von Bayern, meiner blonden Haare ein Büschel ergreifend zu, "seien Sie mir herzlich willkommen!" Oswald Hederer, *Leo von Klenze: Persönlichkeit und Werk* (Munich, 1964), p. 25.

¹¹ See his coronation portrait by Joseph Stiedler, 1826 in Nerdinger, *Klenze*, p. 52; and Hans Ottomeyer, *Die Kroninsignien des Königreichs Bayern* (Munich, 1979).

¹² Barry Bergdoll, *European Architecture: Neoclassicism to Art Nouveau, 1750-1890* (Oxford, 2000), p. 148.

public life during the nineteenth century was a legacy of the French Revolution', and that 'the opening of the French Royal collections to the public and the founding of the Musée des Monuments Français had further transformed the meaning and role of museums in revolutionary France.'¹³ German rulers had seen the way in which a museum could offer 'a particular interpretation of French history and the development of the French nation that contributed to the people's education as French citizens'.¹⁴ Though as late as 1815 the German states were still treated as the personal property of their rulers, German monarchs, now began to open their collections to the public in new purpose-built museums, notably in Munich and Berlin.

Crown Prince Ludwig's Glyptothek was a more personal statement, for it was built to house the antique sculpture which he had acquired on his Grand Tour of Italy in 1804-5.¹⁵ The prize was the Late Archaic pedimental sculpture from the temple at Aegina which had been discovered in 1811 by Foster, C.R. Cockerell, Linckh and Haller von Hallerstein,¹⁶ and which Cockerell had tried in vain to get for London. It was against the wishes of the Academy that Ludwig awarded the commission for the Glyptothek to Klenze, whom he sent on a mission to Paris to buy further antique sculpture for it. Klenze began by making alternative designs for it in what he described as Greek and Italian Renaissance styles.¹⁷

The museum, built in 1816-30, was to be an *Ur-Werk*, a work of primordial originality which was to be known in Greek fashion as a Glyptothek. Arguably the first public museum of its kind in the world, it was paid for by Ludwig out of savings from his privy purse. Though open to the public, the collections were still seen as the background to a princely way of life, for in the centre of the north range a private porte-cochère led into two handsome rooms for Ludwig's entertainments and dinners. Indeed, he used the whole buildings for festivities and torch-lit parties.

Klenze's choice of the Greek style was perhaps a little compromised by the rather un-Greek aedicules on the façade, but he explained to Ludwig in 1817: 'Just as Palladio became great and immortal through an appropriate adaptation of Roman architecture to the exigencies of his time and his country, I shall attempt to do likewise with the works of the Greeks; that is the only possible way to become more than a pale plagiarist.'¹⁸ The plan was inspired by a design in Durand's *Précis des leçons d'architecture données à l'école polytechnique* (1802-5). In the one-storeyed ranges, the collections were arranged in chronological and clockwise order from Egypt, to Greece, ancient Rome, the Renaissance, and the modern rebirth under Ludwig. In the Aegina Room, Cockerell's restoration of its pedimental sculpture was displayed. There were elaborate frescoes by Peter Cornelius and his pupils, with scenes from

¹³ Abigail Green, *Fatherhoods: State-Building and Nationhood in 19th-Century Germany* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 111-12.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

¹⁵ See Britta Schwahn, *Die Glyptothek in München: Baugeschichte und Ikonologie* (Munich, 1983), and, for a good account in English, James Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World from the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 62-70.

¹⁶ Hansgeorg Bankel, ed., *Haller von Hallerstein in Griechenland 1810-17*, exhib. cat., Munich, Palais Preysing (Berlin, 1986).

¹⁷ *Glyptothek München 1830-1980*, exhib. cat., Munich Glyptothek (Munich, 1980), pp. 237-8.

¹⁸ 'So wie Palladio durch sinnreiche Übertragung römischer Architektur auf seiner Zeit und seines Landes Bedürfnisse gross und unsterblich war, so möchte ich es mit der Griechen Werken versuchen; dieses ist der einzig mögliche Weg mehr als ein glatter Plagiant zu werden.' Klenze to Crown Prince Ludwig, 27 December 1817 (Buttlar, *Klenze*, p. 120).

Greek mythology and history. All the rooms contained richly polychromatic decoration in styles chosen to complement their contents. Sadly, none of this was restored when the museum was rebuilt after bomb damage in the Second World War.

Ludwig enjoyed playing off his architects against each other, Klenze recording:

The Crown Prince said to me the next day with a cheerful look on his face, 'But Klenze, don't you think that this is bound to annoy Fischer greatly when he daily sees you building the Glyptothek before his very eyes', and I answered that I did not hope so and would be sorry about that - but the Crown Prince seemed to enjoy contemplating this thought. Fischer lived right on the square where the Glyptothek was being built - he had been the architectural first love of His Royal Highness, had served him faithfully and with the best will for six to eight years, was now ill and at death's door and deserved sympathy and peace rather than this Schadenfreude. O Princes! Princes!¹⁹

The Crown Prince visited Rome fifty times and moved into the Villa Malta in 1818, encouraging the colony of German artists. In a painting by Franz Catel of 1824 he is shown in Rome in the Spanish wine tavern at the Ripa Grande.²⁰ Klenze is at the end of the table with other artist friends, including Thorvaldsen, Johann von Wagner, Carolsfeld, and Philipp Veit. In 1818 the Crown Prince visited Rome, Florence, and Mantua with Klenze, whose position he established as a government minister as well as an architect by his appointments that year as Privy Councillor at the Ministry for the Interior and Court Building Superintendent. Klenze controlled the whole of Bavaria's building programme from 1818 till 1843, like Schinkel in Prussia. The taxes raised to fund such work in a largely agricultural economy were a heavy burden on the people.

Unknown to his father, Prince Ludwig worked in secret co-operation with Klenze in 1816 on a plan for the northern development of Munich, immediately outside the Residenz and the old city wall at the Schwabinger Tor. They planned to create the Ludwigstrasse, a kilometre long, named after the Prince rather than his father, King Maximilian. As the entrance to the palace gardens, which had been formed in 1617, Klenze created a handsome new gateway, the Hofgartentor, in the French Empire style in 1816-17. It formed one side of the new Odeonsplatz at the southern end of the new street near the Residenz, which was to consist of private palaces and apartment blocks. Chief among these was the Leuchtenberg Palace, built in 1817-21 for Napoleon's step-son, Eugène de Beauharnais, viceroy of Italy. As we have seen, he had married Crown Prince Ludwig's sister, Princess Augusta, as part of the alliance with Napoleon. Karl von Fischer had made plans for a palace in Munich for him in 1810 and 1814, intending it to be in the grand new Königsplatz. After the fall of Napoleon, Beauharnais was created Duke of Leuchtenberg, hence the title of his palace, built from 1817. Klenze had by now ousted Fischer so it was he who designed it, not Fischer. But it was Ludwig who insisted on siting it in the new Ludwigstrasse near the Residenz rather than in the new

¹⁹ 'Der Kronprinz sagte mir am folgenden Tage mit freudigem Gesicht: aber Klenze, nicht wahr, das muss doch den Fischer recht ärgern, wenn er Sie vor seinen Augen täglich die Glyptothek bauen sieht und ich antwortete, das ich dieses nicht hoffe und es mir recht leid thun würde - aber der Kronprinz schien bei dem Gedanken so recht mit Vergnügen zu verweilen. Fischer wohnte grade am Platze wo die Glyptothek gebaut ward - er war die erste architektonische Liebschaft S.K. Hoheit gewesen, hatte ihm treu und mit bestem Willen 6-8 Jahre gedient, war jetzt krank und fast sterbend, und hätte in diesem Falle eher wahres Mitleid und Schonung als dies Art von Schadenfreude verdient. O Fürsten! Fürsten!' (Hederer, *Klenze*, pp. 29-30).

²⁰ Nerdinger, *Klenze*, p. 68.

Königsplatz, which was destined for nobler public monuments. Ludwig wrote furiously to Klenze, 'Never, never, and absolutely never will I tolerate it; if you go through with this you have damned yourself for ever in my eyes.'²¹

With a plan inspired by the Palazzo Farnese in Rome, Klenze's Leuchtenberg Palace was in the style of Raphael, Peruzzi, and Antonio da San Gallo, familiar from the plates in Percier and Fontaine's book, *Palais, maisons, et autres édifices modernes, dessinés à Rome* (1798). We can compare this with Charles Barry's similar work of the 1830's in the Pall Mall clubs in London. The Leuchtenberg Palace housed the Duke of Leuchtenberg's collection of Italian sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings, as well as work by contemporary German artists. Its southern pendant, the Odeon, was a concert hall built by Klenze in 1826-8. It helped form the Odeonsplatz, with Klenze's Hofgartentor on the opposite side. Similar to the Leuchtenberg Palace was the vast Herzog-Max-Palais (1828-31; demolished 1936) which Klenze built round two courtyards in the Ludwigstrasse for Duke Maximilian in Bayern.²² Its facades were in the Renaissance style approved by Ludwig, while its austere entrance hall and its Pompeiian Room had a Schinkel-esque flavour, contrasting with the Room of Heroes, which was rich with mythological frescoes.

In 1820-23 Klenze made designs for the Pinakothek, a picture gallery with a Greek title, like the Glyptothek.²³ It was built in 1826-36 to house the fabulous Wittelsbach collections, which Ludwig opened to the public, rather as the King of Prussia was rehousing the Hohenzollern collections in the Altes Museum designed by Schinkel. Visitors were reminded that the Pinakothek was an act of royal munificence, for it contained a Founders' Chamber with portraits of the Wittelsbachs, who had created the collection. Built of brick (*Backsteinbau*), the Pinakothek was functional: indeed, Klenze said it designed itself, with top-lit galleries down the centre and north-facing cabinet rooms. The windows along the front lit not galleries but a twenty-five bay long loggia decorated after Raphael by Cornelius and others to represent the development of painting, beginning with Italy at one end and northern Europe at the other, and meeting in the middle with Raphael, on whose birthday the foundation stone of the building was laid. Justifying the Greek name of the museum, a collection of Greek vases was displayed in its large vaulted basement, decorated appropriately with Grecian ornament.

After ascending the throne in 1825, Ludwig immediately began to enlarge the historic electoral and now royal palace, the Residenz.²⁴ A rich assembly of buildings from the sixteenth century onwards, it was one of the first of its kind to have display rather than military defence as its main function. Plans for reconstructing this rather haphazard assembly of buildings had been made by four architects between 1799 and 1809, the last of them Fischer. The Königsbau (King's Building), built by Klenze in 1825-34, was based at Ludwig's request on the Palazzo Pitti in Florence of the 1450's to which Klenze added the pilasters of Alberti's Palazzo Rucellai. Klenze used drawings of the Palazzo Pitti made by Fischer. We should also note that in 1823-4 Klenze and the Crown Prince had visited Florence, Venice, and Palermo.

²¹ 'Nie und nie und nimmermehr werde ich das zulassen, wenn Sie dies tun, haben Sie es bei mir auf ewig verschüttet' (Hederer, *Klenze*, p. 210).

²² See Bettina Corssen, *Das Herzog-Max-Palais, Magisterarbeit* (Munich, 1994).

²³ See Peter Böttiger, *Die Alte Pinakothek in München* (Munich, 1972), and Sheehan, *Museums* (2000), pp. 121-5.

²⁴ Eva-Maria Wasem, *Die Münchener Residenz unter Ludwig I* (Munich, 1981).

The Königsbau contained Ludwig's private rooms on the ground floor, some in the Empire Style²⁵ and some with a Niebelungen fresco cycle by Schnorr von Carolsfeld.²⁶ The Königsbau was part of the whole royal town-planning project, for it forms one side of the Max-Joseph Platz with, in the centre, a statue of King Max Joseph by the sculptor Rauch, based on sketches by Klenze after the King's death in 1825.²⁷ Opposite the Königsbau, Klenze built the Post Office in 1834-8. This was an eighteenth-century palace to which he added a richly polychromatic arcade inspired by the form of Brunelleschi's Foundling Hospital in Florence. The Max-Joseph Platz thus resembled a plate by Durand, Klenze's old master, in his *Recueil et parallèle des édifices de tout genre* (1800). On the third side of the square was the Court and National Theatre built by Fischer for Ludwig's father in 1811-18 as the largest opera house in Europe. With Fischer's typical bad luck, it was destroyed by fire in 1823 and rebuilt by Klenze who added the upper pediment.

Back in the Residenz, Klenze built the Allerheiligenhofkirche (Court Church of All Saints) in 1826-7.²⁸ Because it was built solidly of Kelheim sandstone, whereas the rest of the Residenz is largely of rendered brick, it was less damaged in the Second World War than the rest. Klenze's façade is a competent essay in the late Romanesque of Northern Italy and Germany, while for the interior he took a royal model, the twelfth-century Cappella Palatina in Palermo, which Ludwig had visited in 1817 and, as we have seen, visited again with Klenze in 1823. In Klenze's rich interior the frescoes and mosaics with liberal use of gold ground were by Heinrich Hess. Klenze also added galleries and domes from models in Durand, and took some inspiration from St Mark's in Venice which he visited in 1826.

Four years before, Klenze had published a book called *Directions on the Architecture of Christian Worship* which unusually, was published at public expense and distributed free.²⁹ The *Rundbogenstil* (round-arched style) appealed to many as a compromise between antiquity and the middle ages, Klenze believing that Early Christian architecture had preserved something of the spirit of antique architecture. He argued this in 1830 in his *Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe* (Collection of Architectural Designs), the same title which Schinkel had adopted in publishing his own works. Klenze curiously claimed that Greek architecture, the most perfect model, comprised two periods, one trabeated, the other round-arched. So he had his cake and ate it! The Early Christian basilica also appealed to those who felt that the church had lost spiritual as well as architectural sincerity in the Baroque period.

In 1820 Klenze designed the north entrance front of the Residenz, the Festsaalbau (Festive Assembly Room Building), which contained a grandiose new throne room. This ambitious project, not built until 1832-42, involved the demolition of the grand corridor of 1614, known as the Grosse Hirschgang, though the southern portion of Klenze's long façade, with the throne room in the centre, was a veneer to the existing building. He provided the walls of the Queen's Saloon with Raphaelesque grotesques of a kind which he also added to his nearby Hofgarten arcade in 1838. Klenze's interest in polychromy was heightened by seeing Thorvaldsen restoring with colour the Aegina marbles for the Glyptothek, and he was later struck by the vibrancy of Greek colour on his visit to Athens in 1834. As a result he built a

²⁵ On Klenze as a designer of furniture and interiors, see Veronika Schaefer, *Leo von Klenze, Möbel und Innenräume: Ein Beitrag zur höfischen Wohnkultur im Spätempire* (Munich, 1980).

²⁶ Gerd-Helge Vogel, *Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld und die Kunst der Romantik* (Greifswald, 1996).

²⁷ For a contemporary watercolour showing the unveiling of the statue in 1835, see Nerdinger, *Klenze*, p. 359.

²⁸ Günther-Alexander Haltrich, *Leo von Klenze: Die Allerheiligenhofkirche in München* (Munich, 1983).

²⁹ Leo von Klenze, *Anweisung zur Architektur des christlichen Cultus* (Munich, 1822; reprinted Nördlingen, 1990, with an Introduction by Adam von Buttlar).

garden building in 1836-7, a circular temple known as the Monopteros, on the lake in the Englischer Garten, the royal garden which from 1789 the Elector had turned into a picturesque public park by the court gardener, Ludwig von Sckell. The temple survives with all its polychromy and was studied by C.R. Cockerell³⁰ and by T.L. Donaldson,³¹ to whom Klenze sent a drawing of it because Donaldson had discovered and brought back to London fragments of polychromy from the Temple of Hephaestus in Athens which were used by Klenze.³²

Closing the Ludwigstrasse at the south end is the Feldherrnhalle (Hall of the Field Marshals), designed by Klenze's principal rival, Friedrich von Gärtner.³³ He had been trained in Paris under Durand, like Klenze, and also under Percier. It was convenient for Klenze that Gärtner, like his other rival, Fischer, predeceased him, dying in 1847 aged fifty-five. However, Klenze's designs for the Feldherrnhalle were in the Greek Doric style, in opposition to the wishes of Ludwig, who wanted a version of the fourteenth-century Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence, which had marked a shift from Gothic to Renaissance with its round arches. The commission thus went to Gärtner, who obligingly followed the Loggia, placing statues by Ludwig Schwanthaler of Field Marshals Tilly and Wrede in its arches.³⁴ The Feldherrnhalle was paid for by Ludwig who laid its foundation stone on 18 June 1841, the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo. He opened it three years later on 18 October, the anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig. These were his two favourite dates. (In contrast, its Florentine source, the Loggia dei Lanzi, was a civic building rather than a military monument, and was adorned with seven marble statues of the Virtues.)

The other - north - end of the Ludwigstrasse was mainly dedicated to public buildings also designed by Gärtner, including the Ludwigskirche built in 1829-44 in an Italian Romanesque style next to the State Library, which he also designed. Nearby he closed the street with a square dominated by the Siegestor (Gate of Victory), an idea by Klenze. Gärtner built it in 1843-54 to rival the Roman triumphal arches recently erected in Paris, London, and Milan. Modelled on the arch of Constantine in Rome, it was dedicated to the Bavarian army, which was represented in sculpture by Johann von Wagner.

Gärtner studied the Greek temples on Sicily, publishing a book of lithographs on them in 1819.³⁵ In that year he also came to London at the invitation of C.R. Cockerell, who had excavated in Sicily in 1811-12.³⁶ The exciting discoveries at the Temple of Jupiter Olympus at Agrigento were a link between Gärtner, Klenze, and Cockerell.³⁷ Indeed, Klenze made a study tour of southern Italy and Sicily in 1823-4, in particular the Greek temples at Paestum,

³⁰ Cockerell's opinions on Klenze's polychromatic building in Munich are recorded in his unpublished MS 'Notes on German Architecture' (Cockerell Papers, British Architectural Library, Cock 1/99-102).

³¹ See Richard John, 'T.L. Donaldson: The Last of the Old Gods?', BA thesis, Department of History of Art, University of Cambridge, 1987.

³² Some of these were included in a coloured plate prepared for the British Museum in 1834 and published in *RIBA Transactions*, 1, no. 2 (1842), pp. 101-8.

³³ Oswald Hederer, *Friedrich von Gärtner (1792-1847): Leben, Werk, Schüler* (Munich, 1976), pp. 157-61.

³⁴ Frank Otten, *Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler (1802-48): Ein Bildhauer unter König Ludwig I von Bayern* (Munich, 1970), pp. 138-9 and pls 202-3.

³⁵ Friedrich von Gärtner, *Ansichten der am meisten erhaltenen griechischen Monumente Siciliens* (Munich, 1819).

³⁶ See Pieter Broucke, *The Archaeology of Architecture: Charles Robert Cockerell in Southern Europe and the Levant, 1810-1817*, exhib. cat., Yale Center for British Art, 1993.

³⁷ David Watkin, 'C.R. Cockerell and the Role of Archaeology in Modern Architecture', *The Classicist*, New York, Institute for the Study of Classical Architecture, 2 (1995-96), pp. 16-24.

Selinunte and Agrigentum.³⁸ His principal remaining buildings are public monuments in which he used this knowledge, such as the Walhalla.³⁹

As we have seen, Ludwig visited Berlin in 1807 when, shocked by its humiliating occupation by Napoleon's army, he was filled with a passion to create a monument to Germanness. He hated the spoliation of his beloved Italy by Napoleon. With no firm idea of the architectural form the monument should take, Ludwig began commissioning busts (of which there were to be a hundred) from Schadow and Rauch. The concept of the national memorial can be traced back through Renaissance Italy to Plato's republic, where public memorials were set up by the guardians to serve as moral examples. William Kent's Temple of British Worthies at Stowe (1733) is perhaps the first purpose-built architectural monument to national genius.⁴⁰ In the age of the Enlightenment, such monuments were recommended by Laugier, Milizia, and Hirschfeld in his monumental book on garden and landscape design in which he elaborated what he called patriotic garden art.⁴¹ One model for Klenze was the monument to Frederick the Great, commissioned by the Berlin Academy in 1796 as a monument of morality and patriotism. Another precedent was the Pantheon in Rome, which Ludwig visited in 1805, and the church of Ste Geneviève in Paris, which he saw in 1806 after it had become the Panthéon in 1791.

Following the defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig in 1813, Ludwig announced a prize competition for the Walhalla and other public buildings in Munich in February 1814. The Walhalla was to be a Greek temple to German culture, rising from a three-tiered platform. It was the Swiss historian, Johannes von Müller, with whom Ludwig was in correspondence over the selection of those to be commemorated with busts, who suggested the title Walhalla on the basis of his study of Nordic and Ossianic legend. Of the fifty-one architects who entered the competition of 1814-16 we know the names of only a few: these include Klenze, Schinkel, Hübsch, Speeth, and Ohlmüller, who dared submit a striking Gothic design.⁴² Ludwig's choice of a peripteral Doric temple was criticised by the Romantics including the painter, Peter von Cornelius, who urged Gothic as the German style in a letter to Ludwig in 1820. Schinkel had shown the national symbolism of Gothic in such paintings as *Mediaeval City on a River* (1815), which included a German cathedral below a rainbow.⁴³ Klenze produced a similar image in 1839 of his Walhalla with the nearby church of S. Salvator above the Danube.⁴⁴

No winner was announced in the prize competition for the Walhalla and in 1819 Crown Prince Ludwig commissioned new designs from Klenze, who was by now his favourite architect. Klenze preferred a modern centrally-planned building which he felt would better symbolise the pan-Germanic Elysium. In 1819-20 he drew up these plans for a circular Walhalla, though Ludwig's visit to the Greek temples of Paestum and Sicily with Klenze in 1818 had convinced Ludwig that the Walhalla must be a modern equivalent to those temples and enjoy a similar natural setting. Klenze began designing his great temple in 1821, but the

³⁸ *Ein Griechischer Traum: Leo von Klenze der Archäologe*, exhib. cat., Munich Glyptothek (Munich, 1985), pp. 123-46.

³⁹ Jörg Traeger, ed., *Die Walhalla: Idee, Architektur, Landschaft* (Regensburg, 1979; rev. ed., 1980).

⁴⁰ David Watkin, 'The Walhalla', *Arquitectura* (February, 1990), pp. 63-92.

⁴¹ Christian Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (5 vols, Leipzig, 1779-85), simultaneously published in France as *Théorie de l'art des jardins* (reprinted Geneva, 1973), vol. 3, section V, 'Des statues, monuments & inscriptions', pp. 142-92, *passim*.

⁴² Nerdinger, *Klassizismus*, p. 333.

⁴³ Michael Snodin, ed., *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, exhib. cat. (New Haven and London, 1991), cat. no. 22, p. 104.

⁴⁴ Norbert Lieb and Florian Hufnagel, *Leo von Klenze: Gemälde und Zeichnungen* (Munich, 1979), pl. iv.

site above the Danube was not fixed till after 1825. It was built from 1830-42 as the greatest architectural monument of German idealism, rising on its hill-top high above the level of ordinary life.⁴⁵ This site was, at the same time, ‘a key juncture in the new networks of roadways and canals by which Ludwig set out to underscore Bavaria’s modernity and its role as a crossroads of a future united Germany’.⁴⁶ Visitors were taken by steam boat from Regensburg on a carefully scripted voyage up and through the Walhalla which ‘was built, so the King wrote, that the German might be more German and better leaving it than when he had arrived’.⁴⁷ He said at its opening ceremony in 1842 that it would mean that ‘all Germans, from whatever clan, might always feel that they have a common fatherland’.⁴⁸ In fact, the political implications of the Walhalla were uncertain, and the definition of Germanness for him was those who spoke German and related languages, so the busts of great men in the building included Swiss and Dutch.

After his visit to the Walhalla in 1840, Turner painted *The Opening of the Walhalla* in 1842.⁴⁹ It was exhibited in Munich in 1845 but, unfamiliar with Turner’s steamy romanticism, the Germans ridiculed it for its topographical inexactitude and returned it, damaged, to London. More to their taste would have been the faithful painting called *The Architects of King Ludwig I of Bavaria* (1848) by Wilhelm von Kaulbach, court painter from 1837, who included Klenze’s early design for the Walhalla in the background.⁵⁰ His painting also captured the world of building, craft, and poetry, that sense of brotherhood akin to the contemporary Nazarene movement in painting: Klenze appears on the extreme left, and Voigt, Ziebland and Ohlmüller are also shown, together with Gärtner in a long brown coat.

Greece now became important to Ludwig and to Klenze, who paid his first visit to Athens in 1834, partly on a secret political mission. His painting, *Ancient Athens*,⁵¹ which shows his urban sense and love of polychromy, features the mysterious figures of giants inspired by those at the Temple of Olympian Zeus at Agrigento. Both he and Cockerell made restorations of this temple. Following Greek Independence, when the kingdom of Greece was set up, the throne was offered at the Congress of London in 1832 to the second son of Ludwig of Bavaria, Prince Otto (1815-67), a boy of seventeen. Ludwig was overjoyed at this realisation of his ambition of linking Germany with ancient Greece. Thus, just as King Ludwig I of Bavaria made Munich the Athens of the nineteenth century, so did King Otto I of Greece turn Athens itself into a second Munich, with the help of his father’s architects and troops from the Bavarian army. Klenze produced a city plan, with designs for a royal palace, museum and government buildings, and even a pioneering conservation scheme for the protection of the ancient sites from decay and looting. Gärtner eventually won the commission for the palace, while in 1851-3 Klenze designed the Catholic cathedral of St Dionysus. Built from 1860, it was conceived, at King Otto’s request, as an Early Christian and Neo-Renaissance basilica.

Klenze also worked outside Munich for yet another monarchy, the Russian. On a visit to Munich in 1838, Czar Nicholas I was taken by Klenze to the Glyptothek and the Pinakothek.

⁴⁵ The building was well-known outside Germany. See, for example, the enthusiastic account by John Woolley, ‘The Walhalla’, *Civil Engineer and Architect’s Journal*, 6, April 1843, pp. 109-14.

⁴⁶ Bergdoll, *European Architecture*, p. 150.

⁴⁷ ‘Die Walhalla sei errichtet, so schrieb er, “auf das teutscher der Teutsche aus ihr trete, besser als er gekommen”’ (Traeger, *Walhalla*, p. 17).

⁴⁸ Sheehan, *German History*, p. 527.

⁴⁹ Tate Gallery, London.

⁵⁰ Nerdinger, *Klenze*, p. 22.

⁵¹ Lieb and Hufnagl, *Klenze*, pl. xv.

The old Winter Palace in St Petersburg had been damaged by fire in 1837, thus encouraging the Czar to think of building a truly vast new Hermitage Museum for the imperial collections. He invited Klenze to St Petersburg, where the Hermitage rose from his designs in 1839-51. It is linked with Rastrelli's Winter Palace and Quarenghi's Hermitage Theatre to form an extravagant setting for court entertainment. Its sumptuously polychromatic interiors give an impression of those formerly in the Glyptothek, though these were on a smaller scale .

Klenze exercised a supervisory role for state building throughout Bavaria, rather like Schinkel in Prussia. But, unlike Schinkel, he was involved in the reordering of the country through canals and railways as well as bridges.⁵² In 1836 he was a member of the Bavarian Railways Commission, inspecting iron construction in France, Belgium and England. In 1835 he was elected to membership of the (Royal) Institute of British Architects, which awarded him its Gold Medal in 1851.

Ceasing to be state director of buildings in Bavaria in 1843, he retained his post of court building superintendent, his three major public buildings of the 1840's being privately financed by Ludwig, who had commissioned them all between 1817 and 1836. But in the 1840's Ludwig's career was turbulent, partly because of his scandalous affair with the 'Spanish' dancer, Lola Montez, but also because of the events of the revolutionary year 1848. Following a call for reform in Bavaria, he was forced to abdicate, his son taking over as King Maximilian II.⁵³ The building projects of the abdicated monarch nevertheless continued, notably the Propylaea in Munich, built in 1854-62 from Klenze's final designs of 1856. It was important as the gateway from the west to the Versailles of the Wittelsbachs, Schloss Nymphenburg on the outskirts of Munich, now taken into the orbit of the replanned city. The propylaea can be related to Langhans's Brandenburg Gate in Berlin of 1789, which also marked the point of transition from the city, with its town palace, to the royal country seat, Schloss Charlottenburg. The Propylaea can be compared with the image of it in Klenze's painting, *An Ideal View of the City of Athens with the Acropolis and the Areopagus* (1846).⁵⁴ However, the pylons of Klenze's Munich Propylaea give it a more Egyptian flavour.

The Propylaea was built late enough to commemorate the Greek War of Independence, so Schwanthaler carved its pediments and friezes with scenes from the war and from the reign of Ludwig's son, King Otto of Greece - though ironically, in the same year the building was finished, 1862, he was deposed after a thirty-year reign. It forms the entrance to Klenze's Königsplatz, laid out by Klenze, of which his Glyptothek forms one side. Yet another monument was the Ruhmeshalle (Hall of Fame) on the south-west edge of Munich, for which both Klenze and Gärtner made designs in 1833-4, the interior by the latter anticipating that of the Royal Mausoleum at Frogmore (1862-8), executed by Ludwig Grüner and other German artists. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert had met King Ludwig on their long stay in Germany in 1856.

Klenze's Greek style won at the Ruhmeshalle, built from his designs in 1843-53 in the form of a U-shaped Doric stoa or colonnade raised on a high platform. It shows his deep understanding of ancient architecture, for it is close in form to the great Hellenistic altar of Pergamum, now in Berlin, though this had not been discovered when he designed it. Its

⁵² For the wide range of his activities in this capacity, see Winfried Nerdinger, ed., *Romantik und Restauration: Architektur in Bayern zur Zeit Ludwigs I: 1825-1848*, exhib. cat., Technischen Universität München (Munich, 1987).

⁵³ Sheehan, *German History*, pp. 631-2 and 661.

⁵⁴ Lieb and Hufnagl, *Klenze*, pl. viii.

purpose was to house in the colonnade behind its forty-eight Greek Doric columns eighty busts of prominent Bavarians. The two pediments and the ninety-four metopes of the frieze contain allegorical figures representing Bavaria, war, peace, art, and trade, carved by Schwanthaler, who also found time to execute in 1850 the colossal bronze female figure of Bavaria in the forecourt, a hundred feet high on its pedestal. Bavaria was much larger and more important than the monarchies of Hanover, Saxony or Württemberg; indeed, it aspired to a leadership role among the lesser German states, even to quasi great-power status alongside Austria and Prussia. To this day the great Munich Beer Festival, the *Oktoberfest*, takes place below the shadow of this building. (This was an early example of a *Volksfest* - events designed to induce popular national solidarity in nineteenth-century Germany. Another was the *Cannstatter Volksfest*, the Cannstatt People's Festival founded, not by the people, but by King Wilhelm of Württemberg in 1818.)⁵⁵

We have concentrated on Ludwig's architectural and artistic contributions to Munich, but he was also involved in the fields of science, finance, economics, politics and university education. His relation to Klenze, to whom he wrote nearly five hundred letters on aesthetic and architectural matters, led to him being compared to Pericles in a caricature of 1860.⁵⁶ The association between Ludwig and Klenze belonged to a German tradition of intimate relations between architecturally minded princes and their architects from 1740 to well after 1840 - from Frederick the Great and Georg von Knobelsdorff, through Prince Friedrich Franz of Anhalt-Dessau and his architect, Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff, to King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia⁵⁷ and Schinkel, and even to Ludwig's grandson Ludwig II and Wagner. A recent biographer of Ludwig I has described him as a monarch who presided over a parallel kingdom of the arts.⁵⁸ At the same time, he believed in his god-given role as an earthly ruler and was a dutiful and autocratic monarch, rather than a liberal one; which was fortunate for Klenze.

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⁵⁵ Green, *Fatherhoods*, pp. 138-42.

⁵⁶ Franz Graf von Pocci, 'Geh. Rath von Klenze und Perikles oder schon wieder eine Königliche Bestellung!', 1860 (Nerdinger, *Klenze*, p. 50).

⁵⁷ David Barclay, *Frederick William IV and the Prussian Monarchy, 1840-61* (Oxford, 1995).

⁵⁸ Heinz Gollwitzer, *Ludwig I. von Bayern, Königtum im Vormärz: Eine politische Biographie* (Munich, 1987), p. 745.