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Beyond Berlin: Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Bureaucracy, and Rhenish Ecclesiastical Architecture, 1815–1840

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in the History of Art and Architecture

by

Laura Ann diZerega

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June 2021

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May 2021

Beyond Berlin: Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Bureaucracy, and Rhenish Ecclesiastical Architecture, 1815–1840

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by

Laura Ann diZerega

DEDICATION

To the memory of Suzanne Holtzman Wallace (1955–2020)

with love and gratitude for showing me the way

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is a great pleasure to acknowledge the many individuals and institutions who helped make this dissertation possible.

This project required the close and sustained study of archival materials in Berlin, Koblenz, Düsseldorf, and Boppard, Germany, and I am grateful for the generous support of doctoral research fellowships from the German Studies Association's Berlin Program for Advanced German and European Studies at the Freie Universität Berlin (2016–17) and the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (2017) in Berlin. My work also benefited from the support of a Dean's Fellowship and a Dissertation Writing Fellowship from the University of California, Santa Barbara. The Margaret Mallory Travel Research Grant from the Department of the History of Art and Architecture at UCSB funded my initial visits to German archives during the summer of 2014.

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During my stay in Europe, several senior scholars generously gave their time at conferences and meetings to discuss my research. Their challenging questions helped shape this document, and thanks are due to Iain Boyd White, Sigrid Genischen, Gudrun Gersmann, Bärbel Holtz, Hubertus Kohle, Werner Oechslin, Martin Pozsgai, Michael Rowe, Carsten Ruhl, Christiane Salge, Reinhart Strecke, and Jörg Trempler. Karin Goihl, Academic Coordinator of the Berlin Program, helped me navigate multiple German bureaucracies—federal, state, university, and archival—with calm authority and humor. Professor Christian Freigang generously directed me to critical resources and invited me to participate in the enriching intellectual environment of his architectural history Doktoranden Kolloquium at the Freie Universität. My Berlin Program fellowship cohort offered useful feedback on my early work, and I benefited from the encouragement and camaraderie of Evan Carver, Sultan Doughan, Johanna Folland, Jake Fraser, Candice Hamelin, Tara Hottman, Christopher Miller, Josef Nothmann, Brian Van Wyck, Naomi Vaughan, and Leigh York. I am grateful to Dr. Hamelin for always keeping my chin up and spirits high. The wit, intellect, and steadfast friendship of my dear Berlin Program and Geheimes Staatsarchiv comrade Josef Nothmann brightened my days in Dahlem. The kindness of Brendan Haidinger, Marta Oliveira Sonius, Verena Lowitzsch, Slada Stefanovic, the Celik Family, and the Korell Family brought much joy to my time in Germany.

I am very fortunate for the supportive intellectual community of the Department of the History of Art and Architecture at the University of California, Santa Barbara. I wish to convey

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My initial dissertation committee members, Professors Richard Wittman (Committee Chair), Bruce Robertson, and Swati Chattopadhyay, expertly guided this process over the six years from prospectus until completion. Their wise editorial interventions and generous support proved invaluable at every stage. My heartfelt thanks are due to Bruce Robertson for his special role as a mentor within and beyond academia. I am indebted to Swati Chattopadhyay for challenging me to deepen my theoretical approach, a process that is by no means finished. Recently, I was honored to add Professor Barry Bergdoll of Columbia University to my dissertation committee. Professor Bergdoll's matchless scholarship on Karl Friedrich Schinkel, and on numerous facets of nineteenth-century European architecture more broadly, is a model and inspiration for my own work. His close reading of my dissertation, and his incisive identification of passages in need of revision, significantly improved the finished product. His insights will continue to inform further iterations of this research, and I am most grateful for his time and efforts on behalf of my project.

One of the joys of working on this dissertation was the opportunity to be Richard Wittman's advisee. His erudition and passion for nineteenth-century European architecture opened the door to a boundlessly joyful intellectual journey. I am enormously grateful for his steadfast support, trenchant criticisms, and wise, patient, and witty counsel. His scholarly work provided me with a model for precise, elegant language, dogged research, and intellectual rigor. Richard made it clear that, as his advisee, the bar would be set very high; thankfully, he did not hesitate to tell me when I came up short. He continually encouraged me to dig deeper, and his belief in my efforts served to solidify my own. While the errors on these pages are all mine, what may be deemed worthwhile herein results from his unwavering commitment to this project.

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ABSTRACT

Beyond Berlin: Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Bureaucracy, and Rhenish Ecclesiastical Architecture, 1815–1840

by

Laura Ann diZerega

This dissertation establishes the pivotal role of ecclesiastical architecture and its bureaucratic administration in forging modern, politically engaged publics in early nineteenth-century Prussia. It focuses on church building in the formerly French-occupied Rhineland, a large majority-Catholic territory on the Rhine river that was awarded to Protestant Prussia following the defeat of Napoléon in 1815. The differences between Rhenish provincials and their new Berlin overlords extended well beyond divergent confessional identities, as French occupation of the Rhineland from 1794 to 1814 had bestowed the region with a markedly more progressive economic, legal, and social character than its new Prussian rulers.

One aspect of the Prussian government's desire to bring its newly acquired provinces into the state's hegemonic fold was the mandate that all new provincial architectural projects, including even modest village churches, be subjected to bureaucratic review and approval by the central government. Designs for Rhenish churches had to travel from local parish councils to the desks of bureaucrats in faraway Berlin, where Prussian state architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841) assessed the aesthetic merits of all public representational buildings. In

Berlin, Rhenish church designs were subjected to often harsh critique, demands for modification, or outright rejection. Critically, my research revealed that this bureaucratic process of regulation did not function in the frictionless, top-down manner envisaged by Berlin, as scholars have long assumed. Rather, many Rhenish parishes actively resisted Berlin's interventions, protesting its remotely rendered judgments and defying its orders, in protracted bureaucratic battles that often played out over a decade or more. The Prussian state's top-down bureaucratic mandates thus had the effect of driving bottom-up engagement by Rhenish faith communities with the machinery of civil society.

My study begins with the introduction of a novel theoretical framework to support the consideration of bureaucratic operations as a methodological apparatus for studying early nineteenth-century architecture, its publics, and its makers. The social, legal, and economic character of the Rhineland in the early nineteenth century is then reviewed, as is the history and operational structure of the Prussian state building bureaucracy, the *Oberbaudeputation*, from its establishment in 1770 until 1840. Two detailed case studies of Catholic and Protestant church building initiatives follow, demonstrating how Rhenish parishioners approached their bureaucratic interactions with the Prussian state largely as equals, confident in their right and competence to judge, criticize, and advocate for desired outcomes on architectural initiatives—even in dialogue with figures with a pan-European reputation like Schinkel. The final chapter examines Berlin's bureaucratic interventions to grow the Protestant church in its provinces, including generous financial support for building projects and the introduction of a standardized template, designed by Schinkel, for all Protestant village churches.

In conclusion, this study argues that the Prussian bureaucratization of ecclesiastical architecture compelled members of the Rhenish public to serve as arbiters of their own interests

vis-à-vis state power structures. Community-based participation in local church-building taught provincials the power to be had from projecting beyond the sphere of the parish. In this respect, my dissertation offers new and significant elements of a prehistory of the confessional activism that characterized the Rhineland from the famous movement to complete Cologne Cathedral (1842–1880) to the 1848 revolutions and beyond. This study also aims to take its place amid a growing body of scholarship that locates emergent modernities in sacred, often rural spaces, rather than the more familiar settings of secular urbanity.

Beyond Berlin: Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Bureaucracy, and Rhenish Ecclesiastical Architecture, 1815–1840

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INTRODUCTION: A Theoretical Framework for the Study of Bureaucracy

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I. PRUSSIA AND THE POST-NAPOLEONIC RHINELAND: AN INTRODUCTION

> They view their region not as an integrated part of the Prussian monarchy, but as some unique country under His Majesty's scepter with its own institutions and laws, occupied and administered by a foreign military and foreign bureaucrats. And in this case, I cannot deny that the region and the people also did not give me the impression that I found myself in the Prussian Fatherland surrounded by my fellow citizens, rather I also had the impression of a foreign country occupied and administered by Prussia.
>
> - State Security Minister Gustav von Rochow reporting on the Prussian Rhineland to King Friedrich Wilhelm III, 31 August 1837[1]

[1] Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (GStA PK) I HA Rep 89 Nr. 13612, 183. The German text reads: "Sie betrachten ihr Land nicht als einen intergrirenden Theil der preussischen Monarchie, sondern als ein Euer Königliche Majestät Scepter unterworfenens besonderes Land mit eigenen Institutionen und Gesetzen, occupirt und verwaltet von fremden Militair und fremden Beamten. Und in der That, ich vermag es nicht in Abrede zu stellen, auch auf mich hat das Land und das Volk nicht dem Eindruck gemacht, als befaende ich mich im preussischen Vaterlande und unter Landsleuten, auch mir gewaehrte es dem Eindruck eines von Preussen occupirten und verwalteten fremden Landes."

A quarter century after the Rhineland's transfer to Prussian rule in 1815, the region still merited description as a "foreign country," occupied and administered by soldiers and bureaucrats from the royal capital four hundred miles away. At first glance, von Rochow's assessment might seem surprising from the historical distance of two centuries. Were the Prussians and the Rhenish not both "Germans," part of a larger *Kulturnation* that shared a language and a cultural patrimony ranging from Dürer to Goethe, from Erwin von Steinbach to Ludwig van Beethoven? Yet French occupation of the Rhineland from 1794–1815 had bestowed the region with an economic, legal and social character distinct from those of its new Prussian rulers. In addition, the confessional contrast between the Rhineland and Prussia revealed stark differences: Catholics constituted 75% of the Rhenish populace (95% in the archbishopric of Cologne), while the confessional makeup of the Prussian state in 1817, even with the additions of overwhelmingly Catholic territories in the Rhineland and Westphalia in 1815, remained 60% Protestant.[2] Rhenish churches, particularly Catholic ones, had suffered considerably in the years 1794–1815, largely from a combination of French secularization policies, the seizure and sale of ecclesiastical properties, and the damages, as well as the deferred maintenance, of wartime. And throughout the region, hundreds of parish churches required considerable repairs and, often, outright rebuilding.

Von Rochow's 1837 characterization of the Rhineland as a foreign land demonstrates how the differences between Berlin and its western province persisted through decades of

[2] For figures on Catholicism, see James Brophy, *Popular Culture and the Public Sphere in the Rhineland, 1800– 1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 257. For the figures on Protestantism, see Christina Rathgeber, "Das Kultusministerium und die Kirchenpolitik, 1817–1934" in *Acta Borussica, Preussen als Kulturstaat*, Band 2.1, ed. Wolfgang Neugebauer, (Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012), 292.

Prussian rule. In describing the Rhineland as "a unique country…with its own institutions and laws," von Rochow made reference to the comparatively progressive French legal system, the Code Civil, introduced in the region by the French authorities in 1804, and one which theoretically recognized all citizens as equal before the law—in glaring contrast to the tripartite structure of the Prussian General Code of 1794 which organized society into nobility, bourgeoisie, and peasantry, and permitted, for example, the imprisonment of peasants by nobles for forty-eight hours without a court ruling. Catholic and Protestant Rhinelanders alike had grown accustomed to the Code Civil and feared the revocation of their French-based institutions and legal code. Elite Rhinelanders had grown adept at representing their interests, first within both the decentralized Holy Roman Empire and later in the administrative *departéments* of the French government, and deemed themselves largely equipped to contend with the bureaucratic apparatus of a Prussian monarchy they viewed as antiquated. As historian Michael Rowe summarized, conservative Prussians, on the other hand, viewed Rhinelanders "as carriers of foreign contagion, be it French, Habsburg, or Catholic."[3]

In the post-Napoleonic Rhineland, confessional politics emerged as the source of considerable tensions between Protestant Prussian rulers and their overwhelmingly Catholic province. Relations were strained early on, as the Rhenish Catholic majority eager to rebuild an ecclesiastical infrastructure dismantled under French rule encountered Prussian prohibitions against church construction or initiation of contact with the Vatican without Berlin's prior approval. Critically, these tensions unfolded within the operative framework of Prussia's nascent nation-state bureaucratic apparatus. Catalyzed by Napoleon's victories at the Battles

[3] Michael Rowe, "The Napoleonic Legacy in the Rhineland and the Politics of Reform in Restoration Prussia," in *Napoleon's Legacy: Problems of Government in Restoration Europe*, David Laven and Lucy Riall, eds. (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2000), 136.

of Jena and Auerstedt in 1806, Prussia had undertaken a series of government reforms in 1808–09 with the intent to modernize and streamline government operations. Five free-standing ministries thus came into being: Interior, Finance, Foreign Affairs, Justice, and War. In 1817, the Ministry of Religious, Educational, and Medical Affairs, was created to administer the collective spirits, minds, and bodies of the growing Prussian state, Catholic and Protestant alike. Taking its name from the French *Ministère des Cultes* established in France in 1804, the *Kultusministerium* altered the relationship between the state and society; drawing on the example set by Napoleon's Concordat, its bureaucratic framework subjected parishes directly to state authority via the elision of mediating clerical institutions.[4] By mandating state review of building plans and budgets, and through the introduction of design templates for schools and, later, churches, the Prussian desire for bureaucratically driven uniformity in religious affairs extended to architecture.

When requesting more than 500 Taler from the Prussian treasury for a new church building or more than 1,000 Taler for renovations, Rhenish communities needed prior approval of their building plans and budgets from the Berlin-based state building authority or *Oberbaudeputation*, where architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel held responsibility for review of all public architecture, including churches.[5] More so than other state-funded projects such as government offices, hospitals, or schools, the building of churches brought the community members who comprised a parish or congregation into direct, often long-term, negotiations

[4] Christopher Clark, "The Napoleonic Moment in Prussian Church Policy," in *Napoleon's Legacy: Problems of Government in Restoration Europe*, David Laven and Lucy Riall, eds. (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2000), 223.
[5] Karl Friedrich Schinkel was born in 1781. He joined the *Oberbaudeputation* in 1810, became its Director in 1830, a position he held until his death in 1841. Incapacitated by a stroke in September 1840, he died in October of the following year. Regarding the 500 Taler stipulation, a review of church building budgets in German archives indicates an exceedingly simple village church started around 5,000 Taler and projects usually came in higher. Thus, the threshold of 500 Taler must be viewed as decidedly low.

with the central government.[6] The steps of design, funding, and building of a new church necessitated communication among five different constituent groups: 1) Rhenish townspeople serving on the church councils and overseeing building projects; 2) Rhenish architects who designed and managed the rebuilding projects as employees of the provincial offices of the Prussian government; 3) Prussian architects employed by the state building authority or *Oberbaudeputation* in Berlin; 4) bureaucrats in Berlin, particularly those working in the large and powerful Ministry of Religious, Education, and Medical Affairs, known as the *Kultusministerium*; and 5) monarch King Friedrich Wilhelm III (reigned 1797–1840), who, after 1815, enacted policies to place both Protestant and Catholic church affairs under Prussian state authority. The Oberbaudeputation's bureaucratic review procedure usually involved revising drawings and budgets produced by Rhenish architects. This process of review, revision, and resubmission of Rhenish designs and budgets, coupled with delays brought on by chronic funding shortfalls, resulted in church building initiatives that often extended over years, even decades. The bourgeois Rhinelanders engaged in church building projects—both the local architects in the state's employ as well as members of church councils—frequently took exception to what they viewed as Prussian bureaucratic intrusion into church design and budgets. Many Rhinelanders saw their region, with its unique "Rhenish law" based upon the Napoleonic Code, as capable of directing its own affairs. Many parish communities resented Berlin's mediation of ecclesiastical architecture through a secular bureaucracy which asserted

[6] Prussian schools were strictly segregated by confession, and the period also witnessed a proliferation of school construction marked by similar antagonisms between local stakeholders and state authorities. To economize and standardize school building, the *Oberbaudeputation* issued design templates for schools of varying sizes to all its provinces. Yet school building budgets paled in comparison to those for church construction, and education, although confessionally segregated, was generally a matter both Berlin and its province could agree upon; the desire to educate future Prussian citizens did not pose the existential threat to the Protestant monarchy that Catholic churches might. That said, the *Oberbaudeputation* chastised the Düsseldorf regional government for developing and disseminating school designs of its own without prior authorization from Berlin (see chapter two).

Prussian authority over local knowledge, history and tradition. As the chapters to follow will demonstrate, financial dependence on Berlin's coffers required Rhenish stakeholders to navigate a path between compliance with bureaucratic mandates and preservation of local objectives.

Bureaucratic operations surrounding Rhenish church building initiatives provide a framework in which to rethink the role of architecture at a critical post-Napoleonic moment in German lands. The Prussian regime, specifically through the bureaucratic mandates of the *Oberbaudeputation* and the *Kultusministerium*, made claims of authority over Rhenish civic space via the regulation of community architecture. At the same time, architecture—in the form of parish churches outside urban centers—provided a space for community resistance to the imposition of centralized authority by distant bureaucrats. The actors, however, fail to divide into neat groups, with provincial stakeholders on one side and central authorities on the other. Catholics and Protestants, villagers and townspeople, Rhineland-based bureaucrats, Rhenish architects employed by the Prussian state, Berlin-based architects and bureaucrats—these diverse groups, disaggregated and acting upon each other, all participated in the lively, and often antagonistic, bureaucratic space surrounding provincial church architecture. Governmental, bureaucratic operations function as sites of public discourse: theoretically, the acted-upon must respond, generally officially, within a certain timeframe, and in writing, to those who are acting upon them. Scholars have persuasively argued that print culture provided the framework that permitted a discursive public sphere to coalesce in the eighteenth century;[7] this study aims to demonstrate that burgeoning nation-state bureaucracies, with their dialogic, formalized procedures and written exchanges between ruler and ruled, generated an analogous

[7] See Richard Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007).

space for nineteenth-century participation in civil society. The study of bureaucratic operations surrounding Rhenish provincial church building furnish this study with its apparatus for viewing architecture, its publics, and its makers in German lands during the first four decades of the nineteenth century.

II. Why Bureaucracy?

a) Historiography in Three Broad Stages

a.1. The Foundational Work of Weber, Hintze, and Schmoller: The Bureaucracy of Prussia

Sociologist Max Weber put forth what became the classic model of the Prussian bureaucracy in his 1921 essay "Bureaucracy," included in his publication *Economy and Society*.[8] Yet Weber did not limit himself to the Prussia of his age; rather, he attempted to situate the Prussian bureaucracy within a larger historical analysis extending from administrative organizations in Ancient Egypt to early twentieth-century America. Weber defined bureaucracy as exhibiting four characteristics: (1) a clear hierarchy, (2) continuity (there are salaried employees with established patterns for career advancement), (3) impersonality (the concept of a neutral bureaucrat who makes decisions according to policy, not preference), and (4) expertise (training is required and access to knowledge is controlled).[9] Weber viewed bureaucracy as the defining feature of an efficient, modern society and an indispensable tool of state authority,

[8] The most recent translation of Weber's essay is included in Tony Waters and Dagmar Waters' recent publication *Weber's Rationalism and Modern Society: New Translations on Politics, Bureaucracy, and Social Stratification* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), 73–127.
[9] David Beetham's summarizes these points and provides a very readable introduction to bureaucracy, in addition to the aforementioned Waters' translation. See David Beetham, *Bureaucracy, Second Edition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 9.

writing, "a bureaucratic organization is technically the most advanced means of power in the hands of those who control it."[10] For Weber, bureaucracy as a rational enterprise based on knowledge and devoid of emotion—with its perceived threat to reasoned decision-making—represented the mediating force between leaders and led in a modern state.[11] At the same time, Weber acknowledged the ambivalent nature of bureaucracy; its adherence to "process" could stifle the individualism of its members and the creativity he viewed as essential to the growth of modern, capitalist society.[12] Alongside Weber, German scholars Otto Hintze and Gustav Schmoller's published the seven-volume *Acta Borussica* between 1887 and 1910 to collect primary archival sources with scholarly commentaries on the history of Prussian bureaucracy through the reign of Friedrich II (r. 1740–86). Their work made a wealth of archival documents available to the generation of scholars after World War II.

a.2. Scholarship after the Second World War

From the late 1950s to early 1970s, three formative publications appeared, all building on the work of Weber, Hintze, and Schmoller, while challenging the perception of bureaucracy as a rational and impartial instrument of state power: Hans Rosenberg's *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy, and Autocracy: The Prussian Experience, 1660–1815* (1958), Reinhart Koselleck's now classic *Preussen Zwischen Reform und Revolution: Allgemeines Landrecht, Verwaltung, und soziale Bewegung, 1791–1848* (1967) and John R. Gillis's *The Prussian Bureaucracy in Crisis,*

[10] Weber, 114 in Waters' translation.
[11] See Christopher Dandeker, *Surveillance, Power and Modernity: Bureaucracy and Discipline from 1700 to the Present Day* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 9–10.
[12] Waters, *Weber's Rationalism*, 9–10. See also Beetham for a discussion on the Weberian model and the Marxist models of bureaucracy. The author notes the Marxist critique that Weber's emphasis on the authority of "technical rationality" and "specialist knowledge" "itself aids the legitimation of bureaucracy by presenting what are the requirements of social or class divisions as if they were the product of a technical one, with the conclusion that the emancipation of labor from its subordinate position is an impossibility" (*Bureaucracy*, 2nd. ed., p. 83)

1840–60 (1971).[13] Rosenberg argued that the rise of bureaucrats in the eighteenth century from *Staatsdiener*, or servants of the state, to an influential, quasi-aristocratic body ultimately corrupted the ability of bureaucrats to serve the popular interest.[14] In Rosenberg's assessment, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Prussian bureaucrats, eager to maintain their power and societal position, made concessions first to noble landholders and later to industrial capitalists, creating a conservative bloc that endured until the Weimar Republic, impeded liberal reforms, and helped pave the way for the rise of Nazism. Rosenberg sought the root causes for the rise of fascism in the history of the Prussian bureaucracy, making him one of the earliest theorists of the *Sonderweg*, or "special path," referring to the idea of a singularly German developmental and historical trajectory to explain the rise of National Socialism.[15] John R. Gillis's *The Prussian Bureaucracy in Crisis, 1840–60* (1971) echoed Rosenberg's *Sonderweg* thesis, situating the seeds of twentieth-century fascism in nineteenth-century practices. He argued that the existence in 1840 of a conservative, self-interested bureaucratic culture rendered bureaucrats tone deaf to public opinion in the decade before and after 1848.[16] With a specific emphasis on the judiciary, Gillis compared the Prussian civil service to that of England,

[13] The most recent entry into the history of the Prussian bureaucracy during the eighteenth and nineteenth century is the 1980 publication *Geschichte des Beamtentums* by Hans Hattenhauer. While it is an informative source on the topic, the author himself describes the book as a guide for the "educated layperson." The book's coverage extends to the time of its publication, and it includes discussion of the administrative apparatus of the Federal Republic of Germany. Thus, I have not included an extended discussion of the work here.
[14] Hans Rosenberg, *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy, Autocracy: The Prussian Experience, 1660–1815* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1958), viii.
[15] For more on the Sonderweg, see Jürgen Kocka's essay *German History Before Hitler: The Debate About the German Sonderweg* (1988). Kocka does not disavow the *Sonderweg* theoretically, but this article provides a thoughtful presentation of the debate for and against. For Rosenberg and the Sonderweg, see William Hagen's article *Descent of the Sonderweg* (1991). Hagen does not disavow the validity of the *Sonderweg*, but notes the "irremediable" flaw in Rosenberg's approach, namely his emphasis on the pre-industrial "emergence of an administrative nobility bent on maximizing its own power," at the expense of a deeper examination of the effects of the rise of urban-industrial capitalist economies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. See also David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley's *The Peculiarities of German History* for contra-*Sonderweg* arguments.
[16] John R. Gillis, *The Prussian Bureaucracy in Crisis: Origins of an Administrative Ethos* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971), xiii.

observing that the failure of the former to contribute to the country's successful democratization as ultimately "fostering authoritarianism."[17,]

German historian Reinhart Koselleck's classic 1967 publication *Preussen Zwischen Reform and Revolution: Allgemeines Landrecht, Verwaltung, und soziale Bewegung, 1791–1848* emphasizes the crucial historical role of the Prussian bureaucracy's collegial organization during the first half of the nineteenth century. In contrast to the French top-down organization where executive decisions were sent down the chain, Prussian bureaucracy was organized collegially, or *kollegisch*, in that bureaucrats as a group met to deliberate and consider options with the goal of arriving at a mutually-agreed upon and informed approach. Koselleck's bureaucrats were elite actors who used collegial debates to mediate conflicting societal forces, performing a quasi-constitutional function in the absence of other representative government institutions equipped to do so. Yet Prussian bureaucrats encountered strong resistance from both landed nobility and artisans to the abolishment of serfdom and the guilds. Koselleck argues that the bureaucracy's subsequent attempts to appease elites resulted in the emergence of two distinct groups in Prussian society after 1820: 1) the capitalist bourgeoisie; 2) the landless working class. Koselleck sees the antagonism between these two social groups coming to a head in the Revolution of 1848, which signaled, per Koselleck, the death knell for the power of the Prussian bureaucracy.

[17] Gillis, *Prussian Bureaucracy in Crisis*, 220. Gillis's inquiry focuses upon bureaucratic records from the Rhineland, as these were far more accessible to him than archives from Prussia's eastern provinces housed in the former East Germany. Yet, he claims despite the Rhineland's different legal, religious, social, and economic makeup, by the 1840s, "the patterns of economic development and social change in the eastern and western sectors of Prussia were converging" and general trends toward increases "industrialization, urbanization and political equality" were felt across Prussia's provinces (p. xv). While the 1840s–1860s are beyond the scope of this investigation, this statement is best approached with some caution given the pervasive antagonisms between Rhinelanders, Catholics in particular, and the Prussian monarchy. Further, the pace of industrialization began in earnest in the Rhineland in this period, as compared to Prussia's eastern regions.

The works of Rosenberg, Koselleck and Gillis argue against the Weberian notion of impartial, rational bureaucratic actors. Gillis acknowledged the complex nature of bureaucracies both as state institutions *and* as groups of social elites who acted and were acted upon by events of their times.[18] Rosenberg noted that eighteenth-century bureaucrats, "were equipped with very real power to obstruct and to divert…they practiced passive resistance through inertia, chicanery, and sophistry."[19] Continuing the challenge of Rosenberg, Gillis, and Koselleck to Weber's notion of impartiality and rationality, historian Rudolph Vierhaus has argued that Prussian bureaucracy was developed primarily as an absolutist tool to drive the growth of the military and the economy, and came to represent a "modernity of contradictions" by the end of the eighteenth century. While Prussian bureaucrats prided themselves on rational principles of collegial debate, they nonetheless "had to dance to the monarch's tune."[20] And while the civil service represented one of the most socially mobile segments of Prussian society, providing a route for an educated non-noble to achieve social advancement, bureaucratic reform efforts were often hamstrung by the elite segments of Prussian society that bureaucrats aspired to gain membership to, ultimately thwarting, per Vierhaus, "the emergence of an autonomous political class which was not dependent on the state."[21]

Scholars have also reconsidered the "historiographical clichés" attending the narrative of the Prussian bureaucracy. Re-framing the longstanding presumption of a highly efficient Prussian administration as a "mix of truth and prejudice," Christof Dipper urges more critical

[18] Gillis, *Prussian Bureaucracy in Crisis* xii.
[19] Rosenberg, *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy, Autocracy,* 193.
[20] See Rudolph Vierhaus, "The Prussian Bureaucracy Re-Considered." *Rethinking Leviathan: The Eighteenth-Century State in Britain and Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 156.
[21] Vierhaus, "Prussian Bureaucracy Re-Considered," 165

distance.[22] The massive volume of edicts, orders, and correspondence generated by Prussian bureaucrats meant that little distinction was made in practice between critical and trivial issues. "Anyone leafing through the decrees issued by German territories," writes Dipper, "is surprised at the huge range of subjects to which the administration addressed itself…from the sublime to the ridiculous, from university reform to dog-catching, was only a small step."[23] Coupled with the ever-present whim of the king, policymaking functioned in a more ad-hoc than rational fashion, with external forces, not rational debate, often compelling bureaucrats to action. Further, the written history of the Prussian bureaucracy was arguably a product of the Prussian bureaucracy itself. The bureaucracy, including the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century university-based historians who wrote about it, "stylized and perfected its discourse about itself."[24] Historians were often bureaucrats themselves in the employ of the German state's higher education apparatus—Weber and Hintze being the two most prominent examples—and conceivably held intellectual and personal stakes in the narrative of rationality, efficiency, and modernity. While this does not invalidate their individual contributions to the field, it cautions us to contextualize their work within its time, just as we do when considering the work of those historians in the immediate postwar era who were concerned to support their *Sonderweg* thesis.

Recent work has also stressed that not only was bureaucracy messy from the top down, it was also far more porous from the bottom up than was traditionally believed. Members of the public *subjected* to bureaucratic interventions contested their government actions through overt as well as subtle means, such as negotiation, persuasion, inertia, professional or

[22] See Christof Dipper, "Government and Administration: Everyday Politics in the Holy Roman Empire. *Rethinking Leviathan: The Eighteenth-Century State in Britain and Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 203.
[23] Dipper, "Government and Administration," 215.
[24] Dipper, "Government and Administration," 215.

specialized knowledge, and social networks. In a recent re-assessment of Koselleck's opus written to mark publication of the book's third edition, American historian Jonathan Sperber argued for the existence of such porosity in state bureaucracies, as these institutions increasingly encountered resistance from civil society. Mindful of Koselleck's bold and novel contributions to our understanding of the Prussian bureaucracy's quasi-constitutional role and the interplay between state and economic forces in determining Prussia historical path, Sperber's essay nonetheless highlights two significant shortcomings of Koselleck's study: 1) the awkward fit of the Rhineland within his framework; 2) the omission of confessional politics and policies.[25] With respect to the first critique, Sperber takes issue with Koselleck's vision of a Prussia shaped by bureaucratically driven reforms from above, arguing that the "impetus of the Rhinelanders' liberalism, from its very beginnings in 1815–20, stemmed from regional efforts to defend the area's political institutions, distinct products of the French revolutionary and Napoleonic rule, against the Prussian authorities' attempts to abolish them."[26] Thus, Sperber contends that it was not elite bureaucratic actors that ignited the reformist impulses in the Rhineland, but rather the collision between Prussian policy attempts and Rhenish efforts to resist them. As we will see in the chapters to follow, Sperber's assessment is directly applicable to the conflicts between the Prussian bureaucracy and Rhenish communities over provincial church building, encounters that animated political awareness and participation in civil society among Rhinelanders from the earliest years of Prussian rule. At the same time, bureaucrats serving in the Rhineland often defended the province to authorities in Berlin, countering the

[25] An indispensable resource for considering Koselleck's contribution within the context of two decades of subsequent research is Jonathan Sperber's article, "State and Civil Society in Prussia: Thoughts on a New Edition of Reinhart Koselleck's 'Preussen zwischen Reform und Revolution," *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (June 1985), 278–96.
[26] Sperber, "State and Civil Society in Prussia," 290.

narrative of an elite Prussian bureaucracy functioning cohesively and in lockstep with the monarchy. Regarding his second point of critique, Sperber acknowledges that while the omission of confessional issues may be understandable given the scope of Koselleck's project, it is nonetheless problematic. Sperber's conclusion, that confessional differences "intersected with other social issues in ways relevant to the relationship between state administration and society," is certainly borne out by the analysis contained in my study, which illuminates how the bureaucratic administration of ecclesiastical architecture failed to function as smoothly as intended, producing instead a lightning rod for Rhenish citizens to voice frustrations both with Prussian rule as well as the spatial regime of provinciality exerted upon them by government policies.[27]

a.3. Contemporary Reassessments of the Nature of Bureaucracy: A Theoretical Framework

Contemporary scholarship has reconsidered bureaucracies as instruments of control, discipline, and surveillance with greater sensitivity to the fact the results of bureaucratic action are far more complex and generally very different from what is intended. Reframing bureaucracies as indispensable tools through which the state penetrates civil society, contemporary scholarship in three areas has particular resonance for my dissertation. First, scholarship on the intersection of bureaucracy and cultural production foregrounds how state support of the arts, architecture, and decorative arts establishes, legitimizes, and maintains state power. Second, recent research assesses how bureaucratic operations pervade and influence non-official spaces and the realm of everyday life. In the Rhineland, the presence of the state became tangible in community church building projects. Yet the town church was not a formal

[27] Sperber, "State and Civil Society in Prussia," 294.

site of government operations, but a community space for spirituality, sociability, and leisure. Important new scholarship considers the fluidity with which administrative regimes extend beyond "official" spaces to permeate home and leisure contexts. Finally, scholars have identified the critical role played by bureaucracy's material culture in the dissemination and consolidation of the state's disciplinary regimes. Bureaucratic language, protocols, and paperwork constituted "little tools of knowledge" that conveyed central authority onto provincial spaces; the bureaucratic paper trail attending state-sponsored provincial churches was no exception.

How does contemporary scholarship position bureaucracies as instruments of control, discipline, and surveillance? While Weber first posited that bureaucracy is essential to modern governance, recent investigations influenced by the work of Foucault and post-structuralist theory have deepened the critique of state bureaucratic systems. In considering the power of modern bureaucracies to serve state interests, Michael Mann distinguishes between despotic power and infrastructural power.[28] Despotic power refers to power exercised by state elites that does not require "institutionalized negotiations" with civil society. Such power is a hallmark of historical empires and early modern monarchical regimes.[29] Infrastructural power, on the other hand, is the tool of modern industrial societies to "penetrate civil society and to implement logistically political decisions throughout the realm."[30] The power of the modern bureaucratic state, Mann argues, is despotically low and infrastructurally high. After the Prussian reforms of 1806–09, Prussian infrastructure expanded and diversified into five separate ministries to govern its ten provinces. While the whims of the monarch could still

[28] Michael Mann, "The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results" in *States in History*, ed. John Hall (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1986), 113–15.
[29] Mann, "The Autonomous Power of the State," 113.
[30] Mann, "The Autonomous Power of the State," 113.

undermine the policy decisions of his ministers and provincial presidents, Prussia, particularly after its addition of new territories in 1815, illustrates a shift toward infrastructural power as a characteristic component of the modern nation state. Interrogating the relationship between the administrative organizations of modern states and the use of surveillance, Christopher Dandeker examines the critical role of public bureaucratic apparatuses such as the armed forces and police.[31] For Dandeker, the growth of bureaucratic surveillance illuminates the critical relationship between knowledge and power in modern societies. The coordination and control of knowledge production is an essential tool for an effective bureaucracy. In early nineteenth-century Prussia, the establishment of technical advisory boards to guide bureaucratic decision-making offers an early example of the link between knowledge, bureaucracy, and the implementation of political decisions. In specialized areas such as mining, construction, and commerce, specialized advisory boards—one of which was the precursor of the Prussian Oberbaudeputation—provided technical counsel to Prussia's five ministries. By 1817, the Oberbaudeputation issued instructions to the provinces that enumerated the types of plans, budgetary details, and written justifications expected for submission of all new building projects, situating authority on matters of provincial designs, expenditures, and plans at the center of the Prussian regime.

The intersection of bureaucratic operations and cultural production is a critical focus of my research. The work of scholars investigating the dynamics of culture in the post-colonial context has proven very useful in evaluating the participation of state-sponsored Rhenish ecclesiastical architecture in the asymmetrical power relationship between Berlin and the Rhineland. While the situation of colonial subjects in British India was quite different from

[31] Dandeker, *Surveillance, Power and* Modernity, vii.

that of Rhenish parishioners, the scholarship of Homi Bhabha and Arindam Dutta have informed this study, particularly with regard to how the transmission of power undergoes mutations in the encounter between central authorities and provincial subjects. Bhabha argues that authority is never transmitted purely.[32] The encounter between the empowered and subjugated therefore produces what Bhabha describes as hybrid forms, namely "new forms of knowledge, new modes of differentiation, new sites of power" with the potential to impact representational modes on both sides of the exchange.[33] Bhabha's concepts illuminate the question of style in Rhenish ecclesiastical architecture, as Prussian dictates regarding the "appropriate" architectural style for parish churches invariably underwent modification in the Rhineland. Local history, materials, training, and building traditions all had potential to alter the stylistic outcome in its transmission from Berlin to the local community. In addition, such factors as local socio-economic aspirations, professional competition among architects, mistrust between the confessions, and Rhenish resentment over Prussian hegemony contributed to debates concerning the question of style in parish church building. Beyond the Rhineland, the ever-increasing stylistic possibilities available to nineteenth-century publics—classicizing, neo-Gothic, and the Romanesque revivals particularly resonant in the Rhineland—expanded the stylistic options. Further, a single style might convey one meaning in Berlin and a different one in the provinces. Consequently, "style" became destabilized within the bureaucratic processes of church building, as representational forms became contingent and mutable in their transmissions between the center and the province.

[32] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 136–73.
[33] Peter Childs and R.J. Patrick Williams, *An Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory* (London: Prentice Hall, 1997) 135–36.

Arindam Dutta has argued that state administrative apparatuses may simultaneously foster innovative cultural production while also serving as potent loci of surveillance and control; indeed, he points out the two are deeply intertwined. State power has always relied on cultural means to establish, legitimize, and maintain power, and the "inability to read institutional inputs as other than a barrier" constitutes a "methodological failure" for Dutta.[34] Further, neglecting to interrogate ties between state support of the arts and the development of aesthetic thought occludes the ways regimes deploy artistic and cultural production to establish and define parameters for "civilization."[35] Dutta points out that once the association between the aesthetic and the "civilizing" is established by official discourse, "tables can quickly be turned" and state-sanctioned attitudes toward the aesthetic consequently deployed as barometers for "civility" or its absence.[36] Dutta's theoretical approach informs my reading of Prussian bureaucratic interventions in Rhenish parish church building. The bureaucratic attempts to enforce state standards for public architecture in the provinces simultaneously served as an opportunity to inculcate Rhenish publics, viewed as foreign and French-inflected, to Prussian civic ideals of cultivation and morality.

How do bureaucratic operations inform everyday life in spaces of community and leisure? My study is informed by Michel De Certeau's seminal work on the tactics populations subject to discipline use to resist institutional power. De Certeau posed the question, "what popular procedures manipulate the mechanisms of discipline and conform to them only in order to evade them?"[37] By its very nature, such resistance is opportunistic, often unplanned, and

[34] Arindam Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of its Global Reproducibility* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 36–37.
[35] Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty*, 37.
[36] Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty*, 37.
[37] Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F. Randall (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1984), xiv.

appropriates societal or institutional rules in order to subvert them. Historian James Brophy draws on De Certeau's concepts in his examination of early nineteenth-century practices centered around public spaces and gatherings, such as assemblies at fairs and markets or the Lenten carnival, wherein, ordinary Rhinelanders "contested the boundaries of the social order."[38] Brophy argues that these various forms of popular culture served as tactics for Rhenish resistance to Prussian rule during the first half of the nineteenth century and triggered widespread, popular politicization among Rhenish publics. Building upon the groundbreaking work of De Certeau and Brophy, this study argues that state-sponsored ecclesiastical architecture offered both the physical spaces and the operational processes for Rhenish publics to resist Prussian rule using tactics afforded by the regular, defined rituals of faith practice. Building or repairing the town church provided a highly visible community undertaking that necessitated the physical labor of the local population, drew on its material and financial resources, and engaged the social network of the parish.

My approach to Rhenish ecclesiastical architecture as a dynamic site in which the built environment yields a narrative of political and social operations leans heavily on De Certeau formulation of "place" versus "space." While "place" refers to a stable site where elements are found "beside one another," de Certeau's concept of "space" occurs when operations and concepts intersect, collide, and make the site "function as a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs."[39] In de Certeau's space, the boundaries of an imposed order are marked by what he terms "stories" which include a broad range of discursive forms such as city maps or court

[38] James Brophy, *Popular Culture and the Public Sphere in the Rhineland, 1800–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 305.
[39] De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday* Life, 117.

records.[40] Stories function as the narratives that "authorize the establishment, displacement or transcendence of limits, and…set in opposition within the closed field of discourse…movements that intersect (setting and transgressing limits)…"[41] My dissertation will approach the bureaucratic exchanges between the Oberbaudeputation and citizens in Rhenish towns and villages as a "story" per de Certeau's definition: the attempt at an imposition of order on the fragmented, local, and polyvalent space of the Rhineland which, instead, sparked a discursive field containing the possibility for "dangerous and contingent social actions."[42]

Recent scholarship by Tania Sengupta reconceptualizes the nature of provincial spaces. Challenging the conventional notion of suburban as that which rings the urban space, Sengupta proposes instead a definition of the spaces between rural peripheries and the urban, representational centers as products of "complex dependence-autonomy relationships and the ensuing cultural flow," even in towns, like those of the Rhineland, located at a significant distance from the primary site of central governance.[43] In her examination of the British administration of towns in colonial Bengal, focusing on state bureaucratic operations such as tax collecting and law courts, Sengupta argues that these "fluid" provincial spaces cannot be adequately studied by examining "official" government sites; rather, the historian's lens must focus on "the extended sites of everyday life where governance was practiced and lived."[44] Sengupta's work sheds light on the broad reach of administrative operations into spaces of

[40] De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 123.
[41] De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 123.
[42] De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 123.
[43] See Tania Sengupta, "Between country and city: fluid spaces of provincial administrative towns in nineteenth-century Bengal" *Urban History*, 39, 1 (2012), 56–82 and Tania Sengupta, "Between the Garden and the Bazaar: The Visions, Spaces and Structures of Colonial Towns in Nineteenth-Century Provincial Bengal" *Visual Culture in Britain*, 12:3, 333–48.
[44] Sengupta, "Between country and city," 59.

work, home, and leisure and identifies how the ordering of these spaces is guided by negotiations among different stakeholders in the colonial milieu. Her insights on the complexities of bureaucratic operations and their ability to permeate daily provincial life have significant implications for my study of ecclesiastical architecture in the Rhineland.

Finally, my work builds upon research that considers how the forms, language, and ephemera of bureaucracy transmit and reinforce centralized authority, particularly in provincial regions. Post-colonial scholarship has emphasized the critical role of written documents to assert authority over subject populations. Both Bhabha and Dutta acknowledge the indispensability of the bureaucratic written word as a tool of state power. Bhabha makes this point with a telling quote from an 1852 testimonial to the British House of Lords by J.S. Mill, namely that "the whole government of India is carried out in writing."[45] In Bhabha's framework, the imposition of authority in the shape of words, reports, and forms contributed to the ambivalent, hybrid nature of the cultural encounter. For Dutta, the written bureaucratic order as transmitted to the colony performed a connective function. Written orders knitted the distant ruling power into the local imagination, thereby inserting and normalizing the aims of central authority into the spatial field of the province.[46]

Recent work by Srikant Sarangi and Stefan Slembrouck applies the methodological framework of critical linguistics to explore the interrelationships between language, bureaucracy, and social control.[47] While their case studies focus on contemporary bureaucratic encounters in the realms of social welfare, education and taxation, their research emphasizes

[45] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 133.
[46] Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty*, 71.
[47] Srikant Sarangi and Stefan Slembrouck, *Language, Bureaucracy and Social Control* (London and New York: Longman, 1996).

the dialectic nature of language: discursive events both reflect as well as shape and sustain social relations.[48] Such an approach is integral to my interpretation of the written exchanges between Berlin-based bureaucrats and Rhenish stakeholders. For Sarangi and Slembrouck, bureaucratic operations take their form in language use and these dialogic processes reveal the underlying power relations between institutions and their clients.

Historians Peter Becker and William Clark, finally, consider the material culture of bureaucracy: forms, tables, memoranda, and reports that all functioned as "little tools of knowledge."[49] Their work on the material aspects of bureaucratic culture has informed this study's attentiveness to the indispensable role of paper-based officialdom in the transmission of authority from center to province. The written justifications, budget forms, and architectural drawings, for example, that Berlin required for any expenditure exceeding five hundred Thaler—a modest sum that might fund simple repairs to a roof—affirmed the perception of Berlin's distant yet watchful eye among local administrators and architects. Ministerial circulars distributed across Prussia admonished local architects for a host of offenses, such as making unapproved modifications to building plans, failing to provide accurate information on estimates, and exceeding budgetary parameters. When local officials failed to submit their plans or documents in the timeframe set by ministers in Berlin, they were quickly reprimanded with increasingly castigating letters sent at ninety-day intervals. The terse rebukes customary in such communications reinforced the center-province power asymmetry and inhibited dialogic communications. Regular, disciplinary dispatches delivered to provincial desks bolstered Prussian bureaucratic mandates across distances, geographical and sociocultural, that

[48] Sarangi and Slembrouck, *Language*, 12.
[49] Peter Becker and William Clark, *Little Tools of Knowledge: Historical Essays on Academic and Bureaucratic Practices* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001). See the introduction, pp. 1–34.

separated Berlin and the Rhineland. Yet archival evidence of the Rhineland's sizeable responses, in forms, reports, and correspondence that were often contentious in tone, demonstrates that the Prussian-Rhenish bureaucratic discursive field was not strictly top-down. Building upon this rich scholarly corpus, I suggest that the language and material culture of bureaucracy could also be adopted by subject populations to advance local agendas and resist state mandates.

b) Recent Studies of Architecture and Bureaucracy in Nineteenth-Century Europe

Recent scholarship has focused on architectural bureaucracies in nineteenth-century Europe, as many of the greatest European architects of the first half of the nineteenth century, canonical names such as Schinkel, Leo von Klenze, Henri Labrouste, and Léon Vaudoyer, worked within state bureaucratic organizations as they conceived and constructed the broad spectrum of public building types required of the nineteenth century: hospitals, prisons, theatres, military installations, museums, universities, libraries, palaces, and churches. These architects, celebrated for their monumental buildings during the first half of the nineteenth century, were state employees. [50] As David Van Zanten remarked apropos of France, government work

> …occupied most of [an architect's] time. Their reputations resisted on it. They earned most of their income from it. Their ambitions were to succeed in this distinctive and elaborate structure…[51]

[50] Eckhard Bolenz, *Von Baubeamten zum freiberuflichen Architekten: Technische Berufe im Bauwesen (Preussen/Deutschland, 1799–1931)*, 6, and David Van Zanten, "Nineteenth-Century French Government Architectural Services and the Design of the Monuments of Paris," *Art Journal Vol 48, No 1, Nineteenth-Century French Art Institutions* (Spring 1989), 16.
[51] Van Zanten, "Nineteenth-Century French Government Architectural Services and the Design of the Monuments of Paris," *Art Journal Vol 48, No 1, Nineteenth-Century French Art Institutions* (Spring 1989), 16.

The observation would be equally applicable to contemporary Prussia. Thus, questions arise regarding the function of these state architectural apparatuses: Where did architecture fit within government hierarchies? To whom did architects report? How were designs initiated and approved? As a patron, did the state encumber creativity or encourage it? How did architects working within government bureaucracies participate in the exercise of centralized authority over provincial areas?

The lion's share of scholarship bearing on nineteenth-century architectural bureaucracies has focused on France. David Van Zanten's *Building Paris*, for instance, investigates the impact of bureaucracy on the style, design, and construction of buildings and monuments in Paris.[52] It describes the struggle between state authorities in France who wished to represent an idealized French nation and their Parisian municipal counterparts who sought to emphasize the local and the individual. Van Zanten's analysis resonates with the conflicts in the Rhineland that we will be considering in the pages to come.

The classic work on the Prussian building bureaucracy, the *Oberbaudeputation*, is Paul Ortwin Rave's 1932 monograph *Schinkel als Beamter*, a study of Karl Friedrich Schinkel's role during the years 1810–40 (included within the seminal twenty-plus volume collection of Schinkel's *Lebenswerk*). Two more recent publications relied upon for this study are Reinhart Strecke's *Anfänge und Innovation der preußischen Bauverwaltung: Von David Gilly zu Karl Friedrich Schinkel* (2000) and Steven Moyano's 1989 doctoral dissertation *Karl Friedrich Schinkel and the Administration of Architectural Aesthetics in Prussia 1810–40*.[53] Strecke's

[52] David Van Zanten, *Building Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
[53] See also Eckhard Bolenz, *Von Baubeamten zum freiberuflichen Architekten: Technische Berufe im Bauwesen (Preussen/Deutschland, 1799–1931*). Although its scope extends far beyond the period of this study. Bolenz's volume includes detailed information on the rise of civil engineering in the nineteenth century. Another volume worth consulting is a Master's Thesis by Christine Löser, "Karl Friedrich Schinkel bei der Oberbaudeputation: Zur Bauverwaltung unter Friedrich Wilhelm III" (1994). At ninety-six pages, Löser book provides a good introductory overview.

comprehensive, detailed monograph tracks the development of the Prussian building bureaucracy from the late eighteenth century, through thirty years of Schinkel's involvement, to its decades under the direction of Schinkel's students following the architect's death in 1841. Moyano's study is concerned to correct what he views as a trend in Schinkel scholarship to separate the architect's artistic concerns from his administrative work. The significance of Moyano's work lies in its attempt at a synthesis of Schinkel the artist and Schinkel the bureaucrat along with its stated aversion to any "heroicization" of the architect, endeavoring instead to foreground "the conflicts between his statements of principle and practice."[54] This dissertation builds upon Moyano's important project in situating Schinkel's aesthetic concerns at the nexus of architecture and the Prussian state.

c) Sacred Space as Politicized Space

Churches in the towns and villages of the Prussian Rhineland were potent loci of community and confessional identity. They were also spaces subject to administration by state bureaucratic authorities, and thus, most aptly described as spaces in the spiritual and the political overlapped. At their most basic level, building projects placed the lay members of Rhenish church councils in direct contact with Prussian officials. The requirement that building expenditures exceeding five hundred Taler in state funds receive prior approval subjected even the simplest of projects to the Prussian bureaucracy—with ensuing negotiations that could prove contentious and extend over years.[55] Scholarship surrounding the character of sacred structures and landscapes, however, has traditionally foregrounded their spiritual aspects, emphasizing their function as sites intended to provide transcendence from the earthly and

[54] Steven Moyano, "Karl Friedrich Schinkel and the Administration of Architectural Aesthetics in Prussia 1810–40" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1989), 6.

manifest the presence of the divine. While such scholarship is undeniably foundational for aesthetic and historical considerations of sacred architecture, scholars have recently suggested a corrective to such "analytical naivete" may be necessary, arguing that the continued emphasis solely on the mystical or otherworldly as the constitutive characteristics of sacred spaces elides the significant human agency essential to the processes of sacralization. "All the ritual, interpretive, social, economic, and political labor that goes into consecrating space, is erased by attributing all the action to 'holy place' and 'gods and spirits,'" argue comparative religion scholars David Chidester and Edward Linenthal.[56] They propose instead a theoretical framework that considers the act of consecration, and the subsequent labor necessary to defend or contest it, essential to any consideration of what constitutes the sacred. Chidester and Linenthal define sacred spaces as sites in which formalized, repeatable, ritual practices endeavor to evoke a world beyond our own, yet also articulate the temporal power structures, and struggles, of daily life. There may be a battle over ownership of the rites and symbols attached to sacred rituals. The legitimacy of a site's sacrality may also be contested from within or from outside the faith community.[57] Sacred spaces are, therefore, by their very nature also contested spaces: sites in which power is defined, reinforced, and even subject to resistance. A sacred space is laden with the values of those who control its symbols and "entangled with the entrepreneurial, the social, the political and other profane forces…" They are subject to

[56] Chidester and Linenthal's theoretical framework is discussed in detail in their "Introduction" to *American Sacred Space* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), pp. 1–20, in which they set forth the tenets of their Eliadean critique and argue for an expanded conception of sacred space in general, before focusing on specifically American spaces.

[57] Rajesh Heynickx, Thomas Coomans, Herman De Dijn, Jan De Maeyer, and Bart Verschaffel, "Introduction," in T. Coomans, H. De Dijn, J. De Maeyer, R. Heynickx, and B. Verschaffel, eds., *Loci Sacri: Understanding Sacred Places* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2012), 8.

relations of "domination and subordination, inclusion and exclusion, appropriation and dispossession."[58]

Inherent in such a reframing of scholarship is an acknowledgment of the impossibility of dividing the world into distinct sacred and profane realms: "the sacred is always experienced from within the profane."[59] Foundational to this study is the premise that the boundaries between the sacred and the profane are fluid, overlapping, and intertwined. Scholars working on a wide historical and geographical spectrum have persuasively argued this position. Dell Upton characterizes the Anglican churches of eighteenth-century Virginia as "inseparable" from the secular aspects of parish life: "holy things and profane…animated the Church and gathered the parishioners, in a process in which the church building and its contents were catalysts."[60] Andrew Spicer's research defines the "holy" in medieval sacred spaces as "the result of dynamic and constructive relationships between individual institutions and royal authority."[61] Work by Upton, Spicer, and others serves as a reminder that secular *and* religious actors have always negotiated the terms of sacred spaces, and certainly long before the nineteenth century, and that sacred spaces are inherently political. What Rhenish ecclesiastical architecture in the quarter century between 1815 and 1840 adds to this body of work is a consideration of how, through church building and repair projects, architects and communities in the Rhineland negotiated the transitional zone between a world largely defined by the rituals

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[58] Chidester and Linenthal, *American Sacred Space*, 12–20. See also Stallybrass and White's classic study *The Poetics and Politics of Transgression*, especially chapter one, and Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton's introduction entitled, "Defining the Holy: The Delineation of Sacred Space," in Spicer and Hamilton, eds., *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Ashgate, 2005), both of which have been very useful for this study's analysis of the political implications of Rhenish parish churches.
[59] R.W. Scribner quoted in *Defining the Holy*, 22.
[60] Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia* (Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 1986), xxi.
[61] Spicer and Hamilton, *Defining the Holy*, 6.

and cosmology of the Christian church and a world increasingly ordered by the bureaucratic and legal regimes of nation-states.[62]

III. Summary

In the first half of the nineteenth century, state-sponsored ecclesiastical architecture in the Prussian-ruled Rhineland participated in a dynamic, disaggregated building culture that unfolded in large part outside established, urban centers. In this study, the focus on bureaucracy and its intersection with provincial church building will give voice to the understudied experiences of Prussian provincials, thereby opening avenues for a wider consideration of ecclesiastical architecture as a societal force that, on the one hand, helped catalyze modern, politically minded provincial publics, and, on the other hand, belonged to the armamentarium of nation building. While the intrusion of the state into the spiritual lives and sacred spaces of Rhenish publics began well before 1815—the region's ecclesiastical infrastructure had already been upended by the disintegration of the Holy Roman Empire and the subsequent rule of Napoleon—the Prussian government, particularly through the workings of the *Oberbaudeputation*, exercised their authority via bureaucratic mandate in their attempts to bring provincial publics into the fold of a new hegemonic structure. As the chapters to follow shall demonstrate, the paradox of such state bureaucratic interventions into provincial ecclesiastical architecture was the opportunity it provided everyday Rhinelanders, Protestants as well as Catholics, to engage with, and challenge, official government policies—an opportunity otherwise not easily available to Prussian subjects, given the era's ubiquitous censorship and the lack of either a constitution or forms of meaningful political representation.

[62] See also Eric Johnson's essay, "La Ville Sonnant: The Politics of Sacred Space in Avignon on the Eve of the French Revolution," 319–36, in *Defining the Holy*.

CHAPTER 1:

The Economic, Legal, and Confessional Situation in the Prussian Rhineland, 1815–40

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III. Summary 56

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will examine the economic, historical, and confessional factors shaping the Prussian Rhineland between 1815–40, where the diverse legacies of the Holy Roman Empire, the Revolutionary Era, and the period of Napoleonic rule challenged the Prussian monarchy's efforts to integrate its newest province. The broader societal developments at work in Prussian-Rhenish relations between 1815–40 were the rise of nascent nation-state bureaucratic apparatuses, popular religious resurgence and revivalist movements, and the public desire for more meaningful participation in government. These developments became widespread in post-Napoleonic Europe, but in the Rhineland, the bureaucratic reach of the state, popular

piety, and public participation in civil society all converged with particular intensity in the building and repair of provincial churches.

II. The Rhineland 1815–40: Its Economic, Legal, and Confessional Character

a) Introduction

Historian Jonathan Sperber argues that the Rhineland in the early nineteenth century might better be considered as the Rhinelands given the region's geographic and economic diversity[1] (fig. 1). Viewed north to south, the Upper Rhine region's urbanized centers of Düsseldorf, Cologne, and Aachen differed sharply from the Lower Rhine's density of artisans and agriculture, notably viticulture, near Koblenz and the confluence of the Rhine and Moselle rivers. Traveling east to west, fertile Rhine valleys that benefitted from robust transport and trade opportunities gave way to forested, low mountainous regions populated by peasants in the Eifel range north of the Moselle and the Hunsrück range south of the Moselle.[2] Despite this

[1] Jonathan Sperber, *Rhineland Radicals: The Democratic Movement and the Revolution of 1848–49* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 50–52. Chapter one of this text is the most thorough English language treatment I know of to consider the socio-economic context of the Rhineland in the first half of the 19th century.

[2] The case studies discussed in chapters three and four take into account the geographic, economic, and confessional diversity of the Rhineland. Chapter three concerns the building of a new a Catholic parish church at Vallendar, a self-described "market town" (*Marktflecken*) of 2,600 people three miles northeast of Koblenz on the right bank of the Rhine. The Vallendar parish also encompassed smaller villages in the region, the economies of which comprised agriculture, cattle grazing, and small, independent craftspeople such as tanners. Chapter four examines the building of a new Protestant church at Solingen-Wald, a district of the city of Solingen located fourteen miles east of Düsseldorf. Although Solingen was part of the Catholic Archdiocese of Cologne, Protestantism gained a continual foothold starting in the late sixteenth century. The city was known since the mid-fourteenth century for its metal working industry and production of knives and blades. The first metalworker's guild was established in 1401. In the early nineteenth century, skilled tradesmen operated independently or in small collectives in mills along the Wupper River. Some had direct access to the market; others delivered goods to larger producers who then manufactured and sold the finished products. Solingen-Wald's population was nearly double that of Vallendar. In contrast to the smaller villages subsumed into the parish at Vallendar, Solingen, along with the nearby towns of Barmen and Elberfeld, was a proto-industrial center for metalworking and textile production, Both Solingen-Wald and Vallendar were "*Bürgermeisterei*," an administrative unit recognized by the Prussian *Rheinprovinz*, meaning the town had a mayor and town council. See Sperber, *Rhineland Radicals*, pp. 1–52.

geographic and economic diversity, the collective experiences accumulated during twenty years of French rule, and the momentous changes it ushered in, bound the region. "The river

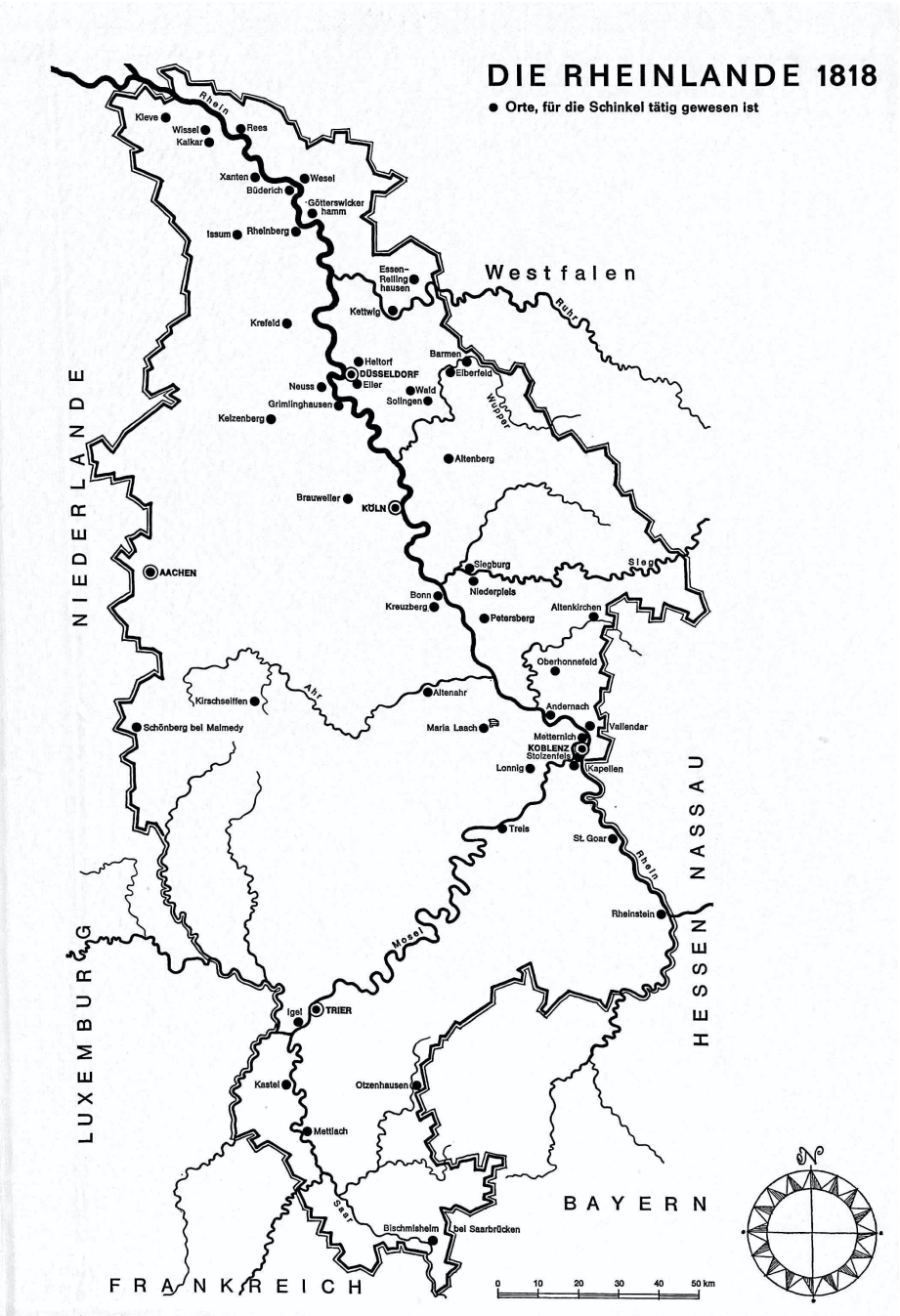


Figure 1: Map of the Rhineland in 1818 showing the towns where Schinkel was active. Vallendar, discussed in chapter 3, is just north of Koblenz. Solingen-Wald, discussed in chapter 4, is to the west of Düsseldorf. From Eva Brües, Die Rheinlande (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1968), inside back cover.

did not create a region, but it flowed through one created by the impact of past historical events, above all those of the era of the French Revolution."[3]

b) The Rhenish Economy After 1815

The Rhenish economy between 1815–40 consisted chiefly of agricultural and proto-industrial enterprises. The tremendous growth of industry in the Rhineland, for which the region is now known, only occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century; in 1849, 40% of Rhinelanders still made a living from agriculture.[4] The river played a determining role in Rhinelanders' livelihoods. Those living closest to the Rhine tended to pursue occupations related to the ports and boat traffic. Those living furthest from the river in the low mountain ranges of the Eifel and Hunsrück tended to be peasants who earned a living either from day labor, working a small plot, or grazing a few animals. Agriculture, including farming of rye, oats, and potatoes, along with grazing of cattle and sheep, flourished in the valleys, as did artisanal craft production.

Given its largely pre-industrial character and significant agricultural sector, what real differences existed between the economic character of the Rhineland and its new Prussian ruler? Significantly, the Code Civil had limited significantly the size and influence of the nobility. Sperber points out that Rhenish society was shaped by bourgeois merchants, manufacturers and bankers.[5] In short, the Rhineland diverged from Prussia primarily as a result of the social and economic changes ushered in by French rule and the introduction of the Code Civil to the region.

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[3] Sperber, *Rhineland Radicals*, p. 52.
[4] This figure and the information in the remainder of the paragraph, along with the one that follows, comes from Jonathan Sperber, *Rhineland Radicals: The Democratic Movement and the Revolution of 1848–49* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 14–20.
[5] Sperber, *Rhineland Radicals*, 38.

c) Legal and Economic Considerations

c.1. "*Rhenisches Recht:*" The Legacy of the Code Civil in the Rhineland

Introduced across French lands by Napoleon in 1804, the Code Civil abolished hereditary nobility, theoretically making all citizens equal before the law, removed marriage and family life from the purview of canon law, and introduced the individual's right to trial by a jury. The Prussian General Code of 1794, on the other hand, mirrored—and aimed to preserve—the traditional class divisions of Prussian society.[6] Prussia's General Code, for example, assigned harsh punishments for crimes committed against nobles; more than 152 paragraphs dealt with offenses against honor.[7] Reforms introduced to the General Code in 1806 kept in place protections for landed nobles.

Between its introduction in 1804 and the end of French rule in 1815, the Code Civil in the Rhineland evolved from a system imposed by the region's occupying rulers to what became known as "Rhenisches Recht" or Rhenish Law. After the Rhineland's 1815 transfer to Prussian rule, the Rhenish populace vigorously defended "their" system as the region's rightful legal inheritance and worked against attempts to introduce the Prussian General Code.[8] Johann August Sack, the first Prussian provincial governor of the Rhine provinces, warned against a quick introduction of the General Code into the Rhineland, citing prevailing Rhenish public

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[6] Birtsch, Günther, "Reform Absolutism and the Codification of Law: The Genesis and Nature of the Prussian General Code (1794)" in *Rethinking Leviathan: The Eighteenth-Century State in Britain and Germany*. Edited by John Brewer and Eckhart Hellmuth. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 347–52.

[7] Michael Rowe "The Napoleonic Legacy in the Rhineland and the Politics of Reform in Restoration Prussia," in *Napoleon's Legacy: Problems of Government in Restoration Europe*, David Laven and Lucy Riall, eds. (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2000), 137.

[8] Historian Karl Georg Faber says the terms "Französisches Recht" und "Rhenisches Recht" were interchangeable at the beginning of Prussian rule. He cites the first deliberate use of "Rhenisches Recht" in a political tract of 1827 and says "Rhenisches Recht" slowly became the term of choice. See Faber, *Die Rheinlande zwischen Restauration and Revolution: Probleme der Rheinischen Geschichte von 1814 bis 1848 im Spiegel der zeitgenössischen Publizistik* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, GmbH, 1966), 118, note 27.

opinion strongly in favor of retaining "Rhenisches Recht."[9] During Friedrich Wilhelm III's visits to Trier and Cologne in the summer of 1817, speeches made by city council members addressed the issue directly, assuring the king of Rhinelanders' "deepest gratitude," should he preserve the region's "freedom in the practice of commerce and trade, elimination of the feudal system…equality of all citizens before the law and the judge…"[10] Yet the Prussian monarchy, in contrast to the Bavarian rulers of the southern Rhenish Palatinate and the Hessian-controlled eastern Rhenish lands, extended no such guarantee. Instead, Friedrich Wilhelm III convened a special commission (*Immediat-Justizkommission*) to consider the question of retaining the Rhenish legal system. Beginning in June 1816, the commission heard years of testimony from legal experts and citizens. Finally, on November 19, 1818, a cabinet order decreed Rhenish law would remain in place in the Rhineland until the legal framework of the Prussian monarchy as a whole could be reviewed properly. While witness testimonies proved overwhelmingly in favor of the Rhenish legal code, the fear of widespread unrest as a possible response to its abolition also factored into the decision. The choice to uphold Rhenisches Recht also benefitted from infighting between reform and conservative factions within the Prussian government.[11] Rhenisches Recht largely prevailed as the law of the Rhineland until its replacement by the German Civil Code of 1901.

The campaign between 1815–18 to retain the Rhenish legal code galvanized Rhinelanders and helped coalesce Rhenish identity at the very start of Prussian rule. The monarchy's attempts to undermine the Rhenish legal code in subsequent years only sharpened

[9] Faber, *Die Rheinlande* 129.
[10] Faber, *Die Rheinlande* 112.
[11] Michael Rowe's *From Reich to State: The Rhineland in the Revolutionary Age, 1780–1830*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) offers a good, English language overview of the process, see pp. 259–63.

provincial resolve. In March 1821, for example, Friedrich Wilhelm III issued a cabinet order re-introducing the use of noble titles in the Prussian Rhineland. He insisted that the existence of "one internal state law" across Prussia justified his order.[12] The order met with strong opposition from Rhineland-based Prussian bureaucrats who responded by insisting upon the outright illegality of hereditary nobility in the Rhineland. They defied the king's order, continuing unbowed to levy fines of 100 Francs on anyone who used noble titles.[13]

In the eyes of Rhinelanders, the Rhenish legal code distinguished their region favorably from the rest of Prussia. Prussians, however, continued to view the legal distinction as an on-going impediment to the integration of their French-influenced province. During an 1836 visit to the Rhineland, Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm IV urged his father to dispose with the "jumble of foreign, largely revolutionary laws, written in a foreign language, that are applicable here."[14] Yet the Crown Prince also grudgingly acknowledged that a wholesale introduction of the Prussian General Code to the region was, in actuality, all but impossible after twenty years. Nonetheless, he urged his father to find a solution by keeping what is "recognized as Good and Useful" from French law and combining those statutes with existing Prussian law.[15] French law, he conceded, could just not "go away."[16] Prussian State Security Minister Gustav von Rochow also suggested as much in 1837 when he told the monarch that

[12] See Rowe, *From Reich to State*, 268–69.
[13] See Rowe, *From Reich to State*, 268–69.
[14] GStA PK I HA Rep 89 Nr. 13612, pp. 146–47, letter dated 9 November 1836.
[15] The Crown Prince's suggestion to incorporate aspects of the Code Civil with the Prussian General Code came to pass. Historian Christopher Clark writes the Rhineland remained "a foreign country in legal terms…Indeed, as the Rhenish Napoleonic system gained adherents among jurists from the East-Elbian provinces, it became an important force for change. The new law code introduced in the Kingdom of Prussia after 1848 was modeled on the Rhenish system, rather than the old Frederician code." See Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600–1947* (London: Penguin, 2006) 406.
[16] As to the question of why the Prussians did not just apply their laws wholesale to the region in 1816 and continued for decades *not* to do so, I discussed this with renowned historian Dr. Bärbel Holtz. She said the Prussians clearly saw the French system as "more modern" and knew enough not to do away with it. Also, they feared unrest if they tried to change it.

the Rhenish legal code, by virtue of its long duration, had acquired historical justification and "in the eyes of Rhinelanders, an inviolability."[17] The legacy of the Code Civil, a.k.a. Rhenisches Recht, bestowed the Rhineland with a unique legal and cultural identity that only strengthened after decades under Prussian rule.

d) Confessional Circumstances

d.1. From the Holy Roman Empire to French Occupation: Events Prior to 1815

As had been the case for centuries, the population of the Rhineland in 1815 consisted overwhelmingly of Roman Catholics. The bishoprics of Cologne and Trier dated to the fourth century and that of Mainz to the eighth. From the thirteenth century, these three cities had operated as independent ecclesiastical states ruled by prince-bishops. A patchwork of numerous small duchies dotted the interstices between the powerful ecclesiastical states, and all of these entities, large and small, were subject to the legal and administrative authority of the Holy Roman Empire in Vienna. The Duchy of Cleves, in the Lower Rhine, was an exception in the overwhelmingly Catholic Rhineland. A succession crisis had brought the region under Prussian hegemony in 1614, and, like their new Hohenzollern rulers, the population of Cleves had practiced Reform Protestantism. The invasion of French Revolutionary troops in 1794 threw the Rhineland's ecclesiastical structure into chaos. The Revolutionary Army occupied a long swath of territory on the Rhine's left (west) bank, extending from Protestant Cleves in the north to Catholic Trier in the south. (The French invasion was prompted in part by such acts as the archbishop of Trier's support of counter-revolutionary efforts.) In left-bank Catholic regions, many Rhenish clergy fled to the Rhine's

[17] GStA PK I HA Rep 89 Nr. 13612, p. 183.

right bank, parish churches were closed, monasteries were dissolved, and church properties were secularized and often sold. Per the Treaty of Campo Formio (March 1797), the Holy Roman Empire accepted French hegemony in the Rhineland. In the subsequent Treaty of Lunéville (1801), the left bank of the Rhineland became fully incorporated as a *departément* of the French state and would remain so until 1815.

In 1801, Napoleon and Pope Pius VII signed a Concordat reinstating the Catholic Church as the primary church of France. The agreement also formally recognized Protestantism and Judaism and subjected all religious practice in France to state authority. French clergy became salaried state employees and swore an oath of allegiance to France. The French government had the power to nominate Catholic bishops, although the Vatican could remove bishops from office. In a further win for the French government, the Catholic Church agreed to give up its claims to Church property, land, or monies confiscated by the French during the Revolution, a decision that would leave parishes on the Rhine's left bank destitute and, after 1815, forced them to turn to the Prussian state for building funds. Together with the Concordat, Napoleon issued a series of laws referred to as the Organic Articles, which specified the scope of French government jurisdiction over church activity. The Napoleonic regime sought to monitor church activities and, through the Organic Articles, civil authorities were assigned to manage a wide range of confessional matters, such as determining the suitability of sites for worship services, approving the nature and extent of public religious processions, the training of the clergy, the clerical dress code, and even regulating the use of church bells. After the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, these policies extended to French-controlled areas along the Rhine's right bank, including the Lower Rhine regions around Cologne and the Duchies of Berg and Cleves, both of which were ruled by Napoleon's

brother-in-law Joachim Murat. After 1815, Prussian monarch Friedrich Wilhelm III followed Napoleon's example in expanding state control over confessional affairs.[18] Through various cabinet orders and, in 1817, the creation of a freestanding Prussian Ministry of Religious, Educational, and Medical Affairs, Friedrich Wilhelm III increasingly subjected provincial church affairs to his centralized bureaucratic framework over the subsequent quarter century of his reign.

In his first address to his new Rhenish subjects on April 5, 1815, Friedrich Wilhelm III foregrounded the issue of religion, describing it as "the holiest thing the people possess" and vowed to protect its practice for all subjects in his new Rhenish territory.[19] Yet profound distrust existed between Berlin and its new province. The Prussian monarchy viewed the Rhineland through the filter of French rule with Prussian bureaucrats voicing grave concerns about the security implications of governing a distant, mostly Catholic province that had undergone sweeping cultural changes under France's Revolutionary regime and subsequently under Napoleon. Correspondence from Prussian civil servants in the Rhineland revealed their worries about the religious and moral decay they deemed prevalent in the region—one that required an effort to "re-Germanize" the Rhenish populace.[20]

The resistance of Rhenish Catholics toward Prussian incursions into the sacred sphere of daily life did not, however, emerge *de novo* in 1815. Rather, two decades of French occupation in the Rhineland provided Rhenish Catholics with an important training ground for the different kinds of resistance they were soon to deploy against their subsequent Prussian

[18] Christopher Clark, "The Napoleonic Moment in Prussian Church Policy," in *Napoleon's Legacy: Problems of Government in Restoration Europe*, David Laven and Lucy Riall, eds. (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2000), 225.
[19] Volkmar Wittmütz, "Preussen und die Kirchen im Rheinland, 1815–1840," in *Preußens Schwieriger Westen: Rheinisch-Preußische Beziehungen, Konflikte und Wechselwirkungen*, edited by Georg Mölich, Meinhard Pohl, and Veit Veltzke (Duisburg: Mercator Verlag, 2003), 135.
[20] Quoted in Michael Rowe. *From Reich to State*, 230.

overloads. The actions of Rhenish parishes built upon the significant pride they felt toward their own resourcefulness in shepherding their churches through two decades of French rule. Historian Michael Rowe has observed that the French dissolution of the prince-bishoprics in Cologne, Trier, and Mainz in the 1790s animated an initial re-awakening of Catholicism in Rhenish communities. French abolishment of tithes and feudal obligations also removed sources of local conflict within the lay population. Further, parishes gained unexpected autonomy in the wake of widespread secularization, as many Catholic communities found themselves severed from Vatican support. The upkeep and care of local Catholic churches became the responsibility of parishioners—some of whom later proudly recounted how they even continued to operate churches clandestinely, despite French closure mandates. Two decades of French rule served to awaken the nascent yet "long-established local energies of parishes, who recognized their communal responsibilities and developed their own initiatives."[21]

These "local energies" in Rhenish parishes continued to thrive under Prussian rule. Parishioners drew on the lessons and experiences of French occupation in their spirited funding pleas directed to Prussian authorities after 1815. Seeking to bolster the merit of their cases, Rhenish parish councils described their innovative, grass-roots approaches to the exigencies of French occupation. They told of undertaking repairs communally when the support promised by French authorities failed to materialize, or of cobbling together monies to replace clergy who were discharged from their positions or had fled the French occupation—a situation they often solved by hiring displaced members of dissolved monastic orders to serve as interim

[21] Franz Ronig, "Der Kirchenbau des 19. Jahrhunderts im Bistum Trier" in *Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts im Rheinland, Band 1: Architektur I, Kultusbauen*, edited by Eduard Trier and Willy Weyres (Schwann: Düsseldorf, 1980), 195.

parish priests. Letters to the Prussian monarchy after 1815 angrily recounted how French authorities had repurposed Rhenish churches as barracks, stables, or storehouses, insults to civic and confessional pride that further galvanized parishes in their quests to rebuild. In 1815, the Prussian monarchy inherited Rhenish subjects, particularly the region's Catholics, who had been transformed by recent events and considered their faith communities largely self-reliant and aligned with their unique civic history and identity. Local faithful drove Rhenish church building in the 1820s and 30s, and a congregation's lay leadership represented the community in negotiations with Prussian officials over design, budget, and construction matters.

d.2. Rhenish Protestants and the Prussian State

It would be misleading, however, to assume that mistrust in the Rhineland unfolded along a strict Rhenish Catholic-Prussian Protestant binary. Catholic and Protestant communities in the Rhineland both worried about the potential implications of Prussian hegemony; in fact, it was the Rhineland's Protestant population in the Calvinist enclaves of Jülich, Cleves, and Berg that first expressed dismay over the intrusion of the Prussian monarchy into their church affairs. After more than a century of self-administration, Rhenish Protestant congregations were informed in 1815 that they would henceforth be administered by state-appointed consistories.[22] Their ire deepened when, in 1822, the king introduced a new Protestant liturgy aimed at uniting Lutherans and Calvinists in a single Prussian Protestant church, the Prussian Union.[23] Calvinist Rhinelanders found the content of the king's new liturgy far too Catholicizing—the service included kneeling and the use of a fixed altar set with candles and a crucifix, for

[22] Wittmütz, "Preussen und die Kirchen im Rheinland, 1815–1840," 135–40;
[23] The Prussian Union church and the king's liturgy, with an emphasis on its ramifications for ecclesiastical architecture, will be discussed in detail in chapter four on the Protestant church in the Prussian Rhineland.

example.[24] In 1822, all Rhenish reform congregations declined to use the new liturgy; four years later, in 1826, 420 of 431 congregations continued to resist its adoption.[25] The first decade of relations between the Prussian Protestant monarch and his confessional brethren in the Rhineland thus proved tense for both parties.

d.3. Rhenish Catholics and the Prussian State

With the addition of the Rhineland and Westphalia, the Prussian state in 1815 had to contend with a Catholic minority of forty percent. In 1819, Prussian ministers estimated a population of four million Catholics in their new Rhenish territory. Minster of Education, Religious, and Medical Affairs Karl von Stein zu Altenstein described the state's approach to the two confessions in an 1819 memorandum that reaffirmed Prussia as a Protestant state in which the Protestant Church would be "begünstigt," or favored, while the interests of the Catholic Church would be looked after only as duty required.[26]

Five years after Friedrich Wilhelm III's 1815 pledge to safeguard the religion of his newest subjects, Prussia began negotiations with the Vatican to reconstitute Rhenish dioceses, appoint bishops, and rebuild the region's Roman Catholic infrastructure. In August 1821, the Prussian government arrived at an agreement with the Vatican entitled *De salute animarum* [On the health of souls]; its full implementation required another decade.[27] *De salute animarum* set forth the operating procedures for the Catholic church in Prussia, including specifying the number and borders of new dioceses in the Rhineland. Akin to the dictates of the French Concordat of 1801, clergy salaries in Prussia were to be paid by the state, as were

[24] Wittmütz, "Preussen und die Kirchen im Rheinland, 1815–1840," 141.
[25] Wittmütz, "Preussen und die Kirchen im Rheinland, 1815–1840," 140.
[26] Regarding the Catholic Church in Prussia, Altenstein said, "es wird für ihr Bestes pflichtgemäss gesorgt." Quoted in Acta Borussica Bd 2.1, Section 3.1, p. 352.
[27] Acta Borussica 2.1, p. 353.

church operating expenses in general—thus placing the financial obligations for the Catholic church with the Prussian monarchy, and not the Vatican. As it had with the French in 1801, the Vatican relinquished its right to any compensation from Prussia for church properties confiscated during the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars. Rhenish bishops were to be nominated by the Vatican, but the pope agreed to refrain from nominating candidates against whom the monarchy held vehement objections—although precise grounds for either nominations or objections were not specified. The Prussian monarchy required that communications between Rhenish clergy and the Vatican be channeled through the Ministry of Educational, Religious, and Medical Affairs in Berlin, a law which remained in place for sixteen years, until 1837.

In the wake of the 1821 agreement, the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy in the Rhineland occupied itself with re-establishing its dioceses and other administrative issues, all of which largely took precedence over a concern for architectural matters. In fact, four decades would pass before, in 1863, the diocese of Cologne officially hired an architect.[28] One policy matter that received substantial attention from Rhenish Church leadership during this period was the 1825 Prussian royal decree requiring all children of mixed Catholic-Protestant marriages to be raised in the religion of the father. First introduced in 1803 in Prussia's Eastern provinces, the decree's 1825 expansion to the Rhineland particularly concerned Rhenish Catholic clergy given the frequency of marriages between Protestant soldiers or civil servants and Rhenish women.[29] The issue proved to be an on-going source of consternation between

[28] Willy Weyres, "Katholische Kirchen im alten Erzbistum Köln und im rheinischen Teil des Bistums Müster" in *Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts im Rheinland, Band 1: Architektur I, Kultusbauen*, edited by Eduard Trier and Willy Weyres (Schwann: Düsseldorf, 1980), 76.
[29] See Acta Borussica, p. 357 and Ernst Rudolf Huber, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte seit 1789*, *Band 1: Reform und Restoration* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1991), 310, for Friedrich Wilhelm III's declaration of November 21, 1803.

Berlin and the Rhineland, and one that reached a boiling point in 1837 when the Prussian monarchy arrested the Archbishop of Cologne, Clemens August Freiherr von Droste zu Fischering, for his continued refusal to abide by the decree. On the evening of November 20, Droste zu Vischering was apprehended at his residence and, accompanied by twenty-five mounted soldiers, transported to the Prussian fortress at Minden where he was held for the next two years.[30] The bishop's rebellion prompted only the second meeting of the monarch's full cabinet and forced the Prussian regime to act forcefully or risk its legitimacy in the eyes of the Rhenish public.[31]

While the archbishop's arrest is often cited by historians as the watershed event marking the deterioration of the Prussian state's relationship with its Catholics—and it certainly bolstered Rhenish political participation and helped to politicize Rhenish Catholics—tensions between the Prussian regime and Rhenish Catholics existed from the very beginning of Prussia's rule.[32] Indeed, long before the events of November 1837, the lack of funding of church architecture and day-to-day operating costs of parish churches emerged as key, early flashpoints between Rhinelanders and the Prussian authorities.

As early as 1816, Prussian bureaucrats in the Rhineland warned their superiors in Berlin that the Rhenish church needed much greater financial support from the monarchy. The situation proved especially dire on the Rhine's left bank. In an 1816 account to Prussian Prime Minister Hardenberg on general conditions in the new Rhine province, Rhenish Oberpräsident Ingersleben reported that many Catholic clergy on the Rhine's left bank were impoverished.[33]

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[30] See the riveting account of Droste zu Vischering's arrest in Jürgen Herres und Bärbel Holtz, "Rheinland und Westfalen als preußischen Provinzen (1814–88)" in Georg Mölich, Veit Veltzke, and Bernd Walter, eds., *Rheinland, Westfalen und Preussen: Eine Beziehungsgeschichte* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2011), 147.
[31] Herres and Holtz, "Rheinland und Westfalen," p. 147.
[32] Herres and Holtz, "Rheinland und Westfalen," p. 146.
[33] Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz, Bestand 402, Nr. 369, p. 71.

He described the struggle of the Rhenish clergy to provide for their own sustenance and their increasing reliance on donations from parishioners. Yet the ability of individual parishes to provide for their clergy proved inconsistent at best in the wake of the economic deprivations of the Napoleonic Wars, and Ingersleben urged the state to step in and assist. Despite Ingerleben's pleas and the subsequent 1821 agreement with the Vatican requiring the Prussian monarchy to provide for clergy salaries, Friedrich Wilhelm III proved unwilling to adequately support Catholic priests and the problem persisted for nearly two decades.

In 1834, under significant pressure from the Rhenish provincial assembly, the king finally approved a Kultusministerium proposal that earmarked 30,000 Taler to increase the compensation of clergy on the Rhine's predominantly Catholic left bank. The proposal would increase salaries of both Protestant and Catholic clergy, and Altenstein forwarded the king a Rhenish provincial government recommendation of 400 Taler for Protestant clergy and 300 for Catholic priests annually. The additional expenses of the wives and children of Protestant clergy justified the different amounts. After re-running the numbers, the king's ministers suggested lowering the payments slightly to 350 for Protestants and 275 for Catholics. The king, however, insisted on decreasing the salary for Rhenish Catholic priests yet further, initially to 260 Taler before settling on 265 Taler, while the salary for Protestant clergy remained at 350.[34] Informed of the king's decision, the provincial governor of the Rhineland, Ernst Bodelschwingh, wrote an impassioned letter to Altenstein voicing his complete opposition to any further reduction in wages for the left bank's Catholic priests. Bodelschwingh begged the king to reconsider, stating "the vast majority of Catholics on the left bank are of the opinion that their Protestant fellow citizens enjoy greater generosity from

[34] GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 23014, pp. 47–49.

the state when it comes to church matters."[35] He reminded the king of the region's overwhelming Catholic majority—the left bank's population of 1,429,796 Catholics compared to 187,852 Protestants. Bodelschwingh urged the king to return to the ratio of 350 for Protestants and 275 for Catholics, sums he believed would find "no objection," and warned that the alienation of Catholic clergy "against our government" must be avoided. Altenstein passed Bodelschwingh's letter on to the king, seconding its sentiments, but the king refused to budge.[36]

d.3.1. Winter Evening Conversations Among a Few Villagers by a Warm Oven (1836)

From the earliest days of Prussian rule in the Rhineland, the disinclination of the Prussian monarch and his bureaucrats to adequately fund Catholic clergy salaries, church operating expenses, and parish building and repair projects stoked Rhenish Catholic resentment of the Protestant Prussian regime long before the arrest of the Archbishop of Cologne in 1837. A vivid picture of the simmering and complex, if partisan, tensions experienced by Rhenish Catholics over the lack of state support, and specifically of support for the building and repair of their parish churches, is provided by the remarkable book *Winter Abend Unterhaltungen einiger Landleute am Warmen Ofen (Winter Evening Conversations Among a Few Villagers by a Warm Oven)*. Published in Belgium in 1836 to avoid censorship, *Winter Abend*

[35] GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 23014, pp. 50–51, letter from Bodelschwingh to Altenstein dated November 22, 1836.

[36] See Friedrich Wilhelm III's response to Kultusminister Altenstein dated January 15, 1837 in which the monarch declines Bodelschwingh's suggestion (GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 23014, p. 53). A letter in the file dated January 4, 1842 to Friedrich Wilhelm III's successor Friedrich Wilhelm IV from the new Kultusminister Eichhorn notes payments to left bank clergy were first made in the years 1838–40 and of the 30,000 Taler earmarked, 17,626 Taler remained. Thus, approximately 13,000 Taler was paid out, less than half of the sum originally proposed. Regarding the 17,626 Taler available, Eichhorn explained a combination of "errors" and confirming the eligibility of individual parishes, along with some parishes having reduced expenditures, resulted in the unanticipated windfall. Instead of making a one-time payment with the remaining monies, he suggested the amount be invested and the dividends used to create an on-going fund for clergy and elementary school teachers on the left bank. Friedrich Wilhelm IV indicated his approval on January 24, 1842. See GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 23014, pp. 121–23.

Unterhaltungen was brought to the attention of the monarch in 1837 by his state security officer, who described the book as written in the "popular style for the lower classes" and posing a distinct threat to state security.[37] The book repeatedly contrasted dramatic examples of generous state support for Protestant churches with tales of cold disregard for the Catholic Church's building needs, and clearly situates ecclesiastical architecture as a potent site of significant Rhenish Catholic hostility aimed directly at Prussian civil servants, government officials, and the monarch.

Organized as a series of dialogues recounting five informal, lively fireside chats between rural neighbors, including three male farmers, a priest, and a teacher, in an unnamed village in the bishopric of Trier, *Winter Abend Unterhaltungen* offered a lengthy list of grievances that took into account virtually all aspects of daily life in the Rhineland: the requirement that Catholic soldiers in the Prussian army attend Protestant religious services instead of mass; the unequal funding of Catholic schools relative to Protestant ones; the practice of filling bureaucratic posts with (Protestant) Prussians instead of (Catholic) Rhinelanders; the law requiring children of a mixed-confessional marriage be raised in the faith of the father; and finally and most significantly for this study, the significant and consistent bureaucratic obstacles Catholic communities encountered in their efforts to build and equip their parish churches.

The group's first complaints on this last subject were directed at the Prussian civil servants who regulated the amount that parish councils could spend on supplies for masses. After determining the items necessary for celebration of the mass, parish councils required

[37] Letter from Interior Minister Gustav Adolf von Rochow to the monarch, May 24, 1837. GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 23036, pp. 1–5.

approval of their expenditures from the "Protestant government," who reminded them of the need to be "*sparsam*" or thrifty. "We are often told how much wine, wax, or even hosts may be purchased."[38] Next, the *Lehrer* (teacher) recounted the hardships of Catholic parishes whose requests to build new churches had been denied by Prussian bureaucrats. He chronicled the struggle of Catholics in the Silesian city of Görlitz, forced to travel two hours to attend mass at the church of a neighboring village. After six years of petitioning the monarch in vain for permission to build a Catholic church, they were informed in 1829 that they could not build their own church, but were given permission to gather lawfully in a private house in Görlitz for mass, albeit just nine times a year. By comparison, the *Lehrer* stated contemptuously, "Protestants of Görlitz own seven churches, six of which were originally Catholic and four of which are barely used."[39] In Silesia, he continued, more than ten Protestant churches were built, some for congregations of barely thirty to forty people and none larger than two hundred. In the Rhineland, he countered sarcastically, one had the "well known example" of the town of Prumm, whose Catholics did not have to wait years for permission to build a church because Prussian authorities immediately denied their request. Concerning building and repairs for Catholic churches, the *Lehrer* lamented that "the state treasury was always empty or tightly locked when Catholics humbly requested something."[40] Finally, he objected that in Cologne the noble Cathedral stood dark, while a brand new Protestant secondary school, for the "few Protestants that live there," collected the vast sum of 5,000 Taler annually in state support.[41]

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[38] *Winter Abend Unterhaltungen einiger Landleute am Warmen Ofen*, 1836, 28. See the copy sent by Interior Minister Rochow to Friedrich Wilhelm III in GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 23036, pp. 6–58.
[39] *Winter Abend Unterhaltungen einiger Landleute am Warmen Ofen*, 1836, pp. 48–49.
[40] *Winter Abend Unterhaltungen einiger Landleute am Warmen Ofen*, 1836, 51.
[41] *Winter Abend Unterhaltungen einiger Landleute am Warmen Ofen*, 1836, 94.

From constraints on the purchase of supplies and furnishings, to the denial of building requests, to inadequate worship spaces, to an insufficient number of Catholic churches compared with a surfeit of Protestant ones, to overt neglect of Catholic institutions in the face of generous support for their Protestant counterparts, Rhenish Catholic ire unfolded in the battle for support of their sacred spaces. The anonymous Rhenish author(s) of *Winter Abend Unterhaltungen* also associated their mistreatment with that of Catholics in other parts of the Prussian state, suggesting that the potential threat to the state could intensify substantially if the outrage of millions of Catholics in the relatively prosperous and developed Rhineland was organized and extended to their confessional counterparts in the monarchy's eastern regions. While the publication clearly identifies ecclesiastical architecture as a potent site of conflict between Rhinelanders and their Prussian rulers—indeed, historians of Germany have cited the contribution of such pamphlet literature to popular discourses on church-state relations[42]—*Winter Abend Unterhaltungen*'s significance as a document relevant to architectural history had not been heretofore investigated.

d.4. Case Study: The Politics of Sacred Space at Koblenz's Florinskirche

Echoing the confessional tensions around sacred spaces presented in *Winter Evening Conversations*, a case study of the politics surrounding Koblenz's Florinskirche from 1818–35 illustrates how Rhenish sacred spaces functioned as symbols of Prussian hegemony as well as sites of resistance to it. The 1818 conversion of the formerly Catholic Florinskirche for the use of a newly constituted mixed military-civilian Protestant congregation in Koblenz, the Prussian Rhineland's capital city, offers a prime example of "the ritual, interpretive, social, economic,

[42] See James M. Brophy, *Popular Culture and the Public Sphere in the Rhineland, 1800–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 273–78.

and political labor that goes into consecrating space."[43] At the Florinskirche between 1818–35, government and community stakeholders worked to constitute, and contest, the sacred, resulting in an admixture of the spiritual with the political.

An architectural and communal fixture in Koblenz for seven centuries, the Florinskirche underwent secularization in 1802 when the French government confiscated the property and buildings from its Augustinian clerics. In 1808, Napoleon donated the church to the city of Koblenz with the intent it be repurposed as a slaughterhouse.[44] While the slaughterhouse plan failed to materialize and Koblenz came under Prussian domain in 1815, the church did not regain its former status as a Catholic place of worship. Rather, its chief function in 1818 was the storage of hay.[45]

By January 1818, a search was underway to identify a suitable and commanding structure to convert for use as the first Prussian Protestant church of Koblenz. The size of Koblenz's Protestant community had tripled, numbering about 600 congregants.[46] The endeavor to find a home for the Protestants of Koblenz engaged the monarch's highest military and civilian officers stationed in the city, namely the Commander-General of the Prussian military forces on the Rhine and the regional governor. Prominent architectural representation of Protestantism in the towns and villages of his newly acquired majority-Catholic territory

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[43] David Chidester and Edward Linenthal, *American Sacred Space* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 1–20. See also the *Introduction* of this dissertation.

[44] Udo Liessem, "Bau- und Kunstgeschichte der Kirchen und Gemeindezentren in den evangelischen Gemeinden Koblenz und Pfaffendorf," in *Pragmatisch, preussisch, protestantisch: Die evangelische Gemeinde Koblenz im Spannungsfeld von rheinischem Katholizismus und preussischer Kirchenpolitik*, edited by Markus Dröge, Erich Engelke, Andreas Metzing, Ulrich Offerhain, Thomas M. Schneider, and Rolf Stahl (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 2003), 148–49.

[45] Archive EKIR, Boppard, Germany. Report entitled "Nachricht über die Einrichtung und Einweihung der Florinskirche zum Gottesdienst der hiesigen evangelisch bürgerlichen-und-Militär Gemeinde, 1821." Unpaginated.

[46] Archive EKIR, Boppard, Germany. Report entitled "Nachricht über die Einrichtung und Einweihung der Florinskirche zum Gottesdienst der hiesigen evangelisch bürgerlichen-und-Militär Gemeinde, 1821." Unpaginated.

constituted a priority for King Friedrich Wilhelm III, and the need for an appropriately symbolic and stately edifice was all the more potent in Koblenz, an historically Catholic city located at the strategic confluence of the Rhine and Moselle rivers and home to the large Prussian army garrison at the military fortress of Ehrenbreitstein just directly across the Rhine. From its hilltop location, Ehrenbreitstein supplied the military with a panoramic perch above the city, a view punctuated by pairs of bell towers rising from Koblenz's three large Romanesque churches, all of which were Catholic: the Rhenish helm spires on the west façade of the twelfth-century basilica of St. Castor near the Rhine, the twelfth-century Florinskirche's towers close to the Moselle's banks, and the fifteenth-century Liebfraukirche's seventeenth-century onion domes.

Since recognition of their faith under Napoleonic's Organic Articles, Koblenz's Protestant community no longer had to gather for worship in homes outside the city. The French authorities granted them use the Görgenkapelle in 1803, a single-aisle church four bays in length that had served the Dominican order of St. Martin for nearly two centuries until secularization. After 1815, Koblenz's Protestants complained that the Görgenkapelle had become too small and its poor acoustics were problematic.[47] Considering the available options, the General-Commander of the Prussian Army in Koblenz chose the Florinskirche for its "location within the city, its roominess, and its building style"—a large, airy, three-aisled Romanesque basilica five bays in length with a western façade anchored by two weighty bell towers.[48] The church faced onto the Florinsmarkt, a prominent square originally occupied by noble homes and the Altes Kaufhaus, which had served as Koblenz's City Hall until arrival of

[47] Liessem, "Bau- und Kunstgeschichte," 148.
[48] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Kultusministerium III Sekt 33 Abt XX Nr. 19 Bd 1, unpaginated. See the letter from the General Commander on the Rhine dated "Coblenz, 28 January 1818."

the French in 1794. A royal decree in November 1818 announced Friedrich Wilhelm III's decision to refurbish the Florinskirche as a Protestant church. In return, the city of Koblenz would receive an undetermined sum as compensation for the loss of the church property. A joint military-civilian committee was formed to oversee the refurbishment. The monarch's largesse made the Florinskirche's dedication ceremony possible within two short years: he provided an initial 9,168 Taler for the structure—a sum that would increase to over 12,446 Taler. The king also donated a new organ, one boasting eight pedals and twenty-seven registers, as well as an ornate Bible. In addition, the king provided the raw material to be cast into the church bell: a twenty-four pound cannonball seized from the French army—a highly symbolic source of metal with which to announce church services at the first Prussian Protestant church in the formerly French Rhineland.

A July 1821 report from the parish council detailed the elaborate festivities that marked the Florinskirche's dedication on September 17, 1820. The Protestant approach to dedicating a church differed in character from Catholic practice, in which a series of dedication rites such as anointing the altar and walls with consecrated oil rendered the building holy. For Protestants, the space became holy by virtue of the gathering of the congregation for the purpose of worship. Conventional practice dictated that a Protestant congregation gather on a Sunday morning at their old place of worship and undertake a procession together to their new location. Led by congregants carrying the liturgical objects, Bible, and service book, the group would circumnavigate the new building several times, and take formal possession of the space through a festive religious service.[49] In the case of the Florinskirche, the day's events began

[49] Jürgen Krüger. *Rom und Jerusalem: Kirchenbauvorstellungen der Hohenzollern im 19. Jahrhundert*. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995), 15.

with the military congregation, led by its choir, marching through Koblenz from what had been their temporary home in the palace chapel at the southern end of the city to the north side of town. They were scheduled for a 10:00 a.m. arrival at the residence of Church Council member and local merchant Herr Pfender near the Moselle, where the civilian congregation and local government officials awaited them.[50] The full congregation then proceeded en masse to the Florinskirche, now led by Protestant schoolchildren alongside the military choir. The ritualized movement of congregants through the streets symbolically validated the presence of the community in the church and the church in the community—an act rendered all the bolder in Koblenz, as the boisterous Protestant congregation marched through an historically Catholic city to take occupancy of a formerly Catholic sanctuary. The public procession and dedication service that followed choreographed a show of unity among the mixed congregation of Rhenish civilians and Prussian military. The seats of honor in the pews near the pulpit were reserved for a delegation of soldiers and bureaucrats with the military Commander-General and regional governor occupying the first two seats.[51] The official name of the congregation, as printed in their *Kirchenordnung*, or church constitution, of 1820 made reference neither to the military nor civilian components of the congregation, identifying them instead as a single cohesive group: The Protestant Congregation of Koblenz.[52] The dedication service included benedictions from both the military and civilian pastors along with hymns, the verses sung alternately by the military choir and the congregants. The hymns were accompanied by the old Görgenkapelle organ, which had been moved for the occasion due to a delay in the new organ's

[50] Archive EKIR, Boppard, Germany. Report entitled "Nachricht über die Einrichtung und Einweihung der Florinskirche zum Gottesdienst der hiesigen evangelisch bürgerlichen-und-Militär Gemeinde, 1821." Unpaginated.
[51] From "Jubilate! Denkschrift zur Jahrhundertfeier der evangelischen Gemeinde Coblenz am 26. Juni 1903," (Coblenz: Buchdrückerei des evangelischen Stifts St. Martin, 1903) 69.
[52] "Jubilate!" 69.

delivery. As if to underscore the public display of Protestantism's ascendance in Koblenz, once their new organ was finally installed, the congregation's old one was scheduled to be sold to the Catholic parish of St. Güls for 505 Thaler.[53]

While the dedication ceremony, at least on its surface, fused Prussian and Rhenish Protestants as one united community, the congregation's civilian members continued to assert their civic identity in dealings with the government. Just weeks before the dedication, the civilian parish council thanked the king for his generosity. He had, they wrote, helped them fulfill their wish for their own noble and majestic church. In the next sentence, the parishioners reminded the monarch of their "just as urgent and noble wish that our city receive its due and promised compensation as soon as possible" for the loss of the Florinskirche. The council members were Protestants, but they were also Koblenzers, and they showed no hesitation in advocating on behalf of their city. Their pride as members of the Florinskirche's congregation co-existed alongside civic loyalty. Such pluralism would strain their relations with the monarchy over the next two decades.

Fissures emerged between the congregation and the monarchy in the early 1820s, sparked by disagreement over control of the rites to be performed in their joint sacred space. In 1822, the monarch wished to unite the Lutheran and Reform branches of Protestantism into what he called the Prussian Union church. To accomplish this, he wrote a new liturgy for use across all Prussian Protestant churches. The Florinskirche's civilian congregation, however, remained steadfast in their refusal to adopt the new liturgy, which they viewed as too

[53] Archive EKIR, Boppard, Germany. Report entitled "Nachricht über die Einrichtung und Einweihung der Florinskirche zum Gottesdienst der hiesigen evangelisch bürgerlichen-und-Militär Gemeinde, 1821." Unpaginated.

Catholicizing. In defending their refusal, the congregation stressed its autonomy based on its 1803 founding prior to Prussian rule. They insisted that any changes to the liturgical content of their service required approval by the provincial synod, thereby challenging the king's claim that sacred ritual could be dictated by cabinet order.[54] The congregation also took the opportunity to stress their right to choose their own pastor and indicated their strong preference for candidates who did not intend to modify the Protestant worship service.[55] By 1829, the monarchy had forced adoption of its new liturgy on many Protestant congregations through a combination of Prussia's acquiescence to requests for slight modifications to the texts and the exertion of bureaucratic pressure. The Florinskirche, much celebrated as the first Prussian Protestant church in the Rhineland, held out until 1835, finally accepting the new liturgy six weeks after the introduction of the 1835 Rhenish-Westphalian Church Constitution, a province-wide compromise arrangement in which the king granted local synods authority to name their lay members and cast votes for their leaders.

The Florinskirche's 1835 acceptance of the Prussian Union liturgy came at the cost of the retirement of their revered Pastor Cunz; he had served the civilian congregation since its recognition by the French authorities three decades earlier. Considering Cunz's replacement, the congregation heard rumors that the Prussian government in Koblenz, and not their district presbytery, would name a successor. A cabinet order issued on December 24, 1836 confirmed these fears: the naming of a new pastor would strictly be the prerogative of the monarchy. Against the congregation's protests, the Kultusministerium informed the congregation that the

[54] Andreas Metzing "Aus Rheinländern werden Preußen. Die Evangelische Gemeinde Koblenz, 1815–1848," in *Pragmatisch, preussisch, protestantisch: Die evangelische Gemeinde Koblenz im Spannungsfeld von rheinischem Katholizismus und preussischer Kirchenpolitik*, edited by Markus Dröge, Erich Engelke, Andreas Metzing, Ulrich Offerhain, Thomas M. Schneider, and Rolf Stahl (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 2003), 31.
[55] Andreas Metzing, "Aus Rheinländern werden Preußen," 32.

government's purchase, refurbishment, and on-going financial support of the Florinskirche gave them the right to dictate church affairs. The monarchy's patronage of the physical space entitled them to dictate the affairs inside. The authorities insisted that the funds raised independently by church members through baptisms, weddings, or funerals contributed little or nothing to the salary of the pastor.[56] The members of the Florinskirche congregation were excluded from choosing their pastor or determining the content of their rituals. Sixteen years after the dedication ceremony, Prussian authorities decided the terms by which the sacred space of the Florinskirche functioned.

The power of ecclesiastical architecture to legitimize faith in civic public spaces was also not lost on Koblenz's Catholic city council. Between 1828–34, the Catholic city council repeatedly denied the Florinskirche congregation's request for funds to support the construction of a new parsonage. While the city council had approved the building permits, they refused to split the 6,000 Taler building cost with the Florinskirche's congregation. To rebut the congregation's argument that Protestants, too, were full-fledged members of the city of Koblenz, subject to the same obligations and entitled to the same benefits as Catholic parishes who did receive municipal support for architecture, the city council reached back nearly two centuries to the terms of the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia to argue that a Catholic city such as Koblenz had no obligation to provide Protestants with municipal funds.[57] The six-year conflict constituted a brazen show of Catholic resistance, one that flouted French legal precedent and the current rule under a Protestant monarch. By withholding the right to architectural representation, in this case a residence for their cleric, the city council of Koblenz

[56] Andreas Metzing, "Aus Rheinländern werden Preußen," 37.
[57] Andreas Metzing, "Aus Rheinländern werden Preußen," 46.

used sacred space as means of subordinating the local Protestant community to Catholic authority. In 1833, a compromise was reached when the Prussian government agreed at long last to make its restitution of 27,000 Taler to the city of Koblenz for the loss of the Florinskirche to the Protestant community fifteen years prior. The city council then saw fit to contribute its share to the construction of the pastor's house, eventually providing 2,500 Taler more than initially requested.[58]

The Florinskirche's role in the political and civic life of Koblenz's communities, Rhenish and Prussian, Protestant and Catholic, illustrates how ecclesiastical architecture participated within a broader socio-political milieu by which secular, temporal power was asserted and contested. Prussian bureaucratic interventions into provincial church building embedded the central authorities into the cultural, spiritual, and civic life of communities and politicized the sacred spaces of the Rhenish parish churches. Churches functioned as both sacred sites and public relations tools, their symbolic and political capital claimed by both the House of Hohenzollern as well as Rhenish Catholics. Historians have arrived previously at such conclusions in their assessments of the circumstances attending the completion of Cologne Cathedral between 1842–80; but the building of Catholic and Protestant community churches in towns and villages up and down the Rhine in the 1820s and 30s demonstrates that this process began in earnest in the Rhineland half a century earlier.

III. Summary

Prussian bureaucratic intervention in Rhenish confessional affairs amplified monarchical authority in the daily lives of Rhinelanders. Yet policies aimed at consolidating Prussian

[58] Andreas Metzing, "Aus Rheinländern werden Preußen," 47.

control over its new province had arguably the opposite effect, as both Rhenish Catholics and Protestants resented and resisted the state's intrusion into local affairs as evidenced, for example, by the angry sentiments expressed in pamphlet *Winter Evening Conversations* or the antagonisms surrounding the Protestant re-dedication of Koblenz's Florinskirche. For Rhenish Protestants, specifically, the state's incursions into the content of the liturgy and upon the long tradition of congregational self-government constituted breaches to the autonomy long enjoyed by individual congregations. For Rhenish Catholics, strictures on local initiatives to build and repair churches, combined with continual underfunding of church operating expenses, created deep and abiding antagonism toward the Prussian state from the earliest years of its rule and, certainly, decades prior to the 1837 arrest of the Archbishop of Cologne on the issue of Catholic-Protestant mixed marriages.

By mid-century, Papal power would slowly reassert itself in the Rhineland and bring architecture into its purview—both the Rhenish Catholic and Protestant Church hierarchies would insist on Gothic designs for their new churches by the 1850s, and, in Catholic parishes, architectural plans had to be submitted to the office of the archbishopric for review[59] In the first quarter century of Prussian rule, however, parish councils, local officials, and congregants spearheaded church building initiatives. As the majority population, Rhenish Roman Catholics had the larger share of architectural needs after 1815, as their churches were likely to have received minimal repairs or refurbishment over two decades, incurred war damage, been subjected to repurposing, or simply grown too small. While Rhenish Catholics acknowledged the need for financial help from the Prussian monarchy in the face of these deprivations and they asked for it, they did not wish to cede their parish autonomy in return.

[59] Weyres, "Katholische Kirchen," 77.

CHAPTER 2:

Secularizing the Sacred: The Prussian Building Bureaucracy and Rhenish Ecclesiastical Architecture (1770–1840)

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I. INTRODUCTION

> On many ocassions, I have had the opportunity to notice that the twenty-year stay of the French in the Rhine provinces, as well as some of their laws, have had a highly negative influence on the piety and morality of the local people… One of the most effective ways to improve morality would be, without question, the improvement of churches and educational institutions…
>
> *– Governor of the Prussian Rhine Province Karl von Ingersleben to Prussian Prime Minister Karl August von Hardenberg, August 1816*[1]

From the inception of Prussian rule in the Rhineland in 1815, the Prussian bureaucracy identified the key role to be played by religious and educational institutions in their new territory: strong churches and schools could mitigate what they viewed as the immoral, unprincipled influence on Rhinelanders of twenty years under French occupation (1794–1814). Churches and schools did need repairs—secularization, war damage, and deferred maintenance over two decades had exerted a toll. This chapter seeks to demonstrate that Prussian bureaucratic objectives exceeded simply shoring up existing construction. Ecclesiastical architecture in the Rhineland served as a bureaucratic tool through which Berlin sought to acculturate its new province.

This chapter will provide an introduction to the history, workings, and actors of the Prussian building bureaucracy. It begins with an overview of the building bureaucracy's early

[1] Landeshaupt Archiv Koblenz (LHA-Ko), Bestand 402, Nr. 369, p. 71.

history, from its foundation in 1770 under Fredrick II (r. 1740–1786) until its critical 1809 reorganization as part of a larger group of reforms introduced in response to Napoleon's victories. The chapter will then profile the five main bureaucratic actors engaged in provincial church building between 1815–40: (1) the Prussian Ministry of Religious, Educational, and Health Affairs (which I refer to hereafter by its German name, the *Kultusministerium*[2]); (2) the Prussian State Building Commission (referred to hereafter as the *Oberbaudeputation*); (3) the parish councils composed of Rhenish notables who were tasked to oversee church business, including building projects, in both Catholic and Protestant congregations; (4) Rhenish architects; and (5) the Prussian monarch, Friedrich Wilhelm III. Establishing the roles of these actors is necessary to illuminate a discussion of how the bureaucracy aspired to function compared with how it actually functioned.

The final sections of this chapter will consider how the discontinuities between the theory and practice of bureaucratic operations around Rhenish ecclesiastical architecture affected the relations between the central government and its provincial subjects, both architects and parishioners alike. First, by examining an 1817 Rhenish proposal in which provincial architects sought independent management of the region's public architecture, this chapter problematizes the conventional reading of Rhinelanders as the largely impassive recipients of bureaucratic mandates from Berlin and Karl Friedrich Schinkel. To consider the quotidian impact of architecture's bureaucratization on lay publics, the chapter concludes with a survey of the labyrinthine funding paths Rhenish parish communities had to navigate, often

[2] This document treats foreign words in accordance with the *Chicago Manual of Style, Seventeenth Edition*, namely "if a word from another language becomes familiar through repeated use throughout a work, it need be italicized only on its first occurrence. If it appears only rarely, however, italics may be retained." The German words Kultusministerium, Oberbaudeputation, and Oberbaudepartement appear unitalicized after their initial use. See https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/book/ed17/part2/ch07/psec053.html. Accessed February 27, 2019.

over decades, in order to guide their building projects to completion. While Prussian bureaucrats saw fit to amend the building plans and pare back the budgets of Rhenish church projects, their decades-long failure to provide reliable funding mechanisms for parish architectural initiatives prompted the emergence of ad-hoc, local initiatives—along with increasing Rhenish ire toward Berlin.

II. THE PRUSSIAN BUILDING BUREAUCRACY PRIOR TO 1809

In 1742, two years into what would eventually be a forty-six-year reign, Prussian King Friedrich II placed the administration of building and infrastructure projects under the authority of his General Directorate, the ministry concerned with affairs of state and finance.[3] Friedrich emphasized the need for "solid buildings and accurate budgets," particularly in the case of *Ökonomiebau*, or utilitarian public buildings, roads, and waterworks (referred to henceforth as "utilitarian works") in contrast to *Prachtbau*, or the monumental, representational architecture of court (henceforth "representational works").[4] By the late 1760s, the monarchy's concern with public architecture and its cost intensified. Urgently needed building repairs and infrastructure modernization threatened to strain a Prussian state treasury already grappling with the expenses of lengthy battles against Austria, Russia, and France during the Seven Years War (1754–63).[5] In a reform initiative of April 1770 aimed at managing building construction while encouraging economic growth, Friedrich II consolidated oversight of public architecture

[3] Reinhart Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation der preußischen Bauverwaltung: Von David Gilly zu Karl Friedrich Schinkel* (Köln, Weimar, Wein: Böhlau Verlag, 2000), 58.
[4] Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, 59.
[5] Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, 61–62.

and infrastructure into a separate bureaucratic entity, the *Oberbaudepartement*.[6] A staff of eight architects and two directors centrally administered building throughout Prussia, with provincial building directors reporting to them.[7] Specific tasks of the Oberbaudepartement included setting standards for Prussian utilitarian works, with an emphasis on economic use of materials and durable construction, dissemination of building policies to the provinces, and the monitoring of compliance.[8] The Oberbaudepartement's 1770 instructions described a broad mandate comprising four areas of responsibility: engineering (water- and windmills, mines, pumps, etc.,); waterworks (canals, forts, navigability of rivers); street and road building; and all building in Prussian territories, including barns, stables, factories, courts of law, and "all religious buildings including churches and schools as well as other public institutions."[9] The Oberbaudepartement convened weekly in theory, but irregularly in practice.[10]

A restructuring under Friedrich Wilhelm II in 1787 heightened the group's professional profile. Salary increases raised the compensation of Oberbaudepartement members commensurate to the level of full-time wages and explicit instructions placed the entirety of Prussia's provincial architectural offices under central Oberbaudepartement jurisdiction.[11] The staff now consisted of a general director, a finance director, and six full-time members; two architects were assigned to the building and maintenance of waterworks on Prussian rivers and streams, including canals, mills, sluices, and locks, and four others oversaw provincial utilitarian works.[12] In addition to the tradition of weekly meetings, after 1787 a second

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[6] Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, 67–72.
[7] Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, 71–72.
[8] Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, 72.
[9] Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, 71.
[10] Eckhard Bolenz, *Von Baubeamten zum freiberuflichen Architekten: technische Berufe im Bauwesen (Preussen/Deutschland, 1799–1831)* (Frankfurt am Main, New York: P. Lang, 1991), 6.
[11] Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, 83.
[12] Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, 83–4.

conference convened on the fifteenth of every month to discuss projects for which time was insufficient during the weekly sessions.[13] The Oberbaudepartment also had responsibility for educating and examining trainees who would serve as future administrators.[14] However, the lack of a formal architectural training program made it difficult to fulfill this mandate: initial ties with the *Kunstakademie* faltered due to the latter's lack of technical emphasis, while the Prussian *Bauakademie* was only founded in 1799.[15] The outbreak of war with the French in 1806 brought financial hardship and further impeded building in Prussia. Once Friedrich Wilhelm III fled to Königsberg upon the arrival of French troops in Berlin in autumn 1806, members of the Oberbaudepartement went unpaid until 1809.[16]

As early as 1797, Friedrich Wilhelm III sought to improve bureaucratic efficiency by creating advisory bodies to guide bureaucrats in technical matters.[17] External advisory bodies staffed with trained experts were conceived to provide bureaucrats with specialized information on topics such as mining or manufacturing, in order to inform, yet not impede, the perceived objectivity of bureaucratic decision-making. [18] In June 1804, the Oberbaudepartement was refashioned into such an advisory body and renamed the *Technische Oberbaudeputation*. The 1804 transformation to a Deputation, however, undermined the former Oberbaudepartement's direct oversight of provincial architecture by situating it outside of ministerial-provincial reporting lines. Instead, individual ministries forwarded provincial projects to the *Technische Oberbaudeputation* only as needed; the Ministry of War, for example, could ask the Oberbaudeputation to review construction plans for a military hospital.

[13] Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, 84.
[14] Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, 85.
[15] Bolenz, *Von Baubeamten zum freiberuflichen Architekten*, 111.
[16] Paul Ortwin Rave, *Schinkel als Beamter: ein Abschnitt preussischer Bauverwaltung* (Berlin: Wilhelm Ernst, 1932), 6.
[17] Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation,* 150.
[18] Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation,* 150.

Government ministries thus became the gatekeepers between the Oberbaudeputation and provincial building supervisors.

III. From "Oberbaudepartement" to "Oberbaudeputation" and the Reforms of 1806–09

In response to Prussia's losses to the French army in 1806, ministers to King Friedrich Wilhelm III urged the introduction of widespread reforms in Prussia, including restructuring of the military, abolishment of hereditary serfdom, and a measure of tolerance toward Jews.[19] The reform initiatives, led by Prussian Prime Ministers Karl August von Hardenberg and Karl Freiherr von Stein, together with Minister of Religion and Public Instruction Wilhelm von Humboldt, also sought to improve the efficiency of government operations through the creation of five distinct bureaucratic ministries: Interior, Finance, Foreign Affairs, Justice, and War.[20] Bureaucrats were to propose and administer policy in these areas, thereby blunting the influence of the small circle of insiders upon whom the king had generally relied. Ministerial heads had direct access to the king and oversaw provincial matters within their functional domains. Provincial governments, called *Regierungen*, were established in November 1808, each one directed by an *Oberpräsident*, a position akin to a governor, who oversaw the province's affairs in concert with the ministries. In addition, new municipal ordinances, called the *Städteordnung* (Municipal Ordinances), introduced reforms at the local level. The category

[19] Christopher M. Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600–1947* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 312–13.

[20] Each ministry was subdivided into *Abteilungen* or departments. The Oberbaudeputation fell under the jurisdiction of several ministries over the time period covered in this study. As of the 1809 reorganization, it was placed within the Interior Ministry. In 1814, it was part of the Finance Ministry. In 1817, it was moved to the new Ministry of Trade and Manufacturing. In 1824, it went back to the Interior Ministry. See Rave, *Schinkel als Beamter*, 7. Despite the frequent moves within the Prussian government, Rave notes the Oberbaudeputation itself kept its sphere of activity relatively unchanged from 1810 to 1848 (*Schinkel als Beamter*, 8).

of *Bürger*, or citizen, widened to include those who owned a home or practiced a trade.[21] The Städteordnung established salaried positions for mayors and magistrates and allowed male *Bürger* to vote in town elections and run for local offices, thereby promoting greater local management of municipal affairs.[22]

In light of these reforms, members of the Oberbaudeputation and government ministers began debating the technical advisory status that had been conferred on the Oberbaudeputation in 1804. Johann Albrecht Eytelwein, a member and later director of the Oberbaudeputation, protested the transformation of the state building bureaucracy into "eine konsultative Oberbaucollegium," or a mere advisory building commission.[23] In an 1808 memorandum, he argued for the Oberbaudeputation's continued direct supervision over provincial architecture, stating that the lack of oversight by a competent central authority left the construction of well-made utilitarian works to chance. From an operational perspective, he added, water and infrastructure projects, in particular, often involved multiple provinces, necessitating their supervision by a single central authority. Yet Eytelwein's arguments were grounded in more than the ease of day-to-day operations. He articulated a clear political rationale for the restoration of the Oberbaudeputation's direct authority over provincial building projects. Only a centralized, technical body with executive powers could meet the needs of what Eytelwein called *Nationalbildung,* or the project to disseminate cultivation throughout the Prussian nation."[24] In a follow-up memo, Eytelwein argued that the Oberbaudeputation bore the responsibility for "the dissemination of good taste in architecture," thereby linking Prussian

[21] Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, pp. 333–35.
[22] Steven Moyano, "Karl Friedrich Schinkel and the Administration of Aesthetics in Prussia, 1810–1841." PhD diss., National Gallery of Art, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, 1988, 21.
[23] See Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, 151–56, for a discussion on the ministerial debates concerning the scope of the Oberbaudeputation's authority between 1804 and 1809.
[24] "dem Bedürfnisse und den Fortschritten der Nationalbildung." See Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, 153.

public architecture with the broader goal of ennobling the provincial populace.[25] Eytelwein and his supporters viewed the everyday structures under the jurisdiction of the Oberbaudepartement as playing a vital role in the creation of a cohesive Prussian nation. Eytelwein's pleas for the restoration of the Oberbaudeputation's authority achieved partial success when the Ministry of the Interior issued a new set of instructions for the building bureaucracy in September 1809—instructions that were to guide Prussia's state architectural bureaucracy for the next four decades.[26]

IV. The Oberbaudeputation's New Instructions of September 1809

"…[T]he conditions for public building have completed changed." So began the new instructions issued for the Oberbaudeputation in September 1809, making reference to the reform-driven reorganization of the Prussian government over the previous year.[27] The reform programs of 1808 were an attempt to invigorate the nation in the face of mounting losses to France, and reinstating the authority of the Oberbaudeputation would ensure public architecture aligned with the reformers' intent to create a modern state. Operationally speaking, however, the November 1808 reforms that divided government functions among five

[25] "Verbreitung des guten Geschmacks in der Baukunst." See Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, 153.
[26] See Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, 153–166 for detailed discussion of the debates between Prussian ministers Theodor von Schön and Karl vom Stein zu Altenstein over the scope of the Oberbaudeputation's duties in the years 1808–9.
[27] Quote from the first sentence of the September 1809 instructions, which made reference to decrees announcing reforms in December 1808. For the September 1809 instructions, see GStA PK IHA Rep 76 Kultusministerium IX Sekt 1 Nr. 10 Bd 1, pp. 187–95. The decrees issued on December 16 and 26, 1808, documents which organized the central government into five ministries and established regional and municipal governments, are available in digitized form at the web archive of the Staatsbibliothek Berlin: https://web-archiv.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/altedrucke.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/Rechtsquellen/NCCT121807.10/start.html. The aforementioned texts are included in the 1808 volume. Verordnung No. 64 of December 26, 1808 issues instructions for the organization and tasks of Prussian provincial governments, for example. Accessed March 2, 2019.

ministries, established provincial governments that reported to those ministries, and granted limited autonomy to municipalities meant the Oberbaudeputation no longer fit neatly into the new structure. At the same time, political conditions in the autumn of 1809 necessitated a centralized architectural bureaucracy more than ever. The battle against Napoleon was far from finished, and Friedrich Wilhelm III had just recently returned to Berlin after a two-year absence due to French occupation. A centralized architectural bureaucracy could disseminate Eytelwein's desired *Nationalbildung*, enlisting architecture to help the embattled Prussian nation to cohere.

a) The New Tasks of the Oberbaudeputation

The sixteen points contained in the September 1809 instructions issued to the Oberbaudeputation might best be viewed as a compromise that did not quite return the body to its 1787 authority, yet granted, at least on paper, more responsibility for provincial building than that of a pure advisory body. Each government ministry was to enlist the Oberbaudeputation's services for any new building projects in their operational purview that incurred a cost to the state of greater than 500 Taler—a modest sum that might cover repair of a roof.[28] The Oberbaudeputation was defined in the 1809 instructions somewhat ambiguously as a "*consulting* agency with the authority *to police and revise* public architecture" [italics mine].[29] The five government ministries would continue to serve as gatekeepers, forwarding

[28] Instructions of October 23, 1817 required that any repairs over 1,000 Taler needed prior approval by the Oberbaudeputation. See Moyano, "Karl Friedrich Schinkel," 51.

[29] "eine consultative und die öffentlichen Bauten controllierende und reviderende Behörde." Strecke views the Oberbaudeputation's definition as both a "consulting" and "policing" body as a compromise. That the compromise was contradictory, and thus confusing, in day-to-day ministerial operations is illustrated by Strecke's anecdote regarding high-ranking Ministry of Industry and Trade official (and close working colleague of Schinkel) Peter Beuth. Strecke relates Beuth's 1835 frustration at working from a copy of the 1809 instructions that had "disintegrated into shreds." Strecke argues that the need for Beuth to repeatedly consult the instructions provides evidence that even bureaucrats were unsure of exactly what the Oberbaudeputation could

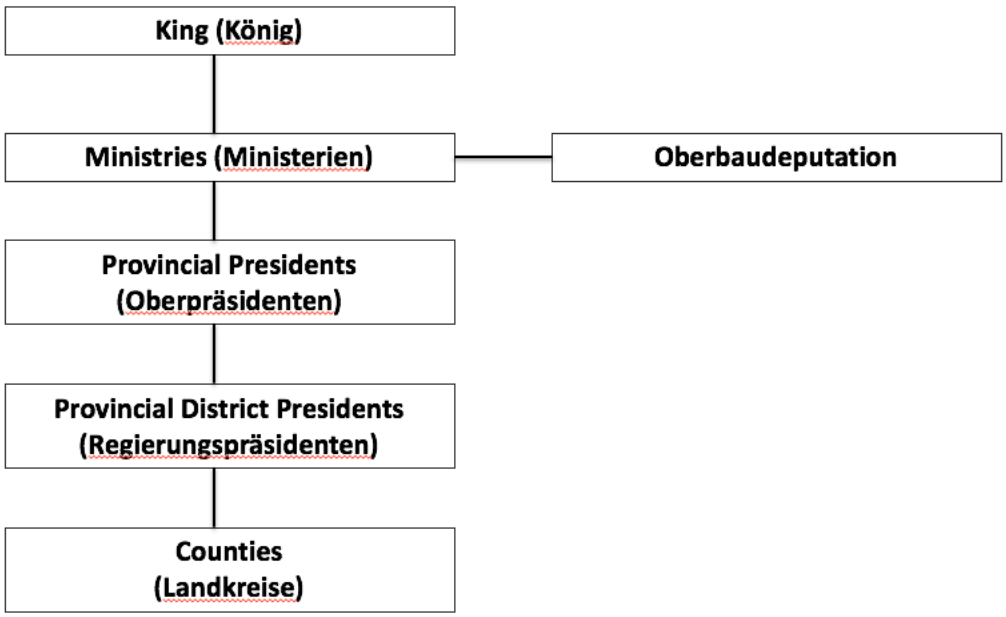
projects to the Oberbaudeputation for review, but the Oberbaudeputation was tasked to take an active role in the revision of provincial building plans. The requirement that a central bureaucratic agency manage provincial public architecture posited not only the existence of a correct and appropriate way to construct Prussian buildings, but that the stakes thereof necessitated more than mere consulting services.

At the same time, however, the 1809 instructions did not give the Oberbaudeputation the means to enforce its findings. They could not withhold building funds nor prohibit commencement of work on a project. Nor did the 1809 Instructions outline specifics regarding preferred style(s), design elements, materials, or cost parameters for public buildings. To further muddle the process, 1808's reform-driven division of the Prussian government into five discrete ministries (Interior, Finance, Foreign Affairs, Justice, and War) impacted how provincial governments were permitted to interact with the central government and specifically prevented provincial governments from direct dealings with the Oberbaudeputation (fig. 1). All plans for new provincial buildings were routed through the appropriate ministry, i.e., proposals for new churches and schools went to the Kultusministerium, who made the initial determination as to the necessity of the proposed construction. The ministries then forwarded approved proposals to the Oberbaudeputation for assessment, and the Oberbaudeputation's responses traveled via the relevant ministry back to the provinces. The lack of direct contact between the Oberbaudeputation and provincial architects significantly limited the ability of Schinkel and

and could not do. Beuth, according to Strecke, then ordered a new (notarized) copy of the 1809 Instructions for ministerial use. I argue that this anecdote also reminds us of the longevity of the Oberbaudeputation's impact on provincial architecture, as its mandate remained intact for more than a quarter-century. See Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, 166.

his colleagues to determine whether provincial authorities had received their directives and to what extent they had implemented them.

Figure 1. Organization of the Prussian Government Showing the Position of the Oberbaudeputation from 1809 until its Dissolution in 1849*



*Redrawn and translated from Strecke (2000), p. 226.

The Oberbaudeputation's jurisdiction extended to five areas: 1) general building security and safety; 2) public buildings funded whole or in part by the state; 3) surveying for public projects; 4) general oversight of weights and measures within Prussia; 5) oversight of all personnel involved in the construction, surveying, or auditing of building projects. The criteria for evaluating a public building required considering "its disposition and its usefulness as well as its construction and execution in technical and economic terms."[30]

[30] GStA PK IHA Rep 76 Kultusministerium IX Sekt 1 Nr. 10 Bd 1. See p. 187 recto for the list of the five areas of responsibility assigned to the Oberbaudeputation and p. 189 verso for the quotation that the reviews of

As a body, the Oberbaudeputation's internal deliberations operated as "kollegisch," meaning their proceedings were conducted by discussion among the group members, and all decisions arrived at jointly. The member responsible for the project under discussion wrote an assessment and circulated it in advance among his colleagues. In "collegial" debate, the members deliberated upon the assessment in their group sessions. After those present had arrived at an agreement, members would add their signatures to the final report, thus issuing their verdicts as the collective, unanimous opinion of the body. Signatures from three of the five members met the standard for a quorum and the individual author of the assessment was not expressly identified in the final document. Disagreements among the members required debate and a vote to arrive at a decision. The director, a position held by the group's oldest member, broke ties.

In addition to their duties in Berlin, architects at the *Oberbaudeputation* were expected to travel annually to construction sites and report on the progress of state-sponsored buildings in their assigned provinces. They had the right to request progress reports from the provinces as well as insist upon copies of drawings for their files. The September 1809 instructions mandated that the Oberbaudeputation make provincial offices aware of shortcomings in their plans, give suggestions for remediation, and report any noncompliance, particularly with regard to public safety.[31] Yet the increased autonomy extended to Prussia's provinces through the 1806–08 reforms also meant regional officials could hypothetically object to the Oberbaudeputation's verdicts on their projects—a course of action provincial towns and villages availed themselves of in the decades that followed.

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proposed buildings by the Oberbaudeputation must "auf die Disposition desselben und deren Nutzbarkeit, als auf seine Construction und die Ausführung in technischer und ökonomischer Hinsicht richten."

[31] See also Rave, *Schinkel als Beamter*, "Part 2, The Duties of the Oberbaudeputation," 10–26.

b) The New Role for Aesthetics in Prussian Public Architecture

The September 1809 instructions mandated staffing changes at the Oberbaudeputation. Subsequent to its 1787 reorganization, the Oberbaudeputation had a staff of eight members. In the debates prior to the release of the 1809 instructions, Eytelwein pushed to keep six members while officials in the Ministry of the Interior argued that two would suffice.[32] The parties compromised on a staff of five councilors.[33] In defining the duties of the five councilors, three positions remained as they had been prior to 1809 with responsibilities divided along the traditional lines of *Landbau* and *Wasserbau*: one Councilor served as director for *Wasserbau* in all Prussian provinces except Silesia; the second Councilor functioned as director for *Landbau* in all Prussian provinces except Silesia; the duties of the third Councilor combined *Land-* and *Wasserbau* duties for Silesia.[34] Of the two new positions added to the roster of councilors, the first called for an Oberbaudeputation member with expertise in surveying, weights and measures, the ability to administer theoretical and practical examinations in trigonometry and geometry to candidates, and to oversee the library and model collection. This

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[32] See Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, 157, for discussion of the staffing of the Oberbaudeputation positions in 1809. He notes, interestingly, that while Eytelwein was in Berlin, the King and his ministers were all in Königsberg, having fled Berlin (p. 163).

[33] See Moyano "Karl Friedrich Schinkel," 24, for a list of *Oberbaudeputation's* members and their duties in 1809–10. See also Strecke's criticism of Moyano's list in *Anfänge und Innovation*, p. 3, footnote 8, where he faults Moyano's vague description of *Oberbaudeputation* councilor Berson as "an official…whose career remains a mystery." Strecke goes on to provide specific information about Berson's career. Strecke, rightfully in my opinion, takes issue with Moyano's clearly stated decision to apply "Oberbaudeputation" to all phases of the Prussian building bureaucracy, even for the period prior to 1804. Moyano's defense for this position is that the basic mandate of the body did not change substantially after the late eighteenth century. I believe the arguments in this section challenge that position. For Moyano's explanation, see "Karl Friedrich Schinkel," 16. For Strecke's critique of Moyano, see *Anfänge und Innovation*, 3.

[34] The German word *Landbau* is best understood here as the opposite of *Wasserbau*, although a contemporary German dictionary today would translate *Landbau* as farming or agriculture. In the nineteenth century, Landbau referred to public structures in towns and rural areas, including residences, schools, factories, and barns. *Wasserbau* refers to waterworks, such as pumps, dams, canals, channels, and military fortifications. See Bolenz, p. 48.

position echoed the Oberbaudepartement's 1770 guidelines, which called for a councilor with competence in "everything required of land surveying" including "theoretical geometry," and reflected the demand for civil engineering expertise within the architectural profession in the early nineteenth century.[35] The second new position, on the other hand, introduced an altogether new area to the Oberbaudeputation's range of responsibilities: aesthetics.[36] The job duties of the fifth councilor—the position later held by Schinkel—read as follows:

> [The Fifth] councilor deals in particular with the aesthetic aspects of architecture, issues assessments of public representational buildings and landmarks, and of the preservation of public monuments and relics of antique art. He is responsible for examinations in relation to his department, and also works on the royal buildings which apply to the Oberbaudeputation as his specific area.[37]

The Prussian bureaucracy thus created a position from which to regulate how ordinary buildings, town- and cityscapes *looked*. Prior to this change, "aesthetics" had been a concern chiefly in court architecture and in those projects administered by the *Hofbauamt* or Royal Building Office. The Oberbaudeputation now extended this to all building proposals exceeding 500 Taler in the whole Prussian state.[38] The establishment of a Prussian architectural bureaucracy with responsibility for public and court architecture, both technically and aesthetically, signaled a much wider definition of the categories of buildings whose

[35] Bolenz, *Von Baubeamten*, 49.
[36] See Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, for a discussion of the debate surrounding the staffing of the Oberbaudeputation and the new emphasis on aesthetics assigned to the fifth member, pp. 157–58.
[37] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Kultusministerium IX Sekt I Nr. 10, Bd 1, p. 192 verso.
[38] Moyano, "Karl Friedrich Schinkel," 17

representational potential merited the state's involvement.[39] This redefinition of the Oberbaudeputation's mandate is indicative of the mounting awareness among Prussian authorities that everyday environments, as much as officially representative ones, played a role in shaping the social, political, religious, and local identities of the populace.

The Oberbaudeputation's expanded mandate also fit the larger pattern of Prussian reforms, which, after 1808, increasingly interjected the growing machinery of the state into the Prussian populace's everyday lives. Ministries managed educational, religious, financial, military, and infrastructural matters, working closely with provincial governors and administrators. Through these bureaucratic initiatives, the image of the monarchical government was to take on architectural form in Prussian towns and villages; schools, churches, barracks, bridges, canals, and roads all became potential emblems of the state and its power in the lives of provincial publics—built representations that grew in importance after Prussia acquired large, new territories after 1815, including the economically developed, formerly French-ruled Rhineland.

While the September 1809 instructions made it possible for the Oberbaudeputation to craft policy, an examination of initiatives undertaken between 1811–21 to establish schoolhouse design norms reveals that the bureaucratic model did not flow only in the top-down direction with policies radiating outward from the center to the province. Sometimes provincial initiatives anticipated and influenced Prussian architectural policies; and sometimes the provinces resisted the Oberbaudeputation's directives.

In July 1811, the provincial government of Silesia wished to disseminate schoolhouse template designs within its province.[40] They sought Berlin's approval to distribute four

[39] Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, 165
[40] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 IX Sekt 1 Nr. 4 Bd. 1, p. 8. Letter of July 11, 1811.

different design templates, increasing in size to accommodate from 40 to 200 children. Silesian bureaucrats submitted detailed watercolor and ink renderings in elevation, plan, and cross section to the Kultusministerium, and all were forwarded to the Oberbaudeputation for assessment. Impressed by the Silesian initiative, the Oberbaudeputation opted to expand the idea to all of Prussia and began soliciting school designs from its provinces with the goal of creating a single template.[41] By February 1812, the Oberbaudeputation was able to compare the regional variations they had received in order to establish a general set of templates for use across the provinces. They determined that the design submitted by the provincial architects in Kurmark would be most suitable—provided that the architects modified their plans according to Schinkel's suggestions. In a letter to the Kultusministerium, Schinkel listed five items for revision, noting the classroom spaces were too large and, for schools with multiple classrooms plus a teacher apartment, two-story configurations would be more cost effective.[42] Upon reviewing revised plans from Kurmark in June 1812, Schinkel further modified their template for a two-story schoolhouse with the addition of a vaulted, stone staircase at the building's center. He provided detailed instructions on additional changes to the placement of walls, doors, and pipes, necessary to accommodate "this unusual and, until now, less frequently occurring element" that he noted was nonetheless appropriate for a public building.[43] Schinkel's concern with the public, representational character of state-sponsored provincial architecture recurred later in the same document, when he suggested that, corresponding to the "character of a public building," each façade should feature recessed signage stating the building's function and its location.[44] In their December 1812 response, the Kurmark

[41] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 IX Sekt 1 Nr. 4 Bd. 1, p. 17. Letter of September 7, 1811.
[42] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 IX Sekt 1 Nr. 4 Bd. 1, pp. 41–42. Letter of February 6, 1812.
[43] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 IX Sekt 1 Nr. 4 Bd. 1, pp. 49–50. Letter of June 23, 1812.
[44] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 IX Sekt 1 Nr. 4 Bd. 1, p. 50. Letter of June 23, 1812.

provincial government protested that as "preferable as stone stairwells might be in all public buildings," particularly in multi-storied structures hemmed in by buildings on either side, their provincials schools were usually freestanding, and thus not subject to the fire dangers which central stone staircases might mitigate. Budgeting for stone would also increase school building costs and the Kurmark architects argued that *Fachwerk*, or timber-framed construction, better suited limited provincial budgets and did not pose any greater fire risk.[45] Schinkel's response of March 1813 insisted that central stone stairwells, "massiver Treppen," were a standard element of state-funded construction in "höheren Orts" (literally meaning "in high places" but figuratively referring here to representational buildings in larger provincial towns). Schoolhouses, he said, were not an exception to the state's architectural norms; on the contrary, it was the duty of the state to provide the provinces, as often as possible, with good architectural examples to follow. He waved off the concerns about additional costs, countering that the staircase constituted a mere three percent addition to the budget. Communities incurred comparable cost increases rather arbitrarily, he said, and yet no one complained of a burden in those cases.[46]

Schinkel's insistence, and his dismissal of the resistance against it, demonstrated his conviction that public architecture, even provincial schoolhouses, must be aspirational and ambitious, with the potential to improve the skills of the architects and laborers involved in their construction as well as to confer cultivation on the communities they served. The episode also provides an example of Schinkel's early approach to provincial architecture, namely that design elements he felt emphasized architecture's broader function as a cultivating and

[45] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 IX Sekt 1 Nr. 4 Bd. 1, pp. 56–58. Letter of December 17, 1812.
[46] GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Ministerium der öffentlichen Arbeiten Nr. 2480, pp. 41–44. Letter dated March 2, 1813.

civilizing force, here stone over timber construction, took precedence over designs which might better suit the needs, traditions, or the expressed desires of the community.

The wider distribution of provincial schoolhouse templates encountered delays due to the Napoleonic Wars and their subsequent financial hardships. In 1818, the Oberbaudeputation circled back to the Kultusministerium to revisit the issue. The Ministry agreed to engage a lithographer to produce seven hundred copies of a set of six different schoolhouse templates, along with a special instructional drawing on the design of Schinkel's vaulted stone staircase (fig. 2).[47] The template schools ranged in size from 40 students to 150–200 students in varying arrangements of one-, two- or three classrooms, including separate learning spaces for female students, along with apartment(s) for one or two teachers. Lithographed copies were sent to each provincial government in April 1821.[48]

[47] GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Ministerium der öffentlichen Arbeiten Nr. 2480, p. 56 recto. Letter dated March 1, 1819.
[48] GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Ministerium der öffentlichen Arbeiten Nr. 2480, pp. 112–13. Letters dated April 29, 1821.

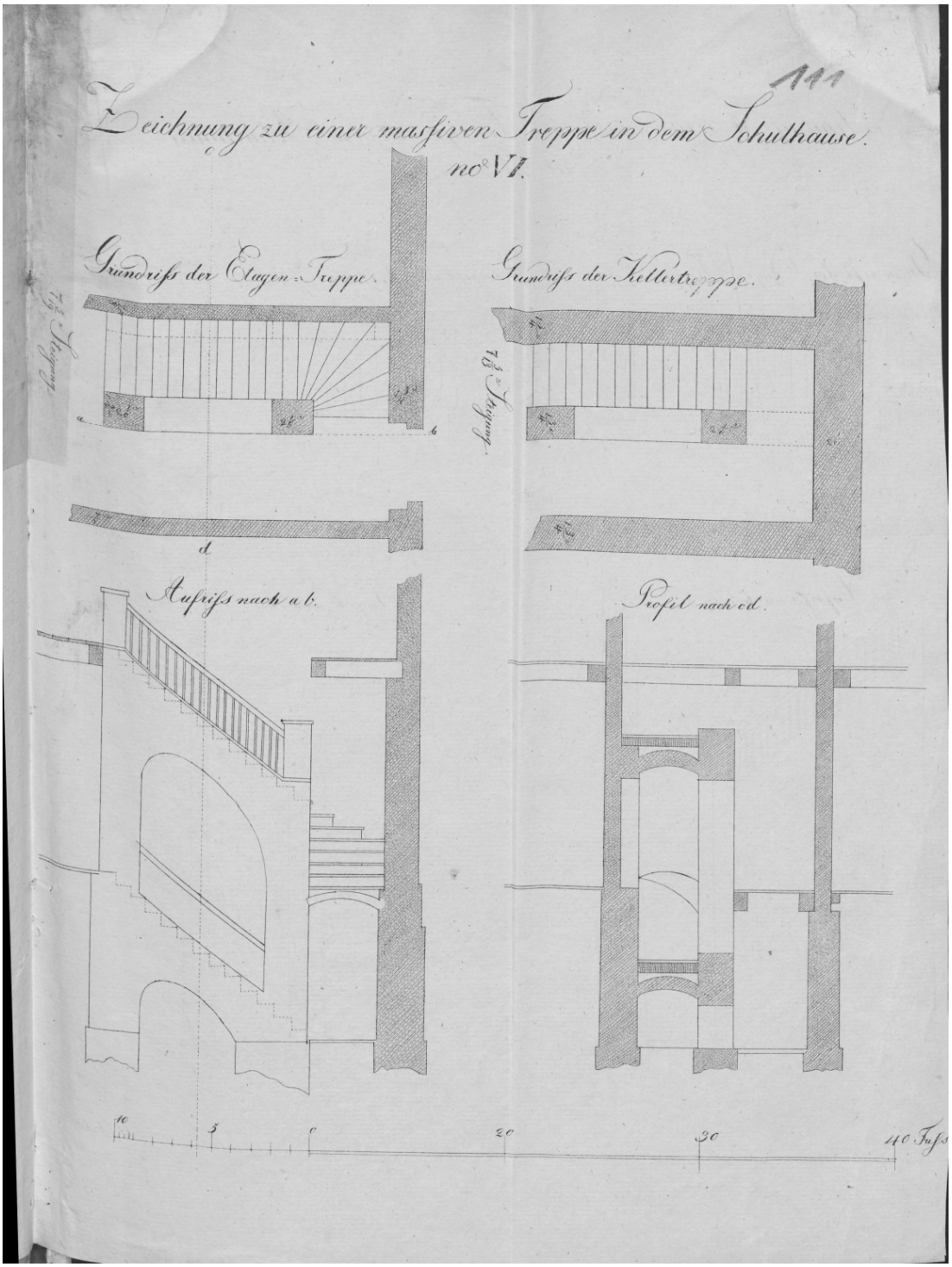


Figure 2. Schinkel's "Drawing for Stone Staircases in Schoolhouses" (1819), disseminated throughout the Prussian provinces with the Oberbaudeputation's set of template school designs. Photo from GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Ministerium der öffentlichen Arbeiten Nr. 2480, p. 111.

A dispute over the templates arose in July 1821, when architects working for the Düsseldorf provincial government circulated their own school design templates without consulting the Oberbaudeputation. Düsseldorf's schoolhouse plans came to light when the provincial government in the eastern province of Breslau wrote to bureaucrats in Berlin to complain about the designs they had received from Düsseldorf. Particularly problematic for the architects in Breslau were what they described as the "many foreign, mostly incomprehensible words and terms" in Düsseldorf's instructions.[49] The Breslau officials expressed frustration at having received templates from both Düsseldorf *and* Berlin and requested guidance. Breslau's complaint prompted the Oberbaudeputation to evaluate Düsseldorf's template designs, resulting in Berlin's sharp admonishment of their Rhenish counterparts and their insistence that Düsseldorf discontinue use of its plans. The Oberbaudeputation argued that the Düsseldorf plans did not offer any improvement over Berlin's designs—indeed, the similarity of climate and local conditions between Berlin and Düsseldorf obviated the need for different templates.[50] The Düsseldorf bureaucrats countered that neither set of templates constituted a "set norm" for schoolhouse design and suggested provincial governments might use one as well as the other depending on local conditions.[51] Kultusministerium officials in Berlin, forced to mediate between the Oberbaudeputation and the provincial government, ruled that while they agreed with the Oberbaudeputation's arguments, they conceded neither template represented a fixed blueprint and local conditions

[49] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 IX Sekt 1 Nr. 4 Bd 1, pp. 133–35. Letter of March 30, 1821. The architects complained that in the "technischen Bau Bedinungen so viele fremdartige unsere Baugewerkmeistern meistentheils unverständliche Wörter und Benennungen enthalten…"
[50] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 IX Sekt 1 Nr. 4 Bd 1, p. 157. Letter of November 11, 1821.
[51] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 IX Sekt 1 Nr. 4 Bd 1, pp. 160–63. Letter of June 7, 1821.

ought to be taken into consideration. With this verdict, the Kultusministerium, perhaps unwittingly, offered support to provincial architectural initiatives.[52]

These debates over the proper form for schoolhouse templates illustrate the variability of Prussian-Rhenish bureaucratized interactions around architecture. Rather than carry out the commands of their superiors in Berlin, Rhineland-based bureaucrats sometimes advocated for regional interests and autonomy against the policy directives of the central government—ultimately, in this case, prompting the central government to support the Rhenish position. The episode offers an example of the often-unwelcome reception that Berlin's bureaucratic protocols met with in provincial communities, and sheds light on the tensions between knowledge based on local or regional expertise and the acculturating mandates posed by central authorities.

c) Debates Over the Aesthetic Position and Schinkel's Hiring

Schinkel's monumental position in the history of architecture overshadows the fact that the Prussian government announced the creation of a fifth, "aesthetic" councilor position *before* Schinkel was hired into bureaucratic service. While it may now be difficult to envision anyone but Schinkel in this role, in order to properly consider the decision to include aesthetics within the realm of everyday public buildings overseen by the Oberbaudeputation, it is worthwhile to briefly review the circumstances regarding the creation of the position prior to Schinkel's hiring. By doing so, we reframe the events surrounding the transition from Oberbaudepartement to Oberbaudeputation not solely as the start of Schinkel's long

[52] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 IX Sekt I Nr. 4 Bd. 1, p. 184. Letter of December 10, 1821.

bureaucratic career, but as the initiation of a broader effort to include public architecture within the Prussian state's strategies to acculturate and discipline its provincial subjects.

Scholars do not agree as to whether Prussian bureaucrats had Schinkel in mind for the aesthetic position from its inception. Reinhart Strecke says that Schinkel's name came up during the September 1809 discussions to finalize the Oberbaudeputation's instructions.[53] Steven Moyano, on the other hand, views it as "doubtful" the position was created for Schinkel.[54] Strecke and Moyano also do not agree on the role of Wilhelm von Humboldt in securing Schinkel's employment at the Oberbaudeputation. On October 15, 1809, Schinkel asked Humboldt to put in a good word for him with government officials, as the young architect hoped to secure a Oberbaudeputation position. Humboldt advised Schinkel on November 27, 1809 that any intervention on Schinkel's behalf best await the king's return from exile in Königsberg.[55] Moyano argues that Humboldt's main concern was to consolidate the functions of the Royal Building Office, Art Academy, Architectural Academy, and Oberbaudeputation into a single institution, and he links Humboldt's interest in the aesthetic councilor position with his ultimate goal of streamlining the Prussian art, architectural, and building bureaucracy, rather than any specific effort to see Schinkel hired in the role.[56] Moyano concludes that "the inclusion of aesthetics in the revision of provincial designs" derived from Humboldt's larger institutional efforts to reconcile "art and practicality"[57]

It exaggerates Humboldt's influence to interpret the creation of the aesthetic councilor post as primarily serving Humboldt's goal for "practicality"—particularly when, according to

[53] Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, 164
[54] Moyano, "Karl Friedrich Schinkel," 27
[55] Moyano, "Karl Friedrich Schinkel," 28
[56] Moyano, "Karl Friedrich Schinkel," 36
[57] Moyano, "Karl Friedrich Schinkel," 37

Strecke and Moyano, Humboldt seems to have only learned about the finalized September 1809 instructions after the fact.[58] The emphasis on Humboldt and his preoccupation to streamline Prussia's cultural institutions also overlooks the decision by the king's influential Ministers of Finance (Altenstein) and the Interior (Dohna) to require all five Prussian bureaucratic ministries to utilize the Oberbaudeputation for buildings within their functional domains. The emphasis on Humboldt's bureaucratic concerns ultimately fails to account for the more complex ways architecture was harnessed to assert central authority in provincial regions—examples of which include the aforementioned attempt to disseminate schoolhouse design templates, as well as subsequent efforts to mandate the interior configuration of provincial churches.

On May 7, 1810, more than six months after Schinkel requested Humboldt's assistance in securing him a position, Oberbaudeputation councilors Eytelwein, Rothe and Simon urged the Ministry of Trade and Industry to fill the two outstanding councilor positions as quickly as possible. Schinkel's appointment went into effect on May 15, 1810 and he stayed in the position until his death in 1841.[59] During his Oberbaudeputation tenure, Schinkel was to remake the royal capital and achieve unrivaled success as an architect-bureaucrat in the employ of the Prussian state. Like Strecke, however, I would argue that Schinkel's appointment should be viewed as part of Prussia's impetus toward centralized state administration after 1806. Taking the view that the position was created especially for the young Schinkel reaffirms an outdated notion of the genius architect and situates architectural production within a traditional binary of architect and patron.[60] To bring many of his projects to fruition, however, Schinkel

[58] See Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, 164 and Moyano, "Karl Friedrich Schinkel," 28–29
[59] Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, 170
[60] See Christian Welzbacher, *Schinkel als Mythos: Kanonisierung und Rezeption eines Klassikers, 1841 bis heute* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2012) for discussions of the mythologization of Schinkel spanning the

had to exercise considerable skill in negotiating with multiple bureaucratic ministries as well as dealing with the erratic impulses of the king. The recognition that Schinkel's career was bureaucratically- and institutionally-mediated permits an examination of the architect's oeuvre within their broader context as societal projects. Foremost for this study, Schinkel's appointment to the Oberbaudeputation reminds us that the creation of the aesthetic position itself represented a strategic expansion of the Prussian architectural bureaucracy's provincial reach. It also serves to underscore the notable longevity of the September 1809 instructions given to the Oberbaudeputation, a document which guided the architectural policy, and politics of the Prussian building bureaucracy for close to forty years.

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The September 1809 Oberbaudeputation instructions share commonalities with Friedrich II's creation of the Oberbaudepartement in 1770. Both represent reform-driven responses to the architectural and infrastructural challenges of a post-war era. Both aimed at improving economy and efficiency, spurring modernization, and gaining greater control over the state's architectural representation in the provinces. However, contradictions in the 1809 instructions, such as the juxtaposition of the more passive "consulting" with the active task of "policing," or the rule against direct contact between the Oberbaudeputation and provincial officials, point to the challenges Prussian bureaucrats faced as they tried to negotiate their authority in the formerly French, independent-minded Rhineland. How the September 1809 instructions unfolded in practice during Schinkel's three decades in the post of aesthetic councilor will be the focus of the remainder of this chapter.

period immediately following his death until the appropriation of his work during German unification in the 1990s.

V. THE PRUSSIAN BUILDING BUREAUCRACY AFTER 1815

This examination of the Prussian building bureaucracy after 1815 is divided into two parts. The first section briefly profiles the five principal participants in state-sponsored ecclesiastical architecture in the Rhineland: the Ministry for Religious, Educational and Medical Affairs (Kultusministerium); the Oberbaudeputation; the Parish Councils who managed building projects locally; Rhenish architects; and monarch King Friedrich Wilhelm III. The second section presents an issue-based approach to demonstrate ways in which the day-to-day bureaucratic practice did or did not match up to theory. In probing ruptures between practice and theory in the Prussian architectural bureaucracy, I hope to demonstrate how state-sponsored church building projects stoked tensions between Berlin bureaucrats and Rhenish communities, thereby motivating Rhinelanders' to question and challenge state authority.

Conspicuously absent from the above list of actors is the clerical hierarchy of either the Catholic or Protestant church. This is because church building had become largely a state matter after 1815. King Friedrich Wilhelm III was the de facto head of the Prussian Protestant church; he also kept tight reins on the Catholic Church. Per its 1821 agreement with the Vatican, *De salute animarum*, the monarchy had assumed the financial support of the Prussian Catholic Church and its clergy in exchange for retaining those Catholic church properties confiscated under French rule. The Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy in the Rhineland, dismantled under French occupation after 1794, only began its reconstitution subsequent to the 1821 agreement, the terms of which were negotiated between representatives of Pope Pius VII and Friedrich Wilhelm III. Prussia nonetheless maintained the upper hand over the Vatican in several respects. The borders of the new Rhenish bishoprics were redrawn to conform with the

jurisdictions of Prussian provincial government offices, thereby subjecting church administration to the organizational principles of the state. The Prussian state also required correspondence between Prussian Catholic clergy and the Vatican to be channeled through the Kultusministerium and they retained power over the appointment of bishops until the late 1830s. All of which meant that the design and funding of ecclesiastic architecture in the quarter century between 1815–40 occurred as a result of the collective efforts of Prussian bureaucrats in Berlin, civil servants and architects working in the Rhenish provincial government, and local parish communities without significant input from the clerical hierarchy.

a) The Actors Engaged in Ecclesiastical Architecture, 1815–40

a.1. The Kultusministerium

In May 1817, Prussia's ten provincial governors sent a letter to Friedrich Wilhelm III expressing their concerns about the lack of cohesion in the Prussian state. The addition, after 1815, of new, far-flung territories, including the Rhineland, brought the governors to the realization that "...our state, as varied as it is new and diversely assembled, rests perhaps least among all European states on an instinctive connection of the provinces among themselves…it can only be the spirit that holds it together. [61]

The rich geographic, confessional, and cultural diversity of the Prussian state would only coalesce into a cohesive whole, the governors warned, through cultivation of "der Geist"—a word which can mean both the spirit (as translated here) as well as the intellect. Six

[61] See *Acta Borussica 2. Reihe: Preussen als Kulturstaat, Abt. I, Das preussische Kultusministerium als Staatsbehörde und gesellschaftliche Agentur (1817–1934), Band 1.2*, *Die Behörde und ihr höheres Personal, Dokumente*, edited by Bärbel Holtz, Rainer Paetau, Christina Rathgeber, Hartwin Spenkuch, Reinhold Zilch (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009), Document 3, pp. 5–10, quote on p. 6: "…unser so bunt wie neu und verschiedenartig zusammengesetzter Staat, vielleicht unter allen europäischen am wenigsten, auf instinktartigen Zusammenhange der Provinzen unter sich…Es kann nur der Geist sein, der ihn zusammenhält."

months later, on November 3, 1817, the freestanding *Ministerium der Geistlichen, Unterrichts und Medizinischen Angelegenheiten*, or Ministry of Religious, Educational, and Medical Affairs, was formed to administer the collective spirits, minds, and bodies of the new Prussian state.[62] Reflecting the Ministry's far greater engagement with religious, educational, and cultural affairs, however, the position of director for medical affairs went unfilled until 1839.[63] Known contemporaneously as the *Kultusministerium*, this shorthand designation continues today in German-language scholarship, and I will refer to it as such here. The Kultusministerium existed until 1933; in the nineteenth century, it rapidly grew to be one of the most influential arms of the Prussian bureaucracy.

The monarchy's concern to centrally administer religious practice in Prussia borrowed from the example of Napoleonic France.[64] The 1801 reorganization of the French church had aligned French archbishoprics with the jurisdictional boundaries of the appellate courts, a move

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[62] From its inception in 1817, the *Kultusministerium* had three divisions designated by the German word *Abteilung*. The first division dealt with religious affairs, the second with educational affairs, and the third with medical affairs. This division is evident in the signature lines of documents related to church building, as they are signed with the full ministerial name followed by "*1. Abtheilung*." As of 1841, the *Kultusministerium* was formally divided into 4 departments: Protestant Affairs, Catholic Affairs, Educational Affairs, and Medical Affairs. The ministry was organized by collegial debate, although they transformed to a bureaucratic, i.e. top-down structure, between 1848–50. The 1848 revolution also brought with it the constitutional separation, as least in theory, between church and state and the specifically Protestant department of the *Kultusministerium* was dissolved in 1849. The Catholic department existed until its dissolution by Otto von Bismarck in 1871. Bärbel Holtz, "Stellenstruktur, Binnenorganisation, und Zunahme des Geschäftsbetriebes" in *Acta Borussica, Preussen als Kulturstaat, Band 1.1, Die Behörde und ihr höheres Personal. Darstellung*, edited by Bärbel Holtz, Rainer Paetau, Christina Rathgeber, Hartwin Spenkuch, Reinhold Zilch (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009), pp. 103–5.

[63] Altenstein himself spoke of a "spiritual department" ('*geistlichen Departement'*)." Prior to the 1817 creation of an autonomous ministry, a Section for Religion and Public Education (*Sektion für Kultus und öffentlichen Unterricht* or simply the *Kultusabteilung*) sat within the Ministry of the Interior. The *Sektion für Kultus* started its work in 1808 as part of the larger Prussian reform project initiated by Karl August von Hardenberg. Bärbel Holtz, "Stellenstruktur, Binnenorganisation, und Zunahme des Geschäftsbetriebes" in *Acta Borussica, Preussen als Kulturstaat, Band 1.1*, *Die Behörde und ihr höheres Personal. Darstellung*, edited by Bärbel Holtz, Rainer Paetau, Christina Rathgeber, Hartwin Spenkuch, Reinhold Zilch (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009), 105.

[64] Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 415.

echoed in Prussia by making bishoprics congruent with the provincial governments.[65] What historian Christopher Clark describes as "ecclesiastical big government"[66] brought about similar changes in the Rhineland, as Rhenish dioceses were redrawn to align with the Prussian government's provincial government offices after 1821.

Karl vom Stein zum Altenstein served as director of the Kultusministerium from its inception in 1817 until 1838. He took the position at age forty-seven after a long career in state service, including as Prussia's Finance Minister within the reform circles of Hardenberg during the Napoleonic Wars.[67] His term of office unfolded almost precisely with those of Karl Friedrich Schinkel at the Oberbaudeputation (1810–40) and the reign of Friedrich Wilhelm III (died 1840). Altenstein's director for religious and educational affairs was Ludwig Nicolovius, who also held his position from 1817 to 1839. Thus, the Berlin-based, bureaucratic leadership surrounding ecclesiastical architecture remained consistent throughout the course of this study.

The Kultusministerium maintained a large staff for the management of church and school affairs. In 1817, Nicolovius had sixteen sub-directors and twenty upper-level bureaucrats reporting to him. By 1818, the number of sub-directors increased to nineteen, compared with thirteen in the Foreign Affairs Ministry and fifteen in the Ministry of the Interior.[68] Starting in autumn 1817, these bureaucrats occupied the top floor of the Alten Post

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[65] Roger Aubert, Johannes Beckman, Patrick J. Cornish, Rudolf Hill, *The Church Between Revolution and Restoration, History of the Church, Vol VII*, Hubert Jedin and John Dolan, eds., Peter Becker, trans. (New York: Crossroad, 1998), 60.

[66] Christopher Clark, "The Napoleonic Moment in Prussian Church Policy," in *Napoleon's Legacy: Problems of Government in Restoration Europe*, David Laven and Lucy Riall, eds. (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2000), 223.

[67] Christina Rathgeber, "Strukturelle Vorgeschichte und Gründung des Kultusministeriums," in *Acta Borussica, Preussen als Kulturstaat, Band 1.1*, *Die Behörde und ihr höheres Personal. Darstellung*, edited by Bärbel Holtz, Rainer Paetau, Christina Rathgeber, Hartwin Spenkuch, Reinhold Zilch (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009), 11.

[68] Bärbel Holtz, "Stellenstruktur, Binnenorganisation, und Zunahme des Geschäftsbetriebes" in *Acta Borussica, Preussen als Kulturstaat, Band 1.1*, *Die Behörde und ihr höheres Personal. Darstellung*, edited by Bärbel Holtz, Rainer Paetau, Christina Rathgeber, Hartwin Spenkuch, Reinhold Zilch (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009), 99.

building at corner of Königstrasse and Poststrasse in Berlin. Altenstein, however, complained that it was "too small and not representative enough, with dark stairs," so in autumn 1821 they moved to Leipzigstrasse, where they remained until 1849.[69] But by 1840, their headquarters had again grown cramped to the point that lower-level bureaucrats were working from home.[70] Despite their enormous mandate and sizeable staff, the Kultusministerium did not issue any instructions or a formal manual detailing its organizational principles and policies until twenty years into its existence, an uncommon practice for a large and powerful ministry at the center of a Prussian bureaucracy known for the meticulous detailing of its operations on paper.[71] Complaints were common regarding the Ministry's slow response time to provincial queries, although Altenstein reportedly insisted that his underlings provide answers within three months.[72]

Provincial governments submitted local proposals for new buildings directly to the Kultusministerium, which served as the gatekeeper for communications between provincial actors, the Berlin-based Oberbaudeputation, and the monarch. The Kultusministerium might dismiss such requests outright, citing a lack of funds, and in such cases, the proposal might die there. Repeated pleas from local parishes, coupled with letters of support from the provincial

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[69] Bärbel Holtz, Rainer Paetau, Hartwin Spenkuch, "Dienstsitz und Gebäude" in *Acta Borussica, Preussen als Kulturstaat, Band 1.1, Die Behörde und ihr höheres Personal. Darstellung*, edited by Bärbel Holtz, Rainer Paetau, Christina Rathgeber, Hartwin Spenkuch, Reinhold Zilch (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009), 151.
[70] For the various office locations of the *Kultusministerium* through 1874, see Bärbel Holtz, Rainer Paetau, Hartwin Spenkuch, "Dienstsitz und Gebäude" in *Acta Borussica, Preussen als Kulturstaat, Band 1.1, Die Behörde und ihr höheres Personal. Darstellung*, edited by Bärbel Holtz, Rainer Paetau, Christina Rathgeber, Hartwin Spenkuch, Reinhold Zilch (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009). 151–55.
[71] Bärbel Holtz, Hartwin Spenkuch, Reinhold Zilch, "Geschäftsgang und Geschäftsverteilung," in *Acta Borussica, Preussen als Kulturstaat, Band 1.1*, *Die Behörde und ihr höheres Personal. Darstellung*, edited by Bärbel Holtz, Rainer Paetau, Christina Rathgeber, Hartwin Spenkuch, Reinhold Zilch (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009), 139.
[72] Bärbel Holtz, Hartwin Spenkuch, Reinhold Zilch, "Geschäftsgang und Geschäftsverteilung," in *Acta Borussica, Preussen als Kulturstaat, Band 1.1*, *Die Behörde und ihr höheres Personal. Darstellung*, edited by Bärbel Holtz, Rainer Paetau, Christina Rathgeber, Hartwin Spenkuch, Reinhold Zilch (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009), 139.

government, could however increase the chances of a project receiving further consideration by the Oberbaudeputation, particularly if the parish only needed a small amount, such as a few hundred Taler to repair a bell tower or purchase an organ.

a.2. The Oberbaudeputation

If the Kultusministerium approved the need for a new church, Nicolovius forwarded the provincial plans, budget, and written proposal to the *Oberbaudeputation* where it would have been steered to the appropriate member for review. Expertise within the Oberbaudeputation was divided both geographically and/or technically, i.e., *Wasserbau* for canals or waterworks, *Chausséebau* for roads and infrastructure, *Landbau* for provincial public buildings. After May 1810, it was Karl Friedrich Schinkel who held responsibility for the aesthetic component of public architecture, and so it would have been Schinkel who reviewed proposals related to church building and wrote the assessment for review by his colleagues. These draft assessments were then circulated among the five Oberbaudeputation members for discussion at their regular Saturday meetings. As a collegial body, approval was required from the group as a whole, as the same norms of collegiality that characterized the organization after 1809 remained in force: three of five members present constituted the quorum necessary to sign off on an assessment. The identity of an assessment's primary author was not communicated to the report's provincial recipients and all decisions were issued as collective opinions, presenting the findings as the unanimous viewpoint of the group as a whole. Such anonymous group authorship served to validate the legitimacy of the Oberbaudeputation's directives to its readers in distant provinces.

Once signed off by the members of the Oberbaudeputation, their assessment went back to the province through the Kultusministerium. The Kultusministerium sent provincial

governments either a cover letter attached to a transcription of the Oberbaudeputation's full assessment or, less commonly, selected passages from the assessment quoted in the body of a letter. If a transcription of the full assessment was sent, the signatures of those Oberbaudeputation members present at quorum were included on a single line, again without an indication of the primary author. More often than not, Schinkel's assessments necessitated changes to the provincial proposal. This prompted the preparation of revised drawings and budgets by the provincial architect in consultation with the church council. Once complete, revised provincial plans went back to Berlin for another review by the Oberbaudeputation. The process could continue over months or years, as subsequent chapters will illustrate. The king was typically not involved in the process, at least initially.

a.3. Rhenish Parish Councils

Local communities, both Protestant and Catholic, initiated their church building and repair projects. The parish supervisory council managed the process locally. Accordingly, such supervisory councils, consisting of community notables along with the local clergy member and the mayor, play a pivotal role in this story.[73] Although technically operating outside the formal bureaucracy, parish councils represented the voice of Rhenish publics. They interacted closely with provincial architects on construction and design, corresponded with bureaucrats at the Kultusministerium, and often penned impassioned funding appeals directly to the King. The records of these interactions illuminate the function of the Prussian bureaucracy as it

[73] While the remainder of this paragraph derives from my reading of archival sources, see also Frank Schwieger, *Johann Claudius von Lassaulx, 1781–1848: Architekt und Denkmalpfleger*. (Neuss: Verlag Gesellschaft für Buchdruckerei AG, 1968), 12–14, for his discussion of the provincial church building process and ways local communities financed churches.

unfolded in practice in provincial towns and document the experiences of ordinary Rhinelanders negotiating their initial quarter century under Prussian rule.

While communities of both confessions turned to the state for support, for Catholic parishes in particular, the former *ancien regime* patronage obligations of noble families to support upkeep and repair of local churches often did not survive the social and economic upheavals of French rule. And while Rhenish churches of both confessions sometimes had building funds, these varied considerably in size and generally had suffered during the war years. A church's supervisory council could make their case in writing to the provincial government office, as the parish in Vallendar did for the building of its new Catholic church. Alternatively, a parish council could send its appeal directly to the monarch, as was the approach of the Protestant community in Solingen-Wald.

Parish councils took an active role in advocating for their projects. They were keenly aware of competing church building initiatives in surrounding towns and villages, and were quick to compare architectural progress and financial support of their project with those in nearby communities. Their written requests for state funding took care to extol the unique history, economic strengths, and advantages of their particular town or village in a concerted effort to sell the worthiness of their project to the authorities. In the process of articulating the community's needs to an often-dismissive Prussian bureaucracy, parish councils, and by extension parish members, tended to sharpen their regional and local identities. Village church building projects thereby often prompted appraisals of local history and regional identity.

In seeking to position their building projects as advantageously as possible, the letters of parish councils cited their gratitude for Prussian rule and praised the king for his (presumed) generosity. Many Rhenish notables, however, expressed concerns that their new Prussian

rulers would roll back the comparatively progressive socio-economic and legal framework introduced under the French.[74] Rhinelanders made it clear to the monarch that they wished to retain the legal system implemented by the French, and this request was granted in a royal decree issued November 19, 1818. Rhinelanders took distinct pride in their (French) legal system and, during the first decades of Prussian rule, what had been the Napoleonic Code or Code Civil became known in the Rhineland as *Rhenisches Recht*, or Rhenish Law. This collective act of re-naming positioned Rhenish Law as a birthright of the Rhineland, thereby blurring its true lineage as a remnant of French rule introduced a mere dozen years prior to the arrival of the Prussians.

Parish members, however, were not always unified in their responses to new church building initiatives. On the contrary, these undertakings could occasion community debates. Building projects placed financial and physical burdens on parishioners, particularly agricultural workers or day laborers who were expected to provide financial donations as well as compulsory labor to the project. In the Protestant congregation of Solingen-Wald, for example, members were divided over taxes to be levied in support of the new church—despite the monarch's extraordinary donation of 10,000 Taler to kickstart the project. The Catholic community in the village of Niederwerth, one of four townships comprising the parish of Vallendar, went so far as petition the Kultusministerium for a release from their parish, and, by extension, their obligation to contribute to the building of its new church. Located on an island in the Rhine, Niederwerth was home to a former convent that had been closed by the

[74] As early as 1815, Johann August Sack, the first Prussian provincial governor of the Rhine provinces, warned against a quick introduction of the Prussian General Code given prevailing Rhenish public opinion strongly in favor of retaining "Rhenisches Recht." See Faber, *Die Rheinländer zwischen Restauration and Revolution: Probleme der Rheinischen Geschichte von 1814 bis 1848 im Spiegel der zeitgenössischen Publizistik* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, GmbH, 1966), 129.

French. As early as 1826, the town had written the king to request funds to hire a priest and convert the former convent into a church for their 656 parishioners. The petition was denied; in January 1835, they tried again and ninety parishioners signed a letter requesting their release. Their second attempt introduced a new argument: the transportation of corpses across the Rhine for burial in the churchyard at Vallendar presented a burden to the Niederwerth community. Use of the convent's former property would allow them to hold worship services as well as bury their dead on their island. In October 1836, the monarch agreed with the Kultusministerium's recommendation that Niederwerth's petition be denied a second time. The provincial government in Koblenz also supported the denial.[75]

Church building projects triggered complex assessments of the social, spiritual, and economic relations within Rhenish communities after 1815. Volkmar Wittmütz provides a framework for considering these relational shifts in his observation that through the processes of French secularization, the Catholic Church ceased to represent the largely abstracted yet mighty territorial power it had been for centuries. Secularization drained symbolic power from the Church; its new function, always present but now foregrounded, Wittmütz argues, identified the Church as an organization caring for, and I would argue *cared for by*, its faithful, an organization "whose power existed in its perceived powerlessness."[76] This shift to a conception of the Church as a symbiotic institution, caring for and being cared for by its parish, surely resonated in the wake of the Rhineland's decimated ecclesiastical infrastructure. Rhenish Catholic parishes were not merely rebuilding the town church; they were attempting

[75] See GStA PK I HA Rep 89 Geheimes Zivilkabinett, jüngere Periode, Nr. 23019, p. 27 for the Kultusministerium's 1836 denial of Niederwerth's petition. See GStA PK I HA Rep 76 IV Sekt 13 Abt VII Nr. 22 for the earlier correspondence from Niederwerth to Berlin, beginning on January 5, 1826 (this file is not paginated).

[76] Volkmar Wittmütz, "Preußen und die Kirchen im Rheinland," in Georg Mölich, Meinhard Pohl, and Veit Veltzke, eds., *Preußens Schwieger Westen: Rheinisch-preußische Beziehungen, Konflikte, und Wechselwirkungen* (Duisburg: Mercator Verlag 2003)154.

to reconstitute the social and spatial order of their communities. Church building projects provided the means for local communities to exercise their communal, civic, and economic power. And while Rhenish communities acknowledged the need to secure state support for their church projects, they bristled at the requirement that they cede their autonomy in exchange.

a.4. Rhenish Bureaucrats and Architects

Between 1816 and 1822, the Prussian Rhineland consisted of two provinces, each administered by an *Oberpräsident*, or provincial governor, who was appointed by the monarch (fig. 3). In the north, the province of Jülich-Kleve-Berg was administered from Cologne by Oberpräsident Friedrich Ludwig Christian Graf zu Solms-Laubach. In the south, Oberpräsident Karl von Ingersleben directed the province of Großherzogtum Niederrhein from Koblenz.[77] After Solms- Laubach's death in 1822, the two regions were consolidated as the *Rheinprovinz* under Ingersleben's rule; Koblenz became the Prussian Rhineland's capital city.[78] Under the office(s)

[77] Upon Ingersleben's death in office in 1832, Philipp von Pestel took the office until 1834, followed by Ernst von Bodelschwingh until 1842.
[78] *Rheinprovinz* is referred to herein by the English translation of Prussian Rhineland.

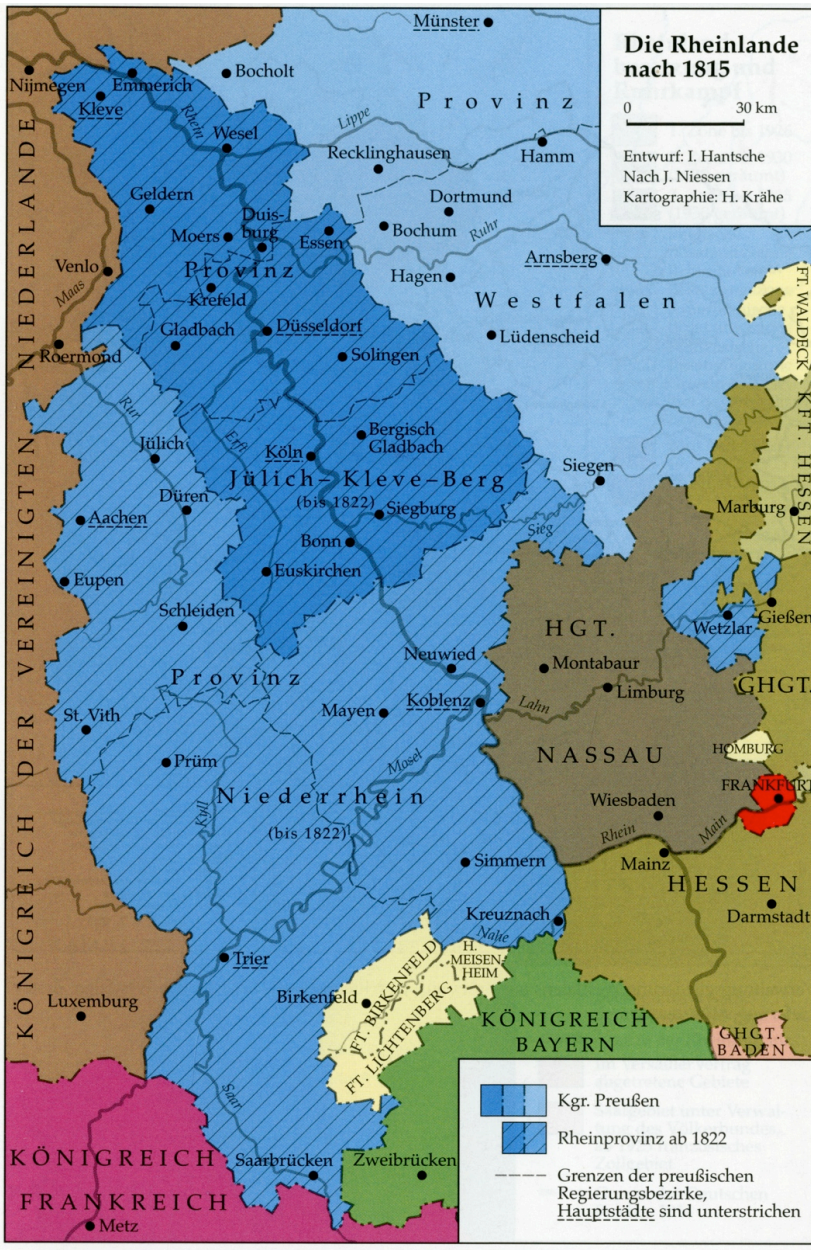


Figure 3. Map of the Rhineland after 1815. To the north is the province of Jülich-Kleve–Berg. To the south is the province of Niederrhein. The two areas were consolidated as the Rheinprovinz in 1822 with Koblenz as the provincial capital. From Georg Mölich, et al., Rheinland. Westfalen und Preußen (2011), p. 405.

of the Oberpräsident, the Prussian Rhineland further subdivided into six *Regierungen*, or provincial government offices. These were based in the cities of Aachen, Cleve, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Koblenz, and Trier.

Each provincial office employed building personnel, including a supervising architect or *Regierungsbaurat*, multiple architects with the title of *Bauinspektor* (more common) or *Baumeister*, as well as *Baukondukteur* who worked in a support capacity to the *Bauinspektor*. A document dated May 31, 1817 outlined the organization of the building personnel in the Koblenz office: five *Bauinspektoren* were employed at salaries ranging from 750 to 900 Taler annually, two of whom held responsibility for *Landbau*, two for bridges and roads or *Chausséebau*, and one for *Wasserbau.* Eighteen *Kondukteuren* supported the work of the building officials. [79]

When a parish council submitted a request for a new church building or repair project to their provincial government, an architect-bureaucrat working for the government office inspected the site and submitted a report. If a building proposal followed, the architect-bureaucrat then created a design, in consultation with the church's parish council, and completed the necessary drawings, a written justification, and a highly detailed, itemized budget. The provincial government's supervising architect (*Baurat*) reviewed these documents, sometimes making changes, particularly to the budgets. Once agreed upon at the provincial level, proposals went to the Kultusministerium, from where they would travel on to the Oberbaudeputation for assessment. Berlin's frequent demand for modifications necessitated preparation of revised drawings and budgets by provincial architects, in concert with parish councils, and often required architects to implement elements into their plans that were not in line with their artistic or technical preferences.

a.5. King Friedrich Wilhelm III

[79] For the statistics in his paragraph, see GStA PK IHA Rep 93B Nr. 541, file not paginated. Note, Johann Claudius von Lassaulx received a salary of 900 Taler per annum, including 200 Taler for travel costs. We will encounter Lassaulx in greater detail in the chapter on the new parish church at Vallendar.

While the day-to-day business of Rhenish church building and repair triangulated between Kultusministerium bureaucrats, the Oberbaudeputation, and provincial architects and government officials without consistent involvement by the monarch, confessional politics accounted for one of Friedrich Wilhelm III's primary domestic policy concerns, and he maintained an abiding interest in both Protestant and Catholic architecture. As a practical matter, royal treasuries carried the burden of funding ecclesiastical architecture, at least in part, and the monarch complained steadily to his bureaucrats about its mounting cost. Yet, the king also held the view that a lack of religiosity existed among his subjects and reforms were needed to stimulate piety among the populace. At the same time, he worried about the rise of sectarian revivalist movements in both confessions.[80]

The acquisition of the Rhineland in 1815 brought with it further worrisome changes to the confessional composition of the king's territories. First, the Rhineland's majority Catholic population, ranging from seventy to over ninety percent in some towns, substantially increased the Prussian Catholic minority to forty percent; by way of comparison, the population of Berlin in 1840 was less than five percent Catholic.[81] Second, Rhenish Protestant congregations were historically strict Reformists who had administered their church affairs without state intervention and had little interest in reform or interference from Berlin. While Friedrich Wilhelm belonged to the Reform Protestant house of Hohenzollern, his exposure to his wife's Lutheranism, along with other Christian traditions, had sparked his affinity for more elaborate liturgical rituals. Queen Luise, who had died tragically in 1810, was devoutly Lutheran and the king regularly attended Lutheran services with her during their exile in Eastern Prussia. The

[80] Otto Büsch, *Handbuch der Preussischen Geschichte, Band II, Das 19. Jahrhundert und Große Themen der Geschichte Preußens* (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), 172–75.
[81] Büsch, *Handbuch der Preussischen Geschichte*; for statistics on Catholic populations, see p. 167 (Berlin) and p. 175 (Rhineland).

king was also impressed by the Greek Orthodox service and the English High Church services he observed during an 1814 visit to London.[82] Thus, a combination of financial, political, personal, and theological reasons prompted Friedrich Wilhelm in 1817 to undertake the unification of Reform and Lutheran Protestantism in Prussia. By centralizing a united Protestantism under monarchical control, Friedrich Wilhelm could secure his own position as head of both the Protestant church *and* the Prussian state. The king thus represented the church, and the church as an institution became embodied in the person of the king. This tripartite fusion of the king, the state, and the Protestant faith into a construction of official Prussian national identity—and with it the implied marginalization of Catholic Prussians—was echoed in Altenstein's famous comment that the monarchy would care for "the Protestant church out of love and the Catholic church out of duty."[83] Further, a strong, united Prussian Protestant church would solidify the state against growing Catholic populations in its new territories, particularly the Rhineland, and this certainly played a role in spurring Friedrich Wilhelm's reform drive, which began in earnest less than two years after the transfer of the Rhineland to Prussian hegemony and was timed to mark the three-hundredth anniversary of the Protestant Reformation.[84] Consequently, the architectural initiatives of both Rhenish Catholics and Protestants, groups eager to reconstitute their local ecclesiastical infrastructures after French occupation, were drawn into the wider ambit of Friedrich Wilhelm III's confessional politics.

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[82] Wittmütz, "Preußen und die Kirchen im Rheinland," 141.
[83] Quoted in Wilhelm Janssen, „Staat und Kirche im Rheinland: Eine schwierige Beziehung," in Dascher, Ottfried and Kleinertz, Eberhard, eds, *Petitionen und Barrikaden. Rheinische Revolutionen 1848–49* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1998), 1.
[84] Christopher Clark, "The Napoleonic Moment, in Prussian Church Policy," in David Laven and Lucy Riall eds., *Napoleon's Legacy: Problems of Government in Restoration Europe* (Oxford: Berg, 2000) p. 223. Clark writes "an awareness of the enhanced weight of the Catholic Church within the [Prussian] kingdom was latent in state confessional policy after 1815…"

Policy initiatives that expanded the state's influence in religious affairs increasingly occupied the monarch after 1815. Worried about what he saw as a lack of popular religiosity, Friedrich Wilhelm took steps to nationalize Protestant and Catholic church administration by placing local consistories under the authority of his provincial *Oberpräsidenten* in 1815. [85] In 1817, the monarch implemented two initiatives that would frame the remainder of his reign: the establishment of the Kultusministerium as an independent government ministry to oversee the state's confessional as well as educational and health affairs and the cabinet order to create the Protestant Union church, which unified the Calvinist and Lutheran branches of Prussian Protestantism.[86] Shortly thereafter, the king himself began to write the new liturgy for his united Protestant church. In 1822 he issued decrees on the interior configuration of Protestant churches. Friedrich Wilhelm's supreme authority over religious affairs was justified by the language of the Prussian General Code, the monarchy's legal framework established in 1794, which specified that the "private and public religious practice of every church organization…is subordinate to supervision by the state."[87] However, Friedrich Wilhelm did not approach his supervision of Protestants and Catholics in nearly the same spirit and his efforts to systematize and expand Protestantism co-existed with a stated desire to check the growth of Catholicism in his lands. The king often told his Kultusminister Altenstein that he did not wish to expand the Catholic Church in his territories and repeatedly withheld funds for construction and operating expenses, despite the terms of the 1821 agreement with the Vatican requiring the

[85] Christina Rathgeber, "Das Kultusministerium und die Kirchenpolitik 1817 bis 1934" in *Acta Borussica: Neue Folge, 2. Reihe: Preussen als Kulturstaat, Abt. 1, Das preussische Kultusministerium als Staatsbehörde und gesellschaftliche Agentur (1817–1934), Band 2.1, Das Kultusministerium auf seinen Wirkungsfeldern Schule, Wissenschaft, Kirchen, Künste, und Medizinalwesen: Darstellung* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010), 296.
[86] Clark, "Napoleonic Moment," 222–23.
[87] That "Privat- und öffentliche Religionsübung einer jeden Kirchengesellschaft…der Oberaufsicht des Staats unterworfen" is. Quoted in Wittmütz, Volkmar, "Preussen und die Kirchen im Rheinland, 1815–40," p. 138. Note, the Prussian General Code of 1794 was still in force after 1814, with the exception of the Rhineland, where the Code Napoleon remained the law of the land.

monarchy to fund the Catholic Church throughout Prussia. In April 1825, for example, Kultusminister Altenstein asked the monarch to grant 2,500 Thaler and the necessary wood for building a Catholic church in the East Prussian town of Gumbinnen. The king's response was unequivocal: "I find it totally inappropriate to increase the Catholic churches in the Protestant provinces of my empire and can therefore not approve the attached application by the parish council of the Catholic community of Gumbinnen."[88] At the same time, Friedrich Wilhelm generally supported Protestant church building initiatives throughout his lands, including in the newly acquired, overwhelmingly Catholic Rhineland and its neighboring western province of Westphalia.[89] In 1827, he ordered the statewide dissemination of plans for a Protestant village church, designed by Schinkel in 1819, to serve as the template design for all small Protestant churches built with state funds.

At any time, the king's interventions—or his lack of support for an initiative—could derail his bureaucracy's proposed course of action and require bureaucrats and architects to reconcile their policies with his whims. The monarch's inconsistency thereby undermined his government's fundamental self-conception as a rational bureaucracy operating on enlightened principles of collegial debate and informed decision-making.

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[88].GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 21920, unpaginated. See Cabinet Order of April 17, 1825.

[89] Examples in the Rhineland include the new Protestant church at Bischmisheim, the refurbishment of the Florinskirche in Koblenz as a Protestant church, the establishment of a Protestant church in Trier, all of which will be discussed in this document. Other examples include the monarch's April 1818 donation of 10,000 Bergisch Courant to cover half the cost of building the Protestant church in Solingen-Wald (discussed in chapter four), 4,266 Thaler in 1825 for the expansion of the Protestant church in Münster in the western province of Westphalia, 10,000 Thaler in 1825 for the new Protestant church in Schlochau in West Prussia, and 3,150 Thaler in 1825 for the building of a new Protestant church in the town of Senitz near Breslau. 10,000 Bergisch Courant equals approximately 8,333 Prussian Thaler, based on an archival document from July 13, 1816 which indicates 3,613 "bergisch" is equal to 3,011 "preussisch." See GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 21913, Kirchenbausachen 1816–18, p.18. For correspondence related to the churches in Münster, Schlochau, and Senizt, see GStA PK I HA Rep 89 Nr. 21920, unpaginated. For the Protestant church in Münster, see correspondence of February 9, 1825. For the Protestant church in Schlochau (today Czluchów, Poland), see correspondence of June 28, 1825. For the Protestant church in Senitz, see correspondence of September 4, 1825.

b) The Limitations of the Oberbaudeputation

An examination of the Prussian building bureaucracy's function in practice, rather than merely in theory, will demonstrate how the Berlin-based administration of Rhenish church building initiatives animated a variety of Prussian-Rhenish antagonisms. First, I will examine the limits of the Oberbaudeputation from both economic and design perspectives. I will then consider the dissatisfaction Rhenish architects felt in response to the subordinate role given to them and focus on their attempt to harness the bureaucratic framework to which they were subjected in order to increase their professional autonomy.

b.1. Economic Realities

Correspondence from the spring of 1822 illuminates the gap between the level of cost oversight government ministries expected the Oberbaudeputation to exercise over provincial architecture and what actually proved possible. With ministries facing pressure from the king to curb building costs, Minister of Trade von Bülow asked the Oberbaudeputation in April of 1822 to make a list of all building expenditures associated with Prussian church construction over the previous twenty-five years, with royal contributions specifically highlighted. Detailed information, along with plans and drawings, were to be included with the report. While the Oberbaudeputation's table described the expenditure of 1,405,110.20 Taler on building or repair of 182 structures across twenty-nine Prussian cities, their response made apparent the limits of their supervisory capabilities in terms of tracking either the implementation of their design directives or provincial expenditures.[90] With regard to design, the Oberbaudeputation stated they could not confirm whether their revisions to provincial building proposals were

[90] See GStA PK I HA Rep 93 B Nr. 2486, pp. 2–8 for the correspondence of April 4, 1822, July 10, 1822, and the complete table.

actually undertaken. In terms of tabulating the costs to the monarchy, the Oberbaudeputation cautioned they were unable to fully vouch for the accuracy of the financial information presented. Their files, they pointed out, could "never" determine the percentage of building costs covered by the king versus those covered by the parish. The 1.4M Taler figure, they explained, represented the aggregate amount the Oberbaudeputation approved in the proposals submitted for review at the time of their approval, not upon their completion. The dictates against direct communication between provincial architects and the Oberbaudeputation prevented Schinkel and his colleagues from determining if a given project had been carried out according to their directives, if it had incurred cost overruns, or who ended up paying for what when all was said and done.

Regarding drawings, the Oberbaudeputation stated that their files consisted primarily of plans on which they had made their revisions, and which they instructed the provincial architects to return after use. While the drawings were typically returned, they had been intended to guide provincial builders, not document finished projects, and consequently they provided little indication of the extent to which provincial builders had actually followed Berlin's instructions. On annual trips to the provinces in the mid-1830s, Schinkel did come face-to-face with projects whose design he had been wholly or partially responsible for, and he often expressed disappointment with their realization. In closing, the Oberbaudeputation advised the Ministry to contact the individual provincial governments for the kind of detailed information the government required.

Costs in general were not a primary concern of Schinkel's, despite the insistence of the Oberbaudeputation's September 1809 instructions to minimize building expenditures. While he might downwardly revise budgets by a few dozen Taler here and there, Schinkel's revisions

very often ended up increasing costs. In March 1836, Friedrich Wilhelm III complained that the Oberbaudeputation had modified projects "without considering the available funds and designed more costly plans."[91] For his part, Schinkel lamented in an 1836 letter to the Kultusministerium, albeit diplomatically, that "a great deal of useless work" was undertaken by the Oberbaudeputation in reviewing proposals and budgets for projects that would never be realized due to the lack of funds.[92] He observed that projects reliant on state support, in particular those needing donations from the monarch, proved especially unreliable and difficult for both bureaucrats in Berlin and provincial architects. His years of experience taught him that, on average, only every third or fourth building project had the funds available to proceed according to its plan. Bemoaning a process hampered in part by the continued revision cycles his recommendations necessitated, Schinkel gave the example of three recent projects, two churches and a school, that had required the development of, in total, eight unique plans and budgets, all of which were ultimately cast aside. Given the likelihood of delays and changes, he urged the Kultusministerium to insist that provincial architects refrain from preparing detailed architectural drawings for their initial presentations to the Oberbaudeputation. Until funding was set in stone, he said, sketches were sufficient, as long as they approximated the overall ground plan in terms of space requirements and proportional relationships.

The Oberbaudeputation's challenges in tracking expenditures extended beyond the design stage. Although not permitted direct contact with the provincial architects nor authorized to demand detailed, regular financial updates on the projects they had revised,

[91] "…ohne Berücksichtigung der zu Disposition stehenden Geldmittel abgeändert und kostspieligere Pläne entworfen hat…" See GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Kultusministerium IX Sekt I Nr 10 Bd 2, p. 32.
[92] "…eine Menge nutzloser Arbeiten." For the files on this and the rest of this paragraph, see the *Oberbaudeputation*'s letter of December 15, 1836 to Altenstein. GStA PK I HA 93B Ministerium der öffentlichen Arbeiten Nr. 2487, pp. 101–4.

Schinkel and his colleagues were regularly asked by the ministries to explain costs overruns on provincial building projects. One such example is the building of the new Protestant church in Altenkirchen in the provincial government region of Koblenz.[93] In June 1821, Friedrich Wilhelm granted permission for a collection, donated 2,000 Taler, and furnished the necessary wood from royal lands for the new church. The king was eager to support the building projects of Rhenish Protestant congregations, many of which had been unable to worship in the Rhineland's large Catholic territories until the recognition of their faith under Napoleon's Organic Articles of 1802. The Altenkirchen project incurred a delay between 1821–23, as the congregation fought to build on the site of their old church in the town center. The congregation ultimately prevailed and, in an attempt to make up some of the lost time, they commenced building prior to the receipt of Schinkel's revisions to their plans. Koblenz architect Carl Maeber, brother-in-law of Johann Claudius von Lassaulx, had designed a rectangular, aisleless church for 1,200 worshippers, featuring galleries on three sides supported by eighteen Doric columns. The old church's Romanesque tower and main portal were to be retained and incorporated into this new plan.

When the Oberbaudeputation's assessment finally arrived in August 1822, Schinkel had replaced Maeber's design with entirely new plans, including front and side elevations, cross-sections, and a ground plan. Schinkel retained Maeber's basic footprint of ninety-six Rhenish feet long by forty-six feet wide, and also kept the Romanesque portal, but whereas Maeber's design had placed the altar on the west wall of the church, i.e., on the same side as the Romanesque tower, Schinkel moved it back to the east wall, stating that this accorded with

[93] The Altenkirchen church project is discussed in Eva Brües, *Die Rheinlande* in the Karl Friedrich Schinkel Lebenswerk series, Margarete Kühn, editor (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1968), 271–274. The discussion on pp. 40–42 derives from Brües.

recognized practice. He reduced the number of Doric columns supporting the galleries to ten, citing eighteen as an impediment to a clear view of the pulpit and altar (fig. 4). In a cross-section diagram inset above the church's side elevation drawing, Schinkel indicated the design of the roof trussing and illustrated four fluted Doric columns supporting the gallery on the church's west end (fig. 5). Ultimately, the distance between the columns would be set at ten feet—a compromise between Maeber's preferred separation of eight feet and Schinkel's instruction of fifteen. While Schinkel had agreed to retain the church's Romanesque portal, he wanted modifications made to the fenestration on the tower and exterior nave walls. His directives arrived too late, however, for those elements to be modified without significant budget consequences.

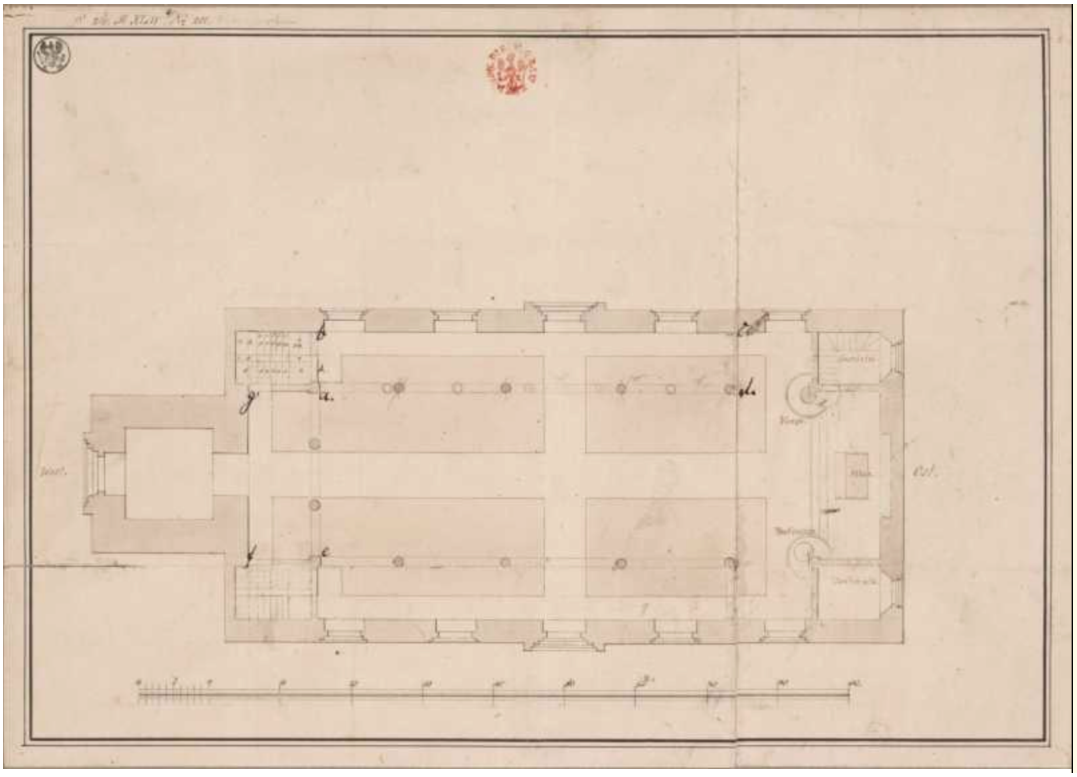


Figure 4. Schinkel's revised ground plan for the Protestant church at Altenkirchen (1822). Inv.-Nr.: SM 44e.201. Foto: 2011 © Kupferstichkabinett der Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

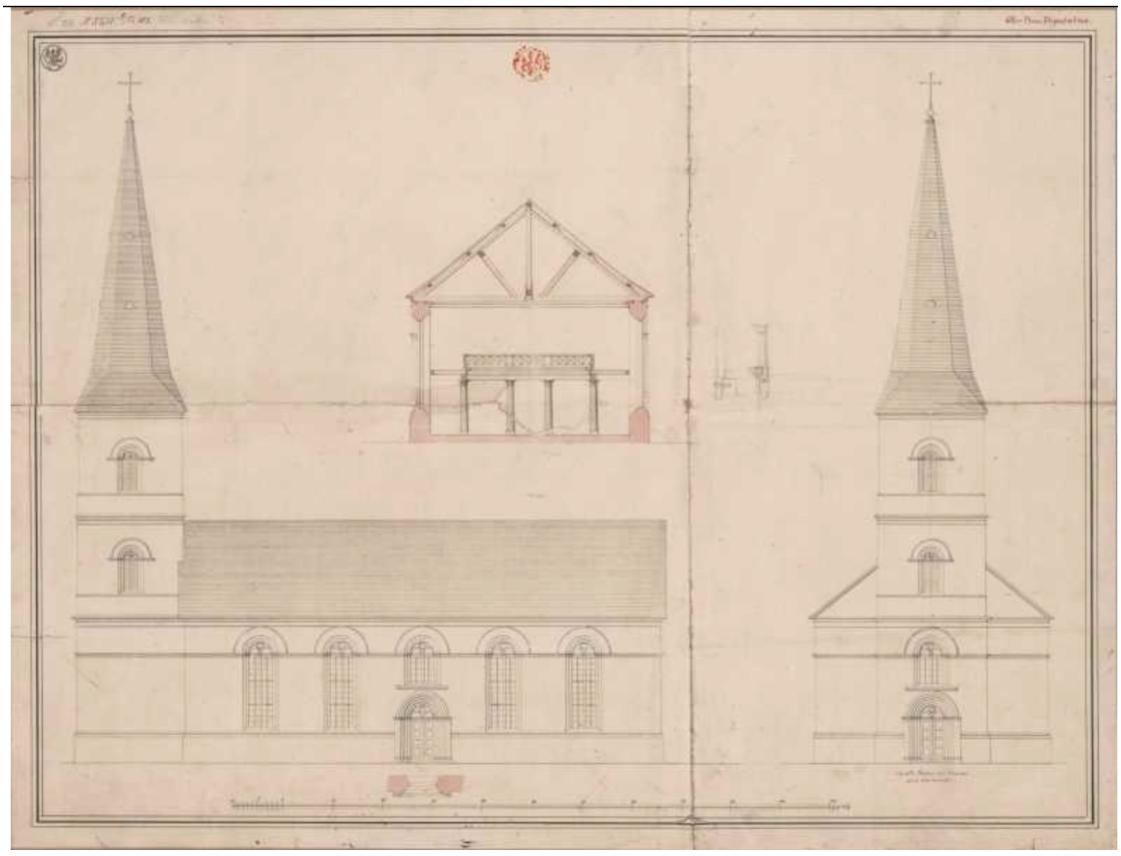


Figure 5. Schinkel's revised elevation drawings, with cross-section shown above at center, for the Protestant church at Altenkirchen (1822). Inv.-Nr.: SM 44e.202. Foto: 2011 © Kupferstichkabinett der Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

As the church approached completion, the architects in Altenkirchen informed the Kultusministerium of costs overruns in excess of 3,000 Taler. The Oberbaudeputation was instructed by Altenstein to investigate the situation. Schinkel reviewed the accounting and his formal report placed the blame primarily on the recently deceased Maeber's "costly, unapproved" changes to the plan, including vaulting the sacristy ceiling and using iron window frames. The primary change insisted upon by the Oberbaudeputation—reconfiguring the interior so as to place the altar on the church's eastern wall—added but 142 Taler to the plan, Schinkel insisted. Further, it was Berlin's understanding that this small overage would be covered by 195 Taler in the congregation's own account. Schinkel also argued that errors made

by provincial architects in laying out the steps to the upper galleries had produced additional overages. In a letter of August 1827, Schinkel issued his final tally of the overruns: 2,063 Taler due to Maeber's miscalculations, 120 Taler in moving back to the original building site at the congregation's insistence, 65 Taler as a result of the congregation beginning the project before receipt of the Oberbaudeputation's assessment, and 384 Taler in unspecified "additions and changes" made by the supervising architect on site. While one can certainly ask how Schinkel, given the constraints on his authority, might have tracked the building finances in Altenkirchen closely enough to have prevented the overruns, his position required him to accept the limitations on his supervisory authority and to provide an explanation of the situation post facto—and one that took care not to discredit the supremacy of the Oberbaudeputation.

b.2. Design Realities

Steven Moyano has argued that, "Schinkel designed more provincial churches than any other building type and they were the most numerous representatives of the capital's artistic expertise."[94] This statement requires some revision. As we have seen, many of Schinkel's provincial church designs were not autograph, but represented modifications to the work of provincial architects. Much of Schinkel's autograph design work for provincial architecture almost certainly remained on paper, because his revisions were often modified in their execution or not undertaken at all due to cost constraints and/or the unwillingness of the provincial architects to adhere to the Oberbaudeputation's regulations. And when Schinkel's designs were executed, his recorded dismay upon seeing many of them at later dates indicates that revisions were made on site without his knowledge or permission. Schinkel and the

[94] Moyano, "Karl Friedrich Schinkel," p. 217.

Oberbaudeputation thus consistently encountered limits on the acceptance of their directives. Consequently, we might better say Schinkel *participated* in provincial church designs more than any other building type; we would also be wise to view provincial churches not as representative of "the capital's artistic expertise," but more accurately as architectural expressions, negotiated and contested, of the power imbalance between center and province.

Indeed, the active role of provincial architects in resisting Oberbaudeputation directives, and by extension the Prussian government, remains understudied. Scholars often characterized the Oberbaudeputation's modifications as "corrections" made by Schinkel to presumably subpar provincial plans, but they have not interrogated how exactly provincial architects and parishes responded to such "corrections." This omission would seem to reflect a one-way understanding of the Prussian bureaucracy: for while it presupposes an awareness that architecture was a means through which the Prussian monarchy sought to cultivate and discipline its provinces, it fails to accord the willingness of provincial architects to contest those efforts equivalent status as an act of resistance. Moyano, for example, suggests that "Schinkel's self-proclaimed goal of elevating the provinces through architecture was put to the test because the worst conditions collided with the higher purpose of religious worship."[95] Yet the notion that "bad conditions" obstructed Schinkel's attempts to influence provincial architecture suggests a lack of provincial agency and elides the efforts of local stakeholders behind the difficulties Schinkel encountered. The observation that subpar training of provincial architects resulted in the poor execution of his designs appears repeatedly in Schinkel's complaints to his supervisors, although the bureaucratic records on the subject rarely provide alternative views to counter Schinkel's assessments. Observations on the lack of adequate

[95] Moyano, "Karl Friedrich Schinkel," p. 217.

training occurred more frequently with regard to Prussia's eastern provinces than its western regions. Rhenish architects had, by and large, received training in Paris during French occupation of the Rhineland. My research aims to give voice to both sides of Rhenish-Prussian bureaucratic debates surrounding provincial ecclesiastical architecture, illuminating the ways local architects and communities, asserting their autonomy through architecture, frustrated Schinkel's goals.

Two examples may serve to demonstrate this point. The Catholic parish of St. Lambertus in Rellinghausen, near Essen, had outgrown its church, and so the architects at the Düsseldorf provincial government office were tasked with a new design. Like many projects of the period, their proposal reused elements of the existing structure in the new building. And in Rellinghausen, as was often the case, the church's tower was the main element to be retained, likely given its durable stone construction as well as its role as a distant architectural marker of the townscape and symbol of the community's identity. The 1823 plan by architect Otto von Gloeden does not survive, but written descriptions indicate his intention to build an aisleless church terminating in a semi-circular apse. Five windows on each nave wall were to illuminate the space. The plan likely had similarities with von Gloeden's earlier designs for the two churches in the town of Büderich to the north; indeed, parish church designs did not generally stray far from the typology of a rectangular box with a western tower. Modifications might include a rounded apse, the shape and detail of fenestration, ornaments on the portal, the inclusion of galleries, and exterior surface variations such as exposed brick or stone with plaster facing. Von Gloeden, however, proposed a novel feature: a coffered, oval dome above the altar, its ceiling lower than the height of the nave, in order to focus parishioner attention on the chancel.

In his July 1825 assessment, Schinkel made extensive changes to von Gloeden's plan. He wished to lighten and elevate the old Romanesque tower by adding windows and a new spire. He argued for decreasing the number of windows in the nave from five to four per side, as he felt the interior would receive enough light with just eight windows (fig. 6). The oval dome with its coffered ceiling received a verdict of "very unpleasant, as no piece is the same size as any other."[96] Schinkel instructed von Gloeden to cover the chancel with a flat wooden

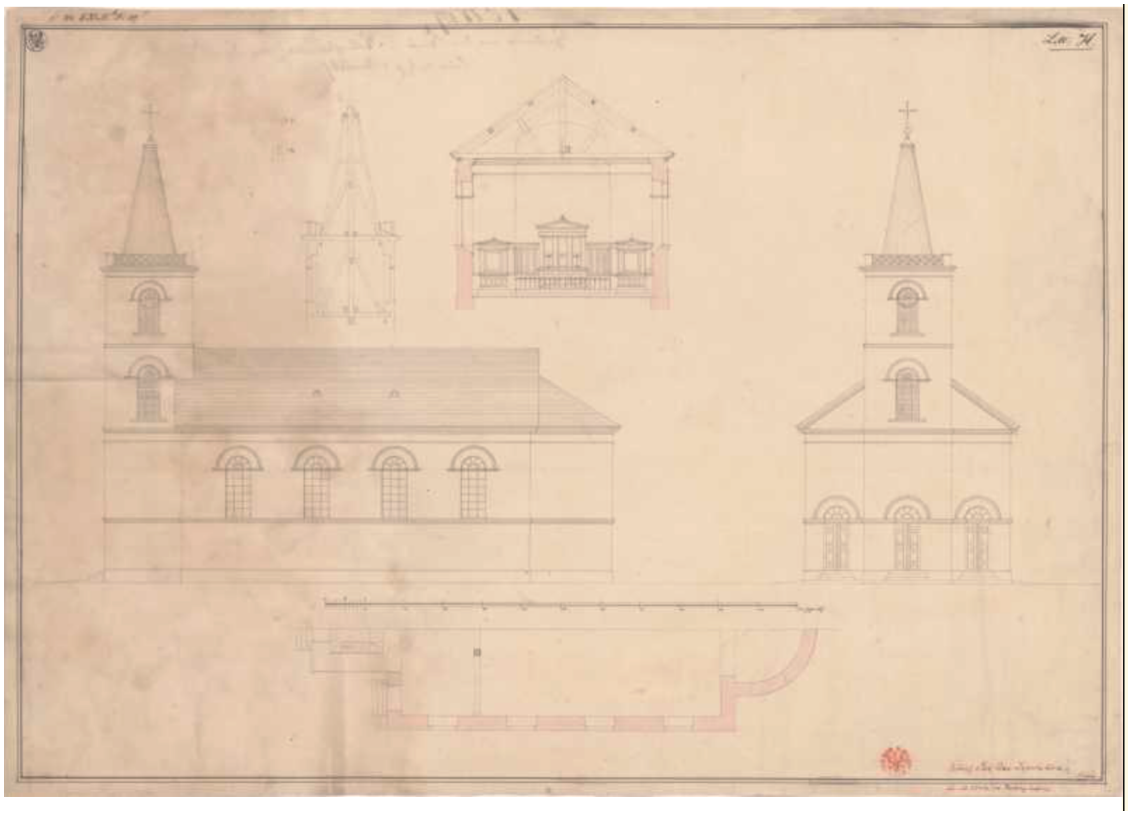


Figure 6. Schinkel's revised front and side elevation drawings, cross-section, and ground plan for the Catholic church of St. Lambertus in Rellinghausen (1825). Inv.-Nr.: SM 44d.159. Foto: 2011 © Kupferstichkabinett der Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz

[96] Brües, *Die Rheinlande*, p. 232.

ceiling in accordance with the rest of the church.[97] Schinkel insisted as well on a plaster veneer over the exposed stone of the walls and tower, a classicizing treatment that would tie the old and new structures together visually.[98] Eva Brües summarizes Schinkel's modifications as bringing the main elements of the plan all "in line with just a few strokes"—a questionable statement given we have never found von Gloeden's original design.[99] Schinkel argued that his changes lowered the overall budget from 12,171 to 11,844 Taler, a relatively trivial amount and less than the 500 Taler threshold that required Oberbaudeputation approval. Von Gloeden appealed to his supervisor Adolph von Vagedes, the head architect in the Düsseldorf office, and argued that he found errors in Schinkel's calculations. Per von Gloeden, Schinkel's revision actually raised the cost to 12,264 Taler. Vagedes opted not to go back to Schinkel, building instead according to a reworking of the plan by von Gloeden that incorporated some aspects of Schinkel's changes and rejected others. Two windows were added to the apse, bringing the total number back to ten. A flat ceiling replaced von Gloeden's proposed vaulting over the chancel. The Romanesque tower, its design long a marker of the community's historical and confessional identity, was not changed as Schinkel had instructed. The church's rubble masonry remained exposed, reflecting the common use of local, polychrome stone in Rhenish church building, in contrast to Schinkel's wish for the type of unifying, exterior plaster cladding more common in classicizing architecture (figs. 7a–b).[100] The materiality of the

[97] See Waltraud Fehlemann, *Der Landbauinspektor Otto von Gloeden, 1788–1840: Seine Bedeutung für den Wiederaufbau von Büderich, Kreis Moers, und für Bauten im nördlichen Rheinland* (Mondorf/Rh: Krupinski Verlag, 1972), 113–127 and Wolfgang Zimmerman, *Adolph von Vagedes und seine Kirchenbauten* (Köln: Verlag J.P. Bachem, 1964), 107–110 for discussions of von Gloeden's church.
[98] Fehlemann, *Otto von Gloeden*, 125.
[99] Brües, *Die Rheinlande*, p. 233.
[100] Although the church was dedicated in November 1827, its financing was contested until 1835. The parish church at St. Lambertus was formerly a *Damenstift*, or convent, that had become state property after secularization. Under state patronage laws, consequently, the Prussian monarchy was obligated to fund one-third of the building cost. The state, however, refused to approve more than 1,500 Taler in state funds. The

exposed, local stone on the church and tower at St. Lambertus provide an example of the resonance between materiality and Rhenish conceptions of local and regional identity.[101]



Figure 7a–b. A contemporary photograph of the side nave wall of von Gloeden's St. Lambertus in Rellinghausen (fig 7a, above) and a drawn reconstruction (fig. 7b; p. 112) showing the same side wall in elevation along with the church's ground plan. Of note is the exposed stonework, which was contra to Schinkel's instructions for exterior walls with plaster cladding.

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parish sued and, in 1835, the monarchy was order to reimburse the parish for two-thirds of the building's construction cost, or 8,538 Taler. See Zimmerman, *Adolph Vagedes und seine Kirchenbauten*, 110.

[101] See Wolfgang Cortjaens, "Sprache des Materials, Politik der Form: Der katholische Kirchenbau in den linksrheinischen Teilen der preußischen Rheinprovinz und im Rhein-Maas-Gebiet,1815–1914" in Wolfgang Cortjaens, Jan De Maeyer, and Tom Verschaffel, eds. *Historism and Cultural Identity in the Rhine-Meuse Region: Tensions between Nationalism and Regionalism in the Nineteenth-Century*. (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008), 255. Links between materiality, form, and regional identity will be explored in greater depth in the chapters to follow.

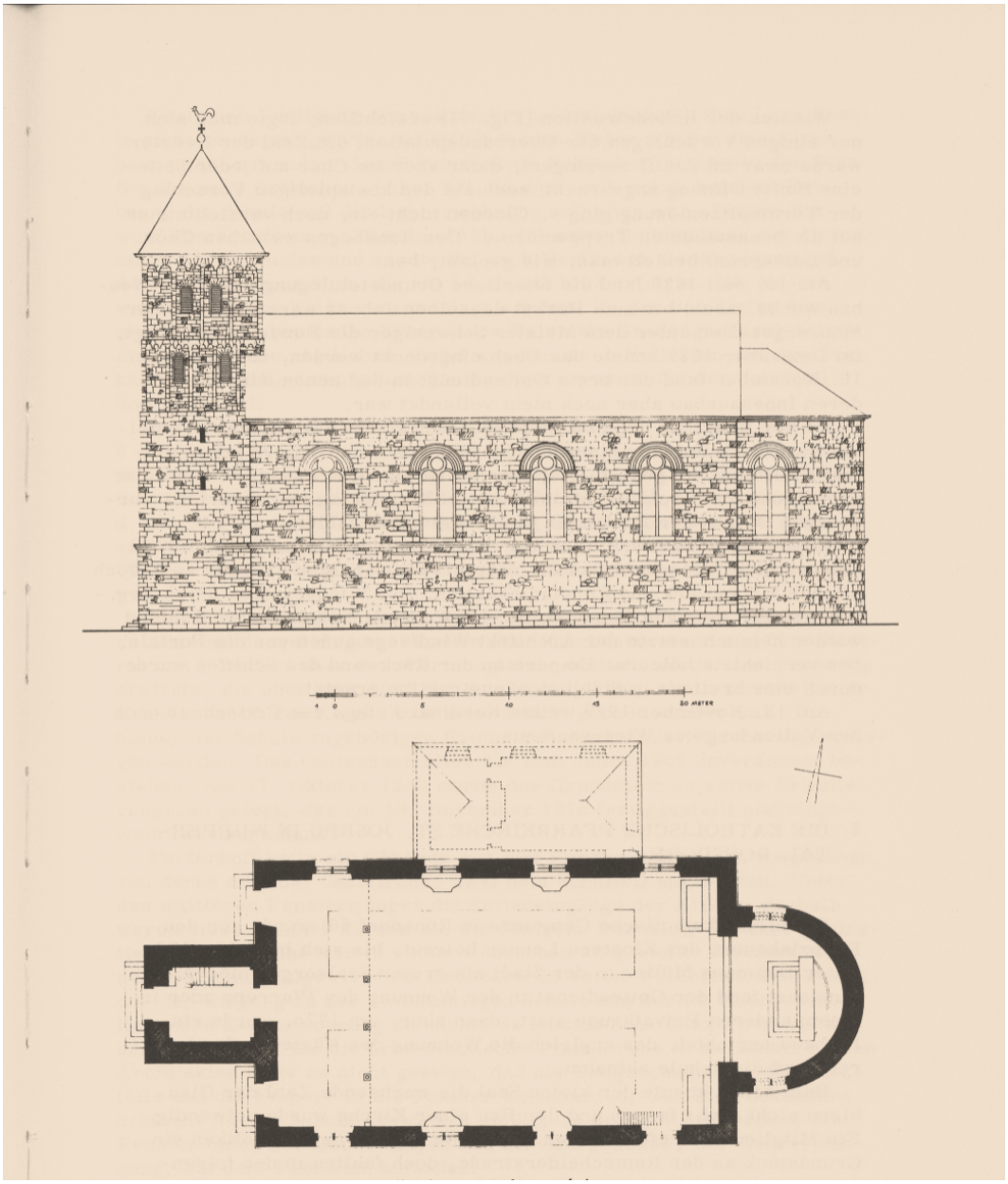


Figure 7b. Reconstruction drawing of Otto von Gloeden's parish church of St. Lambertus at Rellinghausen (ca. 1827)with side elevation (above) and ground plan (below). From Wolfgang Zimmerman, Adolph von Vagedes und seine Kirchenbauten (1964), p. 109.

Adolph von Vagedes's Catholic Church of Saint Antonius in Barmen-Elberfeld, designed in 1819, encountered similar Oberbaudeputation disapproval for its uncommon, modified Greek cross plan (fig. 8).[102] The church's side aisles were set against a longer nave, resulting in four short arms projecting on each side. Vagedes accentuated the projecting south facade with a pedimented portico. The altar, in the north arm, was abutted by the church's eighteenth-century tower; the two connected via a narrow doorway at the back of the chancel.

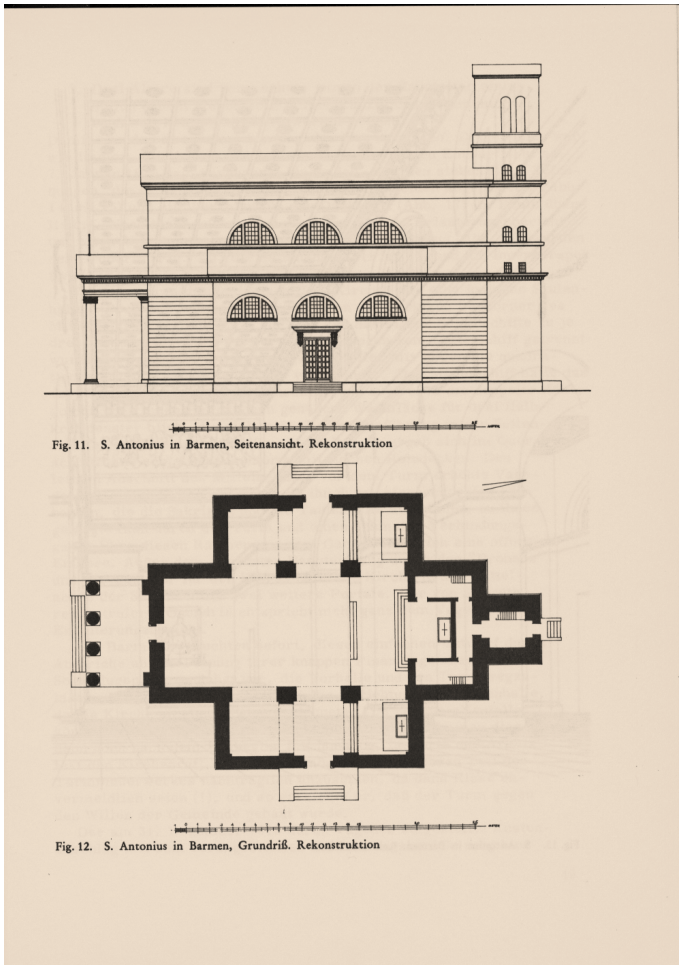

Fig. 11. S. Antonius in Barmen, Seitenansicht. Rekonstruktion

Fig. 12. S. Antonius in Barmen, Grundriß. Rekonstruktion

Figure 8. The side elevation (above) and ground plan (below) of Vagedes's Catholic Church of Saint Antonius in Barmen-Elberfeld (1819).From Zimmerman (1964), p. 47.

[102] Eva Brües, *Die Rheinlande* in the Karl Friedrich Schinkel Lebenswerk series, Margarete Kühn, editor (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1968), 236–237; Walter Kordt, *Adolph von Vagedes: Ein Rheinisch-Westfälischer Baumeister der Goethezeit* (Ratingen: A. Henn Verlag, 1961), 74; Wolfgang Zimmerman, *Adolph von Vagedes und seine Kirchenbauten* (Köln: J.P. Bachem, 1965), 46.



Figure 9. An undated photograph of the main façade of Vagedes's Church of Saint Antonius in Barmen-Elberfeld.

Vagedes established symmetry on the main south facade with the addition of an Ionic tetrastyle pedimented portico (fig. 9). The classicizing mood of the Ionic portico was extended by Diocletian windows on the transept facades, above which larger sets of Diocletian windows illuminated the clerestory; a further Diocletian window filled the space above the pediment on the main facade. A stringcourse just below the Diocletian clerestory windows continued around all four sides of the building, unifying the structure as a whole. The church's austere, unadorned

massing above and below the stringcourse suggested the monumental simplicity of Ancient Roman public architecture and in many respects echoed Karl Friedrich Weinbrenner's monumental Catholic church of St. Stephan, dedicated a decade earlier in Karlsruhe.[103] Vagedes, a strict adherent to classicizing forms in his designs, likely viewed his plans for Saint Antonius as not only modern, but as a reflection of his erudition, Parisian training, and familiarity with architectural traditions spanning from antiquity to Palladio.

The budget for the design came in higher than anticipated at 28,130 Taler. The parish approved both design and budget, and secured 1,500 Taler from the Kultusministerium along with approval for a *Kollekte*, thereby prompting the review of the building's plans by the Oberbaudeputation.[104] Schinkel's assessment criticized nearly all elements of the Vagedes plan: its shorter side aisles, its clerestory of Diocletian windows, even its eighteenth-century tower—an aspect for which Vagedes had no responsibility. More interesting for our purposes than Schinkel's critique is Vagedes's response. The extensive modifications from the Oberbaudeputation, Vagedes countered, were only of a "general sort" and, thus, there was no need for him to revise his plans. He consented to consider Schinkel's suggestions for the tower—the element he had not personally designed—and returned two alternatives for Berlin's review. The church was built from 1824–29 without further incorporation of Schinkel's directives.

Vagedes's dismissal of Schinkel's revisions as being "general" in nature snubbed Schinkel's position as well as the architectural and aesthetic authority asserted by the Oberbaudeputation, and recalls the response of the Düsseldorf provincial architects to Berlin's

[103] For photographs, drawings, and plans of St. Stephan, see the exhibition catalog *Friedrich Weinbrenner, 1766–1826: Architektur und Städtebau des Klassizismus* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2015), catalogue entries. 7.21–7.28, pp. 343–50.
[104] Zimmermann, *Adolph Vagedes und seine Kirchenbauten*, 52

directive to cease use of their schoolhouse template design. In both cases, Rhenish architects argued that Oberbaudeputation directives did not represent universal norms and, in fact, one design might be undertaken as effectively as another. Vagedes's insistence on the value of his design for the Church of Saint Antonius further asserted the autonomy and the expertise of Rhenish architects. The Church of Saint Antonius provides but one example of how provincial architects, in this case Vagedes, would work around, and often outright challenge, the Oberbaudeputation's institutional authority.

b.3. Bureaucracy and Resistance: Two 1817 Visions for Rhenish Public Architecture

Provincial architects were by and large Rhinelanders who negotiated the dual identity of being both Prussian employees and locals. On the one hand, these architects had completed training in accordance with the standards of the era and deemed themselves qualified to oversee to provincial building. On the other hand, they had to submit their work for review by distant central authorities and acquiesce to changes in their plans in order to get a church funded and completed for local clients. For insight into how these tensions impacted Rhenish architects, it is instructive to consider two competing documents from 1817. One is Rhenish architect Adolph von Vagedes's proposal to reorganize the bureaucratic administration of Rhenish public architecture as an entirely local operation; the other is the Oberbaudeputation's set of policies and procedures to be followed by all Rhenish architects in their employ. Examined in sequence, these documents vividly illustrate the chasm that separated state and local notions of provincial authority.

On April 10, 1817, Provincial Governor Ingersleben in Koblenz received a thirty-page document from his district office in Düsseldorf entitled "Proposal for Building Regulations for

Public Buildings in the Provinces of the Lower Rhine" (fig. 10).[105] Written by Vagedes, the Düsseldorf region's supervising architect, the proposal set forth a comprehensive plan for the administration and construction of public architecture in the Rhineland. The plan was divided

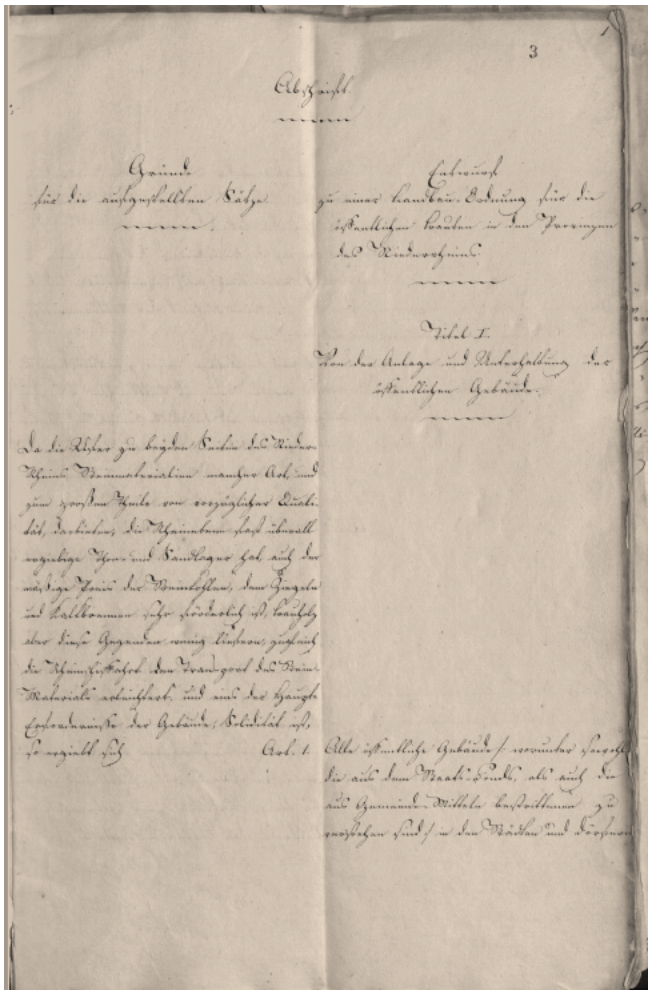


Figure 10. Archival photograph of the opening page of Vagedes's "Entwurf zu einer Landbau-Ordnung für die öffentlichen Bauten in den Provinzen des Niederrheins" (1817), Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz, Abt. 402, Nr 851.

into four categories: Construction and Maintenance of Public Buildings, the Costs of Construction and Maintenance, Security Concerns (i.e., the laying out of streets, bridges, and

[105] The German title is: *Entwurf zu einer Landbau-Ordnung für die öffentlichen Bauten in den Provinzen des Niederrheins. Landbau* here refers to what it is not, namely *Wasserbau* (waterworks) *or Chausséebau* (road building). There were *Bauinspektoren* in each district office, as well as in Berlin, with responsibility for these three distinct areas.

squares), and Bureaucrats and their Performance (related to the number of office personnel, their organization, and business practices).[106] Vagedes defined public buildings as those supported by state or local building funds in Rhenish cities and villages. Similar to the language in coeval Prussian bureaucratic documents, Vagedes's plan characterized public building as a service in praise of the state and emphasized the necessity for economy and solidity. Structures should be built primarily from stone, not timber, and their exterior walls should have plaster facing. His document went on to cover a wide array of issues, from proposed office hours for state architects (six days a week between the hours of 9–12 and 2–5) to the hygienic preference for stone floors over wood (particularly in kitchens, he noted, where water used for cleaning would not be retained by porous timber planks). He emphasized the need to use local building materials, favoring stone over the region's less abundant timber and the use of its plentiful slate from quarries along the Mosel as the region's preferred roofing material. The Rhine itself even had a role to play in the region's architecture, as local stone could be transported quickly and efficiently on the river. Public buildings fell into two categories of importance in Vagedes's plan: churches, palaces, government and educational buildings, such as law courts, universities, libraries, along with town halls, theaters, and markets required at a minimum slate roofs whereby the height of the roof did not exceed the width of the building by greater than a third; warehouses, prisons, hospitals, barracks, arsenals, rural schools, and other "less important" buildings could be built using brick with their roofs constructed from slate for the ridge and metal below. His concerns extended even to urban planning, and he offered specific guidelines for the optimal design of public spaces, such as the construction of arcaded

[106] This document may be found in LHA-Ko, Abt. 402, Nr 851, pp. 1–35. It is also printed as an appendix without commentary in Walter Kordt, *Adolph von Vagedes: ein rheinisch-westfälischer Baumeister der Goethezeit* (Ratingen: A. Henn Verlag, 1961), 106–124.

walkways on all new main thoroughfares to bolster economic activities and protect pedestrians. Vagedes's emphasis on solidity, utility, and modernity in the public buildings of the Rhineland clearly stemmed not only from his time in Paris while a student of Durand's at the Ecole Polytechnique, but from his later work during the Napoleonic period as Düsseldorf's *Directeur des Bâtiments et Embellissements* from 1812–15.[107] Under the French, Vagedes designed and built a network of tollgates around the city and extended the broad, tree-lined expanse of the elegant Königsallee north to the Hofgarten.[108]

One institution not mentioned in Vagedes's plan was the Oberbaudeputation. Rather, his organization of Rhenish architecture was to be community-based, operating independently of Berlin. Cities of 20,000 and greater were to receive their own *Baumeister*, who was to occupy a seat on the city council and draw a salary from community funds. The city architect's plans and drawings were to be approved locally by the *Öberbürgermeister* or supervising mayor. Building budgets of up to 3,000 Taler would not require higher provincial approval—an amount far exceeding the 500 Taler ceiling stipulated by the Oberbaudeputation's September 1809 instructions. Funds to pay for public buildings were to be raised by local taxes, with one-third coming from property taxes and two-thirds from commercial taxes. Nothing in

[107] Zimmermann, *Adolph von Vagedes und seine Kirchenbauten*, 13. See also Jean-Nicolas-Louis-Durand, *Précis of the Lectures on Architecture; With, Graphic Portion of the Lectures on Architecture* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2000).

[108] After undertaking training and study in Paris, Vagedes applied some of his French experience in his approaches to Rhenish church building. Wolfgang Zimmerman posits that Vagedes looked to Étienne Louis Boullée's unrealized design for the interior of a library when he proposed three rectangular skylights in the barrel vault for the Protestant church at Solingen-Wald (*Adolph von Vagedes und seine Kirchenbauten*, 133). Vagedes also looked to the examples of French neoclassical churches that either placed their towers on the altar end of the building, or bypassed the tower altogether, so as to not interrupt the classicizing temple front (Zimmerman, 136). A prominent example known to German architects was Chalgrin's St. Philippe du Roule, also a favorite of Friedrich Wilhelm III. The king saw the Catholic church during a two-month stay in Paris in 1814 and may have directed Schinkel to draw on aspects of its design in the architect's remodeling of the Berliner Dom in 1817 and in his plans for St. Nikolai in Potsdam in 1826 (see Franz-Duhme *Schinkel's Vorstadtkirchen*, pp. 45–46).

Vagedes's proposal required either review of building plans by Prussian bureaucrats in Berlin or donations from the monarchy.

Ingersleben immediately forwarded the proposal to the architects employed at the provincial district offices in Trier, Koblenz, Aachen, Cologne, and Cleve and asked them to provide comments.[109] Over the next several months, the Rhineland's regional architects submitted lengthy responses back to Koblenz. They voiced unanimous support for the larger concept and its intended creation of at least some measure of provincial architectural autonomy. In a reply of September 30, 1817, the architects in Aachen, for example, "couldn't fail to appreciate the value of a systematic approach."[110] Evident from the varied assessments of the plan was an acknowledgement of the importance of representational *Landbau*, or public building, in Rhenish cities and towns, and the ability of provincial architects to manage their own affairs. The enthusiasm of provincial architects for the establishment of an appropriately representative Rhenish public architecture, town planning, and infrastructure, combined with confidence in their own expertise, articulated a well-defined sense of regional identity.

Yet the responses from Vagedes's Rhenish colleagues were not simply rubber stamp endorsements of his proposals. Rather, the detailed commentaries submitted by Rhenish provincial architects indicated careful review not lacking in constructive criticism. The architects conveyed their concerns over many aspects of Vagedes's document, from the proposed covered arcades, to his method for calculating the wages of day laborers, to considering at what geographic distance from the Rhine timber proved more cost-effective

[109] LHA-Ko, Abt. 402, Nr. 852, p. 2.
[110] The quote may be found at LHA-Ko, Abt. 402, Nr. 852, p. 51. The report from Aachen comprises pp. 51–62 while the report from Koblenz may be found on pp. 39–48.

than stone for construction. At stake were questions of provincial needs, materials, and architectural practices—matters that local knowledge understood better than Berlin could.

The proposal's fourth section elicited the strongest criticism. It detailed the operations of a provincial network of autonomous, community-based architecture offices. The architects in Koblenz and Aachen bluntly noted that such an organizational structure, with decision making centered in the Rhineland, violated current law. Indeed, at the end of May 1817, the provincial government offices across Prussia had just received a document entitled "Instructions for *Landbaubeamten*" from the Oberbaudeputation.[111] Intended to serve as an architectural "Office Manual" of sorts with fill-in-the-blank spaces for the province's name and other specific information, the Oberbaudeputation's 1817 instructions outlined the government's expectations for the internal organization and workflow of provincial architectural offices.[112] The document began by listing those structures entrusted to provincial architects: properties and structures on royal lands, military buildings, streets and bridges, churches, schools and parsonages under Prussian state patronage, municipal buildings, and canals and rivers when a *Wasserbaubeamter* was unavailable. The document then addressed the specific duties expected of provincial architects: thorough knowledge of all local building issues, maintenance of drawings and plans from major projects, preservation of historically significant monuments, identification of good building materials in their regions, and a solid understanding of the necessary construction regulations. Provincial architects were responsible for the creation and submission of architectural drawings, including ground plans, elevations, cross-sections, and diagrams detailing roof construction. Building costs were to be kept to an

[111] *Landbau* referring to public building in towns and villages, *Beamten* meaning bureaucrats, i.e., instructions for bureaucrat-architects responsible for building in provincial towns and cities.
[112] GStA PK IHA Rep 76 IX Sekt 1 Nr. 10 Bd 1, pp. 41–44.

absolute minimum. There were details on the preparation of building budgets with guidelines for projects overseen by outside contractors versus those paid against invoices and under direct state supervision. Once finished, there were final protocols to follow and strict policies in the event of revisions. Section IV, "Execution of Construction Work," prohibited the initiation of a project without Berlin's prior approval. Once approved by the Oberbaudeputation, changes were to be avoided and permissible only in cases of danger. Such cases required immediate reporting along with submission of a revised proposal and budget.[113] These new instructions, in other words, contradicted Vagedes's proposals in many respects.

Undoubtedly fearing conflict with Berlin, Ingersleben did not act on Vagedes's plan for two years. Finally, in March 1819, bureaucrats in Düsseldorf requested an update on their initiative. While Ingersleben's answer is not extant in the files, he must have responded because a July 1819 letter to the Kultusministerium from the Düsseldorf office indicated that two governors of the Prussian Rhineland (Ingersleben and Solms-Laubach) chose not to proceed with the Vagedes plan due to its contraventions of Prussian law.[114] The bureaucrats in the Düsseldorf office appealed this decision directly to the Kultusministerium, arguing that the need for a set of provincial building regulations grew more urgent each day. They requested

[113] The distribution of strongly worded memos from Berlin to the provinces throughout the 1820s and 30s testifies to the difficulties provincial architects encountered in adhering to the interdiction against changes to *Oberbaudeputation*-approved plans. Memoranda distributed kingdom-wide in August 1830, September 1833, and February 1837, for example, scolded provincial architects for making unauthorized modifications. The September 1833 memo admonished local architects for constructing a church in a final form *smaller* than originally approved by the *Oberbaudeputation,* suggesting Berlin's concerns did not revolve solely around cost. The February 1837 memo even threated to institute fines against architects found to have committed "arbitrary changes" to an *Oberbaudeputation*-approved building plan. For the September 1830 memorandum, see GStA PK IHA Rep 76 Sekt 25 Nr 1 Bd 1, p. 61 recto/verso. For the September 1833 memorandum, see GStA PK IHA Rep 76 Sekt 25 Nr 1 Bd 1, p. 83 recto. For the February 1837 memo, see GStA PK IHA Rep 76 Kultusministerium IX Sekt 1 Nr. 10 Bd 2, p. 97.

[114] The letter from Düsseldorf reads: "daß wegen der polizeilichen Vorschriften, welche der Entwurf enthält, und die mit der bestehenden Gesetzgebung auf keine Weise im Einklang stehen, noch zur Zeit von einer näheren Prüfung dieses Entwurfs abzustehen seÿn werde" or because of the security considerations contained in the proposed plan, and their lack of conformity with existing laws, they will refrain at this time from further examination of the plan. See GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Ministerium der öffentlichen Arbeiten Nr. 1214, p. 2 verso.

the Oberbaudeputation weigh in on their proposal, particularly its sections on materials and construction practice.[115]

The Oberbaudeputation issued their assessment in November 1819. A terse, one-page document, their review proffered initial praise for the technical breadth of Vagedes's proposal. Abruptly changing course, however, they deemed its proposed regulations "not only superfluous but even questionable." Vagedes's regulations, they argued, would be self-evident to any trained architect. Furthermore, architects must apply their experience and judgment to each individual situation and not be limited by adherence to any fixed plan. Such plans, they warned, even had the potential to mislead the lesser-trained architect. They rejected any further dissemination of Vagedes's plan.[116] Three weeks later, the Kultusministerium informed the Düsseldorf regional government that Vagedes's "Proposal for Building Regulations for Public Buildings in the Provinces of the Lower Rhine" could not be put to any further use.[117]

Vagedes's proposal and the strong support it received from Rhenish architects in provincial government offices attests to their profound dissatisfaction with Berlin's heavy hand in the Rhineland's architectural matters. At stake were questions of how to counter the imposition of distant authority on the local townscape. How was knowledge based on regional experience to be balanced with Berlin's bureaucratic protocols? The example of Vagedes's 1817 plan, unsuccessful though it was, demonstrates how Rhenish provincial actors, using the

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[115] GStA PK, I HA Rep 93B Ministerium der öffentlichen Arbeiten Nr. 1214, p. 3 recto.

[116] The November 6, 1819 letter from the Oberbaudeputation was not signed by Schinkel, who was traveling at that time in the Prussian province of West Prussia, what is today Poland, where he visited and sketched the ruins at Marienburg made famous by Friedrich Gilly's watercolors of the site published in 1799. For Schinkel's drawings of Marienburg, see the catalogue entries 27 and 28 (pp. 61–62) in the exhibition catalogue *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: Geschichte und Poesie* (Berlin: Hirmer Verlag, 2012). For the signed November 6, 1819 letter see GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Ministerium der öffentlichen Arbeiten Nr. 1214, p. 23. The letter was signed by Oberbaudeputation members Eytelwein, Cochius, Funk, Günther, Crelle, and Schmid. Reinhart Strecke's *Anfänge und Innovation* contains an appendix listing the members of the Oberbaudeputation from 1804 until its dissolution in 1850 (see pp. 231–34).

[117] GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Ministerium der öffentlichen Arbeiten Nr. 1214, p. 24.

same bureaucratic instruments of power to which they were subjected, sought to resist the authority of the Prussian regime and assert their professional and regional autonomy. While they lacked a systematic plan, this approach repeated itself in numerous individual church designs.

The response of Schinkel and the Oberbaudeputation, on the other hand, also set in motion a pattern that repeated itself over the decades to come. When asked to cede his authority, Schinkel continually insisted on the necessity of case-by-case review. Even when discussing the role of design templates for provincial churches, he argued that the variance of local conditions rendered such templates of limited use in most cases. In other words, he invoked the very same claims about the importance of local knowledge and conditions in order to maintain Berlin's regulation of provincial public architecture that he refused to concede to architects in the Rhineland. While Schinkel reluctantly agreed, when pressed, that a set of architectural norms did not exist—and under Schinkel's administration, provincial church design enjoyed a wide variety of stylistic expression, from classicizing to neo-Gothic to Romanesque Revival— his tight hold on the reins perhaps reflected the difficulty of deciding among ever-increasing formal possibilities, some of which presented a challenge to longstanding classical ideals. In addition, Schinkel undoubtedly viewed case-by-case reviews as opportunities for teaching moments wherein he might refine what he often described as the poor quality of provincial architecture. That argument, however, proved more challenging to make in the proud and independent-minded Rhineland.

c) The Funding Mechanisms for Rhenish Churches

The lack of consistent funding for state-sponsored ecclesiastical architecture in the Rhineland plagued and delayed projects, spurring provincial ire and activism. To illustrate this point, the following section will examine church funding mechanisms in the Rhineland. I begin by discussing the differences between the legal systems on the Rhine's left and right banks. The divergent legal systems on either side of the Rhine was a legacy of French occupation that presented serious challenges to Rhenish communities as well as to the new Prussian rulers beset by provincial funding pleas. I will then explain the three common funding mechanisms available to Rhenish parish communities for their building projects—mechanisms that directly engaged Rhenish resources and populations. Parish leaders often needed to guide their faithful through lengthy battles to negotiate the hindrances from Berlin and see church building initiatives to completion. In closing, the examples of two Rhenish churches will illustrate the ad-hoc, community-based approaches parishes took to secure project funding.

c.1. A Tale of Two Banks: The Rhineland's Two Different Legal Systems

From the inception of Prussian rule in the Rhineland, the authorities foregrounded the importance of strengthening religious and educational institutions in their new territory; they considered churches and schools essential to counter the perceived amoral influence of two decades of French occupation. But in the Rhineland, the Prussians inherited a problem that ultimately hindered their ability to integrate the new province into the Prussian state: the persistence of two distinct legal systems on the Rhine River's left and right banks. To the west, French law applied on the Rhine's left bank as a result of the region's full incorporation as a département of the French state under the Treaty of Lunéville in February 1801; after 1804, this law became the Code Civil introduced throughout France by Napoleon. The Code Civil abolished hereditary nobility, theoretically making all citizens equal before the law, and, by

1815, Rhinelanders considered their legal system not as an artifact of French occupations, but as a birthright. To the east, the Prussian General Code of 1794 provided the legal framework for the Rhine's right bank. Reforms to the Prussian General Code in 1807 had technically ended serfdom, but the Code's tripartite structure of nobility, bourgeoisie, and peasantry preserved the traditional class-based divisions of Prussian society.

Territory on both the left and right banks of the Rhine had undergone a profound restructuring as a result of the processes of secularization and mediatization undertaken between 1801 and 1806.[118] As French forces occupied the west bank of the Rhine after 1794, they seized lands and property from the region's ecclesiastical and small noble estates. The left-bank ecclesiastical principalities of the Rhineland—the Archbishoprics of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier, large territories ruled by prince-bishops—were secularized, their estates, including abbeys, convents, and monasteries, were abolished, and the financial resources of their cathedral chapters were liquidated.[119] By the terms of Treaty of Lunéville in 1801, the Holy Roman Empire officially acknowledged its loss of the Rhineland to France and was obligated to make compensations for Rhenish territorial losses with land from elsewhere in the Empire. The *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss* was the imperial commission convened to determine such territorial compensation. In February 1803, their sweeping reorganization transferred 73,000 square kilometers of land with 2.63 million inhabitants to new rulers, a total

[118] Mediatization is the historical term for the enormous territorial restructuring that took place during the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire and subsequent Napoleonic Wars, as hundreds of small states in German lands (ecclesiastical principalities, secular duchies and principalities, free cities) were absorbed by larger states. From 1802–14, German lands were reduced from over 400 sovereign entities to fewer than forty, with enormous consequences for both rulers and ruled. The Oxford English dictionary defines mediatization as follows: "In Germany under the Holy Roman Empire: the action of reducing a prince or state in position or power; the condition of being mediatized. Now historical." https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/mediatization. Accessed December 5, 2018.

[119] While the Concordat of 1801 between Napoleon and the Vatican recognized the Catholic Church, it was no longer the French state church. Further, the Church gave up any claim to its confiscated lands. In addition, clergy salaries were to be paid by the state, an arrangement that would continue under Prussian rule.

more than three times the amount of land taken by France on the Rhine's left bank (23,850 square kilometers and 800,000 inhabitants).[120] Prussia received nearly five times the territory it had lost, Baden seven times, and Württemberg four times. With the exception of the Archbishopric of Mainz, ecclesiastical properties were secularized. The creation of Napoleon's Confederation of the Rhine in 1806 further consolidated the region. When the Congress of Vienna chose in 1815 to recognize and retain Europe's post-mediatization borders, a vast German-speaking territory, which had consisted of more than three hundred sovereign entities at the start of the nineteenth century, henceforth contained just thirty-nine. On the Rhineland's left bank, the Prussian monarchy upheld both the territorial changes ushered in by mediatization *and* the introduction of the Code Civil, thereby avoiding thorny questions about compensation and even the legitimacy of Prussian rule. As a result, each side of the Rhine possessed a different legal system after 1815—systems that had an impact on how, and to what extent, churches and schools received state support for building projects. Left bank parishes consequently faced serious economic disadvantages, first from the loss of their assets and properties under French rule after 1794, and later by the subsequent Prussian recognition of French legal precedents, such as the abolition of tithes, which had traditionally funded church operations. On the right bank, the massive property transfers resulting from mediatization also disrupted noble patronage obligations that had served for centuries as primary sources of financial support for church building.

Prior to the abolition of the tithe under French occupation of the Rhine's left bank in 1794, conventional practice called for communities on both sides of the Rhine to divide responsibility for church building and repair costs based on established, local tithing

[120] The figures in this paragraph derive from Joachim Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire, Volume II: The Peace of Westphalia to the Dissolution of the Reich*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 614–24.

conventions. After 1815, Rhenish civil servants explained to their new Prussian overlords how different community segments had traditionally divided the responsibility for maintaining or repairing specific parts of a church prior to the arrival the French in 1794: generally, the main recipient of church tithes, either the bishop or noble patron, maintained the church's main sanctuary, including the nave and chancel, while responsibility for the tower lay with the parishioners, as often did the rectory.[121] A letter of February 5, 1824 from the provincial government in Koblenz to the Kultusministerium described the current state of affairs and illuminates the starkly different prevailing conditions on the left and right banks. On the right bank, *ancien regime* tithing obligations were still regarded as valid in theory—albeit less so in practice. In addition, some right bank church properties supported by noble patrons prior to 1815 had been transferred to the patronage of the Prussian monarch, making them eligible for state funds. As for the left bank of the Rhine, however:

> There is no talk of a duty on the part of the state to these buildings; the tithe is abolished altogether; the church, when it has no funds of its own, is the responsibility of the community. Therefore, we only intercede as regards the right of superintendence and although we supervise estimates, dismantlings, and inspections of the buildings by the building inspectors and have everything reviewed by the supervising government architect, there are seldom difficulties, as the wishes, needs, and capabilities of the community are taken into account as much as possible, and carried out only in their name.[122]

[121] Letter from Ingersleben to Kultusministerium, January 26, 1820. File not paginated.
[122] GStA PK IHA Rep 76 Kultusministerium IX Sekt 23. See letter dated February 5, 1824. File not paginated.

This legal asymmetry meant that Prussian authorities often struggled to determine what, if any, obligation they had to the steady flow of requests for funds to repair or build new churches west of the Rhine. Whenever possible, they conveniently used French legal precedent as the means to absolve themselves of financial responsibility. Yet by 1819, as funding requests piled up from parishes on both the left and right banks, the king himself demanded clarification:

> The King wishes to be informed: with whom does the obligation for building a church in the Rhenish Provinces lie when a church possesses no assets of its own? Also: is there a difference between Protestant and Catholic churches? The Royal Government is to provide complete information concerning these matters as soon as possible and also to submit in writing the complete texts of any laws applicable under the French government.[123]

Kultusminister Altenstein and his colleague Finance Minister Klewiz forwarded the king's urgent request to bureaucrats at the provincial government offices in Aachen, Cologne, Cleve, Düsseldorf, Koblenz, and Trier. The provincial governments returned lengthy reports, including dozens of pages of French legal code, in order to help Berlin figure out how to handle please for support from Rhenish parishes in need. They cited the French decree of September 15, 1807 that mandated the establishment of community church building funds with monies to be raised from a ten percent tax on the *revenus fonciers des communes*. Rhenish civil servants reported that left bank parishes saw "little or nothing" of that money.[124] A second French

[123] GStA PK IHA Rep 76 Kultusministerium IX Sekt 1 Nr 12 Bd 1, p. 3.
[124] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Kultusministerium III Sekt 33 Abt XVIII Nr 6 Bd 1. Report from regional government in Koblenz dated December 20, 1819. File not paginated.

decree issued in December 1809 outlined four funding mechanisms for new buildings or major repairs to structures within the Rhineland's *départements*: 1) via existing income from church coffers; 2) via income from parishioners; 3) through the levy of an additional tax on the citizens; 4) from the aforementioned ten percent building fund. With church coffers largely empty and income from parishioners scant during wartime, yet another French decree in February 1810 placed the financial responsibility onto the entire community through the levy of a tax on all citizens, even in mixed-confessional towns. Rhenish officials in Aachen noted that the February 1810 law created tensions in towns with comparably sized Catholic and Protestant populations, as each confession showed little interest in funding the churches of the other. In their reports, however, government officials also described the innovative ways local communities found to work around the February 1810 law, one they acknowledged was rarely enforced, thus leaving each confession to see to its own architectural needs, just as they had over the decades prior to the French occupation.[125]

Facing the existence of two separate legal systems and the utter disarray of the prior funding mechanisms for churches on both banks of the Rhine, civil servants in the provincial

[125] One example of Rhenish parishes circumventing French decrees and improvising as needed during the occupation years may be found in the history of the parish of Becond, located in the former diocese of Trier. With 300 parishioners, the parish was dissolved by the French and its worshippers told to use the next closest Catholic church, an hour away by foot in a mountainous region and "for pregnant woman, children, and the elderly inaccessible." The parish, taking matters into their own hands, found a member of a dissolved monastic order to say mass for them. The community continued using their old church and the clergy at their "new" assigned church in the distant town agreed to simply look the other way. "The dissolution of the parish at Becond, apart from confiscation of the church's holdings, was only on paper, but in reality not felt," reported *Kultusminister* Altenstein in an August 5, 1826 letter to Friedrich Wilhelm III. The monk serving the parish at Becond had died in 1826, and the parish requested an annual supplement of 131 Taler from the state to pay a new priest's salary. Altenstein wrote to the king, strongly supporting Becond's petition. Receiving no answer, Altenstein wrote to the king again in October 1827 and again in February 1828. On June 1, 1828, Altenstein, clearly frustrated by the king's refusal to answer him, began his letter by quoting back to the king the monarch's own address to the Rhenish people on April 5, 1815: "Your religion, the most sacred of that which belongs to humanity, I shall honor and protect. And I will seek to improve the living conditions of your clergy so that it is worthy of the dignity of their office." On June 21, 1828, nearly a year-and-a-half after the initial request, the monarch continued to equivocate, instructing Altenstein to confer with the Finance Ministry. Quoted passages from GStA PK I HA Rep 89 Nr. 22996, pp. 110, 122, 125, 130–32.

government in Cleve posed a question in December 1819 that no one wanted in Berlin wanted to hear: Didn't Prussia now bear responsibility for the region's churches? After all, the monarchy of Friedrich Wilhelm III "had assumed the place of prior, now defunct institutions and, as such, must fulfill their obligations."[126]

c.2. Attempts to Establish a Pan-Rhenish Church Building Fund

The Prussian monarchy did assume limited financial responsibility for some Rhenish churches. Given the prevalence of ecclesiastical states alongside small duchies in the Rhineland prior to the region's consolidation under the French, a number of churches and chapels constructed by noble patrons prior to 1794, as well the properties of former monastic orders seized by the French, were transferred to Prussian state ownership after 1815. The Prussian state, having assumed the *Patronatsrecht*, or patronage obligation for these structures, was thus required to assume one-third of costs related to building projects at these sites. The remaining two-thirds came from the parish.[127] Monies to support churches under royal patronage came from a special fund, the *Patronats-Bau-Fond*, although such patronage obligations placed further strains on an already cash-strapped monarchy. As early as 1823, the *Kultusministerium* circulated a memorandum to provincial civil servants stressing that the state's difficult financial situation meant support for building projects would be extended only in those cases

[126] "…wodurch dem Staat an die Stelle der erloschenen Gesellschaft getreten ist und deren Verbindlichkeiten erfüllen muss." See GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Kultusministerium III Sekt 33 Abt XVIII Nr 6 Bd 1. This file is not paginated. See p. 2 of the report dated December 31, 1819 from the provincial government in Cleve for this quote.

[127] GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 21920. See letter of May 10, 1825 describing funding provisions for the Catholic church at Schönlancke. The request for additional funds beyond one-third of the building costs is refused, citing the rules of the *Patronatsrecht*. See also Ewa Janiszewska, "Der Einfluss der Rationaliserungstendenzen der preußischen Architektur auf das Bauwesen der evangelischen Kirchen in den Jahren von 1820–30 in Regierungsbezirk Posen" in *Retablissement: Preußische Stadtbaukunst in Polen und Deutschland*, Christof Beyer, André Bischoff, Johanna Dreyer, Ulrich Reinisch, and Tadeusz J. Zuchowski, eds. (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2016), 331.

where a pre-existing, verifiable patronage relationship could be established. "Otherwise, municipalities, patrons, or whomever the responsibility falls to, must be prepared to carry out their projects without the use of public funds."[128] Restrictions on the fund further limited its use to ecclesiastical structures wherein active worship took place. For example, when Rhenish architects endeavored to find funds for restoration of the twelfth-century Romanesque Maria Laach Abbey, the Kultusministerium pointed out that the *Patronats-Bau-Fonds* could not be used, as the structurally unsound abbey was not in active liturgical use at the time.[129]

From the outset of Prussian rule in the Rhineland, the Prussian government grudgingly recognized the need to establish funds for building and repair of provincial churches not covered by monarchical patronage obligations. Mounting pressures on state coffers soon forced Berlin to turn to the provincial governments themselves for solutions. The Prussian monarchy had abolished the French-instituted ten percent tax on the *revenus fonciers des communes,* monies earmarked in theory to cover church building costs. Seeking a replacement source of income, Kultusminister Altenstein wrote the Rhenish provincial governor Ingersleben in July 1818 to suggest creation of a Rhenish building fund into which all local communities might contribute.[130] He acknowledged the insufficiency of existing funds either to rebuild churches or to increase the salaries of the Rhenish clergy—both dire needs in the region. Altenstein noted that while some Rhenish regions received supplements to pay clergy salaries in 1816 and 1817, several had yet to receive any such assistance. State funds simply could not meet all the province's needs. Reinstituting a ten percent tax akin to the French practice was undesirable and would place an undue strain on many communities, he argued. If

[128] GStA PK IHA Rep 76 IX Sekt 23, Letter of August 24, 1823.
[129] GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 22017, pp. 63–64.
[130] LHA-Ko, Best 402, Nr. 304, pp. 1–3.

a Rhenish-wide fund were established, Altenstein suggested, its monies would pay for materials and skilled labor, while community members would be required to provide *Hand- und Spanndienste* (involuntary or corvée) labor. He asked Ingersleben to prepare a report on how such a concept might work in practice. Could the fund extend to both the left and right banks, he asked? And could its monies be made available to both confessions?

In April l820, after almost two years and several reminders from Berlin, Ingersleben responded.[131] The challenge of establishing a Rhenish building fund, as he saw it, lay in the different legal systems on either side of the Rhine river. On left bank, where the tithe had been abolished, such a fund might be more easily implemented than on the right bank. Ingersleben suggested that communities contribute small amounts, citing as an example the existing system of payments into the region's fire insurance program. Contributions would be pooled together and dispensed based on need. Alternatively, he mused, a larger upfront amount capable of gaining interest might provide a more sustainable solution. The question came down to how to levy a community's contributions to the fund: based on population or through a class-based taxation system? And how to account for existing tithing conventions or patronage relationships on the right bank? In reality, right bank parish churches often found their former tithing arrangements were no longer tenable. Once-noble tithe holders had suffered economic deprivations as a result of the war, were unable or unwilling to make financial contributions, and often asked to be released from their pre-1794 patronage obligations.

Ingersleben ultimately blamed his delayed response on the nagging and as-yet-unresolved question of the Rhineland's divergent legal systems. He acknowledged, however, that harmonization of the legal codes on the left and right bank would require time, and thus

[131] LHA-Ko, Best 402, Nr. 304, pp. 41–51.

he declared himself in favor of proceeding with the fund idea. A systematic Rhenish-wide effort nonetheless failed to materialize. Nine years later, the Aachen provincial government offered a plan to establish a Rhenish *Baufond*. In cooperation with the archbishopric of Cologne, the Aachen plan offered congregations the option to contribute annually at a minimum rate of ten Taler per year. This fund was to provide the basis for loans made with interest, thereby increasing the principal in the fund. The plan optimistically asserted that "accumulated capital may someday be handed over to later generations."[132] The king approved Altenstein's request to circulate the Aachen plan in the province, but the idea of a pan-Rhenish church construction fund proved unable to overcome the administrative obstacles presented by the Rhineland's divergent legal systems.[133]

By the late 1830s, Altenstein found it necessary to plead with the monarch to make additional, discretionary contributions to the *Patronats-Bau-Fond*.[134] In 1836, he identified multiple regions in the kingdom, where "unpostponable" repairs to churches, schools, and parsonages necessitated an immediate 89,374 Taler. A second set of regions, including Düsseldorf, required another 19,370 Taler to meet existing building obligations currently borne by the local governments. The monarch had pledged 30,000 Taler, but Altenstein argued passionately for the additional one-time subsidy of 59,374 Taler plus an annual increase of 19,370 moving forward. He stressed that the continued postponement of repairs and rebuilding projects only increased their costs. The monarch eventually agreed to a one-time subsidy of 40,000 Taler for 1837. The following year, acknowledging the need to strengthen the building fund, the king underwrote another 40,000 Taler, albeit nearly 28,000 Taler less than

[132] GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 22996, p. 157.
[133] The different systems remained in place until introduction of the German Civil Code, or Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch, in 1900, which harmonized the law code across Germany.
[134] The figures in the remainder of this paragraph derive from GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 21935, pp. 55–96.

Altenstein's request. In 1839, the king supplemented the building fund with an additional 47,543 Taler.

As the Fifth Rhenish *Landtag* (provincial assembly) convened in Düsseldorf on May 21, 1837, representatives put forth an amendment asking the monarch to address the "irregularity and inequality" they had experienced in raising funds for the building and repairs of churches and church towers.[135] In 1841, the Kultusministerium again issued a report on the need to harmonize the Rhine's left and right bank legal codes and create a unified system to fund confessional expenditures. The report's authors noted the failures of 1826, 1833, and 1838.[136] Over dozens of neatly lined, columned pages, the 1841 report tallied costs incurred by the Prussian state in the Rhineland for performing masses, paying clergy, meeting "usual" building costs as well as "unusual" building repairs. Each expense category was subdivided into "before 1806," "between 1806–15," and "after 1815" in an attempt to track expenditures with the political shifts in recent Rhenish history. By the time the 1841 report appeared, Kultusminister Altenstein had been dead for two years, King Friedrich Wilhelm III had been dead for one, and Karl Friedrich Schinkel had only months to live as the result of a debilitating stroke suffered in autumn 1840. The bureaucratic obstacles to funding Rhenish church building and repair had outlived them all.

c.3. The Quest for Funds: Rhenish Parish Councils Encounter Prussian Bureaucracy

Letters from Rhenish parish councils to the Kultusministerium testified to the repeated insults decades of war and occupation had inflicted on parishes and their structures. An 1836 petition from the Catholic parish in Wald requested 2,194 Taler to assist with the completion of their

[135] GStA PK IHA Rep 77 Tit 523h Nr. 22 Bd 3, pp. 68–72.
[136] GStA PK IHA Rep 76 Kultusministerium III Sekt 33 Abt XVIII Nr. 6, Bd. 2 (1826–43), unpaginated.

new church, erected after their old church suffered extensive interior damage when Russian troops had stabled their horses there.[137] An 1818 request for funds from the Protestant community in Neuwied, near Koblenz, chronicled the two decades of damage endured by the church they had built in 1789, which was then requisitioned by the French in 1794 for use as a warehouse, later used as a military hospital, and ultimately came under fire.[138] It would be easy to multiply these examples.

This chapter has thus far discussed Berlin's inability to establish reliable provincial building funds; this next section will examine the three funding mechanisms that did exist for provincial church building, all three of which required the sustained engagement and effort, including physical labor, of local populations: (1) *Gnadengeschenke* or royal donations to building projects secured by directly petitioning the king; (2) *Kollekte* or taking collections among churches in a specified town or region to support an architectural initiative; and (3) *Hand- und Spanndienste*, the German term for corvée, in which local communities were compelled to make in-kind contributions of labor. Laborers and farmers, in particular, were required to provide involuntary labor or corvée on behalf of church construction efforts, donate the use of their animals to haul materials, and/or perform basic construction work themselves. In addition to the material and physical burdens the Berlin bureaucracy placed on provincial communities, these operations reinforced a spatial regime of provinciality in the Rhineland, underscoring its subordinate position. In the process, the sacred, community-centered spaces of village and town churches acquired the politicized dynamic of Rhenish provinciality and Prussian hegemony, particularly for the region's Catholics. The tensions, however, were not merely Prussian Protestant versus Rhenish Catholic. Hostilities encompassed complex and

[137] GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 22016, p. 47.
[138] GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 21913, pp. 101–5.

overlapping dichotomies of province and center, Rhenish Catholic and Rhenish Protestant, and the unequal support for church operations between the Rhine's left and right banks.

c.2.1. Gnadengeschenke (Donations from the Monarch)

The king steadily received written requests from both confessions for *Gnadengeschenke*, or outright donations made directly to individual congregations in support of building projects. Such monies did not require repayment and were presented as a sign of the monarch's beneficence toward his subjects. (*Gnade* means mercy and a *Geschenk* is a gift.) An analysis of petitions submitted to the king between the years 1815–28 reveals that such gifts were granted rather arbitrarily, although the monarch was less likely to fund Catholic projects.[139] In 1821, for instance, the Kultusministerium forwarded forty provincial *Gnadengeschenke* petitions to the king for consideration. He granted 21,776 Taler and 1,000 Belgian courant toward the completion of a variety of churches, schoolhouses, and parsonages. Donations might support the purchase of interior appointments or furnishings, such as 150 Taler for a new organ in the church of Naugard, or take the form of wood from royal lands, such as the fifty logs donated to a church building project in Lobendau. In 1822, the Kultusministerium forwarded another thirty-one requests to the king, resulting in royal gifts totaling 14,714 Taler. Not all requests for *Gnadengeschenke* made it to the king's desk. Altenstein and the Kultusministerium sometimes rejected requests out of hand, as they did with the initial petition to fund a new parish church for the Rhenish town of Vallendar in 1823. Commonly forwarded to the king were requests for small donations that could enable a parish to cross the finish line on a building project. When approving requests, the king generally instructed the funds be paid

[139] See GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nrs. 21912 (1815) through 21924 (1828).

from his "Extraordinario," meaning a discretionary account for such petitions, separate from the building fund for churches officially under his royal patronage.[140]

c.2.2. Collections (Kollekte)

Kollekte consisted of donations made by the public directly to a church for its building appeal. A parish required prior approval from the monarch to undertake a collection. Written requests were submitted to the Kultusministerium and then forwarded to the king who could alone dictate the geographic extent of the collection. He could choose to expand, or contract, its geographic range, i.e., among "all the Protestant churches in my land" or "among all the Catholic churches in the Rhineland."

Collections were only permitted for repairs resulting from *Unglücksfälle* or accidents, such as lightning strikes, fires, or an explosion; collection requests were denied if the Kultusministerium felt the repairs resulted from "neglect" on the part of the community, an often harsh verdict for Rhenish parishes whereby "neglect" had occurred quite unavoidably during the decades of French occupation and war.[141] The archival record testifies to a growing stream of requests for *Kollekte* from parishes in the 1820s. Altenstein, advising the monarch to deny an 1829 *Kollekte* request, commented that the number of requests had grown so much that their yield would be reduced to insignificance if the rate were allowed to increase any further.[142] The archival evidence suggests that *Kollekte* pleas were a regular occurrence for

[140] See the monarch's instructions to pay 2,192 Taler for the building of a tower for the Protestant church in Kirchseiffen from the "Extraordinario des Schatzministerü," February 1, 1821. GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 21923, p. 55.

[141] For one example see GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 21919 in a letter dated March 21, 1824, a collection request was denied because the need for rebuilding arose not from an accident but from the neglect by the earlier patron.

[142] GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 21925, p. 93 for Altenstein's comment and IHA Rep 89 Nr. 21919 for a letter dated January 14, 1824 noting the preponderance of collection requests and the need to curtail them.

Rhenish churchgoers, their frequency underscoring throughout the province the ongoing plights of individual parishes. The province-wide responses to an October 1838 collection for the new parish church for the town of Spellen in the northern Rhine region, for example, confirm that *Kollekte* publicized the chronic lack of funds for Rhenish church building projects widely across geographic and discursive space. The Spellen *Kollekte* yielded parochial contributions of 54.3.4 Taler from Koblenz (125 miles away), 17.11.10 Taler from Trier (155 miles away), 26.3.6 Taler from Aachen (90 miles away), 60.18.10 Taler from Cologne (60 miles away), and 320.25.0 Taler from Düsseldorf (35 miles away) for a total of 479.2.6 Taler.[143] To put this in perspective, a small, village parish church typically cost between 6,000–8,000 Taler, while a moderate church in a medium-sized town required 15,000–25,000 Taler. Repairs for roofs or towers generally amounted to 800–2,000 Taler. Thus, while they only generated a small percentage of the funds needed by a parish, *Kollekte* were at least effective in communicating to communities up and down the Rhine the Prussian state's lack of support for provincial church building initiatives.

c.2.3. Involuntary Labor or Corvée (Hand- und Spanndienste)

Hand- und Spanndienste, the German term for involuntary labor or corvée, constituted a routine line item on the budgets of provincial church building projects. Villagers were compelled to supply physical labor as well as provide use of their oxen or horses to transport building materials. Both architects and bureaucrats counted on its availability when determining a project's cost. Archival documents indicate, however, that Rhenish communities increasingly faced challenges in fulfilling their corvée requirements. Protoindustrialization in

[143] GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 22016, p. 169. Three-digit currency figures given in Taler, Silbergroschen, and Pfennige.

the new Prussian provinces of the Rhineland and Westphalia particularly curtailed the ability of workers to provide corvée. In January 1824, for example, the Kultusministerium denied a request from the Catholic community of Schwelm to take up a collection for repairs to its church.[144] The community had been unable to provide the necessary corvée as budgeted and faced a shortfall. Located in the Ruhr river valley, Schwelm was home to factory workers who owned neither oxen, horses, nor horse carts and "could not perform manual labor in the countryside, partly because they no longer possessed such skills, and partly because during their period of manual labor they would be forced to do without the wages they needed for daily subsistence."[145]

The parish in Schwelm explained that it tried to solve the problem on its own. To make up the shortfall, they had levied taxes at six different rates depending on income—ranging from a maximum of thirty-nine Taler down to a single Taler. While the tax generated 1,062 Taler, this amounted to less than half the sum needed. Thus, Schwelm turned to the government in Berlin to request permission to hold a regional *Kollekte*. Kultusminister Altenstein insisted the request be denied, as the deterioration of the church at Schwelm had not resulted from any specific accident and "neglect" failed to meet the requirements for a collection. Altenstein suggested instead that the king consider a donation of 500 Taler to aid the project. The king scrawled the word "bewilligt," or "approved," on top of Altenstein's memo, likely pleased that they were industrial workers and had demonstrated initiative locally. Five hundred Taler, however, did not alleviate their shortfall, and it is not clear how the community of Schwelm raised the remaining funds.

[144] GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 21919. See letter dated January 14, 1824.
[145] GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 21919. See letter dated January 14, 1824.

c.2.4. Two Examples: Funding the Church Building Projects of Burg and Werden an der Ruhr

The following two examples demonstrate how provincial parishes and congregations skillfully drew upon a variety of sources to amass necessary church building funds.[146] These examples indicate how the protracted funding process required parishes to coordinate with other communities in their region, their provincial governments, and authorities in Berlin. Successful funding demanded activism from within and outside the parish community and required amassing revenues from multiple sources, including taking on loans, procuring corvée labor (or finding an alternative), and promoting the project regionally to generate donations through *Kollekte*. And while the funding amounts were relatively small, these examples nonetheless suggest how these interactions between local communities and government bureaucrats, both in the provincial offices and in Berlin, helped render the presence of the state in the town, as well as of the town in the state, more tangible for all concerned.

Fundraising for the construction of a new Catholic church and rectory in Burg, in the Lennep district of the Düsseldorf government region, took over nine years to complete.[147] With a building budget of 7,364 Taler, a sum Altenstein noted was reviewed and approved by the Oberbaudeputation, the project kicked off in July 1823 with a promised 800 Taler *Gnadengeschenk* from the monarch. The monarch also approved a *Kollekte*, albeit limited to the Düsseldorf region, which generated 3,214.19.1 Taler in donations from local parishes. With the interest gained on those funds, the parish had accumulated a total of 4,428 Taler by 1829. Sale of Burg's old rectory and schoolhouse contributed another 350 Taler to the project. While the community had pledged to raise another 1,000 Taler, a deficit of 1,586 Taler remained.

[146] GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 22060. See pp. 32–33 and 94.
[147] GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 22060, pp. 32–33.

With the regional government vouching for the community's ability to cover its 1,000 Taler pledge, the parish asked the monarch to increase his *Gnadengeschenk* to 1,500 Taler to meet the remaining costs. In November 1832, nine years after the project began, the monarch approved Burg's request, enlarging his donation from 800 to 1,500 Taler, thereby putting the parish just eighty-six Taler short of the finish line.

Local efforts to fund a new Protestant church in Werden an der Ruhr, in the jurisdiction of the provincial government of Trier, encountered a similar shortfall. With a large membership of 1,400 and a dilapidated church dating from 1650, the congregation of Werden an der Ruhr budgeted 11,560.6.9 Taler for construction of a new building and in 1834 happily declared the church finished "except for the stucco work on the exterior and the buildout of the interior."[148] In the process of building their church, the congregants had amassed funds from six different sources:

1. a *Kollekte* approved by the king for the entirety of the two provinces of the Prussian Rhineland and Westphalia yielded 1,001.12.1
2. a subscription program to raise donations among congregation members brought in 3,790.17.11
3. the congregation took out a loan for 2,684.18.6
4. the Catholics of Werden an der Ruhr voluntarily contributed 295.13.0
5. a gift by a banker named Cramer in Nürnberg brought in 446.24
6. the sale of materials from the old church in Werden an der Ruhr contributed another 1,395

[148] GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 22060, p. 94.

Yet the congregants of Werden an der Ruhr still came in short by 1,892.11.3 Taler. In March 1834, Friedrich Wilhelm III agreed to cover all the remaining costs with a *Gnadengeschenk*.

VI. SUMMARY

In contrast to their modest size and budgets, provincial churches and schools commanded an comparatively outsized position in the day-to-day business of the Prussian bureaucracy. The oversight of the design and construction of provincial churches and schools emerged in the first decades of the nineteenth century as a central concern for Prussian bureaucrats, architects, and the monarch for several reasons: churches and schools served the important practical function of molding pious, educated Prussians; insistence on economical, solid construction of provinical structures conferred the added benefits of improving the skills of local architects, tradespeople, and laborers, as well as promoting provincial industries and manufacturing; and the supervision of provincial ecclesiastical architecture, through the work of the Oberbaudeputation, clearly transmitted the authority and identity of the state into the provincial sphere.

The bureaucrat-architects who engaged in provinical architecture as employees of the Prussian state often cited *Bildung* as the desired effect public buildings might confer on communities. Berlin-based Oberbaudeputation architects Karl Friedrich Schinkel and Johann Eytelwein, and Düsseldorf-based architect Adolph von Vagedes, all described the dissemination of *Bildung* as the objective of soundly designed, well constructed provincial public architecture. *Bildung*, often roughly translated as education or cultivation, was a desired state of all-around learnedness in the civic, cultural, and moral senses—an ideal Prussian citizen. As we have seen in the pages of this chapter, Eytelwein linked the execution of sound,

well-designed provinical architecture with the larger project of *Nationalbildung*, or edification of the populace, in his 1808 defense of the Oberbaudeputation's mandate. Vagedes, likewise, in his 1817 proposal for Rhenish public architecture, described how well-built, decorous architecture could rouse both the intellectual and material riches of the nation, thereby raising the collective level of *Bildung*. Schinkel, expressing his disappointment with the lack of *Bildung* transmitted by buildings he visited on an 1832 tour of Prussia's eastern provinces, shared his conviction as to architecture's civic potential, noting that "every large communal architectural undertaking…is an object of general interest and an object of honor to the state…when the best *Bildung* of our age can be therein articulated, for visitors from other nations, for posterity, and, through these objects as well, for the general dissemination of a greater level of cultivation throughout the entire land."[149] For architects like Eytelwein, Vagedes, and Schinkel, and the monarchical government they served, state bureaucratic intervention in provincial architectural matters constituted a necessary step in bringing provinces into the fold of the state. The lofty ambitions of these interventions, as this chapter has demonstrated, did not survive their translation from the realm of ideals to the realities of the provinces; they were instead hobbled by chronic funding shortfalls and by a rising sense of confessional and community identity in Rhenish towns and villages—sentiments that were stoked in no small part by the very church building initiatives Berlin sought to dictate.

[149] GStA PK I HA Rep 93 B Nr. 994, p. 11 verso. Trip report entry dated July 15, 1832.

CHAPTER 3:

When the State Came to the Village: Ecclesiastical Architecture in the Rhineland and the Case Study of Vallendar

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I. INTRODUCTION

> Regarding the right bank of the Rhine, the relationship of the church to the state in these lands was not formerly determined by specific laws. Here, the head of state was also the archbishop and there was no reason to delimit the rights of state and church power. --From a February 4, 1824 report to the Rhenish Oberpräsident by Koblenz-based bureaucrats on the administration of Catholic church affairs in the Rhineland.[1]

The market town of Vallendar on the right bank of the Rhine commands a steep hillock overlooking the river, in a territory that for centuries comprised part of the Archbishopric of

[1] Berichte des Rheinischen Oberprasidü vom 13 Juli 1842 betreffend die Verwaltung des katholischen Kirchenwesens. GStA PK IHA Rep 76 IV Sekt 1 Abt II Nr. 17, p. 4 recto.

Trier. The view of Vallendar from across the river is dominated by the mass of the Catholic parish church of Saints Marzellinus and Petrus, mostly built between 1837–41 (figs. 1a-b).





Figure 1. St. Petrus and St. Marcellinus, by Johann Claudius von Lassaulx (1837–41). South elevation (fig 1a, top) and view of the town from across the Rhine (fig 1b, bottom), with the church's helm spire clearly visible.

Its sturdy fifteenth-century tower terminates in a Rhenish helm spire, crafted in slate and typical of the region's Romanesque churches. The nineteenth-century nave terminates in a rounded apse, while the church's two main entrances are found on its side walls, where gabled porches form shallow transepts that lend the church a cruciform plan (fig. 2). In contrast to the

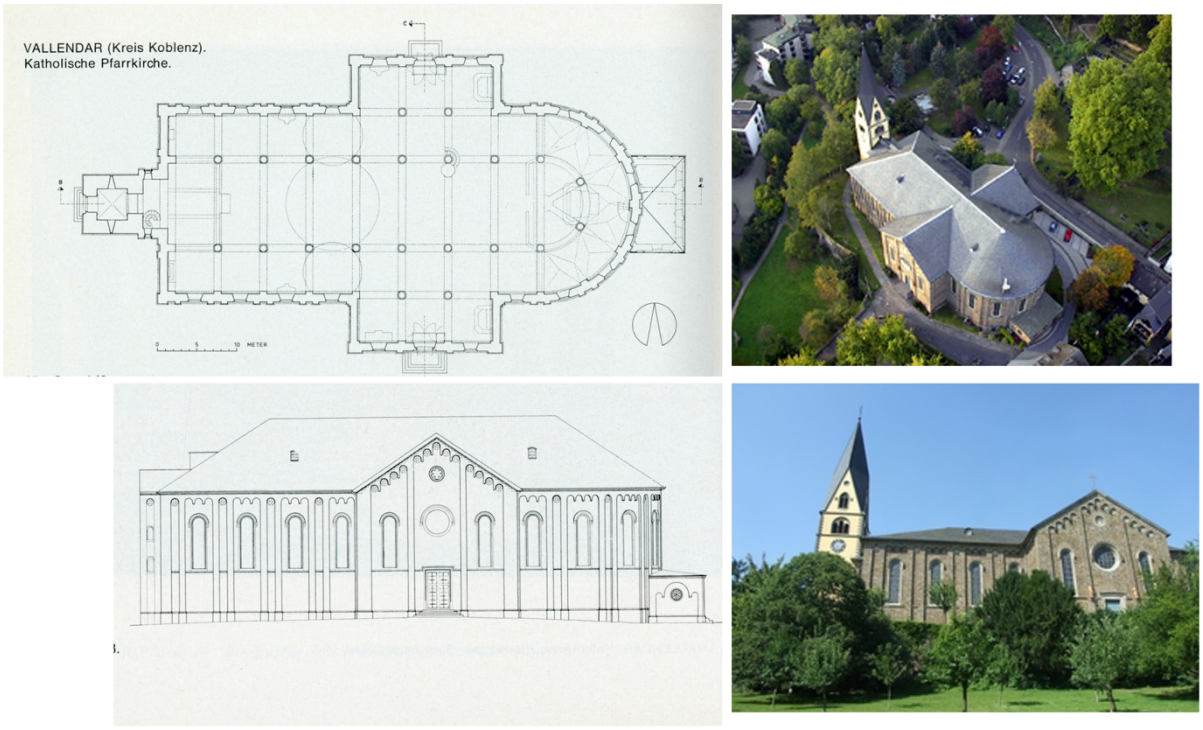


Figure 2. Top left: ground plan of Lassaulx's church at Vallendar. Top right: aerial view of the church. Bottom left: south elevation drawing. Bottom right: contemporary photograph of south elevation (photograph by author). Drawings from Frank Schwieger, Johann Claudius von Lassaulx, 1781–1848: Architekt und Denkmalpfleger (1967), Tafel 30.

stuccoed exteriors preferred just a few decades prior, the broad expanses of Vallendar's northern and southern nave walls pulse with the polychromy of Rhenish sandstone, basalt, and tufa, their masses bisected by lesenes linked with a ribbon of climbing Lombard bands. Inside, a variety of vaulting styles progress through a mini-history of architecture, from the wide barrel vaults over the central nave, to the shallow domical vaults above the narrow side aisles, to an ambulatory covered in Gothic-inspired, faceted vaulting, crystalline in its delicacy (fig. 3). The

novel technique for constructing the ambulatory vaulting was described by architect Johann Claudius von Lassaulx in a contemporary journal publication.[2] The nave and side aisles are separated by colonnades in which slender octagonal columns support arches. Sixteen in number, their lean, skyward thrust recalls the forest that was said to inspire Gothic architecture, while their cushion capitals make clear reference to the Romanesque cathedrals at Speyer and Mainz (fig. 4). A lithograph of Lassaulx's design detailed its bounty of Romanesque-inspired ornament (fig. 5).





Figure 3 (left):Detail of ambulatory vaulting at Church of St. Petrus and St. Marcellinus, Vallendar, Germany, (1837–41), Johann Claudius von Lassaulx
Figure 4 (right): View from center aisle looking east toward the altar. Church of St. Petrus and St. Marcellinus, Vallendar, Germany, (1837–41), Johann Claudius von Lassaulx

[2] Johann Claudius von Lassaulx, "Beschreibung des Verfahrens bei Anfertigung Leichter Gewölbe über Kirchen und ähnlichen Räumen." *Crelle's Journal der Baukunst*, I Bd. 4. Heft, (1829): 317–30. For an English-language explanation of Lassaulx's investigations on medieval techniques of "free-handed vaulting," see David Wendland, "A case of recovery of a medieval vaulting technique in the 19th century: Lassaulx's vaults in the church of Treis." In *Proceedings of the First International Congress on Construction History,* Madrid, 20–24th January 2003, edited by S. Huera. (Madrid: F. Dragados, 2003). 2107–117. See also Wendland's book, based up on his 2007 doctoral dissertation, *Lassaulx und der Gewölbebau mit selbsttragenden Mauerschichten: Neumittelalterliche Architektur um 1825–1848* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag), 2008.

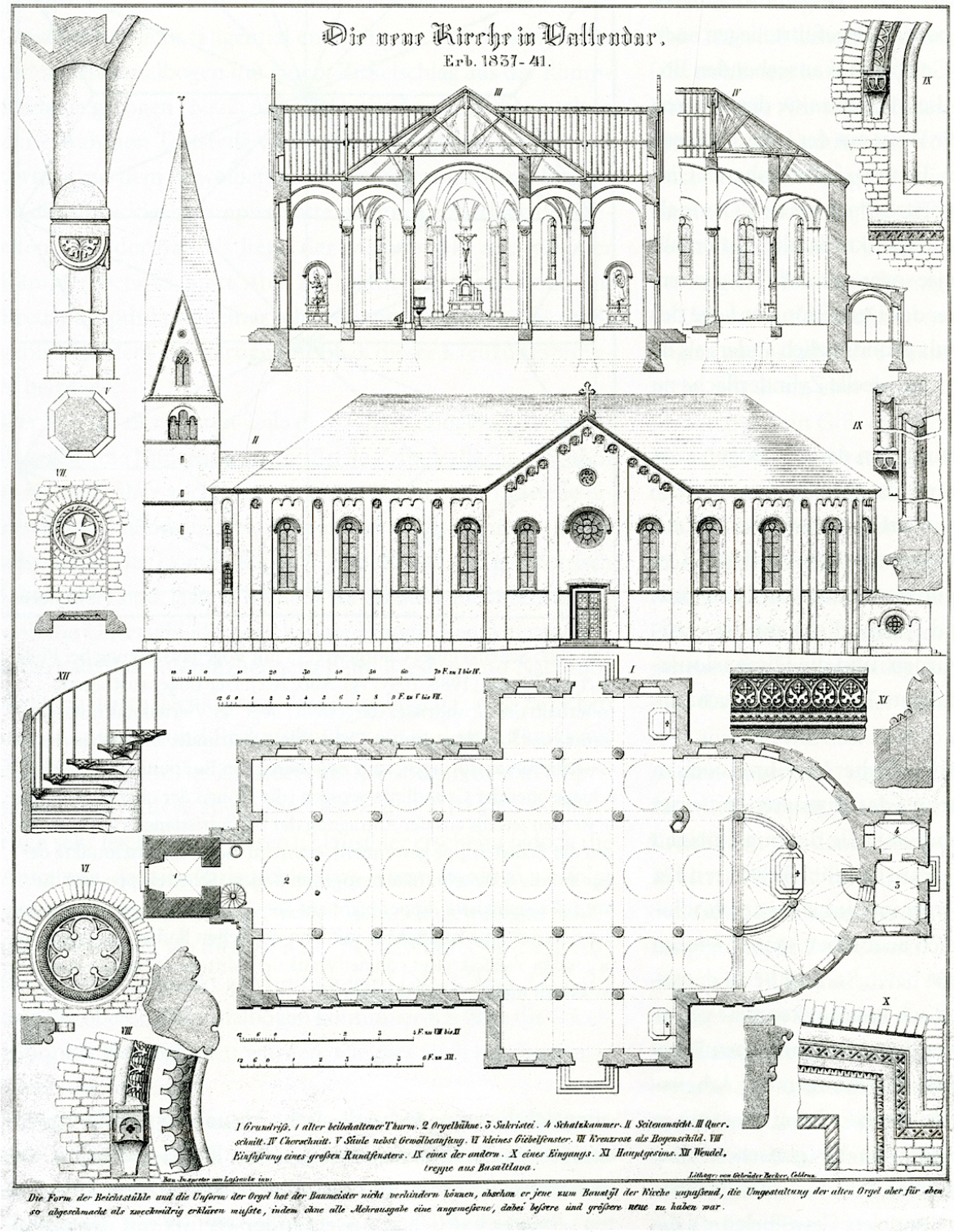


Figure 5. "Die neue Kirche in Vallendar, Erb. 1837–41. Lithograph von Gebrüder Becker, Coblenz," ca. 1841. Johann Claudius von Lassaulx

The conditions that eventually led to the construction of this church were described in a pair of letters from the 1810s by Pastor Dieter Reuter. In the first, addressed in September 1810 to the Napoleonic officials who then administered the French-occupied territory, Reuter explained that the old parish church in Vallendar was in urgent need of expansion and repair. Its cramped space had become far too small to accommodate its 3,448 parishioners, two-thirds of whom "in the rain, snow, or under the heat of the sun…must stand in front of the church during the main mass, where they can't hear the word of God."[3] The situation in the adjacent church cemetery was no better. The lack of space required bodies to be stacked three or four high with the grim result that "at every burial the last corpse is visible and one can hardly avoid the unpleasant smell."[4] The pastor asked that a royal building inspector visit the site as soon as possible.

In 1819, Pastor Reuter wrote again, although by then the government officials in Koblenz represented the Prussian monarchy, not Napoléon. The number of souls in the parish had grown to 5,000, he reported, and three-quarters were now forced to stand outside the church during masses. The church's roof was rotting and rainfall permeated the interior in multiple places.[5] Reuter requested again that repairs commence as quickly as possible, and that building materials arrive in time to begin work in the spring of 1820. The process of rebuilding the new church would not move that quickly. The quest for a new church for the community

[3] LHA-Koblenz (LHA-Ko), Abt. 441, Nr. 16015, p. 23. "…folglich müssen mehr als zwei drittel der Pfarrgenossenen bei dem Hauptgottesdienst in Regen, Schnee und Sonnenhitze vor der Pfarrkirche stehen, welche das Wortgottes nicht hören können."
[4] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16015, p. 23. "…Der Kirchhof daher ist dermassen klein, dass gewöhnlich drei bis vier Leichen aufeinander müssen gestellt werden; daher kommt bei jeder Erdbesttatung die letztere Leiche wieder zum Vorschein und man bei einem Begräbnis des üblen Gerüchts halber sich dasselbst kaum enthalten kann."
[5] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16015, p. 27.

of Vallendar ultimately spanned two decades, until finally the church was dedicated in September 1841.

This chapter will consider the civil stakes of ecclesiastical architecture for both the province and the center through a case study of the building of the new Catholic church at Vallendar between 1815–41. Building initiatives like the new church in Vallendar brought Rhenish towns into direct, often long-term contact with the Prussian state. On the one hand, bureaucratic oversight of ecclesiastical architecture provided the state with an effective tool for the imposition of distant authority on its provincial regions. At the same time, the bureaucratic roadblocks Catholic Rhinelanders repeatedly encountered in church building projects from the early days of Prussian rule made provincial publics acutely aware of prejudicial treatment by the Protestant Hohenzollern monarchy. Well over a decade prior to the famous confessional strife surrounding Prussia's 1837 arrest and imprisonment of the archbishop of Cologne on the issue of mixed marriages, deep, antagonistic conflicts arose around the building of modest parish Catholic churches in the Prussian-controlled Rhineland, sparking provincial activism and challenges to central authority.

II. To Fund or Not to Fund: The Prussian Approach to Parish Church Building in the Rhineland

Variants on Vallendar's tortuous story of church construction played out at numerous parishes in the Rhineland between 1815–40. The overwhelmingly Catholic ecclesiastical infrastructure of the Rhineland suffered greatly during the years 1794–1815 due to the combined insults of age, neglect, and war. The start of French occupation on the Rhine's left bank in 1794 intensified the structural losses, as did the French policies of nationalization and secularization

of church properties. On the right bank of the Rhine, massive territories came under the hegemony of new rulers with the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire between 1803–06, as noble landowners demanded property in compensation for the loss of their left bank territories to the French. Almost immediately upon transfer of the Rhineland to Prussian control per the 1815 Congress of Vienna, government ministers in Berlin received a barrage of petitions from communities throughout the Rhineland, all desperately seeking funds to repair or rebuild their parish churches.

The monarchy's responsiveness to the onslaught of funding requests from Rhenish parishes was hobbled not only by the dire economic straits of the immediate post-war years, but, as discussed in the previous chapter, by the presence of different legal systems on either bank of the Rhine—a situation made worse by the unwillingness of the monarchy of Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm III to assume financial responsibility for ecclesiastical architecture on the Rhine's left bank.[6]

Frustrated by the mounting costs of a continual stream of funding requests, King Friedrich Wilhelm III and his bureaucrats sought solutions to the problem of Rhenish church repair and rebuilding. In the summer of 1818, Karl von Ingersleben, Oberpräsident or governor of the Prussian Rhineland, solicited regional bureaucratic opinions regarding the establishment a pan-Rhenish fund for parish building initiatives. A year later, in November of 1819, Friedrich Wilhelm III sought further answers from his Rhenish officials, posing three questions that reflected his rising frustration with the situation: When a parish lacked funds, who had the

[6] See, for example, the letter of February 5, 1824 from Koblenz bureaucrats to the Kultusministerium, or Ministry of Religious Affairs in Berlin, stating that with regard to the left bank, "there is no talk of a duty on the part of the state to these buildings; the tithe is abolished altogether; the church, when it has no funds of its own, is the responsibility of the community." GStA PK IH Rep 76 Kultusministerium IX Sekt 23. See letter dated February 5,1824. File not paginated.

obligation to fund church building and repairs in the Prussian Rhineland? What was the difference between Catholic and Protestant churches? And what had the applicable laws been during French rule? [7]

The answers provided by bureaucrats working at the Prussian district government offices in Trier, Aachen, and Koblenz testify to the high political stakes Prussian officials placed upon ecclesiastical architecture in Rhenish towns and villages. While the bureaucrats agreed upon the overwhelming need for funds to support Rhenish church building and repair projects, they cautioned their superiors about the difficulties and risks in attempting to establish an equitable, province-wide funding system for architectural initiatives. They cited the mixed success of recent Rhenish parish building projects: while a few communities in the years 1816–18 had successfully undertaken repair of their local churches, the process was hindered by legal and economic roadblocks, including its two legal systems and the great discrepancies in the availability of local materials and capital across the region. Paradoxically, the overwhelming need to establish an institutional funding mechanism for Rhenish parish building projects prompted bureaucrats to warn *against* doing precisely that. Such an initiative risked sparking widespread provincial dissatisfaction that might build upon the existing strands of resentment toward the prior French government for its lack of support.[8] It would also be difficult to track the distribution of building funds and to ensure their fair allocation, factors, the bureaucrats argued, that might inflame confessional jealousies and suspicions.[9] Given the fact that a great many communities would surely seek funding, and often in large amounts, Prussian bureaucrats felt that letting parishes figure it out on their own posed less of a potential danger

[7] GStA PK IHA Rep 76 Kultusministerium IX Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 1, p. 3.
[8] LHA-Ko, Bestand 402, Nr. 304, p. 8. Letter from civil servants in Trier to Ingersleben, September 4, 1818.
[9] LHA-Ko, Bestand 402, Nr. 304, p. 9 Letter from civil servants in Trier to Ingersleben, September 4, 1818.

to the regime.[10] If matters were left to individual parishes, they concluded, the monarchy could then step in with assistance on a case-by-case basis as it deemed appropriate.[11]

In the vacuum created by the absence of a province-wide funding system, parishes took matters into their own hands. Each parish council approached the issue with some combination of petitions to their local, regional, and central governments, pleas to once-noble patrons to remind them of their pre-Revolutionary generosity, the taking up of small collections during masses at fellow Rhenish parishes, and securing loans and financing from local banks. And where Prussian bureaucrats failed to provide Rhenish parishes with reliable mechanisms for government funding, they succeeded in their mandate that provincial church building plans receive prior approval from the state building bureaucracy, the *Oberbaudeputation*. While left to their own hardscrabble efforts to fund their churches, Rhenish parishes saw their building plans subjected to distant bureaucratic scrutiny—a process that generally required provincial architects to modify their plans in line with Berlin's directives, often increasing costs and adding expensive delays. Rhinelanders questioned and challenged the directives of the Prussian state bureaucracy, particularly one overwhelmingly staffed by Protestants and operating from a position of supposed superiority over their province. Ecclesiastical architecture and its bureaucratization thus fueled Rhenish dissatisfaction with the Prussian state, despite the warnings of Rhineland-based bureaucrats to avoid doing just that.

III. A New Parish Church in Vallendar: Debating Design in the 1820s

[10] LHA-Ko, Bestand 402, Nr. 304, p. 21. Letter from civil servants in Aachen to Ingersleben, December 19, 1818.
[11] LHA-Ko, Bestand 402, Nr. 304, p. 9 Letter from civil servants in Trier to Ingersleben, September 4, 1818.

In Vallendar and throughout the Rhineland, the design for a new parish church began with the parish communities and the Rhenish architects employed as civil servants by the Prussian government. Local Rhenish architects generated the building plans and drawings, which went on to Berlin along with written justifications and detailed budgets for Karl Friedrich Schinkel's review. Schinkel issued written reports critiquing the plans and budgets. He generally made changes directly on plans, all of which he insisted improved the disposition, suitability of purpose, and character of structures. When he found provincial plans particularly problematic, he created an entirely new design. Thus, while Rhenish architects and parish communities aspired to determine the particulars of design for themselves, they were forced to contend with Schinkel's revisions in order to see their projects to fruition. The Oberbaudeputation's oversight extended from relatively minor projects to entirely new construction, for as we have seen the monarchy insisted that all new buildings receiving 500 Taler or more in state funding, or 1,000 Taler or more for renovations, be sent to the *Oberbaudeputation* for review and approval.[12]

The new design for a church at Vallendar arrived at the Kultusministerium in Berlin in October of 1824.[13] Johann Claudius von Lassaulx's design for the new church at Vallendar included eight drawings along with his written justification and budget. The documents promptly went on to the Oberbaudeputation for review. Although the drawings are lost, Lassaulx's lengthy written justification of his design and his budget survive, so that what we lack in visual evidence is compensated by a wealth of written documents. The

[12] Review of budgets in German archives indicate that the simplest village church would cost 3,000–5,000 Taler and most projects cost more. Thus, the threshold of 500 Taler must be viewed as decidedly low. The *Oberbaudeputation's* previous incarnation was as the *Oberbaudepartement*, reorganized and renamed in 1809. See correspondence between Staatsminister Heinrich von Bülow to Kultusminister von Altenstein reiterating the 500 Taler policy, dated July 24, 1822. GStA PK IHA Rep 76 Kultusministerium IX Sekt 1 Nr. 10 Bd 1, p. 63 recto.

[13] See chapter two for more on the Kultusministerium.

Landeshauptarchiv in Koblenz contains four volumes of correspondence and documentation compiled by the Prussian regional government office in Koblenz related to the building and repair of the parish church at Vallendar – over two thousand pages of material.[14] In addition, there are four related volumes chronicling the correspondence related to the new church among Vallendar's mayor, the parish council, and Prussian authorities over the years 1821–53.[15]

These extensive archival records make clear that, from its receipt, Lassaulx's proposal for Vallendar did not sit well with bureaucrats in Berlin. In the October 1824 cover letter from the Kultusministerium that accompanied Lassaulx's materials to the Oberbaudeputation, second-in-command Ludwig Nicolovius protested the "impropriety" of an expenditure of 20,000 Thaler for a provincial church, "even if Bauinspektor de Lassaulx doesn't seem to think so."[16] Nicolovius stressed that considerable cost reductions to Lassaulx's plan were especially necessary because the monarch would be obligated to fund much of the new building, and he

[14] The archival volumes containing the documents collected by the Prussian regional government office in Koblenz concerning the new church at Vallendar are housed at the Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz as follows: 1) 1818–28 may be found in Abt. 441, Nr. 16015 (350 pages); 2) 1828–36 in Abt. 441, Nr. 16004 (560 pages); 3) 1836–39 in Abt. 441, Nr. 16005 (740 pages), 4) 1839–89 (unpaginated) in Abt. 441, Nr. 16015. An additional four volumes of archival records from the Vallendar mayoral office concerning work on the church between 1821–53 may also be found at the Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz under Abt. 655,43, Nr. 190a–d.

[15] While many of the files related to individual Rhenish parish church initiatives no longer survive at the Geheimes Staatsarchiv in Berlin, the Oberbaudeputation's file on "Church and School Buildings in Vallendar" between 1824–36 offers a comparatively slim twenty-eight, double-sided pages. This distribution of files across archives in the hinterland and in Berlin is typical for Rhenish church building during this period. Nonetheless Berlin's archival holdings provide ample evidence of the urgent need for church building funds from the monarchical treasury in Prussian towns and villages. One particularly illustrative example is the series of seventeen thick volumes entitled "Church Building Matters" ("Kirchenbausachen"), chronicling provincial funding requests from parish councils and local officials sent to the Kultusministerium between the years 1815–31. At the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (GStA PK) in Berlin, the volume entitled "Oberbaudeputation Acta Wegen der Kirchen-, Pfarr- und Schulbauten zu Vallendar" may be found under IHA, Rep 93D Nr. 627. The seventeen volumes related to funding requests for provincial church buildings are found under IHA Rep 89 Geheimes Zivilkabinett Nr. 21912 Band 2 (1815) through Nr. 21928 Band 18 (1831). An additional volume, Nr. 21935 Band 1, contains miscellany spanning the years 1821–44.

[16] GStA PK IHA 93 D Nr. 627, p. 2 recto. "…wenn auch schon der Bau-Inspector de Lassaulx diesen Aufwand nach den dem Anschlage vorausgeschickten Bemerkungen für nicht so deutend zu halten scheint."

would not be at all inclined to make such a large payment.[17] His ministers knew that Protestant Friedrich Wilhelm III had a decided distaste for funding Catholic building initiatives.[18]

Over eight drawings, four pages of written justification, and a seventeen-page, itemized budget, Lassaulx officially made his case for the design of a new church at Vallendar. Lassaulx's plans called for destruction of the existing thirteenth-century church, although the church's fifteenth-century masonry tower would be retained and abut the west end of a new structure. The new church described in Lassaulx's 19,821 Thaler plan took the form he described as the most fitting for Catholic mass: a triple-aisled hall church, its central aisle flanked on either side by an arcade and side aisle. At 8,333 square feet, the new building more than tripled the old church's 2,500 square feet. The site high on a slope above the Rhine meant the sacristy could be built underground in the hillside below the chancel. Gabled entrances protruded from the middle of the church's north and south walls, lending the building a cruciform plan while providing support to the long side walls. The east end culminated in a rounded apse. Lassaulx chose the *Rundbogenstil*, a Romanesque-inspired, round-arched style, deeming it the most fitting and cost-effective style for large Catholic churches and drawing

[17] GStA PK IHA Rep. 93D Nr. 627, p. 2 recto/verso.

[18] Like Vallendar, the town of Ottweiler, near Trier, desperately needed to replace an older church that had grown far too small for their 3,000 parishioners. The Catholics of Ottweiler needed a decade to raise the funds for their new church; the king would eventually donate 1,000 Thaler to the Ottweiler initiative in 1834 and another 500 Thaler in 1837—a decade late and amounting to just a quarter of the church's budget (see Eva Brües, *Die Rheinlande* p. 297). In refusing Ottweiler's initial 1826 request, Friedrich Wilhelm noted that "multiple demands of a similar kind make such a grant impossible," overlooking the fact that in any event he tended not to fund such demands (multiple though they may have been). Similarly, he justified his refusal to donate to repairs on the Cathedral in Mainz in 1823 because he had already made significant contributions to shore up Cologne's Cathedral. The king did recognize the political necessity of funding some Catholic church projects. Two examples include his 1822 donation of 4,734 Thaler to build a Catholic church in the western province of Arensberg and 300 Thaler for the new rectory in Volmerswerth, near Düsseldorf. For correspondence on Ottweiler, see GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 21921, unpaginated, correspondence of April 29, 1826. For the king's comments on Mainz, see correspondence of October 2, 1823 in GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 21918, unpaginated. For the Catholic church in Arensberg, see GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 21917, unpaginated, correspondence of September 5, 1822. For the rectory in Volmerswerth, see GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 21917, unpaginated, correspondence of December 1, 1822.

upon Rhenish ecclesiastical traditions in buildings such as the Abbey Maria Laach or St. Peter's in Mainz. His interior decorative scheme incorporated three different ceiling treatments: a series of shallow, domical vaults buttressed by the nave arcade in the side aisles, groin vaults supporting the organ gallery at the west end of the church, and a flat, coffered ceiling "in the style of the magnificent old basilicas" covering the wide expanse of the nave.[19] To illuminate the altar, Lassaulx proposed placing a dome above the chancel, with a fresco at its apex. The intrados of the dome would be composed of translucent glass that would allow "otherworldly, mysterious" light to fall upon the altar.[20] As he himself noted, Lassaulx's inspiration for this feature derived from the soaring glass dome over the *Halle aux blés* in Paris, which he had recently visited.

Considering his bureaucratic audience, and perhaps the daring nature of his proposal, Lassaulx pointed out that the dimensions of his proposed nave for Vallendar matched those of the Florinskirche, a former Catholic church in Koblenz refurbished by Lassaulx in 1819–20 to serve the joint civil-military Protestant congregation in the Prussian Rhineland's capital (see Chapter 1). Lassaulx's work at the Florinskirche had received commendation from the king, who instructed that his satisfaction be relayed directly to the architect. Lassaulx's attempt to link the design for Vallendar with his prior success at the Florinskirche nonetheless failed to elicit the endorsement of the Oberbaudeputation.

The Oberbaudeputation's November 1824 critique of Lassaulx's first design for Vallendar was harsh even by the standards of Berlin's oft-disparaging reviews of provincial

[19] LHA-Ko, Abt 441, Nr. 16015, p. 90
[20] LHA-Ko, Abt 441, Nr. 16015, p. 92

building projects.[21] The Oberbaudeputation flatly derided Lassaulx's design as one in which the "intended beauty had been sacrificed" and thus the costs associated with the project were unwarranted. Their objections encompassed nearly every aspect of the plan, from his decision to place the sacristy in a basement below the chancel, to his multiple ceiling treatments and illumination of the altar, down to the most fundamental considerations of size and cost. Nicolovius's criticism of Lassaulx's proposed cost was echoed in his criticism of the church's proposed size. Instead of Lassaulx's proposed 8,333 square feet, Nicolovius insisted that it not extend to more than double its current size of 2,584 square feet, despite the fact that Lassaulx had already trimmed the "usual" figure of four square feet per person to just two-and-a-half, arguing that Catholics generally divided themselves among different masses.[22] By Schinkel's standards for comparable churches, the size of Lassaulx's church at Vallendar was not excessive. Schinkel's proposals for four new Protestant churches in suburban Berlin in 1828–29 sat 2,000–2,500 churchgoers in 11,000–15,000 square feet.[23] Instructed to scale back his plans, Schinkel's smaller designs accommodated 1,000 congregants each in spaces between 5,841 to 7,969 square feet—figures in line with Lassaulx's estimate of 8,333 square feet for

[21] Schinkel was in Italy at the time the report was sent in November 1824, so it is unclear to what extent he participated in its final wording. As the councilor responsible for churches, Schinkel would generally draft an opinion for presentation to his colleagues at their weekly collegial debates. Upon achieving consensus, the Oberbaudeputation members present signed their names to the document. Consequently, in this case as in every case, Lassaulx would not have known precisely which of the Oberbaudeputation members penned the severe critique of his work, the collected signatures conferring the impression of a unanimous opinion on the part of the state building authority. The Oberbaudeputation's November 5, 1824 report contained five signatures: Eytelwein, the Oberbaudeputation's most senior member and thus its director, and Oberbaudeputation councilors Rothe, Cochius, Crelle, Schmid, and Matthias. Crelle may be the author of the November 1824 critique. A nearly illegible document starts off the Oberbaudeputation's slim file on Vallendar. It seems to be a draft of the memo, as its header carries the same date and registrar's number (November 3, 1824, #1943) as the clean, final Oberbaudeputation assessment found in the archive of the Prussian regional government office in Koblenz. It is also in the notoriously indecipherable hand of Councilor August Crelle, Schinkel's colleague at the Oberbaudeputation from 1815–28.

[22] GStA PK IHA 93D Nr. 627, p. 2 recto/verso and LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16015, p. 89. The German word in Lassaulx's document is "gewöhnlich."

[23] Helga Nora Franz-Duhme and Ursula Röper-Vogt, *Schinkels Vorstadtkirchen: Kirchenbau und Gemeindegründung unter Friedrich Wilhelm III in Berlin* (Berlin: Wichern-Verlag, 1991), pp. 64–65.

Vallendar's 3,424 parishioners. Asked by Nicolovius in 1832 to estimate the average square footage per churchgoer in Catholic churches, Schinkel responded with 5 to 5 5/6 square feet per person for pew space necessary to both sit and kneel during mass.[24] Schinkel cautioned, however, that several factors besides the number of churchgoers influenced the square footage of Catholic churches; multiple altars, confessionals, the pulpit, and aisles all impacted the structure's footprint.

To justify the square footage of his church in the wake of the Oberbaudeputation's 1824 criticism, Lassaulx enlisted published sources in his written defenses of 1825 and 1831, providing even the page numbers to back up his arguments. He cited an Austrian law of March 31, 1788 that required "four-and-a-half square feet per soul" in church designs, as published in Matthias Koller's *Der practische Baubeamte* (The Practical Building Official).[25] Lassaulx noted similar calculations were to be found in Berlin building official August Ferdinand Triest's eighteen-volume reference work *Handbuch zur Berechnung der Baukosten* (Manual on the Calculation of Building Costs).[26] Further support for Lassaulx's estimates appeared in Heinrich Carl Riedel's *Abriß der landwirtschaftlichen Bauwissenschaft* (Survey of Agricultural Building Sciences), and in a text he simply referred to as "Meinert."[27] Publications

[24] GStA PK IHA Rep 93B Nr. 2487, pp. 64–65.
[25] Published in Vienna in 1800. Lassaulx referenced the Austrian law in his initial response to the Oberbaudeputation on June 10, 1825. See LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16015, p. 135. He then cited it again and provided the page number from Koller's publication in 1831. See LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16015, p. 174.
[26] The full title of Triest's work is *Handbuch zur Berechnung der Baukosten für sämtliche Gegenstände der Stadt- und Landbaukunst: zum Gebrauch der einzelnen Gewerke und der technischen Beamten, geordnet in 18 Abtheilung* (*Manual on the Calculation of Building Costs for All Objects of Urban and Rural Building: For Use by the Individual Trades and Technical Officials, Issued in 18 parts*). The volumes were published between 1824–31. Lassaulx refers to part 14, which carried the title *Enthaltend die Grundsätze über die Ausmittelung des Raums zu den Gebäuden* (*Containing the Principles on Calculating the Rooms in Buildings*), published in 1828. For Lassaulx's reference to the work, see LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16015, p. 173.
[27] Riedel's book was published in 1806 by Späthen-Verlag. The reference to Meinert is surely Friedrich Meinert, *Die schöne Landbaukunst oder neue Ideen und Vorschriften zur Landgebäuden, Landhäusern, und Ökonomie-Gebäuden in Grundrissen, Aufrissen, und Durchschnitten* (*Beautiful Rural Architecture or New Ideas and Prescriptions for Rural Buildings, Country Houses, and Utility Buildings in Ground plans, Elevations, and Cross-Sections*) published in two volumes in 1798 by Leo-Verlag in Leipzig. Klaus Jan Philipp

such as those cited by Lassaulx reflected the growth of government bureaucracies and their concern to regulate everyday environments in order to shape the social, political, religious, and civic identities of the populace. Such authorities became necessary in a state architectural bureaucracy where the wishes of a wealthy patrons had given way to the rationalized rhetoric of government ministries; they were also of practical utility to officials in service to the state, like Lassaulx, for they provided information on rural and utilitarian structures in contrast to the emphasis on the architecture of the court and elites featured in illustrated magazines and journals geared to an educated general audience.[28] Lassaulx's citations of these sources amounted to nothing less than a demonstration of his professional and technical competence as a state building official.

In terms of the cost, Lassaulx had anticipated the Oberbaudeputation's objection to his 20,000 Thaler budget and incorporated cost-cutting measures at the initial design stage in 1824. In addition to the savings realized by its smaller square footage, Lassaulx's proposed decorative program emphasized economy, including painting the recessed compartments of the nave's coffered ceiling to mimic more expensive relief carving—a trick he said would be unrecognizable to the naked eye.[29]

Despite the Kultusministerium's ire, a 20,000 Thaler rural church designed to seat 2,000 congregants was proportionate with the proposed costs of Schinkel's aforementioned suburban Protestant churches, four similarly-sized structures, albeit with far grander decorative schemes befitting their representational status in the national capital. Schinkel's second set of

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notes that Meinert's publication was groundbreaking for its inclusion of plans for rural, utilitarian structures alongside conventional, elite buildings. See Klaus Jan Philipp, *Architektur um 1800: Architekturtheorie und Architekturkritik in Deutschland zwischen 1790 und 1810* (Stuttgart/London: Edition Axel Menges, 1997), 26–27.

[28] Philipp, *Architektur um 1800*, 26–27 and 134–39.

[29] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16015, p. 90.

designs for the suburban churches scaled back in size to seat 1,000 congregants carried cost estimates between 60,000 and 145,000 Thaler each.[30] Yet Prussian bureaucrats often exhibited bias in their evaluation of budgets for provincial Catholic churches, assimilating Catholic parishes in financial need to Protestant stereotypes of Catholic opulence and irresponsibility. Opining on a petition to grant 2,000 Thaler to aid the rural village of Barmen, near Düsseldorf, with debts arising from their 28,000 Thaler church (a budget approved by the Oberbaudeputation), bureaucrats from the Finance Ministry blamed "the wretched Catholics of Barmen" for building a "much too elaborate and expensive" church, adding that if they "had only confined themselves to what was absolutely necessary," they wouldn't be in the current situation. The king agreed with his bureaucrats and declined to help Barmen.[31]

Lassaulx's proposed ceiling treatments and illumination of Vallendar's altar from above elicited sharp rebukes in the Oberbaudeputation's November 1824 assessment of his plans. While noting that an entirely new plan would be necessary in any case to comply with the Kultusministerium's insistence that the new church not exceed 5,000 square feet, the Oberbaudeputation nonetheless instructed Lassaulx that his new plan specifically do away with vaulting over the side aisles, chancel, and under the organ loft. A simple exposed-beam ceiling would suffice. The Oberbaudeputation added that while such a wooden ceiling was not as "daring" as Lassaulx's proposed vaults, it was less costly. The glass dome to provide altar illumination from above met with their disapproval as well. In its place windows were to continue around the apse wall. Lighting from above was expensive, the Oberbaudeputation

[30] Franz-Duhme and Röper-Vogt, *Schinkels Vorstadtkirchen*, 64–65.
[31] GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Geheimes Zivilkabinett, jüngere Periode, Nr. 23019, betreffend die Geistliche und Kirchen Angelegenheiten in den Provinz Niederrhein, 1836–39. See pp. 141–42, correspondence dated April 18, 1838.

argued, its construction and durability questionable, and it didn't even fit the style of the building.[32]

Lassaulx vigorously defended his project in response to these critiques. In a sharply-worded June 1825 memo to the Oberbaudeputation, Lassaulx argued that he had developed his plan thoughtfully and after thorough study of many old churches.[33] He "protested the competence" of Oberbaudeputation bureaucrats who disregarded his work with "almost inconceivable superficiality."[34] Lassaulx took particular issue with Berlin's characterization of vaulting as "daring," citing their ubiquity in the Rhineland in "every old village church."[35] Indeed, the architect and theoretician Georg Moller, Lassaulx's counterpart in nearby Mainz, had argued in 1821, in the first volume of his multi-volume publication, *Denkmäler der Deutschen Baukunst* (Monuments of German Architecture), that German churches distinguished themselves by the omnipresence of vaulting in their interior spaces, in contrast to Roman basilicas. The flowering of German architecture began in the Rhineland and Southern Germany, Moller wrote, where Ancient Romans spread building techniques along with Christianity and freedom, in contrast to the "pagans in the north and east."[36] Moller cited the building of Aachen Cathedral in the eighth century under Charlemagne as the founding moment in the history of German architecture—an architecture that in his view would reach its apex in the thirteenth century in Cologne. Moller's narrative linking the Rhineland, vaulted ecclesiastical spaces, and German architectural history surely resonated with Lassaulx, as evidenced by his ongoing justifications for the vaulting at Vallendar. Lassaulx insisted that the

[32] For this paragraph, see the Oberbaudeputation's letter of November 3, 1824 in LHA-Ko, Abt. 441. Nr. 16015, pp. 121–22.
[33] LHA-Ko, Bestand 441, Nr. 16015, p. 137
[34] LHA-Ko, Bestand 441, Nr. 16015, p. 137
[35] LHA-Ko, Bestand 441, Nr. 16015, p. 137
[36] Georg Moller, *Denkmäler der Deutschen Baukunst*, *Band 1* (Darmstadt: Carl Wilhelm Leske Verlag, 1821), 13–14.

town boasted "the finest material" for vaulting in the local sandstone, and later was to observe that artisanal facility with excellent local resources meant that nearly every village featured vaulted spaces distinguished by their extreme lightness and daring.[37] And practically every ruin to be found in the region, he exclaimed, contained enormous, floating masses of stone that had successfully defied the effects of weather for centuries. For Lassaulx, vaulted interior spaces were quintessentially Rhenish, undeniably Catholic, and evidence of the region's rich architectural history.

Lassaulx intended his vaulted side aisles to flank a central nave covered by a coffered, flat ceiling in the "in the style of the magnificent old basilicas."[38] In his written justification accompanying his first set of plans in 1824, Lassaulx wondered why contemporary church designers rarely employed flat, coffered ceilings, as they made good use of attic space, could significantly add to the height attainable in the nave, and were not more expensive than a standard wood-beamed ceiling.[39] Schinkel was later to incorporate flat, coffered wooden ceilings in two of his suburban parish church designs of 1832, structures similar in size to Vallendar: Saint Elizabeth's near Berlin's Rosenthaler Gate and St. Paul's near the Gesundbrunnen. Schinkel admired his design for Saint Elizabeth enough to include a perspectival drawing of its interior in his *Sammlung Architektonischer Entwürfe*. In the accompanying commentary, Schinkel stated that the design sought to unify the church's wooden ceiling with its masonry parts, thus "arriving at an architectural style in spite of limited financial means."[40] For Lassaulx, the combination of vaulted masonry spaces with a flat,

[37] LHA-Ko, Bestand 441, Nr. 16004, pp. 375–76 and 503–4.
[38] LHA-Ko, Abt 441, Nr. 16015, p. 90
[39] LHA-Ko, Abt., 441, Nr. 16015, p. 90
[40] See Franz-Duhme and Röper-Vogt, *Schinkels Vorstadtkirchen*, pp.188–89, 192. See p. 84 for a 1935 photograph of the interior of the now-destroyed Saint Elizabeth. See Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Sammlung Architektonischer Entwürfe* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1989), plates 159 (left), 161, and 162 (right) as well as p. 52 for the English translation of Schinkel's commentary on these plates.

coffered ceiling could invoke Moller's notion of the role of Early Christian Rome in the formation of Rhenish ecclesiastical architectural identity, while fulfilling the cost-effective, stylistic imperatives Schinkel also sought in his Berlin suburban churches. The Oberbaudeputation, however, rejected Lassaulx's attempt to achieve similar results at Vallendar.

Schinkel and Lassaulx's redeployment of elements of the Early Christian basilica in contemporary church design belonged to a wider resurgence of interest in the style during the first half of the nineteenth century.[41] Restoration-era rulers in Catholic Bavaria and Protestant Prussia functioned as the heads of both church and state in their lands. Early Christian architecture provided an advantageous association with Ancient Roman hegemony over both church and empire. Protestant and Catholic monarchs alike could also claim the roots of their faith in the basilica plan.[42] German architects initially looked to French designs in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Jean-Francois-Thérèse Chalgrin's church of Saint-Philippe-du-Roule (1767–68; 1774–84) in Paris made a strong impression on Prussian monarch Friedrich Wilhelm III and he asked Schinkel to copy the plans.[43] Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm IV (r. 1840–61) became enamored with the Early Christian basilica plan through his acquaintance with architectural scholar and diplomat Christian Karl Josias Bunsen. In 1842, Bunsen observed that just as the Early Christians adapted Roman basilicas to suit their new

[41] Anke Reiss, *Rezeption frühchristlicher Kunst im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Christlichen Archäologie und zum Historismus* (Dettelbach: Verlag J.H. Röll, 2008). For general background on the resurgence of the basilica in church design in the nineteenth century, see 15–17. On the reception of Early Christian architecture in the eighteenth-century French church design, see 91–99. On the basilica plan in churches in nineteenth century Bavaria and Prussia, specifically the monarchies of Ludwig I and Friedrich Wilhelm IV, see 100–137. For a detailed look at the Early Christian revival in German lands over the first half of the nineteenth century, see Michael Groblewski, *Thron und Altar: Der Wiederaufbau der Basilika St Paul von den Mauern (1823–1854)*, (Freiburg, Basel, Wien: Herder Verlag, 2001), 168–91.
[42] Reiss, *Rezeption frühchristlicher Kunst*, 16.
[43] Barry Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architect for Prussia* (New York: Rizzoli International, 1994), 177.

liturgical needs, these structures possessed the adaptability to meet contemporary society's new building needs—albeit, in Bunsen's case, primarily for Protestant churches.[44] The catastrophic fire that destroyed most of the Roman basilica of St. Paul Outside the Walls in 1823 also heightened architectural interest in the form.

Lassaulx's 1824 design had envisaged top-lighting the altar with light from a dome filled with glass panels set in a cast-iron frame. Francois-Joseph Bélanger's iron dome completed in 1811 for the Parisian grain market or *Halle aux blés* provided direct inspiration for this feature. The architect had traveled to Paris for the first time in 1822, funded by the Ministry of Trade and Industry in Berlin, and recorded how impressive he found the city's commercial architecture, particularly its markets and slaughterhouses.[45] He made a strong and spirited case for the proposed dome at Vallendar in his written justification, citing the *Halle aux blés* as a way of preempting claims that an overhead light source would prove insufficient. In Paris, he wrote, the lantern one-hundred meters overhead "bathes the interior with such a fullness of light that even the army of grain sacks do not disturb the marvelous impression."[46] Next, he countered the objection that a dome would not prove secure against the elements by providing the example of his own 1821 design for a greenhouse at Engers on the Rhine. The long, narrow structure featured a glass roof set in a cast iron frame; 45 feet long by 25 feet wide.[47] The proposed use of cast iron, still an experimental and expensive material in the 1820s, was groundbreaking, particularly in a sacred building in German-speaking lands, predating Georg Moller's 1828 iron dome on the east tower of the Mainz cathedral and cast iron's

[44] Sabine Klinkert, *Kirchliche Innenräume in Deutschland und die Prinzipien ihrer Ausstattung von 1770 bis 1850*. Reihe Kunstgeschichte, Band 19 (Munich: Tuduv Studien, 1986), 6.
[45] GStA PK IHA Rep 93B Nr. 552. See report dated February 23, 1823.
[46] LHA-Ko, Abt 441, Nr. 16015, p. 91.
[47] Lassaulx's novel construction merited a mention in Johann Adam Klein's travel guide *Rheinreise von Basel bis Düsseldorf*. Klein, J.A. *Rheinreise von Basel bis Düsseldorf mit Ausflügen in das Elsaß und die Rheinpfalz* (Koblenz: Karl Bädeker, 1846), 267.

commercial deployment as supports in the main hall of Karl Ludwig Althans's 1825 Sayner Hütte iron works.[48] Daring though it may have been, the proposed dome over Vallendar's altar was not Lassaulx's first attempt to employ iron in sacred spaces, although such designs were a relative novelty in the Rhineland.[49] His parish church of Saint John the Baptist in nearby Treis, built in 1824, featured a glass oculus over its altar.[50] He had also proposed the use of iron columns to support the ceiling vaults in the small Rhenish parish church of Saint Menatis in 1823, though these had been rejected by Schinkel over concerns about stability.

Lassaulx's vision for the chancel at Vallendar placed his French-inspired iron-and-glass dome in service to a Berninesque sense of Baroque artifice, for Lassaulx felt that the source of the "otherworldly" illumination flooding the altar need not be immediately apparent to churchgoers in the nave. He envisioned the apex of the dome decorated with a circular fresco painting, ideally of God the Father, surrounded by groups of angels gazing down into the chancel.[51] While the Oberbaudeputation had no intention of funding Lassaulx's dome, it is noteworthy that Lassaulx hoped to unite modern commercial technology with Catholic and regional traditions, boldly situating the church in a modern architectural register. Lassaulx's conception reflected not only his significant professional aspirations, but a vision for provincial ecclesiastical architecture that might represent multiple aspects of early nineteenth-century Rhenish identity: its deep, pervasive Catholicism, its narrative of a glorious history of church building from the age of Charlemagne to the flowering of Gothic architecture, and its self-

[48] Albrecht Mann. *Die Neuromanik* (Köln: Greven Verlag, 1966). See p. 18. For an early example of the use of cast-iron in ecclesiastical architecture outside German lands, see St. George's Church in Everton, England, built by John Cragg in 1813–14.
[49] Glass oculi were in place at Saint-Merri in Paris as early as the 1740s. John Soane famously employed such features in his designs for the Bank of England as well as in his home at Lincoln's Inn Fields, London.
[50] Interestingly, Italian architect Giuseppe Valadier's 1823–24 design for the reconstruction of Rome's St. Paul Outside the Walls featured an iron-framed glass oculus over the crossing. (Thanks to Professor Richard Wittman for bringing this to my attention.)
[51] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16015, p. 92.

fashioning as a modern society shaped by two decades under French rule and far less "provincial" than its new Prussian overlords. While Lassaulx ultimately had to abandon his dome, he steadfastly refused to place a wooden beamed ceiling over the altar at Vallendar. In an 1827 letter, he challenged the Oberbaudeputation's directive, insisting that a wooden ceiling over chancel of a Catholic church contravened centuries of tradition—even the tiniest Catholic churches, he said, featured vaulting over the choir.[52]

Lassaulx's June 1825 response to the Oberbaudeputation's criticisms called their competence into question, scolding them for their cold disregard of a plan into which he had invested so much thought and effort. Although Lassaulx withdrew his plans for the dome above the altar and the sacristy below ground, he continued to advocate for vaulting over the side aisles and altar. In justifying the associated costs, Lassaulx adopted a strategy well suited to the rational nature of bureaucracy: numerical data. He listed the eight regional churches he had completed or had under construction and ranked them according to their price per square foot. From a low per square foot of 2 Thaler, 6 Silbergroschen, and 1 Pfennig in Fischbach to a high of 4 Thaler, 10 Silbergroschen and 8 Pfennige in Treis, Vallendar came in 2 Thaler, 25 Silbergroschen, and 5 Pfennige per square foot—within just a few Silbergroschen of half the other churches on the list.

Yet the most scathing aspect of Lassaulx's response came in its final paragraph. "As far as the judgment of the royal, most honorable Oberbaudeputation was concerned," he wrote, "I wish to oppose it with that, perhaps more favorable, of a Boisserée, Moller, Krahe, Vorhau and Stieglitz." Lassaulx thus pointedly called into question the authority of the Oberbaudeputation by citing experts who attributed fundamental stylistic developments in

[52] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16005, p. 376.

German architectural history to the Rhineland. Georg Moller had published his *Denkmälern der deutschen Baukunst* in 1821, which featured among its plates an elevation and ground plan of Koblenz's Kastorkirche, a grand Romanesque monument constructed between the ninth and twelfth centuries and later renovated by Lassaulx. Collector and art historian Sulpiz Boisserée had issued widely-acclaimed drawings of Cologne Cathedral and studies of medieval architecture in 1823. Jurist, historian, and Leipzig Baumeister Christian Ludwig Stieglitz had published nearly a dozen books on ancient and medieval architecture. His 1820 book, *Über altdeutsche Baukunst*, featured an accompanying volume with thirty-four plates. Stieglitz traced the development of German architecture, paying particular attention to what he called the "neugriechisch-arabisch" style of the eleventh to the middle of the twelfth century, what today we term the Romanesque, praising specific stylistic examples in the Rhenish Cathedrals at Speyer and Mainz. He described the columns in the naves at Speyer and Mainz with their typical "neugriechisch" cushioned capitals, a design Lassaulx also used at Vallendar. The north and south entrance portals at Vallendar bear a striking resemblance to Stieglitz's plate of St. Giovanni at Borgo in Pavia (Plate 5) (fig. 6), as lesenes divide the façade into three "portals" with Lombard bands gracing the lengths of the steep gable slopes between them. Firm in his belief that his plans for Vallendar were based on serious and detailed historical analysis, Lassaulx harnessed bureaucracy's own rational, persuasive tools of knowledge—statistics, comparative data, external expert opinions—to make the case for his design. In doing so, he challenged Berlin's provincializing approach, offering instead an alternative paradigm for Rhenish ecclesiastical architecture that sought to fuse local traditions and history with an eye toward the future.



Figure 6. Left: Plate 5, St. Giovanni in Borgo zu Pavia, from George Möller, Über altdeutsche Baukunst (1820), plate 5. Right: South portal at Vallendar, Johann Claudius von Lassaulx, 1837–41

Lassaulx associated his spirited 1825 defense of his Romanesque plan for the church at Vallendar with the work of Boisserée and Moller. It was not a position that would have resonated much in a Berlin still dominated by Schinkel's experimental classicism, but instead echoed contemporary claims from elsewhere that the most suitable style for a modern German architecture should draw instead on medieval examples. Lassaulx may, for instance, have been influenced in his thinking by his younger colleague, Heinrich Hübsch, then active in Karlsruhe in Baden to the south. Early in the 1820s, Hübsch had tangled with arch-classicist Aloys Hirt, a professor at the Berlin University, arguing in his *Über Griechische Architektur* (*On Greek Architecture*) that the genius of Greek architecture was entirely specific to its original time and place; by the end of the decade Hübsch was advocating a Romanesque-derived style he called the *Rundbogenstil* (round-arched style) which, as he explained in his famous 1828 publication, *In Welchem Style Sollen Wir Bauen?* (*In Which Style Should We Build?*), responded most

logically to the climatic, material, and socio-economic conditions of the German lands.[53] Lassaulx confirmed his own sympathies for the *Rundbogenstil* in 1829, declaring it the optimal style for his church designs given the simplicity and integrity of its forms and its stylistic utility for building large structures with readily available materials.[54]

In January 1827, Lassaulx formally submitted his revised design for the church at Vallendar, placing the sacristy above ground and vaulting the chancel. The budget decreased slightly to 18,300 Thaler. The project then languished for nearly four years, as the parish, the local government in Vallendar, and bureaucrats in Berlin and Koblenz tried to sort out the funding issues. The tithing conventions and patronage obligations that had supported the church prior to the Napoleonic Wars were in tatters, as once noble families no longer found themselves able or willing to support the church. To complicate matters, in 1803 Vallendar had become the property of the Protestant Duke of Nassau as compensation for his losses on the Rhine's left bank at the hands of the French. However, the heirs of the duke lacked ties to the region and were not keen to provide much assistance. In 1828, a commission was convened to examine whether the monarchy was obliged to fund church building on the Rhine's right bank areas formerly ruled by the Archbishopric of Trier. The commission's experts were split, and the bureaucrats in Koblenz asked Berlin for additional time to arrive at their conclusions, emphasizing that the decision would most certainly have consequences for similar cases in the future.

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[53] Barry Bergdoll, "Archaeology vs. History: Heinrich Hübsch's Critique of Neoclassicism and the Beginnings of Historicism in German Architectural Theory," *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 5, no. 2, Architecture (1983), 3–12.
[54] Kurt Milde, *Neorenaissance in der deutschen Architektur des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1981), 116, quoted in Udo Liessem, *Studien zum Werk von Johann Claudius von Lassaulx (1781–1848)* (Koblenz: Görres Verlag, 1989), 32.

The breakdown of long-standing tithing and patronage support for provincial ecclesiastical architecture meant, after 1815, that Prussian bureaucrats had little choice but to step in to sort out these difficult questions, thus giving the state bureaucracy ever increasing influence over the process. But it also forced a noncompliant architect like Lassaulx to adopt a bureaucratic rhetoric of rational justification quite different from that which might he have been employed with a noble patron fifty years earlier. The result, as exemplified in the story of Vallendar, was a highly formal contest between competing agendas and opposing definitions of the common good; one which tended ultimately to undermine the promise of rational self-evidence implied by the bureaucratic rhetoric in which it was expressed.

IV. A New Parish Church in Vallendar: The Question of Preservation in the 1830s

By 1831, matters at Vallendar had been settled such that the monarchy was to act as the primary patron for the church. With building set to get back on track, Schinkel reviewed the file.[55] Reconsidering earlier correspondence alongside Lassaulx's most recent drawings, budget, and justification from July 1827, a decade-old letter caught Schinkel's attention. Written by Kultusministerium second-in-command Nicolovius in April 1821, prior to the submission of Lassaulx's first design, the letter informed Koblenz bureaucrats that their request for 17,800 Thaler for a new church in Vallendar would not be possible in the current economic climate.[56]

[55] Strangely, it became clear in February 1831 that, due to a clerical error, Berlin never received Lassaulx's revised plan, budget and justification for Vallendar dated January 3, 1827. It was to have been sent in July 1827 accompanied by a report from Lassaulx's supervisor Koblenz Baurat Frank. The report from Frank fully supported Lassaulx's "well thought out" plan and argued that the church's proposed size of 8,333 square feet was "by no means too large." See LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16004, p. 169 for the letter from Koblenz Commissioner Minutoli regarding the failure to send Lassaulx and Frank's 1827 letters to Berlin. See LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr 16105, pp. 238–39 for Frank's report dated July 15, 1827.
[56] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16015, p. 49.

In the meantime, Nicolovius asked whether or not the age of the old church rendered it a unique monument of German architecture, one that might be worth preserving? This information was passed on to the parish council, but when Nicolovius agreed in March 1823 to consider a proposal for a new building, insofar that it adhered to the strictest economy, there was no further mention of preserving the old church.[57] When Lassaulx submitted his first proposal in 1824, he spoke solely in terms of building a new, larger church. Nonetheless, Schinkel introduced a new wrinkle on July 6, 1831, when he expressed his objection to demolishing the old church at Vallendar.[58] Calling it "still reparable," he asked that plans be drawn up to build on a new site. In addition to the preservation of the old church, cost savings would be realized, as the architectural style of a larger church on a new site need not be compatible with the existing, fifteenth-century tower. A new building could be streamlined and built more cheaply—albeit drained of historical continuity for the community, a point Schinkel did not make. The cheaper—and less historically resonant—construction would likely offset the increased expenditure of purchasing a new building site.[59] And the old church could continue to be used for masses while the new church was constructed elsewhere. Most importantly, Schinkel argued, "an historically significant building, whose worth cannot be denied, is preserved and used."[60] This despite the fact that, as we have seen, the old church was in a state of virtual ruin.[61]

As the terms of the debate changed at Vallendar in the 1830s and the discussions shifted to whether to preserve or destroy the old church, at stake was a consideration of the priorities

[57] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16015, p. 59
[58] LHA-Ko, 441, Nr. 16004, pp. 247–50.
[59] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16004, p. 248.
[60] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441. Nr. 16004, pp. 248–9.
[61] The pastor and mayor of Vallendar had written jointly to the Kultusministerium in February 1828 to inform them that the state of the church's roof was such that, on rainy days, umbrellas were required inside and they feared the vaults might soon collapse. LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16015, pp. 323–24.

of the Prussian state's architectural bureaucracy. Schinkel's reports from travel throughout Prussia's provinces in the early 1830s reveal his interest in preserving historical remains to constitute a historical canon of German architecture for the cultural benefit of the Prussian nation. Provincial building officials like Lassaulx, on the other hand, faced challenges in responding to preservation directives from Schinkel and the Oberbaudeputation. Berlin's desire to maintain these structures placed provincial architects and communities at a double disadvantage: they incurred costly delays on their building projects and were expected to maintain and finance a ruin at Berlin's behest.

In September 1831, Lassaulx responded to the news of Schinkel's request for a new building site in a letter to his supervisors in Koblenz.[62] He estimated that building on a new site would increase costs by "at least" 9,000 Thaler. One had to factor in the purchase of a new plot as well as the construction of a new tower—a masonry tower at that, as nothing less could accommodate the large bells. He agreed a new site had its benefits, for the existing church sat high upon a hill, making excavation challenging. This option, however, was ruled out as too expensive a proposition years ago in the initial design stages. Lassaulx also disputed Schinkel's notion that the old church possessed art historical worth. On the contrary, the structure was of little value given the multiple accretions added over the centuries as well as the decrepit state of the roof.[63]

Bureaucrats in Koblenz incorporated many of Lassaulx's points verbatim when they crafted a detailed rebuttal to the Kultusministerium in July 1832.[64] Far from ceding to Schinkel's demands, they advocated for the parish at Vallendar. They began by stating that the

[62] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16004, pp. 241–43.
[63] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16004, p. 244. Letter dated September 15, 1831.
[64] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16004, pp. 277–82.

parish in Vallendar opposed any change to the building plans and, in the event of modification, would withdraw their contribution of 2,108 Taler to the project. They repeated Lassaulx's argument that rather than being distinguished art historically, the old church looked like "every old church" on the Rhine's right bank and constituted neither a pure nor elegant example of the "byzantisch" style. Given the extensive structural damage to the old church, the parish would insist on assistance in the case of its preservation. They reiterated Lassaulx's estimate of 9,000 Taler in additional costs, as the expense of a new bell tower would require 3,500–4,000 Taler; it would also need to be constructed of stone to house the church's "handsome" bells appropriately. They noted that an additional 880 Taler would be foregone if reusable materials from the old church weren't sold off for profit. They vigorously defended Lassaulx's design; while it was informed in part by a desire for stylistic harmony with the existing tower, its emphasis on simplicity and the use of high quality, locally available materials meant that relocating it to another site would be unlikely to result in any cost savings. The Koblenz government made clear that it supported proceeding with Lassaulx's design on the site of the original church.

The October 1833 response from Schinkel was uncompromising, as the architect refused to budge from the arguments he had made eighteen months prior.[65] If the parish wished to withdraw its contribution, the building plan would be trimmed by an equivalent amount. The 880 Thaler value assigned to the building materials of the old church would remain and could always be sold at a later date—in fact, more income might be gained from selling raw materials from houses on the lots they would purchase for constructing the new church. Certainly most stinging to the parish at Vallendar was the Oberbaudeputation's insistence that

[65] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16004, pp. 405–12.

a new bell tower would not be needed at the new church. The old bell tower could continue to be used, even at a distance, Schinkel noted, saying it was not a problem. Adding insult to injury, Schinkel also reminded the parish that, should they insist on constructing a bell tower at the new site, the cost would fall solely to the parish per the king's 1828 cabinet order.[66] Finally, Schinkel criticized the Koblenz bureaucrats for their inability to appreciate the current, well-founded, "widespread public interest in older buildings."[67] The Oberbaudeputation scolded the short-sightedness of their Koblenz colleagues for failing to see that "from a technical point of view, smaller byzantine churches in the Rhineland are no less worthy of attention than larger, more elegant structures." The accretions of later centuries could be easily removed from the church, Schinkel argued. And should the funds to maintain the structure appropriately be lacking, even in a worst-case scenario, left untouched as a ruin, the building could stand for many centuries without any considerable loss of interest.[68]

The local community in Vallendar did not bend to Schinkel's arguments. While Lassaulx, along with Vallendar's mayor, dutifully visited all the potentially suitable plots available in Vallendar, the architect also confirmed the parish had increased in size from 3,700 to 4,200 in the seven years since he had prepared his last budget, strengthening his arguments for the size of the church.[69] Lassaulx then downwardly revised the 880 Thaler estimate for sale of the old church's raw materials. The parish would be fortunate to realize 300 Thaler given the structure's crumbling slate roofing and rotting wood.[70] At the same time, Baurat Frank and the bureaucrats in Koblenz asked Lassaulx to address the Oberbaudeputation's suggestion to

[66].See Friedrich Wilhelm III's cabinet order to Altenstein, dated February 18, 1828, in GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Nr. 2487, p. 40.
[67] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16004, pp. 405–12. Letter dated October 9, 1833.
[68] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16004, pp. 406–9.
[69] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16004, pp. 429–31.
[70] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16004, pp. 425–27.

add seating galleries at Vallendar, thus decreasing the church's footprint and lowering costs. Seating galleries were anathema in Catholic churches; they made little liturgical or practical sense for a congregation that needed to access the altar easily for the sacrament of the Eucharist. Lassaulx, nonetheless, revised his plan in a way that stayed true to Catholic tradition yet satisfied Berlin. In his third revision to the plans for Vallendar, dated February 14, 1834, Lassaulx made the case for raising the height of the side aisles so that they would be equivalent with the height of the nave.[71] As a hall church, the structure could more readily accommodate seating galleries in the future. And, Lassaulx deftly added, masonry vaults could then span both the nave *and* side aisles in the manner he had described in an article published in Crelle's *Baujournal*. He reminded Berlin of the superiority of the local materials, describing the region's lime and sand as among the best, combining for a mortar that bonded quickly and securely. Together with the local clay slate, they produced fine masonry, known for its strength, as was the volcanic tuff he intended for use in the eight-sided supports between the nave and side aisles. He assured the Oberbaudeputation of the solidity and cost-effectiveness of vaulting the entire interior of the church at Vallendar.[72]

In April 1834, Baurat Frank submitted Lassaulx's third set of designs, justification, and budget to Berlin.[73] The church at Vallendar now stood at a projected cost of 20,600 Thaler. The plans assumed the church would be built on the existing site. Purchasing another site would add 6-8,000 Thaler to the bottom line. The cover letter from Koblenz stressed that the use of bells served as an integral part of Catholic worship and made clear the parish's wish to build on the current site with its bell tower.[74] The solidarity evidenced by bureaucrats in Koblenz,

[71] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16004, pp. 481–82.
[72] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16004, pp. 503–6.
[73] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16004, pp. 429–31; pp. 481–507.
[74] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16004, pp. 429–31.

Lassaulx, and the Vallendar parishioners gave the Oberbaudeputation little recourse but to send a building inspector to visit the site. On July 3, 1834, Schinkel wrote to the Kultusministerium to say that his right hand, Ferdinand Carl Busse, was to travel to Vallendar, investigate the situation personally, and report back to the Oberbaudeputation.[75]

Busse's February 1835 report to the Oberbaudeputation confirmed Koblenz's April 1834 position.[76] He agreed that he found their reasoning valid after visiting the site. And while there appeared to be no other option but to demolish the old church and build the new one on the same site, Busse suggested one final course of action to preserve the old church. He marked a nearby garden plot with a red cross on a now-lost site plan as the possible location for the new church. Not on a rise, the garden plot would provide an easier building site. Unfortunately, the new site would not allow orientation of the church with its nave facing east, per the usual Catholic conventions, but Busse didn't see this as a problem from his perspective, pointing out the waning adherence to this symbolic practice in recent times. Unconcerned by the lack of eastern orientation, Busse drew attention to an important feature of "Garden Plot No. 7." Siting the church on this nearby plot, thereby preserving the old church with its majestic tower, would result in "a most picturesque" grouping of the three structures when seen from the Rhine below.[77] It would make for a splendid view. Busse's Oberbaudeputation colleagues agreed and Lassaulx received instructions to inquire about the purchase of "Garden Plot No. 7," thereby prolonging the process yet again.

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[75] GStA PK 93D Nr. 627, Acta wegen der Kirchen-, Pfarr- und Schulbauten zu Vallendar, 13 recto.
[76] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16004, pp. 445–48. There is also a copy of Busse's report in the Oberbaudeputation's file on Vallendar in Berlin; see GstA PK 93D Nr. 627, Acta wegen der Kirchen-, Pfarr- und Schulbauten zu Vallendar, 15 recto/verso 16 recto/verso.
[77] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441. Nr. 16004, p. 445.

Striking in this correspondence is the priority the Oberbaudeputation placed on the creation of a picturesque view, where the churches of Vallendar, old alongside new, could be enjoyed from the Rhine. Faced with the clear wishes and sound arguments of Vallendar's stakeholders, the Oberbaudeputation opted to pursue a plan aimed at benefiting an imagined public viewing an edifying tableau of good German architecture over the pressing needs of thousands of Catholic parishioners in the town of Vallendar. Insisting on the formation of a picturesque assembly above the banks of the Rhine, the Oberbaudeputation constructed a territorial imperative in the provincial sphere, both abstract, in the imposition of Prussian authority over a distant landscape, and concrete, by creating a material, viewable artifact of that authority. While the Oberbaudeputation's sentiments belong in part to the Romantic sway the Rhine held over artists, architects, poets, tourists, and even Prussian bureaucrats, these bureaucrats were also eager to enlist the region and its monuments in the cause of building the Prussian nation. Schinkel, along with Lassaulx, worked to refurbish the nearby Castle at Stolzenfels on the Rhine as a residence for Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm IV. Schinkel spearheaded the restorations of the Porta Nigra and Aula Palatina in Trier, and, of course, made every effort to protect Cologne Cathedral with limited financial support from King Friedrich Wilhelm III.[78] Taken together from the humble Romanesque parish church to the Gothic cathedral, Schinkel's efforts to preserve architectural monuments reveal his conviction in the broad civilizing potential of architecture. Historical structures, and architecture in general,

[78] The coordinated, well-funded program to complete Cologne Cathedral began in earnest after Schinkel's death and with the efforts of August Reichensperger, founder of the Cologne Cathedral Building Society, in 1841 and the enthusiastic participation of the architectural enthusiast King Friedrich Wilhelm IV, who ascended the throne in 1840.

provided the means to transmit *Bildung*, which is to say, the moral and civic cultivation of individuals through knowledge and culture.[79]

Similar arguments concerning architectural preservation in the service of the public appear in reports Schinkel wrote during his 1833 travels in Saxony, Westphalia, and the Rhineland. Concerning a castle in the Saxon town of Freiburg, yet applicable to countless structures he encountered, Schinkel wondered how the state might best intervene when "it is not possible to use old structures for new purposes and thereby secure their preservation, and when the means are lacking to promote their preservation purely as objects of art or historical interest."[80] In July 1833, he advocated for the preservation of castle ruins on Petersberg near Halle "partly because the building dominates an isolated elevation and…partly because stylistically and historically they are most unique."[81] Regarding a tenth-century cloister in Bonn, Schinkel described the plan to demolish the structure and sell the plot as "barbaric."[82] Rather, he urged the site be planted with flowers to create a tranquil public promenade that would provide multiple angles for viewing the Romanesque Bonn Minster and be "enjoyable even in bad weather" given the protection afforded by the cloister's covered arcade.[83]

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[79] See Barry Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel*, 46–48. *Bildung* is a cultural-political concept central in nineteenth-century German thought and is also notoriously difficult to translate. Barry Bergdoll's summation is an excellent English language description of the term. Bergdoll describes educator and statesman Wilhelm von Humboldt's conviction that through classical education heavily influenced by Greek models and culture, "Bildung—or development of the entire individual through knowledge and moral cultivation" could regenerate the Prussian nation subsequent to its defeats at the hands of French armies. Bildung thus is an individual state of high moral and educational knowledge that the government is obliged to foster and cultivate among the wider populace for the betterment of the nation as a whole. For Humboldt, the government's role as an agent of Bildung centered around public education. Schinkel drew upon Humboldt's influence and saw public architecture as an effective means to transmit and cultivate Bildung in Prussia's provinces.

[80] GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Nr. 994, p. 40 verso, Schinkel's entry of July 13, 1833, "No. 19, Schloss zu Freiburg."

[81] GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Nr. 994, p. 34 recto/verso, Schinkel's entry of July 7, 1833, "No. 5, Ruine auf dem Petersberge bei Halle."

[82] GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Nr. 994, p. 72 recto, Schinkel's entry of August 20, 1833, "No. 113, Kreuzgang am Münster zu Bonn."

[83]. GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Nr. 994, p. 72 recto, Schinkel's entry of August 20, 1833, "No. 113, Kreuzgang am Münster zu Bonn."

Prompted by his deep disappointment with restoration work underway at the Gothic church of Saints Peter and Paul in the Silesian city of Striegau (today Strzegom, Poland) on an 1832 visit, Schinkel drew links between provincial architecture and the future of the Prussian nation to explain why he placed the utmost importance on the quality of provincial building:

> The influence on knowledge and moral cultivation [*Bildung*] that the state seeks to promote through public institutions is still very poor with regard to daily life and signs of it are only seldom seen in the provinces…every large community architectural undertaking, even if the resources for it don't come directly from the state treasury, is an object of public interest and an object of honor to the state; if [these buildings] can articulate the greatest cultivation of our age, as much as for those from other nations as well for posterity, such objects also further the general dissemination of greater levels of cultivation throughout the entire country.[84]

For Schinkel, architecture in service to the state meant that all publicly funded buildings, even small parish churches, receive careful bureaucratic review so they might fulfill their larger civic purpose—albeit one perhaps not entirely consonant with the civic needs of local communities.

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[84] "Bei Gelegenheit der Kirchenbaues in Striegau machte ich wieder die Erfahrung, dass der Einfluss der Bildung, die der Staat durch öffentliche Institute zu befördern trachtet, noch höchst dürftig auf das praktische Leben und in den Provinzen nur selten sich Zeichen davon zeigen…jedes größere gemeinschaftliche architektonische Unternehmen, wenn auch die Mittel dazu nicht gerade aus Staats-Kosten fließen, ein Gegenstand des allgemeinen Interesses, und ein Gegenstand der Ehre des Staates; wenn sich daran die beste **Bildung** unserer Zeit aussprechen kann, sowohl für Fremde aus anderen Nationen, als auch für die Nachwelt, und eben dadurch diese Gegenstände eine Förderung der allgemeinen Verbreitung dieser höheren Bildungsstufe über das ganze Land." Karl Friedrich Schinkel, entry of July 9, 1832. GStA PK IHA Rep 93B Nr. 994, pp. 10–11. See Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel*, 46–48.

Lassaulx reported back that the Garden Plot No. 7 could not be purchased.[85] He noted with pleasure that the Oberbaudeputation recognized the advantages of his proposal to vault the entire church using his published technique and local materials, including lightweight stone from the nearby town of Bendorf and the region's excellent mortar. Regarding two further revisions from the Oberbaudeputation, Lassaulx politely declined to make either, citing the sure objection of the parish. First, the Oberbaudeputation had marked Lassaulx's now-lost plan to indicate that the width of the apse be narrowed relative to the width of the body of the church. The apse, the Oberbaudeputation's report noted, should not be a continuation of the church's side walls, but rather a semi-circle projecting off the rear wall.[86] Lassaulx responded that while the exterior view of the church would perhaps benefit from the Oberbaudeputation's directive, the wide ambulatory at Vallendar provided seating for hundreds of schoolchildren who attended mass regularly. Instructed to use four-sided supports in the nave instead of his eight-sided columns with their distinctive Rhenish Romanesque cushion capitals, Lassaulx responded that wider supports would impede the view of the altar from the side aisles.[87] His May 1835 plan stood at 25,091 Taler.[88] On September 15, 1835, the *Oberbaudeputation* approved the plan in a terse, one-page letter that downwardly revised the costs of roofing and plumbing to arrive at a final, approved budget of 24,818 Taler.[89] Ground broke in 1837, as the

[85] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16004, pp. 451–53.
[86] One sees this treatment of the apse in Schinkel's 1832 designs for his four suburban churches in Berlin: St Elisabeth, St. Paul, Die Nazarethkirche, and St. Johannis. See their ground plans in Helga Nora Franz-Duhme and Ursula Röper-Vogt, *Schinkels Vorstadtkirchen*, 184–87. See also Schinkel's published plans for his St. Nikolaikirche in Potsdam and his small church in Malmedi [sic] (present-day Belgium) in Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Collection of Architectural Designs* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1989), plates 73, 77.
[87] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16004, pp. 451–53.
[88] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16004, pp. 517–36.
[89] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16004, p. 557.

old church was demolished and the new church dedicated on September 19, 1841. The finished church cost 62,291 Taler.[90]

By the early 1830s, the stakeholders in Vallendar had little appetite for continued delays. The approach of local bureaucrats shifted to support building the church as the architect and parishioners at Vallendar had conceived it, despite the conflict this presented with their Berlin superiors and the Oberbaudeputation. The events at Vallendar in the 1830s reveal the intricacy of bureaucratic processes and challenge the notion that the Prussian bureaucracy acted in monolithic fashion down the chain of command. To the contrary, one lesson of Vallendar is the growing incongruence between the priorities of bureaucrats on the ground and of those in the capital. State and province had different ideas about the objectives of their respective efforts, and complexities emerged as they each attempted to define the "public" they served. When Rhineland-based officials supported the "public" they often had the immediate parish community in mind, whereas Prussians tended to imagine the "public" extending to an imagined "nation" far beyond the Rhineland. The vocal, sustained efforts of Vallendar's parishioners, recorded in the numerous petitions, letters, and meeting minutes from the parish council, illustrate the decisive role played by a local, socially engaged, resident community in securing the support of Koblenz-based Prussian bureaucrats. Certainly, the need to weigh local concerns was not lost on the Rhineland's bureaucrats, who, in the 1830s, increasingly warned Berlin about the dangers of disgruntled provincials. The 1830 Revolution in neighboring Belgium, part of the larger wave of revolutions that included the July Revolution in France and Greek independence from the Ottomans, focused the attention of Prussian bureaucrats, as there were clear parallels between the Rhineland and Belgium: both were majority Catholic, both

[90] Udo Liessem, *Studien zum Werk von Johann Claudius von Lassaulx, 1781–1848* (Koblenz: Görres-Verlag, 1989), 148.

bristled at their transfer to the domain of conservative Protestant monarchs, and both possessed politically active, self-confident merchant classes who had come to appreciate the liberal economic policies and legal system of Napoleonic rule.[91]

V. CONCLUSION

Back in the beginning of the story we have just recounted, when the Oberbaudeputation rejected Lassaulx's design for a new church at Vallendar in 1824, the parish council responded to government officials in Koblenz with their own impassioned letter of protest against the decision. They made plain their disagreement with Berlin's rejection of the proposed size and cost of their new church, noting their disappointment that the action taken in Berlin "will surely delay our project for years."[92] The parish council took particular offense with the use of the word *Landkirche* to describe their church, underlining the word in their letter to emphasize their quarrel with any characterization of Vallendar as of the "*Land,*" or rural. While Vallendar lacked the official designation of a "city," theirs was a prosperous small market town with more than 2,600 citizens, larger than many official "cities" in Koblenz's administrative region—a fact backed up by their inclusion of a list of fifteen neighboring "cities," each with smaller population figures ranging from 900 to 2,300 citizens. Vallendar's iron, leather, and porcelain manufacturing, as well as its trade and shipping industries, stood out in the region, even in the face of recent losses due to territorial changes and new customs laws.[93]

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[91] Klaus Pabst, *Belgien und Rheinland-Westfalen seit dem 19. Jahrhundert: Beziehungen zweier Nachbarländer.* Geschichte im Westen, Jahrgang 1990, Heft 1, 26–37.
[92] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16015, p. 128.
[93] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16015, pp. 130–31

Having established their economic and civic credentials, the Vallendar parish council then called attention to contemporaneous Rhenish church building projects funded generously by King Friedrich Wilhelm III. Similar to the case at Vallendar, the king had a patronage obligation to fund the new church in the small Rhenish village of Horcheim. The new church for Horcheim's 800 residents had cost the state 6,600 Thaler. Using Horcheim's population as a measure, they argued, Vallendar's parish size of 3,800 merited a budget four times as large, or 26,400 Taler. They then cited the telling examples of two Protestant church projects in nearby Neuwied and Altenstein, buildings to which the monarchy had no patronage obligation, but nonetheless supported generously. Deftly removing any specific confession from their argument, the parish noted that when the king supports church building projects in cases where he is not a patron, but simply out of his generosity and desire to foster the spread of piety, how can he not treat Vallendar with equal fairness?[94] The parish council letter closed with the pronouncement that they remained bolstered by the "*Gerechtigkeit unserer Ansprüche*," or "the fairness of our demands."[95]

Prussian government officials in Koblenz took the frustrations of the Vallendar parish council very seriously. Bureaucrats in Koblenz forwarded both the parish council's April 1825 letter and Lassaulx's June 1825 challenge to the authority of the Oberbaudeputation in their blunt July 1825 communication to Karl von Stein zum Altenstein, head of the *Kultusministerium* in Berlin. The bureaucrats summarized the arguments and statistics presented both by Lassaulx and the parish council. They defended the parish council's position that 3,800 parishioners could not possibly fit in a 5,000 square foot church. They argued for the fairness of a price of 20,000 Thaler and made the case that Vallendar represented one of

[94] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16015, p. 133.
[95] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16015, p. 133

"the most populated and industrious" towns in their region. Finally, they closed with a warning that the monarchy be mindful of the parish council's mention of royal donations to two Protestant churches in the region. Given the monarch's support of Protestant churches in the Rhineland, they argued, no less could be done for the Catholics at Vallendar, particularly when the king had a clear patronage obligation. The bureaucrats appealed to the importance of maintaining a public perception that Catholics received the same treatment as Protestants and reminded the Kultusministerium of the king's recent generosity to Protestant church building initiatives "right in front of the eyes" of Vallendar's Catholics.[96]

Rhineland-based bureaucrats would repeat such warnings in the decade to follow. In September 1831, the commissioner tasked with sorting out the funding for the church at Vallendar discussed the significant challenges he faced. Tithing conventions, he said, were no longer in "the spirit of the times." The disintegration of centuries-old tithing and patronage conventions thus rendered the question of the monarchy's support for the new church Vallendar all the more critical. The commissioner stressed that a resolution regarding the construction of the church at Vallendar, now unresolved for thirteen years, was particularly desirable because, "I have heard more than once that the government's foot-dragging on the building project appears as an attempt to go back on their promised commitment, and also that if this were a Protestant church, it would be long built by now."[97]

Five years later, in November 1836, Rhenish Oberpräsident Ernst Bodelschwingh echoed similar sentiments when he told the king that the vast majority of Rhenish Catholics,

[96] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16015, p. 143.
[97] LHA-Ko, Abt. 441, Nr. 16004, p. 259.

he said, "are of the opinion their Protestant fellow citizens enjoy greater generosity from the state when it comes to church matters."[98]

While bureaucrats worried about the perception that ecclesiastical architecture provided Rhenish Catholics with clear evidence that they were subject to different treatment, neither the bureaucrats in Berlin nor in the Rhineland could overcome the hurdles of their monarch's confessional myopia or their own administrative stasis to respond systematically to the growing number of funding requests for Catholic parish churches. The Prussian bureaucratic tandem of Oberbaudeputation constraints on provincial church designs paired with the Kultusministerium's inability to solve financial and legal obstacles galvanized many Catholic Rhinelanders to navigate their local, regional, and central governments to advance their architectural objectives. In their campaigns to build new parish churches, communities like Vallendar summoned the advantages of their overlapping identities, employing varying modes of bureaucratic rhetoric as townspeople, Catholics, Rhinelanders, and, ultimately, as Prussian subjects entitled to make demands of their government. Activist Catholic Rhinelanders emerged from the labyrinth of Prussian state-regulation of ecclesiastical architecture. Their petitioning prompted them to consider what it meant to be citizens, what they rightfully deserved from their government, and what their own responsibilities were in return.

Rhenish architects repeatedly sought to counter the authority of the Oberbaudeputation with demonstrations of their own professional competence. Their task was made difficult, however, as Karl Friedrich Schinkel displayed a greater interest in the edifying potential of architecture than in fostering the aesthetic choices of the contemporary Rhenish architects

[98] GStA PK IHA Rep 89 Nr. 23014, pp. 50–51, letter from Bodelschwingh to Altenstein dated November 22, 1836.

whose designs he passed judgment upon regularly. While the younger Schinkel showed a keen interest in vernacular architecture, particularly during his travels in Italy, as a bureaucrat he sought to de-emphasize the local character of provincial designs under his review. Instead, parish churches throughout the monarchy would ideally comply with the parameters of utility, efficiency, reproducibility, and economy established by Prussian architects at the Oberbaudeputation, although the rules were subject to modification, as the shift in the terms of the debates at Vallendar from the 1820s to 1830s indicates. The careful, individualized review of provincial plans for all building types was utterly essential to Schinkel's conviction that the Oberbaudeputation's efforts might lend even the most utilitarian structures the representational power of a rational, efficient, moral Prussian state and disseminate *Bildung* in the provinces.

In their responses to the Oberbaudeputation, Rhenish architects, and the parish councils with whom they collaborated, quickly learned to deploy their own bureaucratic rhetoric of rational justification to advance their preferred church designs. Rhenish architects and publics responded to the Oberbaudeputation's criticisms by making evidence- and data-based cases in support of their projects. Johann Claudius von Lassaulx and the parish council at Vallendar employed published technical sources, the latest Parisian architectural developments, population data, costs, figures, and statistics, proving themselves adept at countering Berlin's purportedly rational bureaucratic approach with one of their own fashioning. By comparison, the arguments in the architectural assessments issued by Schinkel and the Oberbaudeputation were of a different flavor, grounded in the abstract societal benefits offered by picturesque views, art historical significance, and the hoped-for dissemination of *Bildung* through "universals" such as harmony, symmetry, and clear disposition. In their exchanges with Prussian bureaucrats, and perhaps not fully aware of the process, Rhenish stakeholders

nonetheless argued for the validity of an architecture based on regional and historical preferences over attempts to align provincial plans with a "national" style based on universals acceptable to the Oberbaudeputation's arbiters of taste.

Rhinelanders' debates and discussions with authorities in Berlin encompassed a broad range of architectural concerns—style, materials, costs, construction, even town planning—that resonated with the lived experience of the local community. The continued emphasis at Vallendar, for example, on the quality and durability of local stone and other building components steeped the church in the material, architectural, and spatial culture of the Rhineland, connecting the structure both to the rich history of Rhenish Romanesque and the region's geologic and natural resources.[99] In their insistence on the functional necessity of keeping the bell tower adjacent to the church, building on the site where the sanctuary's predecessor stood for centuries, or designing the plan to accord with the needs of young worshippers over Berlin's stylistic preferences, parish communities deployed church architecture to boldly claim autonomy over the organization and logic of their civic space. Basic considerations of a church's size and form also signified the socio-economic aspirations of communities like Vallendar, as evidenced by the parish's anger over what they viewed as Berlin's pejorative categorization of their project as a mere *Landkirche* that did not merit its cost or design. Similarly, Lassaulx's unwillingness to budge from his vaulted ceilings, cushion capitals, and other aspects of the design that he associated with the region, its history, and, as he described, the coeval projects of Boisserée and Moller, disrupted Oberbaudeputation efforts

[99] Wolfgang Cortjaens, "Sprache des Materials, Politik der Form: Die katholische Kirchenbau in den linksrheinischen Teilen der preußischen Rheinprovinz und im Rhein-Maas-Gebiet, 1815–1914" in *Historism and Cultural Identity in the Rhine-Meuse Region/Historismus und kulturelle Identität in Raum Rhein-Maas*, edited by Wolfgang Cortjaens, Jan De Maeyer, and Tom Verschaffel (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008), 253–55.

to impose "universal" imperatives on Rhenish church design. As demonstrated by the many examples in this case study, Rhenish parish church building initiatives animated the historical, social, and civic tissue of their communities, and the ongoing debates between center and province over these modest buildings reveal two communities engaged in state-regulated ecclesiastical architecture: the local, impacted publics who felt real and imagined ownership for structures they lived with day in and day out, and the distant authorities who viewed architecture as a locus of control and a tool for the acculturation of provincial publics and townscapes into the nation's fold.[100] Paradoxically, Rhenish ecclesiastical architecture subverted the center's efforts to provincialize the province.

The schism endured between, on the one hand, an architecture rooted in local building traditions with material and stylistic resonance for the community, and, on the other hand, an adherence to the pursuit of national architectural ideals. Even after completion of the church, the vaulting, columns, and ornament that ran afoul of Prussian bureaucrats in the 1830s went on to displease critics in the 1840s. An 1843 article in the *Kunstblatt*, the arts supplement of the widely read, Tübingen-based daily newspaper *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* ("Morning paper for educated classes") praised Lassaulx in general terms, but questioned his use of tall, slender columns to separate the nave and side aisles, as their form "suggests a different conclusion" than the rounded arches the architect featured throughout the church. [101] The reviewer described the church as unsatisfyingly caught in "the period of transition to the pointed arch." The skyward-striving of its interior paired with its round arches resulted in an

[100] Similar dynamics may be seen at work in disputes about parish church architecture in eighteenth-century Paris. See Richard Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 120–22.
[101] "Aus dem gegenwärtigen Kunstleben am Rhein und in den Niederlanden," in *Kunstblatt*, January 31, 1843, 33–35.

"unresolved" structure—an outcome the reviewer deemed preventable, since "the history of architecture's development shows the way forward with such great certainty." For both Schinkel, in his advocacy of a cost-effective, restrained Prussian style, and for the *Kunstblatt* reviewer, championing an ecclesiastical architecture increasingly based on the hegemony of the neo-Gothic, the failure of Lassaulx, or any architect, to pursue formal solutions that gave material expression to "the greatest cultivation of our age" would yield inferior public monuments, ones that would fail to point the way forward for continued German cultural achievements. We might counter that in harnessing the discursive space of Prussia's bureaucratic channels to steer their projects to fruition, Vallendar's stakeholders, and those at similar building initiatives throughout the region, proved indeed capable of pursuing a way forward with great certainty of their own.

CHAPTER 4:

Karl Friedrich Schinkel and the Protestant Church in Provincial Prussia

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I. INTRODUCTION

If Catholic church building in the Rhineland may be characterized as an architecture animated from the bottom-up by provincial parish councils and publics, Protestant church building in the Rhineland journeyed top-down. In contrast to the ambivalent approach of the Prussian state toward Rhenish Catholic church building initiatives, Protestant monarch Friedrich Wilhelm III and his bureaucrats actively promoted the centralization and the profile of Protestantism, and the building of Protestant churches, in the Rhineland. Almost immediately upon taking possession of his westernmost province, Friedrich Wilhelm III introduced measures that granted him greater administrative authority over Protestant Church affairs in the Rhineland. Similar to their experiences with Rhenish Catholics, however, the Prussian government's

attempts at the bureaucratization of Protestant church building produced uneven results. Tensions erupted among different groups: between Catholic and Protestant Rhinelanders; between a Prussian civil servant class overwhelmingly staffed by Protestants and the Rhenish architects and stakeholders subordinate to them; and between architects, Rhenish and Prussian alike, concerned to protect their professional autonomy and shape provincial public architecture. At the same time, the story is more complex than a conventional reading of Catholics contra Protestants or Rhinelanders contra Prussians. Catholic Rhenish architects enthusiastically designed Protestant churches in their roles as civil servants of the Prussian state. Protestant civil servants assigned to the Rhineland contested their superiors back in Berlin and advocated on behalf of predominantly Catholic Rhenish publics. Enthusiasm for new building initiatives was mixed, even within Rhenish Protestant congregations on the receiving end of state largesse, as taxes levied to fund new construction placed economic burdens on less wealthy congregants. Throughout the 1820s and 30s, the dominance of confessional politics as a central thrust of the Prussian monarchy's provincial policy initiatives—what historian Christopher Clark termed an unprecedented era of Prussian "ecclesiastical big government"[1]—stoked Rhenish publics, Protestant and Catholic alike, to challenge the regime.

This chapter will examine the political history of Protestant church building in Prussia from 1815, when Prussian territory expanded to include the Rhineland, Westphalia, and additional eastern regions in Pomerania and Saxony, until the death of King Friedrich Wilhelm III in 1840. The emphasis will be on Rhenish Protestant church building and its unique role as a locus of three forms of competing authority: that of the Protestant Prussian state, that of state-

[1] Christopher Clark, "The Napoleonic Moment in Prussian Church Policy" in *Napoleon's Legacy: Problems of Government in Restoration Europe*. David Laven and Lucy Riall, eds. (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2000), 229.

employed architects eager to centralize and modernize public architecture, and, increasingly, that of the provincial publics who resented, and contested, state involvement in church matters.

Prussia's economic and political realities in the decade following the Napoleonic Wars had thwarted such ambitious architectural undertakings for the royal capital as the proposed rebuilding of the fire-damaged Petrikirche or the construction of a cathedral to honor the fallen in the wars against Napoleon. Rather than any single monumental ecclesiastical structure in Berlin, one might instead look in the 1820s–30s to the state's support for provincial Protestant church buildings, with their more palatable budgets, as brick and mortar representations of a Prussian regime eager to establish its authority. The monarchy's activist approach to Protestant church building served as a means to integrate considerable new territories into their identitarian fold. As this chapter will demonstrate, modest ecclesiastical architectural initiatives brought Prussian state authority directly to the town and village, and not only through the obvious construction of their built forms; for provincial church building imprinted Prussian authority over a broad spatial field via the bureaucratic operations of the Kultusministerium and the Oberbaudeputation. Bureaucratic measures from Berlin included generous financial support of provincial Protestant churches and the introduction of a standardized template for all Protestant village churches funded in whole or part by the state. As such approaches were intended for implementation across all of Prussia, this chapter will naturally discuss initiatives not limited to the Rhineland. However, examples of the potent role of the Protestant church in the majority Catholic Rhineland will be examined in detail.

II. The Protestant Church in the Rhineland after 1815

Protestants accounted for just 25% of the Rhenish population in 1815, but the majority of Protestants in Prussia's new western province practiced Reform Protestantism, or Calvinism, based upon the theological doctrines of Huldrych Zwingli, John Calvin and the Swiss Reformation. They were long accustomed to self-governance by regional presbyteries and local synods.[2] Prussia's dynastic rulers, the House of Hohenzollern, had been Lutherans since 1535, until on Christmas Day 1613 they too converted to Reform Protestantism when Elector John Sigismund received the Eucharist in Berlin's Cathedral in the Calvinist manner: the simple distribution of a long piece of bread among assembled worshippers standing before a bare altar, its candlesticks and crucifix removed.[3] Reform Protestantism eschewed Lutheran practices it considered too Catholic, including worldly liturgical ornaments and kneeling before the Communion wafer.[4] Shortly after John Sigismund's conversion, an advantageous marriage allowed the Elector of Brandenburg to make claims on the Reform Protestant Duchy of Cleves on the Lower Rhine, providing the Hohenzollern dynasty with its first territory in the Rhineland. While its rulers would change during the course of the tumultuous eighteenth

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[2] See Volkmar Wittmütz, "Preußen und die Kirchen im Rheinland, 1815–40," in *Preußens schwieriger Westen: Rheinische-preußische Beziehungen, Konflikte, und Wechselwirkungen* (Duisburg: Mercator Verlag, 2003), 135. For detailed statistics on the confessional makeup of the Rhenish district government offices, see C. Rathgeber, "Das Kultusministerium und die Kirchenpolitik 1817–1934," in *Abteilung I: Das preussische Kultusministerium als Staatsbehörde und gesellschaftliche Agentur (1817–1934), Band 2.1, Das Kultusministerium auf seinen Wirkungsfeldern Schule, Wirtschaft, Wissenschaft, Kirchen, Künste, und Medizinalwesen, Acta Borussica, Neue Folge, 2. Reihe, Preussen als Kulturstaat*, pp. 292–93. Rathgeber notes that in Prussia's western provinces (the Rhineland and Westphalia), Reform Protestants outnumbered Lutheran Protestants. In the Rhineland province as a whole, the total population in 1816 was 77% Catholic. Of the region's 1,845,645 people, 1,423,992 were Catholics, 214,892 were Reform Protestants, and 189,007 were Lutheran Protestants. There was a Jewish population of 17,559 in the *Rheinprovinz* in 1816 as well as a Mennonite population of 1,169 [See Table 14, Acta Borussica, Band 2.1, pp. 764–65]. While the majority of Protestants in Prussia's western provinces were Reform, the majority of Protestants in Prussia's eastern provinces were Lutheran. Rathberger notes that in the Prussian state of Brandenburg, where the capital city Berlin is located, there were 857 Lutheran pastors compared with 42 Reform pastors at the start of the nineteenth century.

[3] Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and the Downfall of Prussia, 1600–1947* (London: Penguin, 2007), 7–9.

[4] Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 115–16.

century, Cleves, along with its neighboring former duchies of Jülich and Berg, came back under the Hohenzollern scepter as part of the Prussian Rhineland in 1815. Yet the Reform Protestant communities of the Lower Rhine, long accustomed to independent self-governance, resented and protested against the Prussian-administered consistories that increasingly supplanted local presbyteries and synods.[5] In the Southern Rhineland region around Koblenz, on the other hand, the lack of a long-standing tradition of Protestant self-government resulted in less resistance compared to the north.[6] The diverse organizational makeup of Rhenish Protestantism included churches governed solely by Prussian consistories, hybrid administration by consistories and local synods (who were often relegated to an advisory capacity), as well as some independent congregations whose traditional presbyteries and synods carried on their functions as before 1815.[7]

While the monarchy attempted to address the heterogeneous nature of Rhenish Protestantism, newly built Protestant churches served as the material representation of the Prussian state and symbolized the advent of Prussian hegemony in the majority Catholic Rhineland. As tangible symbols of Prussian rule, Protestant churches served as brick and mortar counterpoises to the region's pervasive, suspect Catholic majority. Sparsely adorned, solidly built provinical Protestant churches also underscored characteristics valued by the monarch: frugality, rationality, sobriety—in contrast to perceptions of Catholicism's superstition and pomp. In addition, Protestant churches in the Rhineland provided viewable evidence of the Prussian victory over the French as well as its ascendance over the former Holy Roman Empire. For all these reasons, the appearance of Protestant churches mattered deeply

[5] Volkmar Wittmütz, "Preußen und die Kirchen im Rheinland, 1815–40," 138.
[6] Volkmar Wittmütz, "Preußen und die Kirchen im Rheinland, 1815–40," 140.
[7] Volkmar Wittmütz, "Preußen und die Kirchen im Rheinland, 1815–40," 139.

to Prussian authorities, and Karl Friedrich Schinkel acknowledged as much in 1825 when he instructed state architects not to skimp on the interior decoration of a former Catholic church in Trier undergoing remodeling for use by a congregation of Protestant civil servants. Surrounded by the Romanesque splendor of the Rhineland's many Catholic churches, Schinkel worried that the Protestant house of worship might appear meager by comparison.[8] In nearby Koblenz, the mixed civilian and military congregation of the Protestant Florinskirche—it, too, a formerly Catholic church—undertook a campaign in 1828 to refurbish their church's exterior, citing the need to show off their best face in a "Catholic city."[9] Between 1844–56, the Prussian monarchy converted Trier's monumental fourth-century Aula Palatina into a Protestant church,[10] thus appropriating the grandeur and authority of Ancient Rome for the Protestant church in the Rhineland—an act of appropriation that endures to this day. Even the small Protestant congregation of Bischmisheim saw its new church completed in the short two-year span between Schinkel's wholesale reworking of the provincial architect's design in 1822 and the structure's dedication in 1824—lightning speed compared with the often decades-long slogs to complete equally modest Catholic constructions. The congregation at Bischmisheim received a donation of 1,200 Taler from the monarch for the project, and Schinkel provided an elegant and distinctive octagonal, centrally planned design, an option he viewed as ideal for the Protestant church.[11] The increased presence of Protestant churches, both as new constructions and by the conversion of Catholic structures for Protestant use, did not go

[8] Eva Brües, "Trier: Dreifaltigkeitskirche," in *Die Rheinlande*. Karl Friedrich Schinkel Lebenswerk. (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1968), 291.
[9] Letter from the military parish council of the Florinskirche to the civilian parish council, September 28, 1829: "…theils nicht ferner in dieser catholischen Stadt gerade die evangelische Kirche unvorteilhaft in Äussere ausgezeichnet zu sehen." Archiv der Evangelischen Kirche im Rheinland, Boppard, (59) 71/2, 2. Heft, Die Florinskirche 1818 bis 1840 Unterhaltung und Ausbesserung, p. 32.
[10] Eva Brües, "Trier: Basilika," in *Die Rheinlande*. Karl Friedrich Schinkel Lebenswerk. (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1968), 415.
[11] For the history of Schinkel's Protestant church at Bischmisheim, See Brües, *Die Rheinlande*, 292–96.

unnoticed by Rhenish Catholics. Rumors ran rife in Rhenish Catholic circles, for example, that Prussian support for the completion of Cologne Cathedral was but a strategy for its eventual conversion to Protestant use.[12] The 1834 polemical Catholic booklet, *Winter Evening Conversations Among a Few Villagers by a Warm Oven* castigated the Prussian regime for its continued generosity toward Protestant congregations, while funding requests from Catholic parishes often received swift denials.

Administration of Protestant church affairs in Prussia by government officials predated the advent of the monarchy's rule in the Rhineland in 1815. As early as 1808, the autonomous Lutheran and Reform consistories across Prussia were dissolved and management of church affairs transferred to the government's newly established Section for Religion and Public Instruction of the Ministry of the Interior.[13] Between 1808–17, the Section for Religion and Public Instruction staffed Protestant consistories with civil servants; the bodies were chaired by the applicable provincial governor. With the 1817 creation of the Kultusministerium, Protestant church affairs came under the jurisdiction of a fully independent ministry tasked to carry out Prussia's confessional policies. The monarchy justified state administration of Protestant church affairs by citing a perceived decline in popular piety. Yet many Protestant congregations countered that self-governance would strengthen the community church and called for a return to the former system of independent regional and district governing councils.

As a result of such state interference in local church affairs, the first opposition to Prussian confessional politics in the Rhineland came not from the majority Catholic community, but from the aforementioned Reform Protestants of Berg and Cleves, who insisted

[12] Michael J. Lewis, *The Politics of the German Gothic Revival, August Reichensperger* (Cambridge, MA and London, England: The MIT Press, 1993), 34.
[13] The information contained in this paragraph on the administration of the Protestant church in Prussia from 1808–22 comes from C. Rathgeber, "Das Kultusministerium und die Kirchenpolitik 1817–1934," pp. 296–98.

upon their traditional right to maintain independent, local synods, as they had for centuries without external interference.[14] Rhenish Protestant congregations appealed directly to Friedrich Wilhelm III to protest their government's policy. While the king initially maintained that local synods could co-exist with the government-staffed provincial synods, his subsequent Cabinet Order on the matter made clear that local synods were to hold mere advisory positions.[15] The Prussian government also did not allow lay members to serve on the advisory synods. In addition, the king insisted that local advisory synods include both Lutheran and Reform Protestants as a means to force his desired unification of the Prussian Protestant church. Congregations throughout the majority Reform Protestant Rhineland viewed the "compromise" as a clear infringement on their autonomy, and insisted that the king was but a territorial ruler and not the head of the church. A consistory called in Cologne in 1818 agreed.[16] However, the monarch and his ministers did not waiver, surely understanding the apparent contradictions between tasking a powerful central ministry to carry out the regime's confessional politics, on the hand, and providing support to a self-governing, provincially-directed Prussian Protestant church, on the other.

On the heels of the synod controversies, Friedrich Wilhelm III poured gas on the flames with his February 1822 order to introduce a single, consolidated liturgy for use across both Lutheran and Reform congregations—a liturgy the monarch himself had authored.[17] The king's liturgy required provincial churches to do away with their traditional, congregation-specific liturgies. Friedrich Wilhelm had initiated work on his consolidated Protestant Union

[14] Wittmütz, "Preußen und die Kirchen im Rheinland, 1815–40," 135–36. In 1811, Napoleon had intended to bring the synods of the Duchy of Berg under French administrative control, as he did with all church affairs in French-occupied regions of the Rhineland. However, events on the battlefield delayed his plans, thus preserving the Duchy's centuries-old synodal organization.
[15] Wittmütz, "Preußen und die Kirchen im Rheinland, 1815–40," 139.
[16] Wittmütz, "Preußen und die Kirchen im Rheinland, 1815–40," 140.
[17] Rathgeber, Band 2.1, p. 300.

liturgy in 1816, motivated in part by the 300th anniversary of the Protestant Reformation. He first introduced the state liturgy for use by the Prussian army in 1821, then mandated its adoption throughout Prussia in 1822. The state liturgy, referred to as the *Agende*, failed spectacularly to gain support.[18] Given the long history of self-government among Reform Protestants in the Rhineland, Rhenish resistance was particularly vehement and vocal. Required by provincial authorities to report whether or not they had adopted the new liturgy, congregations repeatedly stated their opposition, contesting the regime directly; by 1826, 420 of 431 Rhenish Protestant churches refused to use the new liturgy for their worship services.[19] Despite their numbers, and given the dangers inherent in outright disagreement with the monarchy, Rhenish congregations carefully couched their resistance in laudatory statements that stressed their loyalty to the king, while insisting that, in matters of faith, they had to follow their collective conscience.

First and foremost, the critics of the state liturgy protested its similarity to Catholic rituals at the expense of the traditional Protestant emphasis on the sermon. Reform Protestants particularly decried the state liturgy's commonalities with Catholic practices such as the adornment of altars with candles, crucifixes, and paintings, the presence of a choir, kneeling at points in the service, and crossing oneself.[20] Individual Protestant congregations had long determined the order and contents of their services themselves and perceived the state's liturgy as a significant monarchical overreach. Nonetheless, the king continued to seek ways to enforce compliance among contrarian congregations. He insisted, for example, that the

[18] Rathgeber, "Einführung von Union und Agende" in *Acta Borussica, 2. Reihe, Band 2.1*, 299–305, and Büsch, *Handbuch der Preussischen Geschichte*, 167–72.
[19] Wittmütz, "Preußen und die Kirchen im Rheinland, 1815–40," 141.
[20] Wittmütz, "Preußen und die Kirchen im Rheinland," 141; Büsch *Handbuch der Preussischen Geschichte*, 171.

Kultusministerium fill vacant clergy positions only with pastors who pledged to use the state liturgy.[21]

The king also used the funding of ecclesiastical architecture to force the adoption of the state liturgy. When asked by the Kultusministerium to consider funding new construction or repairs on provincial Protestant churches, the king's first response was, "have they introduced the state liturgy?" For over a decade, the king repeatedly instructed the Kultusministerium to deny requests for building funds from non-compliant provincial congregations. In response to an 1823 request for 1,372 Taler from a congregation in Koenigshorst, near Potsdam, for example, the monarch declined to fund the project after being informed that the state liturgy had not been introduced and the pastor had not yet agreed to do so.[22] Over and over again, the king demurred on funding decisions until he knew the status of the state liturgy's use at the congregation in question. From an April 1825 request for funds to expand the church at Nieder Luzin in Silesia, to the February 1826 request for monies to build a new church at Lautenburg in Marienwerder, to an April 1827 request for construction of the new church in the Rhenish town of Kelzenberg, and even in the case of providing a new church tower, designed by Schinkel, for the congregation in Rhenish town of Kirchseiffen in March 1828, the monarch consistently tied support of provincial architectural initiatives to his quest to push his liturgy and consolidate the Reform and Lutheran arms of Prussian Protestantism.[23]

The monarch's coercive techniques were known to Schinkel, as evidenced by the architect's comments in a July 1833 letter. Endeavoring to secure financial support for urgent

[21] Wittmütz, "Preußen und die Kirchen im Rheinland, 1815–40," 142.
[22] GStA PK I HA Rep 89 Nr. 21919, Zuschüsse 1821–24, file unpaginated. Initial letter to Friedrich Wilhelm III dated December 19, 1823. Response to Altenstein with the king's question dated December 23, 1823. Altenstein informed the king of Koenigshorst's non-compliance dated February 3, 1824.
[23] GStA PK I HA Rep 89 Nr. 21920 (1825), GStA PK I HA Rep 89 Nr. 21921 (1826), GStA PK I HA Rep 89 Nr. 21922 (1827), and GStA PK I HA Rep 89 Nr. 21923 (1828). Files not paginated.

repairs on the fourteenth-century Protestant Church of Maria zur Wiese in the Rhenish town of Soest, Schinkel pre-empted the inevitable question as to whether the congregation used the state liturgy:

> [the church] …is in a highly dangerous state. This beautiful monument is decomposing on the south façade…and needs rapid assistance, if this is not soon to be insurmountable in terms of cost and technical difficulties. The church is Protestant and *accepted the Protestant Union liturgy* [my italics], and counts on the support of His Majesty all the more since it used all its funds a year ago for repair of the roof.[24]

Ecclesiastical architecture served not only as a tool to force local populations to comply with state authority—it also functioned as a centerpiece in the policy armamentarium of a Prussian monarch who styled himself as head of the Protestant church. Friedrich Wilhelm III feared the progressive politics of his day and aspired instead to a neo-absolutist conception of Protestant Christianity referred to by scholars as "Throne and Pulpit." Yet, such strong-arm tactics proved only partially successful and, to quell on-going dissent, Friedrich Wilhelm III ultimately issued a codicil to the state liturgy in 1829 to permit regional variations and substitutions with "equivalent" texts.[25] Six years later, an 1835 agreement between the monarchy and Rhenish Protestant congregations finally achieved province-wide adoption of the state liturgy—albeit in exchange for the monarch's grant of increased autonomy to Rhenish synods.[26]

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[24] GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Nr. 994, p. 54 recto. "…ist in einem höchst bedenkichen Zustande. Dies schöne Werk verwittert an der Sudseite…und bedarf einer schleunigen Hülfe, wenn diese nicht bald in Kosten und technischen Schwierigkeiten unübersteiglich werden soll. Die Kirche ist evangelisch und hat die Agende angenommen, sie rechnet auf die Unterstützung S. Majestät um so mehr, da sie vor einmen Jahr schon ihr Vermögen für die Herstellung des Daches verwendet hat."
[25] Rathgeber, *Acta Borussica, Preussen als Kulturstaat, 2. Reihe, Band*, *2.1*, 302–3.
[26] Rathgeber, *Acta Borussica, Preussen als Kulturstaat, 2. Reihe, Band*, *2.1*, p. 301

III. The 1822 Prussian Royal Decree on Church Design

By the 1820s, the monarch's regulation of religious affairs encompassed the design and interior configuration of Protestant churches. A royal decree of August 21, 1822 mandated that naves be east-facing, that altars occupy the church's eastern end, and that pulpits be separated from the altar by their placement in the nave against a pillar.[27] Friedrich Wilhelm III's decree referred to the mandated separation between pulpit and altar as "the old arrangement" (*die alte Anordnung*), signaling the monarch's dislike for more recent Protestant church designs inspired by Enlightenment-era reforms of the previous century, in which the pulpit was placed in closer proximity with the altar—generally either in front of or elevated directly behind—as a means of suggesting greater parity between the word of God delivered from the pulpit and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper celebrated at the altar. Some eighteenth-century Lutheran congregations even favored a combined pulpit-altar, or *Kanzelaltar*, a unified structure in which the pulpit sat directly atop the altar in the manner of a baldachin or canopy and was accessed via a staircase built into the ensemble.[28] The baptismal font sometimes featured as part of the design.[29]

Conservative Protestant theologians of the Restoration era, and those under their sway, such as Friedrich Wilhelm III, decried these sorts of innovations. They regarded such arrangements as too reminiscent of profane auditoriums, an analogy that was reinforced by the

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[27] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Kultusministerium IX Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 1, pp. 40 recto/verso; also GStA PK I HA 93B Nr. 2487, pp. 16–18.

[28] Kathrin Ellwardt, *Evangelischer Kirchenbau in Deutschland* (Petersberg: Imhof Verlag, 2008), 15. Ellwardt features an illustration of a Lutheran Kanzelaltar in the Neustädter Kirche Erlangen (fig. 5, p. 15). Another example is the *Kanzelaltar* at the St. Andreaskirche in Seesen, Germany, mentioned in James F. White, *Protestant Worship and Church Architecture: Theological and Historical Considerations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 86.

[29] James F. White, *Protestant Worship and Church Architecture: Theological and Historical Considerations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 86.

common practice in German Protestant churches of including multiple tiers of seating galleries.[30] Pulpits placed directly on top of, or behind and above, altars were viewed as the most disrespectful arrangement, as this configuration required the celebrant to (figuratively) place his feet atop the altar while delivering the sermon from the pulpit.

Although the Hohenzollern monarchs had practiced Reform Protestantism since John Sigismund, Duke of Prussia and Elector of Brandenburg, converted from Lutheranism to Calvinism in 1613, King Friedrich Wilhelm III's brand of conservative, Lutheran-inspired Protestantism sought to restore the historical separation between the sanctified position of the altar in the chancel and the congregational space of the nave. In fact, Friedrich Wilhelm III's 1822 order made clear that its regulations came in response to plans to remodel the "large Protestant church in Tilsit," by which he meant the *Deutsche Kirche*, constructed between 1598–1610, where the altar was housed in the eastern end of the church and the pulpit was placed against a pillar in the nave, facing sideways toward the pews.[31] The monarch's cabinet order decried the proposed renovation plans and noted they went "against the wishes of the congregation."[32] His intervention pre-empted the renovations and preserved Tilsit's traditional separation of pulpit and altar. Prompted by this incident, the monarch issued his decree mandating that the "old" configuration separating altar and pulpit be observed in all Prussian Protestant churches.

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[30] White, *Protestant Worship and Church Architecture*, 85.
[31] See image at https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deutsche_Kirche_(Tilsit)#/media/Datei:Stadtkirche_Tilsit_(Innenraum).jpg. Note, the church was gutted for its wood and materials following World War II, fell into subsequent disrepair, and was demolished in 1965. Its altar and two confessionals, packed for evacuation during World War II, may now be found in the parish church at Bartoscyze, Poland.
[32] For archival copies of the August 1822 decree, see GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Kultusministerium IX Sekt 1 Nr. 12, Bd 1, pp. 40 recto/verso; also GStA PK I HA 93B Nr. 2487 pp. 16–18.

IV. The Historical Development of Protestant Church Design in German Lands, 1517–1817

Friedrich Wilhelm III's 1822 mandate joined a nearly two-hundred-year-old architectural debate on how to orient the placement of the pulpit vis-à-vis the altar inside a Protestant church.[33] A pulpit oriented sideways in the nave against a pillar resulted in the creation of opposing axes competing for congregant's attention during the church service. Congregants had to turn away from the altar during delivery of the sermon from the pulpit and turn away from the pulpit during celebration of the Lord's Supper from the altar. As celebration of the Lord's Supper might occur only several times a year—particularly those of Reformist congregations—those assembled would often find their focus turned not in accordance with dominant axis of the nave, but towards a side wall, in an arrangement that ran counter to the traditional dynamics of ecclesiastical longitudinal space, in which the altar was the single, centering focus.[34]

Debates around the ideal interior configuration flourished with the growth of purpose-built Protestant architecture in the mid-seventeenth century. Following the Reformation, Protestants had mostly worshipped in former Catholic churches and continued to do so for

[33] Reform Protestants placed liturgical emphasis around the site of the pulpit. In strict Reform congregations, the altar was but a portable, unadorned table carried in for celebration of the Lord's Supper several times a year. In contrast to Reform congregations, Lutherans developed a longer liturgy, sometimes extending over hours, which necessitated the installation of fixed pew seating. The move toward fixed seating made all the more apparent the difficulties of a church with two opposing centers of focus, as many in the congregation were forced to turn their backs to the altar during the sermon from the pulpit. Some congregations choose simply to accept the directional challenges, while others might place an additional altar in the transept, closer to the pulpit, for weekly use. In such cases, the use of the existing high altar was reserved for the Lord's Supper on religious holidays. Indeed, the main concern for designers and architects engaged in Protestant church building from the late sixteenth century onward was how to accommodate the presence of both the pulpit and the altar, what emphasis to place on each object, and how to optimize overall the church's lines of sight and acoustics. See Ellwardt, *Evangelischer Kirchenbau in Deutschland,* 18–32.

[34] Richard Kieckhefer, *Theology in Stone* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 10. Kieckhefer proposes four ways to look at a church: 1) its spatial dynamics; 2) its centering focus; 3) its aesthetic impact; 4) its symbolic resonance. Kieckhefer's consideration of spatial dynamics contrasts the emphasis on process and return of a longitudinal church with those of procession and response in an auditorium church; see pp. 22–25.

nearly one hundred and fifty years. Arising from the need to repair structures damaged by war or fire, a "building boom" of the 1650s marked the first large-scale building of new Protestant churches in German lands, including Dresden's Frauenkirche.[35] The earliest Protestant worship spaces in German lands were located in the sixteenth-century palace chapels of territorial rulers who converted to Protestantism. With these conversions, local, secular rulers took on the new role of *Landesbischof*, or territorial bishop, of the lands under their domain. Thus, their castles and palaces functioned as spaces representative of both secular and confessional hegemony. Built for the Electors of Saxony and dedicated by none other than Martin Luther in October 1544, the chapel of the Hartenfels Castle in the town Torgau is regarded as one of the earliest models for the interior configuration of a Protestant church.[36] Rectangular in plan, the space includes two tiers of seating gallery on three sides. The altar is placed at one end on the longitudinal axis, facing the entrance at the opposite end of the nave. The elevated pulpit rests against the second of three pillars in the nave. From the pulpit, the speaker addressed the room from the side and above. The altar and pulpit thus occupied two different axes, forcing congregants to turn away from dominant longitudinal axis of the altar during the sermon from the pulpit. They then turned away from the pulpit and back toward the altar during celebration of the Lord's Supper.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, German architects and their noble patrons experimented with innovations to address the problem of competing centers of liturgical focus in Protestant church design. One proposed solution occurred in a residential chapel built by Landgrave Wilhelm IV of Hessen-Kassel between 1586–90 at Schmalkaden,

[35] Ellwardt, *Evangelischer Kirchenbau*, 46.
[36] Ellwardt, *Evangelischer Kirchenbau*, 29–30

in the southwestern state of Thuringia.[37] Rectangular in plan, the Schmalkaden chapel's altar, pulpit and organ were placed in close proximity on a shared axis at the far end of the nave. The altar occupied a raised platform with the pulpit set above and behind it on the back wall, thus facing outward toward the congregation. A gallery above the pulpit housed an organ. On the altar table, a shallow depression served as a basin for baptisms. With this arrangement, one unified site gathered the focus of the congregation for the sermon, the music, and the two sacraments recognized by the Protestant church: baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Another proposed solution to the spatial relationship between pulpit and altar occurred three decades earlier in the palace chapel of Duke Christoph vom Württemberg in Stuttgart.[38] Seeking to site the pulpit and altar as closely together as possible, the Stuttgart *Schloßkapelle* instead oriented the room around the pulpit in its position on the side nave wall and, thereby, reconfigured the interior space of the church *against* the traditional longitudinal axis. A portable altar was placed in the aisle of the church directly in front of the pulpit. Pews were realigned to face the center of the church, instead of their conventional, longitudinal orientation toward an east-facing apse, creating the first *Querkirche*. The orientation of a church's interior space *against* its longitudinal axis proved popular among Reform Protestants, as the form clearly rejected the traditional interior configuration of Catholic churches and placed the spatial emphasis on the sermon. Increasingly, centrally planned structures provided another design solution for Protestant churches.

Immediately after the 1848 Peace of Westphalia increased the number of multi-confessional regions in German lands, print treatises also began exploring designs for the ideal Protestant church. Joseph Furttenbach published a plan for a simple, rectangular Protestant

[37] Ellwardt, *Evangelischer Kirchenbau*, 31.
[38] Ellwardt, *Evangelischer Kirchenbau*, 30–31

church with two tiers of seating galleries in his 1649 treatise, *Kirchen Gebäw*.[39] With this publication, Furttenbach aimed to provide an economical design capable of quickly replacing churches damaged during the Thirty Years' War. To minimize costs and maximize small spaces, Furttenbach's plan amassed altar, pulpit, and baptismal font by placing the altar in a small niche underneath a pulpit that projected from the wall above. Behind the pulpit, a library filled the first tier of galleries. An organ occupied a second tier of galleries above the pulpit. The baptismal font was placed directly in front of the altar.

Further treatises on Protestant church building followed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1712, Leonhard Christoph Sturm (1669–1719) published *Architectonisches Bedencken von Protestantischen Kleinen Kirchen: Figuren und Einrichtung* (*Architectural Considerations on Small Protestant Churches: Drawings and Configurations*), which recommended several geometrical ground plans deemed suitable for Protestant churches.[40] While his title indicated "small churches," Sturm's plans were specifically for churches within residential palace complexes, and intended for execution on a very different budget than Furttenbach's earlier focus on community structures. Sturm's plans included several ambitious, elaborate designs, even triangular and circular structures, all of which separated the entrances and seating for members of the court from those used by lay members of the congregation.[41] Despite his daring plans, Sturm emphasized functional considerations, such as clear lines of sight and acoustics. Sturm concluded that the *Querkirche* and the *Winkelhakenkirche* provided the most ideal plan for the types of palace-based Protestant

[39] Ellwardt, *Evangelischer Kirchenbau*, 43. Andrew Landale Drummond, *The Church Architecture of Protestantism: An Historical and Constructive Study* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1934), 30.
[40] Ellwardt, *Evangelischer Kirchenbau*, 54.
[41] Willy Weyres, "Das evangelische Kirchenbau," in *Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts im Rheinland*, ed. Eduard Trier and Willy Weyres, Band 1: Architektur I, Kultusbauren (Düsseldorf: Schwann Verlag, 1980), 270.

church buildings he discussed.[42] A *Winkelhakenkirche* featured a ground plan similar in shape to an uppercase L in which the altar occupied the right angle separating the two distinct naves. He noted the usefulness of the *Winkelhaken* design to separate male and female congregants in each nave—with the added benefit that the two groups were unable to see one another. The courtyard created by closing off the L-shaped could serve to host public events, Sturm added, or might function as a "rather respectable public library".[43] Six years later in 1718, Sturm's second treatise expanded his consideration of Protestant churches beyond those intended for royal residencies. *Vollständige Anweisung aller Arten von Kirchen* (*Complete Instructions to All Types of Churches*) presented designs for Protestant as well as Catholic houses of worship.[44] In both of his books, Sturm's plans indicate an awareness of the role of the church as a public, edifying space for community gatherings, study, and learning.

Christian Ludwig Stieglitz discussed church building in the third volume of his five volume *Encyklopädie der bürgerlichen Baukunst* (1792–98). In contrast to Sturm, Stieglitz deemed that placement of the altar and pulpit together in the amphitheater-type plan with elevated seating galleries as the most suitable for Protestant worship.[45] Stieglitz's encyclopedia included four designs for Protestant churches: one centrally planned structure, two rectangular in plan with seating galleries, and one modest single-aisle hall church which he described as a *Dorfkirche,* or village church.[46] All four plans followed the eighteenth-century fashion of aligning pulpit and altar on a common axis, with the altar raised a few steps above ground

[42] Ellwardt, *Evangelischer* Kirchenbau, 55.
[43] https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/sturm1718a/0037
[44] Ellwardt, *Evangelischer Kirchenbau*, 55.
[45] Klaus Jan Philipp, *Um 1800: Architekturtheorie und Architekturkritik in Deutschland zwischen 1790 und 1810* (Stuttgart/London: Edition Axel Menges, 1997), 88.
[46] For the four plates with Stieglitz's Protestant church designs, labeled Tables VI–IX, see https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/stieglitz1798tafeln/0049, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/stieglitz1798tafeln/0050, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/stieglitz1798tafeln/0051, and https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/stieglitz1798tafeln/0052.

level, and the pulpit placed above the altar on the back wall. In compiling his encyclopedia entries, Stieglitz consulted other contemporaneous publications on the topic of optimal church design, including Aloys Hirt's 1789 *Historisch-architectonische Beobachtungen über die christlichen Kirche* (*Historical and Architectural Observations on the Christian Church*) and Johann Georg Krünitz's entry on churches in his monumental *Ökonomisch technischen Encyklopädie* (1773–1858).[47] Krünitz noted some contemporary trends in Protestant church building, commenting that cruciform plans had fallen out of favor, and a preference for round, hexagonal, octagonal, and "even oval" churches had emerged. While Krünitz acknowledged that less conventionally shaped ground plans added costs, he found their forms "highly suited" to Protestant worship. "In Berlin, Dresden, Amsterdam, and other places one finds exquisite examples," he wrote, making references to the centrally planned St. Hedwig's Church (Berlin), Frauenkirche (Dresden), and Ronde Lutherse Kerk (Amsterdam). Krünitz also recommended Sturm's *Winkelhaken* church design. The Krünitz encyclopedia also included the detailed plans, measurements, and sample cost estimates for rural church designs and modest timber and stone structures from the 1776 publication *Anfangsgründen der bürgerlichen Baukunst für Landleute* (*Basics of Civil Building for Rural People*) by Johann Christian Friedrich Keferstein.[48] Such publications offered a wide range of opinion on the ideal form of the Protestant church, and these debates animated German-speaking lands for nearly a century when a fire destroyed Berlin's *Petrikirche* in 1809 and brought the issue right to the heart of the royal capital.

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[47] Philipp, *Um 1800*, 89–90. Philipp features the plates from Krünitz's entry on p. 91. For the complete text on churches by Krünitz, see the Krünitz Online project at kruenitz.uni-trier.de.

[48] The Landkirchen entry may be found under Kirche in the Krünitz Encyclopedia and immediately follows Krünitz's extended discussions of St. Peters in Rome and St. Stephan's in Vienna. The ground plans for timber and masonry rural churches are numbered as Figure 2083 per the Krünitz Online numbering system, see www.kruenitz1.uni-trier.de. Keferstein's reference is also accessible digitally at http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10059679-8.

V. Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Earliest Published Protestant Church Design: The Petrikirche, Berlin

Down the narrow Brüderstrasse, two blocks behind the Berliner Schloss on what today is known as the Museum Island, the *Petrikirche* had existed in various forms since the thirteenth century. Remodeled repeatedly over four hundred years, it had undergone its most recent rebuilding in 1730 after a lightning strike destroyed its tower. An ambitious undertaking at the behest of monarch Friedrich Wilhelm I, the tower was intended to soar 108-meters above Berlin and was still under construction at the time of its collapse.[49] In 1733, its replacement also collapsed during construction and took part of the Petrikirche's nave with it. Two collapsed towers within three years dampened the monarchy's enthusiasm for heights and a squat, sturdy, simple brick structure humbly capped the narthex for the next seven decades. The utilitarian simplicity of its stumpy brick tower clashed with the Petrikirche's ornate Baroque entry. Congregants entered via a large arched doorway situated under a porch flanked by giant, paired Doric columns. The columns supported a weighty entablature and its grand, carved pediment. Vendors from the bustling market on the *Petrikirchplatz* regularly passed through the doorway to store their wares overnight in the tower's base. On September 19, 1809, a pot of still-hot coals from one seller's stall set the church ablaze, destroying most of the structure.[50] Fourteen months later, in November 1810, the freshly hired Schinkel received the assignment to review a set of plans for a new church on the site. Tasked to reuse as much of the salvageable materials as possible, Oberlandbaumeister Colberg had submitted four drawings and a budget of 93,000 Taler for Schinkel's assessment.

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[49] Wolfgang Gottschalk, *Altberliner Kirchen in historischen Ansichten.* (Leipzig: Koehler and Amelang Verlag, 1985), 164–65. See plates 12–17 for historical images of the church's interior between 1730–1808.
[50] Paul Ortwin Rave, *Berlin, Erster Teil – Bauten für die Kunst, Kirchen, und Denkmalpflege. Karl Friedrich Schinkel: Lebenswerk.* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1981), 167.

The ambitious, young Schinkel reacted immediately. Within twenty days of receiving Colberg's plans, Schinkel offered a striking counterproposal: a monumental, domed church recalling St. Peter's in Rome, a surprising design inspiration Schinkel said became clear when he viewed the ruins in plan. He wanted his Petrikirche design, like St. Peter's, to emphasize the crossing as the hub of the church, and his ground plan seems to recast the piers and transepts of Michelangelo's church in concentrated form; even the radially-cut transept windows are oriented toward the semicircular centers of the transepts.

Schinkel's borrowing from Rome was both architectural and aspirational: he envisaged the rebuilt Petrikirche as a grand gesture befitting a city as important as Berlin, whose skyline he had criticized in 1810 as woefully lacking in the architectural character necessary for a royal capital. He outlined the details of his proposal in a memorandum to the Interior Ministry's Department of Trade and Industry.[51] Schinkel's quarter of a million Taler proposed budget ultimately meant that the project could not possibly move forward during the height of the Napoleonic Wars. Yet it took six more years and a revised design by Schinkel before the monarch finally ordered demolition of the Petrikirche's ruins and the conversion of the site to open space. But Schinkel's Petrikirche memorandum of 1810 offers early evidence of the vital civic functions he attributed to church building, a position that subsequently shaped his review of provincial church projects over the following three decades. His initial memorandum also provided the basis for Schinkel's first publication, a slim 1811 treatise featuring four pages of text with elevations, sections, and ground plans of the Petrikirche prior to the 1809 fire, alongside his proposed replacement with its monumental dome.[52] Schinkel's publication of his

[51] Rave, *Berlin, Erster Teil – Bauten für die Kunst, Kirchen, und Denkmalpflege*, 167.
[52] Rave, *Berlin, Erster Teil – Bauten für die Kunst, Kirchen, und Denkmalpflege*, 175.

Petrikirche treatise anticipated by eight years the first volume of his *Sammlung Architektonischer Entwürfe*, the architect's annual compendium of his collected designs.

Schinkel began his 1810 Petrikirche memorandum by commenting on what he observed as the increasing secularism of his age. He described the untethering of religion from daily life. He noted the stark difference of community opinions concerning what to do about the ruined Petrikirche. Many preferred the church not be rebuilt at all, that the land be converted to open space in the city, a direction he strongly opposed, believing it would exacerbate the "immoral" tendencies of the day. The church, he insisted, must be rebuilt, but it was critical to rebuild it in a manner that would inspire and edify the public. Replacing the structure with a paltry, economical substitute would only give ammunition to those who wished to demolish the structure altogether. Schinkel argued that the rebuilding must be approached strategically. Allowing for partial use of the structure for worship during construction and keeping the public informed would be essential to ensure their cooperation with the process. In his plea to his bureaucratic superiors, Schinkel emphasized the determinative role public opinion played in the success or failure of civic architecture. When thoroughly integrated into the process, the community could ensure its success—just as naysayers could undermine the effort, particularly if given but a slapdash replacement. Schinkel stressed that management of the discourse surrounding the rebuilding constituted an essential step to secure public buy-in and steer a project to timely completion.

In his published treatise on the design of the Petrikirche, Schinkel also reflected on the unique architectural challenges presented by the Protestant church. Echoing the centuries-old dilemma described by Furttenbach, Sturm, Stieglitz, and others, Schinkel opined that the early Protestant tendency to re-use Catholic churches had stifled the development of independent

Protestant architectural forms. He criticized the contemporary approach to Protestant architecture, which he felt had resulted in too many structures with the "character of an auditorium for a moralizing lecture."[53] And while Schinkel felt many contemporary Protestant churches suffered from what he described as an austerity of feeling, he disagreed that the solution might now be found in a "new" design for Protestant church architecture. On the contrary, Christianity, be it Protestant or Catholic, shared a common essence, one that informed the designs for the sacred architecture of both confessions. This common essence, he argued, had informed medieval Christian architecture, which Schinkel viewed alongside antiquity as the two foundational poles of art. The young Schinkel then broadly characterized medieval architecture as that which informed the interior life and spiritual realm, while classical architecture was the built form best suited to shaping the temporal world. The optimal solution for a new Christian architecture, he argued, would come from merging the two poles. Schinkel's solution, its merging of the spiritual with the temporal not only signaled his broad definition for public architecture, a formulation that certainly included churches. His solution also pointed to the civic, edifying function Schinkel ascribed to public architecture. With this synthesizing approach in mind, Schinkel went on to offer a design for the Protestant Petrikirche, that, he argued, blended functional purpose with the sublimity and grandeur necessary of a sacred space.[54]

The monumental dome at the center of Schinkel's design dictated the church's interior configuration: the altar was placed directly underneath the dome and a baldachin fixed to the ceiling hung above it, marking the sacred center. Curved pews flowed outward from the altar, forming concentric half-circles on three sides. (fig. 1) The pulpit was set at a remove against

[53] Rave, *Berlin, Erster Teil – Bauten für die Kunst, Kirchen, und Denkmalpflege*, 176.
[54] Rave, *Berlin, Erster Teil – Bauten für die Kunst, Kirchen, und Denkmalpflege*, 176–78.

the back wall behind the altar, a placement Schinkel felt provided the best lines of sight from the curved rows of auditorium-style seating on three sides. Schinkel took care in his design to

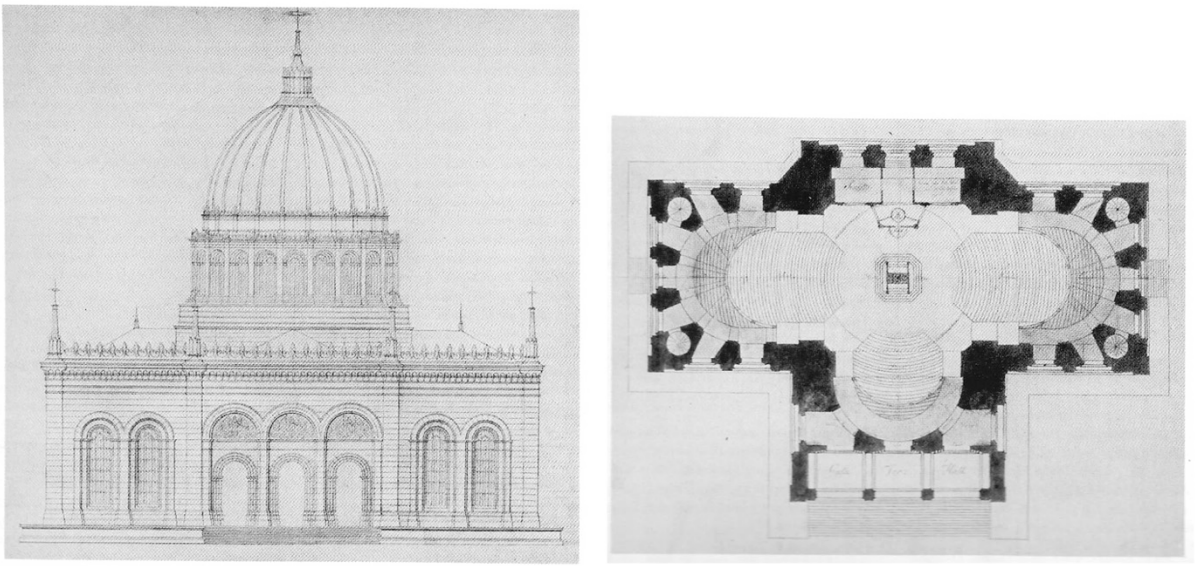


Figure 1a-b. Elevation (1a, left) and ground plan (1b, right) of Karl Friedrich Schinkel's 1810 design for a new Petrikirche in Berlin. From P.O. Rave, Berlin, Erster Teil: Bauen für die Kunst, Kirche, Denkmalpflege in the Karl Friedrich Schinkel Lebenswerk series, Margarete Kühn, editor. (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1981) 169.

correct what he found objectionable about Colberg's plan, namely its proposed close proximity of altar table and pulpit by situating the pulpit above and slightly behind the altar—as commonly featured in eighteenth-century Protestant designs. For Schinkel, this configuration of altar and pulpit defiled the altar, rendering all it but a footstool for the pulpit. The characters of the pulpit and the altar were entirely different, Schinkel stressed; their combination or close proximity denied them the proper spaces worthy of their individual characters. Schinkel commented that such an arrangement looked clumsy and "hardly appropriate, even in a village church"—a position the architect would revisit in his template design for Prussian Protestant

village churches a dozen years later. Yet key elements of Schinkel's Petrikirche exterior—its rounded arches, stylized friezes, and decorative parapets—would resurface in his template design for a Protestant village churches a decade later.

Schinkel was not alone in publishing plans for a new Petrikirche in Berlin. In autumn of 1814, Berlin architect Louis Catel exhibited a design for the Petrikirche at the fall show of the Fine Arts Academy. In December of 2014, the Oberbaudeputation received Catel's design for their assessment. Catel had proposed a centrally planned structure with a large, coffered dome at its center. He presented his ideas in the 1815 publication, *Grundzügen einer Theorie der Bauart protestantischer Kirch*e (*Fundamentals of a Theory on the Building Style of Protestant Churches)*. In addition to a chapter featuring his design for the Petrikirche, Catel offered three templates for Protestant churches ranging in size from a structure to accommodate 4,000 congregants to a village church for 800. All of his plans drew upon on the vocabulary of classical architecture. Catel insisted that Ancient Greco-Roman architectural elements were best suited to meet what he described as the great challenge of church building in his age: its ability to foster the citizenry's political and civic acumen. Like Schinkel, Catel believed that contemporary church design was obligated to reach beyond the spiritual and play an edifying role in modern life. In surveying the prevailing styles employed in religious architecture, he dismissed medieval architecture as an historical phenomenon not suited to Protestantism's liturgical emphasis on the Word. Fourteen years before Hübsch's treatise on *Rundbogenstil*, Catel identified the Roman arch as the link between Ancient Greek architecture's trabeated system and Gothic architecture's vaulted and pointed arch-based system. He concluded that ecclesiastical architecture incorporating the Roman arch would synthesize what he termed Greek rationality with Gothic spirit, thereby elevating contemporary church-going publics to

a higher plane of civic development. Catel's design for a Protestant village church featured a barrel-vaulted nave lined on either side with Greek Doric columns that supported a straight entablature and the seating galleries above. Even more forcefully than Schinkel in 1810, Catel's 1815 publication underscored that both religious and civic issues were at stake in determining the optimal style for Protestant churches.

The Oberbaudeputation's official report excoriated Catel's proposed design and unabashedly argued for the superiority of Schinkel's unexecuted, domed plan of 1811. The Oberbaudeputation assessment, clearly written by Schinkel himself, went on to offer yet another new plan for the Petrikirche—this time in the form of a large, rectangular hall church, stylistically Gothicizing with pointed arch windows and rib vaults over the nave in "the old German style" (fig. 2). By 1814, Schinkel considered neo-Gothic designs as better exemplars of the young Prussian nation—even the mammoth dome of his initial Petrikirche design would take on a Gothicizing style in his plans for a Cathedral to the Wars of Liberation of 1814–15. Schinkel's Gothicizing plan for the Petrikirche also marked a continuation of his experimentation with the arrangements of the altar and the pulpit. A raised platform held the

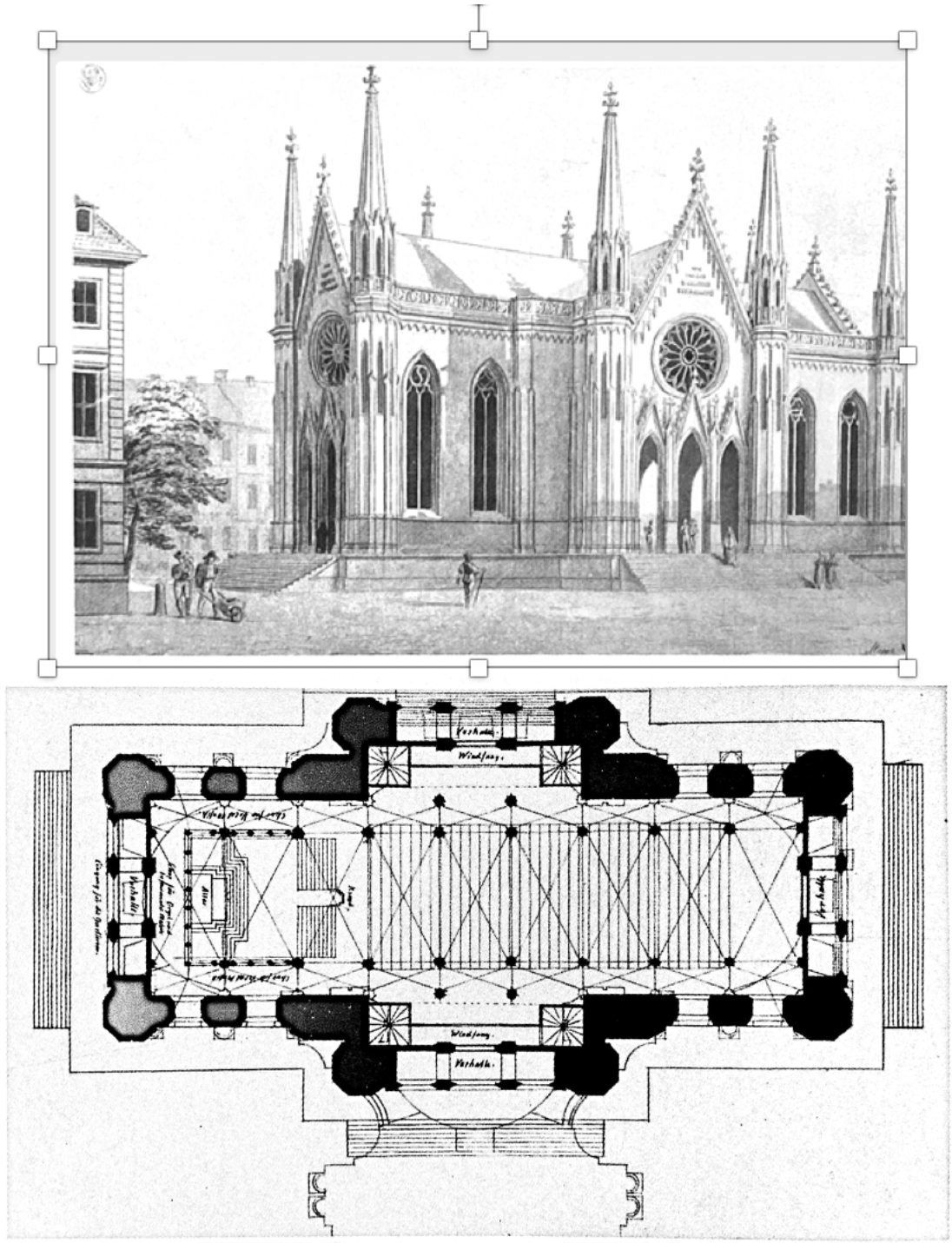


Figure 2a-b. Elevation (2a, top) and ground plan (2b, bottom) of Karl Friedrich Schinkel's 1814 design for a new Petrikirche in Berlin. The altar is set back at left in the groundplan, while the pulpit projects outward toward the congregation. From P.O. Rave, Berlin, Erster Teil: Bauen für die Kunst, Kirche, Denkmalpflege in the Karl Friedrich Schinkel Lebenswerk series, Margarete Kühn, editor. (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1981) 180–81.

pulpit, which projected in avant-corps fashion from the front of the altar toward the first rows of pews. Staircases on either side of the platform provided access to the pulpit. Behind the pulpit's platform rose another stepped platform upon which stood the altar. Placing the pulpit in front of the altar thus prevented the altar from serving as a "footstool" by the pastor during the sermon. A loft above the altar against the church's back walls housed the organ. Two narrow aisles between the raised altar platform and the side walls of the chancel provided space for seating the choir. Schinkel's memorandum conveyed his satisfaction with this arrangement, optimistically noting its appropriateness for all Christian churches, irrespective of confession. The arrangement harmoniously situated the liturgical sites for sermon, music, and altar rituals in the clear view of the congregants, yet accorded both pulpit and altar autonomous, character-appropriate space. The character of this arrangement, Schinkel wrote, paved the way for the higher development of Christian ritual in Prussia. Like Catel, Schinkel aimed to find solutions for Protestant church design that extended beyond the cultivation of Christian piety to the cultivation of Prussian citizens.

VI. Normalkirchen: Prussia's Template for the Village Protestant Church

Schinkel's engagement with Protestant church design in the service of building the Prussian nation continued with his creation of a template for Protestant village churches in 1827. The template was based upon an 1819 design Schinkel had executed for a small church to serve the 2,048 Lutheran Protestants in Nakel, a village in the Prussian province of Posen (today the town of Naklo, population 1,500, in southwest Poland).[55] On August 27, 1819, King Friedrich

[55] GStA PK I HA, Rep 89 Nr. 21923, pp. 84–85. For the history of the church at Nakel, see the subfile within this file labeled *Acta des Koenigl Geheimen Staats-Archivs betreffend den Bau der evangelischen Kirche zu Nackel as Normalkirche*. R 89 B, Rep 7B, No. 55, N. 1, 84–111.

Wilhelm III approved the sum of 5,926 Taler for the church's construction and even sent a gift of two cast iron altar candles and a crucifix upon its completion.[56] Two years later, Friedrich Wilhelm III visited the church in Nakel and was impressed by its design. The royal visit prompted a letter from Prussian Privy Councilor Albrecht to one of Posen's regional governors in September 1826. The king wished to recommend the plan of the church at Nakel to his Religious Affairs Minister Altenstein for use as "the general template for small Protestant churches" and would thus like a copy of the architectural drawings used for the church in Nakel.[57] The reply from the governor in Posen one month later conveyed the news that the original plans in the church's files were badly damaged. Instead, the regional governor enclosed a new copy of the plan made expressly for the king from the original. There was a caveat: while the drawing conformed to the church as it had been designed, the design did not conform to the church as it was built—and as the king had seen it. The governor explained, "The copy is in complete conformity with the original drawing. However, the actual church in Nakel deviates from the drawing. To save money, we did not undertake the stucco work on the exterior. Or the inscription."[58]

The pencil-and-wash drawing of the church at Nakel made its way to Schinkel one month later with instructions to prepare lithographs of the plan for its distribution as a template

[56] See GStA PK I HA Rep 89 Nr. 21923, p. 86. Two large cast iron candlestick holders and a crucifix were commonly gifted by the monarch to newly built Protestant churches. He also sent along a copy of his state liturgy. A crucifix set at the center of the altar table between two large candlesticks represented the decorative scheme stipulated in Prussian state liturgy of 1822. See Franz-Duhme, p. 36. The display of the crucifix, with its image of the suffering Christ on the cross, caused conflicts between Calvinist Protestants and the King. Although Calvinist himself, Friedrich Wilhelm had come to prefer the Lutheran services he attended with his wife Queen Luise. He also became enamored with the High Anglican services he attended on a trip to England. In response to those who found the image of Christ inappropriate and preferred a cross without the bodily representation, the king stated," The Savior on the cross is acknowledged by all three confessions and, thus, there is no more fitting symbol can be placed on any of their altars than the crucifix."
[57] GStA PK I HA Rep 89 Nr. 21923, p. 91.
[58] GStA PK I HA Rep 89 Nr. 21923, p. 93.

for Protestant churches throughout Prussia's provinces. The sheet, labeled *Drawing of the newly built Lutheran Church in the City of Nakel*, contained four separate architectural views: a ground plan, a side elevation, an elevation of the façade, and a cross-section looking down the nave toward the altar (fig. 3). Exceedingly simple, the single-story church was rectangular in plan with a single center aisle. It accommodated a modest number of worshippers in fourteen pews on either side and in one tier of additional gallery seating above. The altar table occupied the far end of the nave, directly opposite the entrance; elevated by a few steps, it featured two large candlesticks. Above and behind the altar table, the pulpit projected from the back wall. A decoratively carved sounding board above served to amplify the speaker's voice. On the church's exterior, a foliate, stuccoed frieze ornamented the building's walls and the slopes of its gables—precisely those decorative features omitted in the actual execution at Nakel due to cost considerations. Iron crosses sat atop the gables at front and back. Schinkel recognized the structure immediately. "I myself designed this church and made the drawings at the Oberbaudeputation on September 6, 1819," he wrote back to Altenstein.[59] Before he agreed to carry out Altenstein's order and reproduce what was essentially his own drawing, Schinkel urged the Kultusministerium to re-consider what seemed to him several important aspects of his original design.

[59] GStA PK I HA Rep 89 Nr. 21923, pp. 94–95.



Figure 3. "Zeichnung von der neu erbauten evangelischen Kirche in der Stadt Nakel" ("Drawing of the newly built Protestant church in the city of Nakel"). Top: ground plan ("Grundriss"); middle: side elevation ("Seitenansicht"); bottom left: front elevation with entrance ("Giebel mit dem Eingange"); bottom right: cross-section ("Profil"). See Schinkel's handwritten note in bottom left corner: "Zeichnung die von der Regierung eingesendt ist" ("Drawing that was sent in by the government," referring to the provincial government in Nakel). From the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem, IHA, Rep 89, Nr. 21923, p. 111.

First of all, as a seemingly exasperated Schinkel reminded Altenstein, the design for the church at Nakel predated Friedrich Wilhelm's August 1822 Cabinet Order requiring placement of the pulpit in the nave against a pillar, sideways—Schinkel underlined the very words in his letter—in all new Protestant churches in Prussia. "Customary to earlier arrangements," Schinkel explained, "the pulpit at Nakel is located immediately behind and above the altar, and thus to some extent in connection with it, which is completely contrary" to the August 1822 royal order. This configuration would surely occasion "all kinds of questions and confusion" among the regional governments. To avoid that, Schinkel asked, should he not change the position of the pulpit in the drawing?[60] Schinkel didn't stop there, however. Over two pages, he offered alternative interior arrangements to improve his 1819 design. His ideas harkened back to the earlier experiments with placement of nave and altar he undertook in his Petrikirche designs, alternatives he had put forth precisely to counter Oberlandbaumeister Colberg's "clumsy" placement of the pulpit above and behind the altar, a solution he found "hardly appropriate, even in a village church." Why Schinkel had turned to what he himself had described as the "clumsy" arrangement of pulpit above and behind the altar for the church at Nakel in 1819 is not clear; perhaps it served as an expedient solution for an exceedingly small space. In 1827, however, this arrangement proved highly unsuitable to Schinkel, particularly for use as a general, Prussia-wide template. Schinkel's duty required him to point out the clear transgression of royal orders in the 1819 Nakel plan he was asked to re-draw. At the same time, the architect's arguments in 1827 for modifications to his earlier plan offer a through line from his earliest thoughts on the critical civic function of commodious, clear, and legible ecclesiastical spaces—only this time, Schinkel is considering not the

[60] GStA PK I HA Rep 89 Nr. 21923, p.94.

Petrikirche, but an altogether different scale and site, namely the modest, village churches of distant provincial regions.

Schinkel began his commentary by defending the functional sense of aligning altar and pulpit on a common axis—as he had done in his two designs for the Petrikirche (the first design with the pulpit at a remove behind, and the second design with pulpit projecting out in front of the altar). He reiterated his conviction that placement of the pulpit sideways (the word again underlined by the architect) resulted in serious disadvantages for both the congregation's view of the pulpit and the "architectural order of the entire church interior." He had explored alternatives, he noted, reminding Altenstein that his responsibility at the Oberbaudeputation included the "design of all churches." Schinkel then presented two options for an alternate interior configuration of the Prussian village church template, solutions that would preserve the king's preference for adequate space around the altar without situating the pulpit sideways against a pillar in the smaller, often cramped nave of a small church. Schinkel's suggestions still contravened the royal order, yet did so in manner the architect viewed as more commodious.

Schinkel's first option placed the pulpit on one side of the altar and the baptismal font on the other, both set underneath decorative, carved baldachins. Schinkel had designed such an arrangement for the conversion of Koblenz's Romanesque *Florinskirche* from Catholic to Protestant worship in 1819. Carved wooden baldachins reminiscent of a Gothic spire complete with pinnacles, crockets, and a carved finial crowned pulpit and font and served as pendants to the altar.[61] While the Florinskirche's much larger size allowed for placement of the pendant pulpit and baptismal font slightly in advance of the altar, this decorative scheme had received

[61] See *Schinkel im Rheinland*, exh. cat., 1991, 109–11 for Schinkel's designs, Lassaulx's modification—ostensibly due to cost considerations—and an 1821 painting of the Florinskirche's interior.

accolades from Friedrich Wilhelm III, who conveyed his great pleasure with the finished product to both Schinkel and Johann Claudius von Lassaulx, the architect working for the provincial government in Koblenz.

Schinkel reached further back for an historical link to his second suggestion, tying it to architectural precedents of the Early Christian church. He suggested "reviving the very old arrangement of the Christian church" by placing a pair of "Ambonen," or ambos, on either side of the altar. He noted that the higher one could serve for delivery for the sermon, while the lower one functioned for reading of the gospel and liturgy. As with his first suggestion, the altar would be flanked on either side by liturgical furnishings. In this case, the baptismal font would be placed just in front of the altar. Both options conveyed Schinkel's desire to create a unified space for liturgical focus in a small church and provide what he viewed as novel yet historically-grounded solutions to the centuries-old dilemma of the ideal Protestant church interior. They also signaled his clear dissatisfaction with placing the pulpit against a pillar in the nave. Schinkel noted that the 1819 drawings would require extensive revision in any event; the copy sent from Nakel was "confused in all its details" and certainly not appropriate for engraving. The final engraved sheet would also require the addition of numerous details for the designs for the cornices, columns, and other decorative aspects, as "ignorance on these matters is the provinces is still considerable" and prone to error in their execution.[62] Schinkel insisted on the more time-consuming and expensive process of engraving over lithography in order to achieve what he described as excellent reproduction quality comparable to that of his published *Sammlung Architektonischer Entwürfe*.

[62] GStA PK I HA Rep. 89 Nr. 21923, pp. 94–95

When the answer came from the king's Privy Councilor in January 1827, no mention was made of either of Schinkel's two suggested alternatives. The monarch responded that in cases of extreme spatial insufficiency, he would reluctantly agree to allow the pulpit to deviate from its officially-mandated position against a pillar in the nave—thereby confirming the arrangement as originally designed by Schinkel for Nakel in 1819. He explained that his insistence on placing the pulpit against a pillar in the nave was "less about the pillar," and more about preserving a dignified and appropriately roomy space around the altar, the lack of which he had observed all too frequently in village churches. Yet worse than a cramped space around the altar, the king felt, was a direct structural connection between altar and pulpit in some form. (i.e., the *Kanzelaltar,* though he did not mention it by name). In any event, the altar, the king insisted, must be free-standing and the pulpit placed at an "appropriate distance" in those cases where a lack of space prevented strict adherence to the royal order of August 1822 with its mandate for sideways-facing pulpits in the nave. Schinkel was ordered to make explicit on his engravings the need for adequate space around the altar.

When the Kultusministerium received Schinkel's engravings for the Prussian Protestant village church template based on Nakel, the position of the pulpit—in the dreaded "footstool" position above and behind the altar—caught the immediate attention of bureaucrats. They felt the need to double check whether Schinkel had not perhaps misunderstood the monarch's instructions. In a letter to the king, Altenstein reported that Schinkel's template for village churches situated the pulpit directly behind the altar and inquired as to whether the August 1822 order remained in effect.[63] The king's Privy Councilor thanked Altenstein for pointing this out and dryly assured him that in small churches, such as

[63] GStA PK I HA Rep. 89 Nr. 21923, p. 104. Letter to Friedrich Wilhelm III from Minister Altenstein, dated October 30, 1827

Nakel, the king required enough separation between altar and pulpit to ensure that "the handkerchief of the pastor, should it fall from the pulpit, would not land on the altar." While the Privy Councilor conceded that this candid royal response was not appropriate for wider dissemination, he assured the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the correctness of Schinkel's interpretation.[64] Schinkel's engravings were completed in May 1827 and fifty copies of the plan were disseminated to each provincial government office in July of that year.[65] The template was intended to serve as the model ("Muster") for all small Protestant churches funded in whole or part by the Prussian royal government. It was noted that congregations need not follow it to scale; actual size would be determined by the community's specific needs. On the engraved ground plan, Schinkel clearly conveyed the king's instructions in boldface lettering filling the wide space between the altar and the elevated pulpit behind it: "Gang zwischen Kanzel und Altar" or "Aisle Between Pulpit and Altar."[66]

On delivering his final engravings to the Kultusministerium, Schinkel once again reiterated his dissatisfaction with the drawings prepared in Nakel. He complained of "numerous errors in construction, sloppiness, and distortions" he felt would have confused provincial builders. "As these people generally have few resources in the finer training to perfect their art, it is necessary to deliver building projects as completely as possible and make clear the details of the building on a larger scale."[67] Schinkel's engraved design attempted to do just that, crowding a single page with the ground plan, front and side elevations, longitudinal and transverse cross-sections, a rendering of the spatial relationship between the altar and

[64] GStA PK I HA Rep. 89 Nr. 21923, p. 106. See also GStA PK I HA 76 Nr. 12 Bd 2, p. 25. Letter of November 27, 1827.
[65] GStA PK I HA Rep. 93B Nr. 2487, p. 15 recto.
[66] An engraved copy of Schinkel's template may be found at GStA PK I HA Rep. 76 IX Sekt 1 Nr. 12a, pp. 2–4.
[67] GStA PK I HA Rep. 89 Nr. 21923, p. 97.

pulpit, and a cut-away showing the construction of the columns supporting the elevated seating gallery and the timber roof truss (fig. 4).

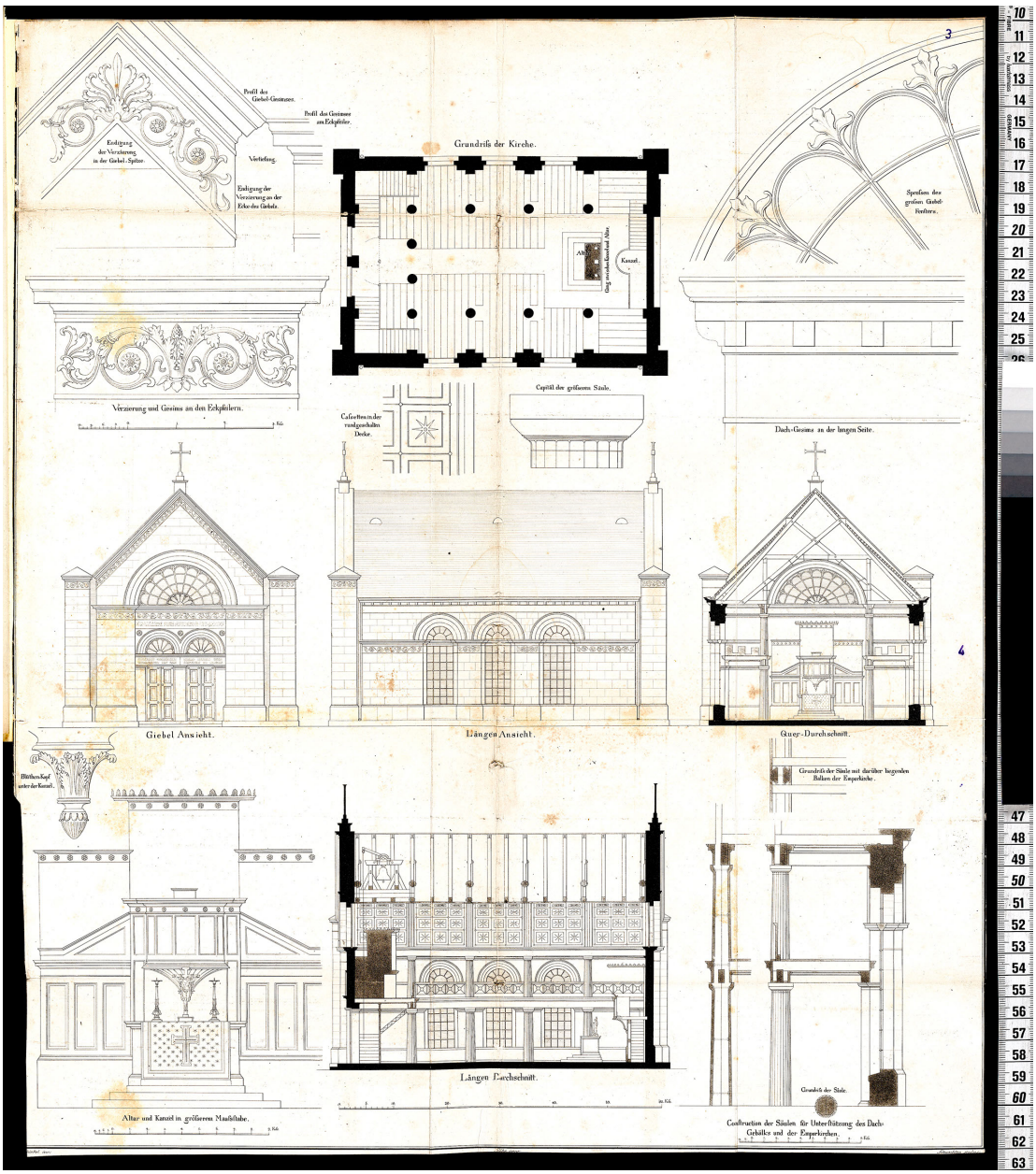


Figure 4. Engraved sheet with Schinkel's designs for a Protestant village church template (1827) based on his 1819 plan for the church in Nakel. From the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem, I HA, Rep 76, Kultusministerium, IX, Sekt. 1, Nr. 12a, p. 3–4.

In addition, eight details provided enlarged renderings of the church's numerous decorative elements. Schinkel's decorative program featured a stucco garland of intertwined vines and blooms traveling the exterior walls, adorning the gables, and encircling its corner pilasters, their foliate designs reminiscent of carvings on Ancient Roman sarcophagi. Inside, rosettes and palmette-shaped acroteria adorned the pulpit and a rounded, coffered ceiling composed of dozens of star-filled squares covered the nave. Schinkel's engraved sheet included the patterns of the foliate stucco frieze, the profiles of the various cornices, the star-shaped pattern in the cells of the coffered ceiling, the design of the capitals for the interior columns supporting the galleries, the tracery pattern of the large semi-circular window above the main entrance, and the delicate acanthus leaves carved on the terminus below the pulpit. While ostensibly intended to be a simple village church, the structure teemed with such classicizing decorative motifs.

Schinkel's detailed engraving for the template church certainly exceeded his brief. Schinkel's plans, pointedly, also did not represent the church in Nakel as the king viewed it. The building that enamored the king and prompted him to disseminate it as a prototype lacked the stucco detail Schinkel placed so much emphasis upon in his engraving. The omission of the stuccowork at Nakel represented a phenomenon Schinkel often encountered, namely changes made on the ground by provincial authorities to the plans sent by the Oberbaudeputation in Berlin. Schinkel's engravings pointedly corrected this unauthorized provincial modification, placing the ornament back on the structure and reconstituting the whole in accordance to the architect's original design. In doing so, Schinkel went beyond his brief to simply engrave the drawing as received and instead offered a concerted, pedagogical

attempt to improve the standards of provincial architecture. For the Oberbaudeputation knew best, and Schinkel deemed provincial adherence to its plans essential in matters architectural.

Frequent frustrations with provincial modifications to Oberbaudeputation plans is evident in the sharp criticism Schinkel regularly voiced for contemporary public architecture outside Berlin, particularly in Prussia's eastern provinces. When inspecting provincial structures based on his designs, he often derided their execution as mistaken, sloppy, or containing "errors." During lengthy trips in the summers of 1832, 1833, and 1834, Schinkel toured the provinces of Silesia (June–August 1832), the Prussian Rhineland (July–September 1833), and Posen and Prussia's eastern provinces (July–August 1834). He documented his journeys in lengthy reports that recount busy daily itineraries spent inspecting buildings he had designed from afar as well as touring historically significant monuments and churches. He reported on his conversations with local architects, artisans, and civil servants and often commented on the state of the local economy or regional building practices.

Rather than private diaries, Schinkel's trip reports were prepared precisely for the audience of his superiors at the Ministry of Trade and Industry and the Kultusministerium. Schinkel knew to take full advantage of having the attention of high-level decision makers and expressed pointed frustrations with situations he frequently encountered, such as the lack of sufficient state oversight of construction, the need for better trained masons, and the dearth of funding for the proper and timely execution of projects. To ensure the widest distribution of his written reports within Berlin's ministerial structure, Schinkel underlined in red all entries related to churches or schools and attached instructions for bureaucratic support staff in Berlin to copy red-underlined entries into a separate stand-alone document for submission to the Kultusministerium. At nearly two-hundred handwritten pages in length, Schinkel's trip reports

from 1832–34 provide unparalleled insight into his thinking about the pivotal role of architecture in shaping all facets of contemporary Prussian society.

The importance Schinkel placed upon provincial ecclesiastical architecture as a component of nation building is evidenced by his trip report entries from the first week of July 1832. In the Silesian village of Kupferberg, near the city of Görlitz, Schinkel toured a newly completed Protestant church, one whose plans he had reviewed and modified in 1826. Just six years after its completion, Schinkel lamented that the building had the appearance of a "ruin." He blamed this upon the misinterpretation of many of his intended architectural details, such as the profiles of the cornices, as well as on the generally poor quality of the bricks, and the shoddy application of the stucco such that large sections of it had fallen from the wall.[68] He also complained about the execution of Kupferberg's Catholic church, a project he had reviewed in 1828, expressing considerable frustration at the continued provincial lack of adherence to the official designs approved by the Oberbaudeputation. Schinkel lamented that such arbitrary changes "should not be tolerated by the government, as in this process, the character of public buildings to make evident the highest *Bildung* of our age is lost."[69] He was most furious with the general lack of trained state overseers—the construction of both churches had been subcontracted to "Entrepreneurs," who executed projects without consistent monitoring by state-employed architects and ostensibly cut corners to increase their profit

[68] GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Nr. 994, p. 7 verso. Entry dated July 1, 1832.
[69] *Bildung* does not have a precise correlate in English. It means "education" but one who possesses *Bildung* is not merely book smart. *Bildung* refers to an aspirational human state of being wherein one is a cultured, educated, morally upright, engaged member of society. For nineteenth-century reform-minded Prussians like Schinkel and Wilhelm von Humboldt (a mentor and supporter of Schinkel), the cultivation and dissemination of *Bildung* in provincial regions would be understood as essential to the formation of ideal Prussian citizens. Schinkel believed that well designed public architecture could transmit *Bildung* and, therefore, buildings had a significant role to play in the formation and maturation of the citizenry.

margins. Schinkel furiously pleaded for mandating the oversight of church building initiatives by state-employed architects:

> On this occasion, I am again convinced that if building projects are undertaken primarily with funds from parishes, and if they are of importance, like the churches in Kupferberg and Hohen-Friedberg, the government must insist that the management be wrested from the hands of masons and carpenters and an inspector placed on the site. Only this way will one slowly ensure progress in architecture in the provinces and stamp out this arbitrary, tasteless amateurism.[70]

For a Prussian state whose identity was tied inextricably with Protestantism, the building of a modest Protestant church in a Silesian village manifested sufficient representative power to command Schinkel's ire and inspire a furious plea for greater state resources. Stringent review of plans before construction, adherence to the didactic example of templates, and the presence of skilled oversight during the construction process constituted the means by which Schinkel believed provincial architecture might lift populations and realize demonstrable progress. Better architectural outcomes, Schinkel believed, were not just achievable—they were absolutely necessary.

The 1827 creation of a Prussian template for Protestant churches in provincial towns and villages fulfilled multiple objectives for different bureaucratic actors, from the economical, i.e., minimizing costs, to the architectural, i.e., maintaining quality and functionality, to the confessional and identitarian, i.e., fostering adoption of the state liturgy and strengthening the

[70] GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Nr. 994, p. 9 recto/verso. Entry dated July 9, 1832.

presence of state-supported Protestantism in the face of a growing Catholic minority. The utility of the template as an instrumental tool of state power must also not be discounted. Throughout Prussia, the Protestant church represented both confessional and state power. Further, churches featured prominently in provincial towns and villages, many of which lacked significant representative, state-sponsored architecture. Insistence on adherence to a village church template inserted the authority of the state into the sacred spaces of the provincial sphere, thereby extending the presence of the state from "official" sites of government business to the community-centered, social spaces of the village church.[71] The configuration of the Prussian village church, with its insistence on the centrality and sanctity of the altar, stood in stark contrast to the traditional Protestant focus on the pulpit; at the same time, this configuration conveyed the monarch's ideals for his regime, one that fused Protestantism with the Prussian state. As the king said to Schinkel, what mattered in the village church template was not placement of the pulpit against a pillar, but maintaining the primacy of the altar. The emphasis on the altar spatially modeled a Prussian monarchy that equated piety with social order and demanded obeisance to the authority of a single sovereign: Christ in the spiritual realm, Friedrich Wilhelm III in the temporal one. Such hierarchized ecclesiastical spaces and the introduction of a standardized liturgy did not sit well with Protestants, who viewed these approaches as redolent of Catholicism. In fulfilling this objective for his monarch, Schinkel's template emplaced Friedrich Wilhelm III's monarchical rule in distant provincial villages, and

[71] On the fluidity of official spaces beyond sites of formal governance in provincial towns, see Tania Sengupta, "Between country and city: fluid spaces of provincial administrative towns in nineteenth-century Bengal," *Urban History* 39, 1 (2012): 56–82 and Tania Sengupta, "Between the Garden and the Bazaar: The Visions, Spaces, and Structures of Colonial Towns in Nineteenth-Century Colonial Bengal," *Visual Culture in Britain*, 12, 3 (2011): 333–48.

its spatial configuration organized provincial bodies in relation to the prevailing higher authorities, both secular and spiritual.

While both the monarch and Schinkel took great interest in provincial church design, the motivations driving their engagement clearly differed. For Schinkel, ecclesiastical architecture had to aspire beyond the spiritual and act as a civic force for the dissemination of Bildung. For Friedrich Wilhelm III, ecclesiastical architecture played a foundational role in his vision of a strong, neo-absolutist Protestant Prussia. Consequently, Schinkel found himself repeatedly at loggerheads with his monarch over the configuration of village churches during the dozen years between the initial distribution of the village church template in 1827 until Friedrich Wilhelm III's death in 1840. Friedrich Wilhelm repeatedly prodded Schinkel on the placement of the altar vis-à-vis the pulpit in village churches. As late as March 1839, the king reprimanded Schinkel for approving designs for small provincial church designs that failed, in the king's mind, to adequately separate the altar from the pulpit, and a frustrated Schinkel asked the monarch to clarify the matter once and for all. Schinkel argued that the monarch's approval of the Protestant village church template in 1827 constituted "indirect" approval of pulpits placed above and behind the altar when the space did not suffice to place the pulpit against a pillar in the nave.[72] Additionally, the placement of the pulpit and altar on a common axis yielded functional benefits, Schinkel reiterated, as it provided optimal acoustics and sightlines for churchgoers, particularly in Protestant churches commonly fitted with multiple tiers of elevated seating galleries. Friedrich Wilhelm III did not yield. On May 25, 1839, the monarch doubled down, unwilling to cede approval, indirect or otherwise, and issued a cabinet order reaffirming the 1822 decree on interior configuration of state-funded Protestant churches.

[72] GStA PK I HA 93B Nr. 2487, pp. 120–21. Letter of March 31, 1839.

The "clever use of space" by architects would surely eliminate any difficulties in placing the pulpit off to the side of the altar, insisted the king.[73]

In provincial communities, the village church template sparked reactions as early as the autumn of 1827. The recurring complaint from provincial architects concerned neither the pulpit nor the altar, but the lack of a tower in Schinkel's design. As the central architectural feature of so many rural townscapes, church towers called villagers to worship and served practical secular functions like time-keeping and surveillance over the surrounding area. At the request of the Kultusministerium, Schinkel drew up two variants of the village church template; the first included a single-story tower and the second a two-story tower.[74] The king approved the plans in February 1828. He wished to make clear, however, that the Prussian state would not cover the costs of tower construction. If a community wished to add a tower to its church, the expense was theirs alone to bear.[75] Evident in these exchanges is the dissonance between a monarch concerned with church building as a means of maintaining social order and control over provincial publics, and the quotidian, functional needs structures such as church towers fulfilled for provincial communities. The function of towers extended beyond just time keeping or calling congregants to services—they were also potent emblems of local civic identity. While Friedrich Wilhelm III wished to subsidize church building, he had little interest in architectural elements like these, which bolstered local identities at the expense of the central government.

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[73] GStA PK I HA 93B Nr. 2487, p. 125. Cabinet order dated May 25, 1839.
[74] Copies of Schinkel's drawings are located in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin-Dahlem. See I HA Rep 76 IX Sekt 1 Nr. 12a, pp. 7–9.
[75] GStA PK I HA 93B Nr. 2487, p. 40 recto. Cabinet order dated February 18, 1828

VII. The Rhenish Template for Small Prussian Protestant Churches

The template project initiated by Friedrich Wilhelm III and carried out by Schinkel was not the first attempt at a template design for provincial Protestant churches in Prussia. That distinction went to the provincial government in the Rhenish city of Düsseldorf, who, in 1821, asked provincial architect Adolph von Vagedes to design a simple Protestant church for the village of Kelzenberg in 1821, eighteen miles to the southwest. The provincial officials requested that his design "be the basis, *mutatis mutandis,* for use as a norm" for small Protestant churches.[76]

Vagedes's designs for a small Protestant church in Kelzenberg went to Schinkel in early 1824.[77] The first page presented ground plans for the first floor and the gallery level, the wooden framing of the gallery level and the roof, and the ground plan and framing of the tower. The second page featured longitudinal and axial cross sections of the church along with a cross section of the tower. The third page paired side and front elevations, rendered carefully in ink and wash. (figs. 5–7) Vagedes proposed a modest hall church with a single-tier of gallery seating on three sides. Congregants entered through the bell tower on the west end. Between tower and church, a small vestibule housed two staircases, leading up to the galleries. The altar stood alone in the apse, and the raised pulpit, accessible by a winding staircase, rested against the first pillar in the nave. Exterior decoration was kept to an absolute minimum, save for paired pilasters framing five windows on the church's exterior walls and matching paired

[76] Quoted in Brües, p. 253: "mutatis mutandis als Grundlage benutzt und zum Maßstab genommet werden kann." On Vagedes's designs for Kelzenberg, see also Walter Kordt, *Adolph von Vagedes: Ein rheinischer-westfälischer Baumister der Goethezeit* (Ratingen: A. Henn Verlag, 1961), 71–77 and figs. 64–67, and Wolfgang Zimmerman, *Adolph von Vagedes und seine Kirchenbauten* in *Aachener baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen, Bd. 1*, Willy Weyres, ed. (Cologne: J. P. Bachem Verlag, 1964), 59–70.

[77] GStA PK I HA Rep 93D Nr. 639 Kelzenberg, p. 2. See Schinkel's assessment of the plan dated March 19, 1824.

pilasters on the fenestration of the tower. Pediments crowned both church and tower. A simple clockface provided the tower's sole adornment.

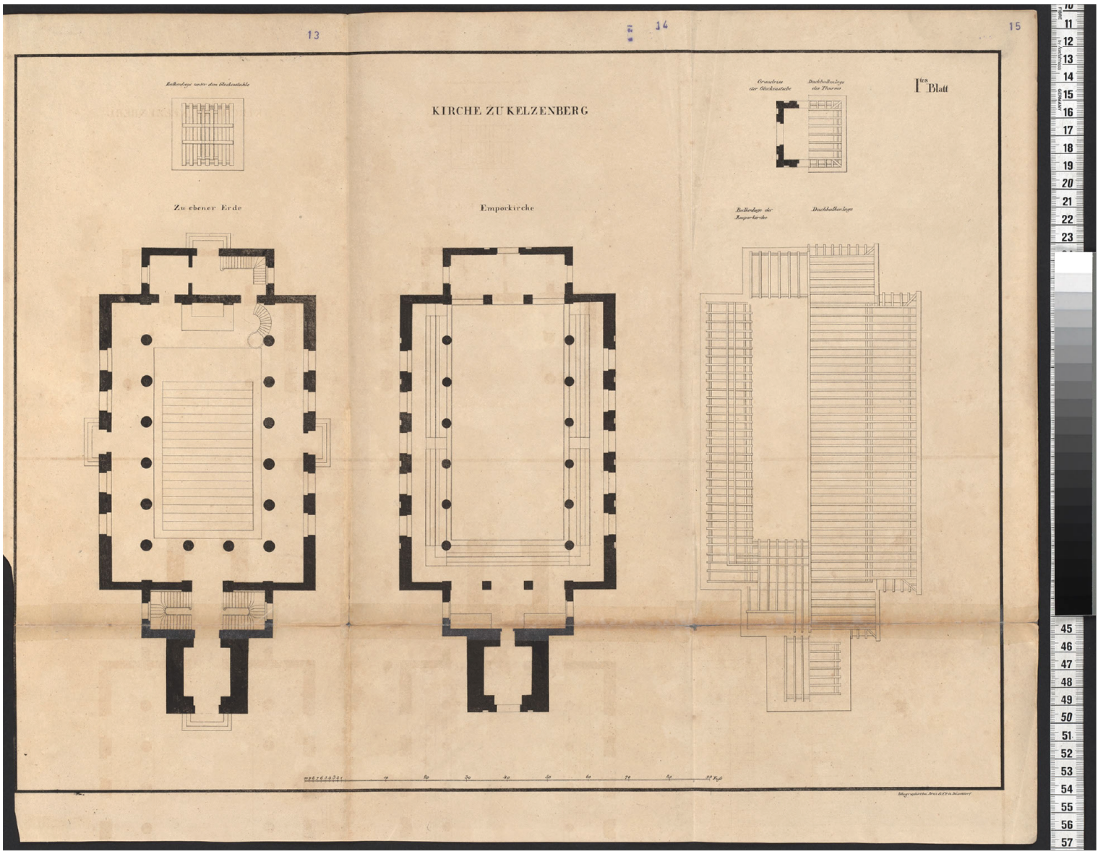
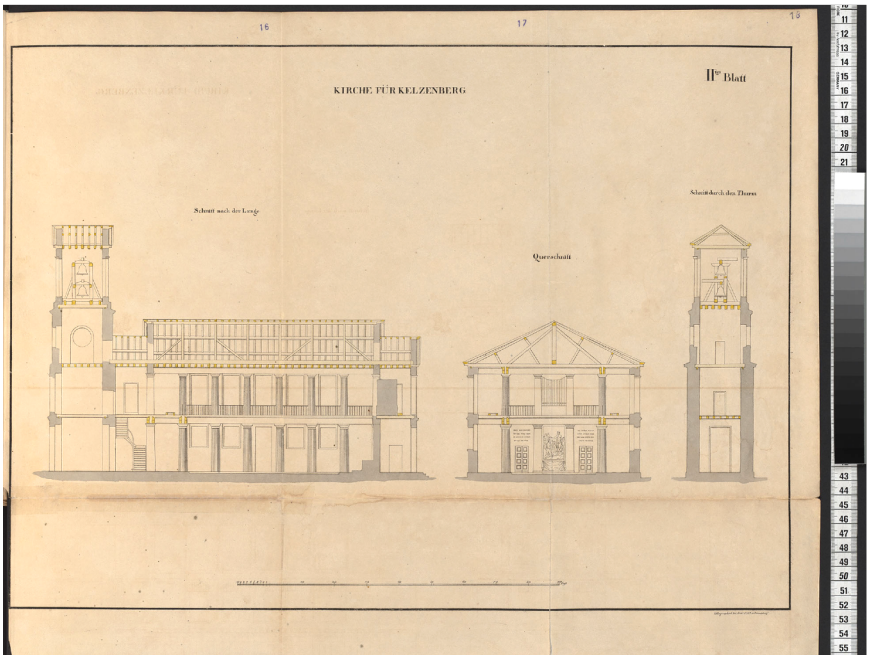


Figure 5. Adolf von Vagedes, "Kirche zu Kelzenberg, 1er Blatt" ("Church at Kelzenberg, 1st Page"), (1825). Inset, upper left: joist construction, belfry ("Balkenlage unter dem Glockenstuhl"); Inset, upper right: ground plan for the bell tower (left side), and joist construction, roof of bell tower (right side) ("Grundriss der Glockenstube, Dachbalkenlage des Thurms"); Left to right: Ground plan of ground floor ("Zu ebener Erde"), ground plan at seating gallery level ("Emporkirche"), and joist construction for the seating gallery level (left) ("Balkenlage der Emporkirche") and joist construction for roof (right) ("Dachbalkenlage"). From the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem, I HA, Rep 76, Kultusministerium, IX, Sekt. 1, Nr. 12a, p. 13–15.



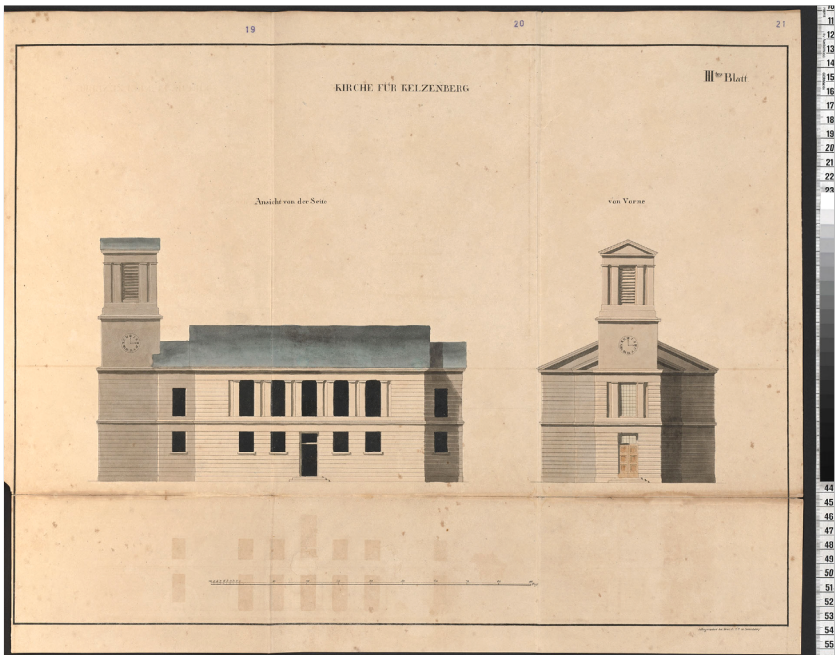


Figure 6 (top): Adolf von Vagedes, "Kirche zu Kelzenberg, IIer Blatt" ("Church at Kelzenberg, 2nd Page"), (1825). Left to right: longitudinal cross-section ("Schnitt nach der Laenge"), transverse cross-section ("Querschnitt"), and cross-section of the bell tower ("Schnitt durch den Thurm"). From the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem, I HA, Rep 76, Kultusministerium, IX, Sekt. 1, Nr. 12a, p. 16–18.

Figure 7 (bottom): Adolf von Vagedes, "Kirche zu Kelzenberg, IIItes Blatt" ("Church at Kelzenberg, 3rd Page"), (1825). Left: side elevation ("Ansicht von der Seite"); Right: front elevation ("von Vorne). From the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem, I HA, Rep 76, Kultusministerium, IX, Sekt. 1, Nr. 12a, p. 19–21

Schinkel clearly liked the design. "We couldn't fail to appreciate the drawings sent for the design of a church at Kelzenberg. They are outstanding and most suitable for their purpose, carefully, cleanly, and well-drawn," he wrote. It would be advantageous, he said, for the Oberbaudeputation to keep the drawings and make use of them at some point.[78] The provincial government in Düsseldorf evidently received word of Schinkel's praise, as they subsequently took it upon themselves to make two hundred lithographed copies of Vagedes's drawings with the intent to distribute them throughout Prussia as a template for small Prussian Protestant churches. In August 1825, the Kultusministerium received, unsolicited, one-hundred-and-fifty copies of the lithographs from the Düsseldorf regional government.[79] The Berlin authorities sent 10 sets of elevations, cross-sections, and ground plans to the Oberbaudeputation. They explained that the plans had arrived from Düsseldorf subsequent to Schinkel's favorable assessment and in a quantity certainly sufficient for dissemination to all the regional government offices. Before the Kultusministerium disseminated the drawings, they asked, could the Oberbaudeputation review them? Unsurprisingly given their monarch's fixation on the placement of the altar vis-à-vis the pulpit, the Kultusministerium bureaucrats also noted that they were unable to locate the pulpit in Vagedes's cross-sectional diagrams.

When Schinkel responded to the Kultusministerium one month later, he dramatically reversed his earlier, more favorable assessment of Vagedes's design. Schinkel now felt it necessary to "completely rework" the plan; while he agreed to retain its general arrangement, he cited the need to give a more rigorous treatment to its component parts. Schinkel submitted

[78] GStA PK I HA Rep 93D Nr. 639, Kelzenberg, p. 1. Draft memo written and signed by Schinkel (p.1) and transcribed letter to the Kultusministerium signed by Schinkel along with Eytelwein, Crelle and Schmid, dated March 19, 1824 (p. 2). The drawings submitted by Vagedes are located in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin-Dahlem. See I HA Rep 76 IX Sekt 1 Nr. 12a, pp. 13–21.
[79] Brües, *Die Rheinlande*, 253.

entirely new drawings to accommodate the numerous changes he had made to Vagedes's design, changes he justified as necessary for the template were to have "general applicability."[80] What might be suitable in one place under certain conditions, he cautioned, may not always be widely established as a "norm."[81] A comparison of Vagedes's drawings with Schinkel's revisions, sheets now in the collection of the Kupferstichkabinett at Berlin's Gemäldegalerie, demonstrate how Schinkel's subtle modifications gave the church an air of sturdy authority. In Schinkel's hands, the design for Kelzenberg took on assertiveness not evident in Vagedes's refined yet utilitarian structure (figs. 8–9).

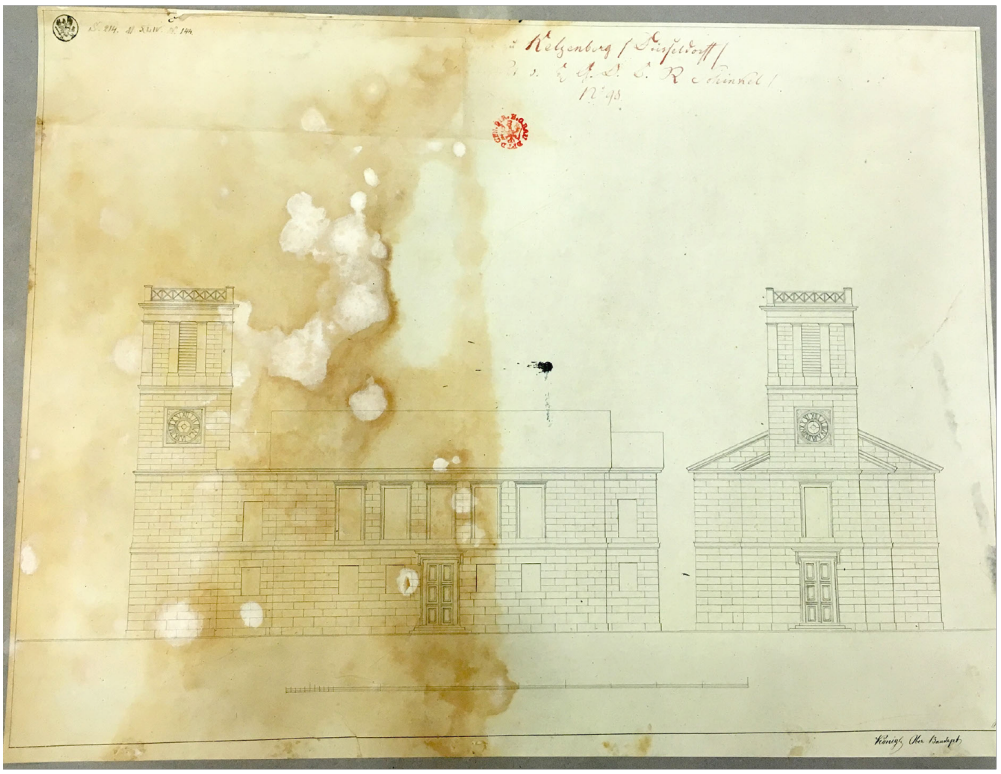


Figure 8. Karl Friedrich Schinkel. Design for the Church in Kelzenberg, 1825. Left: side elevation; Right: front elevation. Although the work has clearly suffered damaged at left, Schinkel's numerous modifications to Vagedes's design are visible. From the collection of the Kupfterstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Inv.-Nr.: SM 44c.144. (Photograph taken by author.)

[80] GStA PK I HA Rep 93D Nr. 639, Kelzenberg, pp. 6–9.
[81] GStA PK I HA Rep 93D Nr. 639, Kelzenberg, p. 6 verso.



Figure 9. Karl Friedrich Schinkel. Design for the Church in Kelzenberg, 1825. Left: longitudinal cross-section; Right: transverse cross-section. Again, the image is compromised by damage. From the collection of the Kupfterstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Inv.-Nr.: SM 44c.145. (Photograph taken by author.)

While Schinkel essentially left virtually no part of Vagedes's design for Kelzenberg unchanged, his touch proved more subtle inside the church. Schinkel fussed with the proportions of the columns supporting the seating galleries, increasing their height from five times the diameter of the column to six times. He defended the modification as necessary to improve lines of sight inside the church and produce a "freer and more agreeable effect." He widened doorways and added more pronounced window surrounds to the ground floor apertures. He also took care to delineate the pulpit in his axial cross-section diagram of the church's interior. (To the right of the altar, one clearly sees the pulpit absent in Vagedes's axial cross section.) Schinkel's pulpit is supported by a fluted Doric column; the exterior of the

basket featured a Biblical scene, likely painted rather than carved given economic considerations. A crucifix framed by two candles sat atop the altar-table per the monarch's instructions for the decoration of provincial Protestant churches.

Schinkel's two-sentence explanation for his interior interventions paled in comparison with the two lengthy paragraphs describing his modifications to the building's exterior—a ratio befitting the importance of the external appearance of a Protestant church in the overwhelmingly Catholic Rhineland. The extent and nature of his revisions to the exterior at Kelzenberg become clearly evident in a side-by-side comparison with Vagedes's drawings. Schinkel's significant revisions to Vagedes's design must be considered within the context of the political nature of ecclesiastical architecture in the majority Catholic Rhineland, where defining the appropriate character for a Protestant village church took on heightened representative urgency. Schinkel's revisions also must be considered in the context of the competitive, often strained relationships between Prussian architects at the Oberbaudeputation and their Rhenish counterparts. Schinkel and his colleagues at the Oberbaudeputation often found their directives rebuffed by their Rhenish architectural counterparts, particularly Paris-trained Adolph von Vagedes in Düsseldorf, with whom Schinkel had a tense relationship. In 1823, Vagedes refused to incorporate Schinkel's revisions into the plan he had designed for the Catholic church of Saint Antonius in the Rhenish town of Barmen, dismissing them as of a "general sort" and unnecessary.[82]

Schinkel's modifications to Vagedes's design for Kelzenberg might arguably fall into the category of "general" at first glance. Schinkel himself admitted that he kept the building's main disposition intact. Nonetheless, he introduced a more robust, cuboid character to the

[82] See chapter two of this dissertation for a discussion on Vagedes's church of St. Antonius. Also see Eva Brües, *Die Rheinlande*, 236–37, and Zimmerman *Adolph von Vagedes und seine Kirchenbauten*, 46–59.

structure and stripped the few elegant Neo-Classical components from Vagedes's exterior. Gone were the narrow paired pilasters framing the second-story windows on the nave walls. These were "not justified," according to Schinkel, and their proximity to one another prevented proper construction of the ashlar masonry in-between them. The uppermost portion of Vagedes's tower had culminated in a pediment; four colonettes supported a pediment, forming a diminutive ancient temple. In Schinkel's hands, the petite temple with its classicizing pediment was swapped out for a sturdy, flat-topped observation platform framed by a timber balustrade and four stout corner pylons—a design that evoked merlons and crenels, rather than triglyphs and metopes. Schinkel reprimanded Vagedes for his placement of a pediment atop the tower, a choice he said deprived the structure of its critical secular function to provide a clear view of the surrounding area, especially times of war and in case of fire. Yet Vagedes's four colonettes still occupied the uppermost story of Schinkel's tower, now supporting a strong cornice that negotiated the transition between the platform and the tower, emphasizing horizontality, solidity, and the structure's rooted, sturdy connection with the church below. Schinkel also significantly widened the distance between the colonettes to make visible the solid, rectilinear surface of the tower's ashlar masonry beneath. Indeed, the colonettes look as if they may give way from the force of the stone exerting pressure from behind.

Overall, Schinkel's exterior modifications seemed to fortify the church itself, an effect achieved by the emphasis on the vigorous, repeated pattern of the ashlar blocks, their forceful materiality suggesting assertiveness and permanence. The unceasing layering of row atop row of stone upon stone rendered the structure impenetrable. Schinkel commented on precisely this aspect of his design in his memorandum. Chiding Vagedes for his omission of any vertical joints on the church's exterior, he noted such elements "are actually essential for the character

of purpose-built construction." The building's purpose may have been worship, but its character was not one of gracious piety. Rather, the character of Schinkel's reworking implied a power more temporal than spiritual, and, ultimately, a structure that shared a footprint but little else with Vagedes's design. When compared to the delicate foliated stuccowork and round-headed windows of Schinkel's Nakel-based template of a few years hence, his modification of Vagedes's design for Kelzenberg offers an alternative conception of the village Protestant church as bulwark against the Rhenish Catholicism pervasive on all sides.

As was the case in so many parishes in Rhenish towns and villages, construction progress on the Protestant church at Kelzenberg stopped and started for more than a decade due to financial shortfalls and, in this case, a community debate over the site for the new church. Vagedes's original design carried a moderate budget of 13,042 Taler, but the congregation was unable to raise those funds. In 1826, the Düsseldorf government asked its architects for a radically scaled-back plan and Vagedes, now in collaboration with a colleague named Walger, produced a design for just 6,755 Taler. In 1831, the monarch pledged 1,000 Taler toward the effort. Yet, construction did not commence until 1835—and only then with costs further cut by the elimination of the seating galleries and the sacristy. In early 1836, Kultusminister Altenstein informed the monarch that construction might be completed by autumn of that year, resources permitting. The congregation had 5,760 Taler on hand, a combination of funds cobbled together from a regional collection, interest on their balances, a gain of 100 Taler from selling old building materials, and their pledge to come up with another 1,000 Taler. That said, they still lacked 2,236 Taler of the 7,997 needed. Of the 1,152 residents of Kelzenberg, most were peasants working small plots of land, day laborers, and proto-industrial workers, "the first of whom are nearly destitute given the current very low prices of

produce, and the latter poor and in great distress given the standstill of the mill" in town.[83] The monarch saw fit to fulfill his 1831 pledge of 1,000 Taler, but did not offer more than that to close the gap.[84]

Schinkel chimed in on the design at Kelzenberg one final time in 1837, albeit on a plan far removed from the design by Vagedes he had praised back in March 1824. Cost-cutting measures had occasioned the elimination of the seating galleries, and, naturally, the columns intended to support them. Thus, the question arose as to where to place the pulpit, its intended spot against the first column on right side of the nave no longer extant in the structure. Schinkel responded on January 27, 1837, that it was permissible to place the pulpit directly behind the altar against the back wall of the church as long as a clear aisleway existed between altar and pulpit—quoting essentially his own template for village churches.[85] Vagedes's plan received one more mention in the building archives. On July 30, 1838, the Kultusministerium returned the one-hundred-and-fifty lithographed copies of Vagedes's proposed template for a Protestant village church to the provincial government in Düsseldorf, thirteen years after their arrival. The accompanying cover letter from Berlin stated there was no further use for them.[86]

VIII. The Protestant Church in the Rhenish Town of Solingen-Wald

Despite policies requiring the Prussian bureaucracy to regulate both Protestant and Catholic church building plans in provincial regions, some projects in the Rhineland proceeded without Oberbaudeputation assessment. One example is the still extant Catholic church of St John the Baptist in the Rhenish village of Treis. Designed by Johann Claudius von Lassaulx in 1823,

[83] I HA Rep 89, Nr. 22016, p. 27.
[84] I HA Rep 89, Nr. 22016, p. 27.
[85] Brües, *Die Rheinlande*, 258.
[86] I HA Rep 76 IX Sekt 1, Nr. 12 a, p. 12

the church at Treis instanced an early use of the neo-Gothic style, comparable at the time only to Schinkel's Friedrich Werdersche Kirche, with which it shared the same construction period of 1824–31. Lassaulx's "Spitzbogenstil" design replaced an 1813 proposal from an architect named Froideau, a design Lassaulx derided as "a lousy French concoction, in front of its entrance a portico in the old convention with four columns, inside a central aisle separated from the side aisles by seven columns on which a barrel-vaulted ceiling rests, the whole thing poorly illuminated by a half-round window on the far end and twelve small ones in the side aisles."[87] Treis's budget of 20,613 Taler received approval from the supervising architect in the government's district office of Koblenz and Lassaulx's project, financed by the parish, escaped Berlin's critique—in all probability because it, like the church at Solingen-Wald, had received its initial approval from local authorities prior to the issuance of formal Oberbaudeputation regulations throughout the provinces in 1817.[88] As the parish in Treis did not require subsequent funds from Berlin, they never had cause to bring their project to the central government.

The designs for a new Protestant church for the town of Solingen-Wald provided a second instance of a Rhenish church project that—at least initially—evaded the review of the Oberbaudeputation. Ultimately, the church in Solingen Wald would twice garner the full attention of ministerial bureaucrats in Berlin: first when the king donated an astonishing 10,000

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[87] Frank Schwieger, *Johann Claudius von Lassaulx, 1781–1848: Architekt und Denkmalpfleger in Koblenz*. Rhenischer Verein für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz, Jahrbuch 1969. (Neuss: Verlag Gesellschaft für Buchdruckerei AG, 1967) 39.

[88] It is a shame for architectural history that the plans for Treis did not undergo Oberbaudeputation review, as one wonders what Schinkel might have said in 1824 about Lassaulx's coeval neo-Gothic plan, one that replaced an earlier design clearly influenced by late eighteenth century French Neoclassical churches such as the Catholic St.-Phillippe- du-Roule in Paris, a particular favorite of the Protestant King Friedrich Wilhelm III. See Franz-Duhme, p. 77. We know Schinkel eventually saw the church at Treis; around 1835, he sent Lassaulx a watercolor proposing a floral design for its graceful ribbed vaults, a design Schinkel described as "a free arabesque, harmonious, […] and colored according to nature." Lassaulx did not implement Schinkel's recommendation. See *Schinkel im Rheinland*, exh. cat., 1991, 96–97.

Taler for its construction in 1818, and, secondly, when the barrel-vaulted ceiling of the nearly completed church crashed to the nave floor below in 1820. From the Prussian monarch's extravagant donation—the likes of which few Catholic parishes ever received—to the lengthy government investigation into the ceiling collapse, the history of the new church at Solingen-Wald attests to the significant efforts Prussian authorities expended to undergird Protestantism in the majority Catholic Rhineland. Yet the episode also reveals the fluidity of the allegiances felt by Rhenish Protestant congregations, Rhenish civil servants, and even the Oberbaudeputation's own architects, all of whom pushed back against high-ranking Berlin ministers as events unfolded at Solingen-Wald. When the state came to the village through ecclesiastical architecture at Solingen-Wald, the comportment of both the representatives of state and village proved to be anything but monolithic.

The Protestants of Solingen-Wald, a town east of the Rhine known since the fourteenth century for the quality of its blade and knife manufacturing, had begun collecting funds for a new church in 1780. The French Revolution, occupation of the Rhineland by French troops, and subsequent Napoleonic Wars halted their progress. Significant structural damage in the old church required the parish to move to a temporary wooden structure by 1805.[89] In the spring of 1815, the provisional *Generalgouvernement* approved moving ahead at last with the project and architect Adolph von Vagedes developed five plans for consideration as part of his duties as lead architect for the provincial government in Düsseldorf.[90] In August 1816, the third design was chosen for its ability to integrate the church's extant twelfth-century tower, capped in 1746 with a distinctive Baroque spire, to a new single-aisle structure terminating in a semi-

[89] Zimmerman, *Adolph von Vagedes und seine Kirchenbauten*, 19.
[90] Zimmerman, *Adolph von Vagedes und seine Kirchenbauten*, 20.

circular apse.[91] The modest church had a projected budget of 20,743 Taler.[92] Funds needed to be raised.

In July 1817, civil servants in Düsseldorf wrote to the Kultusministerium requesting permission to allow the Solingen-Wald congregation to hold a regional collection in support of their building fund.[93] Berlin's September 1817 response did not grant the request.[94] Rather, the civil servants in Düsseldorf were instructed to furnish more information regarding how much money the congregation intended to bring to the project. That question had been the subject of debate within the congregation, and enthusiasm for building the new church varied. The congregation had made the decision to levy a new tax among its members to fund the project, and on May 12, 1817, the mayor posted a proclamation to announce that the church building costs would be publicly posted in the parish hall and "available for inspection by anyone from the 14th to the 20th of May from 9:00 am to 12 noon, every morning except Sunday."[95] Correspondence from Düsseldorf officials to the Rhenish provincial headquarters in Koblenz noted that the “lower classes” were particularly displeased with the new taxes; Solingen-Wald’s mayor wrote in December 1817 that, on the issue of whether the congregation was satisfied with the distribution of the church construction costs among its members,

[91] Landesarchiv NRW, BR 0007, Nr. 21496, Solingen-Wald, Vol 1, 1806–16, pp. 138–49.
[92] For Vagedes’s budget and documents, see IHA Rep 93B, Nr. 2595, Bd. 1. The file is unpaginated; these documents are attached as Appendix D to a report from Oberbaudeputation architect Crelle dated June 2, 1821.
[93] The undertaking of *Kollekte*, or collections, required prior permission from authorities in Berlin. Rules also governed the circumstances that permitted collections—they could only be used to cover the costs of "Unglücksfälle," or accidents, such as lightning strikes or fires. Collections were not be used to for repairs made necessary due to "neglect" by the parties responsible for upkeep of the church. Collection requests were often denied by Kultusministerium officials who cited "neglect" as their reason, a harsh judgment for cash-strapped parishes who had no choice but to "neglect" long-needed repairs during the decades of French occupation and war. If a request for a Kollekte made it beyond the initial Kultusministerium review and on to the desk of the king, its success was still far from assured. The king would simply deny requests without explanation. He could also delimit or expand their geographic range. See chapter 2 for a discussion of the politics surrounding collections.
[94] Landesarchiv NRW, BR 0007, NR. 21496, Solingen Wald, Vol. 1, 1805–16, p. 200.
[95] Landesarchiv NRW, BR 0007, NR. 21496, Solingen Wald, Vol. 1, 1805–16, p. 323

"nothing very good can be said about it."[96] Faced with a shortfall and internal strife, Solingen-Wald's parish council sent a direct plea for funds to the monarch on April 4, 1818. Within three and a half weeks, they received an astounding response: the king pledged 10,000 Taler as well as all the necessary wood from royal forests for the project. The congregation needed to raise the remaining half of the 20,000 Taler budget.[97]

With building underway, Vagedes hired a contractor named Johann Christian Franzen to manage the daily work at Solingen-Wald. Vagedes regularly traveled the fifteen miles from Düsseldorf to Wald to check on progress. Delays in the arrival of materials pushed back the project schedule; by the summer of 1819, it became apparent the contracted completion date of June 1820 would not be met.[98] Small cracks also became visible on the walls, although Vagedes insisted these were no cause for alarm. During construction, Vagedes also made modifications to the plans: what had originally been designed as a wooden truss roof became a masonry barrel vault. When lighting emerged as an issue, Vagedes proposed the installation of three cast-iron lanterns in the vault to illuminate the nave. Frustrated by the delays, however, the congregation refused to pay for the lanterns and rejected as unsatisfactory Vagedes's explanation that the lanterns were always planned—their omission was just an oversight in his original budget.[99] As tensions erupted into a standoff between congregation and architect, Franzen halted further work on the church. When Solingen-Wald's mayor alerted the provincial government in Düsseldorf that work had come to a standstill, officials sent a

[96] Landesarchiv NRW, BR 0007, Nr. 21498, Solingen-Wald, pp. 219–20.
[97] In Berlin, the king's memorandum to Altenstein is under GStA PK I HA Rep 89, Nr. 22127. File not paginated. See Cabinet Order dated April 19, 1818 from Friedrich Wilhelm III to Staats-Minister Freiherr von Altenstein. In Düsseldorf, Altenstein's letter to the regional government office in Düsseldorf dated April 23, 1818 is found under Landesarchiv NRW, BR 0007, Nr. 21497, Neubau der evangelischen Kirche zu Wald, Kreis Solingen, Vol. II, 1818–20, p. 1a.
[98] Zimmerman, *Adolph von Vagedes und seine Kirchenbauten*, 22.
[99] Zimmerman, *Adolph von Vagedes und seine Kirchenbauten*, 22.

gendarme to Franzen's apartment to investigate. Out of town but tipped off to the increasingly precarious situation in which he found himself, Franzen sought to demonstrate that work on the church was indeed on-going. He instructed his brother-in-law to go to the building site and remove the centering in place below the vault. On August 15, 1820, Franzen's brother-in-law removed the centering; the vault collapsed shortly thereafter. [100] Solingen-Wald's mayor informed the regional governor in Düsseldorf of the collapse on August 16, 1820, noting, thankfully, that the church was empty at the time and no one had incurred injury.[101]

News of the collapse sparked the immediate ire of officials in Berlin. While Minister of State von Bülow and Minister of Religious Affairs Altenstein stressed the need to finish the church as quickly as possible, their overriding concerns were not with the congregation, but with fixing blame on those responsible. They established a formal commission to investigate the collapse, dispatching Schinkel's Oberbaudeputation colleague August Leopold Crelle to Solingen-Wald in February 1821. Crelle's brief required him to determine the parties guilty of negligence.[102] During three months on site, Crelle thoroughly examined the building, climbed scaffolds, and bored holes in walls. He reviewed plans and files. He interrogated witnesses. In his May 1821 report, he attributed the collapse to cost-cutting measures undertaken by the mason, namely skimping on sand and using poor quality rubble and brick fragments in the vaulting.[103] Crelle proposed a new design that retained much of the exterior walls and chose a local building inspector to oversee the construction. A flat wooden ceiling would replace Vagedes's collapsed masonry barrel vault.[104]

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[100] Zimmerman, *Adolph von Vagedes und seine Kirchenbauten*, 23.
[101] Landesarchiv NRW, BR 0007, Nr. 21498, Vol. 3, 1820, p. 1.
[102] Landesarchiv NRW, BR 0007, Nr. 21500, p.1.
[103] Zimmerman, *Adolph von Vagedes und seine Kirchenbauten*, 24.
[104] Zimmerman, *Adolph von Vagedes und seine Kirchenbauten*, 25.

Crelle's report and the resumption of building at Solingen-Wald did little to tame the fury of Altenstein and Bülow in the months that followed, intent as they were on finding scapegoats to explain the public collapse of a Rhenish Protestant church supported generously by the monarch. For starters, Altenstein declared, "it goes without saying that Vagedes must remain excluded from all and any participation in the project.[105] The king's ministers in Berlin also drew up a long list of accusations of misconduct against the Düsseldorf provincial government. They asked, why had Vagedes's plans for Solingen-Wald not been submitted for review by the Oberbaudeputation? Why were all the contracts for construction, materials, and service executed between the vendors and Vagedes on behalf of the royal government—a situation that placed the obligations for remedy on the Prussian regime, not the congregation? In the future, they demanded, contractual agreements required execution in the name of the congregation, not the royal government. They accused Vagedes of possessing a conflict of interest in serving as both the "Techniker" and "Staatsbeamter" on the project, faulting him for acting as both the building's designer and the bureaucrat charged with overseeing its safe and timely construction—notwithstanding that provincial architects regularly took on both duties and, in fact, had little choice but to do so given Berlin's requirement that provincial architects oversee publicly funded buildings in Prussian towns and villages. Seeking to exact retribution, the Ministry of Trade and Industry and the Kultusministerium jointly initiated a formal investigation against Vagedes in August of 1822 alleging that Vagedes had neglected his official duties in failing to properly supervise the construction, that his plan recklessly exceeded the region's available technical and material resources, that he had been untruthful to investigators during questioning, and that he had colluded with the contractor for personal

[105] Landesarchiv NRW, BR 0007, Nr. 21500, p. 11.

gain.[106] Bülow and Altenstein instructed the provincial government office in Düsseldorf to report back within four weeks on the allegations against Vagedes.

In the months leading up to Berlin's insistence on a formal investigation in August 1822, and in the face of increasing ministerial pressure, the regional government in Düsseldorf pushed back against Altenstein and Bülow's demands for retribution. In a June 1822 letter, the Düsseldorf provincial government politely, but firmly, declined to prosecute Vagedes. Church construction in Solingen-Wald progressed apace, they countered, and Vagedes was no longer involved. The regional governor reported that he himself had seen "great progress" made on the building only two days prior and promised to keep Berlin informed.[107] To support their position, the Düsseldorf regional governor included a copy of a legal opinion prepared by the provincial government's justice department. A justice department councilor named Sybel had considered the legitimacy of the Kultusministerium's demand that Vagedes reimburse the government for both the church's collapse and the cost of the ensuing investigation. Sybel also considered the allegations of collusion between Franzen, the contractor, and Vagedes. Yet Sybel's report of April 12, 1822 began on another point entirely: he rejected outright the assertion by Berlin's ministerial officials that Vagedes had violated his duties by serving simultaneously as both the architect and responsible civil servant on the Solingen-Wald project.[108] After questioning if Prussian law was even in force "here"—referring to the Rhineland, and technically arguable given that French law still applied to the territories on the

[106] I HA Rep 93B, Nr. 2595, Bd 1. Note this file is not paginated. See correspondence between Bülow and Altenstein, dated January 31, 1822 and from Altenstein dated August 2, 1822. In a letter dated August 19, 1822, Altenstein's instructs the Düsseldorf regional governor to report back within four weeks on the results of "eine summarische Untersuchung gegen Vagedes" ("a summary investigation against Vagedes"). See also Willy Weyres, "Das evangelische Kirchenbau," 279.
[107] I HA Rep 93B, Nr. 2595, Bd 1. Note this file is not paginated. See correspondence dated June 4, 1822.
[108] I HA Rep 93B, Nr. 2595, Bd. 1. Note this file is not paginated. See the copy of the twenty-three page report from Sybel dated April 12, 1822 and appended to the letter from the Düsseldorf regional governor's office dated June 4, 1822.

left bank of the Rhine in the Prussian Rhineland—Sybel quoted paragraph forty-eight of the Prussian government's official instructions for civil servants in the building bureaucracy. Government building officials, the law read, had the responsibility to oversee all construction in the government districts, to ensure the efficient and expedient construction of all public buildings, and to review and revise building proposals. Based on the wording of the government's instructions, the roles of professional architect, the "technician," and that of government civil servant, could not be divorced, Sybel argued.[109] Vagedes had fulfilled his duties as required by the law.

Sybel proceeded to dispute the main points of criticism against Vagedes in Crelle's official report, specifically that the materials and knowledge to successfully complete Vagedes's plan were insufficient in the region and the proposed two-year construction period was untenable. If these complaints were indeed valid, Sybel argued, the blame belonged to the Prussian government. The provincial government in Düsseldorf *had approved* Vagedes's plan on January 23, 1816. Sybel noted that the plans were reviewed subsequently on June 15, 1817. Sybel made the important observation that Vagedes's plan received the appropriate level of bureaucratic review from the provincial government in accordance with conventional practice at the time. To argue now that the local materials and knowledge to carry out Vagedes's plans were insufficient contradicted the very approval processes the plans had been subjected to—approvals supposedly determined by the careful consideration of local conditions. While Vagedes might be worthy of admonishment, Sybel insisted he had followed his instructions and had no obligation to pay for damages caused not by his negligence, but by that of the central government.

[109] I HA Rep 93B, Nr. 2595, Bd. 1. This file is not paginated. See the copy (Abschrift) of Sybel's April 12, 1822 legal opinion appended to the correspondence from the Düsseldorf governor's office dated June 4, 1822.

In response to Berlin's demand for an investigation in August 1822, the Düsseldorf provincial government thus attempted to buy time, hoping perhaps to wait out the ire of officials and get the church completed. In their initial response of September 26, 1822, Düsseldorf officials asked for four more weeks, explaining that they had granted Vagedes an extension until October 9 for submission of his written testimony.[110] Four months later, in January 1823, Altenstein's office warned the Düsseldorf government that their continued failure to respond represented a dereliction of duty. An additional four months passed until the Düsseldorf regional government finally submitted their report in May 1823. Entitled "The Regional Governor's Report to the Honorable Order of August 19, 1822 regarding the Responsibility of Government Building Official Vagedes on the Building of the Church at Wald," the report letter laid out a complete—and at times defiant—repudiation of the accusations against Vagedes and argued that the rush by Berlin authorities to complete the Protestant church had contributed to its collapse.[111]

To counter the allegations that the Vagedes's plan for Solingen-Wald had not undergone proper Oberbaudeputation review, Düsseldorf officials built upon Sybel's argument that the church's plan received approval from "competent" government officials as required in January 1816 and June 1817. The central mandates requiring Oberbaudeputation review were introduced in the monarchy's October 1817 instructions for provincial governments. Thus, the provincial government followed the correct procedures as they existed at that time. That the church had received local approval was made clear in the congregation's April 4, 1818 plea to the king to ask him for funds, they countered. Further, the donation of 10,000 Taler given by

[110] I HA Rep 93B, Nr. 2595, Bd 1. Note this file is not paginated. See correspondence dated September 26, 1822.
[111] I HA Rep 93B, Nr. 2595, Bd. 1. This file is not paginated. See the report dated May 2, 1823 from the Königliches Regierungs-Praesidium Düsseldorf.

royal decree on the 19th of April 1818 transpired without Berlin requesting any additional review of the technical or material feasibility of the church's plan. On the contrary, the Düsseldorf authorities noted, the government urged "rapid construction of the building." In the course of further correspondence over the summer of 1818 concerning the donation of wood from the king's forest, ministerial authorities in Berlin again failed to request a review of the building plan. The Düsseldorf bureaucrats insisted that "no higher authority would ever have given a thought to the regional government being remiss in review of construction plans" were it not for the August 1820 collapse.[112] The report also noted that construction delays incurred by shortfalls in materials were arguably attributable to the simultaneous construction of five Prussian fortresses and several barracks on the Rhine, citing testimony from Vagedes. In a stunning display of support for local autonomy, the Düsseldorf government argued that the building of the church at Solingen-Wald should have been seen from its inception as a "private matter" between the congregation and its builder. The government's duties were supervisory only in so far as it had administrative authority over the Protestant congregation at Solingen-Wald.

Officials in Düsseldorf conceded that Vagedes might be blamed to some degree for insufficient oversight and failing to address immediately the initial cracks in vault, but they also lauded his unwavering cooperation and willingness to testify. The Düsseldorf bureaucrats closed their letter by imploring the ministerial officials in Berlin to desist with their criminal investigation of Vagedes. In a final comment that speaks both to the wide attention the matter had gained as well as to the visibility of provincial church building affairs in Rhenish popular discourse, the authors argued that Vagedes has received harsh punishment enough "in the eyes

[112] I HA Rep 93B, Nr. 2595, Bd. 1. This file is not paginated. See the report dated May 2, 1823 from the Königliches Regierungs-Praesidium Düsseldorf.

of the public" by both his removal from the project and the ensuing investigation surrounding the events at Solingen-Wald.

For its part, the Oberbaudeputation reluctantly agreed that Vagedes's design for Solingen-Wald, while difficult, was technically feasible, albeit with the finest materials and labor.[113] In June 1823, Minister von Bülow formally called the investigation to a halt, citing insufficient evidence to prosecute Vagedes.[114] King Friedrich Wilhelm III, for his part, exhibited little interest in exacting the revenge his ministers had so ardently sought. When the Solingen-Wald contractor Franzen appealed directly to the monarch for financial help in August 1823, claiming the collapse of the church building had rendered him destitute, the king gave him the generous gift of 3000 Taler.[115]

The rapidity and eagerness of the monarch's decision to fund the new Protestant church at Solingen-Wald, and the ire of high-ranking officials following the collapse of a building on the receiving end of lavish monarchical support, illustrate the political significance the monarchy placed upon raising the profile of the Protestant church in the Prussian Rhineland. Although they were determined to identify a scapegoat and assert Berlin's will in the provinces, Altenstein and Bülow ultimately received scant support from either the Rhenish-based bureaucrats tasked to exact their revenge or, ultimately, the members of the Oberbaudeputation. Among the king's own bureaucratic corps in the Düsseldorf provincial government, the investigation into the collapse of the vault at Solingen-Wald constituted an overreach into provincial affairs. It is noteworthy that the dissatisfied parties in this case were not Rhenish Catholics, but the high-ranking and overwhelmingly Protestant provincial

[113] I HA Rep 93B, Nr 2595, see letter from Oberbaudeputation dated December 18, 1821.
[114] Zimmerman, *Adolph von Vagedes und seine Kirchenbauten*, 28.
[115] Zimmerman, *Adolph von Vagedes und seine Kirchenbauten*, 27.

bureaucrats serving in the regional government. Berlin's mandates could thus be perceived as excessive impositions on regional autonomy in the eyes of both Protestants and Catholics, both civil servants and villagers. The events at Solingen-Wald demonstrate how ecclesiastical architecture could animate regional political consciousness among Protestants and Catholics in the Rhineland. The confessionally charged politics of Prussian rule in the Rhineland of the 1820s and 30s occasioned ample opportunities for resistance among adherents both to Luther and to the Vatican.

IX. Schinkel's 1835 Memorandum on Village Church Design

On a tour of the province of Posen in July 1834, Schinkel had the opportunity to view a small Protestant church built according to his 1827 template. Schinkel deemed the results wholly unsuccessful and shared his disappointment in his official trip report to the Ministry of Trade and the Ministry of Religious, Education and Medical Affairs:

> A new evangelical church in Polish-Crone has recently been built according to the Normal-Church design, which was distributed in an engraving by order of His Majesty. Executed however in a rather poor manner, it becomes evident that the form of this church, its exterior architecture, is entirely based upon plaster work and for the usual small scale of such buildings, the character is much too pretentious and cannot be recommended for general use."[116]

[116] GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Nr. 994, p. 109 recto. Entry of July 20th, 1834.

Schinkel judged the character of his own design to be too elaborate for such a modest structure. What is more, he found the exterior plasterwork to be poorly executed, which was a major problem for a design that relied heavily on the use of ornamental stucco.[117] In a written report to his superiors, Schinkel concluded that he no longer found his 1827 template appropriate for general use as a village Protestant church. As an alternative, Schinkel instead recommended simple structures built of unadorned brick, a humble material he felt corresponded more closely to the building's purpose. The use of brick in village churches would also improve the quality and production of provincial brick manufacturing, he added.[118]

It was common for Schinkel to voice frustration with provincial architecture. In his reports from his provincial tours during the summers of 1832, 1833, and 1834, he described buildings in which he felt the overall proportions were incorrect, in which towers did not accord with the size of the church, in which the common practice of whitewashing interiors with plaster obscured architectural details. He characterized one building as "unrecognizable" when compared with the plans he had sent from Berlin.[119] These frustrations were magnified by the vital civic function Schinkel accorded to architecture, and particularly provincial architecture, as a tool capable of guiding Prussia's continued evolution as a cultivated, modern society—or of impeding it, if the architecture was subpar. Schinkel expressed this quite plainly in July 1832, after he viewed renovations to a Catholic church in Strigau that he flatly summarized as "ein Horreur der Architektur."[120] He railed against the poor quality work and insisted that such architectural abominations must be prevented regardless of whether or not the funding came

[117] GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Nr. 994, p. 109 recto. Entry of July 20th, 1834.
[118] GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Nr. 994, p. 109 recto. Entry of July 20th, 1834.
[119] From GStA PK I HA Rep 93 B Nr. 994. See entries dated July 9, 1832, July 22, 1832, August 5–7 1832, July 18, 1833, and August 13, 1834.
[120] GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Nr. 994, p. 10 verso. Entry dated July 12, 1832.

from the state or from private entities. *Every* major community architectural undertaking, he insisted, represented both an object of public interest and an object of honor to the state.[121] Accordingly, public architecture must continually manifest the state's highest levels of Bildung, "for the benefit of visitors from other nations, for posterity, and to promote the erudition of the citizenry."[122] For Schinkel, properly-executed provincial architecture carried a heavy civic load for an ascendant, modern Prussia; its potential reach spreading from home to abroad, its potential impact nurturing both the citizens of his own day and future generations.

Schinkel's unqualified dismissal of his own Protestant village church design in July 1834 certainly caught the attention of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. In a letter dated December 27, 1834, the Ministry referenced Schinkel's July 1834 trip report and the dissatisfaction he expressed with the village church in Polish Crone.[123] They noted Schinkel's suggestion that brick would prove a more suitable material. They requested, therefore, that the Oberbaudeputation prepare a new design suitable to serve as the template for such village churches moving forward—albeit a design without a tower in accordance with the king's February 1828 royal order prohibiting state funding of towers. Drawings of the new template design should be submitted directly to the Ministry for review.[124]

Schinkel thus received the opportunity, if not the mandate, to generate a new template for small provincial churches, one that he deemed more appropriate in character for its size as well as capable of improving the quality of Prussian brick manufacturing—a directive that seemingly would have elicited a most enthusiastic response from the architect. Schinkel had frequently complained about the poor quality of provincial architecture and the general lack of

[121] GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Nr. 994, pp. 10 recto/verso–11 recto/verso. Entries dated July 12–15, 1832.
[122] GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Nr. 994, p. 11 verso. Entry dated July 15, 1832.
[123] GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Nr. 2487, p. 72.
[124] GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Nr. 2487, p. 72.

compliance with his plans. Equally, he often cited his desire to improve Prussian brick manufacturing and eagerly sought to demonstrate the suitability of brick for monumental, representative public architecture in his designs for Berlin's Friedrich Werdersche Kirche (1825–30) and Bauakademie (1832–36).[125] Schinkel had collaborated closely with brick manufacturers on these and other structures, viewing unadorned, polychromal brick as the basis for a modern Prussian architectural language capable of combining historical resonance with novel constructional approaches.[126] As early as 1803, a young Schinkel wrote to David Gilly from Italy to express his astonishment over the outstanding quality and refinement of Italian vernacular brick architecture for "palaces and churches" and suggested that such construction methods had utility back home "fürs Vaterland."[127] More than two decades later, Schinkel's 1826 trip to England with his friend and high-ranking Ministry of Trade and Industry and Trade official Peter Beuth solidified an approach to brick architecture that fused Schinkel's concerns for functional aesthetics with the improvement of Prussian industrial processes.[128] Yet in a stunning disregard of the Kultusministerium's straightforward directive to supply "drawings" for a new, brick-based provincial church design, Schinkel and his Oberbaudeputation colleagues, most notably Ferdinand Carl Busse, did not prepare new, detailed plans to guide provincial architects. Instead, they penned a lengthy, explanatory text, covering nearly twenty pages, virtually devoid of illustrations, and—in stark contrast to the

[125] Barry Bergdoll, "Review of Manfred Klinkott, *Die Backsteinbau der Berliner Schule, von K.F. Schinkel bis zum Ausgang des Jahrhunderts*" in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (Mar. 1994), 104.
[126] Bergdoll, *JSAH* Vol. 53, No. 1 (Mar. 1994), 104–06; Klinkott, *Die Backsteinbau der Berliner Schule, von K.F. Schinkel bis zum Ausgang des Jahrhunderts*, Die Bauwerke und Kunstdenkmäler von Berlin; Beihefte 15 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1988), 36, 56–59.
[127] Franz-Duhme and Röper-Vogt, *Schinkel's Vorstadtkirchen: Kirchenbau und Gemeindegründung unter Friedrich Wilhelm III in Berlin* (Berlin: Wichern Verlag, 1991), 52.
[128] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architect for Prussia* (New York: Rizzoli, 1994), 177–80; Franz-Duhme and Röper-Vogt, *Schinkel's Vorstadtkirchen: Kirchenbau und Gemeindegründung unter Friedrich Wilhelm III in Berlin* (Berlin: Wichern Verlag, 1991), 54–5.

busy engraved sheet disseminated to provincial architects in 1827—lacking any actionable, structural details on the optimal design for village churches.[129]

Schinkel's April 1835 Memorandum on Village Church Design is notable—and startling—in its failure to include any singular, specific design, thus defying the mandate of the Kultusministerium. When compared with the earlier stylistic didacticism of his engraved sheet in 1827, its frame teeming with elevations, sections, and detailed drawings, Schinkel's April 1835 plan for village churches included a mere thirteen, sparse schematic drawings nestled among the pages of text. The first images appear on the sixth page of the document, where Schinkel included five simple line drawings under the heading "Choice of the Form of the Ground Plan."[130] Labeled A–E, there are two rectangular plans, one square plan, and two centrally planned structures, five- and seven-sided respectively (fig. 10). Each of the five plans featured a rounded apse. Yet even such minimal guidance on the optimal ground plan represented but an afterthought, as the images were added in the second draft and only after Schinkel wrote in the margin, "shall we add something general about the ground plans and their layout?"[131] Five pages later, two schematics labeled F and G presented the acceptable ratios of height to width based on the individual ground plans (fig. 11).[132] Five pages after that, five "sections" labeled H–M, provided simple line drawings outlining the exterior walls and

[129] With reference to Schinkel's memorandum to the Kultusministerium regarding a *Musterplanes für Dorfkirchen* (*Template Design for Village Churches*), the pages numbers provided here refer to the *Reinschrift*, or clean copy of the document handwritten by an employee of the Oberbaudeputation and signed by Schinkel in April 1835. It is archived at GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, pp. 58 recto/verso to 69 recto. In July of 1835, the memorandum was lithographed for distribution to provincial building officials, see GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Nr. 2487, p. 85 recto/verso. Lithographed copies of the memorandum are archived in the files related to the building of the church at Nakel, GStA PK I HA Rep 93B Nr. 2487, pp. 87–96 recto/verso, and in the Kultusministerium's files, GStA PK I HA Rep 76 IX Sekt 1 Nr. 12a, pp. 31–40 recto/verso.
[130] GStA PK IHA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, p. 61 recto.
[131] GStA PK I HA Rep 93 B Nr. 2487, p. 79. Draft of 17 February 1835.
[132] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, pp. 64 verso, 65 recto.

pitch of the roof to convey the correct proportions for the supporting wall height relative to the roof height (fig. 12).[133]

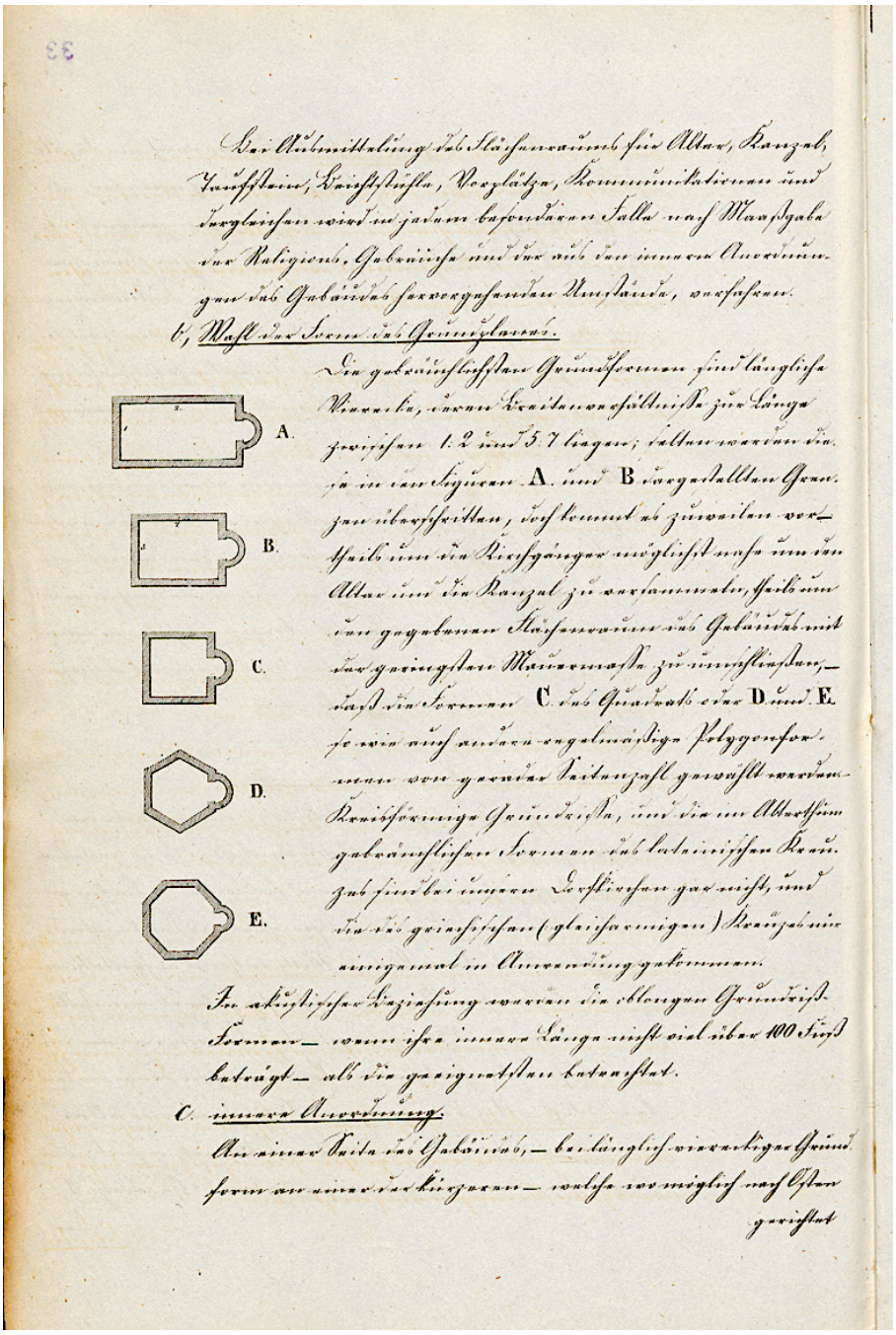


Figure 10. Lithographed copy of Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Dorfkirchen memorandum, April 8, 1835. Choice of form for the ground plan, Figures A-E ("Wahl des Formes des Grundplanes"). From the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem, I HA, Rep 76, Kultusministerium, IX, Sekt. 1, Nr. 12a, p. 33 verso

[133] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, pp. 66 verso, 67 recto.

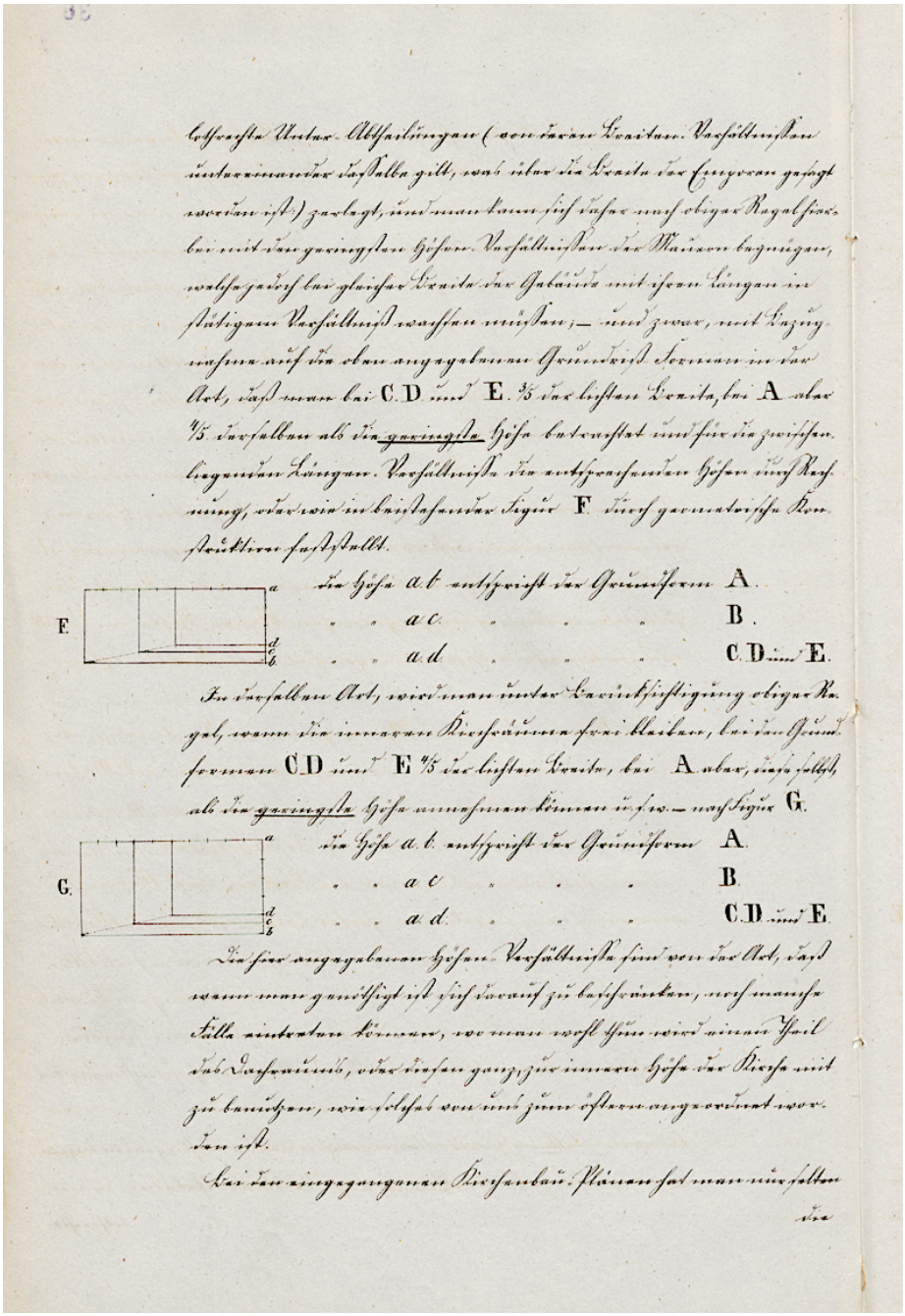


Figure 11. Lithographed copy of Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Dorfkirchen memorandum, April 8, 1835. Figures F and G: Acceptable ratios of height-to-width for ground plans A–E. From the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem, I HA, Rep 76, Kultusministerium, IX, Sekt. 1, Nr. 12a, p. 36 verso.

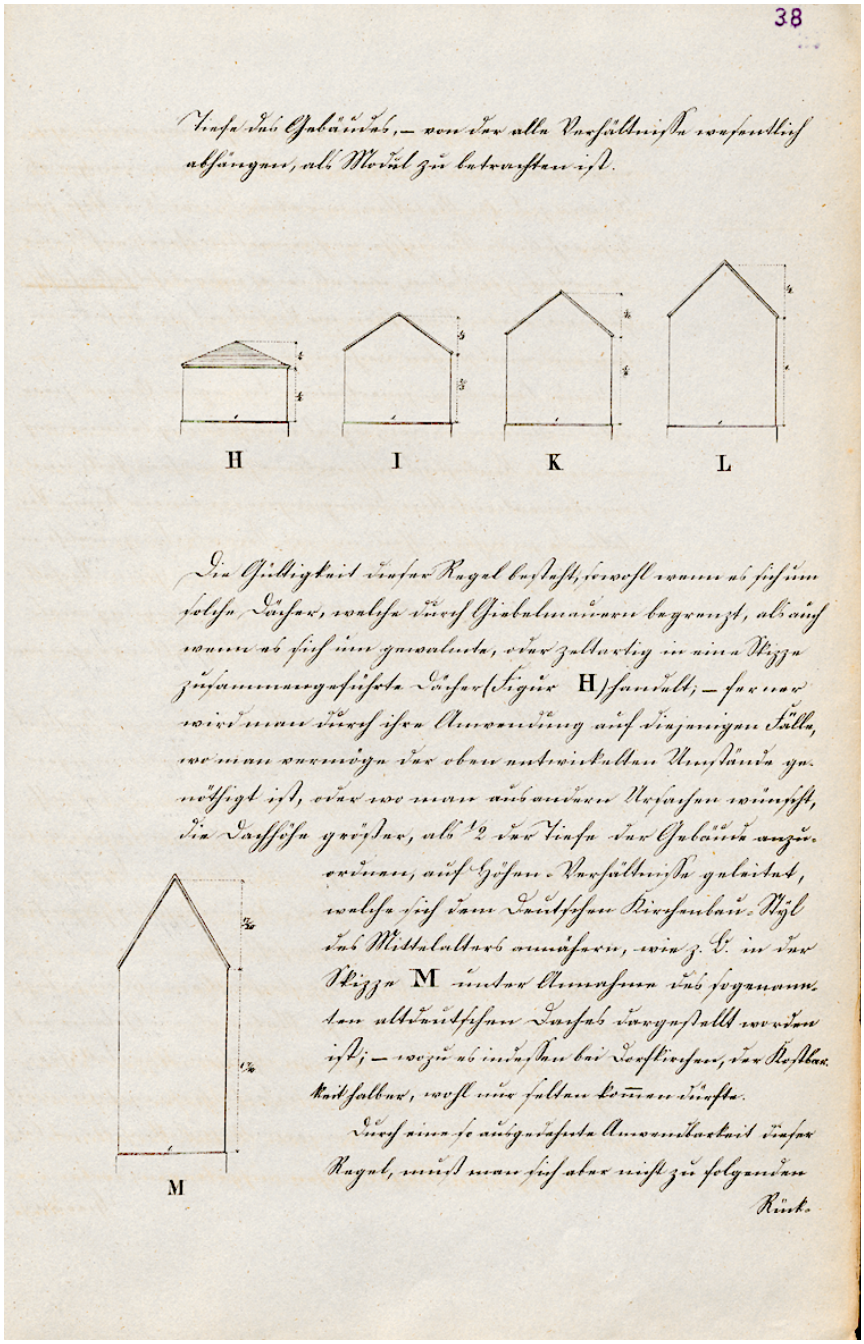


Figure 12. Lithographed copy of Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Dorfkirchen memorandum, April 8, 1835. Figures H–M: Correct proportions for supporting wall height relative to roof height. From the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem, I HA, Rep 76, Kultusministerium, IX, Sekt. 1, Nr. 12a, p. 38 recto.

Despite decades of debate surrounding the relative placements of altar, pulpit, and baptismal font, Schinkel's 1835 memorandum also failed to provide illustrations on the optimal interior configuration of the Protestant village church. His text simply emphasized the need for unobstructed views of the pulpit and altar, while the fraught issue of the placement of the pulpit vis-à-vis the altar received but a nuanced explanation. The pulpit's "usual" place, he said, was slightly forward and to the side of the altar, but as small churches "often" had inadequate space for such an arrangement, one could place the pulpit above and behind the altar.[134] With a nod to the king's reluctance to precisely that arrangement, Schinkel obliquely warned that "such a grouping is not in accordance with the ecclesiastical relationship between pulpit and altar."[135] And in another departure from his Kultusministerium brief, Schinkel commented on spatial configurations in Catholic churches. The inclusion of Catholic churches provided Schinkel with helpful cover for a criticism of the king's preferred placement of the pulpit against a pillar in the nave. He described the Catholics' preferred placement of the pulpit "between the long sides of the building," as presenting "all kinds of disadvantages," and then deftly segued to describe his own preferred arrangement: siting the pulpit directly in front of the altar, particularly when the altar and immediate surrounding area occupied a platform elevated above the nave floor.[136] This was the very configuration Schinkel had proposed for his second unrealized design for Berlin's Petrikirche in 1814. "But this arrangement has not found its way into this country," he concluded.[137]

In addition to addressing the altar and pulpit, Schinkel devoted short paragraphs to the determination of space requirements, choice of ground plan, and brief overviews of various

[134] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, p. 62 verso.
[135] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, p. 62 verso.
[136] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, p. 62 verso.
[137] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, p. 62 verso.

interior elements such as the chancel, baptismal font, pews, sacristy, seating galleries, entrances, and windows. On determining interior space, architects should calculate the pew seating needed based on a figure of 1 2/3 foot per person; ideally, pews should be spaced at a distance of 3 feet in Protestant churches and 3 ½ feet in Catholic churches, given the ubiquity of kneeling.[138] On ground plans, Schinkel noted that rectangular ground plans were most common.[139] For optimal acoustics, churches should not exceed an interior length over 100 feet.[140] Ideally, altars were raised above ground level and housed in an east-facing apse.[141] Pithy comments included such reminders as paying careful attention to air circulation and illumination.[142]

Following his perfunctory comments on interior configuration, Schinkel observed that provincial architects, in general, successfully achieved these utilitarian objectives in church building.[143] The problem, he noted, was the emphasis on doing things cheaply. Cost-cutting occurred at the expense of constructional longevity and resulted in buildings lacking the dignified architectural character that befitted a church.[144] Alas, he understood the reality of the situation in which the financial circumstances of parishes were so strained and the budgets for such structures exceedingly meager. However, Schinkel optimistically insisted that better results could be achieved without much additional costs and, toward that end, asked provincial architects to pay closer attention to the overall proportion of the buildings and to consider carefully the application of exterior wall plastering or cladding.[145] A full seven pages followed

[138] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, p. 60 verso.
[139] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, p. 61 recto.
[140] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, p. 61 recto.
[141] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, p. 61 verso.
[142] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, pp. 60 verso, 61 recto.
[143] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, p. 63 recto.
[144] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, p. 63 recto.
[145] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, pp. 63 verso, 64 recto.

to address optimal proportions, namely the ratios between wall height, roof height, and the width of the space to be spanned. Two pages then considered the appropriateness of exterior plaster or stucco cladding—ultimately recommending the use of exterior cladding only when absolutely necessary for the strength and duration of the structure.[146]

With its lack of specific stylistic directives, Schinkel's memorandum signaled a new approach by the architect, one that implicitly questioned the very utility of templates in provincial regions. Schinkel argued that templates offered advantages in but a few cases, such as village schoolhouses or the simple housing erected for toll road collectors, and, in general, he felt that every building's unique spatial needs, location, and function, as well as the available funds and building materials, limited the utility of templates.[147] And the practicality of using templates for provincial church projects virtually disappeared when one factored in the varieties of prevailing local customs and religious practices, not to mention the demands of aesthetics. Templates would also neither speed up nor improve the finished products, he argued.[148] Rather, the popular misconception that templates could be modified proportionately to fit the needs of a specific project had resulted in gross violations of the rules of architecture in the provinces, he said, clearly venting the frustration from years of encountering provincial buildings he believed failed to live up to his instructions from Berlin.[149] Schinkel felt that adherence to templates put any building requiring aesthetic considerations at a double disadvantage: first, they stifled local participation in the building process.[150] Few architects, he wrote, carry out the directives of a stranger with the same passion they apply to the execution

[146] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, pp. 67 recto through 68 verso
[147] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, p. 58 recto.
[148] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, p. 58 verso.
[149] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, p. 59 recto.
[150] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, p. 59 verso.

of their own designs. Second, Schinkel argued that the architect's "inner participation," the emotional and intellectual investment in a project which often represented the "surest and sometimes only guarantee" of good results, could be blunted by adherence to templates, leading to what Schinkel called "a poverty of ideas."[151] Template designs mandated top-down by distant authorities would stymie architecture's ability to elevate the provinces and, by extension, the nation.

Schinkel's minimalist, functional approach also departed from contemporary arguments that a specific stylistic language, such as Gothic, Ancient Greek, or the *Rundbogenstil* advocated by Schinkel's contemporary Heinrich Hübsch, best articulated a national spirit or essence. Schinkel's memorandum pared down "style" to the absolutely essential proportional relationships. The unwillingness to mandate a stylistic approach reveals Schinkel's conception of the provincial church that is oriented less toward formalist aesthetics and more towards an idealized fulfillment of functional requirements. Instead of a concern with round versus pointed arches, with Doric versus Corinthian, Schinkel sought a rhetoric of clarity, harmony, and rationality that might translate ennobling civic ideals into sacred space. Provincial churches, in Schinkel's estimation, were, thus, model worlds: correctly proportioned, community-based totems of modern, pious Prussia.

Schinkel closed his memorandum provocatively. He argued that the best design advice one could give provincial church builders was to observe the clarity and solid technique evident in the older churches of their own districts, and to combine these, as appropriate, with the better technology available to their day.[152] For Schinkel in 1835, style was therefore not a *product* to be added in, but a *process* to be fostered: not mandated beforehand, it would emerge when the

[151] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, p. 59 verso.
[152] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Sekt 1 Nr. 12 Bd. 3, pp.68 verso, 69 recto.

cultivating power of timeless architectural principles was actualized through local participation, tradition, and knowledge. Public architecture thus acted as a contract entered into by the state and its citizens, providing a model for civic participation that united the universal with the local, and which, ideally, would result in churches that harmonized national and local civic identities. Schinkel's critique of contemporary practice with reference to the past amounted to a decidedly modern assessment of architecture's social currency.

Schinkel's nuanced approach was largely lost on the bureaucrats at the Kultusministerium, although they printed Schinkel's lengthy memorandum and distributed copies to civil servants and architects at provincial government offices.[153] Yet a little over a year later, in the summer of 1837, the Oberbaudeputation received a publication on the optimal design for Protestant churches written by a Silesian pastor named Adolph Aemil Leonhardt Preuss[154]. Dedicated to "the most honorable" Schinkel, Preuss's seventy-five page booklet began by praising the *Oberbaudirektor* while also appealing to Prussia's leading architect to consider the author's suggestions for a Protestant church design that might marry theological principles with built form. Preuss included a ground plan for a rectangular church configured against the longitudinal axis with the pulpit placed at the center of the nave, an arrangement the pastor argued gave form to both the paramount importance of the sermon in Protestant worship as well as their rejection of the Catholic insistence on separation of clergy and laity.[155] Schinkel reviewed Preuss's design and reported back to the Kultusministerium in September 1837, politely dismissing the plan.[156] He wrote to Preuss personally and thanked him for his

[153] GStA PK I HA 93B Nr. 2487, pp. 85 recto/verso. Letter dated July 1, 1835.
[154] Adolph Aemil Leonhardt Preuss, *Über evangelischen Kirchenbau: Ein Votum vom Standpunkte der theologischen Wissenschaft und geistlichen Praxis* (Breslau: Georg Philipp Aderholz, 1837).
[155] Preuss, *Über evangelischen Kirchenbau*, 8–12.
[156] GStA PK I HA 93B Rep 76, Kultusministerium IX Sekt 1 Nr. 10 Bd. 2, p. 123 recto. Letter dated September 26, 1837

submission, yet noted with regret that the plan was, in fact, not suitable for distribution Prussia-wide. The placement of the pulpit in the center of the nave, for example, was unsuitable for smaller churches where the necessary space was lacking. Schinkel also noted the contradictions between Preuss's design and the official plans issued by the Prussian monarchy. [157] But the matter did not end with Schinkel's dismissal. Preuss pressed on and asked for official permission to distribute complimentary copies of his publication throughout Prussia. In February 1839 and under pressure from the Kultusministerium, Schinkel reluctantly agreed with a proviso: it must be made clear to recipients of Preuss's book that it served neither as a formal recommendation nor even a suggestion.[158] Rather, it was merely an example. While Schinkel held firm in his resistance to dictate any stylistic templates to the provinces, the Kultusministerium continued to disseminate prototype designs for the building of Prussian Protestant churches in their lands. Over the spring and summer of 1839, the Kultusministerium distributed ninety-six copies of Preuss's book among Prussia's provincial government offices; the Rhenish government offices in Cologne, Düsseldorf, Koblenz, Aachen, and Trier each received three copies.[159] The Kultusministerium's distribution of the book went beyond provincial government offices; copies were even sent to official state academies of art and architecture, including the Kunst Akademie zu Düsseldorf. Preuss had donated the copies for distribution, and, in recognition the donation, the king awarded Preuss a golden Prussian Medal

[157] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Kultusministerium IX Sekt 1 Nr. 10 Bd. 2, p. 124 recto/verso. Letter dated September 26, 1837.
[158] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Kultusministerium IX Sekt 1 Nr. 10 Bd. 2, p. 162 recto.
[159] For the memorandum regarding distribution of ninety-six copies, see GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Kultusministerium IX Sekt 1 Nr. 10 Bd. 2, p. 232 recto, May 31, 1839. For confirmation of copies sent to the Rhineland, see I HA Rep 76 Kultusministerium IX Sekt 1 Nr. 10 Bd. 2, pp. 233 recto/verso, 234 recto, August 30, 1839.

of Honor in May 1840, a few months before Schinkel suffered the catastrophic stroke that incapacitated him.[160]

X. Conclusions

Schinkel's 1835 Memorandum on Village Church Design marked a quarter century of the architect's engagement with ecclesiastical architecture—most of it in the construction of modest, provincial designs. Schinkel's earliest Protestant church designs, although far from modest, conceived of designs for rebuilding Berlin's Petrikirche and mark the architect's stylistic shift from his classicizing plan of 1810 to a Gothicizing plan in 1814. Schinkel's historicist approaches to the plans for the Petrikirche befitted an age and a young architect searching for a single national style to serve as the optimal carrier of architectural meaning. By the mid-1820s, Schinkel the bureaucrat hesitated at the thought of a template; his dismissal of Vagedes's proposed design for modest Prussian Protestant churches was justified with the argument for the necessity of Berlin's ongoing, careful review of individual projects—a position supported by Schinkel's complete reworking of Vagedes's plan and then countered by the king's own demand for a village church template a few years later. Yet Schinkel's 1827 template was less concerned with enforcing a specific style than it was with providing a didactic approach that might improve wanting architectural outcomes in provincial towns and villages. In the end, Schinkel's template was too reliant on painstakingly intricate ornamental stucco, and would be declared a misstep by the architect himself six years hence.

When asked to create a new village church template in 1835, Schinkel's approach in his Village Church Memorandum is significant for its novel consideration of architecture not

[160] GStA PK I HA Rep 76 Kultusministerium IX Sekt 1 Nr. 10 Bd. 2, pp. 258–60 recto/verso.

as a formal stylistic act, but as a societal process. While the 1835 Schinkel, a long-serving bureaucrat, no longer looked to a single style in the manner of his younger self of 1810–15, an important link exists between the Village Church Memorandum and his 1811 Petrikirche publication: the crucial role of public participation in ensuring the success of community architectural undertakings. The participatory role of the local populace in Schinkel's designs is a topic long acknowledged by Schinkel scholars, evidenced by the artist himself in his inclusion of museum-goers, including a father and son, simultaneously admiring the paintings and the views of the royal capital from the second-story landing of Schinkel's Altes Museum in his *Sammlung Architektonischer Entwürfe*, or the image of the architect himself, accompanied by his wife, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and others, standing atop the roof of his Friedrich Werdersche Kirche, a scene famously painted in panorama format by Edouard Gärtner in 1834. Architecture could serve as the platform for the dissemination of *Bildung*, and Schinkel's designs provided stages for a symbiotic transfer between the citizen and the city, each informing the other for the betterment of the civitas.

In charting the course of Schinkel's approaches to Protestant church design over twenty-five years, we discover a similar arc. Schinkel's Village Church Memorandum set forth a civic vision for provincial ecclesiastical architecture far beyond the question of the optimal design for a modest village church. Schinkel's refusal to provide a conventional village church template, and his exhortation for builders and parishes to look locally, required architecture's provincial stakeholders to consider what form *their* public architecture should take, how it might incorporate the views, metaphorical and actual, of their city and their history, and how they could use the techniques of their own age to improve on the historical precedents surrounding them. The government would certainly be there to ensure basic principles were

met, but, like the father and son engaging in the participatory act of citizenship from the landing of the *Altes Museum*, architecture ideally prompted its users to consider for him or herself what it meant to engage with space, both as an individual and as part of the broader community. If Schinkel's designs for public architecture in Berlin did this explicitly in built form, his 1835 Village Church Memorandum sought to accomplish the same ends via a written bureaucratic mandate, namely to endow provincial public architecture with civic potency. Protestant church designs rooted in local tradition, not centralized templates, would yield better buildings as well as better citizens. Success would be achieved not by mandating adherence to designs drafted by distant bureaucrats, but from the enthusiasm derived from drawing upon local knowledge and precedent. Schinkel's appeal for local building traditions over centralized templates suggests his ambivalence *for bureaucracy itself*—an observation he was qualified to make after many long years employed in one.

Under Friedrich Wilhelm III, confessional politics in the years 1815–40 were the pre-eminent domestic policy concern and the site of ever increasing tensions between provincial communities and the monarchical government. The fractious nature of Prussian ecclesiastical architecture makes the text of Schinkel's Village Church Memorandum all the more daring, as his proposals largely undercut the policy imperatives of the government he served. While Schinkel clearly shared his monarchy's interest in the well-built Protestant church, the monarchy viewed confessional politics as a locus for control and discipline of provincial publics—a position that required the state's bureaucrats to police church plans, budgets, and designs. Schinkel's 1835 Village Church Memorandum carried the potential to undermine that premise and destabilize the established spatial regime of provinciality, whereby state authority flowed from the center to the province via the reach of bureaucratic operations. Instead,

Schinkel theorized a role for architecture in the process of nation building whereby lightly regulated, local church building might lift provincial publics, and, quite literally, serve as the building blocks for a young Prussian nation.

It is worth repeating that Schinkel had not always seen things this way. He had instead reached this point only after two decades of continued engagement with provincial ecclesiastical architecture, and with the designers, builders, and citizenry who used it. From his first review of provincial church plans in 1810 to his lengthy provincial tours of the mid 1830s, Schinkel was perpetually in negotiation with provincial architects and communities, who regularly resisted the policy prescriptions he tried to dictate from Berlin. In this way, the Prussian bureaucratic initiatives carried out by Schinkel paradoxically opened up new discursive spaces for debate between architecture's stakeholders in the province and at the center. Those resistant (and heretofore understudied) provincials, Protestant and Catholic alike, surely deserve a measure of credit for bending Schinkel's thought in the new and daring direction revealed by his 1835 memorandum.

CONCLUSIONS

In 1841, the young Jakob Burkhardt documented the unfinished state of Cologne Cathedral in a sketch made from a nearby botanical garden: the east-facing nave rises above the thick treetops, its circumference ringed with pinnacles, while the blunt bulk of the unfinished south tower looms at the west end, a construction crane testifying to work long since ceased back in 1473 (fig. 1). Just a year earlier, Rhenish Catholic lawyer August Reichensperger had launched his public campaign for the foundation of a *Dombauverein*, or Cathedral Building Society, to complete the unfinished cathedral. Reichensperger's efforts were to set in motion an immense, politicized rebuilding effort in which Rhenish Catholics and their Prussian rulers each would seek to appropriate and control the symbolic force of the project for their own benefit. Over the forty-year span from the founding of the *Dombauverein* until the cathedral's dedication in 1880, as Prussia united the German lands as the German Empire under Wilhelm I, rebuilding Cologne Cathedral would loom large in German culture, its meaning tugged to and fro, as ultimately one of the most celebrated and debated symbols of both the young German nation and of ardent Rhenish Catholicism.

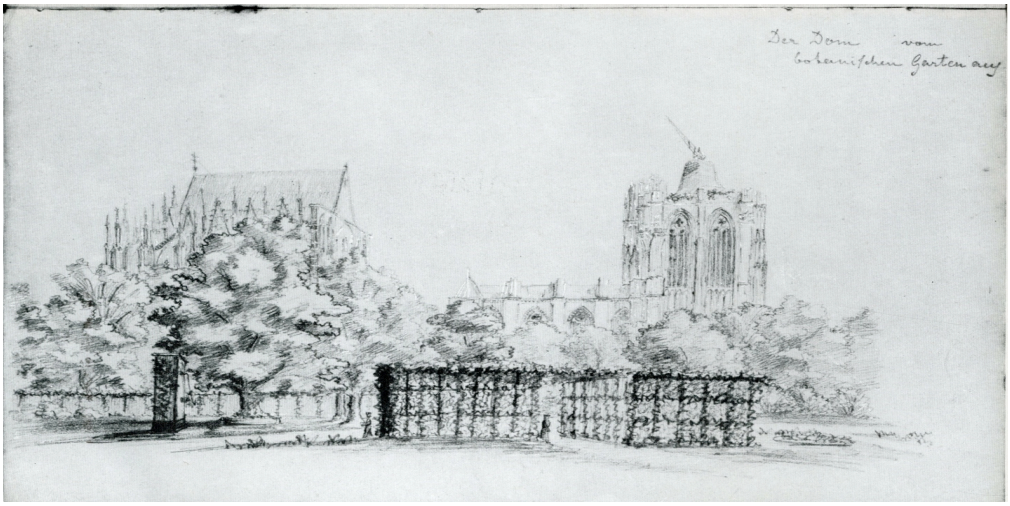


Figure 1. Jakob Burckhardt, Der Dom vom botanischen Garten auf (View of the Cathedral from the Botanical Garden), 1841.

As I hope the preceding chapters have demonstrated, many of the aspirations, convictions, and dynamics associated with the very public saga of Cologne Cathedral were already to a greater or lesser extent in play in the comparatively unknown conflicts that characterized the administration of Rhenish ecclesiastical architecture between 1815 and 1840. For it was in the long course of these conflicts that Rhenish communities, Catholic as well as Protestant, first discovered in church architecture a powerful catalyst for asserting themselves as activist citizens, engaging with the bureaucratic machinery of civil society in new ways, in hopes of realizing the new political, regional, confessional, or identitarian aspirations unleashed in the wake of the Napoleonic wars. The genesis of the tactics, goals, and alliances by which the Cologne project was so famously to be pursued are to be found, in other words, in the humble towns and villages of the Rhine valley, at places like Vallendar, Bischmisheim, and Solingen-Wald; in the struggles that engaged Rhenish and Prussian architectural protagonists like Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Johann Claudius von Lassaulx, and Adolph von Vagedes, along with Prussian civil servants, Rhenish parish councils, and even ordinary Rhenish parishioners.

Consider the thirty-five-page booklet by which Reichensperger began his efforts in 1840: *Einige Worte zu den Dombau zu Köln*, *von einem Rheinländer an seine Landesleute gerichtet* (*A Few Words on the Building of Cologne Cathedral, from a Rhinelander to his Fellow Countrymen)*. Reichensperger confronted the unease and suspicion of Rhenish Catholics with respect to the Prussian monarch's recent offer of 50,000 Thaler annually to support the cathedral's completion, provided Rhenish citizens could match his gift. Reichensperger urged his fellow provincials to look past their suspicion—a suspicion nurtured by the kinds of stories we have been studying in this dissertation—that the offer was but a royal

ploy to turn the cathedral into a Protestant church, or to distract Catholic Rhinelanders from their years of Prussian mistreatment. He urged them instead to seize this imperfect opportunity to collectively reconstitute the ultimate symbol of Catholic Rhenish identity. It comes as no surprise to learn that Reichensperger was a veteran of the Rhenish struggles to maintain local distinctions under Prussian rule. In 1834, he had published a pamphlet contesting Prussian attempts to abolish the Napoleonic Code in the Rhineland, in which he defended the legitimacy of the Rhineland's legal system in the name of Rhenish autonomy and as a product of Rhenish history and tradition.[1] With a keen appreciation for the Rhenish sense of grievance that had built up over a quarter century of Prussian rule, his pamphlet on Cologne Cathedral actually highlighted the injustice of their being ruled by faraway Prussian Protestants as a way of motivating his Catholic readers. Rhenish Catholics had complained that the monarch's proposed 50,000 Thaler annual donation was insulting compared with "the millions Rome handed over for the rebuilding of St. Paul's" or the vast amounts given "by the French government in support of the Cathedrals in St. Denis [sic], Rouen, and Chartres"; Reichensperger bluntly countered that, unlike in Rome or France, one could hardly expect a constitutionally Protestant Prussia to provide generous support for Catholic churches.[2] Rhinelanders thus had little choice but to work with the situation on the ground—as they had been learning to do over the previous quarter century under Prussian rule and during two decades of French occupation before that. And while his pamphlet carefully acknowledged the cathedral as a "core German building" (*ein kerndeutscher Bau*[3]), he also insisted that its

[1] Michael J. Lewis, *The Politics of the German Gothic Revival: August Reichensperger* (Cambridge: The MIT Press; New York: The Architectural History Foundation, Inc, 1993), 16–17.
[2] August Reichensperger, *Einige Worte über den Dombau zu Köln, von einem Rheinländer an seine Landsleute gerichtet* (Coblenz: Verlag von J. Hölscher, 1840), 5.
[3] Reichensperger, *Einige Worte*, 25

reconstruction had to be administered not from Berlin, but locally, in the Rhineland. His plan for a main administrative office in Cologne and satellite offices throughout the Rhineland recalled Adolph von Vagedes's vision a quarter century earlier for independent, Rhenish administration of the province's public architecture (see ch. 2 above), and reflected the frustrations felt over the decades by the many Rhenish parishes who petitioned and undertook collections in neighboring towns and villages when their church rebuilding initiatives lagged due to the lack of funding, Oberbaudeputation revisions to plans, and other bureaucratic hindrances.[4]

That the particular shape of Reichensperger's efforts at Cologne was so intimately bound up with these recent events was self-evident to Franz Kugler, who in 1841, in the pages of the arts supplement to the nationally circulated daily, the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* ("Morning paper for educated classes" [Stuttgart and Tübingen]), published an essay entitled "Notes from the Rhine" that reflected on recent developments concerning "old and new architecture" in the province.[5] Kugler was a professor at the academy in Berlin, a teacher of Jakob Burckhardt, and would soon author a posthumous appraisal of Schinkel; he would also, in 1843, enter the Prussian bureaucracy as Minister of Arts at the *Kultusministerium*. His essay juxtaposed precisely the two extremes of Rhenish ecclesiastical building we have here been evoking, combining a discussion of Johann Claudius von Lassaulx's renovation of a small parish church with his thoughts on Reichensperger's anonymously published pamphlet urging Rhinelanders to rally behind the completion of the Cologne Cathedral.

Kugler began his essay with an assessment of Reichensperger's still anonymous pamphlet, in which he echoed the kinds of sentiments that we have heard throughout this study

[4] Reichensperger, *Einige Worte*, 32–33; see also Lewis, *Politics of the German Gothic Revival*, 37–38.
[5] Franz Kugler, "Mittheilungen vom Rhein," in *Kunstblatt*, No. 15, February 23, 1841, 57–59.

from German bureaucrats and state architects: namely, that Rhenish architecture should remain subordinated to a supporting role within a larger framework of Prussian cultural patrimony and nation building. He strongly objected to the emphasis on Cologne Cathedral's significance for Catholic Rhinelanders, seeing it as a "one-sided" view of the structure's meaning and even going so far as to reject outright a Catholic identity for the structure:

> "The cathedral is only a Catholic work because it is also a Christian one and because it was established at a time prior to the open divergence of Christianity's differing conceptual frameworks. Or do we who call ourselves Protestants deny our earlier history? Or do our feelings for the sublime being of our Lord and the land of our Lord, when placed on the scale, weigh one single gram less? No! Cologne Cathedral is a German work…it is the symbol of unity around which all people of the German tongue must unite."[6]

Kugler's denial that the cathedral was either essentially Rhenish or Catholic echoed the approach taken by the Kultusminsterium and the Oberbaudeputation in their assessments of provincial church designs throughout the 1820s and 30s, in which aspirations of Rhenish civic identity through architecture were consistently disregarded in favor of whatever the Prussian bureaucracy had determined to be the appropriate standard for a provincial church building. The directives of the Oberbaudeputation were presented as correct, harmonious, and universal, although, as this study has demonstrated, its assessments were often arbitrary or even

[6] Kugler, "Mittheilungen vom Rhein," 57.

contradictory, and sought to advance a Prussian-defined architectural identity largely shaped by the preferences of Karl Friedrich Schinkel.

In second half of "Notes from the Rhineland," Kugler moves from the monumental to the modest in a review of a recent publication on the history and topography of the Maifeld, a hilly region west of Koblenz bordered by the Moselle River to the south and Rhine River to the west. He begins with a brief mention of a forty-page book written by Peter Joseph Seul, head teacher of the Gymnasium in Koblenz, with the title *Das Maifeld und die Kirche zu Lonnig* (*Maifeld and the Lonnig Church: An Historical-Topographical Investigation*). This slim volume traced the development of Christianity in the region, with a focus on the establishment of the parish community at Lonnig. Seul relayed centuries of detail, beginning with the founding of an Augustinian monastery in Lonnig in 1142. One learns that Lonnig's small size did not merit having its own full-time priest; only in 1727, did they find an out-of-work priest who offered his services to the parishioners for a salary of 7.5 Malter of corn annually. They offered him 6 Malter and built him a house, and he served the parish for twenty-three years.[7] After 1807, the story in Lonnig took on the plot points well known to Rhenish Catholics in the early decades of the nineteenth century: a church that had grown too small and was sorely in need of repair, a profound lack of funds, a call to nearby communities for donations of money and labor, the luck of securing some private funding, and, after three decades, the completed renovation of the existing structure. Yet Kugler's discussion of Seul's publication itself was rather cursory, for what was of greatest interest to him was the book's four-page appendix and two pages of engravings, all by Lassaulx, which concerned the architect's approach and designs for the renovation of the church at Lonnig.

[7] Peter Joseph Seul, *Das Maifeld und die Kirche zu Lonnig* (Coblenz: Dubois und Werle, 1840), 31.

Lassaulx's appendix, entitled *Architektonische Bemerkungen über die kirchlichen Gebäude in Lonnig*, or *Architectural Observations on the Church Buildings in Lonnig*, began with an attempt to trace the history of the structure. The architect dated the various parts of the church to three different historical epochs, with the oldest identified as the remains of a centrally planned sanctuary comparable in design to the Palatine Chapel at Aachen. There were also remnants of a narthex to the west. The most extensive part of the construction was the completed apse to the east, where Catholic masses had long been held. Kugler described the apse as containing the "rich and colorful character of Romantic buildings that one finds so often in the Rhenish churches dating to the early thirteenth century."[8] Towers flanked either side of the apse; the north tower, while five stories high, lacked a roof, and the south remained but an incomplete stump. Lassaulx was charged with extending the apse by one bay to enlarge the space for mass, placing a roof on the north tower, and converting the fragment of the south tower into a sacristy.

Kugler conferred the highest praise on Lassaulx's work at Lonnig, lauding the architect's harmonious unification of the newly built construction with the restoration of its existing fabric. The historical grounding of Lassaulx's designs for Lonnig in the traditions of the Romanesque was unmistakable, Kugler observed, though at the same time he noted that Lassaulx's application of this architectural language was guided "by a sense of freedom and purpose" that had transformed the building into something entirely new.[9] Kugler pointed to Lassaulx's work as a path the architecture of his age should look to, whereby a finished product corresponded both with the functional needs of the present and with what Kugler called the

[8] Kugler, 58
[9] Kugler, 58.

current direction of artistic education.[10] This last was an allusion to the reevaluation of medieval German architecture put forward in such publications as Georg Moller's *Denkmälern der deutschen Baukunst*, which appeared in three editions between 1821–44, and Heinrich Hübsch's 1828 plea for the adoption of a Romanesque-inspired Rundbogenstil, *In welchem Style sollen wir bauen*?.

Kugler added that Lassaulx's work on projects beyond Lonnig proved equally exemplary and he called out for praise the architect's "two larger, three-aisled church buildings, whose vaults are supported by slender octagonal or rounded columns, and which otherwise, on windows, portals, and cornices, contain all kinds of fine ornamentation; one of these is at Vallendar, the other at Güls on the Moselle, the latter just finished, the former close to completion."[11] Like the church at Lonnig, Lassaulx's work in Vallendar also required the incorporation of an existing tower with new construction. And Lassaulx's church at Vallendar was indeed close to completion; its dedication would take place in September 1841, seven months after Kugler's essay appeared.

As Kugler described it, the vault at Vallendar was supported on sixteen "slender octagonal columns" with cushion capitals recalling the Romanesque cathedrals at Speyer and Mainz.[12] These same octagonal columns which Kugler now praised had been deemed structurally questionable and too expensive in an 1835 Oberbaudeputation assessment of Lassaulx's design. A report signed by Schinkel's deputy Carl Ferdinand Busse had instructed Lassaulx to replace them with four-sided ones.[13] Lassaulx ignored this instruction. Much the same occurred when Lassaulx proposed to rebuild the traditional *Rhombendach*, or helm roof,

[10] Kugler, 58.
[11] Kugler, 58.
[12] Kugler, 58.
[13] LHA Koblenz 441–16004, 445–48, Report of February 19, 1835.

on the north tower at Lonnig, a trademark feature of such Rhenish Romanesque churches as the thirteenth-century buildings of Maria Himmelfahrt at Andernach and the Kastorkirche in Koblenz. Two years later and in search of funds to complete the construction, the parish at Lonnig petitioned the monarch for financial support. Naturally the plans again required Oberbaudeputation review, and in the 1837 assessment signed by Schinkel, Lassaulx's plans were marked in red ink, and the helm roof judged to be too heavy and "inappropriate."[14] The monarch contributed 350 Thaler to the project with the proviso that Lassaulx redesign the tower roof. Lassaulx ignored this instruction as well, and the *Rhombendach* stands today as Lassaulx intended.

Kugler's "Notes from the Rhine" essay underscores two of the conclusions that may be drawn from this dissertation. First, Kugler's appraisal confirms the politicized dual nature of Rhenish ecclesiastical architecture, by showing how its function as a powerful site of local historical and civic identity—one that emboldened provincials to petition, protest, and persevere, often over decades, to see projects through to completion—co-existed in conflict with its capacity, through bureaucratic regulation, to disseminate Prussian authority over distant provincial populations, and to confer cultural prestige back onto Berlin. For in a manner similar to his assessment of Cologne Cathedral, Kugler lauds Lassaulx's work at Lonnig, Vallendar, and Güls not as a contribution to Rhenish or Catholic patrimony, but in terms of their contribution to a broader category of German art and architecture. Kugler's comments recall Schinkel's frequently stated desire to preserve Rhenish churches as examples of good German architecture; both Berliners privileged the notion of a canon of Prussian cultural patrimony over the quotidian needs of Rhenish populations. Kugler likewise celebrates

[14] Eva Brües, *Die Rheinlande*, Karl Friedrich Schinkel Lebenswerk series, Margarete Kühn, ed. (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1968), 406–7.

Lassaulx's churches as examples of how old and new might be conjoined harmoniously—the very language that would be used four decades hence in Prussian efforts to appropriate the meaning of the completion of Cologne Cathedral. In the eyes of high-level Prussian officials like Schinkel, or purveyors of Prussian official culture like Kugler, ecclesiastical architecture principally served the cause of nation building. It has been a goal of this dissertation to question the tendency of architectural history scholarship to take that rather partial assessment at face value, by excavating instead the local significance of these projects, and the civic passions they animated in Rhenish towns and villages.

The second conclusion of this dissertation that is underscored by Kugler's essay is that the drive to the complete Cologne Cathedral after 1840 was not, as historians typically claim, animated ex nihilo by the arrest and imprisonment of Cologne's archbishop by the Prussian regime in 1837, but rather had a long history stretching back through the kinds of episodes recounted in this study, in which Rhenish parishioners and architects, often with support of Prussian civil servants working in the Rhineland, defied Berlin's bureaucratic challenges and interference in their building projects. By the late 1830s, Rhinelanders had absorbed over two decades worth of training in civic activism via their petitions and protests against Prussian interventions in provincial ecclesiastical architecture. The events of 1837–40 are better viewed not as the start of a period of heightened civic engagement among Rhenish Catholics, but as the efflorescence of an activism rooted decades earlier in modest parish church building initiatives throughout towns and villages along the Rhine. The founding of the Cologne Cathedral Building Society, with its commitment to keeping the fund in the Rhineland, is an obvious legacy of Rhenish parish council activism in contesting twenty-five years of Prussian bureaucratic impediments to parochial church building. The mistrust with which Rhenish

Catholics learned to regard the Prussian authorities, as evinced by texts like the 1836 *Winter Evening Conversations*, was the source for the broad Rhenish enthusiasm that greeted the Cologne Cathedral project after 1842. Overwhelming Rhenish support for the annual lottery to benefit the Cologne Cathedral Building Society, and to lessen its reliance on donations from King Friedrich Wilhelm IV, should likewise be read as a legacy of the collections that were taken at masses across the Rhineland to fund church repairs between 1815 and 1840; collections that did not just fund construction, but that also kept participants informed about the struggles facing Catholic parishes all across the region.[15] And finally the stories of bureaucratic conflict between Rhenish parishes and Berlin also help us to understand the Prussian monarchy's strong support for the completion of Cologne Cathedral after 1840 as a result of the lessons learned from hundreds of contested parish church projects like the one at Vallendar.

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This study aimed to reinflect our sense of Schinkel's career and significance beyond the frame of his majestic and considerable production in Berlin. Conjoining his lengthy Rhenish administrative work with his wider oeuvre underscores a consequential yet overlooked reality of his long career: Schinkel functioned as bureaucrat writ large, who, in Berlin and beyond as a state-employed architect, continually negotiated his visions with institutional forces: the king, ministerial officials in Berlin, regional bureaucrats, local architects, and parochial stakeholders. Bureaucracy is, in fact, the leitmotif of who he was as an architect, not a separate part of his oeuvre walled-off from the well-known grand royal assignments to build Potsdam

[15] For the politics of Cologne Cathedral's rebuilding, see chapter two of Michael Lewis's indispensable study, *The Politics of the German Gothic Revival* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993).

palaces for crown princes or a public art museum in Berlin for the royal collection.[16] The framing of Schinkel within the workings of a state bureaucracy is not unique to his era—Soane, Nash, Labrouste, and others worked at times within the administrative frameworks of England and France in the post-Napoleonic era. Unique, however, is Prussia's position as young nation, one far less powerful or developed than England or France, and one keen to acculturate its new, far-flung territories. Thus, Schinkel's bureaucratic work in the Rhineland on behalf of a young Prussian nation widens the historical picture about the social and political currency of architecture, illustrating an early, modern instance of its use in nation building, and ultimately, architecture's ability to spark civic consciousness and participation among provincials, even in sacred settings, along with the unintended consequences thereof.

Considering Schinkel's bureaucratic oeuvre as constitutive to his career helps us to recognize the significance of what is arguably his longest sustained comment on the potential of public architecture to satisfy the needs of both the state and its citizens: his 1835 memorandum on the optimal design for village churches. In his memorandum, Schinkel theorized a role for architecture in the process of nation building whereby lightly regulated, local church building might lift provincial publics, and, quite literally, serve as the building blocks for a young Prussian nation**.** The memorandum evidences a shift in his thinking from the dogmatic insistence on strict centralized administration at the start of his bureaucratic

[16] Paul Ortwin Rave's classic *Schinkel als Beamter* (1932), or *Schinkel as Bureaucrat*, details the workings of the Oberbaudeputation and Schinkel's evolving role in it from 1810–40. This slim volume is essential for understanding the Prussian building bureaucracy. As evidenced by its title, however, Rave's book bifurcates the quotidian administrative functions from a wider appraisal of their impact on Schinkel as an architect and designer. Reinhart Strecke's extraordinarily detailed *Anfänge und Innovation der preußischen Bauverwaltung* (2000), or *The Origins and Innovation of the Prussian Building Administration*, does consider Schinkel's dual role as architect/bureaucrat, emphasizing the influence of the Oberbaudeputation's collective and collegial approach on Schinkel's career. Strecke provides a detailed case study of the events surrounding Schinkel's unexecuted plans for a Prussian state library in Berlin (1834–5), but he does not address Schinkel's work outside Berlin or in the realm of sacred architecture (see pp.167–200).

career—a shift that must be considered a product of his quarter century of work with determined and resistant provincial publics.

This study has considered architecture not as the product of a relationship between architect and patron, but as the product of a bureaucratically mediated exchange between state and citizen: a societal project shaped by the formally sanctioned and often spirited and robust participation of ordinary people—members of parish councils, parishioners, provincial architects and civil servants—whose opinions the Prussian state, in the person of Karl Friedrich Schinkel, had then to contend with. In this regard, nineteenth-century bureaucracy might be considered a successor to print culture in the eighteenth century: for, like architectural print culture, it first developed as a state-sponsored instrument of official control and acculturation, but soon revealed itself to be very much a two-way street that afforded unprecedented opportunities for ordinary citizens to exert an influence from below on architectural culture.[17] In the course of their tense exchanges concerning the style, site, and funding of ecclesiastical architecture, Rhenish parish councils and architects at Vallendar and Solingen-Wald approached their interactions with Oberbaudeputation architects largely as equals, confident in their right and competence to judge, criticize, and advocate for desired outcomes on building initiatives.[18] Prussian bureaucratic administration, often messy and arbitrary in its application, thus ended up fostering new discursive critical spaces in the unexpected arena of provincial church building.

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[17] See Richard Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France* (New York: Routledge), 2007.

[18] In this fashion, church building projects exerted a societal effect similar to James Brophy's conclusion that public processions and carnival provided introductory lessons on citizenship to Rhinelanders; while Brophy doesn't specifically address church building, ecclesiastical architecture animated civic and identitarian impulses in Rhinelanders and this study is indebted to Brophy's interpretation. See Brophy, *Popular Culture and the Public Sphere in the Rhineland, 1800–1850* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

The broadened community-based participation in public affairs for which the campaign to complete Cologne Cathedral is so famous had thus been prepared in essential ways by the Prussian bureaucratization of ecclesiastical architecture; for this had first compelled members of the Rhenish public to serve as arbiters of their own interests vis-à-vis state power structures, and in the process had projected traditional community-based participation in local church-building far beyond the sphere of the parish. And it is worth highlighting that such participation also had a complicating effect on the intended mechanics of the bureaucracy itself: for local civil servants in the employ of the Prussian bureaucracy often had to negotiate their obligation to the state with the communities in which they lived and served, and not infrequently ended up breaking rank with Berlin to become advocates for Rhenish parish church initiatives. The events at Vallendar and Solingen-Wald offer examples, and remind us vividly that, contrary to common assumptions, the Prussian bureaucracy did not function in monolithic fashion down the chain of command. Indeed, one key finding of this study has been that there was a substantial divergence between the priorities of bureaucrats on the ground and those in the capital. State and province had different ideas about the objectives of their respective efforts, and complexities emerged as they attempted to define the "public" they served: Rhineland-based officials frequently aligned themselves with the public that comprised the immediate parish community, whereas their Berlin-based counterparts were more likely to look to the abstract public of the imagined nation beyond the Rhineland.

But if the stories set forth in the preceding pages lend credence to the claim that nascent nation-state bureaucracies represent a seriously neglected stake in nineteenth-century European architectural history, they also suggest that the question of architectural style has perhaps been accorded disproportionate attention. While style, particularly a national style, has

long been viewed as *the* central issue and organizing principle of nineteenth-century architectural history, and nowhere stronger than in German lands, the bureaucratic exchanges we have examined indicate that the provincial stakeholders of ecclesiastical architecture concerned themselves with style only insofar as it reflected local constructions of identity, with no concern for consistency beyond a particular town or region. As we have seen in the preceding pages, we do not encounter a single voice in the Rhineland who agitated for a particular style, be it a Rhenish, German, Catholic or a Protestant style. Even among provincial architects, stylistic choices were contingent and flexible: Lassaulx's Romanesque-inspired buildings, their facades teeming with polychromal stone, and Vagedes's academic neoclassicism co-existed alongside the ever present design challenge to combine existing historical fabric with new construction. While historians continue to accept the claims of writers like Hübsch that the question of architectural style served as *the* central question of nineteenth-century architectural practice, the evidence of the preceding pages suggests that the obsession with style belonged to an elite discourse of erudite theorists, academics, high-ranking government officials, and rulers—and was of little concern to ordinary people.

An analogue between the rarified, abstract rhetoric of a nation "needing" its style and the bureaucratic insistence on regulations aimed at "appropriate" church design is evident: both concerns belonged to the wider nation-building discourse of those with privilege and power. The Oberbaudeputation never disguised its intent to serve to what was viewed as early as 1809 as the vital cause of *Nationalbildung*, the project to cultivate the nation, and my research has highlighted the coercion implicit in the centralized regulation of provincial architecture. This study's interrogation of ordinary Rhenish people interacting with church building projects is intended as a contribution to the larger critical project of reframing European architectural

history as a social process that engaged a diverse spectrum of users, stakeholders, and representations—and not as a product predicated solely on the binary of designer and patron. The stories on these pages certainly suggest that we similarly reconsider the supposed centrality of the style debates in nineteenth-century German architectural culture as an essential step toward realizing a more inclusive chronicle of what architecture meant for the whole of society.

After Schinkel's death in 1841, the Oberbaudeputation continued its efforts to influence modest provincial architecture, and, after 1847, regularly issued collections of plans entitled *Entwürfe zu Kirchen, Pfarr- und Schulhäusern* (Designs for Churches, Parsonages, and Schools).[19] Yet the Oberbaudeputation increasingly felt the burden of the vast functional and geographic range of projects it was tasked to administer: from prisons to theaters, universities to housing for toll collectors, and extending from public architecture to include both *Chausseebau*, or roads, and *Wasserbau*, including bridges, dams, and sluices.[20] More than once during his career, Schinkel had urged his superiors to reorganize and streamline the Oberbaudeputation's portfolio.[21] By 1850, with the morale of its staff low and the frustration of the various ministries it served high, the Oberbaudeputation was dissolved. In its place, the Technische Bau-Deputation was installed within the Ministry of Trade, Commerce, and Public Works. An advisory body, its officers evaluated new discoveries and approaches, both "artistic and scientific," related to architecture and construction.[22] The Technische-Bau-Deputation disseminated its evaluations through its publication, *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, the title of which

[19] Eva Börsch-Supan, *Berliner Baukunst nach Schinkel, 1840–1870* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1977), 13.
[20] Eckhard Bolenz, *Von Baubeamten zum freiberuflichen Architekten: Technische Berufe im Bauwesen, Preußen/Deutschland, 1799–1931*, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991) 53–54.
[21] Eckhard Bolenz, *Von Baubeamten zum freiberuflichen Architekten*, 54.
[22] Eckhard Bolenz, *Von Baubeamten zum freiberuflichen Architekten*, 54.

signalled a practical focus encompassing both architecture and construction with an appeal to those without academic training, like the carpenters and masons who carried out so much provincial construction.[23]

As for provincial church building, a reenergized Catholic Church hierarchy in the Rhineland had taken on an active supervisory role by the 1850s and 1860s. Buoyed by monarch Friedrich Wilhelm IV's support for the completion of Cologne Cathedral and their enormously successful 1844 exhibition of Trier Cathedral's famous relic, the Holy Robe of Christ, which brought a million visitors to Trier in the space of three months, the Rhenish Catholic Church had, at last, begun to reconstitute itself after the profound losses of territory and wealth resulting from the French occupation and Napoleonic Wars.[24] With the easing of state bureaucratic interventions, Rhenish bishoprics in the 1850s insisted on reviewing architectural plans, appointing their own diocesan architects, and explicitly mandating architectural style for new churches. In 1852, for example, the Archbishopric of Cologne issued guidelines which stipulated that all new Catholic churches be designed in the neo-Gothic style.[25] In 1863, the diocese of Cologne officially hired a chief architect responsible for the review of all parochial architectural plans.[26] Likewise, in 1861 the *Eisenacher Regulativ*, a Prussia-wide congress of Protestant clergy, stated its stylistic preference for neo-Gothic in Protestant church design.[27] In other words, as the Catholic and Protestant churches in Prussia themselves became bureaucratized, they turned to the same kind of standardizing regulations as the

[23] Eva Börsch-Supan*, Berliner Baukunst nach Schinkel*, 13.
[24] Volkmar Wittmütz, "Preußen und die Kirchen im Rheinland, 1815–1840," in *Preußens Schwieriger Westen: Rheinisch-preußische Beziehungen, Konflikte, und Wechselwirkungen* (Duisburg: Mercator Verlag, 2003), 154–55.
[25] Willy Weyres, "Katholischen Kirchen im alten Erzbistüm Köln und im rheinischen Teil des Bistums Münster," in *Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts im Rheinland, Band 1: Architektur I, Kultusbauen*, edited by Eduard Trier and Willy Weyres (Schwann: Düsseldorf, 1980), 76.
[26] Willy Weyres, "Katholische Kirchen im alten Erzbistum Köln," 76.
[27] Willy Weyres, "Katholischen Kirchen im alten Erzbistüm Köln," 76–77.

Oberbaudeputation had decades earlier in a quest for the very homogeneity and consistency that individual parishes had struggled against at the start of the century. Consequently, and in stark contrast to the wide and local variety of stylistic expression evident in provincial church designs between 1815–40, the range of acceptable styles in the decades immediately following narrowed as *Kulturkampf* battles unfolded between the renewed Roman Catholic Church and an ascendant Prussia. The hegemony of neo-Gothic in the 1850–60s, sustained in part by enthusiasm for the completion of Cologne Cathedral, gave way in the last quarter of the nineteenth century to a renewed flourishing of Rhenish Romanesque Revival.[28] This traditionally Catholic architectural language enjoyed favor even in Protestant church building, most notably at Berlin's monumental Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche (dedicated 1895). The incorporation of *the* historical style of the Catholic Rhineland into monumental Prussian Protestant church design did more than just signal the end of the *Kulturkampf*; the adoption of such designs throughout Prussia helped give architectural form to the Prussian monarchy's achievement in unifying Germany in 1871, and, by association, their imperial claim to the cultural patrimony of lands now conjoined under their scepter. The efforts of provincial parishes between 1815 and 1840 to determine their church building projects might even be considered the last flowering of an authentically local architectural thinking, before architectural culture was be subsumed over the following decades by institutional forces and within the modern structures of collective identities and imagined communities.

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[28] On the Rhenish Romanesque Revival in late nineteenth-century Prussia, see Wolfgang Cortjaens, "Sprache des Materials, Politik der Form: Die katholische Kirchenbau in den linksrheinischen Teilen der preußischen Rheinprovinz und im Rhein-Maas-Gebiet, 1815–1914" in *Historism and Cultural Identity in the Rhine-Meuse Region/Historismus und kulturelle Identität in Raum Rhein-Maas*, edited by Wolfgang Cortjaens, Jan De Maeyer, and Tom Verschaffel (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008) 276–79. See also Kathleen Curran, "The German Rundbogenstil and Reflections on the American Round-Arched Style." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 47, no. 4 (Dec. 1988): 351–65.

Religious contexts and traditional institutions undoubtedly provided the impetus for new forms of civic participation among Rhenish populations outside of urban centers. Considering the influential role of popular culture, including religious processions and pamphlets, in the run-up to the 1848 Revolutions and post-revolutionary election of 1849, James Brophy observed that everyday "Rhinelanders practiced confessional politics in a modern political register...exhibiting the defiance and entitlement of rights-bearing citizens."[29] Even if not every parish was as successful as Vallendar in resisting Berlin, church building projects spurred activism in Rhenish towns and villages, ultimately providing one crucial training ground for political participation in an era otherwise lacking meaningful popular representation. While the narrative presented by this dissertation takes its place amid a growing body of scholarship that locates emergent modernities in sacred, often rural, spaces,[30] rather than the more familiar settings of secular urbanity, the elision of religious structures and practices in large part from contemporary scholarly discourses is likely a reflection of modernity itself. Yet Rhenish parishioners worked within the bureaucratic realm of a bi-confessional state to meet their religious needs *and* articulate their civic and cultural identities. In the everyday acts of building modest parish churches, Rhinelanders negotiated their daily lives at the local, regional, and national levels, thereby building upon the process of becoming moderns.

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[29] Brophy, *Popular Culture*, 299.

[30] See the foundational work of Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia* (Boston: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology/Architectural History Foundation, 1986), Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton, eds., *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005), and Dale K. Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560–1791* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999). For excellent treatments of sacred architecture and modernity in Europe, see Jessica Ruth Basciano, *Architecture and Popular Religion: French Pilgrimage Churches of the Nineteenth Century*, PhD dissertation, Department of Art History and Archaeology, Columbia University, New York, 2012, and Kathleen James-Chakraborty, *German Architecture for a Mass Audience*, especially 57–69.

Archival Repositories

Archiv der Evangelischen Kirche im Rheinland, Boppard, Germany

Geheimes Staatsarchive Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem, Germany

Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz, Koblenz, Germany

Landesarchiv Nordrhein Westfalen, Duisburg, Germany

Kupferstichkabinett Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany

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