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WENZEL ANTON, PRINCE KAUNITZ-RIETBERG: FROM “CURIOSITÉ” TO CRITICISM OF ART

In 1786, Viennese state and court Chancellor Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg proposed for the second time to Emperor Joseph II that a chair of art history be established at the University of Vienna.¹ The Emperor, however, rejected the idea, saying that he knew of no one who could become a professor of art history in Vienna. The first time Kaunitz made the suggestion, he probably had in mind Johann Joachim Winckelmann for the post; but as the classical archeologist died soon afterwards, Kaunitz's dream did not come true. It is not my intention to draw any far-reaching conclusions on the origins of the Viennese school of art history in the Hapsburg Empire from the second proposition, documented as it is only in fragments of correspondence, yet I would like to present certain remarks on the topic in order to point out the personage of the Chancellor as a patron of the arts and a *curieux* that has so far been overshadowed by more important and famous collectors of the late 18th century.

Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg of the Moravian branch of the Kaunitz counts and princes is known primarily as a politician and Chancellor under three sovereigns in the Hapsburg monarchy of the 18th century (Maria Theresia, Joseph II and Leopold II).² For this reason the contemporary scholarly research on

¹ W. Wagner, *Die Geschichte der Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Wien*. Wien 1967, p. 52: “1786 kam [Kaunitz] neuerlich auf seinen Wunsch nach Errichtung einer theoretischen Lehrkanzel für Mythologie, Fabelkunde, Kunstgeschichte, Philosophie und Kostümkunde zurück [...]”

² Selected literature on Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg: G. Klingenstein, *Der Aufstieg des Hauses Kaunitz. Studien zur Herkunft und Bildung des Staatskanzlers Wenzel Anton*. Göttingen 1975; T. Simányi, *Kaunitz oder Diplomatische Revolution*. Wien 1984; F. A. J. Szabo, *Kaunitz and Enlightened Absolutism 1753–1780*. Cambridge 1994. On Kaunitz's relationship to arts cf.: H. Burg, *Franz Anton Zauner und seine Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Klassizismus in Österreich*. Wien 1915; A. Novotny, *Staatskanzler Kaunitz als geistige Persönlichkeit*. Wien 1947; C. Hálová-Jahodová, *Galerie moravských Kouniců (Z dějin uměleckých zájmů jejich budovatelů) [The Gallery of Moravian Kaunitz Family. From the History of Art Interests of Its Creators]*. *Časopis Matice moravské* 63/64,

the history and culture of Central European Enlightenment has essentially dealt only with his foreign policy and his efforts to introduce reforms to modernize the monarchy. He was in fact recognized as a patron of fine arts for the first time by Brno art historian Cecilie Hálová-Jahodová, whose work on the history of the gallery in the Slavkov château (near Brno) pointed out his remarkable achievements as a collector. Earlier Austrian historical studies often express a distinct ambiguity over the attitudes of the Chancellor, whose cultural orientation towards France seldom coincided with the thinking of nationalist-leaning historiography. In the German context, it was only after the World War II that the Chancellor was recognized as a leading intellectual personality of the European Enlightenment in the second half of the 18th century, beginning with a study by Alexander Novotny. Drawing on the same historical sources as the nationalists, his study portrays Kaunitz not as an Austrian patriot but rather as a pan-European humanist.

What was it that gave rise to such ambiguity in the historiography of art? I believe that the scant attention paid to Kaunitz's patronage of arts is due to the traditional way of perceiving Enlightenment culture as linked with the notions of *utilitarianism*, *rational classicism*, etc. The Chancellor's contemporaries, however, would place him in a rather different light. For example, Johann Kaspar Riesbeck (1754–1786) in his *Briefen eines reisenden Franzosen über Deutschland* from 1783 speaks of the Chancellor's love of splendor, which was allegedly in stark contrast to the frugality and utilitarianism of Emperor Joseph II. A manifestation of this trait was the Chancellor's friendship with and patronage of artists and scholars.³ There are more such statements to be found in correspondence and press articles of the period; and, in fact, Kaunitz's truly important contribution to the history of fine arts is more and more often pointed out in the expanding volume of scholarly publications on the late 18th century in Central Europe. Yet it took quite a long time before he was spoken of as both *a count of peace and a patron of the arts* at the international conference held in Slavkov and Brno in 1994, commemorating the anniversary of the Chancellor's death.⁴ As I have already mentioned, the following study is to be understood as a kind of prolegomena to a much wider research project. Drawing from often little known archival sources, I would like to address the following topics:⁵

1939/1940, pp. 83–108, 315–373; J. Kroupa, Václav Antonín Kaunitz-Rietberg a výtvarné umění (Kulturní politika nebo umělecký mecenáš?) [Václav Antonín Kaunitz-Rietberg and Fine Arts. Cultural Policy or Patronage of the Arts?]. *Studia comeniana et historica* 18, 1988, pp. 71–79.

3 J. K. Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen über Deutschland an seinen Bruder zu Paris* (hrsg. von W. Gerlach). Stuttgart 1967, pp. 125–132.

4 G. Klingenstein, F. A. Szabo (edd.), *Wenzel Anton Fürst Kaunitz-Rietberg (1711–1794). Neue Perspektiven zu Politik und Kultur der europäischen Aufklärung*. Graz 1996

5 Moravský zemský archiv Brno [Moravian Land Archive in Brno; further quoted as MZA Brno], G 436, RA Kouniců [The Family Archive of the Kaunitzes], Karton 429–452. At present, the Archive is being re-catalogued, cf.: Marie Zaoralová, Rodinný archiv morav-

a) the Chancellor's relationship to architecture; b) the motivation for his patronage of the arts and the grounds of his personal taste; c) his collaborators and art procurers; and last, but not least, d) his relationship to the then nascent discipline: the history of arts.

I. 1.

Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg first encountered fine arts during his studies in Leipzig and his subsequent cavalier tours of the Netherlands, France and Italy. In the years 1731–1732 he studied in Leipzig with Christian Georg Gebauer, Johann Jakob Mascow and Johann Friedrich Christ. It was Christ whose noble, Cicero-esque conduct and comprehensive art-historical and cultural interests must have made a profound impression on the young aristocrat. Kaunitz's major-domo (*Hofmeister*) mentions him in a letter to Slavkov as a *greatly learned man* and the sources of the period speak of him as an *adornment of the University*. In the historiography of art history, Johann Friedrich Christ has an established position as one of the *evangelists* of the new discipline, although what he actually taught at the Leipzig University *Collegium privatum historiae litterariae* was essentially an amalgam of Cicero-esque rhetoric, epigraphics, diplomacy, numismatics and learning on statues, graphics and book printing. Such mixture of antiquarian and art disciplines, however, served well, in terms of Enlightenment *archaeology of taste*, to educate an open-minded art connoisseur capable of critical perception. Of equal importance to the culture of the 18th century was the fact that Christ, an owner of a collection of graphic prints, also emphasized the broad utility of graphic and copper-engraving techniques. Apparently it is no accident that Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg, in a later memorandum on the founding of the Viennese *Kupferstecherakademie* was going to use similar words when arguing for the necessity to establish a teaching institute of reproduction techniques in the Hapsburg Empire. And undoubtedly it also was Christ from Leipzig who nurtured young Kaunitz's eye for and understanding of the fine arts and who educated him in ancient, humanistic culture, particularly through the study of Cicero's writings. As opposed to Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Christ did not perceive ancient Greece and Rome as the archetype of a all art, but saw it — typically — as linked to humanistic tradition and French academic classics.

The future Chancellor's knowledge of fine arts was certainly exceptionally good even when he was still a student. In his letters to his father in Slavkov, he would include interesting facts and observations from his tours about fine arts: he admired the works of Rubens, appreciated the works of van Eyck, etc. His

fine knowledge is further confirmed by a remarkable passage from a letter by his major-domo: in 1733, he described the meeting in Rome of his young charge with the new viceroy of Naples, Count Giulio Visconti. The viceroy, having heard of Kaunitz's knowledge of art history, asked him to be his guide to the Vatican collections. The major-domo then proceeds in his letter: "[...] *and as the young count possesses an extensive knowledge of art and literature, His Excellency the viceroy was more than satisfied with his Cicero-esque guidance.*"⁶ Among the names of important persons whom Kaunitz had met in Rome, the major-domo enumerated, in his diary, the architect Bariggoni, sculptors Comachini and Algardi, painter Placido Costanzi.⁷

In Rome Kaunitz received lectures on architecture, while studying with the papal builder Paolo Possi. And also in his later correspondence, the Chancellor mentioned several times his drawings and architectural ideas. In 1775, for instance, he wrote to the poet and librettist Regnier Calsabiggi: "*I am at present constructing a very splendid house. I am my own architect, gardener and the creator of all that is happening in front of my eyes and I am very pleased when I see that even people of taste are praising my work.*"⁸ This quotation illustrates very well that Kaunitz was personally engaged in architecture. We have thus reached a very interesting, yet so far little researched topic — Kaunitz not only as a patron or sponsor of architects but as an active architect in his own right. While the Chancellor would write of his *ideas*, there are later sources that confirm that all his life he remained very close to the art of architecture. They mention his architectural designs, such as his collaboration with Nicolo Pacassi on the project of the court theater in Vienna or the royal palace in Milan and others. So far, however, we can not be certain of the exact meaning of Kaunitz's terms of *ideas* and *projects*. Do they refer to ideal designs or do they imply that the Chancellor actually drew his projects? It appears that at least some of his designs were really executed in drawing, and subsequently elaborated upon by

⁶ MZA Brno, G 436, (F 11/I), Inv. No. III/48: Die Länder Reise des Herrn Grafen Wenzel Anton v. Kaunitz-Rietberg betreffend. Rom, 6. Juni 1733: "*Euer Hochgräfl. Excellenz berichte gehorsamst, daß wir morgen von Rom verreisen, und nicht Ursache haben die etliche zugesetzten Tage zu bedauern, allermassen die Reception des neuen Vicekönigs eine recht remarquable Funktion gewesen [...], [...] der Vizekönig sich Herrn Grafen zum Antiquario ausgebetten um den Vatican die Bibliothec und Galerie zu besehen. Weilen nun der Herr Graf über die Architectur, Schildereyen und Bücher mit guten Fundament und Cognition raisonnées, also ist Seine Excellenz von des Herrn Grafen Ciceronaden vollkommen vergnügt gewesen.*"

⁷ MZA Brno, G 436, Recueil de personnes a Rome 1733: die Architekten Paolo Possi, Filippo Barigioni (1672–1753), Manzini pittore, Placido Cosstanzi pittore, David rittrartista, Pietro Bianchi pittore de paisi, Comachini scultore, Gabbo Costanzi intagliatore, etc.

⁸ MZA Brno, G 436, Karton 438: an R. Calzabigi, 18.9. 1775: "*[...] Je suis occupé a battre une tres belle maison. Je suis moi même mon Architecte, mon jardinier, et le souvrastante en chef de tout ce qui s'y fait sous mes yeux. J'ai la satisfaction de voir, que les gens de goût trouvent, ce que je fais, bien.*"

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an architect or builder of his choice. This applies primarily to the projects and construction of his own palaces and his residence.

In 1753, soon after he returned from his diplomatic missions, Kaunitz purchased from Anna Rosina Albrecht von Albrechtsburg the former Palace Albrechtsburg in the outskirts of Vienna, in Mariahilf.⁹ Its original appearance (variation on Fischer's theme of a *Lustgebäude*) dating back to the 1690s was probably the work of the Viennese builder Christian Alexander Oedtl. The Chancellor gradually adapted it, in two stages, into a residence in the outskirts. The most significant part of the residential adaptation was the modernization of the *maison de plaisance* and its surroundings. The history of the reconstruction and modernization is reasonably well-documented in historical sources.

The first stage of the construction was carried out by the court builder Johann Adam Münzer. In September 1754, he wrote to Kaunitz about the work on the garden, the new portal and new façade. Reflecting upon the novelty of the project, he concludes his report quite characteristically with the following words: "[...] *et par dessin bien proportionés et d'un gout à la moderne*". We can imagine this *modernization* by comparing the layout of the lot in the plan of Vienna from approximately 1769–1774 (by Joseph Daniel von Huber) with four water-colored projects from a later period, on deposit at the Slavkov château. They indicate that the *corps de logis* of the *maison de plaisance* remained essentially unchanged; only the court façade was altered through the new arrangement of high, arched windows on the first floor. The nucleus was naturally preserved in a nearly-square ground plan (5 x 4 window axes) with a rectangular central hall extending into the garden. The Slavkov watercolors also show that the garden was also newly created, although kept in the spirit of classic French art of the first half of the 18th century, and that it contained sculptural works. Münzer suggested in his letter that some statues be moved to Mariahilf that had been made by sculptor Jakob Gabriel Müller (called Mollinarolo) originally for the Old University in Vienna. Whether this suggestion was acted upon, we do not know. We could certainly hypothesize that Mollinarolo's bozzettes of personifications of the four seasons of the year (today in Berlin) are the studies for the decoration of Kaunitz's garden. Similarly, Luigi Ronzoni justifiably assumes that Mollinarolo's bust of the Chancellor (which was later in the 19th century rather inaptly situated in the upper part of the portal of the main hall in the Slavkov château and which bears a signature and the date 1759) was originally intended for the residence in Mariahilf.¹⁰ Mollinarolo's *painterly* approach to

⁹ MZA Brno, G 436, Inv. No. A 30: purchase agreement with Anna Rosina Albrecht von Albrechtsburg for a garden and two houses in Mariahilf (enclosed is also the original agreement from 1695, when the original *maison de plaisance* was probably built).

¹⁰ Cf.: J. Schmidt, *Die alte Universität in Wien und ihr Erbauer Jean Nicolas Jadot*. Wien 1929. I owe my thanks for the information on the Kaunitz statue to Dr. L. A. Ronzoni, Vienna. See also L. A. Ronzoni, Jacob Gabriel de Mollinaro, detto Müller — Polyctetes Austriacus. In: *Cat. Georg Raphael Donner 1693–1741*. Wien 1993, pp. 160–186.

sculpture and his certain *neo-mannerism* were undoubtedly appreciated in the very moment when the Chancellor looked for and regarded particularly the ingenuity and virtuosity in works of art. When he assumed the office of Chancellor of State, Kaunitz had 476 paintings transported from the gallery in Slavkov to Vienna and even in 1779, during the second stage of the reconstruction, his court painter and director of the gallery, Jan Nepomuk Steiner further chose 365 paintings from Slavkov to be moved to Vienna. The total number of paintings in the Viennese residence was estimated to have been a stunning 2000 (!?) works.

In the second stage, Kaunitz went on enlarging the residence. He began with the acquisition of two adjacent houses, previously owned by the chapter of St. Stephan in Vienna. In order to obtain further space necessary to accommodate the gallery, he had the newly acquired houses reconstructed, along with several structures on the edge of the building lot, including an older chapel. This older ensemble of buildings still appears on Huber's plan, which was probably drawn before the modifications of this part began. The whole group of buildings was torn down and a new entrance wing erected, with a portal in the center. The side wing thus gained a symmetrical appearance: it consisted of a nine-axis gallery, with two-axis wings based on a square ground plan attached to either side. To one of the wings, a newly-designed house chapel was attached. The descriptions from the period also indicate that in one wing there was a French theater. Should we search for a functional parallel to the newly built structure, we can find it in the French *maisons de plaisance*. In his theoretical work, Jacques François Blondel created a functionally similar project characteristically referred to as *trianon*. And in fact we might consider the *Grand Trianon* of the Versailles gardens to be the true prototype for this structure. In Kaunitz's Viennese residence, this *trianon* was built adjacent to the *maison de plaisance*, becoming a part of it. Its function was actually to enlarge the originally small building of the *Lustgebäude* so that it might become a more significant residence of the Chancellor.

The author of the project of these modifications remains unknown. The whole *maison de plaisance* fell victim to later reconstructions in Mariahilf. The builder in the first stage, Johann Adam Münzer was at that time constructing the Old University in Vienna according to the project of Jean Nicolas Jadot and when Jadot left Central Europe in 1753, Münzer started to work with the new court architect Nicolo Pacassi. The architectural details of the reconstruction suggest that the author of the project worked in the court circles of Maria Theresia. The fragments of correspondence concerning the reconstruction in Mariahilf, deposited in the family archives of the Kaunitzes, come without exception from the court office for construction. The uncrowned prince of the Viennese rococo-classicist architectural school of that period was Nicolo Franz Leonhard, Freiherr von Pacassi (1716–1790). Having assumed the office of court architect, formerly held by Jean Nicolas Jadot, he adopted Jadot's *French* style and subsequently propagated it in the court milieu, where he had virtually unlimited

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authority in architectural matters. He collaborated with the Chancellor of State, Prince Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg, starting from the early 1760s: for instance, Kaunitz supposedly was his consultant for the construction of the new Kärntnertor-Theater (1761–1763), he supervised the completion of the Secret Court Office (1767) and he might have contributed his ideas to the so called Third Project for the Palazzo Reale in Milan. The Chancellor's influence on the idea of the reconstruction of the Mariahilf residence must have been of similar kind. Yet in 1772 Nicolo Pacassi stepped down from the office of court architect, thus allowing the new, Josephinian generation of Viennese architects to take over.

Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg met one of the new generation of architects for the first time in 1766. It was the young Johann Ferdinand Hetzendorf von Hohenberg (1732–1816) who, not long after the completion of the *maison de plaisance*, was considered to be the author of the project by the *antiquarian* Johann Rudolph Füssli. In my opinion, however, the architectural details of the construction do not lend credence to his authorship (as far as we can assume, not knowing the original structure, but judging only from its images made at that time). Hetzendorf von Hohenberg did then make the project of the Schönbrunn theater and, as theater projects were the Chancellor's passion, we could logically assume their closer cooperation. In the 1770s their contacts became more frequent (it was through Kaunitz's support that Hetzendorf von Hohenberg became a professor at the Academy and in 1772 became one of Pacassi's successors at the court office of architecture), but he is mentioned as Prince Kaunitz's architect only as late as in 1783. Thus it appears that the Mariahilf project might have been one of the last realized projects of Pacassi, possibly modified by Hohenberg when he completed the second stage of the reconstruction. Cooperation to some extent might be expected of Kaunitz himself, in the sense which he was emphasizing in his letter to Calsabiggi.

We encounter in the realization of Kaunitz's residence an important new type of projection work.¹¹ The plans for the *maison de plaisance* exist as hand-colored drawings in large format. The drawings were thoroughly executed, framed and deposited in Slavkov originally. This reminds us of a very similar feature of French architecture of that period: *painted architecture*. The resulting work of art was not primarily an architectural project in the classical sense of the word, but in the framework of modern, Enlightenment aesthetics, it represented a typical transition of artistic functions. While the work was a project, at the same time it was an autonomous drawing (!), ready to be hung on a gallery wall. It is possible that these painted projects were made in 1775–1779, when the second stage of Mariahilf reconstruction was completed. In 1780, the interior decoration of the *maison de plaisance* was carried out, documented in the

¹¹ Four projects in: Museum Slavkov: Inv. No. SV 82/170/153; SV 83/169/152; SV 84/171/-; SV 85/163/151.

financial accounts of stone mason Jäger, carpenter Augustin Haundt, locksmith Heuss, stuccatore Dotterle and painter Joseph Pichler.

The whole conception of the residence leads to an interesting parallel. The Chancellor moved out of Vienna, to its environs. There he received important visitors: statesmen and diplomats (most notably, Pope Pius VI.) There he wrote diplomatic correspondence and held a *salon*, known from contemporary accounts. Kaunitz's residence, his *lieu de plaisance* can therefore be compared with the functionally-related *maison de plaisance* Belvedere, built by Prince Eugene of Savoy also in an area *outside and above Vienna*. There was, however, a difference between the two structures, well defined in the essays of Christian Norberg-Schulz, reflecting upon the difference between Baroque and late Baroque architecture. While Prince Eugene of Savoy built his seat and residence with Baroque symbolic and representative splendor, Kaunitz's reconstruction created a residence much smaller in size, making it rather an *Enlightenment lieu de plaisance*, a place of joy, diplomacy and salon discussions. The Baroque *representation* is replaced by a functional interplay of a private villa and a residence.

This reveals symbolically the change of attitude, as well as the social and cultural differences between Baroque and late Baroque. The historical sources and documents should lead us to notice a certain iconographical conception, hidden in the function of the Mariahilf *lieu de plaisance*. In one of his letters, Kaunitz hints at the older, Antique tradition, referring to his residence as *triangle, villa* or his *Tusculum*. That is how we ought to understand the reconstruction and additions to the residence and the sculptural decoration added to the garden. The garden had an interesting, trapezoid layout with a pool at one end, from which there was a fine view of Vienna in the valley below. According to the descriptions of Kaunitz's contemporaries, his palace in the outskirts intentionally created the impression of a true *Tusculum*. We can therefore assume that the following Kaunitz's text be, inscribed in stone,¹² was meant for this residence: *Ciceronis Immortali Memoriae Sacrum Hoc Sibi Tusculum Wenceslaus Princeps Kaunitzius Comes Rietburgienus MDCCLX*.

¹² MZA Brno, G 436, Karton 434, 452: Construction activities of the Chancellor in the 1770's and 1780's: a) Laxenburg: In 1776 Maria Theresia donated to the Chancellor some tracts of land in the vicinity of the court, 1781–1782: a new riding school was built "*bei dem hochfürstlichen Gartengebäude*"; b) Mariahilf: in 1779 Kaunitz acquired two more houses in Mariahilf from the chapter of St. Stephan in Vienna. Subsequently, "*Conti die Bau und Reparationsarbeit des hochfürstlichen Gartengebäude nächst Mariahilff pro Anno 1780 betreffend*" (the expenses include: to carpenter Augustin Haundt 7320 fl., to locksmith Heuss 2057 fl., to painter Pichler 260 fl., etc.); c) In 1759–1760, the Viennese builder Paul Ulrich Trientel estimated the Kaunitz garden in Rossau at 10600 fl. There were the following buildings there: a riding school, stables, a carriage house, an arched carriage way with a portal, and a large courtyard. Documentation regarding the inscription on stone in: MZA Brno, G 436, Karton 436: *Inscription Lapidaire*.

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I. 2.

The Chancellor owned other buildings he took care of, such as the stables and gardens in Rossau (Paul Ulrich Trientel, the municipal builder, documented their condition in 1759–1760), where Kaunitz situated his large and excellent horse breeding facilities. Horses were, along with art, one of the great passions of the Chancellor and in his correspondence, Kaunitz often admits his expertise in this domain. He was a devoted rider all his life.

As with the rest of the elite aristocracy at the Viennese court, the Kaunitz family also had a *maison de plaisance* near the imperial summer residence in Laxenburg. The house had been purchased by Kaunitz's grandfather, Imperial Vice-Chancellor Dominik Andreas, and it was located near the Dietrichstein *maison de plaisance*. It was a typical *Lustgebäude* in layout, dating from around 1700. This type of structure was propagated in and around Vienna through the master-builder of the court, Christian Alexander Oedtl. The Chancellor made this *maison de plaisance* the place where he spent a considerable part of his life (even his letters are much more often dated from here than from Slavkov). The construction work was conducted in the 1780s by Johann Ferdinand Hetzendorf von Hohenberg and the interiors were painted by Viennese fresco painter Josef Pichler.

In view of the family land holdings, the construction work at the Slavkov estate in Moravia was a major architectural enterprise of the Chancellor. In the late 1750s and early 1760s, he was finishing the construction of the family château in Slavkov. The plans for the construction have already been published by Taťána Kubátová.¹³ Together with her teacher Václav Richter, she has concentrated unequivocally on Domenico Martinelli, whom she believes to have been the architect whose plans were carried out more than half a century after he left the Empire. The plans at our disposal, however, indicate clearly that at the time of Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg, there was a major change made in the conception of the project for the château, re-arranging the overall layout.¹⁴ The new conception was based on a project drafted for the Chancellor's father, the governor of the land of Moravia, in the 1730s by Ignazio Valmaggini. Once famous, now obscured by the mists of time, he was the director of the court construction office and directed the construction of the imperial palace Schönbrunn near Vienna. In the late 1740s, under Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg, the construction

¹³ T. Kubátová, Architekt D. Martinelli. *Umění IV*, 1956, pp. 133–144. Presented here are the Italian plans, that are from a period other than that in which Domenico Martinelli worked and should therefore be related rather to Ignazio Valmaggini. On the beginning of the collaboration of Valmaggini with the Chancellor's father, cf.: J. Kroupa, *Otázky slavkovského zámku: Valmaggini a Slavkov* [Issues of the Slavkov Château: Valmaggini and Slavkov]. *Umění XXVII*, 1979, pp. 154–158.

¹⁴ H. Lorenz, *Domenico Martinelli und die Österreichische Barockarchitektur*. Wien 1991; J. Kroupa (as in n. 13).

proceeded following Valmaggini's original projects. A letter written in 1752 by the future Chancellor while at the Paris embassy, documents that the south wing of the château by then had been finished and what yet remained was the staircase and probably the newly designed parts, i.e. the chapel, the theater at the end of the château wings, and the stables. At that time, there was intensive construction work going on in Slavkov; the author of the precisely drafted plans of peak Baroque, however, remains unknown. The descriptions in Italian of the projects imply he was an Italian. The projects also bear calligraphic (approval?) signatures of Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg, interestingly enough written in Italian as well. These plans essentially carry on the original intent of the projects as designed by Martinelli — Valmaggini. A certain clue can be found in the designs for the interior decoration of the chapel, which suggest the authorship of an architect from the circle at the court construction office in Vienna. Until he was replaced by Jean Nicolas Jadot (January 19, 1750), Ignazio Valmaggini was still in that office. Then he allegedly returned as a court architect to Lombardy. Thus it is tempting to connect the plans with Valmaggini's architectural work. Compared to his original plans from the 1730s, the new project differs only in attaching the chapel and theater to the *pavilions* at the ends of the long wings of the château. The functional arrangement here was very similar to that of the contemporaneous expansion of the Mariahilf residence. The *idea* for the function was undoubtedly provided by Kaunitz and his architect could easily realize it in the final project. More evidence of permanent contact between the Chancellor and the Italian construction director is the fact that even as an old man Kaunitz kept exchanging friendly letters with Valmaggini's daughter.

Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg finally completed the construction of Slavkov in the 1760s. The completion is bound by two dates: 1764, when Kaunitz was elevated to the rank of Prince, and 1769, when the fresco paintings were executed by Josef Pichler. A German-writing architect (from Vienna?) suggested then certain alterations, introducing a certain calm of form in the central part (cf. the courtyard façade of the grand hall) and the ending of the side wings. We may presume that this architect was Johann Ferdinand Hetzen-dorf von Hohenberg, mentioned already several times. Such an assumption is supported by the fine style of the ink drawings and by the fact that the whole project was water-colored. The main façade of the grand hall in the château was decorated with a large coat of arms with a crown of a Prince, which Kaunitz received in 1764. Finally, in 1769 and 1770 a new wall around the garden of the château was erected, and Kaunitz took the opportunity to have the city tower torn down, disregarding the protest petition of the Slavkov mayor and city council.

The last known project for the château dates from 1775. It includes large stables, gardens and a newly-designed church (the old one was demolished in 1757). This project was apparently the ideal project for the final additions to the château, as conceived by the Chancellor. Thus the decades of construction were

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concluded and the resulting construction structure included both references to the original project by Martinelli and the modernized appearance of a new residence. Also the garden had been finished with a *picturesque* pavilion that has remained as the only reminder (although rebuilt later) of Kaunitz's park. The Chancellor found the finished gardens so appealing that he had them painted by Viennese landscape painter Johann Christian Brand and later donated the picture to Empress Maria Theresia.

Both the château and the garden were long considered to have been built after the original early 18th century project, apparently because the final reconstruction used certain formal elements from earlier projects by Martinelli. On the other hand, the parts constructed under the direction of the Chancellor which he designed himself exhibit a rather plastic style of classical Roman Baroque. This style was in line with the residential character of the Slavkov château. Only the mezzanine windows of the main hall were modified and the interiors of the hall and the chapel were decorated with paintings *en grisaille* by Josef Pichler. We may presume that the classicist, historical approach was required by the Chancellor himself. There may have been a certain traditionalism in the air as the 18th century drew to a close. In fact, also in Mariahilf and in Laxenburg the fundamental architectural topic was the preservation of the older, plastic construction shape in the middle of the new additions, with the environs newly conceived through an artificial garden. We will see a similar theme once again in the case of Viennese Hofburg. In Mariahilf and in Slavkov the iconographically important elements of the gardens were decorated with allegorical statues and mythological figures. Unfortunately, the present-day appearance of the gardens no longer reflects the original projects. We have, however, the Slavkov project from 1775 and naturally we have an idea of the Mariahilf residence. We may therefore expect that in both places we would encounter especially the late Baroque allusion to the decoration of Antique villas, as known from ancient sources.

The Chancellor probably found his architectural *alter ego* in Johann Ferdinand Hetzendorf von Hohenberg. Kaunitz initially recommended him for the *Kupferstecherakademie* because of his strange, fantastic drawings and graphic prints, which resemble the theatrical and inventive architectural fantasies of Giovanni Battista Piranesi. These fantasies have a parallel with the *ephemeral* and theater architecture of the Chancellor's youth and we might relate them to the *sentimental* mode in fine arts. These fantasies might also have inspired Kaunitz's private interest in the neo-mannerist sculptural works of Mollinarolo. At the same time, however, the Chancellor grew increasingly more interested in *clear purist* forms, markedly neo-classicist in nature.

In the immediate vicinity of the Slavkov château, Kaunitz constructed a virtual manifesto of his religious ideas. In front of the château, on the city square's axis, Hetzendorf von Hohenberg designed a new parish church. While the initial

project was based on a traditional temple form, derived from the ground plan conception of Il Gesu in Rome, the final shape of the church, dating from 1783–1787, is a monumental example of *revolutionary architecture* in the Hapsburg Empire. The new church was built in strict and geometrically clear, pure forms, with a protruding portico, supported by huge Corinthian columns.¹⁵ Shortly after the construction was finished in 1790, the *Brünner Zeitung* noted that an important feature of the project was the church iconography, which emphasized only the basic articles of Christian religious teaching, and therefore the church could serve the adherents of all tolerated Christian denominations. Such a program definitely was Kaunitz's intention and the original project not only reflects the artistic taste of the Chancellor, but is, most importantly, a *monument-memorial* to the new ideal of Christian life and tolerance in the Hapsburg Empire.

I. 3.

A perfect example of Kaunitz's relationship to the architectural works of his times is his so far little-known participation in the *beautification* (*Verschönerung*) of the garden at the château in Schönbrunn.¹⁶ The earliest document that mentions this intention to *beautify* the Schönbrunn park is the correspondence of Maria Theresia with Marie Antoinette. The Empress explained to her daughter that she wanted to create "*only a few little things of little value, that should serve principally to pleasant repose in the garden*". On the other hand, her son, the Emperor Joseph II found all improvements ridiculous and too costly. Their documented opinions seem to contradict one another. This apparent contradiction can nevertheless be explained by the existence of two different projects — one of the Empress, the other of Kaunitz. What the Empress wanted to build in the park is obvious and understandable: in addition to Jadot's already existing *Menagerie* (the central pavilion in rococo-classicist style) she wanted to build further small pavilions designed for *pleasant repose*. The Chancellor, however, advocated the project of Johann Ferdinand Hetzendorf von Hohenberg, which was obviously the one Joseph II found ridiculous and costly. There was something extremely strange, unusual and astonishing about the project. Inspired by graphic prints of Giovanni Battista Piranesi from his early period (*Prima parte*), it transformed the Schönbrunn hill into a royal

¹⁵ E. Hainisch, Der Architekt Johann Ferdinand Hetzendorf von Hohenberg. *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* XII — XIII, 1949, pp. 19–90 (particularly p. 34). Further documents in: Okresní archiv Vyškov, Městský archiv Slavkov, Karton 11, No. 1461: The petition of the mayor and city council that a new church be erected on the site of the old church, demolished as it was in 1757.

¹⁶ A. Novotny (as in n. 2), pp. 112–113: on the building projects of Empress Maria Theresia in Schönbrunn.

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dream land with a extravaganza of architectural forms with Antique — inspired columns, obelisks, ruins and triumphal arches.

There are even earlier examples of this sort of peculiar mixture of Piranesi — like *potpourri* in Hetzendorf's work. In 1769, he submitted several graphic prints in order to be accepted to the Kupferstecherakademie.¹⁷ The academic records mention, with a degree of irony, that they were "*eine Art von Wüstenei, worinnen prächtige Bruchstücke von Gebäuden, Mausoläen, Säulen etc. unordentlich gruppiert sind*". Among the opinions of academicians, we find of major interest the statement of the Chancellor, who pointed out that everything depicted in the graphic prints testifies "*von dem grossen Geschmacke, und dem feurigen Genie dieser Architekten und einer unerschöpflichen Einbildung*". Surprisingly enough, we discover it was this statement of Kaunitz that ultimately was the deciding factor in making Hetzendorf a professor at the newly-established Academy. Another clue to how close the projects were to Kaunitz's ideas is that Kaunitz himself recommended Hetzendorf's project for the Schönbrunn *beautification* to the Empress, with the following assertion: those were the projects "*die nach meinen Ideen über die Dekoration der Frese des Schönbrunner Hügels entstanden.*"

At that time, there already was Hetzendorf's *Gloriette* with symbols of the Empire on the hill and Kaunitz remarked in his letter to the Empress that he meant his endeavor to lead to *magnificence* of the whole park. It was intentional that he used Piranesi's equivalent of *magnificenza* which was also applied to the sentimental landscapes with ruins, the capriccios by Hubert Robert or Johann Georg Wille. And as it happened, shortly thereafter, the Schönbrunn park acquired the following elements: a) grottoes with an obelisk, b) a Roman ruin, c) grottoes with a statue of a nymph at a spring (according to the project of architect Isidor Canevale and d) the immense Neptune's cascade.¹⁸

Of equal importance were the statues decorating the park. Sculptor Christian Friedrich Wilhelm Bayer and Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg collaborated on the designs. Iconographically, the Chancellor first conceived the *ideas*, then the sculptor made sketches and drawings which Kaunitz approved again, and finally Bayer made bozettes for the other sculptors who participated in the decoration of the park. Heroes from ancient mythology and historic figures personifying ethical values were in the vast majority, rather than the earlier sculptures representing the gods of Nature, and allegories, well-known in classical *French* gardens.¹⁹ Proudly speaking of *my ideas*, the Chancellor claimed to be himself the

¹⁷ E. Hainisch (as in n. 15), p. 23. W. Cerny, *Die Mitglieder der Wiener Akademie. Ein geschichtlicher Abriss auf Grund des Quellen Materials des Akademie Archivs von 1751 bis 1870*. Wien 1978.

¹⁸ On Bayer and Kaunitz in Schönbrunn cf. H. Tietze, *Die Denkmäler der Stadt Wien (XI. — XXI. Bezirk). Österreichische Kunsttopographie II*. Wien 1908, pp. 101-189 (in particular pp. 180-187).

¹⁹ E. Wangemann, Maria Theresia. A Reforming Monarchy. In: A. G. Dickens, *The Courts of*

author of the ideas for the reconstruction of the park. We do not know, however, the whole of his program; we can only guess that it was a of much larger scale than as we know it today. We will nevertheless attempt to discover at least some of the ideas in which the whole conception was rooted. What is first apparent is that the conception of the park is not at all new. The Schönbrunn garden parterre falls entirely within the tradition of classical garden architecture. This is complemented by the *bizarre* monuments which can be found in the engravings of Giovanni Battista Piranesi and his works representing the idea of *Magnificenza Roman*. Both Voltaire — whom Kaunitz in fact held in high esteem — and Seroux d'Agincourt as Kaunitz's contemporary and *protégé* in Northern Italy believed that the history of the human spirit includes several manifestations of the notion *magnificenza*: in the Rome of Emperor Augustus, in the humanistic Rome of Pope Julius II and in the classical Paris of Louis XIV. The imperial symbols of the Schönbrunn park leave no doubt that it is an artistic manifestation of yet another, the fourth epoch of the notion *magnificenza*. This iconographical idea includes artistic elements of French classicism, with the artistic fantasy of both the architect and the Chancellor considerably affected by Piranesi's bizarre visions of ancient Rome. Interestingly, the park echoes elements of the humanistic Rome under Pope Julius. We know that for the decoration of the Vatican, the Pope used elements from the classic work *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. We will not attempt to prove that this book was also a source of ideas for Kaunitz, yet there are certain parallels to be found in the most significant motifs of the Schönbrunn park: a) obelisk, b) nymph at a spring in a pavilion (*Schönbrunn*), c) Roman ruins with a waterfall, etc.²⁰ Such inspiration would however be evidence of Kaunitz's traditionalist orientation rather than of his neo-classicist iconographical inventiveness. Thus we can well imagine how unhappy the young and rationally — utilitarian Joseph II was about such a dream — like, utopian and also mythologically representative project. I believe that the *ideas* of the Chancellor included precisely this whole imperial symbolism, consisting of the grotto with obelisk, Roman ruins, Neptune's cascade and culminating in the *Gloriette*. Also present is the idea of Piranesi's *magnificenza*, which the Chancellor referred to several times and which justified his vision of the Hapsburg enlightened absolutism of the second half of the 18th century as of an other great epoch of history.

The Chancellor manifested a similarly perceptive attitude to tradition also in other, so far unknown cases of his patronage of the arts. When he wanted to provide adequate spaces for the new Academy of Fine Arts, he first focused on Jadot's Old University building in Vienna. That was where the Academy had,

Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty, 1440–1800. London 1977, p 311: the iconology in Schönbrunn is closer to the ideas of the French Revolution than to the concept of residence of a dynasty. Cf. also: F. A. J. Szabo (as in n. 2), p. 199, notes 215, 216.

²⁰ *Hypnerotomachia and Rome* cf. e.g.: E. H. Gombrich, *Symbolic Images. Studies in the Art of the Renaissance II*. London 1972, pp. 102–108.

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on the second floor, been situated since 1759. After it was reformed and integrated with other art institutes, it became apparent that the whole building had to be readapted. At that time, in 1783–1784 drawings were made at the Academy by Johann Georg Mack re-designing the interiors and in particular the upper floors of the building. These drawings may have been connected with the expansion of the Academy. When the Academy moved out in 1786, the interiors were re-designed again. Other projected changes are documented by graphic prints of Quirin Mark, made at this period. The changes included not just interiors but also façades, respecting the existing French-oriented decorative style of the building.²¹ Related to the projects of the modifications of the University is also Mark's graphic transcription of the project of an unknown designer and *inventor* for the façade of the building on the Annagasse street (No. 6) in Vienna. That was the edifice the Chancellor intended to make the site of the Academy around the year 1789. Even today its façade shows signs of the changes made in the 1780's. We can definitely say that in both cases we only know the author of the *ideas* for the projects, and that it was obviously the Chancellor. The architect probably belonged to the academic milieu of Johann Ferdinand Hetzendorf von Hohenberg, or possibly his collaborator Karl Schütz, a graphic artist and a builder. It was Schütz who undertook for the Chancellor a project of an entire new building for the Academy, following the program of neo-classicism and therefore differing substantially from the tradition-respecting project of the Annagasse house. The architects around the Chancellor thus produced both the traditionalist projects of modifications and additions, and the new *revolutionary* classicist works, such as the aforementioned church in Slavkov.

To conclude the inventory of Kaunitz's architectural *ideas* we should mention a chapter so far completely unknown: his contribution to the urban structure of Vienna. His correspondence, now in the Brno archives, includes an extremely remarkable project, recorded by his secretary, who noted in the margin that it had been written *after the dictation of the Prince on August 28, 1792*. The title of the manuscript is *Sur l'aggrandissement et l'emblissement de la Ville de Vienne*.²² In the introduction, the Chancellor states that just as he had prepared projects for the Emperor's predecessors, he intended to make several suggestions to the young Emperor. His goal was to make Vienna more beautiful and to improve its appearance so that it might resemble the *magnificenza* in ancient Rome or Athens. The Chancellor advocated in his proposal in particular the following three points: a) the completion of Leopoldstadt and its final transition into an a new quarter with great buildings along both sides of the Danube; b) the construction of a new court theater of a size allegedly unparalleled anywhere in

²¹ Quirin Mark in: Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, album Q. Mark, Nr. 162 -171

²² MZA Brno, G 436, Karton 444, "dicté par S. A., 28. 8. 1792", Karton 450 (a copy of the letter); see Appendix. R. Bösel, Ch. Benedik, *Der Michaelerplatz. Seine Städtebauliche und architektonische Entwicklung*. Wien 1992, pp. 71–74.

Europe; and finally c) the finishing of the Kohlmarkt side of the Hofburg façade.

These passages of the document reveal that, surprising as it is, it probably was the Chancellor of State, Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg who conceived the ideas of the project for the Hofburg façade with three cupolas in the front, as depicted in the anonymous plans from the Viennese Hapsburg archives from the rule of Leopold II and Franz II. The projects of that period are related to the late work of Nicolo Pacassi and Johann Ferdinand Hetzendorf von Hohenberg. There are two particular features in these projects that might be pointed out as the possible result of the Chancellor's contributions: a) his emphasis on the importance and *unique*nes of the built-in court theater and its inclusion in the organism of Hofburg b) the accentuation of imperial symbols in the main cupola as the center of the whole façade.

Thus it appears we can reasonably believe that it really was Prince Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg who supplied the ideas of the project actually used almost one hundred years later, when the Michael wing of Hofburg was finally finished. Even here, however, Kaunitz was a *modernizing traditionalist*. Together with his architect, he left the decorative system of the old façade (designed by Josef Emanuel Fischer von Erlach the Younger) almost unchanged, only heightening the accent on late 18th century imperial symbolism, along with the idea of *magnificenza*. The idea of the central copula might have been inspired by the appearance of his own Slavkov residence, where the copula of the main hall and the family coat of arms also have a striking symbolic and allusive — representational function.

When we say that the Chancellor was to some extent a traditionalist, we should not forget that his generation actually belonged to a rather different culture than his contemporaries in the 1770s and 1780s. His was definitely the early Enlightenment of French Europe. Therefore he appreciated the works of literature by Montesquieu, early Voltaire, Abbé du Bos, Marmontel and others, and that also explains his interest in French classic theater (Racine, Corneille, Moliere, etc.) apparent from his personal library, preserved in its early form at the Slavkov château. The Chancellor's taste had been formed in the Rome and France of the 1730's. No wonder that when he later reflected upon the situation in fine arts, it was through an aesthetic dating from the beginning of the 18th century. He was a *modernist* in the early 18th-century sense and towards the end of that century he grew gradually into a living legend in the atmosphere of late Central European Enlightenment.

II. 1.

As a diplomat in Paris in 1751, Kaunitz made the acquaintance of the draftsman and graphic artist Johann Georg Wille, who would be in the following

century called by the Goncourt brothers *le Voltaire de l'art*.²³ Wille would bring into his circle artists, connoisseurs and rising art historians and spread, through reproduction graphics, modern works of art throughout the whole of Europe. He also was the head of a private school of drawing in Paris. Kaunitz was then principally interested in Watteau's pictures and was trying to acquire some by way of the draftsman. Still later, when he had already become the Chancellor, Kaunitz kept in correspondence with Wille and in 1759, he recommended a young graphic artist, Jacob Mathias Schmuzer to be accepted for further training at Wille's school. Upon receiving a state scholarship from Maria Theresia, Schmuzer left for Paris and became one of Wille's best students. For a time, his teacher even made him a provisional head of the private school. Johann Georg Wille praised him as a gifted organizer and draftsman. It was no surprise that the Chancellor planned to involve the young artist in his reforms regarding the fine arts. After he returned to Vienna, Schmuzer submitted a project to establish a new Academy of arts that would contribute to raising the prestige of drawing and graphic techniques, as well as painting, sculpture and architecture.²⁴ Supported by the Chancellor, this project became reality and in 1766, the new *Kupferstecherakademie* — Academy of Copper Engraving — was founded in Vienna, with Kaunitz as the *protector*, Jacob Mathias Schmuzer as the director and Josef Sonnenfels as the secretary.²⁵ Schmuzer's project bore the distinctive marks of French artistic culture, as we learn from the passage addressed to the Empress ("*I have thoroughly discussed the project in Paris with great artists, such as Cochin, Wille, Aliamet, Vanlo, Zingg*"). I would like to point out that the project of Schmuzer and Kaunitz was modern in the academic artistic milieu, and that this modernity was not limited in scope to Central Europe. It was based on training in drawing and in particular in landscape painting, which was an entirely novel discipline within European academic art. Students would go to the country to paint and draw *in Nature, but not yet after Nature* (Kaunitz's Moravian estates among other locales). The motifs they chose were mostly *curious* and *picturesque*, and that coincided completely with Wille's aesthetic views. Starting in 1769, architecture was also taught at the Academy (the post given to Kaunitz's *protégé* Johann Ferdinand Hetzendorf von Hohenberg). From the older generation, the Academy collaborated with Franz Anton Maulbertsch and

²³ H.-Th. Schulze Altcapenberg, "*Le Voltaire de l'Art*" Johann Georg Wille (1715–1808) und seine Schule in Paris. Münster 1987.

²⁴ J. Kroupa, Jakob Mathias Schmu(t)zer und die graphischen Künste in Mähren am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts. In: Th. Winkelbauer (ed.), *Kontakte und Konflikte. Böhmen, Mähren und Österreich: Aspekte eines Jahrtausends gemeinsamer Geschichte. Referate des III. Symposium "Verbindendes und Trennendes an der Grenze" vom 24. bis 27. Oktober 1992 in Zwettl*. [= Schriften des Waldviertler Heimatbundes, Bd. 36], Horn-Waidhofen an der Thaya 1993, pp. 257–274.

²⁵ J. Kroupa, Poznámky k Sonnenfelsově koncepci umění [Notes on Sonnenfels's Conception of Art]. In: J. Sedláč (ed.), *Uměleckohistorický sborník*. Brno 1985, pp.195–209.

Joseph Roos (Rosa). The new Academy soon developed into a modern institution with the spirit of the Enlightenment and emancipation of the late 18th century.

An telltale sign of Kaunitz's orientation to French classics are the appointments of the regular members of the Academy of Drawing and Copper Engraving, sent out by Kaunitz in 1768–1769: nearly two thirds of the total number of the first academics were artists of French origin. In 1771 and 1772, the older Academy was joined to the *Kupferstecherakademie* and, quite typically, the representatives of the latter took the positions of power. The protector of the combined academy was the Chancellor of State Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg, the secretary and president was Josef Sonnenfels. More emphasis was given to figurative painting than in the original *Kupferstecherakademie*, and a new field — historical painting — was constituted. An influential observer of academic events, Johann Rudolf Füssli remarked that in comparison with the past, when the focus had been on fresco paintings with puzzling symbols and mysticism, an almost new epoch had started: the topics are *remarkable deeds from history and in the paintings has appeared a human who acts and comports himself above all as a human*. The history he spoke about was essentially that of the Antique period, yet allegorically and symbolically related to the present. Aware that the emergence of historical painting was primarily the result of the influence of the international artistic climate in Rome, the Chancellor established as early as 1771, scholarships in Rome for future professors of the Academy. His initial effort, however, did not succeed and so the Chancellor issued, in 1776, new detailed guidelines and art manifesto for scholarship candidates. It is remarkable in many respects. Notably, the strict neo-classicism of Winckelmann was balanced against the Roman Baroque classicism of Pompeo Battoni. The Italian's studio was to be the center of modern education. The Chancellor's efforts seem to have been aimed at reinvigorating painting with the **B a r o q u e** classicism of the Bolognese school. After all, even such important men of the Enlightenment as Josef von Sperges or the secretary of the Academy Josef Sonnenfels were not strict proponents of Winckelmann's aesthetic. When reading the scholarship guidelines or Sonnenfels' critical essays (which, later on, however, reflected the personal taste of the Chancellor also), we notice that study of the Baroque classicist aesthetic was one side of the coin for artists in the Hapsburg Empire. The other, no less important side was French rococo classicism and the *sentimentalism* endorsed by Johann Georg Wille and his pupils. In contrast to the pomposity of the court, both these approaches to artistic creation emphasized the ideal of simplicity and solemnity, inferred as it was not from reality, but rather from the literature and theater of the period.

In the course of his reform of academic studies, Prince Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg also addressed the issue of education in history and literature as a part of artistic schooling. He envisioned a new type of artist: educated, well-read, with a new attitude towards contemporary knowledge. In his academic lectures, Josef Sonnenfels summed up all the new requirements of the

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new artist in the term *urbanity of an artist*. Compared to Sonnenfels, Kaunitz was, nonetheless, somewhat more traditional-bound: he demanded the regeneration of the traditional academic ideal, incorporated in the notions of *Aemulatio* (emulation) and *Ehre* (honor) as a condition of improvement in fine arts. The artist would therefore not only have to continually learn but also to exhibit his works regularly in public every two years, to be critically judged and compared to those of other artists.

The new intellectual orientation, higher education, knowledge of history and literature — all this was meant to lead the artist to a new social status, so that he might eventually be liberated from traditional dependency on guilds and patrons. In this sense, the Chancellor's efforts were motivated by the cultural and political reforms of Theresian Enlightenment. Central European art of the second half of the 18th century was still dominated by the more famous preceding period. Yet the cultural policies of the Chancellor and his circle (Josef Sonnenfels, Johann Melchior von Birkenstock, Josef von Sperges) were directed towards new functions of art: landscape painting, portrait, graphics. The collections in the library of today's Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna clearly document this. The founding of the *Kupferstecherakademie* which started the effort to elevate graphic arts finally led, around the year 1800, to the re-evaluation of the entire hierarchy of art disciplines. In the drawings of Caspar Franz Sambach, Franz Caucig, Michael Wutky, Franz Edmund Weirötter and Martin von Mollitor, the refusal of Baroque pretense, illusionism and *representation* led to *new mentalities* — to an artist's individual account of the *historicity* of the world. This new art was nevertheless linked through numerous elements with the earlier art of the late Baroque. Most importantly, we can not definitively identify it with a particular style. It was a part of the stylistic pluralism of the whole epoch. And this stylistic pluralism was also reflected in the taste of the Chancellor, who loved to present himself to the public as *a patron of the arts and a man of taste*.²⁶

II. 2.

For his most valued paintings, the Chancellor created in his residence a kind of small temple, *sanctuarium*, where the choice paintings were placed.²⁷ Count

²⁶ Graphic portraits depicting the Chancellor as a significant patron of the arts cf. e.g.: J. G. Haid after M. van Meytens, 1755; J. M. Schmuzer after L. Tocqué, 1764; J. M. Schmuzer after J. N. Steiner, 1767; J. E. Mansfeld, around 1770; J. G. Haid after H. Maurer, 1774; J. M. Schmuzer after J. Hagenauer, 1786; I. Unterberger, 1790 (all in Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina).

²⁷ C. Hálová-Jahodová (as in n. 2), p. 331: "*ce que j'appelle mon Sanctuaire, c'est a dire dans le chambre de mes tableaux distingués et d'affection*". The original appearance of the room is described in the correspondence of Count Maximilian Lamberg; in: G. Gugitz, *Casanova und Graf Lamberg*. Wien-Leipzig-Olten 1935, p. 155: "*Durch die Gläser erblickt man von aussen rundherum um das Viereck mehrere Staffeleien hier und da aufgestellt, auf*

Maxmilian Lamberg from Brno describes it in a letter to Giacomo Casanova: *“through the glass you may observe from the outside a number of easels scattered around a rectangular, holding the paintings of prominent artists [...]”*

It appears that Kaunitz's placement of the paintings could be compared with the collection in the library of Charles Townley, as depicted in the painting from 1781 by Johann Zoffany.²⁸ In a similar manner, Kaunitz's collection of works of art was scattered in space among glass partitions and stands. Lamberg also mentions in his letter that he saw there several paintings by Francesco Casanova, the brother of the famous adventurer (*“including the paintings of your brother, of whom the Prince speaks with high esteem, saying that he is the only painter with whom he shares the art of vision [...]”*). Kaunitz appreciated very much the company of this proto-romantic painter of battles, storms and cavalry skirmishes and we know that Francesco Casanova was the last person allowed to visit the Chancellor on his death bed.

Located in Mariahilf was the most important part of the Kaunitz gallery. The Chancellor built another gallery in Laxenburg, in his family's *maison de plaisance*. And of the least importance was the one at the Prince's family seat: the château in Slavkov. He would send to Slavkov the pictures he did not want to have in Vienna while, as mentioned by Cecilie Halová-Jahodová, he had some of the more precious paintings taken from his Slavkov collection and moved to Mariahilf. It was in 1781 that he started to take more interest in the Slavkov collection: he abandoned the old display of paintings paneled in boisseries and began to lay out a classical gallery, based on his sketch grouping together particular schools of art.²⁹ At that time, he even had some classicist works by the artists on scholarship in Rome moved to Slavkov.

Kaunitz's Viennese collection drew praise even as it was being established. Soon after his death, however, this collection was gradually sold off. Even years later, when Theodor von Frimmel did his research on private collections in Vienna, he was still impressed by the Chancellor's taste in art. An explicit expression of his taste is found in several letters of the Chancellor to his acquaintances. We shall have a look now at the system of his purchases and at the people with whom he kept contacts. The receipts and purchase lists indicate that the Chancellor made most purchases while Joseph II was Emperor. This might be explained by the fact that under the rule of Joseph II, the Chancellor no longer was as prominent a statesman as before and thus he was in a position to retreat,

welchen sich verstreut Gemälde der besten Meister angelehnt finden [...]” On painter Francesco Casanova cf.: B. Kuhn, *Der Landschafts- und Schlachtenmaler Francesco Casanova (1727–1803)*. *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* XXXVII, 1984, pp. 89–118.

28 On the painting by Johann Zoffany cf.: F. Haskell, *De l'art et du goût jadis et naguère*. Paris 1989, p. 96, fig. 30.

29 MZA Brno, G 436, Karton 433: 1782 *“Der Tischlermeister Sterský ist mit seine gnädigst anbefohlener Arbeit an denen Boiserie Wänden, wo Gemälde gewesen und herausgenommen worden sind, in der Gallerie, dann in Euer Durchlauchten Zimmer, wo der wällische Kamin ist, völlig fertig”*.

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to some extent, to his private affairs and devote more of his time to purchasing art. At the same time, he obviously steered his way of life away from the rational-utilitarian Emperor. The Emperor's distrust of arts stands in stark contrast to the Chancellor's love of splendor and the clash was the topic of all reports of the period of the late 1770s through the early 1780s.

Numerous details of Kaunitz's patronage of the arts are included in his correspondence with the librettist and poet Regnier Calsabiggi. In 1774, Calsabiggi described for him the important collections in Lucca, and pointed out several paintings by Pompeo Battoni that he believed the Chancellor should buy. Calsabiggi's rhetorical choice of words is a fine example of the way of thinking in Kaunitz's circle of art critics:" [...] *dans une des maisons Conti j'ai vu un superbe tableau d'Andrea del Sarte entre deux de Battoni, l'un representant Apollon et deux des Muses, l'autre la Peinture, la Sculpture, et l'Architecture, et que ces deux tableaux se soutiennent, mais comment! a cote de ce peintre divin! Quelles tableaux, mon prince que ces deux Battoni! Quel dessin simple, correct, Elegant! Quel coloris vif, enchanteur! Quel chairs quels contours quelle expression! Quels mélanges admirables d'ombres et de lumiere!* [...]" Through Calsabiggi, Kaunitz also met Johann Zoffany, who in 1774 was returning from Italy to England via Vienna.³⁰ On that occasion, Calsabiggi wrote to the Chancellor: "[...] *mais mon Prince l'artiste que j'aime et admire infiniment ici est Zoffany Allemand, de Ratisbone, Peintre du Roi d'Angleterre. Ses portraits sont vivans et bien histories avec gout, grace, finesse et intelligence, Ses draperies en satin, velours etc. sont d'une fraicheur d'une verité qui surprend. Il est excellent pour trouver de giochi d'ombre e di lume. Il touche les ornements avec une hardiesse facile. Ses peysages sont legers et d'une touche de grand Maitre.*" At the end of June, 1774, Calsabiggi informed Kaunitz that Zoffany was bringing some of his works to show to him, particularly the painting of the renowned *Tribuna della Galleria*, that Calsabiggi had seen, still unfinished, in the artist's studio. Sources do not tell how this project turned out: in fact, later on Zoffany became intimate with the academic life in Vienna and Maria Theresia elevated him to the ranks of aristocracy, but his painting of the *Tribuna* is today in London, in the possession of the British Royal family. Kaunitz, in turn, wrote to Calsabiggi that in fine arts he held "*vast knowledge not only theoretical, but also practical*".

In Milan, the mediator for Kaunitz was chiefly Count Karl Firmian. He called Kaunitz's attention to *his* painter, Martin Knoller, and described one of his recent paintings with themes from Roman history. In 1781, perhaps foreseeing his own death, Firmian offered several paintings from his own collection to the Chancellor, most notably the painting *Gaius Marius on Escape in Carthago*.³¹

³⁰ MZA Brno, G 436, Karton 438, Calsabiggi Kaunitzovi, 1774. I appreciate the kindness of Dr. Croll of Salzburg in referring me to this source.

³¹ MZA Brno, G 436, Karton 440: Firmian; as a typical example of Kaunitz's correspondence

Indeed, this painting is today on deposit at the Slavkov château, along with other pictures by Knoller, purchased by Kaunitz in 1782 from the estate of the late Firmian. This purchase was made through Count Wilczek, who succeeded Firmian also with the purchases of paintings from north-Italian collections. Thus the Chancellor acquired four large canvases by Martin Knoller and, furthermore, paintings by Pietro da Cortona, Giulio Cesare Procaccini, Antonio Tempesta and Francesco Albani.

In Venice Kaunitz's purchases were made by Countess Breuner.³² It is the correspondence with her that reveals the deliberations of Kaunitz. In 1785 he wrote to her that he would very much appreciate acquiring some works of Paolo Veronese, as that artist had not been represented at all in his collections. At the same time he states that he would like to receive a description of every painting offered, written by a *true connoisseur (par un vrai connoisseur)*, including basic information about the picture (size; material; theme and the size of the figures; state of preservation; confirmation of authenticity or who made the attribution; price). In the summer of 1786, on the occasion of another purchase, Kaunitz informed the Countess that he was interested primarily in exceptional works of art and in such works that exhibit the flexibility (*ductus*) and suppleness of the brush in the oil painting. In his last letter, dated in December 1787, he expresses his thanks for the acquisition of a picture that has delighted him a great deal and that he finds very pleasant; in his opinion, it is a work of the Bolognese school of the Carracci's: "*le tableau est plein de mérite, tres agréable, et me fait le plus grand plaisir du monde.*" It seems that it was this classicist-tinted eclecticism of the Bolognese school, which influenced even the nascent neo-classicist movement in Rome, that was closest to the Chancellor's taste. Not only does he mention rather often the Bolognese artists in his correspondence, but also, in his letters to Maria Theresia, he praises among his contemporaries particularly the painter Pompeo Battoni as being the true successor of the Carracci brothers. Other painters he thought of highly were Sebastiano Conca, Francesco Solimena and others.

We should also mention other sellers who were in touch with Kaunitz. Important among them was the painter Adam Braun, who sold the Chancellor numerous Dutch paintings (e.g. Pieter Snayers, Frederick Moucheron, Paul Potter and several unattributed landscapes) and also the paintings of Anton Raphael Mengs. From the art-merchant Johann Stöber, the Chancellor completed his collection of Dutch 17th century paintings: the works by Jacob van Ruisdael, Jan van Goyen, Joose de Momper, Egbert van der Poel and four paintings allegedly by Jan Brueghel the Elder.³³

I include this letter as an appendix to the study Fürst Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg. Ein Kunstmäzen und Curieux der Aufklärung. In: G. Klingenstein, F. A. Szabo (as in n. 3).

32 MZA Brno, G 436, Karton 438: letters to Countess Breuner in Venice. Kaunitz, 17. 9. 1785: "[...] *et en ce cas envoyer m'en une description faite par un vrai connoisseur; c'est a dire hauteur et largeur, sur toile ou bois, le sujet, le grandeur des figures, l'état de conservation, la certitude de l'originalité s'entend, et le prix.*"

33 MZA Brno, G 436, Karton 450: various receipts and invoices.

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This enumeration may naturally be surprising, in view of the established image of the Chancellor as the patron of neo-classicism. It remains to be investigated to what extent these acquisitions were truly original and valuable works of art. Several known examples, however, prove that Kaunitz's purchases were a major, important contribution to the collection. Hopefully, the time will come when the entire collection is visually reassembled: his paintings in world collections still bear the linked letters WKR with a crown, the collection emblem the Chancellor designed himself and executed in drawing. For example, Solimena's *Death of Messalina*, which today is in the collection of J. Paul Getty Trust in Malibu, U.S.A. There is an almost *art-historical* description of this painting in the Kaunitz archives, which includes the size, quotations from sources, reference to the origin of the theme, etc.³⁴ In other words, exactly the type of information that Kaunitz himself required before purchasing a painting.

III. 1.

The last of our topics is Kaunitz and the history of art. His primary criterion was the sensual, visual impact of an art work, as indicated in some of the above quotations from Kaunitz's correspondence. Since he was only interested in *magnificent* works, the Chancellor himself always advised his art procurers that they ought to consult a true connoisseur to assist them with the choice of a painting. His preference for the visual is in fact the cornerstone of a new conception of art history. The emphasis shifts from the search for biographical anecdotes in a work of art and the search for innovations (such as the invention of oil painting by Jan van Eyck) directly to the sensitive and sensual qualities of the work, and its attribution to a particular school. Evidence of this new approach is Kaunitz's undertaking to re-organize his galleries according to schools of art, so that similar works of different schools and epochs would be next to one another and thus could be compared. In this manner he arranged not only his own collection, but also participated in the installation of the gallery in Belvedere in Vienna, where together with Christian von Mechel, he designed the new arrangement of the public collections. Among other interesting documents, the Kaunitz archive also contains a list of pictures to be eliminated from the imperial gallery as they were either damaged or even totally ruined. Some of Mechel's iconographical attributions in the catalogue required an extensive humanistic erudition (such as the identification of Giorgione's Three Philosophers as three sages beholding the shining of stars) and thus would have been impossible without the Chancellor's assistance. It is probable that the Chancellor also

³⁴ MZA Brno, G 436, Karton 450: *Description du deux grands Tableaux capitaux qui sont pendants ensemble l'un du fameux Solimene, l'autre du Cavalier Bambini*. On Solimena painting (167 x 226 cm) in Malibu, U.S.A. cf. W. Prohaska, N. Spinosa (ed.), *Cat. Barock in Neapel. Kunst zur Zeit der österreichischen Vizekönige*. Wien-Napoli 1993, p. 212.

contributed his ideas for the installation of the gallery, although this assumption is only based on indirect evidence.³⁵ It was he who contrived in 1781 the two variants for the new inscription above the entrance to the new gallery: a) *In hoc artis pictoriae Museo Clarissimo [...]*, b) *In hac Pynacotheca Augusta [...]*. These inscriptions mentioned the late Empress and the Emperor as the founders and creators of the gallery, yet at the entrance stood a bust of the Chancellor, by the sculptor Cerachi, carrying an inscription testifying to the merits of Kaunitz in installing the gallery (1780). The level of cooperation between Kaunitz and Mechel remains unknown.

The importance of this new gallery display was essentially in the *historical* arrangement of the pictures and in the attempt to illustrate to the public, through modern connoisseurship, the history of particular schools of art. A significant part of the installation were the Baroque works of the 17th century (e.g. Rubens hall), a fact which Günther Heinz would find so strange and remarkable. Why in the epoch of early classicism such emphasis was put on Baroque art of the 17th century, can be explained by the Chancellor's concept of history. His model was not the morally didactic neo-classicist art at all — the type of art favored by the Emperor — but on the contrary he supported the remarkably modern effort to elucidate certain historical aspects of the development of schools of painting. This may have been the reason why Kaunitz archive contains drafts of historical studies, such as a survey of the history of modern Spanish art, a list of Dutch artists working in the year 1779, a report on the last paintings by Anton Raphael Mengs in Madrid, etc. These resources could apparently serve the new, historical approach to the history of art.

Kaunitz's interest in the history of art is also evident from further examples of his patronage. He supported the publishing of facsimile reproductions of Antique paintings, supported the draftsman Louis François Cassas and the painter Hubert Robert. He was also interested in the research work of Séroux d'Agincourt in Italy, as well as in the work of Johann Joachim Winckelmann. In the latter he obviously saw a future professor of the history of art of the Ancient Ages at the University in Vienna and, according to a legend from that time, the dying Winckelmann asked that his regards be sent to the Chancellor. Kaunitz, in fact, along with Count Johann Fries and Joseph von Sperges, published the posthumous edition of Winckelmann's *History of Art of the Ancient Ages*. All these facts establish the Chancellor's theoretical and historical expertise. Enjoying art history, he initiated the sculpture of Clio, a scholarship work of Franz Zauner.³⁶ Clio, the Muse of history, was for Kaunitz in a sense a symbol of the

³⁵ MZA Brno, G 436, Karton 450. On the subject of Giorgione's *Three philosophers* cf. S. Settis, *Giorgiones "Gewitter"*. *Auftraggeber und verborgenes Sujet*. Berlin 1982. On Mechel's gallery arrangement in Vienna cf. Debora J. Meijers, *Kunst als Natur*, Wien 1994.

³⁶ H. Burg (as in n. 2), pp. 48–49. On the collecting in the 18. century cf. e.g. K. Pomian, *Collectionneurs, amateurs et curieux. Paris, Venise: XVI-XVIII siècle*. Paris 1987. A recent interesting treatment of the new concept of history: G. Bickendorf, *Der Beginn der*

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new discipline, and the Chancellor eventually acquired the statue for his collection.

Theoreticians of the second half of the 18th century, such as Denis Diderot, Christian Ludwig von Hagedorn or Josef Sonnenfels, made a distinction between *men of taste* and *men of genius*: patrons, critics and the artists themselves. The Chancellor of State, Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg, was such a *man of taste*. He was at the same time a proponent of a specific cultural policy of the Enlightened state, a patron of the arts with distinctive critical opinions of his own. I may have somewhat surprisingly called him a traditionalist, when speaking of architecture.

The term *traditionalist*, however, has to be weighed on the very fine scales of art theory. Recently, there has been a new wave of theoretical interest in one of the protagonists of neo-classicist aesthetic, Johann Joachim Winckelmann.³⁷ The analysis of his arguments in the old theoretical controversy between the *anciennes et modernes* factions of Parisian academicians has revealed a stunning fact. Paradoxically, for his new appraisal of classical Antique art, for his theory of imitation of Antique art, for his first history of Antique art Winckelmann used the arguments of the conservative *anciennes* (!). An essential condition of the new perception of the Antique was that it had already been elevated to the ideal — norm. For Kaunitz, it was the other way round: his patronage of the arts showed his pleasure in the art works considered *modern* at the beginning of the 18th century. For instance, Kaunitz professed his fondness for the works of Rubens and for the imperial gallery he purchased the famous *Altar of St. Ildefons*. He himself possessed the renown painting *Boreas Abducting Oreitha* (along with several other paintings by Rubens) and, moreover, he had a number of copies of Rubens' works made for his Slavkov gallery. In fact, one of the halls in the Slavkov château even today bears the same name as the hall in the imperial gallery in Belvedere: Rubens hall. Kaunitz would buy the works of other Dutch and Flemish artists as well. Ironically, the *more modern* neo-classicist Winckelmann used the arguments of the *anciennes*, while the *traditionalist* Kaunitz lived in the world of the *modernes around the year 1700*.

What exactly were the qualities that the Chancellor admired most in works of art? In the above-mentioned letter to Countess Breuner, Kaunitz compares the techniques of encaustics (and, in the graphics, mezzotint) with oil painting, expressing his preference for the latter, whose secret, he says, is that it preserves the clarity of unmixed colors, while allowing to appreciate in the painting the ductus (*ductile*) and suppleness (*maniabile*) of the brush. Obviously, these rather

Kunstgeschichtsschreibung unter dem Paradigma "Geschichte". Gustav Fr. Waagens Frühschrift Ueber Hubert und Johann van Eyck. Worms 1985.

37 M. Käfer, J. J. Winckelmann — ein Ancien? In: M. Kunze (ed.), *Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Neue Forschungen*. Stendal 1990, pp. 73–78; Th. W. Gachtgens (ed.), *Johann Joachim Winckelmann, 1717–1768*. Hamburg 1986.

sensual notions of the *modernists* and *Rubensists* are his fundamental criteria. Also in his further purchases, he particularly regarded the virtuosity, *Rubensism* and *modernism*. Even in later years, he tended to support the artists who belonged to the *proto-romanticists* or *sentimentalists* (Francesco Casanova, Michael Wutky) or those who created the sketch-like *non finito* (his purchases include the smaller works by Sebastiano Ricci, Pietro da Cortona, Franz Anton Maulbertsch and other works with a distinctive sketch-like character). The artists that he supported were well aware of his preference. Friedrich Heinrich Füger sent to Kaunitz several *unfinished works of sketch-like character* from his training period in Rome, so that the Chancellor could inspect what progress he had made. And Kaunitz's appreciation of Francesco Casanova and the French draftsman Jean Baptiste Pillement was undoubtedly also related to the *proto-romantic*, rococo-classicist character of their work. A similar topic is mentioned in Kaunitz's letter of July 1787 to the draftsman and graphic artist Louis-François Cassas, concerning the purchase of a drawing by Cassas of a landscape with a mosque.

The same complex association of traditionalism and modernism is reflected in Kaunitz's relationship to arts and to the academic school system. Kaunitz modeled the project of the Academy in Vienna on the French Academy of the late 17th century: art historians often quote his assertion that the artists "*Hardouin, Mansart, de Cotte, Mignard etc. contributed to the ascent of France much more than the French marshals and the builder of fortifications Vauban together.*"³⁸ Also Kaunitz's contacts with Johann Georg Wille are evidence of his French orientation that is usually neglected or belittled by the Austrian historiography of Viennese art institutes.

III. 2

The *traditional* orientation of the Chancellor found an interesting outlet in his patronage of the arts. His first *protégé* seems to have been the Brno painter Franz Anton Palko (1717–1767), who lived in the Moravian capital from the late 1740's and whose works were commissioned primarily by Ferdinand Julius Troyer (1745–1758), the Bishop of Olomouc (Olmütz).³⁹ In Moravia, he created for instance the painting for the main altar in the Trinitarian church of St. Anna in Holešov. The arrangement of the painting was inspired by the works of Giovanni Battista Pittoni. His most significant works, however, were his rococo-classicist portraits. The Chancellor recommended Palko, possibly because of them, as the successor to the official portrait painter and director of the Acad-

³⁸ C. Hállová-Jahodová (as in n. 2), pp. 334–335.

³⁹ P. Preiss, *Vlastní a rodinné portréty Františka Antonína Palka* [Self Portraits and Family Portraits by F. A. Palko]. *Bulletin Moravské galerie v Brně* 50, 1994, pp. 25–31. It presents new facts on Palko, correcting numerous theories of earlier research.

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emy, Martin van Meytens. Palko's premature death, however, brought an untimely end to his career. His last works were the sketches for a monumental portrait of the Imperial family. They were, later on, executed in painting by the painter Anton Glunck for the Premonstratensian abbey in Louka. Because of their artistic excellence, however, they were long included directly in the *oeuvre* of Palko.⁴⁰ It is no accident that one of the figures in the painting, with the family of Maria Theresia, is the Chancellor of State, Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg. The Chancellor did not hesitate to endorse the painter at the Viennese court, speaking of his better *arrangement of pictures*, compared with Italian artists.

In 1767, the painter Johann Nepomuk Steiner (1725–1793), also of Moravian origin, became a member of the Academy in Vienna, on the merits of his portrait of the Chancellor. From the beginning of his career he was an acknowledged portrait-painter, which might lead us to assume, as in the previous case, that the Chancellor saw him as the replacement for the deceased Franz Anton Palko. He was, however, certainly less gifted a painter than his former colleague and also the stylistic orientation of his work was quite different, as he spent a part of his life in Rome with Pompeo Battoni and Anton Raphael Mengs and under their influence he embraced a kind of classicist — Baroque style. His main altar of the parish church of St. Jacob in Jihlava made him one of the foremost proponents in Moravia of the classicism of the 1760s, yet the Chancellor engaged him primarily in the restoration work in his gallery, and also in the choice and installation of works in the gallery of the new residence in Mariahilf. As a portrait-painter, Steiner belonged to the circle of the Josephinian painter Josef Hickel.⁴¹ Typical of both was a stiff, smooth, classicist style.

A contemporary of Steiner's was Francesco Casanova (1727–1803), the brother of the famous adventurer. He arrived in Vienna in 1783 and immediately received a warm reception from the Chancellor. Kaunitz admired him all his

40 L. Slavíček, Franz Anton Palko nebo Anton Glunck? K autorství skupinových portrétů Marie Terezie a Josefa II. z letního refektáře premonstrátského kláštera v Louce u Znojma. Exkurz: Několik poznámek k ikonografii skupinových portrétů Marie Terezie a Josefa II. od Antona Gluncka [Franz Anton Palko or Anton Glunck? On the authorship of the group portraits of Maria Theresia and Josef II from the summer refectory of the Premonstratensian abbey in Louka at Znojmo. Some Notes on the Iconography of the group portraits of Maria Theresia and Josef II by Anton Glunck]. *Bulletin Moravské galerie v Brně* 50, 1994, pp. 32–41; J. Kroupa, Franz Anton Palko v Tovačově. In: V. Vlnas, T. Sekyrka (edd.), *Ars baculum vitae. Sborník studií z dějin kultury a umění k sedmdesátým narozeninám Pavla Preisse*. Praha 1996 s. 250–256.

41 In Moravia, the Chancellor engaged the services of Pavel Malenowsky as *the Prince's constructor and master builder*. In the 1770's, he designed curious and playful projects of *painted architecture* (J. P. Cerroni, *Skizze einer Geschichte der bildenden Künste in Mähren*. MZA, G 12, Cerr. I-32, fol. 163–164). Painter J. N. Steiner from Jihlava also worked as a restorer in Kaunitz's gallery, of which he was the official curator; cf.: C. Hálová-Jahodová (as in n. 2).

life, as reported by Count Maxmilian Lamberg in Brno. Acknowledged as a painter of battles and landscapes, Casanova was influenced primarily by the late Baroque of Venice, but also by the French rococo painting (cf. his works for the château of the revolutionary architect Ledoux in Louvenciennes) and, in particular, by the older Dutch tradition. Thus he was also one of the representatives of Wille's stylistic modus — *Hollandism* — endorsed by the Chancellor in Vienna. Kaunitz not only employed Casanova, but also negotiated for him important commissions from the foremost aristocrats in the Empire (Prince Nassau, Count Lamberg) and even from czarist Russia. In 1786, Casanova exhibited a portrait of Kaunitz on horseback at the Viennese Academy. But mostly he was commissioned by the Chancellor to create *catastrophic* paintings in the style of late Baroque virtuosity.

Around his time, however, the Chancellor focused his attention on a painter of the younger generation: Friedrich Heinrich Füger (1751–1818). There were a number of attractive features that the Chancellor appreciated about him: he had studied painting in the French-influenced Ludwigsburg in Baden-Württemberg, he had received an education in law at the enlightened University in Halle, and he was also familiar with modern English portrait and miniature painting. He was a master draftsman and his paintings demonstrated his technical virtuosity making wide strokes with a *fat* brush. When he arrived in Vienna in 1774, he was introduced to the Chancellor and he immediately received a substantial yearly stipend. It was typical of the intellectual milieu which he joined that he became the orator of the literary and enlightened lodge of the Free Masons *Zur wahren Eintracht* in Vienna. A fortunate coincidence? He appears to have convinced, with his drawings, the circle around the Chancellor (Sperges, van Swieten, Sonnenfels etc.) that he was capable of becoming a good painter of *histories*. In the range of painting motifs promoted by the Chancellor, historical painting was the new discipline. Füger became one of the first artists to receive a grant from Kaunitz to go to Italy.⁴² In one of the reports that Kaunitz regularly received from Italy, Füger's style is referred to as *French*. In the neo-classicist milieu of Winckelmann, this was considered an admonition; yet it did not diminish Füger in the Chancellor's eyes. A success in Naples, both socially and artistically, he was summoned by Kaunitz to return to Vienna to become the vice-director of the Academy (in 1784). Considering the taste of the period, it is rather remarkable that this post was given to a follower of the late Baroque virtuosity of the 18th century, and not to an advocate of strict neo-classicism, such as the sculptor Franz Zauner or one of the painters Josef Hickel or Hubert Maurer. In Füger's art, however, the Chancellor may have found a combination of two aspects of his taste: rococo classicism as well as neo-classicism,⁴³ the

⁴² W. Wagner, *Die Rompenionäre der Wiener Akademie der bildenden Künste, 1772–1784. Römische Historische Mitteilungen XIV*, 1972. See also Füger's letter to the Chancellor in MZA Brno, G 436, Karton 440.

⁴³ J. Kroupa (as in n. 2). It is the text of the lecture presented by the author in Slavkov in the

link being the contents, with its sentimentalism and depiction of moral integrity in the late Enlightenment in the Hapsburg Empire.

III. 3.

Today, with the Kaunitz archives gradually opening to the scholarly public, the personality of the Chancellor emerges in a rather different light than in the earlier studies. While those stressed Kaunitz's neo-classicist taste and his patronage of Winckelmann-oriented fine arts, both his patronage and his aesthetic thinking can now finally be assessed in a much more differentiated manner. His personal taste leaned more towards the stylistic pluralism of his period, similar in this respect to other important patrons of the arts in the Hapsburg Empire at the end of the 18th century. A uniting element of the Chancellor's patronage was his emphasis on particular ethical values and their expression in the fine arts: virtuosity, tradition, Roman magnificence. Let us remember that in the 1760s, as he was finishing the construction of his family seat in Slavkov, he used certain details from much earlier projects by Martinelli. This same attitude can be observed in his *ideas* for the completion of Hofburg in Vienna, and for his residence in Mariahilf. With a slight degree of exaggeration, we might call this historical moment the *traditionalist modernism* of the Chancellor, i.e. the actualization of certain earlier stylistic tendencies, introduced into a new artistic context.

Perhaps the most consequential result of the Chancellor's patronage in this sphere was his support of art-historical research in northern Italy, and in particular the 1776 Viennese edition of Winckelmann's *History of Art of the Ancient Ages*. It was presumably the Chancellor who secured Winckelmann's unfinished manuscript intended for its second printing, and, together with Count Johann Fries, he initiated the publication of this fine edition in two volumes. It remains unclear to what extent Kaunitz also participated in the editing process, which changed Winckelmann's original order of chapters. He may have been involved, since we know that the Chancellor was interested in archaeology: the family archives include a receipt for payment to Marco Carloni for *disegni coloritti delle pitturae antiche di Bagni di Costantino, di Cailestio e mosaici antichi*, which were eventually published in a book dedicated to the Chancellor.

As the epoch of Baroque was drawing to a close in the second half of the 18th century, the period gave birth to a number of differentiated stylistic currents. There were two essential responses to the unity of the grand style of Baroque, reflected too in the Chancellor's taste: a) the intellectual response, developing primarily among the amateurs, connoisseurs and archaeologists in Italy, that eventually led to Winckelmann's theory and thus to the new classicism; b) the

summer of 1987, comparing the collections of the Chancellor with those of Athanasius Gottfried, the Prior of the Carthusian monastery in Královo Pole.

moral response, drawing instead from the sentimentalism of French and European origins, that was close to the salon discussions of Enlightenment intellectuals belonging to the *aristocracy of robes* and that evolved stylistically into *Hollandism*, proto-romanticism and rococo classicism. Yet the late Baroque can also be found along with these tendencies. The end of the Baroque epoch does not necessarily mean the end of (late) Baroque art. The second tendency mentioned is became quite apparent in the graphic prints that emerged in Central Europe due to the French new wave and whose propagation was encouraged by the Chancellor. This tendency emphasized the *picturesque* and the *bizarre*. The emphasis on emotional, dream-like values was counterbalanced to some degree by the new classicism. In Central Europe, both these stylistic modes can be regarded as parallel manifestations in art of two different aspects of the same phenomenon. In the Viennese circles of the Chancellor, the two modes would even appear simultaneously, as in the work of the Moravian graphic artist Quirin Mark, a renown master of reproduction graphics. His work reproduced the rococo-classicist and *Hollandism* themes as well as those of the neo-classicist style.

The *aesthetic world* of the Chancellor, reconstructed from the fragments of art correspondence, bears a striking resemblance to this phenomenon. On the one hand, he was familiar with the famous French sentimental work *Voyage pittoresque ou description des royaumes de Naples et de Sicile* by Abbé Saint Non with illustrations by Fragonard, Robert, Chatelet and Cassas and he would commission Cassas' drawings from Rome. On the other hand, he supported the publication of first *art-historical* and archaeological books of engravings. The support for drawing an old graphic techniques in the whole spectrum of styles was for him a patriotic act, worthy of public interest.

We can draw the conclusion that Kaunitz's admiration of works of art was not based on his fondness of a particular style, but rather on their contents and ethical message. The fundamental notion for him was *magnificenza*. The mythical hero Hercules can be considered the Chancellor's self-personification. In 1772, the medal-maker Christian Wurth (1755-1782) received the second prize in a contest held by the academy, for his medal praising the Chancellor as a patron of the arts. One side of the medal acclaimed him as *Artium Maecenas*, the other depicted Hercules animating the arts, with an inscription *Herculeius opus est animus et numine divum*. The Chancellor, however, perceived his personal emblem (Hercules and his relation to the arts) as an Enlightenment concept. In the 2nd half of the 18th century was Hercules and his deeds not only the embodiment of power and the art of warfare (as was the case with Charles VI in the beginning of the century), but of a whole ensemble of noble qualities, wisdom, and the will towards Enlightenment. In an earlier epoch of humanism, this complex was referred to as *virtu* (cf. Rottmayr's frescoes with similarly oriented contents in the Lichtenstein garden palace in Rossau dating from the beginning of the century). The deeds of Hercules are the theme of the *trompe l'oeil* on the walls of the main hall in Slavkov, executed by Josef Pichler after Mattielli's

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sculptures in Hofburg in Vienna. The Hercules theme also iconographically completed the sculptural decoration of Kaunitz's residence in Mariahilf.⁴⁴

There are other works whose contents can obviously be interconnected through the notion of *magnificenza*, *die Magnifizenz*. Füger's painting from 1789 *The Death of Germanicus* is a painting of similar standing in Central Europe as the first paintings of David. And the Chancellor learned from his friend from Lombardy, Count Karl Firmian of a series of paintings that elaborated upon this *Roman magnificence*. They were the works of Martin Knoller (1725–1804), whose large canvasses are still kept at the Slavkov château as an example of the Chancellor's taste.⁴⁵ Since Kaunitz had the best works and his most favorite paintings moved to Mariahilf, this interpretation is somewhat doubtful. Yet this series does represent a facet of Kaunitz the patron and collector. Tyrolian painter Martin Knoller was a late Baroque artist, whose style bore a degree of classicist calmness and stiffness of form. His Antique scenes, however, had a characteristic iconography. Let us consider for instance his painting *Cicero Discovering the Grave of Archimedes in Syracuse*. The painter found the theme in Cicero's *Tusculum Dialogues*, where the Roman politician compares the glory of a ruler with the fame of a scholar or a philosopher. Cicero asks a suggestive question: "is there a man that has something in common with the Muses, with knowledge and learning, who would not prefer being this mathematician (like Archimedes: a scientist, thinker and writer) but rather be a tyrant or a servant of injustice?" Thus there was a typical Enlightenment *topos* exhibited at the Slavkov château — a sign of the enlightened thinking of the Chancellor. After a fashion, Kaunitz actually identified himself with the personage of Cicero. Not only did he perform, in his youth in Rome, *Ciceronades* for his aristocratic contemporaries, but he also used Cicero's modal definition of style in his arrangement of the Imperial pinacothèque in Belvedere. According to the introduction to the catalogue of the new gallery in Vienna, the new arrangement was intended to promote the education of the viewer primarily, allowing him to contrast and compare his observations of the schools and paintings displayed alongside each other. Thus, the Chancellor appears before our eyes now as a man of the Enlightenment, in whom the epoch of *de la curiosité* has come to an end, replaced by the history of art.

⁴⁴ Cat. *Georg Raphael Donner 1693–1741*. Wien 1993, pp. 662–663.

⁴⁵ Paintings of M. Knoller in Slavkov: *Cicero Discovering the Grave of Archimedes*, 1765, canvas 274 x 204 cm, Inv. No. Slavkov 61; *Attilus Regulus Bids Farewell to Rome*, 1765, canvas 274 x 204 cm, Inv. No. Slavkov 63; *Camillus on the Ruins of Veae*, 1776, canvas 287 x 210 cm, Inv. No. Slavkov 29; *Gaius Marius on the Ruins of Carthage*, 1781, canvas 276 x 208 cm, Inv. No. Slavkov 28. Cf. L. Slavíček, *Martin Knoller a jeho obrazy v českých sbírkách: Glosy a addenda [Martin Knoller and his Paintings in Czech Collections: Notes and Addenda]*. SPFFBU F 37–39, 1993–1995, pp. 149–164.

Appendix:

Kaunitz's Project of the Urban Structure of Vienna. MZA Brno, G 436, Box 437, Inv. No. 10.

Sur L'aggrandissement et l'embellissement de la Ville de Vienne, et la construction de la façade du Bourg vis à vis de la rue du Kohlmarkt, et entre autres d'une Salle de Spectacles qui seroit la première de ce genre, qui ait jamais été imaginée et exécutée.

Sir!

Je vous suis personnellement fort attaché, so wie alte Dienner ihrem jungen Herrn zärtlich zugethan zu seyn pflegen, et moyennant cela, je voudrois que Vous puissiez illustrer votre regne de toutes les façons imaginables, et entre autres, par un moyen soignensement employé par les grands hommes de la Grèce et de Rome, lesquels se sont constamment occupés du soin d'aggrandir et d'embellir Athène et Rome, par des précieux monuments d'architecture, et qui par-là sont parvenus à faire passer, jusqu'a nous, leurs Noms et leur Memoire.

Il y a bien des années, que j'ai à cet égard, de grandes idées, comme par exemple entre autre

1^{mo}. D'aggrandir la ville de Vienne en y faisant entrer le fauxbourg du Leopoldstadt quant à présent seulement par une enceinte pareille à celle qu'on appelle communement les Lignes die Linien, et par la suite des tems, par une fortification régulière et bien entendue, supposé que l'on veuille que Vienne, aussi bien mal fortifiée de ce côté-là, reste une place de guerre; que l'on rase la fortification actuellement existante entre la ville et le Leopoldstadt; que l'on réduise le bras du Danube, qui sépare actuellement les deux villes, en Canal à angle droite entre l'une et l'autre, révetu de maçonnerie, que l'on fasse des deux côtés de quais magnifiques par leur largeur, garnis de maisons et de palais alignés avec ce Canal, et d'une architecture bien entendue, des façades d'église ou d'autres édifices publiques comme p.e. des Théâtres, des Academies ou autres dignes d'une grande Capitale.

2^{do}. D'embellir l'intérieur de la ville de Vienne, autant, qu'il est possible qu'elle le soit, entre autres en ouvrant de belles et larges communications, des rues aux places publiques, dans tous les lieux ou elles sont étranglées et masquées, et sur tout en prechant d'exemple par quelques monuments considérables; que feroit élever le Souverain lui-meme, et a cette fin.

3^{no}. Je desirerois, que Votre Mayesté exécutat des plans et projets, que j'ai faits sous le regne de l'Auguste Marie Thérèse, que l'Empereur Joseph a fort

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goutés, mais que les circonstances de temps ne leur ont pas permis, ni à l'un ni à l'autre, de mettre en exécution. Votre Mayesté les verra dans les plans, profils et façades que j'ai l'honneur de Lui envoyer, et entre autres le projet et les profils d'une Salle de Spectacles, et d'un Théâtre de mon invention, qui n'existe point encore dans toute l'Europe, et que je n'ai jamais voulu communiquer a personne, parceque j'ai désire que mon Souverain fut le premier, qui en entun de ce genre, inconcevable d'apres le Probleme également ci-joint, et cependant le plus strictement vrai d'apres son exposé;

et enfin

4^o. Au sujet de la petite rivière de la Vienne l'exémtion de la même idée, que je propose No Imo a l'égard du bras du Danube, en y-faisant entrer, s'il se peut comme je le crois, par un Canal, les eaux du Danube au dessus ou au dessous de Kloster-Neuburg, et en la faissant dégorger dans le bras du Danube aux environs des Weisgerber.

Tous ces projets peuvent s'exécuter à volonté successivement, mais le 1er dévroit être, ce me semble, celui qui peut l'être le plus promptement et le plus facilement, c'est à dire, celui qui régarde le Bourg, et j'avoue à Votre Mayesté que je désirerois infiniment, qu'Elle s'y déterminat, parceque certainement cela fe-roit l'effet si désirable de faire passer Son Nom et Sa Mémoire a la posterité la plus réculée.

Si Votre Mayesté vent prendre la peine de venir chez moi, et de m'avertir du jour et de l'heure, Elle y verra un Model du Théâtre en question, très-bien fait sous mes yeux, et qui pourra, je pense, Lui faire plaisir.

Je Lui baise les mains avec le plus profond respect.

Vienne, le 28. 7bre 1792

**VÁCLAV ANTONÍN KNÍŽE KOUNIC-RIETBERG:
OD ZNALECTVÍ KE KRITICE UMĚNÍ.**

Kníže Václav Antonín Kaunitz-Rietberg je znám především jako politik, státní kancléř Marie Terezie, Josefa II. a Leopolda II. Jeho mecenášské činnosti byla dosud věnována spíše jen malá pozornost. První větší zdůraznění jeho role v této oblasti známe ze studií Alexandra Novotného o Kaunitzovi jako duchovní osobnosti, dále díky brněnské historičce umění Cecilii Hálové-Jahodové, která upozornila na rozkvět slavkovské galerie za jeho působení a Greta Klingensteino-ové, která popsala jeho původ a vzdělání. V současnosti se začíná objevovat kníže Kaunitz jako výrazná osoba mecenáše a znalce výtvarného umění. Autor se soustřeďuje především na následu-

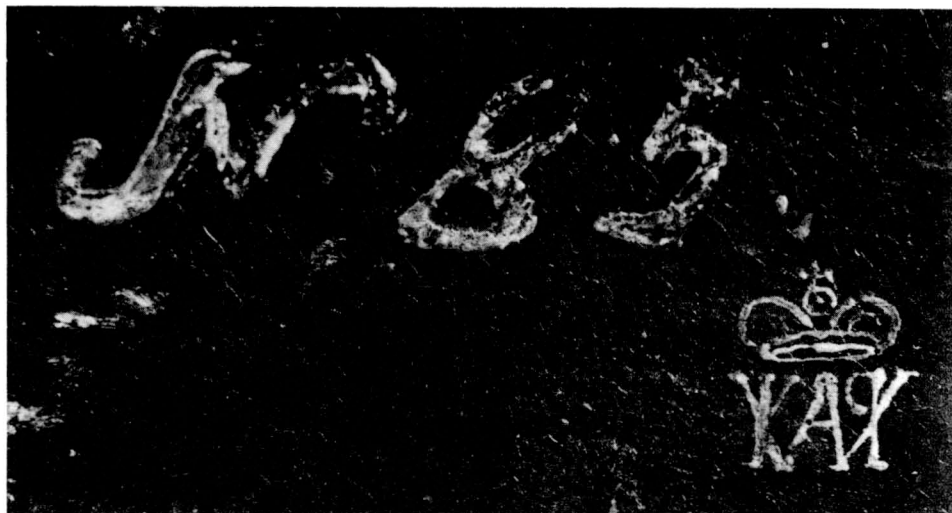
jící okruhy problémů spojených s jeho mecenášskou činností: a) na kancléřův vztah k architektuře; b) na motivaci jeho mecenášství a na kořeny jeho osobního vkusu; c) na jeho spolupracovníky a nákupčí; a konečně d) na jeho vztah k tehdy se rodící nové disciplíně, k dějinám umění. Poukazuje přitom na kancléřovu aktivní roli při realizaci architektonických projektů nejen na svém panství (palác v Mariahilfu, dostavba zámku ve Slavkově), ale především při úvahách nad císařskými projekty, které měly vyjadřovat ideu *magnificenzy* (Schönbrunn, Hofburg). Dosud zcela neznámý byl Kaunitzův urbanistický projekt Vídně. Jeho osobní vkus se orientoval na vyzvedávání spíše senzuačních složek ve výtvarném umění. Kaunitzovo mecenášství se pozvolna vyvíjelo od podpory zajímavého, senzuačního, *malířsky virtuozního* (architektonické a zahradní fantazie; dílo Johanna Ferdinanda Hetzendorfa z Hohenbergu; malířské portréty Franze Antona Palka, *neo-manýristické* práce sochaře Jacoba Gabriela Mollinarola, tvorba Jacoba Matthiase Schmuzera, Francesca Casanovy aj.) pozvolným směrem k neoklasicismu na základě boloňské malířské školy, přičemž zjevně oba styly chápal jako doplňující se stylové mody dobového pluralismu. Konečně na podkladě Ciceronovské rétoriky myšlenkově přechází Kaunitz od kultury *de la curiosité* (termín použil francouzský historik kultury Krzysztof Pomian) přes ocenění nového vkladu Johanna Joachima Winkelmanna pro znalectví starověkého umění až k novému pojetí dějin umění jako historické disciplíny sledující rozvoj a vzájemné odlišnosti jednotlivých malířských škol. V tomto smyslu spolupůsobil kancléř na projektu nové instalace dvorských císařských sbírek a navrhoval zřízení výuky dějin umění na vídeňské Akademii. V jeho pozůstalosti jsou mimo jiné zachovány různé umělecko-historické zlomky a není divu, že v galerijním katalogu císařských sbírek pro Belvedere nalezeme na různých místech zajímavá ikonografická určení.

První, zárodečná verze tohoto příspěvku byla poprvé proslouvena česky na konferenci v pražské Národní galerii (1995) k uctění památky Oldřicha J. Blažička; varianta tohoto příspěvku je v německém jazyku publikována ve sborníku: G. Klingenstein — F. A. J. Szabo (edd.), *Wenzel Anton Fürst Kaunitz-Rietberg (1711–1794). Neue Perspektiven zu Politik und Kultur der europäischen Aufklärung*. Graz 1996. Definitivní text vznikl novým přepracováním obou předchozích verzí jako v jistém slova smyslu prolegomena k větší práci o státním kancléři jako mecenáši umění.

Původ snímků — Photographic acknowledgements

Brno, Archive of the Department of History of Arts: 1, 2, 5, 6, 11–13, 19; Brno, Moravian Gallery (Irena Armutidisová): 7–10, 17, 18; Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina: 3, 4; Repro-photo (Kat.: G. R. Donner, Wien 1993) 14, 15; (Österreichische Kunsttopographie, Bd. 14) 16.

WENZEL ANTON, PRINCE KAUNITZ-RIETBERG:
FROM "CURIOSITÉ" TO CRITICISM OF ART



1. Collector's mark of Prince W. A. Kaunitz-Rietberg (drawing and reality). Brno, Moravian Land Archive.

Description
de deux grands Tableaux capitaux
qui font pendants ensemble
l'un du fameux Solimene
l'autre du Cavalier Bambinij.

chacun large 7 pieds 2 pouces et haut 5 pieds 5 pouces de france

le premier represente
la Mort de Messaline
par Francesco Solimena.

Ce Tableau offre la Scene touchante, qui preceda la Mort de Messaline. Pour bien entendre ce Sujet il faut se rappeler le passage des Annales de Tacite, Liv XI Chap 37. ou il est dit: que, L'Empereur Claudius étant las des desordres de sa femme, ordonna a Narcisse d'aller la tuer dans les Jardins de Lucullus, ou elle étoit avec sa mère. Celui-ci confia cette commission a un affranchi nommé Evodius qui, s'annonçant vers elle, armé d'un poignard, lui annonce la mort en lui disant des injures. Sa mère lui conseille de prevenir une mort honteuse de la main d'un vil esclave en se la donnant elle meme, Messaline tire son poignard, essaye de se percer, mais le courage l'abandonne, et lorsqu'Evodius est prêt a la saisir, elle laisse tomber le poignard et n'a recours qu'aux prieres et aux larmes »

C'est là le vrai moment du Tableau. Le Peintre a suivi exactement la narration de l'histoire. Endus saisit déjà Mésaline par le bras, mais étant prêt à la frapper, il est touché des ses prières et hésite de porter le coup qui est déjà lancé. Narcisse dans l'éloignement attend l'exécution de ses ordres et doit supplier à la faiblesse de son affranchi en terminant lui même les jours de cette Princesse.

Ce Tableau passe à juste titre pour un des chefs d'œuvres de Solimene; et c'est ainsi qu'il en est parlé dans sa vie écrite par Bernardo de Domenici. En effet c'est une composition frappante, dessinée correctement et de la touche la plus hardie. L'effet de la soirée rend les lumières très vives, les frayeurs que cause la présence de la mort à une âme faible et criminelle, sont exprimées dans la figure de Mésaline, les fureurs du désespoir dans celle de sa Mère, et l'attitude de l'affranchi annonce toute l'incertitude et l'irrésolution de son âme.



3. J. M. Schmuzer (after L. Tocqué), Portrait of Prince Kaunitz as Ambassador in Paris 1764. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.

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W. A. PRINCEPS A KAUNITZ
*Quondam Augg. ad Sacerdotio Regem.
 Ad pacem Aquisgranam sancendam Negotiator
 Augg. a Sanctae Consilio Cancellarius.
 Palat. Provinciarum. Nobis cum Electoris*



COMES A RITTBERG
*Abbasus. Belgii Claris. Societas.
 apud Gallias Regem. Orator. Nunc. veris.
 & Amstelred. Germaniae. Belgic. et
 germanis. Praefectus. &c. &c. &c.*

4. J. M. Schmuzer (after J. N. Steiner), Prince Kaunitz with Montesquieu's *L'esprit des loix*, 1767. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.



5. J. M. Schmuizer (after J. Hagenauer), Portrait of Prince W. A. Kaunitz with dedication to marshal G. Loudon, 1786. Slavkov-castle

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ANTICHE PITTURE

DEI BAGNI

DI COSTANTINO

DEDICATE

A SUA ALTEZZA IL PRINCIPE

VINCISLAO ANTONIO

DI KAUNITZ, CONTE DI RITTBERG

*Configliere intimo attuale di Stato, e Mi-
nistro di Conferenze, Cavaliere del To-
son d'Oro, e Cancelliere di Corte
e Stato delle LL. MM. II. RR.*

Apostoliche &c. &c.

DISEGNATE, E DIPINTE

DA MARCO CARLONI ROMANO

ROMA MDCCLXXX.

*Presso l'Autore in strada Frattina
a Zecchini 30.*

AGLI AMATORI

Delle Belle Arti, e delle Antichità.

NEL Quintale, ora appunto fanno i Bagni dell'Imperatore Co-
stantino, scavandosi i fondamenti del magnifico Palazzo Reali-
gioso, trovandosi alcune pitture, che trasportate poi nelle Belle Pa-
lazzine, si sono sempre ben conservate da i virtuosi Principi Reali e
Pallavicini. Ed essendo queste lavorate con molta cura, dimostrò perfet-
tissimo andar del pari ad altre antiche pitture, non trincerò Cesare au-
tore Inglese, parlando del sito di detti Bagni, accusar alcun cano-
ni. Quindi è che Marco Carloni Romano, già noto per altre sue pro-
duzioni di varj antichi monumenti, ha stimato far così grazia al Pub-
blico, disegnarle accuratamente, e colorandole tali quali si trovano, in
un foglio, che possono servir di esemplare a qualunque studio galante-
to; per cui offre le medesime con'è fatto farsi, incise, e poi colorite,
non dipinte solamente sopra semplici cartoni, sicchè appariscono
tutti originali e simili a calce, come appunto si veggono nelle anesse
tavole. Nelle quali si rappresentano varj oggetti corrispondenti alla oval-
lezza, e a cui furono i bagni ridotti, dopo l'introduzione fattane per ne-
cessità, ed utile della vita.

La prima di dette tavole mostra che rappresentò il nostro ricercato vic-
torioso dalla guerra d'India; offerendosi coronato di olive, con la palma
in mano, sopra di vittoria, e con a piedi lo scudo; a cui Venere da
lui amata, che pare uscir dal bagno, pedana sua corona. In distanza
poi si può appormentar esser la greca Arianna, amata prima da esse Boc-
co, che tiene in braccio Priego lunatico, per i di lei lacrimosi, fatti
per vendetta a Venere lasciata, nato così deforme, che per vergogna fin
da quella abbandonò in Lemno.

Nelle seconda offerenti la Dea Pomona con candelro in testa di frut-
ti in atto di esser sorpreso da Pico, figlio di Saturno Re degli Aborigeni,
e il veggono da una parte a' suoi calce, e la figura di un toro, che,
per esser stato nell'antica Roma un vico dal nome di detta Dea chia-
mato di Pomona, può crederli il senso Tevere.

Nelle altre tavole si rappresentano Giove, Apollo, Amore, ed alcu-
ne Baccanti, facendo apparire da i loro simboli; dei quali tutti si potrà
affai meglio degli Eruditi esaminar il rapporto, e la proprietà.

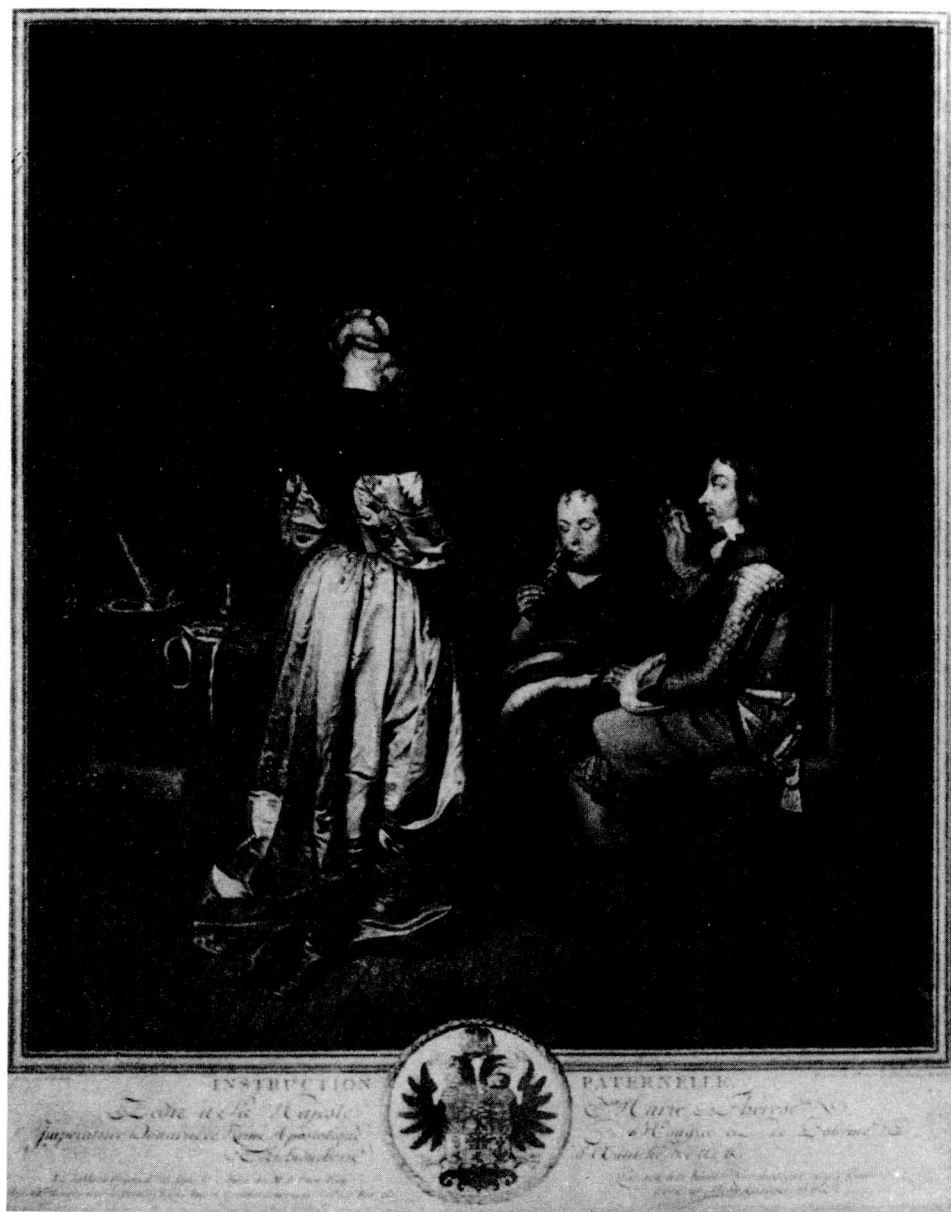


7. J. E. Mansfeld, Portrait of Prince W. A. Kaunitz, around 1775. Opava, Silesian Museum.

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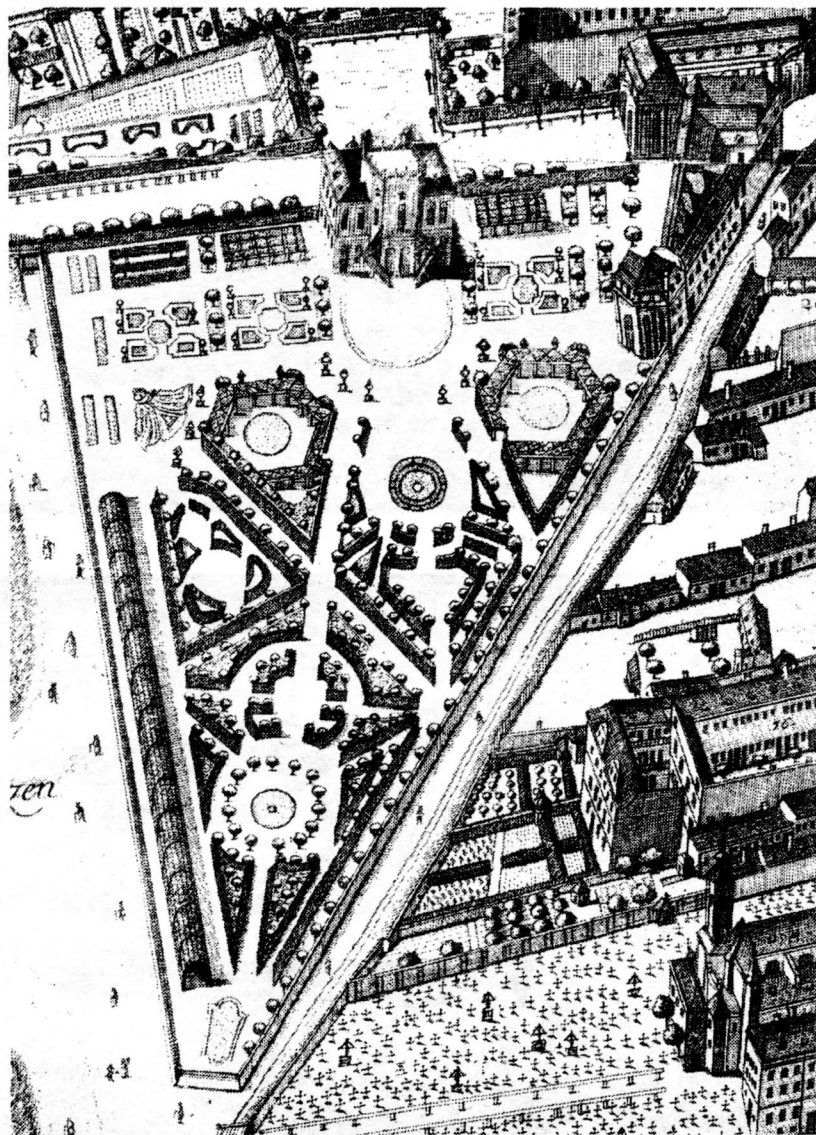


8. J. M. Schmuzer (after P. P. Rubens), Mucius Scaevola; with dedication to Prince W. A. Kaunitz. Brno, Moravian Gallery.

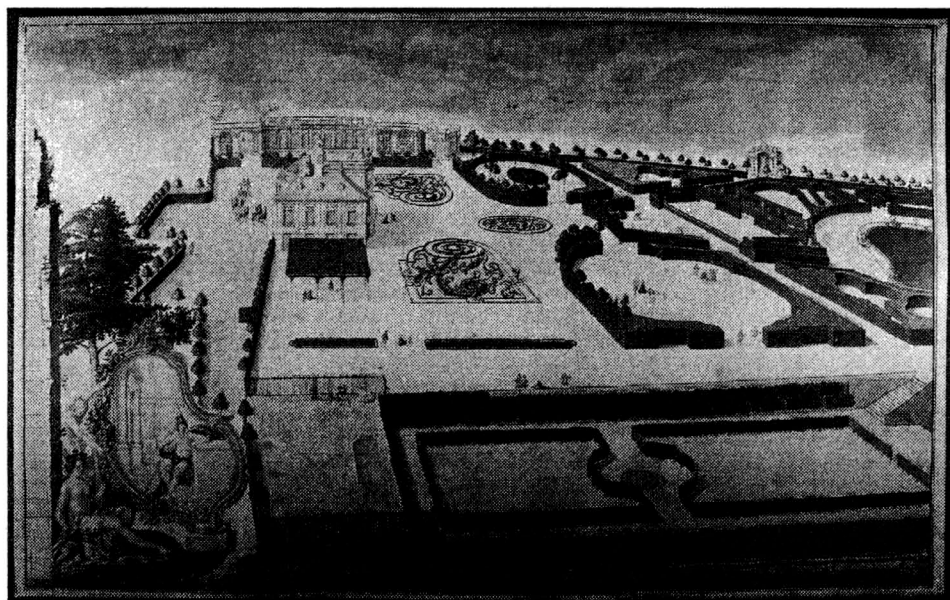
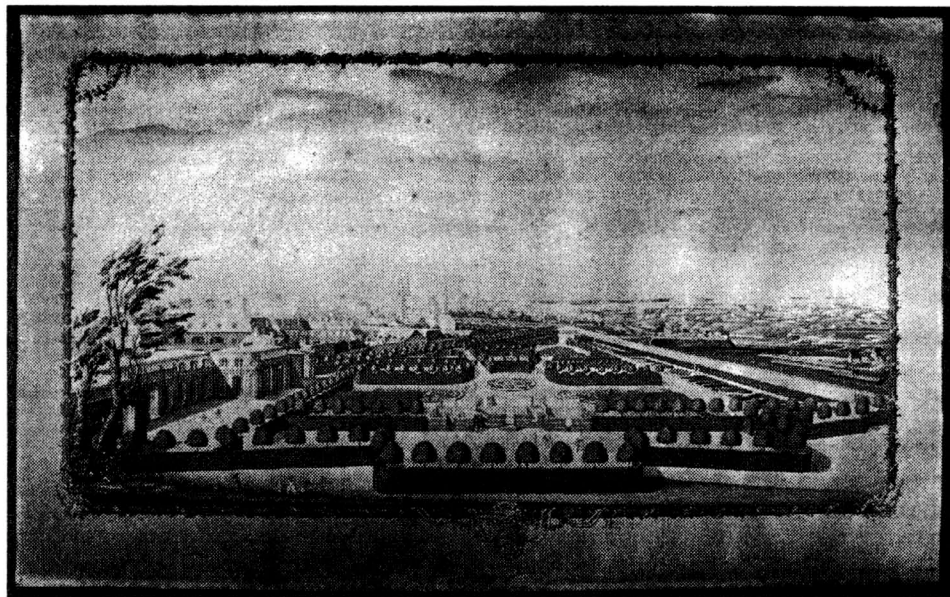


9. J. G. Wille (after Gerard Ter Borch), *Instruction paternelle*; on Kaunitz' advice dedicated to empress Maria Therese. Brno, Moravian Gallery.

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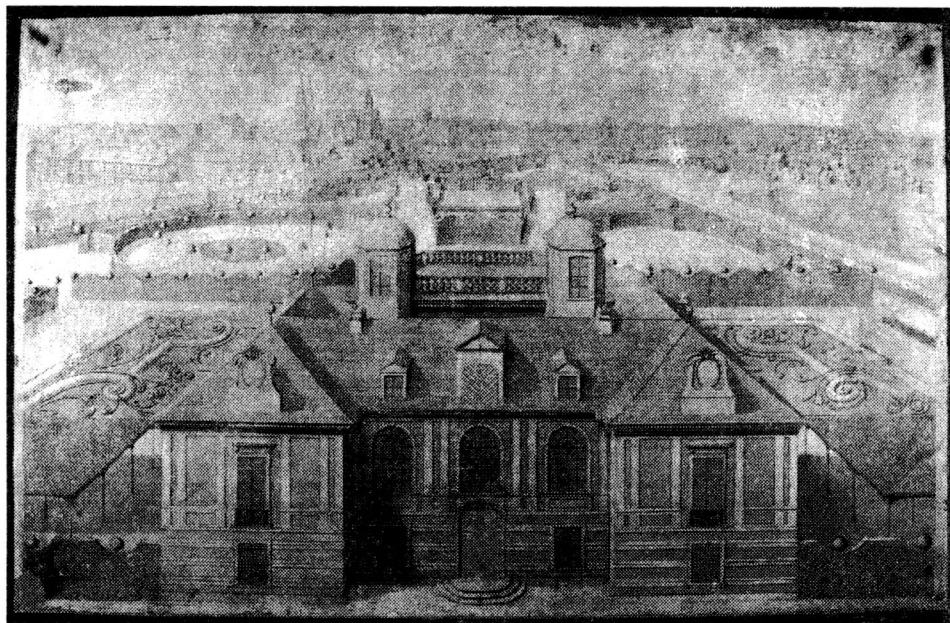


10. Vienna- Mariahilf, view of Kaunitz' residence (plan of J. D. Huber, 1769–1776). Kroměříž, Regional Museum.



11.-12. Unknown artist. Study of the garden at Vienna- Mariahilf. Slavkov-castle.

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13. Unknown artist, Vienna- Mariahilf, facade of the residence. Slavkov-castle.

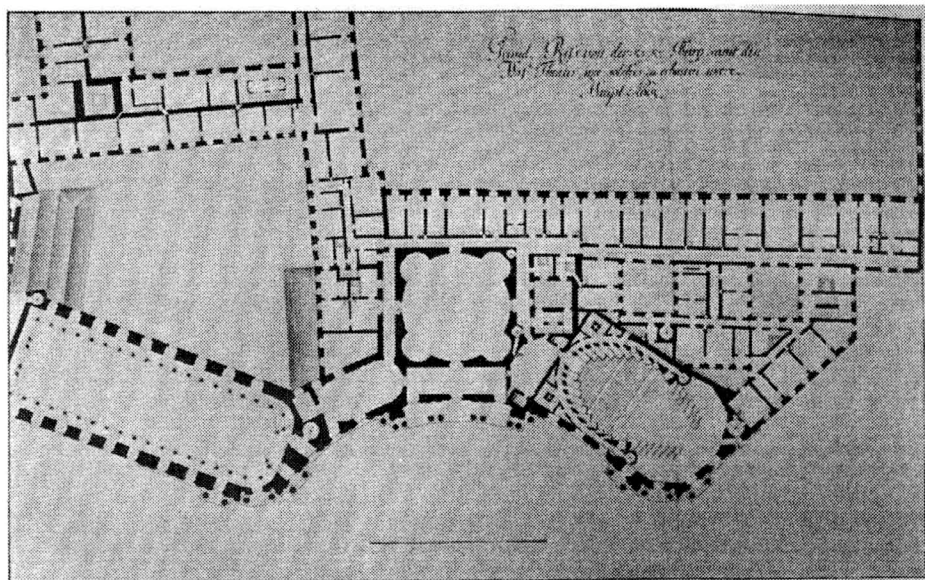


14. Chr. Würth, Medal of Prince Kaunitz' Patronage, 1772.

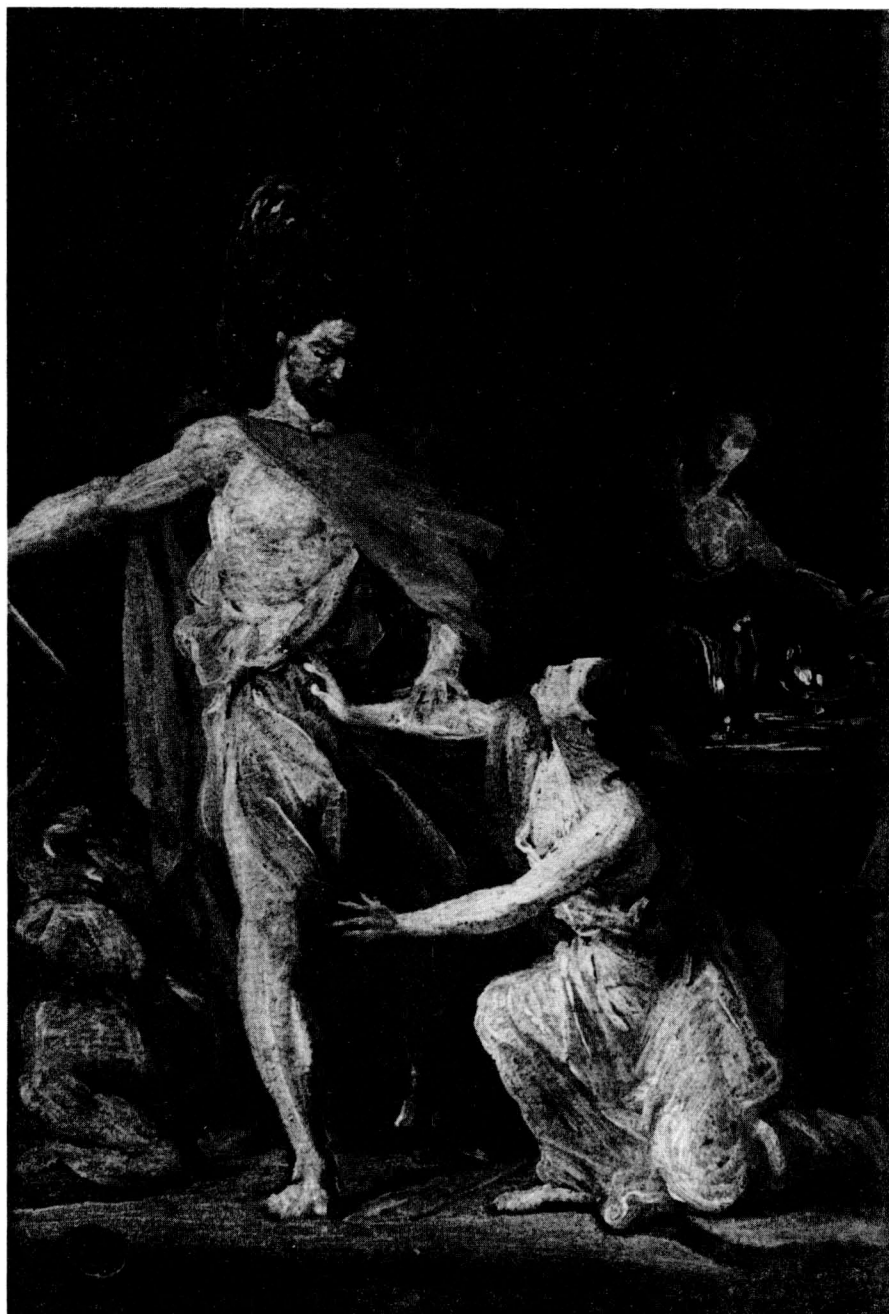


15. J. G. Müller-Mollinarolo, Personifical allegory of a season.

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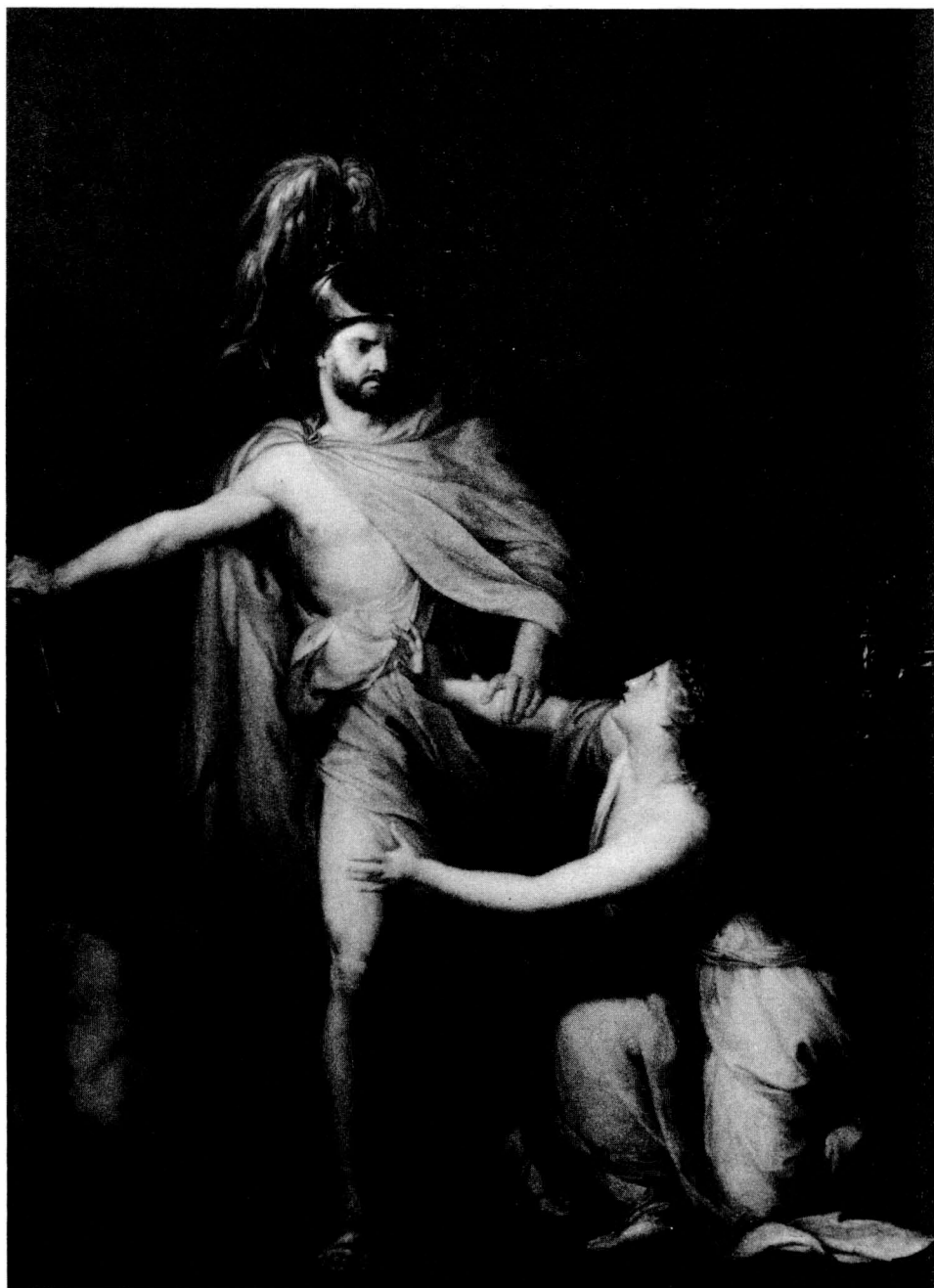


16. Attributed to J. F. Hetzendorf von Hohenberg, Design for „Michaelertrakt“-building in Vienna. Graphische Sammlung Albertina

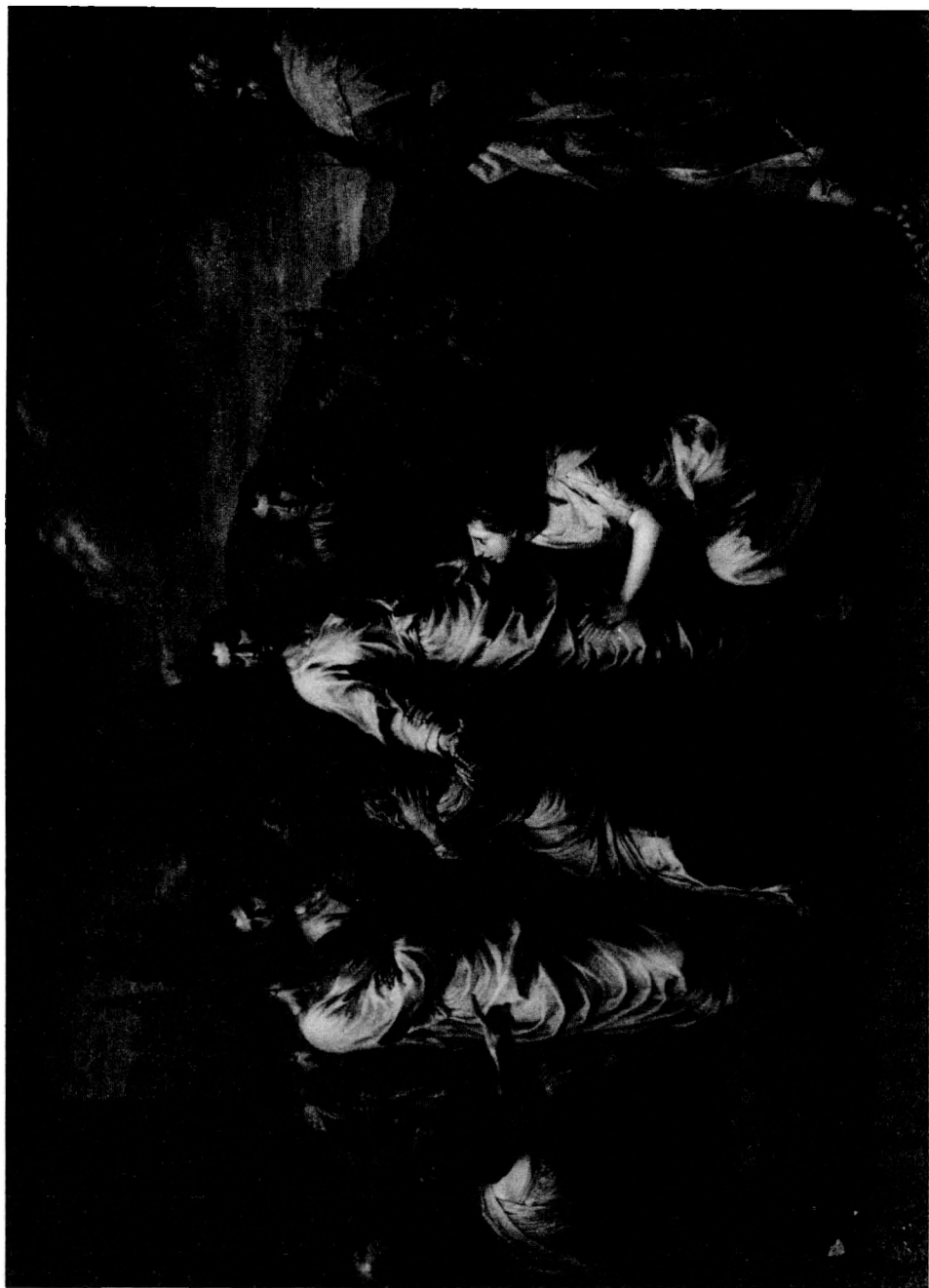


17. Hubert Maurer, Ulysses and Circle (oil-study for the painting). Opava, Silesian Museum.

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18. Hubert Mauer, Ulysses and Circe. Slavkov-Castle.



19. Martin Knoller, Attilus Regulus bids farewell to Rome, 1765. Slavkov-castle.