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ARTISTIC MOBILITY AND CULTURAL TRANSFER:
PRINCE EUGENE OF SAVOY'S BELVEDERE PALACE IN IMPERIAL VIENNA

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Artistic Mobility and Cultural Transfer:

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Migrating artists and artwork achieved the successful fashioning of the Belvedere, Prince Eugene of Savoy's (1663-1736) magnificent summer palace in Vienna designed by the leading architect Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt (1668-1745) and constructed between 1697 and 1723. A manifestation of global artistic patronage, the large estate suited Prince Eugene to conduct affairs as the president of the Imperial War Council while serving Emperors Leopold I (reigned 1658-1705), Joseph I (reigned 1705-1711) and Charles VI (reigned 1711-1740). The prince did so in the presence of early modern Europe's grandest collection of European easel and ceiling paintings, which he displayed prominently amidst rare Asian porcelain and imported Indian textiles. Prince Eugene also hired Italian specialists to paint elaborate figurative and illusionistic frescos *in situ*, which complemented the monumental stuccos and an impressive collection of scientific instruments and a library, divided between his city palace and the Belvedere, with over 15,000 books and precious manuscripts. The prince even imported exotic

animals and plant species to the palace gardens conceived in the French Baroque manner. My dissertation is the first study to investigate the significance of the vast collection of artwork and foreign curiosities which crossed cultural boundaries and political borders to reach the Belvedere. Its splendid outfitting attests to Prince Eugene's own intellect, immense wealth, elite status, and prominent political position. By reconstructing the marvelous and astounding display of international artistic objects and exotic specimens at the Belvedere, which communicated directly with viewers and elevated the surroundings, my dissertation enhances scholarship on the reciprocity between art, politics, globalization, and cultural transmission in early modern central Europe.

DEDICATION

To my loving parents,
for always believing in me and teaching me that with
hard work anything is possible.

To my incredible husband,
for building this beautiful life with me and making all our dreams come true.

To my cherished daughters,
for inspiring me every single day.

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Josef Wlha, photograph of a bed chamber at Schloss Hof, captured 1885 and published in 1901 in *"Zwei Mappen mit 125 Fotografien von Innenansichten des kaiserlichen Schlosses Schönbrunn, Schloss Hof und Schloss Eckartsau,"* accession number KI 7415 (MAK Collection, Vienna)

fig. 152

Josef Wlha, photograph of a bed chamber at Schloss Hof, captured 1885 and published in 1901 in *"Zwei Mappen mit 125 Fotografien von Innenansichten des kaiserlichen Schlosses Schönbrunn, Schloss Hof und Schloss Eckartsau,"* accession number KI 7415 (MAK Collection, Vienna)

fig. 153

Josef Wlha, photograph of a bed chamber at Schloss Hof, captured 1885 and published in 1901 in *"Zwei Mappen mit 125 Fotografien von Innenansichten des kaiserlichen Schlosses Schönbrunn, Schloss Hof und Schloss Eckartsau,"* accession number KI 7415 (MAK Collection, Vienna)

fig. 154

Josef Wlha, photograph of a bed chamber at Schloss Hof, captured 1885 and published in 1901 in *"Zwei Mappen mit 125 Fotografien von Innenansichten des kaiserlichen Schlosses Schönbrunn, Schloss Hof und Schloss Eckartsau,"* accession number KI 7415 (MAK Collection, Vienna)

fig. 155

Fireplace screen with Chinese damask, first half of the 18th century, 135 cm tall, 95 cm long, 35 cm wide

fig. 156

Bedcurtain from Schloss Hof, Chinese embroidered silk, made in the first quarter of the eighteenth century

fig. 157

fig. 36 detail

fig. 158

fig. 96 detail.

fig. 159

Fireplace screen with Chinese silk taffeta, 1720-1730, 131 cm tall, 106 cm long, 37 cm wide

fig. 160

Salomon Kleiner, *Gemach* at the Lower Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729

fig. 161

fig. 160 detail

fig. 162

Bedcurtain from Schloss Hof, Chinese embroidered silk, made in the first quarter of the eighteenth century

fig. 163

Salomon Kleiner, *Tafel Zimmer* at the Lower Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729

fig. 164

Salomon Kleiner, *Gemahltes Cabinet* at the Lower Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729

fig. 165

Jan Griffier I, *The Capture of a Fort*, oil on canvas, 50 x 64 cm, ca. 1710 (Sabaua Gallery, Turin)

fig. 166

Salomon Kleiner, *Bücher Cabinet* at the Lower Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729

fig. 167

Marcantonio Chiarini, *Landscape with Ruins*, oil on canvas, 235 x 170 cm, circa 1716 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

fig. 168

Marcantonio Chiarini, *Landscape with Ruins*, oil on canvas, 235 x 170 cm, circa 1716 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

fig. 169

Salomon Kleiner, *Kleines Gesellachfts Sommer Zimmer welches bey [sic] dem Eingang des Gartens Zur rechten Hand stehet [sic]* at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729

fig. 170

Salomon Kleiner, *Kleines Gesellachfts Sommer Zimmer welches bey [sic] dem Eingang des Gartens Zur lincken [sic] Hand stehet [sic]* at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729

fig. 171

Johann Kunstner, *Still Life with Flowers and Squash* (formerly above the west door in Prince Eugene's bedchamber at the Lower Belvedere), oil on canvas, 118 x 154 cm, circa 1710 (Belvedere Museum, Vienna)

fig. 172

Johann Kunstner, *Still Life with Flowers and Fruit*, oil on canvas, 118 x 154 cm, circa 1710 (Belvedere Museum, Vienna)

fig. 173

Johann Kunstner, *Still Life with Flowers and Fruit* (formerly above the east door in Prince Eugene's bedchamber at the Lower Belvedere), oil canvas, 118 x 154 cm, circa 1710 (Belvedere Museum, Vienna)

fig. 174

Salomon Kleiner, detail of the *sopraporte* in the *Bücher Cabinet* at the Lower Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729

fig. 175

Salomon Kleiner, *Prospect des großen Glashauses*, drawing ca. 1729

fig. 176

Salomon Kleiner, *Grund und Aufriss des Vogelhauses*, drawing ca. 1729

fig. 177

Pieter van der Berge, Prince Eugene examining paintings in Jan Pietersz Zomer's shop, brown ink and a grey wash on paper, 23.6 cm x 40.8 cm, circa 1701 (Rijkmuseum, Amsterdam)

fig. 178

Giacomo del Po, *Apotheosis of Prince Eugene*, oil on canvas, 1718-1720, *in situ* in the *Antichambre* at the Upper Belvedere

fig. 179

Giacomo del Po, *Allegory of the Reign of Prince Eugene*, oil on canvas, 1718-1720, *in situ* in the *Conferenz Zimmer* at the Upper Belvedere

fig. 180

Francesco Solimena, *Resurrection of Christ*, oil on canvas, circa 1725, in the chapel at the Upper Belvedere (Belvedere Museum, Vienna)

fig. 181

Francesco Solimena's *Aurora and Cephalus*, oil on canvas, circa 1725, photograph 1950, formerly in the *Spiegel Zimmer* at the Upper Belvedere

fig. 182

Guido Reni, *Adam and Eve*, oil on canvas, 277 x 196 cm, 1620 (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, Dijon)

fig. 183

David Teniers the Younger, *Interior of a Tavern with Musician*, oil on canvas, 37 x 61 cm (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 184

David Teniers the Younger, *Interior of a Tavern*, oil on canvas, 43 x 65 cm (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 185

David Teniers the Younger, *The Card Players*, oil on canvas, 44.5 x 64.5 cm (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 186

David Teniers the Younger, *Portrait of Anna and Greughel*, oil on canvas, 32 x 43 cm (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 187

Philips Wouwerman, *Battle*, oil on canvas, 82.5 x 105 cm (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 188

Philips Wouwerman, *A Cavalry Skirmish*, oil on panel, 55 x 68 cm, (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 189

Franz van Mieris the Elder, *The Hurdy-Gurdy Player*, oil on canvas, 16 x 11 cm, ca. 1670 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 190

Franz van Mieris the Elder, *The Good Mother*, oil on panel, 25 x 19 cm, ca. 1670 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 191

Franz van Mieris the Elder, *Portrait of a Young Man*, oil on panel, 28 x 13 cm, 1659 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 192

Gerrit Dou or Domenicus van Tol, *Children Blowing Bubbles*, oil on panel, 25 x 19 cm, ca. 1675-1700 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 193

Gerrit Dou, *A Young Woman at a Window with a Bunch of Grapes*, oil on panel, 38 x 29 cm, 1662 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 194

Gerrit Dou, *Portrait of an Astronomer*, oil on panel, 16.5 x 13 cm, ca. 1650 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 195

Jan Both, *Wooded Landscape with Travellers*, oil on panel, 30 x 42 cm, ca. 1640 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 196

Jan Griffier I, *London from Horesferry Pier*, oil on wood, 45 x 31 cm, ca. 1710 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 197

Jan Griffier I, *Hunting Scene near London*, oil on copper, 51 x 64.5 cm, 1710-1718 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 198

Jan Griffier I, *Landscape with a Village River, Travelers and Springtime Activities*, oil on copper, 51 x 58.5 cm, ca. 1700-1710 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 199

Jan Griffier I, *Village with a Market and Procession*, oil on copper, 50 x 64 cm, 1710-1718 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 200

Jan Griffier I, *Winter Landscape with Skaters, Church, and Village along a Riverbank*, oil on copper, 51.5 x 59 cm, 1707-1710 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 201

Jan Griffier I, *Landscape with a Village, River, Boats, and Peasants Camping*, oil on copper, 48 x 61.5 cm, 1700-1710 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 202

Jan Griffier I, *Mountain Landscape with a Village, River, and Peasants Feasting*, oil on copper, ca. 50 x 60 cm, ca. 1700-1710 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 203

Jan Griffier I, *A Landscape with a River, A Village, and a Country Feast*, oil on canvas, 30.5 x 39 cm, ca. 1710 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 204

Jan Griffier I, *Mountain Landscape with a Village, River, and Boats*, oil on panel, 30 x 39 cm, ca 1672-1695 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 205

Jan Griffier I, *Rhine Landscape with Boats, Mountains, and a Village*, oil on panel, 28.5 x 37 cm, 1669 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 206

Jan Griffier I, *View of the Rhine*, oil on panel, 27.5 x 34.5 cm, 1669 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 207

Hermann Saftleven, *View of the Rhine*, oil on canvas, 61 x 82 cm, 1662 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 208

Herman van der Mij, *Artemisia Drinking the Ashes of her Husband Mausolus*, oil on panel, 48 x 40 cm, 1710-1725 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 209

Rembrandt van Rijn, *Visitation with Mary and Elizabeth*, oil on panel, 56.5 x 47.9 cm, 1640 (Institute of Fine Arts, Detroit)

fig. 210

Caspar Netscher, *The Knife Grinder*, oil on panel, 43 x 34 cm, 1662 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 211

Carel de Moor, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, oil on canvas, 66.5 x 59.2 cm, 1710 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 212

Gottfried Schalken, *Portrait of a Painter*, oil on panel, 14 x 10 cm, 1665-1670 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 213

Gottfried Schalken, *The Goddess Latona Turning the Lycian Shepherds into Frogs*, oil on panel, 37 x 53 cm, ca 1690 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 214

Adriaen van der Werff, *The Death of Abel*, oil on panel, 47.5 x 34.5 cm, 1699 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 215

Photograph at the Sabauda Gallery, circa 1982

fig. 216

Giacomo Antonio Boni, *Plato*, oil on canvas, 90.7 x 118.5 cm, 1722
(Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

fig. 217

Giacomo Antonio Boni, *Cicero*, oil on canvas, 96 x 123.5 cm, 1722
(Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

fig. 218

Giacomo Antonio Boni, *Virgil*, oil on canvas, 92 x 118 cm, 1722 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

fig. 219

Giacomo del Pò, *bozzetto* depicting the *Triumphal Reception of Prince Eugene into Olympus* and for the *Audienz Zimmer* at the Upper Belvedere, ca. 1718

fig. 220

Giacomo del Pò, *bozzetto* depicting a detail from the *Triumphal Reception of Prince Eugene into Olympus* and for the *Audienz Zimmer* at the Upper Belvedere, ca. 1718

fig. 221

Giacomo del Pò, *bozzetto* depicting a detail from the *Triumphal Reception of Prince Eugene into Olympus* and for the *Audienz Zimmer* at the Upper Belvedere, ca. 1718

fig. 222

Salomon Kleiner, *Spiegel Zimmer* at the Lower Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729

fig. 223

Francesco Solimena, *bozzetto* depicting *Aurora and Cephalus* for the vault of the *Spiegel Zimmer* at the Upper Belvedere, ca. 1725

fig. 224

Ludwig Kainzbauer, *Das Goldkabinett im Oberen Belvedere*, oil on canvas, 100 x 70 cm, 1885 (Belvedere Museum, Wien)

fig. 225

Studio copy of Titian's *Perseus and Andromeda*, oil on canvas, 193 x 198 cm, after 1560 (Hermitage, St. Petersburg)

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Abraham Mignon, *Tree Trunk with Flowers and Herbs*, oil on canvas, 66 x 80 cm, ca. 1675 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 227

Cornelius de Heem, *Still Life with Flowers*, oil on canvas, 57.5 x 49 cm, ca. 1675 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 228

Abraham Mignon, *Still Life*, oil on canvas, 99 x 84 cm, ca. 1675 (Louvre, Paris)

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Jan Davidsz. de Heem, *Still Life with Fruit and Flowers*, oil on canvas, 89.5 x 73 cm (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 230

Jacques Courtois, *Battle of Hungarians and the Turks*, oil on canvas, 105 x 210.5 cm, ca. 1650 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 231

Abraham Mignon, *Still life with Flowers*, oil on canvas, 88 x 67 cm, ca. 1675 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 232

Hendrick Schoock, *Still life with Flowers*, oil on canvas, 101 x 73 cm, ca. 1675 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 233

Jan Davidsz. de Heem, *Fruit and Flowers with a Crucifix, Bread, and Cup*, oil on canvas, 110 x 75 cm, ca. 1675 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 234

Franz Werner Tamm, *Still Life with Flowers and Miniature Gazelle*, oil on canvas, 151 x 142 cm, ca. 1720 (Belvedere Museum, Vienna)

fig. 235

Franz Werner Tamm, *Still Life with Flowers and Eurasian Crane*, oil on canvas, 151 x 142 cm, ca. 1720 (Belvedere Museum, Vienna)

fig. 236

Salomon Kleiner, *Marmoriertes Cabinet* at the Lower Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729

fig. 237

Pietro Muttoni called Pietro della Vecchia, *The Three Graces*, oil on canvas, 158 x 124 cm, ca. 1650 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 238

Guido Reni, *David with the Head of Goliath*, oil on canvas, 214.5 x 143 cm, ca. 1629, private collection

fig. 239

Attributed to Hendrik Goltzius, *Birth of Christ*, oil on copper, 41 x 29 cm, ca. 1600 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 240

Bartolomeo Scheoni, *Two Children*, oil on wood, 33 x 28 cm, ca 1606-09 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 241

Bartolomeo Scheoni, *Two Children*, oil on wood, 33 x 28 cm, ca 1606-09 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 242

Anthony van Dyck, *Amaryllis and Mirtillio*, oil on canvas, 121 x 145 cm, 1631-32 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 243

Salomon Kleiner, detail showing Titian's *Venus and Adonis*, ca. 1560

fig. 244

Philips Wouwerman, *Battle at a Bridge*, oil on canvas, 82.5 x 105 cm, ca. 1665 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 245

Francesco Salviati, *Geometry*, oil on canvas, 176 x 125 cm, ca. 1550 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 246

Alessandro Varotari, *Sleeping Venus*, oil on canvas, 110 x 150 cm, ca. 1630 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 247

Gian Giacomo Sementi after Reni, *Cleopatra*, oil on canvas, 170 x 112.5 cm, ca. 1627 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 248

Francesco Albani, *Hermaphrodus and Salmacis*, oil on canvas, 183 x 228 cm, 1645-50 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)

fig. 249

Francesco Albani, *Adam and Eve*, oil on canvas, 97 x 153.5 cm, 1635 (Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brüssel)

fig. 250

Ignaz Heinitz von Heinzenthal, *Still Life with Ostriches, an Agave, and Bananna Tree*, oil on canvas, 317 x 159 cm, 1723 (Belvedere Museum, Vienna)

fig. 251

Ignaz Heinitz von Heinzenenthal, *Still Life with Hyena, Chital, Cassowary, Cactus, and Palm Trees*, oil on canvas, 317 x 159 cm, 1723 (Belvedere Museum, Vienna)

fig. 252

Salomon Kleiner, *Water Birds*, grey feather pen, watercolors, and white chalk highlights, 28.3 x 39 cm, 1723 (ALBERTINA WIEN, Vienna)

fig. 253

Salomon Kleiner, *Flightless Birds*, grey feather pen, watercolors, and white chalk highlights, 27.5 x 39.5 cm, 1723 (ALBERTINA WIEN, Vienna)

fig. 254

Salomon Kleiner, *Predators and Ruminants*, grey feather pen, watercolors, and white chalk highlights, 28.4 x 39 cm, 1723 (ALBERTINA WIEN, Vienna)

fig. 255

Salomon Kleiner, *Fallow Deer*, grey feather pen, watercolors, and white chalk highlights, 27.2 x 39 cm, 1723 (ALBERTINA WIEN, Vienna)

fig. 256

Salomon Kleiner, *Lion, Oxen, Antelope, and Ape*, grey feather pen, watercolors, and white chalk highlights, 27.8 x 40 cm, 1723 (ALBERTINA WIEN, Vienna)

fig. 257

Salomon Kleiner, *Sheep*, grey feather pen, watercolors, and white chalk highlights, 28 x 40 cm, 1723 (ALBERTINA WIEN, Vienna)

fig. 258

Salomon Kleiner, *Chickens, Waterfowl, and Apes*, grey feather pen, watercolors, and white chalk highlights, 27.5 x 39 cm, 1723 (ALBERTINA WIEN, Vienna)

fig. 259

Salomon Kleiner, *Parrots, Apes, and Fallow Deer*, grey feather pen, watercolors, and white chalk highlights, 27.4 x 39.5 cm, 1723 (ALBERTINA WIEN, Vienna)

fig. 260

Salomon Kleiner, *Water Birds*, grey feather pen, watercolors, and white chalk highlights, 28.3 x 39 cm, 1723 (ALBERTINA WIEN, Vienna)

fig. 261

Salomon Kleiner, *Large Predators and Apes*, grey feather pen, watercolors, and white chalk highlights, 29.2 x 39 cm, 1723 (ALBERTINA WIEN, Vienna)

fig. 262

Salomon Kleiner, *Birds of Prey*, grey feather pen, watercolors, and white chalk highlights, 27.5 x 39.5 cm, 1723 (ALBERTINA WIEN, Vienna)

fig. 263

Phillip Ferdinand de Hamilton, *Lynx and Vulture*, oil on canvas, 87.7 x 118.5 cm, 1722 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

fig. 264

Phillip Ferdinand de Hamilton, *Fallow Deer*, oil on canvas, 87 x 118 cm, 1722 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

fig. 265

Phillip Ferdinand de Hamilton, *Albino Guinea fowl and Coati*, oil on canvas, 88 x 119 cm, 1722 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

fig. 266

Phillip Ferdinand de Hamilton, *Vultures*, oil on canvas, 110 x 127 cm, 1723 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

fig. 267

Phillip Ferdinand de Hamilton, *Pelicans and other Waterfowl*, oil on canvas, 110 x 124 cm, 1724 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

fig. 268

Phillip Ferdinand de Hamilton, *Scansorial Birds*, ca. 110 x 127 cm, 1723

fig. 269

Phillip Ferdinand de Hamilton, *Piebald Deer*, oil on canvas, 110 x 126 cm, 1724 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

fig. 270

Phillip Ferdinand de Hamilton, *Chital, Ibex, Goats, and Hare*, oil on canvas, 108 x 126 cm, 1723 (Belvedere Museum, Vienna)

fig. 271

Franz Werner Tamm, *Still Life with Plants and Pelican*, ca. 151 x 142 cm, ca. 1720

fig. 272

Franz Werner Tamm, *Still Life with Plants and Fruit*, oil on canvas, 109 x 145 cm, ca. 1720 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

fig. 273

Franz Werner Tamm, *Still Life with Plants and Fruit*, oil on canvas, 112 x 155 cm, ca. 1720 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

fig. 274

Franz Werner Tamm, *Still Life with Plants and Fruit*, oil on canvas, 110 x 151 cm, ca. 1720 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

fig. 275

Franz Werner Tamm, *Still Life with Plants*, ca. 1720

fig. 276

Franz Werner Tamm, *Still Life with Fruit*, ca. 1720

INTRODUCTION

In October 1697, Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663-1736) purchased a vast expanse of gradually sloping terrain just beyond the Viennese city walls.¹ This acquisition immediately followed the Battle of Zenta (1697), the prince's decisive defeat of the Ottomans during the Great Turkish War (1683-1699) which led to the signing of the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699).² This treaty not only sparked the Ottoman Empire's "unrelenting decline," it also firmly established the Austrian Habsburgs' political dominance in Europe at the dawn of the eighteenth century.³ The victorious Prince Eugene then commissioned Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt

¹ Prince Eugene of Savoy was born in Paris at the Hôtel de Soissons on October 18, 1663. He died aged seventy-two in Vienna on April 21, 1736. Prince Eugene was raised at the court of Louis XIV (reigned 1643-1715) before he enlisted in the military service of Leopold I (reigned 1658-1705) in 1683. He is the great-grandson of the Duke of Savoy Charles-Emanuel I (1562-1630), the grandson of Thomas Francis the Prince of Carignano (1596-1656), who is Charles-Emanuel's youngest son and the founder of the Savoy-Carignano branch line. Eugene's father is Thomas Francis' youngest son, Eugene Maurice the Count of Soissons (1635-1673). Eugene's mother, Olympia Mancini the Countess of Soissons (1638-1708) is a niece of Cardinal Mazarin (1602-1661), the chief minister of Louis XIV from 1642 until his death. For a detailed biography on the prince, see Braubach, Max, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Eine Biographie*, 5 vols. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1965).

² The Battle of Zenta concluded on September 11, 1697. The signatories of the Treaty of Karlowitz are the Ottoman Empire, the Holy Roman Empire, Poland-Lithuania, the Republic of Venice, the Papal States, and the Tsardom of Russia. The signing took place in Sremski Karlovci, Serbia on January 26, 1699. See Max Braubach, *Prince Eugen von Savoyen: Aufstieg*, vol. 1 (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1963), 258–62, 269–71.

³ Martin Sicker, *The Islamic World in Decline: From the Treaty of Karlowitz to the Disintegration of the Ottoman Empire* (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2001), 32.

(1668-1745) to design a single-story palace on his new plot that borders the *Vorstädte* Wieden and Landstrasse.⁴ Now called the Lower Belvedere, this structure, a *villa suburbana* or *Lustschloss*, is located on the estate's lowest point at the north end (figs. 1-3). It was erected and decorated between 1712 and 1717. Also in 1717, Dominique Girard (1680-1738), Louis XIV's (reigned 1643-1715) water engineer at Versailles, conceived of formal gardens in the French Baroque manner (fig. 4-5). He was previously employed by Maximilian II Emanuel, the Prince Elector of Bavaria and Governor of the Spanish Netherlands and Luxemburg (reigned 1679-1726). At the same time, Prince Eugene fought in the Austro-Turkish War (1716-1718) that was sparked by the Ottomans' dissatisfaction with the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699). In August and October 1716, the prince crushed the Ottomans twice in Petrovaradin and Timișoara, and then again, in Belgrade in August 1717.⁵ Prince Eugene's daring conquests resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718) that permanently ended the Ottoman's westward expansion and granted substantial Balkan territories to the Austrian

⁴ A *Vorstadt* (pl. *Vorstädte*), or suburb, is a specific term used to describe the outlying cities that surrounded medieval Vienna. By the eighteenth century, they had grown all the way up to the city walls but only the first district, or *Innenstadt*, was officially called Vienna until 1857. The suburb Landstrasse is now Vienna's third district and Wieden is the city's fourth district. It should be noted that after his initial purchase in 1697, Prince Eugene purchased additional land for the Belvedere and its gardens in 1706, 1708, 1716, 1720, 1721, and 1733, at which point the entire area measured 155,545 square meters. Then, after 1752, Maria Theresia added 10,000 square meters to the Belvedere's grounds. See Gottfried Mraz, *Belvedere: Schloß und Park des Prinzen Eugen* (Vienna: Herder & Co., 1988), 27; Maria Auböck, Willibald Ludwig, and Ingrid Gregor, eds., *Das Belvedere: der Garten des Prinzen Eugen in Wien* (Wien: Holzhausen, 2003), 190–92.

⁵ Max Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Zum Gipfel des Ruhmes*, vol. 3 (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1964), 316–30, 355–60.

Hapsburgs.⁶ The triumphant prince then commissioned Hildebrandt again to design a two-story palace on his garden estate's most elevated point at the south end (fig. 6-8). Now called the Upper Belvedere, this structure was constructed and decorated between 1717 and 1723. It offers a magnificent panorama of Vienna and a clear view of Kahlenberg Mountain, where, in 1683, Prince Eugene had first fought against the Ottomans victoriously (fig. 9).⁷

The Belvedere, a name first used by Empress Maria Theresa (reigned 1740-1780) who purchased the site in 1752, accurately encapsulates the magnificent architecture and stunning vistas that Prince Eugene commissioned. Accordingly, the empress hired Bernardo Bellotto (1722-1780), a *veduta* specialist and the nephew and pupil of Canaletto (1697-1768), to memorialize the Belvedere's splendid view of the eighteenth-century imperial city with a painting (fig. 10). Prince Eugene also curated luxurious interiors at the Belvedere with assistance from his French interior designer Claude Le Fort du Plessy (died 1757). They were filled with paintings and frescoes, by Bolognese masters especially, ancient and contemporary sculptures, Asian porcelain, Indian textiles, and even astronomical instruments, which, together with exotic animals and plant species in the palace gardens, achieved an all-encompassing aesthetic and sensory experience. In his groundbreaking *Patrons and Painters*, Francis Haskell deems

⁶ This treaty was signed in Passarowitz, Serbia on July 21, 1718, by the Austrian Hapsburgs, the Republic of Venice, and the Ottoman Empire. It resulted in twenty-four years of peace in the Hapsburgs' Balkan territories called the Banat of Timișoara, Little Walachia, and in the lands that surround Belgrade. See Braubach, 3:372–79.

⁷ The Battle of Vienna concluded on September 12, 1683. See Braubach, *Prince Eugen von Savoyen: Aufstieg*, 1:105–7.

Prince Eugene “the most grandiose and influential private [art] patron in Europe.”⁸ The Lower and Upper Belvedere’s interiors are a manifestation of global artistic patronage and they attest to Prince Eugene’s own intellect, immense wealth, elite status, and prominent political position.

The original architectural character of both the Lower and Upper Belvedere is preserved and Girard’s gardens were restored to the original design between 1991 and 2003.⁹ Permanent interior decorations like fresco and stucco are still *in situ* at the Belvedere, while the original textiles and furnishings are lost. Only five years after Prince Eugene’s death in 1736, his sole heir, Princess Maria Anna Victoria of Savoy (1683-1763), sold all the Belvedere’s most valuable artwork.¹⁰ She was the daughter of Prince Louis Thomas of Savoy, the Count of Soissons (1657-1702), who was Prince Eugene’s older brother. The princess never met her uncle and lived in a cloister in Turin, Italy for most of her adult life. When Prince Eugene died with no will, a committee determined she was the prince’s closest living relative in June 1736. This committee consisted of Count Philipp Ludwig Wenzel von Sinzendorf (1671-1742), Baron Carl Ludwig Hillebrand von Prandau (life dates unknown), Joseph Anton Stockhammer (life dates

⁸ Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*, Rev. and enl. ed (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 201.

⁹ Auböck, Ludwig, and Gregor, *Das Belvedere*, 203–5.

¹⁰ For more on the princess and her role in the dispersal of the Belvedere’s contents and the rest of Prince Eugene’s estate, see Alfred Ritter von Arneth, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: 1719-1736* (Druck und Verlag der topogr.-literar-artist Anstalt, 1858), 501; Max Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Mensch und Schicksal*, vol. 5 (Wien: Böhlau, 1965), 327–33, 462. The original document that names the princess the heiress can be found at the Archive in Turin. See “Materie politiche per rapporto all’interno, Principi di Carignano-Soissona,” n.d., mazzo 6, n. 5, Archivio di Stato di Torino, Piazza Castello.

unknown), and four additional councilors named Mannagetta (life dates unknown), Pelser (life dates unknown), Doblhoff (life dates unknown), and Karl Münzer (life dates unknown).¹¹ Cardinal Carlo Colonna (1665-1739), Prince Eugene's distant cousin on his mother's side, laid claim to this sizable inheritance in the end of November in 1737. Yet the princess was again named the heiress officially and uncontestably on February 28, 1738.¹² Shortly thereafter, aged fifty-two, she married Prince Joseph of Saxe-Hildburghausen (1702-1787) on April 17, 1738. They soon sold Prince Eugene's collections with items that ranged from books to easel paintings, to the Belvedere's three rare antique sculptures that were unearthed in Herculaneum. Especially the princess stands accused of squandering the prince's estate, liquidating it quickly. At first, she likely did this to build up a dowry and find a decent suitor despite her old age. Yet Saxe-Hildburghausen must have played a part in the collections' dispersal. Even though this couple separated in 1752, they never divorced. At the same time, the duke nearly went bankrupt. Also in 1752, the Belvedere was sold to Maria Theresia and the princess signed the contract herself.¹³ Perhaps, she has been conveniently blamed for the prince's financial mistakes. Indeed, he remained a favorite member

¹¹ Ritter von Arneth, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: 1719-1736*, 501.

¹² Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Mensch und Schicksal*, 5:327–33; Cornelia Diekamp, "La galleria del principe Eugenio di Savoia nel Belvedere Superiore a Vienna: storia e ricostruzione," in *Torino 1706: memorie e attualità dell'assedio di Torino del 1706 tra spirito europeo e identità regionale : atti del Convegno, Torino 29 e 30 settembre 2006*, vol. 2 (Turin: Centro Studi Piemontesi, 2007), 748.

¹³ "Erklärung der Herzogin Anna Victoria von Sachsen, geborenen Prinzessin von Savoyen, kraft deren selbe alle ihre auf was immer für Titeln beruhenden Rechte und Ansprüche auf die Herrschaft Hof und Niederweiden und Stadtpalais mit Garten ('Belvedere') an die Kaiserin Maria," 1752, AT-OeStA/HHStA UR FUK 1953, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv.

at the imperial court but was eventually sent to Germany to take over his family's dukedom or face financial ruin.¹⁴

While all the Belvedere's artwork has long been removed from the palace, thankfully, circa 1729, the prince commissioned Salomon Kleiner (1700-1761) to capture the Belvedere in 140 detailed drawings. Engraved, printed, and circulated throughout Europe as a deliberate strategy to promote the prince and publicize the Belvedere, these renderings are invaluable primary sources that allowed me to reconstruct and analyze the palace's original interior decoration with great accuracy.¹⁵ A painting inventory, ordered by Princess Maria Anna Victoria and compiled by Antonio Maria Zanetti (1689-1767) and Antonio Daniele Bertoli (1677-1743) in 1736, strongly supports that Kleiner's visual evidence of the palace interiors is accurate [Document 1].¹⁶ In 2020, Silvia Tommaro gave a talk on Zanetti and Bertoli that was concerned with their efforts to sell but also conceal valuable paintings and art objects in the Prince's collection.¹⁷ For example, they used ambiguous titles and descriptions in their various letters and transactions to

¹⁴ For more on the prince, see Frank Huss, *Prinz Josef Friedrich von Sachsen-Hildburghausen: der "Erbe" des Prinzen Eugen; [Feldherr, Ehemann, Lebemann und Partylöwe im Wien Maria Theresias]* (Wien: Huss, 2005).

¹⁵ An original copy is owned by the Belvedere Research Center in Vienna, Austria. Also see *Wienerisches Welttheater: das barocke Wien in Stichen: Das Belvedere in Wien*, 3 vols. (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1969); Salomon Kleiner, *Das Belvedere zu Wien: nach dem Stichwerk in 140 Blättern aus den Jahren 1731 - 1740*, ed. Elisabeth Herget, Die bibliophilen Taschenbücher (Dortmund: Harenberg, 1980).

¹⁶ The original inventory is stored at the British National Archives in London and filed in the box State Papers Austria 121. It is also printed in Leopold Auer and Jeremy Black, "Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 38 (1986): 336–46.

¹⁷ Silvia Tommaro, "An International Charade. Antonio Maria Zanetti the Elder and Eugene of Savoy's Paintings" (Academic Conference, Patrons, Intermediaries, and Venetian Artists in Vienna and Imperial Domains (1650-1750), University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, September 24, 2020).

disguise their own plundering of the prince's many treasures. My study uses the painting inventory, not to discuss Zanetti and Bertoli's dealings or challenge the attribution of paintings listed, but rather, to understand how and where paintings were hung at the Belvedere. The inventory provides specifics about the tally of paintings in each space and other details like the chambers' various colors.

European nobles on the Grand Tour, including Karl Ludwig Freiherr von Pöllnitz (1692-1775), who visited the Lower Belvedere and palace gardens in 1719, and Johann Basilius Küchelbecker (1697–1757), who explored the Upper Belvedere and palace gardens in 1727 or 1728, wrote detailed accounts that verify Kleiner's contemporary representations.¹⁸ Already in 1716, Jean Verslype (1653-1735) visited the Lower Belvedere but only wrote a brief report.¹⁹ In contrast, Pöllnitz's comments about the prince's palaces are descriptive and adulatory. For example, he states that the Hofburg, the residence of the Emperor, "*hat übrigens nichts schönes an sich, außer seine Größe.*"²⁰ On the other hand, the palaces of

¹⁸ Johann Basilius Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter, Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupffern ans Licht gegeben* (Hannover: Nicolaus Förster und Sohn, 1730); Karl Ludwig Freiherr von Pöllnitz, *Des Freyherrn von Pöllnitz Neue Nachrichten, Welche seine Lebens-Geschichte Und eine Ausführliche Beschreibung Von Seinen ersten Reisen In sich enthalten: Wie sie nach der neuesten Auflage aus dem Frantzösischen in das Hoch-Deutsche übersetzt worden*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Franckfurt am Mayn, 1739); Karl Ludwig Freiherr von Pöllnitz, *Des Freyherrn von Pöllnitz Neue Nachrichten, Welche seine Lebens-Geschichte Und eine Ausführliche Beschreibung Von Seinen ersten Reisen In sich enthalten: Wie sie nach der neuesten Auflage aus dem Frantzösischen in das Hoch-Deutsche übersetzt worden*, vol. 4, 4 vols. (Franckfurt am Mayn, 1739).

¹⁹ Jean Verslype, *Journal ofte dagregister van onze reyze naer de keyzerlyke stadt van Weenen ten jare 1716*, ed. Jules Saint-Genois (Gent: Maetschappy der Vlaemsche Bibliophilen, 1849).

²⁰ Translation: "has nothing special about it, except for its size." See Pöllnitz, *Des Freyherrn von Pöllnitz Neue Nachrichten, Welche seine Lebens-Geschichte Und eine Ausführliche Beschreibung Von Seinen ersten Reisen In sich enthalten: Wie sie nach*

Prince Eugene possess more beauty than any other structures in the city. In fact, he declares Eugene's winter palace to be the "*herlichste* [sic] *Gebäude*" in Vienna, as it was filled with the "*herrlichsten Erfindungen und aller ersinnlichsthen* [sic] *Kostbarkeit*" one could see in all of Austria in 1719.²¹ In his account of the Lower Belvedere, Pöllnitz notes the beautiful frescoes and describes the immense gardens with their elaborate terraces and water works.²² Finally, Prince Eugene's extensive correspondence at the Österreichische Staatsarchiv upholds that he played an active role in commissioning foreign artists and acquiring international rarities for his garden palace. They crossed cultural boundaries and political borders to reach imperial Vienna, and in doing so, achieved the successful fashioning of the Belvedere.

The layout of rooms at the Lower and Upper Belvedere is a unique amalgamation of formal public and more intimate spaces that are based on Italian and French architectural prototypes. It is worth noting that Prince Eugene is also of Italian and French descent, but he lived his entire adult life in Austria. The Belvedere and its gardens echo Versailles, which the prince knew through having grown up at the French royal court of Louis XIV.²³ The subject of an exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2018, Versailles was used by the Sun King to host spectacular diplomatic events that were open to the French court and to the

der neuesten Auflage aus dem Frantzösischen in das Hoch-Deutsche übersetzt worden, 1739, 4:33.

²¹ Translation: "most magnificent" and "most magnificent inventions and every imaginable luxury." See Pöllnitz, 4:35.

²² Pöllnitz, 4:37.

²³ Braubach, *Prince Eugen von Savoyen: Aufstieg*, 1:21–79.

general public.²⁴ These lavish and well-publicized ceremonies made a strong and lasting impression on the young Eugene, who was only aged twenty when he ultimately left France.²⁵ The prince took this imprinted knowledge with him to Vienna, as inspiration for the planning and decorating of the Belvedere. Prince Eugene's international patronage transformed the Belvedere into a monument that had the capacity to help foreign nations better understand the culture of imperial Austria, and thus, it could facilitate tolerance and establish a mutual understanding between dignitaries and the Holy Roman Emperors whom Prince Eugene represented.

Prince Eugene served Emperors Leopold I (reigned 1658-1705), Joseph I (reigned 1705-1711) and Charles VI (reigned 1711-1740) as the President of the Imperial War Council between 1703 and his death in 1736. The Imperial War Council is also known as the *Hofkriegsrat* or Aulic War Council. Already in 1556, Ferdinand I (reigned 1556-1564) established the Imperial War Council to serve as the main authority directing the military and managing its administrative affairs.²⁶ The president also handled all matters concerning the Ottoman Turks, ranging from warfare to diplomacy. Prince Eugene served simultaneously as the governor of the Duchy of Milan between 1706 and 1716, and then, between 1716 to 1724,

²⁴ Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, Bertrand Rondot, and Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.), eds., *Visitors to Versailles: From Louis XIV to the French Revolution* (New Haven: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2018).

²⁵ Braubach, *Prince Eugen von Savoyen: Aufstieg*, 1:80–93.

²⁶ Oskar Regele, *Der österreichische Hofkriegsrat: 1556-1848* (Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, 1949).

as the governor of the Austrian Netherlands.²⁷ Prince Eugene ruled both Habsburg territories in absentia from Vienna.²⁸ Therefore, for the performance of official ceremonies and audiences at the Belvedere, Prince Eugene created a carefully designed stage that conveys grandeur and emphasizes his political authority. The palace's events and significant happenings are detailed in the *Wienerisches Diarium*, a contemporary newspaper that was first issued on August 8, 1703. This newspaper's purpose was to provide information ranging from international news to contemporary events, happenings at the imperial court, baptisms, and obituaries. It is one of the oldest newspapers in Europe and is still published today under the name *Wiener Zeitung*. For example, it reports that the prince hosted the Grand Vizier Nevsehirili Damad Ibrahim Pasha (ca. 1662-1730) at the garden palace on October 2, 1719.²⁹ Representing his father-in-law the Sultan Ahmed III (reigned 1703-1730), Pasha first came to Vienna at the conclusion of the Austro-Turkish War (1716-1718) to negotiate the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718).³⁰ Prince Eugene's important audience with Pasha at the Belvedere took place at the dawn of the Tulip Period (1718-1730). Historians describe this era as the first and only time during the entire early modern period in which the Ottoman Sultan allowed contemporary European art and culture to influence his court in Istanbul.³¹

²⁷ Max Braubach, *Prince Eugen von Savoyen: Der Feldherr*, vol. 2 (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1964), 174–79; Max Braubach, *Prince Eugen von Savoyen: Der Staatsmann*, vol. 4 (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1965), 117–26.

²⁸ Braubach, *Prince Eugen von Savoyen: Der Staatsmann*, 4:126–37.

²⁹ “Nr. 1687 Wien vom 30. September bis 3. Oktober 1719,” *Wienerisches Diarium*, 1719.

³⁰ M. Münir Aktepe, “Ibrahim Pasha, Nevshehirli,” in *The Encyclopedia of Islam, New Ed.*, vol. 3 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), 1002–3.

³¹ For more on the Tulip Period, see Josef Matuz, *Das Osmanische Reich: Grundlinien seiner Geschichte*, 3., unveränd. Aufl (Darmstadt: Primus-Verl, 1996), 191–97; Ariel

Certainly, Prince Eugene and Pasha's encounter at the Belvedere led to critical exchanges that encouraged stability in central and eastern Europe during the prince's entire tenure as the Imperial War Council's president. Accordingly, the *Wienerisches Diarium* testifies that on June 11, 1731, to announce the reign of Mahmud I (reigned 1730-1754), Prince Eugene held an audience at the Belvedere again, with the ambassador Mustafa Efendi (life dates unknown).³² Kleiner drew this event to publicize Prince Eugene's prominent role as the official liaison between the Habsburg Emperors and the Sultans of the Ottoman Empire (fig. 11). Kleiner's rendering reveals that the Belvedere was an appropriate arena for Prince Eugene's important interactions that pacified centuries of strife on the eastern Habsburg front, and thus, enabled the prince to shift his energies from the battlefield to cultural diplomacy that was manifested in his vast patronage of architecture, art, and science.

It should be noted that since the middle ages, Austria's nobility typically owned palaces within Vienna's city wall and near the Hofburg palace of the Habsburg Emperors. This is due to the continuous Ottoman invasions that had

Salzmann and Donald Quataert, "The Age of Tulips: Confluence and Conflict in Early Modern Consumer Culture (1550-1730)," in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire (1550-1922)* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000), 83–106; Madeline C. Zilfi, "Tulip Era (Ottoman Empire)," in *Europe, 1450 to 1789: Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World*, ed. Jonathan Dewald, vol. 6 (Gale eBooks, 2004), 78–79,

link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX3404901141/GVRL?u=new67449&sid=GVRL&xid=4844f666; John W. Livingston, "The Tulip Period," in *The Rise of Science in Islam and the West: From Shared Heritage to Parting of the Ways, Eighth to Nineteenth Centuries* (London: Routledge, 2019), 272–99. It should be noted that a dissertation from 2008 challenges some of the theories that scholars have put forth concerning the Tulip Period. See Selim Karahasanoglu, "A Tulip Age Legend: Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in the Ottoman Empire (1718-1730)" (Dissertation, New York, The State University of New York at Binghamton, 2008).

³² "Nr. 47: Anno 1731, 13. Juni," *Wienerisches Diarium*, 1731.

threatened the city for over three centuries until the Battle of Vienna on September 12, 1683.³³ This date marks the conclusion of the Ottomans' final, two-month-long siege that did not penetrate Vienna's city wall but left the *Vorstädte* in complete ruin. After 1683, now free from the threat of invasion, the *Vorstädte* attracted nobles and the Holy Roman Emperor who built freely upon the mostly vacant terrain. The erection of the Belvedere coincides with many other impressive garden palace projects in the *Vorstädte* that date to the first half of the eighteenth century.³⁴ It is also not the very first structure that Prince Eugene commissioned in Vienna. Already in 1695, he had hired Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656-1723) to design his city palace in the Innenstadt's Himmelfortgasse (fig 12-13). This structure functioned as the prince's winter palace. Once the Belvedere was complete, it served as Prince Eugene's summer palace. Indeed, the Lower and Upper Belvedere were erected during a construction boom that lasted into the mid eighteenth century, reflecting that garden palaces became common expressions of power and wealth in Baroque Vienna. Yet, in both scale and ambition, the Belvedere surpasses all the city's other contemporary garden palaces which date to the first two decades of the eighteenth century. In fact, until Empress Maria Theresa (reigned 1740-1780) reconstructed Schönbrunn Castle under the direction of Fischer von Erlach in the mid-century, no garden palace in or near the

³³ See footnote 7 in this chapter.

³⁴ They include, but are not limited to, the imperial *Favoritenhof* and *Augarten*, Palais Trautson, Palais Schönborn, Palais Auersperg, Palais Schwarzenberg, and Palais Lichtenstein. For more details on Viennese garden palaces that date to the first three decades of the eighteenth century, see Harald Zinner, "Das Gartenpalais Mansfeld-Fondi-Schwarzenberg. Genese eines barocken Gartenpalais unter Einbeziehung des Milieus der Wiener Adelsarchitektur" (Diplomarbeit, Wien, Universität Wien, 2011).

imperial city overshadowed Prince Eugene's Belvedere due to its vast and opulent display of international artwork and lavish rarities.

Prince Eugene's choice to hire both Fischer von Erlach and Hildebrandt for his two palaces in the imperial city must be understood as a proud demonstration of his capacity to retain contemporary Vienna's two most respected and sought-after architects. This choice was Prince Eugene's public declaration of his recently attained high social and financial standing. While he was of noble birth, Prince Eugene was never an actively ruling prince and he had no inheritance. He only gained wealth through his lifelong and successful military campaigns in the service of the Habsburgs. Accordingly, to express and underscore the height of his self-made status, in addition to the city palace and Belvedere, Prince Eugene commissioned three additional structures from Hildebrandt. All three are in eastern Habsburg territories, on the lands that the prince had captured himself. For example, two four-wing palaces; one is in Ráckeve, Hungary on the Danube Island of Budapest, the other is near the Drava river in Bilje, Croatia (figs. 14-16). Both palaces were abandoned after Prince Eugene's death. While they deserve considerable scholarly attention, at this time, neither structure offers any clues about the Belvedere's decoration.³⁵ In contrast, as discussed at length in chapter two, Prince Eugene's country palace called Schloss Hof in Marchfeld, Austria,

³⁵ For more on the Ráckeve Castle, see Ervin Ybl, "Das Schloss des Prinzen von Savoyen in Ráckeve," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 4–18 (1926): 111–32; Jeno Rados, "Das ehemalige Schloß des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen in Ráckeve," *Südtiroler Burgeninstitut; Verein zur Erhaltung Privater Baudenkmäler und Sonstiger Kulturgüter in Bayern* 9 (1987): 223–25; Ulrike Seeger, ed., "Die wirtschaftliche und architektonische Inbesitznahme der mittleren Donau nach den Friedensschlüssen von Karlowitz und Passarowitz: Livio Odescalchi und Prinz Eugen," in *Europäische Galeriebauten* (München: Hirmer, 2010), 568–78.

which is very near to the border of Slovakia, was outfitted in the same spirit as the Belvedere (figs. 17-18). This structure's entire contents are described in an exhaustive inventory that was compiled in 1736.³⁶ It offers many important clues about the Belvedere's outfitting, as does the extant artwork and splendid furnishings that originate from Prince Eugene's city palace.³⁷

Bruno Grimschitz was the first art historian to publish specifically on the Belvedere in 1920 and 1946.³⁸ During his lifetime, Grimschitz was considered the Hildebrandt expert and laid important groundwork for understanding the architectural history and function of the Belvedere. However, unfortunate racial undertones corrupt his studies. For example, in *Das Belvedere in Wien*, to stress a Germanic spirit in Baroque culture, Grimschitz comments "wie genial Hildebrandt das italienische Erbe, das er nach Wien verpflanzt hatte, in die Sprache seiner deutschen Eltern zu verwandeln vermochte."³⁹ Even though his studies of the Belvedere are not funneled overtly through a Nazi lens, Grimschitz's legacy and prominent role in the Aryanization of art while director of the Austrian State Galleries during the era of National Socialism discredits his scholarship

³⁶ A copy of the inventory is printed in Harald Frantes, "Die vollständige Originalausstattung der Schlösser Hof and der March und Niederweiden von 1736: Das Nachlaßinventar des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen." (Diplomarbeit, Wien, Universität Wien, 2005).

³⁷ Ulrike Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen: Entstehung, Gestalt, Funktion und Bedeutung* (Wien: Böhlau, 2004); Agnes Husslein-Arco and Camilla Nielsen, *Prince Eugene's Winter Palace* (Vienna: Belvedere Museum, 2013).

³⁸ Bruno Grimschitz, *Das Wiener Belvedere* (Vienna: Verlag Hölzel, 1920); Bruno Grimschitz, *Das Belvedere in Wien* (Wien: Kunstverlag Wolfrum, 1946). The same author discusses the Belvedere briefly in Bruno Grimschitz, *Johann Lucas von Hildebrandt* (Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, 1932), 77–84; Bruno Grimschitz, *Johann Lucas von Hildebrandt* (Wien: Verlag Herold, 1959), 91–99.

³⁹ Translation: "how ingeniously Hildebrandt transformed Italian artistic heritage, which he transplanted in Vienna, into the language of his German parents." See Grimschitz, *Das Belvedere in Wien*, 24.

significantly.⁴⁰ Yet it may be acknowledged that, already in 1920, Grimschitz observed accurately “*als eine Einheit muss die Gesamtanlage des Belvederes gefasst werden, der Bau nur in den Zusammenhang mit dem Garten, diese wieder nur als Rahmen der Architektur organisch geworden und verständlich.*”⁴¹

In 1923, Franz Martin Haberditzl published the first study related to the Lower Belvedere’s interior decoration and it looks briefly at the Marble Hall’s oval reliefs and figurative ceiling fresco (figs. 19-20).⁴² Noting that, in 1716, Martino Altomonte (1658-1745) had signed and dated two small lunettes that depict mythological figures in Prince Eugene’s bed chamber, Haberditzl assumes that the same artist also painted the figurative fresco nearby in the Marble Hall (figs. 21-22).⁴³ Haberditzl’s attribution follows Julius Klaus, who first suggested it in his monograph titled *Martino Altomonte: Sein Leben und Sein Werk in Österreich* and published in 1916.⁴⁴ Then, in 1955, Gertrude Aurenhammer analyzed Altomonte’s sketchbook at the archive of Stift Melk and published her findings in the *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*.⁴⁵ Building on Klaus and Haberditzl’s attribution, Aurenhammer connects Altomonte’s sketches of a back figure, female head, and various arm drawings to Urania and Clio on the vault of the Marble Hall

⁴⁰ Hubertus Czernin, *Die Fälschung: der Fall Bloch-Bauer*, vol. 2 (Wien: Czernin, 1999), 308–13.

⁴¹ Translation: “as a whole, is how the Belvedere must be understood, the building in unison with the gardens which, again, only frame the architecture organically to make it legible.” See Grimschitz, *Das Wiener Belvedere*, 9.

⁴² Franz Martin Haberditzl, *Das Barockmuseum im Unteren Belvedere* (Wien: Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, 1923).

⁴³ Haberditzl, LXXII.

⁴⁴ Julius Klaus, *Martino Altomonte: Sein Leben und Sein Werk in Österreich* (Wien: Verlag Leopold Heidrich, 1916), 37.

⁴⁵ Gertrude Aurenhammer, “Das Melker Skizzenbuch des Martin Altomonte,” *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* 32, no. 1955/56 (1955): 244–68.

at the Lower Belvedere (figs. 23-28). Yet Aurenhammer admits that Altomonte's drawings are only vaguely similar to the two frescoed figures, and moreover, they lack the unique attributes that accompany Urania and Clio in the executed fresco.⁴⁶ Aurenhammer explains that these sketches are "*noch nicht wie im Fresco...angepaßt*" because they represent an early phase in the composition's conception.⁴⁷ Aurenhammer cites another of Altomonte's sketches in support of her claim, now at the Albertina which depicts a lone, galloping horse (fig. 29-30).⁴⁸ This drawing too is only vaguely similar to the frescoed horse that leads Apollo's chariot on the vault at the Lower Belvedere. Neither the position of the horse's neck and head, nor his front legs and hooves, match the horse in the executed fresco. That is because Altomonte's drawings are not likely related to the fresco at the Lower Belvedere which Carlo Innocenzo Carloni (1686-1775) painted. Amalia Barigozzi Brini and Clara Garas establish Carloni's authorship of this fresco firmly and confidently in their monograph that is dedicated to Carloni and which was published in 1967.⁴⁹ Yet still before this publication, in 1958, Hans Aurenhammer again supported Altomonte's authorship of the ceiling fresco at the Lower Belvedere.⁵⁰ In consequence of these early studies that pre-date Brini and Gara's monograph on Carloni, Altomonte and not Carloni is most often credited as the

⁴⁶ Aurenhammer, 253.

⁴⁷ Translation: "not adapted yet, as seen in the fresco." See Aurenhammer, 253.

⁴⁸ Aurenhammer, 253.

⁴⁹ See Hans Aurenhammer, "Das Untere Belvedere," in *Österreichisches Barockmuseum: Katalog* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Galerie, 1958).

⁵⁰ Aurenhammer, 10–11.

Lower Belvedere's Marble Hall's figurative frescoist. This remains unchallenged in German-language art-historical publications which concern the Belvedere.⁵¹

The first exhibition to honor Prince Eugene in 1933 paid tribute to the prince's military achievements, activity as a bibliophile, and his patronage of art.⁵² Hosted at the Lower Belvedere but not focused on this structure's furnishing, the exhibition featured a wide range of objects including confiscated Ottoman weapons, textiles from Schloss Hof, and Prince Eugene's own books. It took place only five years before Austria's *Anschluß* (1938) and the curators intended to portray Prince Eugene as "*das unvergessene Symbol jenes alten Österreich, das sich in schwerem Kampfe emporringt*."⁵³ The Lower and Upper Belvedere's

⁵¹ One reason may be due to the Aurenhammer's reiteration of the attribution in their monograph dedicated to Altomonte and published in 1965. Yet even in this study, the authors acknowledge that at the time the Lower Belvedere's Marble Hall's vault's painting, Altomonte was only just embarking on his career. Therefore, the grand commission from Prince Eugene was quite remarkable. Especially considering that Altomonte never again frescoed a vault on his own during his entire career. Garas therefore addressed the controversy in the German language in her article in the catalog from the exhibition *Ölskizzen: Carlo Innocenzo Carloni* that the Salzburger Barockmuseum hosted in 1986. She states clearly that "*die historischen wie stilistischen Indizien sprechen ... für Carlones Autorenschaft*," or the historical and stylistic indicators speak...for Carloni's authorship, and he executed the fresco alongside Chiarini in 1716. Yet even recently, in 2020, the Belvedere still repeats the Aurenhammer's attribution without providing support or challenging it in *Belvedere: Geschichte und Architektur* that is not scholarly but written for the public. See Hans Aurenhammer and Gertrude Aurenhammer, *Martino Altomonte* (Wien: Verlag Herold, 1965), 31–34; Amalia Barigozzi Brini and Klara Garas, *Carlo Innocenzo Carloni* (Milano: Casa Ed. Ceschina, 1967), 28–31; Klara Garas, "Zu Leben und Werk des Carlo Innocenzo Carlone (1686-1775)," in *Ölskizzen: Carlo Innocenzo Carloni*, Schriften des Salzburger Barockmuseums 13 (Salzburg: Salzburger Barockmuseums, 1986), 7–18; Georg Lechner, *Das Belvedere - Geschichte und Architektur*, 2020.

⁵² Oswald Redlich, ed., *Katalog der Prinz Eugen Ausstellung Wien, Belvedere, Mai-Oktober 1933* (Wien: Verlag der Museumsfreunde in Wien, 1933).

⁵³ Translation: "the unforgettable symbol of old Austria, that rises to the occasion in difficult times." See Redlich, 11. Only five years after the exhibition, following the Anschluss in March 1938, Redlich promptly resigned from his position as the President of the National Academy of Science because its new mission was to act "enthusiastically and dutifully at the exclusive service of the Greater German *Volksstaat* [people's state]," according to the new president Heinrich Srbik. See Johannes Feichtinger, Silke Fengler,

interiors are both covered for the first time and in greater detail in the special edition of the *Österreichische Galerie* series from 1963.⁵⁴ A compilation of scholarly essays, this book was printed in conjunction with an exhibition on view at the Lower Belvedere between October 19, 1963 and January 6, 1964. It commemorated Prince Eugene on the occasion of his 300th birthday and produced a catalogue that details forty-seven objects which were chosen for display, including the prince's various paintings, prints, and books.⁵⁵ The exhibition also followed restorations made to the ceiling fresco in the Marble Hall of the Lower Belvedere that were concluded in 1963.⁵⁶ Excluding Gerhart Egger's *Das Konzept der Innenräume der Belvedere*, which touches briefly upon the important connections between the interior decoration and the palace gardens, the *Österreichische Galerie* authors highlight primarily individual artists and artwork at the Belvedere. In contrast, the accompanying exhibition catalogue introduces all of Prince Eugene's palaces and includes a range of objects to embody more broadly the vast nature of the prince's undertaking at the Belvedere as a "*Freund der Künste*."⁵⁷

In 1965, following the first scholarly book to look closely at Prince Eugene's military career published by Helmut Oehler in 1944, the historian Max Braubach

and Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, eds., *Die Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien 1938 bis 1945: Katalog zur Ausstellung* (Ausstellung "Die Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien 1938 bis 1945," Wien: Verl. der Österr. Akad. der Wiss, 2013), 9.

⁵⁴ Fritz Novotny, ed., *Prinz Eugen und sein Belvedere* (Wien: Selbstverlag der Österreichischen Galerie, 1963).

⁵⁵ *Prinz Eugen: Als Freund der Künste und Wissenschaften. Zur 300. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages*. (Wien: Österreichische Galerie, 1963).

⁵⁶ Waltraud Blauensteiner, "Die Restaurierung des Deckenfreskos im großen Marmorsaal des Unteren Belvedere," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 17.1963 (1963): 52–58.

⁵⁷ Translation: "friend of the Arts." See *Prinz Eugen: Als Freund der Künste und Wissenschaften. Zur 300. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages*., 7.

put out his five-volume study titled *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen*.⁵⁸ It is dedicated primarily to Prince Eugene's prolific military career, but the fifth volume looks at his patronage of architecture, fine art, and books.⁵⁹ Volume five includes a brief examination of the Belvedere and Braubach discusses the dispersal and sale of Prince Eugene's artwork and most valuable possessions.⁶⁰ Concerned with history rather than visual studies, Braubach's book serves as an essential source for the location of primary documents related to Prince Eugene at the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv. Also in 1965, Braubach published a short article that details Prince Eugene's collection of easel paintings.⁶¹ This article analyzes a sale catalogue that Prince Eugene's heir had drawn up in 1737 and lists 175 works in total. In 1783, Josef Friedrich Freiherr von Retzer (1754-1824), discovered the original list and he translated it from French into German for publication.⁶² Braubach analyzes Retzer's translation and cites the correspondence of the diplomat Count Gerolamo Luigi Malabaila di Canale (1704-1773), the representative of Charles Emmanuel III (reigned 1730-1773), the King of Sardinia and Duke of Savoy. This

⁵⁸ It should be noted that Braubach published on Prince Eugene before he finished his five-volume study. See Max Braubach, *Geschichte und Abenteuer: Gestalten um den Prinzen Eugen* (München: Bruckmann, 1950); Max Braubach, *Die Geheimdiplomatie des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen*, Band 22, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen (Köln & Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1962). Also See Helmut Oehler, *Prinz Eugen im Urteil Europas: Ein Mythos und sein Niederschlag in Dichtung und Geschichtsschreibung* (München: Verlag F. Bruckmann, 1944).

⁵⁹ Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Mensch und Schicksal*.

⁶⁰ Braubach, 5:40–56, 327–33.

⁶¹ Max Braubach, "Die Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen," in *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem zum 16. Februar 1965* (Berlin: G. Mann, Cop., 1965), 27–43.

⁶² Retzer's translation can be found in Josef Friedrich Freiherr von Retzer and Johann Georg Meusel, "4. Die Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen in Wien," in *Miscellaneen artistischen Inhalts*, vol. Heft 15 (Erfurt: Keyerschen Buchh., 1783).

correspondence was first discovered by Italian art historian Alessandro Baudi di Vesme in the nineteenth century.⁶³ It reveals that, in addition to ten works by Jan van Hutchenberg (1647-1733), Charles Emmanuel III purchased 131 additional paintings that Prince Eugene had hung at the Belvedere and his city palace.⁶⁴ In 1741, they were transported from Vienna to Turin, and most are still on display at the Sabauda Gallery, as discussed in chapter three. Finally, and in 1965, Hans Aurenhammer published Salomon Kleiner's 140 engraved drawings of the Belvedere.⁶⁵ The Belvedere Research Center owns an original copy that the workshop of Jeremias Wolff (1663-1724) engraved and published in Augsburg between 1731 and 1740.⁶⁶

Between September 29 and October 5, 1969, select books from Prince Eugene's collection were featured during an exhibition at the Austrian National Library.⁶⁷ Also in 1969, Gertrude Aurenhammer published a short article in the *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie* about the Belvedere's history and use following Prince Eugene's death.⁶⁸ In the same year, together with Hans Aurenhammer, she published *Wienerisches Welttheater: das barocke Wien in Stichen; Das Belvedere in Wien*.⁶⁹ This book presents for the first time all of

⁶³ Alessandro Baudi di Vesme, "Sull' Acquisto fatto da Carlo Emanuele III RE Di Sardegna della Quadreria del Principe Eugenio di Savoia Recherche Documentate," in *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, vol. 25 (Torino: Paravia, 1887), 161–256.

⁶⁴ Braubach, "Die Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen," 35.

⁶⁵ Hans Aurenhammer, *Das Belvedere in Bildern Salomon Kleiners* (Wien: Österreichische Galerie, 1965).

⁶⁶ <https://www.belvedere.at/en/research#ResearchCenter>

⁶⁷ Laurenz Strebl, ed., *Grosse Bibliophilie des 18. Jahrhunderts: Prinz Eugen von Savoyen, Georg Wilhelm von Hohendorf, Antonio Floch de Cardona: Ausstellungskatalog*. (Wien: Brüder Hollinek, 1969).

⁶⁸ Gertrude Aurenhammer, "Geschichte des Belvederes seit dem Tode des Prinzen Eugen," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie* 13 (1969): 41–183.

⁶⁹ *Wienerisches Welttheater: das barocke Wien in Stichen: Das Belvedere in Wien*.

Kleiner's drawings of Vienna in three volumes. The second volume features Kleiner's images of the Belvedere only. The same pair soon published another book titled *Das Belvedere in Wien: Bauwerk Menschen Geschichte* in 1971.⁷⁰ It provides an overview of the Belvedere's architectural chronology and is the first scholarly analysis of both palace's interior decoration. In this book, the Aurenhammers again attribute the fresco in the center of the Lower Belvedere's Marble Hall's vault to Altomonte instead of Carloni, just as they did in 1965, in their monograph dedicated to Altomonte.⁷¹

In 1977, historian Dereck McKay published *Prince Eugene of Savoy*.⁷² One of the first books on Prince Eugene written in English, its focus is on the prince's military career but also includes a brief discussion of Eugene's patronage. In 1978, in his doctoral thesis about the life and work of Giacomo del Pò (1654-1726) which was submitted to the University of Kansas, Donald Rabiner first discusses briefly the artist's three significant ceiling paintings for Prince Eugene's garden palace.⁷³ Also in 1978, Sigfrid Asche published on Balthasar Permoser's (1651-1732) life work and includes an analysis of the artist's colossal statue depicting Prince Eugene that was on display at the Belvedere.⁷⁴ This study follows the earlier but brief analysis of the same statue in *Die Apotheose des Prinzen Eugen* from 1946.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Hans Aurenhammer and Gertrude Aurenhammer, *Das Belvedere in Wien: Bauwerk Menschen Geschichte* (Wien: Verlag Anton Schroll & Co., 1971).

⁷¹ Aurenhammer and Aurenhammer, 8–9, 13. Also see Aurenhammer and Aurenhammer, *Martino Altomonte*, 31–34.

⁷² Derek McKay, *Prince Eugene of Savoy* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1977).

⁷³ Donald Rabiner, "The Paintings of Giacomo Pò" (Unpublished Dissertation, Kansas, University of Kansas, 1978), 119–24.

⁷⁴ Sigfried Asche, *Balthasar Permoser: Leben u. Werk* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwiss, 1978).

⁷⁵ Balthasar Permoser, *Die Apotheose des Prinzen Eugen* (Berlin: Mann, 1946).

Then, in 1980, Elisabeth Herget printed Kleiner's 140 engraved drawings of the Belvedere yet again, in *Das Belvedere zu Wien: nach dem Stichwerk in 140 Blättern aus den Jahren 1731 – 1740*.⁷⁶ Herget's brief but well-informed commentaries accompany each of Kleiner's images that depict the Belvedere's interiors, architecture, gardens, and menagerie.

In 1982, on the occasion of the Sabauda Gallery's 150th anniversary, Carla Spantigati published twice on Prince Eugene's paintings from Vienna that are now in Turin.⁷⁷ In 1983, Ulrike Grimm published Marcantonio Chiarini's (1652-1730) preparatory drawing which he had created for the Lower Belvedere's *quadratura* frescoes circa 1715 (fig. 31).⁷⁸ This drawing is the only known primary source that is securely related to Prince Eugene's vast fresco commissions at the Belvedere. Grimm discovered it at the Albertina, a collection formed from the imperial print collection in the late eighteenth century which began with Charles VI's purchase of Prince Eugene's own drawings and prints in 1737. It confirms Prince Eugene's specific interest in *quadratura* and positions Chiarini as the lead artist for the interior decoration of the Lower Belvedere's Marble Hall.⁷⁹ Then, in 1984, Ulrike Knall-Brskovsky submitted her dissertation *Italienische Quadraturisten in*

⁷⁶ Kleiner, *Das Belvedere zu Wien: nach dem Stichwerk in 140 Blättern aus den Jahren 1731 - 1740*.

⁷⁷ Carlenrica Spantigati, "Vecchie e nuove precisazioni sulla quadreria del principe Eugenio di Savoia," in *Conoscere la Galleria Sabauda; Documenti sulla storia delle sue collezioni* (Torino: Soprintendenza per i beni artistici e storici del Piemonte, 1982), 17–51; Carlenrica Spantigati, *Per una storia del collezionismo, Pittura fiamminga ed olandese in Galleria Sabauda; Il principe Eugenio di Savoia-Soissons uomo d'arme e collezionista: 150° anniversario di istituzione della Galleria Sabauda, 1832-1982*. (Torino: Galleria Sabauda, 1982).

⁷⁸ Ulrike Grimm, "Ein neuentdeckter Dekorationsentwurf von Marc Antonio Chiarini für das Untere Belvedere," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie* 26/27, no. 70/71 (1983 1982): 225–44.

⁷⁹ Grimm.

Österreich to the University of Vienna.⁸⁰ While not focused on the Belvedere's *quadratura*, this dissertation includes the first and only art-historical analysis of the Belvedere's *quadratura* and establishes firmly which frescoes Chiarini painted and which were executed by his assistant, Gaetano Fanti (1687-1759). Knall-Brskovsky's dissertation posits that Chiarini's work for Prince Eugene ushered in a golden age of *quadratura* painting in Austrian palaces during the first half of the eighteenth century, when previously, this form of painting was utilized in Vienna for the theater primarily.⁸¹ Besides these two studies, in the subsequent literature dedicated specifically to Belvedere's frescoes, Chiarini and Fanti's work remains regarded as decorative framing and has not received the same scholarly consideration as the palace's figurative frescoes.⁸²

⁸⁰ Ulrike Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten in Österreich* (Wien: Böhlau, 1984).

⁸¹ Knall-Brskovsky, 139–60.

⁸² For literature with a specific focus on the figurative fresco painting at the Belvedere, see Günther Heinz, "Die Italienischen Maler im Dienste des Prinzen Eugen," in *Prinz Eugen und sein Belvedere* (Wien: Selbstverlag der Österreichischen Galerie, 1963), 115–42; Aurenhammer and Aurenhammer, *Martino Altomonte*; Aurenhammer and Aurenhammer, *Das Belvedere in Wien: Bauwerk Menschen Geschichte*; Klara Garas, "Carlo Carlone und die Deckenmalerei in Wien am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Historiae Artium* 8 (1962): 261–77; Barigozzi Brini and Garas, *Carlo Innocenzo Carlone*; Silvia Colombo and Simonetta Coppa, *I Carlone di Scaria* (Lugano: Fidia, 1997); Franz Matsche, "Mythologische Heldenapotheosen in Deckengemälden Wiener Adelspaläste des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Ex Fumo Lucem- Baroque Studies in Honor of Klara Garas: Presented on her Eightieth Birthday* (Budapest: Szepmuveszeti Muzeum, 1999), 315–52; Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 292–329; Michael Krapf, "'You Are Gods on Earth'- Carlo Innocenzo Carlone Paints for Prince Eugene of Savoy's Belvedere in Vienna," *Belvedere: Zeitschrift Für Bildende Kunst* 11, no. 2 (2005): 117–21; Helmut-Eberhard Paulus, "Zur Ikonologie des Abschlagbaren Pomeranzenhauses des Prinzen Eugen in Wien," in *Orangerien in Europa* (München: Lipp, 2007), 12–23; Ulrike Seeger, *Belvedere: Prince Eugene of Savoy's Garden Palace* (Vienna: Brandstätter, 2006), 39–42, 50–53, 62–65, 98–111; Ulrike Seeger, "Gli interventi di Chiarini per il principe Eugenio a Vienna," in *Crocevia e capitale della migrazione artistica* (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2013), 327–42.

In 1985, Gerda Mraz published *Prinz Eugen: sein Leben, sein Wirken, seine Zeit*.⁸³ This study is concerned with the prince's youth, career, and major achievements as a statesman. One year later, Leopold Auer and Jeremy Black discovered in London the original painting inventory commissioned by Prince Eugene's heir in 1736.⁸⁴ They published a copy and it lists 298 paintings and includes details like each artist, the painting's medium and measurements, as well as each painting's exact location at either Prince Eugene's city palace or at the Belvedere. Garas published again on the issue of Carloni's authorship of the Lower Belvedere's Marble Hall's ceiling fresco in 1986.⁸⁵ Also in 1986, Michael Krapf looked closely at the architecture of Prince Eugene's stables in *Prinz Eugen der Edle Ritter*.⁸⁶ Nineteen eighty-six also marks the year that an exhibition was held at Schloss Hof between April 22 to October 26 to honor Prince Eugene's career and comprehensive patronage.⁸⁷ Only two years later, Gottfried Mraz published the second art-historical book to look at the Belvedere and its interiors.⁸⁸ It builds upon the Aurenhammer's *Das Belvedere in Wien: Bauwerk Menschen Geschichte* from 1971 and considers briefly how the prince's international background influenced his vast collections. Also in 1988, Karl Gutkas and Erich Zöllner edited a volume of papers that were presented at two conferences by historians and art

⁸³ Gerda Mraz, *Prinz Eugen: sein Leben, sein Wirken, seine Zeit* (Vienna: Brandstätter, 1985).

⁸⁴ Auer and Black, "Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens."

⁸⁵ Garas, "Zu Leben und Werk des Carlo Innocenzo Carlone (1686-1775)," 8.

⁸⁶ Michael Krapf, *Prinz Eugen der Edle Ritter* (Wien: Österreichische Galerie, 1986).

⁸⁷ *Prinz Eugen und das Barocke Österreich*, Ausstellung der Republik Österreich und des Landes Niederösterreich. Marchfeldschlösser Schlosshof und Niederweiden 22. April bis 26. Oktober 1986 (Vienna: Kuratorium zur Veranstaltung der Ausstellung, 1986).

⁸⁸ Mraz, *Belvedere: Schloß und Park des Prinzen Eugen*.

historians in 1983 and 1986. It is titled *Österreich und die Osmanen- Prinz Eugen und seine Zeit*.⁸⁹ In this series, the Belvedere's paintings and frescoes are discussed briefly by Thomas Karl in the context of high Baroque art in Austria, while Wilhelm Georg Rizzi analyses the prince's activities as an architectural patron.⁹⁰ Finally, also in 1988, Timothy Newberry and Peter Cannon-Brookes published *The Framing of Prince Eugene's Collection*.⁹¹ It analyzes the original gilded frames that Italian craftsmen made *in situ* at the Belvedere and which still adorn most of Prince Eugene's paintings in Turin.

Following the strong scholarly interest in Prince Eugene during the 1980s, which is a decade that marked 300 years since the victorious Battle of Vienna and 250 years after the prince's death, the 1990s produced fewer studies that are related specifically to the Belvedere or its interior decoration. One year after Georg Piltz's biography on Prince Eugene from 1991, Jakob Werner submitted his *Diplomarbeit* to the University of Vienna and it analyzes Santino Bussi's oeuvre, including an analysis of the elaborate stuccos at the Belvedere.⁹² In 1993,

⁸⁹ Erich Zöllner et al., eds., *Österreich und die Osmanen--Prinz Eugen und seine Zeit*, Schriften des Institutes für Österreichkunde 51/52 (Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1988).

⁹⁰ Thomas Karl, "Die Malerei in Österreich im Zeitalter des Hochbarock ('86)," in *Österreich und die Osmanen- Prinz Eugen und seine Zeit* (Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1988), 239–56; Wilhelm Georg Rizzi, "Prinz Eugen als Bauherr ('86)," in *Österreich und die Osmanen- Prinz Eugen und seine Zeit* (Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1988), 230–38.

⁹¹ Timothy Newberry and Peter Cannon-Brookes, "The Framing of Prince Eugene's Collection," *The International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship*, no. 7 (1988): 45–56.

⁹² Bussi was the most sought-after stucco specialist in central Europe in the early eighteenth century. Having pleased Prince Eugene with the stuccos at the winter palace that were executed between 1698 and 1701, Bussi worked at the Lower Belvedere between 1714 to 1716. Also in 1714, Bussi rose to the rank of *Hofstukkateur*, or court stuccoist at the Habsburg court. In addition to the stuccos that adorn the Marble Hall, Bussi designed ornament in the Marble Gallery and on the vaults of the Lower

Wolfgang Prohaska discussed briefly Francesco Solimena's (1657-1747) work that the prince commissioned for the Belvedere in the exhibition catalogue *Barock in Neapel: Kunst zur Zeit der Österreichischen Vizekönige*.⁹³ This study follows Ferdinando Bologna's brief dialogue on Solimena's paintings for Prince Eugene that was published already in 1958.⁹⁴ In 1998 and 2000, Carlo Milano published on Prince Eugene's seven mythological sculptures and two saints at the Belvedere by Domenico Parodi (1672-1642).⁹⁵ In the *Festschrift* dedicated to Garas and published in 1999, Matsche agrees strongly with Garas' attribution concerning Carloni over Altomonte in the Marble Hall at the Lower Belvedere.⁹⁶ Also in 1999, Cornelia Diekamp published on the paintings which the prince had hung on the walls of the Upper Belvedere's audience chamber.⁹⁷ This study offers an iconographical interpretation of the prince's paintings, just like Diekamp's second

Belvedere's cabinets. Bussi later created stuccos at the Upper Belvedere in thirteen chambers. In the Upper Belvedere's grand entry stairwell, Bussi also conceived of monumental wall panels that glorify the prince. Bussi spent more than a decade working on the Upper Belvedere stuccos between 1722 and 1733. See Georg Piltz, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Weg und Werk des edlen Ritters: Biografie* (Berlin: Verlag Neues Leben, 1991); Jakob Werner, "Santino Bussi 1664-1736" (Diplomarbeit, Wien, Universität Wien, 1992).

⁹³ Wolfgang Prohaska, "53. Auferstehung Christi (Francesco Solimena)," in *Barock in Neapel: Kunst zur Zeit der österreichischen Vizekönige* (Napoli: Electa, 1993), 242–45; Wolfgang Prohaska, "54. Aurora entführt Kephalus (Francesco Solimena)," in *Barock in Neapel: Kunst zur Zeit der österreichischen Vizekönige* (Napoli: Electa, 1993), 246–47.

⁹⁴ Ferdinando Bologna, *Francesco Solimena* (Napoli: Arte Tipografica, 1958), 165, 192–93, 195–97.

⁹⁵ Carlo Milano, "Disegni di Domenico Parodi per le statue del Belvedere di Vienna," *Bollettino dei musei civici genovesi* 18.1996 (1998), 52/53/54 (1998): 99–102; Carlo Milano, "Domenico Parodi in Austria: una carta d'archivio ed alcune notizie," *Studi di storia delle arti, Istituto di Storia dell'Arte, Università di Genova* 9.1997/1999(2000) (2000): 354–59.

⁹⁶ Matsche, "Mythologische Heldenapotheosen in Deckengemälden Wiener Adelspaläste des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts."

⁹⁷ Cornelia Diekamp, "Cinque nature morte di Jan Davidsz. de Heem e la sua cerchia ambientate nel Belvedere del Principe Eugenio, 1," *Labyrinthos* 18.1999, no. 35/36 (1999): 117–69.

article on the same subject that *Labyrinthos* published shortly thereafter in 2001.⁹⁸ I will discuss these publications in more detail, in the following section related to chapter three specifically.

In 2002, Ulrike Seeger published on Prince Eugene's paintings from the Belvedere that Charles Emmanuel III purchased in 1741.⁹⁹ In 2003, Maria Auböck edited the first significant book on the Belvedere of the twenty-first century.¹⁰⁰ Its focus is Girard's gardens and came out following their extensive restoration to the original design. One year later, Seeger published *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen: Entstehung, Gestalt, Funktion und Bedeutung*,¹⁰¹ It analyzes Prince Eugene's city palace and the Belvedere, providing currently the most secure dates and accurate attributions in the art-historical literature that is related to both palaces.¹⁰² While Seeger provides many more specifics about the Belvedere's architecture and interiors than were made available in the previous literature, her inquiry is bound by traditional and hierarchical methodologies that undermine her main argument which claims dubiously that the prince's city palace is ranked higher than the Belvedere. This author also neglects to consider how the prince's two palaces in Vienna are related to his grand political and broad cultural

⁹⁸ Cornelia Diekamp, "Cinque nature morte di Jan Davidsz de Heem e la sua cerchia ambientate nel Belvedere del Principe Eugenio," *Labyrinthos* 20, 2001, no. 39/40 (2001): 41–101.

⁹⁹ Ulrike Seeger, "Nuove ricerche sugli acquisti fatti da Carlo Emanuele III re di Sardegna nelle collezione d'arte appartenute al principe Eugenio di Savoia," *Studi Piemontesi* 31 (2002): 321–39.

¹⁰⁰ Auböck, Ludwig, and Gregor, *Das Belvedere*.

¹⁰¹ Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*.

¹⁰² Yet it should be noted that Seeger does not engage in a debate about the figurative fresco's authorship at the Lower Belvedere in the Marble Hall and credits it to Altomonte by citing the Aurenhammers. Seeger, 293.

ambitions. Two years after this study, Seeger published *Belvedere: Prince Eugene of Savoy's Garden Palace* that lacks scholarly notes and is written for the general public.¹⁰³

In 2005, Diekamp published yet again on Prince Eugene's painting collection. Diekamp reconstructs the display of easel paintings in the Upper Belvedere's *Bilder Saal* and engages in a discussion about how Retzer's translation of the 1737 sale catalogue is related to the Belvedere or city palace's painting display.¹⁰⁴ In 2007, Diekamp published on the same subject again in *La galleria del principe Eugenio di Savoia nel Belvedere Superiore a Vienna. Storia e ricostruzione*.¹⁰⁵ This article greatly strengthens the author's previous discussion because it also includes an analysis of the detailed inventory that Zanetti and Bertoli drew up already in 1736. Still in 2005, Diekamp published on the iconographical meaning of Prince Eugene's painting by Cornelis de Heem (1631-1695) that was displayed in the Belvedere's audience chamber.¹⁰⁶ In the same year, Prince Eugene's patronage of Carloni is addressed by Krapf in *You are Gods on Earth"- Carlo Innocenzo Carlone paints for Prince Eugene of Savoy's Belvedere in Vienna*.¹⁰⁷ This article looks closely at Carloni's figurative frescoes' iconography

¹⁰³ Seeger, *Belvedere: Prince Eugene of Savoy's Garden Palace*.

¹⁰⁴ Cornelia Diekamp, "Die Sammlung eines Prinzen: zur Geschichte der Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen nach 1736 mit einer Rekonstruktion des 'Bilder-Saales' im Oberen Belvedere," *Belvedere: Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 11, no. 2 (2005): 4–43 & 92–116.

¹⁰⁵ Diekamp, "La galleria del principe Eugenio di Savoia nel Belvedere Superiore a Vienna: storia e ricostruzione."

¹⁰⁶ Cornelia Diekamp, "Lettura iconografica di una natura morte di Cornelis de Heem appartenuta al Principe Eugenio di Savoia," *Studi Piemontesi* 34.2005 (2005): 41–65.

¹⁰⁷ Krapf, "You Are Gods on Earth"- Carlo Innocenzo Carlone Paints for Prince Eugene of Savoy's Belvedere in Vienna."

at the Upper Belvedere, while Helmut-Eberhard Paulus's article from 2007 analyzes the iconography of the Belvedere's orangery.¹⁰⁸

In 2009, nearly half a century after Haskell's declaration concerning Prince Eugene's status as Europe's greatest private art patron, Rudolf Wagner's *Diplomarbeit* from the University of Vienna first summarizes and characterizes the prince's patronage comprehensively.¹⁰⁹ In the following year, *Prince Eugene: General-Philosopher and Art Lover* achieves a universal approach to the prince's all-encompassing patronage through a series of articles.¹¹⁰ The Belvedere Museum published this book in conjunction with an exhibition hosted at the Belvedere between February 11 to June, 6, 2010. The most recent scholarly analysis of the Belvedere's architecture was also published in 2010. Petar Stephan's *Das Obere Belvedere in Wien: architektonisches Konzept und Ikonographie; das Schloss des Prinzen Eugen als Abbild seines Selbstverständnisses* isolates the artistic achievements at the Upper Belvedere, and as clearly indicated in the title, focuses solely on the Hildebrandt's architecture and its iconography.¹¹¹

The most recent art-historical inquiries that concern the Belvedere's outfitting look closely at Prince Eugene's sponsorship of painters and his collection

¹⁰⁸ Paulus, "Zur Ikonologie des Abschlagbaren Pomeranzenhauses des Prinzen Eugen in Wien."

¹⁰⁹ Rudolf Wagner, "Prinz Eugen von Savoyen als Mäzen" (Diplomarbeit, Wien, Universität Wien, 2009).

¹¹⁰ Agnes Husslein-Arco, Marie-Louise von Plessen, and Schloss Belvedere (Vienna, Austria), eds., *Prince Eugene: General-Philosopher and Art Lover* (Vienna, Munich: Belvedere Museum, Hirmer, 2010).

¹¹¹ Peter Stephan, *Das Obere Belvedere in Wien: architektonisches Konzept und Ikonographie; das Schloss des Prinzen Eugen als Abbild seines Selbstverständnisses* (Wien: Böhlau, 2010).

of paintings, especially Italian works.¹¹² For example, Achille della Ragione's monograph on del Pò from 2011 mentions briefly Prince Eugene's patronage of three ceiling paintings for the Belvedere.¹¹³ Also in 2011, in her monograph on Solimena, Anette Hojer discusses Prince Eugene's *Aurora and Cephalus* that was

¹¹² The most significant studies that are dedicated to Prince Eugene's collection of Italian paintings include Retzer and Meusel, "4. Die Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen in Wien"; Vesme, "Sull' Acquisto fatto da Carlo Emanuele III RE Di Sardegna della Quadreria del Principe Eugenio di Savoia Ricerche Documentate"; Albert Ilg, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen als Kunstfreund* (Wien: K. Graeser, 1889); Theodor von Frimmel, "Mittheilung über die Gemäldesammlungen von Alt-Wien," in *Berichte und Mittheilungen des Alterthums-Vereins zu Wien*, vol. 26 (Wien: Prandel & Meyer, 1890), 31–40; Theodor von Frimmel, *Geschichte der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: G.H. Meyer, 1899); Heinz, "Die Italienischen Maler im Dienste des Prinzen Eugen"; Max Braubach, "Bauherr und Sammler," in *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Mensch und Schicksal*, vol. 5, 5 vols. (Wien: Böhlau, 1965), 13–115; Braubach, "Die Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen"; Spantigati, *Per una storia del collezionismo, Pittura fiamminga ed olandese in Galleria Sabauda; Il principe Eugenio di Savoia-Soissons uomo d'arme e collezionista: 150° anniversario di istituzione della Galleria Sabauda, 1832-1982.*; Spantigati, "Vecchie e nuove precisazioni sulla quadreria del principe Eugenio di Savoia"; Auer and Black, "Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens"; Diekamp, "Cinque nature morte di Jan Davidsz. de Heem e la sua cerchia ambientate nel Belvedere del Principe Eugenio, 1"; Diekamp, "Cinque nature morte di Jan Davidsz de Heem e la sua cerchia ambientate nel Belvedere del Principe Eugenio"; Diekamp, "Lettura iconografica di una natura morte di Cornelis de Heem appartenuta al Principe Eugenio di Savoia"; Diekamp, "Die Sammlung eines Prinzen: zur Geschichte der Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen nach 1736 mit einer Rekonstruktion des 'Bilder-Saales' im Oberen Belvedere"; Diekamp, "La galleria del principe Eugenio di Savoia nel Belvedere Superiore a Vienna: storia e ricostruzione"; Gudrun Swoboda, "Al seguito di condottieri e marescialli: la pittura bolognese nelle collezioni viennesi del Settecento," in *Crocevia e capitale della migrazione artistica: forestieri a Bologna e bolognesi nel mondo (secolo XVIII)*, by Sabine Frommel, Prima edizione (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2013), 129–42; Carlenrica Spantigati and Venaria Reale (Cultural complex), eds., *Le raccolte del principe Eugenio condottiero e intellettuale: collezionismo tra Vienna, Parigi e Torino nel primo Settecento* (Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 2012); Cornelia Diekamp, "Le commissioni del Principe Eugenio di Savoia a Francesco Solimena: La pala della Deposizione di Schloss Hof e due Modelli autografi, tra cui uno inedito," *News-Art: Notizie deal mondo dell'Arte*, January 22, 2017, <http://news-art.it/news/francesco-solimena-ed-eugenio-di-savoia--precisazioni-sulle.htm>; Silvia Tommaro, "Kunstagenten im Dienste Prinz Eugens von Savoyen," in *Travelling Objects: Botschafter des Kulturtransfers zwischen Italian und dem Habsburgerreich* (Wien: Böhlau, 2018), 89–114.

¹¹³ Achille della Ragione, *Giacomo del Pò: opera completa* (Napoli: Napoli arte, 2011), 31–32.

on display at the Upper Belvedere.¹¹⁴ Then, in 2012, an exhibition at the Palace of Venaria in Turin between April 5 and September 9 celebrated Prince Eugene's painting collection that Charles Emmanuel III purchased in 1741.¹¹⁵ One year later, and in conjunction with a conference on the migration of artists and artwork in the early modern period, Seeger published on Chiarini's frescoes in Vienna, including those at the Belvedere.¹¹⁶ Lechner's article in the publication titled *Prince Eugene's Winter Palace* from 2013 is the next study dedicated to understanding the Belvedere's iconography as manifested in its frescoes and Permoser's sculpture depicting the prince.¹¹⁷ In 2018, Silvia Tommaro covered the topic of the prince's patronage and collection of Italian painters in *Travelling Objects: Botschafter des Kulturtransfers zwischen Italien und dem Habsburgerreich*.¹¹⁸ Then, in 2020, Tommaro gave a paper at the conference *Painters, Intermediaries, and Venetian Artists in Vienna and Imperial Domains (1650-1750)* which the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia hosted.¹¹⁹ It investigates Zanetti and Bertoli's involvement in the sale of Prince Eugene's valuables and paintings after 1736.

The existing literature establishes a solid foundation of knowledge about the Belvedere's extravagant outfitting. It informs my dissertation on the Belvedere's material environment significantly and allows me to tie the palace's interior

¹¹⁴ Annette Hojer, *Francesco Solimena 1657 - 1747: Malerfürst und Unternehmer*, Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana 31 (München: Hirmer, 2011), 54–60.

¹¹⁵ Spantigati and Venaria Reale (Cultural complex), *Le raccolte del principe Eugenio condottiero e intellettuale*.

¹¹⁶ Seeger, "Gli interventi di Chiarini per il principe Eugenio a Vienna."

¹¹⁷ Georg Lechner, "Prince Eugene of Savoy: The Hercules and Apollo of His Time," in *Prince Eugene's Winter Palace* (Wien: Belvedere Museum, 2013), 99–107.

¹¹⁸ Tommaro, "Kunstagenten im Dienste Prinz Eugens von Savoyen."

¹¹⁹ Tommaro.

decoration to broader discussions that concern the global movement of artists and cultural material at the dawn of the long eighteenth century. My interdisciplinary concerns and perspectives are informed by recent trends in art-historical scholarship. For example, Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann has advocated for the global context of the geography, history, and theory of art in his publications since the early 2000s.¹²⁰ These interests underlie several recent studies centered on migrating artists. For example, David Young Kim addresses the issue of traveling Renaissance artists in relation to the reception and dissemination of artistic style in *The Traveling Artist in the Italian Renaissance: Geography, Mobility, and Style* from 2014.¹²¹ Also published in 2014, the collection of articles in *Art and Migration: Netherlandish Artists on the Move, 1400-1750* review the diaspora of Dutch and Flemish painters in Europe and its impact on the development of art during the early modern period.¹²² Focusing specifically on central Europe, Daniel Fulco studied Italian artists who painted frescoes in princely palaces in Germany in *Exuberant Apotheoses: Italian Frescoes in the Holy Roman Empire Visual Culture and Princely Power in the Age of Enlightenment* from 2016.¹²³ Based on Fulco's

¹²⁰ Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Elizabeth Pilliod, eds., *Time and Place: The Geohistory of Art, Histories of Vision* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005); Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann et al., eds., *Circulations in the Global History of Art, Studies in Art Historiography* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015).

¹²¹ David Young Kim, *The Traveling Artist in the Italian Renaissance: Geography, Mobility, and Style* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

¹²² Frits Scholten, Joanna Woodall, and Dulcia Meijers, eds., *Art and Migration: Netherlandish Artists on the Move, 1400-1750* = *Kunst En Migratie: Nederlandse Kunstenaars Op Drift, 1400-1750*, Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art = Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, volume/deel 63 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014).

¹²³ Daniel Fulco, *Exuberant Apotheoses: Italian Frescoes in the Holy Roman Empire; Visual Culture and Princely Power in the Age of Enlightenment*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, Volume 255 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016).

doctoral dissertation at the University of Illinois, this book includes an *Excursus* titled “Italo-Germanic Artistic Exchange and Collaboration” in which Fulco states that the work of Italian frescoists in Vienna deserves considerable scholarly attention.¹²⁴ Recently, in 2020, the scholarly articles in *Art, Mobility, and Exchange in Early Modern Tuscany and Eurasia* explore the cultural and artistic exchanges of the Medici Grand Dukes.¹²⁵ This book establishes firmly that early modern Europeans considered imported art objects to be tokens of global state power, and thus, like at Prince Eugene’s Belvedere, these objects were used to form ruler identity.

Exploring the practices of international artistic coexistence that Prince Eugene espoused during the outfitting of the Belvedere, my dissertation contributes to the current discussions that concern the reciprocity between art, politics, globalization, and cultural transmission during the eighteenth century. The first chapter focuses on Prince Eugene’s patronage of preeminent Bolognese *quadraturists* whom he “imported” from Italy to Vienna. Chiarini and Fanti’s frescoes at the Belvedere helped shape fresco painting north of the Alps during the late Baroque period. Chiarini and Fanti’s illusionistic ceiling and wall paintings expand a room’s physical boundaries. Of utmost importance is the perception of *quadratura* as a science, an illusionistic spectacle that engages viewers by challenging their perception of objective reality. Therefore, this chapter considers how the Belvedere’s *quadratura* is related to Prince Eugene’s collection of

¹²⁴ Fulco, 502.

¹²⁵ Francesco Freddolini and Marco Musillo, eds., *Art, Mobility, and Exchange in Early Modern Tuscany and Eurasia* (New York: Routledge, 2020).

Bolognese easel-paintings, and moreover, his collection of scientific instruments and literature on optics. My study demonstrates that the unique imagery is an expression of the prince's own intellect, knowledge, power, and ability to govern. It adorned the great reception halls in both the Lower and Upper Belvedere, the vault of the prince's bedchamber at the Lower Belvedere, and finally, at the Upper Belvedere, the public garden hall, known as the *Sala Terrena*, the *Bilder Saal*, and the *Gemahlenes Cabinet*.

Chapter one begins with a visual analysis and discussion of the dates of Chiarini and Fanti's *quadratura* frescoes at the Lower and Upper Belvedere (figs. 32-35). It then considers how the Belvedere's illusionistic imagery enhanced the marvelous and astounding displays of artistic and scientific prowess at the garden palace, and moreover, how *quadratura* presents the prince as an enlightened patron on the cutting edge of science. The important relationship between art, science, and political power at the princely courts of Europe between 1550 and 1750 is the subject of the 2019 exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹²⁶ Yet no scholar who has published previously about the Belvedere considers how Chiarini and Fanti's illusionistic *quadratura* communicated Prince Eugene's high rank and intellect to prominent international guests and elite visitors at the Belvedere. In fact, Seeger comments that *quadratura* is the "*nachdrücklichste Rangabstufung*" of all forms of interior decoration at the prince's palaces.¹²⁷ This

¹²⁶ Wolfram Koeppe, *Making Marvels: Science and Splendor at the Courts of Europe : [Exhibition, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, from November 25, 2019-March 1, 2020]* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2019).

¹²⁷ Translation: "absolute lowest rank." See Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 302.

judgment repeats a long-standing art-historical bias that favors figurative imagery and ignores the prince's fascination with the knowledge of how to successfully compose illusionistic paintings. It also overlooks Prince Eugene's embrace of contemporary advancements at the forefront of scientific achievement. This chapter reclaims the meaningful contribution of *quadraturists* in the realm of fresco painting in Baroque Austria, as *quadratura* has been chronically and unjustly ranked below figurative painting in the art-historical literature dating from the twentieth century. The only exception is Rudolph Wittkower, who credits Chiarini personally with keeping the tradition of Bolognese *quadratura* "alive" during the late Baroque period and states that it was among the city's most important artistic exports by the eighteenth century.¹²⁸ Chiarini's complex architectural illusions at the Belvedere bear witness to Wittkower's claim.

Situated at the intersection of eighteenth-century globalization and cultural diplomacy, the Upper Belvedere's *chinoiserie* interiors that were decorated between 1719 and 1723 are the focus of chapter two. Vibrant Asian silk, satin, and damask, as well as colorful Indian chintz, adorned the walls and furnishings abundantly to attest proudly to the prince's prominent status and global authority as the governor of the Austrian Netherlands (1716-1724).¹²⁹ Despite governing in absentia and remaining in Vienna, the very high position enabled the prince to gain direct access to rare luxury Asian wares that the Ostend East Indian Company

¹²⁸ Rudolph Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600 to 1750*, 5th. ed., The Pelican History of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 474.

¹²⁹ While there are no original textiles belonging to Prince Eugene at the Belvedere today, after 1724, the prince used his cache of left-over Asian silk and Indian chintz from the Belvedere to furnish Schloss Hof. Today, the remnants of these textiles are stored at the MAK collection in Vienna, as discussed in detail in the chapter.

imported. For example, he collected painted Chinese silk that was, as per one scholar's in-depth research on early modern fabrics, extraordinarily grand and a "*seltene kostbarkeit*" in the early eighteenth century.¹³⁰ The room in the southwest tower of the Upper Belvedere is named the *Gemahlenes Cabinet*, where the prince likely consigned this remarkably expensive fabric (fig. 36). The controversial maritime venture's fate and prosperity relied mainly upon Prince Eugene's support at the imperial court in Vienna, and also, his sponsorship upon the wider European political stage. In fact, in the earliest years of the Ostend Company's formation, Prince Eugene corresponded regularly with two French merchants named Merveille, father and son (life dates unknown), who acted as early investors in the Ostend Company and as the supercargo, who are the ship owner's primary representatives and ride onboard during overseas voyages.¹³¹ Prince Eugene also corresponded with Pietro Proli (1671-1733), Jacques de Pret (life dates unknown), Paulo de Kimpe (life dates unknown), Jacques Baut (life dates unknown), Paulo Jacopo Cloots (1672-1725), Jacobus Maelcamp (1685-1741), and Thomas Ray (life dates unknown), who he later named the seven directors of the Ostend Company in 1722.¹³² These individuals commissioned for Prince Eugene, in

¹³⁰ Translation: „rare treasure.“ See Anna Jolly and Abegg-Stiftung, eds., *Fürstliche Interieurs: Dekorationstextilien des 18. Jahrhunderts; [Auswahlkatalog anlässlich der Sonderausstellung "Fürstliche Interieurs. Dekorationstextilien des 18. Jahrhunderts"; Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung, 24.4. - 13.11.2005]*, Riggisberger Berichte 12 (Sonderausstellung "Fürstliche Interieurs. Dekorationstextilien des 18. Jahrhunderts," Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2005), 10.

¹³¹ A supercargo is employed by the owner of the ship's cargo to ride on board and oversee and sell the cargo. For more details on the Merveilles' specific role and duties within the GIC, see Gijs Dreijer, "Bargaining for Shelter: An Entrepreneurial Analysis of the Ostend Company, 1714-40" (Masters Thesis, Leiden, The Netherlands, Leiden University, 2017), 86–107.

¹³² The directors are named in *Lettres patentes d'octroy accordées par sa Majesté impériale et catholique pour le terme de trente années à la Compagnie générale à établir*

addition to vibrant chintz and luxury textiles, one of the earliest sets of armorial porcelain plates to ever be made. The prince placed them on permanent display at the Upper Belvedere alongside his most extravagant table wares known as *Prunkgeschirr* (fig. 37). Today, there are only four extant plates from the original set (figs. 38-44). This chapter demonstrates that by gaining direct access to rare and luxurious goods from Asia via Ostend, Prince Eugene helped to shape a new aesthetic culture of luxury in Vienna through his extensive application of *chinoiserie* at the Upper Belvedere.

The modern scholarship on armorial porcelain is still emerging because traditional art history has relegated it unnecessarily to a lower-ranking decorative art.¹³³ Yet David Sanctuary Howard's *Chinese Armorial Porcelain* from 1974

dans les Pays-Bas Autrichiens pour le commerce & la navigation aux Indes (Brussels: chez Eugene Henry Fricx, 1723), 13. These prince's correspondence is housed at the Österreichische Staatsarchiv in Vienna, Austria and at the City Archives in Antwerp, Belgium. In *Bargaining for Shelter*, Dreijer asserts that Prince Eugene wrote seventy-five letters between 1717-1723 to merchants associated with the GIC in Ostend. The Merveille family received fifty-seven letters from the prince, Maelcamp received seven letters, De Pret one, Kimpe two, Ray three, and Cloots received a total of five letters. See Dreijer, "Bargaining for Shelter: An Entrepreneurial Analysis of the Ostend Company, 1714-40," 91.

¹³³ For scholarship on Chinese and European armorial porcelain, see David Sanctuary Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, vol. I, II vols. (London: Faber and Faber, 1974); D.F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinese Export Porcelain* (London and New York: Faber and Faber, Ltd. and Pitman Publishing Corp., 1974); Clare Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain: Patterns of Exchange: Additions to the Helena Woolworth McCann Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; [distributed by New York Graphic Society, 1974]; Elinor Gordon, *Collecting Chinese Export Porcelain*, 1st ed (New York: Universe Books, 1977); Robert Finlay, "The Pilgrim Art: The Culture of Porcelain in World History," *Journal of World History* 9, no. 2 (Fall 1998): 141–87; David Sanctuary Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, vol. II, II vols. (Chippenham: Heirloom & Howard, 2003); Clare Le Corbeiller and Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, "Chinese Export Porcelain," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, New Series* 60, no. 3 (Winter 2003): 5–60; Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, ed., *Fragile Diplomacy: Meissen Porcelain for European Courts ca. 1710-63* (New Haven: Published for The Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, Design, and Culture, New York, by Yale University Press, 2007); Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History*, The California World History Library 11 (Berkeley: University

established that armorials were highly coveted and expressed magnificence to contemporary viewers in the eighteenth century.¹³⁴ Accordingly, apart from Seeger's brief note about a lone plate that is now stored in Turin, these armorial plates are absent in all the literature related to Prince Eugene's garden palace.¹³⁵ An explanation for the lack of interest in Prince Eugene's armorial set is explained by the fact that three of the plates were not widely known to exist until their auction in 2019. The existence of four plates from the same set provides a novel opportunity to investigate how armorial porcelain functioned in central Europe as part of a permanent display during a grand banquet.

The display of porcelain as an expression of magnificence has a long history in central Europe. Yet the scholarship on this topic and concerning imperial Vienna in the early years of the eighteenth century is only just emerging. As such, the recent conference at the University of Vienna titled "China in Austria: Reception and Adaptation of East Asian Art in Central Europe," which the department of Art History hosted on June 29, 2018, was one of the first scholarly attempts to explore questions related to *chinoiserie* and porcelain cabinets in the imperial city during the early modern period. These topics are addressed in chapter two, which contributes to the growing scholarship on the importance of Asian luxuries to interior design during the early eighteenth century in central Europe. Prince Eugene certainly purchased Asian porcelain and textiles before his governorship

of California Press, 2010); Kate Smith, "Manly Objects? Gendering Armorial Porcelain Wares," in *The East India Company at Home, 1757-1857* (London: UCL Press, 2018), 113–30.

¹³⁴ Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, 1974; Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, 2003.

¹³⁵ Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 151.

of the Austrian Netherlands began in 1716. They may have even adorned the Lower Belvedere's interiors.¹³⁶ However, this chapter is focused on the Upper Belvedere's *chinoiserie* interiors only because of their unique connection to Prince Eugene's authority in the Netherlands and over the early formation and success of the Ostend East India Company.¹³⁷ Chapter two establishes that the Upper Belvedere's outfitting paved the way for similar and sumptuous displays of Asian luxuries in the imperial city as an expression of international authority. For example, Empress Maria Theresa's fantastic Far Eastern cabinets at the imperial Schönbrunn castle.

Chapter three investigates and reconstructs Prince Eugene's painting collection at the Lower and Upper Belvedere. During the first three decades of the eighteenth century, the prince acquired 220 easel, ceiling, and *sopraporte* (overdoor) paintings for display throughout the garden palace. Dating between the late Renaissance and contemporary Baroque period, the prince's paintings are primarily landscapes, genre scenes, and still-lives by respected Netherlandish artists. He also owned large Italian history paintings, especially by Bolognese

¹³⁶ See my brief discussion on page 161 of chapter two.

¹³⁷ Before 1716, Prince Eugene relied on intermediaries to purchase luxury Asian wares and only after they had arrived in Europe. For example, Prince Eugene erected an Asian porcelain cabinet at his city palace and his letters to Count Johann Wenzel Gallas (1669-1719) in London testify to the difficulty in obtaining matching or suitable porcelain for the purpose of display. Moreover, the prince's letters concerning textiles at the Lower Belvedere indicate they originated primarily from Europe, including wallcoverings and silk upholstery that was produced in Milan and London. The prince's letter concerning fabrics produced in Milan is dated July 24, 1708 and addressed to the Count Pietro di Mellarède (1659-1730). This letter is stored in Turin at the Archivio di Stato under Lettere principi diversi, Mazzo 73. The prince's letter concerning English silk is dated April 18, 1710 and addressed to Count Gallas in London. This letter is stored at the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv in the section Kriegsarchiv under AFA 1710, Niederlande I-VII, Karton 286. Short excerpts from both letters are published in Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 455, 459.

artists. Integral to the Belvedere's outstanding reputation and Prince Eugene's prestige, the large collection was exhibited in carefully curated spaces near to botanically accurate studies of plants and vivid animal portraits. Prince Eugene commissioned the local court artists to render rare living specimens that he owned. They include Johann Kunstner (1672-1733), Phillip Ferdinand de Hamilton (1664-1750), Ignaz Heinitz von Heinzenthal (1657-1742), and Franz Werner Tamm (1658-1724). Moreover, in Habsburg Naples, Prince Eugene contracted del Pò and Solimena, the most sought-after artists working in that city. Pò created three allegorical ceiling paintings that are customized to the Upper Belvedere and glorify the patron in the *appartement de parade*. Solimena's mythological ceiling painting crowned the *Spiegel Zimmer* and his large altarpiece adorned the palace chapel. While the Lower Belvedere's landscape paintings emphasized principally the function of the garden palace as a site of leisure, international paintings at the Upper Belvedere expressed powerfully that Prince Eugene enjoyed far-reaching influence, achieved immeasurable prosperity, and possessed intellectual and cultural authority. The prince's sophisticated collection represents that he spent his money well and in doing so, he transformed the garden palace interiors into a magnificent arena where audiences could be performed on behalf of the Holy Roman Emperors.

As already stated, apart from ceiling paintings and *sopraporte* that are not movable and part of the Belvedere's permanent decoration, Princess Maria Anna Victoria of Savoy sold this entire painting collection and removed it from the palace indefinitely. In 1965, Braubach was the first modern scholar to discuss critically the

painting collection because he discovered Retzer's translation of the sale catalogue. Braubach, who was not aware of the 1736 inventory that Auer and Black later discovered in London in 1986, understood that the catalogue that Retzer had translated and printed to represent the entirety of Prince Eugene's painting collection. He emphasized Prince Eugene's penchant for Italian works by Bolognese masters, while recognizing that the majority are of Netherlandish origin. Braubach notes that the prince's great wealth, and primarily, his many diplomatic connections across Europe, were the key to acquiring the large collection that was filled with works by both old masters and renowned contemporary artists. The following studies to look critically at the prince's paintings were published by Diekamp. The first two from 1999 and 2001, which I mentioned previously, are centered on the iconographical meaning of the paintings depicting various fruits, fungi, vegetables and flowers that were displayed in the *Audienz Zimmer*.¹³⁸ Diekamp dissects the botanically accurate specimens in these paintings while claiming to have uncovered a complex iconographical message that is communicated through religious and classical references.¹³⁹ She argues dubiously that there is Calvinist and Catholic symbolism in the imagery which is a metaphor for religious reconciliation when shown together and near a battle painting with defeated Turks. Diekamp contends that there is a message about how peace is

¹³⁸ Diekamp, "Cinque nature morte di Jan Davidsz. de Heem e la sua cerchia ambientate nel Belvedere del Principe Eugenio, 1"; Diekamp, "Cinque nature morte di Jan Davidsz de Heem e la sua cerchia ambientate nel Belvedere del Principe Eugenio."

¹³⁹ Diekamp, "Cinque nature morte di Jan Davidsz. de Heem e la sua cerchia ambientate nel Belvedere del Principe Eugenio, 1"; Diekamp, "Cinque nature morte di Jan Davidsz de Heem e la sua cerchia ambientate nel Belvedere del Principe Eugenio"; Diekamp, "Lettura iconografica di una natura morte di Cornelis de Heem appartenuta al Principe Eugenio di Savoia," 41.

linked to abundance and prosperity that is clearly legible due to these being the key themes in Prince Eugene's life-long quest against the Ottomans, and thus, they are appropriate for his *Audienz Zimmer*. There are no primary literary accounts relating to the Belvedere or to Prince Eugene specifically that offer any confirmation that her complex interpretation was the patron's intention or that of his interior designer du Plessy. Furthermore, Diekamp's reconstruction of the chamber is inaccurate. I do not accept Diekamp's proposal. It neglects to consider the botanically accurate imagery's relationship to exotic specimens in the palace gardens which Tamm represented in the room's four *sopraporte*. Finally, it does not consider how the room's paintings by Titian, Mignon, Heem, and Courtois simply represent the very best of what was available for purchase in the prince's lifetime.

In two more studies published in 2005 and 2007, Diekamp shifts her focus to Prince Eugene's paintings in the *Bilder Saal* at the Upper Belvedere.¹⁴⁰ They determine that Kleiner's depictions are both accurate and reliable and can be used to confirm the subject matter and exact placement of Prince Eugene's paintings throughout the entire palace, and indeed, the artwork throughout the entire structure. In addition to discussing the provenance of these paintings in detail, Diekamp concludes that only minor changes were made to the organization of artwork at the Upper Belvedere during Prince Eugene's lifetime. Accepting Diekamp's conclusion, my study also relies on Kleiner's imagery as a reliable tool.

¹⁴⁰ Diekamp, "Die Sammlung eines Prinzen: zur Geschichte der Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen nach 1736 mit einer Rekonstruktion des 'Bilder-Saales' im Oberen Belvedere"; Diekamp, "La galleria del principe Eugenio di Savoia nel Belvedere Superiore a Vienna: storia e ricostruzione."

There were five Neapolitan paintings at the Upper Belvedere, along with an additional twenty-eight Italian paintings in the *Bilder Saal* and *Cabinet*; they are undeniably among the most admired and expensive in the prince's entire collection of art.¹⁴¹ It is no surprise, therefore, that they remain the focus of countless studies and exhibitions related to Prince Eugene's patronage and his painting collection. Art-historical bias also favors the Italian canon, encouraging scholars to look most closely at those works in the literature on the Belvedere. For example, Seeger's survey of the Belvedere excludes an analysis of the *Cabinet's* function due to the low rank of its imagery in the hierarchy of genres.¹⁴² Yet Prince Eugene owned far more northern European than Italian paintings, surpassing the Italian works in their sheer numbers, if not in size or in value.¹⁴³ An abundance of primary documents related to Prince Eugene's Italian paintings and commissions, however, like the canon that favors Renaissance and Baroque art of Italian origin, encouraged art historians to focus primarily on the significance of Italian paintings to the Belvedere. Undoubtedly, in Prince Eugene's lifetime, his penchant for Italian art was well-known and Zanotti declared that the patron was, first and foremost, a

¹⁴¹ While for the price of Solimena's two paintings is unknown, for del Pò's works, he paid 600 "ducati napolitana" on July 6, 1718 for one painting and 900 "ducati napolitana" on June 8, 1719 for a second. A controversy surrounds the unknown price of the third painting; see Tommaro, "Kunstagenten im Dienste Prinz Eugens von Savoyen," 94–95. A contemporary discussion about the prices of Prince Eugene's paintings can be found in Küchelbecker, *Alle neueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter, Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupfern ans Licht gegeben*, 785, 788.

¹⁴² Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 389.

¹⁴³ Auer and Black, "Ein neu entdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens," 337–42.

lover of Bolognese art.¹⁴⁴ This chapter does not intend to diminish the great significance of Italian paintings and commissions to the Upper Belvedere. Rather, it suggests that Prince Eugene's Italian artwork should not overshadow the other elements in the decoration that attest to the collector's complex interests. Prince Eugene's choice to present a range of Neapolitan, Bolognese, Dutch, and Flemish paintings throughout the *appartement de parade* expressed a desire to represent visually that he had access to the upper-most echelons of the political and cultural elite. It emphasized, that even from Vienna, his influence in foreign Habsburg territories was commanding. Moreover, one must consider that the Catholic prince preferred the artistry of Catholic painters and reserved it for the palace's vaults.

This chapter reconstructs the placement of paintings at the Upper Belvedere in a comprehensive manner and offers the conclusion that a compendium of international imagery and the variety of genres elevated the material environment and communicated clear messages about Prince Eugene's high status, international authority, and multi-faceted intellect. In part one of chapter three, I discuss the painting inventory from 1736 and its relationship to the sale catalogue from 1737 in more detail. Part two of this chapter is dedicated to the exhibition of paintings at the Lower Belvedere. Part three considers the display of paintings at the Upper Belvedere only. While the Lower Belvedere's paintings emphasized principally the function of the garden palace as a site of leisure, the international paintings at the Upper Belvedere expressed powerfully that Prince Eugene enjoyed far-reaching influence, achieved immeasurable prosperity, and

¹⁴⁴ Giampietro Zanotti, *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina di Bologna, aggregata all'istituto delle scienze e dell'arti*, vol. 1 (Bologna, 1739), 275.

possessed intellectual authority. Prince Eugene's painting collection conveys that he knew how to spend money well and in doing so, he became the most ambitious art collector and patron in imperial Vienna during the late Baroque period.

Enhancing the scholarship on the reciprocity between art, politics, and globalization in early modern central Europe, my dissertation is the first study to investigate specifically the significance of artistic mobility and cultural transfer to Prince Eugene's Belvedere. Prince Eugene used his immense wealth and prominent political position to move a multiplicity of artists and art objects across cultural boundaries and political borders to be unified and placed on display in Vienna. By understanding how these art objects communicated directly with the viewer at the prince's magnificent garden palace, and also, recognizing that they elevated the surroundings, my dissertation acknowledges that the Belvedere's material environment impacted human behavior and social practices in Habsburg Austria. By analyzing the Belvedere's unique interiors and by engaging in discourses on early modern material culture, this study lays bare that the evolution of late baroque art in central Europe is connected intimately to the phenomenon of artistic mobility. Moreover, this study affirms that rare and imported art objects from around the globe helped to facilitate diplomatic dialogue and cultural exchange among early modern Europeans.

CHAPTER ONE

Magnificence and Illusionistic Spectacle: Bolognese *Quadratura* Frescoes

Marcantonio Chiarini and Gaetano Fanti

The successful execution of *quadratura* requires the hand of a specialist who studied fresco painting and has comprehensive knowledge of mathematics and geometric perspective.¹ Marcantonio Chiarini, the foremost master of this advanced technique developed in early modern Bologna, designed *quadratura* for Prince Eugene. The prince's first encounter with Chiarini's imagery was at Palazzo Archinto in Milan, where the artist painted in 1695 and where Prince Eugene visited between October and November 1696.² By the late seventeenth century, Chiarini was one of the last living fresco painters from the prominent Bolognese school of *quadratura* who still enjoyed a top reputation for rendering optical laws with accuracy and precision. He learned his skill from two pupils of the renowned quadraturist Agostino Mitelli (1609-1660), namely Francesco Quaini (1611-1680) and Domenico Santi (1621-1694). Following the prince's invitation, Chiarini's

¹ Ingrid Sjöström, *Quadratura: Studies in Italian Ceiling Painting* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell international, 1978); Ulrike Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten in Österreich* (Wien: Böhlau, 1984).

² Bombs destroyed Palazzo Archinto during World War II. See Ulrike Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen: Entstehung, Gestalt, Funktion und Bedeutung* (Wien: Böhlau, 2004), 112–13.

frescoes laid the groundwork for important developments in Baroque ceiling painting in central European palaces.³ Therefore, it is no surprise that Giampietro Zanotti (1674-1765), the contemporary Bolognese artist and co-founder of the city's *Accademia Clementina*, dedicated an entire chapter to Chiarini in his *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina di Bologna*. The author singles out Chiarini's significant work for Prince Eugene.⁴ At the city palace, the artist first painted for the prince alongside Andrea Lanzani (1645-1712) and Giuseppe Gambarini (1680-1725), who also hail from Bologna. For this project, which began in 1697 and was executed in multiple phases through 1709, the prince also hired the skilled Italo-French painter Louis Doringy (1654-1742).⁵ Prince Eugene assigned them vaults in the city palace's highest-ranking chambers which include the state bedchamber and audience chamber (figs. 48-49). Prince Eugene's choice to decorate these very formal spaces with *quadratura* was novel in a city palace in Vienna before 1700.⁶ This corrects one scholar who concluded that Prince Eugene's choice was not unique.⁷

By the turn of the eighteenth century, Vienna became a hub for artists who had received formal training in the arts and mathematics in Bologna. They include

³ Betka Matsche-von Wicht, "Rangfragen in der Deckenmalerei," in *Ex Fumo Lucem. Baroque Studies in Honour of Klara Garas*, vol. 1 (Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), 303; Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 152.

⁴ Giampietro Zanotti, *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina di Bologna, aggregata all'istituto delle scienze e dell'arti*, vol. 1 (Bologna, 1739), 269–84.

⁵ Zanotti, 1:269–84.

⁶ Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 112, 152; Hellmut Lorenz, "Einige unbekannte Ansichten Salomon Kleiners aus dem Stadtpalast des Prinzen Eugen in Wien," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 40 (1987): 231–32.

⁷ Ulrike Grimm, "Die Dekorationen im Rastatter Schloß, 1700-1771" (Freiburg im Breisgau, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, 1978), 92.

Ludovico Burnacini (1636-1707) whose mastery of complex geometric principles led to a promotion as Vienna's chief theater engineer under Leopold I, and still under his successor, Josef I.⁸ This accomplished Bolognese quadraturist is the subject of *Grotesque Comedy: Ludovico Ottavio Burnacini*, a current exhibition at the Theater Museum in Vienna.⁹ It establishes that folly and fantasy dominated the theater and even the imperial court's grand banquets. In 1683, Burnacini created the first documented but temporary example of *quadratura* on a vault in Vienna, at the city's opera house.¹⁰ Shortly thereafter, in 1696, the Bolognese trained artists Domenico Egidio Rossi (1659-1715) and Antonio Beduzzi (1675-1735) designed and decorated the Czernin family's garden palace near Vienna with *quadratura*.¹¹ The following year, the same duo painted *quadratura* in a *Festsaal*, or ballroom, at the Viennese city palace of the Bolognese Count Aeneas Sylvius de Caprara (1631-1701).¹² Members of the Galli-Bibiena family also came from Bologna to Vienna to delight the Habsburg nobility with architectural illusions in the court's

⁸ Flora Biach-Schiffmann, *Giovanni und Ludovico Burnacini; Theater und Feste am Wiener Hofe* (Wien: Krystall-Verlag, 1931); Marcello Fagiolo, "Il Corpus delle scenografie gesuitiche di Sopron (1684-1710): la scena di Vienna tra i Burnacini e i Bibiena.," *I Bibiena, a cura di Daniela Galliani*, 2002, 15–30; Andrea Sommer-Mathis et al., eds., *Spettacolo barocco! Triumph des Theaters*, 1. Auflage (Wien, Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2016); Andrea Sommer-Mathis, "The Imperial Court Theater in Vienna from Burnacini to Galli Bibiena," *Music in Art / Research Center for Music Iconography*. 42, no. 1/2 (Spring/Fall 201) (2017): 71–96.

⁹ Rudi Risatti, *Groteske Komödie: in den Zeichnungen von Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini 1636-1707* (Wien: Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag, 2019).

¹⁰ Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten in Österreich*, 121–22; Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 112.

¹¹ Günter Passavant, *Studien über Domenico Egidio Rossi und seine baukünstlerische Tätigkeit innerhalb des süddeutschen und österreichischen Barock* (Karlsruhe: Braun, 1967), 200–201; Vera Nankova, "Rezension zu Passavant," *Umeni* 16 (1968): 308–214.

¹² Wilhelm Georg Rizzi, "Der Festsaal des Palais Caprara-Geymüller in Wien," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 43 (1989): 26–32.

theater during the eighteenth century.¹³ Andrea Pozzo (1642-1709), who is not Bolognese but from Trent, then under Austrian rule, also popularized illusionistic frescoes in Vienna at this time.¹⁴ Pozzo published a two-volume manual for *trompe-l'oeil* painting titled *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum* and dedicated it to Leopold I in 1693. His imagery still adorns the city's Jesuit university's church

¹³ For more on the Galli-Bibiena family in Vienna, see Franz Hadamowsky, *Die Familie Galli-Bibiena in Wien: Leben und Werk für das Theater* (Wien: Georg Prachner, 1962); Ulrike Nimeth, "Antonio Galli Bibienas Bühnenbilder für Wien; Fragen zum zeichnerischen Werk," ed. Barbara Balazova, *Generationen, Interpretationen, Konfrontationen*, 2007, 265–77; Martina Frank, "I Bibiena per i Gesuiti di Vienna," in *Crocevia e capitale della migrazione artistica a cura di Sabine Frommel*, 1 ed. (Bononia University Press, 2013), 313–26; Martina Frank, "Die Familie Galli Bibiena in Wien: Werkstatt und Auftraggeber," in *Barocke Kunst und Kultur im Donauraum; Beiträge zum Internationalen Wissenschaftskongress 9. - 13. April 2013 in Passau und Linz*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Petersburg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2014), 656–67; Martina Frank, "Skizzen, Zeichnungen und Druckgrafiken als Quellen für die Wiener Tätigkeit der Galli Bibiena," in *Spettacolo barocco! Triumph des Theaters* (Wien; Petersburg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2016), 150–67; Sommer-Mathis et al., *Spettacolo barocco! Triumph des Theaters*; Sommer-Mathis, "The Imperial Court Theater in Vienna from Burnacini to Galli Bibiena."

¹⁴ For more on Pozzo in Vienna, see Herbert Karner, "Rezeption des scheinarchitektonischen Werkes Andrea Pozzos in Mitteleuropa im 18. Jahrhundert" (Dissertation, Wien, Universität Wien, 1995); Ulrike Knall-Brskovsky, "Andrea Pozzos Ausstattung der Jesuitenkirche in Wien," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 40 (1987): 159–73; Wilhelm Georg Rizzi, "Ein unbekanntes Werk von Andrea Pozzo," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 33 (1980): 184–85; Rizzi, Wilhelm Georg, "Zur Baugeschichte der Kirche zu den Vierzehn Nothelfern im Lichtental. Eine Planung von Andrea Pozzo für den Fürsten von Liechtenstein," in *Von der Bauforschung zur Denkmalpflege. Festschrift für Alois Machatschek zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Martin Kubelik and Mario Schwarz (Wien: Phoibos Verlag, 1993), 219–44; Ingeborg Schemper-Sparholz, "Nachrichten über verlorene Werke von Rauchmiller, Stannetti, Lanzani und Pozzo bei den Trinitariern in Wien," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 38 (1985): 262–65; Helmut Lorenz, "Senza toccare le mura della chiesa: Andrea Pozzos Umgestaltung der Wiener Universitätskirche und die barocken 'Farbräume' in Mitteleuropa," in *Die Jesuiten in Wien: zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der österreichischen Ordensprovinz der "Gesellschaft Jesu" im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Herbert Kerner and Werner Telesko (Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), 63–74; Werner Telesko, "Das Freskenprogramm der Wiener Universitätskirche im Kontext jesuitischer Frömmigkeit," in *Die Jesuiten in Wien: zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der österreichischen Ordensprovinz der "Gesellschaft Jesu" im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Herbert Karner (Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), 75–91; Gustav Schörghofer, "Anmerkungen zur Kunst des Andrea Pozzos SJ am Beispiel der Jesuitenkirche-Universitätskirche in Wien," *Barockberichte. Informationsblätter des Salzburger Barockmuseums* 36/37 (2004): 489–95.

and a garden palace called Palais Lichtenstein, where Pozzo painted between 1703 and 1709. In other words, Prince Eugene's interest in illusionistic imagery and patronage of Chiarini was not novel in Vienna at the turn of the eighteenth century. This choice was fashionable, yet Prince Eugene understood *quadratura* to have a new authoritative meaning because Chiarini painted in his city palace's principal rooms in the *appartement de parade*.

Chiarini's status as the leading Bolognese master of *quadratura* indicates that Prince Eugene's ability to commission him must have greatly impressed his contemporaries, because they too shared an interest in the mathematically complex technique. Zanotti declares that Prince Eugene was especially fascinated by Chiarini's artistry that seemingly expands a room's physical boundaries. During his visit to Vienna between 1697 and 1698, Zanotti even witnessed the prince climb upon scaffolding to closely watch Chiarini paint.¹⁵ Prince Eugene's interest in *quadratura* was not just in vogue, it also stemmed from his love of Bolognese art and culture. Zanotti's comment about Prince Eugene, "*gli era ancora protettor liberale, ed amatore al sommo delle belle arti, e delle nostre principalmente,*" demonstrates that the prince's interest in Bolognese art was even widely known.¹⁶ This city's greatest masters of the seventeenth century created many works in the prince's own painting collection, including Guido Reni (1575-1642) and Francesco Albani (1578-1660). Moreover, the prince also commissioned renowned contemporary Bolognese artists that include Giovan Gioseffo dal Sole (1654-

¹⁵ Zanotti, *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina di Bologna, aggregata all'istituto delle scienze e dell'arti*, 1:275.

¹⁶ Translation: "he was nonetheless a protector of the liberal arts, and a lover of the most exquisite fine arts, mainly ours." See Zanotti, 1:275.

1719), Antonio Burrini (1656-1727), Benedetto Gennari (1663-1715), and Giuseppe Maria Crespi (1665-1747).

In November 1697, following Emperor Leopold I's handsome payment for valiant service during the Battle of Zenta, the most decisive defeat of the Ottomans during the Great Turkish War (1683-1699), Prince Eugene purchased the Belvedere's plot just outside of Vienna's city walls. Prince Eugene likely secured Chiarini for painting frescoes at the Lower Belvedere at the time of the structure's conception when this artist was still busy painting at the prince's city palace. Chiarini's influence on the same chamber's perfectly square ground plan, as discussed later in this chapter, strongly supports this hypothesis. When Chiarini's engagement at Eugene's winter palace ended in 1709, the construction of the Lower Belvedere had not yet begun.¹⁷ Therefore, Prince Eugene granted him permission to take on other work in Vienna for his allies who were elite members of the Habsburg court. Chiarini painted for the Prince Johann Leopold Donat von Trautson (1659-1724) at his garden palace in the *Sala Terrena* between 1710 and 1712 (fig. 50-51).¹⁸ Notably, the vault is covered solely in *quadratura* and foreshadows Prince Eugene's choice for his state bed chamber at the Lower Belvedere (see fig. 33). Before this time in the history of *quadratura* painting in Bologna, to my knowledge, there are only three examples of vaults painted solely in architectural illusions. The Bolognese Paolo Brozzi (life dates unknown), who

¹⁷ Construction began in 1712. See Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 164.

¹⁸ Palais Trautson was designed by the celebrated Austrian architect Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656-1723). See Wilhelm Deuer, *Das Palais Trautson in Wien: vom Fürstenpalais zum Justizministerium* (Wien: Republik Österr., Bundesministerium für Justiz, 2009).

painted alongside Domenico Piola (1627-1703) created a vault with only *quadratura* in the main hall, or *Sala di Apollo*, at Palazzo Balbi-Senaregain Genoa in 1627. Then, at Palazzo Ranuzzi in Bologna, created between 1680 and 1681, Enrico Haffner (1640-1702) painted one vault and the brothers Antonio and Giuseppe Rolli (1643-1695 and 1645-1727) executed *quadratura* on another vault nearby (fig. 52).¹⁹ After his work at Palais Trautson, Chiarini was hired by Count Wirich Philipp Laurenz Graf von und zu Daun (1669-1741).²⁰ Between 1713 and 1714, he created *quadratura* in the oval-shaped ballroom at Palais Daun-Kinsky in Vienna (fig. 53). The patron was so pleased with Chiarini's designs that he expanded the commission to include a gallery and paid Chiarini handsomely for his accomplishment (fig. 54).²¹ During this entire project, Chiarini worked alongside Carlo Innocenzo Carloni (1686-1775).²² The pair soon worked together again at the Lower Belvedere in the Marble Hall, as already mentioned in the introduction.

By August 1714, Chiarini concluded his Viennese engagements with Trautson and Daun and returned to his native Bologna. Following Pentecost in 1715, he embarked again on Vienna to paint his final and most prestigious

¹⁹ Renato Roli, *Pittura Bolognese, 1650-1800: Dal Cignani Ai Gandolfi* (Bologna: ALFA, 1977), Plate II, Image 29a; Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten in Österreich*, 152.

²⁰ Like the Belvedere, Hildebrandt designed Palais Daun-Kinsky. See Hellmut Lorenz and Wilhelm Georg Rizzi, eds., *Palais Daun-Kinsky: Wien, Freyung; Beiträge zum barocken Palast* (Wien: Amisola Immobilien AG, 2001); Wolfgang Prohaska, "Die Malerische Ausstattung des Palais unter Feldmarschall Daun," in *Palais Daun-Kinsky* (Wien: AMISOLA Immobilien AG, 2001), 124–57.

²¹ Zanotti, *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina di Bologna, aggregata all'istituto delle scienze e dell'arti*, 1:278.

²² The artist's surname is also written "Carlone."

commission for Prince Eugene at the Belvedere.²³ Chiarini, aged sixty-three when he began to fresco the Lower Belvedere, suffered from ill health during the project's execution.²⁴ Yet he managed to paint without assistance in the Marble Hall and Prince Eugene's bedchamber. Chiarini subsequently retired in Vienna and lived comfortably from the payments that he received from his prominent local patrons between 1716 and 1726. He only returned to Bologna on June 24, 1726 upon the invitation to become the "*direttore di architettura*" at the Accademia Clementina in Bologna.²⁵ In 1723, Fanti had finished painting *quadratura* at the Upper Belvedere. His maestro's long and continuous presence in Vienna following the completion of the Lower Belvedere's frescoes signifies that Chiarini received the commission to paint *quadratura* at the Upper Belvedere from Prince Eugene originally. Yet, due to his failing health, Chiarini enlisted and supervised Fanti on the project. This premise is supported by visual evidence in the body of Fanti's work.²⁶ Chiarini likely provided Fanti with templates to create complex designs which are catered uniquely to the Upper Belvedere's Marble Hall and *Sala Terrena*, still *in situ*, and the *Gemahlenes Cabinet* and *Bilder Saal*, now destroyed (see figs. 36, 47 and 55-57).²⁷

²³ Zanotti, *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina di Bologna, aggregata all'istituto delle scienze e dell'arti*, 1:278; Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 159–84.

²⁴ Zanotti, *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina di Bologna, aggregata all'istituto delle scienze e dell'arti*, 1:277–78.

²⁵ Translation: "director of architecture" but meaning *quadratura*, see Zanotti, 1:279.

²⁶ For a detailed analysis of the recycled motifs see, Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten in Österreich*, 161, 172–81.

²⁷ For a detailed discussion and analysis of the body of Fanti's work, see Knall-Brskovsky, 160–81. For a brief discussion on how the frescoes were destroyed, see pages 75-76 of this chapter.

A letter that Fanti's descendants penned to Marcello Oretti (1714-1787) in 1768 explains the scope of this project fully.²⁸ Oretti, who was then working on his book of artists' biographies, wrote to Fanti's family in Vienna and received their response which details nearly all the artist's commissions, includes a timeline, and the exact payments that Fanti received.²⁹ This letter indicates that Fanti only painted at the Belvedere by late 1719 or early 1720. Yet Vincenzo Fanti (1719-1776), Gaetano's son and Chiarini's grandson who wrote an artists' *vite*, placed his father in Vienna by 1713 or 1714 and implies that his father was an assistant at the Lower Belvedere.³⁰ Vincenzo states Gaetano "*era atto ad intraprender lavori al par di [Chiarini].*"³¹ In other words, he insinuates that his father's work is equal to Chiarini's caliber. This compliment even implies that Gaetano invented the Upper Belvedere's illusionistic designs. Yet Luigi Crespi (1708-1779), the son of a favorite painter of Prince Eugene, Giuseppe Maria Crespi (1665-1747), placed Gaetano in Bologna on August 24, 1714 where he painted decorations for the city's annual "*Festa della Porchetta.*"³² Fanti's first presence in Vienna is actually documented securely in 1720, when the artist was in contact with the Archbishop of Salzburg Franz Anton Fürst Harrach (reign 1709-1727) to obtain work in that

²⁸ It is stored at the Archiginnasio in Bologna under inventory number: MS B95, 175ff. See Knall-Brskovsky, 161.

²⁹ I have not read the letter myself, but it was read by Knall-Brskovsky and discussed in Knall-Brskovsky, 160.

³⁰ This date range is implied by the author and calculated by Knall-Brskovsky in Knall-Brskovsky, 160.

³¹ Translation: "was capable of taking on work at Chiarini's level." Vincenzo Fanti, *Descrizione completa di tutto ciò che ritrovarsi nella galleria di pittura e scultura di Sua Altezza Giuseppe Wenceslao del S.R.I. principe regnante della casa di Lichtenstein* (Vienna de Trattner, 1767), 125.

³² Translation: "pork roast festival." See Luigi Crespi, *Felsina Pittrice: Vite de' Pittori Bolognesi. Tomo III* (Roma: Stamp. di Marco Pagliarini, 1769), 255.

city.³³ Zanotti also mentions Fanti's work for Prince Eugene in his *vite* on Chiarini stating, "*per alcune opere, che cola gli erano state commesse, lascio Gaetano Fanti.*"³⁴ This supports my position that Prince Eugene commissioned Chiarini with the Upper Belvedere's frescoes originally but Gaetano painted them due to his maestro's failing health.

***Quadratura* in the Marble Hall at the Lower Belvedere**

In the great hall at the Lower Belvedere, Chiarini's designs cover significant portions of the walls and two-thirds of the vault (see figs. 19-20 and 58-61). Called the Marble Hall because this splendid material adorns the walls abundantly, it is a *Festsaal*, or banquet hall, that was used by Prince Eugene to receive guests, host grand feasts, but also, it could be used to conduct official duties. This space may also be referred to as a *salle de fête* or *sala grande*. The Lower Belvedere is only one story. The Marble Hall is on the ground floor. In central European palaces, such grand chambers are usually reached via a stairwell like at the Upper Belvedere. Therefore, the north courtyard introduces and elevates the Lower Belvedere's Marble Hall instead.³⁵ This room's concept stems partially from Italian

³³ Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten in Österreich*, 161.

³⁴ Translation: "for some projects, commissioned to him (meaning Chiarini), he left them to Gaetano Fanti." See Zanotti, *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina di Bologna, aggregata all'istituto delle scienze e dell'arti*, 1:279.

³⁵ Hans Reuther, "Festsaal," in *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 8 (RDK Labor, 1982), 276–304, <https://www.rdklabor.de/w/?oldid=88981>.

Renaissance models, like the *Sala della Prospettiva* that Baldassare Peruzzi (1481-1536) created at Villa Farnesina in Rome with its mixture of marble and illusionistic imagery. A seventeenth-century predecessor is in Florence at Palazzo Pitti, where the renowned *quadraturists* Colonna and Mitelli painted for Ferdinando II de' Medici (1610-1670). The reception rooms, called the *Udienza Pubblica* and *Udienza Privata*, were painted between 1637 and 1641. The *Udienza Pubblica* is closely related to a type of hall that developed from the *Rittersaal*, or great hall, in central European noble palaces. Leonhard Christoph Sturm (1669-1719) describes these chambers in 1699 as needing to be,

“(1.) *sehr groß/* (2.) *offen und lufttig* [sic]. (3.) *mit Fenstern die bis auf den boden* [sic] *gehen/ und mit durchsichtige* [sic] *Geländern allein verseßet* [sic] *sind/ und* (4.) *gegen einem Garten* [sic] *und luftigen prospect* [sic] *gebauet* [sic] *werden.*”³⁶

These attributes characterize the Lower Belvedere's Marble Hall, just like a contemporary example called the *Steinernersaal* at Schloss Nymphenburg. Agostino Barelli (1627-1697) designed it for Ferdinand Maria, the Elector of Bavaria (1636-1679) and Henriette Adelaide of Savoy (1636-1676). It was constructed between 1664-1675. In Vienna, at the garden palace of Prince Johann Adam Andreas von Liechtenstein (1622-1712), Pozzo painted illusionistic frescoes in the so-called *Herkulesaal* with monolithic half-columns that were cut from red

³⁶ Translation: “main hall,” “Germany,” and “constructed with (1.) very large/ (2.) open and airy. (3.) with windows that reach to the floors/ and with opaque panels alone/ and (4.) against a garden and with an airy view.” See Leonhard Christoph Sturm, *Erste Ausübung der Vortrefflichen und Vollständigen Anweisung zu der Civil-Bau-Kunst, Nicolai Goldmanns Bestehend In neun ausführlichen Anmerckungen, Wodurch Den Liebhabern der Bau-Kunst insgesamt eröffnet wird, Wie man Das Goldmannische Werck auf die Invention und Ausübung selbst mit grossen Nutzen appliciren könne, Daß die Gebäude. Nach dem heutigen Gusto angenehm heraus kommen* (Leipzig: Lanckisch, 1708), 145.

marble. Yet another example is the so-called Marble Hall at Schloss Pommersfelden, which Hildebrandt and Johann Dientzenhofer (1663-1726) designed for Lothar Franz von Schönborn, the Prince-Bishop of Bamberg and Archbishop of Mainz (1655-1729). It was constructed between 1711-1718, which overlaps with the construction of both the Lower and Upper Belvedere's Marble Halls, where the same exact architect was employed. Prince Eugene was clearly abreast with the latest trends in Baroque interiors in central European palaces.

The Lower Belvedere's Marble Hall is perfectly square and each wall measures 12.8 meters across (see "c" on fig. 1).³⁷ Oval and rectangular banquet halls are relatively standard, while perfectly square rooms are not.³⁸ This chamber's distinctive dimensions reveal that the *quadratura* specialist had requested them himself because the square shape allowed Chiarini to create a successful illusion on the vault. It required only a single vanishing point. It is exactly in the center of the ceiling that rises only slightly in elevation above the cornice. In an elongated chamber, secondary vanishing points would have been required as *quadratura* will not appear optically correct without them when a viewer moves about the space.³⁹ This chamber's unique dimensions reveal that Chiarini's need to produce an accurate, convincing, and impressive illusion guided the Marble Hall's overall shape and the ornament.

In the chambers of early modern European palaces which feature *quadratura*, the painter typically planned, decorated, and organized the entire

³⁷ I would like to thank Dipl.-Ing. Andrea Rosic, the building manager at the Belvedere Museum, for providing me with the exact measurements.

³⁸ Reuther, "Festsaal."

³⁹ Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten in Österreich*, 84–87, 156.

space.⁴⁰ Chiarini divided the Marble Hall's four walls liberally among frescoes, red marble panels, and white stuccos. The west wall is mirrored by the east wall, and likewise, the distribution of ornament on the north and south walls corresponds. Chiarini's symmetrical organization enhances his mathematically complex frescoes. A central doorcase flanked by large windows in the focal point of the north wall (see fig. 59). It leads to a courtyard and the main entrance of the Lower Belvedere. The south doorcase opens to the palace gardens (see fig. 60). Both the north and south walls comprise elongated frescoed panels which extend two stories and expand the room ostensibly by means of a painted niche with a gilded torch (fig. 62). An actual silver sconce with two candles originally adorned each wall.⁴¹ Just above the painted torch, in between half-round windows, Chiarini rendered illusionistic balconies. They protrude and form a base for a painted bouquet in a gilded vase. Two *putti* accompany the vase and engage in mischievous behavior to captivate the viewer playfully. For example, in the fresco on the north wall and to the left of the doorcase, one *putto* captures a small blackbird as it zooms by (fig. 63). Chiarini's inclusion of this event in real time increases the chance of the illusion's success by simulating realism.

On the east and west walls, a fireplace is the central focal point (figs. 64-65). They are *Cheminée à la Royale*, one of the "most characteristic inventions of French decoration" during the reign of Louis XIV which only became popular in

⁴⁰ Ulrike Grimm, "Ein neuentdeckter Dekorationsentwurf von Marc Antonio Chiarini für das Untere Belvedere," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie* 26/27, no. 70/71 (1983 1982): 240.

⁴¹ Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 293; Johann Bernoulli, *Johann Bernoulli's Sammlung kurzer Reisebeschreibungen und anderer zur Erweiterung der Länder- und Menschenkenntniss dienender Nachrichten* (Berlin, 1784), 6.

Europe after 1720, through Augustin Charles Daviler's (1653-1701) widely circulated pattern-book *Cours D'Architecture*.⁴² The inclusion of the *Cheminée à la Royale* supports the notion that du Plessy influenced the design of this room, which dates to before Daviler's templates. It is reasonable to assume that he helped conceive of the marble ornament with its mixture of undulating vegetal scrolls and classical motifs, as seen on the two elaborate fireplaces. Yet there is no consensus on Chiarini and du Plessy's involvement in this chambers' marble carvings, that even Hildebrandt may have designed.⁴³ Hildebrandt's architecturally precise work in the Marble Hall at the Upper Belvedere echoes the façade, whereas at the Lower Belvedere, the marble panels are carved organically with scrolls and naturalistic forms that are unrelated to the façade and its ornamentation.⁴⁴ This speaks for Chiarini's authorship of both the frescoes and the marble panels throughout the reception hall, which complement each other through their projecting, either towards or away from the viewer. Long vertical sections of frescoes flanked both fireplaces where Chiarini painted sculptural scrolls and twisting spirals that embody those seen on the marble carvings. They too are meant to enhance the amusing mirage. On the west wall, *putti* splash water mischievously (fig. 66). Above them,

⁴² Fiske Kimball, "The Development of the 'Cheminée à La Royale,'" *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 5, no. 2 (September 1936): 259.

⁴³ For example, Knall-Brskovsky first proposed that Chiarini is the chief designer of the Lower Belvedere's Marble Hall in *Italienische Quadraturisten in Österreich*. Shortly thereafter, in 1985, in a publication related to Prince Eugene's Schloß Hof palace primarily, she alters her position and ascribes this chamber's marble designs to Hildebrandt instead. Most recently, in 2004, Seeger ascribes the room's design again to Chiarini. See Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten in Österreich*, 149; Ulrike Knall-Brskovsky, "Kat. Nr. 21-35a," in *Prinz Eugen und das barocke Österreich* (Salzburg: Residenz, 1985), 439; Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 296–97.

⁴⁴ Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 296–97.

Chiarini painted a gallery that suggests there is a second story. Bussi's stuccos of Turks and their confiscated weapons protrude even further into the chamber to enhance the three-dimensional effect of Chiarini's *quadratura*, while also glorifying Prince Eugene's status as the famous victor over the Ottomans. The chamber's twelve white marble medallions depict scenes from the myth of Apollo and are spread evenly throughout the room. They were created by an unknown master (see figs. 19 and 59-61).⁴⁵ It is not known if Prince Eugene acquired these oval reliefs, or if Chiarini and du Plessy commissioned them. They serve as expressions of Aeneas' link to the founding of the Roman Empire, and thus, reference Prince Eugene's importance to the Holy Roman Emperor.⁴⁶

Through two fictive architectural layers, Chiarini gives the impression of considerable height on the Marble Hall's vault (see fig. 32). The first layer is an undulating, octagonal balustrade and it covers nearly one fourth of the ceiling. Bordering the cornice, this layer of the fresco is masterfully painted because the zone is concave and transitions from the wall to the vault. Chiarini's white marble balustrade is identical on all sides and each includes one round, projecting balcony which marks the central axis of the wall below. Female allegorical personifications sit upon volutes and border these four painted balconies.⁴⁷ In the west, Chiarini

⁴⁵ Jakob Werner, "Santino Bussi 1664-1736" (Diplomarbeit, Wien, Universität Wien, 1992), 73.

⁴⁶ Franz Matsche, "Mythologische Heldenapotheosen in Deckengemälden Wiener Adelspaläste des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Ex Fumo Lucem- Baroque Studies in Honor of Klara Garas: Presented on her Eightieth Birthday* (Budapest: Szepmuveszeti Muzeum, 1999), 316.

⁴⁷ According to Aurenhammer, the female allegories were painted by Martino Altomonte (1657-1745). Knall-Brskovsky also states that the figurative painting in the Marble Hall is the work of Altomonte. Grimm implies the personifications are by the hand of Chiarini, which Franz Martin Haberditzl first suggested in 1923. The inclusion of figures in the

rendered *Nobilitas* and *Fortitudo*, in the east, *Intelligentia* and *Liberalitas*, in the north, *Magnificentia* and *Justitia*, and in the south, *Prudentia* and *Magnanimitas*.⁴⁸ These princely merits are ascribed to Prince Eugene as a worthy representative of the Habsburg Emperors. The ionic columns behind the female figures support a second layer of fictive architecture effortlessly. They imply that the vault is raised to a considerable height. Here, Chiarini cleverly disguised geometric lines that guide his illusion (fig. 67). According to one expert, this is a typically Bolognese technique to strategically cover perspectival “*Knickstellen*,” or kink points, to protect the main illusion without revealing the formula to the viewer.⁴⁹ The four painted medallions in the corners of the Marble Hall, that are wrapped in a billowing blue shroud and presented by a pair of *putti*, serve the same purpose (see fig. 20). Depth is created behind each medallion through the inclusion of a vase with flowers, which like the ionic columns, are rendered in *di sotto in su* perspective, or are seen from below. These details convince viewers of the vaults’ soaring height above the undulating balustrade. The medallions in the corners present heroic predecessors of Prince Eugene. The southeast painted medallion portrays the story of Theseus and the Minotaur. The southwest medallion features Hercules and the Hydria. Perseus frees Andromeda in the northeast, and finally, in the

preparatory drawing by Chiarini suggests he may have painted the Virtues himself. He was in fact trained in figure painting. See, Franz Martin Haberditzl, *Das Barockmuseum im Unteren Belvedere* (Wien: Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, 1923), LXXVII; Hans Aurenhammer and Gertrude Aurenhammer, *Martino Altomonte* (Wien: Verlag Herold, 1965), 32; Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten in Österreich*, 148; Grimm, “Ein neuentdeckter Dekorationsentwurf von Marc Antonio Chiarini für das Untere Belvedere,” 234.

⁴⁸ Aurenhammer and Aurenhammer, *Martino Altomonte*, 32.

⁴⁹ Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten in Österreich*, 148.

northwest, the painted medallion renders Jason stealing the Golden Fleece.⁵⁰ Each one of these mythological heroes had fought against a mighty foe and won despite the great odds against them. They reference the prince's legendary successes over the Ottomans.

Chiarini distinguishes his first layer of *quadratura* from the second by painting a golden hue that imitates gilding (see fig. 32). He enhances his illusion by a profusion of ornament like garlands, coffers, and medallions with imperial Roman portraits in profile. Such ornate detail is typical of the Bolognese school of *quadratura*, and particularly, in the work of Mitelli and his followers.⁵¹ It helps to achieve a convincing extension of space overhead by distracting the viewer from the geometric lines that guide the illusion and radiate from the central vanishing point. This room measures 11.84 meters from the floor to the ceiling's center, or exactly one meter less than the 12.8-meter width of each wall. Chiarini's painted creation gives the impression that the vault is raised significantly higher. Kleiner's engraved drawing accurately records that it rises only slightly above the marble cornice (fig. 68). It is paradoxical that Chiarini's *quadratura* suggests great height while Kleiner's printed view of the room, circulated widely in the early modern period, undermines this intended illusion. Perhaps Prince Eugene planned this contradiction to publicize and heighten the impressive nature of Chiarini's accomplishment. While Carloni's figure-filled allegory in the center of the vault is

⁵⁰ For a detailed interpretation of the mythological scenes in reference to Prince Eugene, see Haberditzl, *Das Barockmuseum im Unteren Belvedere*, 33; Aurenhammer and Aurenhammer, *Martino Altomonte*, 32; Matsche, "Mythologische Heldenapotheosen in Deckengemälden Wiener Adelspaläste des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts," 318.

⁵¹ Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten in Österreich*, 108–9.

undeniably superb, it only takes up a small portion of the vault. Carloni's fresco does not overshadow Chiarini's innovative design that deceives the eyes and informs viewers about Prince Eugene's intellectual authority and fascination with optics in an erudite manner.

Carloni's scene is set at a forty-five-degree angle to the square-shaped Marble Hall. In the center of the vault, Carloni frescoed an ensemble of figures among clouds in *di sotto in su* perspective (see fig. 32). At the top, Apollo arrives on his chariot pulled by four horses. Just below him, muses of the arts and science look towards Mercury who swoops down towards a young man depicted in heroic nudity. This figure personifies Prince Eugene.⁵² Carloni's allegory presents the prince as a military hero and protector of Christianity. Near the center of the fresco, just below Mercury, a *putto* delivers a banner with the message "**Magne genI Cape Dona LVbens, LatioVe faVeto. Virgil.**" (fig. 69).⁵³ One scholar's translation reads "*Großer Genius, nimm die Geschenke und sei Latinum wohlgesinnt!*"⁵⁴ In other words, great genius – undoubtedly a pun on the patron's name, Eugene – receive

⁵² For various interpretations of the iconography, see Haberditzl, *Das Barockmuseum im Unteren Belvedere*, LXXIX; Bruno Grimschitz, *Das Belvedere in Wien* (Wien: Kunstverlag Wolfrum, 1946), 29; Gertrude Aurenhammer, "Das Melker Skizzenbuch des Martin Altomonte," *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* 32, no. 1955/56 (1955): 252–56; Aurenhammer and Aurenhammer, *Martino Altomonte*, 31–32; Günther Heinz, "Die Italienischen Maler im Dienste des Prinzen Eugen," in *Prinz Eugen und sein Belvedere* (Wien: Selbstverlag der Österreichischen Galerie, 1963), 115–19; Amalia Barigozzi Brini and Klara Garas, *Carlo Innocenzo Carloni* (Milano: Casa Ed. Ceschina, 1967), 29–31; Matsche, "Mythologische Heldenapothosen in Deckengemälden Wiener Adelspaläste des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts"; Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 293.

⁵³ This transcription can be found in Liselotte Popelka, "Die päpstliche Ehrengaben für Prinz Eugen. Zur Widmungsinschrift in Altomontes Apotheose im Unteren Belvedere," in *Prinz Eugen und sein Belvedere* (Wien: Selbstverlag der Österreichischen Galerie, 1963), 183.

⁵⁴ Popelka, 183.

your gift willingly and remain the protector of the church. The banner's text clearly refers to the high honor bestowed upon the prince by Pope Clement XI (papacy 1720-1721) after the prince first defeated the Ottomans at Petrovaradin on August 5, 1716, and again, at Timișoara on October 12, 1716, to be discussed in more detail below. It declares that Prince Eugene's hard-earned award obligates him to function as a defender of the Catholic Church, as he was already a member of the esteemed Order of the Golden Fleece, which I will discuss in chapter two briefly. The raised, bold, and red letters in Carloni's inscription form the Roman numerals M (1000), I (1), C (100), D (500), LV (55), LV (55), and V (5). They add up to the year of the fresco's painting in 1716, the year of the prince's prestigious papal award.⁵⁵

Marcantonio Chiarini's Preparatory Drawing

Chiarini's inclusion of the Marble Hall's precise measurements on the periphery of his preparatory drawing for the vault's fresco attests strongly to his involvement from the onset of the Lower Belvedere's commission and planning (see fig. 31). In grey feather pen along the drawing's two sides, Chiarini wrote "*Pieds 6 di Vienna*," and nearby, "*P 40 tutta*" (figs. 70-71).⁵⁶ One Viennese *pied*, or

⁵⁵ Popelka, 183.

⁵⁶ Translation: "6 Viennese feet" and "40 Viennese feet total."

foot, equals 31.6 centimeters.⁵⁷ Chiarini's scale converts into two measurements: 189.6 centimeters, likely referring to the vault's slight elevation that rises above the Marble Hall's cornice, and 1,264 centimeters, referencing each wall's width.⁵⁸ The second number deviates from the actual span of the walls by only sixteen centimeters.⁵⁹ Because it corresponds so closely to the wall's actual width, at the very least, Chiarini was informed about the Marble Hall's intended dimensions at the time he produced this drawing. It presents Prince Eugene with four different options of architectural illusions for the vault, one is drawn in each corner. The bottom half of the drawing features two layers of architectural illusions, while the top half includes options only for the center of the vault. The drawing's architectural layers reveal that Chiarini could add or subtract them easily, as his patron desired. Prince Eugene chose the bottom left configuration that Chiarini proposed. The artist only executed the first two layers and Carloni's allegory featuring Apollo and Mercury fills the center in place of *quadratura*. The drawing presents, therefore, an early phase in this project's conception. Perhaps around 1712, when Chiarini covered similarly the *Sala Terrena* at Palais Trautson with *quadratura* (see figs. 50-51).

Italian quadraturists frequently worked alongside figure painters. As mentioned previously, Chiarini first painted *quadratura* for Prince Eugene at the

⁵⁷ Alessandro Baudi di Vesme, "Sull' Acquisto fatto da Carlo Emanuele III RE Di Sardegna della Quadreria del Principe Eugenio di Savoia *Richerche Documentate*," in *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, vol. 25 (Torino: Paravia, 1887), 228; Grimm, "Ein neuentdeckter Dekorationsentwurf von Marc Antonio Chiarini für das Untere Belvedere," 228–29.

⁵⁸ I did inquire about the height of the vault above the cornice, but the Belvedere Museum was unable to provide me with this measurement.

⁵⁹ They each span 1280 centimeters, or 12.8 meters.

city palace alongside Lanzani and Doringy. He then painted alongside Carloni at Palais Daun-Kinsky circa 1714. The collaboration of a figure and architectural painter was common since the beginning of Bolognese perspectival painting in the early sixteenth century.⁶⁰ Yet Chiarini's preparatory drawing lacks any reference to Carloni's executed fresco. This discrepancy speaks to a change in the commission which took place after Chiarini first presented this drawing to Prince Eugene. When architectural painters were hired as the leading artist in a large decorative program with illusionistic frescoes, they determined the size and borders of a planned figurative scene.⁶¹ The absence of a space reserved for a figurative fresco in Chiarini's drawing indicates that, at the commission's onset, Prince Eugene desired for *quadratura* to be the fresco's primary focus. The prince's choice is unusual, but as such, it proves that he was especially fascinated by the complexity and versatility of Chiarini's astute imagery.

Chiarini's drawing is a highly finished *modello* that provides details of even the smallest architectural ornament. Therefore, it cannot be deemed a simple sketch. It reveals the artist's early plan to create a fantastic optical illusion and excludes a figure-filled scene at the center purposefully. Around 1712, when the drawing was created, Carloni's fresco was not yet envisioned. Otherwise, Chiarini would have reserved a space in the center of his preparatory drawing for the figure filled scene, as was the custom.⁶² Chiarini's unusual proposal is evidence of a direct request from the patron. In 1716, the esteemed honor of receiving the

⁶⁰ Grimm, "Ein neuentdeckter Dekorationsentwurf von Marc Antonio Chiarini für das Untere Belvedere," 36–40.

⁶¹ Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten in Österreich*, 95.

⁶² Knall-Brskovsky, 95.

blessed sword and hat from Clement XI necessitated a change in this commission.⁶³ Only then did the prince ask Chiarini to collaborate with Carloni, who had just worked together successfully at Palais Daun-Kinsky two years earlier.

Prince Eugene's two famous victories over the Ottomans in 1716 led to the significant change on the Lower Belvedere Marble Hall's vault. After the successful battle of Petrovaradin on August 5, 1716, Prince Eugene's army again destroyed the Ottoman army at the Siege of Timișoara by October 12 in the same year. The news that Prince Eugene had won against Sultan Ahmed III (reigned 1703-1730) traveled quickly throughout Europe. Once the news reached Rome, it prompted Clement XI to send a message to the prince, who was still on the battlefield in Timișoara, that he would be awarded the blessed hat and blessed sword.⁶⁴ The tradition to award a pontifical sword and hat to monarchs and other secular leaders dates back to at least the fourteenth century and recognizes an individual's valiant defense of Christendom, especially against the Muslim Turks. Just prior to Prince Eugene's award, Jan III Sobieski, the King of Poland (reigned 1674-1696) had received it from Innocent XI (papacy 1676-1689) following the Siege of Vienna in 1683. Prince Eugene's decisive defeat of the Ottoman army transformed him into one of the greatest heroes in the history of Habsburg Austria.

⁶³ It must be mentioned that the interpretation of Carloni's fresco was challenged by Brini and Garas in 1967, and again, by Franz Matsche in 1999. They instead suggest that Carloni's fresco commemorates the end of the War of the Spanish Succession and the signing of the Peace of Rastatt on March 7, 1714. See Barigozzi Brini and Garas, *Carlo Innocenzo Carloni*, 30; Matsche, "Mythologische Heldenapotheosen in Deckengemälden Wiener Adelspaläste des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts," 315–26.

⁶⁴ Kriegsgeschichtlichen Abtheilung des k. und k. Kriegs-Archivs, ed., *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen (Geschichte der Kämpfe Österreichs: Militärische Correspondenz des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen)*, vol. XVI (Wien: Verlag des K. und K. Generalstabes, 1891), 179.

To commemorate the achievement, a grand ceremony was planned at St. Stephen's Cathedral.⁶⁵ A contemporary report states that the prince returned to Vienna from the battlefield on November 9, 1716, but already had received his papal hat and sword three days earlier when he arrived in Raab, Austria.⁶⁶ Crowds lined the streets to congratulate the hero on his way back to Vienna, where Austria's nobility, the Imperial army, and the city's citizens received him triumphantly. Prince Eugene, in a grand carriage pulled by six horses, was escorted by Daun to his recently finished "*Schloß-Garten*," the Lower Belvedere.⁶⁷ At ten o'clock in the morning, Prince Eugene walked to the cathedral where he was greeted by the Archbishop Sigismund von Kollonitsch (1677-1751) who performed the *signum crucis* blessing upon Eugene.⁶⁸ Then, the sounds of Vienna's church bells and gunfire salutes filled the air. The prince was led from the cathedral's entrance to the high altar in a magnificent procession of the clergy and Austria's nobility, followed by scores of Vienna's citizens who came to witness the splendid event. On the high altar, upon a golden cloth, the captain of the papal garrison in Cento, Cavaliere Orazio Rasponi (life dates unknown) placed the blessed hat and blessed sword for all to see. During high mass, Prince Eugene knelt on a pillow

⁶⁵ Jean de Dumont, ed., *Des Grossen Feld-Herrns Eugenii Hertzogs von Savoyen und Käyserlichen General-Lieutenants Helden-Thaten: Dritter Theil*, vol. 3 (Frankfurt und Leipzig: Christoph Riegel, 1718), 980–97.

⁶⁶ de Dumont, 3:980–81, 994.

⁶⁷ Translation: "garden palace." See de Dumont, 3:982.

⁶⁸ "Num. 1385: Wien vom 7. bis 10. November, 1716," *Wienerisches Diarium*, 1716; de Dumont, *Des Grossen Feld-Herrns Eugenii Hertzogs von Savoyen und Käyserlichen General-Lieutenants Helden-Thaten: Dritter Theil*, 3:982–83.

and bowed his head to receive the glorious papal award. Thereafter, the hero, clergymen, and Austria's nobility celebrated until the evening hours.⁶⁹

Prince Eugene's blessed hat and blessed sword, pictured and described in detail in the contemporary report, were left on display in St. Stephen's Cathedral so that Vienna's citizens could continue to admire them (fig. 72). The prince expressed his gratitude for the great honor that his Excellency had awarded him in a letter dated to November 16, 1716.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the Jesuit priest Franz Peikhart (1684-1752) in his eulogy during Eugene's funeral, in 1736, mentions the blessed hat and blessed sword and reminds everyone present of the great papal honor that was bestowed upon the hero: "*welche Ehre in vielen Jahrhunderten kaum einen wiederfahren ist.*"⁷¹ It comes as no surprise that the prince desired to commemorate these glorious events at his newly constructed garden palace. At this time, the construction and decoration of the prince's city palace was largely complete whereas the construction of the Upper Belvedere had not yet begun.⁷² Therefore, the best place for the fresco celebrating war was the Marble Hall at the Lower Belvedere.

⁶⁹ The exact location of the festivities which took place after this mass is not specified in the contemporary report. See de Dumont, *Des Grossen Feld-Herrns Eugenii Hertzogs von Savoyen und Käyserlichen General-Lieutenants Helden-Thaten: Dritter Theil*, 3:985.

⁷⁰ For a copy of the original letter penned in Latin, and the German translation, see de Dumont, 3:986–94.

⁷¹ Translation: "this honor hardly anyone received in many centuries." See P. Francisco Peikhart, *Lob- und Trauer-Rede über den Todt des Durchleuchtigen Prinzen Eugenii Francisci, Hertzogen von Savoyen und Piemont u. u. Ihro Römisch- Kayserlichen Majestät und des Heil. Röm. Reichs General-Lieutenant, u. u. Da Seine Hohe Leich-Besingnuß mit Drey-Tägigen Grossen Ehren-Gepräng in der allhießigen Metropolitan-Kirchen bey St. Stephan gehalten worden* (Wien: Universitäts Buchdruckern, bey Johann Ignatz Heyinger, 1736), 16.

⁷² It should be noted that there were multiple phases of construction and decoration at the city palace. See Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 31–34.

Prince Eugene, whose victories against the Ottoman Empire de facto secured the continued dominance of Christianity in central Europe and established its southern borders, wanted to commemorate his great military and political success in visual form at the Lower Belvedere. The change in the commission likely took place after Eugene's victory at Timișoara in October and around the time of the grand ceremony in St. Stephen's Cathedral in November 1716. The patron may have contacted Chiarini and Carloni from the battlefield. For example, already in October, while Eugene was still occupied with the siege of Timișoara, he requested that Hildebrandt send him a blueprint for the newly expanded garden palace project.⁷³ Also in October, the Field Marshal Leopold-Philippe Duc d'Arenberg (1690-1754) arrived in Timișoara from Paris to assist the prince with his plans for the Belvedere's gardens because he had lived at Versailles during the previous two years.⁷⁴ Indeed, d'Arenberg was well-versed in the latest trends in Parisian interior design. The prince even ordered numerous books while in the heat of battle. He secured one of the most valuable objects in his library during his time leading the conflict in Belgrade in 1717. It is the ancient *Tabula Peutingeriana*.⁷⁵ Therefore, it is not unthinkable that the news of the Papal award immediately prompted Prince Eugene to include Carloni's allegory in the center of the vault at the Lower Belvedere. Carloni was also known for being an extraordinarily fast painter. It is quite conceivable that he painted the Lower

⁷³ Prince Eugene of Savoy, "Letter: Prince Eugene to Hildebrandt, from Timișoara," October 16, 1716, Wien, HHStA, Große Korrespondenz 89b/1.

⁷⁴ Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 236.

⁷⁵ Janos Kalmar, "La bibliothèque du prince Eugène de Savoie," *Dix-huitième siècle*, Le Siècle des Lumières, no. 25 (1993): 201.

Belvedere's Marble Hall's vault quickly, in a matter of only weeks. His large fresco in the Marble Hall at the Upper Belvedere required only three months for completion. Carloni painted there between July and September 1721, pausing only on Sundays.⁷⁶ Certainly, Carloni's open and loose brushwork for the prince's commemoration of his award in allegorical form supports that this small fresco was painted swiftly.

***Quadratura* in the State Bedchamber at the Lower Belvedere**

Prince Eugene's choice to have Chiarini paint the vault of his state bedchamber boldly suggests that *quadratura* was of great personal interest to him and he understood this imagery to be commanding (see fig. 33). No primary documents clarify whether Prince Eugene intended to have Chiarini fresco only one or two chambers at the Lower Belvedere originally, and moreover, only one preparatory drawing exists (see fig. 31). It is possible that the bed chamber's fresco is a compromise and solution that Prince Eugene determined after his papal award was granted in 1716. In other words, the prince first asked Chiarini to paint his mathematically complex illusions entirely on the Marble Hall's vault, which his preparatory drawing indicates. This plan changed in 1716, when, following the recently received high honor, Prince Eugene required that it be commemorated in

⁷⁶ Barigozzi Brini and Garas, *Carlo Innocenzo Carloni*, 38.

allegorical form on the vault of the reception hall. The prince still deemed his state bed chamber worthy of Chiarini's unique treatment because it ranks highest among all the rooms at this small garden palace. Like the Marble Hall, it is a highly public space with a formal function. Louis XIV famously cultivated courtly rituals in his own state bedchamber at Versailles, which is at the heart of the entire palace complex. Prince Eugene surely attended the Sun King's daily *lever*, or waking ceremony, and *coucher*, or retiring ceremony. During his summer sojourns at the Lower Belvedere, the prince could have used his state bed chamber to conduct state affairs. Modern notions of privacy do not apply in a Baroque state bedchamber, which is a "performance platform" and voyeurism was actually encouraged.⁷⁷ The state bed played a formal role in this chamber as well. According to one scholar, it is a "piece of ceremonial equipment," that acts as an "imposing reminder of the physical and symbolic distance between the royal body and the rest of the court and society."⁷⁸ At the Lower Belvedere, Prince Eugene's bed's off-center position suggests that Chiarini's magnificent fresco is the chamber's artistic focal point (see "g" on fig. 1 and fig. 73). This placement of the bed allowed for unencumbered viewing of the illusion overhead. Just like at the city palace, where quadratura adorns the vault of the state bed chamber and audience chamber, Prince Eugene has experimented at the Lower Belvedere with

⁷⁷ Alexandra Loske, "Exhibition Review: 'Secrets of the Royal Bedchamber' on View at Hampton Court Palace from March 27 to November 3, 2013 (October, 29, 2013)," British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, accessed May 11, 2011, <https://www.bsecs.org.uk/criticks-reviews/secrets-of-the-royal-bedchamber/>.

⁷⁸ Loske.

how painted architecture can enliven an official space while conveying the prince's cultural and intellectual authority.

Chiarini created two zones of architectural illusions in this small room. The lower zone simulates white marble and the upper zone imitates gilding, just like in the Marble Hall next door. Chiarini's profusion of ornament enhances the three-dimensional effect of this fresco while disguising geometric lines that connect to the vault's central vanishing point. Just above the cornice, in painted spandrels, Chiarini added floral arrangements in brilliant blue vases. They are framed by two painted scenes which Altomonte signed and dated in 1716 (see figs. 21-22). These are mythological frescoes, as already noted in the introduction, that balance Chiarini's painted busts of *Luna*, in the west, and *Sol*, on the east side of the room. A frescoed white marble parapet with arabesque scrolls and ornate vegetal forms rises above the rounded molding that tops this layer of painted architecture. In the center of the vault, a fictitious ray of light highlights and casts shadows to enhance the optical illusion of the dome's soaring height, and thus, convince viewers that the architecture seen above is real. Chiarini added two golden vases that rest on the parapet to illusionistically extend the vault's height under the painted coffered dome (see fig. 33). The vault in the *Camera degli Sposi* that Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506) painted at the Ducal Palace in Mantua for Ludovico III Gonzaga (1414-1478) acts as an early Renaissance predecessor to Chiarini's design. At the center, near the faux ribbing and fictive stuccos, Mantegna rendered an oculus in *di sotto in su*. Courtiers and *putti* peer down to the guests in the room that functioned as a state bed chamber and audience hall where the duke received

important guests.⁷⁹ Like Mantegna, Chiarini explored at the Lower Belvedere with how illusions interact with viewers and magnificently transform prominent spaces. The absence of painted figures in Chiarini's fresco reveals that both he and Prince Eugene shared the conviction that the transformation can be achieved with painted architectural alone.

***Quadratura* at the Upper Belvedere**

The decoration of the Lower Belvedere was complete by 1717, the year the construction of the Upper Belvedere began.⁸⁰ Prince Eugene's decision to expand his garden palace project from a small *villa suburbana* to an immense monument that consists of two structures coincides with his victories at Petrovaradin and Timișoara. Just as Carloni's allegorical fresco in the Lower Belvedere's Marble Hall (see fig. 32). Indeed, in November 1716, the prince purchased more land for the Belvedere project. By January 1717, Girard came to Vienna and laid out the gardens and fountains in the formal French manner. In June, construction of the menagerie was initiated and the Upper Belvedere's foundation was also laid at this time. It is worth reiterating that the construction and decoration of Prince Eugene's city palace followed his great victory at Zenta in 1697. Prince Eugene also first

⁷⁹ Clifford M. Brown, "New Documents for Andrea Mantegna's Camera Degli Sposi," *The Burlington Magazine* 114, no. 837 (1972): 682–83.

⁸⁰ For a detailed discussion of the Upper Belvedere's timeline, see Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 173–77.

purchased the land for the Belvedere in that year. Similarly, his next great success against the Ottomans in 1716 motivated him to erect the Upper Belvedere. Its construction lasted only two years. By the end of September in 1719, the new garden palace was in such a finished state that the Ottoman ambassador Ibrahim Pasha came by for a tour.⁸¹ He had previously seen the garden palace of the Czernin von und zu Chudenitz family in Vienna's Leopoldstadt, where Pasha ate a variety of delicious fruits.⁸² Next, he toured the imperial *Neuegebäude*. It is a *villa suburbana* located in what is now the eleventh district of Vienna and dates to the Renaissance period. Emperor Maximilian II (reigned 1564-1576) constructed the *Neuegebäude* and the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman I (1530-1566) famously captured it in 1529 during the First Siege of Vienna. It had fallen into disrepair by the early eighteenth century, used only to house a modest imperial menagerie that consisted mainly of wild beasts.⁸³ Finally, Pasha toured Prince Eugene's Belvedere where he admired rare plants, exotic animals, fabulous water works, and concluded the visit with delectable confections, coffee, and even lemonade.⁸⁴ The October date of this tour suggests that the Upper Belvedere's decoration had begun by fall 1719.

Between 1719 and 1723, Fanti painted *quadratura* at the Upper Belvedere but it is not known in which order he painted the various rooms. They include the *Bilder Saal*, or the picture gallery, as well as the *Gemahlenes Cabinet* (see figs. 36

⁸¹ "Nr. 1687 Wien vom 30. September bis 3. Oktober 1719," *Wienerisches Diarium*, 1719.

⁸² "Num. 1684: Wien vom 20. bis 22. September/ 1719," *Wienerisches Diarium*, 1719.

⁸³ "Num. 1685: Wien vom 23. bis 26. September/ 1719," *Wienerisches Diarium*, 1719.

⁸⁴ "Nr. 1687 Wien vom 30. September bis 3. Oktober 1719."

and 47.) Both chamber's vaults have not survived, but they can be seen partially in Kleiner's engraved drawings. In the early nineteenth century, water damaged this part of the palace and it was remodeled circa 1898, and again, during the mid-twentieth century.⁸⁵ This study does not attempt to reconstruct the lost *quadratura*, but it does recognize that the prince, once again, chose illusionistic architecture to accentuate vaults in prominent rooms. This time, within the *appartement de société*. The picture gallery ranks highly because it was home to works by Europe's greatest masters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This collection became famous in the prince's own lifetime, as detailed in chapter three. Additionally, Fanti frescoed in the *Sala Terrena* which is situated beneath the *piano nobile* and it links the *corps de logis* to the terraced gardens (see figs. 35 and 56-57.) This is an interim space that introduces visitors to Girard's design dramatically. The *Sala Terrena* is an invention of German Baroque palaces but it follows Genoese precedents.⁸⁶ Here, the prince assigned Fanti four rooms in total. Two were altered soon after their completion for unknown reasons.⁸⁷ Today, Fanti's frescoes are only preserved in one of these rooms, to be discussed below (see figs. 35 and 56 and the first space labeled "*Somer Zimmer*" to the left of the

⁸⁵ Gertrude Aurenhammer, "Geschichte des Belvederes seit dem Tode des Prinzen Eugen," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie* 13 (1969): 66 (n. 13), 100–101, 126; Hans Aurenhammer and Gertrude Aurenhammer, *Das Belvedere in Wien: Bauwerk Menschen Geschichte* (Wien: Verlag Anton Schroll & Co., 1971), 8 (n. 64); Cornelia Diekamp, "Die Sammlung eines Prinzen: zur Geschichte der Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen nach 1736 mit einer Rekonstruktion des 'Bilder-Saales' im Oberen Belvedere," *Belvedere: Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 11, no. 2 (2005): 99.

⁸⁶ Barbara Kahle, "Sala Terrena (2003)," Grove Art Online, accessed May 11, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T075280>. For more on the function of the *Sala Terrena* see, Elisabeth Herget, "Die sala terrena im deutschen Barock unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Entwicklung aus der abendländischen Grottenarchitektur" (Dissertation, Frankfurt, Universität Frankfurt, 1954).

⁸⁷ Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten in Österreich*, 162.

“*Vestible/Vor-Hauss*” on the “*unteren Stocks*” in fig. 6). Fanti’s illusions, together with Drentwett’s grotesques throughout the *Sala Terrena*, recall Pompeiian murals and those seen at the Domus Area.⁸⁸

Fanti also frescoed in the Upper Belvedere’s Marble Hall (see figs. 34, 55, 75-79 and the space labeled “*Salon/Großer Saal*” on the “*Haupt-Stocks*” in fig. 6.) It too marks the central axis of the palace, just like at Lower Belvedere. The Upper Belvedere’s *enfilade* unfolds from this central chamber. It offers a vista of the palace’s state rooms to the east and west, and to the north, a panorama of the gardens and Vienna. Its octagonal ground plan, which Hildebrandt also employed in the Marble Hall at Schloss Pommersfelden, presents a development in the banquet halls of central Europe which arose by the second decade of the eighteenth century.⁸⁹ This form, together with the Upper Belvedere’s grand stairwell that leads to both the Marble Hall and the *Sala Terrena*, was soon copied by Balthasar Neumann (1687-1753) at the Würzburger Residenz of the Prince-Bishop Johann Philipp Franz von Schönborn (1673-1724) and his brother, the Prince-Bishop Friedrich Carl von Schönborn (1674-1746).⁹⁰ While Chiarini designed the Marble Hall at the Lower Belvedere, I agree with one expert who attributes the Upper Belvedere’s Marble Hall to Hildebrandt due to the sculptural precision of this chamber’s architectural elements that echo the façade.⁹¹ They include the twin pilasters with Corinthian capitals that divide the Marble into orderly

⁸⁸ Kahle, “Sala Terrena (2003).”

⁸⁹ Reuther, “Festsaal.”

⁹⁰ Reuther.

⁹¹ See my brief discussion on page 59 of this chapter and Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 296–97.

units by dominantly framing each window, doorcase, and fireplace. In addition, the octagonal ground plan speaks for Hildebrandt's authorship of this hall due to Hildebrandt's work at Schloss Pommersfelden. The evidence corroborates that Chiarini was first assigned to paint this room but, when he retired, Hildebrandt took over the project.

The octagonal shape of the Marble Hall proved particularly challenging to the young Fanti, because his illusions, while impressive, lack the precision and specificity of Chiarini's optically convincing work at the Lower Belvedere where *quadratura* complements the marble carvings and engages in the rooms' various architectural elements in a fluent dialogue. In contrast, at the Upper Belvedere, Fanti's frescoes are overpowered by imposing pilasters and gilded stuccos below the cornice. Only above the cornice, do they come into harmony with Carloni's figurative scene and frame it decoratively. Unlike Chiarini's innovative *quadratura* at the Lower Belvedere, this form of fresco painting is not the main attraction in the Marble Hall at the Upper Belvedere.

The Upper Belvedere's Marble Hall is significantly larger than the Marble Hall at the Lower Belvedere (see "c" in fig. 1 and the space labeled "*Salon/Großer Saal*" on the "*Haupt-Stocks*" in fig. 6).⁹² It extends two stories, from the piano nobile to the mezzanine. Fanti's *quadratura* and Carloni's figurative allegory adorn the

⁹² According to Kleiner's ground plans of the Lower and Upper Belvedere, which include keys featuring the Viennese *Klafter* (one *Klafter* equals 1.8965 meters), the Marble Hall at the Lower Belvedere measures 7x7 *Klafter* or 13.2755 meters x 13.2755 meters. The Marble Hall at the Upper Belvedere measures 10x7 *Klafter* or 18.865 meters x 13.2755 meters. See Salomon Kleiner, *Das Belvedere zu Wien: nach dem Stichwerk in 140 Blättern aus den Jahren 1731 - 1740*, ed. Elisabeth Herget, Die bibliophilen Taschenbücher (Dortmund: Harenberg, 1980), 91 and 181.

vault that soars above the floor (fig. 74-75). On the walls, Fanti painted quadratura only sparingly between the pairs of fluted and engaged pilasters below the cornice (fig. 76). These frescoes only function to complement and draw attention to Bussi's gilded stuccos. Two illusionistic vases upon a pedestal frame the south-facing doorcase (see fig. 34). They expand the room superficially. Nearby, in the room's southeast and southwest corners, there are two paintings of exotic animals (see figs. 250-251.) In 1723, the local artist Johann Ignaz Heinitz von Heinzenthal rendered these specimens that Prince Eugene housed and cultivated at the Belvedere. The paintings' prominent placement and function are discussed in detail in chapter three.⁹³ These twin fireplaces just like those at the Lower Belvedere in the Marble Hall, are examples of the *Cheminée à la Royale*. The inclusion of the *Cheminée à la Royale* in both reception halls supports the notion that du Plessy influenced the design of both spaces.

Above the cornice, twelve small windows are spread out evenly and placed strategically above each large window and all the room's doors. They accentuate the vertical axis of the two-story chamber. Between each, Fanti frescoed panels with illusionistic gilded stuccos of armor and weapons. Fanti included four figurative scenes that resemble reliefs. These four panels "allude to the Roman and Republican virtues of the prince."⁹⁴ Likewise, Fanti's painted two large medallions wrapped in a blue shroud and which crown the central axis of the north and south walls. These medallions resemble those that Chiarini painted in the

⁹³ See the discussion on pages 249-257 of chapter three.

⁹⁴ Michael Krapf, "You Are Gods on Earth'- Carlo Innocenzo Carlone Paints for Prince Eugene of Savoy's Belvedere in Vienna," *Belvedere: Zeitschrift Für Bildende Kunst* 11, no. 2 (2005): 119.

corners of the Lower Belvedere's Marble Hall's vault. According to one scholar, who consulted the frescoes' restorer Christoph Tinzl, Fanti painted these medallions "without a doubt."⁹⁵ The one above the north-facing window portrays a scene with the legendary Roman general Gaius Mucius Scaevola (lived ca. 508 BCE).⁹⁶ Scaevola thrusts his hand into a fire pit as a demonstration of his bravery and allegiance to the Etruscan King Lars Porsenna (lived ca. 508 BCE) (fig. 78). The opposite medallion depicts the legendary soldier Marcus Curtius (lived ca. 362 BCE) who sacrificed his life to save Rome (fig. 79). These two medallions function as a metaphor for Prince Eugene's legendary bravery on the battlefield and fierce allegiance to the Holy Roman Emperors.

Opposite the painted medallions, and just above the two doorcases that lead west, into the *appartement de société*, and east, into the *appartement de parade*, Fanti frescoed illusionistic niches where seated female allegories flank a pedestal that is topped by a large bouquet and placed underneath a coffered arch. Carloni painted these female figures without a doubt.⁹⁷ In the south niche, one sees "Passion restrained by Reason" and *Virtus*. In the north, one sees "Princely Fame" and *Liberalitas*.⁹⁸ Carloni painted *Magnificentia* and *Magnanimitas* in the east niche, while *Intelligentia* and *Prudentia* are seen in the west.⁹⁹ The personifications advertise Prince Eugene's exceptional qualities. On either side of the allegorical figures, a bust of a Roman Emperor flanks a pair of *putti*. Carloni

⁹⁵ Krapf, 120.

⁹⁶ Krapf, 119.

⁹⁷ According to Tinzl. See Krapf, 120.

⁹⁸ Krapf, 120.

⁹⁹ Krapf, 120.

likely painted them, just like the barbaric captives in chains on either side of the painted medallions. The barbarians represent defeated Turks and reference the prince as a savior of Christendom (fig. 80). Carloni's large fresco that covers most of this vault represents the *Eternal Fame of the House of Savoy* (see fig. 75). At the top of the sky, Mars, the God of War, holds a flag in his right hand that features the emblem of the Holy Roman Empire's imperial eagle. In his left hand, Mars holds a laurel wreath of victory that he stretches towards a shield with the Savoy cross. Just below Mars, slightly to the right and in the center of the fresco, a young hero wearing a chest plate and military headgear is surrounded by gods and allegorical figures. This hero is Prince Eugene, whose military triumphs are underscored by the shackled soldiers and Turks in the bottom left-hand corner of Carloni's ceiling fresco.¹⁰⁰

Fanti and Carloni collaborated again in the *Großes Gesellschafts Sommer Zimmer* in the *Sala Terrena* after 1721 (see figs. 35 and 56).¹⁰¹ The *Sala Terrena* originally opened out onto the palace gardens. As already noted, only one of Fanti's frescoed rooms in the *Sala Terrena* survives today, where Carloni's *Triumph of Aurora and Apollo with the Allegories of Science, Scholarship, and the Fine Arts* is painted. It was executed circa 1722 or 1723 (fig. 81). Fanti's architectural illusions include painted marble columns, pilasters with ionic capitals, imaginary niches, and playful arcades. They propose that there is an illusory sphere which exists beyond the room's material borders. Fanti includes a profusion

¹⁰⁰ For a detailed interpretation, see Krapf, "‘You Are Gods on Earth’ - Carlo Innocenzo Carlone Paints for Prince Eugene of Savoy's Belvedere in Vienna."

¹⁰¹ Fanti may have frescoed alone in this space before Carloni arrived at the Belvedere. See Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten in Österreich*, 161.

of ornamental details to enhance his fresco like garlands, busts, and gilded coffers. On each of the room's walls, except for the north side that opens onto the palace gardens, Carloni painted figurative panels representing scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Finally, Fanti frescoed a balustrade with balconies to make the vault appear as if it opens to the heavens. In the center, Carloni's figural fresco references the daily transition to night and includes muses that glorify Prince Eugene. They declare that the prince is a great patron of science, scholarship, and fine art. The *Sala Terrena* was finished before 1723, as Carloni completed his *Holy Trinity* on the vault of Prince Eugene's private chapel in that year (fig. 82). It must be noted that Carloni painted a small illusionistic balustrade in the chapel which does not constitute an example of Bolognese *quadratura*.

Quadratura's Relationship to Prince Eugene's Scientific Interests

Quadratura developed in the city of Bologna, home to the world's oldest university, and thus, a major intellectual center for centuries. Closely related to the science of optical geometry, *quadratura* painting peaked in the seventeenth century at the same time as profound discoveries made by Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), Johannes Kepler (1571-1630), and Isaac Newton (1643-1727).¹⁰² Filippo Brunelleschi's (1377-1446) ground-breaking discovery of linear perspective in the

¹⁰² Jean Claude Pecker, *Understanding the Heavens: Thirty Centuries of Astronomical Ideas from Ancient Thinking to Modern Cosmology* (Berlin; London: Springer, 2011).

early Italian Renaissance is the common denominator linking Galileo, Kepler, and Newton's major advances in early modern science to *quadratura* directly. In fact, the sophisticated mathematics that developed in response to Brunelleschi's theory contributed to the development of both the telescope and *quadratura*.¹⁰³ Knowledge of optical geometry allowed Chiarini to calculate the formulas necessary to transfer his design from a two-dimensional surface onto a concave vault successfully.¹⁰⁴ The projects Prince Eugene commissioned from Chiarini and Fanti should be understood not only as an expression of the patron's artistic taste and love for the artistry by Bolognese painters, but also, as a reflection of his great intellect and scientific curiosity. That is because *quadratura* cannot be separated from contemporary scientific and mathematical developments in early modern optics.

In addition to the Belvedere's *quadratura* frescoes, Prince Eugene's world-class collection of astronomical and horological devices provides an opportunity to analyze the intersections of art, science, and technology in early modern Europe. These issues are just emerging in the field of art history and even though the prince owned at least two telescopes and a rare but exquisitely crafted model of the solar system, to my knowledge, only one study refers to Prince Eugene's scientific

¹⁰³ Leon Battista Alberti published the first systematic explanation of Brunelleschi's perspectival theory in 1435. See, Leon Battista Alberti, *Della Pittura: Leone Battista Alberti*, ed. Luigi Mallè (Firenze: Sansoni, 1950). For the detailed history and the development of *quadratura* painting, see the previously cited book Sjöström, *Quadratura: Studies in Italian Ceiling Painting*.

¹⁰⁴ Samuel Y. Edgerton, *The Mirror, the Window, and the Telescope: How Renaissance Linear Perspective Changed Our Vision of the Universe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009); Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten in Österreich*, 59–110, 139–60.

instruments specifically.¹⁰⁵ That is because the field of “art history historically tended to ignore scientific instruments, relegating them instead to the history of science.”¹⁰⁶ The recent exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, *Making Marvels*, displayed more than 150 scientific treasures from prestigious European collections.¹⁰⁷ It establishes firmly that exquisitely crafted scientific instruments contributed to the culture of courtly magnificence in Europe. In sum, expressions of political authority and technical knowledge are closely aligned.¹⁰⁸ The innovative application of *quadratura* at the Belvedere, therefore, should be understood in light of these cutting-edge scientific developments. Yet, as already noted in the introduction, the existing scholarship on the Belvedere does not consider these associations.

The connections between *quadratura*, optical science, and the prince’s collection of scientific objects encourage new considerations about how emerging technologies were manifested visually in a “myriad of forms” to enhance the level of sophistication at European courts.¹⁰⁹ For example, Prince Eugene owned the G & T model of the solar system, undoubtably the most splendid astronomical object in his collection (fig. 83). The clockmakers Thomas Tompion (1639–1713) and

¹⁰⁵ Tony Buick, *Orrery: A Story of Mechanical Solar Systems, Clocks, and English Nobility*, Astronomers’ Universe (New York: Springer, 2014).

¹⁰⁶ Peter Plassmeyer, “Scientific Instruments as Courtly Objects,” in *Making Marvels: Science and Splendor at the Courts of Europe* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2019), 113.

¹⁰⁷ Wolfram Koeppe, *Making Marvels: Science and Splendor at the Courts of Europe : [Exhibition, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, from November 25, 2019-March 1, 2020]* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2019).

¹⁰⁸ Wolfram Koeppe, “Marbels, Wonders, and Their Offspring,” in *Making Marvels: Science and Splendor at the Courts of Europe* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2019), 20.

¹⁰⁹ Koeppe, 16.

George Graham (1674-1751) of London built the G & T model between 1703 and 1709. Graham, known as Honest George, received his training from the watchmaker Henry Aske (life dates unknown) between 1688 and 1695. Edmund Halley (1656-1742), who became the second Astronomer Royal at the academy in London, introduced Graham to Tompion. Tompion already had a successful shop on London's Fleet Street where Graham joined him in 1695. Graham then married Tompion's niece and inherited the shop and all its contents when Tompion died in 1713.¹¹⁰ This duo designed the G & T model based on Nicolaus Copernicus's heliocentric theory and it is the first proto-orrrery to ever be created.¹¹¹ Prince Eugene commissioned it because he was fascinated by the latest astronomical discoveries, but also, he had a penchant for horological trinkets. For example, he presented the Ottoman Ambassador Seyfullah Agha (life dates unknown) with a watch in 1711. At the time in Vienna, owning at least one English clock became an important status symbol at the imperial court.¹¹² In his account of his audience with the prince, Agha remarked "it was not an expensive gift" but according to one expert, the ambassador only said this to "maintain the semblance of Ottoman

¹¹⁰ For more on Tompion and Graham see, Samuel Elliot Atkins, William Henry Overall, and Worshipful Company of Clockmakers, *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Clockmakers of the City of London* (London, 1881), 166; Henry C. King, *The History of the Telescope* (Mineola: Dover Publications, 2003), 108–15; Thomas A. Hockey, Virginia Trimble, and Katherine Bracher, eds., *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, Springer Reference (New York: Springer, 2007), 435.

¹¹¹ The second model is known only as the G Model because Graham created it alone. It is now at the Alder Planetarium & Astronomy Museum in Chicago Illinois. See fig. 2.16 in Buick, *Orrery*, 79, 88.

¹¹² Jürgen Ermert, "Frühe Uhren mit 'deutschen' Boulle-Gehäusen: Tischuhr mit Carillon von Markwick London? Teil 1," *Klassik Uhren* 4 (2010): 13, 28.

superiority” because he was comparing the clock to textiles which he had just given to Prince Eugene.¹¹³

The prince’s fascination with various mechanical trinkets is further underscored by the fact that he also patronized the British clockmaker Daniel Quare (1649-1724). Eugene placed Quare’s clock in the audience chamber at Schloss Hof.¹¹⁴ Based in London, Quare’s inventions rivaled those of Graham and Tompion. He signed Prince Eugene’s clock in 1695 that was transported to Vienna where it was cased in tortoiseshell marquetry in the style of the Louis XIV’s cabinetmaker André Charles Boulle (1642-1732) (fig. 84).¹¹⁵ Local Viennese artisans designed the fabulous case and inlaid it with Prince Eugene’s coat of arms because, to boost the local economy, the Habsburg Emperors placed a ban on the import of certain foreign luxuries which could be produced locally and masterfully.¹¹⁶ Viennese artisans also created a long case for Quare’s clock owned by Leopold I and they inlaid it similarly with the emperor’s coat of arms.¹¹⁷ These

¹¹³ Ismail E. Erünsal, “Seyfullah Agha’s Embassy to Vienna in 1711: The Ottoman Version,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 90 (2000): 20.

¹¹⁴ Joseph Maurer, “Einrichtung der Wohngemächer des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen in Schlosshof,” in *Berichte und Mittheilungen des Alterthums-Vereins zu Wien*, vol. 26 (Wien: Carl Gerold & Sohn, 1890), 164. For more on Prince Eugene’s longcase clock, also see Ermert, “Frühe Uhren mit ‘deutschen’ Boulle-Gehäusen: Tischuhr mit Carillon von Markwick London? Teil 1”; Jürgen Ermert, “Frühe Uhren mit ‘deutschen’ Boulle-Gehäusen: Tischuhr mit Carillon von Markwick London? Teil 2,” *Klassik Uhren* 5 (2010): 6–21; Jürgen Ermert, “Frühe Uhren mit ‘deutschen’ Boulle-Gehäusen: Tischuhr mit Carillon von Markwick London? Teil 3,” *Klassik Uhren* 6 (2010): 12–33; “A Viennese Turtleshell Boulle Month-Going Longcase Clock with Associated Movement by Daniel Quare, Vienna/London, circa 1700,” Sotheby’s, n.d., accessed May 12, 2021.

¹¹⁵ Ermert, “Frühe Uhren mit ‘deutschen’ Boulle-Gehäusen: Tischuhr mit Carillon von Markwick London? Teil 3,” 18.

¹¹⁶ Ermert, 17.

¹¹⁷ Leopold I’s longcase clock is on view at the Hofburg Palace in Vienna. It should be noted that Quare’s clock was replaced in the first half of the eighteenth-century by a clock that Johann Nepomuk Bayer, or James Bayer (life dates unknown), manufactured.

two examples date to between 1695 and 1710 and they are the earliest Boulle-style longcase clocks to be produced in Austria, which soon became very popular among the city's most elite nobles.¹¹⁸ Finally, the prince's fascination with clockmaker's inventions is proven by the fact that, in 1731, after his audience at the Upper Belvedere, the Ottoman ambassador Mustafa Efendi received a "*schöne Englische goldene Repetir und Sakh-Uhr*" from Prince Eugene.¹¹⁹ In other words, a gold watch with mechanisms that don't require frequent winding and either Quare or Tompion manufactured it in London.¹²⁰ This type of repeating watch chimes every hour and on the quarters. In 1676, both Quare and Edward Barlow (1639-1719) claimed to have invented the repeating mechanism which Tompion and Graham later perfected in their workshop. Just like the G & T model, the prince's astounding timepieces, constructed from the same apparatus, testify to how emerging technologies enriched courtly life and expressed authority to contemporaries at the turn of the eighteenth-century.

John Theophilus Desaguliers FRS (1683-1744), the scientist and natural philosopher who was a prominent member of the British Royal Society, documented that Prince Eugene commissioned the G & T model himself.¹²¹

It is pictured in Ermert, "Frühe Uhren mit 'deutschen' Boulle-Gehäusen: Tischuhr mit Carillon von Markwick London? Teil 1," 28.

¹¹⁸ Ermert, 28.

¹¹⁹ The primary sources is printed in Fuat Sanac, "Der Gesandtschaftsbericht Mustafa Efendis über die Gesandtschaftsreise nach Wien im Jahre 1730/31" (Dissertation, Wien, Universität Wien, 1992), 469.

¹²⁰ Johann Heinrich Zedler, "Repetit-Uhr," in *Grosses vollständiges universales Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste (Rei-Ri)*, vol. 31 (Leipzig: Johann Heinrich Zedler, 1742).

¹²¹ John Theophilus Desaguliers, *A Course of Experimental Philosophy*, vol. 1 (London: W. Innys, 1734), 431.

Considering that the model was made between 1704 and 1709, when Prince Eugene was deeply engaged with the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714), he likely commissioned it with some assistance from his personal friend and close ally John Churchill, the First Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722). While some sources have suggested that Anne, Queen of Britain (1702-1714), commissioned the G & T model originally and gave it to Marlborough as a gift, who later passed it along to the prince, one expert noted that this theory is not backed by any “historical circumstances.”¹²² To complicate matters, since at least the early eighteenth century, this object has been incorrectly named the orrery after its second patron. Namely, Charles Boyle, the Fourth Earl of Orrery (1674-1731), who Sir Richard Steele (1672-1729) named the first patron in 1714 erroneously.¹²³ Steele knew not of the machine that Prince Eugene commissioned before he published his account of John Rowley’s (1668-1728) lecture where this leading mathematical instrument maker operated a planetary machine that had been made for the Earl of Orrery.¹²⁴ Rowley created it circa 1712 or 1713, after he had first studied Prince Eugene’s G & T model. Yet due to Steele’s publication, to this day, the planetary machine is called an orrery.

Prince Eugene was in London in 1712, when Charles VI sent him there to deal with matters concerning the War of the Spanish Succession between January

¹²² Tony Buick, *Orreries, Clocks, and London Society The Evolution of Astronomical Instruments and Their Makers* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020).

¹²³ Richard Steele, “No. 11. Oct. 29,” *The Englishman: Being the Close of the Paper so Called with an Epistle Concerning the Whiggs, Tories, and New Converts.*, 1714, 70–72.

¹²⁴ Desaguliers, *A Course of Experimental Philosophy*, 1:431.

and March.¹²⁵ Prince Eugene likely took time to receive his new planetary machine from Graham and Tompion that year, but then, he passed it to Rowley. Desaguliers confirmed that the G & T model was “to be sent with some of [Rowley’s] own instruments to Prince Eugene,” but first, Rowley made several copies of it.¹²⁶ Rowley and William Cadogan, the First Earl of Cadogan (1675-1726), hand-delivered these objects to the prince in Prague in July 1723, during the imperial court’s summer sojourn in that city. Apparently, the prince had waited a whole decade to get his planetary machine back from Rowley. He stated to Cadogan that although it had been “*quelque temps*” since he had last seen the G & T model, it still greatly impressed him.¹²⁷ Eugene also reported that Charles VI “*voulu avoir le plaisir de la regarder elle même*.”¹²⁸ The emperor soon owned a planetary machine that Rowley made and later acquired the G & T Model from Prince Eugene’s estate in 1738.¹²⁹ Prince Eugene ordered his librarian, Étienne Boyet (life dated unknown), to immediately display the G & T model in the library at the city palace.¹³⁰ Rowley accompanied the machine all the way to Vienna and taught Boyet how to operate it before Boyet placed it under a glass dome to ensure that dust would not harm any of the delicate mechanisms.¹³¹

¹²⁵ Max Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Zum Gipfel des Ruhmes*, vol. 3 (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1964), 82–97.

¹²⁶ Desaguliers, *A Course of Experimental Philosophy*, 1:431.

¹²⁷ Translation: “some time.” See Prince Eugene of Savoy, “Letter: Prince Eugene to Lord Cadogan,” September 8, 1723, AT-OeStA/HHStA Große Korrespondenz 84a-2, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv.

¹²⁸ Translation: “wanted to have the pleasure of looking at it himself.” See Savoy.

¹²⁹ Buick, *Orrery*, 86.

¹³⁰ Prince Eugene of Savoy, “Letter: Prince Eugene to Étienne Boyet,” August 4, 1723, AT-OeStA/HHStA Große Korrespondenz 76b-33, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv.

¹³¹ In addition to oral instructions, Rowley left Boyet with a manual. See Savoy.

It should be noted that one scholar thought Cadogan gave the G & T model to the prince as a gift because Prince Eugene stated in the aforementioned letter, “*vous me rendez véritablement confuse, Mylord, par le present magnifique.*”¹³² This specific comment may actually be evidence that Cadogan helped the prince commission the G & T model. Cadogan was Marlborough’s affiliate and they fought alongside the prince at the Battle of Blenheim in 1704. After Marlborough’s fall from grace at the British royal court in 1711, Cadogan began to fall out of favor as well. By 1720, Cadogan’s staunch support of George I’s advisers caused him to lose his political influence almost entirely. Additionally, orreries are extremely costly and Rowley sold one to the British East India Company for £500.¹³³ In 1722, Rowley sold another more elaborate model called the “great solar system” for £1,000.¹³⁴ These sums are the equivalent of about \$172,000 and \$86,000 in today’s money, respectively.¹³⁵ Unlike Prince Eugene, Cadogan could not likely afford such a pricey luxury which only Europe’s most elite could afford. Considering that Rowley was loaned the G & T model for a whole decade, the prince’s formal words in his letter to Cadogan might actually voice his thrill in seeing his own device again and appreciation for Cadogan’s role in finally accomplishing this objective. Perhaps

¹³² Translation: “you make me truly delirious, My lord, from this magnificent present.” See Savoy, “Letter: Prince Eugene to Lord Cadogan,” September 8, 1723; Max Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Mensch und Schicksal*, vol. 5 (Wien: Böhlau, 1965), 113, 398–99.

¹³³ Edward Wilfrid Taylor, James Simms Wilson, and P D Scott Maxwell, *At the Sign of the Orrery: The Origins of the Firm Cooke, Troughton & Simms, Ltd.* (York? Cooke, Troughton & Simms, 1967).

¹³⁴ Buick, *Orrery*, 86.

¹³⁵ The ratio of about £100 in the early eighteenth century to \$17,200 in today’s money was calculated by Robert Finlay, as also noted in chapter two in relation to the price of armorial porcelain. See pages 120-121 of chapter two and Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History*, The California World History Library 11 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 28.

Prince Eugene allowed Rowley to make copies of the G & T model in exchange for other costly instruments.

The G & T model demonstrates the diurnal, monthly, and annual motions of the Earth-Moon system, and moreover, the rotation of the sun on its axis.¹³⁶ Prince Eugene enjoyed showing his complex planetary machine with its grandiose artistic and scientific merits to guests, having placed it in the winter palace's library deliberately. It immensely impressed Küchelbecker who made a detailed drawing that reveals the G & T model's case was altered considerably after the eighteenth century (fig. 85).¹³⁷ He explains that the "*künstliche und neu inventierte Machina Planetarum*" was displayed prominently "*unter vielen anderen sehr raren Sachen*."¹³⁸ Similarly, when Küchelbecker visited the Upper Belvedere, he reported that the prince displayed various instruments like telescopes among many "*Optische und Mathematische curieuse Sachen*."¹³⁹ Undoubtably, these were Rowley instruments. Prince Eugene displayed them in a room connected to his state bedchamber at the Upper Belvedere (fig. 86 and see the room labeled "*Garderobe/Kleider Zimer*" on the "*Haupt-Stocks*" in fig. 6). Just like the books in the prince's library, such specialized objects were seen as symbols of elite status and they greatly fascinated Küchelbecker.

¹³⁶ John R. Millburn, "Benjamin Martin and the Development of the Orrery," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 6, no. 4 (1973): 383.

¹³⁷ Johann Basilius Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter, Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupffern ans Licht gegeben* (Hannover: Nicolaus Förster und Sohn, 1730), 735–38, 784–93.

¹³⁸ Translation: "artful and newly invented planetary machine, "and "with many other very rare objects." See Küchelbecker, 735.

¹³⁹ Translation: "optically and mathematically curious devices." See Küchelbecker, 786.

Prince Eugene's famous *Bibliotheca Eugenia* was stored at his city palace primarily. Yet the prince had two additional small libraries, one at the Lower and one at the Upper Belvedere (see the rooms labeled "o" and "*Bücher Cabinet*" in fig. 1 and "*Bibliothèque/Bibliothec*" on the "*Haupt-Stocks*" in fig. 6, and see figs. 90 and 166). One scholar calls these satellite libraries "*Wechselbibliotheken*" where the prince stored current readings during the summer months.¹⁴⁰ The bindings of the book collection show that the prince took great pride in it. Each volume is bound in Moroccan leather and embossed in gold leaf with the coat of arms of the House of Savoy. The color of the leather binding represents each book's subject matter. For example, blue books contain texts about theology and law, red represents history, and books on scientific subjects are bound in yellow leather. Prince Eugene employed agents in cities throughout Europe to monitor the book markets in London, Brussels, Paris, and Amsterdam particularly. His book collecting practices followed the same format as those for collecting most of his paintings, namely through well-connected and skilled agents in foreign cities. For example, the French historian Henri Basnage de Beauval (1657-1710) monitored the Parisian book market on behalf of Prince Eugene, and Beauval's son-in-law, who lived at The Hague, watched closely the Dutch book market for unique titles.¹⁴¹ Once books arrived in Vienna, they were passed into the care of Boyet who began his life-long tenure as Eugene's librarian in 1709.¹⁴² He was born into

¹⁴⁰ Translation: "alternate libraries." See Günther Hamann, "Prinz Eugen als Bibliophile, naturhistorischer Sammler und Freund der Wissenschaft," in *Prinz Eugen und das Barocke Österreich* (Salzburg: Residenz, 1985), 349.

¹⁴¹ Hamann, 350.

¹⁴² Hellmuth Helwig, *Handbuch der Einbandkunde. Bd. 1, Die Entwicklung der Einbanddekoration, ihre Bestimmung, Bewertung und Literatur. Konservieren und*

the profession as the son of Luc-Antoine Boyet (1678-1733), the bookbinder at Versailles. The prince's motivation for collecting books was rooted in his endless pursuit of knowledge and the library became famous in his own time. In 1738, two years after the prince's death, Charles VI purchased the entire collection from Eugene's heir and established the basis for Austria's Nationalbibliothek and the Albertina collection.

When the French philosopher, Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu (1689-1755) visited Prince Eugene and saw his library in 1728, he recognized the prince as the most accomplished "homme de lettres" in Vienna.¹⁴³ Prince Eugene was not simply a collector, he was an active reader and inquisitive scholar. The studious Prince Eugene sometimes wrote comments about the subject matter of his books in their margins.¹⁴⁴ The contents of Prince Eugene's libraries were meticulously compiled in 1730 by Boyet. He lists over 15,000 books, 240 manuscripts, and sixty atlases. The library also housed 290 copper prints and over 2,000 drawings.¹⁴⁵ An entire section was dedicated to astronomy and astrology, as well as gnomonics, or the science of constructing and using sun

Katalogisieren. Die Einbandleihhaberei in den Jahrhunderten, vol. 1 (Hamburg: Maximilian-Gesellschaft, 1953), 122.

¹⁴³ Translation: "man of letters." See Charles-Louis de Secondat Montesquieu Baron de la Brede et de, *Oeuvres complètes: Pensées, Spicilège, Geographica, Voyages.*, ed. Andre Masson, vol. 2 (Paris: Nagel, 1953), 967; Charles-Louis de Secondat Montesquieu Baron de la Brede et de, *Oeuvres complètes: Oeuvres diverses. Morceaux rejetés de L'esprit des lois et des Lettres persanes. Extraits de lecture annotés. Correspondance. Appendices et tables.*, ed. Andre Masson, vol. 3 (Paris: Nagel, 1955), 889.

¹⁴⁴ Kalmar, "La bibliothèque du prince Eugène de Savoie," 200.

¹⁴⁵ Hamann, "Prinz Eugen als Bibliophile, naturhistorischer Sammler und Freund der Wissenschaft," 349.

dials.¹⁴⁶ Given that the G & T model visualizes Copernicus' theories, it is no surprise that Prince Eugene owned the second edition of *Le Revoluionibus orbium*

¹⁴⁶ Étienne Boyet, "Catalogus librorum bibliothecae principis Eugenii de Sabaudia. Vol. 1," 1730, 327–36, Cod. 13963 HAN MAG, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. In this order there are forty-eight titles in the section dedicated to mathematics under the subtopic astronomy, gnomonics, and astrology. Namely, Aldus Manutius, *Scriptores astronomici*, 1499. Guido Bonatti, *De Astronomia tractatus*, 1506. Francesco Leverae, *Prodromus universae astronomie restitutae*, 1663. Francesco Leverae, *De inerrantium stellarum viribus, & excellentia secundum quatuor positus earum insignes*, 1664. Francesco Leverae, *Dialogus contra duas hic transcriptas epistolas*, 1664. Giuseppe Blancani, *Sphaera Mundi*, 1635. Académie des sciences (France), *Recueil d'observations e de faites astronomiques*, 1693. Johannes Hevelius, *Selenographia*, 1647. Johann Philipp von Wurzelbau, *Uranies Noricae Basis Astronomica Sive Rationes Motus Annui Ex Observationibus In Solem Hoc Nostro Et Seculo Abhing Tertio Norinbergae Sub Eodem Meridiano Habitis Quamplurimis Deductae Et Ampliter Demonstratae*, 1719. Stanisław Łubieniecki, *Theatrum Cometicum*, two volumes, 1665 and 1668. Giovanni Antonio Magini, *Primum mobile, duodecim libris contentum : cum tabvlis ad cum spectantes*, 1631. Francisci Allaei, *Astrologiae nova methodvs*, 1654. Jean Baptiste Morin, *Astrologia Gallica principiis et rationibus propriis stabilita, etc.*, 1661. Francois Closier, *La Chiromantie universelle*, 1682. Girolamo Cardano, *Metoposcopia libris tredecim, et octingentis faciei humanae eiconibus complexa*, 1658. Salomon de Caus, *La pratique et démonstration des horloges solaires, avec un discours sur les proportions*, 1624. Nicolas Copernicus, *De revolvionibus orbium coelestium, libri VI*, 1566. Tycho Brahe and Johann Gottfried Schönwetter, *Opera Omnia, Sive Astronomiae Instavratæ Progymnasmata*, 1648. Proclus, *Procli sphaera Ptolemaei de hypothesibus planetarum*, 1620. Galileo, *Sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo : tolemaico e copernicano*, 1632. Philippe Desplaces, *Ephemerides des mouvemens celestes, pour les années 1715, jusqu'en 1725*, 1716. Thomas Gouye and the Académie des sciences (France), *Observations physiques et mathématiques pour servir à l'histoire naturelle & à la perfection de l'astronomie & de la geographie : envoyées des Indes et de la chine à l'Academie*, 1692. Ismael Boulliau, *Philolai : sive, Dissertationis de vero systemate mvndi, libri IV*, 1639. Athan Kircheri, *Iter Extaticum*, 1660. Luca Gaurico, *De Eclipsi solis miraculosa, in passione Domini observata*, 1553. Georgius Cunelius, *Facilis et expeditus modus constituendarum figurarum coelestium, seu, ut vulgo vocant, thematum natalitorum*, 1582. Johann Wilhelm Stucki, *Prognosticon*, 1588. Pierre d' Ailly, *Concordantia astronomie cum theologia*, 1490. Johan Jakob Zimmermann, *Exercitatio theoricorum Copernico - coelestium mathematico-physico theologica*, 1689. Joachimus Curtius, *Commentatio de certitudine matheseos et astronomiae, cum decisione quaestionis astrologicae*, 1606 (1616?). Martinus Hortensius, *Responsio ad Additiunculam D. Ioannis Kepleri, Caesarei Mathematici, praefixam Ephemeridi eius in annum 1624*, 1631. Jean Voel, *De horologiis sciothericis libri tres*, 1618. *Somnia Salomonis Regis, una cum Danielis prophete somniorum interpretation*, 1516. Galileo Galilei, *Dialogo Di Galileo Galilei*, 1710. Henry Sully, *Description abregée d'une horloge d'une nouvelle invention pour la juste mesure du temps sur mer*, 1726. James Usher, *Armachani de Macedonum et Asianorum anno solari, dissertation*, 1648. Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle, *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes*, 1703. Georgius Ceasius, *Catalogus, nunquam antea visus, omnium cometarum secundum seriem annorum a*

coelestium libri VI that Henrie-Terus printed in 1566. The very next section in the library's inventory is dedicated to optics, dioptrics, and perspectival studies.¹⁴⁷ Just like studies of celestial bodies, during the early modern period, "optics thrived...as a science of first rank" and both disciplines' foundations are closely intertwined.¹⁴⁸

diluvio conspectorum, usque ad hunc praesentem post Christi nativitatem 1578 annum, 1579. Jakob Bernoulli, *Conamen novi Systematis Cometarum*, 1719. Gerard Desargues and Abraham Bosse, *La maniere universelle de Mr. Desargues Lyonnois, pour poser l'essieu, & placer les heurs & autres choses aux cadrans au soleil*, 1643. Henrik Rantzau, *Tractatus astrologicus de genethliacorum thematum*, 1633. Ciro Spontone, *La metoposcopia*, 1654. Francesco Maria de'Pagani, *Fortuna: seu methodus*, 1679. Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Leçons de perspective positive*, 1576. Althanius Kircher, *Ars Magna lucis et Umbrae*, 1646. Willem Janszoon Blaeu and Martinus Hortensius, *de usu Globorum & Sphaerarum Caelestium ac Terrestrium*, 1634. Antoine Couillard, *Les Contredits du Seigneur du Pavillon, les Lorriz, en Gastinois, aux faulses & abusifues propheties de Nostradamus, & autres astrologues. Adiousté quelques œuvres de Michel Marot, etc.*, 1560.

¹⁴⁷ Boyet, 337–41. In this order, eighteen titles are listed in the section dedicated to mathematics under the subtopic optics, dioptrics, and perspective. Namely, Franciscus Aguilonius, *Opticorum Libri Sex*, 1613. Jean-François Nicéron, *Thaumaturgus Opticus*, 1st edition, 1646. Jean-François Nicéron, *Thaumaturgus opticus*, 2nd edition, 1663. Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum*, Augsburg 1706. Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum*, Rome 1702. Vignola, *Le Due Regole della Prospettiva Pratica, Di M. Iacomo Barozzi Da Vignola*, 1611. Daniele Barbaro, *La pratica della prospettiva*, 1568. Caus, Salomon, *La Perspective Avec La Raison des ombres et miroirs*, 1612. Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Leçons de perspective positive*, 1576. Athanasius Kircher, *Ars magna lucis et umbrae*, 1596. Issac Newton, *Traité D'Optique Sur Les Reflexions, Refractions, Inflexions, Et Les Couleurs, De La Lumiere*, 1722. Louis Jobolt, *Descriptions Et Usages de Plusieurs Nouveaux Microscopes, Tant Simples Que Composez*, 1718. Bonanni, Filippo, *Observationes circa viventia, que in rebus non viventibus reperiuntur. Cum Micrographia curios*, 1691. Euclid, *La Perspective d'Euclide traduite en françois sur le texte grec, original de l'auteur, et démontrée par Rol. Fréart de Chantelou, Sieur de Chambray*, 1663. Jean Dubreuil, *La perspective pratique ... Par un religieux de la compagnie de Jesus*, 1651. Girard-Manière Desargues, *Universelle de Monsieur Desargues pour pratiquer la perspective par petit-pied, comme le géométral, Ensemble les places et proportions des fortes*, 1648. Abraham Bosse, *Moyen universel de pratiquer la perspective sur les tableaux ou surfaces irrégulières, ensemble quelques particularitez concernant cet art et*, 1653. Abraham Bosse, *Traité des pratiques geometrales et perspectives, enseignées dans l'Academie royale de la peinture et sculpture*, 1665. Monsieur Villete, *Description du grand Miroir ardent fait par M. Villete*, 1715.

¹⁴⁸ Jeffrey K. McDonough, "Leibniz's Optics," in *The Oxford Handbook of Leibniz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

The German mathematician and Enlightenment philosopher, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (1746-1716), established Prince Eugene's library's organizational method.¹⁴⁹ Optics are one of Leibnitz's main areas of study and he was particularly interested in geometrical optics and extensively researched the laws of refraction and reflection.¹⁵⁰ The scholar also was closely involved in Prince Eugene's intellectual life and became a key advisor in the earliest years of Eugene's library collection. Leibnitz even connected Prince Eugene to the prominent British instrument maker Henry Sully (1680-1729).¹⁵¹ Sully's book titled *Description abrégée d'une horloge d'une nouvelle invention pour la juste mesure du temps sur mer* and published in 1726 could also be found in the prince's library.¹⁵² The intellectual exchange between the prince and Leibniz is certainly well-documented.¹⁵³ For example, during Leibniz's stay in the imperial city between 1712 and 1714, Prince Eugene supported him strongly in his attempt to persuade Charles VI to found a scientific academy in Vienna.¹⁵⁴ It is plausible that the two became well acquainted through their shared interest in optics that led to some of the most dramatic scientific discoveries of the early modern period and, at the same time, lies at the core of *quadratura* with its complex geometry. Accordingly,

¹⁴⁹ Hamann, "Prinz Eugen als Bibliophile, naturhistorischer Sammler und Freund der Wissenschaft," 210–11.

¹⁵⁰ McDonough, "Leibniz's Optics."

¹⁵¹ Ermert, "Frühe Uhren mit 'deutschen' Boulle-Gehäusen: Tischuhr mit Carillon von Markwick London? Teil 3," 17.

¹⁵² Boyet, "Catalogus librorum bibliothecae principis Eugenii de Sabaudia. Vol. 1," 333.

¹⁵³ Prince Eugene first met Leibniz in Hanover in 1708. He received Leibniz in Vienna between 1712 and 1714. The writing of *Monadology* was motivated by Prince Eugene. See, Stuart C. Brown and N. J. Fox, *Historical Dictionary of Leibniz's Philosophy*, *Historical Dictionaries of Religions, Philosophies, and Movements* 66 (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2006), 90; Nicholas Rescher, "Leibniz Visits Vienna (1712-1714)," *Studia Leibnitiana* 31, no. 2 (1999): 133–59.

¹⁵⁴ Rescher, "Leibniz Visits Vienna (1712-1714)."

it is probable that Chiarini's preparatory drawing, that reveals Prince Eugene's original plan to cover the Marble Hall's vault at the Lower Belvedere in architectural illusions entirely, dates to this time of his intellectual exchange with Leibniz.

Prince Eugene's ownership of telescopes provides further evidence of his interest in the discoveries that new technologies made possible through advances in geometrical optics. In 1672, Newton invented the first reflecting telescope. Kleiner drew a pair in his rendering of the *Anleg Zimmer* at the Upper Belvedere (see fig. 86). The two telescopes, one of average size and the other significantly larger, are placed together near the room's west wall. This placement in front of cabinets suggests they stand there temporarily and can be moved for ideal astronomical viewing after dark. The make and model of the prince's telescopes is unknown, as is their current location. Prince Eugene most likely purchased them from Rowley or Graham in London. Graham, the inventor of Eugene's proto-orrery, also produced the first transit telescope in Europe.¹⁵⁵ Closely resembling the larger telescope model that Kleiner drew in the *Anleg Zimmer*, this is the first instrument that allowed for the precise measurement of a celestial body's movement across the sky. The prince also owned a small instrument that is stored in a custom case and labeled "*perspectivum*."¹⁵⁶ This monocular is most likely a magnifying device as they developed concurrently to the telescope.

The history of telescopes is complex and beyond the scope of this study. Yet I recognize that telescopes created in the early eighteenth century are closely

¹⁵⁵ Buick, *Orrery*, 62.

¹⁵⁶ This instrument's location is not known to me but it is pictured in Hamann, "Prinz Eugen als Bibliophile, naturhistorischer Sammler und Freund der Wissenschaft," 358.

linked to advances in optics and geometry, which also led to congruent innovations like painted illusions and sizable mirrors.¹⁵⁷ As such, it is not a coincidence that *quadratura* and mirrors are key components in the Belvedere's interior decoration. They are all pioneering optical enchantments and closely linked to the prince's scientific curiosity, while also functioning as status symbols. Mirrors were quickly popularized in Europe following their extensive application in the Hall of Mirrors at the Palace of Versailles between 1678 and 1684. Until the 1680s, European mirrors were produced by blowing and cutting glass that came from Venice primarily. The French discovered a new method of producing mirrors through the process of pouring which allowed them to create larger mirrors than ever before.¹⁵⁸ These became the main feature of the *Cheminée à la Royale* in French Baroque palaces. It is no surprise, therefore, that du Plessy placed these fireplaces in all the Belvedere's highest-ranking chambers.¹⁵⁹ Because of a great demand for large

¹⁵⁷ For detailed studies, see King, *The History of the Telescope*; Rolf Willach, *The Long Route to the Invention of the Telescope*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge, v. 98, pt. 5 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2008); Edgerton, *The Mirror, the Window, and the Telescope*; A. D. C. Simpson, "The Beginnings of Commercial Manufacture of the Reflecting Telescope in London," *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 40, no. 4 (November 2009): 421–66, <https://doi.org/10.1177/002182860904000405>.

¹⁵⁸ Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France, and Holland*, Studies in British Art (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1978), 78–79.

¹⁵⁹ In addition to Prince Eugene's state bedchamber, the other rooms at the Lower Belvedere which feature a *Cheminée à la Royale* topped by a mirror include the *Tafel Zimmer*, *Cabinet*, *Gemaltes Cabinet*, *Gemach*, and the *Bücher Cabinet*. At the Upper Belvedere, the rooms with a *Cheminée à la Royale* and mirror include the *Conferenz Zimmer*, *Audienz Zimmer*, *Spiegel Zimmer*, *Cabinet*, and the prince's state bedchamber in the *Appartement de Parade*. In the *Appartement de Société*, the rooms with a *Cheminée à la Royale* and mirror include the *Taffel Zimmer*, *Caffe Zimmer*, *Spiel Zimmer*, *Marmoriertes Cabinet*, *Vorgemach*, *Schlafgemach*, and *Gemahlenes Cabinet*. See Kleiner, *Das Belvedere zu Wien: nach dem Stichwerk in 140 Blättern aus den Jahren 1731 - 1740*.

French mirrors developed at the imperial court in Vienna, Emperor Leopold I attempted to set up mirror manufacturing near the city in the first decades of the eighteenth century. The recreation of the French technique was not successful in Austria and the Emperor's manufacture failed.¹⁶⁰ Thus, Prince Eugene imported his high-quality mirrors from his native France. Documents show that in January of 1714, the prince's first French mirror arrived in Vienna and it was ordered for the state bedchamber at the Lower Belvedere.¹⁶¹ The prince's successful application of mirrors at the Upper Belvedere is conveyed by the Archbishop of Salzburg Harrach, who asked Hildebrandt in October 1722 to purchase French mirrors for Mirabell Castle and design a space which rivaled the Upper Belvedere's *Spiegel Zimmer*, which is discussed in more detail in chapter three (fig. 87).¹⁶² Du Plessy designed the *Spiegel Zimmer* and it was so highly received that the emperor had him build a similar room for Maria Theresia at the imperial summer palace called *Favorita* in 1725.

Like mirrors, *quadratura* generates unexpected optical illusions which can leave the viewer spellbound.¹⁶³ The following encounter described by the French diplomat Francois du Bussy (1699- 1780) shows how Prince Eugene used optical illusions to assert his authority. In 1728, in the *Goldkabinett* at the winter palace,

¹⁶⁰ Otto Hecht, *Die k. k. Spiegelfabrik zu Neuhaus in Niederösterreich 1701-1844. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Merkantilismus (= Studien zur Sozial-, Wirtschafts-, und Verwaltungsgeschichte, 4)* (Wien: Verlagsbuchhandlung Carl Konegen, 1909).

¹⁶¹ Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 449.

¹⁶² Erzbischof Franz Anton Harrach, "Brief vom 9. Oktober 1722," in *Österreichische Kunsttopographie, 13: Die Profanen Denkmale der Stadt Salzburg, Wien*, ed. Hans Tietze, vol. 13 (Wien: A. Schroll, 1914), 179. And see my discussion on pages 233-237 of chapter three.

¹⁶³ Sabine Melchior-Bonnet, Katharine H Jewett, and Jean Delumeau, *The Mirror: A History* (Oxfordshire, New York: Routledge, 2014).

which was outfitted with a *Cheminée à la Royale*, the prince greeted du Bussy with his back (see fig. 103). Soon, the diplomat noticed Prince Eugene's reflection gazing at him directly from the large mirror above the fireplace's mantle and it startled him.¹⁶⁴ The surreal encounter demonstrates how mirrors, and *quadratura* alike, have the potential to considerably intensify a personal encounter. In fact, mirrors were considered tremendously powerful and unnerving, so that, in 1733, Julius Bernhard von Rohr (1688-1742), in his report on contemporary practices in diplomacy, insisted that mirrors are removed or covered entirely to ensure that all parties have equal access to the space during negotiations.¹⁶⁵

In the two great reception halls of the Belvedere which feature *quadratura* prominently, mirrors are not included despite the presence of *Cheminée à la Royale*. Prince Eugene's choice to place paintings rather than mirrors above the twin fireplaces in the Marble Hall at the Upper Belvedere is particularly unusual.¹⁶⁶ This choice follows the Marble Hall at the Lower Belvedere, where white marble medallions are seen above the twin *Cheminée à la Royale* instead of mirrors. Prince Eugene's decorative choice suggests that contemporary spectators felt a mysterious connection to the illusionistic realm produced by *quadratura* frescoes and reflections produced in mirrors. While mirrors force viewers to enter the imaginary realm by including their likeness, the illusions produced by *quadratura* are observed passively. The more hospitable but equally impressive effects

¹⁶⁴ Cited in Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Mensch und Schicksal*, 5:127.

¹⁶⁵ Rohr was a German scientist and cabinet member of Maurice Wilhelm, Duke of Saxe-Merseburg (1688-1731). Julius Bernhard von Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der Grossen Herren. Neudruck d. Ausg. 1733*, ed. Monika Schlechte (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1990), 523.

¹⁶⁶ Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 375.

determine that *quadratura* is ideally suited for spaces like the two reception halls at the Belvedere, which are the first chambers that guests may enter. *Quadratura* makes a grand first impression and conveys, both cleverly and hospitably, Prince Eugene's specific interest in Bolognese art at the crossroads of optical science.

Conclusion

Prince Eugene's high position at the Habsburg court gave him the resources to "import" Chiarini to Vienna to execute a series of prestigious commissions at his palaces. The acclaimed artist's specialized skill quickly fascinated elites in the Austrian capital and helped to popularize artistic illusions in Viennese spaces beyond the theater. This premise is supported by Chiarini's achievements at Prince Eugene's city palace and the Belvedere, as well as at Palais Trautson and Palais Daun-Kinsky. Additionally, it is underscored by Fanti's vast achievements at nearly all the foremost Austrian Baroque monasteries that include Stift Melk, Stift Göttweig, Stift Seitenstetten, and Stift Altenburg.¹⁶⁷ In 1723, after the completion of his work at the Upper Belvedere, Fanti launched a long and successful career in central Europe. He went on to paint alongside Paul Troger (1698-1762), the most accomplished Baroque fresco painter working in Austria. While Prince Eugene's patronage of Chiarini helped popularize *quadratura* in Viennese palace

¹⁶⁷ Knall-Brskovsky provides a detailed account of Fanti's career in Austria in, Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten in Österreich*, 160–81.

interiors, Fanti spread Bolognese illusionistic architectural painting from Vienna to the Habsburg territories where it remained popular throughout the mid-eighteenth century.

Situated at the crossroads of visual art and optics, Chiarini's frescoes engaged Prince Eugene intellectually. They are "not a handmaiden of the grand manner," but rather, had "the status of a work of art in its own right."¹⁶⁸ That is because *quadratura* is an aesthetic exhibition of the laws of optical geometry. It stems from scientific discoveries that produced the telescope and which allowed for some of the most sensational scientific breakthroughs in recent human history. Prince Eugene's great interest in these discoveries is reflected widely in his vast collection of art and technological objects such as the G & T Model of the solar system. Moreover, the library holdings in astronomy, optics, and perspectival studies demonstrate his superior intellect. The prince's patronage of *quadratura* is closely linked to his love of Bolognese art and tied to the many curious scientific and aesthetic objects in his collection, which range from telescopes to a planetary machine, to large French mirrors. Prince Eugene commissioned Chiarini with the Belvedere's fresco decoration to elevate the palace's luxurious material environment intellectually and express cultural authority. Chiarini's designs are not simply visually pleasing or a frame for Carloni's figurative scenes. They are an essential element of Prince Eugene's vast collections of art and scientific objects that refine our understanding of the dynamic exchange between art, science, and technology during Europe's early modern period.

¹⁶⁸ Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600 to 1750*, 5th. ed, The Pelican History of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 476.

CHAPTER TWO

Dominion and Luxurious Resplendence: *Chinoiserie* at the Upper Belvedere

Introduction

The Upper Belvedere introduced to imperial Vienna the most extensive application of *chinoiserie* that dates to the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Sumptuous painted and embroidered Chinese silk taffeta and satin, embossed damask, as well as colorful Indian chintz, originally dressed the walls of select high-ranking chambers on the *piano nobile* (see figs. 11, 36, 46-47, and 88-96). Namely, in the *appartement de parade*, which comprises of the east half of the Upper Belvedere's *piano nobile*, Asian textiles dressed the walls in the *Antichambre*, the *Conferenz Zimmer*, the *Audienz Zimmer*, the *Bibliothec*, *Bilder Zimmer*, and the prince's bed chamber, including the state bed (see fig. 6.) In the *appartement de société*, which makes up the west half of the Upper Belvedere's *piano nobile*, it dressed the walls in the *Tafel Zimmer*, the *Caffé Zimmer*, the *Spiel Zimmer*, the *Bilder Saal*, the *Gemahlenes Cabinet*, the *Vorgemach*, and finally, the *Schlaff-Gemach*, including a second state bed (see fig. 6.) Prince Eugene's Asian fabrics also enlivened the palace's custom furnishings, now lost. Prince Eugene's Chinese armorial plates have partially survived. They are the first of their kind which were

ever seen in Vienna and displayed on an *étagère* in the *Vorzimmer*, which doubled as a buffet room, in Upper Belvedere's *appartement de société* (see figs. 37-44 and 97). Such costly Far Eastern commodities were extremely rare to behold in Vienna and maintained that Prince Eugene was a worthy representative of the Holy Roman Emperor during his governorship of the Austrian Netherlands. Charles VI appointed the prince to this position in 1716, which is also the same year that the Upper Belvedere was commissioned. The prince stepped down from this role in 1724.¹ Between 1719 and 1723, the Upper Belvedere's *chinoiserie* interiors were outfitted in a novel way that had never been seen before in Vienna. The prince's resplendent Asian luxuries were understood to be visual tokens of the Habsburgs' new-found global dominion, which was achieved thanks to Prince Eugene through his support of the controversial Ostend East India Company. His inclusion of Asian porcelain and textiles in the Upper Belvedere's furnishing helped to shape a new aesthetic culture of luxury among Vienna's highest nobles, yet as noted in the introduction, the scholarship concerning *chinoiserie*'s impact on Vienna is focused primarily on Maria Theresa's accomplishments in the mid-century. Our understanding of the foundations of this style in the late Baroque city are only just emerging. Therefore, this chapter first establishes that Far Eastern imports experienced a rapidly rising status as elite objects in Viennese interior decoration at the dawn of the eighteenth-century. It then analyzes the *chinoiserie* at the Upper

¹ For more information on the prince's governorship of this territory, see Max Braubach, *Prince Eugen von Savoyen: Der Staatsmann*, vol. 4 (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1965), 113–216.

Belvedere to contribute to our understanding of how maritime history and early modern globalization directly impacted the trajectory of European interior design.

Porcelain in Early Eighteenth-Century Viennese Interiors

In 1702, the Hofburg palace of the Habsburg Emperors featured the imperial city's first showcase of Chinese porcelain. Fischer von Erlach designed one small but intimate room for Emperor Joseph I's wife, Amalia Wilhelmina von Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1673-1742). It presented numerous blue and white porcelain plates that are called *Kraak*.² This type of porcelain, whose name is derived from the Dutch word for ship, or *carrack*, is thin and brittle, has uneven blue pigmentation, and typically includes a figurative scene painted in the well. Chinese artists produced *Kraak* during the seventeenth century widely and catered their designs to both the southeastern Asian and European markets. The chamber showing *Kraak* at the Hofburg was called the *Indianisches Kabinett*. This name refers to Asia broadly and evoked a "distant place" with "imaginary appeal" in eighteenth-century Europeans, and therefore, German words like *indianisch*, *chinesisch*, or *japanisch*, as well as the same words in other European languages, were used by contemporaries interchangeably with no real concern for "geographic

² Felix Czeike, *Historisches Lexikon Wien*, vol. 1 (Wien: Kremayr & Scheriau, 1992), 567; Johannes Wieninger, "Chinese Export Porcelain and Porcelain Cabinets in Vienna" (Academic Conference, China in Austria: Reception and Adaptation of East Asian Art in Central Europe, Universität Wien, June 29, 2018).

particulars.”³ Today we recognize that these names represent people and places which are culturally and geographically distinct. Yet in the eighteenth century, *Indianisches Kabinett* communicated forthrightly that the imperial chamber was the first in Vienna dedicated specifically to the display of remarkable objects of Far Eastern origin.

No drawings and only archival documents related to Vienna's first *Indianisches Kabinett* exist.⁴ In 2018, a porcelain curator at the MAK in Vienna, or Museum of Applied Arts, first identified various *Kraak* in this collection which date to the seventeenth-century and have a secure Habsburg provenance.⁵ They likely originate from Fischer von Erlach's *Indianisches Kabinett* from 1702 (figs. 98-99).⁶ Two drawings of contemporary porcelain cabinets that were erected in Vienna in Palais Harrach in 1714, and moreover, in the Schönborn garden palace in 1715, offer visual evidence of how Fischer von Erlach may have arranged *Kraak* at the Hofburg (figs. 100-101).⁷ In these examples, it is presented evenly throughout the room and positioned around the fireplace, as well as resting on consoles. Prince Eugene soon commissioned Vienna's second *Indianisches Kabinett* at his city

³ Yonan Michael E., “Veneers of Authority: Chinese Lacquers in Maria Theresa's Vienna,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37, no. 4 (2004): 657.

⁴ For example, a decree was issued for the *Hofzahlamt*, or imperial treasury, to pay Fischer von Erlach for the „*indianische Cabinet*“ that was erected for the “*röm. Königin*,” or queen, on March 24, 1702. A record to the primary source can be found in Hans Sedlmayr, *Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach* (Wien: Verlag Herold, 1956), 282.

⁵ Wieninger, “Chinese Export Porcelain and Porcelain Cabinets in Vienna.”

⁶ These plates have the MAK inventory numbers KHM 303 through KHM 306.

⁷ The patrons are Aloys Thomas Raimund the Count of Harrach (1669-1742) and Friedrich Karl Reichsgraf von Schönborn-Buchheim (1674-1746). See Moriz Dreger, *Baugeschichte der k.k. Hofburg in Wien bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, Österreichische Kunsttopographie 14 (Wien: Schroll, 1914), 279; Wieninger, “Chinese Export Porcelain and Porcelain Cabinets in Vienna.”

palace in the Himmelpfortgasse between 1708 and 1710.⁸ The prince's chamber lacked *Kraak* and did not emulate the Hofburg example. Rather, Daniel Marot's (1661-1752) models for eighteenth century interior and garden design that were published and widely circulated in 1703, and again, in 1713 (fig. 102).⁹ Now called the Golden Cabinet, the prince's chamber was filled with porcelain vases and figurines and it still contains the original gold paneling and most of the original mirrors.¹⁰ Johann Wenzel von Gallas (1669-1719), the Earl of Campo and Fryenthurm and Duke of Lucera, acquired this room's porcelain vases and figurines for the prince in London in 1709.¹¹ Between 1722 and 1724, Kleiner drew this space that du Plessy designed with Prince Eugene's input (fig. 103). In 1754, Maria Theresia had the entire Golden Cabinet dismantled and then transferred this chamber's entire contents from the prince's city palace to the Lower Belvedere (fig. 104).¹² It was reassembled with few alterations.¹³ It remains at the Lower Belvedere today, but without the original porcelain which is now thought to be at the Palazzo Reale in Turin, as discussed in more detail at a later point in this

⁸ Hellmut Lorenz, "Einige unbekannte Ansichten Salomon Kleiners aus dem Stadtpalast des Prinzen Eugen in Wien," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 40 (1987): 226–27.

⁹ Daniel Marot, "Nouveaux livre da parterments," in *Oeuvres du Sr. D. Marot, architecte de Guillaume III, Roy de la Grande Bretagne, contenant plusieurs, pensées utiles aux architectes, peintres, sculpteurs, orfeures, jardiniers & autres, le tout en faveur de ceux qui s'appliquent aux beaux arts*. (La Haye: Pierre Husson, 1703).

¹⁰ Pierre Schreiden, "A propos du Cabinet des Glaces du Belvedere Inferieur," in *Etudes sur le XVIIIe siecle*, ed. Roland Mortier and Herve Hasquin, vol. 5 (Bruxelles: l'Université de Bruxelles, 1979), 123–29.

¹¹ A letter detailing this information is cited in Derek McKay, *Prince Eugene of Savoy* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1977), 196.

¹² Gertrude Aurenhammer, "Geschichte des Belvederes seit dem Tode des Prinzen Eugen," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie* 13 (1969): 48.

¹³ Schreiden, "A propos du Cabinet des Glaces du Belvedere Inferieur."

chapter.¹⁴ Prince Eugene's *Indianisches Kabinett* is the earliest surviving example of *chinoiserie* in Vienna.

Following the porcelain cabinet in the prince's city palace, Fischer von Erlach designed Vienna's third *Indianisches Kabinett* in 1713. Emperor Charles VI commissioned it for his modest hunting lodge that was later rebuilt and became Schönbrunn Castle. Only archival documents indicate that this space ever existed.¹⁵ Prince Eugene's Golden Cabinet may have influenced the emperor's new chamber, especially considering that Marot's popular and previously cited templates, which picture rooms adorned with Chinese and Japanese porcelain vases and figurines, were disseminated again extensively in 1713. This is the same year that Charles VI had Vienna's third oriental cabinet assembled. Shortly thereafter, in 1714 and 1715, the two previously noted *Indianisches Kabinette* featuring *Kraak* in Palais Harrach and Palais Schönborn were constructed. By the second decade of the eighteenth century, as evidenced by these five spaces that aristocratic patrons at the upper echelons of society curated, Asian porcelain experienced a rapidly rising status in imperial Vienna due to its paucity and luxurious resplendence.

Prince Eugene's correspondence with Gallas, who served Joseph I as a diplomat in London, attests to the great difficulty in attaining porcelain while based in central Europe. Between 1705 and 1711, Prince Eugene wrote consistently to Gallas and requested that he monitor London's incoming ships and local shops to

¹⁴ See the section titled The Fate of Prince Eugene's Armorial Porcelain on pages 140-144 of this chapter.

¹⁵ Czeike, *Historisches Lexikon Wien*, 1:567; Wieninger, "Chinese Export Porcelain and Porcelain Cabinets in Vienna."

purchase matching porcelain plates that the British East India Company imported. By 1708, Gallas managed to find twenty-six identical porcelain plates for Prince Eugene and he portrayed them as being “*fort particulier, et du meilleur gout qu'on le sait peu trouver présentement dans tout Londres.*”¹⁶ When the prince finally received these plates in Vienna, he implored Gallas to find more of the very same type and Gallas replied: “*encore déterre une doucine d'assiettes comme les premiers dont trois sont soit tant peu mais autant que rien endommagés que j'ai pourtant juge à propos de prendre.*”¹⁷ Eugene gladly accepted these extra plates despite their known flaws as they matched his small set closely.¹⁸ While the prince's matching plates are now lost, various porcelain plates that were shown during the exhibition *Porcellane e argenti del Palazzo Reale* provide a useful visual comparison to how the prince's own set may have looked, as they too were manufactured during the Kangxi period (1661-1722). They are ten octagonal, *famille-verte* plates that match exactly one lone plate with the same shape, size,

¹⁶ Translation: “very sophisticated, and of the best taste so that the London shops are currently sold out.” See Johann Wenzel Gallas, “Letter: Johann Wenzel Gallas to Prince Eugene,” August 7, 1708, AT-OeStA, KA, FA, AFA, HR Akten 262, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv. Also see Johann Wenzel Gallas, “Letter: Johann Wenzel Gallas to Prince Eugene,” June 29, 1708, AT-OeStA, KA, FA, AFA, HR Akten 262, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv.

¹⁷ Translation: “I was able to dig up a dozen plates like the first set, three of which are either very little or hardly damaged, so I thought, nevertheless, they too were fitting for purchase.” See Johann Wenzel Gallas, “Letter: Johann Wenzel Gallas to Prince Eugene,” August 24, 1708, AT-OeStA, KA, FA, AFA, HR Akten 262, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv.

¹⁸ A draft of this letter which Prince Eugene wrote while in Loos vor Lille and sent to Gallas in London is published in Abteilung für Kriegsgeschichte des k.k. Kriegs-Archivs, ed., *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen; Spanischer Successionskrieg, Feldzug 1708*, vol. 10 (Wien: Gerolds Sohn, 1885), 218.

and decoration and which belongs to a private collector (fig. 105).¹⁹ These represent the type of plates that Gallas could have purchased in London. The existence of numerous matching plates across collections upholds that they were mass-produced for anonymous European consumers.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century in English, Dutch, and Portuguese contexts, Chinese porcelain was used daily at table services.²⁰ This contrasts with contemporary Habsburg society, where porcelain was primarily displayed.²¹ The one exception was for the presentation of desserts.²² Since there is no evidence that Prince Eugene consigned his London plates to the Golden Cabinet, he likely used them for the exhibition of sugar confections. The inventory of Prince Eugene's Schloss Hof palace, which I will elaborate upon at a later point in this chapter, documents that matching porcelain plates were stored in a large *Buffet* located in the palace's confection kitchen.²³ It is also possible that Prince Eugene purchased porcelain plates to later give them out as a diplomatic gesture.

¹⁹ Christie's London, *Chinese Export Porcelain, Ch'ing Dynasty Ceramics, Enamels and Works of Art: October 8, 1973* (London: Mason & Woods, 1973), cat. n. 36; Vincenzo Sanfo, *Porcellane e argenti del Palazzo Reale di Torino* (Milano: Fabbri Ed., 1986), 372.

²⁰ Clare Le Corbeiller and Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, "Chinese Export Porcelain," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, New Series* 60, no. 3 (Winter 2003): 8.

²¹ Wieninger, "Chinese Export Porcelain and Porcelain Cabinets in Vienna."

²² Ingrid Haslinger, "Prinz Eugen und die fürstliche Tafel im Barock," in *Schloss Hof: Prinz Eugens tusculum rurale und Sommerresidenz der kaiserlichen Familie; Geschichte und Ausstattung eines barocken Gesamtkunstwerks* (St. Pölten: Residenz Verlag, 2005), 76.

²³ Harald Frantes, "Die vollständige Originalausstattung der Schlösser Hof and der March und Niederweiden von 1736: Das Nachlaßinventar des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen." (Diplomarbeit, Wien, Universität Wien, 2005), 165 (N[ume]ro 97: Zuckerbackerey).

This practice became common by the third decade of the eighteenth century, especially after the success of the porcelain manufacturer in Meissen.²⁴

By 1715, Vienna's five *Indianische Kabinette* establish firmly that porcelain has attained an elite status in the imperial city. Yet like the prince's matching porcelain plates that Gallas purchased in London, none of the porcelain shown in these glammers spaces is unique. They belong to the over sixty million porcelain pieces that were manufactured in Asia specifically for sale on the western market over the course of the eighteenth century.²⁵ In other words, porcelain's early appeal in imperial Vienna was related predominantly to its elusive and foreign status, having been manufactured across the globe. Porcelain was also revered for its mysterious material qualities that Europeans only reproduced successfully for the first time in Meissen in 1709. Vienna's earliest collectors of Chinese and Japanese porcelain were therefore compelled to shop in distant port cities in which an East India Company operated. It remained exceedingly rare to behold Asian porcelain in Vienna until after the signing of the Treaty of Rastatt in March 1714. Prince Eugene negotiated this treaty successfully with the French general Claude Louis Hector de Villars (1653-1734). It ended the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) while also granting the Southern Netherlands to the Austrian Habsburgs, from which ships importing Far Eastern commodities operated regularly, and thus, granted for the first time to Viennese collectors, easier access

²⁴ Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, "The Politics of Porcelain: Preview of an Exhibition" (The Arnhold Collection: International Ceramics Fair and Seminar 2006, June 11, 2006), 31–32.

²⁵ Elinor Gordon, *Collecting Chinese Export Porcelain*, 1st ed (New York: Universe Books, 1977), 24.

to porcelain. Then, in 1718, Claudius Innocentius du Paquier (1678-1751) discovered the formula for making porcelain and Charles VI granted him permission to establish in Vienna the second porcelain factory in all of Europe.²⁶ During its early years, du Paquier's manufacturer imitated Chinese forms because Austrian high society considered them extraordinarily impressive. Especially Maria Theresia embraced porcelain as an expression of high cultural value during the mid-eighteenth century.

In 1719, at his new garden palace, the Upper Belvedere, Prince Eugene initiated Vienna's most exquisite presentation of Indian and East Asian imports. This communicated that he was at the forefront of contemporary taste-making, but also, it professed that the prince attained the high rank of Governor-General of the Austrian Netherlands. This position granted Prince Eugene nearly unrestricted access to imports that other Austrian nobles could not obtain readily. They include armorial porcelain and high quantities of exotic luxury textiles. While the *chinoiserie* at the Upper Belvedere pertains superficially to material ornamentation, it also affirms visually that Prince Eugene had authority over highly coveted oriental trade routes that the Ostend East India Company monopolized.

²⁶ Claudia Lehner-Jobst, "In der Rossau, nicht weit vom Liechtensteinischen Palais, ist die Porcellain-fabrique: Geschichte und Ergebnisse einer vorteilhaften Nachbarschaft," in *Barock Luxus Porzellan: Die Manufaktur du Paquier in Wien und Carlo Ginori in Florenz* (Wien: Prestel, 2005), 28.

Prince Eugene and the Ostend East India Company

As already noted in this chapter's opening, but is important to restate, Prince Eugene's splendid embellishment of the Upper Belvedere with *chinoiserie* took place between 1719 and 1723, which overlaps with the period that he governed the Austrian Netherlands. He governed in absentia and resided in Vienna. This Habsburg territory became the home of the Ostend East India Company which, under the auspices of the prince, experienced immense success in its importation of tea, textiles, and porcelain from China and India via Ostend.²⁷ Also known as the GIC, which is an anacronym for the company's Dutch name, *Generale Keijzerlycke Indische Compagnie*, this maritime venture attracted numerous international syndicates and shareholders who enjoyed profitable yields that reached the height of 217.7% during this enterprise's heyday.²⁸ In December 1722,

²⁷ The coastal city Ostend is now part of the Flemish region of Belgium. For more information about the formation and history of the Ostend Company, see Gerald B. Hertz, "England and the Ostend Company," *The English Historical Review* 22, no. 86 (April) (1907): 255–79; Karl Degryse, "De Oostendse Chinahandel (1718-1735)," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 52, no. 2 (1974): 306–47; Jan Parmentier, "The Private East India Ventures from Ostend: The Maritime and Commercial Aspects, 1715-1722," *International Journal of Maritime History* 5, no. 2 (December 1993): 75–102; Parmentier, *Thee van overzee*; Jelten Baguet, "De Oostendse Compagnie, haar directeurs en de Oostenrijkse Bewindvoerders. Een casuïstische analyse van hun onderlinge interactie (1722-1731)" (Masters Thesis, Gent, Universiteit Gent, 2013); Baguet, "Politics and Commerce: A Close Marriage? The Case of the Ostend Company (1722-1731)"; Dreijer Gijs, "The Afterlife of the Ostend Company, 1727-1745," *The Mariner's Mirror* 105, no. 3 (2019): 275–87.

²⁸ For a full list of the shareholders in 1723, see Gijs Dreijer, "Bargaining for Shelter: An Entrepreneurial Analysis of the Ostend Company, 1714-40" (Masters Thesis, Leiden, The Netherlands, Leiden University, 2017), 25. The 217.7% return refers specifically to the sale of bohea tea which was of low quality and originated from Canton. Also see Baguet, "Politics and Commerce: A Close Marriage? The Case of the Ostend Company (1722-1731)," 58; Parmentier, *Thee van overzee*, 111; Chris Nierstraz, "The Popularization of Tea: East India Companies, Private Traders, Smugglers and the

thanks to Prince Eugene's endorsement, the GIC transitioned from private, independently funded and risky voyages, to a full-fledged company backed by the Emperor Charles VI.²⁹ The Ostend East India Company's imperial charter declares that the Austrian Habsburgs intended to dominate in trade between the Southern Low Countries and the African coast, as well as between Ostend and contested territories beyond the Cape of Good Hope in the East and West Indies.³⁰ Other powerful maritime companies like the British, French, and Dutch East India Companies competed readily with the Ostend Company in these distant regions. Only after Prince Eugene promoted the GIC, did it transform into an economic powerhouse which expanded Charles VI's geopolitical horizons. Between 1719 and 1740, the emperor also engaged in maritime trade via Trieste. There, the Imperial Privileged Oriental Company exported Balkan goods to the Ottoman Empire.³¹

The official formation of the Ostend East India Company in 1722 transformed a prosperous private venture into an affective political bargaining chip that advanced Charles VI's aspirations. In 1727, only three years after the prince's governorship of the Austrian Netherland ended, Charles VI partially suspended the GIC's fruitful voyages to Asia. By scaling back its operations, he maintained peace

Consumption of Tea in Western Europe, 1700–1760,” in *Goods from the East: 1600–1800*, ed. Maxine Berg (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 266–69.

²⁹ Dreijer, “Bargaining for Shelter: An Entrepreneurial Analysis of the Ostend Company, 1714–40,” 72–76.

³⁰ *Lettres patentes d'octroy accordées par sa Majesté impériale et catholique pour le terme de trente années à la Compagnie générale à établir dans les Pays-Bas Autrichiens pour le commerce & la navigation aux Indes* (Brussels: chez Eugene Henry Fricx, 1723), 4.

³¹ Charles W. Ingrao, ed., *State and Society in Early Modern Austria* (West Lafayette, Ind: Purdue University Press, 1994), 318.

with the Dutch Republic and England in particular.³² Charles VI soon forfeited the Ostend Company as per the conditions of the second Treaty of Vienna in March 1731. It stipulates that the Ostend East India Company be dissolved in order for the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction from 1713 to be recognized by Europe's leading monarchs. The eventual succession of Maria Theresia was opposed by Russia, France, Prussia, the United Provinces, and Britain primarily.³³ In other words, Charles VI's daughter was only recognized unequivocally as his rightful heir after the lucrative GIC ceased to operate.³⁴

Prince Eugene only invested in the GIC modestly with sixty shares on August 11th, 1723, which is already after the Upper Belvedere's interiors were completed.³⁵ One scholar concludes that Prince Eugene's "financial participation" in the GIC should not be overstated because he was actually only "morally forced" to invest and said himself, it was only because he is the "*gouverneur du pays*".³⁶ Indeed, the prince's main interactions with the Ostend Company precede his investment and they took place before the GIC ever earned their imperial charter

³² Frederik Dhondt, "The Ostend Company as a Problem of European Great Power Politics (1722-1727)," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 93, no. 2 (2015): 397–437.

³³ Wilson McCandless, "The Second Treaty of Vienna, 1731, and the Diplomatic Isolation of France," in *French Foreign Policy During the Administration of Cardinal Fleury, 1726-1743: A Study in Diplomacy and Commercial Development* (London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1936), 228.

³⁴ It should be noted that the Ostend Company still operated to some extent after 1731 but without official support from Vienna. See Degryse, "De Oostendse Chinahandel (1718-1735)"; Dreijer, "Bargaining for Shelter: An Entrepreneurial Analysis of the Ostend Company, 1714-40"; Gijs, "The Afterlife of the Ostend Company, 1727-1745."

³⁵ One share was valued 1,000 guilders. See Baguet, "Politics and Commerce: A Close Marriage? The Case of the Ostend Company (1722-1731)," 60, 68.

³⁶ Translation: "governor of this territory." See Michel Huisman, *La Belgique commerciale sous l'empereur Charles VI: La compagnie d'Ostnde: Etude historique de politique commerciale et coloniale* (Bruxelles: H. Lamertin, 1902), 243; Baguet, "Politics and Commerce: A Close Marriage? The Case of the Ostend Company (1722-1731)," 68.

in 1722. These facts indicate that Prince Eugene's main interest in collaborating with the GIC was not monetary. His incentive was material. As their ultimate goal was to attain a charter backed by Charles VI, the Ostend Company initiated a gift-giving culture and it was always aimed at prominent Austrian authorities.³⁷ Between 1716 and 1724, that person was Prince Eugene who, in exchange, used his authority as the Governor- General to grant the GIC commercial courtesies and safeguarded their investments.³⁸ Yet the prince had actually expressed skepticism about their plight before the 1720s.³⁹ Therefore, the GIC introduced their method of exchanging imported treasures to gain favors. In 1720, Prince Eugene even confirmed in his letter to Maelcamp that he was quite interested in "*tous les plaisirs qui pourrait dépendre de moy*" for offering his support.⁴⁰ One scholar calls the GIC's opulent gifts "*cruciale pionnen*," or crucial pawns, that were regularly procured and distributed to earn endorsements at the imperial court in Vienna after Prince Eugene's governorship ended.⁴¹ This practice continued until Charles VI forfeited the Ostend Company in 1731.⁴²

³⁷ Baguet, "De Oostendse Compagnie, haar directeurs en de Oostenrijkse Bewindvoerders. Een casuïstische analyse van hun onderlinge interactie (1722-1731)," 120–23; Dreijer, "Bargaining for Shelter: An Entrepreneurial Analysis of the Ostend Company, 1714-40," 59–83, 86–93.

³⁸ Baguet, "De Oostendse Compagnie, haar directeurs en de Oostenrijkse Bewindvoerders. Een casuïstische analyse van hun onderlinge interactie (1722-1731)," 121.

³⁹ Dreijer, "Bargaining for Shelter: An Entrepreneurial Analysis of the Ostend Company, 1714-40," 72–77.

⁴⁰ Translation: "all the [material] pleasures which could belong to me." See Prince Eugene of Savoy, "Letter: Prince Eugene to Maelcamp," 1720, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv.

⁴¹ Baguet, "De Oostendse Compagnie, haar directeurs en de Oostenrijkse Bewindvoerders. Een casuïstische analyse van hun onderlinge interactie (1722-1731)," 121.

⁴² Baguet, 120–23.

The GIC also used flattery to get into the good graces of Prince Eugene. The first ship to depart from Ostend for Canton and return successfully was named *Prins Eugenius*.⁴³ By 1720, Prince Eugene even inquired personally about this eponymous ship and its contents, stating that he eagerly “*l'attends le retail, que vous me promettez.*”⁴⁴ The boat certainly carried so-called crucial pawns that were aimed at the governor. Namely, a “*rarite d'Indes pour moy*” that the prince thanked Merveille Sr. for organizing back in 1718, the same year that the *Prins Eugenius* first set sail.⁴⁵ It is my contention that the prince is referring to armorial porcelain, which required a supercargo officer to bring a copy of the prince's coat of arms with him to China. It is also known that armorial porcelain took about two years from order to delivery.⁴⁶ Moreover, the Ostend Company's ships routinely sailed to Canton via the Brouwer route, leaving in January or February and returning within 500 days.⁴⁷ If the *Prins Eugenius* had embarked for Canton in January or February 1718, as was the GIC's custom, then Prince Eugene's armorial plates could have arrived in Vienna by 1720 with absolute certainty. In that year, Prince Eugene even

⁴³ The supercargo officer of the *Prins Eugenius* was J. Tobin. For a detailed list of the ships that sailed to China from Ostend and their supercargoes see, Degryse, “De Oostendse Chinahandel (1718-1735),” 347.

⁴⁴ Translation: “awaits the goods, which you have promised me.” See Prince Eugene of Savoy, “Letter: Prince Eugene to Merveille,” July 13, 1720, AT-OeStA/HHStA LA Belgien DD C 35, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv.

⁴⁵ Translation: “Asian rarity for me” See Prince Eugene of Savoy, “Letter: Prince Eugene to Merveille,” January 12, 1718, AT-OeStA/HHStA LA Belgien DD C 33, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv.

⁴⁶ The timeline required to order armorial porcelain is mentioned in Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History*, The California World History Library 11 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 28; Kate Smith, “Manly Objects? Gendering Armorial Porcelain Wares,” in *The East India Company at Home, 1757-1857* (London: UCL Press, 2018), 115.

⁴⁷ Canton is the city from which most Chinese porcelain was exported abroad in the early eighteenth century. See Parmentier, “The Private East India Ventures from Ostend: The Maritime and Commercial Aspects, 1715-1722,” 86–87.

confirmed that he had received splendid gifts from the Ostend Company and they were intended for his Belvedere.⁴⁸ While the armorial plates are unfortunately not named by the prince specifically, in 1720, he does thank Maelcamp for “*les quattres poulles sauvages des indes ... et de l'attention, que vous voulez bien avoir pour ma ménagerie a établis.*”⁴⁹

A lone armorial plate pictured in *Oostende & Co.* which features the coat of arms of the Proli and Labistraete families proves that the GIC's directors had access to armorial porcelain in the early eighteenth century (fig. 106).⁵⁰ These plates brandish the coat of arms of Pietro Proli, who is from Antwerp originally and became one of the Ostend Company's seven directors in 1722. There are also two armorial plates at the MAK which are linked to the Ostend East India Company (figs. 107-108).⁵¹ Both contain the coat of arms of Charles VI and the monogram of his sister, the Archduchess Maria Elisabeth of Austria (1680-1741), who also received gifts in abundance from the GIC.⁵² She took over Prince Eugene's position as the Governor-General of the Austrian Netherlands in 1725. Accordingly, the company's records from 1728 disclose they gave her items which ranged from porcelain and tea to silk. Others who had influence at the court in

⁴⁸ Unfortunately, no day or month was included in the *Kopialbuch* in which this letter is recorded. The *Kopialbuch* only included parts of the prince's letters which were copied from original documents. See Savoy, “Letter: Prince Eugene to Maelcamp,” 1720.

⁴⁹ Translation: “four wild hens from Asia ... and for your attention and interest in helping me establish my menagerie.” See Savoy.

⁵⁰ Jan Parmentier, *Oostende & Co: het verhaal van de Zuid-Nederlandse Oost-Indiëvaart 1715-1735* (Gent: Ludion, 2002), 15.

⁵¹ The MAK inventory numbers of the two plates are KE 6600 and KE 6306.

⁵² Baguet, “De Oostendse Compagnie, haar directeurs en de Oostenrijkse Bewindvoerders. Een casuïstische analyse van hun onderlinge interactie (1722-1731),” 120–23.

Vienna received similar commodities that year. Namely, two members of the Scaramuccia-Visconti family and Ramon de Vilana Perlas, the Marquis of Rialp (1663-1741).⁵³ The frequency with which the GIC purchased gifts in 1728 is particularly striking because the company was in great jeopardy that year, due to their partial suspension in 1727. They actually spent 11,353 florins on items intended for members of Charles VI's court in 1728 alone.⁵⁴ While gifts did not ultimately save the Ostend Company from losing their imperial charter in 1731, they certainly influenced Prince Eugene during his entire governorship. That is because the prince was busy decorating his new garden palace in Vienna. The Ostend Company realized they had an opportunity to stabilize their speculative maritime venture with imported extravagances and rare specimens intended only for the prince. In exchange, they were granted his protection and advocacy. The result of this relationship is splendid *chinoiserie* at the Upper Belvedere, and moreover, a plethora of tropical plants, exotic birds, and rare animals for the menagerie, which, just like the Upper Belvedere's luxury textiles and Chinese armorials, had never been seen before in Vienna.

⁵³ A table specifying gifts of porcelain, tea, and silk and their values in florins in the year 1728 is provided by Baguet, 121.

⁵⁴ Baguet, 120–23.

Prince Eugene's Armorial Porcelain

The rarest Asian luxury on display in an early eighteenth-century Viennese interior was Prince Eugene's armorial porcelain at the Upper Belvedere (see figs. 37-44). These plates make up the only substantial porcelain exhibit at Prince Eugene's garden palace. The only other porcelain objects seen here were a small number of sizable vases, like the pair that Kleiner drew in the corners of the *Bilder Saal* (see fig. 47). This room likely featured four vases in total, one placed in each corner. Prince Eugene planned no *Indianisches Kabinett* at either the Lower or Upper Belvedere, possibly because porcelain collecting took on a more feminine gender connotation as the eighteenth century progressed.⁵⁵ Yet armorial plates were understood to be gendered male and one scholar's in-depth research on armorial porcelain reveals it expressed virility and masculine authority to early modern Europeans.⁵⁶

Prince Eugene's armorial plates were fabricated circa 1715 to 1720 and the whole set consisted of at least twelve plates originally. Only four survive

⁵⁵ For studies on female collectors of porcelain in the eighteenth-century, see Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 53–56; David Porter, *The Chinese Taste in Eighteenth-Century England*, 2014, 146–139; Cordula Bischoff, "Women Collectors and the Rise of the Porcelain Cabinet," in *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2014), 171–89.

⁵⁶ Smith, "Manly Objects? Gendering Armorial Porcelain Wares."

today.⁵⁷ It should also be considered that only the wealthiest Europeans with the right connections could afford this particular amenity. Armorial wares account for only one percent of all the porcelain that was shipped to the West during the entire eighteenth century.⁵⁸ In total, about five thousand pieces of armorial porcelain reached Europe and four thousand sets went to British patrons.⁵⁹ In other words, Prince Eugene's plates were exceptional in early eighteenth-century Vienna and boasted an exorbitant price tag. One set of armorial porcelain cost £100 on average at this time, or the equivalent of about \$17,200 today.⁶⁰ Before 1700, almost no sizable sets were ever made but as armorial porcelain's popularity grew rapidly over the century, sets soon increased in number and could include up to five hundred parts.⁶¹ For example, between 1733 and 1737, Louis XV (reigned 1715-1774) procured armorial bidets and armorial table wares. This set totaled 1,058 pieces.⁶² These lavish custom imports eventually became so popular in Europe that, between 1740 and 1760, every single British East India Company ship contained on average about ten armorial services in their cargo.⁶³ Yet Prince

⁵⁷ According to one scholar, who contacted the curator Paola Astrua at the Palazzo Reale in Turin in 2004, there is also a fifth plate from the prince's armorial set at the museum but I was unable to confirm this information. See, Ulrike Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen: Entstehung, Gestalt, Funktion und Bedeutung* (Wien: Böhlau, 2004), 151.

⁵⁸ Gordon, *Collecting Chinese Export Porcelain*, 24.

⁵⁹ Gordon, 24.

⁶⁰ Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History*, 28.

⁶¹ David Sanctuary Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, vol. II (Chippenhams: Heirloom & Howard, 2003), 36.

⁶² Gordon attributes this set to Louis XIV. However, I have only found evidence that Louis XV commissioned it and it also contains his own coat of arms. See Gordon, *Collecting Chinese Export Porcelain*, 24; Caroline Carfantan, "The Masters of Versailles: Louis XIV and Louis XV, Were They Porcelain Lovers?," *Passage* January/February (2020): 8–9.

⁶³ David Sanctuary Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, vol. I (London: Faber and Faber, 1974), 107.

Eugene's twelve plates, which date securely to the Kangxi period, are among the earliest Chinese armorials to ever be commissioned.

Prince Eugene's plates have gilded rims and Chinese artists painted his coat of arms in underglaze blue in the well of each dish (see figs. 38, 40, 42, and 44). One plate also presents ornamental and floral adornments upon both its inner and exterior rims (see fig. 38). The prince's plates are now divided among the Museo Civico d'Arte in Turin, which owns the plate which I will refer to henceforth as AP4, while the plates that I call AP1, AP2, and AP3 belong to an anonymous private collector. Christie's London sold this trio as Lot 90 in the auction *The Royal House of Savoy* in October 2019.⁶⁴ The extant plates have an incontestable provenance due to their embellishment with Prince Eugene's unique coat of arms (fig. 109). The heraldic ornaments in the center of Prince Eugene's coat of arms refer specifically to his noble lineages. He descends paternally from the French Houses of Savoy and Soissons, while maternally the prince descends from the noble Italian Mancini and Mazarini families. The shield in the center of the coat of arms is called an escutcheon. On the armorial plates, Prince Eugene's escutcheon is wrapped in a mantle that represents the House of Austria. It is also topped by a princely crown of the Holy Roman Empire. These details communicate that, despite having French and Italian noble heritage, Prince Eugene's allegiance belongs to Habsburg Austria. Indeed, on August 14, 1683, the prince swore to Leopold I that he would permanently offer his life to the service of the crown and

⁶⁴ Christie's London, *2019 Auction Catalog: The Royal House of Savoy (17486)* (London: Mason & Woods), accessed May 16, 2020, <https://www.christies.com/salelanding/index.aspx?intsaleid=28201&lid=1&saletitle=>.

retained an honorary but not effective princely status.⁶⁵ A pair of rampant lions flank Prince Eugene's escutcheon that is wrapped by a golden potence, or chain of arms, and includes a sheep pendant. This refers specifically to the Order of the Golden Fleece. In 1687, Prince Eugene became a member of this Catholic order of knighthood. Only the Habsburg monarchs could bestow this high honor that was considered to be the most prestigious recognition of chivalry in contemporary society. Prince Eugene's coat of arms is flaunted throughout the Belvedere estate, just as it is at his city palace. For example, it greets visitors when they approach the Upper Belvedere's main gates, and again, when they near the façade (figs. 110-111). In the interior of the Upper Belvedere, Prince Eugene's coat of arms is reiterated by silver armorial salvers, to be discussed in more detail below, and also, by Chinese armorial porcelain, which were placed together prominently on the *étagère* in the Vorzimmer (see fig. 37).

The most striking plate from Prince Eugene's surviving armorial wares is AP1 (see fig. 38). It has a thin decorative band of diamonds and flowers which encircle the interior rim, as well as an array of exotic vegetation and eight red lotus blossoms on the exterior rim. This colorful spectacle is dominated by shades of green primarily and the specific coloring is named *famille-verte*. As already noted, this is the most typical tone of Chinese porcelain wares that were manufactured in the Kangxi period. In the Yongzheng period (1723-1735), the fashion shifts. Porcelain, including armorial wares, are no longer colored *famille-verte* and *famille-*

⁶⁵ Max Braubach, *Prince Eugen von Savoyen: Aufstieg*, vol. 1 (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1963), 91.

rose takes over instead.⁶⁶ After the Kangxi period, European-inspired figurative designs also replace Chinese forms on plates' rims, and therefore, there are only a few surviving armorial plates that have this combination of underglaze blue and *famille-verte* simultaneously, as well as Chinese forms on the rim.⁶⁷ These details characterize Prince Eugene's own set of armorials. We may conclude that they are among the earliest armorials to ever have been commissioned and created. For reference, only twenty armorial services were shipped to England between 1694 and 1719. By 1720 and within a decade, 286 armorial services were imported to England because they became popular status symbols.⁶⁸ The presence of Prince Eugene's coat of arms, which fills the well of each plate entirely, also supports that his set was made in the Kangxi period. Already by the third decade of the eighteenth-century, and certainly by the mid-century, the fashion changes and coats of arms are significantly reduced in size.⁶⁹ For example, plate number twenty-two in *China Trade Porcelain* is an object created between 1725 and 1730 (fig. 112). It displays a modest coat of arms that barely fills one-sixth of the well.⁷⁰ By the late eighteenth century, the trend changes again. Coats of arms migrate to plates' rims where they become a minor detail. The Fitzhugh pattern became popular in Chinese porcelain for Western export after the 1780s, thus demonstrating once more that borders and designs help to date armorial porcelain

⁶⁶ Gordon, *Collecting Chinese Export Porcelain*, 25.

⁶⁷ Gordon, 13.

⁶⁸ Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, 1974, I:106.

⁶⁹ Gordon, *Collecting Chinese Export Porcelain*, 25–26.

⁷⁰ Clare Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain: Patterns of Exchange: Additions to the Helena Woolworth McCann Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; [distributed by New York Graphic Society, 1974), 50.

securely (fig. 113).⁷¹ Finally, Kleiner drew the prince's plates at the Upper Belvedere circa 1729. Consequently, they were manufactured with certainty during the first three decades of the eighteenth century. This is consistent with my proposal that Prince Eugene was referring to armorial plates in his two previously discussed letters that date to 1718 and 1720.⁷²

All porcelain which has blue underglaze and *famille-verte* or *famille-rose* coloring simultaneously was produced in entirety in Jingdezhen.⁷³ This includes Prince Eugene's armorial plates which contradicts one scholar's suggestion that they were formed in Jingdezhen but painted in Canton.⁷⁴ In the early modern period, Jingdezhen's porcelain gained a reputation for containing the purest blue paint that is sometimes called "Mohammedan" because it comprises a specific mineral of Near Eastern origin; cobaltiferous ore of manganese.⁷⁵ Artists in Jingdezhen mixed this mineral with water and painted it onto porcelain before other colors were added and permanently affixed to the plate through firing. Unlike inferior quality blue paint for porcelain which, after firing, may turn purple with traces of red, the paint used in Jingdezhen remains luminous and still under a thin

⁷¹ Gordon, *Collecting Chinese Export Porcelain*, 25–26.

⁷² Savoy, "Letter: Prince Eugene to Merveille," January 12, 1718; Savoy, "Letter: Prince Eugene to Maelcamp," 1720.

⁷³ Gordon, *Collecting Chinese Export Porcelain*, 25, 54.

⁷⁴ Isabella Massabò Ricci et al., eds., *Blu, rosso & oro: segni e colori dell'araldica in carte, codici e oggetti d'arte* (Milano: Electa, 1998), 283. It should be mentioned that in the Christie's auction catalogue, there is a note which claims AP1 was "later enameled in Europe." It is not clear that enamel is present on the plate. See Christie's London, 2019 *Auction Catalog: The Royal House of Savoy (17486)*.

⁷⁵ D.F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinese Export Porcelain* (London and New York: Faber and Faber, Ltd. and Pitman Publishing Corp., 1974), 74; Gordon, *Collecting Chinese Export Porcelain*, 54.

glaze.⁷⁶ Prince Eugene's armorial plates brandish this high quality of Jingdezhen porcelain.

The process of creating and painting porcelain in large workshops in Jingdezhen was described at length in 1712 and in 1722 by the French Jesuit missionary François-Xavier d'Entrecolles (1664-1741).⁷⁷ He established a church in this Chinese city in 1698. Visual analysis of Prince Eugene's armorial plates confirms what d'Entrecolles has described. Namely, that multiple artists worked together to sculpt and paint porcelain for European patrons. Prince Eugene's coat of arms on AP2 and AP3 are painted analogously, and thus, by one artist's hand (see figs. 40 and 42). Each comprises a rudimentary and dragon-like interpretation of the rampant lions that border Prince Eugene's escutcheon. They boast an overly round head with bulging eyes. The same characteristics differ slightly on AP4 (see fig. 44). Here, another artist has rendered the rampant lions with a single, profile eye and stripes were added to the animal. Lions do not have stripes, and thus, this artist has interpreted the prince's coat of arms through his own lens and Far Eastern visual repertoire. In other words, instead of rampant lions this artist has drawn two powerful tigers. On AP1, the same hand-painted details are again different (see fig. 38). The rampant lions are elongated, have a snake-like torso, and unnaturally

⁷⁶ Gordon, *Collecting Chinese Export Porcelain*, 54.

⁷⁷ The missionary's letters were penned to Louis-François Orry and published between 1702 and 1776 in a series of thirty-four volumes as *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses de Chine par des missionnaires jésuites*. This material resurfaced in 1735, in *Description de l'Empire de la Chine* by Jean Baptiste du Halde (1674-1743). Then, once again, in the *Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce* published between 1757 and 1774. Yet the author, Malachy Postelthwayt, published this dictionary without crediting his source. For more information see, Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History*, 17–18.

curving hind legs. Such minute but significant differences imply that multiple artists worked together on Prince Eugene's armorial plates and each possessed a different skill level. The artists did not strive for scrupulous uniformity.

The main attraction of armorial porcelain in Europe was its "exotic allure" and collectors were not concerned with Chinese artists' precision in their reproduction of western models or figures.⁷⁸ According to one specialist, armorial wares are among the "finest executed objects" to develop out of what was otherwise a "purely commercial venture."⁷⁹ Chinese artists were even allowed to freely interpret coats of arms and some details were included unwittingly, as evidenced by a set of Swedish armorial plates where the artists included a gray cloud next to the patron's coat of arms because water had stained the original sketch during its voyage to China.⁸⁰ Certainly, the challenges undertaken in procuring armorial porcelain greatly enhanced its appeal among European patrons.⁸¹ In the first two decades of the eighteenth century, nearly all owners of armorial porcelain had a direct connection to a boat's captain or a supercargo officer who was directly involved with trade in China.⁸² Only these individuals had the capability to personally pass along a patron's coats of arms to Chinese artists to be copied onto porcelain wares. It is possible that Prince Eugene requested armorial porcelain and paid for it himself. Yet given the scarcity of armorial wares

⁷⁸ Finlay, 29.

⁷⁹ Gordon, *Collecting Chinese Export Porcelain*, 24.

⁸⁰ Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History*, 28.

⁸¹ Smith, "Manly Objects? Gendering Armorial Porcelain Wares," 115.

⁸² Howard documents that most. See Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, 1974, I:69; Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, 2003, II:815; Smith, "Manly Objects? Gendering Armorial Porcelain Wares."

in Europe around 1715 to 1720, which is the time that the prince's own set was fashioned, and also, considering that these amenities required a very intimate connection to a boat's captain, it becomes apparent that the Ostend Company procured Prince Eugene's set to impress him and gain his favor.

Asian Porcelain and the *Schaubuffet*

During his visit at the Upper Belvedere in circa 1728, Küchelbecker saw "*mit gold eingelegtes Porcellaine* [sic]" near the *Vorzimmer* in the *appartement de société*.⁸³ Kleiner drew an extravagant water basin in the same chamber where he also illustrated Asian porcelain vases and the prince's gold-rimmed armorial plates that were arranged among impressive table wares called *Prunkgeschirr* (see fig. 37).⁸⁴ These are the noble household's most extravagant dishes. At the Upper Belvedere, they were arranged on an *étagère* that had four levels and was covered

⁸³ Translation: "porcelain with gold ornament." See Johann Basilius Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter, Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupffern ans Licht gegeben* (Hannover: Nicolaus Förster und Sohn, 1730), 788.

⁸⁴ The material and maker of the *Vorzimmer*'s water basin is unknown. Seeger contends that it is lost while Bertolotto and Griseri suggest it is now at the Palazzo Reale in Turin. See Claudio Bertolotto, "Il principe Eugenio di Savoia-Soissons uomo d'arme e collezionista," in *Pittura fiamminga ed olandese in Galleria Sabauda: il Principe Eugenio di Savoia-Soissons uomo d'arme e collezionista: per una storia del collezionismo sabauda* (Turin: Sabauda Gallery, 1982); Andreina Griseri, "La cornice e il quadro. Il Palazzo e gli Uffici di Bocca e di Vassella," in *Porcellane e argenti del Palazzo reale di Torino* (Turin: Fabbri, 1986), 49–75; Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 142–43.

by drapery. The *étagère* tapers towards the top pyramidally. Prince Eugene's *étagère* also connected to sideboards, and therefore, it may be called a *Buffet* or *Schaubuffet*. This piece of early modern furniture was considered an ultimate indication of wealth because it stored the household's silver or silver gilt dishes.⁸⁵ Prince Eugene's enormous *Buffet* contained six compartments on two levels (see fig. 97). This publicized that the prince owned numerous wares and the right cutlery to host fantastic banquets at the Upper Belvedere. The Parisian silversmith Claude Ballin (1661-1754), the nephew and apprentice of the famous silversmith Claude Ballin (1615-1678) whom Louis XIV employed, gave Prince Eugene an unsolicited and splendid silver gift in 1717.⁸⁶ According to the eighteenth-century Parisian newspaper *Mercure de France*, this prompted the prince to then order from Ballin "*es corbeilles richement ornées, & un candélabre d'argent, qu'on a fort admire, sans parler d'un service qui montoir a trois mille marcs, ce prince sut si satisfait de tous ces morceaux, qu'il l'honora d'une gratification.*"⁸⁷ Such lavish silver amenities would be stored in a *Buffet*, like the one seen at the Upper Belvedere. All of Prince Eugene's silver cutlery and dishes were estimated to be worth 300,000 guilders in

⁸⁵ Phillip Olles, "Buffet, Büfett (1950)," in *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 3 (RDK Labor), 47–57, accessed April 21, 2021, <https://www.rdklabor.de/w/?oldid=89060>. Prince Eugene owned a number of silver dishes that Marot made circa 1710. Marot designed a water basin and pitcher for the prince who then ordered additionally two sugar bowls and a laver to be made from English silver. They were likely stored at the prince's city palace. See Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 448.

⁸⁶ The prince's original thank you letter to Ballin that is stored at the Haus, Hof, und Staatsarchiv is also printed in Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 436.

⁸⁷ Translation: "richly decorated corbeilles, and a silver candelabra, which we greatly admire, not to mention a table service that amounted to three thousand marks, this prince was so satisfied with all these pieces, that he honored [Ballin] with a gratuity." See "Eloge historique de Claude Ballin, Orfèvre du Roi.," *Mercure de France*, 1754, sec. avril-juin, 157.

1739.⁸⁸ The sizeable *Buffet* and *étagère* at the Upper Belvedere assert that the prince enjoyed boundless wealth.

Four octagonal plates and four polygonal vases on the *étagère* are Kleiner's visual cues that select objects are made of Asian porcelain (see fig. 37).⁸⁹ The prince's armorials are implied on each plate through the inclusion of the Savoy cross in an escutcheon. Rampant lions also flank the escutcheon on all four octagonal plates that Kleiner drew (fig. 114). The swirling lines drawn on the exterior rim of only six out of twelve armorial dishes is an insinuation that only half received the special treatment which is seen on AP1 (see figs. 37-38). The prince's four surviving armorial plates all have varying diameters, which Kleiner also specifies. The diameter of AP1 is 35.7 centimeters while the diameters of AP2 and AP3 are slightly smaller at 31.7 centimeters. The largest is AP4 with a diameter that measures exactly forty centimeters.⁹⁰

The *étagère*'s six largest plates appear to exceed the normal size of armorial porcelain, which based on my research, measure on average about twenty-five to thirty-five centimeters across. The largest armorial dish I have ever found is an oval serving platter made circa 1765 and its diameter is 52.8 centimeters.⁹¹ The six largest plates on the *étagère* are almost twice as large as the prince's armorial plates, meaning they must have a diameter of about fifty to eighty centimeters. This far exceeds the normal size of armorial porcelain and it is

⁸⁸ *Des Grossen Feld-Herrns Eugenii Hertzogs von Savoyen und Käyserlichen General-Lieutenants Helden-Thaten*, vol. 6 (Nürnberg: Riegel, 1739), 1153.

⁸⁹ Wieninger used the same logic to identify *Kraak*. See Wieninger, "Chinese Export Porcelain and Porcelain Cabinets in Vienna."

⁹⁰ More exact measurements are provided. 5.5cm high and 22cm base diameter

⁹¹ See fig. XVI in Gordon, *Collecting Chinese Export Porcelain*.

my conclusion that these six objects represent silver armorial salvers. Salvers are flat serving trays without handles that were commonly fabricated in England and created in pairs or sets with plates of varying sizes. Armorials are often included in the center of salvers. The salvers that Kleiner drew may represent those which Prince Eugene commissioned from Marot in 1708, to be made from English silver and inset with his coat of arms.⁹²

Prince Eugene's *étagère* also presented six silver pitchers and one large terrine resembling a ship (see figs. 37 and 114). These objects too are of European origin. The terrine is known as a *nef*, an exquisite drinking vessel that was used as a centerpiece during table services, especially in central European noble households and rose to a height of popularity in the sixteenth century.⁹³ *Nefs* could also be used to hold cutlery, cloth napkins, salt, and other spices, such as the example from the Habsburg's castle known as Schloss Ambras (fig. 115).⁹⁴ By the seventeenth century, these silver or silver gilt objects were produced almost in entirety in Germany, where they remained fashionable despite having declined in popularity in the rest of Europe.⁹⁵ *Nefs* are both functional and entertaining, some even include automated mechanisms resembling clockwork and can play music or

⁹² Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 448.

⁹³ For a comparison, see Ralf Schürer, "Schlüsselfelder Schiff," in *Faszination Meisterwerk: Dürer, Rembrandt, Riemenschneider* (Nürnberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2004), 81–82.

⁹⁴ Bettina Vaupel, "Wie bei Hof getafelt wurde: Zuckerschloss und Scherzpastete (Dezember 2015)," *Monumente: Magazin für Denkmalkultur in Deutschland*, accessed May 10, 2020, <https://www.monumente-online.de/de/ausgaben/2015/6/Kulturgeschichte-Festliches-Tafeln.php#.XtoUyS9h3yl>.

⁹⁵ "Sogenanntes Schlüsselfelder Tafelschiff (HG2146)," Germanisches National Museum: Objektkatalog BETA, accessed April 23, 2020, <https://objektkatalog.gnm.de/wisski/navigate/65607/view>.

produce smoke by firing miniature cannons, such as the example from Augsburg that was made in 1585 (fig. 116).⁹⁶ *Nefs* were regularly given as diplomatic gifts and they transformed table services into engaging and theatrical spectacles. Prince Eugene's *nef*, silver pitchers, armorial salvers, and Asian porcelain were placed together on Upper Belvedere's *étagère* because they articulate equally that the prince is affluent, prosperous, and also, he enjoys global authority.

It is not probable that Prince Eugene dined on his armorial plates. Complete porcelain services were first ordered and used by the Viennese court for main courses in the mid-eighteenth century, during the reign of Maria Theresia.⁹⁷ Instead, the prince's set was permanently paraded amongst his *Prunkgeschirr* on the *étagère* to signify that it ranked highly among his most exquisite domestic material objects. The Upper Belvedere's *Schaubuffet* remained completely unprecedented in imperial Vienna, and in fact, in all of central Europe during the first three decades of the eighteenth century. The only other example of a *Schaubuffet* which presented a mixture of silver table wares and armorial porcelain that I came across in my research, is the *Schaubuffet* set up during the coronation of the Polish King Friedrich August II on January 17, 1734. It included a set of armorial wares made at the Meissen Manufacture between 1733 and 1734 (fig.

⁹⁶ Neil MacGregor, ed., "76. Schiffsautomat aus Augsburg (1585 n. Chr.)," in *Eine Geschichte der Welt in 100 Objekten* (München: Beck, 2012), 567–72.

⁹⁷ The empress purchased the manufacturer in 1744. For more details on the Viennese porcelain culture which developed out of the establishment of the imperial manufacturer, see Meredith Chilton et al., eds., *Du Paquier Porzellan: der kulturelle Kontext*, Dt. Ausg., *Fired by Passion, barockes Wiener Porzellan der Manufaktur Claudius Innocentius Du Paquier* / Meredith Chilton, Hrsg.; Claudia Lehner-Jobst, Mithrsg.; Melinda and Paul Sullivan Foundation for the Decorative Arts [Vorw.: Melinda und Paul Sullivan]; 2 (Stuttgart: Arnoldsche, 2009).

117). One scholar proposes that Fredrich August II's *Schaubuffet* is the first of its kind, yet Kleiner's drawing shows that Prince Eugene set up the first display of armorial porcelain at the Upper Belvedere over one decade earlier (see fig 37).⁹⁸

In central European palaces during the Baroque period, the *Schaubuffet* became a status symbol and compulsory element of noble table service. One example of a contemporary *Schaubuffet* belonged to Friedrich I of Prussia (reigned 1701-1713). Now set up at the Staatliche Museum zu Berlin, it consists of a mixture of silver gilt plates, pitchers, ewers, and basins (fig. 118). Friedrich I had it installed in his *Rittersaal*, or knight's room, as a fixed and immobile part of the interior decoration between 1695 and 1698.⁹⁹ Louis XIV also had a permanent display of fancy table wares in the *Petite Galerie* at Versailles.¹⁰⁰ Prince Eugene was raised at the court of Louis XIV, and thus, the Sun King's exhibit may have influenced his choice to keep elaborate dishes out for show at all times at the Upper Belvedere. In contemporary Viennese court culture, this choice was innovative because the *Schaubuffet* was usually only set up on special occasions.

Intimate details about Austrian table services are provided by Conrad Hagger (1666-1747) in his *Neues Saltzburgerisches Koch-Buch* published in 1719.¹⁰¹ Hagger, who was a chef working for the Salzburg Prince-Archbishops, reveals that elaborately decorated tables and the *service à la française* were the

⁹⁸ Anette Loesch, "Schüssel aus dem Krönungsservice: PE 1283 (2011)," Digital Art Collection, SKD Online Collection, accessed June 1, 2020, <https://skd-online-collection.skd.museum/Details/Index/778205>.

⁹⁹ Vaupel, "Wie bei Hof getafelt wurde: Zuckerschloss und Scherzpastete (Dezember 2015)."

¹⁰⁰ Vaupel.

¹⁰¹ Conrad Hagger and Hermann Bauer, *Neues Saltzburgisches Koch-Buch* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1976).

going fashion in Austria, along with impressive *Schaubuffets*. They were decked out with silver, silver gilt, or gold objects primarily.¹⁰² In the early eighteenth century, Asian porcelain vases were included but porcelain plates were not shown in this context.¹⁰³ A copper engraving depicts the table service during the *Erbhuldigung* of Charles VI, where a stately *Schaubuffet* performs as an official part of the banquet (fig. 119).¹⁰⁴ An *Erbhuldigung*, or “act of Hereditary Homage,” is an Austrian Habsburg tradition that took place instead of a coronation after a regent died to memorialize the new sovereign’s accession.¹⁰⁵ Johann Cyriak Hackhofer (1675-1731) drew this event that took place at the Hofburg palace in 1712. Johann Andreas Pfeffel (1674-1748) and Christian Engelbrecht (1672-1735) engraved and printed Hackhofer’s drawing in Augsburg in the same year. Titled *Die Kaiserliche Taffel in der Ritterstüben*, this rendering publicizes that Charles VI’s *Prunkgeschirr* was set up prominently on an *étagère* during the *Erbhuldigung*. It had three levels and was covered by a red silk cloth.¹⁰⁶ There were large salvers

¹⁰² Haslinger, “Prinz Eugen und die fürstliche Tafel im Barock,” 69.

¹⁰³ Michael Pölzl, “‘En public’ bis ‘en retirado’: Das Tafelzeremoniell am Wiener Hof in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jh.” (Symposium 300 Jahre Wiener Porzellanmanufaktur, Wien), accessed April 11, 2020, <https://www.museumsfernsehen.de/mak-michael-poelzl-symposium-300-jahre-wiener-porzellanmanufaktur/>.

¹⁰⁴ Johann Baptist von Mairn, *Beschreibung was auf Ableiben weylend Ihrer Keyserl Majestät Josephi, biss nach vorgegangener Erb-Huldigung, welche dem allerdurchleuchtigst- grossmächtigst- und unüberwindlichsten Römischen Keyser, Carolo dem Sechsten ... als Erz-Herzogen zu Oesterreich, die gesamte nider-oesterreichische Stände den 8. Novembris A: 1712. in allertieffester Unterthänigkeit abgelegt, sich Merkwürdiges hat zugetragen / und auf Anordnung vorermelter löbl. Ständen mit allen Umständen beschriben worden, durch den nider-oesterreichischen Land* (Wien: Bey Johann Jacob Kürner, 1712), 64–65.

¹⁰⁵ Martin Mutschlechner, “The Erbhuldigung- The act of Hereditary Homage,” *The World of the Habsburgs*, accessed April 24, 2021, <https://www.habsburger.net/en/chapter/erbhuldigung-act-hereditary-homage>.

¹⁰⁶ Mairn, *Beschreibung was auf Ableiben weylend Ihrer Keyserl Majestät Josephi, biss nach vorgegangener Erb-Huldigung, welche dem allerdurchleuchtigst- grossmächtigst- und unüberwindlichsten Römischen Keyser, Carolo dem Sechsten ... als Erz-Herzogen*

and pitchers, likely made from silver or silver gilt, as well as bulbous and angular vases (fig. 120). This unusual shape designates that select vases are of Far Eastern origin and made of porcelain. A group of noblemen stand near the *Schaubuffet* and observe Charles VI as he dines. The emperor sat underneath a large baldachin that was embroidered in gold.¹⁰⁷ To heighten the mood of this grand ceremony, an orchestra plays music and sits in the gallery above. Below them, servers bring Charles VI's fabulous meal in from the kitchen and arrange the dishes in a carefully choreographed manner upon the large table. Johann Baptist von Mairn (life dates unknown) notes that the emperor's splendid "*Kleinodien*," or small treasures, were brought out from the imperial treasury one day earlier, solely for the purpose of presentation on the *Schaubuffet* during the *Erbhuldigung*.¹⁰⁸ These rituals established that extravagant table wares are necessary for heightening splendid occasions.

During the dinner service at the wedding of Joseph I's only daughter, Maria Josepha of Austria (1699-1757), who married the crown prince of Poland, Friedrich August (1696-1763) on August 20, 1719, *Prunkgeschirr* was also presented to noble guests on two *Schaubuffets* that are similar to the one set up for Charles VI's *Erbhuldigung* (fig. 121). In Gerard Scotin's (1698- after 1755) copper engraving of the matrimonial table service, which took place in the *Komödiensaal* in the Favorita castle by Vienna, these two imperial *Schaubuffets* are illuminated

zu Oesterreich, die gesamte nider-oesterreichische Stände den 8. Novembris A: 1712. in allertieffester Unterthänigkeit abgelegt, sich Merkwürdiges hat zugetragen / und auf Anordnung vorermelter löbl. Ständen mit allen Umständen beschriben worden, durch den nider-oesterreichischen Land, 64.

¹⁰⁷ Mairn, 64.

¹⁰⁸ Mairn, 54, 64.

to stress their extravagance and importance to the decisive event. Salvors are paired with tall, thin Asian porcelain vases and the objects express to all who are present that the two uniting families possess vast wealth. During the wedding, the Ottoman ambassador Ibrahim Pasha was present.¹⁰⁹ He then attended an audience with Prince Eugene at the Upper Belvedere only a few weeks later.¹¹⁰ As noted in chapter one, the ambassador enjoyed confections and lemonade at the Belvedere in October 1719. He may have even seen the prince's own *Schaubuffet* during this interaction, because it was in a room dedicated not solely to the "*Buffet*" but also "*sert en même temps d'Antichambre.*"¹¹¹ In other words, the antechamber functioned as the *appartement de société's* waiting room, where guests would have lingered and viewed the prince's *Prunkgeschirr* before they met the prince for a meal or to engage in other social activities.¹¹²

Banquets featuring expensive table wares, exotic recipes flavored by international spices, imported beverages, and lavish deserts enjoy a long tradition of expressing authority and prosperity that dates back to the late-medieval period in Europe. For example, during the New Year's banquet that is depicted in *Les Tres Riches Heures*, which dates between 1412 and 1416, the Duke Jean de Berry

¹⁰⁹ "Nr. 1675 Wien vom 19. bis 22. August 1719," *Wienerisches Diarium*, 1719.

¹¹⁰ "Nr. 1687 Wien vom 30. September bis 3. Oktober 1719," *Wienerisches Diarium*, 1719.

¹¹¹ Translation: "serves as the same time as an antechamber." See Salomon Kleiner, *Das Belvedere zu Wien: nach dem Stichwerk in 140 Blättern aus den Jahren 1731 - 1740*, ed. Elisabeth Herget, Die bibliophilen Taschenbücher (Dortmund: Harenberg, 1980), 51.

¹¹² Robert Neuman and Barry Shifman, "Hôtel Particulier [Fr.: 'Private Town House'] (2003)," Grove Art Online, accessed May 15, 2021, <https://www-oxfordartonline-com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oa-o-9781884446054-e-7000039055?rskey=2tzoLO&result=1>.

(1340-1416), clergymen, and the aristocracy dine upon gold and silver platters (fig. 122). A splendid *Buffet* stacked with golden dishes is set up nearby as a compulsory prop which underscores the duke's infinite riches, including a *nef* that is placed in the center of the table. By the sixteenth century, banquets became associated with weddings primarily and especially grand "dynastic unions between important families."¹¹³ In Veronese's large painting *The Wedding at Cana* from 1562 to 1563, silver and silver gilt salvers and pitchers are stacked over two stories in the background of a fabulous feast (fig. 123). This painting represents Jesus' miracle of transforming water into wine, yet Veronese emphasizes the hedonistic aspects of a contemporary matrimonial banquet. Christ's miracle is not clearly denoted. One scholar remarked that during Renaissance banquets, even "deciding what to eat was a very complicated affair" because of the "deep-seated notions of how food would affect the body and spirit."¹¹⁴ Thus, the excessive feast that Veronese depicted caused a big scandal in contemporary Venetian society. Especially considering that it was intended for a refectory in a Benedictine monastery, where monks dine together humbly. Veronese was even called before the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition and ordered to make alterations to his painting, or change the title, because such banquets were perceived as ostentatious demonstrations of worldly delights. This banquet could not be readily linked to the biblical story that Veronese claimed to have rendered. This artist famously refused

¹¹³ Christine Jeanneret, "Early Modern Banquets: A Noisy but Tasty Business (October 19, 2020)," Center for Privacy Studies: A Center of Excellence Funded by the Danish National Research Council, accessed April 26, 2020, <https://privacy.hypotheses.org/1319>.

¹¹⁴ Ken Albala, "Setting the Stage—Setting the Table," in *The Banquet: Dining in the Great Courts of Late Renaissance Europe* (University of Illinois Press, 2007), 1.

to make any changes to his painting, but he titled it more appropriately the *Feast at the House of Levi*.

By the seventeenth century, due to the increasing lavishness of noble banquets throughout Europe, artists began to sketch these occasions which evolved into “elaborate choreographies” and were used as a tool to foster international diplomacy.¹¹⁵ Just like the two aforementioned feasts in Vienna which Joseph I and Charles VI hosted and had captured visually, Pope Clement IX (reigned 1667-1669) hired Pierre Paul Sevin (circa 1640-1710) to memorialize his banquet which was hosted for Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-1689) in 1668 (fig. 124). Sevin’s drawing publicized the pope’s support of Christina’s candidacy for the Polish-Lithuanian throne. During their dinner, the pope presented Christina with multiple *trionfi* (fig. 125). These fabulous desserts were shaped from solidified sugar and sculpted to form figures while colored by various herbs and spices. According to one scholar, such a “food spectacle” was understood to represent the host’s high rank, and by extension, his “political ambitions.”¹¹⁶ In the early eighteenth century, Prince Eugene hosted frequent banquets at the Upper Belvedere which are described as dazzling affairs. They follow the dinner spectacles of Louis XIV called *fêtes* which are ornate formal meals that appealed to all of the senses and involved constant entertainment, both indoors and outdoors. Pöllnitz described a banquet at the Upper Belvedere in 1729. He recalled:

“there is not so fine a sight as an assembly at this prince’s house, for not only the outer court, in which there is a fine piece of water, but [also] the

¹¹⁵ Jeanneret, “Early Modern Banquets: A Noisy but Tasty Business (October 19, 2020).”

¹¹⁶ Jeanneret.

gardens are illuminated by an infinite Number of Lanthorns [sic] made in form of a Bowl of extraordinary white Glass, which cast a very great Light and makes a glorious appearance.”¹¹⁷

This same nobleman recollected on another occasion that, at eleven o'clock at night after playing cards for hours, Prince Eugene still ordered a lavish dinner to be hosted at his garden palace.¹¹⁸ So many dishes were presented that guests could hardly indulge, yet their main purpose for being present was to witness and partake in Prince Eugene's “*grand Entertainments*.”¹¹⁹ Indeed, the Upper Belvedere's *Schaubuffet* is an imposing prop that boasts a long history as a demonstration of wealth and power during early modern banquets. Armorial plates from China were ideal for Prince Eugene's own *étagère* because they are uniquely connected to his authority in the Austrian Netherlands. In the first few decades of the eighteenth century, they were an exceptional luxury that other Viennese nobles could not obtain.

¹¹⁷ Karl Ludwig Freiherr von Pöllnitz, *The Memoirs of Charles-Lewis, Baron of Pollnitz, Being the Observations He Made in His Late Travels from Prussia Thro' Germany, Italy, France, Flanders, Holland, England, &c.* (London: D. Browne, 1739), 237.

¹¹⁸ The prince's favorite card game was piquet. See Max Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Mensch und Schicksal*, vol. 5 (Wien: Böhlau, 1965), 404.

¹¹⁹ Translation: „grand showcase.“ See Karl Ludwig Freiherr von Pöllnitz, *Des Freyherm von Pöllnitz Neue Nachrichten, Welche seine Lebens-Geschichte Und eine Ausführliche Beschreibung Von Seinen ersten Reisen In sich enthalten: Wie sie nach der neuesten Auflage aus dem Frantzösischen in das Hoch-Deutsche übersetzt worden*, vol. 4 (Franckfurt am Mayn, 1739), 56.

The Fate of Prince Eugene's Armorial Porcelain

Prince Eugene's armorial plates departed the Upper Belvedere shortly after the prince's death in 1736, when Princess Maria Anna Victoria of Savoy quickly sold his entire estate.¹²⁰ They were sent to Turin between 1749 and 1754, when Eugene's other porcelain and two lacquer cabinets from his city palace were transported to the Palazzo Reale in Turin.¹²¹ Charles Emmanuel III purchased Eugene's porcelain and two lacquer cabinets shortly after he had acquired 166 of

¹²⁰ Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Mensch und Schicksal*, 5:327–33.

¹²¹ The prince had his two lacquer cabinets mounted on matching gilded tables in Vienna circa 1720. Kleiner drew the pair between 1722 and 1724 in his rendering of the city palace's gallery. Both cabinets are now on view at the Palazzo Reale in Turin. Asian lacquer cabinets, which could be used to store curiosities, were very uncommon in Vienna and soon became status symbols at the courts of England, Berlin, Dresden, and Munich in the Baroque period. The prince also owned a lacquer folding table that was made in China during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. It was found in a room at Schloss Hof that was connected to Prince Eugene's own bed chamber, and thus, he likely used it to play his favorite card game called piquet. See *Des Grossen Feld-Herrns Eugenii Hertzogs von Savoyen und Käyserlichen General-Lieutenants Helden-Thaten*, 6:1126; Griseri, "La cornice e il quadro. Il Palazzo e gli Uffici di Bocca e di Vassella," 72; Ulrike Seeger, "Nuove ricerche sugli acquisti fatti da Carlo Emanuele III re di Sardegna nelle collezione d'arte appartenute al principe Eugenio di Savoia," *Studi Piemontesi* 31 (2002): 328; Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 120, 146; Lieselotte Hanzl-Wachter, "Appartements in Schloss Hof," in *Schloss Hof: Prinz Eugens tusculum rurale und Sommerresidenz der kaiserlichen Familie; Geschichte und Ausstattung eines barocken Gesamtkunstwerks* (St. Pölten: Residenz Verlag, 2005), 57. For more literature on Asian lacquer in central European contexts, see Walther Holzhausen, *Lackkunst in Europa* (Braunschweig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1959); Michael Kühnlethal, ed., *Japanische und europäische Lackarbeiten: Rezeption, Adaption, Restaurierung: Deutsch-Japanisches Forschungsprojekt zur Untersuchung und Restaurierung historischer Lacke, gefördert durch das Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft, Forschung und Technologie = Japanese and European lacquerware: adoption, adaptation, conservation*, Arbeitshefte des Bayerischen Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege, Bd. 96 (München: Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, 2000).

the prince's easel paintings in 1741.¹²² One scholar's analysis of Count Luigi Malabaila di Canale's (1704-1773) original records has exposed that a Viennese noblewoman named Starhemberg actually sold the porcelain and lacquer cabinets to the Duke of Savoy and she received payments from him and an annuity every six months until at least 1756.¹²³ Noting the growing popularity of porcelain among female collectors in the eighteenth century, another scholar suggests that Starhemberg acquired Prince Eugene's porcelain from Maria Anna Victoria of Savoy directly, and the pair of lacquer cabinets.¹²⁴ This individual may be Countess Maria Josepha Irene Jörger zu Tollet and Starhemberg (1668-1746), who is likely the missing link in Prince Eugene's armorial porcelain plates' history. After the death of her first husband, who was Count Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg (1683-1701), Maria Josepha Irene was remarried to the count's half-brother, Gundaker Thomas Starhemberg (1663-1745). In 1705, Gundaker Thomas commissioned Hildebrandt to design a garden palace that is not far from the Belvedere. Known now as Palais Schönburg, this palace may have showcased Eugene's porcelain vases and figurines in interiors intended for the countess' pleasure, but no documents prove this theory to date.¹²⁵

¹²² See the detailed discussion in part one of chapter three.

¹²³ For detailed references about the Count's original records, see Lucia Caterina, "Dall'Oriente a Torino," in *Porcellane e argenti del Palazzo Reale di Torino*, ed. Vincenzo Sanfo (Milano: Fabbri Ed., 1986), 350.

¹²⁴ Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 146.

¹²⁵ The family also owned two city palaces, in the Dorotheagasse and on Minoritenplatz, but neither underwent significant renovations in the first half of the eighteenth century. For more on the family's garden palace, see Bruno Grimschitz, *Wiener Barockpaläste* (Wien: Wiener Verlag, 1947), 20–21.

Gundaker Thomas Starhemberg died in 1745 and Maria Josepha Irene passed away the following year. Canale's payments from Turin to Vienna continued through 1756. Given that Gundaker Thomas's only son from his first marriage died before him, perhaps the woman that received these payments in Vienna was Starhemberg's daughter who had wedded the Prince Rudolf Joseph of Colloredo-Waldsee (1706-1788). In other words, Marie Gabrielle Franzisca von Starhemberg and Colloredo (1707-1793). She was a life-long resident of Vienna, the city to which all of the payments were sent. This is unlike her older half-sister, the Countess Maria Josepha von Starhemberg (1689-1767), who was Gundaker Thomas' oldest living daughter from his first marriage. She was widowed in 1716 and remained in Graz. It is worth considering that Marie Gabrielle Franzisca's husband fell out of favor at the court of Joseph II due to his disagreement with Count Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz-Rietberg (1711-1794) concerning the imperial alliance with the British.¹²⁶ Thus, this sale of Eugene's porcelain to Charles Emmanuel III in 1749 may have arisen from a financial necessity caused by the political scandal. Notably, Canale mentions the prince's porcelain was intended for the Duchess' apartments in Turin which supports additionally that women widely collected porcelain by the mid-eighteenth century, and thus, female collectors may have initiated the whole transaction.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ See, Johann Christoph Allmayer-Beck, "Colloredo-Waldsee, Rudolph Fürst von," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 3 ((1957) online version), 329, accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd14215749X.html#ndbcontent>.

¹²⁷ Caterina, "Dall'Oriente a Torino," 350.

By 1750, at least six cases containing porcelain and crystal were sent from Vienna and arrived in Turin.¹²⁸ They crossed the Semmering Pass on their way to Venice where the cases were placed on a barge and shipped on the Po river to Turin. As evidence that Eugene's porcelain was part of this cargo, one scholar identified that there are two figurines and three sets of vases now in the collection of the Palazzo Reale which correspond visually and in their dimensions to the porcelain that Kleiner drew at Prince Eugene's city palace.¹²⁹ Further support that Eugene's armorial plates were part of this shipment is provided by the fact that AP1, AP2, and AP3 remained in the royal family's collection until the descendants of Charles Emmanuel III sold them at the Christie's auction to an anonymous collector in 2019.¹³⁰ A hand-written label on the bottom of AP2, which the administration of the Prince of Carignano stamped in Turin and dated March 7, 1889, informs us that the plates originated from Prince Eugene's apartments in Vienna (fig. 41). It reads, "*Piatto appartenuto a S.Q.R. il Principe Eugenio di Savoia (il Grande) decorato dei suoi Stemmi, lavoro Giapponese del tempo (1663-1736).*"¹³¹ AP4 has a different provenance that is also linked to Turin. In 1874, this

¹²⁸ Caterina sites the original archival sources referring to this porcelain delivery as follows: "Tesoreria Real Casa (art. 217)." In 1750: item 6: n.48 and 82, item 7: n.3, item 9: n.16, and item 12: n. 32. Also in the "Camerale, Italian State Archive," in 1753: item 4: n.262 and n.527. See Caterina, 350.

¹²⁹ Sanfo, *Porcellane e argenti del Palazzo Reale di Torino*, 362, 381, 382, 416, 419, 420–21; Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 72, 146.

¹³⁰ According to Christies, "This sale follows the successful sales from the collections of S.A.R. La Principessa Reale Maria Beatrice di Savoia in 2005 and S.A.R. La Principessa Reale Maria Gabriella di Savoia in 2007 and demonstrates a continuance of the centuries-old royal tradition of patronage and collecting." See Christie's London, 2019 *Auction Catalog: The Royal House of Savoy (17486)*.

¹³¹ Translation: "plate that belonged to S.Q.R. Prince Eugene of Savoy (the Great) decorated with his coats of arms, made by a contemporary Japanese [meaning Far Eastern] artist."

single and slightly damaged dish, which was restored in 1990, was gifted by the Marchese Vittorio Emanuele Tapparelli d'Azeglio (1816-1890) to Turin's Museo Civico d'Arte Antica and it remains in their collection today.¹³² Given that AP4 is the sole damaged plate, it was perhaps sold or discarded by the royal family whereas the pristine and intact trio - AP1, AP2, and AP3 - remained together as a set.¹³³

Prince Eugene's Luxury Asian Fabrics at the Upper Belvedere

European-made luxury fabrics were widely available when Prince Eugene furnished the Upper Belvedere.¹³⁴ Yet he specifically sought out exclusive Asian textiles. As stated previously but is worth reiterating, they dressed nearly all the walls in the Upper Belvedere's high-ranking chambers on the *piano nobile* (see

¹³² Inventory number: 1665, 667/C.

¹³³ For more on the set, see Massabò Ricci et al., *Blu, rosso & oro*, 282.

¹³⁴ For general literature on the use of luxury textiles in eighteenth-century interior design, see Anna Jolly and Abegg-Stiftung, eds., *Fürstliche Interieurs: Dekorationstextilien des 18. Jahrhunderts; [Auswahlkatalog anlässlich der Sonderausstellung "Fürstliche Interieurs. Dekorationstextilien des 18. Jahrhunderts"; Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung, 24.4. - 13.11.2005]*, Riggisberger Berichte 12 (Sonderausstellung "Fürstliche Interieurs. Dekorationstextilien des 18. Jahrhunderts," Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2005); Amelia Peck and Amy Bogansky, eds., *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500 - 1800; Metropolitan Museum of Art, Exhibition* (Exhibition Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500 - 1800, London: Thames & Hudson, 2013); Katharina Eck and Astrid Silvia Schönhagen, eds., *Interieur und Bildtapete: Narrative des Wohnens um 1800, Wohnen +/- Ausstellen*, Bd. 2 (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2014); *Textile Räume: Seide im höfischen Interieur des 18. Jahrhunderts = Textile spaces: silk in 18th century court interiors*, 1. Auflage (Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2016).

figs. 11, 36, 46-47, and 88-96).¹³⁵ Küchelbecker substantiates that all of the prince's fabrics were made from "*indianischen Zeuge*."¹³⁶ Prince Eugene acquired them via the Austrian Netherlands with assistance from various contacts who interacted with the administrators of the newly forming GIC and their boats' captains. Prince Eugene corresponded himself with these individuals, but his letters divulge that he did not make outright demands for material objects. Rather, his requests were made discreetly by liaisons who lived on site in the Southern Netherlands. They communicated directly with the still-forming Ostend Company's operators about exactly what the prince desired. For example, the prince wrote to the Major (*Obristwachtmeister*) Graf Vehlen (life dates unknown) in December 1717 and inquired if "*les curiosities venues des Indes*" had already arrived on the ship of the supercargo officer Merveille Jr.¹³⁷ His father, Merveille Sr., was frequently in contact with the prince and even became instrumental in establishing the GIC officially.¹³⁸ Yet Prince Eugene asked Vehlen to arbitrate and specified that he desired at least twenty-five to thirty "*pieces*," or lengths, of matching silk or damask which is plentiful enough to furnish at least one room, or in the best case, an entire apartment.¹³⁹ The same letter stipulates that while no materials for bed

¹³⁵ Each room is listed in the introduction of this chapter.

¹³⁶ Translation: „Far Eastern materials.“ See Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter, Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupffern ans Licht gegeben*, 788.

¹³⁷ Translation: "curiosities from Asia." The letter is cited and published in part in Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Mensch und Schicksal*, 5:370.

¹³⁸ Dreijer, "Bargaining for Shelter: An Entrepreneurial Analysis of the Ostend Company, 1714-40," 86–87.

¹³⁹ The original letter reads: "*La peine que vous avez voulu prendre d'envoyer un homme entendu à Ostende pour reconnaître les curiosités venues des Indes sur le vaisseau du capitaine de la Merveille; il est difficile d'en juger de loin, si cependant la*

dressings were needed at the time, there should be enough yardage to upholster twelve chaises, two fauteuils, four stools, two screens, and one item called a trillette. Also in 1717, plans for the Upper Belvedere were cemented. These oriental textiles were clearly intended for the prince's new structure in Vienna.

In September 1718, Prince Eugene wrote to his powerful deputy in the Austrian Netherlands; Ercole Giuseppe Lodovico Turinetti, the Marquis de Prie (1658-1726). He said that he wanted help finding "*l'occasion*," or opportunity, to purchase "*péquin à fond blanc peint à la Chine*" and certainly enough to dress at least one whole chamber.¹⁴⁰ This likely references a type of exquisitely painted silk which once adorned the *Gemahlenes Cabinet* at the Upper Belvedere (see fig. 36). While the prince's own letters at the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv which were penned to the GIC and concern almost strictly financial and political matters regarding their ambitions, his letters to colleagues and various agents in Ostend divulge that material desires were communicated to the GIC's executives decorously through the prince's agents. Finally, the prince's two letters to Vehlen and the Marquis de Prie uncover that he envisioned *chinoiserie* for the Upper Belvedere right from the palace's conception in 1717, which also marks the year that the work on Girard's gardens broke ground.

vente n'est pas encore faite, je prie V.E. de me faire choisir et acheter 25 a 30 pièces d'armoisins toutes d'une même fonds et de la même façon assorties afin de pouvoir server pour la même chambre ou appartement sans lits, dont je n'ai pas besoin de cette matière, mais bien de ces autres brodées sur un damas unies avec l'assortissaient de 12 chaises, 2 fauteuils, 4 taburets [sic] et une trillette [sic], comme aussi 2 écrans comme V. E. les trouvera plus beau, mais chacun d'une différente grandeur. Mon secrétaire Mandacher, à l'ordre d'en payer le prix." This letter is printed in Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Mensch und Schicksal*, 5:370.

¹⁴⁰ Translation : "painted white silk from China." This letter is published in part in Braubach, 5:370.

Marot created models which promoted the relationship between gardens and interior design that became highly fashionable in the early eighteenth century and were inspired by Jean Le Pautre (1618-1682), Charles Le Brun (1619-1690), and Jean Berain (1640-1711) (figs. 126-128). Marot advocated for balanced and proportional gardens and for geometrically embellished interiors that are based in mathematics, and thus, achieve harmony and become visually pleasing.¹⁴¹ In chapter one, I addressed Prince Eugene's great interest in the intersections of art, science, and mathematics, which manifested in *quadratura* frescoes. The Belvedere's gardens that Girard sculpted also testify to the prince's interest in these intersections.¹⁴² The flowerbeds and hedges, when viewed from the north-facing windows of the Upper Belvedere, are seen from above. This ideal vantage point causes them to appear as repeating and colorful linear patterns, an optical delight (fig. 129). Similarly, du Plessy arranged fabric panels with intertwining leaves and flowing vegetation vertically and in an orderly manner to imitate the garden's symmetry on the palace walls (fig. 130).¹⁴³ The exotic plants, animals, and birds rendered on the prince's Asian textiles also helped to connect more intimately the interiors to the prince's collection of living specimens outside in the Belvedere's aviary and menagerie, to be discussed in more detail in chapter three. Bussi's plain white stuccos also reiterate the garden's organic forms, as do Jonas

¹⁴¹ Florence Hopper, "Daniel Marot: A French Garden Designer in Holland," in *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century* (Washington, D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1990), 131–58.

¹⁴² Stefan Schmidt, "Die historische Entwicklung der Belvedere-Gärten und ihre Plandarstellungen," in *Das Belvedere: Der Garten des Prinzen Eugen in Wien* (Wien: Holzhausen, 2003), 66–83.

¹⁴³ Hilde Rosenmayr, "Die Grotesken des Jonas Drentwett im Belvedere," in *Prinz Eugen und sein Belvedere* (Wien: Selbstverlag der Österreichischen Galerie, 1963), 99.

Drentwett's (1656-1736) imaginative grotesque frescoes in the *Sala Terrena*. They were painted with bright colors in all the Lower and Upper Belvedere's rooms which opened up to the palace gardens directly (fig. 131).¹⁴⁴ The proportional contours and colorful vibrancy that embodies Girard's gardens also characterizes both the palace's grotesques and ornate oriental textiles.

Prince Eugene's choice to ornament his new garden palace's walls and to upholster the custom furnishings with corresponding and matching fabrics fit with contemporary fashion, especially in French interior design.¹⁴⁵ His interiors were decorated at the crossroads of the Louis XIV and Régence styles. Catherine de Vivonne, the Marquise de Rambouillet (1588-1665) first used brightly colored and uniform fabrics within chambers at her Parisian château during the early eighteenth century, to create harmony and a sense of concordance. Then, Louis Le Vau (1612-1670) reiterated this concept at the Hôtel Lauzun between 1656 and 1657 and it quickly spread from there. Yet in Vienna, up until after the successful Battle of Vienna in 1683, Italian models informed noble interiors primarily. Moreover, items like luxury textiles were principally only displayed during special occasions like at an *Erbhuldigung*, and otherwise, textile "*Wandschmuck*" would be stored.¹⁴⁶ It was only in the mid-century that walls dressed permanently by fabrics became a

¹⁴⁴ Rosenmayr, "Die Grottesken des Jonas Drentwett im Belvedere."

¹⁴⁵ For a general survey about luxury fabrics in noble European interiors during the early modern period, see Jolly and Abegg-Stiftung, *Fürstliche Interieurs*.

¹⁴⁶ Translation: "flexible wall-jewelry." See Eva B. Ottillinger, "Höfische Wohnkultur des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts in Wien- Eine Zwischenbilanz," in *Wohnen im Schloss: Tapisseries, Möbel, Porzellan und Kleider aus drei Jahrhunderten. Ausstellung in Schloss Halbturn 29. Mai bis 27. September 1991* (Eisenstadt: Rötzer-Druck GmbH & Co. KG, 1991), 17–25.

prerequisite in Viennese “*Repräsentationsräumen*.”¹⁴⁷ This trend followed Prince Eugene’s extensive application of luxury fabrics at his city palace, the Belvedere, and Schloss Hof. The prince brought forth new considerations about how matching textiles can achieve a “*harmonisierendes Ganzes*” through form and color.¹⁴⁸ Accordingly, Charles VI patronized du Plessy and Maria Theresia hired his pupil André Lenoble (life dates unknown). Lenoble redecorated the so-called *leopoldinischen Traktes* of the Hofburg palace in 1741, and then, in 1752, he redecorated the Belvedere. Shortly thereafter, this same designer took charge of Schloss Schönbrunn and the redecoration of Schloss Hof. He soon received the aristocratic name and title Andreas Jacob Lenoble von Edlersberg in 1756.¹⁴⁹ Maria Theresia even promoted Lenoble to *Hofmobilieninspektor* and his own daughter Antonie was the empress’ lady in waiting until 1767.¹⁵⁰ By importing these two French interior designers to Vienna, Prince Eugene strongly swayed the trajectory of local late-Baroque interiors and established that luxury textiles are the key ingredient in achieving a sound and unified design.

Küchelbecker professed that all the prince’s tailored dressings on the walls at the Upper Belvedere were especially “*kostbar*” and “*magnifique*.”¹⁵¹ In Kleiner’s

¹⁴⁷ Translations: “rooms for the purpose of authoritative representation,” for example an audience chamber. See Ottillinger, 18.

¹⁴⁸ Translation: “harmonious whole.” See Ottillinger, 17.

¹⁴⁹ For more information about this designer and imperial interior design in Vienna during the mid-eighteenth century, see Christian Witt-Döring, “Die Möbelkunst am Wiener Hof zur Zeit Maria Theresias 1740-1780” (Dissertation, Wien, Universität Wien, 1978).

¹⁵⁰ Maria Theresia, Empress of Austria, *Briefe der Kaiserin Maria Theresia an ihre Kinder und Freunde*, ed. Alfred Ritter von Arneth, vol. 4 (Wien: Braumüller, 1881).

¹⁵¹ Translation: “exquisite” and “magnificent.” See Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter, Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupffern ans Licht gegeben*, 785, 787.

engraved drawings of the Upper Belvedere, visitors react to the fabrics with keen interest. For example, in the *Spiel Zimmer*, one gentleman's upright arm draws attention to the animated floral and vegetal panels on the walls (see fig. 132). As visualized by gestures and glances, he engages a second gentleman in a dialogue centered on the chamber's imagery. The footman who stands in the center of this room responds and points to the north-facing windows that overlook the palace gardens. This indicates that the repeating geometric patterns on the *Spiel Zimmer's* walls are related visually to Girard's chiseled gardens. As noted previously, they can be seen in entirety and from above, from all the Belvedere's north-facing windows on the *piano nobile*. A similar interaction takes place in the *Caffé Zimmer* (see fig. 94). It too has north-facing windows. Near the *Cheminée à la Royale*, one gentleman stands with his back to the viewer to emphasize that he is concentrating solely on the chamber's brilliant fabrics (fig. 133). The footman in the background points emphatically towards the large windows with both hands. Then, a gentleman in front of him motions in the same direction with his cane. Finally, his female companion gestures with both pointer fingers in opposite directions. This underscores subtly that the prince's fabrics are connected in their vibrancy and proportional harmony to Girard's gardens outside.

The Upper Belvedere's walls were brilliant shades of red, green, blue, white, and yellow.¹⁵² These hues typify the striking brilliance of oriental textiles that were made during this time period, at which point new scientific studies about colors

¹⁵² Küchelbecker, 785, 787–88; Leopold Auer and Jeremy Black, "Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 38 (1986): 337–38.

were materializing. For example, Newton first passed light through prisms and discovered that light is composed of a spectrum of seven colors.¹⁵³ His discovery revealed that colors, just like *quadratura* and mirrors, are visible manifestations of optical phenomena.¹⁵⁴ Surely, the overwhelming presence of brightly colored and shimmering fabrics charged the atmosphere at the Upper Belvedere and stimulated visitors. Kleiner indicates that dazzling and busy *chinoiserie* dressings appeared in virtually every single room in the *appartement de société* (see figs. 36, 47, and 92-96). The exceptions are the *Vorzimmer*, where the Prince's armorial porcelain could be viewed, the *Marmoriertes Cabinet* dedicated to various colorful types of marble, and finally, the *Bilder Saal* which was devoted to Prince Eugene's European paintings. A single-colored and embossed fabric, like the ones seen in the *Conferenz Zimmer* and *Audienz Zimmer* in the *appartement de parade*, which were dyed only red and only green respectively, may have also dressed the *Bilder Saal*. This supports one scholar's point that energetic and ornately patterned *chinoiserie* was considered unfitting for formal spaces with a ceremonial purpose, but highly desirable in rooms designated for leisure primarily.¹⁵⁵

Dazzling cloth panels portraying exotic flora and a myriad of birds could be seen throughout the Upper Belvedere's *appartement de société* in the rooms intended for entertaining. The prince selected specific dressings to complement the function of certain rooms. For example, in the *Caffé Zimmer*, Kleiner drew a

¹⁵³ Issac Newton, "A Letter of Mr. Isaac Newton Containing His New Theory about Light and Colors," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* 80, no. 19 Feb. 1671/2 (1672): 3075–87.

¹⁵⁴ Sarah Lowengard, *The Creation of Color in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Irvington: Columbia University Press, 2008), 30.

¹⁵⁵ Jolly and Abegg-Stiftung, *Fürstliche Interieurs*, 19.

shadow just below the undulating concave and convex banner that stretches across the top of this chamber (fig. 134). He represented a *valance*, similar to the ones that belonged to the prince's state bed from Schloss Hof (fig. 135-136). This bed, and one more from the same palace, are preserved in near perfect condition at the MAK (fig. 137).¹⁵⁶ They were made from chintz, which was manufactured in India with an appliqué embroidery technique. Chintz became especially popular in France and Austria during the eighteenth century.¹⁵⁷ At the Upper Belvedere, broad repeating bands of chintz spanned the *Caffé Zimmer's* walls above the *boiserie* and underneath the *valance*. These lost embroidered textiles compare closely to the preserved chintz wall hanging from Schloss Hof (figs. 138-139). It presents an Asian man who smokes opium and stands upon a platform where two servants come to his aid. They are topped by a baldachin and two dragons and flanked by flag bearing worshipers. An excess of vines, flowers, fruit, and leaves fill the white background ornamentally. Long patterned bands frame the entire scene. According to one study, the vibrancy and precise designs of Indian chintz made it "unmatched" by any other contemporary European fabric.¹⁵⁸ John

¹⁵⁶ Angela Völker, "Eine Indianische Chinoiserie für ein Österreichisches Schloss: Die textile Ausstattung für Prinz Eugens Paradezimmer in Schloss Hof," in *Barock Luxus Porzellan: Die Manufaktur du Paquier in Wien und Carlo Ginori in Florenz* (Wien: Prestel, 2005), 53; Barbara Karl, "Who Slept in This Bed? The Question of the Provenance of Prince Eugene's Chintz Bed (September 3, 2015)," Museum, MAK MUSEUM BLOG (blog), accessed March 31, 2020, <https://blog.mak.at/who-slept-in-this-bed-the-question-of-the-provenance-of-prince-eugenes-chintz-bed/>.

¹⁵⁷ Melinda Watt, "'Whims and Fancies': Europeans Respond to Textiles from the East," in *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade 1600-1800; Metropolitan Museum of Art, Exhibition on View September 16, 2013-January 5, 2014* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2013), 89.

¹⁵⁸ Beverly Lemire and Giorgio Riello, "East and West: Textiles and Fashion in Eurasia in the Early Modern Period," *Working Papers of the Global Economic History Network (GEHN)* 22/06 (2006): 13.

Ovington (1653-1731) expressed this sentiment during his travels to Surat in 1689. He stated: "in some things the artists of India out-do all the intensity of Europe, viz., the painting of chintes [sic] or calicoes, which in Europe cannot be paralleled, either in their brightness and life of colour [sic] or in their continuance upon the cloth."¹⁵⁹ Chintz was a particularly appropriate choice for the *Caffé Zimmer*, as a space designated for the social consumption of an exotic beverage.

The prince used his contacts at the newly forming Ostend Company to gain access to chintz. They set up two settlements in India just for the procurement of this rarity.¹⁶⁰ Namely, in Bankipur on the Hugli river and in Coblom (Covelong) along the Coromandel coast.¹⁶¹ The earliest known and still extant example of a European interior outfitted in chintz entirely is actually a dollhouse. It belonged to Petronella Dunois (1650-1695) and dates to 1676 (fig. 140).¹⁶² Another example of chintz decking out an entire chamber, but in a noble interior, was the Calico Chamber at the now destroyed Cowdray Castle in West Sussex and dates to 1682.¹⁶³ During the reign of Louis XIV, almost every French country palace had one room decorated with chintz because it was considered ideal for the rooms'

¹⁵⁹ John Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, ed. HG Rawlingson (London, 1929), 167.

¹⁶⁰ In 1722, Prince Eugene and Charles VI wrote to the *nawab* of Bengal to gain trading rights for the GIC in this region. See Dreijer, "Bargaining for Shelter: An Entrepreneurial Analysis of the Ostend Company, 1714-40," 18.

¹⁶¹ Guillaume-Thomas-Francois Raynal, *A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, vol. 2 (1776; reprint, Edinburgh: Mundell and Son, 1804), 171; W.W. Hunter, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 2nd ed., vol. 6: India (London: Tübner & Co., 1886), 373; Degryse, "De Oostendse Chinahandel (1718-1735)," 315.

¹⁶² See Watt, "'Whims and Fancies': Europeans Respond to Textiles from the East," 89.

¹⁶³ Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France, and Holland*, Studies in British Art (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1978), 116, 140.

“*sommerliche Ausstattung*,” or the summerlike decoration.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, the Upper Belvedere is a summer palace. The *Caffé Zimmer* presented a novel alternative to the already trendy *Indianisches Kabinett*. Chintz also adorned the prince’s large canopy bed in the *appartement de parade*, as well as one bed in the *appartement de société* at the Upper Belvedere (see figs. 91 and 96). The headboards comprise broad volutes that form a triangular composition and crescendo with a leaf divided into three points at the top (figs. 141-142). This is not unlike the headboard from Prince Eugene’s bed from Schloss Hof (fig. 143). The prince’s two Schloss Hof beds, now at the MAK, are among the earliest surviving of their kind. All the original *en suite* furnishings that match the bed pictured in figure 137 also survive. They too are made entirely from sophisticated chintz.¹⁶⁵ The imaginative motifs with exotic flowers, animals, and figures, who are engaged in various activities like hunting and foraging, embody the now lost chintz that enriched the *Caffé Zimmer* and two state beds at the Upper Belvedere. These beds were especially important to the prince, whose letters to a merchant named Rousseau (life dates unknown) dating between July 14, 1723 and August 7, 1723 disclose that the material for both beds was nearly lost.¹⁶⁶ After it had arrived in Ostend, the prince’s chintz was shipped on the vessel of Captain Thomas Maison (life dates unknown) to London, where it was passed along to a merchant named Paul Honard (life dates

¹⁶⁴ Jolly and Abegg-Stiftung, *Fürstliche Interieurs*, 16.

¹⁶⁵ Karl, “Who Slept in This Bed? The Question of the Provenance of Prince Eugene’s Chintz Bed (September 3, 2015).”

¹⁶⁶ Prince Eugene of Savoy, “Rousseaus,” 1725 1723, AT-OeStA/HHStA Große Korrespondenz 104b/c-57, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv.

unknown).¹⁶⁷ Honard then shipped the chintz to Hamburg.¹⁶⁸ The prince stated that he had received a letter from Maison which clarified exactly where his bed was located in Hamburg after being lost. Prince Eugene ultimately tracked down his chintz with help from the Counts Starhemberg and Sinzendorf and finally received the coveted fabrics in Vienna on August 7, 1723.¹⁶⁹

Prince Eugene's Surviving Indian Chintz & Chinese Silk, Damask, and Satin

The Schloss Hof inventory compiled in 1736 and Prince Eugene's surviving textiles and furnishings from the same palace are essential for understanding the Upper Belvedere's Indian and East Asian fabrics.¹⁷⁰ In 1725, which is only two years after the Upper Belvedere's interiors were completed, Charles VI gave Schloss Hof to Prince Eugene as a consolation for stepping down from his governorship of the Austrian Netherlands.¹⁷¹ Prince Eugene then hired Hildebrandt, du Plessy, and most of the other artists that worked at the Belvedere,

¹⁶⁷ Prince Eugene of Savoy, "Prince Eugene to Rousseau," July 21, 1723, AT-OeStA/HHStA Große Korrespondenz 104b/c-57, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv.

¹⁶⁸ Savoy.

¹⁶⁹ Prince Eugene of Savoy, "Prince Eugene to Rousseau," August 7, 1723, AT-OeStA/HHStA Große Korrespondenz 104b/c-57, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv.

¹⁷⁰ For a typed copy of the original Schloss Hof inventory, including the contents of Schloss Niderweyden which also belonged to Eugene's estate, see Frantes, "Die vollständige Originalausstattung der Schlösser Hof and der March und Niederweiden von 1736: Das Nachlaßinventar des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen.," 102–214.

¹⁷¹ Walther Brauneis, "Schloss Hof von der Zeit Prinz Eugens bis zum Kauf durch Maria Theresia," in *Schloss Hof: Prinz Eugens tusculum rurale und Sommerresidenz der kaiserlichen Familie; Geschichte und Ausstattung eines barocken Gesamtkunstwerks* (St. Pölten: Residenz Verlag, 2005), 8.

including the stuccoist Bussi and the frescoist Carloni, to remodel the existing structure in Marchfeld (see fig. 17-18). Johann Anton Zinner (1660-1736) designed Schloss Hof's terraced garden which Bernardo Belloto captured between 1758 and 1761 in a painting that Maria Theresia commissioned (fig. 144). In 1755, only three years after acquiring the Belvedere, she purchased Schloss Hof from the estranged husband of Prince Eugene's heir, who made no alterations to this structure.¹⁷² It emulates the Upper Belvedere and Prince Eugene decorated both garden palaces within a span of only ten years. The Upper Belvedere's ornamenting began in 1719. By 1729, Schloss Hof was completed just in time to celebrate Prince Eugene's sixty-sixth birthday.¹⁷³ Given that early modern nobles considered vibrant *chinoiserie* appropriate in spaces used for entertaining, as evidenced by the Upper Belvedere's *appartement de société*, it was also a fitting choice for Schloss Hof that Prince Eugene designated as his new pleasure palace. Schloss Hof's inventory, furnishings, and fabrics are invaluable and compelling aids that support my analysis of the Upper Belvedere ornamentation with Far Eastern commodities, and moreover, my conclusion that the two palaces' textiles are identical.

Indian and East Asian fabrics dressed the walls or upholstered furnishings in at least twenty rooms at Schloss Hof.¹⁷⁴ The author of this palace's inventory

¹⁷² Eugene's heir, Maria Anna Victoria of Savoy, married the Prince Joseph Friedrich von Sachsen-Hilburghausen (1702-1787) in Paris in 1738.

¹⁷³ Hellmut Lorenz, "Zur Baugeschichte von Schloss Hof," in *Schloss Hof: Prinz Eugens tusculum rurale und Sommerresidenz der kaiserlichen Familie; Geschichte und Ausstattung eines barocken Gesamtkunstwerks* (St. Pölten: Residenz Verlag, 2005), 34.

¹⁷⁴ The inventory's author mentions Asian textiles in the following rooms: *Tafelstube* (6), *Audienzzimmer* (7), *Schlafzimmer* (8), *Cabinet* (9), *Dame-Zimer* (14), *Cavallier-Zimer* (15), *Saal* (19), *Parade Ante-Chamber* (20), *Parade oder Conversations Zimer* (21),

clearly differentiates between those materials of foreign and European origin to highlight which are the most exceptional. Already in the early eighteenth century in Europe, silk, damask, and chintz that imitated oriental textiles was being manufactured for profit.¹⁷⁵ Therefore, the prince's silk, damask, and chintz from Asia is specified by the addition of words like "*indianisch*," "*japonisch* [sic]," and "*Pechins* [sic]" or "*Bechins* [sic]," meaning Peking and implying Chinese origin, whereas those fabrics made in Europe are named "*neopolitan[ischen] Domask* [sic]," "*Turiner Domask* [sic]," and also "*rotten* [sic] *Englischen Zeug*."¹⁷⁶ Most of the Asian textiles survive and they are stored at the MAK in Vienna. They all are characterized by a specific eight-fold weaving technique which confirms their Indian and Chinese origin.¹⁷⁷ The MAK's scientific analysis of Schloss Hof's fabrics' various dyes designates that no synthetic pigments were used to create them, and thus, they all date securely to the first three decades of the eighteenth century.¹⁷⁸ The prince's textiles at the MAK exemplify the brilliantly colored Chinese and Indian dressings on the *piano nobile* at the Upper Belvedere that

Parade Schlafzimmer (22), *Dame-Zimer* (24), *Cavallier-Zimer* (27), *Cavallier-Zimer* (28), *Dame-Zimer* (31), *Cavalier-Zimer* (32), *Dame-Zimer* (35), *Dame-Zimer* (37), *Dame-Zimer* (39), *Dame Zimmer* (41), *Cavallier-Zimer* (44). Frantes, "Die vollständige Originalausstattung der Schlösser Hof and der March und Niederweiden von 1736: Das Nachlaßinventar des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen."

¹⁷⁵ Watt, "'Whims and Fancies': Europeans Respond to Textiles from the East."

¹⁷⁶ Translation: "Neapolitan damask, damask from Turin, and red fabrics from England." See Frantes, "Die vollständige Originalausstattung der Schlösser Hof and der March und Niederweiden von 1736: Das Nachlaßinventar des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen.," 109, 110, 116, 120, 125, 144.

¹⁷⁷ Angela Völker, "Ausstattungstextilien aus Schloss Hof im MAK," in *Schloss Hof: Prinz Eugens Tusculum Rurale und Sommerresidenz der Kaiserlichen Familie ; Geschichte und Ausstattung eines Barocken Gesamtkunstwerks* (Wien: Holzhausen, 2005), 110–19; Angela Völker, "Die Textile Ausstattung der Wohn- und Paradeappartments von Schloss Hof unter Prinz Eugen und Maria Theresia: Eine Ergänzung," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 55–56, no. 1 (2007): 101–2.

¹⁷⁸ Völker, "Ausstattungstextilien aus Schloss Hof im MAK," 110.

Prince Eugene acquired from the Ostend East India Company during his governorship of the Austrian Netherlands.

Prince Eugene's cache at the MAK includes twenty-four long and unedited rolls of yardage with the same design.¹⁷⁹ This is enough to create about thirteen canopy beds or dress walls in four chambers.¹⁸⁰ The MAK also holds the prince's seventy Chinese silk taffeta panels of various sizes which feature three different embroidered and hand-painted designs, as well as numerous scraps of Chinese damask, satin, and silk that measure up to 120 centimeters (figs. 145-150).¹⁸¹ According to one scholar, Prince Eugene's cache of Far Eastern yardage was discovered at Schloss Hof in a room called the *Garde-Meuble*.¹⁸² Yet no surplus is mentioned in the meticulous Schloss Hof inventory that was compiled shortly after Prince Eugene died in 1736. Thus, in the mid eighteenth century, Maria Theresia

¹⁷⁹ For a detailed history on how the Schloss Hof contents arrived in the Hofmobiliendepot and MAK after 1942, see Völker, "Eine Indianische Chinoiserie für ein Österreichisches Schloss: Die textile Ausstattung für Prinz Eugens Paradezimmer in Schloss Hof," 53. Also see Völker, "Ausstattungstextilien aus Schloss Hof im MAK," 114.

¹⁸⁰ Völker, "Die Textile Ausstattung der Wohn- und Paradeappartments von Schloss Hof unter Prinz Eugen und Maria Theresia: Eine Ergänzung."

¹⁸¹ The MAK inventory numbers associated with the seventy panels are: MAK T 9111/ 01-06/ 1942; MD 20063. MAK T 9112/ 01-21/ 1942; MD 20064. MAK T 9113/ 01-26/ 1942; MD 20065. The MAK inventory numbers associated with the Schloss Hof silk, satin and damask scraps are: MAK T 9054/ 01-19/ 1942; MD 20001. MAK T 9055/ 01-17/ 1942; MD 20002. MAK T 9102/ 01-17/ 1942; MD 20053. MAK T 9058/ 01-17/ 1942; MD 20005. MAK T 9059/ 01-12/ 1942; MD 20006. MAK T 9056/ 01-16/ 1942; MD 20003. MAK T 9057/ 01-09/ 1942; MD 20004. MAK T 9062/ 01-21/ 1942; MD 20009. MAK T 9081/ 1942; MD 20028. MAK T 9082/ 1942; MD 20029. MAK T 9083/ 1942; MD 20030. MAK T 9085/ 1942; MD 20034. MAK T 9086/ 1942; MD 20035. MAK T 9105/ 01-17/ 1942; MD 20056. MAK T 9063/ 01-09/ 1942; MD 20010. MAK T 9064/ 01-19/ 1942; MD 20011. MAK T 9065/ 01-21/ 1942; MD 20012. MAK T 9084/ 1942; MD 20033. MAK T 9106/ 1942; MD 20058. MAK T 9079/ 1942; MD 20026. MAK T 9080/ 1942; MD 20027. MAK T 9092/ 1942; MD 20040. MAK T 9093/ 1942; MD 20041. See Völker, "Ausstattungstextilien aus Schloss Hof im MAK," 114–15.

¹⁸² Unfortunately, Brauneis does not provide a primary source. See Walther Brauneis, *Die Schlösser im Marchfeld* (St. Pölten: Verlag Niederösterreichisches Pressehaus, 1981), 70.

likely had Prince Eugene's cache of fabrics brought out of storage in Vienna at the Upper Belvedere and transferred to Schloss Hof. This work began in 1765 after the death of Franz I (reigned 1746-1765). It was a logical decorative choice as the empress' Rococo furnishings match Prince Eugene's extant fittings in the north wing at Schloss Hof, which the empress left untouched. She only remodeled the rooms on the first floor of the south wing. In other words, during his governorship of the Austrian Netherlands, Prince Eugene obtained abundant Asian fabrics which were so plentiful that he first furnished the Upper Belvedere, then Schloss Hof, and finally, Maria Theresa redecorated with them too.¹⁸³ I agree with another scholar who proposed that the prince's fabrics were only stored in the *Garde-Meuble* after the empress finished redecorating Schloss Hof in the 1770s.¹⁸⁴ When Maria Theresa died in 1780, the Habsburg court abandoned Schloss Hof and its contents remained untouched for over a century.¹⁸⁵ It was not until 1889 that Prince Eugene's cache and all of Schloss Hof's original contents were rediscovered and

¹⁸³ Recent studies have also shown that the textiles on Prince Eugene's furnishings in the south wing of Schloss Hof were also dismantled and reused by the Maria Theresa. For example, to create a headboard and bed cover for the empress's state bed, the chintz from a large bed described in detail in Prince Eugene's Schloss Hof inventory that was located in the Damen-Zimer (31) was simply cut and repurposed to fit Maria Theresa's updated furnishings. The MAK still owns fragments from this bedding. See Lieselotte Hanzl-Wachter, "Das 'Witwenappartement' Maria Theresias," in *Schloss Hof: Prinz Eugens tusculum rurale und Sommerresidenz der kaiserlichen Familie; Geschichte und Ausstattung eines barocken Gesamtkunstwerks* (St. Pölten: Residenz Verlag, 2005), 99; Frantes, "Die vollständige Originalausstattung der Schlösser Hof and der March und Niederweiden von 1736: Das Nachlaßinventar des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen.," 132 (N[ume]ro 31: Dame-Zimer).

¹⁸⁴ Frantes, "Die vollständige Originalausstattung der Schlösser Hof and der March und Niederweiden von 1736: Das Nachlaßinventar des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen.," 70.

¹⁸⁵ Stefan Schmidt, "Die Schloss Hofer Gärten nach Prinz Eugen. Nachblüte und Verfall," in *Schloss Hof: Prinz Eugens tusculum rurale und Sommerresidenz der kaiserlichen Familie; Geschichte und Ausstattung eines barocken Gesamtkunstwerks* (St. Pölten: Residenz Verlag, 2005), 52.

transferred from Marchfeld to Vienna for storage in the imperial furniture treasury, and then, in the twentieth century, the prince's fabrics were moved to the MAK collection.

Josef Wilha's photographs captured Schloss Hof in 1885 (figs. 151-154).¹⁸⁶ That is only four years before the palace was vacated and the imagery represents the structure in its original condition from late eighteenth century. According to Josef Mauer, an art historian who visited Schloss Hof shortly after Wilha and published his account of the palace, "*ein großer Theil [sic] der aufgezählten Möbel ist noch vorhanden und ist an seinem Platze [sic] geblieben, den ihm Prinz Eugen angewiesen [hat]*."¹⁸⁷ Wilha's photos reveal that two rooms were beautified entirely with embossed panels which dressed each of the walls and all *en suite* furnishings (see figs. 153-154). In other words, large amounts of the same textile were first imported to Austria before being cut and tailored *in situ* to fit a specific chamber. In the room pictured in figure 153, the yardage is embellished with repeating vases and large sunflowers that are framed by sprawling branches and geometric volutes. It is a lustrous yellow woven material called damask that remains in many fragments at the MAK (see figs. 145-146). The same textile was used to make a fireplace screen that dates securely to between 1720 and 1730, and thus, Prince

¹⁸⁶ Wilha's photographs are pictured in Brauneis, *Die Schlösser im Marchfeld*; Lieselotte Hanzl-Wachter, ed., *Schloss Hof: Prinz Eugens tusculum rurale und Sommerresidenz der kaiserlichen Familie; Geschichte und Ausstattung eines barocken Gesamtkunstwerks* (St. Pölten: Residenz Verlag, 2005).

¹⁸⁷ Translation: "the majority of the furniture listed is still here and, in its place, which Prince Eugene himself designated." See Joseph Maurer, "Einrichtung der Wohngemächer des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen in Schlosshof," in *Berichte und Mittheilungen des Alterthums-Vereines zu Wien*, vol. 26 (Wien: Carl Gerold & Sohn, 1890), 168.

Eugene himself commissioned it, like all the chamber's other furnishings (fig. 155). Whla captured a second chamber also dressed entirely by one fabric, this time a radiant blue damask embossed with a Chinese pavilion (see fig. 150 and 153). These two monochromatic rooms differ from the two bed chambers at the Upper Belvedere, where multiple fabrics covered the walls and the beds were dressed in vivid chintz (see figs. 91 and 98). Conceivably, the greater variety of splendid textiles at the Upper Belvedere showcased that it ranked highest among the prince's garden palaces.

Kleiner's engraved drawings support visually that there is a direct relationship between the textiles that adorned the Upper Belvedere and the prince's surviving Indian and East Asian fabrics at the MAK. For example, in the Upper Belvedere's *Spiel Zimmer*, there were two alternating dressings (see fig. 93). They appear to be strikingly similar to the fabrics at the MAK. One example is an embroidered Chinese silk bed curtain (fig. 156). It too is adorned with vases and vines. A second fabric which appears similar to those seen in the *Spiel Zimmer* is a scrap of a single-colored damask panel embossed with vases and acanthus leaves (see fig. 148).¹⁸⁸ It most closely resembles the alternating fabric strip that Kleiner drew in the Upper Belvedere's *Spiel Zimmer* (see fig. 130). In the *Gemahlenes Cabinet* and *Vorgemach*, Kleiner drew further fabrics that resemble those housed at the MAK. They each don vertically winding and narrow branches embellished with delicate foliage, small bushy flowers, and various finches

¹⁸⁸ These panels are stored under the inventory numbers: MAK T, 9105, 1942. MAK T, 9081-9083, 1942. MAK T 9085-9086, 1942. MAK T 9062, 1942. See Völker, "Die Textile Ausstattung der Wohn- und Paradeappartments von Schloss Hof unter Prinz Eugen und Maria Theresia: Eine Ergänzung," 103–4.

(figs.157-158).¹⁸⁹ This description matches closely the prince's silk taffeta fragments at the MAK (see fig. 147).¹⁹⁰ A similar panel was used to upholster a fireplace screen which also came from Schloss Hof and dates to between 1720 and 1730 (fig. 159). By 1729, even one room at the Lower Belvedere was outfitted with Asian textiles according to Kleiner (figs. 160-161). They appear similar to the prince's embroidered silk bed curtain from Schloss Hof (figs. 162). It is no surprise that Küchelbecker commented that many of the prince's Asian fabrics could be seen at the Upper Belvedere "*abermals*," or continuously.¹⁹¹ With more yardage and a variety of styles, Prince Eugene, and his interior designer du Plessy, had great flexibility in their final decisions about which fabrics should be used, how they should be combined, and finally, how they could best be applied to delineate spaces and convey grandeur. While Prince Eugene conferred with his designer to stay abreast with the latest fashions, like those professed by Marot, he certainly stipulated that he wanted *chinoiserie* for his garden palaces and took an active role in the design process.

Prince Eugene owned oriental textiles in great abundance due to his involvement in the establishment of the Ostend East India Company. Already in

¹⁸⁹ There is also one room at the Lower Belvedere that appears to be dressed with Asian textiles that include foliage and birds, namely in the room titled *Gemach* (see figs. 62-63). Given that the outfitting of the Lower Belvedere was complete by 1717, these textiles were either acquired before Eugene became the Governor-General of the Austrian Netherlands, or perhaps the chamber was later remodeled.

¹⁹⁰ The MAK inventory numbers associated with the twenty-four panels are: MAK T 9068/ 01-20/ 1942; MD 20015. MAK T 9096/ 01-08/ 1942; MD 20016. MAK T 9110/ 01-15/ 1942; MD 20062.

¹⁹¹ Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter, Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupfern ans Licht gegeben*, 788.

1717 and 1718, he expressed his great desire for Asian fabrics to Major Vehlen and the Marquis de Prie. This knowledge coupled with the information that Prince Eugene was constructing a magnificent garden palace in Vienna during his governorship of the Austrian Netherlands greatly benefited the GIC's founding members. Just like Prince Eugene's unique armorial plates, the precious textiles from Asia are the Ostend Company's "*cruciale pionnen*."¹⁹² They are the physical proof of the diplomatic exchanges between the prince and the founding members of the GIC. Such lavish imported objects facilitated a dialogue with Prince Eugene and they eventually led to the Ostend Company receiving an imperial charter from Charles VI in 1722. Both the material and circumstantial evidence imply that there is a direct link between the Schloss Hof yardage at the MAK and the Upper Belvedere's lost fabrics. Furthermore, when one considers that the same interior designer was chosen to decorate these two garden palaces, the association is greatly strengthened because solely du Plessy had knowledge about the exact amount of Asian fabrics which were left over after the Upper Belvedere decoration was completed. The visual similarities between the surviving panels at the MAK and those that Kleiner drew at the Upper Belvedere are conspicuous. Given that Indian and East Asian fabrics were exceedingly rare in Vienna in the first few decades of the eighteenth century, I have concluded that the textiles of the Upper Belvedere should not be considered irrecoverable, and in fact, they are identical to the Schloss Hof surplus.

¹⁹² Baguet, "De Oostendse Compagnie, haar directeurs en de Oostenrijkse Bewindvoerders. Een casuïstische analyse van hun onderlinge interactie (1722-1731)," 121.

Conclusion

Throughout the eighteenth century in imperial Vienna, contemporaries derived the value of objects that were manufactured in Asian from their status as being, to use Prince Eugene's own words, a "*rarite d'Indes*."¹⁹³ During the prince's own lifetime, the unique material splendor and notable presence of Far Eastern luxuries at his palaces demonstrated that he enjoyed dominion over coveted oriental trade routes that the Ostend East India Company monopolized. No other palaces in or near Vienna displayed *chinoiserie* fabrics on the same scale as at the Upper Belvedere or Schloss Hof until the mid-eighteenth century, at which point Maria Theresa renovated Schönbrunn Castle with Lenoble. There, he created two Asian cabinets and one mirror cabinet for the empress. At the same time, between 1742 and 1745, he arranged Chinese soapstone figures, the first of their kind to be seen in Vienna, alongside lacquer panels, in yet another *Indianische Kabinett* at Schloss Hetzendorf.¹⁹⁴ This garden palace, which is just at the end of *Schönbrunner Allee* and very near to the empress' garden palace, was redecorated for Maria Theresa's mother, the former empress Elisabeth Christine of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (reigned 1711-1740). When Maria Theresa acquired the Belvedere in 1752, which is the same year she acquired the prince's city

¹⁹³ Translation: "rarity from Asian." See Savoy, "Letter: Prince Eugene to Merveille," January 12, 1718.

¹⁹⁴ Wieninger, "Chinese Export Porcelain and Porcelain Cabinets in Vienna."

palace, she transferred his *Indianisches Kabinett* to the Lower Belvedere. Perhaps the empress considered it more appropriate for a garden palace and could balance the lavish *chinoiserie* seen at the Upper Belvedere. Then, following Lenoble's redecoration of Schönbrunn, in 1765, Maria Theresia purchased Schloss Hof and capitalized on Prince Eugene's fabric cache in her modernization of the south wing. Her newest porcelain cabinet at Schönbrunn was constructed between 1763 and 1765 after Jean Pillement's (1728-1808) design. Finally, Isidoro Carnevale (1730-1780) created her so-called Vieux-Laque-Zimmer that was filled with lacquer panels between 1769 and 1770.¹⁹⁵ Perhaps the empress' interest in acquiring Prince Eugene's palaces and possessions was due to her own strong preference for "*allem Indianischen*."¹⁹⁶ Or alternatively, she was inspired by the prince's accomplishment and desired to emulate and surpass him. The prince's exclusive access and strong attraction to Far Eastern porcelain and textiles at the dawn of the century helped to establish firmly amongst Austria's highest nobles that these commodities are luxuriously resplendent and fitting for garden palaces, and thus, Prince Eugene paved the way for Maria Theresia's extraordinary *chinoiserie*.

¹⁹⁵ For a recent study on Maria Theresia's application of *chinoiserie* at Schönbrunn, see Gabriela Krist and Elfriede Iby, eds., *Investigation and Conservation of East Asian Cabinets in Imperial Residences (1700-1900): Lacquerware, Porcelain, Paper & Wall Hangings: Conference 2015 Postprints*, vol. 15, Konservierungswissenschaft, Restaurierung, Technologie (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2018).

¹⁹⁶ Translation: "everything from the Far East." See Witt-Döring, "Die Möbelkunst am Wiener Hof zur Zeit Maria Theresias 1740-1780," 19.

CHAPTER THREE

Intellect and Cultural Sophistication: Paintings at Prince Eugene's Belvedere

PART ONE

The Painting Inventory (1736) and Sale Catalogue (1737)

Shortly after Prince Eugene's death in April 1736, Princess Maria Anna Victoria of Savoy sold nearly all the Belvedere's paintings. Thankfully, the sale prompted her to have them documented carefully in an inventory that Antonio Maria Zanetti (1689-1767) compiled in 1736 and transformed into a sale catalogue with assistance from Antonio Daniele Bertoli (1677-1743) in 1737.¹ Zanetti, a

¹ Zanetti is not to be confused with his younger cousin, who is also named Antonio Maria Zanetti (1706-1778) and who was the librarian of the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice between 1737 and 1778. It should be noted that the inventory includes paintings from the city palace, which are not discussed in this study, and all of the Upper Belvedere's paintings on the *piano nobile* except for the following works; one *sopraporta* in the *Bibliothec*, three *sopraporte* in the prince's bed chamber that is labeled *Schlaff Zimmer Sr. Durchl.*, three *sopraporte* in the *Conferenz Zimmer* and one ceiling painting by Giacomo del Pò, three *sopraporte* in the *Antichambre* and another ceiling painting by del Pò, one *sopraporta* in the *Spiegel Zimmer* and one ceiling painting by Francesco Solimena, three *sopraporte* in the *Taffel Zimmer*, three *sopraporte* in the *Caffé Zimmer*, three *sopraporte* in the *Spiel Zimmer*, three *sopraporte* in the *Schlaffgemach*, three *sopraporte* in the *Vorgemach*, two animal paintings in the *Großer Sahl*, and finally, the altarpiece that Francesco Solimena painted for the palace chapel. The inventory also excludes Chiarini's eight paintings that are discussed on page 192 of this chapter briefly. At the Lower Belvedere, the inventory includes all the paintings except for four *sopraporte* in the *Tafel Zimmer*, four *sopraporte* in the prince's bed chamber, one *sopraporta* in the *Bilder Zimmer*, and finally, two *sopraporte* in the room labeled *Gemach*. As mentioned in the introduction but is worth reiterating, the inventory is stored at the British National Archives in London and filed in the box *State Papers Austria* 121. It is also printed in Leopold Auer and Jeremy Black, "Ein neuentdecktes

Venetian artist, engraver, and connoisseur established himself as a highly regarded art dealer across all early eighteenth-century Europe. He was a fitting choice for the princess who desired to sell the prince's collection quickly.² According to one expert, "noble families needing money sold their inherited *virtú* through [Zanetti]" often and his prominent clients include Philippe II, the Duke of Orleans (1674-1723) and Prince Joseph Wenzel I of Liechtenstein (1696-1772).³ Barely two months after the princess first gained access to Eugene's estate officially, Zanetti received a receipt from her and it is dated August 10, 1736.⁴ This document, that I will discuss in more detail below, confirms his presence in Vienna to assess Prince Eugene's paintings during that summer. It also suggests that the painting inventory, that includes works from both the Belvedere and Prince Eugene's city palace, was written at this time. The princess sought Zanetti out specifically for his ability to evaluate her vast inheritance and competently organize a successful and timely sale.

Count Canale, the envoy to Charles Emmanuel III in Vienna and already introduced in chapter two, first documents Zanetti's involvement with Prince Eugene's painting collection. In a letter dated August 31, 1737 that he penned to

Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 38 (1986): 336–46. Also see [Document 1].

² A discussion of Princess Maria Anna Victoria's eagerness to sell Prince Eugene's paintings quickly can be found in Max Braubach, "Die Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen," in *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem zum 16. Februar 1965* (Berlin: G. Mann, Cop., 1965), 34–36.

³ Diana Scarisbrick, "A.M. Zanetti and the Althorp Leopard," *Apollo* 110, no. 213 (November 1979): 426.

⁴ The document is cited in Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*, Rev. and enl. ed (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 341.

the diplomat Carlo Vincenzo Ferrero d'Ormea (1680-1745) in Turin, Canale reports that Zanetti just departed Vienna for Venice and, before he left, Zanetti drew up a catalogue and it lists 173 paintings in total.⁵ The author also explains that Zanetti can be consulted reliably for “*le jugement qu'il porte de tous ces tableaux.*”⁶ He even reports that Zanetti collaborated with Bertoli.⁷ The pair worked together to “*estimé tous ces tableaux à un prix modique*” and formed an attractive sale catalogue.⁸ They concluded that the paintings are valued at 92,200 florins.⁹ This letter belongs to a series of eighty-two that Canale, Charles Emmanuel III, d'Ormea, Princess Maria Anna Victoria, Leopoldo del Carretto di Gorzegno (1693-1750), and Johann Adam Wehrlin (died 1776) exchanged between January 29, 1737 and April 25, 1741. Alessandro Vesme published this correspondence in

⁵ See the letter published in Alessandro Baudi di Vesme, “Sull' Acquisto fatto da Carlo Emanuele III RE Di Sardegna della Quadreria del Principe Eugenio di Savoia Recherche Documentate,” in *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, vol. 25 (Torino: Paravia, 1887), 182. Copies of the lost catalogue are published in Josef Friedrich Freiherr von Retzer and Johann Georg Meusel, “4. Die Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen in Wien,” in *Miscellaneen artistischen Inhalts*, vol. Heft 15 (Erfurt: Keyzerschen Buchh., 1783), 152–68; Vesme, “Sull' Acquisto fatto da Carlo Emanuele III RE Di Sardegna della Quadreria del Principe Eugenio di Savoia Recherche Documentate,” 228–53; Carlenrica Spantigati, “Vecchie e nuove precisazioni sulla quadreria del principe Eugenio di Savoia,” in *Conoscere la Galleria Sabauda; Documenti sulla storia delle sue collezioni* (Torino: Soprintendenza per i beni artistici e storici del Piemonte, 1982), 17–51. Also see [Document 2].

⁶ Translation: “his opinion about all the paintings.” See the letter published in Vesme, “Sull' Acquisto fatto da Carlo Emanuele III RE Di Sardegna della Quadreria del Principe Eugenio di Savoia Recherche Documentate,” 182.

⁷ Bertoli served in the position titled “*Galerie- und Kunstkammerinspektor*” at the Habsburg court after 1731. He also drew Prince Eugene's antique statues in 1737. See D. Gerstl, “Bertoli, Daniele Antonio,” in *Allegemeines Künstler-Lexikon: Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 10 (Berrettini-Bikkers) (München, Leipzig: Saur, 1995), 118–19.

⁸ Translation: “estimate the value of all these paintings at low cost.” See the letter published in Vesme 1887, p. 182.

⁹ See the letter published in Vesme, “Sull' Acquisto fatto da Carlo Emanuele III RE Di Sardegna della Quadreria del Principe Eugenio di Savoia Recherche Documentate,” 182; Gerstl, “Bertoli, Daniele Antonio.”

Miscellanea di Storia Italiana in 1887. It details how the princess sold 166 of Prince Eugene's paintings to Charles Emmanuel III by August 10, 1741.¹⁰ Many of these works are still in Turin today, at the Sabauda Gallery.

In *Patrons and Painters* (1st ed. 1963), Francis Haskell confirms that Zanetti already had business dealings with Princess Maria Anna Victoria in Vienna in 1736, or one year before Canale reported it.¹¹ Haskell studied at the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice Zanetti's own indexed volume of notes and letters, including the previously mentioned receipt signed by the princess and Zanetti in Vienna on August 10, 1736.¹² It discloses that Zanetti acquired three paintings formerly in the collection of Prince Eugene on this date. They are Nicolas Poussin's (1594-1665) *Saints Peter and John Healing the Lamé Man* and Luigi Maria Crespi's (1708-1779) pastoral landscape that Zanetti named "one of the finest things [that Crespi] ever painted."¹³ Zanetti soon sold the Poussin to Joseph Wenzel I. The third painting he acquired is by Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (1609-1664); it depicts

¹⁰ The exact number of works that Charles Emmanuel III purchased in 1741 is only noted by his bodyguard, the Cavaliere Oriole (life dates unknown). Oriole's log of daily notes forms a manuscript titled *Memorie: 1714-1748*. The entry dated August 10, 1741 includes the following information: "*Giungono a Torino 166 quadri accomprati da S.M., che il Principe Eugenio avea pagato 400 mila fiorini.*" Translation: "166 paintings arrived in Turin delivered by S.M., for which Prince Eugene had paid four-hundred-thousand florins." See the letter published in Vesme, "Sull' Acquisto fatto da Carlo Emanuele III RE Di Sardegna della Quadreria del Principe Eugenio di Savoia *Richerche Documentate*," 256. Also see Orioles, "Memorie: 1714-1748," 1748, Biblioteca Reale, Torino, http://cataloghistorici.bdi.sbn.it/file_viewer.php?IDIMG=14191&IDCAT=138&IDGRP=1380005&LEVEL=1&PADRE=1380001&PR=25&PROV=INT. It should be noted that the total number of paintings the king purchased is 176. In 1737, Princess Maria Anna Victoria sold Charles Emmanuel III ten battle paintings that Jan van Huchtenburgh created, and which are not included in the catalogue. I discuss these works again very briefly on page 180 of this chapter.

¹¹ Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 341–42.

¹² These records are stored at the Biblioteca Marciana as MSS. Italiani- CL. XI, Cod. CXVI, 7356. See Haskell, 341 (n.4).

¹³ Zanetti is cited in Haskell, 341.

animals and figures, but no title is recorded.¹⁴ According to Haskell, Zanetti describes this work in detail in *Memorie de gl'acquisti fatti da me Antonio Mra Zanetti q Girolamo in Vienna dall'Heredita del Principe Eugenio di Savoia, l'Anno 1736*. Furthermore, Zanetti's receipt confirms that, in 1736, he also purchased fifteen gems and cameos from the princess, including the so-called Althorp Leopard.¹⁵ This gold ring dates to the sixteenth century but has an eighteenth-century setting. It presents a moss agate cameo rendered in the form of a leopard couchant.¹⁶ Prince Eugene received it as a gift from Cardinal Alessandro Albani (1692-1779) in 1720, when the Cardinal came to Vienna as the apostolic nuncio.¹⁷ Among these records is also proof that Zanetti received a second ring in Vienna in 1736. It was a gift from Bertoli.¹⁸ This cameo may have been pilfered from Prince Eugene's collection because, as noted in the introduction, one scholar's ongoing research suggests that both Zanetti and Bertoli's practices were deceptive.¹⁹ The agate cameo given by Bertoli to Zanetti is carved into two dolphins. The gift discloses that Bertoli already had contact with Zanetti in 1736, yet Canale only records that Bertoli interacted with Zanetti in 1737.²⁰ In other words, these two men

¹⁴ Haskell, 341.

¹⁵ Scarisbrick, "A.M. Zanetti and the Althorp Leopard," 426; Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 341.

¹⁶ Scarisbrick, "A.M. Zanetti and the Althorp Leopard," 425.

¹⁷ Albani had chosen the rare and exquisite ring for Eugene after receiving advice from the antiquary and papal curator Marcantonio Sabatini (1637-1724). See Scarisbrick, 427.

¹⁸ Diana Scarisbrick, "Piranesi and the Actylitheca Zanettiana," *The Burlington Magazine* 132, no. 1047 (June 1990): 413.

¹⁹ Silvia Tommaro, "An International Charade. Antonio Maria Zanetti the Elder and Eugene of Savoy's Paintings" (Academic Conference, Patrons, Intermediaries, and Venetian Artists in Vienna and Imperial Domains (1650-1750), University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, September 24, 2020).

²⁰ Seeger also discusses Zanetti and Bertoli's interaction briefly in Ulrike Seeger, "Nuove ricerche sugli acquisti fatti da Carlo Emanuele III re di Sardegna nelle collezione d'arte appartenute al principe Eugenio di Savoia," *Studi Piemontesi* 31 (2002): 321–39.

likely worked together over two summers. First to create an inventory, and then again, to create a catalogue during the following year. Or perhaps, in 1736, Bertoli only received information about Zanetti's assignment for the princess. The ring may not have been pilfered but owned by Bertoli, who presented it to Zanetti as an expression of his great desire to be involved with the prestigious job. While I have not yet had an opportunity to read Zanetti's receipts and documents at the archive in Venice, which can clarify the extent of Bertoli's involvement with both the inventory and the catalogue, it is clear that Zanetti's primary purpose for traveling to Vienna in both 1736 and 1737 was to intimately assess Prince Eugene's painting collection.

The only known copy of the inventory of Prince Eugene's paintings is now in London but was published in 1986 [Document 1].²¹ It lists 298 works with twenty-three originating from the Lower Belvedere, 153 from the Upper Belvedere, and 122 paintings that were displayed formerly at Prince Eugene's city palace.²² Zanetti divided the inventory into twelve organized groups that represent various chambers at each of these three structures. The paintings are listed in their appropriate chambers and, in select cases, Zanetti includes details such as the color of the chamber's walls, the artworks' subject matter, the names of the artists, and even the artworks' precise measurements. The paintings that unnamed masters created, however, are not listed with details about their measurements. These anonymous works are also excluded from the catalogue that was drawn up

²¹ See footnote 1 of this chapter.

²² It is not clear that the paintings listed under the heading [V] were located at the Belvedere. See Auer and Black, "Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens," 342.

in 1737. This detail suggests that, during the compiling of the inventory in 1736, Zanetti was already preparing for the catalogue. Accordingly, Auer and Black have proven that there is “*kein[en] Zweifel daran*” that the inventory and catalogue “*auf eine gemeinsame Vorlage zurückgehen*.”²³

The detailed inventory that Zanetti established in 1736 is complemented by visual evidence in Kleiner’s engraved drawings that were produced circa 1729. Zanetti’s inventory begins with the Upper Belvedere and the first group of thirty-five paintings he listed under the heading [I]. On Kleiner’s ground plan, this chamber is labeled the *Kunst Gallerie* (see fig. 6). Underneath his drawing of the same chamber, Kleiner calls it the *Bilder Saal*. I will refer to this room as the *Bilder Saal* henceforth (see fig. 47). Zanetti’s subtitle for this chamber reads: “*Inventaire des tableaux qui sont placé dans la gallerie [sic] au jardin*.”²⁴ Thirty-one works adorned the gallery’s walls and four paintings were placed “*sur les portes*.”²⁵ The next group of paintings are labeled [II], “*Dans la chambre de parade tapissée de damas verd [sic] proche du cabinet des miroir [sic] sont placé les tableaux suivants dans leurs quadres [sic] dorés*.”²⁶ These works were presented in the *Audienz Zimmer* at the Upper Belvedere and featured rare plants and animals primarily, as well as a copy of Titian’s (1488/90-1576) *Perseus and Andromeda* and Jacques

²³ Translation: “no doubt...share the same blueprint.” See Auer and Black, 332.

²⁴ Translation: “inventory of paintings that are exhibited in the garden palace’s gallery.” See Auer and Black, 336.

²⁵ Translation: “above the doors.” See Auer and Black, 337.

²⁶ Translation: “In the parade room, that is lined with green damask and is located near the mirror cabinet, are the following paintings in gilded frames.” See Auer and Black, 337–38.

Courtois' (1621-1675) *Battle of the Hungarians*.²⁷ The next room in the inventory connects to Prince Eugene's bed chamber to the library. It is labeled [III] "*Dans le cabinet tapissé de damas bleu sont placé les tableaux suivants en cadres [sic] dorés.*"²⁸ Prince Eugene filled it with ninety-eight miniature paintings and there were two *sopraporte*, one above each door. The library is labeled [IV], where only three paintings are listed but four works were hung here originally. One painting was above the fireplace and the other three are *sopraporte*. The painting which Zanetti and Bertoli excluded from the inventory for unknown reasons is one *sopraporta*. Like the other two overdoors, it depicts a Greek philosopher and can

²⁷ The inventory's suggestion that this painting is "*de Titien [sic]*" and thus, it was thought to be by Titian's own hand. Zanetti and Bertoli recorded that the canvas in the *Audienz Zimmer* measured "*hauteur 5 pieds 11 pouces, largeur 6 pieds 6 pouces*" or ca. 187 x 205.4 cm. See Auer and Black, 337. Its prominent placement on the south wall in the *Audienz Zimmer* certainly suggests that contemporaries deemed it to be an original. It may be the *Perseus and Andromeda* attributed to Titian and now in the Wallace Collection, or perhaps, an equally esteemed studio copy. The Wallace collection painting measures 183.3 x 199.3 centimeters. A copy, now at the Hermitage and stored under the inventory number ГЭ-1595, measures almost the exact same, with 193 x 198 centimeters. In 1831, Prince Alexander Borisovich Kurakin (1752-1831) gifted it to the Hermitage and this work may represent the painting that was formerly hung at the Belvedere. Neither the Wallace Collection nor the Hermitage's Titians measure the same as which Zanetti and Bertoli recorded in the inventory. Therefore, it cannot be said with any certainty if either work belonged to Prince Eugene. In fact, three more copies are known to exist, which further complicate the matter. One copy is at the Musée Ingres in Montauban, France. It measures 194 x 236 cm. The next copy belongs to the Prado Museum in Madrid. It measures 175 x 207 cm. Finally, Luca Giordano (1634-1705) copied *Perseus and Andromeda* circa 1700 and this work is now in a private Swiss collection. It measures 165 x 197 cm. See "Titian (1485-1576), *Perseus and Andromeda*," accessed August 12, 2020, <https://wallacelive.wallacecollection.org:443/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=64901&viewType=detailView>; "Titian (Tiziano Vecellio), Copy after, *Perseus and Andromeda* (Copy)," accessed August 12, 2020, <https://hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+Paintings/32397>; Hans Ost, "Tizians *Perseus und Andromeda*. Datierungen, Repliken, Kopien," *Artibus et Historiae* 27, no. 54 (January 1, 2006): 129–46, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20067125>.

²⁸ Translation: "In the cabinet that is lined with blue damask are placed the following paintings in gilded frames." See Auer and Black, "Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens," 338–42.

be seen clearly in Kleiner's engraved drawing of the chamber (see fig. 90).²⁹ These works, to be discussed in more detail momentarily, are again *in situ* at the Belvedere. It is not clear where the room that Zanetti labeled [V], "*Dans le second étache [sic]*" is located, and may have been at the prince's city palace.³⁰ Here, only two portraits of Prince Eugene were hung, which Jakob van der Schuppen (1670-1751) and an artist called "de Ruttiers" painted.³¹ The inventory proceeds again at the Lower Belvedere, with the room labeled [VI], "*Spécification des tableaux qui se trouvent dans le battement du jardin en bas et dans le cabinet.*"³² It had nineteen paintings and one overdoor. The final space at the Belvedere where paintings were displayed, and which Zanetti included in the inventory, is the Lower Belvedere's small library. Here, three works are listed but the chamber's two *sopraporte* are excluded.³³ The last paintings listed in the inventory under the labels [VIII], [IX], [X], [XI], and [XII] were all located at Prince Eugene's city palace, and therefore, they are beyond the scope of my study.³⁴

Thomas Robinson (1695-1770), the English ambassador to Vienna, sent this painting inventory, which he received from the princess, to William Stanhope, the Earl of Harrington (1690-1756) in London, with an accompanying letter dated October 24, 1736.³⁵ Robinson's letter suggests, as proposed by Auer and Black,

²⁹ Auer and Black, 342.

³⁰ Translation: "On the second floor." See Auer and Black, 342.

³¹ Auer and Black, 342.

³² Translation: "Specifications regarding the paintings in the cabinet at the lower garden palace." See Auer and Black, 342.

³³ Auer and Black, 343.

³⁴ Auer and Black, 343–46.

³⁵ Auer and Black also mention the existence of a second letter from Robinson to Harrington that is dated October 10, 1736. See Auer and Black, 331–32.

that Robert Walpole, the first Earl of Oxford (1676-1745), was the intended recipient of the inventory.³⁶ That is because Lord Harrington's interest lay in Prince Eugene's antiques primarily, while his friend and colleague, Walpole, was known for being an avid collector of easel paintings.³⁷ The letter's October date, only two months after Zanetti's August trip to Vienna, further supports Zanetti's authorship of the inventory and the fact that the princess requested he create the list only two months after she had received access to her inheritance officially that June. Thus, it is an authentic document that was created before the Belvedere's artwork and paintings were removed in 1741. While the inventory largely failed to entice buyers, Zanetti and Bertoli's edited catalogue had greater potential to interest collectors because it presents Prince Eugene's most admired paintings as an attractive lot.

Zanetti's inventory of Prince Eugene's painting collection was compiled in the French language. It is titled simply "*EDITION*," while the catalogue that is based

³⁶ Auer and Black, 331–32.

³⁷ Between 1721 and 1735, Walpole had the leading British architects James Gibbs (1682-1754), Colen Campbell (1676-1729), Thomas Ripley (1683-1758), and William Kent (1685-1748) construct Houghton Hall, a grand palace for the display of artwork in Norfolk. Although the inventory was intended for Walpole, he did not purchase any works from Eugene's heir. Neither did Harrington, as the prince's antiques from Herculaneum were sold to August III in 1736 (yet they remained at the Lower Belvedere until circa 1737). Around the same time, Prince Johann Adam Andreas von Liechtenstein, who was already briefly introduced in chapter one, purchased Eugene's ancient bronze statue, *Praying Boy*, with Zanetti's assistance. By 1747, it ended up at Sanssouci palace, Potsdam, when Frederick the Great (reigned 1740-1786) purchased it from Liechtenstein. For more information on Walpole's collection, including the detailed inventories, see Andrew W. Moore, ed., *A Capital Collection: Houghton Hall and the Hermitage: With a Modern Edition of "Aedes Walpolianae", Horace Walpole's Catalogue of Sir Robert Walpole's Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002). For more information on Prince Eugene's antique sculptures, see Rudolf Noll, "Die Antiken des Prinzen Eugen im Unteren Belvedere," in *Prinz Eugen und Sein Belvedere* (Wien: Selbstverlag der Österreichischen Galerie, 1963); Gerhard Zimmer, Nele Hachländer, and Staatliche Museen zu Berlin--Preussischer Kulturbesitz, eds., *Der Betende Knabe: Original und Experiment* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1997); Ulrike Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen: Entstehung, Gestalt, Funktion und Bedeutung* (Wien: Böhlau, 2004), 321.

on this inventory, also in French, is titled “*Catalogue des Tableaux trouvés dans l’hoirie de S. A. Sme [sic] le grand Prince Eugene de Savoye. Ceux qui voudront en acheter en gros, ou en detail [sic], pourrons s’adresser [sic] au Sr. Vinzelli Banquier à Vienne en Autriche.*”³⁸ The original catalogue is unfortunately lost, but a copy exists [Document 2]. As stated in the introduction, Retzer, who eventually became the court secretary to the Habsburgs in 1787, mentioned the catalogue’s title and translated its entire contents into German in a letter dated September 4, 1782.³⁹ This letter, that is penned to Johann Georg Meusel (1741-1820), reveals that Retzer had discovered the catalogue in an old book that he had purchased in 1780.⁴⁰ Retzer also describes “*vermuthlich [sic] durch die lange Zeit, [und] mit sehr blasser Dinte [sic] geschrieben: chez Briffaut Libraire à Vienne*” on his copy of the inventory.⁴¹ Étienne Briffaut (life dates unknown) was the French owner of a book and map printing company that operated in Vienna between circa 1730 and 1758.⁴² This indicates that the book could not be older than about thirty or forty years when Retzer made his discovery because the publisher was active in Vienna until

³⁸ Translation: “Catalog of paintings found in the estate of the great S. A. Serenissime Prince Eugene of Savoy. Those who want to buy wholesale or retail can contact Sr. Vinzelli Banker in Vienna, Austria.” See Retzer and Meusel, “4. Die Gemähl-desammlung des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen in Wien,” 152–53; Auer and Black, “Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäl-desammlung Prinz Eugens,” 336.

³⁹ Retzer and Meusel, “4. Die Gemähl-desammlung des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen in Wien,” 152–54; Anton Schlossar, “Retzer, Joseph Friedrich Freiherr von,” *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 28 (1889), s. 275, accessed August 24, 2020, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd116450223.html#adbcontent>.

⁴⁰ Retzer and Meusel, “4. Die Gemähl-desammlung des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen in Wien,” 152–53; Peter R. Frank and Johannes Frimmel, *Buchwesen in Wien, 1750-1850: kommentiertes Verzeichnis der Buchdrucker, Buchhändler und Verleger*, Buchforschung, Bd. 4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 25.

⁴¹ Translation: “likely written long ago, [and] with very light ink: at Briffaut’s library in Vienna.” See Retzer and Meusel, “4. Die Gemähl-desammlung des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen in Wien,” 153.

⁴² For more on Briffaut, see Frank and Frimmel, *Buchwesen in Wien, 1750-1850*, 25.

1758.⁴³ Meusel later published Retzer's letter and the catalogue's translation in the fifteenth edition of *Miscelaneen artistischen Inhalts* in 1783.⁴⁴ In 1887, Vesme translated Retzer's version into Italian and he includes details about the artwork after it had arrived in Turin.⁴⁵

Zanetti and Bertolli's catalogue lists 173 paintings; 135 originate from the Upper Belvedere and nineteen each from the Lower Belvedere and city palace.⁴⁶ In Retzer's letter to Meusel, he explains that he felt responsible to correct the Francophonic spelling of artists' names in the catalogue.⁴⁷ Additionally, Retzer criticizes Zanetti or Bertolli, who were unknown to him, for spelling errors and what he considers blatant omissions.⁴⁸ I agree. He notes that the authors left out three paintings that must have appeared in an earlier version of the catalogue. Namely, the paintings numbered thirty-two, thirty-three, and forty-five are not included. Yet the list begins with painting number one and it ends with painting 176. Zanetti purchased three paintings from Princess Maria Anna Victoria in 1736. It is not clear

⁴³ Peter R. Frank and Johannes Frimmel, *Buchwesen in Wien, 1750-1850: Kommentiertes Verzeichnis Der Buchdrucker, Buchhändler Und Verleger*, Buchforschung, Bd. 4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 25.

⁴⁴ Retzer and Meusel, "4. Die Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen in Wien."

⁴⁵ Vesme, "Sull' Acquisto fatto da Carlo Emanuele III RE Di Sardegna della Quadreria del Principe Eugenio di Savoia Recherche Documentate," 228–53. A copy of Vesme's catalogue with further comments is published in Spantigati, "Vecchie e nuove precisazioni sulla quadreria del principe Eugenio di Savoia."

⁴⁶ The works from unknown chambers are numbered 32., 33., 40., 45., 57., 69., 86., 91., 92., and 93. in the catalogue. See Retzer and Meusel, "4. Die Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen in Wien"; Auer and Black, "Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens."

⁴⁷ Retzer and Meusel, "4. Die Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen in Wien," 154.

⁴⁸ For example, a copy of Titian's *Andromeda and Perseus* is titled "*Antromata [sic] et Pegasus [sic] de Titien [sic]*." See Auer and Black, "Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens," 337.

if these three works are the missing paintings, or perhaps, the omission communicates instead that there was a sale of three individual works just before 1737, which is the year that Briffaut published the catalogue. Certainly, Zanetti and Bertoli's decision to number each painting gave buyers the option to purchase individual works if they so desired.

In the modern scholarship on the catalogue which dates to before the discovery of Zanetti's inventory in 1986, there was once speculation that either the catalogue's sequence is completely random or possibly reflects how paintings were hung together originally at the Belvedere and city palace.⁴⁹ Auer and Black's discovery certainly clarifies these questions about the catalogue's sequence, which is based loosely on the inventory's organization and the artworks' arrangement in both structures. However, there is a vast difference in the two documents' length, with the inventory listing 298 works and the catalogue only 173 paintings. My interpretation of this discrepancy is that Zanetti and Bertoli advised Princess Maria Anna Victoria to advertise for sale only those works in Prince Eugene's collection that they attributed to revered European masters. Listed together as a group in a catalogue, they possessed the greatest potential to attract

⁴⁹ See Theodor von Frimmel, "Mittheilung über die Gemäldesammlungen von Alt-Wien," in *Berichte und Mittheilungen des Alterthums-Vereins zu Wien*, vol. 26 (Wien: Prandel & Meyer, 1890), 31–40; Theodor von Frimmel, *Geschichte der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: G.H. Meyer, 1899), 12–55; Albert Ilg, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen als Kunstfreund* (Wien: K. Graeser, 1889); Braubach, "Die Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen," 36; Gertrude Aurenhammer, "Geschichte des Belvederes seit dem Tode des Prinzen Eugen," *Mittheilungen der Österreichischen Galerie* 13 (1969): 47; Spantigati, "Vecchie e nuove precisazioni sulla quadreria del principe Eugenio di Savoia," 17–52; Carlenrica Spantigati, *Per una storia del collezionismo, Pittura fiamminga ed olandese in Galleria Sabauda; Il principe Eugenio di Savoia-Soissons uomo d'arme e collezionista: 150° anniversario di istituzione della Galleria Sabauda, 1832-1982*. (Torino: Galleria Sabauda, 1982); Auer and Black, "Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens."

a buyer who might consider acquiring the entire lot if sold for a fair price. The princess expressed to Canale that she had this very desire and he relayed it to Charles Emmanuel III on July 17, 1737.⁵⁰ Canale explains that he had received a letter from the princess dated July 6, 1737 and in it she states: “*prétend de vendre tous les tableaux de feu Prince Eugène en même temps sans les séparer.*”⁵¹ While the fate of Prince Eugene’s lesser paintings is unknown, the 166 paintings listed in the catalogue were sold to Charles Emmanuel III.⁵²

At the archive in Turin, there are two copies of the original but lost sale contract which Charles Emmanuel III and Princess Maria Anna Victoria signed on December 16, 1741.⁵³ Unfortunately, a catalogue of the paintings does not accompany either of these copies of the original contract.⁵⁴ However, both copies do state explicitly that “*Brifau* [sic]” meaning Étienne Briffaut, printed the inventory of works which Charles Emmanuel III purchased.⁵⁵ In other words, the catalogue

⁵⁰ The original letter is mentioned in Canale’s letter that is dated July 17, 1737 and printed in Vesme, “Sull’ Acquisto fatto da Carlo Emanuele III RE Di Sardegna della Quadreria del Principe Eugenio di Savoia *Richerche Documentate*,” 178.

⁵¹ Translation: “a desire to sell all the paintings of the late Prince Eugene at the same time without separating them.” See the letter published in Vesme, 178.

⁵² Auer and Black, “Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens,” 333. And see footnote 10 of this chapter.

⁵³ There are two copies of the sale contract at the State Archive in Turin. Diekamp provides the information that the first copy is stored in: *Scritture riguardanti i principi di Carignano Soissons in Materie politiche per rapporto all’interno [Inventario n. 110], Principi di Carignano Soissons, Mazzo 6, Fascicolo 14*. The second copy is stored in: *Controllo generale di finanze, lettere, copie di patenti e bigletti d. S. Maesta, 1741*. Also see Cornelia Diekamp, “Die Sammlung eines Prinzen: zur Geschichte der Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen nach 1736 mit einer Rekonstruktion des ‘Bilder-Saales’ im Oberen Belvedere,” *Belvedere: Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 11, no. 2 (2005): 11.

⁵⁴ In Vesme, there is an Italian translation of the catalogue and it is annotated. See Vesme, “Sull’ Acquisto fatto da Carlo Emanuele III RE Di Sardegna della Quadreria del Principe Eugenio di Savoia *Richerche Documentate*,” 288–253.

⁵⁵ Diekamp, “Die Sammlung eines Prinzen: zur Geschichte der Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen nach 1736 mit einer Rekonstruktion des ‘Bilder-Saales’ im Oberen Belvedere,” 11.

that Retzer discovered and translated into German is the same list of artworks that the princess had sent to Turin. Even before this deal was initiated, Charles Emmanuel III purchased Prince Eugene's ten battle paintings that Jan van Huchtenburgh (1647-1733) executed and which were hung at Schloss Hof.⁵⁶ Martin van Meytens (1695-1770) packed them up and sent them to Turin in June 1737.⁵⁷ It is certainly possible that the catalogue, which is said to have been compiled around this time in the summer of 1737, was sent along with the battle paintings to Turin to entice Charles Emmanuel III to purchase the entire lot.

In addition to the catalogue that Retzer discovered and translated, at least three additional copies of this document were circulated by the princess to advertise her inheritance to potential buyers in Europe. A letter dated August 6, 1740 reveals that Canale became aware of the fact that she also sent the painting catalogue to the brother of the Polish-Sachsen statesman Heinrich von Brühl (1700-1763) in Dresden, in order for Augustus III, the King of Poland (reigned 1734-1763) to consider making the purchase.⁵⁸ In another letter dated February 4, 1741, Canale informs us that Princess Maria Anna Victoria had sent even another copy of the catalogue to Frederick II, the King of Prussia (reigned 1740-1786), via

⁵⁶ Joseph Maurer, "Die Gemälde des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen in seinem Schlosse Schloßhof," *Mittheilungen der K.K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und Historischen Denkmale* N. F. XVII (1891): 142–45; Harald Frantes, "Die vollständige Originalausstattung der Schlösser Hof and der March und Niederweiden von 1736: Das Nachlaßinventar des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen." (Diplomarbeit, Wien, Universität Wien, 2005), 121.

⁵⁷ Canale a d'Ormea's letter from June 22, 1737 is printed in Vesme, "Sull' Acquisto fatto da Carlo Emanuele III RE Di Sardegna della Quadreria del Principe Eugenio di Savoia Richerche Documentate," 176–77.

⁵⁸ See the letter published in Vesme, 204.

the Baron Gustav Adolf von Gotter (1692-1762) in Berlin.⁵⁹ Besides the copy that Auer and Black discovered in England, no other painting inventory is known to survive.

Kleiner's imagery upholds that Zanetti's inventory is an authentic document. Apart from *sopraporte* and ceiling paintings, it lists faithfully each work that was hung on the walls of the Lower and Upper Belvedere in the chambers that are numbered [I], [II], [III], [IV], [VI], and [VII].⁶⁰ Buttressed by the sale catalogue from 1737, the inventory enables my accurate reconstruction of the prince's placement of paintings throughout the Lower and Upper Belvedere in parts two and three of this chapter. This task has not yet been undertaken by any other study on the Lower or Upper Belvedere. According to my thorough investigation, Prince Eugene assembled 220 paintings in total for display at the Belvedere between circa 1710 and 1736. At the Upper Belvedere there were 184 paintings: 140 easel paintings, four ceiling paintings, thirty-nine *sopraporte*, and one altarpiece in the palace chapel. At the Lower Belvedere, there were thirty-six paintings in total. Fourteen of these were *sopraporte* and the other twenty-two are easel paintings. They underscore that the small structure fulfills a leisure function predominantly, while the prince's paintings at the Upper Belvedere, with their wide-ranging subject-matters, of the highest-quality, and representative of the Italian, Netherlandish, and

⁵⁹ See the letter published in Vesme, 210.

⁶⁰ The full list of paintings not included in Zanetti's inventory are listed in footnote 1 of this chapter. The only discrepancy is related to Anthony van Dyck's painting *Amaryllis and Mirtillo* that the prince acquired after 1729. See the discussion on page 246-247 of this chapter.

German schools, communicated that Prince Eugene is an erudite connoisseur and worthy representative of the Holy Roman Emperors.

PART TWO

Prince Eugene's Paintings at the Lower Belvedere

The *Bilder Zimmer* (Cabinet)

At the Lower Belvedere, which Prince Eugene decorated between 1714 and 1716, only one small room is dedicated for use solely as a picture gallery (see fig. 45 and the chamber labeled “f” on fig. 1). A *quadreria*, this chamber is labeled the *Cabinet* underneath Kleiner’s drawing but *Bilder Zimmer* on the ground plan of the Lower Belvedere (see fig. 1). I will use the name *Bilder Zimmer* to describe this space which belongs to the structure’s primary state rooms. It is connected to the *Tafel Zimmer*, which commences with an orangery that is located in the east (fig. 163). The *Tafel Zimmer* is also connected to the Marble Hall going west.⁶¹ The *Tafel Zimmer* functioned as a dining room and the structure’s “*Hauptraum der*

⁶¹ It should be noted that Kleiner spells this room *Tafel Zimmer* but labeled the space at the Upper Belvedere with the same function *Taffel Zimmer* (see fig. 92).

repräsentativen Geselligkeit,” according to one expert.⁶² The small and intimate *Bilder Zimmer*, however, which has but a single entrance and exit, enjoys a more privileged position because it is deeper within this apartment. It is not immediately visible or accessible to visitors who enter the Lower Belvedere via the reception hall. It could only be reached with express permission granted by Prince Eugene. That is because the Lower Belvedere follows the previous models of noble Italian apartments which, since the Renaissance period, have connecting rooms to provide a “convenient framework within which social life and ceremony could function in a regulated manner.”⁶³ In other words, close friends and distinguished visitors could penetrate a room like the *Bilder Zimmer*, and thus, Prince Eugene used this intimate setting filled with nineteen landscape paintings to impress and engage select individuals privately.

The tradition to include intimate and contemplative spaces among a suite of chambers in European palaces began during the Renaissance in Italy.⁶⁴ These small spaces existed solely for the purpose to display and appreciate artwork and precious objects. The trend spread from Italian *palazzi* to domestic architecture throughout Europe by the Baroque period. Generally used by the patron for private study only, early examples are called *studioli*, like the famous *studiolo* in the Ducal

⁶² Translation: “main room for courtly festivities.” Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 309.

⁶³ Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400-1600* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1991), 300.

⁶⁴ An overview on this topic is provided by Jean Guillaume, Centre d’études supérieures de la Renaissance, and Centre national de la recherche scientifique (France), eds., *Architecture et vie sociale: l’organisation intérieure des grandes demeures à la fin du Moyen Age et à la Renaissance: actes du colloque tenu à Tours du 6 au 10 juin 1988*, De architectura 6 (Paris: Picard, 1994).

palace of Mantua which belonged to Isabella d'Este (1474-1539). By the early-eighteenth century, these spaces had evolved and “essentially [became] private museums.”⁶⁵ One expert explains that “very special” and small rooms in Italian palaces, that are the equivalent of the French *cabinet*, are “personal to a single individual...[and] played such an important role in fashionable social life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries” in Europe.⁶⁶ Another expert agrees and iterates that “the charm of small *cabinets* ... derived from the care with which they were decorated.”⁶⁷ Yet the only scholar who has previously investigated this space at the Lower Belvedere concluded that Prince Eugene's choice to exhibit landscape paintings in this small chamber was motivated primarily by a need to signal to guests, with artwork of an inferior genre, that the Belvedere ranks below his city palace.⁶⁸ I do not agree with this assessment of the prince's verdant landscapes that were highly esteemed and placed in a privileged setting.

Just as the *Tafel Zimmer* leads into the *Bilder Zimmer*, one small room called the *Gemahltes Cabinet* is connected to Prince Eugene's bedchamber (see fig. 164 and the room labeled “I” on fig. 1). Drentwett covered the vault and portions of the walls with grotesque frescoes. It is also possible that this room features painted silk panels. Such intimate rooms possessed a “ceremonial” nature in French Baroque palaces, from which Lower Belvedere derivatives.⁶⁹ In 1776, in

⁶⁵ “Studiolo [It.: ‘Little Study’],” Oxford Art Online, 2003, <https://doi-org.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T082050>.

⁶⁶ Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400-1600*, 296.

⁶⁷ John Whitehead, *The French Interior: In the Eighteenth Century* (London: L. King, 1992), 91.

⁶⁸ Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 308.

⁶⁹ Whitehead, *The French Interior: In the Eighteenth Century*, 91.

Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, Jacques-Francois Blondel (1705-1774) iterates the following points in his formal definition and discussion of cabinets in contemporary architecture; they should be used for “*les personnes de distinction qui demandent de la préférence*” and importantly,

“*la décoration des [cabinets] soit relative à leur usage, c'est-à-dire qu'on observe de la gravité dans l'ordonnance des cabinets d'affaires ou d'étude ; de la simplicité dans ceux que l'on décore de tableaux ; & de la légèreté, de l'élégance, & de la richesse, dans ceux destinés à la société, sans que pour cela on use de trop de licence.*”⁷⁰

Consequently, the intimate *Gemahltes Cabinet* and the *Bilder Zimmer* alike are rooms in which Prince Eugene and his select guests could retire, just as Blondel described, to “*l'on traite d'affaires particulières.*”⁷¹ Receiving permission to enter the *Gemahltes Cabinet*, or its pendant, the *Bilder Zimmer*, allowed the prince's guests to gauge their standing more accurately.⁷² Painted decorations were selected by Prince Eugene for both rooms to signal that these settings are highly privileged.

A gentleman views one landscape painting closely in Kleiner's engraved drawing of the *Bilder Zimmer* (see fig. 45). This representation helps us to understand how Prince Eugene intended for visitors to look closely at the artwork

⁷⁰ Translation: “people of distinction who deserve preference” and “the decoration of these [cabinets] is relative to their use, in other words we will observe seriousness in the decoration of business or study cabinets; simplicity in those decorated with paintings; & lightness, elegance, and wealth, in those intended for use by the court, without deviation.” See Jacques-Francois Blondel, “Cabinet,” in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, vol. 2, 1776, 488–89, <https://artflsrv03.uchicago.edu/philologic4/encyclopedia1117/navigate/2/0/0/0/0/0/0/0/493/?byte=6569468&byte=6569474>.

⁷¹ Translation: “deal with special cases.” See Blondel, 488.

⁷² Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400-1600*, 300.

he displayed. In this case, the man examines a work that Jan Griffier I (1652-1718) painted circa 1710 (numbered [VI] 15. in the inventory and 152. in the catalogue).⁷³ This painting is currently on view at the Sabauda Gallery, and it is titled *The Capture of a Fort* (fig. 165). The commotion and bustling activity in the detailed landscape draws the gentleman in and compels him to approach the painting and look very closely to make out the various details. The small size of the figures also encourages him to move close to the canvas. It measures only fifty by sixty-four centimeters.⁷⁴ According to Zanetti's inventory, all of the paintings in this small gallery measured between "*hauteur 10 ½ pouces, largeur 1 pied, 1 pouce*" and "*hauteur 1 pied 7 ½ pouces, largeur 1 pied, 10 pouces*."⁷⁵ As already mentioned in chapter one, but is worth restating, one Viennese "*pied*," or foot, measures 316 millimeters.⁷⁶ Therefore, the smallest work in this room measures about twenty-seven by thirty-four centimeters. The largest only about fifty-one by fifty-eight centimeters. Prince Eugene's choice to hang numerous small landscapes in this gallery is deliberate; it obliged viewers to look closely at the artwork to become intimately acquainted with the subject matter. In this case, landscapes which became the most popular type of decoration in early modern European galleries

⁷³ The museum label dates the work between 1710 and 1718, however, the decoration of the Lower Belvedere was already complete by then 1716. "Museum Wall Label: Jan Griffier I, *Presa di un forte* (Capture of a Fort, inv. 81)," n.d., Sabauda Gallery, Turin, accessed November 13, 2018.

⁷⁴ "Museum Wall Label: Jan Griffier I, *Presa di un forte* (Capture of a Fort, inv. 81)."

⁷⁵ Auer and Black, "Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens," 342–43.

⁷⁶ Vesme, "Sull' Acquisto fatto da Carlo Emanuele III RE Di Sardegna della Quadreria del Principe Eugenio di Savoia *Richerche Documentate*," 228.

that, just as the *Bilder Zimmer*, are located near an actual garden.⁷⁷ One scholar explains that the “airiness” in landscapes could foster a “link with nature” and beget *meraviglia*, or surprise and astonishment, especially at a garden palace or other recreational structures with a view.⁷⁸ Indeed, *meraviglia* became the guiding principle in gallery design throughout the entire early modern period because of the Baroque “culture of curiosity” which encourages “beholder[s] to discover hidden meanings” in artwork.⁷⁹

The inventory from 1736 indicates that five works in the *Bilder Zimmer* are attributed to Herman Saftleven II (1609-1685), thirteen paintings to Griffier I, such as the aforementioned work at the Sabauda Gallery, and finally, one painting was executed in the manner of Griffier I (numbered [VI] 2.-20. in the inventory and 139-157 in the catalogue).⁸⁰ Saftleven, of the famous Dutch family of artists, produced over 300 imaginary but realistic landscape paintings and also many topographically accurate representations of the Rhineland that made him one of the most celebrated Dutch artists of his lifetime.⁸¹ This artist also created topographic drawings between 1647-48, and in 1669 for the City Council of Utrecht, and even worked for the Prince of Orange, Frederick Hendrick (1584-1647). The contemporary Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679) wrote an

⁷⁷ Christina Strunck, “Concettismo and the Aesthetics of Display: The Interior Decoration of Roman Galleries and Quadrerie,” in *Display of Art in the Roman Palace, 1550-1750* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2014), 217.

⁷⁸ Strunck, 217.

⁷⁹ Strunck, 217.

⁸⁰ Auer and Black, “Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens,” 342–43.

⁸¹ Wolfgang Schulz, *Herman Saftleven, 1609-1685: Leben und Werke: mit einem kritischen Katalog der Gemälde und Zeichnungen*, Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte, Bd. 18 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982).

elegant verse dedicated to Saftleven in 1660 that praises the artist, for bringing “*leven*,” or life, to his images that have the power to transport the viewer and take them on a fantastic journey to far off places.⁸² Griffier is a Dutch artist who was mostly active in England and is also known for topographically accurate landscapes.⁸³ Griffier I frequently copied Saftleven’s imagery and his paintings were often taken for originals by contemporaries.⁸⁴ He especially depicted the Rhineland and the seventeenth-century English countryside. The experience of viewing this artwork in the *Bilder Zimmer* sparked lively and stimulating dialogues between guests and the collector. Especially the juxtaposition of works by Netherlandish painters was deliberate and it encouraged viewers to look for narrative links that the collector curated.⁸⁵ This arrangement finds confirmation at Schloss Hof, where Prince Eugene hung landscapes depicting ruins and the Italian countryside in the “*Tafel-Stubben*.”⁸⁶ The term “*stubben*” or “*stuberl*” connotes that this space too is rather small. “*Tafel*” suggests it was used for dining, or perhaps, it is simply connected to the dining hall like the *Bilder Zimmer* at the Lower Belvedere. Both spaces are *quadrerie* and Prince Eugene filled them with closely hung paintings to elicit conversation, curiosity, and comparison.

⁸² Joost van den Vondel, *Joost van den Vondel: zijne dichtwerken en oorspronkelijke prozaschriften in verband met eenige levensbijzonderheden: 1658-1660/ Dl. 8*, ed. J A Alberdingk Thijm and J H W Unger (Leiden: Sijthof, 1896), 241–42.

⁸³ León Krempel and Mirjam Neumeister, eds., *Holländische Gemälde im Städel, 1550-1800*, Kataloge der Gemälde im Städelischen Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main 8–9, 11 (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2005), 115–23.

⁸⁴ Wolfgang Schulz, “Saftleven Family [Zachtleven],” Grove Art Online, 2003, <https://doi-org.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T074951>.

⁸⁵ Ulrike Dorothea Ganz, *Neugier & Sammelbild: Rezeptionsästhetische Studien zu gemalten Sammlungen in der niederländischen Malerei; ca. 1550 - 1650* (Weimar: VDG, Verl. und Datenbanken für Geisteswiss, 2006), 201–2.

⁸⁶ Frantes, “Die vollständige Originalausstattung der Schlösser Hof and der March und Niederweiden von 1736: Das Nachlaßinventar des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen.,” 108.

The *Bilder Zimmer*'s west wall showcased only four landscape paintings (see fig. 45). All are nearly equal in size and they were fitted in custom gilded frames. Many of Prince Eugene's paintings at the Sabauda Gallery are still outfitted in their original frames from the Belvedere, as seen in the attached figures (see figs. 165, 183-187, 189-201, 203-208, 210-214, 226-227, 229, 231, and 233). These frames derive from a French-made prototype that, according to two experts, "may be described loosely as Louis XIV in style."⁸⁷ Prince Eugene became acquainted with this style during his childhood at Versailles, and moreover, he was advised by the French-trained interior designer du Plessy. However, Eugene employed Italian-trained craftsmen to assemble these frames *in situ* at the Belvedere using a French prototype.⁸⁸ The lavish frames served as active agents, unifying the *Bilder Zimmer*'s visual program. The swirling geometric designs and vegetal carvings relate to the elaborate stuccos on the chamber's vault. The custom frames balance the presentation of landscapes in the *Bilder Zimmer* while helping viewers make visual connections effortlessly.

Circa 1729, the *sopraporta* above the only doorcase in the *Bilder Zimmer* depicted a basket of flowers surrounded by foliage (see fig. 45). This representation differs significantly from the description of the painting in the inventory that titles this work "*Une conversation des dames et messieurs avec des*

⁸⁷ Timothy Newbery and Peter Cannon-Brookes, "The Framing of Prince Eugene's Collection," *The International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship*, no. 7 (1988): 48.

⁸⁸ Newbery and Cannon-Brookes, 52–55.

petites anges représentants l'amour.”⁸⁹ It is certainly possible that the original painting was exchanged after the drawing was made and before Zanetti drew up the inventory in 1736.⁹⁰ This document suggests that, in addition to the four works that Kleiner has represented in his drawing, there were an additional fifteen canvases which Eugene positioned on the chamber's east wall. This wall, which Kleiner did not depict because it was to his back when he made his drawing, was hung with organized and closely arranged paintings, just as we will see in the *Cabinet* at the Upper Belvedere (see fig. 46). The precedent to display paintings in this manner was first firmly established in the seventeenth century in Roman palaces, especially in the display of “specialized genres,” like landscapes, because the arrangement is ideal for “provoke[ing] comparison” and can initiate discussion.⁹¹ Another reason to display many paintings of the same genre and by the same well-liked painter, or painters, such as Saftleven and Griffier, is to boast, in the form of what one scholar calls a “rambling *studiolo*,” that the collector knows how to invest his money well and has done so in a highly satisfactory manner.⁹²

⁸⁹ Translation: “a conversation of ladies and gentlemen with little angels representing love.” See Auer and Black, “Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens,” 342.

⁹⁰ One such change is discussed in relation to the prince's acquisition of van Dyck's *Amaryllis and Mirtillo* after 1729. See the brief discussion on pages 246-247 of this chapter.

⁹¹ Gail Feigenbaum, “Introduction: Art of Display in Principle and in Practice,” in *Display of Art in the Roman Palace, 1550-1750* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2014), 21.

⁹² Francesca Cappelletti, “An Eye on the Main Chance: Cardinals, Cardinal-Nephews, and Aristocratic Collectors,” in *Display of Art in the Roman Palace, 1550-1750* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2014), 88.

The *Bücher Cabinet*

The *Bücher Cabinet* is not a gallery or a *quadreria*, but a library that featured two easel paintings by unknown masters (fig. 166). In his inventory, Zanetti described them as “*Un tableau rond représentant le chaste Joseph, sur la cheminée*” and “*Jupiter transfiguré en cigne [sic] avec Leda*” (numbered [VII] 1. and 3. in the inventory and excluded from the catalogue).⁹³ A third painting by an unknown artist was also exhibited in this chamber, and, while it cannot be seen in Kleiner’s print, Zanetti furnishes the subject: “*Diane avec des nymphes et Actéon*” (numbered [VII] 3. in the inventory and excluded from the catalogue).⁹⁴ The biblical and mythological subject matter of the room’s paintings underscore visually that the library is a space that provides an opportunity for intellectual enrichment. This sentiment is supported by Bussi’s allegorical stuccos on the vault. They form a snake ring and a laurel wreath as metaphors for wisdom. A gilded frame encased *Leda and the Swan* which was placed above a large bookcase that spanned the chamber’s south wall. Kleiner’s ground plan of the Lower Belvedere, along with the addition of the words “*a côté*” before the painting’s title in the inventory, suggest that *Diane and Actaeon* was hung across from the other mythological painting representing Jupiter.⁹⁵ This subject matter helped to signal that Prince Eugene not

⁹³ Translation: “a round painting representing a chaste Joseph and Jupiter transformed into a swan with Leda, above the fireplace.” This room is located at the north end of the west wing in the Lower Belvedere. Notably, the oval painting in Kleiner’s drawing appears to represent two female figures and not Joseph as the inventory suggests (see fig. 166). See Auer and Black, “Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens,” 343.

⁹⁴ Translation: “Diana with nymphs and Acteon.” See Auer and Black, 343.

⁹⁵ Translation: “nearby,” or “next to.”

only was acquainted with classical mythology, but also, owned three over-life size antique sculptures that were rare to see north of the Alps in the early eighteenth century. They had been discovered in Herculaneum and were given to the prince as a gift by Emmanuel Maurice de Lorraine, the Duke of Elbeuf and Prince of Lorraine (1677-1763).⁹⁶ Prince Eugene exhibited his prized statues in the Marble Gallery, which is separated from the library by only one chamber. The choice to place a library near to a gallery of antique sculptures first gained popularity during the Renaissance in Italy. For example, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589) had a library constructed just off the gallery of antiques at Palazzo Farnese in Rome.⁹⁷ It provided his antiquarian, Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600), with a quiet place where he could conduct intense study. In French Baroque structures, libraries are also common, and they generally include built-in bookcases like at the Lower Belvedere.⁹⁸ Prince Eugene owned a vast collection of ancient literature and his library's inventory shows that it contains poetry, history, philosophy and rhetoric, and also, Greco-Roman mythology.⁹⁹ Prince Eugene's great interest in the ancient world is also expressed by the eight paintings he commissioned from Marcantonio Chiarini that depict ruins and were painted circa 1716 (figs. 167-168). It is not clear whether these paintings represent imaginary views or actual locations in Italy. Giampietro Zanotti declared that these works were intended for the Lower

⁹⁶ Noll, "Die Antiken des Prinzen Eugen im Unteren Belvedere," 58–59.

⁹⁷ Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400-1600*, 315.

⁹⁸ Whitehead, *The French Interior: In the Eighteenth Century*, 88.

⁹⁹ Étienne Boyet, "Catalogus librorum bibliothecae principis Eugenii de Sabaudia. Vol. 1," 1730, Cod. 13963 HAN MAG, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Belvedere originally, yet Kleiner's drawings show them at the Upper Belvedere by 1729 (figs. 169-170).¹⁰⁰

The *Bücher Cabinet* marks the climax of the *enfilade* at the Lower Belvedere. Kleiner's engraved drawing reveals a long and dramatic progression of internal doorways that culminate with the library. The vista was surely intended to heighten the visitor's experience (see fig. 166). The impressive succession of rooms sparks curiosity and creates a desire to receive permission to proceed forward, to access the penultimate space that can be seen up ahead. According to one expert, a "sense of progression from public to private spaces" represents an "intellectual rationalization of the ground-plan" that communicates to guests it is a very high honor to be granted permission to travel into a more secluded part of the palace.¹⁰¹ Notably, when the Baron Pöllnitz visited the Lower Belvedere in 1719, he made no mention of the library, nor the aforementioned *Bilder Zimmer* filled with landscape paintings.¹⁰² Perhaps this omission indicates that Pöllnitz did not receive permission to enter either space. They are exclusive chambers, and the prince marked their high rank visually through the inclusion of paintings and *sopraporte*.

¹⁰⁰ Each canvas is 235 centimeters tall in the center and 223 centimeters tall on the sides. The width is 170 centimeters. The prince commissioned these paintings circa 1716. They are now at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna with the inventory numbers: Inv. Nr. 2946-2953. Zanotti mentioned these works in Giampietro Zanotti, *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina di Bologna, aggregata all'istituto delle scienze e dell'arti*, vol. 1 (Bologna, 1739), 279.

¹⁰¹ Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400-1600*, 285.

¹⁰² Karl Ludwig Freiherr von Pöllnitz, *Des Freyherrn von Pöllnitz Neue Nachrichten, Welche seine Lebens-Geschichte Und eine Ausführliche Beschreibung Von Seinen ersten Reisen In sich enthalten: Wie sie nach der neuesten Auflage aus dem Frantzösischen in das Hoch-Deutsche übersetzt worden*, vol. 4 (Franckfurt am Mayn, 1739), 48.

The *Sopraporte*

Du Plessy ennobled all the most important chambers at the Lower Belvedere with *sopraporte*. The first which greet visitors are carved from marble. Ten reliefs by an anonymous artist were placed above the doors and windows in the Marble Hall. They depict various scenes from the life of Apollo, as already noted in chapter one.¹⁰³ Such elaborately carved marble doorcase and marble overdoors were first introduced in sixteenth-century Venice.¹⁰⁴ By the seventeenth century, the trend developed in northern Europe, such as in the Salon de la Guerre at Versailles. Charles Le Brun (1619-1690) and Jules Hardouin-Mansart (1646-1708) implemented lavish marble doorcases coupled with carved marble overdoors to enrich this chamber and fuse its overall decorative program legibly. In French Baroque interiors, marble is saved only for those rooms that required the “most opulent decoration.”¹⁰⁵ This approach certainly guided the prince and du Plessy in the decoration of the Lower Belvedere’s grand reception hall, and likewise, in the Marble Gallery. As discussed in more detail in part three of this chapter, marble soon became a staple in banquet and reception halls in contemporary central European palaces due to its capacity to enliven and promote spaces that have both a public and ceremonial function.

¹⁰³ These are not by the hand of Bussi, according to Werner. See Jakob Werner, “Santino Bussi 1664-1736” (Diplomarbeit, Wien, Universität Wien, 1992), 73.

¹⁰⁴ A succinct overview is provided by Susannah Rutherglen, “Paintings at the Threshold: Pictures for Doors in Renaissance Venice,” *The Art Bulletin* 98, no. 4 (December 2016): 438–65.

¹⁰⁵ “Overdoor [It. Sopraporta],” Oxford Art Online, 2003, <https://doi-org.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T064327>.

Outside of the Marble Hall at the Lower Belvedere, the *sopraporte* are painted and set within elaborately carved and gilded frames. They impact viewers by connecting with them visually in a conspicuous location at a chamber's threshold. That contemporaries considered *sopraporte* to hold a message and belong to a room's permanent interior decoration is demonstrated by the fact that Zanetti excluded thirteen overdoors from his inventory of the Lower Belvedere's paintings, all except for the previously mentioned overdoor in the *Bilder Zimmer*.¹⁰⁶ Yet at the Lower Belvedere, six chambers in total were outfitted with painted overdoors. In addition to one in the *Bilder Zimmer* (numbered [VI] 1. in the inventory and excluded from the catalogue), there was another in the *Gemahltes Cabinet* (see fig. 164). Both presented flora and fruit originally, to reiterate the theme that Carloni painted in his ceiling fresco in the Marble Hall (see fig. 32). Carloni rendered a female allegorical figure representing Flora, who leads Apollo's chariot in the direction of Prince Eugene's prized *Kammergarten*.¹⁰⁷ Flora is identified by her fluttering robes and through various flower petals in her hands, which she scatters about. Prince Eugene and du Plessy opted for floral *sopraporte* throughout the Lower Belvedere to strengthen the main fresco's iconography and to

¹⁰⁶ Auer and Black, "Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens."

¹⁰⁷ In 1965, Aurenhammer suggested that the fresco depicts Aurora. This sentiment was shared by Michael Krapf in 1986. Matsche identified Flora correctly in 1999, and Paulus agreed in 2007. See Hans Aurenhammer, *Das Belvedere in Bildern Salomon Kleiners* (Wien: Österreichische Galerie, 1965), 32; Michael Krapf, *Prinz Eugen der Edle Ritter* (Wien: Österreichische Galerie, 1986), 91; Franz Matsche, "Mythologische Heldenapotheosen in Deckengemälden Wiener Adelspaläste des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Ex Fumo Lucem- Baroque Studies in Honor of Klara Garas: Presented on her Eightieth Birthday* (Budapest: Szepmuveszeti Muzeum, 1999), 321; Helmut-Eberhard Paulus, "Zur Ikonologie des Abschlagbaren Pomeranzenhauses des Prinzen Eugen in Wien," in *Orangerien in Europa* (München: Lipp, 2007), 21.

emphasize the function of the palace visually in its most privileged chambers. For example, Kleiner drew two floral *sopraporte* in the *Tafel Zimmer* (see fig. 163). He drew two more in the Prince Eugene's bed chamber (see fig. 73). One scholar has shown that *sopraporte* were used over all main doors equally, and, in terms of form, content, and style, the subject matter always remained consistent within a single chamber.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, I have concluded that both rooms had four overdoors originally, one above each doorcase, and moreover, they all presented the very same theme: fruit and flora. To my knowledge, only three survive and Johann Kunstner painted them (figs. 171-173). This artist may be responsible for all the Lower Belvedere's still-life *sopraporte* showing flowers. This type of botanically accurate rendering is, according to one expert, a reflection of the "*Universalgeist[es]*," or comprehensive spirit, at the dawn of the enlightenment which led to the scientific study of botany.¹⁰⁹ During this time in Vienna, a local school of painters was forming who specialized in rendering nature accurately and I will discuss them in more detail in the following section which is dedicated to the *sopraporte* and animal portraits at the Upper Belvedere. Prince Eugene's interest in scientific renderings of plants is supported by the fact that he owned an extensive ten volume *Florilegium*. This is a collection of precise flower drawings by Nicolas Robert (1614-1685) and dating to circa 1670. Presently, there are no comparative studies that endeavor to associate the specimens seen in the prince's

¹⁰⁸ Julia Klein, *Die Supraporte: Studien zu Entstehung, Formen und Aufgaben in der Raumkunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar: VDG, Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 2014), 163.

¹⁰⁹ Gerbert Frodl, *Die Blumenmalerei in Wien* (Wien: Böhlau, 2010), 17.

sopraporte with those rendered by Robert in the *Florilegium*, which could advance our understanding of the Belvedere's overarching iconographical themes.

Two *sopraporte* depicting battles were chosen for the Lower Belvedere's *Gemach* (see fig. 160). They allude to Prince Eugene's renowned conquests over the Ottomans, just like Bussi's stuccos of captured Turks and confiscated weapons that are seen throughout the entire structure. Jacques-Ignace Parrocel (1667-1772) is likely the artist, whose paintings of Prince Eugene at battle in Turin were recorded at the Lower Belvedere in the early eighteenth century but ended up in the imperial collection of the Habsburgs by the nineteenth century.¹¹⁰ The chamber's walls were covered by imported cloth panels from Asia that were reserved typically for rooms associated with recreational or pleasure activities, as discussed in chapter two. The large masonry heater and Kleiner's designation that this room is for "*Conversation*," or conversation, verify that it was used for social gatherings. In the very next room, in the *Bücher Cabinet*, there were two *sopraporte*. One of them topped the library's south doorcase and contained four birds in front of a mountainous landscape (fig. 174). This room's second door was certainly topped by one *sopraporta* with the same theme, but it cannot be seen on Kleiner's engraved drawing. The imagery of exotic fowl signaled that the library leads out onto a stepped terrace which grants direct access to a garden with sculpted hedges, a spouting fountain, and a three-story greenhouse filled with exotic plants (fig. 175). More specifically, the overdoors referred to a large aviary

¹¹⁰ Ilg, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen als Kunstfreund*, 22.

nearby where Küchelbecker described brilliantly colored, exotic, and “*allerhand Vögel herum laufen*” (fig. 176).¹¹¹

Sopraporte are decorative paintings that have their origins in secular French and Italian architecture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, where they first designated high-ranking chambers.¹¹² By 1660, overdoors were firmly established in Parisian Hôtels and at Louis XIV’s Versailles.¹¹³ The Lower Belvedere is an early eighteenth-century example of how the ornamental use of paintings had spread to central Europe, thanks to Prince Eugene and his background growing up at the French court. In addition to the Belvedere and Prince Eugene’s city palace in Vienna, *sopraporte* dignified contemporary apartments in Schloss Charlottenburg in Berlin, and in Munich, at Schloss Nymphenburg and Schloss Schleißheim.¹¹⁴ While one expert concluded that the Lower Belvedere’s *sopraporte* acted as “*schweigende Thronwächter*,” I propose instead that they endorse the prince’s high level of sophistication and academic interests, while also distinguishing select rooms conspicuously.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Translation: “all types of birds running about.” See Johann Basilius Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter, Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupffern ans Licht gegeben* (Hannover: Nicolaus Förster und Sohn, 1730), 789.

¹¹² Klein, *Die Supraporte*.

¹¹³ For a detailed discussion see Klein’s opening chapter: “Die Entstehung der Supraporte im 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Die Supraporte: Studien zu Entstehung, Formen und Aufgaben in der Raumkunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar: VDG, Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 2014), 18–61.

¹¹⁴ Klein, *Die Supraporte*, 33.

¹¹⁵ Translation: “silent throne guardians.” See Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 86.

Importing Easel Paintings before 1717

To acquire landscape paintings for the Lower Belvedere, Prince Eugene engaged the famous art dealer Jan Pietersz Zomer (1641-1742) in Amsterdam circa 1710.¹¹⁶ Peter van den Berge (1659-1737) commemorated Prince Eugene's trip to Zomer's shop with an undated drawing (fig. 177). It shows Prince Eugene clearly in the center, kneeling in front of a canvas that he studies closely. The artist wrote the prince's name below this figure to ensure his identity is apparent. The prince points to a detail in the work before him, which prompts a group of gentlemen behind the prince to respond inquisitively. Their gestures, active body language, and eye contact suggest that Prince Eugene brought advisors along on this shopping spree. The hand-written notes below the figures identify that Zomer is present to the far right, and to his left, it is the Baron Anselm Franz von Fleischmann (life dates unknown). These men are engaged in a lively conversation about the painting, which van den Berge presents to Prince Eugene himself. The artist has included himself at this event as an active participant to imply that the drawing is based on his memory of the event. It serves to commemorate the grand occasion.

In his own lifetime, Prince Eugene became well-known for investing extraordinarily handsome sums in artwork. Just before the prince made a trip to the Netherlands in early 1710, Joseph I gifted him with 300,000 Gulden.¹¹⁷ It is not

¹¹⁶ Max Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Mensch und Schicksal*, vol. 5 (Wien: Böhlau, 1965), Vol. 2, 285, 379; Karl Gutkas, ed., *Prinz Eugen und das barocke Österreich* (Salzburg: Residenz, 1985), 475.

¹¹⁷ Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Mensch und Schicksal*, 5:18.

unthinkable that Prince Eugene made an expensive purchase at Zomer's shop in 1710, which prompted van den Berge to commemorate it with his drawing. Unfortunately, it is not possible to know with certainty exactly what Eugene purchased from Zomer because Princess Maria Anna Victoria stands accused of losing many of the prince's documents. Yet van den Berge's drawing allows me to conclude that, in order to purchase worthy paintings for his palaces in Vienna, Prince Eugene himself played an active role in selecting the imagery and assessing the artwork's quality.

Prince Eugene also visited Coenraet Droste's (1642-1734) art shop in the Paviljoensgracht at The Hague. This event is recorded in *Verversing van Geheugchenis door den Heer Coenraet Droste* by Willem Blyvenburg (life dates unknown) and published in 1723.¹¹⁸ According to Droste, paintings "*van alderhande*" pleased Prince Eugene the most.¹¹⁹ During his visit, the prince asked specifically to purchase artwork by Philips Wouwerman (1616-1668) and offered Droste £700 for a single painting by this artist.¹²⁰ Yet the dealer did not part with his beloved Wouwerman masterpiece, not even for this very handsome sum.¹²¹ In the same city, Prince Eugene also arranged to buy a painting that belonged to the

¹¹⁸ Coenraet Droste, *Overblyfsels van geheugchenis, der bisonderste voorvallen in het leeven van den Heere Coenraet Droste, terwyl hy gedient heeft in veld- en zee-slaagen, belegeringen en ondernemingen, als ook mede syn verdere bejegeningen aan en in verscheide vreemde hoven en landen*, vol. 1 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1879), 3.

¹¹⁹ Translation: "of great variety." See Droste, 1:254.

¹²⁰ Droste, 1:255.

¹²¹ Prince Eugene eventually managed to purchase nine of Wouwerman's works. They were placed on display in both galleries at the Upper Belvedere. They are listed as inventory numbers: [I] 3. and [III] 44, 45, 54, 58, 85, 97, 98. See Auer and Black, "Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens," 336, 340–42.

Dutch general Arnold Joost van Keppel, the first Earl of Albemarle (1670-1718).¹²² The Baron Arnold von Heem (life dated unknown), the imperial envoy at The Hague, helped the prince with this purchase, as well as with the purchase of another painting that belonged to the Dutch general Arnold Joost van Keppel, the first Earl of Albemarle (1670-1718).¹²³ Finally, contacts in London aided the prince in his quest to buy landscape paintings for the Lower Belvedere. As discussed in chapter two, the prince maintained regular contact with the imperial ambassador in London named Gallas. He aided Eugene with his purchase of two more works from an English collection.¹²⁴ These acquisitions refer to the prince's landscape paintings only, while Parrocel and local artists received direct commissions from the prince to paint the Lower Belvedere's *sopraporte*.

¹²² Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 457, 464.

¹²³ Seeger, 457, 464.

¹²⁴ Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Mensch und Schicksal*, 5:74.

PART THREE

Prince Eugene's Paintings at the Upper Belvedere

Importing Easel and Ceiling Paintings after 1717

Prince Eugene's well-documented social and political networks have allowed art historians to uncover how he imported famous Italian, German, Dutch, and Flemish paintings to Vienna for the Upper Belvedere, as well as coveted works on paper for his library.¹²⁵ Prince Eugene designated the *Bilder Saal* at the Upper Belvedere to exhibiting twenty-two Italian history paintings, primarily by renowned Bolognese masters and dating between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Additionally, in the same chamber, the prince displayed nine works of northern European origin by highly celebrated creators, whom I will return to briefly in the following section dedicated to the display in this room.¹²⁶ Prince Eugene also commissioned four ceiling paintings and an altarpiece for the Upper Belvedere.

¹²⁵ For details on Prince Eugene's Italian works on paper, see Chiara Gauna, "La plus belle qu'il y eut au monde": la collezione di stampe del principe Eugenio," in *Le raccolte del principe Eugenio condottiero e intellettuale. Collezionismo tra Vienna, Parigi e Torino nel primo Settecento* (Milano: Silvana, 2012), 89–105.

¹²⁶ For a detailed discussion about the artworks' attribution, see Diekamp, "Die Sammlung eines Prinzen: zur Geschichte der Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen nach 1736 mit einer Rekonstruktion des 'Bilder-Saales' im Oberen Belvedere"; Cornelia Diekamp, "La galleria del principe Eugenio di Savoia nel Belvedere Superiore a Vienna: storia e ricostruzione," in *Torino 1706: memorie e attualità dell'assedio di Torino del 1706 tra spirito europeo e identità regionale : atti del Convegno, Torino 29 e 30 settembre 2006*, vol. 2 (Turin: Centro Studi Piemontesi, 2007).

The most sought-after contemporary artists working in Naples painted these works at the prince's behest. Giacomo del Pò rendered the *appartement de parade's* three ceiling paintings: for the *Antichambre*, *Conferenz Zimmer*, and *Audienz Zimmer* (figs. 178-179). Francesco Solimena painted an altarpiece for the palace chapel, where it is still *in situ*, and moreover, he rendered the now-destroyed ceiling painting for the vault of the *Spiegel Zimmer* (figs. 180-181).¹²⁷ Fostering diplomatic and social relationships with well-connected intermediaries abroad enabled Prince Eugene to gain access to coveted old-master paintings and commission contemporary artwork. These imported canvases greatly enriched the Upper Belvedere while boasting that the prince invested his money wisely.

Arbitrators acted on the prince's behalf and with his explicit instructions to purchase Italian artwork for the Upper Belvedere. For example, Prince Eugene maintained contact with Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774) between January and May 1719, at which point the construction of the Upper Belvedere was already well underway.¹²⁸ Pierre-Jean, son of the renowned French engraver, print dealer, and connoisseur Jean Mariette (1660-1742), received letters from the prince in Venice where he enjoyed access to this city's flourishing art market. In addition to paintings, the prince explicitly requested that Pierre-Jean search for "*Kuriositäten*," or curiosities.¹²⁹ Pierre-Jean sent Prince Eugene a catalogue of available paintings in Venice, while even informing the prince about the possibility to purchase two

¹²⁷ In 1950, fire destroyed this ceiling painting as well as del Pò's in the *Audienz Zimmer*.

¹²⁸ Max Braubach, "Bauherr und Sammler," in *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Mensch und Schicksal*, vol. 5 (Wien: Böhlau, 1965), 74.

¹²⁹ See Mariette cited in Braubach, 74.

desirable Bolognese works; one by Guido Reni (1575-1642) and the other by Domenico Zampieri called Domenichino (1581-1641).¹³⁰ Pierre-Jean's letter came with a warning. Such famous works would not be sold to foreigners readily, and if so, only at an unfavorable price.¹³¹ Unfortunately, it is not known which paintings Prince Eugene acquired with Mariette's assistance. However, their interaction highlights that high prices never deterred the prince and Eugene considered his collection to be priceless. He owned four paintings that Zanetti and Bertoli attributed to Reni, an artist whose pictures are famous for fetching extraordinarily high sums throughout the entire Baroque period.¹³² Accordingly, Küchelbecker informs us that the prince paid 50,000 florins for Reni's *Adam and Eve* which was placed centrally on the east wall in the *Bilder Saal* (see fig. 47 and 182).¹³³ In addition to advising the prince about paintings on sale in Venice, Pierre-Jean helped Prince Eugene purchase a large body of works on paper by Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino (1483-1520), also known as Raphael.¹³⁴ The prince's dealings

¹³⁰ Braubach, 74; Max Braubach, "Anmerkungen zu Kapitel 17," in *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Mensch und Schicksal*, vol. 5 (Wien: Böhlau, 1965), 382.

¹³¹ See Mariette cited in Braubach, "Bauherr und Sammler," 74.

¹³² For discussions about the value and price of Reni's paintings since the seventeenth century, see D. Stephen Pepper, *Guido Reni: A Complete Catalogue of His Works with an Introductory Text* (New York: New York University Press, 1984); Richard E. Spear and Guido Reni, *The "Divine" Guido: Religion, Sex, Money, and Art in the World of Guido Reni* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

¹³³ Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter, Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupfern ans Licht gegeben*, 788.

¹³⁴ Antoinette Roesler-Friedenthal, "Marktwissen- Wissenschaft- die Mariette: das Raffael-Oeuvre für Prinz Eugenn und Adam von Bartsch: vergleichendes Sehen vom Pariser Graphikhhandel zur Wiener Bibliothek," *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 3, no. 68 (2017): 47–84.

in Venice indicate that, from north of the Alps, it was only possible to gain access to valuable Italian artwork with the help of a skilled agent.

Prince Eugene contacted yet another Italian artist and connoisseur who aided him in finding suitable paintings for the Upper Belvedere's decoration. Namely, Giovanni Saglier (lived ca. 1640-1738) in Milan, who was a painter of floral imagery and who worked for Vitaliano Borromeo (1620-1690) at the Isola Bella on Lake Cuomo.¹³⁵ Saglier received a letter from the prince in August 1719, in which he was thanked for his tip about the sale of a painting by Raphael and was available for purchase in Rome.¹³⁶ This interaction underscores further that Prince Eugene required a network of contacts throughout Italy to gain access to Renaissance and Baroque paintings while he remained abroad. Accordingly, Prince Eugene's extensive interactions with Saglier are detailed in twenty-six letters dating between 1716 and 1728 and stored at the archive in Vienna, and moreover, there are seventy-four additional letters in Milan which the pair exchanged between 1719 and 1733.¹³⁷ This correspondence includes discussions

¹³⁵ Alessandro Morandotti and Mauro Natale, *Vitaliano VI Borromeo: L'invenzione dell'Isola Bella* (Milano: Rizzoli, 2020), 59–62.

¹³⁶ Namely, in the collection of Cavalier Rusconi (life dates unknown). See Bernardo Sanvisenti, "Un carteggio al conte Giovanni Saglier in Milano," in *Archivio storico lombardo*, vol. 4/42 (Milano: Libreria Fratelli Bocca, 1915), 539; Braubach, "Bauherr und Sammler," 74; Silvia Tommaro, "Kunstagenten im Dienste Prinz Eugens von Savoyen," in *Travelling Objects: Botschafter des Kulturtransfers zwischen Italien und dem Habsburgerreich* (Wien: Böhlau, 2018), 96.

¹³⁷ This correspondence is discussed in Tommaro, "Kunstagenten im Dienste Prinz Eugens von Savoyen," 96; Sanvisenti, "Un carteggio al conte Giovanni Saglier in Milano," 537–53. Also see "Saglier, Giovanni (1716-1728)," n.d., AT-OeStA/HHStA Große Korrespondenz 104b/c-57, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, accessed May 17, 2021. Moreover, three letters that Eugene received from Saglier in Milan concerning paintings, sculptures, and prints are published in Sara Comoglio and Chiara Gauna, eds., "Principe Eugenio: Corrispondenza e Inventari," in *Le raccolte del principe Eugenio condottiero e intellettuale. Collezionismo tra Vienna, Parigi e Torino nel primo Settecento* (Milano: Silvana, 2012), 280–90. This book's section with letters that were discovered at

concerning prints, decorative objects, and paintings that Prince Eugene intended for the Upper Belvedere. For example, in regard to crystal chandeliers that Prince Eugene ordered via Saglier, he requested on February 16, 1726 that they be ready by April and certainly before he went to "*abitare al mio giardino*" that summer.¹³⁸ The chandeliers were shipped via Innsbruck to Vienna, where they arrived in May, and the prince lamented about their inferior quality.¹³⁹ The complaint demonstrates how the prince took an active interest in the quality of each fine and decorative art object that he acquired for his garden palace. Saglier also offered curiosities to Prince Eugene, like two small lapis lazuli containers that he drew in a letter dated March 11, 1722.¹⁴⁰ They resemble Prince Eugene's own tobacco container that is made from the same semi-precious stone.¹⁴¹ On Eugene's behalf, he evaluated Jacopo Bassano's (1510-1592) and Luca Giordano's (1634-1705) works that the Duke of Mondragone put up for sale in 1720.¹⁴² At Frascati near Rome, the Mondragone family owned a villa which had a large gallery decked out with ninety-

the Österreichische Staatsarchiv in Vienna also includes one letter that Eugene received from Francesco Maria Caimo (life dates unknown) in Milan, three from Giuseppe Vincenzo de Marotti Caimo (life dates unknown) in Fiume, one from Colonel Gabrielle Montani (life dates unknown) in Naples, one from Solimena in Naples, eleven from Giovanni Battista Vastraobba (life dates unknown) in Bologna, one from Francesco de Ficoroni (1664-1747) in Rome, one from Alessandro Savioli (life dates unknown) in Venice, two from an individual named only as Parodi in Bologna, one from Carlo de Magni (life dates unknown) in Milan, two from Henry d'Avenant (life dates unknown) in Brussels, and one from an unknown author. All twenty-nine letters date between January 13, 1720 and May 29, 1733.

¹³⁸ Translation: "reside at my garden palace." See Sanvisenti, "Un carteggio al conte Giovanni Saglier in Milano," 541-542 (22.a-16 febbraio 1726).

¹³⁹ Sanvisenti, 542 (28.a-26 giugno 1726).

¹⁴⁰ Giovanni Saglier, "Letter: Giovanni Saglier to Prince Eugene," March 11, 1722, AT-OeStA/HHStA Große Korrespondenz 104b/c-57, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv.

¹⁴¹ The containers that Saglier drew are pictured in Tommaro, "Kunstagenten im Dienste Prinz Eugens von Savoyen," 97-99, Abb. 1, and Abb. 2.

¹⁴² Presumably, the duke is named Agapito IV Domenico Grillo (1672-1738).

nine landscapes and still lifes which were carefully hung in-between fifty-two windows.¹⁴³ The arrangement surely provoked comparisons between the painted imagery and the actual countryside seen through the windows. It is not known if the prince acquired any of this villa's artwork via Saglier, who indicates clearly that Prince Eugene requested two types of paintings for the Upper Belvedere; those which are worthy of the "*Galeria*" and those that could be used as "*ornamento di stanza*."¹⁴⁴ Later, in 1726 in relation to the outfitting of Schloss Hof, Saglier again mentions that he was searching for works which are worthy of Prince Eugene's new "*gabinetto*," presumably at Schloss Hof.¹⁴⁵

In Milan, the Prince made two additional contacts to secure paintings for the Upper Belvedere. Francesco Maria Caimo (life dates unknown) wrote to the prince on January 13, 1720 after he evaluated the Duke of Mondragone's collection, just as Saglier had done. Caimo reported that he found works that fit "*di suo gusto*" in this collection.¹⁴⁶ In response to Bassano's two paintings, Caimo reported they are

¹⁴³ Strunck, "Concettismo and the Aesthetics of Display: The Interior Decoration of Roman Galleries and Quadrerie," 224. Also see Giuseppe Scambella, "Inventario Palazzo Mongragone, e Villa Taverna," 1737, Archivio Borghese, n.4147, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Città del Vaticano, Italia. It should be noted that another inventory of Villa Mondragone exists that is ascribed to Flammino Vacca (life dates unknown) and was drawn up between 1704 and 1729. See "Archival Inventory I-6004," Getty Provenance Index, accessed May 27, 2021, <https://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/pi/servlet.starweb>; Paola Guerrini, "Villa Mondragone," in *Villa e paese: Roma, Museo di Palazzo Venezia, Marzo-Maggio 1980: dimore nobili del Tuscolo e di Marino: mostra documentaria: [catalogo]* (Roma: de Luca, 1980), 107–26.

¹⁴⁴ Saglier's letter dated February 14, 1720 is partially printed in Tommaro, "Kunstagenten im Dienste Prinz Eugens von Savoyen," 98. Also see Giovanni Saglier, "Letter: Giovanni Saglier to Prince Eugene," February 14, 1720, AT-OeStA/HHStA Große Korrespondenz 104b/c-57, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv.

¹⁴⁵ Sanvisenti, "Un carteggio al conte Giovanni Saglier in Milano," 542 (25.a-8 maggio 1726).

¹⁴⁶ Translation: "of your taste." See Tommaro, "Kunstagenten im Dienste Prinz Eugens von Savoyen," 98–99. This letter is published in Comoglio and Gauna, "Principe

“perfetti e ben conservati” while two more works attributed to *“del Spagnoletto sono lo spavento della Pittura.”*¹⁴⁷ The nickname Spagnoletto refers to Giuseppe de Ribera (1591-1652). In a letter dated February 24, 1720 Saglier disagrees with Caimo and states that the duke’s paintings: *“non hanno che il nome essendo tutti malamente ritoccati e incapaci di potenze popolari.”*¹⁴⁸ That Eugene sought out two opinions about the Duke of Mondragone’s paintings, and also, that he received descriptions related to their quality and condition, provides evidence that Prince Eugene only purchased paintings for the Upper Belvedere after giving them careful consideration. Indeed, when the chance arose again to secure Ribera’s work in Milan, on March 20, 1728, he asked Carlo de Magni (life dates unknown) to view the painting and Magni reported that he took along three skilled artists that helped him assess the artwork’s condition and estimate its value.¹⁴⁹

Between 1717 and 1727, Prince Eugene wrote to Giovanni Battista Vastarobba (life dates unknown) repeatedly to purchase and commission Bolognese paintings.¹⁵⁰ As mentioned in chapter one, the prince also had the Bolognese frescoist Fanti paint *quadratura* on the *Bilder Saal’s* vault at this time. The prince’s correspondence with Vastarobba reveals that he requested paintings

Eugenio: Corrispondenza e Inventari,” 280 (1. Francesco Maria Caimo al principe Eugenio, Milano, 13 gennaio 1720).

¹⁴⁷ Translation: “perfect and well-preserved” and “Spagnoletto’s are awesome.” See Sanvisenti, “Un carteggio al conte Giovanni Saglier in Milano,” 542 (25.a-8 maggio 1726); Comoglio and Gauna, “Principe Eugenio: Corrispondenza e Inventari,” 280 (1. Francesco Maria Caimo al principe Eugenio, Milano, 13 gennaio 1720).

¹⁴⁸ Translation: “they have nothing but the artist’s name, all being badly retouched and therefore they are incapable of being autograph works.” See Comoglio and Gauna, “Principe Eugenio: Corrispondenza e Inventari,” 280-281 (2. Giovanni Saglier al principe Eugenio, Milano, 24 febbraio 1720).

¹⁴⁹ Comoglio and Gauna, 285 (25. Carlo de Magni al principe Eugenio, Milano, 20 marzo 1728).

¹⁵⁰ Tommaro, “Kunstagenten im Dienste Prinz Eugens von Savoyen,” 101–10.

by Reni, Francesco Albani (1578-1660), and the Carracci specifically (either Ludovico 1555-1619, Agostino 1557-1602, or Annibale 1560-1609).¹⁵¹ In Prince Eugene's lifetime, all of these artists were understood to be prominently represented in the *Bilder Saal*.¹⁵² In addition to old master works, Vastarobba helped the prince commission contemporary Bolognese works from the famed Donato Creti (1671-1749), Giuseppe Maria Crespi (1665 -1747), and Marcantonio Franceschini (1648-1729), as well as the lesser-known Giacomo Antonio Boni (1688-1766).¹⁵³ Boni painted the prince's *sopraporte* for the Upper Belvedere's *Bibliothec*, while the other three artists' works were exhibited at Prince Eugene's city palace. For example, Crespi's three paintings were used as *sopraporte* in the prince's state bedchamber at this structure.¹⁵⁴ Another contact that Prince Eugene made in Bologna was with the Baron Martini (life dates unknown). The Baron helped Prince Eugene to place commissions with Carlo Cignani (1628-1719), who is indeed represented at the Upper Belvedere.¹⁵⁵

Prince Eugene ordered five contemporary paintings for the Upper Belvedere's *appartement de parade* from the most prominent artists working in

¹⁵¹ Ludovico (1555-1616), Agostino (1657-1602), and Annibale Carracci (1560-1609). Tommaro, 102.

¹⁵² The attributions have changed over time. See Spantigati, *Per una storia del collezionismo, Pittura fiamminga ed olandese in Galleria Sabauda; Il principe Eugenio di Savoia-Soissons uomo d'arme e collezionista: 150° anniversario di istituzione della Galleria Sabauda, 1832-1982.*; Diekamp, "Die Sammlung eines Prinzen: zur Geschichte der Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen nach 1736 mit einer Rekonstruktion des 'Bilder-Saales' im Oberen Belvedere"; Diekamp, "La galleria del principe Eugenio di Savoia nel Belvedere Superiore a Vienna: storia e ricostruzione."

¹⁵³ Auer and Black, "Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens," 336–37; Tommaro, "Kunstagenten im Dienste Prinz Eugens von Savoyen," 102.

¹⁵⁴ Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 71–72.

¹⁵⁵ Braubach, "Bauherr und Sammler," 71; Beatrice Buscaroli Fabbri and Carlo Cignani, *Carlo Cignani: affreschi, dipinti, disegni* (Bologna: Nuova alfa editoriale, 1991), 97–98; Tommaro, "Kunstagenten im Dienste Prinz Eugens von Savoyen," 111–12.

Habsburg Naples during his lifetime. Count Wirich Phillip von Daun (1669-1741), who served as the first Viceroy between 1708 and 1709, and again between 1713 and 1719, facilitated Eugene's contact with del Pò and Solimena.¹⁵⁶ Contemporaries regarded del Pò highly for his large allegorical and mythological frescoes in the Neapolitan nobility's palaces.¹⁵⁷ Solimena is generally considered to be the most exclusive Neapolitan painter of his generation and he enjoyed attention from many international patrons, especially in central Europe.¹⁵⁸ The choice to commission del Pò and Solimena simultaneously may reflect that Prince Eugene took an active interest in the polarities of early eighteenth-century Neapolitan painting which Italian scholars have dubbed "*solimeneschi*" and "*antisolimeneschi*" imagery.¹⁵⁹ Yet Eugene's choice to commission works from both del Pò and Solimena concurrently more likely supports that both artists were revered equally by contemporary patrons and they specialized in different tasks.¹⁶⁰ While del Pò gained fame for allegorical imagery in private patrons' palaces in Naples, Solimena was regarded for his grand altarpieces and large frescoes in the city's churches.¹⁶¹ Indeed, del Pò painted three allegories that glorify Prince

¹⁵⁶ Wolfgang Prohaska, "Die Malerische Ausstattung des Palais unter Feldmarschall Daun," in *Palais Daun-Kinsky* (Wien: AMISOLA Immobilien AG, 2001), 144.

¹⁵⁷ Donald Rabiner, "The Paintings of Giacomo Del Pò" (Unpublished Dissertation, Kansas, University of Kansas, 1978), 119.

¹⁵⁸ In addition to Prince Eugene and Daun, they include Lothar Franz von Schönborn (1655-1729), Thomas Raimund the Count of Harrach (1669-1742), Gundaker the Count of Althann (1685-1740), and Emperor Charles VI. See Cornelia Diekamp, "Le commissioni del Principe Eugenio di Savoia a Francesco Solimena: La pala della Deposizione di Schloss Hof e due Modelli autografi, tra cui uno inedito," *News-Art: Notizie deal mondo dell'Arte*, January 22, 2017, <http://news-art.it/news/francesco-solimena-ed-eugenio-di-savoia--precisazioni-sulle.htm>.

¹⁵⁹ For a detailed explanation and discussion of this debate in the Italian literature, see Rabiner, "The Paintings of Giacomo Del Pò," 141–55.

¹⁶⁰ Rabiner, 150–55.

¹⁶¹ Rabiner, 151.

Eugene while Solimena executed the Belvedere's altarpiece.¹⁶² Solimena also painted one mythological scene for the Upper Belvedere's *Spiegel Zimmer* and it counts as one of this artist's very few secular decorations.¹⁶³

The lieutenant Gabriele Montani (life dates unknown), a military engineer in Naples, negotiated del Pò's contract for three paintings for the Upper Belvedere. A contemporary but undated copy from circa 1717 or 1718 is now stored at the Staatsarchiv in Vienna.¹⁶⁴ That del Pò considered this project and the patron to be of utmost importance is underscored by the fact that he had agreed to take on no other commissions during the three paintings' execution.¹⁶⁵ In a letter dated September 6, 1720, Montani reported that the artist even mounted Prince Eugene's paintings on the ceiling of the viceroy's palace in Naples to be sure that the perspective was correct and they would suit their intended location at the Upper Belvedere.¹⁶⁶ As for Eugene's contact with Solimena, Daun played the key role. Eugene's letter to Solimena dated November 30, 1730, which Bernardo de Dominici (1683-1759) published in the third volume of his *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti napoletani* in 1742, indicates specifically that Daun negotiated the commissions for the Upper Belvedere's altarpiece and the ceiling painting titled

¹⁶² Prince Eugene also had Solimena paint the altarpiece for Schloss Hof.

¹⁶³ Ferdinando Bologna, *Francesco Solimena* (Napoli: Arte Tipografica, 1958); Annette Hojer, "Malerfürst und Unternehmer: Francesco Solimena als Star auf dem europäischen Kunstmarkt des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts," *Luxusgegenstände und Kunstwerke vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, 2015, 291–99.

¹⁶⁴ "Contract for Three Ceiling Paintings," 1718 1717, AT-OeStA/HHStA Große Korrespondenz 100c-19, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv.

¹⁶⁵ Tommaro, "Kunstagenten im Dienste Prinz Eugens von Savoyen," 93.

¹⁶⁶ Tommaro, 94.

Aurora and Cephalus that adorned the *Spiegel Zimmer*.¹⁶⁷ The rich body of letters between Prince Eugene and agents in Venice, Bologna, Milan, and Naples testify to the difficulty in obtaining high-quality old master paintings and contemporary Italian commissions while based in Vienna.

As mentioned in part one but is worth restating, by 1736, the Upper Belvedere featured 184 paintings in total including 140 easel paintings, four ceiling paintings, one altarpiece, and thirty-nine *sopraporte*. Only thirty-five originated from the hand of an Italian artist while northern European artists created the vast majority.¹⁶⁸ It is certainly significant that Prince Eugene dedicated a small room labeled the *Cabinet*, which is connected to his state bed chamber and the library at the Upper Belvedere, to the display of ninety-eight miniature landscapes and genre scenes by mainly Flemish and Dutch Golden Age artists (see fig. 46). During the entire planning, construction, and decoration of the Upper Belvedere that began circa 1717 and was completed circa 1723, Eugene served as the Governor-General of the Austrian Netherlands. Just as we have seen in chapter two in relation to the prince's Asian luxuries, this high position allowed him to gain access to paintings in the Habsburg territory for the Belvedere's outfitting. The *Cabinet*

¹⁶⁷ Bernardo de Dominici, *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti napoletani*, vol. 3 (Napoli: Stampatori del Real Palazzo, 1742), 597. Details about these commissions are provide by Wolfgang Prohaska, "53. Auferstehung Christi (Francesco Solimena)," in *Barock in Neapel: Kunst zur Zeit der österreichischen Vizekönige* (Napoli: Electa, 1993), 242–45; Wolfgang Prohaska, "54. Aurora entführt Kephelus (Francesco Solimena)," in *Barock in Neapel: Kunst zur Zeit der österreichischen Vizekönige* (Napoli: Electa, 1993), 246–47.

¹⁶⁸ The Italian works are numbered [I] 2., 5.-10., 12.-14., 17.-20., 24.-31., [II] 3., [III] 34., 52., 55., and 81., and [IV] 2./3. in the inventory. Not included are del Pò's three ceiling paintings, one by Solimena, as well as Solimena's altarpiece because they belong to the Upper Belvedere's permanent interior decoration. One *sopraporta* by Boni in the Upper Belveder's library was also omitted from the inventory. See Auer and Black, "Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens," 336–43.

was organized in a similar way to the *Bilder Zimmer* at the Lower Belvedere, once more, to arouse interest and elicit a desire to search for visual parallels among the imagery. It is possible that the prince purchased many of these works in bulk, such as from the Duke of Mondragone's collection. One scholar agrees and further proposes that the prince acquired a pre-existing collection in the Netherlands due to the artworks' corresponding frames.¹⁶⁹ Yet one in-depth study concerning the frames has shown that Italian craftsman created Prince Eugene's frames *in situ* at the Belvedere.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, it is possible that Eugene's famous shopping spree at Zomer's gallery in the Netherlands, which van den Berge commemorated with his drawing, actually refers to the outfitting of the Upper Belvedere's *Cabinet*, instead of the Lower Belvedere's *Bilder Zimmer*. Currently, no primary documents clarify this issue and the prince even acquired a few of the *Cabinet's* paintings individually. For example, on June 25, 1720, Prince Eugene wrote to an art dealer named Vincentius (life dates unknown) in the Netherlands to request specifically paintings by the "*berühmten Malers Wouvermans*," who is represented in both the *Bilder Saal* and *Cabinet* at the Upper Belvedere.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ In her study, Seeger also suggests unconvincingly that the *Cabinet* was redesigned between 1730 and about 1736, because Küchelbecker described the order of the rooms slightly differently than how Kleiner depicted them in his drawings from 1729. I attribute the discrepancy to human error because it is not likely that Prince Eugene acquired a large collection in the Netherlands after 1730, at which point his governorship and influence in the territory had already ended for six years. See Seeger, "Nuove ricerche sugli acquisti fatti da Carlo Emanuele III re di Sardegna nelle collezione d'arte appartenute al principe Eugenio di Savoia," 324; Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 387.

¹⁷⁰ Newbery and Cannon-Brookes, "The Framing of Prince Eugene's Collection," 45–56.

¹⁷¹ Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Mensch und Schicksal*, 5:74–75.

In the *appartement de parade*: The *Cabinet*

Ninety-eight small paintings adorned the walls of the intimate room that connects Prince Eugene's bed chamber to his small library (see fig. 46).¹⁷² Kleiner labeled this space the *Cabinet* on his ground plan (see fig. 6). Certainly, it is located in a highly privileged location that faces south on Upper Belvedere's *piano nobile* in the *appartement de parade*. To outfit the *Cabinet* with a multitude of small paintings, the prince paid as little as twenty to thirty florins for a single image, but up to 50,000 florins for just one work.¹⁷³ The total cost for all ninety-eight works reached 200,000 florins.¹⁷⁴ Küchelbecker was offered this information on his tour of the garden palace circa 1730. Entering the *Cabinet* required visitors to receive permission to pass through at least three successive chambers in the *appartement de parade*. It functioned as a *quadreria* dedicated solely to the display of easel paintings, just like the *Bilder Zimmer* at the Lower Belvedere. One scholar explains that in contemporary European palaces, nearly half of all galleries were "pure *quadrerie*," such as these two spaces curated by the prince, where "the quality and

¹⁷² This number does not include two *sopraporte*. See Auer and Black, "Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens," 338–42. Most of these paintings are at the Sabauda Gallery, apart from the paintings numbered 3., 16., 28., 29., 46., 51., and 52. in the inventory.

¹⁷³ Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter, Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupffern ans Licht gegeben*, 785.

¹⁷⁴ Küchelbecker, 785.

sheer number” of paintings and the “rigid and orderly” presentation deliberately “overwhelmed the beholder” to inspire awe.¹⁷⁵

Kleiner’s engraved drawing discloses that forty-nine paintings decked out the northwest corner of the *Cabinet*. Thirty were placed on the west wall after the doorway, nineteen more were hung on the left half of the north wall. Likewise, in the northeast corner, forty-nine additional paintings were hung. Here too, nineteen were placed on the right half of the north wall and thirty paintings covered the east wall up to the doorway. Although the same number of paintings were placed in each of these four sections in matching and gilded frames, the arrangements do not mirror each other exactly. This type of assemblage, with primarily Netherlandish art, endeavors to produce curiosity and the desire in visitors to search for hidden associations and “narrative interrelations” among the strategically arranged paintings.¹⁷⁶ The extravagant *Cheminée à la Royale* topped by a mirror divides this room at center, while making the visitors part of the opulent display because it includes their reflection and blurs “the boundaries between art and reality.”¹⁷⁷ One expert explains that mirrors give visitors the opportunity to experience their “own image as an animated, moving painting...[and] such strategies were meant to astonish the visitor to produce *meraviglia*, but they also

¹⁷⁵ Strunck, “Concettismo and the Aesthetics of Display: The Interior Decoration of Roman Galleries and Quadrerie,” 218–19.

¹⁷⁶ Strunck, 225. Also see Ganz, *Neugier & Sammelbild*; Lorraine Daston, “Neugierde als Empfindung und Epistemologie in der frühmodernen Wissenschaft,” in *Macrocosmos in microcosmo: die Welt in der Stube; zur Geschichte des Sammelns 1450 bis 1800*, vol. 10, Berliner Schriften zur Museumskunde (Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden GmbH, 2014), 35–59.

¹⁷⁷ Strunck, “Concettismo and the Aesthetics of Display: The Interior Decoration of Roman Galleries and Quadrerie,” 228.

aimed at uncovering a secret deeper order.”¹⁷⁸ Consequently, optical devices were often included in contemporary galleries with Flemish paintings because of the northern European aesthetic tradition, which is inherently preoccupied with capturing visual authenticity. These paintings, and optical devices alike, exposed “the new aspects of the visual reality” which early modern scientific discovers had generated.¹⁷⁹ Indeed, and as already noted in chapter one, Küchelbecker saw “*verschiedene schöne und kostbare Tubi, ein grosses Brennglaß, und andere vergleichen Optische und Mathematische curiose Sachen*” in this very room, while, just on the other side of Prince Eugene’s bed chamber, Kleiner drew two telescopes in the *Anleg Zimmer* (see fig 86).¹⁸⁰

Prince Eugene’s painting inventory listing exactly ninety-eight works underscores that Kleiner’s engraved drawing of this space is highly accurate.¹⁸¹ The inventory even prefaces painting number fifty with the following information: “*Sur l’autre côté du dit cabinet sont placé les tableaux suivants.*”¹⁸² Because Kleiner’s drawing shows only one round painting in the entire space, on the east wall, which the inventory numbers seventy-nine, “*un paysage rond,*” or round landscape, we can conclude that the list begins with the paintings located in the

¹⁷⁸ Strunck, 222, 228.

¹⁷⁹ Strunck, 219.

¹⁸⁰ Translation: “various beautiful and exquisite tubes, one magnifying glass, and other comparable optically and mathematically curious objects.” See Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter, Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupffern ans Licht gegeben*, 786.

¹⁸¹ There are also two *sopraporte*. See Auer and Black, “Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens,” 338–42.

¹⁸² Translation: “On the other side of this cabinet are the following paintings.” See Auer and Black, 340.

northwest corner of the *Cabinet*, labeled one to forty-nine, and the second group of paintings, labeled fifty to ninety-eight, represent those works that are seen in the room's northeast corner.¹⁸³ All measure as small as about “*hauteur 4 pouces, largeur 9 et demi ponce*,” or approximately 10.5 by twenty-five centimeters, and only as large as “*hauteur 2 pieds 5 pouces, largeur 3 pieds ½ ponce*,” or 76.5 by ninety-six centimeters.¹⁸⁴ They include primarily genre scenes, still lifes, and landscapes, but there were seven works with mythological content, and finally, seven more devotional images of biblical and holy figures. The artwork was arranged symmetrically and in harmony based on the size and the subject matter. Apart from the paintings numbered [III] 3., 16., 28., 29., 46., 51., and 52. in the inventory, all were sold to Charles Emmanuel III in 1741 [see Documents 1-2]. To uncover exactly how the inventory's author organized the list in conjunction with Kleiner's engraved drawing of the *Cabinet*, extensive provenance research is required to identify each work securely.¹⁸⁵

Out of the ninety-eight works in this room, only eight are attributed to an artist who had not received training in the Netherlands during the Dutch Golden Age. For example, there are only four Italian works: one painting attributed to

¹⁸³ It should be noted that there are other paintings in the room with description like “*rond*” or “*ovale*,” yet this work is the only one that includes a single measurement that suggests it is the painting's diameter. Namely, painting 79. measures “*6 ½ pouces*” that is equal to approximately 17.1 centimeters. See Auer and Black, 341.

¹⁸⁴ The smallest painting in the inventory is numbered 40. The largest is numbered 46. See Auer and Black, 339-340. According to Vesme, one “*piedi austriaci*” equals 316 millimeters. See Vesme, “*Sull' Acquisto fatto da Carlo Emanuele III RE Di Sardegna della Quadreria del Principe Eugenio di Savoia* *Richerche Documentate*,” 228.

¹⁸⁵ Vesme has initiated a discussion related to these paintings' identification, attribution, and subject matter. See Vesme, “*Sull' Acquisto fatto da Carlo Emanuele III RE Di Sardegna della Quadreria del Principe Eugenio di Savoia* *Richerche Documentate*,” 228–53.

Crespi (numbered [III] 52. in the inventory and excluded from the catalogue), one to Bassanno (numbered [III] 55. in the inventory and 95. in the catalogue), and two to either Domenico (1516-1567) or Felice Riccio (1542-1605), called il Brusasorci (numbered [III] 34. and 81. in the inventory and 75. and 121. in the catalogue).¹⁸⁶

The German Renaissance artist Holbein is also represented in the chamber, but Zanetti and Bertoli do not specify whether Hans Holbein the Elder (1460-1524) or Holbein the Younger (1497-1543) was the artist (numbered [III] 6. and 9. in the inventory and 47. and 50. in the catalogue). The Franco-Italian artist Jacques Courtois, called il Bourguignon (1621–1675), and the French artist Nicolas Fouquet (1615-1680) created one work each in this room (numbered [III] 35. and 70. in the inventory and 76. and 110. in the catalogue).¹⁸⁷ The Flemish artist who is represented the most in the *Cabinet*, by twelve works, is David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690) (numbered [III] 2., 11., 40., 47., 48., 49., 53., 75., 90., 91., 92., and 94. in the inventory and 43., 52., 81., 87., 88., 89., 70., 115., 130., 131., 132., and 134. in the catalogue). This artist is known for his prolific output of genre scenes. Prince Eugene enjoyed Teniers' imagery of peasants who carry out everyday activities such as playing cards, making music, or simply smoking (figs. 183-186). Twelve paintings are also attributed to the Northern Renaissance master Pieter Breughel, yet Zanetti and Bertoli do not specify if they mean Breughel the

¹⁸⁶ The inventory states that painting 52. is created by “de Spaniol de Bologne” which suggests that Crespi is the creator, and this painting may have been the pastoral that Zanotti acquired in 1736 because it was not included on the sale catalogue. Yet Wagner suggests that this artist is by Jean de Bologne (died 1664). See Rudolf Wagner, “Prinz Eugen von Savoyen als Mäzen” (Diplomarbeit, Wien, Universität Wien, 2009), 164. Also see my discussion of Zanetti's acquisition on page 169-170 of this chapter.

¹⁸⁷ Jacques Courtois is sometimes confused with his younger brother, Guillaume Cortese (1628 – 1679). This work is an autograph Courtois.

Elder (1525/30-1569) or Breughel the Younger (1564-1638) (numbered [III] 3., 4., 5., 7., 8., 13., 16., 56., 61., 71., 72., and 95. in the inventory and, while [III] 3. and 16. are not included in the catalogue, the other paintings are listed as 44., 46., 48., 49., 54., 96., 101., 111., 112., 135. in the catalogue). Five of these are landscapes and one is a seascape. Two represent the Dutch festival *Kermess*, one painting depicts Aeneas, and finally, one work features three chariots. Five more paintings in this room are attributed to Breughel the Younger's son, Jan Breughel the Elder (1558-1625). He was a Flemish painter who collaborated frequently with Hans Rottenhammer (1564-1625).¹⁸⁸ Together, they created three works in this room: *Venus and Adonis* (numbered [III] 17. in the inventory and 58. in the catalogue), *Virgin Mary with Jesus and St. John* (numbered [III] 19. in the inventory and 60. in the catalogue), and a painting described as "*un sacrifice d'amour*" (numbered [III] 50. in the inventory and 90. in the catalogue). Two more works in the chamber that depict Venus and three goddesses are attributed to both Jan Breughel and the Flemish artist Hendrick van Balen (1573/75-1632) (numbered [III] 57. and 60. in the inventory and 97. and 100. in the catalogue). Together with the aforementioned non-Netherlandish works, all of these paintings total thirty-seven.

The Dutch Golden Age artists who are prominently shown in Prince Eugene's *Cabinet* include Wouwerman, to whom eight paintings are attributed

¹⁸⁸ Rottenhamer is a German artist who trained in Germany and Venice and later worked in Rome and Augsburg. He encountered Breughel and Paul Brill while working in Rome and painted figures in their landscapes frequently. In "Vecchie e nuove precisazioni sulla quadreria del principe Eugenio di Savoia," it is mentioned that Jan Breughel also painted the landscape attributed to an anonymous Dutch artist and numbered 93. in the inventory. See Spantigati, "Vecchie e nuove precisazioni sulla quadreria del principe Eugenio di Savoia," Plate 13; Auer and Black, "Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens," 342.

(numbered [III] 36., 44., 45., 54., 58., 85., 97., and 98. in the inventory and, while [III] 45. is not listed in the catalogue, the other words are numbered as 77., 85., 94., 98., 125., 137., and 138.), seven are by the hand of Gerrit Dou (1613-1675) (numbered [III] 24., 25., 37., 68., 69., 83., and 87. in the inventory and 65., 66., 78., 108., 109., 123., and 127. in the catalogue), and six are said to be by Frans van Mieris the Elder (1635-1671) (numbered [III] 1., 10., 14., 15., 39., and 77. in the inventory and 42., 51., 55., 56., 80., and 117.) (figs. 187-191).¹⁸⁹ In addition to a hunting scene and two companion paintings of marching soldiers, five of Wouwerman's works present horses specifically. Dou is known as a protagonist of the Leiden Fijnschilders, and his seven works in this chamber are all genre scenes (figs. 192-194). So too are the six works attributed to van Mieris. They include representations of everyday activities such as a sick woman visiting the doctor and a Dutchman sitting at a table with a glass of wine. There was even a mythological scene featuring Hermaphroditus. Jan Dirksz Both (1610-1652), a protagonist of Dutch Italianate landscape paintings, is represented by four works in this room (numbered [III] 18., 20., 21., 22., and in the catalogue 59., 61., 62., and 63.) (fig. 195). Two works by Paul Bril (1564-1626), another Italianate landscape painter, were also hung in this chamber (numbered 65. and 78. in the inventory and 105. and 118. in the catalogue). All additional landscapes are attributed to Griffier and Saftleven, who are also well-represented in the *Bilder Zimmer* at the Lower Belvedere (numbered 64., 67., and 80. in the inventory and 104., 107., and 120. in

¹⁸⁹ Auer and Black suggest that painting 1. is the work of Gerrit Dou and not by Mieris. They also suggest painting 39. is the work of Carel de Moor and not Mieris. See Auer and Black, "Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens," 338–42.

the catalogue) (figs 196-207). These works total thirty and make up another third of the paintings in the *Cabinet*.

Besides four figural paintings attributed to Herman van der Mijl (1684-1741) (numbered 23., 26., 73., and 74. in the inventory and 64., 67., 113., and 114. in the catalogue), and four additional works attributed to anonymous artists of Netherlandish origin (numbered 30., 33., 84., and 93. in the inventory and 71., 74., 124., and 133. in the catalogue), the *Cabinet* held another twenty-three paintings by nineteen different Dutch and Flemish artists (fig. 208).¹⁹⁰ Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669) stands out in particular. He painted Prince Eugene's *Visitation with Mary and Elizabeth* (numbered 82. in the inventory and 122. in the catalogue). This oil on cedar panel measures 56.5 by 47.9 centimeters and it now belongs to the Detroit Institute of Fine Arts (fig. 209).¹⁹¹ Other artists who are credited with creating one painting each are Jacob Toorenvleit (1640-1719) (numbered 12. in the inventory and 53. in the catalogue), Caspar Netscher (1639-1684) (numbered 31. in the inventory and 72. in the catalogue), Adriaen Brouwer (1606-1638) (numbered 38. in the inventory and 79. in the catalogue), Carel de Moor (1655–1738) (numbered 41. in the inventory and 82. in the catalogue), Gerard de Lairesse (1641-1711) (numbered 43. in the inventory and 84. in the catalogue), Reinier Nooms, called "Seemann" (ca. 1623–1664) (numbered 51. in the inventory and

¹⁹⁰Auer and Black suggest that [III] 30. in the inventory is by Godfried Schalcken. Also, Vesme attributes the seascape numbered [III] 33. in the inventory to V. Vetoy (life dated unknown) and created in 1703. See Auer and Black, 339–42. Also see Vesme, "Sull' Acquisto fatto da Carlo Emanuele III RE Di Sardegna della Quadreria del Principe Eugenio di Savoia Recherche Documentate," 241.

¹⁹¹ "Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn, The Visitation, 1640 (27.200)," accessed May 29, 2021, <https://www.dia.org/art/collection/object/visitation-58220>.

excluded from the catalogue), and either Jan Davidsz. de Heem (1606-1684) or his son Cornelius Heem (1631-1695) (numbered 62. in the inventory and 102. in the catalogue) (figs. 210-211). Their floral works also adorned the *Audienz Zimmer* (see figs. 227, 229, and 233). Lastly, there was one floral piece attributed to Hercules Seghers (ca. 1589 – ca. 1638) (numbered 66. in the inventory and 106. in the catalogue).¹⁹² Four more in this group are genre scenes. They are attributed to Pieter Cornelius van Slingelant (1640-1691) (numbered 76. in the inventory and 116. in the catalogue), Adriaen van Ostade (1610-1685) (numbered 88. in the inventory and 128. in the catalogue), Pieter de Bloot (1601-1658) (numbered 89. in the inventory and 129. in the catalogue), and Christoffel Jacobsz van der Laemen (1607- ca. 1651) (numbered 96. in the inventory and 136. in the catalogue). In addition, Sajello and Carolo Routhard are cited in the inventory as the creators of one painting each (numbered 42. and 46. in the inventory and, while 46. is not included in the catalogue, the other is listed as 83.). Unfortunately, I could not find any information about Sajello, who Auer and Black call “*von Sayetto*.”¹⁹³ One art historian suggests that Carolo Routhard is Carl Borromäus Andreas Ruthart (ca. 1630- ca. 1703).¹⁹⁴

The remaining painters that are represented in Prince Eugene’s *Cabinet*, Godfried Schalcken (1643–1706) (numbered 27. and 86. in the inventory and 68. and 126. in the catalogue), Pieter Snyers (1681-1752) (numbered 28. and 29. in

¹⁹² In his masters thesis, Wagner suggests that Seemann means the artist Enoch Seemann the Elder (ca. 1661-1744) or Enoch Seeman the Younger (1694/45-1744). See Wagner, “Prinz Eugen von Savoyen als Mäzen,” 169.

¹⁹³ Auer and Black, “Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens,” 340.

¹⁹⁴ Wagner, “Prinz Eugen von Savoyen als Mäzen,” 169.

the inventory and excluded from the catalogue), Adriaen van der Werff (1659–1722) (numbered 32. and 63. in the inventory and 73. and 103. in the catalogue), and Roelant Savery (1576-1639) (numbered 59. and 79. in the inventory and 99. and 119. in the catalogue), created two works each (figs. 212-214). The painting inventory also includes the information about the fabric on which the paintings were hung: “*tapisé de damas bleu sont placé les tableaux suivants en quadres [sic] dorés.*”¹⁹⁵ This overwhelming sight impressed Küchelbecker when he visited the Upper Belvedere, and he concurs that all of the *Cabinet’s* paintings are encased in “*breite vergoldete und mit Blumwerck [sic] gezierte Rahmen.*”¹⁹⁶ For example, van Mieris’s painting *The Hurdy-Gurdy Player*, which represents the painting numbered fifteen in the inventory, still dons its original gilded frame. The frame is nearly as thick as the painting itself, which measures only sixteen by eleven centimeters (see fig. 189).¹⁹⁷ A picture taken at the Sabauda Gallery in 1982 and published in Spantigati’s “*Vecchie e nuove precisazioni sulla quadreria del principe Eugenio di Savoia*” provides the opportunity to see ten of Prince Eugene’s works

¹⁹⁵ Translation: “on blue damask are the following paintings in gold frames.” See Auer and Black, “Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens,” 338.

¹⁹⁶ Translation: “wide and gilded frames that are decorated with vegetal/floral motifs.” See Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter, Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupffern ans Licht gegeben*, 786. For information on the frames, see Newbery and Cannon-Brookes, “The Framing of Prince Eugene’s Collection.” Also see various depictions of the frames in Spantigati, “*Vecchie e nuove precisazioni sulla quadreria del principe Eugenio di Savoia.*”

¹⁹⁷ Auer and Black, “Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens,” 338. Also see “Museum Wall Label: Franz van Mieris il vecchio, Il suonatore di ghironda (The Hurdy-Gurdy Player, inv. 42),” n.d., Sabauda Gallery, Turin, accessed November 13, 2018.

from the *Cabinet* hung side-by-side and in their original frames (fig. 215).¹⁹⁸ The main purpose of the thick and elaborately carved and gilded frames was to unify the *Cabinet's* diverse group of paintings aesthetically and encourage viewers to literally “cross boundaries” and make visual comparison.¹⁹⁹

Küchelbecker's previously discussed awareness about the exact value of the *Cabinet's* artwork, and also, of other decorative objects throughout the Belvedere, discloses that this information was offered to him readily while he toured the palace. He even comments that these values are “*eher zu glauben*.”²⁰⁰ Kleiner's drawings reveal consistently that dialogues occurred between guests and the footmen who led them through each of the palace's rooms. For example, in the *Cabinet*, a footman opens the west door to usher in a female visitor (see fig. 46). His left arm is raised high, and the guest leans her head towards the footman to listen attentively to his announcement, perhaps about the artworks' value as Küchelbecker was informed. Certainly, the small paintings enticed visitors to approach and look closely, to satisfy their curiosity about the subject matter. In Kleiner's engraved drawing, one gentleman in the room stands right in front of a painting on the east wall (see fig. 46). He leans in and grabs the *boiserie* to pull himself even closer to the painting for analysis. His right shoe touches the wall to emphasize his proximity. His cast shadow underscores it even further. A variety of

¹⁹⁸ Spantigati, “Vecchie e nuove precisazioni sulla quadreria del principe Eugenio di Savoia,” Plate 3.

¹⁹⁹ Strunck, “Concettismo and the Aesthetics of Display: The Interior Decoration of Roman Galleries and Quadrerie,” 225.

²⁰⁰ Translation: “believable.” See Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter, Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupfern ans Licht gegeben*, 789.

small paintings in the *Cabinet*, delightfully packaged in gilded frames, created an overwhelming sensory experience. The paintings' small size, as opposed to the specific subject matter, first attracted Prince Eugene to display them in this room. Then, he paired the paintings based on the subject matter to encourage visitors to detect an underlying narrative which unites the individual works. According to one expert, this strategy caused the "beholder to engage with ...[paintings] more deeply" because it provoked thought and sent viewers on a visual quest to "unravel ... thematic bond[s]." ²⁰¹

Since at least the seventeenth century in Roman galleries, the arrangement of art was generally "marked by symmetry and the desire to compare art objects side by side." ²⁰² This is the certainly the case at the Lower Belvedere in the *Bilder Zimmer*, and likewise, in the *Cabinet* at the Upper Belvedere. Both rooms have a semi-public nature due to their locations and prominent placement within a high-ranking apartment. Certainly, the Upper Belvedere's *Cabinet* functioned as a space in which private conversations took place. Together, ninety-eight paintings were not only entertaining and engaging, but they underscored visually that Prince Eugene enjoyed far-reaching influence in the Austrian Netherlands. Most of the *Cabinet's* paintings originate from this foreign Hapsburg territory. As we will soon see in the north-facing rooms of the *appartement de parade*, where Prince Eugene

²⁰¹ Strunck, "Concettismo and the Aesthetics of Display: The Interior Decoration of Roman Galleries and Quadrerie," 227. Also see Cornelia Moiso-Diekamp, *Das Pendant in der holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1987); Patrizia Cavazzini, "Lesser Nobility and Other People of Means," in *Display of Art in the Roman Palace, 1550-1750* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2014), 96–99.

²⁰² Cappelletti, "An Eye on the Main Chance: Cardinals, Cardinal-Nephews, and Aristocratic Collectors," 78.

commissioned Neapolitan painters to express support for the Austrians' occupation of that territory, his choice in the *Cabinet*, to fill it overwhelmingly with primarily esteemed Dutch and Flemish cultural objects, adeptly underscored in a visually pleasing manner that the prince possessed great influence in a distant territory under his command.

In the *Appartement de Parade*: The *Bibliothec*

The Upper Belvedere's small library is connected to the *Cabinet*, as well as to the *Audienz Zimmer* (see figs. 6 and 90). From the *Bibliothec*, one can also access a small balcony which overlooks the palace chapel and offers a magnificent view of Carloni's fresco and Solimena's altarpiece (see figs. 82 and 180). One painting representing Diana, the goddess of hunting, was located above the fireplace in the *Bibliothec* (numbered [IV] [1.] in the inventory and excluded from the catalogue). This work, which measures 172 by 106 centimeters, is now stored at the Kunsthistorisches Museum with the inventory number 9324.²⁰³ The museum attributes it to an unknown Bolognese artist and dates the painting to the second half of the seventeenth century. As for the *sopraporte*, Giacomo Antonio Boni executed all three and this commission was passed along to him from Prince

²⁰³ Gudrun Swoboda, "Al seguito di condottieri e marescialli: la pittura bolognese nelle collezioni viennesi del Settecento," in *Crocevia e capitale della migrazione artistica: forestieri a Bologna e bolognesi nel mondo (secolo XVIII)*, by Sabine Frommel, Prima edizione (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2013), 133.

Eugene via Vastarroba in 1722, as already noted (numbered [IV] [2./3.] in the inventory and excluded from the catalogue and one overdoor is not recorded).²⁰⁴ All three paintings were also shipped from Bologna to Vienna around July of the same year.²⁰⁵ They are *in situ* at the Belvedere (figs. 216-218). In *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina di Bologna*, Zanotti mentions that an image of Virgil was painted in Bologna for Prince Eugene.²⁰⁶ He is referring to one of Boni's *sopraporte*, which Zanetti and Bertolli confirm are “à la manière d'un peintre pollonios [sic].”²⁰⁷ The term “pollonios” is one of the many typos in the inventory, here meaning the artist is of Bolognese origin.²⁰⁸ Indeed, Boni trained with Franceschini and Cignani in Bologna. These paintings are often called personifications of philosophy, rhetoric, and poetry in the literature on the Belvedere, but they portray the ancient scholars embodying each discipline: Plato, Cicero, and Virgil.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁴ Tommaro, “Kunstagenten im Dienste Prinz Eugens von Savoyen,” 108–9.

²⁰⁵ Tommaro, 108–9.

²⁰⁶ Tommaro, 107–8. And see Giampietro Zanotti, *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina di Bologna, aggregata all'istituto delle scienze e dell'arti*, vol. 2, 1739, 234.

²⁰⁷ Translation: “in the manner of a Bolognese painter.” See Auer and Black, “Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens,” 342.

²⁰⁸ Tommaro agrees, see Tommaro, “Kunstagenten im Dienste Prinz Eugens von Savoyen,” 108.

²⁰⁹ Although all these three works are on view at the Belvedere today, they belong to the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. The first work is inventoried under number 5759 and titled *Cicerone seduto con una delle sue Catilinarie*. It measures 96 x 123 centimeters. See Swoboda, “Al seguito di condottieri e marescialli: la pittura bolognese nelle collezioni viennesi del Settecento,” 132-133 (n. 13). The painting of Plato shows the scholar with *De Republica* in his hands. It measures 92 x 118 centimeters and has the inventory number 2849. See Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien and Martina Haja, eds., *Die Gemäldegalerie des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien: Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, 1. Aufl, Führer / Kunsthistorisches Museum 40 (Wien: Brandstätter, 1991), 48 (Plate 159). Also see Swoboda, “Al seguito di condottieri e marescialli: la pittura bolognese nelle collezioni viennesi del Settecento,” 132-133 (n. 13). The painting of Virgil measures 91 x 119 centimeters and has inventory number

Three large cabinets covered the library's walls, and as such, this room is neither a *quadreria* nor a gallery. Yet paintings with Greco-Roman subjects were used here, just like in the library at the Lower Belvedere, to imply that the *Bibliothec* ranks highly, and also, it is a space that can be used for gaining intellectual enrichment. That is because, in addition to books, the cabinets likely stored Prince Eugene's curiosities, as is the custom. Unfortunately, the exact contents of Prince Eugene's large cabinets are unknown. Such cabinets transformed visitors into active learners because they usually have many drawers inside, to incite curiosity and a desire to open each one in order to discover and handle that which is stored inside. Similarly, small paintings arranged intimately in the *Bilder Zimmer* provoked visitors. They encourage one to approach and look closely, to discover hidden meanings. These types of display strategies are detailed by an expert who notes that since at least the seventeenth-century, stemming from Roman palaces, obstacles like curtains or cabinets were often included in galleries because they are interactive and "had to be overcome by curious beholders."²¹⁰ For example, Queen Christina of Sweden kept Roman coins in wooden cabinets in her gallery, which visitors were encouraged to open and explore. Likewise, in Rome, curiosity cabinets were placed in the galleries of Palazzo Colonna and Villa Ludovisi. This

5755. See Swoboda, 132–33; Tommaro, "Kunstagenten im Dienste Prinz Eugens von Savoyen," 108–9.

²¹⁰ Strunck, "Concettismo and the Aesthetics of Display: The Interior Decoration of Roman Galleries and Quadrerie," 221. Also see Christina Strunck, "Die Galerie in der Literture: Historische Quellen zur Definition, Architektonischen Gestalt, Idealen Ausstattung und Funktion von Galerien," in *Europäische Galeriebauten: Galleries in a Comparative European Perspective (1400-1800); Akten des Internationalen Symposiums der Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rom, 23.-26. Februar 2005*, vol. 29, Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana (München: Bibliotheca Hertziana, 2010), 9–32.

expert aptly dubs such cabinets a “gallery within the gallery.”²¹¹ Certainly, the *Bibliothec*, with three large cabinets, is located next to a *quadreria* deliberately. It also offered visitors the opportunity to intimately examine Prince Eugene’s sophisticated cultural objects and discover the connections among them.

The *Bibliothec* and *Cabinet* are connected to major state rooms. This follows the designs of Nicodème Tessin the Elder (1615-1681), who created a blueprint for Jean-Antoine de Mesmes’ (1640-1709) palace in Roissy-en-France with a similar layout circa 1697.²¹² Mesmes desired galleries not to function as purely a “*Selbstdarstellungsapparat*,” nor as an “*einsamen Rückzugsraum*,” according to the expert.²¹³ Instead, relatively small and intimate galleries near state rooms became meeting places because they were normally filled with fabulous art objects that fostered communication by combining aesthetics with intellectual gratification.²¹⁴ The *Bibliothec* is connected to the *Audienz Zimmer* deliberately, and to the *Cabinet*, which leads into the prince’s state bedchamber. These are the most official rooms at the entire Belvedere; purposefully united to enrich Prince Eugene’s practices in cultural diplomacy.

²¹¹ Strunck, “Concettismo and the Aesthetics of Display: The Interior Decoration of Roman Galleries and Quadrerie,” 220.

²¹² “*Souhaite une petite gallerie [sic] qui est plus d’usage qu’une grande... trouve qu’il seroit [sic] agréable qu’on y abordast [sic] par l’appartement du Mister [sic], et par quel qu’autre appartement Étranger pour la rendre d’un plus grande usage.*” Translation: “wants a small gallery because it is of more use than a large one. Mr. de Mesme finds it pleasant to approach a gallery from within the state rooms, or from some other public apartment, because it will be used more often.” See the primary source cited in Strunck, “Die Galerie in der Literture: Historische Quellen zur Definition, Architektonischen Gestalt, Idealen Ausstattung und Funktion von Galerien,” 20.

²¹³ Translation: “apparatus of self-aggrandizement” and “lonely retreating room.” See Strunck, 20.

²¹⁴ Strunck, 20.

**In the *Appartement de Parade*: Neapolitan Ceiling Paintings in the
*Antichambre, Conferenz Zimmer, Audienz Zimmer, and Spiegel Zimmer***

Giacomo del Pò, who became a member of the Roman Accademia di San Luca in 1674 before embarking on a prolific career in Naples in 1683, created three ceiling paintings for Prince Eugene between 1718 and 1720.²¹⁵ One scholar's research has shown that all three works "were commissioned with their eventual location in mind," which is the *appartement de parade* at the Upper Belvedere.²¹⁶ A letter dated October 4, 1720 discloses that by this date, all three ceiling paintings had arrived in Vienna.²¹⁷ Two are still in their original gilded frames. The first, titled *Apotheosis of Prince Eugene*, adorns the *Antichambre's* vault (see figs. 88 and 178). The next room, the *Conferenz Zimmer*, contains the ceiling painting titled *Allegory of the Reign of Prince Eugene* (see figs. 89 and 179). In 1950, fire destroyed del Pò's third ceiling painting depicting the *Triumphal Reception of Prince Eugene into Olympus* that adorned the *Audienz Zimmer* (see figs. 11 and 219).

²¹⁵ In his doctoral thesis, Rabiner counters the Italian art historians M. Picone and O. Ferrari who date del Pò's paintings for Prince Eugene to 1713 through 1715. Rabiner posits that del Pò created bozzetti for Prince Eugene in 1723 and he executed the three ceiling paintings for the Upper Belvedere in 1725. Yet Tommaro's recent discovery of letters between Montani and Prince Eugene, as well as the actual contract related to this commission at the archive in Vienna, demonstrate without doubt, that both the bozzetti and three paintings date between 1718 and 1720. See Rabiner, "The Paintings of Giacomo Del Pò," 119–20, 139 (n. 107); Tommaro, "Kunstagenten im Dienste Prinz Eugens von Savoyen," 92–95.

²¹⁶ Rabiner, "The Paintings of Giacomo Del Pò," 119–20.

²¹⁷ The letter dated October 4, 1720 is cited in Tommaro, "Kunstagenten im Dienste Prinz Eugens von Savoyen," 95 and n. 26.

Three *bozzetti*, or preparations for the destroyed canvas in the *Audienz Zimmer*, still exist.²¹⁸ One was owned by the late Italian art historian Cesare d'Onofrio of Naples. It is most likely a studio replica of Giacomo's lost original.²¹⁹ Unfortunately, I have not found any publications in which this *bozzetto* is pictured. The two other *bozzetti*, which are by del Pò's own hand, belong to the Colloredo-Mannsfeld collection at Opocno Castle and to the Residenzgalerie in Salzburg (figs. 219-220). Finally, for the same commission, del Pò created a fourth *bozzetto* which is also stored at the Colloredo-Mannsfeld collection. Unlike the three aforementioned *bozzetti*, this one was made in preparation for the ceiling painting in the *Antichambre* (fig. 221). One expert declared that these *bozzetti* and the Upper Belvedere's ceiling paintings represent the "finest expression of Giacomo's late style."²²⁰ Yet it is not only this artist's refined style that attracted Prince Eugene to commission him, it is also the artwork's origin from Naples, where del Pò enjoyed a reputation as this city's finest artist for rendering allegorical imagery that glorified the nobility eloquently, as will be seen.

Del Pò's three works at the Upper Belvedere should be interpreted in succession.²²¹ In the *Antichambre*, Prince Eugene is presented as a war hero in the center of the canvas and upon clouds. The gods surround him to celebrate an impending golden age of art that only peace can beget, and which Prince Eugene

²¹⁸ Rabiner, "The Paintings of Giacomo Del Pò," 122–24.

²¹⁹ Rabiner, 123. Also see plate LXXV. in Rabiner, 362. And see plate fig. 65 in Achille della Ragione, *Giacomo del Pò: opera completa* (Napoli: Napoli arte, 2011), 31.

²²⁰ Rabiner, "The Paintings of Giacomo Del Pò," 124.

²²¹ *Wienerisches Welttheater: das barocke Wien in Stichen: Das Belvedere in Wien* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1969), 38–40; Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 376–77.

achieved through his valiant conquests over the Ottomans.²²² Then, in the *Conferenz Zimmer*, Minerva presents the prince to Apollo and Mercury who awaken the personifications of the Arts and of Science to inform them about the prince's arrival.²²³ Finally, the story culminates in the *Audienz Zimmer* where Eugene engaged in international diplomacy. It is the most official room of the entire garden palace. This ceiling painting presents Prince Eugene being accepted into Olympus and confirms his good deeds and deserved eternal fame.²²⁴ Gods and allegorical figures are "especially appropriate for the 'heavenly' sphere of a room," and thus, Prince Eugene's choice follows the frescoed vaults with mythological imagery in Roman palaces dating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²²⁵ The prince's commission documents inform us that he always desired ceiling paintings for these three chambers, not frescoes.²²⁶ Canvas are easily transported and ceiling paintings were imported from Naples to Vienna as a visual expression that Prince Eugene enjoyed direct access to the highest levels of the political and cultural elite in that city, which was under Habsburg rule between 1707 and 1734. The Austrian Viceroys played the key role in the profound cultural and artistic transfers between Naples and Vienna that took place at this time.²²⁷ Accordingly,

²²² *Wienerisches Welttheater: das barocke Wien in Stichen: Das Belvedere in Wien*, 38; Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 377.

²²³ *Wienerisches Welttheater: das barocke Wien in Stichen: Das Belvedere in Wien*, 39–40; Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 377.

²²⁴ *Wienerisches Welttheater: das barocke Wien in Stichen: Das Belvedere in Wien*, 40; Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 377.

²²⁵ Strunck, "Concettismo and the Aesthetics of Display: The Interior Decoration of Roman Galleries and Quadrerie," 219.

²²⁶ "Contract for Three Ceiling Paintings."

²²⁷ Sebastian Schütze, "Theatrum Artis Pictoriae: i vicere austriaci a Napoli e le loro committenze artistiche," in *Cerimoniale del viceregno austriaco di Napoli* (Napoli: Arte'm, 2014), 37–68.

it was the Viceroy Daun who facilitated Prince Eugene's contact to del Pò, and also to Solimena, who I will also discuss below. Therefore, the Upper Belvedere's ceiling paintings in the *appartement de parade* attest to the important cultural and artistic exchanges between Vienna and Naples that took place at the dawn of the eighteenth century.

Del Pò's three paintings' subject matter also fits well within the cultural milieu of the contemporary Austrian nobility's patronage.²²⁸ Indeed, during the first decades of the eighteenth-century, many Viennese patrons commissioned ceiling paintings or frescoes which glorified the family name through "*mythologischer Verkleidung*" and through the representation of the patron's own reception into the heavens by the antique Gods.²²⁹ Matsche explains:

*"Dabei ist bemerkenswert, dass nicht der militärische Sieg und der kriegesische Held den eigentlichen Gegenstand der Huldigungen bilden, sondern dass in der nun angebrochenen Zeit des siegreich erkämpften Friedens die Helden sich dem anderen Bereich ihres bipolaren Ideals „armis et litteris," den Künsten und Wissenschaft widmen."*²³⁰

In other words, contemporaries understood del Pò's paintings to express that Prince Eugene, after fighting wars and achieving peace, has shifted his focus and resources to something superior than war: the arts and sciences.

²²⁸ For more on the Austrian nobility's patronage of Neapolitan painters, see Schütze.

²²⁹ Translation: "mythological disguises." See Matsche, "Mythologische Heldenapotheosen in Deckengemälden Wiener Adelspaläste des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts."

²³⁰ Translation: "It is noteworthy, that it is not the military triumph and the war hero that make up the subject of these tributes, rather, their subject is the new time of peace that specifically victory achieved and which allows the hero to now strive for another part of his bi-polar ideal, of "*armis et litteris*," and dedicate himself to art and to science." See Matsche, 315–16.

Prince Eugene also commissioned the Neapolitan Solimena, who is arguably the most celebrated artist of his generation in Naples, a fourth ceiling painting for the Upper Belvedere (see fig. 181). An oblong and octagonal canvas, *Aurora and Cephalus*, once decorated the *Spiegel Zimmer's* vault. This painting thematizes the rising sun which bathes the earth in light and makes it fertile.²³¹ The subject matter is certainly appropriate for this palace with its lush gardens that are reflected in the mirrors of the octagonal *Spiegel Zimmer*. Located in the Upper Belvedere's northeast tower, and thus, offering a clear view of the menagerie and gardens, this chamber's windows face primarily east and appropriately towards the rising sun (see figs. 6 and 222).²³² This relates to the iconographical message that Carloni first put forth at the Lower Belvedere in the Marble Hall through his presentation of Flora, who leads Apollo's chariot towards Eugene's *Kammergarten* near the Lower Belvedere. Although commissioned in 1720, this painting did not arrive in Vienna until 1731.²³³ In 1950, the same fire that destroyed del Pò's ceiling painting in the *Audienz Zimmer* destroyed Solimena's *Aurora and Cephalus* (fig. 223).

Ludwig Kainzbauer's *The Gold Cabinet in the Upper Belvedere* of 1885 documents the appearance of this chamber before its destruction (fig. 224). The

²³¹ Hans Aurenhammer and Gertrude Aurenhammer, *Das Belvedere in Wien: Bauwerk Menschen Geschichte* (Wien: Verlag Anton Schroll & Co., 1971), 67.

²³² There are four windows. The first window in the octagonal room, nearest to the loggia, faces southeast. The next window faces east, followed by the northeast window, and in the north, there is a door that leads out onto a small balcony. The last window in this room faces northwest.

²³³ For an overview of all of the primary sources and letters related to this commission, and also, the secondary sources related to the painting, see the bibliography in Prohaska, "54. Aurora entführt Kephalus (Francesco Solimena)," 246–47.

golden tone of the *boiserie*, gilded columns, double-wing doors, and portions of the vault, relates to the warm rays of the rising sun. A photograph from before 1950 demonstrates how Solimena's painting was framed by frescoed putti who play with garlands (see fig. 181).²³⁴ It is not known who frescoed these putti, presumably it was Carloni. Bands of painted flowers were also seen throughout this room which was outfitted with mirrors on all sides. Reflecting the actual gardens outside, the mirrors also include the visitor's likeness in this phantastic and overwhelming display. Ferdinand Plitzner (1678-1724) and Servatius Brickard's (1676-1742) elaborate floral intarsia decked out this room's floors, to further accentuate the iconographical message about the sun's fertility. Prince Eugene contacted these German artists through Friedrich Karl von Schönborn, who, following Prince Eugene, also commissioned a similar room at his garden palace in Vienna which was filled with large mirrors and gilded panels, followed by a second one at his family's palace in Pommersfelden.²³⁵ Schönborn and Prince Eugene even commissioned Solimena simultaneously to create decorations for these delightful chambers, and as a result, one expert explains that the artist attempted to incite a rivalry between these patrons, to heighten his own prestige and the amount of his payments.²³⁶ Solimena even wrote to Schönborn and told him he would have to

²³⁴ The artist is unknown.

²³⁵ There is also a mirror and porcelain cabinet in Prince Eugene's city palace. See Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 385–87. Also see fig. 103.

²³⁶ Hojer, "Malerfürst und Unternehmer: Francesco Solimena als Star auf dem europäischen Kunstmarkt des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts," 293.

wait for his painting because a patron “*superiori in questo Regno*,” meaning Prince Eugene, would be served first.²³⁷

Solimena's ceiling paintings are now destroyed but one *bozzetto* exists. It too belongs to the Colloredo-Mannsfeld Collection (see fig. 223). He rendered Aurora in a red cloth who follows an angel, the personification of the morning star.²³⁸ Aurora whisks Cephalus off into Olympus where Apollo, on his chariot, is crossing the sky. Apollo is accompanied by Zephyr, and they announce the earth's fertility and renewal.²³⁹ Solimena's *bozzetto* is close to the destroyed painting, which is seen partially in Kleiner's engraved drawing, just like in Kainzbauer's painting, and the photograph taken before 1950 (see figs. 181, 222, and 224). Because the theme is closely related to the Belvedere's iconography as a garden palace, and moreover, considering that the *Spiegel Zimmer's* location is in the northeast tower where the rising sun can be seen daily, it seems that Prince Eugene proposed this theme to Solimena himself. This is supported by the fact that floral intarsia originally enlivened the room, just like the bands of flower blossoms that were frescoed throughout. Given the unusual shape of Solimena's canvas, and the *di sotto in su* perspective of the *bozzetto*, Prince Eugene also provided the dimensions and explained to the artist that the painting's intended placement is the room's vault. In a letter from Eugene to Solimena dated September 27, 1721, the

²³⁷ Translation: "of superior rank." See Hojer, 293. The original letter is published in Max von Freeden, ed., *Quellen zur Geschichte des Barocks in Franken unter dem Einfluss des Hauses Schönborn. 1. Teil. Die Zeit des Erzbischofs Lothar Franz und des Bischofs Johann Philipp Franz von Schönborn 1693-1729*, vol. Halbband 2 (Augsburg: Filser, 1955), Nr. 902, 692.

²³⁸ Aurenhammer and Aurenhammer, *Das Belvedere in Wien: Bauwerk Menschen Geschichte*, 67.

²³⁹ Aurenhammer and Aurenhammer, 67.

prince expresses a hope that his *Aurora and Cephalus* for the “*galleria [sic]*” would be completed shortly.²⁴⁰ He calls the *Spiegel Zimmer* a gallery, yet in addition to containing artwork, galleries were typically understood to have a longitudinal plan.²⁴¹ The prince’s designation denotes that he pushed the limits of what a gallery could achieve by combining gold with mirrors, intarsia, and a magnificent ceiling painting that Naples’ most celebrated living artist designed. In this same letter from 1721, the prince confirms that he received from Solimena a now lost preparatory drawing for the “*quadro per la mia cappella*.”²⁴² In this case, Prince Eugene is referring to the *Resurrection of Christ*, still *in situ* in the Upper Belvedere’s chapel (see fig. 180). Prince Eugene soon commissioned from the same artist an altarpiece for his chapel at Schloss Hof.²⁴³

Solimena’s ceiling painting significantly enhanced the small but enchanting *Spiegel Zimmer*. This room can only be entered via the *Audienz Zimmer*. Like the *Cabinet* and *Bilder Zimmer* at the Lower Belvedere, or, the *Cabinet* and *Bibliothec* at the Upper Belvedere, the cozy and utterly impressive room was one of the most exclusive at the Belvedere. It even marks the apex of the *enfilade* on the north side of the *piano nobile’s appartement de parade*. The room mesmerized high-level

²⁴⁰ The prince’s letter is cited in Prohaska, “53. Auferstehung Christi (Francesco Solimena),” 242.

²⁴¹ Strunck, “Concettismo and the Aesthetics of Display: The Interior Decoration of Roman Galleries and Quadrerie,” 340.

²⁴² Prohaska, “53. Auferstehung Christi (Francesco Solimena),” 242. A copy of this lost drawing that is attributed to Solimena measures thirty-one by eighteen centimeters. It is not by this artist, but a studio copy according to Prohaska. It is pictured in Österreichische Galerie and Elfriede Baum, eds., *Katalog des Österreichischen Barockmuseums im Unteren Belvedere in Wien*, vol. 1, Grosse Meister, Epochen und Themen der österreichischen Kunst: Barock (Wien: Herold, 1980), Nr. 481; Prohaska, “53. Auferstehung Christi (Francesco Solimena),” 244.

²⁴³ Diekamp, “Le commissioni del Principe Eugenio di Savoia a Francesco Solimena: La pala della Deposizione di Schloss Hof e due Modelli autografi, tra cui uno inedito.”

dignitaries and visitors, including Küchelbecker. In his contemporary descriptions, he declared three times that the Spiegel Zimmer is “*kostbar*,” or exquisite.²⁴⁴ After the accomplishment of the *Spiegel Zimmer*, some of the most elite patrons north of the Alps replicated it. They are Schönborn, as already mentioned, but also, in Salzburg, Franz Anton Fürst Harrach at the Mirabell Castle and completed circa 1727.

In the *Appartement de Parade*: The *Audienz Zimmer*

In the *Audienz Zimmer*, where the prince conducted official business, the few paintings were international (see fig. 11). In addition to del Pò's ceiling painting from Naples, *Perseus and Andromeda* (numbered [II] 3. in the inventory and 36. in the catalogue) on the south wall was thought to be an autograph Titian (see figs. 219 and 225).²⁴⁵ This large painting would have greatly impressed contemporaries, because few autograph Titians were available for purchase by the early eighteenth century, at the time the prince acquired it. Moreover, it is significant that the artist hails from Venice, whose Doges were closely politically aligned with the Habsburg Emperors during Prince Eugene's entire tenure as the President of the Imperial

²⁴⁴ Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter, Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupffern ans Licht gegeben*, 786–87.

²⁴⁵ See footnote 27 of this chapter for more information.

War Council. There were also six Netherlandish works hung in this room. Abraham Mignon's (1640-1679) *Tree Trunk with Flowers and Herbs* (numbered [II] 2. in the inventory and 35. in the catalogue) was placed to the left of *Perseus and Andromeda* (fig. 226). Cornelius de Heem's small flower piece (numbered [III] 5. in the inventory and 41 in the catalogue) was arranged just below these works (fig. 227). Initially, Zanetti and Bertoli attributed the floral painting to de Heem (numbered [II] 4. in the inventory and excluded from the catalogue or possibly numbered 40.) which was hung to the right of *Perseus and Andromeda*, but they do not specify if Jan Davidsz. or if his son Cornelius is the creator. In 1737, they may have changed the attribution to Mignon (numbered 40. in the catalogue). Consequently, one scholar has proposed that this canvas is now at the Louvre (fig. 228).²⁴⁶ While the Mignon at the Louvre has the same measurements as those recorded by Zanetti and Bertoli, namely circa 100 by eight-four centimeters, I propose that the initial attribution was correct. In other words, this painting is not by Mignon but by Jan Davidsz. de Heem. Titled *Still life with Fruits and Flowers*, this work originates from Prince Eugene's collection securely and it is now at the Sabauda Gallery (fig. 229). This is supported by one scholar's research concerning Zanetti and Bertoli's deceptive practices in their formation of the sale catalogue, because Mignon's work had more potential to attract buyers than the lesser-known de Heem.²⁴⁷ It cannot be said with absolute certainty that this painting flanked

²⁴⁶ Namely the painting by Mignon with inventory number 1557 and measures ninety-nine by eighty-four centimeters. See Cornelia Diekamp, "Cinque nature morte di Jan Davidsz. de Heem e la sua cerchia ambientate nel Belvedere del Principe Eugenio, 1," *Labyrinthos* 18.1999, no. 35/36 (1999): 133–34.

²⁴⁷ Tommaro, "An International Charade. Antonio Maria Zanetti the Elder and Eugene of Savoy's Paintings."

Perseus and Andromeda because its dimensions do not correspond exactly to those recorded by Zanetti and Bertoli. Indeed, it measures only ninety by seventy-three centimeters. One explanation for the discrepancy is that the circa ten-centimeter-thick gilded frame was erroneously included by Zanetti and Bertoli during their measurement.

The arrangement of the west wall presents problems because it was not included in Kleiner's representation of the *Audienz Zimmer*. However, we may conclude that it had only one floral painting next to Courtois's battle scene (numbered [II] 1. in the inventory 34. in the catalogue). This battle represents the Hungarian conquests over the Turks, and thus, it is an appropriate reference to Prince Eugene's own accomplishments on the battlefield (fig. 230). My conclusion concerning the west wall's arrangement is based on the fact that Zanetti and Bertoli's inventory clearly indicates that only six floral works were shown in this space, which are not *sopraporte*, and two share nearly the same exact measurements.²⁴⁸ This pair flanked the *Cheminée à la Royale* (see fig. 11). Mignon and Hendrick Schoock (1630-1707) painted these two works (numbered [II] 7. in the inventory and 39. in the catalogue, and also, [II] 8. in the inventory and 37. in the catalogue) which Zanetti and Bertoli erroneously attributed to de Heem and they are both now at the Sabauda Gallery (figs. 231-232). Because Kleiner shows three more floral paintings adorning the south wall, we may conclude that the

²⁴⁸ Namely, "6... *Une piece des fleurs de Heem, hauteur 2 pieds 10 pouces, largeur 2 pieds 4 pouces*" and "8... *Une piece des fruits de Heem, hauteur 2 pieds 9 pouces, largeur 2 pieds 2 pouces*." That is the equivalent of 89.5 by seventy-four centimeters, and eighty-seven by 68.5 centimeters. See Auer and Black, "Ein neuentdecktes Inventar der Gemäldesammlung Prinz Eugens," 337–38.

chamber's sixth floral work was on the west wall. This painting may be de Heem's *Fruit and Flowers with a Crucifix, Bread, and Cup* (numbered [II] 6. in the inventory and 38. in the catalogue) (fig. 233). One art historian mistakenly proposed that the west wall featured two works, one by Jan Davidsz. de Heem and the other by Cornelis de Heem, that could have flanked Courtois' battle painting, and just below them, she proposes that Mignon's fruit and flowers was hung.²⁴⁹ The basis for this incorrect reconstruction is a complex iconographical interpretation, which I also reject.

The *Audienz Zimmer's* six paintings of flowers bond visually with the room's four *sopraporte* that were painted by the local Austrian artist named Tamm. They represent exotic animals and foreign plants which the prince owned and could be viewed at the Belvedere (figs. 234-235). Two of these overdoors still exist and they will be discussed in more detail in the following section dedicated to *sopraporte*. Yet they are worth mentioning already because, just like the six easel paintings on the walls which portray accurately European fruits and flowers, Tamm's still lifes functioned to connect the palace interiors more intimately to the specimens outside. The imagery invited guests to look for connections and find interesting parallels. The prince chose green damask to cover the *Audienz Zimmer's* walls to underscore this intention. The color deviates from the Viennese nobility's preferred color red, used in the Habsburg's audience chambers traditionally, and even in the

²⁴⁹ Cornelia Diekamp, "Cinque nature morte di Jan Davidsz de Heem e la sua cerchia ambientate nel Belvedere del Principe Eugenio," *Labyrinthos* 20, 2001, no. 39/40 (2001): 42; Diekamp, "Die Sammlung eines Prinzen: zur Geschichte der Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen nach 1736 mit einer Rekonstruktion des 'Bilder-Saales' im Oberen Belvedere," 42; Diekamp, "Cinque nature morte di Jan Davidsz. de Heem e la sua cerchia ambientate nel Belvedere del Principe Eugenio, 1," 121.

Audienz Zimmer at Prince Eugene's city palace.²⁵⁰ At the Upper Belvedere, red was chosen for the *Conferenz Zimmer* instead. The decision to hang six floral paintings near Tamm's *sopraporte*, and upon a green damask walls, emphasized the verdant nature of the Belvedere. Opening the double-winged doors in *Audienz Zimmer*'s northeast corner caused golden rays reflecting off the mirrors in the *Spiegel Zimmer* to penetrate this space, in imitation of the sun. This marvelous ensemble underscores del Pò's message on the vault: Prince Eugene is equally a skilled peacemaker as a glorious patron of fine art and science.

In the *Apartment de Société*: The *Bilder Saal*

In his travel account from 1729, the Baron Pöllnitz shared that, at the Belvedere, "*les Assemblies [sic] chez le Prince sont toujours fort nombreuses, sa naissance, ses emplois & son autorité lui attirent une grosse cour.*"²⁵¹ Prince Eugene's social circles are well known and he even hosted guests frequently to play cards, especially piquet.²⁵² While the prince conducted official acts in the *appartement de parade*, which is to the east of the central Marble Hall on the *piano*

²⁵⁰ Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 68, 144.

²⁵¹ Translation: "the prince's assemblies are always very numerous, including to celebrate his birthday and his accomplishments, these events attract a large number of people to his court." See Karl Ludwig Freiherr von Pöllnitz, *Mémoires: contenant les observations qu'il a faites dans ses voyages, et le caractère des personnes qui composent les principales cours de l'Europe*, vol. 1 (Londres: Hoguel, 1735), 229.

²⁵² Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Mensch und Schicksal*, 5:129–31.

nobile, pleasure activities took place in the rooms to the west of the Marble Hall (see fig. 6). This part of the palace functioned as the *appartement de société* and includes the north-facing *Taffel Zimmer*, *Caffé Zimmer*, and *Spiel Zimmer* (see figs. 92-94).²⁵³ They ultimately lead into the *Bilder Saal*, a longitudinal gallery dedicated to displaying paintings (see fig. 47). It extends across the entire length of the west façade (see fig. 6). From the *Bilder Saal*, one can access two small, octagonal cabinets called the *Gemahlenes Cabinet*, with painted silk panels from China and a fresco by Fanti on the vault, and the *Marmoriertes Cabinet*, adorned with a variety of marble (see figs. 36 and 236). The *apartment de société* also has three south-facing chambers that can be accessed from the *Bilder Saal*. They are the *Schlaffgemach*, *Vorgemach*, and *Schenck Zimmer* (see figs. 95-97). The *Bilder Saal* offers access to the two penultimate chambers at the end of the *enfilade* in the *appartement de société*, namely to the *Gemahlenes Cabinet* and *Marmoriertes Cabinet*. The *Bilder Saal* also connects both the north-facing and south-facing rooms of this apartment. It served as a stage upon which Prince Eugene presented his most valuable and cherished paintings. One expert explains that, in this type of gallery “an owner was able to display his refined artistic taste, his magnificence, his wealth, and therefore his power.”²⁵⁴ The paintings were hung in a manner that elicits comparison while boasting that Prince Eugene’s invests his money wisely in art objects which beget intellectual enrichment.

²⁵³ Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 373.

²⁵⁴ Strunck, “Concettismo and the Aesthetics of Display: The Interior Decoration of Roman Galleries and Quadrerie,” 217.

Through imported cultural objects of the utmost sophistication, galleries became efficient vehicles of self-aggrandizement in the palaces of early modern European nobles.²⁵⁵ One expert details: "Display....is always made for an audience; in a sense, it is not complete until viewers respond to it."²⁵⁶ Accordingly, the *Bilder Saal* became a coveted stop on the Grand Tour of numerous individuals like Küchelbecker. The collection even gained fame in Prince Eugene's own lifetime. The paintings of the walls of the *Bilder Saal* originated overwhelmingly from Italy. There were twenty-two Italian works in total (numbered [I] 2., 5.-10., 12.-14., 17.-20., 24.-31. in the inventory and in catalogue), of which fourteen Zanetti and Bertoli attributed to the hands of Bolognese artists and those specifically linked to the Bolognese Carracci School (numbered [I] 6.-10., 13.-14., 18.-20., 24.-25., 27., and 30. in the inventory and catalogue). There are nine additional paintings in the *Bilder Saal* of German, English, and Netherlandish origin (numbered [I] 1., 3.-4., 11., 15.-16., and 21.-23. in the inventory and catalogue). In addition to four *sopraporte* by Phillip Ferdinand de Hamilton, which I will discuss in the following section dedicated to overdoors, the *Bilder Saal*'s four walls were hung with thirty-one paintings in total. Giampietro Zanotti declared that Prince Eugene loved Bolognese art the most, and that this fact was well-known.²⁵⁷ Therefore, we may conclude that a desire to engender discussions concerning the high merits of Bolognese art motivated Prince Eugene's decision to hang numerous paintings by

²⁵⁵ Strunck, 217.

²⁵⁶ Carole Paul, "The Grand Tour and the Economy of Display," in *Display of Art in the Roman Palace, 1550-1750* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2014), 296.

²⁵⁷ Zanotti, *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina di Bologna, aggregata all'istituto delle scienze e dell'arti*, 1:275.

masters from this city near to high-quality works by revered artists across centuries and schools.

Kleiner's engraved drawing discloses that five works were hung on the slender section of the north wall, in-between two windows overlooking the palace gardens and Vienna's skyline. Zanetti and Bertolli attributed these works to Albani (numbered [I] 27. in the inventory and catalogue), a follower of Antonio da Correggio (1489-1534) (numbered [I] 28. in the inventory and catalogue), an unknown Italian artist (numbered [I] 29. in the inventory and catalogue), the Carracci (numbered [I] 30. in the inventory and catalogue), and il Brusasorci (numbered [I] 31. in the inventory and catalogue). One expert who has analyzed this room discovered that Pietro della Vecchia, a follower of Correggio, as well as an unknown Italian artist, the Carracci, and il Brusasorci painted them with certainty (fig. 237).²⁵⁸ Similarly, across the room, five paintings were hung between two windows on the south wall that overlook the main entrance to the Belvedere. The inventory's authors contend that Reni painted one (numbered [I] 10. in the inventory and catalogue), while Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617) and Giulio Cesare Procaccini (1574–1625) are said to have painted two each (numbered [I] 11.-12. and 13.-14. in the inventory and catalogue). One of Goltzius' pieces copies Raphael (numbered 12. in the inventory and catalogue). Therefore, I included it in the tally of the *Bilder Saal's* Italian paintings. These five works are now attributed

²⁵⁸ For a detailed discussion of these works including the provenance and literature references, see Diekamp, "Die Sammlung eines Prinzen: zur Geschichte der Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen nach 1736 mit einer Rekonstruktion des 'Bilder-Saales' im Oberen Belvedere," 41–43, 112–13; Diekamp, "La galleria del principe Eugenio di Savoia nel Belvedere Superiore a Vienna: storia e ricostruzione," 795–99.

credibly to Reni, a Dutch painter, a copyist of Raphael, and the last two works are by Bartolomeo Schedoni (ca. 1578-1615) (figs. 238-241).²⁵⁹ This imagery thematizes the human body and its expressive potential, which graduates of the Carracci School mastered rendering due to the *Accademia Clementina*'s emphasis on studying anatomy and on participating in live drawing sessions with nude models.²⁶⁰

On the east wall, in addition to two *sopraporte* representing rams, there were nine large history paintings (see fig. 47). The inventory assigns the largest to Reni, whose *Adam and Eve* (numbered [I] 7. in the inventory and catalogue) was placed at the center because these two figures guide the main theme about the human figure which dominates the Italian artwork throughout the *Bilder Saal* (see fig. 182). Zanetti and Bertolli attribute the artwork on the left of Reni's painting to Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) (numbered [I] 1. in the inventory and catalogue), Titian (numbered [I] 2. in the inventory and catalogue), Wouwerman (numbered [I] 3. in the inventory and catalogue), and Francesco Salviati (1510-1563) (numbered [I] 5. in the inventory and catalogue) (figs. 242-245).²⁶¹ This differs from Kleiner's engraved drawing that shows not van Dyck's work on the east wall, but a painting

²⁵⁹ For a detailed discussion of these works including the provenance and literature references, see Diekamp, "Die Sammlung eines Prinzen: zur Geschichte der Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen nach 1736 mit einer Rekonstruktion des 'Bilder-Saales' im Oberen Belvedere," 32–35, 107–9; Diekamp, "La galleria del principe Eugenio di Savoia nel Belvedere Superiore a Vienna: storia e ricostruzione," 782–85.

²⁶⁰ Gail Feigenbaum, "Practice in the Carracci Academy," *Studies in the History of Art, Symposium Papers XXII: The Artist's Workshop*, 38 (1993): 58–76.

²⁶¹ For a detailed discussion of these works including the provenance and literature references, see Diekamp, "Die Sammlung eines Prinzen: zur Geschichte der Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen nach 1736 mit einer Rekonstruktion des 'Bilder-Saales' im Oberen Belvedere," 27–32, 103–7; Diekamp, "La galleria del principe Eugenio di Savoia nel Belvedere Superiore a Vienna: storia e ricostruzione," 777–81.

by Alessandro Varotari, who is also called il Padovanino (1588-1649) (numbered [I] 26. in the inventory and catalogue) (fig. 246). The discrepancy signals that Prince Eugene acquired van Dyck's painting after Kleiner made his drawing circa 1729, but before 1736, at which point Zanetti and Bertolli prepared their list. To the right of Reni's *Adam and Eve*, Zanetti and Bertolli attribute one painting to an unknown master (numbered [I] 4. in the inventory and catalogue), two to Reni (numbered [I] 6. and 8. in the inventory and catalogue), and one more is said to be by Albani (numbered [I] 9. in the inventory and catalogue). In fact, these works are by an unknown Dutch artist, Giangiacomo Sementi (1583-1636) copying Reni, and the last two are by Albani's own hand (figs. 247-249).²⁶² This group also elicited comparisons centered on the various representations of the nude, and moreover, discussion about the formal qualities of the artwork.

There were twelve more paintings on the west wall which could have been paired in four groups of three and placed between the two windows and two doors.²⁶³ In both the inventory and catalogue, Zanetti's and Bertolli's attributions of these works are not accurate. One art historian has shown that they are by Jan Breughel (numbered [I] 15. and 16. in the inventory and catalogue), Iacopo Negretti (1548/50-1628) called Palma il Giovane (numbered [I] 17. in the inventory and

²⁶² For a detailed discussion of these works including the provenance and literature references, see Diekamp, "Die Sammlung eines Prinzen: zur Geschichte der Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen nach 1736 mit einer Rekonstruktion des 'Bilder-Saales' im Oberen Belvedere," 30–32, 105–7; Diekamp, "La galleria del principe Eugenio di Savoia nel Belvedere Superiore a Vienna: storia e ricostruzione," 780–82.

²⁶³ A similar reconstruction is proposed by Diekamp, "Die Sammlung eines Prinzen: zur Geschichte der Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen nach 1736 mit einer Rekonstruktion des 'Bilder-Saales' im Oberen Belvedere," 40 (Abb. 24); Diekamp, "La galleria del principe Eugenio di Savoia nel Belvedere Superiore a Vienna: storia e ricostruzione," 755 (Fig. 5.).

catalogue), Cignani (numbered [I] 18. in the inventory and catalogue), an imitator of Cignani (numbered [I] 19. in the inventory and catalogue), possibly Correggio (numbered [I] 20. in the inventory and catalogue), Wouwerman (numbered [I] 21. in the inventory and catalogue), a copy after van Dyck (numbered [I] 22. in the inventory and catalogue), Potter (numbered [I] 23. in the inventory and catalogue), Cignani (numbered [I] 24. in the inventory and catalogue), Albani (numbered [I] 25. in the inventory and catalogue), and finally, il Padovanino (numbered [I] 26. in the inventory and catalogue).²⁶⁴ These paintings represent the best of the Flemish, English, Bolognese, and Venetian schools and date between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The grouping may be dubbed a “mixed-school installation” which one expert explains has imagery with diverging styles because it facilitated comparisons between the artists and periods.²⁶⁵ Another expert explains that “the precepts of academic art theory first formulated by Italian critics in the Renaissance” encouraged viewers to compare the artwork by thinking about its “constituent parts” which have the power to “instruct and delight.”²⁶⁶ These parts are defined as the painting’s “design or drawing, coloring, composition, decorum, expression, grace, imitation, invention, proportion and beauty.”²⁶⁷ To facilitate the process, a gallery display, like in the *Bilder Saal*, was usually arranged

²⁶⁴ For a detailed discussion of these works including the provenance and literature references, see Diekamp, “Die Sammlung eines Prinzen: zur Geschichte der Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen nach 1736 mit einer Rekonstruktion des ‘Bilder-Saales’ im Oberen Belvedere,” 35–41, 109–12; Diekamp, “La galleria del principe Eugenio di Savoia nel Belvedere Superiore a Vienna: storia e ricostruzione,” 787–95.

²⁶⁵ Paul, “The Grand Tour and the Economy of Display,” 299–302.

²⁶⁶ Paul, 302.

²⁶⁷ Paul, 302.

symmetrically and in groupings.²⁶⁸ Indeed, the west wall was the most appropriate place for hanging four groups of three paintings that were easily separated by the windows and doors, and thus, according to intended parallels which Prince Eugene curated. While uncommon in Italy, the *Bilder Saal*'s mixed-school display scheme became especially popular in France by the mid-eighteenth century.²⁶⁹

Contemporaries would have understood the *Bilder Saal*, filled with renowned works by both Italian and northern-European masters, to be a proud expression of Prince Eugene's cultural primacy. The paintings were very expensive and Küchelbecker explained that they cost between 12,000 to 50,000 florins each.²⁷⁰ The installation underscores that the prince preferred the art of Bologna, and he intended to import the city's high culture to Vienna visually in his renowned *Bilder Saal*. This is underscored by the inclusion of Fanti's *quadratura* on the vault, as stated in chapter one. Additionally, the collection conveys that the prince knows how to invest his money well. The success of the display in Vienna is confirmed by the fact that, soon after the *Bilder Saal*'s completion, Charles VI followed suit and hired du Plessy to redecorate his own gallery in the Stallburg near the Hofburg palace.²⁷¹

²⁶⁸ Paul, 302.

²⁶⁹ Paul, 299.

²⁷⁰ Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter, Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupffern ans Licht gegeben*, 788.

²⁷¹ Sabine Haag, Gudrun Swoboda, and Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, eds., *Die Galerie Kaiser Karls VI. in Wien: Solimenas Widmungsbild und Storffers Inventar (1720-1733); eine Präsentation des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien; [Ausstellung]* (Ausstellung, Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2010).

In the Marble Hall and *Sopraporte* throughout the *Piano Nobile*: Animal and Plant Portraits

In addition to importing foreign paintings, Prince Eugene hired skilled local artists to create verdant *sopraporte* and animal portraits that represent actual specimens which populated the gardens and menagerie at the Belvedere. My analysis of the Upper Belvedere's thirty-nine *sopraporte* indicates that the following rooms, as labeled on Kleiner's ground plan, featured four overdoors each; the *Bilder Saal* and the *Audienz Zimmer*. Three *sopraporte* were seen in the following rooms in the *appartement de parade*: the *Antichambre*, *Conferenz Zimmer*, *Schlaff Zimmer*, and *Bibliothec*. Two *sopraporte* adorned the small room labeled *Cabinet* which was filled with ninety-eight miniature paintings. The *Spiegel Zimmer* featured one overdoor. In the *appartement de société*, the *Taffel Zimmer*, *Caffé Zimmer*, *Spiel Zimmer*, *Schlaff Gemach*, and *Vorgemach* all featured three overdoors each. Finally, the *Gemahlenes Cabinet* featured one overdoor. Except for Boni's three *sopraporte* in the *Bibliothec*, two more overdoors in the *Cabinet* that were attributed to a Dutch artist, and the overdoor in the *Spiegel Zimmer* depicting *Leda and the Swan*, the Upper Belvedere's thirty-three other *sopraporte* were created by local artists. The prince's need for overdoors helped to form a local school of painters who specialized in botanically accurate renderings. They include Johann Kunstner, Phillip Ferdinand de Hamilton, Ignaz Heinitz von Heinzenthal, and Franz Werner Tamm, whom I first mentioned in the introduction. At every high-ranking chamber's threshold on the *piano nobile*, painted *sopraporte* reinforce the message Heinitz

von Heinzenthal introduces in two magnificent portraits of the prince's foreign specimens above the twin *Cheminée à la Royale* in the Marble Hall. To be specific, that Prince Eugene had the necessary connections to collect rare plants and animals from across the globe. Eugene provided the opportunity to read about these rarities in his library with its five sections dedicated to natural history, while at the Belvedere, one could personally examine a plethora of live exotic specimens thanks to this erudite prince.²⁷²

The Habsburg court regarded Heinitz von Heinzenthal highly for his naturalistic representations and animal portraits. Although in 1714 this artist applied unsuccessfully to the Akademie der Bildende Künste to take over Peter Strudel's (1660-1714) position as "*Anatomie- und Zeichenlehrer*," Heinitz von Heinzenthal enjoyed an annual salary of 700 Gulden as court painter and as "*Galerie Adjunkt*" from circa 1713 onward.²⁷³ Then in 1723, Heinitz von Heinzenthal received a prestigious commission from Prince Eugene for the two animal paintings in the Marble Hall (figs. 250-251). While on official business with Charles VI in Prague, on August 26, 1723, the prince penned a letter to a valet named Benedetti (life dates unknown) in Vienna.²⁷⁴ The prince's letter contains

²⁷² They are *Tractatus Generales Historiae Naturalis* with fifty-five titles, *Aquarum, Fluviorum, Fontium, Metallorum, Mineralium, Fossilium, Gemmar; Lapidum, Conchiliorum, Descriptiones* with eighty-one titles, *Tractat de Agricultura et Re Rustica* with thirty titles, *Plantarum Arborum Fruticum, et Florum Icones et Descriptiones* with two hundred and fifty-six titles, and finally, *Animalium Historia General et Singul* with eighty titles. See Boyet, "Catalogus librorum bibliothecae principis Eugenii de Sabaudia. Vol. 1," 223–302.

²⁷³ Translation: "Anatomy and Drawing Professor." David E.L. Thomas, "Heinitz (Haynitz; Heiniz; Heintz; Heiniz; Heynitz) von Heinzenthal, Ignaz (Ignaz D.)," in *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: Hedquist - Hennicke*, vol. 71 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 205–6.

²⁷⁴ Prince Eugene of Savoy, "Letter: Prince Eugene to Benedetti," August 26, 1723, AT-OeStA/HHStA Große Korrespondenz 76a, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv.

explicit instructions for Benedetti to relay to Heinitz von Heinzenenthal. It states that the artist should study and render accurately unique specimens that live at the Belvedere. His two paintings are installed in marble and their half-round shape indicates with certainty that Prince Eugene always intended for them to be shown in this reception hall. The prince even states about them, they “*seront mis au dessus les Cheminées dans la Salle.*”²⁷⁵ Today, both works are still *in situ* at the Upper Belvedere.²⁷⁶ One expert explains, “the inclusion of exotic animals alongside artworks in princely palaces reflected the preeminent role of natural history in this era of scientific curiosity and advancement of knowledge.”²⁷⁷ These highly naturalistic paintings by Heinitz von Heinzenenthal informed guests immediately in the reception hall that Prince Eugene was an enlightened patron who promoted art and science passionately.

An ostrich pair is featured in Heinitz von Heinzenenthal’s painting in the Marble Hall’s southeast corner. Originating from south and central Africa, the male stands in the foreground and a female companion is just behind him. Prince Eugene owned at least eight ostriches that are documented living at the Belvedere between 1723, when Heinitz von Heinzenenthal began to work on this painting, and 1738,

²⁷⁵ Translation: “will be placed above the fireplaces in the hall.” See Savoy.

²⁷⁶ While on view at the Belvedere since 1963, these works are owned by the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. The painting titled *Straußenpaar vor Bananenstaude und blühender Aloe* has the inventory number 5634 and the painting titled *Hyäne mit Helmkasuar vor Kakteen (Opuntien)* has the inventory number 5635. Both works are oil on canvas and they measure 317 x 159 centimeters. See Österreichische Galerie and Baum, *Katalog des Österreichischen Barockmuseums im Unteren Belvedere in Wien*, 1:246–50; Agnes Husslein-Arco, Marie-Louise von Plessen, and Schloss Belvedere (Vienna, Austria), eds., *Prince Eugene: General-Philosopher and Art Lover* (Vienna, Munich: Belvedere Museum, Hirmer, 2010), 240.

²⁷⁷ Marina Belozerskaya, “Menageries as Princely Necessities and Mirrors of Their Times,” in *Oudry’s Painted Menagerie: Portraits of Exotic Animals in Eighteenth Century Europe* (J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007), 71.

when the last ostrich is documented at the palace.²⁷⁸ These are likely the very first ostriches to have ever lived on Austrian soil.²⁷⁹ Two small exotic ducks are also seen in this painting's bottom righthand corner. The tan duck is a ruddy shelduck that originates from the Near and Far East, and just behind it, a drake Canvasback from North America is rendered. Prince Eugene owned at least two ruddy shelducks between 1723 and 1732.²⁸⁰ This duck species also appears in Kleiner's colored drawing of the menagerie (fig. 252).²⁸¹ Kleiner's original drawings, eleven in total, now belong to the Albertina Collection (figs. 252-262). These images were not only circulated in monochrome as part of the series of prints depicting the Belvedere, but also, Prince Eugene kept his own color copies in his library. It is significant that these drawings are the only of Kleiner's to include color. They document accurately the prince's living specimens at the Belvedere and allowed them to be studied easily when conducting research in the library.

²⁷⁸ Leopold Joseph Fitzinger, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Menagerien des österreichisch-kaiserlichen Hofes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Menagerie zu Schönbrunn nebst einer Aufzählung der in denselben gehaltenen Thiere von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit* (Wien: Kaiserliche-Königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1853), 279.

²⁷⁹ In 1952, Justus Schmidt suggested incorrectly that the first Ostrich in Austria belonged to German Emperor Frederick III (1831-1888). See Justus Schmidt, *Linzer Kunstchronik: Gesamtdarstellung*, vol. 3 (Linz: Städtische Sammlungen, 1952), 59; Walter Fiedler and Ursula Giese, "Die Menagerie und der Botanische Garten des Prinzen Eugen im Belvedere," in *Prinz Eugen und sein Belvedere* (Wien: Selbstverlag der Österreichischen Galerie, 1963), 164–65.

²⁸⁰ Fitzinger, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Menagerien des österreichisch-kaiserlichen Hofes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Menagerie zu Schönbrunn nebst einer Aufzählung der in denselben gehaltenen Thiere von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit*, 39.

²⁸¹ Salomon Kleiner, *Das Belvedere zu Wien: nach dem Stichwerk in 140 Blättern aus den Jahren 1731 - 1740*, ed. Elisabeth Herget, Die bibliophilen Taschenbücher (Dortmund: Harenberg, 1980), 219.

Heinitz von Heinzenthal's painting sets four exotic birds among ruins and among two exotic plants. Like in Kleiner's drawings which show antique or antique-like sculptures in the background, these ruins are meant to evoke the actual statuary at the Belvedere which is attributed to the Venetian trained sculptor Giovanni Stanetti (1663-1726), who became a court sculptor to Charles VI in 1712, and moreover, to his pupil, Ingenuin Lechleitner (1676-1731).²⁸² One of the pictured plants is an agave, that is native to the arid regions of the Americas and was already known in Europe since the mid sixteenth century.²⁸³ Notably, the painting depicts the prince's agave in full bloom. The plant's flower likely caused a sensation because, when they are grown in a greenhouse, as Eugene's specimen, agaves flower only once every fifty years, and thereafter, they will die.²⁸⁴ Indeed, in late October 1719, a flowering agave was announced in the *Wienerisches Diarium*, which was blooming since September 28 of that year. It could be witnessed in the gardens of Louisa Wilhelmina von Lilengau (died 1738) in the Duchy of Brieg.²⁸⁵ The newspaper reports that the flower's stalk had reached about five meters in height and sprouted twenty-five stems that carried over 1500 flowers, thus attracting visitors from far and wide to Silesia.²⁸⁶ Surely, the prince's flowering agave caused a spectacle in Vienna and Heinitz von Heinzenthal documents this rare occasion.

²⁸² Hans Aurenhammer, "Ikonographie und Ikonologie des Wiener Belvederegartens," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 17–21 (1956): 87.

²⁸³ Fiedler and Giese, "Die Menagerie und der Botanische Garten des Prinzen Eugen im Belvedere," 176.

²⁸⁴ Fiedler and Giese, 176.

²⁸⁵ "Nr. 1695: Wien vom 28. bis 31. Oktober 1719," *Wienerisches Diarium*, 1719.

²⁸⁶ "Nr. 1695: Wien vom 28. bis 31. Oktober 1719."

The cloudy blue sky in this painting's background is filled by a flowering banana tree. Banana plants are native to the tropical regions of India and to Southeast Asia from where the Portuguese brought these plants to Europe already by the sixteenth century. Yet flowering examples were virtually unknown in central Europe because banana plants prefer to flower and produce fruit only when they are grown near to the coast.²⁸⁷ The flowering banana tree that Heinitz von Heinzenenthal painted at the Belvedere in 1723 actually produced fruit in 1727. Before then, the only banana tree known to have produced flowers in central Europe could be seen in the gardens of Karl III. Wilhelm von Baden-Doorlatch (1679-1738) in Karlsruhe in 1712. This specimen flowered just before a third example in central Europe, in the Caspar Bosisch Gardens in Leipzig in 1733.²⁸⁸ The choice to render these rare flowering plants among exotic animals advertised, in the Belvedere's reception hall, that all these rare specimens from across the globe thrived in Prince Eugene's gardens and his menagerie.

Heinitz von Heinzenenthal's second painting in the Marble Hall's southwest corner also features an African animal prominently (see fig. 251). A hyena accompanies a flightless cassowary who is native to the tropical forests of the North Pacific islands.²⁸⁹ The Austrian zoologist Leopold Joseph Franz Johann

²⁸⁷ Fiedler and Giese, "Die Menagerie und der Botanische Garten des Prinzen Eugen im Belvedere," 172.

²⁸⁸ Johann Gottlieb Worms, *Ost-Indian- und Persianische Reisen oder Zehenjährige auf Groß-Java, Bengala und ... in Persien geleistete Kriegs-Dienste ... verfasst ... und erleutert ... durch Crispinum Weisen* (Hübner, 1737), 95, 97; Fiedler and Giese, "Die Menagerie und der Botanische Garten des Prinzen Eugen im Belvedere," 172.

²⁸⁹ According to Fitzinger, Prince Eugene's cassowary came from the Sunda Islands. See Fitzinger, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Menagerien des österreichisch-kaiserlichen Hofes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Menagerie zu Schönbrunn nebst einer*

Fitzinger, who in 1853 was the first scholar to document the specimens living in Belvedere's menagerie, notes that Prince Eugene owned at least one hyena that behaved "*sehr zahm und liess den Wärter zu sich in den Käfig*."²⁹⁰ Küchelbecker, who refers to Prince Eugene's hyena as an "*indianischer Wolf*," as does Kleiner, mentions that the keeper had even engaged this animal in rough play.²⁹¹ The prince also owned one cassowary that lived at the Belvedere until at least 1732.²⁹² Like the hyena, the cassowary is featured in Kleiner's colored drawings of the menagerie (see fig. 253). As Eugene's ostriches, this flightless bird is likely the very first specimen that lived in imperial Vienna.²⁹³ In Heinitz von Heintzenhal's painting, the hyena preys on a chital, a spotted deer native to the Indian subcontinent. Prince Eugene owned at least four chital that are documented living at the palace between 1723 and 1732.²⁹⁴ The painting's background features ruins

Aufzählung der in denselben gehaltenen Thiere von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit, 38.

²⁹⁰ Translation: "Very tame and it allowed the keeper into its cage." After purchasing the menagerie, Charles VI had the hyena transported to the Neuegebäude in 1738. See Fitzinger, 30.

²⁹¹ Küchelbecker used the word "*rumpeitschen*," or *herumpeitschen*, meaning rough play. See Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter, Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupfern ans Licht gegeben*, 790; Kleiner, *Das Belvedere zu Wien: nach dem Stichwerk in 140 Blättern aus den Jahren 1731 - 1740*, 215.

²⁹² Fitzinger, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Menagerien des österreichisch-kaiserlichen Hofes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Menagerie zu Schönbrunn nebst einer Aufzählung der in denselben gehaltenen Thiere von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit*, 38.

²⁹³ Fiedler and Giese, "Die Menagerie und der Botanische Garten des Prinzen Eugen im Belvedere," 164–66.

²⁹⁴ See "*Axis maculata*. Gray. Axis-oder Ganges-Hirsch" in Fitzinger, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Menagerien des österreichisch-kaiserlichen Hofes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Menagerie zu Schönbrunn nebst einer Aufzählung der in denselben gehaltenen Thiere von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit*, 32. Kleiner also depicted three chital in his color drawings (see figs. 116 and 120). See Kleiner, *Das*

and rare plants, including one large prickly pear that originates from the deserts of North America. Kleiner's drawings of the menagerie suggest that Prince Eugene owned at least three of these cacti. While Heinitz von Heinzenthal rendered the prickly pear in bloom, Kleiner shows them without flowers (see figs. 255-256). Küchelbecker describes that the prince's columnar cactus, measuring approximately three and a half meters, rivaled one at Charles VI's garden palace called *Favorita*.²⁹⁵ Such exotic plants interested the people of Vienna greatly. For instance, when the king's cactus bloomed it was reported in the *Wienerisches Diarium* on July 15, 1719.²⁹⁶ Just three weeks later, on August 5, 1719, the *Wienerisches Diarium* reported that the columnar cactus at the Belvedere was also in bloom.²⁹⁷

There are two tall palm trees in the painting's background which are native to tropical and subtropical climates only. They are likely the two palms that Prince Eugene received in 1719, which were transported from Italy to north of the Alps and floated down the Danube river to Vienna where they arrived on April 3 of that year.²⁹⁸ Accompanied by a plethora of orange trees, the two palms are described as being so tall that "*dergleichen an Größe niemals in Teutschland [sic] gesehen*

Belvedere zu Wien: nach dem Stichwerk in 140 Blättern aus den Jahren 1731 - 1740, 213.

²⁹⁵ Kleiner drew this cactus. See Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter, Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupfern ans Licht gegeben*, 745; Fiedler and Giese, "Die Menagerie und der Botanische Garten des Prinzen Eugen im Belvedere," 174.

²⁹⁶ "Nr. 1665, Wien vom 15. bis 18. Juli 1719," *Wienerisches Diarium*, 1719.

²⁹⁷ "Nr. 1671 Wien vom 5. bis 8. August 1719," *Wienerisches Diarium*, 1719.

²⁹⁸ "Nr. 1635 Wien vom 1. bis 4. April 1719," *Wienerisches Diarium*, 1719.

worden [ist]."²⁹⁹ It is no surprise, therefore, that Heinitz von Heinzenenthal featured these famous palms so prominently (see fig. 250). The centrally placed palm includes a tall flower spike, thus suggesting it is a *Corypha* palm. Prince Eugene owned this species, and two others called feather and fan palms which are recorded thriving at the Belvedere during the prince's lifetime (see figs. 253, 255, 256, 257, and 258).³⁰⁰ Evidently satisfied with these paintings, the prince ordered six additional works from Heinitz von Heinzenenthal that he displayed at Schloss Hof.³⁰¹

The two large paintings in the Marble Hall set the tone for nearly all the *sopraporte* on the *piano nobile* at the Upper Belvedere. As already stated, but is worth reiterating, there were thirty-nine *sopraporte* in total and Kleiner's drawings suggest that thirty-five of these portrayed animals or plants. Hamilton painted ten of the prince's overdoors, which, like Heinitz von Heinzenenthal's works, depict actual specimens which lived in the menagerie and which Kleiner also documented with his color drawings. Seven of these works are still known to exist (see figs. 263-267 and 269-270). Six additional and extant *sopraporte* from the Upper Belvedere are attributed to Tamm (see figs. 234-235 and 271-274). The rest are considered lost. The theme of these paintings is the extremely rare opportunity to observe such curious animals and plants at the Belvedere. Indeed, during the first three decades

²⁹⁹ Translation: "the same in size has never been seen before in Germany." "Nr. 1635 Wien vom 1. bis 4. April 1719."

³⁰⁰ Fiedler and Giese, "Die Menagerie und der Botanische Garten des Prinzen Eugen im Belvedere," 171–72.

³⁰¹ See Frantes, "Die vollständige Originalausstattung der Schlösser Hof and der March und Niederweiden von 1736: Das Nachlaßinventar des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen."; Thomas, "Heinitz (Haynitz; Heiniz; Heintz; Heiniz; Heynitz) von Heinzenenthal, Ignaz (Ignaz D.)."

of the eighteenth century in all of Europe, Prince Eugene's menagerie--home to at least forty-three varieties of international mammals and sixty-seven varieties of exotic birds—was only rivaled by Versailles.³⁰² The prince even owned many more bird species than those that Kleiner drew. So much so that, in 1853, Fitzinger also excluded some of the species from his own otherwise comprehensive list of birds and animals at the Belvedere.³⁰³ While Kleiner did not picture all the species that the prince owned, Fitzinger's list proves the prince had at least ten varieties of apes, four kinds of rodents, seventeen different ruminants, and twelve predators. This includes a docile male lion that Prince Eugene even allowed to roam freely on his estate. It once surprised guests as they dined with Prince Eugene in the *Taffel Zimmer* at the Upper Belvedere.³⁰⁴

Küchelbecker was so impressed by Prince Eugene's garden and menagerie that he declared:

*“Es ist an diesen Pallast [sic] überhaupt weder Mühe noch Geld gespahret [sic] worden, um solchen zu einem der vollkommensten Häuser zu machen, der gestalt [sic], dass es aller Menschen Approbation und Verwunderung findet, welches desto eher zu glauben sein wird, wenn wir die daselbst [sic] befindlichen raren Thiere [sic] und den unvergleichlichen schönen Garten nur einiger massen [sic] werden beschrieben haben.”*³⁰⁵

³⁰² Fiedler and Giese, “Die Menagerie und der Botanische Garten des Prinzen Eugen im Belvedere,” 145, 149.

³⁰³ Fitzinger, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Menagerien des österreichisch-kaiserlichen Hofes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Menagerie zu Schönbrunn nebst einer Aufzählung der in denselben gehaltenen Thiere von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit*, 33–40; Fiedler and Giese, “Die Menagerie und der Botanische Garten des Prinzen Eugen im Belvedere,” 164, 168.

³⁰⁴ Fitzinger, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Menagerien des österreichisch-kaiserlichen Hofes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Menagerie zu Schönbrunn nebst einer Aufzählung der in denselben gehaltenen Thiere von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit*, 29–33.

³⁰⁵ Translation: “At this palace, no effort nor money was spared to transform the estate into one of the most preeminent. The design causes all to feel approbation and awe. My descriptions of the rare animals and unforgettably beautiful garden render the claim

One scholar explains that, in the early modern era, menageries, or “purpose-built zoological spaces,” were “universally recognized as key requirements in the manifestation of princely magnificence amid the ruling elite.”³⁰⁶ Thus, Prince Eugene commissioned well-known local artists, who were specialists in animal and plant painting, to create portrait-like images because they document the astonishing span of his distinctive collection. It certainly required the prince to have reliable connections in the Austrian Netherlands, particularly through the Ostend East India Company. As noted already in chapter two, they procured exotic animals and birds for Prince Eugene.³⁰⁷ Other animals were given to him as diplomatic gifts. For example, Muhamad Effendi (life dates unknown) of Tripoli gave Prince Eugene a “*gesprechelte Wildkatz*,” and in 1732, Jussuf Khodsha (life dates unknown) of Tunis gifted the prince a tiger.³⁰⁸

While Prince Eugene exhibited thirty-nine *sopraporte* throughout the *piano nobile*, Kleiner omitted eight of them in his imagery due to his actual physical position in a room--such as standing under a doorway to draw--but we must assume that each doorcase was treated equally.³⁰⁹ For example, in the *Bilder Saal*,

credible, yet I can barely capture the beauty.” See Küchelbecker, *Alleerueueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter, Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupffern ans Licht gegeben*, 789.

³⁰⁶ Angelica Groom, *Exotic Animals in the Art and Culture of the Medici Court in Florence*, *Rulers & Elites : Comparative Studies in Governance*, volume 16 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2019), 2. Also see Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, “Exotic Animals in Sixteenth-Century Europe,” in *Encounters : The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500-1800* (London: V & A Publications, 2004), 42–43.

³⁰⁷ See the brief discussion on page 118 of chapter two, and footnote 49 in the same chapter.

³⁰⁸ Translation: “spotted wild cat.” See Fiedler and Giese, “Die Menagerie und der Botanische Garten des Prinzen Eugen im Belvedere,” 157, 159.

³⁰⁹ See the brief discussion on page 196 of this chapter.

although Kleiner only drew two *sopraporte* on the room's east wall, the painting inventory confirms that there were four *sopraporte* by Hamilton "*sur les portes*."³¹⁰ This means *sopraporte* consistently topped each doorcase in every one of the highest-ranking chambers on this floor. Beginning in the *appartement de société*, in the *Taffel Zimmer*, there are three *sopraporte* by Hamilton. Part of the collections of Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, all of these works are again *in situ* at the Belvedere. Above the *Taffel Zimmer*'s east door, Hamilton painted a European lynx and an Egyptian vulture in a landscape setting (fig. 263).³¹¹ The Egyptian vulture, native to Eurasia, Africa, and the Near East, challenges the lynx who has pounced on his chicken dinner. Prince Eugene owned numerous lynx that are documented in the Belvedere's menagerie between 1722, the year that Hamilton signed and dated this painting, and 1738, at which point Charles VI ordered the remaining lynx to be transferred to the Neuegebäude, which briefly became home to the imperial menagerie (see figs. 254 and 261).³¹² Two Egyptian vultures are also documented in the Belvedere's menagerie between 1722 and 1738.³¹³

Hamilton's next overdoor painting in the *Taffel Zimmer*, above the west door, features a leucitic fallow deer and two domestic goats in a landscape (fig.

³¹⁰ Translation: "above the doors." See Retzer and Meusel, "4. Die Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen in Wien," 337.

³¹¹ This lynx is erroneously called a leopard in the description provided by the Kunsthistorisches Museum. It is stored under the inventory number 382. See Husslein-Arco, Plessen, and Schloss Belvedere (Vienna, Austria), *Prince Eugene*, 177.

³¹² Fitzinger, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Menagerien des österreichisch-kaiserlichen Hofes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Menagerie zu Schönbrunn nebst einer Aufzählung der in denselben gehaltenen Thiere von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit*, 31.

³¹³ Fitzinger, 33–34.

264).³¹⁴ The buck is native to Europe. Its immature horns and cream-colored coat disclose that this is a juvenile who will turn pure white as he ages. Prince Eugene owned more than four fallow deer which lived at the Belvedere between 1722, when Hamilton signed and dated this painting, and 1738.³¹⁵ The domestic goats accompany the fallow deer since the prince owned countless goats that lived in the menagerie alongside exotic animals (see fig. 254-255).³¹⁶ Hamilton also painted one extremely rare semi-albino Eurasian blackbird.³¹⁷ This painting is the only record of the bird's existence in Prince Eugene's aviary. The prince had a known preference for his golden eagle, which he fed by hand daily during his summer sojourns at the Belvedere.³¹⁸

Albinism is also a theme in Hamilton's third overdoor in the *Taffel Zimmer* (fig. 265). This work, again signed and dated 1722, features one half-albino helmeted guineafowl on the left, and, on the right, a fully albino helmeted guineafowl. Behind this pair, Hamilton included two helmeted guineafowls without albinism. All four birds are native to Africa. Prince Eugene owned many guineafowls from at least 1722, when the painting was created. Long after his death, in 1752,

³¹⁴ This fallow deer is erroneously named a goat by the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, where the painting is stored under the inventory number 4140. See Österreichische Galerie and Baum, *Katalog des Österreichischen Barockmuseums im Unteren Belvedere in Wien*, 1:229–30; Husslein-Arco, Plessen, and Schloss Belvedere (Vienna, Austria), *Prince Eugene*, 177.

³¹⁵ Fitzinger, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Menagerien des österreichisch-kaiserlichen Hofes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Menagerie zu Schönbrunn nebst einer Aufzählung der in denselben gehaltenen Thiere von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit*, 31.

³¹⁶ Fitzinger, 32.

³¹⁷ Österreichische Galerie and Baum, *Katalog des Österreichischen Barockmuseums im Unteren Belvedere in Wien*, 1:229.

³¹⁸ Alfred Ritter von Arneth, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: 1719-1736* (Druck und Verlag der topogr.-literar-artist Anstalt, 1858), 77.

Maria Theresia had the bird's offspring transferred to Schönbrunn.³¹⁹ Hamilton's landscape setting also features a South American coati that glares at the guineafowl hungrily. Indeed, Prince Eugene owned a South American, red-furred coati like the ones shown in Hamilton and Kleiner's depictions (see fig. 254).³²⁰

Prince Eugene's aviary is the subject of three *sopraporte* by Hamilton in the *Schlaff Gemach*. Painted in 1723 and featuring four vultures in a landscape, one of these works can be seen above the chamber's west door on Kleiner's engraved drawing (see figs. 96 and 266).³²¹ From left to right, we notice a Eurasian cinereous vulture, a juvenile Eurasian griffon vulture, one king vulture native to Central and South America, and finally, on the far right, Hamilton painted an adult Eurasian griffon vulture. These birds of prey count as some of the earliest specimens that Prince Eugene collected for his aviary (see fig. 262).³²²

Across the hall, formerly above the east door, Hamilton's painting of waterfowl was hung (fig. 267). This work, signed and dated 1724, includes a white dalmatian pelican in the background, a great white pelican which bears a pink hue in the middle, and on the far right, a pair of Eurasian spoonbills. Fitzinger records that all these birds, with the exception of a great white pelican, lived at the

³¹⁹ Fitzinger, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Menagerien des österreichisch-kaiserlichen Hofes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Menagerie zu Schönbrunn nebst einer Aufzählung der in denselben gehaltenen Thiere von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit*, 37.

³²⁰ Fitzinger, 30.

³²¹ This painting belongs to the Kunsthistorisches Museum where it is stored under inventory number 4208.

³²² Fitzinger, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Menagerien des österreichisch-kaiserlichen Hofes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Menagerie zu Schönbrunn nebst einer Aufzählung der in denselben gehaltenen Thiere von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit*, 34.

Belvedere in the prince's lifetime (see fig. 252).³²³ Given that Fitzinger did not list all the birds that the prince owned, we may conclude that this painting is proof that the great white pelican lived at the Belvedere in 1724. One heron stands just behind the two spoonbills followed by a drake pintail, and possibly a goose, according to the bird's unique markings.³²⁴ Two Asian swan geese stand between the pelicans on the left side of this painting, along with a Muscovy duck from Central and South America, and finally, a ruddy shelduck native to India. Likewise, Fitzinger records that all of these waterfowl had lived in the aviary until at least 1738 (see fig. 258).³²⁵ Finally, Hamilton's third painting in this room, which is now lost, is seen in Kleiner's engraved drawing. It includes so-called scansorial birds primarily (fig. 268). The prince owned at least thirteen different varieties of parrots, parakeets, and cockatoos that came from Asia, Africa, and the Americas (see fig. 259).³²⁶ Just as Hamilton's three paintings in the *Taffel Zimmer* that represent various taxonomies in the menagerie, these three paintings of exotic birds in the *Schlaff Gemach* advertise their birds' presence in the aviary.

The *Bilder Saal* is the third and final chamber for which Hamilton created four animal paintings based on unique specimens in the menagerie. These works are no longer *in situ*, and only two can be seen in Kleiner's engraved drawings of the room (see fig. 47). Above the doors that lead east, into the *Spiel Zimmer* and

³²³ Fitzinger, 39–40.

³²⁴ Due to the bird's black neck, white markings on the cheeks and the white breast, it may be a Canada Goose that originates from North America.

³²⁵ Fitzinger, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Menagerien des österreichisch-kaiserlichen Hofes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Menagerie zu Schönbrunn nebst einer Aufzählung der in denselben gehaltenen Thiere von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit*, 39–40.

³²⁶ Fitzinger, 34–35.

into the *Schlaff Gemach*, Hamilton created two paintings with rams and sheep. One of these oil on canvas works depicting a pair of European mouflons measures 110 by 125 centimeters. Today, it is stored at the Kunsthistorisches Museum.³²⁷ The prince owned numerous moufflons that are documented living at the Belvedere from at least 1725 onwards. In fact, their offspring were taken to the menagerie at Schönbrunn in 1752.³²⁸ The second painting depicting sheep is also oil on canvas and measures 110 by 124.5 centimeters. Before World War II, this painting was removed from storage at the Kunsthistorisches Museum and placed on view at Schloss Eckartsau where it was destroyed in 1945.³²⁹

The subject matter of Hamilton's two additional *sopraporte* in the *Bilder Saal* is not known with certainty. Yet there are two works by Hamilton at the Kunsthistorisches Museum that complement the other overdoors from this chamber, in terms of their subject matter. The first, Hamilton signed and dated in 1724. It depicts a pair of extremely rare piebald deer and their fawn who suffer from a form of albinism (fig. 269).³³⁰ These three animals are accompanied by a common European goat and an African porcupine. Indeed, all these animals are documented living in the menagerie from at least 1725 onward. In 1752, Maria Theresia had Prince Eugene's porcupine transferred to the menagerie at

³²⁷ The inventory number is 1880. I am not aware of the painting's date.

³²⁸ Fitzinger, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Menagerien des österreichisch-kaiserlichen Hofes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Menagerie zu Schönbrunn nebst einer Aufzählung der in denselben gehaltenen Thiere von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit*, 33.

³²⁹ Husslein-Arco, Plessen, and Schloss Belvedere (Vienna, Austria), *Prince Eugene*, 270.

³³⁰ The inventory number is 2620.

Schönbrunn.³³¹ Hamilton signed and dated the other painting in 1723. It depicts a chital, which we have already seen in Heinitz von Heinzenthal's painting in the reception hall, and, moreover, a European ibex, an Alpine hare, and on the far righthand side of this painting, a polycerate goat shows off its four horns (fig. 270).³³² Each of these animals is documented in the Belvedere's menagerie from as early as 1725 onwards.³³³ Given their consistent measurements and the fact that they feature the patron's rare ruminants in the menagerie, it seems reasonable to assume that Prince Eugene commissioned these two works for the *Bilder Saal*.

The three rooms in the Upper Belvedere's *appartement de société* that exhibited Hamilton's *sopraporte* of rare animals from the menagerie rank higher than the *Caffé Zimmer*, the *Spiel Zimmer*, and the *Vorgemach*. Yet Prince Eugene also outfitted these three rooms with overdoors, now lost. Kleiner's drawings indicate they all contain flowers and fruit, instead of rare animals. Tamm's three *sopraporte* originally from the Belvedere's *Audienz Zimmer* provide evidence about the style of the lost overdoors (see figs. 234-235 and 271). One of Tamm's oil on canvas paintings measures 151 by 142 centimeters and was painted circa 1720 (see fig. 235).³³⁴ It portrays a large bouquet and a Eurasian crane, which the

³³¹ Fitzinger, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Menagerien des österreichisch-kaiserlichen Hofes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Menagerie zu Schönbrunn nebst einer Aufzählung der in denselben gehaltenen Thiere von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit*, 31–32.

³³² The inventory number is 4135.

³³³ Fitzinger, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Menagerien des österreichisch-kaiserlichen Hofes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Menagerie zu Schönbrunn nebst einer Aufzählung der in denselben gehaltenen Thiere von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit*, 31–32.

³³⁴ Inventory Number Lg 1610.

Prince owned and is known to have lived at the Belvedere until 1738.³³⁵ The painting's unique shape, elevated slightly by four centimeters at the top and center, corresponds to a second painting by Tamm that can also be seen in Kleiner's engraved drawing of the *Audienz Zimmer*. It features a small gazelle, an animal of which the prince owned several, until at least 1732 (see fig. 234).³³⁶ This canvas also measures exactly 151 by 142 centimeters with a four-centimeter elevation at the top and center.³³⁷ Its unique shape indicates it was likely requested by Prince Eugene himself, or perhaps, his interior designer suggested it. A third *sopraporta* featuring a pelican and plants with fanning leaves was also hung in this room (fig. 271). Tamm's fourth *sopraporta* for this chamber is lost.

In addition to the *Audienz Zimmer*'s overdoors by Tamm, the Kunsthistorisches Museum owns three additional paintings by the same artist that originate from the *Conferenz Zimmer*. All three date to circa 1720 and they are now oval, yet in Kleiner's engraved drawing of the room, in which only two *sopraporte* can be seen, these canvases are rectangular (see fig. 89). An expert has claimed the oval format is original, yet this contradicts Kleiner whose work has yet to be proven false.³³⁸ I propose, therefore, that, following Maria Theresia's acquisition of the Belvedere, the *sopraporte* in the *Conferenz Zimmer* were removed, cut, and repurposed for a new space (figs. 272-274). Close examination

³³⁵ Fitzinger, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Menagerien des österreichisch-kaiserlichen Hofes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Menagerie zu Schönbrunn nebst einer Aufzählung der in denselben gehaltenen Thiere von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit*, 38.

³³⁶ Fitzinger, 32.

³³⁷ Inventory Number Lg 1611.

³³⁸ Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen*, 403.

reveals that the Kunsthistorisches Museum's oval paintings have the same details as those drawn by Kleiner. For example, in the work titled *Flowers and Fruit*, the watermelon in the bottom left-hand corner next to a large bouquet matches closely the overdoor that Kleiner drew (figs. 275-276). Then, the *sopraporta* above the door leading into the *Audienz Zimmer* in Kleiner's drawing resembles another of Tamm's oval paintings with the same theme (see figs. 273 and 275). Both include, in the background and left-hand corner, a face which likely represents the broken head from a statue. Next to it, there is a large bouquet with fruit strewn about in the foreground. Finally, the third painting owned by the Kunsthistorisches Museum bears a resemblance to the first two as well. Also titled *Flowers and Fruit*, it has a watermelon in the bottom right-hand corner just alongside a large bouquet (see fig. 272 and 276), just like Kleiner represented. The remaining *sopraporte* on the *piano nobile* are now lost but they also portrayed animals, birds, fruits, and flower bouquets primarily. Following Heinitz von Heinzenthal's two magnificent paintings in the reception hall, the overdoors throughout the Upper Belvedere's *piano nobile* reinforced the same message consistently. To be specific, that this site is the home of early-eighteenth century Europe's most magnificent menagerie and the prince himself provided the rare chance to study these specimens in Vienna at the Belvedere.

Conclusion

In 1737, one year after Prince Eugene died, Charles VI purchased the menagerie from Princess Maria Anna Victoria after she first sold individual specimens. Charles VI had all the remaining dangerous species moved to the Neuegebäude just outside of Vienna circa 1738. The docile animals he allowed to remain on site at the Belvedere until 1752, at which point Maria Theresia transferred them to the newly erected menagerie at Schönbrunn castle. The only exception was one vulture born in 1706, which stayed at the Belvedere in the prince's aviary until its death in 1823.³³⁹ The *sopraporte* and animal paintings at the Upper Belvedere depict precisely the most unique specimens which thrived in the prince's gardens, aviary, and menagerie. These commissions emphasize that Prince Eugene had access to a vast global network and was captivated by the intersections of art and science, to which the Belvedere is dedicated. Likewise, the prince's ceiling paintings and altarpiece by the most renowned living artists from Naples, and which he displayed in the most official state rooms of the *appartement de parade* and palace chapel, attest to his success as a diplomat and capable statesman. Prince Eugene filled his painting gallery called the *Bilder Zimmer* at the Lower Belvedere, and likewise, two galleries at the Upper Belvedere named the *Cabinet* and *Bilder Saal*, with carefully curated images of wide-ranging subject-

³³⁹ Fitzinger, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Menagerien des österreichisch-kaiserlichen Hofes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Menagerie zu Schönbrunn nebst einer Aufzählung der in denselben gehaltenen Thiere von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit*, 25–26, 28–40. Also see Fiedler and Giese, "Die Menagerie und der Botanische Garten des Prinzen Eugen im Belvedere," 177–78.

matter, representative of Italian, Netherlandish, and German art, of the highest quality and by the most respected artists across these schools and centuries. This clearly expresses that Prince Eugene was the most ambitious collector and patron in imperial Vienna during the late Baroque period. The imagery played a key role in communicating that the prince enjoyed direct connections to the highest levels of the political and cultural elite in Europe, and moreover, he invested his money wisely in art objects that generate intellectual advancement. My discussion and analysis of the prince's sizable collection contributes to our understanding of how paintings, through various modes of display, instruct spectators about the function of various chambers at the Belvedere, about the collector's complex interests, and finally, about the nature of the palace gardens.

Conclusion

The Lower and Upper Belvedere's interiors are a manifestation of global artistic patronage and they attest to Prince Eugene's own intellect, immense wealth, elite status, and prominent political position. He hired the best international artists and sought out elite cultural objects that crossed cultural boundaries and political borders to reach imperial Vienna, and in doing so, achieved the successful fashioning of the Belvedere. This monument helped foreign nations better understand the culture of imperial Austria, and thus, the Belvedere had the capacity to facilitate tolerance and assist in establishing a mutual understanding between dignitaries and the Holy Roman Emperors whom Prince Eugene represented. The Belvedere became an appropriate arena for Prince Eugene's important interactions that pacified centuries of strife on the eastern Habsburg front. Daring conquests enabled Prince Eugene to shift his energies from the battlefield to the patronage of architecture, art, and science, and in doing so, he achieved an all-encompassing aesthetic and sensory experience at the Belvedere.

Enhancing the scholarship on the reciprocity between art, politics, and globalization in early modern central Europe, my dissertation is the first study to investigate specifically the significance of artistic mobility and cultural transfer to Prince Eugene's Belvedere. The first chapter focuses on Prince Eugene's patronage of preeminent Bolognese *quadraturists* whom he "imported" from Italy to Vienna. Marcantonio Chiarini and Gaetano Fanti's illusionistic ceiling and wall paintings expand a room's physical boundaries. My comprehensive study reveals

that the perception of *quadratura* as a science, or an illusionistic spectacle that engages viewers by challenging their perception of objective reality, was of utmost importance to Prince Eugene. This chapter reclaims the meaningful contribution of *quadraturists* in the realm of fresco painting in Baroque Austria. The Upper Belvedere's *chinoiserie* interiors are the focus of chapter two. Situated at the intersection of eighteenth-century globalization and cultural diplomacy, vibrant Asian silk, satin, and damask, as well as colorful Indian chintz, adorned the walls and furnishings in the *piano nobile*'s highest-ranking chambers. This chapter demonstrates that by gaining direct access to rare and luxurious goods from Asia via the Ostend East India Company, Prince Eugene helped shape a new aesthetic culture of luxury in Vienna through his extensive application of *chinoiserie* at the Upper Belvedere. The final chapter investigates and reconstructs Prince Eugene's painting collection at the garden palace. Dating between the late Renaissance and contemporary Baroque period, the prince's paintings were primarily landscapes, genre scenes, and still-lives by respected Netherlandish artists. He also commissioned renowned Neapolitan painters and owned large Italian history paintings, especially by Bolognese masters. Integral to the Belvedere's outstanding reputation and Prince Eugene's prestige, the large collection was exhibited in carefully curated spaces near to botanically accurate studies of plants and animal portraits. Prince Eugene commissioned local court artists to render rare living specimens that he owned. The range of paintings expresses the prince's desire to embody visually that he has access to the upper-most echelons of the

European political and cultural elite, and moreover, he invests his money wisely in art objects which beget intellectual enrichment and foster dialogue.

Prince Eugene used his affluence to set into motion a multiplicity of artists and art objects which he brought to Vienna and unified through display at the Belvedere. By understanding how this imagery and the objects communicated directly with the viewer at the prince's magnificent garden palace, and also, recognizing that it elevated the surroundings, my dissertation uncovers that the Belvedere's material environment had the capacity to impact human behavior and the cultural diplomacy of Habsburg Austria. By analyzing the Belvedere's unique interiors and by engaging in discourses on early modern material culture, this study lays bare that the evolution of late baroque art in central Europe is connected intimately to the phenomenon of artistic mobility.

Appendix

[Document 1]

Section of the Inventory of Prince Eugene's Painting Collection.

Authors: Antonio Maria Zanetti and Antonio Daniele Bertoli

Dated: circa June - August 1736.

Location: British National Archives, London. State Papers Austria 121.

This section of the inventory includes only those paintings that were displayed at the Lower and Upper Belvedere. The works under the heading [I] were hung in the *Bilder Saal* at the Upper Belvedere (see figs. 6 and 47). The works under [II] were displayed in the *Audienz Zimmer* at the Upper Belvedere (see figs. 6 and 11). The works under [III] adorned the *Cabinet* at the Upper Belvedere (see figs. 6 and 46). The works under [IV] were hung in the *Bibliothec* at the Upper Belvedere (see figs. 6 and 90). The works under [V] were exhibited in an unknown location, possibly at the Upper Belvedere. Finally, the works under [VI] were located in the *Bilder Zimmer* at the Lower Belvedere (see figs. 1 and 45).

[I] Inventaire des tableaux qui sont placé dans la gallerie [sic] au jardin:

1. Le triomphe d'amour de Vandick [sic], hauteur 3 pieds 9 pouces, largeur 4 pieds 6 pouces
2. Une Venus et Adone [sic] de Titien [sic], hauteur 5 pieds 8 pouces, largeur 6 pieds 6 pouces
3. Une bataille de Vaurmans [sic], hauteur 2 pieds 7 pouces, largeur 3 pieds 2 pouces
4. Une autre bataille d'un autre maitre et compaignon de la susdite, même hauteur et largeur
5. Une femme tenante dans une main un miroir et dans l'autre un compas, qui représente la géometrie [sic], de Salviati, hauteur 5 pieds 6 pouces, largeur 4 pieds
6. Une Lucretia de Guido Reno [sic], hauteur 5 pieds 6 pouces, largeur 3 pieds
7. Adam et Eve [sic] de Guido Reno [sic], hauteur 5 pieds 6 pouces, largeur 6 pieds 2 pouces
8. Un autre Adam et Eve [sic] de Guido, hauteur 3 pieds, largeur 4 pieds 9 pouces
9. Un Salmazi [sic] et Hermafrodite [sic] d'Albano [sic], hauteur 6 pieds, largeur 7 pieds 6 pouces
10. Un David tenant dans la main la tête de Goliath de Guido Reno [sic], hauteur 7 pieds, largeur 4 pieds 6 pouces
11. Une nativité de notre Seigneur sur cuivre de Goltius [sic], hauteur 1 pied 3 pouces, largeur 11 pouces
12. L'adoration des trois rois sur cuivre de l'escole [sic] de Raphael, hauteur 1 pied 2 pouces, largeur 1 pied, de Goltius [sic]
13. Deux têtes d'enfants sur bois de Porcazino [sic], hauteur 3 pieds, largeur 11 pouces

14. Le compagnon du susdit sur bois avec deux têtes d'enfants de Porcazino [sic] de la même hauteur et largeur
15. Une marine sur bois de Brugel [sic], hauteur 1 pied 5 pouces, largeur 2 pieds 1 pouces [sic]
16. Une autre marine du même maître de la même hauteur et largeur
17. Un tableau représentant le tems [sic] qui veut découvrir la vérité [sic] de Palon [sic], hauteur 2 pieds 9 pouces, largeur 3 pieds 9 pouces
18. Deux enfans [sic] de la manière de Cignani, hauteur 2 pieds 8 pouces, largeur 3 pieds 3 pouces
19. Deux enfans [sic] de la manière de Cignani, hauteur 2 pieds 2 pouces, largeur 2 pieds 6 pouces
20. La nativité de notre Seigneur sur bois, de la première manière de Cignani ou Correggio, hauteur 1 pied 9 pouces, largeur 1 pied 1 pouce
21. Une bataille de Vaurmans [sic], hauteur 1 pied 9 pouces, largeur 2 pieds 2 pouces
22. Un chasseur habillé [sic] en blanc riée [sic] avec un garçon qui lui montre un paroqué [sic] assis sur une [sic] arbre, hauteur 3 pieds 6 pouces, largeur 2 pieds 7 pouces
23. Une pièce hollandoise [sic] avec quatre vaches sur bois de Paul Poutter [sic] 1649, hauteur 1 pied 7 pouces, largeur 2 pieds 2 pouces
24. Un garçon [sic] assis avec un chien de la manière de Quarzinto [sic] d'Argento [sic], hauteur 3 pieds 2 pouces, largeur 2 pieds 5 pouces
25. Une anuntiation [sic] de l'ange d'Albano [sic] sur cuivre, hauteur 1 pied 3 pouces, largeur 11 pouces
26. Une Venus dormante [sic] de Paduanino à la manière de Titien [sic], hauteur 2 pieds 5 pouces, largeur 3 pieds six pouces
27. Trois femmes nues d'Albano [sic], hauteur 4 pieds 9 pouces, largeur 3 pieds 11 pouces
28. Un Jupiter dans une nuée [sic] avec Venus à la manière de Corregio [sic], hauteur 1 pied 11 pouces, largeur 1 pied 5 pouces
29. Un compagnon du susdit une femme nue, hauteur 1 pied 11 pouces, largeur 1 pied
30. Un nôtre Seigneur que l'on mets [sic] dans le sepulcre [sic], sur cuivre de Carrachio [sic], hauteur 1 pied 2 pouces, largeur 1 pied 5 pouces
31. La resuscitation [sic] de Lazare de Brouga Sorzi [sic] sur une pièce de touche, hauteur 1 pied 5 pouces, largeur 1 pied 2 pouces
- 32.-35. Plus quatre tableaux sur les portes de Hamilton

Tous les susdits tableaux sont dans leurs cadres [sic] dorés.

[II] Dans la chambre de parade tapissée de damas verd [sic] proche du cabinet des miroir sont placé les tableaux suivants dans leurs cadres [sic] dorés:

1. Une bataille de Bourguignon, hauteur 3 pieds 4 pouces, largeur 6 pieds 8 pouces
2. Une pièce de Mignon avec des fleurs et des herbes, hauteur 2 pieds 1 pouce, largeur 2 pieds 6 pouces

3. Une Antromata [sic] et Pegasus [sic] de Titien [sic], hauteur 5 pieds 11 pouces, largeur 6 pieds 6 pouces
4. Une pièce des fleurs de Heem, hauteur 3 pieds 2 pouces, largeur 2 pieds 8 pouces
5. Une pièce avec des fleurs de Heem, hauteur 1 pied 10 pouces, largeur 1 pied 6 pouces
6. Une pièce des fleurs de Heem, hauteur 2 pieds 10 pouces, largeur 2 pieds 4 pouces
7. Une pièce des fleurs e fruits de Heem, hauteur 3 pieds 5 pouces, largeur 2 pieds 4 pouces
8. Une pièce des fruits de Heem, hauteur 2 pieds 9 pouces, largeur 2 pieds 2 pouces
- 9.-13. Et quatre tableaux sur les portes de Dam [sic] comme aussi au plafond un grand tableau de Giacomo del Pò

[III] Dans le cabinet tapissé de damas bleu sont placé les tableaux suivants en cadres [sic] dorés :

1. Une femme malade avec son medecin [sic] et d'autres figures de Miris [sic], hauteur 2 pieds 8 pouces, largeur 2 pieds 2 ½ pouces dans une caisse noir
2. Une vente de poissons et de grains de Teniers, hauteur 8 pouces, largeur 1 pied ½ pouce
3. Un paysage de Brugel [sic], hauteur 7 pouces, largeur 9 pouces, sur cuivre
4. Un paysage de Brugel [sic], hauteur 7 pouces, largeur 10 pouces, sur cuivre
5. Une kermess [sic] de Brugl [sic], hauteur 8 ½ pouces, largeur 1 pied ½ pouce
6. Une tête sur bois de Holbain [sic], hauteur de 8 ½ pouces, largeur 6 pouces
7. Un paysage de Brugel [sic] sur bois, hauteur 11 pouces, largeur 1 pied 4 pouces
8. Un paysage sur cuivre de Brugel [sic], hauteur 10 ½ pouces, largeur 1 pied 4 pouces
9. Le portrait d'Erasmus Rotterdamus d'Holbain [sic] sur bois, hauteur 8 ½ pouces, largeur 8 pouces
10. Un Hollandois [sic] avec un verre de vin sur la table de Miris [sic], hauteur 8 ½ pouces, largeur 7 pouces.
11. Un enchantement de Teniers, hauteur 1 pied 10 ½ pouces, largeur 2 pieds 7 ½ pouce [sic]
12. Un vieux juif de Dorenflid [sic], hauteur 8 ½ pouce [sic], largeur 6 ½ pouce [sic], sur bois
13. Un paysage du maître de Brugel [sic], hauteur 8 pouces, largeur 1 pied 1 pouce, sur bois
14. Une femme avec deux enfans [sic] de Miris [sic], hauteur 6 pouces, largeur 4 ½ pouces, sur bois

15. Une figure d'homme de Miris [sic], hauteur 6 pouces, largeur 4 ½ pouce [sic], sur bois
16. Un paysage du maître de Brugel [sic], hauteur 8 pouces, largeur 1 pied ½ pouce
17. Un paysage avec Venus et Adone [sic] de Rothenhammer [sic] et Brugel [sic], hauteur 9 ½ pouce [sic], largeur 1 pied et demi pouce, sur cuivre
18. Un paysage [sic] de Bauth [sic] avec des petites figures, hauteur 7 ½ pouce [sic], largeur 11 pouces, sur bois
19. Une Notre Dame avec le petit Jesus [sic] et Saint-Jean de Rothenhammer [sic] et Brugel [sic], hauteur 9 et demi pouce, largeur 1 pied et demi pouce, sur cuivre
20. Un paysage et de l'eau de Bauth [sic], hauteur 1 pied et demi pouce, largeur 1 pied et six pouces
21. Un paysage avec des petites figures de Bauth [sic], hauteur 7 ½ pouce [sic], largeur 11 pouces, sur bois
22. Un paysage de Bauth [sic], hauteur 1 pied 1 ½ pouce [sic], largeur 1 pied 6 pouces
23. Une femme de Vandermyrn [sic] 1619, hauteur 1 pied 5 ½ pouce [sic], largeur 1 pied 2 pouces
24. Une femme regardante par la fenêtre sur bois de Girard [sic] Dau [sic], hauteur 1 pied 2 ½ pouces, largeur 11 pouce [sic]
25. Le compagnon du susdit: une femme tenante une bource [sic] dans la main de Girard [sic] Dau [sic], hauteur 1 pied 2 ½ pouce [sic], largeur 11 pouce [sic], sur bois
26. Trois femmes avec un prestre [sic] de Vandermyrn [sic], hauteur 1 pied 5 ½ pouces, largeur 1 pied 2 pouces
27. Une nuit [sic] avec une femme de Schalck [sic], hauteur 1 pied 4 pouces, largeur 1 pied 1 pouce
- 28./29. Deux compagnons avec du gibier de Pierre Snyer [sic], hauteur 1 pied 1 pouce largeur 9 ½ pouce [sic], sur bois
30. Une femme avec deux enfans [sic] et cinq autres petite [sic] figures d'un Hollandois [sic], hauteur un pied 2 pouces, largeur 1 pied sept et demi pouce
31. Un remouleur [sic] des couteaux de Dynebourg [sic], hauteur 1 pied 4 pouces, largeur 1 pied 1 pouce
32. Une Venus avec un pasteur de Vanderwerff [sic], hauteur 1 pied 3 pouces, largeur 1 pied ½ pouce
33. Une marine avec une vaisseau d'un maistre [sic] inconnu, largeur 1 pied 2 ½ pouce [sic], hauteur 1 pied 4 pouces
34. Une Sainte Magdelaine [sic] avec des anges de Brouga Sorzi [sic], hauteur 1 pied 3 pouces, largeur 1 pied
35. Une bataille de Bourguignon, hauteur 9 pouces, largeur 1 pied, sur bois
36. Une chasse de Vaurmans [sic], hauteur 8 pouces, largeur 9 ½ pouce [sic]
37. Une bouque avec 4 chèvres de Gerard Dou [sic], hauteur 7 ½ pouces, largeur 9 ½ pouce [sic]
38. 4 [sic] paysans qui jouent aux cartes de Brauer, hauteur 9 ½ pouce [sic], largeur 1 pied ½ pouce

39. Une femme qui donne à têter [sic] à son enfant avec un garçon manier de Miris [sic], hauteur 1 pied 9 pouces, largeur 1 pied 3 pouces
40. Trois paysans qui fument du tabac de Teniers, hauteur 4 pouces, largeur 9 et demi ponce
41. Priam et Tesippe [sic] d'un Hollandois [sic], hauteur 2 pieds 1 ponce, largeur 1 pied 10 pouces
42. Saint Jean qui prêche de Sajello [sic], hauteur 7 ½ ponce [sic], largeur 11 pouces, sur bois
43. Adam et Eve [sic] qui pleurent la mort d'Abel de Laresse [sic], hauteur 1 pied 5 ½ ponce [sic], largeur 1 pied 1 ponce
- 44./45. Deux compagnons du cabaret où l'on rafrechit [sic] des chevaux de Vaurmans [sic], hauteur 1 pied 1 ½ ponce [sic], largeur 1 pied 3 ½ ponce [sic]
46. Une chasse de Carolo Routhard [sic], hauteur 2 pieds 5 pouces, largeur 3 pieds ½ ponce
- 47./48. Deux compagnons représentans [sic] des paysans jouants [sic] aux cartes de Teniers, hauteur 1 pied 4 ½ ponce [sic], largeur 2 pieds ½ ponce
49. Deux paysans qui fument du tabac de Teniers, hauteur 1 pied 7 pouces, largeur 2 pieds 8 pouces
50. Sur l'autre côté du dit cabinet sont placé les tableaux suivants: Un sacrifice d'amour de Rothenhammer [sic] et Brugel [sic] sur cuivre, hauteur un pied trois et demi pouces [sic], largeur un pied huit pouces
51. Une marine avec une chaloup [sic] pleine d'hommes de Seemann, hauteur 1 pied, largeur 1 pied 1 ponce
52. Un paysan dormant avec deux paysans regardans [sic] de Spaniol [sic] de Bologne, hauteur 1 pied 2 pouces, largeur 10 pouces
53. Une danse des plusieurs personnes, rond de Teniers, hauteur 1 pied ½ ponce, largeur autant
54. Une escurie [sic] avec des chevaux de Vaurmanns [sic], hauteur 1 pied 1 ½ ponce [sic], largeur 1 pied 6 pouces
55. L'entrée de l'arche Noë [sic] de Bassano, hauteur 7 pouces, largeur 9 pouces
56. Aeneas entrant avec une Sybille dans l'enfer de Brugel [sic], hauteur 9 ½ ponce [sic], largeur 1 pied 1 et demi ponce
57. Trois deésses [sic] dormantes de Brugel [sic] et Vambotten [sic], hauteur 10 pouces, largeur 1 pied 2 ½ ponce [sic]
58. Des hommes auprès un marechal [sic] qui fere [sic] un cheval de Vaurmans [sic], hauteur 6 pouces, largeur 8 pouces
59. Un paysage où un homme coupe du bois de Saffarin [sic], hauteur 6 ½ ponce [sic], largeur 10 pouces, sur cuivre
60. Une Venus venante de la chasse avec du gibier et poisons de Brugel [sic] et Vanbotten [sic], hauteur 1 pied 7 pouces, largeur 2 pieds 7 pouces
61. Une marine avec des vaisseaux de Brugel [sic], hauteur 7 pouces, largeur 9 ½ ponce [sic]
62. Des fruits avec un limon de Heem, hauteur 1 pied ½ ponce, largeur 1 pied 4 ½ pouces

63. Venus et Adane [sic] à la manière de Vanderwerff [sic], hauteur 1 pied 1 pouce, largeur onze pouces
64. Un paysage à la manière de Greiffier, hauteur 1 pied 10 pouces, largeur 2 pieds 6 pouces
65. Un paysage avec une grotte de Paul Brille [sic], hauteur 7 pouces, largeur 8 pouces
66. Une table avec des fruits à terre et autres ornemens [sic] de Fouer [sic], hauteur 9 pouces, largeur 1 pied 1 pouce
67. Un paysage de Safftleben [sic] maître de Griffier [sic], hauteur 10 pouces, largeur 1 pied 2 pouces
68. Une femme tenant une [sic] raisin dans la main, demi ovale de Gerard [sic] Dau [sic], hauteur 11 pouces, largeur 8 pouces
69. Un garçon avec une fille et un chien de Gerard [sic] Dau [sic], hauteur 9 pouces, largeur 7 pouces
70. Un paysage [sic] qui représente [sic] Saint Hubert à la chasse de Tockier [sic], hauteur 10 pouces, largeur 1 pied 2 pouces
71. Trois chariots avec leurs chevaux de Brugel [sic], hauteur 9 pouces, largeur 1 pied ½ pouce
72. Une kermesse [sic] où l'on danse et vend des poissons de Brugel [sic], hauteur 10 pouces, largeur 1 pied 2 ½ pouce [sic]
- 73./74. Compagnon une femme regardante un ange et l'autre aussi une femme de Vandermyn [sic], hauteur 1 pied 6 pouces, largeur 1 pied 2 ½ pouce [sic]
75. Deux paysans devant une cheminée de Teniers, hauteur 1 pied 1 pouce, largeur 10 pouces
76. Un homme ou musicien avec un verre du vin sur la table de Vanderneren [sic], hauteur 1 pied, largeur 10 pouces
77. Une nymphe et Hermaphrodite [sic] de Miris [sic], hauteur 1 pied 2 pouces, largeur 1 pied 4 pouces
78. Une ruine avec des petites figures d'hommes de Paul Brille [sic], hauteur 9 pouces, largeur 1 pied ½ pouce
79. Un paysage round de Saffarin [sic] d'un pied 6 ½ pouce [sic]
80. Une ruine ou paysage avec des barques de la manière de Greffier [sic], hauteur 10 pouces, largeur 11 pouces
81. Une sorcelle [sic] avec une femme nue de Brouga Sorzi [sic], hauteur 1 pied ½ pouce, largeur 1 pied 4 pouces
82. La salutation de Notre Dame et Elisabeth [sic] de Rembrand [sic], hauteur 1 pied 9 pouces, largeur 1 pied 6 pouces
83. Un peintre avec son pinceau à la main de Gerard [sic] Dau [sic], hauteur 5 ½ pouce [sic], largeur 4 pouces
84. Une paysanne d'un Hollandois [sic], hauteur 6 ½ pouce [sic], largeur 5 pouces
85. Un ménage [sic] des chevaux de Vaurmans [sic], hauteur 2 pied [sic] 2 pouces, largeur 2 pieds 6 ½ pouces
86. Un garçon qui étudie devant une lumière, demi ovale [sic] de Schalck [sic], hauteur 6 pouces, largeur 4 ½ pouce [sic]

87. Un homme avec une grande barbe de Gerard [sic] Dau [sic], hauteur 6 pouces, largeur 5 pouces
88. Un homme tenant un verre de vin et une pipe de tabac dans les mains de Ostada [sic], hauteur 1 pied 5 ½ pouce [sic], largeur 1 pied 3 pouces
89. Une conversation des paysans qui font la fête des roys [sic] de Peter de Glaute [sic], hauteur 1 pied 1 pouce, largeur 1 pied 5 pouces
90. Un berger avec des vaches et moutons de Teniers, hauteur 1 pied 5 ½ pouce [sic] largeur 1 pied 10 ½ pouce [sic]
91. Une femme et un garçon avec des instrumens [sic] musicaux de David Teniers, hauteur 1 pied ½ pouce, larg [sic] 1 pied 4 pouces
92. Une compagnie des paysans qui fument du tabac de Teniers, hauteur 1 pied 3 pouces, largeur 3 pouces
93. Un vieux paysan avec une grande barbe tenant son chapeau d'un maitre hollandois [sic] inconnu, hauteur 1 pied 8 ½ pouce [sic], largeur 1 pied 4 ½ pouce [sic]
94. Une conversation des paysans dont un [sic] joue au [sic] guitare avec d'autres instruments musicaux de Teniers, large [sic] 1 pied 11 pouce [sic], haut [sic] 1 pied 3 ½ pouces
95. Un paysage avec des vaches et petites figures ou personnages de Brugel [sic], hauteur 1 pied 7 pouces, largeur 2 pieds 2 pouces
96. Une conversation de quatre hommes et deux femmes, dont une joue à la luth [sic], hauteur 1 pied 3 et demi pouces [sic], largeur deux pieds, de Van der Laennen [sic]
- 97./98. Deux compag [sic] de Vaurmans [sic] représentants des soldats en marche, dont l'une est haute [sic] 1 pied 3 ½ pouce [sic], large [sic] 1 pied 8 pouce [sic] et l'autre haute [sic] 1 pied 8 pouce [sic] et large [sic] 1 pied 7 pouces
- [99./100.] Comme aussi deux batailles sur les portes d'un maitre hollandois [sic]

[IV]

Dans la bibliothèque sur la cheminée:

[1.] Une Diane de Parmasanin [sic]

[2./3.] Et deux tableaux sur les portes représentant chacun un homme avec un livre devant soy [sic] à la manière d'un peintre pollonois [sic]

[V]

Dans le second étache [sic]:

[1./2.] Sont postés dans une chambre deux grands portraits de Son Altesse Sérénissime, un représentant [sic] Son Altesse à cheval de Van der Schuppe [sic] et l'autre de Ruttiers [sic]

[VI] Spécification des tableaux qui se trouvent dans le battiment [sic] du jardin en bas et dans le cabinet:

1. Une conversation des dames et messieurs avec des petites anges représentant [sic] l'amour, sur la porte

2. Un paysage de Safftleben [sic], hauteur 11 pouces, largeur 1 pied 2 pouces
3. Un paysage qui représent [sic] la récolte de Griffier [sic], hauteur 1 pied 7 pouces, largeur 1 pied 10 pouces
4. Un paysage représentant le printemps [sic] de Greffier [sic], hauteur 1 pied 7 pouces, largeur 1 pied 10 pouces
5. Un paysage avec un cabaret et des petites figures de Safftleben [sic], hauteur 11 ½ pouce [sic], largeur 1 pied 2 ½ pouce [sic]
6. Un paysage compagnon du susdit et du même maître et de la même hauteur et largeur
7. Un marché de fruits et choux de Greffier [sic], hauteur 1 pied 7 pouces, largeur 1 pied 10 pouces
8. Un paysage avec une rivière et des petites barques de Safftleben [sic], hauteur 11 pouces, largeur 1 pied 1 pouce [sic]
9. Un paysage pareille [sic] à l'autre du même Greffier [sic], hauteur 1 pied 6 pouces, largeur 1 pied 11 pouces
10. Un paysage qui représent [sic] l'hiver [sic] de Greffier [sic], hauteur 1 pied 7 ½ pouces, largeur 1 pied 10 pouces
11. Un paysage avec un château [sic] sur la montagne de Safftleben [sic], hauteur 10 ½ pouces, largeur 1 pied 1 pouce
12. Un paysage avec un village du Greffier [sic], hauteur 1 pied 6 pouces, largeur 1 pied 8 pouces
13. Vue [sic] d'une ville avec un yacht [sic] ou vaisseau et des petites figures de Greffier [sic], hauteur 1 pied 6 ½ pouces, largeur 2 pieds
14. Un paysage avec des petites figures de Greffier [sic], hauteur 1 pied 1 ½ pouce [sic], largeur 1 pied 6 pouces
15. Un paysage avec une forteresse sur un hauteur de Greffier [sic], hauteur 1 pied 6 ½ pouces, largeur 2 pieds
16. Un paysage avec des petites figures de Greffier [sic], hauteur 1 pied 1 pouce, largeur 1 pied 6 ½ pouce [sic]
17. Un paysage avec un jardin et des petites figures à la manière du Greffier [sic], hauteur 1 pied 6 ½ pouces, largeur 2 pied [sic]
18. Un paysage avec des paysans qui dansent et des petites barques du Greffier [sic], hauteur 1 pied 6 pouces, largeur 1 pied 11 pouces
19. Un marché dehors d'une ville du Greffier [sic], haut [sic] 1 pied 1 ½ pouce [sic], large [sic] 1 pied 11 pouces
20. Un paysage avec un cabaret de Greffier [sic], hauteur 1 pied 5 pouces, largeur 1 pied 8 pouces

[VII]

Dans la bibliothèque

1. Un tableau rond représentant la chaste Joseph, sur la cheminée
2. A côté Diane avec des nymphes [sic] et Actéon
3. Jupiter transfiguré en cygne [sic] avec Leda

[Document 2]

Section of the Sale Catalogue advertising Prince Eugene's Painting Collection.

Authors: Antonio Maria Zanetti and Antonio Daniele Bertoli

Publisher: Étienne Briffaut, Vienna.

Dated: circa August 1737.

Location: The original document is lost. This German translation of the original French document can be found in Retzer, Josef Friedrich Freiherr von, and Johann Georg Meusel. "4. Die Gemähl-desammlung des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen in Wien." In *Miscellaneen artistischen Inhalts*, Heft 15:152–68. Erfurt: Keyerschen Buchh., 1783.

Below and in the left-hand column are the numbers of the corresponding paintings in inventory from 1736, which were hung at either the Lower or Upper Belvedere.

(Inv.#) Gemähl-desammlung [sic] des Prinzen Eugene
No.

- | | | |
|------------|----------|--|
| [I] 1 | 1 | Armors Triumph von Anton van Dyck. Hoch 3S.9Z. Breit 4S.6Z. |
| [I] 2 | 2 | Venus und Adonis von Titian. Hoch 5 S. 8 Z. Breit 6 S. 6 Z. |
| [I] 3 | 3 | Eine Schlacht von Wouwermans. Hoch 2 S. 7 Z. Breit 3 S. 2 Z. |
| [I] 4 | 4 | Eine andere Schlacht von Isaak van Ostade. Nebenbild zu dem vorigen. Gleiche Höhe und Breite. |
| [I] 5 | 5 | Eine weibliche Figur, die zu einer Hand einen Spiegel, und in der anderen einen Zirkel hält, und die Geometrie vorstellt von Salviati. Hoch 5 S. 6 Z. Breit 4 S. |
| [I] 6 | 6 | Lucrecia von Guido Reni. Hoch 5 S. 6 Z. Breit 3 S. |
| [I] 7 | 7 | Adam und Eva von Guido Reni. Hoch 5 S. 6 Z. Breit 6 S. 2 Z. |
| [I] 8 | 8 | Adam und Eva von Franc. Albani. Hoch 3 S. Breit 4 S. 9 Z. |
| [I] 9 | 9 | Salmacis [sic] und Hermaphrodit von Franc. Albani. Hoch 6 S. Breit 6 S. 6 Z. |
| [I] 10 | 10 | David mit Goliaths Haupt in der Hand von Guido Reni. Hoch 7 S. Breit 4 S. 6 Z. |
| [I] 11 | 11 | Die Geburt Christi von Golzius [sic]. Hoch 1 S. 3 Z. Breit 11 Z. auf Kupfer. |
| [I] 12 | 12 | Die Anbetung der drei Könige, auf Kupfer. Hoch 1 S. 2 Z. Breit 1 S. nach Raphael von Golzius [sic]. |
| [I] 13 | 13 | Zweei [sic] Köpfe von Kindern, auf Holz, von Procaccini. Hoch 1 S. Breit 11 Z. |
| [I] 14 | 14 | Ein Nebenbild des vorigen Gemähl-des [sic], gleichfalls zweei [sic] Kinderköpfe, von nämlichen Meister, und gleicher Größe |
| [I] 15, 16 | 15 et 16 | Zwei Seestücke, auf Holz, von Breughel. Hoch 1 S. 5 Z. Breit 2 S. 1 Z. |
| [I] 17 | 17 | Ein allegorisches Gemähl-de [sic], welches die Zeit vorstellt, die die Wahrheit entdecken will, von Palma. Hoch 2 S. 9 Z. Breit |

- 3 S. 9 Z.
- [I] 18 18 Zwei Kinder von Cignani. Hoch 2 S. 8 Z. Breit 3 S. 3 Z.
- [I] 19 19 Zwei Kinder in der Manier des vorigen Meisters. Hoch 2 S. 2 Z. Breit 2 S. 6 Z.
- [I] 20 20 Christi Geburt in Correggio's [sic] erster Manier. Hoch 1 S. 9 Z. Breit 1 S. 1 Z.
- [I] 21 21 Eine Schlacht von Wouwermans. Hoch 1 S. 9 Z. Breit 2 S. 2 Z.
- [I] 22 22 Ein Jäger, als Scharfschütze gekleidet, mit einem Knaben, der ihm einen Papagei auf einem Baume [sic] zeigt, von Castillo. Hoch 3 S. 6 Z. Breit 2 S. 7 Zoll.
- [I] 23 23 Ein holländisches Landschaftenstück [sic] mit vier Kühen, von Paul Potter, auf Holz. Hoch 1 S. 7 Z. Breit 2 S.
- [I] 24 24 Ein sitzender Knab [sic] mit einem Hund, in der Manier, von Guercino da Cento. Hoch 3 S. 2 Z. Breit 2 S. 5 Z.
- [I] 25 25 Maria Verkündigung von Fr. Albani, auf Kupfer. Hoch 1 S. 3 Z. Breit 11 Z.
- [I] 26 26 Eine schlafende Venus von Paduanino, in Titians Manier. Hoch 2 S. 5 Z. Breit 3 S. 6 Z.
- [I] 27 27 Drei nackende [sic] weibliche Figuren von Pierto della Vecchia. Hoch 4 S. 9 Z. Breit 3 S. 11 Z.
- [I] 28 28 Jupiter mit der Venus auf einer Wolke, in Correggio's Manier. Hoch 1 S. 11 Z. Breit 1 S. 5 Z.
- [I] 29 29 Ein nackendes [sic] Weib von einem unbekannten Mahler [sic]. Hoch 1 S. 10 Z. Breit 1 S.
- [I] 30 30 Christus, wie er ins Grab gelegt wird, auf Kupfer, von Carracci. Hoch 1 S. 2 Z. Breit 1 S. 5 Z.
- [I] 31 31 Die Auferstehung Lazari [sic] von Brusasorci, auf Probiereisen. Hoch 1 S. 5 Z. Breit 1 S. 2 Z.
- [II] 1 34 Eine Schlacht von Bourguignon. Hoch 3 S. 4 Z. Breit 6 S. 8 Z.
- [II] 2 35 Ein Stück von Abrah. Mignon mit Blumen und Kräutern. Hoch 2 S. 1 Z. Breit 2 S. 6 Z.
- [II] 3 36 Andromeda und Perseus von einem italiänischen [sic] Meister. Hoch 5 S. 11 Z. Breit 6 S. 6 Z.
- [II] 8 37 Ein Blumenstück von Mignon. Hoch 2 S. 10 Z. Breit 2 S. 2 Z.
- [II] 6 38 Ein Früchtens [sic] und Blumenstück von de Heem. Hoch 2 S. 10 Z. Breit 2 S. 4 Z.
- [II] 7 39 Ein gleiches von nämlichen Meister. Hoch 3 S. 5 und 1/2 Z. Breit 2 S. 4 Z.
- 40 Ein Früchtenstück von Mignon. Hoch 3 S. 3 Zoll. Breit 2 S. 8 und 1/2 Z.
- [II] 5 41 Ein Blumenstück von de Heem. Hoch 1 S. 10 Z. Breit 1 S. 6 und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 1 42 Eine kranke Frau mit ihrem Arzt, nebst [sic] anderen Figuren, von Gerhard [sic] Dov [sic]. Hoch 2 S. 8 Z. Breit 2 S. 2 und 1/2 Z.

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| [III] 2 | 43 | Ein Markt, auf welchem Fische und Getreid [sic] verkauft wird, von D. Teniers. Hoch 8 Z. Breit 1 S. und 1/2 Z. |
| [III] 4 | 44 | Eine Landschaft von Breughel. Hoch 7 Z. Breit 10 Z. auf Kupfer. |
| [III] 5 | 46 | Eine Bauernkirmes [sic] von Breughel. Hoch 7 und 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. und 1/2 Z. |
| [III] 6 | 47 | Ein Kopf, auf Holz, von Holbein. Hoch 8 und 1/2 Z. Breit 6 Z. |
| [III] 7 | 48 | Eine Landschaft von Breughel, auf Holz. Hoch 11 Z. Breit 1 S. 4 Z. |
| [III] 8 | 49 | Eine Landschaft, auf Kupfer, von Breughel. Hoch 10 und 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. 4 Z. |
| [III] 9 | 50 | Das Portrait von d. Erasmus Roterod. von Holbein, auf Holz. Hoch 8 und 1/2 Zoll. Breit 8 Z. |
| [III] 10 | 51 | Ein Holländer, vor dem ein Glas voll Wein auf einem Tische steht, von Mieris. Hoch 8 und 1/2 Z. Breit 2 S. 7 und 1/2 Z. |
| [III] 11 | 52 | Ein Zauberstück von Teniers. Hoch 1 S. 10 und 1/2 Z. Breit 2 S. 7 und 1/2 Z. |
| [III] 12 | 53 | Ein alter Ind [sic] von Toomvliet. Hoch 8 und 1/2 Z. Breit 6 und 1/2 Z. auf Holz |
| [III] 13 | 54 | Eine Landschaft von Breughel's [sic] Meister, auf Kupfer. Hoch 10 Z. Breit 1 S. 3 Z. |
| [III] 14 | 55 | Ein Weib mit 2 Kindern von Mieris. Hoch 6 Zoll. Breit 4 und 1/2 Z. auf Holz. |
| [III] 15 | 56 | Eine Mannsperson von Mieris. Hoch 6 Z. Breit 4 und 1/2 Z. auf Holz. |
| | 57 | Die heilige Jungfrau und die Aposteln von einem alten Meister. Hoch 1 S. 1 Z. Breit 10 Z. |
| [III] 17 | 58 | Eine Landschaft von Breughel mit der Venus und Adonis von Rottenhammer gemahlt [sic]. Hoch 9 und 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. und 1/2 Z. auf Kupfer. |
| [III] 18 | 59 | Eine Landschaft mit kleinen Figuren von Both. Hoch 7 und 1/2 Z. Breit 11 Z. auf Holz. |
| [III] 19 | 60 | Die heilige Jungfrau mit dem kleinen Jesus und dem heiligen Johann von Rottenhammer und Breughel. Hoch 9 und 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. und 1/2 Z. |
| [III] 20 | 61 | Eine Landschaft mit Wasser von Both. Hoch 1 S. und 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. 6 Z. auf Leinwand. |
| [III] 21 | 62 | Eine Landschaft mit kleinen Figuren von Joh. Both. Hoch 7 und 1/2 Z. Breit 11 Z. auf Holz |
| [III] 22 | 63 | Eine Landschaft von Both. Hoch 1 S. 1 und 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. 6 Z. |
| [III] 23 | 64 | Ein Weib von van der Myn [sic]. Hoch 1 S. 5 und 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. 2 Z. |
| [III] 24 | 65 | Eine Frau, die zum Fenster hinaussieht [sic], auf Holz, von Gerard [sic] Dov [sic]. Hoch 1 S. 2 1/2 Z. Breit 11 Z. |

- [III] 25 66 Ein Nebenbild, welches ein Weib, das einen Beutel in der Hand hält, vorstellet [sic]. Gleiche Höhe und Breite, vom nämlichen Meister.
- [III] 26 67 Drei Weiber mit einem Geistlichen, von van der Myn [sic]. Hoch 1 S. 5 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. 2 Z.
- [III] 27 68 Magdalena mit einem anderen Weibe von Schalcken. Hoch 1 S. 4 Z. Breit 1 S. 1 Z.
- 69 Ein Seestück von van der Velde, auf Holz. Hoch 1 S. 1 Z. Breit 1 und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 53 70 Ein Bauerntanz von Teniers, ovalförmig.
- [III] 30 71 Ein Weib mit 2 Kindern und 5 anderen kleinen Figuren von Schalcken. Hoch 1 S. 2 Z. Breit 1 S. 7 und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 31 72 Ein Messerschleifer von Casp. Netscher. Hoch 1 S. 4 Z. Breit 1 S. 1 Z.
- [III] 32 73 Venus mit dem Adonis von Abr. Van der Werf [sic]. Hoch 1 S. 3 Z. Breit 1 S. und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 33 74 Ein Seestück mit einem Schiffe von V. Vetoï [sic] von 1703. Hoch 1 S. 4 Z. Breit 1 S. 2 und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 34 75 Magdalena mit Engeln von Brusasorci. Hoch 1 S. 3 Z. Breit 1 S. auf schwarzen Marmor.
- [III] 35 76 Eine Schlacht von Bourguignon. Hoch 9 Z. Breit 1 S. auf Holz.
- [III] 36 77 Eine Jagd von Wouwermans. Hoch 8 Z. Breit 9 1/2 Z.
- [III] 37 78 Ein Bock mit 4 Ziegen von Gerard [sic] Dov [sic]. Hoch 7 und 1/2 Z. Breit 9 und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 38 79 Vier Bauern, die Karten spielen, von Brauer. Hoch 9 und 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 39 80 Ein Weib, das ein Kind säugt, und einen Knaben neben sich hat, von Moor. Hoch 1 S. 9 Z. Breit 1 S. und 3 Z.
- [III] 40 81 Drei Bauern, die Toback [sic] rauchen, von Teniers. Hoch 6 Z. Breit 9 und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 41 82 Piramus [sic] und Thisbe von Moor. Hoch 2 S. 1 Z. Breit 1 S. 10 Z.
- [III] 42 83 Der heilige Johann, wie er predigt, von Sayetto [sic]. Hoch 7 und 1/2 Z. Breit 11 Z. auf Holz.
- [III] 43 84 Adam und Eva, die den Tod Abels beweinen, von Abr. van der Werf [sic]. Hoch 1 S. 5 und 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. 1 Z.
- [III] 44 or 45 85 Ein Wirtshaus, worinn [sic] zweei [sic] Fuhrleute zechen, und ihre Pferde füttern, von Wouwermans. Hoch 1 S. 1 und 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. 3 und 1/2 Z.
- 86 Ein spanischer Markt von Bolognese. Hoch 2 S. 5 Z. Breit 3 S. und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 47, 48 87 et 88 Zwei Flammändische [sic] Stücke, welche Bauern, die Karten spielen, vorstellen, von Teniers. Hoch 1 S. 4 Z. und 1/2. Breit 2 S. und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 49 89 Bauern, die Tobak [sic] rauchen, von Teniers. Hoch 1 S. 7 Z. Breit 2 S. 8 Z.

- [III] 50 90 Ein Opfer der Liebe von Rottenhammer und Breughel. Hoch 1 S. 3 Z. und 1/2. Breit 1 S. 8 Z.
- 91 Ein kleines Gemälde von Hooremanns [sic]. Hoch 5 S. 6 Z. Breit 8 Z.
- 92 Der Durchzug durch das rothe [sic] Meer von Peter Flammand [sic], auf Kupfer. Hoch 1 S. 1 Z. Breit 1 S. 6 und 1/2 Z.
- 93 Der Durchzug durch das rothe [sic] Meer, in Breughel's [sic] Manier. Hoch 4 und 1/2 Z. Breit 10 und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 54 94 Ein Pferd stall [sic] von Wouwermans. Hoch 1 S. 1 Z. und 1/2. Breit 1 S. 6 Z.
- [III] 55 95 Der Eingang in die Arche Noe von Bassano. Hoch 7 Z. Breit 9 Z.
- [III] 56 96 Aeneas, mit der Sibylle in der Hölle, in Breughels Manier. Hoch 9 und 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. 1 und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 57 97 Drei schlafende Göttinnen [sic], in Breughels und van Baalen [sic] Manier. Hoch 10 Z. Breit 1 S. 2 und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 58 98 Ein Schmidt, der ein Pferd beschlägt, nebst [sic] anderen Figuren von Wouwermans. Hoch 6 Z. Breit 8 Z.
- [III] 59 99 Eine Landschaft, in welcher ein Mann Holz fällt, von Taverin [sic]. Hoch 6 Z. und 1/2. Breit 10 Zoll. auf Holz.
- [III] 60 100 Venus, die von der Jagd mit Wildprät [sic] und Fischen zurückkommt, von Breughel und van Baalen [sic]. Hoch 1 S. 7 Z. Breit 2 S. 7 Z.
- [III] 61 101 Ein Seestück mit Schiffen von Breughel. Hoch 7 Z. Breit 9 und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 62 102 Obst und eine Limonie [sic] von de Heem. Hoch 1 S. 1/2 Z. Breit 4 und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 63 103 Venus und Adonis von van der Werf [sic]. Hoch 1 S. 1 Z. Breit 11 Z.
- [III] 64 104 Eine Landschaft von Griffier [sic]. Hoch 1 S. 10 Z. Breit 2 S. 6 Z.
- [III] 65 105 Eine Landschaft mit einer Grotte von Paul Brill. Hoch 7 Z. Breit 8 Z.
- [III] 66 106 Ein Fruchstück [sic] von Seghers. Hoch 9 Z. Breit 1 S. 1 Z.
- [III] 67 107 Eine Landschaft von Saftleven, Griffier's [sic] Meister. Hoch 10 Z. Breit 1 S. 2 Z.
- [III] 68 108 Ein Weib, das eine Weintraube in der Hand hält, von Gerard [sic] Dov [sic]. Hoch 11 Z. Breit 7 Z.
- [III] 69 109 Ein Knab [sic] mit einem Mädchen, und einem Hund, von Gerard [sic] Dov. Hoch 9 Z. Breit 7 Z.
- [III] 70 110 Eine Landschaft, worinn [sic] der Herr Hubert auf der Jagd vorgestellt ist, von Fouquet. Hoch 10 Z. Breit 1 S. 2 Z.
- [III] 71 111 Eine Landschaft mit drei mit Pferden bespannten Lastwägen von Breughel. Hoch 9 Z. Breit 1 S. 1/2 Z.
- [III] 72 112 Eine Kirmeß [sic], auf welcher die Bauern tanzen, und Fische verkauft werden, von Breughel. Hoch 10 Z. Breit 1 S. 2 und 1/2 Z.

- [III] 73, 74 113 et 114 Zwei Stücke gleicher Größe, die zwei [sic] Frauen vorstellen, davon eine einen Engel ansieht, von van der Myn [sic]. Hoch 1 S. 6 Z. Breit 1 S. 2 und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 75 115 Zweei [sic] Bauern bey [sic] einem Camin [sic], in Teniers Manier.
Hoch 1 S. 1 Z. Breit 10 Z.
- [III] 76 116 Ein Tonkünstler mit einem halb angefüllten Glas mit Wein auf einem Tische [sic], von Peter von Stiegeland [sic]. Hoch 1 S. Breit 10 Z.
- [III] 77 117 Salmacis und Hermaphrodit von Mieris. Hoch 1 S. 2 Z. Breit 1 S. 4 Z.
- [III] 78 118 Ein Ruinenstück mit kleinen Figuren von Paul Brill. Hoch 4 Z. Breit 1 S. und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 79 119 Eine in einer Rundung gemahlte [sic] Landschaft von Saveri [sic]. Hoch 1 S. 6 und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 80 120 Ein Ruinenstück mit Wasser und kleinen Schifgen [sic] von Griffier [sic]. Hoch 10 Z. Breit 1 S. 1 Z.
- [III] 81 121 Eine Here [sic] mit einem entkleideten Weibe von Brusasorci. Hoch 1 S. 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. 4 Z.
- [III] 82 122 Mariä Heimsuchung von Rembrandt. Hoch 1 S. 9 Z. Breit 1 S. 6 Z.
- [III] 83 123 Ein Mahler [sic] mit seinem Pinsel in der Hand von Gerard [sic] Dov [sic]. Hoch 5 Z. und 1/2. Breit 4 Z.
- [III] 84 124 Eine Bäuerinn [sic] von einem niederländischen Meister. Hoch 6 und 1/2 Z. Breit 5 Z.
- [III] 85 125 Eine Reitschule von Wouwermans. Hoch 2 S. 2 Z. Breit 2 S. 2 und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 86 126 Ein Knab, der bey [sic] einem Lichte studiert, von länglich ovaler Form, von Schalken [sic]. Hoch 6 Z. Breit 4 und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 87 127 Ein Mann mit einem grosen [sic] Bart von Gerard [sic] Dov [sic]. Hoch 6 Z. Breit 5 Z.
- [III] 88 128 Ein Mann, der ein Weinglas und eine Tobakspfeif [sic] in der Hand hält, von Ostade. Hoch 1 S. 5 Z. und 1/2. Breit 1 S. 3 Z.
- [III] 89 129 Eine Bauerngesellschaft, die das Fest der Könige begehen, von Peter van Bloot. Hoch 1 S. 1 Z. Breit 1 S. 5 Z.
- [III] 90 130 Ein Hirt mit Kühen und Ziegen von Teniers. Hoch 1 S. 5 und 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. 10 und 1/2 Z.
- [III] 91 131 Ein Weib und ein Knab mit musikalischen Instrumenten, von David Teniers.
- [III] 92 132 Verschiedene Bauern, die Tobak [sic] rauchen, von Teniers. Hoch 1 S. 3 Z. Breit 3 Z.
- [III] 93 133 Ein alter langbärtiger [sic] Bauer, der seinen [sic] Hut in der Hand hält, von einem unbekannten holländische Meister. Hoch 1 S. 8 und 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. 4 und 1/2 Z.

- [III] 94 134 Eine Bauerngesellschaft, davon einer auf der Cither [sic] spielt, mit anderen musikalischen Instrumenten, von Teniers. Hoch 1 S. 3 und 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. 11 Z.
- [III] 95 135 Eine Landschaft mit Kühen, und kleinen Figuren, von Breughel. Hoch 1 S. 7 Z. Breit 2 S. 2 Z.
- [III] 96 136 Eine Gesellschaft von vier Männern, und zwo [sic] Frauen, davon eine die Laute spielt. Hoch 1 S. 3 und 1/2 Z. Breit 2 S. von van der Laon [sic].
- [III] 97, 98 137 et 138 Zwei Stücke von Wouwermans, die Soldaten auf dem Marche vorstellen. Davon eines 1 S. 3 und 1/2 Z. hoch, und 1 S. 8 Z. breit, das andere 1 S. 8 Z. hoch, und 1 S. 7 Z. breit ist.
- [VI] 2 139 Eine Landschaft von Saftleven. Hoch 11 Z. Breit 1 S. 2 Z.
- [VI] 3 140 Eine Landschaft, die eine Erndte [sic] vorstellt, von Griffier. Hoch 1 S. 7 Z. Breit 1 S. 10 Z.
- [VI] 4 141 Eine Landschaft, die den Frühling vorstellt, von Griffier. Hoch 1 S. 7 Z. Breit 1 S. 10 Z.
- [VI] 5 142 Eine Landschaft mit einem Wirthshause [sic], und kleinen Figuren, von Saftleven. Hoch 11 und 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. 2 und 1/2 Z.
- [VI] 6 143 Eine Landschaft, ein Nebenbild des vorigen, vom nämlichen Meister, nämlicher Größe.
- [VI] 7 144 Ein Obst- und Früchtenmarkt von Griffier. Hoch 1 S. 7 Z. Breit 1 S. 10 Z.
- [VI] 8 145 Eine Landschaft mit einem Flusse [sic], und kleinen Schiffen [sic], von Saftleven. Hoch 11 Z. Breit 1 S. 1 Z.
- [VI] 9 146 Eine Landschaft mit einem Flusse mit Schiffen, und kleinen Figuren, von Griffier. Hoch 1 S. 6 Z. Breit 1 S. 11 Z.
- [VI] 10 147 Eine Landschaft, die den Winter vorstellt, von Griffier. Hoch 1 S. 7 und 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. 10 Z.
- [VI] 11 148 Eine Landschaft mit einem Schlosse auf einem Berge, von Saftleven. Hoch 10 und 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. 1 Z.
- [VI] 12 149 Eine Landschaft mit einem Dorfe [sic], von Griffier. Hoch 1 S. 6 Z. Breit 1 S. 8 Z.
- [VI] 13 150 Ein Prospekt einer Stadt nebst [sic] einem Wasser, worauf Schiffe gehen, mit vielen kleinen Figuren, von Griffier. Hoch 1 S. 6 Z. und 1/2. Breit 2 S.
- [VI] 14 151 Eine Landschaft mit kleinen Figuren, von Griffier. Hoch 1 S. 1 und 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. 6 Z.
- [VI] 15 152 Eine Landschaft mit einer Festung auf einer Anhöhe, von Griffier. Hoch 1 S. 6 und 1/2 Zoll. Breit 2 S.
- [VI] 16 153 Eine Landschaft mit kleinen Figuren von Griffier. Hoch 1 S. 1 Z. Breit 1 S. 6 und 1/2 Z.
- [VI] 17 154 Eine Landschaft mit einem Garten und kleinen Figuren, in Griffiers Manier. Hoch 1 S. 6 und 1/2 Z. Breit 2 S.

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| [VI] 18 | 155 | Eine Landschaft mit kleinen tanzenden Figuren, und kleinen Schifgen [sic], von Griffier. Hoch 1 S. 6 Z. Breit 1 S. 11 Z. |
| [VI] 19 | 156 | Ein Markt von einer Stadt von Griffier. Hoch 1 S. 6 Z. Breit 1 S. 11 Z. |
| [VI] 20 | 157 | Eine Landschaft mit einem Wirthshause [sic] von Griffier. Hoch 1 S. 1 und 1/2 Z. Breit 1 S. 8 Z. |

Figures

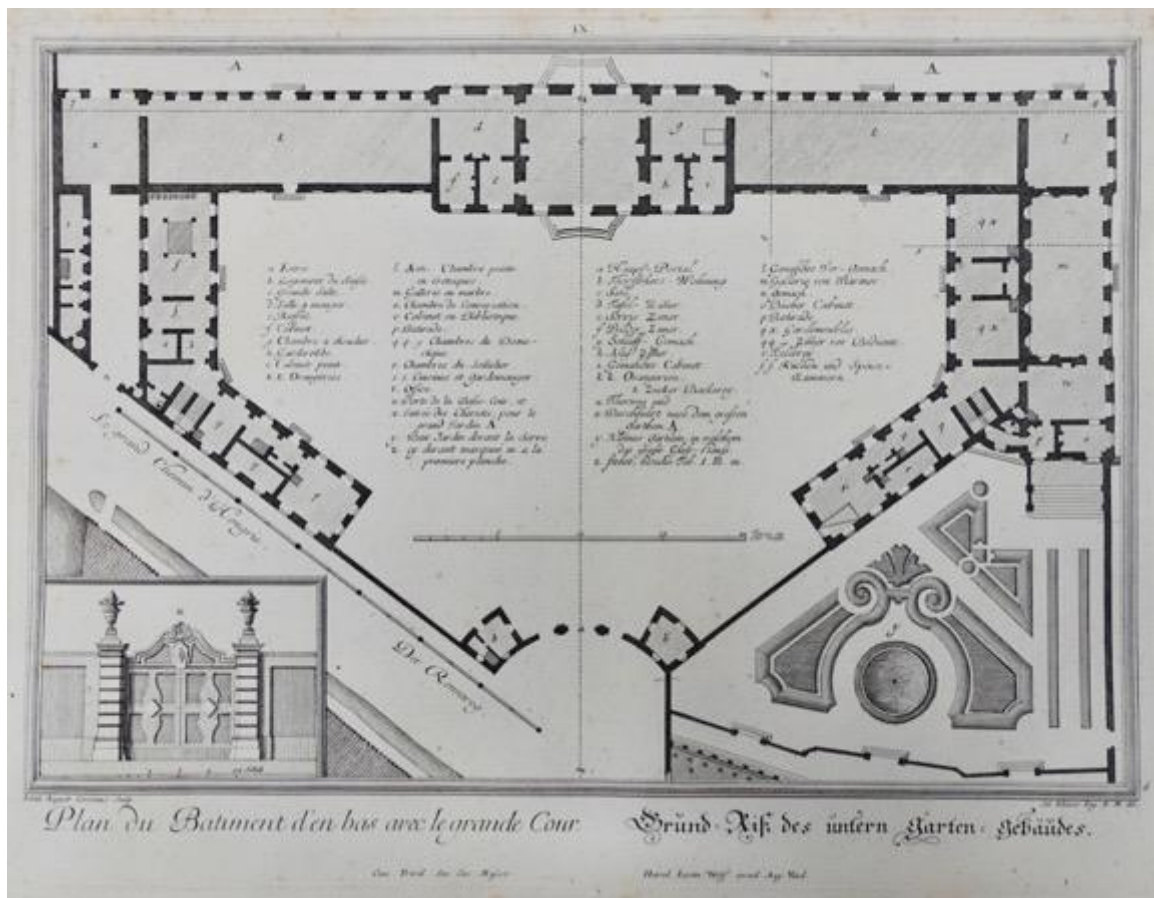


fig. 1

Salomon Kleiner, ground plan of the Lower Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Neuvieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1738).]



fig. 2

Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt, main facade of the Lower Belvedere, 1712-1717
[photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 3

Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt, garden facade of the Lower Belvedere, 1712-1717
[photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 4

Salomon Kleiner, aerial view of the Belvedere and surroundings, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Premiere Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsieur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1731).]

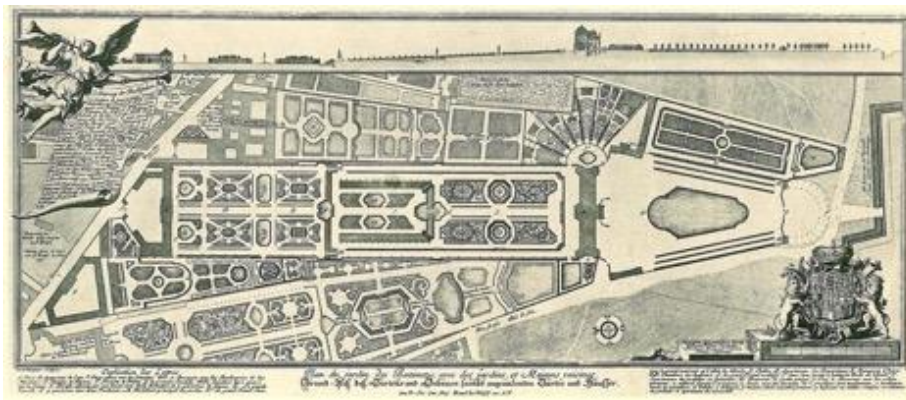


fig. 5

Salomon Kleiner, aerial view of the Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Premiere Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsieur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1731).]

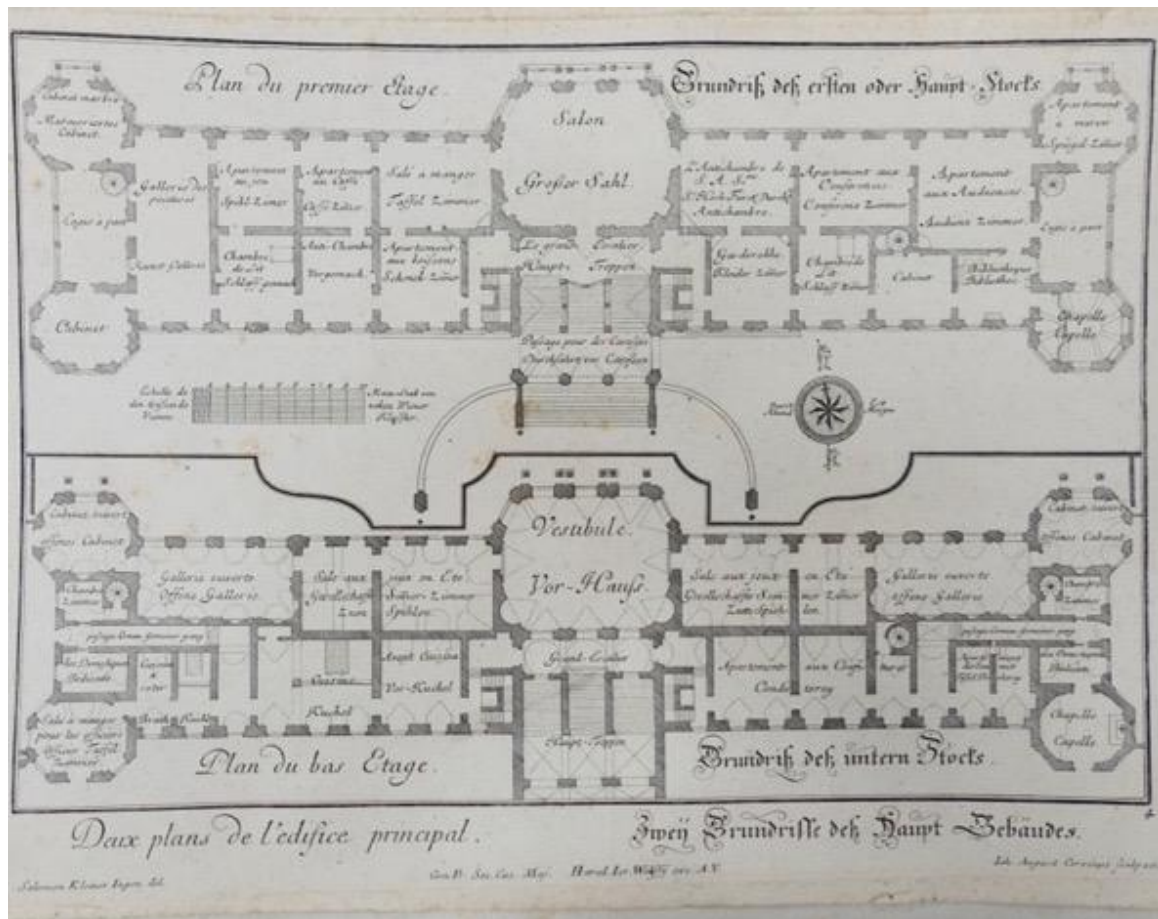


fig. 6

Salomon Kleiner, ground plan of the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729
 [See "Premiere Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1731).]



fig. 7

Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt, main facade of the Upper Belvedere, 1717-1723
[photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 8

Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt, garden facade of the Upper Belvedere, 1717-1723
[photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 9

View from the north-facing windows in the Marble Hall at the Upper Belvedere, Vienna [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2020]



fig. 10

Bernardo Bellotto, *Vienna Viewed from the Belvedere Palace*, oil on canvas, 135 x 213 cm, 1758-1761 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)



fig. 11

Salomon Kleiner, *Audienz Zimmer* in the *appartement de parade* of the Upper Belvedere, ca. 1729 [See "Seconde Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monseigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1733).]

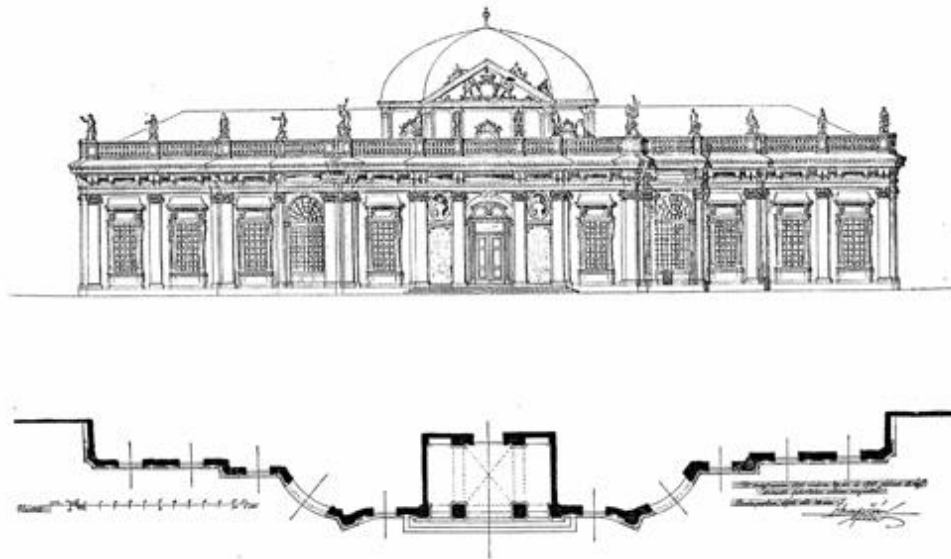


fig. 14

Iván Schneider, reconstruction of Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt's main facade of Ráckeve Castle in Hungary, circa 1715 [See Ervin Ybl, "Das Schloss des Prinzen von Savoyen in Ráckeve," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 4–18 (1926): 113.]

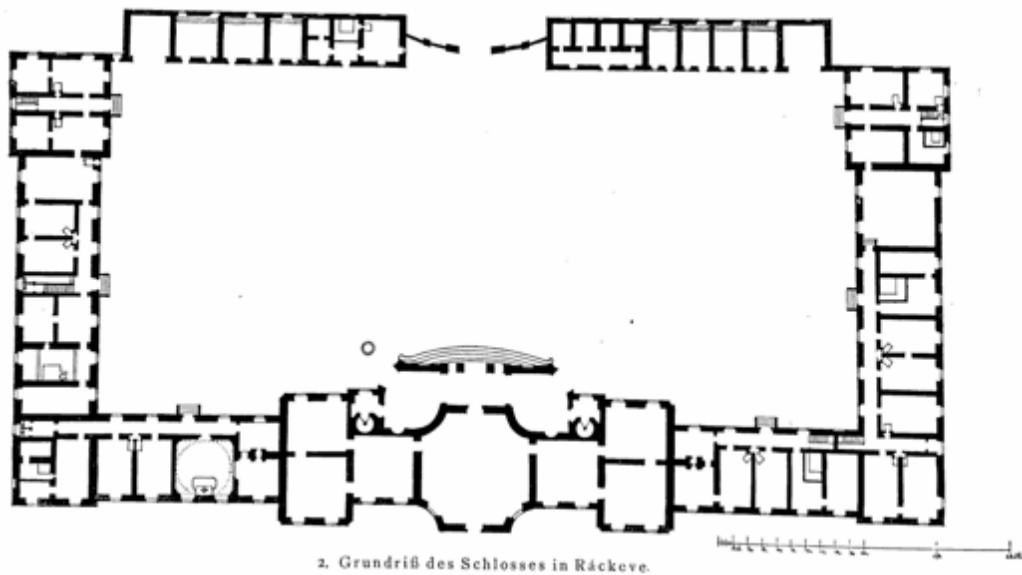


fig. 15

Lukas von Hildebrandt, ground plan of Ráckeve Castle in Hungary, circa 1715 [See Ervin Ybl, "Das Schloss des Prinzen von Savoyen in Ráckeve," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 4–18 (1926): 116.]



fig.16

Attributed to Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt, main facade of the Bilje Castle in Croatia, circa 1720, [photo Denis Despot, accessed May 5, 2021, <https://www.outdooractive.com/en/media/eugene-of-savoy-castle/51484186/>]



fig. 17

Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt, garden façade of Schloss Hof in Marchfeld, Austria, 1725-1729 [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Schloss_hof001.jpg]

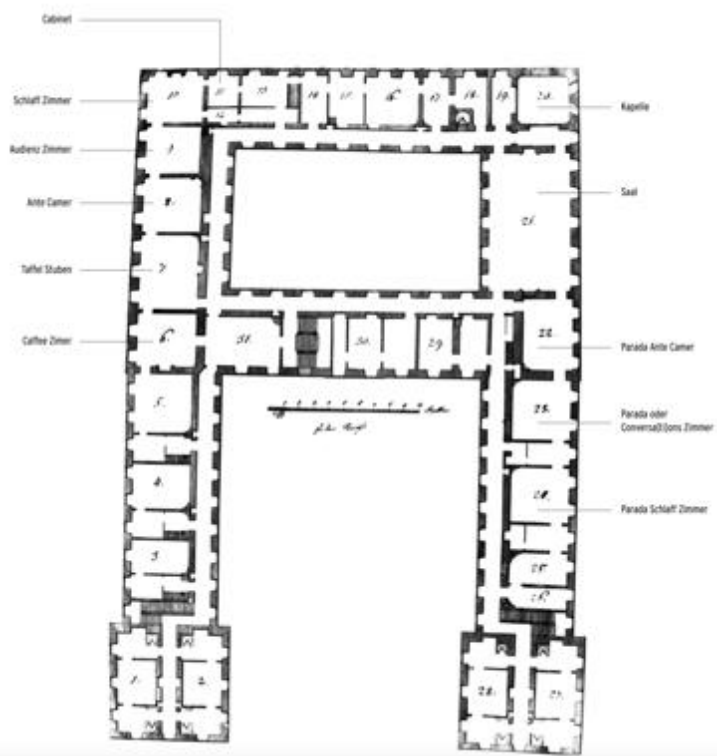


fig. 18

Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt, ground plan of Schloss Hof in Marchfeld, Austria, 1725-1729 [See Lieselotte Hanzl-Wachter, "Appartements in *Schloss Hof*," in *Schloss Hof: Prinz Eugens tusculum rurale und Sommerresidenz der kaiserlichen Familie; Geschichte und Ausstattung eines barocken Gesamtkunstwerks* (St. Pölten: Residenz Verlag, 2005), 55.]



fig. 19

View of the west wall in the Marble Hall at the Lower Belvedere [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2020]



fig. 20

Marcantonio Chiarini and Carlo Innocenzo Carloni, *quadratura* and *Apollo and the Muses*, frescoes on the vault of the Marble Hall, Lower Belvedere, Vienna, 1714-1716 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2020]



fig. 21

Martino Altomonte, *Apollo and Clytia*, fresco on the vault of Prince Eugene's state bed chamber, Lower Belvedere, Vienna, 1716 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 22

Martino Altomonte, *Luna and Endymion*, fresco on the vault of Prince Eugene's state bed chamber, Lower Belvedere, Vienna, 1716 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 23

Carlo Innocenzo Carloni, detail of the fresco depicting *Apollo and the Muses*, vault of the Marble Hall, Lower Belvedere, Vienna, 1714-1716 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2020]



fig. 24

Martino Altomonte, female nude and male in background, pencil, ca. 1716 [See Gertrude Aurenhammer, "Das Melker Skizzenbuch des Martin Altomonte," *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* 32, no. 1955/56 (1955): Abb. 6.]



fig. 25

Martino Altomonte, female nude and putti, red chalk, ca. 1716 [See Gertrude Aurenhammer, "Das Melker Skizzenbuch des Martin Altomonte," *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* 32, no. 1955/56 (1955): Abb. 7.]



fig. 26

Marcantonio Chiarini, detail of *quadratura* including female personification (possibly Justice), fresco on the vault of the Marble Hall, Lower Belvedere, Vienna, 1714-1716 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2020]



fig. 27

Martino Altomonte, hand studies, pencil and red chalk, ca. 1716 [See Gertrude Aurenhammer, "Das Melker Skizzenbuch des Martin Altomonte," *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* 32, no. 1955/56 (1955): Abb. 8.]



fig. 28

Martino Altomonte, female figure, chalk, ca. 1716 [See Gertrude Aurenhammer, "Das Melker Skizzenbuch des Martin Altomonte," *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* 32, no. 1955/56 (1955): Abb. 9.]



fig. 29

Carlo Innocenzo Carloni, detail of the fresco depicting *Apollo and the Muses*, vault of the Marble Hall, Lower Belvedere, Vienna, 1714-1716 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2020]



fig. 30

Martino Altomonte, *Caloppierender Schimmel*, black, white, yellow, and red chalk on black paper, 28.3 x 43.2 cm, ca. 1715, accession number 1166 (ALBERTINA-WIEN, Vienna)

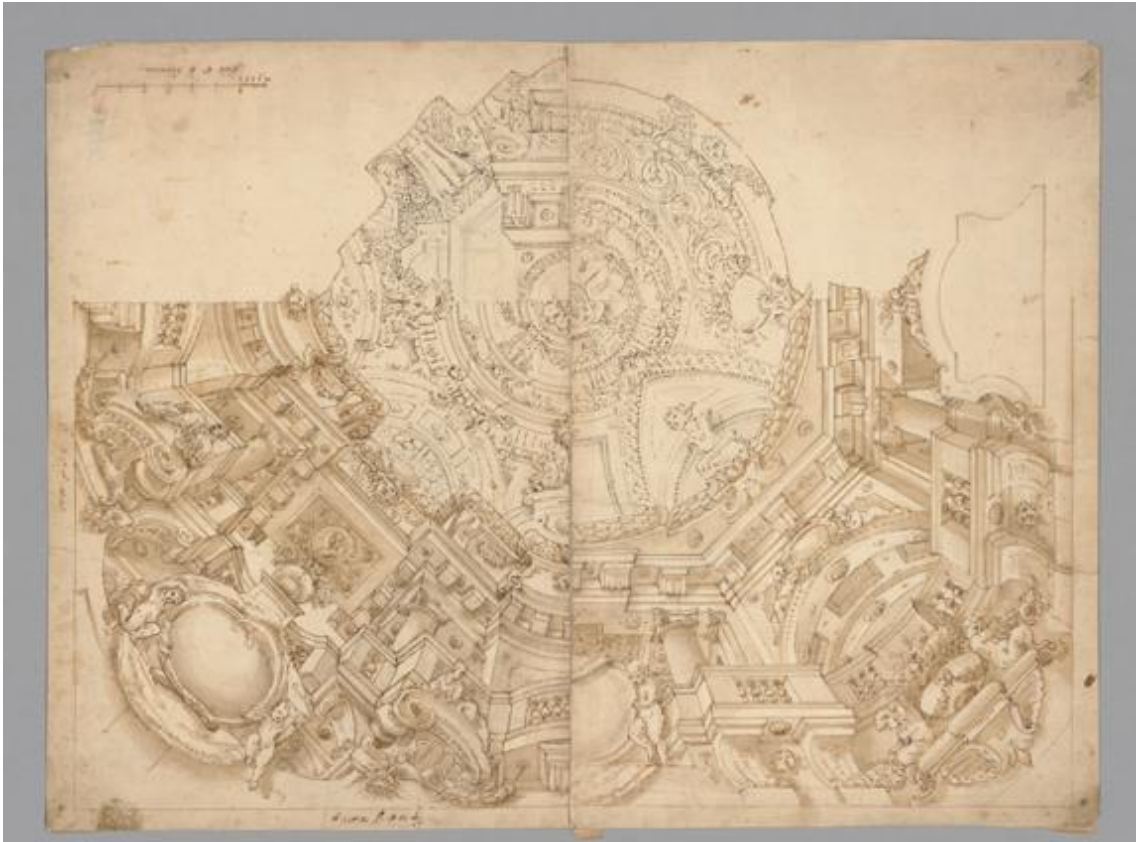


fig. 31

Marcantonio Chiarini, preparatory drawing for the vault of the Lower Belvedere's Marble Hall, brown ink and brown wash and graphite under-drawing, 45 x 60 cm, ca. 1712, accession number AZ1403 (ALBERTINA-WIEN, Vienna)



fig. 32

Marcantonio Chiarini and Carlo Innocenzo Carloni, *quadratura* and *Apollo and the Muses*, frescoes on the vault of the Marble Hall, Lower Belvedere, Vienna, 1714-1716 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2020]



fig. 33

Marcantonio Chiarini, *quadratura*, vault of Prince Eugene's state bed chamber, Lower Belvedere, Vienna, 1716 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 34

Gaetano Fanti, *quadratura*, south wall of the Marble Hall, Upper Belvedere, Vienna, ca. 1720 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 35

Gaetano Fanti and Carlo Carloni, *Eternal Fame of the House of Savoy*, Sala Terrena, Upper Belvedere, Vienna, 1722-23 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2020]



fig. 36

Salomon Kleiner, *Gemahlenes Cabinet* in the *appartement de société* at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See Salomon Kleiner, "Troisieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1734).]

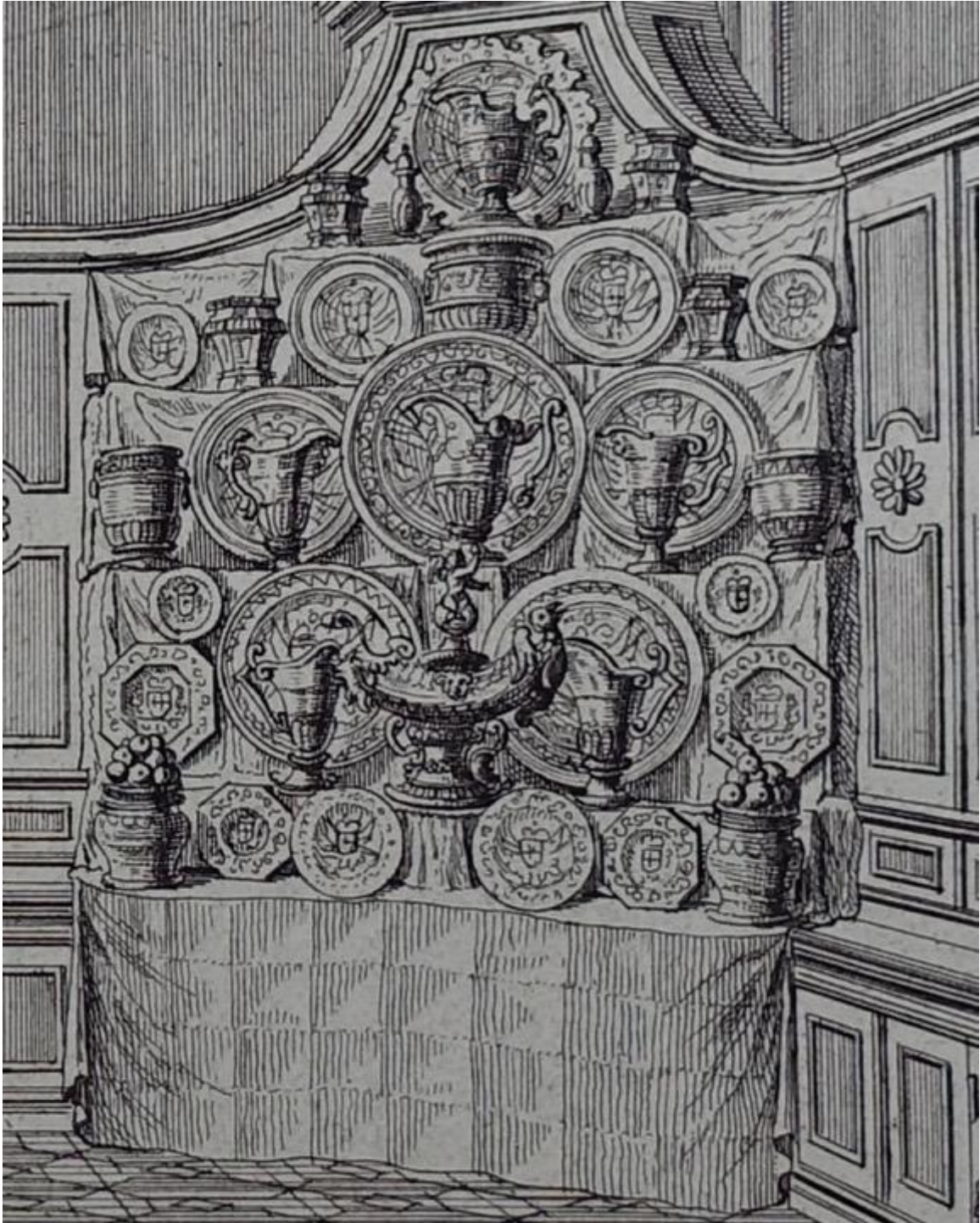


fig. 37

Salomon Kleiner, detail of the *Schaubuffet* in the Vorzimmer of the *appartement de société* at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See Salomon Kleiner, "Troisième Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsieur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1734).]



Plate AP 1

fig. 38 (above: recto)

fig. 39 (left: verso)



Chinese armorial plate bearing the coat of arms of Prince Eugene of Savoy in underglaze blue and a rim in *famille-verte*, porcelain, 35.7 cm diameter, made in Jingdezhen ca. 1710-1720, private collection [See "Lot 90: A Pair of Rare Chinese Blue and White Armorial Plates and a Third Rare Armorial Plate, Kangxi Period (1662-1722)," Christie's, The Royal House of Savoy (London, 15 October 2019), 90, accessed June 5, 2020, <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/a-pair-of-rare-chinese-blue-and-6224289-details.aspx>.]



Plate AP 2

fig. 40 (recto)

Chinese armorial plate bearing the coat of arms of Prince Eugene of Savoy in underglaze blue, porcelain, 31.7 cm diameter, made in Jingdezhen ca. 1710-1720, private collection [See "Lot 90: A Pair of Rare Chinese Blue and White Armorial Plates and a Third Rare Armorial Plate, Kangxi Period (1662-1722)," Christie's, The Royal House of Savoy (London, 15 October 2019), 90, accessed June 5, 2020, <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/a-pair-of-rare-chinese-blue-and-6224289-details.aspx>.]



Plate AP 2

fig. 41 (verso)

Verso of plate AP2 with two artemisia laves in underglaze blue and a nineteenth century label, porcelain, 31.7 cm diameter, made in Jingdezhen ca. 1710-1720, private collection [See "Lot 90: A Pair of Rare Chinese Blue and White Armorial Plates and a Third Rare Armorial Plate, Kangxi Period (1662-1722)," Christie's, The Royal House of Savoy (London, 15 October 2019), 90, accessed June 5, 2020, <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/a-pair-of-rare-chinese-blue-and-6224289-details.aspx>.]



Plate AP 3

fig. 42 (above: recto)

fig. 43 (left: verso)

Chinese armorial plate bearing the coat of arms of Prince Eugene of Savoy in underglaze blue and verso featuring a pair of artemisia leaves, porcelain, 31.7 cm diameter, made in Jingdezhen ca. 1710-1720, private collection [See "Lot 90: A Pair of Rare Chinese Blue and White Armorial Plates and a Third Rare Armorial Plate, Kangxi Period (1662-1722)," Christie's, The Royal House of Savoy (London, 15 October 2019), 90, accessed June 5, 2020, <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/a-pair-of-rare-chinese-blue-and-6224289-details.aspx>.]



Plate AP 4

fig. 44 (recto)

Chinese armorial plate bearing the coat of arms of Prince Eugene of Savoy in underglaze blue, porcelain, 40 cm diameter overall and a base that is 22 cm in diameter, 5,5 cm high, made in Jingdezhen ca. 1710-1720, Museo Civico d'Arte, Turin, accession number 1665, 677/C [See Isabella Massabò Ricci et al., eds., *Blu, rosso & oro: segni e colori dell'araldica in carte, codici e oggetti d'arte* (Milano: Electa, 1998), 282.]



fig. 45

Salomon Kleiner, *Cabinet* or *Bilder Zimmer* at the Lower Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Neuvieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1738).]



fig. 46

Salomon Kleiner, *Cabinet* in the *appartement de parade* at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Seconde Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1733).]



fig. 47

Salomon Kleiner, *Bilder Saal* in the *appartement de société* at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See Salomon Kleiner, "Troisieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsieur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1734).]



fig. 48

Marcantonio Chiarini and Andrea Lanzani, *quadratura* and *Hercules' Assumption into Olympus*, frescoes in the audience chamber now called the Red Salon, Prince Eugene's city palace, Vienna, 1697-1709 [photo Gerhard Deutsch, copyright Kurier, accessed May 5, 2020, <https://kurier.at/kultur/prinz-eugens-winterpalais-symphonie-barocker-opulenz/30.580.675>]



fig. 49

Marcantonio Chiarini and Louis Dorigny, *quadratura* and *Wedding of Hercules and Hebe*, frescoes in the state bed chamber now called the Blue Salon, Prince Eugene's city palace, Vienna, 1697-1709 [photo Oskar Schmidt, copyright Belvedere, Wien, accessed May 5, 2020, <https://www.altertumliches.at/termine/ausstellung/prinz-eugen-von-savoyen-350-jahre-26904>]



fig. 50

Marcantonio Chiarini, *quadratura*, Sala Terrena, Palais Trautson, Vienna, ca. 1710-12 [See Wilhelm Deuer, *Das Palais Trautson in Wien : vom Fürstenpalais zum Justizministerium* (Wien: Republik Österr., Bundesministerium für Justiz, 2009), 35.]



fig. 51

Marcantonio Chiarini, *quadratura*, Sala Terrena, Palais Trautson, Vienna, ca. 1710-12 [See Wilhelm Deuer, *Das Palais Trautson in Wien : vom Fürstenpalais zum Justizministerium* (Wien: Republik Österr., Bundesministerium für Justiz, 2009), 69.]



fig. 52

Enrico Hafner, *quadratura*, Palazzo Ranuzzi, Bologna, ca. 1680-81 [photo Guido Piacentini, copyright Musei Civici d'Arte Antica Bologna, accessed May 5, 2020, http://baroqueart.museumwnf.org/database_item.php?id=monument;BAR;it;Mon12;20;en&pageT=N]



fig. 53

Marcantonio Chiarini and Carlo Carloni, *quadratura* and allegorical fresco, oval ballroom, Palais Daun-Kinsky, Vienna, 1713-1715 [See Hellmut Lorenz and Wilhelm Georg Rizzi, eds., *Palais Daun-Kinsky: Wien, Freyung ; Beiträge zum barocken Palast* (Wien: Amisola Immobilien AG, 2001), 135.]



fig. 54

Marcantonio Chiarini and Carlo Carloni, *quadratura* and allegorical fresco, gallery, Palais Daun-Kinsky, Vienna, 1713-1715 [See Hellmut Lorenz and Wilhelm Georg Rizzi, eds., *Palais Daun-Kinsky: Wien, Freyung ; Beiträge zum barocken Palast* (Wien: Amisola Immobilien AG, 2001), 143.]



fig. 55

Salomon Kleiner, Marble Hall at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729
 [See Salomon Kleiner, "Premiere Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1734).]



fig. 56

Salomon Kleiner, Sala Terrena at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729
 [See Salomon Kleiner, "Troisieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1734).]



fig. 57

Salomon Kleiner, Sala Terrena, drawing ca. 1729
 [See Salomon Kleiner, "Troisieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1734).]



fig. 58

Salomon Kleiner, Marble Hall at the Lower Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Neuvieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1738).]



fig. 59

View of the north wall in the Marble Hall at the Lower Belvedere [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2020]



fig. 60

View of the south wall in the Marble Hall at the Lower Belvedere [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2020]



fig. 61

View of the east wall in the Marble Hall at the Lower Belvedere [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2020]



fig. 62

Marcantonio Chiarini, detail of the left frescoed panel on the north wall in the Marble Hall, Lower Belvedere, Vienna, 1714-1716 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2020]



fig. 63

Marcantonio Chiarini, detail of *putto* catching bird, left frescoed panel on the south wall in the Marble Hall, Lower Belvedere, Vienna, 1714-1716 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2020]



fig. 64
attributed to Marcantonio Chiarini, fireplace on the west wall of the Marble Hall,
Lower Belvedere, Vienna, 1714-1716 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2020]



fig. 65
 attributed to Marcantonio Chiarini, fireplace on the east wall of the Marble Hall,
 Lower Belvedere, Vienna, 1714-1716 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2020]



fig. 66

Marcantonio Chiarini, detail of *putto* splashing water, left frescoed panel on the west wall in the Marble Hall, Lower Belvedere, Vienna, 1714-1716 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2020]



fig. 67

Marcantonio Chiarini, detail of disguised perspectival kink behind the frescoed female personification of *Liberalitas*, vault of the Marble Hall, Lower Belvedere, Vienna, 1714-1716 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

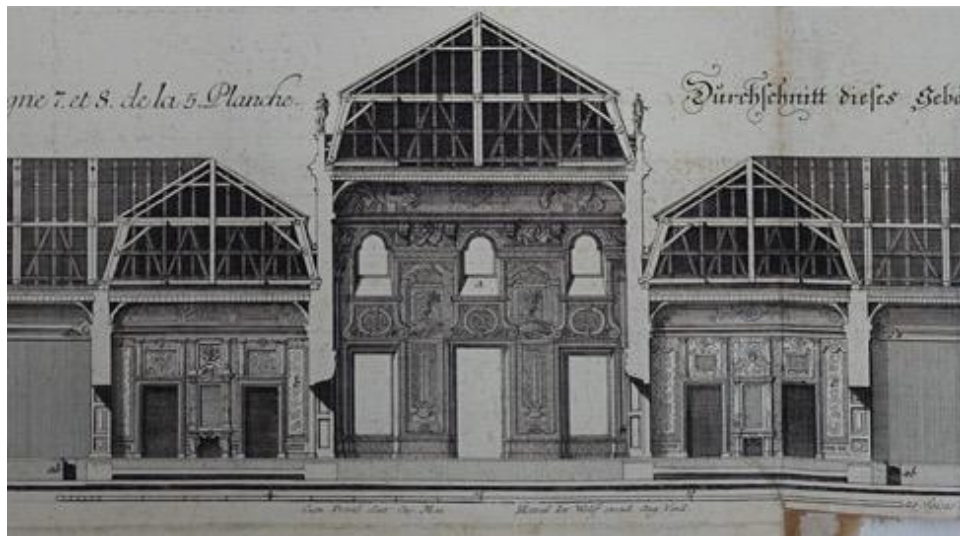


fig. 68

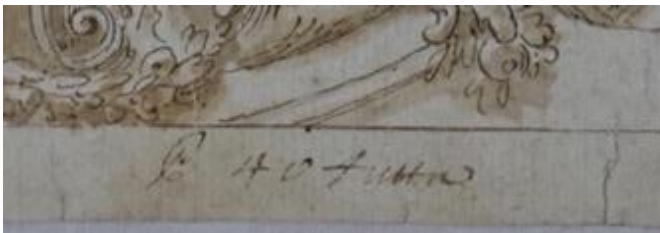
Salomon Kleiner, detail of the section plan depicting the Lower Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Neuvieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1738).]

**fig. 69**

Carlo Innocenzo Carloni, detail of the frescoed banner and inscription, vault of the Marble Hall, Lower Belvedere, Vienna, 1716 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 70**

Marcantonio Chiarini, detail of the artist's scale on the preparatory drawing for the vault of the Lower Belvedere's Marble Hall, Vienna, ca. 1712, accession number AZ1403 (ALBERTINA-WIEN, Vienna)

**fig. 71**

Marcantonio Chiarini, detail of the preparatory drawing for the vault of the Lower Belvedere's Marble Hall including the measurement "P 40 tutta," ca. 1712, accession number AZ1403 (ALBERTINA-WIEN, Vienna)



fig. 72

Unknown artist, the blessed hat and sword awarded to Prince Eugene [See *Des Grossen Feld-Herrns Eugenii Hertzogs von Savoyen und Käyserlichen General-Lieutenants Helden-Thaten*, vol. 6 (Nürnberg: Riegel, 1739), 984–85.]



fig. 73

Salomon Kleiner, state bed chamber, Lower Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See “Neuvieme Partie,” in *Residences Memorables de l’Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1738).]

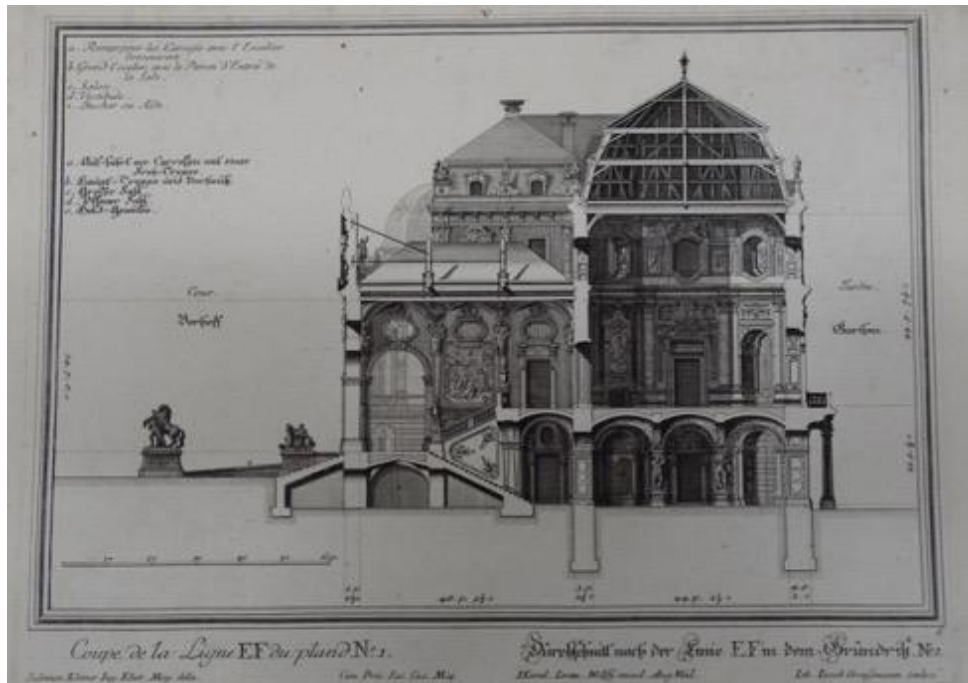


fig. 74

Salomon Kleiner, section plan of the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Cinquieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsieur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1735).]



fig. 75

Gaetano Fanti and Carlo Carloni, *quadratura* and *Eternal Fame of the House of Savoy*, ca. 1721, Marble Hall, Upper Belvedere, Vienna [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 76

Gaetano Fanti, *quadratura*, northwest corner of the Marble Hall, Upper Belvedere, Vienna, ca. 1720 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 77

Gaetano Fanti, detail of frescoed armor and weapons, east wall of the Marble Hall, Upper Belvedere, Vienna, ca. 1721-23 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2020]



(left) fig. 78

Gaetano Fanti, frescoed medallion featuring the legend of the Roman general Gaius Mucius Scaevola, north wall of the Marble Hall, Upper Belvedere, Vienna, ca. 1721-23 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



(right) fig. 79

Gaetano Fanti, frescoed medallion featuring the legend of the Roman soldier Marcus Curtius, south wall of the Marble Hall, Upper Belvedere, Vienna, ca. 1721-23 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 80

Carlo Carloni, detail of frescoed captured enemy, south wall of Marble Hall, Upper Belvedere, Vienna, ca. 1721-23 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2020]



fig. 81

Carlo Carloni, *Eternal Fame of the House of Savoy*, Sala Terrena, Upper Belvedere, fresco, 1722-23 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 82

Carlo Carloni, *Holy Trinity*, Chapel, Upper Belvedere, fresco, 1723 [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 83 (above)

George Graham and Thomas Tompion, the second G & T proto-orrery model housed at the Museum of the History of Science in Oxford, ca. 1710 [See Tony Buick, *Orrery: A Story of Mechanical Solar Systems, Clocks, and English Nobility, Astronomers' Universe* (New York: Springer, 2014), 79.]

fig. 84 (right)

Daniel Quare and André Charles Boulle, longcase clock in tortoiseshell with marquetry, 264 cm, ca. 1700 [See "A Viennese Turtlesell Boulle Month-Going Longcase Clock with Associated Movement by Daniel Quare, Vienna/London, circa 1700," Sotheby's, n.d., accessed May 12, 2020.]



fig. 85

Johann Basilius Küchelbecker, Prince Eugene's G & T model of the solar system, engraving, 1730 [See Johann Basilius Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter* (Hannover: Nicolaus Förster und Sohn, 1730), 736–37





fig. 86

Salomon Kleiner, *Anleg Zimmer* in the *appartement de parade* at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Seconde Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1733).]



fig. 87

Salomon Kleiner, *Spiegel Zimmer* in the *appartement de parade* at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Seconde Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monseigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1733).]



fig. 88

Salomon Kleiner, *Antichamber* in the *appartement de parade* at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Seconde Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1733).]



fig. 89

Salomon Kleiner, *Conferenz Zimmer* in the *appartement de parade* at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Seconde Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1733).]



fig. 90

Salomon Kleiner, *Bibliothec* in the *appartement de parade* at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Seconde Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monseigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1733).]



fig. 91

Salomon Kleiner, *Schlaff Zimmer* in the *appartement de parade* at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Seconde Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1733).]



fig. 92

Salomon Kleiner, *Taffel Zimmer* in the *appartement de société* at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See Salomon Kleiner, "Troisieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monseigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1734).]



fig. 94

Salomon Kleiner, *Caffé Zimmer* in the *appartement de société* at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See Salomon Kleiner, "Troisieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monseigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1734).]



fig. 95

Salomon Kleiner, *Vorgemach* in the *appartement de société* at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See Salomon Kleiner, "Troisieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1734).]



fig. 96

Salomon Kleiner, *Schlaff-Gemach* in the *appartement de société* at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See Salomon Kleiner, "Troisieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monseigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1734).]



fig. 97

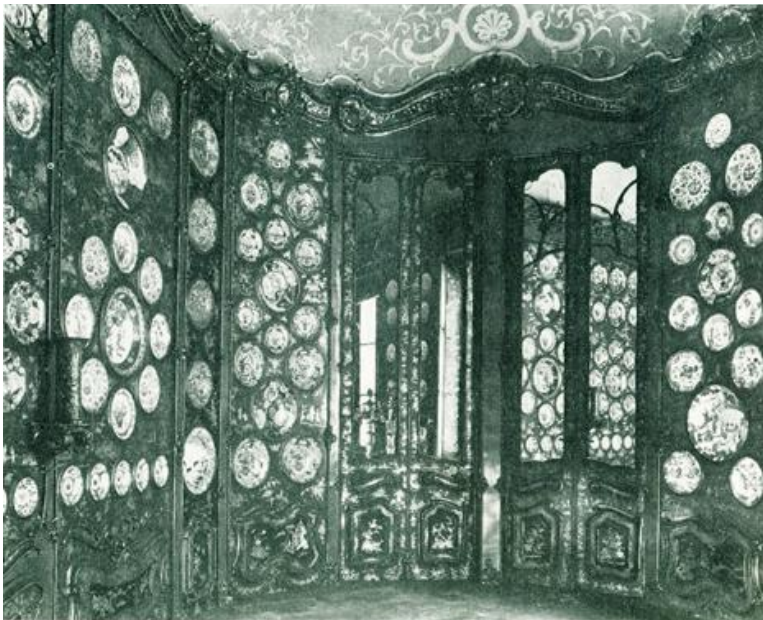
Salomon Kleiner, *Vorzimmer* in the *appartement de société* at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See Salomon Kleiner, "Troisieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monseigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1734).]

**fig. 98**

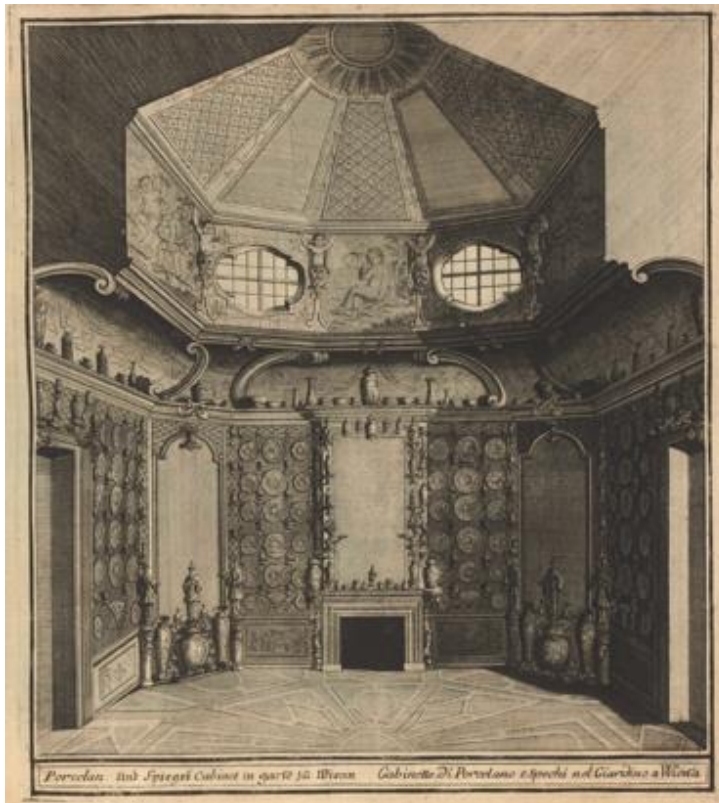
Anonymous Chinese artist, Kraak porcelain plate, China, Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), 31.5 cm diameter, 5.5 cm high, 1600-1650, accession number KHM 303 (MAK Collection, Vienna)

**fig. 99**

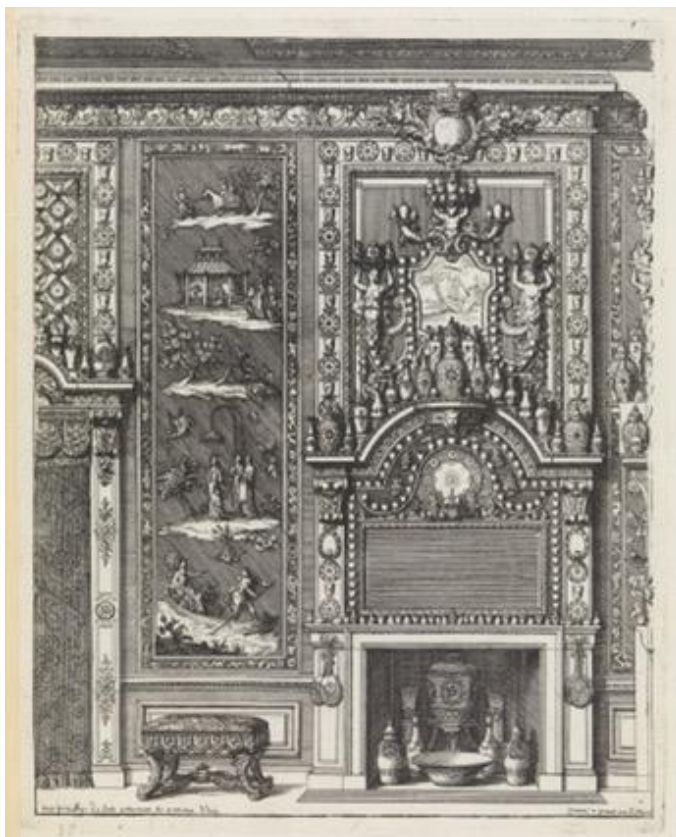
Anonymous Chinese artist, Kraak porcelain plate, China, Wanli Period (1573-1619), 30.2 cm diameter, 5.3 cm high, about 1600, accession number KHM 304 (MAK Collection, Vienna)

**fig. 100**

Photograph of Palais Harrach's porcelain and mirror cabinet from ca. 1714 [See Palais Harrach, "Chinesisches Kabinett," Österreichisches Institut für China- und Südostasienforschung, accessed June 1, 2020, <http://www.china-kultur.at/content/Detail.aspx?CatalogItemID=28136>.]

**fig. 101**

Salomon Kleiner, porcelain and mirror cabinet at Palais Schönborn, drawing circa 1715, copper engraving printed by Johann Balthasar Gutwein in Würzburg between 1726-1731, 38 x 49 cm [See Salomon Kleiner, *Gräfllich Schönbornsche Schlösser, Häuser, Gärten und Kirchen* (Würzburg: Johann Balthasar Gutwein, 1726-1731.)]

**fig. 102**

Daniel Marot, design for a chimney wall with lacquered panels and porcelain from "*Nouvelles Chiminees faites en plusieurs endroits de la Hollande et autres provinces du dessin de d. Marot*" in *Oeuvres du Sr. D. Marot*, copper engraving printed by Pierre Husson, 36.6 x 24.8, 1703 or 1712, accession number 30.4(1-144) (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)



fig. 103

Salomon Kleiner, Golden Cabinet at Prince Eugene's city palace, drawing ca. 1722-1724 [See Ulrike Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen: Entstehung, Gestalt, Funktion und Bedeutung* (Wien: Böhlau, 2004), 101.]



fig. 104

Gold cabinet formerly at Prince Eugene's city palace, now at the Lower Belvedere [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 105**

Chinese porcelain plates, ca. 1720, diameter 24 cm, height 3,5 cm, Palazzo Reale, Turin [See Lucia Caterina, "Dall'Oriente a Torino," in *Porcellane e argenti del Palazzo Reale di Torino* (Milano: Fabbri Ed., 1986), 372.]

**fig. 106**

Chinese armorial plates with the coat of arms of the Proli and Labistraete families of Antwerp, ca. 1720-1730, private collection [See Jan Parmentier, *Oostende & Co: Het Verhaal van de Zuid-Nederlandse Oost-Indiëvaart 1715-1735* (Gent: Ludion, 2002), 15.]

**fig. 107**

Chinese Armorial plate belonging to the Maria Elisabeth of Austria and featuring her monogram and the coat of arms of Charles VI, 22 cm diameter, 4.1 cm high, ca. 1725-30, accession number KE 6600 (MAK Collection, Vienna)

**fig. 108**

Chinese Armorial plate belonging to the Maria Elisabeth of Austria and featuring her monogram and the coat of arms of Charles VI, 22 cm diameter, 4.1 cm high, ca. 1725-30, accession number KE 6306 (MAK Collection, Vienna)

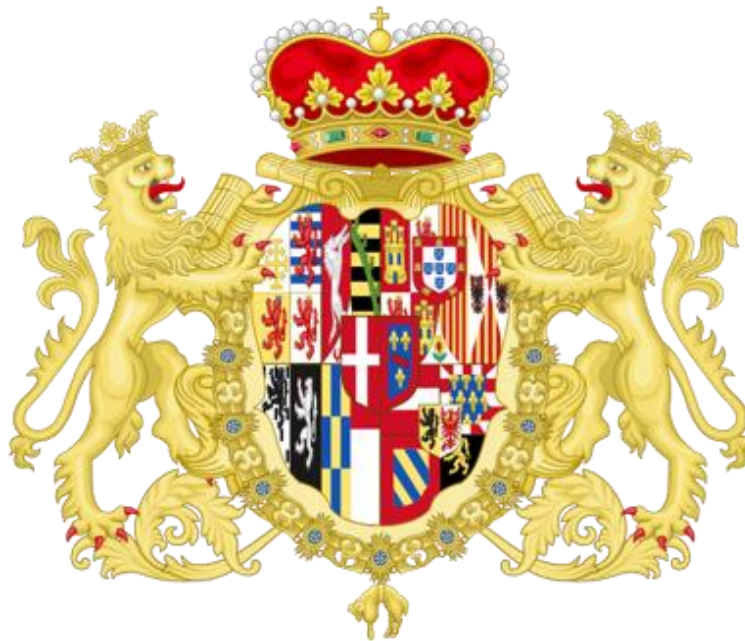


fig. 109

Coat of arms of Prince Eugene of Savoy [Wikimedia Commons:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Coat_of_Arms_of_Prince_Eugene_of_Savoy_-_House_of_Austria_Augmentation.svg]



fig. 110

Main entrance to the Upper Belvedere featuring the coat of arms of Prince Eugene of Savoy, Vienna [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 111

Top and center of the main façade of the Upper Belvedere featuring the coat of arms of Prince Eugene of Savoy, Vienna, [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 112

Chinese armorial plate sold on the English market featuring a small coat of arms in the center of the dish's well, ca. 1725-30, diameter 38,7cm [See Clare Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain: Patterns of Exchange: Additions to the Helena Woolworth McCann Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; [distributed by New York Graphic Society, 1974), 50.]



fig. 113

Chinese armorial plate sold on the American market featuring a small coat of arms of the Society of Cincinnati in the center of the well, ca. 1784-1785, diameter 24,1 cm [See Clare Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain: Patterns of Exchange: Additions to the Helena Woolworth McCann Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; [distributed by New York Graphic Society, 1974), 42.]



fig. 114

Salomon Kleiner, detail of the *Schaubuffet* in the Vorzimmer of the *appartement de société* at the Upper Belvedere showing the prince's coat of arms flanked by rampant lions, drawing ca. 1729 [See Salomon Kleiner, "Troisieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1734).]



fig. 115

Abraham Werner, *nef*, gilt silver, 27 x 6 x 26 cm, accession number PA 1015, 1600-1625 (Schloss Ambras, Innsbruck)



fig. 116

Hans Schlottheim, ship automaton, gilt silver, copper alloy, cold enamel, oil paint, 67 x 66 x 67 cm, accession number 874, ca. 1585 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)



fig. 117

Chinese armorial plate from the so-called *Krönungsservice* featuring the imperial Polish and Lithuanian arms and those of the Sachsen Electors of Germany, Meissen Porcelain Manufacturer, 40,8 cm diameter, 25,1cm base, 6,6 cm high, 1733-1734, accession number PE1283 (Staatliche Kunstsammlung Dresden)



fig. 118

Friedrich I's *Schaubuffet* that was on display in the *Rittersaal* of the Berliner Schloss, gilded silver, ca. 1695-1698 [See Bettina Vaupel, "Wie bei Hof getafelt wurde: Zuckerschloss und Scherzpastete (Dezember 2015)," *Monumente: Magazin für Denkmalkultur in Deutschland*, accessed May 10, 2020, <https://www.monumente-online.de/de/ausgaben/2015/6/Kulturgeschichte-Festliches-Tafeln.php#.XtoUyS9h3yl>.]



fig. 119

Johann Cyriak Hackhofer's engraved drawing titled *Die Kaiserle Taffel in der Ritterstüben* which took place in 1712. The engraving was done by Johann Andreas Pfeffel (1674-1748) and Christian Engelbrecht (1672-1735) in Augsburg. [See Johann Baptist von Mairn, *Beschreibung was auf Ableiben weyland Ihrer Keyserl Majestät Josephi, biss nach vorgegangener Erb-Huldigung* (Wien: Bey Johann Jacob Kürner, 1712), 64–65.]



fig. 120

Figure 119 detail.

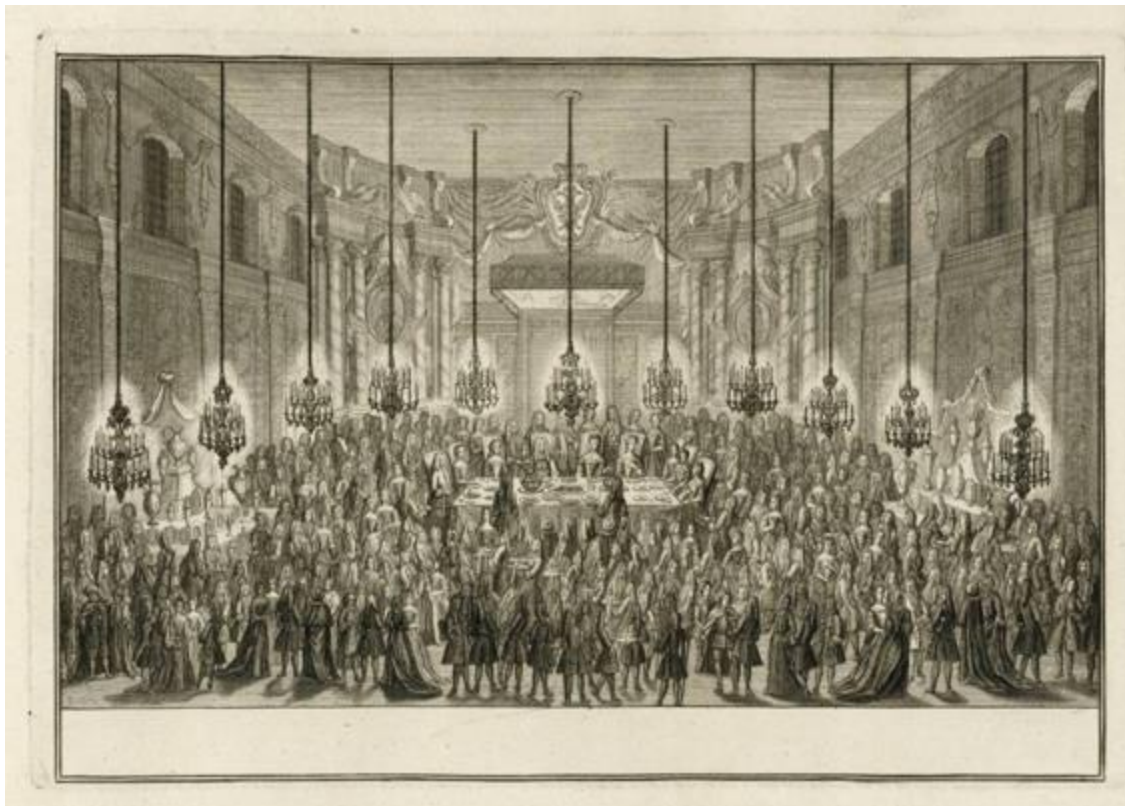


fig. 121

Raymond Leplat, *Öffentliches Hochzeitsmahl im Theatersaal der Favorita*, drawing 1719, engraving by Gerard Scotin in 1728, accession number A153208 (Staatliche Kunstsammlung, Dresden)



fig. 122

Limbourg brothers, *Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry*, Folio 1, verso: January, illumination, tempera on vellum, 22.5 cm x 13.6 cm, 1412-1416, accession number Ms.65, f.1v (Condé Museum, Chantilly)



fig. 123

Paolo Veronese, *The Wedding at Cana*, oil on canvas, 660 cm x 990 cm, 1562-1563 (Louvre Museum, Paris)



fig. 124

Pier Paul Sevin, Clement XI hosting a banquet for Queen Christina of Sweeden on Decembber 9, 1668, pen and ink with color wash [See Margaret A. Kuntz, "Questions of Identity: Alexander VII, Carlo Rainaldi, and the Temporal Facade at Palazzo Farnese for Queen Christina of Sweeden," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 58 (2013): 150.]



fig. 125

Pier Paul Sevin, *trifoni* from Clement XI's banquet for Queen Christina of Sweden on December 9, 1668 [See Carlson, "Episode 4: How Do You Solve a Problem Like Christina? Papal Banquets in 1655," *The Feast*, accessed May 6, 2021, <http://www.thefeastpodcast.org/episode-4-how-do-solve-a-problem-like-christina-papal-banqueting-in-1655>.]

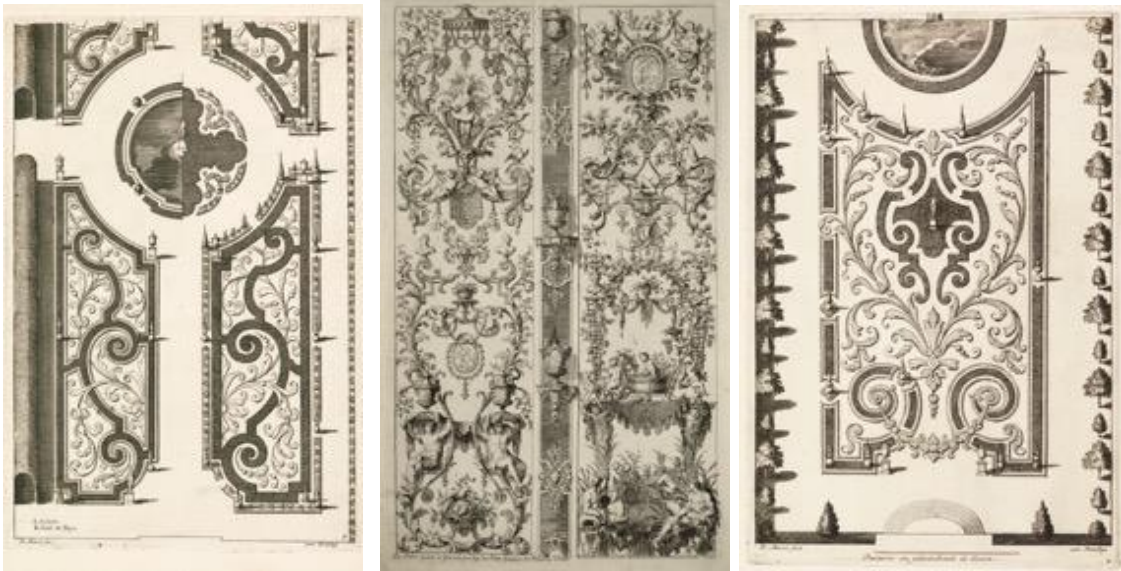


fig. 126 (left) & fig. 127 (right)

Daniel Marot, on the left are designs for garden parterres with scroll motifs and boxwood arbor, while on the right are flat garden beds with grass, in "Nouveaux Livre de Parterres" in *Oeuvres du Sr. D. Marot*, accession number 1988-4-20, etching and engraving on white laid paper, printed by Pierre Husson, 1703 or 1712 (Smithsonian, Washington D.C)

fig. 128 (center)

Daniel Marot, arabesque designs, in etching and engraving on white laid paper, circa 1703 [See Daniel Marot, "Nouveaux livre da partements," in *Oeuvres du Sr. D. Marot* (La Haye: Pierre Husson, 1703).]



fig. 129

unknown artist, detail of the first parterre behind the Upper Belvedere, drawing circa 1720 [See Maria Auböck, Willibald Ludwig, and Ingrid Gregor, eds., *Das Belvedere: der Garten des Prinzen Eugen in Wien* (Wien: Holzhausen, 2003), 72–73.]

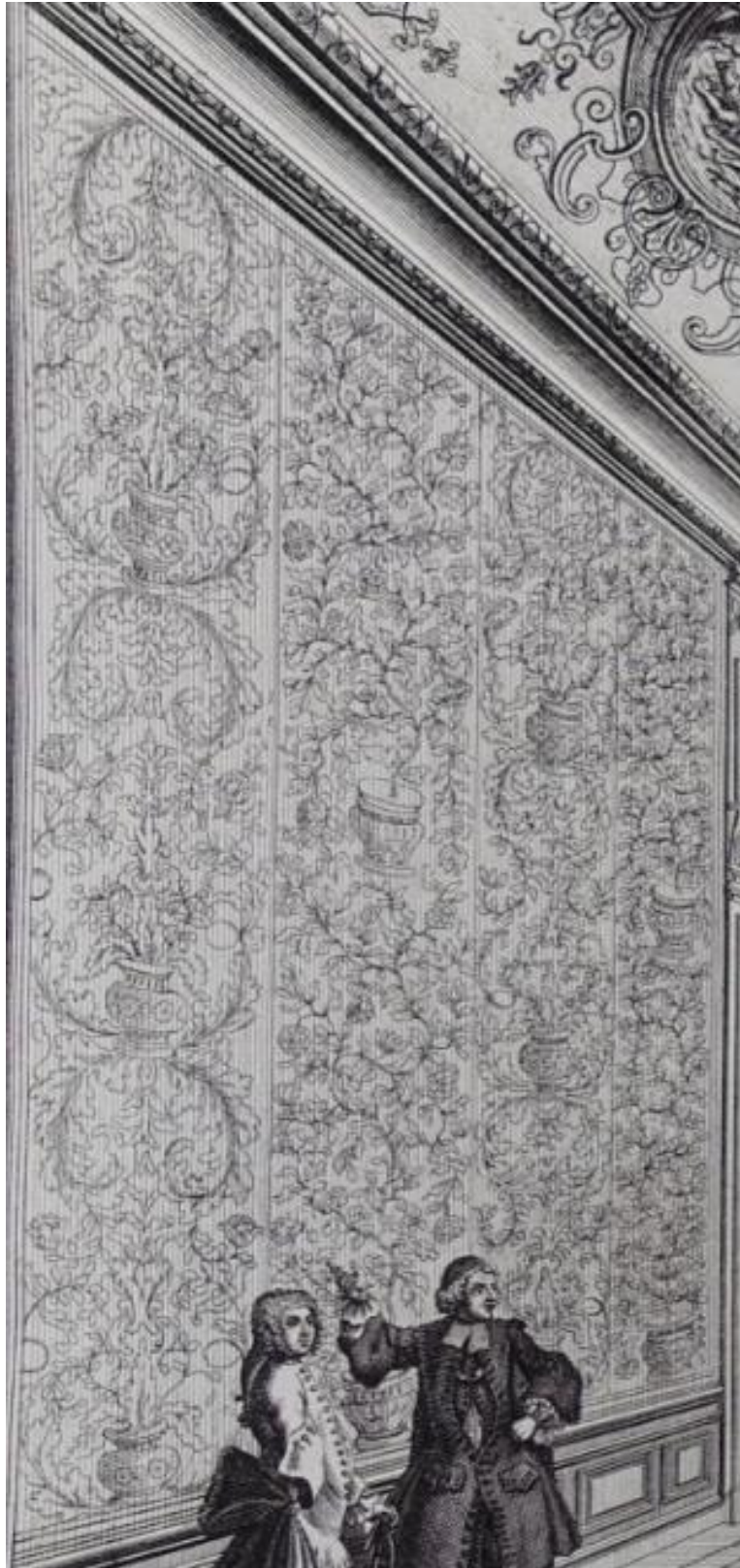


fig. 130
detail of fig. 93



fig. 131

Salomon Kleiner, *Offenes Cabinet* at the Upper Belvedere featuring grotesque frescoes by Jonas Drentwett, drawing ca. 1729

[See Salomon Kleiner, "Troisieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1734).]



fig. 132
Detail of fig. 93



fig. 133
Detail of fig. 94



fig. 134
Figure 94 detail.



fig. 135
Valance featuring dragons and a squirrel, from the inside of Prince Eugene's canopy bed at Schloss Hof, cotton chintz with silk applique embroidery and linen lining, Coromandel Coast, India, 40 x 207 cm, ca. 1720-30, acquisition number T8425-12 (MAK Collection, Vienna)



fig. 136
Valance featuring elephant and figures, from the inside of Prince Eugene's canopy bed at Schloss Hof, cotton chintz with silk applique embroidery and linen lining, Coromandel Coast, India, 48.5cm x 217 cm, ca. 1720-30, acquisition number T8425-17 (MAK Collection, Vienna)

Prince Eugene's Chintz Bed



fig. 137

State bed from Schloss Hof, cotton chintz with silk applique embroidery, Coromandel Coast, India, circa 1730, accession number T 9073 (MAK Collection, Vienna)



fig. 138 (left)

Chintz wall hanging from Schloss Hof, cotton chintz with silk applique embroidery and linen lining, Coromandel Coast, India, 373 x 365 cm, ca. 1720-30, acquisition number T8425-2 (MAK Collection, Vienna)

fig. 139 (right)

Figure 94 detail.



fig. 140

unknown maker, detail of the dollhouse of Petronella Dunois with room featuring chintz, circa 1676, accession number BK-14656 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)

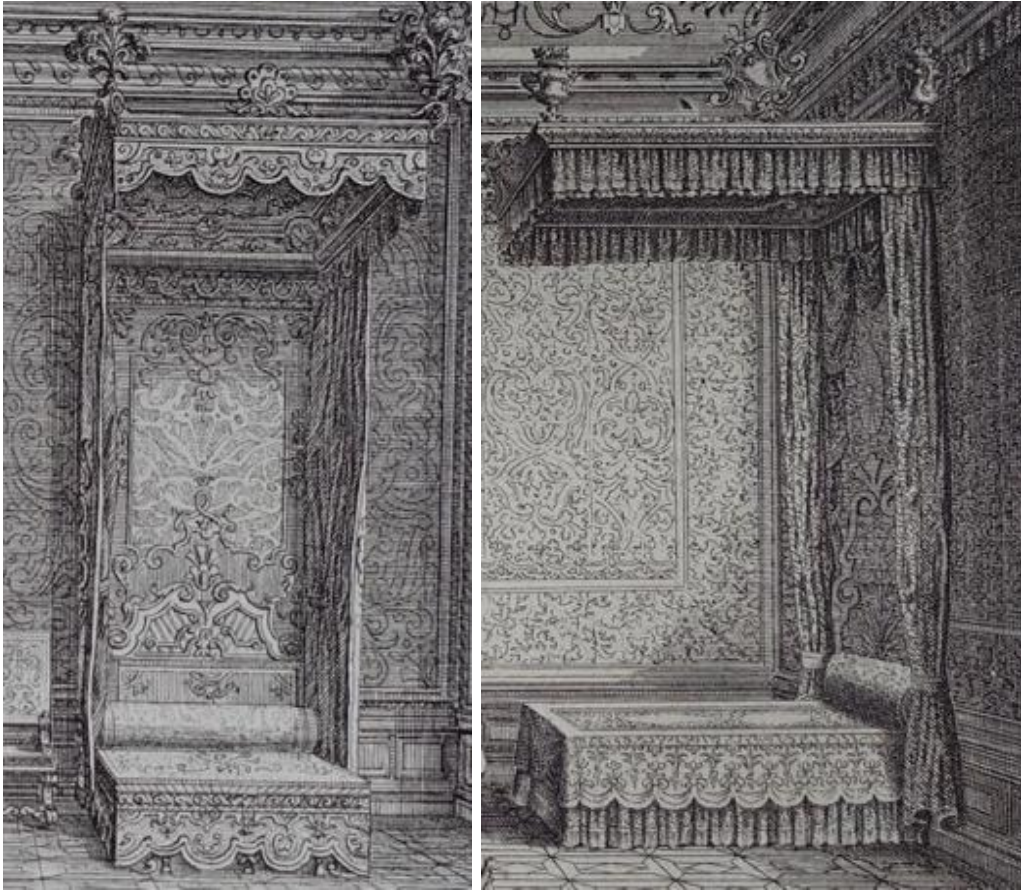


fig. 141 (left)
Figure 91 detail.

fig. 142 (right)
Figure 96 detail.



fig. 143
Headboard from Prince Eugene's canopy bed at Schloss Hof, cotton chintz with silk applique embroidery and linen lining, Coromandel Coast, India, 115cm x 210 cm, ca. 1720-30, acquisition number T8425-9 (MAK Collection, Vienna)



fig. 144

Bernardo Bellotto, Schloss Hof, garden side, oil on canvas, 136 x 216 cm, 1758-1761, accession number GG_1674 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)



fig. 145

Textile fragment, Chinese damask made in the first half of the 18th century [See Lieselotte Hanzl-Wachter, ed., *Schloss Hof* (St. Pölten: Residenz Verlag, 2005), 119.]



fig. 146

Bed curtain from Schloss Hof, Chinese damask made in the first half of the 18th century [See Lieselotte Hanzl-Wachter, ed., *Schloss Hof* (St. Pölten: Residenz Verlag, 2005), 119.]



fig. 147

Painted Chinese silk taffeta fabric panel, made in the first third of the eighteenth century [See Lieselotte Hanzl-Wachter, ed., *Schloss Hof* (St. Pölten: Residenz Verlag, 2005), 114.]



fig. 148

Fragment of Chinese damask silk panel, 1730 [See Angela Völker, "Die Textile Ausstattung der Wohn- und Paradeappartments von Schloss Hof unter Prinz Eugen und Maria Theresia: Eine Ergänzung," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 55–56, no. 1 (2007): 103.]



fig. 149 (above)

Painted Chinese silk taffeta fragment featuring an elephant [See Lieselotte Hanzl-Wachter, ed., *Schloss Hof* (St. Pölten: Residenz Verlag, 2005), 115.]

fig. 150 (left)

Bedcurtain from Schloss Hof, Chinese damask, made in the first half of the eighteenth century [See Lieselotte Hanzl-Wachter, ed., *Schloss Hof* (St. Pölten: Residenz Verlag, 2005), 119.]



fig. 151

Josef Wilha, photograph of a bed chamber at Schloss Hof, captured 1885 and published in 1901 in *"Zwei Mappen mit 125 Fotografien von Innenansichten des kaiserlichen Schlosses Schönbrunn, Schloss Hof und Schloss Eckartsau,"* accession number KI 7415 (MAK Collection, Vienna)



fig. 152

Josef Wilha, photograph of a bed chamber at Schloss Hof, captured 1885 and published in 1901 in *"Zwei Mappen mit 125 Fotografien von Innenansichten des kaiserlichen Schlosses Schönbrunn, Schloss Hof und Schloss Eckartsau,"* accession number KI 7415 (MAK Collection, Vienna)



fig. 153

Josef Wilha, photograph of a bed chamber at Schloss Hof, captured 1885 and published in 1901 in *"Zwei Mappen mit 125 Fotografien von Innenansichten des kaiserlichen Schlosses Schönbrunn, Schloss Hof und Schloss Eckartsau,"* accession number KI 7415 (MAK Collection, Vienna)



fig. 154

Josef Wilha, photograph of a bed chamber at Schloss Hof, captured 1885 and published in 1901 in *"Zwei Mappen mit 125 Fotografien von Innenansichten des kaiserlichen Schlosses Schönbrunn, Schloss Hof und Schloss Eckartsau,"* accession number KI 7415 (MAK Collection, Vienna)



fig. 155

Fireplace screen with Chinese damask, first half of the 18th century, 135 cm tall, 95 cm long, 35 cm wide [See Lieselotte Hanzl-Wachter, ed., *Schloss Hof* (St. Pölten: Residenz Verlag, 2005), 159.]



fig. 156

Bedcurtain from Schloss Hof, Chinese embroidered silk, made in the first quarter of the eighteenth century [See Lieselotte Hanzl-Wachter, ed., *Schloss Hof* (St. Pölten: Residenz Verlag, 2005), 113.]



fig. 157
Figure 36 detail.

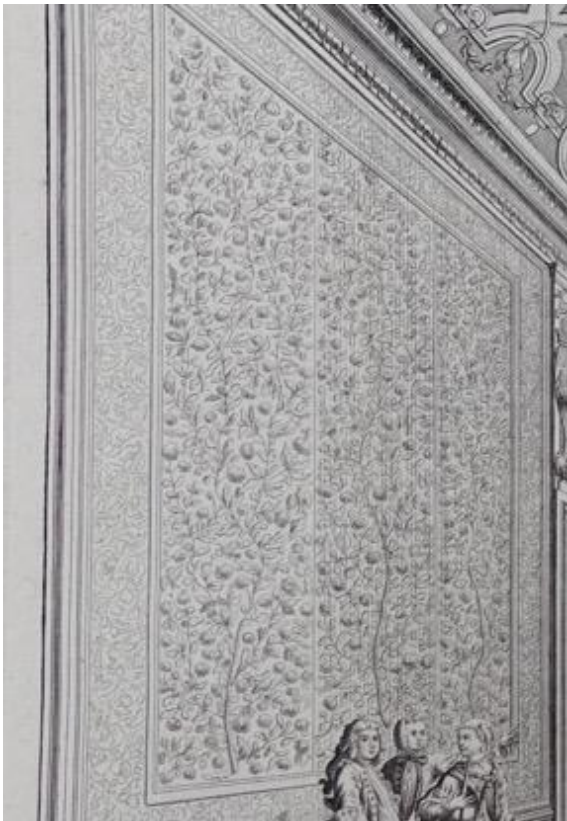


fig. 158
Figure 96 detail.



fig. 159
Fireplace screen with Chinese silk taffeta, 1720-1730, 131 cm tall, 106 cm long, 37 cm wide [See Lieselotte Hanzl-Wachter, ed., *Schloss Hof* (St. Pölten: Residenz Verlag, 2005), 159.]



fig. 160

Salomon Kleiner, *Gemach* at the Lower Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Dixieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1738).]



fig. 161

Figure 160 detail.



fig. 162

Bedcurtain from Schloss Hof,
Chinese embroidered silk, made in
the first quarter of the eighteenth
century [See Lieselotte Hanzl-
Wachter, ed., *Schloss Hof* (St.
Pölten: Residenz Verlag, 2005).]



fig. 163

Salomon Kleiner, *Tafel Zimmer* at the Lower Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Dixieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1738).]



fig. 164

Salomon Kleiner, *Gemahltes Cabinet* at the Lower Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Dixieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1738).]



fig. 165

Jan Griffier I, *The Capture of a Fort*, oil on canvas, 50 x 64 cm, ca. 1710 (Sabaua Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 166

Salomon Kleiner, *Bücher Cabinet* at the Lower Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Dixieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1738).]



fig. 167

Marcantonio Chiarini, *Landscape with Ruins*, oil on canvas, 235 x 170 cm, circa 1716 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)



fig. 168

Marcantonio Chiarini, *Landscape with Ruins*, oil on canvas, 235 x 170 cm, circa 1716 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)



fig. 169

Salomon Kleiner, *Kleines Gesellschafts Sommer Zimmer welches bey [sic] dem Eingang des Gartens Zur rechten Hand stehet [sic]* at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See Salomon Kleiner, "Quatrieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1734).]



fig. 170

Salomon Kleiner, *Kleines Gesellschafts Sommer Zimmer welches bey [sic] dem Eingang des Gartens Zur lincken [sic] Hand stehet [sic]* at the Upper Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See Salomon Kleiner, "Quatrieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1734).]



fig. 171

Johann Kunstner, *Still Life with Flowers and Squash* (formerly above the west door in Prince Eugene's bedchamber at the Lower Belvedere), oil on canvas, 118 x 154 cm, circa 1710 (Belvedere Museum, Vienna)



fig. 172

Johann Kunstner, *Still Life with Flowers and Fruit*, oil on canvas, 118 x 154 cm, circa 1710 (Belvedere Museum, Vienna) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 173

Johann Kunstner, *Still Life with Flowers and Fruit* (formerly above the east door in Prince Eugene's bedchamber at the Lower Belvedere), oil canvas, 118 x 154 cm, circa 1710 (Belvedere Museum, Vienna)



fig. 174

Salomon Kleiner, detail of the *sopraporte* in the *Bücher Cabinet* at the Lower Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Dixieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monseigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1738).]



fig. 175

Salomon Kleiner, *Prospect des großen Glashauses*, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Neuvième Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1738).]

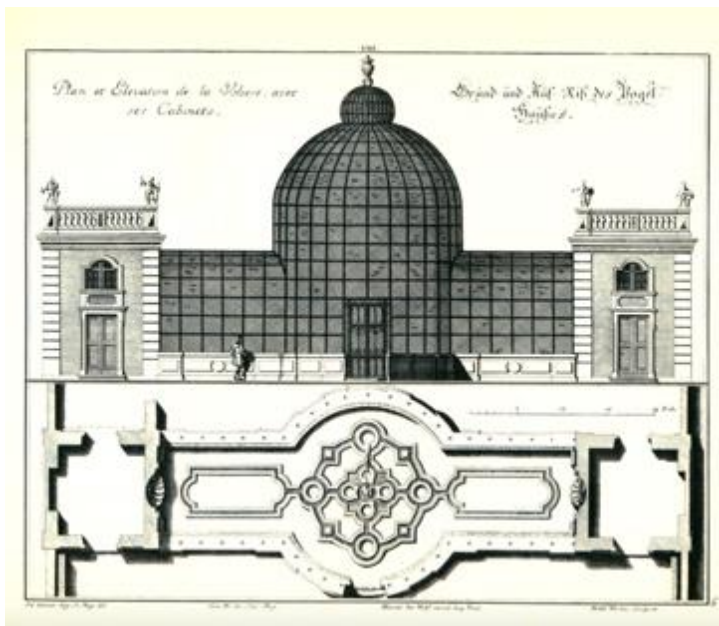


fig. 176

Salomon Kleiner, *Grund und Aufriss des Vogelhauses*, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Huitième Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1738).]



fig. 177

Pieter van der Berge, Prince Eugene examining paintings in Jan Pietersz Zomer's shop, brown ink and a grey wash on paper, 23.6 cm x 40.8 cm, circa 1701 (Rijkmuseum, Amsterdam)



fig. 178

Giacomo del Po, *Apotheosis of Prince Eugene*, oil on canvas, 1718-1720, *in situ* in the *Antichambre* at the Upper Belvedere [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 179

Giacomo del Po, *Allegory of the Reign of Prince Eugene*, oil on canvas, 1718-1720, *in situ* in the *Conferenz Zimmer* at the Upper Belvedere [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 180

Francesco Solimena, *Resurrection of Christ*, oil on canvas, circa 1725, in the chapel at the Upper Belvedere (Belvedere Museum, Vienna)



fig. 181

Francesco Solimena's *Aurora and Cephalus*, oil on canvas, circa 1725, photograph 1950, formerly in the *Spiegel Zimmer* at the Upper Belvedere [See Hans Aurenhammer and Gertrude Aurenhammer, *Das Belvedere in Wien: Bauwerk Menschen Geschichte* (Wien: Verlag Anton Schroll & Co., 1971), 67.]



fig. 182

Guido Reni, *Adam and Eve*, oil on canvas, 277 x 196 cm, 1620 (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, Dijon)



fig. 183

David Teniers the Younger, *Interior of a Tavern with Musician*, oil on canvas, 37 x 61 cm (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 184

David Teniers the Younger, *Interior of a Tavern*, oil on canvas, 43 x 65 cm (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 185

David Teniers the Younger, *The Card Players*, oil on canvas, 44.5 x 64.5 cm (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 186

David Teniers the Younger, *Portrait of Anna and Greughel*, oil on canvas, 32 x 43 cm (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 187

Philips Wouwerman, *Battle*, oil on canvas, 82.5 x 105 cm (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 188

Philips Wouwerman, *A Cavalry Skirmish*, oil on panel, 55 x 68 cm, (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 189

Franz van Mieris the Elder, *The Hurdy-Gurdy Player*, oil on canvas, 16 x 11 cm, ca. 1670 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 190

Franz van Mieris the Elder, *The Good Mother*, oil on panel, 25 x 19 cm, ca. 1670 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 191

Franz van Mieris the Elder, *Portrait of a Young Man*, oil on panel, 28 x 13 cm, 1659 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 192

Gerrit Dou or Domenico van Tol, *Children Blowing Bubbles*, oil on panel, 25 x 19 cm, ca. 1675-1700 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 193**

Gerrit Dou, *A Young Woman at a Window with a Bunch of Grapes*, oil on panel, 38 x 29 cm, 1662 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 194**

Gerrit Dou, *Portrait of an Astronomer*, oil on panel, 16.5 x 13 cm, ca. 1650 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 195**

Jan Both, *Wooded Landscape with Travellers*, oil on panel, 30 x 42 cm, ca. 1640 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 196**

Jan Griffier I, *London from Horesferry Pier*, oil on wood, 45 x 31 cm, ca. 1710 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 197**

Jan Griffier I, *Hunting Scene near London*, oil on copper, 51 x 64.5 cm, 1710-1718 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 198**

Jan Griffier I, *Landscape with a Village River, Travelers and Springtime Activities*, oil on copper, 51 x 58.5 cm, ca. 1700-1710 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 199**

Jan Griffier I, *Village with a Market and Procession*, oil on copper, 50 x 64 cm, 1710-1718 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 200**

Jan Griffier I, *Winter Landscape with Skaters, Church, and Village along a Riverbank*, oil on copper, 51.5 x 59 cm, 1707-1710 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 201**

Jan Griffier I, *Landscape with a Village, River, Boats, and Peasants Camping*, oil on copper, 48 x 61.5 cm, 1700-1710 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 202**

Jan Griffier I, *Mountain Landscape with a Village, River, and Peasants Feasting*, oil on copper, ca. 50 x 60 cm, ca. 1700-1710 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 203**

Jan Griffier I, *A Landscape with a River, A Village, and a Country Feast*, oil on canvas, 30.5 x 39 cm, ca. 1710 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 204**

Jan Griffier I, *Mountain Landscape with a Village, River, and Boats*, oil on panel, 30 x 39 cm, ca 1672-1695 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 205**

Jan Griffier I, *Rhine Landscape with Boats, Mountains, and a Village*, oil on panel, 28.5 x 37 cm, 1669 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 206**

Jan Griffier I, *View of the Rhine*, oil on panel, 27.5 x 34.5 cm, 1669 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 207**

Hermann Saftleven, *View of the Rhine*, oil on canvas, 61 x 82 cm, 1662 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 208**

Herman van der Mij, *Artemisia Drinking the Ashes of her Husband Mausolus*, oil on panel, 48 x 40 cm, 1710-1725 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 209
Rembrandt van Rijn, *Visitation with Mary and Elizabeth*, oil on panel, 56.5 x 47.9 cm, 1640 (Institute of Fine Arts, Detroit)



fig. 210
Caspar Netscher, *The Knife Grinder*, oil on panel, 43 x 34 cm, 1662 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 211
Carel de Moor, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, oil on canvas, 66.5 x 59.2 cm, 1710 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



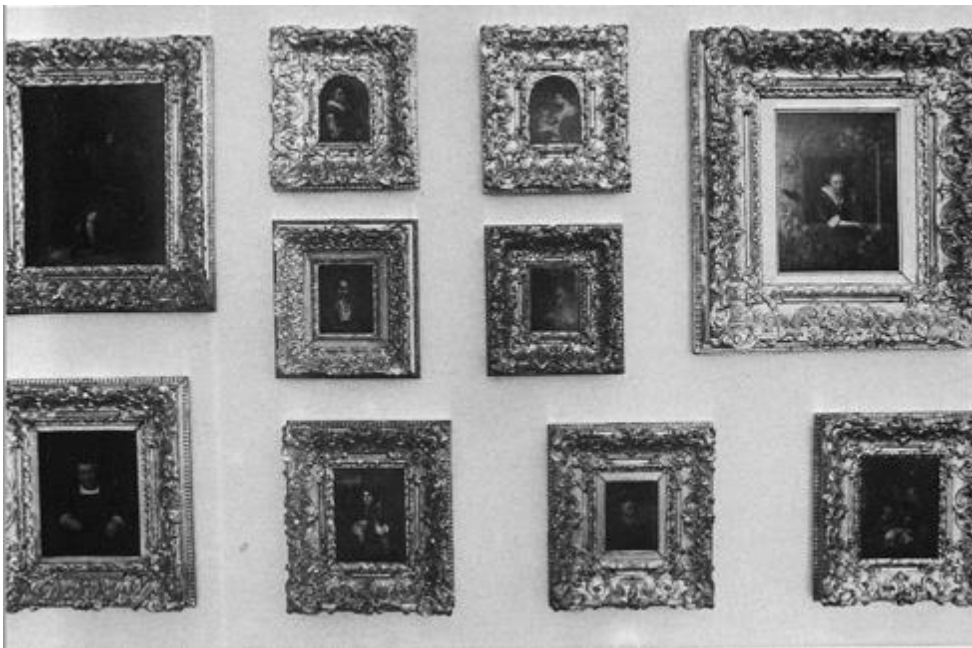
fig. 212
Gottfried Schalken, *Portrait of a Painter*, oil on panel, 14 x 10 cm, 1665-1670 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 213**

Gottfried Schalken, *The Goddess Latona Turning the Lycian Shepherds into Frogs*, oil on panel, 37 x 53 cm, ca 1690 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 214**

Adriaen van der Werff, *The Death of Abel*, oil on panel, 47.5 x 34.5 cm, 1699 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]

**fig. 215**

Photograph, circa 1982 (See Carlenrica Spantigati, "Vecchie e nuove precisazioni sulla quadreria del principe Eugenio di Savoia," in *Conoscere la Galleria Sabauda; Documenti sulla storia delle sue collezioni* (Torino: Soprintendenza per i beni artistici e storici del Piemonte, 1982), 35.)



fig. 216

Giacomo Antonio Boni, *Plato*, oil on canvas, 90.7 x 118.5 cm, 1722
(Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 217

Giacomo Antonio Boni, *Cicero*, oil on canvas, 96 x 123.5 cm, 1722
(Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 218

Giacomo Antonio Boni, *Virgil*, oil on canvas, 92 x 118 cm, 1722 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 219

Giacomo del Pò, *bozzetto* depicting the *Triumphal Reception of Prince Eugene into Olympus* and for the *Audienz Zimmer* at the Upper Belvedere, ca. 1718 (See Achille della Ragione, *Giacomo Del Pò: Opera Completa* (Napoli: Napoli arte, 2011), 83.)



fig. 220

Giacomo del Pò, *bozzetto* depicting a detail from the *Triumphal Reception of Prince Eugene into Olympus* and for the *Audienz Zimmer* at the Upper Belvedere, ca. 1718 (See Achille della Ragione, *Giacomo Del Pò: Opera Completa* (Napoli: Napoli arte, 2011), 83.)



fig. 221

Giacomo del Pò, *bozzetto* depicting a detail from the *Triumphal Reception of Prince Eugene into Olympus* and for the *Audienz Zimmer* at the Upper Belvedere, ca. 1718 (See Achille della Ragione, *Giacomo Del Pò: Opera Completa* (Napoli: Napoli arte, 2011), 83.)



fig. 222

Salomon Kleiner, *Spiegel Zimmer* at the Lower Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See “Seconde Partie,” in *Residences Memorables de l’Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monseigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1738).]



fig. 223

Francesco Solimena, *bozzetto* depicting *Aurora and Cephalus* for the vault of the Spiegel Zimmer at the Upper Belvedere, ca. 1725 (See Cornelia Diekamp, “Le commissioni del Principe Eugenio di Savoia a Francesco Solimena: La pala della Depozizione di Schloss Hof e due Modelli autografi, tra cui uno inedito,” *News-Art: Notizie deal mondo dell’Arte*, January 22, 2017, <http://news-art.it/news/francesco-solimena-ed-eugenio-di-savoia--precisazioni-sulle.htm>.)



fig. 224

Ludwig Kainzbauer, *Das Goldkabinett im Oberen Belvedere*, oil on canvas, 100 x 70 cm, 1885 (Belvedere Museum, Wien)



fig. 225

Studio copy of Titian's *Perseus and Andromeda*, oil on canvas, 193 x 198 cm, after 1560 (Hermitage, St. Petersburg)



fig. 226

Abraham Mignon, *Tree Trunk with Flowers and Herbs*, oil on canvas, 66 x 80 cm, ca. 1675 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 227

Cornelius de Heem, *Still Life with Flowers*, oil on canvas, 57.5 x 49 cm, ca. 1675 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 228

Abraham Mignon, *Still Life*, oil on canvas, 99 x 84 cm, ca. 1675 (Louvre, Paris)



fig. 229

Jan Davidsz. de Heem, *Still Life with Fruit and Flowers*, oil on canvas, 89.5 x 73 cm (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 230

Jacques Courtois, *Battle of Hungarians and the Turks*, oil on canvas, 105 x 210.5 cm, ca. 1650 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)



fig. 231

Abraham Mignon, *Still life with Flowers*, oil on canvas, 88 x 67 cm, ca. 1675 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 232

Hendrick Schoock, *Still life with Flowers*, oil on canvas, 101 x 73 cm, ca. 1675 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 233

Jan Davidsz. de Heem, *Fruit and Flowers with a Crucifix, Bread, and Cup*, oil on canvas, 110 x 75 cm, ca. 1675 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 234

Franz Werner Tamm, *Still Life with Flowers and Miniature Gazelle*, oil on canvas, 151 x 142 cm, ca. 1720 (Belvedere Museum, Vienna)



fig. 235

Franz Werner Tamm, *Still Life with Flowers and Eurasian Crane*, oil on canvas, 151 x 142 cm, ca. 1720 (Belvedere Museum, Vienna)



fig. 236

Salomon Kleiner, *Marmoriertes Cabinet* at the Lower Belvedere, drawing ca. 1729 [See "Troisième Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1738).]



fig. 237

Pietro Muttoni called Pietro della Vecchia, *The Three Graces*, oil on canvas, 158 x 124 cm, ca. 1650 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) [photo Christina Lamb Chakalova, 2018]



fig. 238

Guido Reni, *David with the Head of Goliath*, oil on canvas, 214.5 x 143 cm, ca. 1629, private collection (See Cornelia Diekamp, "Die Sammlung eines Prinzen: zur Geschichte der Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen nach 1736 mit einer Rekonstruktion des 'Bilder-Saales' im Oberen Belvedere," *Belvedere: Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 11, no. 2 (2005): 20.)



fig. 239

Attributed to Hendrik Goltzius, *Birth of Christ*, oil on copper, 41 x 29 cm, ca. 1600 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)



fig. 240

Bartolomeo Scheoni, *Two Children*, oil on wood, 33 x 28 cm, ca 1606-09 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)



fig. 241

Bartolomeo Scheoni, *Two Children*, oil on wood, 33 x 28 cm, ca 1606-09 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)



fig. 242
Anthony van Dyck, *Amaryllis and Mirtillio*, oil on canvas, 121 x 145 cm, 1631-32 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)



fig. 243
Salomon Kleiner, detail showing Titian's *Venus and Adonis*, ca. 1560 [See "Troisieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1738).]



fig. 244
Philips Wouwerman, *Battle at a Bridge*, oil on canvas, 82.5 x 105 cm, ca. 1665 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)



fig. 245
Francesco Salviati, *Geometry*, oil on canvas, 176 x 125 cm, ca. 1550 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)



fig. 246
Alessandro Varotari, *Sleeping Venus*, oil on canvas, 110 x 150 cm, ca. 1630 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)



fig. 247
Gian Giacomo Sementi after Reni, *Cleopatra*, oil on canvas, 170 x 112.5 cm, ca. 1627 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)



fig. 248
Francesco Albani, *Hermaphrodus and Salmacis*, oil on canvas, 183 x 228 cm, 1645-50 (Sabauda Gallery, Turin)



fig. 249
Francesco Albani, *Adam and Eve*, oil on canvas, 97 x 153.5 cm, 1635 (Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brüssel)



fig. 250

Ignaz Heinitz von Heinzenthal, *Still Life with Ostriches, an Agave, and Bananna Tree*, oil on canvas, 317 x 159 cm, 1723 (Belvedere Museum, Vienna)



fig. 251

Ignaz Heinitz von Heinzenthal, *Still Life with Hyena, Chital, Cassowary, Cactus, and Palm Trees*, oil on canvas, 317 x 159 cm, 1723 (Belvedere Museum, Vienna)



fig. 252

Salomon Kleiner, *Water Birds*, grey feather pen, watercolors, and white chalk highlights, 28.3 x 39 cm, 1723 (ALBERTINA WIEN, Vienna)



fig. 253

Salomon Kleiner, *Flightless Birds*, grey feather pen, watercolors, and white chalk highlights, 27.5 x 39.5 cm, 1723 (ALBERTINA WIEN, Vienna)



fig. 254

Salomon Kleiner, *Predators and Ruminants*, grey feather pen, watercolors, and white chalk highlights, 28.4 x 39 cm, 1723 (ALBERTINA WIEN, Vienna)



fig. 255

Salomon Kleiner, *Fallow Deer*, grey feather pen, watercolors, and white chalk highlights, 27.2 x 39 cm, 1723 (ALBERTINA WIEN, Vienna)



fig. 256

Salomon Kleiner, *Lion, Oxen, Antelope, and Ape*, grey feather pen, watercolors, and white chalk highlights, 27.8 x 40 cm, 1723 (ALBERTINA WIEN, Vienna)



fig. 257

Salomon Kleiner, *Sheep*, grey feather pen, watercolors, and white chalk highlights, 28 x 40 cm, 1723 (ALBERTINA WIEN, Vienna)



fig. 258

Salomon Kleiner, *Chickens, Waterfowl, and Apes*, grey feather pen, watercolors, and white chalk highlights, 27.5 x 39 cm, 1723 (ALBERTINA WIEN, Vienna)



fig. 259

Salomon Kleiner, *Parrots, Apes, and Fallow Deer*, grey feather pen, watercolors, and white chalk highlights, 27.4 x 39.5 cm, 1723 (ALBERTINA WIEN, Vienna)



fig. 262

Salomon Kleiner, *Birds of Prey*, grey feather pen, watercolors, and white chalk highlights, 27.5 x 39.5 cm, 1723 (ALBERTINA WIEN, Vienna)



fig. 263

Phillip Ferdinand de Hamilton, *Lynx and Vulture*, oil on canvas, 87.7 x 118.5 cm, 1722 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)



fig. 264

Phillip Ferdinand de Hamilton, *Fallow Deer*, oil on canvas, 87 x 118 cm, 1722 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)



fig. 265

Phillip Ferdinand de Hamilton, *Albino Guinea fowl and Coati*, oil on canvas, 88 x 119 cm, 1722 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)



fig. 266

Phillip Ferdinand de Hamilton, *Vultures*, oil on canvas, 110 x 127 cm, 1723 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)



fig. 267

Phillip Ferdinand de Hamilton, *Pelicans and other Waterfowl*, oil on canvas, 110 x 124 cm, 1724 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)



fig. 268

Phillip Ferdinand de Hamilton, *Scansorial Birds*, ca. 110 x 127 cm, 1723 [See "Troisieme Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsieur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1738).]



fig. 269

Phillip Ferdinand de Hamilton, *Piebald Deer*, oil on canvas, 110 x 126 cm, 1724 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)



fig. 270

Phillip Ferdinand de Hamilton, *Chital, Ibex, Goats, and Hare*, oil on canvas, 108 x 126 cm, 1723



fig. 271

Franz Werner Tamm, *Still Life with Plants and Pelican*, ca. 151 x 142 cm, ca. 1720 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)



fig. 272

Franz Werner Tamm, *Still Life with Plants and Fruit*, oil on canvas, 109 x 145 cm, ca. 1720 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)



fig. 273

Franz Werner Tamm, *Still Life with Plants and Fruit*, oil on canvas, 112 x 155 cm, ca. 1720 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)



fig. 274

Franz Werner Tamm, *Still Life with Plants and Fruit*, oil on canvas, 110 x 151 cm, ca. 1720 (See Österreichische Galerie and Elfriede Baum, eds., *Katalog des Österreichischen Barockmuseums im Unteren Belvedere in Wien*, vol. 2, Grosse Meister, Epochen und Themen der österreichischen Kunst: Barock (Wien ; München: Herold, 1980), 699.)



fig. 275

Franz Werner Tamm, *Still Life with Plants*, ca. 1720 [See "Seconde Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monsigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1738).]



fig. 276

Franz Werner Tamm, *Still Life with Fruit*, ca. 1720 [See "Seconde Partie," in *Residences Memorables de l'Incomparable Heros de Nôtre Siècle, ou Edifices et Jardins de Son Altesse Serenissime Monseigneur Le Prince Eugene François de Savoye et de Piedmont* (Augsburg: Jeremias Wolff, 1738).]

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Christina M. Lamb Chakalova**7 Education:**

- 2015-2021 **Rutgers University:** New Brunswick, New Jersey
 Degree: PhD in Art History
 Certification: Certificate in Curatorial Studies, earned 2018
 PhD Advisor: Dr. Catherine Puglisi
 Dissertation Title: Artistic Mobility and Cultural Transfer: Prince Eugene of Savoy's Belvedere Palace in Imperial Vienna
- 2009-2012 **Universität Wien:** Vienna, Austria
 Degree: Master of Art in Art History, *mit Auszeichnung* (with Honors)
 MA Advisor: Ao. Univ. Prof. Dr. Monika Dachs
 MA Thesis Title: The Studio of Guido Reni
- 2005-2009 **Universität Wien:** Vienna, Austria
 Enrolled in: *Diplomstudium* in Art History
- 2001-2005 **Lafayette College:** Easton, Pennsylvania
 Degree: Bachelor of Art, double major in Art History & Religious Studies

7 Academic Awards:**Internal, Rutgers University:**

- 2020-2021 **School of Graduate Studies- New Brunswick:** University and Louis Bevier Fellowship
- 2019-2020 **School of Graduate Studies- New Brunswick:** Excellence Fellowship
- 2018-2019 **Art History Dept.:** Teaching Assistantship
- 2017-2018 **Zimmerli Art Museum:** Dodge-Lawrence Fellowship / Graduate Assistantship
- 2017, 2018 **School of Graduate Studies- New Brunswick:** Professional Development Fund
- 2016, 2017 **School of Graduate Studies- New Brunswick:** Conference Travel Award
- 2016-2019 **Art History Dept.:** Annual summer research grant, supported by the Mary Cowdrey Fund
- 2016-2017 **Art History Dept.:** Teaching Assistantship
- 2016 **School of Graduate Studies- New Brunswick:** Off-Campus Dissertation Development Award
- 2015-2016 **School of Graduate Studies- New Brunswick:** Excellence Fellowship

7 Academic Awards:

External Awards:

2019	American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies: Gwin & Ruth Kolb Travel Grant
2019	Central European History Society: Travel and Research Grant
2018-2019	American Foundation of Savoy Orders: Savoy Orders Pigott Scholarship in the Humanities
2017	Uni. of Vienna & ALBERTINA-WIEN: Travel grant, supported by Wolfgang Ratjen Stiftung
2012	University of Vienna: MA <i>mit Auszeichnung</i> (with Honors)
2012	University of St. Thomas: Graduate student conference top speaker award
2005	Lafayette College: Delta Phi Alpha National German Honor Society & Dean's List

7 Teaching Experience:

Lafayette College, Dept. of Art History: Course Instructor

Fall 2021	AH 101: Introduction to Art History (Pre 1400)
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Rutgers University, Dept. of Art History: Course Instructor (Summer/Winter Session)

07.2020 - 08.2020	AH 106: Introduction to Art History (1400-Present), Online course
12.2019 - 1.2020	AH 106: Introduction to Art History (1400-Present), Online course
05.2019 - 07.2019	AH 105: Introduction to Art History (Pre 1400), Online course
12.2018 - 1.2019	AH 105: Introduction to Art History (Pre 1400), Online course
07.2018 - 08.2018	AH 105: Introduction to Art History (Pre 1400), Online course
05.2017 - 07.2017	AH 105: Introduction to Art History (Pre 1400), Hybrid course

Rutgers University, Dept. of Art History: Teaching Assistant

Fall 2021	AH 105: Introduction to Art History (Pre 1400) - Dr. John Kenfield, online in Canvas
Spring 2019	AH 106: Introduction to Art History (1400-Present) - Prof. Dr. Andres Zervigon, online course in Canvas, dual-appointment teaching assistantship
Fall 2018	AH 214: Renaissance Art in Europe - Dr. Sarah McHam, grading assistant only
Fall 2018	AH 105: Introduction to Art History (Pre 1400) - Dr. John Kenfield, online in Canvas
Fall 2016	AH 105: Introduction to Art History (Pre 1400) - Dr. Catherine Puglisi

7 Publications:

- 2020 Christina Lamb Chakalova, *Magnificence and Illusionistic Spectacle: Bolognese Quadratura at the Belvedere of Prince Eugene of Savoy in Imperial Vienna* in the Festschrift "Celebrating Magnificenza: Studies in Italian Art in Honor of Diane Cole Ahl," ed. by Barbara Wisch and Gerardo de Simone (Pisa: Predella, 2020)
- 2010 Christina Margarete Chakalova, *Dream Lines* in "Staging Export: Valie zu Ehren," ed. by Margarete Lamb-Faffelberger and Carola Hilmes (New York: Peter Lang, 2010)

7 Conferences and Presentations:

- Forthcom. Mar. 2022 **University of Minnesota Center for Austrian Studies in collaboration with the Wirth Institute for Austrian and Central European Studies at the University of Alberta:** invited participant at the Seminar Fellows Program (postponed from September 2020)
- November 10, 2018 **Lafayette College:** Presented *Mobility and Magnificence: Prince Eugene of Savoy's Belvedere Palace in Imperial Vienna* at "Celebrating Magnificenza: A Symposium on Italian Renaissance Art." Invited speaker at the symposium in honor of Diane Cole Ahl
- October 26, 2017 **Rutgers University, Italian Department:** Presented *Artemisia Gentileschi and Self-Portraiture*. Invited speaker in the graduate seminar of Dr. Andrea Baldi
- August 3, 2017 **University of Vienna & ALBERTINA-WIEN:** Presented *Disegno and Invenzione: The Role of Drawing in the Artistic Process of Guido Reni and his Followers* during the graduate student conference "Studienkurs zur Theorie und Praxis der Zeichnung: Kennerschaft, Sammlungsdiskurse, Kuratorische Praxis" organized by Sebastian Schütze (Uni. Wien) and Christof Metzger (Albertina) between July 31-August 4, 2017
- November 2, 2016 **Allentown Art Museum:** Presented *Giovanni Andrea Sirani's Artemisia* at the public "Gallery Talk"
- August 19, 2016 **Sixteenth Century Society Conference:** Presented *Intimacy in the Studio of Guido Reni* at the panel "Intimacy in Early Modern Art" organized by Andrea Pearson (American U.) during the society's annual conference in Bruges Belgium between August 18-20, 2016
- November 14, 2012 **University of St. Thomas:** Presented *The Studio of Guido Reni* at the annual graduate student research symposium "Generations and Traditions," recipient of top speaker award

7 Museum Experience:

2018	Zimmerli Art Museum, Exhibition: <i>Leonid Lamm-Neuermore</i> (March 3-September 30, 2018) Curatorial assistant to Dr. Julia Tulovsky and co-author of the exhibition brochure
2016	New York Historical Society: <i>Anti-Semitism 1919–1939</i> (April 12-July 31, 2016) Translations of original Nazi documents and Hitler's notes for the catalogue publication accompanying an exhibition organized by Dr. Marilyn Kushner
2017	Zimmerli Art Museum, Exhibition: <i>Commemorating the Russian Revolution, 1917/2017</i> (October 14, 2017-February 18, 2018) Curatorial assistant to Dr. Julia Tulovsky
2017-2018	Zimmerli Art Museum: Department of Russian and Soviet Nonconformist Art (Dodge Collection), Dodge Lawrence Fellow and graduate assistant
2016	Allentown Art Museum: Internship, January through May
2015-2018	Rutgers University-Curatorial Studies Certificate: Incl. one curatorial training seminar with Dr. Marilyn Kushner (curator: New York Historical Society), one exhibition seminar with Dr. Jane Sharp (curator and professor of art history: Rutgers University and Zimmerli Art Museum), and over 100 hours of practical experience in museums

7 Committee Work:

2015 - 2018	Rutgers University, Dept. of Art History: Graduate Student Symposium, committee member
2016-17, 2018-19	Rutgers University, Dept. of Art History: Distinguished Speaker Series, committee member
2017-2018	Rutgers University, Dept. of Art History: Rutgers Art Review, editorial board member

7 Foreign Languages:

German	Near native fluency
Bulgarian	Research & intermediate speaking knowledge
Italian	Research & basic speaking knowledge
Spanish	Research & basic speaking knowledge
French	Research knowledge
Dutch	Research knowledge

7 Professional Memberships:

ICOM	International Council of Museums
ASECS	American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies
CEHS	Central European History Society