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**DIPLOMARBEIT**

# The impact of Habsburg Monarchs on architectural discourse

Based on the influence of Maria Theresa, Joseph II and Elisabeth of Austria and their design values

ausgeführt zum Zwecke der Erlangung des akademischen Grades  
eines Diplom-Ingenieurs unter der Leitung

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In order to observe interior architecture and spatial design through the eyes of Habsburg's, three contrasting figures in the Habsburg Monarchy are chosen: Maria Theresa, Joseph II and Elisabeth. Each character is chosen within the context of their architectural influence and outstanding input in Viennese society and architecture as we know it today. The essence of their personalities was reflected in their way of decorating and creating interior of their living and residential spaces. Each of them used decorating and spatial arrangements as tools for various reasons, which are analyzed in specific situations in order to gain a detailed insight into the reasoning behind it. Maria Theresa is represented and analyzed in this work as a trendsetter, whose taste in decoration set the groundwork of Imperial style known as "Maria Theresian Style" on Viennese Court but it also changed how we see Imperial interiors today.

Her son Joseph II influenced architectural discourse and left his mark on society by improving the urban structure of Vienna and developing the city beyond the borders of spatial arrangements. Even though his reforms are met with disregard, he is still remembered as the Emperor who left his footprints in the history of Vienna.

Empress Elisabeth set the foundations of spatial arrangements with regards to privacy, completely transforming the public atmosphere in her residences, by creating private spheres where they did not exist before. Her architectural decisions were driven by a lack of privacy and beauty obsessions which makes her living spaces intriguing for everyone who observes them.

Their personal contribution to the decoration on the Habsburg Court and architectural ideas implemented in Vienna and abroad is what makes the story of the Habsburg palaces come alive.

Um die Innenarchitektur und Raumgestaltung durch die Augen der Habsburger zu beobachten, werden drei kontrastierende Figuren der Habsburger Monarchie, ausgewählt: Maria Theresia, Joseph II. und Elisabeth. Jede Persönlichkeit wird im Kontext ihres architektonischen Einflusses und des hervorragenden Beitrag in der Wiener Gesellschaft und Architektur wie wir es heute kennen, ausgewählt. Das Wesen ihrer Persönlichkeiten spiegelte sich in ihrer Art der Gestaltung des Innelebens ihrer Wohn- und Residenzräume. Jeder von ihnen benutzte Gestaltung und räumliche Arrangement als Werkzeuge aus verschiedenen Gründen, die im Laufe der Arbeit in bestimmten Situationen analysiert werden. Damit wird ein detaillierter Einblick in diese Gründe klargelegt. Maria Theresia wird in dieser Arbeit als Trendsetter vertreten und analysiert, deren Geschmack in der Innenraumgestaltung den Grundstein des Imperialen Stils, der als "Maria Theresianer Stil" bekannt ist, auf dem Wiener Hof gesetzt hat. Jedoch hat sie auch im Hinblick wie die Imperialen Interieurs heute gesehen werden – beigetragen.

Ihr Sohn Joseph II. beeinflusste den architektonischen Diskurs und hinterließ seine Spuren in der Gesellschaft durch die Verbesserung der städtischen Struktur von Wien und die Entwicklung der Stadt über die Grenzen der räumlichen Arrangements hinaus. Obwohl seine Reformen mit Missachtung begegnet wurden, wird er immer noch als der Kaiser, der seine Spuren in der Geschichte von Wien hinterlassen hat, gesehen.

Kaiserin Elisabeth hat die Grundlagen der räumlichen Arrangements in Bezug auf die Privatsphäre festgelegt. Und damit verwandelte sie die öffentliche Atmosphäre in ihren Residenzen in Privaten Sphären, wo sie vorher nicht existierten. Ihre architektonischen Entscheidungen wurden durch den Mangel an Privatsphäre und ihrem Schönheitswahn beeinflusst. Dies führte zu Faszination für alle die ihre Lebensräume beobachten.

Die persönliche Beiträge dieser Habsburg Monarchen zur Innenraumgestaltung des Habsburger Hofes und ihre architektonische Ideen in Palästen im In- und Ausland, machen die Geschichte der Habsburger Paläste lebendig.





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Foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my parents, for their continuous support and love.

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Figure 1 | The park at Schönbrunn Palace

# 1. Introduction



## 1.1 Research Motivation

As I started to read books about the Habsburg Imperial family, I did not expect to find anything other than historic facts and intriguing biographies. However, as I read further, descriptions of magnificent living spaces and interiors where Habsburgs spent their time caught my attention. My enthusiasm for researching this topic came from a fascination with the Monarch family that influenced Viennese culture extensively. As the Habsburgs Imperial residence, Vienna is established as a culture center of Europe and gives a unique insight into the past and great time of the Habsburg rule.

Every now and then, whilst reading their biographies I would stumble upon information that revealed glimpses of their residences and the way they decorated them, so I was inspired to know more. Soon, the process of writing this thesis started, fueled by my curiosity, combining my interests in interior design, spatial arrangements and historical icons of the Habsburg family.

My unintentional research started after I recognized Maria Theresa, who was publically known as key figure in the power politics of 18th-century Europe, had design tendencies to decorate her own spaces. I was astonished that an Empress that had such political responsibility still found time to decorate her residences, and I was even more intrigued when I realized that she indeed enjoyed doing that.

Discovering how Maria Theresa shaped architectural trends in the eighteenth century, and seeing that hundred years later her style was still being used as an inspiration and a customary style on the Viennese Court gave an impression of just how important she was for the architectural discourse in her time but also for all of those who came after her.

The intriguing reign of her son Joseph II was un-

questionably seen as contradicting to his mother, as his reforms were met with fierce opposition, despite doing the best he could. Nevertheless it is impossible to ignore the fact that he did so much for Vienna, bringing vast amounts of knowledge back home from his travels all across Europe. This contradiction in how Maria Theresa and Joseph saw the world and architecture made them interesting subjects to investigate and compare in all their diversity.

On top of my research, naturally I had to look back on most impressive Empress Elisabeth and find out how she saw her spaces and which changes she integrated into her daily routines. It would be an understatement to say that I was amazed by Elisabeth's way of creating private spaces in such public residences controlled by court guidelines and her ambition to do so, despite the fact that she was going against her contemporaries and what was considered to be usual in her time.

## 1.2 Overview of chapters

The chapters are written to outline periods from the time of Maria Theresa's reign, through the sole rule of her son Joseph II and subsequently to Empress Elisabeth.

The only female ruler of the Habsburg dominions, a one of a kind ruler, is portrayed in a different light than usual in the chapter "*Maria Theresa as an architectural trendsetter*". The Empress is hereby discussed as an architectural trendsetter, who was so fond of interior design that she learned how to manipulate and display her power through it. The focus of this chapter is on highlighting the ways Maria Theresa used arranging spaces as a tool, not only in politics but also in her marriage, which is remarkable in itself. The spaces that she decorated sent a strong message to the public and everyone who entered them, as well as this, she also marked them with fertility symbol-

ism, as she was the Empress Mother.

After Maria Theresa died, an interesting interruption of architectural focus of the Habsburg Monarchy occurred which is described in the next chapter called "*Joseph II and interrupted continuity of spatial arrangements on Habsburg Court*". The focal point of this chapter is to provide information on an important period in Viennese history under the reign of Joseph II, such as abolishing monasteries and changing medical history due to his extensive travelling. Travelling shaped his interests in architecture far away from the plain decorating of residences such as those conducted by his mother, which was another reason why he had no interest in doing it.

At last, the mystery of Empress Elisabeth is acknowledged and explained in the chapter "*Elisabeth of Austria a private Empress*", where the issue of privacy in Habsburg residences is discussed. Elisabeth's privacy concerns but also health and beauty obsessions impacted the way she decorated her spaces and built and re-constructed her residences, which is analyzed in specific examples of her living spaces.

## 1.3 Literature Overview

In order to write about the design and decorating aspects on the Viennese Court, one has to understand their lifestyle which was hugely influenced by court guidelines. In a matter such as this, it is essential to distinguish the court society and their relation to their customs, which did not only restrict their behavior but also their spatial arrangements. If we look at the work of Norbert Elias *The Court Society*<sup>1</sup>, court society is examined by analyzing the rooms, their mutual allocation, their arrangement and use, their design of the structure, and function of the court society. The analysis indicates how the structures and standards of this leading social class were being imple-

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1 Elias, N. *Die höfische Gesellschaft*, 1969

mented in their residential buildings and that the design of the residential buildings was their architectural expression, down to the last aesthetic detail. Court Society introduced the customs on the French Court under the reign of Louis XIV and therefore provided an opportunity to draw a parallel between French and Viennese Courts. Essential for understanding Maria Theresa's choices in spatial arrangements was the understanding of the eighteenth century court society, not only in Vienna but also French court society which was role model for central Europe.

Whilst talking about Viennese Court and the significance of Court society today, one must emphasize Empress Maria Theresa, one of the most significant female monarchs in European history. Michael Yonan who carefully researched the *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*<sup>2</sup> provides the key to understanding which factors in art and decoration influenced her conflicting monarchical identity. Even though Yonan's focus was on analyzing paintings, porcelain and decorative objects in her living spaces it simultaneously shed light on the meaning behind her interiors. This book portrays a rethinking of monarchical imagery in the eighteenth century and it was most certainly not just dedicated to the visual arts behind her reign. Since reproductive capability of the dynasty depended on Maria Theresa, visual representation of her living spaces emphasized female qualities. Yonan narrates a beautiful story acknowledging Maria Theresa as a legitimate Habsburg heiress whilst paying tribute to the aesthetic form of her residences.

The design of interior spaces of imperial palaces kept many secrets for centuries some of which are still pre-

served to this day. The Monarch's residences were much more directly influenced by changing styles through epochs and changes of lifestyle habits than works of visual art or façade design are. The Imperial residences and pleasure palaces of the Habsburgs exhibit several phases of development, as they were always decorated and furnished according to the changing taste and the changing needs of their inhabitants. Eva Ottillinger and Lieselotte Hanzl capture these changes through epochs under reign of various Habsburg imperials in their book *Kaiserliche Interieurs, Die Wohnkultur des Wiener Hofes im 19. Jahrhundert und die Wiener Kunstgewerbereform*<sup>3</sup>. They accurately describe Hofburg and Schönbrunn palace and the ongoing changing style phases that each palace went through.

The history of construction and decoration of Schönbrunn Palace described in *Schönbrunn*<sup>4</sup> by Elfriede Iby, is also a very meaningful source to get an overview of Habsburg interiors. The information in this book and the wealth of illustrations by Alexander Koller makes this book the ultimate guide to Schönbrunn. The Habsburg family has a prominent part in the story of Schönbrunn, since this palace belongs to a history of the ruling Habsburgs. Starting from the purchasing of the hunting lodge, now known as Schönbrunn to redecoration and reconstruction of specific rooms in the palace, this book narrates and beautifully illustrates Habsburg spatial arrangements.

An important period for architecture and the development of Vienna was the reign of Joseph II. He greatly influenced not only the history of medicine by building hospitals but also changed the way architecture was seen in his time. Derek Beales who described the

period when Joseph II was sole ruler of the Monarchy in *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*<sup>5</sup>, introduces him as a rational ruler and discusses all Joseph's Enlightenment ideals. Since now Joseph's lands form part of more than a dozen modern states, Beales argues that Joseph II played a significant role of influencing their history. The character of the emperor and the reforms of his policy are also reflected in the *Joseph II Reformer auf dem Kaiserthron*<sup>6</sup> by Helmut Reinhaltre. The author touches upon Joseph's education, training, and his co-regency with Maria Theresa. By referring to Joseph's background, which highly influenced his decisions and interests in life, but also architecture development of the city, one can perceive Joseph and understand his motives for a very much needed change in architectural focus.

Sources of literature which reveal stories about Habsburg personalities indeed helps one to understand and see them as designers, as their decorating choices were in tightly bonded with who they were as people. In a way, their living spaces are a good reflection of themselves. A book that painted a vivid picture of Elisabeth's life is *Elisabeth Kaiserin wider Willen*<sup>7</sup> written by Brigitte Hamman who, with great imagination, provides the key to an understanding of who Empress Elisabeth really was. Hamman aspired to portray Elisabeth stripped away from the Myth that surrounded her and focused on interpreting her personality, based around Elisabeth's contemporaries letters and diaries, such as the diary of Countess Marie Festetics, who was Elisabeth's closest friend. Hamman reveals the unexpected facts about Elisabeth's character, staying true to her charming but objective way of describing the Empress. A significant part of Elisabeth's personality was her ob-

<sup>2</sup> Yonan, M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, 2011

<sup>3</sup> Ottillinger, E. Hanzl, L. *Kaiserliche Interieurs, Die Wohnkultur des Wiener Hofes im 19. Jahrhundert und die Wiener Kunstgewerbereform*, 1997

<sup>4</sup> Iby, E. *Schönbrunn*, 2007

<sup>5</sup> Beales, D. *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, 2009

<sup>6</sup> Reinhaltre, H. *Joseph II Reformer auf dem Kaiserthron*, 2011

<sup>7</sup> Hamman, E. *Elisabeth Kaiserin wider Willen*, 1982

session to stay healthy and fit. An important source of literature that is essential in order to get to know Elisabeth's exercise obsession and what stands behind it is *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß-und Diät-Programm*<sup>8</sup>, written by Gabriele Praschl – Bichler. Not only did she describe Elisabeth's tendencies to exaggerate in everything she did but she also accentuated the history behind exercising and what it meant in the time when Elisabeth grew up and became an Empress. Reflecting on these reasons helped me to understand why Elisabeth's interior choices in her residences such as exercise rooms were seen as unacceptable in her time. As Elisabeth mostly stayed away from Vienna, she spent a considerable amount of time in her residences that were built or reconstructed for her throughout Europe. Most of her architectural ventures in her European residences were captured only in small details in various books. However, the most significant palace built for her was, Achilleion on Corfu which Olivia Lichtscheidl beautifully portrayed in her book *Sisi auf Korfu*<sup>9</sup>, providing an insight into the distinctive designer that Elisabeth was.

Amongst all literature sources I benefited greatly from visiting Schönbrunn, Hofburg and Gödöllö Palace where I got to see and experience the beauty and storytelling of Habsburg architectural decisions and their interiors. Visiting The Imperial Furniture Collection which contains furniture from various Habsburg monarchs, undeniably gave me an insight of their valuable possessions. As one of the most important collections of furniture in the world, it certainly serves as a great reminder of Habsburg history.

## 1.4 Research significance

There is no doubt that over the years many books have been written, capturing personalities and anecdotes revolving around members of the Habsburg family. However most of them are autobiographies and books related to the myths of this magnificent dynasty. From such sources I had to extract the fragments where their interiors and living spaces were mentioned and dig deeper, beyond their imperial personalities in order to reveal the significance of their architectural personality. With this thesis I represented Maria Theresa, Joseph II and Elisabeth in a different light, far away from their distinctive character known in the public. After analyzing their residences and their architectural choices I stopped seeing them only as Monarchs and started to identify each of them as architectural icons, designers of their living spaces, whilst still finding links to their personality trades behind their architectural arrangements. Maria Theresa, Joseph II and Elisabeth shaped architectural discourse in way that was maybe in their time considered unusual but it is therefore considered brilliant now. The purpose of this work is to provide an insight of Habsburg family members from the architectural standpoint. By revealing the meaning behind the way they decorated their living spaces and the way they used architecture as various tools to improve their lives, and lives of others in the case of Joseph II, portrays just how meaningful their influence was for architectural discourse.



Figure 2 | Maria Theresa 1717 – 1780



Figure 3 | Joseph II 1741 – 1790



Figure 4 | Elisabeth 1837 – 1898

<sup>8</sup> Praschl – Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß-und Diät-Programm*, 2002

<sup>9</sup> Lichtscheidl, O. *Sisi auf Korfu*, 2012



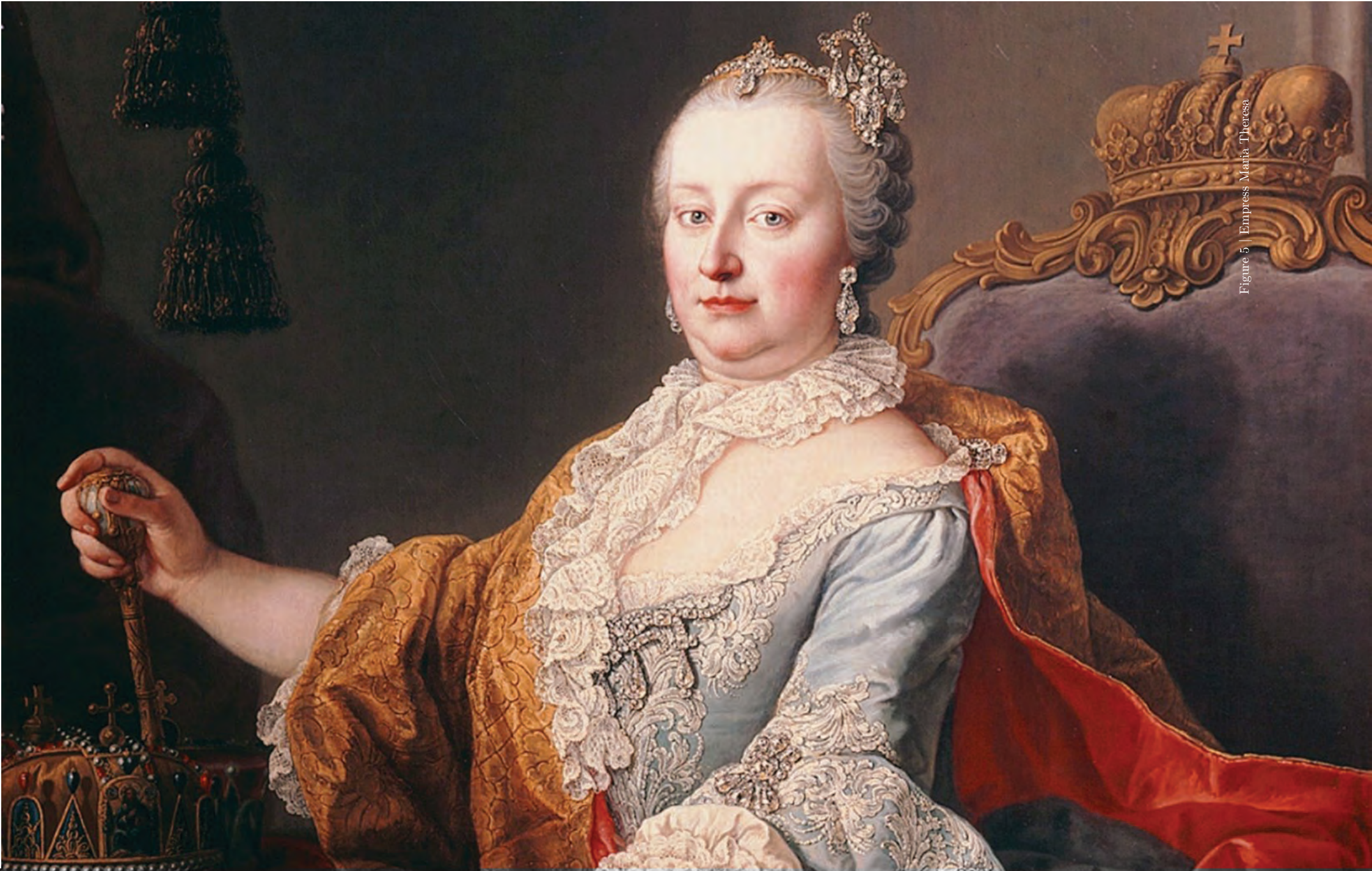


Figure 5 | Empress Maria Theresa

## 2. Maria Theresa as an architectural trendsetter



## 2.1 Gender as a tool in spatial arrangement – architectural implementation of the genders

In all early modern European palaces, there was one thing that determined room arrangements, spatial organization, and usage of the residences and that is gender.<sup>10</sup> It was a norm all over Europe to at least separate the residences according to genders so naturally Maria Theresa's gender played a significant role in spatial alterations of Schönbrunn.

Methods of designing residences and palaces of the Habsburgs were all coded in the manual of court architecture. Similar to Versailles, all other European courts as well as noble city houses consisted of two wings and two private apartments on either side of the courtyard, one for the master and one for the lady, with separate entrances over stairs. The rooms were independent and decorated separately representing different roles of male and female resident.<sup>11</sup> Gender had a significant role in organization so separation of the sexes was a norm. Palaces consisted of male spaces which were occupied by only male residents so naturally these spaces had masculine traits whilst other spaces were associated with only female characteristics.<sup>12</sup>

These differences were visible in the double-apartment system typical for European palaces which consisted of two apartments that were assigned to a female and a male resident, joined in parallel. Both apartments are built mostly identically, bedrooms are located exactly opposite each other but they are separated by the entire width of the courtyard. These gendered rooms were symmetrically arranged in a

way that each room has a different way of approaching it, creating different entrances in a way that the male residence was more dominant. Both apartments had individual >antechambers<. The position between men and women on the court could not easily and clearly be characterized other than referencing to their equal but completely separated facilities. The social and spatial control of the woman through man was minimum.<sup>13</sup>

However, the separation of genders was manipulated differently by Maria Theresa in comparison to other European courts, which I will discuss in more depth in the coming chapters.

In contrast to bourgeois marriage, equality of a man and a woman applies in royal marriages, due to the fact that marriages were conducted as a political tool and it was not unusual that the woman brought even bigger wealth into the marriage than the man did.<sup>14</sup> It is important to differentiate the authorized significance assigned to women's spaces in the palaces and their actual essential influence on the court's workings. Maria Theresa's spatial situation in the Schönbrunn palace illuminates this distinction perfectly.<sup>15</sup> She was on the top of imperial hierarchy so one would expect that spatial organization of her residence in Schönbrunn would have granted her a central position. However, that was not the case, as compared to her husband she only had a secondary status even though he had minor bureaucracy role.<sup>16</sup> It is interesting that the actual power and apparent

power were not aligned in Habsburg residence. Room arrangements in the palace were associated with Maria Theresa's monarch identity and her duties as an Empress, so she manipulated a seemingly secondary status to suit her needs both as a partner of Franz Stephan and later on, as his widow. Maria Theresa lived in the apartments on the east side of the palace and Franz Stephan's apartments were located on the garden side. The Empress's apartments were rather overcrowded unlike the apartments of Franz Stephen because her rooms were smaller.<sup>17</sup>



Figure 6 | The imperial family with eleven children

10 Yonan, M. (2011), *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, p.68

11 Elias, N. *Die höfische Gesellschaft*, (1969), p. 79

12 Yonan, M. (2011) *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, p.68

13 Elias, N. *Die höfische Gesellschaft*, (1969), p. 79

14 Weresch, Katarina, *Wohnungsbau im Wandel der Wohnzivilisierung und Genderverhältnisse*, (2005), p. 15

15 Yonan, M. (2011) *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, p.69

16 Yonan, M. (2011) *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, p.69

17 Iby, E. Koller, A. *Schönbrunn*, (2007), p.99

### 2.1.1 Shared bedroom as a tool in spatial arrangement and politics

Outlined with pathways and servant's chambers, the imperial suite was attached to the shared "bedroom" which was misleadingly classified as such, as it was rather known as a multifunctional common space used for retreat and relaxation purposes. The bedroom was used as a private dining room and a lounge but it was also a space where consultations took place. In contrast to the practice of the French Court, the marital bedroom in Schönbrunn had a rather private character and it was not used for public ceremonies.<sup>18</sup>

French Emperors never slept in the same bed, for the reason that they never shared a bedroom. Bedrooms of the French court received, at times, numbers of around 100 spectators, all male. The closest royal servants as well as the most important members of the Court, were allowed to watch this ceremony. Due to frequent accessibility of the room and lack of privacy, Louis XV and Louis XVI abandoned it as a sleeping space, retreating to their private apartments.<sup>19</sup>

Contrary to Versailles, Habsburg palaces like Schönbrunn provided a single bedroom in which the imperial couple shared a bed. Sharing the bedroom was a practice followed by bourgeois residences all over Europe, most notably in France where they were affiliated with the non-noble status, since it was not practiced on the court. This practice made Habsburg sovereigns relatable to the Viennese nobility and bourgeoisie, who applied similar room arrangements in their living spaces.<sup>20</sup>

Room arrangement in Schönbrunn palace sets non-imperial architectural elements into an imperial context. Maria Theresa wanted to follow other non-imperial traditions as she considered monogamous marriage appropriate, so naturally she dismayed her husband's unwillingness to do as she wanted.<sup>21</sup>

The shared imperial bedroom drew focus to the intimate aspect of imperial marriage. It was uncommon for the eighteenth century monarchs to have such living arrangement in their residences, therefore, having one shared bed in the room associated Maria Theresa's living situation with domesticity and both lower and middle-class residences. Considering that the decision as to where and how the imperial couple slept amplified the possibility of intimate moments between them, architecture was critical in this role. Taking into accord that pregnancy remained most vital factor of maintaining her political power, since it highlighted the dynasty's health, a shared bedroom increased the likelihood of Maria Theresa to stay constantly pregnant. Monarchical males in Europe have been for centuries privileged with extra-marital affairs, therefore sleeping in the same bedroom made it more challenging for Francis Stephen to carry them out. Francis Stephen's political influence was connected with his sexual independence, which in this case worked to Maria Theresa's advantage, as this spatial decision suggested physical and sexual restriction.<sup>22</sup>

This example of importance of the shared bedroom portrays clearly the correlation of space, power and sexuality in early modern palaces. Position and spatial meaning of the shared bedroom served Maria Theresa as a tool to manipulate the political power and to influence the prosperity of Austria, as it directed the male sexuality towards imperial ambitions. The eighteenth century concept of femininity that portrayed women as dominated by passions and helpless in the absence of male authority, worked in the favor of M. Rosieres, Francis Stephen's Lorraine-born companion, who advised him to take over control where he slept, because he had the power over Maria Theresa, considering she was just a woman.<sup>23</sup>

However this view confronts many other discussions of monarchical sexual relations, especially the one on French court where Madame de Pompadour's sexual influence on Louis XV made her politically significant figure in the public eye. Yet in Vienna, the situation was reversed, setting the focus of power on the male sexuality. The shared bedroom permitted that threatening, male sexual power to be restrained.

18 Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 83

19 Klingensmith, *Utility of Splendor*, (1993) p.123

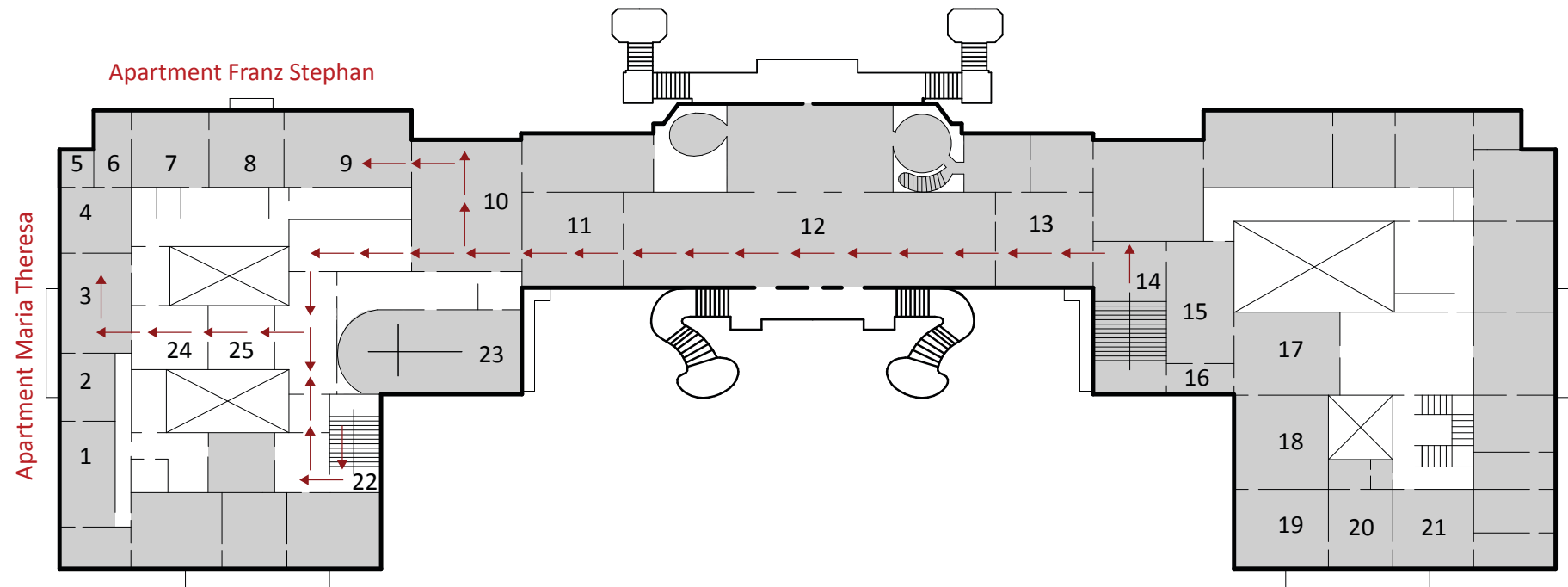
20 Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 84

21 Beales, D. *In the Shadow of Maria Theresa*, (2008) p.33

22 Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011) p. 84-85

23 Hinrichs, C. (Hrsg.) *Friedrich der Grosse und Maria Theresia*, (1937), p.49.

## 2.2. Moving through Schönbrunn Palace - Navigation and Spaces of authority



1 - 4 Maria Theresa apartments

6 Cabinet

7 Shared bedroom

8 Franz Stephans's study

9 Council chamber - Ratstube

9-11 Franz Stephan apartments

10 Hall of ceremonies

11 antechambre

12 Grand Gallery

13 antechambre

14 Blue Staircase

22 Chapel Staircase

23 Chapel

24-25 Maria Theresa apartments

Figure 7 | Schönbrunn Palace, Floor plan, first floor, after reconstruction in 1746

Since the Emperor was at the head of the hierarchy in the Habsburg monarchy, Viennese court had a focus on access to the Emperor, which was regulated by restrictions on entrances. The higher status the nobleman acquired, the easier and therefore more often he was granted unhindered access to the Emperor. The Emperor "used" the court as a "stage". It was important to compete with other courts in cultural terms and, if possible, to override them. The court also had to impress the subjects with its splendor and elegance. For all this there was an essential medium at the court: the ceremony. An important aspect of the ceremony was to give the imperial court a "framework" for everyday life.<sup>24</sup>

Ceremony regulated the life of the whole court with minute precision and extended over all spheres of life, from birth to death. Ceremony at the imperial court of Vienna was somewhat less distant than in Spain, but not as public as that in France.<sup>25</sup> Court protocol handled female and male members of the imperial family differently, so naturally spatial concept of what is private and what is public had different meaning for an empress than an emperor.<sup>26</sup> We can read this information whilst examining the floorplan of Schönbrunn palace as it stood after reconstruction and refurnishing of 1746.<sup>27</sup>

The core of the imperial suite consisted of the shared bedroom (no.7), along with the cabinets which were located on the either side of it (nos. 6 and 8). It should be noted that the access to these rooms was restricted to everyone who was not a close family member or close confidant. For occasional visitors who were not close to the imperial couple these spaces were unap-

proachable.

Apartments that belonged to Maria Theresa stretched out on the eastern side of the palace (nos. 1-4), including the rooms in the interior of the palace (nos. 24 and 25), whilst emperor's apartments incorporated various rooms on the south side, including the central spaces through the central wing of Schönbrunn (nos. 8-11). Arrangement of the Grand gallery (no.12) in relationship to emperor's larger apartment that opened onto it, resembled Parisian noble hotels, where similar smaller-scaled galleries were coded as masculine and positioned alongside of apartments of the male that had highest rank in the house.<sup>28</sup>

The position of the galleries in relation to Emperor's apartments are responsible why his apartments were detected as adequate spaces for public ceremonies. State dinners and large celebrations were held at the Hall of Ceremonies (no.10), the largest antechamber of Francis Stephan. Another reason why most important ceremonies were held in the Emperor's suite was that Maria Theresa's apartments were characterized as impractical, due to their limited scale. On the rare occasions that gatherings indeed took place in her apartments, it was not unusual that they had to be relocated to Emperor's apartments in order to facilitate better the crowds in attendance.<sup>29</sup>

Navigation through the palace was indeed manipulated in order to impress the visitors and render the high status of the imperial residents. Court protocol required that audiences always occur in groups, but they were held individually without exception. Several groups would occur at the same time, following

one another. Whilst the first group of visitors initially arrived at court, a few more entered during their stay in the palace, and one group upon his leaving. Meeting with the emperor always occurred first, followed by encountering the empress, after which audiences would meet heir to the throne Joseph, and after him any other imperial children relevant to the visitor's interest.<sup>30</sup>

Upon their arrival, the visitor entered the palace through the Blue Staircase<sup>31</sup> (no.14) After going through the antechamber (no.13), the visitor moved forward through the whole length of the Great Gallery before getting to the Emperor's antechambers (no.11 and no.10). From this room visitor was obliged to wait until he got admitted to the Council chamber - Ratstube (no.9) or emperor's Study (no.8). Through choosing in which of these two rooms the meeting would take place, the Emperor showed level of devotion with the visitor. In case he invited the visitor to his Study, it displayed closer relationship than being in the Ratstube.

After finalizing the meeting with the Emperor, the visitor prepared for entering the Empress' apartments, which they entered through one of the few complex routes. Due to the possibility of approaching the apartments through different routes, the Court ceremonial protocols are remarkably uncertain about how exactly visitors entered her living spaces. Entering the apartments depended on the rank of a visitor, character of an event that took place in the palace or individual request.<sup>32</sup> In one of the scenarios, the visitor was escorted through the emperor's antechambers and left the building through Blue Staircase, where he

<sup>24</sup> Pecar, *Die Ökonomie der Ehre*, (2003), p. 150

<sup>25</sup> Pecar, *Die Ökonomie der Ehre*, (2003), p. 151

<sup>26</sup> Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 83

<sup>27</sup> Raschauer, O. *Zur Geschichte der Ausstattung des Schlosses Schönbrunn zur Zeit Maria Theresias*, p. 137-41 in Josef Strzygowski- Festschrift : zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von seinen Schülern (1932)

<sup>28</sup> Ziskin, R. *Palace Vendome*, p.24. , Yonan, M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 85

<sup>29</sup> Khevenhüller-Metsch, October 6, 1748

<sup>30</sup> Maria Anna and Joseph occupied individual apartments on the noble floor, whilst younger children were divided among apartments on the ground and third floors. - Rooms in the noble floor are always the grandest.

<sup>31</sup> Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 87 from an analysis of Hof ceremonial protocols, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna

<sup>32</sup> Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011) ,p. 85-87



had arrived, and from there entered Maria Theresa's apartments from a second staircase, Chapel Staircase (no. 22). This route could also be used for private occasions when the visitor should be brought quickly into contact with the Empress.

The second scenario of how the visitor could approach her apartments, which was the perhaps the most probable route, was leading from Emperor's Hall of Ceremonies through a set of different interior spaces that lead the visitor to her first antechamber.

A third possibility to enter the Empress' apartments was through mezzanine level located above the second floor. This passage connected both emperor's and empress's apartments and it was entered over a number of hidden staircases.<sup>33</sup>

The contrasting ways of how the Empress's and Emperor's visitors entered the palace reveals a different spatial approach based on the imperial status of their visitors. The route of the Emperor's visitors took full advantage of the intentionally long path through the Grand Gallery by displaying palace's lavishly decorated central spaces. They were encouraged, due to the path, to focus attention on the paintings, celebrating Austrian monarchy, which were enthroned on the ceiling.<sup>34</sup>

The type of the visit defined the way visitors were accessing the Grand Gallery. On private events, access was directly granted by the Court Staircase.<sup>35</sup> The spatial experience of visitor's to empress's reception room (no. 4) provided an entirely different atmosphere. The lack of imperially themed decoration in her apartments, without monumental entrance to them, emphasized intimacy over ceremonial glory.

The small scale of her rooms, in comparison to her

husband's rooms, suggested a rather curious informality, even modesty.

Whilst Francis Stephen's apartments could be characterized as public spaces, Maria Theresa settled far away from the public spaces, without a direct connection to them. Navigation through Schönbrunn palace reveals much bigger meaning than just the way

visitors navigated the space. Without doubt, Maria Theresa did seem to occupy a secondary and more private space in the spatial layout of Schönbrunn in order to grant a dose of confidentiality to her spaces, bringing her strategic and political advantages. The power appeared to be in the Emperor's hands whilst she was the one who actually controlled it.<sup>36</sup>



Figure 8 | Grand Gallery, Schönbrunn

<sup>33</sup> Iby, E. Koller, A. *Schönbrunn* (2007) p. 92-97

<sup>34</sup> Iby, E. Koller, A. *Schönbrunn* (2007) p. 101-107

<sup>35</sup> Hamann B. Hassmann E. *Elizabeth Stages in a life*, (1998), p.79

<sup>36</sup> Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 88

## 2.2.1 Private sphere in contrast to spaces of authority

One cannot clearly distinguish room arrangements of Schönbrunn during the reign of Maria Theresa as exclusively public or private. One reason is that privacy did not exist in the monarchical context in the way that we know it today. The noun *öffentlichkeit* in German was formed from the older adjective *öffentlich*, during the eighteenth century in analogy to “public”. Even though the word was not really used often, we may assume that the public sphere first appeared during that time. When one speaks of the public sphere in a monarchical court context, as in public reception, a powerful display of representation is staged in a way that its “publicity” comprehends an element of public status and position of the visitor. The public character of events on court is influenced by public as a carrier of public opinion, and that is what makes it significant.<sup>37</sup>

Ceremonies at imperial palaces were described in relation to the size and nature of the audience that attended certain events, therefore a specific vocabulary was established by the court for the purpose of easier description.<sup>38</sup> Maria Theresa had altered the ceremonial regulations, which, according to the degree of the persons to be proffered, took place in the council, or in the adjoining room, the retirede.<sup>39</sup>

Private events which were limited to the imperial couple, their children, and close confidants were classified as *geheim* or *secret*. Additionally, events which courtiers of highest rank attended were termed *herrschaftlich*. That term is characterized by the noble status

of the individual attending the event and the number of people that were present, rarely exceeding forty attendees. Larger ceremonies that were accessible to a wider international court community are defined as *öffentlich*, in a way that they were open to anyone above a specific rank. Lastly, these kind of events where the imperial couple displayed themselves to the entire population without distinctions of any kind were termed in *publico*.<sup>40</sup>

The terms “public” and “private” are not differentiated enough during the reign of Maria Theresa to outline in which ways rank, accessibility and space interrelated at Schönbrunn. However, Maria Theresa’s architectural choices in the palace reveal that the imperial couple’s relationship to their subjects guided their decisions in spatial arrangement. In contrast to bourgeois society, there is no difference between private or corporate visits since there was no separation of professional and private life. The glory of the house is an expression of the social standing and not an expression of wealth. Social diversity serves the purpose of displaying the social standing and class and demonstrates the characteristics of the entire court lifestyle. The elaboration of external and internal spatial arrangements is an instrument of social diversity. The aesthetics of architecture as well as the stylization are cultural forms and they are perceived by the society itself as a highly differentiated expression of rank and prestige standards.<sup>41</sup>

What is remarkable is that the decoration of the public and more private, confidential rooms was different. For redecoration of public room arrangements in the layout of Schönbrunn palace, Maria Theresa was assisted by the Court architect Nicolaus Pacassi who is associated with the Rococo-style. Interiors were established by wood paneling, decorated in white and gold, which gave Maria Theresa’s interiors their unique character.<sup>42</sup>

Whilst examining largely private room arrangements on the noble floor – piano Nobile, its decoration indicates Maria Theresa’s love of East Asian art. These Interiors contained porcelain, lacquer and silk, also containing *chinoserie* or European imitations of these items.<sup>43</sup> It seems that with Maria Theresa’s preference for everything “Indian” - she meant precious and prestigious objects from East Asia.

A remarkable separation between private and non-private spaces in the palace was seen in 1755, when the Great and Small Galleries were separated from one another by glaze doors. This was possible because at that time galleries had flat ceilings. It was not uncommon that the visitors of Grand Gallery observed the Empress and her family through the glass and in case that both sides wanted to initiate contact, one door opened and conversation started.<sup>44</sup>

37 Habermas, J. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, (1962), p.1-26

38 Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 75-76

39 Raschauer, O. *Schönbrunn, eine denkmaliche darstellung seiner baugeschichte*, (1960)

40 Habermas, J. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, (1962), p.1-26, history of the terms *herrschaftlich*, *öffentlich*, *geheim*, in *publico*

41 Weresch, K. *Wohnungsbau im Wandel der Wohnzivilisierung und Genderverhältnisse*, (2005), p. 15-18

42 Hofmobiliendepot Museum, retrieved at <http://www.hofmobiliendepot.at/en/the-museum/tour-of-the-imperial-furniture-collection/1st-floor/maria-theresa-room.html>, 4.2.2017, 18:05

43 Schönbrunn Palace, retrieved at <https://www.schoenbrunn.at/en/about-schoenbrunn/the-palace/history/>, 4.2.2017, 22:20

44 Iby, E. Koller, A. *Schönbrunn* (2007) p. 100





Figure 9 | Mirrors in the Grand Gallery

**Ceremonial and state rooms** were redecorated during the stage of building work from 1753 to the mid-1760s as this building stage was not only restricted to create more room in the upper floors for the more private room arrangements. The original glazed doors between the two galleries were removed during this stage, creating unified space with frescoed ceilings and magnificent stucco-work decoration. In the year 1755 Maria Theresa placed an order with her court architect Pacassi to reconstruct the Small and the Grand gallery.

Grand gallery is decorated with white and gold stucco, wiping out the line between the ceiling and the wall. Tall crystal mirrors framed in gold, decorated the wall in round arches. However most magnificent feature in the gallery were ceiling frescos which make the room one of the most outstanding rococo ceremonial halls in European palace architecture. The ceiling frescos narrate a story of Maria Theresa and her reign. The Empress was shown seated on the throne in the center, alongside her husband. Their images were surrounded by allegories of their royal domain

and wealth. It displays political power of the first female Empress and her husband in all of its glory, despite the ongoing war with Prussia.

The Grand and Small Gallery were used for ceremonial occasions of different types, for larger but also more private events. The Great Gallery served as a ceremonial hall or waiting room for those awaiting audiences and Small Gallery was reserved for the imperial family and their gatherings. The type of visit defined the way visitors were accessing the Grand Gallery.<sup>45</sup>

Due to reconstruction the facade also had to be transformed, which was made by architect Nicolaus Pacassi in Rococo style. Decoration of both galleries were commenced at the same time, under the guidance of the same artists such as Nicolaus Pacassi for architectural work, Gregorio Guglielmi for fresco and Albert Bolla for stucco work.<sup>46</sup> Even though it is made by same people the concept for the Small Gallery was utterly different than the one for the Grand Gallery.

#### ***Court society and relationship to architecture***

The most important value in the life of people of the court is their relation to the society of court, relation to the world and people. The court society is not a phenomenon that exists outside the individuals that make it. The individuals who form it, whether they are king or civil servants, do not exist outside the society that they form together.<sup>47</sup>

This value reflects in the court architecture, in which the common room is larger than both private apartments together. The position of the space used for bigger ceremonies also displays the significance of social interrelation for the court society as it was more accessible and it is situated in the main and the central part of the palace. Social gatherings on the courts required somewhat larger spaces than the common household, due to the larger group of people that

<sup>45</sup> Hamann B. Hassmann E. *Elizabeth Stages in a life*, (1998), p.79

<sup>46</sup> Iby, E. Koller, A. *Schönbrunn* (2007) p. 106

<sup>47</sup> Elias, N. *Die höfische Gesellschaft*, (1969), p. 34

court residents could receive. Smaller audiences were received in the inner, intimate space of the palace.

Whilst observing the factors that influenced and defined court architecture it is vital to notice the relationship between servants as factors that influenced spatial organization, public and private spheres. Whilst arguing this it is important to reflect on the rooms that were not public but also not private spheres, the antechambers. Various residential apartments were reached through one or several antechambers. Besides common rooms, antechambers were also situated in front of the bedrooms. The antechamber was a symbol of relationship between the court society to their servants. This spatial situation demonstrates the unmovable distance between the servants themselves and the court. Servants shall wait in the antechamber for the command and further instructions of their superiors. The arrangement of antechambers and the fact that they were located in front of every room where nobles spent their time, manifests closely the contrast of spatial proximity and closeness to social distance, close involvement in one's own class and the strictest distance from the other.<sup>48</sup>

The architectural implementation of the relationship between a court and the servants was integrated in the Court architectural structure. The ladies of the court were not allowed to enter the antechambers when not working. Likewise they were forbidden to enter an unspecified staircase and to speak with the Guard. The lady of the court could only accompany a woman as far as the audience rooms when the visitor left the women's rooms. In the hierarchy of the ladies of the court, the chamber maid is a person with highest status as they had unrestricted access to the Empress. The court can be divided into a narrow and wide court. The narrow court can be described as a

household and court of the Emperor.<sup>49</sup> Important for the wide court was the presence of certain persons at court. The longer they are present, the more closely they are tied to the emperor. However this could only be done at a permanent residence of the ruler. The court consisted of, in principle, all the servants of the court, from the mayor to the lowest servant. The court was strictly hierarchical in structure, but there was considerable overlapping of duties and powers in some offices.

### *Private room arrangements*

In contrast to Versailles residents, who usually performed their daily activities in front of the crowds on the court, Habsburgs claimed privacy in their palaces.<sup>50</sup>

Schönbrunn was a maze of hidden entrances, exits and hallways which were of great interest to the gossips of several centuries. In order to enable quick communication between the emperors, their children or employees, architects always included hidden passageways between the apartments in the designs of the palaces. Spaces were connected through confidential system that existed alongside of the official spaces, something we can view in the photo of the Oval Cabinet at Schönbrunn, which confirms the existence of the secret staircase.<sup>51</sup> (see fig.11 )

Another secret staircase was built on the south side of the east wing and it was considered to be used by servants, since it was unofficial type of staircase. The staircase shows a remarkable railing with wrought-iron elements in a shape of letter S. At the same time, the spiral staircase, accessible from the chapel, allowed a direct connection to the apartments of Maria Theresa with the space reserved for the accommodation of her children. (see fig. 10)



Figure 10 | Spiral staircase, Schönbrunn

<sup>48</sup> Elias, N. *Die höfische Gesellschaft*, (1969), p. 74-76

<sup>49</sup> Scheutz/Wührer, *Zu Diensten Ihrer Majestät*, (2011), p. 20

<sup>50</sup> Walton, G. *Louis XIV's Versailles*, (1986) p. 13-34

<sup>51</sup> Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 73-75





Figure 11 | Secret staircase near the Oval Cabinet, Schönbrunn



Figure 12 | Oval Cabinet, Schönbrunn

During the reign of Maria Theresa, the center of Schönbrunn was bustling with family activity. Maria Theresa and her family had meals together in East Asian Cabinets, until recently known as Chinese cabinets, located to the either side of the Small Gallery, overlooking standard etiquette and ensuring that the family could lead more informal life, avoiding the strict protocol. Only the right-hand cabinet can correctly be termed Chinese in reference to the Chinese porcelain displayed there, while the left-hand east cabinet should be referred to as the Japanese Oval Cabinet.<sup>52</sup>

Both cabinets have a distinctly intimate character and were used by Maria Theresa for small social gatherings, for example for playing cards. Before the rooms were decorated as we see them today, the Round Cabinet was used as a small conference room, in which the so-called secret negotiations took place. These were secret conferences at which meals were served to the participants via a totally loaded table, drawn from the room on the floor below, so that they would not be disturbed by the servants.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Schönbrunn Palace, retrieved at <https://www.schoenbrunn.at/en/about-schoenbrunn/the-palace/tour-of-the-palace/east-asian-cabinets/> , 21.2.2017, 16:25

<sup>53</sup> Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 73



In the cabinets one finds more lacquer work and alongside them imperial artists have combined stands upon which rest small porcelain vases. These are positioned spatially via a restrained rococo woodwork painted to correspond with the white and gold of the nearby galleries and reception rooms.

References to the East do not end here. Wandering further into the imperial suite, one will eventually reach Maria Theresa's private writing cabinet, known as *Porcelain Room*. Looking closely, Asian art cannot actually be seen on the walls of the Porcelain room so in order to read the room one must observe the room from afar. By doing that, the viewer can easily recognize that the painted wood paneling and the carved blue and white framing were intended to imitate porcelain vases. Incorporated into the wood paneling are 213 delicately framed blue gouache paintings. These are copies of originals by the French artists François Boucher and Jean Pillement, drawn by the children of the imperial couple Franz Stephan and Maria Theresa, which they made during their drawing lessons. The room therefore references China, just like the other more private rooms that the Empress used.<sup>54</sup>

In contrast to other rooms Chinese reference in the Porcelain Room is rather different, not only does aesthetic of China become something for visual imitation, but the children's mastery of that imitation defines handcraft as the stimulator of cultural superiority.



Figure 13 | Porcelain Room, Schönbrunn

<sup>54</sup> Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 128

## 2.3 Maria Theresa's interiors and Franz Stephan's death

Francis Stephan's role on the court consisted of few responsibilities; to be a father of the future Habsburgs and as an Emperor to give his wife a decorative title. Francis Stephan's death was not seen in the public as devastating because his role was mainly to hold place for his sons until they came to the throne. Viennese newspapers carried an article after Francis Stephan's death with a quote: *"What helps us now the great sadness? Away with the fearful pain, away with the mourners! The dead emperor lives in Joseph, his son"*<sup>55</sup>

After her husband suddenly passed away, Maria Theresa showed her grief through interior. Once again she started to refurnish in Schönbrunn. Francis Stephan's death chamber she redecorated into a chapel, where even now a mass is held on anniversary of his death.<sup>56</sup> In Schönbrunn she redesigned his study into a memorial room, which is today known as Vieux-Laque Room.

*Vieux-Laque Room* is one of the most involved and wide-ranging architectural commissions of Maria Theresa's reign. Often described as a memorial space where she commemorated her deceased husband and celebrated the continuation of the Habsburg line through her children via portraits. However her actions in spatial organization were not just about portraying the love and fondness of her beloved late husband.

Academics allocate to Maria Theresa the role of an eighteenth-century Artemisia, who symbolizes a widow's devotion to her husband's commemoration. After her husband passed, Artemisia built a great monument to his memory. In doing so, however, she displayed her

devotion, drawing attention ultimately to herself. Elia Yonan indicates how Maria Theresa has indeed done the same thing in the Vieux-Laque Room.<sup>57</sup>

In selecting Francis Stephan's study for a memorial, Maria Theresa transformed a space in which he was most himself and least constrained by court ceremonial's official requirements.

### 2.3.1 Materials chosen in Vieux-Laque Room

Not only are the motives that hid behind the designing this room remarkable, but also the choices she made in choosing the materials and the way room spatial storytelling of Vieux-Laque Room evolved, is truly attention catching. Black lacquer panels from which the room gets the name set the mood of the room and influence the ambience. Taking into account that Empress always took care of the cost of her interiors in order to stay economical, it is astonishing to see that she decided to use black lacquer panels which were at the time very expensive. All together redecorating of the room and money invested goes to show that Maria Theresa spared no cost when it was time to commemorate her cherished husband and whilst doing that did not fail to show her power and strength. Choice the Empress made whilst redecorating and changing court quarters for sure did leave an impact on the society. She was fond of lacquer work and oriental objects, so this material was soon imitated by the local artists, as it started to be considered precious material. It was most trendy in the lavish houses and it was considered mandatory in the houses of nobility.<sup>58</sup>



Figure 14 | Maria Theresa in mourning clothes

<sup>55</sup> Quoted after Magenschab, H. *Revolutionär von Gottes Gnaden Josef II.* (1979) p. 77, "Was hilft uns jetzt die große Traurigkeit? Weg mit dem bangen Schmerz, weg mit dem Trauertone! Der tote Kaiser lebt in Josef, seinem Sohn..."

<sup>56</sup> Iby, E. Koller, A. *Schönbrunn* (2007) p. 133

<sup>57</sup> Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 99

<sup>58</sup> Iby, E. Koller, A. *Schönbrunn* (2007) p. 133



Knowing that nobility enjoys foreign luxurious furniture and objects, she decided to make an exception and hire French artists for the material producing. As Maria Theresa herself was not fond of purchasing any foreign furniture, furnishing the Vieux-Laque Room went against her principles. That was another reason why local artists started to produce and imitate the lacquer work in Vienna, to help her enjoy lacquer objects without being unfaithful to her own values. The final evidence that she was fond of lacquer furniture was in her last will where she mostly listed only lacquer furniture.<sup>59</sup>



Figure 15 | Vieux-Laque Room, entered from the West side

Although the Vieux-Laque Room is organized around the Emperor, it indirectly articulates the Empress' power. The fact that there was not even a single portrait of Maria Theresa in the Vieux-Laque Room showcases that she was present and had authority. She only appears on the portrait with Maria Luisa in the shape of a statue, which in eighteenth-century royal portraiture symbolizes power-granting authorities.<sup>60</sup> Through displaying representations of her family in the Vieux-Laque Room, she managed to demonstrate multiple versions of her authority.

Aside of decoration, the room was furnished with expensive paintings and portraits of Franz Stephan, their eldest sons, Maria Luisa and their children in gilt frames. What is specific for the Vieux-Laque Room is that Maria Theresa was controlling the visual points of the room by influencing the focus of the visitors. She offered two different perspectives of how one perceives the room by entering from two opposite sides of the room. The room's design promotes multiple patterns of viewing, allowing different associations through the space, depending on who and how the person was moving through the room. The first thing that visitors saw by entering the room from the west side was a portrait of her sons Joseph II and Leopold II (see fig. 15). Even though the room was furnished to commemorate Francis Stephan, Maria Theresa took matters into her own hands and made sure that the visitors get reminded of the power of current Habsburg ruler. Only after the visitor was physically in the room, the remaining two portraits came in the view; first the portrait of Francis Stephan and then Maria Luisa with the children demonstrating present, past and the future of the Habsburg dynasty.

However, the Empress was entering the room from the opposite side, the East side, thus experiencing a

completely different interpretation of the room. From her point of view as she was entering the room, her visual focus was not history of the Habsburg dynasty but transition from the feminine spaces, outward into the world. The entrance which Maria Theresa used was connected to her private apartments in the East wing of Schönbrunn. The first portrait she saw was of Maria Luisa, who was displayed in the room as a symbol of fertility and an ideal of female noble obligation which Maria Theresa so fondly promoted. Michael Yonan argues that Vieux-Laque Room is indeed a feminine space not only because it portrays woman and children but also because of the high wall that provides a backdrop whilst at the same time frames the central figures. By doing that it locates them in an enclosed sanctuary suggestive of women's fertility.

Vieux-Laque Room offered so many different ways to interpret the spatial organization, depending on which aspect we are observing. A feature of the room which is significant for its appearance was its nonlinearity. To trace the dynasty's evolution one does not begin on one end of the room and travel to the other but rather connects the figures around the room and associates them to one another.<sup>61</sup>

The relationship between the portraits was not the only significant one in the Vieux-Laque Room. The relationship between the lacquered panels and the portraits is also important for better understanding of the rooms meaning and intention. The Chinese panels illustrated landscape, architecture and different social activities in the vertical formats. One can notice the separations between the panels and the narrative system suggested by the portraits. As one scans the room, one continuously switches from China to Europe, constantly matching and differentiating the assets.

<sup>59</sup> Witt-Dörning, C. *Maria Theresia und ihre Beziehung zur Möbelkunst am Wiener Hof; Maria Theresa und ihre Zeit*, Residenz Verlag, p.352-353

<sup>60</sup> Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman*, (1996), p. 151-154

<sup>61</sup> Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 118-125





Figure 16 | Vieux-Laque Room, Schönbrunn



Rococo decoration allowed mental travel to replace physical travel, making it possible for the Empress to experience the faraway whilst at home. Despite the fact that Maria Theresa carefully arranged the interior of the Vieux-Laque Room, putting much effort and money towards it, it never became a part of her personal space. The room existed to connect Maria Theresa's continued significance to the monarchy. By glorifying the Emperor she allows the viewers to assume the central position of power whilst simultaneously leading them to realization that by visualizing the father power, the power leads ultimately in all directions to the ever-present mother.<sup>62</sup>

As portraits were a later addition to the Vieux-Laque Room, evidently something else hung in their place provisionally, most likely mirrors. Placing large mirrors that took the central position on the walls of rococo rooms were significant for French-inspired tra-

dition in spatial arrangement. This arrangement closely resembles the decoration of the Millions Room, which was simultaneously under the renovation. Décor of this room ranks amongst the most remarkable interiors of Maria Theresa period. Both the Vieux-Laque Room and the Millions Room contained pieces of Asian art which were inserted in rococo frames.<sup>63</sup>

## 2.4 Maria Theresa's favorite room setting: The Millions Room

The Millions Room is considered to be Schönbrunn's most striking contribution to the history of architecture. It offers many different spheres through which it could be observed. This room provides a connection between private and public spheres of the palace, linking the rooms that are influenced by court etiquette and those relatively free from it. From its history we can read the principles Maria Theresa leaned on whilst decorating, but also room's impacts on the political power, as well as influencing the taste of the public. On top of everything this room can be read as feminine which certainly aided my argument that the Millions Room, which is so architecturally and historically intriguing, could indeed be Maria Theresa's favorite room setting.

Millions Room, known as Spiegelzimmer (Mirror Room) in the time of Maria Theresa's reign served her as a private salon-reception room where foreign dignitaries encountered her in person. Both sides of the room contained mirrors, which reflect each other and thus create the illusion of an infinite space. Placing mirrors on



Figure 17 | Millions Room, Schönbrunn

<sup>62</sup> Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 125

<sup>63</sup> Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 99

the walls may have had a role in the visual distraction and offered an insight to the imperial audience and visitors that the empress received.<sup>64</sup>

Maria Theresa was fond of mirrors as decorative expression in the rooms where she received audiences. The mirrors in those rooms offered a different perspective of the Empress to the audiences who were perhaps not allowed to directly gaze upon her.<sup>65</sup> Any space that served the monarch as a gathering space was referred to as Mirror Room (Spiegelzimmer) in the Habsburg figure of speech in the eighteenth century. Not only in Schönbrunn but also other conference rooms across other Habsburg courts; including Hofburg, were called Mirror Rooms. In the time of Maria Theresa's reign this room is specifically associated with female essence. Transformation of the room from a small cabinet of mirrors to the Millions Room, in the context of the function as an audience space, carries a political responsibility. Not only did it reflect the visitor as was the case before in Millions Rooms, the visitor is set in a different visual context of the room's decorative background.<sup>66</sup>

Millions Room was not only utilized for receiving diplomatic audiences, but it also housed more casual meetings between empress and her close court friends. It connected the Empress' semi-public authorized area with spaces in which she lived away from the public. The room's decoration may have envisioned the connection between those two spheres of private and public spaces in the residence. Millions Room could be perceived as a transitional space that communicates a boundary between rooms administered by protocol and those rather free of it.<sup>67</sup>



Figure 18 | miniatures in cartouche-like frames, Millions Room

Decoration of the Millions room offers an important aspect that helps in understanding of the room. Activities of the Indian court and of Mughal shahs were depicted in a series of sixty framed Mughal paintings on the walls (see fig. 18). Whilst arguing the reasoning behind displaying these cartouches, it is important to reflect on the fact that societies such as those in South Asia were considered, as Ros Ballaster suggested in *Fabulous Orient*, as lands containing a wealth of material goods and great beauty.<sup>68</sup>

By experiencing the interior of the Millions Room, the eighteenth-century visitor learned of Vienna as a city close to these faraway wealthy lands.<sup>69</sup>

Cultural artifacts of a mythologized eastern empire whose strength and wealth formed a critical part of the Habsburg dynasty's self-understanding. Collaging the scenes thematic of Indian court into rococo forms, displays their artificiality and the lack of clarity.

Decorative history of the Millions Room provides an evidence of Maria Theresa's frugality and moderation as architectural expression, since it is argued that the Millions Room was identical to the room at the Belvedere, according to the diary of Mathias Fuhrmann written in the eighteenth century which he describes as: *"Chinese works on glass, in the size of large pieces of paper, they are not only painted like rare objects with incredibly beautiful and bright colors, but also surrounded with golden and other wooden Chinese frames"*.<sup>70</sup>

The categorization of the room's contents as Chinese should not misguide us, considering that names like China, India and Turkey appear often interchanged and mixed up in the eighteenth century. Additional to that, it is important to reflect on the imaginary geography that might confuse the modern viewer whilst reading the Asian decorations on the walls. However the eighteenth century visitor might associate the bright Mughal activity with wealth, luxury and aggression, which dominates the experience of encountering a European Empress.<sup>71</sup>

Further evidence of the possibility that wall panels in Million's Room were indeed relocated and only the presence of the mirror could be confirmed, was the fact that Mughal miniatures, rosewood decoration and gold wooden panels were brought to Schönbrunn no earlier than 1766.

64 Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 132-134

65 Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 132

66 Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 132-134

67 Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 131

68 Ballaster, Ros, *Fabulous Orient*, (2005)

69 Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 123

70 Quoted after Witt-Dörning, *Die Möbelkunst*, p.98, *"Lauter auf Glas künstlich gemachte chinesische Stücke, in der Größe eines grossen Bogen Papiers. Sie sind nicht nur nach seltsamen Erfindungen mit unvergleichlich schönen und hohen Farben gemahlet, sondern auch mit verguldeten, und andern hölzernen chinesischen Rahmen eingefasset"*, Fuhrmann, *Historische Beschreibung*

71 Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 133-134



Additional to that, the decoration utilized in the Millions Room does not match the forms found in later rooms in the Schönbrunn palace.<sup>72</sup>

Whilst talking about meaning of the Millions Room it is essential to feature the meaning of the Mughal paintings on the walls. What makes them exceptional is not only symbolic in portraying court life of the Mughal rulers in 16th century India, but also how they are made. The technique of cutting the pieces and reassembling them into various different scenes is essential. By using this technique, known as decoupage<sup>73</sup>, members of the imperial family formed new images that resembled what we call today a collage. Transforming the scenes through separation and recombination makes unification incomplete yet possible. Significant for the reading of Mughals from the perspective of eighteenth century visitors is the visual illusion created whilst reading the paintings; the moment the meaning is presented to the viewer is equally the moment when that meaning vanishes, only to be resembled once again at the next glance. Therefore, the final component of the story that brings this room together is the visitor themselves, which is what provides a form of escapism, and sometime imaginary closed visual circle of the Millions Room.<sup>74</sup>

Considering that it was possible to design a room in which Mughal paintings were not reformulated into new shapes, it is worth taking a moment and ask what was accomplished by grouping these scenes into composite units in such unique way. The logic behind the act of cutting and reassembling was concluded by Dorothea Duda, when she stated that the paintings were organized with no regard for their content, allowing the escape from ordinary responsibilities into a free and charming Asian fantasy.<sup>75</sup>

The Millions Room is defined as rather feminine space and the reason behind that was that act of decoupage, like many other crafts enjoyed among the aristocracy and wealthy classes, was associated with women and femininity. Women who were able to decoupage successfully were appreciated for their ability to perform the correct cuts, whilst making fewest mistakes, and wasting the minimal amount of paper. Decoupage therefore was seen not just as woman's art but also a test of female's intelligence. To some extent, decoupage paintings in this room portray the presence of the Empress as a symbolic decoupage, portrayed

intelligence through activity, even if not entirely done by her. In central Europe the decoupage room became a valued characteristic of significant architectural spaces. The decoupage technique was applied to unusual or rare materials, all of which displayed wealth and an engagement with the exotic.<sup>76</sup>

Maria Theresa's choices in decoration, also that in the Millions room, did impact the public and society of Vienna as she was in a way trendsetter for eighteenth century Vienna. For less prestigious spaces, German printmakers met high demand by publishing



Figure 19 | Millions Room, Schönbrunn

<sup>72</sup> Iby, E. Koller, A. *Schönbrunn* (2007) p.139

<sup>73</sup> Decoupage or Découpage is the art of decorating an object by gluing colored paper cutouts onto it in combination with special paint effects, gold leaf and other decorative elements.

<sup>74</sup> Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 137-144

<sup>75</sup> Duda, D. *Die Kaiserin und der Großmogul*, p.36

<sup>76</sup> Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 133-134



specialized books of “ausschneidebogen”, preprinted sheets ready for decoupage, which provided easily available raw material for the practice. What is remarkable is that these preprinted sheets were usually Asian themed.<sup>77</sup>

## 2.5 Furniture from the reign of Maria Theresa

Maria Theresa preferred supporting Austrian designers and craftsmen rather than looking abroad in France for more lavish, expensive objects in order to lower Court expenses. This shows why there was no French furniture at the Viennese Court. With utilization the furniture became worn and was subsequently handed down to other family members before finally being given away to Court servants. After imperial family members suffered illnesses, beds and bedding were parted with. Not only did furniture get handed over between the imperial family members and the court, also wall paneling was relocated between different imperial residences. This culture of recycling is somewhat responsible as to why there is very little furniture from the reign of Maria Theresa remaining.<sup>78</sup>

The cause of this contrasting attitude of the Viennese imperial court to the rest of Europe is in Maria Theresa's personality. In time of Maria Theresa's reign, luxury furniture served more as object of utility than as work of art. Due to the fact that the furniture that was used by family and got distributed between court decorators, the value was low. It was not usual to use furniture that someone else used beforehand so lack of furniture such as beds, sitting furniture and veneer furniture was common.<sup>79</sup>

Imperial furniture was a subject to deterioration because it was almost permanently on the move, and some items were lost along the way. In contrast to the court of Louis XV, furnishings were not works of art but objects of everyday use. Maria Theresa was very efficient when it came to cutting the unnecessary cost for the refurnishing and one of the most evident examples was the translocation of the Millions Room from the Oberes Belvedere to the Schönbrunn palace. Relocation and reusing of wall panels was very common during her reign.<sup>80</sup>

Maria Theresa was fond of everything related to Asian design including lacquer furniture. One of the proofs of how much she admired it was the fact that she stated that the legitimate furniture is the one exclusively made of *lacquer*.<sup>81</sup>

In order to be able to satisfy this passion and preference for the lacquer furniture, without being unfaithful to her own principles, which included refusing the import of foreign luxuries, a certain skill in the manufacture of varnishing in lacquer furniture was achieved in Vienna, which was vital since Austrian nobility was interested in acquiring French luxury goods.<sup>82</sup>

The first step concerning integrating the administration of court furniture holdings was taken by Maria Theresa when she established the Court Depot of Movables in 1747. All pieces of furniture that were not needed were stored there in order to gain an overview of the furniture dispersed amongst various locations. When required these pieces were repaired and sent to their destination.<sup>83</sup>



Figure 20 | detail of panelling with chinese lacquer, Viennese Lacquer Room

77 Kiskluc – Grosheide, D. *Cutting up berchems*, p.83-84, p.96

78 Witt-Dörning, C. *Maria Theresia und ihre Beziehung zur Möbelkunst am Wiener Hof*, in: Koschatzky, Walter (Hrsg.): *Maria Theresia und ihre Zeit. Eine Darstellung der Epoche von 1740–1780 aus Anlass der 200. Wiederkehr des Todestages der Kaiserin*, 2. Aufl. Salzburg/Wien 1980, 347–354.

79 All that sums up why there is not enough furniture from time of Maria Theresa's reign that was preserved.

80 Witt-Dörning, C. *Maria Theresia und ihre Beziehung zur Möbelkunst am Wiener Hof; Maria Theresia und ihre Zeit*, Residenz Verlag, p.353, in Obersthofmeisteramt, SR. 349

81 Witt-Dörning, C. *Maria Theresia und ihre Beziehung zur Möbelkunst am Wiener Hof; Maria Theresia und ihre Zeit*, Residenz Verlag, p.353, in Obersthofmeisteramt, SR. 374

82 Witt-Dörning, C. *Maria Theresia und ihre Beziehung zur Möbelkunst am Wiener Hof; Maria Theresia und ihre Zeit*, Residenz Verlag, p.353, in Obersthofmeisteramt, SR. 353

83 retrieved at <http://tourism.khm.at/en/explore-experience/exhibition-highlights/2017-maria-theresia/>, 12.2.2017, 16:16

Architects of the Court made an effort to display the status of the residents whilst designing and decorating. Since they themselves are bourgeois, and therefore do not possess the noble creative competence, they must acquire the feeling for the adequacy and artistic articulation of the architectural form, which is appropriate for every building.<sup>84</sup>

Decorators had a significant role on the Court of Habsburg Monarchy. Their assignment was to furnish diverse apartments and residences during frequent journeys of the imperial court. They were also responsible for furnishing permanent residences and providing a correspondingly festive ambience at banquets, receptions and weddings.<sup>85</sup>

To this day our concept of imperial decoration, characterizes using colors red, white and gold, what we know today as **Maria Theresian style**. Using these colors was not just a random choice, as the Imperial style of living was associated with this color scheme. In the rooms where ceremonial functions were accentuated, white and gold Neo-Rococo furniture, usually upholstered with red silk damask was presented in Habsburg residences.<sup>86</sup>

## 2.6 Impacts on architectural settings in the reign of Maria Theresa

As far as the desire to design was concerned, Maria Theresa was a true daughter of Charles the 6th, even though she was a bit more moderate in the approach she adopted.<sup>87</sup> Until Maria Theresa, there was no example in the Habsburg tradition of a woman inher-



Figure 21 | Schönbrunn Palace in 1758

iting her father's title. Her accession to the throne required both symbolic and practical justification before it could arise. The Habsburg Court under the reign of Maria Theresa balanced casual domesticity and strict ceremonial organization that the imperial family needed to participate in.<sup>88</sup> After she came to the throne in 1740, the question of a permanent residence for the imperial family arose. Maria Theresa enjoyed redesigning and decorating palaces and

as such she bought Hetzendorf Palace in 1742 for her mother and altered the interior for her. She bought both Schloßhof and Belvedere Palaces from the successors of Prince Eugene of Savoy, which she then proceeded to refurnish and redecorate.<sup>89</sup>

The Favorite on the Wieden, which until then served as the imperial family's summer residence did not fulfill their requirements as it became too small for the

<sup>84</sup> Weresch, K. *Wohnungsbau im Wandel der Wohnzivilisierung und Genderverhältnisse*, (2005), p. 15-18

<sup>85</sup> Iby, E. Koller, A. *Schönbrunn* (2007) p. 69

<sup>86</sup> Hofmobiliendepot, retrieved at <http://www.hofmobiliendepot.at>, 20.2.2016, 17:22

<sup>87</sup> Sternthal, Barbara, (2011), Christian Brandstätter Verlag, *Imperial Vienna*, p. 24

<sup>88</sup> Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 67

<sup>89</sup> Hofmobiliendepot, retrieved at <http://www.hofmobiliendepot.at/en/the-museum/tour-of-the-imperial-furniture-collection/1st-floor/maria-theresa-room.html>, 12.11.2016, 20:35



royal household. After debating whether Belvedere Palace should be reconsidered, Maria Teresa decided to make Schönbrunn into her summer residence and adapt it accordingly. Schönbrunn was at a time just an unoccupied hunting lodge that an Austrian Baroque architect Fischer von Erlach built under the commission of Emperor Leopold,<sup>90</sup> so it is remarkable to note that Maria Theresa remodeled Schönbrunn in the Rococo style by a court architect Nicolaus Pacassi, half a century after it was first built. Here she spent the summer months together with the court household, which numbered more than 1,500 individuals.<sup>91</sup>

Apartments in Schönbrunn were adapted and redecorated when Maria Theresa started her reign and the palace has been planned for the first time to become a residential palace. Everything necessary to make this residence a perpetual household was installed until the beginning of 18th century. Even though palace was adequately furnished and equipped for a long stay of the royal family, until the middle of 19th century it was usual for the household accessories to be transportable. In that context, entire household belongings that family needed were moved together with them in order to provide comfortable residing.<sup>92</sup>

Maria Theresa was very passionate in designing her living spaces and was also very opinionated when it came to design decisions but as an Empress her decisions were also connected to financial situation of the Empire. Her priority were finances over appearance which is indicated in the letter she sent to her consultant Emanuel Silva-Tarouca: **“Yes, buy the**

**tavern, but only if there’s money and without legal proceedings and everything in its time.”**<sup>93</sup>

Silva-Tarouca was one of the closest confidants at court so it is not surprising that she discussed interior decisions with him. They worked together closely from her young adulthood so he was in the position to propose ideas for impressive redesigns of the Court residences. When he proposed an idea for the Grand Gallery which is located in the center of Schönbrunn, the financial situation of the Court was not ideal so she suggested something that she often did to her court artists in situations like this: **to reuse old art instead of creating new art.**<sup>94</sup>

Her main concern in re-designing was always economy. Whenever she custom-built an object the focus point was not luxury but speed and price. Every time she had custom built object ordered from the Court there had to be three cost estimates, and it was the lowest estimate that was given the job.<sup>95</sup>

The Empress was involved in furnishing and decoration and she tended to personally take all decisions due to furniture transfer and she was determined to devote herself in details such as repair of the furniture.<sup>96</sup>

Contemporary reports inform about the Empress’s personal engagement when it came to decorating. As recorded in a character study written by count Podewils, Maria Theresa took the design of the Schönbrunn interior upon herself and made design to her taste without understanding much about it.<sup>97</sup>

Her husband Franz Stephan was not fond of her style nor design solutions in the east wing, where the imperial family should reside which was unfortunate for the architect, Count Tarouca, who was held responsible for the interiors. Khevenhüller noted in his diary that only a few days after they moved into their new apartments, they moved back to their old apartments in the west wing where they were residing until the redecoration of the new wing was done.<sup>98</sup>

It can be concluded that this happened because the Empress confronted her spouse with the final interiors without asking for his ideas or opinion beforehand. They moved back to the west wing until a new decoration solution was found which Franz Stephan would also be fond of. However that occurred a few months later, causing the family to stay in the west wing the whole winter.<sup>99</sup>

Spatial arrangement of Schönbrunn, associated functions and activities that these arrangements allowed, exhibited Maria Theresa’s idea of herself, her monarchical identity, and her power but mostly the nature of her marriage.

Through the work of Norbert Elias and others, it’s claimed that *“the physical organization of the early modern court articulated a highly detailed social logic that defined and supported the ruler’s absolute power while it also revealed its core emptiness”*.<sup>100</sup>

Monarch’s social authority and their symbolic importance was simultaneously transformed by the spatial arrangement of the court. Designing Schönbrunn and

90 Iby, E. Koller, A. *Schönbrunn* (2007), p. 86-87

91 Hamann B. Hassmann E. *Elizabeth Stages in a life*, (1998), p.76- 79

92 Iby, E. Koller, A. *Schönbrunn* (2007), p. 69

93 Quoted after Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p.79

94 Quoted after Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p.79

95 Iby, E. Koller, A. *Schönbrunn* (2007), p. 160

96 Houze, R. *Textiles, Fashion, and Design Reform in Austria-Hungary before the First World War*, p. 160

97 Otto Christoph Grf. V. Podewils, *Diplomatische Berichte über Friedrich d. Gr.*, hrsg von C Carl Hinrichs, Berlin 1937, p.51

98 Aus der Zeit Maria Theresias : *Tagebuch des Fürsten Johann Josef Khevenhüller-Metsch, kaiserlichen Obersthofmeisters 1742-1776*, p.132

99 Iby, E. Koller, A. *Schönbrunn* (2007), p. 98

100 Quote after Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 68, Elias, N. *Die höfische Gesellschaft*, (1969), p. 41-65

arranging its spaces, did not define Maria Theresa as a divine distant figure as much as it highlighted her character as a noblewoman during her marriage and later as a faithful widow. Both life situations are offering the interpretation of Maria Theresa as someone who was extraordinary yet familiar.<sup>101</sup>

Her design choices whilst redecorating various rooms in Schönbrunn palace reveal both her passion for design but also the storytelling behind using room settings as statements to the public. Whilst redecorating she was trading information between the Court and society, redefining the image of herself, setting trends and influencing architectural discourse and the meaning of spatial arrangements.

### 2.6.1 Domestic palace and influence on households as we know them today

The Austrian Habsburg court during the reign of Empress Maria Theresa has been characterized as combining an informal domesticity with a rigid ceremonial structure inherited from her ancestors.<sup>102</sup> Although Schönbrunn never officially functioned as the imperial's family residence, both Franz Stephan and Maria Theresa favored the relaxed atmosphere at the palace over Hofburg. Schönbrunn palace was preferably used for both family occasions and for formal visits, which is the reason why one is able to read and

analyze the story of spatial arrangement and architecture in Schönbrunn. Imperial apartments at Hofburg were used in the case that it was crucial for strict protocol to be carried out.<sup>103</sup> Therefore this research is based around Schönbrunn palace whilst examining Maria Theresa's character in architectural settings.

Even though Schönbrunn was not a domestic space, tourists visiting Schönbrunn today are told that many rooms of the palace were designed around social family life. The consequential image of palace life arises as inappropriately discreet and comfortable. The basis of this assessment is the belief that the fundamental substance of Maria Theresa's family life predicted the family oriented, bourgeois culture of nineteenth-century Vienna.<sup>104</sup> As one of the greatest advocates of this point of view in the twentieth century, Austrian writer Stefan Zweig described family life in Schönbrunn on many occasions in his biography written about Maria Theresa's daughter, Marie Antoinette. He offered an insight of significance of the domestic life in Schönbrunn and described Marie Antoinette's childhood at the palace as playful, filled with personal space and freedom.<sup>105</sup> Through his work he adds another dimension to the character of Maria Theresa, portraying her as a strong, loving mother who whilst having political priorities indeed took care of making the palace into a more domestic place.

Maria Theresa established spatial organization of the palace in many ways, such as how they navigated their residence inside the palace, who had right to use them and when. Many aspects of spatial organi-

zation she established in Schönbrunn enabled the idea and interpretative tendencies of the modern visitor to think that Schönbrunn was simply an impressive, luxuriously decorated version of the modern single-family home.<sup>106</sup> Talking about domestic spatial organization of the palace, it is important to display Maria Theresa's aim to keep family life in the center of the residence life at Schönbrunn. Considering that Maria Theresa had many children, as a mother she felt obligated to extend and redecorate the palace in order to accommodate her rapidly increasing family. During the first phase of redecoration, an additional floor was added into the west wing to create space for her children and their apartments. Characteristic for Maria Theresa was the pragmatic approach to the specifications of the acquired constructions, utility was the top priority. Because of the rapidly growing family, there was a lack of space, larger rooms were divided and even an additional mezzanine floor was built between the first and second floors. The resulting room's small size was seen by some of Maria Theresa's contemporaries as a great deficiency, but today it is gladly interpreted as a "vorbiedermeierlich"<sup>107</sup> moderate housing appeal of the "maternal empress".<sup>108</sup>

Maria Theresa breathed the life into Schönbrunn palace, putting her own touch on it like no other member of the Habsburg Dynasty. Schönbrunn was created as a monument for Habsburg family and it remained one of her most precious life's work that is preserved long after the end of Habsburg rule.

101 Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 68, Elias, N. *Die höfische Gesellschaft*, (1969), p. 68

102 Yonan, M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, p. 67.

103 Iby, E. Koller, A. *Schönbrunn*, p. 161.

104 Yonan, M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, p. 67.

105 Zweig, S. *Marie Antoinette*, (1948)p.13

106 Yonan, M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, p. 67

107 Biedermeier is associated with a style of furniture and interior decoration current in Germany in the period 1815–48, characterized by restraint, conventionality, and utilitarianism

108 Iby, E. Koller, A. *Schönbrunn*, p. 98 - 100



Figure 22 | Emperor Joseph II

### 3. Joseph II and interrupted continuity of spatial arrangements on Habsburg Court



### 3.1 Motherly authority switching an architectural focus

Maria Theresa saw birth of her son Joseph II as a fulfillment of her life purpose, as she finally got an heir to the throne. In redefining imperial female identity to suit her situation, Maria Theresa necessarily also affected the ways in which those around her understood their political power. Whilst conflicts like these occur historically in various manifestations, the eighteenth-century monarchical context makes their workings all the clearer, since the social order of the eighteenth-century court was organized entirely around achieving power through its appearance on the noble body.<sup>109</sup> In order to do this, Maria Theresa required other identities at court to take specific roles and forms. Representation literally involved battling for power. Joseph II had no actual authority in the state affairs as an Emperor. Maria Theresa took care that neither her husband nor her son prevented her from sovereign control in her hereditary provinces. Franz Stephan's role was mainly to hold the place for his sons until they came to the throne.<sup>110</sup>

What Maria Theresa began with the remodeling of the Habsburg multi-ethnic empire into a centralistic administrated monarchy was continued even more intensely by her son Joseph II. Influenced by the new ideas of Enlightenment, as a ruler he no longer felt primarily responsible to God but to the principles of utility for state and people. In this context he saw himself as the highest organ of administration and

“first servant of the state”. His “enlightened despotism” demonstrated the endeavor to realize enlightened ideals “from the top down”, with the motto “*Everything for the people but nothing through the people*”. Joseph II arose later with his frugal style and developed intellectual habits as an attempt to play an anti-role to his father.<sup>111</sup>

His father Franz Stephan could never exercise his authority because Maria Theresa regulated the state business and rejected an active co-ruling of her husband, so Joseph was to do it differently. In contrast to his father, he tried to break away from the authoritarianism of his almighty mother.<sup>112</sup> Immediately after his father's death he eliminated the pretentious Spanish court ceremony that characterized Viennese court for over a century. He rejected accustomed ceremonial luxury and decreased the number of staff on the Viennese Court. Till the time of Maria Theresa's death, Viennese Court consisted of around 1500 staff members.<sup>113</sup>

Reduction of formality and court etiquette decreased the social and economic impact of Joseph's personal staff to a great extent. He virtually abandoned the regular Court admissions and activities except during encountering Russian grand duke, the pope, the duke of York or his sister Marie Christine. Joseph's building program perfectly depicted his disliking towards Court life and etiquette and his devotion to the state and the benefits of Viennese inhabitants.<sup>114</sup>

Joseph II went that far that not only did he reduce the number of staff members but he even reduced the



Figure 23 | Joseph II with his Mother Maria Theresa

number of military security guards to only few soldiers, as Habsburg military forces were placed under his control.<sup>115</sup> As he wrote to his daughter in 1766, his opinion of Court was most certainly not flattering: „*The castle is a collection of a dozen old ladies, three or four old girls, and twenty young girls, called court ladies. Seven Archduchess, one Empress, two Archdukes, and one Emperor lived under one roof. No trace of community, no sensible, agreeable, or common interest is present.*”<sup>116</sup>

109 Elias, N. *Die höfische Gesellschaft*, (1969), p. 62-65

110 Magenschab, H. (1979) *Revolutionär von Gottes Gnaden Josef II.* p. 68

111 Magenschab, H. (1979) *Revolutionär von Gottes Gnaden Josef II.* p. 71

112 Stohl, A. *Der Narrenturm oder Die dunkle Seite der Wissenschaft* (2000), p.68

113 Reinhaltre, H. (2011), *Joseph II., Reformier auf dem Kaiserthron*, p.7

114 Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.447

115 Reinhaltre, H. (2011), *Joseph II., Reformier auf dem Kaiserthron*, p.7

116 Quoted nach Magenschab, H. *Josef II. Revolutionär von Gottes Gnaden*, (1989), p.89, “*Die Burg ist eine Ansammlung von einem Dutzend alter Damen, drei oder vier alter Fräuleins und zwanzig junger Mädchen, die man Hofdamen nennt. Sieben Erzherzoginnen, eine Kaiserin, zwei Erzherzoge und ein Kaiser wohnen unter einem Dach. Nichtsdestoweniger ist keine Spur von Gemeinschaft, kein vernünftiges, angenehmes oder gemeinsames Interesse vorhanden.*”

The design and equipment of the court palaces clearly portrayed the hierarchically structured society, the complicated order of the court and its relationship to the ruler. Many buildings such as Schönbrunn palace, have become a place of allegories and traditions, myths, symbols and styles. Both function of the palace and the architectural structure provided suitable arrangement dependent on the rank and status.

With the reign of Joseph II the continuity of evolution of interiors of Habsburg Court were interrupted, due to his switched focus from inside the palaces out into the world. He left his palaces virtually unchanged and some of them unvisited, such as Schönbrunn.

As his mother Maria Theresa already did everything concerning spatial arrangements, refurbishing every palace, Joseph did not have urge to change anything or even be involved in the design or refurbishing the imperial interiors.<sup>117</sup> Similar to his mother he was concerned about simplicity and practicality in furnishing matters. As a rule, he insisted on reusing of existing furniture on the Court.<sup>118</sup> His first move as a ruler was to introduce drastic savings on the Court. Joseph was striving to replace luxurious, gracious style of the Theresian Court with practical simplicity. In order to pursue the simplicity, uninhabited rooms of Habsburg palaces got closed.<sup>119</sup>

Despite the fact that it had been newly and admirably furnished by his mother Maria Theresa, a lot of the Hofburg was empty, since Joseph was the only member of the imperial family using it regularly.<sup>120</sup>

In contrast to his mother, his focus switched to the people and their needs when it came to architectur-

al matters and progress of the city. Joseph stopped construction work of Schönbrunn Palace and instead concentrated on the construction of the large utility buildings for the public. A new construction activity in style of French classicism began, under the architect Isidore Canevale. Joseph II appreciated Canevale so he soon became one of the most import and influential architects in Vienna. What made him distinguished was the fact that he managed to realize Joseph's reform plans in adequate structural form and stylish design.<sup>121</sup>



Figure 24 | City plan, Inner City (1770)

### 3.2 Joseph's Impact on Vienna - Improvement of urban infrastructure

Compared to other Habsburg dominions that were located in more rural territories, such as Galicia, Transylvania, and Belgium, Vienna was developing particularly fast. Even though Joseph was considerate towards rural dominions and traveled a lot, he was based in Vienna. He evidently felt that he belonged in Vienna, as he was constantly influenced by its citizens, being very active in the affairs that concerned the city.

During his reign, Vienna was a very distinct city, being the capital of the monarchy and in a way the Empire and also the center of many of his experiments. Vienna was able to maintain a status of a city that supported different activities on its own, such as the place where the new liturgy, the new parish system, new style town government, the new regime of health care and the new scheme for support of the poor were all first introduced. Vienna was affected by Joseph's reforms more than other parts of the monarchy, due to its size and rapid development. No other town could need anything like forty-seven parishes, or such huge hospitals such as those that were erected in Vienna.<sup>122</sup>

Vienna was being transformed under the reign of Joseph in many ways. Labeling houses numerically has been ordered in 1770, mostly for the benefit of the mandatory military service, which young men were obliged to attend. In the year 1776 a few different enhancements have been introduced, such as street

<sup>117</sup> Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.447

<sup>118</sup> Reinhaltre, H. (2011), *Joseph II., "Reformer auf dem Kaiserthron"*, p.87

<sup>119</sup> Reinhaltre, H. (2011), *Joseph II., "Reformer auf dem Kaiserthron"*, p.45

<sup>120</sup> Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.438

<sup>121</sup> Reinhaltre, H. (2011), *Joseph II., "Reformer auf dem Kaiserthron"*, p.85

<sup>122</sup> Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.445



lighting and establishments of new police districts in order to accommodate new suburbs. Joseph extended development of Vienna far beyond its center. He strived to go further in development, for instance he extended the lighting to the suburbs and made provision for their planned development. The abolishment of monasteries made buildings that were not demolished available to be used as government offices, for other state objects such as barracks, churches and warehouses.<sup>123</sup>

Joseph's improvements of the city structure were rather extensive; the installation of the lighting of the glacis took place in the 1776 and in 1782 the planting of the first trees and the abolition of the cemeteries still existing within the city, as the burial grounds were a danger to the houses. Traffic in the inner city of Vienna was also modified as the roads were enlarged and the pathways were separated.<sup>124</sup>

His actions, which must have become commonly known in Vienna and to some degree in other cities as well, clearly improved his reputation with the inhabitants to some extent. Joseph caused various buildings in Vienna, such as buildings for the administration, the army, and general good, to be erected. Amongst them he was engaged in building of small churches and schools.<sup>125</sup>

Joseph II was known for making urban changes in accordance to the people's needs. The Emperor created hospitals and other institutions that were serving the interests of the people, by partly rebuilding existing buildings, and rebuilding the others. Not only did he strive to make a difference in the architecture, he made changes in the landscape of Vienna as well.

Gardens and green areas of the city such as Augarten



Figure 25 | Entrance in the Augarten

and Prater became generally accessible for the public and not just the aristocracy.<sup>126</sup> This accomplishment was not really favored by the aristocracy as they were not eager to share their afternoon walks with peasants. Joseph was not enthusiastic in identifying only with people that were equal rank as himself, as he believed, that would only be possible if he was spending all his time in the imperial crypt. Therefore he strived to redesign the public gardens and engage gardeners to plant exotic plants.<sup>127</sup>



Figure 26 | A part of Augarten, 1783

<sup>123</sup> Beales, Derek, (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790* p. 446

<sup>124</sup> Reinhaltre, H. (2011), *Joseph II., "Reformer auf dem Kaiserthron"*, p.107

<sup>125</sup> Beales, Derek, (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790* p. 447

<sup>126</sup> Reinhaltre, H. (2011), *Joseph II., "Reformer auf dem Kaiserthron"*, p.108

<sup>127</sup> Reinhaltre, H. (2011), *Joseph II., "Reformer auf dem Kaiserthron"*, p.88



### 3.3 The Monarch against the Church

Joseph II saw urban residential buildings as an important area of architectural creation. Through the alteration of old and abolished monasteries, the first large rental houses were developed. Centralized representation rooms were replaced by functional development systems. Principal functional changes stood behind a new façade of design in baroque-classicism style. Some monasteries were sold to private individuals and some of them were converted for different uses.<sup>128</sup>

As a result of the reorganization over 3000 new parishes were created. Prior to this, in 1783, only three parishes, St. Stephen, St. Michael, and Schottenpfarre, existed in the inner city. After the reorganization, five more were created and in the suburbs nineteen were established. Within the city there were two members of the clergy for every 1000 people whilst in the suburbs there was one priest per every 700 people. Furthermore, a network of parishes were established in more rural districts to ensure that to get to a local church no one would have to walk more than an hour.<sup>129</sup> In January 1782 two Clarissan convents, Königinkloster and St. Nikolai were among the first monastic institutions to be dissolved under Joseph's reform. Following shortly after, Vienna's three Augustinian convents were also abolished. The only convent within the inner city to escape this fate was St. Ursula,<sup>130</sup> however, it was impacted as a result of Joseph's reform which banned all instrumental music



Figure 27 | weeping nuns and monks gathered after Joseph's decision to dissolve the monasteries

from the church.<sup>131</sup> Therefore ended the golden age of Viennese convent music. The majority of the convents in Vienna were grouped to the South and the East of St. Stephen's Cathedral and were also close to the colleges, Augustinian and Franciscan monasteries as well as the Jesuit churches.

For Joseph it was not a question of eliminating the monasteries but relocating the Church lands and suppressing many popular devotions and processions in a determination to make the Church submissive to the state.<sup>132</sup> This was rather standard procedure in

Protestant countries but in Catholic countries it was an entirely different story. Joseph's attitude regarding the Church was undoubtedly significantly different from his extremely religious and sincere mother Empress Maria Theresa. Considering the very loyal image of the House of Habsburg toward the Catholic Church and their devotion to defend Catholicism, commitments of Joseph II to make the Church more "reasonable", might stand out more and appear extra outrageous than they would if that was not the case. The significance of Joseph's separation from the

<sup>128</sup> Reinhaltre, H. (2011), *Joseph II., Reformen auf dem Kaiserthron*, p.87

<sup>129</sup> Martin Mutschlechner, retrieved at <http://www.habsburger.net/en/chapter/question-utility-klostersturm-under-joseph-ii> , 8.5.2017

<sup>130</sup> Page, J. *Convent Music and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Vienna*, p.10

<sup>131</sup> Pauly, R. *The reforms of church music under Joseph II*, retrieved at [https://www.jstor.org/stable/740280?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/740280?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents), 8.5.2017

<sup>132</sup> Magenschab, H. (1979) *Revolutionär von Gottes Gnaden Josef II.* p. 211

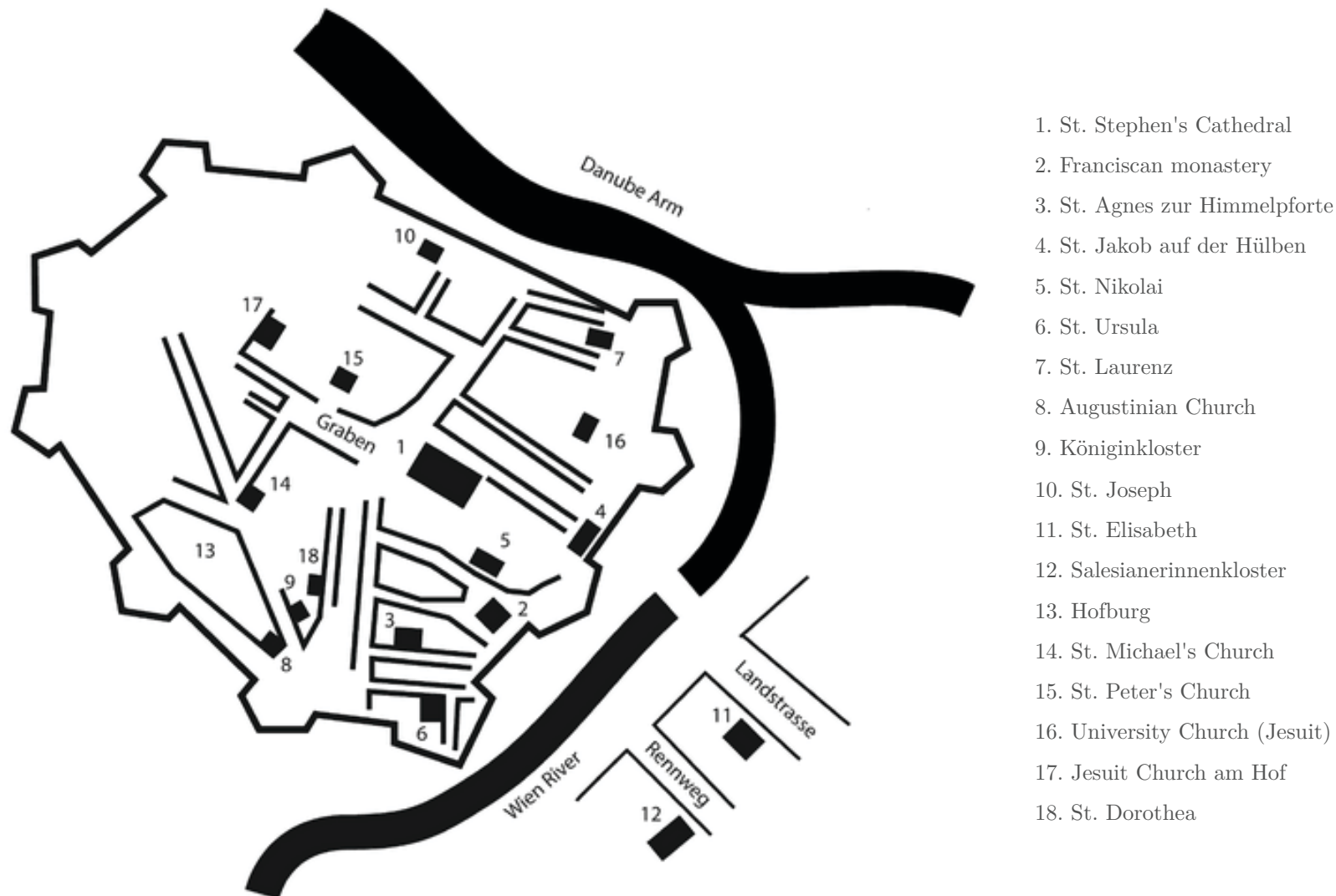


Figure 28 | Convents and related churches and monasteries in Vienna, ca. 1720

Church is identified in recognizing just how much the Church was intertwined in Habsburg lives but also their spaces. Certain similarities of central Interaction forms of Court and Church, ceremonial and liturgical led to many resemblances in interior design.<sup>133</sup> It was almost baffling how deeply intertwined liturgy and architecture were. The similarities between court etiquette and religious custom, worship and the space in which it occurs were both rooted in Christian tradition. That similarity is evident in the structure, both court ceremony and church services had some kind of order of events. For example church service was structured with welcome, opening prayer, hymn singing, sermon, closing prayer and dismissal.<sup>134</sup>

With the dissolution of the monasteries, large building complexes were transformed. Vienna became a permanent construction site, but the purpose of these structures changed fundamentally. Unlike the castles and palaces that were built under the reign of Maria Theresa, during Joseph II's reign residential buildings as rental houses were built, which were often commissioned by bourgeois entrepreneurs. Joseph took advantage of demolishing monasteries such as to acquire important pictures for his gallery in Belvedere, which has been one of the first galleries in Europe opened to the public.<sup>135</sup>

Joseph II wanted things to be simple and practical so the reasoning behind the closure of about a third of the monasteries and convents was because he saw no practical value in people living hidden lives of contemplation. He closed churches but also built many of them with the money from abolished Church properties in order to distribute the parishes more evenly throughout the empire.<sup>136</sup>

### 3.4 Traveling as architectural inspiration



Figure 29 | Hotel - Dieu, Paris



Figure 30 | nuns at Hotel - Dieu, Paris

Joseph II developed passionate aversion against Court life and strived to spend as much time possible away from it, which explains why he frequently traveled around Europe. Joseph's travelling was largely about defining his authority independently from his mother but also about getting to know architecture in other European cities.<sup>137</sup>

In order to free himself from the Court life and confrontations with his mother, Joseph traveled to Austrian provinces and European cities in disguise, so he was able to experience new cities and culture without the limitations of ceremonial protocol.<sup>138</sup>

Amongst other things, travelling influenced Joseph's awareness towards linguistic diversity. He once emphasized how understanding the variety and provincial constitutions and the reluctance of Germans, Hungarians and Bohemians to be governed by Italians was essential for his nephew Francis to understand.<sup>139</sup>

Whilst traveling he took advantage of the knowledge that has been provided whilst getting to know the culture and architectural progress of foreign lands in order to observe the buildings and adopt their good architectural aspects that he could later on implement in Vienna. However both Maria Theresa and Joseph interpreted his travels differently. Joseph II has seen it as a chance to gain some sort of independence as a Monarch and Maria Theresa saw it as an opportunity to stabilize European politics and promote Habsburg interests. For instance whilst visiting Italy, addition-

133 Reinhalt, H. (2011), *Joseph II., Reformen auf dem Kaiserthron*, p.51

134 retrieved at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-art-history/early-europe-and-colonial-americas/medieval-europe-islamic-world/a/architecture-and-liturgy>, accessed 5 March 2017, 18:35

135 Beales, Derek, (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.688, in Crahay, La Tolerance civile (Brussels 1978) in Relazione, p.424 - 427136 Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-*

136 Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.688, in Crahay, La Tolerance civile (Brussels 1978)

137 Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 103

138 Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 104

139 Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.686 in Joseph's memo in Arneth, July 1st, p.348-349



ally to meeting his obligations such as visiting papal conclave, Joseph was determined to look at famous works of art and architecture whilst being in Italy, mainly in Rome. He committed to see every sight that a visitor should visit whilst being in Italy. In a letter intended for Maria Theresa, Florentine Priest Francesco Grazzini gathered the list of all artistic sights that Joseph II visited. Allegedly he was spending few hours every day observing famous churches, monuments and pictures.<sup>140</sup>

Joseph's travels, particularly spending time in France significantly impacted his values when it came to designing and building. Learning by travelling helped Joseph to perceive European architecture in a way that he observed buildings, whilst receiving information of good architectural aspects and ones with less impressive solutions in spatial arrangements of the buildings. By simply trying not to commit the same mistakes that he has seen in other cities, he significantly improved the quality of these establishments and their health conditions, even though they were far from the satisfying health conditions that we know today. He was interested in the building from the people's standpoint and not from the bird's eye view. He was not being concerned about the appearance or esthetic expression but rather the living conditions of these spaces.

He visited different medical institutions whilst travelling in Paris in 1777, such as deaf-and-dumb school and the surgical school. In contrast to observing these buildings where he learned what should be done in Vienna, he learned from the enormous Hotel-Dieu, the oldest hospital in France, with its high death-rate, what not to do.<sup>141</sup>

### 3.5 Joseph's values regarding public health

Joseph's most distinct large-scale projects were related to the public health. He certainly played a significant role in supervising the design and building of the hospitals which he was paying for himself, as his brother Leopold mentioned: *"All these new hospitals buildings, particularly the General Hospital, the insane asylum and the military hospital, have been built with the emperor's own money, and a further 800 thousand florins will be provided to finish the others."*<sup>142</sup>

Due to his frugal approach in architecture, he had to restrict his perpetual impatience and determination to secure the completion of the buildings rapidly, whilst reducing the unforeseen costs. Seemingly, being modest whilst building made him an excellent organizer in this field.<sup>143</sup> Along with small repairs of the buildings that required approval by Joseph, from 1783 onwards, he demanded to personally approve all "Court building", which was applied to many parts of central Vienna. His taste in architecture cannot be analyzed in a study which, according to Beales, is admirable.<sup>144</sup>

Following the dissolution of monasteries, a few of which were hospitals, changes in the public health sphere were necessary, in order to keep providing refuge not only for the physically and mentally ill but also for the old, the poor, orphans, and disabled people. Joseph's military experience guided him into admiring medicine as a trade, intensifying his interest in it, making him particularly curious about surgery. He was ahead of his time in many ways and his archi-

tectural approach was very intellectual and modern for the eighteenth century. He moved the boundaries in architectural approach, especially by changing the focus of values whilst building. An astonishing value in his architectural approach that was unusual for his time, was his priority for cleanliness. Joseph was concerned about housing in traditional hospitals and he had a firm belief that patients who were accommodated together in the traditional hospital, should be treated separately.<sup>145</sup>

#### 3.5.1 The concern of saving lives in the hospital bed

Joseph's improvements to the public health sector deserve to be viewed as a vital part of his overall plan to exchange the presence of the unenlightened Church provision with a secular and more-informed state-controlled provision. Not only did Joseph substitute clerical education for secular education of a higher quality, but he also replaced the less-informed and superstitious services of monks and nuns with trained, and somewhat more scientific skills of lay doctors and surgeons.<sup>146</sup>

Joseph's words that appeared 1784 in the "News to the public, about the establishment of the General Hospital in Vienna" are also to be understood: *"love for universal mankind and compassion for unhappy ones whose sad circumstances help and support inex-*

140 Yonan M. *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art*, (2011), p. 103-104

141 Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.449 in *Relazione*, p.448

142 Quoted after Cited after Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.449 in *Relazione*, p.191 - 214

143 Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.454, based on conversations between Beales and Dr. G. Keleny

144 Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.454 in Fekete, Wien im Jahre 1787, p.18

145 Beales, Derek, (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.448

146 Beales, Derek, (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.451



orably, but the need to make themselves impossible to do so, have induced His Majesty to support the public institution with the designation of the main hospital, the general hospital and various nursing homes.<sup>147</sup>

Whilst establishing the General Hospital, Joseph wanted to use his experiences collected during travelling in France, and strived to unite the most striking advantages of the architecture of foreign countries in Vienna.<sup>148</sup> General Hospital was deliberately made more accessible and less concentrated than the Hotel - Dieu in France in order to avoid negative impact on the patients due to inefficient architectural solutions that he recognized whilst observing the building, which is discussed later in this chapter.<sup>149</sup>

Being the most advanced hospital yet built, it certainly was planned with the aim of a great improvement in comparison to examples of health institutions previously known. It was upgraded in many respects and one of the elementary changes which, until then, was not common in the medical practice that improved the quality of medical facilities and saved many lives, was the separation of patients with different conditions.<sup>150</sup>

Establishing of the General Hospital realized the most significant large-scale hospital project in the German-speaking area, however, Joseph II was not able to learn anything from his experience of French hospitals in terms of mortality rate in large clinics, so he requested an advice from one of the most experienced hospital specialist in Vienna, Maximilian Stoll, who was a declared opponent of the huge hospital facilities.<sup>151</sup>



Figure 31 | General Hospital, 1784, Vienna

Stoll pointed out in his *"Proposal for the Establishment of Public Hospitals"* the disadvantages of large hospitals, as by conjoining a large number of sick patients in a comparatively small space, the emergence of epidemic diseases was fostered and the cure of external injuries was made more difficult and delayed. He said that small hospitals are preferable, due to lower rate of mortality in them. However, they had a disadvantage in terms of costs, as the large hospitals could be set up and maintained more cheaply due to the centralization of administration and care than the

corresponding number of small hospitals in a so-called "pavilion system". Stoll therefore requested a compromise: that large hospital should be divided into several self-contained, separate departments with own physicians and own nursing staff, however, administration, kitchen, pharmacy, bathhouse, and the anatomy room should be used for all facilities together.<sup>152</sup>

From his hospital experience and those unsustainable conditions in the Hotel-Dieu, Stoll suggested to erect a few different hospitals in order to combine the advantages of a lower mortality in the smaller build-

147 Wyklicky H. Skopec M. (Hrg) *200 Jahre Allgemeines Krankenhaus in Wien*, p.12

148 Stohl, A. *Der Narrenturm oder Die dunkle Seite der Wissenschaft* (2000), p. 261

149 Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.448

150 Keplinger M. (2014), *Die "Neuen Kliniken" des Wiener Allgemeinen Krankenhauses (1904-1923)*, p. 152

151 Pfeiffer P. *Das Allgemeine Krankenhaus in Wien von 1784*, p. 62

152 Wyklicky H. Skopec M. (Hrg) *200 Jahre Allgemeines Krankenhaus in Wien*, p.16

ings with the use of an economic administration represented through the pavilion system. The underlying idea of separate, yet connected yards was genius. The hospital buildings are organized around several yards, structured in a symmetrical shape, which were connected via gate passes. Similar to quarters in a modern hospital, there were yards that were erected in order to treat various number of different medical issues such as yard for lung disease, skin disease, all to prevent the contact and spreading of the particular condition.<sup>153</sup>

An interesting aspect of the medical history was that the porter, who sat at the main entrance of the hospital, despite not being a member of the medical staff, was the first to give a diagnosis of the medical condition and accordingly to that, he would send the patients to the appropriate yard.<sup>154</sup>

Not only was General Hospital significant in the history of Vienna, it impacted the development of health institutions throughout Europe based on the fact that more beds were introduced in the patients accommodation in order to improve the quality of patients lives. The rooms of the General Hospital were each accommodated with twenty beds, a number which does not change until the twentieth century.<sup>155</sup>

The Viennese military surgeon, Johann Hunczovsky, had been sent by the Emperor himself to France, England, and Italy, and came to Paris the same year as Joseph II, 1777, therefore, he must have been able to see and experience something similar to Joseph himself during his travels in France.<sup>156</sup>

Hunczovsky makes notes in 1783, a year before the opening of the General Hospital, his observations of the Parisian hospital, the Hotel-Dieu that was the role model for the General Hospital. He came to an almost devastating conclusion: *“Here I saw for the first time, several patients sharing a bed. Those who had barely survived a hot fever were located near those who just started to develop the symptoms of it, so it was common, therefore, that when three or four persons are settled together, although in the beginning they had very different diseases, they all died of fever. One is completely affected by such a sight, it is indeed outraging for all mankind.”*<sup>157</sup>

The view of John Howard, who saw the hospital in operation in 1786 also gives a rough idea of atmosphere in the General Hospital, as he notes that most departments were 17 feet high, 61 feet long and 27 feet broad, contained twenty beds and had good windows, and each had three nurses. He admired the attention to cleanliness of the hospital.<sup>158</sup> It is likely that Emperor remembered the conditions of the Hotel-Dieu, whilst concentrating on the issues such as the height of the rooms and a sufficient ventilation of them, as well as considering the position of the hospital. Hunczovsky noted in his already quoted report on the Hotel-Dieu: *“I was indeed given a great deal of glory from the air purification of the rooms: only what I saw did not seem to be sufficient to achieve the final purpose. The location of the building in consideration to a free and unobstructed ventilation is not beneficial ...”*<sup>159</sup>



Figure 32 | military hospital - later garnisonspital

The new General Hospital was completed very quickly and opened in 1784, providing accommodation for several thousand patients and also teaching medical students.<sup>160</sup> Even though it was never an architectural unity or an entirely new construction, as it brought together some earlier structures, a series of long stretched, assembled tracts that were adapted to the construction, it portrays perfectly Joseph's utilitarian approach with its large façade broken up by rows of windows<sup>161</sup>

153 Pfeiffer P. *Das Allgemeine Krankenhaus in Wien von 1784*, p. 62

154 retrieved at <https://uclhistoryofmedicine.wordpress.com/>, accessed at 23.March 2017, 15:45

155 Keplinger M. (2014), *Die "Neuen Kliniken" des Wiener Allgemeinen Krankenhauses (1904-1923)*, p. 152

156 Keplinger M. (2014), *Die "Neuen Kliniken" des Wiener Allgemeinen Krankenhauses (1904-1923)*, p. 53

157 Quoted after Wyklicky H. Skopec M. (Hrg) *200 Jahre Allgemeines Krankenhaus in Wien*, p.13-14, *“Hier sah ich zum erstenmal mehrere Kranken in einem Bette beisammen liegen. Jene, die kaum ein hitziges Fäulungsfieber ueberstanden hatten, waren mit solchen, beideren sich die ersten Zufälle davon äusserten, vermengt. Daher kommt es gemeinlich, dass wen drei oder vier Personen beisammenliegen, obschon sie anfangs ganz verschiedene Krankheiten hatten, in der Folge alle an Fäulungsfieber starben. Man wird bei einem solchen Anblicke ganz betroffen, ja er empört die ganze Menschheit.”*

158 Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.449-451

159 Quoted after cited after Wyklicky H. Skopec M. (Hrg) *200 Jahre Allgemeines Krankenhaus in Wien*, p.13

160 Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.448

161 Keplinger M. (2014), *Die "Neuen Kliniken" des Wiener Allgemeinen Krankenhauses (1904-1923)*, p. 53



Both the individual type of the hospital pavilion and the type of the overall location - the axial-symmetrical arrangement of the pavilions standing parallel to a main axis with the administration building at the beginning and the chapel at the end of the middle axis - are the characteristics that are also found in Viennese facilities until the beginning of the 20th century.<sup>162</sup>

This concept is also used in the Military Hospital (1784-1787). Differences between the General Hospital and the principal military hospital are shown in the interior spatial organization of the quarters where ill people were housed: In the General Hospital, rooms for patients were created, which extend over the whole depth of the tract and therefore allow a lateral airflow through the windows on the longitudinal sides.<sup>163</sup> On the other hand, the corridors of the newly built military hospital were accompanied by corridors, but they also have openings on both long sides.<sup>164</sup>

Both systems therefore take account of the current requirements for the ventilation of patient's rooms, without using the "pavilion system" in the sense of individual horizontal structures.



Figure 34 | plan for the new Hotel- Dieu, Bernard Poyet



Just a year after General Hospital opened, in 1785, an architect Bernard Poyet launched new plans for Hotel-Dieu hospital. The building of the hospital was influenced by values and plans Joseph II developed together with the chief doctor, such as ideas of comfort of the patients, separating patients suffering from different diseases and hygiene in general. Supporting the health benefits during the building was taken in account, for instance maximizing light and air through large windows. However, the construction of the new Hotel – Dieu was suspended.<sup>165</sup>

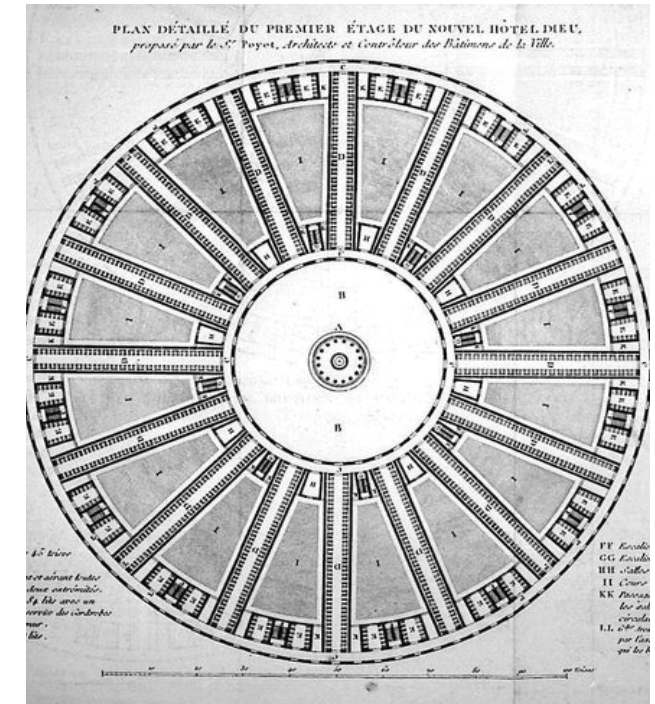


Figure 33 | Side views and a plan of new Hotel-Dieu, launched in 1785 by Bernard Poyet

162 Keplinger M. (2014), *Die "Neuen Kliniken" des Wiener Allgemeinen Krankenhauses (1904-1923)*, p. 52

163 Keplinger M. (2014), *Die "Neuen Kliniken" des Wiener Allgemeinen Krankenhauses (1904-1923)*, p. 54-55

164 Keplinger M. (2014), *Die "Neuen Kliniken" des Wiener Allgemeinen Krankenhauses (1904-1923)*, p. 56

165 retrieved at <https://www.drawingmatter.org/drawings/civic-utopia-17651837/civic-utopia-exhibition/>, accessed at 15.2017, 15:40



### 3.6 Joseph's own architectural monument

Until 1785 the surgeons were not considered academics or scientists but rather compared to craftsmen. Joseph therefore elevated surgery into a science which was taught at the Austrian medical surgical institute, where graduates received the academic title of doctor.<sup>166</sup> In 1786, the institute was advanced to the level of academy and renamed the Josephinum after the reign of Joseph II.<sup>167</sup>

In the medical history, the *Josephinum*, or military “Medical-Surgical Academy” for the training of physicians and surgeons, which opened in November 1785, became a subject of controversy, partly because it embodied both Josephs concern for the well-being of his soldiers and his tendency to rate surgeons more highly than physicians.<sup>168</sup>

From an architectural standpoint, the Josephinum ranks as Josephs grandest memorial due to its impressive design. Joseph rejected vigorous Baroque and even though he employed both Hohenberg and Hillebrandt, he admired Canevale and favored him above all architects.<sup>169</sup> Canevale was the architect of the later stages of the building, but he seems to have accepted the essentials of an earlier design.

The Josephinum, opened in November 1785 has been called “*the last Baroque building of Vienna*”<sup>170</sup>, and undoubtedly its ground plan and the management of the outstanding front with its prominent wings give it that character. Surgeons in this insti-

tution, like everywhere else, needed anesthetics and antiseptics before much development could be made. Even though the institution was not significant for its scientific work in its early decades, its wax preparations and its library made it impressive and useful from the start in training surgeons.<sup>171</sup> Joseph acquired from Italy a superb set of wax anatomical models for instruct students to use, since it was forbidden to dissect dead bodies.<sup>172</sup>

Josephinum was designed in order to integrate new ideas regarding “healthy” construction – such as large windows and bright rooms with high ceilings. The building ought to be designed in such way that provides beneficial effect on the health of teachers and students.<sup>173</sup>

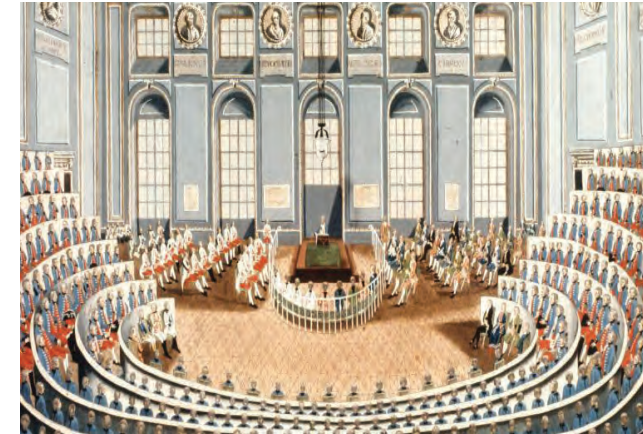


Figure 35 | Inauguration of the Josephine Military Academy of Surgery



Figure 36 | Josephinum

166 Stohl, A. (2000), *Der Narrenturm oder Die dunkle Seite der Wissenschaft*, p.90

167 Lindemann, M. (1999), *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* p. 145

168 Wykliczy H, *Das Josephinum, Biographie eines Hauses*, (Vienna 1985)

169 Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.455

170 Plassmeyer in Toman, *Vienna*, p.154

171 Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.451

172 Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.448

173 retrieved at <http://www.josephinum.ac.at/josephinum/building/?L=1>, accessed on 13. March 2017, 17:40





Figure 37 | Exterior view of Josephinum



Figure 38 | Anatomical wax models in Josephinum



Figure 39 | anatomical wax model in Josephinum



Figure 40 | Library in Josephinum



### 3.7 Anxious Vienna locked up in the tower

In addition to the General Hospital in Vienna, architect Canevale built the Narrenturm, an asylum for the mentally ill close by. The Narrenturm was indeed the world's first building especially designed, in 1783, for the medical care of mentally ill patients. It was opened for keeping mentally ill locked up in a central facility. Building of the tower was finished in 1784 and the first patients were admitted soon after.<sup>174</sup>

A couple of aspects influenced the building of the Narrenturm, one of them being a discovery of underground dungeons in Vienna. These Dungeons were used by the Capuchin monks and served the purpose of accommodation their mentally ill colleagues. Another determining factor that initiated building of Narrenturm happened during Joseph's traveling in France in 1777, where he got introduced to similar institutions.<sup>175</sup>

Until the middle of the eighteen century, lunatics were displayed to the public behind bars on Sundays and holidays, however, inspired by his visit to France, Joseph decided to build an institution that was erected for the individual occupation of the insane which represents the beginning of humanitarian psychiatric care in Vienna.<sup>176</sup> Hotel-Dieu in Paris by which building of Narrenturm was inspired, was just a circular wall containing the six- different departments that asylum consisted of.<sup>177</sup>

Departments for male and female mentally ill inmates of the Bicêtre Hospital situated in the suburbs of Paris, which simultaneously served the purpose of an orphanage, a prison, lunatic asylum, and a hospital, also influenced Joseph whilst shaping his vision for an asylum in Vienna.<sup>178</sup>

Narrenturm was radically different from the General Hospital, as it had a round shape and was not laid out in the grid system. The construction of the Narrenturm represented a significant improvement in one way, as an architectural vision of surveillance that is at the same time also a manifest of the beginning of exclusion of the mentally ill from the society, the discipline of mental disease into "mental institutions".<sup>179</sup>

Lunatics and beggars were shunned and avoided by the rest of society and emerged from the general category of "the poor" into a separate category. The lunatics stopped being exhibited for entertaining purposes as they started to be seen as sick and not possessed.<sup>180</sup>

Historians believe that the tower's round shape, its number of rooms and other elements follow a mathematic calculation based on mystical beliefs, which I discuss in more detail in the following chapters, in order to easier understand the idea that the building was consciously symbolically shaped.<sup>181</sup>

From the start, clean and curable patients such as injured soldiers were accommodated in the military hospital building nearby, capable of taking 3,000 patients,<sup>182</sup> whilst the violent and dirty patients were housed in the Narrenturm.



Figure 41 | Narrenturm, Vienna

The building consisted of 5 floors with 28 centrally heated cells, which were originally all separated from one another and a central courtyard from where the doctors could supervise the patients. In each floor existed a section for quiet insane, so-called military-crazy and women. In the last floor there was a section for severe cases and those with the lightest symptoms, such as melancholia, were housed on the ground floor. The chambers of the quiet inmates were equipped with massive beds, a wooden table and an armchair but in the upper floors the furnishing reduced itself to banks covered in straw.<sup>183</sup> A total of 389 men and 424 women were being treated in the hospital.<sup>184</sup>

Some of the practiced treating methods can be considered cruel from our contemporary point of view

174 <http://www.dark-tourism.com/index.php/15-countries/individual-chapters/118-narrenturm>, accessed on 13.March 2017, 12:05

175 Reinhaltre, H. *Joseph II, Reformer auf dem Kaiserthron*, p. 28

176 The care of the insane, November 21. 1908, retrieved at <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2437760/pdf/brmedj07988-0027.pdf>, accessed on 13. March 2017, 15:45

177 Scelsi V. *The Round Wall in Psychiatric Hospitals*, p. 52

178 Stohl, A. *Der Narrenturm oder Die dunkle Seite der Wissenschaft* (2000), p. 261

179 Geschichte der Armut und des Bettels in der Neuzeit Martin Scheutz, University of Vienna lecture.

180 retrieved at <http://www.univie.ac.at/Achse/narrenturm/?lang=en>, accessed at 13.March 2017, 13:20

181 Stohl, A. *Der Narrenturm oder Die dunkle Seite der Wissenschaft* (2000), p. 260

182 Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.450-451

183 Stohl, A. *Der Narrenturm oder Die dunkle Seite der Wissenschaft* (2000), p. 274

184 Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.449-451





Figure 42 | Narrenturm from above

but in general, the treatment of patients was modern for its time, even though the inmates were more or less simply locked up in the 28 cells. It was argued that locking them up was better than letting the patients roam around freely with the risk that they might harm someone or to be physically mistreated by other inmates.<sup>185</sup>

### 3.7.1 Joseph's reflection in Narrenturm

Stohl suggests that Narrenturm — unique in both medical and architectural terms, follows an astronomically occult system of numbers, with the purpose of reuniting the inmates who suffer with mental disorder with the cosmic order. The disorder of the lunatics was to be balanced by the architectural order of the Narrenturm. This statement can be understood in more detail if we glimpse back on the system of numbers in the 18th century and how it was applied to Narrenturm. Jesuit and scientist Joseph Franz has



Figure 43 | Exterior view of the Narrenturm

been known as the person who was the real inventor of the system of numbers in the tower. Joseph's II father, Franz Stephan supported scientist's views in his alchemical and chemical experiments, as he was a fully trained person who had extraordinary knowledge in the natural sciences and supported Franz Stephan's alchemical experiments. Probably the most important feature of this man was his proximity to the imperial house. Not only did Franz Stephan use his knowledge,<sup>186</sup> but also did Joseph who was his philosophy scholar.<sup>186</sup>

Under philosophy of that time, one has to understand it as natural philosophy, which meant that Franz taught the later emperor in mathematics, physics, and astronomy. Joseph II was not a scientist, he had

probably enjoyed a profound and extensive education in order to be truly capable of more, even though he was not in a position to do so.<sup>187</sup> Deducing the possibility of scientists influence on Joseph whilst building Narrenturm was evident when Joseph himself paid for Jesuit's Franz funeral even though he was known for his frugality and made no secret of his disagreement with the Jesuits.<sup>188</sup>

In order to further discuss how Joseph was reflected in the Narrenturm it is important to highlight his personality, a melancholic man who suffered from depression, whose life was indeed a tragedy which cannot be overlooked. Due to the tragic deaths in his environment such as losing his mother Maria Theresa

<sup>185</sup> retrieved at <http://www.dark-tourism.com/index.php/15-countries/individual-chapters/118-narrenturm>, accessed on 13.March 2017, 12:05

<sup>186</sup> Stohl, A. *Der Narrenturm oder Die dunkle Seite der Wissenschaft* (2000), p. 132 – 133

<sup>187</sup> Stohl, A. *Der Narrenturm oder Die dunkle Seite der Wissenschaft* (2000), p. 110

<sup>188</sup> Stohl, A. *Der Narrenturm oder Die dunkle Seite der Wissenschaft* (2000), p. 134

and his daughter who also bore the same name, it is not difficult to conclude that his personality was influenced by these unfortunate events.<sup>189</sup>

Joseph neglected his external appearance, his clothes. It is noted that he strictly refused to wear the Spanish coat, a kind of imperial clothing and that he carried a uniform patched on the sleeves which he justified with his frugality. Considering that, it is important to mention that in definition a visible expression of melancholy was neglecting of the external appearance. In the eyes of his contemporaries, this meant a neglect of the imperial dignity.<sup>190</sup> Not assuming that the monarch himself was or could be considered one of the lunatics, bearing in mind his psychological state it is certainly easy to imagine his investment with the building of asylum and the significance of his architectural participation during the building.

In the course of the research of Alfred Stohl, proposes that Narrenturm, in its architectural form, numbers, size, and arrangement of its circular cells, the number of its floors, and the entire cylindrical structure reflects an occult system - that is, a secret system of numbers which is not open to everyone.<sup>191</sup>

28 cells of the Narrenturm could be found in a connection to the nature. Astrologists tried to link certain diseases and therapies with the moon. Disease progression was predicted and treated using astrologically derived values. This type of interpretation and combination of moon and disease is known as iatro-mathematics.<sup>192</sup>

It is no secret that the number 28 is related to the moon. As the four phases of the moon repeat themselves every 28 days, and it is interesting that even today doctors calculate the duration of a pregnancy

after moon months with a length of 28 days. How the moon can be connected with Narrenturm is evident in documents noted by Johann Heinrich Landolt who visited the tower in 1787 and mentioned that in the night inmates showed most irritation, especially at the time of changes in the moon. In England, the lunatics were chained during the time of the full moon already around 1800, which was purely preventative, in order to avoid the influence of the moon on the people. In Vienna the constitution of mental illness was also seen in relation with the moon or the summer solstice, even though it was not precisely defined.<sup>193</sup>

### 3.7.2 Architectural disadvantages for occult gain

The location of inmates in the Narrenturm was aligned with the mental rank of the people who were housed inside. The cells for civilian and military patients permitted the accommodation of a particularly high number of patients in a small space. But only a small part of the mental disorder - as a total trend for the 18th and 19th centuries - could be graded and treated differently, hospitalized, and catered for socially. To understand the reasoning behind this alignment it is important to note the classification of the mentally ill during the reign of Joseph II. They were classified into a fairly simple scheme: the quiet and the raging ones, the clean and dirty ones. These unclean ones were locked in the fifth floor, where they were chained lying on a straw. For the reason that the most unhygienic inmates were housed on the top floor, water was of a significant factor in the facility. However there was no water supply in the building until 1857. As Stohl argues this could again be related



Figure 44 | Narrenturm, bird - eye view

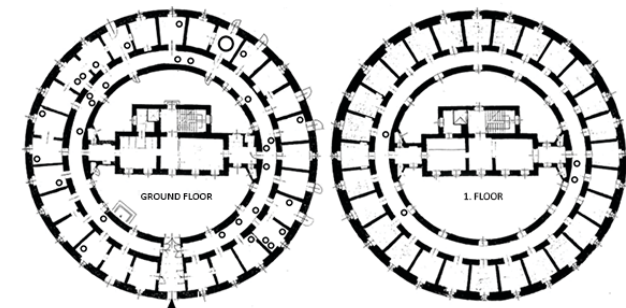


Figure 45 | Narrenturm, ground - and first floor

189 Stohl, A. *Der Narrenturm oder Die dunkle Seite der Wissenschaft* (2000), p. 68

190 Stohl, A. *Der Narrenturm oder Die dunkle Seite der Wissenschaft* (2000), p. 121

191 Alfred Stohl, Alfred, Katalog 2001, Die Genesungsmaschinerie des Narrenturms (c) Wien Modern

192 retrieved at <http://www.occultopedia.com/i/iatromathematics.htm>, accessed at 19. March, 2017, 16:45

193 Stohl, A. *Der Narrenturm oder Die dunkle Seite der Wissenschaft* (2000), p. 48



to the ominous influence of the moon. The transfer of the first patients to the Narrenturm from the different hospitals took place on a new moon date, early in the morning on 19th of April in 1784.<sup>194</sup>

Any educated person in the 18th century, such as Joseph II himself was familiar with Heraclitus' fragments. As he states in his fragment 118 "The dry soul is the wisest and best"<sup>195</sup> so it could be that these assumptions explain why there was no water in the tower; to keep the brains dry to a certain extent and to keep the damp influence of the moon low. The sophisticated heating system based on shafts and operated by four furnaces in the cellar, led smoke and exhaust gases into the patient's cells instead of warm air.<sup>196</sup>

Based on the travel diaries of an anonymous visitor in Vienna who accused the incapacity of literate Viennese to consider such thing of smoke entering the cells together with heat, Stohl outlines that it could be guessed that this kind of heating cannot work without causing exactly that. However maybe something completely different was to be achieved with the hot air tubes. In order to observe the possible reason for this unfortunate heating system a brief discussion of the significance of the fire in Viennese medicine is to be induced, just as chemist Boerhaave described it in his chemistry textbook that was then a concept that all graduates of the medical faculty were introduced to. He proposed an existence of fine, essential substance in fire, so called "ignis" whose parts when in contact with other substances and bodies during

the heating, store themselves in the pores of the substance and thus either expand or contract the bodies. If not only heat alone comes through into the cells but also ignis, then one might assume that ignis would become a messenger-substance, acting upon the spirit-diseased, whose intellect could reshuffle.<sup>197</sup>

The building didn't fulfil its role for very long, as a decade later, the tower was already completely outdated due to innovations in therapy for mental patients. The cells were used by nurses as lodging dormitory spaces after the tower lost the psychiatric function in 1866. In the 1970s Vienna's pathological-anatomical museum was relocated to the Narrenturm.<sup>198</sup>

Today, Narrenturm, an exceptional and mysterious building has one of the biggest pathology and anatomy collections in the world.<sup>199</sup>

Since baroque building traditions were now largely

### 3.8 From Habsburg splendor to Josephinian style

replaced by the rationality of Josephinian style, it has often been spoken of a new architectural phase, reducing baroque shine of the Court merely only to architectural shell. In the development of Austrian architecture between 1764 and 1790 decisive stylistic reorientations had taken place that were of great value for 19th century architecture. Characteristic was the constant resemblance of different stylistic concep-

tions, with particular emphasis being placed on the construction of buildings by the court. In addition to the new classicism elements, these included the continuation and variation of the late baroque building traditions under Nicolaus Pacassi, who took over the works of the court library, fitting-out works in the Amalia's Wing in the Hofburg and also the construction work of Schönbrunn Palace.<sup>200</sup>

Joseph' II tendency for architectural simplicity was not only shown in the architecture itself but it was also reflected when it came to establishment and furnishing matters. He insisted on reusing already existing furniture that was used on the Court. Practicability and economical matter were of a great influence and definition of his taste.<sup>201</sup>

Joseph's tendency for simplicity and a fact that he did not pay any attention to the Court lifestyle and glory is best shown when he redecorated old family castle into a simple residence "Josephsstöckl" in Augarten which was one of his residences, designed by Canevale. During the summers, Joseph slept more often in this small house than in Hofburg.<sup>202</sup> This residence that served him as a place of refuge also displays that he collected inspiration during his travels, as it was inspired by a Hotel Evreux, home that belonged to Nicolas de Beaujon, which he was introduced to during his stay in Paris in 1777.<sup>203</sup>

Count Zinzendorf describes Joseph's II residence in Augarten in 1781 in his diary: "*We went together to Josephsruh, the house of His Majesty outside the*

194 Stohl, A. *Der Narrenturm oder Die dunkle Seite der Wissenschaft* (2000), p. 62-65

195 Fleischer, M. *Anfänge europäischen Philosophierens: Heraklit, Parmenides, Platons Timaios*, p. 38

196 retrieved at [http://www.evolver.at/print/Alfred\\_Stohl\\_Der\\_Narrenturm/](http://www.evolver.at/print/Alfred_Stohl_Der_Narrenturm/), accessed at 13. March 2017, 19:20

197 Stohl, A. *Der Narrenturm oder Die dunkle Seite der Wissenschaft* (2000), p. 68

198 retrieved at <http://www.dark-tourism.com/index.php/15-countries/individual-chapters/118-narrenturm>, accessed on 13.March 2017, 12:05

199 retrieved at <https://www.wien.info/en/locations/narrenturm>, accessed at 19. March 2017, 17:50

200 Reinhaltre, H. *Joseph II, Reformator auf dem Kaiserthron*, (2011), p. 86

201 Reinhaltre, H. *Joseph II, Reformator auf dem Kaiserthron*, (2011), p. 85

202 Beales, D. (2009), *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.426

203 Reinhaltre, H. *Joseph II, Reformator auf dem Kaiserthron*, (2011), p. 85

*Augarten Wall. ... The dinner was quite moderate. After the meal, the Emperor showed us the rooms of his secretaries, which were filled with engravings of Russia. Then we walked over paths >a l'Angloise< to the new house, which actually consists of three parts, on a mound of earth, next to a group of wild chestnuts, which are now in bloom. Beautiful view of the Augarten. The coffee was consumed in the side room. The bedroom is exposed to all four wind directions. The basement is well ventilated. On the upper floor is a salon with four completely different views, the Augarten, the city, Danube and the Prater..*<sup>204</sup>

Joseph's II brother Leopold acknowledged the little villa in Augarten as convenient, secure and private residence but also blamed it for emperor's skin disease, due to the damp and rusty atmosphere.<sup>205</sup>

If the little villa in Augarten portrays Joseph's architectural modesty, Josephinum his own architectural monument, there is a building that incorporated everything Josephism stands for and that is the Fries palace, now known as the **Pallavicini palace**. Everything about this palace symbolized Joseph's policies such as the fact it was built on the former monastic site of the Königinkloster and just like many other houses this building was also commissioned by bourgeois entrepreneur, Count Fries, a newly promoted Swiss Protestant financier. Joseph opened up the square which it faced in order to provide it with the appropriate setting. Surrounded by other noble houses, it was opposing the Hofburg, standing closer to it than any other houses of the great nobility. The

building was erected directly opposite of the imperial library, as one of the most interesting palaces in Vienna. It was designed by Hohenberg and it renders an intriguing transition between the two architectural styles; if not explicitly neoclassical, it was utterly un-Baroque, almost without ornamentation on its significant façade, which was for that period controversial.<sup>206</sup>

The simple un-baroque façade ought to be architecturally adapted to its surrounding of magnificent baroque buildings, as it was contrasting the imposing Hofburg which was not acceptable.<sup>207</sup> This architectural situation certainly reminds one of Adolf Loos

and his house on the Michaelerplatz, as he faced the same issue due to the simple façade.<sup>208</sup> However the façade was not the only reason why Pallavicini palace was involved in a building scandal. The noble floor was elevated on the second floor instead of the first floor, which was unusual and therefore scandalous.

Whilst writing his interpretation of Vienna in 1787, Count Fekete, called the Fries Palace a **“monument to success achieved by honorable dealing and skill in business, which may serve as a model to those who have not had the opportunity to learn by extensive travel what is truly beautiful”**.<sup>209</sup>



Figure 46 | Königinkloster monastery



Figure 47 | Fries palace

<sup>204</sup> Quoted after Wagner Hans (Hg): *Wien von Maria Theresia bis zur Franzosenzeit. Aus den Tagebüchern des Grafen Karl von Zinzendorf*, Wien 1972, p. 37 “Wir gingen zusammen nach Josepshsruh, dem Haus seiner Majestät außerhalb der Augartenmauer. ... Das Diner war recht mäßig. Nach dem Essen ließ uns der Kaiser die Zimmer seiner Sekretäre zeigen, die mit Stichen von Rußland angefüllt waren. Dann gingen wir über Pfade a l' Angloise zum neuen Haus, das eigentlich aus drei Teilen besteht, auf einem Erdhügel, neben einer Gruppe von wilden Kastanien, die gerade in Blüte stehen. Schöner Blick auf den Augarten. Man nahm den Kaffee im Seitenzimmer ein. Das Schlafzimmer ist allen vier Windrichtungen ausgesetzt. Das Kellergeschoß ist gut durchlüftet. Im oberen Stock ein Salon mit vier ganz verschiedenen Ausblicken, auf den Augarten, auf die Stadt, auf die Donau und auf den Prater...”

<sup>205</sup> Beales, D. (2009), *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.438

<sup>206</sup> Beales, D. (2009), *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.454 in Toman, Vienna, p.453 – 454 in Fekete, Wien im Jahre 1787, p.30.

<sup>207</sup> retrieved at <http://www.palais-pallavicini.at/en/history.html>, accessed at 26. March 2017, 16:35

<sup>208</sup> retrieved at <http://manchesterhistory.net/architecture/1920/adolflooshouse.html>, accessed at 26. March 2017, 17:20, in refusing elaborate ornamentation, Adolf Loos received critics and in the end had to settle for implementing ornament even though he was firmly against it

<sup>209</sup> Quoted after Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p. 454.in Toman, Vienna, p.453 – 454 in Fekete, Wien im Jahre 1787, p.30.



However not everybody responded to the building the same way, as there was some criticizing directed to the building as well. As Count Fries was one of the richest men of his time, his background and brazenness undeniably influenced the critics in such scale that a discussion through printed medium occurred, which resulted in diminishing of the façade's rigidity.<sup>210</sup>

In front of the Fries palace there is a statue of Joseph II, portraying the emperor in the manner of Marcus Aurelius.<sup>211</sup> The statue is indeed a grand monument to Joseph II as it was built in such size that it could fit 25 grown man inside of it. The successful cast was not only a technical triumph but also a political triumph, since till then French played the leading role of bronze cast production in Europe.<sup>212</sup>

Relief located on the right side of the statues podium implies on Joseph's wisdom and efforts to increase Austria's trade and the relief on the left side symbolizes his efforts to contribute to happiness of the people based on his travels, specimens that he collected and also promoting of agriculture.<sup>213</sup>

### 3.8.1 Fanatical but innovative monarch

Joseph II went down in history as a radical reformer who was not really known as a role model in the public as far the architectural and spatial aesthetics were concerned but he indeed was responsible for extreme progress of Viennese urban modernization and there-

fore it was important to mention him whilst discussing Habsburg impacts on architectural discourse. He was less concerned about concrete shaping of spatial arrangements, thus rather had conceptual approach to architecture, intellectually contributing to the architectural discourse. His modest design values which were rather extreme for his time, developed partly from opposition to his mother, which pushed him into withdrawal from the standard monarch lifestyle.

According to Beales, "There is something absurd, almost crazy, about the range and variety of Joseph's plans and the fanatical intensity which he tried to push them through – and often succeeded. He himself spoke of *“my fanaticism” for the good of the state, to which I have sacrificed everything*”.<sup>214</sup> Josephism was a complex and self-contradictory program that contained an element of militarism in it due to the fact that Joseph leaned towards military life in a way that he applied military methods to civil government and because the Monarchy was in a need of a big army. Just as his program, he himself can be seen as a contradictive personality. In one way he was portrayed in the public as a humanitarian due to abolishing torture and the death penalty, but at the same time he was seen as cruel due to his alternative punishments.<sup>215</sup>

Joseph was a monarch impossible to like but equally as impossible not to admire. Unlike his mother, he didn't manage to take a position of a role model in Viennese society. It is considered that public appreciations published after his death, were of less interest than the ones published after Maria There-

sa's death.<sup>216</sup> However a year after he died Princess Eleonore Liechtenstein that was terrified of Joseph's authority notes: *“The government's influence is now stronger than I ever imagined it could be in the time of the poor dead emperor. He used to infuriate us. But what activity, what fire, and what wealth of ideas he conveyed to us all! You could not speak or write enough, topics were never exhausted, and a thousand things were left over for the next time. Now there is none of this. It is as if everyone has been struck dumb.”*<sup>217</sup>

Both friends and enemies understood that there was something extraordinary about him, and one of these features was his ambition. He strived that the Habsburg lands, which eventually became the Austrian Empire, develop into the most powerful European state. Joseph II may be of some value as an Emperor but he is no king; as he refused the Crowning and the Royal Oath. Joseph II stands out as the most innovative ruler the Monarchy ever had, under whose reign a clear separation of state and imperial architecture took place<sup>218</sup> and he went down in history as one of the most original monarchs that any country has known.

210 Beales, D. (2009) Joseph II, *Against the World 1780-1790*, p. 454. in Toman, Vienna, p.150

211 Beales, D. (2009) Joseph II, *Against the World 1780-1790*, p. 681

212 retrieved at [http://www.viennatouristguide.at/Ring/Denkmal\\_Bild/z\\_josefII.htm](http://www.viennatouristguide.at/Ring/Denkmal_Bild/z_josefII.htm), accessed at 26. March 2017, at 17:45

213 Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p. 454. in Toman, Vienna, p.682 – 683.

214 Quoted after Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.687, quoted after J. to L. 24.Dec. 1789, Arneth, July 2nd, p.304

215 Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.688 – 689

216 Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.673 in Wngermann, Waffen der Publizität, p.206

217 Quoted after Beales, D. (2009) *Joseph II, Against the World 1780-1790*, p.690 in E.L. to L.K., 4 June 1791, LRRA SOALpZ

218 Stohl, A. *Der Narrenturm oder Die dunkle Seite der Wissenschaft* (2000), p. 267



Figure 48 | Empress Elisabeth

## 4. Elisabeth of Austria a private Empress



## 4.1 Maria Theresia' Court in the 19th Century

A separation between the imperial residential suites and the state apartments had occurred by the end of the eighteenth century. Within the imperial household, the imperial couple and archduke's residential apartments became independent private households, which included facilities used for various occasions, such as gatherings, music rooms and studies, billiard rooms, libraries and smaller rooms for staff. Middle class households began to imitate the same changes, in separating rooms by functionality, following the model of the palaces of the aristocracy.<sup>219</sup>

“*Maria – Theresian style*” dominated in the representative rooms and was thus present alongside the changing furnishing phases of the imperial residences.<sup>220</sup> Individual preferences with regards to furnishing Habsburg residences had to often be disregarded in benefit of what was considered to be “corporate identity.”<sup>221</sup>

The extensive restoration of the residences in the late 19th century made Maria Theresia style a new characteristic of the Rococo reception. In retrospect, the Rococo reception proves to be a multi-layered phenomenon within the residential culture of the Viennese court. Already in the first quarter of the century, a distinction was made between representative public spaces, which were according to contemporary taste, furnished with an elegant furniture and elaborate textiles of eighteenth century and private rooms, which contained veneer Biedermeier furniture so that they can be characterized by bourgeois simplicity. Bieder-



Figure 49 | Maria - Theresien Room, Hofburg

meier shaped everyday life, giving a new significance to private spaces and transforming residential culture. It was no longer possible to differentiate between furniture for representative rooms and veneer furniture for private rooms.<sup>222</sup>

Decoration of spatial arrangements in rooms such as state rooms in Hofburg or Schönbrunn palace, designed during the reign of Emperor Ferdinand I, exhibit the consistent color combination of red, white and gold. These rooms are furnished with a combination of both original eighteenth century items and new lavish Rococo Revival furnishings, later known

as “Blondel style”. This style was first introduced into the Viennese court under the reign of Ferdinand I. By drawing inspiration from the Rococo style, which marked Maria Theresa's reign, it provided an association with what was considered to be the peak of Habsburg power and highlighted the ongoing Habsburg rule. The “Maria – Theresian style” continued to be the style utilized by the Habsburgs, in both imperial state rooms and their private domain.<sup>223</sup>

219 Julia Teresa Friehs, “*Trying out comfort and coziness for a change: Biedermeier at Court*”, <http://www.habsburger.net/en/chapter/trying-out-comfort-and-cosiness-change-biedermeier-court?language=de>, accessed at 23.4.2017, 16:40

220 Ottillinger, Eva B., Hanzl, L. *Kaiserliche Interieurs, Die Wohnkultur des Wiener Hofes im 19. Jahrhundert und die Wiener Kunstgewerbereform*, Böhlau Verlag, p.43

221 retrieved at <http://www.habsburger.net/en/chapter/what-do-emperors-apartments-look?language=de>, accessed at 12.4.2017, 17:45

222 Ottillinger, Eva B., Hanzl, L. *Kaiserliche Interieurs, Die Wohnkultur des Wiener Hofes im 19. Jahrhundert und die Wiener Kunstgewerbereform*, Böhlau Verlag, p.274

223 retrieved at <http://www.habsburger.net/en/chapter/forwards-history-maria-theresian-style?language=de>, accessed at 14.4.2017, 16:45

In the 1830s, the now fashionable Blondel style at court has been found as a sign of identification for original interior decorations of the 18th century. The equipment remained unchanged in the following decades. The color combination of white and gold with red furniture upholstery, used around 1840 in the Hofburg apartments of Franz Joseph's parents - Archduchess Sophie and Archduke Franz Karl became, in the 1850's and 1860's, a canonical imperial style of representation of the imperial court, which was also thought to be the most suitable decoration in the Supreme Court. This style was not only limited to the Monarchy's capital city Vienna, but it was found also in other imperial residences. While at the time of Ferdinand's reign only individual rooms had been equipped according to the new forms, now complete apartments were refurnished.<sup>224</sup>

Whilst Ferdinand I. was still alive, the apartment in which Joseph II resided when he became co-regent in 1848, was furnished for Franz Joseph with "Blondel" furniture and only essential repairs were carried out.<sup>225</sup> Franz Joseph continued to use the furniture made for Ferdinand I, although his private rooms were refurnished in the 1860's.<sup>226</sup>

Whilst redecorating the apartments of Franz Joseph's mother, Archduchess Sophie, a red silk damask was chosen for the curtains and upholstery and that was when the "The red pineapple damask" was born.<sup>227</sup> A certain kind of red damask played an important role in the furnishing of the imperial living rooms in the second half of the 19th century.<sup>228</sup>

The luxuriously designed interiors that were created in the eighteenth century were furnished with nine-



Figure 50 | White and gold chair, around 1850/60

teenth-century furniture. Using the colors white, gold, and red became typical for imperial home décor in Franz Joseph's time. The red damask complimented the dark wood of the furniture, and was thus ideally appropriate for newly decorated rooms.<sup>229</sup>

In the winter of 1853 a renovation in the west wing of the Schönbrunn Palace on the Hietzing Kammergarten side was furnished for the future Empress Elisabeth of which will be discussed in the chapter 4.2.

#### 4.1.1 Furniture transition

An important feature of the eighteenth century is the strong dependence of the mobile furniture on the wall-mounted furnishing of the individual room. All the details such as ornamentation, the colors of the frames as well as the upholstery were inseparably connected with the room for which they were designed. That meant that a piece of furniture could barely be used in any other room than the one for which it had been designed.<sup>230</sup>

Until the 19th century there was only a small inventory in the imperial palaces. When the court changed their place of residence, decorators had to be sent first in order to adapt the premises. Decorators furnished the apartments with tapestries, carpets and wall coverings, which were considered to be the most costly furnishing elements to lend the spacious room ambience imperial shine. The couriers took over the transportation of the furniture from one place to another; furniture was still "mobile" in the true meaning of the word.<sup>231</sup> Soon a transition of the new period

<sup>224</sup> Ottillinger, Eva B., Hanzl, L. *Kaiserliche Interieurs, Die Wohnkultur des Wiener Hofes im 19. Jahrhundert und die Wiener Kunstgewerbereform*, Böhlau Verlag, p.270-271

<sup>225</sup> Iby, E. Koller A. *Schönbrunn*, (2007), p. 261

<sup>226</sup> retrieved at <https://www.schoenbrunn.at/en/about-schoenbrunn/the-palace/history/>, accessed at 23.7.2017, 15:50

<sup>227</sup> Iby, E. Koller A. *Schönbrunn*, (2007), p. 261

<sup>228</sup> Sachsenhofer D. "Der Ananasdamast – textiles Symbol kaiserlichen Machtanspruchs" *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 65, 2011, p. 101- 120

<sup>229</sup> Iby, E. Koller A. *Schönbrunn*, (2007), p. 261

<sup>230</sup> Ottillinger, Eva B., Hanzl, L. *Kaiserliche Interieurs, Die Wohnkultur des Wiener Hofes im 19. Jahrhundert und die Wiener Kunstgewerbereform*, Böhlau Verlag, p.44

<sup>231</sup> Martin Mutschlechner, *Die Möbel des Kaisers – das Hofmobiliendepot*, p.2



what is going to be known as Biedermeier is presented in design of nineteenth century. The armchairs, furnished in 1816, do not contain any gilded accessories and ornaments, unlike the Rococo furniture known during the Maria Theresa's reign. Furniture was ornamented by means of gold braids and upholstery made of green silk. The swing of their backs was strongly reduced, the front legs were completely straight and downward cylindrically converging, only the hind legs were swung backwards. Biedermeier was present in 1816 in the court area by the above mentioned characteristics. Characteristic for the furnishings of the imperial apartments from 1810 onwards was the possibility of combining different designs, which were chosen according to the function of a room. For instance, whilst establishing an audience room the most expensive materials and techniques were used whilst furnishing. Objects were gilded and walls were completely clad with precious materials. Clad dressing rooms, similar to the intimate gold or mirror cabinets, represented a substantial area of the private sphere of imperial apartments.

The materials used in the imperial apartments outside the city were cheaper than those used in the residences of the Hofburg palace. Objects were no longer designed for pleasure or for aesthetic reasons but from a practical need. There were spatial arrangements in which pieces of furniture were more or less randomly put together without consideration towards consistency in the choice or type of wood. The mobility and interchangeability of individual pieces of furniture generally increased.<sup>232</sup>

At the beginning of the 1830's, a new veneer furniture began to be molded and bent, which initially caused technical problems. Additionally, it was inconvenient

that the furniture pieces had shorter durability, due to flaking off the veneer under moisture and heat. In contrast to the time of Maria Theresia's reign, few diversities were distinguished in refurbishment of Viennese Court in the 19th century. No longer were architects in charge of design at Viennese Court, but this role now belonged to craftsmen.<sup>233</sup>

The attachment of the mobile furniture to architecture, which was a strong characteristic of interiors in Rococo, was now more relaxed. A perfect unity of wall design and ornamentation with the decoration of the furniture was no longer required. Therefore, the use of furniture independently of the interior started to be possible. The furniture seat frames could now be fitted with appropriate covers, set up and used in various rooms.<sup>234</sup>

## 4.2 Elizabeth – the private Empress in Schönbrunn

The beginning of the metamorphosis of the private sphere dates back to the 17th century and finds its end in the mid-19th century. It was only at this time that a fully developed bourgeois life form could be discussed.<sup>235</sup>

What Maria Theresa started with regards to privacy, Empress Elisabeth finished, defining privacy like no other monarch before. Elisabeth began her life as the future Empress of Austria at Schönbrunn. As she was accustomed to carefree childhood, she found it hard to adapt to the lifestyle and etiquette at Viennese Court. She did not enjoy living in Vienna, so as she gained confidence, she aspired to design her own apartments to make her residence in Vienna as

bearable as possible. In residences where the court guidelines allowed it, her residences were furnished according to her own taste. Her recognizable style was hanging silk walls and furniture upholstered in her favorite shade of purple.<sup>236</sup> A dominant aspect of Elisabeth's residences was the issue of privacy and the lack thereof, which is going to be the focal point whilst exploring and analyzing Elisabeth's residences.

After Franz Joseph came to the throne, within the apartments of his predecessors, only the most essential repairs in Schönbrunn palace were carried out, presumably due to the switched architectural focus and lack of urge to change interiors, as Maria Theresa had set a strong foundation in spatial arrangements, as already mentioned in the last chapters.

Renovation of Schönbrunn began in 1853, after the preparations for the wedding of Elisabeth and Franz Joseph started. Aside from adapting the apartment of Franz Joseph, the future Empress got her own apartments furnished in the west wing of the palace. Elisabeth's apartments consisted of several rooms centered on her salon in which she received her personal visitors and it was just like Franz Joseph's apartment accessed via the Blue Staircase. The marital bedroom, the dressing room and the Staircase Cabinet served Elisabeth as private rooms and they were furnished with fashionable heavy rosewood furniture in a Neo – Rococo style and luxurious silk fabrics. As discussed later on, it soon became apparent that this decoration was not to the empress's taste.

232 Ottillinger, Eva B., Hanzl, L. *Kaiserliche Interieurs, Die Wohnkultur des Wiener Hofes im 19. Jahrhundert und die Wiener Kunstgewerbereform*, Böhlau Verlag, p.48-50

233 Ottillinger, Eva B., Hanzl, L. *Kaiserliche Interieurs, Die Wohnkultur des Wiener Hofes im 19. Jahrhundert und die Wiener Kunstgewerbereform*, Böhlau Verlag, p.50

234 Ottillinger, Eva B., Hanzl, L. *Kaiserliche Interieurs, Die Wohnkultur des Wiener Hofes im 19. Jahrhundert und die Wiener Kunstgewerbereform*, Böhlau Verlag, p.46-48

235 Niethammer, 1979, p.8

236 Iby, E. Koller A. *Schönbrunn*, (2007), p. 259

Figure 51 | Ground plans of the ground and first floor in Schönbrunn Palace showing occupancy during the era of Elisabeth

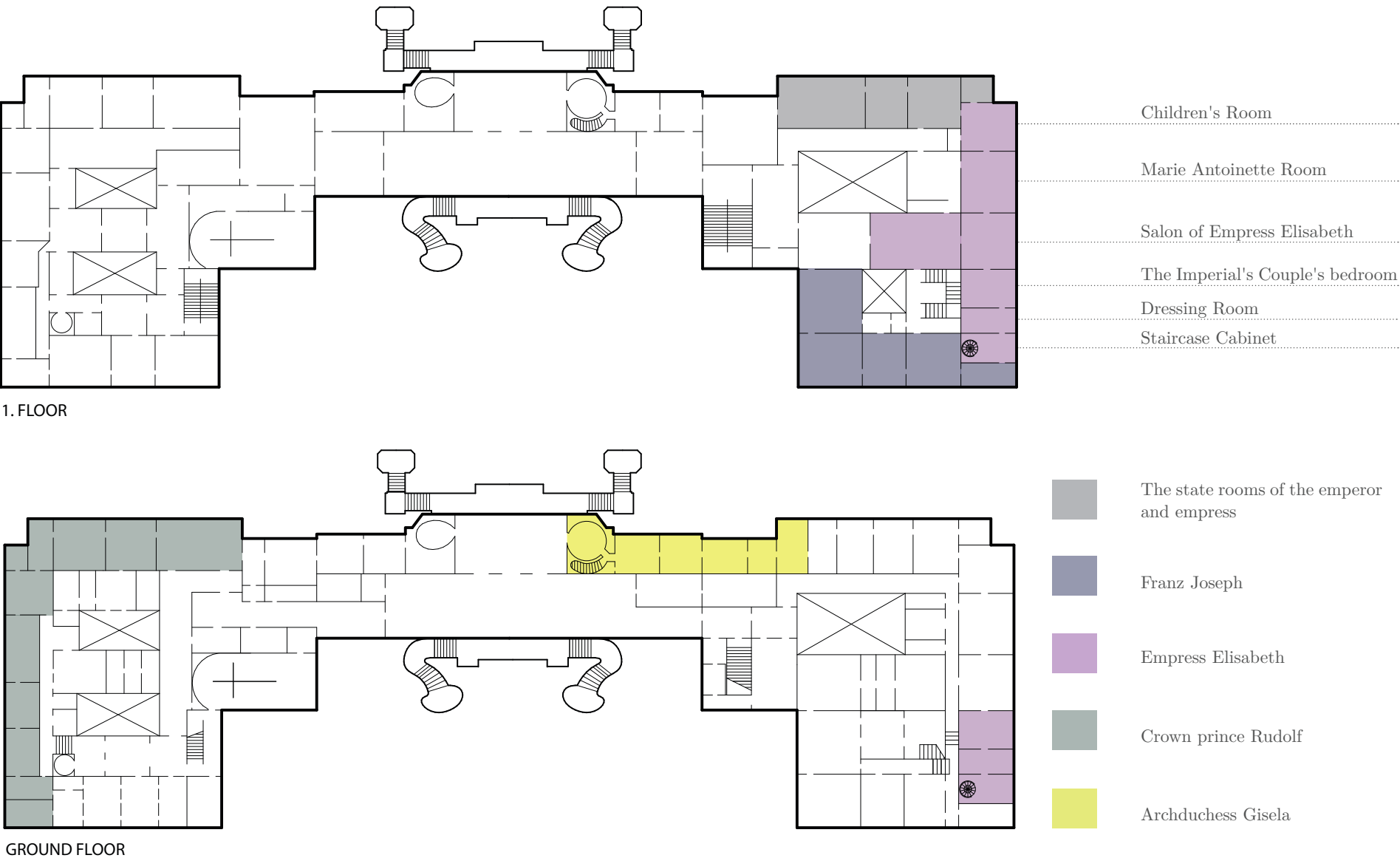






Figure 52 | Schöbrunn Palace





Figure 53 | The Imperial's Couple's bedroom, Schönbrunn

With the new facilities and new furnishings of Elisabeth's apartments which adjoined the rooms of Franz Joseph's, major refurbishments began in the Hietzing wing of the castle in the Blondel style with white-gold-framed furniture, upholstered with red damask. The interiors between the years 1753-1757, which were mostly decorated with Indian wall-hangings, were now refurbished with white gold-plated wall paneling, conceptual neo-rococo decor. The carved furniture, in particular Palisander furniture in the bedroom and the dressing room, showcase opulent Blondel forms.<sup>237</sup>

Privacy was of the great value when it came to designing Elisabeth's residences. One of the first privacy interventions in the residences of Elisabeth is recorded in the marital bedroom which was furnished on the

occasion of their marriage in Blondel style. Elisabeth was constantly disturbed by the noise servants made on the White Staircase, so a dividing wall was erected in the bedroom in early 1860's.<sup>238</sup> Though marvelously furnished, the marital bedroom was not used for public ceremonies at the Viennese Court, in contrast to the practice of the French Court.

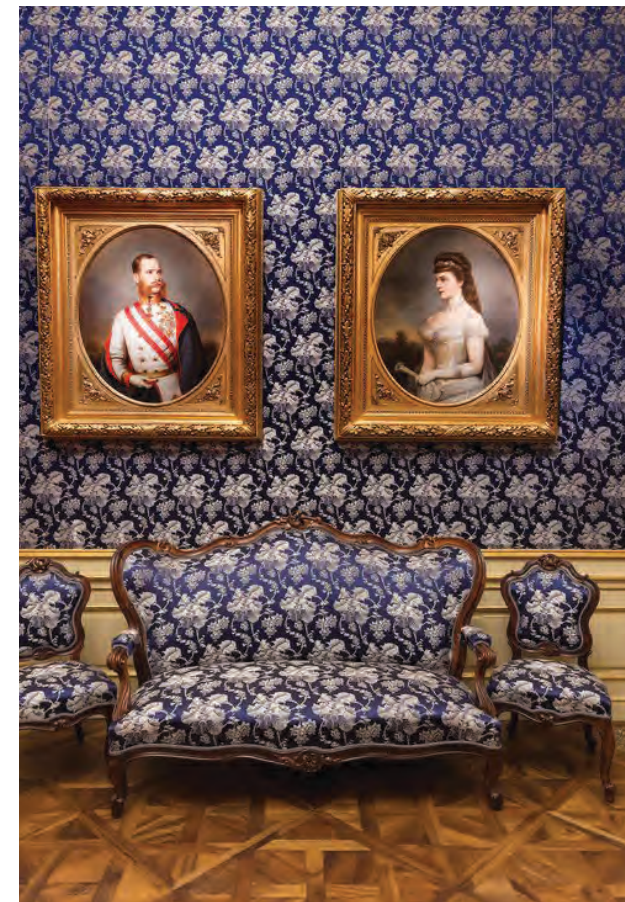


Figure 54 | Close up in the Imperial's Couple's bedroom

<sup>237</sup> Ottillinger, Eva B., Hanzl, L. *Kaiserliche Interieurs, Die Wohnkultur des Wiener Hofes im 19. Jahrhundert und die Wiener Kunstgewerbereform*, Böhlau Verlag, p.204

<sup>238</sup> Hamann, B. Hassmann, E (1998), *Elisabeth Stages in a Life*, p.81



As Elisabeth was absent from Viennese court for a few years, she gained some confidence and upon arrival to Schönbrunn she furnished new apartments on the ground floor for herself in order to avoid the control of the court. Her three private rooms were underneath her official apartment on the Piano Nobile or the Noble Floor where The Staircase Cabinet was located. The Cabinet was Elisabeth's study, where she wrote her letters and poems. A wrought iron staircase, built in 1862, led down from the study directly to her private rooms below on the ground floor, as her exclusively private domain. This staircase allowed her to avoid contact with unwanted guests. It was removed after the fall of the monarchy. The rooms in the ground floor lying below her apartments served her mainly as private rooms and their decoration reveals Elisabeth's tendency to decorate to her own taste as the walls were hung in silk and furniture upholstered in lilac, her favorite color.

These apartments on the ground floor consisted of a large salon, which can be seen on the original drawing made by Franz von Alt in 1864 (see fig. 55) and possibly the obligatory exercise room.<sup>239</sup> One year later these exclusively private rooms became garden apartments to which she could pull back and gain privacy.<sup>240</sup> The biggest advantage of having private rooms was that she could come and go without being observed by anyone.

Later Elisabeth had similar garden apartments for her to utilize in other palaces, as for example at Gödöllo or at Hermes Villa. In 1864, a separate exit into the imperial's private garden, called Hietzinger Kammergarten was made, for the purpose of Elisabeth's entering and leaving Schönbrunn as she wished.<sup>241</sup>



Figure 55 | Staircase Cabinet, Schönbrunn



Figure 56 | Ground Floor Apartment Schönbrunn

The apartments of the children of Franz Joseph and Elisabeth were also on the ground floor of Schönbrunn palace. The Empress's apartments were on the edge of the rooms of her eldest daughter Gisela. Although ground floor apartments were redecorated for Elisabeth's family, ceiling stucco decoration and white and gold-painted wooden paneling that still gave an ambience of Maria Theresa era was well preserved.<sup>242</sup> The rooms on the garden side with their Maria Theresian décor and red, white, and gold complements were used by the imperial couple as ceremonial rooms. Leaving Elisabeth's apart-

<sup>239</sup> Sonja Schmöckel, <http://www.habsburger.net/en/chapter/schonbrunn-final-glory-and-last-arena-monarchy>, accessed at 23.4.2017, 14:35

<sup>240</sup> retrieved at <http://www.schoenbrunn.at/en/things-to-know/palace/history/architectural-history-19th-century.html>, Architectural History of Schönbrunn Palace, 09.10.2016, 12:00

<sup>241</sup> Iby, E. Koller A. *Schönbrunn*, (2007), p. 268

<sup>242</sup> retrieved at <http://www.schoenbrunn.at/en/things-to-know/palace/history/architectural-history-19th-century.html>, Architectural History of Schönbrunn Palace, 09.10.2016, 11:50

ments on the first floor, The Marie Antoinette Room is located which was used in Elisabeth's time as the family dining room, and the room next to that, today known as the nursery, served as a reception room. The room was decorated in the white, gold, and red Neo-Rococo décor. Both rooms were later used as additional reception rooms for Franz Joseph.<sup>243</sup> Imperial family dinners were less formal than in the occasion of court dinners, which were administrated by court etiquette. The difference was that during court dinners one was allowed to speak only to the immediate person whilst whispering, and during private family dinners it was allowed to have conversations across the table.<sup>244</sup>

Even though she resented life on Viennese Court, Elisabeth loved to spend time in less frequented parts of the Schönbrunn Park, usually riding and she usually stopped at the Gloriette: *"The Gloriette and those parts of the park which the public does not like belong to me. The Court requires the palace for itself."*<sup>245</sup>

### 4.3 Elisabeth's furniture and its significance

In order to analyze the significance of Elisabeth's furniture, at first a statement by writer Praschl-Bichler is reflected on. She suggests that significance of the furniture in Elisabeth's interiors stand out by lack thereof; the reception rooms of the castles that Elisabeth inhabited, contained no chairs or seating furniture, as Elisabeth always entered and as soon as possible left the room with all the people who visited.<sup>246</sup>



Figure 57 | Elisabeth's Large Salon, Hofburg, 1898

Austrian psychotherapist Gerti Senger has investigated this behavior, and thereby revealed one of many disorders of the empress's condition whilst supporting Praschl-Bichler view: "There is no doubt that there were no chairs, because she found no inner peace and therefore also her visitors were condemned to restlessness: Moving targets are hard to hit. While she was constantly in motion, she did not only physically escape, she was also mentally hard to reach. Additionally, this strange behavior was to be seen as quite humiliating to other people. Anyone who wanted some-



Figure 58 | Elisabeth's Small Salon, Hofburg, 1898

thing from the Empress had to run after her in the true sense of the word!"<sup>247</sup>

Even though it is easy to imagine wild-spirited Elisabeth as a person who sat only at seldom occasions, after analyzing the photographs of Elisabeth's Large and the Small Salon in Hofburg palace, taken shortly after the tragic death of the Empress in 1898, it is certain that she did own sitting furniture in reception rooms.<sup>248</sup>

<sup>243</sup> Iby, E. Koller A. *Schönbrunn*, (2007), p. 261-262

<sup>244</sup> retrieved at <https://www.schoenbrunn.at/en/about-schoenbrunn/the-palace/tour-of-the-palace/marie-antoinette-room/>, accessed at 19.4.2017, 21:40

<sup>245</sup> Quoted after Elfriede Iby, E. *Schönbrunn*, p. 269

<sup>246</sup> Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß-und Diät-Programm*, p.43.

<sup>247</sup> Quoted after Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeth, Mythos und Wahrheit*, p.225, „Der Hinweis, daß es..keine Stühle gab, weil sie ihrerseits keine Ruhe fand und daher auch ihre Besucher zu Rastlosigkeit verurteilt waren, ist.. aufschlußreich: Bewegliche Ziele sind schwer zu treffen, Indem Elisabeth ständig in Bewegung war, entzog sie sich nicht nur körperlich; sie war auch seelisch schwer erreichbar... Darüber hinaus ist dieses eigenartige Verhalten durchaus dazu angetan, andere Menschen zu demütigen. Wer von der Kaiserin etwas wollte, mußte im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes hinter ihr herlaufen!“

<sup>248</sup> Ottlinger, Eva B., Hanzl, L. *Kaiserliche Interieurs, Die Wohnkultur des Wiener Hofes im 19. Jahrhundert und die Wiener Kunstgewerbereform*, Böhlau Verlag, p.147



At times when Elisabeth was staying in Hofburg, the imperial couple used to have breakfast together in the Large Salon where one can see two groups of furniture, amongst other chairs that are placed on the edge of the room.<sup>249</sup> The walls, curtains, and furniture is upholstered in the red pineapple damask hiding the history of textiles used beforehand that have thus lost their original color as, in 1875, both salons were redesigned with red instead of the existing pink silk damask.<sup>250</sup>

The salon in Schönbrunn palace also provides an insight into the existing furniture and sitting possibilities Elisabeth's reception rooms provided. An interesting feature of the room is a clock placed in front of a mirror with a reversed face on the back so that

she could tell the time from a brief glimpse in the mirror.<sup>251</sup>

Elisabeth was very health-conscious so naturally she put thoughts into how she slept and how it made an impact on her health. Her bed was made of iron, as iron is considered to be used to shield all possible radiation.<sup>252</sup>

To understand the significance of Elisabeth's input to gain visual privacy in the bedroom, which was used as a shared bedroom for the Imperial couple until 1870 when Franz Joseph moved into a separate bedroom, one must determine the obvious; a bed hidden behind a screen. Privacy was granted in the bedroom by hiding the bed behind the room divider, whilst offering

privacy and visual protection. Even though it seems simple from our perspective, back then it had a symbolic meaning. The bedroom in the photo (see fig.60) is displayed only as a museum setting, as originally the bed was placed behind a screen in the middle of the room, whereby the Enfilade of the 18th century was dissolved and the room received a habitable character, completely changing the atmosphere into more private space.<sup>253</sup>

The term Enfilade is used to refer to the axial arrangement of the rooms, as shown in the example of Versailles palace (see fig.61). In other words a suite of rooms with doors in line with each other, facing exactly opposite, whilst creating a linear arrangement, providing a view through the suite of rooms.<sup>254</sup>



Figure 59 | Elisabeth's Salon, Schönbrunn

<sup>249</sup> retrieved at <http://www.hofburg-wien.at/en/things-to-know/imperial-apartments/tour-of-the-imperial-apartments/large-salon-of-empress-elisabeth/>, accessed at 20.4.2017, 20:50

<sup>250</sup> Ottillinger, Hanzl, Böhlau (1997), *Kaiserliche interieurs, die Wohnkultur des Wiener Hofes im 19. Jahrhundert* p.146 in OmeA r 21 B 9, - 1875; extraordinary donation of 11.000 Gulden

<sup>251</sup> retrieved at <https://www.schoenbrunn.at/en/about-schoenbrunn/the-palace/tour-of-the-palace/salon-of-empress-elisabeth/>, accessed at 20.4.2017, 20:20

<sup>252</sup> retrieved at <http://www.hofburg-wien.at/wissenswertes/kaiserappartements/rundgang-durch-die-kaiserappartements/wohn-und-schlafzimmer.html>, accessed at 12.4.2017, 12:15

<sup>253</sup> Ottillinger, Eva B., Hanzl, Lieselotte, *Kaiserliche Interieurs, Die Wohnkultur des Wiener Hofes im 19. Jahrhundert und die Wiener Kunstgewerbereform*, Böhlau Verlag, p.147-148

<sup>254</sup> retrieved at <http://www.artmumble.com/2011/05/meaning-of-term-enfilade-when-referring.html>, accessed at 20.4.2017, 19:20,



Figure 60 | Elizabeth's Bedroom, Hofburg

By doing a simple thing such as using a room divider, a big statement was made, as the linear arrangement that was suggesting order and indicating the splendor of the royal family's enormous resources, was interrupted. By ignoring that and in a way shielding herself from this spatial order, Elisabeth's actions reveal just how significant the role of privacy was for spatial arrangements in her residences.

Additionally to using this room as her bedroom, Elisabeth used this room as her private drawing-room as well, so an original writing desk by the window in the distance in the photo is where Elisabeth wrote many

of her poems and attended to her correspondence.<sup>255</sup>

Another writing table was of a significant value in consideration of emotional side of Elisabeth's personality and that was Elisabeth's writing desk at Laxenburg, which has been mentioned few times by her contemporaries. At one occasion, Elisabeth's daughter Valerie notes her mother's emotional distress in her diary: "Mom showed us the desk, where she wrote a lot to Possi (Possenhofen) and cried a lot because she was homesick."<sup>256</sup> Similarly to that occasion, Elisabeth's court lady Marie Festetics writes in her diary: "Elisabeth went from room to room - said each one of

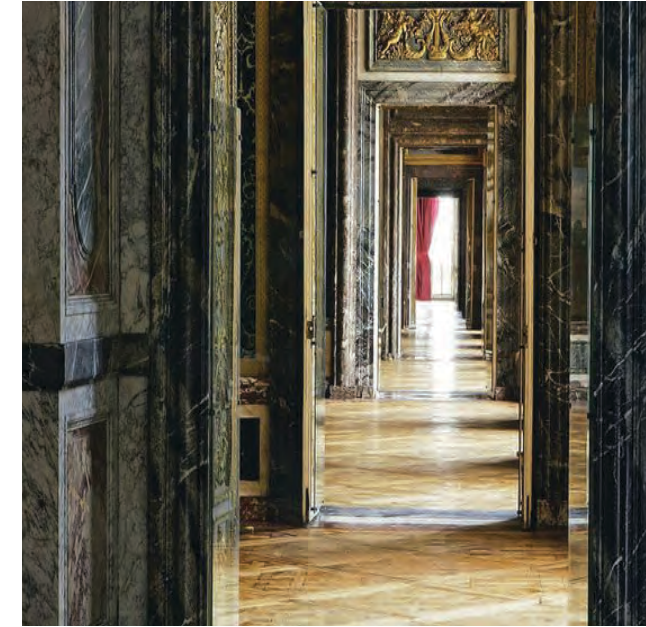


Figure 61 | Enfilade in Versailles

what it was - but without comment, until at last she stopped in the corner of a room where a desk stood between windows and a chair; for a long time she stood quietly - suddenly she said: "I've been crying a lot, Marie. Alone the thought of that time squeezes my heart. Here I was after my wedding ... I felt so deserted, so lonely".<sup>257</sup>

Elisabeth certainly handled furniture and decoration of residences differently than her predecessors. In contrast to both Maria Theresa and Joseph II, who valued economy as the main feature in regards to decoration, Elisabeth was reckless when it came to expenses

<sup>255</sup> retrieved at [http://www.hofburgwien.at/fileadmin/content/hofburg/Downloads/Audioguides/Lesetext\\_SiMu\\_KA\\_EN.pdf](http://www.hofburgwien.at/fileadmin/content/hofburg/Downloads/Audioguides/Lesetext_SiMu_KA_EN.pdf), accessed at 22.4.2017, 17:10

<sup>256</sup> Quoted after Marta and Horst Schad (Hrsg.), *Marie Valerie, Das Tagebuch der Lieblingstochter von Kaiserin Elisabeth von Österreich*, 30.05.1881, p.24, "Mama zeigte uns den Schreibtisch, wo sie viel nach Possi (Possenhofen) schrieb und viel viel weinte, weil sie Heimweh hatte."

<sup>257</sup> Quoted after Walterskirchen Gudula, *Das Tagebuch der Gräfin Marie Festetics; Kaiserin Elisabeths intimste Freundin*, 14.06.1873, "Elisabeth ging von Zimmer zu Zimmer- sagte von jedem, was es war - aber ohne näheren Kommentar, bis Sie endlich in einem Eckzimmer stehen blieb, wo ein Schreibtisch zwischen Fenstern stand und ein Schreibessel davor; lange stand sie mäuschenstill da - plötzlich sagte sie :>Hier habe ich viel geweint, Marie. Allein der Gedanke an diese Zeit preßt mein Herz zusammen. Hier war ich nach meiner Hochzeit... Ich fühlte mich so verlassen, so einsam<."





Figure 62 | Bathroom of Empress Elisabeth, Hofburg

of imperial family. An example of such recklessness is portrayed in her handling of furniture in her dream palace Achilleion. After Elisabeth abandoned Achilleion Villa she transported her valuable furniture to Vienna to other locations such as Hermes Villa where she established two Corfu Salons and a bedroom.<sup>258</sup>

As discussed in more detail in the chapter “Corfu furniture”, once again, the empress did not take the Austrian economy into account whilst assembling the castle nor by leaving it; indeed, she provoked the Vi-



Figure 63 | Empress Elisabeth's Lavatory

ennese in a way that after Neapolitan furniture destined for Achilleion in Corfu, first gets relocated to Vienna with a great financial cost and then exhibits the pieces in the Austrian museum of arts and crafts (Österreichische Museum für Kunstgewerbe) - as a model for the much more developed Viennese Kunstgewerbe Museum.<sup>259</sup>

The director of the Museum Eduard Leisching recalls that moment: “We had to have a room cleaned up, and bring the objects, which were not very pleasing,

to the exhibition, which aroused and displeased the circles of industry and trade, which were at the time not doing very well.”<sup>260</sup>

Elisabeth was never an avid museum visitor in Vienna, but on this occasion she came unannounced, as she always did; “She swiftly passed the saddles until she came to her furniture, she praised it, but she quickly withdrew with the remark that it was too warm in the house, which she did not tolerate; She will soon return, but this has never happened.”<sup>261</sup>

#### 4.4 Elisabeth's spaces influenced by beauty regime

Elisabeth had her own ideas which appear relatively modern for her time. In the time when French women adored strong perfume and applying make-up, Elisabeth's beauty ideal was a healthy, slender and graceful body, clear skin and magnificent hair. Natural beauty was of a great value for her and she declined everything that was not genuine and was strongly against artificial beauty. She valued hygiene and exercising and before Empress Elisabeth had her own bathroom installed in 1876, the first member of the Austrian imperial family to do so, the palace had no bathrooms in the modern sense of the word.<sup>262</sup>

Elisabeth was by no means the first member of the imperial family to utilize the comforts of a water closet, as it is noted that Franz Joseph's mother, Archduchess Sophie, did have an English model installed with the purpose of eliminating nasty smells, as early as 1835 on the second floor of the Leopoldine Wing in the Hofburg palace.<sup>263</sup>

258 Lichtscheidl, O. *Sisi auf Korfu, Die Kaiserin und das Achilleion*, p. 40

259 Hamman B. *Elisabeth –Kaiserin wider Willen*, p.490

260 Quoted after Hamman B. *Elisabeth –Kaiserin wider Willen*, p.490, “Wir mußten also notgedrungen einen saal ausräumen lassen und die wenig erfreulichen dinge ... zur ausstellung bringen, was in den kreisen von industrie und gewerbe, denen es gerade nicht sehr gut ging, bestürzung und mißfallen erregte.

261 Quoted after Hamman B. *Elisabeth –Kaiserin wider Willen*, p.490 in Eduard Leisching, *Ein Leben für Kunst – und Volksbildung*, hg. Von Robert A. Kann und Peter Leisching, Wien 1978, 130 f., “durchschritt rasch die Säle, bis sie zu ihrem Möbeln kam, lobte sie, entfernte sich aber rasch wieder mit der Bemerkung, daß es zu wärm im Hause sei, was sie nicht vertrage; sie werde demnächst wiederkommen, was aber nie geschehen ist.”

262 As tourists are told by the audio tour-guide in Hofburg

263 retrieved at <http://www.hofburg-wien.at/en/things-to-know/imperial-apartments/tour-of-the-imperial-apartments/lavatory-and-bathroom.html>, accessed at 20.4.2017, 20:15

Elisabeth was opened to all technical innovations and the increased comfort they brought, unlike Franz Joseph who was against modernization and innovations, as he was very conservative. In the year 1855, just one year after they got married, an English closet was installed in the empress's apartment in Schönbrunn. This water closet did not only fulfill the purpose of eliminating unpleasant smells but joined elegance with comfort. Unfortunately this water closet has not been preserved.<sup>264</sup>

Bathroom spaces were very significant for Elisabeth's daily beauty routine. She was the first member of the imperial family who had a modern bathroom installed in Hofburg in 1876. Each morning at 5 a.m. she bathed in cold water in a galvanized copper bathtub (see fig. 62). This is where she carried out one of her beauty routines such as washing her hair or steaming in the bath oils. An exceptionally interesting feature of this room is the authentic linoleum floor-covering, which was the latest invention in Elisabeth's time.<sup>265</sup>

She took advantage of the bathroom spaces to the extent that even her toilet bowl (see fig. 63) in the Lavatory was specially designed in the shape of a dolphin and walls decorated in floral textile hangings. The symbol of a dolphin was of a great importance for the Empress which is displayed later on when she decorated a palace in Corfu portraying a dolphin as a symbol for Neptune, god of the sea.<sup>266</sup>

The interior design of Empress Elisabeth was inspired by her desire for privacy and her body image obsession. An obligatory exercise room and a dressing room was always found place in her apartments. She was obsessed with improving her figure and taking care of herself in extreme ways so her gymnastic equipment



Figure 64 | Dressing & Exercise Room, Hofburg, 1898

made a big statement in the dressing and exercise room, the significance of which is discussed in the next chapter.

For a lady of the highest society, that was very unusual at that time but it created a lasting impression of how she lived. This was the room where she spent most of her time, as she started her daily beauty rituals every day at 5 a.m. She had a strict training regime which included gymnastics on a wooden ladder and rings which are still displayed in the Hofburg. A central feature of Elisabeth's life was the excessive devotion she gave to preserving her beauty. She took



Figure 65 | another view of the Dressing Room, 1899

her beauty regime to the extreme, carefully thinking about everything she did in order to remain beautiful. She used to sleep without a pillow, as she believed this was going to preserve her beauty.<sup>267</sup>

As maintaining her hairstyles usually took several hours each day, naturally her hairdresser, Franziska Feifalik, became one of the empress's closest companions. The time spent in the dressing room she also used for conversations with her Greek tutor Constantin Christomanos. Her passion for Greek culture was very strong, so she implemented it in her daily routines. This boudoir where she spent her time in

<sup>264</sup> Iby, E. Koller A. *Schönbrunn*, (2007), p. 270

<sup>265</sup> retrieved at [http://www.hofburgwien.at/fileadmin/content/hofburg/Downloads/Audioguides/Lesetext\\_SiMu\\_KA\\_EN.pdf](http://www.hofburgwien.at/fileadmin/content/hofburg/Downloads/Audioguides/Lesetext_SiMu_KA_EN.pdf), accessed at 17.4.2016, 11:10

<sup>266</sup> Caesar, E. Corti, C. *Sissi - Glück und Tragödie einer großen Kaiserin*, P. 405

<sup>267</sup> Murad Anatol (1968), Twayne Publishers, *Franz Joseph I of Austria and His Empire*. Ardent Media. p. 116



Hofburg was decorated by portraits of people she admired and had affection for, such as her family members and favorite poets.<sup>268</sup>

Looking at the photos taken in 1898 of Elisabeth's Dressing & Exercise Room (see fig. 64, 65), the private character of the room can indeed be recognized. The furniture in the room is freely grouped in the room and distributed throughout the space in the private areas of the room. Over the parquet floor a large oriental carpet is stretched. The doors of the Dressing Room are covered by curtains which were fixed by curtain rods at half the height of the room, without relation to the wall decoration.<sup>269</sup>

The dressing and exercise room in the Hofburg palace was the most important and personal room where Elisabeth spent most of her time. Her dressing table in this room is of a significant value, as she spent few hours each day sitting there whilst having her hair styled.<sup>270</sup>

Empress Elisabeth was very involved in preserving her youthful figure so she was obsessively concerned with the components of her diet in order to maintain her beauty. Dairy products were important ingredients of her diet, as she believed fresh milk was going to help her to achieve to maintain slim figure even as she grew older. She drank milk only when it came from her own cows, sheep, or goats and so in order to always be provided with fresh milk, a dairy farm was installed for Elisabeth in the grounds of Schönbrunn Palace in 1895.

Whilst travelling, she arranged for her own goats and sheep to accompany her, which usual ended badly as the animals got sea sick.<sup>271</sup>

Although the dairy farm was installed due to her beauty obsessions, other member of imperial family were also supplied with dairy products. Fresh products such as milk, butter, and eggs were delivered from here to the court. Even long after Elisabeth's death the farm was still operating.

The Empress had a small apartment located in the dairy, containing the entrance hall, a dressing room and dining room. The inspiration for the dining room she drew from the way Hungarian farmhouse dining rooms were furnished; it contained red painted furniture decorated with floral patterns. According to same Hungarian style, the empress would eat from a dinner service ornamented in the Hungarian floral decoration.<sup>272</sup>

In comparison to Schönbrunn, dairy farm built at Versailles was significantly different even though it did display some similarities. Marie Antoinette insisted that in the rustic retreat known as The Queen's Hamlet that was built for her in 1783 within Versailles borders a dairy farm is indeed functioning one.

Located around the artificial lake, various smaller buildings were placed in three sections, such as receptions facilities which consisted of the windmill, the boudoir, the Queen's house, the billiard room and the stove room. These cottages appeared rustic on the outside but their interiors were richly decorated, in order to provide comfortable living. Other two sections in the retreat were dairy which served agriculture purposes and section with stables and pig sty.<sup>273</sup>



Figure 66 | Main building, Imperial Dairy farm



Figure 67 | Furniture in Hungarian rustic style

<sup>268</sup> retrieved at <http://www.hofburg-wien.at/wissenswertes/kaiserappartements/rundgang-durch-die-kaiserappartements/turn-und-toilettezimmer.html>, accessed at 18.4.2017, 21:00

<sup>269</sup> Ottlinger, Eva B., Hanzl, Lieselotte, *Kaiserliche Interieurs, Die Wohnkultur des Wiener Hofes im 19. Jahrhundert und die Wiener Kunstgewerbereform*, Böhlau Verlag, p.147

<sup>270</sup> retrieved at [http://www.hofburgwien.at/fileadmin/content/hofburg/Downloads/Audioguides/Lesetext\\_SiMu\\_KA\\_EN.pdf](http://www.hofburgwien.at/fileadmin/content/hofburg/Downloads/Audioguides/Lesetext_SiMu_KA_EN.pdf), accessed at 22.4.2017, 17:15

<sup>271</sup> retrieved at <http://www.habsburger.net/en/chapter/fresh-milk-happy-cows-kammermeierei>, accessed at 18.4.2017, 18:50, autor: Schmöckel Sonja

<sup>272</sup> Iby, E. Koller A. *Schönbrunn*, (2007), p. 270

<sup>273</sup> retrieved at <http://en.chateauversailles.fr/discover/estate/estate-trianon/queen-hamlet#buy-your-ticket>, 17.5.2017



Figure 68 | The interior in the dairy farm



Figure 69 | Marie Antoinette's Boudoir, 4.6 x 5.2 metres



Figure 70 | birds eye view of the Queen's Hamlet

## 4.5 Working out in a dress

Most of the imperial palaces and residences where Elisabeth spent her time were equipped with exercising gear such as stretches, rings, ladders, and wall bars.<sup>274</sup>

Since Elisabeth did not want to hold back from exercising whilst traveling, every time before she arrived in a hotel where she resided, there was at least one room that had to be equipped according to the requirements of her exercise,<sup>275</sup> which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4.6. To understand the meaning behind the gymnastics equipment in Eliza-

beth's residences and how such a thing could occur, despite being very unusual for her time, it is important to reflect on a short introduction regarding the raising of children in past epochs. For several centuries the education of children was carried out without gymnastics and exercising lessons, which changed in the eighteenth century. Responsible for this completely new development was Jean Jacques Rousseau, who impacted this field with his numerous pedagogical writings. He was one of the first who claimed that the school curriculum for children should include physical exercises as well as theoretical subjects. Even though that is not immediately apparent from today's point of view, this was considered a particularly radical requirement.

Although the movement was founded in the second half of the eighteenth century, the idea was still modern, bold, unusual, and still very rare in the nineteenth century.<sup>276</sup> Sport and the mass movement associated with it was not really a concern of the upper classes of the nineteenth century and certainly not for women who belonged to these circles. The only exception, therefore, was riding, which was recognized as the only elegant sport, and even so, the ladies were usually restrained from doing it.<sup>277</sup> Naturally Elisabeth was not just involved in riding, she was doing it competitively alongside men whilst hunting, choosing locations such as England and Ireland in order to be away from locations where Habsburgs used to hunt.<sup>278</sup>

Rousseau found a first supporter of the movement among the Habsburgs; Emperor Leopold II, Joseph's II brother who composed his own educational programs for his children, in order to ensure movement and exercising of the children whilst they were spending their time outside, which was equally uncommon. How unusual these instructions must have sounded

<sup>274</sup> Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß-und Diät-Programm*, p. 110

<sup>275</sup> Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß-und Diät-Programm*, p. 107

<sup>276</sup> Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß-und Diät-Programm*, p. 10-11

<sup>277</sup> Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß-und Diät-Programm*, p. 7-8

<sup>278</sup> Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß-und Diät-Programm*, p. 90





Figure 71 | Empress Elisabeth riding

in the late eighteenth century, when most contemporary children could barely walk, due to type of stiff dresses they wore, which was also one of the reasons why children were not really involved in any exercise. This short journey into the world of the eighteenth century was necessary to understand the reasons behind Elisabeth's interiors and emphasize how modern these ideas were considered in an epoch which was still marked by etiquette, and how modern they remained even three generations later, during the time

when Empress Elizabeth was raised according to principles similar to ones Rousseau founded.<sup>279</sup>

The thought that not the male members of the imperial family, but the empress herself performed exercises daily was unthinkable for journalists in 1864 so unsurprisingly false articles appeared in the newspapers such as: *"It is certainly of great interest to hear that the knights' hall in the imperial court of Hofburg is furnished with a gymnasium. It is there, where almost daily, around two hours, his Majesty the emperor and the lord Archdukes of the court, among others, even the aged FM. Hess, exercise all dressed in a working out clothing..."*<sup>280</sup>

Even though it was rather scandalous for a woman of her time to be involved in any sort of working out and exercises, Elisabeth still found a way to incorporate it in her daily routine. On one of the occasions, whilst the Empress was exercising, her Greek teacher, Christomanos, encountered her and noted in his diary; *"I just met her as she rose by the handrails. She wore a black silk dress with a long train surrounded by splendid long ostrich feathers. I had never seen her so pompously dressed. Hanging on the cords, she made a fantastic impression, like a creature between the snake and the bird."*<sup>281</sup>

In contrast to her contemporaries, Elisabeth always behaved the opposite to others, and therefore she participated in quite few different sports. Tennis very popular in her time, despite this, it was not something she was interested in, presumably also because she

preferred to be alone or in the company of selected courtiers and for tennis she needed a partner, which was not appealing to her.<sup>282</sup>

Even though it was considered indelicate, gymnastics was one of the sports that Elisabeth participated in, which was very typical of her. Amongst many other people who trained with the Empress during her life, one of them particularly stands out as an influencer of Elisabeth's health, and therefore interior decisions, a Viennese doctor Ludwig Seeger. In order to prevent bad posture and back pain and to provide that the body remains healthy, he was an advocate of participating in activities in the fresh air as well as regular gymnastics in the room. In order to support the fulfillment of his idea, he also invented a variety of furniture and devices which served the purpose of exercising.<sup>283</sup>

Even though he instructed Elisabeth personally how to use the equipment in order to improve her health and fitness, neither his therapies nor his teachings appealed to her, as she had not got rid of her rheumatic pain. The therapeutic failure of Elisabeth, of course, did not correspond with the abilities of the physician, but rather with the fact that the Empress did not obey his advice, as she was extreme in everything she did and continued to intensely workout as she pleased, mostly daily, not following Seeger's program.<sup>284</sup>

279 Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß- und Diät-Programm*, p. 11-12

280 Quoted after Hamann, B. *Elisabeth - Kaiserin wider Willen*, p. 210 in *Fremden - Blatt* 8.12.1864, 'Es dürfte gewiß von großem Interesse sein, zu vernehmen, daß der Rittersaal in der kaiserlichen Hofburg zu einem Turnplatz eingerichtet ist. Es turnen daselbst, beinahe täglich durch 2. Stunden, Se. Majestät der Kaiser und die Herren Erzherzöge, vom Hofstaate unter Anderen selbst der greise FM. Heß, sämtlich im Turnkleide...'.

281 Christomanos, C. *Elisabeth von Österreich; Die Tagebuchblätter von Constantin Christomanos*. »Ich traf sie gerade, wie sie sich an den Handringen erhob. Sie trug ein schwarzes Seidenkleid mit langer Schleppe von herrlichen langen Straußenfedern umsäumt. Ich hatte sie noch nie so pompös gekleidet gesehen. An den Stricken hängend, machte sie einen phantastischen Eindruck, wie ein Wesen zwischen Schlange und Vogel.« p. 67

282 Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß- und Diät-Programm*, p. 15

283 Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß- und Diät-Programm*, p. 108-110

284 Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß- und Diät-Programm*, p. 110

### 4.5.1 Political statement in the spatial arrangements

The exact period when Elisabeth began with furnishing her residences with gymnastic equipment can't be precisely determined, even though there are many evidences of such furnishings in her residences. No later than the late seventies or early eighties, at least one room was set up as an exercising room in all castles and mansions that Elisabeth inhabited.<sup>285</sup>

Even though the room itself is not opened to visitors, exercising devices were found in the Empress' apartments in Schönbrunn palace. In Hofburg palace exercising devices were located in the empress's bathroom and not in the small room in front of the bathroom in which they are housed today.<sup>286</sup> The Portuguese straw mats mentioned in the sources were probably for the empress to do her daily exercise on.<sup>287</sup> The Dressing Room is where Elisabeth spent most of her time, whilst residing in Hofburg. Her daily routines started in this room every morning, making this room a main room in regards to her beauty ritual.<sup>288</sup>

Revealing the meaning behind the gymnastic equipment in Elisabeth's residences offers a different and substantially greater significance, than just simply analyzing this furniture. Since the participation in various sports represented a taboo for aristocratic or bourgeois women, then this taboo was even more valid for an empress. Elisabeth did not follow the rules of the society, which is what makes it so very exciting and adds a special charm to her and her sporting activities. Most of the European rulers were cautiously aware of the ever-increasing movement of exercising, as gymnastics was considered a politically disrespect-



Figure 72 | Elisabeth's Dressing & Exercise Room

ful thing to do. The fact that it was such disreputable sport opposing the political views of Elisabeth's contemporaries, it is magnificent to imagine the fact that she was still so fond of doing it, against the society's ideals for behavior of aristocracy.<sup>289</sup>

To understand the conflicting interiors and Elisabeth's gymnastic habits, further insight of political background and the meaning behind her decisions is presented in a short overview of gymnastic development as a movement. What Rousseau started with his gymnastics movement was continued by Jahn and Guthsmuth, a German pedagogue who developed the



Figure 73 | Gymnastic rings

basic principles of artistic gymnastics, and was considered Co-founder of gymnastics. The word gymnastics became popular in the early 19th century, invented by Friedrich Jahn, also known as "Turnvater" which is roughly defined as "father of gymnastics". Whilst the followers of Rousseau and Guthsmuth were mainly concerned about their health and sport as a balancing act, Jahn's pupils and followers became increasingly active in politics and some of them actually became revolutionaries and rebels.<sup>290</sup>

<sup>285</sup> Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß- und Diät-Programm*, p. 105

<sup>286</sup> Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß- und Diät-Programm*, p. 10

<sup>287</sup> Iby, E. *Schönbrunn*, p. 268

<sup>288</sup> retrieved at <http://www.hofburg-wien.at/en/things-to-know/imperial-apartments/tour-of-the-imperial-apartments/dressing-exercise-room.html>, accessed at 20.4.2017, 14:30, n.d

<sup>289</sup> Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß- und Diät-Programm*, p. 20

<sup>290</sup> Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß- und Diät-Programm*, p. 21



The political danger occurred because they had not only adopted the new body culture of their teacher by reading his writings, they strived to put the theory into practice. As harmless gymnasts suddenly turned into equality fighting rebels, gymnast associations were abolished by most German aristocracy and their members received a gathering ban.<sup>291</sup>

Among the still numerous conservative politicians of Europe, this thought was most concerning for Austria's most powerful state chancellor Clemens Lothar Metternich. He recognized Jahn's ideas as an imminent danger, as Jahn envisioned a completely equal society in his teaching books, which was not optimal for then absolutist monarchy.<sup>292</sup>

Elisabeth never wanted to do what the others did, so ignoring the possible interpretation of her involvement with the gymnastics as dissociating herself from her contemporaries was typical for her personality. As a matter of fact, that was not the only way Empress showed that she didn't mind distancing herself from everyone else on the Court. Members of the upper class on the Viennese Court used the French language as a way of separating themselves from everyone who did not belong to their social strata, providing them with a secret language in order to prevent servants from understanding their conversations. Elisabeth, however, preferred the English language, which hardly anyone spoke back then, and used almost only Hungarian and Greek. That way she dissociated herself even more from everyone else and caused many uncomfortable situations for people around her, except Franz Joseph who was one of the rare ones who spoke English as well.<sup>293</sup>



Figure 74 | Elisabeth's Large Salon, Hofburg

## 4.6 Elizabeth – a modern woman trapped in a palace

Elisabeth tried to stay away from it but Hofburg remained her main official residence. She disliked the strict protocol in Hofburg palace and the lack of privacy. The Hofburg was ruled by Franz Joseph's mother Archduchess Sophie and soon Elisabeth realized that she completely lost her independence as a sense of freedom was not granted. The view from her win-

dows in Amalia wing of the Hofburg palace reveals another reason why she felt imprisoned in Hofburg. The only thing she could see from the windows was a little area surrounded by buildings, making her search for freedom somewhere else, outside of the Hofburg walls. Her feeling of being imprisoned is captured in one of her poems which she composed in 1854: *“I have awoken in a dungeon, with fetters on my wrists. My longing grows ever stronger. And Freedom! Thou, turned away from me”*.<sup>294</sup>

291 Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß- und Diät-Programm*, p. 27

292 Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß- und Diät-Programm*, p. 22

293 Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß- und Diät-Programm*, p. 25-26

294 08.05.1854, *“Ich bin erwacht in einem Kerker Und Fesseln sind an meiner Hand Und meine Sehnsucht wird immer stärker Und Freiheit du mir abgewandt! „(...)“*

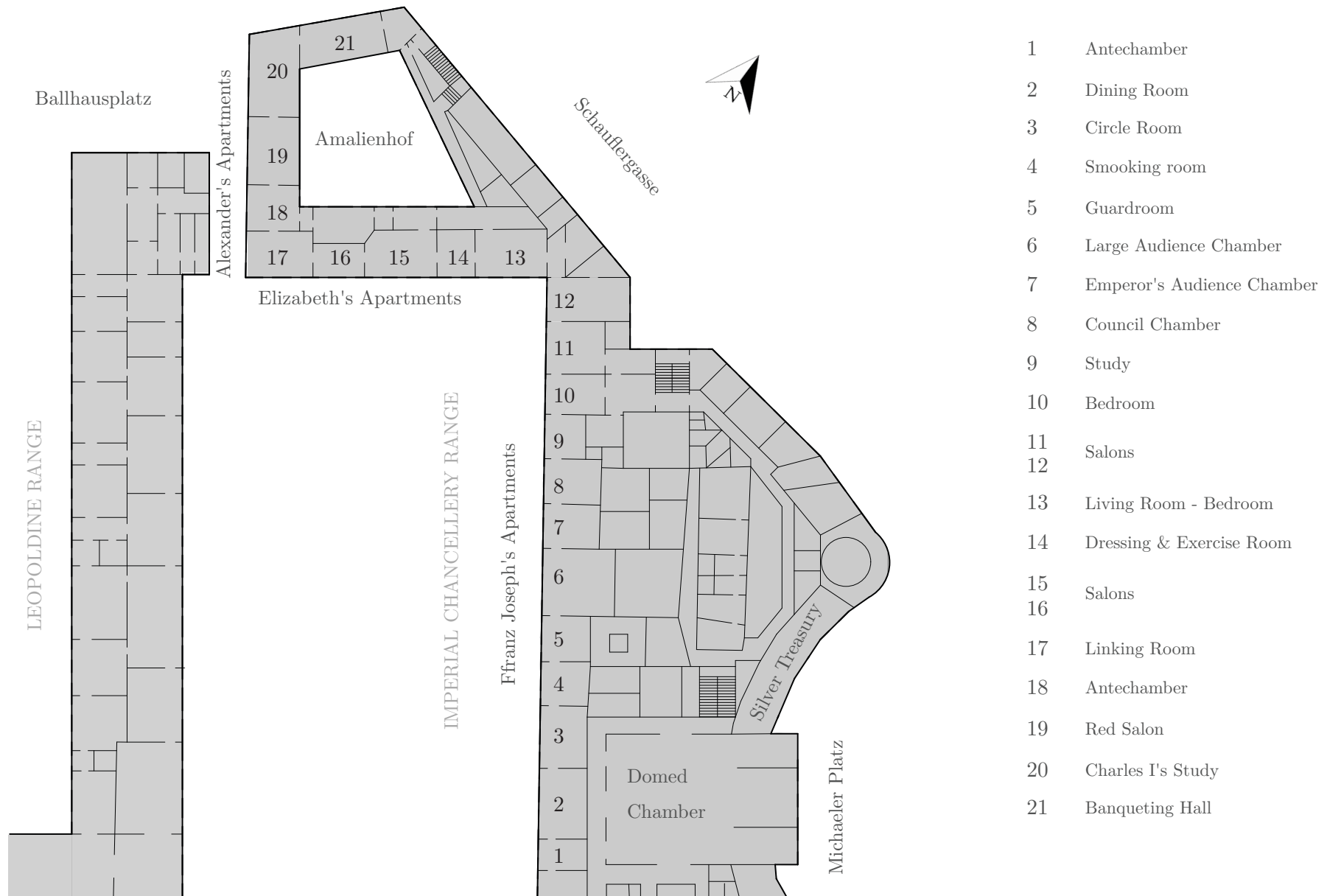




Figure 75 | Hofburg Palace



Figure 76 | State apartments in the Hofburg, Vienna



Empress Elisabeth's Apartments in Hofburg, of which some of them are already discussed in more detail in other chapters, consist of Sitting Room/Bedroom, Dressing Room/Exercise Room, Lavatory, Bathroom, The Bergl Rooms, Large Salon, Small Salon and Large Antechamber.

Unlike Elisabeth's other residences, her apartments in Hofburg were more or less decorated in regard to Court Guide lines. Even though her two salons, large and small salon in Hofburg, were at some point upholstered in her favorite color, that interior change did not last, as they were upholstered in red silk damask, which can still be seen whilst visiting Hofburg palace. The interiors of the Amalia Wing where Elisabeth later resided, have been re-equipped in Rococo style after 1760.<sup>295</sup>

The white gold-framed boiseries and stucco ceilings of the apartments on the first and second floor of the Amalia Wing remained largely preserved until the 19th century, and should thus serve as a source of inspiration for the further development and revival of Maria - Theresian interior decoration in the residential culture of the Viennese court in the 19th century.<sup>296</sup>

Elisabeth occupied the main floor of the Amalia Wing from year 1857. The Empress' apartments were adjoining to the emperor's apartments. Before entering apartments belonging to Elisabeth, architectural modesty of Franz Joseph's bedroom is presented. After the imperial couple moved into separate apartments, this former marital bedroom became the emperor's

bedroom. Unlike Elisabeth, Franz Joseph liked his interiors in modest setting, rejecting any luxury, as he found it unnecessary. Objects such as his modest table which he used for his daily hygiene or his stool for praying, portray his prude style. Moving through the palace, one enters Elisabeth's Bedroom containing the bed in the middle of the room, which is already mentioned and described in more detail in the chapter "Elisabeth's furniture and its significance". The next room is the already mentioned famous Dressing Room, from which on the way to the Bathroom one can take a glimpse of the Lavatory, with the painted water closet in the shape of a dolphin, made out of porcelain.<sup>297</sup> Beyond her Dressing room is a bathroom installed in the year 1876, placed in the small cabinet behind Elisabeth's bedroom. In 1883 red - silk curtains were made for the toilets of the empress.<sup>298</sup>

From here one enters the Bergl Rooms, named after the artist Johann Bergl, who decorated these rooms around 1766. Mural paintings that he painted covered all the walls up to the ceiling, displaying exotic landscapes. From the Bergl rooms one proceeds to the empress's Small Salon and the Large Salon which Elisabeth used as reception rooms.<sup>299</sup> Empress entered the Large Antechamber through the doors located opposite, leading from the Eagle Staircase to her apartments.<sup>300</sup>

In the Habsburg tradition of redesigning spaces on different occasions, this move required rededication of the rooms for ceremonial purposes. A part of the Empress's apartment also known as the Alexander apartment, was used by the family for private receptions,

dinners and balls for their youngest daughter, Marie Valerie.<sup>301</sup> As the Alexander apartment in Elisabeth's residences was used for family purposes, it resulted in a clearly feminine context. The Alexander Apartments were used by Empress Elisabeth for dinners and receptions. It was decorated with the Grotesque Months, which were well-known by their striking red background with precisely decorative character. Lavishly decorated interiors created in the eighteenth century and furnished with nineteenth century furniture consisted of a vestibule, Dining Room, Large Salon, the Boucher Room and the Small Antechamber. Apartments were accessed via the Alexander Staircase.<sup>302</sup>

Just how restricted Elisabeth was in Hofburg in regards to spatial arrangements is depicted in the fact that her mother – in – law, Archduchess Sophie controlled residences of Elisabeth's children. Archduchess Sophie restricted Elisabeth's role in the raising of her own children as she was regarded to as too young and inexperienced to take charge of their upbringing herself. Not being able to take care of her own children pushed her to close herself off and made her an introvert as a mother and as a figurehead of the Empire. Archduchess Sophia was the one responsible for the position of children's residences and layout of the rooms in the Hofburg palace. Having that power she took initiative and arranged that the children got rooms on a different floor to Elisabeth, ensuring that rooms find place inside of Sophie's personal apartments. In essence that meant that every time when Elisabeth wanted to see her children, she needed to go to Archduchess' apartments and ask for permission

295 Ottillinger, Hanzl, Boehlau (1997), *Kaiserliche interieurs, die Wohnkultur des Wiener Hofes im 19. Jahrhundert* p.141 in Bernoulli J., Sammlung kurzer Reisebeschreibungen und anderer zur Erweiterung der Länder- und Menschenkenntnis dienender Nachrichten, Berlin 1784, Bd. 13, s. 16-21

296 Ottillinger, Hanzl, Boehlau (1997), *Kaiserliche interieurs, die Wohnkultur des Wiener Hofes im 19. Jahrhundert* p.141

297 retrieved at [http://www.hofburgwien.at/fileadmin/content/hofburg/Downloads/Audioguides/Lesetext\\_SiMu\\_KA\\_EN.pdf](http://www.hofburgwien.at/fileadmin/content/hofburg/Downloads/Audioguides/Lesetext_SiMu_KA_EN.pdf), accessed at 22.4.2017, 17:10

298 Ottillinger, Hanzl, Böhlau (1997), *Kaiserliche interieurs, die Wohnkultur des Wiener Hofes im 19. Jahrhundert*

299 retrieved at [http://www.hofburgwien.at/fileadmin/content/hofburg/Downloads/Audioguides/Lesetext\\_SiMu\\_KA\\_EN.pdf](http://www.hofburgwien.at/fileadmin/content/hofburg/Downloads/Audioguides/Lesetext_SiMu_KA_EN.pdf), accessed at 22.4.2017, 17:10

300 retrieved at <http://www2.hofburg-wien.at/en/things-to-know/imperial-apartments/tour-of-the-imperial-apartments/large-anteroom.html>, accessed at 26.4.2017, 17:30

301 Fugger N. *Im Glanz der Kaiserzeit*, Vienna Munich, 1980, p.188

302 retrieved at <http://www.hofburg-wien.at/en/things-to-know/imperial-apartments/tour-of-the-imperial-apartments/alexander-apartments-red-salon.html>, accessed at 20.4.2017, 14:20, n.d



to visit so the possibility to spend time alone with her children was unlikely. Only few weeks after Gisela was born, Elisabeth stood up to Archduchess and decided to change the location of her children's residences in order to be closer to them. After the birth of her second child, Elisabeth matured and gained confidence so she had the courage to confront Archduchess. Her children Sophie and Gisela were moved to Radetzky Rooms, which were located in immediate proximity to the apartments inhabited by the imperial couple, instead of residing on the floor above Elisabeth, next to those of their controlling grandmother. Still trying to win the argument over children's residence, Sophie argued against relocation due to the lack of natural light in the Radetzky rooms, however, with no success.<sup>303</sup>

Franz Joseph writes a letter to his mother: *"By the way, Sisi does not even want to deprive you of the children, and she wrote me to let you know that she will always be at your disposition."*<sup>304</sup>

Later on, after Elisabeth's daughter Sophie died, and Gisela got assigned rooms in the Imperial Chancellery, Elisabeth strikes again with new architectural solution as Franz Joseph implies whilst writing: *"I will live (in the rooms extending) from the corner of the Imperial Chancellery to that horrible great room in which I shall hold my audiences. I am getting far too many rooms and do not intend to use all of them, a part of them including a Great Hall I even intend turning over to visitors when they are required. The little one will have the rooms that Uncle Johann use don his visits, in the Imperial Chancellery above my future room. A staircase will be raised from the corner*

*room of the Imperial Chancellery, so that Sisi can go to the little one without having to go through an intervening room."*<sup>305</sup>

From Franz Joseph's statement it is obvious that Elisabeth knew how to control situation regarding her family to some extent, even though it did not happen through authority, it did through architecture.

## 4.7 Elisabeth a dreamy empress

Elisabeth was living somewhere in between her own imaginary mythological world and reality, therefore she certainly cannot be described as a down to Earth Empress, as she was not rational like other emperors such as Joseph II or Maria Theresa. She exchanged many letters with Karl Ludwig, Franz Joseph's younger brother and wrote many poems identifying herself with her alter-ego the unattainable queen of the fairies – Titania, from Shakespeare's play: A Midsummer Night's Dream.<sup>306</sup>

*"For the only solution would be madness and the only salvation would be the fall, the abyss lures me, I want to let myself fall - why do I shudder before the jump? If I was not damned to be Elisabeth then I would be Titania and would smile when someone says she is crazy"*.<sup>307</sup>

Titania became a significant character in association with the Empress so she was incorporated into many interiors built for Elisabeth and one of them was a salon in the Vienna State opera which was the first representative building and one of the most beautiful of the Ringstrasse.<sup>308</sup>



Figure 77 | Scene from A Midsummer Night's Dream

The Opera building was built in the year 1869 where Elisabeth received a salon dedicated and decorated in her honor, fully decorated to her taste. Massive paintings of her castle where she grew up in Possenhofen and Starnberger Sea enhanced the walls covered in purple silk with luxurious golden ornaments. Three paintings with topics from Weber's Opera >Oberon< were painted on the ceiling. On the middle painting appeared Oberon and Titania with whom Elisabeth identified, which were delicate reference to Shakespeare's play that Elisabeth adored. Reason why art-

303 Egghardt Hanne, (2011), *Sisi's Kinder: Leben im Schatten einer exzentrischen Mutter*

304 Quoted after Schnürer Franz (Hg.), *Briefe Kaiser Franz Josephs I. An seine Mutter 1838-1872*, München 1930, p.256, 18.09.1856, „Übrigens fällt es Sisi gar nicht ein, Ihnen die Kinder entziehen zu wollen, und sie hat mir eigens aufgetragen Ihnen zu schreiben, daß dieselben immer ganz zu Ihrer Disposition sein werden“.

305 Quoted after Hamann, Hassmann, *Elisabeth Stages in a Life*, p. 67

306 Hamann, B. *Elisabeth – Kaiserin wider Willen*, p.30

307 Quoted after Rommel Birgit, *Aus der 'Schwarzen Möwe' wird 'Elisabeth'*. Entstehung und Inszenierungsgeschichte des Musicals über die Kaiserin von Österreich, p. 54, „Denn die einzige Lösung wäre der Wahnsinn und die einzige Rettung wäre der Sturz, es lockt mich der Abgrund, ich möchte mich fallen lassen – warum schaudert mir vor dem Sprung? Wäre ich nicht verdammt dazu Elisabeth zu sein dann wäre ich Titania und würde lächeln, wenn man sagt sie ist verückt.“

308 Ottillinger, Eva B., Hanzl, Lieselotte, *Kaiserliche Interieurs, Die Wohnkultur des Wiener Hofes im 19. Jahrhundert und die Wiener Kunstgewerbereform*, Böhlau Verlag, p.367

ists used poetry in decoration of the salon was mainly because Elisabeth never showed interest for music, besides Hungarian gypsy music, so they needed to find a way around it.<sup>309</sup> Unfortunately the salon was not preserved after it was destroyed by flames in 1945 towards the end of World War II..

The scenes of *Midsummer Night's Dream* found their way in Elisabeth's interiors once again when Franz Joseph built Hermesvilla in Lainzer Tiergarten. Elisabeth did not feel at home in any of the residences in Vienna, neither in the Hofburg nor Schönbrunn so Franz Joseph built a villa in the middle of the Lainzer Tiergarten just for her, where she would be completely undisturbed from court life. Hermes Villa was a way to expand Elisabeth's desire from poetry to reality, in order to grant her freedom just like Titania possessed, however, it was not successful.<sup>310</sup>

**Hermes Villa** was supposed to embody Elisabeth's desire to retreat from the public eye and the world in the architectural form and it was always interpreted as a reflection of Elisabeth's personality. Even though Hermes Villa was built to please her needs, seemingly it did not have the wanted effect as most of the interior decoration seemed ponderous and exaggerated. Hermes Villa was considered to be built according to Elisabeth's wishes and it was presented to the public as if it drew inspiration from the Greek culture that Elisabeth adored. However, the Villa was copied straight out of the manual of court architecture, not offering any inspirational solution but a standard 19th century villa architecture.<sup>311</sup>

According to the court manual, rooms belonging to imperial couple were divided symmetrically on the left and right side with equally sized rooms for pri-

vate quarters and studies. Elisabeth's chambers were decorated abundantly unlike chambers of Franz Joseph which were much simpler. Because of the Emperor's conservative and simple style of living, there was some contrast in the decorating of his chambers, compared to those of the Empress. One alteration from the original plan exhibits Elisabeth's taste in interior decoration: the separate exercise room. Despite this, during this time period, exercise rooms always found place in Elisabeth's residences so it does not necessarily mean that she had any input in the planning of the Hermes Villa. For the Empress's bedroom in the Hermes Villa, the painter and decorator Hans Makart designed murals portraying scenes from Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*. The idea for these murals is said to have originated again with Empress' identification with Titania.<sup>312</sup>

Due to the fact that Elisabeth related to Titania so much, her bedroom has always been regarded as being a reflection of Elisabeth's personality in Hermes Villa. However, it is recorded that she shook her head on the occasion of seeing the room for the first time.<sup>313</sup>

As with exercise rooms, in that they existed in each of her residences, in every residence she had pictures of Titania hanging on the walls. Another interesting touch in the bedroom of Elisabeth was the bed from Maria Theresia's time (see fig. 81) from the 18th century that was once placed in the imperial room of the post office in Strengberg near Amstetten in Lower Austria. Already a well-known feature when it came to decorating Empress's residences, a built-in staircase which lead from her bedroom to the ground floor and in the garden was installed.<sup>314</sup>



Figure 78 | A view from the Dressing Room into the Exercise Room



Figure 79 | Elisabeth's Exercise Room, Hermes Villa

309 Hamann, B. *Elisabeth – Kaiserin wider Willen*, p.289

310 Owens K. *Franz Joseph and Elisabeth: The Last Great Monarchs of Austria-Hungary*, p. 62.

311 Hamann B. Hassmann E. (1998), *Elisabeth Stages in a Life*, p.95

312 Czeike, F. *Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, 1. Aufl. Wien u. a. 1981, p. 195

313 Hamann B. Hassmann E. (1998), *Elisabeth Stages in a Life*, p.97

314 retrieved at <http://memim.com/hermesvilla.html>, 13.11.2016, 18:55, memim.com 2016





Figure 80 | Hermès Villa





Figure 81 | Elisabeth's Bedroom, Hernes Villa



Hermes Villa was, in comparison, to other Habsburg residences very modern, due to the fact that it contained built-in bathrooms, which were not to be found in other residences.<sup>315</sup> Architect Hasenauer observed the Empress as she carefully turned water taps on – and off, as she did not know anything like it.<sup>316</sup>

Electricity was being planned from the beginning so it soon became an outstanding feature of the Villa Hermes. The chandeliers were all prepared for electric light, in all there were about 120 lamps lighting the building and the road leading to the palace was one of the first ones in the Empire to be lit electrically.

Even though the reason why Hermes Villa was built, was to offer an escape and become a refugee for Elisabeth, she did not spend much time there. Her daughter Valerie expressed her opinion upon spending some time there; „*Mothers rooms have the best will to be immensely friendly, but they are repugnant to me in their rococo setting. Oh, if we'd only be back home!*“<sup>317</sup>

## 4.8 Elisabeth's homes and privacy - Gödöllő in Hungary

As Elisabeth spent more time riding, Viennese clamored to watch her. With her virtually public performances, her popularity was decreasing, therefore she was searching for more isolated location to practice and to escape the official pomp in Vienna that she disliked. She decided to spend more time in Gödöllő, which resulted decline of her popularity in Vienna.<sup>318</sup>

Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 established



Figure 82 | Gödöllő Palace, Hungary

the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary, which owed its success to the part played by Elisabeth in encouraging it, the Hungarian government gifted the building and surrounding hunting estate to the imperial family as a coronation gift. The Empress spent many happy summer vacations here since she could personally determine the number of her staff.<sup>319</sup>

In 1867 alterations and redecoration to the palace occurred for Franz Joseph and Elisabeth. The refurbishment mostly impacted side wings, where imperial staff resided whilst accompanying the royal family during their travels. The palace did not only contain luxuri-

ous living residences but also the finest stables, where Elisabeth kept her outstanding horses. Additionally to the coach house, the farmstead was replaced with kitchens, and even included a separate kitchen dedicated to the making of outlandish pies and cakes.<sup>320</sup>

Elisabeth and Franz Joseph's rooms found their place on the first floor in Gödöllő where Elisabeth received several smaller rooms, decorated in her favorite shade of lilac and Franz Joseph was assigned only a small number of large rooms, fitted out in carmine red. Because the original decoration was made in neo – Rococo style from the Maria Theresa period, every

315 Hamann, B. Elisabeth – *Kaiserin wider Willen*, p.442

316 Karl Hasenauer in Neues Wiener Journal 6.4.1930

317 Quoted after Marta and Horst Schäd (Hrsg.), *Marie Valerie, Das Tagebuch der Lieblingstochter von Kaiserin Elisabeth von Österreich*, 25.5.1887, p. 118, „*Mamas Zimmer haben den besten Willen ungeteuer freundlich zu sein, sind mir aber in ihrem manivrierten Rokoko zuwider. Ach – wären wir wieder daheim! ...*“

318 Hamann, B. Elisabeth – *Kaiserin wider Willen*, p.335

319 Hamann B. Hassmann E. (1998), *Elisabeth Stages in a Life*, p.104

320 Hamann B. Hassmann E. (1998), *Elisabeth Stages in a Life*, p.106



new alteration that had to be done, was harmonized in the same style. Typical for the interior of Elisabeth, once again she was assigned a group of salons on the ground floor, which opened onto the garden. Additionally, privacy issue was thought through once again, in that she had a private route to enter ground floor salons via a spiral staircase in her bedroom on the first floor. Guests that were personally invited by the Empress, entered them via stairs which led down from Elisabeth's salon on the first floor.

Adjoining her reception rooms, in the ground floor was located a green wooden porch, from which a corridor provided an easy access to the riding hall even in the bad weather.<sup>321</sup>



Figure 84 | Elisabeth's Study



Figure 83 | Wooden porch, Gödöllő



Figure 85 | Elisabeth's Reception Room



Figure 86 | Marie Valerie's Apartment

<sup>321</sup> Hamann B. Hassmann E. (1998), *Elisabeth Stages in a Life*, p.107-108



### 4.8.1 A fairytale palace - Achilleion on Corfu

The numerous travels to the most famous spa resorts in Europe contributed to Elisabeth's restlessness. She tended to stay in the same place for only a few weeks at a time and then moved on to a new destination, however, she did spend a significant amount of time on the Island of Corfu in Greece.<sup>322</sup>

Elisabeth had the resources and the strength of will and character to conflict other people's wishes and do whatever it took to make herself happy. And she tried – why else would she have built the palaces and travelled the world? She was looking for something she never really found, and never even truly knew what it was. Elisabeth was visiting Corfu throughout her whole life, so she decided to build a palace on the Island in honor of her favorite hero from Greek mythology, Achill: >**Achilleion**<.<sup>323</sup>

She had a specific vision for the palace: ***“I would like a palace with columns and hanging gardens, protected from undesired glances - fantastic, haughty, holy.”***<sup>324</sup>

Achilleion Villa on Corfu Island was built in 1890 and furnished according to Elisabeth's own ideas. In each castle she lived in, she had rooms to work out, which she used extensively, so naturally there were also gymnastics equipment found in Achilleion, which were accommodated in the bathroom next to the bedroom.<sup>325</sup>

The building of the palace was a great financial burden on the private purse of the emperor. She was very



Figure 87 | Villa Achilleion on Corfu Island, Greece

committed to the design of her Greek castle so she ensured that the design of the rooms is carried out in Pompeian style.<sup>326</sup> Since Achilleion had been built into the mountain, the front was three-story's high and the back side only one-story. The ground floor consisted of a kitchen, games room, Greek teacher's room and a lift. The middle floor with the main balcony on the front was reached via a staircase. The staircase in Pompeian - Greek style (see fig.88) is ornamented with a railing of bronze, which represented intricate oil and laurel branches, and above the staircase, a glass roof was placed.<sup>327</sup>

Whilst rooms for Franz Joseph and Elisabeth's daughter Marie Valerie were located on the first floor, the rooms at the back of the villa containing only one floor were the rooms which were inhabited by the Empress. Privacy devotion was again showcased in this building as Elisabeth was able to leave her residences and get directly into the garden, which she called "peristyle" (- see fig. 92) She used this Greek term, which stood for a columned court around which the residential and economic areas were grouped, due to the colonnade.<sup>328</sup>

The Empress was very fearful regarding her privacy

322 Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß- und Diät-Programm*, p. 137 -138

323 Hamann, B. *Elisabeth – Kaiserin wider Willen*, p.163

324 Quoted after Vöclka, Michaela, Karl, *Sisi: Leben und Legende einer Kaiserin*, p. 87, „Ich möchte einen Palast mit Säulenhallen und hängenden Gärten, vor ungerufenen Blicken geschützt – märchenhaft, hochmütig, heilig.“

325 Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß- und Diät-Programm*, p. 110

326 Lichtscheidl, O. *Sisi auf Korfu, Die Kaiserin und das Achilleion*, p. 23

327 Lichtscheidl, O. *Sisi auf Korfu, Die Kaiserin und das Achilleion*, p. 28-29

328 Lichtscheidl, O. *Sisi auf Korfu, Die Kaiserin und das Achilleion*, p. 29





Figure 88 | Staircase in Pompeian - Greek style





Figure 89 | Statues in the Achilleion terrace

and it was hard to hide it in front of her Court ladies, as Marie Festetics records 1892 in her letter to Ida Ferenczy: *“Her Majesty is every year more demanding, and here, with the best will, you cannot get anything; The people are astonished by us, that it makes me blush.”*<sup>329</sup>

Palace Achilleion was truly her dream place, she admired it so deeply that she had hung the views of the palace on the walls amongst many other art work of her dressing and exercise room in Hofburg. Unfortunately not even this property managed to make Elisabeth feel settled. The villa was barely finished and she was already striving again to change locations. Even though it was her dream residence, she

felt the burden of staying in the same place as she notes in her poem: *“Though love, it must be free, May come and may go; A castle would be like a wedding ring, The love could not exist ... I am a seagull, of no land, I call no shore my home, I am bound to no place, I fly from wave to wave”*.<sup>330</sup>

At last she was even prepared to sell Achilleion to support her daughter Valerie who was meanwhile married. Franz Joseph saw that as a desperate move, as he had hoped that Elisabeth finally found her Oasis of peace so he reassured Elisabeth that no such action was necessary, as Valerie did not need financial help.<sup>331</sup> In the end Elisabeth did abandon the Achil-



Figure 90 | Villa Achilleion, front view

leion palace. Some interesting anecdotes revolving around Achilleion interior reveal a bit more about Elisabeth's complex personality. During her time on the Island of Corfu, she never wanted to be reminded of the time passing, allowing her to avoid living according to a strict time schedule. In order to do so, the hands from all clocks displayed in the palace were removed. On the occasion that a large mirror in her bedroom cracked, during her last visit of Achilleion, she envisioned that according to the bad luck which broken mirror represents, this would be the last time she spent her time in Corfu Island. Unfortunately her superstition, proved to be right, as she was assassinated by an Italian anarchist in 1898.<sup>332</sup>

<sup>329</sup> Quoted after Hamann, B. *Elisabeth – Kaiserin wider Willen*, p.584 in N. Corti 13.9. 1892, *“Ihre Majestät ist jedes Jahr anspruchsvoller, und hier kann man beim besten Willen nicht alles herbeischaffen; die Menschen staunen über uns, daß ich ganz erröte.”*

<sup>330</sup> Quoted after Hamann B. *Elisabeth – Kaiserin wider Willen*, p.582 in Elisabeth, *Nordseelieder* 5 und 7, *“Doch Liebe, die muss frei sein, Darf kommen und darf geh’n; Ein Schloss wär’ wie ein Eh’ring, Die Lieb hätt’ kein Besteh’n... Eine Möve binich von keinem Land, Meine Heimat nenne ich keinen Strand, Mich bindet nicht Ort und nicht Stelle; Ich fliege von Welle zu Welle.”*

<sup>331</sup> Murad Anatol (1968), Twayne Publishers, *Franz Joseph I of Austria and His Empire*. Ardent Media. p. 116

<sup>332</sup> retrieved at <http://www.palaces-of-europe.com/Achilleion.html>, accessed at 20.4.2017, 17:45, n.d





Figure 91 | Achilleion entrance



Figure 92 | Peristyle

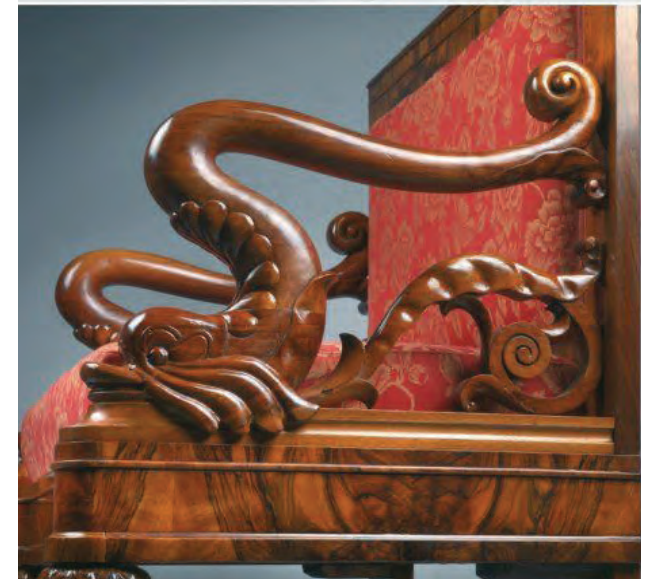


Figure 93 | An oak Dolphin chair, with armrests shaped as dolphins, original furnishing of the Achilleion



#### 4.8.1.1 Corfu furniture

The furniture had been designed after antique models in Pompeian style which has been proven to be extremely uncomfortable. It was normally made of wood, but expensive examples were often fitted with metalwork elements, which have a better chance of survival. The styles were generally rather light and elegant in upper-class furniture. Rooms that were intended for Franz Joseph were equipped with modern furniture, as he was not fond of Greek-Pompeian style furniture.<sup>333</sup>

*"The Emperor does not like the Greek furniture", Empress explained to her Court Lady Countess Sztaray, "He considers it uncomfortable, what they really are. But I very much like to see these noble-shaped objects around me, and since I sit very seldom, it is the same whether they are comfortable or uncomfortable."*<sup>334</sup>

The everlasting impression of the Achilleion interior is captured in the words of Baron Nopcsa: *"The beauty of the house is that it has succeeded in combining the Pompeian style with today's comfort, no gold and accustomed splendor; Everything simple, but very congenial to the connoisseur, since there is a great deal of art, expensive and rare materials on the furniture; The furniture of her majesties according to ancient Roman models very beautifully worked out."*<sup>335</sup>

Many of the furnishings were purchased during the Empress' travels and some were bought in Italy for which master carpenter A. Caponelli from Naples was in charge. The furniture that was designed accord-



Figure 94 | Corfu bedroom in Hermes Villa, 1898

ing to Greek and Roman origin was crafted by Viennese Craftsman F. Müller. Wall paintings in Pompeian style were made by Neapolitan artists Paliotti, Postiglione and Scami.<sup>336</sup>

The dolphin, that had already found its place in the garden as a bronze statue, became the symbol for the entire castle. No other animal was so glorified in mythology, as the dolphin, so all the objects collected for Achilleion were marked with a crowned dolphin.<sup>337</sup>



Figure 95 | Corfu Salon in Hermes Villa, 1898

After Elisabeth abandoned Achilleion Villa she transported the furniture to Vienna to other locations such as Hermes Villa where she established two Corfu Salons.<sup>338</sup>

<sup>333</sup> retrieved at <http://www.habsburger.net/en/chapter/achilleion-corfu-elisabeths-flight-antiquity> Schmöckel, Sonja, accessed at 17.4.2017, 19:30

<sup>334</sup> Quoted after Lichtscheidl, O. *Sisi auf Korfu, Die Kaiserin und das Achilleion*, p. 29, "Der Kaiser liebt die griechischen Möbel nicht, er hält sie für unbequem, was sie auch wirklich sind. Ich aber sehe sehr gerne diese edel geformten Gegenstände um mich, und da ich höchst selten sitze, ist es einerlei, ob sie bequem oder unbequem sind."

<sup>335</sup> Quoted after Lichtscheidl, Olivia, *Sisi auf Korfu, Die Kaiserin und das Achilleion*, p. 28, "Die Schönheit des Hauses besteht darin, daß es gelungen ist, den pompejanischen Stil mit der heutigen Bequemlichkeit zusammen zu verbinden, kein Gold und gewöhnliche Pracht; alles einfach aber dem Kenner sehr reich, da viel Kunst dabei ist, an den Möbeln teure und seltene Stoffe; die Möbel ihrer Majestäten nach alt römischen Modellen sehr schön ausgearbeitet..."

<sup>336</sup> Lichtscheidl, O. *Sisi auf Korfu, Die Kaiserin und das Achilleion*, p. 28

<sup>337</sup> retrieved at <http://www.hofburg-wien.at/en/things-to-know/sisi-museum/tour-of-the-sisi-museum/flight.html>, accessed at 17.4.2017, 20:55

<sup>338</sup> Lichtscheidl, O. *Sisi auf Korfu, Die Kaiserin und das Achilleion*, p. 40

## 4.9 Living in hotels

After leaving Corfu Elisabeth preferred to live in hotels, which shed light on other problems concerning interiors and space. Elisabeth often arrived with a large number of staff, and required a large number of rooms and sometimes a whole hotel, in the middle of high season, which was rather inconvenient. To protect herself from the public's curiosity she frequently requested her own entrance and various cautious measures.<sup>339</sup>

When Elisabeth was not spending her time in Hungary, she was staying in Bavaria. Her family's residence in Possenhofen was rather small and as court protocol did not allow her to stay in her birth house, she rented the Strauch Hotel in Feldafing, nearby her family. Hotel Strauch met all Empress's requirements, as it was closed for other guests, whilst she was visiting. Every year since 1870 she would visit her family and stay in Hotel Strauch. A spiral staircase was installed in the hotel, since Elisabeth was afraid of fire, so once again quick escape was granted from the residence outside. Similar to her other residences, in the year 1882 Elisabeth's bedroom was equipped with gymnastic devices, in order to meet her desire of exercising.<sup>340</sup>

On one occasion, she had a whole room covered with mattresses, in order to be able to practice gymnastics. After she began to participate in fencing lessons, amongst gymnasiums her travel residencies were also furnished with rooms that served the purpose of fencing practice.<sup>341</sup> After death of her son Rudolph, her visits started to be less frequent until eventually she stopped visiting altogether. In year 1900, the hotel



Figure 96 | Feldafing Hotel, Germany

changed its name in her memory and it went down in history known as Empress Elisabeth Hotel.<sup>342</sup>

Both in England and later on in Ireland, expensive renovations had to be completed in the rented areas for her week-long stays.<sup>343</sup> In 1881 Elisabeth rented an English country house in Cheshire called Combermere Abbey. Upon her arrival, the Abbey had been redecorated and significantly reconstructed in order to provide an imperial bedroom, a sitting room, a bathroom, a dressing room and a gymnasium where the Empress carried out her exercising regime on the days when she was not able to hunt. A Roman Catholic



Figure 97 | Combermere Abbey, Cheshire

chapel also found a place in the Abby. The rest of the rooms were assigned to the Empress' staff and some of them, including the room for one of her confidantes Marie Festetics, were furnished rather splendidly.<sup>344</sup>

Regardless of the fact it was just being rented, Elisabeth made sure that Combermere Abbey had a secret spiral staircase built from her living room into the kitchen, so that she could access it in private and maintain her secret eating binges. The older Elisabeth got, the more restless and self-image obsessive she became, constantly weighing herself, and paying attention to what she ate until she became truly thin.

<sup>339</sup> Hamann, B. *Elisabeth – Kaiserin wider Willen*, p. 584

<sup>340</sup> Hamann B. Hassmann E. (1998), *Elisabeth Stages in a Life*, p.142

<sup>341</sup> Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß-und Diät-Programm*, p. 108

<sup>342</sup> Hamann B. Hassmann E. (1998), *Elisabeth Stages in a Life*, p.142

<sup>343</sup> Praschl-Bichler, G. *Kaiserin Elisabeths Fitneß-und Diät-Programm*, p. 94

<sup>344</sup> retrieved at <http://www.combermere-restoration.co.uk/an-empress-comes-to-the-abbey/>, accessed at 16.4.2017, 18:35



## 4.10 The Cult of Empress Elisabeth

The way in which Elisabeth was expressing herself in architecture and spatial arrangements, implies a clear and authentic display of her character and personality. Equipping her residences with secret staircases in order to connect them with the private apartments in the ground floor, all for the matter of avoiding contact with people and striving to escape her residences as she wished, was one of the main characteristics of her architectural choices. An exercise room that was located in every residence Elisabeth spent her time, certainly portrays just how dedicated but also possessed by her own beauty standards she was.

It is imposing to see how her outsider, shy personality was really reflected in the way she arranged her living spaces. Her personality, the same as her architecture, was quite contradicting. As a person she can be described quite insecure but also arrogant. Her spatial arrangements and palaces were rather impressive, and representative, but then again secret and hidden. Whilst talking about Elisabeth being an outsider with a tint of arrogance, it is rather reflected on the fact that she was not vain in the sense that she was dependent on the opinion of others. She took care of herself and her appearance first and foremost for herself, in order to build up her self-esteem. Her character can closely be understood as we understand celebrities today, as she was the most recognized face in the entire Habsburg Empire. People's obsession with famous or privileged individuals has not changed much since the 19th century. Crowds idolized and took the rights upon themselves to be allowed to look, observe

and even judge the person at any time they wanted. Archduchess Sophie wrote in her diary after the empress visited Prater and the people gathered to see her: "It is the Empress who attracts them all. For she is their joy, their idol."<sup>345</sup>

As Sophie recalls, on an occasion when Elisabeth wanted to visit the St. Stephen's Cathedral by foot, there were so many people packed around her that she got frightened and could not help but flee into the sacristy as she cried. She notes that "*it was almost a scandal*"<sup>346</sup>

Elisabeth, however, did not really find herself fitting to the icon that she was represented to be in the public eye, nor did she enjoy it at all. She was still a child in search of an identity of her own, when an adult role with unusual obligations and restrictions was imposed upon her. By escaping her court duties she tried to recreate her childhood with its lack of obligations. Obsessively achievement-oriented and almost compulsively perfectionistic in her attitudes, she became a literal slave to her own beauty and image. Fame around her beauty lasted for an outrageously long time - about thirty years.<sup>347</sup>

As her confidence grew, at some point, Elisabeth learned to do what she pleased and yet, somehow she never managed to do anything to make herself truly happy. Elisabeth and legend of her beauty lived on and was mentioned in literature many times, she even has paragraphs written about her in modern literature such as memoirs by Diana Vreeland: "*And Elisabeth, Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary, is one of my heroines.... Elisabeth adored her hair, took great care of her hair.... perhaps you remember the great Winterhalter portrait. She was one of the first*



Figure 98 | Empress Elisabeth, Winterhalter portrait

*modern women. She was one of the first women who did exercises, one of the first who did gymnastics, and one night a week she'd go to bed in special sheets of bath toweling packed in beefsteaks—for her skin. Apparently, she never looked older than thirty—ever.*"<sup>348</sup>

Just how remarkable Elisabeth was as an Empress was evident when at the age of 51, she tattooed a blue anchor on her shoulder whilst traveling to Greece. Her daughter Marie Valerie notes this in her diary entry which she wrote on 3. December 1888: "... We were still talking about it when Papa came in and asked me if I had already cried about the terrible surprise that

<sup>345</sup> Quoted after Hamann, B. *Elisabeth – Kaiserin wider Willen*, p.190 in Anton Langer, *Dies Buch gehört der Kaiserin. Eine Volksstimme aus Österreich. Wien 1854*, 8 und 11, „Es ist die Kaiserin, die sie alle anzieht. Denn sie ist ihre Freude, ihr Idol“

<sup>346</sup> Quoted after Hamann, B. *Elisabeth – Kaiserin wider Willen*, p.190 in Anton Langer, *Dies Buch gehört der Kaiserin. Eine Volksstimme aus Österreich. Wien 1854*, 21, „Es war beinahe ein Skandal“.

<sup>347</sup> Hamann, B. *Elisabeth – Kaiserin wider Willen*, p. 212

<sup>348</sup> Quoted after <http://jezebel.com/the-most-miserable-princess-ever-sisi-empress-elisabeth-1671950113>, Kelly Faircloth, The Most Miserable Princess Ever: Sisi, Empress Elisabeth of Austria, 12.8.2014, accessed at 19.4.2017

*Mama had an anchor anchored on her shoulder, which I find very original and not so terrible”.*<sup>349</sup>

Even though the position of her tattoo is not certain, whether it was left or right shoulder, the reason behind the symbol of an anchor could be interpreted based on the fact that she was attracted to the sea. During stormy seas, she would ask her stuff to tie her to a chair on the ship’s deck in order to not get washed away as she got closer to the waves and the sea.<sup>350</sup>

Adolf Loos expresses his opinion on tattoos in his work “*Ornament and Crime*” which he wrote in 1908, which could also be directed at Elisabeth: “*The modern individual who lets himself be tattooed is either a criminal or a degenerate. There are prisons in which eighty percent of the inmates are tattooed. Those who are tattooed but not imprisoned are either latent criminals or degenerate aristocrats. If one who is tattooed dies free, he will have died a few years before committing a murder.*”<sup>351</sup>

Elisabeth was pursuing with attention new appearances in literature. One of her favorite poets was German poet Heinrich Heine, alongside some Hungarian poets.<sup>352</sup> During her life, she wrote many poems herself and related greatly with Heine. When she grew older, she was determined to publish her poems under the condition that they would be released in year 1950, in a time when no one she knows, including herself, would still be alive. Her aim was to represent herself to the generations to come, in a way that her contemporaries refused to. She wanted to justify herself and grant that she would be understood and that her image is corrected in history,<sup>353</sup> as if she knew that history does

strange things to women.

Elisabeth’s contradicting but intriguing personality makes her to this day one of most popular women in history of Habsburg imperial family and beyond.

## Conclusion

Maria Theresa was the first female ruler, an Empress who set the ground in design of spatial arrangements and architectural development of Habsburg Monarchy, which continued to be cherished through different time periods and many various rulers. She certainly left a mark in history, setting a trend that for two centuries served members of the Habsburg family as a way to display continuity of power and strength under Habsburg Reign through recognizable Rococo arrangements in imperial residences. Over three hundred years, her taste in architectural stayed recognized as Maria – Theresian style, forever staying imprinted as essential style of how we today recognize imperial architecture.

Even if it seems that her design choices served everyone as an inspiration, her own son Joseph II was somewhat neglecting towards her design ambition, as until the point when he became a ruler, she already did so much so therefore he focused on city of Vienna and it’s architectural development on a grand scale, disregarding the décor and leaving everything how his mother left after she passed. Even though some of Joseph’s reforms were met with significant resistance, his support for ideals like religious tolerance led to

lasting changes in Europe, and he paved the way for the complete abolition of feudalism in 1848. His interest in learning by travelling and getting to know architecture of Europe, it’s virtues and flaws, considerably helped to support development of Vienna into a city that it is today.

Joseph’s rationality opposed Empress Elisabeth, who was so tangled in her imaginary world. Everything she did in architecture in order to gain privacy, such as building secret staircases really illustrates how significant privacy and creating such spaces was to her. It is magnificent to imagine that Elisabeth changed characteristic of spaces in regards to privacy where she resided, at a time when still not such thing was common. All three of these monarchs, Maria Theresa, Joseph II and Elisabeth shaped architectural discourse in different ways and contributed greatly to how we see not only space and their interiors but also them as people in the history

349 Quoted after Martha und Horst Schad (Hrsg), *Marie Valerie Das Tagebuch der Lieblingstochter von Kaiserin Elisabeth von Österreich*, “... Wir redeten noch von alldem, als Papa eintrat und mich fragte, ob ich wohl schon über die furchtbare Überraschung geweint habe, daß sich nämlich Mama einen Anker auf der Schulter einbrennen liess, was ich sehr originell und gar nicht so entsetzlich finde.”, p.156

350 Retrieved at [http://www.planet-wissen.de/geschichte/adels/legendaere\\_sisi/pwiesisiaufreisen100.html](http://www.planet-wissen.de/geschichte/adels/legendaere_sisi/pwiesisiaufreisen100.html), 18.5.2017

351 Quoted after Henrik Petersen, Klaus Roth, “To Tattoo or Not to Tattoo? – Part 1”, 06 December 2016, *Chemie in unserer Zeit/Wiley-VCH*, 18.5.2017, [http://www.chemistryviews.org/details/ez-ine/10162381/To\\_Tattoo\\_or\\_Not\\_to\\_Tattoo\\_Part\\_1.html](http://www.chemistryviews.org/details/ez-ine/10162381/To_Tattoo_or_Not_to_Tattoo_Part_1.html)

352 Ripka Franz, *Gödöllo*, p.75

353 Hamann, B. *Elisabeth – Kaiserin wider Willen*, p. 444-448





Figure 99 | Gloriette, Schönbrunn





Figure 100 | Schönbrunn Palace





Figure 101 | Bergl Rooms, Schönbrunn





Figure 102 | Elisabeth's Dressing Room, Schönbrunn



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