Prince Eugene's Winter Palace
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Prince Eugene’s Winter Palace on Himmelpfortgasse

Agnes Husslein-Arco

Today the Himmelpfortgasse is located in a highly desirable part of Vienna’s inner city. In Prince Eugene’s time, it was more of a bourgeois district, with the aristocracy preferring the proximity to the Hofburg and constructing its palaces on Herrengasse, for instance. Old-established families had the best locations so that people who later moved in needed a lot of luck and even more money to be able to settle in their vicinity. When Prince Eugene entered the services of Emperor Leopold I in 1683, he was a penniless refugee. He came to Vienna with just a good name and an enormous will to pursue a military career. Already then the Prince was able to exert a great fascination on some of his contemporaries in spite of his not-so-promising looks. The Spanish ambassador at the time, Carlo Emanuele d’Este, Marchese di Borgomanero offered him not only an apartment in his home but also introduced him to the imperial court. Even his relative in Turin, Viktor Amadeus II, Duke of Savoy, provided the Prince some material support by giving him two abbeys in Piedmont to which Eugene held title as lay abbot for the rest of his life – which also provided him considerable revenue.

The history of the construction of the Winter Palace and its furnishing reflects the rise of Prince Eugene in an impressive way. In 1694, eleven years after he had entered the imperial services, Eugene had the necessary means to buy a building on Himmelpfortgasse. Subsequently, he was also able to buy the neighboring building; and in 1696 Johann Fischer von Erlach who at that time had already made himself a name as an architect and stood in the favor of the imperial house began constructing a palace. With its seven south-facing windows this building was anything but imposing, yet its real splendor only began to unfold on the inside over the following years. And a good part of it – in particular the frescos as well as the fantastic grotesque paintings on gilded ground – still impress visitors even today.

When, in 1703, Prince Eugene was appointed president of the Imperial War Council, he already had a representative residence that was befitting of his office. The acquisition of a further neighboring building that same year almost appeared to be a present, which he made to himself to mark this significant occasion. The first extension was then to be followed by a second one until the palace acquired its dimensions that are still impressive by today’s standards.

Parallel to the construction taking place on Himmelpfortgasse, the small Belvedere Castle in Hungary was built as well as the prince’s garden which was endowed with all conceivable manner of lavish decoration – the garden that is known today as Belvedere. Before both palaces and the numerous side buildings could be
constructed, the plots of land that Eugene purchased on Rennweg from 1697 on still had to be terraced. The Lower Belvedere was erected between 1712 and 1717, while the Upper Belvedere was completed in 1723. The building work also involved construction of a menagerie and elaborate fountains as well as the further measures related to the design of the garden. The expansion of the properties and collections went hand in hand with the military successes. In the Spanish War of Succession as well as the Venetian-Austrian Turkish War, the general had ample opportunity to demonstrate his military skills. Prince Eugene, already more than sixty years old at the time, was finally able to create for himself a refuge from all the bustle of the capital and seat of royal power Vienna with his various properties in the Marchfeld, the most significant one being the Schloss Hof Palace.

Nothing seemed to be too costly, especially when it came to furnishing the Winter Palace and the Belvedere, as testified by reports of admirers. Wall coverings made of silk, precious stones on console tables, chandeliers, ceiling paintings and frescos by famous Italian masters, English silver, Chinese porcelain and much more created a magnificent ambience hardly imaginable today. Apart from that, the palaces also housed his extensive collections. In addition to paintings by Anthonis van Dyck, Peter Paul Rubens, Rembrandt and Guido Reni, among others, he also had an enormous library. In addition to the ‘classical’ collections, he also created a zoo that boasted a remarkable diversity of species as well as a collection of rare plants. Not only did his collections continue to grow but also the curiosity of his contemporaries. The penniless refugee had become one of Europe's richest, powerful and most admired men.

The use of the festive and ceremonial rooms on Himmelportgasse for exhibitions of the Belvedere – has now after centuries made it possible to create a link between the city palace and the garden palace. Following extensive restoration work, this special architectural gem is now being opened to the public for the first time. In spite of the reconstruction that took place after it was purchased by Maria Theresa in 1752, the significant parts of the wall decorations have remained intact. For this reason, the enfilade is much more in keeping with the principles of a palace museum than the classical type of exhibition spaces. The bel étage is in itself worth a visit. In the future we have no intention of downplaying the historical setting or even hiding it. Rather, we would like to create another reason to pay a visit to this site so rich in history.
“its name is known all over Europe and is reckoned among the loveliest of buildings.”

The Winter Palace: The History of its Construction, Decoration and its Use

Richard Kurdiovsky

As was befitting of an aristocrat at the Habsburg Imperial Court in baroque Vienna, Prince Eugene Franz of Savoy-Carignan-Soissons owned country houses, a garden palace outside of the city and a palace in the center of town. This grand winter residence located on Himmelpfortgasse is regarded as one of Austria’s most significant secular baroque buildings. Especially the grand staircase by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach is regarded as one of the most elaborate uses of interior space in European baroque architecture. In accounts of journeys and biographical texts on Prince Eugene, some of his contemporaries lavished praise on this building. Even a pictorial documentation was planned, of which six drawings by Salomon Kleiner are known. For this reason, there is excellent documentation of this building, unlike other baroque palaces in Vienna, and we are thus able to reconstruct the building history and original appearance of this palace. This gives detailed insight into the way Viennese aristocrats lived and entertained in the heyday of the Baroque period.

About eleven years after he had offered Emperor Leopold I his services in the war against the Ottoman Empire, Prince Eugene of Savoy apparently had the necessary resources or access to them as well as the professional and social status that would allow him to take a step with far-reaching consequences. In spring of 1694 and in February 1695 he purchased two narrow plots with buildings on Himmelpfortgasse where he had a city palace erected. The reconstruction work must have begun shortly after. The already existing buildings were, if possible, integrated into the new construction. The theatre hall on the ground floor from the middle of the 17th century (now located
east of the vestibule) was integrated and a new staircase was built into a former inner courtyard. New stories were added to the building to create sufficient space for staterooms.

The palace was planned by an architect who, already for some time, had been highly sought after by the Viennese high aristocracy because of his training with Gian Lorenzo Bernini, the star architect of the Roman High Baroque. Johann Bernhard Fischer’s innovative garden palaces outside the city walls of Vienna were greatly admired. He also had very close contacts with the imperial house and, from 1689 on, also tutored Joseph, the crown prince, in architecture. In the mid-1690s, Fischer was working on a number of building projects for the Salzburg Archbishop Johann Ernst Count Thun (including the Dreifaltigkeitskirche and the Kollegienkirche), when he agreed to work for Prince Eugene in Vienna. Writing about himself at the time, the architect noted that he had “14 large projects in hand”, was so busy on all sides and overrun that he was often unable to attend mass.

As scholars have acknowledged, Fischer’s façade for the winter palace was structured in a strikingly flexible and very future-oriented way and it was possible to easily extend it. The first palace building was on a relatively narrow plot of land and only had seven windows. But in the oldest known rendition of the façade, a copper etching from 1712, which Fischer added to his text Entwurf einer Historischen Architektur, the winter palace is depicted
with a façade that has twelve bays (Ill. 2). It seems as if he had from the outset designed the façade to have this width – in agreement with or perhaps even at the wish of Prince Eugene –, even if the necessary adjacent plot of land had not been bought yet. When the façade was extended again, it was not necessary to alter the façade-scheme designed by Fischer.13

This was possible because Fischer took recourse to rather old-fashioned systems and elements of façade structuring or systems that were at least familiar in Vienna: the “bi-polar”, paratactic design of the façade.14 On a paratactically structured façade, identical elements are placed next to each other, in seemingly endless, monotonous succession, without any rhythmic variation, without different bay widths or accentuation of individual bays, as for instance, in the form of a projection. The bi-polarity of a façade means that instead of a central portal there are two doors placed symmetrically in each of the two façade halves. This way it is no longer necessary to emphasize the center of the façade by means of a projection. Both elements had already appeared in the plan for the Palais Dietrichstein15 on Herrengasse twenty years before the construction of the winter palace. It can be assumed that Fischer was influenced by this palais in the design of the façade bays.16

The most magnificent design element in the winter palace is certainly the staircase (Ill. 5) in which for the first time in an indoor space in Vienna atlantes instead of columns supported the flights of stairs. People at the time noted the special feature of this staircase, which seemed to be bigger than it actually is17 and “clearly showed…. (Fischer’s) flair”.18 In reality, the staircase is only a simple, high stairwell extending up through all the stories in the shape of a square. Since a staircase has been placed in this stairwell, its full extension only becomes fully visible from the upper level. The staircase is based on the traditional T-shape with the first flight of stairs, modeled after the Escalier des Ambassadeurs in Versailles, dividing into two arms following an intermediate landing. For this reason it does not reach the the bel étage level. To this main hall, Fischer thus added two alcove-like rooms in which the landings are located. Small flights of stairs lead from there back to the bel étage level into the main hall. One reaches a U-shaped gallery, where the stairwell opens up to its full dimensions, extending to the former main portal of the Festssal, which today is walled up.

The caption on the copper etching mentioned above reads: “Cette Maison avec le Grand escalier est du dessein de J.B. Fischer d’E.” (This building with the large staircase is designed by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach). This information is useful, as it certifies that Fischer was responsible for the design of the Winter Palace. Fischer may have even felt himself forced to explicitly state this to the public, because, around 1700, he was replaced by his greatest rival, namely Johann Lucas Hildebrandt who in the future was to be in charge of all of Prince Eugene’s building projects.19 It can be assumed that this decisive change in plans took place around 1698,20 which mainly affected the layout of the building. And from 1701/02 on Hildebrandt corresponded with the prince regarding the inner furnishing of the palace.21

With Hildebrandt, a competitive architect had arrived in Vienna in 1698, who like Fischer had received a solid training in Rome with Carlo Fontana, a representative of the late baroque, and could absorb the latest developments since Bernini’s death in 1680. Hildebrandt’s designs of churches, but also his highly decorative style, which could be easily applied to various building tasks, became very influential.22 The competition between the two architects could even be seen in the relations with the imperial house, when in 1700 Hildebrandt was named imperial court engineer and this even though shortly before Fischer had been awarded the aristocratic title “von Erlach”. Contemporaries such as Friedrich Koch, the administrator of Count Harrach, described the situation very aptly as “diese zwey khein guet beisammen tetten.” (these two can’t get on at all with each other)23

Fischer had already created a full-fledged aristocratic palace for Prince Eugene.24 Coming from the staircase one entered the Festsaal, a hall extending over two stories,25 which was illuminated from two sides, namely from a larger inner courtyard and a smaller courtyard. Following an antechamber, with windows looking out on
the small courtyard, one reached the Audience Chamber (Ill. 6), the first room of the enfilade facing the street. Behind it, there was (as reconstructed by Ulrike Seeger) the narrow retirade with a balcony door to the street and a double window (now walled over) looking out onto the small courtyard. This was followed by the bedroom with a closet and a dressing room. This layout included all rooms necessary for a noble apartment: antechamber, where guests waited to be received according to their rank, reception rooms where audiences took place, private living areas, to which only intimate, high-ranking friends had access, and the back rooms for storage. Under Hildebrandt both the space and furnishings of this apartment were now modeled after the latest French fashions. Retirade and bedroom were merged to create a magnificent ceremonial bedroom with three windows (Ill. 7), as was common in France, but not at the Habsburg imperial court. A Cheminée royale was built in, a chimney type Jules Hardouin-Mansart had invented for Ludwig XIV only a few years before. Hung over the fireplace there was a large mirror with a semi-circular end extending almost up to the cornice. Wooden paneling and window shutters were decorated with rich grotesque painting on a gilded ground modeled after the very latest designs by Jean Bérain, as executed from 1664 onwards in Charles Le Brun’s Galerie d’Apollon in the Paris Louvre. Soon afterwards, they became fashionable, appearing in numerous aristocratic palaces in France (Hôtel de Lauzun in Paris, Vaux-le-Vicomte near Melun).
From summer 1697 to October 1698 the frescos were carried out by Marcantonio Chiarini, known as a specialist for architectural painting, and Andrea Lanzani, first for the ceiling of the Festsaal and then for that of the Audience Chamber. Here, once again, a novelty was being introduced in Vienna, since frescoes were normally used to decorate staircases, halls and galleries. As Fischer von Erlach had planned, living spaces and staterooms were adorned with stucco and, even inlaid paintings. Not just the fresco artists came from Bologna, the metropolis of painting, but also the oil paintings for the supraportal of the staterooms. At the same time, work was probably also underway in the most lavish room, the Gold Cabinet (III. 8), in which the mirror cabinet merged with the French gold cabinet and the Dutch porcelain cabinet. Augsburg artist Jonas Drentwett who was in Vienna in 1701 is said to have created the grotesque painting. In addition to the lavish furnishing of the palace with artworks, there were also stoves one of which depicted the struggle of Hercules with the Hesperidian dragon and once stood in the Audience Chamber. Today it stands in the entrance hall of the Schönbrunn Palace next to a similar stove depicting the victory of Hercules over the Nemean Lion, which possibly stood in the State Bedroom of the Winter Palace.

While the works on the furnishings were moving towards completion, the next plot of land was purchased. In spring 1703, Prince Eugene bought the neighboring house to the east. However, there were probably not
Ill. 5
Grand Staircase

Ill. 6
Salomon Kleiner
Audience Chamber
Wien Museum

Ill. 7
Salomon Kleiner
State Bedroom
Wien Museum
sufficient funds for immediately beginning with construction so it wasn’t until 1708 that building commenced.37 The prince’s private rooms in the back wing of the building were expanded38 and a five-bay gallery (Ill. 10) was now added to the enfilade of the staterooms facing the street.39 In order to stylistically adapt them to the older staterooms, they were adorned with gilded dados with grotesques and a cheminée royale made of black marble just like the doorframes. The supraportal paintings were created this time by Peter Paul Rubens and depict portraits: the Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy and Emperor Maximilian I – possibly reflecting links to the ancestors of the House of Savoy and the ruling Habsburg dynasty, as well as to Habsburg territories such as the Austrian Netherlands, which Prince Eugene was entrusted with from 1716 to 1724 as governor.40 The layout of the palace now featured the conference room (Ill. 11) located behind the gallery, which was more simply furnished with elements that were traditional for Vienna: wall hangings, stucco ceiling, perhaps with an inlaid painting, and stove in the corner of the room in addition to the Cheminée royale – a
similar configuration as in the imperial rooms of the Klosterneuburg monastery created from 1730 on. The supraportals were painted by a local artist, Peter Strudel.\textsuperscript{41}

The inner furnishings were almost completed when in 1709, the quadraturist Chiarini came to Vienna again to paint the frescoes for the ceiling of the State Bedroom and the Gallery together with figural painter Giuseppe Gambarini. However, Gambarini lost the commission he had just begun to the Le Brun student Louis Dorigny whom Prince Eugene had invited to Vienna in 1711.\textsuperscript{42} In the Parade master bedroom Dorigny completed the figural paintings, while the one in the Gallery was completely created by him; he also made an altar painting for the chapel in the private quarters.\textsuperscript{43} Probably at the same time, another painter, Jacques-Ignac Parrocel from France, painted the large-format works, which glorify the battles won under Prince Eugene’s command – that once adorned the Festsaal.\textsuperscript{44} After the Winter Palace was “completed” in the early 1710s, Eugene could focus on matters related to the building of the Belvedere palace.
Ill. 10
Salomon Kleiner
Galerie
Wien Museum

Ill. 11
Salomon Kleiner
Conference Room
Austrian State Library, Vienna
Ill. 12
Floor plan of the ground level, After 1752
Albertina, Vienna

Ill. 13
Floor plan of the Beletage, after 1752
Albertina, Vienna
When the ornamental painting of the ceilings in the Upper Belvedere was begun, the last piece of land was purchased on Himmelpfortgasse in 1719. But it was only in 1723, when the furnishing works in the Garden Palace were coming to a close that building works began in the city. The façade was extended to its present length of 17 bays (Ill. 4), so as to be able to accommodate a series of rooms featuring three library and collection rooms on the inside. While the first hall which filled the entire length of the new wing facing Himmelpfortgasse, was located right behind the Gold Cabinet, the enfilade of the staterooms was not extended this long – one reason being that the library constituted a space that was independent of the official state bedrooms: “From time to time the Prince has the habit of retreating to this place to rest and recuperate from the hardships that his important services have inflicted upon him.”

Already after Prince Eugene’s death in 1736 there was an awareness of the historical importance of his artistically so exceptional city palace. And so even centuries later the only heiress Anna Victoria of Savoy-Piedmont was accused of selling all the movable artworks and other objects. When Maria Theresa acquired the building in 1752, there was further “stripping” of the palace. The sopraportal paintings were moved to the imperial painting gallery, the elaborate boiseries of the Gold Cabinet and the pilasters of the Gallery were remounted in the Lower Belvedere (Ill. 9). But not all of the furnishings were dismantled. As the most famous illustration of decoration
that remained extant one could cite the richly carved ceiling of the Gold Cabinet. The furnishing pieces that remained on site were rearranged and complemented with flower still lifes so as to maintain an adequate background for a new use of the palace – then serving as the headquarters of the “Directions-Hof-Collegium für Münz- und Bergwesen” and from 1848 of the Ministry of Finance. In order to create living space for the family of the president of the new agency, Carl Ferdinand Count Königsegg, the Galerie was divided into two rooms and the ceiling lowered – the frescoes by Chiarini and Dorigny disappeared into a sort of in-between floor and remained there for centuries, with their luster more or less untouched. Various departments of the Münz- and Bergwerksbehörde (agency for minting and mining) were moved to the back wings of the palace where Prince Eugene’s private rooms had once been located. To adapt the statics of the building to the new user, vaults were installed, even on the bel étage level, and pillars erected. The former Festsaal as well as the Sala terrena next to the vestibule were divided into small rooms by adding partitions and the ceilings were lowered (Ills. 12 and 13).

In the 19th century, the approach to the substance of the palace was strongly oriented to art and history and there were numerous restoration initiatives – still, they were new creations rather than careful conservation of historical building substance. One especially notable example is the planned restoration, apparently personally initiated by Finance Minister Ignaz von Plener in 1864. The former
first library hall, divided into small rooms since the 18th century, was supposed to be restored to its “original state” as part of the “staterooms to be used by the acting Finance Minister” while “reconstructing the earlier building functions on the inside of the Prince Eugene palace” (Ill. 14). As the precursor of the Austrian Federal Office for the Care of Monuments, the k.k. Central-Commission zur Erhaltung und Erforschung der Baudenkmale (the imperial and royal central commission for conserving and researching building monuments) was asked for support, and its president, Joseph Alexander Baron von Helfert delegated Carl Roesner, architect and professor at the academy, and Albert Knight of Camesina, historian and conservator for the City of Vienna. Shortly after, Roesner submitted his plan for reconstruction which “comprised still existing details and elements in the other staterooms of the Eugene palace, those of the k.k. Belvedere, along with several other suitable parts of the imperial rooms at the Klosterneuburg monastery and the imperial and royal hunting lodge Schloßhof.” One thus finds gilded dados, grotesque painting, exquisitely ornamental marquetry flooring (Gold Cabinet in the Upper Belvedere), stoves with figurative sculptural elements (imperial room at Klosterneuburg). Taken as a whole, Roesner’s design is not a strict reconstruction of a typical Eugene interior, but a re-interpretation of historicism and a very early example of the Baroque reception in/for interior design. According to Helfert this “restoration” not only created a new site of international importance for Vienna, one which had hardly been noticed until then, but also an invaluable object for study to improve the development of arts and crafts. However, this project could not be carried out for financial reasons and four years later the design sketches were sent back to the Central-Commission to be archived.50 It was not until 1890 that this part of the palace was redesigned and the more modest, still surviving decorations of the former ballroom, of today’s hall of Battle Scene Paintings were added. The Parrocel paintings were not hung here until after World War 2. Be that as it may, there is a prophecy made by Helfert that has been fulfilled: With the opening of this new branch of the Belvedere in autumn 2013, Vienna boasts one more artistically rich and historically significant site.
1 Helden-Thaten 1730 – 1739, vol. 6, p. 1121.
2 Küchelbecker 1730, p. 628.
10 Cited from Lorenz 1992, p. 20.
13 Only when the Beletage window roofings were exchanged in 1723 
   was there an asymmetric rupture.
14 Fidler 1985, pp. 43-69.
15 Rizzi 1997, pp. 31-33.
17 Freschor 1705, p. 13.
19 Seeger 2004, p. 34, notes 16, 17.
25 Remnants of the stucco decoration were uncovered in 2001 (BDA, 
   Landeskonservatorat Wien, Zl. 70/2/2002).
26 Seeger 2004, pp. 75-84.
30 Lorenz 1987, p. 231.
31 Seeger 2004, p. 32.
32 Dickamp 2010, p. 127f.
34 Seeger 2004, pp. 100-106.
37 Perger 1986, p. 56.
38 Seeger 2004, pp. 49-51, 128-134.
41 Lorenz 1987, p. 227f.
42 Heinz 1967, p. 75.
43 Regarding the possibly false account that Dorigny had created the 
45 Perger 1986, p.58.
46 Pöllnitz 1739, p.35f.
   Nierhaus 2013, p. 264.
49 AVA, Präsidium des k.k. Finanz-Ministeriums, 1718, 1836 and 
   3911 ex 1864.
50 BDA Wien, Archiv, Indexbd. Prot. 1865-1869, Prot.-Nr. 87 ex 
   1868.
The History of the Ensemble

The history of the paintings commissioned for the Winter Palace on Himmelpfortgasse begins in 1697. A grand staircase and a banquet hall had been constructed since the previous year. Marcantonio Chiarini had been commissioned to execute the illusionistic architecture – he had recommended Milanese painter Andrea Lanzani for adding the figural scenes in Vienna. The cooperation of both artists was unexpectedly extended in 1698, when they were commissioned to design not only the banquet hall but also the adjacent Audience Chamber. At about the same time four leading artists from Bologna were commissioned to execute the supraportal paintings for the private quarters: Benedetto Gennari the Younger, Giovanni Gioseffo dal Sole, Giovanni Antonio Burrini and Giuseppe Maria Crespi.

The second stage of the decoration of the palace began when the central building was expanded after 1709. Chiarini traveled from Bologna to Vienna again, and this time Giuseppe Gambarini assisted him in doing the figural paintings. While still working on this assignment, the latter was forced to resign – much to Chiarini’s disappointment – and now Italian-trained Louis (Ludovico) Dorigny completed the mirror of the state bedroom and the Galerie in thirteen months (environ treize mois). The results of both new commissions was an ensemble that was unique for Vienna – instead of oil paintings framed in stucco there was an almost continuous fresco decoration that defined the look of the official spaces.

Mise-en-scène and interpretation

In keeping with the basic principles of baroque staging, the images adorning the wall comment the path leading through the palace on Himmelpfortgasse. Drawing on mythological analogies, the paintings reflected the prince’s life world – a world of battle and struggle, but one that was certain to be rewarded.

Already on the façade there is mythological imagery relating the famous field marshal to figures of classical mythology: scenes of Aeneas with his father Anchises,
Marcus Curtius, Perseus or Hercules conveyed the significance of the palace resident to the outside world on Himmelpfortgasse. The main decorative motif – in its pure form – awaited the baroque visitor in the stairwell: Hercules, the archaic image of a war-faring figure. Posing between the two flights of stairs, he appeared to be resting only briefly with crossed legs, a club resting on his shoulder, his gaze directed to the staircase. The apples of the Hesperides recall the eleventh of his twelve labors – as he cannot rest yet: “Undecimo mala Hesperidum distracto triumph; Cerberus extreme suprema est meta laboris” – a symbolism that a contemporary of Eugene was also able to relate to the tireless general. This eloquent form of expression was not just limited to the symbolically laden sculpture. The plinth of the sculpture, with its ‘rugged’, amassed appearance, the ‘indentations’ that reduce the aspirations of the enclosing space to a generous deployment (this referring to recessed corners of the room on the upper level that are slightly irritating) illustrate how architecture effectively and concisely conveyed iconographical qualities.

The dynamic interplay with the construction of a grand staircase was employed as a metaphor for the thorny path of virtue as related in mythology. Above the base area of the staircase, with Hercules as its central focus, a group of themes emerges in the ceiling paintings of the light-filled upper level. In the central ceiling painting, Apollo appears with his sun chariot, accompanied by the figures of eternity and other allegorical figures. The Fall of Icarus (Ill. 2) adorns the left flight of stairs, warning impressively against leaving the via media, the path of temperance. One can assume that already the author of Helden-Thaten had racked his brains over its counterpart: Perhaps it is Aurora and the morning star announcing the sunrise and thus complementing the central painting (Ill. 3).

In Prince Eugene’s time, this staircase led up to the main banquet hall. Here the compositional structure of painting changed: instead of inlaid oil painting as in the staircase, the ceiling here was adorned with a fresco depicting the “Labors of Hercules,” the first large-scale portrayal of this mythological material in a Viennese ceiling fresco, created in 1697/98 by the Bolognese Marcantonio Chiarini and the Milanese Andrea Lanzani – a self-contained ceiling surface structured by illusionistic ornamentation bordered with cartouches. The
battle paintings by Ignace Jacques Parrocel added later (only around 1711) which were inserted in the wooden wall panels of the hall, were based on an analogy which directly linked the battles fought by the general with the trials of the mythological heroes. If this reasoning is correct, Chiarini/Hildebrandt anticipated the principle of the State Bedroom in the Lower Belvedere and the design of the marble hall15 (1715), also located there, as well as the design of the Göttweig Altmann Hall (1731) in which the principle of wall design with vedutas was applied, albeit with a different thematic focus.

Hercules' earthly labors (four?) presented in the hall were directly related to the Audience Chamber which Chiarini/Lanzini completed in the summer of 1698. The large central medaillon across from the window wall depicts the hero's first labor in which he slays the Nemean lion. The other side shows his death on the pyre. To silent the raging pain inflicted upon him by a shirt poisoned with the blood of the Centaur Nessus, the hero followed an oracle by immolating himself on the way to Mount Oeta. The open ceiling mirror indicates the happy continuation of the story. A cloud lifts Hercules up to the sky where Jupiter, encircled by the gods, already awaits him. Apollo and Mars can be recognized (the Baroque beholder was certainly able to recognize references to Eugene's military and musical talents). Juno, until now full of hate towards Hercules, who had been born as a consequence of of philanderer Jupiter's misconduct, is calmed by the chaste Diana and the clever Pallas. Fama, fame, rushes to the scene with her trumpet. She frees Hercules from the skin of the Nemean lion, out of his earthly garment as it were, while Jupiter covers his shoulders with the blue, star-studded celestial robe. A small putto, who brings an evergreen laurel wreath and a scepter, closes the scene in which the eternal fame of war hero Hercules/Eugene is alluded to.

A multi-part series of supraportal paintings that four Bolognese artists had been commissioned to execute by the Prince, creating a sort of concorso, stems from the early phase of the decoration of the central building of the palace around 1698. Thanks to Salomon Kleiner's drawings it is possible to identify the placement of the painting in Prince Eugene's time. The painting by
Gennari\textsuperscript{16} was located in the Audience Chamber around 1720, and the two by Crespi were found in the State Bedroom. Yet did this hanging actually reflect the intention that was conveyed to the artists at the beginning of the century when the paintings were commissioned? If we leave Kleiner's interpretation of the positioning of the group of paintings aside (and do not take into account Crespi's \textit{Education of Achilles}), a basic theme of the paintings emerges: \textit{transitus}, transit, a theme that is of course most intimately related to the function of the supraportal paintings – yet the formulation of the motif is as different as the style of the artists who implemented the motif. Together with Sybil, Aeneas climbs into the raft of Charon and travels into the underworld (Crespi). Orpheus does not shirk from saving Euridice (Burrini) to travel to the Tertarus. Theseus and Ariadne, accompanied by Phaedra, depart together (Gennari). Sicheus, Dido's murdered husband, advises her in a vision to flee (dal Sole). Four configurations in which the heroes (both male and female) are in a state of departure, all drawn from the exquisitely elaborate repertory of mythology.\textsuperscript{17} Even for the small Achilles - once he becomes detached
from the iconology – there seems to a function, since no other theme appears so appropriate for a war hero’s library or studiolo! With the positioning of Achilles painting in the Prince’s bedroom (there could hardly be a worse place) as rendered in the sketch, a symptomatic phenomenon of the ornamental painting after 1700 becomes manifest: the thematic program that was initially so carefully executed becomes less consistent, the intimate connection of pictorial language and functionality begins to dissolve, and decorative tendencies take over.

This characterization of this “post-Fischer phase” is completely evident in Jonas Drentwett’s paintings (Ill 4–7). Based in Vienna from 1706 on, the painter left his mark on Hildebrandt’s buildings with his grotesque paintings. Up until his death in 1736 at his old-age
residence in Ödenburg/Sopron, he was seen as “His Royal Highness Prince Eugenii of Savoy’s, court painter”.\textsuperscript{19} His creations – the Sala terrena of the ground floor and the magnificent grotesques on gilded ground on the belétage – are still imbued with remnants of iconology, virtues, heroes and emblems. Precisely in the arbitrary – and purely decorative – way the figures modeled after Callot are linked, one notes a less stringent thematic orientation.

Even less tangible is this growing laxness in questions related to iconology in Dorigny’s fresco for the parade bedroom. With the \textit{Marriage of Hercules in Heaven} (Ill. 8), in which the hero is married off to Hebe, the goddess of youth (both are connected by means of a chain with a heart on it), a further heaven scene of the myth was found which is compatible with the function of the room. As opposed to Lanzani’s very reduced collection of figures in the center, Dorigny moves his feast of the gods to the edge of the pictorial field, achieving an opening of the room towards the sky by making his palette lighter. The group of putti serves as a strong counterweight of color, with the group of putti appearing to drift down into the actual room and supporting the chandelier.

In this second phase of decorating the palace with painting, conventional themes were given up and possibilities were found to also express “more personal” thematic concerns. Here one could, for instance, cite Dorigny’s ceiling painting of the Galerie (1711/12)\textsuperscript{20},
whose motif with its iconological consistency is seen as a special interest of Eugene’s (Ill. 9). The Hercules myth is given up in favor of a more narratively inclined description of the Rape of Oreithyia (Ovid, Metamorphoses VI, 675-721). She is carried away by the north wind Boreas, the benefactor of the southern countries, after futilely wooing: “apta mihi vis est” – violence befits me. 21

The theme which is based on the function of the Galerie as a cooling colonnade (as Scamozzi defined it in 1615) depicts a state of being lifted up to the sky against one’s will, an “anti-apotheosis”, as it were. The iconological system was repeated in the “Rape of Cephalus” in Cabinet of the Upper Belvedere (Francesco Solimena, 1728), adjoining the Conference and Audience Chamber. In that room which was obviously supposed to serve as a more intimate stateroom to retreat to, a favorite of the gods is also being abducted, with the so outstanding individual to be hit by severe blows of fate precisely as a result of this intervention.

Here the strategy differs strongly from anything comparable: In Bellucci (City Palace Liechtenstein, 1697) it is the human soul which will rise up to eternity; Rottmayr’s staircase of the Garden Palace Liechtenstein (1705/08) (even if trained more in the style of Pietro da Cortona in Florence) and/or Nicola Maria Rossi’s ceiling fresco for the Garden Palace Harrach (1730) were designed in a similar way. The dominant motif is always the human genius which for its triumph is raised to the heavens, saved by noble celestial powers – be it Pallas, be it Apollo – and this after triumphing over all the adverse threats (be this the goddess of love or the god of wine). This is not the case in the two abduction scenes for the Prince Eugene. An underlying strategy of the paintings also seems to be the wish to suggest to the viewer that the rising up to the heavens has resulted from the arbitrary rule of divine powers, which the outstanding individual is at the mercy of. It is not a “divinification” as in the case of Hercules or Aeneas, but rather a sudden intervention of a numinosity man is faced with. Regardless of how seriously the iconological allusion may be meant – with the creation of a “personal leitmotif” the later ornamental paintings for Prince Eugene hold considerable iconological potential.

Ill. 9
Louis Dorigny (central ceiling) and Marcantonio Chiarini (illusionistic architecture)
Rape of Oreithyia by Boreas
Ceiling fresco in the former Galerie (hidden under an intermediate ceiling)
The ornamental paintings of the conference room and the library have not survived and are only documented in Kleiner's sketches of the interior. In the case of the conference room the drawing of the interior clearly shows the changes in construction after 1752 – in Eugene's time this room looked completely different. The “warm wallpaper”\textsuperscript{22}, the “Welsch chimney” for warming the room during the transition between seasons and the tiled stoves for longer heating show the small intimate space as a working area that could be used at all times. The original stucco decoration, which only became conceivable in the 1720s with the documented, stylistic formulation as “strap work”, reveals three medallions. The scene titled “Hercules Slays the Dragon” can be recognized, and it can thus be assumed that there are further scenes depicting Hercules. It is unclear how the ceiling piece by Peter Strudel (who also did the sopraportal designs)\textsuperscript{23} was added to this context – possibly the painting was moved to its present location. The allegorical content (which can be vaguely associated with the Prince) can be rendered as follows. On the left, puttis topple snake-haired envy who loses crown and scepter. A knight in armor puts away his sword, which alludes to the beginning of peace. Now justice, which in the middle of the painting is awarded a wreath by fame, can embark upon its blessed rule, which is expressed in the painting of the “Kindl” (child) with the flowers. Eternity which is rendered with the ring of snakes looks up to justice in the hope that it will rule forever, holding out the promise that memory of the just does not fade in eternity.\textsuperscript{24}
The top painting on the chimney in the library was also an exceptional instance of iconological decoration (Ill. 10). Contrary to the description in the *Helden-Thaten*, the painting by Ignaz Heinitz von Heintzenthal does not seem to be about geography that teaches a philosopher. Rather, the recognizable characteristics of the rendition seem to allow the assumption that it is allegorical in the tradition of a painting by Niccolò Tornioli in the Galleria Spada in Rome (Ill. 11). The allegory of astronomy, together with Copernicus, convinces the representatives of the geocentric worldview that the heliocentric, modern system is the right one. With this non-mythological (!) painting, the decorative paintings – and thus the person who commissioned this work – took an interesting stance in the discussion on the role of modern science in the Pre-Enlightenment age, deliberately distancing himself from the traditional line of argumentation that had been visible in the decoration phase of 1697–98.

*Postludium: Painting in the Palace after Eugene*

Even though with Prince Eugene's death most of the hung ornamental paintings disappeared, his winter palace remained an important monument for the phenomenon of "Viennese painting". When Maria Theresa bought the palace with the desire to using old structure of the building, parts of which were half a century old at that time, an ersatz had to be found for the paintings that had been taken away. To complement the fragmented original ensemble or to accommodate new uses (such as the chapel), artists from the Vienna Academy were asked to

Ill. 11
Niccolò Tornioli
*The allegory of astronomy*
Galleria Spada, Rome
deliver paintings for the palace. This mid-18th century initiative, which can only be grasped in terms of stylistic criticism, was just like the Court’s order directed to the leading artists of Vienna to design the Schönbrunn Castle.27

The plundered Gold Cabinet whose ceiling painting and sidewalls had to be added, can be ascribed to Caspar Franz Sambach, with regard to the putti. The exquisite flower pieces whose naturalism recalls Biedermeier works can, by contrast, be ascribed to floral painter Johann Zogelmann who also added paintings to the Gold Cabinet once it had been moved to the Lower Belvedere (Ill. 12).29

A series of supraporal paintings (Yellow Salon, Audience Chamber, and State Bedroom) show an affinity to the work of Joseph Hauzinger, the winner of the Academy Prize in 1754 and protégé of old master Troger. With its soft rendition of the yellow metal of the vases and the meticulous structuring of the carpets, the paintings are related to the later portrait of the abbot Rainer Kollmann in Zwettl. Motives such as the guinea pigs and the broken melons seem to have been taken from the still lives by Franz Werner Tamm – evidence for the strong interest show for ancestral Austrian painting from the 1750s on.

The additions to the grotesque paintings can be seen as truly representative examples of the “Vienna Academy style” as it manifested itself around 1750 (that is, prior to the influence of expressive painter Franz Anton Maulbertsch). A painter that cannot be identified by name – who one would also assume to be the artist who created the ceremonial backdrop for the wedding of Emperor Joseph II in 1760 30 – added missing or damaged parts of the painting on gilded ground in the style of Michael Angelo Unterberger. In a completely carefree way, he did not even try to follow Drentwett’s sometimes rather dry style. The decorations painted in Berain’s style gave way to rich rocailles, and, where necessary, the figures were added completely in keeping with the stylistic local coloration. In iconological terms, the painting remained uncritical, at least in terms of mythology – in some paintings, Chinese cups and parrots responded to the Chinese craze of the times.

The circle of the painters who decorated the palace certainly must also include the great artist who had been celebrated by the Vienna Academy in 1750: Franz Anton Maulbertsch had been awarded the academy prize in
1750 and had become known to the public in 1752 with his monumental paintings of the Piaristenkirche. We can assume that his painting appears in two places in the palace – but this is only an assumption since the present state of the wall paintings does not allow us to make a more accurate assessment.

The artist’s talent in working with color and his expressive figuration can be seen in a section that was uncovered on the ceiling of the former dining hall of the prince (Ill. 13). Here it must be an allegorical theme, which supposedly refers to the dedication of the building as the headquarters of the “Münz - und Bergwesens Hof-Commission”. Stylistically, the fragment of Maulbertsch’s painting reveals the artist’s ingenious handling of color which is
entirely in keeping with the frescoes of the Franz Regis chapel at the Kirche am Hof (1754) or the chapel of the Ebenfurth castle (1754). The ascription of the painting to the artist is less clear in the chapel (Ill.14). Here the original substance of the paintings completely covering the small very high room were completely reworked in a restoration. In terms of composition and motives, the affinity to authentic works is, however, obvious. The fact that there were no workshop at the time the palace was redesigned makes it almost impossible to ascribe the paintings to an artist related to the circle around Maulbertsch.

The composition is identical with that of the Ebenfurth castle chapel – brightly colored pictorial fields and monochrome parts that were embedded in rococo architecture. The thematic concept of the chapel is very vague: an annunciation, two children’s scenes with the Jesus and the boy John, a bust of St. Peter and a crucifixion with Magdalena offer a nebulous spectrum of pictorial statements. What is exceptional is also the fact that the entire chapel is covered with frescos – widespread at the time were combinations of frescos with inlaid oil paintings (at least in the altar pieces), which additionally gives the small sacral room the character of something provisional that was hastily furnished.

The ornamental paintings of the Winter Palace offer an exemplary panorama of Vienna’s baroque painting. Inlaid oil paintings on the ceiling from the early period were repressed by frescos that filled the entire ceiling. A phase of utmost conceptual rigidity (with the concurrent arbitrariness of the themes addressed) was followed by a more relaxed style with stronger emphasis being placed on decorative values and the possibility of incorporating personal motivations in the iconology. In the last group of works – and almost at the end of the epoch – the once dominant artists imported from Italy ultimately yielded to local groups from the Vienna Academy.
2 The cost estimate of 1697 also included stucco ceilings with inlaid oil paintings for the state bedroom facing the street. Perger 1986, p. 50.
3 Crespi's description is clearly formulated in Günther Heinz (Heinz 1967).
4 In 1711 Dorigny furnished the altar painting for the chapel of the prince with a painting of St. Valentine. Frank 1987.
5 A similar solution with frescoes also suggested by Philipp Ferdinand de Hamilton in 1711 for the Salzburg Residence was rejected by the Prince-Archbishop. Skamperls 2000, p. 570f.
6 The combination with the portrait painting of the prince is a later addition and contradicts the Baroque decorum.
7 “The stolen apples of the Hesperides constituted the eleventh triumph. Cerberus being the final goal concluding his labor,” Ausoniou, Idylls 9, cited from: Hager 1762, p. 645.
8 It is interesting that the ancient figure of the Hercules Farnese was not quoted, as in Lorenzo Mattielli's stairwell figure in the Palais Dietrichstein-Lobkowitz. The iconological concept thus seems intended to underscore the hero's activities.
9 The ascription to Dorigny is stylistically untenable. The canvases that are unfortunately heavily damaged could be related to Andrea Lanzani with reservation. Cf. Frank 1987, p. 106. – On the condition following the bomb attack of April 8, 1945, cf. Kraft 1947, p. 62f., ill. 64, 65.
10 Interestingly, the staging of the "sunrise" deviates from other renditions in the Central European context (Melchior Steidl, Harmating, 1691, and Kremsmünster, 1696: Johann Michael Rottmayr, Frain/Vranov, 1695) that usually depict the chariot from the side, whereas here – also for reasons of space – it is shown from the front. Formally, a certain analogy to Fischer von Erlach's Vase du Soleil in Entwurf einer historischen Architektur (vol. V, panel XII) can be noted.
11 “On the left-hand side a half-naked female figure is depicted, which is grabbing the left hand of a flying genius who is holding a torch in his left hand.” Helden-Thaten (1730-1739, vol. 6, p. 1124f. The technical specifications – “three round fresco paintings” – are incorrect, since the paintings are in fact canvases.
12 A sketch that used to be in the collection of the Vienna Academy (lost in the war) depicted Aurora, integrated in the composition of the round painting. This bozzetto which in terms of composition and stylistic expression could be linked to the ceiling painting in the Winter Palace, could be part of the preliminary plan. Cf. Schwarz 1966, ill. 43. Thematically, the separation could be motivated by the literary source – Ovid (Metamorphoses II, 112-121), the beginning of the Phaeton story which contains an admonition against arrogance.
13 Cf. Helden-Thaten 1730-1739, vol. 6, p. 1126. The fresco was destroyed when the building was adapted by Maria Theresa around 1752.
15 Albertina, Vienna, inv.no. 1403. – Grimm 1982/83.
16 Originally, the painting had a quadro compagno, namely Giacomo alla conquista del vello d’oro. Lorenz 1987, p. 225.
17 The Phaedra scene could only be interpreted by means of a source from the time. Cf. Ibid., 225.
18 As preludium the not so perfect dome of the Augartenpalais was created in 1697 (?). Until 1706, there was, however, no further news on the works in the residence city.
20 The fresco has survived in perfect condition in the suspended ceiling. The freedom of the brush style, the exquisite gildings, the light-sensitive pigments such as vermilion are preserved in sensationaly fresh uniqueness.
21 It is not clear how the iconological details of the quadrature (by Gambarini?) are to be interpreted. The busts depict a Persian king (with turban and small crown) as well as a Roman with laurels. The grisailles that are unrelated to the main image portray “Alexander refusing Darius’s peace offering” (Persian with gifts in front of a tent with soldiers in old-fashioned uniforms) as well as “Marcus Curius Dentatus refusing the bribes of the Samnites” – both scenes that are supposed to illustrate the impossibility of being corrupted by power.
24 The conception of Strudel's painting converges largely with the plastering of the Marmorgalerie in the Lower Belvedere.
25 The supraportal paintings by Heinitz are documented as “Old Medicus who is looking at a glass of urine that he is holding in his hands” and “a young man, who is leafing through a book”. Helden-Thaten 1730-1739, vol. 6, p. 1135.
26 The group of miners on the main staircase can also be ascribed to the circle of the academy with its ideal that was trained with Georg Raphael Donner.
28 Like the reliefs, the original ceiling painting will have showed a metamorphosis (similar to Giacomo del Pò's Bacchus and Ariadne at the Salzburg Residenzgalerie). While the putti of the walls clearly correspond to Sambach's style, the ceiling painting can be less clearly ascribed to the artist.
30 Exhibition catalogue Luxemburg 2006/07, p. 171, 207f., cat.-no. 120
The Recently Completed Restoration

Sylvia Schönolt

The Large-scale Renovation of the Federal Ministry of Finances

When one strolls through Himmelpfortgasse today, one’s attention is almost immediately drawn to the freshly painted, renovated façade of Prince Eugene of Savoy’s winter palace (Ill. 2). From 2007 to 2012 the largest renovation site in Vienna’s city center was to be found in a group of buildings that had been declared a national monument. In addition to the Savoy palace the renovation also included the adjoining buildings to the left and right, one on Himmelpfortgasse 8b, known as “Alte Münze” and the other on Himmelpfortgasse 6, the so-called “Baderisches Haus”. On the rear side of the latter building, at Johannesgasse 5/5a, the former Palais Questenberg-Kaunitz is located, which was also part of the renovation project. All four buildings are owned by the Federal Republic of Austria and used by the Ministry of Finances. The project for the large-scale renovation of the Finance Ministry was launched in 2001 with a two-tier EU master plan competition, which was advertised by the Austrian Burghauptmannschaft and in which the Austrian Office for the Care of Monuments was involved at an early stage. The tasks listed in the competition brief reflected the condition of the buildings and the requirements and needs of the users of the buildings.

Architect Heinrich Strixner from Wiener Neudorf, the winner of the 2002 competition, put together a team for the planning and the building supervision. Gerhard Seebach, building expert, analysed, in cooperation with the Federal Office for the Care of Monuments, all of the buildings in terms of their furnishings and the required measures for conserving them in close consultation with the Office for the Care of Monuments. Tests were then carried out to obtain precise knowledge of the condition of the building substance and to develop measures for those parts of the building that were to be renovated. In addition, material samples were taken of stone, plaster, stucco, metal and wood and analysed at the lab of the Federal Office for the Monument. Based on all these studies and tests, the goals of restoration were defined and then implemented together with the Federal Office for the Care of Monuments. Archaeologists were responsible for the excavation work, and its documentation, in the courtyards and in some of the interior, in particular, the cellars, the so-called Sala terrena and in what is today the Ministry’s library. Below follows a description of the restoration of those rooms, which in accordance with the resolution of Federal
Ministers Fekter and Schmied of December 2012, were to be made accessible to the public by the Austrian Galerie Belvedere. The reader is referred to studies on the history of the building and its art in other articles in this publication.

The Restoration Work in the Winter Palace

The Street Façade
For the restoration of the facades material samples were taken to study the façade facing the street, giving special attention to the samples taken from the third phase of construction, from the western extension with which Hildebrandt completed the entire Winter Palace. It became clear that the façade had first been painted in a shade of off-white. The stucco and stone parts were carefully uncovered and missing pieces were replaced with matching material, layers of paint and plaster on the plastered surfaces were only removed or restored where this was deemed necessary for aesthetic or technical reasons. All wooden and metal elements were also restored. Finally, the façade was painted with an off-white lime-wash which was a nuance lighter on the portals.

The Vestibule

The tests for the last thorough restoration of the vestibule in the 1980s had shown that the plaster and stucco surfaces were white. At the beginning of the most recent renovation greater damage was discovered in the group of putti in the north-western corner which had lost considerable substance as a result of water entering as well as deep cracks in the partition in the Ballroom that had been added by Pacassi. After all of the layers had been removed from the plaster surfaces, stucco and stone elements, the substance was fixed and additions were made using a lime-based technique before being given a final coat of off-white. In the four reliefs next to the area leading up to the grand staircase, glazing was used since these reliefs were very rich in detail (Ill. 3).

When one turns right towards the grand staircase, one faces a wrought-iron trellised gate boasting an engraved brass lock case. Prior to restoration, the gates to the grand staircase were covered by many layers of black paint so that only after cleaning by means of various sandblasting techniques did interesting details come to light. In the middle of the lock case, restorers found a commander who was standing on a pedestal below a canopy crowned by an eagle, triumphantly holding up a key in his right hand. Following the restoration, the beautiful wrought-iron work can be admired again, along with shaped like guards, and two heads mounted on top of the main gate, one on the outside, the other on the inside (Ills. 4 and 5). These are indeed most unique. The heads framed by a sort of laurel wreath were cast out of massive iron according to
III. 3
Stucco relief with war trophies in the Vestibule
the restorer⁵ – a technique that is known in Italy and France but not in Austria. The faces resemble each other and represent one and the same person, a man at a younger and at an older age. It cannot be denied that there is a certain similarity between these portraits and Prince Eugene…

The Main Courtyard
Once one has passed through the vestibule, one reaches the so-called Main Courtyard. During the restoration in 2004, Gerhard Seebach discovered a preliminary sketch for a fresco above the terrace on the façade at the end of the Main Courtyard (Ills. 6 and 7) This sketch depicts the architectural project of an ancient site replete with columns, arcades and steps.⁶ The architecture resembles a Scaenae frons, the stage of an ancient amphitheater.⁷ The perspective is selected so that one would have had the best view from the former Festsaal on the other side of the courtyard. It is still not known who drew the Sinopia and why the fresco was never executed – it would certainly be worth researching the artists who might be possible candidates.

Since after the last restoration of the façade in 2004 old cracks reappeared and there were patches of hollow-sounding plaster, another renovation was necessary in 2012. For this the layers of paint were examined again, but the findings were not clear because of the many reconstructions that had taken place, probably since Fischer von Erlach, and earlier renovations. One of the first layers found was, as already determined in 2003, a shade of off-white and ochre, but the result was now interpreted differently and restored in a different way.
The Sala terrena

The Early History

Seen from Himmelpfortgasse the so-called Sala terrena is located to the right of the main gate. For centuries this room was divided by an intermediate ceiling and partitions and was most recently used as archival space (ills. 8 and 9). It was not until the mid-1990s, while construction was being carried out on a wall, that one discovered wall paintings of exceptional quality, indicating that the space had once been a distinguished room, its exact function unknown to this date. As part of the general renovation it was now supposed to be restored to its full grandeur. Unfortunately, there is no historical
description or depiction of the room from this period. In
order to restore the room so that it approximates its original
state one had to make do with the substance that had
gradually emerged. At the end of 2007 restoration
commenced – it was to take five years for the Sala terrena
to be completed in its present appearance (Ills. 10 and 11).

The Artist

The paintings decorating the room have been ascribed to
Jonas Drentwett from Augsburg who hailed from a
famous family of goldsmiths, and lived in Vienna from
1701 on, as could be proved by a ceiling in the
Augartenpalais. Around 1695 Drentwett created the oval
ceiling fresco for the Festsaal there and signed the painting
on the edge. He painted a lion, which almost exactly
resembles the one in the Sala terrena (Ills. 12 and 13).
Even the time frame fits perfectly. The Sala terrena is
located in the central building; the name of the battle
which is painted in an almost fresco-like technique in
the middle ceiling medaillon next to the window wall is
“Hochstädt”. Prince Eugene had successfully fought this
battle in 1704. Thus we can conclude the Sala terrena was
probably completed around 1704.

The Restoration

Following an inspection of the rooms, all elements that
were added later were carefully removed to be able to
reconstruct the entire room. The access to the mezzanine
of the western extension (dating from Hildebrandt’s
time) which had probably been built by Pacassi meant
that the vault on this side had been demolished and now
this had to be reconstructed. While the floor was being
sunk on the ground floor thousands of plaster and
painting fragments were found in the rubble – pieces
that had been chipped off from the walls. They were
carefully placed in layers in cardboard boxes and stored
for later inspection in the building. After the rubble had
been removed, almost all of the plaster pedestals of
pilasters were discovered. The original level of the floor
of this room was about 70cm below that of the vestibule.

The remains of molding profiles in plaster and masonry
were used to place the restored molding. All plaster
and painting fragments found in the rubble were
meticulously inspected and sorted, taking into account
the broken edges, layers of paint, arrangement of color,
ornaments and craquelling. Further research on Jean
Berain, buildings by Hildebrandt and paintings by
Jonas Drentwett made it possible to reconstruct the
pilaster shafts with their capitals. Plans were drawn up
to be able to reconstruct the pilasters, cornices and
niches or oculi in the upper half of the room. The form of the pilasters was reconstructed in plaster and several original parts of the capitals and pilasters were moved and missing stucco or plaster added. Since it was not known where precisely they had been located before, it was decided to place them near the frescos that had been uncovered in the course of the restoration. Plaster pieces that survived in situ and layers of plaster pieces that had been removed to be on the safe side were now mounted in their original positions. Most of the original paintings in the window recesses and on the ceiling that had become visible in the course of the restoration survived. Contrary to this there were the walls that revealed less coherent painting surfaces which were, however, given structure by the base, the pilasters and the cornices. Many conversations with the restoration team to coordinate world phases of work revolved around balancing out this disharmony. One major concern of the entire team was to make the room coherent or ‘legible’. On the one hand, historical changes were to remain visible, without disrupting the setting, but on the other hand, additions were to be made so that the substance would merge naturally with what was missing. For this reason, models were made after each phase to visualize the impression that was aimed at. From October 2013 on it will become clear whether this was successful.

The Grand Staircase

Once one leaves the Sala terrena and walks to the right through the wrought-iron gate described above, one is at the lower part of the grand staircase (Ill. 1). The stucco on the bottom sides of the landing and the transverse arches as well as in the soffits of the three higher windows on the western wall had been removed at some unknown time. During the present restoration, scratches and impressions of leaf rosettes, tendrils, blossoms and war paraphernalia appeared. Together with the building supervisors and the general planner a decision was made to restore the decoration that had been lost. Following further tests, the wall and ceiling surfaces, the stucco as well as sculptures and the stone balustrade were restored in the same way as the vestibule and finally painted in an off-white shade of lime paint.

The condition of the tree ceiling frescoes varied. The large central painting *Apollo in a Sun Chariot* had to be remounted, since the hanging from 1947\(^{13}\) had become loose on one side and the canvas thus had an asymmetric bulge. The Icarus painting was basically in stable condition but during the building works pieces of plaster from the ceiling surface behind the painting had loosened. Thus the painting had to be taken down in order to remove the pieces of plaster and to secure the ceiling plaster. It was
possible to restore the third painting, Aurora, on site, since of the three it was in best condition. In all three paintings the restoration involved securing layers of paint that had become loose, eliminating disrupting overpainting from earlier restoration, minor retouching and re-varnishing. The gilded wooden frame was cleaned and retouched.
The Beletage

The last large-scale renovation, carried out between 1968 and 1972, involved a thorough renovation of the staterooms, which is why the current restoration was aimed at conservation measures. In response to modern
building regulations, all of the rooms were also equipped with central heating and air conditioning and new power lines were laid.

In the following we will sum up the work done in all of the rooms. Some of the details and specificities of the restoration work will also be described. The parquet panel flooring most of which dates from the 19th century was removed to install utilities, and then relaid and restored. Some of the grained, monochrome wooden paneling and doors were dismantled and then cleaned and touched up after they were remounted. The ceiling surfaces that are not covered with frescoes were painted again in the same or a similar shade of the original paint. Finally, the wall covering that had all been remade in the last general renovation was taken down, cleaned and remounted on a new layer of backing.15 The fittings of windows and doors, usually made of brass, sometimes gilded, were cleaned, without erasing signs of age, and if necessary replaced, and additions that didn't fit were removed.

The Former Ballroom

The former ballroom, referred to as “large hall” or “main hall” in the *Helden-Thaten*16, and the two rooms facing the Main Courtyard, were furnished with new parquet panel flooring matching the patterns of the other staterooms. In the room adjoining the Ministers’ Courtyard, a window was built at the wish of the Finance Ministry to replace the blind window facing the courtyard.17
The Former Antechamber and the Lantern Courtyard

From the antechamber which was no particular problem to restore, one has the best view of the Lantern courtyard the façade of which was painted in a uniform slightly off-white lime-wash as recommended in the study. Parts of the stucco and stonework were in extremely poor condition as a result of the war damage of 1945 and later, but rather slapdash renovation work. The painted false windows relating to the two oval windows on the eastern wall were found under layers of plaster and paint and then restored. The western and the northern sides were in the most original state. On the east-facing side, behind which the antechamber is located, the windows on the second floor were changed by Pacassi when the building was to be used for a different purpose. The south wall, behind which the former ballroom can be found, was probably completely redesigned when Pacassi reconstructed this room.

The Ceiling Frescos in the Former Audience Chamber and in the Former State Bedroom

The two ceiling frescos were restored on numerous occasions – most recently in 1968. The areas touched up then have in the meantime turned darker so that the
picture appears patchy. The ceilings were carefully cleaned, the old touch-ups completely removed, old repairs reworked and, where necessary, redone. Then all of the missing parts of the painting were touched up. In the former state bedroom the restorer discovered a pentiment (Ill. 14), a compositional change that had already been found in 1968. The figure of Hebe was originally positioned a bit higher and then shortly after the figures repositioned as it appears today. Since both frescos were painted on the same plaster ground, it can be assumed that it was a correction made by Dorigny himself.20

The wall areas above the windows in both rooms, divested of the original decorations in Pacassi’s reconstruction, show pleasing distempered paintings that only needed to be cleaned and touched up a bit.

The Gilded Wainscoting

The grotesque paintings ascribed to Jonas Drentwett and

Ill. 16
Anonymous painter, Finance Minister Johann Philipp von Stadion with his family in the Gold Cabinet, between 1815 and 1824, Federal Ministry of Finance, Vienna
the gilded wainscotings were examined in 2009 and 2011, to determine their condition. A trial restoration was carried out and measures to be taken noted. While their condition was, by and large, stable, parts of the paneling and the doors were heavily sullied and damaged by wear and tear. The paintings thus had to be fixated first, loose layers of paint pasted, before the paintings were carefully cleaned, with special consideration of the underground. Older, unsuitable corrections were removed and redone, and in certain cases the lacking repairs on the painting ground had to be added before touching up the surface. Some of the skirting, window and doorframes as well as the friezes decorated with animal heads on the walls, were adorned with composition gold, which was only removed where necessary for optical and conservational reasons. Since the gilding had been redone in the last restoration, now only the most necessary measures were taken. To adapt the gold shimmer to the building substance the surfaces were patinated, as the gilding was originally deliberately executed as matte and polished.

The Paintings of the Beletage

In all of the rooms the original supraportal paintings were taken down and removed following Prince Eugene’s death. During Pacassi’s reconstruction new paintings were hung over the doors in the central building and in the eastern extension. To this end, one even used larger-format paintings that could be adapted in terms of dimensions and painted motifs. The only ceiling painting of the bel étage can be found in the former conference room. Here, too, it can be assumed that, like in the former gallery, the original ceiling was covered by a new ceiling adorned with simple stucco, in the middle of which one finds a painting by Peter Strudel Ill. 15).

The restoration of all paintings involved careful cleaning of the surfaces, fixating the priming as well as retouching and varnishing. On the rear sides of the paintings dust and dirt was removed and Molino, a fine cotton material, was stretched over the back of the frame as dust protection for the canvas.

The Gold Cabinet

All that basically remains from Prince Eugene’s time is the gilded wooden ceiling and the marble mantelpiece (Ill. 16). The restoration of the gilded elements and the painted wainscoting panels was carried out as described above. Some of the canvas wall coverings garlands of flowers and putti painted on light-blue ground were removed, some restored on site. The wall coverings and the ceiling
painting were cleaned, and individual holes and cracks closed and glued. Layers of paint were fixated and touched up and varnished again.

The Small Chapel

The chapel hidden behind the Gold Cabinet had already been restored between 1968 and 1972. The wooden floor, a Baroque inlaid parquet was restored in the most recent large-scale restoration. The flooring produced out of different types of wood is certainly the oldest one surviving in the palace. However, it is originally from a different room – supposedly from the prince’s own chapel, which was located in his private quarters in the southeastern part of the main building.

The Former Gallery

The original ceiling fresco above both rooms that replaced the Gallery in Pacassi’s reconstruction was examined by restorers in 2010 and was found to be in good condition. As in all earlier restorations and adaptations of the Winter Palace, it was decided to leave the layout as it was, since any changes to it would have meant losing too much original building substance. Besides, the present layout is historically significant and changing or reconstructing it would simply be too expensive.

The Former First Library Room

The hall that is today known as the Hall for Canvases of Battle Scenes fills most of what was once Prince Eugene’s First Library Room. The hall was given its present appearance between 1968 and 1972. In the recent restoration of the ceiling, layers of wallpaper, paint and plaster were removed, beneath which there are remains of the original stucco decoration from Prince Eugene’s time (ills. 17 and 18). These areas were photographed by the restorers and the surfaces were then closed in order to reestablish the unified structure of the room.

The seven fixed paintings depicting scenes from Prince Eugene’s battles were not taken down for the restoration but covered during the construction. The restoration included cleaning, fixating the layers of paint and removing clod built-up and retouching. Some of the paintings were re-varnished, since varnishing from earlier restorations had turned darker differently. Like the hall used for displaying the canvases of battle scenes, the so-called Green Salon was part of the large library room. It was largely designed around 1890. In the present restoration, only the building substance was restored.

The Former Second Library Room

This room was redesigned in 1972. Panels with grotesque paintings that had been found while restoring the Gold Cabinet were used here. While dismantling the small painted panels above the pedestals, original grotesques painting in Jonas Drentwett’s style were found on the reverse. Since the wooden panels were thick enough, they were cut apart and the baroque panels were mounted in new frames in the Second Library Room.24

In the Former Private Quarters

Prince Eugene used the rooms in the southeastern part of the central building, located between the Main Courtyard and the small atrium, as private quarters. The painted-over ceiling fresco in the room with the windows to the Main Courtyard is probably not from Prince Eugene’s time but rather created when the rooms were readapted to being used as Imperial Mint in the 18th century. How much of it still remains will become clear when it is uncovered in the future – a project that can hopefully be financed in the coming years.
Gerhard Seebach, who unfortunately passed away much too early in 2008, carried out tests as early as 1996 and then, more intensively, from 2004 to 2008. Other tests were carried out by restorers up until 2012. All studies and suggested measures have been archived in the files of the Austrian Federal Office for the Care of Monuments under file no. 70.

Most of this is already published in the FÖ – Fundberichte aus Österreich. Unpublished excavation reports by Paul Mitchell and Doris Schön have been archived in the files of the Federal Office for the Care of Monuments under file no. 70.

Here we would like to thank our restorers for all of their work. Architect Wolfgang Brenner who was in charge of on-site supervision for the general planning kindly passed on the restorers’ reports to the Federal Office for the Care of Monuments where they were archived under file no. 70.

For this reason the masoned backfilling on the first floor below the relieving arch was taken down and replaced by a light wall.

Gerhard Seebach, unpublished documentation of the architectural project 2005, in the files of the Federal Office for the Care of Monuments, archived in file number 70.

We are indebted to Vienna head conservationist Dr. Friedrich Dahm for this information.

Regarding the typology of the room and its iconographic decoration, the reader is referred to other articles in this publication. Further studies on the Sala terrena will follow.

Drentwet only painted the outer part of the picture, the middle theme was added by Ernst Friedrich Angst in 1736.

The other battles cited were added secco (with oil paint) in the medallion. We are indebted to the ACT (Advancing Conservation Tribe) team of restorers for this analysis.

For this reason there are no paintings on this surface.

Painting and ceiling had been severely damaged in a bomb attack in 1945. See Kraft 1947.

See Blauensteiner 1968 and 1972.

The backing was only replaced in the former Conference Room, since cleaning could not be carried out in a satisfactory way.


No indication was found that there had once been a window here.

Recognizable on the festoons that hung far below the windows and the lacking window coverings.

We are indebted to the ACT (Advancing Conservation Tribe) team of restorers for this analysis.

For this reason there are no paintings on this surface.

Recognizable on the festoons that hung far below the windows and the lacking window coverings.

We are indebted to the ACT (Advancing Conservation Tribe) team of restorers for this analysis.

For this reason there are no paintings on this surface.

Original: The gold leaf had been applied partly as oil gilding, partly as poliment gilding.

Reported orally by restorer Bettina Baatz-Fischer, early August 2013.

This has to do with the former Audience Chamber and the former State Bedroom.

Reported orally by restorer Bettina Baatz-Fischer and stuccateur Wilhelm Philipp Wilfinger, early August 2013.

The panels in the Gold Cabinet were mounted again, since they were part of the room's furnishings in Maria Theresa's time.
The Winter Palace
then and now
Werner Arnold Steinhausen, *Layout of the City of Vienna* (detail, the area around the Winter Palace on Himmelpfortgasse), 1710, Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv

Vestibule, ca. 1903
Northern façade in the Main Courtyard
Stucco reliefs next to the Main Entrance
Grand staircase with atlantes by Giovanni Giuliani
Carl Moll, *Interior in Winter Palace (Yellow Salon)*, 1907/08, Belvedere, Vienna

View from Yellow Salon towards the Red Salon

Next double page:
Yellow Salon (formerly part of the Prince Eugene’s Gallery), ca. 1903
The Yellow Salon today
Red Salon (Prince Eugene’s Audience Chamber), ca. 1903

The Red Salon today

Next double page:
Blue Salon (Prince Eugene’s State Bedroom), ca. 1903
The Blue Salon today

Overnext double page: View towards the ceiling in the chapel
Gold Cabinet, also known as Mirror Cabinet, ca. 1903

The Ceiling of the Gold Cabinet
The Gold Cabinet today

Green Salon (once part of the first library hall and then separated from it)
The so-called Ballroom (today the “Battle Scene Painting Hall”, formerly part of the first library hall), ca. 1903
The hall with paintings of battle scenes - paintings by Ignace-Jacques Parrocel
Ignace-Jacques Parrocel, 
Battle of Cassano, 1705
Ignace-Jacques Parrocel, Battle of Malplaquet, 1710
Ignace-Jacques Parrocel, Battle of Belgrade (detail), 1717

Ignace-Jacques Parrocel, Battle of Torino (detail), 1706
Ignace-Jacques Parrocel,
Battle of Zenta, um 1711
Ignace-Jacques Parrocet,
Battle of Oudenaarde, 1708
Ignace-Jacques Parrocel, Battle of Hoechstädten, 1704
Battle of Belgrade, 1717
The Imperial Vice Chancellor Friedrich Karl von Schönborn described Prince Eugene (Ill. 1) as the “Roi des honnêtes hommes” in his letters, thus giving expression to his admiration for an attitude which declared self-control, obedience to one’s own conscience, a sense of honor, and a commitment to truth and justice as the most important guidelines for one’s own behavior. For the aristocratic and cultured elite of the 17th and 18th centuries, the dominant role model was that of the honnête homme, for whom his own honor came first and who for that reason alone had to respect the honor of others. The notion owes its genesis to the reaction to the internal conflict in France during the Wars of Religion and the revolt of the nobility in the 16th and 17th centuries. The historian Carl Jacob Burckhardt, in his Betrachtungen zur Geschichte und Literatur, sees four tendencies which played an important role in this process: the Counter-Reformation, the national concentration of political forces by Richelieu, orientation toward kingship as the political focus in the spirit of Louis XIV, and the example provided in literature by classical Antiquity in contrast to the Spanish pathos, as expressed in the Art poétique (1674) by Nicolas Boileau (1636–1711). Important for the further development of the concept were literary or philosophical works such as the Maximes of François de La Rochefoucauld (1665) and Blaise Pascal’s Pensées (1669), in which the honnête homme is described as being free of all base inclinations such as hate, jealousy or malice. Exercising stoic self-control, he was to maintain equanimity in the face of the changes and chances of life and commit himself to truth, openness, and justice. Courage and wisdom were also among the required qualities of the honnête homme, as was an extensive education, albeit one free of the pedantry of specialized scholarship. Ambition was certainly permitted to the honnête homme, but it was not to be primarily aimed at power, fame, or wealth, but rather at an exemplary life free of all base deeds. The primary goal was thus magnanimity of thought and deed, and not least integration into the social hierarchy and subordination to the legitimate power of the ruler. For this reason the intentions of the honnête homme were first and foremost directed toward his own perfection, and not toward social change or the reform of the

Ill. 1
Jacob van Schuppen
Prince Eugene of Savoy Following the Battle of Belgrade on August 16, 1717, 1718
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
(on loan at the Belvedere, Vienna)

Leopold Auer
institutions of the state. The attainment of all these ideals did not necessarily have to be confined to the small circles of aristocratic society. Even on its first appearance in Robert Estienne’s *Dictionarium latino-gallicum* of 1538, the term is used for any cultured man without pretensions. One hundred fifty years later, the phrase was: “Dans les Gaules un généreux n’est jamais vilain,” which we might freely translate, after Burckhardt, as: In Gaul any magnanimous man is always a noble. Accordingly, a man of letters, like Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, who was for a time a member of Prince Eugene’s circle, might certainly be termed an *honnête homme*.

2 Although Prince Eugene had left his French homeland at the age of twenty, disillusioned, he remained closely attached to its ideals and traditions all his life. These included the ideal of the *honnête homme*, whose transplantation to the courtly society of the Habsburg monarchy and the old Holy Roman Empire was due in some measure to him. It was precisely the difficult and unpleasant circumstances of his early years that gave the idea of *honnêteté* a particular importance for his own life, so that his behavior in many situations bore the decisive stamp of the *honnête homme*. The behavioral traits include self-control and reticence, which were interpreted by many who came into contact with him as coldness and arrogance, along with his demonstrative imperturbability, even where his own advantage was at stake, in the face of the vicissitudes of life, his loyalty to the ruler whose service he had entered, as well as the almost aloof manner to which he devoted himself to his business and hobbies. He was always concerned to keep away from all extremes, or at least to keep up the appearance of so doing. To preserve, or at least to show, equanimity in all situations was doubtless one of the supreme principles by which he acted. Such an attitude also most nearly accorded with the idea of his own dignity and honor, which played a central role in his life. The lines from Horace, “Aequam memento rebus in arduis servare mentem non secus in bonis” [Remember to preserve equanimity, in difficult and in good circumstances alike, *Odes* II/3], could be seen as the prince’s motto. He gave his deputy in the Netherlands, the Marquis de Prié, almost identical advice when the latter fell from grace. If, as occasionally asserted, he appreciated the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, that would only reinforce the other attested influences of his stoic lifestyle on the ideal of the *honnête homme*. After the prince’s death, the French envoy in Vienna, Jean-Gabriel de la Porte du Theil, judged that he regarded being an *honnête homme* as sufficient for a religious attitude.

Not only for Schönborn was Eugene a model of justice and honor; the Prussian king Frederick William I, the “soldier king,” recommended Leopold von Anhalt-Dessau to seek the prince’s advice in matters of honor, something which, incidentally, Leopold thought incompatible with his own honor. During his sojourn in London in 1712, the prince was accorded the admiration and appreciation of wide sections of the English public. More than a decade and a half later, the Hanoverian Baron Pöllnitz described him, after a visit to Vienna, as “honnête et civil, […] généreux et magnifique en tout, excepté en habits” [honorable and polite, generous, and in all things magnificent, apart from his clothes], and Voltaire too, whose relations with Eugene were rather detached, paid tribute to the prince in his *Siècle de Louis XIV* as an *honnête homme*, a representative of justice and courageous determination.

While the prince often appeared to outsiders as cold and unapproachable, he could open up to people whom he liked and trusted, and on these occasions he could show vivacity and charm. Friendships were important in Eugene’s life. He once wrote to the Duc de Villars: “Si j’ai de l’indifférence en plusieurs choses qui me regardent, mes amis au contraire m’ont toujours trouvé très sensible à leur égard” [While I am indifferent in most things that concern myself, my friends by contrast have...]

![Sir Godfrey Kneller](Private collection)

**John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough**, ca. 1704

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always found me sympathetic in matters concerning them].9 One piece of evidence for this attitude is his friendship with the Duke of Marlborough (Ill. 2). Even their contemporaries found it almost without precedent for there never to have been a serious altercation between the two men in spite of their different nationality, religion, and interests, for as long as they were fighting side by side.10 So it was also a matter of honor for Eugene not to leave Marlborough in the lurch when the latter fell from grace. Not least for this reason he pointedly visited the fallen duke in London (where he had been sent by the emperor in an attempt to retain England as an ally for the continuation of the War of the Spanish Succession) and thus demonstrated to all the world that they were still friends. He also supported another friend, Lord Albemarle, on whom certain people sought to put the whole blame for the defeat at Denain in 1712, because he thought it would not be in accordance with the character of the honnête homme if he did not express the truth as he saw it.11

3

If the honnête homme was not to allow himself to be guided by jealousy, envy, or malice, this had to be proved not only by his behavior in difficult situations, but above all in his dealings with opponents of whatever kind. Eugene himself, in the above-mentioned letter to Villars, set a standard when he wrote: “J’espère que ceux qui sont d’un parti contraire me rendront aussi la justice que je n’ai rien oublié pour leur faire plaisir en tout ce qui a pu dépendre de moi et qui était compatible avec le service de mon maître” [I hope that those who are on the opposing side will also do me the justice of acknowledging that I have neglected nothing to please them insofar as it was in my power and compatible with my service to my master]. The relationship between the prince and the Duc de Villars (Ill. 3) was one of mutual respect, and at the same time the best example of such exemplary behavior in accord with the image of the honnête homme. Villars had admired the prince, who was ten years his junior, from their first encounter during the war against the Turks in 1687. The prince had renown and ambition, he wrote at the time, and all the sentiments of a man of devotion [“Il a de la gloire et de l’ambition et tous les sentiments d’un homme de devotion”].12 When Villars arrived at the imperial court as ambassador in 1698, the contacts soon became closer. Each frequently invited the other to visit; before being recalled from Vienna at the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession, Villars still had time to report on Eugene’s first successes in Italy.13

In war, the two sometimes found each other on opposite sides, which however, according to Villars on the occasion of the opening of peace talks at Rastatt, had not damaged their friendship or mutual appreciation. Villars speaks of the “sentiments d’une ancienne et véritable amitié, que les longues guerres et les différentes actions n’avaient pas alternées” [sentiments of a long and true friendship, which the lengthy wars and the various campaigns had not changed], and the next day he wrote to the Secretary for War, Daniel Voysin, saying: “Rien n’a été plus honnête que la première entrevue de M. le Prince Eugène avec moy” [Nothing was more honorable [honnête] than the first meeting between Prince Eugene and myself].14 The negotiations in the palace at Rastatt in fact represented the culmination of their personal relationship, although it appears that Eugene exploited Villars’ feelings toward him for the success of the talks. Even the correspondence ahead of the negotiations is not just characteristic of Baroque ceremonial, but also of the effort to express mutual appreciation. The welcoming ceremony took place on the steps leading up to the palace. Prince Eugene climbed the steps to the waiting Villars, who was unable to come down because of paralysis in one leg. They embraced to a fanfare of trumpets, exchanged compliments and accompanied each other to the apartments assigned to each of them. Very quickly the familiarity of the period of Villars’ embassy in Vienna was re-created between the two very aristocratic negotiators. They invited each other to meals and entertainments, and played cards together. It

III. 3
After Hyacinthe Rigaud
Claude-Louis-Hector Duke of Villars
Les Amis de Vaux-le-Vicomte, Maincy
Private collection
goes without saying that this did not change the fact that each was representing the interests of his own side, but it created an atmosphere of trust which doubtless helped to bring the talks to a successful conclusion.\textsuperscript{15} Villars may also have considered that the advanced age of Louis XIV was another reason to bring the talks to a speedy conclusion, before a change of monarch could totally change the situation for the peace envoys. Thus he pursued the negotiations in the spirit of an \textit{honnête homme}, but not so much for France, as rather for his own renown, while Prince Eugene encouraged him by saying: “C’est que nous traitons en gens d’honneur et d’une manière bien éloignée de toutes les finesses que plusieurs estiment nécessaires dans toutes les négociations” [The fact is that we are negotiating as men of honor and in a manner far removed from all the subtleties which many find a necessary part of any negotiations].\textsuperscript{16} Villars too was proud of the treaty which was concluded in Rastatt, and of the continued friendly correspondence with his erstwhile opponent. Soon after the Peace, he sent Eugene his portrait, which is listed in the inventory of
The collection of paintings drawn up after Eugene’s death.

Eugene for his part returned the compliment by sending the portrait painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller while he was in London. In the year before his own death, Villars was still helping Eugene’s librarian Étienne Boyet on a visit to Paris, assuring the prince that he wished to demonstrate with his enthusiasm his respect for the latter’s protégés, and thus ultimately for the prince himself.

Eugene’s friendly relationship with Villars is in a sense unique, because it transcended military and political enmity, indeed arose in spite of it. But there are other examples of respectful dealings with the enemy both in the military and the political sphere. When Eugene’s troops attacked the French commander in Italy, the Duc de Villeroy, in a daring hussar raid on his headquarters in Cremona in 1702, and took him prisoner, he was treated with all due honors. Eugene and his friend Prince Commercy paid him a visit; from his captivity in Innsbruck and Graz, which lasted several months, he wrote that “toutes sortes de honnêteté” -- all manner of respect -- had been accorded him. Recognition from the opposing side was also expressed by the Duc de Vendôme’s army after the Battle of Luzzara (Ill. 4) the same year, in which Eugene, though outnumbered, carried the day. It was likewise normal chivalric practice at the time for opposing military commanders to do each other small favors. Thus for example, during the Toulon campaign of 1707, Eugene asked the French commander Marshal Tessé to acquire for him a silver table centerpiece from Lyon.

In the diplomatic sphere too, it was not unusual for representatives of the opposing side to be among the prince’s inner circle, as when the Duc de Richelieu or the British ambassador Lord Waldegrave followed the behavioral norms of the aristocratic elite. It must be admitted, though, that political calculation was not altogether absent: France and Britain were in this period (1726–1730) being wooed as possible allies of the Habsburg monarchy. Even representatives of the Ottoman Empire could occasionally be integrated into these engaging forms of behavior. Thus the young Eugene, during talks on the handover of Buda in 1686, gave a Turkish negotiator lemons, whereupon the latter returned the compliment in the form of a bag made of velvet. Mustafa Pasha, the commander of the besieged fort of Timisoara, revealed himself to be a gentleman when in gratitude for being allowed to withdraw his forces undisturbed, he presented the prince with a horse. In other respects too, Christians and Muslims treated each other on this occasion with particular politeness, as Eugene notes in one of his reports.

The principle of behaving in accord with the rules of honnêteté was relatively easy to follow when, in spite of being enemies, one could respect the abilities, and above all the honor, of the opponent. Particularly in the military sphere, and especially when commanders and officers belonged to the same social class, this was often the case. Things became much more difficult when the enmity was personal and the opponent was a rival in one’s own camp, an envious critic who could be a threat to one’s own position. A few years after his death, one of Eugene’s first biographers, Eléazar Mauvillon asserted that he could easily forgive his enemies and did not take revenge on them. By contrast, some of his enemies and critics, such as the Belgian Jean-Philippe-Eugène, Comte de Mérode-Westerloo, went so far as to call him a misanthrope. They pointed to actions which demonstrated his less pleasing attributes and tendencies: unnecessary harshness in war, vengefulness, and an unforgiving nature, especially when he felt his personal dignity and honor to have been offended. In modern terms, one might talk of signs of an exaggerated ego. His admirer Villars once accused him of “a little hard-heartedness” (un peu de dureté de cœur), and even his very sympathetic biographer Max Braubach could not deny “that he was very sensitive and jealous of possible rivals, that he did not forgive insults, and towards those who crossed him bore a grudge that bordered on vengefulness.”

As a result Eugene lost a number of friends, some of whom, such as Guido Starhemberg (Ill. 5) and Alexandre Bonneval, became bitter enemies. Both Starhemberg and Bonneval had much in common with Eugene. Starhemberg was a successful general, who, together with Eugene, had taken part in campaigns in Hungary
and Italy. He too was a member of the highly educated aristocratic elite, in other words, like Eugene, an example of the ideal honnête homme. In a letter to the Abbé d'Olivet, Montesquieu mentioned both in a single breath as the most important hommes de lettres he had met in Vienna.27 At the time, Eugene and Starhemberg were already enemies. The first estrangement had taken place during the campaigns in Italy, and had worsened following Starhemberg’s unappreciated campaign in Spain. The British envoy François-Louis de Pesme, Baron de Saint-Saphorin, mentioned (in a report from Vienna in 1727) Eugene’s deadly hatred for Starhemberg, which however had not stopped the prince from acknowledging the latter’s military skills. By contrast, Starhemberg had accused the prince of military errors and of not being sufficiently versed in his business.28 Toward the end of Eugene’s life Count von der Schulenberg, who had enjoyed a somewhat ambivalent relationship with him at times, remarked, not without a certain satisfaction, on the deterioration in the prince’s faculties in contrast to Starhemberg’s mental freshness.29

The break-up with Bonneval, whose life followed a similar pattern to that of Eugene, was far more dramatic. In 1706, disillusioned with the way he had been treated in France, Eugene entered the service of the Habsburgs, together with two other French officers. His military talent and wit soon gained him access to the prince’s inner circle, where Lady Mary Wortley Montagu on her visit to Vienna described him as the darling of Viennese society. His sense of honor, probably even more acute than Eugene’s,30 involved him, during a sojourn in Brussels, with the Marquis de Prié, whom Eugene had appointed to carry out his duties as Governor General, and who had made himself very unpopular with the local aristocracy in the process. When Bonneval launched a verbal assault on Prié, and was detained by the latter for his pains, the situation escalated. Eugene felt himself vicariously challenged, and persuaded the emperor to sentence Bonneval to a year’s imprisonment in the notorious Spielberg near Brno. After his release, Bonneval went to Venice in 1728, where he met Montesquieu, who had arrived from Graz, and the next year journeyed to the Ottoman Empire, where he converted to Islam. While he was there, he worked on plans to wage war against Austria, which led the imperial resident in Constantinople to suggest his assassination with diamond powder, a plan to which both Eugene and Emperor Charles VI consented, the latter adding the words “placet in toto” (we agree in full) in his own hand to the commission. The attempt failed, and no more were made, but the whole affair shows only too clearly that the prince was not always true to his ideals, and the image of the honnête homme has some dark stains. While he continued to acknowledge Starhemberg’s military prowess in spite of the personal hatred, the enmity in Bonneval’s case led to a desire for the latter’s physical elimination. Bonneval himself reacted more generously, albeit doubtless ignorant of the planned assassination, when, hearing the news of Eugene’s death, he said: “Je pleure Eugène de Savoie, que j’ai aimé et qui m’a aimé” [I lament Eugene of Savoy, whom I loved and who loved me].31

Among the criticisms leveled at the prince by his contemporaries were disproportionate harshness in war, ruthlessness in response to resistance, and the unthinking sacrifice of soldiers. In the winter of 1691 he intervened harshly against peasants who had taken up arms in Montferrat, giving no quarter. And later, too, he expressed no sympathy for the insurrection against Austrian rule in occupied Bavaria or for unrest in the Austrian Netherlands. “There is no doubt,” wrote his biographer Max Braubach, “that, chivalrous as he was toward opponents in war, he was not guided by humane motives when it came to putting down popular revolts against the legal authority or an occupying power.”32 When he invaded Bosnia after the victory at Zenta, Eugene had Turkish houses, including in the city of Sarajevo, razed to the ground.33 In order to achieve his war aims, he often sacrificed soldiers so ruthlessly that his Dutch allies accused him of needing a new army every year.34 Conversely, there are also statements that show he was not unmoved by the
distress of soldiers or of civilian populations and sought if possible to assuage it. As Eugene was for much of his life confronted with the reality and thus the brutality of war, he might, like Napoleon, who counted him among the seven greatest military leaders in history, have opined that someone who was unmoved by the horrors of the battlefield should not go to war at all. In any case he must be credited with demanding no more from his soldiers than he did from himself.

One criticism is yet to be mentioned, which, in spite of the lack of clear evidence, is continually being leveled at him, and which at least by the standards of the time would not have been compatible with the concept of an honnête homme, namely that he was a homosexual. That Eugene had had homosexual relationships in his youth is regarded as possible even by Braubach. Such relations were so widespread at the court of Louis XIV that a year before Eugene's flight to Vienna the king had to step in. As for the young Eugene, certain statements by Elizabeth Charlotte of the Palatinate, Duchesse d’Orléans, cannot be lightly dismissed. Years later she talks in her letters of Eugene's having nothing to do with ladies, as pages were more his thing. A note in a letter, dating from the campaigns in the Netherlands, from Count von der Schulenberg, who was not uncritical of the prince, points in the same direction. Against this, a number of actual or alleged mistresses have been adduced, one of his latest biographers, Ciro Paoletti, pointing in particular to an Italian woman who had accompanied him to the campaign in the Netherlands. Whatever the truth of this accusation, homosexual inclinations would not have diminished admiration for the prince any more than they did for King William III of England or Frederick the Great of Prussia. However, it would have been inconceivable at this date for him to “come out.”

6

If we seek to summarize the behavior and attitude of the prince, it is not so easy to understand the human being behind Eugene. Even more than an honnête homme he was simply a great gentleman. The consciousness of being a scion of a ruling house, and, beginning with Ferdinand I and Philip II of Spain and Henry IV of France, of counting emperors and kings among his ancestors, doubtless had a significant influence on his attitudes and behavior. Maybe the emphasis he laid on his dignity was an expression of his memory of the ceremonial at the court of Louis XIV, which he had experienced in his youth. We can certainly, however, credit the prince with having taken seriously the intention of being an honnête homme and of trying to implement the concept. He was not totally free of arrogance and conceit, and the Bonneval affair reveals the limits of his human greatness. But that will only bother those who actively seek feet of clay in the image of the noble knight without stain. An anonymous portrait sketch dating from 1718 is of interest in this context: “C’est en passant par tous les vices imaginables qu’il est parvenu à se donner le caractère d’un honnête home” [It was by passing through every imaginable vice that he succeeded in acquiring the character of an honorable man].

1 Thus the letters written in 1729, 1731, and 1734. See Braubach 1963–1965, vol. 5, p. 400, note 2.
2 Burckhardt 1971, p. 171.
5 “C’est dans le malheur qu’un homme de coeur et d’esprit doit se faire connaître en témoignant la même fermeté et grandeur d’âme dans les bons et mauvais évènements et plus encore dans les derniers” [In misfortune it is so, that a man of heart and spirit must let himself be known, in that he shows the same firmness and greatness of soul in good as in bad times, and especially so in the latter]; quoted from Braubach 1963–1965, vol. 4, p. 441, note 316.
6 For Wolfgang Oppenheimer (2004, p. 240), Marcus Aurelius was one of Eugene’s spiritual mentors. Franz Herre (Herre 1997, p. 312) calls him his comrade-in-arms. Unfortunately neither author sees fit to document his assertion, so that it is unclear whether they are not merely drawing conclusions from the presence of the Meditations in Eugene’s library.
Du Theil's report of 29 April 1736: "On dit que le fond de sa religion était qu'il suffit d'être honnête homme;" quoted from Braubach 1963–1965, vol. 5, p. 460, note 420. Eugene was presumably strengthened in this attitude by the unpublished work of Yves de Vallone, La religion d'un honnête homme conduit par l'éternelle raison, of which there was a copy in his library; cf. Suchier 1928, p. 24, and Israel 2001, pp. 65f. and note 38. To the Piedmontese general Frossasco, who had met him in 1696, Eugene at this time came across as an atheist; cf. Paoletti 2001, p. 449 and note 344.


"Il est remarquable et bien surprenant, et presque sans exemple, qu'il n'y ait jamais aucune altercation entre ces deux grands hommes, lorsqu'ils ont servi ensemble, quoique de nation et de religion différentes et aux services d'un autre prince, dont les intérêts sont toujours bien différents." Quote from Oehler 1944, p. 149.


Oehler 1944, p. 155.


Oehler 1944, p. 154.


Letter from Villars to Eugene dated 2 July 1710; cf. Braubach 1963–1965, vol. 3, p. 423, note 184. It was this letter to which Eugene replied with the compliment reported in note 9 above.


"J'observai que le Prince Eugène hait mortellement le Comte Starhemberg [...], mais je n'ai pas appris que jamais il se soit lâché dans ses discours à l'attaquer sur sa capacité militaire, au lieu que Starhemberg ne suppose pas au Prince Eugène, lorsqu'il parle de lui, la connaissance la plus médiocre de son métier"; quoted from Braubach 1963–1965, vol. 5, p. 467, note 33.


Oehler 1944, p. 109.

Schulenburg 1834, Part 1, p. 470, where it is said of Eugene that he loved "la petite débauche et la p… au delà de tout" [a little debauchery and p… above all else]. The discreet p-word could however perhaps even more likely stand for "pédérastie" rather than for "paillardise" (lasciviousness) or "prostitution," which is Braubach's interpretation (1963–1965, vol. 5, p. 412, note 123).


As emphasized most recently by Paoletti 2001, p. 445.

When Prince Eugene of Savoy-Carignan (ill. 1) was born in Paris on October 18, 1663, no one could have expected under the given circumstances that he would have a splendid career and a life free of any material worries. His father, Eugene Moritz (1635-1673, ill. 2) hailed from a prestigious family and was seen as a competent officer in the army of Ludwig XIV (1638-1715) but he died an early death under circumstances that were never quite clarified. His mother Olympia Mancini (1639-1708, ill. 3) was the surintendante of the wife of Ludwig XIV, Maria Theresa of Austria (1638-1683). The niece of influential cardinal Jules Mazarin indulged in intrigues, which finally culminated in her being implicated in the so-called “poison affair” (affaire des poisons). This, in turn, resulted in her fleeing France to Holland, Spain and then Brussels.

Marie Bourbon (1606-1692), his grandmother on his father’s side, took care of the children – even if somewhat negligently as can be inferred from the reminiscences of Liselotte von der Pfalz (1652–1722). The interpretation that Eugene was abused as a young boy and that this had lasting negative effect on his sexuality appears plausible. Only in exile did Olympia try to fulfill her duties as a mother, trying to make sure that her children found a spouse to their greatest advantage. However, only the oldest of her sons, Louis Thomas (1657-1702), the only one of the six children still alive then, married. Married to Urania de la Croppe (1655-1717), who was not of noble descent, he became father of six children, including first-born daughter Anna Victoria (1683-1763) later to become her uncle’s sole heiress.

The dissolute lifestyle the young Prince Eugene is said to have led also stood in stark contrast to the clerical career that had been selected for him. Lacking an inheritance, which would have provided him with financial security and also given his rather unbecoming appearance – he was only 150cm tall and had a pockmarked face – this seemed to be the most sensible option. In 1710 Liselotte von der Pfalz expressed her conviction that: “(...) he was nothing but a dirty, very debauched boy who didn’t show any real signs of amounting to anything(...)” Somewhere else she noted that he would have needed no inordinate material support to be motivated to assume a clerical position.”

Finally, he decided against this, fled France, entering the service of the army of Emperor Leopold I (1640-1705, ruled from 1658 to 1705), and participated in the relief
of Vienna in 1683, and then pursued a military career. After having worked his way up, Prince Eugene finally made a breakthrough as a commander in the victory at the Battle of Zenta in 1697. However, he had already found recognition ten years earlier in his new homeland when he was appointed Knight of the Order of The Golden Fleece. At this time he was guest of the Spanish ambassador Carlo Emanuele d'Este, Marchese di Borgomanero (1622-1695) and was also dependent on support from his Turin relative Viktor Amadeus (1666-1732), then head of the House of Savoy.6

It was the latter who, following the death of Prince Anton of Savoy on February 14, 1688, also made Eugene the lay abbot of the two abbeys San Michele della Chiusa and Santa Maria di Casanova in Savoy-Piedmont. This required a papal dispensation, the appointment of a vicar-general and celibacy on the part of the Prince, but ultimately it yielded him a yearly income of an estimated 2,000 doubloons.7 The prince's gradual promotion in the imperial army also had a positive effect on his financial situation so that he was able to purchase a building on Himmelpfortgasse in Vienna in 1694.

Prince Eugene's great military and diplomatic career began in the final years of the 17th century in the course of which he was also able to create a name for himself as an eminent builder and collector. (Both have been the subject of numerous studies so that we will refrain here from citing well-known sources.) Prince Eugene was able to display his military skills in the Great Ottoman War (1683-1699), the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714) and in the Austro-Venetian-Ottoman War (1714-1718). One was reluctant, even during the War of the Polish Succession (1733-1738), to forgo the advice of the meritorious general, even if he was now an old man. He was circumspect in exercising the offices he had been awarded for his bravery, which also meant more income. He was head of the Imperial Military Council (from 1703 on), governor in the Austrian Netherlands (1716-1724) as well as vicar-general of the Habsburg possessions in Italy (from 1724 on).

Considering that when Prince Eugene fled France penniless in 1683 he was full of initiative and with nothing but a name that reflected an important family, what he was able to accomplish by the end of his life is all the more impressive. It perhaps comes as no surprise that his war achievements and his cultural interests were celebrated in his palaces, while his family and connections to the dynasty were relegated to the back seat. At a time in which it was common to praise one's family with allegories and an extensive gallery of ancestors, Prince Eugene simply refrained from doing so. Against this backdrop he appears to stand out even more as an exceptional figure. This is reflected in the decoration and furnishing of the Winter Palace, the Lower and Upper Belvedere.

Another interesting question is how Prince Eugene, his advisors and the artists he commissioned were able visually to convey the resident's profession and successes
In the various buildings. On the entering the palace, the visitor to Himmelpfortgasse can see Hercules in the relief fields flanking the portal. In the entrance area, one sees striking sculpted war trophies before proceeding into the vestibule where one’s gaze is swept up to imposing Hercules towering over the impressing atlantes. It is by virtue of his strength, demonstrated so many times, that he is symbolic of the successful military commander. The visitor reaches the actual ceremonial rooms by passing through the large hall. This hall was originally adorned not just by the battle painting by Ignace-Jacques Parrocel (1667-1722), but also by a ceiling fresco showing the acts of Hercules created by Andrea Lanzani (1641-1712), together with painter/quadraturist Marcantonio Chiarini (1652-1730); however, this fresco was destroyed during the reconstruction of 1752. These artworks made it clear to the visitor whose home it was. Hercules also

In the Lower Belvedere, two levels merge in the Marble Hall that serves as a reception hall. In the central ceiling fresco by Martino Altomonte (1657–1745) one sees Apollo with the muses, as well as the hero who is being informed, with a scroll, about the awarding of papal honors that were bestowed upon Prince Eugene following the Battle at Peterwardein in 1716. Above the windows and doors one then finds ten reliefs depicting scenes from Apollo’s life, whereas the bound Turks above the chimneys allude to the prince’s war feats. Art and war also come together in the Marble Gallery. Here one could once admire the famous three Herculaneum women next to the still existing figures by Domenico Parodi (1672-1742) with the niches being framed by the figurative ceiling piece in which the war hero is celebrated. In the Upper Belvedere, the rooms leading from the ceremonial staircase to the main bedroom and Audience Chamber are of particular interest, since these rooms were mainly used for official events. In the stairwell three scenes from the life of Alexander the Great depicted in plaster reliefs allude to the virtues of the ideal commander: Alexander’s triumph over Darius, the wives of Darius in front of Alexander and – once visible on the ceiling - the Gordian knot being cut (once visible on the ceiling). The marble hall that opens up here is dominated by the ceiling fresco, whose central piece is a work by Innocenzo Carlones (1686–1775). It shows the youthful war hero who is being taken up to Mount Olympus. What is striking here is that the Savoy cross is presented above the protagonist, so that there is no doubt that this ideal figure depicted here is none other than Prince Eugene. Even at his tusculum rurale, Prince Eugene’s success at arms was conveyed in the series of battle scenes in the ten paintings that Jan Huchtenburgh (1647–1733) was commissioned to do for the palace Schloss Hof. In addition to these rooms and artworks that visitors were able to see during the Prince’s lifetime and which were displayed with the public in mind, there were also
artworks that glorified the great commander as an individual, not all of which were on display. One thing all of the allegorical and mythological paintings have in common is that they praised the prince's achievements, comparing them with the deeds of ancient figures, sometimes even glorifying them.

In the Apotheosis of Prince Eugene (ill. 5) created by Balthasar Permoser (1651-1732) around 1718 to 1721, the successful general was now placed center stage. Prince Eugene is shown here with the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece as well as with the lion's skin identifying him as the second Hercules. To his left there is the figure of Fama who tries to trumpets the fame of the prince but is stopped from doing so by muffling the instrument with his hand. He looks at the winged genius in front of him who, with his index and middle fingers is fixating the wreath of snakes woven with the sun. The eternal fame of Prince Eugene's deeds is addressed with this symbol. According to a poem by Ulrich von König (1688-1744), the court poet of Augustus the Strong (1670-1733), the old Turk cowering at Eugene's feet can be interpreted as a self-portrait of the artist – a group of figures, which however need not be interpreted literally. What is striking in comparison to other allegories in which a hero cannot be identified without any other
external reference to the external, is that this group of sculptures is clearly designed so that the main figure can be recognized.

The artist who was getting on in years accompanied the transport of the artwork to Vienna where it arrived on November 1, 1721. Yet in spite of the significance that the sculpture was seen as having from the outset, the *Apotheosis* was not suitably placed as would be noted by later generations. It can be identified in the fifth volume of etchings by Salomon Kleiner published in 1736 as being located in the not so magnificent officers’ mess on the ground floor (ill. 6). The fact that it was hung in this location can perhaps be explained by the piece not being seen as adequately reflecting the art of antiquity. No statement had been received from Prince Eugene himself, only his secretary Ignaz Freiherr von Koch (approx. 1697–1763) informed Reichsgraf August Christoph von Wackerbarth (1662–1734) on November 12, 1721 that he was pleased with the sculpture but the pose was not quite to his taste.

By contrast, Wackerbarth, who was entrusted with supervising the execution of the artwork, can be said to have liberated himself from the desirable ancient model, something that seems to have made him feel uneasy. Yet he can hardly have opposed the work since it is placed in the center of the dedication painting of the Belvedere etchings based on drawings by Salomon Kleiner (ill. 7). Perhaps it was simply seen as disrupting the decorum to present oneself in such a public way while still alive. And perhaps the *Apotheosis* was only supposed to commemorate him after his death.

As one might glean from the contemporary reports and surviving inventories that were compiled following Prince Eugene’s death, the prince did not even appear in
portraits hung in the official parts of his palaces, only parts of which were open to the public. Apart from the group by Permoser there was, however, another important artwork to be found in an adjoining room. Two paintings from the second floor of the Upper Belvedere are mentioned in the painting inventory of 1736: “Sont postés dans une chambre deux grands portraits de Son Altesse Sérénissime, un représentant Son Altesse à cheval de Van der Schuppe l’autre de Ruttiere.” Jacob van Schuppen’s (1670-1751) large-format Portrait of Prince Eugene Mounted on a Horse, which today is part of the Galleria Sabauda in Turin, is certainly the most important portrait of the commander (ill. 1). In the painting, created in 1721, Prince Eugene is portrayed as the victor over the Turks. The commander mounted on his horse rises high above the horrible battlefield littered with bodies, while up in the heavens Fama is depicted trumpeting his fame, with Victory, the goddess of victory, holding a palm frond and laurel wreath, joined by the allegorical figure of religion. These are accompanied by two putti, one of which holds the olive branch symbolizing peace while the other points to the painted coat of arms of the prince. It certainly would have been very daring to present such a glorification in one’s own residence so that it could be seen by any visitor — right next to Permoser’s sculpture.

At a remove from such prominent artworks but certainly by no means less rich in content, the frontispiece of the
Acta Serenissimi Principis Eugenii Francisci Sabaudiae (...) of 1735 created by Eugen-Victor von Mandacher (ill. 8) praised the commander’s achievements while the prince was still alive. Here the allegorical figures are complemented by citations from the late-ancient writer Claudian which create a link with the Rhine campaigns and in turn recall the papal gift honoring the services attributed to Eugene as a protector of Christianity. His contemporaries responded with respect, admiration and gratitude for his accomplishments. As Franciscus Peikhart said in the eulogy he held for Prince Eugene at his funeral: “Indubitably, Prince Eugene deserves from a grateful world an appropriate monument since he was an example of virtue and courage, and we owe him even more for his protection than can be expressed in our gratitude (...)”

1. Oehler 1944, p. 12.
2. Ibid., pp. 107-110.
5. Ibid., p. 108.
7. Ibid., p. 139f.
Apart from the few portraits of his own family in the Galerie of the Winter Palace. On this room see, from more recently, Nierhaus 2011/12 (2013).

On the original appearance of the hall see Seeger 2004, pp. 60-67.

Today, the series of seven paintings of battle scenes is owned by the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna and it can be viewed in the so-called “Schlachtenbildersaal” (Hall of Battle Scene Paintings).

Cf. on this Seeger 2004, p. 64f.

On the program of paintings cf. the text by Andreas Gamerith in this publication.

Regarding the dedication inscription see Popelka 1963.

On this Aurenhammer 1969, pp. 102-104, no. 93.

On the program of ceiling frescos see Krapf 2005, pp. 48-50.

Following Prince Eugene’s death these paintings ended up in Turin and today are part of the Galleria Sabauda (cf. exh. cat. Venaria 2012, pp. 192-194, cat.-no. 3.1 (Clelia Arnaldi di Balme)). – At the time the estate holdings were being inventorized the painting was in the “Parada Ante-Camer” of Schloss Hof (see on this Frantes 2005, p. 121).

Generally the group of sculptures are said to have been created some time between 1718 and 1721. What seems to have been important for Permoser’s beginning to work on this is the fact that on June 27, 1718 he received permission to procure black marble for the base of the sculpture from the Wildenfels marble quarry. Sigfried Asche, however, assumes for a number of reasons that at this time he had at best begun working on a model (Asche 1978, p. 1009).


This was expressed by Michael Krapf (exh. cat. Vienna 1986, p. 78f., cat. no. 29 as well as exh. cat. Vienna 1993, p. 245, cat. no. 14).

See Asche 1978, p. 101 as well as p. 137, doc. 121.

Ibid., p. 101.

This also became clear from Peter Stephan’s international contextualization of the group of sculptures (cf. Stephan 2010, p. 124-156.) Whether, however, this can be perfectly related to Prince Eugene appears questionable, since the thematic conception is based on several voices here. Moreover, there are similarities to the following Aphototheoses of Augustus the Strong (Oberlichtenauer and Elstraer version, both destroyed in 1945, but known through photographs), that shed light on the exclusive status of the Aphototheosis of Prince Eugene.


See on this also Schreiden 1982, p. 76f. cat.no. 24.


Peikhart 1736, p. 35f.

Illustration 8

Andreas and Joseph Schmutzer (engravers) after Joseph Matthias Götz (draftsman)

Allegory of Equestrian Prince Eugene, 1735

Belvedere, Vienna
Rudolf von Alt, *Prince Eugene’s Winter Palace*, 1882, Belvedere, Vienna
Façade of the Winter Palace today

Next Double Page:
Johann Adam Delsenbach, *The Winter Palace of Prince Eugene of Savoy at Himmelpfortgasse*, undated, Belvedere, Vienna
The restoration of the Sala terrena - rediscovery of a baroque gem of wall painting
The Sala terrena following completion of restoration
Details from the Sala terrena following completion of restoration
Hidden treasures - the ceiling fresco with the *Abduction of Oreithyia* by Louis Dorigny under an intermediate ceiling in Prince Eugene’s former gallery
Andrea Lanzani’s *Hercules’ Ascension to Mount Olympus*, detail (Red Salon)
Louis Dorigny’s Hercules’ Wedding in Heaven, detail (Blue Salon)
Biographical overview

1663 Prince Eugene Franz of Savoy-Carignan is born in Paris on October 18, as the fifth of seven children to Eugene Moritz of Savoy-Carignan and Olympia Mancini.  
1673 His father dies after a short illness under circumstances that were never fully clarified.  
1678 Ordained with minor orders by the Papal Nuncio in Turin.  
1683 After having been rejected from Ludwig XIV’s army he flees France and enters the service of Emperor Leopold I’s army. Successfully participates in the relief of Vienna in the Battle of Kahlenberg (September 12). Carlo Emmanuele d’Este, Marchese di Borgomanero invites Eugene to lodge at his home and introduces him to Leopold’s court.  
1688 Named field marshal-lieutenant. Prince Eugene also becomes lay abbot of two abbeys in Savoy, which provides him with a good source of income but also the obligation to remain celibate.  
1693 Named imperial field marshal.  
1694/95 Buys the first buildings on Himmelpfortgasse. In addition to the intense building activities that now commence, Prince Eugene continues to build up major collections of paintings, books, copper etchings as well as plants but also a zoo.  
1697 Named commander in chief of the imperial army in Hungary (July 5). At the Battle of Zenta on September 11, Prince Eugene has his first success as a commander. His fame as field marshal is subsequently consolidated by a number of further successful military operations. Buys a large plot of land on Rennweg, which is gradually expanded as he acquires more property. The Battle of Carpi on July 9 marks the first larger military operation in the War of Spanish Succession. On September 1, the Battle of Chiari follows.  
1701 Battle of Cremona (February 1) as well as Battle of Luzzara (August 15). Begins building the palace in Ráckeve on the Csepel Island (Danube) near Budapest.  
1703 Named president of the Imperial War Council.  
1704 The Battle of Höchstädt (August 13) results in a coalition with the English and subsequently a friendship between their commander, the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene. Terracing works carried out on the land of the Belvedere. The Battle of Cassano (August 16) where following a bloody battle the French side is able — for a change — to declare victory.  
1706 Relief of Turin (September 7)
1708 The Battle of Oudenaarde (July 11) as well as siege of Lille (August 10 to October 22, citadel until December 10). Construction begins to extend palace on Himmelpfortgasse by five bays to the east (Gallery Wing).

1709 Siege of Tournai (July 4 to 28, citadel until September 3) and Battle of Malplaquet (September 11).

1712 Construction of the Lower Belvedere begins.

1714 With the signing of the Treaty of Rastatt (March 6) the War of Spanish Succession ends.

1716 Named governor of the Austrian Netherlands (until 1724), Battle of Peterwardein (August 5) during the Ottoman-Venetian War.


1718 Signing the Treaty of Passarowitz (July 21) not only terminates the Austro-Ottoman War but also puts an end to the enormous threat of the Ottoman Empire to Austrian security.

1723 Completion of the Upper Belvedere, extension of the Palace on Himmelpfortgasse by five bays to the west (Library Wing)

1725 Prince Eugene acquires Schloss Hof palace and expands it to create his *tusculum rustica*.

1731 From this year on the ten volumes of Belvedere etchings based on drawings by Salomon Kleiner appear. As a supplementary volume the so-called Menagerie work is published to document the animals as well as plants in the Belvedere garden.

1734 The 70-year-old field marshal is appointed commander of the Rhine army in the War of Polish Secession at the insistence of Emperor Charles VI.

1736 Prince Eugene dies at his palace on Himmelpfortgasse in the night of April 21. The magnificent funeral ceremony takes place at the St. Stephen's Cathedral on July 9. Eugene's final resting place is in the cathedral, in the so-called Savoy Crypt.
List of artists and individuals

Albemarle, Arnold Joost van Keppel Lord (1669 The Hague – The Hague 1718), Dutch general, 1709 governor of the town of Tournay

Altomonte, Martino (1657 Naples – Vienna 1745), painter

Anhalt-Dessau, Leopold I, Prince, known as “Der Alte Dessauer” (The Old Dessauer) (1676 Dessau – Dessau 1747), Prussian general

August II, known as “Augustus the Strong” (1670 Dresden – Warsaw 1733), King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, Friedrich August I, Elector of Saxony

Bellucci, Antonio (1654 Pieve di Soligo – Pieve di Soligo 1724), painter, active as peripatetic artist in Austria, Germany and England

Berain, Jean the Elder (1640 Saint-Mihiel – Paris 1711), painter, draftsman, copper engraver

Bernini, Gian Lorenzo (1598 Naples – Rom 1680), sculptor, architect

Boileau, Nicolas (1636 Paris – Paris 1711), writer

Bonneval, Claude-Alexandre Comte de, later Achmet Pascha (1675 – Constantinople 1747), soldier, adventurer

Borgomanero, Carlo Emanuele d’Este, Marchese di (1622 Turin – Vienna 1695), from 1681 on Spanish ambassador in Vienna

Bourbon-Condé, Marie Duchess of, Countess of Soissons (1606 Paris – Paris 1691), wife of Thomas Franz of Savoyen-Carignan, Eugene’s grandmother

Burckhardt, Carl Jacob (1891 Basel – Vinzel 1974), historian

Burrini, Giovanni Antonio (1656 Bologna – Bologna 1727), painter, fresco painter

Callot, Jacques (1592 Nancy – Nancy 1635), draftsman, copper engraver

Camesina, Albert Knight of (1806 Vienna – Vienna 1881), graphic designer, historian

Carloni, Carlo Innocenzo (1686 Scaria – Scaria 1775), painter, draftsman, fresco painter, active as peripatetic artist in Germany and Austria

Chiarini, Marcantonio (1652 Bologna – Bologna 1730), painter of illusionistic ceilings

Commercy, Karl Franz Prinz von (1661 Bar-le-Duc – near Luzzara 1702), imperial general

Cortona, Pietro da (1596 Cortona – Rom 1669), painter, architect

Corvinus, Johann August (1683 Leipzig – Augsburg 1738), copper engraver

Crespi, Giuseppe Maria, gen. Lo Spagnuolo (1665 Bologna – Bologna 1747), painter

Delsenbach, Johann Adam (1685 Nürnberg – Nürnberg 1765), copper engraver
Donner, Georg Raphael (1693 Eßling bei Vienna – Vienna 1741), sculptor
Dorigny, Louis (Lodovico) (1654 Paris – Verona 1742), painter, fresco painter, etcher, draftsman
Drentwett, Jonas (1656 Augsburg – Sopron/Ödenburg 1736), painter in grotesque style
Ettler, Magda, née Carlström (1883–1970), Swedish painter, copyist
Ferdinand I. (1503 Alcalá de Henares – Vienna 1564), Archduke of Austria, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (from 1558 on)
Fischer von Erlach, Johann Bernhard (1656 Graz – Vienna 1723), architect
Fischer von Erlach, Joseph Emanuel (1693 Vienna – Vienna 1742), architect
Fontana, Carlo (1638 Brusata – Rome 1714), architect, sculptor
Friedrich II, also known as “Friedrick the Great” or as “Old Fritz” (1712 Berlin – Potsdam 1786), King of Prussia (ruled from 1740 to 1786)
Gambarini, Giuseppe (1680 Bologna – Casalecchio di Reno 1725), painter
Gennari, Benedetto the Younger (1633 Cento – Bologna 1715), painter
Götz, Joseph Matthias (1696 Bamberg – Munich 1760), sculptor, architect
Hattinger, Johann Bernhard (Augsburg, somewhere between 1702 und 1725), copper engraver
Hauzinger, Joseph (1728 Vienna – Vienna 1786), painter
Heinitz von Heintzenthal, Ignaz (1657 Vienna – Vienna 1742), painter
Heinrich IV (1553 Pau/Navarra – Paris 1610), King of France (ruled from 1589 to 1610), as Heinrich III, King of Navarra (from 1672 on)
Hildebrandt, Johann Lucas von (1668 Genova – Vienna 1745), architect
Huchtenburgh, Jan van (1646 Haarlem – Amsterdam 1733), painter of battle scenes, etcher, art dealer
Karl VI (1685 Vienna – Vienna 1740), Roman-German emperor and Archduke of Austria (ruled from 1711 to 1740)
Kleiner, Salomon (1700 Augsburg – Vienna 1761), draftsman, copper engraver
Kneller, Sir Godfrey (1646 Hannover – London 1723), painter
Koch, Ignaz Freiherr von (ca. 1697 Paderborn – Vienna 1763), secretary of Prince Eugene
Kollmann, Rainer (1699 Groß-Inzersdorf – Zwettl 1776), 54. Abbot of Cistercian monastery in Zwettl (from 1747 on)
König, Johann Ulrich von (1688 Esslingen – Dresden 1744), writer, librettist
Kupetzky, Johann (1666 Bözing or Prag – Nuremberg 1740), painter of portraits, genre and historical scenes, draftsman
Lanzani, Andrea (1641 Milan – Milan 1712), painter, fresco artist
Leopold I. (1640 Vienna – Vienna 1705), emperor of Holy Roman Empire (ruled 1658–1705), King of Hungary (ruled from 1655 to 1705)
Louis XIV (1638 Saint-Germain-en-Layé – Versailles 1715), King of France (from 1643 on)
Mancini, Olympia (1640 Rome – Brussels 1708), wife of Eugene Moritz of Savoy-Carignan, Eugene's mother
Maria Theresa (1717 Vienna – Vienna 1780), Archduchess of Austria, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia (ruled from 1740 to 1780), called herself “Roman Empress” from 1745 on
Maria Theresa of Austria (1638 Escorial/Madrid – Versailles 1683), wife of King Ludwig XIV of France
Marlborough, John Churchill Duke of (1650 Ashe, Devonshire – Cranbourn Lodge 1722), English commander
Maulbertsch, Franz Anton (1724 Langenargen – Vienna 1796), painter, fresco artist
Mauvillon, Eléazar (1712 Tarascon – Braunschweig 1799), Romanist, writer, private secretary of Elector-Prince Friedrich Augustus of Saxony
Mazarin (Mazarini), Jules (Giulio), Duke of Nevers (1602 Pescina/Abruzzia – Vincennes 1661), cardinal
Mérode-Westerloo, Jean-Philippe-Eugène Count of (Brussels 1674 – 1732 Castle of Mérode), officer serving in the French army and from 1705 on in the the Habsburg army
Mignard, Pierre, Gen. Mignard de Romaine (1612 Troyes – Paris 1695), painter
Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley (1689 London – London 1762), writer
Napoleon Bonaparte (1769 Ajaccio – St. Helena 1821), military commander, statesman, emperor
Pacassi, Nicolaus (1716 Wiener Neustadt – Vienna 1790), architect
Parodi, Domenico (1672 Genoa – Genoa 1742), Sculptor
Parrocel, Jacques-Ignace (1667 Avignon – Mons 1722), painter of battle scenes
Pascal, Blaise (1623 Clermont-Ferrand – Paris 1662), mathematician, physicist, writer, philosopher
Peikhart, Franciscus (1684–1752 oder 1753), Jesuit father, preacher
Permoser, Balthasar (1651 Kammer – Dresden 1732), sculptor
Philipp II. (1527 Valladolid – Escorial/Madrid 1598), King of Spain (from 1556 on), as Philipp I also King of Portugal (from 1580 on)
Pfalz, Liselotte (Elisabeth Charlotte von der (1652 Heidelberg – St. Cloud/Paris 1722), verheiratete Duchess of Orléans, sister-in-law of King Louis XIV of France
Plener, Ignaz Edler (from 1907 on: Baron) of (1810 Vienna – Vienna 1908), statesman
Pò, Giacomo del (1652 Rom – Naples 1726), painter
Pöllnitz, Karl Ludwig Baron von (1692 Issum – Berlin 1775), writer, lover of life
Porte du Theil, Jean-Gabriel de la (1742 Paris – 1815), historian
Prié, Hercule-Louis Turinetti, Marquis de (1658 Turin – Vienna 1726), diplomat, deputy governor of the Austrian Netherlands (1716–1726)
Rigaud, Hyacinthe (1659 Perpignan – Paris 1743), painter
Rochefoucauld, François Duc de La (1613 Paris – Paris 1680), officer, diplomat, writer
Roesner, Carl (1804 Vienna – Steyr 1869), architect
Rousseau, Jean-Baptiste (1670 Paris – La Genette 1741), writer
Sambach, Caspar Franz (1715 Wroclaw – Vienna 1795), painter
Saint-Saphorin, François-Louis de Pesme Baron de (1668 St. Saphorin – St. Saphorin 1737), diplomat, officer
Savoyen, Viktor Amadeus II Duke von (1666 Turin – Moncalieri 1732), King of Sicily (ruled 1713–1720), King of Sardinia (ruled 1720–1730)
Savoyen-Carignan, Emanuel Thomas von (1687 Paris – Vienna 1729), Eugene's nephew
Savoyen-Carignan, Eugene Moritz von (1635 Chambéry – Unna 1673), Eugene’s father
Savoyen-Carignan, Ludwig Thomas von (1657 Paris – Landau/Pfalz 1702), Eugene’s oldest brother
Savoyen-Carignan, Thomas Franz von (1597 Turin – Turin 1656), Eugene's grandfather
Savoyen-Carignan, Victoria (Anna Victoria) von (1683 Paris – Turin 1763), later: Sachsen-Hildburghausen, Eugene's niece and heiress
Schmutzer, Andreas (1700 Vienna – Vienna 1740), copper engraver
Schmutzer, Joseph (1683 Vienna – Vienna 1740), copper engraver
Schönborn, Friedrich Karl Count of (1674 Mainz – Würzburg 1746), vice-chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire (1705–1732), Prince-Prelate of Würzburg (from 1729)
Schuppen, Jacob van (1670 Fontainebleau – Vienna 1751), painter, director of the Imperial Academy in Vienna (from 1726)
Schulenburg, Johann Matthias Count of (1661 Emden – Verona 1747), officer, collector and patron of the arts
Sedelmayr, Jeremias Jakob (1706 Augsburg – Augsburg 1761), copper engraver
Sole, Giovanni Gioseffo dal (1654 Bologna – Bologna 1719), painter
Solimena, Francesco (1657 Canale di Serino – Barra bei Neapel 1747), (star) painter
Stadion(-Warthausen), Johann Philipp Count of (1763 Warthausen – Baden 1824), diplomat, foreign minister (1805–1809) and finance minister (ab 1815)
Starhemberg, Guido(bald) (1657 Graz – Vienna 1737), commander, Great Master of the German Order of the Teutonic Knights
Strudel, Peter (ca. 1660 Cles/Nonstal – Vienna 1714), painter, founding father of the Vienna Academy
Tamm, Franz Werner (1658 Hamburg – Vienna 1724), painter
Tessé, René of Froullay, Count (1648 Le Mans – Yerres 1725), marshal, diplomat, Kamaldulenser (ab 1722)
Thun, Johann Ernst Graf (1643 Prag – Salzburg 1709), Bishop of Seckau (1679–1687), Prince Archbishop of Salzburg (1687–1709)
Tornioli, Niccolò (1598 Siena –1651 Rome), painter
Troger, Paul (1698 Welsberg – Vienna 1762), Painter, rector of the Vienna Academy (1754–1757)
Unterberger, Michael Angelo (1695 Cavalese – Vienna 1758), painter, rector of the Vienna Academy (1751–1754, 1757–1758)
Vendôme, Louis-Joseph de Bourbon, Duc de (1654 Paris – Vinaròs 1712), French commander
Villars, Louis-Claude-Hector Duc de (1653 Moulins – Turin 1734), General-Marshal of France
Voysin de la Noiraye, Daniel (1655–1717), French war minister (1709–1715) and chancellor (1714–1717)
Wackerbarth, August Christoph Reichsgraf of (1662 Kogel bei Ratzeburg – Dresden 1734), Saxony general field marshal and minister of state
Wilhelm III of Orange-Nassau (1650 The Hague – Kensington 1702), governor of the Netherlands (from 1672 on), King of England, Scotland and Ireland (from 1689 on)
Zogelmann (Zagelmann), Johann (1720 Teschen/Silesia – Vienna 1758), painter
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Bruno Grimschitz, Johann Lucas von Hildebrandt, Vienna/Munich 1959

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**Agnes Husslein-Arco**
Agnes Husslein-Arco, since 2007 director of the Belvedere in Vienna, is art historian, curator of numerous exhibitions on classical modernism and contemporary art as well as author and editor of publications on these subjects. In 1981 she opened the Vienna branch of Sotheby’s, which she ran until 2000. In 1988 she also became the head of the Sotheby branches in Budapest and Prague. In the 1990s, Agnes Husslein-Arco was Director of European Development at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York, from 2001 to 2003 she was director of the Rupertinum in Salzburg and from 2003 to 2005 founding director of the Museum der Moderne Salzburg. From 2002 to 2004 she organized the creation of MMKK – Museum Moderner Kunst Carinthia in Klagenfurt.

**Andreas Gamerith**
The research of art historian Andreas Gamerith focuses on phenomena of baroque painting, in particular questions of form and content. Deciphering thematic concepts and references but also the way that the ‘fresco’ is conveyed to today’s museum visitor are some of the important accents – illustrated exemplarily in the exhibition *Troger. Blau ist keine Kunst* at the Altenburg Abbey in 2012. His publications include studies on Paul Troger and Viennese painting around 1750, in which the crisis of late-baroque fresco painting was addressed for the first time as a socio-cultural subject. Following a dissertation scholarship in Vienna and Rome Gameritz now directs the art collection and the library of Zwettl Abbey.

**Leopold Auer**
Leopold Auer is honorary professor of the Auxiliary Sciences of History at the University of Vienna, a member of the Institute for Austrian Historical Research and former director of the Austrian State Archives. His research interests are military history, international relations in the modern period and auxiliary sciences of history.

**Georg Lechner**
Georg Lechner studied art history at the University of Vienna where he wrote his dissertation on baroque painter Franz Carl Remp (2010). Since 2009 he has been working in the baroque collection of the Belvedere. In addition to Austrian baroque painting, his research and publications have been on portrait art in general, oil sketches, the interactions between painting and graphic print as well as the history of the Belvedere and its collections.
**Richard Kurdiiovsky**
Richard Kurdiiovsky completed his studies in art history in Vienna in 2008 with a dissertation on the architect Carl Hasenauer. He worked as free collaborator for the Architectural Collection of the Albertina Vienna. In 2001 he was assistant at the Institute of Art History at the University of Vienna. Since 2005 he has been a member of the Commission for Art History of the Austrian Academy of Science. His research interests are Central European architecture, urban history and culture from the baroque period to the 20th century.

**Sylvia Schönolt**
Sylvia Schönolt completed her architecture studies at the Vienna University of Technology with a specialization in monument conservation. As a student she gathered experience in various architectural firms in Vienna and Salzburg and completed internships in the department for monument conservation of the Federal Office for the Care of Monuments in the former Mauerbach Charter-house. She spent about ten years working for a Vienna architectural firm which specialized in the renovation of listed buildings. Since 2008 Sylvia Schönolt has been working for the Federal Office for Monument Care in the Landeskonservatorat (regional conservation office) for Vienna. She was also involved in the renovation and building at the site of the Federal Ministry of Finances.
COLOPHON

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this in future editions.

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