

Discovery

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SLEEPING VENUS WITHOUT AMOR: NEW INSIGHTS INTO A KEY WORK BY JOHANN BAPTIST VON LAMPI THE YOUNGER

ABSTRACT

In 1826, Johann Baptist von Lampi the Younger created *Venus Sleeping on a Day Bed*, a painting that would undergo a considerable reworking. After its acquisition by the Imperial Picture Gallery in 1828, large areas of the background were overpainted in black, as revealed by investigations carried out by the Belvedere's restoration and conservation department in 2022. Through this extensive overpainting, the original figure of the winged Amor—and with it, an important compositional element—was lost. In this paper, I will first situate the original motif of the sleeping Venus with Amor in the earlier pictorial tradition. I will then use archive material to establish the date of this large-scale intervention in the painting. With the help of further case studies, I will show that overpainting was a common practice in the nineteenth century. Finally, I will use historical discussions of the painting to show how the overpainting resulted in a new yet erroneous interpretation of *Venus Sleeping on a Day Bed* as a hidden portrait of one of Napoleon's lovers, subsequently becoming a topos of local Salzburg history.

KEYWORDS

Johann Baptist von Lampi the Younger; Venus; Amor; overpainting; Biedermeier; Emilie von Wolfsberg; conservation history; local history; nineteenth-century iconography.

At the Annual Exhibition of the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts in 1828, a painting was acquired for the Imperial Picture Gallery that was later reworked to an astonishing degree. The painting by Johann Baptist von Lampi the Younger (1775–1837), dating from 1826, is now held in the Belvedere and is listed in the inventory under the title *Venus Sleeping on a Day Bed* (Fig. 1). It shows a nude, blond-haired Venus lying on a mattress. The signature and date of the work are inscribed atop the gold pitcher at the picture's left edge: "Joh: Fili: Eques de Lampi. Pinxit 1826." A mirror in the background reflects Venus's back. Strikingly, the reflection ends abruptly before the legs, becoming a formless expanse of black that dominates the entire right half of the picture. A clue regarding this remarkable phenomenon is found in the catalogue for the Academy exhibition, where the painting is referred to as *Venus with Amor in Front of the Mirror*.¹ This suggests that, over time, the figure of Amor, now obviously absent in the painting's present form [summer 2023], was overpainted with the black background. This was confirmed in 2022 by X-ray and infrared photographs of the painting taken at the Belvedere's restoration and conservation department, which also reveal the original appearance of a childlike winged god



Fig. 1: Johann Baptist von Lampi the Younger, *Sleeping Venus on a Day Bed*, 1826, oil on canvas, 145 × 206 cm. Belvedere, Vienna, Inv. No. 2519 (Photo: Johannes Stoll / Belvedere, Vienna).

of love (Figs. 3, 4). As the photographs show, Amor is climbing onto the chiffonier in the midground. He holds an arrow in his right hand, seemingly stowing it in his quiver. The reflection of his back can be seen behind him.

In the following paper, the painting will be embedded in the long pictorial tradition, popular with many artists, of the sleeping Venus with Amor. From historical descriptions and archive material, I will also attempt to reconstruct the condition of the painting upon its entry into the collection of the Imperial Picture Gallery and the possible date of the overpainting. Finally, I will analyze historical source material to outline the attendant massive shift in meaning and its consequences for understanding the picture.

FINDINGS FROM THE RESTORATION

Over the course of the restoration, the painting was investigated in the Belvedere's restoration and conservation department, including with UV light in 2022. Through



Fig. 2: UV photograph of *Venus Sleeping on a Day Bed*, Belvedere restoration and conservation department, Vienna (Photo: Restoration / Belvedere, Vienna).

the uneven coverage of natural resin varnish across the surface of the picture, restorers Stefanie Jahn, Stefanie Hasenauer, and Ana Stefaner established that there had been retouching and revisions both underneath and on top of the varnish. According to the restorers, the black area inside the mirror indicated the presence of an especially large revision beneath the varnish (Fig. 2).² This hypothesis was subsequently confirmed by an X-ray and infrared investigation of the painting: Illumination revealed the winged Amor with quiver and arrows, which had apparently been revised several times (Figs. 3, 4). Upon removal of the varnish, Ana Stefaner confirmed the presence of a thinner layer of varnish in the area containing the dark revisions, as could be seen under UV light. Underneath, a highly soluble layer of oil paint was detected. This high level of solubility speaks against older overpainting. This could indicate, among other things, that the dark area belongs to a later generation of revision. Thus, the area inside the mirror could have been changed at least twice. According to Jahn and Stefaner,



Fig. 3: Photomontage with X-ray photograph of *Venus Sleeping on a Day Bed*, Belvedere restoration and conservation department, Vienna (Photo: Restoration / Belvedere, Vienna).



Fig. 4: Photomontage with infrared photograph of *Venus Sleeping on a Day Bed*, Belvedere restoration and conservation department, Vienna (Photo: Restoration / Belvedere, Vienna).

an existing dark revision may have been removed and redone during the subsequent phase of retouching.³

ARTISTIC FOREBEARS: THE PICTORIAL TRADITION OF LAMPI'S VENUS

In iconographic terms, the original version of Lampi's painting relates to *Sleeping Venus with Cupid* (ca. 1540) by the Venetian Mannerist painter Paris Bordone (1500–1571) (Fig. 5). Both pictures show Amor slipping away from his mother as she sleeps. Lampi shows the god of love filling his quiver with arrows. His step onto the chiffonier could certainly be understood as "his setting off." Bordone's Cupid throws off the quilt upon which Venus is sleeping and turns away from her. This same motif appeared repeatedly in the popular genre of bridal poems, *Bräutigedichte*, all the way from antiquity to the early modern period. Such poems are also relevant to Giorgione's (1477–1510) famous *Sleeping Venus* (ca. 1508–1510), the first representation of the nude Venus in a picture of this size, which thus became a model for later representations of reclining female nudes (Fig. 6).⁴



Fig. 5: Paris Paschalinus Bordon (Bordone), *Sleeping Venus with Cupid*, ca. 1540, oil on canvas. Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro, Venice (Photo: Direzione regionale Musei Veneto, su concessione del Ministero della Cultura).



Fig. 6: Giorgione, *Sleeping Venus*, ca. 1508–1510, oil on canvas, 108.5 x 175 cm. Old Masters Picture Gallery, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden [Dresden State Art Collections], Inv. No. 185 (Photo: Elke Estel / Hans-Peter Klut).

Sleeping Venus without Amor

Concerning the spiritual basis of Giorgione's painting, Peter Lüdemann refers specifically to the Renaissance poet Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (1426–1503), who, at the beginning of the third elegy, "De Venere Amorem quaerente," in the first book of his collection of love poetry, *Eridanus*, describes the scene following Venus losing Amor who slipped away while she slept. Turning to the Nereids for help, she wonders how he managed it:

"The boy went off, unclothed, unknown to all / a boy who never up to now had left my arms. / The child once cherished at his mother's breasts / warmed in her arms, what wave—alas!—what savage shoal / now holds him? As it chanced, in Paphos' grove / by a brook's murmuring stream I'd fallen asleep—my son / was in my arms. He slipped out from my lap / unnoticed [...]."⁵

Further to the iconography, Lampi's painting shares another parallel with Giorgione's, which now resides in the Old Masters Picture Gallery in Dresden. In the Renaissance painting, a tiny Amor was originally seated at the goddess of love's feet, holding an arrow and a small bird in his hands. By 1837, however, the figure had been overpainted with a section of meadow due to heavy damage to this part of the painting.⁶ Six years later, the painting was investigated by the Dresden Gallery Commission. This layer of paint was removed during the investigation, but it was subsequently established that Amor was not sufficiently preserved to allow for reconstruction.⁷ The figure was therefore covered up again. A more detailed investigation of Amor was made possible in 1931 thanks to emerging X-ray technology (Fig. 7), but



Fig. 7: *Sleeping Venus* with reconstruction of the winged Amor (Photo: in Hans Posse, "Die Rekonstruktion der Venus mit dem Cupido von Giorgione," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 52 (1931): 29–35, 34, fig. 5).

the original figure could no longer be reconstructed because of the large number of surface defects.⁸ As the 1837 restoration of the painting reveals, an unsparing approach to the original forms of a painting prevailed at that time. This also supports the conclusion that Lampi's work may have been overpainted in the first half of the nineteenth century. Although Lampi's scene takes place in a closed room and not outdoors, as in the other two examples, the reference to the motif of the departing Amor is still clearly recognizable. However, due to the extensive overpainting of its second original protagonist, this reference and its associated contextual relationships have been almost entirely lost from the painting.

SEARCHING FOR CLUES: THE TIMING OF AMOR'S REMOVAL

The painting in question was first exhibited at the Annual Exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna in 1828. As mentioned earlier in this paper, it was listed in the accompanying catalogue under the title *Venus with Amor in Front of the Mirror*. During the show on May 12, 1828, and in the presence of Director of the Imperial Picture Gallery and Keeper of the Belvedere Palaces Joseph Rebell (1787–1828), a number of paintings including this one were selected for the gallery.⁹ The ensuing inventory is dated eight days later on May 20, 1828, in which the painting—acquired for 275 ducats—is simply titled *Venus*.¹⁰ However, the account of the painting in a review of the exhibition featured in the journal *L'Eco* [The Echo] on October 10, 1828, suggests that the painting was still in its original condition at this time. Thus, the overpainting must have occurred after purchase:

“In the same room [as the portrait of the Marquis of Resende, the Brazilian ambassador to the Imperial-Royal Court], a life-sized Venus lies sleeping in front of a mirror with Amor, her son and the ideal of the knight von Lampi. One must admit that such a beautifully and diligently painted picture is rarely seen in our times. The drawing, although meticulous, lacks idealism; the flesh, on the other hand, is masterful. [...] Nevertheless, the picture is an outstanding, and not unworthy, contribution to the new German school. This Venus has been purchased by His Majesty the Emperor.”¹¹

As can be seen from the purchase agreement, an exhibition was planned in the Imperial Picture Gallery at the Belvedere shortly after the acquisition.¹² The first verifiable reference to Lampi's *Venus* at this new location comes from the American author Nathaniel Parker Willis (1806–1867), on whom the work made a powerful impression when he

visited the Upper Belvedere. In a travelogue-letter dated July 3, 1833, he provides a detailed, if not entirely accurate, description of Lampi's painting:

“One thing more, however—a Venus, by Lampi. It kept me a great while before it. She lies asleep on a rich couch, and, apparently, in her dream, is pressing a rose to her bosom, while one delicate foot, carelessly thrown back, is half imbedded in a superb cushion supporting a crown and sceptre. It is a lie, by all experience. The moral is false, but the picture is delicious.”¹³

Contrary to Willis's description, the subject is portrayed not on a couch, but on pillows. Similarly, it is a cluster of roses in front of Venus rather than a single rose being pressed to her bosom. In this instance, the author's memory of the painting appears to have failed him. The other details described correspond with the painting, however. Notably, there is no mention of Amor despite his prominent positioning to the right of the picture. That this figure and its reflection, dominating the right half of the picture as it did, should be overlooked or forgotten seems quite unlikely. Although Willis's description differs from the original painting in details, it indicates that it may have been overpainted by the mid 1830s. The first reproduction of Lampi's painting is then found in the catalogue of the modern masters collection at the Imperial Picture Gallery for the year 1897. In this reproduction, Venus is already portrayed without Amor.¹⁴

RECEPTION: FROM VENUS TO NAPOLEON'S LOVER

It can only be speculated whether the overpainting of Lampi's Amor was done for aesthetic reasons. However, in removing the figure of the god of love, the painting reorients itself towards a greater calmness, whilst its potential system of reference and signification seems more closely tied to the real world. A corresponding change in mood can also be seen in Friedrich von Amerling's (1803–1887) approximately contemporaneous revision of his painting *The Dream* of 1839, three versions of which were created by the artist. Sat by the head of the sleeping woman in the original painting was a small Amor, a figure strongly criticized by art critics at the time (Fig. 8):

“And now we come to the little god of love who is, in our view, a thoroughly heterogeneous addition that only disrupts the overall effect. How does the Greek god belong in this quite modern composition? How does the boy, with vital incarnation, fit into the dream? Does the picture not express itself adequately without him? What then is the purpose of Cupid, who is represented as flesh-and-blood boy?”¹⁵

It is unclear whether the painter revised his original painting or removed the winged figure of the god of love in the next version (Fig. 9).¹⁶ The subject of Amerling's painting is not an idealized Venus, as in the painting by Lampi, but a mundane woman dreaming of marriage to her beloved. Together with a priest who performs the wedding ceremony, the two men appear as dream figures next to the woman's bed. The god of love is, in this instance, a pleonasm, since the scene would still be coherent without him. The removal of Amor may have been driven by the desire for a less cluttered, more subtle composition. Thus, the decision to dispense with the god of love is more logical here than it

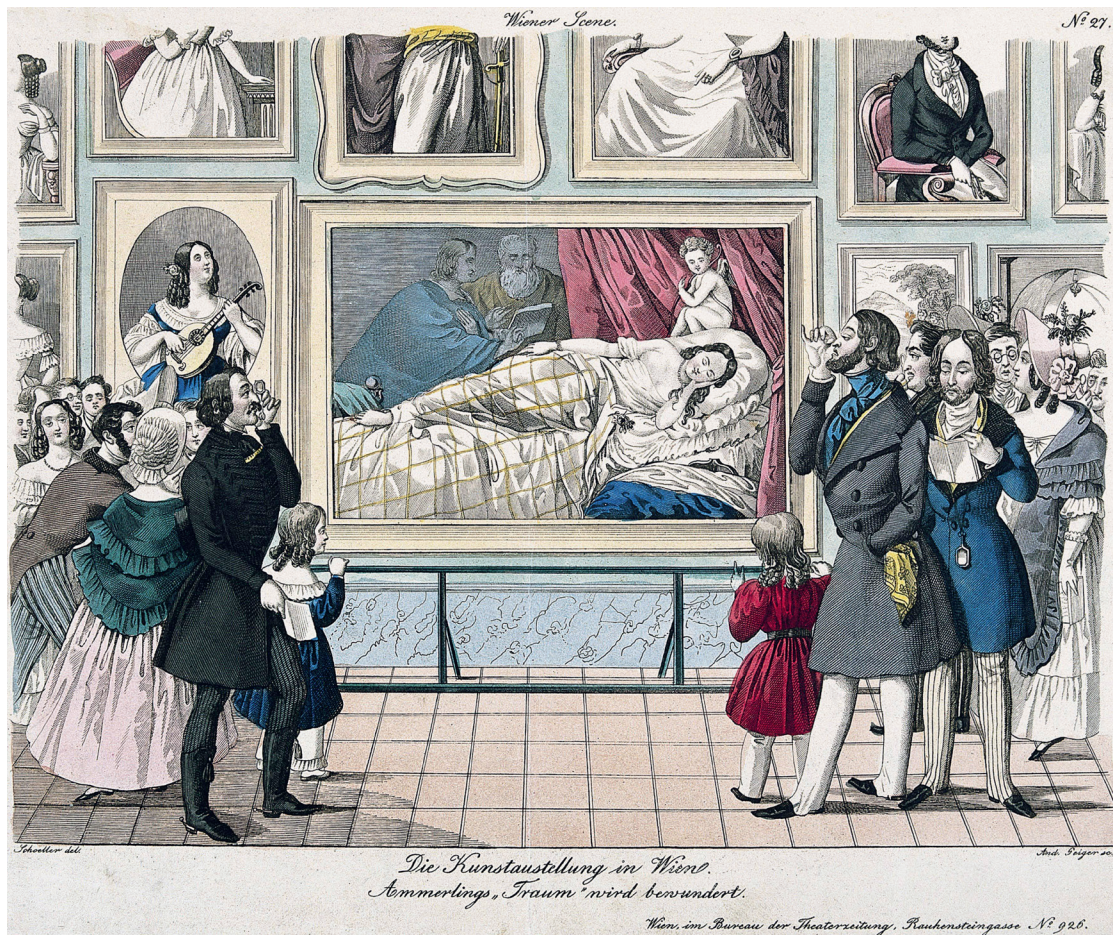


Fig. 8: Andreas Geiger after the drawing by Johann Christian Schoeller, *The Art Exhibition in Vienna: Art Connoisseurs Examine [Friedrich von] Ammerling's "The Dream,"* ca. 1845, colored copper engraving; pictorial supplement to the *Wiener allgemeinen Theaterzeitung* [The Viennese General Theater Newspaper], "Wiener Scenen," no. 27 (1803–1887) (Photo: brandstaetter images / Austrian Archives).

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would have been for Lampi, whose painting concerns a mythological figure, herself a common motif since the Renaissance.

The revision shifted the mythological character of Lampi's painting into the background, helping to imbue the work with the new meaning that it acquired at the start of the twentieth century: The idealized female figure of Venus was now interpreted as a real person, as a hidden portrait, namely of Baroness Emilie Kraus von Wolfsberg (1785–1845). Emilie Viktorine Kraus, originally from Idria in Carniola (now Idrija, Slovenia) and the daughter of a simple miner, is thought to have met the French emperor Napoleon in Vienna in 1805, engaging in a romantic relationship with him until 1814.¹⁷ It is from Napoleon that she is also thought to have received her noble title. Her nickname “the Dog Countess” was inspired by her private zoo, which, after several relocations, she maintained at her home in Salzburg. She died in poverty in 1845. Her tragic biography was first recorded in a manuscript by Imperial-Royal Officer and cofounder of the Society for Salzburg Local History Anton von Schallhammer (1800–1868).¹⁸ Along with the writer's estate, this manuscript entered the collection of Salzburg Museum and



Fig. 9: Friedrich von Amerling, *The Dream*, 1839, oil on canvas, 115 × 161 cm. Private collection (Photo: in *Deutsche und Österreichische Malerei und Zeichnungen des 19. Jahrhunderts*, auct. cat., Sotheby's, Munich, June 12, 1991, 42, lot 46).

provided material for historical adaptations and popular *Heimatromane* (regional novels) for numerous authors.

According to Schallhammer's biography, Napoleon commissioned a portrait of Emilie Kraus from Johann Baptist von Lampi as early as 1805; however, he does not mention whether it was the elder or the younger of the two.

“During Napoleon's stay (end of December 1805) at the imperial pleasure palace of Schönbrunn outside Vienna, he had Emilie painted in life size by the most famous portrait painter in Vienna at the time, Ritter von Lampis [sic], depicting the bust of Venus. This beautiful painting was purchased at an auction of her estate by a doctor of medicine Kainzelsberger and is now owned by a leather manufacturer by the name of Kaindl in Linz.”¹⁹

However, this information corresponds with neither the date nor the provenance of the representation of Venus in the Belvedere.

Two illustrations, allegedly of Emilie, were printed for the first time in a publication from the artist and writers' society Grüne Insel:²⁰ In this publication Hugo Wittmann (1839–1923) mentions a chalk drawing from 1806 and an oil painting, both by Johann Baptist von Lampi the Younger and in portrait format (Figs. 10, 11). It is difficult to ascertain



Fig. 10: Johann Baptist von Lampi the Younger, Drawing described as a portrait of Emilie Kraus von Wolfsberg, 1806, chalk on paper (Photo: in Hugo Wittmann, *Die Hunds-Gräfin* [Vienna: Grüne Insel, 1880], unpaginated).



Fig. 11: Johann Baptist von Lampi the Younger, *Dreaming Beauty*, described as a portrait of Emilie Kraus von Wolfsberg, oil on canvas, 1806 (Photo: in Hugo Wittmann, *Die Hunds-Gräfin* [Vienna: Grüne Insel, 1880], unpaginated).

whether it is the same person portrayed in both of the pictures reproduced in Wittmann’s biography. The chalk drawing shows a woman, exposed to the waist, holding a finger to her lips (Fig. 10). As Wittmann’s comments show, this drawing was thought to have been owned by Napoleon and then Baroness von Wolfsberg, before ultimately being acquired by a citizen of Linz.²¹ The oil painting shows a woman with half-closed eyes, a slightly opened mouth, and exposed bosom and is thought to have come from the family collection of the then-secretary of the French embassy in Vienna (Fig. 11). There are several versions of this painting known under the title *Dreaming Beauty*.²² However, these two erotically charged drawings bear no direct pictorial relation to Lampi’s *Venus*.

Approximately twenty years later, in 1903, a text by Ludwig Hevesi (1843–1910) seems to suggest that the portrait of Baroness von Wolfsberg was not painted by Lampi the Younger as Wittmann claimed, but by his father Johann Baptist von Lampi the Elder (1751–1830):

“His [Lampi’s] circle of clients comprised the whole of society, from royalty and victorious field marshals [...] to the ‘Dog Countess’ (Baroness Emilie von

Wolfsberg, née Kraus, one of Napoleon's lovers), asleep on her pillow with extreme décolleté à la Guido's Cleopatra."²³

The referenced portrait of Baroness von Wolfsberg is, however, unknown. But this passage is followed, two pages later, by a reproduction of Lampi's *Venus*, correctly cited as a work by the son.²⁴ Nevertheless, an inaccurate reading of Hevesi's earlier description of Johann Baptist von Lampi the Elder's portrait of Emilie von Wolfsberg "asleep on her pillow with extreme décolleté à la Guido's Cleopatra" and the subsequent representation of *Venus* may have resulted in the two paintings being equated.

In 1934, Sophie von Khuenberg (1863–1917) publishes her popular novel *Die Hundsgräfin: Der Roman einer Salzburgerin*. She writes in the novel that Lampi the Younger portrayed Emilie von Wolfsberg as a sleeping Venus,²⁵ accompanied by a full-page reproduction of the work from the Belvedere's collection.²⁶ A second *Heimatroman* by Hans Schaffelhofer (1894–1982) from 1947 likewise takes the dramatic biography of Emilie von Wolfsberg as its central theme. He too includes the full-page reproduction of *Venus*, this time even adopting it as a cover motif (Fig. 12).²⁷ It was these two publications that ultimately gave rise to the myth of the painting as a hidden portrait of Napoleon's

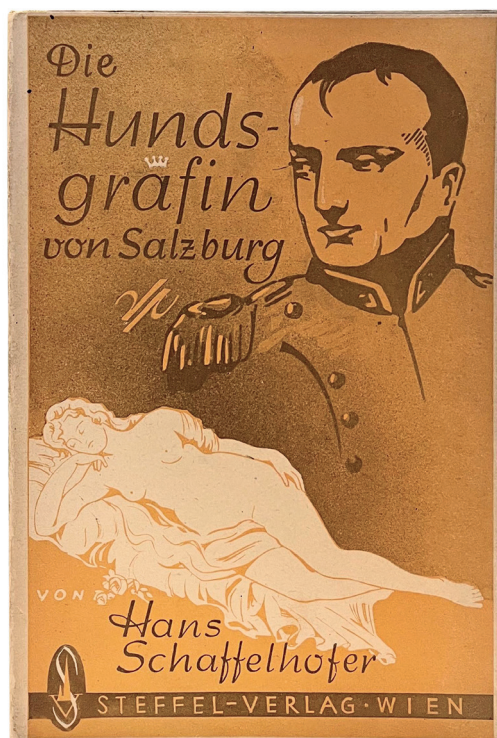


Fig. 12: Cover of Hans Schaffelhofer, *Die "Hundsgräfin" von Salzburg: Der Roman einer Bergarbeitertochter* (Vienna: Steffel, 1947).



Fig. 13: Irene Andessner, *Emilia Viktoria Kraus ("Dog Countess" II)*, 1999, backlight film / HQ Inkjet, light box, 160 × 124 × 10 cm. Salzburg Museum.

lover—even though the French emperor had already died in 1821, five years before the painting's completion. Nevertheless, the legend remains to this day: Even in more recent reappraisals of the “Dog Countess’s” story, Lampi’s *Venus* is described as her portrait.²⁸

In 1999, as part of her project *Women of Salzburg*, the Austrian artist Irene Andessner (b. 1954) recreated Lampi’s painting as a tableau vivant, casting herself in the role of Emilie von Wolfsburg (Fig. 13).²⁹ The addition of a number of dogs is also a reference to Baroness von Wolfsburg’s love of animals. Consequently, the significance of the painting as a representation of Venus falls entirely into the background. If Amor, such a dominant element in the original picture, had not been covered up and the mythological aspect of the work thus kept in the foreground, a subsequent reinterpretation of this kind would scarcely have been possible.

CONCLUSION

As I have outlined, Johann Baptist von Lampi the Younger’s painting *Venus with Amor in Front of the Mirror* was overpainted shortly after its acquisition for the Imperial Picture Gallery,

perhaps even before 1833. Through comparisons with other overpaintings, I have shown that retrospective compositional interventions of this kind were a common practice in the nineteenth century. Thus, the painting by Lampi underwent a profound iconographic transformation: From being a representation of a myth, rooted in the pictorial tradition of the Renaissance, Venus lost her significance as a goddess of antiquity through the removal of Amor. Her being a nude woman enabled the reinterpretation of the painting as a portrait of Emilie von Wolfsberg who, as the “Dog Countess” and Napoleon’s rumored lover, is considered a local celebrity. Irene Andessner’s art project that plays on Salzburg’s clichés reveals how deeply embedded this interpretation of the painting, irrespective of its original meaning, is in the local history of Salzburg. This paper highlights the key significance of the painting for the culture of Salzburg, confirming, among other things, the vital contribution of art to the formation of identity, while not overlooking its fragility or manipulability.

NOTES

- 1 *Kunstwerke, öffentlich ausgestellt im Gebäude der Österreichisch-Kaiserlichen Akademie der Bildenden Künste bey St. Anna im Jahre 1828*, exh. cat., Academy of Fine Arts Vienna (Vienna: Anton Strauß, 1828), cat. no. 230.
- 2 Stefanie Jahn and Ana Stefaner, “Untersuchung des Gemäldes ‘Venus, auf dem Ruhebett schlafend’, 1826, von Johann Baptist Lampi d. J.” (conservation report, Belvedere, Vienna, 2022).
- 3 Many thanks to Stefanie Jahn for her valuable insights into the investigation of the painting.
- 4 Jaynie Anderson, “Giorgione, Titian and the Sleeping Venus,” in *Tiziano e Venezia: Convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, 1976*, ed. Feliciano Benvenuti et al. (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1980): 337–342.
- 5 “Ipse puer nudusque abiit nec cognitus ulli / quique meo numquam cesserat ante sinu: / maternis fotum mammis fotumque sub ulnis, / hei mihi quis fluctus, quae fera Syrtis habet? / Forte Paphi in luco, rivi crepitan- tantis ad undam / dormieram atque inter brachia natus erat; / effugit e gremio fallens; [...],” see Giovanni Gioviano Pontano, *Eridanus*, trans. Luke Roman (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 167–169. See also Peter Lüdemann, *Virtus und Voluptas: Beobachtungen zur Ikonographie weiblicher Aktfiguren in der venezianischen Malerei des frühen Cinquecento*, Studi: Schriftenreihe des Deutschen Studienzentrums in Venedig. Neue Folge 1 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2008), 49.
- 6 Hans Posse, “Die Rekonstruktion der Venus mit dem Cupido von Giorgione,” *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 52 (1931): 29–35, 32.
- 7 Posse 1931, 32 (see note 6).
- 8 Posse 1931 (see note 6).
- 9 Presidential Decree to Joseph Rebell, May 10, 1828, Oberstkämmereramt-B, no. 818/1828, in Austrian State Archives, Vienna, Hof- und Staatsarchiv. See also Sabine Grabner, “Joseph Rebell als Direktor der kaiserlichen Gemäldegalerie,” in *Joseph Rebell: Im Licht des Südens*, eds. Sabine Grabner and Stella Rollig, exh. cat., Belvedere, Vienna, June 15–November 13, 2022 (Cologne: Buchhandlung Walther König): 139–155, 155, footnote 95.
- 10 “Verzeichnis derjenigen Gemählde, welche Seine Excellenz der Herr Oberstkämmerer Graf von Czernin für Seine Majestät den Kaiser, bey Gelegenheit der dießjährigen Kunstausstellung, zu den unten angesetzten Preisen gekauft hat” [“Inventory of paintings, purchased by His Excellency the Keeper of the Privy Purse Count von Czernin for His Majesty the Emperor at this year’s art exhibition for the prices listed below”], May 20, 1828, Oberstkämmereramt-B, no. 1121/1828, in Austrian State Archives, Vienna, Hof- und Staatsarchiv.
- 11 “Über die Kunst-Ausstellung zu Wien im Jahre 1828,” *L’Eco: Giornale di Scienze, Lettere, Arti, Commercio e Teatri*, October 10, 1828: 485–486. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are by Jessica West.
- 12 “Verzeichnis derjenigen Gemählde” (see note 10).
- 13 Nathaniel Parker Willis, *Pencillings by the Way: Written During some Years of Residence and Travel in Europe* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1846), 163.

14 August Schaeffer, *Die Kaiserliche Gemälde-Galerie in Wien*, vol. 3, *Moderne Meister* (Vienna: Löwy, 1897), 216, https://digitale-bibliothek.belvedere.at/viewer/image/1479300461010_0003/216/.

15 “Die Kunstausstellung vom Jahre 1839,” *Der Österreichische Zuschauer: Zeitschrift für Kunst, Wissenschaft und geistiges Leben*, May 10, 1839: 569; Günther Probszt, *Friedrich von Amerling: Der Altmeister der Wiener Porträtmalerei* (Zürich: Amalthea, 1927), 127, cat. no. 450. See also “Briefe in die Provinz: Die diesjährige Kunstausstellung,” *Der Adler*, May 2, 1839: 332: “That Amor, seated by the sleeper’s head, is unsuccessful in its expression and illumination, has been remarked upon from several quarters; this, and also that the figure of Amor is, compared to the dream figures, altogether too crude, too real, I would like to say, has been confirmed to me by my own eyes, and I set some store by this art critic at least.”

16 *Deutsche und Österreichische Malerei und Zeichnungen des 19. Jahrhunderts*, auct. cat., Sotheby’s, Munich, June 12, 1991, 42, lot 46.

17 For more on the biography of Emilie von Wolfsberg, née Kraus, see Katharina Steinhauser, “Die Hundsgräfin: Emilie Kraus von Wolfsberg (1785–1845). Biographie und Rezeption” (MA dissertation, Paris Lodron University of Salzburg, 2018).

18 Anton von Schallhammer, “Emilie Victorine Freiin von Wolfsberg. Maitresse Napoleon I. von 1805 bis 1813: Aus ämtlichen Acten und ihren eigenen Handschriften bearbeitet v. Anton Ritter von Schallhammer,” ca. 1865–1868, handwritten manuscript, sign. HS 4059, in Salzburg Museum Archive.

19 Von Schallhammer 1865–1868, 5–6 (see note 18).

20 Hugo Wittmann, *Die Hunds-Gräfin* (Vienna: Grüne Insel, 1880), 5–6.

21 Hugo Wittmann writes that he is referring to a portrait he had mentioned in a previous essay on Emilie von Wolfsberg’s biography, based on Schallhammer’s records. Here, he is speaking of a painted portrait and not a chalk drawing. See Hugo Wittmann, “Die Hundsgräfin,” *Neue Freie Presse*, October 5, 1879: 1–4, 1. Wittmann also mentions the chalk drawing here: Hugo Wittmann, “Ein Porträt der ‘Hundsgräfin,’” *Neue Freie Presse*, December 7, 1879: 6.

22 See *Alte Meister*, auct. cat., Im Kinsky, Vienna, June 16, 2015, lot 37.

23 Ludwig Hevesi, *Österreichische Kunst im 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1, *1800–1848* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1903), 21–22.

24 Hevesi 1903, 23 (see note 23).

25 Sophie von Khuenberg, *Die Hundsgräfin: Der Roman einer Salzburgerin* (Vienna: Frau und Mutter-Verlag, 1934), 159.

26 Von Khuenberg 1934, unpaginated [fig. after page 240] (see note 25).

27 Hans Schaffelhofer, *Die “Hundsgräfin” von Salzburg. Der Roman einer Bergarbeiterstochter* (Vienna: Steffel-Verlag, 1947), frontispiece.

28 Franz Hörmann, “Die ‘Hundsgräfin.’ Emilie Victoria Kraus Baronin von Wolfsberg,” in *Der Russlandfeldzug 1812 und der Salzkammergasse: Schicksale im Krieg und daheim* [Nachlese 1800–1815], ed. Friederike Zaisberger (Salzburg: Salzburger Landesarchiv, 2013): 347–356.

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29 Wolfram Morath, ed., *Frauen zu Salzburg: Caroline Auguste, Constanze Mozart, Nannerl Mozart, Barbara Krafft, Emilia Viktoria Kraus ("Hundsgräfin")*, exh. cat., Carolino Augusteum, Salzburg, July 23–September 12, 1999 (Salzburg: Carolino Augusteum, 1999), unpaginated.

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COLOPHON

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