

Radka Nokkala Miltová

# Towards the Olympian Gods



böhlau

The Representational Strategies of Mythological Painting  
in 17<sup>th</sup> century Bohemia and Moravia





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Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek:  
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;  
detailed bibliographic data available online: <https://dnb.de>.

© 2025 Böhlau, Zeltgasse 1, 1080 Vienna, Austria, an imprint of the Brill- Group (Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands; Brill USA Inc., Boston MA, USA; Brill Asia Pte Ltd, Singapore; Brill Deutschland GmbH, Paderborn, Germany; Brill Österreich GmbH, Vienna, Austria) Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Hotei, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau, V&R unipress and Wageningen Academic

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DOI <https://doi.org/10.7767/9783205222460>

Cover image: Andrea Lanzani, Allegory of Silence (Harpocrates), Slavkov u Brna, chateau, 1702–1703,  
photo: Martin Mádl (IAH CAS).

Proofreading: Bird und Hübner GbR, Berlin  
Cover design: Michael Haderer, Vienna  
Typesetting and Layout: Michael Rauscher, Vienna  
Printing and binding: Prime Rate, Budapest  
Printed on chlorid and acid free paper  
Printed in the EU

**Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage | [www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com](http://www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com)**  
E-Mail: [info@boehlau-verlag.com](mailto:info@boehlau-verlag.com)

ISBN 978-3-205-22245-3 (print)  
ISBN 978-3-205-22246-0 (OpenAccess)

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## Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to all the institutions in charge of the examined chateaux, which provided me with the opportunity to study the paintings. My gratitude for valuable feedback and suggestions goes especially to Lubomír Slavíček, Jiří Kroupa, Ondřej Jakubec, Pavel Suchánek, Jana Zapletalová, Martin Mádl, Michaela Šeferisová Loudová, Tomáš Valeš, Keith Tribe, Ere Nokkala and many other colleagues and friends. To my family, I am grateful for their immense support and patience during the process of writing this text.

## Introduction

Stories from ancient mythology formed the essential part of the iconography of early modern ceiling painting, as they became an expected form of noble representation that filled the interiors of residences. The deepening knowledge of ancient art and literature, related to the publishing of commented editions of ancient classics, was combined with the reception of mythographic and encyclopaedic texts. This background, mixed with the specific political and panegyric strategies of celebrated personalities, provided an exceedingly broad field for the development of completely original artistic programmes. The multidimensionality of mythological stories offered patrons unlimited options to engage the myths in their strategies, reflecting on matters ranging from genealogy, career, ambitions, to marriage politics. The popularity of famous courts and frescoes was disseminated by their printed reproductions in such a scale that the fashionable patterns may appear to have been in the course of time unified and simply replicated outside the main centres. The core of this book deals with key examples of representational strategies of Bohemian and Moravian nobility and argues that mythological paintings – also outside the main centres – cannot be understood through themes alone, but especially through their specific historical context, which clarifies their meaning.

The scope of the problem addressed is enormous, because almost all palaces and chateaux that were decorated during the Baroque period have paintings with mythological subjects on their ceilings or walls. Therefore, the focus of this book has been limited by several fundamental criteria, ranging from chronological to functional-geographical. First of all, the emphasis is on the time span between 1650 and 1700, a time when the Czech lands were undergoing extensive reconstruction after the Thirty Years' War. Ceiling painting of the 17th century in Bohemia and Moravia has not belonged to the most exposed research topics due to its rather questionable quality compared to oil painting and the degree of receptivity and dependence on printed models. Attention has begun to focus on the topic with greater intensity in the last two decades,<sup>1</sup> especially in relation to formal and attributional issues. The need to capture the given context stems from the simple fact of predominantly anonymous or mistakenly assigned works of art.

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<sup>1</sup> The research of Martin Mádl and Jana Zapletalová is of particular importance and their work will be quoted extensively in the relevant sections.

Previous iconographic analyses of these paintings have often been based on pre-iconographic descriptions, with the assumption that the receptive character of these paintings indicates an absence of meaning. Similarly, the narrative and repetitive schemes of the paintings around 1650 give the impression that the paintings lack a direct link to the client or a specific social context, which cannot be adequately interpreted from an iconographic perspective.<sup>2</sup> Although the same motifs are repeated in different contexts in the paintings around 1650, this fact is not evidence of a random handling of themes from ancient mythology, the repetition of which, related to their popularity, has belonged to standard practice for centuries. This book demonstrates that, regardless of how often the same subjects are repeated, they recur in each commission with sufficient distinction to show the uniqueness of the particular work of art. The form and means of artistic expression undoubtedly changed over time, becoming more allegorical around 1700. What remains, nevertheless, is the need for representation of the specific clients of these commissions.

The aim of this book is not only to detect such representational strategies but also to point to the tendencies in 17th-century Central European painting, and the interpretative options when considering mythological painting in general. The deeper research also reveals the potential of this material. The formal aspects of these paintings demonstrate the immense scope of the dissemination of prints that dominated European production, pointing to fashion patterns, model residences and the personal preferences of the patrons. The content and interpretation of the ancient myths in the ceiling decorations raises a number of other questions that bring us to the socio-cultural context: noble representation, marriage politics, the role of the grand tours for early modern aristocracy, the relationship to the spatial arrangement of residences and to the early modern recommendations of theories of decorum.

The main core of this book derives from a detailed analysis of three 17th-century residences in Bohemia and Moravia (Nové Město nad Metují/Neustadt an der Mettau; Kroměříž/Kremsier; Slavkov u Brna/Austerlitz), which will be seen in the broader context of contemporary production based on long-term research on mythological painting of this period.<sup>3</sup> Each of the murals in these residences was painted in a different time period, illustrating the direction of the paintings from the mid-to-

2 Mádl, Martin: The Palace of Prince-Bishop Carl II. of Lichtenstein-Castelcorn in Olomouc and its Decoration, in: Stephan Hoppe/Heiko Lass/Herbert Karner (eds.): *Deckenmalerei um 1700 in Europa. Höfe und Residenzen*, München 2020, pp. 145–151; Mádl, Martin: The Patterns of the Transformation in Central European Ceiling Painting around 1700 and Franz Carl Remp in Brežice Castle, in: *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 26/2 (2021), p. 211.

3 Published in two comprehensive books: Miltová, Radka: *Mezi zalíbením a zavržením. Recepce Ovidiových Metamorfóz v barokním umění v Čechách a na Moravě*. Brno 2009; Nokkala Miltová, Radka: *Ve společenství bohů a hrdinů. Mýty antického světa v české a moravské nástěnné malbě šlechtických venkovských sídel v letech 1650–1690*, Praha 2016.

late 17th century, and each of these residences was decorated for patrons with different careers. Thanks to this, various representational strategies can be traced, from the officer generation to church leader, to the diplomat and the highest politician of the imperial court.

Chapter 1 provides in basic outline a general framework for the case studies, placing the Bohemian and Moravian ceiling paintings in broader context in three main areas: socio-historical, formal and functional. Section 1.1 puts emphasis on the social changes brought about by the Thirty Years' War and the Battle of White Mountain that altered the historical circumstances of artistic patronage in Central Europe. It also reflects on the groups of fresco painters working in Bohemia and Moravia in the 17th century and the changes in the visual conception of ceiling decorations from the middle to the end of the 17th century. Section 1.2 explores in detail the formal models inspiring 17th-century artistic production and shows that appropriation was never mere imitation but was mediated by the representational strategies of the nobility in specific historical circumstances. Comparisons with printed models allow for more precise iconographic interpretations and reveal the fashionable patterns followed by both artists and patrons. With the help of printed models, it is possible to refine and revise the existing iconographic designations of individual scenes. This is essential in the case of 17th-century painting, because the paintings were fragmented within the ceiling decorations into many small fields. Yet, as the commissions in question demonstrate, the choice and composition of subjects was by no means random but referred to a unifying ideological structure. In order to interpret this, it is therefore necessary to identify the individual parts of the whole mosaic. Section 1.3 introduces the structure of the early modern residence, which influenced the selection of subjects for particular spaces. This perspective relates to the relationship of mythological painting to the recommendations of the theoretical literature, which, within the framework of early modern theories of decorum, concentrated on the question of the suitability of certain iconographic subjects for particular parts of residential spaces.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, I will try to look at interior decoration also through the prism of these theories and reflect on the relationship of paintings to the interior structures of residences.

Chapter 2 is devoted to the analysis of a large painting complex in Nové Město nad Metují, which was commissioned by a Scottish nobleman, the officer Walter Leslie (1607–1677). Representational strategies incorporated in these paintings re-

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4 For the topic selectively: Gombrich, Ernst Hans: *Ziele und Grenzen der Ikonologie*, in: Ekkehard Kaemmerling (ed.): *Bildende Kunst als Zeichensystem*. Bd. I. Ikonographie und Ikonologie. Theorien – Entwicklung – Probleme, Köln 1991, pp. 377–433; Thimann, Michael: *Lügenhafte Bilder. Ovids favole und das Historienbild in der italienischen Renaissance*, Göttingen 2002; Cieri Via, Claudia: *L'arte delle Metamorfosi. Decorazioni mitologiche nel Cinquecento*, Roma 2003.

fer not only to his successful military career, but also to his diplomatic service and marriage politics.

Chapter 3 describes mythological paintings in Kroměříž, one of the main seats of network of residences and the property of the Olomouc (Olmütz) Diocese. The commissioner, Bishop Karl II von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn (1624–1695) was one of the most noteworthy artistic patrons and clients, and in his architectural and collecting enterprises ranked among the most distinguished figures of his time in Central Europe. All his creative activities are imbued with painstaking care over the conceptual aspect and the quality standard of the artistic works realised.

Chapter 4 reveals the strategies behind the project of rebuilding the ancestral residence in Slavkov u Brna, initiated by the Imperial Vice-Chancellor Dominik Andreas Kaunitz (1655–1705). The project, created by highly-demanded Italian artists, reflects not only the career growth of their patron, but also Kaunitz's experience from a grand tour or his connections to other prominent figures of the Viennese court.

The three residences<sup>5</sup> belong to the category of principal countryside aristocratic seats and this group of residences will receive the most attention. In the case of Bohemian and Moravian countryside residences, research is also confronted with the more limited extent of their art historical analysis compared to city palaces (especially those in Prague)<sup>6</sup> and Prague suburban villas.<sup>7</sup> And yet, the attention of aristo-

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- 5 I am aware of the complications associated with using the term residence, since it is associated with a very narrow or, conversely, very broad meaning, thus designating seats of various categories. In historiography, the term is often associated with the purpose for which the seat was established, not with its fulfilment: See e.g.: Neitmann, Klaus: Was ist eine Residenz? Methodische Überlegungen zur Erforschung der spätmittelalterlichen Residenzbildung, in: Peter Johaneck (ed.): *Vorträge und Forschungen zur Residenzbildung*, Sigmaringen 1990 (= *Residenzforschung* 1), pp. 11–43. As Petr Maťa has summarily stated, in current Czech historiography a relatively broad definition prevails: Maťa, Petr: *Soumrak venkovských rezidencí. „Urbanizace“ české aristokracie mezi stavovstvím a absolutismem*, in: Václav Bůžek/Pavel Král (eds.): *Aristokratické rezidence a dvory v raném novověku*, České Budějovice 1999 (= *Opera historica* 7), pp. 139–162.
- 6 Kubíček, Alois: *Pražské paláce*, Praha 1946; Svoboda, Jan/Svobodová, Edita: *Antika a Praha (II). Baroko a rokoko*, in: *Zprávy Jednoty klasických filologů* 7 (1965), pp. 25–44; Poche, Emanuel/Preiss, Pavel: *Pražské paláce*, Praha 1973; Šroněk, Michal/Konečný, Lubomír: *Malířská výzdoba Lobkovického paláce* in: *Umění* 43 (1995), pp. 433–441; Horyna, Mojmír (ed.): *Valdštejnský palác v Praze*, Praha 2002; Fučíková, Eliška/Čepička, Ladislav (eds.): *Valdštejn. Albrecht z Valdštejna. Inter arma silent musae?*, Praha 2007; Krummholz, Martin (ed.): *Clam-Gallasův palác. Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach*, Praha 2007; Fejtová, Olga/Ledvinka, Václav/Pešek, Jiří (eds.): *Život pražských paláců. Šlechtické paláce jako součást městského organismu od středověku na práh moderní doby*, Praha 2010 (= *Documenta Pragensia* 28); Winzeler, Marius (ed.): *Schwarzenberský a Salmovský palác*, Praha 2018; Mádl, Martin/Heisslerová, Radka/Kadlec, Tadeáš (eds.): *Slavatovský palác: Projekty hraběte Jana Jáchyma Slavaty z let 1673–1689*, Praha 2022.
- 7 Horyna, Mojmír/Preiss, Pavel/Zahradník, Pavel: *Zámek Trója u Prahy. Dějiny, stavba, plastika a malba*, Praha/Litomyšl 2000; Mádl, Martin: *Zámek Václava Vojtěcha ze Šternberka: apartmány*

cratic clients to their main countryside family residences was equally intense: they formed one of the most essential components of family representation. All analysed commissions raise many questions related to the social and political aspirations of the owners, their intellectual backgrounds or family relationships.

The iconographical and iconological perspective and the study of mythological themes in art brings many specifics with it and allows each observed commission to be approached from different angles. Of course, it is always easy to argue, given the receptive nature of 17th-century Central European ceiling painting, that such works of art lack a deeper meaning and merely reflect the fashionable trends in residential decoration. However, a similarly succinct way of thinking would underestimate all aspects of the paintings, from the economic to the representational. The opposite trend is confirmed both by the surviving sources, which testify to the great care taken by many patrons when decorating their residences (as will particularly be demonstrated in the case of the Bishop of Olomouc, Karl II von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn), and by the intellectual background of these people. Without going into too much detail about the unquestionable level of education of the aristocratic patrons or the role of their grand tours or social networks, further proof is provided by aristocratic libraries, where works of ancient classics and mythographic manuals are commonly encountered.<sup>8</sup>

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v přízemí, in: Martin Mádl (ed.): *Tencalla. Sv. II. Katalog nástěnných maleb Carpofoara a Giacoma Tencally na Moravě a v Čechách*, Praha 2013, pp. 479–516; Mádl, Martin: *Katalog nástěnných maleb [Praha-Troja]*, in: Martin Mádl (ed.): *Tencalla. Sv. II. Katalog nástěnných maleb Carpofoara a Giacoma Tencally na Moravě a v Čechách*, Praha 2013, pp. 517–551.

8 See e.g.: McGrath, Elisabeth: *Artists and Mythographic Handbooks: Some Evidence of Use and Ownership*, in: Rembrandt Duits/François Quiviger, (eds.): *Images of the Pagan Gods. Papers of a Conference in Memory of Jean Seznec*, London 2009, pp. 389–420. A survey of the structure of Moravian aristocratic libraries in relation to works on ancient mythology is published in: Miltová, Mezi, pp. 20–33.

# 1. 17<sup>th</sup>-Century Mythological Ceiling Painting in Bohemia and Moravia

## 1.1 Patrons and Artists

The commissioning background of 17<sup>th</sup>-century residences in Czech lands perfectly reflects the changes in society and aristocracy in the time after the Battle of White Mountain (8 November 1620), in which new families penetrated the countryside to a much greater extent than in other Habsburg countries. The confiscated property passed into the possession of nobles who had not profited significantly in the previous period, others acquired titles through the confiscation process, and above all new aristocrats emerged as landowners. These were recruited mainly from the ranks of the imperial army and came to Central Europe from various European regions. As a result, a new aristocratic society began to be structured, which Tomáš Knoz has accurately characterised as a transition from “provincial” to “Central European”.<sup>1</sup>

It is not surprising that a considerable part of the residential decorations created in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century or around the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century came from commissions for newly established families, originally from various regions, whose careers were linked to military service in the Habsburg army.<sup>2</sup> For some of them, the post-White Mountain confiscations represented an opportunity to acquire new property, in which symbolic self-representation confirmed the legitimacy of power.

The property transactions associated with the confiscations took place in several waves: the first group of wealthy aristocracy was represented mainly by Albrecht von Wallenstein, Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg and Karl I von Liechtenstein, and the second group mainly by generals and colonels led by Ottavio Piccolomini, Matthias Gallas and Walter Leslie.<sup>3</sup>

The paintings at Nové Město nad Metují, created by Fabian Sebastian Wenceslaus Harovník for the Scottish-born condottiere Walter Leslie, offer a prime example of the celebration of a nobleman associated with the second wave of confiscation, the

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1 Knoz, Tomáš: *Pobělohorské konfiskace. Moravský průběh, středoevropské souvislosti, obecné aspekty*, Brno 2006, p. 702.

2 Polišenský, Josef/Snider, Frederick: *Změny ve složení české šlechty v 16. a 17. století*, in: *Československý časopis historický* 20 (1972), pp. 515–526.

3 Knoz, *Pobělohorské*, p. 618.

generation of colonels and the patronage related to this (chap. 2). The man, whose life story and political career was certainly not only bound up with his participation in the assassination of Albrecht von Wallenstein in Cheb (Eger) on 25 February 1634, was given Nové Město nad Metují as a confiscate. The representative dimension of the multilayered paintings of the piano nobile reflects not only Leslie's rise up the social ladder, but also the celebration of the Leslie family's connection to the Dietrichstein family. Both levels confirmed a legitimate involvement in the estate's power structures. The newly established aristocratic families, seeking to achieve the desired respect, expressed their intention to remain on their newly acquired estates and to fully represent them, among other things, by the extensive display of their family coat of arms on newly constructed or rebuilt buildings and objects on the estates.<sup>4</sup>

The decoration of Nové Město nad Metují created for Walter Leslie does not stand alone in the Czech and Moravian environment, but a similar client context can be observed in several other examples. The Rottals, Thun-Hohensteins, Losys von Losinthal and many others also belonged to the newly established families in Bohemia and Moravia. For example, the chateau in Štěkeň (Steken) was one of the confiscated residences of the Protestant branch of the Malowetz family. The chateau subsequently changed owner several times, after which Emperor Ferdinand III gave it to the Court Chancellor Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal in 1648, whose family came to Prague from Tyrol during the Thirty Years' War in search of new opportunities. Similarly to Walter Leslie, Johann Anton Losy also chose imperial and sovereign iconography to celebrate his family, while also emphasising marriage politics.<sup>5</sup> Marital symbolism also permeated the decoration of Nový Hrad u Jimlína (Neuschloß bei Imling), commissioned by the Habsburg officer of Livonian origin, Count Gustav Adolph von Varrensbach.<sup>6</sup> The Rottals belonged to the wealthiest and most influential Lower Austrian families already in the pre-White Mountain period. With the post-war stabilisation, they acquired extensive estates in eastern Moravia and Johann von Rottal, along with others who had proved themselves in Habsburg service and settled in the region, such as Louis Raduit de Souches and Franz Magnis, became one of the leading representatives of the Moravian nobility.<sup>7</sup> In Moravia one

4 Worthington, David: *Scots in the Habsburg Service, 1618–1648*, Leiden 2004, p. 209. On the building activities of officers from the Thirty Years' War: Panochová, Ivana: *Mezi zbraněmi vlčí múzy. Protobaroko v české a moravské architektuře 1620–1650 a jeho donátorské pozadí. Stylová, funkční a ideová analýza* (Dissertation thesis), Olomouc 2004; Panochová, Ivana: *Offiziere und Rivalen Albrecht von Waldsteins als Stifter von Bauwerken in der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Kriegs in Böhmen und Mähren*, *Umění* 54 (2006), pp. 492–503; Prchal, Vítězslav: *Společenstvo hrdinů. Válka a reprezentační strategie českomoravské aristokracie 1550–1750*, Praha 2015.

5 Miltová, Mezi, pp. 54–63 (with further bibliography on the topic).

6 *Ibidem*, pp. 224–235.

7 *Válka*, Josef: *Dějiny Moravy. Vol. II. Morava reformace, renesance a baroka*, Brno 1995, pp. 107–114;

cannot forget the powerful landowner, embodied by the Olomouc bishopric. The status of a principality under a direct fief lord in the person of the Bohemian king increased significantly in the time of Karl II von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn (chap. 3).

In the confessionally turbulent period of the first half of the 17th century, those nobles who converted from Protestantism to Catholicism also achieved important positions and had spectacular careers. A striking example of such a social ascent is Gundakar von Dietrichstein, whose father, Bartholomäus, was one of the exiles who remained at the disfavour of the Viennese court. Gundakar converted to Catholicism in 1650 and soon became a valet to Prince Leopold, after whose accession to the imperial throne Dietrichstein's career began to soar.<sup>8</sup> During the reconstruction and redecoration of his residence in Libochovice (Libochowitz), he let the princely crowns be incorporated into the paintings and stuccoes which commemorate his elevation to the status of imperial prince in April 1684. Direct references in the stucco ornaments highlighted the prince's social rise, but the choice of the ceiling painting of the Apotheosis of Aeneas in the same room, which presented the mythical hero's elevation to the company of the Olympian gods, was clearly equally motivated. The social status of the builder is echoed in other rooms in Libochovice, where cardinal virtues were depicted, pointing to an aristocratic moral imperative. This culminated in the paintings in the main hall of the chateau, which, according to descriptions, celebrated the allegorical elevation of the Dietrichsteins to princely status (unfortunately, the paintings in the main hall have not survived).<sup>9</sup>

Another example of this group of clients is Caspar Zdenko von Capliers, whose grandfather was executed during the Old Town Execution (21 June 1621) and who also had a Protestant past. He himself went through the armies of both conflicting sides and, after converting and pledging loyalty to the emperor, was granted a pardon and the return of his family estates. Thanks to his successful military career, he gained other positions and the opportunity to purchase new estates, including the castle in Milešov (Mileschau). For the decoration of the castle rooms he called on painter Giacomo Tencalla, whose paintings celebrated the military achievements of their owner.<sup>10</sup>

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Knoz, Pobełohorské, pp. 316, 318, 344; Juráňová, Renata: Jan Rottal a jeho doba, Holešov 2009, pp. 10–33; Pokluda, Zdeněk: Zámek Holešov. Minulost a přítomnost, Holešov 2015, pp. 24–28; David, Jiří: Politika na Moravě v době třicetileté války, in: Michal Konečný (ed.): Kryštof Pavel z Liechtensteinu-Castelkornu a Morava v časech třicetileté války, Brno 2010, pp. 37–53.

8 Zahradník, Pavel/Mádl, Martin: Zámek Gundakara z Dietrichsteina, in: Mádl, Tencalla II, p. 555.

9 Sommer, Johann Gottfried: Das Königreich Bohmen. Statistisch-topographisch dargestellt. Bd. I. Leitmeritzer Kreis, Prag 1833, p. 42; Nökkala Miltová, Ve společnosti, pp. 146–167.

10 Macek, Jaroslav: Kaspar Zdenko Kapliř von Sullowitz (1611–1686), in: Peter Csendes (ed.): Studien zur Geschichte Wiens im Türkenjahr 1683, Wien 1983 (= Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der

In the structure of society around the middle of the 17th century, many noble families traditionally positioned themselves as supporters of the imperial house and imperial politics, whether they belonged to the Catholic nobility or to the circle of converts. Among the richest aristocrats of the first half of the 17th century were Wenzel Eusebius von Lobkowitz, Humprecht Johann Czernin von Chudenitz and Bohuchval Berka von Dubá.<sup>11</sup>

It is therefore only natural that representatives of all three families are involved in major commissions, of which the residential project of Wenzel Eusebius von Lobkowitz in Roudnice nad Labem (Raudnitz an der Elbe) stands out for its planned magnificence. Wenzel Eusebius belonged to the generation of noblemen whose careers were tied to Ferdinand III's accession to the throne. The new monarch no longer favoured his father's favourites, such as Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg or Johann Baptist von Werdenberg, but based his policy on new personalities such as Wenzel Eusebius,<sup>12</sup> who began by holding the post of President of the War Council. After he received the Order of the Golden Fleece and was promoted to the status of imperial prince, Wenzel Eusebius continued his promising career and became the highest imperial Hofmeister to Emperor Leopold I. However, his years in the political spotlight came to an end in 1674 when the prince was dismissed from office for alleged political misconduct and banished to house arrest in the chateau of Roudnice.<sup>13</sup> Wenzel Eusebius von Lobkowitz, like many others, was thus witness to the fragility of imperial favour.

The political ups and downs of the previous generation included, for example, Johann Baptist von Werdenberg, who enjoyed great support from the Emperor Ferdinand II. His successful career was, however, ended by the enthronement of Ferdinand III and Johann Baptist was forced to retreat into political isolation, a fact that greatly distressed him.<sup>14</sup> His son Ferdinand von Werdenberg, the commissioner of Carpoforo Tencalla's paintings in *Náměšť nad Oslavou* (Namiest an der Oslawa), did not achieve any significant political career at the imperial court. The previously mentioned Caspar Zdenko von Capliers (commissioner of paintings in *Milešov*), who in 1661 was accused of involvement in the preparations for murdering Count Ernst Karl Attems, also had to clear his reputation at the imperial court. The process of fully rehabilitating his name was completed only after several years in 1668, during which Caspar Zdenko was partly in hiding in Saxony. His renewed honours,

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Stadt Wien 39), pp. 7–68; Maťa, Petr: *Mezi dvorem a provincií. Šlechtičtí objednavatelé maleb Carpofora a Giacoma Tencally v habsburské monarchii*, in: Mádl, Tencalla I, pp. 99–101.

11 Knoz, *Pobělohorské*, p. 492.

12 *Ibidem*, p. 503.

13 Wolf, Adam: *Furst Wenzel Lobkowitz, erster geheimer Rath Kaiser Leopold's I. 1609–1677. Sein Leben und Wirken*, Wien 1869; Maťa, *Mezi*, pp. 99–101.

14 Knoz, *Pobělohorské*, p. 538.

newly acquired positions and titles were then earned by his successful mission in the war between Leopold I and the French king Louis XIV.<sup>15</sup>

One of the most powerful and wealthy noble families was naturally the family of the pre-White Mountain princes Liechtenstein, whose tradition in Moravia dates to the Middle Ages. Before the Bohemian revolt, Karl von Liechtenstein already administered extensive property domains, including Lednice (Eisgrub), Valtice (Feldsberg) and Hustopeče (Auspitz). In the process of restitution and rehabilitation, he expanded the estate with the original manor of Černá Hora (Schwarzenberg) of the Lords von Boskowitz, and later acquired Plumlov (Plumenau), Prostějov (Proßnitz) and Úsov (Aussee). During the 17th century, Matthäus Merian in his texts highlighted the Liechtensteins together with the Dietrichsteins as the most influential Moravian aristocrats.<sup>16</sup> One of the most important patrons in the Liechtenstein family was Johann Adam Andreas von Liechtenstein, who is considered to be a patron rival of Dominik Andreas Kaunitz. Johann Adam Andreas von Liechtenstein took great care to build his own reputation, while at the same time emphasising his role as a great patron. He belonged to the prominent personalities of the Viennese court, was an Imperial Chamberlain, a member of the Privy Council, and a holder of the Order of the Golden Fleece. During the reign of Emperor Joseph I, he participated in the Diet of Hungary as one of the imperial plenipotentiaries. His patronage activities were most evident in the Liechtenstein projects in Vienna, primarily the construction and interior decoration of the Vienna City Palace and the Garden Palace in Rossau.<sup>17</sup> In Moravia, the painting of the chateau in Plumlov is associated with his name. Dominik Andreas Kaunitz, whose patronage will be discussed in chapter 4, also belonged to the aristocratic elite of the late 17th century. Similarly, a much larger number of personalities were involved in the patronage circles, some of whom will be mentioned further in this book.

The representational strategies of the clients naturally derived from all the factors considered: the transformation of noble society in the 17th century, the need to

15 Macek, Kaspar, pp. 7–68; Maťa, Mezi, pp. 99–101.

16 Knoz, Pobělohorské, pp. 76, 132–134.

17 Polleroß, Friedrich B.: *Utilità, Virtù e Bellezza. Fürst Johann Adam Andreas von Liechtenstein und sein Wiener Palast in der Rossau*, in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 47 (1993), pp. 36–52; Lorenz, Hellmut: *Die wichtigste Paläste des Fürsten Johann Adam von Liechtenstein*, in: *Parnass* 15 (1995), Sonderheft 11, pp. 88–94; Reuß, Matthias: *Antonio Belluccis Gemäldefolge für das Stadtpalais Liechtenstein in Wien*, Hildesheim/Zürich/New York 1998, pp. 53, 82, 87, 88, 94, 127; Polleroß, Friedrich: *Della virtù e della grandezza Romana. Das Palais Liechtenstein in der Rossau – Bemerkungen zu Architektur, Ikonographie und Konzept*, in: *Die Liechtenstein und die Kunst*, Vaduz 2014, pp. 57–85; *On the life of J. A. A. Liechtenstein: Haupt, Herbert: Fürst Johann Adam Andreas von Liechtenstein (1657–1712): Mosaiksteine eines Lebens*, Wien/Köln/Weimar 2016.

declare loyalty to the Habsburg House and the clients' various careers. Newly built or decorated residences required paintings, and patrons sought to recruit painters capable of capturing their visions. Even in the case of selecting capable artists, the situation varied considerably between 1650 and 1700.

In the comprehensive publications on mural painting in the Czech lands around the middle of the 17th century, one name occurs in particular, that of the Prague-born painter Fabian Sebastian Wenceslaus Harovník.<sup>18</sup> He was one of the few of his time in the region who was able to handle large-scale fresco paintings, which secured him a firm position in artistic competition. In accordance with the conventions, Harovník was an active member of the Prague painters' guilds, namely the Old Town and New Town guilds.<sup>19</sup> Harovník's production is characterised by a qualitatively uneven range, connected with a highly receptive style, based on the translation of graphic models. Nevertheless, his versatility and ability to work in the fresco technique on larger surfaces was sufficient for his gradually growing fame. This was also assured by his successful commission, in which the painter Giovanni Vanetti also participated, on the ceiling of the main hall and the chapel of the East Bohemian castle in Náchod (Nachod), where Harovník worked for General Ottavio Piccolomini in the early 1650s.<sup>20</sup> The paintings in Náchod impressed other aristocrats, and it is not surprising that Harovník soon received extensive commissions for the Lobkowitz Palace in Prague and the castle in Nové Město nad Metují.

Harovník remained at the forefront among local artists thanks to his ability to create larger fresco cycles, but he could not satisfy the needs of all potential customers. The lack of qualified local painters, or painters capable of handling larger vaulted surfaces, led many patrons to assign commissions to artists from other regions. This was a widespread practice during the 17th century, as many examples demonstrate. It offered the opportunity to use the services of the numerous groups of Italian craftsmen who had been coming to Central Europe in search of a living for

18 For Harovník see in particular: Závorková, Marie: Fabián Václav Harovník, in: *Památky archeologické* 38 (1932), pp. 62–69; Šroněk, Michal: Fabián Václav Harovník. Práce v pražské Loretě, pozůstatek knihovny, in: *Umění* 34 (1986), pp. 451–455; Šroněk/Konečný, Malířská, pp. 433–441; Šroněk, Michal: *Pražští malíři 1600–1656. Mistři, tovaryši, učedníci a štolíři v Knize Staroměstského malířského cechu*. Biografický slovník, Praha 1997, pp. 43–47; Svojanovský, Petr: *Freska Fabiána Václava Harovníka v zámku ve Štětkni*, in: *Zprávy památkové péče* 57/3 (1997), pp. 78–82; Nokkala Miltová, Ve společenství, pp. 22–63; Prostředníková, Vendula: *Studie o malířských realizacích Fabiána Václava Harovníka (Master thesis)*, Olomouc 2017; Zapletalová, Jana: *Giovanni Vanetti, Fabián Václav Harovník a nástěnné malířství v Čechách po třicetileté válce*, in: *Umění* 68/1 (2020), pp. 26–40.

19 Šroněk, Pražští, pp. 43–47.

20 However, Harovník's painting in the main hall was replaced during the 18th century by a fresco by Felix Anton Scheffler: Blažíček, Oldřich Jakub: *F. V. Harovník a rokoková nástropní freska v náchodském zámku*, in: *Památky. Historie* 43 (1948), p. 86.

several generations. Among them was the Ticino master Carpofo Tencalla, who from the mid-17th century onwards influenced Central European artistic production. His painting abilities far exceeded the quality of local artists. He was actually the only one who brought a combination of bravura technique and fresh colour to mural painting in Central Europe around the mid-17th century.<sup>21</sup> These capabilities guaranteed Carpofo's immediate popularity among Central European patrons, and the demand for his paintings soon exceeded the painter's available time. The schedule of Carpofo's work from the 1660s onwards demonstrates the painter's considerable employment and activity. It is not surprising, therefore, that Carpo-

21 On the work of C. Tencalla in particular: Stehlik, Miloš: K autorství nástropních maleb v náměšťské zámecké knihovně, in: Zprávy památkové péče 18/3–4 (1958), pp. 131–132; Kitlitschka, Werner: Das Schloss Petronell in Niederösterreich. Beiträge zur Baugeschichte und kunsthistorischen Bedeutung, in: *Arte Lombarda* 12 (1967), pp. 105–126; Kitlitschka, Werner: Beiträge zur Erforschung der Tätigkeit Carpofo Tencallas nördlich der Alpen, in: *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 23 (1970), pp. 208–231; Kitlitschka, Werner: Carpofo Tencalla. Ein Maler vom Hofe Kaiser Leopolds I., in: *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kunstforschung in Wien* 25 (1972), pp. 9–11; Kitlitschka, Werner: Carpofo Tencallas Gewölbefresken in der Sakristei des Stiftes Heiligenkreuz, in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Denkmalpflege* 27 (1973), pp. 139–144; Řehulka, Evžen: Malířské dílo Carpofo Tencally na Moravě (Master thesis), Brno 1977; Ganz, Jürg: Zur Tätigkeit des Malers Carpofo Tencalla südlich der Alpen, in: *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 35 (1978), pp. 52–68; Kühenthal, Michael/Zunhamer, Martin: Der Passauer Dom und die Deckengemälde Carpofo Tencallas. Ergebnisse der Restaurierung 1972–1980, München/Zürich 1982; Schemper-Sparholz, Ingeborg: Illustration und Bedeutung. Inhaltliche Überlegungen zu den Fresken Carpofo Tencallas in Trautenfels, Eisenstadt und Náměšť a. d. Oslava, in: *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 36 (1983), pp. 303–320; Medvecký, Jozef: K počiatkom činnosti Carpofo Tencalu. Ranobarokové fresky na hrade Červený Kameň a ich ikonografia, in: *Ars* (1994), pp. 237–314; Möseneder, Karl: Stuckdekoration und Deckenmalerei, in: Karl Möseneder (ed.): *Der Dom in Passau. Vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart*, Passau 1995, pp. 149–237; Schemper-Sparholz, Ingeborg: Von Trautenfels über Eisenstadt nach Prag. Die Hesperidenfresken Carpofo Tencallas in Schloß Troia, in: Vít Vlnas/Tomáš Sekyrka (eds.): *Ars baculum vitae. Sborník studií z dějin umění a kultury k 70. narozeninám Prof. PhDr. Pavla Preisse, DrSc.*, Praha 1996, pp. 143–149; Mollisi, Giorgio: Carpofo Tencalla: un ciclo di affreschi sconosciuto, in: *Arte lombarda. Nuova serie* (1998), pp. 39–49; Proserpi, Ivano: I Tencalla di Bissone, Lugano 1999 (= *Artisti dei laghi. Itinerari europei* 4); Štěpánková, Veronika: Malířská tvorba Carpofo Tencally na Moravě v kontextu jeho celoživotního díla (PhD. thesis), Olomouc 2005; Mollisi, Giorgio/Proserpi, Ivano/Spiriti, Andrea: Carpofo Tencalla da Bissone. Pittura del Seicento fra Milano e l'Europa centrale, Milano 2005; Medvecký, Jozef: „Man fand bey ihm eine richtige Zeichnung, ein vernünftiges Kolorit, und sinnreiche Zusammensetzungen...“ Carpofo Tencallas Deckenmalereien auf der Burg Červený Kameň, in: Martin Mádl/Michaela Šeferisová Loudová/Zora Wörgötter (eds.): *Baroque Ceiling Painting in Central Europe*, Praha 2007, pp. 189–195; Mádl, Martin: Giacomo Tencalla and Ceiling Painting in 17th Century Bohemia and Moravia, in *Umění* 56 (2008), pp. 38–64; Mádl, Martin: „Mors et Vita, Hyems et Aestas, Longe et Prope“. Úvaha o malbách Carpofo Tencally v Náměšti nad Oslavou, in: *Umění* 59 (2011), pp. 214–236; Mádl, Tencalla I; Mádl Tencalla II; Medvecký, Jozef: *Anjelský hrad v Karpatoch. Carpofo Tencalla a ranobaroková výzdoba hradu Červený Kameň*, Bratislava 2015.

foro's younger cousin, assistant and imitator Giacomo Tencalla began to work on many commissions. The number of surviving realisations by these two artists in the Czech lands, created over a period of three decades, only testifies to the immense resonance of their pictorial expression. In the case of mythological themes, these include murals in Náměšť nad Oslavou, Kroměříž, Lnáře (Schlüsselburg), Roudnice nad Labem, Milešov, Libochovice, Červená Lhota (Rothlhotta) and the Slavata Palace in Prague.

Until relatively recently, Giacomo Tencalla was almost unknown, and Carpofo Tencalla's pupils and collaborators are only slowly coming into wider scholarly awareness thanks to the deepening research.<sup>22</sup> Only Antonio Galliardi has become better known, but the name of Giuseppe Muttoni also appears in the archival documents. These painters were clearly working in Carpofo's maniera and can therefore be presumed to have been directly inspired or trained by Carpofo. However, given Carpofo's busy schedule, it is clear that they were still taking on some commissions during his lifetime to satisfy the demand of a widespread clientele for the 'Tencalla' style.

Although the work of Carpofo Tencalla and his followers was of undeniable quality, this does not mean that it remained in absolute opposition to the production of local artists in terms of "invention". Carpofo, fully in line with contemporary practice, used graphic models and repeated the same compositions in several places. The network of identical motifs is further reinforced by the numerous works of Carpofo's successors, with Giacomo Tencalla at the forefront, making the whole group of 'Tencalla' paintings a complex, interrelated structure. As Martin Mádl argued, the popularity and fame of Carpofo's fresco skills raised the wave of demand to such an extent that the master himself was unable to satisfy all those interested. This is probably why Giacomo followed his teacher so faithfully, spreading his popular compositional schemes to other localities. From the surviving materials, it seems likely that he used either his own drawings of Carpofo's paintings or designs for them for this purpose.<sup>23</sup> He did so for entire scenes or individual details, yet in some variants of the same iconography there are differences with respect to a specific source of inspiration, namely prints. Thus, although the main formal source of inspiration for Giacomo's realisations was the work of Carpofo, we can nevertheless find echoes of graphic models in his work.

<sup>22</sup> Mádl, Tencalla I; Mádl, Tencalla II; Mádl/Heisslerová/Kadlec, Slavatovský.

<sup>23</sup> Mádl, Martin: Giacomo Tencalla and Ceiling Painting in 17th Century Bohemia and Moravia, in: *Umění* 56 (2008), pp. 38–64. The likelihood of a collaboration between the two Tencallas already emerges from Carpofo's painting of the chateau in Trautenfels. Based on the use of motifs from Trautenfels in Giacomo's work, it appears that the artist was assisting and creating records of Carpofo's paintings. Mádl, Martin/Zapletalová, Jana: Malíř Carpofo Tencalla (1623–1685) jižně a severně od Dunaje, in: Mádl, Tencalla I, pp. 38–41.

If one were to look for a link from Carpofo Tencalla to the next generation of Italian artists, one would find it in the person of the Bishop of Olomouc, Karl II of Liechtenstein-Castelkorn. He first employed Carpofo Tencalla and Giacomo Tencalla, then the Bolognese painter Giuseppe Bragalli, Ticino master Giovanni Carlone and the Lombard artist Paolo Pagani.<sup>24</sup> With their work, we gradually reach the end of the 1680s and the 1690s, respectively. A comparison of Giacomo Tencalla's paintings in the pavilion of the Flower Garden in Kroměříž with Paolo Pagani's paintings in the sala terrena of the Kroměříž residence shows a visible difference in the decoration system (chap. 3) and illustrates the gradual change in taste that took place over these decades. It is in this period that ceiling painting begins to undergo more significant transformations, abandoning the concept of smaller, stuccoed fields. With large commissions (the Sternberg Villa Troja in Prague – Bubeneč (Bubentsch), the ancestral hall at the chateau in Vranov nad Dyjí/Frain), from the late 1680s the vaulted spaces were opened up to full-scale painting and the number of high-quality paintings increased. By the end of the 17th century, the patrons already had the opportunity to choose from a greater variety of masters, both local and incoming (Johann Michael Rottmayr, Carlo Innocenzo Carlone, Andrea Lanzani, Sebastiano Ricci, Andrea Pozzo etc).

## 1.2 Reception of Prints

Formal receptiveness in the sense of copying and paraphrasing fashionable prints is one of the essential features of Baroque ceiling painting in Central Europe. Traditionally, this rather eclectic type of artistic production used to be considered negatively as a manifestation of a lack of artistic invention. However, such a one-sided view fundamentally restricts the real meaning of these works of art. The opposite perspective also corresponds to the recent research clearly demonstrating that the process of translation of prints was very complex and belonged to pervasive artistic praxis across Europe, to which most artists and commissioners turned in their time.<sup>25</sup> The aim of this section is to point out the key processes that played a role in

24 Mádl, Martin: Giuseppe Bragalli and Bolognese Ceiling Painting in the Czech Lands in the 17th Century, in: *Umění* 59 (2011), pp. 350–379; Mádl, Martin: Giuseppe Bragalli a boloňská nástěnná malba na Moravě a v Čechách 17. století, in: Ladislav Daniel/Filip Hradil (eds.): *Město v baroku, baroko ve městě, Olomouc* 2013, pp. 147–178; Zapletalová, Jana: Fresco Painters in the Service of Karl von Lichtenstein-Castelcorno and the Transformation of Visual Culture in Moravia, in: Ondřej Jakubec (ed.), *Karl von Liechtenstein-Castelcorno (1624–1695). Bishop of Olomouc and Central European Prince*, Olomouc 2019, pp. 231–246.

25 Selectively, e.g.: Karr Schmidt, Suzanne Kathleen/Wouk, Edward H.: *Prints in Translation 1450–1750. Image, Materiality, Space*, London, New York 2017; Murovec, Barbara: *Referenzialität als Strategie*.

the appropriation of prints into ceiling paintings in Bohemian and Moravian milieu, without attempting to completely cover the subject. The possibilities that receive consideration in the artistic and commissioning process of a work of art are many and are always dependent on the specific historical context of each commission.

Detailed comparison with the prints expands the network of influential patterns and trends that patrons and artists have sought to follow. Thanks to a deeper knowledge of the source material, not only does the number of individual prints used for inspiration or exact imitation increase, but above all a clear direction towards a few main inspirational circuits emerges. These in turn show, in particular, which European residences and European centres played a crucial role for 17th-century painting in Central Europe. Central European mural painting of the 17th century originates from many formal patterns and absorbs many contemporary impulses, which are mixed in many combinations. It is not possible to mention all the nuances of this entangled network, but at least the main emerging trends can be highlighted. The undoubted tradition and fame of the Rudolphine court affected local production far into the 17th century. The power of Italian centres has always been unquestionable. However, the hitherto emphasised connection of Bohemian and Moravian painting with the Italian milieu, logically resulting from the multitude of Italian artists and craftsmen working in Central Europe, must be supplemented by a growing power of French inspiration.

Another important aspect is that many painters did not rigidly follow the printed models for various reasons. That enables us to analyse how painters worked with printed models and used different approaches because changes are an important indicator of intentions. The changes that accompany working with prints have different natures, in terms both of form and meaning, which may refer not only to artistic practice but also to patrons' targeted strategies, as some preserved archive sources confirm.

Considering the chronological sequence of the models and the traditional geographical division according to the individual "schools", it can be stated that the legacy of the great Italian masters of the past, whose knowledge and imitation belonged to the manifestations of refined taste, was logically reflected in 17th-century painting. For example, Carpofo Tencalla gained inspiration from a printed series based on Raphael's famous cycle of Psyche from Villa Farnesina for his paintings in Náměšť nad Oslavou.<sup>26</sup> The echoes of Andrea Mantegna and Enea Vico are to be

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Johann Ulrich Kraus, *das Zitat und die barocke Deckenmalerei in den steirischen Schlössern Štatenberg (Stattenberg) und Dornava (Dornau)*, in *Frühneuzeit-Info*, 32 (2021), pp. 165–181; Jurkowlanec, Grażyna/Herman, Magdalena (eds.): *The Reception of the Printed Image in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. Multiplied and Modified*, New York/London 2021.

<sup>26</sup> Antonio Salamanca originally published this series, and the engravings with the stories of Cupid and Psyche were reprinted during the 16th and 17th centuries: Noireau, Christiane: *La lampe de*

found in Nové Město nad Metují (figs. 16, 17). Harovník in Nové Město also made use of the repertoire of more contemporary Italian works, choosing Pietro Testa and the illustrations in Ferrari's famous botanical treatise *De florum cultura* (1633).

The influence of the specific graphic style of the outstanding etcher and theoretician Pietro Testa is not only recorded by Harovník. At the end of the 1680s, Johann Georg Greiner, a painter active in Vienna, also chose Testa's etchings as his main formal source for painting the chateau in Plumlov. The paintings were originally located in seven rooms on the second and third floors of the chateau, but only five of them have survived in their entirety. The choice of the printed model apparently came at the direct request of Prince Johann Adam Andreas von Liechtenstein, as evidenced by a contract dated January 1687. In addition to financial issues, operational details, the subjects of the paintings and their specific location, the contract also specifies the question of the formal designs: "The Prince himself determined the content of all seven frescoes and for this purpose chose for him the drawings depicting seven different scenes".<sup>27</sup> Johann Adam Andreas von Liechtenstein's interest in Italian painting is also documented by extensive correspondence and contacts with individual artists and is also confirmed by the artworks he commissioned.<sup>28</sup> For more than ten years he employed, for example, the Venetian Antonio Bellucci, who came to Vienna in 1695. The prince used his services both for his Viennese city palace and for the Moravian chateau in Valtice.<sup>29</sup> The same preferences that guided the selection of graphic models are also confirmed by documented negotiations on the purchase of painting collections, in which Prince Johann Adam expressed interest almost exclusively in Italian painters of the 16th and 17th centuries (Tintoretto, Francesco Albani, Caravaggio, Titian, Salvatore Rosa, Carlo Maratta, Pietro da Cortona, Andrea Sacchi, Domenichino) or French masters trained and working in Rome (Nicolas Poussin and Gaspar Dughet).<sup>30</sup> The same selection also characterises Grein-

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Psyché, Paris 1991; Weiland-Pollerberg, Florian: *Amor und Psyche in der Renaissance. Medienspezifisches Erzählen im Bild*, Petersberg 2004, pp. 119f.

27 A transcript of the contract was published by: Kühndel, Jan/Mathon, Jaroslav: *Plumlovský zámek a jeho knížecí architekt*, Prostějov 1937, p. 49; MPA Brno, F 264 Estate Plumlov, inv. č. 372, fasc. M III 2, repairs of Plumlov castle, 1681–1844, fol. 58–59. English translations in this book are mine unless stated otherwise.

28 Seeger, Ulrike: „Weil es Dauerhafter ist und luftiger aussiehet“. Die gänzlich freskierte Zimmerdecke um 1700 – Modus oder Bedeutungsträger?, in: Karner/Lass/Hoppe, *Deckenmalerei*, p. 176; Kowalczyk, Božena Anna: Anton Maria Zanetti e i Canaletto Liechtenstein, in: Enrico Lucchese/Matej Klemenčič (eds.): *Patrons, Intermediaries, Venetian Artists in Vienna & Imperial Domains (1650–1750)*, Firenze 2022, pp. 135–147.

29 Miller, Dwight C.: *Marcantonio Franceschini and the Liechtensteins*, Cambridge 1991, p. 34; Reuß, Antonio.

30 The prince marked these masters in the list of paintings from the collection of Franz Anton Berka von Dubá, part of which was offered to him for purchase in May 1692 through Count Anton Jo-

er's inspiration, namely the classicising Roman work of Pietro Testa and the work of the Rome-based French artist Sébastien Bourdon.

Italian classicising painting of the Roman and Bolognese school, based on the works of Carracci, Guido Reni, Domenichino or Francesco Albani, also aroused the interest of Franz Anton Berka von Dubá for example and was behind the paintings he commissioned for the chateau Nový Falkenburg (Neu Falkenburg).<sup>31</sup> The frescoes attributed to Giuseppe Bragalli are closely related to these stylistic origins: the scene with Apollo on a chariot is very close to Domenichino's version in the Palazzo Costaguti in Rome, and the Venus in Vulcan's workshop draws from the composition by Pietro da Cortona from the Palazzo Doria Pamphilj in Rome.<sup>32</sup> Cortona's impact is also evident in Carpofo Tencalla's torso painting on the colonnade in Kroměříž, in Giacomo Tencalla's frescoes in the chateau of Libochovice or in the paintings by Johann Jakob Stevens of Steinfeld in Wrbna Palace in Prague.<sup>33</sup> The fact that the Bishop of Olomouc, the commissioner of the paintings in Kroměříž, had the prints of the Roman palaces delivered through his agent will be discussed in chapter 3. The ownership of albums produced by Giovanni Giacomo Rossi is also evidenced by Wenzel Adalbert von Sternberg; their acquisition was undoubtedly stimulated by his grand tour. Several paintings based on these models were then executed in his suburban Villa Troja in Bubeneč.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps the most prominent example of the echoes of the grand tour in the decoration of a residence derives from the paintings in Eggenberg in Styria, commissioned by Johann Seyfried von Eggenberg. The friezes in the rooms are decorated with over 200 views of the cities, places and landscapes that the prince and his brother visited during their three-year long tour. The depictions are based on prints that helped to retain the memory of the places visited.<sup>35</sup>

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hann Nostitz. The transaction was not finally carried out because the price was too high: Slavíček, Lubomír: „Sobě, umění, přátelům“. Kapitoly z dějin sběratelství v Čechách a na Moravě 1650–1939, Brno 2007, pp. 64–65.

31 For collections of Franz Anton Berka von Dubá see mainly: Slavíček, Lubomír: *Paralipomena k dějinám berkovské a nostické obrazové sbírky*, in: *Umění* 43 (1995), pp. 445–471; Slavíček, Lubomír: *Zwei Typen der aristokratischen Sammlertätigkeit im 17. Jahrhundert: Otto Nostitz d. J. und Franz Anton Berka von Duba*. in: *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Kunsthistorikerverbandes* 18–19 (2001–2002), pp. 44–49; Slavíček, Sobě, pp. 64–69. The Italian classicising orientation is also evidenced by the commission of an altarpiece by Francesco Cozza for Stará Boleslav (Alt-Bunzlau): Vácha, Štěpán: *An Unknown Work by Francesco Cozza in the Czech Republic*, in: *The Burlington Magazine* 153 (2011), pp. 523–525.

32 Mádl, Giuseppe, pp. 350–379; Mádl, Giuseppe Bragalli, pp. 147–178; Nokkala Miltová, *Ve společnosti*, pp. 172–181.

33 Zapletalová, Jana: *Katalog nástěnných maleb [Kroměříž]*, in: Mádl, Tencalla II, pp. 155–156; Nokkala Miltová, *Ve společnosti*, p. 156; Mádl, *The Patterns*, p. 217.

34 Mádl, *The Patterns*, pp. 215–217.

35 Kaiser, Barbara/Schuster, Paul: *Schloss Eggenberg: Architecture and Furnishings*, Graz 2016, pp. 48–

The graphic illustrations in Ferrari's botanical treatise *De florum cultura* and *Hesperides sive de malorum avreorum cultiva et vsu* (1646) also derive from the Roman classicising circle. A series of prints of Ferrari's works were created by Johann Friedrich Greuter, Cornelis Bloemaert and Nicolas Joseph Foucault, based on drawings by Pietro Cortona, Andrea Sacchi, Guido Reni, Francesco Albani, Giovanni Lanfranco, Nicolas Poussin and others. The whole group of these Roman artists, was connected to the humanist circle around the great scholar and art lover Cassiano dal Pozzo.<sup>36</sup>

As will be analysed later, we can see resonances of Ferrari's treatise *De florum cultura* not only in Harovník's frescoes in Nové Město, but also in the sculptures in the Kroměříž Flower Garden and the chateau sala terrena there. The illustrations in Ferrari's *Hesperides* greatly influenced the iconography and formal execution of paintings by Carpofo Tencalla and Giacomo Tencalla, undertaken in many places in Central Europe. Carpofo painted scenes from the story of Hesperides with undoubted knowledge of these prints at the chateaux of Trautenfels (Styria) and Eisenstadt (Burgenland). His cousin Giacomo followed this example and repeated the same compositions at the chateaux of Troja, Lnáře, Roudnice nad Labem and Červená Lhota.<sup>37</sup>

Moving from Italian impulses, the production of northern, Mannerist graphic art, which directly or more remotely connects Netherlandish artists with the Prague court of Rudolph II, was a crucial source as well. Given these links, it is not surprising that works of International Mannerism found a wide resonance in Central Europe during the 17th century. The series *Bonorum et malorum consensio* by Maarten de Vos and Johann Sadeler served as a model for painting the castle in Radíč (Raditsch), while an early copy of it decorates the ceiling of the chateau in Častolovice (Tschastolowitz).<sup>38</sup> The compositional designs by Maarten de Vos also shaped the painted decorations in the chateau in Štěkeň, through Adriaen Collaert's engravings of ancient world monarchs. In fact, the decoration of Štěkeň is executed through

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51, 98–101. Detailed description of the Eggenberg's tour and edition of their diaries: Bok, Václav/Kubíková, Anna (eds.), Bericht über die Reise Johann Christians und Johann Seyfrieds von Eggenberg durch die Länder Mittel-, West- und Südeuropas in den Jahren 1660–1663, České Budějovice 2012.

36 Freedberg, David: Ferrari and the Pregnant Lemons of Pietrasanta, in: Alessandro Tagliolini (ed.): Il Giardino delle Esperidi. Gli agrumi nella storia, nella letteratura e nell'arte, Firenze 1996, pp. 41–58.

37 Horyna/Preiss/Zahradník, Zámek, pp. 146–150; Lejsková-Matyášová, Milada: Zlatá jablka Hesperidek v bájích, oranžeriích a nástrojním malířství, in: Dějiny a současnost 9/4 (1967), pp. 24–26; Kitlitschka, Beiträge, p. 227; Schemper-Sparholz, Von Trautenfels; Mádl, Giacomo, p. 55; Mádl, Tencalla I.; Mádl, Tencalla II; Mádl/Heisslerová/Kadlec, Slavatovský, pp. 207–229.

38 De Hoop Scheffer, Dieuwke/Boon, Karl G. (eds.): Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700. Vol. XX. Constantijn Daniel van Renesse to Geraert van Ryssen, Amsterdam 1978, pp. 89ff.; Lejsková-Matyášová, Milada: Spolupráce M. de Vose a J. Sadelera, in: Umění 1 (1953), pp. 328–335.

Dutch graphic inspiration, as confirmed also by the copies of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* illustrations by Crispijn de Passe.<sup>39</sup> Another example of the reception of Mannerist graphic art is represented by emblems copied from Alciati's *Emblematum liber* and *Symbola divina et humana pontificum* by Jacobus Typotius and Anselm Boëtius de Boodt, used in Nové Město nad Metují and Doudleby nad Orlicí (Daudleb an der Adler).

The geographical proximity of the places where certain print series were published undoubtedly increased their impact, which is also evident in the later works of Central European provenance. The vibrant artistic exchange between Augsburg as the epicentre of Central European graphic production and the Czech lands supported this trend.<sup>40</sup> Johann Christoph Weigel's Augsburg engravings have received a certain response in Doudleby nad Orlicí, family seat of the Counts von Bubno and Lititz, and a special place in Doudleby belongs to Matthäus Küsel's engraving based on Burnacini's scenic design from the opera *Il pomo d'oro*. A range of other graphic series, mainly of French provenance, to which we will return, circulated to Central Europe in reprints through Augsburg printing production.

The most striking evidence of the impact of Central European prints, however, remains the extremely inspiring series of Ovidian illustrations by the German engraver Johann Wilhelm Baur.<sup>41</sup> Their reflection is encountered in Nové Město nad Metují,

39 For illustrations by C. de Passe see mainly: Veldman, Ilja M.: Crispijn de Passe and his Progeny (1564–1670). A Century of Print Production. (Studies in Prints and Printmaking, vol. 3, eds. P. Fuhring, G. Luijten, J. Van der Stock), Rotterdam 2001; Veldman, Ilja M.: Profit and Pleasure. Print Books by Crispijn de Passe (Studies in Prints and Printmaking vol. 4, eds. Peter Fuhring, Ger Luijten, Chris Schuckman and Jan Van der Stock), Rotterdam 2001. The reception of illustrated editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in early modern art of Bohemia and Moravia was last summarised in: Nokkala Miltoňová, Radka: Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in 17th- and 18th-Century Bohemia and Moravia, in: Giuseppe Capriotti/Fátima Díez Platas/Francesca Casamassima (eds.): Ovidius Pictus: Afterlives of the *Metamorphoses* in Europe, from Books to the Arts (=Il Capitale Culturale. Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage, Supplementi 15/2023), pp. 377–411.

40 On the links of Czech artists to Augsburg printing production, especially: Zelenková, Petra: Barokní grafika 17. století v zemích koruny české, Praha 2009.

41 Dem Hoch Edlen und Gestrengen Herren Jonae von Heyssperg Auff Merckenstein Potenstein. Khunigsprun. Getzendorff Unnd Grossa Herren zu Ilmau Unnd Obren Weyssenbach Der Rom: [...] Herren D. D. D. Johann Wilhelm Baur Inventor, Viennae 1641.

The impact of Baur's illustrations was intensified by their re-editions. Copies of Baur's engravings were made by the engraver Abraham Aubry for several Nuremberg editions, notably Paul Fürst's from around 1680 and his widow's from 1687 (*Ovidii Metamorphosis oder Verwandlungsbücher das ist, Hundert und Fünffzig neue Kunstreiche KupfferBildunge, aus des zwar Heidnischen aber Sinnreichen Poeten Ovidii [...]. Durch den Kunstberühmten Johann Wilhelm Baur Inventirt und Durch Abraham Aubry in Kupfer gestochen, Nürnberg [ca 1680]; Bellissimum Ovidii Theatrum pulcherimae P. Ovidii Nasonis Poetae admodum ingeniosi [...] Exejus Libris XV. Metamorphoseos desumptae à Celeberrimò Sculptore, Giulhelmo Bauern/olim inventae & ari incisae [...], Norimbergae*

Lobkowitz Palace in Prague, Radíč, Holešov (Holleschau) or Doudleby nad Orlicí. Carpofo Tencalla also repeatedly turned to Johann Wilhelm Baur's dynamic compositions. Jozef Medvecký identified the presence of Baur in two painted fields of the piano nobile of the Červený Kameň Castle (Slovakia), where Carpofo worked in 1655.<sup>42</sup> A greater dependence on Baur's illustrations informs Carpofo's painting of small monochrome sections with Ovidian stories on the vaults of the former sala terrena of the castle in Náměšť nad Oslovou.<sup>43</sup> Carpofo Tencalla, together with Giacomo Tencalla continued to use Baur's prints in the decoration of the central pavilion in the Flower Garden in Kroměříž (figs. 25, 26). At the chateaux at Lnáře and Libochovice, Giacomo Tencalla used Baur's prints in his paintings of Apollo and Coronis and the Apotheosis of Aeneas.<sup>44</sup> In the chateau at Lnáře, the importance of Baur's work is still visible in a later layer of decoration. After the middle of the 18th century, when the chateau was owned by Johann Franz Christian Sweets-Sporck and his second wife Maria Theresa Kaunitz, a more extensive Rococo decoration was created. One of the components of the paintings consisted of copies of Baur's engravings as trompe l'oeil prints hanging on the walls.<sup>45</sup>

Baur's illustrations became truly dominant in the artistic production of 17th- and 18th-century Bohemia and Moravia and retained their popularity until the end of 18th century. This was obviously much strengthened by the geographical proximity of the towns where the respective editions were published (Vienna, Nuremberg, Augsburg). Confirmation that the whole Central European output is coherent in this sense is also provided by research on nearby regions. Here we can mention, for ex-

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1687). Further copies after Baur (some from the hand of Melchior Küsel) were made for the Augsburg editions, published in 1681 and 1709 (Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphosis Oder Ovidii Des Poeten Wvnderliche Verendervng Verschidener Gestalden An Tag Gegeben Und Verlegt, Augspurg 1681; Des vortrefflichen Römischen Poëtens Publii Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon, Oder: Funffzehen Buecher Der Verwandlungen, Ehmahlen durch den berühmten Wilhelm Bauer in Kupffer gebracht; [...] ausgefertigt und verlegt durch Jeremias Wolff, Kunst-Haendlern, Augspurg 1709).

On the engravings of J. W. Baur: Bonnefoit, Régine: Johann Wilhelm Baur (1607–1642). Ein Wegbereiter der barocken Kunst in Deutschland, Tübingen/Berlin 1997, pp. 111–113; Huber-Rebenich, Gerlinde: Metamorphosen der „Metamorphosen“. Ovids Verwandlungssagen in der textbegleitenden Druckgraphik, Rudolstadt/Jena 1999, p. 60.

42 In addition to Johann Wilhelm Baur's models, Jozef Medvecký has uncovered a much broader spectrum of graphic inspiration in these paintings: Medvecký, K počiatkom, pp. 237–303; Medvecký: Anjelský, pp. 53–123; www.barok.me [last accessed 13/03/2025].

43 Carpofo Tencalla composed most of the fields in the decoration in accordance with various graphic models, starting with the main ideological axis of the decorative programme, scenes of Cupid and Psyche, through allegorical figures inspired by Ripa's *Iconologia* to the landscape motifs: Štěpánková, Malířská, pp. 68–79; Mádl, Mors, pp. 214–236; Nokkala Miltová, Ve společnosti, pp. 64–77.

44 Mádl, Tencalla II, pp. 461–476, 573–605; Nokkala Miltová, Ve společnosti, pp. 128–167.

45 Mádl, Tencalla II, pp. 455–456.

ample, Styria, where several artists also turned to Baur for inspiration. To mention several, Johann Melchior Otto used them as a basis for the decorations in Eggenberg Castle, and they were exploited in the Welsersheimb Palace in Graz between 1692 and 1694, in the Knights' Hall at Rabenstein Castle, in the hall of Riegenburg Castle, in the Ovidian paintings at Strehau Castle in 1652, partly in Trautenfels Castle, in the Chateau Favorite (Rastatt) in the motif of Minerva's duel with Arachne or in some scenes of the decoration of the Ludwigsburg Residence.<sup>46</sup>

All the inspirational trends analysed so far belong to the category of the expected ones, to which previous research has repeatedly referred. However, what the 17th-century residences confirm to a much greater extent, and more aside from scholarly interest, is the importance of France. Formal links to French or French-oriented production have so far been found mainly in 18th-century art.<sup>47</sup> However, many residences demonstrate the relevance of this inspiration, and for a much earlier period. At the centre of inspiration, at the beginning, stands the painter Simon Vouet, who, thanks to his many years in Italy, bridges the two schools and whose paintings spread across Europe in the form of Michel Dorigny's technically perfect, delicate engravings. It is clear that French court production, or rather reproductions of works decorating French residences (Saint Germain-en-Laye, Fontainebleau) in particular, began to take hold from the 1660s onwards.

The popularity of French models can be documented in several main areas. Michel Dorigny's prints, based on the famous court paintings by Simon Vouet, who was summoned back to France from Rome by King Louis XIII, were hugely popular. Paintings inspired by Vouet's compositions appear in Nové Město nad Metují, Nový Hrad u Jimlína, Doudleby nad Orlicí (figs. 1, 2) and in the paintings in the Lobkowitz Palace in Prague. They were also used in the decoration of the hunting lodge in Teplice (Teplitz), in the ceiling paintings of the main hall of the chateau in Buchlovice (Buchlowitz) or in the decoration of the burgher house in Chrudim, called Šmíd's House.<sup>48</sup>

Compositions of cardinal virtues by Carpofofo and Giacomo Tencalla are also very close to Dorigny's graphic series of four virtues from 1638, although they do not represent an exact copy. Giacomo's work was influenced by them at the castles of Libochovice, Lnáře and Milešov. The fact that Carpofofo Tencalla was already

46 Brucher, Günter: Die barocke Deckenmalerei in der Steiermark. Versuch einer Entwicklungsgeschichte, Graz 1973, pp. 15–18, 20–23, 32, 72, 97; Woisetschläger, Kurt: Ein ovidischer Metamorphosen-Zyklus von 1652 auf Burg Strehau, in: Günter Brucher/Wolfgang T. Müller (eds.): Orient und Okzident im Spiegel der Kunst. Festschrift Heinrich Gerhard Franz zum 70. Geburtstag, Graz 1986, pp. 451–464; CbDD – Minerva strafft Arachne am Webstuhl, worüber Jupiter erschrickt [Malerei]; CbDD – Deckengemälde mit Apoll [Malerei] [last accessed 13/03/2025]

47 Mžýková, Marie: Francouzské umění. Dědictví šlechty, Praha 2013.

48 Nökkala Miltová, Ovid's, pp. 377–411.



1 Cybele with Children, c. 1690, Doudleby nad Orlicí, chateau.

familiar with and used Dorigny's graphic sheets is evidenced by the decoration of Chateau Trautenfels in Styria.<sup>49</sup> Residential paintings in the Czech lands inspired by Vouet's work reproduced by Dorigny belong to a much broader European reception context of these works. The formal link to French graphic production connects them with earlier influential painted cycles in Central Europe, namely the Styrian residences in Eggenberg or Trautenfels, where identical compositions based on identical subject material can be found.<sup>50</sup> The dissemination of Dorigny's engravings is

49 Brucher, *Die barocke*, p. 24; Brunner, Walter/Kaiser, Barbara: Schloß Trautenfels, Trautenfels 1992, pp. 89–91.

50 Brucher, *Die barocke*, figs. 108, 111, 114, 116, 118; Brunner/Kaiser, Schloß.



2 Michel Dorigny after Simon Vouet, *Cybele with Children*, 1644, engraving.

evidenced not only by these Styrian complexes, but also by murals in Slovenia (for example in the castle of Slovenska Bistrica),<sup>51</sup> Lower Austria (for example in the monastery in Altenburg) or in the residences of the Holy Roman Empire (chateaux Assumstadt, Gut Stedten, Alteglofsheim, Arolsen, Kronburg or in the Schnurbeinhaus in Augsburg).<sup>52</sup>

French cultural focus is also evidenced by the reception of French-oriented publications. In Doudleby nad Orlicí, Saavedra's emblems were taken from a French edition according to the attached mottoes, and the same artist chose as a model the illustrations in the Brussels edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* from 1677, which was published by François Foppens and complemented by a French translation and commentary by Pierre Du Ryer.<sup>53</sup> Copies of these engravings appear among many other printed models in the extensive decoration of the chateau in

Doudleby nad Orlicí. The engraving of the Golden Age was copied in the ceiling painting at the chateau in Lysá nad Labem (Lissa an der Elbe), an estate of the Sporck family, where it is surrounded by four corner scenes, accurately reproducing the graphic design of the four seasons based on the French tapestries created by Charles le Brun between 1666 and 1669 and commissioned by Louis XIV for Versailles. The 1677 *Metamorphoses* illustrations have also found an echo in a set of eight canvases

51 The impact of French engravings in Slovenian art is significant: Murovec, Barbara: Grafični listi po Simonu Vouetu in Charlesu Le Brunu kot predloge za baročne stropne poslikave na Kranjskem in Štajerskem, in: *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* 1 (1996), pp. 7–33; Murovec, Referenzialität, pp. 165–181.

52 CbDD – Malerei nach Vorlagengeber [last accessed 13/03/2025].

53 For French editions of Saavedra's works in Czech libraries see Kašparová, Jaroslava: *Empresas políticas* Diega de Saavedra Fajardo v českých knižních sbírkách 17. a 18. století, in: Beket Bukovinská/Lubomír Slaviček (eds.): *Pictura verba cupit. Sborník příspěvků pro Lubomíra Konečného*, Praha 2006, pp. 69–77.

*Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide en latin et en françois divisées en XV. livres, avec de nouvelle Explications Historiques, Morales, Politiques sur toutes les Fables, chacune selon son sujet. De la traduction de Mr. Pierre Du-Ryer Parisier de l'academie françoise, Bruxelles (François Foppens) 1677; Veldman, Crispijn, p. 290; Tholen, John: Producing Ovid's 'Metamorphoses' in the Early Modern Low Countries. Paratexts, Publishers, Editors, Readers, Leiden 2021, p. 284.*



3 Abduction of Europa, 1680–1687, Nový Hrad u Jimlína, chateau.

commissioned by Anton Amatus Serényi for the chateau in Lomnice (Lomnitz; the paintings are nowadays located in the chateaux in Lysice/Lissitz and Milotice/Milotitz bei Gaya).<sup>54</sup> The decoration of other European residences also drew inspiration from this large-format print (e.g. Chateau Freudental),<sup>55</sup> even in more distant regions, as evidenced by the painting of the main hall of the Kadriorg Palace, built in Tallinn and commissioned by Russian Tsar Peter the Great.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Other paintings in this series are copies of tapestries from the *Tapisseries du Roy* series published in 1687 and shortly afterwards republished by the Augsburg publisher Johann Ulrich Krauss: Miltová, Radka/Konečný, Michal: „Pour decrire les grandes actions“. Mytologické obrazy hraběcí rodiny Serényiů jako výraz reprezentace, in: *Opuscula historiae artium* 59 (2010), pp. 52–67. The painted wall cycle based on *Tapisseries du Roy* can also be found in Königsbronn (nowadays Torbogenmuseum) or in Slovenian chateaux: CbDD – Audienzgemach [Textteil] [last accessed 13/03/2025]; Murovec, Grafični, pp. 7–33.

<sup>55</sup> CbDD – Oberes Vestibül [Textteil] [last accessed 13/03/2025].

<sup>56</sup> The palace was built in 1718–1729, but the paintings were not completed until 1746. They are

Within French court production, small playing cards created for the young Louis XIV by Stefano della Bella embody an unexpectedly great potential. The painter in Nový Hrad u Jimlína and Harovník in Nové Město nad Metují and Lobkowitz Palace in Prague used them as a source of inspiration (figs. 3, 4, 8, 9). The work of Stefano della Bella was also known to the painter in Doudleby nad Orlicí, as evidenced by a copy of Bella's etching of the Faun family in one of the rooms of the chateau there.

The list of French inspirations does not end with these examples, and the castle in Štěkeň with its scenes of floral vases proves that the work of the famous decorator Jean Le Pautre was also part of the model repertoire. Harovník chose Pautre's mythological compositions as a template for some scenes in the decoration of the Lobkowitz Palace in Prague, and some scenes from Carpofo and Giacomo Tencalla are also close to Le Pautre's compositions.<sup>57</sup>

Another wave of reception of French court art can be mentioned in the case of the Holešov Chateau. The paintings in the sala terrena draw on a large series of Ovidian illustrations from the edition *Metamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux* (Paris, 1676), which influenced other decorations in Moravia, namely the chateau in Jaroměřice nad Rokytnou (Jarmeritz) at the beginning of the 18th century. Their traces can also be detected in the territory of today's Slovenia, specifically in the castle in Prebold.<sup>58</sup> This extremely interesting print of an emblematic character, produced by the royal printing house on the order of Louis XIV, brought a certain amount of irony and travesty to the text and illustrations, which would resonate also much later.<sup>59</sup>

Paintings are not the only confirmation of the increasing French fashion. When Olomouc's Bishop Karl II von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn discussed with his agent Johann Kunibert von Wentzelsberg the purchase of a wedding carriage for his nephew Christoph Philip in the late 1660s, his first question concerned the current fashion trends for wedding carriages at the Viennese court. Johann Kunibert responded with

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attributed to the local painter Johann F. Londicer Jr. In addition to the Brussels print, the painter also copied emblems based on French tapestries. Allikvee, Anu/Koppel, Greta/Kreem, Tiina-Mall/Kuldna-Türkson, Kersti: Kadriorg Art Museum, Tallinn 2014, pp. 17–18.

57 Préaud, Maxime: *Inventaire du fonds français. Tome XI. Antoine Lepautre, Jacques Lepautre et Jean Lepautre. Partie 1ère*, Paris 1993; Préaud, Maxime: *Inventaire du fonds français. Tome XII. Jean Lepautre. Partie 2ème*, Paris 1999.

58 Murovec, Barbara: Reception of the Printed Illustrations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the Baroque Painting in Slovenia, in: Milan Pelc (ed.): *Klovičev Zbornik. Minijatura – crtež – grafika 1450–1700. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenoga skupa povodom petstote obljetnice rođenja Jurja Julija Klovića*, Zagreb, 22.–24. listopada 1998, Zagreb 2001, pp. 180–181; Miltová, Mezi, pp. 43–45.

59 Miltová, Radka: Franz Xaver Wagenschön a „*Metamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux*“, in: *Opuscula historiae artium F 49* (2005), pp. 71–90. For illustrations from the 1676 Paris edition see: Meyer, Véronique: *Les Illustrations de Chaveau, Lepautre et Leclerc pour Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide (1676) de Benserade*, in: *Irish Journal of French Studies* 16/1 (2016), pp. 133–164.



4 Stefano della Bella, *Abduction of Europa*, 1644, etching.

the answer that French fashion was the most valued at the time, which is why many noblemen had their carriages imported directly from France.<sup>60</sup>

In the following decades of the 17th century, the repertoire of French graphic production<sup>61</sup> increased and spread as an inspirational model to most chateau interiors. Finally, as the construction and decoration work at Versailles progressed, the impulses of the attractive court of Louis XIV grew stronger, and French fashion penetrated many spheres of court life and culture,<sup>62</sup> which became even more evident during the 18th century.

60 Pavlíčková, Radmila: *Svatební vůz olomouckého biskupa Karla z Liechtensteinu–Castelcornu svému synovi Kryštofu Filipovi roku 1668*, in: *Střední Morava* 10 (2000), pp. 89–92; Miltová, Radka/Suchánek, Pavel: *Ceremonial Carriages of the Olomouc Bishops and Prague Archbishops of the 18th Century*, in: *Umění* 57 (2009), pp. 26–52.

61 On reproduction prints during the reign of Louis XIV: Fuhring, Peter (ed.): *A kingdom of images. French prints in the age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715*, Los Angeles 2015.

62 Analysis of French impact on the Viennese court at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries: Polleroß,

### 1.3 Space, Function and Iconography

The relationship between ceiling paintings and their spatial location within aristocratic residences has long been the subject of research in the sense of practical and symbolic division of spaces. The iconography of the paintings is also occasionally used as an auxiliary tool in cases of an absence of relevant sources related to the original function of residential spaces. However, this approach requires caution due to a number of factors, including possible changes to artistic assignment in relation to a new patron, later renovations, alterations of the interior order of rooms, etc.

Considering the strict court model and to a certain extent standardised structures of the residences, even without the existence of other sources, artistic decoration can be an indicator of intended functional criteria.<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, considerable caution is needed in relation to specific commissions, which may have varied according to the client's financial means or ambitions.<sup>64</sup> I am aware of the fact that the paintings in the rooms point to a certain time-limited situation of either a realised or planned residential structure, which changed very radically depending on a multitude of factors. It is also very problematic to draw conclusions with fragmentarily preserved complexes, which is a symptomatic phenomenon in many 17th-century paintings. For more complex structures, however, questions of function shall be considered, as they may at least demonstrate an intention for specific time-limited ideal situation. Also, we certainly can hardly speak of any standardised iconography; the themes were handled rather liberally and with the flexibility that, after all, represents the essential argument of this book (ancient mythology has an enormous number of interpretations, and one motif takes on different meanings in different contexts). Nevertheless, there are also some recurring motifs in the spaces whose function has been confirmed, which have become almost *topoi* for these specific locations, such as day/night cycles in bedchambers.

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Friedrich: Zwischen Konfrontation und Imitation. Französische Einflüsse am Wiener Hof um 1700, in: Karl Möseneder/Michael Thimann/Adolf Hofstetter (eds.): *Barocke Kunst und Kultur im Donauraum. Beiträge zum Internationalen Wissenschaftskongress 9.–13. April 2013 in Passau und Linz*, Petersberg 2014, pp. 530–547.

<sup>63</sup> The interpretative value of artistic decoration in relation to the residential structure has been shown, for example, by Karpowicz, Mariusz: *What the Façades of Wilanów Tell Us*, Warszawa 2011.

<sup>64</sup> Martin Krummholz shows in his research that the structures of the “Count’s apartment”, which prevail in the Czech lands, are variable depending on many factors: Krummholz, Martin: *Zámecké dispozice Antonia Porty*, in: Mádl, Tencalla I, pp. 267–273; Krummholz Martin: *Schloss- und Palisbau des Adels im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, in: Gerhard Ammerer/Elisabeth Lobenwein/Martin Scheutz (eds.): *Adel im 18. Jahrhundert. Umriss einer sozialen Gruppe in der Krise*, Innsbruck/Wien/Bozen 2015, pp. 283–317.

### 1.3.1 Court Ceremony and the Structure of an Early Modern Residence

The fundamental role of the interior structure of residences for the self-presentation of the aristocracy and the functioning of court life was emphasised by Norbert Elias in his classic work on court society.<sup>65</sup> Although the specifics of each residence cannot be overlooked, social ritual and the strict rules of court protocol played a crucial part in the formation of the interior disposition and its subsequent functioning. The principles of etiquette were formulated in manuals, as the distinction between the various systems required proper explanation. In the Roman milieu, for example, Francesco Sestini da Bibbiena's *Il maestro di camera*, first published in 1621, was central.<sup>66</sup> In Central Europe of the 18th century, for example, the work of the theoretician of court ceremony Julius Bernhard von Rohr *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der großen Herren*, published in 1733, played a major role.

The Spanish-Burgundian court ceremony, followed in the Holy Roman Empire, differed from the French court model, especially in its distinct approach to the rituals of *lever et coucher*. In contrast to the French ritual, where even the most intimate aspects of the monarch's daily life took place in the presence of the court, the imperial ceremony strictly separated private from public space.<sup>67</sup> This also influenced the functioning and structure of the residential spaces, where the sequence of rooms maintained a line leading from the public to the private areas. In accordance with court etiquette, we can therefore speak of the degree of accessibility of individual rooms to the inhabitants of or visitors to the residence. Social status, nobility and the visitor's level of familiarity with the owner determined the imaginary limit of access to the rooms. The same aspects also impacted how far the owner of the palace went in welcoming the visitor.<sup>68</sup>

65 Elias, Norbert: Die höfische Gesellschaft. Untersuchungen zur Soziologie des Königtums und der höfischen Aristokratie, Darmstadt/Neuwied 1969, pp. 78f.

66 Waddy, Patricia: Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces. Use and the Art of the Plan, New York/Cambridge/London 1990, p. 3.

67 Baillie, Hugh Murray: Etiquette and the Planning of the State Apartments in Baroque Palaces, in: Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity 101 (1967), pp. 169–199; Klingensmith, Samuel John: The Utility of Splendor. Ceremony, Social Life, and Architecture at the Court of Bavaria, 1600–1800, Chicago 1993, pp. 115–118; Duindam, Jeroen: Vienna and Versailles. The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals, 1550–1780, Cambridge 2003, pp. 131–219; Mörke, Olaf: The Symbolism of Rulership, in: Martin Gosman/Alasdair A. MacDonald/Ario J. Vanderjagt (eds.), Princes and Princely Culture 1450–1650, Leiden/Boston 2003, pp. 32–49.

68 See esp.: Paravicini, Werner (ed.): Zeremoniell und Raum, Sigmaringen 1997; Hoppe, Stephan: Bauliche Gestalt und Lage von Frauenwohnräumen, in: Jan Hirschbiegel/Werner Paravicini (eds.): Das Frauzimmer. Die Frau bei Hofe in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit, Stuttgart 2000, p. 153; Graf, Henriette: Die Residenz in München. Hofzeremoniell, Innenräume und Möblierung von Kurfürst Maximilian I. bis Kaiser Karl VII., München 2002, pp. 95–125; Müller, Matthias: Das Schloß als Bild

The central position within the structure of the mansion was dominated by the main hall, in many cases running through two floors of the residence. The large spaces used for social events, i.e. the halls and dining rooms, became the centres of social life and were used for ceremonies on everyday and festive occasions, from dining to christenings, wedding or funeral ceremonies and audiences. The existence of these representative spaces is documented in the Holy Roman Empire from the late Middle Ages onwards. The dining rooms were usually located between the entrance of the building and the residential rooms and were heated by fireplaces or stoves. The great halls, on the other hand, often had no heating and were used for festive occasions, and during the Renaissance these spaces became larger to meet the needs of the growing courts.<sup>69</sup>

From the second half of the 16th century, but especially during the 17th century, the internal structure of the residences, including the location of the main representative spaces, began to change in response to the proliferation of the Spanish-Burgundian rite. A new ceremonial route was established, leading from the entrance via the main staircase to the ceremonial halls and from there to the individual rooms of the apartments, and especially to the audience room. Also, from the point of view of the theorists, the main halls were to be the centre of the ceremony, and were therefore accentuated by visual devices, both architecturally and in terms of interior decoration.<sup>70</sup> However, there could be more than one large hall on the ground plan of the piano nobile, depending on the configuration of each wing of the building, but usually the large audience hall was accompanied by a garden, promenade ballroom. This arrangement is more often encountered in the later period, as evidenced in Moravia, for example, by the chateaux in Slavkov u Brna or Jaroměřice nad Rokytnou.

The large halls were followed by a series of residential rooms, mostly consisting of an anteroom, a room, a bedroom and a smaller cabinet. The individual apartments for the family members maintained a similar composition of rooms, but already during the 17th century gender aspects began to be reflected to some extent in the structure of these spaces.

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des Fürsten. Herrschaftliche Metaphorik in der Residenzarchitektur des Alten Reichs (1470–1618), Göttingen 2004.

69 Kubeš, Jiří: *Reprezentační funkce sídel vyšší šlechty z českých zemí (1500–1740)* (Dissertation thesis), České Budějovice 2005, pp. 218–226; Hoppe, Stephan: *Der Raumtypus des „Prunkappartements“ als Träger symbolischen Kapitals. Über eine räumliche Geste der zeremonialem Gastfreundschaft im deutschen Schloßbau der beginnenden Neuzeit*, in: Peter-Michael Hahn/Ulrich Schütte (eds.), *Zeichen und Raum. Ausstattung und höfisches Zeremoniell in den deutschen Schlössern der Frühen Neuzeit*, pp. 229–251.

70 *Ibidem*, pp. 227–229.

## 1.3.2 Main Halls

Within the decorations of piano nobile, the main halls received a major representational accent. In the gradual constitution of the ceremonial path, their role was emphasised also through the main staircase (often equipped with monumental and representative decoration) leading to them. The main halls also attracted the attention of theorists who, in the light of theories of decorum, recommended their location as well as decorative strategies. Early modern theories of decorum were rooted in the ancient rhetorical tradition, built on the Socratic notion of purposeful beauty articulated in *Hippias Major*. Decorum influenced all aspects of social life, from etiquette to architecture, and became a more or less unwritten rule of appropriate behaviour. In a more narrowly defined art-centred view, decorum represented the conformity of artistic forms and content to what was “fitting” or “appropriate” for the function and purpose of the artwork. An equally essential component of this principle, which draws on theories of decorum, is the hierarchisation of genres, which was further deepened by French academic disputations in the 17th century. At the beginning of the early modern theory of decorum, Leonardo da Vinci and Leon Battista Alberti had already significantly formulated its concept in their works. Other theorists then deepened and refined the concept of decorum or focused it on a specific segment of interest.<sup>71</sup>

Giovanni Battista Armenini, who aimed his work *De veri precetti della pittvra* at painters and art lovers, devised a hierarchy linking the iconography of artistic decoration to the location and its respective function. He addressed this classification in the third and last book of his treatise, involving various functional architectural categories such as churches, palaces, library halls, facades, etc.<sup>72</sup>

Armenini regarded the great hall as the most important space in the palace, where the themes related to great men and their heroic deeds should be presented. The observer should thus be immersed in a world of heroic acts that represent virtuous models and can set an exemplary mirror.<sup>73</sup> According to Armenini, the visual trans-

71 Ames-Lewis, Francis/Bednarek, Anka (eds.): *Decorum in Renaissance Narrative Art*. Papers Delivered at the Annual Conference of the Association of Art Historians, London, April 1991, London 1992, p. 7; Johnson, Paul-Alan: *The Theory of Architecture. Concepts, Themes & Practices*, New York 1994, pp. 227–229; Kroupa, Jiří: *Metodologie dějin umění I. Školy dějin umění*, Brno 1998, p. 43; Williams, Robert: *Italian Renaissance Art and the Systematicity of Representation*, in: James Elkins/Robert Williams (eds.): *Renaissance Theory*, New York 2008, pp. 171–173.

72 Von Schlosser, Julius: *Die Kunstliteratur. Ein Handbuch zur Quellenkunde der neueren Kunstgeschichte*, Wien 1985, pp. 340–342. On Armenini’s treatise see also: Williams, Robert: *The Vocation of the Artist as Seen by Giovanni Battista Armenini*, in: *Art History* 18 (1995), pp. 518–536; Pierguidi, Stefano: *Questione della lingua e scuole pittoriche: un dialogo difficile*, in: *Letteratura & arte* 11 (2013), pp. 9–27.

73 Thimann, *Lügenhafte*, p. 72.

lation of the “historically guaranteed” event belongs to the decorations of the halls of the highest representation. The antithesis of history, the true story, was poetic fiction (*favola*), and the individual distinction between the terms became a matter of debate in artistic literature at the time. For example, Leon Battista Alberti, in *De re aedificatoria*, already associated mythological *poesia* with villas, while he considered palaces to have serious and festive themes (he used the terms *gravitas* and *festivitas* in this context).<sup>74</sup> For state or church representation, the appropriate subject matter should have been chosen according to decorum, meaning stories that were historically truthful and not products of poetic fiction. The historically verified acts of notable men (*fatto storico profano*) were also appropriate for the halls of princes, if they belonged to the public sphere.<sup>75</sup>

Czech historian Jiří Kubeš suggested a classification of the iconographic programmes of the main halls in residences of Czech lands in the years 1650–1740. He distinguishes five types of programmes within the given framework: legitimation of social status, glorification of the family (ancestral halls), glorification of the Habsburgs (imperial halls), land patriotism and unfulfilled ambitions of the patron. He was of course aware of possible overlapping of the different layers of content.<sup>76</sup> In principle, it is possible to agree with the proposed typology and a detailed iconographic analysis of 17th-century paintings makes it possible to deepen and further specify the findings.

In the case of countryside aristocratic seats of the 17th century, we are confronted with a “deficit” of main halls due to frequent incompleteness, non-preservation or subsequent alterations. Even from the surviving torso, it is clear at first glance that the iconographic schemes of the main halls during the 17th century were characterised more by “narratives”, and it was only towards the end of the century that more complex allegorical programmes began to prevail. However, the narrative line, that is, stories of Ovidian or Homeric origin, is to some extent illusory, and it is evident from the related symbolism or heraldic details that these stories also contain allegorical meaning.

The two large halls of the chateau in Nové Město nad Metují, which will be analysed in chapter 2, display rich decoration. The halls here form the epicentre of pub-

74 Cieri Via, *L'arte*, pp. 30–31.

75 Armenini, Giovanni Battista: *On the True Precepts of the Art of Painting*. Edited and translated from the Italian with an introductory study, critical and historical notes, and bibliography by Edward J. Olszewski, New York 1977, p. 222; Armenini, Giovanni Battista: *De' veri precetti della pittura*. Con note di Stefano Ticozzi, Sala Bolognese 1982, pp. 232–233. This negative attitude towards myths belongs to an even older ideological tradition. The debate over the truthfulness of myths and the associated degree of credibility and value has been discussed in many texts (e.g. Boccaccio's *La Genealogia De Gli Dei De Gentili*): Thimann, *Lügenhafte*, pp. 25–26; Thimann, Michael: *Metamorphosen von Bild und Text*, in: Michael Thimann (ed.): *Jean Jacques Boissard Ovids Metamorphosen* 1556. *Die Bildhandschrift 79 C 7* aus dem Berliner Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin 2005, p. 62.

76 Kubeš, *Reprezentační*, pp. 230f.

lic representation. They are located in the same wing next to each other, which was undoubtedly an appropriate solution given the original medieval disposition of the building. In these halls, the iconographic programme accentuates several spheres associated with the owners: the family alliance symbolism, Walter Leslie being honoured with the Order of the Golden Fleece and his successful career in Habsburg military service and diplomacy.

Yet the ideological context of the two halls differs: the dining hall celebrates the cycles of nature with Ovidian *poesia*, and the main audience hall shows the acts of great men in the form of stories from the Trojan War. Nové Město thus reflects Walter Leslie's accomplishments, through which he demonstrates the legitimacy of his claim to his newly acquired possessions and social position. He supports this with evidence of the ancestry of his family, while ideologically following the deeds of powerful men, the mythical ancestors, depicted in the stories of the Trojan War. The main hall with the Homeric stories, emphasising the military achievements and glory of the Leslie family, thus confirming the legitimacy of the rule of its members, fully corresponds to the iconography recommended by the theorists of decorum for the embellishment of similar spaces.

A related concept, though in a much simpler iconographic conception, can also be found in the main hall of the chateau in Štěkeň, where the ceiling is decorated with the alliance coat of arms of the patron, complemented by painted busts of emperors and notable men. The social status, or rather the glorification of the family, was emphasised in the now vanished decoration of the main hall of the chateau in Libochovice, where Prince Gundakar von Dietrichstein commissioned an allegorical scene of the Dietrichsteins' elevation to the status of imperial princes, according to surviving descriptions.<sup>77</sup> In the main hall of Náchod Castle, the former patron, General Ottavio Piccolomini, was glorified (the current painting is of a much younger date, however) with all insignia of his power, and in the great hall of Červená Lhota Castle, the Hesperides were modified with the motif of the golden rose, the heraldic emblem of the Slavata coat of arms, its commissioner.<sup>78</sup>

At the chateau in Doudleby nad Orlicí, the Baroque paintings were incorporated into a Renaissance architectural structure with larger halls in the corners of the building. It is rather difficult to identify the original arrangement of the rooms from the paintings, and unfortunately there are no inventories that would help to specify their sequence in the 17th century. Nevertheless, it is obvious from the existing structure that the two most important rooms were tied to the front wing. The first of these halls conveys a moral imperative through punishment of bad government in the scene of the judgment of King Lycaon. In the second hall, the theme of the

<sup>77</sup> Sommer, *Das Königreich*, I, p. 42.

<sup>78</sup> Prchal, *Společenstvo*, pp. 271–278; Mádl/Heisslerová/Kadlec, *Slavatovský*, pp. 207–229.

Banquet of Péleus and Thetis, based on a graphic transcription of Ludovico Ottavio Burnacini's scenic design for Marc'Antonio Cesti's opera *Il pomo d'oro*, appears on the ceiling. Besides responding to the Habsburg festivities, the representative dimension of the painting is enhanced by the depiction of Emperor Leopold I as the divine Jupiter. The paintings in Doudleby nad Orlicí are related to the renovation and artistic transformation of the ancestral seat of an old Bohemian family, where the family had been settled for several generations. Franz Anton Vratislav von Bubno and Lititz came from a noble family, originally from the Plzeň (Pilsen) region, which was elevated to the status of counts during the 17th century. The count of Bubno and Lititz expressed his loyalty to Emperor Leopold I in the elaborate and sophisticated iconography of the Doudleby paintings.<sup>79</sup>

For the period before 1690, Doudleby represent the only direct example of the celebration of the emperor and the Habsburg family in a monumental painting. At the end of the 17th century and the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries, however, imperial iconography is evidenced by other programmes in the main halls, presenting the apotheosis of the Emperor Leopold I and his successful military campaigns against the Turks or the French army. This is demonstrated, in particular, by the main hall of the suburban villa in Prague's Troja,<sup>80</sup> built by Wenzel Adalbert von Sternberg, and the main hall of the Straka Palace in Prague, commissioned by Johann Petr Straka von Nedabylic around 1705.<sup>81</sup> The monarch's gallery also framed the walls of the main hall of the Prague Lobkowitz Palace of Prince Wenzel Eusebius von Lobkowitz.<sup>82</sup> As far as the probable function of the above-mentioned Doudleby hall is

79 Lejsková-Matyášová, Milada: Odezva slavností na vídeňském dvoře Leopolda I. v nástrojných výzdobě zámku v Doudlebech nad Orlicí, in: *Umění 23* (1975), pp. 366–371; Seifert, Herbert: Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert, Tutzing 1985; Goloubeva, Maria: The Glorification of Emperor Leopold I. in *Image, Spectacle and Text*, Mainz 2000, pp. 103–112; Veselá, Irena/Kazárová, Helena: *Il Pomo d'oro*, in: Andrea Rousová (ed.): *Tance a slavnosti. 16.–18. století*, Praha 2008, p. 374; Nokkala Miltová, Ve společenství, pp. 235–260.

80 Horyna/Preiss/Zahradník, Zámek, pp. 172–251; Mádl, Zámek Václava, pp. 479–516.

81 For Bys's fresco in the Straka Palace see especially: Herain, Jan: *Nástrojní malby v bývalém domě hraběte J. P. Straky na Malé Straně*, in: *Zprávy komise pro soupis stavebních, uměleckých a historických památek královského hlavního města Prahy 2* (1910), pp. 48–65; Chytil, Karel: *Nástrojní malby v bývalém domě hraběte J. P. Straky na Malé Straně*, in: *Zprávy komise pro soupis stavebních, uměleckých a historických památek královského hlavního města Prahy 3* (1911), pp. 3–21; Kubíček, Pražské, pp. 94–97; Blažiček, Oldřich/Jakub, Jan Rudolf Bys v Praze. K 300. výročí umělcova narození, in: *Umění 10* (1962), pp. 560–564; Poche/Preiss, Pražské, pp. 156–157; Dobalová, Sylva: *Kupido a čas: poznámka k Bysově malbě v paláci Petra Straky z Nedabylic*, in: Jiří Kroupa/Michaela Šeferisová Loudová/Lubomír Konečný (eds.): *Orbis artium. K jubileu Lubomíra Slavička*, Brno 2009, pp. 155–161; Vlnas, Vít: *Leopoldus – Pello Duos. Poznámky i ikonografii maleb Jana Rudolfa Byse ve Strakově paláci v Praze*, in: Richard Biegel/Lubomír Konečný/Michaela Ottová/Roman Prahel (eds.): *Ikonografie: témata, motivy, interpretace*, Praha 2016, pp. 167–179.

82 Šroněk/Konečný, Malířská, pp. 433–441.

concerned, it is possible to consider a former dining room. The room was heated by a stove, the decoration carries a representative aspect, and, above all, the feast of the gods corresponds ideologically with the space dedicated to feasting.

### 1.3.3 Apartment

The apartment, as part of a larger structure, consisted of at least three rooms at the time around 1600: an anteroom, a bedroom and a cabinet. This structure, used in the Hôtel de Rambouillet in Paris around 1600, is considered to be fundamental and highly influential.<sup>83</sup> The basic apartment disposition is also based on Italian models and can be found as early as the third quarter of the 15th century (the ducal palace in Urbino).<sup>84</sup> In a German-speaking milieu, Joseph Furttenbach, one of the earliest architectural theorists, addressed the question of the disposition of the residence and, after his experience during a ten-year stay in Italy, constructed an ideal plan for a princely palace. It was to be built on a square plan in a quadratic structure with four courtyards, where the individual wings emerge from a centrally located hall (called *sala grande*). A major innovation in the residential structure was brought about during the 17th century by the architect Louis Le Vau, who designed the Château de Vaux-le-Vicomte for the French Minister of Finance, Nicolas Fouquet. It is a double-winged building, a type of *maison de plaisance*, with symmetrical apartments radiating from a central hall (*appartement double*).<sup>85</sup>

In the sequence of rooms of the apartment itself, the antechamber (*anticamera*) appears as a novelty of Roman palaces at the beginning of the 16th century. At first, one anteroom was set up, but in cardinal palaces there were two, which became standard around 1600.<sup>86</sup> Under the influence of the Spanish-Burgundian ceremonial, which was based on hierarchical accessibility of spaces, but also under the influence of Italian and French examples, a new apartment structure began to be applied in the Czech lands from the second half of the 16th century. The representative apartment with anteroom appeared as an absolute novelty in Central Europe in Vienna in the early 1550s and was built by Emperor Ferdinand I.<sup>87</sup> The most ambitious project in the first half of the 17th century became the construction of the

83 Graf, *Die Residenz*, p. 125.

84 Krummholz, *Zámecké*, p. 270.

85 Kroupa, Jiří: „Lieu de plaisance“ a barokní Morava. *Pronikání a vliv francouzské kultury v architektuře 18. století na Moravě a ve střední Evropě* (Habilitation thesis), Brno 1993–1994; Graf, *Die Residenz*, pp. 125–128.

86 Waddy, *Seventeenth*.

87 Graf, *Die Residenz*, pp. 132–133; Kubeš, *Reprezentativní*, pp. 184–185. Detailed analysis of the construction process of Hofburg: Karner, Herbert (ed.): *Die Wiener Hofburg 1521–1705. Baugeschichte, Funktion und Etablierung als Kaiserresidenz*, Wien 2014. The schemes of the representative spaces

Prague palace of Albrecht von Wallenstein, whose arrangement deliberately copied the composition of the rooms in the apartment of Emperor Rudolph II.<sup>88</sup>

The standard princely apartment in the Holy Roman Empire consisted of a guard room (Trabant Hall, Guard Hall), an anteroom (antechamber), an audience room, a cabinet and a bedchamber. In some cases, there were also two audience rooms. During the 17th and 18th centuries, however, most rulers in the Holy Roman Empire already had apartments comprising a guard room, two to four antechambers, an audience room, a retirade, a bedroom and several cabinets.<sup>89</sup> Depending on the differing principles of the *lever et coucher* ritual of the French and Imperial court model, the function and related location of the bedroom made the biggest difference in the structure of the residence.

At Versailles, the main staircase and the main hall opened onto the mirrored apartments with bedrooms, which, as private rooms, belonged to the parade apartment. The bedchamber became the centre of the structure of the French model and also played the role of the main audience room. Here, in addition to private dining, public receptions of ambassadors took place.<sup>90</sup>

In the Holy Roman Empire, private cabinets were located in front of the bedrooms, such as the retirade in Hofburg, forming a kind of link between the formal and private spaces, and the royal couple used their own access staircase to reach the bedrooms. Entrance beyond the audience room, into the retirade, the cabinets and the bedchamber were therefore more or less restricted to those enjoying the real trust and affection of the owner, in the case of the emperor only the supreme chamberlain, the emperor's personal servants and the confessor.<sup>91</sup>

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of Habsburg residences at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries are also clearly presented here: Karner, Herbert: Raum und Zeremoniell im 17. Jahrhundert, in: *Ibidem*, pp. 518–519.

88 Uličný, Petr (ed.): *Architektura Albrechta z Valdštejna. Italská stavební kultura v Čechách v letech 1600–1635 I–II*, Praha 2017.

89 Kubeš, *Reprezentační*, pp. 185–186.

90 Baillie, *Etiquette*, pp. 182–193, 199; Klingensmith, *The Utility*, pp. 122–123; Graf, *Die Residenz*, pp. 132–133; Kubeš, *Reprezentační*, p. 185.

91 Benedik, Christian: *Repräsentationsräume der Wiener Hofburg in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Das 18. Jahrhundert und Österreich 6* (1990–1991), pp. 7–21; Benedik, Christian: *Die herrschaftlichen Appartements. Funktion und Lage während der Regierungen von Kaiser Leopold I. bis Kaiser Franz Joseph I.* in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 51 (1997), pp. 552–570; Graf, Henriette: *Das kaiserliche Zeremoniell und das Repräsentationsappartement im leopoldinischen Trakt der Wiener Hofburg um 1740*, in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 51 (1997), pp. 571–587; Graf, *Die Residenz*, pp. 132–133; Polleroß, Friedrich: *Die Kunst der Diplomatie. Auf den Spuren des kaiserlichen Botschafters Leopold Joseph Graf von Lamberg (1653–1706)*, Petersberg 2010, pp. 218–233; Karner, Raum, pp. 520–521. For the court ceremony at the Viennese court see further: Ehalt, Hubert Christian: *Ausdrucksformen absolutistischer Herrschaft. Der Wiener Hof im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Wien 1980, pp. 95–98, 107–109.

Influenced by the structure of Hofburg, Wolfgang Wilhelm Praemer published an architectural treatise in the 1670s, which he dedicated to Emperor Leopold I. Here, using the ideal princely palace as an example, he presented the composition of the prince's and princess's representative and residential spaces in the following sequence: On the men's side, the design shows two main staircases, a guard room, a knights' chamber, the first antechamber, the second antechamber, the council room (*Ratstube*), the first retirade, the second retirade (or cabinet), and a common bedroom. On the women's side, the main staircase, the guard room, the first antechamber, the second antechamber, the audience room, and the aforementioned common bedroom, which forms the link between the two apartments.<sup>92</sup>

Bohemian and Moravian residences also referred to the Viennese, French or Italian models, but only the residences of the ecclesiastical princes seem to have come close to the real "princely residence" of the imperial type, concentrating all the administrative apparatus.<sup>93</sup>

According to the research conducted on the Czech milieu, the most common structure of the 17th-century apartment was based on the imperial model in a simplified form and usually consisted of five rooms. Two belonged to the public representative sphere and included an atrium, a dining room or a hall. These were followed by the private rooms, namely the antechamber, the living room and the bedchamber, to which additional rooms were sometimes attached. The usually space-saving anteroom was used to serve the guests waiting to be received, which was taken care of by a footman or butler. The larger, main living room was used for private audiences, and very often this space was utilised by the owner as a workroom. The bedroom then belonged to the most private sphere of the whole apartment.<sup>94</sup> Married couples could use both separate and shared bedchambers. For instance, the above-mentioned Praemer model shows that a shared bedchamber was standard at the Viennese court around 1670.<sup>95</sup>

92 Karner, Raum, pp. 527–528.

93 Krummholz, Zámecké, pp. 268–269.

94 Kubeš, Reprezentační, pp. 191–197. Although bedrooms belonged to private spaces, there is evidence of them being made accessible to distinguished guests during the Renaissance. This is also reflected in their often-spectacular decoration: Jakubec, Ondřej: Defining the Rožmberk Residence of Kratochvíle. The Problem of its Architectural Character, in: *Opuscula historiae artium* 61/2 (2012), pp. 98–119; Jakubec, Ondřej: A Variation on the 'Villa' at the Bohemian Periphery: The Case of the Rožmberk (Rosenberg) Residence of Kratochvíle, in: Sylva Dobalová/Ivan P. Muchka (eds.) *Looking for Leisure. Court Residences and their Satellites, 1400–1700*, Prague 2017, pp. 28–44; Jakubec, Ondřej: Villa Kratochvíle in Bohemia. Imagery, Senses and Meaning in Vilém of Rožmberk's Aristocratic Hunting Lodge, in: Barbara Arciszewska (ed.): *The Early Modern Villa. Senses and Perceptions versus Materiality*, Warsaw 2017, pp. 155–170.

95 Karner, Raum, p. 528.

At the end of the 17th century, the composition of the apartment rooms began to be supplemented by additional rooms, cabinets, under the influence of French models. Cabinets belonged more to the private sphere, but they were open to a circle of close friends and relatives, which corresponded with their representative concept. They were generally used for study, collecting activities, games and entertainment or secret meetings. Sometimes there was also a dressing room (cloakroom) near the bedroom, often accessed by two entrances: one leading to the master's or lady's rooms and the other leading outside the apartment to a private staircase connecting the floors of the residence.<sup>96</sup>

Besides the search for the ideal residential disposition, one of the characteristics of the apartments included their division according to function. The theoretical treatises of the 18th century introduced the greatest diversification by distinguishing the parade apartment (for a diplomatic ceremony), the public apartment (for social events) and the private apartment.<sup>97</sup> In the Czech lands, the distinction between the representative and private apartments is documented earlier in the 17th century, for example in the Wallenstein Palace in Prague, the Slavata Palace in Prague or the Olomouc Episcopal Palace of Karl II of Liechtenstein-Castelkorn.<sup>98</sup> One other factor that may also have been reflected in the ideological programmes of the paintings was the gender stratification of the apartments. However, these different layers and elements were often interrelated, and in many cases it is not possible to clearly distinguish the distinctive features of a feminine or masculine programme.<sup>99</sup>

On the one hand, the general characteristics of the inner residential structure open a relatively large space for the interpretation of the paintings, but on the other hand, they present several challenges. It is necessary to consider the historical circumstances of the construction development of each object, the comparison with available sources, but also the interpretative value of the relevant sources, the most comprehensive of which are the inventories. Although inventories can contain valuable evidence on the original disposition of the rooms, they often have their limits and their purpose lies primarily in other aspects: the assessment of the estate's holdings. In some cases, the rooms are not specified in any way and the listing is limited to mere numbering. Taking into account all the variable factors, it would be presumptuous to make clear judgements about the typical iconography for all parts of 17th-century residences. However, despite the limitations, it is possible to point out the main ideological lines characteristic for the selected residential spaces.

96 Kubeš, *Reprezentační*, p. 199.

97 Graf, *Die Residenz*, pp. 130–133; Graf, Henriette: *Hofzeremoniel, Raumfolgen und Möblierung der Residenz in München um 1700–um 1750*, in: Hahn/Schütte, *Zeichen*, p. 303. For the parade apartment see also: Hoppe, *Raumtypus*, pp. 229–251.

98 Mádl/Heisslerová/Kadlec, *Slavatovský*, pp. 109–110.

99 Jakubec *Slavné*, pp. 143–155; Waddy, *Seventeenth*, pp. 25–30.

### 1.3.4 Chambers of the Apartment

The public spaces of the great halls lead into the first rooms of the apartments, ante-rooms and audience rooms. It would be too daring to speak of a distinctive iconography in these residential areas, but some examples show that the representational character of the main halls clearly permeated these public spaces of the apartments.

The private sphere of the apartment consisted mainly of the bedchambers, whose iconographic programmes are very often ideologically connected with the function of the room. From the middle of the 17th century, the parade-type bedchamber also began to appear in the courts.<sup>100</sup> For the decoration of the bedchamber, amorous images full of nudity and scenes that aroused passion were frequently recommended. At the beginning of the 17th century, the physician Giulio Mancini remarks in *Considerazioni sulla pittura* on the advantages of such paintings in the bedchamber, as they

serve to arouse one and to make beautiful, healthy, and charming children ... not because the imagination imprints itself on the fetus, which is of different material to the mother and father, but because each parent, through seeing the picture, imprints in their seed a similar constitution which has been seen in the object or figure.<sup>101</sup>

A no less popular iconographic category of bedchamber paintings relates to sleep and the cyclical nature of the day. A brilliant example of such iconography from the 17th century can again be found in the chateau in Nové Město nad Metují, where the last room of the apartment depicts Somnus, the god of sleep. The choice of the god of sleep in the painting cycle clearly refers to the bedchamber, which is confirmed by its location at the end of the apartment.

The themes recommended for bedrooms and their selection have a long and rich tradition. The depictions of the phases of day and night, or the opposition of night and the arrival of a new day, were codified mainly by Renaissance paintings, particularly by Baldassare Peruzzi in Villa Farnesina or Taddeo Zuccaro in Villa Farnese in Caprarola. In Caprarola, the iconography is associated with the bedchamber, which was also strongly reflected in Baroque interior programmes in Central Europe. In addition to the god of sleep in Nové Město, the goddess Aurora appears in the bedchambers of the chateau in Lnáře and perhaps also in the chateau in Plumlov, where she complements an allegory of the night in another room. Simultaneously, bed-

<sup>100</sup> Graf, Hofzeremoniell, pp. 307–311.

<sup>101</sup> Quoted after: Freedberg, David: *The Power of Images. Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, Chicago et al. 1991, pp. 2–3. See also: Sluijter, Eric Jan: Rembrandt, Rubens and Classical Mythology: the Case of Andromeda, in: Van de Velde, Carl (ed.): *Classical Mythology in the Netherlands in the Age of Renaissance and Baroque*, Leuven/Paris/Walpole 2009, pp. 25–66.

chamber decorations with Aurora are created in other places in Central Europe, as evidenced, for example, by the castle in Trautenfels, decorated by Carpofo Tenacalla, the bedchamber of the western apartment of the Sternberg Villa in Troja with medallions of Aurora and Luna, the chateau in Slavkov u Brna, painted by Andrea Lanzani, or the bedchamber of the Upper Belvedere in Vienna, decorated by Carlo Carlone.<sup>102</sup> In the milieu of the Holy Roman Empire, depictions of sleep, night and morning appear for instance in the bedchamber of Heidecksburg Chateau (Rudolstadt), in the bedchamber of Duke Friedrich III in the residence at Altenburg, in the bedchamber of the marquess's parade apartment at Favorite (Rastatt) residence, at the chateaux in Köpenick, Leitheim and Hadamar, in the former bedchamber of the Duchess of Sachsen-Coburg at the Ehrenburg residence or in the former decoration of the duke's bedchamber at the Landshut residence.<sup>103</sup>

### 1.3.5 Sala Terrenas, Garden Casinos, Garden Halls

The cyclicity of the day and nature belonged to the frequent decorations of not only bedchambers, but also sala terrenas and garden pavilions or casinos, as evidenced by the numerous mythological decorations of 17th-century Bohemian and Moravian residences. The explanation for the phenomenon can also be found in the recommending texts of the theorists of decorum.

Garden parterres were discussed in depth in *Trattato dell'arte della pittvra, scoltvra, et architettvra* by the Milanese painter and theoretician Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo. Lomazzo addresses the problem of the decoration of fountains, gardens and similar “places of pleasure” in the 25th chapter of his treatise. For fountains and gardens, he says, Ovidian *poesia* was most appropriate.<sup>104</sup> He considered the most suitable examples of garden decorations to be stories of the transformations and loves of the gods, nymphs turning into water or trees and “other cheerful and amusing

<sup>102</sup> Pierguidi, Stefano: “Le hore piu principali del giorno”: l'iconografia della Notte, dell'Aurora e del Giorno, in: Schifanoia 22/23 (2002), pp. 121–144; Oy-Mara, Elisabeth: Profane Repräsentationskunst in Rom von Clemens VIII. Aldobrandini bis Alexander VII. Chigi. Studien zur Funktion und Semantik römischer Deckenfresken im höfischen Kontext, Berlin 2005, pp. 145–148; Brunner/Kaiser, Schloß, p. 82; Mádl, Katalog [Troja], pp. 532–536.

<sup>103</sup> Kronthaler, Helmut: Profane Wand- und Deckenmalerei in Süddeutschland im 16. Jahrhundert und ihr Verhältnis zur Kunst Italiens, München 1992, pp. 98–101; Seeger, „Weil es, pp. 178–179; <https://www.deckenmalerei.eu/771609ae-337b-46cf-a12e-7f3dc95f4374>; CbDD – Das Rote Eckkabinett [Textteil]; CbDD – Schlafzimmer mit Alkoven [Textteil]; CbDD – Diana und Apollo [Textteil]; CbDD – Abschied des Tages und Beginn der Nacht [Textteil]; CbDD – Ehemaliges Wohn- und Schlafzimmer der Herzogin, heute Gobelinzimmer [Textteil]; CbDD – Die Fürstenwohnung [Textteil] [last accessed 13/03/2025].

<sup>104</sup> Lomazzo, Giovanni Paolo: *Trattato Dell'Arte Della Pittvra, Scoltvra, Et Architettvra*, Di Gio. Paolo Lomazzo Milanese Pittore [...], Milano 1585, p. 345.

subjects".<sup>105</sup> This concept was supported by the themes of Diana bathing with the nymphs in a spring, the three Graces bathing in a spring, Narcissus at the fountain, Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, the stories of the transformed nymphs Biblis and Arethusa, and the nymph Egeria. Lomazzo also mentions the decoration of garden vessels and vases, where he proposed motifs of the love of sea and river gods for the ornaments. He then recommended other mythological scenes for the possible decoration of garden walls and porticoes: Mercury and Argus, the transformation of Heliodorus into poplars, Perseus liberating Andromeda, Apollo flaying Marsyas, Meleager's boar hunt, the race of Hippomenes and Atalanta, the chanting Orpheus, Apollo and Daphne or Cephalus and Aurora. In addition, motifs such as the changing of time, seasons, months of the year, as well as themes of triumphs, feasts of the gods, festivals and dances could also be used. He considered the themes linking youth and old age, such as the story of Pluto and Proserpina, to be inappropriate, preferring instead love couples of a younger age, such as Mars and Venus, Jupiter and Leda, Boreas and Oreithyia, Zephyrus and Flora, or Pygmalion.<sup>106</sup>

The decorative programmes of 17th-century garden casinos and sala terrenas in Bohemia and Moravia closely follow Lomazzo's words. The Kroměříž garden pavilion in the Flower Garden is filled with Ovidian *poesia*. Many of them correspond to Lomazzo's thematic proposals: the vault of the garden pavilion shows Perseus and Andromeda, Apollo and Marsyas, nymphs turning into water or trees. Above all, these themes, fully in accordance with the recommendations, combine the amorous element with the water element. Sala terrena of the bishop's residence in Kroměříž combines stories of metamorphosis with an accent on the forces of nature, the changing seasons and astronomical aspects of the myths in a complex and sophisticated iconographic programme (chap. 3).

The gods Aurora and Apollo as the bearers of the new day are present in the decoration of sala terrena in Děčín (Tetschen). The sala terrena in Náměšť nad Oslavou is also decorated with the figures of Apollo and Aurora, who were painted in a small hall connected to the main space with stories of Cupid and Psyche. The sala terrena in Libochovice is decorated with water monsters made of stucco and shells, and painted putti with flowers fly on reddish clouds. These are the ones that accompany the iconography of the goddess Aurora in the imaginations of the early dawn.

### 1.3.6 Gender Territory

An important question of the functional and symbolic division of the residence concerns the gender or age distinction in the utilisation of each space. While these

<sup>105</sup> Quoted after: Gombrich, Ziele, p. 390; Lomazzo, Trattato, p. 344.

<sup>106</sup> Lomazzo, Trattato, pp. 345–346.

spheres may have had their defined boundaries, related to sexuality and patriarchal authority, they were equally intertwined and intersected.<sup>107</sup>

A single term, *frauenzimmer*, was used to designate the women of the aristocratic courts and the spaces assigned to them. The process of dividing the parts of the residence for men and women dates to the late Middle Ages, and during the 16th century the separation of these segments was fully implemented in the Holy Roman Empire and, consequently, in the Czech lands. The initial simple core of the lady's apartment, connecting the room with the bedchamber, was expanded during the 16th and 17th centuries due to ceremony and included the anteroom and other rooms (hall or dining room). For example, the apartment of the wife of Emperor Leopold I, Margaret Theresa of Spain, which was located in the Leopoldine wing of Hofburg, consisted of the Trabantenstube, the Salla (Ritterstube), the antechambers (called the Warterstube and Antekammer or the 1st and 2nd Antekammer), the Audienzzimmer (or Taffelstube, Rathstube), the Spiegelzimmer (also called the Retirada, Cabinet), the bedchamber and attached cabinet and chapel.<sup>108</sup> The central position within the lady's apartment was taken by the main chamber where guests were welcomed. This was followed by the bedchamber, which in most cases was separate from the master bedroom, but there is also evidence that couples shared a bedchamber.<sup>109</sup> For example, the apartment of Albrecht von Wallenstein's wife, Maria Elisabeth née Harrach, was located on the second floor of their Prague palace, above her husband's apartment.<sup>110</sup>

The disposition of the female and male apartments had different forms, which can only be reliably identified based on source documents, especially inventories. In the Roman environment of the 17th century, the couple's apartments could be

107 Wigley, Mark: Untitled. The Housing of Gender, in: Beatrice Colomina (ed.): *Sexuality and Space*, Princeton 1992, pp. 327–389; de Mare, Heidi: A rule worth following in architecture? The significance of gender classification in Simon Stevin's architectural treatise (1548–1620), in: Els Kloek/Nicole Teewen/Marijke Huisman (eds.): *Women of the Golden Age. An international debate on women in seventeenth-century Holland, England and Italy*, Hilversum 1994, pp. 104–120; Rang, Brita: Space and position in space (and time), in: *Ibidem*, pp. 121–125; Rendell, Jane (ed.): *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*. London 2000; Sarti, Raffaella: *Europe at Home. Family and Material Culture 1500–1800*, New Haven/London 2002, pp. 129–134; Hills, Helen (ed.): *Architecture and the politics of gender in early modern Europe*, London 2017; Maurer, Maria F.: *Gender, space and experience at the Renaissance court: Performance and practice at the Palazzo Te*, Amsterdam 2019.

108 The composition of the rooms was slightly changed following the reconstruction that started after the fire in this wing in 1699; Karner, Raum, pp. 521–524.

109 Kubeš, *Reprezentační*, pp. 204–218.

110 *Ibidem*, p. 207 (with numerous other examples). Further inventories of aristocratic mansions analysed in: Lukášová, Eva/Otavská, Vendulka: *Aristokratický interiér doby baroka ve světle historických inventářů*, Praha 2015.

located in parallel to each other, on the floors above or in opposition to each other in individual wings around the courtyard.<sup>111</sup>

In some 17th-century texts, the recommended aspects of decoration for men's representation and for *frauenzimmer* diverged in interesting ways. Prince Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein, for example, touched on the subject in his treatise *Werk von der Architektur*. The text of this dilettante architect, a great lover and patron of the arts, has a rather private function and was dedicated to Eusebius's son Johann Adam Andreas von Liechtenstein as a certain selection of recommendations for future generations.<sup>112</sup>

In the treatise, Karl Eusebius differentiates the decoration according to the male and female division of the residence and the paintings thematically according to the spiritual and secular spheres. According to him, the men's room(s) could be decorated with profane histories (poetic or others), while the princess's room should be accompanied by spiritual themes, since "the female sex surpasses men in piety" ("*aldieweil das weibliche Geschlecht in der Andacht die Männer ibertreffen thuet*").<sup>113</sup> Nor, of course, are spiritual themes inappropriate for the male room, since "*pietas ad omnia utilis est*". In the hall and the two galleries, however, poetic things and the profane sphere must be represented. Nevertheless, he considered it appropriate to combine the spaces where the servants dwell with spiritual scenes that would encourage the servants to lead a devotional life. Although Karl Eusebius's reflections are an interesting document of the contemporary opinion of one of the clients, they may nevertheless represent a more or less isolated viewpoint. The paintings in the Plumlov chateau, which was the life's work of the Prince of Liechtenstein, is preserved in a torso and was commissioned by his son Johann Adam Andreas. If it were related to the words of Prince Karl Eusebius, only the rooms of the men's apartment would be decorated, since the surviving paintings follow only profane schemes. But that perspective would be highly reductive.

The distinction of gender-conditioned meaning is therefore of a much more subtle nature and may depend on the use of individual parts by men or women and the

111 Waddy, Seventeenth, p. 30.

112 Fleischer, Victor: Fürst Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein als Bauherr und Kunstsammler (1611–1984), Wien/Leipzig 1910, p. 126; Krapf, Michael: Architekturtheorien im 17. Jahrhundert. Die Rolle des Fürsten Eusebius von Liechtenstein, in: Gertrude Stolwitzer (ed.): Le baroque autrichien au XVIIe siècle, Rouen 1989, pp. 93–102; Götz-Mohr, Britte: Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein (1611–1684). Gedechnus und Curiositet. Der Fürst als dilettierender Architekt und Sammler, in: Die Bronzen der Fürstlichen Sammlung Liechtenstein, Frankfurt am Main 1986, pp. 67–73; Haupt, Herbert: Fürst Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein 1611–1684. Erbe und Bewahr in schwerer Zeit, München/Berlin/London/New York 2007.

113 Quoted after: Fleischer, p. 126.

mutual symbolic communication of gender-defined territories.<sup>114</sup> The case studies also showed that the actual functioning of the interior areas varied between couples, with some sharing a bedroom and others preferring separate spaces.<sup>115</sup> For example, the apartment of the wife of Dominik Andreas Kaunitz, Maria Eleonore von Sternberg, was different after their wedding in 1675 in their Brno (Brünn) palace and at the chateau in Slavkov u Brna. In the palace, she occupied an apartment on the second floor (consisting of main room and bedchamber) next to the rooms of the *frauenzimmer*. The apartment was connected to her husband's apartment on the first floor by a staircase. At the chateau in Slavkov, during the same period, the couple inhabited apartments on the same floor and very probably shared a bedroom.<sup>116</sup> However, the arrangement was then changed in connection with the reconstruction of the chateau, which will be the subject of chapter 4.

Direct primary sources are often absent or insufficient for the specification of rooms. In Nové Město nad Metují, inventories for the necessary period are missing and younger ones already point to a different family situation. Nevertheless, the paintings in the two wings of the residence show differences that can be perceived through the lens of gender division. The Count's apartment is more profiled in the northeast wing, dominated by Leslie's panegyric and wartime-imperial themes. The wing ends with a bedroom with a motif of the god Somnus. The female apartment would then lie in the southwest wing and begin with a celebration of art presented by a scene of the god Apollo. Other rooms are then interspersed with themes associated with women in the form of popular mythological stories referring to female beauty and virtue, all culminating in the bedroom. It is one of the most magnificently furnished rooms and the emphasis on the importance of the space is highlighted in a painting celebrating the union of the Leslie and Dietrichstein families, which is flanked by panels with examples of virtuous women. Heroines representing feminine virtues were part of popular feminine iconography, as evidenced by the example of the hunting villa at Kratochvíle (Kurzweil) or residential programmes in Germany (e.g., Wittenberg Castle or former apartment of Electress Henriette Adelaide in her residence in Munich).<sup>117</sup> Any such generalisation, however, easily encounters exceptions, as Lanzani's decoration of Slavkov u Brna, where feminine scenes seem to have dominated the men's apartment, reveals (see chap. 4).

<sup>114</sup> Jakubec, *Defining*, pp. 98–119.

<sup>115</sup> Kubeš, *Reprezentační*, pp. 204–218.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 215–216.

<sup>117</sup> In the decoration programme for Wittenberg, conjugal love and feminine virtues such as fidelity, modesty and chastity were thematised: Hoppe, *Bauliche*, p. 156; In the first anteroom of Henriette Adelaide's former apartment of was a cycle of heroines based on Pierre Lemoyne's *Gallerie des femmes fortes*: Bauer, Hermann/Rupprecht, Bernhard: *Corpus der barocken Deckenmalerei in Deutschland*, Band 3, Stadt und Landkreis Munchen, Teil 2 – Profanbauten, München 1989, p. 223.

## 2. Habsburg Officers and the New Nobility in Central Europe After the Thirty Years' War

### Nové Město nad Metují and Walter Leslie

Section 1.1 revealed that a considerable part of the residential decorations from the 17th century came from commissions for newly established families, originally from different regions, whose careers were linked to military service in the Habsburg army.<sup>1</sup> For some of them, the confiscations after the Battle of White Mountain represented an opportunity to acquire new property, in which symbolic self-representation confirmed the legitimacy of power. Walter Leslie's residence, through its intact and richly preserved paintings, provides an excellent insight into the representational strategies of the newly established post-White Mountain aristocracy in the Bohemian lands, which significantly affected the existing property structures.

Walter Leslie is one of the exemplary cases of successful career ascension and the associated multiplication of properties. The Scottish emigrant entered the imperial army as an indigent nobleman, but during his few years in the Habsburg service and thanks to the extraordinary opportunity associated with Wallenstein's assassination, his position and financial circumstances grew unprecedentedly strong. In 1636, he addressed the Emperor Ferdinand II with a request for the return of the title of count, which he supported with the claim that the Leslie family had held the title for over six hundred years. In a lengthy letter, he referred to his Central European roots leading back to Bartholomeus (Bartolf) of Hungarian descent, who had left Scotland in 1067 as a chamberlain to Princess Margaret. The ties to Central Europe, emphasised also by the later published Leslie family history *Laurus Leslaeana* from 1692, confirm the tendency to legitimise their position within their newly acquired estates and aristocratic affiliations. The ennoblement of Walter Leslie to the status of an imperial count came a few months later, in June 1637.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Polišenský/Snider, *Změny*, pp. 515–526.

2 Worthington, *Scots*, pp. 205–206. Peter Davidson has recently analysed a published family history of the Leslies, *Laurus Leslaeana*, which details the genealogy and mythical history of the house. Here Bartolf is also linked to a possible derivation from the name Ladislav: Davidson, Peter: *Relics, Dreams, Voyages: World Baroque*, Manchester 2024, pp. 174–175; Leslie, William Aloysius SJ, *Laurus Leslaeana explicata, sive clarior enumeratio personarum utriusque sexus cognominis Leslie*, Graz 1692, section AI.

Leslie gradually became a military expert and his position within Habsburg aristocratic circles was strengthened and consolidated by his successful diplomatic service. In 1639 he entered the diplomatic service as Imperial Envoy to the Spanish Netherlands, and from 1645 he served as Imperial Ambassador in Naples and Rome. In the 1650s and 1660s, Walter Leslie's court posts multiplied even more, and in 1650 he was appointed Field Marshal and Governor of the Habsburg-Ottoman military frontier and in 1657 Vice-President of the Imperial War Council. Due to his merits in concluding the Peace of Vasvár, he was selected for the position of Grand Ambassador, which he renounced in view of his age. However, the subsequently chosen person, Adolf Ehrenreich von Puchheim, passed away, and Leslie agreed to take the position on the condition that he be awarded the Order of the Golden Fleece. He finally received it at a ceremony in Hofburg on 6 May 1665.<sup>3</sup> Immediately he was entrusted with the post of Imperial Ambassador to Constantinople, but died shortly afterwards, in 1667. To conclude this brief introduction to Walter Leslie's life, it should be noted that in addition to his Nové Město nad Metují estate, he also acquired a property in southern Styria with its centre in Ptuj, which he purchased in 1656. At the same time, he also increased his holdings with additional properties in Prague, Graz and Varaždin.<sup>4</sup>

The current four-winged form of the chateau in Nové Město nad Metují is the result of an earlier Renaissance reconstruction of the building, which took place in 1558–1568 under Wolf von Stubenberg. The property was later confiscated from the Styrian Stubenberg family, and the chateau was purchased by Albrecht von Wallenstein, who soon exchanged it with Magdalena Trčka von Lípa. The building was then damaged twice in the 1620s and 1630s, first in a gunpowder explosion during the Peasants' Revolt in 1628 and then in 1639 during the Swedish siege. The dramatic events of the Thirty Years' War were also reflected in the change of ownership of the chateau, as the original owner, Adam Erdmann Trčka von Lípa, was assassinated together with Albrecht von Wallenstein in Cheb, and the chateau was acquired by one

3 Kubeš, Jiří et al.: *V zastoupení císaře. Česká a moravská aristokracie v habsburské diplomacii 1640–1740*, Praha 2018, p. 171; Vidmar, Polona: *Caesari in mis omni hora fidelis servivi: The Portraits of Sigismund Herberstein and Walter Leslie in Diplomatic Robes*, in: *Radovi Instituta za Povijest Umjetnosti* 43 (2019), p. 81. Here also a detailed analysis of Leslie's diplomatic portraits and their related iconography.

4 Maťa, Petr: *Svět české aristokracie (1500–1700)*, Praha 2004, pp. 94, 148, 462–463; Worthington, Scots, pp. 133–284; Worthington, David: "On the high post-way between Vienna and Venice": The Leslie Family in Slovenia, in: Polona Vidmar (ed.): *Zapuščina rodbine Leslie na Ptujskem gradu*, Ptuj 2002, pp. 81–96. About Leslie's self-representation in Ptuj see Marjeta Ciglencečki, *The Legacy of the Leslie Family at the Castle of Ptuj*, in: Polona Vidmar (ed.): *Zapuščina rodbine Leslie na Ptujskem gradu*, Ptuj 2002, pp. 97–106; Vidmar, Polona: *Under the Habsburgs and Stuarts: The Leslies' Portrait Gallery in Ptuj Castle, Slovenia*, in: David Worthington (ed.): *British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles in Europe 1603–1688*, Boston 2010, pp. 215–233.

of the direct participants in this violent act, Walter Leslie, to whom the chateau was donated as a gesture of the emperor's gratitude.<sup>5</sup>

After 1652 Leslie proceeded to rebuild the chateau, probably according to the plans of the Italian master settled in Prague, Carlo Lurago. In the surveyed period, however, a much larger number of artists of Italian origin are documented on the construction, namely the builder Domenico Rossi, the foreman Carlo Rossi, the stucco decorators Giovanni Battista Bianchi, Andrea Canetti, Giacomo Orsolini, Rosso Orsolini and Domenico Bassoti.<sup>6</sup>

In coordination with the ongoing construction and stucco activities at the chateau, the rooms of the piano nobile and the chapel were decorated with paintings. Here, the painter Fabian Sebastian Wenceslaus Harovník created one of the most extensive 17th-century paintings in the Bohemian lands, covering the ceilings of ten rooms with a total of fifty-nine painted sections. This Prague painter was most likely invited for the commission in Nové Město on the basis of his previous successful painting on the ceiling of the Spanish Hall and Chapel of the nearby chateau in Náchod, where he worked together with the painter Giovanni Vanetti for General Ottavio Piccolomini in the early 1650s. Harovník was called to Nové Město by Walter Leslie, who had long-standing work and friendship ties with Piccolomini.<sup>7</sup>

The variety and scale of the Nové Město commission has understandably attracted wider art historical attention for some time,<sup>8</sup> but its multilayered nature encourages a range of interpretations and perspectives, from family representation to the relationship of the paintings to the spatial structure of the residence.

5 The redistribution of the Wallenstein and Trčka estates took place from April 1634 to April 1635. The main part of the estates went to the leading actors of the plot, Generals Matthias Gallas, Johann von Aldringen and Ottavio Piccolomini. Smaller rewards were given to lower-ranked officers, Walter Leslie, Rudolph Colloredo and Walter Butler, Dionysos Mac Daniel and John Gordon. The group of subordinate officers who directly carried out the assassination (headed by Walter Deveroux) remained unrewarded and only after persistent pressure on the confiscation commission did Walter Deveroux at least obtain satisfaction in the form of the smaller Trčka estates: Bílek, Tomáš V.: *Dějiny konfiskací v Čechách po r. 1618*. Part II, Praha 1883, pp. 678–684, 732–832, 858–870; Janáček, Josef: *Valdštejn a jeho doba*, Praha 1978, p. 528; Knoz: *Pobělohorské*, pp. 405–406, 683.

6 Vlček, Pavel: *Ilustrovaná encyklopedie českých zámků*, Praha 1999, pp. 391–392.

7 The most detailed description of Piccolomini's and Leslie's relationship is given in: Worthington, Scots, pp. 217, 246f. On the links between the artists from Arogno, including Giovanni Vanetti and their collaboration with the painter Harovník: Zapletalová, Giovanni, pp. 26–40.

8 Mainly: Závorková, Fabián, pp. 62–69; Juránek, Jan/Branný, Karel: *Nové Město nad Metují*, Praha 1976, pp. 66–75; Lancinger, Luboš/Svoboda, Ladislav: *Stavební proměny zámeckého areálu v Novém Městě nad Metují*, in: *Průzkumy památek 1* (1994), pp. 77–102; Šroněk, Pražští malíři, pp. 43–47; Panoch, Pavel: *Renesanční a rudolfínské emblémy na zámku v Novém Městě nad Metují*, in: *Svorník 9* (2011) pp. 37–52.

## 2.1 The First Apartment: From Military Success to God of Sleep

The irregular disposition of the castle shows that it was built on a medieval foundation by a series of reconstructions, with the four-wing ground plan being the result of a Renaissance rebuilding from 1568. Further major renovations under the reign of Walter Leslie preserved the four-wing ground plan, placing the representative rooms on the second floor.

The oldest inventory of the chateau that could help to reveal the functional structure of the rooms is the inventory of the property taken after the death of Jacob Ernst Leslie in 1738.<sup>9</sup> It specified only a few rooms in addition to the chapel with the oratory and sacristy: the main hall, the dining hall (small hall), the bedchamber and the heir's room next to it. This inventory also shows that the rooms of the northeast wing were used as guest rooms. In this context, however, it should be noted that the situation is naturally based on the fact that Jacob Ernst Leslie's wife, Aloisia Josephine Francisca von Liechtenstein, had already been deceased for two years at that time. The inventory, which was taken seventy years after Walter Leslie's death, is therefore only of a purely indicative nature and provides information (or rather confirmation) of the function of the main public areas of the residence. In thinking about the composition of the rooms, it is therefore necessary to consider contemporary standards and, not least, the iconography of the paintings themselves.

The first apartment is located in the front wing of the castle, facing the city. Coming into the chateau via the spiral staircase of the northern cylindrical tower, this apartment probably opens through the antechamber.<sup>10</sup> In the large central field of the room's ceiling, a group of allegorical figures have been placed gathered around a pedestal or sacrificial altar (fig. 5). On the basis of the presence of the cornucopia and grapes in the central part of the painting, the group has been referred to as a probable Bacchus company or associated with the story of Semele.<sup>11</sup>

However, according to the depicted attributes, it is obvious that this is not a mythological narration, but an allegorical composition. The figures assembled around the

<sup>9</sup> It would be ideal to compare the disposition of the residence with the inventory, which would show its condition after Walter Leslie's death. SRA Hradec Králové, Dpt. Zámrsk holds the Leslie Family Archive, which contains Walter Leslie's will and a document on the foundation of a fideicomis on Nové Město nad Metují estate and Čermná estate in Kladsko, but not an inheritance inventory. There is only an inventory of silver objects at that time. The oldest surviving inventories of the chateau in this fund date only to 1738 and 1761 (inv. Nr. 318, 432). Valenta, Aleš: *Rodinný archiv Lesliů, Nové Město nad Metují 1638–1869, Zámrsk 2013* [inventory of the archive fund No. 8899 deposited in the SRA Hradec Králové, Dpt. Zámrsk].

<sup>10</sup> Mentioned as an antechamber in the inventory from 1738: SRA Hradec Králové, Dpt. Zámrsk, Leslie Family Archive, cart. 4, Inv. Nr. 318, fol. 8r.

<sup>11</sup> Panoch, *Renesanční*, pp. 38–39.



5 Fabian Sebastian Wenceslaus Harovník, *The Allegory of Peace under the Reign of Walter Leslie*, 1660s, Nové Město nad Metují, chateau.

altar are complemented by clear references to the four elements: the fire above the woman's head, the water vessel in the man's hands, the wind (air) blowing upwards and finally the cornucopia with fruit and wine as an allusion to the earth. Pre-Socratic Greek science, led by the thought of Empedocles, developed the doctrine of the four elements, which, as the "roots of all things", are blended in the bodies of all men and animals. The personifications of the elements gathered around the altar are accompanied by an abundance holding medals of victory.

The centrally located group is flanked on the sides by the flying figures of Fame (with trumpet), Nobility (with crown, laurel wreath and sceptre), Glory (with palm branch) and Peace (with olive branch). Glory is holding a waving standard with the coat of arms of the patron Walter Leslie (badge of the three-buckled belt). The majesty, glory and peace-making legacy here spreads to the whole world which is composed of four elements.

Already in the first painting, Harovník's method of working with prints can be well demonstrated.<sup>12</sup> The figures of Fame and Nobility were taken from a graphic

12 The search for graphic models for Harovník's paintings has been the subject of long research, which has been significantly broadened in the last decade by new findings: Závorková, Fabián, pp. 62–69; Šroněk, Fabián, pp. 451–455; Šroněk/Konečný, Malířská, pp. 433–441; Šroněk, Pražští, pp. 43–47;

translation of Vouet's painting *Time Punished by Hope, Love and Beauty*.<sup>13</sup> Harovník then used the same print in the dining hall. The central part of the composition is based on prints reproducing paintings by Pietro da Cortona from Palazzo Barberini in Rome.<sup>14</sup> In both cases, Harovník takes inspiration from the compositional schemes and changes the iconography of the paintings, a principle that he repeats frequently in Nové Město.

The central painting in the room is surrounded by four small corner cartouches bearing the emblems *EX PACE UBERTAS* (Out of Peace Abundance); *EX BELLO PAX* (Out of War Peace); *FIDE ET VIDE* (Believe and See); *SIC SEMPER* (Thus Forever), taken from the famous emblematic compendia, Alciati's *Emblematum liber* and *Symbola divina et humana pontificum* by Jacobus Typotius and Anselm Boëtius de Boodt, for which Aegidius Sadeler composed the illustrations.<sup>15</sup> The emblems and their mottos undoubtedly correspond ideologically with the central painting. It shows eternal glory, victory and, above all, the peace that brings abundance: all under the standard of Walter Leslie.

It can be assumed that the subsequent room in the northeast wing served as an audience room. The ideological scheme of the painting, which is also characterised by imperial-victorious iconography, would also correspond to this function. It presents Caesar's triumph (fig. 6) and thus repeats one of the most famous compositions of the subject by Andrea Mantegna, which was disseminated by numerous printed variations.<sup>16</sup> The theme refers to ancient accomplishments and model warriors, yet

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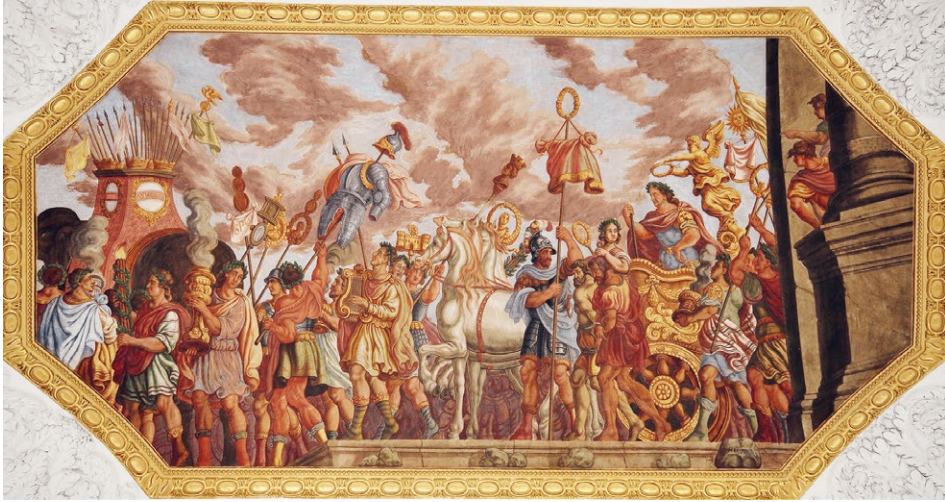
Nokkala Miltová, Radka: *Ex Bello Pax. Oslava Waltera Leslieho v malbách na zámku v Novém Městě nad Metují*, in: *Opuscula historiae artium* LXIV (2015), pp. 32–49; Nokkala Miltová, *Ve společnosti*, pp. 22–54; Prostředníková, *Studie*.

13 Vouet's painting is now displayed in the Musée du Berry in Bourges (it was originally intended for the Hôtel de Bretonvilliers in Paris): Prostředníková, *Studie*, p. 28.

14 Specifically, a sheet by Cornelius Bloemaert with part of the ceiling with Vesta, Venus and Silenus (album published in 1642): Prostředníková, *Studie*, p. 35.

15 Typotius, Jacobus – Boëtius de Boodt, Anselmus: *Symbola Divina & Humana Pontificum. Imperatorum. Regum* [...]. Tom. I–III, Pragae 1601–1603; Konečný, Lubomír: *Jakob Typotius – Anselm Boëtius de Boodt: Symbola Divina*, in: *Prag um 1600. Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Rudolfs II.*, Freren 1988, p. 435; Bukovinská, Bekeť/Konečný, Lubomír: *Zwei Kaiser mit ihren Impressen – eine Zeichnung von Aegidius Sadeler*, *Studia Rudolphina* 9 (2009), pp. 127–132; Purš, Ivo/Karpenko, Vladimír: *Alchemy and Rudolf II. Exploring the Secrets of Nature in Central Europe in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Praha 2016, pp. 535–579. The emblematic elements of the paintings in Nové Město were analysed by Panoch, *Renesanční*; Davidson, *Relics*, p. 177.

16 Závorková, Fabián, pp. 67–68; Martindale, Andrew: *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court*, London 1979. One possibility could be a series of chiaroscuro woodcuts by Andrea Andreani published in nine sheets in 1599. Karpinski, Caroline (ed.): *The Illustrated Bartsch. Vol. XLVIII. Italian Chiaroscuro Woodcuts*, New York 1983; Karpinski, Caroline: *Mantegna's "Triumphs" in Andreani's Form*, in: *Apollo* 153 (2001), pp. 39–46.



6 Fabian Sebastian Wenceslaus Harovník, *Caesar's Triumph*, 1660s, Nové Město nad Metují, chateau.

one updating element was noticed by Vítězslav Prchal. The armour carried in the procession corresponds to the cuirassier's armour of the Thirty Years' War.<sup>17</sup>

The triumphant entry into the apartment through the first two rooms passes into the following space of the apartment. The scenes on the ceiling thematise famous mythological stories, with the largest space being devoted to one of Theseus's heroic deeds (fig. 7). The central hexagonal space, bordered by stucco, was filled with a composition of Theseus in a labyrinth, who, with the help of Ariadne's string, triumphs over the Minotaur.<sup>18</sup> Theseus, in armour, leaves the space within the labyrinth walls led by a putto, who is holding the end of the thread of Ariadne's ball. The ball itself is held in the sky by the personification of Victory with a palm branch and a laurel wreath on her head.<sup>19</sup> On the ground beside Theseus's feet lies the motionless body of a defeated Minotaur, whose appearance, according to contemporary conventions, resembles that of a centaur. As in the previous rooms, an image of victory and triumph over the enemy and the establishment of peace appears here as well, this time through the actions of a mythical hero. However, Theseus has often been seen

<sup>17</sup> Prchal, *Společenstvo*, p. 270.

<sup>18</sup> The depiction of this Ovidian myth most probably does not come from any illustrated edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* but rather relies on a still unknown variant from the multiple production of single sheet prints.

<sup>19</sup> A similar concept can be seen later in a painting by Johann Michael Rottmayr in the ancestral hall in Vranov nad Dyjí. Here, Theseus is led from heaven by divine providence and Ariadne: Orlinski-Raidl, Věnceslava: K ikonografii sálu předků rodiny Althannů ve Vranově nad Dyjí, in: Bohumil Samek (ed.): *Sál předků na zámku ve Vranově nad Dyjí*, Brno 2003, p. 100.



7 Fabian Sebastian Wenceslaus Harovník, Theseus in a Labyrinth, 1660s, Nové Město nad Metují, chateau.

not as a mythological figure, but as a historical one: as the King of Athens, based on Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*.<sup>20</sup> The theme of Theseus's journey through the labyrinth is also a reminder of the search for and finding the right path.

The central scene is surrounded by four smaller fields with Ovidian stories, namely Daedalus and Icarus, Atalanta and Hippomenes, Ganymede and Narcissus. The figure of Daedalus is conceptually directly connected to the main scene, as he was the designer of the Cretan labyrinth. Theseus and Atalanta are bound together by their participation in the hunt for the Calydonian boar. The Cretan King Minos, son of Jupiter and Europa, is also associated by some authors with the myth of Ganymede. Plato tied the myth to Cretan origins and, according to Athenaeus, it was Minos who abducted Ganymede to become his cup-bearer.<sup>21</sup> The link between Theseus and the story of Narcissus' transformation is rather more problematic to trace.

All four depictions share a common formal inspiration, represented by the etchings of Stefano della Bella (figs. 8, 9).<sup>22</sup> This Italian-born draughtsman and print-

<sup>20</sup> Freedman, Luba: *Classical Myths in Italian Renaissance Painting*, Cambridge 2011, p. 198.

<sup>21</sup> Koehl, Robert B.: *The Chieftain Cup and a Minoan Rite of Passage Source*, in: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 106 (1986), pp. 99–110.

<sup>22</sup> Nokkala Miltová, *Ve společenství*, p. 28.



- 8 Fabian Sebastian Wenceslaus Harovník, Abduction of Ganymede, 1660s, Nové Město nad Metují, chateau.
- 9 Stefano della Bella, Abduction of Ganymede, 1644, etching.
- 10 Fabian Sebastian Wenceslaus Harovník, Somnus Controls the Five Senses, 1660s, Nové Město nad Metují, chateau.

maker, who worked at the French royal court, created small compositions for a series called *Jeu des fables* (*Jeu de la Mythologie*). These were didactic playing cards commissioned by Cardinal Mazarin for the young King Louis XIV, then six years old. The complementary short text on the cards was composed by poet Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin, who, in addition to this series of mythological cards, also created the concept for geographical cards and cards of important French kings and queens. After receiving royal privilege, the cards were published in 1644 and subsequently reused in reprints from the same plates in 1664 and 1698.<sup>23</sup> Harovník imitated these models very faithfully.

The last painted room in the northeast wing has a square ground plan and its disposition corresponds to the centrally placed painted field, surrounded by cartouches with emblematic scenes. It depicts the god of sleep, Somnus, in the precise tradition of the mythographic manuals (fig. 10).<sup>24</sup> In the illustrations in treatises by Natale Conti and Vincenzo Cartari, the imagery of the god of sleep was mainly based on Philostratus' description. According to him, Somnus puts on two coats, one inner and one outer, and carries a stick and a horn from which dreams fly out.<sup>25</sup>

Further attributes of sleep and its associated physical and mental manifestations were constructed primarily on the imagery of the House of Sleep, codified in ancient classical literature. As Vincenzo Cartari has noted, Ovid located the habitat of Sleep in the land of the Cimmerians, Homer on the island of Lemnos, Statius among the Ethiopians, Ariosto in Arabia. According to Ovid's description, Sleep lies on an ebony bed covered with black sheets, around which his children, the Dreams, toddle. In line with this explanation, the depiction of Sleep appears in one of the complementary fields of the main scene with the goddess Aurora in the bedroom of the Villa Farnese in Caprarola.<sup>26</sup> From the House of Sleep, according to Virgil, two gates lead: one is made of horn and from there come the real dreams, and through the other gate of ivory fly the false dreams. It is the false and empty dreams that are then hung like leaves on the great elm tree standing in the centre of the gate to hell.<sup>27</sup>

23 Baudi di Vesme, Alessandro/Dearborn Massar, Phyllis: Stefano della Bella. Catalogue raisonné, New York 1971; Saslow, James M.: *Ganymede in the Renaissance: Homosexuality in Art and Society*, New Haven/London 1986, p. 182; Talbierska, Jolanta: Stefano della Bella (1610–1664). *Akwaforty ze zbiorów gabinetu rycin Biblioteki uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie*/Etchings from the Collection of the Print Room of the Warsaw University Library, Warszawa 2001, pp. 85–88.

24 Descriptions of the god Somnus were presented by all the major mythographers. See e.g. von Sandart, Joachim: *Iconologia Deorum, Oder Abbildung der Goetter, Welche von den Alten verehret worden [...]*, Nürnberg/Frankfurt 1680, pp. 116–118; Volpi, Caterina: *Le immagini degli dèi di Vincenzo Cartari*, Roma 1996, p. 336.

25 Volpi, *Le immagini*, p. 336.

26 Seznec, Jean: *The Survival of the Pagan Gods. The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, Princeton 1995, pp. 295–296; Oy-Mara, *Profane*, pp. 146–147.

27 Seznec, *The Survival*, p. 295. Descriptions of the House of Sleep have been provided by most mytho-

Somnus at the chateau in Nové Město is depicted similarly to the mythographies as a plain-haired young man with a flowing overcoat, but unlike the illustrations mentioned above, he does not carry a stick and a horn, but a bundle of poppies. However, these too belong to the common repertoire of symbols associated with sleep. The narcotic effects of certain plants have been known since antiquity, and the Latin botanical name of the poppy, *Papaver somniferum*, still recalls the association with sleep. It is not surprising, therefore, that this plant symbolism also appeared in mythographic texts, for example, in the *Iconologia Deorum*, a German translation of Cartari,<sup>28</sup> Joachim von Sandrart describes the god of sleep with poppies on his head. He does so with reference to a text by Ovid where poppies grow in front of a cave inhabited by Sleep.<sup>29</sup> Different graphic versions of the subject worked with the equivalent symbolics.<sup>30</sup> In the murals he appears with poppies on his head, for example in the later decoration of the bedchamber of the chateau in Leitheim.<sup>31</sup>

In Nové Město, Somnus holds a bundle of poppies in his left hand and a bundle of strings in his right hand, on which five sleeping child figures are tied. These were incorrectly identified in the literature as the children of the god Somnus, the Dreams.<sup>32</sup> On closer examination, however, it is impossible not to notice that all the children are depicted with the clear and traditional attributes of the five senses: Smell with a

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graphic manuals. Besides Conti and Cartari, similar descriptions appear in Heinrich Schaeivius, Joachim von Sandrart and others.: Von Sandrart, *Iconologia*, pp. 116–118; Schaeivius, Henricus: *Mythologia Deorum Ac Heroum. Ex Natali Comite, Torrentino, Ravisii Officina ac Poëtis Classicis Methodice contracta*, [...] Stetini 1683, pp. 454–456.

28 Sandrart's *Iconologia deorum* is a German translation of Cartari's *Le imagini de i dei*, although the reference to this fact is not incorporated into the title. It is only in the text of the introduction that Sandrart mentions that he is translating the Latin edition of Cartari's 1581 edition to make it accessible to German artists and art lovers and to add a richer visual supplement: Schreurs, Anna: *Die Götterbilder des Vincenzo Cartari in der Darstellung von Joachim von Sandrart*, in: Hartmut Böhme/Christof Rapp/Wolfgang Rösler (eds.): *Übersetzung und Transformation*, Berlin/New York 2007, pp. 475–523.

29 Von Sandrart, *Iconologia*, pp. 116–118. In Heinrich Schaeivius, narcotic herbs are also mentioned: "Circum est sylva densusissima ex papavere & mandragora, aliaeq; herbae narcoticae ibi florent." Schaeivius, *Mythologia*, pp. 454–456.

30 Karel van Mander's comments are based on the same premises. The designs for his compositions on Night, Somnus and Morpheus were transformed into graphic form by Jacob Matham: Göttler, Christine: *Imagination in the Chamber of Sleep: Karel van Mander on Somnus and Morpheus*, in: Christoph Lüthy/Claudia Swan/Paul J. J. M. Bakker/Claus Zittel (eds.): *Image, Imagination, and Cognition. Medieval and Early Modern Theory and Practice*, Leiden/Boston 2018, pp. 147–176.

31 CbDD – Repräsentationsräume [Textteil] [last accessed 13/03/2025].

32 In older iconographic interpretations of this painting, the deity is specified as Hypnos (the Greek equivalent of the Roman god Somnus), who leads his children. Závorková, Fabián, p. 64; Panoch, *Renesanční*, p. 41. The binding of the senses, however, corresponds more accurately to the reality depicted and the attributes used.

chest of flowers, Touch with a hare in the hand and a hedgehog at the feet, Hearing with a musical score and a violin, Taste with a fruit festoon, and Sight with a mirror and an eagle. The painting should therefore be more precisely specified as an allegory of sleep: the god Somnus binding the five senses.<sup>33</sup> Somnus thus shows his exclusive ability to control all human senses. In Moravia, one can also encounter the control of the five senses with ropes in another context, namely in a later painting by Johann Michael Rottmayr in the ancestral hall in Vranov nad Dyjí, where the five senses are controlled by Temperance.<sup>34</sup>

Considering the formal aspects of the composition, like the previous painting with Theseus in the labyrinth, this scene also resists precise comparison with a printed model, although the existence of source material can be assumed in the light of Harovnik's receptive way of working. On the other hand, there is no doubt that all the surrounding emblems in the cartouches derive from the treatise *Symbola divina et humana pontificum* by Jacobus Typotius and accentuate the ruler's virtues and devotion: VIAS TUAS DEMONSTRA (Lord, show me your ways); CUM TEMPORE (With time); IN FIDE ET JUSTITIA FORTITUDO (There is bravery in faith and justice); DEORSUM NUNQUAM (Never down); SECURA VERITAS (The constant truth); TE QUBERNATORE (With you as the Ruler); LUCEAT (Let it shine); NEMO SINE TE (No one but you).<sup>35</sup>

The iconographical content of the paintings in this room encourages defining its original function. The choice of the god of sleep in the series of paintings clearly refers to the bedchamber, whose location at the end of the chateau wing also fully reflects contemporary standards. The gods of night, sleep or the arrival of a new day, referring to the astronomical connotations of myths, began to appear in many bedchambers since the Renaissance (section 1.3). One of the exemplary models of this iconography (including the depiction of the god Somnus) is the decoration of a bedchamber in the Villa Farnese in Caprarola by Tadeo Zuccaro, whose programme was composed by Annibale Caro on the basis of mythographic manuals and subsequently described by Giorgio Vasari.<sup>36</sup>

From the iconographical structure of the paintings in the rooms of the northeast wing it is more than obvious that the first apartment is devoted to the theme of great warriors, imperial emblems, triumphal symbolism and heroic deeds. It ends with a reminder of sleep and its dominion over the human senses. The second, mirror-positioned apartment is bound to a different ideological framework.

33 Nokkala Miltová, *Ve společenství*, p. 29.

34 Orlinski-Raidl, *K ikonografii*, pp. 92–93.

35 Panoch, *Renesanční*, p. 41.

36 Robertson, Clare: Annibal Caro as Iconographer: Sources and Method, in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 (1982), pp. 160–181; Seznec, *The Survival*, pp. 288–301; Cieri Via, *L'arte*, p. 45; Oy-Mara, *Profane*, pp. 146–147.



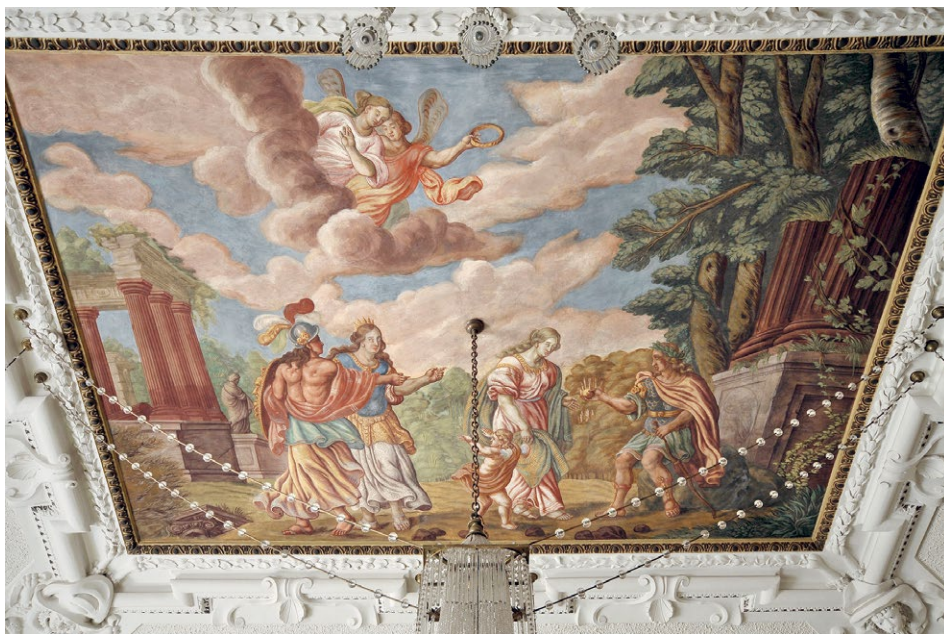
11 Fabian Sebastian Wenceslaus Harovník, Apollo, Muses and Olympian Gods, 1660s, Nové Město nad Metují, chateau.

## 2.2 Second Apartment: Goddesses, Heroines and Alliance of Families

The next line of decorated rooms is located in the southwest wing of the chateau. The painting in the first room focuses on a celebration of art through a scene with Apollo glorifying music. The very first motif could already illustrate the distinction of gendered space and point to the lady's apartment. The composition consists of a long rectangular panel with a centrally placed figure of the standing god Apollo (fig. 11). The god is bathed in sunlight and holds a lyre in his left hand. On the clouds, the Muses, musicians and other Olympian gods (Venus, Diana, Mars and Pluto) are seated next to Apollo. Two figures deviate from the representation of the Muses or gods: the woman to the left of Apollo with a quiver and the man with a laurel wreath on his head turning to Pluto with a gesture pointing downwards. A possible explanation for these figures could be the story of one of Apollo's daughters, Eurydice, whose desperate husband Orpheus pleads with Pluto.

The next room is decorated with one central painting, for which the very popular and easily recognisable theme of the Judgement of Paris was chosen (fig. 12). Paris is seen here at the crucial moment when he hands the golden apple to the goddess Venus. In Harovník's variant of the theme, it is interesting to observe his compilation method of composing larger paintings. Harovník does not copy one exclusive visual source here but combines two etchings from a series that, beyond any doubt, he had at his disposal while at Nové Město, namely the aforementioned playing cards of Stefano della Bella's *Jeu des fables*.<sup>37</sup> The main figurative setting of the scene is taken from the card of the Judgement of Paris, but, presumably for greater dynamism and to amuse the audience, he adds a boy mocking the defeated goddesses Minerva and

37 Saslow, Ganymede, p. 182; Talbierska, Stefano, pp. 85–88.



12 Fabian Sebastian Wenceslaus Harovník, *The Judgement of Paris*, 1660s, Nové Město nad Metují, chateau.

Juno at the feet of Venus. However, he borrows this detail from another card, the one showing the mocking of the goddess Ceres.<sup>38</sup>

The southwest wing continues with a room which is decorated with one large rectangular painted mirror on the ceiling. In it is the vivid story of a retinue gathered around a woman surrounded by a swarm of bees flying in from a nest in a tree. The god Apollo then carves the inscription *HIC DOMVS* into the bark of the tree (fig. 13). The mythological story has been interpreted as Aeneas's arrival in Latium according to Virgil's description, in which Aeneas's entrance is announced by the bees, while the graphic model for Harovník's painting has also become known. The interpretation of this print, however, provides a much more accurate identification of the subject.<sup>39</sup>

Harovník here reproduces to the smallest detail the engraving from the famous botanical treatise written by the gardener of the Barberinis and Jesuit Giovanni Battista Ferrari, *De florum cultura libri IV* (fig. 14). The treatise was first published in Rome in 1633 and then in reeditions in Amsterdam in 1646 and 1664.<sup>40</sup> In the text

38 Nokkala Miltová, *Ve společnosti*, pp. 31–32. In addition, two girls on clouds are based on the engraving in Ferrari's treatise depicting lazy gardeners: Prostředníková, *Studie*, pp. 26–27.

39 The engraving was pointed out by Závorková, Fabián, pp. 67, 68. Topic later specified by Nokkala Miltová, *Ex bello*, pp. 32–49.

40 Johann Friedrich Greuter's title page and other engravings from Ferrari's treatises have been pub-



13 Fabian Sebastian Wenceslaus  
Harovník, Nymph Melissa, 1660s,  
Nové Město nad Metují, chateau.

14 Johann Friedrich Greuter after Pietro  
da Cortona, Nymph Melissa, c. 1646,  
engraving.



of the treatise, Ferrari himself recalls the wider symbolism of bees, in particular the myth of the nymph Melissa transformed into a bee, and the symbolism of the Barberini family, to whose gardens the treatise was dedicated.<sup>41</sup> As with other fictional stories in the treatise, Melissa represents Ferrari's own constructed version of the myth, but based on a good knowledge of ancient literature. According to Ferrari's version, the nymphs Florilla and Melissa are daughters of Heaven and Earth, and the god Apollo fell in love with Melissa, who adored music and devoted herself to art. In his delusion Apollo went so far as to neglect to drive the sun chariot and plunged the world into darkness. Once, when Melissa played an enchanting piece, it affected her sister so much that she turned into a flower. Melissa then changed her tune to a wistful melody and turned into a swarm of bees herself, as shown in the engraving by Johann Friedrich Greuter. In it, Melissa is being held by one of the nymphs and bees swarm from her fainting body, as often depicted in the bugonia (the mythical birth of bees). The swarm of bees reaches the crown of the tree where Apollo and the Muses are gathered. The sun god then carves the inscription HIC DOMVS into the bark of the tree. With a reference to Virgil's *Aeneis*, Ferrari pays tribute to the Barberini family, and hence to Pope Urban VIII, whose Roman palace is part of the scene.<sup>42</sup> The iconography associated with the god Apollo and the celebration of music thus also continues in the second room of the apartment.

If we proceed further towards the chateau chapel, located in the southern corner of the building, we will come to the last room of the apartment filled with paintings. This lavishly decorated hall of square plan is now presented as a parade bedchamber, a space that could correspond to the original residential disposition. Moreover, the room is symmetrically positioned to the supposed bedchamber with the depiction of the god Somnus.<sup>43</sup> The bedchambers, frequently located at the end of the apartments, were often connected to the dressing rooms. In Nové Město, one vaulted room without decoration is located between the alleged bedchamber and the chapel. However, other suggestions for the function of the room also appeared in the literature, namely its connection with the main hall.<sup>44</sup> But the main hall is, and according to the inventories was, located in the northwest wing.

The room's ceiling decoration carries a highly representational accent and demonstrates the composition traditionally referred to as the Apotheosis of the Leslie fam-

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lished and interpreted, for example in Falk, Tilman (ed.): *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts*. Vol. XII. Conrad Grale to Johann Georg Guttwein, Amsterdam 1983, pp. 89–90.

41 Ferrari, Ioannes Baptista: *De Florvm Cvltvra Libri IV*, Romae 1633, engraving Nr. 46.

42 Ferrari, *De florum*, pp. 514–518 and engraving Nr. 46. Engraving published also in: Falk, *Hollstein XII*, p. 88. (Here the engraving inaccurately identified as *Flora Stung by a Bee*).

43 In the 1738 inventory the room is listed as the heir's room next to the neighbouring bedchamber: SRA Hradec Králové, Dpt Zámorsk, Leslie Family Archive, Inv. Nr. 318, fol. 4v.

44 Šroněk, Fabián, p. 452.



15 Fabian Sebastian Wenceslaus Harovník, Apotheosis of the Union of the Leslie and Dietrichstein Families, 1660s, Nové Město nad Metují, chateau.

ily (fig. 15).<sup>45</sup> In fact, in the centre of the scene, the putti, together with a rich floral festoon, bear the alliance coat of arms, recalling the union of the Leslie and Dietrichstein families, a union that was of fundamental importance in Leslie's life and career. It was concluded with the marriage of Walter Leslie to Anna Francesca, daughter of Prince Maximilian von Dietrichstein, who became Leslie's wife (probably his third) on 23 April 1647. The wedding, held in Vienna, was accompanied by a lavish ceremony, which is not surprising: the connection with the Dietrichstein family opened Leslie's access (not only) to the Austrian-Bohemian aristocratic elite. Walter Leslie became the son-in-law of Prince Dietrichstein, but also the brother-in-law of Ferdinand von Dietrichstein, the future Imperial High Chamberlain, the brother-in-law of Franz Eusebius Pötting, later Imperial Ambassador to Spain, and the brother-in-law of the Italian General Raimondo Montecuccoli.<sup>46</sup> The Leslie and Dietrichstein fam-

<sup>45</sup> Závorková, Fabián, p. 64.

<sup>46</sup> Worthington, Scots, pp. 265–266; Dukes, Paul/Grosjean, Alexia/Murdoch, Steve et al., *Leslies in Central and Northern Europe during and after the Thirty Years' War*, in: Ivo Barteček/Zdeněk Šamberger (eds.): *Ad Honorem Josef Polišenský 1915–2001*, Olomouc 2007, pp. 349–369; Bunz, Rainer: *von Leslie – Schottischer Adel in Deutschland und Österreich*, Norderstedt 2018, pp. 12–37.

ily connection and its celebration appears in several other places in the paintings in the chateau. Here, though, it became the subject of the main allegorical scene.

The diagonal formed by the elevated and crowned coat of arms is balanced by the diagonal of the rainbow of the goddess Iris.<sup>47</sup> The rainbow begins at the edge of the architectural prospect in the upper left corner and ends behind the backs of the figures in the lower half of the composition. The allegorical dimension of the adoration of family symbolism is completed and enhanced by the personified figures, ideologically based on the text of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*.<sup>48</sup>

On a raised platform sits the figure of Aristocracy/Aristocratia on a golden throne, pointing with her attributes, a mirror and a snake wrapped around her hand, also to one of the cardinal virtues, Prudence/Prudentia. A woman comes to the throne with laurel wreaths in her hands, representing Honour, and on the steps beside the throne sits Vigilance/Vigilantia with an oil lamp, accompanied by a crane with a stone in its claw. Under the stairs, other cardinal virtues are then presented, from the left Temperance/Temperantia, diluting wine with water, and Strength/Fortezza, in armour, with a lion and a column. Behind Fortezza, Envy/Invidia, traditionally depicted as an ugly old woman with snakes in her hair, is driven from the scene. In addition to Cesare Ripa's famous iconographic compendium, which served as the primary source for the selection of attributes, Harovník turned to other famous prints for inspiration. One of the recognisable models is Pietro Testa's popular etching *Triumph of Painting on the Parnassus*, from which the motif of the goddess Iris is taken accurately. Testa's etching, dated by the publisher Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi to 1648, belongs to a series of two prints referring to the theme of Parnassus (the second is *The Triumph of the Virtuous Painter on Parnassus*).<sup>49</sup>

The fact that Harovník possessed Pietro Testa's compositions is also evidenced by the first of four smaller painted fields surrounding the Apotheosis of the Leslie and Dietrichstein families. All of them thematise the fates of famous ancient heroines, and the mentioned field depicting Queen Dido of Carthage on the pyre is formally

47 The winged goddess Iris, borne on a rainbow, has been considered an unclear figure: Šroněk, Fabián, p. 452.

48 The identification of the Ripa's personifications was thoroughly examined by Michal Šroněk. He also drew attention to the fact that Harovník owned and often used this compendium. Šroněk, Fabián, pp. 451–455.

49 The paintings are based on both prints: Nokkala Miltová, *Ve společnosti*, pp. 34–35.

For this series by Testa, see: Sutherland Harris, Ann/Lord, Carla: *Pietro Testa and Parnassus*, in: *The Burlington Magazine* 112/802 (1970), pp. 15–21. The popularity of this etching is evidenced by several examples of its use as a model, e.g. Josef Ferdinand Fromiller's painting of the castle in Meiselberg (Thaler, Herfried: *Das „Zitat von Autoritäten“ im Werke Josef Ferdinand Fromillers*, in: *Kunstjahrbuch der Stadt Linz*, 1994/1995, pp. 113, 118, 126) or for the paintings of Johann Georg Greiner at the chateau in Plumlov (Togner, Milan: *Malířství 17. století na Moravě*, Olomouc 2010, pp. 106–111).



16 Fabian Sebastian Wenceslaus Harovník, *The Abduction of Hippodamia*, 1660s, Nové Město nad Metují, chateau.

based on an etching by Giovanni Cesare Testa after a design by Pietro Testa from 1650–1655.<sup>50</sup> The next two fields are also devoted to heroines who voluntarily left this world by their own hand, Lucretia, stabbing herself with a dagger, and Sophonisba, receiving a cup of poison.

The last of the four smaller fields presents a dramatic scene of the abduction of a woman, which used to be interpreted as the abduction of the Sabines (fig. 16). A problematic aspect of this interpretation involves the reality that only one woman was abducted, although a possible iconographic identification could have been based at least partially on the found graphic model. Already Marie Závorková recognised that Harovník had faithfully copied the engraving by Enea Vico, published by Tommaso Barlacchi in Rome in 1542 (fig. 17).<sup>51</sup> Vico's engraving is traditionally associated with the painting by Rosso Fiorentino in the gallery of Francis I at Fontainebleau, but the specification of the iconographic subject varies. It is mainly interpreted as the battle of the Centaurs with the Lapiths, to which the abduction of

<sup>50</sup> The comparison with Testa's composition was already made by Marie Závorková, who published another variant of the graphic transcriptions of Testa's *Dido*, the print by Giovanni Giacomo Rossi. Závorková, Fabián, pp. 66, 68.

<sup>51</sup> Závorková, Fabián, p. 69 (Here mentioned Bari's version based on Enea Vico).



17 Enea Vico, *The Abduction of Hippodamia*, 1542, engraving

Hippodamia is linked.<sup>52</sup> The scene of the abducted woman corresponds to the mythological storyline and best fits the depicted scene, but the fight between the Centaurs and the Lapiths bears some iconographic limitations due to the absence of Centaurs in the scene.<sup>53</sup>

The parade bedchamber in this apartment is among one of the most magnificently decorated rooms in the chateau, which corresponds to its significance. The emphasis on the importance of the space culminates in a painting celebrating the union of the Leslie and Dietrichstein families, which is flanked by fields of examples of virtuous women. Heroines representing feminine virtues belonged to popular feminine iconography, as mentioned in section 1.3. Similarly, the theme of abduction

52 Spike, John T. (ed.): *The Illustrated Bartsch. Vol. XXX. Italian Masters of the Sixteenth Century – Enea Vico*, New York 1985, pp. 42–45. Christopher L. C. E. Witcombe brought an interesting interpretation when he pointed out a possible ideological connection between the theme of Lucretia, the engraving in question and *Sacco di Roma*. The story of Lucretia was followed by Roman women during the sack of Rome, and this print could be an allusion to a similar type of rape and an allegory for the sack of Rome in general. Witcombe, Christopher L. C. E.: *Print Publishing in Sixteenth-Century Rome. Growth and Expansion, Rivalry and Murder*, Turnhout 2008, pp. 92–93, fig. 2.11 on p. 71.

53 Besides the *Battle of the Centaurs with the Lapiths*, other interpretations have been made, for example, Giorgio Vasari already described the scene as the *Abduction of Helen*, but this view is now considered mistaken.

fits fully into the epithalamic-feminine aspect as evidenced in many decorations.<sup>54</sup> The close links to wedding iconography are illustrated by the location of abduction scenes on wedding chests (cassoni), wedding carpets and panel wall decorations (spalliera), appearing in the Italian milieu from the second half of the 15th century. These themes became a symbolic reflection of the bride's role, her separation from her original family, while at the same time emphasising her virtues as a good wife.<sup>55</sup>

### 2.3 Dining Hall: Cycles of Nature

The rooms of the southwest wing open into the first representative hall, which is now called the “small hall”. It takes up about a third of the northwest wing and is open to the tower of the west corner of the chateau. The hall is dominated by the central painting, set in a large oval section surrounded by rich stucco decoration and six small painted cartouches. A further area for painting opens in the stucco in two oval fields on each of the longer sides of the room and one circular field on each of the shorter sides.

The central scene (fig. 18) is conceptually devoted to the cyclicity of the day and the year, but also to a story from the text of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. A golden chariot pulling a baldachin throne out of the zodiacal orbit rides out of the left side of the composition. Seated side by side on the throne are the divine representatives of day and night (sun and moon), the siblings Apollo and Diana. The annual cycle is elaborated in the lower layer of the composition through groups of figures. It is represented by the individual personifications of the seasons: spring with flowers, summer with grain ears on their head, autumn with vine leaves and winter in the form of a man shivering by a pot of burning coals. The scene is highlighted in its centre by the figure of the god of time, Chronos, coming from the right side and playing the syrinx. Another of the narrative meanings of the depiction is based on the figure of the kneeling young man, Phaethon asking his father Apollo to lend him his golden chariot. In his composition, Harovnik fully exploited the potential of the famous masterpiece, a Nicolas Poussin painting of Apollo, Phaethon, Saturn and the four seasons (1630, Staatliche Museen, Berlin), which was reproduced in an etching by

54 Recently, the subject has been addressed through the examples of the palace decorations in Macerata by: Capriotti Giuseppe: Ovid's Legacy on Trial. Aristocratic Gender Roles in the Painted Vaults of Two Noble 18th-Century Palaces in Macerata, in: Capriotti/Díez Platas/Casamassima, Ovidius, pp. 479–509.

55 Wolfthal, Diane: Images of Rape. The “Heroic” Tradition and its Alternatives, Cambridge 1999, pp. 9–17; Baskins, Cristelle L.: Cassone Painting, Humanism, and Gender in Early Modern Italy, Cambridge 1998; Leshem, Bar: What's Love Got to Do with It? Ovid, the “Love of the Gods”, and Cinquecento Carved Cassoni, in: Capriotti/Díez Platas/Casamassima, Ovidius, pp. 194–224.



18 Fabian Sebastian Wenceslaus Harovník, Phaethon asking for the Chariot, Chronos and the Four Seasons, 1660s, Nové Město nad Metují, chateau.

Nicolas Perelle in 1666.<sup>56</sup> Even in the case of this scene, Harovník works freely with inspiration and changes the attributes of individual characters, for example, Poussin's personification of Spring becomes the goddess Diana. He also adapts the scene to a long horizontal format, into which he inserts a larger number of figures, compiled from other graphic sources.<sup>57</sup>

Four small cartouches in the corners are filled with paintings of flying putti holding the symbols of the four seasons: flowers, grain, grapes and coals. Two cartouches in the middle of the longer sides of the large field are decorated with the coat of arms of the Leslie and Dietrichstein families, which confirms the representative character of the hall.

The first oval field on the left side of the ceiling towards the rooms of the southwest wing is decorated with the popular iconography of the feast of the Olympian gods, which corresponds with the dining function of the hall. Harovník later repeated a number of motifs from this scene in a painting in the Lobkowitz Palace in Prague, where he altered the formal layout in the left part of the banquet table, for which he used Johann Friedrich Greuter's engraving after a design by Pietro da Cortona from Ferrari's *De florum cultura*. In addition, he combined this model in Nové Město with an engraving by Jacques II de Gheyn after Crispin van den Broeck.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Nokkala Miltová, *Ve společenství*, p. 38. For the print see: Wildenstein, Georges: *Les Graveurs de Poussin au XVIIe siècle*, in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 46 (1955), p. 136; Rosenberg, Pierre/Prat, Louis-Antoine: *Nicolas Poussin. 1594–1665*, Paris 1994, p. 196. On Poussin's painting: Helms, Knut: *Eine Schicksalsallegorie des Nicolas Poussin: „Die Bitte Phaetons“* in Berlin, in: *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 42 (2000), pp. 165–186.

<sup>57</sup> The left group of figures with the personifications of spring, summer and autumn draws on Baur's engraving *The Assembly of the Gods* from the cycle of illustrations of *Metamorphoses*: Prostředníková, Studie, pp. 34–35. For Baur's series see annotation 41 of chapter 1.

<sup>58</sup> Nokkala Miltová, *Ve společenství*, p. 38. Prints published e.g. in: Falk, Hollstein XII, p. 86; Lechner,

The scene in the adjacent field recalls the Ovidian transformation of Jupiter's mistress Io into a cow and the summoning of the hundred-eyed shepherd Argus to guard her in the herds of the goddess Juno.<sup>59</sup>

On the opposite side of the ceiling, the iconography follows a similar, that is, Ovidian line: the first field depicts dancing nymphs transforming an Apulian shepherd into an olive tree,<sup>60</sup> and the second field shows Europa in a circle of her maidens, sitting on the back of a white bull into which the tricky Jupiter has transformed.

The last-mentioned painting with Europa and two other compositions in circular sections in the small hall evoke models which turn out to be one of the determining fashions: engravings by Michel Dorigny, based on paintings by the French court painter Simon Vouet. Michel Dorigny, a native of Saint-Quentin, started working with Vouet between 1637 and 1638, and their fruitful collaboration resulted in a series of precise and subtle engravings.<sup>61</sup>

The scene of the rape of Europa is loosely based on Dorigny's etching after a painting by Vouet, published in 1642. In the first circular field, Harovník used a theme ideologically related to the god of time, Chronos, in an allegorical scene taken from Michel Dorigny, where Chronos is punished by the personification of Hope and the gods Venus and Cupid (metaphorically, Hope, Love and Beauty) (fig. 19). The circular counterpart of the punishment of Chronos shows the depiction of three women on the other side of the hall, over whom a man with a golden apple is bending. A very precise formal source for the compositional setting of this scene is Dorigny's engraving of Mercury with the Three Graces, completed in 1642 after a model by Simon Vouet.<sup>62</sup>

The change of iconography in Nové Město, where the figure of Mercury was replaced by Paris with reference to his choice, is obviously related to a targeted ideological concept. Similarly to other scenes in the chateau decoration, we can see a multilayered approach to printed models. In this case, it is clear that the oval fields celebrate love and beauty in the form of the goddess Venus, who triumphs not only

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Gregor Martin/Telesko, Werner: *Lieben & Leider der Götter. Antikenrezeption in der Barockgraphik*, Göttweig 1992, pp. 42–43, cat. Nr. 18.

59 A small detail (the cow) was taken from Goltzius' engraving of Mercury and Argus: Prostředníková, *Studie*, p. 34.

60 Závorková mistakenly mentions a print from a series of Ovidian illustrations by Antonio Tempesta from 1606 and the subject is not specified: Závorková, Fabián, p. 68. The scene, however, draws on the famous illustrations by Johann Wilhelm Baur, published in Vienna in 1641.

61 Nokkala Miltová, *Ve společenství*, pp. 39–40. On the prints see: Thuillier, Jacques/Brejon de Lavergnée, Barbara/Lavalle, Denis: Vouet. *Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais*, Paris, 6 novembre 1990–11 février 1991, Paris 1990.

62 Vouet's canvas with Mercury and Graces is now in the National Art Museum of M. K. Čiurlionis (Nationalinis M. K. Čiurlionio dailės muziejus) in Kaunas, Lithuania. For the print see Thuillier/Brejon de Lavergnée/Lavalle, Vouet, p. 134.



19 Fabian Sebastian Wenceslaus Harovník, Time Defeated by Love, Beauty and Hope, 1660s, Nové Město nad Metují, chateau.

in the beauty contest but also over the destructive power of time. It can be assumed that similar references celebrated Walter Leslie's wife, whose family emblem constitutes an essential part of the room decoration.

Overall, the small hall contains several important themes: the changing of the seasons, the banquet of the gods, and other Ovidian *poesia*. The choice of such themes is appropriate for a dining space, without at the same time abandoning the concept of the representational dimension, pointed out in the celebration of the eternal glory of the two related families (in overcoming the god Chronos, the god of time).

The west corner tower, which opens from the hall into a niche space, has also been covered with stucco and paintings. On the vaulted waist separating the two spaces, two oval sections appear, decorated with figures of the god Apollo and his



20 Fabian Sebastian Wenceslaus Harovník, *Stories of Jason*, 1660s, Nové Město nad Metují, chateau.

love Daphne, transformed into a laurel tree.<sup>63</sup> The transition line between the dining hall and the niche is thus connected to the main painting of the hall with the god Apollo in a key role.

The ceiling of the tower niche is dedicated to the theme of Jason and the quest for the Golden Fleece (fig. 20). In the central circular field, the hero triumphantly holds the Golden Fleece, and the stories of his adventurous journey unfold around it: Jason putting the sleepless dragon to sleep, Jason seizing the Golden Fleece, Jason and Medea at the wedding altar, Jason and the fiery Colchis bulls. Formally, two of these scenes are based on graphic illustrations from Johann Wilhelm Baur's Ovidian

63 The figure of Daphne is taken from an engraving by Hendrik Goltzius from his famous cycle of Ovidian illustrations: Prostředníková, *Studie*, p. 28.

series, while the space devoted to Jasonian iconography is undoubtedly highly representative in its content.

Walter Leslie became a holder of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1665, so it can be assumed that the content of the painted decorations was subordinated to this event in close temporal sequence.<sup>64</sup> Nicolas Perelle's etching of Phaethon dated to 1666, which served Harovník as a model for the central painting in the dining hall, also corresponds to a similar time frame. It can therefore be anticipated that the paintings in Nové Město nad Metují were painted over a longer period of time, or their dating should be moved ten years further than is currently stated, i.e. beyond the mid-1660s.

#### 2.4 Main Hall: The Arrival of a New Age With the Reign of Walter Leslie

A ceremonial main hall dominates the northwest wing of the chateau, and its ceiling is divided into seventeen stuccoed fields devoted to painting (fig. 21). The leitmotif of the paintings is the imperial and military symbolism that permeates many of the Nové Město paintings and refers to the successful military career of the patron. The central allegorical scene displays a somewhat confusing symbolism, which I will analyse in more detail.

The composition shows several Olympian goddesses on the clouds (fig. 22). Similar paintings are often reduced in their iconographical identification to a vague 'Assembly of the Olympian Gods', but ancient mythology and its reception is naturally far more complicated. In creating the composition, Harovník again relied heavily on a graphic model, an engraving by Michel Dorigny based on a painting by Simon Vouet with the theme of the alliance of lilies and roses (allegory of peace between France and England) from 1639 (fig. 23). The engraving is the only available evidence of Vouet's painting, which was commissioned by Queen Henrietta Maria of England for the ceiling of the palace at Oatland.<sup>65</sup>

It is quite understandable that such a distinctively specific iconography, related to a completely different environment and historical event, was transformed into a thematically different allegory within the new context.

<sup>64</sup> Vítězslav Prchal (Prchal, *Společensvo*, p. 270) speculated that the reference to the Order of the Golden Fleece would be incorporated into the paintings in the hope that Leslie would be justly rewarded based on his merits. Although such a strategy would not be unique, other aspects point more to a later date of the finalising of the paintings.

<sup>65</sup> Nokkala Miltová, *Ve společnosti*, pp. 43–46. On Vouet's painting and Dorigny's print: Crelly, William L.: *The Painting of Simon Vouet*, Yale 1962, p. 85; Thuillier/Brejon de Lavernée/Lavalle, Vouet, pp. 77–78.



21 Fabian Sebastian Wenceslaus Harovník, Paintings in the main hall, 1660s, Nové Město nad Metují, chateau.



22 Fabian Sebastian Wenceslaus Harovník, Apotheosis of Walter Leslie, 1660s, Nové Město nad Metují, chateau.

Harovník's painting relies entirely on its model in the left half of the scene, where the main role is played by two women sitting on a cloud and holding flowers, above which floats a personified figure of glory and victory with laurel wreaths in their hands. The symbolism of the lilies has remained, but an olive branch and a star



23 Michel Dorigny after Simon Vouet, Alliance of Lilies and Roses, engraving, 1639.

above the head of one of the women have been added. Also, the pair of flying putti with flowers at the top centre of the scene has been enriched with two more putti carrying a laurel wreath and a palm branch. Given the flowers and the added star above one of the central figures, a woman in a golden robe, her presence can be identified as the goddess Aurora, the first morning star, announcing the arrival of a new day. Dorigny's engraving also represents the formal starting point for the right side of the painting, where a lion surrounded by putti is depicted on a cloud, and a pair of putti with flowers flying above them. A change from the formal model consists of the type of feline animal; the leopard from the model has become a lion in Harovnik's version. Even this detail can be considered deliberate and not accidental, as it could refer to the centre of the scene, the female figure with her back to the viewer. She does not appear in the model, and there are certainly several possibilities for her specification. She turns her gaze towards the goddess Aurora, holding a royal crown and a palm leaf in her left hand, and with her right hand she holds out a second crown, formed from the walls of the castle, towards the reclining lion.

This crown, together with the lion, traditionally refers to Magna Mater (mother of the gods), Cybele, to whom most likely these elements are symbolic tribute. After all, the goddess Cybele has been associated with Trojan tradition since the Augus-

tan period as Berecynthian Cybele (mother of Jupiter)<sup>66</sup> and Trojan stories can be found all around the hall. The last attribute of the woman with the crowns, added to her feet, is a pair of doves, which cannot be assigned elsewhere than to the goddess Venus. The goddess Venus would undoubtedly have her place here with reference to the coming of the new day in connection with the figure of Aurora mentioned above, for it is the morning star (the planet Venus) and Aurora who are the heralds of the dawn. The references to morning and evening star come from a rich history of planetary observation, where the knowledge that the morning and evening stars are identical dates back to Babylonia.<sup>67</sup>

Confusing to some extent remains the reference to the goddess Cybele without her physical presence, but even this option would not be unique in the early modern visual tradition. The remaining details of the painting, which complete the overall allegorical sense of the composition, are brought in by the lower area. In the lower left corner, two putti take on the role of shield-bearers and hold the splendid Leslie coat of arms. On the right side, two women appear with laurel wreaths on their heads, in front of whom stands a pedestal with weapons, armour and standards. One of the women carries an olive branch and a lighted torch, the other a cornucopia of fruit and ears of grain. It is this horn of plenty that brings us back to the goddess Cybele, this woman also pointing with her hand towards the crown of the goddess Cybele.

In any case, it would hardly be possible to be satisfied with merely describing and identifying the painting as “the goddesses Aurora, Venus and Cybele”. In the case of the painting in the main hall of the chateau, the process of transformation of the subject shows several layers. First, the allegorical message of Vouet’s original painting, and thus the engraving, was taken away and transformed into symbolism associated with ancient mythology. However, the mythological figures take on new allegorical roles through their characteristics, which are exploited by the panegyric on the patron and his social status.

The allegorical aspect of the whole scene is therefore primarily related to the highly representative function of its location, that is to the central field of the main hall of the family residence: Here lies the focal point of the celebration of the patron Walter Leslie. The iconography used only confirms this fact. It develops the theme of eternal glory and victorious campaigns (laurels, militaria, palm and olive branches), where the role of the reign of the Leslie family and Walter Leslie (the coat of arms) is related to the arrival of a new day (the goddesses Aurora and Venus, the lit torch)

66 The tradition is based on Virgil’s version (Book IX), according to which the goddess Cybele (Berecynthian Cybele) accepted Creusa into her procession and protected Aeneas’ ships from Turnus’ attack.

67 Boll, Franz/Gundel, Wilhelm/Bezold, Carl: *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung: die Geschichte und das Wesen der Astrologie*, Leipzig/Berlin 1926, p. 6.

and the prosperity associated with it (the goddess Cybele and the cornucopia). The significance of the message is also emphasised by the four painted cartouches at the sides of the central field, which bear a top W with a count's crown (Walter), two side Ls (Leslie) and a lower painted C (Comes) in the shield.

The heraldic tribute to Leslie's wife, Anna Francesca von Dietrichstein, appears in an octagonal painted section to the left of the central field. It is part of an assembly of Olympian gods, dominated by a flying crowned Jupiter in the upper half with the obligatory attributes, a sceptre and a bundle of lightning bolts. In the lower part there are six figures, of which the triad of the supreme gods is clearly recognisable: Neptune (seated with his back to the viewer, with a water vessel and trident), Pluto (with a crown and a bident) and Jupiter (with a crown, leaning on a globe).

Next to them appears a figure with long hair, dressed in a rich white gold brocade dress with a distinctive necklace, holding the Dietrichstein coat of arms. Either it is a personification of nobility or aristocracy, but we cannot exclude the possibility that the figure is meant to represent Anna Francesca von Dietrichstein herself. The two uncertain figures seated among the gods bear the attributes of a torch and ears of grain and can probably be interpreted in the sense of the central painting, thus as bearers of light and abundance.

The octagonal counterpart on the right side of the central painting originates from the mythological story of Mercury and Herse, in which Harovník modified Johann Wilhelm Baur's illustration from the famous Ovidian cycle published in Vienna around 1641. He adopted the figure of the flying god Mercury unchanged, but he only paraphrased the five girls with baskets of flowers: he transformed them from Baur's standing group into a seated group, which also corresponds visually with the mirror field of the Olympian gods.<sup>68</sup>

The juxtaposed octagonal paintings prominently show two flying counterparts, Mercury with caduceus and Jupiter with thunderbolts and a sceptre, which could represent Leslie's successful imperial diplomatic service. The same symbols (an eagle with thunderbolts and caduceus) appear on an engraving showing Leslie in his role as imperial ambassador.<sup>69</sup>

In the stucco borders separating the two octagonal fields from the bottom line of the painted mirrors, two more cartouches were incorporated, decorated with the ornamental letters ES and IE, which together with the previous letters C, W and twice L form the full name of the patron C/W/L-ES-L-IE.

68 Nokkala Miltová, *Ve společenství*, p. 46. One of the seated figures is close to the engraving of the Muses by Giorgio Ghisi after Francesco Primaticcio, from the 1560s: Prostředníková, *Studie*, p. 33.

69 Polleroß, Friedrich: *Gesandte im Bild. Repräsentationsformen der Diplomatie*, in: Gunda Barth-Scalmani/Harriet Rudolph/Christian Steppan (eds.), *Politische Kommunikation zwischen Imperien. Der diplomatische Aktionsraum Südost- und Osteuropa*, Innsbruck, 2013, pp. 41–67, esp. p. 51; Vidmar, *Caesari*, pp. 75–90, esp. p. 84.

The ceiling of the main hall is surrounded by fourteen painted sections, of which four corner ones depict putti with military attributes (on the left side one with banners and the other with a military drum, on the right side one with cannonballs and the other with pistols). The other ten sections depict narrative scenes, based on Homer's epics. The choice of themes corresponds perfectly not only with the celebratory and military line of the paintings, but above all with the highly representative role of the main hall of the residence. On the shorter, enclosed side of the hall is the sacrifice of Iphigenia and on the opposite side, facing the small hall, Apollo shooting his silver bow at the Greek soldiers. The engravings by Johann Wilhelm Baur from the series of illustrations to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were again used as compositional models for both scenes.

On the right side, from the entrance, the following stories are captured in sequence: the fight between the Greeks and Trojans, Ajax plunges his sword into his own chest, Thetis taking Achilles from the fight, the cavalry battle. On the opposite side are shown: a cavalry battle between Greeks and Trojans, Cadmus sowing dragon's teeth, Thetis in Vulcan's forge and another cavalry battle between Greeks and Trojans.

From the given images, the known graphic models can be specified in several cases so far. For the scenes of Cadmus and Ajax, Harovnik was again inspired by Baur's Ovidian illustration, as in one of the battle scenes between the Trojans and the Greeks, where he modified Baur's engraving of Diana's firing on the family of Niobe.<sup>70</sup> The composition of Thetis taking Achilles from the fight gains inspiration from two graphic models of different iconographic conception.<sup>71</sup> Harovnik also made partial use of prints for the motif of the goddess Thetis in Vulcan's forge, whose figure he imitated from a playing card by Stefano della Bella from the *Jeu des fables (Jeu de la Mythologie)* series.<sup>72</sup>

In the main hall of the chateau, the ceiling decoration progresses from the side scenes associated with the stories of the Trojan War and war trophies. However, it culminates in its centre, where Walter Leslie's peace-making diplomatic role is accentuated, bringing peace, a new day and abundance.

<sup>70</sup> Nokkala Miltová, *Ve společenství*, p. 47.

<sup>71</sup> The main characters are based on Tempesta's engraving of Picus and Circe from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The military camp from Matthäus Merian's engraving from Book of II. Kings: Prostředníková, *Studie*, pp. 32–33.

<sup>72</sup> Nokkala Miltová, *Ve společenství*, p. 47.

## 2.5 The Iconographical Concept of Paintings in the Context of Walter Leslie's Representational Strategies

Walter Leslie's successful career has become the subject of increased scholarly interest in recent decades. Historical research has shown that Leslie became a personality with an incredibly rich network of contacts, which David Worthington has described as "almost pan-European in its scope".<sup>73</sup> It is therefore not surprising that he had his residences rebuilt in a magnificent style that was supposed to represent a person of his importance, and which audaciously competed with similar earlier projects by imperial commanders such as Albrecht von Wallenstein, in whose assassination Leslie was involved. Indeed, the choice of topics in the chateau in Nové Město nad Metují corresponds in many ways to the Wallenstein Palace in Prague, where military-imperial themes are combined with astrological-mythological ones. Albrecht von Wallenstein highlighted the stories of the great men of the Trojan War with Aeneas in the foreground and did not forget to let the myth of the Argonauts be developed in connection with obtaining the Order of the Golden Fleece.<sup>74</sup> A similar concept is to a certain extent also present in Nové Město.

Despite some similarities between the decorations in the Wallenstein Palace in Prague and Leslie's residence in Nové Město, the main emphasis of Leslie's self-presentation nevertheless differs. Albrecht von Wallenstein presents himself as a great warrior who is guided by the star of the god Mars, which is materialised in the main hall of the palace with a painting of the planetary god Mars, confidently holding the reins of his chariot. In Leslie's self-representation, the militaria involved is supplemented by clear references to the establishment of peace. Everything is obviously pervaded by Leslie's successful diplomatic service, which is destined to bring peace, prosperity and the arrival of a new time. The whole concept is eloquently captured by one of the emblems in the antechamber: *Ex Bello Pax*.

The focus of the celebration of Walter Leslie and his family is concentrated in the two great halls of the northwest wing. Regarding the disposition of the chateau, the importance of the rooms is logically structured: the main hall being more oriented towards the north tower, i.e. the frontage (with windows to the courtyard and garden), while the "small hall" is located in the western corner of the chateau, facing the garden.

The concept of two large halls represented a relatively conventional palace structure, with the main ceremonial hall and the dining hall belonging to the public sphere.<sup>75</sup> Also in later art theory the use of two halls was recommended, as ev-

73 Worthington, *Scots*, p. 179.

74 Kropáček, Jiří et al.: *Výzdoba Valdštejnského paláce*, in: Mojmir Horyna (ed.): *Valdštejnský palác v Praze*, Praha 2002, pp. 229–234.

75 Kubeš, *Reprezentační*, pp. 218–226.

idenced by Paul Decker's treatise *Fürstlicher Baumeister, oder Architectura Civilis*, several decades later. In it, the author proposes the construction of a main hall – the audience hall – and a promenade hall – the dance hall.<sup>76</sup>

The main hall with Homer's stories, accentuating the military achievements and glory of the Leslie family, thus confirming the legitimacy of its rule, fully corresponds to the iconography recommended by the theorists of decorum for the decoration of equivalent spaces. The Nové Město's main hall, filled with the "historically verified deeds of great men" who fought heroically in the Trojan War, fits perfectly with the prescribed function. The neighbouring smaller hall also carries a representative ethos, especially with its reference to the Order of the Golden Fleece and family heraldry. Nevertheless, the main iconographic line reflects the cyclical nature of the day and the seasons in accordance with Ovidian *poesia*. A similar theme, if we stick to strict categories of decorum, corresponds best with the dining room or spaces associated with gardens, which is also valid for Nové Město.<sup>77</sup>

The decorated rooms of the southwest and northeast wings lead from the northwest wing of the castle with its public halls. From the iconographical specifics and heraldic components it is possible to suggest a presumption about the original disposition of the apartments. If we consider the division of the wings into female and male apartments, the count's rooms would correspond more to the northeastern, frontal part of the chateau. Starting from the anteroom with Leslie standards, an emblematic element combined with a military-imperial theme pervades the decoration. In contrast, the iconography of the southwest wing would correspond more with the countess's suite. Here, the foreground with Apollo, the Judgement of Paris and the nymph Melissa leads us to a parade bedchamber in which the connection between the Dietrichstein and Leslie families is emphasised. The allegorical painting, celebrating this marriage in the presence of personified virtues, is surrounded by examples of exemplary women who excelled in virtue and fidelity (Lucretia, Sophonisba, Dido). Similar iconography with moral connotations, intended to show the woman the appropriate role model for marriage, is also found in the decoration of other residences. One can point to the decoration of the Rosenberg Villa Kratochvíle, where the "feminine" iconography of the apartment of Polyxena von Rosenberg was analysed by Ondřej Jakubec.<sup>78</sup>

The proposed placement is hypothetical and depends on the iconographic structure of the paintings but cannot be supported by sources. In any case, the selection of

76 Kutscher, Barbara: Paul Deckers „Fürstlicher Baumeister“ (1711/1716). Untersuchungen zu Bedingungen und Quellen eines Stichwerks. Mit einem Werkverzeichnis, Frankfurt am Main et al. 1995.

77 Gombrich, Ziele, p. 390.

78 Jakubec, Ondřej: Patriarchální a vladařská autorita ve výzdobě rožmberské Kratochvíle: směrem k genderovému výkladu renesanční vily, in: Ondřej Jakubec/Radka Miltová (eds.): Umění a politika. Sborník 4. sjezdu historiků umění, Brno 2013, pp. 17–41 (with further literature on the subject).

iconographical motifs in the paintings at Nové Město demonstrates the existence of a thoughtful ideological concept that served to emphasise the authority of the ruler, which is also evidenced by the formal aspect of Harovník's paintings. The analysed dependence on prints does not represent a mere compilation, but a standard painting procedure of the time. Even more important, however, is the fact that in Nové Město Harovník sometimes used graphic models only as formal and compositional inspiration and changed the content of the scenes. This principle is mainly visible in the main hall, where the alliance of lilies and roses has become the apotheosis of the Leslie family. These processes are an indication of a clear concept, co-created presumably with the participation of an educated patron or conceptor.

Further confirmation of the uniqueness of the Nové Město commission is provided by its comparison with other paintings by Harovník which depict the same or similar iconographic themes. Closest to this prestigious commission comes Harovník's painting of the Lobkowitz Palace in Prague, confirmed by contracts with the artist dated December 1664 and July 1665.<sup>79</sup>

In the Lobkowitz Palace, Caesar's triumph is repeated in the antechamber in a very similar version as in Nové Město nad Metují, only with the addition of a larger number of figures due to the horizontally extended section for painting. As also mentioned, the scene of the feast of the Olympian gods in the dining room of the Lobkowitz Palace is close to the version in the small hall of Nové Město, i.e. also the dining hall. For the Prague palace, however, Harovník used Greuter's engraving based on Pietro da Cortona's drawing from Ferrari's *De florum cultura*. The last formally identical motif is the goddess Thetis in Vulcan's forge (an identical female figure), depicted in one of the four corner scenes in the dining hall of the Lobkowitz Palace. Harovník composed other Ovidian scenes in the dining room of the Lobkowitz Palace by using several other prints (*Metamorphoses* illustrations by Johann Wilhelm Baur, François Chauveau's engravings.<sup>80</sup> The choice of different formal models for the same subjects is visible in the painting of the Abduction of Ganymede (Johann Wilhelm Baur for the Lobkowitz Palace and Stefano della Bella for the chateau in Nové Město).<sup>81</sup>

A comparison of Harovník's pictorial cycles, the most extensive of which include Nové Město nad Metují and the Lobkowitz Palace in Prague, shows which prints he used and which he preferred. In both residences we find inspiration from the

79 For the paintings in the Lobkowitz Palace see Závorková, Fabián, p. 65; Svoboda/Svobodová, *Antika*, p. 28; Šroněk/Konečný, *Malířská*, pp. 435–437; Šroněk, *Pražští*, p. 45.

80 Prostředníková, *Studie*, p. 26.

81 Harovník also chose a different solution in the case of the abduction of Europa in both residences. Other small Ovidian fields in the Lobkowitz Palace correspond to the engravings by Jean Le Pautre (consistently, especially Venus and Adonis or Apollo and Daphne): Préaud *Inventaire* XII, pp. 109, 112.

same print series, though for different iconographic themes, which is testified by the artist's opposite approach to the one mentioned above. When working on both commissions Harovník relied on prints from Ferrari's treatise *De florum cultura* (in Nové Město for nymph Melissa and in Prague for the feast of the gods). In both cases Harovník was also influenced by Michel Dorigny's fashionable French prints based on Simon Vouet's designs. Whereas in Nové Město he used Dorigny's Mercury with the three Graces and the punishment of Chronos as models, in the Lobkowitz Palace he based his work on Dorigny–Vouet's composition of the seasons of the year, which, together with the personifications of the continents, cover a large area of the dining hall.<sup>82</sup>

A formal comparison of Harovník's ceiling paintings reveals two basic approaches in the artistic process: depicting the same iconography using different printed models and depicting different iconography based on the same series of prints. Both approaches demonstrate the desire for distinctiveness and a certain "originality" of each commission. The formal proximity of the individual paintings is therefore rather illusory and much more refined than it may seem at first sight. All scenes requiring a representational dimension have an original concept with a clear link to Walter Leslie, who presents himself in Nové Město as a successful warrior and, above all, a diplomat who brings peace.

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82 On the four seasons by Nicolas Perelle after Simon Vouet: Thuillier/Brejon de Lavergnée/Lavalle, Vouet, p. 41. Further comparisons of Harovník's paintings in the Lobkowitz Palace with prints were presented by: Mazač, Vít: Česká barokní grafika jako zdroj inspirace nástěnných maleb, malbami též inspirovaná, in: *Ars Linearis III* (2012), pp. 62–69; Prostředníková, Studie.

### 3. The Bishop of Olomouc as an Ecclesiastical and Secular Authority

#### Karl II von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn and Kroměříž

In 17th-century Moravia, a powerful landowner, the Olomouc diocese with its significant residences, played an important role within the framework of artistic patronage. The Olomouc diocese experienced a period of decline in the aftermath of the Hussite Wars and regained its importance during the second half of the 16th century. Credit for the restoration of the strength of the Olomouc diocese goes especially to Bishops Stanislav Pavlovský and Franz von Dietrichstein.<sup>1</sup> This tradition was continued and significantly deepened after the middle of the 17th century by bishop Karl II von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn, one of the most prominent art patrons of his time. Not only through the practical application of his position, but also through the ideological context of his art commissions, he emphasised the fief structure of the Olomouc diocese and the privilege of the independent imperial princely title. The role of the imperial principality, belonging to the direct fief lord in the person of the emperor, gained significant importance in his time.<sup>2</sup> Mythological paintings decorate several areas of the bishop's residence and gardens in Kroměříž. Before analysing them, however, it is necessary to introduce the bishop's patronage in its complexity.

Karl II von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn was elected Bishop of Olomouc on 12 March 1664. After returning to Salzburg, where he prepared everything he needed to transport to Moravia, he left for Krems on 14 August to Moravian territory. The journey continued to the town of Kroměříž, where it culminated with a ceremonial entry, a visit to St Moritz Church and the bishop's residence. The bishop entered the seat of the Olomouc diocese, Olomouc, on 27–28 October 1664 and was enthroned there in St Wenceslas Cathedral. At the turn of August and September 1664, the new Bishop of Olomouc officially took office.<sup>3</sup>

1 Mlčák, Leoš (ed.): *Kardinál František z Dietrichsteina (1590–1636). Prelát a politik neklidného věku*, Olomouc 2008.; Jakubec, Ondřej (ed.): *Stanislav Pavlovský z Pavlovic (1579–1598). Biskup a mecenáš umírajícího věku*, Olomouc 2009.

2 Pavlíčková, Radmila: *Portrétní galerie olomouckých biskupů*, in: Martin Elbel/Ondřej Jakubec (eds.): *Olomoucké baroko. Sv. I. Proměny ambicí jednoho města*, Olomouc 2010, pp. 262–268; Pavlíčková, Radmila: *Olomoučtí biskupové barokní éry*, in: Ondřej Jakubec/Marek Perůtka, Marek (eds.): *Olomoucké baroko. Výtvarná kultura let 1620–1780. Vol. III. Historie a kultura*, Olomouc 2011, pp. 36–41; Jakubec, Ondřej/Prchal Pavlíčková, Radmila, *Bishop Karl von Lichtenstein-Castelcorno: an Ecclesiastical Aristocrat at the Heart of Baroque Europe*, in: Jakubec, Karl, pp. 22–23.

3 Peřinka, František Václav: *Dějiny města Kroměříže. Vol. II/1, 2. Dějiny z let 1619–1695*, Kroměříž

Kroměříž, as one of the main seats, belonged to the residential network and property of the diocese, and the newly elected bishop stands behind its crucial restoration. Kroměříž was repeatedly plundered during the Thirty Years' War (in 1643 and 1645) and was further devastated by the plague epidemic in 1647, with the result of these misfortunes being that of the former 244 settled houses only 69 remained.<sup>4</sup>

The town of Kroměříž also fulfilled the function of a seat among the bishop's residential towns, due to the presence of several central institutions in relation to the bishopric's fief estates. The main countryside residence Kroměříž was therefore an economic and administrative centre linked to the governance of the bishop's estates. It also played an important representative role and became the most inhabited residence of the diocese during the episcopate of Karl II von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn. In the 1660s and 1670s, the bishop stayed here for about 80–110 days a year, and from the 1680s onwards his stays became even more frequent, finally becoming permanent due to his high age and health problems.<sup>5</sup> Kroměříž thus served the function of "main authoritarian residence of the ecclesiastical prince".<sup>6</sup> This residence was also entitled to the minting privilege, which, in addition to its important economic aspect, played a representative role.<sup>7</sup>

The requirements of the representation of the office and the frequent presence of the bishop were not only reflected in the construction activities in the residence and its surroundings but also influenced the overall urbanisation of the town. For supervising the episcopal and municipal buildings, the bishop had a building office established.<sup>8</sup>

In 1669 the bishop himself contributed half the cost of the repairs to the city walls, necessitated by the basic need to secure the city. Security considerations to defend against fires also led to further modifications in the town. According to the bishop's regulation, all thatched roofs on the houses were to be replaced with shin-

1947, p. 570; Pavlíčková, Radmila: *Sídla olomouckých biskupů za Karla z Liechtensteinu-Castelcornu (1664–1695)*. (Dissertation thesis), Olomouc 2001, pp. 18, 59.

- 4 Peřinka, *Dějiny*, p. 375; Petrů, Jaroslav: *Manýristický přínos k urbanismu druhé poloviny 17. století v Kroměříži*, in: *Památky a příroda 3* (1978), pp. 529–534; Fišer, Zdeněk/Kroupa, Jiří: *Kroměříž. Průvodce městem*, Brno 1991, p. 12.
- 5 Peřinka, *Dějiny*, p. 579; Jůza, Vilém/Krsek, Ivo/Petrů, Jaroslav/Richter, Václav: *Kroměříž*, Praha 1963, p. 37; Petrů, Manýristický, p. 529; Pavlíčková, Sídla, pp. 35–37; Zatloukal, Ondřej: *Et in Arcadia ego. Historické zahrady Kroměříže*, Olomouc 2004, p. 18.
- 6 Quoted after: Prchal Pavlíčková, Radmila: *Between Residences: The Bishop's Residential Network as a Means and System of Representation*, in: Rostislav Švácha/Martina Potůčková/Jiří Kroupa (eds.): *Karl von Liechtenstein-Castelcornu (1624–1695). Places of the Bishop's Memory*, Olomouc 2019, pp. 54–58.
- 7 Myšák, Miroslav/Videman, Jan: *Minting under Bishop Karl von Liechtenstein-Castelcornu*, in: Jakubec, Karl, pp. 125–138.
- 8 Peřinka, *Dějiny*, p. 579; Jůza/Krsek/Petrů/Richter, *Kroměříž*, p. 37; Zatloukal, *Et in*, p. 18.

gled ones. However, the bishop made much greater demands on the inhabitants of Kroměříž, not only for practical reasons, but often also for representational and aesthetic ones. The bishop repeatedly ordered the burghers to have attic gables built on their houses to unify the street facades.<sup>9</sup> A similar purpose was also pursued by the bishop's regulation of 1679, concerning the removal of noisy and unhygienic occupations outside the town walls.<sup>10</sup>

The urban planning process also involved the establishment of numerous new foundations and educational and charitable institutions. The representative and commemorative aspect of the bishop's commissions is confirmed by the frequent placement of the bishop's coat of arms and memorial inscriptions on the facades or portals of the buildings.<sup>11</sup>

The main focus was turned to the residence, which was heavily damaged by the invasion of Swedish troops in 1643. The first renovations were carried out in 1665–1672, but the chateau was fundamentally rebuilt in 1686–1711. The bishop first started to cooperate with the imperial architect Filiberto Lucchese, but he died shortly after the start of the preparatory work. Giovanni Pietro Tencalla succeeded him both in the imperial court and in the service of the Bishop of Olomouc.<sup>12</sup>

According to the results of existing research focused on the function of Kroměříž Chateau within the entire residential network of bishop's towns, it appears that the chateau primarily fulfilled a representative and commemorative function, connected with the celebration of the office. The close links to the tradition of Olomouc diocese, its past and present representatives and their merits are strongly manifested here.<sup>13</sup>

The bishop's desire for proper representation was also reflected in the establishment of an extensive picture gallery and library, and included maintaining a chateau orchestra.<sup>14</sup> The bishop's picture gallery received considerable attention, as Karl II von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn created one of the most important Central European collections in his time. The picture gallery, housed in the Olomouc and Kroměříž residences, consisted partly of copies of works from the imperial collections of Vienna, which the bishop had commissioned with the permission of the emperor

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9 Orders of 1669, 1672, 1688: Petrů, Manýristický, p. 529; Pavlíčková, Sídla, pp. 35–37.

10 Pavlíčková, Sídla, p. 35.

11 The extensive building activities of the bishop were last comprehensively analysed in: Jakubec, Karl; Švácha/Potůčková/Kroupa, Karl.

12 Petrů, Manýristický, p. 529; Jůza, Vilém: K otázce ideového konceptu Květné zahrady v Kroměříži, in: *Historická Olomouc a její současné problémy* 5 (1985), pp. 287–296; Pavlíčková, Sídla, p. 20; Kroupa, Jiří: The Residential Chateau in Kroměříž, in: Švácha/Potůčková/Kroupa, Karl, pp. 97–120.

13 Mathon, Jaroslav: Kroměřížské portály, in: *Umění* 16 (1944–1945), pp. 223–233; Pavlíčková, Sídla pp. 42–49.

14 Pavlíčková, pp. 30–33; Fajtlová, Kateřina: The Origin and Functioning of the Musical Band of Bishop Karl von Liechtenstein-Castelcorno, in: Jakubec, Karl, pp. 337–350.

by specialised copyists he engaged.<sup>15</sup> In addition to the acquisition of copies, the bishop assembled picture collections or individual paintings through purchases, either from the artists themselves or through the art market, or by direct commissions from artists.<sup>16</sup>

At the time of the bishop's death, the collection was undoubtedly one of the largest in Moravia. According to the inventory from 1691, 469 paintings and 40 volumes with drawings were collected in the Olomouc residence, and 288 paintings in the Kroměříž residence. It is obvious from the figures that greater representative emphasis was clearly given to the central Olomouc residence, where the better-quality works were concentrated (particularly from the Imstenraed cabinet). In Kroměříž there were more copies and in general the Kroměříž collection had a more intimate character. The pictorial collections in the other residences of the Bishop of Olomouc, Vyškov (Wischau) Castle, the bishop's houses in Brno, Hukvaldy (Hochwald) and Kelč (Keltsch), were already much smaller. In order to prevent the dispersal of his art collections, the bishop donated them to the diocese by an act of 7 April 1691, which was subsequently confirmed by the emperor on 20 May 1694.<sup>17</sup>

15 Dostál, Eugen: Studie z arcibiskupské obrazárny v Kroměříži, in: *Časopis Matice moravské* 48 (1924), pp. 146–207; Breitenbacher, Antonín: Dějiny arcibiskupské obrazárny v Kroměříži, Kroměříž 1925, pp. 23–33; Jirka, Antonín: *Obrazové sbírky kroměřížského zámku*, in: Milan Tognier (ed.): *Kroměřížská obrazárna. Katalog sbírky obrazů arcibiskupského zámku v Kroměříži*, Kroměříž 1998, pp. 16–17; Antonovič, Vladan: *Kopisté na dvoře olomouckého biskupa Karla z Liechtensteinu-Castelkorna*, in: *Jakubec/Perůtka, Olomoucké*, pp. 228–233; Elbelová, Gabriela/Potůčková, Martina: *Central European Painters in the Service of Bishop Karl von Liechtenstein-Castelcorno*, in: *Jakubec, Karl*, pp. 285–304.

16 The unique collection of the Imstenraed brothers, which after a series of disputes became the property of Karl II von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn only in 1680, was undoubtedly one of the most extraordinary. It consisted of 222 paintings and six albums of drawings and was placed in the Olomouc residence. From this collection come, for example, Titian's *Apollo and Marsyas*, a fragment of the *Ascension of Christ* by Paolo Veronese, a portrait of Charles I and Henrietta Maria by Athonis van Dyck, and the *Madonna with a Veil* by Sebastiano del Piombo. For the collections see mainly: Dostál, Studie, pp. 158–162; Breitenbacher, *Dějiny*, pp. 20, 34–42; Jirka, *Obrazové*, pp. 14–16; Machytka, Lubor: *From the History of the Archbishop's Gallery in Olomouc*, in: *Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis. Facultas Philosophica. Philologica. Neerlandica, Vol. 2, Emblematica et iconographia* (2003), pp. 13–16; Slaviček, Lubomír: „[...] dieweilen meine Curiosität meistens in Mallerey bestehen.“ *Die Sammlungen des Olmützer Bischofs Karl Graf von Liechtenstein-Castelcorn (1623–1695)*, in: Gerhard Ammerer (ed.): *Höfe und Residenzen geistlicher Fürsten. Strukturen, Regionen und Salzburgs Beispiel in Mittelalter und Neuzeit, Ostfildern 2010 (= Residenzforschung 24)*, pp. 191–204; Kindl, Miroslav: *The Painting Collection of Prince-Bishop Karl von Liechtenstein-Castelcorno*, in: *Frühneuzeit-Info* 25 (2014), pp. 83–98; Daniel, Ladislav: *The Artistic Patronage and Picture Collection of Bishop Karl von Liechtenstein-Castelcorno within the European Context*, in: *Jakubec, Karl*, pp. 249–266; Daniel, Ladislav: *Picture Gallery*, in: *Švácha/Potůčková/Kroupa, Karl*, pp. 297–337.

17 Breitenbacher, *Dějiny II/1, 2*, pp. 68–73; Dostál, *Studie*, pp. 168–169; Jirka, *Obrazové*, pp. 13, 16; Mi-

The bishop's ambitious art acquisitions were not undertaken without the help of a network of advisors and artistic agents,<sup>18</sup> including the Imperial Councillor Johann Philip Beris. From 1667, Johann Kunibert von Wentzelsberg, the Court Quartermaster and Vice-Commander of the Artillery, worked for the bishop in Vienna. He acted as an informant and agent and mediated the bishop's contacts with Viennese and Italian artists. Andrea Antonini also provided similar services for the bishop, for example by recommending Giovanni Pietro Tencalla to him.<sup>19</sup>

However, according to the available sources, the bishop did not entrust purchases and commissions entirely to the hands of other persons, but on the contrary, he followed them vigilantly and actively intervened in them. The correspondence shows, for example, that he was very interested in furnishing interiors and clearly acted as an informed patron regarding all artistic activities. He probably acquired his knowledge in this field during his studies in theology and law at the universities of Salzburg, Innsbruck and Ingolstadt or during his stay at the court of the archbishops of Salzburg, which was connected with his service at the Salzburg chapter in 1643–1665.<sup>20</sup>

The bishop was also equally keen on rebuilding the episcopal library, as the previous book collection from the 16th century had been destroyed during the Thirty Years' War. The bishop built up an extensive new book collection through organised purchases, based on acquiring sets of books from estates and selecting specific works from booksellers or through his network of agents. The bishop envisaged the library as a modern public institution, which was confirmed by the foundation document of 14 May 1694. Its first librarians were Urban Franz Augustin Heeger and later Au-

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lan Togner, *Rezidence a dvůr biskupství olomouckého*, in: Jiří Kroupa (ed.): *V zrcadle stínů. Morava v době baroka 1670–1790*, Brno/Rennes 2003, pp. 103–104.

18 The most comprehensive articles about the bishop's network of agents: Zapletalová, Jana: (Art) Agents: Giovanni Petignier and the Network of Agents of the Olomouc Bishop Karl von Lichtenstein-Castelcorno, in: *Umění* 65/4 (2017), pp. 347–362; Zapletalová, Jana/Orálková, Zuzana: Agents and Merchants in the Service of Bishop Karl von Lichtenstein-Castelcorno, in: Jakubec, Karl, pp. 141–162; Zapletalová, Jana/Orálková, Zuzana: Mediatori, agenti e mercanti di Karl von Lichtenstein-Castelcorno, principe vescovo di Olomouc, tra Venezia e l'Europa centrale, in: *Lucchese/Klemenčič, Patrons*, pp. 343–352.

19 Kouřil, Miloš: Biskupa Karla Liechtenštejna rádcí a zpravodajci, in: *Historická Olomouc a její současné problémy* 5 (1985), p. 114; Pavlíčková, Sídla, p. 89. Johann Kunibert von Wentzelsberg was a collector himself, and when he died in 1683, his son Johann Franz offered the collection to the bishop. At first he was not successful, but later the bishop bought some of the objects and placed them in Kroměříž. From the Wentzelsberg collection comes, for example, the still lifes of Samuel van Hoogstraten: Von Frimmel, Theodor: *Geschichte der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen. Bd. I/3. Aufgelöste Privatgalerien des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1899, pp. 1–6; Kindl, *The Painting*, pp. 83–98; Zapletalová/Orálková, *Agents*, pp. 141–162.

20 Pavlíčková, Sídla, pp. 224–225; Ingerle, Petr: Between the “descriptive” and the “narrative”. Justus van den Nypoort and his work in Salzburg and Olomouc, in: *Acta historie artis Slovenica* 11 (2006), p. 129; Jakubec/Pavlíčková, *Bishop*, pp. 16–36.

gustin Kneutgen. In 1699, the members of the Piarist College in Kroměříž, which the bishop had also founded, were entrusted with the administration of the library, which by that date already contained 8,000 volumes. The contents of the bishop’s library reveal whether the bishop’s reading activities at some points intersect with his patronage activities.<sup>21</sup> In addition to a number of prints by classical authors, the library catalogue contains works of both mythographic and artistic interest. The bishop owned, for example, Natale Conti’s *Mythologia* and the German mythography *Der erdichteten Heidnischen Gottheiten* by Filip von Zesen.<sup>22</sup> Sixty-seven of the 3,596 books in the catalogue are devoted to art, including works on the theory and practice of architecture (military, garden and civil architecture), collections of prints, writings on galleries and collections of curiosities, Joachim von Sandrart’s *Teutsches Academie* in two copies, and one work on painting, glassmaking and librarianship. The library proves and confirms the thesis that has already been expressed many times about the bishop as an educated and knowledgeable patron. The bishop’s correspondence also proves that he had a considerable emotional commitment to his library collection.<sup>23</sup>

### 3.1 The Flower Garden and Its “Lusthaus”

The founding activities of Bishop Karl II von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn also affected the garden areas of the Kroměříž residence to a considerable extent. In the second half of the 1660s, the so-called Chateau Garden was created near the residence, which was limited to a necessary representative strip due to the unfavourable marshy terrain. It was connected to three sala terrenas and two grottoes on the ground floor of the northern wing of the Kroměříž residence.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Two valuable inventories from the end of the 17th century serve to understand the state of the bishop’s library under Karl von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn. The first was written already in the time of Karl von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn (9 April 1691) for the purposes of the bishop’s will and the donation, which confirmed the transfer of all the property to the diocese. The second inventory, prepared not long afterwards, is already connected with the administration of the Piarists and dates to 14 January 1700: On the Episcopal Library recently (with further bibliography): Měsíc, Cyril/Jakubec, Ondřej: Zámecká knihovna olomouckých biskupů a arcibiskupů v Kroměříži, in: Jakubec/Perůtka, Olomoucké, pp. 137–142; Myšák, Miroslav, Library, in: Švácha/Potůčková/Kroupa, Karl, pp. 339–353.

<sup>22</sup> Conti, Natale: *Mythologiae, sive explicationis fabularum, libri decem: In quibus omnia prope Naturalis & Moralis Philosophiae dogmata contenta fuisse demonstrator, [...], Sumptibus Samuelis Chouer 1653; von Zesen, Filip: Der erdichteten Heidnischen Gottheiten/wie auch Als-und Halb-Gottheiten Herkunft und Begäbnisse [...]. Gedruckt zu Nürnberg/auf Kosten Johan Hofmans, Buchhändlers 1688.*

<sup>23</sup> Pavlíčková, Sídla, pp. 225–230.

<sup>24</sup> Petru, Manýristický, p. 529; Jůza, K otázce, p. 288; Pavlíčková, Sídla, p. 20.

The so-called Lustgarten (nowadays known as the Flower Garden), built between 1666 and 1675, represented a far more challenging task. The bishop had it founded near the suburban settlement of Štěchovice (Stiechowitz), west of the town walls, at a generous financial cost of 75,000 guildens.<sup>25</sup> The bishop's ideas and direct participation in shaping the newly established garden are evidenced by several indications from correspondence, when the bishop corrected the designs and plans of the artists. The garden complex consists of a star-shaped system of palisaded paths surrounded by green spaces on the ground plan of triangles and squares. A pavilion was erected in the centre of the garden and a labyrinth and a rosarium are located in the green fields. Along the axis of the southeastern part of the garden were rectangular areas of orchard with a square pond in the centre of each. The garden complex also included viewing hills (the so-called Strawberry Hills), a promenade path with an arcaded gallery and a pheasantry on an oval plan.<sup>26</sup> The Lustgarten was surrounded by a long wall, divided by three entrances with portals, of which only the middle gate was accessible for entry. Above it was located an inscription dated 1675, welcoming visitors. In a niche on the gable of the portal, the bishop had himself immortalised in the form of a stone bust.<sup>27</sup>

In the centre of the Lustgarten, a central pavilion (Lusthaus) was built in 1666–1668 according to the plans of the architect Giovanni Pietro Tencalla. The wooden model of the pavilion was delivered by Tencalla to the bishop in January 1667 and, after various corrections by the bishop, the construction of the Lusthaus was completed in 1668. In the octagonal pavilion there was a central fountain, and four fountains situated in the grottoes. The interior decoration of the pavilion received attention from 1669 onwards, and the Italian stucco artists Quirico Castelli and perhaps also Carlo Borsa were chosen for the stucco decoration. In addition to the pictorial and sculptural component, the pavilion worked with numerous emotive elements, such as windows with multi-coloured glass, grottoes with stalactite decoration accompanied by shells, and various hydraulic devices and water features that sprayed unexpected streams of water at visitors.<sup>28</sup> The stalactite decoration was made of

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25 Petrů, *Manýristický*, p. 529.

26 Smýkal, Milan: *Světské stavby Giovanni Pietra Tencally na Moravě* (Master thesis), Brno 1975, pp. 80–82; Samek, Bohumil: *Umělecké památky Moravy a Slezska*, Vol. II. J–N, Praha 1999, p. 251; Zatloukal, Ondřej: *Horticulture under Bishop Karl von Liechtenstein-Castelcornio*, in: Jakubec, Karl, pp. 217–230; Zatloukal, Ondřej/Pavliček, Martin/Nokkala Miltová, Radka: “*Sospes innocivis horti fruvere deliciis*”: The Flower Garden in Kroměříž, 1665–1675, in: Švácha/Potůčková/Kroupa, Karl, pp. 155–207.

27 Mathon, *Kroměřížské*, pp. 229–230; Fišer/Kroupa, *Kroměříž*, p. 78.

28 Peřinka, *Dějiny*, p. 605; Kuča, Otakar: *Zámecké zahrady v Kroměříži*. K analýze architektonické zahrady a přírodního parku v období 1790–1850, in: *Umění* 6 (1958), p. 373; Pacáková-Hošťálková, Božena/Petrů, Jaroslav/Riedl, Dušan/Svoboda, Antonín Marián: *Zahrady a parky v Čechách*, na Mo-

limestone tuff and it incorporated shells imported from the pond in Újezd (Augezd) in the Chrlice (Chirlitz) dominion.<sup>29</sup>

The painted decoration of the dome of the pavilion and the ceilings of its side spaces was formerly attributed to Carpofo Tencalla, based on a report that he worked for the bishop in the Olomouc residence in 1673–1674.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, the name of Carpofo Tencalla is sometimes associated with the lost interior paintings of the Kroměříž residence (dated to 1674), which were destroyed by fire in 1752. More likely, however, the painting in question was the work of the painter Paolo Pagani.<sup>31</sup>

The analysis of the surviving sources and the formal features of the paintings has contributed to the revision of the authorship. The paintings might have been designed in cooperation with Carpofo Tencalla, but their execution was undertaken by his younger cousin Giacomo Tencalla, working from Carpofo's designs or even pre-made cartons or sinopias.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, the correspondence leaves us in no

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ravě a ve Slezsku, Praha 1999, pp. 77–78; Petrů, Jaroslav: Květná zahrada v Kroměříži, Praha 1975; Jůza, K otázce, pp. 288–289; Jůza, Vilém: K otázce ideového konceptu Květné zahrady v Kroměříži a k časné tvorbě Michala Zůrna, in: Památky a příroda 15 (1990), pp. 458–459; Fidler, Petr: Architektur des Seicento. Baumeister, Architekten und Bauten des Wiener Hofkreises, Innsbruck 1990, p. 238; Fišer/Kroupa, Kroměříž, p. 82; Zatloukal, Et in, pp. 34–36; Zatloukal/Pavliček/Nokkala Miltoová, Sospes, pp. 175–179.

<sup>29</sup> Peřinka, Dějiny, pp. 606–607; Smýkal, Světské, p. 78; Samek, Umělecké II, pp. 252–253.

<sup>30</sup> A report on the decoration of the Olomouc residence by Carpofo Tencalla has already been brought by Jan Petr Cerroni: MPA Brno, G 12, Cerroniho sbírka, sign. Cerr. I 34, Jan Petr Cerroni, Skizze einer Geschichte der bildenden Künste in Mähren und österr. Schlesien, 1807, f. 286; Mádl, Martin/Švácha, Rostislav/Jemelková, Simona: "Ingenio & Studio". The Bishop's Residence in Olomouc, 1665–1672, in: Švácha/Potůčková/Kroupa, Karl, pp. 69–92.

For older attributions see: Štěpánková, Malířská, pp. 49–54. For information that Carpofo Tencalla worked at the residence, see Páleníček, Ludvík: Výtvarné umění na Kroměřížsku a Zdounecku, Kroměříž 1940, p. 86; Kühenthal/Zunhamer, Der Passauer; Cabrini, Laura Damiani (ed.): Seicento ritrovato. Presenze pittoriche "italiane" nella Lombardia Svizzera fra Cinquecento e Seicento, Milano 1996, p. 136; Proserpi, I Tencalla, p. 106. Fragments of his paintings were discovered in the 1990s. See: Mlčák, Leoš: K nástěnným malbám Carpofo Tencally v arcibiskupské rezidenci v Olomouci, in: Zprávy památkové péče 52/7 (1992), pp. 20–21. Paintings evaluated in detail in: Mádl, Martin: Biskupská rezidence Karla II. z Lichtenštejnu-Castelkorna and Katalog nástěnných maleb [Olomouc], in: Mádl, Tencalla II., pp. 179–185; Mádl, The Palace, pp. 145–151.

<sup>31</sup> Tencalla is mentioned as the author of the painting in: Breitenbacher, Dějiny, p. 59; Jůza/Krsek/Petrů/Richter, Kroměříž, p. 50; Proserpi, I Tencalla, p. 106. The paintings in the Great Hall in Kroměříž were introduced by Jan Petr Cerroni in connection with Carpofo Tencalla. Elsewhere in his manuscript, however, he refers to Paolo Pagani: MPA Brno, G 12, sign. Cerr. I 34, f. 196, 277. Pagani's authorship is believed to be in: Hawlik, Ernst: Zur Geschichte der Baukunst, der bildenden und zeichnerischen Künste in Markgrathume Mähren, Brünn 1838, p. 25; Krsek, Ivo: Barokní malířství 17. století na Moravě, in: Jiří Dvorský/Eliška Fučíková (eds.): Dějiny českého výtvarného umění. Vol. II/1. Od počátků renesance do závěru baroka, Praha 1989, p. 361.

<sup>32</sup> Two letters clearly indicate Giacomo's involvement in the project: PA Opava, Dpt Olomouc, Dio-

doubt that the Bishop of Olomouc was interested in the services of Carpofofo himself, or a painter who could imitate his style.<sup>33</sup>

The dome of the pavilion's central hall is decorated with eight large stucco fields bearing paintings of mythological stories based on the text of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: the Abduction of Europa, the Abduction of Proserpina, the Abduction of Ceres by Neptune, the Abduction of Ganymede, the Abduction of Déianeira (Hercules kills the centaur Nessus), Pan and Syrinx, Perseus and Andromeda, and the Apotheosis of Aeneas (fig. 24).

The compositions in the dome are strongly linked to the works of both Carpofofo and Giacomo, where a number of motifs and formal elements are regularly repeated. Some of the scenes in Carpofofo Tencalla's work have appeared in close variations in previous commissions. The Abduction of Proserpina is related to a drawing from the Bibliotheca Palatina in Parma.<sup>34</sup> The scene of the Abduction of Ganymede has its predecessor in Carpofofo's frescoes at Trautenfels Chateau and in a monochrome version at Náměšť nad Oslavou Chateau, where the scene of Pan and Syrinx also appears. There is also a strong formal similarity between the Kroměříž Perseus and Andromeda and Carpofofo's Trautenfels painting, but its iconographic meaning is different. In Trautenfels it is associated with the story of Ruggiero liberating Angelica, drawn from the Renaissance epic poem *Orlando Furioso* by Ludovico Ariosto.<sup>35</sup>

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cese Olomouc, Inv. Nr. 529, sign. 57, cart. 86, f. 405, letter from the stucco artist Quirico Castelli from Melide to the Bishop of Olomouc, 25 April 1672; Inv. Nr. 529, sign. 57, cart. 87, f. 102, letter from the painter Giacomo Tencalla from Vienna to the Bishop of Olomouc, 7 August 1672; Miltová, Mezi, pp. 91–94; Mádl, Martin/Zapletalová, Jana: Malíř Giacomo Tencalla (1644–1689). Carpofofovův napodobitel na Moravě a v Čechách, in: Mádl, Tencalla I, p. 63; Mádl, Martin/Tibitanzlová, Radka/Zahradník, Pavel/Zapletalová, Jana (ed.): Dokumenty k činnosti Giacoma Tencally na Moravě a v Čechách, in: Mádl, Tencalla I, doc. IV/1, IV/2; Mádl, Martin/Miltová, Radka: Květná zahrada (Libosad). Rotunda, in: Mádl, Tencalla II, pp. 102–103; Zapletalová, Fresco, pp. 233–236.

33 The popularity of Carpofofo's work was also supported by a mention in Sandrart's book *Teutsches Academie*, which the bishop owned copies of. The 1691 inventory records specifically state: "der bau- bild- und Mahler Kunst deutsche Academia"; "Joachimi von Sandrart Teutscher Academia & bild und Mahlerey Künste"- Kroměříž Archbishop's Chateau Library, Inv. Nr. 12080, sign. H VIII 3b, Catalogus Librorum, qui in Sua Celsitudinis Episcopi Olomucensis Bibliotheca reperiuntur, Conscripti die 9. Aprilis 1691, f. 118v, 124v.

34 Štěpánková, Malířská, p. 63; Mollisi/Proserpi/Spiriti, Carpofofo, pp. 158–159. This drawing appears to have been at the beginning of several variants on the theme of the Abduction of Proserpina in the "Tencalla" paintings, since the same scene also occurs in a figuratively simpler version at the chateaux in Libochovice and Lnáře.

35 The iconographic interpretation of the scene as a depiction of Ruggiero liberating Angelica has two main reasons: the first is its proximity to another scene from Ariosto's novel, the scene with Agelica and Medoro, and the second is the position of the warrior on the flying horse, with which Ariosto's description of Ruggiero's deceit is identified. He used it to obscure the sea monster's vision with a shield. Brunner/Kaiser, Schloß, p. 72.



24 Giacomo Tencalla, Paintings in the Pavilion in the Flower Garden, 1672–1674, Kroměříž.

The mutual formal links between the different content lines logically follow from the similarities of the two themes, as Ariosto repeats the famous Ovidian synopsis of the story of Perseus and Andromeda in his poetic narrative of *Ruggiero*.<sup>36</sup>

Exactly the opposite principle characterises the scene of the Apotheosis of Aeneas, as a painting of the same content appears later in Giacomo Tencalla’s painting in a different compositional concept at the chateau in Libochovice. The difference between the two versions is caused by the choice of different graphic models. In the chateau in Libochovice, Giacomo Tencalla used an engraving by Johann Wilhelm Baur to depict the story, whereas for the Kroměříž version he drew on an older significant woodcut series of Salomon–Solis origin.<sup>37</sup> The series began with 178 woodcuts by the French engraver Bernard Salomon, which appeared in the Lyon edition of Jean Le Tourne’s *Metamorphoses* of 1557. Bernard Salomon’s woodcuts were re-

<sup>36</sup> The mutual proximity of the stories is reflected in the similarities of several works of art, the identification of which is therefore often problematic: Freedman, Luba: *The Poesia: Ovid, Ariosto, and Titian on “The Heroic Liberation of the Maiden”*, in: Luba Freedman/Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich (eds.): *Wege zum Mythos*, Berlin 2001, pp. 13–38.

<sup>37</sup> *La Metamorphose D’Ovide Figvree*, Lyon 1557. On the Lyon edition of Jean de Tourne: Trautner, Hans Joachim: *Ovidausgaben von Jean I. und Jean II. de Tourne*, in: *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 53 (1978), pp. 145–155.

worked by the Nuremberg artist Virgil Solis, whose illustrations were simultaneously incorporated into three Frankfurt editions of the *Metamorphoses*: a Latin edition by the poet Jacob Micyllus, a Latin-German edition by Johann Posthius of Gemersheim and an edition of Latin distichs by Johannes Spreng.<sup>38</sup> In addition to republishing Solis's woodcuts in subsequent editions of the *Metamorphoses*, this type became the inspiration for other Ovidian series, created, for example, by the Flemish engravers Pieter van der Borcht and Crispijn de Passe.<sup>39</sup> Virgil Solis's Apotheosis of Aeneas helped to identify the Kroměříž scene accurately and also stands closest to the painting, although it does not represent its exact model.<sup>40</sup>

The mentioned Ovidian engravings by Johann Wilhelm Baur are more prominent in the paintings of the cupola, although this was not the case in the Apotheosis of Aeneas. Of the eight scenes, Pan and Syrinx, the Abduction of Ganymede and Hercules killing the centaur Nessus (figs. 25, 26), refer to this model. The Ovidian paintings in the Kroměříž pavilion thus combine several inspirations, but the list of models does not end with the prints by Baur and Solis. The Abduction of Europa and the Abduction of Proserpina are reminiscent of another graphic series, this time by the French engraver and decorator Jean Le Pautre and his series of designs for tapestries or tableaux, which he created around 1660.<sup>41</sup>

In the cupola of the Kroměříž pavilion, alongside the usual and relatively frequent Ovidian myths, there were themes whose identification was uncertain. The first problematic depiction is the Apotheosis of Aeneas, who was referred to in earlier identifications as Iason with the goddess Juno on the banks of the Anauros River.<sup>42</sup> The most enigmatic painting so far is a field depicting a woman drifting on a horse in a river. A surprised retinue watches the abduction from the banks, while the goddess Minerva hovers above the scene in the clouds. The scene has been associated

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38 Iohan. Posthii Germershemii Tetrasticha In Ovidii Metam. Lib. XV. Qvibus accesserunt Vergilij Solis figuræ elegantiss. & iam primùm in lucem editæ. [...], Durch Johan. Posthium von Germerßheim, Francofurti 1563.

For editions with Solis's woodcuts see: Henkel, Max Dittmar: Illustrierte Ausgaben von Ovids Metamorphosen in XV., XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert, Leipzig/Berlin 1930 (= Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 6), pp. 87–90; Stahlberg, Karl: Virgil Solis und die Holzschnitte zu den Metamorphosen des Ovid. Marginalien, in: Zeitschrift für Buchkunst und Bibliophilie 95 (1984), pp. 29–35; Peters, Jane S.: The Illustrated Bartsch. Vol. IX/1. German Masters of the Sixteenth Century. Virgil Solis: Intaglio Prints and Woodcuts, New York 1987, pp. 471–516; Hexter, Ralph: Ovid's Metamorphoses Metamorphosed, in: Bancroftiana 113 (1998), p. 4; Huber-Rebenich, Metamorphosen, pp. 22–23.

39 Henkel, Illustrierte, pp. 87–95.

40 Miltová, Mezi, pp. 97–98.

41 Préaud, Inventaire XI; Préaud, Inventaire XII.

42 Raidl, Věnceslava: Zur Ikonographie zwei bisher ungeklärten Fresken-Segmenten in der Kuppel der sog. Rotunde im Kremsierer Blumengarten, in: Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity F 41 (1997), pp. 103–107.

25 Giacomo Tencalla,  
Hercules kills the  
Centaur Nessus,  
1672–1674, Pavilion in the  
Flower Garden, Kroměříž.

26 Johann Wilhelm Baur,  
Hercules kills the  
Centaur Nessus, 1641,  
engraving.



with the text of Virgil's *Aeneid* and identified as Cloelia's flight from the Porsenna camp.<sup>43</sup> Given the overall Ovidian iconography of the pavilion's paintings, however, it is apparent that this scene should have the same textual basis, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Formally and content-wise, the story of the god Neptune, who transformed himself into a horse in an attempt to reach the desired goddess Ceres, is closest to the scene.<sup>44</sup> This assumption is supported by the existence of a formally similar French illustration in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* of 1676 and by the gesture of the woman (Ceres) on horseback pointing to water, thus symbolically to the god Neptune. The goddess Minerva in the clouds might then allude to the "foundation" of the narrative, the overarching story from Ovid, the weaving contest between Minerva and Arachne. As part of the duel, Arachne wove various scenes of the gods' loves into her carpet, including that of Ceres and Neptune.

The eight large scenes are complemented by eight small sections containing monochrome paintings of seated and reclining figures: Ganymede, Venus, Juno, Amphitrite (or Thetis), Diana, Leda, Aurora and Psyche. These complementary fields have not been interpreted extensively, which is the logical outcome of the fact that the appearance of these scenes has been greatly distorted by secondary overpainting. However, comparisons with other paintings by Carpofofo Tencalla and Giacomo Tencalla are mentioned where similar grisaille figures refer to imitation cameos and gems (for example in *Náměšť nad Oslavou*, *Červený Kameň* or *Trautenfels*).<sup>45</sup>

The dome above the architrave is decorated with a frieze of stucco decoration consisting of cornucopias, mascots, herms of putti, rosettes and eagles. Eight side corridors lead from the circular hall, and four niches and four entrances to the grottoes break the wall between them. The niches are filled with Michael Mandík's sculptures<sup>46</sup> of the four seasons, and above them and above the entrances to the grottoes are stucco reliefs of sea creatures in waves: two intertwined dolphins, a nereid, a horse, a bull, a lion, a dog and a pig. Mandík traditionally portrayed the seasons of the year as ancient gods. Already the Romans identified the seasons with deities bearing identical attributes. Spring came to be represented by the goddess

43 Raidl, *Zur Ikonographie*, pp. 103–107.

44 Miltová, Radka: „Bellissimum Ovidii Theatrum“. *Poznámky k recepci Ovidiových Metamorfóz v kultuře 17. století v Čechách a na Moravě*, in: Milena Bartlová/Lubomír Konečný/Lubomír Slavíček (eds.): *Libosad. Studie o českém a evropském barokním umění. Práce držitelů Baderova stipendia pro výzkum malířství 17. století*, Praha 2007, pp. 67–68; Miltová, Mezi, pp. 97–98. Other parallels supporting the interpretation of the scene as the story of Neptune and Ceres: Mádl, Martin/Miltová, Radka: *Katalog nástěnných maleb [Kroměříž]*, in: Mádl, Tencalla II, pp. 109–112.

45 Štěpánková, Malířská, p. 79; Mádl/Miltová, *Květná*, pp. 114–115; Nokkala Miltová, *Ve společnosti*, p. 83.

46 On the sculptors in the service of the bishop: Pavlíček, Martin: *Sculptors and Sculpture in the Milieu of Bishop Karl von Lichtenstein-Castelcorno*, in: Jakubec, Karl, pp. 305–314.

Flora, summer by Ceres, autumn by Bacchus, and winter by Adonis. Cesare Ripa also adopted this system in his *Iconologia*, with the only exception of winter, which he compared with Vulcan or Aeolus and the winds.<sup>47</sup> In the pavilion, the iconography follows Ripa’s pattern and uses a foursome of Flora, Ceres, Bacchus and Vulcan. In fact, the bishop was aware of these iconographic links as proven in a letter to the painter and canon Martin Antonín Lublinský, who became conceper of the bishop’s artistic programmes. In the letter, dated July 1668, the bishop specified that it would be appropriate to place statues of the seasons in the chateau’s sala terrena. Specifically, to locate in one niche the allegories of Spring and Summer, to which the goddess Flora is best suited, and in the other niche the allegories of Autumn and Winter, to which the god Bacchus belongs.<sup>48</sup>

On the ground plan of the outer octagon of the pavilion there are four grottoes and four spaces on a pentagonal ground plan, sometimes referred to as salons and connected by corridors that radiate out from the central hall. The decoration of all these spaces is again extraordinarily rich.

Starting with the eight connecting corridors, mythological scenes were reapplied here, in four cases surrounded by small stucco fields with Ripa’s personifications, goddesses and putti. The northwest corridor bears on its vault an allegorical representation of *Ars et Industria*, much disfigured by overpainting by František Přeček and Gustav Schmidt in 1901,<sup>49</sup> around which are depicted Fortune, Diligence, Justice, Prudence, Strength and Council (*Consiglio*). In a much more authentic form, the iconographic scheme *Ars – Natura – Industria* appears in the sculptural decoration of the residential sala terrena, where the motif will be discussed later.

In the northern corridor, the nereids and Triton appear in a composition that perhaps depicts the Triumph of Amphitrite. The painting in the northeast corridor presents the story of Cephalus and Procris, which is complemented by putti with arrows, putti with bows and personifications of Poverty, Wealth, Abundance and Envy. The eastern corridor is dominated by the goddess Diana bathing<sup>50</sup> and the southeastern

47 Milovanovic, Nicolas: *Le palais du Soleil: les quatre saisons et les sept planetes*, in: Alexandre Maral/ Nicolas Milovanovich (eds): *Versailles et l’Antique* (kat.), Paris 2012, pp. 227–228; Quinlan-McGrath, Mary: *Influences: Art, Optics, and Astrology in the Italian Renaissance*, Chicago/London 2013, p. 44.

48 Pavlíčková, Sídla, p. 221.

49 The figure of *Ars* is holding a document with a drawing of a pavilion and the inscription *RENOVATUM MCM I*. The restoration interventions are thoroughly discussed in: Štěpánková, Malířská, pp. 60–61; Látal, Jiří: *Restaurátorská zpráva a dokumentace o průzkumu interiéru rotundy v Květné zahradě v Kroměříži* (unpublished manuscript) Litomyšl 1997; Mádl/Miltová, Kroměříž, pp. 115–119.

50 Compositionally, the painting resembles the painting *Susanna and the Elders* by Carpofofo Tencalla from the piano nobile in the castle in Červený Kameň: Medvecký, K počiatkom, pp. 272; Medvecký, Anjelský, p. 114.

The theme of *Susanna and the Elders* also appears in Tencalla’s work in the decoration of Villa Lez-



27 Giacomo Tencalla, *Apollo and Marsyas and the Four Cardinal Virtues*, 1672–1674, Pavilion in the Flower Garden, Kroměříž.

corridor by the scene of Apollo flaying Marsyas (fig. 27). Marsyas is complemented in the four corners by personifications of the four cardinal virtues, while the figure of Justice can be rather deduced, since the original attributes have evidently been lost under more recent overpainting and the female figure now holds a bow and arrow. The composition of Apollo and Marsyas does not differ in many respects from the engraving by Johann Wilhelm Baur and the paintings from the hand of Carpofo Tencalla at the castles in Trautenfels and Náměšť nad Oslavou. The smaller fields of the vault then show the figures of putti (with a veil and with a shawm). The southern corridor is dedicated to another variation on the theme of sea creatures, this time with centaur, Triton and nymphs floating in the waves.

In the southwest corridor, a composition with satyrs and nymphs appears, quite clearly transformed by secondary modifications (fig. 28). In its right part, a frog's head appears "illogically" behind the satyrs, hidden among the tree trunks. This detail is obviously related to the original iconography of Latona and the Lycian peas-

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zeni in San Mamete di Valsolda: Mollisi, Carpofo, p. 40; Mádl/Miltová, *Květná*, p. 124. The scene has also been identified with the theme of Diana and Actaeon: Štěpánková, *Malířská*, pp. 63–64. However, a significant deviation is the solitary figure of the goddess (otherwise always surrounded by her retinue in the story) and, by two observing male figures instead of one (Actaeon). The painting can be seen as a theme of Diana bathing or a celebration of the goddess Diana in a similar conception brought by Domenichino (painting from 1616–1617, now in the Borghese Gallery in Rome).



28 Giacomo Tencalla, *Latona and the Lycian peasants*, 1672–1674, overpainted 1901, Pavilion in the Flower Garden, Kroměříž.

ants, which is also indicated by the overall compositional scheme of the scene.<sup>51</sup> The six smaller painted fields consist of allegories of the four elements and times of day, namely day and night. The painting of the last, western corridor concludes the cycle by reusing a marine thiasos with Triton and nereids.

Paintings cover the ceilings of the four corner rooms on a pentagonal plan, which are entered from the corridors described above. In three of these rooms, scenes of putti in various roles, but mostly related to music, have been inserted into the small stucco fields: they play various musical instruments, sing, but also wrestle or kiss.

In the last of these salons, the putti carry the emblems and insignia of the Olomouc diocese and Bishop von Lichtenstein-Castelkorn, thus referring to the union of ecclesiastical and secular power in the bishop's person (fig. 29). The putti bear the coat of arms of Lichtenstein-Castelkorn, the heraldic lion from the prince's coat of arms and the prince's crown and sword. The emblems of the Olomouc diocese and ecclesiastical power are represented by the episcopal coat of arms, mitre, sceptre and episcopal eagle. The entire career of the bishop is intertwined with the “struggle” for rights and a leading position within the estate structures, which he had been entitled to since the time when the bishop's office in Olomouc was granted an imperial privilege. The diocese of Olomouc belonged directly to the emperor as an imperial principality, and Karl II von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn purposefully defended this position.<sup>52</sup>

51 Mádl/Miltová, *Květná*, p. 130.

52 Pavličková, *Portrétní*, pp. 262–268; Pavličková, *Olomoučtí*, pp. 36–41.



29 Giacomo Tencalla, Putti with the insignia of the Bishop of Olomouc, 1672–1674, Pavilion in the Flower Garden, Kroměříž.

The walls of these four corner rooms are covered with rich mosaics made of colourful stones, which are used to create various rosettes and floral wreaths, but also, for example, bishop's heraldic eagles.

The corridors and the central hall lead to the four grottos on the northwest and southeast sides of the pavilion. The grottos are covered with rich decoration, both on the walls and the vaults. It consists of artificial tuff stalactites, shell decorations and massive stuccoes. In their original form, captured by the engravings of vagrant artist Justus van den Nypoort forming the so-called *Heger's Album* published in 1691,<sup>53</sup> the grottoes included central fountains (now unpreserved). The walls of the grottoes are punctuated by niches decorated with statues of satyrs holding various

53 This is a representative graphic album of views of the Flower Garden, containing a title page and 33 copper engravings. It was compiled by Urban Franz Augustin Heger, ceremonialist and canon at St Moritz in Kroměříž, who also wrote the opening dedication of the album: Macháčková, Jana: Excursus. Georg Matthäus Visher and Justus van den Nypoort: The Graphic Album of the Flower Garden and the Maintenance of the Bishop's Memory, in: Švácha/Potůčková/Kroupa, Karl, pp. 203–207.

attributes. The present state can be compared both with Nypoort's engravings and with the description of the cartographer and topographer Georg Matthäus Vischer, which was perhaps originally intended to complement the engravings in *Heger's Album*.

The first of the grottos, called the Shell Grotto, features hunting motifs on its ceiling. At the top of the vault there are putti leading dogs on leashes and catching rabbits. This highest sphere of the vault is carried by the satyr-atlants, who stand in another circular band, and between them appear fighting animals: the bear hunt, the deer hunt and the boar hunt next to an infuriated lion. At the top of the walls below the archway, other animals are executed in stucco: a dog, an owl, a hare, a stork and a swan. Sculpted satyrs in the niches play various musical instruments: a trumpet, shalmi, tambourine, triangle and lute. The former fountain was to take the shape of a tall waterfall forming a cedar tree.<sup>54</sup>

The decoration of the second cave, the Duck Cave, is made up of rich tuff decoration that incorporates small animals such as a turtle or a snake. In the centre of the vaulted ceiling appears a large sun and next to it a starry vault with a celestial palace, presumably referring to the palace of Apollo. Satyrs in the niches eat or bear festoons of fruits and the last of the satyrs teases a cackling goose.<sup>55</sup>

In the third cave, the Rose Cave, decoration is combined from ornamental patterns (mascarons, leafwork or vases) with the motifs of putti, satyrs emerging from cornucopias bearing apples and sea creatures (fish, naiads entwined with dolphins). Satyrs in the niches carry a goblet of wine, grapes, a hare and one of them is pouring wine from a jug into a cup. The ubiquitous apples probably referred to the golden apples of the Hesperides and, in combination with the shell of the fountain, to the winner of the apple of discord, the goddess Venus.<sup>56</sup>

The last grotto, the Stalactite Cave, is covered with mosaic and stucco reliefs with heraldic symbols of the bishop: an eagle and a lion with a lioness accompanied by putti-naiads and fish. According to Vischer's description, the fountain was to present the motif of Neptune and sirens. Here, as well as in the Stalactite Cave, the satyrs play musical instruments: trumpet, bagpipes, cymbals, flute and drum.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Zatloukal/Pavliček/Nokkala Miltová, *Sospes*, pp. 191, 201.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 192, 201.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 193, 201.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 193, 201.

### 3.2 Mythological Paintings in the Iconographic Concept of the “Lusthaus”

After a brief introduction to the basic iconographic motifs of the Kroměříž pavilion, let us proceed to the next layer of interpretation of this extremely interesting, diverse and impressive complex. Before making any assumptions about the overall iconographic programme of the Lusthaus, it is necessary to point out the sub-relationships between the individual components of the decoration and between some of the scenes.

Firstly, it is necessary to reflect on the relationship of the central paintings to the complementary minor scenes. Although the grisaille sections of the cupola of the central hall are significantly affected by subsequent alterations, let us assume that they copy the original iconography. It is difficult to find a direct relationship between pairs of large and small depictions above each other, yet it is possible to point out more general parallels. In these small monochrome fields, mainly women appear (the only deviation is the figure of Ganymede) and, except for Diana, they are all wives or mistresses (lovers) of the gods and fit well into the amorous scenes, hence the ideological framework of the struggle between virtue and vice, which will be discussed later.

Well-reconstructed correlations then emerge between the central stories and their supplements in the attached corridors of the pavilion. Alongside Latona and the Lycian peasants are personifications of day and night, pointing to Latona's children, the sibling pair of Diana and Apollo. The cardinal virtues at the story of Marsyas and Apollo may evoke a moral message, raising just revenge for Marsyas's daring challenge. The opposing characters and the addition of envy to the myth of Cephalus and Procris also corresponds to its narrative synopsis, where Procris is driven to her tragic end by a tormenting jealousy and envy. In contrast, only the virtues that lead to a successful work of art are grouped around the allegorical composition *Ars et Industria*: Diligence, Fortune, Justice, Prudence, Strength and Counsel.

The painted putti in small pentagonal rooms play a representative role, as they hold the bishop's insignia and heraldic symbols. Secondly, their musical production invites cheerfulness and joy, which was one of their basic roles. As Charles Dempsey demonstrated, the creatures named putti, otherwise known as *spiritelli*, were closely associated with the breeze, blowing and breathing. Medieval and Renaissance doctrine, influenced by Aristotle and the Greek pneumatic school, believed that *spiritelli* were responsible for unconscious bodily manifestations as they entered the human body through the sensory organs and travelled through the venous and nervous systems to the heart, brain and other organs. They then trigger different emotional states in the body, from fear to desire. Their way into the human body leads not only through the air, but also through food, as they also reside in the fruits of the earth. The putti of the vine can thus influence their consumer with unprecedented power.

The paintings in the pavilion feature in particular putti that make music, *spiritti sensitivi*, whose meaning was described by Dante, for example. Thanks to them, we receive auditory sensations, and they represent the spontaneous joy of music that accelerates our pulse.<sup>58</sup>

Music became an integral part of garden spaces associated with recreation and leisure, as theoretical texts have repeatedly pointed out since the Renaissance. In addition to the *spiritti sensitivi*, other parts of the decoration also recall musical production: the statues of the satyrs in the two grottos of the pavilion and some mythological scenes, such as the exemplary musical contest between Apollo and Marsyas.<sup>59</sup> The satyr statues in the second pair of grottoes (with attributes of wine, fruit, hare and goose) not only relate to the forces of nature and gardens in general, but may also point to the two halves of the year in relation to the figures of the seasons in the central hall of the pavilion.

In addition to music, the pavilion uses the water element as the main unifying feature, which is omnipresent in almost all spheres of the decoration. All the main mythological stories work with the motif of water, surrounded by reliefs of sea monsters and creatures, and water used to be an essential part of all the pavilion facilities in the form of fountains and water springs. As one of Justus van den Nypoort's engravings from *Heger's Album* of 1691 shows, an elaborate water supply system to the pavilion drove various hydraulic devices, fountains and water features.<sup>60</sup>

Apart from the fundamental position that water symbolics represented for gardens in theoretical recommendations, this aspect was also reflected in the celebration of the Flower Garden itself. Johann Ferdinand Hertodt von Todtenfeld highlighted the water puns in his book *Tartaro-Mastix Moraviae*:

A magnificent building with four caves and just as many chambers will be erected for your pleasure, the first of which will be enlivened by all kinds of fountains from the waters of the Morava River springs, the second by arches and vaults. The surrounding flower bed, the edge of which will provide refreshments, will add to the splendour of the building.<sup>61</sup>

58 Dempsey, Charles: *Inventing the Renaissance Putto*, Chapel Hill/London 2001, pp. 40–46, 63.

59 In connection with the musical elements of the Lusthaus, there is also speculation about the numerical symbolism and musical principles of the Kroměříž Flower Garden and the pavilion itself: Zatloukal, Et in, p. 42.

60 Engraving No. 9 is an overall view of the Lusthaus, engraving No. 10 represents a section through the pavilion, engravings Nos. 11–18 provide views of the interior of the Lusthaus, including the individual fountains and water fountains, and engraving No. 19 schematically shows the system of water distribution to the individual parts of the pavilion: Heger, Urban Franz Augustin, *Des Fürstlicher Cremsierischen Lust-Garten*, Cremsier 1691; Zatloukal, Ondřej (ed.): *Kroměříž. Květná zahrada 1691*, Kroměříž 2008, pp. 34–40.

61 Hertodt, Johann Ferdinand: *Tartaro-Mastix Moraviae Per Quam Rariora & Admiranda ā natura in*

The allegorical celebration of the Morava River and its springs, which guaranteed watering for the garden greenery and provided water for the fountains, was probably located in the Chateau Garden. This is evidenced by Lublinský's discovered designs for statues of the main and minor Moravian rivers, which were to surround the sculpture of Marcomannus defeating Quadus.<sup>62</sup>

Lublinský's other designs for mythological sculptures in the Kroměříž gardens, which do not exist today, also contain an obvious connection with water symbolism. These depict eight Ovidian stories where water either plays a central role or is somehow tied to the story, as in the painted scenes in the pavilion. These include stories of Latona and the peasants, Pan and Syrinx, the transformation of the Tyrrhenian sailors into dolphins, Pyramus and Thisbe, the transformation of Cycnus into a swan, Actaeon into a stag, Perimele into an island, and the nymph Lotis into a lotus. Considering the iconographic proximity to the paintings in the pavilion (two stories, Pan and Syrinx, and Latona, are even repeated here), it is possible to consider that the conception of the Flower Garden envisaged locating these sculptures in the vicinity of the pavilion.<sup>63</sup>

The painted decoration of the Kroměříž pavilion is not only linked by the element of water. As far as the textual source of the narrative scenes is concerned, the selection was based exclusively on stories drawn from the text of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, both commonly used and lesser known. It has already been pointed out that in the selected iconographic themes of the cupola painting, a love accent and the theme of abduction are widely present.<sup>64</sup> The abduction of Europa, Neptune kidnapping Ceres, Hercules killing the centaur Nessus (the abduction of Deianeira),

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fæcundo hujus regionis gremio affusa, [...] Viennæ, Susanna Rickesin 1669, pp. 117–118; Zatloukal, Kroměříž, pp. 23–24.

62 The main rivers Morava, Haná, Dyje and Kyjovka and the secondary rivers Svitava, Svatka, Jihlava and Bečva are personified here: Zapletalová, Jana: Saly terreny zámku v Kroměříži a návrhy soch pro Podzámeckou zahradu, in: Umění 65/3 (2017), pp. 269–282. Lublinský's other designs specify the now non-existent sculptures for the Chateau Garden, where personifications of the senses were to appear in the form of Narcissus, Ganymede, the Monkey and Cupid. There are also personifications of Favonius, Good Breeze, Love, Vigilance, Dullness and Conquered Cupid: Ibidem, pp. 269–282.

63 Togner, Milan: Kresebné návrhy A. M. Lublinského pro výzdobu sala tereny a zahrad kroměřížského zámku, in: Jiří Kroupa (ed.): Ars naturam adiuvans: Sborník k počtě prof. PhDr. Miloše Stehlíka, Brno 2003, pp. 69–79; Togner, Milan: Antonín Martin Lublinský 1636–1690, Olomouc 2004, pp. 168–176; Miltová, Mezi, pp. 111–115.

64 Jůza, K otázce, p. 302, note 187; Raidl, Zur Ikonographie, p. 105.

There were several interpretations of the Lusthaus, but they were rather general. According to them, the pavilion was supposed to be a symbol of the "Platonic vision of the idea of the common good" or a representation of the "mechanical idea of the machine of the world". Ondřej Zatloukal summarised the various conceptions and expressed another possible level of interpretation, namely in connection with the Temple of Venus from Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (related to the overall form of the pavilion). Zatloukal, Kroměříž, pp. 36, 42.

the abduction of Proserpina and the abduction of Ganymede stand side by side. Again, it should be noted that the location of such iconography in garden lots was recommended by contemporary theories of decorum.<sup>65</sup> However, the early modern science of mythology and emblematics provides an interesting ideological dimension to these mythological stories. In mythographic texts, the love-themed myths of abduction (and not only abduction) used to be interpreted with a moral message, pointing to the struggle between low passion and virtue. A number of interpretations along these lines are provided by one of the most influential mythographic works, Natale Conti's *Mythologiae* of 1551. The bishop owned editions of this work in his library.<sup>66</sup> With Jupiter and Europa, Conti mentions the necessity of self-cultivation and moderation of the human spirit. He points out that the highest of the gods, Jupiter, transformed himself into an obscene animal just to indulge his lust. Europa becomes the embodiment of virtue, which stands in opposition to the base carnal desire represented by the vicious bull.<sup>67</sup> Conti sees higher moral values in the myth of Perseus and Andromeda, where he emphasises piety and restraint of spirit, or in the case of Marsyas, where he draws attention to divine punishment for imprudence.<sup>68</sup> In his commentary on the abduction of Ganymede, the author follows the more general Neo-Platonic theory, carried, for example, by Dante's reference in the *Divine Comedy*, that links the idea of abduction with the metaphor of the emotional quality of spiritual experience.<sup>69</sup> To account for the presence of the figure of Ganymede on late ancient sarcophagi, the story referred to a mystical post-mortal union with God.<sup>70</sup> Conti adopts this extended interpretation and adds that the admission of the soul into heaven mirrors the fact that those whom God loves, he welcomes into heaven as the wise souls.<sup>71</sup> Similar interpretations were also given in the emblematic literature, for example Andrea Alciati in his *Emblemata* from 1531 attaches the motto *Desiderio verso Iddio* (Desire for God) to the abduction of Ganymede. Nicolas Reusner in *Emblemata* compares the abduction of Europa by Jupiter to the journey of the soul through the world towards God.<sup>72</sup>

65 Miltová, Mezi, pp. 106–109.

66 Conti, *Mythologiae*. Two editions of Conti's *Mythologia* are also recorded in the inventory of the bishop's library: Kroměříž Archbishop's Chateau Library, Catalogus, f. 123v, 125r.

67 Conti, Natale: *Mythologiae sive explicationis fabularum libri decem, in quibus omnia prope naturalis et Moralis philosophiae dogmata in vererum fabulis contenta fuisse perspicue demonstratur [...]*, Patavii, apud Petrum Paulum Tozzium, 1616, pp. 939–942.

68 Conti, *Mythologiae*, pp. 598–601, 927–928.

69 Leshem, *What's Love*, pp. 208–209.

70 This symbolism dates to late antiquity, when Ganymede appeared on sarcophagi as a symbol of the mystical afterlife union with God: Saslow, *Ganymede*, p. 23.

71 Conti, *Mythologiae*, pp. 990–992.

72 Reusner's interpretation is not a new one here either; he follows a deep tradition of Christian moralisations, taken especially from the text of *Ovide moralisé*: Webel, *Christiane: Mythos als Medium: Zur*

The moral interpretations of ancient mythology, the foundations of which were laid by antiquity, had a considerable impact on artistic commissions. A famous example of a concept that works with the idea of the struggle between virtue and vice, using love stories and abductions, is the programme of Isabella d'Este's famous Mantuan studiolo in Castello di San Giorgio. The decoration included a canvas by Pietro Perugino (now Paris, Musée du Louvre), whose iconographic concept was conceived by the court poet Paride de Ceresara, who based the main idea on the struggle of the goddesses Minerva and Diana against Venus and Cupid. Their rivalry was intended to be an allusion to the struggle between virtue and vice, which is supported by the scenes in the painting's background. Here, several stories evolve on land and water in which the gods, headed by Jupiter, appear as enemies of chastity (namely Apollo and Daphne, Jupiter and Europa, Mercury and Glaucera, Polyphemus and Galatea, Pluto and Proserpina, Neptune and the nymph Coronis). The gods here represent anti-exemplary behaviour, where chastity succumbs to love.<sup>73</sup>

The iconographic proximity of the motifs used may allude to a similar ideological structure at its roots. As mentioned, the Neo-Platonic doctrine of the journey of the soul was also related to the idea of the duality of virtue and vice and to the stories of abduction. There are several indications for thinking in this direction in the case of Kroměříž. In addition to the involvement of the abductions cited (especially Ganymede and Europa), the apotheosis of Aeneas appears in the cupola of the Lusthaus, whose symbolic cleansing in the waters off the shores of Laurent was associated with the purification of the soul.<sup>74</sup> This, of course, refers to the hero's acceptance among the Olympian gods, again offering a parallel to the soul ascending to God. The last detail is the inclusion of the figure of Psyche in the smaller painted fields of the cupola, as it represents the soul itself. This has been emphasised since antiquity by the placement of representations of Psyche on

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unterschiedlichen Deutbarkeit früher Europa-Darstellungen, in: Siegfried Salzmann (ed.): *Mythos Europa: Europa und der Stier im Zeitalter der industriellen Zivilisation*, Hamburg 1988, pp. 38–40. The abduction of Europa and the abduction of Ganymede are interpreted in many art commissions in a similar way, e.g.: Muchka, Ivan Prokop/Purš, Ivo/Dobalová, Sylva/Hausenblasová, Jaroslava: *Hvězda. Arcivévoda Ferdinand Tyrolský a jeho letohrádek v evropském kontextu*, Praha 2014, p. 266; Laß, Heiko: *Die Wand- und Deckenmalerei im Galeriegebäude von Hannover-Herrenhausen sowie die Läuterung der Menschenseele am Beispiel des Aeneas*, in: Karner/Lass/Hoppe, *Deckenmalerei*, p. 31.

73 Weibel, *Mythos*, pp. 45–46; Ferino-Pagden, Sylvia (ed.): „La prima donna del mondo“. Isabella d'Este: Fürstin und Mäzenatin der Renaissance, Wien 1994, pp. 221–227; Seznec, *The Survival*, p. 109; Brehm, Christiane: *Der Raub der Proserpina. Studien zur Ikonographie und Ikonologie eines Ovidmythos von Antike bis zur frühen Neuzeit* (Dissertation), Münster 1996, pp. 267–269; Campbell, Stephen J.: *The Cabinet of Eros: Renaissance Mythological Painting and the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este*, Yale 2004, pp. 169–190.

74 Laß, *Die Wand-*, pp. 35–40.

tombstones and gems. Mythographers clearly associated this fact with the idea of the immortality of the soul.<sup>75</sup>

The same optics can be used to interpret the omnipresent figures of Triton, nymphs and sea monsters in the pavilion. Such creatures were meant to evoke the purification of the soul as it passes through the celestial spheres by comparison with sailing on the sea. Aquatic figures of this type decorated many 1st- and 2nd-century Roman sepulchral monuments, from which Renaissance art and symbolism adopted them.<sup>76</sup> The decoration of the Kroměříž sala terrena also contains a very close iconographic concept (section 3.4).

### 3.3 Garden Colonnade

Heavily shaded fragments of paintings, associated with the probable authorship of Carpofofo Tencalla, decorate the conch above the northeastern niche of the garden colonnade in the Flower Garden.<sup>77</sup>

The colonnade has the form of an arcade loggia and was built in 1665–1671 on the northwest wall of the Flower Garden (fig. 30), also designed by Giovanni Pietro Tencalla. According to the bishop's instructions, the colonnade, situated at the entrance gate to the garden, was to become the "Ear of Dionysus" for its acoustic qualities.<sup>78</sup> The painter Caravaggio used this phrase, referring to the tyrant Dionysus I of Syracuse, to designate the famous Syracusan latomies.<sup>79</sup>

75 Nokkala Miltová, *Ve společenství bohů*, p. 75.

76 Muchka/Purš/Dobalová/Hausenblasová, *Hvězda*, pp. 187–192.

77 According to the surviving documentation, the paintings were also located above the northwest niche, but by now they have been painted over or destroyed. Zapletalová, Jana: *Květná zahrada (Libosad). Kolonáda*, in: Mádl, Tencalla II, pp. 151–154.

78 Peřinka, *Dějiny*, pp. 602; Zatloukal, *Et in*, pp. 30, 32.

79 A report of the painter's statement, as well as admiration for his extraordinary knowledge, was given and expressed by Vincenzo Mirabella in his book on the history of ancient Syracuse, published in 1613: Eber-Schifferer, Sibylle: *Caravaggio. The Artist and His Work*, Los Angeles 2012, pp. 226–229; Mirabella, Vincenzo: *Dichiarazioni della Pianta dell'antiche Siracuse, e d'alcune scelte Medaglie d'esse, e de'Principi che quelle, possederterò*, Napoli 1613, p. 89: "E mi si ricorda, che auendo io condotto à veder questa carcere quel Pittore singolare de'nostri tempi Michel Angelo da Carauaggio, egli considerando la fortezza di quella, mosso da quel suo ingegno unico imitatore delle cose della natura, disse: Non vedete voi come il Tirano per voler fare un vaso che per far sentire le cosse seruiße, non volte altronde pigliare il modello, che da quello, che la natura per lo medesimo effetto fabricò. Onde ei fece questa Cercere à somiglianza a'un Orecchio. La qual cosa si come prima non considerata così dopo saputa, ed esaminata hà portato à più curiosi doppio stupore."



30 Kroměříž, Flower Garden, garden colonnade.

The colonnade is decorated with a series of busts and 44 full-figure sculptures,<sup>80</sup> all copying celebrated antique artefacts, whose forms were modelled on a number of graphic albums. The templates were specifically combined from three prints: *Villa Pamphilia eiusque Palatium, cum suis Prospectibus, Statuae, Fontes, Vivaria, Theatra, Areolae, Plantarum, Viarumque Ordines, cum eiusdem Villae absoluta Delineatione* (published by Giovanni Giacomo Rossi in Rome, probably around 1649), *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum quae temporis dentem invidium evasere* (whose author was the French painter François Perrier, published in 1638) and *Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum* (first edition usually dated 1666).<sup>81</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Fišer/Kroupa, Kroměříž, pp. 79–81; Schäfer, Alfred: Kreamsier und Wörlitz. Zwei ideale Sammlung-sarchitekturen des 17. und 18. Jhs. im Vergleich, in: Dietrich Boschung/Henner von Hesberg (eds.): Antikensammlungen des europäischen Adels im 18. Jahrhundert als Ausdruck einer europäischen Identität, Mainz am Rhein 2000, pp. 147–151; Bažant, Jan: Antické vzory soch v kolonádě kroměřížské Květnice, in: Ingredere hospes. Sborník Národního památkového ústavu, územního odborného pracoviště v Kroměříži 4 (2011), pp. 77–101; Nokkala Miltová, Radka: Kolonáda Květné zahrady v Kroměříži a Seneca Pamphilij, in: Auriga. Zprávy Jednoty klasických filologů LVIII/2 (2016), pp. 55–71; Nokkala Miltová, Ve společenství, pp. 90–97; Pavlíček, Martin: Statuary in the Flower Garden, in: Švácha/Potůčková/Kroupa, Karl, pp. 181–187.

<sup>81</sup> *Villa Pamphilia, Eiusque Palatium, Cvm Svis Prospectibvs, Statvæ, Fontes, Vivaria, Theatra, Areolae,*

The colonnade thus served as a kind of open-air museum of antiquities, and the bishop tried to present himself as a connoisseur and collector of antiquities. The desire to own and display collections such as those that graced Roman palaces undoubtedly became one of the motivations for the construction of the colonnade.<sup>82</sup> In fact, the bishop's correspondence proves that on 20 December 1670 the bishop instructed his Roman agent Giovanni Petignier to acquire engravings of the sculptures in Roman palaces and gardens. These engravings reached the bishop's hands less than a month later, and the bishop reportedly requested that they be used as models for the sculptures in the colonnade.<sup>83</sup>

There are still doubts over the ideological advisor for the composition of the colonnade, although the name of Martin Antonín Lublinský is still under consideration.<sup>84</sup>

The colonnade was encompassed by fountains with statues of Neptune and Venus, whose form is captured in an engraving from Nypoort's album.<sup>85</sup> Above the fountain

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Plantarvm, Viarvmqve Ordines [...], Romæ [1670], Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 44, 46, 64; Jůza, K otázce, pp. 290–291; Jůza, K otázce ideového, pp. 460–462; Schäfer, Kremsier, pp. 147–150, 151–152; Zatloukal, Et in, p. 34.

Perrier, Franciscus: [...] Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarũ, Quæ temporis dentem inuidium euasere Urbis æternæ ruinis erepta Typis æneis ab se commissa Perpetuæ uenerationis monumentum, S. l. 1638, fig. 2, 9, 10, 16, 31, 39, 43, 45, 46, 48, 54, 56, 59, 61, 64, 66, 67, 69, 71, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79. On Perrier's work see: Haskell, Francis/Penny, Nicholas: Taste and the Antique. The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500–1900, New Haven 1994, p. 21; Kuhn-Forte, Brigitte: Römische Antikensammlungen in Stichen und Druckausgaben des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, in: Manfred Luchterhandt/Lisa Roemer/Johannes Bergemann/Daniel Graepler (eds.): Abgekupfert. Roms Antiken in den Reproduktionsmedien der Frühen Neuzeit, Petersberg 2013, pp. 75–100; Di Cosmo, Leonarda: Un nuovo canone per la "bella maniera". I Segmenta di François Perrier, in: Leonarda DiCosmo/Lorenzo Faticcioni (eds.): Le componenti del classicismo secentesco. Lo statuto della scultura antica, Roma 2013, pp. 101–158.

The last album *Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum* was identified by: Hečková, Petra: Ke grafickým předlohám sochařské výzdoby kroměřížského Libosadu, in: Opuscula historiae artium 66/2 (2017), No. 2, pp. 143–149. This also contains a detailed analysis of the templates and a summary of the comprehensive bibliography on the topic.

82 Schäfer, Kremsier, p. 152.

83 Peřinka, Dějiny, p. 610; Smýkal, Světské, p. 80.

84 Jůza, K otázce, pp. 292–293; Jůza, K otázce ideového, pp. 462–463; Schäfer, Kremsier, p. 152.

85 Heger, Des Fürstlicher, figs. 4–5. The engravings are described as follows: 4) "Grotta Neptuni zur Rechten der Gallerie Ende"; 5) "Grotta Veneris zur Lincken der Gallerie Ende". The fountains of the colonnade were apparently inspired by the prints in Georg Andreas Böckler's *Architectura Curiosa Nova*, where parallels to the Lion Fountain and the Fountain of the Tritons can also be found. The sculptures have already been mentioned in: Peřinka, Dějiny, p. 608. Comparison with Böckler: Zatloukal, Et in, p. 34; Böckler, Georg Andreas: *Architectura Curiosa Nova*, Das ist: Neue, Ergötzliche, Sinn- und Kunstreiche, auch nützliche Bau- und Wasserkunst [...]. Teil I–IV, Nürnberg [ca. 1670], p. III, Nr. 24. Böckler's work may have been the inspiration for the so-called Strawberry Hills in the Flower Garden: Ibidem, Nr. 35.

of Venus there is a surviving painting in the northeastern niche, which resembles an underpainting of an unrealised fresco. The chiaroscuro figure of a woman on a chariot drawn by snakes convincingly refers to the goddess Ceres. The presence of both Venus and Ceres represents a visible link to the sculptural complex of the colonnade, which also includes statues of both goddesses. A more subtle relationship is revealed by the graphic model for the painting, pointed out by Jana Zapletalová. The figure of Ceres is based on a detail of Cortona's fresco executed in the Palazzo Pamphilj in Piazza Navona in Rome in 1651–1654, while its extension was provided by a graphic album published around 1661 by Giovanni Giacomo Rossi.<sup>86</sup> The prestigious Roman commissions created for Pope Innocent X evidently received many forms of reception in Kroměříž and they corresponds with a much broader trend that was explored on more examples of Bohemian and Moravian paintings in chapter 1, section 1.2.

Through the essence of the colonnade, i.e. the presentation of copies of famous ancient sculptures, Bishop Liechtenstein-Castelkorn was following at least a century-old tradition that had shifted the value of antiquities to the criteria of artistic assessment. Naturally, he used graphic models for the copies of antiquities. Since the Renaissance, these had become the most common and economical way of transferring information for the purpose of making copies. The famous Roman villas, serving as semi-public collections of exquisite antiquities, were acclaimed throughout Europe, and many rulers and ruling families commissioned life-size bronze copies of those ancient statues for their collections.<sup>87</sup> The Bishop of Olomouc understandably did not possess such financial resources to create a gallery of bronze casts in Kroměříž as in Fontainebleau or the Royal Palace in Madrid, but the construction of the colonnade was motivated by the same values and the same need for representation. The reference to scholarship and antiquarian interests, as well as the echoing of the decorations of the most important Roman villas, above all the papal Villa Pamphilj, perfectly reflect the bishop's ambitions.

### 3.4 Sala Terrena

In addition to the decoration of the Flower Garden pavilion, there are other mythological paintings associated with the patronage of Karl II von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn which have survived to this day in the sala terrena of the bishop's residence in Kroměříž. It is only possible to give a sufficient interpretation of these based on a comprehensive consideration of the sala terrena with all the components of the decorative system, especially the sculptural part.

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<sup>86</sup> Zapletalová, Jana: Katalog nástěnných maleb [Kroměříž], in: Mádl, Tencalla II, pp. 155–156.

<sup>87</sup> Haskell/Penny, Taste, pp. 3–36.

The bishop followed the construction and decoration of the sala terrena with the same attention he paid to other parts of the residence.<sup>88</sup> Fragments of correspondence<sup>89</sup> and newly discovered sketches by the conceptor Martin Antonín Lublinský give an idea of the importance the bishop assigned to the entire concept. They also evidence that the concept of the sala terrena was obviously changed, corrected and adapted afterwards.<sup>90</sup> The basic connotations, which had been the subject of the previous negotiations, were retained, but in a much more elaborate form than the fragmentary correspondence and known relevant sources suggest.

The sala terrena consists of five interconnected rooms: Three halls encompassed on both sides by grottos. The southeastern grotto, occupied by figures of miners in the process of extraction, is a thoughtful link to the efforts to find the primal precinct of the world and may indicate the hermetic-alchemical dimension of the decoration.<sup>91</sup> Together with the decoration of the halls, referring to the theme of the power of nature, and the northwest grotto with its central pyramidal fountain, it was intended to reflect and evoke the harmony and order of nature and the universe.<sup>92</sup>

Paolo Pagani, whose authorship was first recognised by Ivo Krsek, was entrusted with painting the sala terrena.<sup>93</sup> The date of the painting of the three halls is currently placed at the very end of the Liechtenstein episcopate, namely 1694–1695.<sup>94</sup> The basic iconographical overview of Pagani's paintings was provided by Milan Togner, who pointed out the principal ideological lines of the compositions. These

88 The dispute between the patron and the architect over the vaulting of the sala terrena, settled in May 1690, is well known. Tencalla reacted negatively to the bishop's demand that the vaults on the ground floor be bricked with bricks one foot thick and the rest of the vaults be filled in with natural stone. To avoid excessive weight, he recommended to the bishop that only bricks be used for the vaults: Peřinka, *Dějiny*, p. 651; Smýkal, *Světské*, p. 52; Pavlíčková, *Sídla*, p. 218.

89 Peřinka, *Dějiny*, p. 651; Kouřil, Miloš: *Nové zprávy o malíři A. M. Lublinském*, in: *Sborník památkové péče v Severomoravském kraji 4* (1979), p. 186; Pavlíčková, *Sídla*, p. 221.

90 On the sources Peřinka *Dějiny* and the newly found design for the partial concept of the sala terrena: Zapletalová, *Saly*, pp. 269–282.

91 Jana Zapletalová is currently preparing a monograph on sala terrenas and grottoes.

92 A more detailed analysis and comparison with contemporary theories and works can be found in Zatloukal, *Et in*, pp. 44–52.

93 Krsek, *Barokní*, p. 361.

94 Previously dated earlier to 1690: Karpowicz, Mariusz: Paolo Pagani in Moravia e Polonia, in: *Arte lombarda. Nuova serie* (1991), pp. 103–109; Togner, Milan: Paolo Pagani. *Kresby/Drawings*, Praha 1997, pp. 22–26; Bianchi, Federica (ed.): Paolo Pagani 1655–1716, Milano 1998, pp. 51–58. On Pagani's work as a painter, see further: Pescarmona, Daniele: Per l'attività di Paolo Pagani e i suoi rapporti con l'omonimo marchese Cesare, in: *Arte lombarda. Nuova serie* (1991), pp. 118–126; Karpowicz, Mariusz: Paolo Pagani a Cracovia. *Addenda. Arte lombarda. Nuova serie* (1999), pp. 62–64; Morandotti, Alessandro: Paolo Pagani e i Pagani di Castello Valsolda, Lugano 2000 (= *Artisti dei laghi. Itinerari europei* 5). Recently convincingly connected with the years 1694/1695: Zapletalová, *Saly*, p. 271.

relate mainly to allegorical depictions of the seasons and the flow of time in nature.<sup>95</sup>

The focal point of the *sala terrena* is the central hall. Its vault is covered with a large painting celebrating the patron, Bishop Karl II von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn (fig. 31). As is typical for Pagani's oeuvre, the allegorical scene is made up of a jumble of moving bodies, with the clarity of the individual symbols and relationships between the figures obscured by the poor condition of the surviving painting. In the basic structure of the cast of figures, the apotheosis of the bishop was correctly identified, which takes place in the lower right part of the composition, set at the imaginary interface between the earthly and heavenly spheres. Here the naked muscular Titans carry the heraldic emblems of the bishop, a stone triangle (shining stone: *Lichten-Stein*),<sup>96</sup> a lion, a sword and a bishop's crozier. The sword has been interpreted as an allusion to the bishop's intronisation,<sup>97</sup> but it clearly refers to more general symbolism of the union of secular and ecclesiastical power, accentuated not only in the heraldry itself, but also prominently in the ceremonial enthronements of the bishops of Olomouc.<sup>98</sup> This is also suggested by the attached detail of the bishop's crozier, which protrudes slightly above the horizon of the earthly vault in the centre of the scene. The emphasis on the fief structure and the privilege of the imperial title of prince is again clearly declared here. It is evident from reports of disputes over the observance of the seating order that the bishop resolutely defended this privileged position within the estate structures, as evidenced by the entire episcopal representation and a number of ceremonial acts.<sup>99</sup>

In the upper celestial sphere, where the bishop's attributes are directed among the community of Olympian gods, several specific deities can be recognised. Starting from the lower left, these are Hercules (with club), Mars (with shield and sword), Venus? (an almost unrecognisable female figure), Neptune (with a trident), Pluto (with a bident), and flying Mercury (with a caduceus). Two embracing figures are then seated atop the celestial sphere in the very centre of the composition, with the attached fragments of eagle and lightning leaving no doubt that they represent Jupiter and Juno.

95 Togner, Paolo, pp. 22–23.

96 Allusions to the light and strength of the Liechtenstein stone appear repeatedly in the bishop's celebratory allegories. See, for example, the university theses of Franz Ernst von Schertz or Franz Maria Cerboni: Zelenková, Petra: [cat. entry Nr. 248], in: Jakubec/Perůtka, Olomoucké II, pp. 402–403; Zelenková, Petra: Martin Antonín Lublinský jako inventor grafických listů. Pohled do středoevropské barokní grafiky druhé poloviny 17. století, Praha 2011, pp. 142–147, 168–173.

97 Togner, Paolo, p. 22; Togner, Milan: Barokní residence, in: Ladislav Daniel/Marek Perůtka/Milan Togner (eds.): Arcibiskupský zámek & zahrady v Kroměříži, Kroměříž 2009, p. 45.

98 Miltová/Suchánek, Ceremonial, pp. 36–41; Suchánek, Pavel: Triumf obnovujícího se dne. Umění a duchovní aristokracie na Moravě v 18. století, Brno 2013, pp. 39–41.

99 Pavlíčková, Portrétní, pp. 265–268; Pavlíčková, Olomoučtí, pp. 36–41.



31 Paolo Pagani, Apotheosis of Karl II von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn, 1694–1695, Kroměříž, chateau, sala terrena.

The central painting is complemented by eight circular cartouches on the vaulted passages with figures of geniuses, who bring medallions, heroes or inscriptional ribbons to the sky (most of the inscriptions are unfortunately no longer reconstructible).<sup>100</sup> In one of the golden medallions, the outline of a male figure is clearly visible, which could refer to the previous line of Olomouc bishops. Among the identifiable inscriptions appear e.g. *DEO ET CAESARI PRETIOSVS* (dear to God and the Emperor) or *TALITER HAERESEOS DMVIT CAPITA* (in this way heretics were defeated), which completes the scene where Hercules is carried out with a club: the hero is here acting as a traditional reference to the conquest over heresy. The inscriptions obviously refer to an emblematic tradition that is supposed to celebrate the virtues of the bishop or his predecessors but also his successful Counter-Reformation mission to suppress heresy. The glorifying and heraldic character of this symbolism is also reflected in the stucco decoration bearing the large eagles from the coat of arm of the Olomouc diocese.

<sup>100</sup> Older photographs show that the paintings were covered with decorative floral vases and flower festoons in the past. Smýkal, Světské.



32 Paolo Pagani, Allegory of Spring and Summer, 1694–1695, Kroměříž, chateau, sala terrena.

The central hall is connected to the northwest side by another room. Its ceiling is divided by a pair of triple-arched fields with Pagani paintings, thematically connected to the course of time and the changing of the months in the seasons (fig. 32).<sup>101</sup>

In the right field, the symbols of the first three zodiacal signs, referring to spring, are embedded in the conjugations of the bodies, interwoven with plant tendrils. At the bottom is an Aries, at the top a Taurus (presumably with a clear relationship to the abduction of Europa, given the presence of a woman) and one of the pairs of embracing putti is linked to Gemini. In the left stucco mirror, the parade of seasons continues with an allegory of summer, in the centre of which the zodiacal signs of Cancer and Leo float in one mass, accompanied by an eagle (a reference to the bishop's heraldic eagles?). In the upper part of the scene, a naked woman drifting with a winged bearded man emerges from the unclear structure of the painting. With a possible reference to the story of Boreas and Orithyia, a possible parallel to the sign of Virgo might logically be suggested here. The complementary medallions with *ignudi* on the vaulted passages, as well as the stucco decorations, complete the spring and summer months with depicted plant tendrils.

<sup>101</sup> Togner, Paolo, pp. 22–23; Togner, Barokní, p. 46.



33 Paolo Pagani, Allegory of Autumn and Winter, 1694–1695, Kroměříž, chateau, sala terrena.

On the other, southeastern side, the central hall is connected to a room richly decorated with colourful mosaics on the walls. The ceiling is also broken by two three-lobed sections depicting allegories of autumn and winter (fig. 33). In the left field, the season of autumn is highlighted by the clearly recognisable zodiacal signs hovering at the top of the composition: Libra, Scorpio and Sagittarius. The lower half of the scene can then refer to several possible meanings. There is a naked woman lying on the fruits of the earth pointing upwards, while a man with a bridle in his hand is stepping on her. The motif could be related to the myth of Proserpina, who comes to earth with spring to meet her mother Ceres and returns to the underworld with autumn to stay with her husband Pluto. The fate of Proserpina therefore became an allusion to the division of the year into two halves, while with her arrival everything comes to life and with her departure the earth mourns, and everything fades away. A parallel for the spring symbolism would thus be the woman carried upwards by the sign of Aries in the scene of spring in the previous hall. Mythographers also recalled the vegetation cycle associated with the myth of Proserpina. In direct continuity with Vincenzo Cartari and Natale Conti, Joachim von Sandrart, for example, characterises the main actors of the story in his *Iconologia Deorum*, comparing Pluto to the winter sun, during which time the earth keeps its virtues closed, while Proserpina

represents the earth itself.<sup>102</sup> Another theme within the allegory of autumn unfolds in the right middle part of the composition over the head of an elderly man who has his arms open. At first glance, this is a common depiction of the god Bacchus surrounded by grapes, which, incidentally, was also mentioned by Lublinský in correspondence about the conceptual design of the sala terrena, as he fits to autumn and winter. Besides Bacchus, two other figures (one of them clearly female, the other huddled) are less clearly visible, and above all there is an obvious pair of white swans. The configuration and especially the symbolism of the swans lead to the conclusion that the painter was thematising Terentius's famous quote "*Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus*/Without Ceres and Bacchus, Venus would freeze" in connection with autumn. Moreover, the presence of Ceres would also support the theory of Proserpina's involvement in the painting, since the woman, with whom Proserpina can hypothetically be identified, points her hand towards the centre of the composition. In a kind of conciliatory gesture, she bids farewell to her mother Ceres, whom she must leave for six months.

The right side of the ceiling refers to the last period of the year, winter. The winter signs of the zodiac – Capricorn, Pisces and Aquarius – are here again wedged between the massive figures. A pair of Capricorns appear on the left side, while on the right side a man carries two fish on his back and another fish is held in the arms of another muscular man. The scene is completed by a pair of flying male figures, one of whom is holding a jar, symbolising what is undoubtedly the last remaining winter zodiac sign, Aquarius. The motif of the pair, which gives the impression of a 'kidnapping' of one of the actors, evokes the connection with the abduction of Ganymede, traditionally associated with this sign. It must be admitted, however, that there is no reference to the god Jupiter in the form of an eagle or other attribute in this scene.

The small oval medallions on the vaulted passages again correspond with the central painting with symbols associated with autumn or winter. The male figures here are supplemented in some cases by zodiacal symbols (or animal heads), grapes or refer to winter with their hunched positions. The lion's head is apparently repeated

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<sup>102</sup> "Der Pluto ward gehalten für die Winter Sonne, zu welcher Zeit die Erde ihre Tugend in sich beschlossen hält." The text is followed by an even more extensive interpretation of the story which explains the division of the year into two halves in connection to Proserpina's arrivals and departures. Von Sandrart, *Iconologia*, pp. 90, 96–97, fig. 50. Sandrart also compares Proserpina to Luna, thus claiming a much older tradition, dating back to ancient literature: Kühlmann, Wilhelm: *Pagane Frömmigkeit und lyrische Erlebnisfiktion*, in: Bodo Guthmüller/Wilhelm Kühlmann (eds.): *Renaissancekultur und antike Mythologie*, Tübingen 1999, pp. 160–161; Schibel, Wolfgang: *Der antike Mythos in der neulateinischen Literatur Deutschlands. Probleme seiner Erschließung*, in: Francesca Cappelletti/Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich (eds.): *Der antike Mythos und Europa. Texte und Bilder von der Antike bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1997, p. 183.

in the barely discernible animal motifs of several male nudes, which could be related to the Lichtenstein heraldic lion. The motif of the warrior lion above the military trophies is also present in the stucco decor above the entrance to the central hall with the apotheosis of the bishop.

The paintings are surrounded by rich stucco, the work of the Italian plasterer Baldassare Fontana, who worked on the decoration of the sala terrena with his collaborators around or shortly before 1693.<sup>103</sup> His contribution is also documented in the now non-extant decoration of nine rooms of the piano nobile of the Kroměříž residence.<sup>104</sup> The iconography of the paintings does not stand alone, of course, but is related to the stuccoes and sculptures.

The sculptural decoration of the sala terrena, executed by Italian artist Fedele Raggi,<sup>105</sup> contains figures on the staircase and several works in each of the rooms, except for the central hall. The staircase connecting the vestibule of the chateau building with the sala terrena is decorated with two statues, both referring to eternity, the eternal duration of relentless time. The first statue represents the traditional depiction of the god of time Saturn as a winged bearded man with two children, one of whom is about to be devoured. The second figure takes the form of a young, winged man holding an ouroboros, thus pointing to eternity.

In the central hall stands a statue of the god Mercury in a single niche.<sup>106</sup> The messenger of the gods bears a rooster on his head, winged shoes and a caduceus and horn in his hands. A similar typology is recognised from many examples transmitted from ancient reliefs or their Renaissance replicas such as a famous variant from the Mantegna tarots.<sup>107</sup>

In the hall with the allegory of spring and summer there are seven sculptures, all of which relate to nature, garden art and spring or summer flowers.<sup>108</sup> In the wall facing the windows, a trio of sculptures titled after Lublinský's designs are placed in three niches: 'Art regulates nature' ('Ars corrigit'), 'Nature' ('Natura') and 'Diligence

<sup>103</sup> Zapletalová, Saly, pp. 270–271.

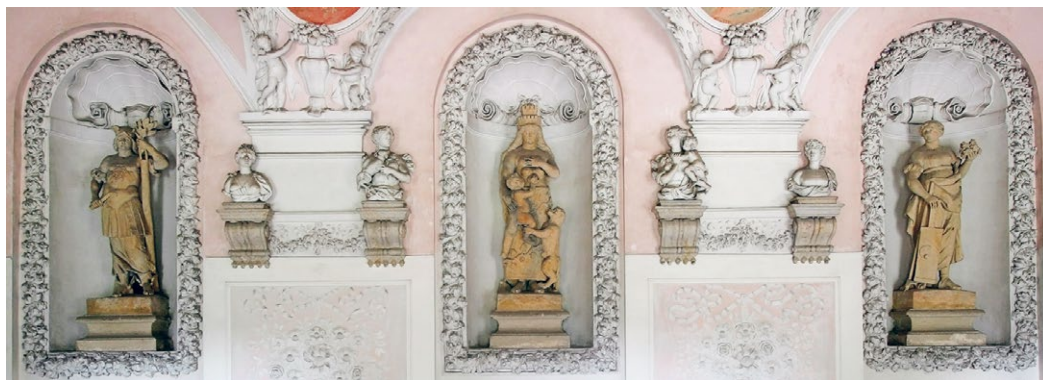
<sup>104</sup> In 1691 Fontana signed a contract for the decoration of the representative rooms of the piano nobile of the Kroměříž chateau (based on the submission of preparatory drawings to the bishop): Máčelová, Libuše: Baldassare Fontana na Moravě (Dissertation thesis), Brno 1949, pp. 22, 41, 165; Karpowicz, Baltazar, pp. 12–13; Togner, Paolo, p. 25.

<sup>105</sup> Jana Zapletalová attributed a set of sculptures to Fedele Raggi, younger brother of Antonio Raggi: Zapletalová, Jana: Fedele Raggi, Romanus sculptor na Moravě, in: Umění (2025), in print. On the statues further: Pavlíček, Martin: Sala terrena, in: Švácha/Potůčková/Kroupa, Karl, pp. 135–147.

<sup>106</sup> There are surviving preparatory sketches for some of the sculptures: Togner, Kresebné, pp. 69–71, 75; Togner, Antonín, pp. 169–169, 171–172, cat. Nr. 3.82, 3.83. On the iconography of the statues see also: Čižmářová, Věra: Sala terrena na Moravě (Master thesis), Brno 1995, pp. 65–67.

<sup>107</sup> Seznec, The Survival, p. 199–200.

<sup>108</sup> The basic iconographical layout of the statues in this room is confirmed by the found scheme from Martin Antonín Lublinský: Zapletalová, Saly, pp. 269–282.



34 *Ars corrigit/Natura/Industria perficit*, c. 1690, Kroměříž, chateau, sala terrena.

completes nature' ('*Industria perficit*') (fig. 34). Garden art is represented by a man with Mercury's winged shoes and cap, a gardening knife and a growing tree.<sup>109</sup> The image of Nature, a many-breasted woman with a wall crown on her head, is based on the type Diana of Ephesus, the great mother from whom all living things are born.<sup>110</sup> *Industria* is represented by a woman holding gardening tools in one hand and bees in the other.<sup>111</sup>

On the wall facing the northwestern grotto, statues of the goddess Ceres with a sickle and ears and Pan with a reed (a reference to *Syrinx*) and a shovel stand in

109 Lublinský's description states: "A figure with a helmet as he holds a stabbed Mercury stick in the form of a gnarled tree with embedded branches of grafting. In his right hand he holds a gardening knife, at his left hip will be a gardening bag with several tools suitable for the care of a garden. On his chest will be a Minerva shield adorned with the head of a Medusa to signify the Wisdom that this art requires. On his right hand he should have six fingers for activities when he repairs, picks, and grooms nature." Zapletalová, Saly, p. 279.

110 Diana of Ephesus was one of the preferred sculptural subjects of Renaissance and Mannerist gardens. Her statue, for example, decorates the garden of the Villa d'Este: Goesch, Andrea: *Diana Ephesia. Ikonographische Studien zur Allegorie der Natur in der Kunst vom 16.–19. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern/New York/Paris/Wien 1996; Godwin, Joscelyn: *The Pagan Dream of the Renaissance*, Boston 2005, pp. 156–157.

Lublinský's description: "A half-naked statue from whose five breasts flows or gushes milk to the delight of humans and animals. She will be girded at the waist and only her legs should be visible. With her right hand she should suddenly raise the boy to drink from her breast. With her left hand she will squeeze her breasts. From below, the monkey will also try to reach the milk. From below, the ivy wraps upwards.": Zapletalová, Saly, pp. 279–280.

111 Lublinský's description: "Diligence. She looks at both of them, holding in her right hand a gardening hoe with which to loosen the soil, and above that a tool with which the loads lift themselves. In her left hand, she should be holding a swarm of bees that has flown out of a hive from under a lime tree. At her side she can hold a linear rule and a compass.": Zapletalová, Saly, p. 280.



35 Tropic of Capricorn/Statue of Time, Fate and Vertebrae/Tropic of Cancer, c. 1690, Kroměříž, chateau, sala terrena.

niches.<sup>112</sup> The last two sculptures in this hall refer to specific myths of transformation into flowers, and both are also related to drawings by Martin Antonín Lublinský. The first statue depicts the figure of Venus pulling a thorn from her heel. The sculptural composition recalls the goddess's hopeless attempt to help her dying lover Adonis, in which she stuck a thorn in her heel and the white rose blossoms turned red with her blood. This legend, first mentioned by the Greek poet Bion of Smyrna, describes the tragic end of a love affair between the goddess and a handsome young man. The second statue shows the figure of Narcissus trying to embrace his own image in a fountain in a relatively unconventional form, where a young man plunges headfirst into a well, from which only part of his body and legs, covered with a daffodil flower, are now sticking out.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>112</sup> Lublinský's description of Ceres and Pan: "Pan, the god of peasants, etc., gives Ceres a wreath of flowers with ears of grain woven in. He himself is covered in the middle with leaves of millet, barley, etc. In his left hand he holds an iron, with which he furrows the earth and looks like a kind of plough. – Ceres, goddess of grain, looking at Pan, her head should be decorated with ears of corn according to custom. In her right hand she should hold a bunch of poppies. In her left hand she will hold a sickle almost in the middle of the grain, doubled over with straw. Both hands and a foot may be seen.": Zapletalová, Saly, p. 279.

<sup>113</sup> Scenes in the preparatory drawing appear on the same sheet and are accompanied by inscriptions "Venus aculeu figv: Vulnerat tangentes" and "forma [...] Narcissus". Togner, Kresebné, pp. 69–70; Togner, Antonín, pp. 169–169, cat. Nr. 3.82. Lublinský's description of Venus and Narcissus: "It depicts Venus with her little Cupid, to whom she shows the foot she injured when she stepped on a thorn, which is said to be the origin of red roses. – A drowned Narcissus who longed for his own form. This is how the myth of this flower is said to have originated. Let it be suitably surrounded by leaves, depicted virtuously naked but suitably covered.": Zapletalová, Saly, p. 279.

The sculptures in the hall with the allegory of autumn and winter complete the idea of the division of the year into two halves with allegorical sculptures representing the Tropic of Capricorn (winter solstice) and the Tropic of Cancer (summer solstice), which are faithfully depicted according to the description and illustrations in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*.<sup>114</sup> Their other connotations are completed by the third sculpture of the group, a herm with two faces (young and old), an hourglass on its head, herons and two small birds on its shoulders (fig. 35). On the semi-column of the herm is engraved an inscription encoding an allegorical meaning in the wording *VERTOR E REVERTOR*. The young face logically turns to the Tropic of Cancer, the carrier of the summer solstice, and the old one to the Tropic of Capricorn. Everything represents the duality of youth and old age, connected with the different cycles of the year, but also with human life and destiny (in fact, in the bishop's correspondence, the statue of destiny was mentioned<sup>115</sup>). The allegorical sculptures of the Tropics are also related to the celestial gates in the constellations of Cancer and Capricorn and the path of the soul described in Macrobius' *A Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*:

At this point we shall discuss the order of the steps by which the soul descends from the sky to the infernal regions of this life. The Milky Way girdles the zodiac, its great circle meeting it obliquely so that it crosses it at the two tropical signs, Capricorn and Cancer. Natural philosophers named these "the portals of the sun" because the solstices lie athwart the sun's path on either side, checking farther progress and causing it to retrace its course across the belt beyond whose limits it never trespasses.

Souls are believed to pass through these portals when going from the sky to the earth and returning from the earth to the sky. For this reason one is called the portal of men and the other the portal of gods: Cancer, the portal of men, because through it descent is made to the infernal regions; Capricorn, the portal of gods, because through it souls return to their rightful abode of immortality, to be reckoned among the gods.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Togner, Barokní, p. 46; Ripa, Cesare: *Iconologia*. Ed. Piero Buscaroli, Milano 1992, pp. 410–412.

<sup>115</sup> This iconographic concept is mentioned in an undated letter sent by Giovanni Pietro Tencalla to the bishop's secretary, Schmidt, in which he gives the layout of the statues for the sala terrena. In the letter, Tencalla asks for a quick response as to whether his proposals will meet with the bishop's approval, as the carving and selection of the best stone for the statues needs to be handled. His proposal for the arrangement of the statues was that the first grotto should contain seven obelisks, the second seven Greek sages, then the four elements with statues of day, night and fate, and finally representatives of the seven estates (priest, king, scholar, soldier, burgher, peasant, pauper). This message from Tencalla was linked to a date before 11 July 1688: Peřinka, *Dějiny*, p. 651; Kouřil, *Nové*, p. 186; Pavlíčková, *Sídla*, p. 221.

<sup>116</sup> Quoted after: Stahl, William Harris: *Macrobius Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, New York 1952, pp. 133–135. Detailed attention to the Neo-Platonic theories about the journey of the soul in

The souls are thus most likely represented by the birds and herons on the figures of time, fate and Tropics: namely, the herons represented the souls of the chosen ones.<sup>117</sup>

In the niches on the wall facing the south-east grotto, a satyr playing a pipe and a maenad dancing with a tambourine with a crater at her feet are depicted. As in the previous room, where the statue of Ceres refers to summer, these two figures are related to the annual cycle. They correspond to the allegorical setting of the room and are thematically linked to Bacchic processions and mysteries.

The last two sculptures are placed in niches in the wall facing the central hall. The first shows the intertwined figures of a man and a woman, while the woman's lap is covered with a cornucopia. The figure of the woman is rooted, merging her feet with the ground, and both figures have garlands of fruit and plants on their heads (fig. 36). Despite many attempts to interpret the allegorical statue, its precise meaning has remained unclear.<sup>118</sup> I believe there is a connection with the popular botanical treatises *De florum cultura* (1633) and *Hesperides sive de malorum aureorum cultura et usu* (1648) by Giovanni Battista Ferrari.<sup>119</sup> Milan Togner already documented the reception of these tractates in Kroměříž in Martin Antonín Lublinský's drawing for the now non-existent sculpture in the Flower Garden depicting the transformation of the lazy gardeners Limax and Brucas that was inspired by *De florum cultura*.



36 Transformation of Tirsenia, c. 1690, Kroměříž, chateau, sala terrena.

connection with the decoration of the Prague Star Villa (Letohrádek Hvězda) is paid in: Muchka/Purš/Dobalová/Hausenblasová, *Hvězda*, p. 186.

117 *Ibidem*, p. 272.

118 The statue was first described as "a pair of women with a cornucopia" and then connected with the myth of Apollo and Daphne: Čižmářová, *Sala*, p. 67; Togner, *Kresebné*, p. 75; Togner, Antonín, pp. 200–201, cat. Nr. 5.8; Pavlíček, *Sala*, pp. 142–143.

119 Nokkala Miltová, *Ve společnosti*, pp. 107–109.



37 Nymph Melissa, c. 1690, Kroměříž, chateau, sala terrena.

Both of these tractates deal with metamorphoses into plants or trees, but in the context of the described sculpture, the two transformations of girls into citrus trees from the text of *Hesperides* are particularly interesting. The first is the transformation of Harmonillus' mother Tirsenia and the second of Harmonillus' sister Leonilla. Both metamorphoses are associated with the benefits of the magnificent and healing citrus fruits of the Pietrasanta region. Especially in the case of Tirsenia, Ferrari reminds us of the parallel between her pregnancy and carrying Harmonillus in her womb and the "pregnancy" of the citrus fruit, carrying the cure for various diseases. In the illustrations for both myths (Bloemaert's transformation of Tirsenia by F. Romanelli and Bloemaert's metamorphosis of Leonilla by Domenichino), the girls are turned into citrus trees next to a stone altar with a garlanded man holding a cornucopia.<sup>120</sup> Not only the formal proximity of the engravings to the Kroměříž sculpture, but also its botanical details (citrus leaves and fruits) indicate a connection with these stories. A significant element is the cornucopia leading over the woman's lap, which links the sculpture more closely to the myth of Tirsenia by referring to the "pregnancy" parallel mentioned above.

The last sculpture in the hall of autumn and winter shows a woman with an eagle at her head, a goat at her feet and a beehive with a swarm of bees stretching across her lap (fig. 37). Of the identifications proposed so far (the Golden Age, the Death of Euridice or the Childhood of Jupiter)<sup>121</sup> the last option seems the most acceptable. A certain formal parallel can also be found in Johann Friedrich Greuter's engraving

120 Freedberg, Ferrari, pp. 41–58; Freedberg, David: Gli agrumi di Giovanni Battista Ferrari, in: Enrico Baldini (ed.): *Miti. Arte e scienza nella pomologia italiana*, Roma 2008, pp. 125–155.

121 Čižmářová, Sala, p. 67 (Jupiter's childhood); Togner, Kresebné, p. 75 (Golden age); Togner, Antonín, pp. 200–201, cat. Nr. 5.8 (Death of Euridice). The attribute of the eagle, as opposed to other specifications, would fit well into Jupiter's mythical nourishment by nature, the goat of the nymph Amalthea, and the honey of the bees, described in Ovid's *Fasti* (V, 111–128).

after Pietro da Cortona from Ferrari's *De florum cultura*, which depicts nymph Melissa.<sup>122</sup> The scene of the fainting Melissa surrounded by swarming bees, which we have already encountered in the painting in Nové Město nad Metují (fig. 14), resembles the statue's composition, although on the other hand the engraving lacks the motif of the eagle and the goat. However, the ideological connection of Ferrari's motif with Jupiter's childhood can be seen here, as Ferrari in his text recalls the nymph Melissa transformed into a bee, who according to legend hid Jupiter and took care of him.<sup>123</sup> Of all the possible sources, Didymus's version, which is recalled by Lactantius, is ideologically closest to the statue. It was invoked especially in mythographic treatises, where Melissa, daughter of the Cretan king, nurturer of Jupiter and later priestess of the goddess Rhea, is a certain incarnation of the bee itself. The mythographers also mention a sister pair, Melissa – Amalthea. The listed descriptions of the fate of the nymph Melissa thus work with all the attributes that appear on the statue.

### 3.4 The Iconography in the Context of the Bishop's Representation

Bishop Karl II von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn of Olomouc belonged to the exceptional patrons and due to his building and collecting activities he became one of the most prominent personalities of his time in Central Europe. All his patronage is characterised by a careful supervision of the ideological aspect and the qualitative level of the works of art. To achieve the desired effect, the bishop used a rich network of agents and the services of advisors, among whom Martin Antonín Lublinský was particularly prominent. As already mentioned, this painter and canon also contributed to the conceptual planning of the Kroměříž Flower Garden and sala terrena. Both decorations under consideration have been part of significant art-historical attention in the past, but detailed attempts to detect their overall conception have mostly been concluded with a few general statements about their complexity.<sup>124</sup> The analysis of these decorations shows that they are truly very complex structures where many

<sup>122</sup> Ferrari, *De Florvm*, engraving Nr. 46; Falk, *Hollstein XII*, p. 88.

<sup>123</sup> Cook, Arthur Bernard: *The Bee in Greek Mythology*, in: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 15 (1895), pp. 2–3; Roscher, Wilhelm Heinrich (ed.): *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Band 2, Abteilung 2, Leipzig 1897, pp. 2637–2638; Herren, Sabrina: „Fueritne mulier pulcherrima specie Melissa.“ *Die Biene in der antiken Mythologie*, in: David Engels/Carla Nicolay (eds.): *Ille Operum Custos*, Kulturgeschichtliche Beiträge zur antiken Bienensymbolik und ihrer Rezeption, Hildesheim/Zürich/New York 2008, pp. 41–45.

<sup>124</sup> Zatloukal, Et in, pp. 18–53, esp. p. 42. Here I draw on the conclusions published in: Nokkala Milotová, Radka: *The Identity and Representation of Bishop Karl von Lichtenstein-Castelcorno in the Iconography of his Artistic Programmes*, in: Jakubec, Karl, pp. 351–358.

forms of promotion can be captured. What strategies did the bishop use for the self-representation of his office and himself as a personality?

*The Bishop as an Admirer of Garden Art*

The bishop's passion for garden art is testified by the obvious fact of the existence of his founding work, the construction of monumental garden complexes in Kroměříž. In the text *Tartaro-Mastix Moraviae* by Johann Ferdinand Hertodt von Todtenfeld, it is stated that the beauty of the future Flower Garden will confidently compete with the famous gardens of Rome, Naples, Ferrara or Florence.<sup>125</sup> The reference to the famous Italian gardens as the model clearly points to one of the sources of inspiration to which the bishop aspired. Other formal links can be seen, for example, with the garden of the summer residence Mirabell of the Archbishops of Salzburg, the residence of Hellbrunn, which was built in the second decade of the 17th century by Santino Solari for Archbishop Marcus Sitticus von Hohenems.<sup>126</sup> The bishop knew the local garden from his long stay in Salzburg. He first stayed there during his studies of theology and law and then worked at the court of the archbishops of Salzburg, where he held various positions in the Salzburg chapter from 1643 to 1665.<sup>127</sup>

The bishop was able to confront his personal experience with the knowledge gained from the theoretical treatises he had in his library. The books on gardens or garden art in the bishop's library are represented, for example, by Salomon de Caus's *Hortus Palatinus*, which gives examples of water features in the Heidelberg Garden.<sup>128</sup> In the library one can also find information about the imperial garden near Vienna in Neugebäude, which was the subject of Merian's topography of the

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125 Hertodt, *Tartaro-Mastix*, pp. 117–118. Hertodt's text was pointed out by Peřinka, *Dějiny*, pp. 616–617.

126 The gardens of Hellbrunn were full of mechanical games, grottos with artificial stalactites and mosaics made of silicon and shells, and water machines. The Hellbrunn Gardens also displayed a collection of sculptures, copying ancient sculptures, disseminated by graphic models. These mechanical features and "antique" sculptures are very close to Kroměříž. About the garden, e.g.: Czerwenka, Fritz: *Hellbrunn. Wasserspiele – Schloßpark – Schloß, Salzburg* 1994, pp. 7–38; Bigler, Robert R.: *Schloß Hellbrunn. Wunderkammer der Gartenarchitektur*, Wien/Köln/Weimar 1996, pp. 67–84; Maué, Claudia: *Kunst und Natur in den Grotten des Schlosses Hellbrunn*, in: *Schloss Hellbrunn in Salzburg und seine Grotten: Studien und Beobachtungen zu ihrer Geschichte und Restaurierung*, *Barockberichte* 14/15 (1997), pp. 505–518; Schaber, Wilfried: *Zur Geschichte von Schloß Hellbrunn*, in: *Schloss Hellbrunn in Salzburg und seine Grotten: Studien und Beobachtungen zu ihrer Geschichte und Restaurierung*, *Barockberichte* 14/15 (1997), pp. 523–525; Kampl, Sibylle Kampl/Kühberger, Christoph (eds.): *Schaulust – die unerwartete Welt des Markus Sittikus*, Salzburg 2016; Kreutchen, Christoph: *Hellbrunn – Bewegt im Anlitz der Götter*, Dortmund 2019.

127 Pavlíčková, Sídla, pp. 224–225.

128 Kuča, Zámecké, p. 374; Zatloukal, *Et in*, p. 26.

German lands. The closest links to Kroměříž are seen in the gardens of Vienna and Munich, as these complexes may have influenced the overall arrangement of the Flower Garden.<sup>129</sup>

Other tractates that found quite a convincing response in the bishop's art commissions were the botanical works of Giovanni Battista Ferrari. The first clear trace of the direct influence of Ferrari's *De florum cultura* was associated with the very entrance to the Flower Garden, where a sculpture showing the transformation of the lazy gardeners Limax and Brucas into snails was located. This unusual iconographic subject is based on one of Ferrari's own many inventions on the "mythological" subject of metamorphosis.<sup>130</sup> The specific iconography, benefiting from Ferrari's excellent knowledge of ancient realia, which he incorporated into his works *De florum cultura* and *Hesperides*, also found an echo in two sculptures in the sala terrena, representing the nymphs Tirsenia and Melissa. Other sculptures here celebrate garden art and the forces of nature, although no longer linked to Ferrari's botanical treatises.

The drawing legacy of Martin Antonín Lublinský shows that there were many more sculptures planned to decorate or adorn the bishop's gardens and fit into the same ideological framework. In the chateau garden, the sculpture of Marcomannus defeating Quadus was to be surrounded by personifications of the main and minor Moravian rivers.<sup>131</sup> A group of eight Ovidian sculptures, also related to the water element, was intended for the Flower Garden, probably near the pavilion.<sup>132</sup>

#### *The Bishop as an Educated Antiquarian*

The fame of Italian palaces and villas did not originate only from their exquisite gardens but resonated throughout Europe with their collections of antiquities. This created a tradition that elevated the value of antiquity to a criterion of artistic appreciation. Famous Roman villas took the form of semi-public collections of exquisite antiquities, and many rulers and ruling families commissioned life-size bronze copies of ancient sculptures for their palaces.<sup>133</sup> The Bishop of Olomouc was motivated by the same aspects of taste and created a collection of copies of famous ancient statues in Kroměříž, including *Athena Giustiniani*, *Seneca Borghese* or *Her-*

129 Zatloukal, Et in, p. 26.

130 Ferrari, *De florum*, p. 54; Togner, *Kresebné*, pp. 69–79; Togner, Antonín, pp. 168–176.

131 Zapletalová, Saly, pp. 269–282.

132 Togner, *Kresebné*, pp. 69–79; Togner, Antonín, pp. 168–176; Miltová, Mezi, pp. 111–115.

133 Haskell/Penny, *Taste*, pp. 3–36; Freedman, *Luba: The Revival of the Olympian Gods in Renaissance Art*, Cambridge 2003, p. 61–73.

*cules Farnese*.<sup>134</sup> The main gallery of antiquities became the so-called colonnade, a 233-metre-long arcaded loggia of the *galleria di antichità* type.<sup>135</sup>

The colonnade is adorned with a series of busts and forty-four full-figure sculptures, all copying famous ancient artefacts. Their form was taken from several graphic albums in which the family publishing house de Rossi specialised in the 17th-century Roman milieu. The fact that the transcription of the prints stood behind the realisation of the sculpture gallery was also evidenced by the bishop's correspondence.<sup>136</sup> The transfer of the prints to stone was faithfully executed, without too many deviations; one of the few formal changes compared to the originals is the obvious attempt to cover excessively exposed body parts, which proves that the bishop was rather prudish.<sup>137</sup> In other European residences, the translation of ancient prototypes was often treated more freely, as evidenced, for example, by Versailles or the residence of John III Sobieski's Villa Nova (Wilanów) near Warsaw. In any case, the use of reproduction prints was a common practice, and its role was ideal in cases where economic, practical or aesthetic reasons limited direct access to ancient works.<sup>138</sup>

The garden gallery (colonnade) shows traces of Roman palaces and villas not only in the sculptural part, but also in the fragmentarily preserved painting in the north-eastern niche with the theme of the goddess Ceres.<sup>139</sup>

The *galleria di antichità* of the Kroměříž Flower Garden had no parallel in the Czech lands in its time and is a unique testimony to the bishop's refined taste and his effort to compete with the most important aristocratic residences. The *all'antica* works, however, not only decorate the Flower Garden but also the walls of the hall of spring and summer in the Kroměříž sala terrena. Ancient busts of the sages and Olympian gods and goddesses were displayed here, whose form is presumably based on certain printed equivalents.

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134 Fišer/Kroupa, Kroměříž, pp. 79–81; Schäfer, Kremsier, pp. 147–151; Bažant, Antické, pp. 77–101.

135 This was a specific form of architecture primarily intended for presenting ancient artefacts (statues, reliefs, etc.). For this purpose, the buildings were adapted to carry niches for statues, the walls were covered with ancient reliefs, and they could be decorated with stucco or paintings *all'antica*: Hečková, Ke grafickým, pp. 143–149.

136 The sculptor Michael Mandík complained in a letter to the bishop that he could not create sufficiently original and distinctive works because of the need to follow the printed model: Peřinka, Dějiny, p. 610; Smýkal, Světské, p. 80. For a detailed analysis of Petignier's letters and his role as bishop's agent: Zapletalová, (Art) Agents, pp. 347–362.

137 Schäfer, Kremsier, p. 152.

138 Hečková, Ke grafickým, pp. 143–149.

139 Zapletalová, Katalog, pp. 155–156.

*The Bishop as Ecclesiastical and Secular Authority and the Sun Shining on Moravia*

A further essential level of the bishop's strategies can be analysed through the painting in the central hall of the sala terrena, as it presents his own apotheosis. The Liechtenstein stone triangle is here complemented by heraldic figures, the bishop's eagles and the Liechtenstein lion. Heraldic animals also appear in the stucco decoration of the room. The sword and the bishop's sceptre refer to an important aspect of the episcopal office, the interconnection of secular and ecclesiastical power. The connection of these symbols was emphasised not only in the heraldry itself, but also significantly in the ceremonial acts of the Olomouc bishops, which especially included enthronements.<sup>140</sup>

This iconography is carried not only through the entire space of the sala terrena but also through the garden pavilion of the Flower Garden. In the two grottoes of the Lusthaus, scenes of putti playing music and putti holding the emblems and insignia of the Olomouc diocese and the bishop himself were inserted into small stucco fields.

In the northwestern grotto of sala terrena, the main visual axis opens onto an artificial cave from which the god Apollo emerges. The cave is flanked by artificial trees and on the sides of the entrance there are two niches in which monumentalised stucco coat-of-arms animals, a bishop's eagle with a star in its claws and a Liechtenstein lion with a stone in its paw, have been set. The arrangement and effect of the grotto was undoubtedly enhanced by the lighting arrangement, as the main ideological structure was based on the light symbolism associated with the figure of Apollo. The god, representing the sun, was apparently compared to the bishop himself with reference to the sun rising from the dark cave.

Similar parallels to solar iconography, associated with the "shining Liechtenstein stone", can be found in many examples of the bishop's artistic programme. Explicit examples include the university theses in which Bishop Liechtenstein-Castelkorn is celebrated in the role of art patron and source of light over fortunate Moravia. University theses by Franz Ernst of Schertz or Franz Maria Cerboni echo the brightness and strength of the Liechtenstein stone.<sup>141</sup> In the dedication of Franz Ernst of Schertz's thesis from 1678, the Bishop of Olomouc is presented as the sun itself, shining on the Flower Garden in Kroměříž, expelling heresies.<sup>142</sup> The reference to the fight against

<sup>140</sup> Miltová/Suchánek, *Ceremonial* pp. 36–41; Suchánek, *Triumf*, pp. 39–41.

<sup>141</sup> Zelenková, [cat. entry 248], pp. 402–403; Zelenková, *Martin*, pp. 142–147, 168–173.

<sup>142</sup> The text of the dedication states: "This is proved by Your radiance, which illuminates the stars placed on the episcopal eagles, strengthens all that You govern, expels the dark heresies from everywhere in the Olomouc diocese, and casts out the shadows. And because I know that You are the sun, by Your philosophy desiring the greatest possible light [...]" In another of the theses the bishop is compared to Orpheus. In a celebratory print from 1664, he is analogised to a candle that

heresy also appears in the central hall on the surrounding medallion with Hercules, which may be part of the emblematic series of the bishop's virtues. The university thesis by Franz Biretta von Brandenfels then provides a sophisticated comparison of the bishop with St Charles Borromeo, where the saint becomes the sun of heaven, and the bishop becomes the phoenix born from the ashes of St Charles Borromeo and the sun on earth.<sup>143</sup>

Thus, the episcopal iconography worked equally with both spheres, the ecclesiastical and the secular, and highlighted Karl II von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn in the role of bishop-prince. As with his entire career as a bishop, the "struggle" for rights within the estates' structures, resulting from the imperial privilege, permeates his entire career.<sup>144</sup> The defence of the estates' positions may have found its response in the ideological structure of the selection of sculptures for the colonnade.<sup>145</sup> The allegorical representation of the estates was also mentioned in the proposal for the decoration of the Kroměříž sala terrena from 1688 by Lublinský.<sup>146</sup>

#### *The Bishop as Part of the Institutional Chain*

The ceiling painting with the bishop's apotheosis in the sala terrena is complemented by eight cartouches with figures of geniuses bearing medallions, heroes or inscriptional bands. The textual component might relate to the emblematic tradition of celebrating the virtues of the bishop or his predecessors. The paintings in the side halls show allegories of the seasons through the lunar symbolism of the zodiacal signs. The overall programme of the sala terrena paintings thus combines the theme of the bishop's apotheosis with the iconography of the course of time and the changing of the months over the seasons.<sup>147</sup>

The fusion of these two iconographic concepts prompts a brief reflection on whether this is a sophisticated connection, offering an allusion to the continuity

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illuminates the whole diocese." Zelenková, Petra: *Universitní these podle Antonína Martina Lublinského (1636–1690)*, in: Andrzej Kozieł/Beata Lejman (eds.): *Willmann i in. Malarstwo, rysunek i grafika na Śląsku i w krajach ościennych w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Wrocław 2002, pp. 155–156; Zelenková, Petra [cat. entry 243, 248], pp. 399, 402–403; Zelenková, Martin, pp. 142–147, 168–173, 294–297.

143 "St Charles in the anagram means dear Sun: happy Moravia! As long as you see the heaven of your church shine with the Sun rivalling this Sun. That Sun cheers on the celestial zodiac of his virtues as a glorious triumphator, and this Sun is imitated on earth by Your glorious Sun.": Zelenková [entry Nr. 252], pp. 405–406; Zelenková, Martin, pp. 213–215. Here Hercules is shown combating heresy, as mentioned above.

144 Pavlíčková, Portrétní, pp. 265–268; Pavlíčková, Olomouctí, pp. 36–41.

145 Jůza, K otázce, pp. 292–293.

146 See annotation 115 of this chapter.

147 Togner, Paolo, pp. 22–23; Togner, Barokní, p. 46.

of the episcopal office. Similar links are common in allegorical celebrations, supporting the idea of the eternal glory of the lineages. The solemnity and glory of the episcopal seat, of which each bishop represents a link in an unbroken institutional chain, also persists in the infinite duration of time. The bishops of Olomouc used very clear comparisons of their institution to the daily cycle in their representation during the 18th century. We can recognise them in the decoration of the ceremonial carriages ordered by Bishop Ferdinand Julius Troyer for his intronisation in Olomouc on 26 August 1747. The links were even more evident in the iconographic programme of the unrealised wall paintings for the great dining hall of the Kroměříž residence from 1760, composed by Franz Anton Maulbertsch. In the planned mural, four Ovidian stories were to surround the central apotheosis of the former bishop Leopold Friedrich von Egkh. In the centre of the hall, among these Ovidian *poesia*, were to be allegories of the four times of day, of which the morning represented the predecessor of the present bishop, the noon the prince-bishop himself, and the evening and night his immediate and ultimate successor.<sup>148</sup> In this context, the question arises whether similar parallels can be seen in the programme of Karl II von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn.

Bishop Liechtenstein-Castelkorn was no doubt fully aware of the history and tradition of the office. He reflected it, for example, in the elaborate programme of a series of portraits of 55 Olomouc bishops commissioned by him and originally intended for the banquet hall of the bishop's residence (the set of canvases is now housed in the Archdiocesan Museum in Kroměříž). It underlined the continuity and legitimisation of the episcopal office and its traditions. At the beginning of this portrait gallery stood Cyril and Methodius, and according to the inscription ribbons attached to the bishops' images, the economic contribution to the diocese and the elevation of its political rights were highlighted. Here again the bishop juxtaposes the two components, the secular and the ecclesiastical, with the secular side clearly taking priority.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>148</sup> Maulbertsch's *conchetto* states: "... Allegorie deren vier Tages Zeithen, nemblichen des Morgens, Mittags, Abendts, und der Nacht eingeschaltet, und durch den Morgen die vorgegangene hochwürdigste Bischöfe, durch den Mittag jetzt regierende hochfürstliche Gnaden, durch den Abend die nächst Nachfolgere, endlichen durch die Nacht die späteste nachkömmlinge Allegorice indigiret werden.": Šeferisová Loudová, Michaela/Nokkala Miltová, Radka: Mikulov a Kroměříž. Maulbertschův úspěšný vstup na Moravu, in Petr Arijčuk/Helena Zápalková (eds): Maulbertsch pinxit. Zákázky Franze Antona Maulbertsche na Moravě a v Čechách, Olomouc 2024, pp. 63–71 (with further literature on the topic).

<sup>149</sup> Pavlíčková, Sídla, pp. 54–62; Pavlíčková, Portrétní, pp. 265–268; Suchánek, Triumf, pp. 48–51.

*The Bishop as a Soul Ascending to God*

Several ideological layers converge in the bishop's programmes, which is why the Kroměříž commissions have attracted considerable scholarly attention for a long time. Some levels of ideas, however, have been left to mere suggestion, which is the case with the theory of a Neo-Platonic basis behind these works of art. Indeed, many clues suggest the potential for such an interpretation.

We can return to the quoted concept of Martin Antonín Lublinský in which he proposed to place a statue of fate in the sala terrena, among others. A reflection of this idea can be found in the statue of the autumn and winter hall of the sala terrena, where the Tropic of Capricorn and the Tropic of Cancer stand. Not only do they recall the division of the year into two halves, but their further meaning can be read through the third statue and the inscription *VERTOR E REVERTOR*, pointing to the eternal cycle.

The relationship of the Tropics to human destiny and the soul plays an integral part in Neo-Platonism. In the constellations of Cancer and Capricorn there were celestial gates through which souls entered the earth and then from the earth returned to heaven, thus reaching immortality.<sup>150</sup> One can also reflect on the same ideological basis when reading the ceiling paintings, both in the sala terrena and in the Flower Garden pavilion.

In the sala terrena, Pagani's compositions of the seasons work with scenes of abduction. Heroic rapes are recalled even more intensely in the pavilion, where they constitute the main iconographic line of the cupola paintings. If we look at the theme of abduction, for example, through the lens of early modern mythographic texts or emblematics, such stories are interpreted as a struggle of low passion and virtue and as an allusion to the soul's journey to God.

The additional figures of various nymphs and sea monsters that complement the paintings in the stucco decorations could also be read in this direction. Such stuccoes decorate the pavilion especially, but also partly the sala terrena. Other sculptures may also suggest this concept, as can in the case of Mercury or the nymph Melissa. Mercury was not only a messenger of the gods, but also a guide of souls to the afterlife (Mercury Psychopomp).<sup>151</sup> Bees were perceived as symbols of the soul and the bugonia motif is linked to the idea of detachment of the soul from the body.

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<sup>150</sup> This idea is also seen in the symbolism of Cancer and Capricorn in the decoration of the Villa Sacchetti in Castelfusano by Pietro da Cortona from 1628–1629; Zirpolo, Lilian H.: Images of privilege and power in Pietro da Cortona's frescoes at the Villa Sacchetti in Castelfusano, in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 137 (2001), pp. 115–138, esp. p. 132.

<sup>151</sup> Hadravová, Alena: *Řecké mýty v literární a výtvarné tradici*, Vol. 1, Praha 2024, p. 265.

The apotheosis of Karl II of Liechtenstein-Castelkorn, emphasising his virtues, would fit into this ideological framework, which, in the eternal course of time, celebrates the bishop not only as the representative of an unbroken institutional chain, but also as a soul ascending to God. Moreover, the text of Franz Biretta von Brandenfels's university thesis worked with the concept of the immortal soul and the bishop's "reincarnation" when he states, "If I were a Platonist, I would say that your soul has already once experienced that hospitality."<sup>152</sup>

All possible representational strategies of the Bishop of Olomouc and the ideological connotations of his artistic commissions do not stand separately, of course, but complement each other. At the same time, it would be possible to find more aspects of the bishop's representation. Unfortunately, they lack the direct source support that a more detailed written programme would provide, for example. For the time being, the known and available sources provide only minor hints, and of a very general character. What they do answer, at least in part, is the question of the bishop's artistic advisors, whose services he used. The letters also made clear that the bishop actively participated in the projects and asserted his demands.<sup>153</sup> The establishment of the library proves the range of the bishop's interests, activities and involvement. Its extensive collections reflect well, as does the bishop's patronage, that one of his main strategies was to present himself as an educated man who was knowledgeable of the arts, which is celebrated in university theses and other dedicatory prints. The Kroměříž commissions testify that despite the destructive effects of time and the inevitability of time passing in nature, which man cultivates to perfection through art, the eternal glory of the bishop and the eternal glory of the diocese remain. Just as the bishop's work imprinted a new form on Kroměříž, in the quest to find the eternal substance of the world, the bishop's legacy remains eternal.

<sup>152</sup> Zelenková, [cat. entry Nr. 252], pp. 405–406; Zelenková, Martin, pp. 213–215.

<sup>153</sup> The discussion over the sculptural decoration of the sala terrena remains exemplary: PA Opava, Dpt. Olomouc, Fond Arcibiskupství Olomouc, Concepts of the correspondence sent by Karl von Liechtenstein-Castelkorn, cart. 160, fol. 262; Pavlíčková, Sídla, p. 221.

## 4. From Imperial Envoy to Imperial Vice-Chancellor

### Dominik Andreas Kaunitz and Slavkov u Brna

The Kaunitz family, which was accepted into the nobility in 1532, had been in possession of the Slavkov dominion and the local chateau since 1509. Count Dominik Andreas Kaunitz took over the family estates in 1674.<sup>1</sup> The count was born not long before the death of his father, Leo Wilhelm Kaunitz, and therefore his upbringing was entrusted to his guardian, his uncle Ferdinand Joseph von Dietrichstein.<sup>2</sup> The family background after his father's death and his uncle's influential position (he held the post of Supreme Imperial Hofmeister/*Obersthofmeister* and was President of the Privy Council/*Geheimer Rat*) provided Dominik Andreas with the opportunity for career progress. This was also supported in November 1675 by the marriage of the young, then 20-year-old Kaunitz to the daughter of the Supreme Burgrave and Governor of the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Chambermaid of the Empress, Maria Eleonore von Sternberg.<sup>3</sup> Soon Dominik Andreas entered the imperial diplomatic service. His first diplomatic mission took him to Bavaria in 1682, where he helped to promote the appointment of Maximilian II Emanuel as Elector.<sup>4</sup> Due to his merits in the position of Imperial Envoy in Bavaria, Dominik Andreas was elevated by Emperor Leopold I to the status of Imperial Count (*Reichsgraf*) in 1683. In 1682–1686

- 1 Wolny, Gregor: Die Markgrafschaft Mähren, topographisch, statistisch und historisch geschildert. II. Band. Brünnner Kreis. I Abtheilung, Brünn 1836, p. 136; Ličman, Alois: Vlastivěda moravská, II. místopis. Slavkovský okres, Brno 1921, p. 99.
- 2 The first wife of Leo Wilhelm Kaunitz became Eusebia von Sezimovo Ústí in 1639, but she passed away in 1644. His second marriage was to Eleonora von Dietrichstein: Hrubý, František: Lev Vilém z Kounic, barokní kavalír. Jeho deník z cesty do Itálie a Španělska a osudy kounické rodiny v letech 1550–1650, ed. Libuše Urbánková-Hrubá, Brno 1987.
- 3 Braubach, Max: Graf Dominik Andreas Kaunitz (1655–1705) als Diplomat und Staatsmann, in: Heinrich Fichtenau/Erich Zöllner (eds.): Beiträge zur neueren Geschichte Österreichs, Wien/Köln/Graz 1974, p. 255. Count Kounic had 8 children with Maria Eleonore von Sternberg: 4 sons and 4 daughters: Linhart, Jan K.: Kounicové, Brno 1982, p. 2.
- 4 In 1685 Dominik Andreas and Maria Eleonore attended the wedding of Elector Maximilian Emanuel. Countess Maria Eleonore (seated with other ladies in the carriage) was described by the French ambassador Denis de la Haye as “Lady of the Elector’s mind and pouch” (“*maistresse de son esprit et de sa bourse*”): Glaser, Hubert: Kurfürst Max Emanuel. Bayern und Europa um 1700, München 1976, pp. 126, 137, note 16. The charm of the young countess and the fact that the couple had a friendly relationship with the Elector Maximilian Emanuel can be confirmed by the memoirs of the French diplomat and general Villars: Braubach, Graf, p. 277; Maršálková, Lenka: Dominik Andreas von Kaunitz during the 80’s and the early 90’s of the 17th Century. The Early Career of the Imperial Diplomat, in: Theatrum historiae 19 (2016), pp. 121, 130–131, 168; Kubeš, V zastoupení, p. 81.

he commuted between Munich and Vienna and played an important role in the negotiations leading in July 1686 to the conclusion of the League of Augsburg, i.e. the alliance of Emperor Leopold I with Bavaria, Spanish Netherlands, Swedish Pomerania, the Franconian and Swabian circle against Louis XIV. England still had to be won over to the side of the Augsburg Alliance, and with this task in mind, Dominik Andreas set out for the English court. The formation of the Grand Alliance with England did not take place until the accession of William of Orange to the English throne in 1689, but thanks to his previous missions, Dominik Andreas became a member of the Privy Council in 1685 and in 1687 he became a holder of the Order of the Golden Fleece. In 1694–1697 he served as Imperial Envoy to the Netherlands and participated on the Habsburg side in negotiating the Peace of Rijswijk, ending the events of the Nine Years' War. The career rise of Dominik Andreas Kaunitz, supported by the influential word of the Bavarian Elector Maximilian Emanuel, was crowned in June 1696 with his appointment as Imperial Vice-Chancellor.<sup>5</sup>

As he progressed up the social ladder, the need for personal representation also increased significantly, which is reflected in his patronage activities. One of his first major projects was intended to be the city palace on Bankgasse in Vienna, which was to be built on land acquired from the Khevenhüller family. The project for the construction of the Vienna city palace was first drawn up for the count by Enrico Zuccalli, the architect of the Bavarian court. The choice of the architect was a logical consequence given his strong ties to the Bavarian court. However, the final choice for the project was the Roman professor of the Accademia di San Luca, Domenico Martinelli, who came to Vienna in June 1690 to enter the service of Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach. By 16 July 1692, the Viennese palace was already surely under construction, with the help of the master builder Antonio Riva. However, Martinelli's project was completed only under the later owner of the palace, Johann Adam Andreas von Liechtenstein, who bought the land from Dominik Andreas Kaunitz on 23 April 1694. The reason for selling the Viennese palace was most probably Dominik

5 Ritter von Arneth, Alfred: *Biographie des Fürsten Kaunitz. Ein Fragment*, in: *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 88 (1899), p. 7; Novotny, Alexander: *Staatskanzler Kaunitz als geistige Persönlichkeit. Ein österreichisches Kulturbild aus der Zeit der Aufklärung und des Josephinismus*, Wien 1947, pp. 41–42; Steflíček, Emma: *Das Reichsvizekanzleriat unter Dominik Andreas Grafen v. Kaunitz (1698–1705)* (Dissertation), Wien 1954; Klingenstein, Grete: *Habsburgischer Adel im Zeitalter des Absolutismus. Herkunft und Bildung des Staatskanzlers Kaunitz* (Habilitation thesis), Wien 1973, pp. 37, 40–60; Klingenstein, Grete: *Der Aufstieg des Hauses Kaunitz. Studien zur Herkunft und Bildung des Staatskanzlers Wenzel Anton*, Göttingen 1975, pp. 41–74; Szabo, Franz A. J.: *Kaunitz and Enlightened Absolutism 1753–1780*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 9–10; Siennel, Stefan: *Die Geheime Konferenz unter Kaiser Leopold I. Personelle Strukturen und Methoden zur politischen Entscheidungsfindung am Wiener Hof*, Frankfurt am Main 2001, pp. 198–199; Maršálková, Dominik, pp. 119–169; Kubeš, V zastoupení, pp. 117, 365–367.

Andreas's diplomatic mission to The Hague, which was initially accompanied by a considerable financial burden, making it impossible to pay for such an important construction project at the same time.<sup>6</sup>

Johann Adam Andreas von Liechtenstein, who has already been mentioned several times, belonged to the prominent figures at the Viennese court: he was an Imperial Chamberlain, a member of the Privy Council and a holder of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The interior decoration of the then Liechtenstein palace was done by the stucco artist Santino Bussi, the sculptor Giovanni Guiliani and the painter Andrea Lanzani. The interior decoration of Slavkov Chateau is also connected with their names.<sup>7</sup> The stucco artist Santino Bussi was probably called to Vienna by Johann Adam Andreas von Liechtenstein, because in 1695 he was already working on the first stucco decorations in the newly built Viennese city palace. However, his name had already appeared in Vienna a year earlier, when the artist, originally from Bissone in northern Italy, applied for the freedom of the court. Bussi's activity in the Liechtenstein city palace is documented as early as 1704, but much of his work has not survived to this day, as it fell victim to the extensive reconstruction of the palace during the 19th century. The oil paintings by Milanese Andrea Lanzani, a painter trained in Rome by Carlo Maratta, were originally placed among Bussi's stucco fields in the main staircase of the city palace.<sup>8</sup>

The painter Andrea Lanzani came to Vienna as a collaborator of the Bolognese quadraturist Marcantonio Chiarini in 1697. Chiarini was summoned to Vienna by Prince Eugen von Savoyen, apparently after seeing his work at the palace of Count Archinto in Milan the same year.<sup>9</sup> Both artists worked on the decoration of the

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6 Tietze, Hans: Domenico Martinelli und seine Tätigkeit für Österreich, in: *Jahrbuch des kunsthistorischen Institutes XIII* (1919), pp. 1–46; Grimschitz, Bruno: *Wiener Barockpaläste*, Wien 1944, p. 9; Hubala, Erich: *Schloß Austerlitz in Südmähren*, in: *Adalbert Stifter Jahrbuch V* (1957), pp. 174–200; Lorenz, Hellmut: Domenico Martinellis Projekt für Schloß Austerlitz (Slavkov u Brna) in Mähren, in: *Umění* 29/3 (1981), pp. 250–258; Lorenz, Hellmut: Henrico Zuccali und Domenico Martinelli in Austerlitz, in: Frank Büttner/Christian Lenz (eds.): *Intuition und Darstellung. Erich Hubala zum 24. März 1985*, München 1985, pp. 195–202; Kraus, Wolfgang/Müller, Peter: *Wiener Palais*, München/Wien 1991, p. 46; Lorenz, Hellmut: *Domenico Martinelli und die österreichische Barockarchitektur*, Wien 1991, pp. 34–40.

7 Grimschitz, Wiener, p. 10; Kraus/Müller, Wiener, p. 48; Reuß, Antonio, pp. 53, 82, 87, 88, 94, 127.

8 Werner, Jacob: *Santino Bussi 1664–1736* (Diploma thesis), Wien 1992, pp. 6, 17–18. On Lanzani's oeuvre selectively: Turchi, Maria Giovanna: *Andrea Lanzani*, in: *L'Arte* LIX (1960), pp. 99–129; Dell'Omo, Marina: *Andrea Lanzani: Chiarimenti sul soggiorno romano e l'attività nell'Italia centrale*, in: *Nuovi studi* 10. *Rivista di arte antica e moderna* (2002), pp. 121–133; Colombo, Silvia/Dell'Omo, Marina: *Andrea Lanzani (1641–1712). Protagonista del Barocchetto lombardo*, Milano 2007; Zapletalová, Jana: *Andrea Lanzani*, Olomouc 2008.

9 The palace was later decorated by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo in 1731 on the occasion of the marriage of Filippo IX Archinto to Giulia Borromea Del Grillo. Some parts of the decoration of the Palazzo

prince's city palace in Vienna on Himmelpfortgasse from 1697. First, they decorated the great hall of the palace with a fresco on the theme of the deeds of Hercules and in 1698 they continued with painting the Apotheosis of Hercules in the audience room, which is the only work still extant.<sup>10</sup> The aforementioned master Santino Bussi also participated in the stucco work of the city palace of Prince Eugen von Savoyen in Vienna around 1702. Bussi worked repeatedly for Prince Eugen von Savoyen on the interior decoration of the lower and upper Belvedere in Vienna.<sup>11</sup>

The last of the three mentioned "Kaunitz" decorators, the sculptor Giovanni Giuliani, worked simultaneously in the services of the Liechtensteins in Vienna and Moravia. He added allegorical and mythological sculptures to the attic of the stables in Lednice, designed by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, between 1700 and 1701.<sup>12</sup> All three artists worked in Vienna for the patrons of the elite court circles, which is certainly the reason why Count Kaunitz also hired them to be of service to him.

In addition to the reconstruction of the Slavkov residence, Dominik Andreas Kaunitz was also responsible for the expansion of the family gallery with the help of the architect Domenico Martinelli, who became not only the count's artistic advisor but also the guide for his sons on their grand tours to Rome.<sup>13</sup>

During the equipping of the picture gallery, the count turned to important Italian painters in particular. Thirty-two painters' names were recorded in the sources in connection with Dominik Andreas and his collecting activities. The Roman academic Andrea Pozzo portrayed Dominik Andreas's first-born son, Count Franz Karl Kaunitz, who renounced the succession, decided on a clerical career and later became Bishop of Ljubljana. During his stay in Rome in 1698–1704, he lingered in the vicinity of the papal court. There are also references to the painting in corre-

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Archinto were destroyed during the Second World War: Gatti Perer, Maria Luisa: *Milano ritrovata l'asse via Torino*, Milano 1986, pp. 303–306. Chiarini and Lanzani decorated two large rooms for Count Archinto in 1695, and in the following year, from October to November 1696, Eugen von Savoyen stayed here: Ilg, Albert: *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen als Kunstfreund*, Wien 1889, pp. 20–21; *Prinz Eugen und das barocke Österreich* (kat. Schlosshof und Niederweiden 22. April–26. Oktober 1986, Wien 1986, p. 462; Seeger, Ulrike: *Stadtpalais und Belvedere des Prinzen Eugen. Entstehung, Gestalt, Funktion und Bedeutung*, Wien/Köln/Weimar 2004, p. 112; Seeger, „Weil es, p. 174.

10 Heinz, Günter: *Zur Dekoration des Schlafzimmers des Prinzen Eugen in seinem Wiener Stadtpalast*, in: *Mitteilungen der österreichischen Galerie* 11/55 (1967), pp. 69–79; Seeger, *Stadtpalais*, pp. 32, 64–65; Zapletalová, Lanzani, pp. 44–45, 115–117.

11 Werner, Santino, pp. 45f.

12 Stehlík, Miloš: *Sochařství 17. a 18. věku na Moravě*, in: *Sborník prací Filosofické fakulty Brněnské university F 19–20* (1975–76), pp. 23–40, esp. p. 30; Stehlík, Miloš: *Sochařské dílny a městské cechy*, in: *Kroupa, V zrcadle*, p. 161.

13 Kubátová, Taťána: *Slavkov. Státní zámek a okolí*, Praha 1955, p. 3; Stehlík, Miloš: *Obrazárna státního zámku Slavkov, Brno* 1966; Slaviček, Sobě, pp. 106–108.

spondence between father and son.<sup>14</sup> For his new portrait, completed not long after Pozzo's, Franz Karl Kaunitz chose another of the Roman masters, Benedetto Lutti.<sup>15</sup> Through his son, Dominik Andreas also commissioned paintings from local painters in Italy. In a letter of 18 December 1702, Franz Karl describes a visit to Bologna, where he went with Prince Herculani to see two almost finished paintings executed for Dominik Andreas by Marcantonio Franceschini, a member of the Accademia Clementina.<sup>16</sup>

The younger son of Dominik Andreas, heir to the family fortune, Maximilian Ulrich Kaunitz also helped to expand his father's collection of paintings during his travels. In a letter dated 1 May 1700, Maximilian Ulrich mentions an event when he and Martinelli visited an unnamed painter selling a painting by the Roman master Carlo Maratta. In Martinelli's opinion, it was one of Maratta's finest works, and in case of interest, Maximilian Ulrich attached a string with knots to the letter, specifying the dimensions of the painting.<sup>17</sup> In the correspondence of his younger son and his Hofmeister Coudray, we also find, for example, the name of the Bolognese painter Carlo Cignani.<sup>18</sup> It is clear from similar reports that in the case of Dominik Andreas Kaunitz the acquisition effort was targeted and necessary to expand the family gallery, which was inherently part of the decoration and representation of the family residence.

Like many other young aristocrats, the count cultivated his interests and knowledge on a grand tour he took in 1671–1674. He set out on his journey with Hofmeister Nuvolara on 22 September 1671, and his steps took him through Graz to Italian territory. Here, via Venice, Padua, Bologna and Florence, he reached Siena, where he stayed for a year, and then remained for half a year in Rome. He ended his Italian stay with a visit to Milan and Genoa and moved on to Besançon, France, via Geneva, to attend the noble academy. After short stops in Lyon, Avignon, Marseille, Montpellier and other southern French cities, he went to Paris for a six-month stay.

14 Specifically, in a letter dated 15 July 1702, Franz Karl writes to his father that he has had himself portrayed by Pozzo and expresses the hope that perhaps his father will like the painting. In the note, he refers to Pozzo as a great virtuoso and therefore, in his opinion, he deserves to be awarded the appropriate honour by Dominik Andreas: Jahodová, Cecílie: *Dějiny obrazů v bývalém Kounickém zámku ve Slavkově* (Dissertation), Brno 1932, p. 26; Hálová-Jahodová, Cecílie: *Sedm kounicovských portrétů*, in: *Časopis společnosti přátel starožitností* LI–LIII (1943–1945), pp. 42–50. The painting of Franz Karl Kaunitz in an episcopal robe can still be found in the Slavkov chateau.

15 MPA Brno, G 436, Inv. Nr. 2562, sign. III 107, cart. 280, correspondence of Franz Karl with Dominik Andreas, 1701–1704, fol. 88r; Jahodová, *Dějiny*, p. 26.

16 *Ibidem*, p. 26.

17 MPA Brno, G 436, Inv. Nr. 2614, Ev. Nr. 287, Family correspondence, fol. 32v; Jahodová, *Dějiny*, p. 30; Hálová-Jahodová, Cecílie: *Galerie moravských Kouniců. Z dějin uměleckých zájmů jejich budovatelů*, in: *Časopis Matice moravské* LXIII–LXIV (1939), p. 96.

18 Jahodová, *Dějiny*, p. 30; Hálová-Jahodová, *Galerie*, p. 96.

He returned to Slavkov on 4 June 1674, after a journey through Geneva, Bern, Zurich, Augsburg, Munich, Salzburg, Linz and Krems.<sup>19</sup> During his grand tour, Dominik Andreas followed in his father's footsteps (we have much more information about the grand tour of Leo Wilhelm thanks to his surviving diaries), although he had never known him. Their tours consisted of a mixture of sightseeing (holy places, pilgrimage sites), huge and famous collections (Galleria Borghese, Galleria Colonna), visits to the courts (Florence, Venice) and aspects of personal representation.<sup>20</sup> These impulses in connection to contemporary prints and descriptions of visited places could serve as a source of inspiration for his own patronage back in Central Europe. In comparison to the painting collection, where Flemish, French and Italian masters were represented thanks to Dominik Andreas's diplomatic missions and the acquisitions by his sons, for the decoration of the chateau in Slavkov he called exclusively on Italian artists who worked at the Viennese court in the highest court circles. The echoes of the grand tour as well as diplomatic missions were probably marked in the paintings of the family residence.

#### 4.1 Vanished Paintings of the Garden Casino

The first collaboration between the architect Domenico Martinelli, the stucco artist Santino Bussi, the painter Andrea Lanzani and the sculptor Giovanni Giuliani for Dominik Andreas Kaunitz became the casino in the garden of Slavkov chateau. Martinelli's first designs for the garden, where the casino is already focused, date to 1691–1693.<sup>21</sup> The main works belong to the year 1698, the contract with Bussi is linked to 8 September 1697 and the bill from the painter Lanzani for 1000 guildens is dated 8 February 1700. Unfortunately, the casino has not survived to this day, but according to the available information it may have existed as late as 1742, although it no longer appears on the prospectus of Wenceslaus Petruzzi due to a total change in the garden concept from around 1730. Petruzzi's plans prove that the presence of a casino was not foreseen in the new garden projects under Maximilian Ulrich Kaunitz.<sup>22</sup> Despite the physical absence of Lanzani's paintings in the Slavkov gar-

19 Braubach, Graf, p. 225; Florková, Lenka: *Kavalířská cesta Dominika Ondřeje z Kounic v letech 1671–1674*, (Bachelor thesis), Brno 2002, pp. 17–29; Kubeš, Jiří: *Náročné dospívání urozených. Kavalířské cesy české a rakouské šlechty (1620–1750)*, Pelhřimov 2013, pp. 372–373.

20 Hrubý, Lev.

21 On the plans and construction of the garden casino: Lorenz, Henrico, pp. 196–197.

22 MPA Brno, F 460, Central Administration and Central Accounting Office of Kaunitz Slavkov, cart. 46, fol. 8v–9r; Jahodová, Dějiny, p. 7; Lorenz, Domenico, pp. 155–156, 163, note 5; Zapletalová, Andrea, p. 226.

den casino, we can get a clearer idea of their original form thanks to the preserved written description, which is deposited in the Moravian Provincial Archive in Brno.<sup>23</sup>

On the ceiling of the casino, Lanzani depicted the popular myth of Cupid and Psyche. The theme, based on the stories of the *Golden Ass* by the Roman writer Lucius Apuleius, was known in the Middle Ages thanks to Fulgentius and has been re-evaluated since the Renaissance. It received significant popularisation, especially through Giovanni Boccaccio, who included it in his *Genealogia deorum*.<sup>24</sup> Italian early modern painting also made the fable famous for its extensive cycles, especially in Villa Farnesina from 1518, Palazzo del Tè in Mantua from 1526–1528, Castel Sant'Angelo from 1545–1546, Villa Giustiniani-Odescalchi from 1605 or the garden casino in the former garden palace of Scipione Borghese on Quirinal from 1611–1613.<sup>25</sup> These important works, as well as many printed series, formed the visual tradition of the myth of Cupid and Psyche, and the description of the garden casino responds to this according to its mentioned motifs. Surprisingly, however, the description does not cite any traditional literary source of the myth but relies on a little-known poetic version written by Ercole Udine and published in Venice under the title *La Psiche, or Avvenimenti amorosi di Psiche*.<sup>26</sup> The poem is divided into eight hymns and these into eight numbered verses. The description of the decoration for each scene refers specifically to particular verses, relating in detail to the moments of the story depicted.<sup>27</sup> Ercole Udine's poetic text is prefaced by a composite engraving that illustrates

23 MPA Brno, G 436, Inv. Nr. 336, sign. D47a, cart. 46, fol. 321r–322r, Descrizione delle Pitture fatte dal S. Andrea Lanzani in Austerlitz nel Ritiro del Giardino di S. Ecc. il Sig. Co. di Kaunitz. Cecilie Jahodová originally noticed this written description: Jahodová, Dějiny, pp. 8–10; Lorenz, Domenico, pp. 155, 163, note 5; Ronzoni, Luigi A.: Giovanni Giuliani (1664–1744) I, II (kat., Liechtenstein Museum Wien), Wien/München/Berlin/London/New York 2005, p. 50, note 93; Lorenz, Hellmut/Kroupa, Jiří/Miltová, Radka/Bohadlo, Stanislav: Domenico Martinelli. Tvář génia barokní architektury, Rousínov 2006, p. 38; Zapletalová, Jana: „Fantasioso frescante“. Interpretace nástěnných maleb Andrey Lanzaniho ve Slavkově u Brna, in: Umění 55/2 (2007), pp. 128–129; Zapletalová, Andrea, pp. 226–227.

24 Bull, Malcolm: *The Mirror of the Gods. Classical Mythology in Renaissance Art*, London 2005, p. 17.

25 Noireau, La lampe; Weiland-Pollerberg, Amor, pp. 46f.; Oy-Mara, Profane, pp. 81–95.

26 The description stated: “Ercole Udine há composta L'Opera, ed é stampata in Venetia dal Ciotti L'Anno 1517.”: MPA Brno, G 436, Inv. Nr. 336, sign. D47a, cart. 46, fol. 322r. Udine's work was published in Venice by Giovanni Battista Ciotti in 1599 and again in 1617: Udine, Ercole: *La Psiche, Con una breue Allegoria Del Molto R. P. D. Angelo Grillo* [...], In Venetia, Presso Gio. Battista Ciotti 1599; Udine, Ercole: *Avvenimenti amorosi di Psiche: Poema Eroico del Sig. Hercole Udine* [...], In Venetia Dal Ciotti 1617; Zapletalová, Fantasioso, p. 223; Zapletalová, Andrea, p. 58; Miltová, Mezi, pp. 135–143; Šeferisová Loudová, Michaela: Bohatá pokladnice konceptů a idejí: ikonografické programy a jejich tvůrci v období baroka na Moravě, in: *Opuscula historiae artium* 61/2 (2012), pp. 134–155.

27 The motif of the sisters of Psyche driven by the wind Zephyrus refers to Canto 4, no. 38; Psyche bending over the sleeping Cupid to Canto 4, no. 50; Psyche wandering in Cupid's footsteps to Canto 4, no. 52–60; Venus complaining to Ceres and Juno to Canto 5, nos. 46–50; Psyche before Venus to

in one image all the essential content of a particular hymn. To what extent, if at all, these engravings, in addition to the text, had an impact on Lanzani's paintings, is unfortunately impossible to determine today.

In any case, the engravings of Udine's work, together with other graphic or pictorial realisations of this myth, do provide a framework for certain idea about the original visual form. In the description, all the individual scenes are mentioned in sequence and their descriptions do not deviate from the previous iconographic tradition. In the left part of the ceiling of the casino, Psyche's sisters were depicted being driven by the wind Zephyrus.

In the central painting of the casino, more precisely in its left corner, Psyche was shown bending over the sleeping Cupid and then trying to catch his leg. The idea of such a composition could be exemplified by Lanzani's modelletto with the same motif, whose connection with the Slavkov decoration has been recently discussed.<sup>28</sup> Opposite this scene, in the right corner of this central part of the ceiling, was a representation of Psyche wandering in the footsteps of Cupid. As can be inferred from the written description, Lanzani's paintings were more supplemented by assisting allegorical figures, in the case of this scene, Suffering (Sofferenza), Hope (Speranza) or the Echo. In the words of the description, "on the second ceiling on the right hand" (which, according to the original drawing of the builder Georg Anton Bitterfeil corresponds to a side space vaulted by a cylindrical vault) of the casino was the scene of Venus complaining to Ceres and Juno. In the other two fields of the decoration, towards the centre, the figure of Morality (Usanza) could be seen in the third corner, dragging Psyche by her hair in front of Venus. In the fourth corner, the figures of Care (Cura) and Sorrow (Tristezza) torment Psyche at the instigation of Venus. The entire dome of the garden casino ("centred above the four corners described") then crowned the painting with scenes of Jupiter, Cupid and Psyche's admission to Olympus.

Iconographic links to the theme of the casino paintings can also be found in the sculptures for the garden complex, to which the casino belonged. The sculptural decoration of the residence is associated, as mentioned above, with the person of Giovanni Giuliani. Giuliani created a large series of mythological sculptures for the garden, but he was also involved in smaller works of a decorative character from 1700 onwards, such as the completion of carved coats of arms, fireplaces and door,

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Canto 6, nos. 37–52; Venus tormenting Psyche to Canto 6, nos. 45–50; Jupiter and Cupid and Psyche's accession to Olympus to Canto 8, nos. 24–30; Udine, *Avvenimenti*, pp. 76, 80–85, 127–132, 165–167.

28 Vanoli, Paolo: [cath. entry IV.7], in: Marco di Carminati/Fernando Mazzocca/Alessandro Morandotti (eds): *Il genio di Milano. Crocevia delle arti dalla fabbrica del duomo al Novecento*, Milano 2024, pp. 150, 162.



38 Giovanni Giuliani, *Cupid and Psyche*, 1702, Slavkov u Brna, chateau garden.

frames.<sup>29</sup> The sculptural decoration of the Slavkov garden has undergone many changes over the centuries, so its original form can hardly be reconstructed. Apart from the destruction of the garden casino under Maximilian Ulrich Kaunitz, the original arrangement of the sculptures was removed from the park probably at the beginning of the 19th century and after further relocations, the present location in the garden is linked to the alterations to the chateau park in 1975.<sup>30</sup>

Bitterfeil's drawing clearly shows that the casino was decorated with statues, so the question arose whether some of the surviving statues originated from the former casino. The counterpart sculptures of Cupid and Psyche (fig. 38), and Jupiter and Cupid represent the most probable connection with the unpreserved painting in the garden casino.<sup>31</sup> The next proposed composition was to be Psyche and Cerberus,<sup>32</sup> however the sculpture clearly represents Hercules and therefore it may be harder to connect it ideologically with the casino. In the garden

there are several statues of various Olympian goddesses and gods (Juno, Venus, etc.), whose correlation with the original casino cannot be excluded or reliably verified.

29 Krsek, Ivo/Kudělka, Zdeněk/Stehlík, Miloš/Válka, Josef: *Umění baroka na Moravě*, Praha 1996, p. 89; Stehlík, Sochařské, p. 161; Vlasta Kratinová, heslo Giovanni Giuliani, Amor a Psyché, in: Kroupa, V zrcadle, p. 164, cat. Nr. 39; Ronzoni, Giovanni, pp. 30–36; Stehlík, Miloš: *Barok v soše*, Brno 2006, p. 41.

30 Location of statues before 1975 (but also secondary) mentioned in: Stehlík, Barok, pp. 41–49.

31 The iconographical identification varied in the literature: Ronzoni, Giovanni, cat. Nr. 141A, 151, 152 (Zephyr and Flora and Jupiter with Ganymede); Kubátová, Slavkov, p. 4; Stehlík, Miloš: *Nuovi particolari sull'opera di Giov. Giuliani*, in: *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty Brněnské university F 14–15* (1971), p. 274; Krsek/Kudělka/Stehlík/Válka, *Umění*, p. 357; Kratinová, heslo, p. 164; Stehlík, Barok, p. 42; Zapletalová, *Fantasio*, p. 128 (all as Cupid and Psyche and Jupiter with Cupid); Zapletalová, Andrea, p. 58.

32 Zapletalová, *Fantasio*, p. 128; Zapletalová, Andrea, p. 54.

## 4.2 Piano Nobile: Paintings in the Western Wing

The decoration of the Kaunitz family residence began shortly after the construction modifications and affected the first part to be built, the western garden wing of the chateau. The successive decoration of the individual parts is fully in line with common practice and proves that the private part of the residence was built first before the public part, which is confirmed by the surviving plan documentation. The first plans for the reconstruction of Slavkov by Enrico Zuccalli date to the time around 1689. He proposed rebuilding only particular sections of the building and probably sent his master mason Antonio Riva to Moravia at this time. According to Zuccalli's vision, the existing Renaissance castle was to be slightly modified, and a new palace was to be built on the remains of the medieval parts to the east. However, in 1691 Dominik Andreas Kaunitz entrusted the commission to Domenico Martinelli, whose design envisaged a comprehensive modernisation of the chateau, the garden, residential areas and the town.<sup>33</sup> In accordance with the construction work, a gradual decoration process began in the garden casino and continued in the west private wing of the chateau building. It can be assumed that the first ideas about the paintings may relate to the first planning of the overall concept of the residence.

Andrea Lanzani painted eleven rooms in the west wing, according to Martinelli's drawings, but only nine of them have survived due to the chateau's later alterations.<sup>34</sup> Lanzani signed and dated his paintings October 1701 on a field with a scene of Jupiter and Danaë in the main hall of the wing (*ANDREAS LANZANUS MEDIS. PIN. 1701. 8obris*) (fig. 39). It is clear from the correspondence, however, that the work understandably preceded this date, but also continued after it. Jana Zapletalová published a report on two preparatory drawings for the paintings, dated August and September 1699, when the first negotiations probably took place.<sup>35</sup>

33 Lorenz, Hellmut: Plumenau – Austerlitz – Seelowitz: unbekannte Darstellungen mährischer Schlossbauten aus dem frühen 18. Jahrhundert, in: *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské university F34–36* (1990–1992), pp. 105–115; Lorenz, Domenico, pp. 150–167; Lorenz/Kroupa/Miltová/Bohadlo, Domenico, pp. 24–25.

34 Dell'Omo, Andrea, pp. 95–96; Zapletalová, Jana: La decorazione pittorica dell'ala Martinelli al castello di Austerlitz, in: Aurora Scotti Tosini (ed.): *Domenico Martinelli architetto ad Austerlitz i disegni per la residenza di Dominik Andreas Kaunitz (1691–1705)*, Milano 2006, p. 163; Zapletalová, Fantasio, p. 120. In a report from the Schönborn archives (correspondence between Rudolf Franz Erwein von Schönborn and Archbishop Lothar Franz von Schönborn), there is a reference to the construction of 10 rooms and a garden casino in connection with Lanzani's decoration for Kaunitz: Lohmeyer, Karl: *Ein Bericht des Freskomalers Andrea Lanzani über seine Werke in Österreich und Italien, in: Belvedere* 9–10 (1926), p. 130.

35 Zapletalová, Jana: *Amoris Austerlitzensis triumfus. Ke spojitosti Lanzaniho maleb ve Slavkově u Brna s epithalamickou poezií*, in: Bartlová/Konečný/Slaviček, Libosad, p. 98; Zapletalová, Andrea, p. 58.

Direct evidence of Lanzani's presence in Slavkov is provided by a letter sent by the chief official of the manor, Martin Maximilian Böhm from Slavkov, to Dominik Andreas on 22 June 1701, which tells of a written statement by the builder Georg Anton Bitterpfeil. Andrea Lanzani complained to him that he was not getting any work ("Bildwerk").<sup>36</sup> The published direct correspondence between the builder Georg Anton Bitterpfeil and Dominik Andreas Kaunitz also shows that Lanzani was still working on the chateau's decoration in 1703.<sup>37</sup>

Although in Slavkov we do not face the fundamental problem of repainting and significant interventions as in the Lusthaus in Kroměříž, Lanzani's paintings have been repaired in the past. Specifically, in 1952 the chateau underwent a complete reconstruction, during which the picture gallery was reinstalled and some of Giovanni Giuliani's sculptures were transferred to the interior of the chateau. In connection with the reinstallation of the picture gallery, Lanzani's paintings were restored in 1951 by František Fišer, but according to reports the ceiling decoration of all the rooms already showed traces of previous interventions.<sup>38</sup>

Lanzani's paintings have been iconographically analysed several times in the past.<sup>39</sup> The first more precise identification of the subjects was made by Marina Dell'Omo. Later, Jana Zapletalová interpreted the paintings in the framework of early modern epithalamic poetry in connection to the marriage of Dominik Andreas's son, Maximilian Ulrich Kaunitz. Given that the commissioner of the paintings was Dominik Andreas himself, it is worth considering the interpretation that builds on his own career and reflects also the location of the paintings within the newly constructed residence.

Looking into the possible original arrangement of the rooms in the residence, there are chateau inventories from the period before Martinelli's reconstruction. In 1675, Dominik Andreas's apartment was located behind the representative halls and consisted of an anteroom, a main chamber and a bedchamber. In addition to his wife's apartment, there were at least four guest apartments.<sup>40</sup> From the period after

36 MPA Brno, G 436, Inv. Nr. 2974, cart. 321, sign. V 23, fol. 93v–94r. The contract for the paintings was signed two days after Lanzani complained about the lack of work, on 24 June 1701: Zapletalová, *Fantasio*, p. 120.

37 Stehlík, Miloš: D. Martinelli, Giov. Giuliani a A. Lanzani v kounicovské korespondenci, in: *Sborník prací Filosofické fakulty Brněnské university F 12* (1968), pp. 119–126; Dell'Omo, *Andrea*, pp. 95–96, 104–105.

38 Stehlík, Miloš: *Restaurátorské akce na hradech a zámcích jihomoravského kraje*, in: *Památková péče 23* (1963), p. 138; Stehlík, *Slavkov*.

39 Dell'Omo, *Andrea*, p. 96; Colombo/Dell'Omo, *Andrea*, pp. 69–73, 168–171; Zapletalová, *Amoris*, pp. 83–105; Zapletalová, *Andrea*, pp. 54–58, 124–136; Miltová, *Mezi*, pp. 143–170.

40 Two more representative guest apartments were on the first floor and consisted of an antechamber, a chamber and a bedchamber. The other guest apartments on the second floor consisted only of a chamber and a bedchamber: MPA Brno, G 436, Inv. Nr. 463, cart. 56; Kubeš, *Reprezentací*, p. 189.



39 Andrea Lanzani, Danaë, 1701, Slavkov u Brna, chateau.

Martinelli's reconstruction of the chateau, including newly frescoed rooms, the most detailed information is provided by the inheritance inventory of Countess Kaunitz from 1707 and a relatively late inventory dated to 1826.<sup>41</sup> Although it represents a rather distant comparison in time to the original plans, its correlation with the possible disposition of the rooms, corresponding to court ceremony at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries and the paintings, it appears to be useful. On the other hand, everything is relativised by the fact that only part of Martinelli's original plans were executed, and the next stages of the building development very probably already adapted the running of the residence to the given situation. All these circumstances must therefore be considered.

#### 4.2.1 Garden Hall: Love Affairs and Jealousy

The pivotal point of the west wing of the chateau and the link between the two apartments is the main hall, located above the garden vestibule of the chateau. Lanzani's largest and most central painting represents the arrival of Juno at Olym-

41 MPA Brno, G 436, Inv. Nr. 499, sign. I 42, Inheritance Inventory of Maria Eleonore Kaunitz 1707; Historical Museum in Slavkov u Brna, Auxiliary historical material: chateau, Inv. Nr. 31.

pus, followed by Jealousy and Envy (fig. 40).<sup>42</sup> The figure of Jealousy, taken from Ripa's *Iconologia*, carries on her shoulder a rooster signifying jealousy, vigilance and alertness. The cloak covered with eyes and ears indicates a concern to hear and see everything. The twigs with which Juno is stabbed in the shoulder symbolise lingering sorrow and restlessness.<sup>43</sup> Juno is helped to descend from the chariot by Jupiter, and Mercury, flying on her right, shows her the way. The gods of Olympus are gathered throughout the ceiling painting, accompanied by allegorical figures. Alongside chaste goddesses Diana and Minerva, the figure of Justitia appears. An interesting moment in the story, and one that could arguably hold major importance, is the double representation of the god Jupiter in the fresco. He appears first by the chariot of Juno, and secondly above the chariot as a seated figure approached by a young woman (due to the presence of Cupid identifiable as Venus). The upper part is visually separated from the lower part by clouds. The given gathering of figures may refer to one of Jupiter's love affairs, or more generally to the fact that Venus, the goddess of love, is guilty of all Jupiter's failures and therefore humbly lowers her gaze before him. The fact that Venus's power (the power of love) was sufficient is demonstrated by the figures of Bacchus and Ceres, positioned right next to Venus. Similarly to Kroměříž, this trinity points to the Terentian "*Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus*", but in Slavkov with an opposite subtext. In Kroměříž it applies literally to the sense that without Bacchus and Ceres, Venus freezes. Here it has the opposite meaning, and the group together demonstrates that the abundance of food and drink enhanced Venus's power of love.

The motif of Juno followed by Jealousy and Envy is not frequent iconography. In Italian 17th-century painting, for example, the motif of the goddess Juno with three Furies (formally showing some similarities) appears, executed in the Palazzo Terzi in Bergamo in 1655–1656. The painting in Bergamo, however, most likely illustrates the story of Book IV of the *Metamorphoses*, when Juno is visited by the Furies to send madness upon Ino and Athamas.<sup>44</sup> In Slavkov, the theme of the arrival of Juno followed by Jealousy and Envy is closely and visibly related to the complementary corner medallions with scenes of the loves of Jupiter (Danaë, Leda, Europa, Io) (fig. 39). All four stories achieved great popularity and, like other depictions of the love of the gods, drew on Book VI of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Here, the loves of the gods are described as stories within a story, since they are mentioned as scenes that Arachne wove into the tapestry during her weaving contest with Minerva.

42 Zapletalová, *Fantasio*, pp. 122–123; Zapletalová, *Amoris*, pp. 86–88; Zapletalová, *Andrea*, pp. 125–128; Miltová, *Mezi*, pp. 146–149.

43 Ripa, *Iconologia*, pp. 156–157.

44 Dell'Acqua, Gian Alberto/Zampetti, Pietro (eds.), *I Pittori Bergamaschi dal XIII al XIX secolo. Il Seicento III*, Bergamo 1985, pp. 252–254.



40 Andrea Lanzani, Juno followed by Jealousy and Envy, Slavkov u Brna, chateau.

The scene of Europa shows a similarity to the painting of the same subject from the gallery of the Mollard-Clary Palace in Vienna, which was first attributed to Lanzani and is now associated with the name of Antonio Bellucci.<sup>45</sup> In both cases, the mythological theme is captured in the moment when Europa mounts the bull and decorates it with a wreath of flowers. A tender detail of the white bull licking Europa's leg completes the loving relationship. The genesis of this motif derives from Paolo Veronese's influential composition from the Palazzo Ducale in Venice, which gained wider recognition through graphic reproductions and numerous repetitions.<sup>46</sup>

Lanzani composed the myth of the love of Jupiter and Io repeatedly in his work, another of the realisations was auctioned by the Finarte Gallery in May 1977.<sup>47</sup> The Milanese version is closer to the spirit of the Ovidian text, since here the mist covering Jupiter's infidelity only prevents Juno from seeing through it. The same scene is repeated in the Slavkov medallion, but here too Jupiter partly takes on the form of a cloud, as is known from the famous invention of Correggio. However, Correggio's influential novelty slightly diverges from the wording of the Ovidian verses, thus transforming them by visual means.<sup>48</sup>

45 Lorenz, Hellmut/Rizzi, Wilhelm Georg: Zur Planungs- und Baugeschichte des Palais Mollard-Clary in Wien, in: Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte XXXVIII (1985), pp. 239–246; Zapletalová, Fantasio, p. 123; Zapletalová, Andrea, p. 67.

46 Salzmann, Mythos: p. 49.

47 Dell'Omo, Andrea, fig. 129; Zapletalová, Andrea, p. 139.

48 Barolsky, Paul: As in Ovid, So in Renaissance Art, in: Renaissance Quarterly 51/2 (1998), p. 469; Dittmann, Lorenz: Die Wiederkehr der antiken Götter im Bilde. Versuch einer neuen Deutung, Paderborn 2001, pp. 51–74.

The stories chosen for Jupiter's loves in Slavkov were popular ones that appeared frequently and extensively. Except for the famous Correggio cycle (with Io, Leda and Danaë), for example, three of them served for the allegorical representation of the Triumph of Love in the text of Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Here Europa leads the triumphal chariot, on which are represented the other loves that the highest of the gods could not resist, Leda, Danaë and Semele.<sup>49</sup>

The garden hall brings a love theme into the paintings, while several decorative elements intertwine with the stucco decoration: putti carrying stucco mirrors or flower festoons, Jupiter's eagles and interwoven water lily stems. The last-mentioned symbol demonstrates the use of the heraldic motif of the patrons, the Lords of Water Lily, since the Kaunitz family had two interlocking water lily tendrils in their coat of arms.

#### 4.2.2 The Countess's Apartment

According to the inheritance inventory of Countess Kaunitz from 1707, the first room of the residential wing, which was entered from the large garden hall, served as a "Parada Zimmer".<sup>50</sup> Parade rooms as a part of the *frauenzimmer* began to appear in the Czech lands after 1700 under the influence of French models. They preceded the residential core of the apartment, had a representative function and were intended for social activities.<sup>51</sup> On the ceiling are displayed the motif of a winged goddess (identified as Venus, elsewhere as Aurora)<sup>52</sup> with dusk and the morning star (fig. 41). On a chariot drawn by four doves, the goddess arrives followed by a female figure holding a lamp and a putto with torches. The morning star (in the form of a young man with a star above his head) hovers over the chariot, and near the chariot the putto pours the morning dew from a vessel onto the ground. The painting undoubtedly refers to dawn and is therefore a piece of an allegorical representation of the cyclical nature of the day, the ideological level of which can be gradually revealed in the decoration of the countess's apartment in this residential tract.

The goddess Venus plays a significant role in the iconography of dawn, as the planet Venus – the morning star – is the star visible at dawn. References to the goddess Aurora, Lucifer or the goddess Venus are interconnected within the iconography of the morning star in the texts of ancient poets and the iconographic manuals, again making a significant impact on visual culture. The fusion of the morning star with

49 Salzmann, *Mythos*, p. 44.

50 MPA Brno, G 436, Inv. Nr. 499, sign. I 42, Inheritance Inventory of Maria Eleonora Kounic 1707, fol. 47r.

51 Kubeš, *Reprezentační*, pp. 210–211.

52 Dell'Omo, *Andrea*, p. 96; Zapletalová, *Andrea*, p. 128.



41 Andrea Lanzani, *Allegory of the Dawn*, Slavkov u Brna, chateau.

the goddesses Venus and Aurora is well reflected, for example, in the iconography of the tempera painting of *Aurora* by Pietro da Cortona, which is now displayed in the Palazzo Senatorio in Rome.<sup>53</sup> Here the morning star on the chariot is supported by explicit references to the goddess Venus, a pair of doves and Cupids with arrows in their hands. Another example of similarly structured iconography can be found on the vault of the Galleria di Daniele of the Palazzo Reale in Turin, where medallions of Venus and Apollo on their chariots represent the morning and day stars.<sup>54</sup>

The painting is surrounded by large oval fields filled with stucco decoration using the motif of ibises eating snakes and frogs. According to Pliny's and Horatius's descriptions, the ibis is associated with Egypt, where it always rid the flooded Nile of snakes and other poisonous reptiles. Several positive connotations have been attributed to the ibis based on this legend.<sup>55</sup> In the context of the entire decoration, the

53 Schleier, Erich: An Unnoticed Early Work by Pietro da Cortona, in: *The Burlington Magazine* 112 (1970), p. 753.

54 Daniel Seiter's paintings were executed in the years 1690–1694: Wünche-Werdehausen, Elisabeth: *Genealogie versus Mythologie: Die Galleria di Daniele im Palazzo Reale in Turin und die Tradition Savoyischer Raumausstattung*, in: Karner/Lass/Hoppe, *Deckenmalerei*, pp. 85, 90.

55 For example, in the works of Diodorus of Sicily, the ibis with a snake in its beak is described as follows: "Hertz: So sie vom hertzen schreibend/maalen sie ein Ibvogel/dan der selbig ist Mercurio zu geeeygnet/der für ein herren gehalten/aller vernunfft und hertzens. So hat auch dieser vogel/nach

ibises here represent combating harmful and evil forces, just as dawn absorbs the dark nighttime with which creatures such as snakes and frogs are associated.

According to the 1707 inventory, the next room of the apartment served as a dining room ("grosse Taffel Zimmer").<sup>56</sup> Here, the ceiling features Ovidian narrative themes, specifically the scene of Phaethon asking his father Apollo if he can borrow the sun chariot (fig. 42). The mythical story commemorates Phaethon, who learns from his mother that he is the son of the sun god Apollo. Many would not believe him, so he went to his father, who confirmed everything and promised to grant his every request as proof. Phaethon, however, boldly asked to drive his father's sun chariot. Apollo had to fulfil his promise, but Phaethon disregarded his father's advice not to drive the chariot close to the ground, causing numerous fires. Jupiter, the highest of the gods, had to prevent the destruction of the earth, and therefore cast Phaethon and the chariot from the heavens.

Phaethon's fate has been the subject of frequent and varied interpretations because it has provided several moral interpretations. It has been widely understood in terms of an image of pride and presumption, since the youth boldly tried to equal the gods, for which he received a just punishment. Other interpretations of the Phaethon myth have presented a parallel with children disobeying their parents' advice, while other exemplars have involved the stories of Phaethon and Icarus in political allegories.<sup>57</sup>

Phaethon iconography was also associated with the depiction of the cyclical nature of the day as it was also analysed in the dining hall of the chateau in Nové Město nad Metují (section 2.3). The story was likened to the image of the midday light, acting as a symbol of the day in contrasting depictions of day and night. In the specification of the day's intervals, both Phaethon and his father, the god Apollo, are most often associated with midday (for example, in the series of four times of the day by Jacob Matham after Karel van Mander or by Adriaen Collaert after Maarten de Vos), but some examples also suggest slightly shifted connotations. In the decoration of the Hôtel Lambert, the theme was used as an allegory for the arrival of the day,<sup>58</sup> and in Shakespeare's poetry it is linked inversely to the end of the day.<sup>59</sup> Apparently, the

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seyner groesse und lidmaß/ein groesser hertz/dann ander thier/unnd würt von disem vogel vil glagt inn Aegypten.": Diodori des Siciliers/und beruempsten Geschicht Schreybers/vonn Anfang der Weltdt biß zu irer bewonung/und rhumreichen herzschunge fürfallner geschichten, p. XCIX.

<sup>56</sup> MPA Brno, G436, Inv. Nr. 499, sign. I 42, Inventory 1707, fol. 46v.

<sup>57</sup> Thimann, *Lügenhafte*, p. 36.

<sup>58</sup> Jacoby, Brigitte: *Studien zur Ikonographie des Phaetonmythos*, Bonn 1971, pp. 50–58; Schulten, Holger: *Französische Deckmalerei des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts. Theorie und Entwicklung der Dekorationssysteme*, Frankfurt am Main 1999, pp. 338–341; Thimann, *Lügenhafte*, pp. 35–36.

<sup>59</sup> Jacoby, *Studien*, p. 50. The Slavkov scene has also been compared to a metaphor for a groom (pre-



42 Andrea Lanzani, Phaethon asking Apollo to drive the Sun Chariot (Allegory of Noon), Slavkov u Brna, chateau, 1702–1703.

figures of Phaethon and Apollo relate to the allegory of noon in Slavkov, since the daily cycles are clearly reflected in the apartment.

Around Lanzani's central painting, Santino Bussi executed a stucco decoration in the form of monumentalised reliefs depicting the deeds of Hercules, all complemented by rich floral festoons. Four scenes were chosen: the fight with the Lernaean hydra, the Erymanthian boar, the dragon Ladon, and the capture of the golden hind of goddess Diana. As a frequent and common motif for the general moral exemplum of virtue, strength and invincibility, Hercules was rarely absent. The combination of Apolline and Herculean themes often refers to a more general celebration of virtue and light.<sup>60</sup>

The dining room led to the corner room of the wing of the residence and at the beginning of the 19th century the room served as a meeting hall for the princess, during the lifetime of Marie Eleonore von Kaunitz there was (according to the records of the inventory) an antechamber (Vorzimmer).<sup>61</sup>

sumptuously) asking for a bride, with the bride to be identified with the Sun: Zapletalová, *Amoris*, p. 88; Zapletalová, *Andrea*, p. 128.

60 Mrazek, Wilhelm: *Studien zur Ikonologie der barocken Deckenmalerei in Österreich*, in: *Imagination und Imago. Festschrift Kurt Rossacher*, Salzburg 1983, pp. 195–201.

61 MPA Brno, G436, Inv. Nr. 499, sign. I 42, Inventory 1707, fol. 45v.



43 Andrea Lanzani, Juno spreading Argus's Eyes on the Peacock's Tail (Allegory of the Evening), 1702–1703, Slavkov u Brna, chateau.

The ceiling of the antechamber is decorated with the motif of the goddess Juno spreading Argus's eyes on the peacock's tail (fig. 43).<sup>62</sup> The story of Argus, the hundred-eyed shepherd, is based, as in the previous room, on the text of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The sleepless old man Argus was tasked with guarding Jupiter's lover Io (who, along with Jupiter's other loves, appears in the garden hall), who had been transformed into a cow, by the goddess Juno, day and night. The supreme Olympian god, however, could not endure the woes of the beloved nymph, and therefore summoned his son Mercury to his side. He commanded him to kill Argus, and free Io. Mercury sat down on a rock beside Argus and put all his eyes to sleep with an enchanting sage play. Then he pierced him with a dagger and threw his dead body off the rock. Juno honoured the dead servant by placing his eyes on the tail of the peacock.

Comparing Lanzani's painting with the common artistic repertoire represented by the illustrations to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, one similarity can be pointed out. The subject was only developed separately in some illustrated editions of the *Metamorphoses*, for example in the Brussels edition of 1677 (engraving by Magdalena de

62 J. Zapletalová interpreted the story as a reference to marital fidelity: Zapletalová, *Amoris*, p. 88; Zapletalová, *Andrea*, p. 128.

Passe after a painting by Peter Paul Rubens),<sup>63</sup> in the Nuremberg edition of 1698 by Johann Jacob von Sandrart.<sup>64</sup> Sandrart's composition is closest to Lanzani's version of the Ovidian story although it does not represent an exact model.

The myth of Juno putting Argus's eyes on the peacock's tail also contained frequent moralising allusions. From the medieval traditions, specifically the text *Ovide moralisé*, comes the idea of Argus's eyes as the vanities of this world and the peacock as a pretender who takes pride in them.<sup>65</sup> To understand the overall iconography of the apartment, however, I must also mention another level of interpretation of the myth, the astrological one. The story relates to the stars and their arrival in the evening and night sky as described by Macrobius in *Saturnalia*:

A story of the same kind is told of Mercury, but in different words, for Mercury is thought to be the servant and messenger who passes between the gods above and the gods below.

Mercury is also known as Argiphontes, not because he slew Argus – who is said to have had a number of eyes all round his head and to have been ordered by Juno to keep watch over her rival, the daughter of Inachus, after she had been changed into the likeness of a cow – but because in this myth Argus is the sky, stippled with shining stars which have the appearance of being, as it were, the eyes of heaven ... The expanse of the sky, therefore, with its ornament of bright stars, is thought to have been killed by Mercury when, with the coming of the day, the sun dims the stars and takes them from the sight of men and thus seems to kill them by the power of its light.<sup>66</sup>

Similar connotations of Argus (with Mercury) are seen in the decoration of the Villa Sacchetti in Castelfusano by Pietro da Cortona from 1628–1629. The Ovidian stories of the monochromes complement the cosmology as a representative of cycles of the day and the movement of astral bodies with Argus supposed to represent the star-studded night sky.<sup>67</sup> Therefore the painting in Slavkov should be read as an allegory of the evening.

63 Les Metamorphoses 1677, p. 36; Veldman, Crispijn, p. 290.

64 P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphosis Oder Sinn-reicher Gedichte von Verwandlungen/Erster Theil/ Enthaltend Die sieben Ersten Buecher/[...] Inventirt und heraus gegeben von Johann Jacob von Sandrart, Nuernberg 1698, p. 18.

65 Seznec, The Survival, pp. 92–93.

66 Quoted after: Macrobius, The Saturnalia. Transl. by Percival Vaughan Davies, New York/London 1969, pp. 134–135.

67 Zirpolo, Images, pp. 126–127. The astronomical interpretation of the story intensified from the end of the 16th century with the discovery of the constellation of the peacock (*Pavo*), which was explained by the myth of Argo: Hadravová, Řecké, p. 68.



44 Andrea Lanzani, Aurora drives away Night and Sleep, 1702–1703, Slavkov u Brna, chateau.

Through the corner anteroom with a scene of Juno and Argus, one passes into a large room with a painting of the goddess Aurora driving away the clouds (fig. 44). The room was justifiably connected with the bedchamber on the basis of correspondence with the builder Bitterpfeil, where it is mentioned that “*Neben dem Cabinet ein Interims Zimmer, welches zu dem Zimmer, in welchem das Blaue Bett stehet, gar wohl dienet für die Jungfern*”.<sup>68</sup> The presence of the bed is recalled here in connection with the ‘cabinet’, which is precisely located on Martinelli’s sketch with the arrangement of the paintings, and in which Lanzani’s last painting (the allegory of Silence, which will be discussed shortly) was executed.<sup>69</sup> However, the written fragment and the relationships between the chambers can also be interpreted differently. In the original, the word “*jungfern*” may not mean the proposed term maiden, but also chambermaid, and the chambermaid’s room also used to be next to the lady’s bedchamber in the 19th century, but it was not the cabinet with the allegory of Silence. The composition of the rooms would therefore retain continuity.<sup>70</sup>

The identification of the room with Aurora as the bedchamber was also supported by the 1707 inventory<sup>71</sup> and the research during the chateau’s renovation, which located a lady’s bedchamber in this space (thanks to a niche for a lavatory, a tiled stove and a bed).<sup>72</sup>

68 There is a room next to the cabinet which, in addition to the room in which the blue bed stands, serves the maids well.

69 “Jungfern” translated as “maiden” (girl) in: Zapletalová, Amoris, p. 90; Zapletalová, Andrea, p. 130.

70 Historical Museum in Slavkov u Brna, Auxiliary historical material: chateau, Inv. Nr. 31.

71 MPA Brno, G436, Inv. Nr. 499, sign. I 42, Inventory 1707, fol. 45v.

72 Vicha, František: Státní zámek Slavkov u Brna, historie, obnova, provoz, in: Památky a příroda 10/2 (1985), p. 72.

The painting displays the goddess Aurora with a floral wreath on her head, situated in the left part of the ceiling painting, followed by Iris (rainbow) and the morning star, forcefully driving away the clouds. Near the clouds, the god Janus is trumpeting, depicted with a crown on his head and a key in his hand, but unusually with only one face. Janus has been entrusted to unleash war and unrest and to guard the residence of the gods.<sup>73</sup> Two bearded men, one dark and one pale, are crouching on the clouds on the right side of the composition, representing the sibling pair death and sleep. Somnus (sleep) was the son of the goddess of night Nox and the god of eternal darkness Erebus, and his sisters included Mors (death), Spes (hope) and Lethe (oblivion). Among the numerous children of the god Somnus, representing dreams, a triad of the most important was established, consisting of the gods Morpheus, Icelus and Phantasus. Morpheus brought dreams to humans, Icelus to animals, and Phantasus to inanimate things.<sup>74</sup> The genealogical lineage of the god of sleep arose from the relationship to the night and the archetypal association with dark forces. Specifically, the connection with night, darkness and sister death foreshadowed the natural fusion of all aspects of night with negative connotations. This tends to be emphasised in artistic realisations as well, as evidenced by the famous terracotta relief from the Medici Villa in Poggio a Caiano, which has been interpreted as a representation of sleep, oblivion, death and the journey of the soul.<sup>75</sup> For the same reasons, personifications of night and sleep are often encountered in allegories of the arrival of a new day, where night is driven away along with all the negative things that it brings. The new day, on the other hand, represents positive forces, hope and the triumph of the first morning stars and sunbeams.

In the circular fields, the central painting is complemented by allegories of the phases of day and night in the form of infant and female figures: a woman with a sickle on her head and stars on her dress (the goddess Diana/Luna) and a woman with a sleeping child, black wings and stars on her dress (fig. 45). It is the figure of the goddess of the night Nox, as codified in the works of mythographers, Vincenzo Cartari or Natale Conti.<sup>76</sup> They described her as a lady with black wings wearing a black dress studded with stars. Night carries her two children in her arms, one white, who is asleep (signifying sleep), and one black, who only appears to be asleep (but is dead and represents death).<sup>77</sup> It is precisely in this form that night, as one of the

73 On the painting as an allegory of the driving of the winds into the cave by the god Aeolus: Zapletalová, *Fantasio*, pp. 123–124; Zapletalová, *Amoris*, pp. 88–89; Zapletalová, *Andrea*, pp. 128–131.

74 This is stated, for example, by Schaeivius with reference to Virgil, Homer and Ovid. Schaeivius, *Mythologia*, pp. 454–456.

75 Simari, Maria Matilde: Bottega di Bertoldo di Giovanni, in: Chiara Rabbi Bernard/Alessandro Cecchi/Yves Hersant, Yves (eds.): *Il Sogno nel Rinascimento*, Firenze 2013, pp. 72–73.

76 Conti, *Mythologiae*, p. 119.

77 The same depiction of the goddess of the night is found in most mythographies: Volpi, *Le immagini*, p. 336.



45 Andrea Lanzani, Goddess Nox, 1702–1703, Slavkov u Brna, chateau.

phases of the daily cycle, integrally linked to the bedchamber and sleep, appears in Villa Farnese in Caprarola.<sup>78</sup> In an interesting iconography, the night and her children, sleep and death, are represented, for example, in a ceiling painting in the bedchamber of Duke Friedrich III in the residence at Altenburg.<sup>79</sup>

The attending putti in the ceiling medallions in Slavkov have various attributes of daily cycles, using symbolism from Ripa's *Iconologia*: A star; a star above the head and a bat; a star and a vessel, bringing dew in summer and frost in winter; a star and arrows, symbolising the rays of the sun.<sup>80</sup> The surrounding stucco decoration is completed by putti, eagles and painted putti, shaking poppy flowers. This is a reminder of the effects of narcotic herbs in a relatively playful form. The putti here virtually scatter poppy seeds from the vault on those falling asleep in the room.

The entire decoration of the ceiling relates not only to the cyclical nature of the day, but above all to the allegory of the arrival of the morning, and so to a subject rather specific to a bedchamber. This ideological framework connects numerous and

78 Robertson, Annibal, pp. 160–181; Sez nec, *The Survival*, pp. 288–301; Cieri Via, *L'arte*, p. 45; Pierguidi, *Le hore*, pp. 121–144; Oy-Mara, *Profane*, pp. 146–147.

79 CbDD – Die Decke des Schlafzimmers [Textteil] [last accessed 13/03/2025].

80 Ripa, *Iconologia*, pp. 81–82.

popular allegories of Aurora driving away night and sleep, frequently (but of course not exclusively) linked with bedchambers as demonstrated in section 1.3.

The bedroom leads to the last small space with Lanzani's painting (cabinet). It shows a man with his mouth tied, a bird with a twig in its beak and a putto with a finger in front of its mouth (fig. 46). All the attributes clearly point to the allegory of Silence. According to the tradition, carried on since antiquity, various deities such as Harpocrates, Angerona, Sigalion and Taceta were associated with the subject of silence. However, the most commonly invoked, and therefore the principal deity, was Harpocrates, as the Slavkov painting shows.

The origin of the god Harpocrates derives from Egyptian mythology, where he originally presented the form of the sun god Horus (son of Osiris and Isis) in child form, represented by a finger on his mouth as a sign of childhood.<sup>81</sup> In Greco-Roman mythology, this gesture acquired a shift in meaning when, through misunderstanding, it was associated with the symbolism of silence and the god was therefore associated with the role of patron of silence, as described in the main source of the Harpocrates myth, Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*:<sup>82</sup> "For this reason he keeps his finger on his lips in token of restrained speech or silence" or, for example, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (IX, 691): "the god who holds his tongue, and urges silence, thumb in mouth".<sup>83</sup> The genesis of the deity has naturally influenced its visual representation, where it often



46 Andrea Lanzani, Allegory of Silence (Harpocrates), 1702–1703, Slavkov u Brna, chateau, 1702–1703.

81 References to the Egyptian origins of Harpocrates are embedded and further developed in the texts of early modern mythographers, for example in Vincenzo Cartari's *Immagini degli Dei* or in Georg Pictor's *Theologia mythologica*: Cartari, Vincenzo: Pantheon antiquorum exhibens Imagines Deorum qui ab antiquis colebantur, ubi simul ritus, simulacra, ceremoniae, magnaquae ex parte veterum religio explicatur, [...] Rolenburci ad Tubarim, 1683, p. 144; Seznec, *The Survival*, pp. 228, 238.

82 Benthien, Claudia: Barockes Schweigen. Rhetorik und Performativität des Sprachlosen im 17. Jahrhundert, München 2006, p. 43.

83 Wind, Edgar: Heidnische Mysterien in der Renaissance, Frankfurt am Main 1984, p. 22; Chastel, André: *Le geste dans l'art*, Vendôme 2001, p. 98.

takes on an oriental form, copied from surviving ancient sculptures of Egyptian and Roman origin,<sup>84</sup> or very often appears in the form of a child or young man. Later, he was depicted, for example with a 'childlike' curl by the sculptor Johann Christian Wilhelm Beyer in a marble statue from 1783 (from the collections of the Academie der bildenden Künste in Vienna). A given form also became a reminder of Harpocrates' childlike appearance.<sup>85</sup>

The mythographers codified the traditional imagery of the god Harpocrates as a young man with a finger at his lips and a peach in his hand (as a basic attribute), in the context of the broader depiction of the trinity of the virtues of silence, the gods Harpocrates, Sigalion (a man without a mouth dressed in wolf skin and covered entirely with eyes and ears) and the goddess Angerona (a woman standing on an altar with her mouth covered with a veil). From textual tradition, specifically from Plutarch's treatise *De Iside et Osiride*, the symbolic tree and fruit associated with Harpocrates is the peach tree (*Persica arbor*). The peach expresses the unity of heart and mouth ("*concordia cordis et oris*"), as presented, for example, by Cesare Ripa in his description of the allegory of Silence in the Hamburg edition of the *Iconologia*, published in 1659. Cartari also reminds us that the leaves of the peach tree resemble a human tongue.<sup>86</sup>

Early modern iconography enriched this basic visual line of silence with new symbolism that adapted to the expanding context. Ripa's *Iconologia* added the additional symbol of a goose with a stone in its beak as an attribute of an old man with his finger inserted in front of his mouth. The goose here, according to the narrative in Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, represents the usefulness of silence. When the geese had to fly over Mount Taurus, where the eagles nested, they put stones in their beaks so as not to reveal themselves. As symbols of silence and quietness, peaches and a goose with a stone in its beak appeared near Cupid with a finger in front of his

84 In collections of Egyptian art one can encounter a number of bronze and terracotta statues of infant figures representing Harpocrates. Early modern treatises contained copies of these statues, amulets or talismans. Many graphic reproductions of these objects (*Amuleta Harpocratica*) can be found in a work dedicated directly to the god Harpocrates, published by Gisbert Cuper in Utrecht in 1687 under the title *Harpocrates et Monumenta antiqua*. Other similar illustrations appear in Athanasius Kircher's *Oedipus aegyptiacus* (published in Rome in 1652–1654): Benthien, Barockes, pp. 46–49.

85 Malíková, Mária: Neznámy obraz Giacoma del Pò v Bratislave, in: *Ars* (1989), pp. 51, 54.

86 Cartari, Vincenzo: *Le imagini de i Dei de gli antichi nelle quali si contengo no gl'Idoli, Riti, ceremonie, & altre cose appartenenti alla Religione de gli Antichi, [...]*, Venetia 1580, p. 375; Cartari, Pantheon, fig. LX. Reproduced also in: Seznec, *The Survival*, p. 297, fig. 104. Similarly, Harpocrates and Angerona are depicted in emblematics: Henkel, Arthur/Schöne, Albrecht: *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1978, pp. 1822–1824.

The formally very close arrangement of the three deities of silence by Vincenzo Cartari was also used by Bartolomeo Cesi in the decoration of Bologna's Palazzo Magnani: Volpi, Caterina: *Le Fonti delle Immagini degli dei degli antichi di Vincenzo Cartari*, in: Cappelletti/Huber-Rebenich, *Der antike*, fig. 10.

mouth in Otto van Veen's popular emblematic work *Amorum emblemata*. It appears in the emblem "*Nocet esse locutum*", derived from the text of Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, specifically in the sense that the secret of love is hidden in silence and secrecy.<sup>87</sup>

Not only Veen's emblem leads us to the problem of the multiplicity of the symbolism of silence in artistic realisations, which is understandably related to the multiple connotations that the theme of silence carries on a general level. Silence was considered one of the philosophical virtues, the preservation of silence was emphasised in religious rituals and mysteries, and silence was referred to in allegories of political wisdom.<sup>88</sup> Another area in which the symbolism of silence was involved was in the themes of love, where the gods Cupid and Harpocrates merged to create the so-called Harpocratic Cupid. Finally, the Harpocratic gesture takes on connotations associated with sleep, in the sense of a request 'not to wake'.<sup>89</sup>

Regarding the variation of the meaning of silence, it is necessary to reflect on the content connotations of the scene with Harpocrates in Slavkov. The allegory here operates with two forms of silence, which André Chastel describes as passive and active semantic value: in one, the man himself is silent because his mouth is tied, in the other, Harpocrates (the child) actively urges the viewer to keep silent with a gesture ("*signum harpocraticum*").<sup>90</sup> The motif of a bird with a twig in its beak is unusual within the standard apparatus of Harpocrates scenes, but it fits fully into the ideological context of silence in general and recalls Ripa's more common goose with a stone in its beak. The more fundamental question remains the overall significance of the depiction in the context of its location in the residence and within the wider iconographic programme of decoration.

Considering the location of the allegory of silence in Slavkov, Harpocrates' gesture has been interpreted in the sense of communication with the visitor to the palace, who is urged to remain silent about what was seen in connection with the bedchamber. This is supported by the location at the end of the wing as the place of one of the original entrances.<sup>91</sup> Here, the rooms are accessed via a staircase, but

87 Ripa, *Iconologia*, pp. 406–407; Malíková, *Neznámy*, pp. 49–55.

On the emblem *Nocet esse locutum* see: van Veen, *Otto: Amorum Emblemata*, Antwerp 1608, in: Stephen Orgel (ed.), *The Philosophy of Images 9*, New York/London 1979, pp. 70–71; Zick, Gisela: *Amor – Harpokrates. Zur Wirkungsgeschichte und ikonographischen Herleitung einer Skulptur von Etienne-Maurice Falconet*, in: Wallraf Richartz Jahrbuch 37 (1975), pp. 216–246; Chastel, *Le geste*, pp. 77–78; Benthien *Barockes*, pp. 123–131.

88 The goddess Angerona appears, for example, in the former knight's hall of the Elector Maximilian Emanuel's apartment in his residence in Munich, where she supplemented the central painting representing the discretion of Alexander the Great: Bauer/Rupprecht, *Corpus*, pp. 280–281, 291.

89 Miltová, *Mezi*, pp. 157–161.

90 Chastel, *Le geste*, p. 67.

91 Zapletalová, *Amoris*, p. 90; Zapletalová, *Andrea*, p. 131.

a guest of the residence would certainly not have entered the countess's bedchamber on account of imperial court ceremony. This entrance was private and was certainly separate from the official entrance, which led directly to the main garden hall or to one of the anterooms. A more obvious connection to the functional division of the residence is the connection with the gesture "do not wake", i.e. the relationship to the motivation of sleep and the proximity of the bedchamber as such. Figures with the gesture of silence appear in bedchambers, as evidenced, for example, by the chateau in Leitheim.<sup>92</sup> The relationship of the symbolism of silence to the iconography of the cyclical nature of the day, carried by the text of Ripa's *Iconologia*, is also worth mentioning. Here, with a reference to Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, silence is called "the friend of the night/*amico della notte*" and linked to darkness and the reduction of visibility.<sup>93</sup> The figure of Harpocrates and the symbolism of silence in Slavkov probably follow one of the lines of a multifaceted textual and visual tradition, namely in the level of silencing noise during sleep, which is generally connected with the night theme and the overall ideological level of the cyclical nature of the day. The association of Harpocrates with night, sleep and the arrival of a new day characterises the decoration of the bedchamber in Caprarola, whose legacy for Slavkov is given greater emphasis by the presence of Harpocrates. Although we have no evidence that Dominik Andreas visited Caprarola on his grand tour, there is such proof for his father Leo Wilhelm. It is possible, therefore, that the echo of grand tours resonated in the selection of certain themes in Slavkov as well.

The countess's apartment in the residence is constructed particularly as an allegory of the cycles of the day. Firstly, the allegory of the morning's arrival and the dawn appears here, secondly Phaethon's plea, often associated with the Midday Sun, and thirdly Juno spreading Argus's eyes on the peacock's tail represents Twilight and the arrival of the stars in the night sky. The whole cycle culminates in the bedroom with the "night" theme, which cyclically changes again into a new morning. Thus, in the lady's bedchamber, a new period ends and begins again through Aurora driving away the clouds, night and sleep. Night and sleep is also connected to the last room with the allegory of silence, which as a "friend of the night" encourages through the Harpocratic gesture "do not wake" to remain silent. The emphasis on the cyclical nature of the day and the frequent repetition of stars (not only ideologically as morning or evening stars but also figuratively in the form of many stars above the heads of the personifications) in the decoration of the countess's

<sup>92</sup> CbDD – Repräsentationsräume [Textteil] [last accessed 13/03/2025].

<sup>93</sup> Ripa (in the 1603 or 1659 edition) refers in the passage to the following part of Ariosto's text: "Il silenzio va intorno, e fa la scorta./Hà le scarpe di feltro, e'l mantel bruno,/Et à quanti n'incontra di lontano,/Che non debba venir cenna con mano.": Benthien, Barockes, p. 65.



47 Andrea Lanzani, Female Beauty between Prudence, Wealth and Modesty, 1702–1703, Slavkov u Brna, chateau.

apartment inclines to the hypothesis that the main symbol (a star) in the family coat of arms of Dominik Andreas's wife, Maria Eleonore von Sternberg, was to be celebrated in this way.

#### 4.2.3 The Count's Apartment

The ceiling of the first room of the second apartment of the west wing presents a composition where three allegorical female figures, taken from Ripa's *Iconologia*, are grouped: the Female Beauty sitting between Prudence, Wealth and Modesty (fig. 47).<sup>94</sup>

94 Ripa, *Iconologia*, pp. 39–40, 291–292; Dell'Omo, *Andrea*, pp. 96, 105; Zapletalová, *Andrea*, p. 134; Miltová, *Mezi*, pp. 161–162.



48 Andrea Lanzani, Apollo with Laurel Wreath, 1702–1703, Slavkov u Brna, chateau.

The personification of female beauty, a naked woman adorned with a wreath of flowers (according to Ripa's text the wreath should be formed from lilies and common privet) is sitting at the highest point, holding an arrow in her hand. Three personifications speak to Female Beauty (*Bellezza femminile*) from all sides, one bringing jewels (*Richezza*), a woman adjusting a mirror for her (*Prudentia*), and a woman with a sickle over her head and a sceptre with an eye (*Modestia/Discretione*).<sup>95</sup>

A female beauty, therefore, needs prudence and modesty rather than an excess of wealth, and it is only through these virtues that she will achieve perfection. Lanzani composed the arrangement of this allegorical scene in two surviving sketches, one kept in the Pinacoteca Malaspina in Pavia and the other in the Ambrosiana in Milan (both dated 1699).<sup>96</sup>

Around the central painting, the male mythological figures who could not resist the power of female beauty are represented in four medallions. In the first, Jupiter offers Cupid lightning bolts from his bundle. In the second, a garlanded Mars looks at a bouquet of roses in reference to the goddess Venus. In the third, Apollo places a laurel wreath on his head in allusion to his unrequited love for Daphne (fig. 48). In

95 Ripa, *Iconologia*, pp. 39–40, 291–292.

96 Dell'Omo, *Andrea*, pp. 39, 105, 107; Zapletalová, *Fantasio*, p. 124; Zapletalová, *Andrea*, pp. 134, 176–177.



49 Andrea Lanzani, Juno, Minerva, Venus and Chronos, 1702–1703, Slavkov u Brna, chateau.

the fourth, Hercules adorns himself with jewels with the help of Cupid, while the latter removes the lion's skin, a popular theme referring to the dress of Omphale and the exchange of gender roles between Hercules and Omphale.<sup>97</sup>

The second room of the apartment<sup>98</sup> is again dominated by mainly female figures, this time the highest of the Olympian goddesses. The goddesses Venus, Minerva and

97 Zapletalová, *Amoris*, pp. 91–92; Zapletalová, *Andrea*, p. 134; Miltová, *Mezi*, pp. 161–162.

98 If we look at the secondary function of the space in question, according to the chateau inventory from 1826, the room served as the prince's bedroom: Historical Museum in Slavkov u Brna, Auxiliary historical material: chateau, Inv. Nr. 31. Considering the originally designed disposi-

Juno are debating in the painting, and the god Chronos is observing the whole debate (fig. 49).

On the left, Venus raises two golden apples and Cupid peeks out next to her with an arrow. On the right, a crowned Juno with a peacock points to jewels and gems. Above them hovers Minerva with arrow and helmet, gesturing with her hand to the god of time,<sup>99</sup> who further diverts the viewer's attention out of the painted field to the complementing scenes. These are set within four medallions with women in armour bearing standards.<sup>100</sup> The combination of the depicted goddesses, golden apples and warrior symbolism undoubtedly refers (whether directly or figuratively) to the popular theme of the goddesses' dispute, which was to be resolved by the Judgment of Paris. The fact that Minerva points to the figure of Chronos and the warrior symbolism is accentuated here may therefore be related to the aftermath of Paris's judgment, the outbreak of the Trojan War. The role of the warrior Amazons has been described repeatedly in Greek mythology, both in the events preceding the Trojan War and in the fighting during the Trojan War itself.

The corner room of the apartment, with the last surviving painting by Lanzani, shows the goddess Fortuna on a wheel,<sup>101</sup> surrounded by three women (fig. 50). But only one of those women finds herself in the favour of the goddess of fortune at the top of the wheel at a given moment. Around the main scene, putti bearing various attributes were depicted in oval or circular fields. The first ones in reference to Eros and Anteros fight over a swan on a lure, the second fumbles with a net full of fish, the third winds a garland of flowers, and the fourth is shown with a quiver, game board

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tion of the chateau and based on comparisons with other residential spaces, it is not possible to reach a clear conclusion as to whether the room had or should have had this function at the time of Dominik Andreas Kaunitz. It would seem more likely that the bedroom would have been placed in the same space as in the opposite apartment, i.e. at the end of the wing behind the last room with Lanzani's paintings with the goddess Fortuna. This part also originally contained Lanzani's paintings (there were two more rooms next to the room with Fortuna), but everything was more radically rebuilt during further modifications of the chateau, and the paintings have therefore not survived. Instead, the family gallery was connected to the Fortuna room, and the location of the Count's bedroom may have varied depending on the overall renovation of this part of the garden wing.

- 99 Depiction of these goddesses with Chronos and Jupiter appeared in Villa Visconti Banfi (executed by Federico Bianchi). Lanzani collaborated with Bianchi on the decoration, which is why this painting is mentioned as a possible source of inspiration: Zapletalová, *Amoris*, pp. 94–95.
- 100 This theme, along with the four accompanying medallions, was also associated with epithalamic poetry texts and related to the struggles of the maidens in support of the goddess Minerva that preceded the judgment of Paris. Their purpose is to celebrate Minerva and wisdom: Zapletalová, *Amoris*, pp. 91–92; Zapletalová, *Andrea*, p. 134.
- 101 On the painting as Allegory of Fortune in Love: Zapletalová, *Amoris*, pp. 92–93; Zapletalová, *Andrea*, pp. 134–136.



50 Andrea Lanzani, Fortuna, 1702–1703, Slavkov u Brna, chateau.

and game stones.<sup>102</sup> The last-mentioned putto curiously examines one of the stones on the backgammon.<sup>103</sup>

The central theme of the wheel of the goddess Fortuna (*rota Fortunæ*) has an iconographic tradition with deep roots and belongs to the most frequent types of goddess depictions.<sup>104</sup> Allegorical representations of the wheel of Fortuna usually referred in general terms to the rise and fall of human destiny but also appear in images relating to love or gambling activities. The game of dice and, from the 14th century onwards, also the game of cards (both directly on the wheel of the Slavkov Fortuna)

<sup>102</sup> Putti with a quiver marked, among others, as Marital unity and putti with a swan as Love restrained and tamed: Dell’Omo, Andrea, p. 96. Further elaboration of the interpretation of putti (in the sense of the power and consequences of love) in accordance with the interpretation of painting as happiness in love: Zapletalová Andrea, p. 136.

<sup>103</sup> Playing stones were often richly and interestingly decorated: Zangs, Christiane/Holländer, Hans (eds.): „Mit Glück und Verstand“, Aachen 1994, p. 247, cat. Nr. F 44, p. 213, cat. Nr. E 23.

<sup>104</sup> van Marle, Raimond: *Iconographie de l’art profane au Moyen-Age et à la Renaissance et la décoration de demeures*, Tome 2 – *Allégories et Symboles*, La Haye 1932, pp. 194f. The idea of the wheel of Fortuna is based on Boëthius’s text *De consolatione Philosophiae* and found a strong echo in medieval art: Kirchner, Gottfried: *Fortuna in Dichtung und Emblematik des Barock. Tradition und Bedeutungswandel eines Motivs*, Stuttgart 1970, p. 21.

were considered to be a game played with Fortuna.<sup>105</sup> The association with love also belonged to traditional unions, most often in the connection Love/Death/Fortune, where these personifications were displayed blindfolded, showing the power of their blindness: they affect anyone regardless of age or social status.<sup>106</sup>

All the situations of the side fields somehow evoke the domain of the fickle goddess Fortuna, and overall, it is the gambling symbolism that is quite prominent in the room, specifically in the captured backgammon, cards and chessboard, which suggests the importance of this symbolism as well.

The room served as the prince's workroom in the 19th century,<sup>107</sup> and in Dominik Andreas's time the room as a cabinet or anteroom may have had some connection to possible gambling activities. Although there were not many similarly focused cabinets in the Czech lands around 1700 and they appear only later, there is evidence of similarly defined spaces in connection with Kaunitz residences. The private cabinet, connected with the presentation of collections and intended for private entertainment, was located in Dominik Andreas's Brno palace as documented in its inventory in 1675.<sup>108</sup> However, the connection between gambling and amorous themes (in the presence of women and Cupid) may also be related to the ideological basis that gave rise to the well-known proverb "lucky at cards, unlucky in love" widespread in many language versions.<sup>109</sup>

Lanzani's paintings in the count's apartment, unfortunately preserved only in fragmentary form today, refer in many aspects to the power of female beauty and the theme of love. The overall "feminine" and amorous character of the paintings may seem confusing and more likely to be associated with a celebration of the virtues of a good wife, which in this case does not correspond to the detected division of the apartments. Leaving aside the dimension of virtue, one cannot help noticing a greater degree of feminine nudity when looking at the paintings in these rooms. All three compositions are dominated by an exposed female figure, and such is not found in the countess's apartment, which is much more chaste. The power of the erotic dimension of a painting aimed at a male viewer was much debated in the early modern period. The fact that paintings were intended to arouse passion and stimu-

105 Fortune (kat., Musée de l'Élysée, 2 X 1981–3 III 1982), Lausanne 1982, p. 18; Fichte, Joerg O.: *Providentia – Fatum – Fortuna*, in: Frank Fürbeth (ed.): *Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung*, Band 1, 1996, Heft 1, p. 151.

In the 1764–1767 edition of Ripa's *Iconologia* from Perugia (vol. 3, p. 184), the allegory of the Game appears in the form of the goddess Fortuna, who also has cards and dice under her wheel.

106 Panofsky, Erwin: *Studies in Iconology. Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*, Oxford 1939, p. 112.

107 Historical Museum in Slavkov u Brna, Auxiliary historical material: chateau, Inv. Nr. 31.

108 The count kept part of his collection of paintings in the cabinet: Kubeš, *Reprezentační*, p. 199.

109 Zangs/Holländer, *Mit Glück*.

late the senses is reflected in many contemporary texts. When Lodovico Dolce was describing Titian's famous painting the Rape of Europa, which was commissioned for King Philip II of Spain, he mentioned that there was no man who could not feel "a stirring of the blood in his veins"<sup>110</sup> at the sight of it. Similar examples of this kind proliferate at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, whether they are purely informative or contain a connotation of moral memento. Karel van Mander, in a poem entitled *Grondt der edel vry Schilder-Const*, with which he introduced his famous work *Het Schilder Boeck* of 1618, describes the powerful influence of paintings on the senses. In addition to the power of colour, he draws attention to the obvious impact of scenes with young women, which "caused countless hearts to swim in a sea of delight".<sup>111</sup>

#### 4.3 Paintings in Slavkov: The Torso of a Magnificent Project of the Imperial Vice-Chancellor

In Slavkov, the partial construction and decoration of the residence and the surrounding garden resulted from the collaboration between the builder Domenico Martinelli, the painter Andrea Lanzani, the stucco artist Santino Bussi and the sculptor Giovanni Giuliani. However, only a fraction of the original plans for the reconstruction of the residence, drawn up under Count Dominik Andreas Kaunitz, were completed during his lifetime. Martinelli's first projects date back to the early 1690s, their realisation was gradual, and the decoration of the individual parts of the building was carried out as they were completed.

First the garden casino was erected, where Lanzani, according to the surviving written description, recreated the Apuleian history of Cupid and Psyche, also used elsewhere in the context of garden parterres of residences, in Moravia for example in the sala terrena of the chateau in Náměšť nad Oslavou or in Roman milieu in the casino of the former garden palace of Scipione Borghese.

The construction works continued with the building of the western garden wing of the residence, where in nine rooms Andrea Lanzani's paintings have been preserved. Andrea Lanzani created compositions thematically based on the text of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, as well as on iconographic and mythographic manuals, in particular Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* and Vincenzo Cartari's *L'immagini degli Dei*. In the central hall, the scene of Juno's arrival at Olympus, followed by Jealousy and Envy, is complemented by four medallions of the loves of the gods. The female apart-

<sup>110</sup> Wolfthal, Images, p. 18.

<sup>111</sup> Quoted after: Sluijter, Eric Jan: *Seductress of Sight. Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age*, Zwolle 2000, pp. 120–121.

ment unfolds the cyclical nature of the day, and the man's apartment contains only three of the five allegories, emphasising women and the power of female beauty. In the case of the Slavkov residence, the paintings are ideologically connected to the garden spaces, which may relate to the emphasis on the amorous themes and the daily cycles, thus the astrological connotations of the depicted myths. In the past, the love themes were associated with an epithalamic allegory, the marriage of Dominik Andreas Kaunitz's son Maximilian Ulrich to Maria Ernestina Rietberg in 1699.<sup>112</sup> The decoration, however, bears no heraldic traces of this genealogical connection and, on the contrary, refers clearly to the couple who commissioned it, Dominik Andreas and Maria Eleonore von Sternberg (water lilies and stars). The surviving written descriptions of the paintings in the garden casino do not mention any marriage symbolics of Dominik Andreas's son, Maximilian Ulrich Kaunitz, either. In addition, the history of the planning of the Slavkov residence is already connected with the early 1690s, when the concept of the decoration could also have been discussed. Doubts arise also from the later construction interventions, which relate to the person of Maximilian Ulrich Kaunitz from the time after his takeover of the family estates. As a result, Lanzani's paintings in the chateau were partially destroyed and the entire garden casino was destroyed. If the iconography of the paintings celebrates this man's marriage, an explanation would need to be found for the fact that he himself would have proceeded to destroy them.

The main construction work in Slavkov began in 1698, which coincided with Dominik Andreas's election to the position of Imperial Vice-Chancellor (1696) and his return from a diplomatic mission to The Hague (1697). With the newly acquired position, which he had long desired, the need for representation and the associated radical reconstruction of the family seat clearly increased. Here, however, it is also necessary to consider the fact that under Count Dominik Andreas only the decoration of a part of the residence, ideologically related to the garden part of the complex, was realised. Apart from the sculptural completion of the garden itself, the casino and the garden wing of the residence with the sala terrena, the garden vestibule and the large garden hall on the first floor were completed during his lifetime. The more representative and symbolically significant part was not completed.<sup>113</sup> Martinelli logically planned a large representative hall in the eastern wing.<sup>114</sup> Therefore, within the general level of representation, the paintings in the context of the garden wing and private apartments display the elements of a "lighter, more relaxing" na-

<sup>112</sup> Zapletalová, *Amoris*.

<sup>113</sup> Kroupa, Jiří: *Funkce, forma a mentality v raně novověké profánní architektuře*, in: *Památková péče na Moravě 8* (2004), pp. 10–11.

<sup>114</sup> Naňková, Věra: *Česká barokní architektura v zahraniční literatuře*, in *Umění 9/5* (1961), pp. 508–509.

ture, which fits in with the context of the theoretical recommendations discussed several times. As for the other (unrealised) parts of the Slavkov residence, if we think, for example, in terms of Armenini's recommendations, a residence of such a high status (an "electoral" residence) would correspond to the themes of not poetic but historical painting (with Homeric or Virgilian themes or an allegory of the glory of the Kaunitz family), as evidenced, for example, by the electoral residence in Schleisheim.<sup>115</sup>

Dominik Andreas Kaunitz's project for a magnificent Slavkov residence did not last very long, as it was closely linked to a specific commissioning personality. The costly undertaking was gradually abandoned in Slavkov, which also happened in other similar residences. Under Maximilian Ulrich Kaunitz, the Moravian governor, a new project was created, based on a different architectural function.<sup>116</sup> Such a monumental endeavour could not be continued, probably for financial reasons, because in addition to the construction itself, the manufactures of Dominik Andreas, for example, brought such major expenses that they were closed in 1716.<sup>117</sup> So the large-scale project was interrupted by the sudden death of Dominik Andreas in 1705, and his son and descendant Maximilian Ulrich did not continue the planned construction works. One of the reasons inhered in the fact that he had never gained such high posts as his father: he was "only" a Moravian Provincial Governor (*Landeshauptmann*). His position led him to reduce the former plans and decide for a more modest project. The completion of the chateau resulted nevertheless from another project, created for the son of Maximilian Ulrich, Wenzel Anton Kaunitz. He did reach the highest social position: He became State Chancellor of the Austrian Empire and was elevated to the princely status.<sup>118</sup> He decided on the new architectural plans for the building with a U-shaped floor plan with the main hall in the centre. The main hall of Slavkov Chateau was completed in the 1760s with an illusionary decoration executed by Joseph Pichler, with a clear reference to the sculpture decoration of the state chancellor wing of the Hofburg in Vienna.

115 Bauer/Ruprecht, *Corpus*, pp. 510–514; Laß, *Die Wand-*, p. 38.

116 Kroupa, *Funkce*, pp. 10–11.

117 On the textile manufactures of the Kaunitz family: Šebánek, Jindřich: *Textilní podniky moravských Kouniců. Z dějin industrialisace na Moravě na počátku století 18*, in: *Časopis Matice moravské* 55 (1931), pp. 95–168, 418–468; Kubeš, *V zastoupení*, pp. 167–168.

118 On the cultural policy of W. A. Kaunitz recently: Mayer Gernot: *Kulturpolitik der Aufklärung. Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz-Rietberg (1711–1794) und die Künste, Petersburg* 2021.

## Concluding Remarks

The reading of mythological paintings contains a vast range of options, as already proclaimed by mythographers who saw a triple level of interpretation in every mythical story: moral, historical and natural-allegorical. Decades of iconological research have proven that the mere analysis of each selected mythological story reaches immense dimensions. The extent to which the multiple readings of mythological works of art have been deliberately worked with is particularly demonstrated by analyses of Italian early modern art, which have always attracted the greatest scholarly attention. This book focused on three residential decorations, standing aside from the most exposed centres, but this does not diminish their importance and interpretative value. They were all created for important aristocrats whose status demanded the appropriate degree of representation, and these representational strategies were reflected in the artistic programmes.

Other aspects that significantly influence the meaning of the paintings are their placement within the types of residences and within the spaces in residences themselves, as pointed out by numerous theoretical recommendations. These, however, have mainly provided a general framework distinguishing mainly between poetical and historical themes, dividing both residences and residential spaces into leisure and representational categories. In this book, the emphasis was given to the principal countryside residences. Mythological paintings were located in different parts of these residences: in Nové Město nad Metují in the representative apartments and public halls, in Kroměříž only the spaces linked with the garden (garden pavilion and sala terrena) have been preserved, and in Slavkov in the private apartments and garden hall. In the examination of the factors of residential structure, the general recommendations are intertwined with the specificity of each commission. The seemingly random handling of identical iconographic themes in different contexts only reveals its justification upon closer analysis.

The preceding is related to another general problem of understanding paintings from the 17th century in Bohemia and Moravia, which is their fragmentary condition, giving the impression of such random use of motifs. An interesting example is provided by the residence in Roudnice nad Labem, which was about to become almost “royal” in its planned size and magnificence. However, only the torso of the mythological decoration, which depicts in particular the myth of the Hesperides, has been preserved from the time of its construction.

Hesperides, as derived from Ferrari’s treatise, belonged to the extremely popular topics, and their golden apples are repeated in the decorations of seven chateaux

(the stories are located in the garden wings, but also in the rooms of the apartments and the main halls), which really gives the impression of a mere fashionable filling of space. However, when comparing these complexes, the distinctions of the compositions emerge in many of the included details. For example, in the main hall of the chateau in Lnáře, the theme is linked to astrological connotations and Conti's interpretation of the myth (Hesperides as sisters of the night).<sup>1</sup> At the castle in Červená Lhota, the Slavata rose, the heraldic symbol of the patron, was celebrated through the story of Hesperides.<sup>2</sup> In a narrower botanical context, it is possible to see only the statue of Tirsenia from the Kroměříž sala terrena, for its direct connection to the garden complex.

Similar connections and distinctions have been mentioned in the analysis of the decorations in this book. Some of the themes were encountered in close contexts (e.g. Apollo and Phaethon in the dining rooms, associated with feasts and poetic stories in both Nové Město and Slavkov), yet there are layers that are associated with specific assignments. In both cases they indicate the course of time and phases of a day, but in Slavkov all the stars (morning, noon and evening) also symbolically celebrate Countess Sternberg as they were part of her apartment.

Far more significant differences arise, for example, in the undeniably favoured subject of abductions. In the paintings on the vault of the pavilion of the Flower Garden in Kroměříž, abductions became one of the basic and defining motifs of the entire decoration. However, the iconography of abductions also features in the paintings of the castles in Holešov, Nové Město nad Metují (the abduction of Hippodamia, the abduction of Europa and the abduction of Ganymede), Libochovice, Lnáře, Náměšť nad Oslavou, Nový Hrad u Jimlína or Radíč. These stories belong to the same narrative scheme, for which the term heroic rape has been adopted.<sup>3</sup>

One of the fundamental aspects of these depictions was the amorous accent of the visualised stories. The sexual connotations of heroic rapes are linked to three basic functions of such scenes: they were related to wedding allegories, they served as a medium for erotic stimulation, and they metaphorically emphasised political power. Based on ancient texts where the principle of fear as a sexual stimulation was thematised and where the motif of female ownership was underlined, these scenes gradually acquired a panegyric function. They began to express political dominance, which moved them into the role of expected courtly themes.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, we often perceive a love accent in the subtext of these scenes, hence the marital symbolism.

1 Nokkala Miltová, *Ve společenství*, pp. 128–139.

2 Mádl/Heisslerová/Kadlec, *Slavatovský*, pp. 207–229.

3 Brownmiller, Susan: *Against Our Will*, Toronto 1975, pp. 313–342; Wolfthal, *Images*, p. 7.

4 Carroll, Margaret D.: *The Erotics of Absolutism: Rubens and the Mystification of Sexual Violence*, in: *Representations* 25 (1989), pp. 3–30.

This is well illustrated in the decoration of Nové Město nad Metují, where the abduction of Hippodamia is located in a bedchamber, while the main allegorical scene explicitly celebrates the union of the Dietrichstein and Leslie families. The dining room then contains the abduction of Europa, and the ceiling of this festive hall is also decorated with the coats of arms of the family alliance. Even more explicit reference to the celebration of the union of the families is provided by the paintings in Nový Hrad u Jimlína. Here, the coats of arms of the commissioners, Gustav Adolph von Varrensbach and his wife Maria Sidonia Schlik, appear exactly in the field with the abduction of Europa (fig. 3) and the singing Arion. Given the predominantly amorous tone of the paintings, one can expect that wedding allegory played a prominent ideological role in the iconography. The background of this marriage was shrouded in an almost real 'abduction', because under turbulent circumstances, Schlik's previous marriage to Otto Truchsess terminated by divorce in 1662 by the consistory of the Archbishop of Prague. She married her former lover Varrensbach and the legalisation of the affair into an official marriage was thus celebrated by visual means. The material level of the multiplication of property, which was also often taken into account in the meanings of abductions, cannot be overlooked. Count Gustav Adolph von Varrensbach acquired a considerable fortune thanks to the 'abduction' of Maria Sidonia Schlik.<sup>5</sup>

A detailed analysis of the Kroměříž commission reveals a completely different context, not only because it is linked to the Bishop of Olomouc and therefore excludes epithalamic connotations. Its apparent sophistication, confirmed by a variety of auxiliary sources, leaves us in no doubt that this was an ideologically rich world full of symbols. If we see the abductions in the Kroměříž pavilion and sala terrena in the context of fragments of episcopal correspondence and other related iconographic sources (especially texts of university theses), another aspect of interpretation emerges: the triumph of virtue and the journey of the soul towards God. The iconographic programme of the sala terrena of the Kroměříž residence shares the same background, where references to the journey of the soul imbued the episcopal apotheosis as one of the key ideological spheres.

More examples could be given, many of which were discussed in this book. Unfortunately, we lack more precise programmes for the interpretation of 17th-century Bohemian and Moravian paintings, explaining some of the ideological layers. From the surviving hints in correspondence (Kroměříž) or descriptions of paintings (Slavkov), we get rather only brief descriptive statements, which undoubtedly served for a certain confirmation of the intended line between the patron and the executing artists. In the case of Slavkov, the description served to capture the basic content of the paintings *ex post* their realisation, perhaps for the purpose of their later print-

5 Maťa, Svět, p. 558; Nokkala Miltová, Mezi, pp. 224–235.

ing.<sup>6</sup> The correspondence of the Bishop of Olomouc, however, shows that the negotiations on the ideological foundations of the artworks took place over a longer period of time, and it is clear that the negotiations took place in person. Thus, the sources provide evidence of a brief description of what was agreed. There is, however, other source evidence of the rich intellectual and philosophical basis of the representational strategies of these patrons, for example in the texts of university theses. In the case of the Bishop of Olomouc, these celebratory texts are strongly connected with the iconography of his commissions and provide substantial insight into his thought world.

The bishop's correspondence also provides substantial confirmation of the participation of the clients in the use of the graphic models they had ordered. The reception of prints belonged to the standard methods of artistic work, and far from being mindless copying, it represented rather multilayered appropriation (see *Nové Město nad Metují*). The work with models gradually changes towards the end of the 17th century, when larger number of skilful fresco painters enter the art market, and the competitive environment increases. This does not mean, however, that the use of model material disappeared (it can be documented in many paintings throughout the 18th century), but rather that painters treated it in a more sophisticated way than in previous decades.

Whether paintings involve the use of the same visual models across the commissions (e.g. Ferrari's treatises, Johann Wilhelm Baur's illustrations) or the use of the identical motifs, the tone of each commission is distinct. By pointing to the solar iconography, or the iconography of the coming of the new day, which was almost a necessary part of any Baroque decoration, the three commissions analysed can be characterised differently. In *Nové Město nad Metují*, the new day is associated with the dawn of a new age related to the reign of Walter Leslie and the establishment of peace after the distress of war. At the same time, the Apollonian theme connected to music enhances the virtues of Leslie's wife and the marriage that contributed greatly to Leslie's social status. In *Kroměříž*, the bishop shines like a sun over Moravia and the diocese, banishing the dark shadows of heresy. In *Slavkov u Brna*, the phases of the day pervade the lady's apartment, and their stars (including the sun star) recall the heraldic symbol of Countess Maria Eleonore von Sternberg. Each of the residences shows a different path towards the Olympian gods, which corresponds to the specific representational strategy of its owner.

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6 Šeferisová Loudová, Bohatá, p. 147.

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