The Creations of Ludwig II of Bavaria:
Physical Symbols of His Dreams

An Honors Thesis (ID 499)

by

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Muncie, Indiana
May 1985
In the record of human experience, one finds that legends arise from the misunderstanding of the physical manifestations of the unknown. Most readers would be somewhat familiar with a good example of this in the person of King Ludwig II of Bavaria. Often called "mad" or "crazy Ludwig," this nineteenth-century monarch has been the subject of numerous legends, stories, and falsehoods. Many of these stem from and revolve around the physical symbols of his supposed insanity—his buildings. Ranging from medieval castles and Moorish kiosks to uncompleted plans, these projects are lavish monuments to Ludwig's life and dreams. The casual student of Ludwig is impressed by the sheer volume of masonry, gilding, and artwork present in these projects, but even more impressive is the amount of Ludwig's own creative talent manifest in them. Only a monarch like him could create such a volume of diversified and complex structures.

To understand the man, one must examine Ludwig's creations, his view of the perfect life, and the environment in which his thoughts developed. This study necessarily begins with an examination of his life, from which one should develop a good idea of Ludwig's view of the ideal life. Next, the study will delve into some of the common characteristics of the projects before finally examining the structures themselves. The desired result is that the reader will better understand Ludwig's motives and ideas.

Legends are created from the subjects of the unknown. If one understands a subject, the possibility of falsehood is lessened, and legends are whittled down to facts. Yet, one might point out, without complex and interesting subjects, legends do not arise or continue to exist. The subject of this study—Ludwig II—is a Romantic figure who inspires wonder,
falsehood, and legend even today. Through an examination of the physical manifestations of his ideals, one may be able to understand why the legend continues.

"I want to remain forever an enigma--to myself, and to others."¹

--King Ludwig II of Bavaria

Some have called Ludwig merely eccentric, while others have heaped monickers, such as "mad" or "crazy Ludwig" upon him. Practically every aspect of his life has been scrutinized from his alleged homosexuality to his obsession with the Bourbon kings and his building projects. Yet, this man continues to inspire interest after nearly a hundred years. The explanation for this is, of course, that he is an enigma still today. In order to understand any one part of his life, one must briefly examine his background.

The Wittelsbach dynasty ruled the province-state known as Bavaria from the Middle Ages until 1918. This state progressed from being a duchy to an electorate in 1623. In 1806 Napoleon created the kingdom of Bavaria as a part of his restructuring of the German states and crowned Elector Max IV Joseph as the first King of Bavaria (King Max I Joseph). King Max I's son, Ludwig I, named for his godfather Louis XVI of France, became king in 1825. This cultivated and willful man brought several cultural improvements, such as opera and urban design, to Munich. Ludwig was a Romantic and encouraged a flourishing artistic community, including painters, sculptors, and architects. He began rebuilding Munich to make it more like the other great cities of Europe, such as Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and London, envisioning plazas, grand boulevards, and cultural centers for theater,
dance, and music. He aimed his building efforts at improving the atmosphere of the city for his subjects. In 1848, the year of democratic revolution in Germany, Ludwig I made the grave mistake of embroiling himself in controversy over his mistress, Lola Montez, a Spanish dancer. The good citizens of Munich rebelled against him for attempting to make her a Countess, among other reasons. He wisely abdicated, after various threats to his government, in favor of his son, Maximilian II.²

King Max II was a bourgeois and conservative man with opposing streaks of Romanticism and common sense. If he had not been forced into the role of king so early, he may have become a great scholar.³ During his reign he brought several scholars, professors of various areas, poets, and writers to Munich, adding to the thriving intellectual community. He, too, built several projects to improve Munich. His Maximilianstrasse and other improvements are still good examples of early urban improvements in Munich. His building projects included renovations of the Residenz, the capital palace of the family, and the reconstruction of the castle of Hohenschwangau.

Ludwig Friedrich Wilhelm Wittelsbach was born on August 25, 1845, in Nymphenburg, the family's summer palace. He was named for his grandfather the king.⁴ Ludwig was three years old when he became Crown Prince upon the ascendancy of his father to the throne. This handsome young man grew up in an environment created by an austere Prussian mother, a rigidly formal and distant father, and a Romantic French governess. The latter was enamored of the Bourbon kings and the Ancien Régime.⁵ Yet, the strict and loveless life he led was pervaded by Romanticism. He learned the German legends of Tannhäuser, Lohengrin, and the Ring of the Nibelungen at a young age and grew to see these as the highest attainment of the German
ideal. These legends were to be found on the walls of the Residenz and Hohenschwangau, as well as on the Court stage. Other than tutors and his own reading, Ludwig had no formal training or world experience and was thereby poorly prepared to be king.⁶

His father, who was never a physically strong man, died on March 10, 1864. He left to his son a country which was passing through several difficult changes. Industrialization, internal improvements, such as rail transport and the telegraph, and the unification of the German Empire were just a few of the international developments that would have an impact on the Bavaria of Ludwig's reign. Ludwig II was simply not prepared to deal with all of these types of problems for any extended period of time. His had been a childish world of fantasy, into which the real world had seldom intruded; therefore, he never developed the strong coping mechanism necessary to be king.

Several other factors influenced the development of Ludwig's life and reign, although his strict but Romantic upbringing, combined with his fantasy view of the world, certainly formed the basis of his life. He was also greatly influenced by his relationship with Richard Wagner. Wagner provided Ludwig with the personifications of German folklore. Wagner's operas not only gave Ludwig inspiration for several of his projects, but also helped him to live out his fantasies. The forced banishment of Wagner from Bavaria in late 1865 was one of Ludwig's most bitter personal defeats. The good citizens of Munich would no longer allow this outsider to meddle in the affairs of the government or domineer over their young king. Yet, Ludwig kept in close contact with Wagner and his writings throughout his life.
Ludwig's life seems littered with both personal and national defeats. Bavaria's defeat by Prussia in the Seven Weeks' War in 1866 was humiliating, as well as costly. His engagement to his cousin Sophie, daughter of Duke Max of Bavaria, and the subsequent break-off of this in 1867 was a great personal defeat. He appears to have broken this off because of his lack of interest in women and his driving desires to sponsor music by Wagner and create his own projects.

By 1868 Ludwig began to turn his interests increasingly towards his building projects. He began to receive a greater share of the Civil List in this year as a result of the death of his grandfather, ex-King Ludwig I. At this point Ludwig seemed to begin withdrawing into himself. His admiration for the Baroque Court of Louis XIV grew during this period as he began to see that court as the perfect realization of royal power embodied in the concept of absolutism. His desire for absolute power grew in inverse proportion to his interest and actual power in his own national government as he became increasingly constrained by Bavaria's constitution and later the imperial structure. As his desire for the impossible increased, so did his desire to translate his dreams or fantasies of grandeur into reality. With his position and finances he was able to attempt these goals.

Most of Ludwig's major building projects occurred between 1868 and his death in 1886. During this time he became even more withdrawn and eccentric. He suspiciously guarded his privacy and jealously controlled the artists and architects in charge of his projects. Ludwig began living his life as if he were performing on the stage of life for the ultimate audience of himself, or perhaps Wagner or God. Since Ludwig felt increasingly under the control of others, he strove to gain control of that which
seemed impossible. During the last stage of his life he slept by day and turned the night into a blaze of daylight with candlelight. By switching the two he symbolized his absolute control over the very basic givens of life, thereby creating the illusion of power for himself.9

When Ludwig began his reign, the people of Bavaria were impressed by his handsome romantic presence and expected great deeds from him. In the beginning he was fairly astute at politics, but after his several defeats and actual constriction of power under the Empire, he seemed to lose interest in governing.10 As he withdrew from his kingly duties, he lived at his new castles more often and tended to stay away from Munich. By these actions he alienated his ministers and the residents of the capital city. Although he was always supported by the peasantry of Bavaria, especially in the Alps, by the spring of 1886 he had lost control of his own government. His building projects had bankrupted his personal funds and had begun to be a financial burden to the state. He had also neglected the affairs of state. In 1883 he lost his dearest friend and hero, Richard Wagner.

Ludwig once said, "If I can no longer build, I can no longer go on living."11 By the spring of 1886 he had lost this energy to live when the government demanded all building to cease. Yet, stopping the building was not enough for the government's ministers; an active head of state was still lacking. After weeks of intrigue and conspiracy, the ministers convinced Prince Luitpold, Ludwig's uncle, to become Regent. A bill of ill health for mental instability was signed by several medical specialists, most of whom had never examined the king. In mid-June 1886 a state commission was sent to Neuschwanstein to remove the king and take him to
Schloss Berg where they could confine him more easily. After a short scuffle with local peasants, the commission succeeded. Shortly thereafter, the specialist in charge of the king, Dr. von Gudden, and Ludwig went walking along the Starnbergersee to talk. Dr. von Gudden suggested the walk even though Ludwig had threatened and attempted both escape and suicide at Neuschwanstein. When the two did not return, a search party was sent looking for them. The two bodies were found in the lake, but no clear explanation of the drownings has ever been determined. Ludwig died on June 13, 1886, shrouded in as much mystery as he lived. A small Romanesque chapel was ordered by the Prince Regent as a memorial to be erected in the Schloss Berg park near the death site. Julius Hofmann designed it, and it was completed after 1900 by Friedrich Thiersch.

Historians still debate whether the real Ludwig was a young dashing Romantic who was forced into withdrawal by environmental circumstances or a raving lunatic with desires for dreams, Wagner, and young boys. To this day he remains an enigma shrouded as much by facts as by the stories told by witnesses for the state commission and disgruntled servants. What is obvious is that Ludwig had a fantastic imagination and the desire and ability to translate his dreams into realities. These creations, be they castles, kiosks, or uncompleted plans, leave a legacy of superb fantasies and riches for the state of Bavaria and her folklore. Moreover, they have inspired generations of people around the world to ponder his life and the impossible projects he left as symbols of his complex dreams.

"My palaces," King Ludwig II once said, "are holy places; they should not be seen by the mob, because that would desecrate and defile them." King Ludwig I built civic projects in Munich to house the arts; additionally, he had several parts of his palaces renovated. King Max II also
built civic projects to improve the lives of his subjects and completed personal renovation projects. Yet, Ludwig II seemed to build only for personal pleasure, although he attempted to build civic projects in his early reign and failed. Wilfrid Blunt points out that Ludwig was searching for a personal peace and happiness he "couldn't find in human relations." He needed "an outlet for his creative urge, a substitute for living and an escape from the harshness of a real world which grew more distasteful to him." Ludwig was a Romantic who wanted all of life to be pleasant like his dreams, not as it occurred in reality. During his roughly eighteen years of building, Ludwig unintentionally created a natural park which stretched from the Chiemsee to Pfronten and from Munich to the Plansee in Austria. This park was studded with the jewels of Linderhof and Neuschwanstein, as well as several planned but incomplete projects in between. Although this was not a consciously designed plan, one would think that it was possibly subconscious.

Upon ascending to the throne in 1864, Ludwig attempted to continue the family tradition of civic construction by first completing those projects still in progress from Max II's reign. These included streets, theaters, and the Residenz. During his early reign he also came up with a plan which would unite the magic of two great artists of his Munich—Gottfried Semper, master architect, and Richard Wagner, master composer. This 1867 plan called for two new east-west boulevards through Munich. One would proceed from the main train station (Hauptbahnhof) to the court theater (Hoftheater), while the other would proceed from the northeast corner of the Residenz across the Isar river and terminate at a great Rococo opera house (Bühnenfestspielhaus) which would feature only the works of Wagner. The whole project, including the opera house, was
to cost around five million Gulden. Unfortunately, the people of Munich, as well as Ludwig's ministers, were opposed to the plan. The finance minister refused payment to the architect for his services, and eventually, the plans were shelved. The fact that a Wagnerian opera house was included in the plan certainly did not engender fondness in the hearts of the people of Munich, for they were glad to have been rid of him since 1865 and wanted no reintroduction. Yet, it was for this reason that Ludwig turned his back on Munich and began building for himself instead. The harsh realities of a constitutional monarchy forced this believer in absolute rule to resort to creating the illusion of absolutism in his buildings.

Still, the idea of a special opera house did not die. Wagner's operas were such that an ordinary theater could not begin to do them justice, and so plans continued to be formulated. The city of Bayreuth eventually became the home of this institution. Ludwig had continued to be a benefactor of Wagner and bailed out the project financially in 1874. By August 1876 the long-awaited premiere of The Ring of the Nibelungen was performed, and Ludwig was there, although he was keenly uncomfortable with the staring throngs. When Wagner died in 1883, Ludwig was extremely overwrought. No one could doubt his sorrow over his loss when he said, "It was I who was the first to recognize the artist whom the whole world now mourns; and it was I who saved him for the world." Ludwig never forgave Munich's scorn of his great love.

Wagner was not the only influence on Ludwig's buildings, although traces of Wagner's works appear in each. Ludwig made two trips in 1867--one to Paris and Versailles, and the other to the Wartburg castle near Eisenach in Thuringia. These were the first of Ludwig's trips to exper-
ience on-site authenticity, although by no means his last. The Wartburg was a medieval castle and became the inspiration for a similar project to honor the Tannhäuser legend. This project eventually developed into the robber-knight castle of Neuschwanstein. His visit to Paris, on the other hand, strengthened his love of the Bourbon kings. During his time there he inundated himself with visits to Versailles, the Trianons, and the Paris Exhibition of 1867. At the Exhibition he was exposed to several so-called "oriental" buildings which were much in fashion at the time, and this became a third style which he tried to imitate later.

Ludwig had three major works built—Neuschwanstein, Linderhof, and Herrenchiemsee. Only Linderhof was actually completed. The sum spent on these three castles was approximately thirty-one million Marks which was roughly the same amount that Bavaria paid Prussia as an indemnity for the Seven Weeks' War. As was pointed out earlier, a major reason for deposing Ludwig was his building which had begun to financially bind the state coffers, as it had his own funds. Beginning in 1876 Ludwig began secretly receiving money from Prussia through Swiss banks out of the Welfenfonds. The average annual amount sent to Ludwig was 300,000 Marks and totalled about 4.4 million Marks by 1886. This money was considered by German Prime Minister Otto von Bismarck as a loan or investment, and he had no intention ofregaining the money. In fact, Bismarck sent an extra million Marks in February 1884. The underlying purpose seemed to be to keep Ludwig on the throne as he was friendly to Emperor Wilhelm of Germany. His successors, it was argued, might not be so inclined. By 1877, Ludwig was in debt, and by 1884 his personal debt totalled 8.25 million Marks. These figures shocked his ministers into action, and perhaps rightly so, when one considers the amount of influence Wilhelm
and von Bismarck could exercise with their loans. Yet, after nearly a hundred years, one realizes that the thirty-one million Marks spent on these three projects have been repaid several times over by the admission fees of the tourist hordes that visit annually.

Ludwig was able to have several projects built during the last eighteen years of his life. One of the problems in studying them is how to classify them. Heinrich Kreisel has divided them into three groups: the sun, the moon, and the Holy Grail. The sun represents the group built with the Bourbon kings in mind in late-Baroque and Rocococo style and include the royal apartments in the Residenz, Linderhof with its Hubertuspavilion and theater project, and Herrenchiemsee. The moon group is composed of buildings built in the "oriental" styles inspired by the current fashions and include the Turkish Hall at Schachen, the throne room of Neuschwanstein, and the Moorish kiosk at Linderhof. The medieval idea of the Holy Grail, which appears in the German saga of Parzival, is represented by the castle of Neuschwanstein and the planned Falkenstein. These are the three basic ideas which inspired Ludwig's imagination to build.

One can also classify these projects by their stage of completion, geographical location, or chronological data. This study will be organized along differing lines. The first castles to be discussed will be those in which Ludwig was raised and were available to him upon his ascendency to the throne. Next, the study will turn to Ludwig's three main projects in the order that the average reader is most likely to be familiar with them: Neuschwanstein, Linderhof, and Herrenchiemsee. The study will then examine the lesser-known structures which were actually completed. These include the buildings around Linderhof and the Turkish Hall at
Schachen. The last group of projects to be discussed are those which were never completed, some of which never progressed beyond the plan or idea stage. All of these projects when taken together are quite a collection of imagination and accomplishment. If one includes the amount of artwork, theater, music, and costuming he also had commissioned, one is overwhelmed by the quantity and complexity of Ludwig's interests. The incentive to study these projects of Ludwig's is that perhaps one might understand a bit of the enigma which was his life. In any case, one better appreciates that Ludwig cannot merely be dismissed as crazy and, thereby, meaningless in the scheme of the nineteenth-century monarchy.

One must begin the study of Ludwig's creations by examining those castles in which he was raised. As Ludwig's life was influenced by his family, the structures he created were inspired to some degree by those in which he had lived. Four castles are the most important: the Residenz, Nymphenburg, Schloss Berg, and Hohenschwangau. Each castle will be examined in terms of location, details of construction, and the importance they had for Ludwig.

The Residenz was the main palace of the Wittelsbach family and stood in the center of Munich on Residenzstrasse and Max Joseph Square. Today several parts of the castle, such as the treasure chamber, the museum, and the court theater by François Cuvilliés are open to the public. The castle itself is a hodge-podge of construction styles and periods created by the Bavarian rulers beginning in the early Renaissance. Ludwig II's grandfather, Ludwig I, made several improvements to the residence. Leo von Klenze became the court architect and was employed to improve the castle with the construction of the king's building (Königsbau) and the banquet hall (Festsaalbau). Most of the castle's interior walls were
covered with murals of German and Greek folklore.

When Ludwig II ascended the throne, he occupied the corner pavilion of the west wing. In 1867 he began to renovate his apartments in the Baroque style. Franz Seitz, who was the technical director and costumer of the Munich Court Theater, played a large role in this renovation. Included in the plan was an apartment for Ludwig's fiancee, Sophie, with a secret passageway to his own apartments. In that same year a winter garden was built on the roof of the north wing of the building. The Winter Garden was a palm house or greenhouse which was common to the residences of several monarchs and the very rich of that time. It was covered by a vaulted glass roof, and it included several innovations, such as a lake, a bridge, a small stalactite grotto, an oriental kiosk, and such birds as swans and peacocks. This is the first example of a building project of Ludwig's which attempted the impossible task of translating dreams into reality.

After Ludwig broke off his engagement to Sophie, the renovation of his apartments proceeded at a furious pace. They were enlarged, and the style was changed to late Rococo. The last changes to the Residenz by Ludwig were the murals of the passage of the Nibelungen, commissioned to the painter Michael Echter in 1869. After this project Ludwig began to concentrate his efforts on his new structures.

Although the Residenz was the primary palace of the kingdom and had been the seat of power since the early days of the Wittelsbach dynasty, this hodge-podge of architectural styles, additions, and attractions did not satisfy Ludwig's taste for his Romanticism and dreams. He also felt stifled by Munich and the pressures of the government. He preferred to stay away from the city, especially after the late 1860s and his break-up
with Sophie in 1867.

The next oldest residence of the Wittelsbachs is the Nymphenburg, or "castles of the nymphs," which was the summer residence of the family. It stood in the outer area of western Munich about ten kilometers from the city center. This compact five-storied building was built in the style of an Italianate villa and was a chain of pavilions linked by two arced galleries. It was built in the 1660s by Agostino Barelli for Henrietta Adelaide of Savoy, mother of Elector Max Emmanuel.

The original design had several additions over the next two hundred years and was considerably changed. A Baroque park with a canal leading to the center of Munich was developed, and the interior of the original pavilion was modified into a great hall three stories high. By the mid-eighteenth century the building had been changed to form a crescent enclosing a large courtyard for which architect Josef Effner was responsible.

The park contained four small outbuildings—the Badenburg, the Pagodenburg, the Magdalenenklause, and the Amalienburg. The Badenburg was built in the early eighteenth century (1716-1719) in the southeast corner of the court garden. This bath included a Chinese room and an area for musicians to play for the bath. The Pagodenburg was also built at this time and was an early example of the fashion for so-called oriental design. The Magdalenenklause, built in the 1720s, was a hermit's refuge in the form of a grotto. The Amalienburg was constructed in 1734 as a hunting lodge by François Cuvilliés the Elder in the southeast corner of the garden. This small gem with its sparkling central mirror room has been described as the "supreme secular monument of the Rococo." Ludwig II was born at Nymphenburg and probably spent part of his early life there. The small outbuildings which followed the prevailing French and oriental
styles influenced his ideas of architecture and provided the ideal backgrounds for his fantasies.

One of Ludwig's most favorite castles was that of Schloss Berg, which stood twenty miles south of Munich. This "royal toy-castle" was renovated by King Max II and stood across the Starnbergersee from Possenhofen, the home of Duke Max of Bavaria, Ludwig's uncle. Ludwig II often visited and played with his uncle's daughters, Elizabeth, later Empress of Austria, and Sophie, his ill-fated fiancée. The park surrounding this castle had a Moorish kiosk and a small chapel. Schloss Berg was a favorite because it had the advantages of privacy, a country-like setting, and easy access to the capital. Here he could be alone with his fantasies but still not neglect his duties to the crown. As Ludwig became less comfortable in the capital, he spent more time here and relived some of his happiest memories. Ironcally, he was also incarcerated and died here.

The fourth and last castle already available to Ludwig to be studied is Hohenschwangau. This renovation of an ancient castle is found in the Bavarian highlands near Füssen and towers over the Alpsee. The ruins of the original castle of Schwanstein were purchased by King Max II in 1832 and were rebuilt by Dominic Quaglio in the romantic Biedermeier style popular at that time. It was on this site that the legendary Lohengrin supposedly lived and performed his mighty deeds. This capital of the "Swan Country," or Schwangau, inspired Ludwig II to Romanticism with its murals of Tannhäuser, Lohengrin, and the legend of the Holy Grail. The royal family was very attached to this castle and spent several months of the year here. At Hohenschwangau Ludwig learned to love solitude and the Bavarian Alps. Amongst the fantastic natural scenery, murals of legends, and the sense of history, medieval heroes, Ludwig could dream of
himself as the swan-knight and follower of the Holy Grail. In these mountains, Ludwig felt most at home.29

The four castles of the Residenz, Nymphenburg, Schloss Berg, and Hohenschwangau were the environments in which Ludwig lived and learned to love Romanticism, German folklore, and the Bourbon kings. His ancestors had built and renovated several fascinating castles and palaces, and, naturally, he desired to do the same. Yet, Ludwig's imagination was broader and more demanding than those of his predecessors. Also, he lived in a time when the king did not rule absolutely but, rather, was constitutionally forced to think of his subjects instead. Still, he was able to put some of his ideas into physical form; these are his legacy.

The association of Ludwig and castles is obvious by this point. The castle that comes to the mind of the average reader most readily is Neuschwanstein. This is the castle that has been reproduced in various forms and has served as the epitome of the German medieval castle for the world, although it was built nearly five hundred years too late for the role.

Neuschwanstein stands south of Füssen approximately one mile from Hohenschwangau. Its structure is 3306 feet above sea level and has a superb view of the rushing Pöllat river and falls, the fir-covered Alps, the Alpsee, the Schwansee, and Hohenschwangau. The first evidence of Ludwig's intentions to build the project in the swan country is found in a letter to Richard Wagner dated May 13, 1868.30 This mixture of Romanesque, Gothic, and Baroque styles was to be a shrine to Lohengrin, Tannhäuser, Parzival, and the knights of German chivalry. It would also allow him to live in his beloved mountains without having to live at Hohenschwangau with his detested mother.31
The original Schwanstein castle had been renovated by Max II, so Ludwig looked to create a castle on the site of one of the original keeps or watchtowers of the castle which lay to the east on a jagged peak called Jugend. Ludwig changed the name of the keep, Vorderhohenschwangau, or "in front of the high swan country," to the "new castle of the Hohenschwangau." In 1886 the name was changed again to Neuschwanstein, which roughly means "new swan stone or mountain."\textsuperscript{32}

The duty of planning the new castle was given to court architect Eduard Riedel, who had been in charge of the Schloss Berg renovation. His first design only dealt with the upper part of the castle and was a three-storied Romanesque-style building inspired by Nuremberg and the Wartburg. His revised design of July 1868 almost covered the entire area of the castle and was larger as well as Gothic instead of Romanesque. The final project closely resembled a July 1869 design by Christian Jank, a set designer for the court theater. Of course, Ludwig himself was involved in changing and improving the designs, as well as the final product.

The plans of Neuschwanstein called for a main castle, or Palas, one wing called the knight's house, another called the kemenate, with a gatehouse and outer keep also included.\textsuperscript{33} The ruins of the old keep were removed in 1868, and several feet of rock were blasted to prepare a flat surface for building. A road was constructed, and water was piped to the mountain's summit. The red sandstone gatehouse building was begun in February 1869, and by September, the foundation-stone was laid. The gatehouse was built between 1870 and 1873, and the king lived in the upper story of the building to supervise construction. Reidel retired in 1874 and was succeeded by Georg Dollmann, son-in-law of Ludwig I's architect, von Klenze. By 1881 the Palas was finished in the limestone rough.
Between 1872 and 1881 Dollmann also erected parts of the wings containing the ladies' and knights' apartments. Dollmann's construction was much more frugal and simple than originally planned. The knights' house, which was begun in 1882, was still bare brick at Ludwig's death in 1886, as was the communicating building. The kemenate and keep had just been begun, and only the kemenate was eventually finished. A Gothic chapel which was once discussed was also never completed. Julius Hofmann saw the castle construction to its completion from 1886 until 1892, under the supervision of Dollmann. Hofmann had become chief in charge of all royal buildings in 1884. Still, the castle cannot be called complete as much of the interior, as well as the keep and chapel, were never finished.

Hofmann was the master designer of Neuschwanstein's interior. Only the first and fourth floors were completed, these being finished in the last five years of Ludwig's life. Roughly one-third of the interior decoration has been left in the rough since 1886. Most of the interior decoration that was completed—both architecture and painting—reflects the German legends for which Wagner created operas. Dr. Hyazinth Holland headed the team of historical painters which included such artists as Ille, Hauschild, Spiess, Pilforty, and Aigner. Ludwig was intimately involved in these murals and criticized them along historical, architectural, and practical lines.

Blunt states that the two most important rooms of Neuschwanstein are the minstrel's hall and the throne room. The minstrel's hall began as a copy of the Wartburg's singer's hall, which was supposedly the site where the competition present in Tannhäuser occurred. This hall was the primary reason for the entire project. The mood of the room is solemnly religious, and the murals illustrate the legends of Parzíval and his
search for the Holy Grail. Yet, this room is also lavishly decorated with gold and hanging chandeliers, and appears much like a Moorish palace. The windows afford magnificent views of the surrounding forests, mountains, and lakes.

The throne room began as a hall of the Holy Grail. In 1876 Eduard Reidel had designed such a hall in Byzantine style as a copy of the cathedral of Saint Sophia. Later Hofmann revised this design, but in the end, Ludwig was largely responsible for the design. This two-storied hall occupied the west wing of the building and represented the sacred hall of Montsalvant present in the Parzival legend. The main hall is surrounded by two arcaded galleries lined with the figures of six holy kings. The floor is a mosaic design and leads to the wide, marble staircase and the raised semicircular apse where the throne was to be placed. The apse has a dome ceiling, and the mural upon this depicts the glory of Christ with Christ surrounded by the twelve apostles. Blue and gold predominate in this room, as they were Ludwig's favorite colors. The elaborate throne of gold and ivory was never completed.

Two additional rooms which illustrate Ludwig's desire for the extraordinary are the study and the royal bedroom. The king's study walls are covered with murals of the Tannhäuser legend which include an erotic element. From this room one has access to an artificial grotto with a phony moon. Beyond the grotto one finds a conservatory or winter garden with exotic plants and fountains. Mary Cable argues that Ludwig always gave the most attention to his bedroom since he saw it as the "symbol of monarchy."

This bedroom is designed in the late Gothic style following Hofmann's plans and was the first part of the Palas to be completed. The walls are also covered with the sagas of German folklore. The preponderance
of dark woodwork in the room darkens the atmosphere. Ludwig saw the room as dedicated to Tristan and Isolde. Therefore, the bed received intimate attention, and the result is a heavily canopied, perfect forest of carved walnut spires.\[38\]

Owing to Ludwig's keen senses of history and poetry, the swan becomes an integral part of all the rooms of Neuschwanstein which stood in the center of swan country. Swans have historically been considered a royal prerogative, and this held true in Bavaria. Swans were always to be found on the Alpsee and the Schwansee and were protected by a royal charter.\[39\] One also finds the coats-of-arms of the Wittelsbach and Schwangau families clustered together with Bavaria's in several places in the castle.

Ludwig began living on the site in the early 1870s but did not live in the royal apartments there until 1884.\[40\] Although he was unable to live there comfortably for many years, he did spend a considerable amount of time there. It was, perhaps, his most favorite project since it was his first. Also, it was here that he spent his last days before being incarcerated. Although the castle was never completed, enough of the rooms were finished to give the visitor a good idea of Ludwig's plans and dreams for the project.\[41\]

Ludwig's second-best known castle is Linderhof. This French Rococo villa lies in the Graswang valley of the Ammer mountains in the neighborhood of Oberammergau and the Ettal Monastery. This remote valley is enclosed by mountains and forests and lies about fifteen miles east of Neuschwanstein. Originally, there was a small hunting-box or cabin named Königshäuschen on the site. The name for the villa comes from the ancient lime tree, or Linde.\[42\]

Early sketches of a mock Versailles (1868-1869) and a Byzantine
Palace (1869-1870) are extant, both titled "Linderhof." The former project earned the secret code name of "Meicost Ettal" from Ludwig which was an anagram of Louis XIV's boast, "L'etat c'est moi." This was eventually realized in Herrenchiemsee. Yet, by November 1868, when Ludwig wrote to one of his ministers about building Linderhof, he described a pavilion like the Grand Trianon at Versailles. This pavilion would be a more modest building with a Renaissance garden. The villa was dedicated to the French Court of Louis XIV and Marie Antoinette, and several pastel portraits of court members were completed before actual construction was begun. These portraits include such people as Marie Antoinette, Louis XIV, Louis XVI, Madame du Barry, and Madame du Pompadour.

The first sketches for the present Linderhof were completed in September 1870 by Ludwig's equerry, Richard Hornig and called for an enlargement of the existing Königshäuschen which was completed within the year. The final exterior plans were designed by Georg Dollmann and were an ornate jumble of Rococo styles from France and Germany, with the overall product being definitely southern German. From 1870 to 1872 the northern section was built and the rest of the exterior was finished by 1876. The hunting-box was dismantled in 1874 and reconstructed further west. Linderhof was not completely finished until 1879. This is the only one of Ludwig's three main projects that was ever completed.

Linderhof contains only twelve rooms, excluding servants' quarters. The most important of these are the large state bedroom, a small hall of mirrors, an audience chamber, a state dining room, and four small rooms, or "cabinets," which separate the larger rooms. Franz Seitz and Jank, both designers for the Court Theater, made many sketches for the interior decoration under Dollmann's control. Dollmann headed the crew of artisans
and craftsmen who were required to submit all designs to the king for approval and criticism. Ludwig was tolerant of little individuality. This is probably why this splash of Rococo, mirrors, gold, rich tapestries, cut-glass chandeliers, velvets, marble, and porcelain form a well-blended artistic project. Everything present in the villa was designed for the place where it stands today.

There are several interesting features of the interior. The royal bedroom was copied from the state bedroom of the Residenz designed by Cuvilliés in the 1730s and is a mass of gold and velvets. Several intricate Meissen porcelain chandeliers and fireplaces are present here, as well as in Herrenchiemsee. The four cabinets are decorated respectively in yellow, mauve, rose, and blue. Since they occur en suite, their color schemes, designed by Hofmann, were supposed to startle the visitor. Overall, the floors are parquet; the doors are gilded; and the walls are covered with pastel portraits. Ludwig even had a life-sized porcelain peacock created for Linderhof.

One of the most interesting features of Linderhof is the dining room. Ludwig is said to have disliked the presence of servants while eating. Therefore, for this oval room he had a table designed which could be lowered through the floor to the kitchen and then raised reset. This design was so popular with Ludwig that he included it in Herrenchiemsee as well. The idea came from a similar device found at the Hôtel de Soubise of Paris.

Included in the overall design for Linderhof was a formal French park designed by Karl von Effner. This park, begun in late 1877, is said to be one of the most important garden designs in the nineteenth century. In front of the villa is a large reflecting pool with an ornate fountain whose jet rises to a height of a hundred feet. The park includes several sculp-
tures and small buildings. The outbuildings will be examined later with Ludwig's other lesser-known completed works.

Linderhof became a shrine and home where Ludwig could live in the presence of his beloved Bourbons away from the harsh realities of the world. The glitter and sparkle of this comparatively tiny villa were a blend of several architectural styles and the talents of various artists. Yet, the true creator of this gem was Ludwig. His demanding requirements made this villa wholly his own. Linderhof held a special place in Ludwig's life, as much because of its dedication to the Bourbons as to the fact that its structure and park were actually completed.

The least-known of Ludwig's major projects is Herrenchiemsee. D. M. Field describes it as the "phony home of an absolute monarch who didn't exist on an island in a lake which is remote and empty." Many writers agree that the castle served no practical purpose; however, it contains one of the most beautiful and intricate designs of all of his projects--the gallery of mirrors. It is by far his most grandiose building scheme.

The lake of Chiemsee lies about fifty miles southeast of Munich on the expressway between Munich and Salzburg. Within Chiemsee, the largest Bavarian lake, are three islands--Herreninsel, Fraueninsel, and Krautinsel. The Herreninsel, upon which Herrenchiemsee was built, had been the home of a Benedictine monastery and the site of two old castles. Ludwig bought the island in 1873. He stated, "Here shall I build me a home, wherein no man, nor woman either, can disturb my peace." Since Linderhof was not the large-scale project that Ludwig had desired to enshrine his beloved Bourbons and symbolize the idea of absolutism, he decided to build a new Versailles here. Therefore, Herrenchiemsee was designed as a memorial to the two. Practicality and cost were not to be taken into consideration.
Ludwig travelled to Paris again in 1874 to renew his memory of Versailles and better prepare himself to build an authentic copy of it on the Herreninsel. A suite of rooms was outfitted in one old castle on the island so he could visit whenever he desired. By May of 1878 the foundation-stone had been laid. Georg Dollmann’s original design for the castle was enlarged and modified a dozen times. The basic design became a horseshoe with the main section containing apartments roughly equivalent to those of Louis XIV at Versailles.

Moving materials across this remote lake was not easy, but the work progressed rapidly. The middle section was completed by 1881, and interior work was begun. Hofmann, who had been working with Dollmann, succeeded him in 1884. Between 1881 and 1885 the main staircase, the gallery of mirrors, several state rooms, and twelve apartments for the king were completed. In 1885 the work was halted due to lack of funds. Only the north wing had been started, and this was torn down after Ludwig’s death.

The two most important rooms at Herrenchiemsee are the gallery of mirrors (Galérie des Glaces) and the entrance hall (Chambre de Parade). From the first, one-wing design to the three-wing plans, these two rooms remained untouched, with the entrance hall on the east and the gallery on the west of the center block. The gallery of mirrors is three hundred and fifty feet long and is lit by over 1800 candles.\(^{51}\) It is far more intricate than its counterpart at Versailles. The entrance hall is almost an exact replica of Le Vau and Lebrun’s Escalier des Ambassadeurs at Versailles which was destroyed in 1752, but was constructed at Herrenchiemsee from existing engravings. Its glass roof gave it the effect of a train station, although it is beautifully furnished.\(^{52}\) The interior decoration is definitely south German Rococco.
Several other interesting features adorn this castle. The oval dining room contained a table which could be lowered, as in Linderhof. The royal bedroom, always an important interest, was constructed for the symbolic use of Louis XIV. The textiles for the bedcovers were commissioned in 1875 to the company of Jörres and Bornhauser and took thirty or forty women seven years to embroider in gold. The completed rooms are liberally littered with murals, frescoes, embroidered tapestries, gilding, and sculptures, just like Linderhof. As with his other castles, a park is included with this project. Designed by von Effner, it includes fountains, sculptures, and various floral patterns and is a simplified version of the gardens of Versailles.

Herrenchiemsee is the epitome of Ludwig's life. Here he tried to build a shrine to his beloved Louis XIV and the idea of absolutism, and he nestled the castle below his favored Bavarian Alps. This impractical and fantastic plan not only failed to be completed, it also caused the government to force the cessation of building because of the debt incurred. By 1885 Herrenchiemsee had cost sixteen million Marks, which was more than Neuschwanstein and Linderhof together. This ultimate failure signalled the end to come.

The castles of Neuschwanstein, Linderhof, and Herrenchiemsee are by no means the only projects Ludwig created. Most of the other projects were much smaller in scale and were not meant to be as all-encompassing as his larger projects. All but one of these projects were developed in the park surrounding Linderhof. Each of these completed structures represents a smaller concept of Ludwig's greater interests, such as the oriental style of architecture or a particular Wagnerian opera.

As was discussed earlier, the park at Linderhof contained several
smaller outbuildings and structures, forming a complete work of art within themselves. There were six of these small projects—the Hundingshütte, the Hermitage, a Moorish kiosk, a Moroccan house, a grotto, and the Hubertuspavilion. Each has a history unto itself as Ludwig created each separately.

Hundingshütte, or Hunding's hut, was a modified log cabin designed by Dollmann in 1876. It was a replica of a stage set designed by Jank for the Munich premiere of Die Walküre—the first act. Built around a double beech tree which was covered by ash bark and pierced by a replica of Siegfried's sword, this hut transported Ludwig to the mystical world of The Ring of the Nibelungen. The walls were decorated with weapons, animal skins, and trophies of the chase. Ludwig would often host parties here, at which his young servants and soldiers dressed as early Teutons, lounged about on bearskins, and drank mead from animal horns. This hut was destroyed by forest rangers in 1945. In the Hundingshütte Ludwig acted out his own desires to be the characters which Wagner illustrated in his Ring.

Another full-scale reproduction from a Wagnerian opera is the Hermitage, constructed of logs to represent Gurnemanz's hermitage from the third act of Parzival. This cabin-like structure was built in 1877 not far from the Hundingshütte. It was poorly built and soon fell apart. Ludwig's desire to live the life portrayed on stage was so strong that his own life experiences were often "stage-like" or staged by himself for poetic or dramatic effect. These small structures provided the correct settings for these portrayals.

When Ludwig visited Paris in 1867, he also visited the Paris Exhibition. There he was introduced to the fashionable oriental or Moorish style which he later adopted, transferring several buildings to Bavaria.
Two of these are found in the Linderhof park. The first was a Moorish kiosk he purchased in 1876 from the bankrupt owner of Schloss Zbirow in Bohemia. This building came from Paris and was erected in 1877. Made of cast iron and walled with zinc plaques, this kiosk sat on a mountaintop in the area. A life-sized, zinc peacock throne, designed by Franz Seitz and made in Paris by LeBlanc-Granger, was installed here. The peacock is a recurrent theme in Ludwig's castles, second only to the swan. Ludwig had similar smaller kiosks in the Winter Garden of the Residenz and in the park at Schloss Berg.

In 1878 Ludwig sent Dollmann to another Paris exhibition to examine the newest innovations of these sort of buildings. The styles included Algerian, Russian, Chinese, Egyptian, and Moroccan. A particularly fashionable house, known as the Moroccan house, was chosen, purchased, and moved to the Linderhof area that year. Once more Ludwig created more "stages" for his fantasies.

One of the oddest, yet most intriguing, features of the Linderhof park is the grotto. Ludwig's father, King Max II, had created a small grotto for the royal bathroom at Hohenschwangau. This grotto, plus the legendary caves of the Hörselberg and Capri, inspired Ludwig to create his own. His original idea for a large grotto was to construct it beneath the castle of Neuschwanstein. By December 1875 the full-scale plans had been transferred to the Linderhof complex, and a smaller grotto, instead, was eventually built off of the king's study at Neuschwanstein.

Constructed between 1876 and 1877 by August Dirigl, a landscape gardener, the grotto stood a few hundred yards above the castle and was several hundred feet long and fifty feet high. It was constructed of brick and iron, both covered with cement and cloth to give the illusion of
rocks and stalactites. An "open sesame" rock lever opened the door to a

corridor which led to the main chamber. This chamber included a lake fed

by a waterfall, as well as a stage set for the first act of Tannhäuser.

This backdrop, painted by Otto Stoeger, had Tannhäuser dallying in the

Venusberg grotto. The lake could be ruffled by artificial waves and was

authenticated by two swans and a boat, designed by Seitz.

The grotto was illuminated by the first electricity plant in Bavaria.

The colors could be changed at will, with blue signifying Capri and red

the grotto of Venus from Tannhäuser. Louise von Kobell reported a light

show which used five different colored lights at ten-minute intervals each

and ended with a rainbow effect.58 Unfortunately, these spectacular effects
did not exist without human, as well as monetary, cost. When confronted

with the problems, Ludwig would reply with, "I don't want to know how it

works, I just want to see the effects."59 The lighting of the grotto and

the quotation above serve to exemplify further Ludwig's desire to pursue

his dreams beyond the harsh world of reality.

The last outbuilding in the Linderhof park was the Hubertuspavilion.

This new version of Cuvilliés' Amalienburg was designed by Hofmann and was

begun in the last year of the king's reign (1885-1886). It never progressed

further than the rough brickwork and it was destroyed after his death.60

As are all of Ludwig's castles, the structures of Linderhof's park

are a jumble of architectural styles, differing inspirations, and grandiose

plans. Yet, together with Linderhof, they form a composite picture of

him. Here one finds examples of his love of Wagnerian opera, German folk-

lore, and the Bourbon kings. Each is complete unto itself and, yet, fits

a general pattern of ideal characteristics. None is an original thought;
rather, each is a copy or replica of an opera scene or an existing structure.
Only one existing structure remains to be examined. The so-called Turkish hall, which appears to be a blend of Swiss chalet and Turkish bath, stands at the base of Schachen, the 6,000 foot peak of the Wetterstein mountain range of the Bavarian Alps. One of Ludwig's earliest oriental works, this reconstructed hunting-box was originally built by Max II Dollmann was probably the architect for this simple wooden structure. The interior design was planned by Georg Schneider, who used photos of the palaces of Bylerbey and Yildiz on the Bosphorus Sea as models. This gilded Turkish-style building is furnished with divans and a central fountain. A superb view of the Zugspitze, Germany's highest mountain, could be seen from here, and this site may still be visited from Garmisch-Partenkirchen.

Ludwig used the Turkish hall to stage parties where young troopers and servants dressed as Muslims and lay on carpets while smoking hookahs. Mocha coffee and sherbets were favorite drinks. While incense burned, fans waved to create the illusion of being a part of the "oriental" world. Once again, Ludwig used a structure to create one of his dreams.

These smaller buildings served to satisfy his desire to become the characters and heroes of whom he had read. Although the structures are physically smaller than his three main projects, they are just as important in his overall scheme of living his fantasies. Each plays a separate role in this scheme and, as in any play, the cast members come together to form a composite whole.

If one examines only those projects Ludwig planned and saw to completion, one would be faced with the impressive amount of work these encompass. Yet, one must also consider those projects that never progressed beyond plans to see Ludwig's true genius. While completed, or nearly-com-
pleted, projects are impressive, one wonders how they would be rated if the more fantastically planned projects had been completed. Examining these undeveloped projects will provide the reader with a better understanding of this fantastic nature and the breadth of Ludwig's fantasies. In chronological order they are a Byzantine palace, a Baroque chapel, a theater at Linderhof, Falkenstein Castle, and a Chinese palace.

The only true Byzantine project to be completed by Ludwig's artists is the throne room of Neuschwanstein. Yet, an entire Byzantine palace was envisioned by Ludwig, and he commissioned first Dollmann in 1869 and then Hofmann in 1885 to design such a structure. Both these plans were tabled to allow for completion of other projects already in progress which weighed more heavily on the king's mind; therefore, the palace was never completed.

Although many projects in the Linderhof area were completed, two were discussed but never passed beyond this stage. The first was to replace the seventeenth-century Saint Anne's Chapel with a Baroque chapel. Dollmann produced designs for it, but it never materialized. The other idea was to build a theater onto Linderhof to provide Ludwig the chance to hear his private performances there. Later, the project's site was changed to where the Temple of Venus now stands in Linderhof's park. Several architects, including Dollmann, Ferdinand Knab, and Julius Lange, submitted designs. Lange's was based upon Cuvilliés' Residenz Theater. Yet, by 1875 the king's finances kept him from pursuing this venture.

After getting Neuschwanstein underway, Ludwig felt the need to build another more spectacular medieval castle. The ruins of a medieval castle of Falkenstein, mostly destroyed in the seventeenth century, stood near Pfronten about fifteen miles west of Neuschwanstein. These ruins stood on
a high mountain crag a thousand feet higher than Neuschwanstein. Ludwig
first developed the idea of rebuilding this castle in mock-Gothic style
in 1883 and had Jank sketch a design in that year. Dollmann was given
the job of providing plans and elevations for the project, but he realized
the financial straits of the royal purse and designed a modest, economical
version of Jank's design. Ludwig scorned this and turned over the work to
Max Schultze.

Schultze, who was an architect for Prince Thurn and Taxis of Regens-
burg, was pleased with his commission but did not realize the sorry state
of the king's finances. He designed a robber-knight's castle from a sim-
plified version of Jank's design. By 1884 a road was constructed up the
mountain, and water was piped to the site. Schultze soon found out what
stress a royal commission could cause when Ludwig immediately began to
change and enlarge the designs for the royal bedroom. First the style
was Gothic, then secular Byzantine, and later a Byzantine church with
apses and an altar. By 1885 the harried architect resigned.

After this, Hofmann and Eugen Drollinger supplied the king with
numerous designs, all quite complex, costly, and impractical, as they
knew the design could not be built. Drollinger was said to have been
working on the fourth revision of the bedroom, which contained stained-
glass windows and a mosaic dome, when the king died. This castle, if
completed, would surely have been more dazzling and symbolic of the
king's desire to strive for the ideal medieval German castle than even
Neuschwanstein.

Ludwig's desire for "oriental" buildings certainly did not stop
with the Turkish hall or the Moorish kiosks. After Ludwig saw views of
the Imperial Winter Palace at Peking, he began to develop an idea of
building a Chinese palace upon the shores of the Plansee. Here he could have elaborate Chinese ceremonial dinners and observe Chinese customs and dress. In January 1886 Hofmann produced designs and let his fantasies influence its ornateness. By June 1886 Ludwig was dead, and so was his idea for the Chinese palace. If it had been completed, it would have been his only large-scale, oriental-style building.

Ludwig II was King of Bavaria during a period of great turmoil. Several international developments, such as German unification and two European wars, intruded into the peace and harmony of his kingdom. Personally, he was beset by problems with his self-concept, his friends, and his government ministers. This child-like dreamer believed in the concept of absolute rule, which was as dead in his day as were the Bourbon kings who had practiced it. Additionally, he fantasized, under the intoxicating influence of Richard Wagner's operas, about the beauty and grandeur of German folklore and its heroes. During most of his reign he dedicated himself to translating his dreams into reality. Yet, reality was harsh to Ludwig, and, therefore, he attempted to create reality as he wished it to be. In the end he actually began to lose touch with the physical world as he withdrew into his created world. Since he no longer performed his duties and, additionally, was spending himself and the state into bankruptcy, the ministers of his government sought to depose him in the only possible manner--replacement by the Prince Regent after a report of mental instability.

Even if Ludwig were insane, his insanity nevertheless produced some of the most intriguing and fantastic castles and smaller projects in all
of Germany. Unfortunately, some of his most spectacular designs were never created. Finished or merely dreamed, these projects are monuments to Ludwig, his life, interests, and his fantasies. Ironically, the creations of this legendary "mad" king are accepted by the world as the epitome of their intended ideals. For example, when one thinks of medieval castles, Neuschwanstein most often comes to mind. His other creations would surely evoke the same overall acceptance if they were only better known.

Still, Ludwig would probably scorn such outside acceptance as these were his special places. In these, he found peace and personal acceptance. Nonetheless, the genius of this "mad" king cannot be denied. These well-blended artistic creations are as much his designs as those of the artists and architects who worked on them owing to his diligent study and demanding criticism of their works. Without this attention they would merely be a hodge-podge of gaudy artwork and impractical structures. Ludwig's creative desires nourished a thriving artistic community and helped develop Bavaria's reputation for craftsmanship. In the end, Ludwig's creations survive as the physical symbols of his dreams and as a legacy to Bavaria and the world.
APPENDIX A--SELECTED CHRONOLOGY OF LUDWIG II'S LIFE

1845, 25 August--Prince Ludwig, born at Nymphenburg
1861, 2 February--Ludwig II hears first Wagner opera, Lohengrin
1864, 10 March--Ludwig II succeeds to throne on father's death
1865, 10 December--Wagner forced to leave Munich
1866, 16 June--German Confederation, war on Prussia (Seven Weeks' War)
1867, 22 January--Ludwig announces engagement to Sophie, daughter of Duke Max of Bavaria
31 May--Visit to Wartburg
20 July--Visit to France
10 October--Ludwig breaks off engagement
1868
--First plans for Neuschwanstein
1869, 5 September--Foundation-stone laid for Neuschwanstein
1870, 19 July--Start of Franco-Prussian War
30 September--First plans for Linderhof
30 November--Ludwig invites King Wilhelm I of Prussia to become Kaiser of the German Empire
1872, 22 May--Foundation-stone of Bayreuth Opera House laid
1873,
--Ludwig acquires Herreninsel, Chiemsee
1874,  August--Ludwig visits Paris
1876, 6-8 August--Premiere of the Ring at Bayreuth, Ludwig attends
1878, 21 May--Foundation-stone of Herrenchiensee laid
1879,
--Linderhof finished
1883, 13 February--Death of Richard Wagner, Venice
1886, 10 June--Prince Luitpold appointed Regent
12 June--Ludwig removed to Schloss Berg
13 June--Ludwig's death
APPENDIX B--CHRONOLOGY OF LUDWIG'S CREATIONS

I. Available Residences-
   1. Residenz, Munich/inside city
   2. Nymphenburg, Munich/outside city--includes Amalienburg, Badenburg, Pagodenburg, and Magdalenenklause
   3. Schloss Berg, Starnbergersee, about twenty miles outside Munich
   4. Schloss Hohenschwangau, near Schwangau, rebuilt by King Max II

II. Completed Projects-
   1. Linderhof, near Oberammergau, idea 1869, began 1870, finished 1879
      a. Hundingshütte, built 1876
      b. Moorish kiosk, purchased and moved 1876
      c. Grotto, built 1876-1877
      d. Hermitage, built 1877
      e. Moroccan House, 1878
      f. Hubertus pavilion, built 1884-1885
   2. Turkish hall, former hunting-box near Schachen, 1870
   3. Bühnenfestspielhaus (Festival Opera House), early plans 1864, new plan 1872, completed 1876

III. Unfinished Projects-
   1. Schloss Neuschwanstein, near Füssen, plan 1868, begun 1868
   2. Herrenchiemsee, Herreninsel on Chiemsee, idea/plan 1868-1869, begun 1878

IV. Plans Only-
   1. New Festival Opera House and Boulevards, Munich, plans 1864
   2. Mock Versailles, became Linderhof, sketches 1868-1869
   3. Byzantine Palace, sketches 1869-1870 and 1885
   4. Baroque Chapel, Linderhof, plans only
   5. Theater, Linderhof, plans prior to 1875
   6. Falkenstein, Pfronten--west of Neuschwanstein, plans 1883, revised
   7. Chinese Palace, Plansee (Austria), plans January 1886
APPENDIX C-- MAP OF LUDWIG II'S CREATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KEY OF SYMBOLS</th>
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<tr>
<td>+ Available Castles</td>
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<td>• Ludwig's Projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■ Ludwig's Planned Projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▲ Villages/Locations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

A brief description and an abbreviated citation is included for each photograph in this appendix. The numbers at the left correspond to the following pages, and the books listed appear in the attached bibliography.

i. Young King Ludwig II, Ucker, p. 131.

ii. Schloss Nymphenburg, Baumgärtner, plate 10.

iii. Schloss Hohenschwangau, Blunt, p. 28.

iv. Winter Garden at Munich Residenz, Richter, p. 177.


vi. Neuschwanstein Chapel, Peter Hewegen design, Blunt, p. 214.

vii. Schloss Linderhof and park, Kreisel, plate 124.


ix. Herrenchiemsee, Millonig, p. 17.

x. Herrenchiemsee, Gallery of Mirrors, Bunting, p. 113.


xiii. Turkish hall at Schachen, Blunt, p. 235.


xv. Chinese palace, Julius Hofmann's 1886 design, Blunt, p. 254.
APPENDIX E—MAP OF NEUSCHWANSTEIN CASTLE

KEY to Numbered Rooms

1. Lounge  
2. Throne Room  
3. Anteroom  
4. Dining Room  
5. Bedroom  
6. Oratory  
7. Dressing Room  
8. Living Room  
9. Grotto and Conservatory  
10. Study  
11. Anteroom  
12. Passage  
13. Lounge, Fourth Floor  
14. Singer's Hall

The following map and the key above were taken from Petzet and Hojer's *Official Guide* listed in the bibliography at the end of this study.
NOTES


2. Ibid, p. 255.


4. Ludwig II adopted Louis XVI and his ancestors as his own godfathers for this reason and often justified his love of the Bourbons on these grounds. Blunt, p. 11.


10. Ibid., p. 21.


12. Blunt, p. 155. A chronology of the structures discussed in this work can be found in Appendix B on page 35.

13. Ibid., p. 156.

14. Ibid., p. 241. A map detailing the location of the structures discussed in this work is in Appendix C on page 36. Several pictures of the structures can be found in Appendix D with its index on page 37. Blunt's book includes one of the most complete collections of color and black-and-white photographs of Ludwig's existing structures as well as some plans.


17. Ibid., p. 187.

18. Ibid., p. 138.

20. Ibid.


23. Cable, p. 11.


27. Ibid.


30. Ludwig’s letter to Wagner, May 13, 1868. "I propose to rebuild the ancient castle ruins of [Vorder]hohenschwangau, near the Pöllat falls, in the genuine style of the old German knights' castles, and I must tell you how excited I am at the idea of living there in three years' time. There will be a number of guest-rooms, comfortably and conveniently furnished and commanding wonderful views over the majestic Sauling, the mountains of the Tyrol and the distant plain. You will know who the guest is whom I want to invite and entertain there. The spot is one of the loveliness that can be found, inviolable and inaccessible, a worthy temple for the godlike friend through whom alone can flower the salvation and true blessedness of the world.

There will also be reminiscences of Tannhäuser (minstrels' hall with a view of the castle beyond) and of Lohengrin (castle courtyard, outside passage-way, and approach to the chapel); this castle will be in every respect more beautiful and more comfortable than the lower-lying Hohenschwangau, which is yearly profaned by my mother's prose! The outraged gods will take their revenge and sojourn with us on the steep summit, fanned by celestial breezes." Blunt, p. 138.

31. Ibid.


33. Ibid., p. 9.

34. Ibid.

35. Blunt, p. 231.
36. Ibid., p. 141.
37. Cable, p. 17.
40. Petzet, p. 12.
41. See Appendix E on page 38 of this study.
42. Blunt, p. 142.
43. Ibid.
44. Cable, p. 15.
45. Field, p. 57.
47. The table was called "Tischlein, deck dich" which translates to "little table, set yourself." Millonig, p. 82.
49. Field, p. 54.
51. The actual number of candles varies. See Gerard (p. 200) and Millonig (p. 50).
52. Cable, p. 20.
53. This is another disputed fact and a part of the legend. Cable (p. 21) states that twenty women worked seven years, while Blunt (p. 153-154) states that thirty or forty women worked seven years. Blunt's work is cited because his is a more scholarly work on just Ludwig's life, while Cable briefly studies several castles in her work.
54. D. M. Field (p. 54) states that Ludwig lived at Herrenchiemsee about three weeks; Gerard (p. 200) alleges he visited there nine days a year. The accepted rule is that he stayed only once for about nine days in 1886. Cable (p. 20), Blunt (p. 155), and Bunting (p. 129) all agree with this.
55. This beech tree was covered with ash bark because the tree was supposed to occur in Die Walküre, but since no ash occurred in that forest, the illusion of ash needed to be created.
65. One potential problem with the plan was that the Plansee property was on Austrian soil. Ibid.
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Ocker, Bernhard. Bayern, der widerspenstige Freistaat; Behauptung und Beweis (München: Ehrenwirth, 1967).