

Art Patronage, Collecting, and Dynastic Memory in the House of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg: New Perspectives

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Abstract

1.01 Original scientific article

This article examines the lives, art patronage, and collecting activities of Leopold, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg, his wife Maria Elisabeth, née Princess of Liechtenstein, and their four daughters. Drawing on previously unexplored archival sources, it reassesses their importance as patrons of the arts and attempts to reconstruct the formation and transmission of the celebrated painting gallery at Frischau Manor. Contrary to the prevailing view, Maria Elisabeth probably did not inherit the gallery from father, Johann Adam Andreas of Liechtenstein. The available evidence instead identifies her first husband, Maximilian Jakob Moritz of Liechtenstein, as a key figure in its formation. The study also demonstrates how marriage, inheritance, estate management, and religious patronage distributed the family's property and cultural legacy among several Central European princely houses. By bringing to light new evidence concerning the family's genealogy, residences, marriages, and inheritances, the article also highlights the active role of aristocratic women in collecting, patronage, and the preservation of dynastic memory during the eighteenth century.

Keywords: House of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg, House of Liechtenstein, art patronage, art collecting, biography, Břežany (Frischau)

Umetnostno naročništvo, zbirateljstvo in dinastični spomin v rodbini Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg: Nove perspektive

Izvleček

Izvirni znanstveni članek

V članku avtorica obravnava življenje, umetnostno naročništvo in zbirateljske dejavnosti Leopolda, vojvode Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburga, njegove žene Marije Elizabete, rojene princeze Liechtenstein, ter njunih štirih hčera. Na podlagi doslej neupoštevanih arhivskih virov na novo ovrednoti Leopoldovo vlogo umetnostnega naročnika, v novo perspektivo pa postavlja tudi nastanek in dedovanje slikarske galerije v dvorcu Frischau (Břežany). V nasprotju s prevladujočim mnenjem Mariji Elizabeti slavne zbirke slik verjetno ni zapustil njen oče Janez Adam knez Liechtenstein, temveč njen prvi mož Maksimilijan Jakob Moritz knez Liechtenstein. V članku je prikazano, kako sta se prek porok, dedovanja, upravljanja s posestmi in verskega pokroviteljstva družinsko premoženje in umetnostna zapuščina razdelila med več srednjeevropskih knežjih rodov. S predstavitvijo novih podatkov o družinski genealogiji, rezidencah, porokah in dedovanjih je poudarjena tudi aktivna vloga predstavnic visokega plemstva pri zbiranju, naročništvu in ohranjanju dinastičnega spomina v 18. stoletju.

Ključne besede: rodbina Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg, rodbina Liechtenstein, umetnostno naročništvo, zbirateljstvo, biografije, Břežany (Frischau)

Introduction

The National Museum of Slovenia in Ljubljana houses approximately forty portraits and some other paintings originating from the Baron Wambolt collection, once displayed at Hopfenbach (Hmeljnik) Castle in Lower Carniola in Slovenia. Among them are seven portraits depicting Duke Leopold of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1674–1744), his wife, their adult daughters, and one of their sons-in-law.¹ Until the late 1920s, the portraits were kept at Frischau Manor (Břežany) in southern Moravia (Fig. 1), from which another twenty-five or so portraits in the Wambolt collection also originate.² These paintings bear witness to the dynamic movements of the nobility and aristocratic cultural heritage during the interwar period. Research into their provenance was made possible through the identification of the individual sitters and the study of Frischau Manor's ownership history. Two of the sitters could be directly linked to Frischau Manor: Leopold's wife, Maria Elisabeth, née Princess of Liechtenstein (1683–1744), owned it from 1704 until her death in 1744, and their daughter Maria Gabriela Felicitas, Princess of Fürstenberg-Möskirch (1716–1798), inherited it and remained its owner until her own death.³

The portraits have not yet received scholarly attention, and the sitters remain virtually unknown in Slovenian scholarship. This study therefore introduces the individuals and presents them in greater detail. The biographies and activities of the family members reveal some of them to have been important and influential figures in Central European cultural history, whose remarkable lives and careers have, for the most part, not yet been thoroughly investigated. The only scholarly study devoted to Leopold (and his family) was published in 2010 by the Polish historian Małgorzata Kaganiec.⁴ His daughter Maria Gabriela Felicitas was recognized as an important art commissioner in late eighteenth-century Moravia by Tomáš Valeš, and her role in Germany was partially investigated by Maria Magdalena Zunker.⁵ Some pieces of information on other daughters and subsequent heirs have been provided by Marie Františka Süsenbeková and Věra Sedláková.⁶

In presenting new findings concerning the members of Duke Leopold of Schleswig-Holstein's family, special emphasis is placed on the family's artistic patronage, collecting activities, and dynastic relationships. A comparative analysis of the family portraits kept in the National Museum of Slovenia and elsewhere in Europe will be presented in a separate study.

¹ Portraits are presented in Horvat and Kos, *Zbirka slik*, 149, 150, 172, 173 (cat. nos. 459, 461, 463, 464, 588, 589, 597).

² Komić Marn, "Oprema gradu Hmeljnik," Komić Marn, "Nationalized and 'Socialized'." Although it has long been known that some of the furnishings at Hopfenbach Castle were transferred there from Frischau Manor (see "Naši gradovi," 336–37; Potočnik, *Hmeljnik*, 14, 39), until recently, no attempt has been made to investigate the circumstances of their transfer or their earlier provenance.

³ Komić Marn, "Nationalized and 'Socialized,'" 109.

⁴ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński."

⁵ Valeš, *Příběhy slávy a zapomnění*, 132–46; Zunker, *Die Benediktinerinnenabtei St. Walburg*, 154, 156, 666, 782.

⁶ Süsenbeková, *Střípky z dějin*; Sedláková, "Významné majitelky."

Leopold, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1674–1744)

Leopold, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (Fig. 2), was a member of the important and ancient family of the counts of Oldenburg-Delmenhorst, which was closely related to the Danish royal family. On his mother's side, he was related to the Silesian Piasts from the line of the dukes of Liegnitz-Brieg-Wohlau-Ohlau. He was born on 12 January 1674 in the town of Brieg (Brzeg) in Lower Silesia, as the first and only son of Frederick, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1651–1724), and Charlotte, née Princess of Liegnitz-Brieg-Wohlau (1652–1707).⁷ His parents married secretly in 1672 and solemnized the marriage publicly the following year.⁸

During his early childhood, Leopold lived in Brieg and Ohlau (Oława) with his mother and grandmother Louise, Princess of Anhalt-Dessau (1631–1680),⁹ and apparently he also spent some time with his father in Saxony.¹⁰ In 1675, his maternal uncle and the last male representative of the family, Georg Wilhelm IV, died, with Charlotte remaining the last Silesian Piast.¹¹ Following his parents' official separation in 1680, Leopold was taken into his father's custody.¹² Frederick—who was a



1. Břežany (Frischau) Manor (© ZRC SAZU, UIFS; photo: Renata Komić Marn)

⁷ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 83 (n. 5), provides a transcription of the baptismal register of Saint Hedwig's parish in Brieg, which records the date of birth as 13 January and the date of baptism as 18 January. On Frederick, see O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 10–12. Charlotte and Frederick were the subject of considerable scholarly attention; see, among others, four articles by Gotthard Münch (Münch, "Charlotte von Liegnitz").

⁸ There is no shortage of information on the marriage, which has often been presented in romanticized terms; see, among others, Schück, "Die heimliche Vermählung."

⁹ In her will, Duchess Luisa, who died in 1680, left her considerable fortune to her only surviving daughter and her six-year-old grandson, Leopold, for whom she appointed a guardian to preserve his inheritance; Münch, "Charlotte von Liegnitz," 12: 158.

¹⁰ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 84.

¹¹ Münch, "Charlotte von Liegnitz," 11: 150–64.

¹² Münch, "Charlotte von Liegnitz," 13: 177.



2. Portrait of Leopold,
Duke of Schleswig-
Holstein-Sonderburg-
Wiesenburg (1674–1744),
Ljubljana, National
Museum of Slovenia (©
Narodni muzej Slovenije;
photo: Tomaž Lauko)

knight of Denmark with the highest order of chivalry, the Order of the Elephant (*Elefantordenen*), as well as a royal-imperial general field marshal and commander of a cuirassier regiment¹³—was far more devoted to his military career than to family life. He left his six-year-old son in Vienna in the care of his sister Eleonora Margareta, Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg and Princess of Liechtenstein by marriage (1655–1702).¹⁴

After the separation and the death of her mother in 1680, Leopold's mother Charlotte left Silesia and lived in Dessau, Berlin, and Dresden. In 1684, she moved to Breslau (Wrocław) and

¹³ For his titles, see "Lista derer Getaufften": "Herr Friderich / Erbe zu Norwegen / Herzog zu Schließwig/Holstein / Stormaren und der Dietmarschen / Graf zu Oldenburg und Delmenhorst / des Königlich Dännischen Elephanten Ordens Ritter / Ihrer Röm. Kaiserl. Majest. General = Feld = Marschall und Obrist über ein Regiment Kürassier." Cf. also Hausarchiv der Regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein (AT FLHA), FA 521, Maria Elisabeth 1683–1744, Familiensachen, marriage contract from 1713; Tietz, *Johann Winckler*, 69; Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 81 (n. 3).

¹⁴ The information reported by Małgorzata Kaganiec without reference to a source (Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 84) is indirectly corroborated by one of the bequests in Eleonora Margareta's will, under which she left Leopold one thousand ducats. For the will, see Moravský zemský archiv v Brně (MZA), C 2, Tribunál - pozůstalosti, karton 98, sign. L 20 (15 August 1702), fol. 31v. Münch, "Charlotte von Liegnitz," 13: 177, mentions only that Frederick gave him away to his relatives in Vienna.



3. *Epitaph of Charlotte, Duchess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg, in Trzebnica* (© ZRC SAZU, UIFS; photo: Renata Komić Marn)

devoted herself to charitable work.¹⁵ She spent her final years in Saint Hedwig's Convent at Trebnitz (Trzebnica), where she died in 1707. Charlotte expressed in her last will the wish to be buried in the convent in Trebnitz.¹⁶ According to earlier authors, shortly before her death she summoned her only son to her bedside, although no reliable information survives concerning such a meeting.¹⁷ The surviving dedicatory inscription, or epitaph, in the former Poor Clares' convent (now occupied by the Ursulines) in Wrocław indicates that Leopold commissioned a silver urn to preserve his mother's heart.¹⁸ Many years later, in 1739, Leopold referred to his mother's heart, preserved in the Poor Clares' convent, in a codicil to his will.¹⁹ He also commissioned a marble-and-alabaster epitaph for her grave from the Viennese workshop of Peter Strudel.²⁰ The monument bears Charlotte's portrait together

¹⁵ Schück, "Die heimliche Vermählung," 341.

¹⁶ Schück, "Die heimliche Vermählung," 341–42.

¹⁷ Schück, "Die heimliche Vermählung," 342.

¹⁸ See a transcription of the epitaph, published in Schück, "Die heimliche Vermählung," 343. For a translation into Polish, see Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 84 (n. 13).

¹⁹ MZA, Tribunal - pozüstalosti, karton 60, sign. H 100 (20 August 1739), fol. 93v.

²⁰ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 84–86.

with the coats of arms of the Houses of Liegnitz-Brieg and Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg, and it still stands at the foot of the magnificent tomb of Saint Hedwig in the convent church in Trzebnica (Fig. 3). An analysis of the sources shows that as late as 1725 Leopold was still commissioning masses for his mother at the Cistercian nuns' convent in Trebnitz, and now also for his father Frederick at the Poor Clares' convent in Pressburg (Bratislava).²¹

The Polish scholar Małgorzata Kaganiec has argued that after his mother's death Leopold severed all ties with Silesia by selling the Piast palace in Wrocław (today 49 Szewska Street) to the Ursuline nuns in 1709.²² The text of the dedicatory inscription on the cartouche beneath the urn containing his mother's heart nevertheless indicates that Leopold was keenly aware of the significance of the illustrious dynasty of which she was the last representative. Furthermore, it has been established that Charlotte must have bequeathed to Leopold the portrait gallery of Silesian Piasts that is now preserved in Slovenia.²³ At the beginning of the twentieth century, these portraits were kept at Frischau Manor. This suggests that, despite disposing of other Silesian possessions, the duke consciously preserved an important part of his mother's family inheritance. It indicates that his connection with his native Silesia and with the Silesian Piast dynasty remained a significant element of both his personal and dynastic identity.

Charlotte left her son not only the portrait gallery but also a substantial fortune. This inheritance became the subject of a prolonged legal dispute with Leopold's father Frederick, who considered himself entitled to a portion of his former wife's estate.²⁴ These lengthy conflicts distanced Leopold from his father's court and from the land of Saxony. He therefore decided to establish himself in Austria, where—reportedly on the advice of his cousin Cardinal Christian August of Saxony-Weitz (1666–1725)—he converted to Catholicism.²⁵ The cardinal is also said to have acted as intermediary in finding a suitable bride for the duke, then thirty-nine years old.²⁶

On 28 February 1713, Leopold married Maria Elisabeth, née Princess of Liechtenstein and widow of Prince Maximilian Jakob Moritz of Liechtenstein, at Saint Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna.²⁷ The marriage further aggravated his dispute with his father.²⁸ After their wedding, the ducal couple appears to have divided their time between Moravia and Vienna, although they primarily resided in Vienna, where all five of their daughters were born,²⁹ and where Leopold served as an imperial privy councilor from 1721 onward.³⁰ Research into their residences in Vienna shows that during 1720

²¹ Süßenbeková, *Střípky z dějin*, 18.

²² Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 86. The sale of the house is also mentioned in Grünhagen, *Geschichte Schlesiens*, 333. The building dates from the fifteenth century and was a residence of the princes of Liegnitz and Brieg until 1709. It has since been completely remodeled; for an illustration of its Baroque appearance, see Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 87, repr. 6.

²³ Komić Marn, "Nationalized and 'Socialized,'" 110; Komić Marn, "Plemiški portreti iz gradu Hmeljnik."

²⁴ O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 12.

²⁵ O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 12; Falke, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Hauses*, 348; Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 273. His mother, Charlotte, also converted to Catholicism in the late seventeenth century.

²⁶ O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 12.

²⁷ AT DAW, Wien – Dom- und Metropolitanpfarre St. Stephan, Trauungsbuch, 02-039, pag. 435.

²⁸ O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 12.

²⁹ The relevant archival sources are cited below.

³⁰ Michaelis, *Einleitung zu einer vollständigen*, 586. O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 16, states that Leopold received "*die wirkliche geheimratswürde*" in 1727.

and 1721 the ducal couple regularly resided in the Rothal House near Saint Stephen's Cathedral.³¹ However, in 1728 they jointly purchased a house at 7 Sankt Joannesgasse (now Johannesgasse), where both eventually died sixteen years later.³²

In 1721, Leopold inherited Wetzdorf Castle in Lower Austria following the death of his aunt Magdalena Sophia Eleonora, née Duchess of Schleswig-Holstein (1664–1720), Abbess of Quedlinburg.³³ After a lengthy legal struggle, he finally secured recognition in 1723 as heir to Wiesenburg Castle, which his father had acquired in 1675 from his own father, Duke Philip Louis of Schleswig-Holstein.³⁴ Leopold's chief concern, however, was not the lordship itself but the hereditary privileges attached to it. Because the remote property did not suit the needs of his family, he relinquished Wiesenburg to August II the Strong, the elector of Saxony and Polish king, only one year after his father's death in exchange for repayment of the mortgage debt.³⁵

Leopold was also an active patron of architecture and religious art. In 1723, he purchased additional estates and incorporated them into Wetzdorf.³⁶ Between 1726 and 1728 he transformed the residence inherited from his aunt into a Baroque château and created an elegant French-style park.³⁷ In 1735 he purchased the lordship of Groß-Meseritsch (Velké Meziříčí) in Moravia for 623,800 guilders,



4. View of Gross Meseritsch Castle (Velké Meziříčí), 1909 (© Wikimedia Commons)

³¹ See *Wienerisches Diarium* for reports of their residence in Vienna in 1720 and 1721.

³² Details of this purchase are documented in Leopold's will; MZA, Tribunál - pozůstalosti, karton 60, sign. H 100 (7 September 1738), fols. 65–65v.

³³ On the manor, see *Niederösterreich nördlich der Donau*, 525–28. On his unmarried aunt, Sophia Magdalena, see Tietz, *Johann Winckler*, 70.

³⁴ He paid 110,000 thalers for it in the autumn of 1675. Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 81, states that Frederick received Wiesenburg as a gift from his father. Leopold's grandfather, Duke Philipp Ludwig, had purchased Wiesenburg from Elector Johann Georg II of Saxony in 1663 and established the family's Wiesenburg line there. On the acquisition of Wiesenburg and the business and family affairs of Duke Philipp Ludwig, see O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 2–8; Tietz, *Johann Winckler*, 68–73.

³⁵ Haymann, *Neue europäische Staats- und Reisegeographie*, 1335; Michaelis, *Einleitung zu einer vollständigen*, 586; O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 13–14.

³⁶ On 23 January 1723, he purchased Großwetzdorf, Kleinwetzdorf, and Rohrbach (Hollabrunn District) from the four heiresses of Countess Christina von Rogendorf. The purchase agreement was offered for sale in an online auction held by the Dorotheum in June 2025. See "Autografy, rukopisy, dokumenty."

³⁷ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 89.

located approximately eighty kilometers from Frischau (Fig. 4).³⁸ Between 1739 and 1741, he financed the Baroque rebuilding of the parish church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary at nearby Netín (Netín), strengthening its Gothic chancel, commissioning the high altar, and ordering the principal altarpiece from the local painter Karl František Topper (1682–1738).³⁹ Leopold is also credited with commissioning the Holy Trinity Column, which was erected in the park in front of the manor house in 1714 and which bears the coats of arms of the Schleswig-Holstein and Liechtenstein families (Fig. 5).⁴⁰ His wife's testament further reveals that the ducal couple also contributed financially to the construction, restoration, and maintenance of ancient Saint Bartholomew's Church near Frischau Manor.⁴¹

In 1731, ten years after receiving the Order of the Golden Fleece, the fifty-seven-year-old Leopold was granted the prestigious style of serene highness (*Durchlauchtig*).⁴² That same year his daughter Maria Eleonora Charlotte married at the age of sixteen. After the death of the youngest daughter, Maria Antonia Hedwig, in March 1735 at only fourteen years of age,⁴³ the remaining three unmarried daughters all married within a remarkably short period. The eldest, Maria Theresia Anna, and the third-born, Maria Gabriela Felicitas, married in May of the same year in the chapel of the recently renovated château at Wetzdorf,⁴⁴ and Maria Charlotte Antonia married by proxy in Vienna that July.

Three years later Leopold drew up his will, dividing his entire estate among his four daughters, whom he named universal heiresses. His wife was to receive his share of their Viennese residence on Joannesgasse, together with all its furnishings, as well as all *Mobilien* located in Leopold's Austrian and Moravian estates.⁴⁵ After a prolonged illness, Leopold died in Vienna on 4 March 1744, age seventy.⁴⁶ He was buried three days later with great ceremony in the Liechtenstein family chapel in Saint Stephen's Cathedral, where the Prinz-Eugen-Epitaph was later commissioned by Maria Elisabeth's younger sister Maria Theresia, Duchess of Savoy (1694–1772).⁴⁷

³⁸ Details of this purchase are documented in Leopold's will; MZA, Tribunál - pozůstalosti, karton 60, sign. H 100 (7 September 1738), fol. 78. See also Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 86; Sedláková, "Významné majitelky," 10.

³⁹ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 89; Sedláková, "Významné majitelky," 12, with references to the relevant literature. On Tepper, see Uhlíř, "Západoslovácký barokní;" Uhlíř, *Karel František Tepper*.

⁴⁰ The Holy Trinity Column was made by the Viennese sculptor Rochus Marhofer and bears his signature; see Samek, *Umělecké památky Moravy*, 292–93.

⁴¹ MZA, G 393, Rodinný archiv Harrachů Velké Meziříčí, karton 137, inv. č. 1637, sign. 14 (22 April 1744), fols. 30v–31. According to Wolny, *Die Markgrafschaft Mähren*, 3: 216, the church once stood on the site now occupied by Brežany Cemetery.

⁴² AT-OeStA/AVA Adel HAA AR 859.12, Schleswig-Holstein (Hollstein), Leopold, Herzog zu, Verleihung des Ehrenwortes „Durchlauchtig“ (28 July 1731). See also O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 16.

⁴³ Baptized on 17 January 1721 at Saint Stephen's in Vienna, see AT DAW, Wien – Dom- und Metropolitanpfarre St. Stephan, Taufbuch, 01-060, fol. 337v.

⁴⁴ AT DAW, Rohrbach, Tauf-, Trauungs-, Sterbebuch, 01,2,3-02, pag. 254. Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 86, and Sedláková, "Významné majitelky," 12, claim that three—or, according to some accounts, two—of the daughters were married at Saint Nicholas's Parish Church in Groß-Meseritsch. O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 16, states that Maria Gabriela was married in Frischau. The same incorrect information is recorded in the 1735 marriage entries for two of his daughters; see *Des Neu-eröffneter Historischer*, 141.

⁴⁵ MZA, Tribunál - pozůstalosti, karton 60, sign. H 100 (7 September 1738), fols. 65v–66.

⁴⁶ AT DAW, Wien – Dom- und Metropolitanpfarre St. Stephan, Sterbebuch, 03-24, pag. 20.

⁴⁷ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 89. According to Donin, *Der Wiener Stephansdom*, 67, the chapel was maintained from 1717 to 1744 by Prince Johann Adam of Liechtenstein. Because he had already died in 1712, however, it is more likely that responsibility for the chapel passed to his daughters, including Maria Elisabeth, who lived with her husband in the immediate vicinity of the cathedral. For the commission by her younger sister Maria Theresia, see Mayer, "Zur erstaunlichen Kunstpatronage," 206–09; Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 281–82.



5. Rochus Marhoffer: *The Holy Trinity Column in Břežany*, 1714 (© ZRC SAZU, UIFS; photo: Renata Komić Marn)

Leopold attracted some scholarly attention only fifteen years ago, mainly because of his close relationship to the Silesian Piasts.⁴⁸ Yet he deserves broader recognition, especially as an important patron of the arts and the husband of the daughter of Johann Adam, Prince of Liechtenstein, one of the foremost art collectors of the Habsburg Empire. Moreover, some earlier authors have even credited Leopold with commissioning the construction of the new eastern, southern, and western wings of Frischau Manor, although the lordship itself belonged to his wife.⁴⁹

Maria Elisabeth, Duchess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg, née Princess of Liechtenstein, widowed Princess of Liechtenstein (1683–1744)

Maria Elisabeth, Princess of Liechtenstein (Fig. 6), was born on 3 May 1683 at Sternberg Castle (Šternberk) in Moravia.⁵⁰ She was the eldest daughter of Johann Adam, Prince of Liechtenstein, and Erdmunda, née Countess of Dietrichstein (1662–1737). Only a few details are known about her life before her first marriage. From the age of eight to sixteen, she was educated under the supervision of her governess Elisabeth Kastner, and after 1694 she received instruction in French from Mademoiselle Anna Maria Hendrica Spournaux.⁵¹ Known affectionately within the family as *Maria Lisl*, she spent her childhood mainly at her father's estate of Feldsberg (Valtice). Around 1700, she and her younger sister, Maria Antonia, were portrayed together in a double portrait by an unidentified artist (Fig. 8).⁵² On 21 April 1703, at the age of twenty, she married Maximilian Jakob Moritz, Prince of Liechtenstein, who was sixty-two years old.⁵³ Maximilian was already twice widowed and, moreover, a close relative, being the widower of Maria Elisabeth's paternal aunt Johanna Beatrix, Princess of Liechtenstein. Because of their close kinship, the marriage required a papal dispensation.⁵⁴ During their seven-year marriage they had four children, although only one daughter, Maria Charlotte Felicitas (1704–1754), survived to adulthood and later married Count Gilleis.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński."

⁴⁹ Wisnar, *Heimatskunde*, 14. For more information about the manor in Břežany, see the entry by Tomáš Valeš in Konečný, *Vitruvius Moravicus*, 200–06. Most authors (e.g., Peřinka, *Vlastivěda moravská*, 132; Wolny, *Die Markgrafschaft Mähren*, 3: 215) claim that the entire manor was built in 1713 at the behest of Elisabeth's father, Johann Adam. This assertion, however, is unsupported by the available sources; moreover, Johann Adam had already died in 1712. The unresolved questions concerning the patronage and architectural history of Frischau Manor lie beyond the scope of this article and can be addressed only through further in-depth research.

⁵⁰ Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 271.

⁵¹ Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 271–72.

⁵² The portrait is tentatively attributed to Jan Kupetzky, although this was already rejected in 1928; see "The Princesses Maria Elisabeth."

⁵³ The information concerning her childhood, as well as the date and place of her marriage, follows Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 62, and Haupt, *Ein Liebhaber der gemähl*, 1063 n. 1458. Elsewhere, however, the same author identifies the princess's native Šternberk as the place of the wedding (Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 272). An examination of the relevant parish registers for this period yielded no results, and Jakob von Falke, the historian of the Liechtenstein family, likewise provided no reliable information.

⁵⁴ Falke, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Hauses*, 384. Maximilian's grandfather Gundakar was the brother of Karl, Elisabeth's great-grandfather; a dispensation was also required because Maximilian's first marriage to Elisabeth's aunt, Johanna Beatrix, had made him her uncle by marriage.

⁵⁵ Falke, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Hauses*, 384; Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 272.

Four years after Maximilian's death in 1709, the thirty-year-old Maria Elisabeth married Leopold, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, who was nine years her senior. The two almost certainly became acquainted through her first husband.⁵⁶ Maximilian's second wife, Eleonora Margareta, whom he had married in 1674, was Leopold's paternal aunt and had served as his guardian after about 1680. It is therefore highly likely that Leopold continued visiting his uncle Maximilian even after Eleonora Margareta's death in 1702 and Maximilian's marriage to Maria Elisabeth in 1703.

Following their marriage, Leopold and Maria Elisabeth mainly resided in Vienna. Almost nothing is known about Maria Elisabeth's later life, except that she was a dame of the Order of the Starry Cross (*Sternkreuzordendame*).⁵⁷ She died on 8 May 1744, only two months after her husband, at the family's residence at Joannesgasse 7 in Vienna.⁵⁸ Like her husband, she was buried in the Liechtenstein family chapel in Saint Stephen's Cathedral.⁵⁹

Until her death, Maria Elisabeth remained the sole owner of the estates of Frischau, Bonitz (Bohunice), and Gaiwitz (Kyjovice). She purchased them on 27 May 1704 from her first husband Maximilian for two hundred thousand guilders.⁶⁰ Maximilian himself had inherited these estates two years earlier from his second wife, Eleonora Margareta, Duchess of Schleswig-Holstein, through her will.⁶¹ The succession of owners is important not only because of the numerous portraits that later reached Hopfenbach Castle, but also because in 1798 Frischau housed one of the most celebrated private painting collections in Moravia, consisting of around 270 paintings, displayed in three interconnected gallery rooms.⁶² In 1801, this collection was sold by the owner, Prince Moritz Joseph of Liechtenstein, to a prominent collector.⁶³ Detailed and comprehensive studies of the collection have been published by Lubomír Slavíček.⁶⁴ The less significant part of the collection appears to have remained at Frischau, where the new owner donated some seventy-five paintings of lesser value to the district head's wife (*frau oberamtmannin*) and some other locals; the rest of the paintings,

⁵⁶ Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 273.

⁵⁷ Süsenbeková, *Střípky z dějin*, 17.

⁵⁸ The place of death is recorded in the probate documents; see MZA, G 393, Rodinný archiv Harrachů Velké Meziříčí, karton 137, inv. č. 1637, sign. 14.

⁵⁹ Access to the chapel is restricted, and the available sources contain no information regarding tombs or commemorative slabs for the ducal couple. They may have been removed during the chapel's Gothic Revival restoration of 1851–1852.

⁶⁰ Wolny, *Die Markgrafschaft Mähren*, 3: 209; Peřinka, *Vlastivěda moravská*, 136. Wisnar, *Heimatskunde*, 14, states that, for the sum specified above and in addition to the three estates, Maximilian sold his third wife a house in Znojmo.

⁶¹ Maximilian's second wife, whom he had married in 1674, acquired these estates in 1692 and 1699. The couple's only two children died in early childhood. See Wolny, *Die Markgrafschaft Mähren*, 3: 208–09; Falke, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Hauses*, 384; Peřinka, *Vlastivěda moravská*, 136; Hořák, *Historický místopis*, 112; Wisnar, *Heimatskunde*, 14. For the will drawn up by Eleonora Margareta one day before her death, see MZA, C 2, Tribunál - pozůstalosti, karton 98, sign. L 20 (15 August 1702).

⁶² Evident from the probate inventory of her daughter Maria Gabriela Felicitas from 1798; see MZA, Moravskoslezské zemské právo, C9, karton 40, sign. 13, spis č. 511 (12 October 1798), fols. 35v–40v. See also Valeš, *Příběhy slávy a zapomnění*, 131–32.

⁶³ Slavíček, "Katalog der liechtensteinischen." Interestingly, the sale of the collection was in fact overseen by his mother, the aforementioned Princess Lori: Maria Eleonora Princess of Liechtenstein, née Princess of Oettingen-Spielberg.

⁶⁴ Slavíček, "... und ist die grösste;" Slavíček, "Zámecká obrazárna;" Slavíček, "Katalog der liechtensteinischen."

however, he later sold, principally at auctions held in London.⁶⁵ Slaviček successfully identified several of the paintings in modern collections, but the fate and present whereabouts of most of the Frischau collection remain unknown.

The literature most frequently states that the Frischau painting collection formed part of what Maria Elisabeth inherited from her father Johann Adam, Prince of Liechtenstein.⁶⁶ A careful analysis of the prince's last will contradicts this assertion. Princes Joseph Wenzel and Emanuel, the sons of Johann Adam Andreas's cousin, inherited all his paintings and other works of art, including the bronze sculptures housed in his residence on Vienna's Herrengasse, the Gartenpalais in the Roßau, and his various castles and estates.⁶⁷ A list survives of 136 paintings earmarked in 1720 for Johann Adam Andreas's allodial heiresses, presumably his five daughters and perhaps also his wife.⁶⁸ Maria Elisabeth, however, could have received at most one-fifth of this small collection, amounting to approximately twenty-seven paintings. Furthermore, a preliminary comparison of the works and their attributions as described in the list with the inventory of the gallery at Frischau Manor lends no support to the hypothesis that any of these paintings subsequently entered its collection. Furthermore, the Frischau collection chiefly consisted of works by seventeenth-century Dutch painters, which does not correspond well to Johann Adam's collecting preferences; he mainly collected large-format works by Flemish and Italian masters.⁶⁹ Lubomír Slaviček suggested that the Frischau paintings once formed part of prince Karl Eusebius's collection, which actually included a substantial number of works by Dutch old masters.⁷⁰ This possibility can neither be conclusively confirmed nor ruled out because no comprehensive inventory of Karl Eusebius's painting collection is known.⁷¹ Furthermore, the sculptor and historiographer Andreas Schweigel stated that the collection had been assembled by a prince of Liechtenstein in the preceding (i.e., the seventeenth) century,⁷² a reference that most plausibly points to Maximilian Jakob, Elisabeth's first husband. This possibility is further strengthened by Lubomír Slaviček's observation that several of the painters employed by Prince Karl Eusebius of Liechtenstein also worked for his cousin, Maximilian.⁷³ In light of this evidence, Maximilian Jakob must be regarded as a potential key figure in the formation of the painting collection housed at Frischau Manor in the late eighteenth century.⁷⁴

⁶⁵ Slaviček, "... und ist die grösste," 130–33; Slaviček, "Zámecká obrazárna," 133.

⁶⁶ Peřinka, *Vlastivěda moravská*, 132; Süsenbeková, *Strípky z dějin*, 19, 21; Wisnar, *Heimatskunde*, 17; Slaviček, "... und ist die grösste," 128, 136–37; Slaviček, "Zámecká obrazárna," 157, 162; Slaviček, "Katalog der liechtensteinischen," 134, 137.

⁶⁷ See AT FLHA, FA 358, Testament des Fürsten Johann Adam Andreas von Liechtenstein vom 17. Juli 1711. See also Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 262.

⁶⁸ Haupt, *Ein Liebhaber der gemähl*, 1120–24.

⁶⁹ Wilhelm, "Die Fürsten von Liechtenstein," 63; Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 205. See also Slaviček, "... und ist die grösste," 137.

⁷⁰ Slaviček, "... und ist die grösste," 137.

⁷¹ See, for example, Wilhelm, "Die Fürsten von Liechtenstein," 57.

⁷² "Die Bildersammlung ist von denen Fürsten des Hauses Liechtenstein schon im vorigem Seculo kostbar eingesammelt und allda in drei Zimmern ordentlich eingeteilt worden." Quoted in Slaviček, "... und ist die grösste," 127.

⁷³ Slaviček, "... und ist die grösste," 136.

⁷⁴ Komić Marn, "Nationalized and 'Socialized,'" 113. For a brief description of Maximilian's art patronage and collecting practices, see Fleischer, *Fürst Karl Eusebius*, 64–65; Wilhelm, "Die Fürsten von Liechtenstein," 103. See also Slaviček, "Katalog der liechtensteinischen," 137.



6. Portrait of Maria Elisabeth, Duchess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg, née Princess of Liechtenstein (1683–1744), Ljubljana, National Museum of Slovenia (© Narodni muzej Slovenije; photo: Tomaž Lauko)

This hypothesis is further supported by the documented presence at Frischau in 1713 of landscapes painted by Maximilian's grandfather, Prince Gundaker of Liechtenstein,⁷⁵ as well as by a preliminary examination of Maximilian's collecting practices. He appears to have acquired several paintings and other objects through the Forchondt family, Antwerp-based art dealers that maintained a branch in Vienna.⁷⁶ He also discussed the acquisition of paintings and other objects with other dealers, artists, friends, and relatives.⁷⁷ Further research should investigate any acquisitions of paintings the young prince Maximilian Jakob may have made during his four-year grand tour through France, the Netherlands, England, and Italy,⁷⁸ and compare them with the descriptions of paintings from the Frischau Gallery. The evidence examined thus far indicates that Maximilian Jakob's role as a collector and patron was more significant than previously recognized.

⁷⁵ Wilhelm, "Die Fürsten von Liechtenstein," 38, without reference. See also Slaviček, "... und ist die grösste," 137.

⁷⁶ AT FLHA, FA 471, Ms 528, Ms 529, Ms 540: Protokollbücher der Hofkanzlei des Fürsten Maximilian Jakob Moritz 1687, 1688, 1689. Marcus Forchondt's correspondence likewise reveals that the dealer was in contact with Prince Maximilian; cf. Denucé, *Kunstuitvoer in de 17e eeuw*, 216, 237.

⁷⁷ This is evident from his correspondence of the 1680s: AT FLHA, FA 471, Ms 528, Ms 529, Ms 540: Protokollbücher der Hofkanzlei des Fürsten Maximilian Jakob Moritz 1687, 1688, 1689.

⁷⁸ The essential details of the journey are presented in Kubeš, *Národné dospívání urozených*, 377–78.

However, several other important questions remain unresolved, including the identity and quantity of the paintings displayed at Frischau before Maria Elisabeth's second marriage in 1713 and the extent of her involvement in the reconstruction and furnishing of the château. It is likewise unclear how she obtained the considerable funds required to purchase the lordship in 1704, although it may reasonably be assumed that her wealthy father provided substantial financial support.⁷⁹

Maria Elisabeth's own activities as a collector also merit further investigation. Evidence of her interest in works of art can already be found in her marriage contract with Maximilian, concluded at Feldsberg on 30 November 1702.⁸⁰ The document indicates that the young bride took a particular interest in the valuable artworks in Maximilian's possession. Under the terms of the contract, following Maximilian's death she was to receive his three finest tapestries, the complete "decoration" (*ornat*) of three rooms, and all the household silver. A document written by Maximilian in 1708 further records that he presented his wife with six Netherlandish tapestries for her name day and gave her a small silver service following the birth of their first child.⁸¹ The reference in the marriage contract to the "decoration of three rooms" raises the intriguing possibility that the phrase denoted not merely furnishings in general but the paintings that later constituted the celebrated gallery displayed across three rooms at Frischau. This possibility can be confirmed or rejected once Maximilian's probate inventory is located; its present whereabouts remain unknown.⁸² Nevertheless, it can be concluded that the famous Frischau painting collection was mainly created by Maximilian Jakob and that, in accordance with the provisions of the couple's marriage contract and the prince's will, it passed to his third wife, Maria Elisabeth, after his death in 1709.⁸³

In her will, Maria Elisabeth bequeathed to her daughter, Maria Gabriela Felicitas, not only the lordship of Frischau and its château, but also all the paintings and other movable property housed there, in return for the payment of twelve thousand guilders into the estate by the heiress.⁸⁴ This is the only explicit reference to paintings in the duchess's will, indicating that the renowned gallery was already housed in the manor by 1744. Because it seems that no inventories of the furnishings of the ducal couple's individual residences were compiled following their deaths, it is impossible to determine with certainty whether the paintings had already been arranged across three gallery rooms, as documented in 1798. Furthermore, the inventory from 1798 remains the only known

⁷⁹ On his legendary wealth, see Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 288.

⁸⁰ AT FLHA, FA 566, Maximilian Jacob Moriz. Falke, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Hauses*, 384, gives the incorrect date of 30 October 1702 for the marriage contract.

⁸¹ MZA, G 393, Rodinný archiv Harrachů Velké Meziříčí, karton 140, inv. č. 1680 (26 August 1708).

⁸² That an inventory was compiled is suggested by a provision in the prince's will stipulating that all his allodial property was to pass to his male heir and that, should the heir be a minor, his guardian was to arrange for an inventory to be drawn up. At the time of the prince's death in 1709, his only surviving son, Max Anton, was barely a week old. Following the child's premature death in 1711, Maria Elisabeth inherited the prince's allodial property in accordance with the provisions of his will. See AT FLHA, FA 566, Maximilian Jacob Moriz. On the birth of the last heir to Gundakar's *fideicommissum*, see "Lista deren Getaufften." See also Falke, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Hauses*, 384.

⁸³ The prince's will, drawn up in early 1705, stipulated that, should he leave no male heir, his entire allodial estate was to pass to his widow, Maria Elisabeth. The princely *fideicommissum*, meanwhile, devolved upon the line of her father, Johann Adam. This arrangement proved short-lived, however, because Johann Adam died only three years after Maximilian, who had been both his brother-in-law and his son-in-law. See AT FLHA, FA 566, Maximilian Jacob Moriz.

⁸⁴ MZA, G 393, Rodinný archiv Harrachů Velké Meziříčí, karton 137, inv. č. 1637, sign. 14 (22 April 1744), fol. 48v.

comprehensive record of the manor's furnishings—a circumstance that both complicates the present investigation and underscores the need for a more detailed analysis of this important source.

The evidence presented so far demonstrates that Maria Elisabeth was a devoted art lover. In this respect she clearly continued the cultural traditions cultivated by both her first husband, Maximilian Jakob, Prince of Liechtenstein, and her father, Johann Adam, as well as her grandfather, Karl Eusebius, one of the great collectors and artistic patrons of the seventeenth century. Maria Elisabeth therefore merits greater scholarly attention as an art patron and commissioner, alongside her mother Erdmunda, and her younger sister Maria Theresia of Savoy, both of whom have already been recognized in the literature for their activities in these roles.⁸⁵

Theresia Maria Anna, Princess of Oettingen-Spielberg, née Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1713–1745)

The eldest daughter of the ducal couple (Fig. 7) was baptized at Saint Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna as *Theresia Maria Anna* on 19 December 1713, scarcely ten months after her parents' marriage.⁸⁶ Nothing is known of her childhood. She married on 23 May 1735 in the chapel of her father's château at Wetzdorf, on the same day and in the same place as her younger sister Maria Gabriela.⁸⁷ Her bridegroom, Johann Aloys, Prince of Oettingen-Spielberg (Fig. 8), was the son of Prince Franz Albrecht I of Oettingen-Spielberg (1663–1737) and his wife Maria Johanna Margaretha, née Baroness von Schwendi (1672–1727). In 1737 Johann Aloys succeeded his father as the reigning prince. The marriage of Johann Aloys and Theresia Maria was recorded as a happy one. Their first daughter, Maria Leopoldina, was not born until the end of 1741; less than a year and a half later another daughter, Charlotte, followed, but she died immediately after birth.⁸⁸ On 14 July 1745, however, only one week after giving birth to her third daughter, Maria Eleonora, Theresia Maria died at the age of just thirty-two. She was buried in Saint Sebastian's Church in Oettingen.⁸⁹

Johann Aloys never remarried after Theresia Maria's death. He ensured the education and social position of their two daughters, who, after having spent nine years in a French convent in Strasbourg (1749–1758), became ladies-in-waiting to Empress Maria Theresa in 1760.⁹⁰ The elder daughter, Leopoldina (1741–1795), married Ernst Christoph, Prince of Kaunitz-Rietberg (1737–1797), and the younger, Maria Eleonora (1745–1812), married Karl Borromäus, Prince of Liechtenstein (1730–1789). In May 1761, both sisters were appointed palace ladies (*Palastdamen*) and members of the Order of the Starry Cross (*Sternkreuzorden*).⁹¹ Princess Liechtenstein, known in intimate circles as “Princess Lori” (Fig. 11), became an influential figure—politically as well as socially—at the court of Emperor

⁸⁵ See, for example, Mayer, “Zur erstaunlichen Kunstpatronage,” Vokáčová, *Příběhy o hrdé pokoře*, 288–367; Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 268–69, 282–86.

⁸⁶ AT DAW, Wien – Dom- und Metropolitanpfarre St. Stephan, Taufbuch, 01-056, fol. 178v.

⁸⁷ AT DAW, Rohrbach, Tauf-, Trauungs-, Sterbebuch, 01,2,3-02, pag. 254.

⁸⁸ Wolf, *Fürstin Eleonore Liechtenstein*, 8.

⁸⁹ Sedláková, “Významné majitelky,” 11.

⁹⁰ Wolf, *Fürstin Eleonore Liechtenstein*, 9–10.

⁹¹ Sedláková, “Významné majitelky,” 17.



7. Portrait of Theresia Maria Anna, Princess of Oettingen-Spielberg, née Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1713–1745), Ljubljana, National Museum of Slovenia (© Narodni muzej Slovenije; photo: Tomaž Lauko)

Joseph II, who held her in particularly high esteem.⁹² Much has been written about her public activities, her artistic patronage, and the so-called circle of five princesses over which she presided, and her correspondence was already published at the end of the nineteenth century.⁹³ Eleonora's sister Maria Leopoldina also belonged to this circle. A few months after Leopoldina's death, her only daughter, Maria Eleonora (1775–1825), married Prince Klemens von Metternich-Winneburg (1773–1859), who built his political and diplomatic career largely thanks to the support and influence of Maria Eleonora, Princess of Liechtenstein, the maternal aunt of his first wife.

After the death of her parents in 1744, Theresia Maria, Princess of Oettingen-Spielberg, inherited one-quarter of the house on Joannesgasse in Vienna, one-fifth of her mother's silver, most of her mother's jewelry, the estates of Kojetin (Kojetín) with the associated manor of Witzomierzitz

⁹² See Wolf, *Fürstin Eleonore Liechtenstein*, 111–56; Falke, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Hauses*, 266–74.

⁹³ Wolf, *Fürstin Eleonore Liechtenstein*. See also Gates-Coon, *The Charmed Circle*.



8. Portrait of Johann Alois, Prince of Oettingen-Spielberg (1707–1780), Ljubljana, National Museum of Slovenia (© Narodni muzej Slovenije; photo: Tomaž Lauko)

(Víceměřice), and shares in Dieditz (Dědice) and Bojanowitz Hof (Bojanovice) in Moravia, as well as two hundred thousand guilders, among other property.⁹⁴ From this rich inheritance, her daughter Leopoldina inherited Kogetein together with its associated estates in entirety (these later passed into the hands of the Metternich family). Moreover, Theresia Maria's younger sister Maria Eleonora, Duchess of Guastalla, named her sister's daughters her universal heiresses. Leopoldina inherited her aunt's estates in Lombardy and Eleonora inherited her aunt's estates in Moravia.⁹⁵ Consequently,

⁹⁴ MZA, G 393, Rodinný archiv Harrachů Velké Meziříčí, karton 137, inv. č. 1637, sign. 14 (22 April 1744), fols. 44v–47v. According to the duchess's will, Franz Ferdinand von Kuenburg, Archbishop of Prague, sold the lordship of Kogetein to Maria Elisabeth on 23 January 1726 for two hundred thousand guilders. She subsequently enlarged the estate by acquiring Witzomierzitz and the associated share of Dieditz. See also Wolny, *Die Markgrafschaft Mähren*, 5: 492–512.

⁹⁵ MZA, C 2, Tribunál - pozůstalosti, karton 177, sign. Q 7 (22 November 1759), fol. 84. See also Wolf, *Fürstin Eleonore Liechtenstein*, 9.



9. Maria Eleonora, Princess of Liechtenstein (1745–1812), Velké Meziříčí Castle (Courtesy of Count Jan Podstatzky-Lichtenstein; photo: David Michlíček)

in 1763 (or 1764) young Maria Eleonora became the sole owner of the lordship of Groß-Meseritsch, together with Radostin (Radostín) and Zhorz (Zhoř). Shortly before the end of the century, her son Moritz Joseph, as the heir of his maternal great-aunt Maria Gabriela, became the owner of the lordship of Frischau, and after his mother's death he also inherited Groß-Meseritsch, Radostin, and Zhorz. Although Theresia Maria Anna died prematurely, she was the only one of Leopold's daughters to leave descendants, thereby ensuring that at least most of her parents' Moravian estates⁹⁶ remained in the hands of their blood heirs.

⁹⁶ Together with her sister, Maria Elisabeth also inherited from their father the extensive and profitable lordship of Göding (Hodonín), which subsequently passed into her sister's sole possession. Maria Elisabeth, in turn, retained the inherited estates in Lower Austria in their entirety; see Smutný, "Die liechtensteinischen Wirtschaftsmassnahmen," 334. According to other accounts, however, she purchased her sister's half-share in the Austrian estates; see Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 269, 271.

Maria Eleonora Charlotte Gonzaga, Duchess of Guastalla, Princess of Sabbioneta and Bozzolo, née Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1715–1760)

The record of the baptism of the ducal couple's second daughter (Fig. 10) has not yet been found in the registers of Saint Stephen's Cathedral or of any other Viennese church. Some online genealogical databases and occasional references in the literature give her date of birth as 18 December 1715.⁹⁷ This information is incorrect because the news of the birth and baptism of Leopold's second daughter was reported in the contemporary Viennese press: she was born on 18 February 1715 and baptized the following day as *Maria Eleonora Charlotta*.⁹⁸

At the age of sixteen, in 1731, she married Giuseppe Maria Gonzaga, Duke of Guastalla (1690–1746).⁹⁹ Twenty-five years her senior, he was the second son of Vincenzo, Duke of Guastalla (1634–1714), and Maria Vittoria (1659–1707), the daughter of Ferrante III Gonzaga.¹⁰⁰ The literature frequently states that they were not married until 1735,¹⁰¹ but this is incorrect because the marriage was directly connected with the death of Giuseppe's elder brother in 1729 and his succession to the ducal title.

Contemporary chronicles describe young Giuseppe as a handsome man who, surrounded by a circle of companions, devoted many years chiefly to whimsical artistic, musical, and theatrical pursuits—an eccentricity that some regarded as a sign of the severe mental illness from which he increasingly suffered later in life.¹⁰² However, after his elder brother Antonio Ferrante, who had succeeded their father as the duke of Guastalla and Sabbioneta, died unexpectedly in 1729, the ailing Giuseppe Maria was obliged to assume his position. The duke's poor physical and mental condition was exploited above all by Count Pomponio di Spilimbergo, who had exercised power in Guastalla for many years.¹⁰³ Acting as the duke's representative, Count Spilimbergo married Maria Eleonora, Princess of Schleswig-Holstein, on 28 April 1731, and also succeeded in preventing the bride's parents from accompanying her to Guastalla, where they might have discovered the true state of the bridegroom's health.¹⁰⁴

Between 1733 and 1736, Guastalla was involved in the bloody War of the Polish Succession, and Maria Eleonora and Giuseppe Maria sought refuge in Venice, from which they returned only in November 1736.¹⁰⁵ In the following years, by imperial decree, the administration of the duchy passed into Maria Eleonora's hands, and Count Spilimbergo was forced to leave Guastalla permanently in 1739.¹⁰⁶ The ducal couple had no children. When Giuseppe Maria died of a stroke on 15 August 1746, the two-hundred-year rule of the Gonzaga family in Guastalla came to an end.

⁹⁷ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 90; Sedláková, "Významné majitelky," 13; "Eleonora von Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg."

⁹⁸ See "Wien vom 16. bis 19."

⁹⁹ O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 15. She was engaged on 10 December 1730, "with the awareness and approval" (*mit vorbewusst und genehmigung*) of His Imperial Majesty.

¹⁰⁰ See "Wien 7. Martii 1744."

¹⁰¹ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 90; Sedláková, "Významné majitelky," 13.

¹⁰² Tamalio, "Gonzaga, Giuseppe Maria."

¹⁰³ Tamalio, "Gonzaga, Giuseppe Maria."

¹⁰⁴ Tamalio, "Gonzaga, Giuseppe Maria."

¹⁰⁵ Tamalio, "Gonzaga, Giuseppe Maria."

¹⁰⁶ Tamalio, "Gonzaga, Giuseppe Maria."



10. Portrait of Maria Eleonora Charlotte Gonzaga, Duchess of Guastalla, Princess of Sabbioneta and Bozzolo, née Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1715–1760), Ljubljana, National Museum of Slovenia (© Narodni muzej Slovenije; photo: Tomaž Lauko)

Under the Treaty of Aachen in 1748, Guastalla, together with the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, finally passed to Philip of Bourbon.

Two years before her husband's death, Maria Eleonora inherited from her father the lordship of Groß-Meseritsch, valued at 492,000 guilders, together with its dependent estates and seventy-five thousand guilders in cash.¹⁰⁷ From her mother she inherited one-quarter of the house on Joannesgasse in Vienna, approximately one-fifth of the silver, somewhat less than one-quarter of her mother's jewelry, and two hundred thousand guilders.¹⁰⁸ As already mentioned, in her own will, she left her entire estate, including the estates in Lombardy, to her eldest sister's daughters.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ *Velké Meziříčí v zrcadle*, 214; Süsenbeková, *Stříčky z dějin*, 18.

¹⁰⁸ MZA, G 393, Rodinný archiv Harrachů Velké Meziříčí, karton 137, inv. č. 1637, sign. 14 (22 April 1744), fols. 44v–45v, 47v–48.

¹⁰⁹ MZA, C 2, Tribunál - pozůstalosti, karton 177, sign. Q 7 (22 November 1759), fol. 84. See also Wolf, *Fürstin Eleonore Liechtenstein*, 9.

According to the literature, Maria Eleonora was her father's favorite daughter,¹¹⁰ perhaps because through her marriage she became a duchess. It is worth noting that Leopold drew up his will, in which he granted her and his eldest daughter Theresia Maria a more substantial inheritance than his other two daughters, in 1738—that is, approximately around the period of her independent rule in Guastalla.

It is unclear when Maria Eleonora returned to Moravia after her husband's death. Scholars frequently assert that she rarely resided on her inherited estates.¹¹¹ However, the 1760 inventory of Groß-Meseritsch Castle records several objects attesting to her presence there. These include a silk chalice veil embroidered by Her Highness in the chapel, "*Neue Mährische Landtkarten*" dated 1755 in the billiard room, a *Gnadenbild* from Guastalla, and two portraits of the late duke of Guastalla.¹¹²

Maria Eleonora died in Brno on 18 April 1760 and was buried in Assumption Church in Netín.¹¹³

Maria Gabriela Felicitas, Princess of Fürstenberg-Mößkirch, née Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1716–1798)

Maria Gabriela Felicitas, Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (Fig. 11), was baptized at Saint Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna on 21 October 1716 as the third daughter of Leopold, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, and his wife Maria Elisabeth.¹¹⁴ Nothing is known about her childhood. She became engaged to Karl Friedrich Nikolaus, Prince of Fürstenberg-Mößkirch (1714–1744), on 18 April 1735 in Vienna, and married him on 23 May of the same year in the chapel of her father's château at Wetzdorf, where her eldest sister Theresia Maria was also married on the same day.¹¹⁵ Karl Friedrich was the only son of Froben Ferdinand, Prince of Fürstenberg-Mößkirch (1664–1741), and his wife Maria Theresia, née Countess of Sulz (1671–1743). He was an exceptionally gifted child, and his parents placed great expectations upon him, especially after his marriage to the princess of Schleswig-Holstein.¹¹⁶

News of the double marriage of members of the high nobility was reported, with several inaccuracies, in the contemporary press.¹¹⁷ Particular attention was given to the marriage contract of

¹¹⁰ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 90.

¹¹¹ *Velké Meziříčí v zrcadle*, 214; Sedláková, "Významné majitelky," 14.

¹¹² MZA, C 2, Tribunál - pozůstalosti, karton 177, sign. Q 7 (19 July 1760), fols. 2–2v, 11.

¹¹³ Her death resulted from injuries sustained in a fall from her horse; see Kotík, *Velké Meziříčí*, 79. According to some sources, she died on 28 February 1760; see *Velké Meziříčí v zrcadle*, 214. As late as the early twentieth century, the inscription on her tombstone was still legible and began with the words *AD hoc SepVLChrVM / IstIG IaCere pro DIIVM Leges*; see Kratochvíl, *Vlastivěda moravská*, 320.

¹¹⁴ AT DAW, Wien – Dom- und Metropolitanpfarre St. Stephan, Taufbuch, 01-057, fol. 365v. Genealogical works and the secondary literature give date of her birth as 22 October (e.g., Süsenbeková, *Střípky z dějin*, 29). She could have been born no later than 21 October (as stated in Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 91), the date of her baptism.

¹¹⁵ AT DAW, Rohrbach, Tauf-, Trauungs-, Sterbebuch, 01,2,3-02, pag. 254. The dates of 25 and 30 May, occasionally cited in the literature for the marriage (Münch, *Geschichte des Hauses*, 205; Valeš, *Příběhy slávy a zapomnění*, 132; Süsenbeková, *Střípky z dějin*, 29), are incorrect.

¹¹⁶ Münch, *Geschichte des Hauses*, 203–05.

¹¹⁷ *Des Neu-eröffneter Historischer*, 141. The writer mixed up the brides and wrote that Prince Fürstenberg's wedding took place at Frischau Manor.

the young Fürstenberg couple because it was apparently already known at the time that, after the death of her father Leopold, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, the princess would inherit one-quarter of his entire estate. She undertook to bring this inheritance into the marriage and to incorporate it into her husband's fideicommissum.¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, Karl Friedrich enjoyed his wife's considerable inheritance only for a short time. After succeeding his father in 1741 as the prince of the Fürstenberg-Mößkirch line, commissioning the construction of Saint Fidelis's Chapel at Meßkirch in 1743 (demolished in 1827), and merging the library from his castle at Heiligenberg with the court library, he died unexpectedly of pneumonia on 7 September 1744,¹¹⁹ only a few months after the deaths of his wife's parents.

The marriage, which had lasted nine years, remained childless,¹²⁰ and with Karl Friedrich the Fürstenberg-Mößkirch line became extinct. Maria Gabriela thus became the last princess of Fürstenberg-Mößkirch. This particular distinction is frequently encountered in the literature and also reflected in the inscription on the reverse of one of the Ljubljana portraits. Already at the end of 1744 the princess concluded an agreement with Joseph Wilhelm Ernst, Prince of Fürstenberg-Stühlingen (1699–1762) of Donaueschingen, who inherited the possessions of the extinct Fürstenberg-Mößkirch line.¹²¹ Under the terms of the agreement, she renounced the fideicommissary rights arising from her marriage contract. In return she retained not only Heiligenberg, assigned to her as her widow's residence, and all the gifts she had received from her husband during their nine years of marriage, but also all the property she had brought into the marriage after the deaths of her parents.

According to the provisions of her mother's will, in 1744 the princess inherited from her parents one-quarter of the house on Joannesgasse in Vienna, one-fifth of her mother's silver, approximately one-quarter of her mother's jewelry, the Moravian estates of Frischau, Gaiwitz, and Bonitz, and, among other property, two hundred thousand guilders.¹²² At the end of 1744, Maria Gabriela was therefore an extremely wealthy widow at the age of only twenty-eight. Although she had every opportunity to marry again, during the following years she gradually withdrew from social life.

From 1750 onward, she regularly visited the Benedictine convent at Eichstätt, where she venerated Saint Walburga. Finally, she approached the convent with a request to move into the convent full time as a sort of benefice holder and to be permitted, for this purpose, to carry out extensive building work—for herself and her entourage—in the convent guest house and on the top floor of the abbey wing.¹²³ During 1758 and 1759, with the permission of the abbess Willibalda, she had relatively luxurious apartments built by the master mason to the prince-bishop's court, Giovanni Domenico Barbieri (1704–1764), on the second floor of the southeastern wing of the convent, and on 13 September 1760 she settled there permanently.¹²⁴ For the lease of this residence, together with the accommodation she had arranged—also at her own expense—for her servants within the

¹¹⁸ *Des Neu-eröffneter Historischer*, 141. See also Münch, *Geschichte des Hauses*, 205.

¹¹⁹ Münch, *Geschichte des Hauses*, 206; Heim, "Das Ende der Meßkircher."

¹²⁰ Sedláková, "Významné majitelky," 11, mentions three children, but this information cannot be confirmed.

¹²¹ Münch, *Geschichte des Hauses*, 206.

¹²² MZA, G 393, Rodinný archiv Harrachů Velké Meziříčí, karton 137, inv. č. 1637, sign. 14 (22 April 1744), fols. 44v–45v, 47v–49.

¹²³ Zunker, "Friedhof der Pfarrei St. Walburg," 15.

¹²⁴ Zunker, *Die Benediktinerinnenabtei St. Walburg*, 85–86, 152, 666, 782. Barbieri himself also mentions the conversion of the rooms into princely apartments in his autobiography; see Margadant and Braun, *Giovanni Domenico Barbieri*, 137.



11. Portrait of Maria Gabriela Felicitas, Princess of Fürstenberg-Mößkirch, née Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1716–1798), Ljubljana, National Museum of Slovenia (© Narodni muzej Slovenije; photo: Tomaž Lauko)

convent, she paid the exceptionally high annual sum of six hundred guilders.¹²⁵ Little has survived of the apartments known as the *Fürstenzimmer* following the secularization of the convent and the dispersal of its furnishings in 1806, apart from a Baroque stove, a small chair, and several late Rococo stucco decorations by Johann Jakob Berg (1727–1787).¹²⁶

In addition, the princess generously endowed the convent and other ecclesiastical institutions in the town. Her great charity toward all those in need soon became well known throughout Eichstätt.¹²⁷ Already in 1757 she had donated funds for the restoration of the altars in the Capuchin church at Znojmo.¹²⁸ She also took care of her Moravian estates, where, in 1765–1771, at her own expense, she built and furnished the Church of the Annunciation at Frischau, providing it with altarpieces brought from Eichstätt.¹²⁹ The church was later incorporated into the English landscape park surrounding the château after its reconstruction in the Neoclassical style (Fig. 12).

¹²⁵ Zunker, *Die Benediktinerinnenabtei St. Walburg*, 85; Zunker, “Friedhof der Pfarrei St. Walburg,” 16.

¹²⁶ Kaganiec, “Leopold Holsztyński,” 91; Zunker, “Friedhof der Pfarrei St. Walburg,” 15–17.

¹²⁷ Zunker, *Die Benediktinerinnenabtei St. Walburg*, 154, 782.

¹²⁸ Süsenbeková, *Stříčky z dějin*, 30; Valeš, *Příběhy slávy a zapomnění*, 137, 141.

¹²⁹ Valeš, *Příběhy slávy a zapomnění*, 141–46. On her charitable activities, donations, and commissions, see also Wolny, *Die Markgrafschaft Mähren*, 3: 216; Peřinka, *Vlastivěda moravská*, 130; Wisnar, *Heimatkunde*, 15–16;



12. Church of the Annunciation in Břežany, 1765–1771 (© ZRC SAZU, UIFS; photo: Renata Komić Marn)

After 1760 the wealthy princess lived a secluded but comfortable monastic life. According to an older source, which corresponds to the date of her entrance into the convent enclosure, Maria Gabriela resided at Frischau Manor only from her husband's untimely death in 1744 until 4 August 1760, and she never returned thereafter.¹³⁰ In the will she drew up in 1785, she bequeathed Frischau, Bonitz, and Gaiwitz, together with all their furnishings and the picture gallery, to Moritz Joseph, Prince of Liechtenstein, the grandson of her eldest sister Maria Theresia, who was her *favorite petit-neveu*.¹³¹

She died in the convent at Eichstätt on 13 June 1798. According to some accounts she is buried at Mößkirch, and according to others at Eichstätt, where there is a commemorative epitaph erected by the Benedictine nuns in gratitude for her generosity,¹³² while still others maintain that the present location of her grave is unknown.¹³³ In her will the princess expressed the wish to be buried in the *Klosterfrauengruft* at Eichstätt.¹³⁴ She also bequeathed an exceptionally large sum of money to the

Zunker, *Die Benediktinerinnenabtei St. Walburg*, 154, 156, 666, 782; Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 91–92; Süsenbeková, *Střípky z dějin*, 31–32.

¹³⁰ Wisnar *Heimatskunde*, 15.

¹³¹ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 92, states that she bequeathed her entire estate to the convent in Eichstätt.

¹³² Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 92.

¹³³ Sedláková, "Významné majitelky," 11; Süsenbeková, *Střípky z dějin*, 32.

¹³⁴ MZA, G 393, Rodinný archiv Harrachů Velké Meziříčí, karton 138, inv. č. 1643, sign. 21 (17 September 1785), paragraph 1.

convent and its church (fourteen thousand guilders in total), together with all her relics. It may therefore be assumed that she was indeed initially buried in the convent, and that her remains were later transferred, perhaps to Saint Martin's Church in Meßkirch, where her husband Prince Karl Friedrich had already been laid to rest in 1744 and where a magnificent tomb epitaph was erected in his memory in 1776.¹³⁵

Maria Charlotte Antonia, Princess of Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rochefort, née Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1718–1765)

Maria Charlotte Antonia, Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (Fig. 15), was baptized on 18 February 1718 at Saint Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna.¹³⁶ Nothing is known about her childhood. She was the last of the sisters to marry: first by proxy in Vienna on 7 July 1735, and personally a year later, on 25 July 1736, at St. Veit. Her marriage to the young Karl Thomas, Prince of Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rochefort (1714–1789), who had been declared of age prematurely on 24 May 1735 to be able to succeed his father as the reigning prince,¹³⁷ was not a happy one. The couple, who initially established their married life in Bavaria, separated in 1739, shortly after the birth of their only daughter, Leopoldina Charlotte (1739–1765).¹³⁸ Thereafter they lived apart, although they never dissolved their marriage.

Prince Karl Thomas, who had studied in Prague and Paris and took a keen interest in art and science, was admitted in 1754 to the Leopoldina (*Nationale Akademie der Wissenschaften*) under the academic name Apollo Soter as member no. 584.¹³⁹ From 1765 onward, he was also a corresponding member of the French Academy, and over the course of his life he assembled an extensive library.¹⁴⁰ He devoted himself to public representation, military service, and the administration of his Bavarian estates.¹⁴¹

Following the death of her parents in 1744, Maria Charlotte inherited the Lower Austrian estates of Wetzdorf, Rohrbach, Weissenburg, Kirchberg an der Pielach, Mainburg, and Tradigist,¹⁴² one-quarter of the house on Joannesgasse in Vienna, most of her mother's silver, somewhat less than one-quarter of her mother's jewelry, and, among other property, two hundred thousand guilders.¹⁴³

¹³⁵ For the magnificent epitaph, see Rädle, "Das Grabmal des Fürsten."

¹³⁶ AT DAW, Wien – Dom- und Metropolitanpfarre St. Stephan Taufbuch | 01-058, fol. 272.

¹³⁷ Keweloh et al., "Hafenpläne und Jachtschiffe," 26.

¹³⁸ Keweloh et al., "Hafenpläne und Jachtschiffe," 75 (n. 33).

¹³⁹ Stockert, *Adel im Übergang*, 20.

¹⁴⁰ Stockert, *Adel im Übergang*, 20.

¹⁴¹ He was appointed a lieutenant general in the service of the Electoral Palatinate on 4 May 1758 and an imperial-royal lieutenant colonel on 31 December 1769; cf. Schmidt-Brentano, *Kaiserliche und k.k. Generale*, 59. On his self-representation and patronage, see Keweloh et al., "Hafenpläne und Jachtschiffe."

¹⁴² MZA, G 393, Rodinný archiv Harrachů Velké Meziříčí, karton 137, inv. č. 1637, sign. 14 (22 April 1744), fols. 44v–45v, 49–51v. Following the death of her mother, Erdmunda, in 1737, Maria Elisabeth inherited half of the estates of Weissenburg, Kirchberg an der Pielach, Mainburg, and Tradigist; she probably acquired the remaining half by purchase; see note 96.

¹⁴³ MZA, G 393, Rodinný archiv Harrachů Velké Meziříčí, karton 137, inv. č. 1637, sign. 14 (22 April 1744), fols. 44v–45v.



13. Portrait of Maria Charlotte Antonia, Princess of Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rochefort, née Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1718–1765), Ljubljana, National Museum of Slovenia (© Narodni muzej Slovenije; photo: Tomaž Lauko)

As is evident from the 1798 inventory of Frischau Manor, before 1760 Maria Charlotte was a frequent guest at her sister Maria Gabriela's Moravian residence, where she had her own room on the upper floor, referred to as "the princess of Löwenstein's room" (*das Fürstlich Löwensteinsche Frauen Zimmer*).¹⁴⁴ Together with her daughter she mainly resided on the estate of Horaschdowitz (Horažďovice) in Bohemia, which she had purchased herself in 1755 from the Princes of Mannsfeld-Fondi. It seems that in nearby Groß Bor (Velký Bor) she had a building erected on the medieval fortified castle's foundations, in which an almshouse for twelve poor women and men together with a chapel dedicated to Saints John and Paul was established in 1765.¹⁴⁵ She died in Horaschdowitz in 1765 at the age of forty-seven. Two weeks later her daughter, who married the prince of Hohenlohe-Waldenburg-Schillingsfürst in 1761, also died. Both were buried in Saint Michael's Church (today Saint Mary's Church) at Horažďovice.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ MZA, Moravskoslezské zemské právo, C9, karton 40, sign. 13, spis č. 511 (12 October 1798), fol. 31v.

¹⁴⁵ "Velký Bor."

¹⁴⁶ Sedláková, "Významné majitelky," 12.

The estate that the princess had bequeathed to her daughter ultimately passed to her widower, the prince of Löwenstein-Wertheim. In this way all the estates that Maria Charlotte had inherited from her parents became the property of his family. As far as is known, after taking possession of Wetzdorf the prince continued to invest in the furnishing and renovation of the Baroque château, but in 1783 he sold the lordship to Count Leopold Wilhelm Kolowrat-Krakowsky.¹⁴⁷ Thereafter the ownership of the château changed several more times, and it was extensively remodeled, with the result that none of its eighteenth-century furnishings have survived.¹⁴⁸

Conclusions

The archival and visual evidence examined in this study substantially expands the understanding of the patronage and collecting activities of Leopold, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg, his wife Maria Elisabeth, née Princess of Liechtenstein, and her first husband, Maximilian Jakob, Prince of Liechtenstein, who emerge as significant yet hitherto underestimated participants in Central European aristocratic art patronage and collecting.

Maria Elisabeth, together with her daughter Maria Gabriela, Princess of Fürstenberg-Mößkirch, played a central role in preserving the celebrated painting gallery at Frischau, which comprised approximately 270 works in 1798. New findings call for a reassessment of the gallery's origins. Contrary to the prevailing view, Maria Elisabeth probably did not inherit the collection from her father, Johann Adam Andreas of Liechtenstein. Neither his will nor the surviving list of paintings designated for his allodial heiresses supports this assumption, and the gallery's predominantly Dutch character differs markedly from Johann Adam's collecting preferences. The available evidence instead points to Maria Elisabeth's first husband Maximilian Jakob as a key figure in the collection's formation. His documented contacts with the Antwerp-based Forchondt family and with other dealers, artists, relatives, and associates reveal a collecting network that extended well beyond the Liechtenstein court. Paintings acquired during his grand tour may also have contributed to the collection, although this possibility requires further investigation.

Maria Elisabeth's marriage contract, the artworks and luxury objects she received from Maximilian, and her testamentary arrangements demonstrate her sustained interest in paintings, tapestries, silver, and interior decoration. By 1744, the Frischau gallery formed part of the property she bequeathed to her daughter, Maria Gabriela Felicitas, in return for the payment of twelve thousand guilders into the estate by the heiress. The collection should therefore be understood not simply as an inherited ensemble, but as the product of successive acts of acquisition, transfer, preservation, and dynastic commemoration in the eighteenth century.

The lives of Leopold and Maria Elisabeth's four daughters reveal the extent to which marriage, inheritance, religious patronage, and estate management shaped the transmission of property and dynastic memory across eighteenth-century Central Europe. Through their marriages, the princesses connected the House of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg with the princely houses of Oettingen-Spielberg, Gonzaga of Guastalla, Fürstenberg-Mößkirch, and Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rochefort. Their substantial inheritances—including estates in Moravia and Lower Austria, shares in

¹⁴⁷ Felgel, "Kolowrat-Krakowski," 457.

¹⁴⁸ See "Schloss Wetzdorf." See also "Wetzdorf (Kleinwetzdorf)."

the family residence in Vienna, jewelry, silver, and large sums of money—were subsequently redistributed among several aristocratic families.

Theresia Maria Anna was the only one of the sisters to leave descendants, thereby ensuring that a significant proportion of her parents' Moravian possessions remained in the hands of their biological heirs. Through her daughters, these estates and the associated family legacy passed into the Liechtenstein, Kaunitz, and eventually Metternich families. Maria Eleonora Charlotte, Duchess of Guastalla, assumed an important political role during her husband's illness and temporarily governed the duchy. The objects recorded at Groß-Meseritsch in 1760 challenge the claim that she rarely visited her Moravian estates and attest to her continued attachment to Guastalla and to her active presence at the castle.

Maria Gabriela Felicitas emerges as the most consequential of the sisters in terms of artistic patronage and the preservation of the family collections. After withdrawing to the Benedictine convent at Eichstätt, she financed the creation of luxurious apartments, supported religious institutions, and commissioned the construction and furnishing of Assumption Church at Frischau. Crucially, she preserved the Frischau picture gallery and bequeathed it, together with the manor and its furnishings, to her great-nephew Moritz Joseph of Liechtenstein. Maria Charlotte Antonia likewise maintained close ties with Frischau, where she had her own apartments, whereas her charitable foundation at Velký Bor and the continued renovation of Wetzdorf, financed by her husband, reflect the broader architectural and philanthropic activities associated with her inheritance.

Taken together, the sisters' biographies demonstrate that they were not merely passive recipients of dynastic wealth. Through the management, transfer, preservation, and patronage of estates, buildings, furnishings, and works of art, they actively shaped the material and cultural legacy of their family. The archival findings also correct several long-established errors concerning their births, marriages, residences, and inheritances, while opening new avenues for research into aristocratic women's agency, collecting practices, and transregional networks. A detailed analysis of the surviving family portraits and the formation of the family portrait gallery—as well as further findings on family art patronage and collecting—will be presented in a separate study.

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Umetnostno naročništvo, zbirateljstvo in dinastični spomin v rodbini Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg: Nove perspektive

Povzetek

Arhivski in likovni viri, obravnavani v tej študiji, bistveno poglobljajo naše razumevanje življenja ter umetnostnega naročništva in zbirateljske dejavnosti Leopolda, vojvode Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburga, in njegove žene Marije Elizabete, rojene kneginje Liechtenstein. Leopold se kaže kot pomemben umetnostni naročnik, Marija Elizabeta in njuna hči Marija Gabriela kneginja Fürstenberg-Mölskirch pa sta imeli osrednjo vlogo pri ohranjanju znamenite galerije slik v dvorcu Frischau (Břežany), ki je leta 1798 obsegala približno 270 del, kmalu zatem pa je bila razprodana.

Nove ugotovitve zahtevajo ponovni razmislek o izvoru oziroma nastanku te galerije. V nasprotju s prevladujočim mnenjem Marija Elizabeta zbirke verjetno ni podedovala po očetu, Janezu Adamu Andreju knezu Liechtensteinu. Te domneve ne podpirata niti njegova oporoka niti ohranjeni seznam slik, namenjenih njegovim alodialnim dedinjam. Poleg tega se značaj galerije ne ujema z Janezovimi zbirateljskimi preferencami. Razpoložljivi viri namesto tega kažejo na prvega moža Marije Elizabete, Maksimilijana Jakoba, kot ključno osebnost pri oblikovanju zbirke. Njegovi dokumentirani stiki z antverpensko trgovsko družino Forchondt ter z drugimi trgovci, umetniki, sorodniki in znanci razkrivajo obsežno zbirateljsko mrežo. V zbirko so morda prišle tudi slike, ki jih je pridobil na svojem kavalirskem potovanju.

Prva poročna pogodba Marije Elizabete, umetnine in dragoceni predmeti, ki jih je prejela od Maksimilijana, ter njena oporočna določila pričajo o njenem trajnem zanimanju za slike, tapiserije, srebrnino in notranjo opremo. Galerija v Frischauu je bila leta 1744 del premoženja, ki ga je zapustila hčeri Mariji Gabrieli Felicitas v zameno za plačilo 12.000 goldinarjev v zapuščinsko maso. Zbirke zato ne smemo razumeti zgolj kot podedovano celoto, temveč kot rezultat zaporednih procesov pridobivanja, prenašanja, ohranjanja in dinastične komemoracije v 18. stoletju. Leopold, Maksimilijan

Jakob in Marija Elizabeta se tako kažejo kot pomembni, vendar doslej premalo raziskani udeleženci aristokratskega umetnostnega naročništva in zbirateljstva v srednji Evropi.

Življenjske poti štirih hčera Leopolda in Marije Elizabete nadalje kažejo, kako so poroke, dedovanje, cerkveno naročništvo in upravljanje posesti oblikovali prenos premoženja in dinastičnega spomina po srednji Evropi 18. stoletja. Kneginje so s porokami povezale rodbino Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg z vojvodino Guastalla ter knežjimi rodbinami Oettingen-Spielberg, Gonzaga, Fürstenberg-Mößkirch in Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rochefort. Njihova obsežna dediščina, ki je vključevala posesti na Moravskem in v Spodnji Avstriji, deleže družinske hiše na Dunaju, nakit, srebrnino in visoke denarne zneske, je bila pozneje razdeljena med več plemiških rodbin.

Marija Terezija Ana je bila edina izmed sester, ki je zapustila potomce, s čimer je zagotovila, da je pomemben del moravskih posesti njenih staršev ostal v rokah njihovih neposrednih dedičev. Po njenih hčerah so te posesti in z njimi povezana družinska dediščina prešle v rodbini Liechtenstein in Kaunitz ter tudi v rodbino Metternich. Marija Eleonora Karolina, vojvodinja Guastalle, je med moževo boleznijo prevzela pomembno politično vlogo in začasno upravljala vojvodino. Predmeti, popisani leta 1760 v gradu Groß Meseritsch (Velké Meziříčí), postavljajo pod vprašaj trditev, da je le redko obiskovala svoje moravske posesti, ter pričajo tako o njeni trajni povezanosti z Guastallo kot o njeni navzočnosti na podedovanem gradu.

Marija Gabriela Felicitas se med sestrami kaže kot najvidnejša na področju umetnostnega naročništva in ohranjanja družinskih zbirk. Po umiku v benediktinski samostan v Eichstättu je financirala ureditev razkošnega stanovanja v samostanskem kompleksu, podpirala cerkvene ustanove ter naročila gradnjo in opremo cerkve Marijinega vnebovzeta v Frischauu. Najpomembneje pa je, da je ohranila tamkajšnjo galerijo slik ter jo skupaj z dvorcem in njegovo opremo zapustila pranečaku Moricu Jožefu knezu Liechtensteinu. Tudi Marija Karolina Antonija je ohranjala tesne stike s Frischauom, kjer je imela lastne prostore. Njena dobrodelna ustanova v Velkem Boru in nadaljnja prenova Wetzdorfa, ki jo je izvedel njen mož, odražata širše arhitekturne in dobrodelne dejavnosti, ki jih je omogočila njena dediščina.

Biografije sester kot celota kažejo, da niso bile zgolj pasivne prejemnice dinastičnega premoženja. Z upravljanjem, prenašanjem in ohranjanjem posesti, stavb, opreme in umetnin ter z umetnostnim naročništvom so dejavno oblikovale materialno in kulturno dediščino svoje rodbine. Arhivske ugotovitve obenem popravljajo nekaj dolgo uveljavljenih zmot o njihovih rojstvih, porokah, bivališčih in dediščinah ter odpirajo nove možnosti za raziskovanje delovanja plemkinj, zbirateljskih praks in nadregionalnih povezav. Podrobna analiza ohranjenih družinskih portretov in oblikovanja družinske portretne galerije bo predstavljena v ločeni študiji.