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## 'DAMAGING THE SILENCE AND ORDER.' WOMEN AND THE ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS VIENNA

### 2020/21 ... An Anniversary Year

The academic year 2020/21 was an anniversary year at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna: 100 years before, in the 1920/21 winter semester, women were first admitted to study there.

This article is the follow-up to a project the University Archives of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna initiated at the suggestion of the Academy's PR department: the regular presentation of an 'Archivist's Choice'. In monthly intervals, a video series covering certain topics from '100 Years of Women's Studies' was put online together with an essay.<sup>1</sup>

### Women's Studies in the Arts in Vienna before 1920

Before 1920, women could take private (and rather expensive) lessons, attend private schools or the *Kunstschule für Frauen und Mädchen* (Art School for Women and Girls), as well as the then *Kunstgewerbeschule* (today's *Universität für angewandte Kunst*, University of Applied Arts) or the *Graphische Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt* (Higher Federal Institution for Graphic Education and Research).<sup>2</sup>

The admission of women to the Academy in 1920/21 was preceded by discussions that went on for several decades.<sup>3</sup> In 1872, the Ministry of Education submitted this subject for appraisal to the faculty board. The board members refused the idea on the following grounds: the Academy building did not provide enough space; women were less educated than men and were only suited to produce 'lower art,' like flower and portrait painting; finally, one could not expect young ladies to be put together in one room with young men, as they would not be able to pursue their studies without 'damaging the silence and order at the institute'.<sup>4</sup>

In 1904, the whole matter was taken up again by the Ministry with a similar outcome – the faculty board feared dilettantism as a consequence of women being admitted because of their 'lack of creative spirit'.<sup>5</sup>

This assessment was valid until after World War I. In 1919, the State Office for Internal Affairs and Education ordered the Academy to take steps to introduce women's studies, which they finally did in 1920/21.

The women who enrolled in the 1920s were in fact not the first. The Academy of Fine Arts Vienna was founded in 1692, and the Archives' holdings go back to 1706. The Archives' records

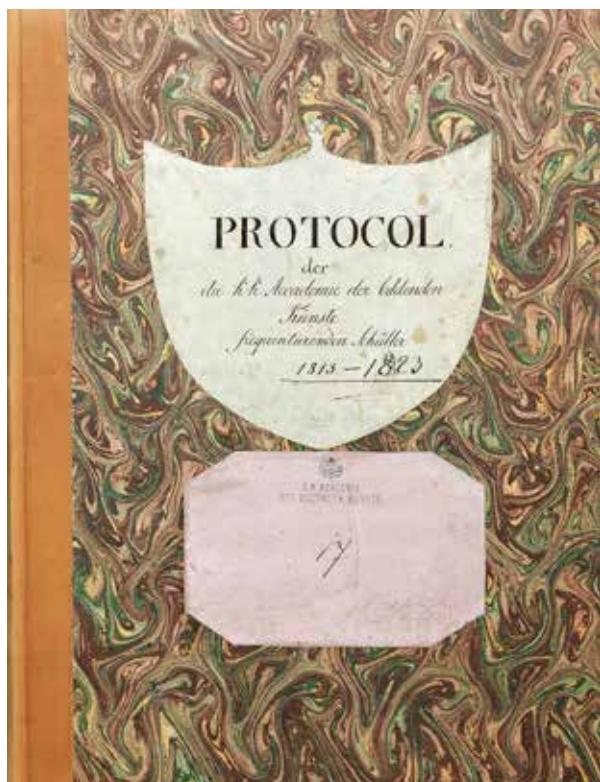
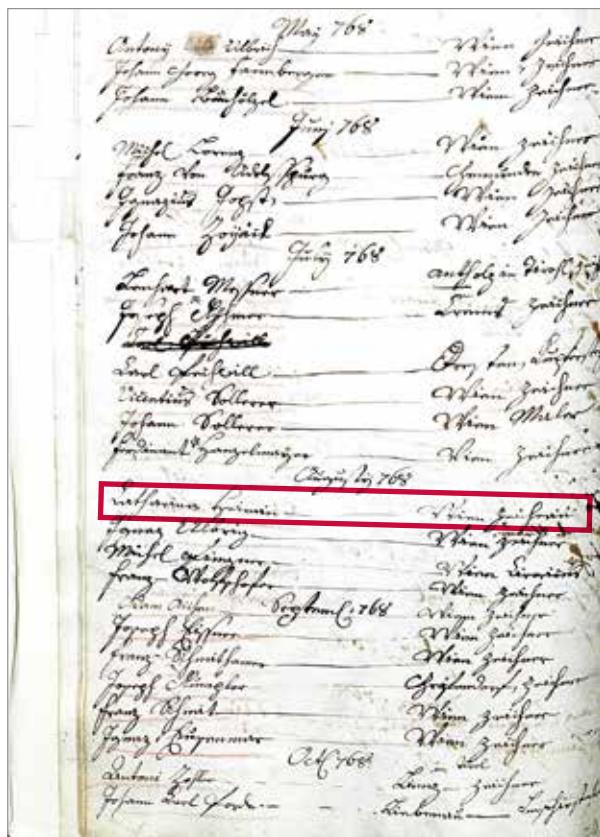
from the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century provide evidence of several female students, as well as female regular and honorary members 150 years before the official year of admission.

## **Early Female Students at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna**

The first woman mentioned in our students' records is Katharina Heim. (ill. 1) She enrolled at the *Kupferstecherakademie* (Engraving Academy) in 1768.<sup>6</sup> The *Kupferstecherakademie*, founded in 1766 by Jacob Matthias Schmuzer,<sup>7</sup> was an institution in its own right until 1772, when it was merged with the *Kaiserl. Königl. Hof-Academie der Mahler- Bildhauer- und Baukunst* (Imperial and Royal Court Academy of Painting, Sculpting and Architecture) to form the *K. k. Akademie der vereinigten bildenden Künste* (Imperial and Royal Academy of United Fine Arts) at the instigation of State Chancellor Wenzel Kaunitz.

In the 1810s, three women are mentioned in volume 17<sup>8</sup> of our students' records: (ill. 2) Theresia Kaltner from Munich, daughter of the painter, engraver and lithographer Joseph Kaltner (1757–1824)<sup>9</sup>, enrolled at the Academy on December 10<sup>th</sup>, 1819.<sup>10</sup> We do not know how long she stayed. Karoline Pianzykowska née Edle von Roth from Strasbourg entered the Academy on 28<sup>th</sup> October, 1815, and attended the painting class until the 1820/21 winter course, specializing in miniature painting.<sup>11</sup> Marianne Fricart attended the painting class in the winter semester of 1819/20,<sup>12</sup> and in 1822 and 1824 she participated at the Academy's art exhibitions.<sup>13</sup> She travelled a lot and became quite a famous portrait painter; in newspaper ads, she offered her services as a 'portrait painter in oil' in Vienna, where she had her own atelier in 1824, and then in Preßburg/Bratislava/Poszony (Slovakia), where she settled in 1825.<sup>14</sup>

The evidence of female students at the Vienna Academy comes to a halt in 1820 – for 100 years, our students' records remain 'women-free'.





## Female Members of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century

The chance to become a regular member has existed from the beginning of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna.<sup>15</sup> The statutes from 1726 note that only practicing artists were allowed to apply for membership, and they had to present a sample of their work (which is later called *Aufnahmstück*) to the Academic Council.<sup>16</sup> In 1751, members are mentioned by name the first time.

The statutes of the *Kupferstecherakademie* from 1767,<sup>17</sup> written on parchment in a lavishly elaborated Gothic script, show how highly Empress Maria Theresia estimated this institution. (ill. 3) The *Kupferstecherakademie* accepted painters of any kind (if they possessed the necessary skills in the arts),<sup>18</sup> sculptors (including gold-, silver-, steel-, and punch-cutters), master builders und engravers. In paragraph *undecimō* (21) it

is stipulated that aspirants had to attend the Academy for one year.

The statutes of the *K. k. Akademie der vereinigten bildenden Künste* from 1800 and 1812<sup>19</sup> expected excellent and publicly acclaimed achievements as artists from future members; the vote was done by balloting: black marbles were used for refusal, white for acceptance.<sup>20</sup> The Academy accepted members until 1870.<sup>21</sup>

Membership at the Academy not only added to an artist's reputation, but also involved privileges, e.g. in terms of taxation, the exemption from military service, and the permit to wear a uniform (*Civil-Uniform*).<sup>22</sup>

Jacob Matthias Schmuzer, the director and founder of the *Kupferstecherakademie*, seems to have been more progressive than his colleagues from the *Kaiserl. Königl. Hof-Academie der Mahler- Bildhauer- und Baukunst*. He even devised courses in model drawing (with dressed models) that were accessible to anyone.<sup>23</sup>

At his *Kupferstecherakademie*, a few women joined the ranks of the members. Their *Aufnahmstücke* are held by either the *Gemäldegalerie* (Paintings Gallery) or the *Kupferstichkabinett* (Graphic Collection) of the Academy. (ill. 4)

In 1768, two women were appointed as members: first, the painter Anna Dorothea Therbusch (1721–1782),<sup>24</sup> who had been taught by her father, the painter Georg Lisiewski (1674–1750; employed at the Royal Court in Berlin). (ill. 5) The second was *Frau von Cont [Conte], Mitglied der Akademien in Rom Florenz, Parma, und Bolonien [Bologna]* (member of the Academies in Rome, Florence, Parma, and Bologna).<sup>25</sup>

In 1771, three women were appointed as members of the *Kupferstecherakademie*:<sup>26</sup> (ill. 6) the pastelist Gabriele Beyer (1729–1802), née von Bertrand, art teacher of Maria Theresia's daughters and wife of court sculptor Wilhelm Beyer,<sup>27</sup> (ill. 7) the Parisian engraver Anne Philiberte Coulet (1736–after 1787)<sup>28</sup> and the Dutch portrait painter Gertrude de Pélichey (1743–1825).<sup>29</sup> (ill. 8)

Women also participated in the Academy's exhibitions, e.g. Gabriele Beyer, who is explicitly named as a member, in 1774, 1777 and 1786.<sup>30</sup>

The *Kupferstecherakademie* and the *Kaiserl. Königl. Hof-Academie der Mahler-Bildhauer- und Baukunst* were merged in 1772. For the almost 100 years to come, until 1870, hundreds of members were accepted; none of them was a woman. After 1870, only the option of becoming an honorary member remained.

## Noble 'Dilettantes' as Honorary Members of the Academy

The Academy not only accepted 'regular' members, i.e. active artists, but also honorary members. In the statutes of 1751 these so-called *Ehrenmitglieder* are mentioned for the first time.<sup>31</sup>

It was again Jacob Matthias Schmuzer's *Kupferstecherakademie* that acted in a progressive way: Its statutes from 1767 explicitly state that women, no matter what their social position was



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Franziska Bartkowi ist aufmerksam die  
und farbenreicher ist mir wohl bekanntest  
und coloriertes Modell, je einige Minuten  
in der Hand steht.

Denonim von Falbiffy zu Paris aufgesucht,  
wurde die Bildhüfe Linke, eine Frau, die von  
altem Alter sangt, in Öl gemalt, nach  
der Zeichnung eingefüllt.

Marmosalle Pantaleon und mir mir gezeichnete  
und bekannte Bildhüferin aus Polen  
in Paris hat Jugend Bilder auf Vermiet  
gezeichnet überreicht.

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(*Frauen-Personen von hohem und niedrigem Stande*), could become honorary members.<sup>32</sup> The only condition was excellence in their artwork.

In the first draft of the statutes of the *K. k. Akademie der vereinigten bildenden Künste* from 1773<sup>33</sup> it is stipulated that art lovers of both sexes who handed in their *Aufnahmstück* could become honorary members. In the binding statute of 1800, women are not specifically mentioned any more: The ranks of the honorary members could be joined by art lovers and supporters of the fine arts and of artists, as well as male scientists whose field of work showed a close connection to art.<sup>34</sup>

From 1767 to 1836, approximately twenty noblewomen were accepted as honorary or regular members of the Academy resp. the *Kupferstecherakademie*. These women were ‘dilettantes’ who practiced their art for pure joy, as in the original meaning of the Italian *diletto* (not like the women mentioned above, who made their living with their art).<sup>35</sup> They either belonged to the Imperial House or were closely associated with it. Their patronage had a certain protective function for the Academy and for the arts taught there.<sup>36</sup>

The first members of the *Kupferstecherakademie*, accepted in 1767, were women: the Archduchesses Maria Anna (Marianne) and Maria Carolina (Charlotte), two of Maria Theresia’s daughters. The latter appears in our sources as a regular (of the *Kupferstecherakademie*), but also as an honorary member (of the *Kaiserl. Königl. Hof-Academie der Mahler- Bildhauer- und Baukunst*, accepted in 1768).<sup>37</sup> The archduchesses’ *Aufnahmstücke*, both drawings of an excellent quality, are preserved in the Academy’s *Kupferstichkabinett*. Their teacher was Gabriele Bertrand. (ill. 9)

Two other noblewomen became members of either institution in the 1760s: in 1768 Ernestine von Losymthal, wife of the Academy’s *Protector* Adam Philipp Losy von Losymthal and daughter of Maria Theresia’s intimate friend Maria Carolina Gräfin Fuchs von Bimbach,<sup>38</sup> and in 1769 Princess Marie Anne von Lamberg, née Countess Trautson.<sup>39</sup>

The women who were appointed as honorary members from 1789 on all belonged to

the Imperial House. In this context, I can only point out some exemplary names; a complete list is given in my essay ‘Adelige “Dilettantinnen” als (Ehren-)Mitglieder der Akademie’ and can be viewed in the newly developed database on the Academy’s website.<sup>40</sup> In 1789, Archduchess Elisabeth Wilhelmine, the first wife of Emperor Franz II (I), became an honorary member.<sup>41</sup> In 1812 and 1818, the Emperor’s third and fourth wives followed: Maria Ludovica<sup>42</sup> and Carolina Augusta,<sup>43</sup> as well as his daughter, Archduchess Marie-Louise (the wife of Napoleon I), in 1818.<sup>44</sup> The Academy’s Archives hold her thank-you letter.<sup>45</sup>

The artworks of these ‘noble dilettantes’ show a very high quality, for example the *Aufnahmstück* of Maria Antonia, Princess of Naples and Sicily (appointed in 1802).<sup>46</sup> (ill. 10)

In 1836, the last female honorary members of the Imperial House were appointed: Empress Maria Anna Karolina and the Archduchesses Maria Dorothea, Maria Elisabetta, Maria Theresia, and Sophie.<sup>47</sup>

There was then a long period without women. More than 150 years later, the architect Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky (in 1994), the sculptor Louise Bourgeois (in 2000) and, in 2010, the painter Maria Lassnig and the writer Friederike Mayröcker were appointed honorary members of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna. Recently, in the spring of 2023, the sculptor Teresa Feodorowna Ries posthumously received an honorary membership.



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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Permalink, <https://www.akbild.ac.at/de/resolveuid/40b76ef6ad2d478a94876468423ef0c7>.

<sup>2</sup> Sabine Plakolm-Forsthuber, *Künstlerinnen in Österreich 1897–1938. Malerei. Plastik. Architektur.* Wien 1994, pp. 45ff.

<sup>3</sup> For the following see Eva Schober, 1872 – Das erste Dokument ..., Permalink <https://www.akbild.ac.at/de/resolveuid/64fdf4af867e41f81190a44eaac8702>.

<sup>4</sup> Universitätsarchiv der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien (UAAkKW), *Verwaltungsakten* (VA) 1872-104.

<sup>5</sup> UAAkKW, VA 1904-65.

<sup>6</sup> UAAkKW, *Matrikelbuch* (students' records book) vol. 2 1/2, *Protokoll / Jener Schüler, welche in der kk. / Kupferstecher-Akademie-Zeichner / aufgenommen worden sind / vom Jahre 1766 bis 1784 / dann vom Jahre / 1805 bis 1845*, fol. 4.

<sup>7</sup> 1733–1811. Also Schmutzer; Schmuzer is the spelling he preferred, see Monika Knofler, *Das visuelle Gedächtnis der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien*, manuscript.

<sup>8</sup> UAAkKW, *Matrikelbuch* vol. 17, *PROTOCOL. der die k.k. Accademie der bildenden Künste frequentierenden Schüller 1813–1823*.

<sup>9</sup> ÖBL Online-Edition, [https://www.biographien.ac.at/oebl/oebl\\_K/Kaltner\\_Josef\\_1757\\_1824.xml](https://www.biographien.ac.at/oebl/oebl_K/Kaltner_Josef_1757_1824.xml).

<sup>10</sup> UAAkW, *Matrikelbuch* 17/15, *Matrikelbuch* vol. 19, *Protocoll / der frequentierenden Schüler der Mahlerkunst von 1813 bis 1823 / von A bis Z*, fol. 10.

<sup>11</sup> UAAkW, *Matrikelbuch* vol. 12, *Protocoll / Schülerliste vom Jahre 1810–1812*, fol. 39, *Matrikelbuch* 17/23, *Matrikelbuch* 19/15.

<sup>12</sup> UAAkW, *Matrikelbuch* 17/7, *Matrikelbuch* 19/6.

<sup>13</sup> UAAkKW, *Kartei Kunstausstellungen* (card index art exhibitions).

<sup>14</sup> *Allgemeines Intelligenzblatt zur Wiener Zeitung*, No. 114, 18<sup>th</sup> May 1824, p. 843, <https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wrz&datum=18240518&query=%22Fricart%22&ref=anno-search&seite=5>; *Intelligenzblatt zur Preßburger Zeitung*, No. 82, October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1825, p. 1113, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=pre&datum=18251018&seite=9&zoom=33>; AKL online s.v. „Fricart, Marianne“, [https://db.degruyter.com/view/AKL/\\_40286559?rskey=poExcl&result=1&dbq\\_o=flicart&dbf\\_o=akl-fulltext&dbt\\_o=fulltext&o\\_o=AND](https://db.degruyter.com/view/AKL/_40286559?rskey=poExcl&result=1&dbq_o=flicart&dbf_o=akl-fulltext&dbt_o=fulltext&o_o=AND).

<sup>15</sup> See for this and the following Walter Cerny, *Die Mitglieder der Wiener Akademie*, Wien 1978, and Angelika Plank, *Akademischer und schulischer Elementarzeichenunterricht im 18. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt/Main etc. 1999 (= Beiträge zur Neueren Geschichte Österreichs Bd. 10) (Diss. Wien 1997), pp. 94ff.

<sup>16</sup> UAAkW, *Statuten* (Statutes) 1726, MSZ II/3, fol. 160/168–174 ex VA 1735, fol. 169v.

<sup>17</sup> UAAkW, *Satzungen der Kupferstecherakademie* (Statutes of the Engraving Academy), 1767.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem, para. *decimo* (10): *Mahler von allerley Arten, wen [sic] sie nur die erforderliche Stärcke in der Kunst besitzen [...]*.

<sup>19</sup> UAAkW, *Statuten* 1800 and 1812, MSZ II/3.

<sup>20</sup> UAAkW, *Statuten* 1800, MSZ II/3, para. XXVI.

<sup>21</sup> Due to the introduction of a new statute in 1872, see Cerny, *Kunstmitglieder*, 9.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, 10ff.

<sup>23</sup> Plank, *Elementarzeichenunterricht*, 81ff.; Monika Knofler refers in her not yet published manuscript *Das visuelle Gedächtnis der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien* to Schmuzer's *promemoria* (memorandum) as well (UAAkKW, VA 2a/Mappe 2, fol. 19–22, fol. 21). In this document, Schmuzer offers drawing lessons taking place after the Academy, where anyone, no matter what age, if man or woman or child, is allowed to take part; the drawing of heads, hands and dress is taught, as well as inventing, arranging the models and expressing taste. Almost identical is UAAkKW, VA 2a/Mappe 2, fol. 1–3, fol. 1v; in this document Schmuzer also proposes to use male and female convicts (*Zuchthäusler*) and people from the *Armeleutekotter* (work house) as models for reasons of cost (fol. 3v).

<sup>24</sup> UAAkKW, *Wahlbuch* (Book of Elections), p. 120. Walter Wagner, *Geschichte der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien*, Wien 1967, p. 423, gives 1776 as the year of her acceptance, but we do not have any proof for this. In fact, in 1776, Anna Dorothea Therbusch offered the Emperor a painting as a gift, referring to herself as a member of the Painters' Academy (UAAkKW, VA 1776 fol. 101/102). For Therbusch's biography see Helmut Börsch-Supan, „Lisiewska, Anna Dorothea“ in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 14 (1985), 684–685, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd122269071.html#ndbcontent>. Thanks to MMag. René Schober (Kupferstichkabinett der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien) and Mag. Claudia Koch (Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien) for the permission to use the reproductions of the drawings and paintings in this article.

<sup>25</sup> UAAkW, VA 2a/Mappe 2, fol. 76/77 ex 1769; *Wahlbuch*, p. 119; cf. Cerny, *Kunstmitglieder*, p. 38; thanks to the Archive of the Accademia Nazionale di Belle Arti di Parma, *Frau von Conte* could be identified as Marguerite Lecomte (1717–1800), [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marguerite\\_Lecomte](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marguerite_Lecomte).

<sup>26</sup> UAAkKW, VA 2a/Mappe 2, fol. 152/153 ex 1771; UAAkKW, VA 1818 fol. 69–81, fol. 73v (Beyer and Coulet are mentioned here). The *Wahlbuch* (p. 120) lists *Mademoiselle Coulet, Fräulein Bertrand* is added in a later script; *Baron Ballisch* can only mean Baronesse Pélichy. See for the following Monika Knofler, „Das fortschrittliche 18. Jahrhundert – Maria Theresias Vorbildfunktion für Künstlerinnen,“ in *Carte blanche für Anna Reisenbichler. I work too much, work too little*, ed. by

Wolfgang Cortjaens and Julia M. Nauhaus. Kupferstichkabinett der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien (Wien 2019), 17–34; Anton Weinkopf's *Beschreibung der k.k. Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien. 1783 und 1790*, Wien 1875, p. 11 (Beyer, Coulet; for Pélichey vide fn. 29).

<sup>27</sup> Dankmar Trier, „Bertrand, Gabrielle,“ AKL online, [https://www.degruyter.com/database/AKL/entry/\\_10122062/html](https://www.degruyter.com/database/AKL/entry/_10122062/html).

<sup>28</sup> Renate Treydel, „Coulet, Anne-Philiberte,“ AKL online [https://www.degruyter.com/database/AKL/entry/\\_10173309/html](https://www.degruyter.com/database/AKL/entry/_10173309/html).

<sup>29</sup> AKL online, [https://www.degruyter.com/database/AKL/entry/\\_00119770/html](https://www.degruyter.com/database/AKL/entry/_00119770/html), s.v. „Pélichey, Gertrude Cornélie Marie de“; Weinkopf, *Beschreibung*, 8, 70, wrongly lists Pélichey as an honorary member. Plank, *Elementarzeichenunterricht*, 97, points to this mistake. Cerny, *Kunstmitglieder*, 40, lists her as *Baron Ballischi* (vide fn. 26).

<sup>30</sup> Catalogue des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, et gravure exécutés par des membres de l'Academie Imp. et Royal. des Beaux-Arts ; exposés dans le salon destiné à cet effet, Wien 1777: *Madame Beyer*; fol. 2 (ix), 3 (7x), 4 (5x); UAAbKW, *Kartei Kunstaussstellungen*. See Plank, *Elementarzeichenunterricht*, 272. *Verzeichnis der von der k.k. Akademie bildender Künste aufgestellten Kunstwerke*. Wien 1786: *Madam Gabriele Beyerinn, geb. [née] von Bertrand, Mitgliede der Akademie* [member of the Academy]. *Portrait der Mademoiselle von Greiner* [portrait of Mlle von Greiner].

<sup>31</sup> UAAbKW, *Statut 1751*, MSZ II/3, fol. 91–99 ex VA 1751, fol. 92r.

<sup>32</sup> UAAbKW, *Satzungen Kupferstecher-Akademie*, para. 21.

<sup>33</sup> UAAbKW, *Entwurf zu den Satzungen der k.k. Akademie der vereinigten bildenden Künste* (Concept of the Statutes of the Imperial and Royal Academy of United Fine Arts) 1773, MSZ II/3, para. 5.

<sup>34</sup> UAAbKW, *Statuten 1800*, MSZ II/3, para. XXVIII.

<sup>35</sup> See for this and the following Sabine Plakolm-Forsthuber, *Künstlerinnen in Österreich*, 24ff.

<sup>36</sup> See Angelika Plank, *Elementarzeichenunterricht*, 84ff.

<sup>37</sup> See UAAbKW, Matrikelband 2 1/2, fol. 82; VA 2/Mappe 2, fol. 76 ex 1769; VA 1792 fol. 249; *Wahlbuch*, 88; VA 1818 fol. 73; see Knofler, *Das visuelle Gedächtnis*; Weinkopf, *Beschreibung*, 7; *Carte blanche für Anna Reisenbichler*, 50, exhib. cat., (W. Cortjeans).

<sup>38</sup> UAAbKW, VA 1792 fol. 249; VA 1818 fol. 73. Knofler, *Das visuelle Gedächtnis*; Knofler, *Das fortschrittliche 18. Jahrhundert*, 29; Plank, *Elementarzeichenunterricht*, 95. Monika Knofler assumes that she was a member of the *Kupferstecherakademie*.

<sup>39</sup> Member of the *Kupferstecherakademie*: UAAbKW, VA 2/Mappe 2, fol. 70; Weinkopf, *Beschreibung*, 8, with a description of her *Aufnahmstück* on pp. 16–17; as member of the *Kais. Königl. Hof-Academie der Mahler- Bildhauer- und Baukunst*: UAAbKW, VA 1818 fol. 73; see also Plank, *Elementarzeichenunterricht*, 95.

<sup>40</sup> Permalink <https://www.akbild.ac.at/de/resolveuid/0fe5eaaof89d1eb7f432bad355d3e791>; <https://ehrenmitglieder.akbild.ac.at/db>.

<sup>41</sup> Wagner, *Geschichte*, 432, gives 1785 as year of acceptance; the reason for this may be that the draft for the diploma (dated 13<sup>th</sup> January, 1789) is part of a document with drafts for different diplomas from 1785 to 1789 (UAAbKW, VA 1785 fol. 26–29, fol. 29v). The decree of appointment (UAAbKW, VA 1789 fol. 12) served as a model for the decree of Archduchess Maria Anna Ferdinandina (UAAbKW, VA 1793 fol. 138).

<sup>42</sup> UAAbKW, *Wahlbuch*, 92.

<sup>43</sup> UAAbKW, *Sitzungsprotokoll* (minutes of the meetings of the Academic Council, SProt) 1818 fol. 23; *Wahlbuch*, p. 93.

<sup>44</sup> UAAbKW, VA 1818 fol. 443, SProt 1818 fol. 86.

<sup>45</sup> UAAbKW, VA 1820 fol. 553.

<sup>46</sup> UAAbKW, SProt 1802 fol. 30/31; *Wahlbuch*, 90.

<sup>47</sup> UAAbKW, *Wahlbuch*, 94–95.

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## Illustrations

- Ill. 1: Entry of Katharina Heim in the students' records, UAAbKW, *Matrikelbuch* vol. 2 1/2, *Protokoll / Jener Schüler, welche in der kk. / Kupferstecher-Akademie-Zeichner / aufgenommen worden sind / vom Jahre 1766 bis 1784 / dann vom Jahre / 1805 bis 1845*, fol. 4
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- Ill. 5: Anna Dorothea Therbusch, Portrait of the Painter Philipp Hackert, 1768, oil on wood, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien, inv. GG-113
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