

# LENZBURG CASTLE





Mrs Augustus Higginson  
with regards of  
Mr Ellsworth

Leuzburg July 30. 1924



# LENZBURG CASTLE.

EDITET BY

WILLIAM A. SHAW, Litt. D.

EDITOR OF THE CALENDAR  
TREASURY RECORDS AT H.B.M.  
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## PREFATORY NOTE.

**T**he historical portions of this brief account of Lenzburg Castle represent a very free condensation of a masterly monograph by Dr. WALTHER MERZ published at Aarau in 1904 under the title „Die Lenzburg“. The architectural portions contain an equally free rendering of an unpublished dissertation by Professor J. ZEMP, Ph. D., formerly Professor of Archæology at the University of Freiburg, and now of the Swiss National Museum, Zurich,<sup>1</sup> on the archæological and architectural features and history of the castle, compiled after a personal and exhaustive examination of the present structure.

W. A. SHAW.







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LENZBURG CASTLE 1906

THE Castle of Lenzburg stands to the South of the little Town from which it takes its name, on an elevation rising by easy ascents through wooded slopes on the North and East, and trailing vineyards on the South and West. The crest of the hill is an abrupt wall of perpendicular rock which furnishes a firm and imposing base for the varied and picturesque buildings of the wings of the Castle. This rampart of rock guards a plateau 150 metres East to West, and 65 metres North to South, round the fringe of which the castle buildings are stretched in a broken ring. From the lower slopes of the hill the aspect of the scenery is one of almost soft and undulating beauty, but from the castle wall itself a more varied panorama is unrolled — forest topped hills to the East and South, to the West the nestling town, and a gleaming stretch of plain to the North bounded once again in the distance by a line of hills.

The Castle buildings themselves from every side are indescribably picturesque, the massy foundations of boulder and the walls above, all melting into perfect harmony of contour and proportion, a contour the repose of which is unbroken even by the varied and irregular outline, where as on the East, the flanking turrets fling a challenge to man's hardihood, or where, as in the centre, the lines though softer are majestic still, or where again with the sinking sun those lines melt into the sinking plain, and buildings and nature around alike are indistinguishable.

Such harmony, born of the embrace between the art of man and the constraining gentleness of nature herself, has been perfected only by slow refining of centuries of growth. It is a harmony not of idea, but of effect, springing as it does from variety rather than from unity of style. Every stage of that slow growth, every phase of that varied style from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, has left its individual trace on the architecture itself; and speaks to-day with a voice as clear, and authoritative as the written record of the castle's

history. Indeed for a good portion of the life of the Lenzburg the architectural witness is the surer guide.

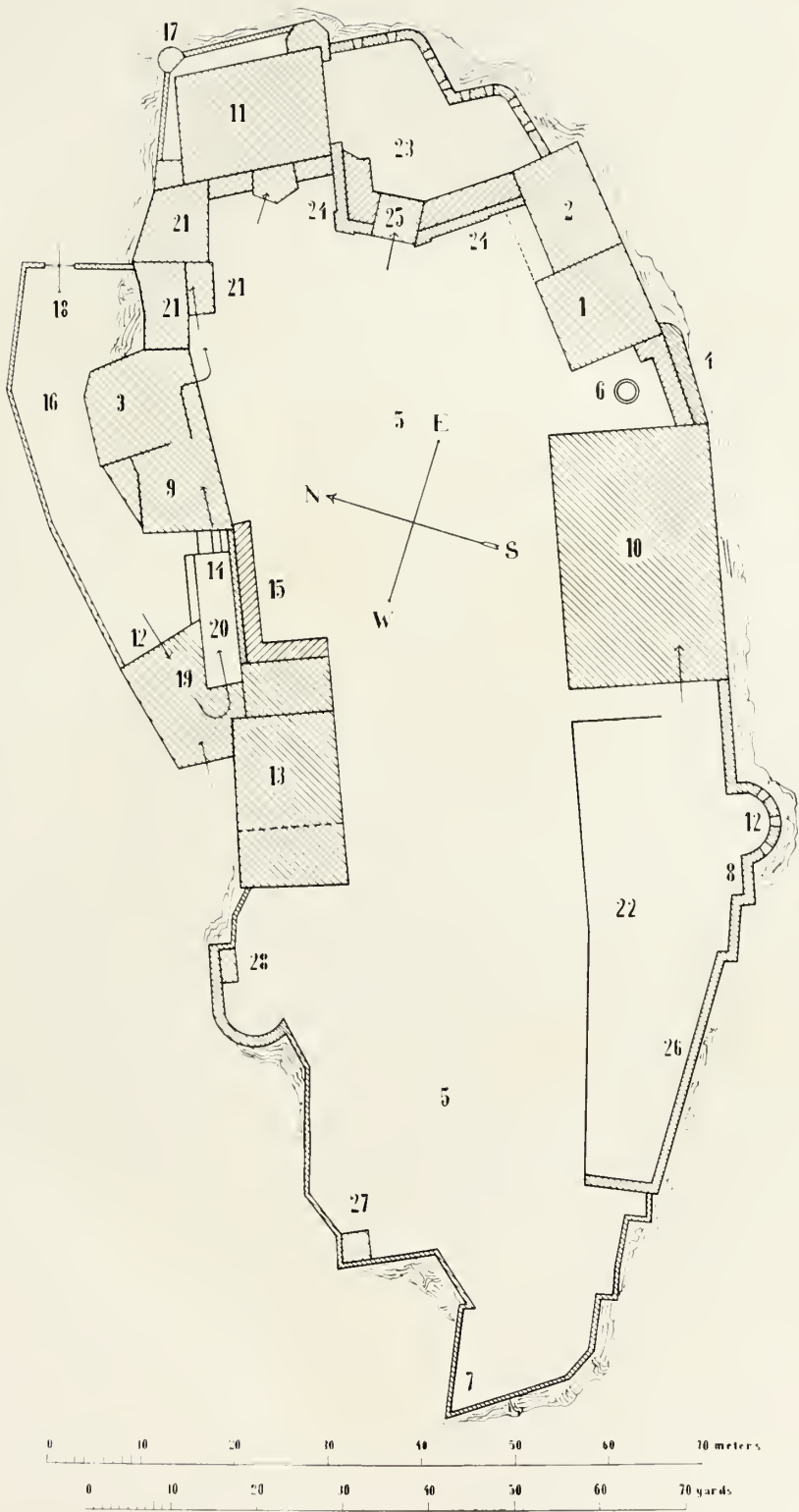
In the main the plan of the present structure, multiform and varied as it is, can be followed with ease. In the accompanying plate each detail of the castle is taken in chronological order.

1) The Dungeon. This is quite manifestly the most ancient portion of the Castle. Of the original structure nothing is preserved save in the basement and on the first floor-portions which probably belong to the 10th century. The oubliettes in the basement are mentioned as early as 1077. The basement was vaulted in 1593 to make it serve as a wine cellar. The first story still contains the wooden wards dating from the close of the 16th century which were made use of by the Bernese Governors. The North and East fronts of the Dungeon were demolished and reconstructed in 1729. This involved a complete modification of the interior. But in its turn the monstrous erection of 1729 was completely swept away in 1898 when the whole of the upper portion of the Dungeon was reconstructed. It now contains the library of the Castle and various rooms.

2) The ancient Palace or Hall of the mediaeval Castle: constructed in the 11th or 12th century. The basement was vaulted in 1599. The ground floor is known as Barbarossa's Hall. The semicircular doorway in the upper storey is probably of the 12th century.

3) The building containing the great wheel. Some of the foundations of this portion are mediaeval, probably of the 12th century. It probably formed originally a great tower containing the principal entrance. The existing building was probably built in 1518 or 1534, certainly before 1546. At that date it was completely open towards the Court Yard according to the views of Stumpf (1546), and Plepp (1628). The upper storey dates from 1719 at which era the wall towards the Court Yard, and the great opening were constructed. A relief bearing the arms, and placed above the great arch, is dated 1720. The wheel itself was restored in 1763.

4) The rampart, dating from the middle ages but rebuilt later. The wooden gallery dates from 1898.




PLAN OF BUILDINGS OF LENZBURG CASTLE IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER  
 PLAN I.



5) The Court Yard of the Castle, the western end of which now serves as a garden.

6) The castle well sunk in the solid rock. It is mentioned for the first time in 1369. In 1729 on the occasion of the demolition of the higher parts of the Dungeon the well yard was enclosed by a wall, and roofed in to form a corn magazine. The original conditions were restored in 1897.

7) Rampart: commenced in the Middle Ages. The  shape of several of the loopholes testify to considerable reparations in the 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> century.

8) Site of the ancient chapel: mentioned in 1369; completely demolished in the 17<sup>th</sup>, or 18<sup>th</sup> century.

9) The Principal Gateway or Guardhouse known as the Aarburg. This portion has undergone various reconstructions. Built first about 1335 it was rebuilt in 1518 and 1534. The small ogive shaped door is mentioned for the first time in 1560. A cutting in relief states that the principal gateway dating from 1595 was the work of Antoine Frymund master mason of Lenzburg Castle. The triangular adjunct to the North of the Gateway house was built in 1719.

10) The Knights' Hall, a Gothic structure of the 14<sup>th</sup> century containing two enormous rooms. On the ground floor, the South wall is slightly earlier in date than the other parts of this building. This South wall, probably built about 1340 by Frederick of Hapsburg, contains a superb series of Gothic windows still partly preserved. The other walls and the Great Hall on the ground floor were built by Duke Rudolf IV. of Austria shortly after 1361. In 1509 important alterations were made, when the wooden pillars, columns, rafters and ceiling were inserted. From the close of the 16<sup>th</sup> century successive modifications have been made with the object of transforming the Hall into a granary. A fresh ceiling was inserted between that of 1509 and the roof. On the first floor the Gothic windows were built up, and successively transformed. The remaining windows were re-constructed in 1559 and 1590, and in 1760 the Gothic windows on the first floor were replaced by 20 ugly rectangular windows. The whole building has now been restored to the condition in which it stood in 1510.

11) Bailiff's House probably built about 1460 by Adrian von Buben-berg; burnt in 1518 and restored immediately after. On the ground floor are two doorways probably dating from 1460, and a door and timbered ceiling of the year 1518. The turret at the East angle of this building was erected in 1624. The staircase turret fronting the great courtyard of the castle dates from 1630; the walls on either side were added in 1902.

12) Bastion: built in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This structure fell down, and was rebuilt in 1582.

13) The building now styled the Berner House. Originally this was comprised of three different portions which were united later under one roof. Of these the central portion which contained the corn mill is the most ancient. It was already standing in 1546. Two † shaped loopholes in the North East angle were constructed in 1595 to command the drawbridge. Of the other two parts that to the East contained the stables, mentioned for the first time in 1557. That to the West, styled the Postern House, was built in 1600. At this latter date the whole of the three portions were united and covered by a single roof.

14) The Drawbridge: constructed probably in 1557: reconstructed successively in 1572—4, 1584, 1698, etc., etc. Its small door is mentioned in 1560 and was reconstructed in 1573 and 1594.

15) Rampart: rebuilt in 1562 and again in 1564. On the side overlooking the Court yard this wall is provided with a wooden gallery which has been rebuilt by the present owner.

16) The little courtyard: its north wall built before 1576 and reconstructed in 1762.

17) The rampart or fortress wall, mediaeval in origin, but reconstructed later. The turret at the North East angle was built in 1587.

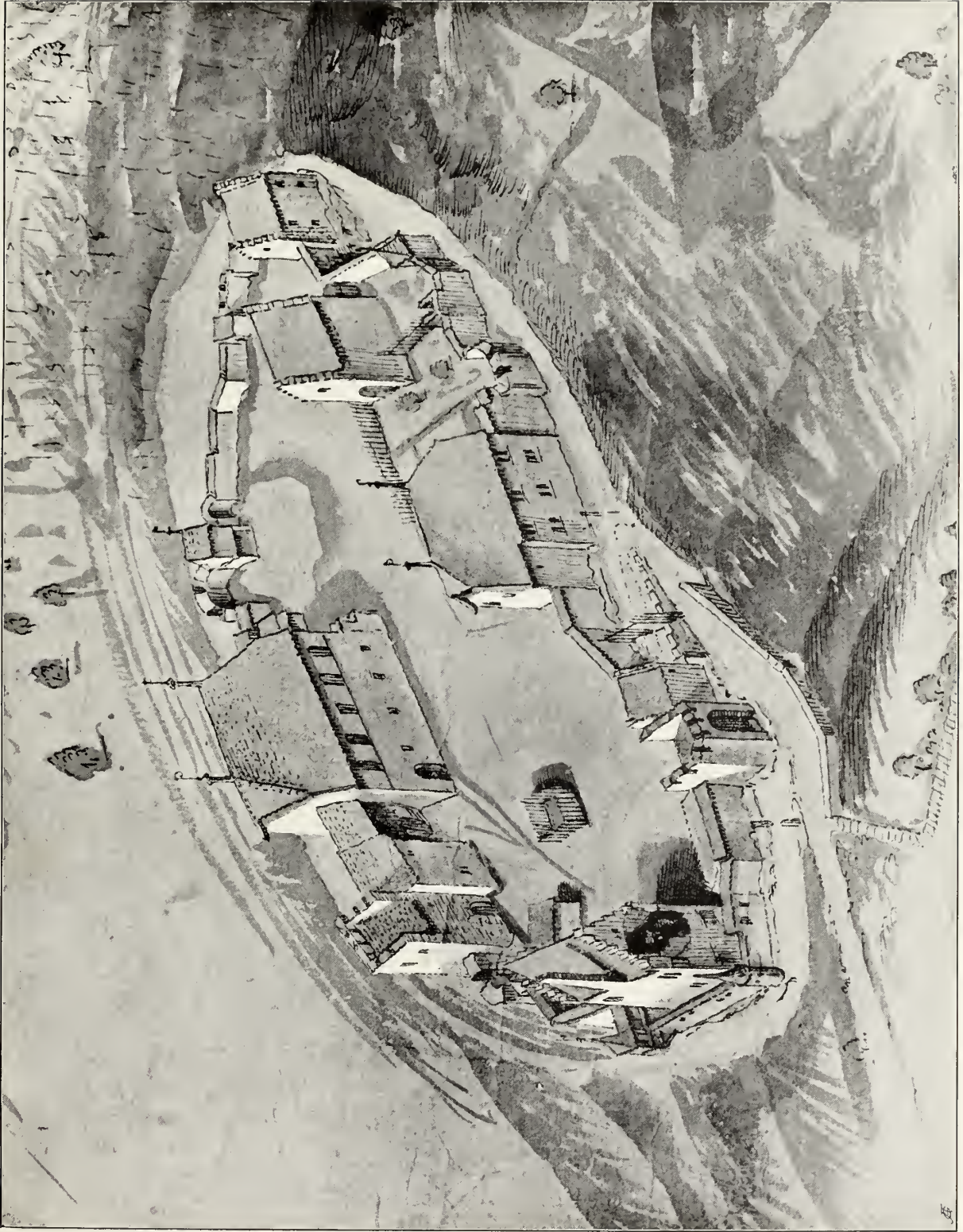
18) The exterior gateway entrance, dating from 1625.

19) The principal entrance and the Guardhouse: built in 1625 and enlarged on the West in 1760.

20) Passage and staircase: its northern wall built in 1625 and rebuilt in 1744.

21) Dwelling house abutting on the rampart. This consists of three distinct parts, viz.





BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE CASTLE OF LENZBURG FROM THE PLANS OF PLEPP (1624)



21) The laundry built in 1625, reconstructed, and two upper storeys added in 1754, the second storey containing a fireplace and a picture of the Castle bearing the date 1756.

21\*) Dwelling house built in 1763.

21\*\*) Staircase constructed in 1732 by the bailiff Daniel Sturler.

22) The Terrace with an alley of aged trees. The levelling of this terrace was commenced in 1625, and reparations were made in 1703 and 1740.

23) The East Bastion, built between 1642 and 1646 after the plans of Nicholas Willading of Berne, and of the engineer Werdmuller of Zurich. This bastion was in 1893 lowered by 8.70 metres to unmask the south face of Adrian von Bubenberg's house.

24) Wall of the Bastion looking on the Great Court Yard of the Castle. Like the bastion itself this dates from 1642—6. On its inside, facing the lowered platform of the bastion, galleries were constructed in 1901.

25) The Clock Tower: constructed in 1642—6 at the same time as the bastion. The framework of the clock is dated 1659.

26) Breastwork, or retaining wall of the Terrace: constructed in 1763 of squared stone in place of a more ancient one.

27) Small pavilion: of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

28) Small pavilion opening on the court yard: probably of the same century.

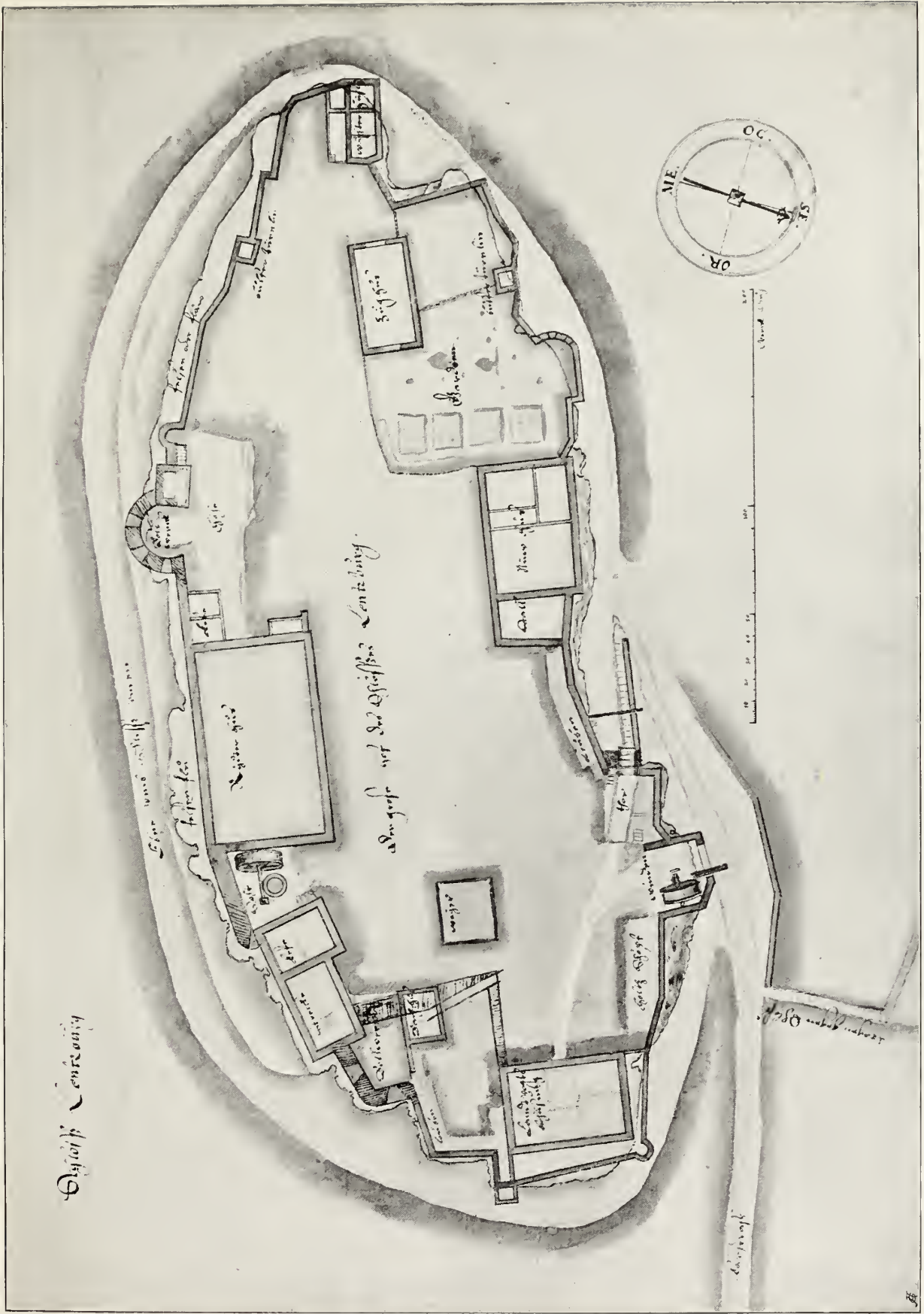
Such is the castle of to-day, described for the moment in mere skeleton outline. What then is its history? In very brief it is a miniature of the history of Switzerland herself from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, reproducing punctually all the phases of that history — the feudal, freedombringing strife of town with town, of petty dynasty with petty dynasty, of canton with canton, the upheaval of revolt against the hated Austrian, the golden afterglow of a proud but mercenary freedom, the rude incursion of revolutionary France, and since — the long decline of quiet unhistoric days through which the castle slumbers on unheeding, dreaming only, it may be, of its youth time of heroism. Throughout its history, as through that of Switzerland herself, there is traceable that remarkable, and permanent bifur-

cation of race and territory — Burgundian and Swabian — which has contributed more than any other cause to the shaping of the destiny of the Swiss nation.

The origin of the Castle of Lenzburg is lost in the mists of the hoariest antiquity. Its founder and builder we know not; nor can we guess its birth-time. The tradition which assigns to it a Roman origin is a disputable one and is capable only of such conjectural proof as can be deduced from the general distribution of the Roman roads through Helvetia, and the castle's commanding position among the cornfields of that province. The mighty Roman empire had fallen before the invading barbarian, the great popular migrations had spent themselves, and the invading barbarian had himself become christian and civilised, long before the name even of Lenzburg emerges into the dim half light of mediaeval history. From the first to the ninth century of the christian era the story alike of the stronghold and of the race which gave it its name is a blank such as the imagination can people with what shadowy forms it list.

The earliest inhabitants of Switzerland of whom we have definite knowledge were the Celts, divided in the times of the Romans into several tribes, but united loosely under the name Helvetians. In the first century before Christ they were subjugated by the Romans. But the unifying centuries of Roman rule brought no unification to Helvetia. Included at first under Belgic Gaul the western half, known as the Helvetii, became after the successful inrush of the Germans, a part of Germania Superior. The eastern half, the Vindelici, formed part of the separate Roman province of Rhaetia. The division which thus arose was destined to prove fundamental and enduring. For that unification which the Roman could not achieve proved still more incapable of accomplishment to the invading Teuton.

When in the fifth century after Christ the Visigothic power under Theodoric was engaging all the vigilance of Aetius, that hero and patriot who supported for nearly 20 years the ruins of the Western Empire, the Burgundians from the northeast made an inroad into the Belgic provinces. The valour and activity of the Patrician Aetius only half dispelled the danger, for although 20,000 Burgundians were



GROUND PLAN OF THE CASTLE OF LENZBURG FROM PLEPP (1624)



killed in battle, the remnant of their nation obtained a seat — a dependent seat it is true — in Savoy.

Whilst the Burgundians thus established themselves in the south-west of Helvetia the Alemanni won for themselves a settlement in the north-east. But in the 5<sup>th</sup> century both these nationalities fell under the power of the Franks, remaining under their dominion for a matter of three hundred years. In the successive divisions however of the empire, after the death of Charlemagne, the old fundamental division re-emerges. After the treaty of Veroun (843) the district which was occupied by the Alemanni formed part of the Duchy of Alamannia or Swabia and so was counted in Germany. The rest of the country was re-united to the kingdom of Burgundy. The two succeeding centuries are occupied by the ceaseless quarrels of the Dukes of Swabia with the Kings of Burgundy, until at last, after the death in 1032 of the last king of Burgundy the Emperor Conrad II. united the Burgundian portion of Helvetia with Swabia.

Strange as it may sound, these two centuries of ceaseless strife formed the birth time of modern Switzerland. It was that incessant warfare which gave the petty houses and towns their opportunity of growth, and that growth bore within it, as it did elsewhere throughout mediaeval Europe, the germs of later liberty. Under the relaxation of the central power which that internecine warfare produced, numerous bishoprics, monasteries and petty dynasties emerged, won a foothold and extended their power; and town after town rose to the rank of a free city of the Holy Roman Empire.

Amongst the number of such dynasties born of this time of strife was the house of Lenzburg, and it is with their advent that we catch the first glimpse of the Castle.

The earliest founder of the house was the Count Hunfrid of Rätien, who died soon after 823 leaving two lines of descendants, an elder from which sprang the later Dukes of Swabia and a younger from which was to come the Lenzburg race. His grandson Ulrich, of this younger line, inherited the feudal freehold of Gaster in the latter half of the ninth century and a son of his, Hemma, obtained by marriage the stewardship or lordship of the religious foundation

of Schännis. The son of this Hemma was Ulric, who is never styled Count. He is simply bailiff or overlord of Schännis as is also for a time his son Arnold. But after 976 Arnold is styled by a greater title — that of Imperial Bailiff or Governor of Zurich. Still adding field to field by prosperous marriage Arnold, whose wife was most probably a daughter of Bero Count of Aargau, left to his son Ulrich I. of the Empire the accumulated titles of Count of Aargau, Bailiff of Beromünster, and Schännis, and Imperial bailiff of Zürich. It was this fortunate marriage of Arnold of Schännis into the family of the Argau Counts which gave the origin of the house of Lenzburg. Did he himself found the castle of Lenzburg, or did he acquire it by this marriage from a race of Counts of Aargau who had themselves built and inhabited it? Or again did these Counts of Aargau themselves only acquire a stronghold already partly built by Burgundian perhaps or even by Roman hands? Who can tell save the silent walls of Lenzburg itself?

This prosperous Arnold had also estates in western Switzerland; his brother Henry was Bishop of Lausanne and his sister Hemma was Abbess of Schännis.

Arnold's heir was that Ulrich I. who is styled the first Count of Lenzburg, and it might have been supposed that, with six stalwart sons, the great castle of Lenzburg and the broad lands and goodly revenues thereto appertaining would have continued directly in the male line. But, of the six, five fell in battle, and the last, upon whom all the bereaved father's hopes were centred, met his death bear-hunting in the gorges of his own hills of the Jura. On the walls of the Convent of Beromünster to-day hang a series of pictures portraying the memorable incidents of that fatal morning. It is with this luckless Count Ulrich that the first of the existing documentary evidences of the family is concerned. In 1036 he executed a deed in the form of a charter of disposition regulating the succession of the monastery of Beromünster. The charter itself has long since vanished, but three texts of it exist in a volume still preserved in the archives of Beromünster. Few historical evidences of so early a date are so delightfully full and human as is this document. "In





THE COURT YARD 1906



the name of the Holy and undivided Trinity, I Udalric, Count by the grace of God, have often and long taken counsel within myself concerning my monastery of Beromünster as to how all future strife thereanent may be avoided, seeing that my patrimony will run not to my sons of whom I am bereft. I received the monastery from my forbears and I wish that after my decease it may still freely be administered for the service of God. I did not wish to make it an appanage of the Emperor unless compelled, for often it happens that if so small a thing falls into the hands of the mighty it is neglected or ill defended. Again I did not wish to leave it to my grandchildren in common lest that which is given to God alone should be divided up through the ill will and disagreement of men. At last I have hit upon a plan, viz. that I should choose one of my grandchildren to whom I shall leave the place under the conditions which I shall now indicate."

What would we not give to have such a preamble to every mediaeval charter?

Nor did Count Ulrich's pious solicitude end here. Nine years later he induced the Emperor Henry III. to take the monastery and its possessions under his imperial protection, and shortly afterwards obtained the same powerful safe-guard for the religious house of Schännis. Even this did not exhaust the tale of his pious acts. He richly endowed the Episcopal church of Sitten, the bishop of which, Aymo, was his nephew.

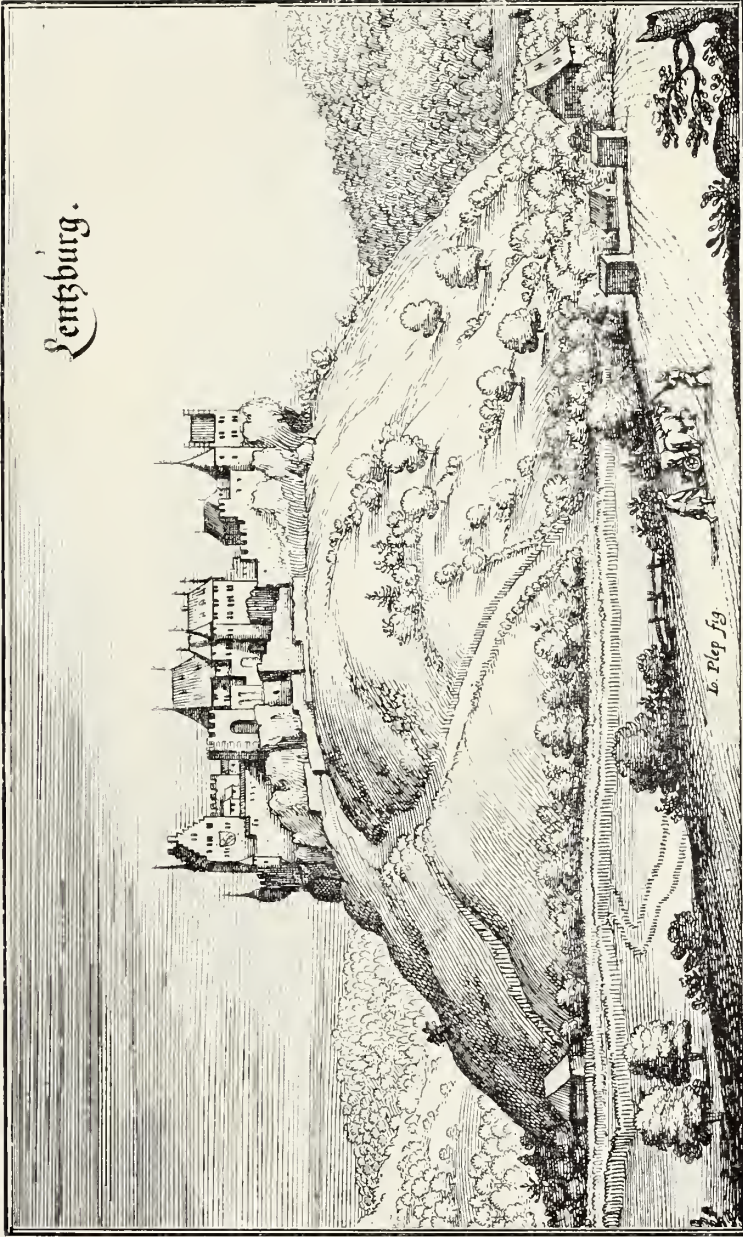
Did this pious Ulrich found the Castle of Lenzburg? He had his seat here for he is styled "of Lenzburg". Was he then its founder, seeing that we have no previous reference to it? We cannot say. Here, as always, the argument from historic silence is unsafe. But if he was its founder then the only portion to be attributed to him is the Dungeon (Nr. 1), the foundations of which are quite manifestly the most ancient part of the whole structure.

Thus bereft of his sons in his life time, this goodly and pious Ulrich about, or before 1045 bequeathed the title of Count of Aargau to his grandson Arnold. From Count Arnold's advent onwards more strenuous times befell the house, and a fiercer light of historic strife

beat upon it. One of the strongest of the mediaeval Popes, Hildebrand, was now seated at Rome with the title of Gregory VII. His imperious nature, and the growing power of the church precipitated him into a deadly strife with the Emperor Henry IV on the subject of investitures. That strife involved the whole of the existing states of mediaeval Europe. In 1075 Gregory excommunicated Henry, and then summoned him to Rome to answer before a council for his crimes in selling sacred offices — for so the Pope regarded lay investiture. Henry's reply was as vigorous. He summoned a convention of German bishops at Worms, and that convention pronounced Gregory unworthy of the Pontificate. Thereupon Gregory laid an interdict upon Henry, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. In the resulting war between the Empire and the Church both sides were split asunder into factions. Within the Empire the chiefs of Swabia under Rudolf, Duke of Swabia, and the Saxon States headed a revolt against Henry, and met to deliberate on his deposition. It was this powerful disaffection which led Henry to his dramatic act of humiliation at Canossa in February 1077. Within a month the futility of his submission to the Pope was apparent when the disloyal princes of Swabia, and Saxony met, and proceeded in a convention at Forcheim to depose him, and elect in his place Rudolf of Swabia as Emperor. On the other hand Henry had his partisans in Italy, in the Lombards who were more than disaffected to the Pope. After summoning a council of German and Italian bishops at Mainz to depose Gregory, and to elect Gerbert as Pope in his stead, Henry marched into Italy, besieged and captured Rome in 1084 and placed Gerbert in the chair of St. Peter with the title of Clement III.

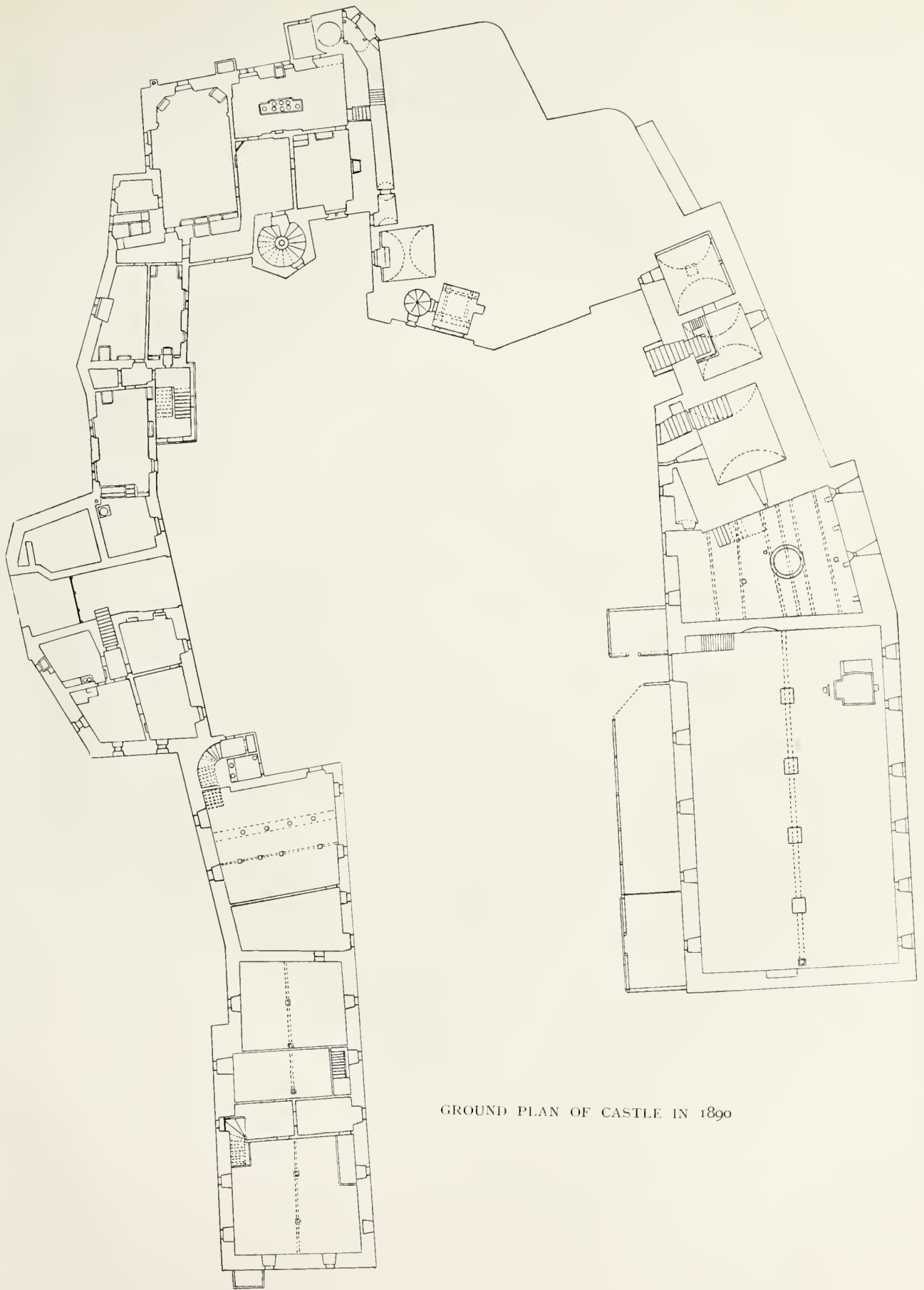
It was in connection with this world famed strife that the house of Lenzburg won for itself a name and a place in history. For it was in Swiss territory that the divisions within the Empire found their sharpest expression. On the side of the disaffected and revolting Swabian princes there were ranged the Counts of Kiburg and Habsburg, Burkhart, Count of Nellenburg and the Dukes of Zäringen. Opposed to these, stood first and foremost the Counts of Lenzburg, loyal throughout to the Emperor, and their influence was great enough

Lenzburg.



THE HILL AND CASTLE OF LENZBURG FROM MERIAN'S TOPOGRAPHY (1642)





GROUND PLAN OF CASTLE IN 1890





to drag with them in his cause, not merely the town of Zurich which was under their government, but also the Bishops of Constance and Basel. Some time before the actual outbreak of the war, Arnold the first of Lenzburg had died, leaving the title of Count of Lenzburg, and the Lenzburg possessions to his brother Ulrich II. It was this Ulrich who distinguished himself by his loyalty to the Emperor Henry IV. When in March, 1077, the disaffected Swabian Princes had at Forcheim elected Rudolf of Swabia as Emperor in Henry's stead, Ulrich of Lenzburg seized the papal legate (the abbot Bernhart of Marseilles) and his companion Christian as they were returning from the conference at Forcheim and imprisoned them in the Castle of Lenzburg. It was only after six months of dire and close imprisonment that Ulrich consented to release them under the strong influence brought to bear upon the Emperor himself by the Abbot of Clugny.

Ulrich scored heavily by his boldness. For in the meeting of the princes at Ulm in the following May 1077, Henry rewarded him handsomely, "ut optime promeritum inbeneficiavit", says the chronicle of Beroldus, and the Landgraviate of the gau of Zurich which had hitherto been hereditary in the House of Nellenburg, was taken from the Pope's partisan, Barkhart of Nellenburg and conferred upon Ulrich.

The bold Count Ulrich seems to have died soon afterwards, some time between 1077 and 1081, leaving by his wife Richenza von Habsburg three sons. Of these three sons the eldest, Ulrich III, doubtless died childless for his two brothers divided the whole Lenzburg inheritance and conveyed it in a divided state to their children.

It was this division which led to the splitting of the house into two collateral branches — the elder one representing the children of Count Rudolf remaining as the true Lenzburg line whilst the younger stem representing the children of Count Arnold became the Baden Line. It would seem that for some time the two lines, or rather the two brothers who founded them did not divide up the Lenzburg inheritance but held it in common. But shortly before 1114 a division of the estates was effected, the elder Count Rudolf taking the Castle of Lenzburg and the surrounding possession in the

Waldstätten and Schwitz as his sole patrimony. These possessions included the Schirmvogtei of Engelberg, Beromünster, and Schännis, and the vogtei of Glarus.

Of the younger, or Baden line at least one member achieved a permanent place in history, viz. Wernher, who is described as Imperial Vicar of Zurich and Count, sometimes as Margrave, of Zurich. He was the firm adherent of the Emperor Lothair II in the long and finally successful strife with the Swabian princes Frederick, and Conrad. And when Lothair under the double influence of Innocent II, and of John Komnenus Emperor of Constantinople, was induced to make his last expedition to Italy against Robert of Sicily, and the false Pope Anacletus this same Wernher accompanied him. He appears to have been with the Emperor all through his successful campaign in Apulia and Calabria, and saw the true Pope Innocent II. re-conducted in triumph to Rome, and in the following year 1137 he was in Lothair's immediate entourage when the sick monarch, yearning for home, turned his face towards his native land only to die in a peasant's hut in the Tyrol. Equally loyal too was Wernher to the Emperor Lothair's successor, Conrad III, the first of the Hohenstaufen line. This Emperor's tenure of the purple was destined to witness the commencement of the long strife between Guelph and Ghibelline — a strife which convulsed Germany and Italy for centuries. Wernher was present at the opening dramatic incident of the struggle when the revolting Welf, brother of Henry the Haughty, was besieged in the Castle of Weinsberg by Conrad and driven to surrender, and when the women of the garrison having stipulated that they should pass free with whatever they might be able to carry, bore forth their husbands on their backs to a place of safety (1141). Six years later, Wernher accompanied the Emperor Conrad, and his nephew Frederick Barbarossa when they headed the German half of the unfortunate second Crusade. He escaped both the sword of the Moslem, and the poison of the perfidious Greek for numerous other contemporary references to him occur up to 1159 — all of them testifying to his unswerving loyalty to the Emperor, a characteristic which distinguished the Lenzburg house till its close.



THE CASTLE FROM THE NORTH

1906



This Wernher of the Baden line died childless, as did also his brother Chuno, and in the next generation the line they represented — the Baden branch of the Lenzburg house — became extinct when Richenza, sole heiress of Arnold last Count of Baden married Count Hartmann III of Kiburg.

As a consequence of this extinction of the male line of the Baden Counts, the fiefs of their inheritance reverted not back to the Empire as has been maintained by some writers, but to the elder branch, the Lenzburg line proper, descended of that Count Rudolf already referred to. At the time of the original division of the whole Lenzburg possessions between Count Rudolf, and his brother Count Arnold the elder branch had retained the castle itself and the territories in Waldstätten and Schwitz. It was through the last of these possessions that the elder of the two branches came into conflict with the monastery of Einsiedeln. The Court of the Empire decided for the monastery, Count Rudolf was fined £ 100 and the villagers of Schwitz were ordered to give up a portion of the encroachments on the lands of the priory. But the villagers proved recalcitrant, and were warmly supported by the Count in their attitude, and the puny warfare continued for over 100 years till the close of the Lenzburg race. A similar quarrel with another monastery, the cloister of Rheinau, brought down on the head of the ubiquitous Rudolf a solemn warning from Pope Honorius II. But we are not told whether the Count paid any more heed to the Pope's warning in this instance than he had done to the finding of the Court of the Empire in the case of the Schwitz villagers. Rudolf died in 1133, still strenuously unrepentant it would seem. He left four sons, named respectively Ulrich, Humbert, Rudolf and Arnold, of whom Ulrich appears to have been the eldest. Of the three younger of these sons contemporary history says little beyond testifying to their constant loyalty to three Emperors in succession — Lothair, Conrad and Frederick. But of Ulrich himself, Ulrich IV., as he was styled, we know much more, as the friend and counsellor of Frederick Barbarossa on the one hand, and as the pupil, and admirer of the socio-religious reformer Arnold of Brescia on the other.

On the succession of Frederick Barbarossa as Emperor in 1152, Ulrich was one of the plenipotentiaries sent to Rome to arrange a treaty with the Pope Eugenius III. for the Emperor's coronation. Three years later he accompanied Frederick in his expedition into Italy, which ended in the coronation ceremony being performed in Rome by the restored Pope Hadrian IV. In 1157 he was sent with the Imperial Chancellor Rainald as a special envoy to meet Louis VII. of France during that curious diplomatic interlude in which the two monarchs strove at once to meet and to avoid each other. In Frederick's second expedition to Italy he was again at the Emperor's side, and was present at the siege and surrender of Milan in 1162. Seven years later we read of him as back again in his native Aargau. But not long afterwards on the 5<sup>th</sup> of May, 1173, death closed his long and honourable career, and with it closed also the history of the house of Lenzburg. Whether Count Ulrich was ever married or not does not appear. Certain it is that he died childless, and heirless, and that with his death both the Lenzburg, and the Baden branches of the house became extinct. Such a close to the history of the family is not a little remarkable considering that in the single generation in which it occurred each of the two lines had been represented by four brothers. Of all the eight not one left male progeny.

Such a brief resumé as the above is of necessity concerned mainly with the personal history of the chief members of the Lenzburg house. Rich as is the documentary material of the period of the Hohenstauffen it is vain to expect of it more than such personal references. Of the Castle itself we hardly catch a glimpse in the contemporary archives, or in the chronicles.

Following the lines of archæological research, however, it is perhaps possible to reproduce some idea of this 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> century castle, whilst, that is, it was still in the possession of the race which gave it, or took from it, a name. As has been already seen, the foundations of the Dungeon (No. 1.) are certainly the oldest part of the structure. Immediately adjoining it was the ancient Hall (No. 2.) the mediæval dwelling place. It is impossible to say whether these two portions are co-eval or if not which is the earlier. But the pro-



SEAL OF KAISER FRIEDRICH I.  
1173 II. 20.



SEAL OF COUNT RUDOLF II. OF HABSBURG  
1198







SEAL OF COUNT CHUNO OF LENZBURG  
1167



SEAL OF COUNT ARNOLD OF LENZBURG  
1159



bability is that the Hall, or Palace is slightly later in date than the Dungeon. But certainly this Hall cannot be later than the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The semi-circular headed doorway in the second storey is Romanesque in character and must be prior to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The arch of this doorway is folded by a hood of flat masonry — a Romanesque device which is frequently met with in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. Probably the Hall was the work of Count Ulrich II. but this again is conjecture. All that can be stated with certainty is that the Dungeon and the Palace formed part of the 12<sup>th</sup> century castle. There is possibly another portion of the present buildings which can be assigned to the same period. There can be no doubt that the original entry to the castle occupied the site of the present Drawbridge Gateway and that, in accordance with customary 12<sup>th</sup> century construction the entrance was guarded by a tower. What might otherwise be a mere archaeological inference has been completely established and confirmed by excavation. The foundations of such a tower, square in plan, have been traced in the lower masonry of the gateway.

On such evidence it seems clear that the 12<sup>th</sup> century castle consisted of three main parts: a strong tower or dungeon; a two storied hall, likewise massively strong and abutting on the Dungeon and lastly a castle keep. The configuration of the ground suggests that the whole hill crest or plateau was from the first comprised within the castle circuit; but that it was completely shut in by ramparts at this earliest date cannot be proved. Possibly the Hall was linked to the Castle Keep by a straight wall. If there were other buildings on the Western side they may have been fortified only by a ditch and esplanade. That there must have been other buildings, probably of wood, for the habitation of the servants and garrison is probable enough in itself, and seems to be established by the representation on the ancient seals of the Lenzburg Counts dating between 1159 and 1167. Such representation is of course to be construed not as an exact, but rather as a symbolical picture of the then state of the Castle. But in the main it reproduces the features just detailed of a strong tower pierced by two windows indicating a dwelling place, and secondly a castle keep, the two portions being

linked by an embattled wall, this latter being doubtless intended to symbolise the complete circuit of the rampart.

Such was the castle of Lenzburg at the date when the line which had founded it became extinct.

On Count Ulrich's death he left the whole of his estates including the castle itself to the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, with the exception of some pious donations to the family foundation of Beromünster for the repose of his own soul.

Although this was by no means the first, or only bequest of the kind which fell to the lot of Barbarossa, it yet derives a special significance from the close, and well known friendship existing between the Emperor and Count Ulrich, and affords only additional proof of the latter's devoted fidelity.

Shortly after the death of Count Ulrich IV., Barbarossa paid his memorable visit to the castle, and on the 20<sup>th</sup> February, 1173, he entered into his inheritance. Here we stand on no uncertain ground, for the Charter confirming the rights of the Convent of Interlaken, bearing the great Emperor's signature and seal, is dated at Lenzburg, and is still preserved among the treasures of the Archives of Berne. If we may trust tradition, this stay of the Emperor at Lenzburg, (the exact duration of which is uncertain), was marked by a tourney, conspicuous for its magnificence even in these days of lavish pageantry; and legend tells how the Kaiser, standing at sunset on the lofty bastion which to-day forms, as it were, the dizzy prow of the great rock on which the Castle stands, harassed by the Transalpine intrigues which three years later led to his conquest of Italy, shook his fist towards the Southern Alps, and exclaimed: "Had I but my will, no dog of an Italian should drag me from this pleasant spot!" That he was not unmindful of the less picturesque demands of imperial duties during his sojourn at Lenzburg is shown by existing documents which describe in detail the method he adopted in disposing of this princely inheritance. A certain portion of that inheritance, viz. the reverted fiefs, he bestowed apparently there and then on Count Albert of Habsburg. These portions included the







SEAL OF COUNT ULRICH III. OF KIBURG  
1223 v. 25.



SEAL OF COUNT WERNHER I. OF KIBURG  
1223 v. 25.



SEAL OF COUNT HARTMAN IV. OF KIBURG  
1223 v. 25.



SEAL OF COUNT HARTMAN IV. THE ELDER  
OF KIBURG  
1253 vi. 4.





Vogtei of Säkingen, the Landgraviate of Aargau, and Zurich West of Limmat, and the Lenzburg possessions in Lucerne and Unterwalden. The remainder of the estates, and the castle itself the Emperor conferred upon Otto his fourth son, then a boy of only four years, who was subsequently styled Count Palatine of Burgundy, and Count of Lenzburg. Otto's portion of these estates included the patronage of Engelberg, and Beromünster, and the greater portion of the private property of the Lenzburgs as well. On the premature death of this Count Otto in 1200 the alods, or freeholds passed to his only daughter Beatrice, subsequently the wife of Otto Archduke of Meran, and Count Palatine of Burgundy. The fiefs on the other hand again reverted to the empire, and appear to have been held in succession by King Philip of Swabia (who was murdered in 1208), and by his nephew the Emperor Frederick II. One or other of these two possessors — Philipp, or Frederick — bestowed a portion of the fiefs on the Kiburg house, and from 1223 and 1230 respectively these latter appear as patrons of Beromünster and Schännis. The castle of Lenzburg being a freehold, and not a fief of the Empire was included among the possessions of Beatrice, the wife of the above named Archduke Otto, and her rights over it descended to their Daughter Alis, the wife of Hugh Count Palatine of Burgundy, and so through her again to her daughter Elizabeth of Burgundy.

But whilst the proprietary rights over the castle descended in the line thus indicated, the actual tenancy of it was allowed to fall into other hands. It appears to have been granted as a sub-fief or mesne-fief by Otto to the Counts of Kiburg, and accordingly Hartmann of Kiburg appears in possession of it already before 1240. He was certainly in residence at the castle in 1253. In the following year however this Hartman married the daughter of his mediate-lord, and as a result of the union became the owner, or in other words turned his mesne-fief of the castle into his own freehold. This marriage of Hartman of Kiburg with Elizabeth of Burgundy, daughter of the Countess Alis already named, took place in 1254. Elizabeth's dowry

consisted of 1,000 marks of silver, and all her parents' rights and claims over the castle of Lenzburg, and its dependencies in the surrounding towns, and villages, and also the appurtenant rights in the bishoprics of Constance and Chur.

In this way the castle came at last into the possession of that Kiburg House which from the days of the extinction of the original Lenzburgers had been gradually, and ceaselessly garnering in the ancient Lenzburg inheritance, fief and freehold alike.

There is still some uncertainty, nay even some controversy, as to the precise way in which, or the means by which, this inheritance and particularly the possession of the castle came to the Kiburgs. The view set out summarily above is that of Dr. Merz, and will probably prove the finally accepted one as it affords the most credible explanation of the fact that the Kiburgs were actually in possession of the castle before Hartman's marriage obtained for his family fullest rights over it. But indeed the history of the castle itself from 1173 to 1240, i. e. from the death of the last Lenzburger to the definite entry of the Kiburgs, is very uncertain.

Hartman Vth of Kiburg died in 1268 leaving his whole inheritance to his daughter Anna who is styled consistently Countess Anna of Kiburg. During her minority her selfconstituted guardian was the powerful Rudolf of Habsburg, with whose appearance upon the scene the castle enters on the last, and as it proved, the greatest phase of its mediaeval history. Henceforth until the dawn of the Swiss Reformation the fate of the Castle was to be linked with that of the selfish house of Austria.

Consistently with his character and with his invariable ambition, Rudolf of Habsburg administered Countess Anna's inheritance in an arbitrary manner with an eye to his own interests, rather than to those of his ward. And when she subsequently, doubtless at his instigation, married a relative of his, Rudolf was able to contrive an arrangement with her by which he purchased from her for the sum of 14,000 marks of silver the whole of her inheritance between Reuss



SEAL OF COUNT HARTMAN V. THE YOUNGER OF KIBURG,  
AND HIS WIFE ELISABETH.

1253 VI. 4.



1270 VII. 15.



SEAL OF COUNT EBERHART OF HABSBURG-LAUFENBURG, AND HIS WIFE,  
COUNTESS ANNA OF KIBURG.

1266



1277 III. I.





ROYAL SEAL OF RUDOLF OF HABSBURG  
1275 VIII. 10.



SEAL OF DUKE RUDOLF II. OF AUSTRIA AND HIS WIFE AGNES  
1288 I. 15.



1293 VIII. 9.



and Aare. In this purchase was included the castle itself. It can at least be said of Rudolf that in this transaction he showed a little more consideration than he did to other members of the Kiburg house. Rudolf was one of the many historical exemplifications of the maxim that the Empire's necessity was the individual dynasty's opportunity. The periods of disintegration of the Holy Roman Empire are marked perpetually by the growth in power of the petty dynasties. And it was in such a period of disintegration that Rudolf laid the foundations of the fortune of the house of Habsburg. From 1257 onwards the Empire had been torn asunder by the quarrels attending a disputed election to the purple. One party of the electors had chosen as Emperor Richard, Duke of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. of England. The opposing party chose Alphonso King of Castile. The English Richard was crowned at Aix la Chapelle, and received the homage of many of the towns of the Rhine; but within the year, finding himself penniless and deserted, he abandoned his shadowy crown and returned to England. Richard's departure left the field open to Alphonso of Castile his competitor. But Alphonso was engaged in war with the Moors of Spain, and could not leave his native land. Thus the Empire was torn asunder by the claims of two competing Emperors, both of whom were non-resident. The indescribable anarchy and confusion which ensued lasted for 16 years, until at last a fresh election put an end to the interregnum, and gave Germany once more a strong ruler. It was in this period of interregnine anarchy that Rudolf of Habsburg — he who was destined to be that strong ruler — laid the foundation of the future greatness of the house of Austria. He waged private war against Hugo Trueffenstein, and against his own relative Rodolphus of Lossenberg. Then he quarrelled with Hartman Vth, Count of Kiburg and seized the whole of his inheritance regardless of the claims of the dowager Countess Margaret of Savoy, the widow of Hartman IV. This outrage led to war with Peter of Savoy, that Peter whose name is so notorious in the history of Henry III. of England, but whose fame as a miniature of Charlemagne rests on far higher grounds as the unifier of Western Switzerland, and the founder of the fortunes of

the dynasty of Savoy. Although the chances of the war declared against Rudolf of Habsburg, (for Peter fell on him at dead of night and carried off as prisoners to his castle of Chillon not less than 80 of Rudolf's nobles), yet the succeeding peace which was made at Meran left Rudolf in possession of the bulk of the Kiburg heritage. Then he turned to ravage the country of the Counts of Toggenburg, pillaged the suburbs of Basel, and assisted the citizens of Strasburg to defeat their bishop. It was whilst he was engaged in storming Basel that the news reached him on the 1st of October, 1273 that he had been elected Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

With the imperial policy of the house of Habsburg the chronicler of Lenzburg would expect to have little concern, were it not for the fact that the keynote of that policy was still the same dynastic selfishness which had characterised Rudolf before his elevation to the purple. After his election as Emperor, Rudolf extorted cessions of territory from Philipp of Savoy, waged war with Berne, wrested lands from the abbot of St. Gall, seized the inheritance of the Rapperswyls, and purchased from the monastery of Murbach the town of Lucerne, and other lands which carried his power into the heart of the Forest Cantons. What was to be the outcome of this extension of the power of the Habsburgs in Swiss lands will be seen anon. For the moment Rudolf lent to his Lenzburg seat the halo of at least one act of imperial justice. On the 10th December, 1275, he held a court at the castle. Surrounded by a crowd of Counts, Barons, and other dignitaries of the Empire, he listened to the complaint of the Burggraf of Friedberg, and there and then decreed the destruction of the robber castle of Steckelnberg.

Of the Swiss lands acquired in such unholy and ruthless wise Rudolf made several futile dispositions. Finally, however, he settled a goodly portion of the Kiburg possessions in the Aargau, including the Castle of Lenzburg, as a marriage present on Agnes the wife of his own son Rudolf. As the daughter of the Bohemian King Otokar, Agnes was bitterly anti-Austrian in feeling, and after the premature death of her husband she withdrew to the seclusion of her Swiss possession in the Aargau, probably in order to avoid inter-





KNIGHT SEAL OF JOHN PARRICIDA

1307 XI. 24.



KNIGHT SEAL OF DUKE LEUPOLD I. OF AUSTRIA

1325 V. 31.



course with the hated Habsburgs. Under the title of the Duchess of Austria, and Countess of Kiburg, and Habsburg, she made frequent stays at the Castle of Lenzburg. If the days she spent there were happy ones for her they were amongst the few she was to experience. For both she and her posthumous son John — afterwards known as the Duke of Swabia — were destined to feel to the bitterest the selfishness of that Austrian house into which she had been married perforce. Her brother-in-law Albert, Duke of Austria, afterwards the Emperor Albert the First, contrived to possess himself of her Swiss property including Lenzburg Castle, and even to secure the guardianship of her young son, John. The property itself he solemnly swore to purchase and pay for, but that oath he never kept. He brought up his nephew in his own family, carefully abstaining from restoring him to any part of his inheritance, though permitting him to wear the high sounding titles of Duke of Swabia, Duke of Austria and Styria, and Count of Habsburg and Kiburg. And when the youth pressed him to restore his estates, Albert put him off with evasion after evasion. An attempt at intercession on the part of the Bishop of Strasburg proved unavailing, and the last application which the prince himself made met only the mocking response that he should have some employment in the war against Bohemia — his mother's native land. Stung to the quick, and burning with a sense of the long injustice to which he had been subjected, John with three fellow conspirators assassinated the Emperor in 1308 near Brugg, and within sight of Albert's own ancestral castle of Habsburg.

The act did not restore to the young duke his Lenzburg inheritance, for he became a fugitive and subsequently passed his life in the monastery of the Hermits of St. Augustine at Pisa. His crime indeed sealed the fate of his Swiss lands. The fiefs of the four murderers were declared forfeit to the Empire, but by the consent of the electoral princes the hereditary possessions of Duke John were as a fief conveyed in 1309 by the new Emperor Henry of Luxemburg to the Dukes Frederick, and Leopold of Austria, sons of the murdered Emperor Albert. In this way the Lenzburg inheritance again became, and remained, the property of the house of Habsburg.

From this point onwards the references to the castle itself become more frequent in the Imperial archives. For the remainder of the period, during which it was still in the hands of these Austrian Dukes, the main outstanding character of the castle's history is that whilst it is still occasionally visited by the dukes themselves it is mostly administered by bailiffs. Constantly faithful to Austria these bailiffs gradually gather wealth and power until at last they obtain a fief of part of the castle, and emerge as a semi-independent petty castle dynasty. The history of the castle becomes therefore the history of the bailiff houses of Truchsess and Schultheiss. Whether it was due to the power of these petty bailiff dynasts, or to the natural strength of the Lenzburg stronghold itself we cannot say. But from this time onwards the castle is withdrawn from the main current of Swiss history. While all around are being enacted those stirring deeds which have made immortal the story of the birth of Swiss independence, the castle of Lenzburg remains constantly faithful to the tyrant house, a rallying point or place of refuge on which they could always rely, thanks to their faithful henchmen the bailiff dynasts. And so whilst every page of Swiss history bristles with battle, and doughty deed, the castle pursues the placid tenour of its way, and its story yields us only the humdrum details of its bailiff administration. Indeed the mass of merely petty administrative, and architectural detail which the zeal of the Castle's historian has garnered from every source is of interest only to historical students. Yet even here and there are occasional points of more than ordinary interest. There are frequent references to the chapel in the Castle. Its chaplain was paid by the lord of Lenzburg, and his annual stipend amounted to five and a half marks of silver. This chapel was dedicated to St. Fortunatus, and is known to have been in existence under the original Counts of Lenzburg. The first chaplain of whom we have any notice was Eberhart who witnessed a deed in 1229 as capellanus de Lenzeburch. From 1338 onwards all the names of the succession of these chaplains have been preserved.



KNIGHT SEAL OF DUKE ALBRECHT II. OF AUSTRIA

1332 I. 11.





KNIGHT SEAL OF OTTO OF OCHSENSTEIN  
1294 v. 22.



SEAL OF DUCHESS CATHARINE, WIFE OF  
LEOPOLD I.  
1326 vi. 29.



LARGER SEAL OF DUKE FREDERICK III. OF AUSTRIA  
1344 vii. 11.



SMALLER SEAL OF DUKE FREDERICK III.  
1344 viii. 20.





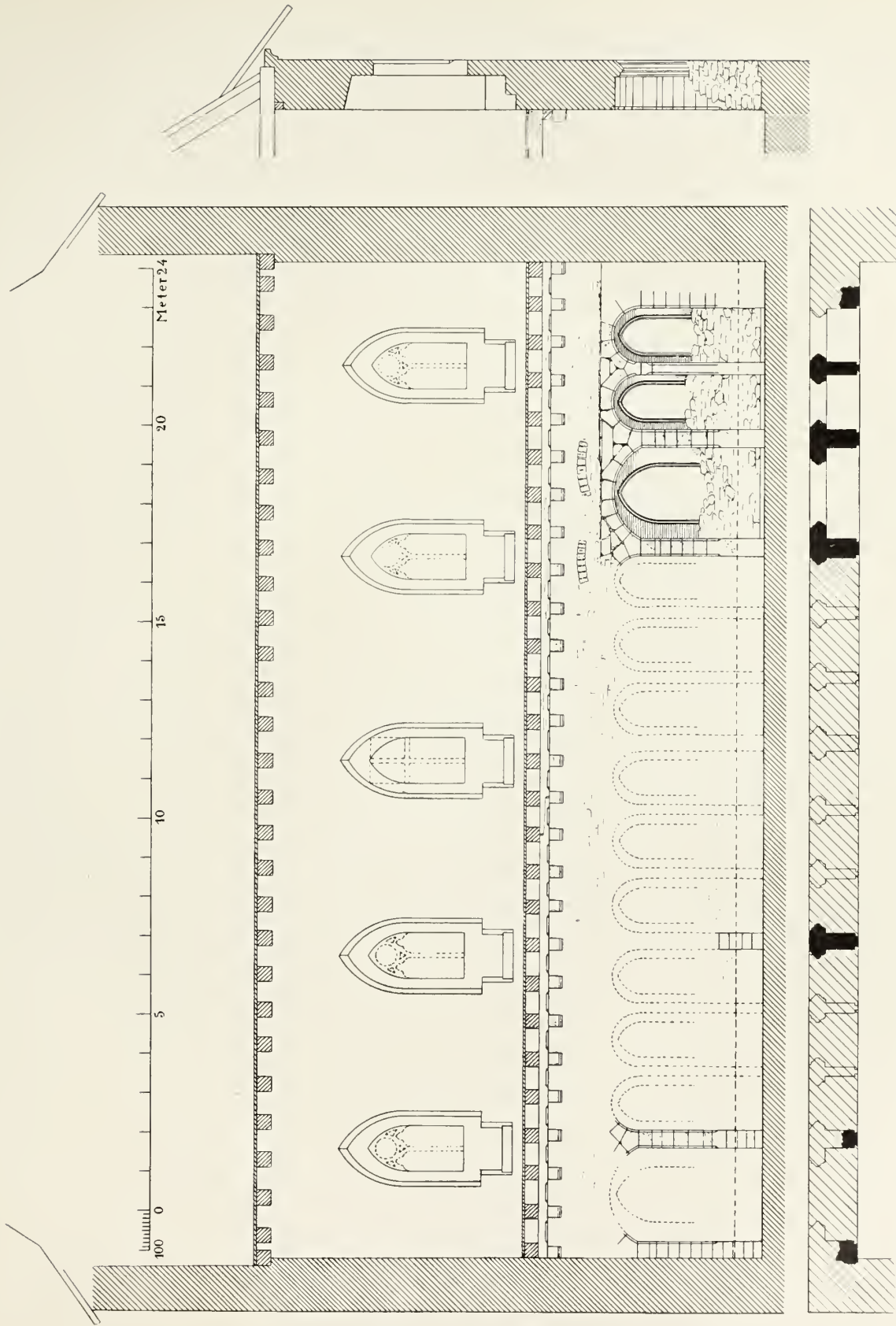
Even among the dull administrative details of bailiff routine too there are occasional grains of gold to be found. Although, so far as we know, the castle played no part in the glorious story of the insurrection of the Forest Cantons, or in the formation of the Swiss Confederacy, or in the generations of succeeding strife with Austria there are points where its history seems to interlace with that greater, and more imperishable story. Occasionally the Austrian Dukes visited the place. For wherever else revolting town and canton might defy and defeat them, in Lenzburg, their own miniature Gibraltar, they were at least safe among their own trusty henchmen.

Among these Habsburgs bailiffs of Lenzburg Castle, the Aarburgs are pre-eminent in importance. From the commencement of the 14<sup>th</sup> century they play the chief part in the history of the internal economy of the structure itself. Rudolf of Aarburg who died in 1339 added near the gateway a new building which to this day religiously bears the name of "the Aarburg." Abutting on the Gateway, this building, or house, has undergone successive and drastic modifications, but it is still possible to reproduce its earliest condition. It stood on the site now occupied by the building No. 9 in Plan I, and adjoined the principal gateway of the castle.

The important structural alterations and additions which distinguish the successive tenure of the Aarburg bailiffs, were doubtless in large part due to the frequent visits of the Austrian Dukes. They had the result of changing the whole aspect of the castle, transforming it from a mediaeval stronghold into a seignorial seat. We may even conjecturally surmise the identity of the workmen whose hands wrought such change. They must surely have been the same whom the house of Austria employed in the building of the monastery of Königsfeld near Brugg, on that spot where King Albert had fallen by the assassin's hand. Be that as it may, it is certain that the chief outstanding feature of the greatest architectural changes of this era are to be attributed to the period of the five years' sojourn (1339—44) which young Duke Frederick, son of Duke Otto, passed in the castle awaiting in vain his affianced bride, Joanna, daughter of Edward I. King of England.

During these years of weary expectancy he heeded not nor grudged expense, borrowing right and left for the sake of the alterations on which his lover's heart had set itself to grace her entry. One of the contracts of loan which he made with the Knight John of Halwill recites that the Duke had built a tower and completed the rampart. It is impossible to identify this tower, but the statement as to the rampart is highly significant. It implies that the wall was extended so as to encircle the western portion of the Castle plateau, for it in this direction that these 14<sup>th</sup> century constructions extend. It is possible, with almost exact certainty, to attribute to this love-lorn, unfortunate, yet estimable Duke, the ground floor or stage of the Knights' Hall, in particular the south wall. An examination of this Hall easily reveals the fact that the walls, and the Gothic windows are 14<sup>th</sup> century in style. But it is instantly apparent also that the first floor of the Great Hall no longer corresponds in character with the south wall of the ground floor. The disposition of the windows is quite different as is also the general character of the masonry. In the ground floor this latter is of squared stone, and it is clear that the intention was to complete the building throughout in the same manner. But on the first floor whilst the windows and jambs are of squared stone, the wall itself is of mixed and ordinary masonry. The discovery of this evidence has resulted from the restorations undertaken by Mr. Jessup, and proves incontestably that the Knights' Hall has been built at two different periods. But that these periods were separated by no great lapse of time is also clear, from the similarity in style of the windows of both floors, a style which points indifferently in them all to the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

In the light of these facts it seems probable that the erection of the Knights' Hall was begun by the young Duke Frederick between 1339 and 1344, and was interrupted by his death. Whilst it is difficult to outline the plan of Frederick's intended structure, it is undoubted that it was conceived in a lavish and artistic spirit. The only certain remains of his work — a piece of the south wall 85 feet by 15 feet, now visible in the interior of the Hall — reveals careful and expert masonry, as does also the beautiful arcade of



SECTION OF KNIGHTS' HALL SHOWING THE ORIGINAL DESIGN, WHICH HAS BEEN BROUGHT TO LIGHT BY THE RECENT RESTORATION.



Gothic windows. One of the windows still preserves its original spandrels and the tracery of the lead, closely resembling those of a Gothic church window. Such a feature is extremely rare in Swiss castle buildings, and it is this unusual feature which makes it difficult to conjecture the original plan which Duke Frederick had conceived. He may have projected a great hall in Gothic style consisting of only one storey open to the roof, or it may be he intended only a covered gallery, stretched cloister-wise, to form a promenade on the South side of the Castle, with windows opening on the superb vista of the forest clad hills in the distance.

When after his death the interrupted work was resumed, his original conception, whatever it was, became completely transformed, though the element of grandeur of idea was still preserved. The massive walls of the present building were reared to enclose on the ground floor an enormous hall 25 m by 14.50 m — a hall far exceeding in its dimensions that of any other castle in Switzerland. This Hall occupying the ground floor is lighted by ten large windows originally decorated with rich cathedral Gothic tracery.

So proud and ambitious a building could only be the creation of a ruler resident at the Castle Lenzburg, deeply interested in the castle, and endowed with a lavish and artistic nature. If such inference be true, it points incontestably to Duke Rudolf IV as the finisher of Duke Frederick's work. From 1363 Rudolf was resident at Lenzburg Castle: he loved to style himself Duke of Lenzburg and he was pre-eminently a builder prince with artistic gifts and lavish taste.

To him is probably due also the chapel (No. 8), adjoining the Knights' Hall, of which we get a first mention in 1369, and possibly also the construction of the well.

Rudolf's connection with the castle is not without interest also for its external history. It was under his rule that in 1361, Peter der Truchsess was granted a fief of a house therein. It was in the Castle of Lenzburg too, that this Duke Rudolf concluded his ten years' peace with Solothurn. He was succeeded by his brother Duke Leopold under whom we meet with the bailiff family of the Schultheiss, the last and most considerable of the mediaeval feudal bailiff lines.

In 1350 Kunrad Ribi obtained the office of Schultheiss of the town of Lenzburg. Practically this is amongst the first historical references which we possess of the town itself as distinct from the castle. Undoubtedly in this case as in so many others, the town was simply the aftergrowth of the castle. Its primitive beginnings had been formed by the castle servants and dependents. At some early date, how early we do not know, the townspeople obtained the right of a fair — its market existed already under the Kiburg Counts. Finally in 1306 the place was raised to the rank of a town, though by what form of diploma, or from whom we are not told. It was as magistrates of this little town that the family of Kunrad Ribi first emerge from obscurity. The office of Schultheiss not only became hereditary in the family, but also became its patronymic, and the succeeding members of the Ribi family who ruled the town of Lenzburg as magistrates, and the castle as feudal bailiffs, are known as the Schultheiss family.

In 1369 Duke Leopold III. of Austria, on the occasion of a visit to the Lenzburg, invested this Kunrad Ribi or Kunrad Schultheiss and his two sons in reversion with the northern part of the castle as a castle fief. The counterpart records of this transaction have fortunately been preserved. They furnish a very typical illustration of a mediaeval grant of a castle fief. In return for such and such a service the fief of such and such a holding is conferred; and with the holding there are also conveyed certain rents, or sources of income of such and such a value yearly, for which rents the liegeman or feoffee pays down a lump sum representing the capital value of such rents at so many years purchase. In this particular instance, in consideration of the faithful services of Kunrad's family to the House of Austria, and in consideration further of the fact that many of the buildings of the castle and town of Lenzburg had been constructed at Kunrad's own cost, Duke Leopold granted to the said Kunrad and his successors, male and female, the tower in the castle of Lenzburg adjoining the ordinary entrance, and the house and court yard under the said tower called Aarburg, (being so called after Aarburg the land steward who built it), as a castle fief according to the custom of such



KNIGHT SEAL OF DUKE LEUPOLD III. OF AUSTRIA

1369 x. 25.





fiefs, and the law of the land. The feoffees were to maintain the structure of the tower, and house with the lower part of the tower for prisoners, and with the said tower to watch and ward and defend the castle. Further they were to have rights to use the springs of water in the castle, and the common pasture, and to hew timber in the Lenzburg woods for building, or for firewood. They were to be tax free for ever, and with their bodies and lives to defend the stronghold. The keys of the great gate of the castle were to be in their hands, except when the Duke himself or his steward should visit the place. Finally the castle chaplain should, as of old accustomed, read mass and perform divine service for them, the bailiffs, in the chapel.

Secondly in return for the sum of 60 marks of silver, (which may have been paid down on the spot, or may represent a debt owing by the Austrian Dukes to Kunrad), Leopold further conveyed to Kunrad and his heirs certain rents and taxes valued at 6 marks per annum, viz the rent from the tenement of Jan Renold standing in the Santweg, and yielding 9 measure of rye and a pullet, and so, on and so on, all through the long list; here 6 quartern of apples and a pound of wax, there a shilling and a penny rent which is called sheep money, and yet again the pound of pepper yearly yielded by the village of Vilmaringen, and what not else — items all of which could be reproduced textually from scores of English mediaeval charters.



In the following year 1370 Duke Albert, brother and successor of Duke Leopold, confirmed and extended this charter of 1369 "by reason of the buildings which Cunrad Schultheiss is intending to do at his seat in the castle." What these building operations of Kunrad concerned we do not know; for the charters yield us no hint, but presumably they were confined to that wing or portion of the castle already specified as his fief.

The family of Kunrad Schultheiss continued for nearly a century in possession of this castle fief, and of the bailiffship, or wardenship of the Lenzburg under the Dukes of Austria. During that time they were called upon more than once to defend it against the foe at the peril of their lives. In 1375 Ingelram de Couci, (the French noble who had come to England in 1360 as a hostage for the Black Prince's prisoner King John of France, and who whilst in England had been made a Knight of the Garter, and Earl of Bedford, and had even married the daughter of the English King Edward III), made an incursion into the Aargau from the French frontier with the object of asserting those territorial rights which had come to him from his mother, a Habsburg princess. The motley force which he led, and which proved a scourge and a curse wherever its devastating course was bent, is styled in the chronicles of the time, the English host. Before suffering its final defeat at the Fraubrunnen this English host ravaged the Aargau pitilessly. Lenzburg itself was closely invested, and though the town beat off the enemy, yet it suffered so cruelly that after the foe had retired it had practically to be rebuilt.

More dramatic still was the incident of the siege of the castle a generation later, when in 1415 the town of Berne joined in the general attack on the house of Austria. This catastrophe for the Habsburg house arose primarily out of the internecine quarrels of the three rivals Popes Benedict XIII, Gregory XII, and John XXIII. In order to settle the dissension, and out of pure zeal for the interests of religion, the Emperor Sigismund induced Pope John XXIII to call the Council of Constance in 1413 — that very Council before which, trusting to a safe conduct from the Emperor himself, John Huss ap-



SEAL OF DUKE LEOPOLD III. OF AUSTRIA  
1379 I. 13.



SEAL OF DUKE FREDERICK  
OF TECK WHEN MILITARY  
AND CIVIL RULER OF  
SCHWABIA AND ALSACE.  
1359 XI. 9.



SEAL OF COUNT RUDOLF  
OF NEUENBURG-NIDAU  
1370 XII. 27.



SEAL OF DUKE RUDOLF IV. OF AUSTRIA  
1361 I. 27.



peared only to be condemned and burned in flagrant violation of the Emperor's assurance. At this Council John XXIII solemnly swore to renounce the Papacy, but very quickly repenting of his resolve, he fled from Constance at dead of night, by the advice and assistance of Frederick Duke of Austria. For the part which he had played in this affair Duke Frederick was outlawed, put to the ban of the Empire and decreed to be divested of his dominions, which the Swiss were authorised to subdue for their own benefit. This decree was issued in March 1415. Under such Imperial sanction the Swiss hailed with glee the long awaited opportunity of a general attack upon the hated Habsburg. In the operations which followed Berne took the lead as might be expected from its power and position. After compelling the towns of Biel and Solothurn to throw in their lot with her, Berne took the field in the following month April, 1415, and made a swift incursion into the very heart of the Habsburg territory. Zofingen capitulated, as did also Hans von Liebegg, and Rudolf von Rinach, and the town of Aarau. And then the conquering Bernese appeared before Lenzburg itself. The town surrendered at once on the 20<sup>th</sup> of April, 1415, but not so the castle. It was closely but ineffectually besieged. The contest which ensued was a strangely triangular one. On the one hand was the bailiff of the castle, Hans Schultheiss, possessing feudal rights by charter in the castle and district, such as made him virtually a little lord in the Aargau. Hans was fighting for his own possessions in the castle, and for the preservation of his family's feudal rights in the surrounding villages; but at the same time he was withal thoroughly loyal to the house of Austria, his feudal overlords. On the other hand stood the Bernese who had now been joined by the Zurichers. They were jointly bent on destroying not only the power of the Habsburgs, but also the feudal rights of the bailiffs of Lenzburg; rights which had long aroused the anger and the cupidity of both Berne and Zurich. In more or less strict alliance with the Bernese stood the third party in this triangular struggle — the Empire itself, or rather the Emperor Sigismund himself, represented by his Chamberlain Kunrad von Weinsberg.

So keenly intent were the Bernese on gaining possession of the castle that they undertook to sanction and confirm the feudal rights of the Schultheiss family, that is the rents and revenues payable to Hans and his heirs. But the bait was not swallowed, and no surrender ensued. Then the Imperial Chamberlain offered his intermediation, trusting to the uncertain rumour that the castle would capitulate to him as the representative of the Emperor, even if it would not to the Bernese. He was indeed admitted to the stronghold, and lavished money freely on the garrison. But without result. The place still held out, and in the following August he rode away disgusted at the failure of his intermediation. In the meantime Duke Frederick had made his peace with the Emperor, and Sigismund, now turning round, promised to use his influence to obtain back for the dispossessed Duke such of his territories as the Swiss had so far conquered. Of that promise nothing came, and so the final result of this triangular struggle for the castle was that Hans Schultheiss was left in possession of the Castle of Lenzburg in a semi-independent position, and with a guarantee from Berne that his feudal rights and revenues should be upheld. Henceforth we hear no more of the feudal overlordship of the Habsburgs. The castle which had been their patrimony for centuries was to know them no more.

But though thus rid of his feudal overlord by no desire of his own, the position of Hans Schultheiss was no longer what it had been. The course of the general struggle against the Austrian Dukes had aroused the spirit of the villagers who had hitherto been tamely submissive to the Lenzburg bailiffs. Hans found that, even with the guarantee of Berne, it was no longer possible to exact his rents from some of the subject villages. The people of Sur and Gränichen would no longer acknowledge their suit and service at his petty court, and other subject villages followed their example. Still intent on gaining possession of the castle, the Bernese saw in these disputes concerning feudal dues their coveted opportunity. In the end, where the allied arms of Berne and Zürich had not prevailed, a mere money bargain cheaply won the day. On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of February, 1433, the Bernese purchased from Hans Schultheiss and his wife for 1,200 Renish gulden

## SEALS OF THE FAMILY OF SCHULTHEISS



HENRY SCHULTHEISS  
1380 VII. 19.



RÜDGER SCHULTHEISS,  
DEAN AT SUR  
1362 XII. 21.



ELISABETH SCHULTHEISS,  
WIDOW OF SWEDERUS  
1412 II. 11.



CONRAD RIBI, 'SCHULT-  
HEISS OF LENZBURG  
1357 VII. 11.



JOHN SCHULTHEISS,  
BISHOP OF BRIXEN  
1370 XII. 27.



JOHANNES SCHULTHEISS,  
BISHOP OF GURK  
1363 VII. 27.



HANS SCHULTHEISS  
(SHIELD SEAL)  
1409 XI. 27.



HANS SCHULTHEISS  
(HELMET SEAL)  
1408 II. 6.



WERNHER SCHULTHEISS  
1460 III. 10.





all the rights, and feudal dues in Lenzburg, which the Schultheiss family had derived from the house of Austria, the higher and lower courts pertaining to the County (Grafschaft) of Lenzburg whether in the town of Lenzburg under the Sarbaum, or in other parts of the land, and also the pound toll, and the court rent in the town of Lenzburg itself. Hans himself and his wife were still left in possession of their home, that is of the house called Aarburg in the castle, but a Governor of the town of Berne was located in the south wing of the castle, as the representative of the new owners. In the course of the next generation, in 1360, Wernher Schultheiss son of Hans, for the paltry sum of 120 gulden, sold even these few remaining dregs of the once proud feudal inheritance of his house. He vacated the house called Aarburg in the north wing of the castle, and with his disappearance from the scene, the Schultheiss family sank back into the obscurity from which it had emerged a century before.

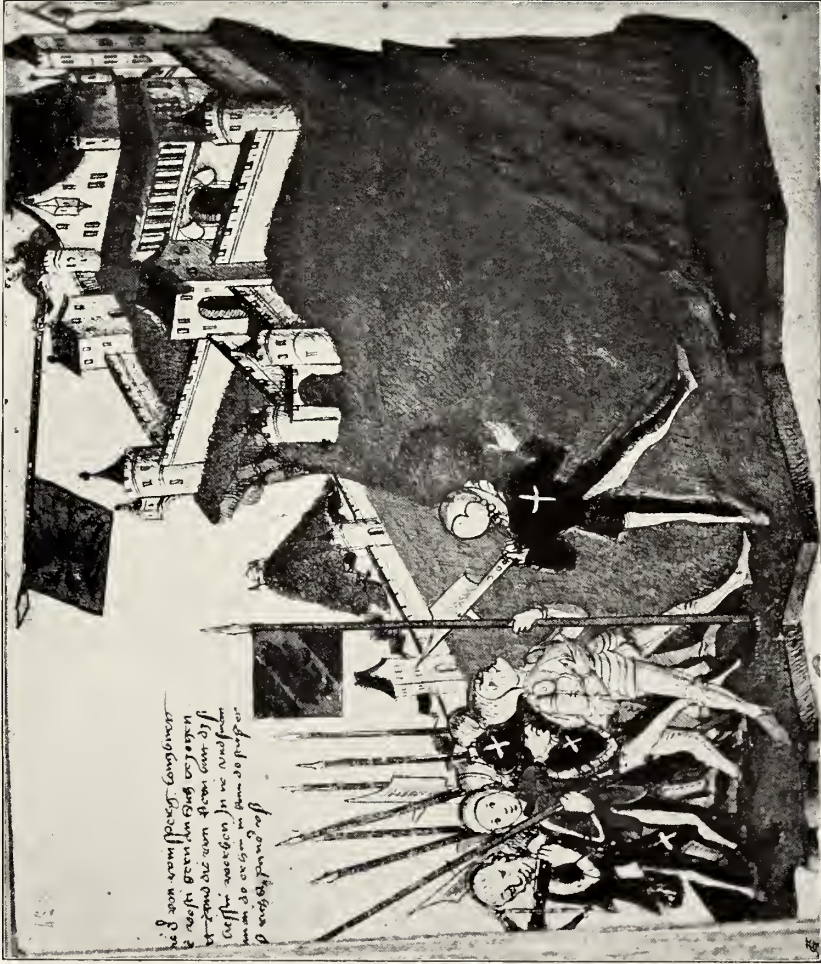
The eager desire of the Bernese to possess themselves of Lenzburg Castle is easy to understand. It was not merely that in their hands the castle became the administrative centre of the Lenzburg district. Much more important was it that the natural strength, and advantageous location of the stronghold afforded them an invaluable lever, and pivot, for those military operations which the boundless ambition of Berne perpetually drove her to. The castle formed another, and strategically a very important, link in that long chain of territorial and military expansion which had marked the history of Berne for more than two centuries.

Selfish as was this policy of Berne, it proved in the end beneficial to the Swiss national cause; and history has passed upon it the seal of approval. For it was this consistent policy of military expansion or ambition on the part of Berne, which ultimately brought Swiss Burgundy into the Federation, and so united the French and German portions of Helvetia. But the indications of the part which the castle played in all the long train of events which ensued, are disappointingly meagre. Throughout the gloomy period of internecine civil strife between Zurich and the Confederate Cantons we

hear nothing of Lenzburg Castle. All we know is that the Bernese took heed to strengthen and improve the fortifications, especially under Adrian von Bubenberg, who acted as Bernese governor of the Castle from 1457 to 1461.

Bubenberg was a born leader of men alike in war and peace. As the chief among the Bernese he played a conspicuous part in the Burgundian war; he had been temporarily expelled from the Council of Berne by reason of political feuds, but the moment the army of Charles the Bold approached the frontier, Bubenberg put himself at the disposal of his country. He was given the task of defending the town of Morat against the invader, and with a little garrison of 1,500 men he held it against 20,000; calmly bidding his masters in Berne to send succour elsewhere, where needed most. "We will hold Morat," ran his lofty message, "even unto death: we will defend ourselves as long as there is a drop of blood in our bodies," and hold it he did.

This heroic figure has left his impress upon Lenzburg too. The archives of Berne contain explicit reference to his work. In 1472 the master worker of Aarburg was sent to the castle to survey the unfinished woodwork, implying that the masonry work had been completed. What was the building in question? Undoubtedly it was the Governor's house. The mediaeval castle could have afforded little of that domestic accommodation which a 15<sup>th</sup> century Patrician of Berne would demand. The only habitable part, the Aarburg, was still occupied by the Schultheiss family. It was therefore natural for Berne to build a fitting house for the accommodation of her Governor. A generation later in 1518 this new Bailiffs' House was destroyed by fire, but even so the traces of Bubenberg's work have not completely disappeared. The principal walls of the present Bailiffs' House undoubtedly belong to his time, and two doorways on the ground floor must, by reason of their Gothic style, be attributed to the same age. To a citizen of Berne the Governor's House, built by his native state and symbolical of her dominion over the Castle, must have possessed even disproportionate interest. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find imaginative artist after artist of the overlord state



12  
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te rechte een hē d' son van spieghel  
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te rechte een hē d' son van spieghel  
te rechte een hē d' son van spieghel

LENZBURG FROM TSCHACHTLAN'S CHRONICLE 1470



portraying it with more of symbolism than truth. Among the numerous miniatures which adorn the pages of the Bernese chronicles of Tschachtlan, belonging to the year 1470, and preserved in the library of Zurich, there is one purporting to represent the castle of Lenzburg. The picture is that of a lordly seat simply rectangular in plan. Assuredly the artist who drew such a picture was not reproducing the actual castle. He could only have had in his mind's eye the construction begun by Bubenberg.

To almost the same period belongs the erection of another structure which has since disappeared, viz. the Horse Mill. The site at least of this building has been traced. It formed the central portion of the House now known as the Berner House (No. 13.). It existed in its original state up to the close of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, with the stables for the horses abutting directly upon it. Mr. Jessup's restorations have revealed in the foundations of the building now occupying this site, curious recesses or grooves cut in the rock, recesses which were doubtless cut for the bedding, or worn by the action of the mill machinery.

Save for the above details of Bubenberg's work the history of the Castle of Lenzburg, its external history in particular, is a blank during the Burgundian wars. But a few years later after the conclusion of the war between Swabia and the Swiss, a second outburst of building zeal occurred. During the course of this Swabian war, which in September 1500 resulted in the separation of the Swiss league from the Empire, the castle of Lenzburg had served as an arsenal for the Swiss.

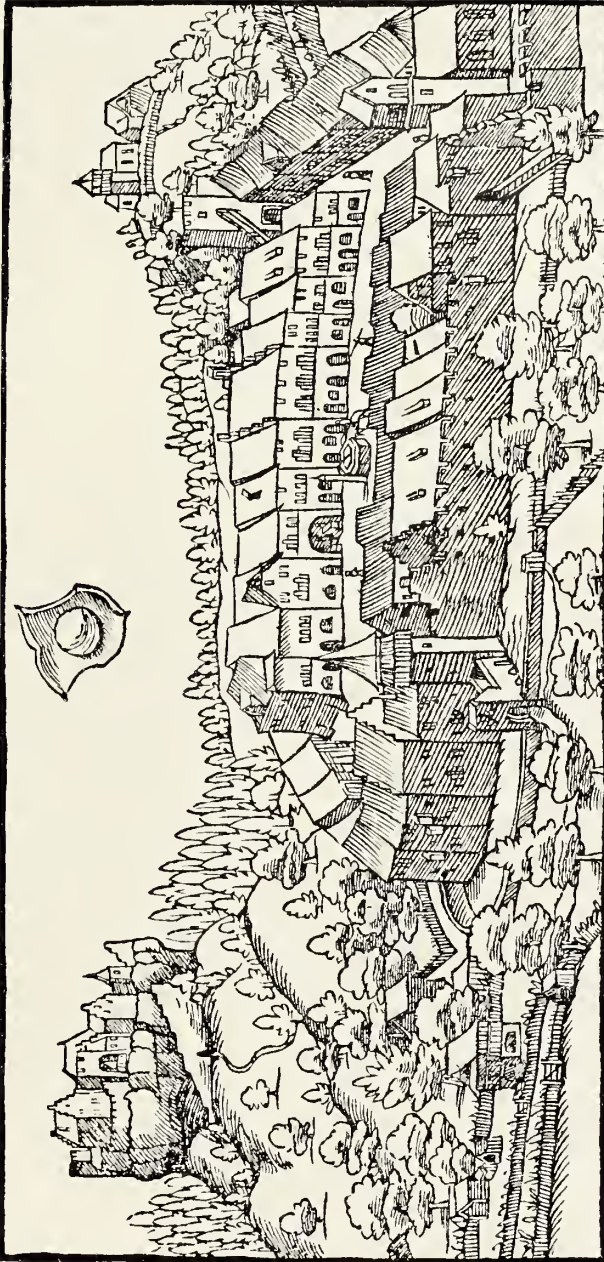
It is remarkable and highly indicative of the tenacious survival of mediæval and feudal institutions within the fabric of the Swiss Confederacy, that at each of these periods of building activity at the castle, bitter disputes arose between the Bernese Governors and the tributary districts which were called upon to furnish each their particular contributions to the building work. In the later of these two instances we still possess the terms of the final treaty, or arrangement, which was come to in 1509 between the town of Berne and the inhabitants of the county of Lenzburg.

In the instance in question, the work concerned the restoration of the Great Knights' Hall, constructed in the 14<sup>th</sup> century by the Austrian Dukes. Doubtless in the course of the 14<sup>th</sup> century this edifice had suffered much, for the contract of the year 1509 points to repairs of considerable importance. The walls and the Gothic windows were untouched, but the interior was completely renewed, the cornices of the wall, the supporting pillars of the flooring, the flooring itself, and even the roof. These items reproduce to-day, and verify in quite a remarkable manner, the details of the written contracts still existing in the archives of Berne. The slender and beautifully proportioned wooden columns supporting the rafters of the ceiling, and the magnificent woodwork of the enormous roof, all date from this restoration of 1509. The architect of the work, Rudolf Haber by name, was a Bernese by birth, as was also the master of the works, Hans Vogeli, but the workmen themselves were drawn from the neighbourhood of Lenzburg and Mellingen.

A few years after the completion of these building operations, the northern portion of the castle was destroyed by fire. The landvogt's house was burned, and one of his children perished in the flames.

The destroyed portions were immediately rebuilt under the Governor Konrad Vogt, but traces of the original structure are still discernible, especially on the ground floor of the Governor's House. Here side by side with two fifteenth century Gothic doorways can be seen a third also — Gothic, but later in style — attributable approximately to the second decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The wooden ceiling of this storey is also of the same period, as are also probably the two great gables of the house, and the carpentry of the roof.

Of the commencement of the Reformation, on the threshold of which Switzerland now stood, we catch several stray glimpses in the history of Lenzburg Castle, but they are not dramatic. The course of the Reformation in Berne decided the religious fate of all her dependencies. Whilst therefore at Zürich, only 30 miles away, Ulrich



THE TOWN, AND CASTLE OF LENZBURG FROM STUMPF'S CHRONICLE, 1548





Zwingli was stirring the religious depths, and overthrowing the whole fabric of mediaeval ecclesiasticism, at Lenzburg we only hear of calm administrative orders of the Bernese governors relative to the performance of the religious duties of the castle chaplain. When in 1528 Berne at last threw in her lot with the Reformation, she abolished this castle chaplaincy, and transferred its endowments to the rectory of Reinach.

During the succeeding period however of peasant unrest, and of the strife between Protestant Zurich and the Catholic Forest Cantons, Lenzburg was frequently in evidence. It lay indeed in the very centre of the military operations which culminated in the battle of Kappel.

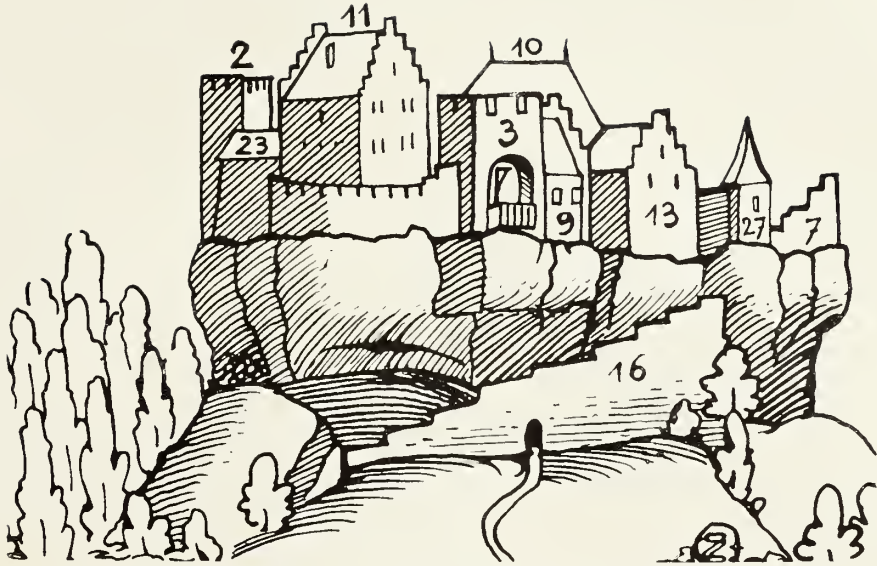
As previously during the Swabian war, so now during these wars of religion, the military need of the moment left their impress on the building operations of the Castle. Mistrusting the Catholic Forest Cantons, even after the conclusion of peace, the Bernese kept the place well stocked as a military magazine.

Between 1530 and 1545 the character of the fortifications was radically changed, the mediaeval ramparts being replaced by bastions capable of containing, and of resisting, artillery. A building contract of the year 1534 mentions a strong rampart near the Gateway. This may have been a reproduction of the ancient castle keep which was provided with a great wheel for raising supplies, and building materials. The nature of the changes which succeeded, is revealed in a graphic view of the castle which we obtain a few years later. This view, belonging to the year 1546, is furnished by a woodcut inserted in the great chronicle of the Swiss Confederacy which, though published in 1548, was certainly drawn up and completed two years earlier. This great work of Stumpf on the towns, countries, and people of the Confederacy, and printed at Zurich at the press of the Frohschauers, contains nearly 2,000 illustrations. Among them is a view of Lenzburg castle. It is taken from the North, and from a considerable elevation. Whilst it shows the town itself in very simplified perspective, the plan of the Castle is detailed and exact. Although on so tiny a scale, this engraving confirms in quite a remarkable way

the conclusions already obtained from the general archaeological survey. But in addition it is of the greatest value for the history of the castle, as it affords details as to which no previous information has survived. The outline of the whole is instantly remarkable, with the conspicuous rocks themselves commanding the summit, and in turn carrying the perched fortress buildings above. Following the view from left to right, the noticeable features are the line of the battlements, the Palace (2), the wall, the Governor's House (11) protected by a rampart, the enormous roof of the Knight's Hall (10), the Aarburg House (9), the mill (13), a turret (27), and the site of a ruined outpost watchtower (7).

From the year 1555 onwards the annual accounts of the bailiffs are preserved, and it is possible to follow the architectural history of the place with complete certainty.

For a long succession of years however these accounts reveal no constructive work of any importance. For sixty years from 1560 to 1620, they are confined to the mere necessary repairs and upkeep of the buildings — a mass of detail of too minute an interest to merit more than merely selective notice. Between 1557 and 1562 parts of the principal entrance were rebuilt, especially the passage (20), and the Drawbridge (14). In 1564 a new room in the Bailiffs' House was decorated with the escutcheons of the Berne Governors, and an earlier painted inscription belonging approximately to the year 1518 was restored. These paintings were discovered in the course of the restorations undertaken by Mr. Jessup, and copies of them are now preserved in the library of the castle. Again between 1585 and 1595 fresh repairs were effected at the principal Gateway, and an inscription affixed commemorating the bailiff Hans Leyerman. This inscription belongs to the year 1587, and is still visible on the right hand side of the passage (20). Another bailiff, Antoine de Erlach, has similarly commemorated his restoration of the Great Gate in 1595, by carving above it in relief the arms of Berne, and those of Erlach.



#### LENZBURG CASTLE IN 1548

Exactly Enlarged portion of the wood-engraving in the Swiss chronicle of Johann Stumpf, published in 1548 at Zurich.  
(for the numbers: see plan I).

- 2 Palace of 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> century.
- 23 Wall afterwards covered by great bastion.
- 11 House of Bubenberg, 15<sup>th</sup> century, burnt in 1518, and restored immediately afterwards.
- 3 Entrance-tower, reconstructed probably in 1534 on the site of an ancient tower of 11 or 12 century.
- 10 Ducal house of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, restored in 1509.
- 9 Aarburg-house built prior to 1339.
- 13 The horse-mill 1489.
- 27 Little tower, probably of 15<sup>th</sup> century, now demolished.
- 7 Site of ancient watch-tower.
- 16 Rampart protecting the Gateway.



In all these minor works a master mason of Lenzburg was employed, Antoine Frymund by name, a worthy who was for years the right hand of the castle Governors. The picturesque turret (17) at the North-East angle of the Castle, dating from 1587, is his creation too, as are also the † shaped loopholes which in 1595 were pierced in the angles of the mill for the purpose of commanding the approach to the Drawbridge. In 1593 this same Frymund also vaulted the Dungeon (1), and six years later the basement of the Palace (2). The last named works were purely material in their intent — the bailiffs wished to use the basements as store cellars, and as might be expected from such play of motive the workmanship possesses no artistic merit. Between 1599 and 1600 Frymund, with the aid of his brother George, also extended the buildings of the mill (13) by adding to it an annexe on the West, and joined the whole of the three separate portions of the Berner House (stables, mill and annexe), by throwing over them a single roof — a feeble copy of that of the Knights' Hall. Here, as in the Gateway with its low proportions, heavy form, and poverty of detail, Frymund's work reveals the lack of artistic sense. But if he was no artist, it can at least be said for him that it was never expected of him. The governing council of Berne had not the princely builder spirit even of the hated and selfish Hapsburg.

If the closing years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century offered little opportunity for the builder spirit, still less promise for him did the opening of the 17<sup>th</sup> century bring. The base spirit of the age even dared the desecration of the chief glory of the castle — the Ducal Hall of the Habsburgs. In order to accomplish its transformation into a granary, a second floor was added in 1616, and eight windows were pierced in the walls.

But in 1625 the dictates of military precaution again inaugurated an era of building at the castle.

Ever and anon as the sound or rumour of war was heard in the Cantons, the Berne governors put forward fresh project upon project for the better fortification of the Castle. The traces of these

projects are not to be found in stone, for they were as a rule resultless, seldom advancing beyond even the initial stages. But they have at least furnished us with a remarkable series of plans of the Castle of Lenzburg, not merely for the period of the Thirty Years' War, but for another half century further. In 1624 Berne employed three commissioners of note to survey, and report on all the castles, and strongholds within her domain. Their report is still preserved at Berne, and it is a perfect mine of topographical knowledge for the period. The portion relating to Lenzburg describes it in picturesque language, as a small town of about 150 houses together with a castle built on a commanding rock beyond the reach of mine or battery, an excellent fortress with open country stretching to the south.

Berne had in her service at this moment a military engineer of the highest reputation, Valentine Friderick, a native of Battelbach in Franconia. Coming to Basel in 1600 as a simple carpenter, he acquired fame by his models and plans of fortifications. Nine years later, on the request of the Council of Berne, he was transferred to her service, and it was by Berne that he was dispatched in 1615 to Durlach, in the territory of the Count of Baden, to investigate a new method of founding cannon. Some years later he is found in the service of Mansfeld. But in 1624 he was once more in the employ of Berne, for in that year the Council requested him to draft a scheme for the improvement of the fortifications in the Aargau. It was in connection with this commission that Friderick visited Lenzburg. Before proceeding to replot the fortifications of the castle, he demanded to be furnished with an exact plan of the Lenzburg as it then stood. This work was entrusted to a native of Berne named Joseph Plepp, who from 1634 onwards till his death in 1641 occupied the position of master worker of the Cathedral of Berne.

Plepp's plan, which is still preserved in the archives of Berne, is remarkable for its detail and transparent fidelity, and like the sketch of Stumpf already noted, it forms a document of inestimable value for the history of the castle. All the then recent constructions are marked on it, especially the mill (13) enlarged in 1599, and its new great roof.



THE DRAWBRIDGE



THE DRAW BRIDGE FROM BELOW







THE PORTER'S LODGE



THE LOWER GATE 1625



Friderick's plan of intended fortification was not drawn up until 1628. In the interim, between 1624 and 1628, a series of tentative works had been carried out, doubtless under the guiding mind of the engineer. The immediate purpose of these works was to provide a stronger defence to the principal entrance, but apart from this military intention they possess artistic value. They comprised the erecting of the outer postern and the charming maisonette containing the great gate-additions, which provided an approach more easily defensible. Above the new doorway the Governor Peter Bucher inserted a pediment containing a square stone plaque bearing the arms of Berne, and below them his own surmounted with a helm and a crest, the imperial eagle crowned, and with supporters, on each side a lion with the imperial globe and sword.

Below this pediment four cornices of stone support a stone slab inscribed with the date 1625.

The stone staircase running alongside the containing wall of the small court (16), was also constructed in this year 1625. The portal of this staircase, equally with that of the grand entrance, possesses distinct artistic charm, with its jambs of carved stone flanked by round loopholes, and surmounted by fretwork projections, the whole displaying a masterly combination of the forms of military architecture with the spirit of the German Renaissance, whilst still preserving the characteristic features which stamp all the work of the Bernese builders.

The masonry work in all these additions was executed by Mathys Frymund, master mason of Lenzburg, possibly a son of the sixteenth century Frymund. But the guiding mind was almost certainly the Engineer Friderick.

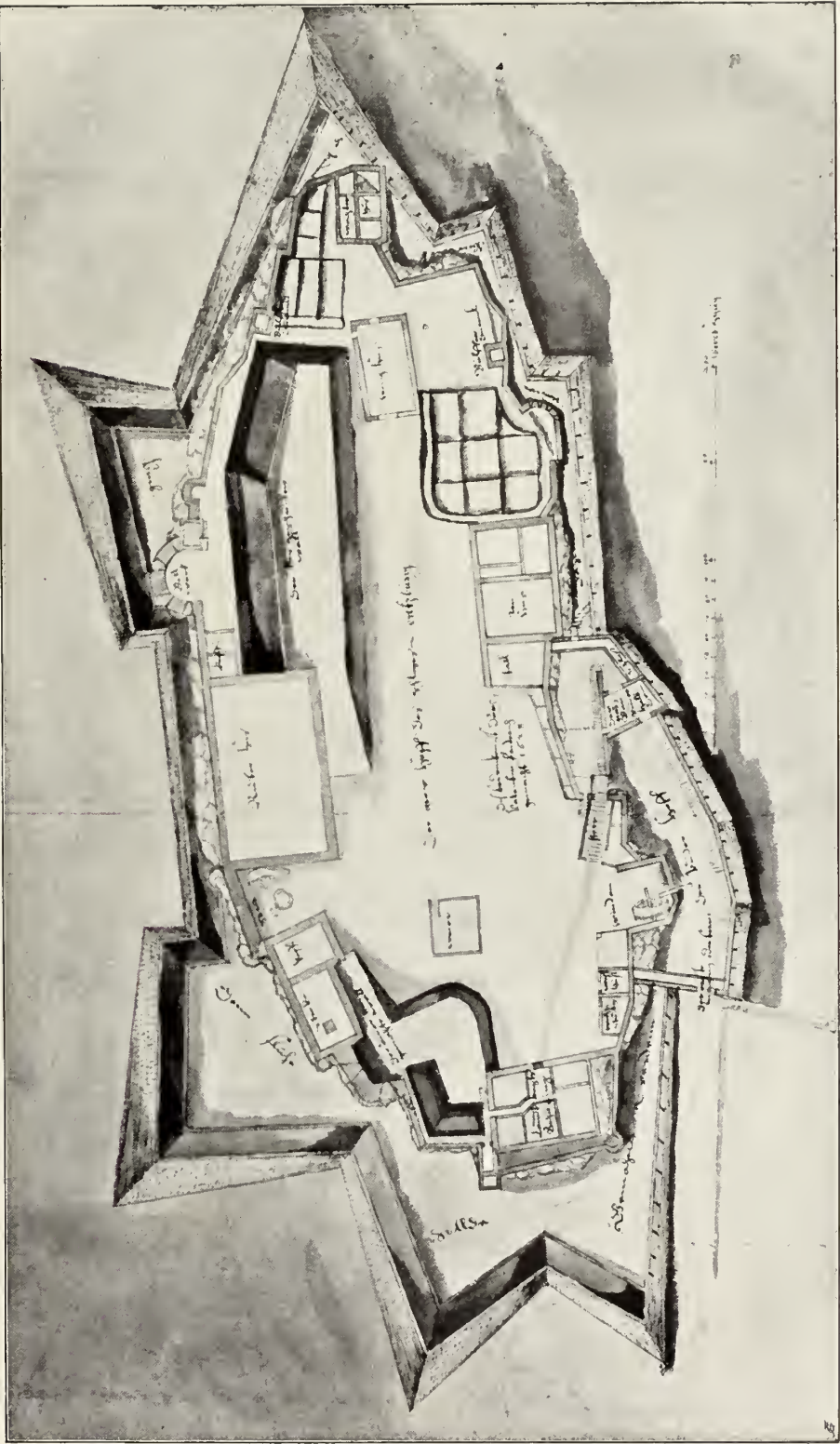
Concurrently with these works, others of a different type were in progress on the castle plateau. The South East turret was added to the Governor's House (11) in 1624, and a commencement was made with the building No. 21, which now links the wheel tower (3)

with the Governor's House. This building, which dates from 1625, comprised a Guard House and a laundry. In addition earthen ramparts or boulevards were begun, running alongside the Knights' Hall (22), and between the Governor's House and the ancient Palace (23). As to these boulevards very curious details have been preserved to us. The inhabitants of the Lenzburg Liberty owed it as a service to the Castle to carry up the materials for the construction. In demanding this customary service, the bailiff was careful to explain that the work was for mutual protection, and that nothing was required beyond their undoubted service of carrying the earth into the Castle. Six of the Castle dependents worked the capstan of the Great Wheel, and to prevent damage by beasts the ramparts were protected by a strong barrier of tumbril staves.

In effect therefore the works of this year 1625 had strengthened the fortifications of the Castle of Lenzburg in two directions, that of the principal entrance, and that of the ramparts (22 and 23), on which cannon could now be mounted for defence.

Considerable as they were however, these works were intended as merely preliminary to the grandiose scheme which the engineer Friderick had conceived. In 1628 he presented his project to the Council of Berne — a project which, it is true, was destined never to be carried out, but which is nevertheless remarkable. He proposed to encircle the castle with a series of bastions which would command the district alike for defence and offence. On the South, two bastions connected by a screen running in front of the Knights' Hall, and on the East and West again other great bastions. On the West side of the castle the abrupt precipitous rocks formed a natural defence rendering extensive outworks unnecessary. Accordingly here he projected only small outworks for the defence of the Gateway.

That the plan was not carried out is attributable only to the expense it would have involved. Confining herself to a less ambitious scheme, Berne was for the moment contented with provisioning and arming the Castle for, if necessary, a garrison of 100 men. Friderick's plan was laid aside, and in its stead the Berne Governors busied



THE SCHEME OF FORTIFICATIONS FOR THE CASTLE OF LENZBURG PLANNED BY VALENTINE FREDERICK IN 1628



themselves with such modest works as their predecessors had carried out. In 1630 the Governor, John Jacob Manuel, built the picturesque staircase tower looking on the Great Court, and in front of the Governor's House.

This tower contains a circular staircase of stone which doubtless replaced an earlier one which must have existed in the Governor's House. The present staircase is still in a state of excellent preservation, and its entrance is closed by a stone portal in the rather heavy style of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Bernese architecture.

But, although laid aside for the moment, the idea of fortifying the Castle on a systematic and grandiose scale was not entirely lost sight of. Friderick's unaccomplished design was a few years later, in 1641, if anything eclipsed in its ambitiousness by an equally abortive one of Niklaus Willading. The plans of this project, covering five large sheets are still, as are those of Friderick, preserved in the archives of Berne.

Like his predecessor in military skill Willading, was unlike in his origin. He belonged to an ancient patrician Bernese family, and during his long life (he died in 1657), he rose to be a great councillor of his native state. Following the general scheme of Friderick's plan, Willading proposed to encircle the castle with a chain of bastions and ramparts. But, as before, so now: the proposal was not carried out save in one small instalment only. On the Western terrace of the Castle an enormous bastion was erected (23), to replace the earthen bastion begun in 1625. The work was completed between 1641 and 1646.

From an aesthetic standpoint, it may be, this new addition did not improve the appearance of the Castle, any more than it added to its internal comfort. For the bastion was carried to such a height as to completely mask the Southern face of the Governor's House. The restorations undertaken by Mr. Jessup however have had the effect of completely removing this inconvenience. The bastion has been lowered by 8 m 70, and the removed portion has been religiously rebuilt as a part of the Terrace. The result has been not merely to relieve the South front of the Governor's House, but also to add a most picturesque feature to the Terrace itself.

The construction of this bastion, between 1641 and 1646, was directed by Willading, aided by a celebrated military engineer of Zurich, Johann Georg Werdmuller.

The unaccomplished project of Wallading had an inwardness of its own. It represents a scheme of fortification which the domineering but uneasy Bernese had contemplated at a time when ominous mutterings of revolt were sounding in the Aargau against Berne's system of taxation. Not, however, that the question of taxation was the only underlying cause of the peasants' revolt. The roots of that upheaval, brief as was its period, and bloody as was to be its close, lay much deeper. By the middle of the seventeenth century the government of the chief Swiss states had become in everything save the name essentially aristocratic, a miniature imitation of the absolute system of rule of the French monarchy. As against such perversion of the very name and breath of Swiss freedom, the peasant revolt represented much more than a mere constitutional protest against a poll tax. It was the concrete expression of a movement which was at once democratic and socialistic — a phenomenon which could be easily paralleled in the history of the English Civil War and Commonwealth period, as well as elsewhere.

Fully conscious of the danger, Berne made such hasty fortifications as her generally niggardly finance permitted for the moment, and took provision for maintaining in the castle a garrison of 160 men, intending in case of a siege to increase that number to 300 men. For this force stores for six months were ordered to be laid up in the Castle. The event justified her precaution. For when at last in March 1653, the long threatened storm broke over Berne's head, Lenzburg castle was the centre of the theatre of operations. The troops of Zurich, Glarus, Appenzell, and St. Gall, and 500 men from Berne, were ordered to rendezvous at the castle. For two days, from the 28<sup>th</sup> to the 30<sup>th</sup> of March, the peasantry of the county of Lenzburg lay in arms before the stronghold. But a partial understanding was arrived at. A number of the peasants' demands were granted by the rulers of Berne, and for the moment the revolt appeared to be over. In the following May however it broke out again, and on a





FORTIFICATIONS PLANNED FOR THE CASTLE OF LENZBURG BY NICHOLAS WILLADING IN 1641



larger scale. But at Wolenswil on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June the peasants were dealt a crushing blow, and a policy half of repression, half of conciliation, swiftly ended the futile revolt. The 700 Thurgauers who had garrisoned the Castle of Lenzburg were withdrawn, and by July there were only 30 men left in the fortress.

The moment the common danger had been met and crushed, the mutual jealousies of the aristocratic factions re-appeared, and Berne took the field against the Lucerners, only to suffer a defeat at their hands at Vilmergen in January 1656. During these renewed operations Lenzburg Castle had been again occupied by a Bernese garrison, which did not depart until the following March.

As invariably the case before, these events coupled with the happily false alarms of war three years later, left their impress on the building schemes of the castle.

In 1659 the great bastion was crowned by the turret which now contains the castle clock (25). Half masked by the thick foliage of the Terrace trees, this turret with its curved roof forms at the present day one of the most picturesque features of the whole structure.

Somewhat later, towards the close of the century, more important works still were constructed between the Gateway Tower and the Governor's House. Originally at this spot there existed only the rampart, but on Plepp's plan of the year 1624, a shed is marked which served for storing wood. A year later, in 1625, as has been seen already, this temporary structure was replaced by the Guard House and the Laundry. At last in 1673, under the Governor Immanuel de Grafenriet, these small buildings were replaced by a series of others of greater importance, if judged from their mere size, but otherwise quite insignificant from the point of view of artistic effect.

The architectural history of the Castle in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it will be gathered from the above brief survey, is an exciting one, though more so in its promises and projects than in its achievements. Nevertheless the Gateways (18) and (19), the eastern rampart to the East of the Knights' Hall (22), the great bastion to the East (23), and the picturesque clock tower (25), much as they fall short of the ambitious

schemes of Friderick and Willading, have still the charm of their war time birth upon them, and still to the inner ear resound the tread of the armed heel and the call to battle.

With the opening of the much abused 18<sup>th</sup> century, this glint and glamour of high romance flee away, and castle and hall are wrapped in the chilly atmosphere of later day utilitarianism. No fortifications, no constructive works at all grace its history. The multitudinous repairs of detail which fill its annals were only practical in purpose and, as a rule utterly devoid of taste. Most of them have been happily swept away by Mr. Jessup's restoration, though a faithful record of them has been preserved.

Early in the century, the Wheelhouse (3), which as yet had stood completely open, was closed by a dome with a decorated summit and a second storey was added. In 1732 the charming staircase reminiscent of the best features of eighteenth century Bernese art was built by Daniel Sturler — the very Governor whose other contributions to the castle's architecture, now happily swept away, (the granary built over the Dungeon and the Well House and so on), were marked by inveterate and irredeemable bad taste. Beyond these works, and the grand Terrace Wall (26), built in 1763, the 18<sup>th</sup> century witnessed no constructive architectural efforts worthy of even passing note.

And if the architectural record of the castle was uneventful, so also was its external political history. Throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Castle remained undisturbed in the hands of the Berne Governors, and not an echo is heard within its wall of those conflicts of nations, and stirrings of intellectual life, which were convulsing Europe.

When however with the close of the eighteenth century the magnetism of the French revolution was felt in the Swiss Cantons, the domains subject to Berne witnessed a recrudescence of the popular movement which had been so rigorously repressed a century and a half earlier. In January 1798 the erection of a tree of liberty called the Aargau to revolt. For the moment Berne was again successful in repressing the upheaval, just as she had been in 1653. But



THE DUNGEON TOWER



A CORNER OF THE GARDEN, SHOWING  
THE KNIGHTS' HALL



her success was transient. In the following March the French hosts burst into the Cantons, and when, five years later, the hour of liberty struck, a new Confederacy had emerged, and with it the new Canton of Aargau. To this Canton on the 5<sup>th</sup> June 1804 the castle of Lenzburg was assigned as a possession.

Under the rule of the Canton, various projects were mooted concerning the castle, but they happily remained mostly abortive. In 1813 it was proposed to make it a military hospice for the Confederacy, and again five years later to transform it into a central Swiss military school. After a variety of such proposals had been in turn mooted and negatived the castle buildings were at last in 1822 leased to Johan Karl Christian Lippe for the purpose of establishing an academy for boys. The academy survived as quite a private affair until Lippe's death in 1853. After Lippe's death the Academy succumbed, and for a time the Aargau authorities could not decide what to do with the Castle. Various proposals for the utilisation of the castle were again put forward, but came to nothing, and at last in February 1860 it was sold, and passed into the possession of the children of Kunrad Ludwig Pestalozzi. From them in turn twelve years later, in 1872, it was purchased by Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm Wedekind of San Francisco, whose heirs in 1893 sold it to the present owner Mr. A. E. Jessup.

The period of Mr. Jessup's ownership of the Castle has been made memorable by one of the most remarkable series of restorations on record. These restorations have completely changed the aspect of great portions of the structure.

It has been seen that, during the Bernese occupation, the castle had been used as a residence for their governors, and as a military depot. As a result, its former characteristics had undergone a drastic change. The oldest parts, which are the most interesting from the point of view both of art and archaeology, were shockingly maltreated — the immense Hall of Knights transformed into a granary, split up into several floors lighted only by ugly rectangular windows — the Barbarossa Hall, the ancient Dungeon, and the little Courtyard of the well all roofed in together, forming one shapeless barn —

it was the heyday of blank utilitarianism, and rarely indeed has it been the lot of the restorer to cope with alterations so utterly opposed to artistic feeling. The portions of the Castle which had been inhabited by the Bernese Governors were in as miserable a condition, and the whole wore an air of neglect and decay.

For one who takes delight in things that are beautiful, both in themselves, and for their historical associations, here was an admirable field for assiduous and serious labour. Anyone who saw the Castle in those days cannot fail on returning after fifteen years of absence, to be struck with the immense extent of the work which has been accomplished during that time. To-day it is possible for the visitor desirous of approaching the castle to choose between the steep cobble stone road of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and the carefully-engineered carriage drive which in its gradual sweeps encircles the whole of the orchard and vine-clad hill upon which the historic pile stands, unfolding to the eye at each turn an ever-changing expanse of haunting landscape, near and far. A portion of the vast courtyard is now a deliciously picturesque garden, where various rare trees pay their tribute to the waning year; while the fortress itself contains a magnificent series of halls and apartments furnished with exquisite taste, whose contents suggest a fine museum of antiquity, wherein many a profitable hour may be spent by artist and archaeologist alike, though the electric light has replaced the torch, and the electric bell and telephone the bugle call and armed messenger.

A brief round of the Castle as it stands to-day will serve to emphasize some of the more important works of restoration. Passing up through the two fine gates of wrought iron which span the carriage road constructed in 1902, we reach the little Porter's Lodge, a picturesque structure of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, whence we are brought to where the Principal Gateway confronts the ascent, calm, peremptory, unyielding in its mediaeval strength. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Drawbridge, its most forceful and characteristic feature, had been removed. It is now replaced with jealous care, to its every detail, and stands to-day in the exact form in which it stood three hundred years ago, when it repulsed every onslaught.



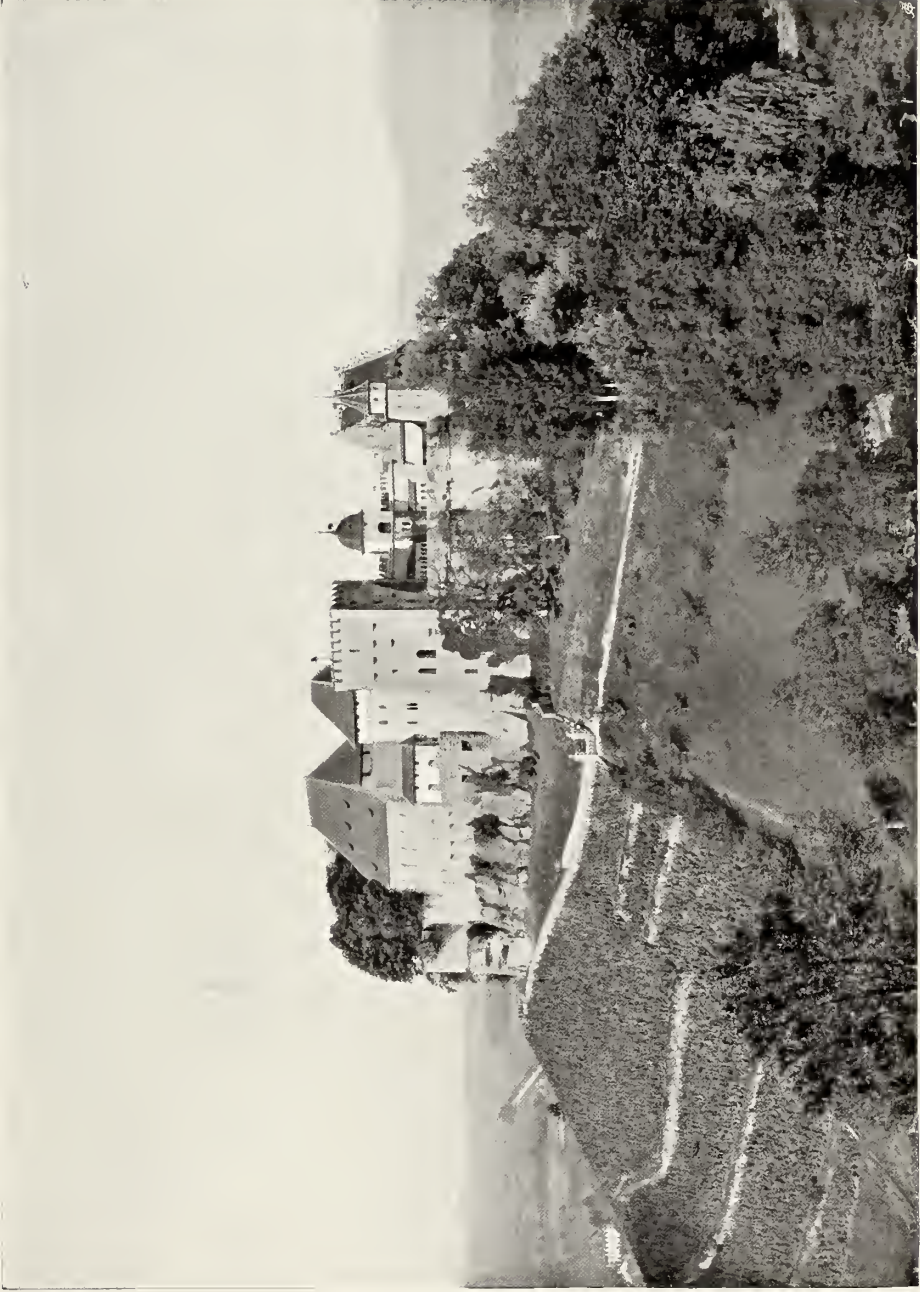


THE NEW DRIVE



THE GREAT BASTION WITH ALLEY OF AGED TREES





THE CASTLE OF LENZBURG (1902) AND THE VINEYARDS



Within the building which connects the entrance with the Governor's House have been reinstated the ample kitchen, and offices of the Middle Ages, with the addition of the most modern conveniences. Directly above is the Dining Room, decorated with notable specimens of antiquity, chief among which may be mentioned the remarkably fine 17<sup>th</sup> century panelling with which the walls are covered, and yet above this, we come upon the Music Room, gracefully furnished in the Louis XVI style and hung with a choice collection of pictures. Next to the Music Room (in the direction of the Gateway), is another apartment, noteworthy for its splendid porcelain stove of the year 1758, upon which is a very striking portrayal of the Castle as it appeared a hundred years before.

Especially important has been the restoration of the Governor's House. The Salon, adjoining the Dining Room, was the object of peculiar care. Its Gothic ceiling, of which a small portion was rediscovered, has been scrupulously restored, and the mediaeval fireplace, secured by Mr. Jessup from the world famous house of Winkelried at Stans, placed in the Southern wall. This apartment contains a unique collection of ancient Gothic furniture, with many valuable specimens of inlaid work of the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Passing up the spiral stair in the tower of 1630, we catch a glimpse through the narrow casement of the beautiful Louis XV forged iron railing which separates the Courtyard from the smooth walks and rose-bedded lawns of the modern garden. We have now reached the principal floor of the house of the famous Adrian von Bubenbergh, diplomat, statesman, and warrior — the Chastiser of Charles the Bold. Immediately above the Salon of which we have spoken, is a spacious bedroom, decorated in Renaissance style in which the richly carved doorways are a notable feature. From its Gothic balcony of stone the eye ranges northward, over the pine-clad slopes and pleasant vales of Argovie, to the long dim line of the Black Forest.

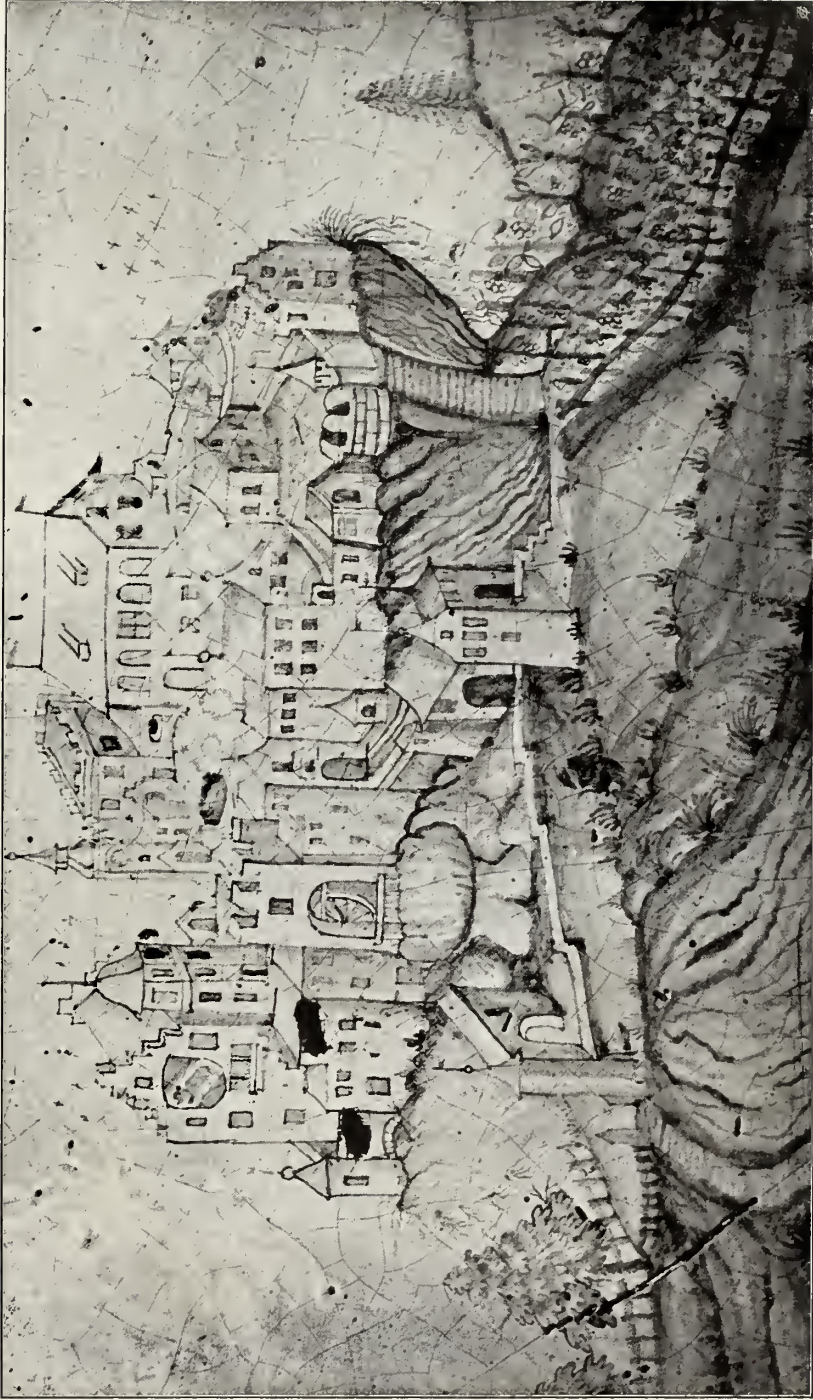
Turning to the southern apartments, we are face to face with what is perhaps the gem of the whole castle — a boudoir (Louis XVI) and its adjoining bedroom (Louis XV) exquisitely decorated, with

carved windows looking over the dream-like rose garden which hangs' twixt tower and valley, like the garden of Semiramis, far away to the snowclad Alps. Here, amidst the grey towers and bastions of this war-worn, yet still unconquered hold, it is that the feminine heart loves to dwell.

From this wing, a cloistered passage, skirting the rose-garden, leads to the Palace of Barbarossa (the Barbarossa Hall) — the banqueting hall of the Kaiser when he held his court at Lenzburg in the year 1173. This, the most historical portion of the castle, which had been degraded to a granary by the vandalism of the Bernese Governors, has been restored to its original state. It now consists of two noble halls, the upper, a Museum filled with a rare collection from all quarters of the world, the lower, a banqueting hall whose large proportions and austere character recall the stern and masterful warriors of the Crusades. Here the walls hung with armour and tapestry, almost persuade the visitor that he is not of his own day.

Below, the 10<sup>th</sup> century dungeon, where the Papal Legate, Abbot Bernhart of Marseilles, chafed out his six weary months of captivity in 1077, the oubliette of the past is the cellar of to-day, whose lofty vault is annually filled with the famous wine from the vineyards of the castle hill. The Dungeon and keep have been restored on their original lines, adding immeasurably to the harmonious contour of the buildings as a whole. Within the commanding tower thus formed, is situated the Castle Library, adorned with an interesting 16<sup>th</sup> century chimney and bookcases of the same period, and from the walls the arms of the burgher Governors (from 1445 to 1564) look down on a room furnished according to the models of their day.

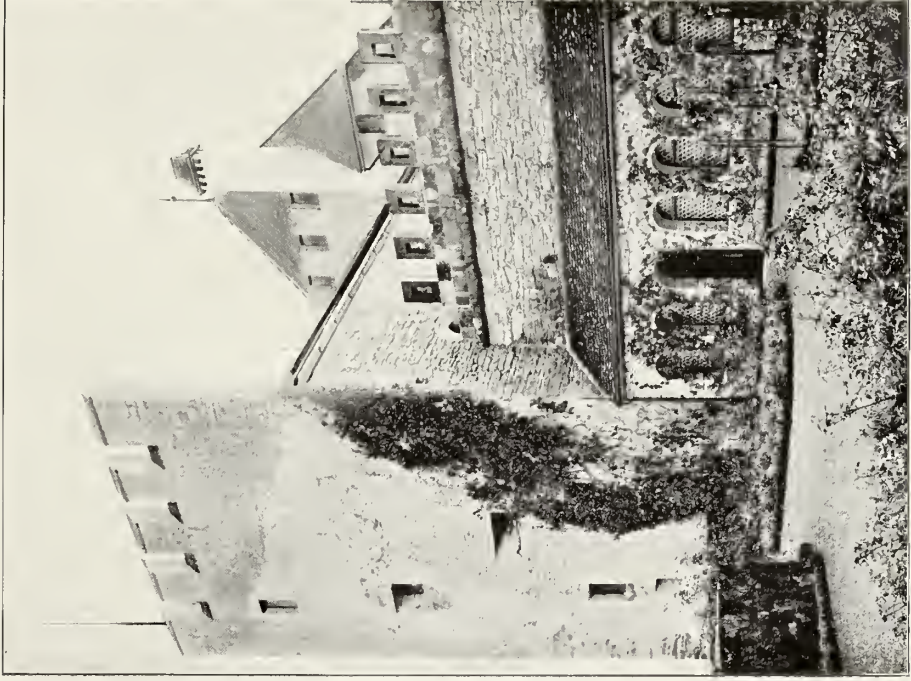
To connect the ancient Palace with the Knights' Hall, Mr. Jessup has constructed a Gallery — here, as throughout, in general harmony with the idea, doubtless historically true — that in the early days, all the parts of the fortress were connected by covered ways on one level, permitting the armed watch to make its hourly circuit of the whole summit unimpeded. As the uninspired Bernese had dealt with the Palace of Barbarossa, so had they with the Knights' Hall



THE CASTLE OF LENZBURG IN THE 17<sup>th</sup> CENTURY, FROM THE VIEW ON THE STOVE (1758) STILL PRESERVED IN THE CASTLE







THE ROSE-GARDEN SHOWING CLOISTERED PASSAGE  
TO THE BARBAROSSA HALL



THE ROSE-GARDEN SHOWING CARVED WINDOWS  
OF LOUIS XVI. BOUDOIR



of the Austrian Archdukes. To-day all is changed, and this great Hall with its trophy-decorated walls stands once more, a speaking witness to the imaginative boldness and uncurbable strength of the Age of Chivalry. The beautiful Gothic windows also on the South side of this Hall, which the Bernese had ignorantly blocked up, have been unmasked and opened out, adding a lingering note of Gothic Faith to that of self-revelling mediaeval strength. Opposite, across the Courtyard, the picturesque Berner House with its hooded roof contains yet again numerous suites of apartments, all with their electric light, and their perfect modern sanitation — which forms a distinctive feature of the whole castle. Much else has been done, all in its way of note, in the lavish instalment of the appointments throughout the buildings, and to-day the pure spring water, conveyed for miles in iron pipes from the loftier hills, flows unaided at all times of the year to the numerous bathrooms whose elaborate fittings would have satisfied even Roman luxury. But from material comforts of these latter days the mind turns, as from things wholly insignificant, to the ramparts and the ancient halls, and to the brooding spirit of antiquity once again restored to its ancient seat, and enshrined in walls vocal with trumpet peal, with clang of strife, and deeds of high emprise. As she stands to-day — renewed, rock perched and battlemented still, proud in her wide halls, yet touched to even feminine grace of form and line by the softening hand of uncounted time — the Castle of Lenzburg is probably unique among all the mediaeval relics in Central Europe — a miniature of those thousand years of eventful history, which link the ancient with the modern world.

THE END.





THE DINING ROOM





THE SALON OF ADRIAN VON BUBENBERG'S HOUSE







BEDROOM IN ADRIAN VON BUBENBERG'S HOUSE OF THE EARLY PART OF THE 17<sup>th</sup> CENTURY





RENAISSANCE BEDROOM





LOUIS XVI. BOUDOIR





LOUIS XVI. BOUDOIR







LOUIS XV. BEDROOM





LOUIS XV. BEDROOM





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