

Predella journal of visual arts, n°47, 2020 www.predella.it - Monografia / Monograph 

Direzione scientifica e proprietà / *Scholarly Editors-in-Chief and owners:*

Gerardo de Simone, Emanuele Pellegrini - predella@predella.it

Predella pubblica ogni anno due numeri online e due numeri monografici a stampa /

Predella publishes two online issues and two monographic print issues each year

Tutti gli articoli sono sottoposti alla peer-review anonima / All articles are subject to anonymous peer-review

Comitato scientifico / *Editorial Advisory Board:* Diane Bodart, Maria Luisa Catoni, Michele Dantini, Annamaria Ducci, Fabio Marcelli, Linda Pisanit, Neville Rowley, Francesco Solinas

Coordinamento editoriale / *Editorial Assistants:* Elisa Bassetto, Elisa Bernard, Silvia Massa, Michela Morelli

Collaboratori / *Collaborators:* Paolo di Simone

Impaginazione / *Layout:* Elisa Bassetto, Elisa Bernard

Predella journal of visual arts - ISSN 1827-8655

Magnificence and Illusionistic Spectacle: Bolognese *Quadratura* at the Belvedere of Prince Eugene of Savoy in Imperial Vienna

Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663-1736) used his immense wealth and prominent political position to move artists and a multiplicity of art objects across cultural boundaries and political borders to convey courtly magnificence. He unified them at the Belvedere, his Viennese summer palace, where he also received international dignitaries and conducted foreign affairs. Crucial to his princely endeavor to create a Gesamtkunstwerk was "importing" the most preeminent Bolognese masters of fresco painting who specialized in quadratura – spectacular illusionistic painting that required a comprehensive knowledge of mathematics and geometric perspective to convincingly expand a room's physical boundaries. Such marvelous and astounding displays of artistic and scientific prowess were considered to be expressions of the prince's own intellect, knowledge, power, and ability to govern. The successful fashioning of Prince Eugene's Belvedere impacted human behavior, social practices, and the rituals of cultural diplomacy in Habsburg Austria as well as the evolution of late Baroque art in central Europe.

In 1697, Prince Eugene of Savoy (Paris, 1663 – Vienna, 1736)¹ commissioned the foremost Austrian architect Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt (1668-1745) to design a dual-structured Belvedere – a summer palace with a commanding view – on the vast expanse of land beyond the Viennese city walls that he had just purchased (fig. 1). The construction of the Lower Belvedere began in 1712 and lasted until 1717, the year the Upper Belvedere was begun, and then completed by 1723. Also in 1717, Dominique Girard (1680-1738), who had served as Louis XIV's water engineer at Versailles, designed formal gardens for Prince Eugene in the French Baroque manner². Although the name "Belvedere" was first used by Empress Maria Theresa (r. 1740-1780) who bought the palace in 1752, the designation encapsulated the magnificent architecture, splendid interiors, and stunning vistas that Prince Eugene had commissioned. In addition, his vast collections of paintings (especially Bolognese), ancient and contemporary sculpture, rare manuscripts, Asian porcelain, Indian textiles, and scientific and astronomical instruments, together with the exotic animals and plant species in the palace gardens, elevated the surroundings into an all-encompassing aesthetic and sensory experience, indeed a *Gesamtkunstwerk*³. In his groundbreaking *Patrons and Painters* (1960), Francis Haskell deemed Prince Eugene «the most grandiose and influential private patron in Europe»⁴.

This essay focuses on the impressive, monumental frescoed *quadratura* – illusionistic ceiling and wall painting that seemingly expands a room's physical boundaries – that adorned the great reception halls in both the Lower and Upper

Belvedere and the public garden hall, also known as the Sala Terrena, in the Upper Belvedere (figs. 2-3). As we shall see, these grandiose decorative projects contrast to the more intimate, though undoubtedly splendid embellishment of the prince's private bedchamber. Of utmost importance in all these projects, however, is the perception of the Belvedere's *quadratura* as a science⁵ – an illusionistic spectacle that engages viewers by challenging their perception of objective reality. Such marvelous and astounding displays of artistic and scientific prowess were considered to be expressions of the prince's own intellect, knowledge, power, and ability to govern⁶. In addition, through his lavish patronage of preeminent Bolognese quadraturists whom he "imported" to Vienna, Prince Eugene helped to shape fresco painting north of the Alps during the late Baroque period. As the first study to specifically focus on the significance of the migration of international artists and artworks in the successful fashioning of this Viennese palace, my forthcoming dissertation, together with my ongoing research, engages in discourses on early modern material culture to connect courtly magnificence and the evolution of late Baroque art in central Europe during the first quarter of the eighteenth century to the phenomenon of artistic mobility.

The successful execution of *quadratura* required the hand of a specialist who, while trained in fresco painting, also has had comprehensive knowledge of mathematics and geometric perspective. The *quadratura* at the Belvedere was designed by the Bolognese Marcantonio Chiarini (1652-1730), the foremost master of this advanced technique⁷. By the early eighteenth century, Chiarini was one of the last living fresco painters from the prominent Bolognese school of *quadratura* who still had a strong reputation for rendering optical laws with accuracy and precision⁸. In fact, Rudolph Wittkower credited Chiarini with keeping the tradition of Bolognese *quadratura* «alive» during the late Baroque period, and stated that *quadratura* was among the most important artistic exports from Bologna to foreign cities by the eighteenth century⁹. The complex architectural illusions at the Belvedere bear witness to Wittkower's claim. Chiarini traveled from Bologna to Vienna to paint his most prestigious commission *in situ* at the Lower Belvedere between 1715 and 1716. Then, around 1721 to 1723, Gaetano Fanti (1687-1759), Chiarini's assistant and son-in-law, painted the *quadratura* at the Upper Belvedere according to his elderly maestro's designs¹⁰.

Chiarini's *quadratura* at the Belvedere transcends mere decoration and superficial ornamentation. It engaged Prince Eugene on an intellectual level and satisfied him artistically. Situated at the intersection of visual art and optics, Chiarini's imagery was «not a handmaiden of the grand manner», but rather had «the status of a work of art in its own right»¹¹. However, in the literature on the

Belvedere, even in publications dedicated specifically to the fresco painting, Chiarini's work is regarded as decorative framing and has not received the same scholarly consideration as the palace's figurative frescoes¹². This approach stems from long-standing biases in the discipline that encourage a focus on figural imagery. Most significantly, it does not reflect the intention of the patron nor the contemporary response to Chiarini's contribution at the Belvedere¹³.

In the pair of great reception halls at the Lower and Upper Belvedere, and likewise, in the Upper Belvedere's Sala Terrena, Chiarini's designs cover the walls and significant portions of the vault. In the Lower Belvedere's Marble Hall, painted by Chiarini himself, *quadratura* extends over two-thirds of the vault and all sections of the walls not faced with red marble (figs. 4-5). Through the fictive architectural layers on the vault, Chiarini gives an impression of considerable height. The first layer features an undulating balustrade with projecting balconies in white marble. The second layer presents a fictive ceiling supported by Ionic columns that is distinguished from the first by a golden hue which imitates gilding. Chiarini enhanced the fictive architecture with a profusion of ornamental details – simulated medallions, garlands, and large floral arrangements – which is typical of the Bolognese school¹⁴. The entire illusion is rendered in convincing *di sotto in sù* perspective.

Chiarini's painted creation gives the impression that the actual vault is raised to a significant height. Yet a print (ca. 1738), which is based on an original drawing (ca. 1730) by Salomon Kleiner (1700-1761), depicts a vertical section of the Lower Belvedere's Marble Hall and indicates that the vault rises only slightly above the marble cornice¹⁵ (fig. 6). The drawing is part of a series commissioned by Prince Eugene to record the palace's architecture, interiors, and gardens. One hundred-forty of these drawings were then engraved and published (1731-1740) by the Augsburg workshop of Jeremias Wolff (1663-1724)¹⁶. Chiarini's illusion achieves a believable extension of space overhead, where, in the center of the frescoed sky, an allegory presents an ensemble of figures among clouds. This scene, now convincingly attributed to Carlo Innocenzo Carloni (1686-1775), is dominated by Apollo in his chariot and Mercury swooping down at the center. The figure below Mercury has been interpreted as a personification of Eugene, as the fresco commemorates his special honor of receiving a papal sword and hat from Clement XI following the defeat of the Turks at Peterwardein on 5 August 1716¹⁷. In the zone below the cornice, on the walls of the Lower Belvedere's Marble Hall, Chiarini expands the room outwardly through further illusions. In this zone, where *quadratura* is complemented by elaborate stuccos possibly created by the celebrated Santino Bussi (1664-1736), Chiarini also painted mischievous *putti* who appear to splash water at the viewer¹⁸.

In the Upper Belvedere's Marble Hall, which offers a magnificent vista of Vienna, *quadratura* adorns one-third of the vault (figs. 7-8). In this large chamber, the architectural illusions were painted by Fanti, who evidently relied on Chiarini's precedent at the Lower Belvedere. For example, Fanti painted two architectural zones that are differentiated through the imitation of white marble in the lower zone and gilding in the upper zone. Fanti recycled the architectural motifs that Chiarini had used at the Lower Belvedere. The octagonal shape of the Upper Belvedere Marble Hall proved a particular challenge for Fanti: his illusions in this space lack the precision and specificity of Chiarini's optically convincing work at the Lower Belvedere.

In the center of the vault of the Upper Belvedere Marble Hall, a figural fresco presents the *Eternal Fame of the House of Savoy*, painted by Carloni around 1721. In addition, the grand reception hall features two paintings of exotic animals, an ostrich and a hyena, which are prominently placed above twin fireplaces in the corners of the room¹⁹. They signaled the vast menagerie in the palace gardens, where rare imported plants were also exhibited. Fanti and Carloni collaborated again in the Sala Terrena (figs. 9-10), which originally opened onto the gardens. Architectural illusions entirely cover the walls as well as one-third of the vault. Fanti's playful frescoes amplify the Sala Terrena as a site of leisure and enjoyment while strengthening Carloni's illusionistic rendering of figures who descend from the heavenly scene of the *Triumph of Aurora and Apollo with the Allegories of Science, Scholarship, and the Fine Arts*, also painted around 1721²⁰.

In contrast to the public rooms at the Lower and Upper Belvedere that feature grandiose architectural illusions, in the most intimate space at the palace, Prince Eugene's bedchamber at the Lower Belvedere, *quadratura* covers the entire vault and suggests a coffered dome (fig. 11). The illusion is accompanied by two small figural scenes that depict loves of the gods: *Apollo and Clytia*, and *Luna and Endymion*²¹. They offset Chiarini's frescoed busts of *Luna*, in the west, and *Sol*, on the east side of the room. The fictive busts are set just above *sopraporta* (overdoor) paintings. In the vault, Chiarini created two zones of architectural illusions that suggest it is significantly elevated. The lower zone is rendered in white marble, and the upper zone imitates gilding once more. In this uppermost zone, Chiarini created a fictive light source that casts highlights and shadows to enhance the optical illusion of the dome's soaring height, and thus convince the viewer that the illusion is reality.

A magnificent preparatory drawing by Chiarini that depicts the vault of the Lower Belvedere Marble Hall confirms Prince Eugene's specific interest in *quadratura*²² (fig. 12). The drawing, in brown ink on paper with brown wash and

traces of a graphite underdrawing, measures 45 by 60 cm. It is the only known primary document related to an art commission at the palace²³. It offers a rare glimpse into the Prince's original vision for this space, and thus compels a fresh look at the Belvedere's entire fresco commission. Indeed, the prince's interest in *quadratura* is related to his vast collections. Eugene was famous for owning one of Europe's largest book collections as well as more than 178 European easel paintings that were prominently displayed at the Belvedere²⁴. Many of these works are by Bologna's greatest masters of the seventeenth century, including Guido Reni (1575-1642) and Francesco Albani (1578-1660). The prince also commissioned contemporary Bolognese artists, like Chiarini, to create easel paintings: Giovan Gioseffo dal Sole (1654-1719), Antonio Burrini (1656-1727), Benedetto Gennari (1663-1715), and Giuseppe Maria Crespi (1665-1747). Giacomo del Po (1654-1726) executed two paintings for him that were transported from Bologna to Vienna and were placed on the vaults of the Upper Belvedere's conference room and the audience hall, where they can still be seen today²⁵.

The prince's collecting habits reveal his penchant for Bolognese art. The *quadratura* frescoes by Chiarini further underscore Eugene's intent to import Bolognese culture to Vienna. In addition to patronizing artists and purchasing works of art from Bologna, the prince amassed a collection of rare objects from around the globe to be exhibited at the Belvedere. They ranged from luxury wares from Asia and exotic plants to over 50 species of animals that roamed the palace gardens²⁶. Moreover, Eugene collected scientific and astronomical instruments that he presented to guests and foreign envoys when they visited his various palaces²⁷. These are rare, interactive objects that revealed Prince Eugene's fascination with, and knowledge of, the natural world²⁸. For example, two telescopes are featured in the dressing room at the Upper Belvedere in Kleiner's depiction (fig. 13). The Prince also owned a G & T model of the solar system (built by George Graham and Thomas Tompion of London, ca. 1710), which is based on Nicolaus Copernicus's heliocentric theory. This is one of the first proto-orrories ever to be created, and it was likely commissioned directly by Prince Eugene while on official business in London²⁹. It was so impressive to contemporary viewers that the G & T model was described at length by Johann Basilius Küchelbecker, who visited the prince's Viennese palaces while on the Grand Tour in 1730 and later published his experiences, even including a detailed illustration of the G & T model (fig. 14)³⁰. Just like Bolognese *quadratura*, this model of the solar system enabled the prince to present himself as an intellectual patron who was on the cutting edge of science.

Chiarini's unusual drawing for the vault of the Lower Belvedere's Marble Hall presented Prince Eugene with four different options of architectural illusions, one

drawn in each corner. The artist used additive architectural layers that could be adjusted or subtracted easily, according to his patron's wishes³¹. Prince Eugene choose the bottom left configuration that Chiarini proposed for the vault, but only the first two layers of architectural illusions were actually executed. The fresco is true to the proposed drawing except for a few ornamental details, and, most notably, the discrepancy in the center of the vault. This space was used for a figural allegory featuring Apollo and Mercury in the *in situ* fresco (see fig. 4)³².

Chiarini's drawing is not a sketch³³. Rather, it is a highly finished *modello* in which great attention is paid to even the smallest architectural ornament. While the actual fresco deviates from Chiarini's proposal in the vault's center, this is likely to be a later change in the commission because the drawing is based on the Marble Hall's exact measurements³⁴. Chiarini recorded this on the periphery of his drawing. The numbers were confirmed by Ulrike Grimm, who first discovered the drawing at the Albertina in Vienna³⁵. The artist left no space for a figural scene. This absence is unusual. Normally, when a figural scene is planned at the onset of a commission, the quadraturist would reserve a space in the center of the preparatory drawing³⁶. Chiarini did not take this step. Thus, the unusual preparatory drawing indicates Chiarini acted on the express wishes of his patron.

Italian quadraturists often worked alongside figural fresco painters. For example, Chiarini had already painted *quadratura* for Prince Eugene at his winter palace in Vienna alongside the figural painter Andrea Lanzani (1645-1712). The Belvedere preparatory drawing confirms, therefore, that in the earliest stage of the Belvedere's construction and interior decoration, at a time when the palace was still conceived as a small summer residence and pleasure palace outside of the city solely intended for Eugene's private enjoyment, he desired a unique composition without figural imagery. Thus, Chiarini's drawing indicates that when he received this assignment for the vault of the Lower Belvedere Marble Hall, Eugene's primary concern was achieving a compelling optical illusion. This is significant as Chiarini was the first artist to receive a fresco commission for the Belvedere from the prince himself.

The entirety of Chiarini's original design did not end up on the vault of the Lower Belvedere Marble Hall. Yet his unique proposal – to cover a vault entirely in *quadratura* – was chosen for the prince's adjacent bedchamber. As a more intimate space, the fresco is tailored most closely to the personal and private viewing pleasure of the prince. The fresco is meant to be viewed from below, from the bed where Eugene slept on most summer nights when home in Vienna after conducting military and official business abroad. The actual location of the prince's bed, which was recorded by Kleiner and corroborated in his ground

plan of the Lower Belvedere (see fig. 2), demonstrates that the bed was placed off-center – in the best viewing position to observe this fresco overhead³⁷. Clearly, the prince chose this specific type of imagery for his most personal space because he preferred an optical illusion to a more traditional fresco that featured figural allegory.

Eugene's interest in *quadratura* was certainly related to contemporary Viennese patronage of Bolognese artists, who, like Chiarini, had formal training in the arts and had studied mathematics extensively. Ludovico Burnacini (1636-1707), for example, also relied on complex geometric principles to create theater sets³⁸. Burnacini trained in Bologna and worked in Vienna, serving as Chief Theater Engineer to the Habsburg Emperor Leopold I (r. 1658-1705) and to his successor, Josef I (r. 1705-1711)³⁹. Andrea Pozzo (1642-1709), who published the two-volume *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum* (*Rules and Examples of Perspective Proper for Painters and Architects*; Rome, 1693, 1698), which he dedicated to Leopold I, also helped to popularize illusionistic imagery in Vienna. He painted *trompe l'oeil* in the Jesuit Universitätskirche, and his frescoes adorn Palais Lichtenstein as well⁴⁰. The members of the Galli-Bibiena family, who also originated from Bologna, delighted the Habsburg court with architectural illusions in the theater through the late eighteenth century⁴¹. Thus, with its virtuosic demonstration of *quadratura*, Chiarini's drawing is evidence of how Prince Eugene's desire to import *quadratura* to Vienna fit within the milieu of the nobility's patronage in the imperial city. The Prince certainly helped to shape fresco painting north of the Alps during the late Baroque period through his patronage of Bolognese quadraturists, which is demonstrated by the career of Fanti following his work for the prince at the Belvedere⁴².

Chiarini's *quadratura* at the Belvedere was crucial in elevating the luxurious material environment at the palace. It also set the stage for the performance of official ceremonies at Prince Eugene's court⁴³. For example, on 11 June 1731, the prince received the Ottoman ambassador and his entourage, an event that was described in detail only two days later in the contemporary newspaper, the *Wienerisches Diarium*. This splendid reception was also memorialized by Kleiner in his drawing of the Upper Belvedere's Audience Hall (fig. 15). As mentioned, Kleiner's drawings of the Belvedere were engraved and published in a series of 140 prints that were bound and circulated throughout Europe as a deliberate strategy to promote the prince and publicize the Belvedere internationally. Thus, the Belvedere's *quadratura* must be understood as an essential element of Eugene's vast collections that reified the reciprocity between art, politics, globalization, and cultural transmission during the eighteenth century in central Europe.

In this specific case, imported *quadratura*, which crossed cultural boundaries and political borders before being unified with other artworks and rarities at the Belvedere, served to convey magnificence and transform the palace into a *Gesamtkunstwerk*. This unique environment created under the auspices of Prince Eugene of Savoy impacted human behavior and social practices, and notably, the rituals of cultural diplomacy in Habsburg Austria.

It feels like only yesterday that I was Prof. Ahl's undergraduate student at Lafayette College. In my sophomore year, during the fall semester of 2002, I was enrolled in her ART 224 «Baroque & Rococo Art». This was an ambitious plan as a 20-page paper was required – my very first. The topic was Francesco Borromini's Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza in Rome. Prof. Ahl patiently guided me through various drafts, and by the end of the semester I learned to do the seemingly impossible. I was fascinated to learn how Borromini relied on geometry to create his undulating architectural designs. Thus, Prof. Ahl sparked my deep fascination with Baroque art and introduced me to concepts that still deeply influence my research on mathematically complex quadratura frescoes. I cannot thank Prof. Ahl enough for her steady support over many years that continues to enable me to achieve academic and career goals. It is an incredible honor to participate in this Festschrift on your behalf, dear Professor. Thank you, from the bottom of my heart!

- 1 Prince Eugene was raised at the court of Louis XIV before enlisting in the military service of the Habsburg Emperor Leopold I in 1699. One of the most successful military commanders of early modern Europe, Prince Eugene was appointed president of the Imperial War Council in 1703, a position he held until his death. The prince was the great-grandson of the Duke of Savoy Charles-Emanuel I (1562-1630), the grandson of Thomas Francis, Prince of Carignano (1596-1656), Charles-Emanuel's youngest son and founder of the Savoy-Carignano branch line. Eugene's father was Thomas Francis's youngest son, Eugene Maurice, Count of Soissons (1635-1673), and his mother, Olympia Mancini, Countess of Soissons (1638-1708) was a niece of Cardinal Mazarin (1602-1661), the chief minister of Louis XIV from 1642 until his death. For detailed biographical information, see M. Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Eine Biographie*, München, 1965.
- 2 For Girard, see W. Hansmann, *Girard, Dominique*, in *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon, die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, ed. by E. Kasten, A. Nabert, M. Steppes, München, 2007, vol. 55, pp. 164-165. For the Belvedere and its gardens, see B. Grimschitz, *Das Belvedere in Wien*, Wien, 1946; *Prinz Eugen und sein Belvedere*, ed. by F. Novotny, Wien, 1963; H. Aurenhammer, *Das Belvedere in Bildern Salomon Kleiners*, Wien, 1965; H. Aurenhammer, G. Aurenhammer, *Das Belvedere in Wien: Bauwerk Menschen Geschichte*, Wien, 1971; S. Kleiner, *Das Belvedere zu Wien: nach dem Stichwerk in 140 Blättern aus den Jahren 1731-1740*, Dortmund, 1980; G. Mraz, *Belvedere: Schloß und Park des Prinzen Eugen*, Wien, 1988; *Das Belvedere: der Garten des Prinzen Eugen in Wien*, ed. by M. Auböck, L. Willibald, I. Gregor, Wien, 2003; U. Seeger, *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen: Gestalt, Funktion und Bedeutung*, Wien, 2004; U. Seeger, *Belvedere: Prince Eugene of Savoy's Garden Palace*, Wien, 2006; P. Stephan, *Das Obere Belvedere in Wien: architektonisches Konzept und Ikonographie; das Schloss des Prinzen Eugen als Abbild seines Selbstverständnisses*, Wien, 2010.

- 3 These are all subjects that I explore in my dissertation, C.L. Chakalova, *Artistic Mobility and Cultural Transfer: Prince Eugene of Savoy's Belvedere Palace in Imperial Vienna*, Ph.D. diss., Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, forthcoming.
- 4 F. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*, New Haven, 1980, p. 201.
- 5 This essay is based on a chapter in my forthcoming dissertation in which I explore the connections between *quadratura* and Eugene's collection of Bolognese art and scientific instruments.
- 6 The dynamic intersections of art, science, technology, and political power at Europe's princely courts between 1550 and 1750 are explored in *Making Marvels: Science and Splendor at the Courts of Europe*, exh. cat., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 2019-2020, ed. by W. Koeppel, New York, 2019.
- 7 Chiarini was a pupil of the Bolognese school of *quadratura*, studying first with Francesco Quaini (1611-1680) and later with Domenico Santi (1621-1694), both of whom were pupils of the renowned Agostino Mitelli (1609-1660); see M. Angiolillo, *Chiarini, Marcantonio (Marc'Antonio)*, in *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, cit., 1998, vol. 18, pp. 502-503.
- 8 Giampietro Zanotti dedicated an entire chapter to Chiarini and singles out his significant work for Prince Eugene in Vienna in *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina di Bologna, aggregata all'Istituto delle scienze e dell'arti*, Bologna, 1739, pp. 269-284.
- 9 R. Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy: 1600-1750*, New Haven, 1982, p. 474.
- 10 Zanotti records that while Chiarini worked at the Lower Belvedere, the artist began to feel frail and resolved to return to Bologna. Prince Eugene granted the aging artist's request, while Fanti remained in Vienna. Although the exact date of Fanti's arrival in Vienna is uncertain as is his participation in the Lower Belvedere's *quadratura* by 1721, he painted *quadratura* alongside Carloni at the Upper Belvedere. In addition to Zanotti's mention of Fanti's work for the prince, Vincenzo Fanti (1719-1776), Chiarini's grandson and Gaetano's son, wrote the artists' vite, *Descrizione completa di tutto ciò che ritrovarsi nella Galleria di pittura e scultura di Sua Altezza Giuseppe Wenceslao del S.R.I. principe regnante della casa di Lichtenstein*, Wien, 1767, in which he discussed the Belvedere *quadratura*. He states that his father «era atto ad intraprender lavori al par di [Chiarini]». Vincenzo insinuates that his father was responsible for the designs at the Upper Belvedere by claiming Gaetano's work was equal to, and thus, of the same quality as Chiarini's. Yet the frescoes reveal that Fanti relied on Chiarini's templates at the Upper Belvedere. See Zanotti, *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina*, cit., p. 279; V. Fanti, *Descrizione completa*, cit., p. 125; I. Sjöström, *Quadratura: Studies in Italian Ceiling Painting*, Stockholm, 1978, p. 57; R. Roli, *Pittura Bolognese, 1650-1800: dal Cignani ai Gandolfi*, Bologna, 1977, pp. 83, 240; U. Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten in Österreich*, Phil. Diss., Universität Wien, 1981; Wien, 1984, pp. 160-161; U. Grimm, *Ein neuentdeckter Dekorationsentwurf von Marc Antonio Chiarini für das Untere Belvedere*, in «Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie», 26-27, 1983, pp. 225-244.
- 11 Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, cit., p. 476.
- 12 For literature on the Belvedere, see note 2. For literature with a specific focus on the fresco painting, see Prinz Eugen und sein Belvedere, cit.; Aurenhammer, Aurenhammer, *Das Belvedere in Wien*, cit.; Grimm, *Ein neuentdeckter Dekorationsentwurf*, cit.; F. Matsche, *Mythologische Heldenapotheosen in Deckengemälden Wiener Adelspaläste des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts*, in *Ex fumo lucem: Baroque Studies in Honour of Klára Garas, presented on her Eightieth Birthday*, ed. by Z. Dobos, Budapest, 1999, pp. 315-352; Seeger, *Stadtpalais und*

Belvedere, cit., M. Krapf, 'You are Gods on Earth'. Carlo Innocenzo Carloni Paints for Prince Eugene of Savoy's *Belvedere* in Vienna, in «Belvedere: Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst», 2, 2005, pp. 117-121; H.-E. Paulus, *Zur Ikonologie des Abschlagbaren Pomeranzenhauses des Prinzen Eugen in Wien*, in *Orangerien in Europa: von fürstlichem Vermögen und gärtnerischer Kunst*, conf. proc., Memmelsdorf 2005, München, 2007, pp. 13-23; Seeger, *Belvedere*, cit.; ead., *Gli interventi di Chiarini per il principe Eugenio a Vienna*, in *Crocevia e capitale della migrazione artistica: forestieri a Bologna e bolognesi nel mondo (secolo XVIII)*, conf. proc., Bologna 2012, ed. by S. Frommel, Bologna, 2013, pp. 327-342.

- 13 For the contemporary reception of the frescoes, see Zanotti, *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina*, cit., pp. 269-280; J.B. Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter, Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupffern ans Licht gegeben*, Hannover, 1730, p. 787; B. Grimschitz, *Wiener Barockpaläste*, Wien, 1944.
- 14 Knall-Brskovsky, *Italianische Quadraturisten*, cit., pp. 36-42, 51-58.
- 15 The floor to the center of the vault measures 11.88 m.
- 16 The engraved series after Kleiner's drawings allows the reconstruction of the Belvedere's original interior decoration. The engravings reveal the span of objects that were hand-selected by Eugene to decorate the Lower and Upper Belvedere, while providing invaluable insight into the original context and the display of artwork throughout the palace in relation to the function of its various rooms. Kleiner also provided detailed ground plans and architectural drawings of the monument. The exact measurement of the height of the vault in the Lower Belvedere's Marble Hall is not recorded on Kleiner's drawing. See Kleiner, *Das Belvedere*, cit., p. 185.
- 17 Matsche, *Mythologische Heldenapotheosen*, cit., pp. 315-326, provides a detailed interpretation of the scene and its iconography. The fresco's attribution to Martino Altomonte (1657-1745) was first proposed in 1923 by Franz Martin Haberditzl and stems from Altomonte's involvement in the Prince's adjacent bedchamber, where the artist painted and signed two small mythological scenes. This attribution was challenged in 1967 by Barigozzi Brini and Garas, who argued convincingly for the hand of Carloni. Nonetheless, Altomonte is still credited as the fresco's painter on the Belvedere's official website: <<https://www.belvedere.at/en/museum/architecture-lower-belvedere>> (accessed 1 December 2019). See F.M. Haberditzl, *Das Barockmuseum im Unteren Belvedere*, Wien, 1923, p. 32; Grimschitz, *Das Belvedere*, cit., p. 13; G. Aurenhammer, *Das Melker Skizzenbuch des Martin Altomonte*, in «Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich», 32, 1955 (1955-1956), pp. 252-256; H. Aurenhammer, G. Aurenhammer, *Martino Altomonte*, Wien, 1965, p. 31; G. Heinz, *Die Italienischen Maler im Dienste Prinzen Eugen*, in *Prinz Eugen und sein Belvedere*, cit., pp. 115-119; A. Barigozzi Brini, K. Garas, *Carlo Innocenzo Carloni*, Milano, 1967, pp. 29-31; Aurenhammer, Aurenhammer, *Das Belvedere*, cit., p. 8.
- 18 Bussi was among the most sought-after stucco specialists working in central Europe in the early eighteenth century. In 1714, he rose to the rank of Hofstukkateur at the Habsburg court in Vienna. He was hired by Eugene to work at the Belvedere, having pleased Eugene with his stuccos at the city palace (1698-1701). Then, between 1714 and 1716, Bussi created stuccos that adorn the Marble Gallery, parts of the Marble Hall, and the vaults of two large cabinets at the Lower Belvedere. Bussi later created stuccos at the Upper Belvedere in 13 chambers. In the Upper Belvedere's grand entry stairwell, Bussi also conceived of

- monumental wall panels that glorify the prince. Bussi spent more than a decade working on the Upper Belvedere stuccos (1722-1733). See J. Werner, *Santino Bussi 1664-1736*, Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien, 1992; J. Werner, *Bussi (gen. Santini)*, *Santino*, in *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, cit., 1997, vol. 15, pp. 344-345.
- 19 The local artist Johann Ignaz Heintz von Heintzental (1657-1742) painted the ostrich and hyena ca. 1723.
 - 20 Carloni also frescoed *The Holy Trinity* (1721-1723) on the vault of Prince Eugene's private chapel at the Upper Belvedere. In this sacred space, the small illusionistic balustrade on the vault was painted by Carloni, but is not an example of Bolognese *quadratura*.
 - 21 The lunettes were painted and signed by Martino Altomonte ca. 1717.
 - 22 This drawing was discovered at the Albertina in Vienna, by Grimm in 1983, where it is stored under the inventory number AZ1403 as an anonymous Italian architectural drawing. For scholarly discussions of the drawing, see Grimm, *Ein neuentdeckter Dekorationsentwurf*, cit.; Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten*, cit.; Seeger, *Gli interventi di Chiarini*, cit.
 - 23 This lack of primary textual documentation has been blamed on Prince Eugene's niece and sole heir, Princess Maria Anna Victoria of Savoy (1683-1763), who is said to have carelessly discarded documents shortly after Eugene's death.
 - 24 A lost inventory in French that details the fine art objects in Prince Eugene's collection was compiled shortly after his death. Fortunately, it is known in two copies contemporary with the original. The compilation was initiated by Princess Maria Anna Victoria. Of the 178 paintings, 166 were purchased by Carlo Emanuele III of Savoy, King of Sardinia (1701-1773); the whereabouts of the remaining 12 are unknown. Today, the king's paintings are still located in Turin at the Galleria Sabauda. For information on the Prince's easel painting collection, see Kleiner, *Das Belvedere*, cit., pp. 35, 43, 59, 195; M. Braubach, *Die Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen*, in *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem zum 16. Februar 1965*, Berlin, 1965, pp. 27-43; C. Diekamp, *Die Sammlung eines Prinzen: zur Geschichte der Gemäldesammlung des Prinzen Eugen nach 1736 mit einer Rekonstruktion des 'Bilder-Saales' im Oberen Belvedere*, in «Belvedere: Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst,» 11, 2005, pp. 4-43, 92-116.
 - 25 While the prince favored Bolognese painters, he did not patronize them exclusively. He also commissioned work from Francesco Solimena (1657-1747), e.g., an altarpiece of the *Resurrection of Christ* and a ceiling painting of *Aurora and Cephalus*, which arrived at the palace from Naples ca. 1731.
 - 26 Vibrant Indian silk and rare Asian porcelain displayed at the Belvedere were imported to Vienna via the Ostend East India Company, which operated out of the Austrian Netherlands, governed *in absentia* between 1716-1724 by Prince Eugene. See Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht*, cit., pp. 788-793; K. Degryse, *De Oostendse Chinahandel (1718-1735)*, in «Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire», 2, 1974, pp. 306-347; *Goods from the East, 1600-1800: Trading Eurasia*, ed. by M. Berg, Houndmills-Basingstoke-Hampshire, 2015; *The European Canton Trade 1723: Competition and Cooperation*, ed. by M. Kessler, D. Menning, Berlin-Boston, 2016; T. Canepa, *Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer: China and Japan and Their Trade with Western Europe and the New World, 1500-1644*, London, 2016; G. Dreijer, *Bargaining for Shelter: An Entrepreneurial Analysis of the Ostend Company, 1714-40*, Master's Thesis, Universiteit Leiden, 2017; D. Gijs, *The Afterlife of the Ostend Company, 1727-1745*, in «The Mariner's Mirror: The Journal of the Society for Nautical Research», 3, 2019, pp. 275-287; J.G. Keyssler, *Travels through Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Switzerland, Italy, and Lorrain*.

Containing an Accurate Description of the Present State and Curiosities of Those Countries [...] By John Georg Keysler, F.R.S. To which is Prefixed, the Life of the Author, by Mr. Godfrey Schutze, [...] Translated from the Hanover edition of the German, London, 1758, pp. 227-229; Kleiner, Das Belvedere, cit., pp. 210-233.

- 27 In Vienna, the grand winter palace was in the Himmelfortgasse. Others included: two four-wing palaces, one near Budapest and the other along the river Drau in Slavonia (modern day Croatia); a *Lustschloss* at Rackeve on the Danube Island of Budapest; and the Schloss Hof in Marchfeld, only a day trip from Vienna, which the prince used as a hunting palace and country seat.
- 28 Kleiner, *Das Belvedere*, cit., p. 47; Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht*, cit., pp. 735-738; T. Buick, *Orrery: A Story of Mechanical Solar Systems, Clocks, and English Nobility*, New York, 2014, pp. 53-96.
- 29 Buick, *Orrery*, cit., p. 88. Most recently, see *Making Marvels*, cit.
- 30 Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht*, cit., pp. 735-738.
- 31 Based on the visual evidence in the body of his work, it is likely that Fanti used Chiarini's drawings in this manner to create his own designs.
- 32 For an interpretation of the figural fresco, its date, and the attribution, see note 17 above.
- 33 Grimm, *Ein neuentdeckter Dekorationsentwurf*, cit., p. 229.
- 34 It is likely that plans for the fresco were changed following Prince Eugene's victory at Peterwardein; see L. Popelka, *Die päpstlichen Ehrengabe für Prinz Eugen. Zur Widmungsinschrift in Altomonte Apotheose im Unteren Belvedere*, in *Prinz Eugen und sein Belvedere*, cit., pp. 183-194.
- 35 See note 22 above.
- 36 Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten*, cit., p. 95.
- 37 See the room labeled «g» on the ground plan; Kleiner, *Das Belvedere*, cit., p. 181.
- 38 For more information on the technical and theoretical aspects of *quadratura* painting, see Sjöström, *Quadratura*, cit.; Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten*, cit.; *Quadratura: Geschichte, Theorien, Techniken*, ed. by M. Bleyl, P. Dubourg Glatigny, München, 2011.
- 39 F. Biach-Schiffmann, *Giovanni und Ludovico Burnacini; Theater und Feste am Wiener Hofe*, Wien, 1931; M. Fagiolo, *Il corpus delle scenografie gesuitiche di Sopron (1684-1719): La scena di Vienna tra i Burnacini e i Bibiena*, in *I Bibiena, una famiglia in scena: da Bologna all'Europa*, ed. by D. Galligani, Firenze, 2002, pp. 15-30; *Spettacolo Barocco! Triumph des Theaters*, ed. by A. Sommer-Mathis, M. Frank, D. Franke, R. Risatti, Wien-Petersberg, 2016; A. Sommer-Mathis, *The Imperial Court Theater in Vienna from Burnacini to Galli Bibiena*, in «Music in Art / Research Center for Music Iconography», 1-2, 2017, pp. 71-96.
- 40 H. Karner, *Rezeption des scheinarchitektonischen Werkes Andrea Pozzos in Mitteleuropa im 18. Jahrhundert*, Phil. Diss., Universität Wien, 1995; U. Knall-Brskovsky, *Andrea Pozzos Ausstattung der Jesuitenkirche in Wien*, in «Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte», 40, 1987, pp. 159-173; H. Lorenz, *Senza toccare le mura della chiesa. Andrea Pozzos Umgestaltung der Wiener Universitätskirche und die barocken Farbräume in Mitteleuropa*, in *Die Jesuiten in Wien: zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der österreichischen Ordensprovinz der "Gesellschaft Jesu" im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by H. Karner, W. Teslesko, Wien, 2003, pp. 63-74; W.G. Rizzi, *Ein unbekanntes Werk von Andrea Pozzo*, in «Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte», 33, 1980, pp. 184-185; *id.*, *Zur Baugeschichte der Kirche zu den Vierzehn Nothelfern im Lichtental*.

Eine Planung von Andrea Pozzo für den Fürsten von Liechtenstein, in *Von der Bauforschung zur Denkmalpflege. Festschrift für Alois Machatschek zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by M. Kubelik, M. Schwarz, Wien, 1993, pp. 219-244; I. Schemper-Sparholz, *Nachrichten über verlorene Werke von Rauchmiller, Stannetti, Lanzani und Pozzo bei den Trinitariern in Wien*, in «Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte» 38, 1985, pp. 262-265; G. Schörghofer, *Einige Anmerkungen zur Kunst des Andrea Pozzos SJ am Beispiel der Jesuitenkirche-Universitätskirche in Wien*, in «Barockberichte. Informationsblätter des Salzburger Barockmuseums», 36-37, 2004, pp. 489-495; W. Telesko, *Das Freskenprogramm der Wiener Universitätskirche im Kontext jesuitischer Frömmigkeit*, in *Die Jesuiten in Wien*, cit., pp. 75-91.

- 41 F. Hadamowsky, *Die Familie Galli-Bibiena in Wien: Leben und Werk für das Theater*, Wien, 1962; U. Nimeth, *Antonio Galli Bibienas Bühnenbilder für Wien: Fragen zum Zeichnerischen Werk*, in *Generationen, Interpretationen, Konfrontationen: Sammelband zur internationalen Konferenz anlässlich des 70. Geburtstags von Prof. PhDr. Maria Pötzl-Maliková, Dr.Sc.*, conf. proc., Bratislava 20-22 April 2005, ed. by B. Balážová, Bratislava, 2007, pp. 265-277; M. Frank, *I Bibiena per i Gesuiti di Vienna*, in *Crocevia e capitale*, cit., pp. 313-326; id., *Die Familie Galli Bibiena in Wien: Werkstatt und Auftraggeber*, in *Barocke Kunst und Kultur im Donauraum. Beiträge zum internationalen Wissenschaftskongress*, conf. proc., Passau-Linz 9-13 April 2013, ed. by K. Möseneder, M. Thimann, A. Hofstetter, Petersberg, 2014, vol. 2, pp. 656-667; id., *Skizzen, Zeichnungen und Druckgrafiken als Quelle für die Wiener Tätigkeit der Galli Bibiena*, in *Spettacolo Barocco!*, cit., pp. 150-167; *Spettacolo Barocco!*, cit.; Sommer-Mathis, *The Imperial Court Theater in Vienna*, cit.
- 42 After working for Prince Eugene at the Belvedere, Fanti launched a long and successful career in Austria. He worked alongside Paul Troger (1698-1762), the most significant Baroque painter in Austria through the mid-century. Their collaborations can be seen in major abbeys such as in Melk, Seitenstetten, and Göttweig. This work was followed by frescoes in less significant and more remote monasteries in the Waldviertel, including the Altenburg Abbey. For Fanti, see R. Kurdiovsky, *Fanti, Gaetano (Ercole Antonio [Gaetano]; Giovanni Gaetano)*, in *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, cit., 2003, vol. 36, pp. 240-244. For general information on Italian *quadratura* in Habsburg Austria, see Knall-Brskovsky, *Italienische Quadraturisten*, cit., pp. 111-260.
- 43 In addition to his winter palace in Vienna, the prince used the Belvedere to receive foreign envoys and conduct diplomatic affairs; see Kleiner, *Das Belvedere*, cit., p. 35.



Fig. 1: Salomon Kleiner, Aerial view of the Belvedere, Vienna, original drawing, ca. 1721-1723; engraved and printed by the workshop of Jeremias Wolff, Augsburg, 1731. Photo: S. Kleiner, *Das Belvedere zu Wien: Nach dem Stichwerk in 140 Blättern aus den Jahren 1731-40*, Dortmund, 1980, p. 17.

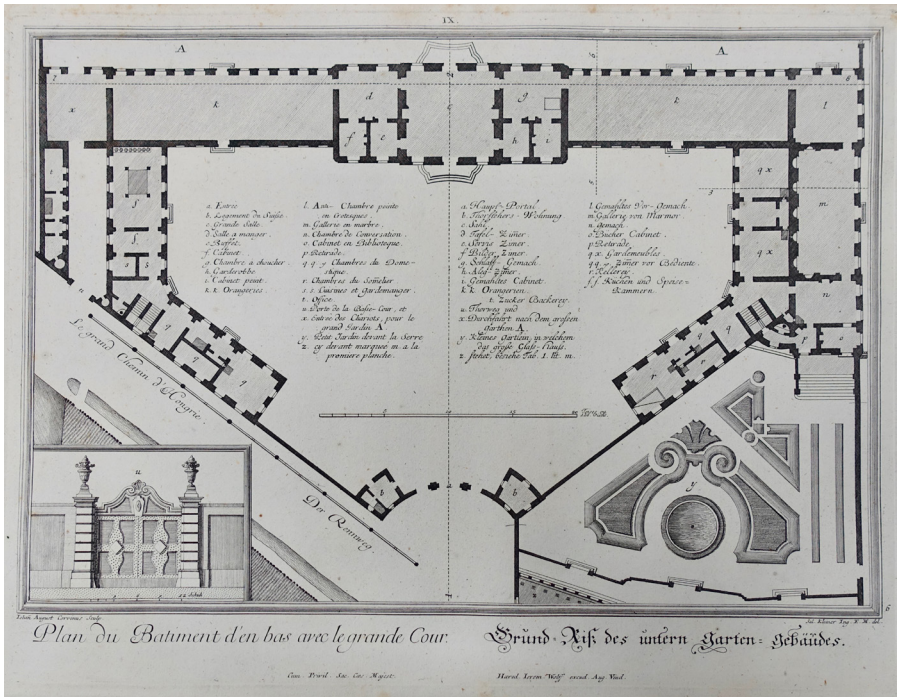


Fig. 2: Salomon Kleiner, Ground plan of the Lower Belvedere, Vienna, original drawing, ca. 1721-1723; engraved and printed by the workshop of Jeremias Wolff, Augsburg, 1738. Photo: S. Kleiner, *Das Belvedere zu Wien: Nach dem Stichwerk in 140 Blättern aus den Jahren 1731-40*, Dortmund, 1980, p. 181.

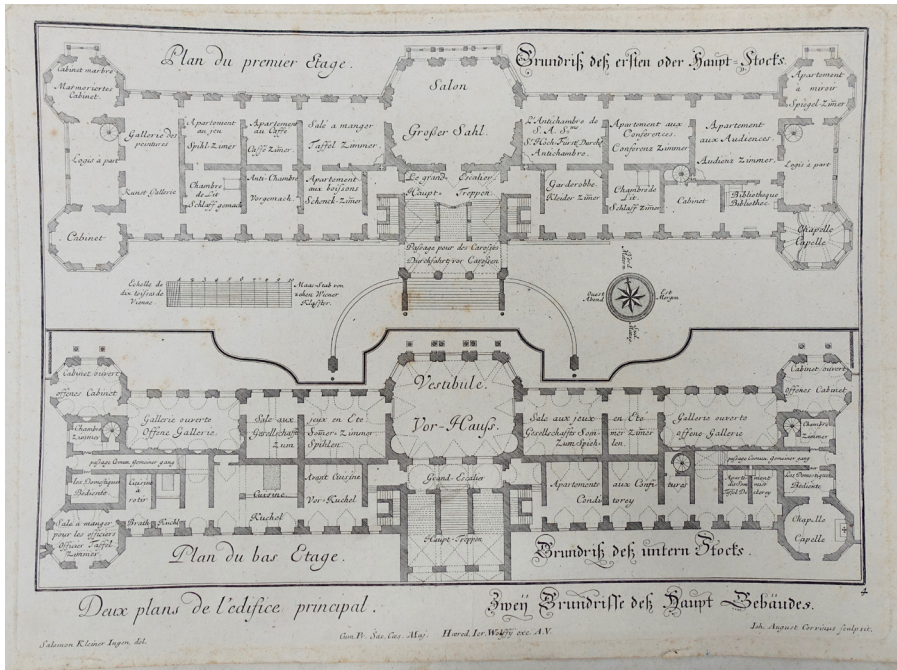


Fig. 3: Salomon Kleiner, Ground plan of the Upper Belvedere, Vienna, original drawing, ca. 1721-1723; engraved and printed by the workshop of Jeremias Wolff, Augsburg, 1735.
 Photo: S. Kleiner, *Das Belvedere zu Wien: Nach dem Stichwerk in 140 Blättern aus den Jahren 1731-40*, Dortmund, 1980, p. 91.



Fig. 4: Marcantonio Chiarini, Martino Altomonte (?), and Carlo Innocenzo Carloni (?), *Quadratura and Apollo and the Muses*, ca. 1716. Vienna, Lower Belvedere, vault of the Marble Hall. Photo by Author.



Fig. 5: Interior view of the Marble Hall, Lower Belvedere, Vienna.
Photo by Author.

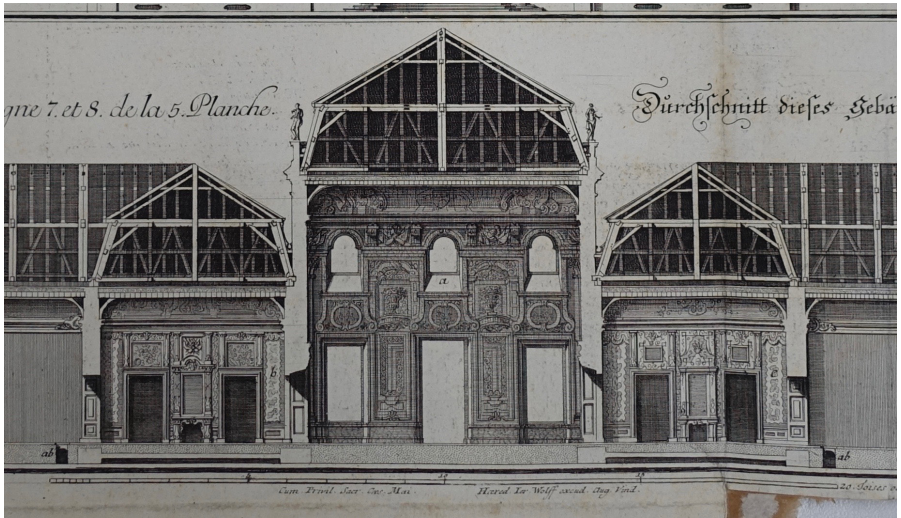


Fig. 6: Salomon Kleiner, Detail of a vertical section of the Lower Belvedere, Vienna, original drawing, ca. 1721-1723; engraved and printed by the workshop of Jeremias Wolff, Augsburg, 1738. Photo: S. Kleiner, *Das Belvedere zu Wien: Nach dem Stichwerk in 140 Blättern aus den Jahren 1731-40*, Dortmund, 1980, pp. 186-187.



Fig. 7: Gaetano Fanti and Carlo Innocenzo Carloni, *Quadratura and Eternal Fame of the House of Savoy*, ca. 1721. Vienna, Upper Belvedere, Marble Hall.
Photo by Author.



Fig. 8: Interior view of the Marble Hall, Upper Belvedere, Vienna.
Photo by Author.



Fig. 9: Gaetano Fanti and Carlo Innocenzo Carloni, *Quadratura and Apollo with the Allegories of Science, Scholarship, and the Fine Arts*, ca. 1721-1723. Vienna, Upper Belvedere, vault of the Sala Terrena. Photo by Author.

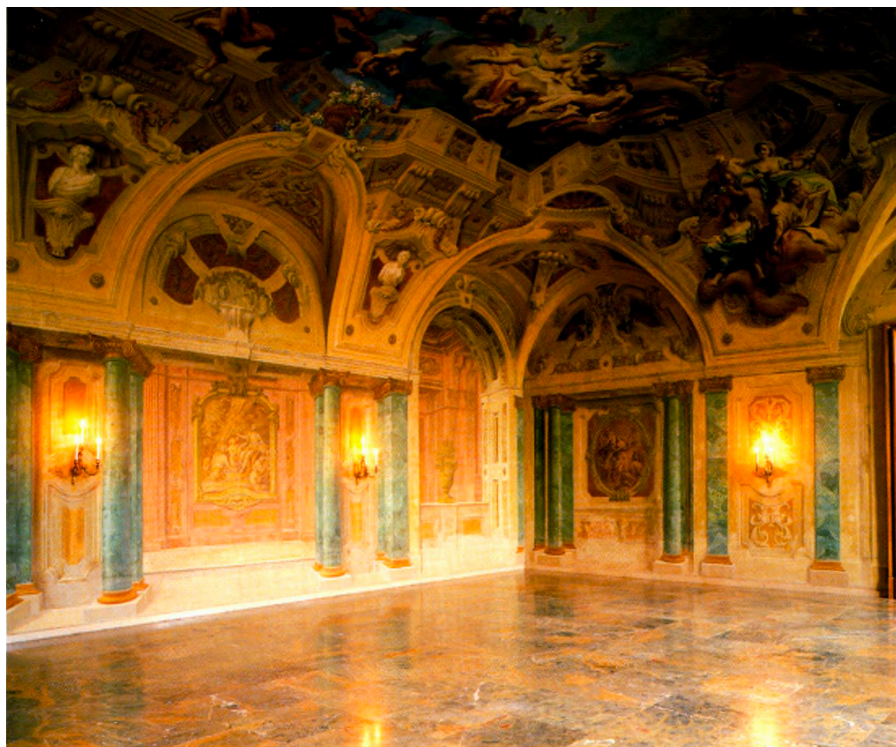


Fig. 10: Interior view of the Sala Terrena, Upper Belvedere, Vienna.
Photo: U. Seeger, *Belvedere: Prince Eugene of Savoy's Garden Palace, Wien*, 2006, p. 62.



Fig. 11: Marcantonio Chiarini, *Quadratura*, ca. 1716. Vienna, Lower Belvedere, vault of Prince Eugene's Bedchamber. Photo by Author.

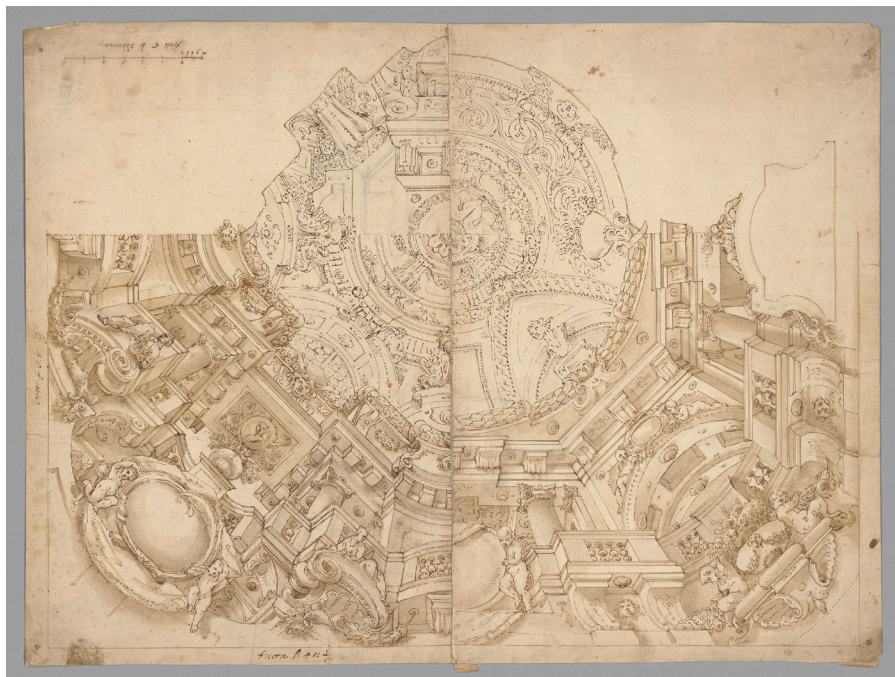


Fig. 12: Marcantonio Chiarini, Preparatory drawing for the vault of the Lower Belvedere's Marble Hall, ca. 1715, brown ink with brown wash and graphite underdrawing on paper, 45 x 60 cm. Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. AZ1403. Photo: ALBERTINA-WIEN.

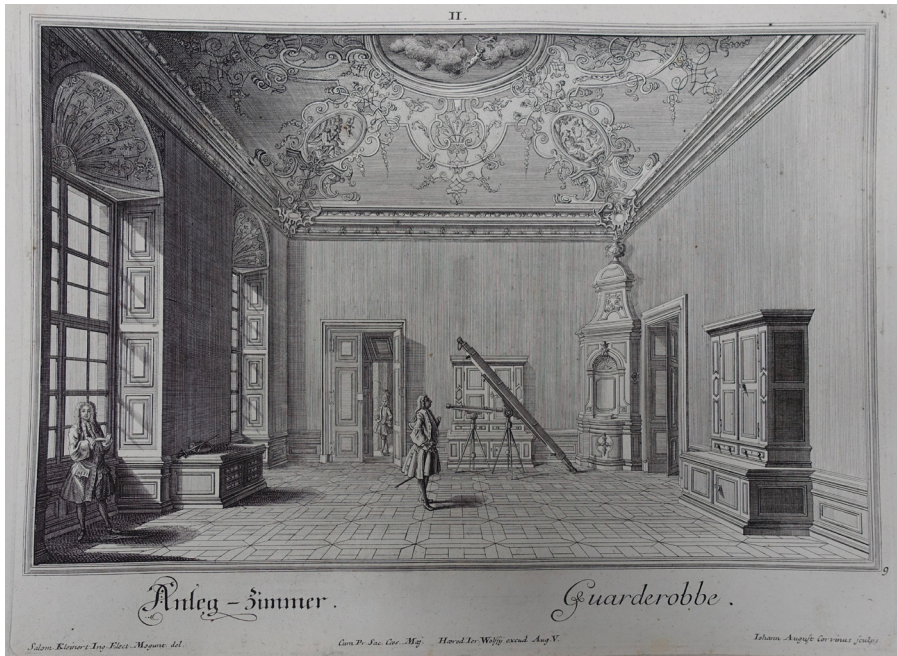


Fig. 13: Salomon Kleiner, Dressing room of the Upper Belvedere, Vienna, original drawing, ca. 1721-1723; engraved and printed by the workshop of Jeremias Wolff, Augsburg, 1733.
Photo: S. Kleiner, *Das Belvedere zu Wien: Nach dem Stichwerk in 140 Blättern aus den Jahren 1731-40*, Dortmund, 1980, p. 47.

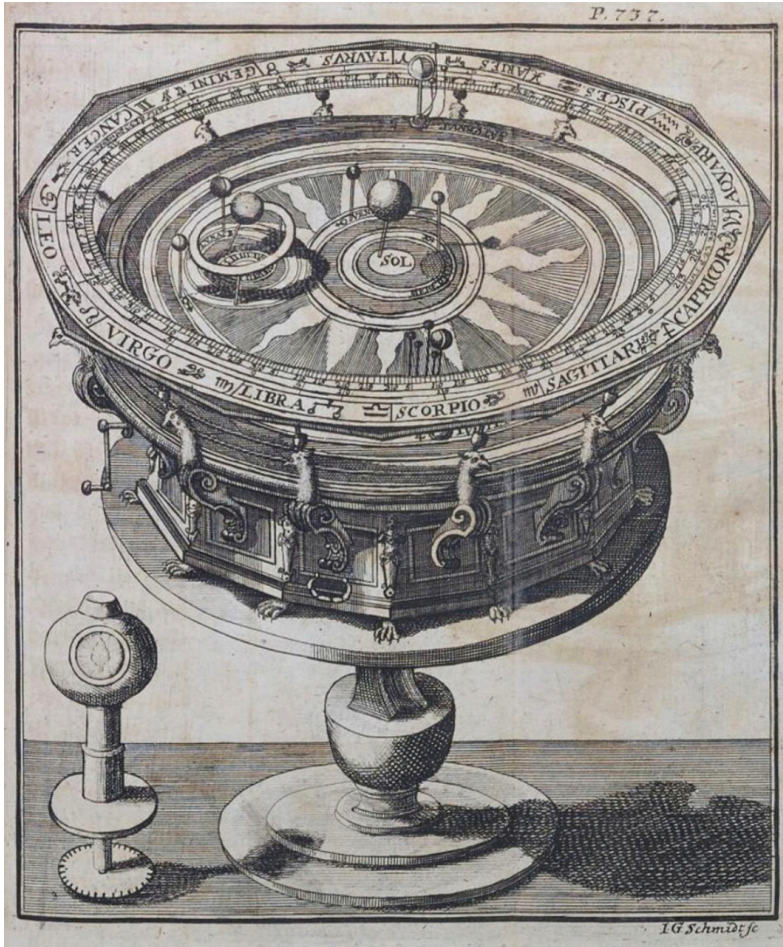


Fig. 14: Johann Georg Schmidt, *Prince Eugene's G & T model of the solar system*, engraving, 1730. Photo: J.B. Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hof Nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter, Theils aus den Getschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupffern ans Licht gegeben*, Hannover, 1730, «P. 737», but a plate inserted between pp. 736 and 737.



Fig. 15: Salomon Kleiner, Audience Hall of the Upper Belvedere, Vienna, original drawing, ca. 1721-1723; engraved and printed by the workshop of Jeremias Wolff, Augsburg, 1733.
Photo: S. Kleiner, *Das Belvedere zu Wien: Nach dem Stichwerk in 140 Blättern aus den Jahren 1731-40*, Dortmund, 1980, p. 35.