

*An Architectural Progress  
in the Renaissance and Baroque  
Sojourns In and Out of Italy*

Essays in Architectural History  
Presented to Hellmut Hager on his Sixty-sixth Birthday

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and  
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Papers in Art History from The Pennsylvania State University  
Volume VIII  
1992

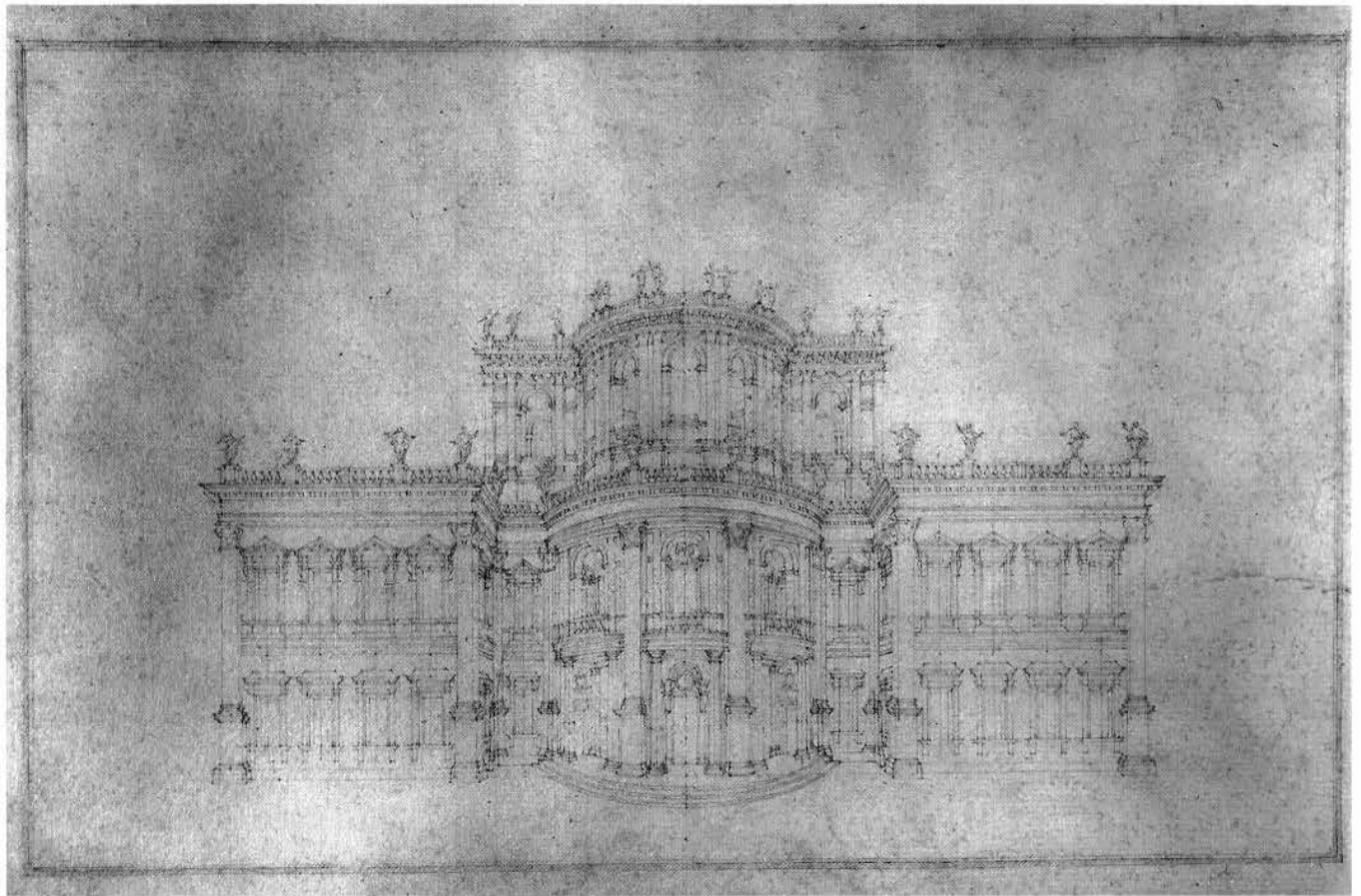


Fig. 21-13 Here attributed to J. B. Fischer von Erlach, design for the Garden Palace Building, drawing. Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York.



Fig. 20–16 Ascanio Vitozzi, Contrada Nuova, Turin, 1615. From Augusto Cavallari Murat, ed., *Forma urbana ed architettura nella Torino barocca*, Turin, 1968, vol. 1.

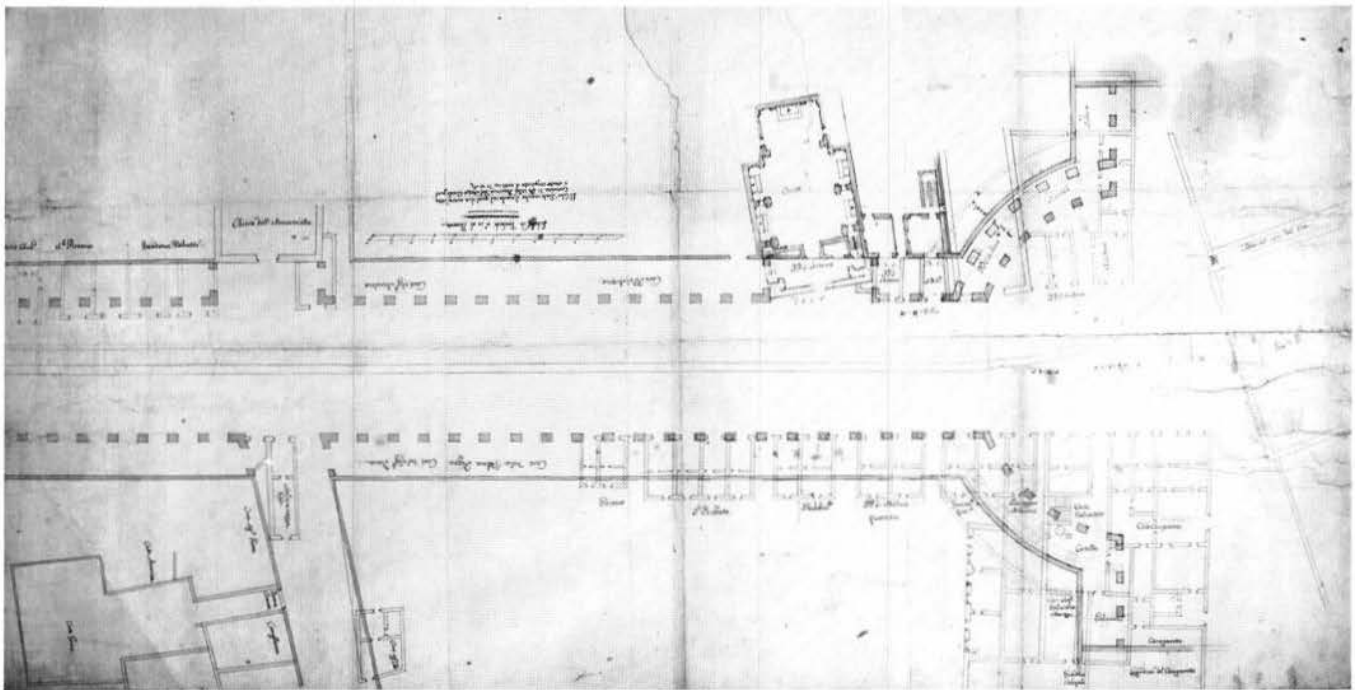


Fig. 20–17 Amedeo di Castellamonte, Contrada di Po and exedra at Po gate, Turin, 1673–1683, ink and watercolor. Turin, Archivio di Stato, Sez. Ia, Carte topografiche per A e B, Torino.

# Fischer von Erlach, Tiepolo, and the Unity of the Visual Arts\*

# 21

I am concerned in this paper to make two principal observations about the history of what has become one of the leading ideals of modern aesthetics, the notion of a unity among the various visual arts. The idea is commonly, if quite anachronistically, sold under the label "Gesamtkunstwerk." Too few people are aware that this term was coined about 1850 by Richard Wagner to express his holistic conception of an integrated music-drama-spectacle. My observations are in the nature of afterthoughts on a book I wrote more than a decade ago about the artist for whom, and the work of his in which, a concerted interdependence between architecture, sculpture and painting, first became a fully and consciously conceived ideal.<sup>1</sup> I refer to the famous (infamous, according to some) chapel of St. Teresa designed by Gianlorenzo Bernini exactly in the middle of the seventeenth century, in the church of the order of the Discalced Carmelites in Rome, S. Maria della Vittoria (Figs. 21-1 and 21-2). Never before had there been such an explicit and thoroughgoing totality as appears here. The entire chapel is conceived as one dramatic event which focuses on the Ecstasy of St. Teresa taking place at the altar, while gesticulating skeletons of the dead rise from the pavement, deceased members of the patron's family bear witness from the balconies at the sides, and from the vault above a veritable cloudburst of angels pours down. Consider also the individual parts of the design. The architectural framework is integrated in an unprecedented way (the base and entablature moldings incorporate the frontispiece in one continuous order); it accommodates the sculptured altarpiece in an unprecedented way (integrating the tradition of a niche sunk in the wall to contain sculpture, with that of a tabernacle protruding from the wall to frame an altarpiece); and it incorporates natural light in an unprecedented way (golden rays made of wood continue the light streaming down from a window inserted in the little cupola above). The al-

tarpiece merges the principle of an isolated figure group with that of a narrative relief, and incorporates the natural light in both its form and its meaning (do the plastic rays belong to the architecture or to the sculpture? Is Teresa impregnated by the angel or illuminated by the light?). Finally, the heavenly apparition painted in the vault seems to rise beyond and descend into the actual space of the chapel via modeled polychrome stucco forms that marry painting and sculpture to the architectural members.

Bernini's integrative art was clearly understood and articulated by his early biographers, who, no doubt echoing his own self-evaluation, allowed that he was the first to attempt to unify architecture with painting and sculpture in such a way as to make of them all a beautiful whole, *un bel composto*. This new ideal of interdependence and coherence worked a major cultural revolution whose effects can be traced down through the Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk* to the multimedia artwork performances of our own time.<sup>2</sup> I do not think it accidental that this grandiose conceptual development should have been realized in nineteenth-century Germany, indeed in South Germany, and this brings me to the first basic observation I want to make (the second will come at the very end of this paper). Bernini himself predicted, no doubt with a certain superstitious fatalism, that after his death his lucky star would decline; and so it did in his native country, with the advent of Neo-Classicism and the associated rationalism of the Enlightenment. Instead, the true legacy, the most intense, pervasive and fruitful progeny of the mystical, unitarian vision epitomized by Bernini and his Teresa chapel were produced north of the Alps in Central Europe—Southern Germany, Bohemia and Austria.<sup>3</sup> Not since the time of Albrecht Dürer had the North fallen so passionately in love with the South, or reinterpreted what it found there with such power and originality.<sup>4</sup>



I shall illustrate this process by considering briefly two episodes that are important historically and seem to me symptomatic of the nature of the process itself. They concern the two artists who played perhaps the leading roles in the creation of the central European Baroque, Fischer von Erlach and Giambattista Tiepolo.

A key to Fischer's contribution in this regard is provided by a famous engraved plate published in 1721 in his *Entwurf einer historischen Architectur* (Sketch for an Historical Architecture). The plate shows what Fischer refers to as a Lust-Garten-Gebäude—a pleasure garden building—a design that proved to be of seminal importance in the subsequent development of European art (Fig. 21-3).<sup>5</sup> The design reappears in innumerable versions in drawings and actual buildings by Fischer and others; it was enormously popular and influential. This unparalleled success is probably the explanation for the fact that the engraving of the Pleasure Garden Building is one of the few illustrations in the *Historische Architectur* that Fischer signed not once but twice. The fourth book of the publication is devoted to illustrations of works referred to in the title as “devised and drawn by the Author” (“einige Gebäude von des Autoris Erfindung Zeichnung”), all of which bear the signature *J. B. F. v. E. inventor et delin(eator)*. In this case Fischer added a caption stating explicitly that he had himself “invented, drawn and provided the ground plan” (“so von mir inventieret, gezeichnet Grundriss davon gegeben worden, vor den N. N. in Wien”). It was as though he was making a special claim to the paternity of this prodigious offspring, with the warning to his readers, “beware of imitations.”

Wherein lay the originality of which Fischer was so proud? The success of the design was surely due in part to its noble lineage. It has long been recognized that Fischer quoted liberally from Bernini's great unexecuted projects for Louis XIV's rebuilding of the Louvre. The colossal order of pilasters, the convex central pavilion flanked by two rectangular blocks, the balustraded roof line decorated with statues—all unmistakably recall the first proposal Bernini submitted to Paris from Rome in 1664 (Fig. 21-4).<sup>6</sup> Fischer evidently sought to endow his Viennese patron with a noble vision which the French monarch had failed to realize.<sup>7</sup>

There are also many differences from Bernini's Louvre design and these are crucial to a full understanding of the genesis and importance of Fischer's project, whose plan and side elevation are known from related drawings (Figs. 21-5 and 21-6).<sup>8</sup> To begin with, the orientation of the oval midsection is turned ninety degrees, so that the axis becomes longitudinal, rather

than transverse; and the façade is duplicated at the rear, so that the open vestibule on the ground floor becomes an inner, vaulted courtyard. The oval salone or vestibule had become a commonplace in palace design since the early seventeenth century, but the orientation was almost universally transverse. Fischer must have developed the idea for a longitudinally oriented oval chamber projecting at the centers of equal and opposite façades from a chateau designed by Louis Le Vaux (Fig. 21-7).<sup>9</sup> Le Vaux's chamber is not a true oval, however, but a square with two semicircular ends. And whereas Le Vau had marked the inner square by columns, Fischer created open, annular galleries around what becomes a kind of internal court. Fischer must have borrowed this latter concept from Rome where, in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, a colonnaded oval courtyard appears in a study by Borromini for the Palazzo Carpegna (Fig. 21-8).<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, the domeless cupola of Bernini's first design is replaced in Fischer's project by an open belvedere. This substitution was highly significant since it rejected a major concession Bernini had made to French design. The motif had been invented by Antoine Le Pautre about 1650 (Fig. 21-9), and Bernini adapted it as the crowning motif, literally as well as figuratively, to signify the Louvre's royal status.<sup>11</sup> Fischer's rejection may thus be seen, at least in part, as a deliberate act of architectural politics, just as was the motif he adopted instead. The open arcaded belvedere had been a distinctive feature of palace architecture for at least a century in Rome, where it added a conspicuous sign of distinction to the dwellings of the highest nobility, including the pope.<sup>12</sup> The structure might take various forms, closed or open with arcades, rectilinear or curvilinear (Fig. 21-10), and more or less integrated visually with the main façade of the building.<sup>13</sup> The most notable achievement on this later score was Borromini's projects for the palace of the family of Pope Innocent X Pamphili on Piazza Navona, dating from the mid-seventeenth century, where the vertical lines of the pilasters and the horizontal balustrade surmounted by statues respond to the corresponding features of the main order below (Fig. 21-11).<sup>14</sup> In adapting this specifically Roman and Borrominesque idea Fischer seems to have adapted it to the wide, domeless cupola of Bernini by adding extensions of the belvedere over the reentrant bays, so that the curvilinear and rectilinear elements of the plan intersect at all levels. The resulting upper silhouette strikingly recalls a well-known project by Bernini for a reconstruction of the apse of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome (Fig. 21-12)—to which Fischer added the vertical integration inspired by Borromini.<sup>15</sup>

The result of all these changes is a more compact and taller silhouette, with a dominant center section

having three levels of open galleries that is also closely integrated with the design as a whole. Fischer in effect superimposed the crowning feature of Roman palace architecture on a basic scheme conceived as a French royal residence, to create a German "pleasure garden building" whose primary function, as the name implies, was to express the status of its owner. From this subtle, knowing, and carefully reasoned amalgam of precedents Fischer synthesized what can only be described as a new form of domestic architecture, a coherent image that united the pompous grandeur and monumentality of an urban palace with a lithe, airy grace appropriate to a suburban villa.<sup>16</sup> The concept responded in architectural terms to the new Germanic ideal of a noble, powerful, and cultivated elite, transferred from Rome and surpassing Paris, that developed at the Hapsburg court in Vienna after the defeat of the Turks in 1683.<sup>17</sup> This, surely, was the invention Fischer sought to patent.

Fischer's claim to the authorship of the type is particularly interesting in the light of a recently discovered drawing that I suspect may be his handiwork and the progenitor of the whole series of Pleasure Garden Buildings. The drawing, in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum in New York, clearly shows the same structure, albeit with a number of peculiar features that are very meaningful in our context (Figs. 21-13 and 21-14).<sup>18</sup> The fact that the sheet is heavily rubbed (making it difficult to read in a photograph) and the fact that most of the closely related versions, including that shown in Fischer's *Historische Architectur*, are very similar in size, within a few millimeters, suggest that the drawing might actually have served as a model for the others.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, the size is relatively small for such a highly developed architectural rendering, which suggests that the drawing may have been intended from the start as a book illustration. Above the central portal is a coat of arms, the shield of which is blank but which displays the papal tiara and keys. The drawing was evidently made in Rome as a generic project for a pope. In the engraving and the other related projects the colossal order has normal Ionic, Corinthian or Composite capitals, whereas here the capitals have inverted volutes, a heretical motif unknown in Bernini's work but quite common in that of Borromini (Fig. 21-15; see figs. 331, 335, 336, 337, 340).<sup>20</sup> This allusion is reinforced by the technique and style of the drawing: a sharp pencil used to produce extremely precise and meticulous lines ending in a multitude of point-marks that impart a particular, staccato rhythm to the whole—all characteristics that have their origin in the drawings of Borromini. I need hardly reiterate what might be called the second axiom of Fischer scholarship, namely, if Fischer admired anyone as much as Bernini it was Borromini. Other drawings by Fischer show equally close observation of Borromini's mannerisms, and even

a combination of techniques. In a study by Fischer for the sacrament tabernacle of a church (Fig. 21-16), the regular parallel hatching in pencil comes from Borromini (Fig. 21-17), while the delicate pen line shaded by washes reflects Bernini's way of illustrating projects through shimmering effects of light and dark (cf. Fig. 21-12).<sup>21</sup>

It would appear that, after preliminary studies broadly sketched in pen or charcoal, Fischer made a project drawing such as that in New York in the precisely defined and modelled mode of Borromini; for the subsequent, presentation stage he shifted to the richly modulated chiaroscuro pen-and-wash technique that distinguishes Bernini's presentation drawings (cf. also Fig. 21-6).<sup>22</sup> Fischer adopted the latter style in another, somewhat more elaborate version of the Pleasure Garden Building which he proposed to Prince Johann Andrea von Liechtenstein about the time he returned to Vienna in 1687 from Rome, where he was reputed to have spent sixteen years in the circle of Bernini; the drawing, which actually bears the signature of Fischer in Italian, "Giov. Bernardo Fischer inv. et delin." (Fig. 21-18), belonged to the architect Domenico Martinelli, whose career closely paralleled that of Fischer in Rome and in Vienna.<sup>23</sup> The same style also appears in a pair of drawings showing a variety of more or less familiar Roman monuments, mostly by Bernini (Figs. 21-19 and 21-20).<sup>24</sup> One of the sheets has been attributed to Fischer, the other to the workshop of Bernini. In fact, the drawings are so similar in style and composition as virtually to form pendants, and taken together they closely parallel the design of several of Fischer's engraved projects, including the Pleasure Garden Building. Fischer sets the light, delicately drawn building in the middle ground of a deep terrace, flanked by tall, darkly inked structures in the foreground. The whole composition has the effect of a stage set framed by a proscenium, and is practically duplicated in the two drawings.<sup>25</sup> Given the similarity of their "theatrical" format to that of the *Historische Architectur* illustrations, and the fact that one of the drawings (Fig. 21-19) also belonged to Domenico Martinelli, the most likely attribution of both sheets is to Fischer.<sup>26</sup>

The New York project bespeaks a deliberate effort to combine and synthesize the antipodes of Roman Baroque architecture, Bernini and Borromini. The drawing, in fact, has the earmarks of an academic exercise and Professor Lorenz has indicated exactly the context in which this kind of amalgamation of styles took place, the Academy of St. Luke in Rome, where aspiring young architects were subject to a whole range of idioms. Professor Lorenz has even indicated the very moment when a project of this sort would have been uniquely appropriate, the Academy's prize competition

of 1683.<sup>27</sup> We do not know the students who participated in the competition, but we do know its subject, which is suggestive indeed in our context: the students were to design a "palazzo nobile in villa," a noble palace in the form of a villa, a formula that perfectly describes the merger of urban and suburban traditions in Fischer's pleasure garden building. The phrase was used years later by the architect Carlo Fontana for the same project for Prince Liechtenstein for which Fischer proposed his famous Lustgartengebäude.<sup>28</sup> It may even be significant that the competition drawings for 1683 are mysteriously missing from the archive of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome. Domenico Martinelli, who left Rome for Vienna in 1690, was appointed Professor at the Academy in 1683; it was he who organized and set the problem for the competition that year. It happens that a major collection of drawings that once belonged to Martinelli is still preserved, in Milan. We have seen that the autograph drawing for the Pleasure Garden Building, as well as one of the "Roman monuments" drawings, belonged to Martinelli. I suggest that our drawing is an academic exercise by Fischer von Erlach for the competition of 1683.<sup>29</sup> (Martinelli, 1650–1718, was only six years older than Fischer, 1656–1723, and I would not be surprised to learn that the theme was actually proposed by the younger artist.) If this hypothesis is correct it would fully justify his proud claim in the inscription on the engraved plate of the *Historische Architectur* that he was the inventor and executor of the design; if I am wrong, we should have to call him a liar.

The Hapsburgs ruled what was called the Holy Roman Empire, the *Sacrum Imperium Romanum*, and it has been said that the secular and religious domains cannot be separated in the development of the so-called *Reichsstil*.<sup>30</sup> I would like to illustrate this point, as well as reinforce my argument concerning the synthetic nature of the process that created the style, by offering some observations on the etiology, specifically the "Romanitas," of Fischer's most familiar building, the church of St. Charles Borromeo, the *Karlskirche* in Vienna, designed for the emperor Charles VI (Fig. 21–21).<sup>31</sup> It has often been noted that the design incorporates essentially two elements of Roman monumental culture. One of these was ancient and imperial—the triumphal columns with spiral reliefs, here devoted not to the heroic acts of the emperors Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, but to those of St. Charles. The other element is the façade of the church of S. Agnese designed during the 1640s by Borromini and situated on the Piazza Navona, the site of the ancient circus of Domitian in Rome (Fig. 21–22). Fischer's design is thus a profoundly meditated amalgam of ancient and modern elements intended to illustrate the supersession of Christianity over paganism, and the succession of the Hapsburgs

to the ancient emperors. It must be understood that the whole symbolic enterprise is based on an almost mystical play of words, or rather, of names. The name of Charles VI, who became Emperor in 1711, echoes that of the saint to whom the church is dedicated, that of Charles V, the founder of the Hapsburg dynasty, and that of Charlemagne, Charles the Great, who first established the Germanic succession to the ancient Roman emperors.<sup>32</sup> The pair of columns alludes not only to the Roman imperial columns but also to the paired columns that Charles V had adopted as his personal and family emblem in reference to the columns of Hercules, symbolizing the extent of his domain to the limits of the known world. Fischer had not been the first to associate the ancient spiral columns as a pair.<sup>33</sup> It is significant that they were first combined in the late sixteenth century by Pope Sixtus V, who restored them, exorcised them of their pagan demons, and converted them to Christianity by surmounting them with statues of Saints Peter and Paul and providing them with inscriptions exalting the triumph of Christianity over paganism as the universal religion. In a way that strikingly anticipates Fischer's design, miniature versions of the spiral columns were placed like trophies flanking the central cupola of the temporary catafalque that was erected at Sixtus' funeral (Fig. 21–23). The columns also flank a centralized building with a cupola in a representation of the ancient temple of Virtue and Honor in Rome (Fig. 21–24). The illustration is one of many such imaginary reconstructions published early in the seventeenth century by Giacomo Lauro in a volume that became a primary source for ideas about ancient monuments for generations of architects. The temple, as its name implies, embodied the ancient sacralization of the idea that honor is the reward of virtue, and Lauro includes two statues of Hercules as the hero *par excellence* who embodied that idea. The idea was singularly appropriate to the theme of the *Karlskirche* as the mystical conflation of the emperor embodied in Charles V, of the Holy Roman Empire embodied in the Hapsburgs, and of Christianity embodied in St. Charles Borromeo.

Neither of these prototypes is sufficient to explain fully the genesis of Fischer's image, however, for two reasons. They are purely metaphorical juxtapositions, neither of which suggests the actual use of the spiral columns; and neither suggests an association between the spiral columns and the Hapsburg emblem. Both these steps were taken by Bernini. In the early 1660s Bernini designed a palace for the family of the reigning Pope Alessandro Chigi facing on the Piazza Colonna, so named because the column of Marcus Aurelius stood in its center. To complete his grandiose project Bernini proposed recreating the ancient tradition of a palace facing on a circus marked by two metas, or turning posts,



at either end. This had been the arrangement of the original palace of the emperors on the Palatine, which faced on the Circus Maximus (Fig. 21–25), and of the palace Borromini designed for Innocent X, Chigi's predecessor, on the Piazza Navona, to which the church of S. Agnese was the complement. Bernini had the extraordinary vision of using the column of Marcus Aurelius as one of the metas and literally moving the Column of Trajan from the Forum Romanum to provide the second. We know of this episode from the diary of Bernini's visit to Paris in 1665 to design the Louvre for Louis XIV. Bernini described the idea in the context of an equally remarkable proposal for the installation of the great equestrian monument he was to execute of the king. He would have placed the monument opposite the west façade of the palace, flanked by two great spiral columns. The columns would thus have recalled the ancient imperial columns as well as the Hercules columns of the Hapsburgs, whose power Louis had broken and superseded with the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1661. Bernini's project was never carried out but it was transferred to Vienna, with the original, straight Hapsburg columns reinstated, for a project for an equestrian monument of Charles VI (Fig. 21–26). There could be no clearer visualizations of the revival of the imperial ideal than this act of cooptation in the rivalry with France, and the explicit reference to Rome in the spiral columns of the Karlskirche facade.<sup>34</sup> Here, just as in the Pleasure Garden Building, Fischer succeeded in bringing the great antagonists of his architectural heritage, Bernini and Borromini, into fateful harmony.

The case I want to make for Giambattista Tiepolo is analogous. The overlapping vault decoration of the Teresa Chapel was greatly expanded and enriched in the nave of the Gesù, painted thirty years later, in the 1670s, by Baciccio under Bernini's guidance (Fig. 21–27). Here the great, turbulent masses of figures pass in utter abandon from the loftiest reaches of the heavens past the architectural moldings that frame the scene, into the space of the nave, obscuring the coffering of the vault behind. This implosion-explosion principle appears in Tiepolo's work for the first time with full force in the ceiling he executed toward the middle of the eighteenth century in the church of S. Maria di Nazareth in Venice (Figs. 21–28 and 21–29).<sup>35</sup> The vault was destroyed by a bomb during the First World War, but a photograph of the whole exists and several fragments are preserved. Tiepolo's close dependence on the Gesù vault is evident, not only for the effects of dynamic movement and the devices of illusionism, but also for the method Bernini prescribed for composing such monumental paintings in terms of large masses, which he called "macchie" or splotches. It is a fact of great significance that Tiepolo adapted this revolutionary

approach to mural decoration for this particular commission—S. Maria di Nazareth, better known as the church of the Scalzi, being the home of the Discalced Carmelites in Venice. The Venetian Discalced, who had founded the church a century earlier, were an offshoot of the Roman branch of the order, with which they retained close ties. This relationship became critical in the second quarter of the eighteenth century when the decoration of the Venetian church was nearing completion. The sumptuousness of the marble revetments and other adornments came under attack as immodest for a monastic church, to which accusation an anonymous member of the Venetian congregation published a reply in 1734. The tract defended the propriety of the lavishness as a tribute to the Virgin Queen of Heaven, and cited expressly as the model none other than the famous showpiece of the Discalced order in Rome, S. Maria della Vittoria.<sup>36</sup> The ceiling in Venice was commissioned a few years after this publication, as the final step in the decoration of the building. It was therefore no accident that Tiepolo followed the precedent established in S. Maria della Vittoria by Bernini's Teresa chapel, including the famous balconies with perspectivized interiors inhabited by animated witnesses.

There are, of course, many differences between Tiepolo's work and the Roman prototypes, notably in the dematerialization of the masses into diaphanous tonal contrasts and in the open airiness of the composition. It is clear that Tiepolo deliberately set out to amalgamate the Roman tradition of sculptural weight and mass with his native Venetian heritage of luminous colorism. It was this amalgam that he carried a few years later to Würzburg in Bavaria, where he in turn married it to the architecture of Johann Balthasar Neumann (Fig. 21–30). Neumann himself, I might add, was no less indebted than Fischer von Erlach to the Roman heritages of Bernini and Borromini.

What I am ultimately concerned with here is not simply the historical fact of the development of the integrative style, the *bel composto*, that is perhaps the chief glory of Baroque art, but with the way in which it was achieved. The common denominator between Fischer von Erlach and Tiepolo is not only that they transferred to the North what they had learned in Rome, but that—and this is the second fundamental observation I wanted to make—the procedure, the very method they followed in forming their styles was integrative; the procedure was of the same nature as the style itself and the cultural and political climate in which it developed. Consideration in this light lends additional meaning to the terms sometimes applied to the central European Baroque, *Reichsstil* or *Kaiserstil*—Imperial style—in reference to its geographic focus in the do-



mains and nascent ideology of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>37</sup> I would emphasize, however, that the ideology was not purely secular; it involved a particular amalgam of church and state, of the spiritual and the mundane—epitomized perhaps by the unique system of Prince-Bishoprics, which, besides the nobility and the imperial court, provided many of the great enterprises in which the style flourished. No wonder there emerged here and nowhere else, now and not before, such a concerted effort to reconcile the disparate legacies of European culture, and unite them in a new, surpassing synthesis.

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## Notes

\* The gist of this paper was first presented at a meeting of the College Art Association in 1988.

1 Lavin, 1980.

2 Euler-Rolle, 1985 and 1989 and Lorenz, 1989 offer salutary critiques of the habit of applying anachronistically to the Austrian and South German Baroque the notion of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* as a preconceived and systematically elaborated formal and thematic program.

3 Some recent contributions on this theme are Kuhn, 1980; Hager, 1983; Buscioni, 1983–1984; Lorenz, 1983–1984.

4 The predilection for Italian artists among the Viennese patrons of the period is emphasized by Lorenz, 1989, pp. 23f.

5 My work is profoundly indebted to the magisterial study of Fischer's Pleasure Garden Building by Lorenz, 1979, supplemented by Lorenz, 1980 and 1984.

6 On Bernini's Louvre projects see Borsi, 1980, pp. 132–138, 334–335.

7 Rivalry with France was one of the major motivating factors in the Hapsburg cultural politics of the period, as has recently been emphasized anew by Polleross, 1986, pp. 87ff., and at greater length by Kovács, 1986, pp. 68ff.; see also p. 503 above.

8 On the plan, in Fischer's Codex Montenuovo at the Albertina, Lorenz, 1979, pp. 63f.; on the elevation, which came from the Pacetti collection in Rome, see Lorenz, 1979, p. 60.

9 On Le Vau's chateau at Raincy and the oval hall in domestic buildings, see Berger, 1976 (a reference for which I am greatly indebted to Susan Munshower), and 1969, pp. 27f.

10 Cf. Portoghesi, 1968, plate XCII. Borromini, in turn, may have been indebted to Serlio, 1619, VII, pp. 2f., 30f., 230f.; also Rosenfeld, 1969, pp. 161f.

11 See Berger, 1966, who notes (p. 43) that Louis Le Vau adopted the motif in his project for the Louvre that was sent to Rome for comments from Italian architects, including Bernini; also Berger, 1969, pp. 29f.

12 See Elling, 1950, and the recent discussion in Courtright, 1990, pp. 81ff.

13 On the drawing by Carapicchia, Figure 21–10, which won the Academy competition in 1681, cf. Lorenz 1979, p. 60, and the discussion in Smith, 1987, pp. 246ff., who regards the belvedere as elliptical in plan.

14 Portoghesi, 1967, p. 181, plate XCVII.

15 On Bernini's project, which dates from 1667–1669, see Borsi, 1980, p. 340.

16 Interestingly enough the central oval salone (albeit transverse rather than longitudinal) first appeared in domestic architecture in the Palazzo Barberini in Rome, a seminal building in the history of the merger of the palace-villa types that culminates in Fischer's design; the villa-like aspects of the Barberini palace have often been emphasized (references in Waddy, 1990, p. 223). On the definition of the merged type, see p. 502 above.

17 Lorenz (1985) has been at pains to emphasize that the Viennese nobility were the main early patrons of the new style, which did not become an imperial mode until the reign of Charles VI (1711–1740).

18 First published, with an attribution to the workshop of Bernini, by Connors, 1982, pp. 33ff. In a splendid analysis of the drawing, Sladek (1983, pp. 135ff.) reached virtually the same

conclusion as myself, except that I take the further steps of identifying the drawing as the progenitor of the Palace Garden Building, and attributing it to Fischer; unfortunately, the extended discussion was omitted in the published version of Sladek's dissertation (1985, p. 484, note 153). Lorenz, 1991, p. 336, overlooked Sladek's contribution.

The drawing, which lacks a watermark, stemmed from the collection of Giovanni Piancastelli (1845–1926), Director of the Galleria Borghese in Rome until it became a public museum in 1901–1902.

- 19 The dimensions (in millimeters, height before width) of the drawings and buildings are as follows:

*Historische Architektur* (Fig. 21–4):

Overall	Building
260 x 420	142 x 260
Edinburgh (Lorenz, 1980, fig. 169):	
184 x 276	139 x 262
Zagreb 70 (Lorenz, 1979, fig. 73):	
200 x 374	200 x 374
Zagreb 71 (Lorenz, 1979, fig. 77):	
342 x 469	125 x 262
Milan (Fig. 21–18):	
405 x 810	166 x 555
Cooper-Hewitt (Figs. 21–13, 21–14):	
252 x 379	134 x 253

- 20 On Borromini's passion for inverted volutes, see Steinberg, 1977, pp. 208–217.
- 21 On Fischer's tabernacle drawing in Zagreb see Schneider, 1932, p. 270; for Borromini's tabernacle drawing, Portoghesi, 1967, plate XVI.
- 22 Some comments on Fischer as a draughtsman will be found in Aurenhammer, 1973, pp. 171–174.
- 23 Lorenz, 1978–1979, pp. 54f, was able to identify the coat of arms displayed over the central balcony as that of Johann Andrea, and dated the drawing "about 1687."
- 24 The two drawings have not heretofore been connected. For Figure 21–19 (257 x 417mm) see Lorenz, 1984, pp. 647f., and 1991, p. 326, with tentative attribution to Fischer; for Figure 21–20 (337 x 467mm), Connors, 1982, p. 35, attributed to Bernini workshop.

- 25 The scenographic character of our Figure 21–19 was noted when it was first published by Oechslin, 1975, p. 149, fig. 72.
- 26 On the Milan albums that belonged to Martinelli, which include our Figures 21–18 and 21–19, see Lorenz, 1991, p. 320.
- 27 Cf. Lorenz, 1979, pp. 74ff.; 1980; 1991, p. 18. The competition is also discussed by Smith, 1987, pp. 266f., 534ff.
- 28 See the letter by Fontana dated December 4, 1696, published by Lorenz, 1978–1979, p. 68.
- 29 The size of the Cooper-Hewitt drawing is not inconsistent with those known to have been made for the Academy competitions; e.g., that by Carapicchia, which won first prize in 1681, is 280 x 420 mm. (Fig. 21–10, cf. note 13 above). Lorenz (1980, pp. 174f; 1991, p. 18, note 39) had already associated the drawings in Edinburgh (see note 19 above) and Berlin (Fig. 21–6), which also came from Rome, with the 1683 competition.
- 30 On this point see Polleross, 1983, p. 196, citing Sedlmayr, 1959–1960, pp. 152f., 181ff.
- 31 See the study by Fergusson, 1970, with earlier bibliography.
- 32 On the name symbolism see Sedlmayr, 1976, pp. 162, 180; Matsche, 1981, pp. 201ff.; Polleross, 1985, pp. 197f.; Kovács, 1986, p. 77.
- 33 For what follows concerning the paired columns, see the chapter on "Bernini's Image of the Sun King" in Lavin, 1992.
- 34 Bernini's projects for paired columns in Rome and at the Louvre were noted in connection with the Karlskirche by Dreger, 1934, pp. 122 note 5.
- 35 See the fine study of this work by Barcham, 1979.
- 36 Cf. Barcham, 1979, p. 438.
- 37 The notion of a *Reichsstil*, first elaborated by Sedlmayr in 1938 in an article titled "Die politische Bedeutung des deutschen Barock" and in his monograph of Fischer (1956, 1976), has been the subject of careful critique, especially for its political associations, by Lorenz, 1979; in a later reprinting of his essay Sedlmayr added,

for the benefit of foreign readers, that the concept referred to the "Reich" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (1959–1960, p. 363: "Für ausländische Leser füge ich hinzu, dass der Begriff des Reichstils, 'der Kaiserstil mit einer Tendenz zum Reichsstil', sich auf das 'Reich' des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts bezieht."). I am perfectly in accord with Lorenz's definition, in this context, of Fischer's persistent interest in Bernini's Louvre, which "non sembra casuale: il creatore des *Reichsstil* (stile imperiale asburgico) si riferisce, in un processo di scelta precisa, all'opera nella quale Gian Lorenzo ha tentato di creare una forma architettonica per il Regno di Francia. La sua opera, come chiaramente commentarono i contemporanei, tendeva allo 'stile imperiale', cioè a creare un linguaggio nuovo, adeguato alla più forte posizione dell'Impero dopo il trionfo contro i Turchi e, in tal modo, a superare la Francia del Re Sole almeno nel campo della rappresentazione architettonica." (1983–1984, p. 655). Important recent contributions on the subject are those by Matsche, 1981, Polleross, 1986, and Kovács, 1986.

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Fig. 21-1 Bernini, chapel of St. Teresa. S. Maria della Vittoria, Rome. Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome.



Fig. 21-2 Bernini, commemorative portraits of Cornaro family. S. Maria della Vittoria, Rome. Photo: Anderson, Rome.



Fig. 21-3 J. B. Fischer von Erlach, "Lust-Garten-Gebäu," engraving. From Fischer von Erlach, 1721, IV, plate XVIII.

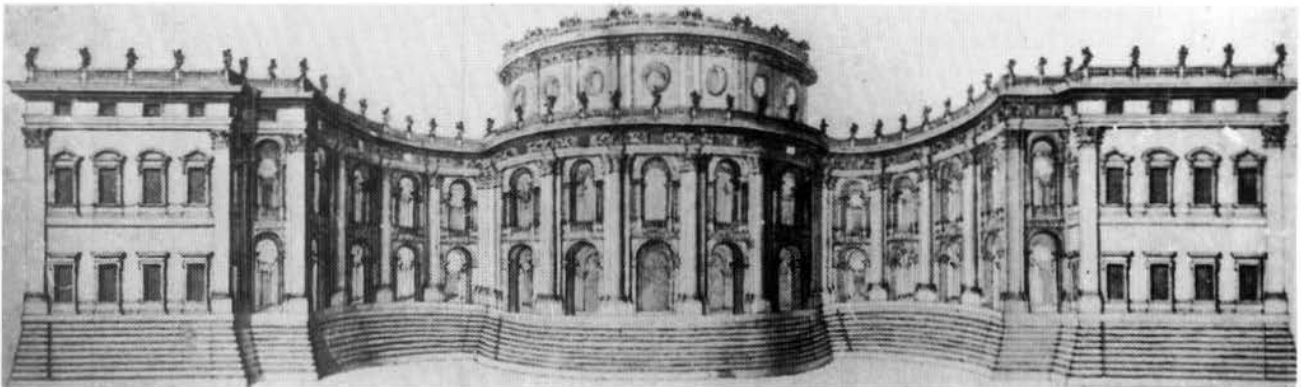


Fig. 21-4 Bernini, first project for the Louvre, drawing. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



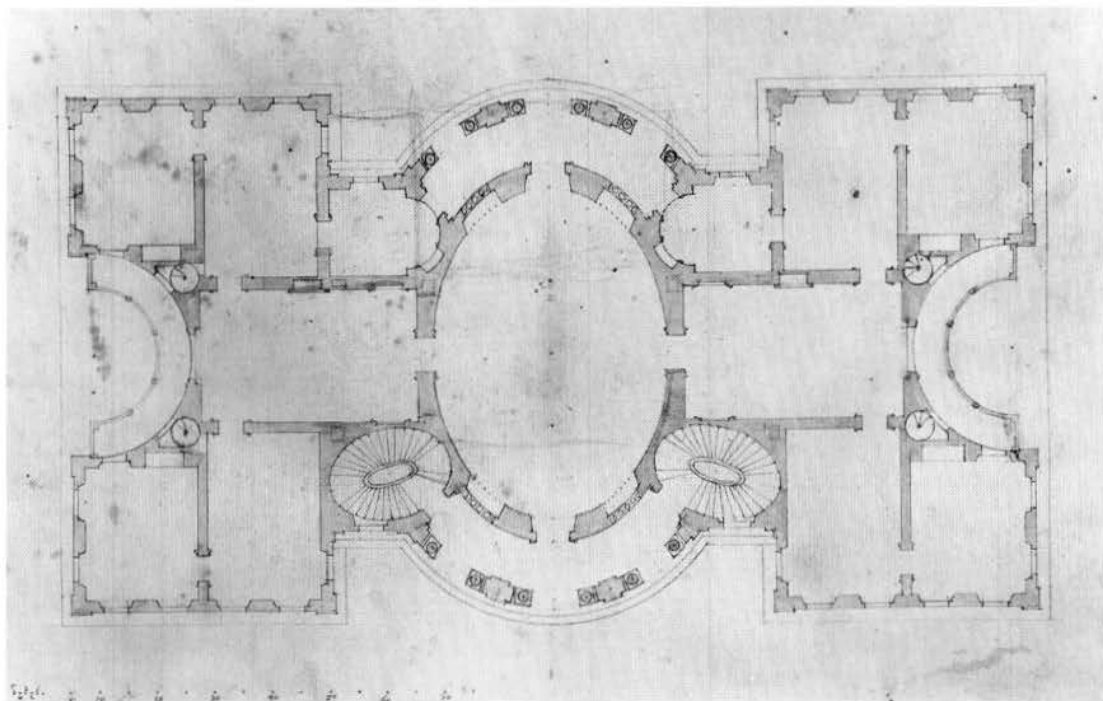


Fig. 21-5 J. B. Fischer von Erlach, plan of the Pleasure Garden Building, drawing. Albertina, Vienna.

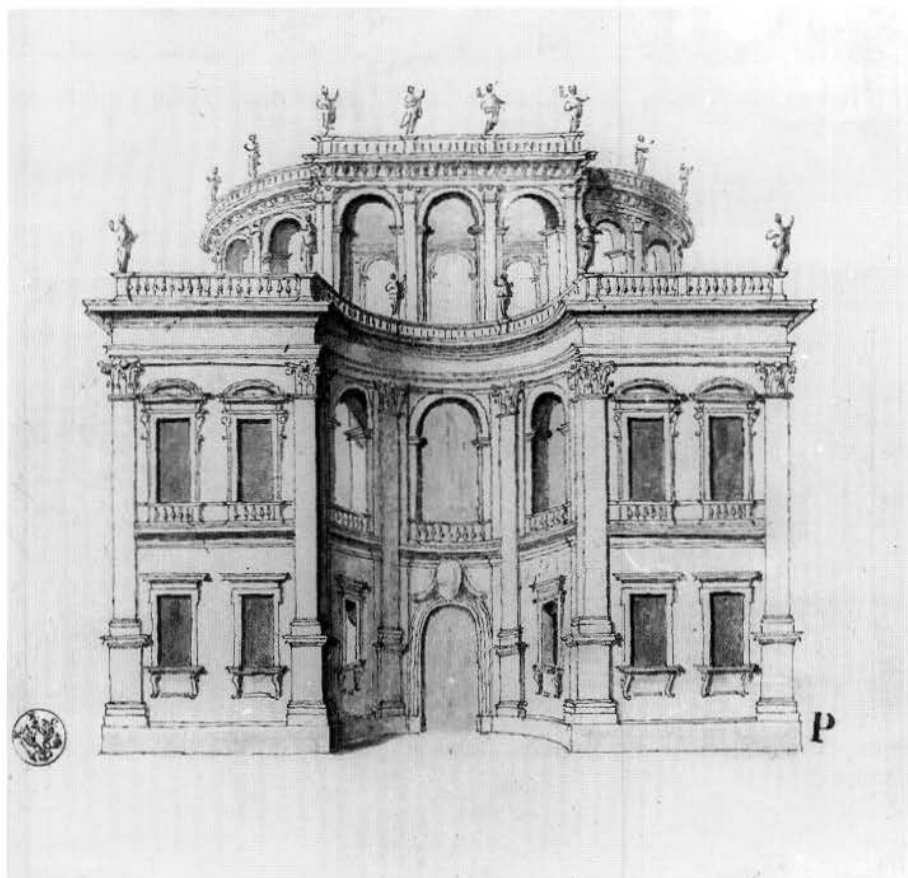


Fig. 21-6 J. B. Fischer von Erlach (?), side elevation of the Pleasure Garden Building, drawing. Kunstbibliothek, Berlin.

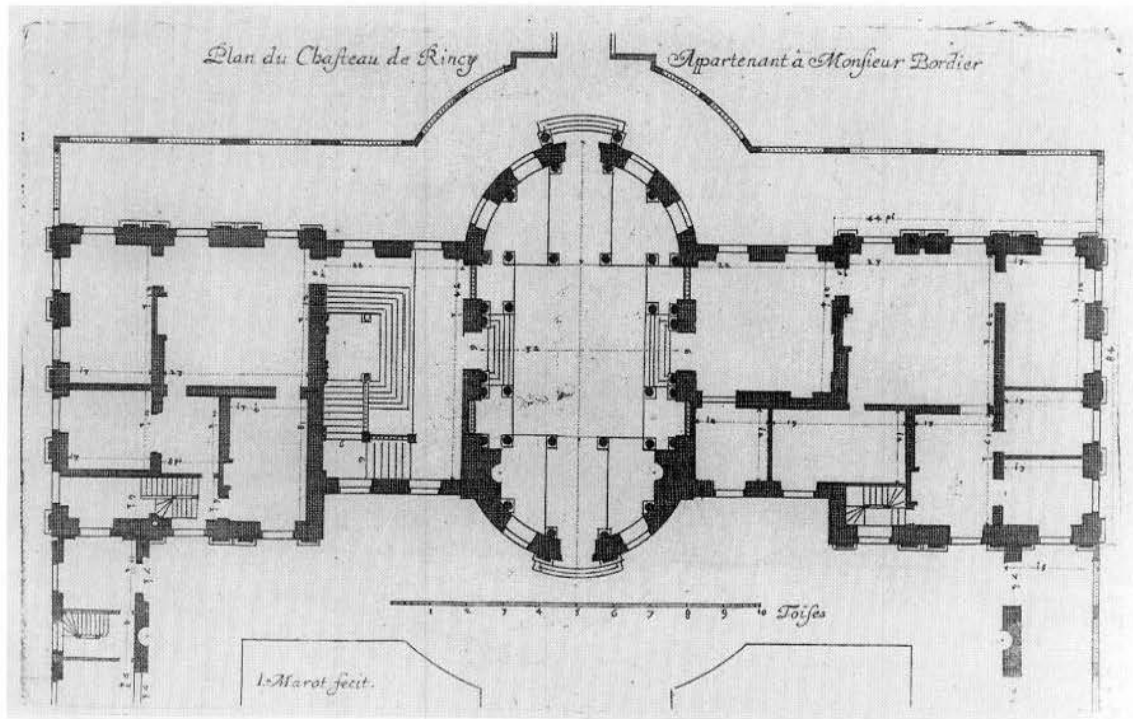


Fig. 21-7 Louis Le Vau, plan of *corps-de-logis*. Château de Raincy. From Marot, ca. 1660–1670.

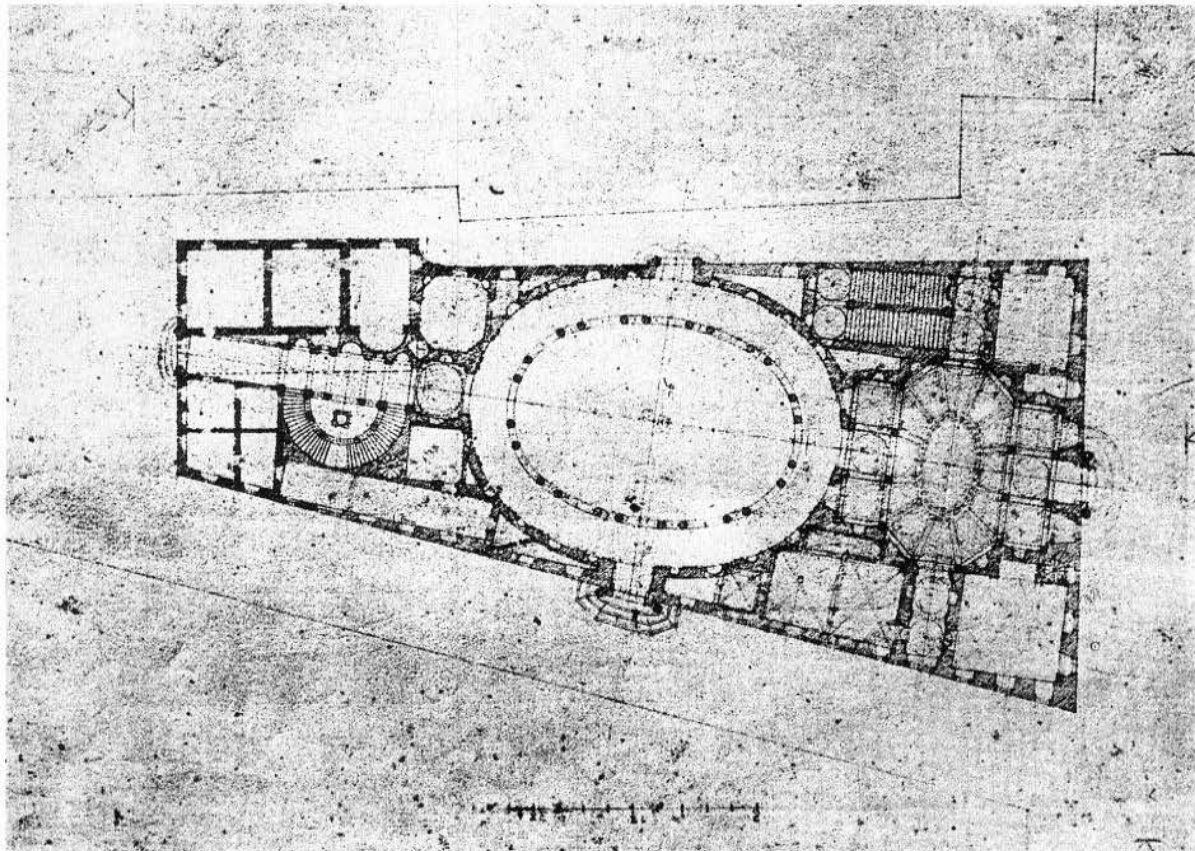


Fig. 21-8 Francesco Borromini, project for the Palazzo Carpegna. Albertina, Vienna.

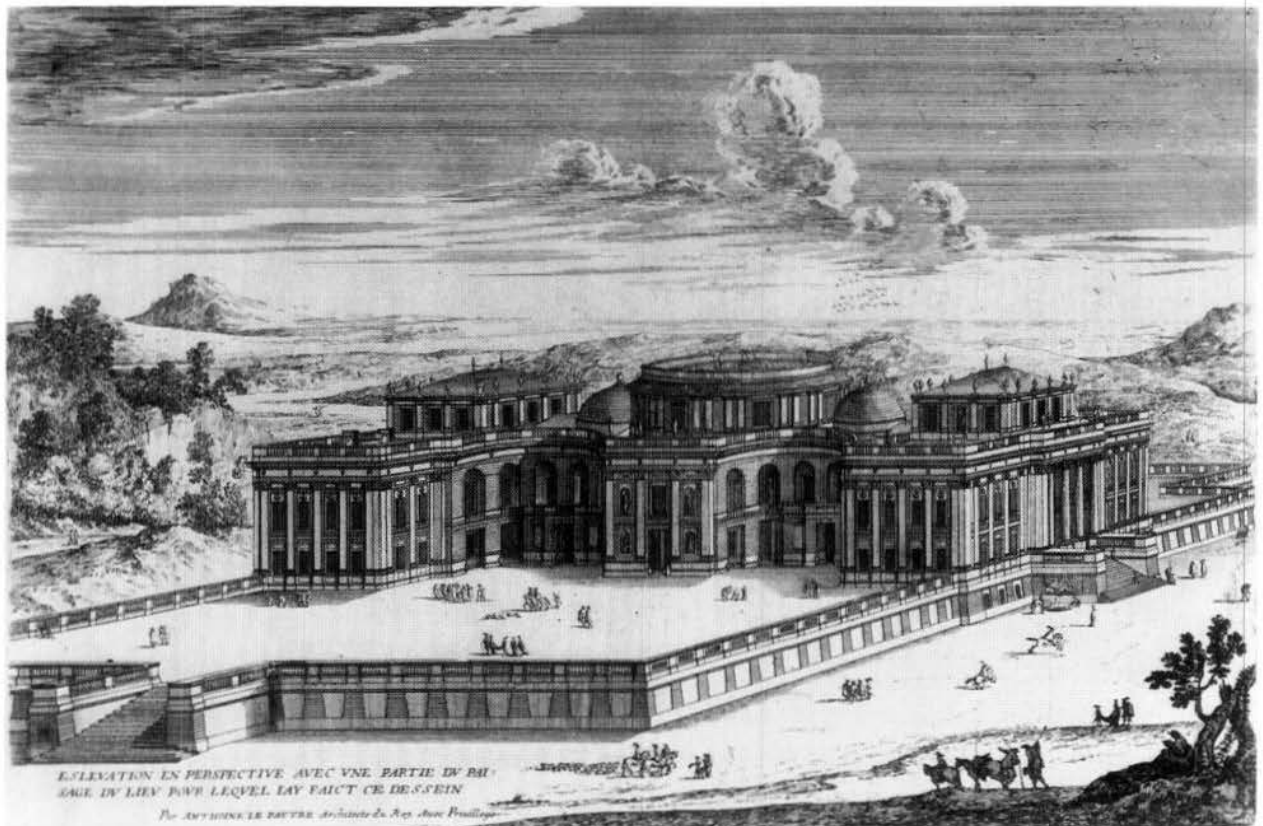


Fig. 21-9 Antoine Le Pautre, design for an ideal palace, engraving. From Le Pautre, 1652.

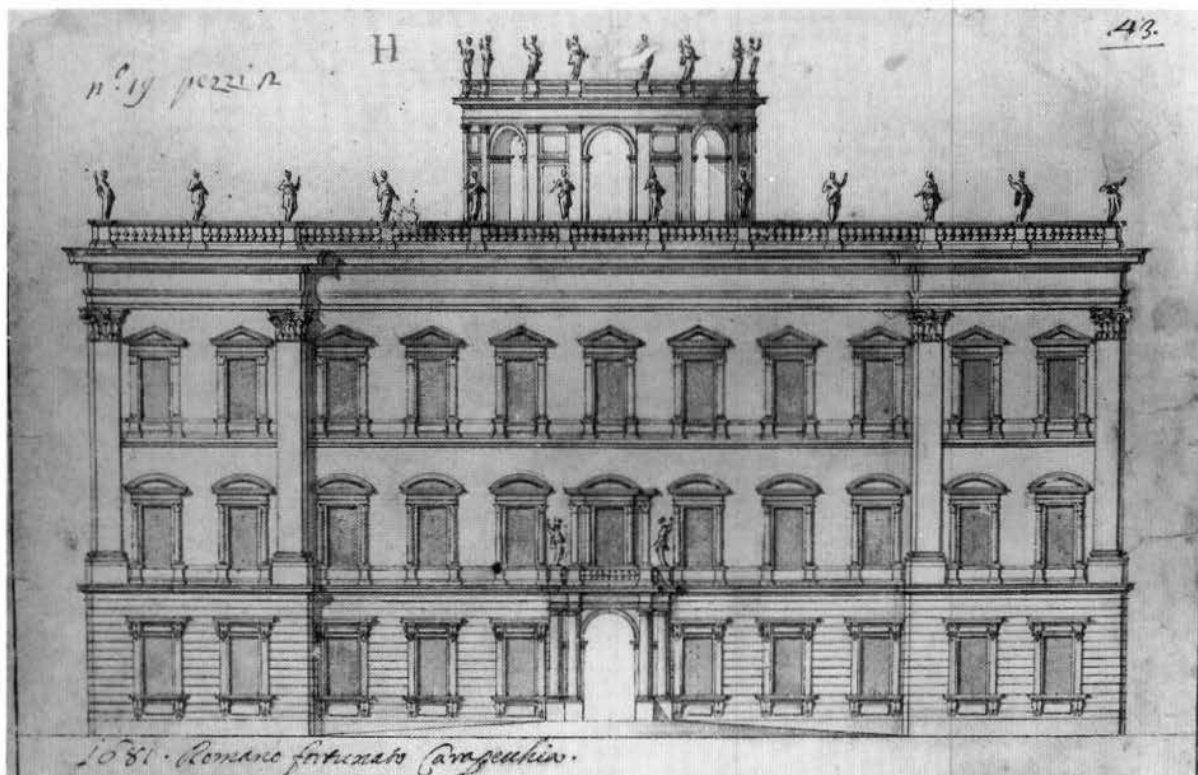


Fig. 21-10 Romano Carapicchia, design for a palace, drawing. Accademia di S. Luca, Rome.



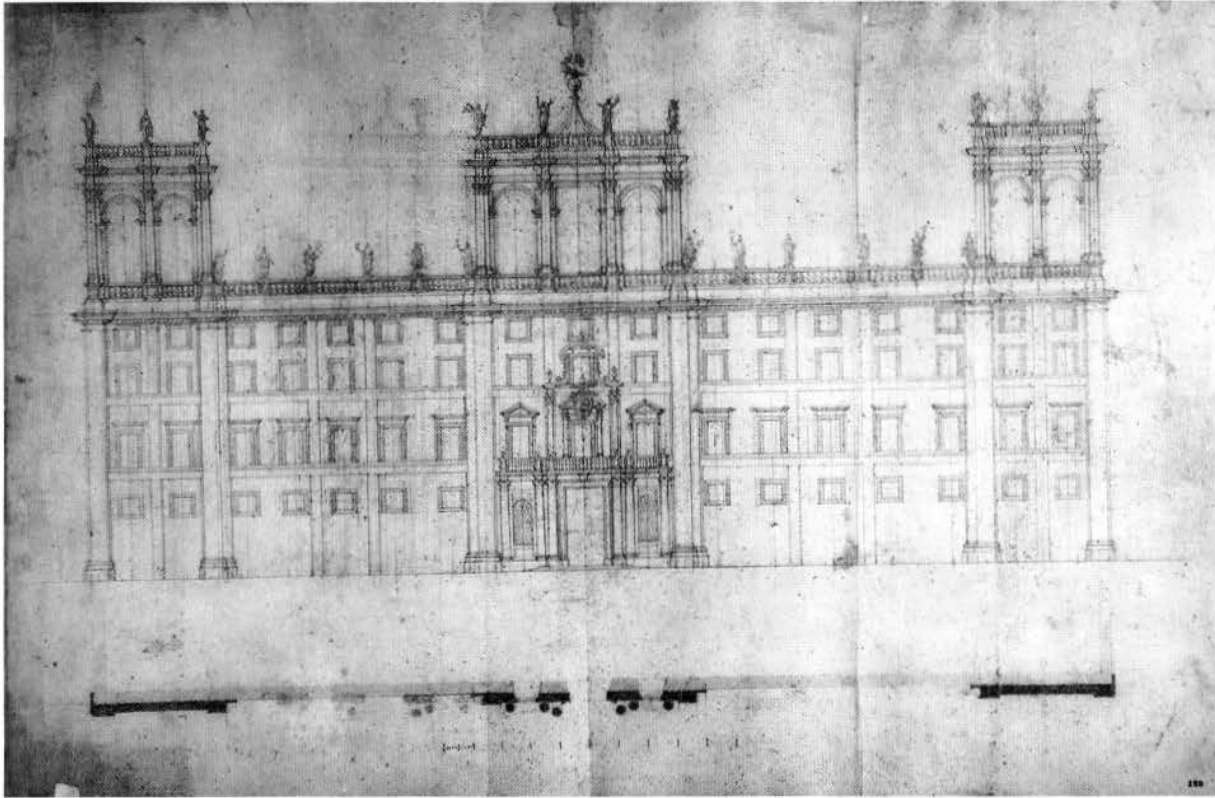


Fig. 21-11 Francesco Borromini, design for the Palazzo Pamphili. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome.

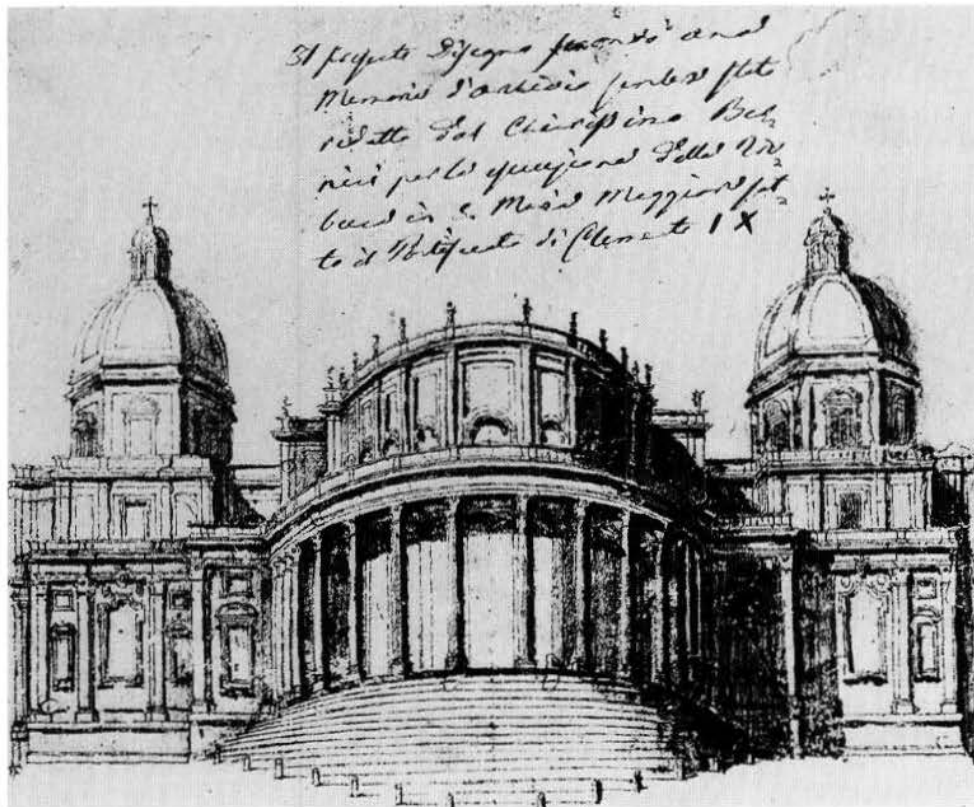


Fig. 21-12 Workshop of Bernini, design for the apse of S. Maria Maggiore, drawing. From Brauer and Wittkower, 1931, plate 182.

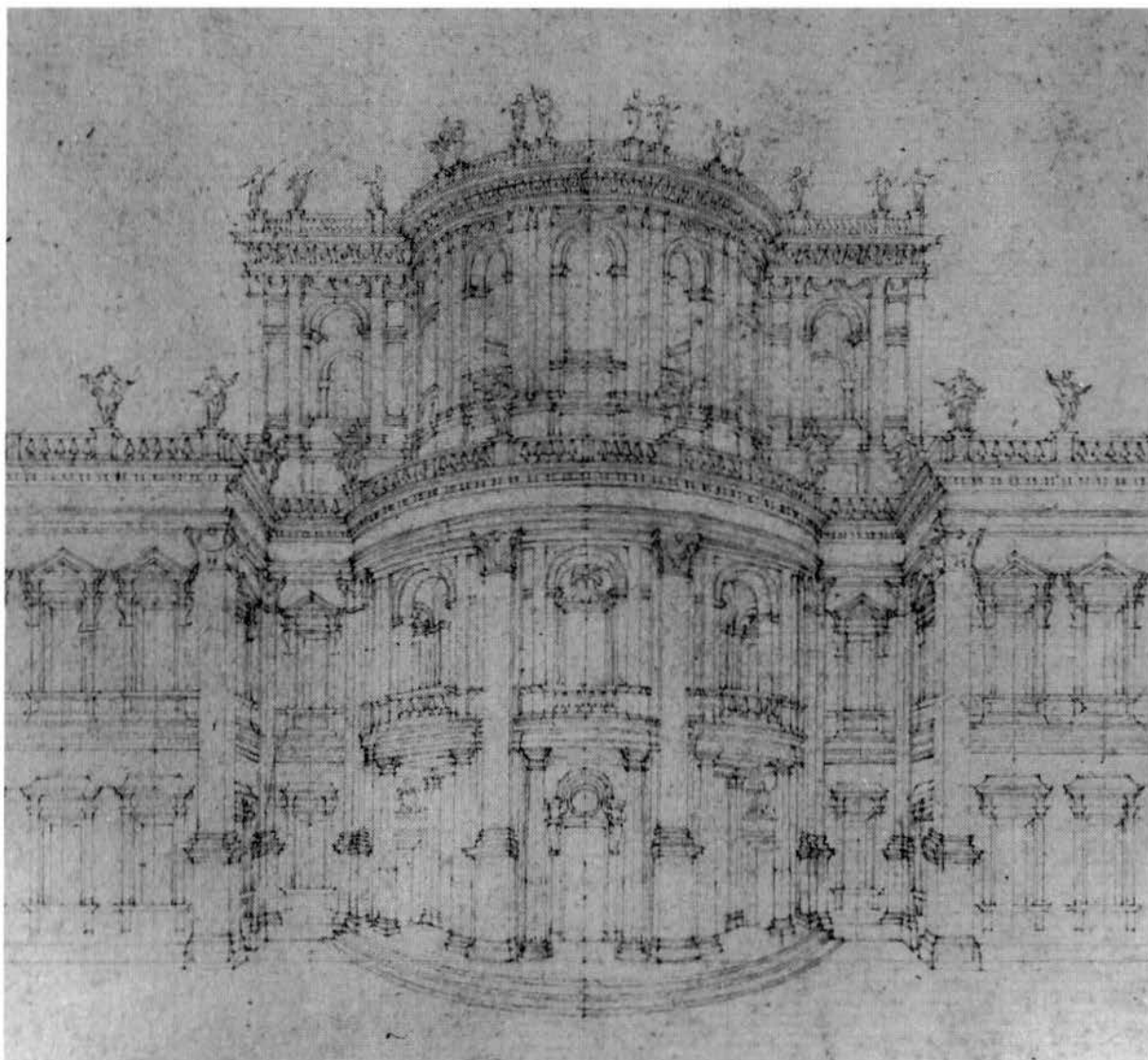


Fig. 21-14 Here attributed to J. B. Fischer von Erlach, design for the Garden Palace Building, drawing (detail). Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York.



Fig. 21-15 Francesco Borromini, architectural details. From Portoghesi, 1968, figs. 331-342.



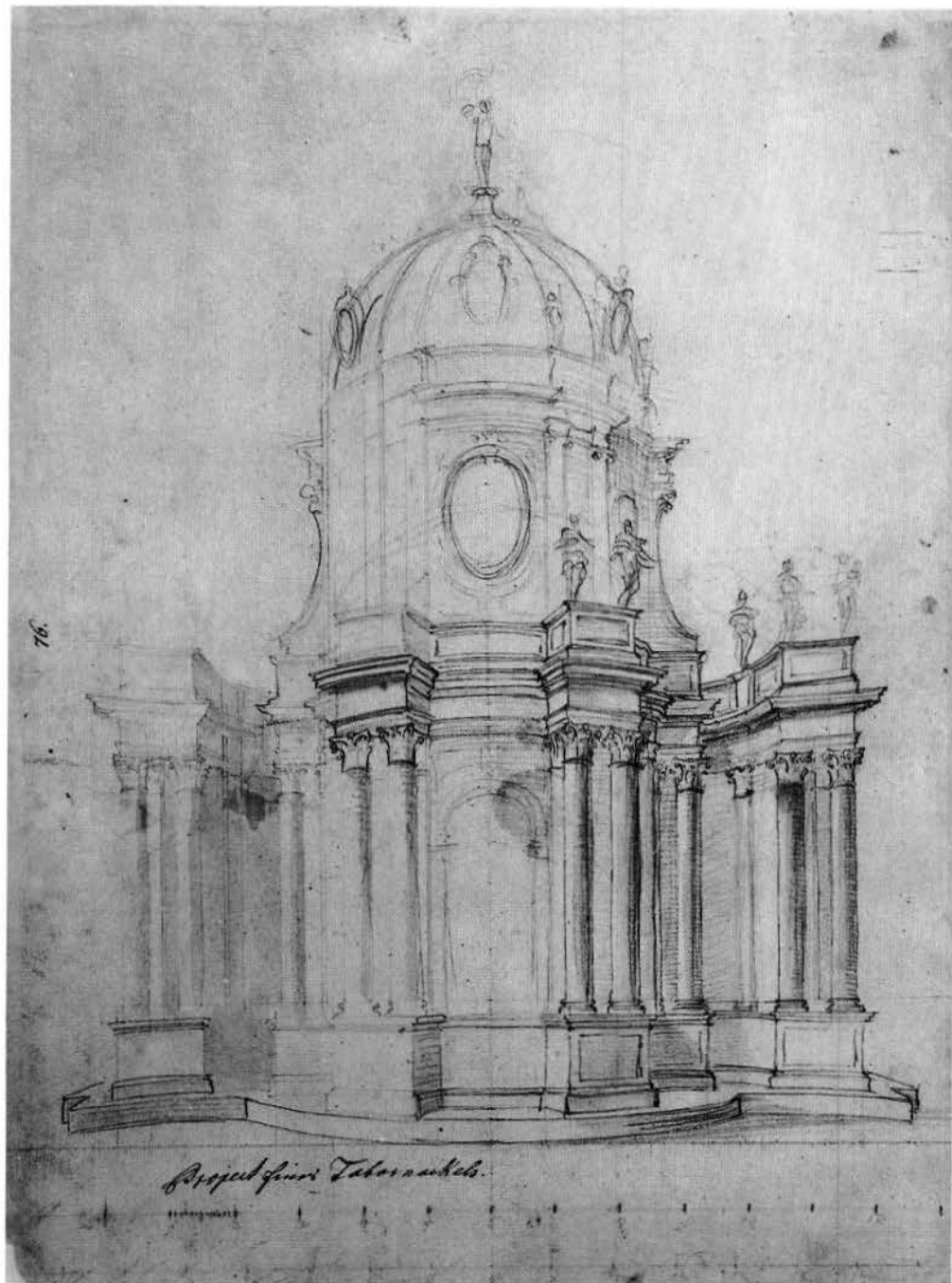


Fig. 21-16 J. B. Fischer von Erlach, study for a sacrament tabernacle, drawing. University Library, Zagreb.



Fig. 21-17 Francesco Borromini, study for a tabernacle at S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, Rome. Albertina, Vienna.

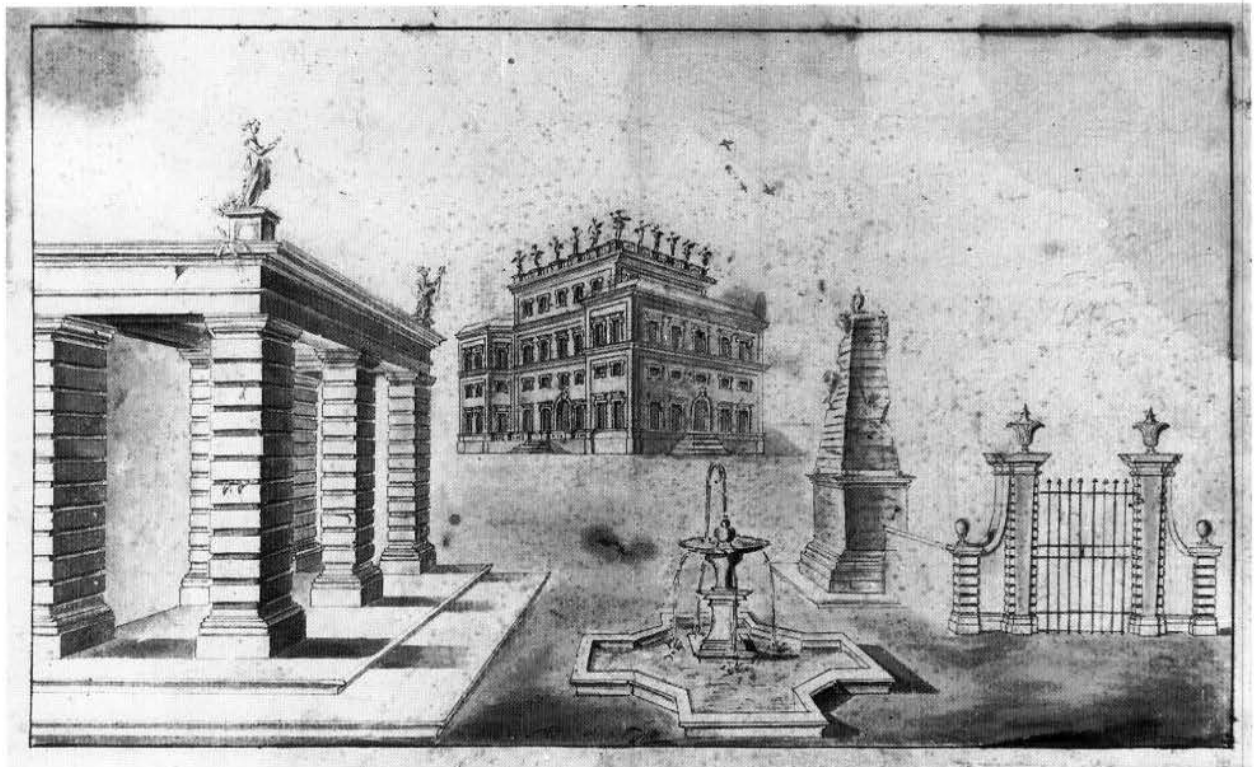


Fig. 21-19 Here attributed to J. B. Fischer von Erlach, perspective scene, drawing. Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

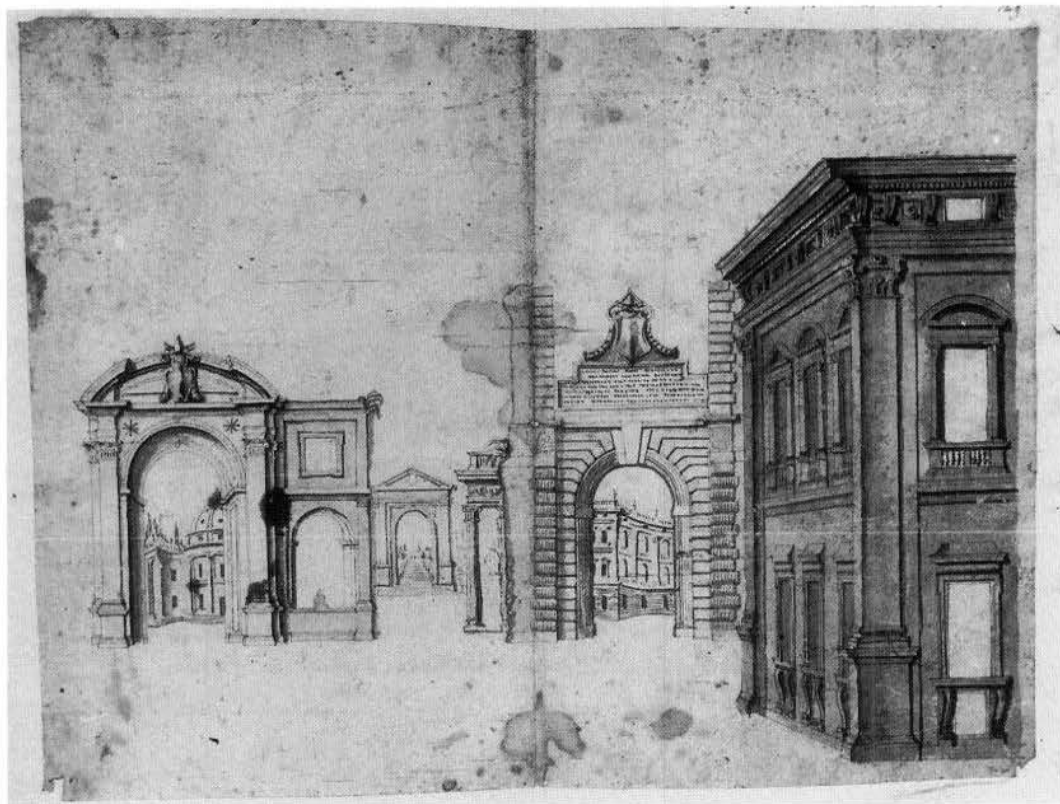


Fig. 21-20 Here attributed to J. B. Fischer von Erlach, perspective scene, drawing. Formerly Jacob Isaacs collection. Photo: Wittkower Collection, Columbia University, New York.

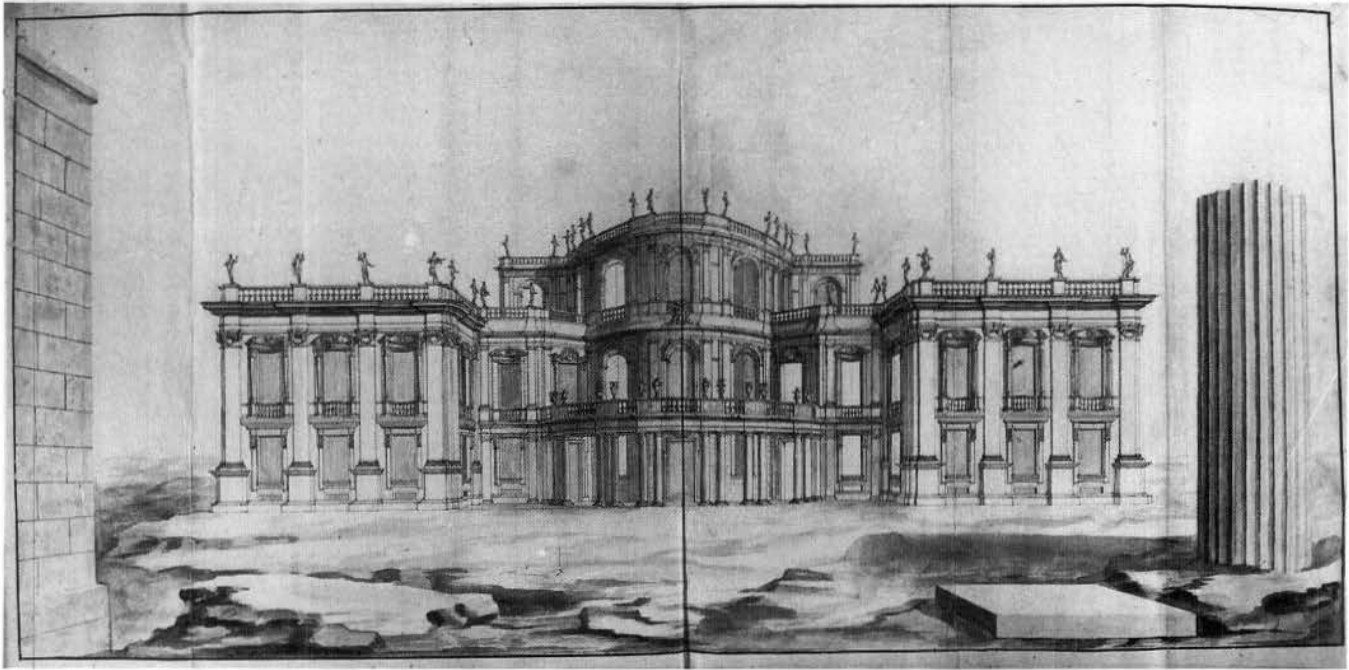


Fig. 21-18 J. B. Fischer von Erlach, design for the Liechtenstein Palace in Vienna, drawing. Castello Sforzesco, Milan.



Fig. 21-21 J. B. Fischer von Erlach, Karlskirche, Vienna. Photo from Sedlmayr, 1976.





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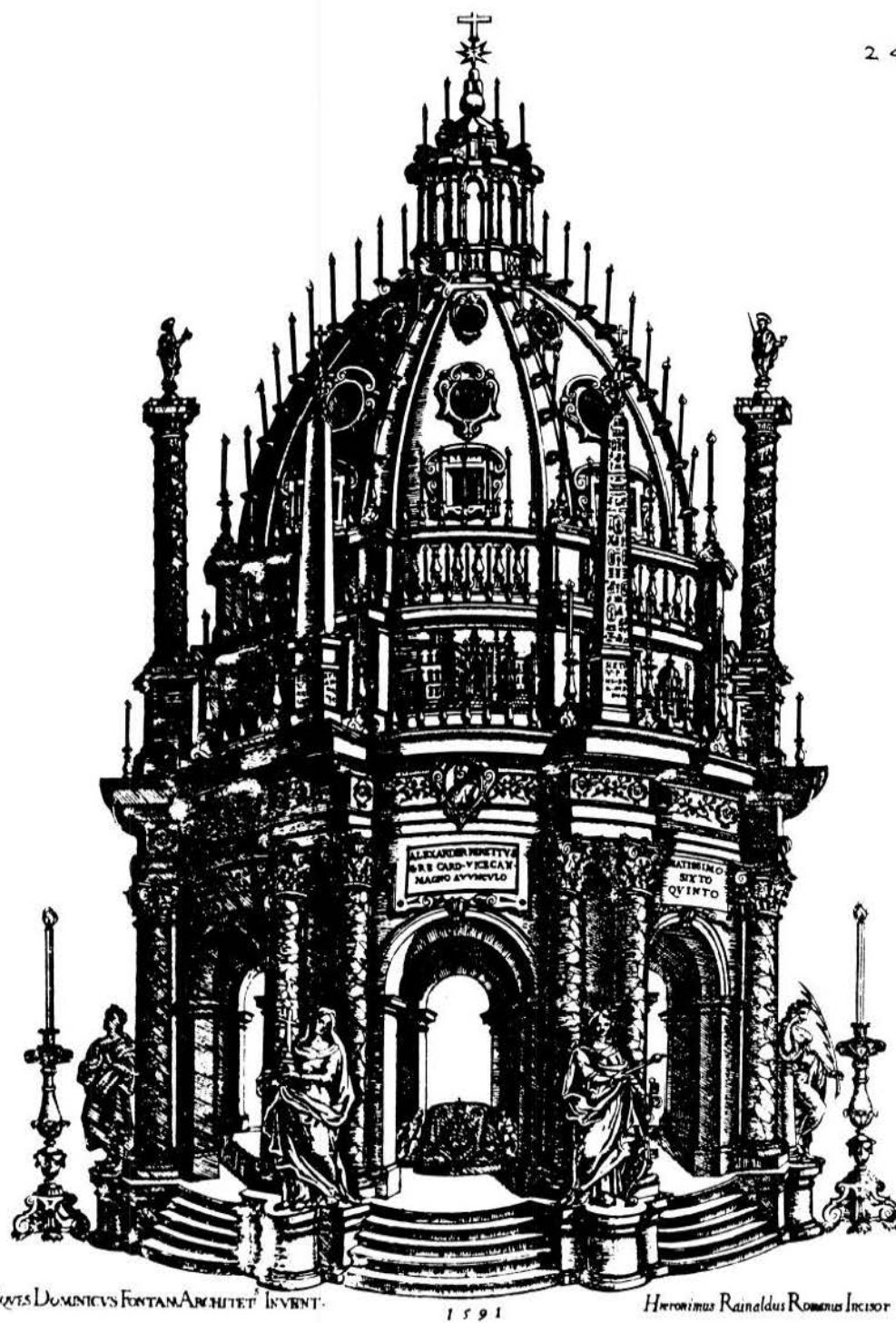


Fig. 21–23 Domenico Fontana, catafalque for Pope Sixtus V, etching. From Catani, 1591, plate 24.

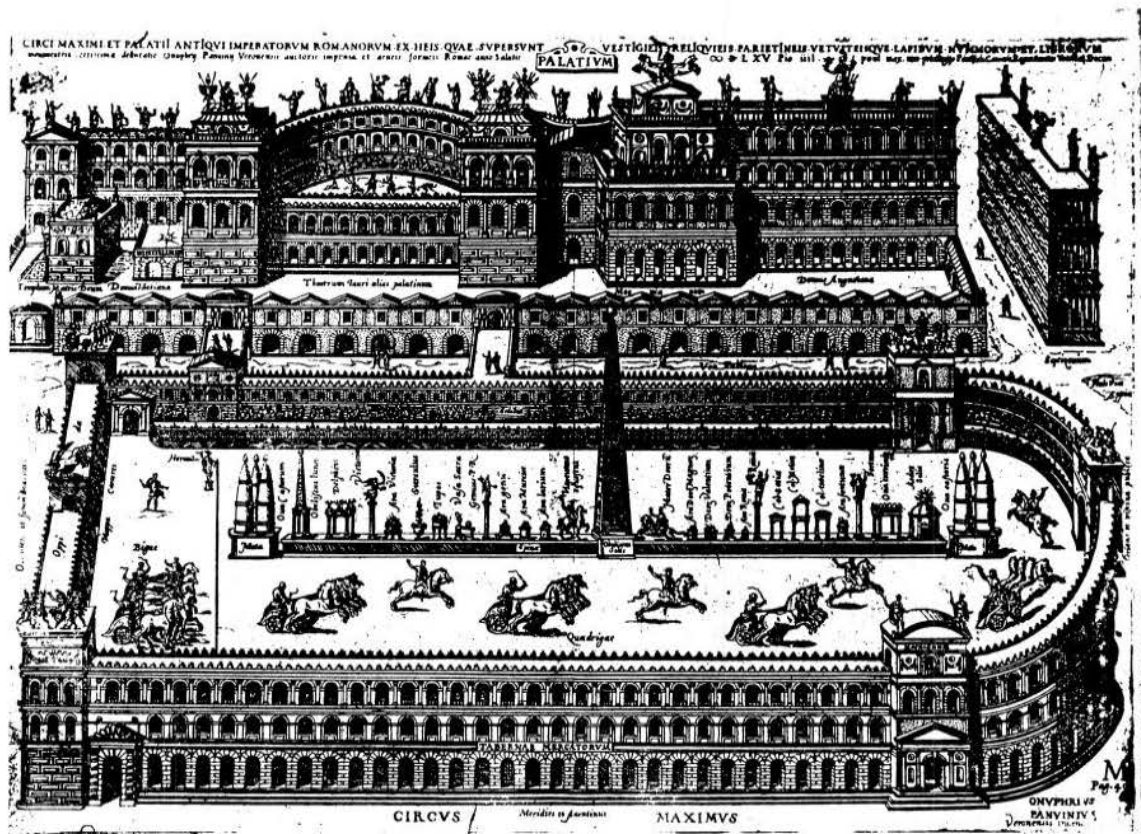


Fig. 21–25 Onofrio Panvinio, Palatine palace and Circus Maximus, engraving. From Panvinio, 1642, p. 49.



Fig. 21–26 Georg Wilhelm Vestner, medal of Charles VI, 1717. American Numismatic Society, New York.



Fig. 21-27 Baciccio, *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*. Il Gesù, Rome. Photo: Alinari, Rome.





Fig. 21–28 Tiepolo, *Translation of the Holy House*. Formerly S. Maria di Nazareth, Venice. Photo: Anderson, Rome.



Fig. 21-29 Tiepolo, gallery with figures, formerly S. Maria di Nazareth. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. Photo: Alinari, Rome.



Fig. 21-30 Tiepolo and Balthasar Neumann, Kaisersaal. Episcopal Palace, Würzburg. Photo from Theodor Hetzer, *Die Fresken Tiepolos in der Würzburger Residenz*, Frankfurt am Main, 1943.





N. 29 Prospettiva della fontana  
 Lequiana Nella pianta generale quale fanno prospetto con tutta posta alla falda  
 Monte

N. 4737.

78.

Fig. 22-22 Michetti, Peterhof, Moses Cascade and Tritons Fountain, perspective. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, OP 4737.