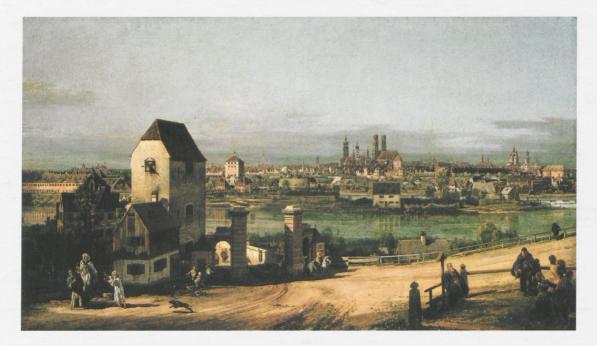
ANDRZEJ ROTTERMUND

Bernardo Bellotto's Unknown View of Munich

Searching for a painting by Bernardo Bellotto, called Canaletto¹, which was generally assumed to have been lost during World War II, in one of private collections I came across a painting, not known to Stefan Kozakiewicz, entitled *A View of Munich from Gasteig Hill* [Fig. 3]. This painting is a reduced replica of the famous townscape from the Residence in Munich² [Fig. 1]. A close examination of the newly discovered painting by Bellotto allows us to take another look at the method of Bernardo Bellotto's work and, basing on that knowledge, give opinion on the authorship and dating of the painting. It also induces reflections on the presentations of townscapes in the iconographic tradition of the Central Europe.

Before I proceed to discuss the above issues, it is necessary to recapitulate the extensive literature on the Munich veduta³. H. A. Fritzsche, the first monographer of Bernardo Bellotto, found out that Bellotto was in Munich in 1761. He was staying at the court of Elector Maximilian III Joseph and his wife, Maria Anna Sofie, daughter of Augustus III, King of Poland and a Saxon elector, and was commissioned by them to paint three large pictures for the elector's new private apartment in the Munich Residence. Two of them presented the Wittelsbachs' summer residence in Nymphenburg, i.e., *The Palace in Nymphenburg from the Side of the Town* and *The Palace in Nymphenburg from the Side of the Park*, while the third one depicted A View of Munich from Gasteig Hill. Fritzsche formulated a hypothesis that the replicas of the paintings from the Munich Residence which were known to him, were painted by Bellotto in 1761⁴. On the other hand, S. Kozakiewicz gathered, with great meticulousness, the whole existing literature on the views of Nymphenburg and the veduta of Munich and traced the history of the paintings (the paintings travelled between the Residence, Alte Pinakoteka and Bayerische Nationalmuseum). He comprised all collected information in his monumental monograph on Bernardo Bellotto. As regards the above mentioned replicas, he admitted that they could have been painted between 1761-67, before Bellotto's departure from Dresden to Warsaw. He also advanced a hypothesis that they were painted in collaboration with someone from his studio, probably with his son Lorenzo⁵. A note of Gisela Barche published in the catalogue of the exhibition "Bernardo Bellotto. Verona e le città europee" constitutes an extensive study of A View of Munich from Gasteig Hill. The starting-point for the author's analysis is a replica of the townscape from the National Gallery in Washington [Fig. 3]. Barche found out that Bernardo Bellotto came to Munich on January 14, 1761. He was accompanied by six other painters who had formerly worked for the Court of Dresden. Barche paid attention to the frame of the painting from the Residence



1) Bernardo Bellotto, «A View of Munich from Gasteig Hill», 1761, Residenzmuseum, Munich.



2) Bernardo Bellotto and Workshop, «A View of Munich from Gasteig Hill», 1762-1767, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Foundation.



3) Bernardo Bellotto, «A View of Munich from Gasteig Hill», 1762-1767. Private collection.

in Munich, with cartouches covered with the coats of arms of the Bavarian and Saxon electors, as well as those of the kings of the Polish Commonwealth. In her opinion all three paintings could have been commissioned by a princely couple, Frederick Christian and Maria Antonia, daughter of Emperor Charles VII (and sister of Maximilian III Joseph), and then presented as a gift to the Bavarian couple⁶. In her study Barche devotes much space to the paintings' location in the so-called Elector's Rooms, i.e., private apartments of Elector Maximilian III Joseph. The paintings were hung in the second antechamber, serving also as a small dining room, on the first floor, over the famous Antiquarium7. G. Barche draws our attention to a homogeneous design of the interior of the second antechamber, whose space is filled with Bellotto's paintings which are related in terms of their composition. "Per cui - Barche writes - la Veduta di Monaco, al centro della stanza sulla parete di fronte alle finestre, diventa il punto di demarcazione delle linee di fuga a cui si riferiscono le due Vedute di Nymphenburg, poste sulle pareti laterali. Infatti il punto di vista da cui queste ultime furono rispettivamente riprese non e più centrale, ma si dirige verso la Veduta di Monaco: per cui il dipinto di sinistra con Il castello di Nymphenburg visto dalla città si alarga in direzione della Veduta di Monaco, così come il quadro di destra, con Il castello di Nymphenburg visto dal giardino"8. Fifteen years later Bellotto carried out a similar, though more sophisticated and more extended spatial conception in the Senatorial Antechamber of King Stanislas II Augustus Poniatowski at the Royal Castle in Warsaw. Twenty two paintings of different sizes, depicting the views of Warsaw and its environs were placed in a certain interdependence as regards their composition. The carefully planned manner of the presentation of the horizon in the paintings testifies to the





5) Bernardo Bellotto, «A View of Munich from Gasteig Hill», 1762-1767, fragment with a pilgrim and monk at the right side of the painting. Private collection.

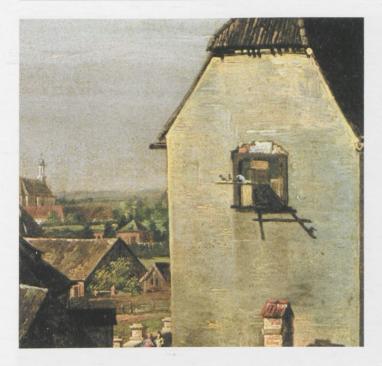
4) Bernardo Bellotto, «A View of Munich from Gasteig Hill», 1762-1767, fragment with a beggar and woman at the left side of the painting. Private collection.

fact that Bellotto was painting his works with the idea of hung them in a definite place, within the framework of the whole composition of the wall. In the paintings hanging high up the horizon is elevated, which suggests that these paintings are to be viewed from below, then the horizon lowers slightly, and, finally, it makes an impression as if we were watching the view from the bird's-eye perspective ⁹.

Edgar Peters Bowron, the co-author of the catalogue of the Italian paintings of the 17th and 18th cc. at the National Gallery in Washington, had the final word on the vedute of Munich. He summed up the existing knowledge about the views of Munich and expressed his standpoint in relation to Kozakiewicz's opinion about the participation of Bellotto's son, Lorenzo, in the creation of the replicas which can be found at the Washington Gallery. He came to the conclusion that "despite these minor departures from the originals, the quality and handling of the Washington version of the view of Munich suggests that it is substantially the work of Bellotto himself". Bowron believes that if Lorenzo had really participated in the creation of the three replicas of the views of Munich known to Bowron, it would have to have taken place in Munich in 1761, when he was only seventeen years old, otherwise, if he painted them later he would not have access to the originals from the Residence in Munich¹⁰. In the further part of my dissertation I shall try to present my view on the opinion of Bowron, who has finally determined the authorship of the Washington replica as "Bernardo Bellotto and Workshop".

All the above mentioned experts who were examining the Munich paintings managed to identify the majority of the buildings presented in the paintings. Therefore, I do not feel obligated to make a more detailed analysis of the building structures of Munich around 1760 depicted by Bellotto.

In the analysis of the newly discovered replica of *A View of Munich from Gasteig Hill*, I had to take into consideration two well-known views of Munich, namely, the first painting from the Munich Residence and the replica from the National Gallery of Washington¹¹. I must admit, however, that for me the painting from the Residence is but the ultimate source of reference, whereas the comparison of two replicas, i.e., the replica from the National Gallery in Washington and the newly discovered replica in the private collection, are essential for answering the

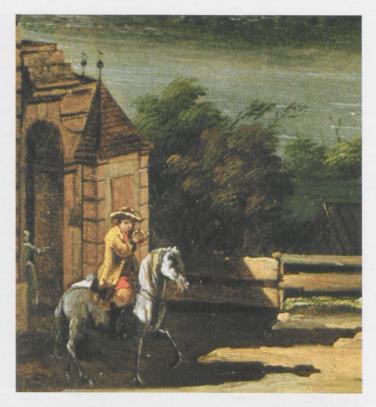


6) Bernardo Bellotto, «A View of Munich from Gasteig Hill», 1762-1767, fragment with a high building at the bridge gate. Private collection.

questions posed in the article. Were they simple, literal, reduced by 50% replicas of the painting from the Munich Residence? Or, perhaps, they were created in some close interrelation, or copied from each other. One should remember that the view of Munich by Bellotto was popularized in the form of a large copperplate executed by Franz Xavier Jungwierth¹² five years after Bellotto had painted the veduta for the Munich Residence. The print could have served as a basis for its replicas in oil technique.

The painting I have examined, size: 69 x 119 cm, thus, almost identical with the replica at the National Gallery in Washington, was painted in oil. Later it was relined. The painting has been preserved in a quite good condition, though the majority of the impasto applied by Bellotto was, unfortunately, washed off¹³ from the most shaded sections dominated by dark brown colours (i.e. the wall of the high building near the gate leading to the bridge and its shaded central part).

On the reverse side of the painting, in the upper middle part, there is a label which, presumably, shows the successive



7) Bernardo Bellotto, «A View of Munich from Gasteig Hill», 1762-1767, fragment with a figure of a postman on a horse. Private collection.

number of the item in the collection, i.e., "No 16" and a wax seal with an inscription "Prag" and a name "Leopold Zdeborsky", which is the name of its owner.

The examination of biographical dictionaries and genealogical trees of German, Czech and Austrian families, enabled me to discover that Leopold Zdeborsky lived in Prague in the years 1815-1887. Around 1840 he married Jiricek-Wünsch (1818-1859), a daughter of Mr. Wünsch (born ab. 1780), whose first name is unknown, Consul General in Prague at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. It is still not known whether the painting by Bellotto became the property of the Zdeborsky family by way of inheritance (from the Zdeborsky, Jiricek or Wünsch families) or if it was purchased by Leopold Zdeborsky himself¹⁴.

Let us, however, go back to the above analysis of the two preserved replicas of A View of Munich from Gasteig Hill.



8) Bernardo Bellotto, «A View of Munich from Gasteig Hill», 1762-1767, fragment with a figure of a girl leaning against the bridge balustrade. Private collection.

Compared to the painting in the Residence of Munich, it is evident that staffage was reduced. This was a common practice when Bellotto painted reduced replicas of a given painting (in most cases by 50%). We can notice this practice in numerous replicas, painted in the fifties and sixties of the 18th c., of the paintings from the two Dresden periods. Compared to the painting from the Residence in Munich, in both replicas which I have examined, the missing elements are: the figure of a girl and a dog, which follows her, at the left side of the painting, the figure of a man with a walking stick appearing from behind the left pillar of the bridge gate, a group of stonemasons working on the balustrade of the brigde, a group of people at the right edge of the painting, the genre detail of laundry, hung out to dry in the background across the river. There were also omitted such elements as several trees on the river and among the houses at the right side in the foreground. On the other hand, there are some significant details which are present both in the Munich painting and in the replica from the private collection but are missing from the replica at the National Gallery in Washington.

First of all, the Washington painting lacks the building on the left-hand edge. Moreover, the facture of the extension of the small wooden-brick house, attached to the tall building at

the bridge gate, is different from both that in the Munich painting and the one in the private collection. On the Washington canvas there is no repelling pillaret at the right bridge pillar either. On the other hand, there are some details that can be noticed both on the canvas from the Munich Residence and the Washington one but are not present on the canvas in the private collection (these are such tiny elements, though, that they could have been washed out during the conservation treatment). The above analysis of the details of the paintings rules out completely the possibility that one of them could be a copy made on the basis of another one. The differences between these pictures and F. X. Jungwierth's print are too big to let us suppose that any of the discussed canvases could have been created on the basis of the print. This could lead to the acceptance of Bowron's hypothesis, namely that the Washington replica and, consequently, the one in the private collection were made directly from the original work which was executed by Bellotto in Munich in 1761, rather without his son's collaboration. As I have already mentioned I shall try to argue against this thesis of Bowron's. To begin with, the two replicas differ from the canvas from the Munich Residence in the overall colour scheme. Besides, each replica has a different atmosphere of the late afternoon. The Munich canvas is kept in homogenous dark green tones, showing also the mastery of the execution of details. On the other hand, both replicas are characterized by a lighter colour scheme. On the canvas in the private collection the setting sun casts a pink glow on the clouds over the town. Kozakiewicz writes that the replicas of the Munich paintings which he knows (i.e. the panorama and two views of Nymphenburg) are characterized "by a general absence of the nobility of conception and sovereign assurance of the application of the colour that distinguish the work of Bellotto's own hand. They are, however, quite consistent with his style and there are a number of examples of what could be personal contributions to them"¹⁵. The above quoted opinion cannot apply to the view of Munich under my examination, which is not known to Kozakiewicz. The manner of painting and the subtle colour scheme of the work in the private collection prove that it was Bellotto himself who painted the biggest part of it. If we consider Bellotto's technique of work, which is fairly well-known, we can make an assumption that successive replicas were made irrespective of the time of creating the first painting. It must be clearly stated, though, that every first canvas used to be made basically in the same way as its subsequent replicas. Each painting was created on the basis of a set of drawings, which were prepared earlier and were intended to play different functions in the process of creation. Basing on the preserved drawings by Bellotto and abundant records of the method of work of Antonio Canale, in



9) Bernardo Bellotto, «A View of Warsaw from a Suburb of the Praga District», 1770, The Royal Castle in Warsaw, photographed by M. Broniarski.

whose studio Bellotto used to be an apprentice for a number of years, Kozakiewicz managed to reconstruct, in a very convincing way, Bellotto's process of the creation of his vedute. The method consisted in the preparation of tens of different kinds of drawings for each of an intended painting, ranging form small sketches made with the help of a portable camera obscura, through drawings of a larger size, which contained architectural details and frequently staffage (made with the help of a large table camera obscura), to the final drawing which served as a foundation of the painting. In the final drawing the contours were marked very clearly and details were very exact; this was achieved with the help of a ruler. Then, Bellotto would transfer the whole composition, enlarging it with the use of a net, onto a grounded canvas. Sets of basic drawings were complemented with precise sketches of architectural details and sketches of figures which, on the other hand, were drawn in an easy manner, and, in most cases, in the sizes in which they would later appear in the paintings. The artist often made notes about the colours of some sections on this sketches¹⁶. Consequently, such complete sets of drawings, which must have been very carefully stored by the artist, could be used at any time later when the artist was commis-



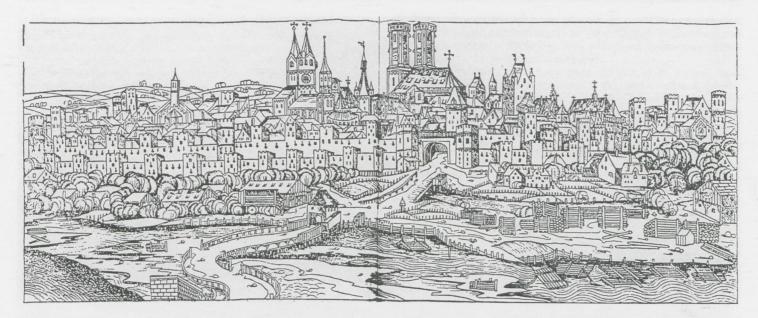
10) Bernardo Bellotto, «A View of Munich from Gasteig Hill», 1762-1767, fragment. Private collection.

sioned to create a painting on a particular theme. Theoretically, Bellotto could have been accepting commissions for new replicas of works, created earlier, until the end of his life. Only in theory though, because the turbulent times in which he lived and worked, the frequent necessity to move his studio, and the total destruction of his home in Dresden due to the bombardment of the town by the Prussians in 1760, must have surely caused an extensive damage to his artistic materials. However, it is very probable that when returning from Munich to Dresden in 1762 he took with him a complete set of drawings which had been used for Munich canvases a few months earlier. I cannot see any reason why not to adopt the possibility that the subsequent two replicas of A View of Munich from Gasteig Hill were made during the artist's second stay in Dresden in the years from 1762 to 1767. This was a very hard time for Bellotto's family because the royal commissions fell down drastically, so the artist and his family had to survive on a modest salary that he was earning as a lecturer at the Dresden Academy of Fine Arts¹⁷. It seems likely that he gladly accepted all commissions for his works, considering the fact that his son Lorenzo was growing up as an artist and could be entrusted with some painting tasks. Consistently, one can pose a question about Lorenzo's part in the creation of the two replicas. According to the above quoted opinion,

Kozakiewicz allows of the participation of another hand in the painting of the canvas exhibited at the National Gallery in Washington. As I have already noted, the analysis of the canvas in the private collection shows that there are many excellently painted sections in it, which undoubtedly bespeak of Bellotto's own hand. Above all, these are the parts with staffage, i.e. the figure of a woman, an old man at the left-hand side, and a trumpeter (postman) on a horse, and a painterly presented, illuminated wall of the toll-gate building as well as the sections with water which mirrors the town buildings. In the painting in the private collection the black pencil underdrawing is visible through the layer of paint (e.g. the figure of a girl leaning against the balustrade of the bridge). This is a frequent characteristic of Bellotto's paintings. It seems to me that the distinct differences which exist between the two discussed replicas and the painting from the Residence in Munich can be explained by the later date of their execution and restorers' intervention. If Lorenzo's part in the painting of the canvas in the private collection were to be considered, then, in my opinion, it should be associated only with a silhouette of the city architecture.

After my research on the authorship and dating of the newly discovered A View of Munich from Gasteig Hill, I conclude that it was painted by Bernardo Bellotto himself, with possible but

BERNARDO BELLOTTO'S UNKNOWN VIEW OF MUNICH

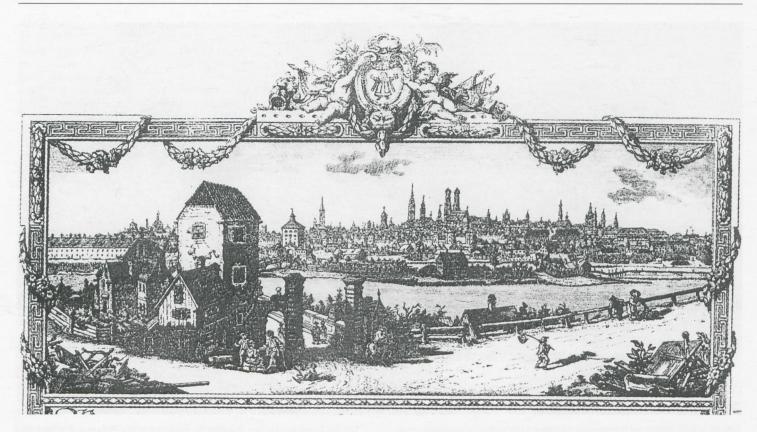


11) «A View of Munich from the East», from Schedel's "Weltchronik", 1493, a woodcut by Anton Korberger dated of 1485.

minor assistance of his son Lorenzo, from the drawings prepared in 1761 for the first "View," which was created for the Residence in Munich. As for the dating of the painting under discussion, it is most probable that it was commissioned by an unknown person and made in Dresden in the years 1762-67.

Among dozens of the townscapes which are included in Bellotto's oeuvre, the views of Munich and Warsaw [Fig. 9] are conspicuous for their exceptional treatment of the subject, which was remarkable not only for Bellotto's works but which is absolutely unique in the whole contemporary history of townscape painting¹⁸. The unusual quality of the two views lies in the concept of the presentation of large municipal complexes with a residential character. The towns were seen from an outside perspective, from behind the river, and enclosed within their borders. Viewers can see the buildings shown only in outlines in the form of panoramas. This way of presenting towns, which was adopted by Bellotto, does not only bear references to the 17th-century tradition of Dutch vedute painting, which was noted by Richard J. Wattenmaker¹⁹, but also corresponds to the old graphic tradition of depicting large European cities which dates back to the end of the 15th and 16th cc. There is a striking similarity between the treatment of the Munich view painted by Bellotto and Anton Korberger's woodcut [Fig. 11] showing the townscape, which appeared in Weltchronik in

1493. And so is the similarity between the Warsaw view and George Braun's woodcut dated of 1618, showing a panorama of Warsaw, and the one by Samuel Pufendorf dated of 1656. I do not believe these similarities to be accidental. The clear and explicit reference to the traditional iconographic approach to the theme on the part of the persons commissioning the works must have been caused by their ideological or political motives. Both in Munich and Warsaw the paintings were intended to hang in the rulers' official rooms. Those elegant sets of rooms were frequently used for important State and court ceremonious functions. In the Warsaw view the reference to the traditional iconographic approach was quite clear. In this case Bellotto employed the same artistic means as when creating The Election of Stanislaus Augustus, placed on the opposite side of the Senatorial Antechamber, in which the archaic composition corresponded to older views of the elections, and the whole ideological meaning of the decorations in the chamber indicated the continuance of the rule and heritage of the royal predecessors²⁰. It seems that in the case of Munich the reference to the traditional iconography had some ideological background too. Maximilian III Joseph intended to maintain the policy of neutrality, aiming at finding a suitable place for Bavaria within the Empire and at carrying out reforms that could contribute to the welfare of the state and increase its



12) «A View of Munich from Gasteig Hill», a copperplate by Franz Xaver Jungwierth dated of 1766.

citizens' level of education²¹. By choosing the traditional approach to the image of the residential town, Maximilian III Joseph wanted to impress the visitors with the idea that he was continuing of the centuries-long rule of the Wittelsbach dynasty and the stability and inviolability of his electoral power. Such a representation of Munich became synonymous with good

management, the result of which was a wealthy, orderly and peaceful town²². I do not believe it possible that it was the painter himself who decided about the way of painting the town at the moment he became enchanted by the beauty of its panorama, seeing it for the first time in 1761 while approaching the town by a salt route from Salzburg.

Translation and english assistants: Maria Gordon-Smith, Ewa Partyka ¹ I was looking for a painting by Bellotto entitled *Pirna from the West Side with a View of the Dohn Gate*. The painting has been in a private collection of Stefan Dobrzański in Warsaw since 1944.

² The painting from the Residence in Munich, oil on canvas, size; 132 x 235 cm, the painting examined by me, 69 x 119 cm, compare: S. Kozakiewicz, *Bernardo Bellotto*, London 1972, Vol. II, item 290

³ Apart from the painting from the Residence in Munich, S. Kozakiewicz mentions *A View of Munich from Gasteig Hill* (another title *Munich from the Side of the Haidhausen Village*) in the collection of the National Gallery of Art in Washington (Samuel H.Kress Foundation), size: 69.5 x 119.7cm. He also mentions a later copy, compare: Kozakiewicz, *op. cit.*, items 291 and Z-516.

⁴ H. A. Fritzsche, *Bernardo Bellotto genannt Canaletto*, Burg b. M[agdeburg] 1936, pp. 68-70. Fritzsche wrote about the replicas reduced by 50% which he knew and which were the property of a private collector at the time when he was writing his monograph. At present two of them, i.e., *A View of Munich from Gasteig Hill* and *The Palace in Nymphenburg from the Side of the Park* can be found in the National Gallery in Washington, Samuel H. Kress Foundation.

⁵ Kozakiewicz, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 120-121, vol. III, pp. 228-234.

⁶ Bernardo Bellotto, Verona e le città europee, a catalogue of the exhibition in Museo di Castelvecchio in Verona, June 15 — September 16,1990, pp. 156-161. G. Barche writes that the two other paintings formerly had frames with cartouches covered with coats of arms.

⁷ According to S. J. Klingensmith, *The Utility of Splendor. Ceremony. Social Life, and Architecture at the Court of Bavaria, 1600-1800*, Chicago and London 1993, p. 49, the new decoration of the apartment based on the design of François de Cuvilliés was made around 1762, hence exactly at the time when Bellotto painted his works and left Munich.

⁸ Bernardo Bellotto. Verona e le città europee, op. cit., p. 156.

⁹ A. Rottermund, *The Warsaw Castle in the Enlightenment. The Monarch Residence, functions and contents*, Warsaw 1989, p. 120. Earlier, in the years 1769-71 Bellotto designed a similar interior in the Ujazdowski Castle in Warsaw, rebuilt by King Stanislas II Augustus Poniatowski.

¹⁰ D. de Grazia, E. Garberson with E. P. Bowron, P. M. Lukehart, M. Merling, *Italian Paintings of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, a catalogue of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, 1996, items 1961.9.63 (1615) and 1961.9.64 (1616), pp. 18-22.

¹¹ A version of *A View of Munich from Gasteig Hill* mentioned by Kozakiewicz, compare S. Kozakiewicz, *op. cit.*, vol. II. Item Z516, is an evident later copy with proportions changed in comparison to the first painting from the Residence in Munich and two replicas.

¹² Bowron even suggests that the drawing by F. X. Jungwierth was made basing on the painting from the Washington Gallery, not on the big painting from the Residence in Munich, compare D. de Grazia, as above, p. 22. The veduta of Munich was popularized in the second half of the 18th c. and in the 19th c. thanks to numerous graphic replicas, compare Bernardo Bellotto. Verona e le città europee, op. cit., pp. 159-161. An important contribution to the iconography of Munich are also: *Alt-München in Bild und Wort*, edited by O. Aufleger and K.Trautman, Munich 1897; *Alt-Münchner Bilderbuch*, Munich 1918; *Stadtbild München. Ansichten, Modelle und Plane aus funf Jahrhunderten* edited by V. Duvigneau, a catalogue of the collection in Münchner Stadtmuseum, Munich 1990; *Geschichte der Stadt München*, edited by R. Bauer, Munich 1992. I wish to express my gratitude to the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and to Mr Peter C. Seel, Ph. d. Director of the Goethe Institute in Warsaw for help in finding the necessary materials concerning the iconography of Munich.

¹³ The painting must have been cut out of its frames, then relined; a certain uncovered fragment of the old canvas was, however, left. In August 1998 there were carried out examinations of the painting's layers and underpaintings. Final conclusions resulting from the examinations are as follows: "Die folgenden Pigmente wurden identifiziert: Rot - Zinnober, Blau - Preussisch Weiss - Bleiweiss, Gelb - Neapelgelb, Grün - kein Grünpigment im Probenbereich; der Farbton (hellgrün) wurde durch Ausmischung von gelben und blauen Pigmenten erzielt. Der prinzipielle Aufbau der Grundierung ist folgender: Zwei, bis dreifacher Grundierungsauftrag in gelbem Farton unter hauptsächlicher Verwendung von Ocker. Der Befund entspricht sowohl bezüglich des Grundierungsaufbaus als auch in Hinblick auf die Pigmente der Malschichten den bisher untersuchten Gemälden von Canaletto gemalt." As regards the paintings by Antonio Canale. the authors referred to the articles of D. Bomford and A. Roy "Canaletto's Venice: The Feastday of S. Roch'", National Gallery Technical Bulletin, 6, 1982, pp. 40-43 and "Canaletto's 'Stonemason's Yard and San Simeone Piccolo", National Gallery Technical Bulletin. 14, 1993, pp. 35-41.

¹⁴ Sofie Johanna (born 1859), daughter of Leopold and Johanna Zdeborsky, in 1878 married Julius Anton Honsig von Jägerhain (1849-1924) and the painting remained with this family till the thirties of the 20th c.

¹⁵ S. Kozakiewicz, op. cit., v. l, p. 127.

¹⁶ Op. cit, v. I, pp. 58-62, compare with S. Kozakiewicz, "Twórczość Bernarda Bellotta w okresie drezdeńskim i warszawskim [w:] Drezno i Warszawa w twórczości Bernarda Bellotta Canaletto ("The oeuvre of Bernado Bellotto during Dresden and Warsaw periods" [in:] Dresden and Warsaw in the oeuvre of Bernardo Bellotto Canaletto), exhibition catalogue, The National Museum in Warsaw, September-November 1964, Warsaw 1964, pp. 30-31.

¹⁷ S. Kozakiewicz, Bernardo Bellotto, op. cit., v. I, pp. 131-143.

¹⁸ A View of Dresden From the Right Bank of the Elbe from the collections of Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in Dresden, which is often compared with the vedute of Munich and Warsaw, represents a different type of approach to a view of a large city. It bears a closer resemblance to the views of Italian towns painted by Bellotto in the 1740s. This approach consists in the presentation of a quite small part of a town and lacks of a characteristic panoramic view embracing the whole, widespread complex of city buildings, which are presented in outlines only. It would be easier to find resemblance to true vedute in the canvas entitled A View of Vienna from the Upper Belvedere, painted by Bellotto in the years 1759-60.

¹⁹ R. J. Wattenmaker, "Introduction" [in:] *The Dutch Cityscape in the 17th Century and its Sources*, exhibition catalogue, Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 1977, pp. 37-39, compare with L. de Vries, "Townscape", entry [in:] *The Dictionary of Art*, v. 31, pp. 246-249.

²⁰ A. Rottermund, op. cit., pp. 120-122.

²¹ Handbuch der bayerischen Geschichte, v. 2, "Das alter Bayern: Der Territorialstaat vom Ausgang des 12. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ausgang des 18.Jahrhunderts", edited by M. Spindler, Munich, 1966, pp. 1034-1043.

²² Bernardo Bellotto. Verona e le città europee, op. cit., pp. 159-160.