

A Church Triumphant: The Evolution of the Austrian Baroque from
Solari's Salzburg Cathedral to Fischer von Erlach's Karlskirche

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To the Holy Father
Feast of St. Venantius

Of all genres in the history of art, the Baroque undoubtedly exerts the greatest emotional power on most people. This emotional force was, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, recognized as a powerful tool for evangelization. The Roman Church was the first to exploit the potential of Baroque art and architecture. The Protestant use of the new genre is found almost solely in music, and even this expression bloomed relatively late; the very excited, exalted nature of the Baroque clashed with the religious sensibilities of most Protestants.

On account of the timing of the birth of the Baroque, this artistic tradition was quickly drawn into the battle for the religious control of Europe. While Baroque architecture developed in Rome under a number of gifted architects, its great practical benefits for the Roman Church were expressed in those lands where Roman Catholicism was involved in direct, ideological and military frays with the Protestants. The apologetic power of the Baroque, then, is best understood in France, Belgium, Bavaria, and, of course, Central Europe.

Originally, the Baroque style used in these campaigns of reevangelization were veritable copies of Roman precedents which were then imported by prelates through Italian architects trained in the style;

these men were by no means creative geniuses, but they were well versed in the Baroque style. Over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, the Italian Baroque came to be altered in these lands. Through the training of native architects, the ecclesiastical structures of Central Europe came to exhibit strange amalgamations of both Italian Baroque and the native styles. The confidence necessary for Central European architects to alter Roman Baroque precedents was the direct result of contemporary political events. The evolution of the Austrian Baroque was heavily influenced, if not initiated, by the waxing fortunes of the Habsburg monarchy and the rise of the Austrian Empire. Born in the exuberance of the defeat of the Turks and Austria's meteoric rise to international prominence, the Austrian Baroque holds an inherent quality of joy and ecstasy; this quality finds impressive visual expression through the work of Fischer von Erlach.

The city of Salzburg, which "stands at a bend in the Salzach River where the last foothills of the Austrian Alps melt into the great valley of the Danube,"¹ is an architectural microcosm through which this evolution can be traced. From the rather conservative Dom, started during the trials of the Thirty Years' War, to the imposing, yet inspired, Kollegienkirche, constructed in the joyous years preceeding the imminent defeat of the Turks, the architecture of Salzburg displays a dramatic artistic maturation. The architectural monuments of Salzburg exhibit a progression from masterfully-handled, though somewhat provin-

¹Martin Shaw Briggs, Baroque Architecture (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), p. 143.

cial copies of Italian precedents, to the development of a distinctly Austrian Baroque; Vienna would, in turn, be endowed with the greatest of Austrian Baroque achievements. In Salzburg alone, though, the blend was achieved most masterfully. While "the Catholic Germanic States nearest to Italy were the first to encourage [the Italian-inspired Baroque],"² it was in Salzburg, "in this 'northern Rome,' amidst the unparalleled beauty of the Alpine scenery, the happiest blend of north with south [has been] achieved."³

The ability of the Baroque to manipulate the emotions so dramatically results from the nature of the Baroque itself. Christian Norberg-Schulz shows that "[T]he need for belonging to an absolute and integrated but open and dynamic system was the basic attitude of the Baroque Age."⁴ Such a thesis is supported by Heinrich Wölfflin in Principles of Art History. Wölfflin sets forth a set of five contrasts between the art of the Renaissance and that of the Baroque: the art of the Renaissance is "linear" while that of the Baroque is "painterly"; the Renaissance artists emphasized multiplicity while their Baroque counterparts sought unity; Renaissance art has a planar quality, while Baroque art exhibits recession; Renaissance art is closed to the viewer as opposed to the Baroque, which is open to the viewer; with the Renaissance, one finds precise clarity, while

²A.E. Richardson and Hector O. Corfiato, The Art of Architecture (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1972), p. 112

³Eberhard Hempel, Baroque Art and Architecture in Central Europe (Baltimore: Penguin Press, 1965), pp. 39-40.

⁴Christian Norberg-Schulz, Baroque Architecture, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1971), p. 10.

the Baroque is marked by a certain lack of clarity. In the realm of architecture, the distinctions between multiplicity and unity and open form and closed form apply directly. They define clear differences between the architectural ideals of the Renaissance and those of the Baroque. With the Baroque, "every column suffers, every pillar groans under the heavy, unbearable pressure. The individual forms are now subordinated to the form of the whole as servants."⁵

Norberg-Schulz holds that the Baroque evolved owing to three historical movements which arose in the late Renaissance. First, the travels of European explorers revealed a vastly different and significantly larger world than that which Renaissance theorists had known. Second, colonization expanded the "social and cultural borders"⁶ of European civilization. Finally, scientific research, and the advances occasioned by it, demonstrated to the intellectuals of the High Renaissance that traditional views of the world were often at odds with reality.

The voyages of discovery, the subsequent colonization of the New World, and the widespread advances made in the realm of the sciences radically altered the traditional belief of the European Renaissance that the world was "closed and static."⁷ The late Renaissance demonstrated that the world is actually dynamic and ever-changing.

⁵Paul Henry Lang, Music in Western Civilization (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1969), p. 322.

⁶Norberg-Schulz, p. 11.

⁷Ibid., p. 10.

The manifestation of this discovery resulted in the stress which tormented the Mannerists, who grieved over the political and religious upheavals which characterized their times. It is from Mannerism that the Baroque sprang. Through the Baroque style Michelangelo's "morose mood was eventually replaced" with the "glowing vitality of Rubens, which was welcomed in Southern Germany where it found an echo in the sanguine temperament of the people."⁸

The upheaval of the Reformation was the impetus for the Baroque style. The Roman Church had to enlist the aid of art because "for a century and a half the struggle against Protestantism was her constant preoccupation."⁹ Theological debate was certainly drawn into the fray "but...art itself was affected by the controversy and sometimes even became one of the forms assumed by the controversy."¹⁰ The Roman Church, then, used art as visual apologetics for any dogma, doctrine, or traditional belief attacked by the Protestants: veneration of the saints and the Blessed Virgin Mary, the papacy, veneration of images, the seven sacraments, the efficacy of good works, and Purgatory were all defended in Catholic art.

While the Catholic Reformation involved the restoration of the traditional religious orders, such as the Franciscans, the Benedictines, and the Carmelites, a number of new orders sprang up to defend the Church. The most notable of these were the Theatines, the Oratorians,

⁸Hempel, p. 88.

⁹Emile Male, Religious Art (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1949), p. 168.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 168.

and, of course, the Jesuits. While there is much evidence to suggest that the early Jesuits did not care for art of any kind,¹¹ the Society of Jesus soon became inextricably linked to the evolving school of art known as the Baroque. The emotional Baroque was employed by them not only to reevangelize Protestant Europe but also to evangelize the New World. For this they had canonical approval through the decrees promulgated by Session XXV, no. 22 of the Council of Trent on the proper role of sacred art. The Tridentine decrees authorized "aggressive" art, art which would not only instruct, but would also convert.

This use of art as visual apologetics was something that "[R]eligious art had never attempted...before; it too [just as the sixteenth century saints] reached the extreme limits of the possible. The art of the Counter Reformation added something new to the modes of expression of Christian art, and sounded chords of a resonance not heard before."¹² Baroque art, then, destroys the classical absolutes of the Renaissance and invites the viewer to participate in "real and surreal" situations.¹³

The effects of the Baroque, however, are not limited to pictorial art or statuary, for "the Baroque concept of art as persuasion was applied to architecture as well as to the figurative arts."¹⁴ Some

¹¹See Wittkower's and Jaffe's Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution (New York: Fordham University Press, 1972), Chapter 4 by Francis Haskell

¹²Male, p. 199.

¹³Norberg-Schulz, p. 13.

¹⁴John Rupert Martin, Baroque (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), p. 112.

of the greatest expressions of Baroque ideals are found in the general plans of Baroque cities and, of course, those cities' Baroque churches. Norberg-Schulz shows that while the Baroque city does emphasize squares or "foci,"¹⁵ one should not then conclude that these cities are compartmentalized; these "nodes" are actually part of a collective network allowing each square to express individuality as well as membership in a corporate whole. Long avenues are used to connect the foci, thereby creating a general design. This emphasis on an overriding theme is, as has been shown, a radical difference between the Renaissance and Baroque traditions.

It was the desire of the Roman Pontiffs to make Rome the model Baroque city and to impart to the plan of the city a didactic and sacred character. To this end, Sixtus V appointed Domenico Fontana papal architect in 1585. Fontana's Rome succeeds marvelously in imposing an "ideological value"¹⁶ to the city; he created a plan of station churches which would invite, if not urge, pilgrimages to progress from church to church along the streets. The composition, while bearing foci, is extremely open, owing to the fact that no important monument is divorced from the general plan of the whole.

The Baroque Church, however, differs somewhat from the Baroque city with regard to centralization. While many theologians and liturgists of the time endorsed the centralized church plan, the most prominent clerics at the Council of Trent opposed it vigorously;

¹⁵Norberg-Schulz, p. 18.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 16.

St. Charles Borromeo in particular was vehement in his denunciation of the centralized floorplan. In a controversy which would be reenacted when Sir Christopher Wren submitted his centralized design for St. Paul's, the traditionalists asserted that centralized floorplans were unsuitable for liturgical celebrations. First, liturgical processions require naves and, second, centralized plans usually involve members of the congregation facing each other; Trent held that all people should face the altar in the same direction because when they face each other, the liturgy may seem to be man-oriented.

"The instinct to gather the church into a single mass, a compact citadel of the faith, arose with the Counter Reformation. It ran contrary to the general tendencies of the Baroque, which inclined artists to seek for complex spaces, and eventually the Baroque use of curves, inspired by the central plan, broke up the basilical scheme. The seventeenth-century Catholic church, freed from the austerity of the Counter Reformation,¹⁷ no longer showed the same distrust of the central plan."

Even before Trent, architects had begun to pursue plans which would please both ideals. An early attempt was made by Leon Battista Alberti with his design for S. Andrea in Mantua (1470). Here one finds an architect proposing the traditional Latin cross plan but who, nevertheless, is also trying to produce the positive effects of the centralized plan. Though there is some dispute as to whether Alberti alone is responsible for S. Andrea,¹⁸ the structure itself

¹⁷Germain Bazin, The Baroque (Greenwich, Connecticut: The New York Graphic Society, 1968), p. 288.

¹⁸Eugene J. Johnson, S. Andrea in Mantua (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975), p. 11.

exerted a most powerful influence. The use of a barrel vault, a dramatic domed crossing, side chapels, and large apsidal windows was to be copied for centuries.

Alberti's masterpiece was the foundation upon which Vignola and Della Porta could base their prototypical Baroque church, Il Gesu. It has been praised as a plan which incorporates both "the path of redemption and the heavenly dome" because it bears "a longitudinal disposition with a pronounced spatial integration."¹⁹ Il Gesu demonstrates Baroque integration in a number of ways. Through the use of the Giant order, entire walls are united and the tradition of dividing walls horizontally is rejected. Further, side aisles are not used; instead side chapels are placed along the nave as at S. Andrea, leading the eye of the observer toward the dominant focus of the high altar at the east end. The view to the high altar and pulpit is not impeded by any obstructive barriers or screens. This innovation occurs on account of Trent's reemphasis on the need for both Word and Sacrament in the daily lives of laypeople.

In the decades following Trent, then, a pronounced artistic severity and austerity was the norm in the Church. As this new asceticism swept the Church in both form and practice, the arts began to express it. The new ideas found personification in two leading characters of the age, Pope St. Pius V and his assistant, St. Charles Borromeo and were then architecturally embodied in the much-copied Gesu, which would not be endowed with its present High Baroque decor-

¹⁹Norberg-Schulz, p. 22.

ations until 1672.

This period of religious reticence, however, began to wane in the seventeenth century, and a more liberal artistic policy was followed. The architects of this age had a greater freedom of design and expression. This trend is eloquently reflected in the work of Francesco Borromini.

Borromini's major contribution to art was the theoretical notion that interior space is not simply the area enclosed within walls. In the tradition of the Baroque, he looked for "plasticity" in everything, and ultimately succeeded in giving space a plastic character. His S. Carlo, as well as his S. Ivo, while designed for an unusual lot, is, nevertheless, is a landmark in which space itself gains a plastic nature. "Borromini's works are complete bodies, unified in every respect: "the basic invention of S. Ivo...is the idea of attaining vertical continuity by carrying the complex shape of the ground plan without interruption into the dome."²⁰

Borromini's protege, Guarino Guarini, was even more adventurous. It was Guarini who attempted to reconcile the longitudinal plan of the Gesu with the more centralized plans favored by contemporary liturgists. While Borromini had endorsed an elliptical plan for S. Andrea in Piazza Navona, it was Guarini who achieved "the tour de force of combining the Gesu plan with a whole series of oval domes, a feat comparable with squaring the circle."²¹ The single work most associated

²⁰Norberg-Schulz, p. 214.

²¹Bazin, p. 288.

with Guarini's architectural strivings is the chapel of the Holy Shroud in Turin. Borromini had given precedent for such an effort on a small scale but, in this chapel, Guarini succeeds in giving space plasticity on the scale of a cathedral. The strange but effective dome betrays an inherent stress between Guarini's two callings: those of "the mathematician and the decorator."²²

While Guarini expanding even further the emotional power of the Baroque in Italy, Northern Europe was still building in a vast number of different styles. Austria was still clinging to the traditional basilican plan, and Germany was building in plans with "a central tendency often marked with a dome in the middle of a long nave...sometimes, there was a rotunda." Later, "many churches by Fischer von Erlach [would be] based on a Greek cross."²³

The Baroque style, on account of the proliferation of unusual and sometimes strange buildings, has often been compared to the Gothic. Such an analogy is quite incisive, for the two styles hold a common goal: to raise the thoughts of the common onlooker toward Heaven. Both styles emphasize verticality; the Gothic spire and the Baroque dome are based on the same idea. In two very different ages known for fervent faith, the two styles succeeded in using the context of the worship to lend a greater meaning to the act of worship. A certain allegorical meaning can be validly applied to both styles.

Salzburg is located in western Austria, lying seventy-five miles

²²Norberg-Schulz, p. 383.

²³Bazin, p. 289

southeast of Munich. It is situated in a valley between the slopes of the Salzburg Alps and covers both banks of the brisk and powerful Salzach River. The banks are connected by seven major bridges. It is the capital of the Salzburg province.

The city's name was derived from the "Salzkammergut," a region with extensive salt deposits. The site was originally occupied by a Roman trading post called Juvavum. Juvavum was centered on the chief Alpine trading routes and was of great strategic importance.

By the latter half of the First Century, almost all of the territory which would later comprise the Austro-Hungarian Empire was under Roman domination. In addition to Juvavum, the Romans established Augusta Vindelicorum (Augusta), Vindobona (Vienna), and Lentia (Linz). The natives of the region settled into communities and gave up the nomadic life.²⁴

The barbarian invasions had such a traumatic effect on the region that it did not regain any importance until the late Seventh Century. By A.D. 700, Salzburg had burgeoned into a prominent bishopric:

"Bishop Rupert in Juvavus (Salzach), then little more than a paltry remnant of the old Roman town Juvavum, and here was built and consecrated another church in honor of St. Peter, as well as a monastery--the oldest in Austria...The result was that a most flourishing Christian colony arose here which ultimately developed into the town of Salzburg, the seat of culture and learning, and the ecclesiastical centre of Bavaria, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Hungary."²⁵

The power and influence of these archbishops are reflected in the

²⁴Sidney Whitman, Austria (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, c. 1900), pp. 22-23.

²⁵Whitman, p. 34.

large collection of extant manuscripts and sacred vessels from the period. In the eleventh century, the cathedral was restored and several ecclesiastical structures were erected: Nonnberg Abbey, St. Peter's Church, and the Franciscan Church. Illuminated manuscripts continued to be produced.²⁶

Relatively little building went on in Salzburg during the Gothic period; the workshops of Salzburg, however, were busily executing numerous pieces of sculpture, fine vestments, and sacred vessels.²⁷ By the early Renaissance, Salzburg had taken on the role of intermediary between Italy and Germany. Her architecture, which had borne traces of influence from Bavaria during the Gothic period²⁸ began to follow Italy's lead. Eventually, Salzburg's influence would win Bavaria over to the Italian building traditions.

The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), the bloodiest and most costly of European wars until this century, was to delay the introduction of the new Baroque style from Italy to Austria for some time. This conflict, which began with Catholics fighting Protestants in the name of religion and was to end with Catholics fighting Catholics and Protestants fighting Protestants in the name of nationalism, drained the treasury of every court in Northern and Central Europe. The monetary expenditures required for any principality to sustain the war effort precluded any grand building schemes in most of Central Europe.

²⁶Encyclopedia of World Art, 1st ed., s.v. "Austria," by Renate Wagner-Reiger and Hedwig Kenner, p. 144.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 145-146.

²⁸Ibid., p. 145.

Salzburg, however, retained its importance as a trading center and was a noted exception to this unfortunate trend. Her ability to sponsor a grand building scheme was expressed in the importing of a trained Italian architect; the monetary expense incurred to invite such an architect to work in the Salzach region were great. When the prince-archbishops of Salzburg did actually begin a building project of great significance in the early years of the war, they did so confident in the knowledge that their territories would not fully experience the horrors of the war.

The almost continuous presence of the Turks, too was a political and military liability for the Austrians. The Moslems had besieged Vienna in 1469, and their highly unpredictable nature prevented the Austrians from knowing when they might take up the sword again. In order to defend the capital from the Islamic hordes, the Austrians were called to the defense of St. Stephen's. The defenses of the capital heralded the birth of Austrian nationalism. It was the defense of Vienna against the Turks which was to eventually win notoreity for the House of Habsburg. Habsburg dominance united Austria to a much greater degree than the loosely-confederated German states.

The poverty of most Austrian bishoprics and principalities further prevented them from training native Austrians in the new architectural styles. As a result, the little building that occurred was directly inspired by the Italians. Austrian architects were not to be considered as equal to the Italians until they had studied in Rome and the rest of Italy.

The delay of the introduction of Baroque ideas into Austria can be seen in the plan of Salzburg itself. Baroque city planning, as has been shown, consisted of "nodes," or town squares connected by

avenues. Salzburg, on the other hand, continued to rely on paradisi, the closed medieval town squares. This type of square was in complete opposition to Baroque notions. In fact, Vienna itself, the city soon to become a renowned Baroque capital, remained walled and closed. The Turkish campaign prevented the future imperial capital from expanding into the countryside.

The archepiscopal city of Salzburg remained relatively unscathed during the Thirty Years' War. In fact, as has been shown, the archbishops began a major building project in the early years of the war. The years preceding the war had presented the archbishops with a different problem. Salzburg, which had once been a fortified seat of Catholicism, had been gradually transformed into a city of terrible malaise, the inhabitants of which, if they had claimed any religion at all had endorsed Lutheran principles. A new archbishop, Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, appeared on the scene after graduation from the German College in 1587. He forced all citizens, on pain of banishment, to make "immediate public profession of the Catholic Faith."²⁹

The Cathedral of Saints Rupert and Virgil (completed in 771) had been restored and expanded in 1181, but burned in the 1580's. Instead of rebuilding, Archbishop Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, who just happened to be a nephew of Pope Pius IV, commissioned an Italian, Vincenzo Scamozzi, to raze the ruins and design a new edifice. The actions of Archbishop von Raitenau are **infamous** in the history of

²⁹Briggs, p. 143.

art. In what appears to be an exercise of self-glorification, he took advantage of a fire in the old cathedral to erect a new one:

"In 1602, a fire destroyed the lead roof of the old Romanesque Cathedral; the archbishop then proceeded to demolish the old Romanesque Cathedral entirely, including its interior fittings, regardless of its great historical value--- in this surpassing the example set by the popes when they pulled down old St. Peter's."³⁰

Scamozzi of Vicenza, a follower of Palladio, was then to follow the plans of his Italian master while still including native building characteristics. Scamozzi's Plan of 1607 was to derive its principal precedents from the master of Venice. The church was to have a Latin cross plan with three aisles, semicircular transepts, and domes over the crossing and choir.

As has been shown, Scamozzi's plan was completed in the early Seventeenth Century and, again, is generally known as the Plan of 1607. Scamozzi's plan, unfortunately, was never executed; it was simply too immense (139 meters from west to east) for the archepiscopal province to subsidize. Von Raitenau's successor, Marx Sittich (Marcus Sitticus), commissioned a second Italian, Santino Solari, to devise another scheme. It is Solari's plan, though as yet uncompleted, that was ultimately attempted.

Santino Solari hailed from Verma in Val Intelvi. Solari "abandoned the idea of aisles and limited himself to chapels and galleries between internal buttress piers, and this resulted in a grand unity of space which comprises nave, chancel, and transepts with three

³⁰Hempel, pp. 39-40.

terminal apses.³¹ The cathedral was not consecrated until 1628, by Sittich's successor, Count Londron.

Solari's plan is based heavily on two major sources previously discussed: Alberti's S. Andrea in Mantua and Vignola's Gesu. From Alberti's masterpiece came the barrel vault, the domed crossing, the side chapels, and the large apsidal windows. From the Gesu was adapted the late Renaissance/early Baroque facade of three doors and a scalloped gable, as well as the use of an octagonal dome with large windows to increase the dramatic effect of lighting.

The dramatic lighting suggests yet a further comparison to the Gesu; this cathedral, like the Gesu, is a Counter-Reformation propaganda piece. It has a conspicuous, elevated altar with a grand altarpiece, and a prominent pulpit; both of these, again, show the reemphasis that Trent placed on Word and Sacrament.

Owing to the war, only the facade could be faced in the white marble from the neighboring Untersberg Mountain. The facade, unlike the interior, makes significant departures from Italian precedents. The two west towers represent both architectural deference to native taste and the evolving of the Baroque style. The facade's clear division of the component parts, that is, the setting off of the two towers and the vertical division of the stories, harkens back to the Romanesque and Gothic traditions. The cathedral serves as a Baroque echo to the traditional Gothic distinction of nave arcade, triforium, and clerestory. The domes on the towers, which relate to the octagonal dome over the crossing but also betray the influence of native

³¹Hempel, p. 40.

taste, were built between 1652 and 1655, long after Solari's tenure had come to an end. Contrary to popular belief, they do not represent a deference on Solari's part to German building traditions. They were not part of the original plan; Archbishop Sittich had called for a completely Italian basilican scheme. The tower domes are foreign to Italian tradition. They recall Alberthal's tower for the Neuberg Hofkirche.³² Essentially, the deference to native taste in Solari's plan was similar to that found in Scamozzi's plan: each plan echoes the German Romanesque through a tri-partite vertical division of the structure. In any case, the facade is called "a correct composition, carried out with a refined style, and, with its two flanking towers and triple doorways, admirable in its own way."³³

By 1614, then, the Austrians were making overtures to Baroque architects in Italy. While the outbreak of the Thirty Years War in 1618 would delay the introduction of the style to the whole country, Austria's motions to Italian architects differentiate her from Bavaria, which was still clinging to the Gothic.³⁴ The Jesuits imported a "distinctly Roman character" with the Church of St. Michael, Munich, but the Italian influence was much stronger in Austria.³⁵

³²Henry Russell Hitchcock, Rococo Architecture in Southern Germany (New York: Phaidon Publishers, Inc., 1968), p. 2.

³³Briggs, p. 145.

³⁴Hempel, pp. 38-39.

³⁵Hempel, p. 38.

Through Solari's design, the interior of which betrays a complete mastery of Baroque architecture, the Austrians had completely absorbed the Italian Baroque. Having mastered the Italian Baroque style, they could proceed to develop their uniquely Austrian style. The leadership of imported Italian architects was waning. They would soon find themselves relegated "to a subordinate role in Austrian architecture."³⁶

The fortuitous turn of certain political events gave Austria renewed national pride. These events were to be the seeds from which the Austrian Baroque would spring. The Austrian defeat of the Ottoman Turks engendered great national pride. Since the Turkish siege and capture of Constantinople in May, 1453, all of Europe justly feared the imminent onslaught of Turkish armies. While the Turks did succeed in overrunning Hungary, they were stopped in Austria with two decisive defeats of such landmark importance that they rival the Battle of Tours in the Eighth Century. These two defeats were the Battle of St. Gotthard in 1664 and the relief of Vienna in 1683.

Though these two decisive battles were won with the help of troops from Germany, Austria reaped the rewards. Following St. Gotthard and Vienna, the Austrians took the offensive against the Turks, who seemed to be suffering from internal malaise and governmental collapse. Soon the city of Buda in Hungary fell to Austrian forces, and the Hungarians immediately swore allegiance to the Habsburg monarchy. An Austrian Empire was rapidly forming, and Vienna was fast becoming an imperial capital of vast importance.

³⁶ Anthony Blunt, ed., Baroque and Rococo (New York: Harper and Row, 1978), p. 178.

Austria, of course, was swept with a feeling of great national pride. Her waxing fortunes led one contemporary German critic to exclaim that "the cities of Germany surpass Paris and at least equal their Italian models."³⁷ Austria's realization that she had become a world power had major ramifications in the world of art. Austrian patrons would not longer accept secondhand copies of Roman monuments. The Austrian guilds began to demand that natives be employed in construction. By 1691, the guilds were so powerful that Prince Johann Adam von Liechtenstein was forced "to cancel the original contract with a Graubunder mason, Antonio Riva, to build his summer palace and to substitute another with a German"; by 1700, he would have to appeal to the emperor to hire any foreign masons.³⁸ The patrons, for the most part, insisted on using native-born architects who had studied in Italy. In doing so, these patrons took the first major step in developing a genuinely Austrian style.

While Austrian architectural students travelled to all the major Italian cities, Rome, of course, was the center of their study and work. In Rome they fell under the powerful spells of Gian' Lorenzo Bernini and Francesco Borromini. The almost seductive, curvaceous facades of such landmarks as Bernini's Jesuit novitiate church, S. Andrea al Quirinale and Borromini's masterpiece for the Discalced Trinitarians, San Carlo allo Quattro Fontane, are echoed in almost every major Austrian Baroque monument. The voluptuous character

³⁷Hans Jacob Wagner von Wagenfels in Ehrenruf Teutschlands (Vienna, 1691) as quoted by Hempel, p. 87.

³⁸Blunt, p. 178.

of the Roman High Baroque was the artistic foundation on which the Austrian Baroque was built.

Preeminent among these young Austrian students was Johann Bernhard Fischer, who would eventually be ennobled with the title "von Erlach." He was born in Graz in 1656, and his father was a sculptor of some repute. He was sent to Rome some time between 1670 and 1674. He was admitted to the workshop of Philipp Schor, a protege of Bernini and the official painter to the papal court. During the course of this apprenticeship, Fischer, who was already knowledgeable in sculpture, studied the decorative arts and even gained some experience in garden design. It is from garden design that Fischer seems to have transferred to architecture.³⁹ Like Bernini, Fischer saw the relationship between architecture and sculpture. Under Bernini's direct personal influence, Fischer chose to emphasize the plasticity of architecture in his work.

The High Baroque was an artistic genre in which the traditional tools of classical architecture were being used in highly unorthodox ways. The looseness and frivolity of the High Baroque, which would all too soon evolve into the severity of a Classical revival, gave to the architect a creative license hitherto unknown to him. The ultimate result of this great freedom was the development of Illusionism.

Ceiling frescoes had been traditionally popular among artistic patrons. The ceiling frescoes of the mid to late Seventeenth Century, however, were quite different from their historic precedents. The Baroque ceiling frescoes sought to "remove the roofs" of buildings.

³⁹Gunter Brucher, Barockarchitektur in Osterreich (Köln: Dumont, 1983), p. 141.

The masters of this school of painting were G.B. Gaulli and Andrea Pozzo. Gaulli's "Triumph of the Holy Name of Jesus" in the Gesu and ^{Pozzo's} Allegory on the Missionary Work of the Jesuits in S. Ignazio are masterpieces of the Illusionist tradition. Trompe d'oeil is used to make the viewer believe that the very roof has been removed from a structure. It is almost impossible to define the borders of painting, sculpture, and architecture.

Illusionism, then, required a redesigning of the structures themselves. Barrel vaults, such as the one used in the Salzburg Dom, could not accommodate Illusionist painting. The High Baroque would require that the very designs of roofs and domes be changed so that Illusionism could be employed. While Pozzo's climactic pictorial essays in Illusionism would not be completed until 1685, the resolve on the part of Austrian architects to include this type of ceiling painting led to the development of the Platzgöwölbe in 1680.

The Platzgöwölbe, or "shallow domical vaulting necessary for development of unified ceiling frescoes, were introduced into the architecture of the principal German monasteries by Carlo Antonio Carlone of Como.⁴⁰ Carlone's innovation represents a continuing Italian influence, but his work was wholly original; he was not importing an innovation he had seen in Italy.

The ceiling painting, through the work of Carlone, was to remain dominant in the Austrian Baroque. Eventually, the Austrians and Bavarians would outdo the Italians in the sheer ability to dazzle the eye. The fantastic Illusionist creations at Ottobeuren and Melk,

⁴⁰Hempel, p. 88.

for instance, could not have been achieved without the work of Carlone. Through Carlone, Gaulli and Pozzo did, in a way, herald the Austrian Baroque.

Fischer returned to Vienna in 1687 and could soon boast of great success.⁴¹ In 1705, Fischer published a book, Entwurf einer historischen Architektur in Abbildung unterschiedener berühmter Gebäude des Altertums und fremder Völker (Designs in Historic Architecture). The book resulted from Fischer's studies in Rome; he wanted to produce an archaeologically - correct study of architecture, which culminated in his own works. Fischer augmented his role of architect and became an architectural historian. Fischer's works themselves offer a kind of narrative on architectural development. His experiences in Rome gave him so much knowledge and so many precedents on which to draw that it is nearly impossible to experience his genius fully in any single architectural work.

One of Fischer's first major commissions was the Dreifaltigkeitskirche, or Church of the Holy Trinity (1694-1697). This church is often compared with Borromini's S. Agnese in Piazza Navona, built for Pope Innocent X and the Pamphili family; there are some similarities. In fact, the problems involved with each were similar. Both churches had to be positioned in a large rectangular public square between the fronts of two houses. Like Borromini, Fischer devised a two-towered concave facade framing a large dome. Though each bears a concave facade, that of Holy Trinity is far deeper than the Roman precedent. Fischer, unlike Borromini, was using the concave facade

⁴¹Henry A. Millon, Baroque and Rococo Architecture (New York: George Braziller, 1967), p. 43.

as a focal point for an entire church-palace complex. He attempted to connect the Church of the Holy Trinity architecturally to the adjacent palaces and, further, to relate it to the future Kollegienkirche, for which he had already won the commission. Fischer, in the best tradition of the Baroque, attempted to give the Dreifaltigkeitskirche its own individual importance while, at the same time, relating it to a whole architectural complex.⁴²

The floorplan is that of an oval placed longitudinally. Distinct chapels were placed in the cross arms, so there is an obvious spatial division, but all component parts are unified in Fischer's main altar, then pulled upward by Rottmayr's fresco in the oval dome, "The Coronation of the Virgin by the Holy Trinity." Once again, the genius of Fischer succeeds in unifying component parts into one impressive architectural display.

In his next major commission, Fischer would become even more ambitious; he would not only try to relate the Benedictine Kollegienkirche to local surroundings, but to the entire city of Salzburg. The tradition of collegiate church architecture was hallowed in Austria. The colleges, almost all Benedictine owing to the unpopularity of the Jesuits in Austrian territories, were of two types: rural and municipal. The rural colleges were more concerned with the richness of decoration than the shape of the facade while the municipal colleges placed full weight on the design of a striking⁴³ facade. Fischer's undulating facades and highly centralized floorplans were favored

⁴²Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects, 1st ed., s.v. "Fischer von Erlach, Johann Bernhard," by

⁴³Brucher, p. 63.

by the patron of the Salzburg Benedictines, Archbishop Thun-Hohenstein.

The Benedictines had had a long and illustrious history in Salzburg. By the time of Archbishop Thun's elevation, they were distinguishing themselves once again through their defense of belief in the Immaculate Conception; these men were renowned theologians. In thanks for the prestige the order was bringing to Salzburg, the Archbishop decided to fulfill a long-standing promise. He would build them a church for their university and consecrate it to the Immaculate Conception.

Archbishop Thun awarded the commission to Fischer around 1693. The Archbishop had a very clear idea of what he did and did not want. He specifically forbade any resemblance to the Gesu of the Jesuit churches in southern Germany. He desired that the "new church be as different from the aisleless, tunnel-vaulted, and galleried churches most characteristic of the Jesuits in south Germany" as humanly possible.⁴⁴

The Archbishop's instructions may have been related to the increased suspicion with which the Jesuits were watched. The prelates of Salzburg never allowed the Jesuits to enter their province. These archbishops were highly vocal in denouncing the members of the Society as papal agents and personal spies for the Holy See. This hatred for the Jesuits in Catholic countries had become so acute by 1773 that the Society was suppressed. Salzburg boasted the only

⁴⁴Blunt, p. 188.

German university which had never been under Jesuit control.⁴⁵

The Benedictines of Salzburg had close ties with the University of Paris, and it is probably on account of this that Fischer's plan is very similar to Jacques Lemercier's Sorbonne Church, which, in turn had been influenced by Rosato Rosati's San Carlo ai Catinari. Fischer, however, was not afraid to incorporate totally new and original features into his design and, in fact, he was almost forced to do so. His chief problem was the designing of a church of great importance to stand next to a church of even greater importance: his college church would have to balance with Solari's Cathedral.⁴⁶

Originally, his scheme had called for a facade in the Italian Mannerist style, being quite similar to the facade of the cathedral. He then decided to add an oval porch and finally expanded the porch into a convex facade. This step was largely without precedent and marks the beginning of a distinct Austro-German Baroque. While Carlo Fontana's S. Marcello in Via del Corso bore a limited convex facade, the dramatic, florid use of a convex facade in the Kollegienkirche was a daring move and represented the unrestrained character of the new school of architecture. The two towers framing the facade are heavily-based on the architectural precedents found in Guarino Guarini's Architettura Civile.

The patroness of the Kollegienkirche is Our Lady of Immaculate

⁴⁵Blunt, p. 186.

⁴⁶Aurenhammer, J.B. Fischer von Erlach (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 69.

Conception, and Fischer glorifies Her greatly in his architecture. Her statue stands in the center of the facade and a beautiful, High Baroque image of Her is suspended over the high altar, in front of a large window.

The interior of the church, again, is heavily based on the Sorbonne Church, having four equal chapels dedicated to each of the four academic faculties.⁴⁷ The plan is highly centralized and symmetrical, as in Borromini's Oratories; each chapel has a centrally placed oval dome reminiscent of that used by Borromini at San Carlo. Galleries are incorporated as in Solari's cathedral.

The Church of the Holy Trinity and the Kollegienkirche are most certainly the results of a creative genius at work. Their influence on neighboring territories was great; the famous pilgrimage churches of Bavaria, such as Ottobeuren, Steinhausen, and Wies were modelled on Salzburg precedents. Fischer's most famous and influential masterpiece, his tour de force, however, was not started until 1716. It was Vienna's Karlskirche. In this work, Fischer would attempt to synthesize all the precedents to which he had been exposed: the Roman High Baroque, French Classicism, and Venetian Palladianism.

The Karlskirche, or Church of St. Charles Borromeo, was a commission offered by the emperor himself. Charles VI, who wished to beautify imperial Vienna and glorify the Habsburgs, proclaimed the construction of a grand new church. Charles had made a vow that if St. Charles would intercede to save Vienna from a plague,

⁴⁷Aurenhammer, p. 64.

he would build a church in honor of the great Catholic Reformation saint. Vienna was, indeed, spared, so Charles immediately levied a tax on all Habsburg lands for the building of the church.

As Fischer began this project so late in his career, there is some evidence that his son had influence on either the design or the finished product.⁴⁸ As was typical of Fischer, the plan is that of a Greek cross. The central space is a longitudinally-placed oval from which project six side chapels and the high altar. The facade, with its two bell towers, is as wide as the structure is long. As at Borromini's San Carlo, an oval dome, bearing a Rottmayr fresco, fully covers the principal interior space. The double choir and screen of four unengaged columns are borrowed from Palladio's Il Redentore in Venice. It is ironic that this church, the most famous building dedicated to Borromeo bears a centralized plan; Borromeo, after all, had opposed this type of floorplan vigorously.

The most curious aspect of this building is the use of the two triumphal columns. They are based on Trajan's column in Rome, which, fittingly, commemorates the military victories of Roman armies in Austria and Transylvania. These columns, however, record spiritual triumphs, for the deeds of St. Charles Borromeo are recorded on them in bas-relief. To some, they recall minarets and, indeed, Fischer probably consciously based them on Moslem prayer towers. They recall the relatively recent siege of Vienna by the Turks and betray Fischer's thorough grounding in all architectural traditions. The imperial crowns capping the columns symbolize Habsburg domination over the Turks.

⁴⁸Bruchher, p. 179.

In essence, the combining of spiritual and temporal symbolism in the columns is a marvelous expression of a principle Baroque ideal: the synthesizing of the sacred and the profane.

Critics have analyzed a five-fold symbolism in the Karlskirche design: the Life of St. Charles Borromeo, the Figure of the Emperor, the Temple of Solomon, the Temples of Pagan Rome, and the Churches of Christian Rome. Whether or not Fischer actually intended to endow his creation with this five-fold symbolism, it is clear that the church, specifically its dome, is based on Louis Le Vau's College of the Four Nations.⁴⁹ As a result, there is a Mannerist type of stress between the elements of the Roman High Baroque and French Neoclassicism. While Fischer was certainly exposed to French styles during his time of study in Italy, it is unknown whether he himself designed the church with this stress in mind, or if the contrast resulted from his son's work after his death. Nevertheless, with the Karlskirche, "produced one of the most brilliant church exteriors of the Baroque, using a simple pedimented portico, widespreading porte-cochère wings, two high free-standing columns..., and yet subordinating all of this to the great oval dome that crowns the whole."⁵⁰ Yet again, Fischer uses individual components in an additive manner so that the whole will be enhanced.

Fischer von Erlach represents a learned experimenter; he was the consummate Austrian architect. In creating a truly Austrian style, he drew inspiration from precedents as far west as the works of Le Vau

⁴⁹Brucher, p. 180.

⁵⁰Talbot Hamlin, Architecture through the Ages (New York: G.B. Putnam's Sons, 1940), p. 439.

and Lemercier and from as far east as Hagia Sophia. Indeed, he did have a cross-cultural knowledge of architecture and he was among the first of the Baroque architects to be archaeological in his style. Like Guarini, he would use these classical precedents in wholly original and unusual ways. Fischer's creative use of spatial interplay, in fact, rivals and sometimes surpasses the work of his Roman teachers.⁵¹

CONCLUSION

Political events can directly affect both the development and dissemination of artistic styles. War not only has the power to interrupt the flow of ideas, but it can also affect the very ideas themselves. The Thirty Years' War and the Turkish threat did delay the introduction of the Baroque into Austria in the Seventeenth Century; had it not been for these two political realities, the Baroque would certainly have taken root in Austria in much less time. These wars had even more far-reaching results, however. After the Thirty Years War, Austria knew herself to be firmly in the Catholic camp; following the repulsion of the Turks, the Austrians knew themselves to be world leaders, for they alone had succeeded in throwing back the Ottoman Empire. The confidence and joy resulting from these two events affected the development of the Austrian Baroque itself.

The Austrian Baroque emerged in the exuberance of stunning

⁵¹Hamlin, p. 438.

victories over the Turks and with the swelling of national pride. As a result, the style itself is marked by great excitement and exuberance. The style had "a taste for classicity" but "the free spirit of design"⁵² as well. Its inherent excitement resulted in curvaceous facades, florid decoration, and inspired ceiling painting.

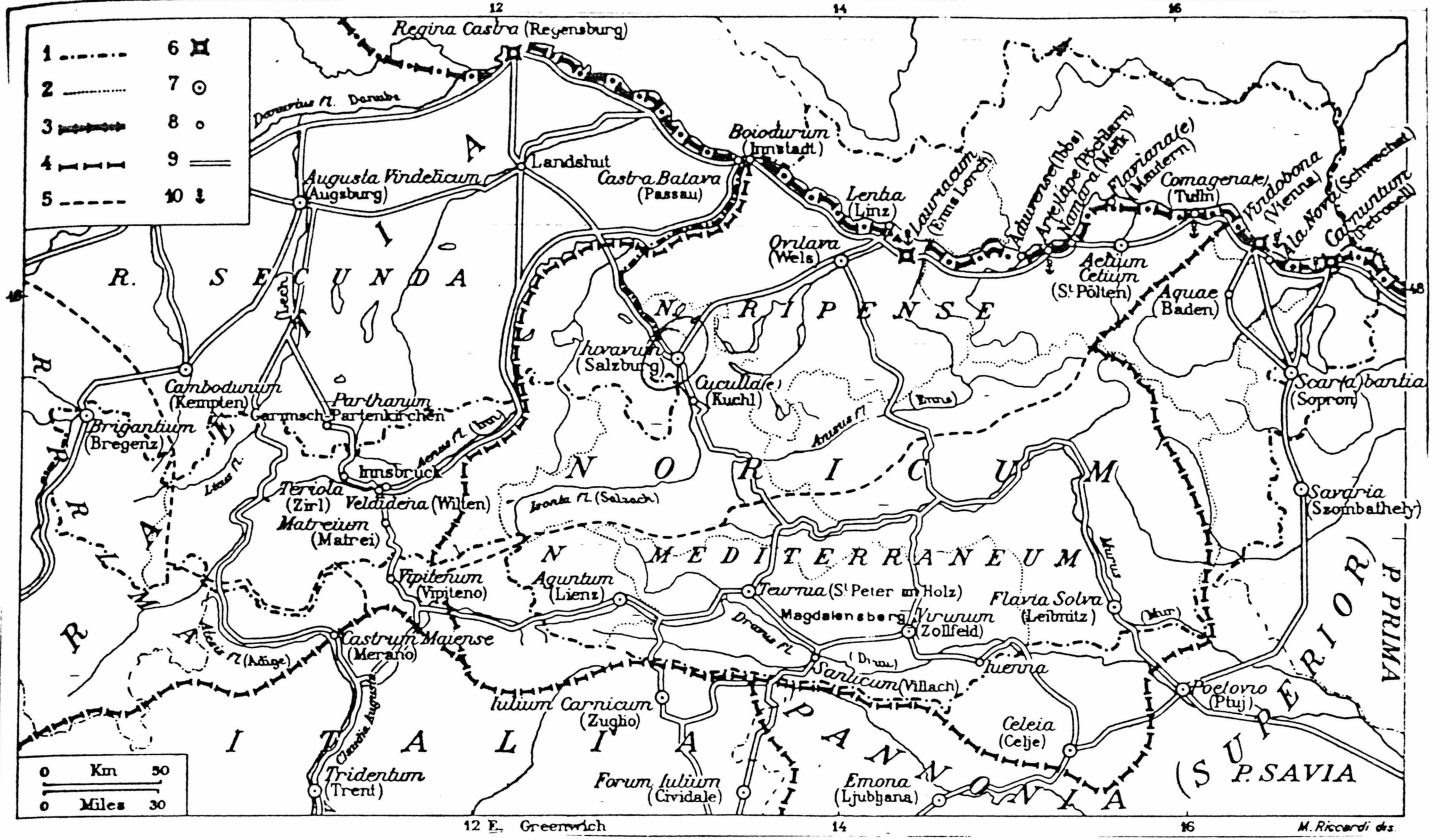
Through are and religion, an Aüstro-Italian union of sorts was achieved. A Catholic Empire, fully loyal to Rome, emerged, centered around imperial Vienna. The Habsburg monarchy immediately realized the ramifications of its new-found status and sought to glorify itself through art. The triumphal Austrian Baroque style was perfectly suited to such apologetics. So, just as art had once been used to advance the interests of religion, it now came to glorify the state. The Baroque, which had once divided people on religious grounds evolved into a national style, which divided them on political grounds. Austria was entering the European mainstream. The national style was a visual expression of the new national unity. Its unrestrained richness heralded the heights of power and influence to which the Habsburgs were destined.

⁵²Richardson and Corfiato, p. 118.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

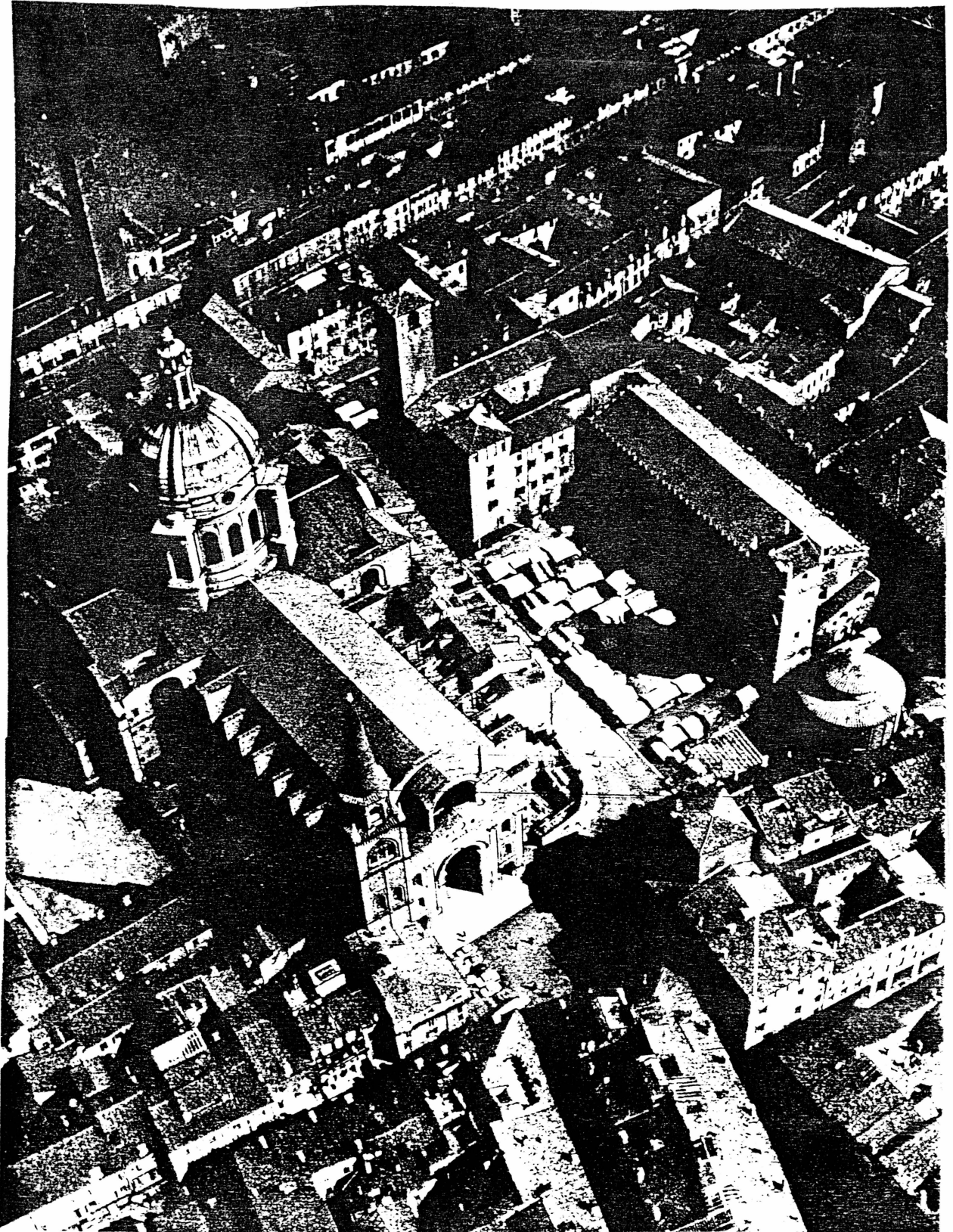


The Salzach Region of Austria



- Information
 Pedestrian Zone
- On the left bank**
- 1 Hohensalzburg Fortress
 - 2 St. Erhard's Church
 - 3 Nonnberg Priory
 - 4 Siegl beer-cellar
 - 5 St. Gaetan's Church and Hospital
 - 6 Chapter-house, Archbishop's Palace and horse-pond
 - 7 St. Peter's Abbey and cemetery
 - 8 Chiemseehof (Provincial Government)
 - 9 Cathedral
 - 10 Church of the Franciscans
 - 11 Festival Halls
 - 12 New Residenz Building and 'Glöckenspiel' beffry
 - 13 St. Michael's Church
 - 14 Residenz and fountain
 - 15 Langenhof
 - 16 Collegiate Church
 - 17 Old University
 - 18 Old Town Hall
 - 19 Mozart's birthplace
 - 20 Horse-pond
 - 21 St. Blasius Church and former hospital
 - 22 Lift up Mönchsberg
 - 23 Carolino Augusteum Museum
 - 24 House of Nature
 - 25 St. Mark's Church
 - 26 Mulin Church
 - 27 Mulin beer-garden (formerly a monastery)
- On the right bank**
- 28 Inneres Steintor - old city gate
 - 29 Hotel Stein roof-garden
 - 30 Capuchin monastery
 - 31 Church of St. John
 - 32 Holy Trinity Church
 - 33 The Mozart's house
 - 34 Landestheater
 - 35 Marionette Theatre
 - 36 Mozarteum College of Music
 - 37 St. Sebastian's Church with Paracelsus' tomb and Archbishop Wolf Dietrich's mausoleum
 - 38 Loreto Church
 - 39 Mirabell Palace
 - 40 Rosenhügel (viewpoint)

The Salzburg Town Plan



Alberti's S. Andrea in Mantua: Aerial View

Abb. 1. Westfront.

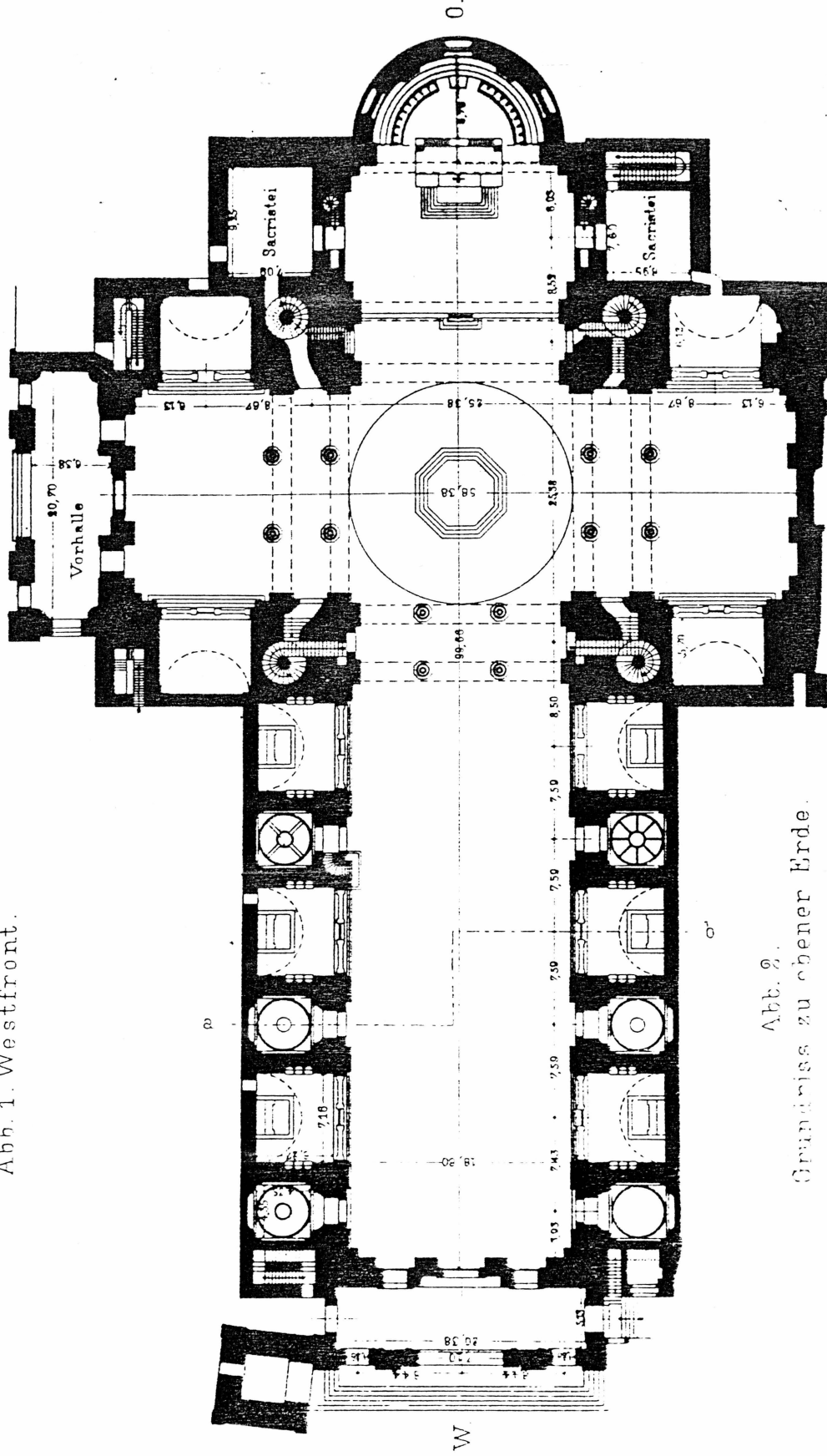
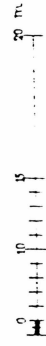
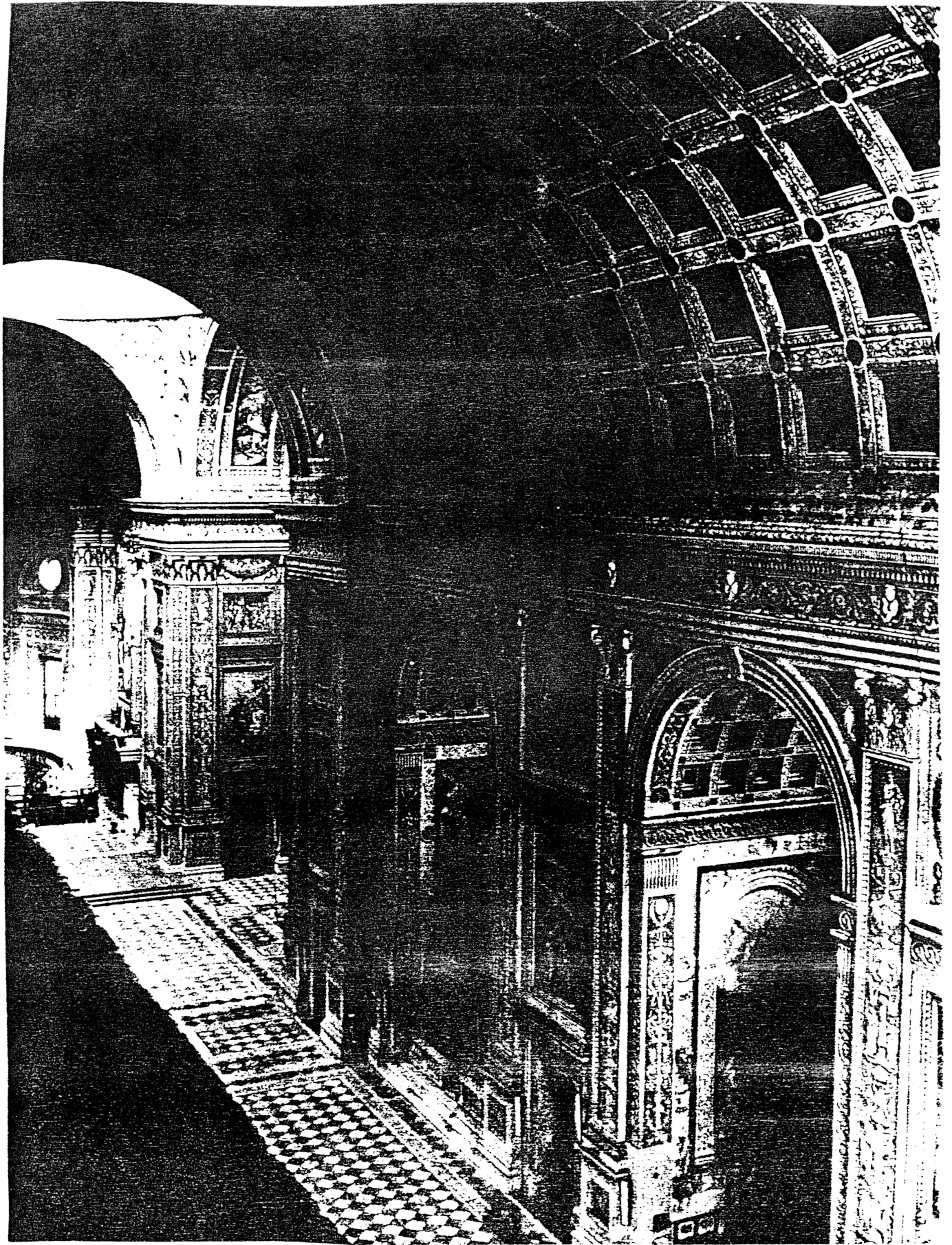
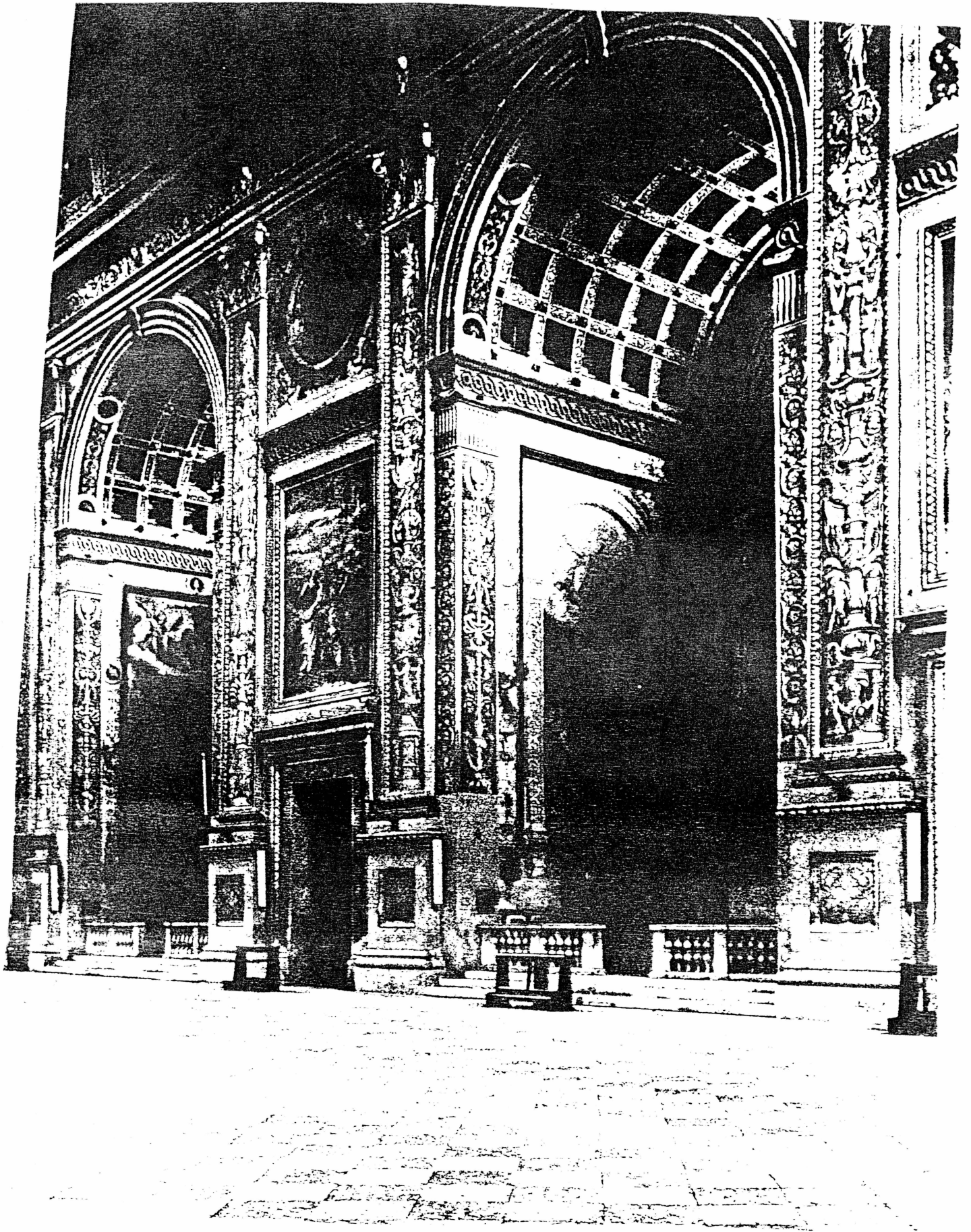


Abb. 2.
Grundriss zu ebener Erde.



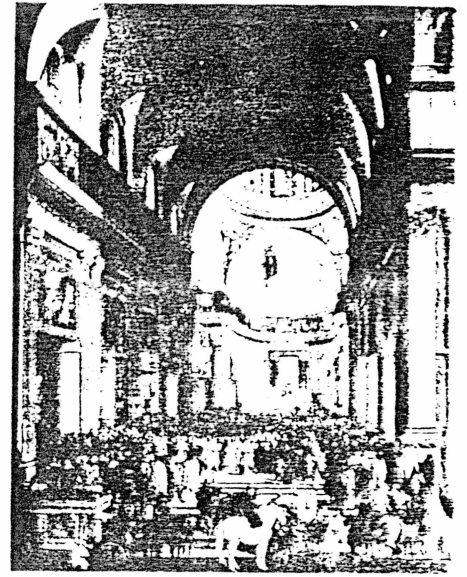


Alberti's S. Andrea in Mantua: Interior Barrel Vaults

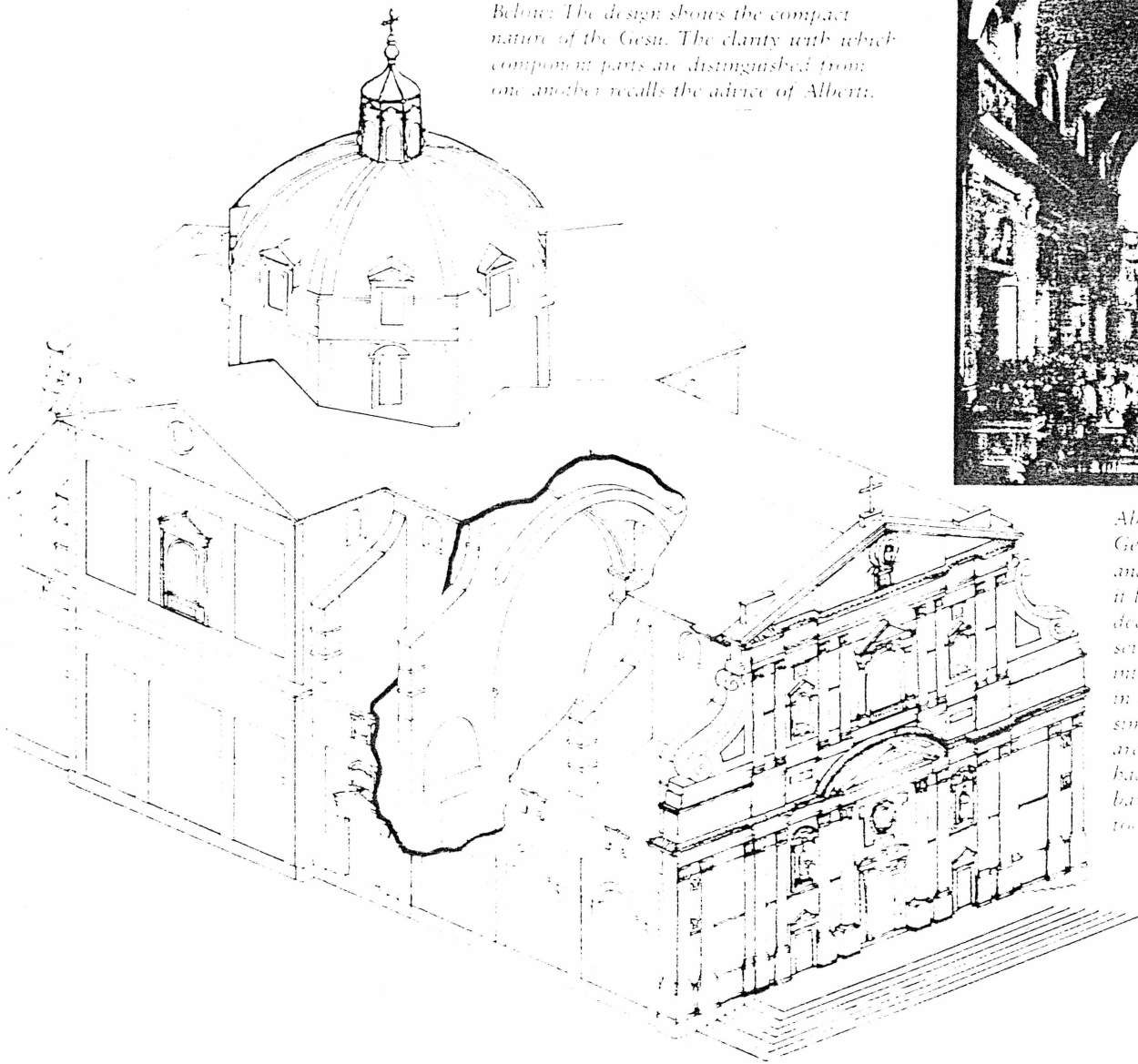


Alberti's S. Andrea in Mantua: Interior Side Chapels

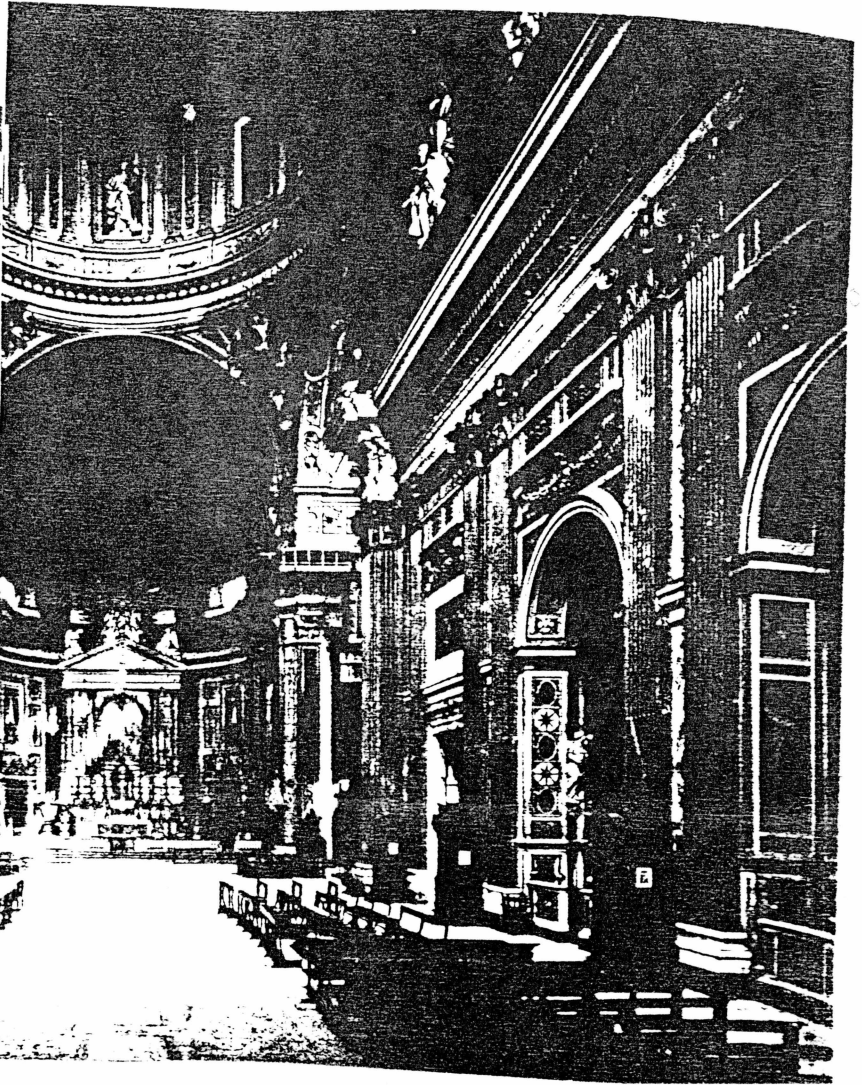
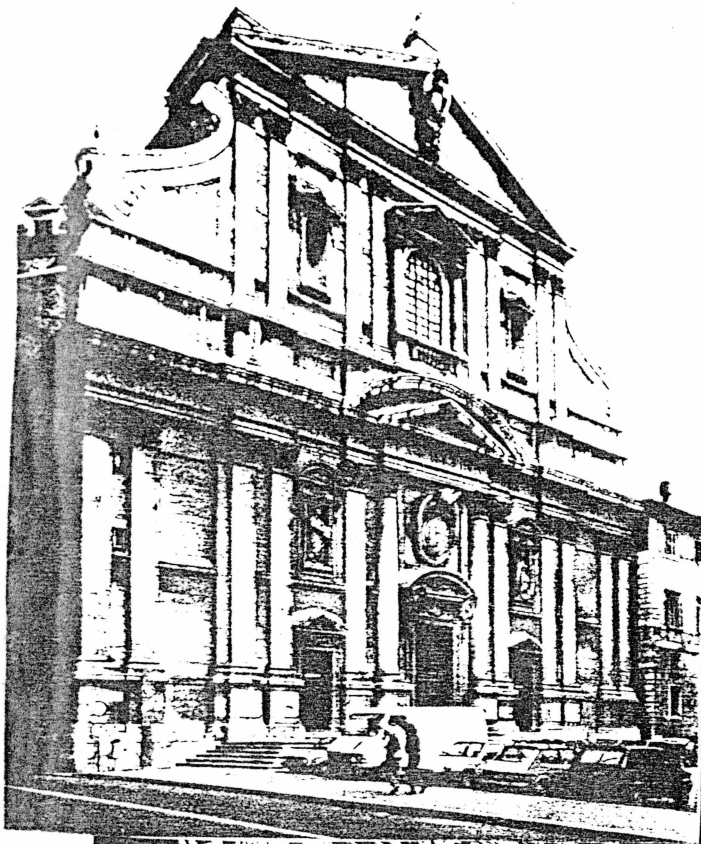
Below: The design shows the compact nature of the Gesu. The clarity with which component parts are distinguished from one another recalls the advice of Alberti.



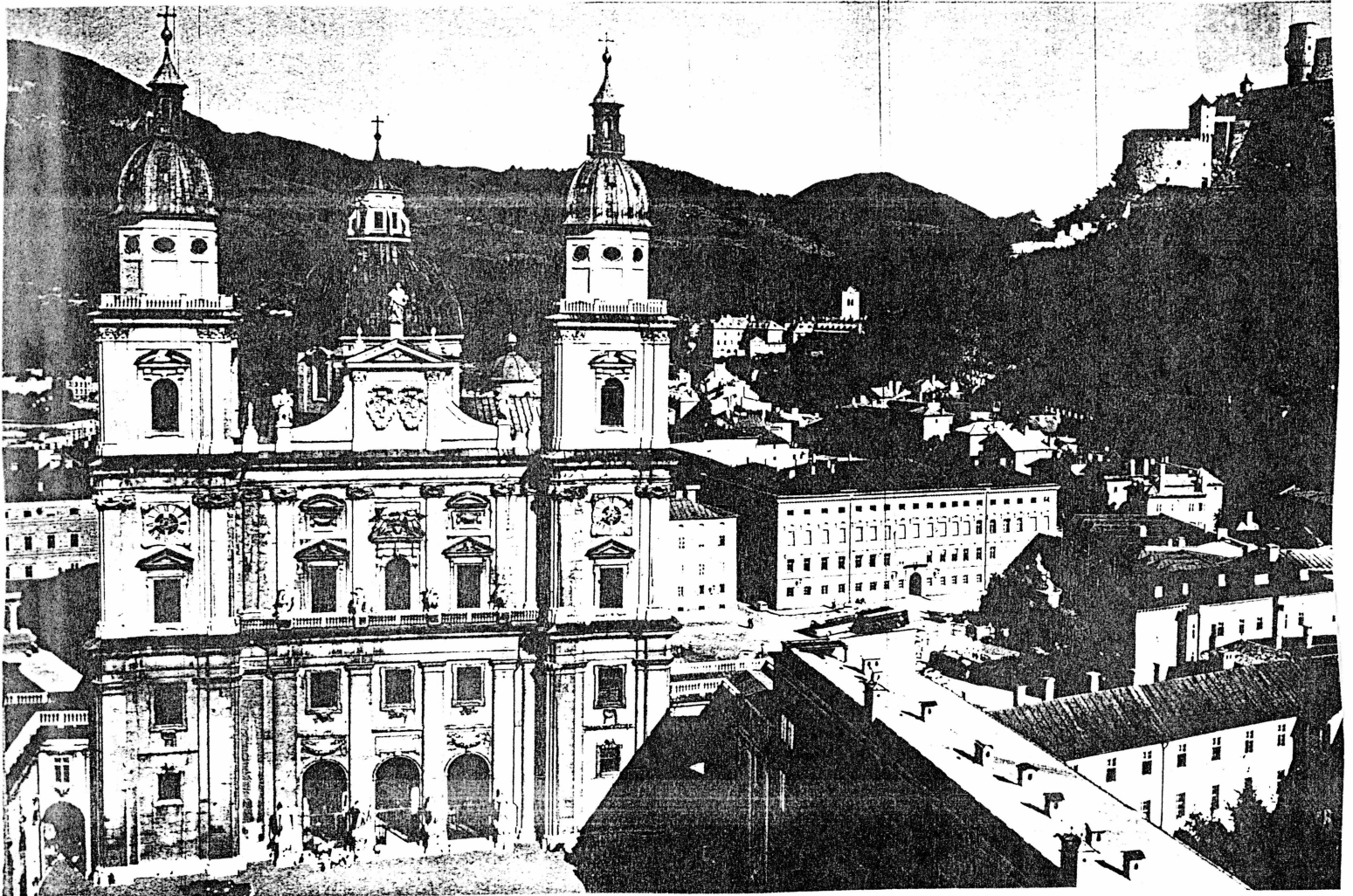
Above: The interior of the Gesu by Andrea Sacchi and Jan Miel shows what it looked like before the decoration of the later seventeenth century. The interior was very austere, in keeping with the simplicity of early Jesuit architecture. The Jesuits had even objected to the barrel vault of the nave as too grand for their nave.



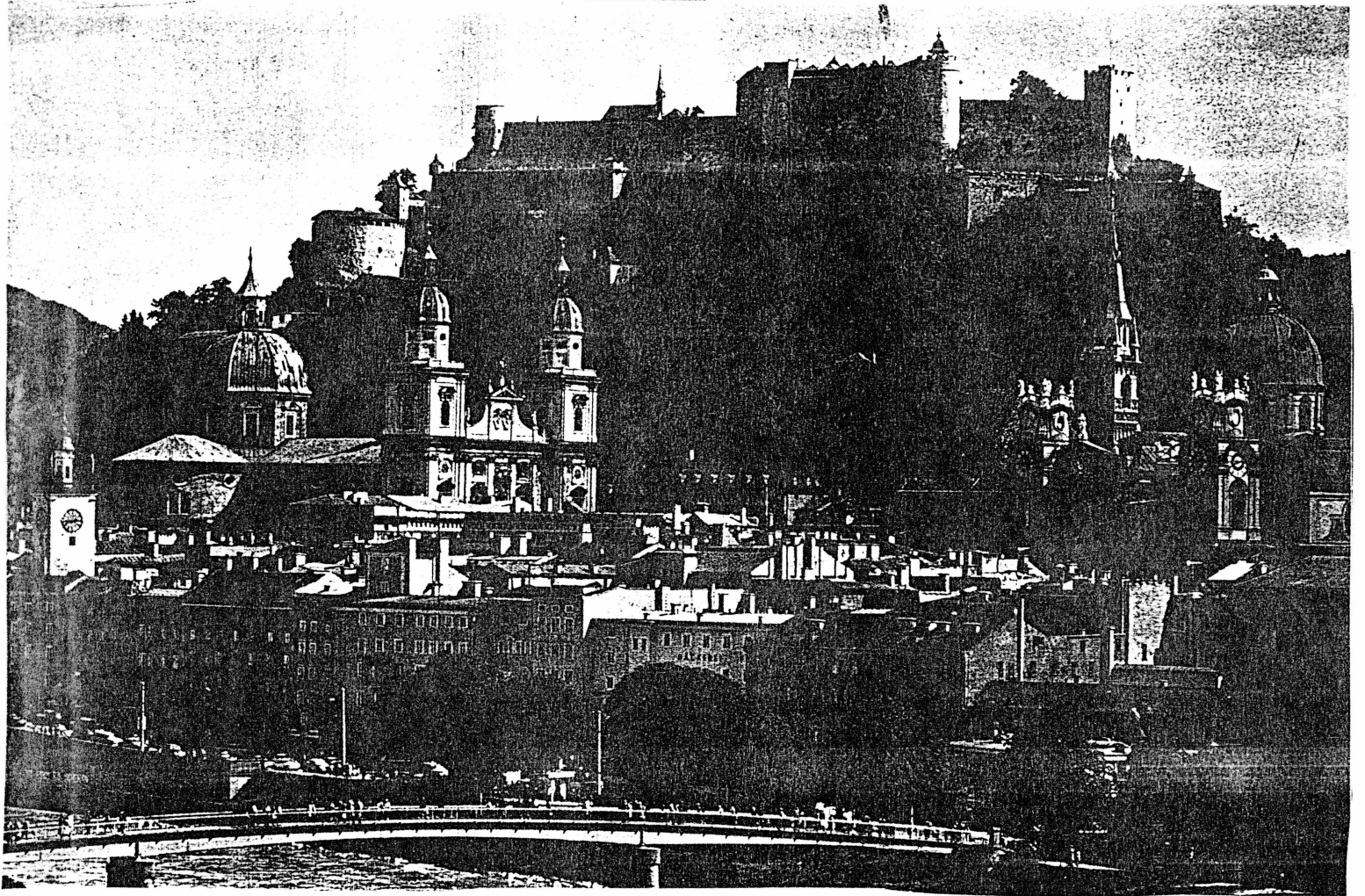
Vignola's Gesu: Section



Vignola's Gesu: Exterior and Interior, looking east



Solari's Cathedral of Sts. Rupert and Virgil, Salzburg: Facade showing Medieval Paradisus



Salzburg: Cathedral of Sts. Rupert and Virgil (far left) and Kollegienkirche (far right)

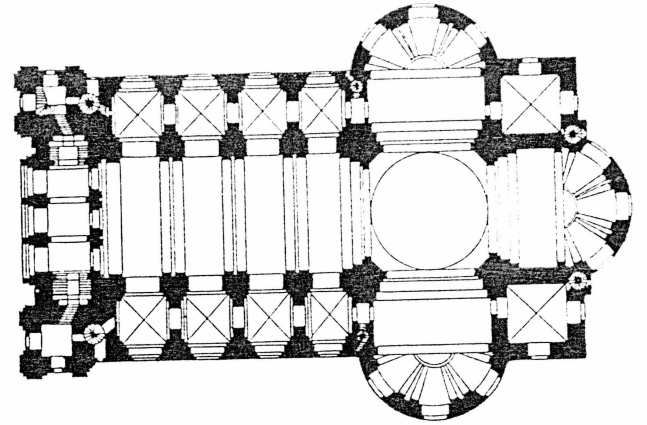
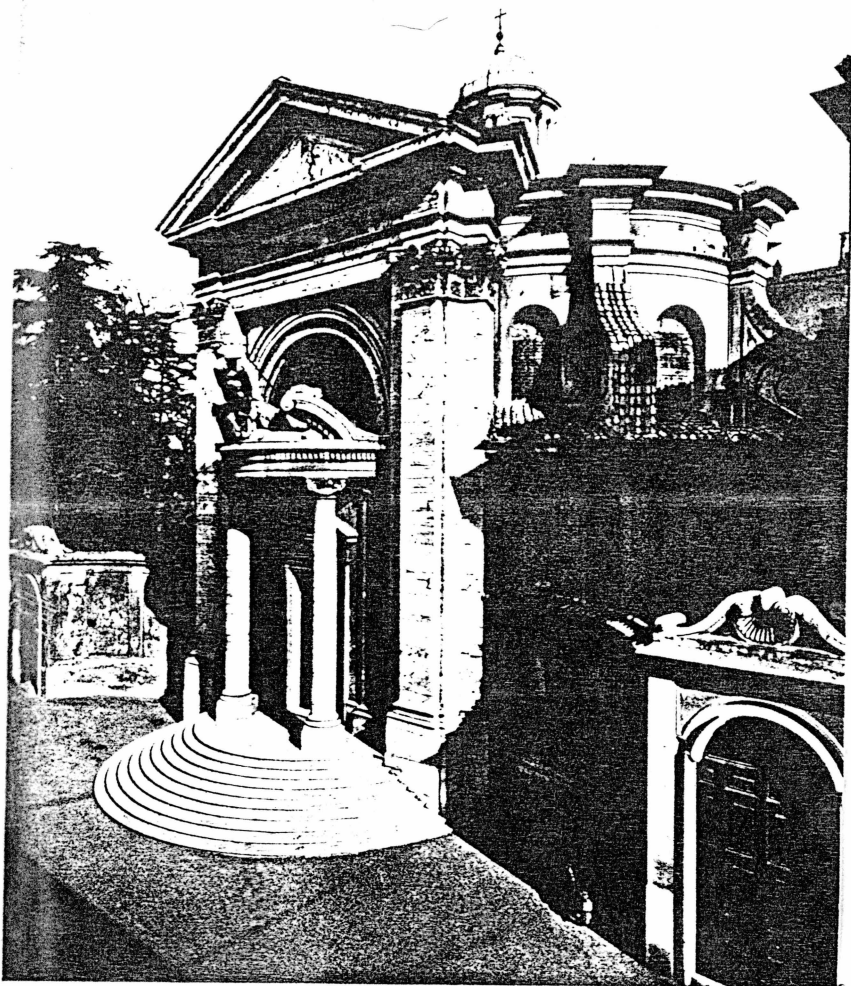


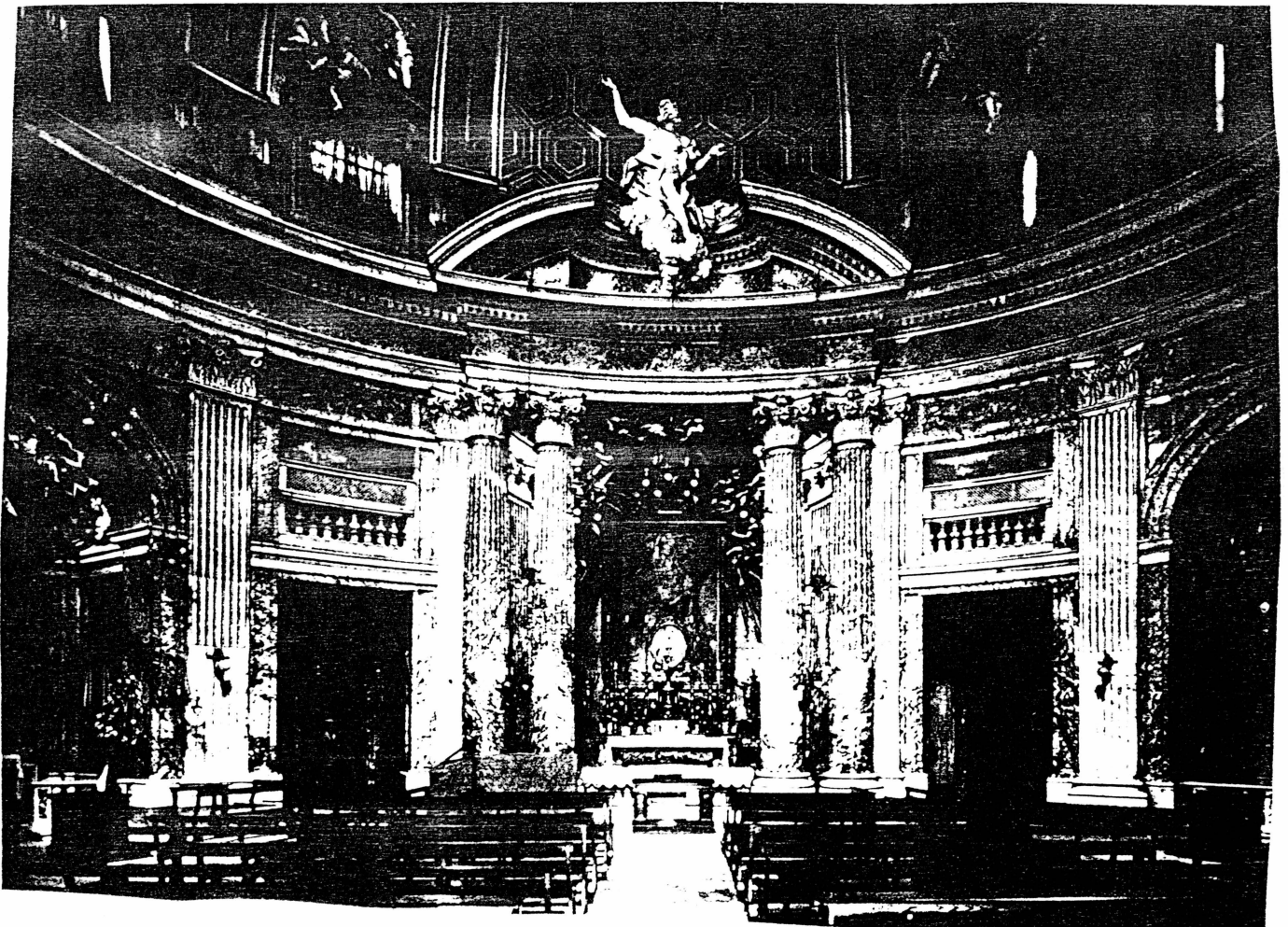
Fig. 70. Santino Solari: Salzburg, Cathedral, begun 1614, plan

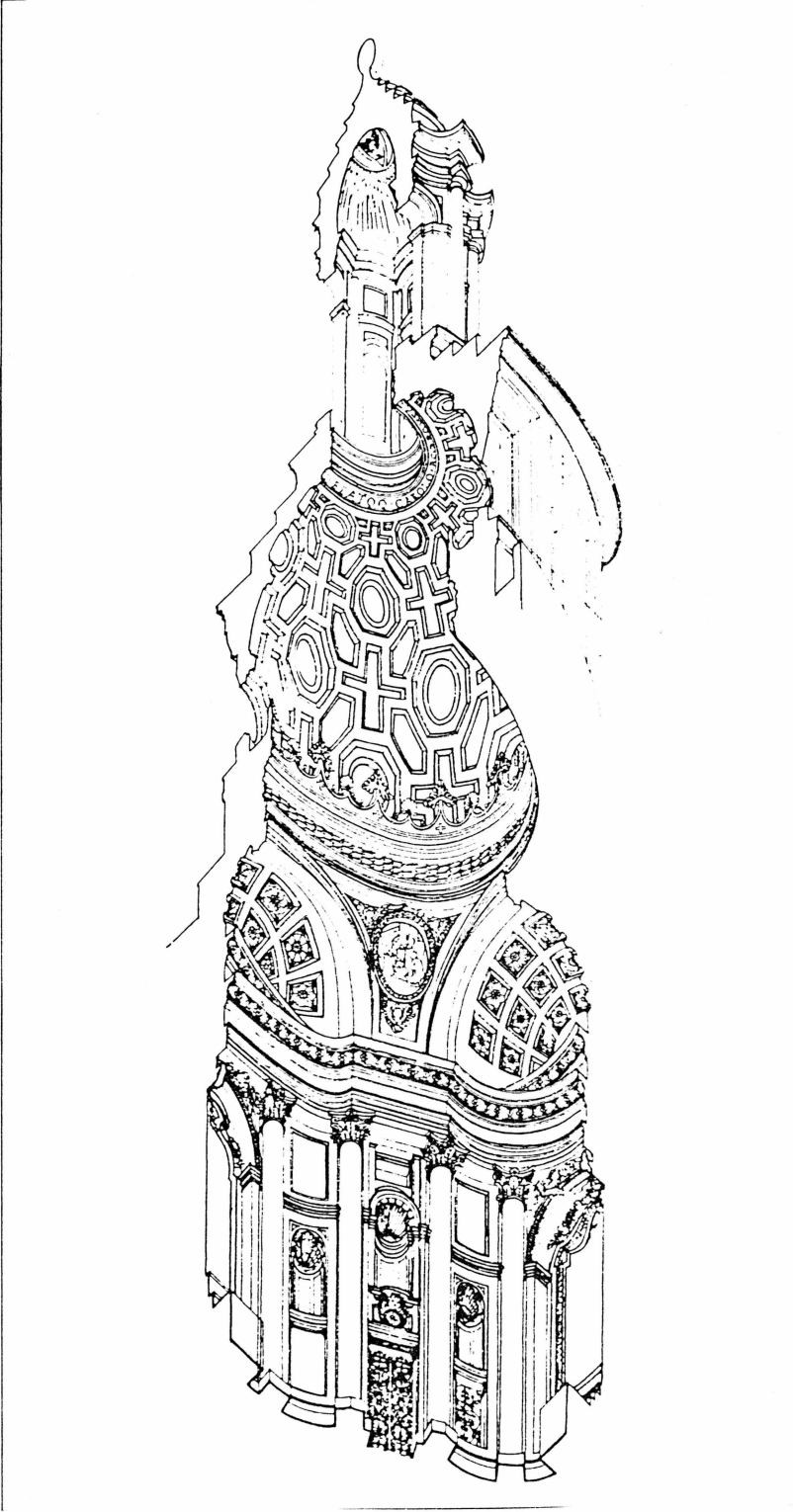
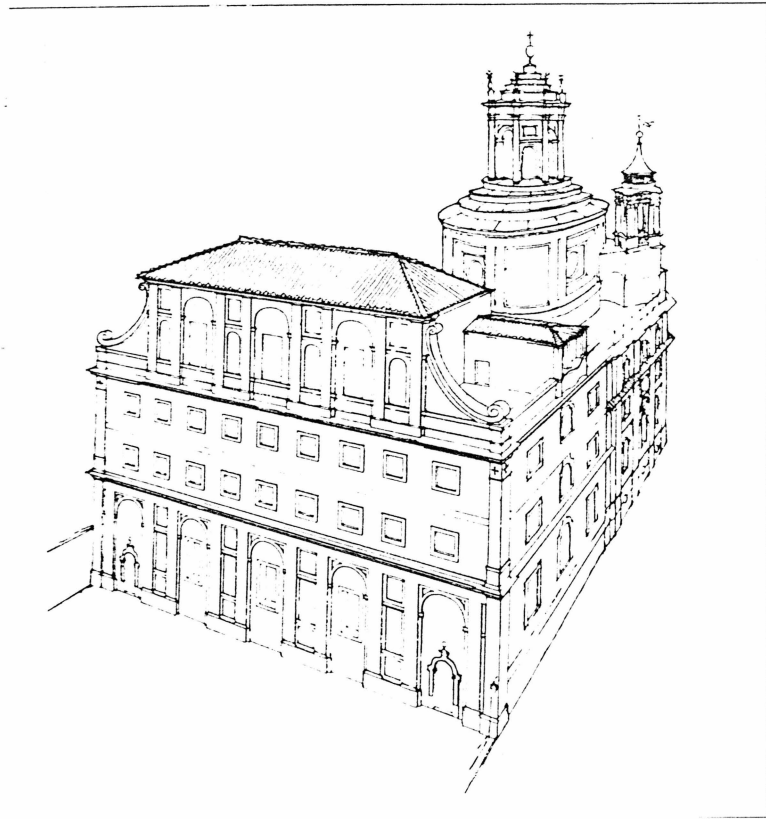
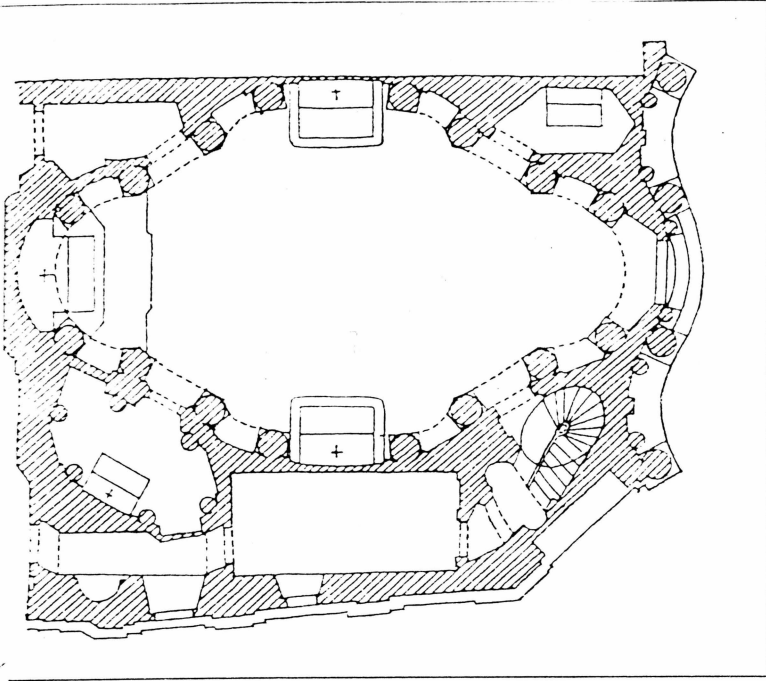


Archbishop Sitticus with a plan for the cathedral; the cathedral floorplan by Solari; the interior of the cathedral, looking east.

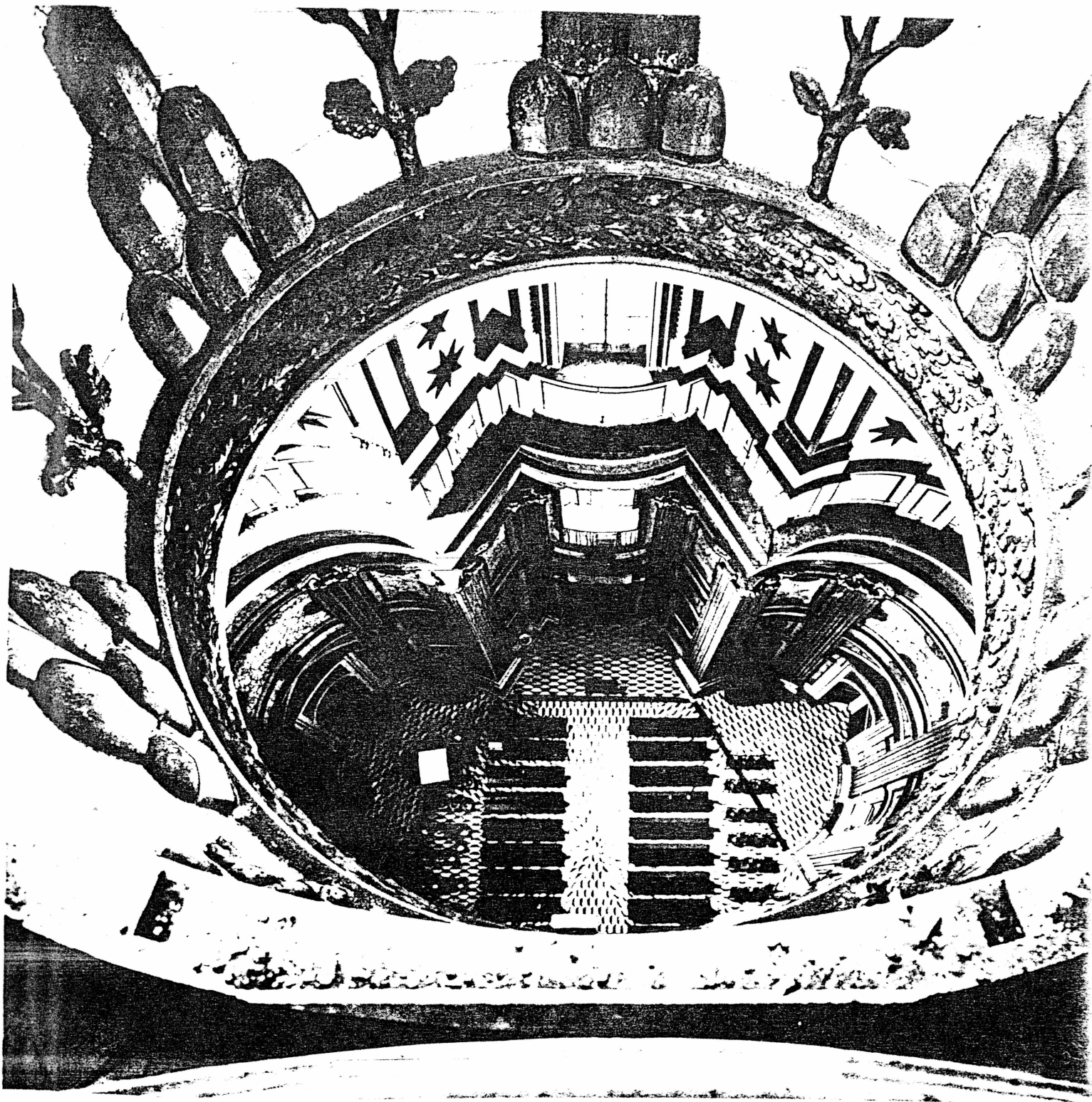


Bernini's S. Anrea al Quirinale:
Exterior and Interior, looking
east

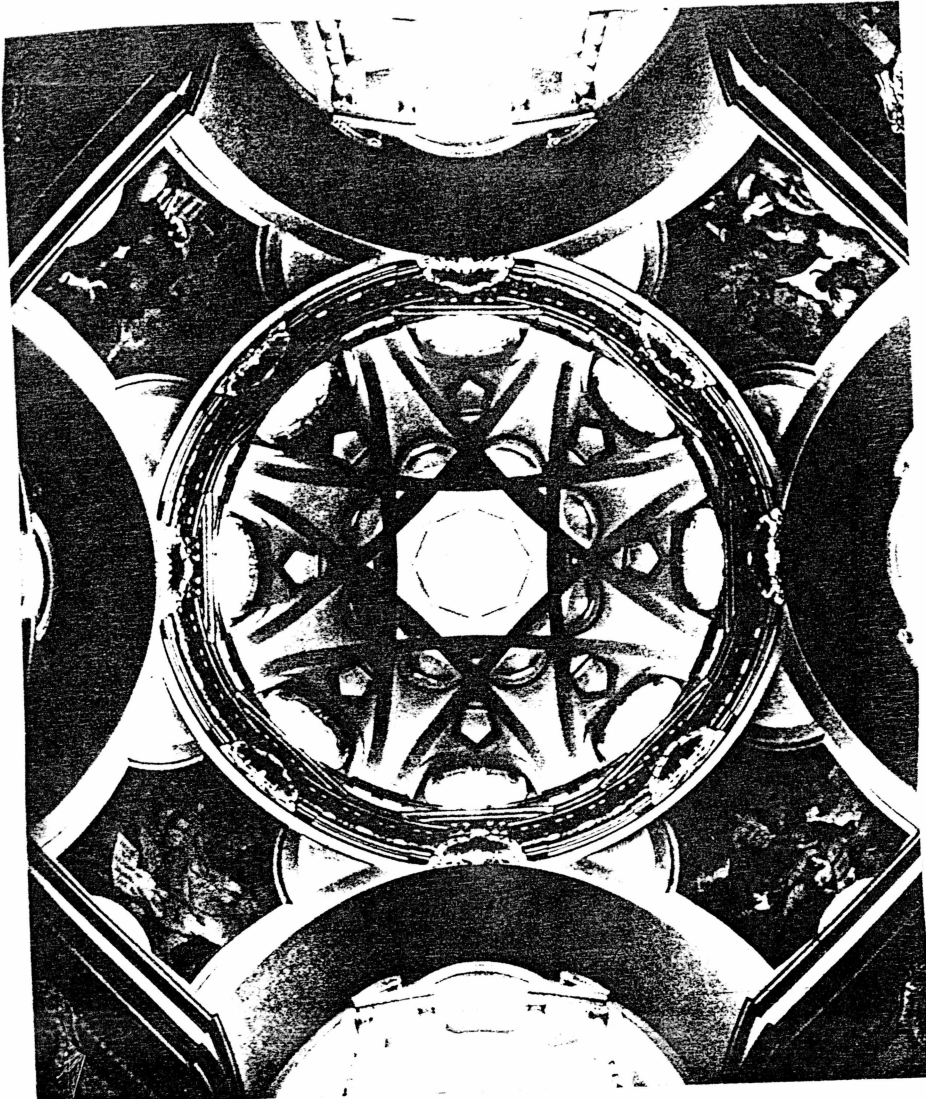




Borromini's San Carlo with Floorplan, View from the East, and Interior Section



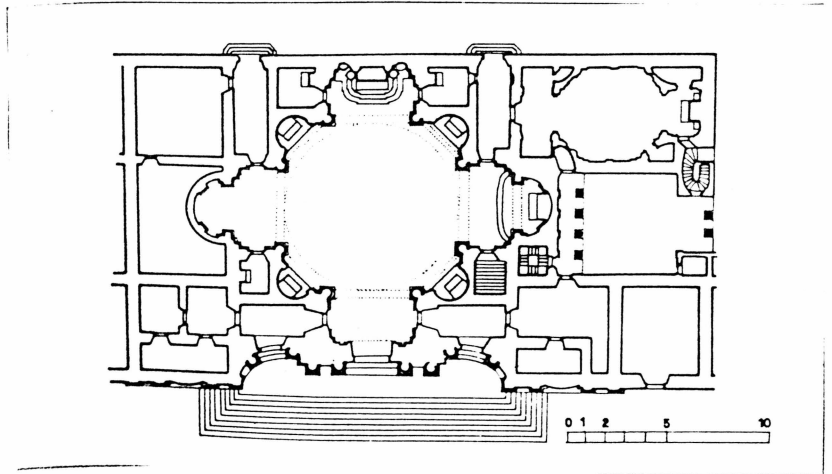
Borromini's S. Ivo: Interior view from the lantern



The Dome of the Chapel of the Holy Shroud, Turin. Here, Guarini the mathematician and Guarini the decorator join forces.



Borromini's S. Agnese in Agone, Piazza Navona:
Facade and Floorplan

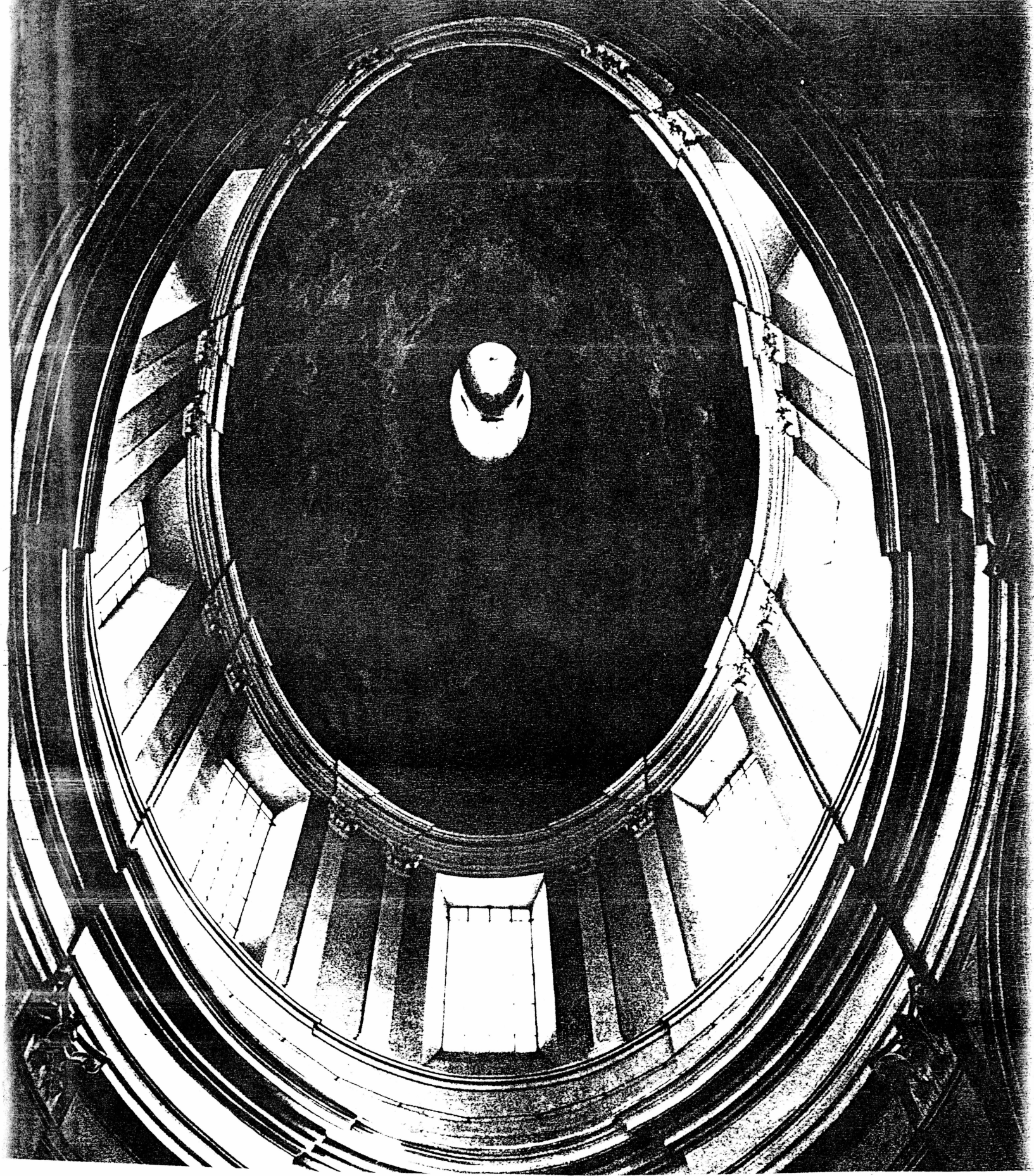




Borromini's S. Agnese in Agone, Piazza Navona: Original Schema



Fischer von Erlach's Dreifaltigkeitskirche

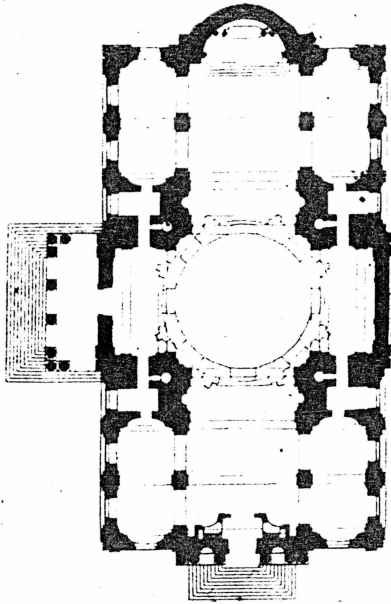


Fischer von Erlach's Dreifaltigkeitskirche: Interior, the Dome

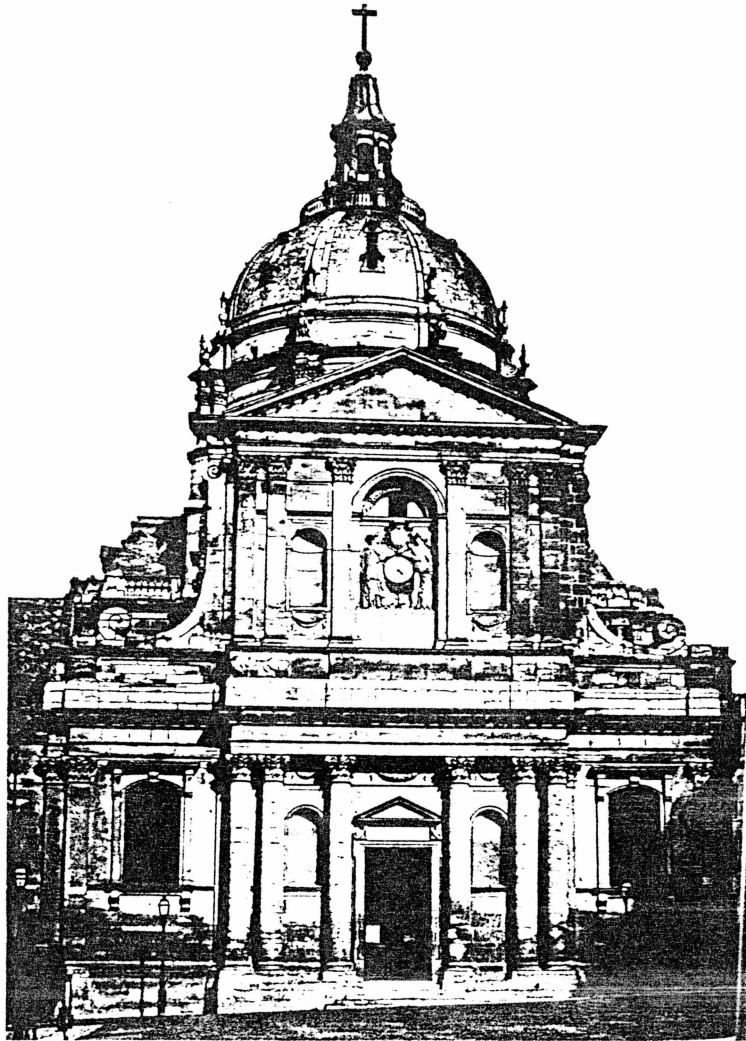


The Prototypical German Jesuit Church: St. Michael's, Munich

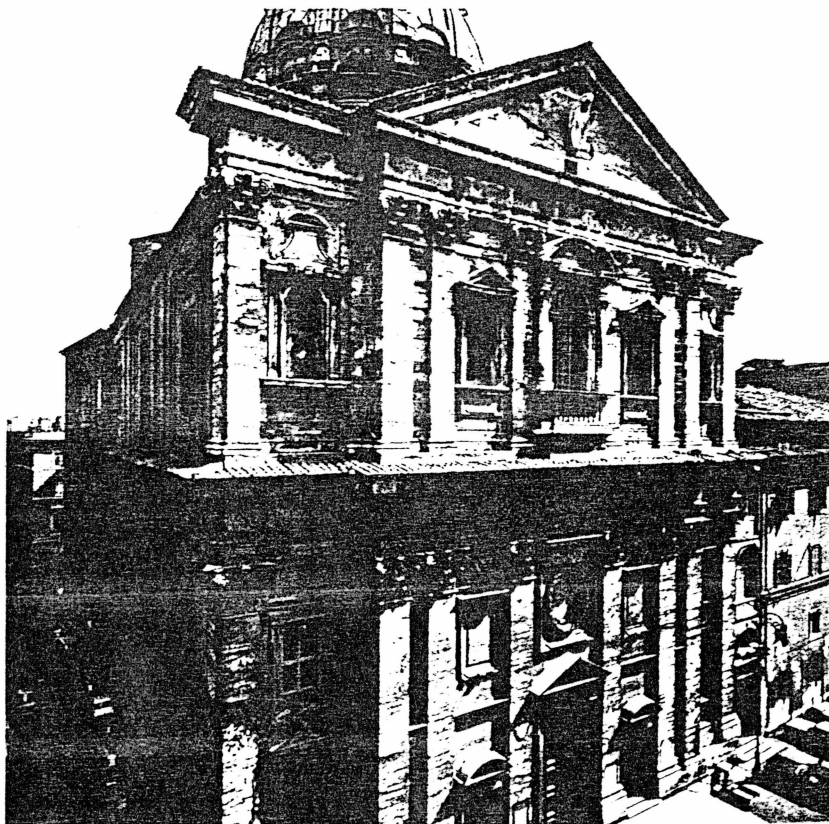
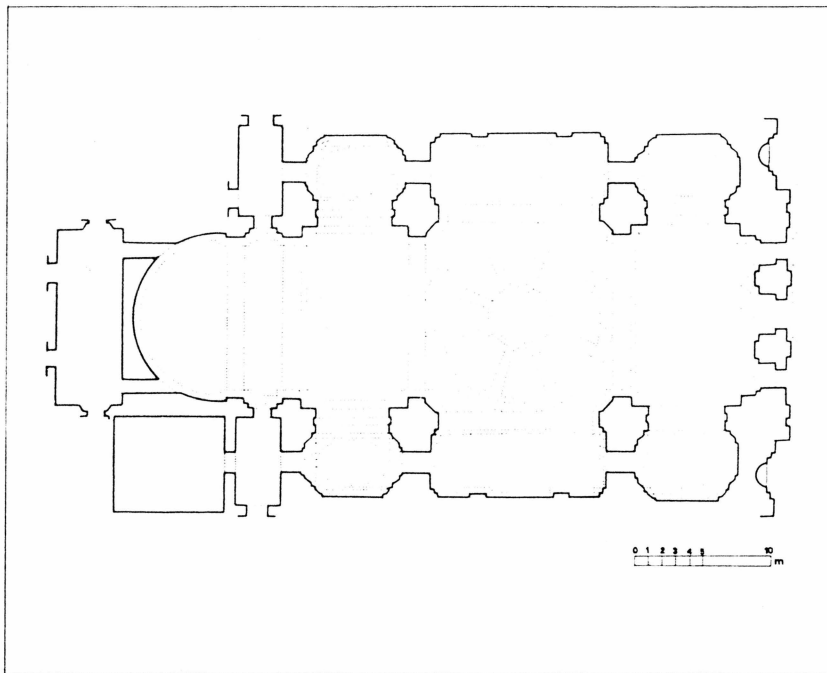
51. Jacques Lemercier. Church of the Sorbonne, Paris. Façade.



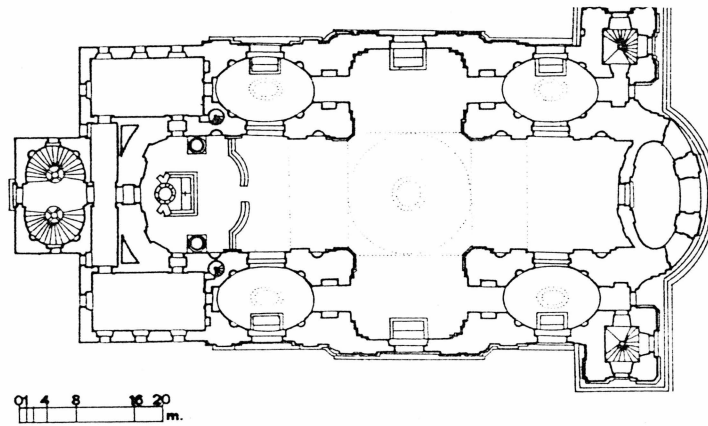
50. Jacques Lemercier. Church of the Sorbonne, Paris, 1635. Plan.



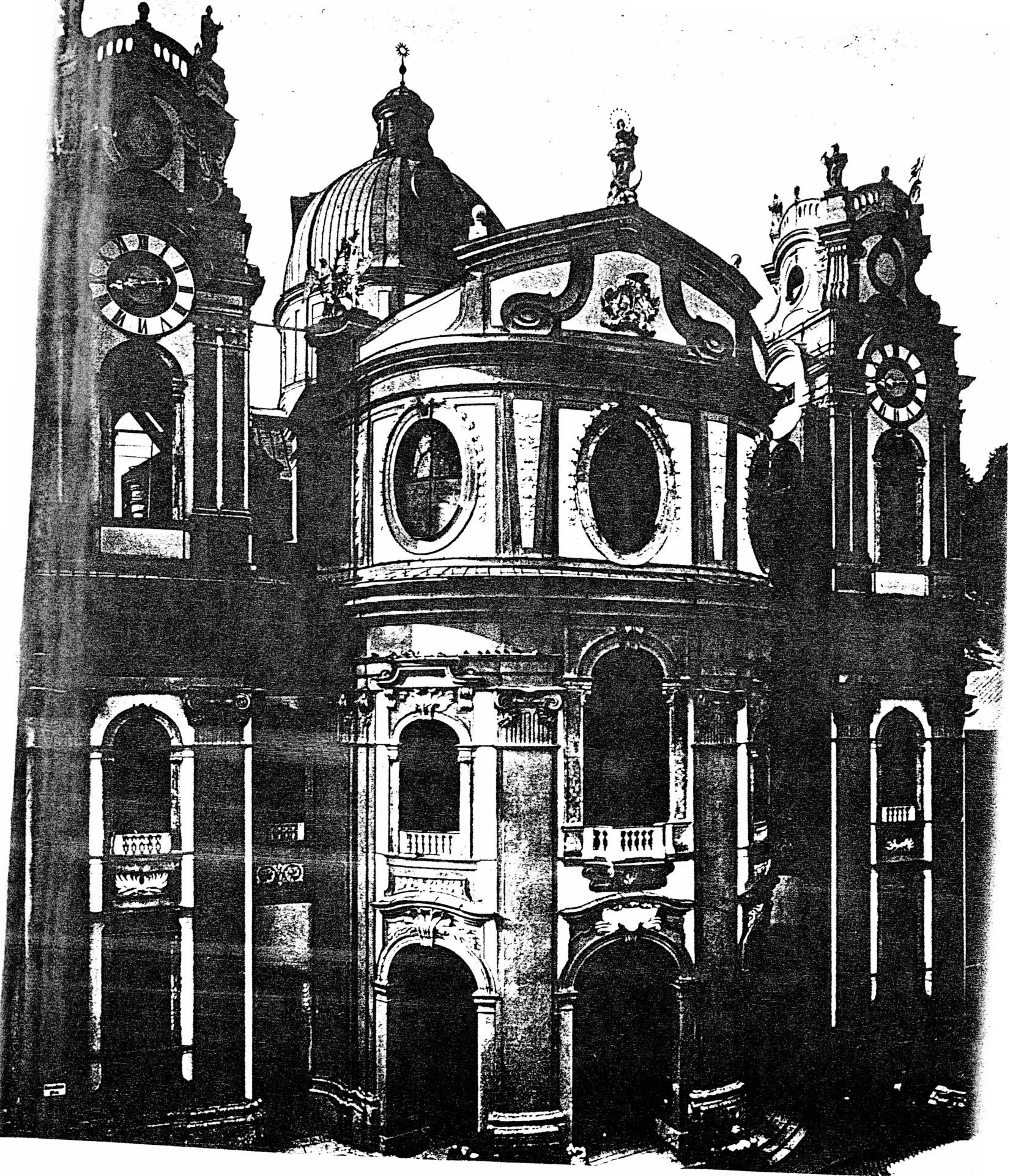
Lemercier's Church of the Sorbonne, the plan of which, along with Rosati's San Carlo, influenced Fischer von Erlach's Kollegienkirche.



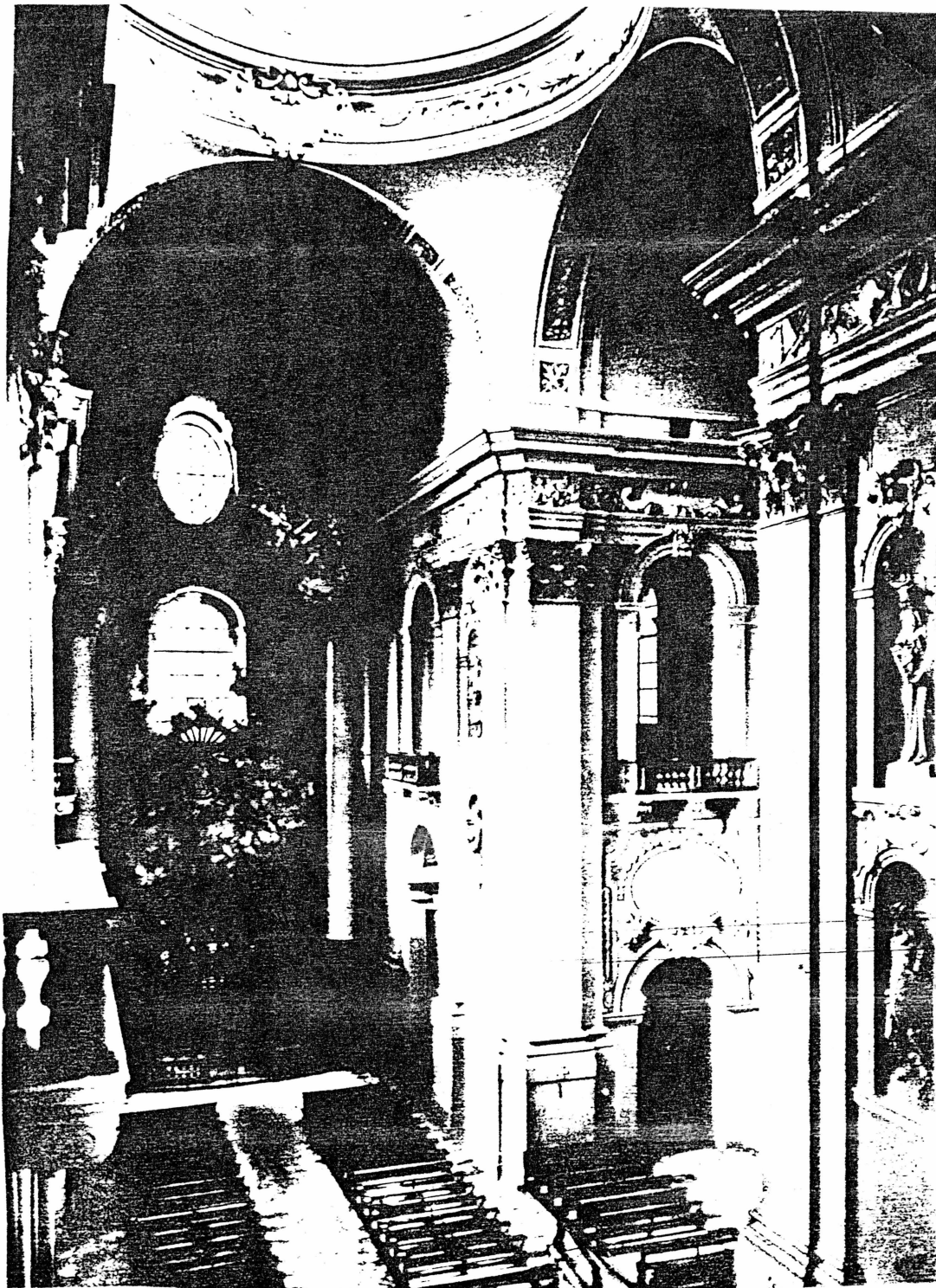
Rosato Rosati's San Carlo ai Catinari: the floorplan, with a central space and four diagonal chapels was used by Fischer von Erlach for the Kollegienkirche.



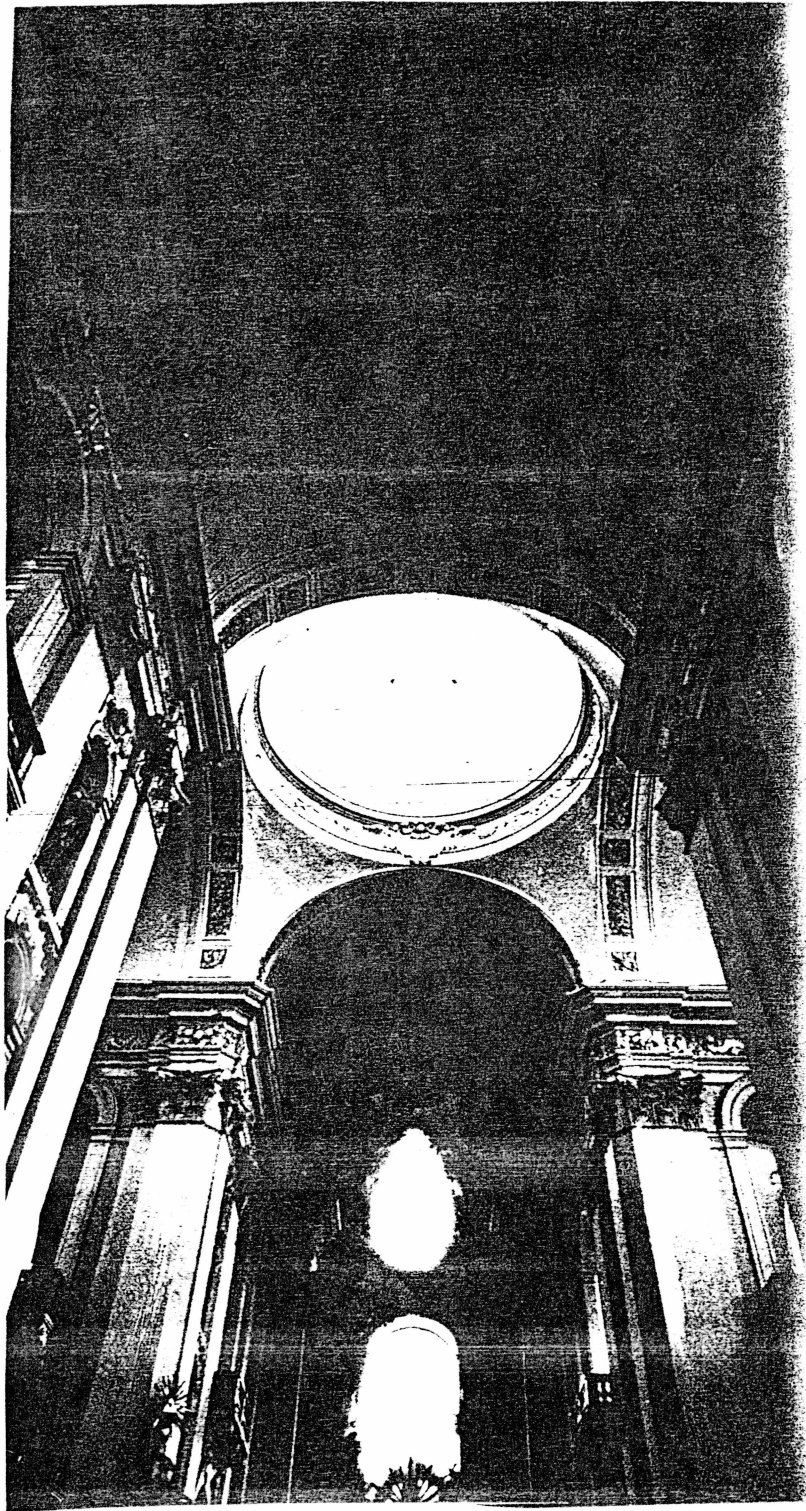
The Kollegienkirche, Lateral View and Floorplan



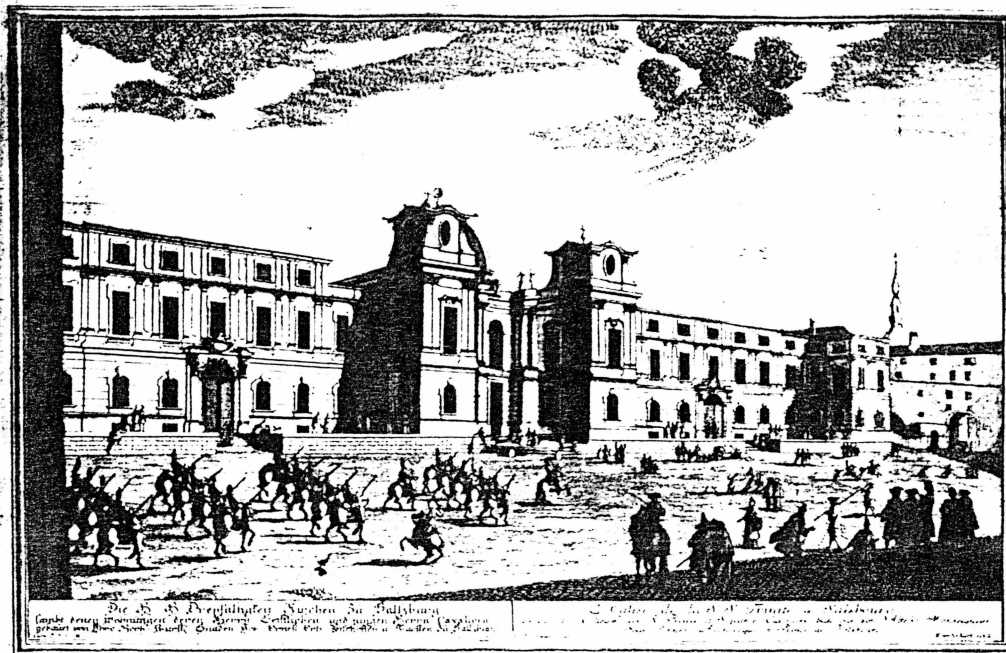
Fischer von Erlach's Kollegienkirche, the West Facade



Fischer von Erlach's Kollegienkirche: Interior, looking to high altar



Fischer von Erlach's Kollegienkirche: Interior, looking up to dome

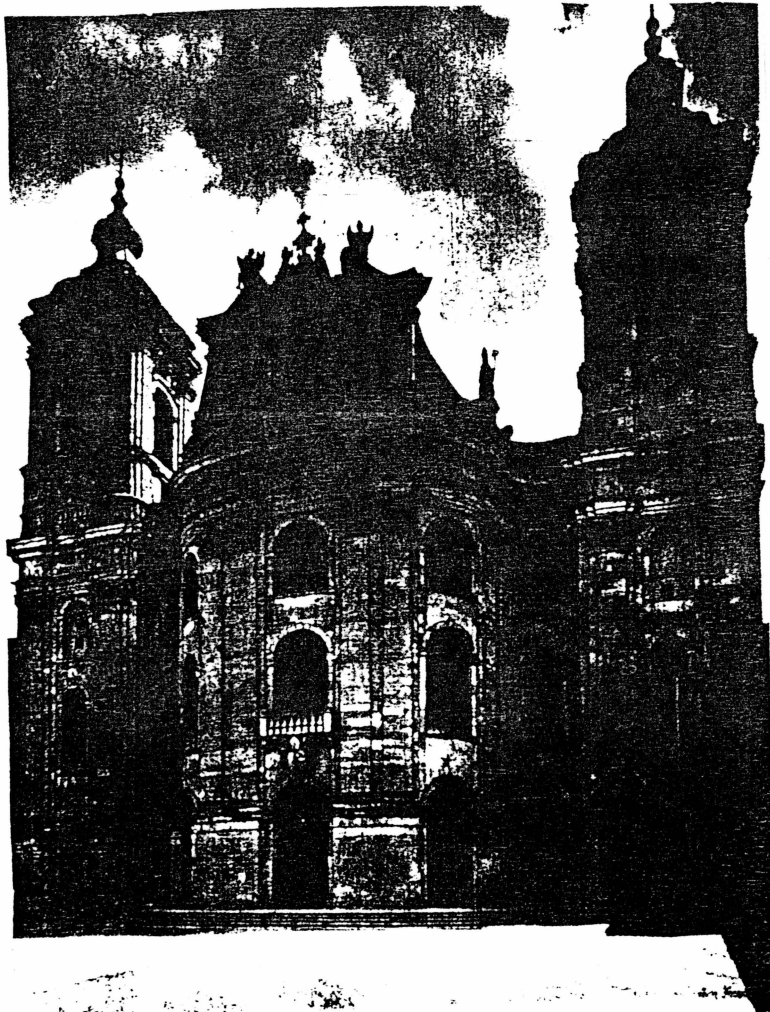
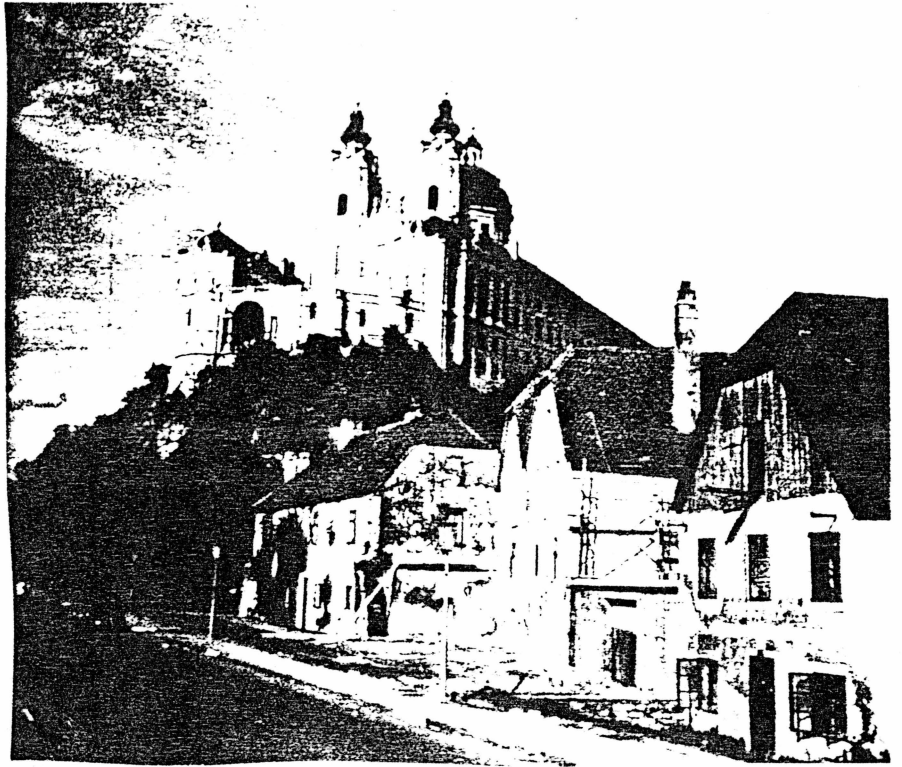


(A) Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach: Salzburg, Dreifaltigkeitskirche, 1694–8. Engraving

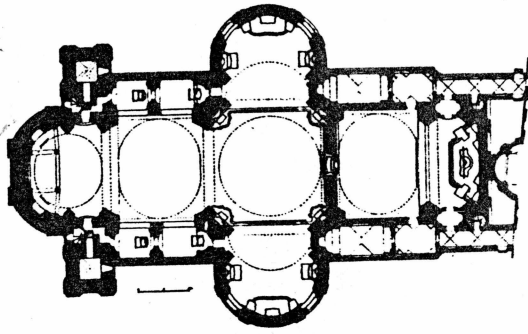


(B) Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach: Salzburg, Kollegienkirche, 1696–1707. Engraving

Engravings: The Dreifaltigkeitskirche (top) and the Kollegienkirche (bottom)



Melk and Steinhausen
Abbeys: showing the
widespread influence
of the Kollegienkirche's
convex facade.

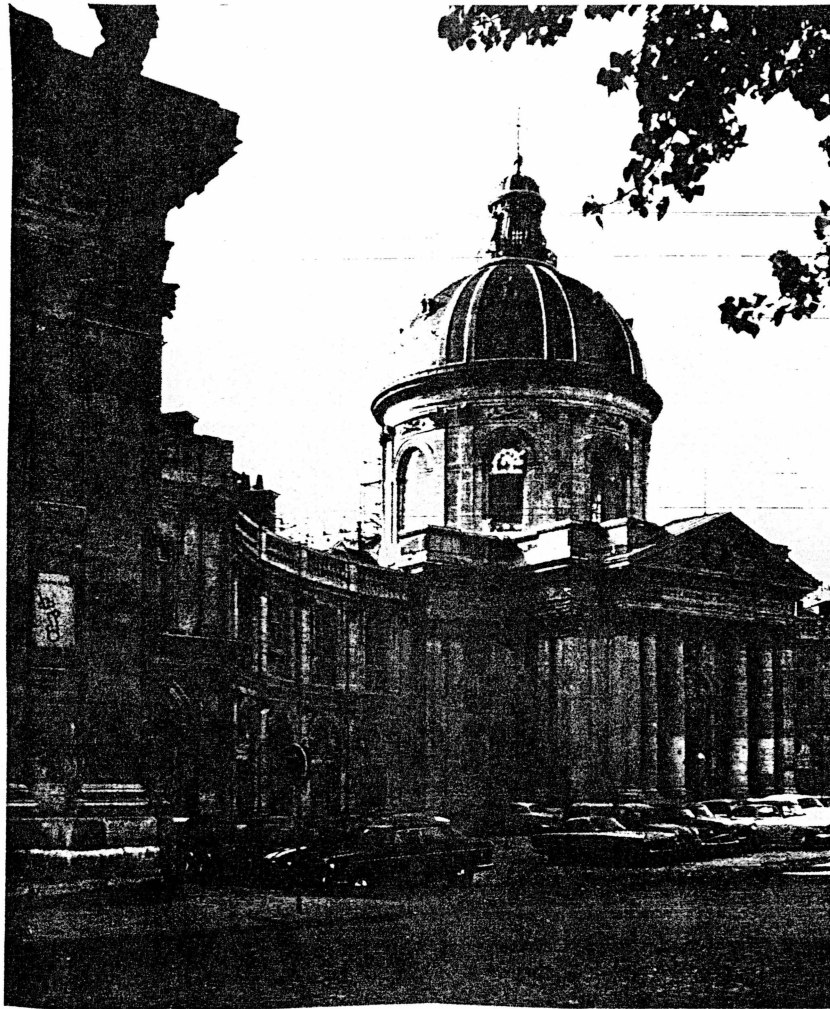


73. Johann Michael Fischer. Benedictine Abbey, Ottobeuren, begun 1744. Plan.

74. Johann Michael Fischer. Benedictine Abbey, Ottobeuren. Exterior.



Bavaria's Ottobeuren Abbey, showing the convex facade, the popularity of which became quite pronounced in the 18th Century.

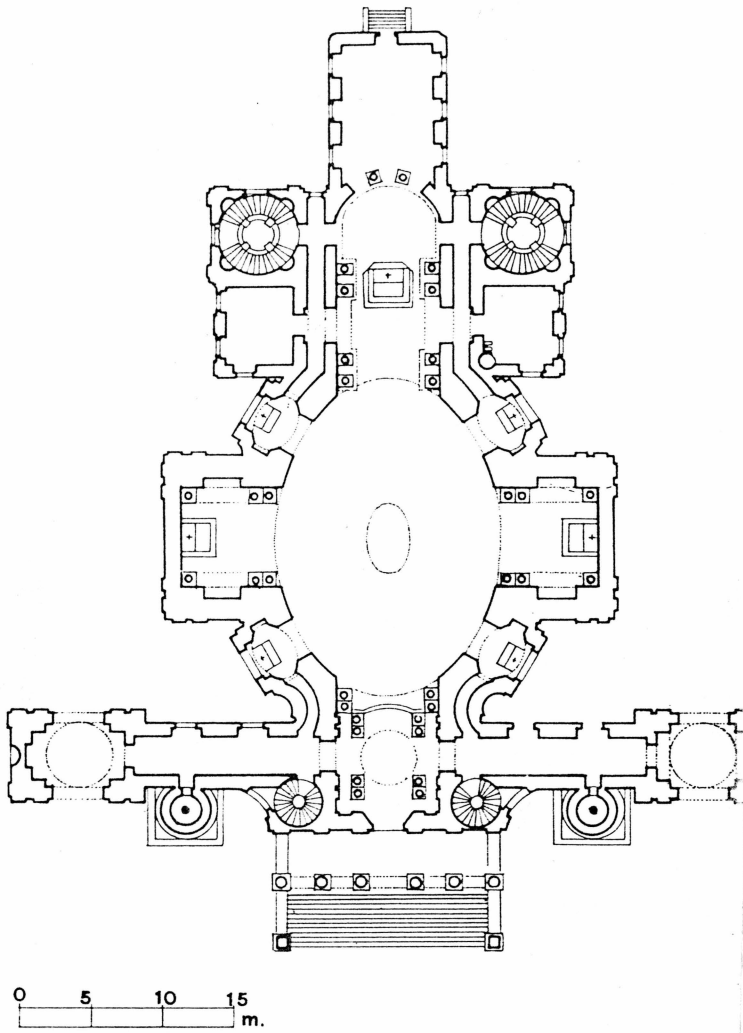


Le Vau's College of the Four Nations: Paris



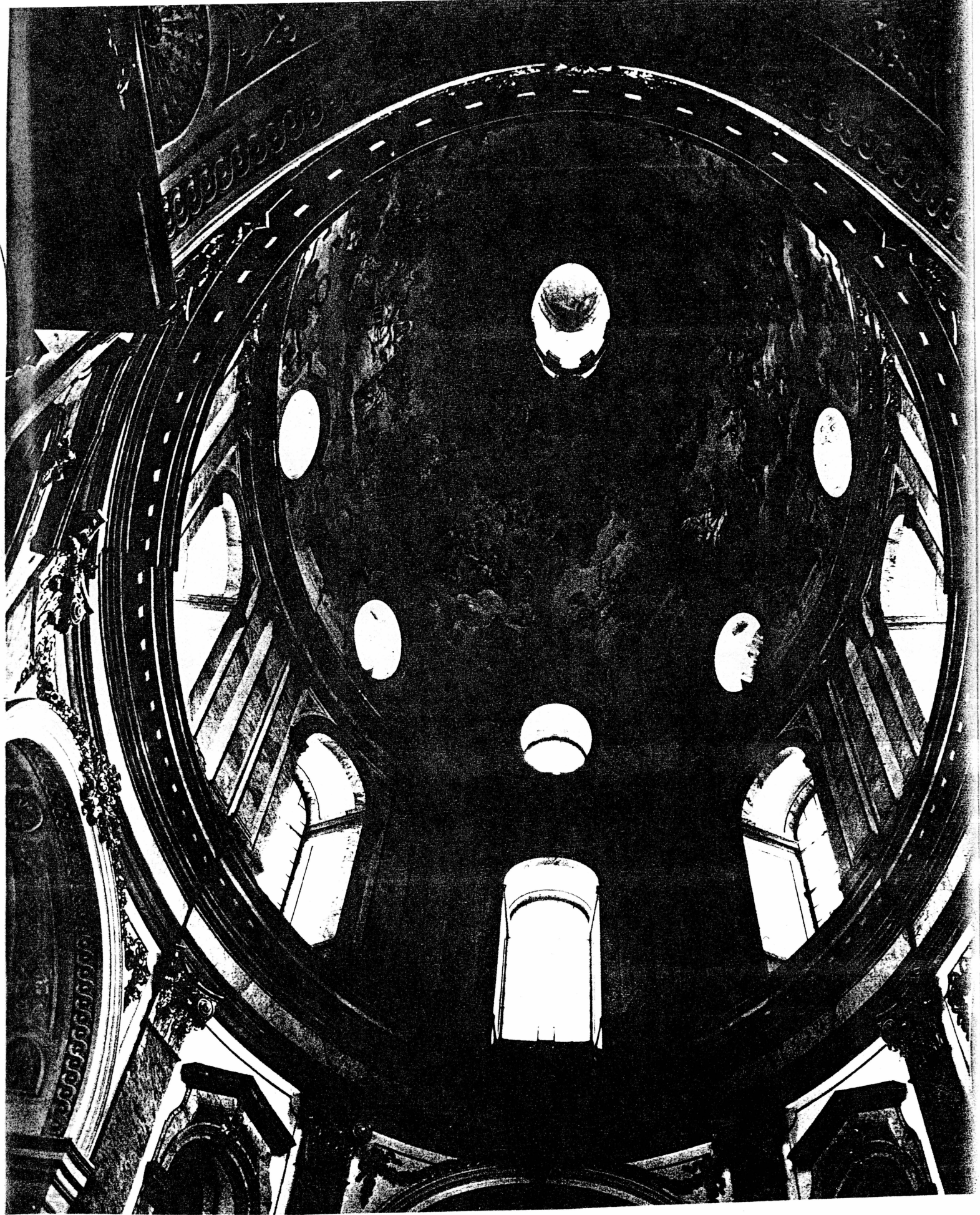
Fischer von Erlach's Karlskirche: The Facade

Fischer von Erlach's Karlskirche
The Floorplan



Karlskirche: Detail, A Triumphal
Column





Fischer von Erlach's Karlskirche: Interior, the Dome