

Czech and Slovak
Journal
of Humanities

Historia artium

3/2016

Czech and Slovak Journal of Humanities (CSJH) is a peer-reviewed scholarly journal established in 2011 at Palacký University, one of the oldest Central European universities. The journal is dedicated to various important fields of the humanities: history, philosophy, the visual arts, theatre & film (including TV and radio), music, and cultural anthropology, with interdisciplinary themes among these fields.

The journal is intended as a dialogue between the finest Czech and Slovak research and research abroad and as a forum where innovative approaches and current topics are discussed, as well as local themes and previously neglected research. *CSJH* is open to Czech, Slovak and international scholars and guarantees a fair and accurate reviewing process. In order to reach an international readership, *CSJH* publishes the majority of texts in English. Regular scholarly papers are particularly welcome, as well as book or conference reviews, notices, research projects reports and other kinds of academic chronicle.

Editorial Board

George Arabatzis, University of Athens, Greece

Michael Beckerman, New York University, USA

Martin Baumann, University of Luzern, Switzerland

Paul Richard Blum, Loyola University Maryland, USA

Ian Christie, Birkbeck, University of London, United Kingdom

Yvetta Kajanová, Komenský University, Bratislava, Slovakia

Tatjana Lazorčáková, Palacký University Olomouc, Czech Republic

Marina Righetti, Università La Sapienza, Rome, Italy

Rostislav Švácha, Palacký University Olomouc / Academy of Sciences, Prague, Czech Republic

Czech and Slovak Journal of Humanities is published three times a year in the following sequence of numbers: Philosophica; Historica; Historia artium; Theatralia et cinematographica; Musicologica; Anthropologia culturalis.

Published and printed by: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci (Palacký University Olomouc)

Křížkovského 8, 771 47 Olomouc

Czech Republic

www.vydavatelstvi.upol.cz

e-mail: vup@upol.cz

Contact:

Jozef Matula

Filozofická fakulta UP

Křížkovského 12, 771 80 Olomouc

Czech Republic

jozef.matula@upol.cz

Zpracování a vydání publikace bylo umožněno díky finanční podpoře udělené roku 2016 Ministerstvem školství, mládeže a tělovýchovy ČR v rámci Institucionálního rozvojového plánu, okruhu Strategický rozvoj, Filozofické fakultě Univerzity Palackého v Olomouci.

Published and printed by:

Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci (Palacký University Olomouc)

Křížkovského 8, 771 47 Olomouc, Czech Republic

www.vydavatelstvi.upol.cz

e-mail: vup@upol.cz

Chief editor: Jozef Matula

Editor of this volume: Jana Zapletalová

Language Editors of this volume: David Livingstone (English), Giacomo Nerozzi (Italian)

Responsible editor: Jana Kreiselová

Technical editor: Jitka Bednáříková

Graphic Design: TAH & Jiří K. Jurečka

ed. © Jana Zapletalová

© Palacký University Olomouc, Czech Republic, 2016

ISSN 1805-3742

MK ČR E 19478

On the cover: Annibale Carracci, Leto and the Peasants, Kroměříž, château, Archdiocesan Museum Kroměříž

Photo: Olomouc Museum of Art – Olomouc Archdiocesan Museum, Zdeněk Sodoma

Contents

The Refectory of the Sacro Speco at Subiaco: Architecture and Decoration of a Monastic Space in the Middle Ages	5
Roberta Cerone	
<i>Pater canonicorum.</i> St. Augustine and the “Fortress of the Augustinian Canons” in a Fifteenth Century Dutch Engraving.....	16
Alessandro Cosma	
Trame d’arte tra Bologna e Praga nell’autunno del Rinascimento	27
Angela Ghirardi	
Pittura erotica tra Bologna e Praga: aggiunte a Denys Calvaert e Dirck de Quade van Ravesteyn	39
Michele Danieli	
Rodolfo II collezionista in cerca di Giulio Clovio.....	53
Stefano Onofri	
Annibale Carracci’s “Leto” in Kroměříž	62
Marinella Pigozzi	
Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680) and Landscape between Antiquity, Science and Art in the Seventeenth Century.....	79
Camilla S. Fiore	
Anton Kern and Carlo Maratti	96
Martin Zlatohlávek	
Hradec nad Moravicí Château and its Museum and Gallery Presentations.....	105
Pavel Šopák	

Roberta Cerone

Sapienza University, Rome, Italy

The Refectory of the Sacro Speco at Subiaco: Architecture and Decoration of a Monastic Space in the Middle Ages

Abstract | The refectory is located on the first level of an impressive building on the east side of Sacro Speco in Subiaco, the sanctuary built around the cave where St. Benedict of Nursia lived as a hermit between the fifth and sixth century. Due to its nature, the monastery was reserved for the monks and thus interdict to the pilgrims directed to the sacred grotto. The story of the two spaces is closely intertwined, however, starting from the founding of a priory at Sacro Speco during the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216). The erection of the first settlement for the monks actually dates from this time, although the current monastery is the result of the constructive campaign undertaken by Abbot Enricus (1245–1275) and of the raising of the monastic structure by Abbot Bartholomeus II (1318–1343). During the latter period, the great hall at the first floor was intended as a refectory bringing about certain structural changes and a completely new decoration with frescoes depicting *The Crucifixion* and *The Last Supper*, two popular scenes for this type of monastic space over the following centuries and here grouped together prematurely. The paintings, recently restored, have been virtually ignored by specialized critics. At present, however, a new analysis of the cycle allows for the dating of the frescoes to the second half of the fourteenth century and attributing them to painters from the Umbrian region, an area where the Subiaco monasteries had extremely close relations since the beginning of the century.

Keywords | Subiaco; monastic architecture; medieval painting; refectories; last suppers

The refectory is located on the first level of an imposing building reserved for monks, connected to the east of Sacro Speco at Subiaco, a town in the Aniene valley about 40 miles east of Rome [Fig. 1]. The sanctuary was built around the caves where Benedict of Nursia lived as a hermit between the fifth and sixth centuries.¹ Due to its nature, the monastery was dedicated to regular life and thus interdict to the pilgrims directed to the holy cave in all probability as of the High Middle Ages.² The story of the two spaces is, nevertheless, closely related beginning from the time

¹ As in Gregorius Magnus, “Vita sancti Benedicti ex libro II Dialogorum”, in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. III, 125–204. For a detailed analysis of the story and the architecture of Sacro Speco, see Gustavo Giovannoni, “L’architettura dei monasteri sublacensi”, in *I monasteri di Subiaco* (Roma: Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 1904), 2 voll., I, 263–402; Marina Righetti Tosti-Croce, “L’architettura del Sacro Speco,” in *I Monasteri benedettini di Subiaco*, ed. Carlo Giumentelli (Cinisello Balsamo: Pizzi, 1982), 75–94. A reconsideration of the artistic history of Sacro Speco is in Roberta Cerone, *Limen Paradisi. La vicenda artistica del Sacro Speco alla fine del Medioevo*, in press, which should be consulted for a more detailed discussion of these building phases.

² On the debated information concerning the dedication of the three altars in the Speco (or in Santa Scolastica?) by Pope Leo IV (847–855), see *Chronicon Sublacense* (aa. 593–1369), ed. Raffaele Morghen (Subiaco: Ed. Monastero S. Scolastica, 1991), 151. The oldest remaining paintings, which decorate the so-called Cave of the shepherds, date between the ninth and the tenth centuries, see Maria Laura Cristiani Testi, “Gli affreschi del Sacro Speco”, in *I monasteri benedettini di Subiaco*, ed. Carlo

of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216), when a priory was established depending on the monastery of Santa Scolastica placed further down the same valley at Sacro Speco.³

The construction of the first settlement for monks, which was reached by the lower church through a door now bricked in and decorated with a *imago pietatis*, dates from this time.⁴ Although there are not clear traces of this earliest architectural setting, the records of the *Chronicon sublacense* which assigns Abbot Henricus (1245–1273) the erection of *habitaciones* for confreres, suggests that the early thirteenth century spaces had to be extremely simple, and were therefore replaced in the second mid-century with the still existing block.⁵ At that time, the monastery did not exceed the base of the upper church and housed two overlapping rooms, vaulted and lighted by lancet windows,⁶ similar to the monastic building in Santa Scolastica under Abbots Landus (1219–1243) and Henry.⁷ The west wing of the cloister there housed the refectory and the dormitory above and it seems reasonable to assume a similar division even in the Speco.

The *Chronicon* also recorded the following transformation of the building during the rule of Abbot Bartholomeus II (1318–1343), who – as Henricus – was an incisive reformer of the monasteries and thus particularly solicitous to the Speco community, considered exemplary in observance because of the “inspiring” presence of the St. Benedict cave.⁸ The *ex novo* creation of a further floor brought the building to the height of the upper church, and the connection with the church, renewed in the same years, clearly explains the need to move the dormitory to a higher level, next to the new planned choir.⁹ The exact layout of this new structure, today completely rebuilt, is not clear, however, making it impossible to know how many floors were added at this stage.¹⁰

The realization of the *dormitorium magnum* determined the functional reorganization of the underlying building which necessitated a reinforcement towards the valley with three pointed arch buttresses, now completely restored.¹¹ The refectory was moved to the first floor while the

Giumelli (Cinisello Balsamo: Pizzi: 1982), 95–202: 95; Guglielmo Matthiae, *Pittura romana del Medioevo. Secoli VI–X*, con l’aggiornamento scientifico di Maria Andaloro (Roma: Palombi, 1987), 287.

³ Regarding the interventions taken by Innocent III in favour of the Subiaco monasteries see Uwe Israel, “Der papst und die urkunde an der wand. Innozenz III. (1198–1216) in Subiaco,” *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 84 (2004), 69–102; Annarita De Prosperis, “Innocenzo III e i monasteri di Subiaco,” *Latium* XXV (2008), 3–30.

⁴ The door is in the first bay of the lower church, beneath the lunette with the first miracles of Benedict painted by *Magister Conxolus*, see Righetti Tosti-Croce, “L’architettura”, 82.

⁵ Ibid., 87. The abbot was involved in an effort to reform the Speco, by sending a group of disciplined monks, see *Chronicon*, 225–226.

⁶ The original ceiling has not remained on the ground floor. On the contrary, the rib vaults at the first level are still those of the late thirteenth century campaign. Because of their unnaturally low height, it is possible to think about a later increase to the floor, resulting in the creation of a cavity between the two levels.

⁷ Pio Francesco Pistilli and Roberta Cerone, “L’abbazia di Santa Scolastica: dal chiostro cosmatesco come adeguamento al more romano alle trasformazioni delle ali monastiche prima della Commenda”, in *De re monastica III. Le valli dei monaci*, ed. Letizia Ermini Pani (Spoleto: Cisam, 2012), 217–269: 252–253; Roberta Cerone, *La regola e il monastero. Arte e architettura in Santa Scolastica a Subiaco (secc. VI–XV)* (Roma: Campisano editore, 2015), 75.

⁸ “Primum fuit qui stabulum seu predictum dormitorium magnum et pulcrum fieri fecit a fundamento”, v. *Chronicon*, 233. Concerning the construction promoted by Abbot Bartholomeus II in Sacro Speco and the growing importance of the site at that time, see Cherubino Mirzio da Treviri, *Chronicon sublacense* (1628–1630), ed. Luchina Branciani (Subiaco: Tipografia Editrice Santa Scholastica, 2014), 381–882.

⁹ The project initiated by Bartholomeus II was not completed, as indicated by the presence of the interrupted cross vault that was supposed to unify the space, so that at present the oratory is articulated in two bays of different heights, v. Righetti, “L’architettura”, 88. For the renovation of the choir for the monks in the fifteenth century see Roberta Cerone, “Abati committenti e patronato laico: il rinnovamento dei monasteri benedettini di Subiaco alla fine del Medioevo,” in *Medioevo: i committenti*, ed. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (Milano: Electa, 2011), 683–691: 687.

¹⁰ The view of the monastery painted in the early sixteenth century in the so-called old chapter indicates that at that time the monastery had already reached the height of the upper church.

¹¹ The facade of Sacro Speco begun to assume at this time the typical configuration with a series of arches which is still a characteristic feature at this time. The three arches were modified in the eighteenth century with the insertion of the balconies, see Guglielmo Salvi, “Lavori di restauro operati al Sacro Speco da Mons. Tedeschi,” *Benedictina* 7 (1953): 3–4, 273–276.

ground floor was used for other purposes which determined its consequent division and the construction of new vaults that obstructed the original lancet windows. Following the new function as *mensa*, the great hall on the first level also underwent structural changes, as shown by the interruption of the lateral bays for the creation of service rooms to the west and east side [Fig. 2–3]. The latter, in particular, was devoted to the preparation of food, as indicated by the trace of a hatch found during recent restoration work.¹² The pulpit for reading, now disappeared but whose traces can be identified immediately to the left of the present entrance door, was placed in contrast on the north wall. The original entrance, however, was under a late fifteenth century painting with the monogram of Jesus, as shown by the trace of an ogival arch outside the north wall.

The dining hall was decorated with a fresco cycle including *The Crucifixion with Saints* on the west side and *The Last Supper* on the east¹³ [Fig. 4–5]. The western wall is framed by a frieze of gyrrals alternating with medallions with busts of prophets holding scrolls referring to the sacrifice of Christ: Job (Job 19:13), Simeon (Lk 2:34), Jeremiah (Jer 14), David (Ps. 21:17), Isaiah (Is 53:7), Joel (1:8); on the short sides: Ezekiel (Ez 3:17; 33:7) and a Benedictine monk with a volume open to the first chapter of Genesis. *The Crucifixion*, painted in the middle of the wall, interrupts the decorative frieze with a pelican tearing at his own breast, a common metaphor for Christ's sacrifice¹⁴. There is a theory of saints, on either side of the scene, separated by twisted columns and identified by the respective *tituli*: *Augustine* with a hermit robe, *Gregory the Great* – interestingly characterized by a Benedictine cowl – *Scholastica*, *Benedict* with the book of the Rule, *John the Baptist* and *Ambrose*. The Doctors of the Church were completed by the figure of *Jerome* on the right wall, seated on a desk with a lion showing its wounded paw [Fig. 6]. The four *Evangelists* who surround the *Agnus Dei* [Fig. 7], a pair of angels and the two first disciples of *Benedict*, *Maurus* with a book and *Placidus* with the sword of his martyrdom, are depicted on the half-vault. The decoration of the ceiling is completed by *Paul* with a sword and book and *Peter* with the two symbolic keys of earth and heaven. It is, therefore, a specific iconographic selection, which recalls the link with papal Rome through the figures of Peter and Paul, celebrates the saints of the Benedictine tradition in Subiaco (*Gregory the Great*, the author of *Vita Benedicti* and the disciples *Maurus* and *Placidus*) and recalls the union between the ascetic life and the study that characterized the life of Speco with the presence of *John the Baptist*, and of *Augustine* and *Jerome* dressed as hermits.¹⁵ On the opposite wall, *The Last Supper* takes place in a large room with a long table loaded with fish and bread. Christ and the Apostles are identified by *tituli* largely repainted on a damask background, while Judas is depicted on the other side of the table pointing to himself and holding the bread which identifies him as a traitor.

A bust of *Christ* blessing inside an unusual decoration made up of polylobate *oculi* with stars is finally depicted in the center of the middle vault. It is reminiscent of the ceiling in the oratory of San Giovanni Battista in Urbino, dating back to the second half of the fourteenth century¹⁶

¹² The restoration was carried out in 2013 by the Soprintendenza per il patrimonio Storico Artistico ed Etnoantropologico del Lazio (project manager dott.ssa Graziella Frezza, restorer dott.ssa Cecilia Bernardini).

¹³ Concerning the presence of these subjects in the decorations of medieval refectories, see Creighton E. Gilbert, "Last Suppers and their Refectories," in *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, ed. C. Trinkaus (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 371–402; Dominique Rigaux, *A la table du Seigneur. L'Eucharistie chez les Primitifs italiens 1250–1497* (Paris: Éd. du Cerf, 1989), 195–200; Marina Falla, "I programmi iconografici dei refettori medievali. Nota preliminare," in *De re monastica V. Gli spazi della vita comunitaria*, in press.

¹⁴ The central inscription, obviously added in post medieval times, refers to the need to meditate on the sufferings of the cross: CONCIO CO(N)VESCE(N)S FEL V(E)L VINU(M) MEDITARE. DE CRUCE GUSTAVI CU(M) PLAGIS MO(R)TI(S) AMARE. See Arturo Lentini, "Sopra un'iscrizione del Sacro Speco di Subiaco," *Benedictina* 23 (1976): 188–189.

¹⁵ For a deeper discussion about this topic see Cerone, *Limen Paradisi*.

¹⁶ Mauro Minardi, *Lorenzo e Jacopo Salimbeni. Vicende e protagonisti della pittura tardogotica nelle Marche e in Umbria* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2008), 62.

[Fig. 8]. The decoration of the room is completed by yellow curtains at the bottom of the east and west walls decorated with a pattern of floral motifs, also used in a later repainting of the reinforcing arches and longitudinal walls. The style of the frescoes is characterized by a certain rigidity in the composition, with massive figures dressed in large and heavy draperies [Fig. 9]. The execution would seem to refer to the same cultural context, however, certain differences between the two end walls – particularly in the rendering of the faces – suggest the intervention of distinct personalities, in all probability operating within the same workshop, as confirmed, moreover, by the results of the recent restoration.

The difficult stylistic interpretation has caused a significant chronological variation, with divergent dating from the first half of the fourteenth century to the fifteenth century.¹⁷ A date in the first half of the fourteenth century, however, it is difficult to sustain when we consider the architectural transformation of the room, as well as the rendering of certain figures, such as *Judas* in *The Last Supper* or *St. Jerome* near *The Crucifixion*, which indicates their belonging to a much later period. The paintings, moreover, show no relationship with the production of the Roman workshops active in Subiaco during the late thirteenth and the second decade of the fourteenth century,¹⁸ nor any affinity with the painters from Perugia working in different parts of the sanctuary in the 1330s and 1340s.¹⁹ Even a chronology in the early fifteenth-century does not seem convincing, since it does not appear the International Style which had permeated the late Gothic cycles of the monasteries.²⁰ The proximity to the Umbrian painting, already identified by Todini,²¹ does provide however a valuable reference, but should be moved to the second half of the fourteenth century, towards those painters who repeated weakly and with little updates the traditions of the first half of the century.²² In particular, the clear reference to the Assisi frescoes seems to echo the anonymous artist who painted the theory of saints formerly in Santa Elisabetta in Perugia,²³ or the so-called Maestro di San Francesco in Trevi.²⁴ Moreover, Abbots Bartholomeus III (1363–1369) and Franciscus from Padova (1369–1388) specifically intensified the relations with the Umbrian area, that already in the first half of the century had

¹⁷ According to Raimond Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, 16 voll. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1923–1938), VIII, 400 and Filippo Todini, *La pittura umbra dal Duecento al primo Cinquecento* (Milano: Longanesi, 1989), 172, the frescoes should be dated to the first half of the fourteenth century, while Serena Romano, *Eclissi di Roma. Pittura murale a Roma e nel Lazio da Bonifacio VIII a Martino V (1295–1431)* (Roma: Argos, 1992), 346, suggested a date in the first half of the fourteenth century for *The Last Supper* and in the fifteenth century for *The Crucifixion*. For a chronology in the fifteenth century see also Federico Hermanin, “Le pitture dei monasteri sublacensi,” in *I monasteri di Subiaco* (Roma: Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 1904), 2 voll., I, 407–531: 530 and the entry by Maurizio Carnasciali in *Iconografia di San Benedetto nella pittura della Toscana. Immagini e aspetti culturali fino al XVI secolo* (Firenze: Centro d’Incontro della Certosa di Firenze, 1982), 329–330.

¹⁸ For the cycles in the west gallery of the cloister and in the facade of the church in Santa Scolastica and the *Stories of St. Benedict* in the lower church of the Sacro Speco, see Cerone, *La regola e il monastero*, 95–102.

¹⁹ The workshop of Vanni di Baldolo, from the city of Perugia, painted the first bay and the Crucifix chapel in the upper church of Sacro Speco, the *Scala Sancta* and the Madonna chapel, see Marina Subbioni, *La miniatura perugina del Trecento. Contributo alla storia della pittura in Umbria nel quattordicesimo secolo*, 2 voll. (Perugia: Guerra, 2003), 116–122, 132, 137, 157.

²⁰ The workshop of so-called Master Caldora painted the choir of Santa Scolastica in the first thirty years of the fifteenth century, while a different painter decorated the Angels chapel in Santa Scolastica, see Cerone, *La regola e il monastero*, 123–140. Other artists, related to Master Caldora, later worked on the monastic choir of Sacro Speco and in the chapels of lay patronage along the so-called transept in the upper church, see Cerone, “Abati committenti”.

²¹ Todini (*La pittura umbra*, 172) named the anonymous painter “Maestro del refettorio di Subiaco”, considering him a follower of Meo da Siena also active in the town of Umbertide.

²² In Subiaco the same stylistic references can be recognized in the *Washing of the Feet* in the monastery of Santa Scolastica, also dating from the second half of the fourteenth century, see Cerone, *La regola e il monastero*, 120–123.

²³ Today the paintings are in the Galleria Nazionale dell’Umbria di Perugia, see Francesco Santi, *Galleria nazionale dell’Umbria. Dipinti, sculture e oggetti d’arte di età romanica e gotica* (Roma: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, 1969), 71.

²⁴ Todini, *La pittura umbra*, 200.

brought Bartholomeus II to hire workers from that context for the decoration of the first bay in the upper church of Sacro Speco.²⁵

Furthermore, the dating of the cycle to the second half of the fourteenth century, makes this decoration a very early example of a frescoed refectory with the opposite images of *The Crucifixion* and *The Last Supper*.²⁶ According to the critics, in fact, their presence will become almost a standard only in the following century.²⁷ The earliest painted refectories preserved, with few exceptions, were decorated preferably with *The Crucifixion*, as evidenced by the well-known context of the mendicant orders in Florence during the fourteenth century. Apart from the Dominican refectory of Santa Maria Novella, decorated with a group of saints, the main subject is an image of the *lignum vitae*, painted by Taddeo Gaddi around 1345 in the Franciscan convent of Santa Croce,²⁸ while the Augustinian convent of Santo Spirito has a *Crucifixion* attributed to Orcagna (about 1360).²⁹ In both cases, *The Last Supper* appears under the central scene as a kind of predella, smaller in size and clearly subordinate in its position, and it was only in the fifteenth century that the *Supper* achieved a definitive autonomy and a predominance in the cycles of the refectories. In this regard, therefore, the refectory of Subiaco demonstrates once again the vanguard role that Subiaco – with the two monasteries of Santa Scolastica and Sacro Speco – assumed in the artistic scene of the Middle Ages.

Roberta Cerone
 Università degli Studi di Roma “La Sapienza”
 Dipartimento di Storia dell’arte e Spettacolo
 Piazzale Aldo Moro 5
 00185 Roma
 Italy
 E-mail: roberta.cerone@uniroma1.it

²⁵ For instance Abbot Bartholomeus III came from Santa Croce at Monte Bagnolo near Perugia, a Subiaco priory founded by his predecessor Bartholomeus II, see *Chronicon*, 233, 236.

²⁶ About this topic see Gilbert, “Last Suppers”.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ On Taddeo Gaddi in Santa Croce, see *La tradizione fiorentina dei Cenacoli*, ed. Cristina Acidini Luchinat and Caterina Rosanna Proto Pisani (Firenze: Scala, 1997), 116–119.

²⁹ About the refectory of Santo Spirito in Florence see *La chiesa e il convento di Santo Spirito a Firenze*, ed. Cristina Acidini Luchinat (Firenze: Giunti, 1996), 69; *La tradizione fiorentina*, 120–122; Gert Kreytenberg, *Orcagna (Andrea di Cione). Ein universeller Künstler der Gotik in Florenz* (Mainz: von Zabern, 2000), 151–158.



Fig. 1 Subiaco, Sacro Speco. Photo: Roberta Cerone

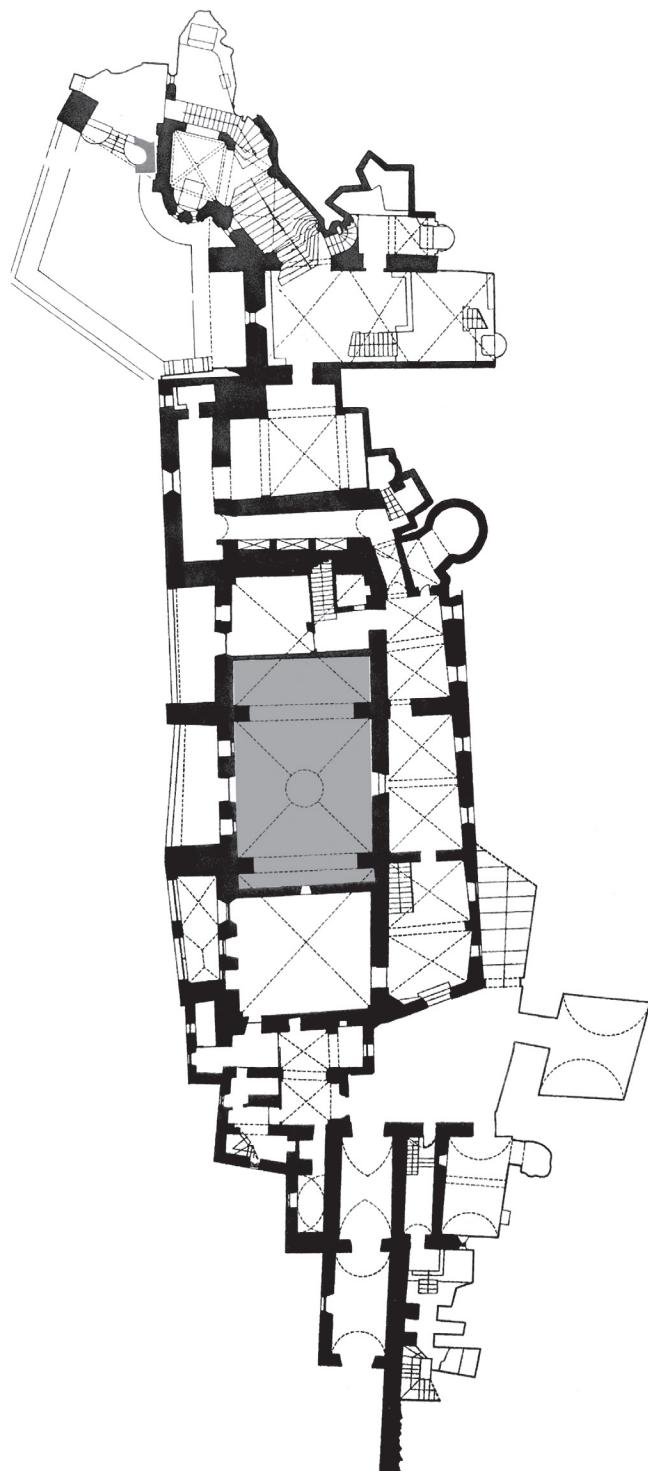


Fig. 2 Subiaco, Sacro Speco, plan of the first level with the refectory in grey.
Photo: Soprintendenza ai Beni architettonici del Lazio, modified by Roberta Cerone)



Fig. 3 Subiaco, Sacro Speco, refectory. Photo: Roberta Cerone

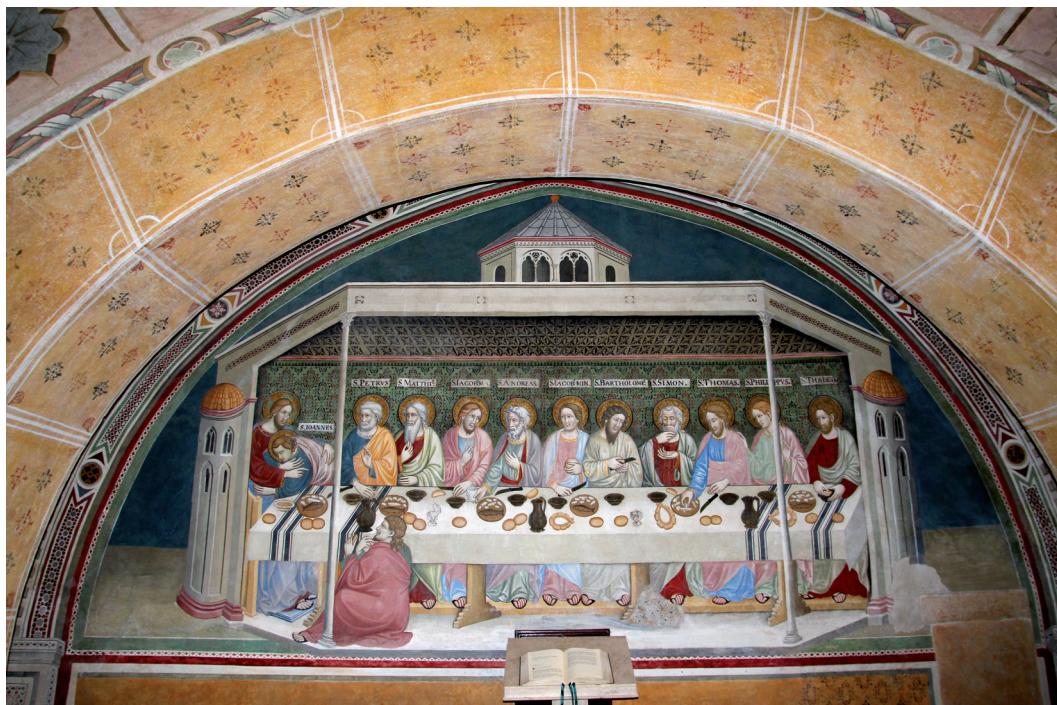


Fig. 4 Subiaco, Sacro Speco, refectory, *Last supper*. Photo: Roberta Cerone



Fig. 5 Subiaco, Sacro Speco, refectory, Crucifixion. Photo: Roberta Cerone



Fig. 6 Subiaco, Sacro Speco, refectory, St. Jerome, part. Photo: Roberta Cerone



Fig. 7 Subiaco, Sacro Speco, refectory, *Evangelists*. Photo: Roberta Cerone



Fig. 8 Subiaco, Sacro Speco, refectory, *Crucifixion*, part. Photo: Roberta Cerone

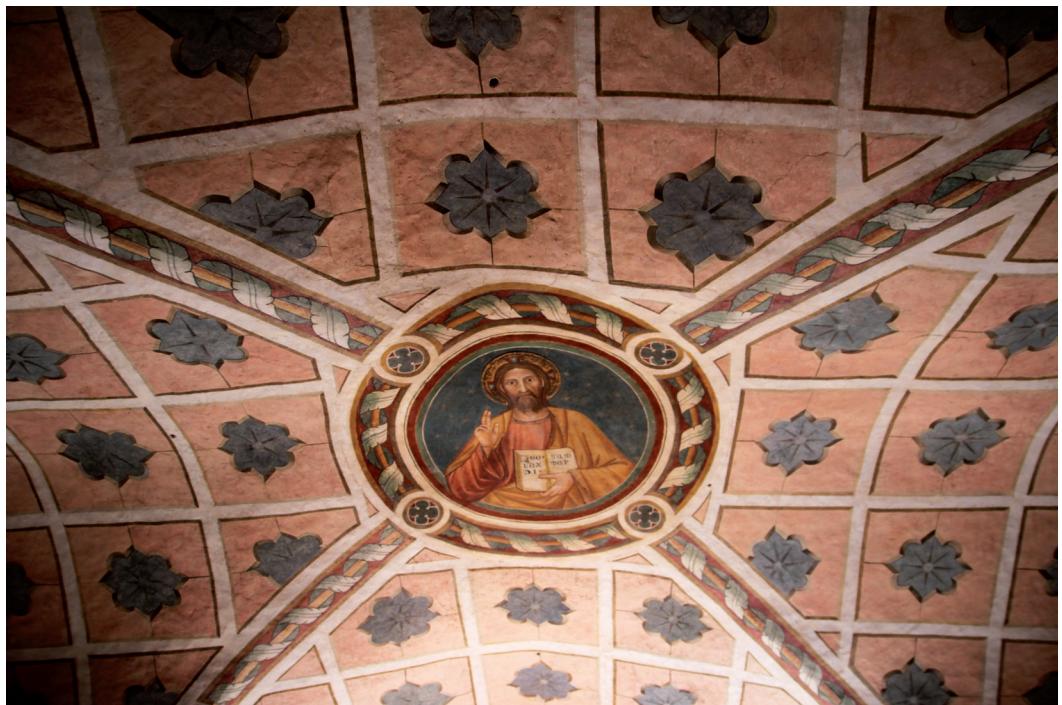


Fig. 9 Subiaco, Sacro Speco, refectory, *Blessing Christ*. Photo: Roberta Cerone

Alessandro Cosma

Sapienza University, Rome, Italy

Pater canonicorum. St. Augustine and the “Fortress of the Augustinian Canons” in a Fifteenth Century Dutch Engraving

Abstract | The paper aims to analyse the particular iconography of a large fifteenth century engraving, currently known in a single copy in Copenhagen (Statens Museum for Kunst, Konegelige Kobberstiksamling, inv. 8320). With more than 50 figures depicted, the engraving is an iconographic hapax in which the type of the “Fortress of the Faith” is used to celebrate the numerous congregations of Canons Regular and to reaffirm their privileged connection with St. Augustine, considered their founder. Dating around 1480, the work is fully part of the strong controversy which exploded in those years between the Canons and the Hermits on the relationship with the Bishop of Hippo, a controversy where even the images – starting from the engravings – played a key role and where this work truly constitutes an absolutely original outcome.

Keywords | St. Augustine; Regular Canons; Engravings; Religious Iconography; Fifteenth Century; Religious Orders

A major dispute concerning the figure of St. Augustine began, starting in the mid-fourteenth century, between Hermits and Regular Canons. Both orders, in fact, regarded him as their founder and consequently produced texts and images to confirm their claims, dressing the saint in their own vestments.¹ In 1471, however, the construction of a statue of the saint for the Duomo of Milan – and then the decision about how it should be adorned – initiated a new and fierce controversy between the two congregations.² Thanks to the circulation guaranteed by the printing, the fight this time had a wide resonance even outside the orders, so as to force even Pope Sixtus IV to threaten excommunication for anyone who had argued “*de ipsius preclarissimi Eclesiae Doctoris Augustini habitu, ac de pictura, et ordinum huiusmodi institutione*”³

¹ On the origins of the controversy: Alessandro Cosma, “Il XIV secolo. Agostino e le sue immagini,” in *Iconografia Agostiniana. Il Medioevo*, vol. 1, ed. Alessandro Cosma, Valerio Da Gai and Gianni Pittiglio (Roma: Città Nuova, 2011), 155–178.

² For this controversy, see Kaspar Elm, “Augustinus Canonicus – Augustinus Eremita: A Quattrocento Cause Célèbre,” in *Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento*, ed. Timothy Verdon and John Henderson (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 83–107; Paola Farenga, “La controversia tra canonici regolari e agostiniani attraverso la stampa: Ambrogio, Domenico da Treviso, Paolo Olmi ed Eusebio Corrado,” in *La carriera di un uomo di curia nella Roma del Quattrocento*, ed. Carla Frova, Raimondo Michetti and Domenico Palombi (Roma: Viella, 2008), 75–91; Alessandro Cosma, “Gli Eremitani e l’immagine di Sant’Agostino nel XV secolo tra ‘vecchie’ e nuove iconografie,” in *Iconografia Agostiniana. Il Quattrocento*, vol. 1, ed. Alessandro Cosma and Gianni Pittiglio (Roma: Città Nuova, 2015), 45–51.

³ Bull *Quia apostolus praecepit* (1484, 11 May), in Ludovico da Empoli, *Bullarium ordinis eremitarum s. Augustini* (Roma: typographia rev. Cameræ Apostolicae, 1628), 321.

On this occasion, the use of printing by the two factions also involved images, by creating a series of “propaganda engravings” to display and disseminate their different positions⁴. During the eighth decade of the century, for example, woodcuts such as *Augustine and Four Popes* [Fig. 1] appeared, created specifically in Milan during the years of the most intense controversy. In the image, the Bishop of Hippo is explicitly presented as the founder of the Regular Canons – *S(ANCTUS) AVGVSTINVS CANONICOR(UM) REGVLARIV(M) PATER* – and is accompanied by a series of renowned members – or supposed members – of the order in order to recall the key role played by the Canons in the history of the Church and, at the same time, certify its antiquity and its direct relationship with Augustine.⁵ In the same years, but with very different complexities, it was also published a large-scale engraving of *St. Augustine and the Fortress of the Augustinian Canons* [Fig. 2], currently only known by the copy preserved in Copenhagen (Statens Museum for Kunst, Koneelige Kobberstiksamlung, inv. 8320).

The woodcut (26.1 × 34.7 cm) is missing a large portion of the upper part and has certainly also been reduced along the two short sides, as shown by the interruptions in the inscriptions. The complete version had to have been, therefore, of a considerable size, quite unusual for a print of that period and probably close to the *in folio* size. The paper, the colour of which has now changed toward brown, has a watermark which resembles a lily of France, still unidentified.⁶ The sheet was part of the personal library of the King of Denmark and found its way into the Royal Library in 1835.⁷ We do not have additional documentary elements, however, which would allow us to reconstruct its previous history, apart from what can be derived from the analysis of the image itself.

The work was published by Schreiber as a depiction of the *Tree of the Canons Regular*,⁸ in reference to a particular iconography widespread during the fifteenth century, which visually showed the genesis and development of the different religious orders with the tree’s visual metaphor.⁹ However, the precise analysis performed by Driggsdahl,¹⁰ thus far the only attempt to explain the iconography of the image, has rightly pointed out that the engraving makes no reference to the tree of the orders, but is instead a celebration of the various congregations belonging to the Regular Canons arranged in a kind of fortress surrounded by walls and with 12 gates protected by towers.

Within this fortress, there is a large hexagonal fountain from which four rivers originate that flow out from the city gates. It is an iconographic reference to the “Fountain of Life”, a common subject in northern European art, combined with that of the four rivers of Heaven that spread

⁴ For the use of engravings by religious orders in those years: Mark J. Zucker, “Early Italian Engravings for Religious Orders,” *Zeitschrift für Kunsts geschichte* 56, no. 3 (1993): 366–384.

⁵ This is a scheme that the Canons used over those years in numerous cycles of frescoes created to celebrate the history of the Order, from Santa Maria delle Grazie in Novara to San Giovanni in Monte Bologna and to the chapter room of Santa Maria della Passione in Milan. For an analysis of the woodcut: Alessandro Cosma, “Sant’Agostino e i papi canonici”, in *Iconografia Agostiniana. Il Quattrocento*, vol. 1, ed. Alessandro Cosma and Gianni Pittiglio (Roma: Città Nuova, 2015), 255–256.

⁶ Erik Driggsdahl, “Anonymus, Sanctus Augustinus, pater canonorum regularium et doctor”, in *Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier. Jan van Ruusbroec, 1293–1381: tentoonstellingscatalogus* (Brussel: Koninklijke bibliotheek, 1981), 387–389.

⁷ Driggsdahl, “Anonymus, Sanctus Augustinus,” 387.

⁸ Wilhelm Ludwig Schreiber, *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1927), vol. 3, 222.

⁹ About this iconography: Sara Richtey, “Spiritual Arborescence: Trees in the Medieval Christian Imagination,” *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality* 8 (2008): 64–82.

¹⁰ Driggsdahl, “Anonymus, Sanctus Augustinus,” 387. Concerning the engraving, see also Alessandro Cosma, “Agostino e la fortezza dei canonici,” in *Iconografia Agostiniana. Il Quattrocento*, vol. 1, ed. Alessandro Cosma and Gianni Pittiglio (Roma: Città Nuova, 2015), 249–252.



Fig. 1 *St. Augustine and four popes*, engraving, Pavia, Musei Civici. Photo: Musei Civici di Pavia



Fig. 2 *St. Augustine and the Fortress of the Augustinians Canons*, engraving, Copenaghen, Statens museum for Kunst, Konegelige Kobberstiksamlung. Photo: Copenaghen, Statens museum for Kunst

throughout the earth. The water is, in fact, directed towards the four cardinal points, pointed out by scrolls with inscriptions.¹¹

St. Augustine [Fig. 3] is placed in front of the fountain, in a central position, identified both by the inscription in the halo – SANCTUS AUGUSTINUS – and in the scroll at the top, where he is explicitly defined as father of the Canons: *s(AN)C(TU)S AUGUSTINUS P(ATE)R CANONICOR(UM) REGULARI(UM) ET DOCTOR*. The saint is depicted in an episcopal garment, mitre and cope, and with a heart in his hand on which appears the monogram of Christ *IHS*, an element usual in the depictions of St. Ignatius of Antioch, but which is a hapax in reference to the Bishop of Hippo.¹² Augustine is giving his rule to a kneeling figure which the scroll – *MAG(ISTE)R JACOB(US) DE VITRIANI* – allows to identify with *Jacques de Vitry* (1170–1240). The latter was the biographer of the mystic Marie d’Oignies, who prompted him to become a Regular Canon of Saint Nicolas d’Oignies (Liege). He was consequently among the supporters of the Fifth Crusade, the Bishop of Acre (1214) and finally, Cardinal Bishop of Frascati (1228).¹³ He wears a wide cowl with a hood

¹¹ See *infra*.

¹² Augustine, in fact, has normally only the wounded or flamed heart: see Gianni Pittiglio “L’iconografia di Sant’Agostino nel Quattrocento tra continuità e innovazione,” in *Iconografia Agostiniana. Il Quattrocento*, vol. 1, ed. Alessandro Cosma and Gianni Pittiglio (Roma: Città Nuova, 2015), 24–26.

¹³ About Jacques de Vitry see John Frederick Hinnebusch, *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry* (Fribourg: University Press, 1972), 3–15; Alberto Forni, “Giacomo de Vitry, predicatore e sociologo,” *La cultura* 18 (1980): 34–89.



Fig. 3 *St. Augustine and Jaques de Vitry*, detail, Copenhagen, Statens museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling. Photo: Copenhagen, Statens museum for Kunst

ties to an object that looks like a hat, perhaps meant as a reference to his cardinal dignity, while next to him a kneeling acolyte holds the crosier and the almuce, a shoulder cape made of fur which characterizes the Canons Regular in northern Europe.¹⁴ The two attributes may be linked to Jacques de Vitry, canon and bishop, but also to St. Augustine, who, in fact, does not hold the crosier and in this way would be visually qualified as a genuine member of the order.¹⁵

Another four Regular Canons, identified by the inscriptions in the scrolls, are depicted around the central group.¹⁶ Starting from the right, *FRATER THOMAS DE CEMPIS*, namely *Thomas à Kempis* (1380–1471), probably the author of the celebrated *De imitatione Christi*, related to the *devotio moderna* and Regular Canon of the convent of Zwolle, depicted with the almuce and writing on a book.¹⁷ He is followed by *MAGIST(ER) HENRIC(US) [...]*, probably *Henricus Pomerius* (Hendrik Util Bogaerde, 1382–1469), Regular Canon of Groenendaal, near Brussels, where he wrote the history of the monastery, *De origine monasterii Viridisvallis* (1420 ca.), along with the life of one of its founders, Blessed Jan van Ruisbroek, who is also depicted in the engraving.¹⁸ Ar-

¹⁴ Concerning the vestment of the Canons, see Luigi M. Loschiavo, “I Canonicci regolari. Un abito da chierici,” in *La sostanza dell’effimero. Gli abiti degli Ordini religiosi in Occidente*, ed. Giancarlo Rocca (Roma: Edizioni Paoline, 2008), 87–91.

¹⁵ According to a tradition already used by the Canons since the fourteenth century: Cosma, “Il XIV secolo,” 174–178.

¹⁶ A first, partial identification in Driggsdahl, “Anonymus, Sanctus Augustinus,” 387.

¹⁷ See Giorgio Picasso, “Tommaso Hemerken da Kempis,” in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, vol. 4, (Roma: Edizioni Paoline, 1977), 1217–1221.

¹⁸ Identified by Driggsdahl, “Anonymus, Sanctus Augustinus,” 387. About his biography see *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 9, (Leiden 1933), 816–818.

naldus from Rotterdam, *MAGIST(ER) ARNOLD(US) DE ROTTERDAM(M)E*, namely *Arnold Gheyloven* (1375–1442), follows who was also canon of Groenendaal and author of several books related to the *devotio moderna*.¹⁹ Finally, on the other side in relation to Augustine, is a depiction of *Arnold Buderick* († 1440) – *ARNOLD(US) DE BUEDRIS* – prothonotary of the Bishop of Modena, then Regular Canon of the Roodklooster convent at Soignes (Brussels) and prior of the new monastery Elsegem, which joined the Congregation of Canons of Windesheim (1425).²⁰

All the Canons depicted around the fountain, then, are members of the order, lived during the fifteenth century and all belonged to the Canons of Windheseim, a congregation founded by disciples of Gerard Groote in 1386 and strictly related to the development of the *devotio moderna*.²¹ Two among them, in addition, come from the monastery of Groenendaal, which joined the Windheseim congregation as of 1412, with this possibly being the original context of the engraving.

This group, obviously of particular importance, is surrounded by a high wall with 12 gates – today only 7 remain – arranged in groups of three and defended by towers crowned with holy bishops, on the basis of the Heavenly Jerusalem described in Revelation (21: 12–13): “*et habebat murum magnum, et altum, habentem portas duodecim: et in portis angelos duodecim, et nomina inscripta, quae sunt nomina duodecim tribuum filiorum Israel: ab oriente portæ tres, et ab aquilone portæ tres, et ab austro portæ tres, et ab occasu portæ tres*”. Moreover, the woodcut seems to have been influenced by the *Sermo de duodecim portis Jerusalem*, formerly attributed to St. Bernard,²² which presents a scheme of the *civitas Dei* where the cardinal points are associated with certain specific elements: West with penance; North with mercy; East with innocence and South with justice.²³ The associations, in fact, perfectly match the only two remaining scrolls in the picture that qualify the cardinal points towards which the rivers that come out from the city flow: *AD AQUILONEM(M) MI/SERICORDIA ...*; *AD OCCIDENTE(M) PENI/[TENTIA ...]*.²⁴ Each cardinal point in the text is also divided into three parts, exactly as in the image where there are three gates with each point identified by a scroll.²⁵

On the south side [Fig. 4], dedicated to mercy as mentioned earlier, the first gate – *PRIMA PORTA PAUPERIB(US) SUBVE(NI)RE* – is dominated by St. *Possidius* († 437), Bishop of Calama in Numidia, a friend and biographer of St. Augustine, portrayed with episcopal garments and almsuce in his right hand, that qualifies him as a member of the Canons. The second – *s(E)C(UN)DA PORTA C(OM)PATI PROXIMOR(UM) MISERIE* – is surmounted by St. *Patrick* (385–461), considered the founder of the canonical order in Ireland in controversy with the Hermits,²⁶ while the third gate – *TERCIA PORTA I(N)IURIAS DIMITTE* – by the North African bishop St. *Fulgentius of Ruspe*

¹⁹ About him: *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 3 (Leiden 1914), 468–469; Nicholas Mann, “Arnold Geilhoven, An Early Disciple of Petrarch in the Low Countries,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969): 73–108.

²⁰ Edmond Henry Joseph Reusens, “Buderick Arnold,” in *Biographie nationale de Belgique*, vol. 3 (Bruxelles: H. Thiery, 1872), 145–148. Unlike Driggsdahl, it seems to me that the two scrolls from the top margin indicating two Canons of the St. Victor congregation, must be referred rather to other figures depicted in the now lost part of the engraving.

²¹ About this congregation, see Carlo Egger, “Canonici di Windheseim,” in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, vol. 2, (Roma: Edizioni Paoline, 1975), 112–117.

²² *Patrologia Latina* 184, 1117–1121.

²³ “*Per solis ortum nobis designans innocentiam; per meridiem, justitiam; per occidentem, poenitentiam; per aquilonem, misericordiam*” (PL 184, 1118).

²⁴ According to Driggsdahl, “Anonymus, *Sanctus Augustinus*,” 388, however, the engraving should be based on a system of associations close to the *Speculum Morale*, formerly attributed to Vincent of Beauvais, and the two missing scrolls were supposed to bear *ad orientem sapientia* and *ad austrum iustitia*.

²⁵ The description of the three parts of each point in the sermon, however, does not match that of the scrolls. The scheme, probably inspired by the text, must have been modified according to the specific needs of the Canons.

²⁶ Gabriele Penotto, *Generalis totius sacri Ordinis Clericorum Canonicorum historia tripartita* (Roma: typographia rev. Cameræ Apostolicæ, 1624), II, 35.



Fig. 4 *The doors of Mercy*, detail, Copenhagen, Statens museum for Kunst, Konegelige Kobberstiksamling.
Photo: Copenhagen, Statens museum for Kunst

(468–533), he also disputed between Canons and Hermits and, not surprisingly, here dressed with the almuce.²⁷

The gates to the west – dedicated to penance – are numbered in reverse, therefore the third is the one in the middle of the engraving, named as *LABOR SATISFACTIONIS* and guarded by St. Rhabdodus († 918), Bishop of Utrecht; followed by the one dedicated to *RUBOR CONFESSIONIS* with a St. John Bishop who might be John Commynes († 1130), regular canon and Bishop of Théruanne, or John of Châtillon († 1163), Bishop of Tréguier and Aleth.²⁸ The series is closed by the gate dedicated to *DOLOR DE PEC(CA)TIS* with St. Malachy (1094–1148), Bishop of Duno

²⁷ Penotto, *Generalis totius*, I, 35.

²⁸ For the two bishops see Ivan Gobry, *Cavalieri e pellegrini. Ordini monastici e canonici regolari nel XII secolo* (Roma: Città Nuova, 2000), 234–235.

in Ireland, who was also disputed between the Canons and the Benedictines [Fig. 5].²⁹ The last door visible at present, the third in the southern area dedicated to justice, bears the inscription *DILIGE I(N)IMICUM PROPTER DEUM* and is crowned by a St. Frederick bishop and martyr, almost certainly the Bishop of Utrecht martyred in 838.

Two figures that seem to be guarding the city are depicted outside each gate. These are the saints and blesseds of the Canons – or at least portrayed as such – with a full or radial halo and the constant presence of the almuce, associated with the attributes that display their role: a book or scourge for confessors, a crosier for bishops and abbots and a sword for martyrs. Each one is identified by a scroll, even though it is not always possible to associate them with specific historical figures, and a large number belongs to the Congregation of Canons Regular of St. Victor in Paris, of which, moreover, that of Windesheim followed the *Liber Ordinis*.³⁰ Among the latter there are *Thomas of St. Victor*, qualified as a saint and martyr near the first gate of mercy;³¹ the pair of theologians *Gautier* and *Robert* near the third gate of mercy; *Adam of St. Victor* and another one difficult to identify, cited in the upper scrolls related to figures now lost and finally *John of St. Victor*. This one is then paired under the door of *RUBOR CONFESSIONIS* by the aforementioned *Blessed Jan von Ruusbroek* (1293–1381), who was the founder of the monastery Groenendal,³² further confirmation of a possible genesis of the engraving in that context [Fig. 5].

At the bottom corners of the composition, the banks of the two rivers that flow toward the north and west are inhabited by additional figures intent on fetching water or washing their clothes. They are members of other orders following the Augustinian rule, identified by scrolls and by their clothes. This is a kind of symbolic image of the influence of the Bishop of Hippo: from the water that start from his figure, these congregations receive inspiration (the gesture of drinking) and their identity (the gesture of wetting their clothes). From the left, we find the *ORDO CRUCIFEROR(UM)*, with a star on the mantle;³³ the *ORDO S(AN)C(T)I SPIRIT(US)*; the *ORDO S(AN)C(T)E BRIGIDE*, with the cross which encloses the circular wafer;³⁴ the *ORDO TEMPLARIORUM* and the *ORDO S(AN)C(T)I GILBERTI*, with a stick and a long beard.³⁵ In the foreground, however, is a depiction of a friar kneeling with a cowl that the scroll identifies as *[ORDO] AUGUSTIN[....] MENDICANTIUM* [Fig. 6]. These are, most likely, the Hermits, significantly placed in the last position, a visual indication of their posteriority compared to the Canons. On the right side, to the west, there are the *ORDO DE M(ER)CEDE IN ARAGONA*, with a crossed shield;³⁶ the *ORDO S(AN) C(T)I JACOBI IN GALITIA*, with a shell associated with the cross;³⁷ the *ORDO S(AN)C(T)I JACOBI DE ALTOPASSU*;³⁸ the *ORDO S(AN)C(T)I JACOBI DE SPADA*, with a red sword on his chest;³⁹ *ORDO S(AN)*

²⁹ Penotto, *Generalis totius*, II, 34.

³⁰ Carlo Egger, "Devotio Moderna," in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, vol. 3, (Roma: Edizioni Paoline, 1976), 460.

³¹ This is in all likelihood Thomas Prior of St. Victor murdered in 1133, used here as a model of holiness even if he was never canonized, based on a practice often implemented by the mendicant orders and also by the Canons Regular (see Cosma, "Sant'Agostino e i papi canonici," 254–255).

³² About him, see Albert Deblaere, "Giovanni di Ruusbroeck," in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, vol. 4, (Roma: Edizioni Paoline, 1977), 1291–1296; John Arblaster and Rob Faesen, *A Companion to John of Ruusbroeck* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2014).

³³ Expressly mentioned in the chapter *de diversitate ordinum religiosorum* of the famous *Liber ordinis rerum* (1456) from which I take the description of the different vestments: "Ordo cruciferorum cum stella portantes mantellos albos abante apertos cym cruce rubea habente desuper stella rubeam", in *Liber ordinis rerum*, ed. by Peter Schmitt, vol. 1, (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1983), 92.

³⁴ "Ordo sancte brigitte (...) cum cruce rubea habente in medio hostiam rotundam", in *Liber ordinis rerum*, 92.

³⁵ "Ordo sancti gilberti cum mantellis ad medietatem nigri et grisei colorum tendentibus barbis prolixis et baculo lulhaldorum in manibus", in *Liber ordinis rerum*, 93.

³⁶ "Ordo de mercede in aragonia cum cappis albis et capucio consuto et clipeo ante pectoralis", in *Liber ordinis rerum*, 92.

³⁷ "Ordo de sancti jacobi de galicia cum tunicis et mantellis nigris cum conchis marinis rubeis habentibus desuper crucem rubeam", in *Liber ordinis rerum*, 92.

³⁸ Here, however, there is not the shell that usually characterized their vestment: *Liber ordinis rerum*, 93.

³⁹ "Ordo de sancti jacobi de spada cum mantellis nigris et gladys rubeis ante pectus", in *Liber ordinis rerum*, 92.



Fig. 5 *John of St. Victor and John of Ruusbroec*, detail, Copenhagen, Statens museum for Kunst, Kønigelige Kobberstiksamling. Photo: Copenhagen, Statens museum for Kunst

C(T)I LAZARI, with a green star;⁴⁰ *ORDO VALL(IS) SCOLARIUM*, with a habit and narrow sleeves;⁴¹ and finally the *ORDO S(AN)C(T)I ANTHONII*, with the characteristic tau and a hood [Fig. 7].⁴²

The complex allegory, therefore, celebrates the special relationship of the Regular Canons with St. Augustine and, in particular, of the two main congregations of Windesheim and St. Victor in Paris. The bishops on the towers, in contrast, testify to the spread of the Canons in all countries and, at the same time, their antiquity, which is traced directly to Possidius. In this regard, the engraving seems to be fully included in the context of the controversy with the Hermits on the legacy of Augustine and with the Benedictine monks on the antiquity of the order that marked the last quarter of the century. This was a controversy, moreover, that had among its main characters, in addition to the Italian convents, specifically the Canons of Windesheim Congregation.⁴³

⁴⁰ “Ordo de sancti lazari cum mantellis griseis ad albedinem tendentibus et cum crucis viridis coloris”, in *Liber ordinis rerum*, 92.

⁴¹ “Ordo vallis scolarium cum floccis nigris habentibus manicas breves modicum ultra cubitum”, in *Liber ordinis rerum*, 92.

⁴² “Ordo sancti anthonij cum mantellis nigris et cum signo thaw clavi videlicet T blavio et capucio simplici”, in *Liber ordinis rerum*, 92.

⁴³ Elm, “Augustinus Canonicus”, 86.



Fig. 6 Orders following Augustinian rule, detail, Copenhagen, Statens museum for Kunst, Konegelige Kobberstiksamlung. Photo: Copenhagen, Statens museum for Kunst

This perspective could also serve to explain the privileged role given to Jacques de Vitry, author of the fundamental *Historia Occidentalis* in which he traces the history of religious congregations, which begins obviously with Regular Canons, placed before the Benedictines and all other monastic orders.⁴⁴

From a stylistic point of view, the engraving was initially associated with the illustrations created for the German edition of the *Biblia pauperum* in 1470,⁴⁵ while according to Drigsdahl, the great woodcut could be closer to the work of Hugo van der Goes, in light of the fact that as of 1477 the painter had retired to the convent of Roodklooster, belonging to the Windesheim congregation, and where one of the figures depicted near St. Augustine also lived.⁴⁶ The presence of Thomas à Kempis, who died in 1471, however, confirms a dating in the eighth decade,

⁴⁴ Hinnebusch, *The Historia Occidentalis*, 24–25. In addition to the conflict with the Hermits, the Canons were often in controversy in the fifteenth century with Benedictines monks concerning the priorities of the two orders: see Cosimo Damiano Fonseca, *Medioevo Canonicale* (Milano: Pubblicazioni dell'Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 1970), 27–34.

⁴⁵ Schreiber, *Handbuch*, 322.

⁴⁶ Drigsdahl, “Anonymus, Sanctus Augustinus,” 388.



Fig. 7 *Orders following Augustinian rule*, detail, Copenaghen, Statens museum for Kunst, Konegelige Kobberstiksamling. Photo: Copenaghen, Statens museum for Kunst

providing a possible *terminus post quem* for the creation of an image that, in any case, is one of the most original results in the figurative propaganda of Regular Canons over the course of the fifteenth century.

Alessandro Cosma
 Università degli Studi di Roma “La Sapienza”
 Dipartimento di Storia dell’arte e Spettacolo
 Piazzale Aldo Moro 5
 00185 Roma
 Italy
 E-mail: alessandro.cosma@uniroma1.it

Angela Ghirardi

Alma Mater Studiorum – University of Bologna, Italy

Trame d'arte tra Bologna e Praga nell'autunno del Rinascimento

Abstract | This contribution intends to consider certain episodes that document the exchanges between Bologna and Prague in the late sixteenth century. The collecting of *naturalia* which connects the indefatigable Bolognese scientist Ulisse Aldrovandi with the Milanese painter Giuseppe Arcimboldi, active at the same time at the court of Emperor Rudolf II, unites the two cities. Certain animal figures by Arcimboldi come to Aldrovandi from Prague and the scientist uses them to illustrate his books, mostly published posthumously. The curious story of hairy González, portraits in drawings, paintings and miniatures by artists active in the two cities circulates in Europe and also makes a stop in Bologna and Prague. There are significant stylistic similarities, under the sign of Parmigianino, between the painting by Bartholomeus Spranger in Prague and that by Bartolomeo Passerotti in Bologna, two artists who perhaps had even met, in Parma or Rome. Lastly, the mysterious stay in Prague, reported by Malvasia, of Aurelio Passerotti, third son of Bartolomeo and Imperia Toselli, baptized in Bologna in 1567, should not be forgotten.

Keywords | Prague; Bologna; Rudolf II; Aldrovandi; Naturalia collecting; Hairy González; Painting; Travel

La stagione dell'arte presso la corte di Rodolfo II a Praga, tra la fine del Cinquecento e gli inizi del Seicento, è tra le più complesse e ricche della storia europea. Il bellissimo libro, dedicato all'enigmatica figura dell'imperatore Rodolfo II (1552–1612), dello storico inglese Robert Evans mi è stato molto utile per dare almeno un'occhiata d'insieme. Fu pubblicato nel 1973, poi tradotto in italiano, una decina di anni dopo, per i tipi del Mulino ed è da qui che traggo la citazione di Karel van Mander con la quale intendo iniziare: “*Chiunque lo voglia, se lo può, oggi deve soltanto recarsi a Praga, presso il più grande mecenate delle arti esistente al mondo ossia presso Rodolfo II, Imperatore Romano; presso la residenza imperiale e anche nelle raccolte di altri grandi amanti dell'arte può vedere un numero notevole di opere singolari e preziose, curiose, inconsuete e inestimabili*”.¹ L'entusiastico giudizio si trova nel *Libro della pittura* (*Het Schilder-boeck*, Haarlem 1604) di Karel van Mander, considerato il primo teorico della scuola di Praga, amico e coetaneo di Bartholomeus Spranger, nativo di Anversa, che fu uno degli artisti prediletti dall'imperatore e visse a Praga dalla fine degli anni settanta del Cinquecento fino alla morte, nel 1611. Con lui Van Mander lavorò a Roma e a Vienna e ne scrisse una lunga biografia.

Forse l'icona che più rappresenta la complessa cultura della corte rudolfinia è il famoso *Ritratto dell'imperatore Rodolfo II come Vertumno* dipinto a Milano da Giuseppe Arcimboldi, l'artista milanese che fu per venticinque anni, dal 1562 al 1587, al servizio degli Asburgo e rimase a Praga

¹ Il passo di Van Mander, già tradotto in italiano, si trova in Robert J. Evans, *Rodolfo II d'Asburgo. L'enigma di un imperatore* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1984), 229, dove è collocato ad esergo del capitolo quinto, intitolato “*Rodolfo e le arti*”.

per lungo tempo, dopo l'elezione a imperatore di Rodolfo nel 1576 e il successivo trasferimento, compiuto nel 1583, della corte nella capitale boema. Nel 1590, pochi anni prima della morte, arrivata a Milano nel 1593, Arcimboldi fece il ritratto oggi conservato in Svezia, nel castello di Skokloster, a nord di Stoccolma². È l'emblema di un'arte che cerca gli *arcana naturae*, le corrispondenze tra microcosmo e macrocosmo, tra uomo e mondo.

Rodolfo II è il fantasma che vive in tante pagine, fortemente evocative, di *Praga magica* (1973), scritto da Angelo Maria Ripellino in un momento molto drammatico della storia della città, all'indomani dell'invasione dei carri armati sovietici che soffocavano le speranze della "primavera di Praga" e dopo il sacrificio di Jan Palach. Vale la pena di riportarne dei passi: "Ma chi era Rodolfo II, questo mecenate di luminari e di ciurmatori, alla cui corte mi sembra di esser vissuto? (...) Rodolfo II non intermise mai di leggere poeti latini, parlava parecchie lingue, ma in specie tedesco e spagnuolo, e con più incertezza anche il ceco. Di alchimia, di scienze, di fisica, di astrologia, di magia era dilettantissimo. Passava il suo tempo tra i quadri, gli oggetti preziosi, le coppelle, i crogiuoli lutati, le olle di vetro, le sfere armillari, i lambicchi, in compagnia di alchimisti, pittori, pronosticanti, e lui stesso amava dipingere, tessere, far lavoro di intaglio e orologeria. (...) Rodolfo ebbe in sua corte pittori e scultori notevolissimi, i quali tutti di doni, di benefici e di favori colmava. (...) Il desiderio di ornare la corte di una gran folla di artisti fa riscontro in Rodolfo all'ansia spasmodica di collezionare, di accumulare preziosi e rarità e naturalia".³

Ed è proprio sul collezionismo di *naturalia* che sarà bene soffermarsi perché lega con l'Italia del granduca di Firenze Francesco I Medici, il "principe dello Studiolo" per citare il bel libro che gli ha dedicato Luciano Berti nel 1967 e anche con il collezionismo encyclopedico del bolognese Ulisse Aldrovandi, infaticabile ricercatore delle "cose di natura" e ambizioso di approdare all'"inventario del mondo", stavolta per citare il libro altrettanto bello di Giuseppe Olmi che, nel 1992, riuniva e ampliava tanti suoi studi sul naturalista bolognese.⁴

Da tempo si è scoperta "l'altra faccia di Arcimboldo" – come la chiama Lucilla Conigliello⁵ –, cioè una serie di disegni miniati su carta o su pergamena che rivelano un'osservazione della natura diretta, non filtrata dal capriccio, dal grottesco, dalla simbologia che informano le cosiddette "teste composte", talvolta predisposte a diventare anche "teste reversibili".

Tra i fogli naturalistici di Arcimboldi che giungono, verso il 1585, nelle mani del curiosissimo Ulisse Aldrovandi, due si trovano ancora custoditi nelle *Tavole di animali* della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna. Ne ha parlato Giacomo Berra⁶ e, più di recente, vi ha dedicato un saggio specifico Manfred Staudinger, in occasione di una mostra su Arcimboldo svoltasi, tra il 2007 e il 2008, a Parigi e a Vienna.⁷ Si sa che Aldrovandi aveva avuto questi disegni grazie al medico Franciscus Paduanus, di origine friulana, attestato a Praga dal 1583 al 1593, il quale li aveva ottenuti per il tramite di un altro medico, il parmense Giacomo Scutellarius, che fu dal 1581 uno dei medici personali dell'imperatore e morì a Praga nel 1589.

² Sulla cronologia del dipinto cfr. Giacomo Berra, "Allegoria e mitologia nella pittura dell'Arcimboldi: la 'Flora' e il 'Vertunno' nei versi di un libretto sconosciuto di rime," *Acme. Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli Studi di Milano* 41, n. 2 (1988): 16–17. Poi basti rinviare a Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, cat. IV. 38, in *Arcimboldo 1526–1593*, catalogo della mostra (Parigi–Vienna), ed. Sylvia Ferino-Pagden (Milano: Skira, 2007), 186–187.

³ Angelo Maria Ripellino, *Praga magica* (Torino: Einaudi, 1991), 85, 86, 91.

⁴ Il riferimento è ai celebri studi di Luciano Berti, *Il principe dello Studiolo. Francesco I dei Medici e la fine del Rinascimento fiorentino* (Firenze: EDAM, 1967); Giuseppe Olmi, *L'inventario del mondo. Catalogazione della natura e luoghi del sapere nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992).

⁵ Cfr. Lucilla Conigliello, "L'altra faccia di Arcimboldo," *Paragone* 509–511 (1992): 44–50.

⁶ Giacomo Berra, "Arcimboldi, Vincenzo Campi, Figino, Fede Galizia, Caravaggio: congiunture sulla nascita della natura morta in Lombardia," in *Vincenzo Campi. Scene del quotidiano*, catalogo della mostra (Cremona), ed. Franco Paliaga (Milano: Skira, 2000), 70.

⁷ Manfred Staudinger, "Arcimboldo et Ulisse Aldrovandi," in *Arcimboldo 1526–1593*, catalogo della mostra (Parigi – Vienna), ed. Sylvia Ferino-Pagden (Milano: Skira, 2007), 113–117.

Ciascuno dei fogli di Bologna rappresenta, con molta cura e disposti su due piani, uno sopra l'altro, due animali che dovevano appartenere al serraglio imperiale, in cui abbondavano bestie di ogni specie, molte esotiche, provenienti da terre lontane. I disegni di Arcimboldi, diversamente dalle altre illustrazioni che sono colorate direttamente sulle carte del volume delle *Tavole di animali*, vi sono invece incollati sopra e si distinguono per la diligenza del tratto oltre che per l'acuta osservazione del dato di natura. Tutti e quattro gli animali disegnati da Arcimboldi saranno tradotti a stampa nei libri pubblicati, dopo la morte di Aldrovandi, dai suoi successori: si veda, ad esempio, l'antilope cervicapra, derivata dal disegno di Arcimboldo, che illustra il volume sui quadrupedi, stampato per la prima volta a Bologna nel 1621 [Figg. 1-2].

Ai margini del collezionismo di *naturalia* si colloca la saga dei pelosi, come si potrebbe chiamarla, che interessa Bologna e Praga, Aldrovandi e Rodolfo II, e non solo. È la singolare storia della famiglia González (o Gonsalvus) che sull'irsutismo campava, destando l'interesse e la curiosità delle corti europee e degli scienziati. Una storia che ha ricevuto molta attenzione da parte di recenti studi.⁸ Merita segnalare il *Ritratto di Antonietta González* (Blois, Musée du Château) [Fig. 3] dipinto da Lavinia Fontana verso il 1594,⁹ quando la bambina accompagna la sua padrona, la marchesa di Soragna, a Bologna, ospite del senatore Mario Casali e viene visitata da Aldrovandi che stende degli appunti poi pubblicati nella *Monstrorum Historia*, data alle stampe nel 1642, per la cura di Bartolomeo Ambrosini.¹⁰ Nata a Parigi verso il 1588, Antonietta, allora sui sei-sette anni, tiene con le mani un foglio, dove è scritta la sua storia: “*Dall'isole Cannare fu condotto al Serenissimo re / di Francia Don Pietro huomo selvatico che de presente / si trova presso il Serenissimo duca di Parma del quale / fui io Antonietta, et hora mi trovo presso alla Signora / Donna Isabella Pallavicina Signora Marchesa di Soragna*”.

Non è Antonietta, ma una sua sorella (probabilmente Madeleine) la bambina pelosa ritratta insieme con il padre Pedro González, un fratellino e la madre, l'unica a non essere affetta da ipertricosi, nella grande miniatura, a olio su pergamena [Fig. 4], eseguita a Praga agli inizi del Seicento e attribuita al pittore fiammingo Dirck de Quade van Ravensteyn, attivo alla corte di Rodolfo II dal 1590 circa. Il ritratto dei González è la prima tavola di un bestiario in due album, miniato da vari artisti per l'imperatore e conservato a Vienna, nella Biblioteca Nazionale.¹¹ Stavolta l'artista non conosce i González, che non si recarono mai a Praga, e costruisce il ritratto di famiglia sulla scorta di descrizioni orali e di immagini più antiche. A garantire dell'identità degli effigiati, vestiti di tutto punto e inseriti nel contesto nobilitante di un palazzo con colonne e drappo, sono solo i peli che il pittore descrive particolarmente folti sul viso e sul dorso delle mani.

Un altro filo che lega Bologna a Praga è quello delle analogie, di stile e di metodo di lavoro, che avvicinano Bartolomeo Passerotti (Bologna 1529–1592) al più giovane Bartholomeus Spranger, nato ad Anversa nel 1546 e morto a Praga nel 1611, che fu in Italia, a Milano, Parma, Caprarola

⁸ Basti qui citare Roberto Zapperi, *Il selvaggio gentiluomo. L'incredibile storia di Pedro Gonzalez e dei suoi figli*, (Roma: Donzelli, 2005).

⁹ Proveniente dal mercato antiquario, il ritratto fu restituito alla pittrice bolognese da Maria Teresa Cantaro, “Aggiornamenti e precisazioni sul catalogo di Lavinia Fontana,” *Bollettino d'Arte* 79 (1993): 89–90. Poi si vedano almeno: Vera Fortunati, “Lavinia Fontana: Woman Artist in the Age of the Counter-Reformation,” in *Lavinia Fontana of Bologna. 1552–1614*, catalogo della mostra (Washington), ed. Vera Fortunati (Milano: Electa, 1998), 27; Lucia Marinig, scheda 43, in *Gonzaga. La Celeste Galeria. Le raccolte*, catalogo della mostra (Mantova), ed. Raffaella Morselli (Milano: Skira, 2002), 200–201; Zapperi, *Il selvaggio gentiluomo*, 81–88; Angela Ghirardi, *Ritrattisti e ritratti in Emilia-Romagna. Una traccia* (Bologna: Clueb, 2013), 51–53.

¹⁰ Per l'Ambrosini, custode del museo aldrovandiano dal 1632 al 1657, cfr. Cristiana Scappini, “Sviluppi successivi attraverso l'opera dei custodi: profili,” in *Lo Studio Aldrovandi in Palazzo Pubblico (1617–1742)*, eds. Cristiana Scappini and Maria Pia Torricelli (Bologna: Clueb, 1993), 61–65.

¹¹ Sulla miniatura cfr. Thea Vignau-Wilberg, “Le ‘Museum de l'emperaur Rodolphe II’ et le Cabinet des arts et curiosité,” in *Le Bestiaire de Rodolphe II. Cod. min. 129 et 130 de la Bibliothèque Nationale d'Autriche*, ed. Herbert Haupt (Paris: Éditions Citadelles, 1990), 46–47, 51, 56–59 e Manfred Staudinger, “Études descriptives de zoologie historique,” in *Le Bestiaire de Rodolphe II. Cod. min. 129 et 130 de la Bibliothèque Nationale d'Autriche*, ed. Herbert Haupt (Paris: Éditions Citadelles, 1990), 92–97; poi si veda almeno Zapperi, *Il selvaggio gentiluomo*, 59–63.



Fig. 1 Giuseppe Arcimboldi, *Antilope bubalo* e *antilope cervicapra*, Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Fondo Aldrovandi, *Tavole di animali*, Vol. 5/1, fol. 20. Photo: *Arcimboldo 1526–1593*, catalogo della mostra (Parigi – Vienna), ed. Sylvia Ferino-Pagden (Milano: Skira, 2007), 115



Fig. 2 Xilografia con *Antilope cervicapra* in *Quadrupedum omnium bisulcorum Historia* (Bologna 1621) di Ulisse Aldrovandi. Photo: *Arcimboldo 1526–1593*, catalogo della mostra (Parigi–Vienna), ed. Sylvia Ferino-Pagden (Milano: Skira, 2007), 116

e Roma, per più di dieci anni. I due artisti si erano forse conosciuti a Parma oppure a Roma (se non a Caprarola) e hanno in comune la fascinazione per la pittura del Parmigianino. È utile ricordare che Passerotti teneva nel suo studio “una Madalena in deserto de man del Parmesanino, cosa rara”, come riferisce Pietro Lamo nel 1560.¹² Si aggiunga che il pittore bolognese, sempre attento all’arte nordica, fiamminga specialmente, sembra, nella sua pala d’altare – già conservata a Parma (Chiesa di S. Caterina dei Cappuccini) e ora depositata presso il convento dei Cappuccini di Bologna –, raffigurante S. Antonio da Padova, riflettere suggestioni dalla stampa con S. Domenico, datata 1573, incisa da Cornelis Cort da un disegno di Spranger.¹³ Si mostra, sia nel dipinto sia nella stampa, la stessa figura isolata del santo nel paesaggio, atteggiato in una posa assai simile.

¹² Pietro Lamo, *Graticola di Bologna* (1560), ed. Marinella Pigozzi (Bologna: Clueb, 1996), 59.

¹³ Sul quadro già a Parma e il riferimento alla stampa: Angela Ghirardi, *Bartolomeo Passerotti pittore (1529–1592)* (Rimini: Luisé, 1990), 191. Per il disegno di Spranger e la stampa di Cort si veda da ultimo: Sally Metzler, *Bartholomeus Spranger. Splendor and Eroticism in Imperial Prague*, catalogo della mostra, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 176–177, 270–271.



Fig. 3 Lavinia Fontana, *Ritratto di Antonietta Gonzalez*, olio su tela, 57 × 46 cm, Blois, Musée du Château. Photo: *Italian Women Artists from Renaissance to Baroque*, catalogo della mostra (Washington), eds. Vera Fortunati, Jordana Pomeroy and Claudio Strinati (Milano: Skira, 2007), 153



Fig. 4 Dirck de Quade van Ravensteyn, attr., *Ritratto di Pedro Gonzalez con la moglie Catherine e due figli*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Photo: *Le Bestiaire de Rodolphe II. Cod. min. 129 et 130 de la Bibliothèque Nationale d'Autriche*, ed. Herbert Haupt (Paris: Éditions Citadelles, 1990), 93

Nel *Bacco e Venere* (Hannover, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum) [Fig. 5], eseguito da Spranger verso il 1597–1600, dominano gli dei della mitologia antica, rappresentati con un forte accento di erotismo e di sensualità.¹⁴ Si ammirano l'eleganza dei nudi danzanti e la raffinata fattura della brocca dorata, sbalzata a rilievi figurati. Importa soprattutto osservare gli animali, dove si riconosce, nel cefalofo (una specie di piccola antilope), quello disegnato da Arcimboldi e spedito a Ulisse Aldrovandi, ancora conservato nella Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna,¹⁵ e, nel ghepardo, dipinto in direzione inversa, lo stesso felino miniato da Arcimboldi, poi fedelmente copiato da Dirck de Quade van Ravesteyn. Miniature entrambe che fanno parte del codice miniato 42 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Vienna.¹⁶

Lo stesso metodo di lavoro aveva già usato Passerotti verso il 1577–1580, quando, nella sua *Pescheria* (Roma, Galleria Nazionale in Palazzo Barberini) [Fig. 6], aveva inserito un pesce palla e un astice, presi dalle tavole di Aldrovandi.¹⁷

Alla favola antica di *Perseo e Andromeda* è ispirata la tela di Torino (Galleria Sabauda) [Fig. 7], dipinta da Passerotti verso il 1575. Il modello è significativo: è dallo stesso soggetto eseguito da Vasari nel 1570 nello Studiolo di Francesco I, che Passerotti doveva aver visto durante il suo viaggio documentato a Firenze dell'agosto del 1574. La cultura dello Studiolo, mescolata di collezionismo, di curiosità verso la natura, di mitologia, è in sintonia con le ricerche di Aldrovandi e con il clima rudolfino. Nel quadro di Torino Passerotti colloca un drago molto diverso da quello tradizionalmente rappresentato: è uno squalo che l'artista aveva disegnato probabilmente da reperti giunti al naturalista bolognese. Il foglio, passato sul mercato antiquario e finito chissà dove, fa parte di un bestiario, un gruppo di fogli di animali, tutti disegnati con tratto rapido ed efficace (i "tremendi segnoni di penna" ammirati da Malvasia).¹⁸ Con il piglio di un illustratore scientifico Passerotti disegna animali comuni, come cani e galli, ma anche aquile, coccodrilli, squali.¹⁹

Risale al 1583 circa il quadro con *Ulisse e Circe* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), dipinto da Bartholomeus Spranger.²⁰ Ci sono i personaggi omerici raffigurati con le gambe intrecciate, allusione inequivocabile all'accoppiamento, le suppellettili preziose (una coppa e una brocca d'oro), il libro di magia aperto sul tavolo, accanto a Circe ormai arresa. Ci sono soprattutto tanti

¹⁴ Sul quadro di Hannover: Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Arcimboldo. Visual Jokes, Natural History, and Still-Life Painting* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 183; Metzler, *Bartholomeus Spranger*, cat. 70, 144–145.

¹⁵ Il foglio del Fondo Aldrovandi si può vedere riprodotto da Staudinger, *Arcimboldo et Ulisse*, 116–117 insieme con la stampa che ne deriva e che illustra la *Quadrupedum omnium bisulcorum Historia* (1621) di Ulisse Aldrovandi. Lo stesso cefalofo è disegnato da Arcimboldi su altri due fogli: uno è compreso nel codice miniato 42 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Vienna (ripr. da Staudinger, *Arcimboldo et Ulisse*, 117); l'altro, con la data 1569, è a Dresda, Kupferstichkabinett (ripr. da DaCosta Kaufmann, *Arcimboldo*, 133).

¹⁶ Per il ghepardo di Arcimboldi, datato 1570: Conigliello, *L'altra faccia*, fig. 31; per la copia di Dirck de Quade van Ravesteyn: DaCosta Kaufmann, *Arcimboldo*, 183.

¹⁷ Sulla *Pescheria* si vedano almeno: Ghirardi, *Bartolomeo Passerotti*, 237–238; Angela Ghirardi, "Bartolomeo Passerotti, *Pescheria*," in *Il viaggio. Mito e scienza*, catalogo della mostra (Bologna), ed. Walter Tega, (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2007), 184–185.

¹⁸ Per il quadro e il disegno si rinvia a Ghirardi, *Bartolomeo Passerotti*, 37–39, 175–177; Angela Ghirardi, "Bartolomeo Passerotti, Perseo e Andromeda," in *Il Cinquecento a Bologna. Disegni dal Louvre e dipinti a confronto*, catalogo della mostra (Bologna), ed. Marzia Faietti with collaboration of Dominique Cordellier (Milano: Electa, 2002), 350–351.

¹⁹ I fogli del bestiario passerottiano, dispersi tra musei e collezioni di tutto il mondo, si possono vedere riprodotti da Ghirardi, *Bartolomeo Passerotti*, 37–40; Angela Ghirardi, "Note su Bartolomeo Passerotti nell'età dei Carracci," *Accademia Clementina. Atti e memorie* 32 (1993): 157, fig. 7. Va segnalato che il disegno con l'*Aquila*, pubblicato quando si trovava ancora in collezione privata, è stato poi acquistato dall'Art Gallery of South Australia di Adelaide. Al bestiario si deve aggiungere un nuovo foglio con *Teste di aquile*, Cambridge (USA), Fogg Art Museum, inv. n. 2002.95.24, donato al museo nel 2002 dal collezionista americano Paul J. Alderman.

²⁰ Sul quadro: Flore Collette, "Bartholomäus Spranger, *Ulysse et Circé*," in *L'Automne de la Renaissance d'Arcimboldo à Caravage*, catalogo della mostra (Nancy), Paris, Somogy, eds. Claire Stoulling and Flore Collette (Paris: Somogy Éd. d'art, 2013), 274–275; Metzler, *Bartholomeus Spranger*, 114–118, con una proposta di datazione spostata un po' in avanti, verso il 1586–1587.



Fig. 5 Bartholomeus Spranger, *Bacco e Venere*, olio su tela, 172 × 114 cm, Hannover, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum. Photo: Sally Metzler, *Bartholomeus Spranger. Splendor and Eroticism in Imperial Prague*, catalogo della mostra (New York), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014, 145



Fig. 6 Bartolomeo Passerotti, *Pescheria*, olio su tela, 112 × 152 cm, Roma, Galleria Nazionale in Palazzo Barberini. Photo: Galleria Nazionale in Palazzo Barberini

animali, descritti con precisa attenzione alle specie: la volpe, il cinghiale, il toro, il cavallo, il leone. Uno zoo riprodotto con vivacità che ha alle spalle l’osservazione della natura, così importante a Praga, e che dimostra come spesso in pittura i compagni di Ulisse trasformati in porci, secondo il racconto dell’*Odissea*, possano anche assumere diverse sembianze di bestie.

Lo stesso tema omerico era stato trattato, verso il 1575, da Passerotti nel ritratto travestito (ora a Bologna, Collezioni della Fondazione Carisbo), dove la Circe *polufarmakos* (esperta di filtri magici), si impone al centro, tra l’uomo a destra che sa dominare le passioni – in cui si può forse riconoscere un ritratto ideale di Ulisse Aldrovandi, che sull’omonimia con l’eroe omerico si era costruito un progetto di vita – e i due uomini-bestia a sinistra, abbrutiti e decaduti al livello degli animali. Passerotti studia attentamente il volto ferino e scimmiesco, deformato dall’urlo belluino, come attestano tre fogli, quelli sicuramente autografi di Stoccarda (Staatsgalerie, Graphische Sammlung, inv. n. 6259) e di Bordeaux (Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. n. BX E 913bis 98), il terzo a Venezia (Fondazione Cini, inv. n. 31.085), probabilmente di bottega.²¹

Infine, a conclusione di questo mio piccolo contributo al dialogo tra l’arte dell’Italia e della Boemia, è da recuperare un passo trascurato di Malvasia (1678) sul soggiorno a Praga di Aurelio Passerotti, figlio terzogenito di Bartolomeo, di cui non si sa quasi niente. Scrive Malvasia:

²¹ Sul quadro e sui tre disegni basti rinviare a Angela Ghirardi, “Passerotti, Aldrovandi e un ritratto,” in: *Arti a confronto. Studi in onore di Anna Maria Matteucci*, ed. Deanna Lenzi (Bologna: Editrice Compositori, 2004), 151–156; Angela Ghirardi, “Bartolomeo Passerotti, pittore di genere, e i modelli fiamminghi tra ossequio e divergenza,” in *Crocevia e capitale della migrazione artistica: forestieri a Bologna e bolognesi nel mondo (secoli XV–XVI)*, atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Bologna, 11–13 maggio 2009, ed. Sabine Frommel (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2010), 455–456.



Fig. 7 Bartolomeo Passerotti, *Perseo e Andromeda*, olio su tela, 178 × 141 cm, Torino, Galleria Sabauda.
Photo: Torino, Galleria Sabauda

*“Aurelio (...) miniò e tirò di linee impareggiabilmente, disegnando con gran fondamento e polizia di fortificazione: onde esortato a non lasciare oziosi così degni talenti in patria, ma passarsene al servizio di qualche Potentato o Principe; portatosi alla Corte dell’Imperadore, Ridolfo II, se non erro, venne da quella Maestà molto ben accolto ed accarezzato; ma di quelle grazie e confidenze abusandosi, delle quali si vide poi fatto degno, ardì a tanto avanzarsi, che si meritò l’esser fatto prigione e cacciato in un fondo di torre, sett’anni in quella miseramente vivendo; sin che occorrendo a sua Maestà far fondare non so qual Fortezza, o Cittadella in mezzo l’acque, sovvenutogli l’ingegno grande del Bolognese e dettigli nissuno di quell’Italiano in simil faccenda esser migliore, gli ne facesse per terza persona, commettere il disegno degli ordigni e il modello, impareggiabilmente dal prigioniero eseguiti; onde S. Maestà in rimunerazione non solo il liberasse, ma facendolo prima purgare e ben servire, il rimandasce in Italia carico di favori e di doni, anzi all’istesso Pontefice, dicono, che gli ne avea fatto chiedere, non so per qual cagione e servizio. Ma non sì tosto fu giunto in Roma, che aggravato ogni di più dalle indisposizioni prese ne’ disagi di quelle carceri, dalle quali uscito mai potè liberarsi, finì con la vita le sue miserie, non senza sospetto di un velen terminato, come fu sempre opinione del P. Lodovico Maria, suo nipote (...), dal quale più volte ciò che scrivo intesi a dire”*²² Dell’avventura praghese di Aurelio nessuno si è interessato, solo Pavel Preiss la ricorda nel suo importante libro sugli artisti italiani di età moderna che si recarono nella capitale boema,²³ ma senza aggiungere molto al racconto del biografo seicentesco. Non gli sfugge però l’unica opera nota di Aurelio, della quale stranamente Malvasia tace, il *Libro di lavorieri*, stampato a Bologna presso Fausto Bonardi nel 1591. Si tratta di un’edizione rara di cui si conservano esemplari a Forlì (Biblioteca Comunale) [Fig. 8], Firenze (Museo di Palazzo Davanzati), Berlino (Kunstabibliothek).²⁴ Aurelio, battezzato nel 1567,²⁵ aveva all’epoca ventiquattro anni, il padre era vicino a morire e il giovane stava forse cercando un mecenate che potesse farlo lavorare: il *Libro*, che è un repertorio di ricami, con il disegno degli stemmi di trenta gentildonne bolognesi, è dedicato alla duchessa di Ferrara Margherita Gonzaga d’Este. Difficile dire quando e per quali circostanze Aurelio Passerotti si sia deciso al trasferimento nella lontana Praga. Vale forse la pena considerare una notizia che riguarda un illustre vicino di casa dei Passerotti, quel cavaliere Ercole Bottrigari che fu forse committente della pala con S. Michele Arcangelo (Bologna, chiesa di S. Nicolò degli Albari) – un tempo sull’altare maggiore della chiesa di S. Michele del Mercato di mezzo, presso la quale il pittore abitava – e che Bartolomeo Passerotti ricorda nel suo secondo testamento del 14 luglio 1590, quando, per identificare una stanza della sua casa destinata in eredità al figlio Passerotto, fa scrivere al notaio che si trova “a meza scala rincontro alla rengheria del Cavalier Butrigaro”.²⁶ Di Ercole Bottrigari (1531–1612), musicista e letterato, il bresciano Giammaria Mazzucchelli riferisce che “Raccolse un sì raro Museo di Libri, e d’ordigni Matematici che, invaghitosene Ridolfo II Imperadore non solamente desiderò di conoscere di presenza il posse-

²² Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice. Vite de’ pittori bolognesi* (Bologna: Tipografia Guidi all’Ancora, 1841), vol. I, 188–189. L’errore di Malvasia, che considera Aurelio per secondogenito, è stato da tempo corretto da Adriana Arfelli, “Per la cronologia dei Procaccini (e dei figli di Bartolomeo Passerotti),” *Arte antica e moderna* 8 (1959): 460, nota 18.

²³ Pavel Preiss, *Italští umělci v Praze: renesance, manýrismus, baroko* (Praha: Panorama, 1986), 124.

²⁴ Sul *Libro* cfr. Marina Carmignani, “Aurelio Passerotti, Libro di Lavorieri,” in *Merletti a Palazzo Davanzati. Manifatture europee dal XVI al XX secolo*, catalogo della mostra, ed. Marina Carmignani (Firenze: Centro Di, 1981), 26; Rosaria Campioni, “Libri di merletti e disposizioni suntuarie nel XVI secolo: alcune indicazioni per l’Emilia Romagna,” in *Le trame della moda*, atti del seminario internazionale (Urbino, 7–8 ottobre 1992), eds. Anna Giulia Cavagna and Graziella Butazzi (Roma: Bulzoni, 1995), 129–135; Rosaria Campioni, “Il libro di disegni cinquecenteschi... reso vivo e fattivo”, in *Aemilia ars, 1898–1903: Arts & crafts a Bologna*, catalogo della mostra, eds. Carla Bernardini, Doretta Davanzo Poli and Orsola Ghetti Baldi (Milano: A + G Edizioni, 2001), 117–120.

²⁵ Arfelli, “Per la cronologia,” 460, nota 18.

²⁶ Per l’intera vicenda: Ghirardi, *Bartolomeo Passerotti*, 300.



Fig. 8 Aurelio Passerotti, frontespizio del *Libro di lavorieri* (1591), Forlì, Biblioteca Comunale. Photo: *Le trame della moda*, Atti del seminario internazionale (Urbino, 7–8 ottobre 1992), eds. Anna Giulia Cavagna and Graziella Butazzi (Roma: Bulzoni, 1995), 150

ditore di esso, ma fece a questo offerire, per conseguirlo, una gran somma di danari".²⁷ A distanza di vent'anni, nel 1783, la notizia è ripresa pari pari da Giovanni Fantuzzi che conclude dicendo di non sapere come poi la faccenda andò a finire o quale "sia stata la sorte di questo Museo".²⁸ È vero che si tratta di fonti tarde e prive di riscontro, ma non sono da dimenticare perché suggeriscono l'unica, piccola traccia che lasci intravedere un collegamento tra l'imperatore Rodolfo II e il giovane artista bolognese. Per immaginare l'occasione e inseguire le ragioni del viaggio di Aurelio, in cerca di fortuna.

Angela Ghirardi
 Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna
 Dipartimento delle Arti
 Piazzetta G. Morandi, 2
 40125 Bologna
 Italy
 E-mail: angela.ghirardi@unibo.it

²⁷ Giacomo Mazzucchelli, *Gli scrittori d'Italia cioè notizie storiche dei letterati italiani*, vol. II, parte III (Brescia: Giambatista Bossini, 1762), 1909. Per Ercole Bottrigari si veda almeno la voce di Oscar Mischiati, "Bottrigari, Ercole," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 13 (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1971), 491–494.

²⁸ Giovanni Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi*, vol. II (Bologna: stamperia di San Tommaso d'Aquino, 1783), 321.

Michele Danieli

Alma Mater Studiorum – University of Bologna, Italy

Pittura erotica tra Bologna e Praga: aggiunte a Denys Calvaert e Dirck de Quade van Ravesteyn

Abstract | Although a number of Flemish artists settled at the court of Rudolf II Habsburg, in Prague, Denys Calvaert was the only one regularly based in Bologna. As of the beginning of the seventeenth century, Calvaert begins to paint erotic themes, absent in his previous production. In this study, the author presents certain new paintings with large female nudes and considers if Calvaert might have been inspired by the works of artists such as Bartholomeus Spranger and Joseph Heintz. It is not completely clear how Calvaert was familiar with the paintings of the Rudolfine school: perhaps through the presence in Bologna of certain foreign collectors (such as Paulus Praun, a merchant from Nurnberg), or through his relationship with certain engravers such as Aegidius Sadeler, Pieter de Jode and Jacob Matham. The stylistic links between Calvaert and the school of Prague are perfectly illustrated by the *Mystical Marriage of St. Catherine* presented here. Although formerly attributed to Calvaert himself, it is actually by Dirck de Quade van Ravesteyn. A comparison will be made with a painting in the National Museum of Warsaw. A beautiful, small unpublished painting representing *Mars, Venus and Cupid* is also attributed here to Ravesteyn.

Keywords | Denys Calvaert; Dirck de Quade van Ravesteyn; School of Prague; Bologna; Mannerism

que toutes mes hontes j'eus beues
François Villon

Tra la fine del Cinquecento e l'inizio del Seicento le città di Bologna e Praga appaiono molto distanti dal punto di vista politico e culturale. In quel tempo gli artisti bolognesi erano coinvolti nella riflessione sulla funzione delle immagini all'interno della Chiesa controriformata, all'indomani del Concilio di Trento. Una preoccupazione che a Praga era declinata in modi completamente diversi, dato l'equilibrio tra cattolici e protestanti raggiunto con la *Confessio Bohemica* del 1575.

Bologna era stata annessa allo Stato della Chiesa nel 1506, e da allora mancava di una corte, e di conseguenza di una cerchia di artisti che avessero il compito di riflettere il gusto del signore trasformandolo nell'immagine pubblica della città. Ciò che fecero Giulio Romano a Mantova, Dosso Dossi a Ferrara, o Giorgio Vasari a Firenze, a Bologna non avvenne mai. Inoltre le famiglie aristocratiche erano opportunamente costrette dal governo pontificio a mantenere un profilo celebrativo basso, con le immaginabili conseguenze sulla pittura di argomento profano, tradizionale strumento di propaganda privata. Infine, è sempre mancato un personaggio di umore

saturnino, capace di trasformare le inquietudini di uomo in iniziative di committente, come Rodolfo II d'Asburgo o, per rimanere nei paraggi, Francesco I de' Medici.¹

La presenza di artisti fiamminghi, massiccia a Praga, era molto più limitata a Bologna. Contro Bartholomeus Spranger, Hans von Aachen, Dirck de Quade van Ravesteyn, Roelant Savery, Adriaen de Vries e altri, Bologna poteva schierare il solo Denys Calvaert, l'unico pittore fiammingo che risiedesse stabilmente in città nella seconda metà del Cinquecento.

A partire dal 1600 circa, Calvaert comincia a produrre dipinti di tematica erotica di sapore rudolfino, affatto assenti nella sua produzione precedente. Prima di questa data è raro incontrare nudi femminili nelle sue opere, e nei quadri destinati agli altari non se ne incontreranno neanche dopo. La pittura erotica e l'esibizione del nudo femminile sono per Calvaert un genere preciso, destinato al solo mercato privato. I dipinti di questo soggetto finora noti non sono molti, poco più di una decina, alcuni dei quali sono varianti di una medesima composizione. Per di più, molti degli esemplari più noti e riprodotti sono piuttosto deludenti. Una condotta opaca, priva del consueto lustro, caratterizza la *Toeleetta di Diana* della Pinacoteca Civica di Cremona, di cui esiste una replica di migliore qualità in collezione Patrizi a Roma [Fig. 1].² Nemmeno nelle due versioni della *Cleopatra* [Fig. 2] si ritrova la felicità dei dipinti di piccolo formato dei decenni precedenti, sempre piacevoli e accurati: gli incarnati sono sordi e pesanti, le figure nello sfondo delineate in maniera insolitamente grossolana.³ Le incertezze qualitative non sono da imputare alla cronologia avanzata – anche nelle opere estreme, la perizia tecnica di Calvaert non viene mai meno – ma al coinvolgimento degli aiuti. Le fonti sono fin troppo chiare nel riferire come Calvaert sfruttasse i suoi allievi per replicare le proprie composizioni a uso commerciale, e a quelle date la sua scuola si era ormai svuotata dei talenti migliori.⁴

Ma altri dipinti presentano un grado di autografia maggiore, e quindi una qualità più alta. È il caso della *Lucrezia* del Musée Magnin di Digione [Fig. 3],⁵ e di due quadri che si riconducono a Calvaert in questa occasione. Il primo è una bella *Lucrezia* in piedi in un paesaggio, più volte transitata sul mercato sotto il nome di Cesare Nebbia [Fig. 4]; il secondo uno squisito rame raffigurante *Giove e Semele* [Fig. 5], anch'esso apparso sul mercato ma senza attribuzione.⁶ Quest'ultimo dipinto deve annoverarsi tra i risultati più felici in questo genere, in virtù del disegno raffinato e della pennellata sicura; si noti che la figura di Semele è la stessa che servirà (in controparte) per le due *Cleopatra*.

¹ Charles M. Rosenberg, *The court cities of northern Italy. Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); sulla pittura a Praga, cfr. almeno Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *L'école de Prague. La peinture à la cour de Rodolphe II* (Paris: Flammarion, 1985); *Prag um 1600. Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Kaiser Rudolfs II.*, ed. Christian Beaufort (Freren: Luca, 1988); *Rudolf II and Prague. The court and the city*, ed. Eliška Fučíková (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997); a questi testi si fa implicito riferimento per le opere citate più avanti, laddove non sia indicata una bibliografia specifica.

² Daniele Benati, in *La Pinacoteca Ala Ponzone. Il Cinquecento*, ed. Mario Marubbi (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2003), 148; *Le stanze del tesoriere. La quadreria Patrizi: cultura senese nella storia del collezionismo romano del Seicento*, ed. Anna Maria Pedrocchi (Milano: Alcon, 2000), 256 (come Lorenzo Sabatini).

³ Una versione si conserva alla Cassa di Risparmio di Cesena, l'altra era nel 2013 presso la galleria Canesso di Lugano; Angelo Mazza, *La galleria dei dipinti antichi della Cassa di Risparmio di Cesena* (Milano: Electa, 2001), 142–148.

⁴ Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice. Vite de' pittori bolognesi* (Bologna: Barbieri, 1678), 256: “quindi è che non tutte le divote tavoline, i rametti, e le mezze figure, di tante e tante che veggansi, sue sono, ancorché per tali tutto di spacciate, e credute”.

⁵ Arnaud Brejon de Lavergnée, *Dijon, Musée Magnin. Catalogue des tableaux et dessins italiens (XVe–XIXe siècles)* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1980), 120–121, pur mantenendo una prudente attribuzione a “école bolonaise” già vi ravvisava i caratteri peculiari di Calvaert, suggerimento ripreso con più convinzione da Daniele Benati, “Lorenzo Sabbatini: quadri ‘con donne nude’”, in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Jürgen Winkelmann*, ed. Sylvie Béguin and Mario Di Giampaolo (Napoli: Paparo, 1999), 57 (no. 22), e da Mazza, *La galleria*, 142.

⁶ La *Lucrezia* (olio su tela, 143 × 105 cm) fu proposta da Christie's, Roma, 4 dicembre 2000, lotto 686, quindi da Meeting Art, Vercelli, 5 novembre 2011, lotto 326, sempre come Cesare Nebbia; il *Giove e Semele* (olio su rame, 28 × 22 cm) fu presentato da Il Ponte, Milano, 16 ottobre 2014, lotto 555, ed è stato ricondotto a Calvaert da Michele Danieli, in *Da Cimabue a Morandi. Felsina Pittrice*, ed. Vittorio Sgarbi (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2015), 146.

Senza perderci in precisazioni cronologiche difficili e forse inutili – la stessa invenzione può essere riutilizzata a distanza di anni – i dati di stile indicano che Calvaert si rivolse al genere erotico soltanto in anni avanzati. Mi sembra dunque da rivedere l'opinione secondo la quale “*l'esibizione compiaciuta della nudità femminile*” sia divenuta un tema ricorrente sulla scia di una produzione di quadri con “donne nude” avviata dal suo maestro Lorenzo Sabatini.⁷ È pur vero che conosciamo alcune (poche) prove di Sabatini di questo genere, ma Sabatini moriva a Roma nel 1576: perché Calvaert avrebbe atteso tanti anni per riesumare queste tematiche?

Durante gli anni settanta e ottanta del Cinquecento il nudo diventa materia di riflessione nell'arte bolognese, in seguito alla elaborazione e poi alla pubblicazione (1582) del *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre et profane* di Gabriele Paleotti, vescovo di Bologna dal 1566. In alcuni artisti più sensibili alle idee di Paleotti, quali Bartolomeo Cesi, il rifiuto del nudo diverrà programmatico.

I grandi nudi femminili di Calvaert, che si offrono allo sguardo dello spettatore e occupano con sicurezza l'intera scena, non sembrano derivare da un revival degli schemi di Sabatini ripresi dopo vent'anni di letargo, né tanto meno dalla nuova tenerezza naturalistica che stava emergendo dalle esperienze dei Carracci. Sono piuttosto il risultato di uno stimolo nuovo ed esterno, e questo stimolo, a mio avviso, non può essere altro che la conoscenza delle opere rudolfine.

Non disponiamo di una prova inoppugnabile che dimostri un contatto diretto tra Calvaert e gli artisti della scuola di Praga, così distante culturalmente e geograficamente. Possiamo però inanellare piccoli indizi che permettano di aprire la via a studi più sistematici. Non sappiamo ad esempio se Calvaert abbia mai avuto modo di incontrare il suo concittadino Bartholomeus Spranger mentre entrambi si trovavano a Roma: Calvaert dal 1573 al 1576 (al seguito di Sabatini, pittore ufficiale di papa Gregorio XIII), Spranger dal 1566 al 1575. Un efficace tramite tra i due avrebbe potuto essere Giambologna, amico di entrambi nonché artefice del trasferimento di Spranger presso la corte degli Asburgo. Ma anche in questo caso parliamo di cose (forse) accadute quasi trent'anni prima dell'esecuzione dei dipinti di cui ci stiamo occupando. Due decenni più tardi, intorno al 1593–1595, Calvaert ebbe nuovamente contatti – questa volta documentati – con incisori fiamminghi, tra cui gli anversesi Raphael e Aegidius Sadeler, quest'ultimo attivo alla corte di Praga dal 1597 fino alla morte (1629).⁸

Non abbiamo notizia di opere di artisti rudolfini nelle collezioni bolognesi. Dobbiamo però ricordare la presenza di Paulus Praun, il mercante di Norimberga presente a Bologna dalla fine del Cinquecento fino alla morte (1616). Amico e committente di Calvaert, Praun fu in contatto con Rodolfo II, che nel 1597 gli chiedeva di procurargli opere di maestri italiani.⁹ Praun possedeva un nutrito gruppo di opere di Calvaert di soggetto profano: un *Giove e Semele* del 1606 (che condivideva dimensioni e supporto con il dipinto di cui abbiamo parlato sopra, che però non reca tracce di data e firma), un *Giudizio di Paride* del 1610, una *Danae* del 1613, oltre a una *Venere* non datata.¹⁰ Non siamo in grado di rintracciare nessuno dei dipinti di Calvaert che fu-

⁷ Benati, *Lorenzo Sabbatini*, 55 e *passim*; Daniele Benati, “Un “quadro grande con donne nude” da Joachim Wtewael a Lorenzo Sabbatini,” in *Il più dolce lavorare che sia. Mélanges en l'honneur de Mauro Natale*, ed. Frédéric Elsig, Noémie Etienne, and Grégoire Extermann (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2009), 115–121; cfr. anche Mazza, *La galleria*, 142–148.

⁸ Michele Danieli, “Gli incisori fiamminghi di Dionisio Calvaert,” in *Crocevia e capitale della migrazione artistica: forestieri a Bologna e bolognesi nel mondo (secoli XV–XVI)*, ed. Sabine Frommel (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2010), 469–482.

⁹ Katrin Achilles-Syndram, “...und sonderlich von grossen stuckhen nichts bey mihr vorhanden ist! Die Sammlung Praun als kunst- und kulturgeschichtliches Dokument,” in *Kunst des Sammelns. Das Praunsche Kabinett. Meisterwerke von Dürer bis Carracci*, ed. Katrin Achilles-Syndram (Nürnberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 1994), 35; per gli inventari della collezione Praun cfr. *Die Kunstsammlung des Paulus Praun. Die Inventare von 1616 und 1719*, ed. Katrin Achilles-Syndram (Nürnberg: Stadtrat zu Nürnberg, 1994); Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, *Description du cabinet de Monsieur Paul de Praun à Nuremberg* (Nuremberg: Schneider, 1797).

¹⁰ Murr, *Description*, 10, 23, 29; rimane la curiosità di vedere quel “Mariage de S. te Cathérine; peint dans le goût de Hans Jean von Aachen” (26).

rono nella collezione di Praun, ma le date delle opere perdute confermano quanto detto finora riguardo la cronologia inoltrata dei dipinti erotici.

Tuttavia nemmeno Paulus Praun possedeva opere di artisti rudolfini, a parte un gruppo di disegni di Hans Hoffmann (poco utili ai fini del nostro discorso). Possedeva però una enorme quantità di incisioni, tra cui un importante nucleo di fogli di Hendrick Goltzius e Jacob Matham: l'inventario del 1797 ne registra 462. Tra queste erano presenti anche quelle tratte da invenzioni di Spranger: ad esempio *Adamo ed Eva* (1585, in cui la figura di Eva con i lunghi capelli sciolti è simile alla *Lucrezia* di Calvaert), o *Marte e Venere* (1588), dove compare un repertorio di baldacchini, materassi, putti, elmi, bacili, vasi, riutilizzato anche da Calvaert.¹¹ Qualche anno più tardi (1612) lo stesso Matham – che era il figliastro di Goltzius – inciderà un *Cristo alla colonna* su invenzione di Calvaert.

Da quanto abbiamo detto finora, sembra che gli echi della cultura rudolfina siano giunti a Calvaert soprattutto attraverso incisioni. E soprattutto attraverso l'opera di incisori di Anversa, legati ad altri artisti anversesi trapiantati a Praga. Come Peter de Jode, che nel primo decennio del Seicento incise una *Venere ordina a Cupido di saettare Plutone*, su invenzione di Spranger, dove la figura di Venere potrebbe bene essere il modello per le due *Cleopatra* di Calvaert.¹² De Jode, che incise cinque composizioni di Spranger, incise anche un *Martirio di san Pietro Martire* di Calvaert.

Certamente la circolazione delle incisioni (e l'intermediazione di Praun) è in grado di spiegare molte cose, ma non tutto. I contatti diretti dovettero essere più numerosi dei pochi che siamo stati in grado di documentare. Calvaert infatti mostra di conoscere cose assenti nelle stampe. Ad esempio il tema dello specchio quadrato presente nelle due versioni della *Toiletta di Diana*, che sembra derivare (irregolarità di riflessione compresa) da dipinti di Hans von Aachen quali la *Betsabea* o la *Coppia con uno specchio*, entrambi al Kunsthistorisches Museum di Vienna.¹³

Anche le tre versioni della *Danae* [Fig. 6], tra i dipinti erotici più noti di Calvaert, sembrano rifarsi a modelli rudolfini, in questo caso a un disegno di Joseph Heintz oggi a Berlino [Fig. 7].¹⁴ L'esemplare più antico è quello conservato alla Ferens Art Gallery di Kingston upon Hull, nel quale compare in basso a destra lo stemma di Jacob Arnold, che dal 1591 fu capitano della guarnigione delle Guardie Svizzere di stanza a Bologna. Grazie alla diretta commissione di Arnold o al suo interessamento, Calvaert eseguì quattro pale d'altare per la Svizzera centrale, che si scalano tra il 1595 e il 1609;¹⁵ anche la *Danae* di Hull dovrà dunque datarsi all'inizio del XVII secolo. Primo in ordine di tempo, è anche il più timido nella raffigurazione del nudo. Non solo tutti i personaggi sono avvolti in panneggi, ma il prodigo della pioggia d'oro viene tradotto in maniera simbolica e didascalica, trasformato in un casto scambio di monete dalla mano di Giove a quella della fanciulla. Le versioni successive si fanno (per quanto possibile) più osé.

¹¹ Sally Metzler, *Bartholomeus Spranger. Splendor and Eroticism in Imperial Prague. The Complete Work* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2014), 280–281, 294–295.

¹² Metzler, *Bartholomeus Spranger*, 317–318.

¹³ Joachim Jacoby, *Hans von Aachen 1552–1615* (München, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2000), 82–84, 209–210.

¹⁴ Jürgen Zimmer, *Joseph Heintz der Ältere. Zeichnungen und Dokumente* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1988), 135, e DaCosta Kaufmann, *L'école de Prague*, 233; mi sembra che le analogie siano più stringenti rispetto alla comune derivazione da Tiziano.

¹⁵ Grazie alla diretta commissione di Arnold o al suo interessamento, Calvaert eseguì quattro pale d'altare per la Svizzera centrale, datate tra il 1595 e il 1609. Su tutta la vicenda cfr. Georg Carlen, "Italienische und flämische Altarbilder in schweizerischen Kapuzinerkirchen: 1584–1624," in *Kunst um Karl Borromäus*, ed. Bernhard Andere (Luzern: Faksimile-Verlag, 1980), 102–134, ripreso da Angela Ghirardi, "Microstorie emiliane tra committenza, iconografia, devozione," in *La pittura in Emilia e in Romagna. Il Cinquecento*, ed. Vera Fortunati (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1995), II, 278–280; sulle singole opere cfr. Simone Twiehaus, *Dionisio Calvaert (um 1540–1619). Die Altarwerke* (Berlin: Reimer, 2002), 188–189, 220–221, 232–237, cui si aggiunga August Püntener, "Die Wallfahrtskapelle 'zu den sieben Schmerzen Mariae' im Getschwiler und der Maler des Altarbildes, Dionys Calvaert," *Historisches Neujahrsblatt* 85–86 (1994–1995): 78–85.

Nella redazione più tarda, quella di Lucca del 1614, i veli che coprivano i putti sono scomparsi, Danae è completamente nuda e come nel disegno di Heintz alza la gamba destra offrendo il ventre alla pioggia d'oro.¹⁶

Anche la conoscenza delle opere di Joseph Heintz potrebbe essere mediata dagli incisori. Heintz collaborava con Aegidius Sadeler fin dal 1593 quando questi, a Roma, incise la sua *Deposizione*, a tutt'oggi la prima opera datata dell'artista svizzero. Ma i suoi rapporti con Bologna dovettero essere più profondi, se è vero che nel suo *Amore abbandona Psiche* [Fig. 9] del Germanisches Nationalmuseum di Norimberga, la figura di Psiche con il braccio piegato dietro la schiena nuda riprende in controparte la *Venere* di Annibale Carracci agli Uffizi.¹⁷ Come Calvart e Heintz possano essere venuti in contatto, non lo sappiamo: ma la sensazione è che le cose che non sappiamo siano ancora molte.

In tutte le versioni della *Danae* di Calvaert, in basso a sinistra si trova Cupido addormentato. La figura è tratta dal disegno di Michelangelo noto come gli *Arcieri* (Windsor Castle), attraverso l'incisione di Antoine Lafréry. La stessa figura compare in un dipinto di ubicazione ignota, di cui si conserva una fotografia nella fototeca di Federico Zeri.¹⁸ Le scritte sul retro della fotografia permettono di identificare l'opera con quella presentata da Sotheby's nel 1972 con un'attribuzione a Willem van Mieris, ma non illustrata nel catalogo d'asta.¹⁹ Anche dovendo giudicare dalla vecchia immagine in bianco e nero, credo si possa riconoscere la mano del fiammingo Dirck de Quade van Ravesteyn, documentato a Praga a partire dal 1589. Lo confermano le forme morbide e allungate del nudo femminile avvolte in un chiaroscuro insistito e fumoso, il fondo scuro dal quale le figure faticano a emergere sotto la luce giallastra e artificiale. Altro tratto tipico, come una firma, è il Cupido dalla testa leggermente sproporzionata. Sia sufficiente il confronto con alcuni tra i più noti dipinti di Ravesteyn, quali le *Tre Grazie* del Museo di Poltava, l'*Allegoria del regno di Rodolfo II* della Národní galerie di Praga, o la *Madonna col Bambino e angeli musicanti* di collezione privata, riemerso di recente.²⁰

Il tema erotico-mitologico, *Venere, Marte e Cupido* [Fig. 10], offre l'occasione per l'esibizione di un erotismo mentale, filtrato e costellato di citazioni; e piuttosto lontano dalla sensualità. Se accostiamo il dipinto di Ravesteyn alla *Danae* di Calvaert avvertiamo di essere di fronte a una qualche comunità di intenti riguardo la forma e la funzione del quadro di piccolo formato e di soggetto erotico. Infine, la vicinanza tra i due artisti è sugellata da un significativo scambio attributivo, che riguarda una tavola raffigurante il *Matrimonio mistico di santa Caterina* [Fig. 11],

¹⁶ Nicole Dacos, in *Nell'età di Correggio e dei Carracci* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1986), 80, rileva "le intenzioni caste dell'artista nel coprire non solo Danae ma persino il Cupido e il putto"; Christopher Wright, *Old Masters in the Collection of the Ferens Art Gallery. From Medieval to Regency* (Hull: Hull City Museums & Art Gallery, 2002), 29, 171–172. Sulla *Danae* di Lucca cfr. almeno Simone Bergmans, "Denis Calvart peintre anversois," *Académie royale du Belgique. Classe des Beaux-Arts, Mémoires, Collection en 4°*, IV, 3 (1934): 57, e Teresa Montella, "Dionisio Calvaert," in *Pittura bolognese del '500*, ed. Vera Fortunati (Casalecchio di Reno: Grafis, 1986), 686; una terza versione è stata donata nell'aprile del 2002 all'Historisches Museum di Uri, in Svizzera (ringrazio il personale della Biblioteca Cantonale di Uri per avermi fornito le notizie relative all'acquisizione); una quarta versione è stata presentata da Christie's, Londra, 16 giugno 1967, lotto 133, firmata ma non illustrata nel catalogo.

¹⁷ Jürgen Zimmer, *Joseph Heintz der Ältere als Maler* (Weissenhorn: Konrad, 1971), 90–91; ancora, mi sembra che le analogie siano più stringenti rispetto alla comune derivazione da Correggio. Lars Olof Larsson, "Ernst, Humor und Utopie in den mythologischen Darstellungen der Malerei am Hof Rudolfs II.", in *Hans von Aachen in Context*, ed. Lubomír Konečný and Štěpán Vácha (Prague: Artefactum, 2012), 66, giudica "istruttivo" ("aufschlussreich") il confronto tra il dipinto di Annibale e il *Bacco, Cerere e Cupido* di Hans von Aachen del Kunsthistorisches Museum di Vienna.

¹⁸ Fondazione Federico Zeri, Fototeca, inv. 169283; ringrazio la Fondazione per avere concesso l'immagine, e in particolare Francesca Candi e Marcella Culatti per avermi consentito l'accesso a materiale ancora in fase di catalogazione.

¹⁹ Sotheby's, London, 8 marzo 1972, lotto 117 (olio su tavola, 19,5 × 25,5 cm).

²⁰ Quest'ultimo dipinto è riapparso da Christie's, New York, 30 gennaio 2013, lotto 25; cfr. Olga Kotková, "Fascinated by Dürer: Dirck de Quade van Ravesteyn Paints Madonna and Child with Music-Making Angels," *Studia Rudolphina*, 14 (2014): 123–128.

comparsa nel 2000 sul mercato francese con un dubitativo riferimento a Calvaert. Si tratta invece di una versione autografa del dipinto di Ravesteyn conservato al Museo Nazionale di Varsavia.²¹

Michele Danieli
Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna
Dipartimento delle Arti
Piazzetta G. Morandi, 2
40125 Bologna
Italy
E-mail: michele.danieli@unibo.it

²¹ Anche alla luce di quanto detto finora, mi pare da confermare la datazione tarda del dipinto di Varsavia, contro la cronologia altissima (e il giudizio riduttivo) proposta da Nicole Dacos, “Dirck de Quade van Ravesteyn avant Prague: des Pays-Bas à Fontainebleau et à Sienne,” in *Kunst des Cinquecento in der Toskana*, ed. Monika Cämmerer (München: Bruckmann, 1992), 304, la cui ricostruzione del percorso giovanile è suggestiva, ma priva di solide basi.



Fig. 1 Denys Calvaert, *Toilette di Diana*, olio su tela, 160 × 130 cm, Roma, collezione Patrizi, 1600–1610.
Photo: *Le stanze del tesoriere. La quadreria Patrizi: cultura senese nella storia del collezionismo romano del Seicento*, ed. Anna Maria Pedrocchi (Milano: Alcon, 2000), 256



Fig. 2 Denys Calvaert, *Cleopatra*, olio su tavola, 145 × 109 cm, già Lugano, galleria Canesso, 1615 circa.
Photo: © Galerie Canesso, Paris

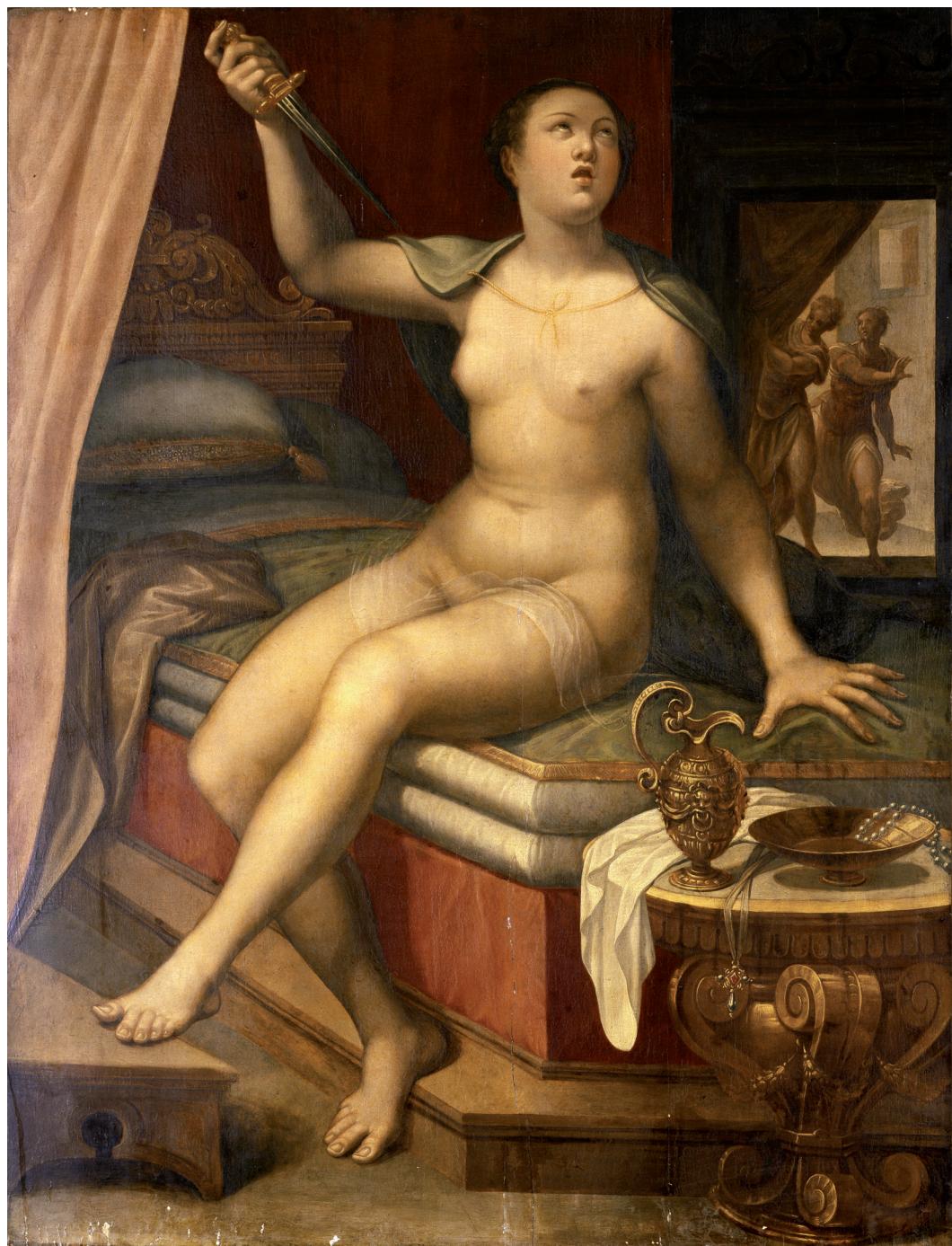


Fig. 3 Denys Calvaert, *Lucrezia*, olio su tavola, 145×110 cm, Dijon, Musée Magnin, 1600–1610.
Photo: © RMN-Grand Palais (musée Magnin) / Franck Raux



Fig. 4 Denys Calvaert, *Lucrezia*, olio su tela 143 × 105 cm, collezione privata, 1610–1615.
Photo: Meeting Art S.p.A.



Fig. 5 Denys Calvaert, *Giove e Semele*, olio su rame, 28 × 22 cm, collezione privata, 1610 circa. Photo: Michele Danieli



Fig. 6 Denys Calvaert, *Danae*, olio su tela, 110 × 78 cm, Ferens Art Gallery di Kensington-upon-Hull, 1600–1605. Photo: © Ferens Art Gallery – Hull Culture & Leisure



Fig. 7 Denys Calvaert, *Danae*, olio su tela, 150 × 113 cm, Lucca, Museo di Palazzo Mansi, 1614. Photo: Michele Danieli

▼ **Fig. 8** Joseph Heintz, *Danae*, sanguigna, penna, acquerello, 205 × 282 mm, Berlino, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, 1600 circa. Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Kupferstichkabinett





Fig. 9 Joseph Heintz, *Amore abbandona Psiche*, olio su tela, 178 × 111 cm, Nürnberg, Germanische Museum, 1603–1606 – Annibale Carracci, *Venere e satiro con due amorini*, olio su tela, 112 × 142 cm, Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi, 1589–1590. Photo: Michele Danieli



Fig. 10 Dirck de Quade van Ravesteyn, *Marte, Venere e Cupido*, olio su tavola, 19,5 × 25,5 cm, collezione privata, 1600–1610. Photo: Fondazione Federico Zeri, Fototeca, inv. 169283



Fig. 11 Dirck de Quade van Ravesteyn, *Matrimonio mistico di santa Caterina*, olio su tavola, 45 × 30 cm, collezione privata, 1595–1600. Photo: © Giafferi, Paris

Stefano Onofri

Alma Mater Studiorum – University of Bologna, Italy

Rodolfo II collezionista in cerca di Giulio Clovio

Abstract | This article means to highlight two examples of Rudolf II's passion for art. Both of these examples concern the work of the Croatian Giulio Clovio. The article starts from the attempt on the part of the Emperor (known from letters) to take possession of the *Farnese Book of Hours*, illuminated by Clovio between 1537 and 1546 for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. Rudolf II was unable, in the end, to obtain this precious work. A *St. Ursula* (now lost) was also addressed to the Emperor, as a letter from 1592 tells us that Clovio painted as *ex-voto* for being saved from a disease. Due to the close link between Clovio and St. Ursula, I am of the opinion that St. Ursula could be seen in the profile in Clovio's self portrait (Florence, Uffizi).

Keywords | Miniature; Clovio; Rudolf II; Prague; Letters; Art Collecting

Assai conosciuti sono le opere e gli episodi che dimostrano la passione dell'imperatore collezionista Rodolfo II per la pittura non soltanto italiana, ma anche europea del '500;¹ basti citare la *Pala del Rosario* di Albrecht Dürer (Praga, Galleria Nazionale), dipinta per la chiesa di San Bartolomeo a Rialto nel 1506 e trasportata con grande cura e fatica da Venezia a Praga un secolo dopo, nel 1606,² e la *Torre di Babele* di Pieter Brueghel il Vecchio (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), attestata da Karel Van Mander nelle collezioni imperiali nel 1604.³

Questo mio contributo intende mettere in evidenza due episodi poco noti del collezionismo dell'imperatore Rodolfo II, emersi agli studi da non molti anni, e riguardanti entrambi l'interesse per Giulio Clovio, miniaturista nato in Croazia, a Grižane, nel 1498, e arrivato in Italia da giovane, nel 1516. Fu a lungo al lavoro per grandi committenti come i cardinali veneziani Domenico e Marino Grimani e il "gran Cardinale" Alessandro Farnese. Clovio è conosciuto non soltanto per la sua eccellente miniatura, ma anche per la fittissima rete di relazioni che intraprese con artisti, tra cui lo stesso Pieter Brueghel, letterati e mecenati nel corso della sua lunga vita.

Rodolfo II, com'è noto da un carteggio ritrovato presso l'Archivio di Stato di Napoli e pubblicato nel 2000 da Almudena Pérez de Tudela,⁴ cercò infatti di appropriarsi dell'opera più raffinata di Giulio Clovio, il *Libro d'Ore Farnese* (oggi a New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS. 69), primo dei due importanti codici realizzati per il cardinale Alessandro, datato 1546 e iniziato presumibilmente nel 1537, poiché il Vasari lo dichiara realizzato in nove anni.⁵

¹ Si veda Robert J. W. Evans, *Rodolfo II, l'enigma di un imperatore* (trad. it.), (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1984), da p. 230.

² Cfr. ad esempio, Andrew John Martin, La Pala del Rosario: ritratti, non-ritratti e storia del capolavoro veneziano di Dürer, in *La chiesa di San Bartolomeo e la comunità tedesca a Venezia*, ed. Natalino Bonazza (Venezia: Marcianum Press, 2013), 55–66.

³ Karel van Mander, *Le vite degli illustri pittori fiamminghi, olandesi e tedeschi* (1604), ed. Ricardo De Mambro Santos (Sant'Oreste: Apeiron Editori, 2000), 200.

⁴ Almudena Pérez de Tudela, "Documenti inediti su Giulio Clovio al servizio della famiglia Farnese," *Aurea Parma* 84 (2000): 231–307. La collocazione del carteggio è: Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Archivio Farnesiano, 172 II.

⁵ Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori* (Firenze, 1968), eds. Paola della Pergola, Luigi Grassi, and Giovanni Previtali (Novara: Istituto Geografico De Agostini, 1967), vol. VII, 445.

Il carteggio ha inizio con una lettera di Marco Antonio Ricci, agente farnesiano a Praga, che scrive al duca di Parma Alessandro Farnese il 16 gennaio 1590,⁶ dunque dodici anni dopo la morte di Giulio Clovio e un anno dopo la morte del “Gran Cardinale”.

Nella lettera si riferisce che era stato lo stesso imperatore a comunicare ad Ottavio Spinola, agente e mercante a Praga, l’interesse per il codice di Giulio Clovio, e che l’imperatore desiderava ardentemente averlo: “S.M.tà [...] ha fatto dirmi per il Sig. Ottavio Spinola, che ella desidera un certo officio della Madonna che aveva Mons.r Ill.mo Cardinal Farnese [...], scritto a penna e mineato da Don Giulio con figure [...]. Così grande è il desiderio ch’ella tiene d’havere il detto officio miniato par mano di Don Giulio per l’informazione havutane da un discepolo di detto Don Giulio, il quale serve hora alla m.tà S. che ella non potria ricever per hora altra gratia maggiore...”⁷

Ad aver parlato a Rodolfo II del *Libro d’Ore Farnese* era il fiammingo Bartholomeus Spranger,⁸ presente a Praga presso la corte imperiale dal 1575 e che a Roma era stato discepolo di Clovio. Il croato aveva inizialmente scoperto il talento di Spranger, procurandosi una *Scena di stregoneria* dipinta dal fiammingo, che solo di recente si è tentato di riconoscere nel quadro raffigurante un *Sabba delle streghe* purtroppo noto soltanto attraverso una vecchia fotografia (Vienna, Österreichische Bibliothek); inoltre, il rapporto tra Clovio e Spranger è testimoniato dal fatto che il fiammingo dipinse una *Conversione di San Paolo* (Milano, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana) su disegno del miniaturista croato, come rivela l’iscrizione sul quadro: *DON JULIO CLOVIO INVE. / BARTOL SPRANGHERS / PINXIT*.⁹ È allegata alla stessa lettera del 1590 la descrizione manoscritta di Spranger, che ricorda il piccolo e prezioso *Libro d’ore Farnese* di Clovio: “L’officio che haveva l’Ill.mo Sig.r Cardinale Farnese [...] è l’officio della Madonna di forma non molto grande (non mi ricordo precisam.te se in quarto in sesto o in ottavo, è coperto di velluto, è scritto a penna co’ belle carattere di lettera, fu mineato da Don Giulio con figure et con altri ornam.ti così belli che era stimato da S.S. Ill.ma la quale haveva quell’officio solo mineato per le mani di Don Giulio.”¹⁰

Oltre alla testimonianza di Spranger, bisogna tener presente che circolavano da tempo stampe tratte da opere di Clovio, come quella dell’*Adorazione dei Magi* realizzata da Cornelis Cort, che aveva collaborato con il croato attorno al 1570 a Roma, ed è tratta da un disegno di Clovio (Windsor Castle, Royal Collection, inv. no. RL O446), ma riflette anche il modello dell’*Adorazione dei Magi* delle Ore Farnese.¹¹ Anche queste stampe, assai diffuse in Europa,¹² avrebbero potuto catturare l’interesse di Rodolfo II.

I Farnese, come sempre attenti ad ingraziarsene i favori, in un primo tempo cercano di soddisfare la richiesta di Rodolfo II. Si aggiunga che era ancora aperta la cosiddetta questione di

⁶ Pérez de Tudela, “Documenti inediti,” 305.

⁷ Ibid., 305–306.

⁸ Ibid., 305.

⁹ Sul *Sabba delle streghe* e la relativa fotografia: Sally Metzler, *Bartholomeus Spranger. Splendor and eroticism in imperial Prague. The complete works* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 68. La fotografia è scarsamente leggibile e la questione resta aperta. Per quanto riguarda la *Conversione di San Paolo* di Spranger dell’Ambrosiana si vedano almeno: Bert W. Meijer, “Bartholomeus Spranger, Conversione di Saul”, in *Pinacoteca Ambrosiana. Tomo secondo – Dipinti dalla metà del Cinquecento alla metà del Seicento*, eds. Bert W. Meijer, Marco Rossi, Alessandro Rovetta (Milano: Electa, 2006), 242–246; Metzler, *Bartholomeus Spranger*, 80–81, con relativa bibliografia. Spranger, in questo dipinto, copia il disegno di Clovio con la *Conversione di San Paolo* (Londra, British Museum, inv. no. 1946,0713.322), ma la composizione risale alla pagina, di uguale soggetto, miniata dal croato nel 1537–38 nel manoscritto del *Commentario alla lettera di San Paolo ai Romani*, fol. 8v (Londra, Soane Museum, MS. 11), che a sua volta riprende l’arazzo di Raffaello per la Cappella Sistina.

¹⁰ Pérez de Tudela, “Documenti inediti,” 305.

¹¹ Si vedano Milan Pelc, “Catalogue,” in *Prints after Giulio Clovio*, ed. Andre Mohorovičić (Zagreb: HAZU, 1998), 30; Valerija Macan Lucavečki, “Giulio Clovio, The Adoration of the Magi” in: *Julije Klović najveći minijaturist renesanse – Giulio Clovio, the greatest miniaturist of the Renaissance*, (Zagreb: Galerija Klovicevi dvori, 2012), 176–177.

¹² La diffusione e l’apprezzamento per queste stampe in Europa sono testimoniati dalla lettera del pittore e teorico Domenico Lampsonio a Giulio Clovio, per la quale si veda Dominicus Lampsonius, *Da van Eyck a Brueghel. Scritti sulle arti di Domenico Lampsonio*, eds. Gianni Carlo Sciolla and Caterina Volpi (Torino: UTET, 2001), 123–133.

Borgo Val di Taro:¹³ il territorio apparteneva allora alla famiglia dei Landi ed era in pratica uno stato satellite degli Asburgo. Approfittando del malcontento della popolazione, Ottavio Farnese organizzò la sommossa degli abitanti e riuscì ad annettere il borgo al Ducato di Parma e Piacenza. Ne iniziò una lunga causa in cui fu coinvolto l'imperatore Rodolfo II, che si concluse soltanto nel 1583, ma i Farnese rifiutarono di restituirci i territori confiscati.¹⁴ Dunque, l'opera di Clovio poteva ancora essere utilizzata per scopi "diplomatici", come già trent'anni prima le miniature eseguite per personaggi della corte spagnola.¹⁵

Per rintracciare il preziosissimo libretto miniato, il duca Alessandro Farnese si dà da fare e contatta probabilmente il figlio Ranuccio e il cardinale Odoardo Farnese a Roma, che aveva preso il posto del cardinale Alessandro.¹⁶

Con lettera datata Parma, 23 febbraio 1590, Ranuccio Farnese comunica poi a Marco Antonio Ricci che, per disposizione testamentaria del cardinale Alessandro Farnese, il *Libro d'ore* è inalienabile. Propone di rimediare con qualche altra opera di Clovio non vincolata dal testamento ("altra cosa di bello di mano di Don Giulio non sottoposta a q.ta prohibitione"). Il seguito della vicenda non è noto.¹⁷

Come mai Rodolfo II fosse così interessato al *Libro d'ore Farnese*, lo si può facilmente intuire. Prima di tutto per la preziosità del libro come oggetto; in secondo luogo per la raffinatezza stilistica della miniatura di Clovio.

Con parole di grande ammirazione, Vasari ricordava infatti il capolavoro del croato: "... *Gli fece il cardinale [Alessandro Farnese] mettere mano a far di minio le storie d'un uffizio della Madonna, scritto di lettera dal Monterchi, che in ciò è raro. Onde risolutosi don Giulio di voler che quest'opera fusse l'estremo di sua possa, vi si misse con tanto studio e diligenza, che niun'altra fu mai fatta con maggiore. Onde ha condotto col pennello cose tanto stupende, che non par possibile vi si possa con l'occhio né con la mano arrivare*".¹⁸

A testimoniare la finezza esecutiva delle *Ore Farnese*, si possono citare i ritratti presenti nelle miniature, come, nel foglio 34v con la *Circoncisione*, quelli di Faustina Mancini e Settimia Jacovacci,¹⁹ che erano tra le donne amate dal Cardinale e facevano parte della sua ricchissima cerchia di intellettuali e letterati, e il papa Paolo III, raffigurato come Simeone, secondo la testimonianza vasariana.²⁰ Si possono citare anche i fogli con *Salomone e la regina di Saba* (fol. 39),²¹ con colonne tortili che ricordano il cartone della *Guarigione dello storpio* di Raffaello (Londra, Victoria and Albert Museum), la *Crocifissione* (fol. 102v) secondo il modello michelangiolesco,²² e le due bellissime vedute di Roma con *I giochi di Testaccio* e la *Processione del Corpus Domini* [Figg. 1–2, foll. 40v–41 foll. 72v–73], con Castel Sant'Angelo e la Basilica di San Pietro prima dei rinnovamenti operati da Michelangelo. Per quanto riguarda il primo dei due fogli, Vasari, a testimonianza della raffinatezza della miniatura, parlava di figure umane così piccole, "manco

¹³ Pérez de Tudela, "Documenti inediti," 305–306.

¹⁴ Cornelia Bevilacqua, "Landi, Claudio", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 63 (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2004), 371–373.

¹⁵ Si considerino ad esempio il *Davide e Golia* e i due dipinti raffiguranti la *Sacra famiglia* di Parigi, Musée Marmottan: Pérez de Tudela, "Documenti inediti," 283–288; Elena De Laurentiis, "Giulio Clovio y la "escuela escurialense" de iluminación," *Goya* 350 (2015): 14–18.

¹⁶ Pérez de Tudela, "Documenti inediti," 306. Questa comunicazione non è documentata, ma si ricava dal seguito del carteggio.

¹⁷ Ibid., 306.

¹⁸ Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. VII, 443.

¹⁹ Cfr. Ingeborg Walter and Roberto Zapperi, *Il ritratto dell'amata. Storie d'amore da Petrarca a Tiziano* (Roma: Donzelli, 2006), 100.

²⁰ Maria Cionini Visani, *Giorgio Clovio: miniaturist of the Renaissance* (New York: Alpine Fine Arts Coll., 1980), 93; Macan Lucavečki, "New knowledge," 101–108; Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. VII, 444.

²¹ Cionini Visani, *Giorgio Clovio*, 93.

²² Ibid., 94.



Fig. 1 Giulio Clovio, *I giochi di testaccio*, dal Libro d'ore Farnese, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 69, foll. 40v-41. Da: Maria Cionini Visani, *Giorgio Clovio: miniaturist of the Renaissance* (New York: Alpine Fine Arts Coll., 1980), 50.

che formiche"; Clovio realizzava così una "delle gran cose che possa fare una mano e vedere un occhio mortale".²³

I due fogli delle Ore Farnese con il Padre Eterno e la Sacra Famiglia [Fig. 3, foll. 59v-60] sono inoltre quelli su cui sta aperto il codice, raffigurato con pennellate assai rapide, nel Ritratto di Giulio Clovio dipinto da El Greco poco dopo il 1570 (Napoli, Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, [Figg. 4-5]), a segnalare il forte legame dello stesso miniaturista con quest'opera.²⁴

L'interesse di Rodolfo II per le opere di Clovio emerge anche da un'altra lettera, pubblicata da Ivan Golub nel 2007.²⁵ È inviata dal segretario della famiglia Caetani, Giovan Francesco Peranda, a Camillo Caetani, nunzio apostolico a Praga, datata Roma 30 maggio 1592. La lettera riporta: "Fu consegnato al Vescovo di Cremona il quadro, che V. S. Ill.ma mi domandò per donare all'Imperatore [Rodolfo II], e la consignazione fu fata in mano propria del Vescovo a nome del S.re

²³ Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. VII, 444.

²⁴ Si vedano almeno Pierluigi Leone de Castris, "Domenico Theotokopoulos, detto El Greco, Ritratto di Giulio Clovio," in *Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte. La collezione Farnese, vol. II. I dipinti lombardi, liguri, veneti, toscani, umbri, romani, fiamminghi. Altre scuole. Fasti farnesiani*, ed. Nicola Spinosa (Napoli: Electa, 1995), 211-212; Lionello Puppi, "Il pittore nel suo labirinto," in *El Greco in Italia. Metamorfosi di un genio*, ed. Lionello Puppi (Milano: Skira, 2015), 30.

²⁵ Ivan Golub, "Pismo Gio Francesca Perande iz Rima 30. svibnja 1592. patrijarhi Kamilu Caetaniju, apostolskom nunciju u pragu o Juliju Kloviću," in *Zbornik II. kongresa hrvatskih povjesničara umjetnosti, Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb*, ed. Milan Pelc (Zagreb, 2007), 147-157.

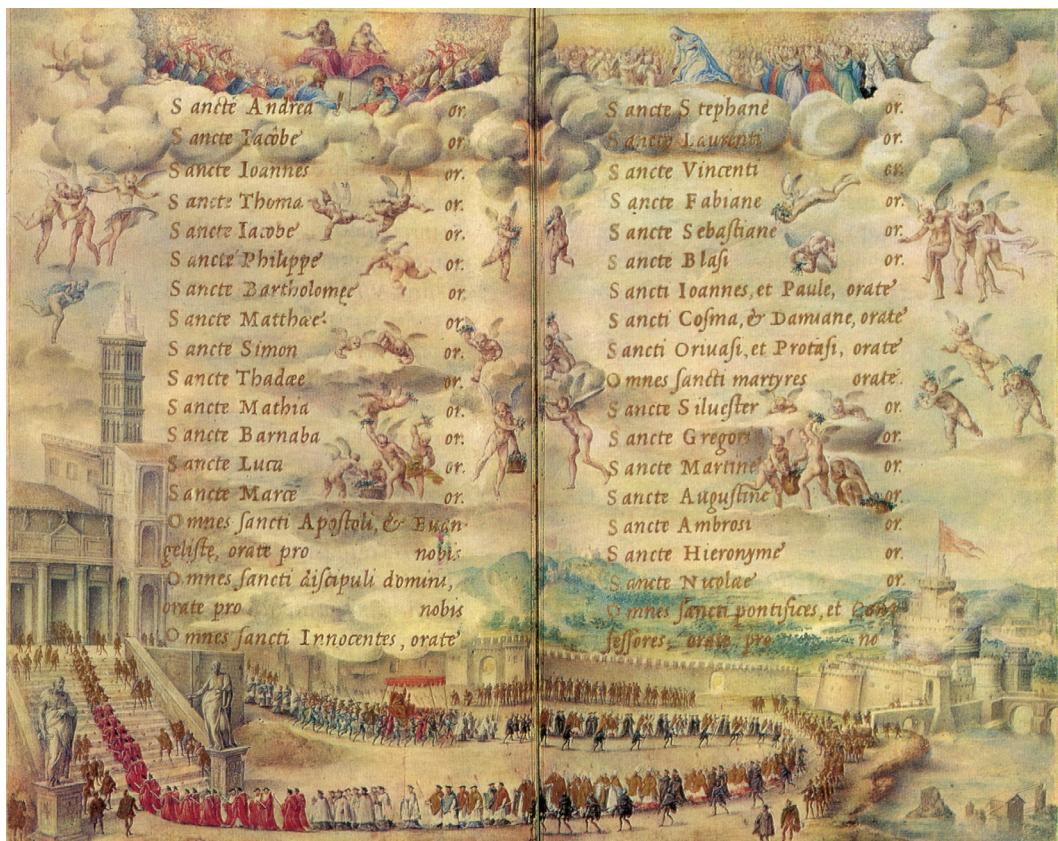


Fig. 2 Giulio Clovio, *La processione del Corpus Domini*, dal Libro d'ore Farnese, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 69, foll. 72v–73. Da: Maria Cionini Visani, *Giorgio Clovio: miniaturist of the Renaissance* (New York: Alpine Fine Arts Coll., 1980), 56.

Cardinale Ill.mo. Credo, che il quadro uenirà bene, perché si è usata ogni diligenza in coprirlo, et chiuderlo per assicurarlo dalli pericoli. All'eccellenza dell'opera si aggiunge, che è quadro di deuozione, se bene la pittura non si dichiara da sé, perché par ritratto [...] et pur è ritratto, ma ritratto di visione. Don Giulio Clouio, che fu il Pittore, era solito raccontare quest'istoria: che trovandosi in Francia afflittissimo di febre quartana, si raccomandò a Sant'Orsola la vigilia della sua festa, mentre si approssimava l' hora del parossismo, riferiva che si addormentò, et uide in sogno q.ta Santa Vergine, che gli disse, che il Sig.re Iddio a sua intercessione gli rendeva la Sanità, et da quell' hora rimase sano, et affermaua di aver riportato in questo quadro, la immagine di quella Santa, che uide in sogno".²⁶

Si parla di Giulio Clovio a quattordici anni dalla sua morte e si racconta che il croato, in data non precisata, dipinse un ex voto con Sant'Orsola per essere guarito dalle febbri e che questa sua opera fu predisposta per essere inviata all'imperatore Rodolfo II a Praga.

All'inizio della lettera si cita il vescovo di Cremona, che era allora Cesare Speciano, assegnato a quella sede dal Papa Clemente VIII nel 1591 e che, nel 1592, si recò a Praga come ambasciatore apostolico, presso l'imperatore.²⁷

²⁶ Ibid., 154–155 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. Lat. 2199, 501).

²⁷ Ibid., 157. Su questo personaggio si veda *La nunziatura a Praga di Cesare Speciano (1592–1598): nelle carte inedite vaticane e ambrosiane*, ed. Natale Mosconi (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1966–1967).



Fig. 3 Giulio Clovio, *Padre eterno e Sacra Famiglia*, dal *Libro d'ore Farnese*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 69, foll. 59v–60. Da: Maria Cionini Visani, *Giorgio Clovio: miniaturist of the Renaissance* (New York: Alpine Fine Arts Coll., 1980), 54.

L'opera in questione non è stata ritrovata ma, di là di questa traccia relativa a Praga, il documento è assai importante per lo studio di Giulio Clovio e fornisce nuove aperture. Non si dice nulla della tecnica dell'opera, ma, dalla descrizione della diligenza nella copertura, potrebbe trattarsi di un quadro. Potrebbe quindi aprire nuove prospettive su Clovio come pittore, anziché, come di consueto, miniaturista.

Inoltre, si parla di un soggiorno in Francia, che non è ancora stato spiegato dagli studi; è certamente complicato da inserire nella biografia di Clovio e ne aprirebbe una nuova parte.²⁸ Potrebbe esservi uno spiraglio per una presenza, anche se breve, di Clovio in Francia, tra il 1552 e il 1553, quando vi si recò il cardinale Alessandro Farnese. A seguito dell'elezione del papa Giulio III, avvenuta nel 1550, il "Gran Cardinale" non era più considerato un personaggio influente presso la curia romana e sperava di ottenere benefici stringendo un'alleanza con il re francese Enrico II.²⁹ Di notevole importanza è anche il legame di Clovio con Sant'Orsola, che non stupisce se si pensa al carattere pio del croato durante tutta la sua vita.

²⁸ Il soggiorno in Francia è citato anche da Valerija Macan Lucavečki, "New knowledge about Giulio Clovio," in *Julije Klović najveći minijaturist renesanse – Giulio Clovio, the greatest miniaturist of the Renaissance* (Zagreb: Galerija Klovicevi dvori, 2012), 79.

²⁹ A riferire dell'episodio biografico di Alessandro Farnese è Stefano Andretta, "Farnese, Alessandro," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 45 (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1995), 52–65.



Fig. 4 El Greco, *Ritratto di Giulio Clovio*, olio su tela, 62 × 84 cm, Napoli, Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte. Da: Pierluigi Leone de Castris, “Domenico Theotokopoulos, detto El Greco, Ritratto di Giulio Clovio,” in *Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte. La collezione Farnese, vol. II. I dipinti lombardi, liguri, veneti, toscani, umbri, romani, fiamminghi. Altre scuole. Fasti farnesiani*, ed. Nicola Spinosa (Napoli: Electa, 1995), 211.



Fig. 5 El Greco, *Ritratto di Giulio Clovio*, olio su tela, 62 × 84 cm, Napoli, Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte (particolare).

La santa è presente anche in un oggetto indicato nell'inventario del croato: “*Un materfoso con l'impronto di Don Giulio, e di Sant'Orsola di mano della Sofonisba*”.³⁰ È difficile spiegare di che oggetto possa trattarsi, tanto che a volte si è parlato di “*misteriosa opera*”³¹

Il termine “materfasio” rivela un’assonanza linguistica con un altro oggetto, citato poche righe sopra, nello stesso inventario: “*La vita e materfosi d’ovidio vulgare libro*”.³² “Materfasio” potrebbe dunque essere una deformazione di “Metamorfosi”. Anche la parola “impronto” va chiarita: rimanda probabilmente a qualcosa di impresso o scolpito, quasi una sorta di sigillo. Ciò è dimostrato anche dalle altre occorrenze della parola nel testamento del miniaturista croato: nello studiolo in noce di Clovio si trovavano “*un impronto in una corniola*” e “*un impronto di stucco in uno scattolino di don Giulio*”.³³ Nel *Vocabolario toscano dell'arte del disegno* di Filippo Baldinucci, il termine “improntare” ha inoltre il significato di “effigiare”.³⁴ Sembrerebbe dunque che Sofonisba avesse realizzato per il miniaturista croato un sigillo, collocato su un libro delle *Metamorfosi*, con l’immagine di Don Giulio insieme con Sant’Orsola. Il legame tra Sofonisba Anguissola e Clovio è di antica data e risale al ritratto che la pittrice dipinse dell’artista croato, mettendogli in mano un medaglione, in cui forse effigiò se stessa.³⁵

La devozione per Sant’Orsola, attestata dalla lettera del 1592, può anche coinvolgere il piccolo *Autoritratto* degli Uffizi [Fig. 6], solitamente datato tra il 1565 e il 1570.³⁶ Nel tondo di Firenze, Clovio si rappresenta anziano, con i capelli e la barba bianchi. È nell’ultima fase della sua vita, quando si trova a Roma a svolgere il ruolo di consigliere artistico del cardinale Alessandro Farnese e non lavora quasi più.

Alla sinistra del miniaturista, nell’*Autoritratto*, emerge dall’oscurità una misteriosa figura posta di profilo, bionda e diafana. Gli studi hanno cercato più volte di darne una spiegazione, anche se mai in modo convincente. In un recente contributo si è ritenuto che avesse un valore simbolico, come rappresentazione dell’anima di Clovio.³⁷ Si è anche pensato che potesse rappresentare il suo giovane e amato allievo, Claudio Massarelli di Caravaggio,³⁸ al quale egli avrebbe lasciato una parte dei suoi beni indicati nel testamento. Il dipinto avrebbe potuto essere realizzato proprio per

³⁰ Antonino Bertolotti, “Don Giulio Clovio principe dei miniatori,” *Atti e memorie delle RR. Deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie dell’Emilia* 7 (1882), 274. Quella del Bertolotti è la prima edizione del testamento di Giulio Clovio, pubblicato anche di seguito in Milan Pelc, *Fontes Clovianae. Julije Klović u dokumentima svoga doba* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1998), 125–137, 225–234; Nicole Hegener, “*Diligentia in minimis maxima*: Testament und Nachlaß des kleinen Michelangelo Don Giulio Clovio,” in *Der Künstler und sein Tod. Testamente europäischer Künstler vom Spätmittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, aus der Tagung “Künstler und der Tod. Künstlertestamente vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart als Quellen der Kunstd- und Sozialgeschichte” hervorgegangen, vom 9. bis 11. November 2007, eds. Nicole Hegener and Kerstin Schwedes (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2012), 105–193.

³¹ Rossana Sacchi, “Tra la Sicilia e Genova: Sofonisba Anguissola Moncada e poi Lomellini,” in *Sofonisba Anguissola e le sue sorelle* (Milano: Leonardo Arte, 1994), 156. Hegener, “*Diligentia in minimis*,” 190, divide in due oggetti distinti la frase dell’inventario, probabilmente per la presenza della virgola tra Don Giulio e la Sant’Orsola: ci sarebbero quindi una ‘*Metamorfosi*’, di artista sconosciuto, con il sigillo di Giulio Clovio, e una *Sant’Orsola* di Sofonisba Anguissola. Tuttavia, sembra che si possa trattare di un oggetto unico, poiché, nel documento originale, il tutto si trova sulla stessa riga e non su righe separate, come sarebbe più probabile per oggetti differenti e come è di consueto nel testamento.

³² Bertolotti, “Don Giulio Clovio”, 274.

³³ Ibid., 274.

³⁴ Filippo Baldinucci, *Vocabolario toscano dell'arte del disegno* (1681) (Firenze: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1985), 71.

³⁵ Nel medaglione si è spesso riconosciuta la miniatrice Levina Teerlinc, ma uno studio recente di Annemie Leemans ha proposto di identificarla con la stessa Sofonisba: si veda Annemie Leemans, “Tra storia e leggenda. Indagini sul network artistico tra Sofonisba Anguissola, Giulio Clovio e Levina Teerlinc,” *Intrecci d’arte* 3 (2014): 35–55, al quale si rimanda anche per la bibliografia sull’argomento.

³⁶ Cfr. ad esempio Cionini Visani, *Giorgio Clovio*, 85; Silvia Meloni Trkulja, “Giulio Clovio, Autoritratto,” in *Palazzo Vecchio, committenza e collezionismo medicei*, ed. Paola Barocchi (Firenze: Electa, 1980), 196–197; Macan Lucavečki, “New knowledge,” 144 (pone comunque l’opera nell’ultimo decennio di vita di Clovio).

³⁷ Hegener, “*Diligentia in minimis*,” 151.

³⁸ Ibid., 152.



Fig. 6 Giulio Clovio, *Autoritratto*, tempera su pergamena incollata su rame, diametro cm 11,5, Firenze, Uffizi. Da: Maria Cionini Visani, *Giorgio Clovio: miniaturist of the Renaissance* (New York: Alpine Fine Arts Coll., 1980), 4.

Massarelli e a lui donato in segno di amicizia.³⁹ Vista l'età avanzata di Clovio e la sua difficoltà a portare avanti i lavori, si è talvolta pensato di attribuire l'autoritratto al giovane Massarelli.⁴⁰ Ma, alla figura che emerge dall'ombra, presente accanto al miniaturista e come proiettata in un'altra dimensione, si può forse attribuire l'identità di Sant'Orsola, protettrice di Clovio nell'ultima stagione della sua vita.⁴¹

Stefano Onofri
 Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna
 Dipartimento delle Arti
 Piazzetta G. Morandi, 2
 40125 Bologna
 Italy
 E-mail: stefano.onofri@unibo.it

³⁹ Ibid., 152.

⁴⁰ Ivan Golub, “Giulio Clovio Croata Explorations,” in *Das Farnese-Stundenbuch mit Miniaturen von Giulio Clovio Croata / Farnese Book of Hours with illuminations by Giulio Clovio Croata*, ed. Wiliam M. Voelkle (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 2001), 185–186.

⁴¹ Quest'interpretazione del profilo nel tondo degli Uffizi è già stata proposta nella mia tesi di dottorato: Stefano Onofri, *La cerchia di Giulio Clovio: gli incontri, i viaggi, le amicizie di un artista europeo*, tesi di dottorato in Storia dell'arte, discussa presso l'Università di Bologna nel settembre 2013 (relatore: Prof.ssa Angela Ghirardi), 87.

Marinella Pigozzi

Alma Mater Studiorum – University of Bologna, Italy

Annibale Carracci's "Leto" in Kroměříž

Abstract | After giving birth to Apollo and Diana, children of Jupiter, Leto was forced by a jealous Juno to flee from the island of Delos. The goddess and her small children pushed as far as the borders of Lycia. Tired, exhausted and thirsty from the long journey and the heat of the sun, she looked for water and caught sight of a pond. On the shores, some farmers were busy picking swamp twigs to weave wreaths and baskets. Cheered up, she approached with her children but, while she was trying to cup her hands to drink some water, the farmers stopped her and tried to have sex with her. When she refused, they muddied the water in order to prevent her from drinking and chase her away. Enraged, Leto turned them into frogs and the standing water became their eternal dwelling. Her desperate maternal instinct was the impetus behind this sudden metamorphosis in order to contain the farmers' sexual urge and punish them for their hostility.

In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the mother cuddles the two infants who reach out for her, in a clever rhetorical strategy that recurs in many images. In the painting by Annibale Carracci one of them looks asleep, while the other leans on the protective arm of the mother. The farmers, caught in the process of metamorphosing, are muddying the water, stirring up the sediment at the bottom of the pond with their hands and feet. The notion of *urbanitas*, theorized in the treatises of Pontano, Guazzo and Castiglione, and spread by Dolce and Anguillara, the most skilled adapters of Ovid's text, became the new standard in ethical behavior. Moving between tradition and courtly innovation, Dolce and Anguillara contributed to an aesthetic, hedonistic rereading of the *Metamorphoses*, which mirrored the new cultural models.

Carlo Cesare Malvasia wrote about the work, which he saw in Rome at the house of the Pamphilj family, in 1678: "At the Pamphilj's [...] Leto in the countryside, where the farmers muddied the water, a painting in the Venetian manner, is a very beautiful work." This is confirmed by the inventory of the family collection carried out by Prince Giovan Battista Pamphilj (1648–1709) in 1680. The passage reads as follows: "The goddess Leto with the shepherds turning into frogs, 4 shepherds in water with a four-feet gold-gilded frame by Anibale Carracci". I believe that the Latona formerly at the Pamphilj home is the canvas currently housed in Kroměříž, which in 1691 entered the collection of Karl von Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn (1624–1695), Bishop of Olomouc in Moravia since 1664. An important marriage connects Bologna to Rome where, as mentioned above, the painting is documented even before entering the collection of the Bishop of Olomouc in 1691. Violante Facchinetti married Giovanni Battista Pamphilj in 1671. Violante brought most of her painting gallery over to Rome, incorporating it into the Pamphilj collection.

Keywords | Annibale Carracci; Leto; Kroměříž; Giovan Battista Pamphilj; Violante Facchinetti; Karl von Liechtenstein-KastelKorn; the *Metamorphoses*; Ovid

After giving birth to Apollo and Diana, children of Jupiter, Leto was forced by a jealous Juno to flee from the island of Delos. The goddess and her small children pushed as far as the borders of Lycia. Tired, exhausted and thirsty from the long journey and the heat of the sun, she looked

for water and caught sight of a pond. On the shores, some farmers were busy picking swamp twigs to weave wreaths and baskets. Cheered up, she approached with her children but, while she was trying to cup her hands to drink some water, the farmers stopped her and tried to have sex with her. When she refused, they muddied the water in order to prevent her from drinking and chase her away. Enraged, Leto turned them into frogs and the standing water became their eternal dwelling. Her desperate maternal instinct was the impetus behind this sudden metamorphosis in order to contain the farmers' sexual urge and punish them for their hostility [Fig. 1].

The wrath of the goddess comes down on the "country mob", on the arrogant impious villains, noisy and brutal, who vent their plebeian aggressiveness in a place that has no history, a pond that is associated with ethically negative symbols. Their fault is primitive, inhuman arrogance. As a result of the metamorphosis, they will continue living in that same environment as frogs, amphibians known for their insistent, annoying call. A bothersome, irritating animal which, in the literary tradition as well (just think of Aristophanes), does not have an individual, but merely a collective life. The forced departure imposed by the jealous Juno has made Leto vindictive: a thirsty, exhausted young mother, rejected by the *Agrestes* who have violated the right to hospitality guaranteed by the humanitarian principle, and only secondarily by legislation. In Ovid's text the mother cuddles the two infants who reach out for her, in a clever rhetorical strategy that recurs in many images. In the painting by Annibale Carracci one of them looks asleep, while the other leans on the protective arm of the mother. The farmers, caught in the process of metamorphosing, are muddying the water, stirring up the sediment at the bottom of the pond with their hands and feet.

The *Metamorphoses* of Publius Ovidius Naso, the poet of change, was the basic textbook for mythology as of antiquity. Written at the beginning of the first century A.D., it had become in the Middle Ages, also thanks to the *Ovidius Moralizatus* by the Benedictine monk Pierre Bersuire and his Christian-oriented transformation of the Latin text (1340),¹ the object of hundreds of interpretations, both literary and visual, and of countless popularizing and abridged versions, many of which had moralizing purposes, while others were freer, and were accused of heresy and immorality.² The myth, and its related metamorphoses, combine multiple levels of sensibility and imagination, in which the individual cultural background of the adapter blends with the richness of tradition and local cultures. The Latin text, printed in Bologna in 1471 at Balthasar Azoguidus, appears consistent with the hermeneutic approach of the *fabulae*, a typical feature of Humanism in Bologna. The first edition in *volgare*, published in Venice by Giovanni Bonsignori in 1497 with anonymous illustrations, was followed by a *volgare* transcription in octave rhyme by Nicolò degli Agostini, published in 1522.³ It was above all the adaptations influenced by Ariosto and his poem of chivalry in octave form, *l'Orlando Furioso* (1516), that had a remarkable impact on literary and visual culture from the Renaissance onwards, in different cultural areas, but with a mutual influence and an overt preference on the part of private patrons, who were less constrained by religious principles. Just as crucial were, apparently, the modernizing versions by the Venetian author Lodovico Dolce (1553), and the interventions, consisting of additions and comments, made in 1561 by Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara, an academic and prolific author with a fertile and unconventional imagination.⁴ The woodcuts by Giovanni Antonio

¹ Its influence is far greater than that of *Ovide Moralisé*, written between 1317 and 1328, and dedicated to the Queen of France, Jeanne de Bourgogne, wife of Philip V the Tall.

² Publius Ovidius Naso, *Metamorfosi VI*, 313–395; Bodo Guthmüller, *Mito, poesia, arte: saggi sulla tradizione ovidiana nel Rinascimento* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1997), 41–42.

³ Nicolò degli Agostini, *Tutti li libri de Ovidio Metamorphoseos tradotti dal literal in verso vulgar con le sue allegorie in prosa* (Venetia: Iacomo da Leco, 1522).

⁴ Lodovico Dolce, *Le Trasformazioni* (Venezia: Gabriel Giolitto de Ferrari, 1553); Giuseppe Capriotti, *Le Trasformazioni di Lodovico Dolce. Il Rinascimento ovidiano di Giovanni Antonio Rusconi*, (Ancona: Affinità Elettive, 2013); Giovanni Andrea

Rusconi, which illustrated Dolce's version, were met with remarkable and lasting interest and were reprinted up until the end of the seventeenth century. They also testify to the productive potential of Ovid's themes in terms of figurative works,⁵ and to the attention of private patrons, who were apparently indifferent to the moralizing admonitions of Paleotti and the condemning statements made by Comanini as early as 1591.⁶ Giulio Mancini, the papal archiater from Siena, confirms the success of these works and, knowing that they were supposed to meet certain luxury demands, advised to place those with mythological themes, in particular "The lascivious ones, such as Venus, Mars, the seasons of the year and naked women, in the galleries of gardens and in hidden rooms on the ground floor".⁷ A leading role in the process of raising the status of mythological culture was played by the popularizing versions of Ovid, which always contained interferences from the different genres and epochs in which they were produced, as is shown by the constant rewritings of the text. The ancient myth survived as a highly productive template that was expanded and assimilated according to the different stylistic and intellectual requirements of each epoch, which alternately involved adherence to, and divergence from, the model. Following the reflections of Aby Warburg on the survival and rebirth of classical tradition, the studies of Panofsky rightly insisted on the continuity of the *aetates ovidianae*,⁸ and his position was confirmed by the research of Seznec.⁹ The ancient myth template was effectively built upon and assimilated according to the intellectual and stylistic standards of the time. What changed was the purpose: the Renaissance saw the prevalence of secular, courtly, entertaining interpretations, which however did not supersede the moral, allegorical ones that had spread during the Middle Ages and in the scholastic tradition, but rather coexisted alongside them. One can talk about the metamorphosis as a metaphor, as an *exemplum* aimed at encouraging more respectful behavior, not only towards deities. The notion of *urbanitas*, theorized in the treatises of Pontano, Guazzo and Castiglione, and spread by Dolce and Anguillara, the most skilled adapters of Ovid's text, became the new standard in ethical behavior. Moving between tradition and courtly innovation, Dolce and Anguillara contributed to an aesthetic, hedonistic rereading of the *Metamorphoses*, which mirrored the new cultural models.¹⁰ Giulio Bonasone created engravings in Bologna for the volume *Ovidius Moralizatus*, but also for the five books of the *Symbolicarum quaestionum de universo genere quas serio ludebat*, published in Bologna in 1555 and again in 1574 with a contribution by Agostino Carracci, which confirmed the public's interest in mythology. Cesare Rinaldi, an experimenter with new metaphors, used to write about

dell'Anguillara, *Le Metamorfosi di Ovidio ridotte in ottava rima con le annotazioni di Giuseppe Orologgi*, ed. cons. Venezia, Giunti, 1584, with illustrations by Giacomo Franco (I ed. 1561); Gabriele Bucchi, *Meraviglioso diletto: la traduzione poetica del Cinquecento e le Metamorfosi d'Ovidio di Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2011), 196; Mario Alberto Pavone, ed., *Metamorfosi del mito. Pittura barocca tra Napoli, Genova e Venezia*, exhibition catalogue (Milan: Electa, 2003); Mario Alberto Pavone, "Il mito classico nella pittura dal Cinque al Settecento," in *Il mito nella letteratura italiana* V, voll. 1, ed. Raffaella Bertazzoli, (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2009), see 469–522, 491–492 for Leto.

⁵ Francesco Bardi, *Ovidio istorico, politico, morale, brevemente spiegato e delineato con artificiose figure, accresciuta questa quinta impressione di nuove allegorie* (Venetia: Girolamo Albrizzi, 1696).

⁶ Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre et profane* (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1582); Gregorio Comanini, *Il Figino, ovvero del fine della pittura* (Mantova: Francesco Osanna, 1591).

⁷ Giulio Mancini, Adriana Marucchi and Luigi Salerno (ed.), *Considerazioni sulla pittura I* (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1956), 144.

⁸ Erwin Panofsky, *Rinascimento e rinascenze nell'arte occidentale* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1971), 95; Idem, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell / Gebers Förlag, 1960), 95; Idem, *Studi di iconologia* (Torino: Einaudi, 1975), 34–36; Idem, *Studies in Iconology* (New York: Harper Torchbooks), 1939.

⁹ Jean Seznec, *La sopravvivenza degli antichi dei. Saggio sul ruolo della tradizione mitologica nella cultura e nell'arte rinascimentali*, trans. Giovanni Niccoli and Paola Gonnelli Niccoli (Turin: Boringhieri, 1981), 3. Idem, *La Survivance des dieux antiques* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1940), 3.

¹⁰ Gian Mario Anselmi and Marta Guerra, ed., *Le Metamorfosi di Ovidio nella letteratura tra Medioevo Rinascimento* (Bologna: Gedit Edizioni, 2006).

“*Pittura e poesia suore e compagnie*”.¹¹ Annibale’s painting is exemplary as evidence of a piece of literary knowledge that was incorporated into the Bolognese painting practice.

The painting depicting Leto, an oil on canvas, is currently located in Kroměříž, at the Episcopal chateau.¹² Leto is holding Apollo and Diana as she transforms the Lycian peasants who wanted to abuse her and prevent her from quenching her thirst. There is no trace of the painting in Bellori who, in 1672, wrote a particularly detailed description of the works Annibale created while in Rome.¹³ Carlo Cesare Malvasia wrote about the work in 1678, which he saw in Rome, at the house of the Pamphilj family: “*At the Pamphilj’s [...] Leto in the countryside, where the farmers muddied the water, a painting in the Venetian manner, is a very beautiful work*”.¹⁴ This is confirmed by the inventory of the family collection made by Prince Giovan Battista Pamphilj (1648–1709) in 1680. The passage reads as follows: “*The goddess Leto with the shepherds turning into frogs, 4 shepherds in water with a four-feet gold-gilded frame by Annibale Carracci*”.¹⁵ I believe that the *Leto* formerly at the Pamphilj home is the canvas currently kept in Kroměříž, which in 1691 entered the collection of Karl II von Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn (1624–1695), Bishop of Olomouc in Moravia since 1664.¹⁶ In 1664 the bishop-prince had asked Filiberto Luchese, deceased 1666, and Giovanni Pietro Tencalla to help him design his residence in Kroměříž, in which he arranged, apart from the music room and a rich library, an art gallery where one can currently view Tiziano’s *Flaying of Marsyas*, another Ovid-themed painting he had purchased in 1673, along with works by Francesco and Jacopo da Ponte, Veronese, Breughel, Cranach, Antony van Dyck, and of course Annibale’s canvas. A second canvas depicting the same subject is in Bratislava [Fig. 2], at the National Gallery, by Stephen Pepper.¹⁷ The present scholar believes that this is the Pamphilj canvas and, attributing it to Annibale, dates it from 1583 to 1584. For his burin engraving the Florentine Cesare Fantetti (1660 ca./1740), author of several transpositions, referred to the Bratislava canvas [Fig. 3].¹⁸ The engraving was made on the basis of a drawing by Jerome Trudon, in turn drawn from the *Leto* painting which at the time was located in Naples,

¹¹ Ezio Raimondi, *La letteratura a Bologna nell’età del Reni*, in *Guido Reni 1575–1642*, exhibition catalogue, Bologna 1988, CXXIV.

¹² *Latona e i contadini della Licia*, oil, canvas, 90,6 × 78,8 cm, inv. no. 331, 1590 ca.: Annibale Carracci, Daniele Benati and Eugenio Riccomini, ed. (Milano: Electa, 2006), 208–209.

¹³ Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de’ pittori, scultori et architetti moderni* (1672), ed. Evelina Borea (Torino: Einaudi, 1976), 19–98.

¹⁴ Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice: vite de’ pittori bolognesi* [1678], ed. cons. (Bologna: Guidi all’Ancora, 1841), 358.

¹⁵ Rome, Archivio Doria Pamphilj (hereafter ADP), 86.29, f. 376v; Jörg Garms, *Quellen aus dem Archiv Doria-pamphilj zur Kunstsammlung in Rom unter Innocen X* (Wien: Böhlaus, 1972), 319; Getty Provenance Index, I-537, ff. 118–120; Stephanie C. Leone, “Prince Giovanni Battista Pamphilj (1648–1709). The Palazzo and the Display of Art,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 58 (2013): 199.

¹⁶ Ladislav Daniel, *Zwischen Eruption und Pest, Malerei in Neapel 1631–1656 / Tra l’eruzione e la peste: la pittura a Napoli dal 1631 al 1656*, catalogue of the exhibition (Praha, Národní Galerie, 1995), 36–37; Ladislav Daniel, *Picture Gallery. Catalogue of the Painting Collection in the Archbishop’s Palace in Kroměříž*, ed. Milan Togner (Kroměříž: Arcibiskupský zámek a zahrady v Kroměříži, 1999), 103–105, no. 70; MPo [Martina Potůčková], “127 Latona a sedlaci, Annibale Carracci”, in *Olomoucké baroko. Výtvarná kultura let 1620–1780*, 2/ Katalog, ed. Ondřej Jakubec and Marek Perútka (Olomouc: Muzeum umění Olomouc, 2010), 288–289 (with the previous bibliography to the painting).

¹⁷ Stephen D. Pepper, review of “*La galleria Doria Pamphilj a Roma* by Eduard A. Safarik, Giorgio Torselli,” *The Burlington Magazine*, August 1985, 538, fig. 48. For the Bratislava painting, National Gallery, inv. 0/305, 90,6 × 72, 8 cm. Martin Čičo, “*Latona a sedliaci-reprodukčná grafika Hieronyma Trudona a Cesare Fantettihho podľa Annibale Carracciho a rovnomenný obraz v zbierke Slovenskej národnej galérie*”, Ročenka Slovenskej národnej galérie v Bratislave, Galéria 2007–2008, 79–82; Zuzana Ludiková, “III.1. replika Annibale Carracci, Latona a sedliaci”, in Zuzana Ludiková, ed., *Talianka Maľba / Italian Painting. Katalóg výstavy* (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 2013), 94–95.

¹⁸ Mentioned by Charles Le Blanc, *Manuel de l’amateur d’estampes* II (Paris: E. Bouillon, 1854), 218, no. 8; Pierre Jean Mariette, *Les grands peintres I, Écoles d’Italie* (Paris: Les Beaux-Arts, 1969), fol. 438, no. 18; Evelina Borea, ed., *Annibale Carracci e i suoi incisori* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1986), 287, no. A52. The integrally preserved copies read as follows: *Anibal Carraccius pinxit / Hieronimus Trudon delineavit / Extat Neap. In Aedibus Ecc.mi Principis Roccae Aspidis sc / Cesare Fantetti Sculps*, and the address of Johann Daniel Herz.

in the rich collection of Prince Filomarino Rocca d'Aspide. The prince was the owner of a palace that is still extant in what is now via Benedetto Croce. The painting aroused the enthusiasm of Cochin and Lalande in the eighteenth century during their visit to Naples.¹⁹ It later became the property of the Hungarian count János Pálffy, an Imperial general. Today the palace that belonged to him houses the National Gallery of Bratislava, where the canvas is kept.

Some preparatory sketches for the composition can also be ascribed to the theme of Leto and attributed to Annibale, and are an example of an aesthetic vision in which beauty and truth became one under the sign of measure. A red pencil sheet with a *Bambino nelle braccia della madre*, once part of the Mariette collection, is now kept in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, [Fig. 4]. Attributed to Ludovico Carracci by Babette Bohn,²⁰ the oil painting of Kroměříž is instead attributed to Annibale by Carel van Tuyl, with whom I agree.²¹ Mario di Giampaolo has recently drawn attention to two more works on paper by Annibale and a reproduction by Carlo Cignani.²² The works attributable to Annibale are kept respectively at the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe of Galleria Nazionale degli Uffizi: *Busto di giovane. Studio per "Latona e i contadini della Licia"*, [Fig. 5], and in Vienna, at the Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Kupferstichkabinett: *Giovane di spalle. Studio per "Latona e i contadini della Licia"*: both may be dated around 1589–1590 [Fig. 6]. The third, by Cignani, a rendition of a study by Annibale kept at the Uffizi, is now in London, at the Courtauld Institute of Art [Fig. 7]. A copy of the canvas, attributed to Pier Francesco Mola, was auctioned off at Sotheby's – Montecarlo, Monaco, on 29 November 1986, lot 311 [Fig. 8]. This attribution might become the subject of new debate as soon as the work becomes viewable. One should not forget that Francesco Albani also shared a love for great mythological compositions. It was from Annibale that Albani took his fascination for myth, which was to accompany him in his Roman period, with a feeling of happiness tinged with nostalgia for antiquity. He is the author of the re-reading of the theme of Leto now at the Dôle Museum in Jura [Fig. 9]. In the Emilia area the reinvention of myth and the relationship with Annibale flourished for a long time, and one should not forget the interest in myth manifested by Antonio Tempesta,²³ the workshop of Rubens, or Luca Giordano, whose *Leto*, currently on temporary storage at the Roman Chamber of Deputies, comes from the Capodimonte Museum. The subject also struck a chord with the Dutch Cornelis van Poelenburg, who tried his hand at it for Cosimo II de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany, in an oval painting on precious lapis lazuli. Even prior to this, the mythological theme had been addressed in the Veneto area by both Tintoretto, very early on in 1541, on one of the 14 octagonal panels purchased by the Este in Venice in 1653, and by Giulio Carpioni (1613–1678) and Sinibaldo Scorza (1605–1631) in the Genoa area. Several artists from the Bolognese school or close to it, who were in touch with the literary circles, and hence knew about the poetic re-readings of myths, contributed to the survival of the ancient gods, and to the transmission of myth with or without allegorical purposes. Around 1600 the Tuscan Pietro Paolo Bonzi, known as Il Gobbo dei Carracci or Il Gobbo dei frutti (Cortona 1573 – Rome 1636), painted an oval landscape with Leto, *Latone métamorphosant les paysans de Lycie en grenouilles*,

¹⁹ Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie ou recueil de notes sur les ouvrages de peinture et sculpture, qu'on voit dans les principales villes d'Italie* II (Paris: Charles-Antoine Jombert, 1758), 189; Joseph Jérôme Le Français de Lalande, *Voyage d'un français en Italie* V (Paris: Desaint, 1769), 350.

²⁰ Karl Theodore Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum II, Italian Schools* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), 89, no. 186; Babette Bohn, *Ludovico Carracci and the Art of Drawings* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2004), 121, no. 20.

²¹ Carel van Tuyl, "Note su alcuni quadri carracceschi provenienti dalla collezione Farnese," in *Les Carrache et les décors profanes*, Actes du colloque organisé par l'École Française de Rome (2–4 octobre 1986), (Roma: École française de Rome, 1988), 39–46 (44, note 14, fig. 3).

²² Mario di Giampaolo, "Su *Latona e i pastori* della Licia di Annibale Carracci," *Prospettiva* 128, 2007 (2008), 80–82.

²³ Petrus de Jode, ed., *Metamorphoseon sive transformationum Ovidianarum libri quindecim*, graphic album of Antonio Tempesta (Antwerp: Petrus de Jode, 1606); Cf. Sebastian Buffa, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch XXXVI* (New York: Abaris Books, 1983), 37.

now at the Louvre. The work was ascribed to Bonzi as early as 1662 and demonstrates stylistic and procedural analogies with Albani and Domenichino. Salvator Rosa (1615–1673) addressed the Leto episode more than once, producing original re-readings. We owe yet another version of the myth to Marc'Antonio Franceschini, who painted it in 1698 for the Diana room at the Gartenpalais Liechtenstein in Vienna, on commission from Prince Johann Adam Andreas.²⁴ The figure of Leto, although portrayed standing and full-figure, still owes much to the invention of Annibale, as does the wood scene, albeit with smoothed-out formal effects and very sharp colors. The cycle of Diana today is kept in Vaduz, in the Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein. In the drawing of the same theme, the goddess is sitting on the ground, carrying her twins in her lap, who lie among the folds of her dress – one of them asleep, rendered in a typical manner that almost became the hallmark of the artist. This can especially be seen in the many representations of *Carità*,²⁵ which Franceschini completed mostly during the 1680s. Despite a somewhat stiff rendition of the lying peasant in the foreground, the thin graphic trait of the red pencil drawing, a technique that was traditional in seventeenth century Bologna, can certainly be compared to other autograph studies by this author.²⁶ A much more dramatic reading is that given by Giuseppe Maria Crespi for the Buonaccorsi of Macerata [Fig. 10]. After becoming part of the collection of the architect Andrea Busiri Vici, it was deposited at Bologna's Pinacoteca Nazionale in 1970 by the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica of Rome. This oil on canvas painting, mentioned by Zanotti²⁷ and by the son of Crespi,²⁸ may be dated, according to Arcangeli, to around 1710, a bit earlier than the *Sacramenti*.²⁹ Gaetano Gandolfi, with a canvas now in a private collection, probably dating from 1800, also tried his hand at the myth of Leto, confirming the success of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* among the painters of Bologna.

The punishing metamorphosis expresses the stabilization of the animal-like behavior displayed by the farmers. Used as an exemplum, the decision of Leto might be taken as an encouragement to a more respectful attitude and as a way of persuading viewers of a morally edifying goal. The possible symbolical-moral reading, popularized by guides to manners in society (we need only mention the famous *Galateo ovvero de' costumi* by Della Casa, 1558), goes deeper than the story of the loves, resentments and jealousies of gods. This makes the search for the patron who commissioned the work on this subject to Annibale Carracci even more interesting, given that the *Metamorphoses*, in the octave version of Anguillara, was certainly known and read in the Carracci academy. It is a different story, of course, than Pierre Bersuire's *Ovidius moralizatus* (1340), which is a medieval, and hence almost exclusively symbolic, work. At the same time, the work of Anguillara is not merely a simple translation, but an expansion, a transposition containing several interpretive parts. Considering how widespread the work was, it could have influenced artists, as well, especially the parts that were added to the Latin original. In late sixteenth century

²⁴ Dwight C. Miller, *Marcantonio Franceschini* (Turin: Artesia-Compagnia di Belle Arti, 2001) 266–267, no. 165.1.

²⁵ Kassel, Staatlichen Gemäldegalerie, in: Dwight C. Miller, *Marcantonio Franceschini* (Turin: Artesia-Compagnia di Belle Arti, 2001), cit. 210, no. 106; Rome, Galleria d'arte antica di palazzo Barberini, in: Miller, *Marcantonio Franceschini*, cit. 258, no. 154; Vienna, Kunsthistorische Museen, in: Miller, *Marcantonio Franceschini*, cit. 275–276, no. 170; Londra, Bonhams & Brook, July 11 2001, in: Miller, *Marcantonio Franceschini*, cit. 365.

²⁶ Some minor restoration and remnants of the old montage in the *verso*. See Dwight C. Miller, *Franceschini and the Liechtensteins; Prince Johann Adam Andreas and the Decoration of the Garden Palace at Rossau-Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 67–69, 231, fig. 1–3; fig. 4–7; Miller, *Marcantonio Franceschini*, cit. 266–267, Cat. 165.1.

²⁷ Giovanni Pietro Zanotti, *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina II* (Bologna: Lelio dalla Volpe, 1739), 52.

²⁸ Luigi Crespi, *Felsina pittrice. Vite de' pittori bolognesi* (Roma: Marco Pagliarini, 1769), 212.

²⁹ Francesco Arcangeli and Cesare Gnudi, ed., *Mostra celebrativa di Giuseppe Maria Crespi*, exhibition catalogue (Bologna: Associazione per le arti "Francesco Francia", 1948), no. 31, 36; Francesco Arcangeli, ed., *Natura ed espressione nell'arte bolognese-emiliana* (Bologna: Edizioni Alfa, 1970), no. 77, 252; Carlo Marzocchi, ed., *Nuove acquisizioni per i Musei dello Stato 1966–1971* (Bologna: Edizioni Alfa, 1971), no. 27, 86; Andrea Emiliani and August Rave, ed., *Giuseppe Maria Crespi 1665–1747*, exhibition catalogue (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1990), 84–85.

Bologna, following Achille Bocchi (1488–1562) and the Accademia *Hermathena*, a trend had emerged to provide allegorical interpretations of myths, for symbolic purposes. The Carracci debated about this at the Accademia.

An important marriage connects Bologna to Rome where, as mentioned above, the painting is documented even before entering the collection of the Bishop of Olomouc in 1691. Violante Facchinetti married Giovanni Battista Pamphilj in 1671. Violante was the last heir to a senatorial family, and her endowment included the assets of her uncle, Senator Alessandro, and those of Cardinal Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti de Nuce, in charge of the Roman basilica of Santi Quattro Coronati at the behest of his uncle, Pope Innocent IX. Violante brought over to Rome most of her painting gallery, incorporating it into the Pamphilj collection. The *Casta Susanna*, still located in palazzo Doria Pamphilj al Corso, but originally coming from the Facchinetti collection of Bologna, has recently been attributed to Annibale.³⁰ The subject, which combines moral connotations with the attractive nudity of Susanna, is one of the most represented episodes of the Old Testament (from *The Book of Daniel*), especially between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Until further documentary evidence emerges, it can only be assumed that the Leto canvas also came from the Facchinetti collection. Marquis Alessandro Facchinetti, particularly fond of collecting and often mentioned by Reni for his generosity, had his palace in Strada San Felice near the church of Santi Gervasio e Protasio. There he had gathered his collection, replete with works by Bassano, Calvaert, Samacchini, Annibale and Ludovico Carracci, and Guido Reni, just to name a few.³¹ Since he had no heir apparent, all his assets, along with those of his brother, Cardinal Giovanni Antonio, were inherited by his niece Violante. Inside the great antechamber of Palazzo Pamphilj, in the wing looking onto Collegio Romano, which contains the inventory of Violante's spouse Giovanni Battista Pamphilj, one finds, apart from Annibale's works, *San Pietro* by Nicolò Tornioli from Siena, which is no longer in the palace, while other works, including Caravaggio's *San Giovanni Battista*, Lanfranco's *Galatea, Erminia e i pastori* by Giovan Francesco Romanelli, Mattia Preti's *Agar* and two Claude Lorrain landscapes³² are still in this part of the palace.

The perception of nature and its representation are connected with the mythical tale and with a symbolic message whose central idea, besides the relationship between humans and nature, is respect for the right to hospitality and motherhood. Prior to this, trees and vegetation had always existed as background, as the stage design for the stories of humans and gods. With Annibale Carracci, however, they were no longer mere decorations, subordinate to humans and their events: Annibale looked at them as protagonists, no less than the tales of men and gods they were part of.

Marinella Pigozzi
 Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna
 Dipartimento delle Arti
 Piazzetta G. Morandi, 2
 40125 Bologna
 Italy
 E-mail: marinella.pigozzi@unibo.it

³⁰ Oil on panel, 56,8 × 86,1 cm.

³¹ In 1603 F. Cavazzoni recalled that at the home of Marchese Facchinetti he had seen "molti bei quadri" by Bassano in *Scritti d'arte*, edited by M. Pigozzi (Bologna: Clueb, 1999), 58; on this topic see Fabio Chiodini, "Presenze bassanesche a Bologna tra Cinque e Seicento: la collezione Facchinetti," *Arte Veneta* 55 (1999/2001): 160–162.

³² Rome, ADP, 86.29, fol. 376v; Jörg Garms, *Quellen aus dem Archiv Doria-Pamphilj zur Kunstsammlung in Rom unter Innocenz X.* (Wien: Böhlau, 1972), cit. 318–319; Getty Provenance Index, I-537, fol. 118–120; Stephanie C. Leone, "Prince Giovanni Battista Pamphilj (1648–1709) and the display of art in the palazzo al Collegio Romano," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 58 (2013): 199.



Fig. 1 Annibale Carracci, *Leto and the Lycian peasants*, Kroměříž.
Muzeum umění Olomouc – Arcidiecézní museum Olomouc, Zdeněk Sodoma



Fig. 2 After Annibale Carracci, *Leto and the Lycian peasants*, Bratislava, Slovak National Gallery,
inv. no. O 305. Photo: Bratislava, Slovak National Gallery

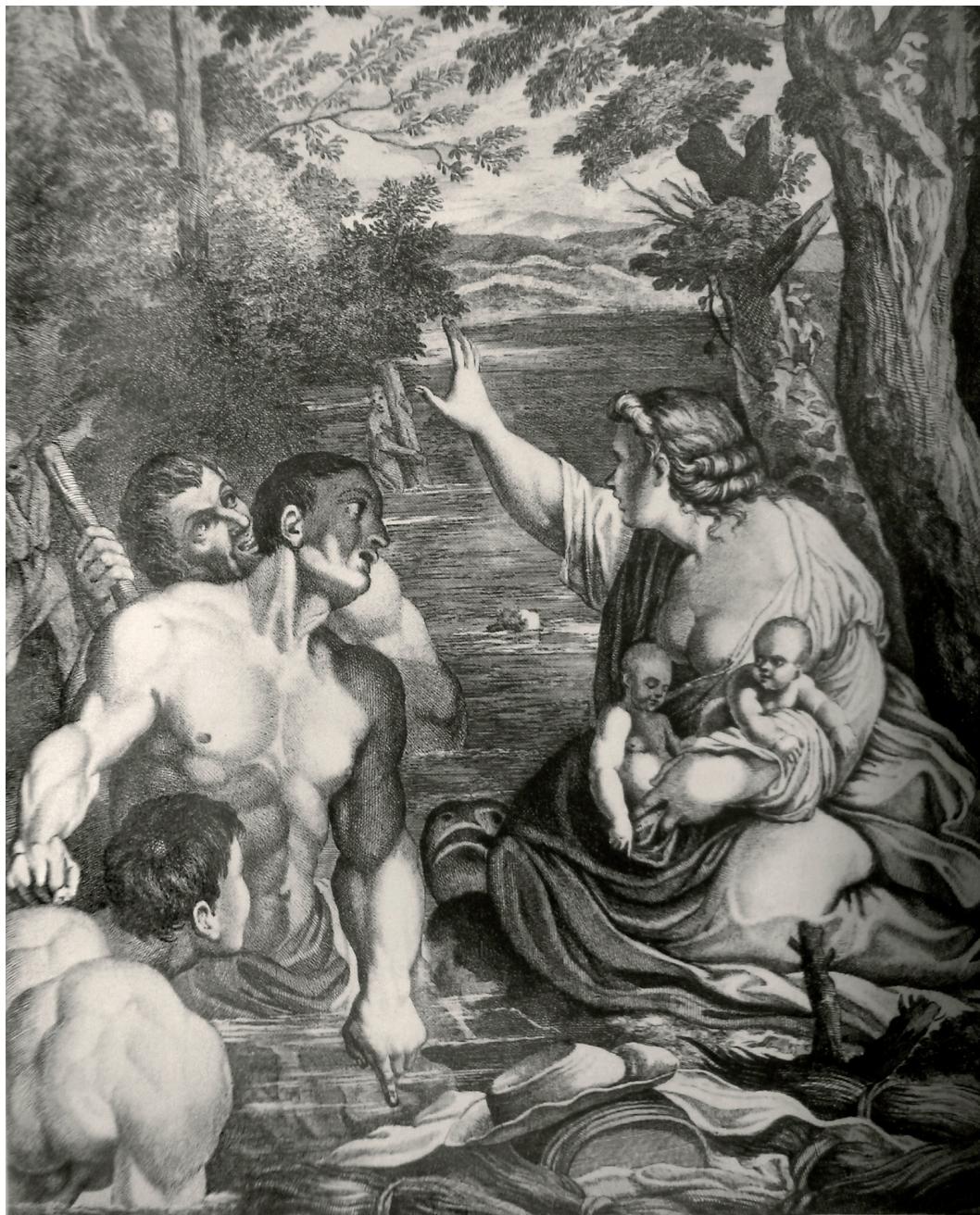


Fig. 3 Cesare Fantetti, *Leto and the Lycian peasants*, burin engraving. Photo: Marinella Pigozzi



Fig. 4 Annibale Carracci, *A Child held in the arms of its mother*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Inv. no. 186.

Photo: Babette Bohn, *Ludovico Carracci and the Art of Drawing*
(Turhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2004), 121

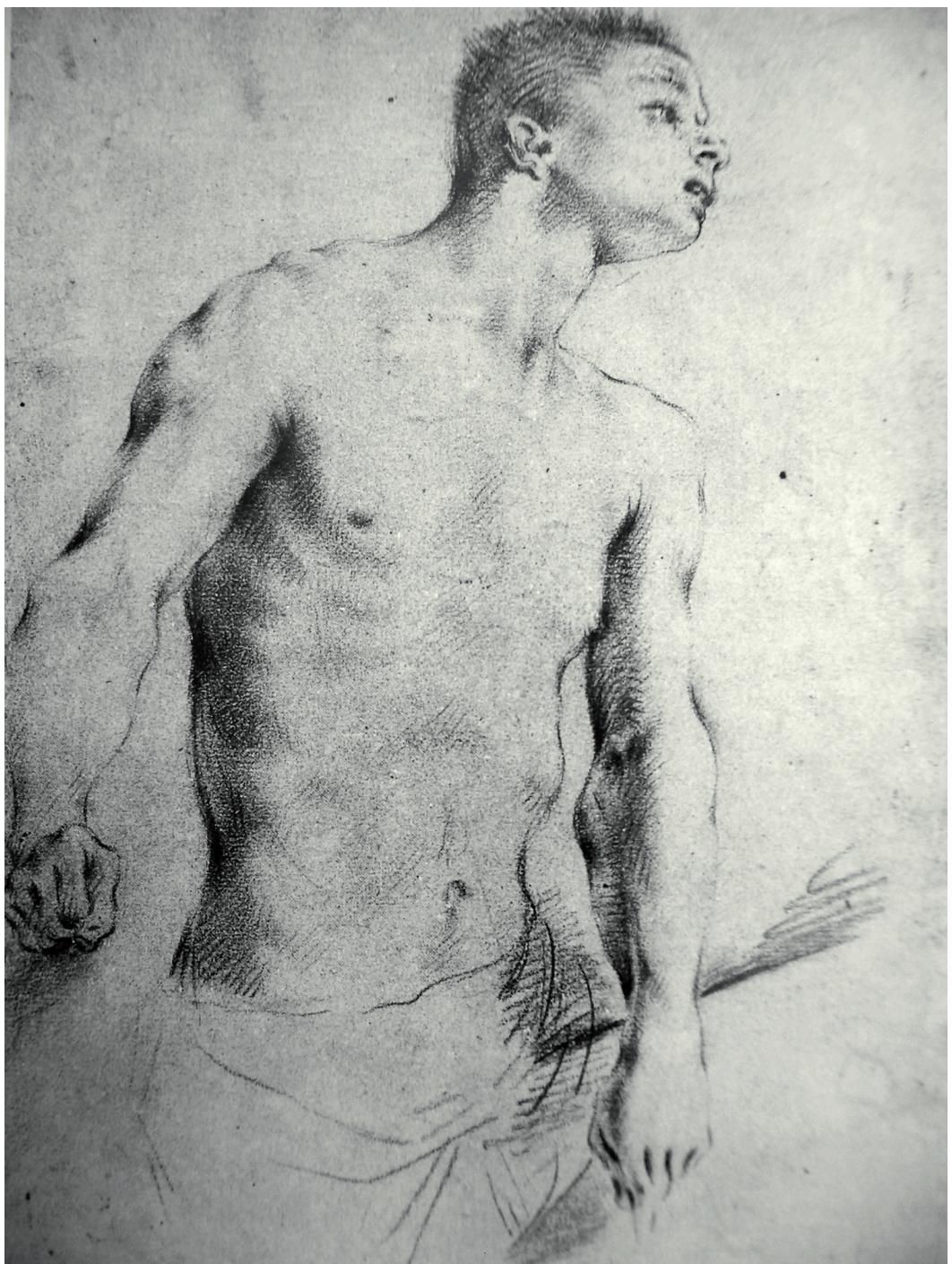


Fig. 5 Annibale Carracci, *Bust of young man. Study for "Leto and the Lycian peasants"*, Firenze, Galleria Nazionale degli Uffizi, Gabinetto disegni e stampe, inv. no. 36565. Photo: Marinella Pigozzi



Fig. 6 Annibale Carracci, *Young man of back. Study for "Leto and the Lycian peasants"*, Wien, Akademie der Bildenden Kunst, Kupferstichkabinett. Photo: Erwin Pokorny, *Meisterzeichnungen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts aus dem Kupferstichkabinett der Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien* (Weitra: Bibliothek, 1977), 74, no. 34

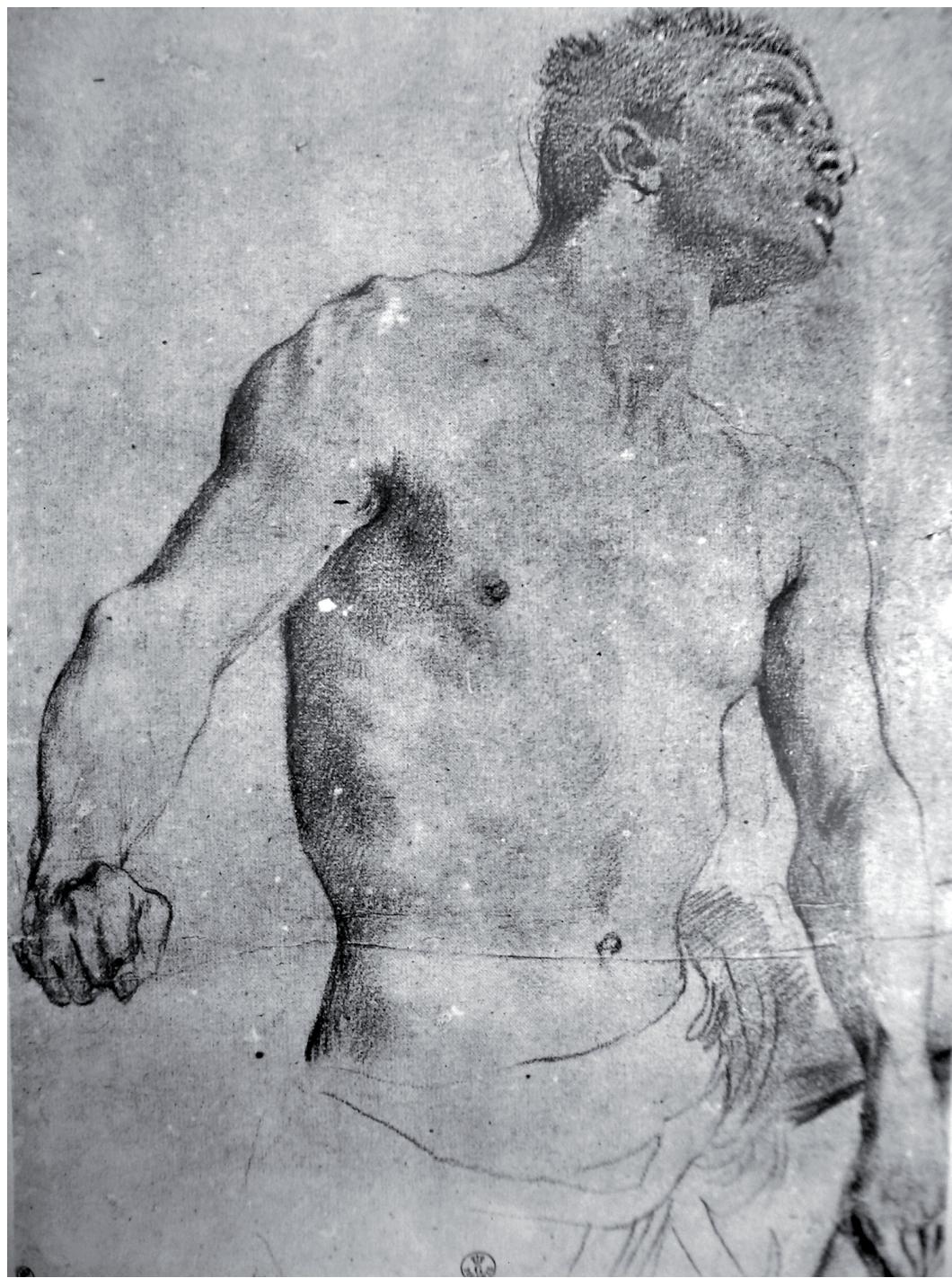


Fig. 7 Carlo Cignani, *Busto di giovane*, London, Courtauld Institute of Art, inv. no. 4763. Photo: *Drawings by Guercino and other Baroque Masters*, exhibition catalogue (London: Courtauld Institute Galleries, 1977), 10, no. 9



Fig. 8 Pier Francesco Mola, workshop of, after Annibale Carracci, *Leto and the Lycian peasants*, Sotheby's Monaco, Montecarlo 1986, November 29, no. 311. Photo: Marinella Pigozzi



Fig. 9 Francesco Albani, *Leto and the Lycian peasants*, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dôle, Jura-Musée de Versailles. Photo: *Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dôle* (Dôle: Service éducatifs, 1992), 11

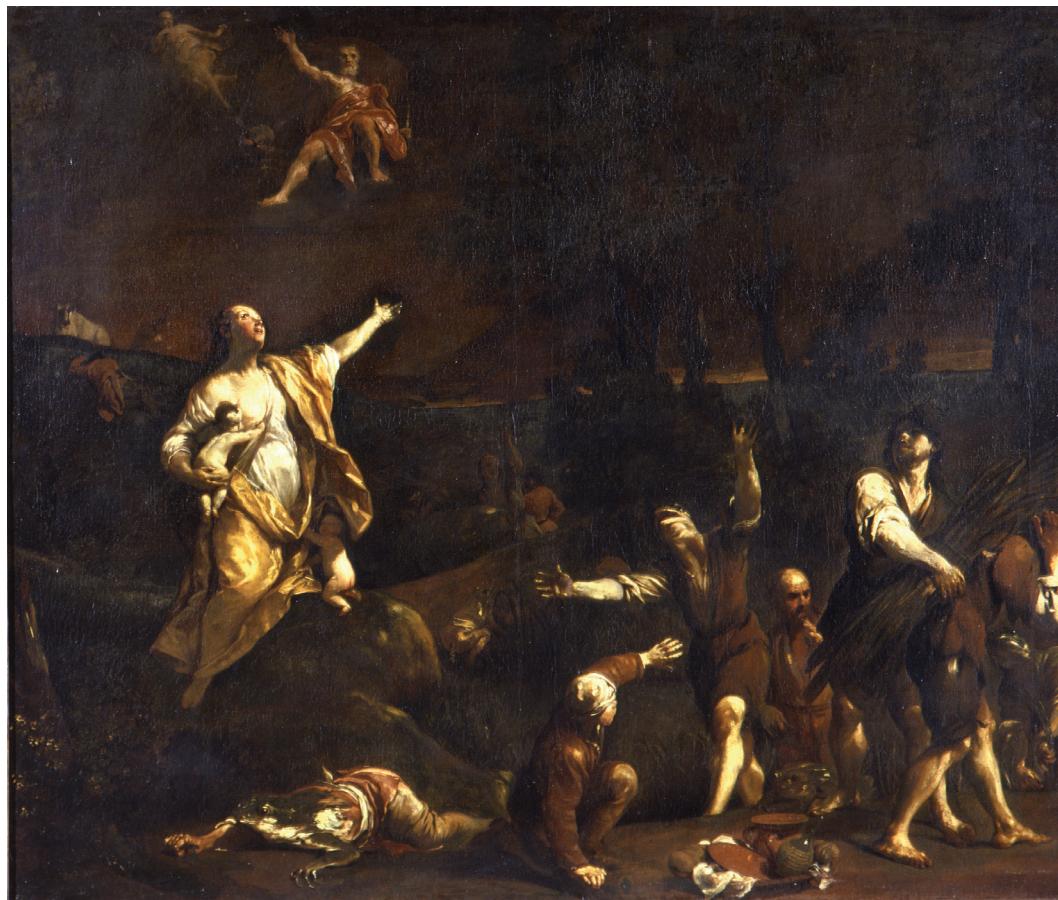


Fig. 10 Giuseppe Maria Crespi, *Leto and the Lycian peasants*, Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale, on deposit from Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome. Photo: Archivio Fotografico Polo Museale Bologna

Camilla S. Fiore

Biblioteca Hertziana, Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Italy

Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680) and Landscape between Antiquity, Science and Art in the Seventeenth Century

Abstract | Over the course of the seventeenth century, the ancient world was the subject of documentary and philological interest for artists and intellectuals which led to the rise of antiquarian science and the classification of types. Two volumes by the German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher – *Latium id est* and the lost volume *Iter etruscum* written between the mid-fifties and the seventies reflected on the new ideas that were developing in those years. These take us on a genuine scholarly journey through Lazio and ancient Etruria, where detailed descriptions of the places, their surviving monuments and their unspoiled natural surroundings build up into an archaeological landscape, the fruit of both imaginary reconstructions as well as personal experience and direct observations. An echo of these seventeenth-century naturalistic ideas can be gleaned from the work of renowned landscape painters such as Salvator Rosa, Nicolas Poussin, Claude Lorrain and Gaspard Dughet who were at one time acolytes in the scholarly circle which the Jesuit belonged to.

Keywords | Landscape; Antiquity; Science; Fossils; correspondence; Hieroglyphics; Athanasius Kircher; Salvator Rosa; Claude Lorrain; Ovidio Monatalbani; Roman Countryside; Etruria; Volterra; Curzio Inghirami; Raffele Maffei; Naturalism; Archeological Landscape; Latium; Alessandro VII Chigi

In *Applausum*, a poem composed by the Flemish author Joost Van Vondel (1587–1679) celebrating the publication of the encyclopedia *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, Genio Mercurio defends himself from the accusation made by Pope Innocent X (1644–1655) of altering the essence of the divine teaching by forcing it into the obscure symbolism of hieroglyphics.

Innocenzo X: Forse v'era bisogno dipositare la scienza in un marmo, ò sasso variamente intaccato? Non è la natura un perpetuo lume, che palesemente ci fa scernere Dio, sua sapienza, sua bontà, e podestà. [...]; ne vi è luogo dove apertamente non si possi Dio à prima giunta con l'intelletto apprendere, essendo il libro della Natura un manifesto e lucido proferitore delle grandezze di quello.

Mercurio: La mia dottrina simbolica non è mica contraria alla tua Teologia, ma le serve, come fantesca al suo signore, poiché d'altro non ci ammaestra che notorizzare la Natura, mostrando in essa la grandezza di Dio, ne altro bersaglio, o fine si ritrova ne' miei Geroglifici, [...] ma

perché furono co'l tempo dalla perversità, e malvagità degli huomini vitiati, il tuo Kircherio col suo gran sapere dimostrerà il vero mio intendimento.¹

Hailed as the new Oedipus, Father Athanasius Kircher played an important role in Rome's political and cultural world in the seventeenth century as the author of thirty volumes on various subjects including geology, ancient studies, ancient Mexican, Indian, and Chinese civilizations, magnetism, chorography, botany, the formation of volcanoes, coptic languages and hieroglyphics.²

As evidenced in the verses of Van Vondel, Kircher's works on Egypt in the 1650's – *Obeliscus Pamphilius* [Fig. 1] and *Oedipus*, already anticipate the foundation of his speculations and unusual inquiries over the next two decades. The Jesuit priest investigates every aspect of Egyptian civilization in these two works using a method based on a comparison between several ancient sources, jewelry and monuments discovered in the outskirts of Rome during that period.³ This method was a reflection of the new criteria of classification applied in the seventeenth century and was the first attempt to differentiate ancient objects.⁴

Drawing from Neoplatonic philosophy which identified the foundation of the *prisca theologia* in Egyptian philosophy, Kircher, in line with the spread of scientific naturalism and the attempt at connecting its most radical outcomes to an overall view of the Christian world in constant evolution, suggested that hieroglyphics were a manifestation of the bond between nature and the divine.⁵ Like the Etruscan and the Greek, Egyptian antiquities were also the expression of thousand-year old civilizations that predated the development of Greek philosophy, whose mysteries were hidden in the natural forms of the *signa* and the interpretation of natural phenomena through magic and rituals. The works on Egypt published between 1635 and 1655, were part of a policy promoted by the Barberini family in Rome, which involved scholars and artists active

¹ This subject was discussed at the RSA conference in Berlin (24 April 2015), session: *Imaginative Geographies: Place and Nonplace in the Early Modern Landscape*, organized by H. Langdon. It is part of my Ph.D. research in "Strumenti e metodi di Storia dell'Arte," Università di Roma la Sapienza, 2013. *Athanasius Kircher and the Archeological Landscape in the Seventeenth Century* by Camilla S. Fiore will be published in December 2016.

² See Camilla S. Fiore, *L'etruscologia. La nascita di un genere nel contesto antiquario del XVII secolo. I casi di Leone Allacci (1587–1669) e Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680)* (Roma: Ph.D. dissertation, La Sapienza, Rome 2013), 274–278.

³ The bibliography of Kircher is very extensive. I will quote the latest works here with the complete previous bibliography: Valerio Rivescchi, *L'esotismo in Roma barocca* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1982); Maristella Casciato, Maria Grazia Iannello and Maria Vitale, *Enciclopedismo in Roma barocca: Athanasius Kircher e il Museo del Collegio Romano tra Wunderkammer e museo scientifico* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1986); Ingrid D. Rowland, *The Ecstatic Journey: Athanasius Kircher in Baroque Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 2000); Eugenio Lo Sardo, *Athanasius Kircher, il museo del mondo* (Roma: De Luca, 2001); Caterina Marrone, *I geroglifici fantastici di Athanasius Kircher* (Viterbo: Stampa Alternativa, 2002); Paula Findlen, *Athanasius Kircher: the Last Man who Knew Everything* (London – New York: Routledge, 2004); Joscelyn Godwin, *Athanasius Kircher's Theatre of the World. The Life and Work of the Last Man to Search for Universal Knowledge* (London: Inner Traditions, 2009); John Edward Fletcher, *A Study of the Life and Works of Athanasius Kircher, "Germanus Incredibilis"* (Boston: Brill, 2011).

⁴ Henning Wrede, "L'Antico nel Seicento," in *L'idea del bello: viaggio per Roma nel Seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori*, ed. Borea Evelina and Carlo Gasparri, I vol. (Roma: De Luca, 2000), 7–24.

⁵ On the new cataloguing criteria in the seventeenth century see: Giuseppe Olmi, *L'inventario del mondo: catalogazione della natura e luoghi del sapere nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992); Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature, Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Veronica Carpita, "Agostino Scilla (1629–1700) e Pietro Sante Bartoli (1635–1700): il metodo applicato allo studio dei fossili e la sua trasmissione ai siti e monumenti antichi," *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* XVII (2006), no. 3: 307–384; Ingo Herklotz, *La Roma degli antiquari: cultura e erudizione tra Cinquecento e Settecento* (Roma: De Luca, 2012), 70–100; Claudio Franzoni, "Raccolte Oziose e raccolte laboriose: aspetti del collezionismo tra XVI e XVII secolo," in *Testimoni parlanti. Le monete antiche tra Cinquecento e Seicento*, ed. Federica Maria Missere Fontana (Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 2009).

⁶ Dino Pastine, *La nascita dell'idolatria. L'Oriente religioso di Athanasius Kircher* (Firenze: Franco Angeli, 1978); Rivescchi, *L'Esotismo*, 47–76; Rowland, *Kircher Trismegisto*, 113–116; Rowland, "Athanasius Kircher, Giordano Bruno, and the Panspermia of the Infinite Universe," in Findlen, *The Man*, 191–206; Camilla S. Fiore "Parmi d'andare peregrinando dolcissimamente per quell'Etruria. Scoperte antiquarie e natura nell'Etruria di Curzio Inghirami e Athanasius Kircher," *Storia dell'Arte* 133 (2012): 53–82; Fiore, *L'etruscologia*, 106–v123.



Fig. 1 Giovanni Angelo Canini, *Obeliscus Pamphilii*, 1650, printed.
Photo: Athanasius Kircher, *Obeliscus Pamphilii* (Roma: Typis Ludovici Grignani, 1650), frontispiece.

during that period who were already aware of Kircher's research and analyzed evidence stored at the Museum of the Collegio Romano.⁶ These studies revealed how the interest in the history of Egyptian civilization was already a common field of exchange and debate between academics.

A reference to the occult nature contained in monuments and hieroglyphics can be found in the works of Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665), namely *The Holy Family in Egypt* (Saints Petersburg,

⁶ See Elizabeth Cropper and Charles Dempsey, *Nicolas Poussin, Friendship and the Love of Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Lorenza Mochi Onori, Sebastian Schütze and Francesco Solinas, *I Barberini e la cultura europea del Seicento* (Roma: De Luca, 2007); an extensive bibliography is present on the relationship between Francesco Barberini and Cassiano dal Pozzo, an important figure in the Roman Barberini circle. See the catalogues of Francesco Solinas and the relevant bibliography: *I segreti di un collezionista: le straordinarie raccolte di Cassiano dal Pozzo 1588–1657* (Roma: De Luca, 2000); Francesco Solinas, *I segreti di un collezionista: le straordinarie raccolte di Cassiano dal Pozzo 1588–1657* (Roma: De Luca, 2001); Adriano Amendola, "Leonardo Agostini commissario delle antichità e gli scultori a Roma nella seconda metà del Seicento, *Arte e documento* 1 (2010): 270.

Hermitage) and *The Exposition of Moses* in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford,⁷ as a moral allegory in Salvator Rosa's (1615–1673) *Democrito in meditazione* of Copenhagen [Fig. 2],⁸ and in the works of Kircher's collaborator Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), who worked with him in unearthing obelisks in Piazza Navona Piazza Minerva.⁹ Equally relevant are the references in Francois Du Quesnoy's (1597–1643) sculptures and in Domenichino's (1581–1641) frescos of S. Nilo in Grottaferrata, pertaining to the Greek and Byzantine world which was a re-elaboration of a language whose lexicon was rooted in the past.¹⁰

Once he had completed his studies on Egyptian culture, Kircher began working on a series of three volumes deemed as the zenith of his speculations on science and antiquities in the early 1650s: the *Mundus Subterraneus*, which dealt with the transformation of minerals and metals and their role in geological evolution and volcanic phenomena, (1665, 1678 and 1682); the *Latium id est* (1671) and the *Iter Etruscum*, two works of a chorographic nature (referred to as “*gemelle et compagnie*”).¹¹ The former “che contiene tutta l'Istoria Romana dimostrata dalle anticaglie rimaste sin qua nella campagna di Roma, dalli primi habitatori di questi paesi”, the latter, “*compagna del Latio12 and now lost, on the discovery of the marvelous landscape and antiquities of Etruria (modern Tuscany).¹³*

Thus, a new area of interest opened for Kircher, which included the then lesser-known Etruscan civilization and inspired him to search “*sin sotto terra*” for unknown connections and “*inestimabili tesori d'istoriche più recondite verità*”.¹⁴

In order to fully understand the importance of the innovative content of his later works, one needs to explore the context in which Kircher explored his bizarre theories, this being a direct reflection of the cultural world as a whole. An animated *querelle* began in the early 1630s over the alleged unearthing of valuable Etruscan scarths and jewelry by Curzio Inghirami (1614–1655) (later revealed to be false), demonstrating the growth of interest in the study of this civilization,

⁷ See Anthony Blunt, “A Newly Discovered Late Work by Nicolas Poussin *The Flight into Egypt*,” *The Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982): 208–213; Cropper, Dempsey, *Nicolas Poussin*, 109–144; Ingrid D. Rowland, “Poussin, Egypt and the Destiny of Rome,” in *Gifts in Return*, ed. Melinda Wilcox Schlitt (Toronto: Centre of Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2012), 393–414. On the relationship with Kircher see: Caterina Volpi, “L'Egitto nella pittura barocca. Nicolas Poussin e Salvator Rosa,” in *La Lupa e la Sfinge. Roma e l'Egitto dalla storia al mito*, ed. Eugenio Lo Sardo (Milano: Electa, 2008), 164–171; Nathalie BuysSENS, “Les acquisitions d'Athanasius Kircher au musée du Collège Romain à la lumière de documents inédits,” *Storia dell'Arte* 133 (2012): 105–127; Fiore, *L'etruscologia*, 2012, 151–172.

⁸ On the painting of Salvator Rosa and his connection with Kircher: Caterina Volpi, *Salvator Rosa (1615–1673). Pittore famoso* (Roma: Ugo Bozzi editore, 2014), 245–252, no. 162, 480–481 and the relevant bibliography; also Helen Langdon, “Salvator Rosa e gli ultimi anni,” in *Salvatore Rosa tra mito e magia* (Napoli: Electa, 2008), 50–51; Fiore, “Parmi di andare,” 57–60.

⁹ Rivosecchi, *Esotismo*, 119–138; Maria Vitale, “Kircher e Bernini,” *Art & Dossier* 24 (1988): 28; Maurizio Calvesi, “In margine a una iconografia del Bernini: l'elefante “obeliscoforo” da Francesco Pompeo Colonna,” *Storia dell'Arte* 66 (1989): 101–105; Maria Grazia D'Amelio, Tod Marder, “La fontana dei Quattro Fiumi a piazza Navona: iconologia e costruzione,” in *Piazza Navona, ou Place Navone, la plus belle & la plus grande. Du stade de Domitien à la place moderne, histoire d'une évolution urbaine*, ed. Jean-François Bernard (Roma: École Française, 2014), 399–419.

¹⁰ Fiore, *L'etruscologia*, 26–40.

¹¹ Athanasius Kircher, *Mundus Subterraneus in XII Libros digestus quo Divinum Subterrestris Mundi Opificum*, 2 voll. (Amsterdam: Joannem Janssonium & Elizeum Weyerstraten, 1664); Athanasius Kircher, *Latium. Id est, nova & parallela Latii tum veteris tum novi descriptio* (Amsterdam: Joannem Janssonium & Elizeum Weyerstraten, 1671).

¹² Fiore, “Parmi d'andare,” 60–61.

¹³ On the *Iter Etruscum* see Harald Siebert, “Kircher and his Critics: Censorial Practice and Pragmatic Disregard in the Society of Jesus,” in Findlen, *The Man*, 79–104; Ingrid D. Rowland, “The lost Iter Etruscum of Athanasius Kircher (1665–1678),” in *New Perspectives on Etruria and Early Rome: In Honor of Richard Daniel De Puma*, ed. Sinclair Bell and Helen Nagy (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 274–289; Fiore, “L'Etruria di Athanasius Kircher alla metà del XVII secolo,” in *L'etruscologia*, 124–180.

¹⁴ “Nel quarto luogo parmi d'andare peregrinando dolcissimamente per quell'Etruria, che l'inarrivabile sapere del Padre Kircherò si è fabbricato richissima d'inestimabili tesori d'istoriche più recondite verità,” in Archivio della Pontificia Gregoriana (APUG), *Epistolario kircheriano*, 562, cc. 47rv, published in Fiore, “Parmi d'andar,” 65–66.



Fig. 2 Salvator Rosa, *Democrito in meditazione*, 1650–1651, oil on canvas, 344 × 214 cm, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst. Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, <http://www.smk.dk/> (accessed, May, 16, 2016).

which was extremely important for both Tuscan and Italian culture.¹⁵ The debate that ensued involved the most prominent scholars and antiquarians of the Medicean and Papal court – Paganino Gaudenzi (1595–1649), Leone Allacci, (1586–1669) Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588–1657), Heinrich Ernst¹⁶ who were all engaged in the publication of essays with the purpose of denying Inghirami's discovery.¹⁷ This event had such a strong impact that in 1635 Gran Duca Ferdinando II de Medici (1610–1670) initiated a trial on the Scarith case and sent a delegation to Scornello, near Volterra, in Tuscany with the purpose of searching the site and finding evidence that would support the legend of a medium, Prospero, and the scariths he had buried.

The most relevant findings compiled by the delegates pertain to the criteria of evaluation, which was a combination of the meticulous search for materials, attention to the naturalistic factor and the appearance of the landscape.

The site appeared as a “*paese inculto, scosceso, tutto ripieno di macchie, d'alberi grossi, e ceppi antichi*”, a stark terrain of archaic origins uncontaminated for centuries, “*tutto pieno di rovine mescolati insieme come tegoli, mattoni, sassi, ceneri, carboni, e più ossi di huomini qual fradicie, qual mezze bruciate*”. It was a grim scene that preserved traces and memories of the past through forms “*impresse*” on vases, inscriptions and statues that shaped its appearance. Their image could be found in the surrounding skulls and rocks, in the “*radici grossissime di Quercie, Olmi, Lecci, et altri alberi antichi, le quali [...] sono penetrate talmente sotto quelle, che hanno attorniati, anzi racchiusi gli stessi Scarith, de quali per la lunghezza del tempo, che sono stati sepolti è restata l'impressione; e forma nelle medesime barbe, il che non poteva succedere se non dopo quantità d'anni*”.¹⁸ It was an accurate set-up aimed at reaffirming the superiority of the Tusco-Etruscan culture over Roman culture. It was influenced, on the one hand, by Galileo's theories and the attention given to naturalistic aspects, and on the other hand, served to demonstrate Inghirami and his partner Raffaele Maffei's knowledge of popular themes among the academic elite at the time.¹⁹

The debate on the authenticity of the Scarith went on for a decade, reaching the point where Inghirami had to defend his work in another volume (published in 1645),²⁰ only to be debunked once again by Kircher in 1653–1655.²¹ What pushed Kircher into reconsidering his position on the Scarith after only a few years?

A dissatisfied Raffaele Maffei addressed Kircher in a letter in 1661 hoping to persuade him about the authenticity of the Etruscan relics, obtain some help in convincing the academic community and honor the memory of his late friend Inghirami.²² There is no doubt that the first meeting with Maffei and his cohort took place during Kircher's stay in Florence in 1659,

¹⁵ On the discovery and the debate of the Scarith di Scornello near Volterra see Ingrid D. Rowland, *The Scarith of Scornello: a Tale of Renaissance Forgery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Fiore, “L'etruscologia negli anni Trenta del XVII secolo. I casi di Leone Allacci e Curzio Inghirami,” in *L'etruscologia*, 69–89.

¹⁶ See Rowland, *The Scarith*, 55–121.

¹⁷ Curzio Inghirami, *Etruscarum antiquitatum fragmenta, quibus urbis Romae aliarumque gentium primordia, mores et res gestae indicantur, a Curtio Inghiramo reperta Scornello prope Volterrā* (Frankfurt, 1636); Paganino Gaudenzi, *Paganini Gaudentii in Antiquitates quasdam editas sub nomine Prospero Faesulani Animadversio*, Biblioteca Apostolica (BAV), MS Urb. Lat. 1605, 104r–130r; Leone Allacci, *Animadversiones in antiquitatum etruscarum fragmenta ab Inghiramio edita* (Roma: Mascardum, 1642); Curzio Inghirami, *Discorso sopra l'opposizioni fatte all'Antichità Toscane diviso in dodici trattati* (Firenze: Per Andrea Massi e Lorenzo Landi, 1645); *Letter from Cassiano dal Pozzo to Vincenzo da Noghera and Gabriel Naudé*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Dal Pozzo XII (10), cc. 452v–458r; XXXVIII (35), cc. 96r–117r; Nicolò Lisci, *Documenti raccolti dall'Illustrissimo Sig. Canonico Niccolò Maria Lisci patrizio volterrano, canonico della primaziale di Pisa, intorno all'Antichità toscane di Curzio Inghirami* (Firenze: Nella Stamperia di Pietro Gaetano Viviani, 1739).

¹⁸ Inghirami, *Discorso*, 5–6.

¹⁹ Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi, *Il cannocchiale e il pennello: nuova scienza e nuova arte nell'età di Galileo* (Firenze: Giunti, 2009).

²⁰ Inghirami, *Discorso*.

²¹ Kircher, *Obeliscus Pamphilius*, 153.

²² Fiore, “Parmi d'andare,” 65–66.

when, after meeting several Florentine scholars and artists, he decided to write a volume on the chorography of Tuscany.

Moreover, his interest in Etruscan culture was inspired by Alessandro VII (1559–1667) and his desire to dedicate a project to the naturalistic and historical wonders of Lazio, both ancient and modern. To clear every doubt concerning these historical sites and their geographical and historical importance in this area of change and passage, Kircher began a campaign searching for proof that would help him trace the history of Lazio from its origins up until the Chigi pontificate. The volume opens with a section dedicated to migration and the settlements of both Italic populations and Etruscans in higher and lower Lazio.²³ Although inaccurate, the data collected by Kircher constitute a first attempt at reconstructing the chronological flow of migration of early Italic tribes up until the settling of the Latin sovereign that connects the past with the *gens romana* and with Alessandro VII's Rome, well represented by Chigi's endeavor in Lazio. Starting from the frontispiece, etched by Romeyn de Hooge (1645–1708),²⁴ the reader of *Latium* [Fig. 3] is immediately immersed into a landscape of natural wonders and ancient remains, discovered and popularized by the author, once again “*esploratore del vero*”. If Curzio Inghirami claimed the importance of Tuscan influences in the birth of Roman culture through his discovery of the Scarith, Kircher was even more ambitious; he aimed at demonstrating a continuity between primitive cultures and Catholic Rome, which alludes to the imposing figure of Latia, an Etruscan *genius loci* located in the nymphaeum. Numerous allegories are detectable. The sceptre, wielded in its right hand, hints at Egypt, whereas the she-wolf and the toga and lorica of the senators hint at ancient Rome. The regalia, the mitra and the sacred objects refer to the pontifical power whereas Greece is represented by a winged figure, which, according to Godwin, personifies Ino, a maritime deity accompanied at the foot of the canopy by the rivers Tiber and Aniene, both symbols of water. Additional natural elements are visible in the erupting volcano and Atlas holding the sky vault next to the canopy.²⁵

According to Kircher, a trace of the transition between different cultures can be found in the continuity of the versatile forms of the remains and the evocative natural landscapes. This is a theory developed in the *Ars magna lucis et umbrae*, published first in 1646 and once again in 1671 along with *Latium*, largely dedicated to the *Opificium naturae*,²⁶ the natural phenomena that combine elements and colors creating optical illusions, such as eruptions or the reflection on the foamy waters in the strait of Messina. At a specific point between Calabria and Sicily, Kircher observed through a lens, a “*theatrum*” of columns and arcades. These columns formed Roman aqueducts which then become castles, with windows intercepted by rows of pine trees:

In questo specchio comparve subito di colore chiaro oscuro una fila di 10.000 pilastri d'uguale lunghezza, e altezza, tutti equidistanti, e di un medesimo vivissimo chiarore [...]. In un momento poi i pilastri si smezzarono d'altezza, e si arquarono in fora di codesti acquedotti

²³ Kircher, *Liber I chronologicus: De origine et antiquitate Latii, variumque gentium à primaevis temporibus in eodem propagatione*, in *Latium*, 1–28.

²⁴ About Romeyn de Hooge see: John Landwehr, *Romeyn de Hooge (1645–1708) as Book Illustrator* (Amsterdam: Hes & de Graaf Publisher, 1970); William W. Harmon, “Romeyn de Hooge's Emblem Books,” *Quaerendo* 8 (1978): 135–156; Joke Spaans, “Art, Science and Religion in Romeyn de Hooge's Hieroglyphica,” *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jarboek* 61 (2001): 287–307; Joseph B. Dallet et al. *Romeyn de Hooge, virtuoso etcher* (Ithaca, NY: Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University, 2009) and the relevant bibliography.

²⁵ On the interpretation of the frontispiece see: Javier Gómez de Liaño, *Athanasius Kircher: Itinerario del éxasis o les imágenes de un saber universal* (Madrid: Ed. Siruela, 1985), 127; Godwin, *Kircher's Theatre of the World*, 38–39.

²⁶ Athanasius Kircher, *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbræ in X libri digesta* (Amsterdam: Janssonium à Waesberge, Elizaei Wirtstraet), 1671, 801–809. Kircher wrote several times on the meaning of the *Natura Pictrix*: Athanasius Kircher, *Mundus Subterraneus*, I vol.: 292, II vol.: 98; Athanasius Kircher, *Latium*, 168–169. See also Valerio Rivosecchi, “Il simbolismo della luce,” in *Enciclopedia*, ed. Casciato, Iannello and Vitale, 217–222.



Fig. 3 Romeyn de Hooge, *Latium*, 1671, printed. Photo: Athanasius Kircher, *Latium id est* (Amsterdam: Joannem Janssonium & Elizeum Weyerstraten, 1671), frontispiece

di Roma, ò delle sustrutzioni di Salomone; restò semplice specchio il resto dell'acqua, fino all'acqua ammontonata di Sicilia; ma per poco che tosto sopra l'arcata si formò un gran cornicione: fra poco sopra i cornicioni si formarono castelli reali in quantità, disposti in quella grandissima piazza di vetro [...] frà poco la fuga de' colonnati divnetò lunghissima facciata di finestre in dieci fila; della facciata si fa varietà di pini e cipressi eguali; e d'altre varietà d'arbori.²⁷

It is a grand and inspiring manifestation (theophany) that reveals an ancestry in which the idea of the *Natura pictrix* recurs in order to explain the analogy between various images seen in the *in usitata spectaculi* of rainbows, auroras, sunsets, mountains, trees and fossils.²⁸

While attempting to understand the connection between the metaphysical, the divine and the terrestrial spheres, Kircher was inspired by the most recent trends in science and ancient studies, drawing from contemporary Baroque culture. In *Latium*, along with accurate reproductions of monuments and antiques made for scholarly purposes, were illustrations clearly inspired by seventeenth century landscape paintings through which Kircher established the geological and historical DNA of places representative of the history of the region. An example is a temple that symbolizes the continuity between Etruscan and Roman art; the Temple of Sibilla in Tivoli [Fig. 4], which can be observed through a rocky arch, from where one can obtain a glimpse of the building and the slope on which it stands, immersed in a savage and mysterious scenery.²⁹ In this particular case, the presence of the arch, an inspiration for ancient buildings, and of the temple, constitutes a recurring theme in seventeenth century art, particularly in the works of Salvator Rosa [Fig. 5, 6, 7],³⁰ Nicolas Poussin (*The Israelites Gathering Manna* in Paris, Musée du Louvre), and of Claude Lorrain (1600–1682) (*Coast View with Perseus and the Origin of Coral*, London, Courtauld Institute). In the two paintings commissioned by Cardinal Camillo Massimi (1620–1677) for the French painter, *Landscape with Argus Guarding Io* (1646 ca., London, Courtauld Institute) and the *View of Delphi with a Procession* (1672, Chicago, Institute of Fine Arts), although made in different periods, both the Tiburtine Temple and the Temple of Apollo rise from the surrounding mountainous land.³¹ Albeit portraying two actual locations (Tivoli and Roccasecca), the solemn and mysterious display of the profane deity are associated with a flourishing nature, populated by figures lost in a stunning landscape of mountains, waterfalls and lakes. A new way of looking at nature, validated by the works of Greek and Roman philosophers, as proved by L. Beaven who located the source for the *View of Delphi with a Procession* [Fig. 8] in a text written by Longinus, reflects the frailty of the human condition during the 1600s and the shock of the revolution that shook the foundation of seventeenth century thought.³² The “*horrida bellezza*” described by Salvator Rosa while watching “*un fiume che precipita da un monte di mezzo miglio di precipizio et inalza la schiuma altrettanto*”³³ into the Appennines near Terni,

²⁷ Letter from Ignazio Angelucci da Reggio to Athanasius Kircher, 22 August 1633, published in Kircher, *Ars magna*, 801.

²⁸ Kircher, *Ars magna*, 922–929.

²⁹ Kircher, *Latium*, 168–169.

³⁰ See Fiore, “Parmi d'andare,” 58–61.

³¹ Concerning the fortune of Tivoli's temple in paintings in the seventeenth century see Francesco Petrucci, *Paesaggio laziale tra ideale e reale. Dipinti del XVII e XVIII secolo* (Roma: De Luca, 2009); Fiore, *L'etruscologia*, 150–160; 168–178; Lisa Beaven, “Claude Lorrain and La Crescenza: the Tiber Valley in the Seventeenth Century”. In the Marshall David R., *The Site of Rome. Studies in the Art and Topography of Rome 1400–1750* (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2014).

³² Lisa Beaven, *An Ardent Patron, Cardinal Camillo Massimo and his Antiquarian and Artistic Circle: Giovanni Pietro Bellori, Claude Lorrain, Nicolas Poussin, Diego Velázquez* (London: Paul Holberton editor, 2010), 221–226.

³³ Helen Langdon, “The Art and Life of Salvator Rosa,” in *Salvator Rosa*, ed. Helen Langdon, Xavier Salomon and Caterina Volpi (London: Paul Holberton editor, 2010), 132–134.



Fig. 4 Romeyn de Hooge, *View of Sibyl's Temple*, 1671, printed. Photo: Athanasius Kircher, *Latium id est* (Amsterdam: Joannem Janssonium & Elizeum Weyerstraten, 1671), 169



Fig. 5 Romeyn de Hooge, *View of “Grotta di Lucullo”*, 1671, printed. Photo: Athanasius Kircher, *Latium id est* (Amsterdam: Joannem Janssonium & Elizeum Weyerstraten, 1671), 75

evokes Gaspard Dughet’s (1615–1675) landscapes, Filippo Napoletano (1589–1629)³⁴ and the late works of Poussin, where the “*noble and heroic style*” gives way to a style where human beings seem lost, overpowered by a threatening and unopposed nature (*Landscape with a Man Pursued by a Snake*, Montreal, The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts; *Landscape with St. Jerome*, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado; *Landscape with Agar and the Angel*, Roma, Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Antica in Palazzo Barberini and *The Four Seasons* in the Paris, Musée du Louvre).³⁵

In those years, dealing with the same landscape, Kircher described the “*horrendus spectaculus, inferni fauces diceres*” offered by the deep chasms generated from the “*catadupae*” of the Aniene, in the valley in the proximity of a bridge near the temple [Fig. 9],³⁶ which suggested mystical visions related to that area, particularly to the occult origins of the populations who inhabited it. Once more, as it has happened to Inghirami, Kircher looks into the territory and its morphology in order to discover the history and traditions of those civilizations, often subject

³⁴ Marco Chiarini, *Teodoro Filippo di Liagno detto Filippo Napoletano, 1589–1629. Vita e opere* (Firenze: Centro Di, 2007), 315, 319, 335.

³⁵ Pierre Rosenberg, “Landscapes in a Noble and Heroic Style,” in *Poussin and Nature. Arcadian Visions*, ed. Keith Christianen and Pierre Rosenberg (New Haven – London: Yale University Press: 2008), 188–189, 192–193, 200–201, 269, 290–297.

³⁶ Kircher, *Latium*, 141–142.



Fig. 6 Salvator Rosa, *Landscape with “ponte rotto”*, 1645–1649, oil on canvas, 106 × 127 cm, Firenze, Galleria Palatina di Palazzo Pitti. Photo: Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée et al., *Salvator Rosa tra mito e magia* (Napoli: Electa, 2008), cat. 60

to inquiries conducted with a naturalistic approach and bizarre reconstructions. The flood of lake Albano which ratified the victory of the Romans over the Veientes, and was predicted by Delphi’s Oracle, provided Kircher with an opportunity to describe the time spent searching the subterranean canals for the causes of this event, and go back to analyze the link between ancient cultures and nature.³⁷ The oracle’s prophecy was nothing more than a misunderstanding of natural phenomena, and, just like the predictions of a clairvoyant, the outcome of blind idolatry and a pagan creed. It was consequently a mere emanation of “*mille illusionum*” generated by the “*malum*” through the manipulation of natural phenomena and not a direct consequence of Nature’s work.³⁸ Salvator Rosa returned to the same subject in those years, as pointed out by Volpi in her recent monograph about the painter, in a series of paintings depicting foretellers, wizards

³⁷ Kircher, *Latium*, 44: “Est hoc Canalis in hunc usque diem superstes, cuius situm longitudinem a me summo studio exploratam subdo [...]. Duo hic nobis dubia a nonnullis mihi proposita solvenda sunt. Primum est, utrum prodigiosa illa Lacus exundatio, vi anturiae acciderit, et quoniam instigante, tum Aruspicii Hetrusci, tum Delphici oraculi vaticinio tam futurae rei sortita sit? Alterum est, cum testimonio Authorum supracitatorum lacus primo non haberetur exitum, neque alterius fluminis introitum, quomodo, aut qua ratione, qua naturae efficacia praeter insolitum modum intumuerit, praesertim e aestate sicca, et nullis imbribus obnoxia”.

³⁸ The gesuit referred to ancient sources (ex. *De Civitate Dei* of S. Agostino and the *Geographia* of Strabone) to describe optical illusions created by natural phenomena, see Kircher, *Latium*, 52.



Fig. 7 Salvator Rosa, *Landscape with the natural arch*, 1641–1645, oil on canvas, 65 × 49 cm, Firenze, Galleria Palatina di Palazzo Pitti. Photo: Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée et al., *Salvator Rosa tra mito e magia* (Napoli: Electa, 2008), cat. 65



Fig. 8 Claude Lorrain, *View of Delphi with a Procession*, 1673, oil on canvas, 101,7 × 127 cm, Chicago, Robert A. Walzer Memorial Fund, Art Institute of Chicago. Photo: Lisa Beaven, “An Ardent Patron,” in *Cardinal Camillo Massimo and his antiquarian and artistic circle* (London: Paul Holberton, 2010), plate 5.53

and philosophers, portrayed in a wild and hostile landscape.³⁹ Rosa and the aforementioned artists were all part of Alessandro VII’s cohort, which included Cardinal Francesco Maria Branaccio (1592–1675) and his secretary Domenico Magri, Doctor Valentino Steber and Cardinal Giacomo Nini (1629–1680), all of whom were Kircher’s colleagues and friends, as documented by the amount of letters they exchanged.⁴⁰ In the sensorial path traced by Kircher, art and nature contribute in creating the mystery that rules the world and are the tools responsible for God’s revelation on earth – a presence hidden in a microcosmos full of hieroglyphics, obelisks, jewelry, plants, crystals and in the fauna, recreated by whom one is capable of understanding its essence. This was an Aristotelian approach distinct from the contemporary naturalistic point of view, popular during the second half of the century. Even in the *Iter Etruscum*, Kircher makes mention of the memory preserved in places, available only to those able to interpret nature’s shape through the *vis imaginativa*. Despite being censored,⁴¹ his efforts in collecting data allowed for the achievement of concrete results based on his speculations. The reproductions of shards,

³⁹ Caterina Volpi, “Il mago scienziato,” in *Salvator Rosa*, 342–361, 578–579. See also: Fiore, “Parmi d’andare,” 53–81; Fiore, *L’etruscologia*, 106–123, 159–179.

⁴⁰ Fiore, “Athanasius Kircher e i suoi corrispondenti: ‘Hetruria fidissima Latii social,’” in *L’etruscologia*, 124–158.

⁴¹ See note 13.



Fig. 9 Romeyn de Hooge, *Prospectus ex ponte*, 1671, printed. Photo: Athanasius Kircher, *Latium id est* (Amsterdam: Joannem Janssonium & Elizeum Weyerstraten, 1671), 142

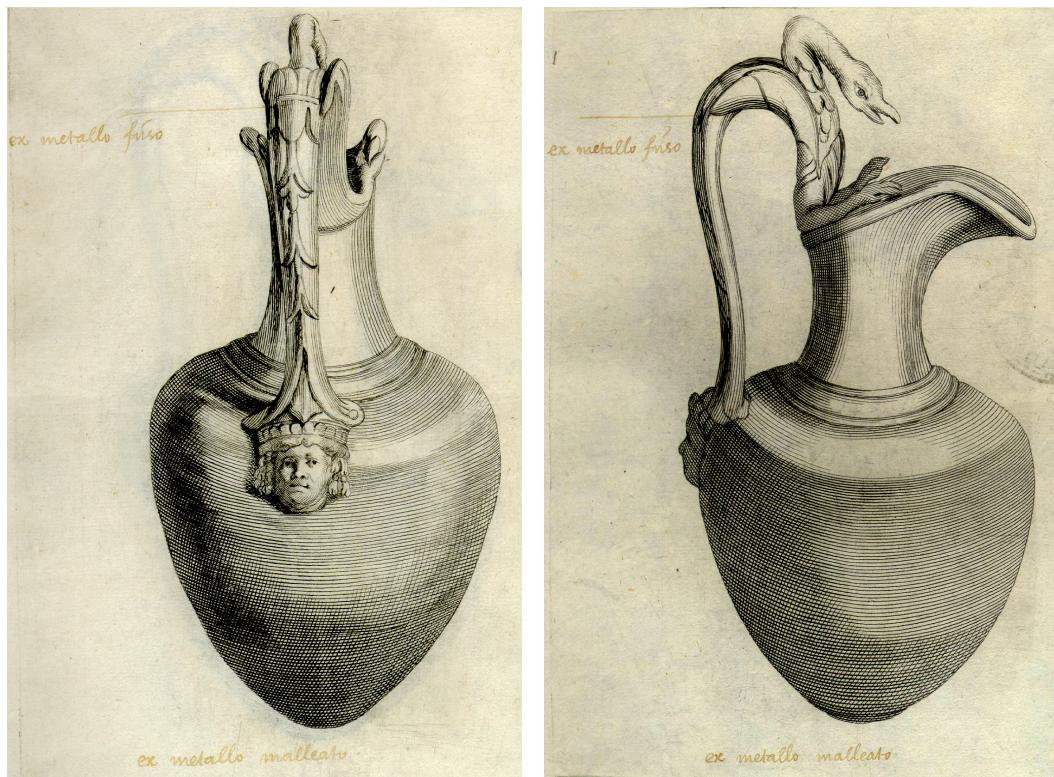


Fig. 10a–b *Oinochoe*, etching. Photo: Archivio Pontificia Università Gregoriana, vol. 562, cc. 179r–180r

oinochoe, jewelry, figurines [Fig. 10a–b],⁴² were accompanied by detailed inscriptions about the sites they came from, with the intent of pinpointing the origin and the period in which they were used, and obtaining information about the faith professed. With an archeological sensibility, the terrain was constantly monitored, with the same care in preserving monuments used by Pope Alessandro VII. Fossils, for instance, to which an entire chapter of the *Mundus Subterraneus* was dedicated, represented to Kircher the perfect alchemical symbiosis – a mix of physical elements, natural forms and ancestry.⁴³ True *curiositas* that heated Kircher's enthusiasm, as gathered from his conversations with Ovidio Montalbani (1601–1671), pupil of the scientist Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605) and curator of the famous museum he inherited;⁴⁴ he sent Kircher as early as 1663 two stones so that he could practice in “più astruse ed occulte letterature”. One of the stones featured “vegetanti animali bizzarrissimi [...], quasi che la natura in queste piante habbia voluto parlare geroglificamente”, along with a few hieroglyphics “stampate dall'Arte nelle guglie, o piramidi di quegl'antichissimi filosofanti scrittori, imparato forse dà i medesmi nella scola della muta natura”.⁴⁵ Monumental figures were covered “con una pelliccia bianca” at times, with beards and

⁴² APUG, *Epistolario kircheriano*, vol. 562, c. 179r published in Fiore, *L'etruscologia*, 385.

⁴³ Kircher, *Mundus Subterraneus*, II vol., 34, 35, 47; see also Godwin, *The Theatre*, 95, 136.

⁴⁴ On Ovidio Montalbani see Roberto Marchi, “Montalbani, Ovidio,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 75 (Roma: Treccani, 2011), 759–761; Fiore, *L'etruscologia*, 155–162, 188–193, 305–317.

⁴⁵ APUG, *Epistolario kircheriano*, vol. 563, cc. 94rv–95rv, published in Fiore, “Lettere ad Ovidio Montalbani,” in *L'etruscologia*, 311–312; Montalbani wrote to Kircher to have been discovered: “vegetanti animali bizzarrissimi, effigiati dalla natura uno in una radice, e l'altro in un gumbito, od articolo d'arboree quasi che la natura in queste piante habbia voluto parlare geroglificamente, non gli mandi alcun motivo di eccitare vi è più verso l'auge sovrano delle Glorie la Virtù di Vostra Paternità spiegatrice dalle più astruse ed occulte letterature, alle quali sin qui non è bastato l'animo di giungere ad humano ingegno; ella potrà facilmente

white hair, sculpted on rocks, wood and roots and visible along the rocky profile of spurs and mountains.⁴⁶ From the depths of the earth, emerged proof of the passing of historical and geological eras. Based on the principles of optical illusion in the 1600s, anamorphosis reveals traces of civilizations from the past as well as sacred images such as the Chilean Madonna shaped after a mountain, accurate to the point that human intervention appears evident.⁴⁷ Anthropomorphic mountains not only had a documentary purpose, but also represented the random manifestation of the divine in Nature, and were expected to inspire stupor.⁴⁸ This image was common in reports related to the Far East, the Indies and the Americas compiled by Jesuit missionaries sent out to evangelize countries where the use of primitive forms of divination was diffused.

In the light of the outcome of this brief *excursus* into the works of Kircher between the 1650s and the 1670s, archaeological landscape is the expression of the “*più cupi misteri della natura e dell’arte*”, into which innovations as well as contradictions merged, in accord with the syncretic nature of the Baroque.

Erudites and the artists were the interpreters on nature’s stage, which not only recognized instinctive knowledge and wisdom but also revealed it. These artists were *artifex*, creators of subliminal imagery left to understand divine expression and its reproduction, under Kircher’s guidance.

Camilla S. Fiore
 Biblioteca Hertziana
 Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte
 Via Gregoriana 28
 I-00187 Roma
 Italy
 E-mail: fiore_c@biblhertz.it

ravvisare in quelle due figure alcune lettere egittie, stampate dall’Arte nelle guglie, o piramidi di quegl’antichissimi filosofanti scrittori, imparato forse dà i medesmi nella scola della muta natura”.

⁴⁶ Apug, *Epistolario kircheriano*, vol. 559, c. 41rv, published in Fiore, “Lettere ad Ovidio Montalbani”. In *L’etruscologia*, 317–318: “egli mi pare che habbia attorno una pelliccia bianca, overo un paro di lattuche antiche di tela candida da noi detta ortighina al collo e che habbia la barba e capelli bianchi, essendo la faccia di colore di carne, è tanto bene aggiustata nel resto chè una meraviglia; se ella havrà cosa altra da notarvi sopra mi farà somma gratia à dirmi il suo parere; e creda certo che il pittore non ha aggiunto cosa alcuna del suo all’immagine, la quale è molto più bella, e spiccate nella pietra che nell’immagine”.

⁴⁷ Kircher, *Mundus Subterraneus*, vol. 2, 47.

⁴⁸ Marco Arnaudo, *Il trionfo di Vertunno. Illusioni ottiche e cultura letteraria nell’età della Controriforma* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi editore, 2008), 157–184.

Martin Zlatohlávek

Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic

Anton Kern and Carlo Maratti

Abstract | The author of this contribution refers to the connection between Anton Kern's painting *Virgin with St. Wenceslaus, Antonius from Padua and Margaret* from the National Gallery in Prague with the altarpiece of Carlo Maratti in the Spada chapel in the Roman church Chiesa Nuova. Both paintings depict a Madonna adored by the saints in the compositional style "sacra conversazione" and the placement of the figures of the saints is also extremely similar. It seems to be evident that Anton Kern was inspired by the composition of Maratti. The actual research has emphasized Kern's dependence on his Venetian master Giovanni Battista Pittoni, who supposedly prepared the type of figures for Kern's composition as is shown some of his drawings. The newly suggested relationship between Kern and Maratti's paintings admits that it was Anton Kern who brought this type of composition to Venice and Central Europe. Kern visited Rome in 1740, while according to available documents Pittoni had never been to this city. Maratti's altarpiece in Spada chapel could be mediated to Pittoni through Anton Kern's drawings, because Maratti's painting had not been known in a graphic reproduction. If Kern was inspired by Maratti's canvas in Rome, there was a need to newly date his above-mentioned painting into the period after 1740, when he returned to Dresden.

Keywords | Carlo Maratti; Giovanni Battista Pittoni; Anton Kern; Spada chapel in the Roman church Chiesa Nuova; sacra conversazione

Opinions on transfer of ideas prevailingly result from the historical context. Historiographical evidence based on documents is therefore essential. In other words, the transfer of ideas is evident if it is demonstrated that the artist was present in a certain place, at a certain time which enabled him to confront works by other artists and be influenced by them. In many cases, however, the documents are missing, so there is a need to identify the influence through the style analysis. Such an analysis reveals the works that the artist had probably seen and by which he had been inspired, which does not necessarily mean that he stood in front of them or that he saw the originals. The ideas could also be conveyed to him through the graphics record. In such a case we search as to when this kind of reproduction was provided, which means that we investigate the historical context. The drawing copies acquired for the workshop practice by someone else might also have been the intermediary, since many artists collaborated in this manner. The travelling artist thus strived to obtain such drawn records of important compositions, figural grouping, or separate figures to his "storage of ideas". He also gathered reproductions of the works in the form of graphics.

Reflections on the style without time (*stile senza tempo*) are also interesting. Particular motifs, parts of compositions, figures and their parts appear unexpectedly, (simultaneously) in various places.

I attempt to build my following reflections on the transfer of Madonna with Saints composition which occurs in G. B. Pittoni and Anton Kern's work, newly in relation to the Carlo Maratti's

painting in Rome, on the historical evidence. This evidence, however, is incomplete. Therefore, this analysis is a sort of construction in which the historical circumstances provide only a partial background which refers to the life and work of Anton Kern (1709–1747).

Within Anton Kern's work, particularly among his paintings (not numerous due to the master's short life), the altarpiece of the Madonna with child surrounded by the saints in its centre is excellent.¹ [Fig. 1] The dating is vague, stated only on the basis of style analysis, as the late 1730s. From the perspective of cultural history, it is remarkable that this painting was probably never set on the altar, as we know neither its commissioner nor the purpose of this work. It was possessed by the master till his early death when it was passed on to his younger brother Benedict Kern (1713–1777). Then it was either dedicated by Benedict Kern to the Cistercian monastery in Osek in Western Bohemia or it was passed on to this monastery after his death, not as an object of reverence in the sacral space, but rather as a collection item conveniently complementing the local monastery gallery.

A specific feature is the paintbrush performance whose shining colourfulness based on bright resonant colours in combination with saturated colours is distinct for the masters of the coming Rococo in Europe. My focus, however, is on the compositions traditionally entitled "sacra conversazione" or more simply "the holy conversation", which refers to the Venetian Giovanni Battista Pittoni (1687–1767). This composition nevertheless demonstrates enough originality since Pittoni's response to the stimuli is not exclusively Venetian but also follows the Central European tradition.

Anton Kern studied in Venice to be a painter. He came from the northern Bohemian town of Děčín, where he was born in 1709. He was brought to Dresden by the Venetian painter Lorenzo Rossi (ca 1690–1731). In Dresden he received only an elementary artistic education, which was further extended in Venice. Although it has not been confirmed by any archive documents, it clearly follows from his work (which is also to be found in the later literature dealing with his life) that he attended several academies in Venice, especially that of Pittoni. This is indicated by numerous figures or figure groups borrowed from his teacher. In Venice, he also grasped the clear colourfulness of the great Rococo masters. We do not know exactly, however, when he came to Venice or how long he stayed there.²

Two documents exist demonstrating that he was back in Central Europe from 1735 and 1737, specifically in Bohemia, since he registered at Prague University and after two years time, concluded a contract for two paintings for the Prague Loreto church of the Nativity of Our Lord.³ He stayed in Dresden preparing banners for Maria Amalia's wedding, the daughter of the local prince elector August III, in 1738. More importantly, he prepared the decoration for the interior of the Catholic Church building at the Dresden ruler's court which was being completed at that time. Since this church was supposed to evoke the churches in Rome, Kern was sent by the ruler to the holy city to gain wider experience. After his return to Dresden in 1741, he was appointed court painter with all the duties connected with this position. While working intensively on the mostly unfinished paintings, he died in 1747.⁴

The painting of the Madonna with child surrounded by three male saints and a female one follows the Bohemian tradition with the choice of two male saints. One of them is St. John of

¹ *Madonna with Child, St. Wenceslaus, St. John of Nepomuk, St. Anthony of Padua and St. Margaret*, oil on canvas, 171 × 112 cm. Cfr. Martin Zlatochlávek, *Anton Kern 1709–1747* (Praha: Národní galerie, 2009), 107–109, cat. no. O 12.

² Alice Binion, "Anton Kern in Venice," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Künste* 32 (1981): 183–206; Pavel Preiss, *Anton Kern 1709–1747, a Venetian master of the Saxon and Bohemian Rococo: Paintings and Drawings in the Czech Lands* (Praha, Národní galerie, 1998), 8–13; Zlatochlávek, *Anton Kern*, 25–40.

³ Zlatochlávek, *Anton Kern*, 41–44, 137–142, cat. no. O 22, O 23.

⁴ Zlatochlávek, *Anton Kern*, 45–49.



Fig. 1 Anton Kern, *Madonna with child, St. Wenceslaus, St. John of Nepomuk, St. Anthony of Padua and St. Margaret*, oil on canvas, 171 × 112 cm, National Gallery in Prague. Photo: Author

Nepomuk showing his tongue on a shell to the Madonna while the other is St. Wenceslaus, sitting on the lower left, with his arms stretched. This assignment was not always clear, however, as he is pictured as an elderly bearded man, whereas the Bohemian Baroque tradition depicts St. Wenceslaus as a young man. The figure was also viewed as being St. Leopold or St. Sigmund (Sigismund) in the older literature.⁵ St. Wenceslaus was confirmed, however, by the oldest record of the painting, made by the author's younger brother Benedict Kern when the painting was in his possession. The shield with the St. Wenceslas eagle lying almost hidden behind Wenceslas' back on the left also suggests this identification. The reason for the presence of St. Anthony of Padua in the picture is unclear. The dominant position of St. Margaret, pointing her finger at the standing Madonna, probably indicates that the altar was consecrated to her. Where such an alter stood or where it was intended to stand also remains beyond our present evidence.

This painting of the Madonna with saints manifests the above-mentioned dependency on Giambattista Pittoni due to the composition of the particular figures. As of the 60s of the 20th century it has been underscored that there is a compositional and figural relationship between the Kern painting and several of Pittoni's other works. It was observed that Anton Kern modified Pittoni's altarpiece with the Madonna adored by St. Peter, St. Paul, and by St. Pio in the church of S. Corona in Vicenza from 1723.⁶

Most similarities (which, in fact, occur repeatedly) can be seen in several of Pittoni's small-format paintings, specifically in a painting from a private collection in Venice⁷ as well as in an authorial replica from the Paduelli collection in Milan. To these paintings one more can be added, which comes from the Nat Leeb collection in Paris.⁸ [Fig. 2] As it follows from the extensive monograph on Giambattista Pittoni by Franca Zava Boccazzì published in 1979, these last-named small pictures, (from which many more could be named and which are probably down-sized authorial replicas), perhaps emulate an unknown, large altar painting with the same figural composition of the Madonna with Child and St. Rosa da Lima, St. Bonaventura, St. Carlo Borromeo and St. Anthony of Padua, not documented thus far. The dating of all of them is vague, stated on the basis of a style analysis as the end of the fourth decade of the eighteenth century – the same as that of Kern's painting.

For the conclusion that Kern adopted the figures from Pittoni's work, it was important that the drawing from the Venetian Correr Museum was brought to attention. This drawing pictures St. Bonaventura sitting in the exactly same position as he does at the bottom left of Pittoni's composition which can also be seen in numerous replicas mentioned previously. The drawing is either a model for a new picture or a copy in the form of "memoria" intended for the use of workshop practice.⁹ Anton Kern embodied his St. Wenceslas in this figure. This drawing differs from Pittoni's other studies of this figure due to its character, and even its function. In the folio from Fondazione Giorgio Cini, the saint's figure, sitting slightly back-swept with his arms stretched¹⁰ is conceived more loosely and realistically, in comparison with the Correr Museum

⁵ Jaromír Neumann, Český barok (Praha: Odeon, 1974), the second reworked edition.

⁶ Franca Zava Boccazzì, Pittoni, l'opera completa (Venezia: Alfieri, 1979), 178–179, cat. no. 239, fig. 45, 46; Jaromír Neumann, Český barok (Praha: Odeon, 1969), 71, within cat. no. 354, 207–208.

⁷ Madona with Child and St. Rosa da Lima, St. Domenic, Bonaventura and Charles Borromeo, oil on canvas, 85 × 70 cm. Cfr. Zava Boccazzì, Pittoni, 177, cat. no. 234, fig. 421.

⁸ Madona with Child and St. Rosa da Lima, St. Domenic, Bonaventura and Charles Borromeo, oil on canvas, 50,8 × 30 cm. Cfr. Zava Boccazzì, Pittoni, 152, cat. no. 148, fig. 419.

⁹ St. Bonaventura, pen on paper, 349 × 262 mm, Museo Correr di Venezia, inv. no. 1864. Cfr. Terisio Pignatti, Disegni antichi del Museo Correr di Venezia, vol. V (Loth – Rubens), (Venezia: Pozza, 1996), 173, cat. no. 1383, fig. 1383.

¹⁰ St. Bonaventura, red chalk on paper, 431 × 313 mm, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, inv. no. 30.023. Cfr. Alberto Craievich, "Giambattista Pittoni, San Bonaventura" in I disegni del Professore. La raccolta Giuseppe Fiocco della Fondazione Giorgio Cini, ed. Giuseppe Pavanello (Venezia: Marsilio, 2005), 167–168, cat. no. 247, fig. 247.



Fig. 2 Giambattista Pittoni,
*Madona with child and
St. Rosa da Lima, St. Domenic,
Bonaventura and Charles
Borromeo*, oil on canvas,
85 × 70 cm, private collection,
Venice. Photo: Author

drawing. In the Giorgio Cini folio the draftsman Pittoni also carefully studied the drapery of the right sleeve and the collar of the order habit.

In the folio from Venetian Galleria dell'Accademia, the draftsman Pittoni focused on the saint's chest and both of his palms. He also added studies of a bowed nun and the head of another saint as well as studies of palms belonging to the last figure in the composition.¹¹ Both folios,

¹¹ Various studies of figures, pencil on paper 210 × 151 mm, Galleria dell'Accademiadi Venezia, inv. no. 1670. Cfr. Annalisa Perissa Torrini, *Disegni di Giovan Battista Pittoni* (Milano: Electa, 1998), 73, cat. no. 47.

Museo Correr and Galleria Accademia, filled with partial studies, are also typical for Pittoni's drawing style because the painter focused on specific parts of the figures, mainly their palms, heads or coat draperies. The Museum Correr drawing focused on the entire figure of the saint seems in comparison with the Galleria dell'Accademia folio, stiff and motionless which suggests that it was produced by a skilled workshop fellow-worker, which might also have been Anton Kern.

A number of detailed records of particular figures, even entire compositions produced by Giambattista Pittoni, have been currently documented. They are made with the red chalk technique, with a specifically fine spreading of colour, for which the term "granulieren" has been used since the eighteenth century in German-speaking areas. These kinds of drawings ranked among the equipment in artist workshops as a tool which helped conceive other compositions. It was perhaps Anton Kern who kept it in his "storage of ideas". This artistic material on paper demonstrates that Giambattista Pittoni prepared particular figures as well as their important parts and consequently assembled the composition as a whole. His creative process began with a sketch of the entire composition (*primo pensiero*), at the end there was perhaps the model (*modello, bozzetto*) and in-between the studies of individual figures. The final study of the Saint from the Museo Correr drawing was based either on the ready painting, on its model or on some other replica.

The figures of the saints in both, Pittoni and Kern's pictorial compositions, are arranged around Madonna in the same manner. The figure on the low left is similar. In Kern's picture, however, this figure is bearded, wearing a princely cap and a ruler's coat and is assigned by attributes. In Pittoni's picture, in contrast, this figure is a bald, beardless monk with a cardinal's hat lying next to him. The figure of the monk remaining in the back is also similar in both paintings. The female saint bowing in the centre of Pittoni's painting is changed into the Bohemian patron St. John of Nepomuk in Kern's picture. John of Nepomuk's head and coat were changed and his hand holding the shell with the tongue is pushed forward. The figure on the right is changed similarly – the monk in Pittoni's picture was changed into St. Margaret in Kern's picture. She is wearing mondaine clothing, her hand holds a chain with a dragon, unlike Pittoni's monk whose left hand lies on his breast. The centre of the scene, Madonna with the child, is conceived differently by the two authors. Pittoni's Madonna is sitting on a throne with some architecture in the background, while Kern's Madonna is standing at a stony decorated block which represents the sacrificial altar on which she holds the infant Jesus. Madonna's blue coat carried by putti and massive drapery predominates in the background.

Is Giambattista Pittoni actually the author of his composition? Does this composition, the "Venetian" type, represent Madonna surrounded by saints in a concentrated dialogue? A dependence on Sebastiano Ricci, specifically on his renowned "sacra conversazione" from the Venetian church of S. Giorgio Maggiore, dated 1708, has been formulated for Pittoni's composition as well as for its transformation used by Kern. Ricci's painting nevertheless benefits from the Veronese composition and actually represents, in fact, a manifestation of the renaissance of Veronese's work as the basis for the Venetian Rococo. The heritage of the Veronese composition, remelted by Ricci, primarily displays, however, features which break up the regularity of this composition focused on the main central axis. Madonna on the throne is not positioned in the very middle, but shifted to one or the other side. The figures of the saints around her are not arranged regularly, or even lined up on both sides, but are instead spread freely, perhaps even at random. Some are deep in thought or reading avidly, while others gesticulate vividly forming active mutual relations.

At first sight, the arrangement and position of certain figures in Pittoni and Kern's paintings reveal a similarity with the figures in the lower part of the painting in the Spada family

chapel in the Roman church of Chiesa Nuova.¹² [Fig. 3] The painting of the main altar in this chapel was done by Carlo Maratti (1625–1713). This painter, together with two others – Luigi Pellegrini Scaramuccia (1616–1680) and Giovanni Bonati (1635–1681), had been recommended to the commissioner Marquis Orazio Spada (1613–1687) by the renowned Sebastiano Resta (1635–1714) with whom the Roman painter also consulted the subject and composition of the painting. This remained only talk, however, since no modello or bozzetto had been prepared by Carlo Maratti. The contract only mentions the theme of the painting. The works were commissioned in autumn 1672 but only begun in February of the following year. Carlo Maratti prepared for the painting with drawings in which he primarily studied the individual figures, their faces or clothing, draped diversely.

The contemporary documents, specifically Fabrizio Spada's letter addressed to his father on 31 May 1675, also indicate that the figure of St. Charles Borromeo, left below in the main altar painting, had been drawn by Maratti several times. Some of his figural drawings have been preserved up to the present day. They have been identified in collections in Düsseldorf, Windsor Castle or Berlin. The drawings of the entire composition are also preserved, specifically in the Parisian Louvre.¹³ Maratti's compositional designs were copied as early as at that time, which is documented by a drawing from the Prague National Gallery, attributed to Luigi Garzi.¹⁴ The whole composition was copied in drawings, this being documented by a drawing from the Albertina in Vienna.¹⁵ Its transfer to an engraving has not been encountered, however, thus far.

Nothing at all is known about Pittoni's contacts with Rome. This painter spent most of his life working in Venice. He also provided his works to commissioners outside the lagoon city, mainly in Veneto and later in Lombardy. He was also recognised in Germany and in England, although commissioners and buyers used to come to his Venetian workshop. His works spanning several decades, (beginning around 1710 and reaching a climax in the 1760s) is distinctly Venetian. Their roots are also essentially Venetian. If other influences from additional places and schools can be observed, they were conveyed to Pittoni by those, who encountered these stimuli in other places and transferred them to Venice. The influences come, however, mainly from locations outside of Central Italy. Pittoni found inspiration in artists such as Sebastiano Ricci (1659–1734), Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini (1675–1741), Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770), etc. who were in Paris or certain German cities: Düsseldorf, Augsburg or Dresden.

Pittoni was appointed an honourable member of Accademia Clementina in Bologna in 1727. He in all probability never found his way there, this being documented by a letter sent as an expression of thanks for this function from Venice.¹⁶ If he had visited Bologna, he could have been inspired by Annibale Carracci's painting from around 1588, placed on the St. Luis altar, mainly by the figure of St. John the Baptist on the right. This figure is similar to Pittoni's Charles Borromeo located almost at the same place in this composition. The figure on the left, St. Luis in Carracci's painting, does not comply, however, with the Pittoni painting.

The Venetian Rococo (and thus also Pittoni's work) was experiencing a crisis in the 1730s and 1740s, which made the Venetian masters move towards Classicism. Pittoni found his way to Classicism, however, by means of his German commissioners, like Francesco Algarotti (1712–1764)

¹² Carlo Maratti, *Madonna with Child, St. Carlo Borromeo and St. Ignazio*, oil on canvas. Crf. Antonella Pampalone, *La cappella della famiglia Spada nella Chiesa Nuova. Testimonianze documentarie* (Roma: Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1993), 49–56.

¹³ Carlo Maratti, *Madonna with Child, St. Carlo Borromeo and St. Ignazio*, pen on paper, 300 × 175 mm, Département des arts graphique, Louvre, Paris, inv. no. 3351, cfr. inv. no. 3352.

¹⁴ Luigi Garzi attributed, *Madonna with Child, St. Carlo Borromeo and St. Ignazio*, pen on paper, 391 × 210 mm, National Gallery in Prague, inv. no. K 31455.

¹⁵ After Carlo Maratti, *Madonna with Child, St. Carlo Borromeo and St. Ignazio*, red chalk, pen on paper, 495 × 270 mm, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Wien, inv. no. 1069

¹⁶ Zava Boccazzì, *Pittoni*, 94, Docum. 20.

from Dresden, as opposed to his contacts with Classicism in Rome.

While Kern's Venetian stay is not documented, his journey to Rome was initiated by the Dresden ruler – the Saxonian Prince elector August III (1696–1763), who sent Kern to the Holy City. Anton Kern arrived there in the second half of 1738 in order to find inspiration for his work for the new Catholic Church building in Dresden, whose decoration he had been commissioned with. It can therefore be assumed that Kern also visited the church of S. Maria in Vallicella or Chiesa Nuova, where he saw Maratti's painting in the chapel of the Spada family.

These facts indicate that Anton Kern became the mediator of part of Maratti's composition for the Venetian area, and consequently for Central Europe (Bohemia or Dresden) as it can be assumed that he stopped in Venice on his return journey from Rome. He visited here Pittoni's workshop, where he had been trained years earlier and where he obtained so much inspiration for his work. This time, however, the teacher – pupil roles were reversed. The mature and proficient artist, whose experience had been enriched by the art seen in Rome, and who would be appointed court painter in Dresden, gave a new composition to Pittoni. This occurred at a time when the declining Venetian Rococo was seeking out new stimuli in the classicizing background. It should be emphasised in this case that this stimulus came directly from Rome. Pittoni's paintings, containing part of Maratti's compositions, can thus only be dated after 1740.

If it was Kern who discovered that composition for Venice, he would have also ensured the role of the mediator for the future. He in all probability brought drawings copying the composition to Venice. This was not the case, however, with the copy kept by the Albertina, whose style is different (even if it is a copy). The author of the elaborated St. Bonaventura drawing from the Venetian Museum Correr will consequently be Pittoni or some of his co-workers, not Anton Kern.

Anton Kern could have also painted his picture only to demonstrate how he understood this Roman stimulus and that he dealt with it in his specific manner. Although the commissioner of the only painting which had used the composition is unknown, it can tentatively be suggested that this painting was done in Venice. This complies with the further history of the painting, mentioned earlier, i. e. that it remained in the painter's possession until his death. The painting must be consequently definitively dated after 1740. If the painting had been intended for Bohemia, Kern sent it from Dresden, because from 1741 up until his death he was only staying in the Saxonian capital.

Anton Kern was not inspired, however, by Maratti's Classicism. His painting is ablaze with Rococo colourfulness and is full of light. The overly feminine clothing of St Margaret along



Fig. 3 Carlo Maratti, *Madonna with Child, St. Carlo Borromeo and St. Ignazio*, oil on canvas, chapel Spada, Chiesa Nuova, Rome. Photo: Author

with the tiny detail of her pearl earring decorating her graceful face demonstrates the sense of playfulness typical for this artistic style. The gravity of Christ's sacrifice, represented by the stony altar, is made lighter by the small cushion with a fringe which Jesus is sitting on. Madonna is leaning slightly forward, holding in the fingers of her left hand, in an almost coquettish manner, a fine white cloth to wrap her son up. These features indicate that Kern reflected the Central European context.

In conclusion, it should be emphasised that, by using several facts and historical events, I have attempted to develop a theory which alters the existing view of the works described. It is also possible, however, that Anton Kern did not see Maratti's picture directly and that he did not make a record of his figures himself, but that Pittoni used another copy created after Maratti's painting which helped him create his own composition. It is also possible that Anton Kern did not encounter Maratti's painting directly and that some of his figures appeared unexpectedly and with no historical reason in Pittoni or Kern's workshop. One might argue that there is a figural style outside time which emerges at different times, in different places, and where it enters into works of art.

Martin Zlatohlávek
Ústav dějin křesťanského umění
Katolická teologická fakulta
Univerzita Karlova v Praze
Thákurova 3
160 00 Praha 6
Czech Republic
E-mail: zlatohlavek@ktf.cuni.cz

Pavel Šopák

Palacký University Olomouc, Czech Republic

Hradec nad Moravicí Château and its Museum and Gallery Presentations

Abstract | The château at Hradec nad Moravicí is presented from the perspective of changes to museum and gallery presentations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a museum *sui generis* or art gallery. It served this function when owned by the Lichnowskys as well as after the year 1945 when it became a state-owned château under the care of a regional educational organisation (Krajské středisko zámek Hradec, later Slezské kulturní středisko or Vlastivědný ústav Opava). This paper reviews the perception of the château as a site for intellectual and artistic activities in the periods of the Biedermeier style and Historicism in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Lichnowskys' relationship to the furnishings as specific cultural valuables surpasses their functional value related to private housing (with items linked to Prince Felix Lichnowsky, Ludwig van Beethoven and Ferenc Liszt) and points to changes to the château related to its opening to the public (from 1934 and then again after 1945 to 1979).

Keywords | Hradec (Grätz), presentation, Biedermeier, Rudolf von Alt, Max Jacob Friedländer, Oskar Kokoschka, Mechtilde Lichnowsky, Ludwig van Beethoven, Ferenc Liszt

The château in Hradec near Opava (as of 1968 Hradec nad Moravicí, Opava district) represents a research paradox. The unimpressive architecture of this aristocratic residence impresses more due to its enchanting surroundings and the extensive Neo-Gothic setting, whose so-called Red Château,¹ was even called into question in the twentieth century, has always been the focus of interest for art aficionados and professional researchers. Due to its importance for the history of architecture, the château has maintained its permanent value as a museum *sui generis* with its inner structure and dynamics and its distribution of furnishings in historic interiors, determined by the changing presentation strategy employed by the private owners and after 1945 by the state management. After World War II, the original collection of furnishings and the ones later brought there from châteaux in the Opava and Krnov regions, both including artistic artefacts such as furniture, paintings, prints and photographs, arts and crafts, books and journals, was supplemented with the fairly small collection of art work of a regional level from the former district art gallery (1964–1972)². There were also artefacts and documents related to Ludwig van Beethoven and Ferenc Liszt, a valuable Oriental collection and a collection of arms and

* This paper was supported by MŠMT (*Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports*), grant project IGA-FF-2015-025 (Od středověku po dnešek. Studie o umění v českých zemích).

¹ "The Red Château" was considered for demolition in 1940 and once again in 1950; the demolition was recommended by the architect Vladimír Meduna. Considerations as to the demolition of the White Tower occurred in 1941. Národní památkový ústav in Brno, the archives of Státní památkový úřad pro Moravu a Slezsko in Brno, carton 90.

² The history of the gallery has only been summarized by Pavel Šopák, *Výtvarná kultura ve Slezsku a na Ostravsku do roku 1970. Texty a dokumentace* (Opava: Slezská univerzita, 2010), 574, here older literature.

objects related to the château's functioning as a centre of the manor or estate. Not all of them were or are accessible to the public. Over the course of time, certain meanings were emphasized and others suppressed. The château has consequently undergone varying functional stages in its modern history: it was at one time a private residence, in an earlier period having memorial functions. It was an installed object, a museum or art gallery, an exhibition hall and a cultural facility without only one emphasized feature *a priori*. It can be stated, without exaggeration, that it is the château's functional changes themselves that appear to be of such interest to researchers. It might be added that in respect to other Czech castles or châteaux, one cannot find a similarly complex symbolic value as in the château premises and the Hradec summer residence expressed by the functional changes of the presentation – i. e. the presentation of family traditions and that of the cult of Prince Felix Lichnowsky, the artefacts connected with Ludwig van Beethoven and Ferenc Liszt, after 1948 artefacts linked with Josef Mánes, Petr Bezruč, Klement Gottwald and again of Beethoven and Liszt, Sín úderníků (*Shock Worker Hall*) and the district art gallery, the recreational facility for working inhabitants of the Ostrava region or the setting for national meetings of pioneers.

The time span over which such changes can be studied in the museum and gallery presentations is defined by two key events, the first being February 1796, when the château burnt down and the second being the year 1979 when the château was closed to the public. That period of time was influenced by the changing requirements as to the château's function, these being dictated by private intellectual and artistic interests in the nineteenth century and by political, social or nationalistic interests in the twentieth century. Not only was Hradec the site of cultural experiences; it was also *politicum*, a tangible and often lavish symbol of the attitude of the power elite, the ruling political regime, in particular, towards the culture heritage and its social employment.

The beginnings of the current appearance of the château, known as the “the White Château”, are derived from the two adaptations and hence remodelling of the interiors in the Classicist style, in fact two subsequent Classicist modes, first, Classicism in the Josephian era, conceived by the builder Johann Mihatsch (1797–1800), who constructed the uniform external structure with an emphasis on the northern wing with the entrance porticus, and second, Biedermeier, which included the Neo-Gothic changes carried out in 1845 according to a project by the German architect, Leonhard Dorst von Schatzberg (1809–1851). Dorst's connection with Hradec, which was demonstrated earlier,³ is also confirmed, although indirectly, by the integration of Lichnowskys' coat-of-arms into Dorst's representative album of Silesian heraldry, and this first and foremost in the first volume of the three part opus.⁴ Reconstruction work associated with that architect also included part of the east wing with a chapel on the first floor, Hubert's Room on the ground floor, three salons on the first floor. The outer salon, adjacent to the stairway connecting the two floors and situated at the connecting place of the both wings, acquired elegant gothisizing alteration to the ceiling with a hanging keystone. A watercolour from 1844 (sic!) by Rudolf von Alt suggests that the room was used as a picture gallery.⁵ From research in archives it is apparent that the picture gallery was first mentioned in sources in 1845 and 1850,⁶ which means that Alt's depiction is the oldest document concerning its existence. In addition, it enables us to understand this quite small set as a collection, since the paintings in other rooms formed

³ Pavel Šopák, “Carl Klumpner, stavitel z Fulneku,” Časopis Slezského zemského muzea 50, series B (2001): 283–284.

⁴ Leonhard Dorst, *Schlesisches Wappenbuch oder die Wappen des Adels. Heraldische Beschreibung der Wappen nebst kurzen historisch-genealogischen Notizen 1* (Goerlitz: G. Heinz, 1842), 1 and fig. 1.

⁵ The watercolour was auctioned at the Vienna auction hall Hassfurther on 24 May 2012; the watercolour is documented by a photo at the gallery site http://www.kunstnet.at/hassfurther/auktionsergebnisse_kat54.html; visited on 23 March 2016.

⁶ Most recently Eva Kolářová, “B 21.6 David Teniers mladší, Zimní krajina se vsí a figurální stafáží,” in: *Město – zámek – krajina. Kulturní krajina českého Slezska od středověku po první světovou válku*, Pavel Šopák et al. (Opava: Slezské zemské muzeum, 2012), 199.

an integral part of the interiors. Alt's precise technique reveals genre scenes, landscapes, still lifes and Baroque allegorical, mythological or Biblical compositions in the paintings on the walls of the room. A watercolour depicting the interiors of the picture gallery is part of a collection of watercolours and their graphic transcriptions created in Hradec by Rudolf Alt and his father Jacob. They came about in 1843–1855 or 1876.⁷ The content strategy of their documentary activities in Hradec, which was supported by the fact that Jacob's son and Rudolph's brother, Karel Alt, worked in the château as a clerk, consisted of two parts: the Biedermeier landscape, the connection between the romantic nature of the Moravice river valley with the castle rising at the promontory and forming only a minor element of the landscape scenery and of the same importance as natural rarities (*Khewenhüller's fir tree*) or popular sites (*Robert's Bridge*), vantage points, outlooks, roads for riding – and another part formed by the interiors, in particular, the Blue salon, the chapel, the main hall and the above-mentioned picture gallery. The nature (including the column gallery enabling a view into the valley and orangery) along with the culture form an ambivalent relationship between experience and knowledge, between the present and the past, between the permanent (of the arts, of faith) and the temporary (of nature), and at the same time, between the private and the public. Only privileged interiors are worthy of brushes, when the main hall as the *piano nobile* central space is of the same importance as the chapel or the picture gallery. From this artworks emerge which were chosen for copying via graphic transcription:⁸ natural scenes, not the château. The château is present in the album with its front facade, with the striking princely standard flying above the gambrel roof and which is displayed as scenery, as a wall between the world of the aristocracy and the populace [Fig. 1].

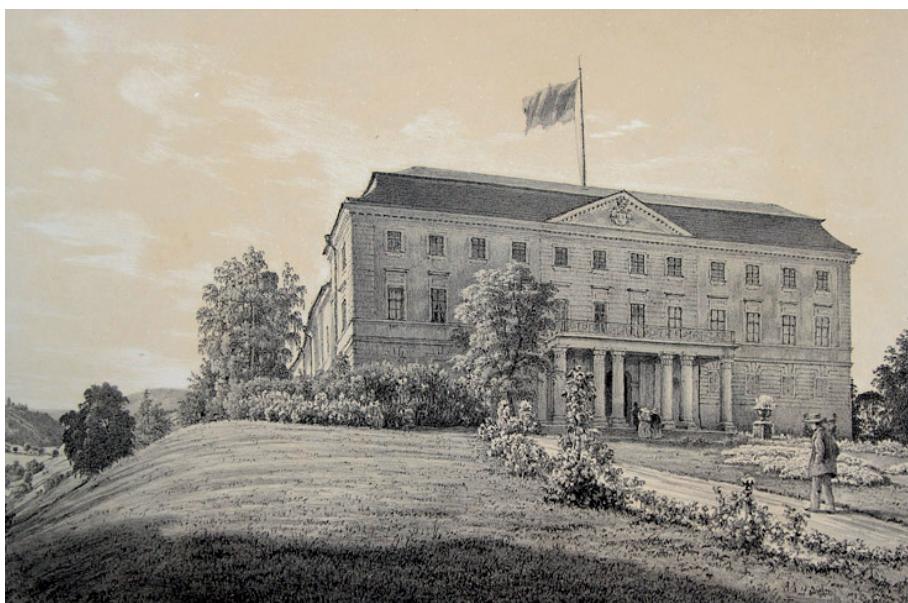


Fig. 1 Jakob von Alt, Hradec Castle, from the Hradec cycle, litography, 1855, Slezské zemské muzeum.
Photo: Marcela Feretová

⁷ Ludwig Hevesi, *Rudolf Alt. Sein Leben und Werk* (Wien: Artaria & Co., 1911), 60, 76–77; Walter Koschatzky, *Rudolf von Alt* (Wien – Köln – Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2001), 370, 372–373, 375, 377, 387, 406. – From the Czech side on the relationship between Alt – Hradec and the passive dependence on older biography overviews, Květa Křížová, "Rudolf Alt a interiér 19. století – akvarely ze sbírek památkových objektů," *Památky a příroda* 11 (1986): 386–391.

⁸ Jakob and Rudolf Alt, *Grätz nach der Natur gezeichnet und lithographiert*, Vídeň, J. Rauh and Reiffenstein & Rösch 1855.

Biedermeier conceived visual artwork as an agent for mediating emotions and memories which included both artworks of high artistic value and private drawings. The first group comprises, in addition to the above-mentioned watercolours and lithographs by Jacob and Rudolph Alt, paintings by Johann Kesselheim (?–1830), a graduate from the Vienna Academy (1819–1826), who worked at Hradec as a drawing teacher from his graduation up until his untimely death. The other group comprises drawings from a diary of Jetta Gallenberg alias Henriette von Skrbensky of Hříště. Kesselheim's drawings and landscape paintings and a rather random drawing of a tree in the Hradec park, which occurs in Jetta's diary (with a signature of Christina, Countess Kálnoky)⁹ [Fig. 2] have a similar significance: a drawing/painting becomes an instrument of memory, it faces the transience of encountering the natural environment and associates experiences related to it. It is actually a document evoking positive and nostalgic associations. This may have been the reason why Kesselheim's paintings were temporarily moved to the château in Křižanovice¹⁰ and returned to Hradec château as late as at the end of the century – i. e. at the time when Hradec château had a new function which was entailed a much more sympathetic approach towards the ancestors, towards their public involvement and relationships with remarkable artists, in particular to Beethoven and Liszt.



Fig. 2 Jetty Gallenbergová, Drawing of a Tree, Hradec, Moravský zemský archiv v Brně,
Silva-Tarouca Family archive, inv. no. 321. Reprophoto: Kateřina Bilová

⁹ Moravský zemský archiv v Brně, fund Rodinný archiv Silva-Tarouca, inv. no. 321.

¹⁰ Eva Kolářová, "Paměť obrazů – hradecký zámek v díle malíře Jana Kesselhelma," *Sborník Národního památkového ústavu v Ostravě* (2007): 149.

The certain elusiveness, even fragility, of the relationship between the visual artworks and Hradec château and its owners, typical for Biedermeier, came to an end in the 1860s. A new chapter in the construction history of Hradec château began in 1861 with efforts to turn the owners' attention from the natural framework to the building itself as a residence,¹¹ whose attributes were to be a new layout derived from the designed ceremonial stairway with the hall and a dramatic silhouette with a number of towers, as attempted in drawings by Carl Boguslaw Lüdecke and later Alexis Langer,¹² therein modifying the concept of the interiors as representative housing with a museum-like aspect. In such interiors a painting does not function as a mere accessory, as only a private reminder or document but acquires an autonomous historical and art historical value. The corridor, salon, room, boudoir, bedroom, dining room and other functional elements of the suite are not a gallery or picture gallery *a priori*, as it apparently was in the 1840s in the case of the room documented by Alt's watercolour, but the herein presented artworks can be related to them. First, due to the carefulness of the description in the lists, the hierarchical organization (more valuable artworks are in the socially more exposed spaces, less valuable works are in private spaces), the then common stating of the author's name on the plate inserted in the lower frame, the presence of an expert to assess their attribution, dating and hence financial value, which was important in order to insure the paintings. The expert was the art historian Max Jacob Friedländer (1867–1958),¹³ who dealt with the Hradec paintings and with artwork from other princely mansions in 1903–1904. That choice suggests the link between the Lichnowskys and Berlin, where Friedländer worked, and perhaps also the fact that the core of the collection – also new acquisitions – was to be Dutch paintings in particular, although the collection of paintings also includes artwork of an Italian or French provenance. It is not to assess the accuracy of the complimentary attributions, which was found to be unsustainable with the knowledge development after 1945 (this is particularly true about the large *Madonna Among Saints* by Giulio Romano, which was proved to be a copy from the nineteenth century), but to assess the special importance of the artwork within the context of living interiors. A better resource as to the functional contents of the salons and corridors is the documentation by the Opava photographer Florian Gödel in 1902, than the inventories from around 1880 and from September 1900. This is particularly valid concerning the stylised hall of ancestors, the socially most exposed part of which was remodelled, and which was paid attention to by the Lichnowskys as early as prior to the mid-nineteenth century. The billiards room has a new function as the *hall of ancestors* with primarily quality portraits which can be undoubtedly attributed to the circle of the Austrian portrait painters of the last third of the nineteenth century [Fig. 3].¹⁴ The portraits are encountered with a remarkable ceiling painting by Otto Marcus (1863–1952), which brings us back to the times when Hradec was the property of Queen Kunigunde at the beginning of the 1280s and briefly the seat of her court.¹⁵ Together with the then historiographic reflection which turned the

¹¹ In detail Eva Kolářová, "Státní zámek Hradec nad Moravici. Vývojové polohy exteriérů a interiérů se zvláštním zaměřením na 19. století. Východiska a výsledky dosavadní památkové obnovy," *Sborník národního památkového ústavu v Ostravě* (2004): 21–37.

¹² Agnieszka Zabłocka-Kos, *Sztuka – wiara – uczucie. Alexis Langer – śląski architekt neogotyku* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1996).

¹³ Eva Kolářová, "Zámecká obrazárna knížat Lichnovských," *Sborník Národního památkového ústavu v Ostravě* (2005): 63–64.

¹⁴ Slezské zemské muzeum (SZM), uměleckohistorické pracoviště, inv. no. 82.2/804 and 805, hall with the ceiling painting of Queen Kunigunde and the corridor in the north side, Rudolf Chodura (?), 1940.

¹⁵ A watercolour sketch for the painting has been preserved with a legend in the château collections, inscribed *At the Castle in Hradec in September 1279*, with the noblemen paying tribute to the Queen and to the prominent figure of Pavel Lichnowsky.

attention to the earliest times in the history of the site and the château,¹⁶ Marcus' compositions would seem to be an attempt to legitimize the historic tradition of the family.¹⁷

The château served as a private museum *sui generis* with recollections of, in particular, Ludwig van Beethoven, Ferenc Liszt and of various predecessors, in particular, the politically engaged Felix, Prince of Lichnowsky (1814–1848), as a place which was visited with guests from Chuchelna, where the Lichnowskys resided and where art and culture lovers would come,¹⁸ and reflected the attitude towards the fine arts by Mechtilde, Princess of Lichnowsky (1879–1958) only to a limited extent. The exclusive position of the Princess and her husband Karl Max, Prince of Lichnowsky (1860–1928) in the world of the culture of the day is documented with reports scattered in various private memoranda and within primarily literary contexts¹⁹ – without the possibility of building an arch of synthesis above them. It is definitely known that the private world at Chuchelna was also formed by paintings by Pablo Picasso (1881–1973), Franz Marc (1880–1916), Max Liebermann (1847–1935), Theo von Brockhusen (1882–1919), the English portraitist Roger Eliot Fry (1866–1934) the German painter of Russian origin, Lilja Busse (1897–1958) and a modest number of sculpture works. There was a marble nude by Alexander Archipenko (1887–1964), an outstanding piece of art among the others, and works by Fritz Huf (1888–1970), a sculptor of Swiss origin who lived in Berlin and after World War II in Rome, and who contributed to the collection with, among other things, Mechtilde's portrait, which belongs to the artist's first Berlin period, i. e. the years of World War I.²⁰ The artists belonging to Mechtilde's circle of activity included the sculptor Georg Kolbe (1877–1947), the author of Mechtilde's portrait from 1909–1916 in the property of Kolbe Museum in Berlin,²¹ and, first and foremost, the painter Willy Geiger (1878–1971), whom the Lichnowskys supported. The oscillation in styles of the artwork documents a broader scope due to particular offers by gallerists and art sellers who the Lichnowskys



Fig. 3 Hradec nad Moravicí, Castle, billiards room, conditions before 1938, Slezské zemské muzeum, uměleckohistorické pracoviště, inv. no. 82.2/804. Photo: Marcela Feretová

¹⁶ Ernst Rzehak, "Zur alten Geschichte der ehemaligen Burg und Stadt Grätz an der Mohra von 1031 bis 1500," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte Österreichisch-Schlesiens* 3 (1907–1908), 65–83; Joseph Gregor, "Die Kastellanei Gradice Golensiczeck," *Oberschlesische Heimat* 4 (1908), 137–139.

¹⁷ Pavel Šopák et al., *Paměť Slezska. Památky a paměťové instituce českého Slezska v 16. až 19. století* (Opava: Slezské zemské muzeum, 2011), 242–243.

¹⁸ As attested to by the château visitors' book, e. g. Jarmila Netková and Jana Svatoňová, "Vývojové směry prezentace zpřístupněných památek určených ke kulturně výchovnému využití v Severomoravském kraji," in *Sborník památkové péče v Severomoravském kraji* 7 (1987), 7–59.

¹⁹ E. g. Antje Neumann, ed., *Harry Graf Kessler – Henry van de Velde. Der Briefwechsel* (Weimar – Köln – Wien: Böhlau, 2015), 571–572; Klaus W. Jonas, "Rilke und Mechtilde Lichnowsky," *Modern Austrian Literature* 5 (1972): 58–69; Petra Wilhelm, *Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahrhundert (1780–1914)* (Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), 731–733.

²⁰ Anne Martina Emonts, *Mechtilde Lichnowsky. Sprachlust und Sprachkritik. Annäherung an eine Kulturphänomen* (Würzburg: Verlag Königshausen Neumann, 2009), 233–234.

²¹ Ursel Berger, *Georg Kolbe. Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Georg Kolbe Museum, 1990), Cat. No. 26.

had an opportunity to meet on their travelling to European metropoli rather than an inclination to merely a one-sided focus on a particular type of artistic expression of visual arts. Mention should be made of the gallery of Alfred Flechtheim (1878–1937) in Berlin and that of Heinrich Tannhauser (1859–1934) in Munich. This corresponded with the arrangement in the suite at Chuchelna château, where a collection of works of art was found of both contemporary artists and antiquities, Medieval sculpture included.²² A remarkable fact is the reflection of the artworks in terms of the art history of the day: portraits of Princess Lichnowsky by Oskar Kokoschka (1915) and by Fritz Huf occurred in the works of art history, Kokoschka's painting in particular occurred in the renowned *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts (Art of the Twentieth Century)* by Carl Einstein,²³ and before that had been reproduced by Paul Westheim (1886–1963) as an attachment to his essay on Kokoschka's portraits,²⁴ while Huf's bust occurred in the synthesis by Karl Woermann (1844–1933).²⁵ This undoubtedly demonstrates the above-standard familiarity of the art connoisseurs of the day with the artworks in the private possession of Mechtilde. Although the modern artworks made up the most attractive set of movables in the Lichnowsky castles, other sets also had some publicity, e.g. the miniatures exhibited in the Museum of Decorative Arts in Opava in 1905, whose documentation at the time along with the exhibition catalogue is the only evidence concerning the existence of the currently scattered convolute [Fig. 4].²⁶

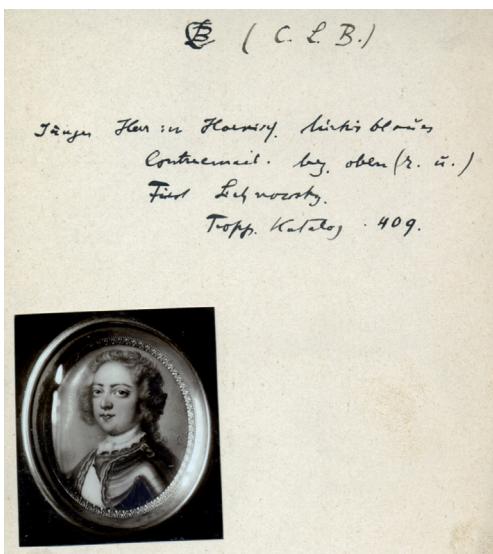


Fig. 4 Anonymous, CLB, Half-figure of A Young Officer, end of the 17th century, enamel, 38 × 33 mm, originally Chuchelná Castle, collections of Karel Max, Prince of Lichnowsky, photo with notes by Edmund Wilhelm Braun, 1904, Slezské zemské muzeum, uměleckohistorické pracoviště, inv. no. 80.1/43246. Reprophoto: Marcela Feretová

²² As written by Lev Bena (1888–1946) in his guide book for the Hlučín region, see Lev Bena, *Hlučínsko. Stručná informace průvodce krajem* (Brno: Zemský cizinecký svaz, 1924), 33: "The château is noteworthy (...) with its extensive library and museum, which was established by Princess Mechtilde Lichnowsky, a writer and enthusiastic traveller all over the world, as evidenced by the therein museum collections: Chinese vases, ambers, various imprints, Italian rarities, tapestries, mosaics, etc." Using the term "museum" is factually incorrect because the collections were not open to the public.

²³ Carl Einstein, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 16 (Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, [1931]), 474.

²⁴ Paul Westheim, "Oskar Kokoschka," *Kunstblatt. Monatsschrift für künstlerische Entwicklung in Malerei, Skulptur, Baukunst, Kunsthantwerk* 1 (1917): 296. The reproduction therein was described as the property of Princess Lichnowsky, Berlin and mentions the year of the artwork origin as 1915. For the dating of 1916, see Agnes Husslein-Arco and Alfred Widinger, ed., *Träumende Knabe – Enfant terrible 1906 bis 1922* (Wien: Belvedere 2008), 260–261. – From the Czech side paradoxically without an identification of the portrayed person, Marie Mžyková, "Díla českých malířů 19. a 20. století v zámeckých sbírkách (J-Kol)," *Památky a příroda* 10 (1985): 407.

²⁵ Karl Woermann, *Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker* 6 – *Die Kunst der jüngeren Neuzeit von 1750 bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig 1922), 438.

²⁶ Edmund Wilhelm Braun, *Katalog der Ausstellung von Miniaturen* (Troppau: Kaiser Franz Josef-Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Troppau, 1905), 38–42, No. Cat. 406–440.

Attention will now be turned from that (Central) European context in which the art collection, which travelled within the châteaux of the Lichnowskys, developed,²⁷ as that of a too closed world, which until 1945 had not impacted the fate of the Hradec château. The interwar times saw Hradec château in a completely new situation associated with a decrease in the economic, administrative and social condition after the year 1918. As evidenced, however, by the preserved agenda from vocational school field trips, the exemplary forest management of the Lichnowskys maintained its interest and good name among professionals, since it managed to attract not only members of the German Forestry Association of Silesia, the Hlučín Region and north Moravia (1927), but also students from the State Higher Forestry School in Hranice (1927, 1928), the Forestry University in Tharand (today part of the Technical University in Dresden, 1929), the State Higher School of Economics in Košice (1927) and the Institute for Forest Growing at ČVUT in Prague (1930).²⁸ In addition, the château became accessible to the public when Prince Wilhelm Lichnowsky (1905–1975) opened part of the château to the public, and the château ceased to be *privatissimum* of the Lichnowskys. This took place on 1 May 1934. The entrance fee of 4 to 6 crowns was designated for the building maintenance, the château was open from Tuesday to Sunday, from nine to twelve noon and in the afternoon from two to five pm, with a closed day on Monday. This corresponded to the general practice as established by the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment and the National Heritage Authority and in other cases.²⁹ In terms of the content strategy, it was aimed at strengthening the abstract art historical point of view which also dictated the presentation strategy at state castles and châteaux after 1948. Orientation in the installation was made easier by a guide published in Czech and German by the art historian and director of the Opava museum, Karel Černohorský (1896–1982).³⁰ It is apparent that it was the first floor of the north wing and the adjacent part of the east wing which were open to the public,³¹ i. e. the parts which had key importance in terms of “public” presentation of artworks as early as before 1850 and also had maintained it, after formal changes, in the second half of the nineteenth century. The exhibition began with the ground floor chapel and continued with the rooms aligned in the enfilade on the first floor. It ended with the Renaissance dining room on the ground floor of the north-west corner at the stairway, which provides communication between the ground floor and the first floor of the north wing and from where it was possible to exit the château through the main gate. The set of rooms consequently formed a distinctive set, which did not disturb the operations in the other parts of the premises. Apart from the paintings in a rather illogical order (e. g. the Dutch salon also included a composition by Angelica Kauffmann), there were also prints. The corner room included artworks by Albrecht Dürer, Hans Sebald Beham and Lucas van Leyden, while the corridor forming the inner part of the north wing included Baroque prints of German, French, Dutch and Italian provenance. Of interest is the fact that the extent of the accessible rooms corresponded to that in 1949. World War II manifested a threat to the Hradec château. Although German art historians connected with the museum in Opava, Edmund Wilhelm Braun and Werner Kudlich, carried out photodocumentation of selected interiors³² and the individual artworks which form the Hradec collection, the château,

²⁷ Further e. g. Kokoschka's portrait of an unknown man from 1914, today in the Hradec château collections, see Agnes Husslein-Arco – Alfred Widinger, ed., *Träumende Knabe – Enfant terrible 1906 bis 1922* (Wien: Belvedere, 2008), 245.

²⁸ Zemský archiv v Opavě, fund Velkostatek Hradec, inv. no. 602, carton 104, sign. XVIII 5.

²⁹ Jarmila Netková – Jana Svatoňová, “Návštěvní řády a zpřístupňování hradů a zámků 1,” *Památky a příroda* 44 (1984): 451–455.

³⁰ Karel Černohorský, *O hradeckém zámku a jeho sbírkách* (Hradec: Správa panství knížete Lichnovského 1935). – Idem, *Schloss Grätz und seine Sammlungen* (Grätz: Lichnowskysche Domänenverwaltung, 1935).

³¹ Státní okresní archiv (SOkA) Opava, collection Archiv obce Hradec, inv. no. 27, Adolf Juchelka, *Pamětní kniha městyse Hradce v Opavě*, manuscript, 11; *Die Kunstschatze im Fürstlich Lichnowskyschen Schloß in Grätz*, Neues Tagblatt für Schlesien und Mähren no. 58, 1. května 1934, 7.

³² See note 15.

were a symbol of German culture linked with Ludwig van Beethoven,³³ it was damaged due to the stay by German troops. The year 1945 amounted to a certain guarantee of the integrity of the building and its movables, when the château, unlike a number of other châteaux in the Czech Lands, was declared a military premises (sic!) by the Soviet Army with a strict ban on entry.

The fates of Hradec (the château and its surroundings) were divided into two spheres of interest after the year 1945. The first one was represented by the cultural and educational utilization of the premises aimed at the development of a specific regional organisation, Krajské kulturní středisko – zámek Hradec (*Regional Cultural Centre – Hradec château*) (from 1949) [Fig. 5].³⁴ The second one was formed by historical, art historical and musicological reflections concerning Hradec, in particular, of the selected artefacts guaranteed by Slezský studijní ústav (*Silesian Study Institute*) in Opava, established in 1946. Its aim was to draw attention of specialists from culture centres, especially from Prague and Brno, to regional issues.³⁵ A convoluted period context must be specified with regard to the exhibition utilization of the premises. At first, in approximately 1946–1948, it appeared to be desirable to integrate the Hradec château into the Zemské muzeum (*Land Museum*) in Opava, from 1949 Slezské muzeum (*Silesian Museum*). The museum director, Karel Černohorský, suggested merging the art historical movables of the château with the art historical museum collections. He intended to follow the concept from 1946–1947 and establish *the Regional Picture Gallery* as one of the three parts of the museum.



Fig. 5 Hradec nad Moravicí, State Castle, north wing, conditions as of 1956, Slezské zemské muzeum, fotopracoviště, inv. no. B5890. Photo: Josef Solnický

³³ E.g. Josef Billina, "Gast auf Schloss Grätz," *Deutschmährische Heimat* 21 (1935): 358–362. – Ludwig Jüngst, "Beethoven in Kreuzenort und Grätz," *Ratiborer Heimat Kalender* (1942): 62–64.

³⁴ Bohuslav Valušek, "Hradecký zámek slouží kultuře lidu," *Radostná země* 1 (1951): 149.

³⁵ Emanuel Poche, "Uměleckohistorický průzkum Hradce u Opavy," *Slezský sborník* 47 (1949): 379–380; Bohumír Štědroň, "Zpráva o muzikologickém výzkumu Opavy a Hradce," *Slezský sborník* 47 (1949): 380; František Čáda, "Rukopisné svazky v zámecké knihovně na Hradci u Opavy," *Slezský sborník* 53 (1955): 283–299.

The establishment of such a picture gallery would have allowed for the separation of the art historical material with no relation to the region from a museum of the national history museum type with a separate exhibition and from the Museum of Natural History, and assembling the material in this kind of Regional Picture Gallery according to the logic of art historical development. Although this concept was not employed in relation to the installation of art historical works, it did impact the establishment of the *District Art Gallery*, which was opened to the public on 24 September 1950.³⁶ This exhibition unit existed until the castle was closed to the public at the end of the 1970s and was presented by means of brief catalogues, where the attention to the selected works was determined by the interest of the individual specialists from Prague or Brno.³⁷ Its concept was determined by general art historical criteria and covered the period from the late Gothic to Classicism. The period of the nineteenth and the first third of the twentieth century was omitted, or rather substituted for, by the “Bohemized” concept of the development documented by artworks provided by the National Gallery. A marginal reference to a visit of Josef Mánes (17 September 1852) to the château in the visitors’ book resulted in the organization of the so-called *Mánes Corner*.³⁸ Apart from the gallery, the visitors could view a succession of living interiors installed according to art history criteria. The number of rooms utilized for exhibitions increased from 13 in 1950 to 32 after the gallery was established and to 45 in 1959. Such an increase meant the inner differentiation of the exhibition unit into a picture gallery (9 rooms), style period rooms (4) [Fig. 6], the memorial hall to Ludwig van Beethoven, which was established by Krajský národní výbor (*the Regional National Committee*) in Ostrava in 1957 (4), an exhibition of the art of porcelain and armoury (9), a library (3), temporary exhibitions (5) and the so-called Hall of Regional Art (10) [Fig. 7].

The presentation strategy changed in the 1960s. In contrast to the previous socialism building and nationalist dimensions of the previous years, Hradec consequently became part of the international cultural context due to regular recollections of Ludwig van Beethoven, linked to the Beethoven Hradec Festival (as of 1961). In terms of the operations of the château, the most distinctive exhibition product of the 1960s was the architecturally altered Ludwig van Beethoven memorial hall which was preserved up until 1979.³⁹ As concerns the contents, the most important activity was the exhibition activity developed primarily in cooperation with Moravian Gallery in Brno and Art Gallery in Ostrava and comprising the authorial collections (Bohdan Lacina, 1965; Kurt Gebauer, 1968; Bohumír Matal, 1969; Olbram Zoubek, 1970) and survey exhibitions focused on classical Czech Modernism (*Výmluvnost kresby (The Articulacy of Drawing)*, 1966). *A Proposal for Completion of Hradec Château* was elaborated in 1960 and the management of Krajské osvětové středisko (*The Regional Educational Centre*) was addressed to the Communist party authorities and to the national committees on the level of the region and district.⁴⁰ The project comprised building a hotel with 150–200 beds, introducing bus or later trolley bus transportation from Opava to Hradec, increasing the number of employees, building an amphitheatre below the Bezruč lookout tower, acquiring an organ for the main vestibule, rebuilding the courtyard of the Red Château and the cellars under the courtyard into an open-air restaurant with facilities, extending the road from Kajlovec to Hradec and building and repairing the access roads. The project was supposed to educate visitors about “*the art historical collections in the White Château*,” which was to be added to the White Tower, up until then not used for

³⁶ Jaroslav Svoboda, “O slezskou galerii na Hradci u Opavy,” *Slezský sborník* 47 (1949), příloha Slezská tvorba, No. 4: 73–75.

³⁷ Ivo Krsek, “Cyklus rokokových obrazů v Hradci u Opavy,” *Časopis Společnosti přátel starožitností* 60 (1952): 221–226; Jarmila Vacková, “Flámskí ‘primitivové’ v československých sbírkách,” *Umění* 33 (1985): 221–222.

³⁸ SOKA Opava, collection Městský národní výbor Hradec nad Moravicí, Kronika obce Hradec (1938–1959), 111.

³⁹ Karel Boženek, “Beethovenův památník na Hradci u Opavy,” *Informace Slezského muzea* (1970), No. 4: 20–21.

⁴⁰ SOKA Opava, collection Okresní národní výbor Opava, period 1960–1976, carton 1685, inv. no. 1439.



Fig. 6 Hradec nad Moravicí, State Castle, the installation of the so called Renaissance interiors, conditions as of 1951, Slezské zemské muzeum, fotopracoviště, inv. no. A11303. Photo: Arnošt Pustka



Fig. 7 Hradec nad Moravicí, State Castle, permanent exhibition of regional art, conditions as of 1958, Slezské zemské muzeum, fotopracoviště, inv. no. B6239. Photo: Josef Solnický

exhibitions, and hence to extend the provided recreational activities. The majority of those plans were not accomplished, however.

Nevertheless, the château in Hradec nad Moravicí served as a time-tested and popular with visitors cultural and educational institution after 1970, newly bearing the name Vlastivědný ústav Opava (*National History Institute Opava*) seated in Hradec nad Moravicí and later Okresní středisko státní památkové péče a ochrany přírody (*District Center of National Heritage and Environmental Care*). The changes in the intentions of the new cultural policy were announced by the general reconstruction of the entire premises under preparation as of the year 1974 and emerging from the statement that "*the premises were in almost unserviceable conditions.*"⁴¹ The planned reconstruction was to be performed in stages in 1976–1980 with the culmination in 1978–1979 and with the total expected volume of work for 18.6 million crowns. This also involved emptying the entire premises and finding a suitable space for storing the movables. The movables included approximately 5 thousand three-dimensional objects, 2 thousand two-dimensional objects and 18 thousand books from the historical library, which needed approximately 2 thousand square metres. The movables were also supposed to be restored gradually for which a subsidy of 100 thousand crowns per year was expected. The original assumptions that the exhibition, cultural and educational activities in the Red Château and the White Tower would continue and that the repaired building of the White Castle would open upon the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia, were not met, however. The rebuilding was postponed a number of times (e. g. in 1976 there was a plan to carry out the rebuilding work in 1977–1981, only for it to be postponed repeatedly), rooms in Raduň château were acquired for storing movables, for alternative exhibition utilization and for photography and restorer workshops – and, in fact, Hradec château has not been opened fully up to the present day.⁴²

Preparatory work for rebuilding and its consequent postponement meant for a remarkable change in the perception of Hradec by average visitors and power-political bodies. Although the employees wanted to "*prevent decreasing the number of visitors and excluding the premises from a share in the cultural-educational and political work in the district,*" the plans were not met and the Red château was only the seat of the organisation headquarters and its economics department, and hence the public awareness of the Hradec premises as a cultural institution gradually faded away. Its return among the popular sites for visitors, not only in the Moravian and Silesian region, but for the entire Czech Republic, has been rather difficult and has required great efforts.⁴³

Closing the château and dismantling the installation mechanisms meant disclosing its construction history. This revealed a certain deficit in the knowledge of the construction history with the results being published at the national level in the Czech Republic. This was the first time when the château had provided evidence about itself. The Hradec château, in other words, stopped being merely a historical or cultural-historical topic and became an autonomous research topic for art historians and preservationists, including attention paid to the preserved substructures of the Medieval castle.⁴⁴

Parallel with dealing with the construction-technical condition of the château and with the gradual appreciation of its up until then neglected construction history, it was the future in-

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² The original plan to complete the rebuilding of the White Château in 1980 and postponed to 1988 was not implemented and it has not been completed to date. The gradual opening of the château to the public began in 1996, then in 1998, 2000 and 2002, and finally in 2009.

⁴³ Ibid., mainly *Důvodová zpráva k návrhu rekonstrukce Bílého zámku v Hradci nad Moravicí*, typescript and photodocumentation, 19 August 1975, elaborated by a collective of château specialists. – Herbert Arbter, "Stavební program generální opravy zámku Hradec nad Moravicí a dosavadní zkušenosti s jeho realizací," in *Sborník památkové péče v Severomoravském kraji* 7 (1987): 60–80.

⁴⁴ Dana Kouřilová, "Stavební vývoj zámku Hradec nad Moravicí," *Památky a příroda* (1981), No. 1: 1–17.

stallation which was also considered. A concept was conceived in 1976 relying on the radical transformation of the installation “*in terms of arrangement and idea.*” An opening historical exhibition was to be prepared in collaboration with the historian Adolf Turek from the current Zemský archiv (*Regional Archive*) in Opava.⁴⁵ He emphasized the need for archeological research as it would unearth the oldest history of the site, and called for presenting the château movables and the library in connection with the Lichnowskys, which was apparently a novelty up to that point. Prior to this and even after the collections had been and consequently were understood as artistic works exclusively without provenance relations. He also criticized the abundance of space provided to the presentation of hunting trophies. *Návrh ideového záměru, libreta a scénáře* (*The Suggestion Concerning the Concept, Libretto and Script*) of June 1976 was elaborated by Irena Stanislavová, Dana Kouřilová, Eva Kolářová and Ludmila Hajdučková in collaboration with the architect Klimeš. The entrance to the château was designed to be in the north wing axis, along the courtyard entry, hence not from the side, as up to then. The former theatre hall on the ground floor in the north-east corner – the original entrance – was left for the opening exhibition. The chapel as a religious art exhibition was abolished “*since it is fragmentary and its inclusion into the arrangement of the interiors would not correspond to the general concept of the installation on the ground floor*” [Fig. 8].⁴⁶ Its artistic artefacts were to be incorporated into the proposed château picture gallery. The adjacent space, originally the chaplain’s flat, was to become the ticket office and the chapel was to serve as the opening room of the exhibition. The enfilade of the armoury rooms and hunting art exhibition was to be followed in the west wing, i. e. separately in terms of the space linkage to the study room and the château management offices, by the permanent exhibition of modern history with an emphasis on the visits of the Communist presidents Klement Gottwald and Antonín Zápotocký to Hradec alongside with a testimony concerning the building up of Socialism in the Opava region. That space – the former kitchen, situated approximately in the middle of the west wing – was apparently designed with a separate entrance from the courtyard sheltered with the Neo-Gothic corridor. Finally, the Renaissance dining room in the north-west corner was designed to serve as a ceremonial hall of the municipal national committee, with the entrance from the corridor from the main entrance.

The ground floor would consequently be fully utilized. The first floor, accessible for visitors by means of the stairway in the south wing, was designed in a similarly maximum fashion. In line with the national methodology for installed objects the three rooms were designed for an arts and crafts exhibition, situated in the south wing, and the library was approached as one whole consisting of five rooms. The following six rooms in the east and mainly north wing were to consequently house the adjusted interiors with movables selected based on the style classification. For this part of the installation two alternatives were proposed which included, e. g. the requirement to cover Marcus’s ceiling painting of Queen Kunigunde and the removal of the Neo-Gothic panelling. These, together with additional proposals such as whether to remove or replace the stoves in the picture gallery rooms, seem in the present-day view to have been rather drastic. The collective of authors of the idea concept identified with the less radical alternative, which did not comply, however, with the valid methodology for the presentation of the succession of rooms according to the artistic styles, but which corresponded with the interior arrangements.

⁴⁵ The archivist and historian, Adolf Turek (1911–1998), who demonstrated his experience with museum work as an author of the libretto for the permanent exhibition of Slezské muzeum, opened in 1955. He began to study the topic of Hradec in the 1950s in relation to the survey initiated by Slezský studijní ústav in Opava, which remained at the stage of promises (see Adolf Turek, “K stavebnímu vývoji zámku Hradce,” *Slezský sborník* 50 (1952): 141–144) and in two separately published works *Z minulosti Hradce a panství hradeckého* (1960) and *Dějiny zámku Hradce* (1971).

⁴⁶ A photograph by Josef Solnický from 16 February 1956 makes it apparent that the installation in the chapel included the Statue of God the Father, belonging to the original Hradec movables, and the Gothic sculpture of Our Lady of Expectation, which, at the time of the Lichnowskys, was part of the interiors of Chuchelná château.



Fig. 8 Hradec nad Moravicí, State Castle, the installation of the Castle Chapel, conditions as of 1956, Slezské zemské muzeum, fotopracoviště, inv. no. B4672. Photo: Josef Solnický

An additional four rooms, corresponding to the enfilade of the rooms in the piano nobile of the north wing – the former oldest part was utilized for exhibitions which was open to the public as early as 1934 – were proposed for the housing of the music exhibition. The main hall terminating the enfilade of salons on the first floor was designed as *a multi-purpose assembly room* without it serving as a ceremonial room as previously. The rooms in the east wing were left as art galleries presenting art from the fourteenth to the twentieth centuries. The number of art gallery rooms was to increase from eight to ten. The architect Klimeš wanted to remove all the stoves but the authors of the libretto did not agree. The last three rooms open to the public included the former offices and were to house the oriental art exhibition. In conclusion, the state château in Hradec nad Moravicí was planned to offer the visitors six thematically separate sets: arms and hunting, a library, an art history exhibition via installed rooms, music tradition, the château picture gallery with the gallery arrangement of artefacts and the oriental exhibition. All these units would form one tour circuit with the exception of the opening exhibition dedicated to the history of the premises which resonated with the original function of the premises as the Lichnowsky residence. The classification of the artefacts corresponded with the typology of particular disciplines (art history, music history, general history), not with the cultural or historical picture of life on the estate, which was, of course, politically unacceptable in the 1970s. It would consist of an exceptionally demanding unit for the viewer, since it involved approximately forty rooms with art history movables and documents with the changing historical, gallery and modern museum installations. In addition, there were the exhibition halls on the second floor in the north wing, hence the number of the rooms open to the public amounted to 61.

The long rebuilding period, which was launched as late as 1979, made the libretto of 1976 a historic document. Prior to the closing of the château – shortly after 1968 – a hesitant step was made towards conceiving the modern collection of paintings and sculptures as having an autonomous value with significance beyond the region,⁴⁷ as a set which had not been fully revealed as yet to its visitors, had only been presented on a selective basis and not even in Hradec château. It was and still is, however, a unique collection of modern art works which should, together with the remarkable connection between the natural surroundings and culture, as the Biedemeier style was able to appreciate, and in addition to the remarkable circumstances of the members of the Lichnowsky family, documented by artistic artefacts which were accentuated in the second half of the nineteenth century, stand at the focal point at present concerning the château in Hradec nad Moravicí in terms of museum and gallery presentations. It should be emphasized that this has not occurred as yet.

Pavel Šopák
Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Palackého v Olomouci
Křížkovského 10
771 80 Olomouc
Czech Republic
pavel.sopak@upol.cz

⁴⁷ Marie Schenková, *Ke sbírce 20. století na zámku v Hradci nad Moravicí*, Časopis Slezského zemského muzea 3, series B (1974): 185–186.

Czech and Slovak Journal of Humanities

For contributors

Texts already published or accepted for publication in other journals or books will not be accepted by the editorial board. The peer-review process, the editing and the publication of articles is done according to *CSJH* ethics statement.

The text of the article should be accompanied by an abstract in English of some 10 lines (maximum 100 words), with three to ten keywords in English in alphabetical order, and by author's affiliation, address and e-mail address. Reviews of books and congress proceedings should present all necessary bibliographical data concerning the reviewed book, including the place and dates of the congress in question.

The affiliation address of the contributor should be given at the end of the article or review as well as an e-mail contact. If necessary, another contact address may be provided.

Contributors are kindly requested to send their contributions by e-mail to the addresses of issue editors:

Philosophica	Jozef Matula	jozef.matula@upol.cz
Historica	Martin Elbel	martin.elbel@upol.cz
Historia artium	Rostislav Švácha	rostislav.svacha@upol.cz
Theatralia et cinematographica	Milan Hain	milan.hain@upol.cz
Musicologica	Jan Blüml	jan.bluml@upol.cz
Anthropologia culturalis	Jakub Havlíček	jakub.havlicek@upol.cz

Style Sheet Rules

Submitted texts should be written in one of common text editors (doc, docx, rtf, odt), in the Times New Roman 12 font, line spacing 1.5; pictures and figures should be submitted separately in formats as jpg, tif, eps, and gif.

CSJH follows the Chicago Style Manual.

Guidelines for Editors

General Responsibilities

Editors are accountable for all content published in their journal. Editors must be ready to publish corrections and apologies when necessary.

Editors must follow transparent editorial policy. Submission guidelines and requirements for potential contributors to the journal must be published.

Conflict of Interest

Editors require authors, reviewers and editorial board members to disclose potential conflicts of interest.

Editors make decisions to accept or reject submissions based on the quality of the submission and its suitability for the journal. Editors must make sure that commercial considerations do not interfere with their editorial decisions.

Editors must make sure that non-peer-reviewed sections of the journal are clearly marked as such.

Peer-Review Practice

Editors must ensure that all research submissions are peer-reviewed. A description of the peer review practice must be published for the benefit of potential contributors to the journal.

Editors are accountable for recruiting qualified reviewers. Editors must strive to obtain highly competent reviewers and discontinue using reviewers who consistently deliver poor quality reviews.

Editors must ensure that reviews are relevant, courteous and timely. Reviewers should judge the quality of the research and not comment on the researcher's gender, race, beliefs and the like.

Academic Integrity

Editors and reviewers must treat all submissions under review as confidential.

Editors must protect the identity of reviewers and the identity of authors if a double-blind review process is used.

Editors must ensure that all submissions comply with ethical research standards, particularly in research involving human or animal subjects.

Editors must make sure that all submissions comply with academic integrity standards, particularly with respect to plagiarism, data falsification, image manipulation and the like. Suspicions of scientific misconduct must be promptly investigated and response from authors suspected of misconduct must be sought.

Guidelines for Authors

General Responsibilities

Authors are accountable for all aspects of their research submitted for publication to a journal. Authors of a multi-author submission have joint responsibility for their research, unless stated otherwise.

Authors must promptly notify editors if they discover any errors in their research. This applies to research that has been submitted, is under review or has been published. Authors must cooperate with editors to rectify any errors.

Authors must comply with submission guidelines and requirements published by the editors. Authors are aware that failure to meet these requirements may result in rejection of their research for publication.

Conflict of Interest

Authors must disclose potential conflicts of interest.

Authors must publish all sources of their research funding, including both financial and non-financial support.

Authors must disclose their relationship to the journal, particularly when editors and reviewers seek publication in a journal that they are affiliated with.

Peer-Review Process

Authors must cooperate with editors at all stages of the publication process. Authors must notify editors if they choose to withdraw their submission at any stage of the peer-review and publication process.

Authors must respond to comments of reviewers in a relevant and timely manner. Authors must carefully check proofs supplied by editors before authorising them.

Academic Integrity

Authors must not seek publication of their research in more than one journal concurrently, unless all parties agree on co-publishing.

Authors are accountable for the soundness and honesty of their research. Authors must use appropriate methods for reporting their research and provide sufficient detail for other researchers to repeat their experiments. Authors must publish the complete results of their research and not withhold findings that are inconsistent with their hypothesis.

Authors must comply with ethical research standards, particularly in research involving human or animal subjects, and must be prepared to provide sufficient proof on request.

Authors must comply with academic integrity standards, particularly with respect to plagiarism, data falsification, image manipulation and the like. Authors must appropriately quote and cite all sources used in their research and refrain from including indirect quotations from sources that they have not consulted.

Authors must obtain permission to use any third party images, figures and the like from the respective copyright holders.