

Hospitality and Splendour:

The Case of Schloss Neuburg am Inn, c.1530

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The transformation of the mediaeval castle of Neuburg am Inn near Passau (figs. 1–4) – initiated by an important official at the Habsburg court, Niklas Count of Salm, in 1528 – may be regarded as a major yet widely unknown example of palace building and interior decoration in Early-Renaissance Germany.¹ Following extensive damage suffered in the nineteenth century, the 1920s witnessed the reconstruction of the most splendid part of Salm’s interior.² Notwithstanding a valuable documentation published by Julius M. Groeschel,³ this reconstruction seemed to close the chapter on Schloss Neuburg am Inn. Nonetheless, a minute re-examination of the remaining building complex, the study of archival material and the discovery of forgotten fragments of the original interiors require a fresh evaluation of Salm’s ambitious project from an art-historical point of view. In this essay, I shall focus on two areas: firstly, the design of the interior as the result of cultural transfer and, secondly, the particular function of the suite of rooms created by Salm.



Fig. 1 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, aerial photo taken from the South.



Fig. 2 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, photo of c.1910 of the East wing seen from the Inn, with the South wing already missing, whereas the section remodelled by Salm, the protruding chapel and the 'allt stokh' are still standing.

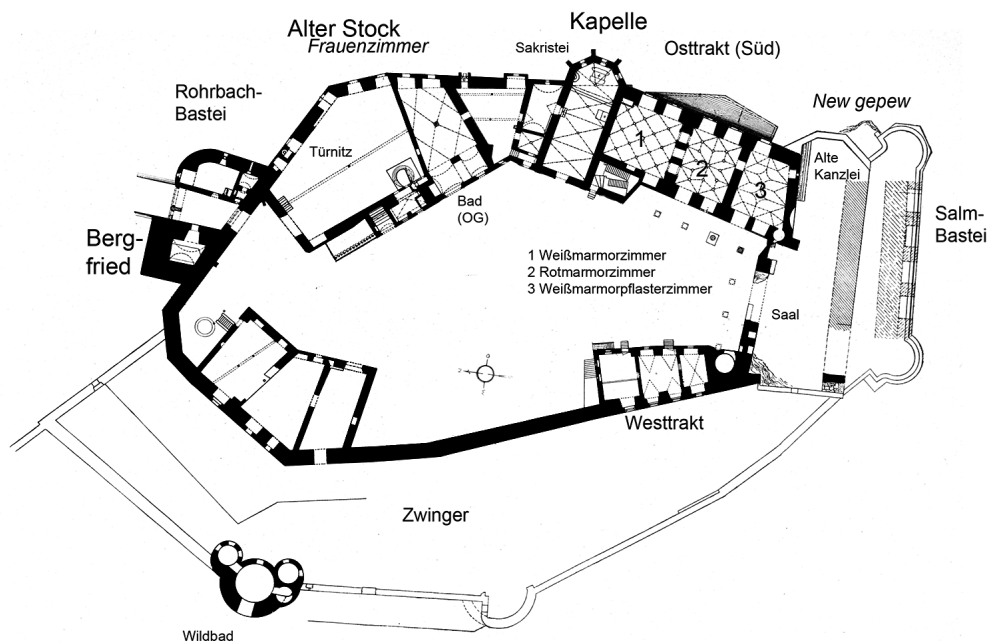


Fig. 3 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, plan of the ground floor with the labelling of the spatial entities as attested by the documents.

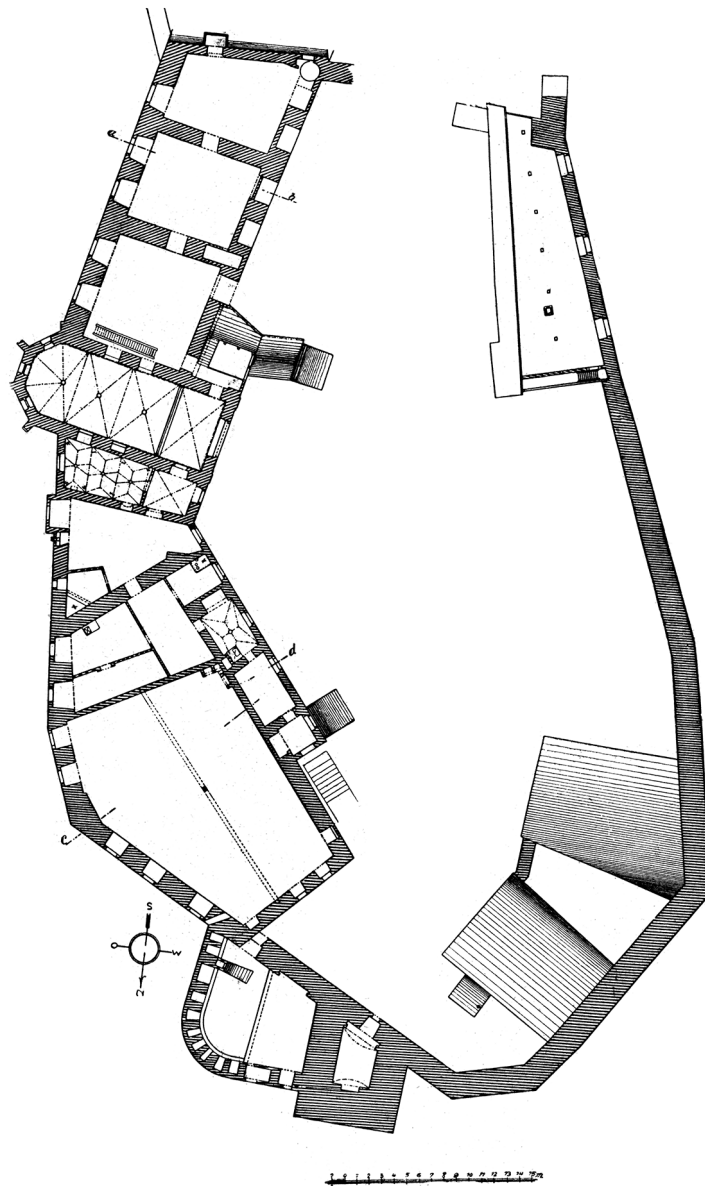


Fig. 4 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, plan of the first floor.

The Chronology of the Building

Firstly, we need to establish what we actually know about Neuburg castle. In a contract drawn up on 2 February 1529, Niklas Count of Salm states that he had engaged Wolf Huber – a painter active in Passau and a representative of the so-called Danube School – as architect at Schloss Neuburg and that he wished to employ Huber’s services in matters of architecture, painting and other areas.⁴ The patron, Niklas of Salm, can be identified with the son of the eponymous, more famous general involved in the capture of François Ier at the Battle of Pavia in 1525 who some years later defended Vienna against the Ottoman Turks. The younger Niklas was born in 1503, accompanied

his father to Pavia and was invested with the fief of Neuburg in 1528.⁵ He immediately embarked on the castle's renovation, which proceeded apace, as attested by the date 1531 mentioned in a surviving fragment of mural decoration (fig. 5).⁶ Further sources document that, by 1532, building work was already greatly advanced, although in 1538 it was still incomplete.⁷ After the death of his first wife, the marriage with a Hungarian lady in 1540 may have brought alternative interests. In 1543, Salm was temporarily imprisoned, whereupon Neuburg was confiscated by Queen Anna of Hungary and Bohemia, wife of Ferdinand I. The palace was only restored to Salm in 1547.⁸ No major changes were made after this point, allowing us to narrow down the main period of remodelling to the decade between 1528 and 1539. In the eighteenth century, the castle passed into the custodianship of the Bishop of Passau and, following secularization, into private hands. In 1810, the South wing was destroyed by fire (figs. 1–3). In 1881, parts of the interior decoration were sold off and, by 1908, the palace faced the threat of demolition. Finally, the decision to renovate and partially restore the lost interiors was taken; the result consists in the palace we see today.⁹



Fig. 5 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, fragments of a pilaster strip, probably from a door jamb, dated '1531', photomontage.

Disposition

Seen from a bird's-eye view (figs. 1 and 3), Schloss Neuburg presents itself as a complex that consists of an outer bailey and a main fortress, situated on an elevated position on the western bank of the River Inn. Surviving from the main fortress on the eastern side are an ample older structure, in 1545 called 'allt stokh',¹⁰ the chapel, and – adjoining it to the South – the section of the East wing remodelled under Salm. A two-storey loggia formerly ran along the courtyard façade of the East and the South wing, which was also renovated and extended by Salm but is no longer extant.¹¹ Only a few parts of the West wing, used as a service building, still survive. The ruins of a bathhouse built around 1530 can be found in the outer enclosure on the west side.

Layout and Interior Decoration

Salm focused his attention on the parts of the castle complex, offering the best views 'gegen dem Yn', i.e. towards the river valley. At his behest, the existing compact structure of two storeys running south from the chapel was decorated and furnished in a sumptuous manner.¹² An inventory of 1674 describes the first room on the ground floor as a 'herrliches und costbahrs gewölbtes zimer, umb und umb mit weiss schön märmelstein' (White Marble Chamber), the second as a 'herrliches zimer von rotten marmelstain' (Red Marble Chamber), and the third as a 'mit weissem märmel gepflastertes zimer' (Chamber of the White Marble Pavement).¹³ Of the wall panelling and its architectural framework in the White Marble Chamber, only a few sections of terracotta plinth moulding survive (figs. 6 and 7).



Fig. 6 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, White Marble Chamber, seen from the North East, photo of c.1920, focussing on the portal leading to the Red Marble Chamber. On the shelves are terracotta fragments of the interior decoration assembled by Groeschel.



Fig. 7 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, White Marble Chamber, northern bay of the eastern side, remains of terracotta moulding *in situ*.

The Red Marble Chamber still preserves a number of its original vault ribs and consoles (fig. 9). Its wall decoration, however, was reconstructed based on scholarly discoveries of the early twentieth century (figs. 8, 14–15).¹⁴ A double stove originally heated these first two rooms, with the White Marble Chamber having its own additional fireplace. In the smaller, unheated Chamber of the White Marble Pavement, the groins of the vault start and finish with stuccoed consoles. On the walls, sections of the original painted decoration datable to Salm's days were uncovered beneath eighteenth-century murals (fig. 10).¹⁵ In addition to those elements still *in situ* and to a great number of significant fragments preserved in Schloss Neuburg, a group of twelve important terracotta fragments from the original decorative scheme are housed at the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich (fig. 11),¹⁶ while others have been incorporated into the decoration of the Neues Schloss in Büdesheim, Hessen (figs. 12–13, 16).¹⁷



Fig. 8 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, Red Marble Chamber, wide-angle photo of the present state with the wall decoration reconstructed, seen from the South East.



Fig. 9 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, Red Marble Chamber, ribbed vaulting of c.1531 *in situ*.



Fig. 10 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, Chamber of the White Marble Pavement, northern side with stucco consoles *in situ*, in the right bay fragments of mural decoration datable to c.1531.



Fig. 11 Group of terracotta fragments from Schloss Neuburg am Inn, transferred to the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum München in c.1920.



Fig. 12 Group of terracotta fragments from Schloss Neuburg am Inn, probably the principal parts of the collection purchased by Gabriel von Seidl in 1884 and installed in the Neues Schloss in Büdesheim.



Fig. 13 Neues Schloss Büdesheim, chimneypiece with fourteen terracotta reliefs from Schloss Neuburg am Inn, present state.

Preservation and Reconstruction

Our understanding of the terracotta decoration of Schloss Neuburg is closely connected to the reconstruction of the Red Marble Chamber (figs. 8, 14–15), even though this decoration reproduces only some of the extant terracotta fragments, mostly those today preserved in Munich. In the decorative scheme reconstructed under Groeschel, based on the surviving material evidence, the red marble panels are set within an architectural framework, employing the formal vocabulary of the North-Italian Renaissance. Slender half columns, each decorated with vines and topped by a ram's-head capital, emerge from pilaster strips with a relief decor against a blue ground. They stand on delicate pedestals and are crowned with a three-part entablature. The reliefs are partly limed and partly gilded, so that the fired clay is accentuated by the colours of blue, white and gold. There is no structural relationship between the division of the walls and the decoration of the vault. The portals and the decorative mouldings above them were probably introduced in the

Baroque era.¹⁸ While the measurements, rhythm and architectural elements may be confidently reconstructed based on material evidence, the original motifs of the figural frieze in the Red Marble Chamber remain a matter of conjecture. In the reconstruction, the frieze features a central vase flanked by two male figures wielding clubs (fig. 15). In addition, Groeschel already knew two battle scenes and two children's bacchanals.¹⁹ Examples of all four scenes have survived in Büdesheim (fig. 13). However, while the border surrounding the two men with clubs makes it clear that they belong together, the same cannot be said for the bacchanals and battle scenes, each of which represents a self-contained composition and requires its own frame. The question of their original functional context must, therefore, remain open. The same is true of the group of fragments dated to 1531, i.e. of a vertical ornamental panel, which may have belonged to the original doorjamb between the Red and White Marble Rooms (fig. 5).²⁰ Despite these uncertainties, we can assume, based on the plinth mouldings surviving *in situ* in the White Marble Chamber (fig. 7), that the decor in both rooms was structured in a similar manner and that the marble panels in the White Marble Chamber appeared within an architectural framework of terracotta elements.



Fig. 14 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, Red Marble Chamber, wall panelling reconstructed, present state.



Fig. 15 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, Red Marble Chamber, detail of the reconstructed wall panelling and terracotta decoration: the pilaster strips with protruding half columns are crowned with ram's-head capitals, the frieze is decorated with a vase flanked by men swinging clubs, present state.

Print Sources

An analysis of the overall concept of the decorative scheme has to consider the genesis of the architectural and figural details. Some of the print sources for the reliefs were identified by Philipp M. Halm in the 1920s.²¹ The relief with the club-swinging men follows an engraving by Master IB, identified with Georg Pencz, as does the children's bacchanal with the grape press;²² the two battle scenes instead follow two engravings by Hans Sebald Beham that illustrate the story of Achilles (figs. 16 and 17).²³ An ornamental engraving by the monogrammist IG, active between 1522 and 1531, served as model for one of the pilaster strips.²⁴ In the case of the vertical ornamental panel dated to 1531 (fig. 5), the closest possible association seems to be a woodcut by Hans Weiditz.²⁵ However obvious the Italianate character of the formal vocabulary employed in Schloss Neuburg's terracotta decorations may have been, it is thus equally clear that the visual sources, as far as these can be established, had been produced by German artists within the previous decade.



Fig. 16 Terracotta relief of Achilles fighting Hector, from Schloss Neuburg am Inn, at present incorporated in the chimneypiece of the Neues Schloss Budesheim.



Fig. 17 Hans Sebald Beham, Achilles fighting Hector, engraving, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.

Levels of Cultural Transfer

The Italianate style was undoubtedly chosen on the initiative of the patron. In 1525, as already mentioned, Salm took part in the North Italian campaign against François Ier, which was characterized by lengthy encampments and periods of waiting in the region between Trento and Pavia.²⁶ This may have given Salm the opportunity to get to know Italian architectural ceramics, which had seen a great upsurge in popularity around 1500.²⁷ These ceramics may subsequently have provided the inspiration for his Neuburg project. It seems that Salm did not recruit artisans from Italy, however, or at least not at first, since – as Salm already recognized – the transformation of the printed sources into sculptural reliefs can be attributed, on stylistic grounds, to German artists.²⁸ Striking similarities to the Danube School point towards a collaboration between Wolf Huber and Master IP,²⁹ so that the result consisted of a conceptually innovative solution, inspired by the patron's impressions of North-Italian art and ingeniously interpreted by local artists. 'Ein

neue fatzon', as Dürer summed up the goal of ambitious patrons wanting to create something brand-new and unique in his *Underweysung der Messung*.³⁰

True enough, such a putative limitation on German masters appears to be contradicted by a documentary source informing us that in 1538 Italian brick-makers were summoned from Neuburg am Inn to Landshut.³¹ Given the stylistic homogeneity and the prominent 1531 date of the surviving Neuburg terracotta decoration, however, it is unlikely that these Italian experts had a hand in its production. It is more probable that they worked as stucco plasterers,³² particularly in view of the fact that the stucco consoles in Neuburg's Chamber of the White Marble Pavement differ from the rest of the interior decoration in terms of their material, form and style (figs. 10 and 18). The quality of their sculptural modelling is inferior to that of the terracotta consoles, as becomes obvious from a comparison of the ram's heads. At the same time, these stucco consoles exhibit references to a more mature, Cinquecento repertoire of grotesque motifs that are absent in the terracotta decoration. This raises the question of whether we are not looking here at a second – and in this case, more direct – level of reception of the Italian Renaissance.

Such a second level of reception is historically plausible if we consider that, in 1536, Niklas, Count of Salm, once again spent several months in Lombardy as part of a military campaign, namely when Ferdinand I sent troops to Northern Italy during the Habsburg-Valois conflict over the Duchy of Milan.³³ Salm's itinerary is only partly known, but we are well-informed that he paid a visit to the Palazzo Te outside Mantua shortly before Christmas 1536. There, Salm proved himself an enthusiastic patron of architecture and expressed his regret at having just missed Giulio Romano, who had left Mantua that very same day.³⁴

The presence of Italian masters at Neuburg in 1538 can perhaps be explained against this backdrop: the overwhelming impression that Mantua made upon Salm, possibly combined with his private realization that the Neuburg interiors of 1531 were in fact somewhat behind the times, may have prompted him to bring in artists directly from Italy. He may as well have been spurred on by his rivalry with Ludwig X of Landshut, who also visited Mantua in 1536 and, consequently, not only radically revised the plans for his own palace but brought in an Italian workforce.³⁵

It was, therefore, a question not just of style but also of technology. Bavaria in the 1530s evidently lagged behind her Italian neighbours when it came to the manufacture of stucco decoration to the extent that, in 1533, Count Palatine Ottheinrich contacted the Duke of Mantua with a request for relevant technical information.³⁶ The fact that Ludwig X studied stucco reliefs during his own trip to Mantua in 1536 and that Mantuan stucco artists were working in Landshut in 1539/40,³⁷ also supports the idea that stucco decoration – unlike terracotta, which had a long-established tradition in Bavaria – was a medium in which local masters had no experience and which still required Italian expertise. Sources indicate that these Italian masters circulated between courts, with exchanges documented, for example, between Landshut, Neuburg an der Donau and Neuburg am Inn.³⁸ A further indication that stucco plasterers from Mantua may have

been directly involved on the decoration of the Chamber of the White Marble Pavement is provided, lastly, by the shape of the stucco consoles. Although direct comparison reveals that the Neuburg consoles fall considerably short of the quality of the stucchi in the Palazzo Te, it is evident that they all drew upon the same repertoire of forms (figs. 18 and 19).³⁹



Fig. 18 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, Chamber of the White Marble Pavement, stucco console with girl's head *in situ*.



Fig. 19 Mantua, Palazzo Te, Camerino a Crociera, stucco console with girl's head.

Ambition and Reception

To summarize these findings: at Neuburg am Inn one encounters diverse strategies deployed by the same patron within just a few years to take up the artistic language of the Italian Renaissance: largely independent adaptation as well as, subsequently, direct import. The initial strategy of independent adaptation is characterized by oddities and misunderstandings. The terracotta frames are a case in point: Salm transferred an architectural decoration that, in Lombardy, he would have witnessed primarily on the exterior façades of palaces, to the interior decorative scheme of his formal reception rooms.⁴⁰ In these same rooms, Salm also made use of marble panelling, which in Italy was primarily reserved for sacred interiors, whereas in secular settings at best 'marmo finto' would be found (fig. 20).⁴¹ One notable exception was the 'Studio de' marmori fini' created in 1506 for Alfonso d'Este in Ferrara, whose luxurious marble-clad walls probably caused a stir even in their own day.⁴² It is true that we can deduce, from theoretical treatises on architecture and from ancient texts, that marble-panelled walls were a regular feature of the imperial palaces of antiquity.⁴³ Nevertheless, how could Count Salm justify creating such a decoration? Only on the grounds that the rooms served a very specific function.



Fig. 20 Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Magno Palazzo, Camera del Signor, wall painting simulating marble revetments.

Function

From the comparison between the description of 1545 with the earliest inventories, printed sources and ground plans, it emerges that the three vaulted rooms on the ground floor of the southern part of the East wing were not originally conceived as a 'sala terrena' or even as garden rooms, as Wilfried Hartleb proposed.⁴⁴ Rather, they were structured as a suite of two rooms heated by a double stove (White and Red Marble Chamber) plus a third room without heating (Chamber of the White Marble Pavement). The latter gives access onto a balcony and on the side of the courtyard it is connected, via a spiral staircase inside the wall, with the room above, which is described in the inventories as a bedchamber. Adjacent to this wood-panelled bedchamber on the first floor were two stove-heated spaces: an audience room and a dining room.⁴⁵ The South wing, which is now gone and of which no ground plans survive, contained – as far as it can be reconstructed with the help of surviving inventories – one apartment and one hall per storey. In this case, the ground floor also appears to have been vaulted: a terracotta console that still survives *in situ* probably belonged to the hall.⁴⁶

As to the rooms in the southern part of the East wing, the first question to ask is whether the functions of the rooms on the ground floor can be reconstructed in analogy to those on the floor above them, i.e. whether they can be assumed to follow the same sequence of dining room, audience-cum-living room and bedchamber? In terms of their disposition, access and size as well as in terms of the distribution of their heating systems, the answer is in the affirmative (figs. 3 and 4). As far as their location at ground level on the courtyard side is concerned, we would generally expect to find rooms of such lavish and sumptuous decoration on the piano nobile. Salm appears to have ignored this tradition. Perhaps it seemed of minor importance given the elevated position of the castle high above the River Inn and the restriction of the newly renovated wings to two storeys.

If we accept the hypothesis of a functional analogy, the question then arises as to the use for which such a luxury apartment might have been intended. There is essentially only one conceivable answer: to receive visitors of the very highest rank, either royalty or members of the imperial family.⁴⁷ From Salm's perspective, such visits were greatly to be desired and would have seemed entirely within the realm of possibility. Were the royal couple to pay a visit to Neuburg, they could have been accommodated in the 'schönesten und gelegnisten zymer', the 'finest and best-situated rooms' reserved by Anna of Hungary for herself when the castle was confiscated in 1545.⁴⁸ During an occasional sojourn, the king or emperor would have found accommodation in the marble rooms, while his consort would have occupied the three-room apartment on the floor above. Their two bedchambers would have been connected by the small spiral staircase.⁴⁹

Intention

Whatever the verdicts on this conclusion, this highly abbreviated analysis of the interior decoration and functional structure of Schloss Neuburg am Inn reveals the owner's ambition to create an architectural complex that was innovative in its appearance, comfort and furnishing. The aim seems to have been not so much the patron's own pleasure but the satisfaction of guests of the highest rank. As a court official, whose prominent position was already assured by the high standing of his father, and as a man extremely ambitious in his own right, Count Niklas of Salm may well have seen his enfeoffment with Neuburg in 1528 as an obligation. He was to maintain and improve the fabric of the castle complex and to prepare it for the reception of royal visitors. Together with its convenient and attractive location between the royal residences of Innsbruck, Vienna and Prague, the task of creating a guest apartment for the sovereign himself offers the most likely justification for the exorbitant cost of the marble rooms. The choice of colour scheme may also have been tailored to the expected royal guest: red and white were an allusion to the coat of arms of the house of Habsburg. From the point of view of their iconography, representations of Hercules, and the battle scenes – probably based on Statius – showing Achilles fighting Hector (fig. 16) and of the Greeks fighting the Trojans, may be considered entirely appropriate for a guest apartment readied for Ferdinand I.⁵⁰ This would make it all the more explicable why Queen Anna should have reserved, apparently as a matter of course, the 'schönesten und gelegnisten zymer' during the palace's temporary confiscation. But although the ambitious Salm did everything in his power, there is no evidence that either Ferdinand or Anna ever visited Schloss Neuburg am Inn.

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Illustrations

Fig. 1 aerial photo, Klaus Leidorf, Buch am Erlbach.

Figs. 2, 6 photo of c.1910 and photo of c.1920 Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, München.

Fig. 3 Nicole Riegel, Bonn.

Figs. 4, 11, 12 Groeschel 1924, p. 37, fig. 44, p. 115, fig. 155, p. 49, fig. 56.

Figs. 5, 7, 9, 10, 14, 15, 18 Georg Satzinger, Bonn.

Fig. 8 wide-angle photo, Georg Thuringer, Passau.

Figs. 13, 16 Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Hessen, Wiesbaden.

Fig. 17 Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.

Fig. 19 Belluzzi 1998, II, p. 504, fig. 940.

Fig. 20 Camerlengo/Chini 2006, p. 289.

¹ The present chapter is conceived as a synopsis of a more detailed study on the building complex recently published in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*. For further evidence and documentation, see Riegel 2012, pp. 102–205.

² Riegel 2012, pp. 112–14.

³ Groeschel 1924.

- ⁴ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Wien, HA Familienakten K 15, Kon. 1, Neuburg am Inn 1544–1547, ff. 277r–v, edited in Riegel 2012, pp. 199–200. For Huber see Winzinger 1979.
- ⁵ Riegel 2012, pp. 105–06, n. 13.
- ⁶ First mentioned in Mader 1920, p. 182.
- ⁷ In October 1532, Count Palatine Ottheinrich, after visiting the castle of Neuburg am Inn, commented in his diary: '[ich] besach das schloß undt die gebew, wirdt ein schön haus [...]', see Rott 1912, p. 143. In 1537/38 two experts in brick and (probably) plaster work engaged at Neuburg am Inn were called to Landshut: Staatsarchiv Landshut, Kurbayern Hofkammer, Ämterrechnungen Rentmeisteramt Landshut, Nr. 1020 (1537), published in Riegel 2012, p. 109, n. 18.
- ⁸ Klaempfl 1865, pp. 92–95.
- ⁹ Groeschel 1924, pp. 49–50, 77. Hartleb 2012, pp. 185–211. Riegel 2012, pp. 112–14.
- ¹⁰ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Wien, HA Familienakten K 15, Kon. 1, Neuburg am Inn 1544–1547, ff. 143r–v, published in Riegel 2012, pp. 194–95.
- ¹¹ In a letter dated to January 1546, the South wing is called 'new gepew'. In the same passage the adjacent 'althanen' is mentioned: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Wien, HA Familienakten K 15, Kon. 1, Neuburg am Inn 1544–1547, f. 280r, published in Riegel 2012, pp. 198–99.
- ¹² Riegel 2012, pp. 121–26.
- ¹³ Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München, Hochstift Passau, Literalien 380, Urbar 1674, ff. 3v–4r, published in Riegel 2012, p. 202. In the present article the word 'zimmer' used in the document is translated as 'chamber' regardless of whether it is unheated, heated by a stove or by a fireplace.
- ¹⁴ Groeschel 1924, pp. 76–79.
- ¹⁵ Groeschel 1924, p. 54; Hartleb 2012, pp. 87–89.
- ¹⁶ Bayerisches Nationalmuseum München, Inv. 15/115–15/126. Inv. 11/112. Inv. 12/57 (lost).
- ¹⁷ See Riegel 2012, pp. 148–51 and passim.
- ¹⁸ Riegel 2012, p. 123 and n. 75.
- ¹⁹ Groeschel 1924, pp. 77, 95.
- ²⁰ Groeschel 1924, p. 99. See also Riegel 2012, pp. 154–55.
- ²¹ Groeschel 1924, pp. 114–25.
- ²² *The Illustrated Bartsch* XVI, p. 78, cat. nr. 35 (311) (Bacchanal) and p. 81, cat. nr. 45 (315) (Tritons).
- ²³ *The Illustrated Bartsch* XV, p. 62, cat. nr. 68 (142) (Achilles and Hector) and p. 63, cat. nr. 69 (143) (Greeks and Trojans); see Riegel 2012, pp. 157–8, p. 170, figs. 92–3.
- ²⁴ Berliner and Egger 1981, I, pp. 50–51, cat. nr. 343; see Riegel 2012, p. 156, figs. 72–3, p. 160.
- ²⁵ Joannes Boemus, *Repertorium librorum trium Joannis Boemi de omium gentium ritibus*, 1520; see Riegel 2012, p. 153, fig. 68, as well as the variant in Warncke 1979, II, p. 19, cat. nr. 72.
- ²⁶ The mission for Pavia doc. in Newald 1879, p. 112; for the itinerary of the troops see Steinböck 1977, pp. 40–44.
- ²⁷ See Bandera 1997. Albertini Ottolenghi and Basso 2013.
- ²⁸ Groeschel 1924, p. 120.
- ²⁹ Reisinger-Weber 2007, pp. 201–03. Hartleb 2012, p. 67. Riegel 2012, pp. 162–66.
- ³⁰ Dürer 1525 (1966), p. 82: 'dann gewonlich alle die etwas newes bauwen wöllen, wolten auch geren ein newe fatzon darzü haben, die for nye gesehen wer'.

³¹ See note 7.

³² There is coeval documentary evidence that terracotta experts, for example Zaccaria Zacchi who was active in Trento on behalf of Cardinal Bernardo Cles, worked in terracotta and plaster at the same time. See Gabrielli 2004, p. 178, n. 92.

³³ Hafner 1927.

³⁴ Ferrari 1992, I, p. 710; for further discussion see Riegel 2012, pp. 168–70.

³⁵ See Endemann 1998.

³⁶ Ottheinrich's letter is published in Ferrari 1992, I, pp. 570–71.

³⁷ Sarzi 1984/85, pp. 136, 140 (n. 34), 150 and 163 (n. 82).

³⁸ Diemer 1998, p. 209. See also above, n. 7.

³⁹ Riegel 2012, pp. 166–77. Mantuan decoration is amply documented in Belluzzi 1998.

⁴⁰ One might think of the façades of the Palazzo Mozzanica in Lodi or the Palazzo Beccaria in Pavia; see Riegel 2012, pp. 166–67, figs. 87–88. However, Salm acted in line with a contemporary European fashion of terracotta decoration: Hampton Court and the Château Madrid are the most prominent examples. See further documentation in Riegel 2012, pp. 181–82.

⁴¹ As an example for veritable marble panelling in sacred interiors might serve the church of Santa Maria dei Miracoli in Venice. Other examples in Riegel 2012, p. 184, n. 280. 'Marmo finto', i.e. painted wall decoration simulating marble revetments, was not only used in Roman palaces of the Renaissance, but also in Trento: Concurrently with Neuburg am Inn, in 1531, Cardinal Bernardo Cles had painted his bedchamber in the Magno Palazzo of the Castello del Buonconsiglio with a 'marmo finto' decoration. See Camerlengo/Chini 2006, p. 288.

⁴² Sarchi 2012, pp. 89–91.

⁴³ See the discussion of this issue in Riegel 2012, pp. 183–85.

⁴⁴ Hartleb 2012, p. 80.

⁴⁵ Riegel 2012, pp. 137–38.

⁴⁶ Riegel 2012, pp. 126–28, 139–46; the terracotta console is illustrated in figs. 28–29.

⁴⁷ The tradition of the guest apartment is discussed in Hoppe 2006. For further evidence on the occasional ground floor position of guest apartments, see Riegel 2012, p. 138, n. 140. The enlargement of the older two-room-apartment type corresponds an increasing diversification in the function and layout of princely palaces in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries; see De Jonge 2010.

⁴⁸ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Wien, HA Familienakten K 15, Kon. 1, Neuburg am Inn 1544–1547, f. 108r, published in Riegel 2012, p. 193.

⁴⁹ For the possibilities of coordinating apartments for male and female use, see Hoppe 2014.

⁵⁰ Riegel 2012, pp. 185–86.