

Lukas Nickel, Anette Froesch (eds.)

PLACING CHINA AT THE COURTS OF EUROPE 1700–1800



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PREFACE

Chinese paintings, woodcuts, and pictorial wallpapers occupied prominent places in late Baroque, Rococo, and Classicist interiors. Numerous urban and rural noble residences across Europe featured Chinese-inspired cabinets and garden architectures. The pictorial worlds displaying alien floral, figurative, and architectural motifs not only aroused curiosity and stimulated the imagination but also often formed an important element of public representation of rulership. To this day, *chinoiserie* designs have lost none of their fascination, not least because they mark an aesthetic and cultural tension between Chinese and European cultures.

When I met Professor Lukas Nickel in summer 2023, we quickly realised that we would have to examine this phenomenon more closely together. And indeed, in September 2024, the international conference *Placing China at the Courts of Europe 1700–1800* took place in Wörlitz. I am very pleased that Lukas Nickel and Anette Froesch responded with such energy to the enthusiasm of all participants. They have now published the results of the conference in a wonderful conference proceedings volume with many illuminating contributions.

Lukas Nickel from the University of Vienna is a proven expert in Asian art history. He is not only an art historian, but also a sinologist—the ideal combination for the conference and the publication. Anette Froesch, who leads the Department of Palaces and Collections at the Kulturstiftung Dessau-Wörlitz, is a renowned expert on 18th-century interiors and decorative systems. Together, they form the perfect team for pursuing the project and editing this volume.

At the same time, Wörlitz proved to be an excellent venue for such a conference. Thanks to the

cultural interests of the Dutch princess Henriette Catharina of Orange-Nassau (1637–1708) and her great-grandson, Prince Leopold III Friedrich Franz of Anhalt-Dessau (1740–1817), the Garden Realm boasts a unique architectural ensemble. To this day, its well-preserved interior furnishings from the 17th to the late 18th century and its English-Chinese garden from around 1800 draw the eye and the mind to the Far East.

To date, however, not only the Chinese-inspired ensembles of Wörlitz and Oranienbaum, but also many other European *chinoiserie* sites have been crying out for more detailed research. They have not yet been examined in a comparative and comprehensive overview. The conference proceedings fill this research gap. For the first time, various European castles and complexes are examined here side by side. This not only sharpens our understanding of the Wörlitz and Oranienbaum ensembles, which were significantly influenced by William Chambers (1723–1796), but also allows a scientific comparison of *chinoiserie* across many countries of Europe.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to the editors Lukas Nickel and Anette Froesch for publishing the results and wish the book many readers.

Prof. Dr. Harald Meller
Director and Executive Board Member of the
Kulturstiftung Dessau-Wörlitz

INTRODUCTION

LUKAS NICKEL AND ANETTE FROESCH

To a sovereign in 18th-century Europe, the architectural presentation of rulership was a matter of the utmost importance. After Leopold Friedrich Franz of Anhalt-Dessau (1740–1817), ruler of a small territory squeezed between the major powers of Prussia to the north and Saxony to the south-east, decided to quit Prussian military service and navigate the thin line of neutrality, he engaged in transforming his polity into a model principality. His country estate in Wörlitz stood at the centre of his efforts. Here, he erected a palace in Classicist style, the first of its kind in the Holy Roman Empire. It stood in an extensive landscape garden in the newest English fashion. Numerous buildings and sculptures in the garden referenced Greek, Roman and Egyptian antiquity as well as the local, Cisalpine past. Seventeen bridges crossing the canals in the garden reflected the history of bridge construction from the water ford to the then modern English iron bridge. Some of these garden architectures celebrated places the prince had visited on his travels; perhaps the highlight was the artificial Vesuvius, whose eruptions could be witnessed on special occasions. All these aesthetic innovations were intended to define his image as an enlightened and tolerant ruler, a man of profound education and a connoisseur of Italy and England—the latter a country he considered the most modern and prosperous in Europe. Despite his limited economic and military power, the prince's strategy turned out to be extremely successful. In the course of his life, he became one of the most highly respected rulers of the German states.

Maria Theresa (1717–1780), right after inheriting the throne of the huge Habsburg empire in Vienna, was struggling to keep the depleted Habsburg finances together, to drive out invading armies during the War of the Austrian Succession, and to assert her claim to the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary. Nevertheless, she almost immediately set out to build a grand summer palace, Schönbrunn, in the newest Rococo fashion outside her capital. She did so to project an image of stability, continuity, and financial affluence, in order to foster trust in her rule among the population. The palace provided the environment she needed to hold court and confirm her position among the ambitious nobility, and to receive foreign envoys with the grandeur and decorum prescribed by protocol. The built environment was not simply providing the frame for the comfortable and lavish lifestyle of a sovereign, but fulfilled multifaceted functions that stood close to the core of authority.

Regardless of the size of their sphere of influence, their political leanings or religious views, both rulers, however, included in their architectural displays of sovereignty an aspect that has puzzled observers ever since. Franz installed a range of *chinoise* rooms in the Wörlitz Palace and later in the palace of Oranienbaum. In the English-Chinese garden of Oranienbaum he built a Chinese-inspired house and a pagoda. Maria Theresa furnished several important rooms (including her own bedroom) in Schönbrunn Palace and more rooms in six further palaces in the Chinese manner. The prince

and the archduchess were not alone in their choice. Since the late 17th century, nobility in the Netherlands, the German states and the Habsburg empire, in England, France, Spain and the Italian polities had been employing original Chinese and, increasingly, Chinese-inspired art in their public and intimate representation. From the mid 18th century onwards, references to China abounded in palaces and country estates across Europe. Given the enormous significance accorded to the outward appearance and interior design of noble residences, it is necessary to ask what notions the Chinese-inspired rooms and buildings were meant to communicate. This is a question on which this volume aims to shed new light.

The authors contributing to this volume approach the topic in various manners. Several papers provide overview presentations on the situation in England, France or Spain, while other contributions take a closer look at individual sites and agents, to examine the locally and individually specific motivation for designing Chinese-inspired spaces. EMILE DE BRUIJN addresses the English approach to Chinese and *chinoise* material. By differentiating between three different stages of engagement, he is able to trace the shifts in the appreciation of Chinese and *chinoise* art among the English upper classes. Whereas in the early 18th century, the high material value of porcelain and lacquer put them beyond the reach of all but the social apex of society, such artefacts underwent a popularisation in the following decades. For the later part of the century, de Bruijn points to a paradoxical situation in which patrons aimed at both increased authenticity and enhanced exoticisation of Chinese references.

The development of *chinoiserie* in France was most influential on a European level. The *Trianon de Porcelaine* of 1670 in particular was famed beyond the borders of the country. Although cabinets with Chinese lacquer or wallpaper decoration were widespread, little precise information is known about them, as few such rooms have sur-

vived and few have been sufficiently described in contemporary sources—probably because many of the spaces were located in intimate areas of houses to which only selected persons had access. STÉPHANE CASTELLUCCIO gives an overview of the emergence of Chinese-inspired decoration of rooms, buildings, and gardens in France.

Philip V of Spain (1683–1746), who grew up at the court of Louis XIV (1638–1715), brought the practice of using Chinese art as a reference in architecture to Spain. MARIA CINTA KRAHE NOBLETT draws our attention to the agency of his wife, Queen Elisabeth Farnese (1692–1766), who had experienced the Chinese collections of the Dukes of Parma and Piacenza as a young girl. Making use of the vast accumulation of East Asian art previously in Habsburg ownership, diplomatic presents, and East Asian art flooding into Spain through commercial channels, Elisabeth Farnese built a formidable collection of lacquer and porcelain and decorated a range of Chinese-inspired rooms in the Bourbon palaces in Spain, crafting an image of majesty and authority.

After losing the Spanish crown, the Habsburg court in Vienna initially demonstrated only limited interest in China and *chinoiserie*. The situation dramatically changed with the accession to the throne of Maria Theresa in 1740. The archduchess installed Chinese-inspired rooms in each of her numerous palaces and summer retreats, and initiated a surge of *chinoiserie* across the empire. LUKAS NICKEL takes a close look at the *chinoiserie* interiors of Maria Theresa and assesses the extent to which we can clarify the significance of the rooms and the rationales behind their installation.

As a result of their limited economic prowess and a lack of direct trade links with East Asia, some German courts tended to have smaller collections of Chinese art than French, British or Spanish monarchs during the 18th century. For these less prominent principalities, however, references to China appear to have mattered

even more. Franz of Anhalt-Dessau, a ruler who was relatively weak economically, succeeded in creating remarkable Chinese-inspired rooms and buildings in Wörlitz and Oranienbaum, largely relying on local artisans and *chinoiserie* design templates. ANETTE FROESCH investigates his increasingly creative use of the available templates, which correlated with significantly more pointed statements in terms of content. In the politically difficult 1790s, for example, the prince used *chinoiserie* to promote alliances by referring to the celebrated Chinese philosopher Confucius.

In Brandenburg and Prussia, Chinese and *chinoise* art played a significant role as well, but with different connotations. CONSTANTIJN LELIVELD traces several stages in *chinoiserie* practice from the late 17th century to the reign of Frederick II (1712–1786) and identifies criticism of the Catholic church as well as mercantilist aspiration as the driving forces behind Frederick's visual references to China.

CORDULA BISCHOFF takes a close look at Augustus the Strong (1670–1733) in Saxony who amassed a vast collection of Chinese porcelain, prints, drawings and lacquerware. He built *chinoise* rooms and architecture to outdo Saxony's adversary Prussia and to advance the prestige and eminence of Saxony on the European stage.

In many instances, research on *chinoise* rooms in palaces is still hampered by an insufficient understanding of the precise date of construction, the artistic background of the motifs and the identity and impetus of the patrons. Few patrons have left explicit statements about the circumstances of the installation of *chinoise* decoration. Rooms were often re-shaped and re-decorated in later periods, and their original appearance can only be discovered through chance finds during restauration work or the revision of archival records. Several papers in this volume address this gap in foundational data.

ELFRIEDE IBY presents results of her decades-long investigation of Schönbrunn, allowing us for the first time to establish a clear time-

line of the *chinoise* rooms in the summer palace of Maria Theresa.

GYÖRGY FAJCSÁK gives an up-to-date insight into the history of the recently restored blue-and-white *chinoiserie* murals in four rooms of the Esterházy castle in Fertőd/Hungary, built by the Esterházy noble family who were staunch supporters of Maria Theresa on the Hungarian side of the Habsburg empire. She further identifies the models from which the local painters took their inspiration.

LUCA MALVICINO brings together testimony from private letters and diplomatic correspondence written by envoys to London, Paris and Vienna, illuminating Savoyan attempts to imitate artistic practices established at leading European courts and to employ *chinoiserie* as a means to establish the new status of Savoy as a kingdom. DENISE GUBITOSI examines the exceptional and highly successful attempts by Piedmontese artists to emulate Chinese paintings in the Racconigi castle near Turin, and makes a valuable contribution to the discussion about the patrons who commissioned them.

KRISTEL SMENTEK reveals the enormous extent to which China and *chinoise* art touched the very nerve of political debate in France in the late 18th century. She shows how two leading figures of different factions at the French court utilised Chinese architectural elements in a rhetorical manner and to varied political ends, and competed for interpretative primacy.

Chinoise art and architecture, although visually highly comparable across Europe, embodied diverse connotations in each location it was used in. 18th-century European thinkers placed the Chinese empire with its long historical tradition, its developed literacy and meritocratic bureaucracy, its ethical standards and absolute imperial rule at the core of heated philosophical discourses. The visual presentation of the famed country at the far end of Asia grew in the same intellectual context. Images embodied ideas that were less explicit than the ones written down in

texts, but were discernible for patrons and viewers at the time.

The research assembled in this volume makes it clear that the connotations tied to *chinoiserie* rooms and buildings varied across Europe. The visual language of *chinoiserie* proved attractive to rulers of large empires and small principalities, to Catholics and Protestants, to conservative as well as to progressive sovereigns, but the messages *chinoiserie* conveyed were not uniform. Furthermore, over the course of the long 18th century, the handling of Chinese originals and Chinese-inspired decorative elements evolved. Whereas in the early part of the century, the high material value of imported lacquer, soapstone and porcelain was of crucial importance and displays mainly communicated the notion of financial and political might, the embedded messages tended to become more complex and often more explicit later. Our investigation further indicates that towards the end of the 18th century, rulers of minor territories compensated for their limited economic means and lack of access to overseas trade with innovative aesthetic and conceptual manifestations of *chinoiserie*. This observation is

consistent with recognised findings from *Residenzenforschung*, which has demonstrated increased aesthetic creativity in smaller states in the run-up to the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire.

Not all our aims have been accomplished yet. As the 18th-century patrons of *chinoiserie* almost invariably failed to leave written testimony about their rationale for choosing *chinoise* designs, their motivation in many instances inevitably remains opaque. Much more research in archives and on individual sites is required to make the underlying ideas transparent.

Finally, the scarcity of explicit statements is noteworthy in itself. In an intellectual climate that employed European ideas about China to manifold ends in heated philosophical and political discourses, the omission of explicit clarification of individual ideas behind the visually highly prominent *chinoise* spaces must be seen as intentional. This makes it likely that such monuments were meant to provide a stage fostering discourse and exchange. It is the role of 18th-century Chinese-inspired rooms as ‘discussion spaces’ that requires further scrutiny.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is the result of a symposium held on 5 and 6 September 2024. The two intense days took place at a most appropriate location: the 18th-century inn *Zum Eichenkranz* next to the palace and garden of Wörlitz in Saxony-Anhalt, Germany. The conference followed a concept by Lukas Nickel and Anette Froesch and was organised by the Kulturstiftung Dessau-Wörlitz. It was generously supported by the Austrian Science Fund FWF and the Austrian Cluster of Excellence, Eurasian Transformations.

Of the many colleagues who helped this project to grow we need to mention Ulf Dräger, head of the Landesmünzkabinett Sachsen-Anhalt, who initiated an inspired discussion about *chinoiserie* between Nickel and the state archae-

ologist Harald Meller, who launched the topic of the symposium in his role as acting director of the Kulturstiftung Dessau-Wörlitz. And so, in a collaboration between the Kulturstiftung Dessau-Wörlitz and the Institute of Art History at the University of Vienna, we set ourselves the challenge of investigating *chinoiserie* in the 18th century on a European level. It is because of the enthusiasm, diligence and expertise of the twelve specialists who wrote papers expediently, to the incessant editorial work by Jana Kittelmann and her team (especially Liane Janzen, Martin Glinzer, Steffen Kaudelka and Nuria Jetter), and the painstaking proofreading by Abigail Graham, that this volume was published just a year and a half after the conference.

HIDING CHINA IN PLAIN SIGHT

MARIA THERESA'S CHINESE-INSPIRED SPACES AND THEIR CONNOTATIONS

LUKAS NICKEL

ABSTRACT

Chinese-inspired spaces emerged in Holland and France in the late 17th century. Their rise marked a major shift in the use and appreciation of Chinese and *chinoise* art in Europe. From the mid 18th century in particular, noble residences were given rooms in which references to China provided a frame for the activities inside the room. This paper traces the development of such rooms and examines their significance. Through a detailed study of the practice of *chinoiserie* in the Habsburg empire under Maria Theresa, it explores the extent to which we can uncover the rationale behind their creation.

INTRODUCTION

From about 1500, when Chinese objects became available in Europe in increasing numbers, the European public held them in high regard. Porcelains, paintings on silk and paper, lacquer and soapstone objects entered many princely collections, *Kunst-* and *Wunderkammern*, where they were admired next to narwhal tusks, ancient coins, Turkish weapons, stuffed rare animals, coral carvings and other curiosities. The Chinese objects were items of admiration and curiosity as they bore testimony of a distant world that was—in European eyes—just being discovered.

From the late 17th century, noble families who had access to goods imported from East Asia began to employ porcelain and lacquer in a new manner. By inserting imported blue-and-white plates or lacquer panels into the wall decoration of rooms of their palaces and country houses,

the owners shifted the character of Chinese objects from mere collectibles to defining design elements. They created Chinese-inspired spaces.¹

Although the shift from collection to environment may have appeared gradual at the time, it marked a major turn in the significance of Chinese works of art in European possession and, by extension, of the significance of China to Europeans. A Chinese-looking wall decoration would define a space and give a frame to the activities inside that space. This usage of Chinese material culture would become extremely popular across Europe over the course of the 18th century.

Given their widespread use, high visibility, and significant cost, one might expect that these new Chinese-inspired environments suggested specific ideas that were legible for contemporary spectators. Although much research has been in-

1 For this development see: Bischoff, Spiegel-, Lack- oder Porzellankabinett; Freigang, Das Porzellan Ostasiens; Menne, Diskurs und Dekor, p. 54–59.

vested into the question, it remains difficult to identify the stories these settings were meant to tell.

One of the main reasons for the lack of clear understanding is that the patrons and users of *chinoise* rooms almost always failed to articulate a rationale for their choice. Even if they invested significant financial means and knowledge and went out of their way to procure the rare paintings, prints and panels, research has so far failed to locate contemporary testimony as to their motivation. Whatever the reason may have been for choosing a Chinese setting, it was nothing patrons would communicate in writing. We lack explicit statements about the points the spaces were meant to make.

The silence of patrons encouraged researchers of the 20th century to disregard *chinoiserie* as an act of vanity, produced in ignorance of the culture of provenance as mere exoticism, as a playful escape from court protocol, or, as Eleanor von

Erdberg phrased it, 'as a manifestation of a generation that dared admit that play should have an important place in the life of the grown-up'.² More recent scholarship tends to grant 18th-century patrons more complex rationales and intentions, a tendency to which the current study aims to contribute.

This paper is looking into the 18th-century practice of creating Chinese-inspired spaces. It will trace its development, and examine ways to decipher the ideas encoded in these spaces at the time. As contemporary statements by patrons are rare, the paper will focus on the spaces themselves in order to draw some basic conclusions. It will predominantly use instances from Habsburg Austria during the time of Maria Theresa (1717–1780), as her reign coincides with the period of culmination of *chinoiserie* spaces in Europe, and the large number of such spaces in her numerous residences provides ample opportunity to make some fundamental observations.

THE RISE OF CHINA-INSPIRED ROOMS

Attempts to build Chinese-inspired environments can be traced back to the Dutch ruling house of Orange. The family had gained prominence and wealth through its involvement in the Dutch East India Company, and pursued a most active marriage diplomacy across northern Europe. Amalia of Solms-Braunfels (1602–1675), princess of Orange and countess of Nassau, is said to have created a lacquer room in her country house Huis ten Bosch, Den Haag, in the middle of the century.³ The room is not preserved but likely had lacquer panels inserted into the wainscoting of the walls, as is known from a room in-

stalled in 1663 in Rosenborg Castle in Copenhagen, the royal residence of the Danish regents of the 17th century.⁴ Her eldest daughter, Luise Henriette of Orange-Nassau (1627–1667) established a room decorated with porcelain bowls as well as a lacquered room in Schloss Oranienburg in Brandenburg from around 1662.⁵ Marie of Orange-Nassau (1642–1688), the youngest daughter, added a porcelain cabinet to her retreat Oranienhof near Kreuznach after 1669.⁶ Another daughter, Henriette Catharina of Orange-Nassau (1637–1708), built her summer retreat, Oranienbaum, in Anhalt after 1681, painting the

2 Erdberg, *Chinese Garden Buildings*, p. 168; see the most elaborate argument on *chinoiserie* as an expression of escapism and 'non-interest' in China in: Hallinger, *Das Ende der Chinoiserie*.

3 Bischoff, *Women collectors*, p. 171.

4 The room was installed between 1663–1665 and restored in 1716. Brock, *The Chronological Museum*, p. 63, and KGL Samling 2025.

5 Börsch-Supan, *Die Chinamode*, p. 39.

6 Reisek, *Pfalzgräfin Marie*, p. 15–19.



Fig. 1: The chimney of a hall in Oranienbaum Palace, the summer retreat of Henriette Catharina of Orange-Nassau, Anhalt, between 1698 and 1702.

wainscoting of two halls with Chinese-inspired scenes and decorating a magnificent leather tapestry hall with Chinese porcelain (fig. 1).⁷ The daughter of the latter, Henriette Amalia of Anhalt-Dessau (1666–1726), Princess of Orange, after marrying back to Holland, continued the family tradition by covering the walls of a room in her Leeuwarden apartment with complete sets of lacquer screens in around 1695. Queen Mary II (1662–1694), after residing in Holland as Princess of Orange for twelve years, introduced the practice to England by installing a lacquer room at Hampton Court.⁸ Though most of the rooms mentioned are known through written testimony only, Henriette Amalia's lacquer room, preserved in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, gives an idea of their magnificence and sophistication (fig. 2).⁹

Another influential agent spreading the practice of giving spaces a Chinese connotation was Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715) in France. His *Trianon de Porcelaine* (1670) featured blue-and-white tiled facades and some Chinese-decorated rooms. The

structure that replaced it shortly afterwards, the *Grand Trianon* or *Trianon de Marbre* of 1688, again contained halls with Chinese references.¹⁰

Beyond France and the House of Orange, the new way of using Chinese and *chinoise* art to build Chinese-inspired environments was embraced by patrons in the German states with wide-ranging consequences. The Prussian heirs of Luise Henriette continued the tradition established by the Dutch princess. In the late 17th century, Sophie Charlotte of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1668–1705), grandmother of Frederick II (1712–1786), added to Charlottenburg Castle a room with red lacquered walls, soapstone figures and porcelains and fashioned her audience hall with 'Indian' paintings, while her private apart-



Fig. 2: Henriette Amalia of Anhalt-Dessau had lacquer screens covering the walls of a room in her Leeuwarden apartment. Around 1695.

7 Bechler, *Schloss Oranienbaum*, p. 60; for Henriette Catharina see: Bechler, *Anhalt-Dessau*, p. 68–73.

8 Bischoff, *Women collectors*, p. 180.

9 Hagelskamp, *De Leeuwarder lakkamer*. On early lacquer rooms, see: Impey, *Chinoiserie*, p. 165.

10 Belevitch-Stankevitch, *Le goût chinois*, p. 141–155; for early French *chinoise* spaces see also: Wappenschmidt 1989, p. 18–19.

ment boasted several China-themed rooms.¹¹ A porcelain cabinet followed in 1706 that displayed blue-and-white porcelain neatly arranged on crowded shelves and inserted into the gilt plaster ornamentation of the walls. Sophie Dorothea of Hanover (1687–1757), Frederick II's mother, furnished cabinets in her Monbijou pleasure palace in Berlin with porcelains, soapstone and papier-mâché figures from her vast East Asian collection in 1725, and built a Chinese and Japanese pavilion in its garden.¹²

To the west of Brandenburg, in the small but politically active state of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Prince Anton Ulrich (1633–1714) who employed the China-fixated philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) as chief librarian between 1691 and 1716, displayed his vast collection of porcelains in specially designed rooms in his summer retreat Salzdahlum from 1709. According to the court painter Tobias Querfurt (1660–1734) 'more than 8,000 large pots, bowls, dishes, tea, chocolate, coffee services, and the like are arranged in such a unique manner that one cannot admire the beautiful order and magnificence enough'.¹³ Anton Ulrich is known as the first German to erect a Chinese-fashioned building: in 1707 he added to the Parnass in the Salzdahlum garden a wooden pagoda with curved eaves protruding beyond the walls and bells attached to the eave ends.¹⁴

The Bavarian court soon followed suit and installed a 'Dutch cabinet' in 1693 at its main palace, the *Residenz*, in Munich.¹⁵ Between 1716 and 1721, the garden of the summer residence Nymphenburg near Munich was adorned with the pavilions Pagodenburg and Badenburger. The buildings featured Chinese-inspired rooms decorated with blue-and-white paintings and tiles,



Fig. 3: Eugen of Savoyen-Carignan decorated his grand summer retreat Schloss Hof with Indian chintz hangings and precious Chinese silk embroideries in 1725.

¹¹ Börsch-Supan, *Chinesische Tapeten*, p. 37–38.

¹² Leischning, *Das Porzellanzimmer*, p. 7.

¹³ Wittig 2004, p. 355 as cited in: Suebsman, *The Royal East Asian Collection*.

¹⁴ Gerkens, *Das Fürstliche Lustschloss*, p. 140–143.

¹⁵ Bischoff, *Spiegel-, Lack- oder Porzellankabinett?*, p. 20.

or coloured lacquer panels.¹⁶ At the same time, Augustus I of Saxony ('the Strong', 1670–1733) erected a Chinese-themed pleasure palace, Pillnitz, on the Elbe banks, amassed a collection of porcelain and Chinese and *chinoise* prints and drawings, and installed a porcelain *salette* in his main residence castle in Dresden.¹⁷

In the Habsburg lands, much material of the period has disappeared, and archival evidence points to a limited interest in China-themed rooms during the 17th and early 18th century. When Leopold I (1640–1705), a staunch supporter of the Jesuit China mission, received from a missionary the gift of four wallpaper-sized Chinese bird-and-flower paintings in 1672, he did not use them for decorative purposes but simply shelved them among the books in the state library, the *Hofbibliothek*.¹⁸ Still, there was sufficient demand for non-European decoration to appoint the painter Johan Wenzel Ignaz Kratochvil (or Johann Adalbert Kratochwill, dates unknown) as Indian cabinet painter, *Indianischer Kammermahler*, for the imperial court in 1708.

He had designed a large dining room with *chinoise* decoration in Reichstadt Castle (today, Zákupy Castle) in Bohemia as early as 1693, and built a Chinese cabinet for the Sternberg Palace in Prague in 1709.¹⁹ The leading Viennese architect Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656–1723) created a China-themed room in a Vienna palace in 1702 and put in an invoice for the design of an *Indianisches Kabinett* in 1713.²⁰ The Liechtenstein family built a *chinoise* pavilion in the garden of Guntramsdorf Castle around 1715.²¹ At the same time, the prominent general and statesman, prince Eugen of Savoyen-Carignan (1663–1736), installed a mirror cabinet decorated with gold boiserie and Chinese porcelain in his Vienna urban palace and more Chinese-themed rooms in the pleasure palace Belvedere beyond the city gates.²² Soon after acquiring his grand summer retreat Schloss Hof in 1725, he went on to equip the apartments with Indian chintz hangings, and precious Chinese silk embroideries (fig. 3).²³

THE PROLIFERATION OF CHINA-INSPIRED SPACES IN THE MID 18TH CENTURY

An outright rush to give castles a Chinese element occurred in the middle of the century. In Austria, Maria Theresa set the stage immediately after accessing the throne in 1740. She first added a Chinese cabinet to Hetzendorf, the country estate the archduchess had assigned to her moth-

er, Elisabeth Christine of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1691–1750), a granddaughter of Anton Ulrich. Here the archduchess commissioned a magnificent cabinet that boasted Chinese soapstone figurines and mosaics as well as black and gold lacquer panels set into luxurious *boiseries*

16 Götz, The Pagodenburg.

17 Bischoff, Chinoiserie.

18 The paintings on paper (unmounted at the time of delivery) measure about 160 by 60 cm each. They were gifts from the Jesuit Prospero Intorcetta (1626–1696) who had brought them from China the year before. Mokre, *Die Sendung des Prokurators*, p. 107.

19 Suchomel, Johann Adalbert Kratochwill, p. 45–52.

20 The records do not specify the location of the rooms, and both are lost. One may speculate that the *Schwarze Indianische Kabinett* in the Hofburg mentioned in 1745 and removed soon after may have been one such room designed by von Erlach. See Beck, *Macht-Räume Maria Theresias*, p. 249; Berger, *Chinoiserien*, p. 123–124.

21 Burgen-austria.com.

22 Berger, *Chinoiserien*, p. 128.

23 Hanzl-Wachter, *Schloss Hof*, p. 56–58, cat. 25 and figs. 41 and 42.



Fig. 4: The rare soapstone mosaics and black and gold lacquer panels decorated the walls Maria Theresa commissioned for her mother. Chinese room in Hetzendorf.

and framed with gilt Rococo moulding (fig. 4).²⁴ In her summer residence, Schönbrunn, Maria Theresa installed in the course of her life at least six Chinese-appointed rooms on the main floor, boasting panels of lacquer screens set into exquisitely designed Rococo decorations, wallpapers, porcelains presented on consoles, and *chinoise* drawings executed by members of her family. In each of the smaller summer retreats and hunting lodges outside Vienna that she used on a regular basis—as will be discussed below—she also installed Chinese-inspired rooms.

The nobility under her rule followed suit and provided their castles and lodges with Chinese-themed rooms. The Hungarian Esterhazy family had several rooms of their summer palace in Fertőd painted with blue-and-white *chinoise* frescoes, and in Graz, Eggenberg Castle was given three rooms decorated with Japanese lacquer screens, porcelain from Arita, and Chinese silk paintings, while a modest local nobleman in Graz, Vinzenz Graf Sauer von und zu Ankenstein und Kossiak (1744–1773), decorated a room

in his urban house with Chinese prints from Suzhou.²⁵ In the Habsburg lands, a range of monasteries received *chinoise* spaces as well, such as the *sala terrena* in Altenburg Abbey in lower Austria, and the anteroom to the library of Neustift Abbey in South Tyrol.²⁶

Austria was not alone in witnessing the creation of large numbers of *chinoiserie* spaces in the middle of the 18th century. Maria Theresa's main political adversary, the ambitious Prussian Frederick II, who came to power in the same year as Maria Theresa took the throne in Vienna, created Chinese-appointed spaces in his most representative residences, most notably several guest rooms in the palace of Sanssouci and the tea house and pagoda in its garden.²⁷ Later in the century, his ally to the south, Leopold III Frederick Francis, Duke of Anhalt-Dessau (1740–1817), commonly known as Franz of Anhalt-Dessau, went even further and installed a range of rooms in the Chinese manner in Wörlitz Palace and in Oranienbaum, where his Dutch grandmother had first introduced Chinese-inspired spaces to

²⁴ Miklin et al., Kaiserin Elisabeth Christine.

²⁵ For Graz see: Reitingner, *Die Metastasier*, p. 200–207; for Fertőd see: Fajcsák, *Chinese Lacquer Cabinets*, p. 25–40; Fajcsák, *Asian life in Europe*, p. 75–88.

²⁶ Gamerith, *Das Werden von Ikonologie*, p. 269–280.

²⁷ Buttlar, *Sanssouci*; Börsch-Supan, *Die Chinamode*, p. 43–44.

the region. He also added a pagoda, a tea house, and China-inspired bridges to his famous garden realm.²⁸ In Turin, the Savoyard court relied heavily on rooms designed in the Chinese manner. In 1736, the Palazzo Reale was given a lacquer cabinet, and from 1750 many of the palaces of the nobility were equipped with apartments featuring decoration with Chinese wallpaper, lacquer panels and *chinoise* frescoes.²⁹ Further south, in Portici, south-east of Naples, Maria Amalia of Saxony (1724–1760) built two *Gabinetti di porcellana* in her Reggia di Portici in 1758, rooms luxu-

riously furnished with locally produced moulded and painted porcelain tiles, one of which is now preserved in Reggia di Capodimonte, Naples.³⁰ The same quest for *chinoise* decoration was apparent in Spain, Britain, France, Sweden, Russia and Portugal.

The creation of Chinese-inspired rooms in noble castles and residences became a widespread phenomenon from the middle of the 18th century in particular. To evaluate the significance of these spaces, we will now look more closely at Maria Theresa.³¹

LACQUER AND DIAMONDS

In common with most of her peers, Maria Theresa remained almost silent about her motivation for decorating rooms in her palaces with Chinese and *chinoise* artworks. There is but one brief paragraph in a French-language letter that mentions the attraction East Asian material had for her.

The sentence is quoted in almost every publication on Maria Theresa's Chinese objects, perpetuating narratives on her take on Chinese art, and on the significance (or lack of it) of *chinoiserie* in 18th-century Europe in general.³² It shall be examined here in detail.

*Nothing in the world, all the diamonds, are nothing to me, but the things coming from India, especially lacquerware and even tapisseries, are the only things that give me enjoyment.*³³

At first glance, these words may appear to support the assumption that Maria Theresa had



Fig. 5: Valuable jewellery formed a visible element of Maria Theresa's public persona. Alexis Le Loir, Maria Theresa in the age of about 35 years holding a letter, pastel on paper, height 114 cm, around 1752.

²⁸ Schaab-Hanke, Konfuzius; Froesch this volume.

²⁹ Johns, Chinoiserie in Piedmont.

³⁰ Thieme et al., Allgemeines Lexikon, p. 20.

³¹ For recent influential studies of Maria Theresa and her public presentation see: Telesko, Maria Theresia; Stollberg-Rilinger, Maria Theresia; Iby/Mader-Kratky, Schönbrenn.

³² For a judicious discussion of the sentence see Yonan, Veneers of Authority, p. 653–654.

³³ 'Rien au monde, tous les diamants ne me sont rien, mais ce qui vient des indes, surtout le laque et meme la tapisserie sont les seules choses qui me font plaisir.' Letter to count Joseph Wenzel von Liechtenstein, 9 February 1753, in: Ar-neth, Briefe der Kaiserin Maria Theresia, p. 304–305.

nothing but a most superficial interest in East Asian art. She appears to say that lacquer and *tapisseries* came from India and to be unaware of the fact that most Asian lacquer objects and wallpapers at the Habsburg court originated from China or Japan, and not from India. She further mentions the giving of mere enjoyment (*plaisir*) as the function of the objects. Finally, she apparently assures the recipient that she held wallpapers and lacquer objects in higher esteem even than diamonds, perhaps the most expensive and sought-after items of jewellery available at the time. But does the text indeed allow us to characterise the empress' take on East Asian art as superficial, vain, and lacking curiosity to an extent that made her even incapable of naming their countries of origin?

Most obviously, when inspecting the various portraits commissioned by the Habsburg court, we find no indication of a lack of interest in jewellery on the part of Maria Theresa (fig. 5).³⁴ The profusion of pearls and precious stones on crowns and diadems, earrings, necklaces, finger rings and wristbands rather suggests that she was extremely fond of valuable jewellery. Furthermore, none of the portraits known to us show any hint of lacquer or other East Asian references. The assertion in the letter that she preferred lacquer to diamonds appears to have been an exaggeration.

The indication of provenance (*ce qui vient des indes*) does not necessarily prove geographical ignorance on the part of the archduchess. At the time, 'the Indies' was a general term often used for the various countries of South- and East Asia, much as Europeans today refer to 'America' in a generalisation that does not infer that they are unaware of the distinction between, for instance, Canada, the USA, and Mexico. Maria Theresa's application of the term *des indes* does not neces-

sarily mean that she was unable to differentiate between India, China, and Japan, but rather suggests that a differentiation did not matter on the occasion of writing the letter.³⁵ As we will see below, the distinction mattered to her decisively in other situations.

To understand what we can read out of the few lines we must assess the circumstances under which the letter was written. Maria Theresa jotted it down in her inconsistent and somewhat clumsy handwriting in French, the only language of which she had adequate written command. The letter was addressed to the high-flying general of her army, Prince Joseph Wenzel von Liechtenstein (1696–1772), and dated 9 February 1753. The contents suggest that count Joseph Wenzel had given the archduchess a piece of lacquered furniture as a present, decorated with images of birds such as parakeets and canaries. Maria Theresa hastened to write a note of thanks, promising to place the object in front of her canapé in Schönbrunn (we cannot tell which room precisely she was referring to but the location was certainly a most intimate and privileged one). She indicates that the object had not been the first present received from the prince, and includes an implicit invitation to come for an audience. It is quite possible that the prince had procured the piece of furniture in Holland, as he had recently returned from a sojourn of several months in Den Haag and Antwerp.³⁶ Given that, as head of the Liechtenstein noble family, he was the richest man in the empire, we may assume that it was a most valuable object. Maria Theresa, as head of the still financially challenged Habsburg family and ruler of an empire whose finances had barely recovered from the war of the Austrian succession (1740–48), needed the support of the Liechtensteins. Predictably, she went out of her way to heap praise on the gift and the donor. The exag-

34 For a comprehensive collection of portraits of the archduchess see: Iby et al., *Maria Theresia 1717–1780*, p. 11–27.

35 On the perception of Asian topography in Habsburg Austria see: Yonan, *Veneers of Authority*, p. 657.

36 Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon*, p. 159–60.

geration of her appreciation of the lacquer object, and the favourable comparison with diamonds, undoubtedly served the purpose of securing the prince's loyalty, but it should not be read as a literal statement of her appreciation of East Asian art. Whatever her reasons were for deploying Chinese art in Schönbrunn and other castles so extensively, the polite words about the gift do not reveal much about Maria Theresa's attitude.

To uncover Maria Theresa's thoughts about China we cannot rely on this isolated piece of written testimony. Given that, throughout her reign, she frequently incorporated Chinese designs into her residences, we shall have more chance of understanding her approach by examining the rooms themselves. Maria Theresa's *chinoise* designs allow us to draw attention to some obvious, but telling characteristics of *chinoiserie* rooms.

UBIQUITY OF CHINESE SPACES

The main Habsburg residence in Vienna was the Hofburg. Sources mention a room with lacquered Indian walls (*lackierten Indian[ischen] Wänden*) in 1735 and a black Indian cabinet (*Schwarzes Indianisches Kabinett*) in 1745, possibly referring to rooms decorated with lacquer panels.³⁷ One may speculate that these may have been rooms originally designed by Fischer von Erlach. There is no indication that Maria Theresa installed any additional *chinoise* interior decoration in the palace. The archduchess generally kept her interference in the history-loaded Hofburg to a minimum, perhaps to present herself explicitly as the heir of this history.³⁸

Instead, as her most important architectural statement, she turned an old Baroque hunting lodge outside Vienna into the magnificent summer palace Schönbrunn. Beginning in the 1740s, she continued expanding and embellishing it throughout her reign. During each of the construction phases, she gave a Chinese appearance to several rooms.³⁹ In the first phase during the 1740s, the bedroom she shared with her husband Francis Stephen (1708–1765) was given Chinese wallpaper with birds and flowers on a green ground (fig. 6).⁴⁰ In the 1750s, she furnished the Round and Oval Cabinets next to the Small Gallery extravagantly with lacquer panels set into white walls with gilt rocaile decoration; consoles



Fig. 6: Chinese wallpapers lined the walls of the bedroom, the central space of the imperial apartment in Schönbrunn.

³⁷ Chen, *Maria Theresia*, p. 13; Beck, *Macht-Räume Maria Theresias*, p. 249.

³⁸ Beck, *Macht-Räume Maria Theresias*, p. 259.

³⁹ For the construction phases, see Witt-Dörning, *Die Möbelkunst*, p. 9–48; Iby/Mader-Kratky, *Schönbrunn*, p. 82–235.

⁴⁰ The bedroom (today the *Napoleonzimmer*) was altered repeatedly during the 19th century. Restoration works have



Fig. 7: The Round Cabinet next to the Small Gallery boasted lacquer panels set into white walls with gilt rocaille decoration and consoles holding blue-and-white porcelain. Schönbrunn.

in the Round Cabinet held blue-and-white porcelains, while multicoloured porcelains were displayed on consoles in the Oval Cabinet (fig. 7).⁴¹ At the time, the former were thought to originate from China while the latter were considered Japanese. Maria Theresa decorated a room connecting her apartment to the one of her daughter, Maria Anna (1738–1789), the *Blaue Retirade* (today the *Roter Salon*), with blue-and-white paintings with *chinoise* motifs in the manner of Dutch

tiles. One source indicates that during this period, even more rooms had ‘Indian’ wallpapers which are lost today.⁴² After the death of her husband in 1765, she added the *Vieux Laque* Room with its Japanese lacquer panels and the Porcelain Room with drawings after designs by the French *chinoiserie* artists François Boucher (1703–1770) and Jean-Baptiste Pillement (1728–1808).⁴³

In addition to her main residences, the Hofburg and Schönbrunn, Maria Theresa frequented a group of pleasure castles, hunting lodges, and summer retreats. Most important was Laxenburg, south of Vienna, where she moved the court for several weeks in late spring each year. The archduchess had expanded the Habsburg possessions around the medieval castle since accessing the throne, but with the purchase of the *Blauer Hof* in 1762 and its conversion into a Rococo palace, she created suitable conditions for the presence of the imperial family and the court.⁴⁴ She commissioned Pillement, the master of *chinoiserie* painting, who stayed at the court between 1763 and 1765, to paint a series of twelve landscapes for the retreat, and decorated other rooms with Chinese wallpapers.⁴⁵

In 1752, she purchased another pleasure castle to the south of the city walls of Vienna, the Belvedere, and ordered extensive repairs and redecorations. A report written between 1765 and 1770 praises the splendour of the rooms, and specifically mentions a room with colourful Chinese paintings on glass (possibly mirrors), and a second one with Chinese *Spallieren*—likely wallpapers strung on trellises—and a display cabinet

revealed traces of Chinese wallpapers that date from the 1740s. Iby/Mader-Kratky, Schönbrunn, p. 124.

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 161.

⁴² Ibid, p. 158–166 and 174; for the lost decoration see: Murr, *Chinesische Export-Tapeten*, p. 57; Ottillinger/Hanzl, *Kaiserliche Interieurs*, p. 204 assumes that until the mid 19th century, many rooms renovated during the 1750s had Chinese wallpapers, without providing a reference.

⁴³ Juen, *Künstlerische Ambitionen*, p. 155–159.

⁴⁴ Springer et al., *Laxenburg*, p. 131–140.

⁴⁵ Some of the wallpapers are presented in the Barock, Rokoko und Klassizismus display of the Möbelmuseum Wien (formerly the Hofmobiliendepot). For the Pillement paintings see: Serfözy, *Schloss Holitsch*, p. 325. For the illusionistic paintings see: Springer et al., *Laxenburg*, p. 138.



Fig. 8: The *chinoiserie* painter Jean-Baptiste Pillement decorated the main hall and several rooms of the pleasure castle Niederweiden in the Chinese manner. Niederweiden, main hall.



Fig. 9: The main hall of Holitsch Castle featured exquisite *chinoise* leather tapestries and Chinese scenes painted on doors and wainscoting on a silver ground.

presenting 84 painted porcelain figures, among them the Emperor of China and his family.⁴⁶

Maria Theresa's favourite pleasure castle, conveniently positioned halfway between Vienna and the Hungarian administrative centre, Pressburg (today Bratislava), was Schloss Hof, which had formerly belonged to Prince Eugen. After the archduchess had acquired the castle in 1755, she decorated the antechamber and the audience chamber of the apartment she shared with Francis Stephen with Chinese wallpapers, and moved some of the *chinoise* tapestry originally installed by Prince Eugen into rooms of the guest apart-

ments.⁴⁷ She also asked Pillement to paint the main hall and several rooms of the adjacent pleasure castle Niederweiden in a Chinese manner (fig. 8).⁴⁸

The most intimate retreat of the family was Holitsch Castle (today Holíč in Slovakia). Francis Stephen had bought the small castle with its sprawling estate in 1736 and, over the course of his life, converted it into a vibrant and highly profitable business enterprise by breeding horses and Merino sheep, mass-producing low-cost fayence ceramics, and modernising local manufacture and agriculture. The archduchess and

⁴⁶ Witt-Döring, *Die Möbelkunst*, p. 28.

⁴⁷ Beck, *Macht-Räume Maria Theresias*, p. 512.

⁴⁸ Gordon-Smith, *Jean Pillement*, p. 212.

some of her children joined her husband at Holitsch every summer for a week or longer, to enjoy hunts, games, and, as the castle was eight hours away from Vienna, an unwonted privacy. Although most of the 18th-century interiors no longer exist, a travelogue of 1782 indicates that the castle was furnished extensively in the *chinoise* manner. The writing cabinet of Maria Theresa's apartment had yellow silk atlas tapestry decorated with grey 'Chinese etchings' featuring Chinese pavilions, gardens, flowers and birds, and there is mention of intricate parquet flooring in 'Indian coloured wood'. The adjacent main hall, the dining room, boasted valuable *chinoise* leather tapestries. The travelogue lists several other rooms designed in the *chinoise* man-

ner, among them a cabinet decorated with black tapestries with red and blue Chinese figures and landscapes.⁴⁹ Even the walls of the rooms in some of the outbuildings had blue-and-white *chinoise* frescoes.⁵⁰ Today, all that remains are some of the exquisite leather tapestries and decorations on doors and wainscoting, each with *chinoise* paintings applied on a shining silver undercoat (fig. 9).

Each of the castles the archduchess used on a regular basis featured a *chinoise* decoration in several rooms. Schönbrunn, Laxenburg, the Belvedere, Schloss Hof and Niederweiden as well as Holitsch offered Chinese-inspired spaces. As a first observation, we can note that China constituted an integral part of Maria Theresa's public and private life.

COGNISANCE OF WALL DECORATION

Although contemporary spectators such as Lord Chamberlain Johann Joseph of Khevenhüller-Metsch (1706–1776), who painstakingly chronicled many of the archduchess' daily activities, sometimes mentioned the furnishings of a room, they hardly ever ventured into discussing their significance. Still, Khevenhüller-Metsch in his diaries recorded anecdotes that indicate that the wall decoration of the imperial palaces was not random at all. He mentioned multiple instances in which the wall decoration was altered temporarily to suit specific situations. During periods of mourning, colourful wall tapestries in the Vienna Hofburg and in the Pressburg (in what is now Bratislava) were covered by black fabric panels.⁵¹ For the christening of the successor to the throne, Joseph (1741–1790), the black wall coverings (installed there to observe the mourning period for Maria Theresa's father) were replaced

by red damask hangings, and in 1742, when the archduchess gave birth to Maria Christina (1742–1798) during the mourning period for the archduchess' grandmother, she replaced the wall hangings with Dutch wallpapers.⁵² When Maria Theresa allowed Maria Christina a love marriage in 1766, she had the walls of the banquet hall in Schloss Hof covered with valuable tapestries made especially for the occasion. They featured Paris abducting the Greek beauty Helena, Alexander marrying Roxane, Venus and Adonis, and other themes that fitted the event.⁵³ Clearly, the Habsburg court was cognisant of wall decoration and adjusted the design when the activities inside the room required it. We must allow Maria Theresa, when she chose a Chinese theme, to have done so deliberately.

49 Rottenstein, *Lustreise durch Österreich*, p. 266–269; Koluch, *Die Schlösser Hof und Holitsch*, p. 173–174.

50 Koluch, *Die Schlösser Hof und Holitsch*, p. 178. To date it remains unclear if Francis Stephen installed the *chinoise* decoration or if it had been added by the previous owner, Joseph Graf Czobor.

51 Beck, *Macht-Räume Maria Theresias*, p. 216.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 246 and 250.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 518.

AGENCY

The archduchess involved herself personally in construction projects. When the imperial apartment in Schönbrunn was first finalised in 1746, it apparently had serious flaws that upset Francis Stephen. According to Khevenhüller-Metsch, the archduchess confessed that she held more responsibility for the planning mistakes than even the architect.⁵⁴ In the following year, Maria The-

resa took an active role in refurbishing the display in the Imperial Treasury (*die Schatzkammer*) in the Hofburg.⁵⁵ Although no record has survived that directly connects her to the decoration of *chinoise* rooms, the instances mentioned above suggest some agency on the part of the archduchess.

CLARITY

One basic characteristic of the Chinese rooms is the clarity of the design. The decoration with Chinese and Japanese lacquer panels, East Asian porcelain, Chinese wallpapers, soapstone mosaics and *chinoise* leather tapestry referred emphatically to China. Any observer would immediately

notice the East Asian character of the wall decoration—there would be no need of an explanation that clarified the reference. The Chinese character of the decoration was eye-catching and explicit, and it was meant to be noted.

LIMITED RANGE OF ALTERNATIVES

Another point to consider is the limited range of alternatives to the Chinese theme. It is true that, in the 1770s, Schönbrunn received a room with Indian miniatures, the ‘Millions Room’, and that Holitsch boasted a room with Turkish red velvet decoration.⁵⁶ After the archduchess had bought the castle Ober St. Veit near Schönbrunn in 1762, Johann Baptist Wenzel Bergl (1719–1789) decorated several rooms with illusionistic paintings

in the ‘American’ manner.⁵⁷ When Maria Theresa decided to have a design that invoked distant parts of the world other than China, her decorators were perfectly capable of meeting the task. Still, in almost all instances of rooms with a foreign design, the archduchess went for the Chinese reference. What mattered was China, not simply any far-away land.

PURITY

Tied to the point above is a further observation. When we study the rooms with Chinese-inspired designs, we note a strict adherence to the theme of China. Artisans would include material from East Asia or European *chinoiserie*, but avoid evocations

of other countries. There were no Indian ivory carvings, Mexican feather headdresses or coconut ornaments from Java to be found in the Round or Oval Cabinet, the Vieux Laque Room or the Holitsch dining hall, but they were furnished exclu-

⁵⁴ Witt-Dörning, *Die Möbelkunst am Wiener Hof*, p. 14, footnote 1.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁵⁶ Hyman, *The Habsburg Re-Making*; Beck, *Macht-Räume Maria Theresias*, p. 503; Koluch, *Die Schlösser Hof und Holitsch*, p. 174.

⁵⁷ Fischeneder-Meiseneder, *Die Gartenzimmer*, p. 27–32.