

# EMBODIMENTS OF POWER?

Baroque Architecture in the Former Habsburg Residences  
of Graz and Innsbruck

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## Introduction

Having overcome the political, religious, and economic crisis of the 'Thirty Years' War, princes in central Europe started to reconstruct their palaces and build towns as monuments of power. Baroque residences such as Karlsruhe combine the princely palace with the city, and even the territory, and were considered paradigms of rule in the age of absolutism.<sup>1</sup> In Austrian Vienna, both the nobility and the imperial family undertook reshaping the city as a baroque residence only after the second Ottoman siege in 1683. Despite the *Reichsstil* of Emperor Karl VI, the baroque parts of the Viennese Hofburg and the baroque summer residence of Schönbrunn were executed as the style itself was on the wane, and were still incomplete in the Enlightenment period.<sup>2</sup> It may be stated, then, that the complex symbolic setting of baroque Viennese architecture reveals the complex power relations between the House of Habsburg and the nobility, who together formed a sort of "diarchy," so that the Habsburgs did not exercise absolutist rule.<sup>3</sup> Additionally, it cannot be overlooked that the lower nobility and burghers, though hardly politically influential, imitated the new style, which was of course by no means protected by any sort of copyright.<sup>4</sup>

For all these reasons, reading baroque cities as embodiments of power<sup>5</sup> is problematic. Such a project is faced with a phenomenon situated between complex actual power relations and a more or less learned discourse on princely power and

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architecture (which was part of the art realm as well), and princes, noblemen, and citizens inspired to build in the baroque style.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, most baroque cities, as physical locations, had a history that revealed inherited symbolic settings through which different groups of actors had represented themselves throughout the years. Not only did the prince and the nobility leave their mark on the urban landscape, but church and citizens did so as well. Thus, the embodiment of power in architecture was necessarily a process of change dependent on other elements of political culture, as well as on topographical conditions, the concept of honor, change in other cultural spheres, and the dissemination of style. This raises the question as to what extent a phenomenon as complex as the baroquization of a town can be fully understood by means of an actor-centered approach, that is, by looking only at, for example, those individuals who ordered or carried out the architectural changes.

The most problematic cases of baroquization by far are those in which a city lost its function as a residence and thereby its significance as a primary stage for the representation of power relations. In the seventeenth century, this is exactly what happened in Graz and Innsbruck, both of which nevertheless underwent a process of partial baroquization comparable to other central European cities. It is the aim of this article to portray this process in these two cities and to ask, to what extent can this be understood as an embodiment of power?

## Power Relations in Early Modern Austria

The scholarship of recent decades has caused the field to revise its concept of the absolutism of princely power in the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century. In 1980, Hubert Christian Ehalt not only interpreted the ceremonial of the Habsburg dynasty and its reshaping of Vienna as a baroque residence as forms of expression of absolutist rule, but he also emphasized the central architecture of Schönbrunn and the renovation of the Hofburg castle, interpreting these phenomena as intended instruments of Habsburg power.<sup>7</sup>

Aloys Winterling later showed that the efforts of the Electors of Cologne to hold a magnificent court, and to create a distinctive personal image for themselves by erecting splendid palaces in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was not primarily a reflection of their political function. More importantly, it underlined their personal dignity and asserted their equality with the other princes of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>8</sup> In their studies of Austrian Habsburg rule, Robert J. W. Evans and Jean Bérenger, in contrast with the then dominant understanding, emphasized the relative weakness of the dynasty, which they claimed was very much dependent on the cooperation of the noble elite that dominated the provinces and estates. Thus, since the power to rule was based on a compromise (*Herrschaftskompromiß*) centered on spheres of influence and mutual recognition, political rule was, in effect, exercised by a “diarchy.”<sup>9</sup> Current research has highlighted some of the different dimensions within which this coordination of

princely and noble interests took place, such as the court. This interpretation locates the power of rule within a complex process of communication.<sup>10</sup> Within this changed setting, the interpretation of baroque art as an instrument of power has necessarily been modified. The nobility's investment in baroque art is now rather seen as an important element of an "economy of honor."<sup>11</sup> During this period of cooperation and limited power, a conceptual, institutional, military, and bureaucratic modernization took place that enabled the emperors, from the mid-eighteenth century on, to carry out bureaucratic centralization by abolishing the provincial administration traditionally controlled by the nobility. Thus, as of the mid-eighteenth century, the Crown was able to exert a more direct influence over local and urban subjects. Whereas both court- and locally-based power relations have been the focus of research in recent years, the regional and provincial levels have suffered from scholarly neglect, leaving us relatively underinformed on how political power was exerted away from the large residential centers, above all in the eighteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

## Representation of Power

This complex change in the distribution of power was linked with a change in the forms through which power came to be represented. In the seventeenth century, power's execution and representation were still closely linked to interaction-based forms of communication within and between all the different social strata—for example, at the ceremonialized court, in the form of coronations or homages both of noblemen and burghers. The eighteenth century, in contrast, tended to marginalize the relevance of these expressions, which by this time also were partly abolished, relying instead on the power of less personal forces such as laws. The modern state, perceived by some as a machine, found a new conceptualization as a territorial entity with a public sphere, rather than as a hierarchical melange of persons and privileges.<sup>13</sup>

Urban political culture developed in a slightly different manner. Despite the influential change in the paradigmatic concept of state power, in the early modern period most towns were hardly capable of generating and maintaining an independent public sphere. Instead, they conserved the relevance of face-to-face communication and ritualized forms of locally embedded interaction. Additionally, the towns' material and structural heritage kept different layers of historical development and former arrangements or representations of power visible for longer periods, reaching back to more distant periods.

The persistence of representations of power over time within changing surroundings presented a challenge to the persistence of symbolic meaning. Power has a semiotic dimension: force must be related to the use of signs in order to be attributed to elements of a political system and thus to be understood as power.<sup>14</sup> Thus, political strategies are perceived by means of their symbolic representations. However, since signs and symbols—be they actions, rituals, or monuments—

have a distinct semiotic and material structure,<sup>15</sup> it is evident that the relationship between power relations and the symbolic representations that enable us to perceive them may take on different forms. An example of a concordance might be the attempts of princes to imbue their architectural blueprints and estates with expressions of their power, for example, the plans for imperial palaces such as Schönbrunn. Others might be the series of palaces of noblemen, statehouses of the estates (*Landhäuser*) in provincial capitals, and the town halls of the burghers (figure 1.1). Furthermore, one has to consider time within the framework of power relations and their symbolic representation. Some symbols, rituals, and monuments may have lost their meaning and thereby indicate social change, whereas others preserve their communicative function.

This observation is of some relevance for our purpose. Urban space preserves monuments without being able to preserve their exact status in earlier processes through which meaning was constructed; this may explain why princes were so fond of rituals.<sup>16</sup> Baroque artists saw this problem and were aware of using a fashionable style available to everybody and anybody. Therefore, their designs included long-lasting, meaningful elements intended to incorporate a capacity for political representation that would survive the ages. Elements such as perspectives, sheer size, degree of perfection, and sophistication would thus suggest, to those able to decipher the monuments of the town in the intended manner, the specific points of view these viewers should adopt in order to interpret the manifold signs and symbols preserved and presented in such urban spaces as convincing representations of meaning.



**Figure 1.1.** Graz, the Landhaus, official meeting place of the estates of Styria. Built 1557–64 by the architect Domenico dell’Allio (photo by Mark Hengerer).

## Dimensions of Analysis

To achieve an understanding of how baroque cities were constructed as embodiments of power, we would, therefore, have to create a polydimensional frame of analysis that would consider both the process of renovating an existing city structure, as well as the process of perceiving a city. One would have to combine an analysis of the actors, their purposes, cultural heritage, and forms of expression, their material resources and relevant stages, with an analysis of the different nets of signs and symbols producing different layers and dimensions of meaning in the urban space. Because all of these were strengthened, changed, or challenged by innovation, one would additionally have to take into consideration the manner in which intended perceptions of the towns were created through different types of media.<sup>17</sup> Such an analysis exceeds what is possible in the limited framework of this article. However, I will try not to neglect completely the perceptual dimension, while concentrating on the different forms of representation of the relevant social actors—princes, noblemen and estates, church and burghers—within their complex, dynamic, and processual symbolic setting.

In the following, I will discuss the baroquization of two major Austrian cities, Graz and Innsbruck. They are of special interest for the baroque period in Austria because, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they were both capitals of larger territories with resident Habsburg princes, the Inner Austrian prince residing in Graz, and the prince of the Tyrolean branch of the Habsburg dynasty residing in Innsbruck. Both cities lost this status at the outset of the baroque period. In the case of Graz, it was the death of Emperor Matthias in 1619 and the extinction of the imperial lineage that brought the Inner Austrian Habsburg prince Archduke Ferdinand, later Ferdinand II, from Graz to his imperial residence in Vienna. In the case of Innsbruck, it was the death of Archduke Ferdinand Franz in 1665 that put the Habsburg Tyrolean territories into the hands of the imperial house, at the time presided over by Emperor Leopold I. Due to this loss of status, we are able to observe the dynamics of baroquization in cities on the periphery of the Habsburg monarchy vacated by their resident Habsburg princes, who are often considered to have been the primary driving forces in the process of baroquization.

## Graz and Innsbruck

Graz and Innsbruck had many other characteristics in common (figure 1.2). Both occupied primarily one bank of a river (the Inn and the Mur) but were developing suburbs on the other side. With long medieval traditions, both had served as imperial residences for some time in the late Middle Ages: Graz under the reign of Emperor Friedrich III, Innsbruck under the reign of Maximilian I. Finally, in both towns, important monuments testified to the strong impact the Habsburg imperial dynasty had had on the shape of the town during the late



**Figure 1.2.** Graz, view towards west, copper engraving by Andreas Trost, 1699.

medieval period. Both cities had late medieval *Hofburgen* (castle districts), and in both towns great mausoleums were erected: in Graz by Ferdinand II for himself, his first wife, and their descendants, in Innsbruck by Ferdinand I for Maximilian I, intended as a monument to the entire Habsburg dynasty at the same time.<sup>18</sup> Both towns contained noble houses or residences, in both towns diets were held, both towns had experienced an early and sustained re-Catholicization in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and both hosted several monasteries but not a bishop. Ferdinand II had made efforts to install a bishop in Graz in 1626,<sup>19</sup> but in vain; only in the seventeenth century was Innsbruck's main town church able to gain its independence from the influential prelate of Wilten, who resided close to the city.

Aside from these similarities, there also were important differences in the development of the two towns. In the case of Graz, there was, above all, the Ottoman threat against which strong defense systems were reinforced over and over, both for the town and the citadel with its princely garrison; Innsbruck, on the other hand, while it did have some fortifications, did not have a citadel or garrison.<sup>20</sup> Second, Graz had many more inhabitants than Innsbruck, with about 15,000 in the late seventeenth century.<sup>21</sup> Third, Tyrol featured an exceptional constitution according to which the peasants formed an estate, thus limiting the power of the Tyrolean nobility, which held minor economic power and was less prominently represented in Vienna than the Inner Austrian nobility. Furthermore, the Inner Austrian estates, backed by their important role in the wars against the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century, had stood up for their religious autonomy and developed a high degree of solidarity within the estates. This was expressed by an outstanding *Landhaus* architecture as early as the sixteenth century, whereas the Tyrolean nobility, already uniformly Catholic at the time, did not build their *Landhaus* until the eighteenth century, at which juncture it was too late to attempt to preserve the limited autonomy of the estates.<sup>22</sup>

## Graz: The Prince

Though Ferdinand II had given up Graz as his residence after his succession to the imperial throne, the dependent town retained dominant features of the Habsburgs' princely rule, which manifested itself above all in Renaissance style. The first thing any traveler who came to Graz would have seen was the strong Renaissance citadel on the mountain at the foot of the Mur valley, protecting the city (figure 1.3). Entering the city, he would have passed through gates that were mainly Renaissance structures. The outer Sacktor in the north was built in 1625 as a two-story Renaissance gate with a *rustica* portal showing an imperial eagle, the arms of Austria and Styria, and an inscription mentioning the prince and the year: "FERDINANDUS II. ROM. IMP. S. AVG".<sup>23</sup> The eastern gate, the Paulustor, the most important Renaissance gate in the German parts of the former Roman Empire, was erected between 1585 and 1614. It, too, bore princely coats of arms and inscriptions,<sup>24</sup> as did the pre-Renaissance southern gate, the Eisernes Tor (Iron Gate).<sup>25</sup> Other older, much less representative gates followed at varying intervals. These gates hardly referred to the prince, but rather to earlier functional needs of defense. From the perspective of the inside of the town, only the citadel made a substantial contribution to the organization of urban space.

Within the town, the streets had developed mainly in reaction to the topographical conditions established by the river Mur and the mountain and the two strata of the town—the lower town on the bank of the river Mur and upper town in the east, thus giving it an irregular physical geometry. Other dominant



Figure 1.3. Graz, view from the south, copper engraving by Matthaeus Merian, 1649.

architectural marks of princely rule were rare. Those that existed were also, above all, Renaissance structures; lacking critical mass, they could not establish a central focus in the city. Instead, they were all located at the edges of the town, mostly situated in the northeast and not directly related to the topographically dominant intersections of the streets that connected the city gates.

The court of the Hofburg, erected by Emperor Frederic III from 1438 onwards and enlarged by Maximilian I in Gothic style, was closed on the street side by Ferdinand I by means of a Renaissance portal that was quite similar to the city gates. The last early modern enlargements were carried out before 1620, once again in Renaissance style.<sup>26</sup> Close to the castle lay the magnificent mausoleum of Ferdinand II, erected in late Renaissance Mannerist style with some baroque elements (figure 1.4). Although it was not a secular edifice but a church, it was decorated with images of the imperial crown and a cross.<sup>27</sup> The Paulustorviertel, a quarter built in 1578 together with the new northern gate to the northwest of the castle, was representative of the princes' rule. It was the most regularly designed quarter of the town and included space for a large square, the Karmeliterplatz, a long straight street, as well as a number of Renaissance and baroque edifices. It was remote from the center and dominated by the architectural efforts of monasteries and noblemen. The Hofgasse also, though under the jurisdiction of the prince, was not dominated by secular princely architectural representation,<sup>28</sup> let

alone baroque architecture. There, one could find some princely administration buildings, but they were, as was the case with those located in the lower town, by no means outstanding or representative, even though they were later given a restrained baroque shape.<sup>29</sup>

When, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Habsburg emperors visited the city, nothing of this setting was changed. Although the Hofburg was given a very moderate restoration for Leopold I in 1673 and was decked out with ephemeral baroque art in honor of Emperor Charles VI in 1728, Emperor Josef II preferred to sleep at an inn during his visit to Graz.<sup>30</sup> The town, having lost its function as a residence, was not a relevant stage for the type of representation that would justify renewed and ostentatious investments in contemporary art that we find in Vienna. However, Habsburg rule was nonetheless represented in the



**Figure 1.4.** Graz, mausoleum of Ferdinand II, built 1614–33 by the architect Pietro de Pomis (photo by Mark Hengerer).

symbolic setting of the town—in the very striking form of the clearly marked and still active devices of defense and in the more remote form of remembrance of the period of the Habsburg residency.

## Graz: The Church

Because the outstanding success of Catholicism in the Austrian territories was primarily due to the support of the Habsburg dynasty, the magnificent late Renaissance and baroque churches and monasteries of Graz could be seen as representative monuments of dynastic power. Religious representation, both architectural and ephemeral, was therefore ambiguous. Thus, the very tight net created by the many ecclesiastical buildings of Graz complemented the symbolic setting of the prince's earlier, secular representation dating to the Renaissance period, even though the princely family had not been its decisive benefactors.<sup>31</sup>

In contrast to the prince's local efforts, ecclesiastical architectural innovation did not decrease after 1620, when the Jesuits had already put their stamp on the quarter that lay around the Domkirche and the mausoleum south of the Hofburg. The Jesuit Konvikt, their *collegium*, which soon contained a *gymnasium* and, from 1585 on, the Jesuit university that received its own edifice in 1607–09, all were impressive Renaissance structures that were then partially reshaped in baroque style.<sup>32</sup> For instance, from 1762 on, the Konvikt was fundamentally transformed to reflect a rich and representative baroque style. Its portal is the most important late baroque example of its kind in Graz, revealing the closeness of religious and political representation in the ecclesiastical buildings of Graz. Personifications of religion and science sit at both sides of the entablature; in the middle, two angels hold a portrait of Archduke Charles II above a large inscription "RELIGIONI / ET / BONIS ARTUBUS".<sup>33</sup> The *collegium* kept its external Renaissance appearance, though the portal, situated directly next to the university's Renaissance portal, was remodeled to reflect baroque style in 1692–94, and a baroque bell tower was added in 1718. The interior underwent greater change, some rooms receiving representative baroque ornamentation, for example, the important Prunkstiege (state staircase).<sup>34</sup>

Along with the Jesuits, several ecclesiastical orders settled in Graz, especially in the first half of the seventeenth century, and deepened the network of ambiguous religious representation. The Capuchins and the Carmelites founded monasteries in the Paulusvorstadt,<sup>35</sup> while the Augustinian eremites resided in the heavily trafficked Sporgasse that connected the lower and the upper town.<sup>36</sup> The Carmelite cloister, built 1647–54, was also situated at the periphery of the (lower) town,<sup>37</sup> whereas the Franciscan order settled in the center of the secular burghers' quarter in the lower town near the western Mur gate, and erected a dominant bell tower there in 1636.<sup>38</sup> On the other side of the Mur, the Order of St. Clare availed itself of the former Protestant school, and on the same side of the river, even closer to the important bridge, the Minorites founded a monastery with a magnificent church.<sup>39</sup>

Later, almost all edifices were ornamented with baroque pieces of art and often redesigned in baroque style. The same is true for the many Gothic churches that were often subjected to a far-reaching baroquization as well—for example, the town parish church in the important Herrengasse.<sup>40</sup> Many of these churches and cloisters served as burial sites for both the nobility and burghers, who had their epitaphs and monuments built in fashionable baroque style as was appropriate for the rich. In addition, they donated many pieces of art in this style to the churches. In sum, the highly developed and rich baroque Habsburg Catholicism persistently interspersed the urban landscape with monuments of baroque style, thereby emphasizing its ecclesiastical power.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, it is no wonder that the first baroque façade on a secular building in Graz appeared on the St. Lambrecht Hof, which was then owned by a prelate (1665–1674).<sup>42</sup>

### Graz: The Nobility

After the Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683, it was primarily the nobility that was eager to represent its status through new magnificent baroque palaces.<sup>43</sup> In Graz, the situation was different for many reasons that are, nevertheless, instructive for our understanding of the impact of power relations on the dynamics of baroquization. In the period between the consolidation of the Habsburg rule in the hereditary territories in the first half of the seventeenth century and the state reforms of Maria Theresa from 1748, princely rule was based on cooperation between the regionally and locally influential nobility and the dynasty. Graz remained the capital of Inner Austria and hosted a special privy council, a regiment, and chambers of finance and war,<sup>44</sup> all of which were dominated by the Inner Austrian nobility. Graz was, thus, still an important, albeit regional, power market.

However, the imperial court represented the location of choice for the more ambitious and mighty noblemen, as it was of higher relevance for social integration, social mobility, and social reproduction within the ruling noble society of the Habsburg Monarchy. Significantly, some of the many Inner Austrian noble families who possessed houses or palaces in Graz as early as the sixteenth and early seventeenth century had become integrated into the imperial court earlier, especially under the reign of Emperors Matthias and Ferdinand II. They had been promoted to higher ranks, had married into the new noble elite of the *Erblande*, who often possessed residences in Vienna, and had thus transcended their regional roots before about 1650, all the while still maintaining properties in Graz.<sup>45</sup> For the others, posts in the Inner Austrian administration were appropriate to their regional ambitions and represented a basis from which they could strive for better careers in Vienna as well as a resource for gaining influence within courtly society. Thus, many noble families with lands in Inner Austria kept a footing in the provincial capital of Graz, while they were integrated into the Emperor's court at Vienna as well.<sup>46</sup>

Thus, we see that the political significance of noble palaces in Graz was complex. When baroque architecture was at the height of its popularity, a network of

Renaissance houses or palaces remained.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, the city's most successful courtiers were engaged primarily in Vienna. All at once, Graz found itself left behind,<sup>48</sup> considered by its nobility as a basis for careers in imperial service, a sufficient forum for noble existence between administrative office and country life, or perhaps merely the location of some old family property. The nobility's adoption of the baroque style developed remarkably slowly. Clearly, noble families here could retain their Renaissance palaces, making some few adaptations to baroque style, without any risk of damage to their social position.

The overwhelming majority of noble palaces in Graz visibly retained their basic Renaissance structures, although most of them underwent some moderate form of baroquization.<sup>49</sup> Such changes were very often restricted to a limited set of elements of the edifice such as the portal, the façade, the balcony, the stairwell, *stuccatura* (decorative plasterwork), or a statue of the Virgin Mary. From a visitor's perspective, most relevant for the town's appearance were the façades of its structures, often altered in a property owner's first step towards baroque architecture. From about 1660 to 1765, every few years we find a new baroque façade covering the earlier face of a house.<sup>50</sup> Nonetheless, many palaces retained their Renaissance portals and sometimes their Renaissance windows, as was the case for the very influential Saurau family's palace.<sup>51</sup> Others, having adapted important baroque elements, kept their Renaissance courts;<sup>52</sup> yet others preserved their Renaissance façades but installed a baroque portal (figure 1.5).<sup>53</sup> Baroque



**Figure 1.5.** Graz, Webersperg Palace, view of the courtyard from the east, showing early Renaissance elements over older construction (photo by Mark Hengerer). The baroque façade, at 12 Sackstraße, was built ca. 1710, probably inspired by the palaces of Wildenstein and Attems.

elements such as stairs and *stuccatura* often followed the first baroque elements after a longer period.<sup>54</sup>

Within this clearly quite noncompetitive framework, we do indeed find other stimuli to the process of innovation. In 1689, after the retreat of the Turks, an area between the modern defense system and the ancient medieval town wall in the southern lower town was given by the estates to regionally and locally influential noblemen, among them the *Landeshauptmann* Stubenberg, an Inner Austrian regimental councilor (Rindsmaul), and the *Generaleinnehmer* and *Kriegszahlmeister* Stubenberg. Four large and impressive baroque palaces were soon erected close to each other; however, by 1691, the *Landeshauptmann*, the most powerful of this group, had already sold his palace.<sup>55</sup>

The next representative baroque building was erected by a *homo novus*, Johann Josef Count Wildenstein, who, starting as an officer in the administration, had attained the office of the vice-*Statthalter* in Styria and of *Landeshauptmann* in Görz and, thus, sought to represent his new status and power as best he could. Between 1702 and 1710–15, he had built a grand baroque façade—with twenty-two columns in colossal order in fifteen axes—close to the northern Paulustorgasse (figure 1.6). However, this façade only covered a palace already one hundred years old at the time, thus hardly more than moderately modernizing it with some elements of baroque style. Later, his wife's inheritance of one of the newly built baroque palaces mentioned above allowed Wildenstein to move. He decorated this residence with a new portal carried by atlantes, which was as unique for Graz as had been the façade of his other palace.<sup>56</sup>



**Figure 1.6.** Graz, Wildenstein Palace on the Paulustorgasse, built about 1602, additional floor and new façade 1702–03 by an unknown craftsman/artist (photo by Mark Hengerer).

The Wildenstein palace, and particularly its façade, seemed to have represented a challenge to some of the noblemen in Graz. In 1702, when the Wildenstein palace got its roof, Ignaz Maria Count Attems, a councilor of the Hofkammer, started to build a highly prestigious palace in the important Sackstraße in the northwestern part of the town, towards which purpose he demolished six houses (figure 1.7). His family was locally and regionally well established, but not of any special relevance in Vienna. Two sides of the palace were visible from the street, one of them a monumental portal with a balcony. Probably because the count himself, a passionate amateur architect, took an active part in the design of the palace, some problems arose with proportions so that, with its roof in the burgher style, the Attems palace can hardly compete with the more sophisticated contemporary edifices in Vienna, though it is the greatest baroque palace of Graz.<sup>57</sup> From the art historian's point of view, such baroque palaces elude categorization and are seen as "modal exceptional forms."<sup>58</sup>

Even if this thorough baroquization revealed more an interest in representing decent decorum (as reflected in the then-fashionable style) than personal power



**Figure 1.7.** Graz, Attems Palace on the Schloßbergplatz/Josef-Kai; view to the Schloßberg (castle hill) with Uhrenturm (clocktower) in upper left. Attems Palace was built ca. 1702–15 by Count Ignaz Maria von Attems, integrating parts of an older construction. The Uhrenturm is a remaining part of the citadel (photo by Mark Hengerer).

(with the exception of Count Wildenstein), it should encourage us to consider the palaces of some of the most influential nobility. The Breuner family, for example, was both of importance in Vienna and of overtiding significance in Styria, producing three *Landeshauptleute* in the eighteenth century, as well as other office holders. The family palace in the prominent Herrengasse, dating from the sixteenth century, was a three-wing structure constructed around a very large court of a three-story Renaissance arcade. Built by an Inner Austrian councilor of war from the noble Teuffenbach family, it came to the Breuner family in the seventeenth century. After being raised to the rank of a count, a Breuner, then president of the chamber of finance, introduced some moderate modernization and a new fountain. In 1730, Carl Adam Count Breuner became *Landeshauptmann*, following Carl Weikart Breuner in this office, and in that very year he had the Herrengasse wing remodeled as a baroque palace with a façade, a stairwell, *stuccatura*, etc. In 1747, this house was estimated to be one of the most expensive palaces in Graz.<sup>59</sup>

Another family holding important offices in Inner Austria were the Sauraus, influential primarily in Styria. Their main possession was a four-wing Renaissance structure at the head of the Sporgasse, which connected the lower and upper town. It had Renaissance arcades and a dominant Renaissance portal; later, the Renaissance façade was partially renovated to feature some baroque elements, as was the portal, which was given baroque iron lattices at its top. Around 1700, a baroque stairwell was added in the courtyard, as were smaller architectural elements inside; in the 1720's, baroque stucco was introduced. A baroque pavilion with frescos was erected in the garden in 1740, and, from 1775 on, followed an early classicist rebuilding of the inner rooms.<sup>60</sup>

We can find a further example in the influential Trauttmandorffs, a branch of which family held some of the highest offices at the Viennese court, enabling them to acquire possessions in Bohemia and southern Germany. Their palace, located in the Bürgergasse, was rebuilt around 1615–20 in Renaissance style with two portals. Around 1720–25, the façade was partially redesigned in baroque style, primarily via modifications to the windows and the introduction of a statue of the Virgin Mary.<sup>61</sup>

The combination of the representative new baroque design with the conservation of representative Renaissance elements can be observed for a number of the palaces in the possession of the Herberstein family, who were influential in Vienna as well, and who also held prestigious castles in the Styrian countryside. A two-floor Renaissance palace with arcades dating to ca. 1560 was given partial baroque form around 1730, at which time it was owned by Seifried Count Herberstein, an Inner Austrian councilor of war. Before it was sold in 1739, a stairwell (albeit a wooden one) was added, as were new baroque doors.<sup>62</sup> In 1764, the Herbersteins were able to acquire a Renaissance palace in the Paulustorgasse next to the former *nuntiatūra*. They added a baroque façade to the palace before 1770, while retaining its only slightly modernized Renaissance portals.<sup>63</sup> The former *nuntiatūra* itself, situated at the edge of the Paulustorgasse and the Karmeliter-

platz, was purchased by Johann Maximilian Count Herberstein in 1636. When it was joined to a neighboring house, it underwent very little remodeling in baroque style, retaining its Renaissance façade and arcades.<sup>64</sup> The same can be said for a palace in the Stempfergasse, purchased in 1738 by Herberstein, which combined late Gothic elements, Renaissance arcades, and Tuscan columns.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, the house in the prestigious Herrengasse, a former residence of an archduke, had a fresco façade that most likely was conserved when the Herbersteins acquired it in 1640. In 1712, a new stairwell was added and, at about the same time, the Renaissance arcades were slightly altered before the house was sold to a burgher in 1739.<sup>66</sup> Only two family palaces were more substantially baroquized, one around 1700 under the ownership of a Countess Herberstein, who initiated a baroque reconstruction of several houses, with a new baroque façade, a stone stairwell, and baroque stucco ceilings added around 1710–20.<sup>67</sup> The most prestigious Herberstein palace, in the important Sackstraße, was inherited from the princes of Eggenberg in 1754. Their former town palace was immediately remodeled inside with a baroque court, an ostentatious stairwell, staterooms, stucco, and chimneys. Thus, it seems that the Herbersteins were all eager to represent, finally, their leading status in Graz adequately. The façade, however, retained its late Renaissance style; and the Renaissance portal was only slightly modernized.<sup>68</sup>

If we analyze the actions of holders of the most important offices in the Inner Austrian administration, we see that only a very small number of them personally conducted renovations in baroque style to their properties in close temporal relation to their acquisition of those offices.<sup>69</sup> Since these different paths of baroquization do not positively correlate with actual distinctions of social status or to events such as acquisitions of houses or titles, it may be useful to look at a smaller social unit, as well. The neighborhood turns out to be relevant for the dynamics of baroquization. Streets, as physical locations, often established a network of very close relationships. In the Sackstraße, for example, we find a Trautmansdorff palace with a Renaissance façade and an Eggenberg palace on the other side of the street with a very similar façade. In 1640, two new portals were added to the Eggenberg palace. In the early 1660s, several noble and burgher residences were given baroque stairs and stucco ceilings. Only in 1676 did the Khuenburg (later Mersperg) palace, within sight of the Eggenberg and Trautmansdorff palaces, receive a moderate baroque façade and interior. Subsequently, other baroque portals were added along the street, but the dominant Renaissance façades were retained, thus securing a certain stability of appearance. Only when the great Attems palace was erected about 1705 did the Khuenburg palace on the other side of the street respond with a new baroque portal equipped with a balcony. The burgher house next door to the Attems palace was given a baroque façade in 1715 that was then copied by a member of the lower nobility on the other side of the street. In the 1750s, an Eggenberg heir greatly modernized the family palace, but only the interior; the Attems followed suit by buying their neighbors' house and furnishing it with a new interior as well. This example demonstrates that, even if a copy in every detail was not possible, responding to a neighbor's modifications

within a street was another important factor in the development of the city as a whole.<sup>70</sup> For the most part, such innovations soon elicited a response in kind, thus reintegrating the innovators back into the social sphere.

In summary, even at the end of the eighteenth century, the average noble palace in Graz showed a mix of Renaissance structures and baroque elements, primarily in the form of interior and exterior elements, the latter often on the street side. In some cases, an intensive adaptation of baroque architecture obviously served as a means of representing a family's power within the hierarchy of Styria. However, in many cases it did not, but was, rather, a concession to decorum that was evidenced by the fashionable architectural style, which concession reflected nothing more than an interest in maintaining a position within a particular social group. Entirely new structures or the fundamental remodeling of older ones in baroque style were not necessary for this purpose. Renaissance arcades in particular were considered desirable or even representative, as they could mark a noble family's long heritage. The architectural representation of the limited power a noble family could exercise within Styria did not have to present a monumental challenge to its economic resources, as was the case in Vienna. This moderate "economy of honor" reflected the provincial character of the Graz power market, leading us to the conclusion that the nobility's contribution to baroque Graz was relevant and, if we assess the appearance of the town, quite considerable.

### **Graz: The Burghers**

The weak local administration in Graz was dependent on the Habsburg princes and on the Inner Austrian regime, even in questions of detail. The magistrates, though not members of a *Patriziat*, were elected to lifetime terms and were often, at the same time, members of the regime and middle-class burghers, whereas the wealthy avoided the burden of the offices during the period in question. Members of the community aired complaints about the mode of election, corruption, and the cliquish maneuverings of the magistrates. Nor was the town wealthy.<sup>71</sup> The town hall, although prestigiously situated on the main square in the lower town, was, until 1803, a modest Renaissance building.<sup>72</sup> Even while local powers did not force a baroque remodeling of this structure, everyone was well aware of its eminent position in the social life of Graz's burghers. This is made evident by the choice of the town hall for Count Tattenbach's execution as a conspirator in the Hungarian rebellion of 1671, the quarrels about the magistrates' ranks in the Corpus Christi procession, and the form of smaller monuments such as the magistrates' clock of 1714.<sup>73</sup>

During the century after the already difficult period of the Thirty Years' War, the citizens of Graz had to cope with major problems. There followed decades of plague and dysentery leading to a massive loss of population, not to mention the wars against the Ottoman Empire with the destruction of much of the southern suburbs, which were sacrificed to the benefit of a glacier. Nor was the economy

flourishing.<sup>74</sup> However, many property owners reworked old medieval and renaissance structures, using primarily baroque stucco façades superimposed over the street side of older structures. Outstanding examples are two burgher residences with late Gothic arbors dating to the early fifteenth century at the main square (Hauptplatz) that were given façades featuring decorative stucco—acanthus leaves with elements of mussels and flowers—about 1680–85. The responsible artisan was probably from northern Italy, as were many other masons in Graz in that period who created influential geometrical stucco facades.<sup>75</sup> Other elements, however, such as portals, windows, roofs, or gables on the street side and, above all, interior elements of the house, such as the courtyard and arcades, often were changed hardly at all, thus retaining the dominance of the architectural style used at the time of a house's initial construction. Therefore, it would seem inappropriate to interpret these modifications as representations of political power.

Only a few houses owned by burghers were substantially redone in baroque style, making these barely distinguishable from the baroque palaces of the nobility. One example is a brewer's house in the important Sporgasse, featuring an impressive portal with a relief including St. Johannes Nepomuk in the place where the coats of arms would have been situated in noble houses (figure 1.8). Because the architect had also been commissioned by noblemen, he was able to construct a façade and stairwell that could have satisfied noble expectations.<sup>76</sup> The most prestigious burgher palace in Graz—indeed, probably more prestigious than the average noble palace—was built on the main square around 1710 by a trader and banker. It has eleven axes, colossal pilasters, and, again, a relief with a religious scene instead of the coats of arms above the first floor.<sup>77</sup>

This use of religious iconography in place of symbols of power clearly reveals that even exhaustive investments in a current architecture could not, in the end, overcome the social gaps between the estates. Even if the style could mark distinctions of honor and ambi-



**Figure 1.8.** Graz, late baroque burgher building with stone portal, built 1765–70, probably by the architect Joseph Hueber, integrating an older construction; a Brauhaus (brewery) from 1650 to 1900 (photo by Mark Hengerer).

tion or even (economic) power, it had to accommodate certain definite symbols of (political and legal) power, the use of which was the exclusive privilege of the nobility. Seen from another perspective, the large number of baroque religious icons to be found in the burgher houses, primarily reliefs and statues of saints, tightened the already strong network of religious baroque art in Graz.<sup>78</sup>

### Innsbruck: The Prince

In Innsbruck, Habsburg rule could rely neither on strong fortifications nor on a citadel defending the city to make its influence felt through the city's appearance. In contrast to Graz, Habsburg monuments dominated the geographical and social center of the town—the marketplace—in the form of two major buildings. The former residence of Duke Frederick, from 1420, which served as an architectural focus point, was situated opposite the main street and ornamented by the oriel with a portrait of King and Emperor Maximilian I, along with late Gothic coats of arms, reliefs, paintings and, above all, its famous golden roof (figure 1.9).



**Figure 1.9.** Innsbruck, Goldene Dachl (The Golden Roof, referring to the small roof above the oriel), late fifteenth century, built by the Hofbaumeister Niclas Türing; paintings, by Jörg Kölderer, ordered in 1500 (photo by Mark Hengerer).

**Figure 1.10.** Innsbruck, Hofgasse, looking east; left, part of the Hofburg, the south façade built by Johann Martin Gumpp the Younger (1754–1756); center, the cupola of the south roundel (1766) in the background, where once stood the famous Wappenturm (photo by Mark Hengerer).



The appearance of this most representative building was barely modified even after the prince moved to the new Hofburg in the northern quarter of the town before 1500, using the elder residence as a financial office.<sup>79</sup> Within view of this building and towards the east, stood a tower, part of the old city wall, which was representatively ornamented to reflect Maximilian I's rule through the coats of arms of his Austrian possessions. This medieval tower was integrated into the southern side of the new Hofburg in 1766 (figure 1.10).<sup>80</sup> Opposite this tower in the western side of the axis stood the so-called Regimentshaus, which hosted important departments of the archduke's administration. It consisted of five medieval houses located on the western side of the square that had been unified in the sixteenth century. A restoration in 1690–92 followed damage due to an earthquake, at which point it was given a representative baroque façade.<sup>81</sup>

The quarter in which the court commissioned the greatest number of buildings lay north and east of the old tower. It consisted of the late medieval Hofburg built in Gothic and Renaissance style. In 1628, Archduke Leopold V's plans to demolish this old-fashioned structure were thwarted by the fact that he could not afford to have it rebuilt. In the sixteenth century, the building had gradually

lost its function as a residence; the princes preferred, above all, the nearby castle of Ambras, which housed a famous art collection,<sup>82</sup> as well as the small Ruhelust palace in the court garden.<sup>83</sup> From 1754 onwards, it was transformed to reflect baroque style for use by the administration. The unexpected death of Emperor Francis Stephen in 1765 in this very building inspired Empress Maria Theresa to have it restored as a representative monument to this emperor and the imperial family.<sup>84</sup>

Another part of this complex was, as in Graz, the court church. Though it housed a cenotaph, it was built for Maximilian I as a sepulchral church in late Gothic style, to which Emperor Ferdinand I added a Renaissance portal. The Habsburg dynasty is glorified in its interior through the famous Renaissance bronze statues it contains. Some other elements of the interior were gradually restored or added in baroque style, for example the stucco ceiling, some of the altars, paintings, and the organ.<sup>85</sup>

Next to the court church stood a Franciscan monastery that was renovated in baroque style in 1696 and made into the Jesuit community's residence (*Stift*). It was a Renaissance building with a large courtyard that was rebuilt in 1688, and then gained a monumental baroque façade connecting it to the more modest façade of the court church.<sup>86</sup> In this northern and remote area at a bend in the river Inn lay other court buildings, which, due to their remoteness, did not influence the town, even if they did feature baroque elements.<sup>87</sup>

Thus, before 1766, the most important and lasting monuments representative of Habsburg presence, the Golden Roof and Maximilian I's cenotaph, retained their original late Gothic and Renaissance character. In 1650, a mass was read in the presence of the Archduke in front of the Golden Roof while an image of the Virgin Mary was carried from the Hofburg to the Church of St. Jacob on a triumphal chariot; this indicates the unbroken representative function of the ensemble.<sup>88</sup> The very modest impact that architectural modernization had on Innsbruck reflected both Tyrol's relatively weak political and economic position and potential and, additionally, the fact that the symbolic presence of these outstanding and unique monuments would, in many respects, have been difficult to challenge. After the extinction of the Tyrolean branch of the Habsburg dynasty, the governors who resided in Innsbruck in 1678–1690 (Karl von Lothringen) and 1707–1717 (Karl Philipp von Neuburg), did not, therefore, substantially change the town's focus on its zenith as the main residence of Emperor Maximilian I.

## Innsbruck: The Church

As in Graz, the Church received explicit support and financial backing from the Habsburg archdukes and emperors. The most important princely foundation, the Hofkirche, containing the representative cenotaph of Emperor Maximilian I and joined to the Franciscan monastery, dated to the Gothic and Renaissance periods, but even this church was, to a certain extent, redone in baroque style.<sup>89</sup> Other

dominant structures, in particular the Jesuit church and their collegium, were, to a great extent, rebuilt in the early baroque period. Whereas some earlier archdukes had been buried in the “silver chapel” of the original court church<sup>90</sup> or in the Gothic Propsteipfarrkirche St. Jacob,<sup>91</sup> the later archdukes, in parallel to their remodeling efforts, erected a crypt in the Jesuit church from 1635 on.<sup>92</sup>

Although earlier structures all over town—and their interiors, above all—were vested with baroque elements in the seventeenth century, it was the eighteenth century that brought about the domination of the baroque style in the appearance of the town’s churches, a phenomenon that moved to the center from the periphery. From 1700 on, the church and monastery of the Ursulines were built in baroque style with the support of Emperor Leopold I’s sister, the wife of the provincial governor.<sup>93</sup> In 1698, the magistrate decreed the reconstruction of the Spital church on the same street, later Maria Theresa Street, consecrated in 1705.<sup>94</sup> Almost two decades later, in 1717, after damage caused by two earthquakes in 1670 and 1689 that led to the removal of the tower and bells, the burghers’ main church, St. Jakob in the center of the town, was demolished; its reconstruction as a great baroque church lasted until 1724.<sup>95</sup> In the same period, the baroque church of St. John was built in the Innrain quarter.<sup>96</sup> Somewhat later, in 1751, the prelates of Wilten followed, erecting the magnificent baroque church at the site of the old pilgrimage church near the town. This church became the ecclesiastical center of northern Tyrol<sup>97</sup> and proved that, in Tyrol, baroque architecture reached its highpoint in Church edifices.<sup>98</sup>

## Innsbruck: The Nobility

Johanna Felmayer has stated that secular baroque architecture in Innsbruck was, to a great extent, limited to the alteration of medieval houses. The late medieval appearance of the secular elements of the town hardly changed, but this appearance was modified by some baroque façades that belonged, in general, to houses or palaces of noble ownership.<sup>99</sup> Most of these palaces lay outside the narrow, old medieval center of the town, the most important of them being situated in the very large street at the main road leading to the south. This street had, from about 1700 on, already exerted a strong influence on the city’s architecture due to the presence of the baroque monastery of the Ursulines, the Spital church, and the two columns dedicated to St. Joseph and St. Anne.<sup>100</sup> Though a part of the town since 1517,<sup>101</sup> this street was a preferred place of residence for members of the princely administration, but was not fully lined with houses until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so that there was at this time some street-side property remaining for the construction and reconstruction of representative edifices in the new style.

The first baroque palace in Innsbruck, following models of the palaces of Genoa and showing nine axes to its street-side, was erected by Count Fugger of Kirchberg-Weissenhorn in 1679.<sup>102</sup> Other regionally important and influential families followed. In 1681, a Baron Troyer erected a smaller baroque palace with



**Figure 1.11.** Innsbruck, Troyer Palace, on the Maria-Theresien-Straße, reshaped by the Baron Troyer about 1680; façade by the architect Johann Martin Gumppl the Elder (photo by Mark Hengerer).

six axes (figure 1.11).<sup>103</sup> In 1686, there followed a baroque palace with fourteen axes on its street side, built by a councilor of the *Regiment*, David Wagner, who was raised to the rank of count in 1681.<sup>104</sup> Several noble families followed who substantially reshaped elder structures in baroque style.<sup>105</sup> The estates made a significant contribution to the baroque appearance of this large street. They had given up their house in the medieval center in 1666 and moved to a palace in this street, which was then in the possession of the *Kapellmeister* Antonio Cesti. In the early 1720s, a new building was erected at this site after the earlier one had been demolished in 1724. The large baroque palace with eleven axes on the street side and a risalit with a highly representative stairwell and a chapel, the interiors of which were all ornamented with baroque elements, was the most important secular baroque building in Innsbruck.<sup>106</sup>

At the time of the construction of this palace, the political role of the estates had experienced a long decline as a consequence of dynastic centralism that stood in sharp contrast to their representative new palace. Nevertheless, the estates still represented the ruling elite of Tyrol. Appropriately enough, given the fact that the nobility, once again, had a limited impact on the introduction of baroque style into the town's architectural landscape, this street with the strongest baroque

appearance forms an almost linear extension of the main street of the medieval center of the town. Thus, its spatial focus remained on the Golden Roof and extended to its conclusion at the triumphal arch commemorating the visit of Emperor Francis Stephen to Innsbruck in 1765 (figures 1.12 and 1.13). Thus, the only quarter characterized by emphatic noble representation in the form of baroque architecture was framed by monuments of princely rule.

Houses in noble possession in other parts of town were generally—and most probably to a higher degree than in Graz—modernized with elements of baroque architecture. This was accomplished in a more representative fashion by means of large baroque façades in the case of two edifices that lay quite close to the court's structures,<sup>107</sup> and to a minor degree in the case of three houses or palaces owned by noble families located in the street that connected the intersection of today's Maria Theresa Street and Herzog Friedrich Street with the court area.<sup>108</sup> Several houses in the medieval center of the town owned by noblemen of minor social status were modernized as well, but mostly by means of a very few modest baroque elements, such as medallions with saints, baroque stairs, lattices, and frames around Gothic portals superimposed onto existing façades.<sup>109</sup> This did nothing to alter the late Gothic character of the center. Thus, it is remarkable that the outstanding palace of the noble and powerful Trautson family in this part of town, built in late Gothic and early Renaissance style and ornamented with reliefs and coats of arms, was not redesigned. Instead, the Trautsons built a new palace in Maria Theresa Street.<sup>110</sup>

Although we have found evidence of a stronger correlation between the Innsbruck nobility and consistent efforts of baroquization than in Graz, this social



**Figure 1.12.** Innsbruck, Maria-Theresien-Straße, view towards the north. The Goldene Dachl is visible in the center of the photo, at the head of the street, on the lowest building. Spiralkirche on the left and Stadtturm on the right (photo by Mark Hengerer).



**Figure 1.13.** Innsbruck, Maria-Theresien-Straße, view towards the south: Triumphal Arch for Emperor Charles VI by the architect Konstantin Walter (1765), decoration by Balthasar Moll (1775). Left, the palace of David Wagner the Younger, Count Sarthein, finished before 1686, probably by the architect Johann Martin Gumpp the Elder, incorporating older construction (photo by Mark Hengerer).

group's impact on the town was less vigorous than there. Fewer noble families maintained residences in Innsbruck, despite the fact that both Styria and Tyrol demonstrated a similar political status in respect to their degree of dependence on the imperial administration. Innsbruck hosted a privy council, a *Regiment*, and a chamber of finance as well. However, Tyrol was divided in two parts by the Alps and had, with Brixen and Trient, two towns with a bishop and, with Bozen and Meran in the south, alternative urban and political centers. While Graz competed with Vienna and the local noble residences, Innsbruck was confronted with these towns, all of which lay at an even greater distance than those Inner Austrian towns with central functions such as Klagenfurt and Marburg. Furthermore, starting in the seventeenth century, the Tyrolean nobility was under stronger economic pressure than its counterpart in Graz. Very few of its houses could compete with the dimensions of the larger palaces in Graz, not to mention Vienna. Nonetheless, the local social elite was well equipped with baroque houses.<sup>111</sup>

### **Innsbruck: The Burghers**

The number of burgher households in Innsbruck in the seventeenth century was lower than that of noble ones or those associated with the princely administration.<sup>112</sup> Consequently, they were of minor relevance for the modernization of the

town's appearance. Economic and demographic development had been stagnant since the sixteenth century; one hundred years later, Innsbruck had less than six thousand inhabitants.<sup>113</sup> It is significant that the local community did not realize the plan of the most influential local architect, Gump, to redesign the façade of the Gothic town hall, despite the fact that it had crowned the city tower next to the town hall with a new tower helmet during the Renaissance period.<sup>114</sup> Instead, the town preferred to pay for the new baroque church of St. Jacob.

The town's medieval center kept its Gothic appearance, despite the introduction of many small baroque elements such as window lintels. Furthermore, most of the burghers who built houses in its new quarters seldom invested in prestigious ornamentation. However, burgher houses in these newer quarters, which were dominated by noble baroque palaces, modestly imitated the new style, mainly because the masons managed to combine earlier elements, such as the characteristic oriels, with baroque elements.<sup>115</sup> In particular, the Innrain quarter consisted mainly of baroque houses that adopted the style of the dominant Ursuline church and monastery and the church of St. John.<sup>116</sup>

Some exceptions in the medieval town throw light on the burghers' efforts to represent their social position through architecture. It was probably the cashier of the mint of Hall who had his Gothic house covered with rich stucco, thereby producing a quite unique mix of stylistic elements.<sup>117</sup> The Gump family, which sired Innsbruck's leading architects, redesigned its Gothic residence in the old center using baroque elements that restructured the façade and integrated



**Figure 1.14.** Innsbruck, Gumpphaus, on the Kiebachgasse; originally three older houses, remodeled by the architect Johann Martin Gump, the Elder, probably early 1680s (photo by Mark Hengerer).

the Gothic oriels, adding a medallion with a picture of the Virgin Mary (figure 1.14).<sup>118</sup> As was the case in Graz, many other burgher houses exhibited baroque medallions or statues of saints or other objects of religious veneration,<sup>119</sup> thereby closing the gap to the contemporary popular forms of expression, all of which reflected the successful Habsburg Counter-Reformation.

## Conclusion

Our survey of the introduction of baroque architectural style in Graz and Innsbruck, both of which are towns generally regarded as stylistically dominated by Renaissance and Gothic elements, has allowed us to glimpse an elusive phenomenon. Having left both residences and consolidated their ruling position in both territories mainly through the loyal regional noble elite, the Habsburg emperors relied on ephemeral events to represent their political power to the residents of these towns during their very rare visits there. They did not reshape—or did so only to a very small extent—earlier Gothic, Renaissance, or late-Renaissance monuments. Instead, they seem either to have neglected the potential for innovation or, alternatively, to have trusted the symbolic validity of those forms which had in previous eras appropriately expressed their power. We find that tradition was a powerful alternative to innovation in that very field of architectural representation as well. The case of Innsbruck, in particular in the period before 1765 when alterations were undertaken on the Hofburg in response to Emperor Francis Stephen I's sudden death, demonstrates this ambiguous relationship between innovation and tradition. Above all, Innsbruck with its baroque Regimentshaus and the Gothic Golden Roof in the center, which create a dominant axis for the viewer, indicates this tension more clearly than does Graz with its ever-menacing fortress. The Hofburg, in both cases neglected after the period of imperial residency, was of very little use for the purpose of any renewed representation of political power.

The case of Graz, however, indicates more clearly than Innsbruck the strong link between dynastic power and the Catholic Church, which allows us to attribute the very intense efforts towards magnificent baroque ecclesiastic architecture to the power of the dynasty. In both towns, the Church was quite fond of both the construction of new baroque structures as well as the vigorous alteration of older ones to meet the demands of the new fashion. At the same time, it was able to stimulate the support of other dominant social entities: the dynasty, the nobility, and the burghers. Acting as sponsors, each of these social groups inscribed themselves into ecclesiastical symbolic space—through their crypts, monuments, and epitaphs, their donations, inscriptions, and other forms of participation.

The sketch of the nobility's activities in Graz and Innsbruck has highlighted the relevance of different stages of noble activity to the intensity of baroque innovation. Both towns kept their function as power markets, but, to a limited extent, both were stages between Vienna, country seats, and, for many noblemen

of both territories, other important towns such as Klagenfurt or Brixen. The differences in spatial relations—with Graz being closer to Vienna than Innsbruck is, and with the Alps as a barrier between Innsbruck and both Vienna and the southern parts of Tyrol—had an impact on the presence of the nobility in these towns. Innsbruck represented a more attractive location for the politically active elements of the nobility, whereas nobles tended to choose Graz as a permanent second urban residence. Significantly, in both towns a majority of the nobility adapted the appearance of their property to the demands of the new style. Neither Graz nor Innsbruck developed a large and dominant noble quarter like the one in Vienna. Graz tended to do even less than Innsbruck to develop separate noble quarters, making the maintenance of a distinction between nobility and burgher a topic of more urgent relevance in Graz than in Innsbruck.

However, an interpretation of this adaptation of baroque style as an embodiment of political power, albeit convincing with respect to a representative function regarding other social strata, must also take account of the complexity of this process for the nobility itself. In the eighteenth century, the nobility undertook nothing more extensive than restorations of their houses, which were generally executed in baroque style, so that any innovation that arose in the process necessarily came from the state-of-the-art techniques employed by the artisans commissioned to do the job. It is this very material background that contributed to ensuring a certain conformity of style among the noble elites.

The distinctive function of baroque style among the noble elites was, therefore, necessarily related to material manifestations of conspicuous consumption or mere expressions of being up-to-date. In these two towns, as we have seen, the more influential and powerful noble families had a greater tendency to invest in modern architecture. Nonetheless, I am reluctant to conclude that a clear correlation existed, and instead prefer to emphasize the fact that many members of the elite, especially in Graz, shared a common problem with the prince: that of inherited palaces often featuring quite elaborate and representative architecture. In such cases, families preferred to adapt some elements of their houses, mainly in the interior and parts of the façade. These blended elements referred to their ancestors' achievements in the Renaissance era and to that era as the great period of the noble estates in Austria, and, moreover, to the fitting continuation of that powerful, awe-inspiring, and legitimizing family tradition.

However, the local neighborhood was an important element too, contributing to stagnation as well as to innovation within the context of this limited process of the introduction of baroque style. In contrast to the situation in Graz, in Innsbruck the residences of the nobility were realized to a lesser degree in distinct Renaissance palaces and were less stable in terms of locality. The enlargement of the town in the sixteenth and seventeenth century increased the space available for new structures to a greater extent than was the case in Graz, which is why we find relatively more completely baroque palaces here than in Graz, despite the fact that the Inner Austrian nobility enjoyed a better political and economic situation than their Innsbruck peers.

In both towns, the burgher community suffered from a political and economic situation that was quite weak. Whereas the estates dominated by the nobility had highly representative palaces—the *Landhäuser*—neither Graz nor Innsbruck had baroque town halls. In Graz, however, wealthy burghers took a more active part in the process of creating baroque streets and squares, and were able to build façades and even palaces that could have competed at an equal level with those of the nobility, if they only could have adopted coats of arms instead of statues of saints. Even if in a modest way, the street sides of many burgher houses in decentralized Graz were adorned with some elements of baroque style, so that the appearance of the town was more modern than the central quarter of Innsbruck. In both towns, however, a large number of burghers vested their houses with baroque signs of Catholic piety.

These findings show that the development of baroque architecture in Graz and Innsbruck can, to a certain extent, be understood as a modest embodiment of power. Such an understanding, however, must also take into consideration that the difference between earlier styles and the new one is, with respect to power, neither the only nor the dominant relevant distinction. Rather, this function of the baroque architecture is limited to a particular situation of social reproduction specific to the nobility. For the Habsburg emperors, Graz and Innsbruck were not stages upon which they were obliged to perform in this mode of representation. From their central perspective in the new territorial state, they may have found it sufficient to rule over, rather than within, the semiotic space of the peripheral towns. In these provincial regions there was no need to restructure the view from the top of the hierarchy in accordance with fancy (and expensive) absolutistic architecture. Meanwhile, the most relevant factors affecting the nobility's building choices—interest in the theory of architecture, a currently appropriate form of representation, the numbers and locations of relevant social settings, or simply following a neighbor's example—all influenced the appearance of the towns. At the same time, the nobles were also strongly linked with spaces and discourses other than urban space. It is, therefore, doubtful to what extent, if at all, the creation, adaptation, and perception of any single structure was linked to that of the towns as a whole or in their separate parts; thus, baroque style had—according to the multifarious specific situations—very different meanings and functions, from the mere application of the state of the art used by craftsmen, to the flaunting of decent maintenance of an expressive heritage, to the ostentation of rank and dominance. The symbolic systems of references of these two larger entities were polycentric and polydimensional. The reading of baroque towns as embodiments of power would, therefore, profit from an additional approach that would reconstruct the settings in discourse and in media that organized the creation, adaptation, and perception of these towns.<sup>120</sup>

## Endnotes

1. Karlsruhe is famous, but the geographical spaces of smaller towns now are being reinterpreted as symbols of power as well: M. Bisping, "Stadtplanung als politische Interpretation eines geographischen Raumes: Carlsburg und Bremerhaven," in *Politische Räume: Stadt und Land in der Frühneuzeit*, ed. Cornelia Jöchner (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2003), 45–65. For earlier periods, see plans for ideal cities in W. Neuber, "Sichtbare Unterwerfung: Zu den herrschaftsstrategischen Raumvorstellungen in frühneuzeitlichen Idealstadtentwürfen und Utopien," in Jöchner, *Politische Räume*, 1–22.
2. Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Die Wiener Altstadt: Von der mittelalterlichen Bürgerstadt zur City: Kartenband* (Vienna: Franz Deuticke, 1977), 98–142; Wolfgang Pircher, *Verwüstung und Verschwendung: Adeliges Bauen nach der Zweiten Türkenbelagerung* (Vienna: F. Deuticke, 1984); Friedrich B. Polleroß, "Adlige Repräsentation in Architektur und Bildender Kunst vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert in Österreich: Literatur- und Forschungsüberblick," *Opera Historica* 2 (1992): 49–59; Polleroß, "Tradition und Recreation: Die Residenzen der österreichischen Habsburger in der frühen Neuzeit (1490–1780)," in *Majestas*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt, Richard A. Jackson, and David J. Sturdy (Cologne: Böhlau, 1998), 91–148; Rouven Pons, *Wo der gekrönte Löw hat seinen Kayser-Sitz: Herrschaftsrepräsentation am Wiener Kaiserhof zur Zeit Leopolds I* (Egelsbach: Dr. Hänsel-Hohenhausen, 2000); Matthias Müller, "Der Anachronismus als Modernität: Die Wiener Hofburg als programmatisches Leitbild für den frühneuzeitlichen Residenzenbau im Alten Reich," in *Krakau, Prag und Wien: Funktionen von Metropolen im frühmodernen Staat*, ed. Marina Dmitrieva and Karen Lambrecht (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000), 313–29.
3. See Petr Mařa and Thomas Winkelbauer: *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1620 bis 1740. Leistungen und Grenzen des Absolutismusparadigmas*, Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa, vol. 24 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006).
4. Cf. Niklas Luhmann, *Die Kunst der Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1997), 336–40.
5. See the introduction to this volume.
6. The term baroque is quite unclear and gets more and more vague: Stephan Hoppe, *Was ist Barock? Architektur und Städtebau Europas 1580–1770* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003). Attempts to identify the extent of its material content have hardly influenced discussions within the discipline of history; see especially Gilles Deleuze, *Die Falte: Leibnitz und der Barock* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2000). I use the term descriptively, as do the historians of art who developed *Österreichische Kunsttopographie* and *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich*. Cf. Hellmut Lorenz, ed., *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich. Bd. 4. Barock*. (Munich, London, New York: Prestel, 1999), which does not give an accurate definition of this style.
7. Hubert Ch. Ehalt, *Ausdrucksformen absolutistischer Herrschaft: Der Wiener Hof im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1980), 83–113.
8. Aloys Winterling, *Der Hof der Kurfürsten von Köln 1688–1794: Eine Fallstudie zur Bedeutung "absolutistischer" Hofhaltung* (Bonn: L. Röhrscheid, 1986), 153–56.
9. R. J. W. Evans, *Das Werden der Habsburgermonarchie 1550–1700: Gesellschaft, Kultur, Institutionen* (Vienna: H. Böhlau Nachfolger, 1986) and Jean Bérenger, *Finances et absolutisme autrichien dans la seconde moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1975).
10. Karin J. MacHardy, *War, Religion and Court Patronage in Habsburg Austria: The Social and Cultural Dimensions of Political Interaction, 1521–1622* (New York: Palgrave, 2003); Andreas Pečar, *Die Ökonomie der Ehre: Der höfische Adel am Kaiserhof Karls VI. (1711–1740)* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003); Jeroen Duindam, *Myths of Power: Norbert Elias and the Early Modern European Court* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995); Mark Hengerer, *Kaiserhof und Adel in der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts: Eine Kommunikationsgeschichte der Macht in der Vormoderne* (Dissertation; Konstanz: Univer-

- sitätsverlag Konstanz, 2004); Petr Mařa, *Svět české aristokracie (1500–1700)* (Prague: Nakl. Lidové noviny, 2004).
11. Pečar, *Ökonomie der Ehre*.
  12. As recent research on these problems has concentrated mainly on the seventeenth century, the decades before the age of the reign of Maria Theresa have been less discussed with respect to the question of power. However, see Eila Hassenpflug-Elzholz, *Böhmen und die böhmischen Adelsstände in der Zeit des beginnenden Zentralismus: Eine Strukturanalyse der böhmischen Adelsnation um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1982).
  13. For Habsburg representation see Maria Goloubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor Leopold I in Image, Spectacle and Text* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000); Pons, *Wo der gekrönte Löw*; Franz Matsche, *Die Kunst im Dienst der Staatsidee Kaiser Karls VI.: Ikonographie, Ikonologie und Programmatik des "Kaiserstils."* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1981), with annotations from Friedrich B. Polleroß, "Des Kaisers Pracht an seinen Cavalliers und hohen Ministern": Wien als Zentrum aristokratischer Repräsentation um 1700," in *Polen und Österreich im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Walter Leitsch, Stanislaw Trawkowski, and Wojciech Kriegseisen (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2000), 95–116. For the concept of the state and the public sphere, see Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *Der Staat als Maschine: Zur politischen Metaphorik des absoluten Fürstentums* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1986); K. Junge, "Staatlichkeit und Territorialität: Soziologische Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von sozialer Ordnung und deren räumlicher Ortung," in *Grenzenlose Gesellschaft? Verhandlungen des 29. Kongresses der DGS, des 16. Kongresses der ÖGS und des 11. Kongresses der SGS in Freiburg i. Br. 1998*, ed. S. Hradil and F. Traxler (Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 1999), 370–86; Andreas Gestrich, *Absolutismus und Öffentlichkeit: Politische Kommunikation in Deutschland zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1994).
  14. Luhmann, *Kunst der Gesellschaft*, 35f., 48.
  15. Cf. Hans-Georg Söffner, "Protosozologische Überlegungen zur Soziologie des Symbols und des Rituals," in *Die Wirklichkeit der Symbole: Grundlagen der Kommunikation in historischen und gegenwärtigen Gesellschaften*, ed. Rudolf Schlögl, Bernhard Giesen, and Jürgen Osterhammel (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 2004), 43.
  16. For the relevance of the court ceremonial see Jeroen Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals, 1550–1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 181–219; Pons, *Wo der gekrönte Löw*, 113–226. For ephemeral art, which belongs to this topic, see Michael Brix, "Trauergerüste für die Habsburger in Wien," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 26 (1973): 208–65.
  17. Cf. Rose Marie San Juan, *Rome: A City out of Print* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).
  18. For Graz: Rochus Kohlbach, *Die barocken Kirchen von Graz* (Graz: Grazer Domverlag, 1951), 67–116 and G. Frodl, "Der Architekt [Giovanni Pietro de Pomis]," in *Der innerösterreichische Hofkünstler Giovanni Pietro de Pomis: 1569 bis 1633*, ed. Kurt Woitschläger (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1974), 101–38. For Innsbruck: E. Scheicher, "Kaiser Maximilian plant sein Denkmal," *Jahrbuch des kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 1 (1999): 81–117; J. K. Mayr, "Das Grab Kaiser Maximilians I.," *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 3 (1950): 467–92; K. Seidl, "Das Maximiliansgrab," in *Kaiser Ferdinand I. 1503–1564: Das Werden der Habsburgermonarchie*, ed. Wilfried Seipel (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2003), 243–47.
  19. Fritz Popelka, *Geschichte der Stadt Graz* (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1959), 126.
  20. For the citadel in Graz see Wiltraud Resch and Wolfgang Artner, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz: Die Profanbauten des I. Bezirkes: Altstadt: Mit Einleitung über die topographische und architektonische Entwicklung der Altstadt* (Vienna: A. Schroll, 1997), lxxix–lxxxii.
  21. Popelka, *Geschichte der Stadt Graz*, 155.
  22. For Graz see Josef Wastler, *Das Landhaus in Graz* (Wien: Verlag von Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1890), and Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 217–37. Next to the *Landhaus* was the estates' collection of weapons, the *Landeszeughaus* with a Renaissance façade, an

- early baroque portal and two major pieces of early baroque sculpture, a Minerva and Mars: Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 237–42. For Innsbruck see Johanna Felmayr, *Die profanen Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Innsbruck: Altstadt--Stadterweiterungen bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: A. Schroll, 1972), 347–80. See Thomas Winkelbauer, *Sündenfreiheit und Fürstenmacht: Länder und Untertanen des Hauses Habsburg im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 2003), 2:39–55, for a brief sketch of Habsburg history in Tyrolia and Styria in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
23. Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 458.
  24. Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 425.
  25. Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 6f. regarding the iron gate. For a discussion about the western Mur gate, see Resch, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 375; and Popelka, *Geschichte der Stadt Graz*, 568f., and illustration 91.
  26. Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 275f.
  27. Frodl, “Der Architekt.”
  28. Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 252f.
  29. *Ibid.*, 455f. and esp. 522f. (mint).
  30. Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 275f.
  31. See Rochus Kohlbach, *Der Dom zu Graz: Die fünf Rechnungsbücher der Jesuiten* (Graz: Grazer Domverlag, 1948); Rochus Kohlbach, *Die gotischen Kirchen von Graz* (Graz: Grazer Domverlag, 1950); Kohlbach, *Die barocken Kirchen*; G. Brucher, “Die Entwicklung barocker Kirchenfassaden in der Steiermark: I. Teil,” *Kunsthistorisches Jahrbuch Graz* 5 (1970): 33–76.
  32. Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 61–84.
  33. *Ibid.*, 63.
  34. *Ibid.*, 68–79.
  35. *Ibid.*, lxvi, 335, 411f.
  36. *Ibid.*, lxvi.
  37. *Ibid.*, 11f.
  38. *Ibid.*, lxvi.
  39. Kohlbach, *Die barocken Kirchen*, 49–66.
  40. Horst Schweigert, “Zur Frage der ehemaligen barocken Innenausstattung der Stadtpfarrkirche in Graz: Der plastische Schmuck der Kanzel und des Chorgestühls—ein Werk Philipp Jakob Straubs,” *Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Graz* 6 (1973): 89–117.
  41. See for example the important columns in the Herrengasse and the Karmeliterplatz, for the Virgin Mary and the holy trinity; Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 9, 348–50.
  42. Wiltraud Resch, “Grazer Barockpalais: Ihre Stellung im überregionalen Kontext,” in *Barock: Regional—Inneregional*, ed. Götz Pochat and Brigitte Wagner, *Kunsthistorisches Jahrbuch Graz* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1993), 305f. The architect was a mason from the Grisons, who had studied in Italy and knew the relevant artists such as Vitruvius, Vignola, Palladio, Serlio, and Rubens (*Palazzi di Genova*).
  43. Lichtenberger, *Wiener Altstadt*; Pircher, *Verwüstung und Verschwendung*; Pečar, *Ökonomie der Ehre*, 276–92.
  44. V. Thiel, “Die innerösterreichische Zentralverwaltung 1564–1749: II: Die Zentralbehörden Innerösterreichs, 1625–1749,” *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 111 (1930): 497–670.
  45. This was especially the case with members of the families Dietrichstein, Eggenberg, Herberstein, Kollonitsch, Stubenberg, and Trauttmansdorff.
  46. Hengerer, *Kaiserhof und Adel*, 544ff.
  47. Resch, “Grazer Barockpalais,” 305; another example is the Lengheim palace (Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 87f.) and the Schwarzenberg palace (*ibid.*, 84–7).
  48. See for example Resch, “Grazer Barockpalais,” 309.
  49. *Ibid.*, lxvi–lxxi.

50. For example, Herrengasse 7, 1660–70, Conduzzi (Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 202f.); Raubergasse 10 and 12, 1665–74, St. Lambrecht, Leslie (ibid., 445–52); Sackstr. 18, 1675–90, Khuenburg (ibid., 512–16); Karmeliterplatz 6, 1680–90, Prandegg (ibid., 342–6); Sporgasse 11, 1690, Rottal (ibid., 593–5); Glockenspielplatz 5, 1697, probably Herberstein, later Schratzenbach (ibid., 138–40); Bürgergasse 6, 1710–20, Herberstein (ibid., 90–2); Bürgergasse 5 and 5a, 1615–20 and 1720–25, Trauttmansdorff (ibid., 88–90); Mehlplatz 1, 1725–30, Inzhagi (ibid., 363–6); Stempfergasse 1, 1730–35, Thurn-Valsassina (ibid., 637–9); Herrengasse 9, 1730–42, Breuner (ibid., 205–9); Sackstr. 14, 1730, Kellersperg (ibid., 483–6); Hofgasse 8, 1751, Lamberg (ibid., 261–6); Stempfergasse 3, 1742, Kazianer (ibid., 639–41); Paulustor 4, 1770, Herberstein (ibid., 415f.); see E. Mischan, *Die Fassaden des barocken Bürgerhauses und Palais in Graz von 1670–1740* (Dissertation, Universität Graz, 1971), as well.
51. Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 87f., 613–22.
52. Three out of many examples: the palaces of the Conduzzi, Breuner, and Kollonitsch in the Herrengasse 7 and 9 (ibid., 202–9) and Schmiedgasse 21 (ibid., 572–8).
53. For example, the palace Herberstein-Eggenberg, ibid., 490–9.
54. See for example the Saurau palace, ibid., 613–22.
55. Resch, “Grazer Barockpalais,” 306f.; Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 146–56.
56. Resch, “Grazer Barockpalais,” 309–11; Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 417–20.
57. Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 400–512. Schweigert, “Zur Frage der ehemaligen barocken Innenausstattung,” 344f. states that the architect Andreas Stengg was involved in the work as well.
58. Resch, “Grazer Barockpalais,” 315, with reference to Brucher.
59. Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 205–9.
60. Ibid., 613–22; Resch, “Grazer Barockpalais,” 313f.
61. Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 90–2.
62. Ibid., 644–6.
63. Ibid., 415f.
64. Ibid., 336f.
65. Ibid., 642–4; for two other houses in the possession of the family in the same street, see ibid., 641 and 648.
66. Ibid., 195–8.
67. Ibid., 46–8.
68. Ibid., 490–9.
69. See Thiel, “Die innerösterreichische Zentralverwaltung,” lists of office holders, combined with data from Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*. Examples of closer connections are the *Landeshauptmann* Stubenberg (ibid., 146–8); the new baron Webersberg (ibid., 474); Johann Gundaker Herberstein (ibid., 415); Corbinian Count Saurau as *Statthalter* (ibid., 428); Ludwig Count Saurau as *Geheimer Rat* (ibid., 614); Dismas Count Artems as *Geheimer Rat* (ibid., 511); Ceroni as court chancellor (ibid., 528, probably adding the baroque lattices); the vice-president of the *Hofkriegsrat* Lengheim (ibid., 87, 149); and Jakob Count Leslie (ibid., 446–52).
70. Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 455–538.
71. Popelka, *Geschichte der Stadt Graz*, 372–84.
72. Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 164–71.
73. Popelka, *Geschichte der Stadt Graz*, 149.
74. Ibid., passim, esp. 178.
75. Resch and Artner, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, 180–3.
76. Ibid., 597–600.

77. Ibid., 171–3.
78. Ibid., *passim*, and, for example, six illustrations for only the Schmiedgasse: illustration 871, 873, 874, 875, 877, 882.
79. Johanna Felmayer, *Die profanen Kunstdenkmäler*, 102–31. From 1498 until 1775, the house hosted the financial administration.
80. Heinrich Hammer, *Die Paläste und Bürgerbauten Innsbrucks: Kunstgeschichtlicher Führer durch die Bauwerke und Denkmäler* (Vienna: Ed. Hölzel, 1923), 59, 60; Johanna Felmayer et al., *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Innsbruck: Die Hofbauten* (Vienna: A. Schroll, 1986), 60, 63, 65.
81. Felmayer, *Die profanen Kunstdenkmäler*, 62–97, 84.
82. Felmayer, et al., *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Innsbruck*, 509–623.
83. Ibid., 65. For *Ruhelust*, see *ibid.*, 626–39. See also p. 219 of Elena Taddei, “Anna Caterina Gonzaga und ihre Zeit: Der italienische Einfluss am Innsbrucker Hof,” in Heinz Noflatscher and Jan Paul Niederkorn, ed., *Der Innsbrucker Hof. Residenz und höfische Gesellschaft in Tirol vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte 138 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005), 213–240.
84. Felmayer, et al., *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Innsbruck*, 65–76.
85. Ibid., 237–326; Scheicher, “Kaiser Maximilian.”
86. Felmayer, et al., *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Innsbruck*, 306–26.
87. Ibid., 473–507.
88. Johanna Felmayer et al., *Die sakralen Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Innsbruck: Teil I: Innere Stadtteil* (Vienna: A. Schroll, 1995), 14f.
89. Ibid., 237–326.
90. Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrolia, Philippine Welser; *ibid.*, 13.
91. Intestines of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrolia and Philippine Welser, and the corpse of archduke Maximilian III; *ibid.*, 13.
92. Archduke Leopold V with his family; *ibid.*, 278–331, 302, 303.
93. Ibid., 350–7.
94. Ibid., 332–49.
95. Ibid., 1–101.
96. Ibid., 358–95.
97. M. Fingernagel-Grüll, K. Schmid, B. Schneider, J. Franckenstein, R. Rampold, and W. Palme-Comploy, *Die sakralen Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Innsbruck: Teil II: Äussere Stadtteile* (Vienna: A. Schroll, 1995), 1–53.
98. Georg Mühlberger, “Absolutismus und Freiheitskämpfe (1665–1814),” in *Geschichte des Landes Tyrol*, Vol. 2, ed. Josef Fontana, P. W. Haider, W. Leitner, Georg Mühlberger, Rudolf Palme, O. Partelli, and J. Riedmann (Bozen: Athesia/Innsbruck: Tyrolia-Verlag, 1986) 352.
99. “Der barocke Profanbau beschränkt sich in Innsbruck vorwiegend auf die Umgestaltung mittelalterlicher Häuser, wodurch ihm die Großzügigkeit freier Planung fehlt, das im wesentlichen unveränderte Stadtbild aber durch die barocke Fassadengestaltung und deren reichen Stukkoschmuck belebende Akzente erfährt ... Ausnahmen bilden einige Palastbauten von Johann Martin und Georg Anton Gumppe, wie das Palais Taxis ... und das Landhaus;” Felmayer, *Die profanen Kunstdenkmäler*, 66.
100. Ibid., 318.
101. Ibid., 317.
102. Ibid., 380–8, 381.
103. Ibid., 340–6.
104. Ibid., 388–91.
105. Ibid., 404–11 (Wolkenstein-Trapp), 326–30 (Lodron), 318 (Hormayr and Trautson), 337 (Spaur), 398–402 (Khünigl).

106. Ibid., 347–80.
107. Ibid., 451–60 (Wolfsthurn, Tannenberg-Enzenberg palace), 425–7 (Spaur), 428–34 (Pfeifersberg palace).
108. Ibid., 304–6 (Manicor, Coreth, Triangi), 301–3 (Hörwarth).
109. Ibid., 266–70, 269 (Königsegg, Sarnthein), 227–9 (Imhof), 229–35 (Sulz, Zech), 293f. (several proprietors), 296f., 299 (Stral).
110. Ibid., 181–90, 318.
111. Cf. Mühlberger, “Absolutismus und Freiheitskämpfe,” 308ff., 319, 339, 373. Also see M.A. Chisholm, who stresses the importance of Trento for the tyrolian nobility in the sixteenth century. “A Question of Power: Count, Aristocracy and Bishop of Trent. The Progress of Archduke Ferdinand II into the Tyrol in 1567,” in Noflatscher and Niederkorn, *Der Innsbrucker Hof*, 351–423. Cf. Marcello Bonazza, *Il fisco in una statualità divisa. Impero, principi e ceti in area trentino-tirolese nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino 2001). Johann Sebastian Franz Schenk Freiherr von Stauffenberg (University of Konstanz) is preparing a dissertation pertinent to Innsbruck: “Die Stadt im Staat—der Staat vor Ort. Stadtgemeinde und territorialstaatliche Administration in der Frühen Neuzeit” (working title). Furthermore, a relevant book with very interesting new perspectives has now been published: Rudold Schlögl, ed., *Interaktion und Herrschaft. Die Politik der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt*, Historische Kulturwissenschaft 5. (Konstanz: UVK-Gesellschaft, 2004).
112. Ibid., 344.
113. Felmayer, *Die profanen Kunstdenkmäler*, 23.
114. Ibid., 144f.
115. Especially in the Maria-Theresien-Straße: *ibid.*, 317ff.
116. Ibid., 307–17.
117. Ibid., 163–72.
118. Ibid., 222–5.
119. Ibid., 153, 227, 315, 491f.
120. M. Sandl, “Bauernland, Fürstenstaat, Altes Reich: Grundzüge einer Poeteologie politischer Räume im 18. Jahrhundert,” in Jöchner, *Politische Räume*, 148.