

Joseph Führich vs. Hugo (II) Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt: The Changing Relationship between Artist and Aristocratic Patron in Bohemia of the 1820s and 1830s*

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Abstract

TOMÁŠEK, Petr: Joseph Führich vs Hugo (II) Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt: The Changing Relationship between Artist and Aristocratic Patron in Bohemia of the 1820s and 1830s.

In late January or early February 1826, Count Hugo (II) Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt visited the Prague studio of the painter Joseph Führich to discuss commissioning two paintings from the artist on a theme from the drama *The Life and Death of St Genevieve* by German romantic writer Ludwig Tieck. The paintings were intended for Salm's friend, historian, writer and publisher Joseph von Hormayr. This marked the beginning of several years of cooperation between these two men – an artist and a nobleman – which ultimately gave rise to a number of remarkably good or otherwise noteworthy works by Führich. At the same time, however, the initial ideas of the investor often differed from the final work and there were even conflicts between them, which were openly commented on in letters exchanged between members of the Salm-Reifferscheidt family. The twists and turns in their relationship illustrate the changing nature of aristocratic patronage as it evolved from the courtly ties of the early modern age into a relationship representative of the modern free market, a transition that took place in Bohemia in roughly the first third of the 19th century.

Keywords: Bohemia; 1820s-1830s; Romanticism; Joseph Führich; Hugo (II) Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt; contemporary taste; aristocratic patronage

n 2 January 1826, the young nobleman Hugo (II) Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt (1804 – 1888), the eldest son of Count Hugo (I) Franz of Salm-Reifferscheidt (1776 – 1836) and the future heir to the Moravian line of the dynasty which had its main family residence in Rájec nad Svitavou, took up a position at the regional office of Litoměřice region in Prague. Shortly before that he had moved into the house of Captain Johann Ritter von Rittersberg (1780 – 1841), a writer, journalist and important Czech music and art critic, through whom he quickly became acquainted with the painter Joseph Führich (1800 – 1876).¹ Rittersberg did not fail to recognise Hugo's profound interest in art-related issues and he even offered him an opportunity to contribute articles on fine art to the Prague newspaper *Bohemia* written in German, an offer Salm turned down.² He visited Führich in his Prague studio in late January or early February of 1826, and his meeting with the artist, who Salm claimed "seems to abound in sharpness of mind and an earnest deep religious feeling, and who in all of his works expresses himself with the fullness of poetry", made a lasting impression on him.³ His admiration for Joseph Führich, who shortly before that had achieved his first great international

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¹ On Joseph Führich recently Machalíková, Pavla – Tomášek, Petr. *Joseph Führich (1800 – 1876). Z Chrastavy do Vídně / Joseph Führich (1800 – 1876). Von Kratzau nach Wien.* Praha: Národní galerie v Praze – Oblastní galerie v Liberci, 2014.

² As Hugo (II) Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt writes in a letter to his friend Joseph von Hormayr of 4th February 1826, Moravian Archives in Brno (further as MZA), file G 150 – Family Archives of the Salm-Reifferscheidt of Rájec, archive box 126, inv. no. 543.

³ "Ich habe den jungen Mahler Führich, den erfinder der Genofeva-Umrisse kennen gelernt, der mir viel Geist und einen ernsten[,] tief religiösen Sinn zu haben scheint, welcher sich gepaart mit einer Fülle von Poësie in allen seinen Erfindungen ausspricht; [...]." A letter by Hugo (II) Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt to his mother Marie Josepha of Salm-Reifferscheidt, née Mac Caffry of Keanmore, of 13th February 1826. MZA, file G 150, archive box 109, inv. no. 421.

success with a cycle of drawings illustrating *The Legend of St Genevieve* (1824 – 1825) based on the literary treatment of the subject by German romantic writer Ludwig Tieck, led in the years that followed to recurring contacts between the nobleman and the painter, the outcome of which was a number of commissions. However, some comments in the family correspondence of the Salm-Reifferscheidts indicate that the initial ideas of the nobleman commissioning the work often differed from the final result and that there were even conflicts between patron and artist. The twists and turns of their relationship illustrate the changes in the nature of aristocratic patronage from the courtly ties of the early modern age to the modern free market relationship, a transition that took place in Bohemia in roughly the first third of the 19th century.

Count Hugo (II) Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt and his younger brother Robert (1804 – 1875) regularly visited the studios of contemporary fine artists while they were studying at Vienna University between 1818 and 1824. The contacts were arranged by a family friend, historian, writer and publisher Joseph von Hormayr (1781 – 1848), who continually published news from the Viennese art scene in his own journal *Archiv für Geografie, Historie, Staats- und Kriegskunst.*⁴ In addition to honing their critical thinking about fine art in discussions with artists, the two young noblemen also received practical training in drawing under the tutorship of the painter Ludwig Ferdinand Schnorr von Carolsfeld, with whom they were at friendly terms. It can be said that by the time he met Joseph Führich, Count Hugo (II) Karl Eduard was already an informed art connoisseur, well-connected with contemporary fine artists and ready to begin sponsoring individual artists and collecting art.⁵

The main reason for Hugo (II) Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt's visit to Führich's studio in Prague in early 1826 was to negotiate Hormayr's commission of the painting *Genevieve Consoled by an Angel* on the theme of one of the sheets from the cycle of drawings created for *The Legend of St Genevieve*.⁶

⁴ Joseph von Hormayr, as a patron, also gave commissions to Viennese artists Ludwig Ferdinand Schnorr von Carolsfeld, Peter Fendi and Karl Russ for paintings, mostly on historical themes from the history of the Habsburg dynasty or literary subjects, of which he made a remarkable collection surviving to this day at the Salm-Reifferscheidt chateau in Rájec nad Svitavou. Comp. Slavíček, Lubomír. Neue Quellen zur Österreichischen Malerei am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts. Wiener Maler in der Salm'schen Gemäldesammlung. In *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie*, 1980 – 1981, 24-25, pp. 161-201. Also see, for example: Sedlářová, Jitka. K činnosti rakouského malíře Karla Russa. In Sedlář, Jaroslav (ed.) *Uměleckohistorický sborník*, Brno 1985, pp. 210-218. Sedlářová, Jitka. Joseph von Hormayr zu Hortenburg (1781 – 1848) a počátky romantického umění na Moravě. In Lorenzová, Helena – Petrasová Taťána (eds.) *Dějiny českého výtvarného umění* III/1. Praha: Academia 2001, pp. 238-242.

⁵ On the collecting activities of the Salm-Reifferscheidts in Prague of the 1830s and 1840s comp. Tomášek, Petr. Podíl pražského kulturního prostředí na formování obrazové sbírky rájeckých Salm-Reifferscheidtů kolem poloviny 19. století. In *Opuscula historiae artium*, 2003, 52, Nr. F 47, pp. 45-59.

⁶ The commission is confirmed by Hugo (II) Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt in a letter to Joseph von Hormayr of 4th February 1826 (cited in note 3): "[...] Wegen des Bildes werde ich alles besorgen, und treibe fleißig an Führich damit er in Athem bleibe." In July of the same year 1826, Hormayr made a commission, again mediated by Salm, for the second painting by Führich, The Shepherd Henry over Golo's Corpse, which he wanted to have complete by 8th September, so that the count could take it with him during his planned journey to Rájec: "Nun eine große Bitte an dich: Hat Führich kein fertiges Bildchen, das ich kaufen könnte? Oder traut er sich bis 8te September noch eines zu vollenden, das du als dann [mitb]ringen könntest? Am liebsten wäre mir freilich ein Gegenstück zur Genovefa, entweder der todte Golo – oder – der Tod der Genovefa. Ersteren würde ich noch vorziehen, in ganz gleicher Größe, wie das andere Gemälde. Der todte Golo ist so einfach, daß er dazu wohl schwörlich die Umriße brauchen wird, die wahrscheinlich noch in Wien sind, denn auf seinen Gedanken kömmt ja doch das Meiste an – und die Gedankenbüchse hat er ja doch bei sich? Schreibe mir doch ehestens darüber zwei Zeilen und etwa auch eine Notiz über Führichs treffliche Umriße zu Tiecks Elfen." A letter by Joseph von Hormayr to Hugo (II) Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt of 12th June 1826 (cited in note 3). In following letters Hormayr adds more comments on the commission, in December some time after receiving the work he writes that he still owes 10 florins of the conventional currency to Führich and praises the psychologically complex effect of the painting: "Bleibt ja doch ein psychologisch – viel richtigeres und viel vollständigeres hier – der Golo." A letter by Joseph von Hormayr to Hugo



1 Joseph Führich (1800 – 1876), Genevieve Consoled by an Angel, 1826, oil on copper plate, Moravian Gallery in Brno, inv. no. SD 271, photo: Moravská galerie v Brně / Moravian Gallery in Brno (Kamil Till).

On that occasion he agreed that the artist would at the same time create for him a series of drawings illustrating Tieck's novel *The Elves* (*Die Elfen*). Enthusiasm about Führich's work is evident in the report from an annual academic exhibition in Prague that Hugo (II) Karl Eduard published anonymously at the end of April in Hormayr's *Archiv*. In the report, which focuses mainly on the cycle *Our Father* (*Vaterunser*), he above all values the meticulousness and deliberateness of Führich's drawings and graphic work, where 'not a single stroke is placed randomly, quite the contrary, each has its meaning and significance springing from the core of the whole, from which a detail emerges and which that detail serves'. He also touched on the still topical criticism of Führich's 'old-German tendency', which was the term in contemporary discussions used to refer to the inspiration some members of the younger generation of Nazarene-oriented artists took from German medieval and early Renaissance art, in particular the oeuvre of Albrecht Dürer. He defends the Nazarenes against invective from the ranks of supporters of the lingering classicism by arguing that ancient art arose in response to the needs of a world that had vanished long ago and for his contemporaries was already dead. He added that previous efforts to marry the ancient world with Christian art, which culminated in the French school of the 18th century (neo-classicism), "are fortunately in their last death throes,

⁽II) Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt of 27th December 1826, ibidem. Both paintings are today kept in the Moravian Gallery in Brno (Moravská galerie v Brně), inv. no. SD 63 (*The Shepherd Henry over Golo's Corpse*), SD 271 (*Genevieve Consoled by an Angel*).

⁷ The state-owned chateau in Rájec nad Svitavou, inv. no. RA 4620 – RA 4632.



2 Joseph Führich (1800 – 1876), The Shepherd Henry over Golo's Dead Body, 1826, oil on canvas, Moravian Gallery in Brno, inv. no. SD 63, photo: Moravská galerie v Brně / Moravian Gallery in Brno (Kamil Till).

making way for profound art", making demands on the strength and seriousness of forms in the spiritual sense.⁸ This defence of a return to the legacy of medieval art is not surprising, as Count Salm had already joined the ranks of the admirers of the Middle Ages under the influence of his mentor Hormayr and from reading contemporary romantic literature (Ludwig Tieck, the Schlegel brothers). In 1825 he even wrote a fantastic story with many romantic attributes about an apprentice of the Nuremberg master Michael Wolgemut, the manuscript of which has been preserved in the family archive.⁹

Thirteen drawings for *The Elves* including the frontispiece were finished by Joseph Führich in 1826 to the full satisfaction of the aristocrat who commissioned them. It is one of his best works ever, in which there is an admirable inner coherence between the illustrations and the fairytale-like text

⁸ [Hugo (II) Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt], Prager Kunstausstellung 1826 (Brief eines Reisenden), Archiv für Geschichte, Statistik, Literatur und Kunst 17, 1826, vol. 50-51, p. 267: "[...] kein Strich aus zufälliger Willkühr angebracht seyn darf, sondern jeder Bedeutung hat, und eine Bedeutung, die aus dem Mittelpunct des Ganzen, von dem er ein Theil ist, ausströmt und ihn bedient.", p. 268: "Es ist manches harte Urtheil über Führichs sogenannte altdeutsche Tendenz ergangen, ohne daß gedacht wurde, in welch beschränktem und bedingtem Sinne nur, uns die antike Kunst gelten kann, die einem Leben entsproßte und einer Welt angehörte, welche für uns todt und untergegangen sind, wie aus ihrer nicht nothwendigen, sondern bloß systematischen Vermischung mit der aus ganz andern Principien entstiegenen, und auf ganz anderm Grunde fortgebauten christlichen Kunst, ein Ding entstand, das in den Plattheiten, die die französische Schule des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts für Kunst verkaufte, hoffentlich die letzten Zuckungen vollendete, um wieder einer tiefern Gemüthskunst Platz zu machen, die eben ihrer tiefern geistigen Bedeutung wegen, größern Ernst und Strenge in der Form fordert, welche darum noch nicht Härte ist, die auch bey Führich nur durch die gewohnten zerfließenden, willkührlichen Umriße verwöhntes Auge finden wird."

⁹ MZA, file G 150, archive box 123, inv. no. 537.



3 Joseph Führich (1800 – 1876), The Elves (Die Elfen) – frontispiece, 1826, pencil, pen and ink, washed, on paper, state-owned chateau in Rájec nad Svitavou, inv. no. RA 4620a, photo: Národní památkový ústav / National Heritage Institute (Miroslav Zavadil).



4 Joseph Führich (1800 – 1876), The Elves (Die Elfen) – Mary by the Duke of Metals, 1826, pencil, pen and ink, washed, on paper, state-owned chateau in Rájec nad Svitavou, inv. no. RA 4624, photo: Národní památkový ústav / National Heritage Institute (Miroslav Zavadil)

without the artist having stuck mechanically to the literary model. Unsurprisingly, the Salms followed this success with another commission, this time a cycle of illustrations for another of Tieck's novels *The Rune Mountain (Runnenberg)*. Führich received the letter just before his departure for Rome, a trip he was able to take in January 1827 thanks to the support of Chancellor Klemens Wenzel Lothar of Metternich-Winneburg. In Italy, where he was able to come directly into contact with both the work of admired Renaissance and Baroque masters and the latest creations of local, mostly German, Nazarene community, he found new horizons open up before him and new tasks to tackle. In letters that he wrote regularly to his parents in Bohemia and that were later published in print he repeatedly mentioned the difficulties that he was facing in completing the promised illustrations for *The Rune Mountain*. At first, he did not have the actual text of Tieck's novel, later he complained of being overloaded with work, and at other times of the unbearable heat. The date originally negotiated for finishing the cycle in August 1827 was in the end, to the dismay of the client, exceeded by more than a year as the work was delivered by post to Rájec via the artist's father, Wenzel



6 Joseph Führich (1800 – 1876), The Rune Mountain (Runnenberg) – frontispiece, 1828, pen and ink, washed, on paper, state-owned chateau in Rájec nad Svitavou, inv. no. RA 4612, photo: Národní památkový ústav / National Heritage Institute (Miroslav Zavadil).



5 Joseph Führich (1800 – 1876), The Rune Mountain (Runnenberg) – 8th foil, pen and ink, washed, on paper, state-owned chateau in Rájec nad Svitavou, inv. no. RA 4619, photo: Národní památkový ústav / National Heritage Institute (Miroslav Zavadil).

¹⁰ The state-owned chateau in Rájec nad Svitavou, inv. no. RA 4612 – RA 4619. – In this case the commissioner was Count Robert of Salm-Reifferscheidt, who, due to his being officially stationed in Trieste, had to again use the mediation through his brother Hugo (II) Karl Eduard. In a letter of 2 December 1826, in which he confirms to his brother that the commission had been made, he is only taken aback by his brother's generosity towards the artist, as the agreed price for one drawing (8 florins) had doubled from that paid for *The Elves*, and 6 florins of Viennese currency for one sheet would have been quite enough in his opinion, especially since he hoped to use Führich's services more often in the future: 'Gegen den Kontrakt mit Führich wende ich nicht ein, ich bin zufrieden damit, nur hat die Buchhaltung die Bewertung gemacht es sey sonderbar daß die Generosität gleich den Preis der Elfen, um das doppelte gesteigert habe, 6 f W. W. für ein Blatt hätten ja wohl genügt. Es ist besonders pro futuro, denn ich hätte ihn gern noch oft in Anspruch genommen.' A letter by Robert of Salm-Reifferscheidt to his brother Hugo (II) Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt of 2 December 1826, MZA, archive box 125, inv. no. 542.

Führich, at the late date of the middle of October 1828. In a letter to his parents Joseph Führich summed up the additional hurdles that prevented him from completing the cycle, in particular his inability "to transpose himself to the world of German legends and romanticism" in the environment of the Italian South, which lacked the atmosphere essential to this work, and where, as he put it, "the mystic veil is torn to shred". 11 This rationale, remarkable in every respect, reveals the artist as a highly sensitive individual, for whom inner feeling and personal motivation played a more important

role than an effort to pander to a client, even though the commission came from a prominent aristocratic family. His behaviour also shows how quickly he gained self-confidence during his Italian sojourn and was transformed from a graduate of a provincial art academy in Prague into an artist with international credentials, who did not hesitate to claim a higher fee, even twice the amount that he dared to ask for in advance for his work in Prague.¹²

Viewed from the other side, the artist's behaviour seemed perplexing to the clients, as is evident in an exchange of letters between Count Hugo (I) Franz of Salm-Reifferscheidt and Führich's father Wenzel in November and December 1828¹³ regarding the artist's failure to comply with the terms of the original contract regarding the price of the work, and in further correspondence between the individual members of the family. The most forthright statement came from Count Robert in a letter to his father written at the same time, in which he ponders the fact that in the case of paid labourers, such as a coach driver or a porter, demanding a fee in excess of what was originally agreed would be considered a deceit. With an artist, he continues, "careless behaviour could be expected but such deviousness could not be excused". In the end, the Salms accepted a compromise, and for the originally negotiated amount of 80 florins they received only eight drawings instead of ten. The reconciliation with Führich probably took place after Count Hugo (II) Karl Eduard and Robert, who that time were in Italy on a study trip, visited the artist in his Rome studio before the middle of February 1829 and

¹¹ In a letter of 9th October 1828 he writes: "Ich kann sagen, daß mich diese Zeichnungen viel Mühe gekostet haben, denn in Rom hält es (wenigstens mir) sehr schwer, mich in die Welt der Sage und Romantik zu versetzen. Die äußeren Eindrücke, ja das ganze Leben ist nicht günstig hiezu. Der ahnungsvolle, mystische Schleier, welcher für die Bilder des Märchens, der deutschen Legende und Poesie so eigenthümlich nothwendig, ist hier zerrissen. [...] Die Menschen, die Bauart, ja selbst der Mangel an einer gewissen Lectüre erschweren hier dem Künstler die Behandlung solcher Stoffe, wie eben der 'Runenberg' und mehrere ähnliche vortreffliche Sachen sind." Führich von, Lukas (ed.) Joseph von Führich's Briefe aus Italien an seine Eltern (1827 – 1829). Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1883, pp. 113-114.

¹² Instead of the previously required 6 florins for a single drawing in Prague, on the initiative of Hugo (II) Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt it was raised to 8 florins. Joseph Führich in the end claimed double the original amount (12 florins). According to him, even then the Salms would not lose on the commission, as the illustrations could be immediately sold to any art trader abroad for twice as much. Ibidem, p. 120.

¹³ MZA, file G 150, archive box 79, inv. no. 420. A letter by Wenzel Führich to Hugo (I) Franz of Salm-Reifferscheidt of 13th December 1828 is published in: Lubomír Slavíček (cited in note 5), pp. 200-201.

^{14 &}quot;Nun wegen Führich – Wenn man mit einem Fuhrmann oder Lastträger eine bestimmte Summe akkordirt, und er fordert dann mehr, so nennt man ihn einen Schelm; ein Künstler, glaube ich sollte gebildeter und delikater seyn als ein Tagwerker der gemeinen Klaße, und sich eine solche Unbescheidenheit noch weniger zu Schulden kommen laßen, denn der Künstlermann mag wohl eine leichtsinnige Handlung entschuldigen, aber nicht eine Schmutzerey. Führich hatte für das Stück 6 f WW gefordert; freywillig both ihm Hugo 8 f und so ward akkordirt, und 10 Stück bestellt. Er liefert nur 8 Stück und forderte nun für jedes die Hälfte über den Akkord, das geht zu weit. Hugo und ich sind der Meinung ihm die bereit liegenden 80 f W. W. – also für das Stück 10 f zu geben, aber um nichts mehr. Diese wolle also die Güte haben seinem Vater in Prag gegen Empfangbestätigung zu übersenden, übrigens werden wir hierüber in Rom mit dem Sohne selbst sprechen – jedoch freylich nicht in dem Tone in welchem ich hier darüber schreibe, sondern die Pille überzuckern – ich hoffe er begreift Vernunf, wo nicht, so kann man einen Nachschuß immer noch geben." A letter by Robert of Salm-Reifferscheidt to his father Hugo (I) Franz of Salm-Reifferscheidt of 24th – 25th November 1828, MZA, file G 150, archive box 71, inv. no. 419.

were so astonished by his works, in particular his paintings for the villa Casino Massimo, that they decided to forget their dispute.¹⁵

During Joseph Führich's next five-year stay in Prague, he revived his close contacts with Hugo (II) Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt. From 1831 Führich for some time taught his wife Leopoldina the basics of historical composition and figurative painting and in 1832 he created the remarkable *Family Portrait* depicting Salm with his wife and first-born daughter, which was compositionally and stylistically based on contemporary German romantic portraiture. As the origin of the portrait has been dealt with in detail elsewhere, it need only be noted here that the count was dissatisfied with the result and one of the reasons for the unwelcome response by the family was Führich's orientation towards the Nazarene variety of German romanticism, negatively denoted in correspondence as "deutschthümerley". So while in 1826 the count had defended Führich's old-German style in a review of a Prague exhibition, he now preferred the more moderate and more painterly expression of the young artist Josef Vojtěch Hellich (1807 – 1880), who later became a prominent figure of nationalist Czech historical painting and portraiture, and whom the count commissioned in 1834 to create a new family portrait, albeit based on Führich's original composition.

The background to some art commissions that Joseph Führich realised during the 1820s and 1830s for the Salm-Reifferscheidt family mirrors the dynamics of the social changes that were taking place hand in hand with the origin and development of modern bourgeois society. At the end of the 18th century the social status of artists, who until that time had had to choose between joining a town guild organisation or – in the case of a court artist – subordination to a secular or church aristocracy was elevated to that of an independent artist. This important structural change, which took place around the year 1800, brought about, on the one hand, true independence of artistic creation in the modern sense of the expression, while, on the other hand, for the artists themselves it meant a loss of social security and the need to adapt to the new liberal market conditions.²⁰ This was particularly difficult in the first third of the 19th century when there was almost no efficient state or union support. It can hardly be surprising then that Joseph Führich, in the case of *The Rune Mountain*, decided to ask for double – and compared to *The Elves* cycle even triple – the fee from a client once he had become an internationally known artist and could expect a corresponding increase in the market value of his works. Count Hugo (II) Karl Eduard was well aware of that, yet he took the oral

^{15 &}quot;Wir haben von hiesigen Künstlern, in ihren Atelier Führich und Koch besucht. [...] Der Principe Massimi hat in seiner Villa drey Säle in Fresko ausmalen lassen, [...]. Der dritte Saal aus Tasso ist noch nicht vollendet, von Overbeck angefangen und nun von Führich herrlich fortgesetzt. Außer dieser Arbeit die Führichs meiste Zeit in Anspruch nimmt hat er nur Zeichnungen gemacht, meist biblischen Gegenstände, aber mit so viel Geist und Neuheit in der Auffasung, daß diese so oft schon behandelten Gegenstände, dennoch einen ganz eigenen Reitz aus seiner Hand erhielten der Alte läßt dich grüßen." A letter by Robert of Salm-Reifferscheidt to his father Hugo (I) Franz of Salm-Reifferscheidt of 17th February 1829, ibidem.

¹⁶ State-owned chateau in Rájec nad Svitavou, inv. no. RA 4155.

¹⁷ Comp. Tomášek, Petr. "Pintsch ist vortreflich, er soll künftig Thiere malen." Some notes concerning the origin of the two portraits of the family of Hugo (II) Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt by Josef Führich and Josef Vojtěch Hellich. In *Opuscula historiae artium*, 2012, 61, vol. 2, pp. 156-169.

¹⁸ A letter by Hugo (I) Franz of Salm-Reifferscheidt to his son Hugo (II) Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt of 9th January 1833, MZA, file G 150, archive box 70, inv. no. 419.

¹⁹ State-owned chateau in Rájec nad Svitavou, inv. no. RA 1344.

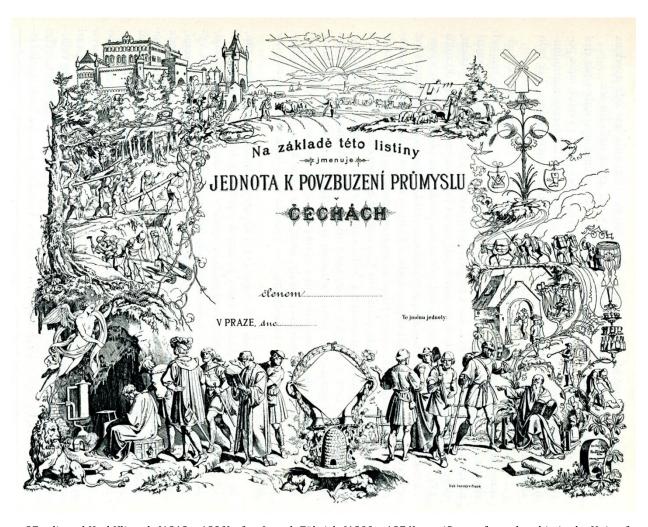
²⁰ Concerning the situation around 1800 comp. Gaehtgens, Thomas W. *Der Bürger als Mäzen*. Opladen: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 1998, pp. 6-7. Kaschuba, Wolfgang. Kunst als symbolisches Kapital. Bürgerliche Kunstvereine und Kunstideale nach 1800 oder: Vom realen Nutzen idealer Bilder. In Gerlach, Peter (ed.) *Vom realen Nutzen idealer Bilder. Kunstmarkt und Kunstvereine*. Aachen: Alano Verlag, 1994, pp. 9-20, particularly p. 13.



7 Joseph Führich (1800–1876), Family Portrait of Hugo (II) Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt, 1832, oil on canvas, state-owned chateau in Rájec nad Svitavou, inv. no. RA 4155, photo: Národní památkový ústav / National Heritage Institute (Miroslav Zavadil).

agreement made two years earlier to be binding. And although he agreed to a compromise in the end, he considered the failure to observe the terms of the original contract an offence against good manners and customs, and the economic side of things played no major role for him in this.

With this mentality Count Hugo (II) Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt resembled an earlier type of the aristocratic patron, whose activities were more motivated by a desire to acquire works of art to meet their own (sensual, aesthetic, representational, economic) needs than by an interest in support-



8Ferdinand Karl Klimsch (1812 – 1890) after Joseph Führich (1800 – 1876), certificate of membership in the Union for Promoting Industry in Bohemia, 1833, lithography on paper, photo: Bedřich Mansfeld (ed.), Sto let Jednoty k povzbuzení průmyslu v Čechách 1833, lithography on paper, photo: Bedřich Mansfeld (ed.), Sto let Jednoty k povzbuzení průmyslu v Čechách 1833 – 1933, Prague 1934, p. 85.

ing selected artists. Consequently, he also never considered making *The Elves* and *The Rune Mountain* cycles of drawings accessible to the public through printed reproductions, although Führich himself would very likely have welcomed this form of promotion ofhis work.²¹ The family correspondence of the Salm-Reifferscheidts from that time, which is logically the best reflection of their private opinions, contains frequent invectives against the artist, who in connection with his request for a fee increase is even compared to a dishonest labourer. Even more scathing criticism from family members was aimed at Führich's *Family Portrait* from 1832, this time mainly for formal reasons. They blamed the painter for physiognomic inaccuracy in the likeness and no less for an overaccentuating the references to the art of German romanticism. However, this apparently resolute rejection of the work had no effect on their positive evaluation of the rest of Führich's oeuvre. This was apparent when in 1833 Hugo (II) Karl Eduard, in his role as a committee member of the Union for Promoting Industry in Bohemia (*Der Verein zur Ermunterung des Gewerbgeistes in Böhmen*), backed Joseph Führich's design for the union's membership certificate.²²

²¹ Comp. Lukas von Führich (cited in note 12), p. 50. – A graphic edition of the *The Elves* was not most probably on the cards until the beginning of the 20th century, as a test impression of one of the drawings has survived in the collections of the Rájec chateau. It was made by the Parcus-Verlag publishers in Munich, who in 1919 issued a ballad by Gottfried August Bürger *The Wild Hunter* with Führich's illustrations.

²² Bedřich Mansfeld (ed.), Sto let Jednoty k povzbuzení průmyslu v Čechách 1833-1933, Prague 1934, pp. 83-84.

The attitudes expressed around this episode, reflecting surviving stereotypes of a subordinate, subservient artist and a haughty noble patron, were generally restricted to the private correspondence of the Salm-Reifferscheidts, while communication with Führich or his father, despite all the reservations, remained very proper. The Salms were well aware that the renowned artist was no longer dependent on their commissions and if they did not accept his creative freedom and at least the general principles of the working of a liberal art market, the works of their favourite artist might finally end up with another client. A similar situation must have very likely been experienced at that time by most art lovers in aristocratic circles exposed to new competition from members of the burgeoning bourgeoisie, which became evident in the world of art and culture even earlier than in economics and politics.

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