# Becker's Subscribers: Bernhard Petri and Other Embellishers of Hungary in the 1790s and the Following Decades

*Gábor Alföldy*

– In memoriam Géza Galavics[1] –

***Abstract*** *This paper examines the role Bernhard Petri (Zweibrücken 1767 – Theresienfeld 1853) played in the landscape embellishment in Central Europe around 1800. He and Wilhelm Gottlieb Becker (1753–1813) helped each other. Petri wrote and sent to Becker several writings in 1796–97 that came out in, and filled a remarkable part of, the volumes for the years 1797 and 1798 of the »Taschenbuch für Gartenfreunde«. These made Petri well-known among garden enthusiasts all over the German-reading community of Europe, including Hungary. (These publications made the sites reknown too.) Petri supported Becker by collecting subscribers for his book »Der Plauische Grund« among his Hungarian and Austrian clients and their respective circles. They all appear in the list of subscribers in Becker's book.*

*When Bernhard Petri appeared in Austria and Hungary in 1791 or 1792, he was a pioneer expert designer who had gained personal experience in England and the required knowledge about »the pure natural style«, and indeed he was the very first in Hungary to put this into practice. The descriptions of the gardens carried out by himself in Becker's pocket books showed his talents. This was Petri's main goal: as a refugee without permanent job it was crucial for him to promote himself; so he consciously used these publications for marketing, demonstrating his successful works and diverse knowledge in order to gain further commissions.*

*The article follows Petri's background and early career and sheds light on the personalities and commissions behind the names on the list of subscribers as well as family connections between them. It examines the landscape embellishment projects these people carried out, from smaller parks (e.g. the Viczay couple) up to large and complex estates (like the Princes Esterházy, Liechtenstein and Duke Grassalkovich).*

*The paper concludes with the varied embellishment work of Archduke Joseph von Habsburg, Palatine of Hungary, along with other landowners (like Antal Festetics at Dég), and examines the role of landscape designer and agriculturist Heinrich Nebbien, who spent a decade in Hungary between 1812 and 1822. Finally, it gives a short general overview on the characte-ristics of landscape embellishment in Hungary.*

## Introduction: The »Taschenbuch für Gartenfreunde« as a Link between Petri and Becker

Bernhard Petri (Zweibrücken 1767 – Theresienfeld 1853; Fig. 1) was always respected as one of the iconic figures in Hungarian garden history.[2] The fact that the name of this multitalented German garden designer, who spent only a few years in our country between 1793 and circa 1798, has been constantly preserved in the public consciousness is mainly due to Wilhelm Gottlieb Becker (1753–1813) and their relationship.

In 1794, as Becker relaunched Hirschfeld's annual series »Taschenbuch für Gartenfreunde« as its editor, in the foreword he published a call for contributions to the future volumes from gardening enthusiasts and professionals.[3] Being aware of the popularity of the late Hirschfeld's publications, and seeing Becker's success with the first volumes, Petri seized the opportunity and wrote and sent to Becker several writings in 1796–97, that came

out in the volumes for the years 1797 and 1798.

Indeed, Petri's writings filled a remarkable part of those volumes, making him well-known among garden enthusiasts all over the German-reading community of Europe, including Hungary. He contributed to the pocket-books with nine articles altogether. These consisted of the descriptions of four gardens in Hungary designed by him[4], a proposed but unrealised plan for a »Nationalgarten« in Vienna[5], a list of the native woody plants of Hungary[6], the results of his acclimatisation experiments in Karlsberg by Homburg (Germany) with a list of plants[7], the details of his method of acclimatizing exotic woody plants[8], and a report about an unknown fungus he found in an old water pipe in Austria.[9]

Tendencies and Influences around 1800: Publications and Reality

In the late 18th century the books of Hirschfeld and Becker, as well as Grohmann's »Ideenmagazin für Gartenliebhaber« found their way into the hands and libraries of many magnates in the Habsburg Empire (and the Hungarian Kingdom within it). Hungarian poet and garden enthusiast Ferenc Kazinczy (1759–1831) lamented in 1806:

> »[...] now everyone wants an English garden, and there is scarcely one among a hundred who knows what he does and what he must do, when he lets the straight paths of his father's garden curve into curves, even if he examines Hirschfeld and Grohman's Ideenmagazin day and night.«[10]


1 | Bernhard Petri's portrait. Pointillé engraving, Meno Haas, 1825 (published in: Johann Georg Krünitz: Oeconomische Encyclopädie, CXXXIX. Berlin 1825, frontispice (found and first re-published: Alföldy 2019, p. 15)).

2 | The obelisk in Vedrőd (today Voderady, Slovakia) from 1794. Today the marble tablet commemorating Bernhard Petri's work is missing (Photography: Gábor Alföldy, 2003).

Although there was a general desire and fashion throughout the Empire to get rid of the Baroque gardens in favour of an English one, neither Hirschfeld, nor Grohmann offered a clue about the spatial composition or the right method of creation.[11]

Some Hungarian aristocrats and intellectuals and even a few gardeners visited England and saw the great examples of the landscape garden, but there was hardly any useable treatise or a specialised expert available in this part of Europe who knew how to design and create such.[12] Then the continental closure around Europe during the Napoleonic Wars made the contacts, study tours and peregrination of continentals to Britain, and even the distribution of (e.g. Repton's) books impossible for many years.

The lack of proper experience (dilettantism) led to debates and a turn of style and attitude in garden design and landscape embellishment towards the end of the 18th century throughout the continent. Becker's book »Der Plauische Grund« (1799), Kazinczy's above quoted essay and Goethe's roman, »Wahlverwandschaften« (Elective Affinities, 1809), were reflections and stations of the process of this change that gradually led to the professionalisation of this field in the 19th century.

Bernhard Petri as Becker's Subscriber and Collaborator

When Bernhard Petri appeared in Vienna in 1793, he was one of the handful pioneer expert designers there who had gained a personal experience in England and the required knowledge about »the pure natural style«, and indeed he was the very first in Hungary to put this into practice. The descriptions of the gardens carried out by himself in Becker's pocket books showed his talents. This was Petri's main goal: as a refugee without permanent job it was crucial for him to promote himself; so he consciously used these publications for marketing, demonstrating his successful works and diverse knowledge in order to gain further commissions.

The most evident example of the collaboration between Petri and Becker can be observed in Petri's description of the garden at Vedrőd (today Voderady, Slovakia).[13] It was published as the first of his contributions in the pocket book for the year 1797. Although it was no doubt penned by the garden designer, it was signed as »B« at the end – which referred to Becker – but the table of contents does not indicate any author unlike most Petri's other writings in the pocket books. Petri must have requested this from Becker because in this description he praises (himself as) the artist who not only designed but also realised this park, while his grateful client, Count Ferenc Zichy (1749–1812), had an inscription engraved on the obelisk (Fig. 2) in Petri's honour in 1794 (a Latin motto taken from Hirschfeld's »Theorie der Gartenkunst«).[14]

At that point, Petri also included an advertisement in the form of a long footnote, signed as »A[nmerkung]. d[es]. H[erausgebers]« (this would mean Becker), praising Petri as a garden designer and botanist who was actually working for Prince Liechtenstein in Loosdorf, Austria »making the whole estate a sort of landscape painting, which is perhaps one of the greatest project[s] of this kind on the continent«. He emphasizes his availability mentioning that he is an »independent artist« and ensuring »even the most doubting readers« that this work »will in no way result in a reduction in production income«.[15] (A slogan that had been working well in Britain since »Capability« Brown's time.) This description with the advertisement appeared in the very volume of the pocket books in which Becker published an announcement in order to collect subscribers for his own forthcoming book »Der Plauische Grund«.[16]

In the next volume of the pocket books (for the year 1798), just after Becker's essay from his forthcoming book »Der Plauische Grund«, appears Petri's description of his plan of a »national garden« in Vienna, with a lengthy introduction by Becker praising Petri once again:

> »It is already known to the readers of the pocket books that Mr Petri is a keen and skilful garden artist. Convinced of the influence of beautiful garden art on people's minds, he took the decision – encouraged by some inducements – to draw up a plan for a national garden, adapted to a real and appropriate district near Vienna, and to present it to Emperor Leopold.«[17]

This was one side of the collaboration between Becker and Petri. The other can be traced from Becker's book »Der Plauische Grund«, which was finally published in 1799. Between the preface and the main text, Becker published the list of subscribers.[18] The list includes some magnates from Austria and Hungary. We are familiar with most of them from the pocket books, where Petri published the description of their garden or mentioned them in connection with his ongoing work.

The story behind the appearance of Petri's clients on the list can be traced back by a letter written by Becker to the publisher of his book in 1799, recently found by Anja Gottschalk.[19] This letter reveals the fact – which could only be assumed before – that Petri helped Becker collecting subscribers in Vienna and in the nearby Hungarian coronation city Pressburg (in Hungarian: Pozsony, today Bratislava, Slovakia) among his clients.[20] We do not know the date, but this most probably happened in 1796–97 when he was actually working on, or just revisited, their gardens in order to write descriptions for Becker's pocket books. The subscribers on the list collected by Petri are[21]:

> »Der Herr Fürst Johann von und zu Lichtenstein [sic], Herzog in Troppau und Jägerndorf, K. K. General-Major und Ritter des Maria-Theresien-Ordens in Wien.
> Die Frau Fürstin Leopoldine von Grassalkowitz geb. Fürstin von Esterhazy in Pressburg.
> Herr Graf Michael von Witzay, K. K. Kammerherr in Pressburg.
> Frau Gräfin Anna von Witzay, geb. Gräfin von Grassalkowitz in Pressburg.
> Frau Gräfin Katharina von Keglevicz, geb. Gräfin v. Zicchy in Pressburg.
> Baron von Braun, K. K. Hofbanquier in Wien.«

Petri himself appears towards the end of the list:
»Petri, bevollmächtiger Direktor der Fürstl. Johann von Lichtensteinischen Herrschaften.«

Petri's early life and works in Germany

Johann Georg Bernhard Petri, coming from a dynasty of German court gardeners, inherited his multiple talents and wide interest from his father, Ernst August Bernhard Petri (1744–1809).[22] August Petri was court gardener and chief economic adviser to Prince Carl II August of Pfalz (1746–1795), introduced modern agricultural methods and forestry innovations there, in addition to the design and heading the maintenance of the princely gardens.

After the loss of his wife in 1779, the education of his eldest son Bernhard, a talented 12-year-old, was sponsored and organised by the Prince, with the aim of becoming his future head of the economy, gardens and art. This would have meant that his post would have covered the whole princedom (and then Bavaria), including the role eventually (partly) filled by Friedrich Ludwig Sckell (1753–1823) – his elder third cousin.

At the age of 15, Bernhard was sent to Sckell for apprenticeship in Schwetzingen, where he studied botany, horticulture and garden design, just in those years when the new English Garden was created there. After his three-years apprenticeship, in the Spring of 1785, the Prince sent him to the British Isles to perfect and expand his knowledge.

The gardens he visited there were selected on the basis of Hirschfeld's »Theorie der

Gartenkunst«, the fifth volume of which was published just that year. The »situation plans« or »ideal plans« of well-known English parks and gardens he sent home to the Prince, although most of them not realistic, bear witness to his first experiences and ideas on different types of landscape gardens he became acquainted with on the British Isles.[23]

Petri, on recommendation of the Duke Georg August of Mecklenburg, Queen Charlotte's brother, was introduced to the Queen at Windsor, with whose permission he was allowed to visit all the royal estates, gardens, mansions and farms, but during his three-years stay he also gained a wide range of experience and knowledge in the field of economy, agriculture and especially sheep breeding.[24] He also spent another year travelling around the continent, visiting the most modern agricultural estates, parks and other establishments.

On his return to Zweibrücken, he worked primarily on the shaping of the park of the Karlsberg residence by Homburg but also consulted his Prince on artistic and economic matters. Created from a native forest and embellished with various edifices, this very first nevertheless large-scale project around Karlsberg may be sorted as landscape embellishment.[25] It was quite different from most of the »English« gardens in Germany of the time yet also diverged from the majority of parks on the British Isles. Both Prince Carl II August and Petri aimed to create a modern and unparalleled park.

Petri in the Habsburg Empire

According to an announcement in the Wiener Zeitung of 3 March 1792, Petri had already appeared and worked in the Austrian Empire as a garden designer, but, according to his autobiography, was back in Karlsberg in February 1793, when he, along with his Prince and the whole court, had to flee the attack by the French army that invaded and soon destroyed the residence:

> »Petri took his path to the blessed imperial and royal states, where he could hope to find early recognition either as an economist or as an artist. He had received letters of recommendation to Field Marshal Lacy, Baron Spielmann and State Councillor Lederer through a friend, and he quickly became known through these to other Austrian and Hungarian wealthy landowners, mainly in the field of artistic taste.«[26]

Petri's Early Commissioners: Count and Countess Viczay

His first client after his return to Vienna was a Hungarian aristocrat, Count Mihály Viczay Jr. (1757–1831) – a name from Becker's list of subscribers, together with his wife –, a prominent figure among the illuminati Freemasons of Vienna. In the Spring of 1793, Viczay commissioned Petri to transform his garden at Hédervár[27] into a »English natural garden« (Fig. 3).[28] English traveller Robert Townson had just mingled there in May of that year, and wrote of Viczay and Petri:

> »I was much pleased to find the Count an admirer of the good taste of my country. He was laying out his grounds in the English style for which they were very well adapted and had called in the advice of a German who had resided a good while in England with a view to learn the art of adjusting the scattered careless beauties of rural scenery.«[29]

This note is so similar to Becker's (Petri's) already cited words in the »Taschenbuch« for 1797 about embellishing Prince Liechtenstein's Loosdorf estate, which was »supposed to consist of many scenes of a certain character that follow one another purposefully and make up a beautiful whole«.[30] Both examples echo the essence of Becker's book »Der Plauische

3 | Hédervár Park, seen from the house. Gouache by unknown artist, circa 1815 (from Gábor Alföldy's collection).

Grund«. Indeed, Petri's garden descriptions influenced the readers' perception and appreciation not only of the English (landscape) garden but sensitised them towards the appreciation of the picturesque beauty of rural and natural sceneries as well.[31]

Three years later, in 1796, Petri revisited Hédervár and another park in the neighbouring Ráró (today Ásványráró), which was created by him for Count Antal Sándor (1734–1801) in 1794 for Viczay's brother-in-law, in order to compose descriptions for Becker's pocket book.[32] Perhaps he used this opportunity to convince the count to subscribe for »Der Plauische Grund«. (Both Count and the Countess Viczay are on the list of subscribers.)

The Economic Aspect in Petri's Garden Descriptions

In his descriptions Petri did not only focus on the garden but also wrote about the landscape as a whole, in which the gallery forests of the Danube floodplain merge into a grand composition with the Robinia groves pioneered in this land and the fields and pastures. Petri's father, who initiated the planting of Robinia woodlands in Pfalz on a grand scale (even wrote a book on Robinia, Larch and American Plane)[33], was also an early promoter of the cultivation of clover[34], an essential plant for intensive livestock farming and also for crop rotation. In Hédervár, clover was cultivated as a lawn in front of the castle (in order to be harvested for the farm looked after by the countess), and it was surrounded by clumps of Robinias.

Petri's description emphasized the economic benefits of the plants that embellish the landscapes. Three years after the garden was planted, he noted how much the Robinias he had planted near the residence had grown and how much profit they had made in this way.[35] A very similar motif appears later, for example, in the guidebook to Schwetzingen written by garden director Johann Michael Zeyher (1770–1843; Sckell's successor there) where he praises elm tree (*Ulmus sativa* du Roi = *Ulmus minor* Mill.) and larch (*Larix decidua* Mill.), in comparison with *Robinia pseudoacacia* L., giving data on its superior productivity in his description of otherwise picturesque details.[36] Their attitude is clearly a common thread, and speaks of the importance of the »Waldbotanik«, to which Sckell created the Arborium Theodoricum in Schwetzingen.

Petri's and Zeyher's attitude rooted in a deep economic interest. Petri closes his article about acclimatisation of exotic woody plants with these words: »Many useful foreign species of wood can be made indigenous to us, for which our descendants may remember

us very gratefully.«[37] One of the main aims of the acclimatization of exotic trees was to supply the European Continent, then poor in timber, with new, fast-growing tree species with which the general shortage of fuel wood and building timber could be solved.

In his garden descriptions, Petri always emphasized the unity of the garden and the wider landscape, the whole estate that he involved in his compositions through vistas and, where it was possible, extended his embellishing work as well as introducing modern agricultural systems beyond the boundaries of the garden. Grazing animals were not only picturesque staffage figures but also pillars and symbols of rational agriculture.

**Other Subscribers of Becker's »Der Plauische Grund« in the Habsburg Empire and their connections to Petri**

Until recently, only those works were attributed to Petri in Hungary which he described in the pocket books.[38] Some other commissions came to light through research some years ago.[39] It is instructive to compare those works with the other names from Austria and Hungary on the list of subscribers to Becker's »Der Plauische Grund« from the aspect of Petri's oeuvre and in the context of landscape embellishment in the Habsburg Monarchy.

Countess Károly Keglevich née Zichy

Among the subscribers we find Countess Károly Keglevich, born Countess Katalin (Katharina) Zichy (1752–1809). She was a close relative of Count Ferenc Zichy, Petri's commissioner at Vedrőd (Voderady). Petri set up his own Spanish merino sheepfold on her son's Count János (Johann) Keglevich's property, Felsőjásztelek-puszta[40], where he built one of the first sheep-washing equipments on the continent and introduced the crop rotation.[41] The fact that Keglevich and Petri later knew each other well, raises the assumption that Petri probably contributed to the design of Károly Keglevich's famous park in Kistapolcsány (today Topolčanky, Slovakia). The most curious building in that park was the gardener's lodge that formed a mock ruin, such as at Vedrőd. Gábor Keglevich's wife was the granddaughter of Antal Sándor, Petri's commissioner in Ráró (today Ásványráró).

Baron Peter von Braun

According to Becker's letter, seven copies of »Der Plauische Grund« were to be sent to Baron von Braun in Vienna, and »Mr. Petri may receive them there«.[42] Peter Andreas Gottlieb von Braun (1758–1819; raised to the rank of baron in 1795) was a leading freemason in Vienna and a confidant of Emperor Frances. Petri mentions him in his autobiography among his clients for whom he worked in the 1790s.[43] For Braun Petri created a landscape garden in Schönau bei Triesting in Lower Austria, near the Hungarian border.[44] Braun acquired the estate in 1796, and the park, including the famous grotto and Temple of the Night, designed by Imperial Court Architect Ferdinand Hetzendorf von Hohenberg (1733–1816), was created soon afterwards.[45] Situated in the vicinity of Baden near Vienna, it became an extremely popular tourist destination for its time. Becker's letter indicates a confidential and still active relationship between Petri and Braun in 1799. This famous estate was later on bought by Prince Johann Liechtenstein and by his brother-in-law: Leopoldine Esterházy's husband, Duke Antal II. Grassalkovich.

Prince Johann I. Joseph von und zu Liechtenstein

The most renowned personality among the subscribers collected by Petri was Prince Johann von Liechtenstein (1760–1836), who played an important role not only in the history of Europe as a warlord in the wars against France but also as the co-creator of the

enormous designed landscape in Eisgrub-Feldsberg in Moravia (today World Heritage Site as Lednice-Valtice Cultural Landscape, Czech Republic).

It is generally known that he employed Petri between 1805 and 1808, after he became ruling prince. But a much earlier commission is mentioned by Becker/Petri in 1796 in the already quoted (self-)praising footnote in the pocket book for 1797 about his work at Loosdorf »that is perhaps one of the greatest project of this kind on the continent«.[46] Indeed, this was only the first of many – soon followed by Hagendorf and the environment of Burg Laa – private estates of Johann I Liechtenstein, younger brother of the then ruling Prince Alois (1759–1805).

Prince Johann apparently started his first major embellishment project around 1796.[47] Around 1798 Petri became – as we see him on the list of subscribers – »bevollmächtiger Direktor der Fürstl. Johann von Lichtensteinischen Herrschaften«. Again, the list was a place for self-promotion, as this important role was still not a permanent job. He wrote about this in his autobiography:

> »He received a very flattering letter of invitation from His Serene Highness Prince Johann Liechtenstein, in which this amiable prince asked him to enter his service in very pleasant circumstances, against contract, as authorised director of the estates of Loosdorf, Hagendorf and Burg-Laa, which he accepted with all the greater willingness because he had already had the good fortune to know this prince, who was just as amiable as he was very excellent in war, very well personally and from his many letters. Petri organised the princely estates with unlimited authority, based on his own principles.«[48]

Petri was fortunate with the prince: in 1803, as a result of an agreement between them, Petri purchased complete Merino flocks in, and smuggled them from, Spain and brought them throughout the continent for the prince and for himself. This was the utmost business in Petri's life that changed not only his lifestyle and personal career but had a strong impact on the prince's economy, sheep breeding in Europe up to Prussia and even on the science of genetics. During Napoleonic Wars (because of the blockade around the continent) Merino wool could be sold for a highest-ever price, so the prince, with his fast-rising military rank, had the opportunity to sell wool and other products of his estates for the army at the best prices and under the most favourable conditions. The prince was just as fortunate with Petri since the German expert was just the person who knew – learnt in England from Robert Bakewell (1725–1795) – best how to breed sheep to preserve the original qualities of these highly valuable animals for future generations.[49]

When Alois von und zu Liechtenstein died in 1805, Johann became the ruling prince. Petri's activity of landscape embellishment as well as economic estate improvement was extended to the whole majorate including other estates in Austria, Moravia and Bohemia.[50] Although Prince Alois was an avid builder, Johann, after inheriting the whole princely »empire«, shifted to an even higher gear in the immense dimensions and number of landscape embellishment.[51]

At Eisgrub (Lednice) enormous efforts were taken to create the grand lake between the mansion and the Turkish Tower and many other edifices were erected within this vast composition, also well beyond the frames of the real park: the whole landscape including Feldsberg (Valtice) and Lundenburg (today Břeclav, Moravia) became a huge designed landscape with many remarkable edifices, monuments and grandiose lakes and plantings.[52] The ambitions of the prince and Petri coincided and reinforced each other: it was to create an artificial landscape that surpasses everything. And beyond Eisgrub-Feldsberg, all the other estates were also re-designed:

> »At the same time, between His Serene Highness and him [i.e. Petri], the construction of several large new castles, temples, aqueducts, ruins, obelisks, bathhouses, natural gardens, parks, etc. was agreed upon in the dominions of Feldsberg, Hadersfeld, Lichtenthal and Liechtenstein in Austria, Eisgrub, Lundenburg, Ravensburg, Adamsthal and Neuschloß in Moravia and finally Collodieg in Bohemia. All this was completed in a few years under Petri's supreme direction, and indeed with such individual effort on his part in all branches that no rent office was allowed to make a payment relating to it without his approval.«[53]

The prince spent huge sums of money (e.g. two million florints just for the construction of the lake and its surroundings at Eisgrub/Lednice), but at the same time, following physiocratic principles and modern agricultural methods, Petri reformed the production system on all the princely estates, introducing crop rotation, merino sheep breeding and exotic tree afforestation, thus making the princely estates productive and prosperous for a long time.[54] In 1807 Prince Johann even bought a new estate around Mödling and Maria-Enzersdorf that included the ancestral castle Liechtentein. Petri re-shaped the appearance of the barren rocky landscape by heroic forestation efforts with Pinus nigra and by erecting many new eye-catchers.

All these immense landscape-embellishment projects substantially differ from the ethos and ideas Becker emphasizes in his book »Der Plauische Grund«. They aimed for and successfully resulted in a radical, and in many sense heroic, transformation of those estates. It was only the prince's Hadersfeld estate West from Vienna and Adamsthal (today Adamov) in Moravia which were embellished without changing the character of the entire landscape substantially. These were woody, already picturesque landscapes, where it was only necessary to add a few new built elements (lookouts that also served as eye-catchers) and to create pleasant paths and coach ways leading up from the valley and connecting them in order to offer visitors the opportunity to enjoy and explore the existing natural beauty.

The prince had a special vision: his estates had to evoke his self-representation and his personal political power as well as the »ancientness« of his family. The horizon was ruled everywhere by newly re-acquired old family castle ruins (such as Burg Liechtenstein in Maria Enzersdorf near Vienna) or newly bought ones (like Burg Greifenstein near Hadersfeld) or newly erected mock ruins (Hansenburg in Loosdorf, Hanselburg at Lednice, the Black Tower at Maria Enzersdorf etc.), and glorious features like the triumphal arches (the Rendezvous at Lednice), obelisks or temples (like the obelisk at Hadersfeld and at Feldsberg/Valtice commemorating the Peace of Campo Formio, the Hussarentempel by Mödling etc.).[56]

It was first of all the re-arrangement of the economy and a changed, naturalistic and picturesque style of landscape design on a grand scale that was Petri's contribution to – and made realistic – this idea. The character of the development depended on the scale and state of the place (from the town gardens like the garden of Rossau Palace in Vienna to bigger parks like the one at Kolodĕje near Prague up to complete estates where large-scale landscape embellishment was possible and, from the agricultural point of view, necessary).

All these exhausted Petri's physical powers so that he had to resign from the prince's service in 1808.[57] When he left the service of Prince Liechtenstein, he settled down in Theresienfeld (Lower Austria), where he became a famous Merino sheep-breeder[58], and was nicknamed »der Schaf-Petri« – »the sheep-Petri« – in his native land.

Despite his resignation and his occupation with his own independent farm, Petri remained in close contact with Prince Johann. It is probable that the title of »Economic Adviser to His Serene Highness the Reigning Prince of Lichtenstein«, which he used as late

as 1827, was not only an honorary title bestowed by Prince Johann, but that he also made use of Petri's services from time to time.[59] It could also mean that he was involved in the Prince's later huge landscape reconstruction projects.

Duchess Antal Grassalkovich née Princess Marie Leopoldine Esterházy and his brother, Prince Nikolaus Esterházy II

We also find Princess Marie Leopoldine Esterházy (1776–1864) on Becker's list of subscribers. This lady, of strong and nice character and talents, was the sister of famous art and book collector Prince Nikolaus Esterházy II (1765–1833) and the sister-in-law of Marie Josepha Hermenegilde von Liechtenstein (1768–1845), as well as of the Princes Alois and Johann von Liechtenstein. She married Duke Antal Grassalkovich II (1771–1841)[60], and through him she was also Count and Countess Viczay's sister-in-law.

Although Prince Nikolaus Esterházy himself did not subscribe to Becker's book »Der Plauische Grund«, he was an important landscape embellisher and a family link between the Princes of Liechtenstein and the Dukes of Grassalkovich. His beloved sister, Marie Leopoldine with her husband, Duke Grassalkovich were ordinary guests at the Prince's main residence at Kismarton (Eisenstadt, today Austria). The Prince ambitioned to create the most remarkable garden of the Empire (Fig. 4).[61] He lured the architect Charles Moreau (1758–1840) from Paris in 1803[62], who, as a garden designer, was influenced by his master and friend, the painter and garden creator Hubert Robert (1733–1808), and this influence reflects in his picturesque garden compositions, especially at Eisenstadt. At Kismarton/Eisenstadt, the »Leopoldinentempel« (named after the daughter of the prince of the same name, 1788–1846), standing opposite the garden front of the castle on a high artificial cliff recalling the Vesta Tempel in Tivoli with the dramatic waterfall falling loudly below to a

4 | Kismarton/Eisenstadt, the landscape garden with the Leopoldinentempel in the middle and the Marientempel in the distant landscape. Oil painting, Albert Christoph Dies, 1807 (Esterházy Privatstiftung, Eisenstadt, inv. no. B 95).

5 | Gödöllő, the embellished landscape with the mansion in the background. Watercolour, Thomas Ender, 1824–25 (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, Graphic Collection, inv. no. K.2002.1).

lake, motifs used by Robert in Méréville. This peripteros, housing the young princess's Carrara marble sitting statue by Antonio Canova (1757–1822), became the central feature of the landscape garden around the palace.

But the embellishment of the landscape stretched well beyond the boundaries of the park. Another temple or gloriet, the so-called »Marientempel« (named after Princess Marie Hermenegilde von Liechtenstein), was built in the distance, on the edge of the nearest plateau of the Leitha hills near Kishőflány/Kleinhöflein, which had been planted with Pinus nigra (»Föhrenwaldl«).[63] The beauty of the endless Fertő-Neusiedl landscape around the residence, then the Western edge of Hungary (today a World Heritage Site shared between Austria and Hungary), most of which then was Prince Esterházy's property, could be fully enjoyed from there.

The embellishment of the estate, including many other elements, was started already in 1802, but the grand-scale works done by his brother-in-law Prince Alois von Liechtenstein in Eisgrub (Lednice) strongly influenced Prince Nikolaus during his visit in 1804.[64] His embellishment projects in the Leitha Mountains went almost in parallel with the one undertaken by Johann von Liechtenstein and Bernhard Petri, who were struggling with enormous efforts in the barren hills of the Wiener Wald around Mödling (»Föhrenberge«) in the following years.[65] The gloriet was made accessible by cosy pathways and a coach promenade (Ulmenallée) leading up from the palace through the forest.

Leopoldine Esterházy not only came close to landscape embellishment through her brother and brothers-in-law but also created significant works of art herself, together with her husband, probably after 1817, when they moved from Vienna and Pozsony/Pressburg (today Bratislava) to Gödöllő. The main residence of the Grassalkovichs was in Gödöllő, near Budapest. The Baroque garden was turned into a landscape park that consisted of the Upper and the Lower Park, but the latter merged into the open landscape where large areas

6 | Landscape with the farm house of Babat (the so-called the »Stable Mansion«) belonging to the Gödöllő Palace. Watercolour, Thomas Ender, 1824–25 (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, Graphic Collection, inv. no. K.2002.3).

of the estate including meadows, fields, forests and paddocks formed a grandiose composition. The large-scale landscaping of the Gödöllő estate, a masterpiece by an unknown designer, was achieved with extremely simple means, by integrating existing natural and rural beauty as well as built elements. The clumps and patches of woodland followed each other like »coulisses«, as this effect can be studied on contemporary watercolours (e.g. Fig. 5 and 6) by Thomas Ender (1793–1875).

The so-called »Stable Palace« at nearby Babat, a neoclassical farmstead (Fig. 6), was built for merino sheep and then for cows, (also used for healing purposes). Although it is generally thought to have been built around 1750, this U-shaped building is not indicated on the map of the First Military Survey of 1783, so we can assume that it is a later creation, which fits better into the range of those formed by Leopoldina's brother Prince Nikolaus Esterházy II in Eisenstadt (designed by Charles Moreau)[66] and those of her brother-in-law at Lundenburg (Břeclav) near Lednice (the so-called Neuhof Nový Dvůr, designed by Joseph Hartmuth in 1809–10 and Moreau's pupil Franz Engel in 1819–20).[67] It had a perfectly picturesque setting: hidden between the wooded hills at the far end of the estate, it was embellished with just a few clumps of trees.

## Further Embellishment Projects by Petri and his Followers in Hungary

### Petri's Works for the Imperial-Royal Family

Berhard Petri's unfulfilled ambition was to work for Emperor Francis (King of Hungary), a fan of botany and gardens. This was why he drew up a plan for a »Nationalgarten« in Vienna in May 1794, the description of which he presented to the ruler and published in Becker's »Taschenbuch« for 1798.[68] It was his own initiative to turn the floodplain forest by the Augarten in Brigittenau into a national public park that would have included a statue of

Joseph II, a »Temple of the Homeland«, a »Temple of Peace« and another statue standing on a colossal column. On the »Isle of Elysium« he imagined a temple with the worthies of the Empire with »busts of the most excellent men who served their country«. All these echoed Hirschfeld's ideas and Stowe's similar edifices. According to Petri, the emperor was pleased with the plan but wars against the French – and let us add: political events and, perhaps, court intrigues – prevented the implementation. Petri did not get a court post or commission, although his attempt can also be traced from his gift of 40,000 seedlings of Robinia as a contribution to the landscape garden under construction at Laxenburg in 1800.[69] However, some elements of his concept were clearly echoed a few years later in the political programme of the Rittergau in Laxenburg.

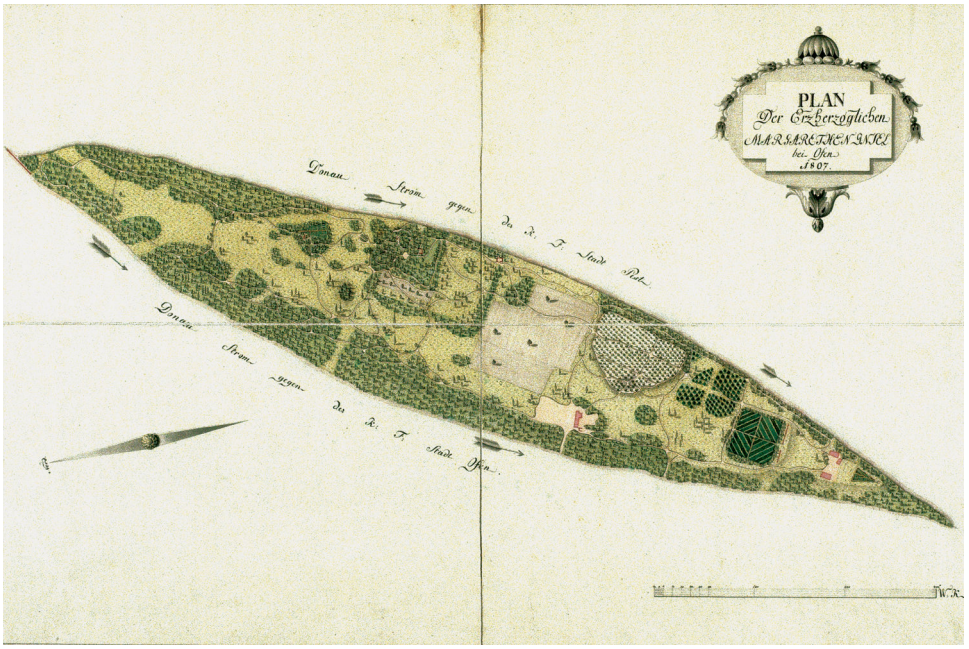
7 | Posthumous potrait of Archduke Joseph, Palatine of Hungary with his mansion, park and embellished estate of Alcsút in the background. Oil on canvas, Miklós Barabás, 1847 (Museum of Fine Arts/Hungarian National Gallery, Collection of Paintings, inv. no. 2022.9T).

Petri was amply compensated for this with the work done for Prince Johann von Liechtenstein, but also got commissions from younger brothers of the emperor who served as Viceroys and Palatines of Hungary. He was probably first commissioned by Archduke Alexander Leopold (1772–1795), who started the landscaping of the slopes of the Castle Hill around Buda Royal Palace (the palatine's residence) in 1793–94 and of Margaret Island between Buda and Pest as early as 1792, both most likely realized according to Petri's plans. After his early death, his younger brother, Archduke Joseph (1776–1847; Fig. 7) became his successor in these positions that he held for more than 50 years.[70] Like his brothers, he grew up in the Palazzo Pitti and Boboli Gardens in Florence, where the archducal children had their own gardens, and like Francis, he was fond of botany, gardens and the ideal landscapes he had seen in Tuscany.

Palatine Joseph commissioned Petri around 1798 in order to continue the transformation of Margaret Island into a »People's Park« (Fig. 8). While working on this plan, Petri received the tempting comission from Prince Johann von Liechtenstein and gave up this work. But the Palatine continued to embellish the island as a useful and beautiful creation, a »ferme ornée«. In the central strip vineyards, pastures and arable fields stretched along, while the edges were covered with natural floodplain gallery forests and were »naturally« embellished with existing medieval monastery ruins (Fig. 9).[71]

The Embellishment of the City of Pest & the Upcoming of Christian Heinrich Nebbien

More than a century after the Turkish occupation a major part of Hungary was still bare, even quicksand covered large areas.[72] The Hungarian Parliament passed a law in 1807 to bind quicksand by reforestation. Palatine Joseph was keen to create and save parks and gardens in Pest and Buda, and to fix quicksand and other barren areas throughout the country. Indeed,




8 | Plan of Margaret Island between Buda and Pest from 1807 (dated approximately a decade later than Petri's unknown plan of a Volksgarten). Ink and watercolour on paper, unknown designer (Austrian National Library [ÖNB], Map Collection, inv. no. FKB C.85-a/12).

9 | Detail of Margaret Island with arable fields and the Palatine's villa attached to a mediaeval ruin. Watercolour on paper, Károly (Karl) Klette, 1824 (Hungarian National Museum, National Picture Gallery, inv. no. T.9300).

an important reason behind the establishment of the City Park and Orczy Gardens (designed by Petri) in Pest was to stabilize the quicksand which caused severe problems in the city. Palatine Joseph initiated the formation of a Committee for the Embellishment of the City of Pest (»Verschönerungscommission«) which resulted in the development of the city in the neoclassical style.[73] He was the driving force behind the creation of the Városliget (Stadtwäldchen/City Park) in Pest: it was his idea to establish a publicly funded public park (the first in the world). In 1813, the Embellishment Committee announced an open competition for the design, for which even the young Peter Joseph Lenné (1789–1866) submitted a plan, but it was not he but another German garden designer and economist, Christian Heinrich Nebbien (1778–1841), who won the tender in 1816 (Fig. 10).

Nebbien, who lived in Hungary for more than a decade, designed the City Park essentially as an economically independent estate, providing an ideal rural landscape and place for recreation for the inhabitants of the treeless city (Fig. 11). The income was calculated by Nebbien even in regards to the regulated felling of the clumps and forest patches. This landscape would have been the site of national monuments, paths and carriage drives, an amphitheatre and a restaurant as well. But the park was to be maintained by the income from vineyards, arable land, pastures, a fish pond and a farmstead (»Meierei« or »Schweitzerei«) on the lake island. In his entry, which Nebbien dedicated to the Palatine, he called him »Embellisher of Hungaria« (in this English-Latin form).[74]

Model estates: Alsókorompa, Alcsút and Dég

The beginning of the 19th century was the epoch of the establishment of model estates in Hungary.[75] The increasing income during the period of Napoleonic Wars in selling agricultural products and wool to the army gave an impetus to the introduction of new, rational agricultural methods that were, in many cases, combined with landscape embellishment and improvement. Between 1812 and 1815 Nebbien worked for Joseph Brunszvik (1750–1827) at Alsókorompa (now Dolná Krupá, Slovakia), near Vedrőd (Voderady), where the German landscape gardener embellished the garden and, in an integral connection, the estate, in a style similar to Brown's and in a spirit similar to Petri's. Fields, vineyards and pastures became part of the composition (Fig. 12).[76] The head gardener here was Anton van Wynder (1747 – after 1816), also a refugee, Petri's one-time immediate colleague at the Karlsberg Residence near Homburg, who had already worked here before 1800. (In that year trees for the garden were brought from the nursery at Vedrőd).[77]

This trend, which resulted in elegant neoclassical country houses, parks and model farms, new fishing lakes and avenues, prompted Palatine Joseph to buy an estate himself. This is how he found Alcsút (Fig. 7), not far from Buda, in 1819. This estate was then a completely barren landscape that had been used only for extensive livestock farming. The Palatine, with his personal expertise and experience, and probably with the advice of Nebbien or perhaps Petri, started to embellish and improve it. A contemporary description of the park reveals the »rigid« economic calculations behind the beauties, similar to those that Nebbien produced for his entry for the tender of the Városliget in Pest. In Alcsút-Máriavölgy (Marienthal) we find a neoclassical model farm (the so-called »cow palace«) and many other improvements that could be found at other model estates.[78]

Nebbien left Hungary in the early 1820s and followed his career in Prussia.[79] There he wrote a book on landscape embellishment and improvement, showing examples from his later works.[80]

A renowned Hungarian agricultural journalist of the time, József Bartosságh (1782–1843), named another person besides the Palatine, who, through his merits in economic development and landscape embellishment, »shines like a dioscuros in the sky of

10 | Ensemble of farm buildings (Meierei) on the island of the lake in the Városliget/City Park of Pest, from Nebbien's entry for the design competition (published in: Nebbien, Heinrich: Ungarns Folks-Garten der Koeniglichen Frey-Stadt Pesth (1816). Manuscript, Budapest History Museum Kiscell Museum, Plan Collection, inv. no. 66.165).

11 | »Parthie im Stadtwäldchen in Pesth« with the Buda Royal Palace in the background. Lithography, Xaver Sandmann after Rudolf Alt, around 1843 (published in: Buda-Pest. Előadva 32 eredeti rajzolatban Alt Rudolf által/ Pesth und Ofen. Illustrirt in 32 Originalzeichnungen von Rudolf Alt, Pest 1843, p. 55, from Gábor Alföldy's collection).

the development of the Hungarian economy«.[81] This was Antal Festetics (1764–1853), a leading Freemason and a skilled botanist, who worked in the Palatine's office. Festetics was married to the niece of Baron Orczy, for whom Petri designed the Orczy Garden in Pest, also described in Becker's »Taschenbuch«.[82] On the one hand, he established a landscape garden of similar size in the neighbourhood of the Orczy Garden (perhaps designed by Petri), but also embarked on a much larger project: he created a flourishing farm and the largest landscape park in the country on his estate in Dég (Fig. 13), with Bernhard Petri's contribution, on a completely bare area.[83] The park, 300 hectares in extent, encompasses an entire valley, with a 2-km-long serpentine lake stretching along it. The neoclassical mansion


12 | Plan of Alsókorompa showing the embellishment work of Heinrich Nebbien. Ink and watercolour on paper, Eugen Jeroszlawsky, 1822 (Slovak National Museum, Music Museum Dolná Krupá).

overlooks the water at one end of the lake and there is an island at the other widening end with the family cemetery – »the island of the dead«. A carefully constructed system of clearings between clumps of trees and patches of woodland make the whole a grand composition. The large-scale park evoked an idyllic Arcadian landscape that produced profit in many ways.[84] The rest of the vast estate was handled purely as an industrialized agricultural landscape, which is today the most fertile in our country.

## Conclusion

While beautiful landscape parks were built all around, park-like embellishment of entire estates or landscapes as an aesthetic unity was rare in Hungary. It was more common (especially on flat terrain) that for the sake of easier transport, the estates were interlaced

13 | Dég. The park of 300-hectares from the air after the restoration of the 2-km-long serpentine lake in 2015 (Photography: Balázs Jászai, CIVERTAN, Budapest, 2015).

with straight roads, but – as in the case of Dég or Doba[85] – they often made use of existing characteristic landmarks of the landscape: mansions, churches, castle ruins as eye-catchers. Nevertheless, the developments and landscape embellishment efforts of Palatine Joseph and Antal Festetics prompted a contemporary journalist to formulate the following utopian idea:

> »The luxuries of the rich, which the high mind directs to sciences, institutes, books, art collections, are beyond their sphere; they do well, therefore, to apply the surplus of their income to the real end by embellishing their estates to the charity and delight of their fellow-citizens, for the honour of the country, and for the benefit and piety of the lower classes. Is it not the highest ideal of land and state economy to transform the whole empire into one coherent, though varied, garden?«[86]

Towards the end of the 19th century, the afforestation of the rocky hills around Vienna by Prince Liechtenstein and Bernhard Petri found followers in Budapest: the bare hills of Buda were also forested with Pinus nigra, were netted with footpaths and coachways that led to lookouts, some of which formed ruins or medieval castle towers. Two centuries ago, and still a century later, it seemed to be realistic to combine beauty with utility in order for a better and more beautiful world. We have since learned that this is utopia. Nevertheless, we enjoy and benefit from the one-time pioneering efforts, but such experiments as the introduction of exotic plants and the maximization of the income of the land resulted in a fundamental change in the vegetation and the landscape across the continent. Whether we appreciate the results aesthetically or condemn them ecologically, they have become our common European heritage, either to save or to fight with. The minimalist approach and openness to nature in every aspect, which Becker represented with his book »Der Plauische Grund«, is still worth considering today.

1 Géza Galavics (1940–2023), art historian, one of the most important researchers in Hungarian garden history. In his book Landscape Gardens in Hungary (Galavics 1999) he dealt with Bernhard Petri's works in Hungary in detail. He was my former dissertation superviser, a mentor and good fatherly friend, who passed away in Budapest just a week before the Dresden conference. The research for this paper was made possible by OTKA FK 139241 Grant Scheme housed at the Hungarian Research Network, Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute of Art History, Budapest.

2 I have been researching Bernhard Petri's life and oeuvre since 2009. The most comprehensive biography, including lots of data from Petri's autobiography etc.: Alföldy, Gábor: Újabb adatok a dégi Festetics-kastélyegyüttes építéstörténetéhez II.: Bernhard Petri és a dégi park [New Data about the History of Festetics House and Its Park at Dég II. Bernhard Petri and Dég Park], in: Ars Hungarica 45 (2019), pp. 5–56. [Summary in English: pp. 54–56.] http://epa.niif.hu/01600/01615/00019/pdf/EPA01615_ars_hungarica_2019-01_005-056.pdf. A part of it has been published in Czech: Alföldy, Gábor: Bernhard Petri, in: Krejčiřík, Přemysl (ed.) / Lyčka, Daniel / Křesadlová, Lenka / Golec, Martin / Alföldy, Gábor: Krajinářské kompozice v období Josepha Hardtmutha [Landscape Compositions in the period of Joseph Hardmuth], Praha 2022, pp. 23–44. Based on my ongoing research, I plan to publish a much more detailed and complex biography of Bernhard Petri in English and/or German in the near future, with lots of additional data.

3 »Ich ersuche hiermit zugleich alle Gartenfreunde und Gärtner, mich mit ihren Belehrungen und Beiträgen zu beehren, […] dieses Taschenbuch […] bei gütiger Theilnehmung und Unterstützung, künftig noch interessanter zu machen.« (I hereby request at the same time all garden friends and gardeners to honour me with their teachings and contributions, [...] to make this pocket book [...] with kind participation and support, even more interesting in the future.) Vorbericht (Preview) in Becker 1795, not paginated. Becker dated the foreword in August 1794. The pocket books – as traditionally many publications of the time in that city – were published for the Leipzig Book Fair held in every early October. Therefore, the year of publication of the pocket books always preceded the year indicated in the title.

4 B[ecker] [Petri, Bernhard]: Beschreibung des Naturgartens zu Vedrőd in Ungarn, in: Becker, Wilhelm Gottlieb (ed.): Taschenbuch für Garten Freunde 1797, Leipzig 1796, pp. 135–155; Petri, Bernhard: Der Naturgarten des Herrn Baron Ladislaus von Ortzy bei Pest, so wie er von Unterzeichnetem entworfen und ausgeführt worden ist, ibid., pp. 156–173; Petri, Bernhard: Beschreibung des Naturgartens des Herrn Grafen von Wizay in Hedervar auf der Insel Schütt in Ungarn, so wie unter der Leitung des Unterzeichneten angelegt worden, in: Becker, Wilhelm Gottlieb (ed.): Almanach und Taschenbuch für Garten Freunde 1798, Leipzig 1797, pp. 75–93; Petri, Bernhard: Beschreibung des ländlichen Gartens zu Raro in Ungarn, zwei Stunden von Raab, so wie solcher unter der Leitung des Unterzeichneten im Jahr 1794 angelegt worden ist, ibid., pp. 94–101.

5 Petri, Bernhard: Entwurf zu einem Nationalgarten, in: Becker 1797, pp. 183–199.

6 Petri, Bernhard: Verzeichniss derjenigen Bäume und Gesträuche, welche in dem Königreiche Ungarn wild wachsen, in: Becker 1796, pp. 276–283.

7 Petri, Bernhard: Bemerkungen der Kälte-Grade, welche nachstehende Pflanzen in dem ehemaligen Herzogl. Pfalz–Zweibrückischen Garten zu Karlsberg nach mehrjärigen Versuchen ausgehalten haben, in: Becker 1796, pp. 284–322.

8 Petri, Bernhard: Erprobte Verfahrungsart, Pflanzen aus einem wärmern Klima nach und nach an ein kälteres zu gewöhnen, in: Becker 1797, pp. 271–277.

9 Petri, Bernhard: Beschreibung eines unbekannten Schwamms, welcher in einer Röhre von Föhren- oder Kiefernholz (Pinus sylvestris), die zehen Jahre bei einer Wasserleitung in der Erde gelegen hatte, im November 1796. in der Fürstl. Lichtensteinischen Herrschaft Loosdorf von Unterzeichnetem entdeckt worden ist, in: Becker 1797, pp. 295–296.

10 Kazinczy, Ferenc: Hotkóc – ánglus kertek [Hotkóc – English Gardens], Hazai Tudósítások 1806, pp. 262–263, 268–271, 276–279, here p. 278. An example for the use of Becker's »Taschenbuch« as a pattern book is noted by Becker himself: »Hirschfelds Denkmal, welches das Titelblatt zum Taschenbuche von 1795 machte, in Ungarn wirklich errichtet werden soll.« (Becker 1796, p. 444).

11 Ruoff, Eeva: George Parkyns's »Entwürfe zu Anlagen… im englischen Landschaftsstyl«, in: Garden History 44, Suppl. 1 (Autumn 2016: Capability Brown: Perception and Response in a Global Context), 2016, pp. 150–158, here p. 150.

12 In this respect the German translation of George Parkyns's book, which contains ground plans of landscape gardens, was a rare exception and was only published in 1796 (Ruoff 2016). About Goethe's and Schiller's contribution to this change see also: Köhler, Marcus: Brownian Gardens in Germany, in: Garden History 44, Suppl. 1 (Autumn 2016), 2016, pp. 159–174, here p. 161. Even Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell in his »Beiträge zur bildenden Gartenkunst« (München 1818), did not provide his readers with complete garden plans.

13 Petri 1796 [Vedrőd], pp. 135–155.

14 Ibid., pp. 144–145. The inscription was identified by Géza Galavics (Galavics, Géza: Magyarországi angolkertek [Landscape Gardens in Hungary], Budapest 1999, p. 58 and 116). This gesture also contributed to the garden's reputation. More than a century later it still had the strong impact. In the monograph on Pozsony County, we read about the park of Vedrőd: »This park is also highly praised in

the work entitled Taschenbuch für Gartenfreunde, published in Leipzig in 1797.« Vende, Aladár: Pozsony vármegye községei [Villages of Pozsony County], in: Borovszky, Samu (ed.): Pozsony vármegye [Pozsony County], Budapest 1906, p. 125.

15 Petri 1796 [Vedrőd], here p. 144.

16 Becker 1796, pp. 449–450.

17 »Es ist den Lesern des Taschenbuchs schon bekannt, daß Herr Petri ein eifriger und geschickter Gartenkünstler ist. Von der Einwirkung der schönen Gartenkunst auf die Gemüther der Menschen überzeugt, faßte er, durch einige Veranlassungen aufgemuntert, den Entschluß, den Plan zu einem Nationalgarten, auf einen wirklichen und dazu schicklichen Bezirk bei Wien angepaßt, zu entwerfen, und ihn dem Kaiser Leopold zu überreichen.« Petri 1797 [Nationalgarten], p. 183. Here Becker was wrong: Emperor Leopold died in 1792, a year before Petri fled to Vienna, so the plan must have been submitted to Frances II.

18 Becker, Wilhelm Gottlieb (ed.): Der Plauische Grund bei Dresden mit Hinsicht auf Naturgeschichte und schöne Gartenkunst, Nürnberg 1799, pp. XI–XII.

19 A letter written by Wilhelm Gottlieb Becker to Johann Friedrich Frauenholz, Dresden 18.03.1799. Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach, A: Hauff-Kölle (Morgenblatt) Kölle, Christoph Friedrich Karl von, Zugangsnummer 35634, Mediennummer HS006086100. This document was found by Anja Gottschalk in May 2023. I thank her for her kind information.

20 »Dieses Ex[emplar]. u[nd]. jenes für H. Petri rechnen Sie mir nicht als Subscriptions-Ex[emplar]. an; dem letztern gebe ich es umsonst, weil er meine Wiener Subscribenten zusammen gebracht hat. […].« Ibid.

21 Literally transcribed. We find an exception from Hungary in the list of Becker's subscribers: »Andreas Sinckenthaler zu Eperies in Ungarn. 2 Exemplar.«. Sinckenthaler, a trader and collector of prints, belonged to the Saxon community of Eperjes in Upper Hungary (today Prešov, Slovakia). According to Edit Szentesi's kind communication. See also: http://real.mtak.hu/88717/1/Juan_Fsch_Szentesi.pdf

22 This short CV here is derived from the much more detailed biography of Petri (Alföldy 2019 and Alföldy 2022).

23 These plans were first published in Alföldy 2019, pp. 20–21 and p. 29.

24 Lengerke, Alexander von: »Bernhard Petri«, in: Landwirthschaftliches Conversations-Lexikon für Praktiker und Laien, Prag 1838, pp. 609–617, here p. 610. It was identified as Petri's autobiography by Alföldy 2019.

25 Petri's plan for the park at Karlsberg was published and analyzed by Schneider, Ralf: Unbekannte Pläne zu Parkanlagen in Pfalz-Zweibrücken, in: Die Gartenkunst, Heft 2/2014, pp. 209–234, here pp. 224–229.

26 »Petri schlug seinen Weg nach den gesegneten k. k. Staaten ein, wo er hoffen konnte, entweder als Oekonom oder als Künstler baldige Anerkennung zu finden; Empfehlungsschreiben hatte er an den Feldmarschall Lascy [sic], den Baron Spielmann und Staatsrath Lederer durch einen Freund erhalten, und schnell wurde er durch diese andern österreichischen und reichen Güterbesitzern, hauptsächlich im Fache des Kunstgeschmacks, bekannt.« (Lengerke 1838, p. 611).

27 Hédervár (Hungary) is located between Pozsony/Pressburg/Bratislava (today Slovakia) and Győr (Hungary).

28 Petri 1797 [Hédervár]; Alföldy, Gábor: A hédervári kastélypark. Tudományos dokumentáció és helyreállítási javaslat. [The Park at Hédervár. Scientific documentation and a proposal for conservation.] Typescript, vols. I–IV, 2010. Magyar Építészeti Múzeum Műemléki Dokumentációs Központ, Tervtár [Museum of Hungarian Architecure, Centre for Monument Documentation, Plan Collection].

29 Townson, Robert: Travels through Hungary with a short Account of Vienna in the Year of 1793, London 1797, p. 50.

30 Petri 1796 [Vedrőd], p. 144.

31 It was an important step in this sensitization process that Hirschfeld red and reviewed William Gilpin's book »Observations relative chiefly to picturesque beauty […]« in his »Taschenbuch für Gartenfreunde auf das Jahr 1789« (vol. 7), Braunschweig 1788, pp. 104–110. Hirschfeld's »Taschenbücher« also reached the libraries of Hungarian magnates.

32 Petri mentioned the 3-years-old trees that he planted in 1793 (Petri 1797 [Hédervár], p. 81).

33 Petri, August: Auf Erfahrung gegründete Anweisung nützliche Waldungen von allerley Holz Arten welche in unserm Himmelsstrich gedeyen, anzupflanzen; 1ter Heft, von dem Acacien – Lerchen – und dem abendländischen Platanus-Baum. Zweybrücken 1791. (2nd edition: Frankfurt am Main 1793.)

34 Schwan, Jutta: Über Gartenkünstler und Hofgärtner in Pfalz-Zweibrücken, in: Glück-Christmann, Charlotte (Hg.): Die Wiege der Könige. 600 Jahre Herzogtum Pfalz-Zweibrücken, Zweibrücken 2010, pp. 259–263.

35 It is not clear whether the Robinia pseudoacacia L. was first planted at Hédervár by Petri himself or was already introduced and therefore readily available on the site when Petri used it for the garden.

36 Zeyher, Johann Michael: Beschreibung der Gartenanlagen zu Schwetzingen, Mannheim 1809, p. 28 and p. 88.

37 »[…] viele ausländische nützliche Holzgattungen uns einheimlich machen können, wofür sich unsere Nachkommen unserer sehr dankbar erinnern dürften.« (Petri 1796 [Erprobte Verfahrungsart], p. 277).

38 See all of the contributions by Petri in notes 4–9.

39 For example his work at the Margaret Island (Alföldy 2019, p. 28; Alföldy 2022, p. 42).

40 This agricultural establishment, which was situated between Rétság and Nagyoroszi in Nógrád County, circa 60 kilometres North-East from Budapest, does not exist anymore.

41 Alföldy 2019, p. 32.

42 »7. Ex[emplare]. bitte ich unfrankirt an H[errn]. Baron von Braun K. K. Hofbanquier in Wien zu senden. Dort mag H. Petri sie in Empfang nehmen.« (Becker's letter, see note 19).

43 Lengerke 1838, p. 611. About Petri's work for Baron Peter von Braun in Schönau see: Alföldy 2019, p. 28; Alföldy 2022, p. 41.

44 About the garden in Schönau see: Hajós, Géza: Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung. Englische Landschaftskultur des 18. Jahrhunderts in und um Wien, Wien/Köln 1989, pp. 201–209 and Berger, Eva: Historische Gärten Österreichs. Garten- und Parkanlagen von der Renaissance bis um 1930. Band I: Niederösterreich, Burgenland, Wien/Köln/Weimar 2002, pp. 529–531.

45 We also find »Graf von Fries in Wien« in the list of subscribers to Becker's »Der Plauische Grund« but his copy seems to be over the seven subscriptions collected by Petri. Banker Count Moritz Christian von Fries (1777–1826) was one of the most famous book and art collector as well as musical patron of the Imperial Capital. He was owner of Schloss Vöslau and owner of a well-known early landscape garden, close to Baron Braun's Schönau estate. (Hajós 1989, pp. 163–166; Berger 2002, pp. 114–115.) The two leading bankers and leading freemasons knew each other well, and the garden at Vöslau potentially served as a pattern to Braun in some respects.

46 Petri 1796 [Vedrőd], p. 144.

47 Alföldy 2019. See note 2.

48 »[…] empfing er ein sehr schmeichelhaftes Einladungsschreiben von Sr. Durchlaucht dem Fürsten Johann Liechtenstein, worin ihn dieser liebenswürdige Fürsten ersuchte, in sehr angenehmen Verhältnissen, gegen Contract, als bevollmächtigter Güterdirektor seiner Herrschaften Loosdorf, Hagendorf und Burg-Laa in seine Dienste zu gehen, welches er mit um so größerer Bereitwilligkeit acceptirte, weil er schon früher das Glück hatte, diesen eben so liebenswürdigen als im Kriege sehr ausgezeichneten Fürsten sehr genau persönlich und aus seinen vielen Briefen zu kennen. Während dieser Fürst noch mehrere Jahre lang mit dem ausgezeichnetsten Ruhm dem Staate bei der Armee im Felde diente, organisirte P[etri] die fürstlichen Güter mit unbeschränkter Vollmacht nach seinen Grundsätzen […].« (Lengerke 1838, pp. 611–612).

49 Alföldy 2019, pp. 19–21.; Poczai, Péter: Heredity Before Mendel: Festetics and the Question of Sheep's Wool in Central Europe. CRC Press, Boca Raton, (USA) 2022. A paper on Petri and the theory of heredity is to be published in the near future by the author in collaboration with Péter Poczai.

50 »Sr. Durchlaucht offerirten P[etri] nun gegen sehr acceptable und ehrenvolle Bedingungen die oberste Leitung über alle Baulichkeiten und die Schafzucht auf den sämmtlichen Majorats-Herrschaften zu führen […].« (Lengerke 1838, p. 612).

51 For an overview of the princely projects see: Krejčiřik (ed.) 2022.

52 Zatloukal, Pavol / Krejčiřik, Přemysl / Zatloukal, Ondřej: The Lednice-Valtice Estate, Prague 2012; Krejčiřík (ed.) 2022.

53 »Zu gleicher Zeit wurden zwischen Sr. Durchlaucht und ihm [Petri] die Baulichkeiten von mehrern großen neuen Schlößern, Tempeln, Aquaducten, Ruinen, Obelisken, Badehäsern, Naturgärten, Parks etc. auf den Herrschaften Feldsberg, Hadersfeld, Lichtenthal und Liechtenstein in Oesterreich, Eisgrub, Lundenburg, Ravensburg, Adamsthal und Neuschloß in Mähren, und endlich Collodieg in Böhmen verabredet, und alles dieses in einigen Jahren unter P[etri]'s oberster Leitung, und zwar mit solcher individueller Anstregung in allen Zweigen von seiner Seite beendigt, daß kein Rentamt ohne seine Approbation eine dahin sich beziehende Zahlung leisten durfte.« (Lengerke 1838, p. 613).

54 Ibid.

55 Krejčiřík (ed.) 2022, pp. 83–107. Nevertheless, today the hilly landscape around Mödling (called »Föhrenberge« – Pine Hills – today), although artificially, echoes very much the ideal that Becker imagined in the Plauenscher Grund near Dresden.

56 Warnke, Martin: Political Landscape. The Art History of Nature, London 1994, p. 43 and p. 52.

57 After Petri's resignation, these projects went on with similar speed and volume and with the architectural leadership of Joseph Hardtmuth until 1812 and then of Joseph Kornhäusel (Wilhelm, Gustav: Joseph Hardmuth. Architekt und Erfinder 1758–1816, Wien/Köln 1990; Krejčiřík [ed.] 2022). The forestation on the Liechtenstein estates was led by Theobald Wallaschek von Walberg in cooperation with the princely forest tree nurseries developed and led by Josef Liefka. Rudolph Witsch dedicated his book to the memory of Prince Alois von und zu Liechtenstein and wrote: »Herr Hofrath und Forstreferent Theobald von Walberg, ist der Gründer eines neuen Forst-Systems für die Fürst Lichtensteinischen Forsten. Seinen lang und reif ausgedachten Plan bestreben sich die kenntnissreichen Männer, der fürstl. Hofgärtner, Herr Liefka, und die fürstl. Forstmeister mit patriotischem Eifer zur grössten Vollkommenheit zu realisiren.« (Witsch, Rudolph: Vorschlag, wie das auf dem Reichstage 1807 zu Ofen im zwanzigsten Artikel sankzionirte Gesetz, die Urbarmachung des Flugsandes in Ungarn betreffend, leichter realisirt werden könnte, Wien 1808, footnote in the dedication, without pagination). About the history of forest trees in Lednice-Valtice Estate see: Krejčiřik, Přemysl et al.: Dřeviny zámeckého parku v Lednici, Brno 2015 and Krejčiřik, Přemysl / Pejchal, Miloš: Historie pěstování dřevin, Brno 2015.

58 Theresienfeld was Baron Peter von Braun's estate at that time, so it is possible that Petri found plots for

sale for himself in that village through Braun.

59 »B. Petri, Wirthschaftsrat Sr. Durchl. des regierenden Fürsten zu Lichtenstein«, Banater Zeitschrift (Temesvár) Vol. 1 no. 1, (1. July 1827), p. 2.

60 Duke Antal Grassalkovich was the second duke, but was the third Antal and the last male member of this fast-rising (and then declining) family.

61 Monographs from the rich literature: Prost, Franz (ed.): »Der Natur und Kunst gewidmet«. Der Esterházysche Landschaftsgarten in Eisenstadt, 2nd edition, Wien/Köln/Weimar 2005; Körner, Stefan: Nikolaus II. Esterházy und die Kunst. Biografie eines manischen Sammlers, Wien/Köln/Weimar 2013 (about the designed landscape: pp. 162–174).

62 Kalamár, Stefan: Daten zu Leben und Werk des Pariser Architekten Charles Moreau zwischen 1803 und 1813, in: Acta Historiae Artium, vol. 45 (2004), pp. 109–169.

63 Kalamár, Stefan: Entstehungsgeschichte des Marientempels und der Gartenanlagen im Kleinhöfleiner Föhrenwald, in: Prost (ed.) 2005, pp. 295–319; Körner 2013, pp. 146–149 and p. 151; Krizsanics, Brigitte: Die Eisenstädter Landschaftsgärten im Zentrum einer ästetisch gestalteten Kulturlandschaft, in: Krizsanics, Brigitte (ed): Landschaftsgärten – Kulturerbe in Transformation. Schlosspark Eisenstadt – Symposium 2021. Eisenstadt 2022.

64 Körner 2013, pp. 162–164, with maps showing the elements of the embellished cultural landscape on pp. 160–161.

65 About the landscape embellishment around Mödling and Maria Enzerzdorf: Berger 2002, pp. 273–275 (with further literature).

66 Körner 2013, pp. 164–171 (Chapter 3.4: Kleinbauten und Gärten als Mittel der Verschönerung).

67 Krejčiřik, Přemysl: The New Court (Nový Dvůr), in: Zatloukal (ed.) 2012, pp. 118–119.

68 Petri 1797 [Nationalgarten], see note 5.

69 Géza, Hajós (ed.): Der malerische Landschaftspark in Laxenburg bei Wien, Wien/Köln/Weimar 2006.

70 About Palatine Joseph's own gardens and initiatives see (with further literature): Alföldy, Gábor: Hapsburg Gardens in Hungary, in: Die Gartenkunst, Beilage 2/2008: Hajós, Géza (ed.) Habsburg: the House of Habsburg and Garden Art, pp. 87–102.

71 From the literature see: Sisa, József: Die Margareteninsel in Budapest, als sie noch Palatin-Insel hieß, in: Die Gartenkunst, Heft 1/1992, pp. 67–78. See also: Alföldy 2008.

72 Engineer Rudolf Witsch, who was active in Hungary as a garden designer (e.g. as the creator of the first landscaping works of the City Park in Pest around 1800), wrote a book on reclaiming land covered with quicksand (Witsch 1808).

73 Palatine Joseph initiated the Commission already in the second half of the 1790s, but it only started to work in 1809.

74 Nebbien, Heinrich: Ungarns Folks-Garten der Koeniglichen Frey-Stadt Pesth (1816). Herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Dorothee Nehring (Veröffentlichungen des Finnisch-Ungarischen Seminars an der Universität München. Serie C, Band 11, München 1981). A reprint with comments (in Hungarian): Jámbor, Imre: Nebbien Városligete: a világ első népkertje Pesten [Nebbien's City Park: The First Public Park in Pest], Budapest 2018. See also: Nehring, Dorothee: Christian Heinrich Nebbien und der Városliget in Pest. In: Agrártörténeti Szemle 25 (1983) Suppl., pp. 27–44. Knight, Dick: Borrowed language: literary sources, foreign resources and private communications in the creation of an early nineteenth century Central European landscape, in: Garden History 41, No. 2/2013, pp. 177–195.

75 About the general trends: Zádor, Anna: Der englische Garten in Ungarn, in: Die Gartenkunst, No. 1/1990, pp. 41–52; Sisa, József: Landscape Gardening in Hungary and its English Connections, in: Acta Historiae Artium 1990–1992, pp. 193–206; Galavics, Géza: Magyarországi angolkertek, Budapest 1999; Alföldy, Gábor: Lancelot 'Capability' Brown's Impact on Landscape Design in Hungary, in: Garden History 44, Suppl. 1/2016, pp. 125–139.

76 Šulcová, Jana: Tri kapitoly zo stavebných dejín kaštieľa v Dolnej Krupej [Three chapters from the building history of the manor house in Dolna Krupa], Ars 1996, pp. 161–214; Galavics 1999, pp. 76–82; Knight 2013.

77 Kind information from Dick Knight whom I owe with thanks.

78 Örsi, Károly: Der Schloßpark von Alcsút (Alcsútdoboz). Eine wenig bekannte Schöpfung des Erzherzogs Joseph, Palatin von Ungarn, in: Die Gartenkunst, No. 1/1992, pp. 55–67. See also: Alföldy 2008 [Hapsburg Gardens].

79 Knight, Dick: Estates Earning Their Keep: practical concerns and their resolution in the later landscape designs of Christian Heinrich Nebbien (1778–1841), Garden History 49, 2/2021, pp. 190–207.

80 Nebbien, Heinrich: Die Einrichtungskunst der Landgüter, auf fortwährendes Steigen der Bodenrente. […], Prague 1831. In this book Nebbien shows his method of using typical curving forms of landscape gardens on a grand scale.

81 Bartosságh, József: Über rationelle Landwirtschaft in Ungarn. Drei Betrachtungen, Pest 1832, p. 47.

82 Petri 1796 [Ortzy]. See note 4.

83 Alföldy Gábor: A dégi Festetics-kastélypark [Festetics Park at Dég], Budapest 2015. See also: Alföldy 2019.

84 For example, Festetics felled a remarkable part of the forest after 30 years (Alföldy 2015, p. 31).

85 Somlóvár Park at Doba, designed by Charles Moreau and later developed by Heinrich Koch for the Count Erdődy family (Prince Nikolaus Esterházy's cousin), was one of the greatest landscape parks in Hungary which had a strong visual contact with the surrounding wide landscape. Alföldy, Gábor: A Doba-somlóvári Erdődy-kastély parkja [Somlóvár Park at Doba], Budapest 2015.

86 Bartosságh 1832, p. 47.