



# Vienna and its works of art in the eyes of Polish travellers in the second half of the 17th and first half of the 18th century

Małgorzata Wyrzykowska

University of Wrocław

## Introduction

The purpose of this article is to present how Polish travellers in the second half of the 17th century and first half of the 18th century evaluated Vienna and its works of art. Previous studies on the perception of European works of art within Polish travel literature of the second half of the 17th and first half of the 18th century have focused on the dominant artistic centres of the time, such as Italy and France<sup>1</sup>. The art of the capital of the Habsburg monarchy remained somewhat beyond the spectrum of researchers' interests, even though the proximity of Vienna and Warsaw was determined not only by political and military alliances, but also by dynastic relations. Vienna, with the Habsburg Empire's Court, was the destination of numerous diplomatic visits by Poles, and as an important centre of academic life it attracted many students from the Rzeczypospolita<sup>2</sup>. However, for the majority of Polish travellers, a stay in the capital of the Habsburg monarchy was only a stage of their journey to the south of Europe.

The accounts of those travellers, especially in the 17th century, are in a small part devoted to the evaluation of the city's monuments, focusing rather on the political and social aspects of their stays. Examples of this are the works: by Stefan Pac, who accompanied Prince Władysław Waza in his journey undertaken between 1624 and 1625<sup>3</sup>, by a courtier Mikołaj Dyakowski reporting on the events of the Battle of Vienna<sup>4</sup>,

---

<sup>1</sup> See M. Wrześniak, *Roma Sancta – Fiorenza Bella. Dzieła sztuki w diariuszach polskich podróżników do Włoch w XVI i XVII wieku*, Warszawa 2010; M. Wrześniak, *Florencja – Muzeum. Miasto i jego sztuka w oczach polskich podróżników*, Warszawa 2013. In a broader context, the cognitive aspects of Polish travels of that period were studied by A. Kucharski (*Theatrum peregrinandi. Poznawcze aspekty staropolskich podróży w epoce późnego baroku*, Toruń 2013). There were also studies on the perception of art by travellers in other centres such as the Netherlands. See: J. Tazbir, *Niderlandy i sztuka niderlandzka w opinii polskich podróżników epoki Rubensa*, [in:] *Rubens, Niderlandy i Polska, Materiały z sesji naukowej, Łódź, 25-26 lutego 1977*, ed. J. Ojrzyński, Łódź 1978, Synthetic views: M. Kunicki-Goldfinger, *O sztuce ukrytej za słowami polskojęzycznymi diariuszów podróży po Europie XVI i XVII wieku. Szkic wstępny*, [in:] *Źródła do dziejów staropolskich podróży edukacyjnych*, ed. D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, E. Kowalczyk, Wrocław 2017.

<sup>2</sup> About Poles staying in Vienna was also written i.a. by R. Taborowski: *Polacy w Wiedniu*, Kraków 2001.

<sup>3</sup> S. Pac, *Obraz dworów europejskich na początku XVII wieku przedstawiony w Dzienniku podróży królewicza Władysława syna Zygmunta III do Niemiec, Austrii, Belgii, Szwajcarii i Włoch w roku 1624-1625*, transl. J. K. Plebański, Wrocław 1854, pp. 22-27. The account of his stay in Vienna concerns mainly social matters.

<sup>4</sup> The accounts of Mikołaj Dyakowski (d. 1722), a courtier of Jan III Sobieski, concerned military operations during the Battle of Vienna. In the text there are only references to individual buildings in Vienna, which were the arena of battle (M. Dyakowski, *Dyariusz wideńskiej okazyji*, ed. J. A. Kosiński, J. Długosz, Warszawa 1983).

by General of Artillery of the Crown Marcin Kazimierz Kątski, a participant in the campaign of Jan III Sobieski<sup>5</sup>, or by a student Jan Heidenstein, who went on a journey around Europe for study and cognitive purposes<sup>6</sup>. Some travellers passed through Vienna, but we do not have any descriptions of the city or its monuments. They were, among others, Karol Radziwiłł<sup>7</sup>, Stanisław Oświęcim<sup>8</sup> as well as Tomasz, Michał, and Marcin Zamoyski<sup>9</sup>. In the first half of the 18th century, more and more cognitive observations, including those concerning art, appear in travel literature. The article analyses only fragments of Polish travel literature from the second half of the 17th and first half of the 18th century devoted to the evaluation of works of art in Vienna. Printed texts of a source character from the period were used. During their analysis it was pointed out which works and for what reasons aroused the interest of Polish travellers, how they were described, what they were compared to and whether they caused reflection on art.

The study concerns<sup>10</sup> accounts of travellers who were amateurs in the field of art, with one exception – a Jesuit architect Bartłomiej Nataniel Wąsowski who was the preceptor of Mikołaj and Zygmunt Grudziński<sup>11</sup>. The article uses accounts from the stay in Vienna of travellers who paid some attention to the works of art: young noblemen of Wielkopolska – Andrzej and Wojciech Radoliński<sup>12</sup>, Jan Michał Kossowicz<sup>13</sup>, Reformed Franciscans: Symforiani Arakiełowicz<sup>14</sup>, Stanisław Kleczewski<sup>15</sup>, Remigiusz Zawadzki<sup>16</sup>,

<sup>5</sup> *Diariusz wyprawy wiedeńskiej króla Jana III w roku 1683 przez Marcina Kątskiego kasztelana lwowskiego generała artylerii koronnej spisany*, ed., preface B. Królikowski, Lublin 2003.

<sup>6</sup> *Peregrynacja Jana Heidensteina przez Belgię, Francję i Włochy w roku 1631 zaczęta, a w roku 1634 zakończona*, ed., preface Z. Pietrzyk, transl. A. Golik-Prus, Kraków 2005, pp. 154–156. Jan Reinhold Heidenstein (1610–1677), a graduate of the Jesuits in Braniewo and the Cracow Academy, spent only two days in Vienna – 24–26 V 1634. He left only the mention of St. Stephen's Cathedral and the fortifications of the city and an Augustinian Church.

<sup>7</sup> K. S. Radziwiłł, *Diariusz Peregrynacji Europejskiej (1684–1687)*, ed., preface A. Kucharski, Toruń 2011, pp. 101, 102. There was only information that the travellers stayed in Vienna on 23 VII 1687 and left.

<sup>8</sup> In the preserved work of the traveller there are mentions about the description of the city that is said to be in the first diary. K. Kantecki wrote about it in: *Z podróży Oświęcima: Turcja – Francja – Niemcy – Włochy*, Lwów 1875, p. VII, XVIII.

<sup>9</sup> See A. Kucharski, *Grand Tour Tomasza, Michała i Marcina Zamoyskich z przełomu XVII i XVIII wieku*, "Klio" 2015, no. 2, p. 85. The researcher points out that in July 1698, Tomasz, Michał and Marcin Zamoyski were planning a trip to Vienna, where a Russian tsar travelling around Europe was to stay at that time. The brothers Zamoyski probably arrived to Vienna after 25 VII, when the tsar had already left the city.

<sup>10</sup> The author presents in the article partial results of her own research concerning the evaluation of works of European art of the 17th and 18th century by travellers of that time based on the analysis of over 50 selected works of travel literature.

<sup>11</sup> *Europea Peregrinatio Quam Perilliarum... 1650 ad 1656*, autograph in the Library of the National Museum in Cracow, Czartoryski collection, sign. XVII 3031; microfilm in the National Library in Warsaw – Microfilm Station, sign. 11104. See also J. Baranowski, "Rysunkowy" *diariusz podróży europejskiej Bartłomieja Nataniela Wąsowskiego*, "Rocznik Historii Sztuki" vol. 6 (1966); J. Baranowski, *Bartłomiej Nataniel Wąsowski. Teoretyk i architekt XVII wieku*, Wrocław 1975; Z. Pietrzyk, *Relacje z podróży jezuita Bartłomieja Wąsowskiego*, [in:] *Staropolskie podróżowanie*, ed. B. Rok, F. Wolański, Kraków 2016; Bartłomiej Nataniel Wąsowski (1617–1687), a Jesuit architect, theologian, rector of colleges in Poznań and Bydgoszcz, author of the architectural treatise *Callitectorum seu de pulchro architecturae sacrae et civilis* (Posnaniae 1678; quoted hereafter as **Wąsowski**).

<sup>12</sup> *Pamiętnik podróży odbytej w 1661–1663 po Austrii, Włoszech i Francji*, ed. Z. C[elichowski], Toruń 1874. Brothers Wojciech and Andrzej Radoliński, from the rich nobility of Wielkopolska, were the sons of Andrzej Radoliński Senior, Leszczyc coat of arms sealant, castellan of Krzywiń. They set off on a journey to "others' countries" under the supervision of Jan Nyczkowicz. Researchers point to Wojciech as the author of the diary. The author is further quoted as **Radoliński**.

<sup>13</sup> J. M. Kossowicz, *Diariusz podróży po Europie (1682–1688)*, ed. A. Markiewicz, Warszawa 2017. *Miecznik* of Chernihiv Jan Michał Kossowicz between 12 and 15 XII 1687 went on educational journey across Europe as a mentor of the older sons of Hetman Stanisław Jabłonowski – Jan Stanisław and Aleksander Jan.

<sup>14</sup> *Symphoriani Arkiełowicz Itinerarium Romanum (1723), Podróż Rzymska (1723)*, preface and preparation of source text B. Rok, transl. D. Piwowarczyk, Kraków – Wrocław 2016. The author is quoted hereafter as **Arakiełowicz**. Kazimierz Symforian Arakiełowicz (c. 1678–1742), monk, theologian, descended from an Armenian merchant family, living in Lviv and Zamość. He was ordained a priest in Lviv in 1703. In 1723, he went to Rome for the Chapter of the Order, as the Provincial Custos. He also carried out construction work in the field of sacred architecture in Rawa Ruska and Chelm. See A. J. Błachut, *Znaczenie i rola prefekta fabryki w kształtowaniu budownictwa zakonnego reformatów w Polsce*, [in:] *Architektura znaczeń*. Studia ofiarowane prof. Zbigniewowi Bani w 65. rocznicę urodzin i 40-lecie pracy dydaktycznej, ed. A. S. Czyż, J. Nowiński, M. Wiraszka, Warszawa 2011, p. 118.

<sup>15</sup> Stanisław Kleczewski, *Itinerarium Romanum (1750) / Podróż Rzymska (1750)*, ed. M. Chachaj, B. Rok, preface B. Rok, transl. M. Chachaj, D. Piwowarczyk, B. Rok, Kraków 2016. Stanisław Dominik Kleczewski (1714–1776), born in Cracow, belonged to a burgher family and was ordained a priest in 1738. At the end of his life, he became the Provincial in the Russian Province. He was an author of theological and historical writings as well as translator. He went to Rome three times: in 1750 – a Latin diary comes from this trip, in 1756 and 1774. He is quoted hereafter as **Kleczewski**.

<sup>16</sup> *Diarium itineris Remigii Zawadzki Romam pro capitulo generali peregrinantis (1750). Diariusz podróży Remigiusza Zawadzkiego pielgrzymującego do Rzymu na kapitułę generalną (1750)*, read from manuscript and prepared by M. Chachaj, transl. M. Chachaj, M. Czapińska, preface: A. Szeinke, B. Rok, Kraków 2014. Quoted hereafter as **Zawadzki**. Mikołaj Zawadzki (1703–1775) took the name Remigiusz when entering the Order of the Reformati, and in 1726 was ordained a priest.

and a priest Michał Witosławski<sup>17</sup>. Other works were also used, including the diary of another graduate of the Vilnius Academy, a nobleman Teodor Billewicz, who travelled to Italy and England between 1677 and 1678<sup>18</sup>, accounts of a priest, Andrzej Olszowski's mission to Vienna<sup>19</sup>, memories from the trip of the Voivode of Minsk, Krzysztof Stanisław Zawisza to Rome in connection with the celebration of the jubilee year 1700<sup>20</sup>, an account of Tomasz Stanisław Wolski, a nobleman from Uniejów, a pilgrim to Jerusalem, who went on a journey in 1725<sup>21</sup>, and the diary of Felicjan Junosza Piaskowski, the Podstoli of Podlasie, dated to 1690<sup>22</sup>. Each of the above-mentioned travellers spent different periods of time in Vienna, but the city was only a stage of their longer journey to the south. The first to arrive was Wąsowski together with his protégés on 28 X 1650 and stayed until mid-June 1651. Wojciech and Andrzej Radoliński, under the care of their preceptor Jan Nyczkowicz, spent nine months in this city, from 7 X 1661 to 28 VII 1662<sup>23</sup>. Andrzej Olszowski arrived in Vienna on 12 X 1669<sup>24</sup>. In 1700, Krzysztof Zawisza stopped in the town for three days, between 18 and 21 VII, on his pilgrimage to Rome and on his way back, between 9 and 27 IV 1701<sup>25</sup>. From 20 to 25 IV 1714, Felicjan Piaskowski stayed in the capital of the Habsburg monarchy<sup>26</sup>. Symphorian Arkielłowicz, going to the General Chapter in Rome, arrived in Vienna on 23 XII 1722 and left on 3 I 1723<sup>27</sup>. Michał Witosławski, going to Rome as the preceptor of Mikołaj Podoski's sons Gabriel and Franciszek, stayed in the city from 20 to 27 XI 1739<sup>28</sup>. Whereas Stanisław Kleczewski and Remigiusz Zawadzki spent only a few days in Vienna, on their way to the same Chapter in Rome, the former of the travellers – from 26 to 31 I 1750<sup>29</sup>, and the latter from 25 to 27 II 1750<sup>30</sup>.

The research method was to analyse the text of selected examples of travel literature from the second half of the 17th and first half of the 18th century. Travel descriptions were juxtaposed with the then state of knowledge of Polish travellers about Vienna. In the presentation of travellers' accounts, a typological-chronological system was adopted. Maria Poprzęcka wrote in her work *Inne obrazy. Oko, widzenie, sztuka. Od Albertiego do Duchmpa*: "Art historian, whose profession is to watch paintings, is at some point tempted to look not at those paintings anymore, but at the very act of watching"<sup>31</sup>. This work makes use of the study on the perception of a work of art proposed by Rudolf Arnheim. According to Arnheim, "Seeing means grasping some outstanding features of objects"<sup>32</sup>. This ability to identify objects on the basis of a small amount of information is possible thanks to previous experience and previously observed

<sup>17</sup> M. Witosławski, *Peregrynacja podróży rzymskiej (1738-1739)*, preface, ed. M. Chachaj, B. Rok, [in:] *Staropolskie... Michał Witosławski (1702-1769)* was a priest. He was ordained a priest in 1726, received a doctorate in both laws of the Roman University of Sapienza and became an Assistant Bishop of Przemyśl.

<sup>18</sup> T. Billewicz, *Diariusz podróży po Europie w latach 1677-1678*, reading of the manuscript, preface and commentary by M. Kunicki-Goldfinger, Warszawa 2004. Hereinafter referred to as *Billewicz*.

<sup>19</sup> *Relatio legacyjnej Jaśnie W. Jego Mości Xiędza Andrzeja Olszowskiego Podkanclerzego koronnego Pośta Wielkiego Extraordinarynego do Cesarza JKMści Chrześcijańskiego do Wiednia 1669*, [in:] S. Barącz, *Pamiętnik dziejów polskich*, Lwów 1855 (hereinafter referred to as *Barącz*), Andrzej Olszowski (1621-1677) was Bishop of Chełmno, Archbishop of Gniezno and Primate of Poland from 1674, Sub-Chancellor of the Crown, sent with numerous missions, including to Vienna.

<sup>20</sup> *Pamiętniki Krzysztofa Zawiszy, wojewody mińskiego (1666-1721)*, ed. from the original manuscript and annotated by J. Bartoszewicz, Warszawa 1862. Quoted hereafter as *Zawisza*.

<sup>21</sup> T. S. Wolski, *Illustris peregrination Ierosolimitana latius protracta per tres insigniores mundi partes nampe per Europam, Asiam et Africam in quibus multa regna peregravit barbarorum, indeliumque tam in terra firma, quam in mari existencia, innumerasque penetravit insulas*, Leopoli 1748, p. 8-13. See K. Milewski, *Pamiętniki historyczne krajowe*, Warszawa 1848, pp. 265-276.

<sup>22</sup> *Pamiętnik Felicjana Junosza Piaskowskiego podstolego podlaskiego, majora J. K. Mości począwszy od roku 1690*, Lwów 1865, pp. 24-25. Hereinafter referred to as *Piaskowski*.

<sup>23</sup> *Radoliński*, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-21.

<sup>24</sup> *Barącz*, *op. cit.*, pp. 127.

<sup>25</sup> *Zawisza*, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78, 98-99.

<sup>26</sup> *Podolski*, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>27</sup> *Arkielłowicz*, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

<sup>28</sup> *Witosławski*, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-58.

<sup>29</sup> *Kleczewski*, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-198.

<sup>30</sup> *Zawadzki*, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-90.

<sup>31</sup> M. Poprzęcka, *Inne obrazy. Oko, widzenie, sztuka. Od Albertiego do Duchmpa*, Gdańsk 2008, p. 7.

<sup>32</sup> R. Arnheim, *Art and Visual Perception: A Psychology of the Creative Eye*, London 1974, p. 43.

images. Although most of the travellers were dilettante about art, it is interesting to check the way they looked at it and try to answer what categories they used for its evaluation, to what extent their opinions were independent, what their sources were. This method of analytical evaluation of the described works is intended to allow to draw conclusions of a synthetic nature concerning the aesthetic preferences of the travellers, as proposed by Marek Kunicki-Goldfinger in his study on the way of looking at art in the travel literature<sup>33</sup>.

### Urban planning

Paradoxically, information about the location and extent of the city was mentioned in the account of Billewicz, who had not passed through Vienna. Billewicz mentioned Vienna only once in the context of the Roman gardens of Prince Savella, which “is *in communiter* [commonly] said to be *tantae longitudinis et latitudinis esse* [as long and wide] as Vienna”<sup>34</sup>. Such comparisons between the two areas were then frequently made in travel literature, and in Billewicz’s diary we find them repeatedly. Nevertheless, the traveller based this judgment solely on the information he heard, which he did not verify himself. Half a century later Witosławski noted that “this city stands in a fair situation, surrounded by several ramparts and walls, but only on one side by water. In itself, it is not more extensive than the city of Lviv...”<sup>35</sup> [fig. 1]. Kleczewski, referring to accurate German measurements, claimed that “its size [...] is smaller than that of Cracow itself”<sup>36</sup>. Tomasz Stanisław Wolski also noted his associations with Cracow, which came to his mind in connection with the Camaldolese monastic complex in Kahlenberg, Vienna<sup>37</sup>. Zawadzki emphasized the defensive character of the city, “which is the greatest fortress in Austria, not to say in Europe”<sup>38</sup>.

The greatest impression on travellers was made by the suburbs of the city, with their loose built-up areas of villa character. “These suburbs surround the city with a very beautifully built structure, as if the second city was just of these big houses and palaces”<sup>39</sup>. Similarly, Piaskowski noted that the city was: “from all sides surrounded by exquisite suburbs rich in palaces, but itself protected by deep moats and bastions”<sup>40</sup>. Stanisław Kleczewski, who saw the city thirty years later, was impressed by these suburbs, emphasizing that new standards of development were introduced in them: “It has suburbs, a new brick city beautifully built, with spacious and wide streets [...]. The new palaces and churches, also spread out for nearly half a mile, add great decoration so that in the event of a siege, if they were to be demolished to defend the city, it seems that the greatest loss would be the loss of these numerous ornaments”<sup>41</sup>. Zawadzki also stated that “the suburbs, similar to the cities, are very extensive”<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> See M. Kunicki-Goldfinger, *Czytanie Billewicza*, [in:] Billewicz, *op. cit.*

<sup>34</sup> Billewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 248, 375. It was the Palazzo Savelli San Montalto with its gardens.

<sup>35</sup> Witosławski, *op. cit.*, p. 56. The traveller also admired the panorama of the city when leaving (*ibidem*, p. 58).

<sup>36</sup> Kleczewski, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

<sup>37</sup> Wolski, *op. cit.*, p. 12. The peregrinator referred to the Camaldolese monastic complex in Kahlenberg, which previously belonged to the Canons Regular. The Camaldolese, whose arrival was initiated by Mikołaj Wolski, rebuilt it after the Victoria of Vienna in 1683. Similarly, the Camaldolese monastery near Cracow, founded by the Grand Court Marshal Mikołaj Wolski, was erected between 1609–1630. Another sacred building mentioned by the traveller near Vienna was the monastery church of Canons Regular in Klosterneuburg, the Habsburg necropolis, where the dynasty’s ancestor – Margrave Leopold – rested.

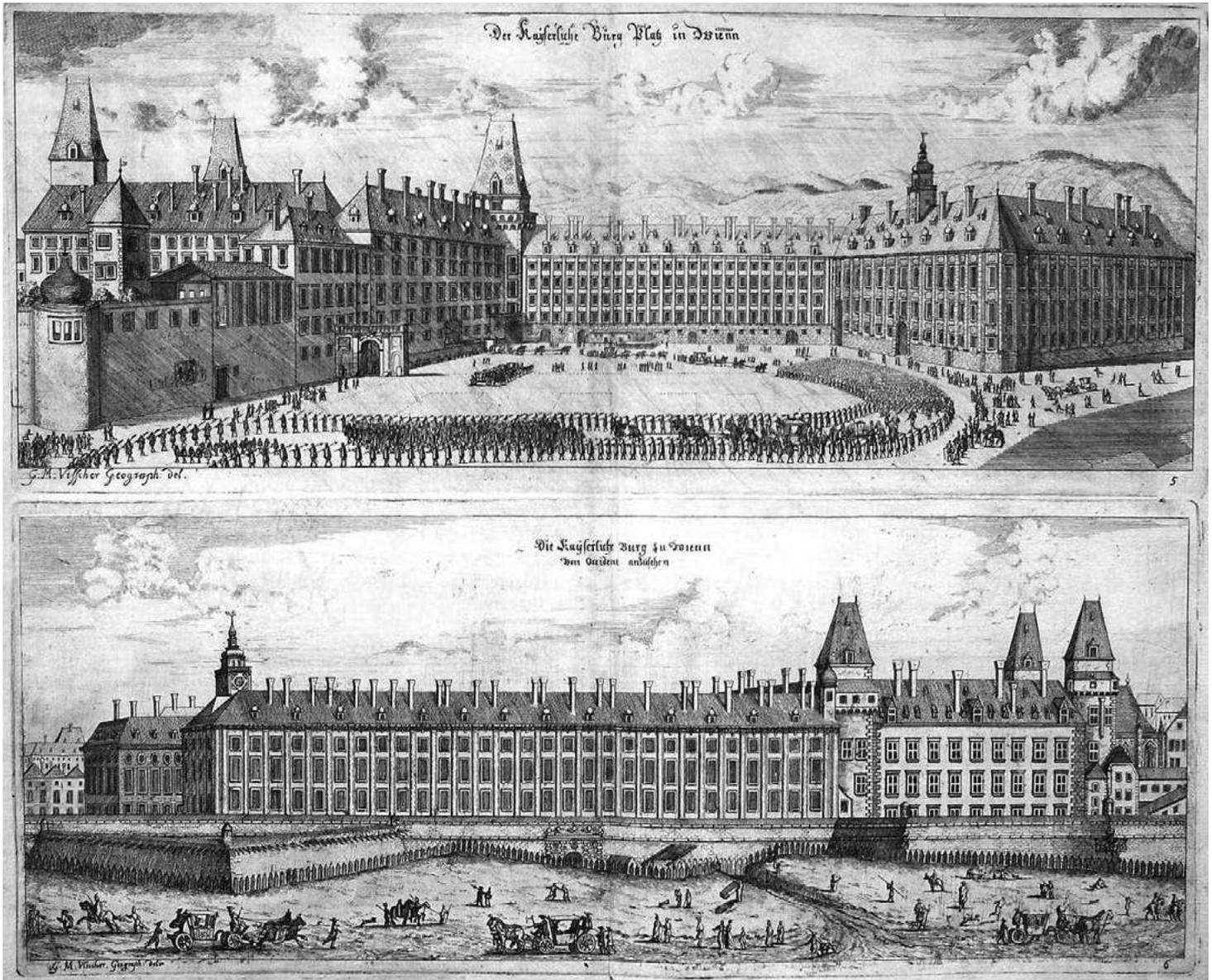
<sup>38</sup> Zawadzki, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>39</sup> Witosławski, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>40</sup> Piaskowski, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>41</sup> Kleczewski, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

<sup>42</sup> Zawadzki, *op. cit.*, p. 90. Despite the short time the monk could get to know them better, because they were accommodated in the suburbs near the Church of the Fourteen Holy Helpers.



2. G. M. Vischer, *Die Kayserliche Burg zu Wien*, copperplate, ca. 1670, 13 × 33,5. In: *idem*, *Topographia Archiducatus Austriae Inferioris Moderna*, Wien 1672

## Urban palace buildings

In contrast, in the centre of Vienna, Witosławski, Piaskowski and Kleczewski wrote about dense, multi-storey palace buildings<sup>43</sup>. The latter was critical of the fact that the buildings of the historical centre were cramped and the streets were irregularly run: “[The city] is full of people. However, the flats do not seem comfortable when the tenement houses are seven and some eight storeys high”<sup>44</sup>, and “the streets are very narrow so that even double carriages will not pass each other. Further, they are not conducive to airflow when they hardly lead in a straight line, but all are slanted”<sup>45</sup>. Piaskowski noted that such narrow streets made it difficult to see the buildings<sup>46</sup>. Witosławski described the main square as narrow, and Kleczewski referred to famous places: “It has a few public squares, but tight, and almost none of them are larger than the main square in Zamość”<sup>47</sup>. Zawadzki calculated that there were 18 of them in the city. The regularity of the buildings itself and its representative character were assessed positively: “The tenement houses and palaces [of Vienna] are numerous and wonderfully matched” – wrote Kleczewski, and Zawadzki described the latter as exquisite<sup>48</sup>.

Most of the travellers headed to the Imperial seat – the Hofburg, which, however, caused some disappointment, especially for those who saw it before the reconstruction, like the Radolinski brothers. In their account, they noted that although it was not representative enough for the Emperor’s seat, it was being expanded in new forms: “In Vienna, apart from the Court, there is nothing to see; the castle is not in accordance with the Imperial majesty, but *aedificia* [buildings] in new forms are *agentur* [built]; above the castle gate it is written A.E.I.O.V. [...]”<sup>49</sup>.

The Radolinski brothers visited the Hofburg during the works carried out by Filiberto Lucchese in the 1760s, related to the construction of the Leopoldine Wing<sup>50</sup> [fig. 2]. Nevertheless, the Imperial Residence was still a conglomerate of different elements, and the whole solution lacked regularity. However, it was not the architecture itself that made the greatest impression on the travellers, but the Imperial Treasury.

During the extension of the next wing of the Hofburg – the *Reichshofkanzlei* – Arakiełowicz saw the Vienna palace. The traveller also noted that “The palace of the Most Excellent is also spacious, but in old fashion”<sup>51</sup>. Kleczewski visited the Imperial seat 20 years later and, reserving that its entrance was not visible enough, he nevertheless saw its advantages: “It has a large space inside, sunny terraces beautifully decorated so that they are more impressive from the inside than from the outside, so that this building is similar to nuts, which have a tasty interior under a primitive dome”<sup>52</sup>. Those who had the opportunity to stay in the palace itself, like Father Andrzej Olszowski, were impressed by the representative and richly decorated rooms<sup>53</sup>. The attention of the traveller was drawn to the paintings, and the basic criterion for

<sup>43</sup> Witosławski, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>44</sup> Kleczewski, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>46</sup> Piaskowski, *op. cit.*, p. 25. The author wrote: “with the tightness of the streets, it loses quite a lot from the churches by concealing their decorations”. See D. Fassmann, L. Condé, *Gespräche in dem Reiche derer Todten, Erste Entrevue, zwischen Dem so genannten grossen Printzen von Condé, Der viele Unruhe in Frankreich angerichtet, ungemein tapser, zugleich aber sehr wunderlich, und nebeständigen Sinnes gewesen, und dem Marquis Charles von Creuvron [...]*, Leipzig 1720, p. 1209.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*; Zawadzki, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

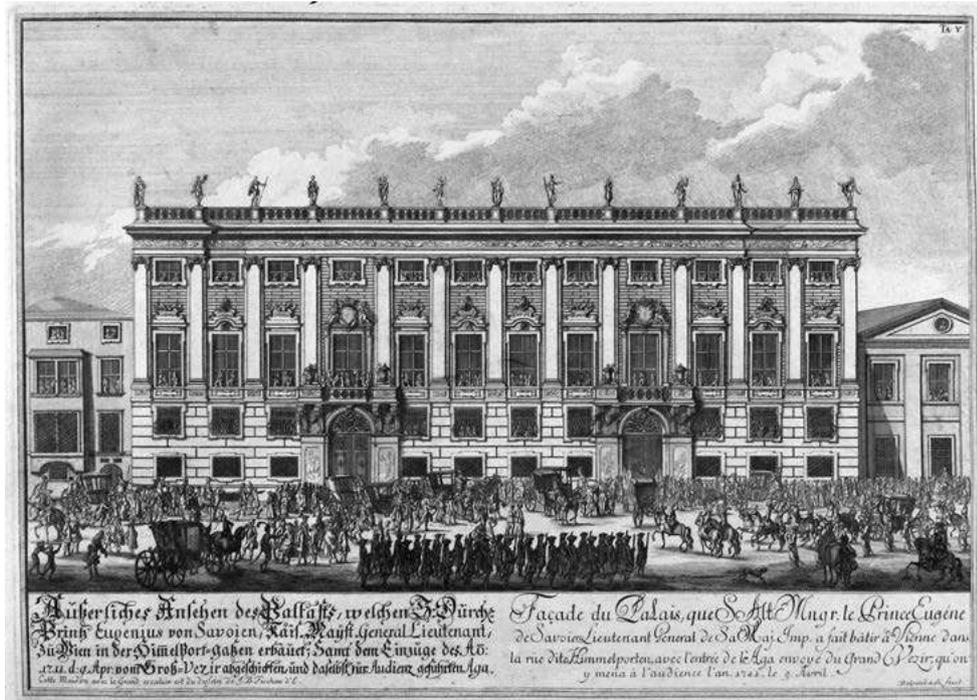
<sup>49</sup> Radoliński, *op. cit.*, p. 19. The Radolinskis could see Amalienburg and the Leopoldine Wing being erected. The letters are the Habsburgs’ motto, although there is no consensus among researchers on its meaning.

<sup>50</sup> The construction of the Leopoldine Wing, between Amalienburg and the Swiss Wing, was aimed at modernising the Hofburg, giving it a more regular and, above all, representative character. See *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich*, vol. 4: *Barock*, ed. H. Lorenz, München 1999, pp. 250–251.

<sup>51</sup> Arakiełowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

<sup>52</sup> Kleczewski, *op. cit.*, p. 190. The traveller also noted a square floor plan of the palace.

<sup>53</sup> As an official envoy, he had the opportunity to be a guest in them. See Barącz, *op. cit.*, pp. 131–132. The envoy described the rooms and antechamber of the Empress.



3. J. A. Delsenbach acc. to J. B. Fischer von Erlach, view of the Prince Eugene of Savoy's urban palace, engraving, 1715. For: J. B. Fischer von Erlach, *Entwurf einer Historischen Architektur*, Wien 1721, tab. V. Photo from: <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/fischer1725/0098/image> (access date: 19 VI 2020)

their high evaluation was *verismo* of the presented figure: “They found four great and magnificent rooms, decorated with a real counterfactual portrait of His Majesty, and everyone who knew him admitted that he was natural and could not be better captured”<sup>54</sup>.

The contrast between the architecture of the Hofburg itself and the fashionable new residences of the Imperial aristocracy was visible to travellers<sup>55</sup>. Arakielowicz considered the aristocratic palaces, including Prince Eugene of Savoy's urban (winter) ones, as more modern: “Also Prince Eugene's palace is, according to new fashion, beautiful both inside and outside, followed by other numerous palaces”<sup>56</sup> [fig. 3]. They probably did not have the opportunity to visit the latter, both because of the short period of their stay in the city itself and also probably because of the lack of recommendation letters.

### Sacred buildings

Most of the travellers were clergymen, hence their interest in the sacred buildings of Vienna, to which they devoted more space in their accounts. This was due to their frequent attendance at the Mass and celebration of the liturgy in churches<sup>57</sup>. Zawadzki reported that “there are fifty churches of exceptional shape and size [in Vienna], as well as conventions of various religious orders”<sup>58</sup> [fig. 4].

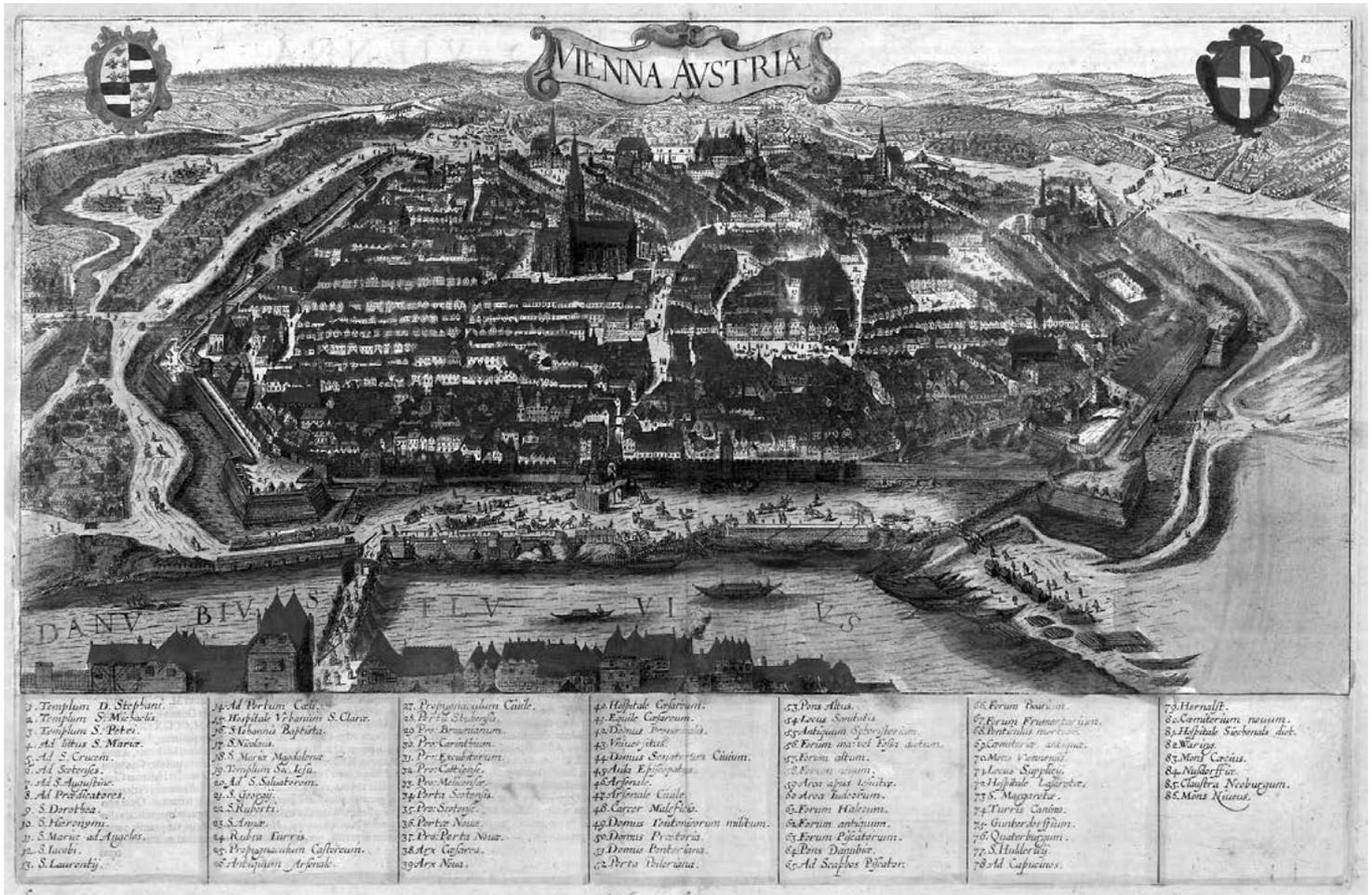
<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 130–131.

<sup>55</sup> This paradox was more widely described by H. Lorenz (*Vienna Gloriosa Habsburgica?*, „Kunsthistoriker” vol. 2 (1985), pp. 44–49. See *Geschichte*, vol. 4, pp. 19–20).

<sup>56</sup> Arakielowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

<sup>57</sup> Arakielowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 65; Zawadzki, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>58</sup> Zawadzki, *op. cit.*, p. 90.



4. F. Hogenberg, *View of Vienna*, copperplate, 34 × 49. For: G. Braun, F. Hogenberg, *Theatri præcipuarum Totius Mundi Urbium*, Cologne 1618, p. 21. Photo from: <https://polona.pl/item/theatri-præcipuarvm-totivs-mvndi-vrbivm-liber-sextvs,Nzg3MzgwNzI/28> (access date: 26 V 2020)

St. Stephen's Cathedral is most often mentioned in the analysed written travel records<sup>59</sup>. Radoliński liked the building because of its "old age": "St. Stephen's Church, the most beautiful *antiquitate* of square stone"<sup>60</sup>. Piaskowski, Wolski or Witosławski were of the same opinion<sup>61</sup>. The most extensive description of the cathedral was given by Kleczewski, who described the building as Gothic and acknowledged it as "the most beautiful and the oldest of all churches [...] because of its greatness and grandeur"<sup>62</sup>. He described its architectural structure, giving precise dimensions and spacings<sup>63</sup>. All travellers were attracted by architectural dominants in the form of towers. The criterion of "antiquity" was also emphasised by the traveller when he described the Gothic Augustinian church<sup>64</sup>.

Most interest was aroused by the Jesuit church, built between 1626–1631, not so much because of its architecture, but because of its rich and interesting decoration<sup>65</sup>. The architectural side of the Jesuit church was noticed by Wąsowski. In his sketchbook, the Jesuit architect has included a drawing of the Vienna Jesuit college with a church and a short commentary<sup>66</sup>. In this college, young Grudziński brothers were placed as included among the Imperial courtiers<sup>67</sup>. While the architecture of the Jesuit church did not arouse the admiration of other travellers, as the church was described as dark by Radoliński, Witosławski and Kleczewski, its interior decoration was an object of admiration<sup>68</sup>. Andrea Pozzo's ornamentation made the greatest impression on the travellers, especially the illusionist dome [fig. 5]. Arakielowicz wrote that "it is beautifully enough all painted and gilded so that not a single piece of wall seems to be empty. Among other pieces, there is one, the dome on the vault painted in such colours as if it were real, and in order to see it, it is necessary to stand on a white stone carefully placed on the floor, from where the dome takes its centre and shape"<sup>69</sup>. The traveller correctly read the dome, drawn according to the quadrature requirements, with its *punto stabile*. Similarly, Witosławski noticed "a dome painted in such a way in the middle, on the vault as if it was done the most, it seems so"<sup>70</sup>. Although no one mentioned Andrea Pozzo's treatise<sup>71</sup>, the principles of the illusionist creation of the dome on the barrel vault were well understood.

Witosławski was particularly impressed by the furnishings of the temples, which he expressed when visiting the Viennese church of Trinitarians: "We did not see anything peculiar there, only one large painted altar, which looked as if it had been place three elbows from the wall. It seemed so, and there was no way to recognize that it was painted, but it seemed to be put up. It made impression like you could grasp it with your hand"<sup>72</sup>. Kleczewski noted that the Jesuits had another church in Vienna dedicated to St. Anna, which he saw during its renovation after the fire and it did not make an impression on him<sup>73</sup>. Arakielowicz, on the other hand, had the opportunity to admire the Franciscan monastery church, at which he stayed during his visit in Vienna. He wrote about its interior baroquized in the 17th century:

<sup>59</sup> Wąsowski did not write about the Cathedral, but he included a lithograph with its view in his diary. See Z. Pietrzyk, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

<sup>60</sup> Radoliński, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–21.

<sup>61</sup> Witosławski, *op. cit.*, p. 57. The traveller used the term "St. Stephen's parish church", which he could have heard somewhere.

<sup>62</sup> The traveller wrote: "*architectura e[st] more Gotico*" (Kleczewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 191–192). See A. Kucharski, *Theatrum...*, p. 206.

<sup>63</sup> Kleczewski, pp. 191–192. A. Kucharski (*Theatrum...*, pp. 204–205) wrote of measurement methods of Polish travellers of that period.

<sup>64</sup> Kleczewski, *op. cit.*, p. 192. The Augustinerkirche in Vienna is located on Josefsplatz opposite the Hofburg. The Gothic interior has been baroquized and the church was raised to court status in 1634. At the end of the 18th century the altars were removed and the interior was re-gothicised. See *Vienna Art and Architecture*, ed. R. Toman, Wien 2008, pp. 158–159.

<sup>65</sup> The Jesuit church was erected in the years 1623–1627 and the interior decoration was created by Pozzo in 1703–1705. See *Geschichte*, vol. 4, pp. 26, 352.

<sup>66</sup> Wąsowski, *op. cit.*, p. 489; J. Baranowski, *op. cit.*, p. 48, fig. 66.

<sup>67</sup> Z. Pietrzyk, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

<sup>68</sup> Radoliński, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Witosławski, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Kleczewski, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

<sup>69</sup> Arakielowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>70</sup> Witosławski, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>71</sup> A. Pozzo, *Perspectiva pictorum atque architectorum*, Augsburg 1709, fig. 93.

<sup>72</sup> Witosławski, *op. cit.*, p. 57. This was the Trinity Church called "Zu den Weißspaniern", now the Alserkirche. The traveller had already seen the church consecrated in 1698 and the monastery completed in 1727.

<sup>73</sup> The Gothic church of Poor Clares was given to the Jesuits and baroquized between 1629 and 1634. In 1747 it was burned down. Rebuilt and decorated by Christoph Tausch, a student of Pozzo. Unhappily damaged in 1747. Renovated by Daniel Gran in 1751. See *Vienna...*, p. 36.



— 5. A. Pozzo, illusionist dome, Jesuit (university) church in Vienna, ca. 1703. Photo from: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jesuitenkirche\\_Vienna1.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jesuitenkirche_Vienna1.jpg) (access date: 26 V 2020)

“a church that is beyond its size, its altars beautiful”<sup>74</sup>. Perhaps it also referred to the main altar made in 1707 by Andrea Pozzo. Witosławski had the opportunity to visit the Mariahilfer Kirche, where he mentioned as noteworthy only a piece of furnishings famous for its graces “there is nothing peculiar there, only the miraculous image of the Blessed Virgin, which is [in] a great altar behind glass”<sup>75</sup>.

The travellers represented different levels of sensitivity to art. While Witosławski, about the churches located in the historical centre, claimed that they “do not have any peculiarity”<sup>76</sup>, Kleczewski considered St. Peter’s Church to be the most beautiful, noting its unique elliptical plan: “small, but according to the architectural rules in the most appropriate oval form”<sup>77</sup> [fig. 6]. This observation proves that Kleczewski was interested in new architectural forms and also showed knowledge of the architectural rules, the application of which he considered as a criterion for evaluating a work. St. Peter’s Church was the first dome building on an elliptical plan in the city, erected according to a project by the itinerant architect Gabriele Montani from 1701<sup>78</sup>. It was only preceded by the dome church of the Servites erected by the Lombard architect Carlo Martino Carlone between 1651 and 1670, in which the ellipse was applied<sup>79</sup>.

The second building mentioned and described in the analysed examples of travel literature was the Karlskirche in Vienna, erected from 1716 according to the project of Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach by his son Joseph, whose various elements attracted the attention of the travellers<sup>80</sup>. Witosławski was not interested in the construction, but in the material aspect of the building: “with a very beautiful amount, because *ab extra*, where there is no painting, everything is covered in marble with a very beautiful shimmering. The great altar with various figures is all of jasper. *Ab extra* there are two towers all of ashlar in the form of two pillars [...] on them stucco-work all around. And on the top of them, copper eagles gilded as fire”<sup>81</sup>. Kleczewski, who evaluated the church more critically, drew attention to an unusual solution of the building’s portico: “The portico is decorated with two columns, each with gilded imperial crowns. Inside [the columns] there are holes for climbing up to the highest, on their surface the life of St. Archbishop is carved out”<sup>82</sup>. This last remark referred to the preferred by all travellers to admire the city panorama from the highest viewpoints available. The Polish travellers also noticed intermingling of forms of palace architecture into monastic architecture, pointing, among other buildings, to the Salesian Sisters’ church and its accompanying monastery located in the suburb<sup>83</sup>.

### Votive columns

Another element that the Polish travellers noticed and reported both in Vienna and practically in the whole Habsburg monarchy were votive columns<sup>84</sup>. The column of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, erected by Ferdinand III, was mentioned by Wąsowski, however, not in his diary,

<sup>74</sup> Arakielowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>75</sup> Witosławski, *op. cit.*, p. 58. It’s a copy of Lucas Cranach’s painting. See: *Dehio-Handbuch. Die Kunstdenkmäler Österreichs, Wien*, ed. J. Schmidt, H. Tietze, new ed. A. Macku, E. Neumann, Wien 1993, p. 45.

<sup>76</sup> Witosławski, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>77</sup> Kleczewski, *op. cit.*, p. 191. Piaskowski expressed it in a similar way when he wrote: “the first is the Cathedral of St. Stephen with its antiquity, while the St. Peter and St. Paul’ Church distinguish itself over the others by its excellent structure”. It is not entirely clear whether Krzysztof Zawisza also wrote about the Church of St. Peter and Paul on Erdberg, erected in the years 1700–1723. See Piaskowski, *op. cit.*, p. 24; *Dehio-Handbuch...*, p. 52.

<sup>78</sup> After just a few years, Johann Lucas von Hildebrandt took over the construction work. See *Geschichte...*, vol. 4, pp. 258–259.

<sup>79</sup> See *Ibidem*, p. 240.

<sup>80</sup> See *Ibidem*.

<sup>81</sup> Witosławski, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>82</sup> Kleczewski, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

<sup>83</sup> Witosławski, *op. cit.*, p. 57. The traveller wrote that it was founded by Wilhelmine Amalia, the widow of Emperor Joseph I, who “*ad presencem* [currently] lives in her palace of the nuns’ convent”. The cornerstone of the monastery was laid on 13 V 1717. See *Vienna...*, p. 81.

<sup>84</sup> An example of this is the account of Kleczewski himself, who in every town, especially in the Habsburg monarchy, records votive columns on his route.



6. S. Kleiner, view of St. Peter's Church in Vienna, 1724, print. For: W. Kisch, *Wien. Die alten Strassen und Plätze Wiens*, Wien 1883, p. 148, fig. 52. Photo from: <https://www.digital.wienbibliothek.at/wbrobv/content/pageview/357267> (access date: 22 V 2020)

but in his architectural treatise *Callitectonicorum*, which was the outcome of the journey, in the chapter devoted to the various uses of columns<sup>85</sup>. Undoubtedly, in this case the contact with the work *in situ* had a great advantage.

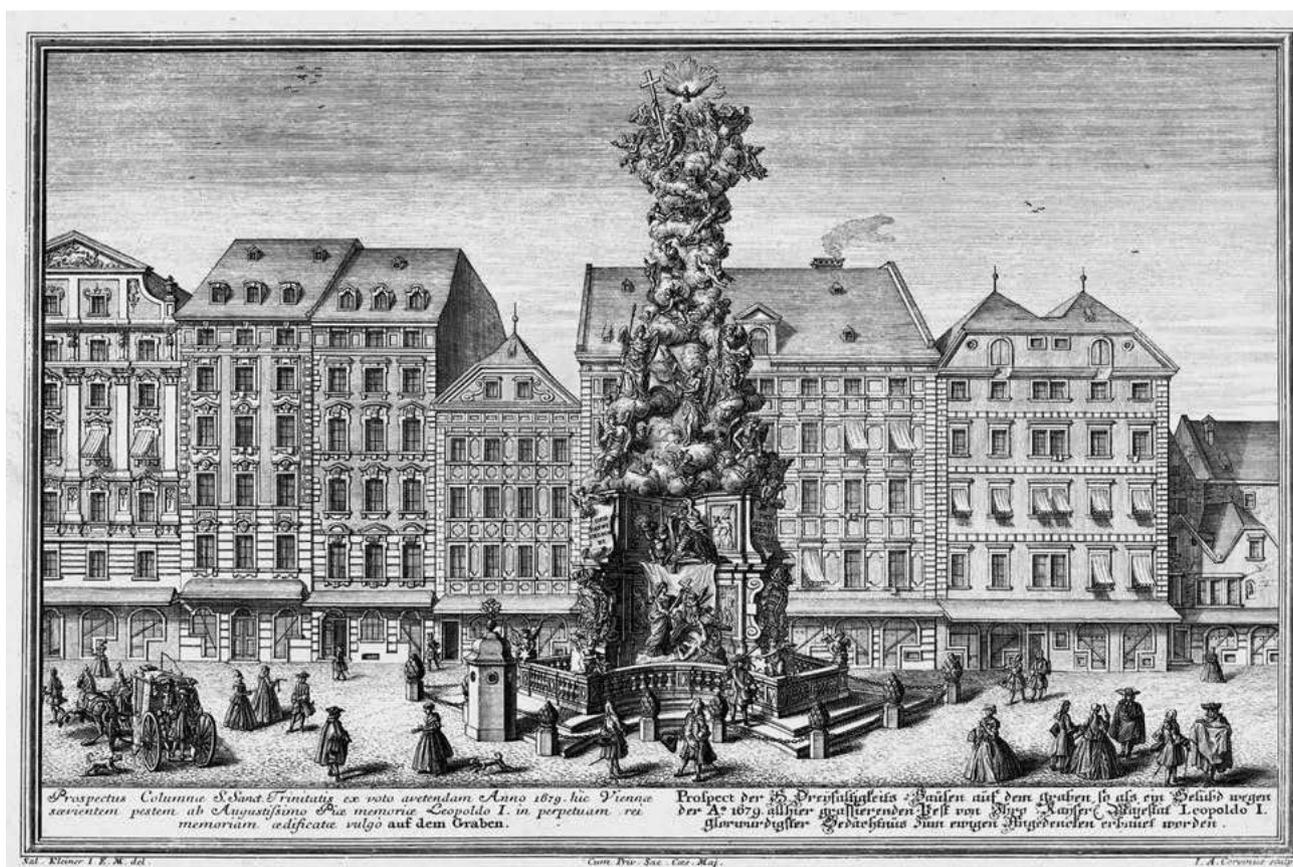
Krzysztof Zawisza drew attention to the Holy Trinity Column, stressing that he liked it most and quoting the text of the inscription<sup>86</sup>. Stanisław Kleczewski described Pestsäule am Graben [fig. 6] in more detail:

[the town] has numerous columns in beautiful places with monuments. The statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary before the Fathers of the Society of Jesus is more beautiful [...]. It is also consecrated to the Most Holy Trinity, surrounded by psalms, angels and geniuses on all sides, which remove the plague, largely covered with gold, erected by Emperor Leopold in gratitude for stopping the plague<sup>87</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> Wąsowski, *Callitectonicorum...*, p. 51; image of the column – *ibidem*, tab. V, fig. I. See J. Baranowski, Nataniel Wąsowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 228–229.

<sup>86</sup> Zawisza, *op. cit.*, pp. 77–78.

<sup>87</sup> Kleczewski, *op. cit.*, p. 191. The Marian Column am Hof was founded by Emperor Ferdinand III in 1646 by Johann Jacob Pock. In 1667 it was moved to Wernstein am Inn. Its bronze copy was made by Balthasar Herold and Carlo Martino Carlone. The Holy Trinity Column was created in cooperation of Matthias Rauchmiller, Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, Paul Strudel and Lodovico Burnacini in 1679–1694 by commission of Emperor Leopold I. See *Geschichte...*, vol. 4, pp. 241, 495–496. See D. Fassmann, L. Condé, *op. cit.*, p. 1211.



7. S. Kleiner, *Prospect der H. Dreyfaltigkeits-Säulen auf dem Graben*, print, 11 × 17,5. For: J. A. Pfeffel Elder, *Wahrhafte und genaue Abbildung aller Kirchen und Klöster*, vol. 3, Augsburg 1724–1737, no. 5. Photo from: [https://www.ub.tuwien.ac.at/publikationen/2010/Projekt\\_Buecher/10.%20Kleiner,%20Wahrhafte%20und%20genaue%20Abbildung/Kleiner%20III,%20-%2040014353.html](https://www.ub.tuwien.ac.at/publikationen/2010/Projekt_Buecher/10.%20Kleiner,%20Wahrhafte%20und%20genaue%20Abbildung/Kleiner%20III,%20-%2040014353.html) (access date: 26 V 2020)

The source of information for Kleczewski about these works could have been old Polish sources, as evidenced by the descriptions of Viennese columns placed in *Nowe Ateny* published by Benedict Chmielowski in 1745. In the chapter *Kościoty i pałace przedziwne i inne dzieła* (Churches and peculiar palaces and other works) he mentioned Viennese columns:

Columns in Vienna, one of the Holy Trinity, 56-feet high. Erected by Leopold I. The Emperor. The Second of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, a beautiful invention erected by Ferdinand III, both of them in marble and worthy to be compared with the Colossus of Rhodes because dedicated to *Due Soli Iustitia & Electae et Sol*<sup>88</sup>.

Nevertheless, Kleczewski did not refer to this source, nor did he use comparisons with the wonders of the ancient world, also in a symbolic sense. Instead, he drew attention to the numerous urban fountains, emphasizing that “this one seems to be the most beautiful, which, next to the Church of the Capuchin Fathers in the square is placed and decorated with monuments adorned with mixed metal, half containing lead and half tin”<sup>89</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> *Nowe Ateny, albo Akademia wszelkiej scjencji pełna, [...] przez xiędza Benedykta Chmielowskiego [...]*, part 1, Lwów 1745, pp. 574–575.

<sup>89</sup> Kleczewski, *op. cit.*, p. 190. It was a fountain of Providence am Mehlmarkt, a work by Georg Raphael Donner, signature dated 1739. See *Geschichte...*, vol. 4, pp. 508–519.



8. J. A. Corvinus acc. to S. Kleiner, *Prospect S.r Hochfürstl. Durchl. Prinzens Eugeny von Savoyen*, the view of the layout of the Belvedere by Prince Eugene of Savoy, ca. 1731, print, 43,5 × 39,5. Photo from: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vogelschau\\_Schloss\\_Belvedere.jpeg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vogelschau_Schloss_Belvedere.jpeg) (access date : 19 VI 2020)

In Vienna, the travellers were looking for *Polonicas*, particularly for monuments commemorating the Poles who were meritorious to the Monarchy. Kleczewski was disappointed: “I could not find any monument commemorating the liberation of Vienna by Jan III Sobieski, king of Poland, except for one epitaph” by Stanisław Potocki in the monastery church of the Reformanti<sup>90</sup>.

### Suburban palaces

The aristocratic residences in the suburbs of Vienna, as well as the city palaces, have become in the eyes of the travellers synonymous with modernity, and they were described by them as “wonderful” and “beautiful”<sup>91</sup>. Wąsowski, looking for innovative architectural solutions, together with the Grodziński brothers, visited the Habsburg suburban residence called Neubau, and in the diary he pasted graphics with the view of it and the accompanying garden<sup>92</sup>. He also noted down in his travelling sketchbook a drawing of a garden pavilion, on a Greek-cross plan, which was located “in the imperial Animal Park on the Danube Island or in the Prater”<sup>93</sup>. In turn, Kleczewski mentioned the “palace with a beautiful shape” when describing the architectural design of the Belvedere of Prince Eugene of Savoy [fig. 7], as well as the Favorita and the newly erected Schöbrunn Palace<sup>94</sup>.

The residences were also mentioned because of performances in the palace theatres, and the travellers paid attention primarily to elements of theatrical scenery. From Radoliński’s account we learn that they watched comedies, among others in the imperial Favorita: “The greatest in this were the decoration and cost, as the theatre for each scene changed in the blink of an eye, painted with different colours and ornaments”<sup>95</sup>. During this visit Radoliński focused his attention not so much on the palace as on the surrounding gardens: “we haven’t seen a more beautiful garden here than the one at the Favorita”<sup>96</sup>.

### Conclusion

The travellers had the opportunity to see the city despite even having a short tour. Their descriptions in generalities did not differ from similar accounts of other European travellers, although they were certainly more concise and sometimes revealed a certain linguistic awkwardness<sup>97</sup>. Most authors first specified the location and size of the city and mentioned the existence of city fortifications<sup>98</sup>. Almost all of them noted the formation of the suburbs and their unique character with representative “modern” buildings. The travellers spotted the changes visible in the urban fabric, urban interiors – squares with sculptural architectural dominants in the form of columns and fountains. They used comparisons to the solutions they knew from their home country, as they usually did not have much travel experience yet. The exception was the information the travellers heard, and which they did not verify. Therefore, sometimes in their descriptions they gave wrong information<sup>99</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> Kleczewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 195–196. It was an epitaph by Stanisław Potocki (1659–1683), starost of Kalisz and Kołomyja. Exceptionally, the traveller quoted an extensive text of this inscription.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 190.

<sup>92</sup> See Z. Pietrzyk, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

<sup>93</sup> Wąsowski, *op. cit.*, p. 491; Baranowski, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>94</sup> Kleczewski, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

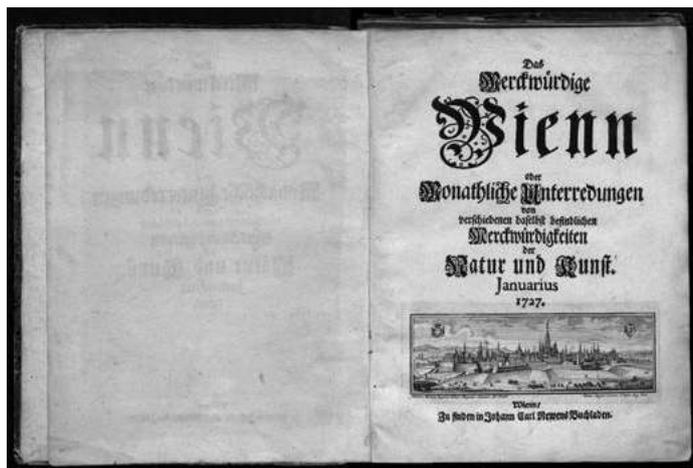
<sup>95</sup> Radoliński, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–17.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 21. The subject literature refers to two Imperial summer residences – the “new” Favorita in Augarten and the “old” Favorita (Vienna)

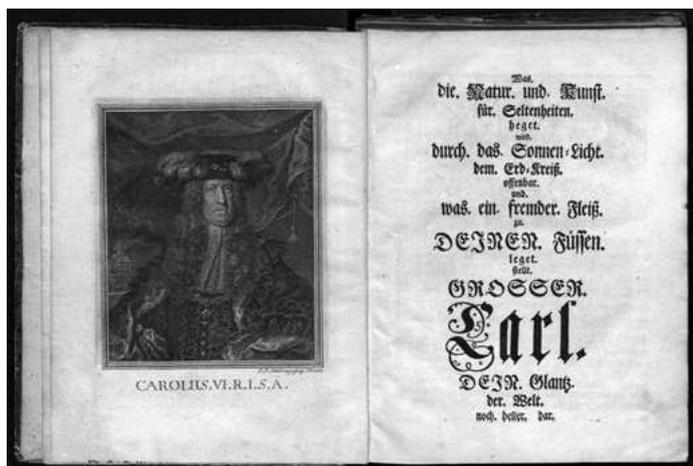
<sup>97</sup> It is a matter of compared generalities, because of course the descriptions of Western European travellers were often more extensive. Cf. E. Browne, *An Account of Several Travels through a Great Part of Germany*, London 1677, pp. 71–116, *The Memoirs of Charles Lewis Baron de Pollnitz*, London 1732, vol. 1, pp. 224–256, letters from Vienna dated 30 XI and 10 XII 1729.

<sup>98</sup> Such characteristics were recommended in travel instructions and known from descriptions (e.g. by *Delicje ziemi włoskiej*, prepared by W. Kordyżon, A. Wieczorek, Warszawa–Kraków 2017).

<sup>99</sup> Witosławski (p. 57) indicated Emperor Charles III as the founder of St. Charles Borromeo’s Church. The traveller was mistaken about the founder, because it was Charles VI of the Habsburg (1685–1740) – Emperor, King of Hungary (as Charles III) and Bohemia (as Charles II) and Archduke of Austria since 1711. For example, Kossovich used local guides, although this information does not concern Vienna but Milan. See A. Markiewicz, *Sztuka sakralna w dzienniku podróży po Europie Jana Michała Kossowicza (1682–1688)*, [in:] *Sacrum w mieście* ed. D. Quirini–Popławska, Ł. Burkiewicz, Kraków 2016, vol. 2: *Epoka nowożytna i czasy współczesne. Wymiar religijny, kulturalny, społeczny*, p. 52.



9. J. A. Corvinus, acc. to S. Kleiner, panorama of Vienna, 1726, print. For: *Das Merkwürdige Wien*, Januaris 1727, fig. 1, University Library in Wrocław, Old Prints Department, sign. 416458



10. J. J. Sedelmayr, portrait of Emperor Charles VI, 1726, print. In: *Das Merkwürdige Wien*, Januaris 1727, University Library in Wrocław, Old Prints Department, sign. 416458

Both old and contemporary works were noticed by them. The conventional term used in the descriptions was “antiquity”, understood as a historical category. The old work was important because it had historical value. Merely one stylistic term, i. e. Gothic, was used to refer to St. Stephen’s Cathedral. However, both in the case of secular and sacred architecture, the travellers liked mostly the newly erected buildings and the new interior designs of the sacred and secular interiors. This is particularly evident in the descriptions of the Hofburg and aristocratic residences. These were the latter which, according to the travellers, represented a formal innovation.

The Viennese buildings could have also been known to the travellers from graphic representations, especially numerous in the second half of the 18th century. One of the first works showing the then aristocratic palaces and city squares was *Prospecte und Abrisse, einiger Gebäude von Wien* with prints by Johann Adam Delsenbach from 1719<sup>100</sup>. In 1721 the work of Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach *Entwurff einer historischen Architektur* was created<sup>101</sup>, and between 1724 and 1733 the graphics of Johann Andreas Pffefel and Solomon Kleiner were published in the album *Vera et accurata delineatio*<sup>102</sup>. The travellers could also make use of cartographic studies, containing not only a history of the city’s creation, but also a view of the city’ panorama with the most important buildings<sup>103</sup>.

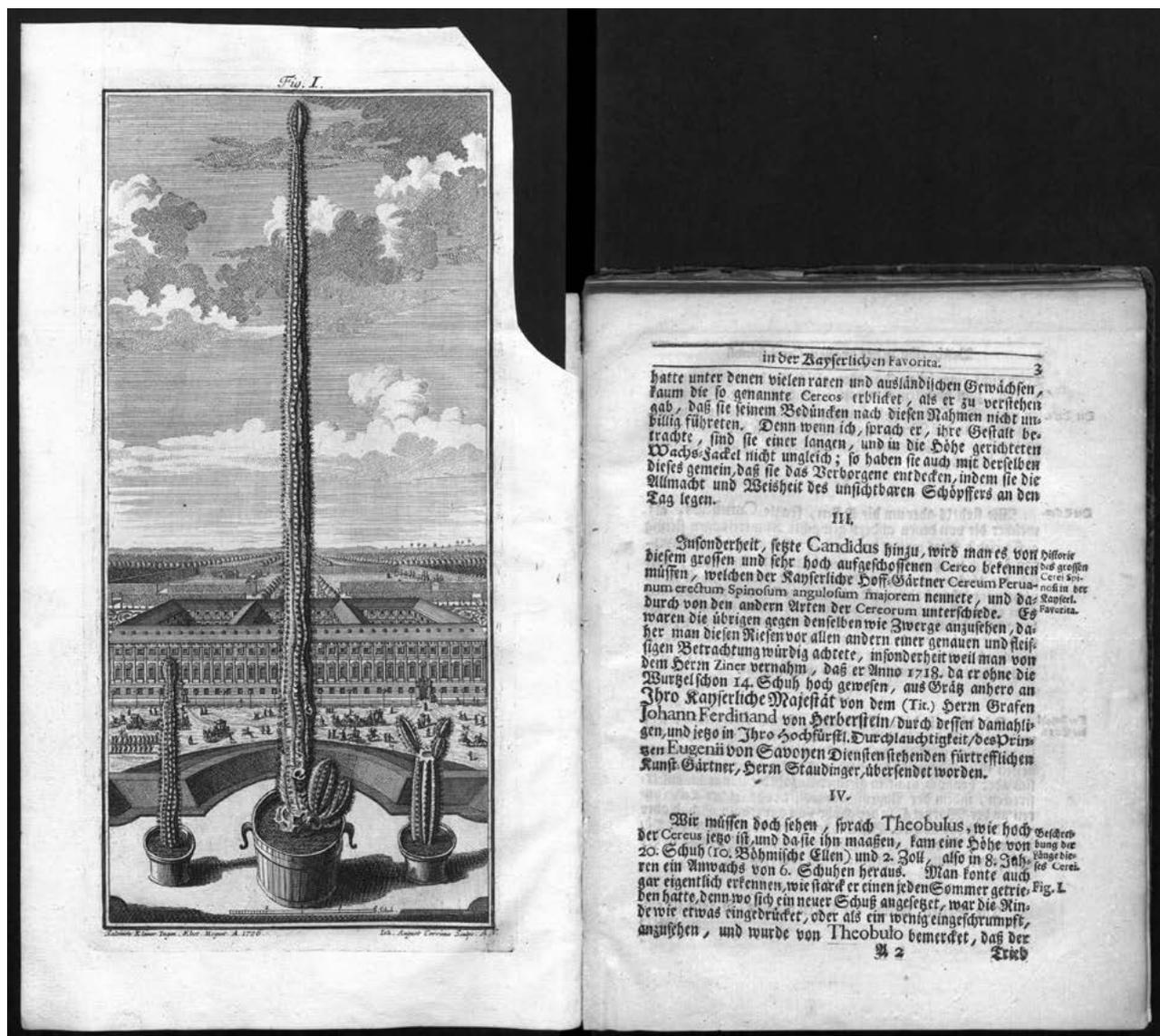
On the basis of the analysed written accounts of the travellers, it can be concluded that the level of their artistic sensitivity differed. This was in line with the general tendency that in the 17th century descriptions of works of art in travel literature were still rather laconic, and only in the first half of the

<sup>100</sup> *Anfang einiger Vorstellungen der Vornehmsten Gebäude so wohl innerhalb der Stadt als in denen Vorstädten von Wien... Johann Adam Delsenbach sculpsit*, Wien 1719. On the prints are the facades of Viennese palaces, including winter palace of Prince Eugene of Savoy, of Count Johann Wenceslaus von Gallas, of Strattman and Caprara, of Harrach, of Daun and the Lambergers on Schottenplatz, of Batthyány-Schönborn, of Böhmisches Hofkanzlei, of Questenberg and Corbelli-Schoeller and the Schönbrunn. Cf. *Das barocke Wien. Die Kupferstiche von Joseph Emanuel Fischer von Erlach und Johann Adam Delsenbach* (1719), ed. H. Lorenz, H. Weigl, Wien 2007.

<sup>101</sup> J. B. Fischer von Erlach, *Entwurff einer Historischen Architektur*, Wien 1721.

<sup>102</sup> S. Kleiner, *Vera et accurata delineatio omnium templorum et coenobiorum [...]*, Wien 1724.

<sup>103</sup> Among available written and iconographic sources are: information in *Theatri praecipuarum Totius Mundi* by G. Braun from 1618 r., panorama of Vienna (*Vienna Avstriae*) acc. to Jacob Hoefnagel with the 42 buildings mentioned in the map legend, included in the atlas *Topographia Provinciarum Austriacarum*, published by Matthäus Merian, after 1649 in Frankfurt am Main. See also F. B. Werner *Topographia Seu Compendium Silesiae*, pars 2, ca. 1750, pp. 34–35 (University Library in Wrocław, Department of Manuscripts, vol. IV F 113 b. 2), with a view of the Reichkanzleitrakt Vienna Hofburg.



11. J. A. Corvinus, acc. to S. Kleiner, *Candidus in der Kayserlichen Favorita*, 1726, print. For: *Das Meckwürdige Wien*, Januaris 1727, fig. 1, University Library in Wrocław, Old Prints Department, sign. 416458

18th century did they become more extensive and analytical<sup>104</sup>. This was certainly connected with the fact that it was only after the victorious Battle of Vienna in 1683 that the dynamic expansion of the city could be noted, including the construction of many new buildings and modernization of the older ones. Among the analysed accounts the descriptions of Wąsowski and Kleczkowski can be distinguished. While in the former case the interest in novelty and familiarity with art is understandable, the Reformanti monk represents a particular aesthetic sensitivity, using professional terminology in the field of architecture, specifying the plans of the buildings, and noticing the new forms of artworks and showing an interest in antiquity<sup>105</sup>. This can be seen in his description of the Imperial Library in the Hofburg complex, where he already sees classicist inclinations: “The portico is decorated with ancient fragments, especially from the buildings of the Romans, which they undoubtedly either set up for the gods or for themselves”<sup>106</sup>.

On the basis of the accounts examined, it can be concluded that Polish travellers of that period were primarily interested in works of art, not their creators. Apart from the sole term “Apellesian”, no artist’s name was found<sup>107</sup>. Although the paintings collected in the Imperial Treasury made an impression on the Radoliński brothers, they were still unable to determine their value in any other way than by linking them to an ancient painter, whose works were associated with mastery. Already Zygmunt Celichowski in the elaboration of the diary indicated that the author’s intention was not to identify the artist, but rather to draw attention to the high artistry of the work<sup>108</sup>. However, the works of art were willingly attributed to the Habsburg rulers. A century later, Witosławski quoted an equally detailed description of the Imperial Treasury in the church of the Capuchin Fathers, detailing costly materials and paying attention to that: “there are so many peculiarities [...] beautiful. Made with the gentle craftsmanship by hands of many emperors”<sup>109</sup>. When visiting this place, Kleczewski saw the paintings of “ordinary format by the hand of Emperor Matthias and the image of the Virgin Mary by the hand of his wife”<sup>110</sup>.

In portrait painting, *verismo* was the most important aesthetic criterion. The greatest impression on the travellers was made by Pozzo’s illusionist (*trompe-l’œil*) painting in the Jesuit church. The Polish travellers did not know the artist’s theoretical treatises or at least did not refer to them, unlike Western European travellers. However, they read with interest and correctly the technique of optical illusion,

All the travellers used the criterion of “material” evaluation of works of art<sup>111</sup>. They meticulously listed not only from which materials the buildings were erected, but also from which individual sculptures and entire altar prospectuses were made. Interiors were often assessed through the prism of the expensive and valuable material used in them, especially marble, jasper, gold and silver. Descriptions of many works of art revealed an excellent knowledge of the most exotic materials<sup>112</sup>. Such extensive descriptions of *curiositäten* were not rare, but rather typical, as evidenced by the fact that we find them both in the accounts of the Radolinski brothers from the 1730s and of Father Witosławski from the mid-18th century. They were popularised, among others, by magazines published in Vienna, which presented curiosities from the world of nature and art.

<sup>104</sup> See L. Schudt, *Italienreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Wien 1959, pp. 40–129.

<sup>105</sup> See B. Rok, preface, [in:] Kleczewski, pp. XV, XVI. B. Rok emphasizes that all descriptions of larger cities, including Vienna, testify to the extraordinary perceptiveness of the traveller.

<sup>106</sup> Kleczewski, *op. cit.*, p. 191. These tendencies were also revealed in the late period of the architect Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach’s work, who started the construction of the edifice in 1722. See *Geschichte...*, vol. 4, p. 265.

<sup>107</sup> Radoliński, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–20. Radoliński visited the Imperial Treasury at the Hofburg, mentioned above, meticulously listing valuable items: “In the third chamber, the imperial majesty; the pictorials here are very beautiful, as well as in other chambers; there are a few Apellesian pieces”.

<sup>108</sup> Radoliński, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>109</sup> Witosławski, *op. cit.*, pp. 56–57.

<sup>110</sup> Kleczewski, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

<sup>111</sup> See M. Wyrzykowska, *XVI–, XVII– i XVIII–wieczne pamiętniki i diariusze polskiej szlachty jako świadectwo mentalności i stanu świadomości artystycznej*, Cz. 2: *O materiałach*, “Quart” 2007, no. 2.

<sup>112</sup> The descriptions of Habsburg treasuries are also evidence of interest in the materials.

Such was *Das Meckwürdige Wienn oder Monatliche Unterredungen von verschiedenen dasselbst befindlichen Meckwürdigkeiten der Natur und Kunst* discussing mainly natural peculiarities, but also singularities in the field of art<sup>113</sup> [fig. 8]. For example, a lot of attention was paid to an exotic plant called *Candidus*, in the background of which Salomon Kleiner presented the imperial Favorita in Vienna [fig. 9, 10].

It seems that although the Polish travellers did not have an incentive to describe works of art, they did so out of their own need. Wojciech Tygielski quoted a general instruction for young noblemen from the 1760s, by Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro, who recommended that the longest period of the journey should be spent in Vienna “because this is the city of the Imperial residence, where supposedly the idea of any Christian court or monarch may be viewed *in compendio*”<sup>114</sup>. He recommended to visit the Imperial Palace as often as possible, to take part in the celebrations and to observe everything carefully. However, there were no suggestions for visiting works of art during the journey. This attitude did not change over time, as evidenced by the instructions from the second half of the 18th century for Felix Czacki, who was going to Vienna to study, in which there is no instructions concerning the perception of buildings, sculptures or paintings<sup>115</sup>. Going beyond the scope of instructions, most often the preceptors of young noblemen described the world of art, which seemed to them many times fascinating, also for non-artistic reasons. To those who criticise travellers for their difficulties in formulating descriptions and judgments of an aesthetic nature, Witosławski’s words can be used: “*De cetero* who has illustrated better, let him describe better”<sup>116</sup>.

---

#### Słowa kluczowe

staropolskie podróże, barok, Wiedeń, percepcja dzieł sztuki

---

#### Keywords

Old Polish travels, baroque, Vienna, perception of artworks

---

#### References

##### Sources

##### Manuscript

*Europea Peregrinatio Quam Perilliarum Ac MMDD: Nicolai a Gruda Grudziński tunc Ustiensis, postea Golubiensis, Gryboviensis et Guzavensis Capitanei et Sigismundi a Gruda Grudziński tunc Bolemoviensis Capitanei Germanorum Fratrum Peregrinationis Come. P. Bartholomaeus Nathanael Wąsowski S. Jesu omnium opere hoc contectorum spectator Calamo manuque propia descripsit et reliquit Collegio Posnaniensis S. J. Anno a Peregrino in terries Verbo Dei 1650–1656*, Library of the National Museum in Cracow, Czartoryscy Collection, sign. XVII 3031.

##### Incunables

1. “Das Meckwürdige Wienn oder Monatliche Unterredungen von verschiedenen dasselbst befindlichen Meckwürdigkeiten der Natur und Kunst”, Januaris 1727, University Library in Wrocław, Old Printing Branch, sign. 416458.
2. *Nowe Ateny albo Akademia wszelkiej scyencyi pełna [...] przez xiędza Benedykta Chmielowskiego [...]*, Part 1, Lwów 1745.
3. **Wąsowski Nataniel Bartłomiej**, *Callitectorum seu de pulchro architecturae sacrae et civilis*, Posnaniae 1678.
4. **Wolski Thomas Stanislaus**, *Illustris peregrination Ierosolimitana latius protracta per tres insigniores mundi partes nampe per Europam, Asiam et Africam in quibus multa regna peregravit barborum, indeliumque tam in terra firma, quam in mari existencia, innumerasque penetravit insulas*, Leopoli 1748.

---

<sup>113</sup> “Das Meckwürdige Wien oder Monatliche Unterredungen von verschiedenen dasselbst befindlichen Meckwürdigkeiten der Natur und Kunst”, Januaris 1727, University Library in Wrocław, Old Prints Department, sign. 416458.

<sup>114</sup> **W. Tygielski**, *Na cóż te koszta i trudy? W jakim celu młodzież szlachecką wysyłano w XVII wieku na zagraniczne studia*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja Polsce” vol. 50 (2006), p. 147.

<sup>115</sup> See **D. Żołędź-Strzelczyk**, “Refleksje synowi wyjeżdżającemu do Wiednia”. *Feliksa Czackiego wskazówki dla syna*, [in:] *Staropolskie...*, pp. 271–280. Cf. **K. of Pocięjs Radziwiłłowa**, *Przestrogi, czyli maksymy dane synowi jadącemu do Wiednia (1766)*, [in:] *Przestrogi i nauki dla dzieci. Instrukcje rodzicielskie (XVIII w.)*, preface, ed. **M. E. Kowalczyk**, **D. Żołędź-Strzelczyk**, Wrocław 2017,

<sup>116</sup> **Witosławski**, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

#### Source publications of the 19th–21st centuries

1. **Billewicz Teodor**, *Diariusz podróży po Europie w latach 1677–1678*, reading of the manuscript, preface and commentary M. Kunicki-Goldfinger, Warszawa 2004.
2. *Diarium itineris Remigii Zawadzki Romam pro capitulo generali peregrinantis (1750). Diariusz podróży Remigiusza Zawadzkiego pielgrzymującego do Rzymu na kapitule generalną (1750)*, read from manuscript and prepared by **M. Chachaj**, transl. M. Chachaj, M. Czapińska, preface A. Szeinke, B. Rok, Kraków 2014.
3. **Dyakowski Mikołaj**, *Dyariusz wiedeńskiej okazyji*, ed. J. A. Kosiński, J. Długosz, Warszawa 1983.
4. **Kossowicz Jan Michał**, *Diariusz podróży po Europie (1682–1688)*, ed. A. Markiewicz, Warszawa 2017.
5. *Pamiętnik podróży odbytej w 1661–1663 po Austrii, Włoszech i Francji*, ed. Z. C[elichowski], Toruń 1874.
6. *Pamiętnik Felicjana Junoszy Piaskowskiego podstolego podlaskiego, majora J. K. Mości począwszy od roku 1690*, Lwów 1865.
7. *Pamiętniki Krzysztofa Zawiszy, wojewody mińskiego (1666–1721)* ed. from the original manuscript and annotated **J. Bartoszewicz**, Warszawa 1862.
8. *Relatio legacyje Jaśnie W. Jego Mości Xiędza Andrzeja Olszowskiego Podkanclerzego koronnego Posta Wielkiego Extraordynaryjnego do Cesarza JK Mści Chrześcijańskiego do Wiednia 1669*, [in:] **S. Barącz**, *Pamiętnik dziejów polskich*, Lwów 1855.
9. *Symphoriani Arkielowicz Itinerarium Romanum (1723) / Podróż Rzymska (1723)*, preface and preparation of source text B. Rok, transl. D. Piwowarczyk, Kraków–Wrocław 2016.
10. *Stanisłai Kleczewski, Itinerarium Romanum (1750) / Podróż Rzymska (1750)*, ed. **M. Chachaj, B. Rok**, introd. B. Rok, transl. M. Chachaj, D. Piwowarczyk, B. Rok, Kraków 2016.
11. **Witosławski Michał**, *Peregrynacja podróży rzymskiej (1738–139)*, introd., ed. M. Chachaj, B. Rok, [in:] *Staropolskie podróżowanie*, ed. B. Rok, F. Wolański, Kraków 2016.

#### Studies

1. **Arnheim Rudolf**, *Art and Visual Perception: A Psychology of the Creative Eye*, London 1974.
2. **Baranowski Jerzy**, *Bartłomiej Nataniel Wąsowski. Teoretyk i architekt XVII wieku*, Wrocław 1975.
3. *Das barocke Wien. Die Kupferstiche von Joseph Emanuel Fischer von Erlach und Johann Adam Delsenbach (1719)*, ed. **H. Lorenz, H. Weigl**, Wien 2007.
4. *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich*, vol. 4: *Barock*, ed. **H. Lorenz**, München 1999.
5. **Kucharski Adam**, *Theatrum peregrinandi. Poznawcze aspekty staropolskich podróży w epoce późnego baroku*, Toruń 2013.
6. **Kunicki-Goldfinger Marek**, *O sztuce ukrytej za słowami polskojęzycznymi diariuszów podróży po Europie XVI i XVII wieku. Szkic wstępny*, [in:] *Źródła do dziejów staropolskich podróży edukacyjnych*, ed. D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, M. E. Kowalczyk, Wrocław 2017.
7. **Pietrzyk Zdzisław**, *Relacje z podróży jezuita Bartłomieja Wąsowskiego*, [in:] *Staropolskie podróżowanie*, ed. B. Rok, F. Wolański, Kraków 2016.
8. **Poprzęcka Maria**, *Inne obrazy. Oko, widzenie, sztuka. Od Albertiego do Duchmpa*, Gdańsk 2008.

---

**PhD Małgorzata Wyrzykowska, malgorzata.wyrzykowska@uwr.edu.pl, ORCID: 0000-0002-3373-8912**

Assistant professor at the Baroque Art and Culture History Department of the Institute of Art History at the University of Wrocław. Her research interests focus on the architecture of the Habsburg monarchy in the baroque era. Currently she is preparing a book on the perception of European works of art in travel literature of the 17th and first half of the 18th century.

### Summary

#### **MALGORZATA WYRZYKOWSKA (University of Wrocław) / Vienna and its works of art in the eyes of Polish travellers in the second half of the 17th and first half of the 18th century**

The aim of this article is to present the evaluation of Vienna and its works of art made by Polish travellers in the second half of the 17th and first half of the 18th century. On the basis of the analysis of selected works of travel literature of that period, it was identified which monuments aroused the interest of the Polish travellers and for what reasons, how they were described, what they were compared to and whether they inspired reflection on art. The article uses mainly fragments of Polish travel literature from the second half of the 17th and first half of the 18th century that contain more extensive descriptions of works of art in Vienna. The research covered the accounts of the travellers who were amateurs in the field of art, with one exception – Jesuit architect Bartłomiej Nataniel Wasowski, the preceptor of Mikołaj and Zygmunt Grudziński. The article uses mainly accounts from the stay in the capital of the Habsburg monarchy of young noblemen from Wielkopolska – Andrzej and Wojciech Radoliński, a group of Franciscan Reformanti: Symforian Arakielowicz, Stanisław Kleczewski, Remigiusz Zawadzki and Father Michał Witosławski. Other works have also been used, including the diary of Teodor Billewicz, a nobleman, who travelled to Italy and England in the years 1677–1678, accounts of Father Andrzej Olszowski's mission to Vienna, memories of Krzysztof Stanisław Zawisza's trip to Rome in connection with the celebration of the jubilee year of 1700, accounts of Tomasz Stanisław Wolski, a nobleman from Uniejów, a Jerusalem pilgrim going on a journey in 1725 and the diary of Felicjan Junosza Piaskowski, the Podstoli of Podlasie, from 1690.