

Sacred performances – Eucharistic devotion.

The Eucharistic Chapel of the Kirche am Hof in Vienna

Sacred performances—Eucharistic devotion: The Eucharistic Chapel of Kirche am Hof in Vienna

This study aims to highlight the specific manifestations and iconography of the Eucharistic devotion of the Rosalienkapelle of the Jesuit Church Kirche am Hof, Vienna. By consulting the Litterae Annuae (the annual report of the Austrian Province to the General of the Jesuit Order in Rome) and the Historia Domus of Kirche am Hof, I was able to emphasize new aspects of the decoration, such as stuccowork, altarpieces, and ephemeral decorations. Dynastic representation and international alliances of the Habsburgs played an important part in shaping the architecture and decoration of the church dedicated to the Nine Choirs of Angels. The statue of the Virgin Mary standing in front of the church was inspired by the monument of the Immaculate Conception in Munich that was governed by the Wittelsbachs, who were strong allies of the Habsburgs. Masters executing stuccowork in Munich and Vienna came from the Lugano region of Northern Italy. Netherlandish influences can also be detected in the decoration of the Rosalienkapelle, embellished with wall paintings inspired by Peter Paul Rubens' designs.

Introduction

The presence of the Jesuit order in Vienna, capital of the Habsburg Empire, dates from the early 1550s, when Peter Canisius founded the first college in the city. After the initial success of the Society of Jesus in Graz, where Archduke Karl of Habsburg (the ruler of Styria between 1564 and 1590) supported the order against the Lutheran majority and founded a Catholic university, the progress of the Counter-Reformation in Inner Austria abated until the reign of Ferdinand II (the ruler of Styria from 1596, Emperor between 1619 and 1637).¹ Inspired by his father, Archduke Karl, and his Bavarian mother, Maria of Wittelsbach, Ferdinand strongly supported the Catholic cause. It was under his reign that an international Catholic army defeated the forces of the Protestant Union at the battle of White Mountain near Prague, Bohemia, on the 8th of November, 1620, and Protestant nobles were forced to accept a new constitution or leave the realm. Between 1628 and 1630 some eight hundred Styrian, Carinthian

and Carniolan nobles were forced into exile, many of whom, such as the Jörgers, found a new home in the city of Sopron (Ödenburg), in Hungary.²

Ferdinand II led a strictly religious life, both as a monarch and as a private individual: he attended Mass every day, practiced meditation according to the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola, conducted pilgrimages and, above all, appointed a Jesuit confessor and adviser, Guillaume Lamormaini, who compiled his biography titled “Ferdinandi II Virtutes” (Antwerp, 1638).³ On his death, he was succeeded by Ferdinand III (1637–1657), who was described as “intelligent and more flexible”, and who was able to consolidate his father’s achievements.⁴ In 1648, the Peace of Westphalia was concluded and Habsburgs gained full authority in Bohemia, and the Austrian “Erblände” (Habsburg hereditary lands), as well as partly in Hungary. Ferdinand III made no secret of his commitment to Catholic principles, and as a gesture of thanksgiving for the deliverance of Vienna from the Swedes he raised an imposing Marian statue (1645–1647) on Am Hof Square,

1 R. J. W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1550–1700. An Interpretation*, Oxford 1979, 41f.

2 For the exiled families, see: Karl Vocelka / Rudolf Leeb / Andrea Scheichl (eds.), *Renaissance und Reformation. Katalog zur Oberösterreichischen Landesausstellung*, Linz 2010.

3 Evans 1979, 72f. On pilgrimages, see: Laura Lynne Kinsey, *The Habsburgs at Mariazell: Piety, Patronage and Statecraft. 1620–1760*. Dissertation. University of California, Los Angeles 2000; Péter Farbaký – Szabolcs Serfőző (eds.), *Ungarn und Mariazell – Mariazell und Ungarn: Geschichte und Erinnerung*, Budapest 2004.

4 Evans 1979, p. 76; Mark Hengerer, *Kaiser Ferdinand III. (1608–1657). Eine Biographie*, Vienna-Cologne-Weimar 2012.

directly in front of the Jesuit church. The statue was reconstructed in 1667 by his son, Leopold I, who continued his father's religious policies.⁵

The frontispiece of the Kirche am Hof and stage design

The Jesuit church, which was dedicated to the Nine Choirs of Angels, had belonged to the Carmelite Order in the Middle Ages, and it was handed over to the Jesuits in 1554 by Ferdinand I.⁶ The interior of the church is late gothic (1386–1403) and comprises three naves, separated by pillars. According to plans kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris,⁷ the layout of the mediaeval church had an asymmetrical character that was visible from the oblique line of its façade, a characteristic that was further complicated by the additions of several side-chapels to the right and the left nave after the fire in 1607. On the right side of the entrance an oratory was built for the Confraternity of the Glorious Virgin Mary (Gloriosissimae Virginis in Coelos Assumptae, 1625),⁸ while on the left side a chapel was commissioned by Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (Ferdinand III's brother), which was dedicated to Saint Leopold (in

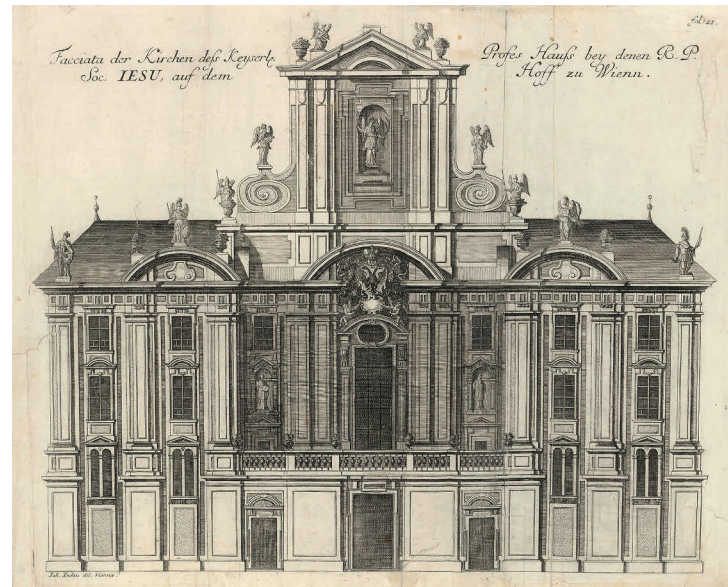


Abb. 1: Kirche am Hof, Johann Indau, Wienerisches Architektur-Kunst- und Säulenbuch, Vienna 1686, fol. 22

1662).⁹ Due to the development of Am Hof Square a new solution had to be found for the inorganic frontispiece of the Jesuit church, which designed by the imperial architect Filiberto Lucchese. The commissioner of the façade was Empress Eleonora Gonzaga, the widow of Emperor Ferdinand III and mother of Leopold I, as seen

5 On the statue of the Virgin Mary in Vienna, see: Werner Kalina, *Die Mariensäulen in Wernstein am Inn (1645/47), Wien (1664/6), München (1637/38) und Prag (1650)*, in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* LVIII, 2004, no.1, pp. 43–61.

6 Bernhard Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge I–III*, München-Regensburg 1902–1921, I, 45f.

7 Jean Valléry-Radot, *Le Recueil de plans d'édifices de la Compagnie de Jésus conservé à la Bibliothèque National de Paris*, Rome 1960, pp. 282f. The plans kept in the Bibliothèque National have been analysed by Richard Bösel and Herbert Karner, among others. See the following footnotes.

8 While the inscription legible today above the gate of the oratory refers to the Assumption of the Virgin and bears the date 1625, on Johann Indau's *Wienerisches Architektur-Kunst- und Säulenbuch* (Vienna, 1686), fol. 19 the names of two other confraternities appear, namely B.M.V. Annunciatæ and B.M.V. Immaculatæ. For the identity of these as well as other confraternities active in the Kirche am Hof see: Zsófia Kádár, *Die jesuitischen Kongregationen der österreichischen Ordensprovinz (von ihren Anfängen bis 1671). Typen und Tätigkeitsfelder (ein Forschungsbericht)*, in: Elisabeth Lobenwein / Martin Scheutz / Alfred Stefan Weiß (eds.), *Bruderschaften als multifunktionale Dienstleister der Frühen Neuzeit in Zentraleuropa*, Vienna, 2018, pp. 239–311, especially 308f. Regarding the date of the construction of the oratories I have found a mention in the *Historia Domus* of the Kirche am Hof from 1628, which, refers to the oratory of the confraternity of the nobles, named after the Assumption of the Virgin Mary: "Hoc demum anno [...] excrevit sacellum sodalitatæ procerum in domo nostra eleganti sane et operosa structura, fenestrate ad forum spectant [...]" *Historia Domus* (1550–1650). Archiv der Österreichischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu, Vienna, no. 2 11 15 181630, 1628, fol. 136r. The double windows mentioned in the text are visible on Indau's engraving representing the façade as they are different from Filiberto Lucchese's later design.

9 A seminal article on the Kirche-am-Hof is that authored by Richard Bösel, *Die Fassade der Kirche am Hof und ein unbekanntes Bauprojekt für St. Michael in Wien*, in: *Kunsthistoriker* IV, 1987, no. 3–4, pp. 40–47. For a more recent study, see: Herbert Karner, *Die drei Wiener Bauanlagen der Jesuiten, Topographie und Wirkung*, in: Herbert Karner, Werner Telesko (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Wien*, Vienna 2003, pp. 39–55. See also: Patrick Schicht / Werner Telesko, *Die ehemalige Jesuitenkirche Am Hof in Wien. Zu den neu entdeckten Stuck- und Malereiresten der frühbarocken Ausstattung*, in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* LXI, 2007, no. 4, pp. 535–553.



Abb. 2: Franziskanerkirche, Frauenkirchen, High Altar

in the inscription on the cartouche below the coat of arms of the Habsburg Family.¹⁰

The new design of the frontispiece (1657–1663) combined the characteristics of palatial architecture with a scenic design, resulting in a revolutionary urban plan that recalls Borromini's solution for Sant'Agnese in Piazza Navona, Rome.¹¹ The three-storeyed projections

on the sides form a coherent unity with the neighbouring palaces. Flanked by these protruding "wings", which were intended to incorporate the previously built oratories of the Confraternities and of the Archduke, there is an entrance hall, which is surmounted by a terrace with a balustrade. The central part of the frontispiece situated behind the terrace is embellished by a large window and a gable wall, accompanied by volutes on both sides. Monumental aediculae comprising pilasters and tympanums appear repeatedly along the frontispiece, creating unbroken rhythm and uniformity. The coronation tympanums are embellished with the figures of nine angels (alluding to the dedication of the church), the figure of the Virgin Mary (on the central tympanum), and of Jesuit saints standing in niches on the lower level.

The layout of the pilasters and windows follows a design that was adopted by Filiberto Lucchese in the Schloss Petronell, the Esterházy Palace in Eisenstadt and the so-called Leopold Wing of the Hofburg. As these commissions indicate, Lucchese also worked for noble families who attended the court of the Emperor, such as the Pálffy, the Esterházy and the Batthyány families.¹² The placement of the tympanums and the form of the entablature from the frontispiece of the Kirche-am-Hof appear on the main altarpiece of the Franciscan pilgrimage church in Frauenkirchen, Austria (1695–1702), which was commissioned by Prince Pál Esterházy.¹³ This reminds us that the façades of churches have often been regarded as external altars, while the retable, which comprised the same architectural motifs

10 The report of the Austrian Province to the General of the Jesuit Order in Rome (1642) mentions that Empress Eleonora donated 12,000 Florins for the purpose of the construction of a new frontispiece, and the chief architect was also consulted, yet the execution of the project was postponed due to the Thirty Years War. *Litterae Annuae Provinciae Austriae Societatis Jesu* a. 1642, 9v. https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_9074370 (26.05.2023)

According to a later account (1660), the Empress Eleonora Gonzaga widow of the late Emperor, Ferdinand II of Habsburg (Ferdinand III's wife was also called Eleonora Gonzaga of Mantua-Nevers) donated a large sum for the frontispiece of the church. The architect encharged with the execution was Giovanni Battista Carlone, who probably followed the design by Filiberto Lucchese. "Pro novo autem frontispicio contractum est cum aedili Domino Caesario aedili Carlon iuxta contractum existentem in archivio, ut omne in se curam, ac operam susciperet modello ex Urbe approbata conforme extruendi aedificium, et hoc quidem annorum spatio trium, ad pensionem 23000 florenorum. Horum maiorem partem ad eundem finem, defuncta in domino Eleonora Augusta Ferdinandi 2di coniunx vidua ultima voluntate dicatam voluit." *Litterae Annuae Domus Professae* (1651–1689). Archiv der Österreichischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu, Vienna, inv. no. 2 11 15 25, fol. 245v. For Giovanni Battista Carlone see: Petr Fidler, *Architektur des Seicento. Baumeister, Architekten und Bauten des Wiener Hofkreises*, Innsbruck, 1990, 109f.

11 Bösel 1987, p. 46.

12 Peter Fidler, Filiberto Lucchese – ein vergessener Pionier der Österreichischen Barockarchitektur?, in: *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* XXX, 1988, pp. 177–198.

13 There is much in common between frontispieces of sacred and profane buildings and the architectural elements of altarpieces regarded as "portae coeli". The architect of the pilgrimage church in Frauenkirchen, Francesco Martinelli, was active in Vienna, thus he knew the Kirche am Hof. See: Ferenc Veress, *The Adoration of the Eucharist. Symbolism and Architectural Context. Altars from Western Hungary, from the 17th century*, in: *Építés-építészettudomány* XLVIII, 2020, no. 3–4, pp. 197–225.

on a smaller scale, was viewed symbolically as “Porta Coeli”, or “Heaven’s Gate”.¹⁴

Furthermore, as has been emphasised, the frontispiece of the Kirche am Hof has a relationship with stage architecture: the placement of the recessed terrace between the two side-risalits, and the system of monumental pilasters standing on a high basement and the flanking niches share common features with the Teatro Farnese in Parma, which was designed by Giovanni Battista Aleotti (1616–1617).¹⁵ The type of stage architecture as seen in the Teatro Farnese was in turn inspired by the proscenium (*frons scenae*) of Andrea Palladio’s Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza (1579–1582).¹⁶

However, evidence attesting to the functioning of the frontispiece of the Kirche am Hof as an actual stage is scarce, even if we assume that the Marian Column standing in front of it attracted religious processions accompanied by music.¹⁷ Still, the conception of the church façade as a scenic element is emphatic and it might be due either to the theatrical character of the late Renaissance and Baroque urban landscape or to the fusion between the stage and the urban setting as noted by Palladio’s follower, Vincenzo Scamozzi.¹⁸

As attested by an engraving kept today in the Historisches Museum der Stadt in Vienna, on the 31st of March, 1782, the loggia of the Kirche am Hof was used for a special ceremony: Pope Pius VI gave a solemn benediction and absolution to the people gathered on Am Hof Square.¹⁹ The Pope was visiting the Habsburg Emperor Joseph II to convince him to moderate his religious reforms, which had led to the dissolution of several religious orders and marked the end of a pros-



Abb. 3: Former Jesuit church, Trnava (Slovakia), High Altar

perous era in Catholic church decoration.²⁰ Although the Jesuit Order had been dissolved ten years earlier and the Kirche am Hof had since functioned as a Garrisonkirche (garrison church), after the new imperial decree it became a parish church and its sanctuary was refurbished.

The interior design of the Kirche am Hof and its models

As emphasised by Richard Bösel, Viennese architecture in the first half of the 17th century was characterised by stylistic plurality: almost every religious order (such as the Carmelites, the Paulines, the Dominicans and even the Jesuits, in the case of the Universitätskirche) built or transformed its churches according to a different

14 Haslam stressed this “cross-reference between external and internal façade” with regard to Pellegrino Tibaldi’s churches, the Santuario di Saronno (1596–1613), and the altarpieces of the Duomo di Milano, designed on the commission of San Carlo Borromeo. Richard Haslam, Pellegrino Tibaldi: nuove proposte di studio, in: *Arte Lombarda* XCIV-XCV, 1990, no. 3–4, pp. 17–30, especially p. 26. It is interesting to note that members of the Tencalla family from Bissone worked on the sanctuary of Saronno. The Tencallas were Filiberto Lucchese’s staunchest associates, one of whom, Giovanni Giacomo Tencalla, designed the Dominikanerkirche in Vienna (built from 1631). See: Ivano Proserpi, *I Tencalla di Bissone*. [Artisti dei laghi. Itinerari europei 4.], Lugano 1999, pp. 81f.

15 Karner 2003, p. 44.

16 For a detailed analysis of the Teatro Olimpico, see: Licisco Magagnato, The Genesis of the Teatro Olimpico, in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XIV, 1951, no. 3–4, pp. 209–220. For a helpful comparison between Palladio’s stage-architecture and Venetian painting of the Cinquecento see: David Rosand, *Painting in Sixteenth Century Venice*. Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto, Cambridge 19972, pp. 112f.

17 Andrew H. Weaver, Music in the Service of Counter-Reformation Politics: The Immaculate Conception at the Habsburg Court of Ferdinand III, in: *Music & Letters* LXXXVII, 2006, no. 3, pp. 361–378.

18 Karner 2003, p. 45, refers to a quotation from Scamozzi’s *Idea dell’architettura universale* (1615). For the urban planning of the late-Renaissance (Serlio, Palladio, Scamozzi) and its scenical implications, see: Gábor Hajnóczy, *Az ideális város a reneszánszban* (The Ideal City in the Renaissance), Budapest 1994, pp. 90f.

19 Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, inv. 19823. The description of the event is to be found in: Joseph Kurz, *Gedenkbuch der I.-f. Stadtpfarre zu den neun Chören der Engel am Hof*, Vienna 1891, pp. 15f.

20 Rudolf Leeb / Maximilian Liebmann / Georg Scheibelreiter / Peter G. Tropper (eds.), *Geschichte des Christentums in Österreich*, Wien 2003, pp. 296f. and pp. 332f.



Abb. 4: Stift Neukloster, Wiener Neustadt, Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin Immaculate

style.²¹ Similarly to Giacomo Tencalla of Bissone, the architect of the Dominican church in Vienna (built from 1630), Filiberto Lucchese also represented a clearly Italian, modern orientation.²² After Lucchese's death, one of his former assistants, Giovanni Pietro Tencalla, undertook the works begun by his master, and continued the diffusion of the Italian style in Central Europe.²³

As noted in the introduction, the Styrian branch of the Habsburgs were close allies of the Bavarian rulers, the

Wittelsbachs, to whom they were connected by marriages: Ferdinand III's mother was a Bavarian princess and the Emperor's sister was married to the Bavarian Archduke. The Wittelsbachs strongly supported the Jesuits and awarded important artistic commissions to them, the most representative of which was without doubt the Saint Michael church (the Michaelskirche) in Munich, which was built between 1583 and 1597.²⁴ As court artists of Wilhelm V of Wittelsbach, Friedrich Sustis and Hubert Gerhardt played a leading role in planning the inner decoration of the Saint Michael Church. Gerhardt designed the series of angels, apostles and other stucco figures, which were placed in the niches of the nave and of the sanctuary.²⁵ In the niches of the nave eighteen angels hold the so-called "Arma Christi", the instruments of Christ's Passion, their presence also emphasising the dedication of the church to the Archangel Michael, whose bronze statue decorates the frontispiece of the church. Such a monumental enterprise could not have been accomplished by a single master alone, Hubert Gerhard also having assistants at his disposal, two of whom, Martin Bernhard and Georg Rauch, are identified in contemporary sources.²⁶

However, it is equally important to stress that the North-Italian workshop of the Castello family from Melide (today in the Lugano district of Switzerland) also played a role in completing the stuccos of the Michaelskirche.²⁷ The Castelli were later engaged in the decoration of the Hofkirche Unsere Liebe Frau in Neuburg an der Donau, situated North of Munich. This late mediaeval church was used by the Protestants, yet in 1614 it was handed over by Archduke Georg Wilhelm to the Jesuits, who completed the early Baroque construction. Between 1616 and 1619, an exceptionally rich figurative stucco series was produced by Michele, Antonio and Pietro Castello.²⁸

21 Richard Bösel, Wiener "Seicento"-Architektur von Ferdinand II. bis Leopold I, in: *Italia–Austria. Alla ricerca del passato comune. Atti dell'Istituto Italiano di Studi Germanici* 4. Rome 1995, pp. 149–166.

22 Filiberto's grandfather, Alberto Lucchese as well as his great-grandfather, Albert the Elder, were active as master builders of Archduke Ferdinand II of Habsburg in Tyrol and Prague. See: Fidler 1988, p. 179.

23 Petr Fidler, Giovanni Pietro Tencalla and Architecture during the Episcopate of Karl von Lichtenstein-Castelcorno, in: Ondřej Jakubec (ed.), *Karl von Lichtenstein-Castelcorno (1624–1695). Bishop of Olomouc and Central European Prince*, Olomouc 2019, pp. 193–214.

24 Reinhold Baumstark (ed.), *Rom in Bayern. Kunst und Spiritualität der ersten Jesuiten*, Munich 1997, pp. 375f.

25 Dorothea Diemer, Hubert Gerhard und Carlo di Cesare Pelagio. *Bronzeplastiker der Spätrenaissance I–II*, Berlin 2004, I, pp. 123f.

26 Diemer 2004, I, p. 126.

27 Eva Christina Vollmer, *Der Stuckdekor in St. Michael*, in: Karl Wagner / Albert Keller (eds.), *St. Michael in München. Festschrift zum 400. Jahrestag der Grundsteinlegung und zum Abschluß des Wiederaufbaus*, Munich–Zürich 1983, pp. 112–127.

28 Adam Horn / Werner Mayer, *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Stadt- und Landkreis Neuburg an der Donau [Die Kunstdenkmäler von Schwaben V]*, Munich 1958, 90f; *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon K. G. Saur*, XVII, München–Leipzig 1997, pp. 189–190 (Tilo Grabach).



Abb. 5: Kirche am Hof, Vienna, Frans Luycx, Crucifixion with members of the Imperial Family

As noted by Ingeborg Schemper, the Hofkirche in Neuburg can be regarded as a parallel for the interior of the Kirche am Hof in Vienna, which was reconstructed after a great fire in 1607.²⁹ Thus, the stucco decoration

of the Viennese Jesuit church antedates the execution of the frontispiece and was probably executed by a Lombardian workshop.³⁰ The *Historia Domus* of the Kirche am Hof explicitly mentions the date of execution of the stuccoes: in 1630, crypts were built under the side-chapels to the right of the nave and the vault of the church was embellished with painted decoration.³¹ In the following year (1631), three side-chapels were decorated with angels holding symbolic instruments and the pillars were adorned with capitals composed of leaves (*lamniscatis frondibus*), contributing to their majestic appearance.³²

The walls of the main nave were decorated following the model of triumphal arches: two winged angels hold crowns of laurel above the arches, while above the entablature angels are standing with the instruments of the Passion. It is important to stress the stylistic and iconographic affinity between the stuccos of the Kirche am Hof and those made by the Castelli in Neuburg an der Donau, as well as those of the Michaelskirche in Munich.³³

In 1642, the *Litterae Annuae* (the annual report of the Austrian Province to the General of the Jesuit Order) mentioned that a new main altar had been inaugurated in the Kirche am Hof.³⁴ This careful and detailed description of the 17th century altarpiece is all the more precious, being the original, which was since removed and replaced by Andrea Pozzo's altarpiece (see below). As stated in the account, the 17th century altarpiece had been covered for a number of years because of the gilding process, and it was unveiled during the Christmas celebrations of that year. We know from the *Litterae Annuae* that the period between the execution and inauguration took almost ten years: the altar was

29 As observed by Ingeborg Schemper, *Stuckdekorationen des 17. Jahrhunderts im Wiener Raum*, Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1983, pp. 26f.

30 Schemper 1983, p. 31.

31 "Inchoavimus quoque hoc anno dilatare aedis sacrae spatia additis e destra parte sacellis ut iam pridem e laeva illustrium virorum liberalitate [...]" *Historia Domus* 1630, fol. 144r. For the original painted decoartion of the church walls see: Schicht / Telesko 2007, pp. 539f.

32 "[...] ad sacella tria e gypsio laboratis angelis magnifice ornata accessere parietes variis emblematis depicti, uti et vertex columnarum, quae fornicem sustinent lamniscatis frondibus coronatae quae maiestatem ingredientibus exhibent [...]" *Historia Domus* 1631, fol. 145v. According to Schicht / Telesko 2007, p. 551, the second, the third and the fourth chapel on the south are strongly connected iconographically as well as stylistically, consequently these belong to the first phase of the decoration, mentioned by the *Historia Domus*.

33 Hubert Gerhard and his assistant Georg Rauch were even called to Vienna in 1598 to decorate a chapel commissioned by Archduke Matthias in the Hofburg. Diemer 2004, I, p. 126. We have sources for the activity of the Castelli in Vienna, although later than the stuccos of the Kirche am Hof. See, for example: Schemper 1983, pp. 92f. (for Elia Castello being active in Salzburg) and p. 110 (for Giovanni Castelli, who was previously active in Göttweig).

34 *Litterae Annuae Austriae Societatis Jesu* a. 1642. 9v. https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_9074370 (26.05.2023)



Abb. 6: Kirche am Hof, Rosalienkapelle (today dedicated to Pope Pius X)

carved in 1633, yet the painting (gilding) process was only completed by 1642.³⁵

The construction was over sixty-six feet high and thirty-seven feet wide (approximately 20.46 by 11.47 metres) and it was composed of four superimposed storeys. As the account from the year 1642 is not exactly clear about the details and the arrangement of the altarpiece, it should be viewed in conjunction with the account of the following year, which also provides pre-



Abb. 7: Kirche am Hof, Rosalienkapelle, decoration of the vault

cious information about the main altar.³⁶ The dimensions and the placement of the figures of this lost altarpiece of the Kirche am Hof closely resemble the main altar of the Jesuit church in Nagyszombat (today Trnava, in Slovakia), which was made between 1637 and 1640.³⁷

On the first level, the retablo was embellished with a tabernacle and figures of angels arranged in groups of three between columns, alluding to the dedication of the church to the Nine Choirs of Angels. On the second level there were the figures of Saint Catherine of Alexandria and Saint Joseph to the left, with Saint Barbara and Saint John the Baptist to the right, while in the middle there was a painted representation (an icon) of the Blessed Virgin Mary.³⁸ Above these figures stood the four Fathers of the Church, placed on two sides of the IHS monogram, which was placed just above the figure of the Virgin. On the fourth level there were four Jesuit saints, Saint Aloysius Gonzaga, Saint Ignatius of

35 "Nuper opere sculptoris affabre elaboratus, stauis quadraginea conspicuus erectus est suggestus, qui extremam manum inaurandus expectat, ipsum tamen opus et mole et arte singulari est, curatum item in commodum eorum, qui Eucharistico pane reficiendi sunt, ut magno confluxu ad ternas ara accumbere possint: accessit synthesis lintea, calices aliquot et nonnulla altarium ornamenta magni pretii." "A new retabulum (suggestus) has recently been erected, decorated with some forty sculptures, as a result of the masterly craftsmanship of the sculptor. The external part of the retabulum still awaits gilding, yet its richness and its dimensions, as well as its execution, are incomparable. It has been erected for the benefit of those (faithful), who wish to be renewed through the consuming of the Eucharistic bread. Thus the numerous believers will be able to approach the altar three by three. The retabulum has been endowed with a great number of (liturgical) draperies and, chalices and precious altar decorations." *Litterae Annuae Austriae Societatis Jesu* 1633, p. 6. https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DOD_51438&order=1&view=SINGLE (13.09. 2023)

36 *Litterae Annuae Austriae Societatis Jesu* 1643, p. 5. https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_9068110&order=1&view=SINGLE (27.05.2023)

37 Ivan Rusina (ed.), *Barok. Dejiny Slovenského výtvarného umenia*, Bratislava 1998, p. 424. The dimensions of the Trnava altarpiece are: 20.3 by 14.8 metres. Saint Catherine, Barbara and the Jesuit saints are the same as in the Kirche am Hof. It has been observed by the earlier literature that the Trnava altarpiece probably follows a model from Vienna. Jenő Rados, *Magyar oltárok* (Hungarian Altars), Budapest 1938, p. 62.

38 This fact is missing from the description of 1642, but fortunately the account describing the Marian festivities of the following year makes it quite clear. *Litterae Annuae* 1643, 5.

Loyola, Saint Francis Xavier and Saint Stanislas Kostka, while in the middle there was a painted representation of the Throne of Mercy. On the gable stood the Infant Jesus Christ, holding a globe, adored by angels, and flanked by the four Evangelists and two Archangels, Gabriel and Michael. The main altarpiece in Vienna was conceived as an iconographic pendant of the frontispiece of the Kirche am Hof, as the figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of the angels appear on both.

Jesuit sources generally remain silent about the identity of the sculptors working on these altars, so it is exceptional that we know about the Tyrolean sculptor Adam Baldauf, who was commissioned (1628) by the Habsburg King Ferdinand II to carve the altarpieces of the Jesuit Universitätskirche, which were later replaced during the refurbishment of the church by Andrea Pozzo.³⁹ Baldauf died in 1631, yet some of his works survive, and he might have left disciples in Vienna who were able to follow in his footsteps. His high altar of the Parish church in Bressanone (1626–1628), which is known from a description, was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and to the Archangel Michael, and hence it can be compared to the dismantled high altar of the Kirche am Hof.⁴⁰

The description in the *Litterae Annuae* of the festivity in honour of the Virgin Mary that was organised by the Confraternity of the Glorious Virgin Mary (the Mariä-Himmelfahrts Bruderschaft) in 1643 highlights how the altarpiece functioned on special occasions. During the festivity of the Assumption of the Virgin, the central panel of the retable was removed and replaced by the figure of the Moon, while the area in front of the altarpiece, from the pavement to the vaulting, was illuminated by candles arranged in a semi-circle to symbolise the stars. The account describes the appearance of the decoration as the Sun (!) accompanied by the stars, symbolising the Eucharist.⁴¹

The allusion to the Eucharist brings to mind the decorations of the Devotion of the Forty Hours that

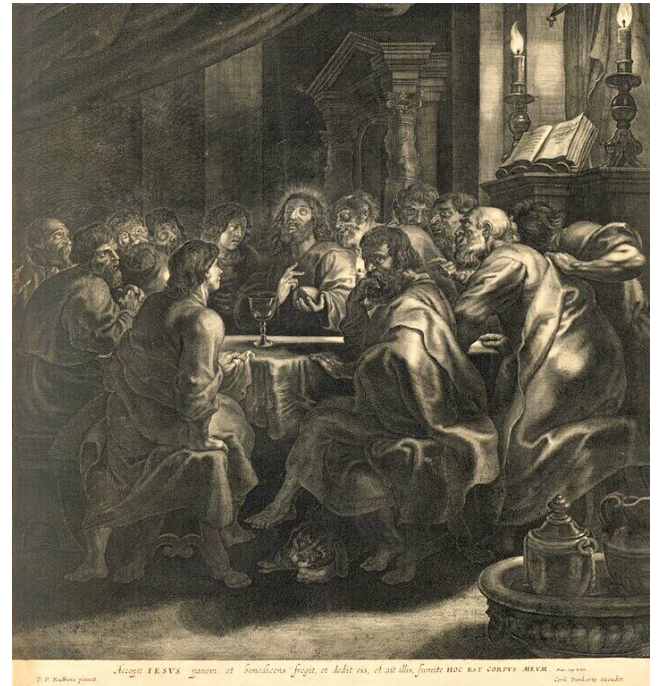


Abb. 8: Unknown master (after Boëtius Adamsz Bolswert), *The Last Supper*, 1603–1656, Engraving, 70,2 × 54,5 × 5,8 cm, Albertina, Vienna

were created in the Chiesa del Gesù, in Rome. The custom evolved from the liturgical ceremonies of Good Friday, when the Deposition of the Crucifix to the Holy Sepulchre took place. The sepulchre was illuminated by candles and watched over by monks and other pious persons for forty hours until the Crucifix was replaced on the high altar, signifying the Resurrection.⁴² As described by Mark S. Weil, the architectural decoration for the Forty Hours Devotion in the Chiesa del Gesù in 1608 was influenced by the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza and the Teatro Farnese in Parma. The *apparato* that year was separated from the rest of the church by a staircase and a proscenium arch, and had four storeys composed of colonnades and arches, each of which contained lamps and statues of saints.⁴³

39 Erich Egg–Meinrad Pizzinini, *Zum Werk des Bildhauers Adam Baldauf in Brixen*, in: *Veröffentlichungen des Tiroler Landes-museums Ferdinandeum LVIII*, 1978, pp. 23–66.

40 *Ibid.*, pp. 26f.

41 “[...] novum atque augustum erexit pegma Lunae grandioris effigie, in summi altaris media seposita tantisper Angelorum Reginae, quae partem illam occupat icone spatiisque post aram in hemyclium concameratis ac lampadibus ad stellati caeli formam accensis, quibus tamquam sol totidem sideribus salutaris hostia stiparetur.” LA 1643, 5. “[...] a new, spectacular stage has been built for the monumental representation of the Moon; for this occasion the icon of the Queen of Angels (that is, the Virgin Mary) has been removed from the central part of the altarpiece and the space before the altar was decorated with lanterns arranged in form of a hemicycle, which accompanied the blessed Eucharist as the Sun is accompanied by the stars.” I would like to emphasise that the part keeping the Host in the ostensory is also in the shape of the moon and is called the “lunula”.

42 Mark S. Weil, *The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Baroque Illusions*, in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes XXXVII*, 1974, pp. 218–248.

43 *Ibid.*, pp. 225f.



Abb. 9: Kirche am Hof, Rosalienkapelle, unknown master, The Last Supper

In the left transept of the Jesuit Church in Munich, the Michaelskirche, the veneration of the Virgin Mary is combined with that of the Eucharist in Anton Maria Viani's altarpiece titled "The Sacrifice of the New Testament" (1588–1589).⁴⁴ The Virgin and Child are sitting on a highly elevated throne, raised above an altarpiece upon which a monstrance is placed for adoration, and covered by a transparent veil. Thus, the group of the Virgin and Son are strongly linked with the Eucharist placed below and the IHS-monogram and the instruments of the Passion held by angels appearing above. Among the figures gathered around the altar one can distinguish the Pope and his entourage on the left and the secular rulers on the right, Archduke Wilhelm V of Bavaria among them. This type of hierarchical composition also appears on the high altar (1622) of the Cistercian Church (the Neuklosterkirche) in Wiener Neustadt, Austria, a town which served as a residence of the Habsburgs for a short period. In this work, Pope Gregory XV and Ferdinand II of Habsburg appear kneeling as witnesses in perpetual adoration of the mystical event of the Coronation of the Virgin.⁴⁵

Religious and secular authorities are seen adoring the Eucharist on the series of tapestries executed

after designs made by Peter Paul Rubens, which was commissioned by Isabella Clara Eugenia, Governor of the Netherlands and widow of Archduke Karl VII of Habsburg. After the death of her husband, the Duchess joined the Order of the Poor Clares and donated a sumptuous series of draperies to the convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid (between 1625 and 1628).⁴⁶ The "Adoration of the Eucharist" was part of this series, which probably hung attached to the main altar of the church on special feasts, such as Corpus Christi. A study by Rubens, today kept in the Art Institute of Chicago, shows how the tapestries hung, as well as the special arrangement of the Adoration scene.⁴⁷ In the focus of the composition was a niche, protected by a grille, above which appeared two angels, bearing a monstrance. Above, the Nine Choirs of Angels held musical instruments and sung in praise of the Blessed Sacrament, while on lower level the Eucharist was adored by the Pope and the Emperor. Thus, the scene appeared as an allegory of Heaven and Earth, united by the divine liturgy performed in honour of the Sacrament.⁴⁸

The Convent of the Descalzas Reales, which was founded by the Infanta Juana, daughter of Emperor Charles V, served as a retreat for female members of the Habsburg Court, who assisted the religious ceremonies performed in the cloister.⁴⁹ In the same way, the Kirche am Hof in Vienna was a privileged place within the Court, Empress Eleonora Gonzaga often being present at the various religious feasts, for example the Quadragesima, or the period before Easter, as attested by the *Litterae Annuae* of the Austrian Province.⁵⁰ Rubens's disciple and follower, Frans Luycx, depicted the Empress, her son Leopold I and other members of the family in the "Adoration of the Crucifix" (around 1663) in one of the side-chapels of the Kirche am Hof.⁵¹ The composition of this painting recalls late mediaeval epitaphs, yet it is also inspired by the new dramatism of Peter Paul Rubens's art, for example the fearful dark sky shadowed by clouds and the Sun eclipsed by the Earth.

44 Baumstark 1997, p. 120.

45 Friedrich Polleross, *Die Repräsentation der Habsburger (1493–1806)*, Petersberg 2023, pp. 299. I would like to draw attention to the similarity between this painting and Maarten de Vos' *Adoration of the Name of Jesus* in Saint James' Church in Antwerp.

46 Nora de Poorter, *The Eucharist Series I–II. [Corpus Rubenianum Part II]*, Brussels 1978, I, pp. 23–63.

47 The only difference between the sketch and the completed tapisseries is that in the final version the Ecclesiastical authorities led by the Pope appear on the left and the Emperor and his entourage are on the right side, while in the sketch, this is reversed. For a thorough analyses of the preparatory study in Chicago, see: Poorter 1978, pp. 258f.

48 Poorter 1978, pp. 176f.

49 Ibid., pp. 23f.

50 There are several descriptions of the pious activities of the members of the Habsburg Court in the *Litterae Annuae*.

51 Polleross 2023, pp. 230f.



Abb. 10: Peterskirche, Munich, Georg Loth, The Last Supper

The Eucharistic Chapel (the Rosalienkapelle) of the Kirche am Hof

As described by Friedrich Polleross in his recent book on the representation of the Habsburgs, the devotion of the Immaculate Virgin Mary went hand in hand with the adoration of the Eucharist,⁵² and other forms of devotion such as the veneration of the Crucifix,⁵³ of the

Holy Family, and of the founders of the Jesuit Order.⁵⁴ Consequently, the iconography of the altarpieces placed in the side-chapels of the Kirche am Hof followed the special iconography proposed by the Jesuit Order, yet it also reflected the preferences of the Habsburg Dynasty. As shown by Werner Telesko, the engraved illustrations of the monumental work entitled “*Bavaria Sancta*” (Munich, 1615–1628) compiled by the Jesuit Matthäus Rader for Prince Maximilian I of Bayern were especially influent on the decoration the side-chapels of the Kirche am Hof, executed in the early 1630s.⁵⁵

To my knowledge, a precise date for the execution of the side-altars of the Kirche am Hof was so far missing, consequently it is important to refer to the *Historia Domus*, which mentions that in 1612 the old altarpiece dedicated to the Holy Apostles was replaced by a new one, with the largesse of Sophia Poplin, the widow of Ferdinand de Hoyes.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the *Historia Domus* tells that in 1632 three side-altars were completed (their names are not indicated), which is in keeping with the date of the high altar (1633) and that of the stuccos decorating the side-chapels (1631).⁵⁷ According to Patrick Schicht and Werner Telesko, the second, third and the fourth chapel on the south are strongly connected iconographically as well as stylistically, consequently these belong to the first phase of the decoration.⁵⁸ However, I have found in the *Historia Domus*, that the decoration of side-chapels was executed during the 1640s and the following decade. In 1643 an altarpiece and side-chapel was dedicated to the Holy Cross, founded by the Jesuits Joannes Haffenegger and Valentin Lechner.⁵⁹ Saint Francis Xavier’s chapel was embellished in 1648 through the largesse of Count Bruno Mansfeld’s widow, the countess Thöning.⁶⁰ The side-chapels dedicated to Saint Joseph and Saint Rosalia of Palermo were completed in 1651, the first through the largesse of the Countess Lucia

52 Polleross 2023, pp. 203–355 (the chapter titled “*Pietas Austriaca*”). For an earlier account of the subject see: Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca. Ursprung und Entwicklung barocker Frömmigkeit in Österreich*, Vienna 1959.

53 Werner Telesko, *The Pietas Austriaca. A Political Myth? On the Instrumentalisation of Piety towards the Cross at the Viennese Court in the Seventeenth Century*, in: Herbert Karner / Ingrid Ciulisová / Bernardo J. García García (eds.), *The Habsburgs and their Courts in Europe 1400–1700. Between Cosmopolitanism and regionalism*, Palatium e-publication, 2014, pp. 159–181.

54 Marie-Elisabeth Ducreux, *Patronage, Politics, and Devotion: The Habsburgs of Central Europe and Jesuit Saints*, in: *Journal of Jesuit Studies* IX, 2022, pp. 53–75.

55 Schicht / Telesko 2007, pp. 544f.

56 *Historia Domus* 1612, fol. 105v.

57 *Historia Domus* 1632, fol. 149r. In this year the *Historia Domus* records the death of the Jesuit Valentinus Henselig from Slesia, mentioning that he was active in the decoration of the church, especially in the execution of the altarpieces. The words legible in the source may even suggest the active participation of the Jesuit in the woodcarving: „...sacris tribunalibus et suggestus egregie desudavit industria.” (*Historia Domus* 1632, fol. 146r.)

58 Schicht / Telesko 2007, p. 551.

59 *Historia Domus* 1643, fol. 197v.

60 *Historia Domus* 1648, fol. 206r.



Abb. 11: Willem van Swanenburg (after Peter Paul Rubens), Christ and the Disciples of Emmaus (1600–1612), Engraving, 70 × 54,6 × 6,8 cm, Albertina, Vienna

Ottília de Kolowrat, the second through a donation by the Countess Jörger, born Waisenwolff.⁶¹

Thus, it is not irrelevant to draw attention to the dedication of the side-altars, especially since their present dedication does not entirely correspond to the original plan. Parts of the original decoration and furnishings were lost and replaced over time, so as a consequence we cannot speak of an entirely homogeneous ensemble, as in the case of the contemporary side-altars of the

Jesuit church in Győr (Raab) in Hungary, or of the Jesuit church in Leoben, Austria.⁶²

As highlighted by Johann Indau's ground plan (1686), to the left side of the entrance of the Kirche am Hof there were five chapels, namely, those of Saint Leopold, the 11th century Margrave (patron saint) of Austria, that of the Guardian Angel (today the chapel of Saint Judas Thaddeus), followed by the chapel dedicated to Saint Barbara (which became the Hl. Franz-Regis Kapelle in the 18th century)⁶³ and that of Saint Liberius, while the last chapel adjacent to the sacristy bears the name of Saint Francis Xavier. On the right side of the entrance we find the chapel of the Glorious Virgin Mary, which was built by the Maria-Himmelfahrt Bruderschaft, and which today is out of use. Entering the nave, the first chapel on the right today commemorates Saint Peter Canisius (who introduced the Jesuits in Vienna), followed by Saint Joseph's chapel (also known as the Herz Jesu Kapelle) and the Rosalienkapelle, which was later dedicated to the memory of Pope Pius X. The last chapel on the right bears the name of the founder of the Jesuit Order, Saint Ignatius of Loyola, and resembles the Saint Francis Xavier chapel on the opposite side.⁶⁴

The chapel decorated with eucharistic scenes is the third on the right, that is, on the Epistle side of the church, and was named after Saint Rosalia of Palermo, a hermit-saint from the 12th century, whose remains were rediscovered in 1624 in Monte Pellegrino and became known especially as a protector against the plague.⁶⁵ Similarly to each side chapel, the Rosalienkapelle has

61 Litterae Annuae Domus Professae (1651–1689). Archiv der Österreichischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu, Vienna, inv. no. 2 11 15 25, fol. 214v.

62 Géza Galavics, Das architektonische und bildkünstlerische Konzept der Hl. Ignatiuskirche zu Győr (Raab) und das dadurch vermittelte Gesellschaftsbild, in: István Fazekas / Zsófia Kádár / Zsolt Kökényesi (eds.), Jezsuita jelenlét Győrben a 17–18. században, Győr 2017, pp. 171–238; Paul Seisser, Die barocke Ausstattung der ehemaligen Jesuitenkirche Franz Xaver in Leoben. Diplomarbeit, Karl-Franzens-Universität, Graz 2010.

63 Luigi A. Ronzoni, Ignaz Parhamer und die Christenlehr-Bruderschaft. Die Franz Regis-Kapelle in der Jesuitenkirche am Hof, Wien, in: Karner / Telesko 2003, pp. 99–112.

64 The two monumental altars at the triumphal arch were built in the 1760s, and were partly transformed at the beginning of the 19th century. See: Gottfried Mazal, Führer durch die Kirche am Hof, Vienna 1961, pp. 5f.

65 Peter Paul Rubens's collaborator Anthony van Dyck, who lived in Genova, visited Palermo in 1624, which was the year of a serious plague. Van Dyck consequently painted five altarpieces that became important for shaping the iconography of Saint Rosalia. The altarpiece of the Oratory of the Rosary in Palermo (completed in 1628) can be cited as a parallel to the main altarpiece of the Rosalienkapelle in Vienna. In both cases, male and female saints appear in the foreground, looking up at the Virgin Mary, who offers the Rosary to Saint Dominic. Behind Saint Rosalia appears Saint Sebastian, who was also considered a powerful protector against the plague. See: Paolo Collura, Santa Rosalia nella storia e nell'arte, Palermo 1977, p. 98. On his return to Antwerp in 1628, Van Dyck joined the Confraternity of the Bachelors, a brotherhood run by the Jesuits, which promoted the cult of Saint Rosalia. In 1629, the relics of Saint Rosalia were brought to Antwerp and exposed to veneration in the chapel of the Confraternity in the Jesuit church. Van Dyck was commissioned to paint an altarpiece depicting the "Coronation of Saint Rosalia" (today in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) and to design a series of engravings illustrating the life of Saint Rosalia, published under the title: "Vita S. Rosaliae Virginis Panormitanae Pestis Patronae" (Cornelis Galle, Antwerp, 1629). In this series of engravings executed by Philippe de Mallery, the scene of the "Last communion of Saint Rosalia" is also represented. See: Zirka Zaremba Filipczak, Van Dyck's Life of St. Rosalia, in: The Burlington Magazine CXXXI, 1989, no. 1039, pp. 693–698. As attested by the Historia Domus of the Kirche am Hof, the festivities consecrated to Saint Rosalia begun in 1645: "Autumni mensis die quarta novam festivitatem Sanctae Rosaliae dedimus..." Historia Domus 1645, fol. 201r.

a crypt, the resting place of Catholic members of the House of Jörger, who played such an important role in Austrian religious history.⁶⁶ The vault of the chapel is subdivided into five areas by a fine stucco work composed of vegetal motifs, draperies and the heads of cherubim. In the centre of the vault appears the theme of “The Adoration the Eucharist by Angels”, alluding once again to the dedication of the church to the Nine Choirs of Angels. Around this central area there are four narrative scenes, which can be connected to the veneration of the Blessed Sacrament.⁶⁷

I would like to highlight the scene titled “Christ and the disciples of Emmaus”, situated to the right of the vault, which closely follows Peter Paul Rubens’s composition (before 1611), kept today in the church of Saint Eustache, Paris.⁶⁸ The dramatic scene represents

the two disciples recognising the Messiah through the act of breaking the bread, as recounted in the Gospel of Saint Luke (Luke 24:29–31). Three figures are sitting around a table, covered with a white tablecloth, and Christ, in the centre, is wearing a red tunic and a blue coat. Praying, the Messiah directs His gaze towards the sky, while He takes the bread in His hands. A young disciple on His right reacts with outstretched arms, expressing surprise and admiration, while the other disciple, a bearded man represented from behind, stands up, his sudden motion suggesting dramatism. In Rubens’s painting, two servants are attending to the meal, a young boy on the left, bringing food, and an old woman on the right, offering wine to the disciples. However, she does not appear in the Vienna version, which otherwise faithfully reproduces the original,

66 The names of the Jörgers lying in the crypt are listed in the old church guide by Kurz 1891, pp. 46f. For the role of the Protestant branch of this family, see: Elisabeth Gruber, *Die Familie Jörger und ihre Rolle in der konfessionellen Geschichte Österreichs*, in: Vocelka / Leeb 2010, pp. 67–73.

67 As shown by Schicht / Telesko 2007, pp. 547f. and p. 553, there was an initial phase in the decoration of the Rosalienkapelle, datable after 1615 (the year of the publication of the “*Bavaria Sancta*”) to which the first scenes represented on the vault of the chapel belong. In the second phase of the decoration some of the original scenes were covered by other representations. The original wall paintings were: “The Mystical Betrothal of Saint Catherine of Siena” (in the central field, later covered by the “Eucharist adored by Angels”), “The Miracle of Saint Kunigunde of Luxembourg,” “The Miracle of Saint Hedwig of Slesia” (visible today, see below), “Saint Elisabeth of Thuringen washing the feet of the poor” and “Saint Mary Magdalene held by Angels” (visible today, see below). In the following passages I will analyse the decoration as it appears today. The scene depicting “Saint Clare defending Assisi against the enemy with the aid of the Eucharist” belongs to the second phase of the decoration. I was often represented in the context of Eucharist, for example the painting by Matteo Ponzoni on the vault above the high altar of the Cathedral of Split, Croatia (1689). Žana Matulić Bilač, *Glavni oltar splitske katedrale Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije – tehnološke i kronološke analize*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.17018/porta.2016.4> (31.05.2023). This miraculous event emphasises the protective character of the Eucharist, which can be traced back to the early Christian times, when the Sacrament was used as apotrope against diseases, misfortunes and war. See: G. J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety. From Relics to the Eucharist*, Leiden-New York-Cologne 1995.

The next scene is from the first phase of the decoration is titled “Saint Mary Magdalene elevated by angels”, a theme inspired by the Golden Legend, according to which after her conversion Magdalene became a hermit and conducted a life of strict penance and fasting. The Golden Legend Englished by William Caxton, 1483. https://www.intratext.com/ixt/ENG1293/_P4Y.HTM (20.06.2023)

In every canonical hour, Mary Magdalene was elevated by angels and consumed the “*panis angelorum*”, that is, the Eucharist. This iconography was widespread during the mediaeval age as shown by the frescoes (early 15th century) in the church of Saint Oswald, Seefeld (Innsbruck), which were placed under the protection of the Habsburgs. See: Joanne W. Anderson, *Mary Magdalene and the Imagery of Redemption: Reception and Revival in Fifteenth-Century Tyrol*, in: Predella XXXV, 2014, pp. 77–97. The last communion of the saints, including Saint Mary Magdalene, became extremely popular after the Council of Trent. See: Émile Mâle, *L’art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris 1932, pp. 77f. The “Elevation of Saint Mary Magdalene” is depicted by the court painter of the Tyrolean Habsburgs, Martin Teofil Polak (1637–1639, Tiroler Landesmuseum, originally in the Liebfrauenkirche in Brixen). See: Erich Egg, *Kunst in Tirol. Malerei und Kunsthandwerk*, Innsbruck-Vienna-Munich 1972, pp. 160f. Thus, the lives of Saint Mary Magdalene and Saint Rosalia of Palermo (to whom the Eucharistic chapel is dedicated) can be regarded as complementary, since both saints lived as hermits and had mystical experiences.

Perhaps still more puzzling is the last image depicted on the ceiling of the Rosalienkapelle, which represents a middle-aged woman in modest attire, yet with a crown placed near her. She is depicted in a palace as she kneels praying to Christ crucified, who blesses her with His right hand. This shows a scene from the legend of Saint Hedwig of Silesia, who died in 1242 and was canonised in 1267. The scene is represented for example in the Hedwig Codex, which was produced in 1353, and is now kept in the John Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. See: Jacqueline E. Jung, *The Boots of Saint Hedwig*, in: Grażyna Jurkowlaniec et al. (eds), *The Agency of Things in Medieval and Early Modern Art*, New York-London 2018, pp. 173–196.

I believe that the motivation for choosing this scene from the life of a popular saint of the Middle Ages, renowned for helping the poor, was to draw a parallel between her and the pious actions performed by the Empress Eleonora Gonzaga and the noblewoman from her entourage in the Kirche am Hof as attested by the *Litterae Annuae* from 1642, p. 9v. https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_9074370&order=1&view=SINGLE (20.09.2023). For the ceremony see: Martin Scheutz, “*De vermenschte Heiland*.” *Armenspeisung und Gründonnestags-Fusswaschung am Wiener Kaiserhof*, in: Susanne Claudine Pils / Jan Paul Niederkorn (eds.), *Ein zweigeteilter Ort? Hof und Stadt in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Innsbruck-Wien-Bozen 2005, pp. 189–257. For Ferdinand III of Habsburg and his family see: Hengerer 2012, p. 134.

68 David Freedberg, *The Life of Christ after the Passion [Corpus Rubenianum VII]*, London 1984, pp. 43f.



Abb. 12: Kirche am Hof, Rosalienkapelle, unknown master, The Adoration of the Eucharist

with even the dog seated in the left foreground. The unidentified painter of the Vienna panel might have known Rubens's composition from one of the engraved versions, the earliest of which dates from 1611 and was executed by Willem Isaacs van Swanenburg.⁶⁹

On the right wall of the chapel another eucharistic theme appears in the "Last Supper", accompanied by the "Gathering of the Manna" on the opposite wall, as one of the events from the Old Testament, which was

interpreted as a prefiguration of the distribution of the Blessed Sacrament.⁷⁰ I would like to draw attention to the scene of the "Last Supper", which again follows the art of the great Flemish master, Peter Paul Rubens. The "Last Supper", which is kept today in the Pinacoteca di Brera Museum, Milan, was originally painted by Rubens for the altar of the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in St. Rumbold's Cathedral in Mechelen (1631).⁷¹ The composition emphasises the sacramental aspect of the event, hence it is also called "The Institution of the Eucharist". Christ, who appears in the centre, raises the bread with His left hand, while He blesses it with His right hand. The apostles gathered around the Master seem agitated, yet all concentrate on Christ's gesture except for Judas, who appears isolated on the right, gazing towards us, accompanied by a dog at his feet. The troubled figure of Judas, depicted in a melancholy pose with his face partly shaded, appears on the left side of a table in an engraving executed by Boetius Bolswert after Rubens.⁷² It was exactly this print that served as a model for the artist, who depicted the wall painting in the Eucharistic chapel of the Kirche am Hof. All the other details of the original interior, such as the white tablecloth or the open book with two burning candles placed on a sideboard, are faithfully reproduced in the Vienna version, though details sometimes are not clearly discernible due to the darkened painterly surface.

It must be mentioned that a highly original interpretation (1644) was produced after Rubens's "Last supper" by the Bavarian court painter, Ulrich Loth. Painted for the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament, the altarpiece by Loth is today in the Parish Church of Saint Peter in Munich.⁷³ As shown by the arrangement of the figures, Ulrich Loth also followed Bolswert's etching, placing Judas on the left side and turning his gaze inward. He also added a fine chandelier to the scene and depicted the portrait-like figure of the host holding a candle and

69 As mentioned by David Freedberg, Joachim von Sandrart, author of the "Teutsche Akademie" (Nuremberg, 1679), who was active in Vienna, also owned a version of this painting by Rubens (Freedberg 1984, p. 47, note 19).

70 See, for example, Moretto da Brescia's wall painting (1543–1544) in the Eucharistic Chapel of San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia. See: Barbara Maria Savy, *Manducatio per visum. Temi eucaristici nella pittura di Romanino e Moretto*, Padova 2006, pp. 23f. The wall painting in the Kirche am Hof seems to be inspired in turn by Bonifazio Veronese's "Gathering of the Manna" from around 1535 (Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice). Regarding the Old-Testament prefigurations of the Blessed Sacrament, see: Maurice E. Cope, *The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament in the Sixteenth Century*, New York-London 1979, pp. 176f.

71 J. Richard Judson, *The Passion of Christ [Corpus Rubenianum VI]*, London 2000, pp. 48f.

72 Ibid., p. 53, fig. 15.

73 Ulrich Loth was a disciple of Carlo Saraceni, who in turn was a follower of Caravaggio. Due to his training in Italy, Ulrich Loth brought a fresh impetus to the Bavarian artistic milieu, fulfilling commissions from the Ducal Court as well as from the important churches of Munich, for example the Jesuit St. Michaelskirche. See: Reinhold Baumstark et al. (hg.), *Ulrich Loth. Zwischen Caravaggio und Rubens*, Munich 2008, pp. 215f. (Luca Pes).

bowl in the foreground. The painterly qualities of Loth's interpretation are naturally much higher than those of the unknown painter in the Kirche am Hof, yet it should be mentioned that Ulrich had a brother, Georg, who lived in Vienna, and who is attested by sources as Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Habsburg's court painter, although none of his works have since been identified.⁷⁴

The Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (1614–1662), the brother of Emperor Ferdinand III, was Bishop of Passau, Strassbourg, Olomouc and Wrocław, strongly supported the Jesuit Order. As mentioned earlier, Archduke Leopold financed the construction of the Leopold chapel in the Kirche am Hof, immediately to the left of the entrance hall.⁷⁵ Sources indicate that the Archduke also supported the construction of the Jesuit College (University) in Vienna with the considerable sum of eight thousand Florins.⁷⁶

Furthermore, the Archduke played a significant role in international politics as the Governor of the Netherlands between 1647 and 1656.⁷⁷ The important collection of artworks that he gathered during his stay in Brussels was moved to Vienna and today forms part of the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum.⁷⁸ As attested by his account books, the Archduke had several artists and artisans at his disposal, one of whom was Georg Loth, who died in 1647, and whose widow Anna is recorded in the account books in 1652.⁷⁹ In 1643, Loth was entrusted with the education of an

apprentice boy, named Ferdinand, who studied under his guidance even in 1646.⁸⁰

I suggest Georg Loth's authorship for the depiction of the Rosalienkapelle in the Kirche am Hof for his relationship to the Bavarian court painter, Ulrich Loth, an original interpreter of Caravaggio and Rubens. The role of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm as the commissioner of the decoration of the Rosalienkapelle should also be considered. As Governor of the Netherlands, the Archduke was well aware of the cult of Saint Rosalia, whose relics were transported from Palermo to Antwerp, where the Jesuits promoted her cult.⁸¹ The Archduke probably also knew Anthonys van Dyck's painting (1629) representing the "Coronation of Saint Rosalia" (today in the Kunsthistorisches Museum), which was painted for the Confraternity of the Bachelors in Antwerp, a congregation under the guidance of the Jesuit Order, of which Van Dyck himself was a member.

The Flemish painter Joachim von Sandrart (1606–1688) also worked for Archduke Leopold and his sister, Archduchess Maria Anna, the wife of Maximilian I of Bavaria. Sandrart's allegorical and religious paintings for Archduke Wilhelm date from 1644 and 1647, and between the summer of 1651 and the autumn of 1652 the painter was in Vienna to paint portraits for the Imperial Court.⁸² Among the altarpieces produced for Viennese churches we find two side panels in the Josephskapelle of the Kirche am Hof, next to the Rosalienkapelle. These two scenes, which are taken from the life of the

74 Claudia Schumann, Loth, Johann (Hans) Ulrich, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie (NDB)*, Band 15, Berlin 1987, pp. 205–206; Maria Breisig, Johann Ulrich Loth, in: Andreas Beyer / Bénédicte Savoy / Wolf Tegethoff (eds.), *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, Band 88, Berlin-Munich-Boston 2015, pp. 349–350.

75 As shown by Johann Indau's *Wienerisches Architektur- Kunst- und Säulenbuch* (Vienna, 1686), fol. 19.

76 1640. "Den Herrn P. P. Jesuiten in Colegio alhie, in Abschlag der von Ihrer hochfürstlichen Durchlaucht Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelm zu Oesterreich bei Ihrer Kay. Matt. zur Erbauung ihres Collegi cedierten achttausend noch restlichen drei tausend, bezahlt 500 fl." Emma Schwaighofer, *Auszüge aus den Hofzahlamtsrechnungen in der Nationalbibliothek. II. Teil*, in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* XII, 1938, pp. 227–237, especially p. 229, no. 298 and p. 231, no. 337.

77 Hengerer 2012, p. 24, p. 27, pp. 125f. and pp. 140f.

78 Franz Mareš, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Kunstbestrebungen des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm*, in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* V, 1887, pp. 343–363; Alphons Lhotsky, *Die Geschichte der Sammlungen 1.: Von den Anfängen bis zum Tode Kaiser Karls VI. (1740)*, in: *Festschrift des kunsthistorischen Museums zur Feier des 50jährigen Bestandes*, 2/1, Horn-Vienna, 1941–1945, p. 355; Klára Garas, *Die Entstehung der Galerie des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm*, in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* LXIII, 1967, pp. 39–80; Eadem: *Das Schicksal der Sammlung des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm*, in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* LXIV, 1968, pp. 181–278; Karl Schütz: *David Teniers der Jüngere als Kopist im Dienst Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelms*, in: *Original – Kopie – Replik – Paraphrase. Aust. Kat. Akademie der Bildenden Künste*, Vienna 1980, pp. 21–33; Renate Schreiber, *„ein galeria nach meinem humor.“ Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelm. Schriften des Kunsthistorischen Museum* 8, Mailand 2004; Sabine Haag (ed.), *Sammellust. Die Galerie Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelms*. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna 2014; Agnes Hussein-Arco / Tobias G. Natter (eds.), *Fürstenglanz. Die Macht der Pracht*, Vienna 2016.

79 Herbert Haupt, *Archivalien zur Kulturgeschichte des Wiener Hofes. I. Teil. Kaiser Ferdinand III. die Jahre 1646–1656*, in: *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* LXXV, 1979, p. LXV, no. 529.

80 Schwaighofer 1938, p. 233, no. 397 and Haupt 1979, p. XIX, no. 7.

81 See footnote 55.

82 Christian Klemm, Joachim von Sandrart. *Kunstwerke und Lebenslauf*. Berlin 1986, p. 21, pp. 136f., pp. 162f. and pp. 205f.

Christ Child, are titled “The Flight of the Holy Family in Egypt” and “The Infant Jesus among the Doctors”.⁸³ Yet what is even more important for our discussion is Sandrart’s altarpiece for the Stadtpfarrkirche in Linz, which was commissioned by the Corpus Christi Brotherhood (1652). Sandrart’s nocturnal scene was influenced by the Utrecht school (Honthorst and Wtewael), and furthermore it reflected Bolswert’s etching made after Rubens’s “Last Supper”.⁸⁴ However, Sandrart was able to transform and integrate the different influences into his own art, and could consequently offer an original, intimate interpretation of the eucharistic theme.

Let us turn to the main altar of the Rosalienkapelle of the Kirche am Hof, which is happily preserved, unlike the previously mentioned main altarpiece of the church, which has been dismantled and replaced over time. The architectural details and the decorative motifs of the eucharistic altarpiece strongly remind us of the four side altars of the Jesuit church in Győr (Raab), Hungary, which was executed between 1641 and 1646.⁸⁵

The retable of the Rosalienkapelle is characteristic of common aediculae. It has a main storey over the mensa topped by a smaller section which serves as a gable; each of these levels contain a painted altarpiece framed with columns and sometimes, as in Győr (Raab), by free-standing figures of saints. The ornamental motifs of the Vienna altarpiece are gilded (as is the stucco decoration of the vault), in contrast to the black underlying surface.

The altarpiece represents the “Adoration of the Eucharist”, while the monstrance, which is supported by putti, appears above, and female saints kneeling in adoration are depicted in the foreground. Two of the martyrs can be identified by their attributes: Rosalia of Palermo to the left wears a crown composed of roses and holds a crucifix in her right hand, while Agnes to the right has a lamb at her feet. The gestures and

movement of the two saints are entirely the opposite of each other: Rosalia turns towards the heavenly vision, while Agnes is facing the viewer. Despite the carefully rendered details, the composition is less original and the figures also appear somewhat stereotypical.⁸⁶ Yet the warm colours and the rich draperies, as well as the general arrangement, bear resemblance to Rubens’s compositions, such as the tapestries for the Descalzas Royales in Madrid or the studies he made for the main altarpiece of the Santa Maria in Vallicella in Rome.

In the case of the high altarpiece in the Santa Maria in Vallicella, the angels support and adore the miraculous image of the Virgin, a 14th century icon honoured by Saint Philip Neri, the founder of the Oratorian Order.⁸⁷ Among other preliminary studies, a paper and ink drawing (the Albertina Museum, Vienna), and an oil bozzetto (the Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna), which were executed by Rubens for the high altarpiece of the Oratory church in Rome, should also be remembered.⁸⁸ Both these studies, as well as the final version in situ (completed in October, 1608), show the same composition divided into two major parts. On the lower level, large figures of angels, arranged in a semicircle, are kneeling and looking upwards with gestures of adoration, while on the upper level small putti are holding an oval-framed image of the Virgin and Child. As has been extensively mentioned in the literature of art history, this oval part of the altarpiece can be removed so as to reveal the old icon of the Virgin that is kept behind it. Thus, the Baroque altarpiece by Rubens is an “ostensory” or curtain, able to frame and exhibit an older, miraculous image (Bildtabernakel).⁸⁹

A contemporary description of the high altar in the Santa Maria in Vallicella by Giovanni Baglione (1642) connects the adoration of the Eucharist and the homage paid to the Virgin Mary:

83 Klemm 1986, pp. 219f. However, Klemm claims that the paintings of the Saint Judas Thaddeus chapel of the Kirche am Hof were not painted by Sandrart, as is often stated in the guides of the church (Mazal 1961, p. 4, followed by Wolfgang J. Bandion, *Kirche am Hof* [Christliche Kunststätten Österreichs 201], Salzburg 1991, pp. 6f.).

84 Klemm 1986, pp. 199f.; Esther Meier, Joachim von Sandrart. Ein Calvinist im Spannungsfeld von Kunst und Konfession, Regensburg 2012, pp. 83f.

85 Galavics 2018, pp. 183f.

86 I would like to draw attention to the stylistic affinity between this altarpiece and the decoration of the Chapel of Saint Catherine of Siena in the Dominikanerkirche, Vienna. The presence of the holy women adoring the Eucharist might also symbolise the Empress Eleonore Gonzaga and her entourage, who often attended the Kirche am Hof.

87 Michael Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, Oxford 1977, pp. 85f.; Alba Costamagna, “La più bella et superba occasione di tutta Roma...” Rubens per l’altar maggiore di Santa Maria in Vallicella, in: Alba Costamagna (ed.), *La regola e la fama. San Filippo Neri e l’arte*, Milan 1995, pp. 150–173.

88 Otto Benesch, *Master Drawings in the Albertina. European Drawings from the 15th to the 18th century*, Salzburg 1967, p. 356, no. 148, and Costamagna 1995, pp. 157f.

89 Martin Warnke, *Italienische Bildtabernakel bis zum Frühbarock*, in: *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst XIX*, 1968, pp. 61–103; Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult*, Munich 1990, Chapter 20e.



Abb. 13: Peter Paul Rubens, The Holy Virgin and Child adored by Angels, Study for the High Altar in S. Maria in Vallicella, Rome, 26,8 x 15,2 cm, Albertina, Vienna

“Onde poi sopra l’altar maggiore vi figurò una Madonna, con il figliuolo in braccio, la quale si leva, quando corrono le feste principali, accioche si veda l’altra imagine antica miracolosa della B. Vergine, che vi si conserva; e sonvi intorno diversi puttini, e da basso alcuni Angeli in ginocchione, che adorano il Santissimo Sacramento, e riveriscono la Beata Vergine.”

“For that reason he painted for the high altar a Virgin Mary, holding Her son in Her arms, which raises up during the major celebrations so as to make visible another antique and miraculous image of the Holy Virgin, which is kept there. Furthermore, there are various little angels surrounding it and below other angels kneeling who adore the Holy Eucharist and venerate the Blessed Virgin.”⁹⁰

These words remind us of the description (1643) of the decoration for the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary that was held in the Kirche am Hof, which involved the high altarpiece.⁹¹ Furthermore, Rubens’s “Bildtabernakel” in the church of Santa Maria in Vallicella can be compared to the tapestries of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid, which hung around a grille of the main altar, behind which a monstrance probably figured.⁹²

By the end of the 17th century, a further altarpiece was produced for the sacristy of the El Escorial in Madrid, which was intended to glorify the Habsburgs’ devotion to the Eucharist, while at the same time also containing a reliquary within the retable. The miraculous Host of the Escorial, called the Sagrada Forma, was rescued from Gorinchem (in Holland), where it was the target of an act of sacrilege committed by Protestant soldiers on the 26th of June, 1572. The Bleeding Host was taken to Vienna by one of Rudolf of Habsburg’s captains, and was donated to King Philip II of Spain in 1594.⁹³ The miraculous Host became an object of reverence for the kings of Spain in the same way as did the three Bleeding Hosts kept in a chapel of the Saint Gudula Cathedral in Brussels for Albert and Isabella of Habsburg, governors of the Netherlands.⁹⁴ The Sagrada Forma was preserved in an ostensory in the church of El Escorial until October, 1684, when Charles II of Spain decided to place it on a new altar in the sacristy as an act of atonement for sacrilege, as well as one of thanksgiving for the liberation of Vienna in the battle of Kahlenberg on the 11th and 12th of September, 1683.⁹⁵

A new retable was commissioned to shelter the small chapel dedicated to the Sagrada Forma, to which only the priest and the King had access through the portals

90 Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de’ pittori, scultori et architetti*. Dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572. In fino a’ tempi di Papa Urbano Ottauo nel 1642. Rome 1642, p. 362. <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/baglione1642> (04.05.2023).

91 In the description of the *Litterae Annuae* quoted earlier the motif of the Moon appears, which is significantly present in the case of the icon of Santa Maria in Vallicella that was added during the installation of Rubens’s altarpiece in order to transform the Hodegetria iconographic type into the Apocalyptic Woman clothed in the Sun and the Moon (the Virgin Immaculate). See: Costamagna 1995, p. 163.

92 Poorter 1978, p. 104.

93 Edward J. Sullivan, *Politics and Propaganda in the Sagrada Forma* by Claudio Coello, in: *The Art Bulletin* LXVII, 1985, pp. 243–259, especially pp. 251f.

94 Poorter 1978, pp. 30f.

95 Sullivan 1985, pp. 253f.

of the altarpiece. The court painter Claudio Coelho painted a large canvas (1685–1690) representing the “Adoration of the Sagrada Forma by Charles II and his entourage”. The composition adopted here, with the religious authorities on the left and the secular rulers on the right, is inspired by the adoration theme followed by Rubens in the tapestries of the Descalzas Reales, as well as by Theodore van Thulden’s “Adoration of the Eucharist” (1643–1647) in Brussels, *Musées Royaux*, where King Philip IV of Spain is depicted with Ferdinand II of Habsburg and Pope Urban VIII kneeling before a monstrance.⁹⁶ Besides its refined execution, perspectival bravura and rich symbology, Coelho’s monumental work served as a “curtain” to be opened twice a year to reveal the ostensory with the Sagrada Forma kept in the small chapel behind it.

Andrea Pozzo and the new main altar of the Kirche am Hof

The removable altarpiece of the Sacristy of the El Escorial is paralleled by the theatrical devices used by the Jesuit architect Andrea del Pozzo for his altar of Saint Ignatius in the church of Il Gesù, Rome, where a statue of the saint is hidden behind a movable canvas depicting his apotheosis.⁹⁷

Yet another, perhaps more important aspect of Pozzo’s activity as a designer is his Quarant’ore decorations for the Il Gesù in Rome. As mentioned earlier, the Quarant’ore decoration in 1608 in the Il Gesù was composed of superimposed series of arches, preceded by a staircase, with statues of saints standing between the columns.⁹⁸ In 1650, Carlo Rainaldi created a new type of Quarant’ore decoration in Rome, basing his “Temple of Solomon” on the placement of the arches that appeared as a continuation of the space of the spectator into the infinite, a motif that was much favoured by Andrea Pozzo.⁹⁹

By the time he arrived in Rome from the remote Trentino, Andrea Pozzo was well-equipped with ex-

perience gained from the great architects from North Italy, Pellegrino Tibaldi and Baldassare Longhena. If we consider his design for the Quarant’ore of 1686 in the Il Gesù, titled “Teatro delle Nozze di Cana”¹⁰⁰, which was also published in the volume “*Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum*” in 1693, we recognise the influence of Andrea Palladio’s Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza, which also influenced Filiberto Lucchese’s design for the frontispiece of the Kirche am Hof.¹⁰¹

Between 1703 and 1709, Andrea Pozzo was active in Vienna and was commissioned by the Habsburg Emperor Leopold I to transform the old interior of the Jesuit Universitätskirche, a task accomplished to great effect.¹⁰² Yet Pozzo’s activity was not limited to the University Church, as he also planned a great free-standing triumphal arch for the choir of the Franziskanerkirche and a new altarpiece for the Kirche am Hof (1709). This structure, which was completed shortly before the architect’s death, replaced the 17th century retable, known from the description of the *Litterae Annuae* (see above). Pozzo’s altar in turn was dismantled in 1798 during the classical refurbishment of the sanctuary.

As seen in Salomon Kleiner’s drawing (the Suida Manning Collection, New York),¹⁰³ Pozzo’s altar was a free-standing structure in the Late Gothic choir, almost ten metres wide and eighteen metres high. Its columns were placed along an oval-shaped basement, while semi-columns framed the altarpiece, which represented the “Coronation of the Virgin”. The entablatures were also arranged partly in an axial position, crowned by volutes connected at their peak by a globe. The upper part, framed by volutes, appeared like a small cupola, in the middle of which the Eternal Father resided on clouds, accompanied by angels.

Art historians agree that the presence of Andrea Pozzo and his designs opened new perspectives for the sacred architecture of Vienna comparable to the plans made by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach. Pozzo’s designs can also be compared with those of the

96 De Poorter 1978, p. 178; Sullivan 1985, p. 248.

97 Maurizio Fagiolo dell’Arco, *Pensare effimero: il metodo e la pratica di Fratello Pozzo*, and Giuseppe Dardanella, *La sperimentazione degli effetti visivi in alcuni altari di Andrea Pozzo*, in: Alberta Battisti (ed.), *Andrea Pozzo*, Milan-Trento 1996, pp. 75–95 and pp. 121–131.

98 Weil 1974, pp. 225f.

99 Ibid., p. 235.

100 Ibid., p. 241, and Andrew Horn, *Teatri Sacri: Andrea Pozzo and the Quarant’ore at the Gesù*, in: Linda Wolk-Simon / Christopher M. S. Johns (eds.), *The Holy Name. Art of the Gesù: Bernini and his Age*, Philadelphia 2018, pp. 351–370, especially pp. 359f.

101 Horn 2018, p. 360.

102 Richard Bösel, *L’architettura sacra di Pozzo a Vienna*, in: Battisti 1996, pp. 161–168.

103 Published by Bösel 1996, pp. 166f. See also: Wilhelm Georg Rizzi, *Altaransichten von Salomon Kleiner*, in: Michael Krapf (ed.), *Triumph der Phantasie. Barocke Modelle von Hildebrandt bis Mollinarolo*, Vienna 1998, pp. 104–106.

Galli-Bibbiena family, as well as with those of Giovanni Battista Piranesi, whose mother issued from the Lucchese-family.¹⁰⁴ The courtly representation in Vienna was echoed even by the minor centres of the Empire, such as Sopron (Ödenburg), where some illustrations from the theatrical design book of the Jesuit Order seem reminiscent of Andrea Pozzo's designs.¹⁰⁵ Pozzo's altarpieces were built in smaller Jesuit churches, such as those in Trenčín (Slovakia) and Cluj (Romania).¹⁰⁶

Conclusion

We may assume that without the work accomplished by the great Seicento masters such as Filiberto Lucchese and Giovanni Pietro Tencalla, the rebirth of the architecture in Vienna around 1690 would probably not have been possible. As previously mentioned, members of the Tencalla family, for example, worked with the most famous architects of the late Renaissance and Baroque period, such as Pellegrino Tibaldi and Carlo Maderno. This partly explains the influence of Andrea Palladio's theatre in Vicenza on the frontispiece of the Kirche am Hof. A fusion between stage and monumental architecture was created, since architects often designed triumphal arches for entrances and other ephemeral decorations for various festivities such as theatrical performances, ballets or religious feasts such as the Quarant'ore.

The representation of the Habsburg family also played a key role in forming the inner decoration of the Kirche am Hof in Vienna. An important source of impetus came from the Wittelsbach court in Munich, which was successful in using the arts as instruments for the Counter-Reformation. The veneration of the Virgin Immaculate and the commission of the column dedicated to the Virgin facing the Kirche am Hof was inspired by the column of the Virgin in Munich.

The Wittelsbach influence was combined with the culture of the Netherlands in the court of Albert and

Isabella of Habsburg in Brussels, who commissioned important works from Peter Paul Rubens. The importance of the personality of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, Governor of the Netherlands, should also be emphasised. Through his mediation, a great number of Flemish masters, among them Frans Luyckx, the follower of Rubens, worked for the Viennese court. The wall paintings and altarpiece of the Rosalienkapelle were also executed following Rubens's designs. A highly original interpreter of Caravaggio and Rubens, Ulrich Loth had a brother, Georg working for Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, which may also explain the use of Rubens's engravings for the wall paintings of the Kirche am Hof.

A further alliance between Vienna and Madrid was firmly established through marriages. As mentioned, in the El Escorial a new altarpiece for the Sacristy was commissioned by Charles II, King of Spain, as an act of thanksgiving for the liberation of Vienna from the Turkish siege in 1683. After the death of Charles II (on the 1st of November, 1700), who had no direct descendant, a war broke out between France and the Habsburg Empire for succession to the Spanish throne (1701–1714), since both powers claimed rights to it. The second son of Leopold I, Charles was supported by a number of Spanish aristocrats in his efforts to secure the throne. Among these supporters of the Central European Habsburg prince was the Jesuit Alvarez Cienfuegos (1657–1739), an outstanding theologian of the time. After the coronation of Charles as Roman Emperor (1711) and King of Hungary, and his subsequent renouncing of the Spanish throne, Cifuentes was invited to Vienna, where he lived in the Jesuit Convent. He published original works on the Holy Trinity and the Eucharist, entitled "Enigma theologum" (1717, Vienna) and "Vita abscondita" (1728, Rome), in which he proved to be an original interpreter of theological traditions.¹⁰⁷

104 Géza Galavics, Antonio Galli Bibbiena in Ungheria e in Austria, in: *Acta Historiae Artium* XXX, 1984, pp. 177–263; Dorottya Cs. Dobrovits: Piranesi. Budapest 1993, p. 21.

105 Marcello Fagiolo / Éva Knapp / Terézia Bardi (eds.), *The Sopron Collection of Jesuit Stage Designs*, Budapest 1999, p. 98. The Allegory of Salvation has an altar design comparable to the one by Pozzo in the Kirche am Hof.

106 Henryk Dziurla, Christophorus Tausch, allievo di Andrea Pozzo, in: Battisti 1996, pp. 409–431; Ferenc Veress, The Construction of the Jesuit Church of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), in: Csaba Szilágyi (ed.), *A magyar jezsuiták küldetése a kezdetektől napjainkig* [Vocation of the Hungarian Jesuits from the Beginnings to the Present Day], Budapest 2006, pp. 414–423.

107 After fulfilling several diplomatic missions on behalf of the Emperor, Cifuentes was appointed (1735) Bishop of Pécs (Fünfkirchen, Hungary), yet he never went to visit his diocese due to his age, and he died in Rome, where he was buried in the Il Gesù. For his life and activity see: László Gálos, Cienfuegos Alvarez bíboros, pécsi püspök Eucharisztia tana (The Eucharistic Teachings of Bishop Alvarez Cienfuegos, Bishop of Pécs), *Publicationes ad Historiam S. J. in Hungaria Illustrandam* 25, Budapest 1942.