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SALZBURG'S BAROQUE ARCHITECTURE:
A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS AND POETIC RESPONSE

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HONORS PROJECT

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Abstract

Salzburg, Austria is a city full of history. During the Baroque era from about the mid sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century, the Prince-Archbishops of Salzburg designed and modeled the city with Rome, Italy in mind. Their loyalty to the Holy Roman Empire and with the Reformation in full swing, these Italian influences helped to build a pro-Roman Catholic style throughout the city. The Prince-Archbishops and their architects demonstrated Salzburg's loyalty to Rome through the structures of *Schloss Mirabell*, *Schloss Hellbrunn*, and the *Franziskanerkirche*. In addition, these structures make for great inspiration for creative work, to which I also wrote a short series of poems about my own experiences and reflections of these structures.

Introduction

Austria, the country on Germany's southern border, not to be confused with Australia, has a very rich and sometimes overlooked history despite its extensive ties to Rome and Germanic roots. The predominantly Catholic country has held relations with the Roman Catholic Church for centuries allowing its exquisite culture to saturate Austria's. Specifically, one city holds an interesting place in Austrian history: Salzburg. Salzburg, for the most part, was self-governing, but still managed to assert itself as a Catholic stronghold with its Prince-Archbishops. Indeed, the city of Salzburg, nestled in the Austrian Alps near the modern-day border to Germany, has garnered the nickname "Rome of the North" because of its significant Baroque and Neoclassical influences from its southern neighbor.

The influence of the Roman Catholic Church evolved throughout history, but as the Protestant Reformation spread throughout Central Europe, the Roman Catholic Church needed a hefty response to not only rival the Protestants but retain its power and influence over Europe. As the Catholic Church kicked off the Counter-Reformation to reassert its religious and political dominance throughout Europe, it inspired a late renaissance movement known as the Baroque era. During this era, a new variety of architecture, art, literature, and style emerged influencing major Catholic nations like England, France, Germany, Italy, and of course, Austria. Baroque architecture is an integral part of Salzburg's *Altstadt* and makes up much of the beautiful structures that attract millions of tourists from around the world today.

The city of Salzburg today has lots to offer not just its people, but the world. Salzburg is home to one of the most prestigious music academies in the world, the Mozarteum, named after none other than one of Salzburg's main claims to fame, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. It is also the setting of the popular American film *The Sound of Music*, immersing people all around the world

into the natural beauty of the Alps surrounding the gorgeous baroque structures within the city from their living rooms. The city is also home to a university that has been open for over four hundred years, teaching students from all over the world. All of this has created a diverse and interesting setting within the city adding to its uniqueness.

In this project, I will explore in this project the historical context surrounding the building of the Baroque structures, *Schloss Mirabell* and *Mirabellgarten*, *Schloss Hellbrunn* and the *Wasserspiele*, and the *Franziskanerkirche* in Salzburg and what the architects sought to represent. I will also be taking a creative approach to analyze their impact today through my own poetry. Essentially, the influence of the Counter-Reformation in Salzburg is reflected in the architecture of these structures by using classical figures and religious imagery to promote Roman Catholic ideology and assert Salzburg's dominance as a stark Catholic stronghold. Following an analysis, I reflected on the beauty of these structures and how I view them today through a series of poems written about these structures.

Literature Review

This project is two fold, meaning there are two major elements making up the research for this project. For the first section, the research is more centered around the historical aspects of the Baroque era and what contributed to the design and ideas behind these structures. For this, I used books and journal articles talking about the Counter-Reformation and the structures themselves to piece together this part of the project. The second half is a creative approach, looking into the culture and life surrounding these structures in a more modern context. For this section, sources of cultural relevance are used to help create a more extensive view in partnership with my own experiences and the historical context established in the first section. In addition, because the

element is poetic, I read various works from various different poets from the Baroque era to present day.

To establish the historical context surrounding Salzburg at the time, I read works talking about the Roman Catholic Church during the Counter-Reformation. Tadhg O'hAnnrachain's *Catholic Europe, 1592-1648* and Peter Rietbergen's *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome* help to establish the goals of the Counter-Reformation. They outline the reforms of the time period being centered around the imagery and how the Roman Catholic Church used deliberate depiction of the Saints in order to encapture the specific virtues behind them. Rietbergen asserts that imagery was a necessity for enforcing piety.¹ O'hAnnrachain argues that the Roman Catholic Church aimed to initiate reforms that reached the overarching teachings of the Saints through different means than the Protestants.² In their article, "The Reliquary Reformed," M. M. Mochizuki asserts a similar point. They wrote, "Catholic Reformation art, like its Protestant counterpart, was an art of persuasion."³ Published in the same journal as Mochizuki, Bridget Heal in her article, "Introduction: Art and Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe," talks about the contrast between Martin Luther's view of imagery and what the Roman Catholic Church responded with in their own series of reforms. She writes that Luther preached "that Christ's kingdom was 'a hearing-kingdom, not a seeing-kingdom,'" which contradicts the Catholic's doctrine of utilizing imagery as a means to convey their religious messages.⁴ All of these authors help to establish some of the foundation of my research and analysis.

¹ Peter Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*, (Leiden: Brill, 2006), <https://torl.biblioboard.com/content/5a729f21-429e-44ea-874c-5aac7c48bb22>, 231.

² Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Europe, 1592-1648*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199272723.001.0001>, 107.

³ M. M. Mochizuki, "The Reliquary Reformed," *Art History*, 40: 430-449, 2017, <https://doi-org.ezproxy.bgsu.edu/10.1111/1467-8365.12313>, 447.

⁴ Brigit Heal, "Introduction: Art and Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe," *Art History*, 40: 246-255, (2017), <https://doi-org.ezproxy.bgsu.edu/10.1111/1467-8365.12305>, 247.

Moving more specifically into the structures, I read various books chapters and journal articles to get more of a specific sense of the context surrounding the creation of these structures. Roswitha Juffinger's chapter, "Baroque Comes for the Archbishops: Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, Johann Ernst Count Thun, and Their Ideal of "Modern Art" and Architecture," from the book, *Embodiments of Power: Building Baroque Cities in Europe*, provides specific details surrounding each Prince-Archbishop and their contributions to the city during the Baroque era, further linking the Prince-Archbishops' specific personalities and the architecture that came from them. Louis Wickham's chapter, "Italian Renaissance Gardens and Political Ideology" from the book, *Gardens in History: A Political Perspective*, provides a case study of *Villa Pratolino* in Florence, Italy which was a direct inspiration on *Schloss Hellbrunn* and the *Wasserspiele* while also diving into political implications of the construction of gardens and how they represent the wealth and power of the owner. Krista Rodin's article, "The Spirit of Salzburg in Stucco and Stone: The Church of Our Dear Lady of the Franciscans" provides a look into the history of the *Franziskanerkirche* in Salzburg and how it evolved from its building in the middle ages to it today. All of which has helped me to formulate different analyses on each of the three structures.

On the other side of my project, I surveyed different poets to help look into different ways of writing about the world. I began with reading Georg Trakl (1887-1914), a Salzburg native who wrote quite a bit about the city. To the reading list, I added Rainer Maria Rilke's (1875-1926) *Neue Gedichte* and Carl Sandberg's (1878-1967) *Chicago Poems*. Rilke and Sandberg wrote generally about specific aspects. Rilke wrote a poem specifically on a panther and other things, and Sandberg wrote about various parts of Chicago like the subway. These gave me a taste of writing about elements in a city.

In addition to these poets, I read Nina Hellfield's *Poems for the Gods*. Her works were written specifically about figures in mythology. Figures in mythology are featured all throughout Salzburg, and are common sights in two of the structures that I am writing about, making her a good inspiration to writing poetry about aspects in the gardens in Salzburg. Along with her work, I used the *Metamorphoses of Ovid* to recall specific references to mythology that are alluded to in my poems. The classical knowledge helped to add those elements in my poetry and shape my own outlook of these structures.

Alongside the poetry, I looked into topics of cultural relevance to help build into my writing. Naturally, *The Sound of Music* (1965) was an obvious start. The musical film was a source of inspiration in looking at these structures. In addition to *The Sound of Music*, I used the panorama painting by Johann Michael Sattler (1786-1847) of the Salzburg cityscape as another source. The painting is in many ways a source that shows how little the city has changed over the last few centuries and how well it was preserved which ultimately gives way to another aspect to write about.

Overall, these sources have given me various aspects to guide my paper and defend my thesis. By beginning with source over broad topics and narrowing into sources over more specific aspects has provided me with enough information to analyze these structures and then write my reflection over them through poetry. The variety of aspects covered through these sources have helped give me a wider perspective over the subject matter.

Methodology

In approaching the analysis of the Baroque structures in Salzburg, I will be taking an historical approach in looking into the purpose of the structures and what agendas they are attempting to

address. All of these structures were built during a crucial time for the Roman Catholic Church and served a purpose, and I am going to unpack that purpose to create an understanding of the buildings that I visited and experienced as a tourist in the city. The questions I am seeking to answer are: how the Baroque era shaped and influenced the architecture of *Schloss Mirabell*, *Schloss Hellbrunn*, and *Franziskanerkirche*? How the Counter-Reformation initiated by the Roman Catholic Church presented its political and religious aspirations in these structures and what messages they were attempting to convey in the process?

To answer these questions, I began with analyzing the ideas behind the Counter-Reformation and what reforms the Roman Catholic Church was looking to address, then I looked at what aspects carried over to Salzburg in these structures. Additionally, I analyzed the Prince-Archbishops of Salzburg during the Baroque era and what attributes they added to the city, and then what they added to these structures. In looking at the specific structures, I also looked into related structures at the time. For instance, the *Wasserspiele* at *Schloss Hellbrunn* was based on a garden built in Florence, Italy. When looking at the ideas and attributes surrounding that garden, many of them are transferable to the *Wasserspiele* in Salzburg. All of this helped me to answer my research questions and build my own analysis on these structures.

On the other hand, I will take a creative approach using this research to convey my own interpretation of these structures from my time living in the city and seeing these structures regularly. In a series of five free verse poems, I will write the emotions and messages these structures invoked in me. These poems will be a sort of bridge between interpretation and historical analysis of these structures and their beauty and emotion as seen by tourists today. By reading works from numerous poets from Europe and the United States, I will interpret these structures as many poets interpreted different topics before me.

Using fragments of poems I had written from my time living in Salzburg, I will formulate them in coherent poems. My writing process surrounds looking at smaller details that encapsulate the big picture and building the setting surrounding them. For example, the Pegasus statue in Mirabellgarten is the starting point in the poem, but it expands to include the Fortress that can be viewed from its position. These poems are also a way of reflecting on how I hyper fixated onto these small details that might otherwise seem meaningless and attached my emotions to them. Essentially, these poems are a way of answering the question: how, as a student who lived in the city, do I view and connect with these structures? In answering this question, I am drawing from the historical knowledge I gained in this project in addition to my own experiences and reflections.

Architectural Analysis: Establishing Historical Context

Historical context is crucial when analyzing any aspect throughout history, especially when looking into architecture during a particular period. In the article by three architecture professors from University of Indonesia, “Reading Architecture: Explorative Text-ual Reception for Architectural Education,” they put a huge emphasis on the importance of understanding the environment surrounding the topic of interest.⁵ By identifying the context surrounding these baroque structures, it will help to explain the purpose of their existence. The context would be what exactly the Catholic Church was hoping to achieve during the baroque era. The Baroque era, like every other time period holds distinct ideas and practices. It is these unique ideas that differentiate itself from other periods. A painting from the Romantic period, for instance, is most

⁵ Mirza Harahap, Yandi Yatmo, and Paramita Atmodiwirjo, “Reading Architecture: Explorative Text-ual Reception for Architectural Education,” *SHS Web Conference*, 41, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/20184104010>, 1.

likely going to have a different artistic style from one during the Baroque era. The purpose of this section is to address the unique impact of the Baroque era on architecture.

The Prince-Archbishops--people who were very loyal to the Roman Catholic Church--ran the city of Salzburg. Unlike most positions of power in Western Europe, the Prince-Archbishops were not decided through birthright, but rather through elections. These elections were not democratic; in fact, they were held within church, and usually people with closer ties to the Pope at the time were elected. In other words, nepotism was a common practice during the elections of the Prince-Archbishops of Salzburg.⁶ These Prince-Archbishops, though, were allowed vast amounts of wealth to use how they pleased which is what led to the building of many of these structures.

Schloss Mirabell and Mirabellgarten

Located towards the city center of Salzburg next to the famous modern structure, the Mozarteum, is *Schloss Mirabell* and its gardens with entrances at *Mirabellplatz* and *Markartplatz*. As one takes a stroll through *Mirabellgarten*, one is surrounded by rows of petunias and statues based on classical mythology. If one were to face the entrance at *Markartplatz*, one would see the *Festung Hohensalzburg* resting upon the hill in the distance. *Schloss Mirabell* is situated in what is probably the perfect location. Interestingly, however, the original purpose for the building of this palace is not what one might expect.

Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, elected Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg in 1587, originally built *Schloss Mirabell* as a summer residence for his mistress, Salome Alt, and named it *Schloss*

⁶ Roswitha Juffinger, "Baroque Comes for the Archbishops: Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, Johann Ernst Count Thun, and Their Ideals of 'Modern Art' and Architecture," in *Embodiments of Power: Building Baroque Cities in Europe*, edited by Gary B. Cohen and Franz A.J. Szabo, NED-New edition, (Berghahn Books, 2008), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qd6df.8>, 43.

Altenau.⁷ As many Prince-Archbishops did, Wolf Dietrich utilized the funds he had access to in his position to build this structure despite it being for his own personal use. The building of structures for personal use--like *Schloss Altenau*--were often used as a means to attach their name to something long-lasting as Juffinger asserts.⁸ Wolf Dietrich was not one of many in a dynasty of Prince-Archbishops of Salzburg; in fact, it is quite the opposite. Each Prince-Archbishop felt compelled to add their own flair to the city to mark their position of power within Salzburg because they did not come to their position from birthright alone. Their family connections often made election to the position possible, but their predecessor was typically not their father, older brother, or any close relative.

In the case of Wolf Dietrich, *Schloss Altenau* reflected a practice by many Catholic clergymen that often was frowned upon, but was overlooked by the church due to a strategic advantage: concubinage. The church often turned a blind eye to such practices so long as some degree of discretion was exercised because it would often lead to eventual successors and kept the parish populated.⁹ Wolf Dietrich's grand gesture of building a summer palace for his mistress was not a discrete gesture, and was arguably quite an alarming one as there was fear that it would give the Protestants ammunition to gather more support in the region. Interestingly enough, the structure was remodeled by his successor Markus Sittikus who is also responsible for *Schloss Hellbrunn* and the *Wasserspiele*. Sittikus also renamed the palace to what it is known today as: *Schloss Mirabell*.¹⁰

⁷ Juffinger, 46.

⁸ Juffinger, 46.

⁹ Ó hAnnracháin, 102.

¹⁰ Juffinger, 46. *Mirabell* comes from the Italian word for "amazing."

Wolf Dietrich and Sittikus both agreed stylistically on implementing Italian ideals around the city, many of which are reflected in *Schloss Mirabell* and *Mirabellgarten*. The Baroque style was inherently an extension of the Italian Renaissance, making classical and Italian architectural style the starting point for the Baroque movement.¹¹ As the Renaissance began to undermine the Catholic Church, the Baroque movement became a response to the Counter-Reformation. It was a way for the Catholics to re-assert their political and religious dominance in Central Europe through the means of the arts.

The practice of concubinage began to be discouraged throughout the clergy in the Holy Roman Empire because as I previously mentioned, it was just another detail that the Protestants could use against them. *Schloss Altnau* was an architectural representation of that practice, as it was dedicated to Wolf Dietrich's mistress. The Counter-Reformation stressed the need to create images that captured the virtues of the Saints, and a palace for a mistress is not exactly a great representation of the virtues of the Saints.¹² This is the reason why Sittikus changed the name from *Altenau* to *Mirabell*. Sittikus contributed to the representation of the reforms of the Counter-Reformation.

The classical references throughout the gardens in themselves are a reference to Rome. Wolf Dietrich wanted to assert Salzburg as being the "Rome in the North," and the later implementations of the classical mythology inspired statues throughout the gardens was one way of giving Salzburg a sort of Roman flare. Through the entrance to the gardens from *Markartplatz*, one is greeted by statues of the Roman gods. Aside from the obvious fact that the Romans once regarded the gods as very important, representations of them also served to

¹¹ Victoria Charles and Klaus Carl, *Baroque Art*, Art of Century Collection, (New York: Parkstone International, 2009), <https://search-ebscohost-com.ezproxy.bgsu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=436182&site=ehost-live&scope=site>, 7.

¹² Reitbergen, 231.

emphasize the importance of the Prince-Archbishops. The gods depicted at the entrance represent the twelve gods that rule Olympus which could be a representation of the power of the Prince-Archbishops in Salzburg, the power and strength of the Catholic religion in the state. The gods are immortal, and seemingly at this time, the Holy Roman Empire would also be immortal. In a time when Catholicism is being questioned, symbolizing immortality is a manner of representing strength in a time when that strength is wavering. Throughout mythology, the gods faced many instances of adversity, for example, being pitted against one another in the Trojan War, but still managed to maintain their status as gods. How would Catholicism and Salzburg be any different?

Another interpretation of this might be that Salzburg remained neutral in the Thirty Years' War, while the Trojan War, despite choosing sides, did not directly affect the gods themselves all too much. It affected the mortals: the heroes and humans, but the gods at the end of the war were unscathed, much like how Salzburg was, for the most part, unscathed from the Thirty Years' War. There were some economic problems brought about from the war,¹³ and Salzburg natives surely fought and died in the war, but the war was not fought in Salzburg, nor did Salzburg directly involve itself in the conflict.¹⁴ The deviance in this comparison would be that the gods did directly involve themselves in the conflict, and held much of a hand in the

¹³ The war drained funds from the Holy Roman Empire, as wars do, putting several projects throughout the city on hold during the conflict, despite Salzburg's neutrality. Salzburg, though, depended heavily on the mining industry and trade, which were also slow during this period. Protestants were also expelled from the city which depleted the workforce, leading to a labor shortage, all of which contributed to economic hardship in the city. Read further in Juffinger, "Baroque Comes for the Archbishops: Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, Johann Ernst Count Thun, and Their Ideals of 'Modern Art' and Architecture."

¹⁴ Prince Archbishop Paris Londron fortified the city in his reign during the Thirty Years' War which helped to protect the city from invasion if the conflict was ever brought onto the city's doorstep. His predecessors also worked to try and avoid being affiliated with the Catholic League and thus, being dragged into the conflict. Salzburg's neutrality was ultimately the work of several Archbishops in succession advocating against the city's involvement in the war. Read further in Juffinger, "Baroque Comes for the Archbishops: Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, Johann Ernst Count Thun, and Their Ideals of 'Modern Art' and Architecture."

cause of the war according to mythology.¹⁵ The city and its neutrality during the war are also representative of the previous observation of immortality.

Additional statues in 1690 by Ottavio Mosto were added to the gardens around the grand fountain in the center; those being Aeneas and Anchises, the abduction of Helen, the abduction of Proserpina, and Hercules and Antaeus.¹⁶ Salzburg's official website notes them as representing the four elements: fire, air, earth, and water.¹⁷ It is interesting, though, that these figures were each chosen to represent those elements as there are hundreds of different examples that could have been used, but yet these scenes from classical mythology were chosen.

Firstly, the statue of Aeneas and Anchises depicts Aeneas carrying his father, Anchises, from burning Troy to sail to what would later be Rome. Aeneas, according to Virgil's *Aeneid*, is the ancestor of Romulus and Remus who are credited for founding Rome.¹⁸ The choice of Aeneas for one of the statues is fitting for the theme that Wolf Dietrich was trying to achieve in Salzburg. Aeneas played an extremely vital part in the creation of Rome. Choosing him to be displayed in *Mirabellgarten* is allegorical to Wolf Dietrich creating a "Rome in the North" as well as makes sense in that it is something specific to Rome and Roman history, rather than a shared myth between the Greeks and Roman, like the other statues.

Secondly, the statue depicting the abduction of Helen by Paris of Troy could be viewed as an extension of the statue of Aeneas carrying his father from Troy. Paris abducting Helen is often viewed as a point of escalation in the Trojan War. The abduction of Helen essentially

¹⁵ Read further about the Trojan War in *Greek & Roman Myths*, edited by Jake Jackson.

¹⁶ "Mirabell Garden & Park at Mirabell Palace," *Visit-Salzburg.net*, accessed April 4, 2023, <https://www.visit-salzburg.net/sights/mirabellgarden.htm>.

¹⁷ "Mirabell Palace and Gardens," *Salzburg: Stage of the World*, accessed April 4, 2023, <https://www.salzburg.info/en/sights/top10/mirabell-palace-gardens>.

¹⁸ Virgil, *Aeneid*, translated by Stanley Lombardo, (Hackett, 2005), Book I, Lines 319-332.

brought the war to the doorstep of Troy.¹⁹ Without the war, theoretically, Aeneas would never sail for Italy like he did, and his descendants would not have founded Rome. In other words, this event was crucial for the founding of Rome decades later. Also, the act of Paris abducting Helen could be seen as an act of sin, specifically lust, and the war essentially would be viewed as a consequence of that sin. Roman Catholic leaders would argue that converting to Protestantism is a sin, and that sin also brought war to Western and Central Europe. Although Salzburg was able to avoid the war, the fact of the matter remains, that sin leads to conflict.

Thirdly, the statue of the abduction of the goddess of spring, Proserpina by Pluto could be interpreted by the view of the seasons it created. Ceres, being the mother of Proserpina and goddess of the harvest and fertility, was utterly distraught after her daughter's kidnapping by Pluto. Proserpina being in the underworld was the explanation given for why all the plants died in the winter. Proserpina, being the goddess of spring, would bring new life with her, when she returned to the world of the living.²⁰ The statue could represent the changing religious and political climate through the Reformation and Counter-Reformation; essentially, representing the rebranding of Roman Catholicism through the Counter-Reformation.

Lastly, the statue of Hercules strangling Antaeus during his eleventh labor is a fairly common depiction in the Renaissance era. It shows Hercules lifting Antaeus off the ground to strangle him after learning that Antaeus cannot access his mother's powers (his mother being the giant Gaea) if he is not touching the ground. The Museo Nacional del Prado in Madrid, Spain explains that Antaeus represents carnal desire born from the Earth, and Hercules slaying him represents him overcoming his own carnal desires. In a biblical sense, these carnal desires would

¹⁹ Ovid, *The Metamorphoses of Ovid*, translated by Allen Mandelbaum, (Harcourt, 1993), Book XII, p. 397.

²⁰ Ovid, Book V, p.159-69.

be going against God.²¹ Here, going by that interpretation of this depiction, there is the biblical reference, the narrative being portrayed for those in the gardens to see: a man overcoming his carnal desires. Another way one might interpret that is Hercules is overcoming sin, specifically hubris. His twelve labors are speculated to be a result of him murdering his wife and children because of the goddess Juno being jealous and making him do so.²² In a way they sort of represent Hercules' repentance for this act. Going by this interpretation, one might see this as an encouragement to repent, something the Catholic church stressed through indulgences and confession.

Finally, a statue that deserves mentioning is the Pegasus fountain at the gates to Mirabellgarten. This statue is not from the Baroque era, but fits the classical theme that started in that era. The statue was added in 1913 and created by Kaspar Gras. The Pegasus is a very majestic creature from mythology. The winged horse was spawned from the blood of Medusa when Perseus cut off her head according to mythology.²³ Its majestic presence adds to the marvelous site of *Mirabellgarten* and is a representation of the dignified city and its history (before 1913). Salzburg was then a part of the Austrian-Hungary Empire until World War One. It became the "Rome of the North." It was a strong Catholic city. All of this contributed to dignifying Salzburg, which makes the Pegasus a fitting choice for the gardens in the city center.

In summary, *Schloss Mirabell* and *Mirabellgarten* hold a wide range of meanings. The classical references themselves contribute to Salzburg being the "Rome in the North" as many are inspired from depictions of mythology in Rome. The construction of the palace holds

²¹ "Hercules fighting with Antaeus," *Museo Nacional del Prado*, accessed April 7, 2023, <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/hercules-fighting-with-antaeus/b50a7459-d674-4ce1-8da7-ecbe3120b9c9>.

²² *Greek & Roman Myths*, edited by Jake Jackson (Flame Tree, 2014), 119.

²³ Ovid, Book V, p.156.

meaning in that it represented a practice that ran deep in Salzburg nobility, and it was attempted to be covered up by changing the name and the palace's inhabitants. This is also a representation of the goals of the Counter-Reformation: to reform some of the negative practice in the church. The Baroque palace changed over the years, but it being open to the people to tour the gardens and marvel at its beauty displays the magnificence of the structure and that it still holds meaning today.

Schloss Hellbrunn and the Wasserspiele

Located outside the city is *Schloss Hellbrunn*, which was built under Markus Sittikus von Hohenems, Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, in 1615. The palace grounds provide a magnificent view of the Austrian Alps and include an extensive and creative garden. The *Wasserspiele* remains today a very compelling attraction to tourists with its magnificent fountains as its selling point. The German word *Wasserspiele* can be translated a few different ways from “water games” to “trick fountain.” Perhaps the translation depends on the position one is in while venturing through these gardens. It is the *Wasserspiele* that makes Hellbrunn a unique attraction to analyze.

The *Wasserspiele* was directly inspired by an Italian Renaissance garden, Villa Pratolino, located just north of Florence, Italy. Villa Pratolino was one of the Medici family estates, though this one in particular stood out the most as it would prove to hold the most influence on the design of Baroque gardens throughout Europe in the following years. Specifically, the gardens “blurred the divide between garden and park” and brought advanced engineering into the equation. It ultimately became the first “garden of marvels” to be built in Europe, sparking an

interest in taking a different creative approach in design.²⁴ Though the purpose was that the gardens were a place for “amusement and relaxation” of their occupants, they also held other purposes that were not so superficial.²⁵

Something else worth analyzing is how gardens were meant to display one’s wealth and power within society. One of the most famous examples of this practice was Charles V. Cosmio’s Villa di Castello in 1537 in Florence, Italy where Cosmio used this villa to assert his family’s wealth and that he was not a force to be reckoned with to the other nobles in the city who thought they could easily control him.²⁶ This idea may not be directly applicable to Sittikus’ situation, but it could be applied in the sense that *Schloss Hellbrunn* and the *Wasserspiele* are his mark in history. It is him asserting his place in the city and in the history books. The gardens created at Hellbrunn are a mechanical feat. It shows that in his short time as Prince-Archbishop, he was able to leave behind a legacy that would last into the contemporary.

Throughout the *Wasserspiele*, one can notice the influence of classical mythology with various depictions of scenes from the stories and statues of the gods, specifically the Roman god Neptune and goddess Venus. These choices in characters were not by mistake or coincidence. Neptune in Roman mythology is the god of the sea and brother to Jove who is the king of the gods. Neptune is a powerful figure in many respects, and by presenting him in the gardens, he evokes the Prince-Archbishop’s power, something entirely relevant for his position in the gardens.

²⁴ Louise Wickham, “Italian Renaissance Gardens and Political Ideology,” in *Gardens in History: A Political Perspective*, (Oxbow Books, 2012), <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv13gvwx.7>, 82. The divide between what constituted a park and a garden being blurred was also a direct influence on the English Landscape style to which Wickman also points out, which furthers the influence that Villa Pratolino held in Europe.

²⁵ Wickman, 82.

²⁶ Wickman, 66.

When I mentioned that the translation of *Wasserspiele* might vary based on what position one is in, I meant that the various fountains were intended to get the person in charge's companions drenched. The person in charge, typically in the time of Markus Sittikus and his successors, it would be the Prince-Archbishop, would sit in the seat, or stand in the part where they would be able to signal for the fountains to be turned on, but this position also was the only place one could remain dry.²⁷ This would put this person in a position of power; their companions are getting soaked, but they are still dry and probably wholly amused at their companions. Neptune being a powerful god, able to control water is perfectly fitting for this because the Archbishop gives off the impression that he can control water. In a way, he does control the water because he signals for the fountains to be turned on or off.

Additionally, holding a seat that remains completely dry signifies more than just relating to Neptune. Ultimately, the seat at which the Prince-Archbishop sat was a position of power in these gardens. Regardless of who passed through these gardens, which is presumably a select few during the Baroque period until a much more contemporary time, whoever held the seat that remained dry, held control over the switch, and, by extension, the power. In many ways, these gardens represented who was in charge. It was a show of strength of the Prince-Archbishop amongst his companions. The companions at which they brought through the gardens were presumably wealthy and powerful considering the time, so holding this sort of power over them was a way of showing their dominance.

²⁷ Jessica Riskin, "Machines in the Garden," in *Renaissance Futurities: Science, Art, Invention*, edited by Charlene Villaseñor Black and Mari-Tere Álvarez, 1st ed., (University of California Press, 2020), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv1f8853c.7>, 35.

Likewise, Venus is the Roman goddess of beauty, though she also represented the imperial power of Rome.²⁸ The inclusion of a grotto in the *Wasserspiele* devoted to the goddess suggests the message of the nobility of Markus Sittikus. The fact that the garden itself is constructed is representative of power and wealth alone, but the specific choice of the goddess further emphasizes this message of power. In addition, her inclusion is a representation of the beauty of the gardens, the beauty of watching one's companions get drenched by their command, and the beauty of being able to manipulate nature.

Venus representing the imperial power of Rome coupled with Salzburg being the "Rome in the North" should now be viewed as just a coincidence. Venus is a very important figure in Rome, especially in its founding. According to Virgil's *Aenied*, Aeneas led the future Romans to Rome after the Trojan War, and he happens to be the son of Venus. Venus is accredited to helping guide Aeneas and his men to Italy through the Mediterranean Sea since his descendants are destined to found Rome.²⁹ The representation of Venus in the *Wasserspiele* is once again an allegory to Rome and its prestige. To a certain extent, this can be viewed as a way of asserting imperial power as a part of the Holy Roman Empire in history.

Ultimately, Venus' Grotto has some interesting depictions that represent the beauty of technology and the wonders it can create. There is a statue of Venus stepping on the nose of a dolphin which is squirting water out over a bell-shaped bouquet of flowers, creating the impression that the bouquet is shielded in glass. Furthermore, there were two tin tortoises that both shoot water at each other's mouths; interestingly, there is an impression of a glass "staff"

²⁸ "Aphrodite and the Gods of Love: Roman Venus," *The J. Paul Getty Museum*, accessed April 4, 2023, <https://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/aphrodite/venus.html>.

²⁹ Virgil, Book I.

between their mouths because there is no intake or outtake for water to be seen.³⁰ A lot of planning went into creating fountains that would give this effect, furthering the feat that this garden was at its time.

In the end, *Schloss Hellbrunn* and the *Wasserspiele* are both a representation of Sittikus' mark on history. The fact that in his short time as Prince-Archbishop, he was able to contribute something as significant as this is proof enough of a mark on history. The intricate details and design of the structure contribute to the wonder of the gardens. The garden is something that has lasted into the twenty-first century further emphasizing its significance in Salzburg. Its preservation demonstrates its value to Sittikus' successors and to the city.

Franziskanerkirche

The case of the *Franziskanerkirche* is interesting as it originally was not a Baroque structure. The interior was later renovated to reflect the late Baroque era. This church remains one of the oldest structures in the city of Salzburg dating back to the Middle Ages. The name of the church was first *Liebfrauenkirche* representing the "Church of Our Dear Lady" which directly alludes to the Virgin Mother Mary.³¹ The church unfortunately suffered several fires throughout the twelfth century before it was reconsecrated in 1223 under Archbishop Eberhard II von Regensburg. The structure represented the Romanesque and Gothic architecture of the time. One of those features is the depictions of faces at the tops of pillars. They are shown having vines flowing from the faces' mouths which is a common Late Romanesque-Early Gothic element meant to represent

³⁰ "Hellbrunn: Lustschloss zu Salzburg," accessed April 4, 2023, <https://www.hellbrunn.at/en/trick-fountains#c320>.

³¹ Krista Rodin, "The Spirit of Salzburg in Stucco and Stone: The Church of Our Dear Lady of the Franciscans." *International Journal of the Image*, 11 (3), 2020, doi:10.18848/2154-8560/CGP/v11i03/51-76, 51.

“eternal life for the faithful.”³² Another element from this era is the lion by a staircase. The lion was a common depiction in this era representing power in the Catholic Church, in Christ, and the Prince-Archbishops.³³ These are just a few of the remaining elements from this period, but several new elements were added in the Baroque era.

Despite not being a Baroque structure like *Schloss Mirabell* or *Schloss Hellbrunn*, the *Franziskanerkirche* has substantial significance in the Baroque era and Counter-Reformation in Salzburg. Under Wolf Dietrich, the church was made a very important religious center in the city emphasizing the importance of the settling of Franciscans over Jesuits in Salzburg. Wolf Dietrich also utilized the church as the main cathedral while he tore down and reconstructed the old one to add the Italian style he was implementing throughout much of the city.³⁴ His deliberate choice in utilizing the *Franziskanerkirche* was no accident. Though it had not quite yet gone by that name, it still represented aspects that were important for Roman Catholicism.

The church was renamed *Franziskanerkirche* almost a century after Wolf Dietrich’s time as Prince-Archbishop. Prince-Archbishop Johann Ernst Count Thun renamed the church while also taking a different stylistic understanding of the Counter-Reformation to his redesigning of the city. Thun styled the church to specifically emphasize the narrative of Immaculate Conception, the saints, and Mary.³⁵ The Virgin Mary and Immaculate Conception were very important focuses in the Roman Catholic Church, ones that are not so heavily focused on in the Lutheran Church. Protestants and Lutherans saw Mary as taking over the place of Christ by venerating her leading to the distaste of Catholic focus on her. Conversely, Roman Catholics saw

³² Rodin, 53.

³³ Rodin, 57.

³⁴ Juffinger, 46.

³⁵ Rodin 65-6.

Mary as representing the triumph “over devils and heretics” as justification for her veneration.³⁶

Mary was the mother of the savior Jesus Christ, and for that Roman Catholics she is viewed as being their mediator to Christ on Judgement Day.³⁷ As a result, the religious messages presented in the church are more than just religious depictions; they represent the virtues in the church.

The Roman Catholic Church adopted a new means of presenting religious messaging: art. Religious leaders began focusing less on the accuracy of the saint’s depictions, but rather the best way to encapsulate the virtues at which they stood for.³⁸ In a time when only the more wealthy were literate, being able to appeal to the masses was important, especially when trying to compel audiences to a certain cause, or in this case, a certain religion. Lutheranism was appealing to the uneducated because it put an emphasis on spoken word.³⁹ Spoken word is not the only way to appeal to the masses; imagery is a great way to bypass this. Regardless of language, images can tell a story, and in the case of Catholicism, they tell the onlooker the virtues of the teaching of this Saint. They represent what they stood for. Images could do the same job as spoken word could: reminding people of the teaching and virtues without actually speaking a word.⁴⁰ Images hold power as a means of visual language.⁴¹ Implementing these ideas in the *Franziskanerkirche* was a way for the Roman Catholic Church to assert its dominance in the city.

³⁶ Mochizuki, 431-2

³⁷ Mochizuki, 440.

³⁸ Heal, 248.

³⁹ Heal, 247. Lutheranism also led to translation of the Bible into different languages allowing for the common person to read, rather than having someone versed in Latin telling them what they believe it says and how they interpret it. This idea drove much of the reformation. The reform in imagery was a Catholic response to this, especially given the context of colonization and exploring the New World, imagery helps to bypass language barriers.

⁴⁰ Reitbergen, 231.

⁴¹ Reitbergen, 254.

Returning to the Prince-Archbishops and their vision for the church, Wolf Dietrich, as repeated time and time again, wanted to model Salzburg off of Rome. He brought in Italian architects to give Salzburg this impression. In contrast, Thun did not hold this same vision for Salzburg. He steered towards a bit more unique style by hiring Johann Fischer Von Erlach from Vienna to finish what Wolf Dietrich started.⁴² Fischer von Erlach's work was more reflective of the Viennese High Baroque Style, opposed to the Italian Baroque style.⁴³ This inevitably leads to a deviation from a model of Rome, but it adds to Salzburg being a unique gem in the Austrian Alps.

Beginning with a few elements within the church that were added by Fischer von Erlach, there was the altar. Naturally, the altar shows several of the main themes of the Counter-Reformation, the Virgin Mary being one of them. She is depicted in the center of the altar suggesting a very central role in their faith. Additionally, two saints can be seen on the altar: St. Florian and St. George. St. George, who was executed under the Roman Emperor Diocletian for refusing to recant his Christian faith, is seen during the Counter-Reformation as countering Protestant disbelief in Catholicism.⁴⁴ St. George is probably an obvious choice for the Roman Catholic Church at this time. He is seen as encouraging the conversion to Roman Catholicism. Conversion was something encouraged by the Roman Catholic Church. Protestants in Salzburg who refused to convert to Catholicism were often expelled from the city throughout the Baroque era.⁴⁵ This also correlates with the angel with the cross also on the altar showing that Roman Catholicism is the only way to get to heaven.⁴⁶ The partnership between these two images

⁴² Rodin, 65.

⁴³ Rodin, 66.

⁴⁴ Rodin, 66.

⁴⁵ Juffinger, 47.

⁴⁶ Rodin, 66.

depicted on this altar contend that Roman Catholicism is the one true religion and those not considered Catholics are heretics.

St. Florian was a Roman soldier in the fire brigade that was executed for refusing to execute Christians in his jurisdiction.⁴⁷ St. Florian is an interesting choice because there could be a double meaning in his depiction in the church. Centuries prior, the church sustained damage from fire. Fires were fairly common in this era, so having a Saint to invoke that will supposedly protect one from fires is an obvious choice. At the same time, one can argue that the Reformation and Counter-Reformation is religious or even a political fire. During this time, people were turning against each other, countries facing turmoil over religion, and the Thirty Years' War just took place, where hundreds of soldiers were killed over religion. St. Florian could also be depicted to assert putting out this fire and bringing about peace.

Now, looking at the choice to display St. George and St. Florian together also portrays a message. If those refusing to convert are fueling the fire of the Reformation, St. Florian is supposedly relieving the burden of that fire, and St. George would also be deescalating the situation by encouraging conversion. Their partnership represents a message from the Counter-Reformation of finding salvation through Roman Catholicism.

In conclusion, the *Franziskanerkirche* is an embodiment of the messages of the Roman Catholic Church from the Romanesque era to the Baroque. The imagery portrayed in the church pushes the ideology and virtues the Counter-Reformation is trying to advertise. Through the depictions of Mary, the two Saints, and the angel, the message of conversion to Roman Catholicism is rewarded with salvation, and that it is the only means to salvation. Much of these depictions remain today, as the church is still active. These depictions can be seen by the general

⁴⁷ Rodin, 66. St. Florian's jurisdiction also happened to include Salzburg, making him a fairly local Saint.

public wishing to look at the golden altar and the many other attributes accredited to the
Romanesque, Gothic, and Baroque.

Poetic Response⁴⁸

The purpose of the poetic response in this project is to show a modern interpretation of the city; these landmarks are major tourist attractions in the city to this day, making them great structures to write about. I researched the historical significance of these structures and what they represented to past leaders of Salzburg, and visited and admired them as someone while living in the city in 2022. By writing a poetic response, I provide a different perspective on these structures that is not a traditional historiographical or contextual analysis, but instead might grab the attention of another audience and convey a similar message that a research paper or tourist website might.

Poetry is a way to appeal to emotions. African American writer and poet, Audre Lourde wrote, “poetry is not only dream or vision, it is the skeleton architecture of our lives.”⁴⁹ Lourde asserted that poetry was a means to comprehend things where language alone lacked. Poetry is a means of conveying emotions and feelings that just research alone is not always enough to gain a concrete understanding. It is something that has been used by historians to understand the feelings of people throughout time from Ancient Greece and Rome to the Civil Rights Movement, and still today. These five poems serve as my own piece to convey my own emotions surrounding these landmarks.

⁴⁸ All photos included in this section were taken by the author of this work, Rebecca Malzer.

⁴⁹ Audre Lourde, “Poetry Is Not a Luxury,” from *Sister Outsider: essays and speeches*, (Crossing Press, 1985), 37.

Schloss Mirabell and Mirabellgarten



“Pegasus at the Gate”

Perhaps the Pegasus beyond the gate
 seduces one to stay
With its lavish gardens decorated in petunias
 under the watchful gaze
Of the bold, white Fortress on the hill.



“Pleasing the Eye as it Once Pleased a Mistress”

The eye beheld one mistress
after another. Then terrible men
roamed the halls
with their armbands and dark plans.

My footsteps echo. The people’s hands
now hold their eagle. The place
still stands despite the storms,
for the marveling eyes of the world
to see.

Schloss Hellbrunn and the Wasserspiele



“A Fountain’s Trick”

A trick,
should you choose
to stay
in the mossy gardens
full of Neptune’s statues.

I wish to beg your pardon!
To these solid figures you swoon,
and after a splash to the groin,
your face turns as red
as a copper coin.

Franziskanerkirche



“A Church in the Alps”

The hills sing. So do the choirs,
their hymns echoing

through the chamber.

The snow glistens at the peaks, bells
chime as the wind roars

over copper roofs, a lovely turquoise,
as tall as an Archbishop

towering over the streets
as the mountains soar over the city.



“The Altar”

The golden altar
shines under the sunlight
leaking through the glass.
My faint footsteps echoed off
the tall stone walls around me.

Results

The mission of the Counter-Reformation was to promote Roman Catholicism by initiating a series of reforms, many of these reforms are reflected in the three Salzburg structures: *Schloss Mirabell* and *Mirabellgarten*, *Schloss Hellbrunn* and the *Wasserspiele*, and the *Franziskanerkirche*. The usage of religious imagery in the church to promote the focus of the Virgin Mary within the Roman Catholic Church is a prime example of this. The name change of *Schloss Mirabell* is another reflection of these reforms as the practice of concubinage begins to be increasingly more frowned upon. The seat of power in the *Wasserspiele* is a way that the Prince-Archbishops could assert their power amongst their companions.

Additionally, the classical references in the garden represent the mission of making Salzburg the “Rome of the North.” Many of them are depictions of crucial bodies in classical mythology relevant to the founding of Rome. Others are representative of powerful figures, for instance, the gods from classical mythology. The meaning behind many of these figures go deeper than just the myths they come from. Many of the myths can be applied to Catholicism, like the example of the Labors of Hercules statue in *Mirabellgarten*. The connection to Rome and the representation of Catholic ideals assert Salzburg as a “Rome in the North.”

Each Prince-Archbishop left their mark on the city, and thus on history. Wolf Dietrich demolished much of the city, to rebuild it in the Baroque style, modeling it off of Rome.⁵⁰ Sittikus left behind the marvel of the *Wasserspiele* in his short time in power. Thun had parts of the *Franziskanerkirche* remodeled, including an exquisite golden altar embodying the ideals of the Counter-Reformation. The Prince-Archbishops and their architects took the idea that images hold great power and applied them to the city in various forms promoting the power and wealth

⁵⁰ Juffinger, 46.

of the Roman Catholic Church creating the impression of what loyalty to the Pope in Rome brings. It resulted in a beautiful city that remains a major tourist stop with much of its Baroque architecture preserved throughout the centuries.

In the poetic response, I found a way to connect with these structures in a way that I could not through the research and historical analysis. The emotional bond I created through these poems helped to establish another interpretation: these structures hold centuries of history, but they are just as impressive today as they were then. It seems like the obvious result, but in researching the small details of these structures and applying that to their context in the city creates a whole other meaning, and thus a whole other impression. Being able to walk by and in these structures regularly and seeing them as an outsider then combined with research and analysis creates a unique interpretation that represents the beauty and horrors of their history.

Utilizing a creative approach such as this allows for these interpretations to take hold. It reaches another audience. Someone who knows nothing about Baroque architecture, classical mythology, or the Counter-Reformation, but could read these poems and feel the emotion behind these words, the emotion behind these structures. Poems appeal to the audience that may not be concerned by the historical facts and details. It appeals to the people who could care less about analyzing the intricate details, but it still allows them to gain a basic understanding of these structures and the Baroque features within these structures.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the city of Salzburg will remain an interesting point of study. The city's well preserved architecture displays its centuries of history for the world to see. The Prince-Archbishops left behind centuries of legacy from their loyalty to the Holy Roman Empire; the

Baroque era is only a tiny fraction of the city's extensive history with structures dating back almost millenia. The cultural influence of the city, from being the birthplace of Mozart and the setting of *The Sound of Music* provides the world of tourists with various interests something to look forward to in the city if the exquisite architecture is not compelling enough.

Implications for Future Research

For implications for further research, one might want to look deeper into the religious divides between the different sects of Catholicism like the Franciscans and Jesuits. These internal religious debates within the Roman Catholic Church were a part of Salzburg's history during the Baroque era and influenced the name change of the *Franziskanerkirche* to include "Franciscans." These divisions could have been influential on the architecture as Franciscans and Jesuits probably focused more heavily on different teachings within the church.

Additionally, research into the funding of the structures built in Salzburg by the Prince-Archbishops is another point of discussion. Salzburg being a center for trade would make its economic history, especially during the Baroque era, yield results. The Thirty Years' War also put financial strains on the church and looking at how those strains affected or did not affect Salzburg despite its neutrality in the war would be another point to dig further into.

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