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Articles|

Ruler Representation in the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle¹

Abstract | The manuscript of the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle represents one of the most important preserved Hungarian manuscripts from a historical and artistic standpoint. The text of the chronicle is accompanied by the pictorial cycles of Hungarian rulers emphasizing the importance of the role of the king and kingship in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary. The theme of ruler representation expresses itself in different layers in the concept of the manuscript: in the representational component of the codex as a whole, in the idea of genealogical succession, and in the representational interpretation of single depictions. The paper poses a question on the meaning of ruler representation within the medium of the illuminated manuscript which was accessible only to a limited audience from the environment of the royal court.

Key words | Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle – Ruler Representation – Fourteenth Century – King – Kingship – Manuscript

The examined manuscript of the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle² is an excellent example of ruler representation which in the fourteenth century came to be, in addition to open war, an important vehicle for demonstrating the dominance of the ruling dynasty within its own kingdom as well as within the area of broader European politics. As the need for manifesting power in medieval

¹ This study is a result of research funded by The Czech Science Foundation as the project GA CR no. 18-01279S of the panel no. P409 “Representation, Style, and Tradition: Ruler’s Representative Court in the Bohemian and the Hungarian Lands in the Fourteenth Century.”

² *Chronicon Pictum*, Cod. Lat. 404, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest; Facsimile: Dezső Dercsényi, ed., *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1969). For a detailed overview of scholarly literature, see János Bollók, Kornél Szovák, and László Veszprémy, *Képes krónika*, (Budapest: Osiris, 2004), 257–278. A short selection from the art history literature: Edith Hoffmann, *Régi magyar bibliofilek* (Budapest: Magyar Bibliophil Társaság, 1929), 18–20; Julius Hermann, *Die italienischen Handschriften des Dugento und Trecento. III. vol, Neapolitanische und toskanische Handschriften der zweiten Hälfte des XIV. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 5 (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersmann, 1930), 288–306; Illona Berkovits, László Geréb, and Tibor Kardos, *Képes krónika. Kálti Márk krónikája a magyarok tetteiről* (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1959). For a German translation, see Illona Berkovits, László Geréb, and Tibor Kardos, *Die Ungarische Bilderchronik. Chronica de gestis Hungarorum* (Berlin: Rütten and Loening, 1961); Ágnes Szigethi, “A propos de quelques sources des compositions de la Chronique Enluminée,” *Acta Historiae Artium* 14, (1968): 177–214; Dezső Dercsényi and Szabolcs Vajay, “La genesi della Cronica Illustrata Ungherese,” *Acta Historiae Artium* 23, (1977): 1–20; Tünde Wehli, “Könyvfestészet a magyarországi Anjou-udvarban,” in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában 1342–1382*, ed. Ernő Marosi (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatócsoport, 1982), 119–136; Tünde Wehli, “Itáliai összefüggések. A Képes Krónika,” in *Magyarországi Művészet 1300–1470 körül*, ed. Ernő Marosi (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 484–488; Ernő Marosi, “A Képes Krónika értelmezéséhez,” in *Kép és hasonmás. Művészet és valóság a 14–15. századi Magyarországon*, ed. Ernő Marosi (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1995), 31–66; József Hapák, László Veszprémy, and Tünde Wehli, *A képes krónika könyve* (Budapest: Kossuth, 2009). For an English translation, see József Hapák, László Veszprémy, and Tünde Wehli, *The Book of the Illuminated Chronicle* (Budapest: Kossuth Publishing House, 2009).

society during this time of peace grew, art turned out to be an ever more appropriate instrument in which to express the supremacy of the leading class.

According to Louis Marin,³ ruler representation functions in a non-violent manner in which the power of the ruler may be shown without the use of arms. The representation becomes an important element of non-verbal communication with various ways of interpretation. The following lines are dedicated to an interpretation of this phenomenon in relation to the medium of the illuminated manuscript of the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle.

The manuscript of the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle (*Chronicon Pictum*) represents one of the most important preserved Hungarian manuscripts from a historical and artistic standpoint. The manuscript's measurements are 30 × 21 cm and it contains 75 parchment folios altogether decorated with 147 miniatures. Different types of miniatures appear in the manuscript such as large historiated scenes appear covering almost a third of the folio, historiated initials, and figural initials as well as ornamented initials supplemented by decorative bordures. The period of origin of the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle is lined by the years 1358–1374. The entry date is explicit in the frontispiece as the time when the chronicler started to work on the text of the chronicle, while the second date is connected with the possible use of the chronicle as a wedding gift for Louis, the second born of the French king Charles V, who was to marry the daughter of the Hungarian king Louis I the Great.

The author of the text of the chronicle is considered to be Marcus of Kált, a member of the chapter house of the Church of Virgin Mary in Székesfehérvár. The chronicle is documented for the first time in the inventory of the Imperial Court Library in Vienna from the years 1608–1636. In the year 1932, the manuscript was placed in the Hungarian National Library.⁴

The Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle is classified as a national illustrated chronicle. The format of the national illustrated chronicle arose from the need to underly the right of rule for any actual ruling dynasty. The demonstration of the right to rule was achieved by the presentation of the antiquity of the ruler's bloodline, while the special meaning of the ruling house was underlined by the presence of the saintly ancestors for the Arpad and Angevin houses.⁵ Considering the origin of the Angevin house, the impulse for the execution of the chronicle could have been an effort to imitate the so-called Great Chronicles of France.⁶

From the perspective of the ruler iconographical representation, the chronicle represents an outstanding example of iconographical themes related to the figure of a ruler. The chronicle deals with the history of Hungarians since the arrival of the Huns into the Pannonian Basin up until the reign of Charles I Robert. The range is quite large in the manuscript as there is a great deal of space for individual interpretation of the stories of the kings ruling in the Kingdom of Hungary during this period.

The illuminations accompanying the text of the chronicle can be divided in two groups. A group of illuminations depicting action and vividly accompanying the line of the history presented in the chronicle is alternated with a group of static depictions. In certain parts of the chronicle, the depictions accompanying the story line of the king are quite abundant and both of the groups are fully represented, while in cases where the text of the chronicle does not allow for much space for the historical background of the time of the king's rule, the presentation of the person of the king is quite limited.

³ Louis Marin, *Politiques de la représentation* (Paris: Editions Kimé, 2005).

⁴ Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi, "History and Description of The Illuminated Chronicle," in *The Hungarian Illuminated*, ed. Dezső Dercsényi (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1969), 58–63.

⁵ Of the 147 miniatures, 11 are dedicated to St. Stephen and 17 to St. Ladislas.

⁶ Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image. Illustrations of Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274–1422* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).



Fig. 1. Initial “P” Enthroned king St. Stephen in *maiestas*, *Chronicon Pictum*, Hungary, third quarter of the fourteenth century, Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 404, f. 20v.

The theme of the king’s majestic office is expressed quite prominently throughout the entire manuscript. Apart from the earlier portion of the text which dealt with the Hun’s invasion of the Pannonian Basin, up until the coronation of St. Stephen, there are few images in which there lacks the depiction of a king. The most extended narrative cycles, in terms of their consistency and focus on the ruling figure, are those of Attila the Hun, the Hungarian King St. Stephen, and the Hungarian King St. Ladislas. Special attention is also dedicated to the rule of Charles I Robert but the depictions are more centred on the narrative line than on the figure of the Hungarian king from the Angevin House itself. The remainder of the depictions in the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle contain the figures of kings that are either rather narrative or simply representative. Between the narratives, stories can be named connected with the question of succession to the Hungarian throne such as the conflict between King Peter and King Samuel Aba (f. 24r, 24v, 25v, 27r) or between the Kings Solomon and Béla (f. 34r).

The representative depiction includes either the act of coronation or that of a standing king in *maiestas* as in the cases for the Kings Emeric (f. 62r) and Ladislas II (f. 62r).

As mentioned above, the three rulers Attila the Hun, St. Stephen, and St. Ladislas, are represented the most frequently in the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle. The images of the kings alternate between depictions of action with the figural initial depicting the rulers on their own. Several iconographical types of rulers can be seen in these cycles, e.g., the *maiestas*, the *knight-king* (otherwise known as *chivalric-king*), or images of the execution of the king’s own power, eventually depicting him in a fight during a war. These three most extensive miniature cycles of Hungarian rulers will be examined in the following part.

Attila the Hun is presented within the chronicle in all probability in 8 of the miniatures. He appears for the first time in the depiction of a battle accompanying a text about the election of Attila as Hungarian king and his victories (f. 5r). Attila, wearing a yellow oriental cloth and a bizarre helmet, is depicted with a bow and arrow pointing at the enemy. The ruler can be identified according to the coat of arms with red and white stripes of the Arpad Dynasty placed behind his back. This depiction shows the action of the future ruler of the Huns, who is actively participating in his own future. The next depiction of Attila is in the figural initial “A” (f. 5v). The ruler, wearing a yellow cloak fastened with a fibula, is depicted sitting on the throne in *maiestas* accompanied by *regalia*: the crown, orb, and sceptre. The type of crown seems to be the same as in the case of the crown depicted on the head of the enthroned Louis I the Great which is on the heading of the opening frontispiece. Another depiction of Attila can be found on the initial “P” (f. 6r). Attila is depicted as a half-figure in a red oriental caftan dress and again attired with *regalia*. A half-figured Attila is depicted as the king in oriental cloth with the crown, the orb, and

an oriental sabre in the following initial “P” (f. 7r). The cycle continues with a battle scene and the initial “C” (f. 7v), where the entire figured ruler is depicted, dressed in armour. Attila holds a sword and a shield decorated by the mythical Hungarian bird called “turul.” In this case, the ruler is depicted as a *knight-king*. On the initial “D” (f. 8v) Attila is meeting the Roman pope in Ravenna. Attila is dressed in armour this time and is sitting on a white horse without *regalia*. The final scene of Attila’s cycle, Attila’s wedding and death, is depicted in the initial “P” (f. 9r). The cycle of the Hun ruler documents the major moments of Attila’s reign and at the same time presents an important model of the ruling figure. The Attila painting cycle is centred more on the position of the ruler itself as his personage represents a fundamental symbol for the kingship.

The King St. Stephen’s cycle is more focused on the battles and religious activities of the holy king in the Kingdom of Hungary. The cycle starts with the birth of St. Stephen, at the moment when the first martyr St. Stephen, holding a crown, appeared to his mother Sarolt (f. 19r). The scene on folio 19v depicts St. Stephen when he is a witness to the beheading of his enemy Kopány by the commander of the royal army Vencellin. In the initial “S” (f. 20r), St. Stephen is depicted as a king standing in armour wearing clothes with Arpad’s stripes on. The Hungarian coat of arms, represented by a black double cross emerging from the three mounds on the red background, is depicted on the shield. The same Hungarian coat of arms is also depicted on the flag which is held in St. Stephen’s right hand. St. Stephen has an opened crown on his head and is depicted in armour presented as a *knight-king*. This is followed by a scene in which King St. Stephen fights against the Duke of Transylvania Gyula (f. 20v). During the capture of the Duke, St. Stephen is wearing clothes with the Hungarian coat of arms depicting a black double cross emerging from the three mounds on the red background. King St. Stephen is depicted in the initial “P” on the same folio and is sitting on his throne in *maiestas* wearing the opened crown, the orb, and the sceptre [1]. The second scene, depicting the fight of St. Stephen against Prince Keán (f. 21r), follows. The King is depicted standing above the body of his defeated enemy and again in the initial “P” as an aged knight once again presents the qualities of a *knight-king* (f. 21r). On the verso side of this folio there appears a square miniature depicting the King St. Stephen and his wife building a church in Obuda (f. 21v). St. Stephen can be seen once again as an old king during the funeral of his son Emeric who is placed in a stone coffin with his insignia of royalty (f. 22v). Under this scene is situated an initial “P” with the old King Stephen warning his sons Andrew, Bela, and Levente to fly the country from Ladislav Sar. In the initial “B,” the figure of the King St. Stephen is depicted for the last time during his funeral (f. 23v). The cycle of St. Stephen is balanced – the depictions of the King himself alternate with scenes of an active use of power, documenting the life of the holy King.

The cycle of St. Ladislav accounts for a larger portion of the holy Kings’ depiction. The story of St. Ladislav starts with the famous scene in the initial “P” narrating his fight with a Cuman who abducted a Hungarian girl (f. 36v). In the following scene within the initial “F,” the occupation of Belgrade with a captive Hungarian girl setting fire to the city is shown, while in the lower half King Solomon and the Princes Géza and Ladislav are sharing the spoils (f. 37v). Prince Géza and Prince Ladislav are again depicted sitting on their white horses on the folio 42r in the round miniature. Prince Ladislav is looking at his brother Géza while an angel, descending from heaven, places a crown on Géza’s head. St. Ladislav can be seen once again in the round miniature during the Battle of Mogyoród, when the Princes Géza and Ladislav defeat Solomon (f. 43r). The initial “P” depicts St. Ladislav with his brother looking for a place to build the church as thanksgiving for the victory (f. 44r). The place is marked by a stag with candles burning upon its antlers. The initial “A” (f. 46r) depicts the flight of King Solomon from Prince Ladislav at the head of his knights, sitting on a white horse while an angel with a flaming sword appears over his head. The coronation of St. Ladislav is depicted on the folio 46v, in the scene two angels and



Fig. 2. Coronation of St. Ladislav, *Chronicon Pictum*, Hungary, third quarter of the fourteenth century, Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 404, f. 46v.

two bishops are placing on his head the crown [2]. King St. Ladislav as a *knight-king* in full knightly accoutrement is depicted on the initial “A” (f. 47r), holding a battle axe in his right hand [3]. On folios 49v and 50r there are four scenes related to the activity of St. Ladislav as a ruling king, with a miniature depicting the Ruthenians paying homage to St. Ladislav on the first folio and Initial “P” depicting the siege of Krakow included. The following folio 50r is decorated with a scene with the building of the church of Nagyvárad and by the initial “P” with a depiction of King St. Ladislav receiving the emissaries. The last depiction, containing the figure of King St. Ladislav, is the scene of his funeral on folio 51r. St. Ladislav in a red dress and in *maiestas* is laid on a hearse moving without any horses towards the church in Oradea. The cycle of St. Ladislav, more than the previous two cycles discussed, focused on the narrative line of the story of the saint, especially considering the scenes of active use of the power.

As the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle may be fully considered a representative piece of art, the examination of the phenomenon of representation in this particular artwork depends on how it is interpreted. In the case of the representation, it very much depends on whether its interpretation is to be considered a matter of the entire manuscript or rather if it is only the decoration of the manuscript – as a whole or divided into the single cycles. In addition, consideration has to be given to the examination of single depictions. The understanding of the representation is strictly dependent on the manner of its definition.

The literal function of the *re-presentation* is to primarily substitute for a missing object. This meaning of the definition may be seen in the recently published article by Mateusz Grzęda related to a group of statues from the House at the Stone Bell in Old Town Prague.⁷ As the author deals primarily with the statues of the members of the royal court and their presentation in public, his interpretation of representation follows that of medieval viewers of the artwork as clear exhibits presented in the substitution of the absent object. Grzęda mentions examples to support his idea that the depiction had a specific role with very vivid connotations for the medieval viewer in the given period of the beginning of the fourteenth century when the depicted object could have had in the eyes of the contemporaries some sort of magical semblance of power which enabled the depicted person actually present.⁸ The artworks depicting the ruler were thus viewed as having a special position in society and were understood literally as the substituents for the missing

⁷ Mateusz Grzęda, “Façade of the House at the Stone Bell and a New Paradigm of Representation,” *Umění* 65, no. 3 (2017): 214–225.

⁸ Grzęda, “Façade,” 221–224.

person of the king. This first manner of interpretation of the literal *re-presentation* is difficult to find in such a medium such as manuscripts.

According to the interpretation of the phenomenon of representation indicated by Antoine Furetière in the dictionary *Dictionnaire universel*,⁹ apart from the theory defining representation as the substitution of a missing object, the other manner in which to understand the term of representation is interpreted as the public presence of a person or thing.¹⁰ As the manuscript of the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle was only intended for a small audience, the situation can be compared with the position of the Grand Illustrated Chronicles of France. Bernard Guenée demonstrated that, at least for the first 150 years of the existence of the *Grand Chronicles*, the audience who had access to the chronicles was still very confined.¹¹ The readership was limited to the Parisian royal court, and between the owners of the chronicles which included French kings, members of the royal family and members of court. The assembly of 131 surviving manuscripts of the *Grand Chronicles* can be further divided into two groups, to the chronicles belonging to the king and to the group of chronicles belonging to the royal circle.¹² Anne D. Hedeman¹³ indicated that, apart from a few clerics in northern France who also had access to the manuscripts, there were no copies accessible to members of Parliament or the university community during this time.

It is remarkable that the manuscripts of the *Grand Chronicles*, produced for the nobility, contained less historical interpretation in the pictorial cycles compared to the manuscripts intended for the royal members. The illustration of the *Grand Chronicles* reflected the political attitudes of the manuscripts' owners, representing themes of good kingship and dynastic continuity with a changing emphasis on the theme of *reditus*.¹⁴ Apart from the illustrations of the *Grand Chronicles*, certain themes from the prologue are often emphasized such as representations of good kingship in the lives of Charlemagne and Philip Augustus, while others relate more closely to the dynastic frame, and the succession of the races. As Anne D. Hedeman states: "The text of Grand Chronicles is quintessentially royal and they were thus considered a good vehicle for studying the creation and development of the royal image in court circles between the late thirteenth and the early fifteenth centuries."¹⁵ In a similar way the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle may be considered a good vehicle for understanding the development of the royal image at the Hungarian royal court.

As the manuscript was not obviously meant for public use, nor can it be understood as an object of *re-presentation*, what is left to infer is that the preferred function was centred in making an effort to make present some kind of quality of the depicted theme. Since the manuscript was intended only for a selected audience, the presentation of the power of the Hungarian kings mainly served as proof of the possession of power for its commissioner or to demonstrate the possession of power to another ruler. The king's statue, or the mural painting containing the person of the king, usually fulfilled the traditional idea of the definition of the representation. This special kind of ruler representation was in this case particularly focused on presenting an

⁹ Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel* (The Haug: Arnoud and Reiniers Lerrs, 1960), s.v. "représentation."

¹⁰ Roger Chartier, "Le sens de la représentation," *La vie des idées*, March 22, 2013, <http://www.laviedesidees.fr/Le-sens-de-la-representation.html>.

¹¹ Bernard Guenée, "Les Grandes Chroniques de France. Le roman aux rois (1274-1518)," in *La nation*, vol. 1, pt. 2, *Les lieux de mémoire*, ed. Pierre Nora (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), 189-214; Bernard Guenée, "Histoire d'un succès," in *Les Grandes chroniques de France. Reproduction intégrale en fac-similé des miniatures de Fouquet. Manuscrit français 6465 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris*, eds. François Avril, Marie-Thérèse Gousset, and Bernard Guenée (Paris: Philippe Lebaud, 1987), 83-138.

¹² Hedeman, *The Royal*, XX.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., 2.

¹⁵ Ibid., 3.

idea and was meant only for the small circle of the readers who were very close to the actual commissioner. In the case of the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle, it can be assumed with high certainty that it was a Hungarian king.

The idea of interpreting the representation as an effort to make present some sort of quality is recalled by Louis Marin:

One of the most practically applicable models for exploring how modern representation – be it linguistic or visual – functions is one that takes into consideration the system's of dual dimensions: a dimension of “transitivity” or enunciative transparency, in which each representation represents something, and a dimension of reflexivity or enunciative opacity, in which each representation presents itself as representing something.¹⁶

According to this theory in relation to the specific medium of manuscripts, that ruler's representation presents itself in the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle as representing something, the reflexive interpretation was already valid for the period of the fourteenth century. The way the ruler is presented seems to be a very important theme in the studied codex. The attributes and specific way of iconographically depicting a king suggests that the dimension of reflexivity stressing a specific quality was present. The aim of the substituent depiction, presented in the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle, is in the first place tied to the idea of the continuity of the ruler dynasty. In certain cases, the idea of continuity is restrained by the highlighting of certain qualities of a ruler such as bravery or sanctity.

In the first place with the discussion of ruler representation presented in the codex, the idea of representation, as presenting some sort of quality or an abstract thought, may be connected the entirety of the codex, in which the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle represents the rich history of the Hungarian Kingdom and the longevity of the ruler dynasty. As the codex relates to the



Fig. 3. Initial “A,” King St. Ladislas as a knight-king, *Chronicon Pictum*, Hungary, third quarter of the fourteenth century, Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 404, f. 47r.

¹⁶ Louis Marin, “Paolo Uccello au Chiostro Verde de Santa Maria Novella à Florence,” in *Opacité de la peinture. Essai sur la représentation au Quattrocento*, ed. Louis Marin (Paris: Usher, 1989), 73; Chartier, “Le sens,” trans. Michael C. Behrent.

Hungarian past and makes it live and vivid in the present, it strongly relates to the imagination of the Medieval world about their own history. Owning such a piece of artwork must have been a significant representational step corresponding to the period of the fourteenth century when the popularity of the theme of the national chronicle grew. As most of the depictions of the Hungarian illustrated chronicle are related to the personage of the king, it provides us with a variety of particular situations during which the authority of the king was put on display. It displays the kings in significant moments of their lives and provides an impression of the greatness of the Hungarian Kingdom.

Around 70 images of Hungarian rulers (not counting Attila) can be documented in all during the process of the coronation or simply depicted with the royal crown on their head along with the opening depiction of the throning king Louis I the Great and his depiction in the opening initial "A" of the text on f. 1r. The number of Hungarian kings is even larger when we consider all the images depicting the kings during the process of waiting to become the Hungarian king. The above-mentioned fact gives the impression that the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle may function as a large lexicon of Hungarian rulers.

In addition, the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle in its iconographical concept emphasises the idea of the continuity of the Hungarian ruler dynasty. It is quite significant that the manuscript was created for the new ruling dynasty of the Angevin house, whose blood ties with the Hungarian ruling House of Arpad were only assured through the daughter of the Hungarian King Stephen V: the Neapolitan queen Mary of Hungary.¹⁷ Due to this legal continuation, the history of the Hungarian kingship turned out to be quite an important matter for the Angevin house. The textual and pictorial conception of the events leading to the change in the ruling dynasty is expressed quite clearly in the chronicle. The personages of the Hungarian and Angevin saint – St. Stephen, St. Ladislav, St. Emeric of Hungary, and St. Louis of Toulouse (f. 70v) are also all stressed as an important component for the Angevin House presented as saintly stirps and connected by the marriage of Mary of Hungary who married the Angevin King of Naples and Sicily Charles I.

The idea of the continuation is present mainly in the depictions of single rulers who create an idea of a Hungarian ruler's genealogy. Depictions of genealogies came to be quite popular during the period of the fourteenth century. The tradition of creating genealogical cycles can already be traced back to the thirteenth century. The dynastic genealogy is reflected in commissions undertaken by the monks at Saint-Denis. In the 1260s, the abbey transplanted the bodies of several kings and queens of France to elaborately sculpted tombs arranged around the crossing of the church Saint-Denis¹⁸ to celebrate the genealogical continuity of the French ruling house.

Apart from the tradition of the Grand Chronicle of France, the most well-known ruler's genealogy from the period of the fourteenth century is the genealogy of the French kings from Grand-Salle of the Palais de la Cité. It was the French king Philip IV of France who commissioned this group of polychrome sculptures with inscriptions depicting French kings starting from Pharamond and ending with his own person.¹⁹ Unfortunately, these statues have not been preserved to this present time. One should also make mention of the older so-called *montjoies*,²⁰ milestones with statues of the French kings from the thirteenth century which lined the road

¹⁷ Matthew J. Clear, "Maria of Hungary as Queen, Patron and Exemplar," in *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina. Art, Iconography and Patronage in Fourteenth-Century Naples*, eds. Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr (London: Ashgate, 2004), 45–60.

¹⁸ Georgia Sommers Wright, "A Royal Tomb Program in the Reign of Saint Louis," *Art Bulletin* 56, no. 2 (June 1974): 224–243.

¹⁹ Uwe Bennert, "Art et propagande politique sous Philippe IV le Bel: Le cycle des rois de France dans la Grand'salle du palais de la Cité," *Revue de l'Art* 97, (1992): 46–59.

²⁰ Anne Lombard-Jourdan, *Montjoie et Saint-Denis! Le centre de la Gaule aux origines de Paris et de Saint-Denis* (Paris: Presses du C.N.R.S., 1989); Anne Lombard-Jourdan, "Montjoies' et 'Montjoie' dans la plaine Saint-Denis," *Mémoires de la Fédération des sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* 25, (1974): 141–181; Robert Branner, "The Montjoies of

from Paris to the abbey of Saint-Denis and accentuated in this way the length and the power of the French royal line.

The theme of the dynastic genealogy was also familiar to the Neapolitan Angevin House. The succession of the Neapolitan kings can be found on the miniatures of the illuminator Cristoforo Orimina in the decoration of the so-called Anjou Bible on the folio 4r, where a three-level figural family tree is depicted. On the top register near the right side, the first Angevin King of Naples and Sicily Charles I is seated with his wife Beatrice of Provence accompanying him on the left. Charles I places a crown on the head of his kneeling son Charles II who is later depicted in *maiestas* in the middle register. In this register Charles II, accompanied by his wife Mary of Hungary, is depicted in the company of their sons Charles Martel, St. Louis of Toulouse, and Robert the Wise. In the last register,²¹ King Robert and his second wife Sancia of Majorca are depicted. The sense of the succession is very strong on this folio. The emphasis on the importance of the ruler succession and family connection can also be found in the sculpted version of the sons of Charles I on the tomb of Mary of Hungary in the church of the Convent of Santa Maria Donnaregina. Also worthy of mention among the other Angevin depictions reflecting the theme of the succession is the mural painting of Christ, the saints and the Angevin royal family from the Convent of Santa Chiara in Naples where the present and future ruling couple are depicted.²² The above-mentioned facts imply a growing emphasis on the representation of the current royal family. The growing importance of having appropriate royal genealogy is also apparent in the case of the dynasty of Luxembourg during the reign of Charles IV. The genealogical cycles seemed to be very popular in the area of the ruler's representation.

Apart from the presentation of the idea of the longevity of the ruler house, which the genealogy represents on the basic level, the efforts of the support of representation can also be considered a matter of prestige. Uwe Bennert has pointed out that the French King Philip IV was probably not all that concerned about the need for the legitimisation of the ruling House of the Capetians, whose claim to the French throne was no longer in doubt during the reign of Philip II August and therefore other motives can be considered.²³ The prestige of the Capetian House might have been one of them. In the fourteenth century, artistic representation came to be an important element of the courtly environment in the representation at courts with stabilised circumstances, as was for example the case with the French court.

The idea of representation as involving some sort of quality or abstract thought may be connected with the single depictions presented in the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle. As already mentioned, there is a visible difference in the chronicle between the depiction of an action accompanying the text of the chronicle and the depiction centred on the figure of a ruler who is presented with the emphasis on his position as a king. Neither the illuminator nor the text of the chronicle provides the same space to all of the rulers. Some of the kings only received a very short space, where they are depicted in *maiestas* with all their regalia or as a *knight-king* also with the crown and the orb holding some sort of weapon, usually a sword.

Saint Louis," in *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, eds. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard, and Milton J. Lewine (London: Phaidon, 1967), 13–16.

²¹ Kathleen J. Fleck, "Patronage, Art and the Anjou Bible in Angevin Naples (1266–1352)," in *The Anjou Bible. A Royal Manuscript Revealed*, eds. Lieve Watteuw and Jan Van der Stock (Paris: Peeters Publishers, 2010), 37–51, 46.

²² Vinni Lucherini, "The Journey of Charles I, King of Hungary, from Visegrad to Naples (1333). Its Political Implications and Artistic Consequences," *Hungarian Historical Review* 2, no. 2 (2013): 341–362, 354–355.

²³ Uwe Bennert, "Ideologie in Stein. Zur Darstellung französischer Königsmacht im Paris des 14. Jahrhunderts," in *Opus Tessellatum. Modi und Grenzgänge der Kunstwissenschaft. Festschrift für Cornelius Claussen*, eds. Katharina Corsepius et al. (New York: Olms, 2004), 153–163.

The selected figures recall the concept of the genealogy while the enthroned kings in *maiestas* draw attention to the Luxemburg genealogy²⁴ as it was preserved in the copy in Codex Heidelbergensis²⁵ or in Codex 8330.²⁶ The standing kings can be a version of the genealogy of the French kings commissioned by Philip IV of France.²⁷ The kings were depicted in their majesty, which is one of the most common ways of depicting a king. In the chronicle, it is quite significant that the depictions of majesty alternate with the depiction of the *knight-king*. This tendency to alternate between the *knight-king* and the king in *maiestas* can also be found at the Bohemian royal court with the new tombs for the Bohemian kings deposited in St. Vitus Cathedral and commissioned by Charles IV. Out of the six executed tombs, three tomb effigies are executed as a *knight-king* and three are in *maiestas*.²⁸



Fig. 4. Initial “S,” King Peter of Hungary at Emperor Henry III, *Chronicon Pictum*, Hungary, third quarter of the fourteenth century, Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 404, f. 27r.

From the named types of iconographical depiction in the Hungarian Chronicle it is apparent that the image of a so-called *knight-king* was quite popular. The prestige of such a kind of depiction was also supported by the increasing popularity of the legend of St. Ladislav who was renowned for his resistance in the fight against Cuman. The legend also found its place in the artistic field. Although the oldest examples of the mural cycles of St. Ladislav have been dated near the end of the thirteenth century, conclusive evidence is lacking for such kind of dating.²⁹ Contemporary scholarly literature puts forth the view that the dating of the cycle can be moved to the beginning of the fourteenth century.³⁰ The old interpretations have connected the legend with the theme of the defence of the Hungarian Kingdom against the invasion of the Tatars in the year 1241, which is in the legend of St. Ladislav represented by the bloodthirsty Cuman. This interpretation was supported by the collocation of the mural cycle in the borderline areas of the kingdom which was connected with the protected function of the saint in the scholarly interpretations. The legend of St. Ladislav was interpreted as an efficient tool helping with the mobilisation of the borderline seated population in case of coming danger.³¹ It is currently assumed that

²⁴ Marosi, “A Képes,” 43–44.

²⁵ Codex Heidelbergensis, Praha, National Gallery in Prague, sign. AA 2015.

²⁶ Codex 8330, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

²⁷ Bennert, “Art,” 47–50.

²⁸ Ivo Hlobil, “Gotické sochařství,” in *Katedrála sv. Víta v Praze*, ed. Anežka Merhautová (Praha: Academia, 1994), 66–95.

²⁹ Zsombor Jékely, “Transylvanian Fresco Cycles in a New Light,” *Hungarian Review* 5, no. 2 (2014): 97–109.

³⁰ Ibid., 100.

³¹ Vasile Drăguț, “Legenda ‘eroului de frontieră’ în pictura medievală din Transilvania,” *Revista muzeelor și monumentelor – Monumente istorice și de artă* 18, no. 2 (1974): 21–38.

the legend of St. Ladislás was popular all over the Hungarian Kingdom,³² and that the previous interpretations were abandoned.

As the compositional conception of the scenes depicting the legend of St. Ladislás and the placement over a quite large area is quite in agreement, the Hungarian researcher Dezső Dercsényi assumes that there must have been a common model from which the mural cycles executed in the local churches derived. He considered the destroyed cathedral in Oradea, where the saint was buried, as the site of the original mural.³³ The hypothesis about a model version of the legend cycle is quite probable considering the importance of this place for the cult of St. Ladislás.

The mural paintings from a mutually quite distant region of the former Hungarian Kingdom (Türje, Laskod, Velká Lomnica, Mugeni) are currently considered the oldest preserved examples of the cycle.³⁴ Another group of legendary cycles originates in all probability from the same painting workshop in Gelinta, including the mural paintings in Mărtiniș, Crăciunel, and Păduerni.³⁵ There are known references to the no longer extant cycle from Homoródszentmárton or the fragmentary preserved cycle from Saciova (Sacsva).³⁶ The width of the cycle is also testified to by the recently discovered fragments of mural paintings in Cîracau (Boroskrakkó), Remetea (Magyarremete), Ațel (Ecel), and Ighișul Nou (Szászivánfalva).³⁷

In light of the frequency of occurrence of the cycle on the preserved mural paintings, it can be assumed that the cult of the saint also played an important role in the courtly environment as was already mentioned. The policy of the royal court might have contributed quite remarkably to the spreading of the legend. The saint embodied the ideals of the *knight-king*, to whom could easily be stylised Charles I of Anjou fighting for the unity of the kingdom or Louis I the Great who was also a well-known warrior.³⁸ The support for knightly ideals also corresponded with the royal foundation of the order of St. George.³⁹ According to Teréz Kerny, the massive spreading of the cycle could have been related to the reflection of the Hungarian courtly policy with the newly established circle of the king's faithful.⁴⁰

Apart from the different iconographical topics considered within the depiction of the king, the topic of a real portrait of a ruler also occurs in the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle. As Ernő Marosi noticed,⁴¹ there is a remarkable resemblance between the portrait of Emperor Charles IV and the figures of Emperors Henry III (f. 27r) [4] and Henry IV (f. 45r) depicted in the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle. This resemblance might mean that the figures of Louis I the Great or Charles I Robert might also have some portrait features. The kings with the portrait features turn back to the original idea of representation when the maximum resemblance made an effort to *re-present* somebody. In this case it can be assumed that the illuminator might have

³² Ernő Marosi, "Der heilige Ladislaus als ungarischer Nationalheiliger. Bemerkungen zu seiner Ikonographie im 14.–15. Jahrhundert," *Acta Historiae Artium Hungariae* 33, (1987–1988): 211–256; Jékely, "Transylvanian," 102.

³³ Dezső Dercsényi, *Nagy Lajos kora* (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1941), 133.

³⁴ In Hungary one can mention the cycles from the church of the Annunciation of the premonstratense monastery in Türje and the fragment of a cycle from the reformed church in Laskod. In Slovakia there are the cycles from the church of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Velká Lomnica and in Romania there are the mural paintings from the reformed church in Mugeni (Bögöz). Jékely, "Transylvanian," 100.

³⁵ Dragoș, *Năstăsoiu, Gothic Art in Romania* (București: NOI Media Print, 2010), 109.

³⁶ Jékely, "Transylvanian," 105.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 106.

³⁸ According to Zsombor Jékely, the cycle fully corresponds to the chivalric ideal upheld during the reign of the Angevin kings, see *ibid.*, 104.

³⁹ László Veszprémy, "L'ordine di San Giorgio," in *L'Ungheria Angioina*, ed. Enikő Csukovits (Roma: Viella, 2013), 265–282.

⁴⁰ Teréz Kerny, "A kerlési ütközet képzőművészeti megjelenése és elterjedése," in *Huszka József, a rajzoló gyűjtő*, ed. Zoltán Fejős (Budapest: Néprajzi Múzeum, 2006), 81–87, esp. 83.

⁴¹ Ernő Marosi, "Zu den böhmischen Beziehung der Miniaturen in der Ungarischen Bilderchronik," in *Podług Nieba i zwyczaj polskiego. Studia z historii architektury sztuki i kultury ofiarowane Adamowi Milobedzkemu*, ed. Zbigniew Bania (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawn. Nauk., 1988), 195–202.

been simply inspired by the living examples of the above-mentioned rulers or by similar types of artwork existing during the given period as the theme of the royal portrait began to be more popular.

In the area of single depictions present in the manuscript, the concept of tradition meets with the actuality of popular themes. Traditional schemes are represented by the depiction of the king in *maiestas* or narrative cycles, while the actual popular concepts are represented by depictions of a *knight-king* or a king with original portrait features. A similar approach may be found in the question of reflecting reality and the painter's own invention. The attempt to reflect reality may be clearly documented by the use of the portrait features of Emperor Charles IV in the case of the depiction of Roman Emperors. In the case of the depiction of ancient Hungarian kings, the image of the king was a clear invention of the illuminator.

In conclusion, it is apparent that the ruler's representation presented in the manuscript contains several layers in terms of its understanding: the representational component of the codex as a whole, the idea of genealogical succession, or the representational interpretation of single depictions reflecting traditional themes as well as period themes. All three of these components add an important interpretation to the manuscript as a representational artwork and help to better understand its overall composition. They serve to reinforce the idea of representation as a significant phenomenon at the Hungarian court in the second half of the fourteenth century although there is a substantial lack of similar preserved works due to the later Ottoman wars.

The idea of representation being a non-violent demonstration of power as proposed by Louis Marin was mentioned earlier as a fundamental basis of the ruler's representation. Looking at the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle in this way, however, would be quite limited as it served "only" as a non-publicly presented codex. In this case the manuscript can be interpreted rather as a very personal object which served only personally to the group of royal members. As the reception was limited within a small circle, one may talk of personal types of ruler's representation intended primary for the ruler himself. The limited audience allows us to think, in this particular case, about representation rather as a phenomenon presenting some sort of quality important for its viewer. In the past, the manuscript of the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle served to assure the royal members about the long tradition of the ruling house, about the position of the king in society as well as about the kings' virtue and their legacy. At present, the manuscript of the Hungarian Illustrated Chronicle helps us create an image of the king and kingship in the second half of the fourteenth century in the Hungarian Kingdom.

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Franciscans – The Face of the Order in Urban Visual Communication of Early Modern Kingdom of Hungary

Abstract | The text is devoted to the early modern visual communication of the Franciscan Order in northern part of the former multiconfessional Kingdom of Hungary. In the form of case study from Slovakia the paper aims to elaborate on the manner the Franciscan order (including their third order and fraternities which activated laics) effectively formed a concept of their collective identity. Selected examples range from changes taking effect after the 1650 when the idea of belonging to the winning church resonates in the constructed visual image of the order, through the 18th century dominated by the rivalry inside the Catholic “camp,” until the final part of the Baroque period under the influence of the Enlightenment.

Keywords | Baroque art – collective identity – Franciscan order – Kingdom of Hungary – visual representation.

Despite the schism in Western Christianity, in every sense, the society of the early modern times was tightly connected to religion and its Church structure. However, the schism sealed by the Council of Trent naturally resulted in the stipulation and mutual crystallization of the individual dogmas, including their recasting into different visual forms communicating their affiliation to the particular one. The multiconfessional Europe was dominated by the rivalry of Catholicism and different Protestant directions, while in the northern part of Hungary, as in all Habsburg countries, the Counter-Reformation had the direct support of the court. There is no doubt that on the Catholic side, one of the key roles in this process was played by the religious orders – new, and equally, the old revitalised medieval ones. Their members were connected based on the principle of ideational, moral and emotional bond, and they represented a transnational collective identity which crossed any state borders. The religious orders and their representatives generally created a reasonably large and important part of the social and particularly municipal structure during the 17th and 18th century. It was the city that created a favourable environment for combatting the heresy through its concentrated population and economic power. In the northern part of the Kingdom of Hungary, the essential role in this struggle was played by the Franciscans linked to this environment since the 13th century.¹ First, they entered this area

¹ György Piusz Szabó, *Ferencrendiek a magyar történelemben: Adalékok a magyar ferencrendiek történetéhez* (Budapest: Budapesti Hírlap Nyomdája, 1921). To the history of observantiae in Hungary see also Stanko Andrič, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000), 18–29; with the list of older literature to the topic; Marián Zemene, “Vývojové tendencie františkánskej rehoľnej rodiny od stredoveku do súčasnosti,” in *Rehole a kláštory v stredoveku*, eds. Rastislav Kožiak and Jozef Muscka (Banská Bystrica: Chronos, 2002), 171–186. In a short form see Rudolf Hudec, “Krátke dejiny rehole menších bratov sv. Františka na Slovensku,” *Viera a život* 11, no. 3 (2001): 194–207.



Fig. 1. View of Pressburg (17th century). Reproduction (ca. 1890) of an old engraving.
 Photo: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pressburg_-_view.jpg

in form of a more moderate branch, the Conventual Franciscans from Germany, from which the local administration later separated by creating the Hungarian Province at the Chapter in Rome in 1239. That is how the basis for the later Province of the Blessed Virgin Mary with its seat in Bratislava was established in 1517. The stricter branch of Observants came to Hungary from the south through Bosnia, and created their own vicariate – Vicaria Hungariae de familia observantium in 1444. In 1517, when the definitive split of the Observants (O. F. M.) and the Conventuals (O. F. M. Conv.) occurred, it changed into the Province observantium, and later received the title Provincia Sanctissimi Salvatoris – Province of the Most Holy Saviour in 1523.² Due to well-known historical and religious reasons, the 16th century did not accept the onset of the following development of the order. Therefore, we only note the recovery of the Hungarian provinces of Franciscans from the second third of the 17th century. To this period is related also *Decretum Lazarianum* which outlined the structure of the administration of the land recaptured from the Turks assigned to the provinces of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Most Holy Saviour and Saint Ladislaus which was founded in 1661 by promoting the former custodia spanning in the north as far as the river Sava.³ During the division, the Province of the Most Holy Saviour came

² In that time, the Province of the Most Holy Saviour flourished and was divided to the 10 custodies and had 1 472 religious brothers. However subsequent period was connected with the reformation, Turkish threat, further with wars, uprisings and also with plague. That is why there were barely 30 brothers at the beginning of the 17th century. See Ministerstvo vnútra Slovenskej republiky, Štátny archív (later MV SR, ŠA) Bratislava, Pozostalosť Všeľada Gajdoša, inv. no. 326, box 16, Kostra františkánskych dejín, 1-2; MV SR, ŠA Bratislava, Pozostalosť Všeľada Gajdoša, inv. no. 324, box 16, 16-18; P. Broniš, "Dejinný prehľad františkánskej Provincie Najsvätejšieho Spasiteľa na Slovensku," *Slovák* 18, no. 24 (1936): 24.10. Cf. Marc R. Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

³ See Szabó, *Ferencrendiek a magyar történelemben*. In the 18th century had the Province of the Blessed Virgin Mary 27 cloisters includes 8 in Slovakia, 15 in the actual territory of Hungary and 4 in Austria. According to this source there were a national controversies and using the parity in the filling of leading posts so-called "alternative." Using of national parity principles in the province disappeared only in 1878 as a reaction on the tendencies of hungarisation.

to the worst position, and it unsuccessfully attempted to gain a revision of this decision for a long time. On the contrary, the Marian province gained so much strength, that it held a privileged position among others. It was grateful to the support of the imperial court, high nobility and church dignitaries. Characteristically, the dispute was terminated by Charles II, who declared “*silentium*” (silence) confirming the previous decision.

The concept of visibility played an important role in the communication of the Catholic Church and its orders, in this case the Franciscans, only to be intensified by the Baroque period. The key position was still held by the basic symbols of this collective identity like the garments and the sign of the order – a brown robe with cape belted with a white cingulum, and a shiny cross in clouds with the crossed arms of the Lord and Saint Francis of Assisi. These symbols were amended with the symbols of the respective province, appearing in writing and print to a greater extent. But the larger effect in the symbolic communication of the ideas of the order was held by the visual form represented by the architectural monuments, sculptures, paintings, as well as performance. On a pictorial level, it manifested the faith of the order and the saints they worshipped. An important role was played by the Calvary, the Scala Sancta, but also the Marian devotion, especially the Loretto Virgin Mary with a prefiguration according to a legend carved from cedar wood by Luke the Evangelist.⁴ The Franciscans cultivated the Loretto cult with Casa Santa carried by angels, due to certain prefiguration of the legend about Porziuncola inhabited by their founder St. Francis. The research on Franciscan artistic monuments and motivation of their commissioning enables us to explore the communication of the order in the Baroque city environment through the pictorial form in a sense of the legitimization, promotion and spread of the Franciscan influence.

The rise of the order in the confessionally diverse Hungary was complicated by the uneasy historical conditions throughout the 17th century. The establishing and promotion of the Franciscans was fairly difficult here, and thus the architecture of their cloisters at the time did not only mirror the spiritual orientation of the order, but often also the struggle to introduce the order in Hungarian cities and towns. Due to this reason, the objects created for Franciscans in Hungary throughout the 17th century are architecturally modest buildings, often limited by the adaptation of former objects. Certain relief and a more significant development of the building activity in this environment can be traced after the calming of the situation with the onset of the 18th century.

The difficulty of the situation can be demonstrated for instance in central Bratislava, where the Franciscans already owned a church devoted to the Virgin Mary since 1297.⁵ Immediately after 1600, the rift between Franciscans of the Province of Blessed Virgin Mary and the Protestant citizens who settled near the cloister intensified, as they opened workshops here and interrupted the



Fig. 2. Franciscan Church of the Annunciation, Bratislava. Photo: Archive of the author.

⁴ Vítězslav Štajnochr, *Panna Marie Divotvůrkyně. Nauka o Panne Marii, mariánská ikonografie, Mariánská poutní místa* (Uherské Hradiště: Slováké muzeum v Uherském Hradišti, 2000), 23–24, 30–31, 166–167; with another publications on the subject in bibliography.

⁵ Rudolf Hudec, *Františkáni v Bratislave v rokoch 1238–1950* (Bratislava: Serafin, 2009), 18, note 19.

mass. At this time, a committee in charge of the recatholisation started to be active in Bratislava and its vicinity and Franciscans played an important role with their spiritual work.⁶ For a certain time, conflicts were solved in favour of the Franciscans by Matthias II, and vice versa the scales were swayed in favour of Protestants by Gabrielus Bethlen when he conquered the city in 1619. In relation to this, at the beginning of the 1620s, the executed leader of the pro-Catholic imperial armies Henry Duval de Dampierre was buried in the Franciscan cloister, and the city guard even arrested and tortured two residents of the cloister. The new emperor Ferdinand II stood in favour of Franciscans again, but the Protestant townsmen did not respect his regulations. They were against the progressing recatholization attempts in the city, in which the Franciscans took part.⁷ During 1636–1638, the Lutherans built a church that was located not far from the Franciscans – on the other end of a not very long street block. The rifts between Protestants and Franciscans concerning the land near the cloisters continued beyond mid-17th century at the time of the formation of the seminar for Franciscan friars in the convent in 1654. But the Reformation was already in decline and consequently persecuted and stripped off both churches during Franciscus Wesseleni's uprising, having lost support in the city. The dispute about workshops built near the church was ended by the fire in the city in 1686 that destroyed them, and the emperor forbade building of new ones. At the end, after a deal with the city, the Franciscans bought this land for 400 florins. The reconversion process in northern Hungary is coming to an end, thus the enforcement against Protestants at the Franciscans made way to rivalry inside the Catholic environment. In Bratislava, this was mainly related to the expansion of the adjacent convent of Jesuits, who in 1672 acquired the former Lutheran church building, as well as the Trinitarians, who after arriving in the city began to interfere with the Franciscans' right to mendicancy.⁸

The above described, almost a hundred years long conflict with the Protestants was symbolically completed with the building of a new chapel, tellingly erected in the location of the former disputed Protestant workshops. They dedicated it to the Virgin Mary of Loretto, and it was initiated by the *guardianus* Johannus of Capistrano Sebacher. He purposefully dedicated his time to the question of enforcing the position of the Franciscans against their surroundings, which was mainly meant to be served by the reconstruction of the cloister. Therefore at the same time as the water supply was modernized, he began to build a chapel, and its foundation stone was laid on the May 20, 1708.⁹ It was partly completed on the day of the celebration of St. Francis Seraph on October 4, 1708, when it was consecrated by the Archbishop of Esztergom Christian August of Saxe-Weitz, and Paulus Szécseny solemnized a mass. It was then consecrated during the proceedings of the Hungarian Parliament. The building works also continued after Ludovicus Kirkay became a *guardianus* (after April 22, 1709) when the building of the chapel was

⁶ Ibid.; for example, in the year 1602 Protestants began to use the house of Stephanus Illésházyho directly opposite the Franciscan church for their church service and thus compete with the Franciscan Mass. As a response the Franciscan emphasized a festive nature of the Mass, including musical expression. Conflicts, however, continued.

⁷ Ibid., 46–51. For example in 1637 they baptized the former evangelist priest Matheus Šuhajda. There were also the brotherhoods connected with the cloister. (e.g., "Bratstvo pášikárov" – the chordiger brotherhood – founded in May 1630 thanks to the Antonius from Galbiano). In the 17th and early 18th century the confraternities of the convent were granted by 12 indulgences.

⁸ Tivadar Ortway, *Pozsony város utcái és terei: a város története utca- és térnevekben* (Budapest: Püski, 1905, repr. 1991); Marián Zervan, "Loretánska kaplnka kostola františkánov Bratislava," in *Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia. Barok*, ed. Ivan Rusina (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 1998), 394. See also Katarína Chmelinová and Radoslav Ragač, "Neznámy heraldický kódex bratislavskej proveniencie z roku 1710 (Ein unbekannter heraldischen Kodex Pressburger Provenienz aus dem Jahr 1710)," *Galéria. Ročenka slovenskej národnej galérie v Bratislave* (2002): 29–49. And to the history see Hudec, *Františkáni v Bratislave*.

⁹ On the stone there is: "[...] pro fundamento Cap(ellae) S(anct)ae M(ari)ae Lauretanae [...] tempore PAPAE Clementis XI." To the history of the chapel see Viktor Maszáryk, *A Szűcz Máriáról nevezett Sz. ferenczrendű tartományi pozsonyi záradájának, templomának, kápolnáinak és góth stílyú templom tornyának Története a Záradatenmplom hatszás éves felszentelésének emlékére 1297–1897* (Bratislava: Wigand, 1897).



Fig. 3. Josef Kurtz: Portrait of Emericus Esterházy, 1735. Photo: Slovak National Gallery Bratislava, www.webumenia.sk.

finished and covered by a new roof.¹⁰ *Historia Domus* states that the financial sources of 2 625 florins were mainly acquired during the negotiations of the Hungarian Parliament, but with

¹⁰ Ondrej Kirkay was born in the year 1673; his father Daniel came from the village Svätý Kríž. He is mentioned as “fyzicus” with slovak nationality. He entered into the religious order on November 6, 1693 with the name after St. Luis Confessor. See Štátny oblastný archív (later ŠOBA) Bratislava, Mariánska provincia františkánov (later MPF), matrika novoprijatých členov 1671–1783, without pag. Kirkay was also the *guardianus* of the cloister in Bratislava for a short time and then in 1714 he became the definitor of the Province of Virgine Mary; He died on January 21, 1747 in Nitra’s cloister. See ŠOBA Bratislava, fond MPF, matrika zomrelých členov provincie 1597–1900, 100.

difficulties, as this was happening during a poverty-stricken war period – a class uprising led by Georgius II Rákóczi. Part of the chapel was a crypt intended for the burials of donators. The full completion of the building works was supposed to be at the end of 1709, as on January 25, 1710 a festive mass was presided by the Archbishop of Esztergom with the presence of Palatine Paulus Esterházy, the *guardianus* of the convent and nobility that took part in the Hungarian Parliament. Therefore, it is possible to clearly identify a group of its partakers. Apart from land dignitaries, a typical example is Michael Pirolt, an envoy of Banská Štiavnica.¹¹

With its spatial arrangement and the iconographical program, the chapel follows the example of the Sancta Casa in Loretto with a well-known exterior finish by Bramante complemented with a rich sculptural programme from significant Italian sculptors. The architect of the Bratislava Loretto Chapel is not known. His simple prismatic structure has an interesting plastically divided exterior reflecting the rhythm of Gothic buttress of the well-known Chapel of St. John the Evangelist in a spacing of three quarters columns. According to the known records it seems that unlike its original inspiration, it had no sculptural decoration in the two niches above each other. The interior, decorated following its model, contains an altar brought from Komárno, with the secondary statue of the Virgin Mary of Loretto (c. 1800). An indulgence deed issued on June 3, 1709 in Rome by Pope Clement XI was related to the original altar and the statue of Virgin Mary of Loretto. According to its wording, five masses were supposed to be served for donors and the deceased on the octave of the anniversary day and on Monday after the anniversary celebration.¹²

Paulus Esterházy, who contributed with the sum of 1 000 florins and laid the foundation stone was the main donor of the chapel.¹³ He was a passionate supporter of the Marian devotion and also an expert on Marian places of pilgrimage.¹⁴ From a social point of view, economically strong prospering Houses of Pálffy and Esterházy belonging to the top echelons of Hungarian nobility, rich nobility living in Bratislava, but also smaller nobility forced to work in the services of the “more successful” Houses belonged to the donors.¹⁵ Their partaking can be explained as

¹¹ Archív literatúry a umenia – Slovenská národná knižnica Martin (Archive of Literature and Art of the Slovak National Library in Martin, later ALU SNK Martin), Zbierka spracovaných jednotlivín, “PROTOCOL/L/UM VENERABILIS CONVENTUS POSONIENSIS AD DIVAM VIRGINEM ANNUNCIATAM FRATRUM MINORUM REFORMATUM In quo omnia Dominorum Patronorum DOMUS DIVAE MATRIS LATIRANAE Nomina et Insignia praes. Piae DeCorant Largitates pIo LeVataM fatIgIo Sub Guardiniatu Patris Ludovici Kirkay Anno Cronographio 1710.” inv. no. J 278. See also Chmelinová–Ragač, “Neznámy heraldický kódex,” 32.

¹² Zervan, “Loretánska kaplnka,” 394.

¹³ To the artistic maecenate of Paulus Esterházy see Géza Galavicz, *Kössunk kardot az pogány ellen. Török Háborúk es képzőművészeti* (Budapest: Kiado, 1986), 113–116, 122–127. To the historical changes of the chapel till the end of the 19th century see Maszáryk, *A Szűcz Máriáról nevezett*, 110–112. The author of the work recorded the chapel repairs in the 19th century (the last 1835 – two new windows, tabernacle and between 1890–1891 – the building repairs). He wrote in according to the “Historiae Domus” of the convent, in which are described especially large renovation of the chapel interior in 1754 (Donator was a counselor Konkel, 288) and in 1762 (Donator Paulus Leeb mail prefect and his wife, 324); and also a minor adjustments in the 18th century e.g., in 1735.

¹⁴ For example, larger contribution was given by Anna Katarina Szalayová, the widow of the notary of Bratislava Chapter Michael Szalay (250 florins and a silver lamp) or Iacobus Krulovics prefect assets and Franciscus Josephus Esterházy, temporary assets of Trnava’s Jesuit college in Šafa (100 florins). From bourgeois environment larger amounts contributed only Viennese burghers, for example, Franciscus Janiga (140 florins) and local brewer Grunter, which should, according to “Historiae domus” pay 200 florins. The contributions of other donors mostly ranged from 5–25 florins. The information about the donors we have thanks to the well preserved comprehensive heraldic code (see note 11) currently in Archive of Literature and Art of the Slovak National Library in Martin. We are leaving open the question whether it was a religious brotherhood in the true sense due to lack of other sources. Due to high mobility of contributors, mainly soldiers, franciscans could not realistically expect their real longer-term participation on common brotherhoods activities. In a short form it was also published by one of the authors Radoslav Ragač, “Heraldická výzdoba protokolu bratislavského františkánskeho konventu z roku 1710,” *Pamiatky a múzeá* 48, no. 3 (2002): 48–51. For more details see Chmelinová–Ragač, “Neznámy heraldický kódex,” 29–49.

¹⁵ The real financing does not coincide with the economic strength of the donors. Due to this different economic status, the amount of 100 florins spent, for example, by Iakobus Krulovics can not be compared with the same amount of much wealthier donors.



Fig. 4. Franciscan Church of St. Barbara and cloister in Žilina. Photo: Archive of the author.

certain social necessity, as most of them were actively involved in the services of the above mentioned Pálffy and Esterházy families. The structure of the contributors was, apart from the confessional point of view, determined by the actual political situation in the Kingdom of Hungary. As at this time, most of the area of Hungary was occupied by the armies of Georgius II Rákóczi, the donors mainly came from Trnava and Bratislava, the area of Bratislava County (for instance squires Turkovics) and its vicinity. Several groups of soldiers and army administratives in the services of Pálffy and Esterházy army units were without a strict territorial affiliation. Donors coming from Vienna are an exception.

The Franciscans of Bratislava also continued in the commenced line of adjustments of the convent, the building and the strengthening of their identity later. In 1709, when the canonry of the Province of Blessed Virgin Mary took place in the expanded convent, they refurbished the Calvary Chapel next to the mentioned Loretto. In the following year, a festive procession on the occasion of the Conversion of St. Paul took place in the Loretto chapel with an attendance of Palatine of Hungary Christian August of Saxe-Weitz and also Palatine Paulus Esterházy. Preparations for the coronation of the new ruler Charles II followed in 1711, during which the Franciscan church was used for knighting the Order of the Golden Fleece by the sovereign. Shortly after the coronation, the sovereign returned to Franciscans for the festive procession of the Corpus Christi. A new expansion of the Franciscans that was symbolically started by the Loretto Chapel was stalled by the plague that ended in 1714 and a fire in 1715. The following 1720s–1740s of Bratislava's Franciscans were marked by the renovations of the church and the

cloister again, and it was during this time when a series of altars including the main altars of the Visitation of Virgin Mary was added (1737).¹⁶

This approach of over-layering of the Protestant by the Catholic, specifically Franciscan symbol was not singular in Hungary (and not only there). Let us mention the Franciscan church and cloister in Žilina built in 1723–1730 on the very ground of the wooden Protestant church as an example from the Kingdom of Hungary. It was commissioned by Barbara Schidinski from Moravia, who, apart from supporting the Franciscans also brought Jesuits into an otherwise Protestant city, and therefore actively helped the catholic renewal. From an architectural point of view, Žilina's Franciscan church of St. Barbara is a simple, almost an archaic structure, which may be interpreted from the point of view of lower financial expence, but mainly through its ideological content as in relation to the ideas of the order and a reference to its antiquity.¹⁷ From the art history point of view the church has very interesting furnishing. It also accommodates Loretto Chapel as a reference to the order's ardent support of the Marian cult.

Overall, the revitalization of old and construction of new monasteries or their parts thereof are the most prominent feature of forming order's identity in period of catholic renewal. It also confirms the building activity of the Franciscan Order throughout the current territory of Slovakia. As an example we can mention new and rebuilt monasteries in the western and eastern parts of the Province of the Most Holy Savior. The seat of this Hungarian province was established in 1567 in Skalica and its activities intervened also in Moravia. The needs of the catholic population were saturated by this Franciscans together with the parishes till the mid-17th century. Other religious orders such as Jesuits, Paulines, Carmelites and merciful brothers came later. The



Fig. 5. Interior of the Franciscan Church of St. Barbara in Žilina. Photo: Olja Triaška Stefanovič.

¹⁶ Chmelinová-Ragač, "Neznámý heraldický kódex," 29. Katarína Chmelinová, „Donators of the Bratislava Loretto Chapel,” in *Acta Historiae Artium*, 47, no. 1-2 (2006): 163-173.

¹⁷ Firstly were Franciscan brothers introduced to the town by palatine Paulus Eszterházy. See Jarmila Bencová, "Františkánsky kostol a kláštor sv. Barbory. Žilina," in *Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia. Barok*, 406-407.



Fig. 6. Franciscan Church of St. Antony of Padua in Košice.
Photo: Archive of the author.

former furniture of the Franciscan church (situated in the central Skalica) is known only from archive sources which refer to a close connection to Trnava.¹⁸ From 1633 to 1640, Franciscans managed to settle and build a monastery in Trnava thanks to Cardinal Petrus Pázmány. Later, there was also a library and general studies and in 1668 Pietro Spazzo built new presbytery for them on the initiative of Nicolaus Pálffy.¹⁹ Similarly thanks to the intensive support of Pálffy's family Franciscans built their monastery in Malacky.²⁰ On the other hand in Prešov, Franciscans firstly adapted older building with the support of the noble family Klobušický and Baroness Soós-of Solivar in the first phase after 1671. Later, following the stabilization of conditions their

¹⁸ Broniš, "Dejinný prehľad." Skalica had the rights of free royal city since 1372 (Louis I) as one of the oldest towns in the part of the Kingdom of Hungary, now Slovakia. From the ecclesiastical point of view in the early modern period was the town under the control of Trnava and the archbishopric of Esztergom. Even at the time of advancing Reformation Skalica was predominantly a Catholic town. The strategic location on the Moravian–Hungarian border and simultaneously on the so called Czech road, however, had not only advantages but also a number of difficulties in the turbulent war years. Since the end of the 20th century there have been several studies on the history of art and cultural contacts of the town, a small portion of them has also tackled the issue of the Franciscans in particular in relation to the now relatively well known re-furnishings of the church in the 18th century (1743–1762; Fr. Reber, I. Moravek). See Viera Luxová, "Sochárska výzdoba kostola františkánov v Skalici," *Ars* 32, no. 1–3 (1999): 136–146. In 1567 the Franciscans established in Skalica the center of the Hungarian Province of the Most Holy Saviour. The province and its activities also intervened in Moravia, e.g., in the province the province belonged also the monastery in Uherské Hradiště (since 1605). See also Katarína Chmelinová, "Umelec v reholi – Konrád Švestka," in *Pamiatky františkánskeho rádu v 19. storočí a Konrád Švestka*, eds. Katarína Beňova and Katarína Chmelinová (Martin: Matica Slovenská, 2013), 40–41.

¹⁹ Peter Fidler, "Kostol františkánov. Trnava," in *Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia. Barok*, 389 – short information without any other literature.

²⁰ In 1734 there was mentioned Johann Tamer as a builder of Pálffy family. For the short information see *ibid.*, "Kostol františkánov. Malacky," 391.



Fig. 7. Franciscan cloister in Kremnica town from the Chronicle of Benedict Mayerl, 1742. Photo: Archive of the author.

an older cloister complex from the 17th century in Kremnica, one of the thriving mining towns. Franciscans entered this predominantly Protestant environment with the indispensable strong support of the Archbishop of Esztergom Georgius Lippay in 1649. The construction of the church and the cloister started roughly four years later via an adaptation of two houses on the square, of which one already belonged to the archbishopric, and the other was acquired with significant protests from the city council. Information about this case, as well as information about the history of Franciscans from Kremnica in the 18th century is to certain extent known today

church was rebuilt in Baroque style by the builder of Košice Thomas Torňoši in 1709–1718.²¹ Moreover the Franciscans had a monastery near this town in Nižná Šebastová (now part of Prešov), whose history demonstrates the hard struggle with Protestants and miraculous intervention of the image of the Virgin Mary in it.²² Even further to the east of present day Slovakia, in the center of Košice town modernized the Franciscans their medieval monastery complex from the second half of the 14th century. After the last uprising from 1718 to 1724 they employed the same team as in Prešov – builder Thomas Torňoši from Kosice and sculptor Simon Grimming, who also supplied the sculptures for the plague column in front of the church.²³

An ardent support of the Marian cult also remained a significant part of the visual presentation of the order after the completion of the demanding phase of the direct threat of heresy, establishment and development of the order in a confessionally diverse environment, and after an overall stabilisation of the situation in the country. Again, this can be documented by the Franciscan Loretto chapel, this time from the Province of the Most Holy Saviour. This chapel extended

²¹ Ibid., "Kostol františkánov. Prešov," 398.

²² Katarína Chmelinová, "Kaplňka sv. Františka v kláštornom kostole v Nižnej Šebastovej," in *Umenie na Slovensku v historických a kultúrnych súvislostiach 2007* (Trnava: BEN, 2008), 81–89.

²³ Jarmila Bencová, "Kostol františkánov. Košice," in *Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia. Barok*, 398.



Fig. 8. Kremnica town from the Chronicle of Benedict Mayerl, 1742. Photo: Archive of the author.

thanks to Benedict Mayerl's chronicle from 1742.²⁴ So the cloister was placed directly in the part of town that was in patricians' ownership. On the other hand, its lucrative position determined the character of a fairly simple structure adjusted to the block of neighbouring townhouses in many ways. But the rapidly progressing architecturally modest solution probably suited better the moving times of the progressing recatholization, anti-Hapsburg and other wars. Perhaps that is the reason the basic structure was accomplished before the end of 1666 and the cloister was promoted to a convent.²⁵

Exactly one hundred years after the coming of Franciscans to Kremnica, another extension of their convent was executed when they purchased the so-called Kayserian House which the Franciscans used in different ways shortly after settling in the city.²⁶ They paid Antonius Körmeny 2 600 florins in 1749, and gradually adjusted this space to their needs.²⁷ They built

²⁴ Archív rímsko-katolíckeho farského úradu (Archive of roman-catholic parish office) in Kremnica, Benedict Mayerl, *Historia Cremniciensis Conventus per p. fratrem Benedictum Mayerl p. t. Conventus Guardianum Anno Reparatae Salutis MDCCXLII*, rkp. Inter alia, he wrote that the second house for the needs of the emerging Franciscan monastery in Kremnica purchased Archdiocese of burgher Michael Wenger.

²⁵ The current tower above the entrance to the monastery on the left side of the flat temple facade was founded in the year 1706 and the church with the monastery were further complemented also in the 18th century. Štátny okresný archív (State district archive, ŠOKA) Žiar nad Hronom – sídlo Kremnica, Michal Matunák, *Cirkevné dejiny mesta Kremnica*, Kremnica 1932, manuscript, 193ff. To the architecture see Štefan Oriško, *Kremnica – pamiatková rezervácia* (Bratislava: Tatran, 1984), 94-97; Peter Fidler, "Kostol a kláštor františkánov. Kremnica," in *Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia. Barok*, 392; Mayerl, *Historia Cremniciensis Conventus*, 70 and 80 – wrote that the church had only a small wooden tower for a long time, and the current one is from the year 1706. To the other architectural changes see Barbara Balážová, "Barokové sochárstvo v Kremnici. Vybrané štúdie k dejinám slovenského barokového sochárstva a maliarstva v 18. storočí" (unpublished PhD diss., Institute of Art History, Slovak Academy of Sciences Bratislava, 2003), 70-71.

²⁶ Oriško, *Kremnica – pamiatková rezervácia*, 96. The house with Late Gothic and Renaissance elements used Franciscans since 1651. The art historical monument research discovered also fragments of Gothic paintings.

²⁷ Matunák, *Cirkevné dejiny mesta*, 158-159.

a granary in the courtyard part, and later, in front, they squeezed in a chapel consecrated to the Virgin Mary of Loretto into the peripheral wall. So in 1758, the chapel was founded in the same way, as a four-winged cloister with adjacent church before, by an adaptation from a townhouse. Its facade was naturally adjusted to the division of the frontage of the cloister Church of St. Francis, to which it is adjacent from the right side. Apart from the entrance portal, the chapel has been also accessible from church via an entrance placed directly behind the organ loft until today. The chapel was designed as a simple space vaulted by three arched bays of a Prussian vault. The Casa Santa stands in the middle of its front wall, and it is reduced to an allusion of its side walls of pilaster architecture with attica, having an altar in the centre with a cult sculpture without the usual protective lattice.²⁸ On its top, there is the key moment of the legend about the transfer of the Santa Casa of Virgin Mary by angels in form of a painting on wood from the well-known painter Anton Schmidt.²⁹ Details about the foundation and operation of the Loretto chapel in Kremnica are offered by *Historia Conventus Cremnicziensis* written by frater Cyrillus Machacz, particularly since 1759.³⁰ It describes its preserved form, and confirms that it was founded in 1758 during the *guardianus* time of pater Urbanus Fridrichovský, the pontificate of Clement XIII and the rule of Maria Theresa and her husband. The list of important personalities also includes the representatives of the order, cloister and town, namely mayor, sculptor and carpenter Christianus Antonius Bukovaj³¹ and mining master Antonius Körmendy.³² The chronicler Cyrillus Machacz states further by stating that the chapel was founded thanks to the pious bequest of the *guardianus* and different devotional bequests of the devotees of the Virgin Mary of Loretto, as well as thanks to the noble support of Antonius Körmendy directly linked to the Loretto altar “[...] cum una appositione arae Lauretanae MV P Succesor complevit.” But he

²⁸ This was a considerably reduced variant of Santa Casa type, which was relatively common in the 18th century. The exact copy in accordance with the original plan of Loreto Santa Casa hut in the form of prints spread from 1625 through Jesuit confessor Bachamerovi. See Adolf Mohl, *Der Gnadenort Loreto in Ungarn im Selbstverlage des Verfassers* (Eisenstadt: Dick, 1894), 7–9. See also Kathleen Weil-Garris, *The Santa Casa di Loreto. Problems in Cinquecento Sculpture* (New York: London, 1977); Monika Wiegeler, “Der Loretokult im Habsburgerreich von Trsat bis Prag” (unpublished PhD diss., Institute for European Ethnology, University of Vienna, 2000). To the Czech and Moravian monuments see Jan Bukovský, *Loretánske kaple v Čechách a na Moravě* (Brno: Libri, 2000). According to the chronostichon was the Loretto chapel in Kremnica renewed in 1893.

²⁹ Jozef Medvecký, *Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia. Barok. Katalóg vystavených diel* (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 1999), cat. no. 487, oil on wood, 200 × 250 cm.

³⁰ Slovenský národný archív (Slovak National Archive, later SNA) Bratislava, *Historia Conventus Cremnicziensis ab Anno 1759 usque ad Annum 1773*. First time published in a short form by Radoslav Ragač, “Slávnostné dni kremnických františkánov v rokoch 1759–1773,” *Pamiatky a múzeá* 58, no. 1 (2009): 16–18. Other archive materials were known thanks to the work of Balážová, *Barokové sochárstvo*. See especially Ministerstvo vnútra Slovenskej republiky Štátny archív (Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Republic, State archive, later MV SR ŠA) Bratislava, Zlomky kláštorňých archívov, Františkáni Kremnica, *Historia domus ab Ao 1796 usque Annum 1904 Conventus Cremnicziensis S. P. Francisci*. In the same fond of the archive we can find also only partially known – *Notatio defunctorum Provinciae nostrae patrum et fratrum ab anno 1570 usque 1850*, *Inventarium rerum ad Sacristiam conventus Cremnicziensis Spectantium 1734 sub quardiano Ambrosy Meser a Inventarium renovatum rerum notabiliorum ordo pulsuum et rituum in hoc Conventu consuetaurum fundationes benefactorum obligationes missarum et qualturnum circumterias ab Ao 1714*. These materials were studied in connection with the renovation of the Franciscans high altar in Kremnica. See documentation in Archív pamiatkového úradu Slovenskej Republiky (Archive of the Monuments board of Slovak Republic) Bratislava, Nora Hebertová, Katarína Chmelinová, and Štefan Poljak, *Hlavný oltár sv. Františka z Assisi františkánskeho kostola v Kremnici. Návrh na reštaurovanie* (Bratislava, 2007). Also there Nora Hebertová, Katarína Chmelinová, and Štefan Poljak, *Hlavný oltár sv. Františka z Assisi františkánskeho kostola v Kremnici. Dokumentácia reštaurátorských prác I. – Architektúra* (Bratislava, 2008).

³¹ Bukovaj (ca. 1691–1775) was a Kremnica burgher living in the parental home in the early suburbs *Neuer Grund*. At the same time he was the sculptor of the town and the carpenter master, moreover in the years 1730–1736 and 1745–1752 also the head of the carpenters guild in Kremnica. In addition, in 1753–1754 and 1758–1759 was the mayor of Kremnica. See Barbara Balážová, *Pictorissa Cremnicziensis* (Bratislava: Ústav dejín umenia SAV, 2004), 35, 112–113.

³² Transliteration of the last name Körmendyho was not exact in his life. In archive documents used by Balážová, *Pictorissa Cremnicziensis*, 149, it is Körmendy. On the other hand in *Historia Cremnicziensis Conventus*, 2, it is in form Kermöndy, but there is no doubt that it is still the same person.

did not forget to mention how the *guardianus* of the cloister consecrated the foundation stone on the July 16, 1759 *pro memoria*.³³

In his chronicle, on September 9, of the same year, a festive day of Virgin Mary, in this matter Benedict Mayerl noted the introduction of the Loretto sculpture in Kremnica that came from Italy.³⁴ Franciscan historian Machacz also describes this event to a greater detail because of his personal presence. The transfer of the cult sculpture of the Black Madonna “ex Berg ad nostram Eccelsiam [...] pro majori populi devotione,” with an appropriate welcome by the vicar Michael Kijovský and its erection on the newly founded altar of the chapel was executed in form of a splendid religious procession symbolically dedicated to the day of the Marian celebration.³⁵ The procession was led by the *guardianus* of the convent Marcus Kind and *Dominus praepositus Bajmoczensis*, with the presence of other significant representatives of the church, town and abundance of worshippers. At the end, festively dressed Franciscan priests carried the statue from church to the chapel built in its honour, and placed it in the niche of the altar. This all was accompanied by the sounds of the bells from the parish church, singing of the people and music, while a special emphasis was given to the festive songs of the members of the Society of Jesus and German songs of a singer from Banská Štiavnica Martinus Miniety. The celebrations continued with people’s devotional songs accompanied by the musical choir until the evening.



Fig. 9. Main square of the Kremnica town before 1880. Photo: Archive of the author.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid., 116.

³⁵ Ibid., 2-4. To the general information about the Marian processions see Štajnoch, *Panna Marie Divotvůrkyně*, 93-97.



Fig. 10. Main square of the Kremnica town with the Franciscan cloister.
Photo: Archive of the author.

On the occasion of the festive erection of the cult statue on the newly founded altar and the Loretto chapel, the above described interior of the church with an unpreserved rich sculptural decoration from 1710–1750 was enriched with an ephemeral triumphant gate.³⁶ Machatz writes “Ante Capellam intra Ecclesiam porta Triumphalis erecta fuit sub figura Arca B. Matris icon depicta supra hanere portam fuerat cum Chronographico Sequenti.”³⁷ So it stood in the church on the right behind the organ loft, carrying the representation of the Virgin Mary and different signs in order to add a decorative accent to otherwise down-to-earth, functional passage from the nave of the church to the chapel. In connection to the triumphal arch, the chronicle notes rich religious texts for eternal remembrance. Although due to their short life span, we know very little about this type of artistic commissions, a similar Baroque coulisse-like ephemeral decoration was nothing unusual for that time. Therefore, we have several noted periodically related realizations in the area of the mining towns and also directly in Kremnica, according to which we are able to have a broad idea. The best-known triumphal arches are undoubtedly created for the occasion of two sovereign’s visits of the Emperor Francis I in 1751, and then his sons Joseph and Leopold in 1764.³⁸ Fortunately, a detailed description of the elusive triumphant

³⁶ Mayerl, *Historia Cremniciensis Conventus*, 76–77. When connected to existing data the text of the chronicles provides considerably vivid picture of the form and festive arrangements for key event space Franciscan temple. Single nave of the church was at that time richly decorated by polychrome and gilding complex interior furnishing with numerous sculptures from about 1710–1715. Unfortunately it was consumed by fire in 1777 and we know it now only from the archive documents. The present interior decorations with the last known altar painting by Franz Anton Maulbertsch are the result of fitting out of the new temple at the end of the 18th century, as well as its secondary treatment. The core of the former high altar retable, consecrated in September 1715, was lavishly gilded statue of St. Francis stigmatization. Over the founder of the order there were – Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, representing the so-called Trinitas terrestris. Furthermore, it contains on two floors eight other statues depicting the Franciscan saints and patrons of the town. From the same time in the church were also other three side altars dedicated to the Virgin Mary, St. Anthony of Padua, and St. Michael the Archangel. See Barbara Balážová, “Maulbertsch alebo Leicher? K dvom barokovým oltárnym výzdobám františkánskeho kostola v Kremnici,” *Galéria – Ročenka Slovenskej národnej galérie* (2002): 55.

³⁷ Mayerl, *Historia Cremniciensis Conventus*, 4–5. See also Ragač, *Slávnostné dni kremnických františkánov*, 17.

³⁸ Original drawings are in Galéria J. Kollára (The Gallery of J. Kollár) in Banská Štiavnica, in Múzeum mincí a medajlí (The Coins and Medals Museum) in Kremnica and one is in the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien (Historical Museum of Vienna).



Fig. 11. Anton Schmidt: Virgin Mary above the transferred Loretto house, 1758, Franciscan Loretto chapel in Kremnica. Photo: Archive of the author.

arches intended for the decoration of the mining towns during these visits was preserved, as well as seven colour ink drawing designs. In addition, five of these are signed by the painter Anton Schmidt. All are typical examples of the contemporary triumphant arches having the standard spatially developed architecturally conceived columned structure with a richly painted and often temporary sculptural decoration with different celebratory and other texts. As to the Franciscan triumphal arch, bearing in mind the spacial dispositions and sponsor we can assume that it would have less opulent furnishing than the slightly older triumphal arches for the emperor. The artist of its design is not known, but he can probably be found among the Franciscans or their seniors at the time. Building of the wooden construction also probably belonged under the competence of the convent, while perhaps the author of the artistic design and the execution was Anton Schmidt again.³⁹ From the original furnishing of the chapel, only two paintings of this Viennese native who was a key personality of the artistic scene of the time and area were preserved. First, it is the mentioned painting of the Virgin Mary above the transferred Loretto house placed on top of the Casa Santa, which could be the a part of the triumphant arch stated

Town). More information in Zuzana Lapitková, "Interpretácia ikonografického obsahu dvoch návrhov slávobrán na základe archívnych dokumentov," *Ars* 32, no. 1-3 (1999): 168-184; eadem, "Návrhy triumfálnych brán od A. Schmidta a otázka ich realizácie k cisárskej návšteve F. Š. Lotrinského," in *Zlatá a strieborná cesta cisára Františka Lotrinského po stredoslovenských banských mestách. Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodného seminára* (Banská Štiavnica: Merkantil, 2001), 199-208; eadem, "Ikonografické súvislosti slávobrán pre slovenské banské mestá (rekonštrukcia výtvarnej podoby na základe dobového popisu)," *Ars* 35, no. 1-3 (2002): 126-134. See also Jozef Medvecký, "Anton Schmidt, Schemnicziensis pictor academicus. Život a dielo barokového maliara," in *Industriálna krajina? Stredoslovenské banské mestá v 16.-18. storočí*, ed. Katarína Chmelinová (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 2010), 126-129; eadem, *Anton Schmidt. Život a dielo barokového maliara 1713-1773* (Bratislava: Societas historiae artium, 2013), 108-123, 204-208.

³⁹ Mária Pötl-Malíková, "Príspevok k dejinám barokovej efemernej tvorby na Slovensku. Oslavy svätorečenia Alojza Gonzagu a Stanislava Kostku v roku 1727," *Ars* 34, no. 1 (2001): 18. More about the painter in Medvecký, *Anton Schmidt*.

by the sources, secondarily placed in its current location after the ephemeral construction was disassembled. The second well-known work from the original interior of the chapel that was undoubtedly connected to Schmidt and his thriving workshop is the representation of the bare-footed Franciscan St. Peter of Alcantara creating the core of the side altar consecrated to him.⁴⁰ Besides, Antonius Körmendy, one of the most significant personalities connected to the foundation of Kremnica's Loretto chapel had to look more closely at the painter's earlier Kremnica triumphant arch for the emperor. Its detailed description was very probably part of the letter of the mentioned Kremnica's mining master to one of the state offices in Banská Štiavnica from June 26, 1754.⁴¹

The triumphant entrance from the church was only one of the parts of the above suggested complex celebrations of the newly founded Loretto chapel. The whole interior of the church and probably the chapel, altars, triumphant arch and benches as well were also opulently decorated with fresh greenery and the church-goers wistfully turned to the Black Madonna with their prayers. The Marian sculpture representing the centrepiece of the entire festivity in Kremnica was described by the chronicler of the convent as a consecrated statue provided with seals, making the Loretto original feel present.⁴² In September 1758, this was confirmed by Jacobus Angelus, custos Alma Domus Lauretana, while he further specifies "Immaginem ligneam Beatissima Virginis ad Similitudinem Sacra hujus Iconis, munilam duobus Sigilles hujus Sanctuarii, in cera hispanica nempe inter Scapulas et in parte anteriori basis [...]" A similar record documenting the significance and authenticity of the Loretto sculpture of Kremnica's Franciscans ratified by seals between her shoulder blades and at the bottom of the pedestal was deliberately added to the chronicle by Machacz. Significantly, the afore mentioned procession turned into a case that was dealt with by the seniors and mirrored a considerable animosity between Kremnica's vicar Michael Kijovský and *guardianus* of the Franciscan convent at the time Marcus Kindl. Kijovský publicly denoted the procession as exotic and scandalous with an inappropriate use of the statue in the representation of the Holy Family and a procedure that did not meet the church guidelines. He mostly questioned the authenticity of the statue itself. This serious accusation was not left unnoticed, and for a certain period of time, the Franciscans emphasized the legitimacy of their Loretto copy through documenting the miracles it performed.⁴³ What exactly was behind the mutual grudge of both people involved who governed Catholic churches in town only a few meters apart is unknown. We may assume that a certain part was played by the struggle to gain worshippers and patrons from their ranks, as both sides renovated and amended their churches at the time.

⁴⁰ The severely damaged oil on canvas (240 × 160,8 cm, inv. no. O 6833) was bought by the Slovak National Gallery in the year 2005 and in the next year 2006 it was restored by Alena Kubová in the gallery. See Katarína Chmelinová, "Anton Schmidt. Sv. Peter z Alcantary," in *111 diel zo zbierok*, eds. Dušan Buran and Katarína Müllerová (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 2008), 122–123.

⁴¹ Lapitková, "Interpretácia ikonografického obsahu," 179–180, 182–184. Körmendy, one of the wealthiest mining businessman in the Central Slovakian mining district, a mining master – rather a high rank post of the imperial administration, the Senator of Kremnica and from 1757 to 1758 and from 1763 to 1765 a mayor of Kremnica. Moreover he was e.g., a major sponsor of the Loretto Chapel of the Franciscan order. In case of the other Baroque re-designing and new interior re-designing of the non-surviving Parish Church of Blessed Mary the Virgin in Kremnica, he was appointed to the function of the Principal Church Inspector.

⁴² Mayerl, *Historia Cremnicziensis Conventus*, 5. According to the original seals, we can assume that it was Imago attacta – a genuine copy ceremonially consecrated by touching or blessed with the original. Štajnoch, *Panna Marie Divotvůrkyně*, 24.

⁴³ Mayerl, *Historia Cremnicziensis Conventus*, 8. As an example Machac wrote that in 1759 there was miraculously cured a 14 years old Anna Hockin of Horná Štubna, who was fervently prayed to Our Lady of Loreto, and subsequently paid to the altar ex voto in the form of silver legs. In 1760, dated April 23 he noted analogous miracle curing a serious disability of Anna Maria, Joannes and Maria Katharina Tirnisch's daughter. Proceedings of miracles by which manifests God's will and grace belongs to the authentication of a devotional copies. Miracles evoked both spontaneous and usually followed the official adoration of such art works. See also Štajnoch, *Panna Marie Divotvůrkyně*, 23.



Fig. 12. Franz Anton Maulbertsch: Stigmatization of the St. Francis, detail of the high altar painting of the Franciscan church in Kremnica, 1795. Photo: Nora Hebertová.

The self-promotion of the order in Kremnica by the Loretto chapel and the related procession was not primarily part of the Counter-Reformation attempts, but demonstrates the following phase. A phase, when after a successful Catholic renewal, the struggle with heresy is not in the prime. After re-establishing the dominance of Catholicism in the new, but still confessionally diverse environment, the competition among Catholic institutions for a place of favor of the worshippers and patrons takes place.

Formation of collective identities in a multi-confessional and multi-national environment of the Baroque Northern part of the Kingdom of Hungary was problematic. Nevertheless, the faith was still the essence of people's identity in private as well as public sphere and thus providing the solid grounds for them. Undoubtedly, the key part in the representation of the church and worldly environment was played by the architecture and artistic monuments. These centuries-old means managed to effectively form the idea about individuals and different collective identities during the Baroque period as well. The visualized comments were applied, their content, placement and qualities were adjusted in relation to the function of the artworks. The Franciscans themselves, their third order as well as their numerous fraternities that activated laics were not an exception in this regard. The artistically materialized ideas were used in line with the overall Catholic orientation as well as the spiritual orientation of the order for strengthening of the experience of faith, emphasizing its power or the manifestation of mutual fellowship. Therefore, they often chose means accenting the antiquity of their order along with the legitimacy of the authentic ideas spread by them. In addition, they offered a spectrum of their own saints as models of faith, and at the same time, supported specific Christological and Marian motives reviving different expressions of devotion to Christ's suffering (such as the Scala Sancta) and to Virgin Mary, especially those with the affinities to their own teaching and history (Loretto Santa Casa – Porzioncola). During the second half of the 17th century and at the beginning of the following century, the idea of belonging to the authentic – winning church resonates in their constructed visual image of the order. Its strength is communicated by the successful penetration into the Protestant urban environment and its deliberate over-layering of their Catholic content as some of their building activities prove. With the change of the situation, approximately until the end of the first quarter of the 18th century, a decline of this tendency occurs. The order is experiencing their prime, and the rivalry for the faithful moves towards the inside of the Catholic "camp."

The end of Baroque period brought significant changes also to the life of Hungarian Franciscan. Under the influence of the Enlightenment, it was marked by the spirit of the intervention of the state administration in the Church or order administration. According to a record ordered by Maria Theresa, there was 3 781 mendicants living in the 1768 Hungary, of which 2 389 were Franciscan. Maria Theresa did not reduce the number of the monks, but designated the condition as maximum, and placed it under the control of the Church administration. The government of her son Joseph II, however, brought the threat of physical destruction of cloisters. Poor Clares – the second order of St. Francis suffered from its effect when their order was dissolved by the sovereign in 1782. As to the most numerous of mendicant orders, the Franciscan order, a different tactic was chosen – a gradual liquidation and reformation to worldly priests. First of all, (just like the other parts of the Church in the country) they were separated from the papal court, the Roman administration. All rights were gained by the provincial, but it was controlled by the church administration of the country, the bishops. Statutory right was also taken from the provincial assembly. Religious order clerics and the education of future priests were moved to central general seminars. In relation to the spiritual assistance, the Franciscans were forced to live away from convents, while the sovereign stripped them off the commitment to the order, and it was at their were allowed to acquire possession. The order was stripped of the mendicant rights with a compensation of a certain yearly income tied to a prescribed maximum number of the members of the province – 368. It was forbidden to accept novices, and some convents dissolved (St. Catherine, St. Anthony). As a result of the reforms of Joseph II, the Franciscans were spiritually under the control of the Church administration, and on an economical level, under the control of the Governing Council. Therefore, after the death of the sovereign, the order attempted to gain the renewal of the old rights and lost property. The relief from the diminishment of the threats of their extinction is felt in contemporary sources or revived reconstruction

of the convent churches as in Kremnica, where the core of the new main altar was ordered from the Viennese genius of the late Baroque painting Franz Anton Maulbertsch.⁴⁴

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⁴⁴ Katarína Chmelinová, "Katolícka obnova a podoby jej umeleckého mecenátu," in *Industriálna krajina? Stredoslovenské banské mestá v 16.–18. storočí*, ed. eadem (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 2010).

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Pietro Lamo e la scelta del volgare toscano per la sua guida “Graticola di Bologna”

“[...] a noi la volgar lingua non solamente vicina si dee dire che ella sia,
ma natia e propria, e la latina straniera.”
(Pietro Bembo, *Prose della volgar lingua*, 1525, I, 3.)

Abstract | I saggi di Segre (*Volgarizzamenti del Due-Trecento*, a cura di Cesare Segre, Torino, Utet, 1953) e Dionisotti (Carlo Dionisotti, *Tradizione classica e volgarizzamenti*, in *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana*, Torino, Einaudi 1967) già a partire dagli anni Cinquanta del secolo XX concordano nel registrare nel corso del secolo XVI un aumento significativo della produzione in volgare, non più *genus humile*, ma lingua letteraria pari, se non superiore, alla lingua latina. La riscrittura della superficie verbale non assolve solamente ad un intento divulgativo, come accadeva nei secoli precedenti, ma risponde a precise ambizioni artistiche che finiscono per ridurre al minimo la separazione tra interpretazione moderna e modello originario, tra ricezione e produzione. In altre parole la consapevolezza letteraria assunta dalla lingua volgare autorizza gli autori ad appropriarsi di convenzioni ricettivo-estetiche tipiche della contemporanea letteratura.

Pietro Lamo, pittore bolognese, chiede ad un collega senese, Pastorino de' Pastorini, di purificare da eventuali dialettismi *Graticola di Bologna*, il suo scritto ove adotta quale strategia descrittiva delle pitture, sculture e architetture una divisione in quadrati della città. È la prima guida artistica, non religiosa, della letteratura periegetica italiana. Il volgare quindi è ormai accettato e riconosciuto quale lingua valida per tutto il territorio della penisola. Nella Bologna cinquecentesca, città liberata dai Bentivoglio, inserita all'inizio del secolo XVI nello Stato della Chiesa e pervasa nelle arti dalle sollecitazioni uniformatrici romane portate in città da Bramante, da Michelangelo, da Raffaello, da Peruzzi, da Vasari, Pietro Lamo segnala con valutazioni positive la presenza di molteplici opere dalla diversa geografia artistica. Si smarca da Vasari ed esprime il suo pensiero positivo nei confronti dell'arte gotica. Della chiesa di Santa Maria dei Servi scrive che “tutta la giesa è di bona architettura secondo l'ordine todesco.” Non offre il fianco ad accuse di campanilismo, fenomeno assai diffuso in seguito e duraturo. Possiamo collocare la sua guida, rimasta manoscritta e incompiuta, verso il 1560. L'artista scrittore morirà nel 1574 e sarà sepolto nei chiostri della chiesa gotica intitolata a San Francesco.

Key words | Cinquecento – Bologna – guida artistica – lingua volgare toscana – manoscritto – Pietro Lamo.

Grande è il rilievo assunto dalle guide nella diffusione della conoscenza artistica, sia per quanto riguarda la produzione contemporanea alla scrittura, sia la storia e la storia dell'arte

in generale. Le guide servivano, e servono tuttora, ai cittadini del luogo interessato, aiutavano e aiutano i viaggiatori, i conoscitori forestieri e stranieri, testimoniano con la storia della città le scelte artistiche dei protagonisti e il gusto collezionistico dei committenti nelle diverse epoche, sono lo specchio delle istanze di rappresentatività della società al potere. Talora le hanno provocate scelte politiche, spinte campanilistiche, talora costituiscono una sorta di fase embrionale della controllata e guidata divulgazione di massa. Non dobbiamo considerarle semplici contenitori di chiese, conventi, palazzi, case, piazze, una volta pubblicate agirono e agiscono quali collettori di gusti, di intenzioni didattiche. Oggi continuano ad esistere, devono però confrontarsi con le strategie veloci e accattivanti dei nuovi media, molto coercitivi e condizionanti nella realtà.

Lavorando con il pittore e scrittore cinquecentesco Pietro Lamo e la sua *Graticola di Bologna*, ho voluto collocare il testo nel suo tempo, salvare la freschezza del volgare bolognese, renderlo fruibile e metterlo in circolazione nella forma conferitale dal pittore.¹ Le edizioni critiche con le relative esegesi sono lavori lunghi e faticosi che hanno bisogno per essere portati a termine di spalle forti di conoscenza per non cadere nel vortice di un'erudizione fine a se stessa. Richiedono una matura consapevolezza storiografica per prestare la giusta attenzione allo stile, al contenuto, alla volontà di chi scrive. Il manoscritto di *Graticola* rivela che Lamo non completò il lavoro, lo constatiamo per i vuoti lasciati e per le postille che di volta in volta aggiungeva per poi deciderne il luogo di inserimento e la forma, ma già introduce, come vedremo, alcuni dei temi fondanti la disciplina che più tardi si configurerà quale Storia dell'arte. Non solo si tiene lontano dall'iperbole e dall'auto elogio, frequente in altri artisti scrittori, ma ben poco ci racconta di sé. Lo percepiamo emozionato all'interno della chiesa di San Francesco di fronte all'altare con gli *Evangelisti* in terracotta di Donatello,² tanto entusiasta da volerne fare il calco, constatiamo la sua partecipazione appassionata alla realtà artistica cittadina. Mi sono posta il problema delle copie e dell'eventuale confronto. Non sono state individuate trascrizioni contemporanee o di poco successive di *Graticola*, l'esemplare presso la Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio (ms. B 3198) è risultato il solo esistente. Ritrovato in casa Bottrigari nella seconda metà del Settecento, fu acquistato dal pittore Carlo Bianconi, poi segretario a Milano dell'Accademia di Brera. Carlo lo affidò al fratello Angelo Michele per la trascrizione emendante le parole dialettali bolognesi. Con l'esegesi e l'edizione critica da me curata ho cercato di ridare al testo la sua originale freschezza. Ho scelto quindi un atteggiamento conservativo del colorito della lingua e delle sue forme, pur rendendo il testo meglio leggibile. All'uso moderno ho uniformato la separazione delle parole e l'impiego degli accenti, degli apostrofi, delle maiuscole, della punteggiatura, la divisione sillabica. Ho risolte le abbreviazioni. Della grafia antica ho rispettato tutto ciò che, pur in contrasto con l'uso moderno, riflette una realtà fonetica. Ho eliminato grafie non corrispondenti all'effettiva pronuncia, e lettere superflue. Lamo non utilizza l'apostrofo, benché Pietro Bembo e Aldo Manuzio lo avessero introdotto sin dal primo Cinquecento. Avrebbe voluto far purificare il suo scritto dagli accenti bolognesi e affidarlo ad un collega toscano per la sua trascrizione in volgare.

¹ Pietro Lamo, *Graticola di Bologna*, ed. Marinella Pigozzi (Bologna: Clueb, 1996).

² Donatello è realmente stato a Bologna, anche se nessuno ne scrive oltre a Lamo. Accanto alle righe del pittore e scrittore bolognese è utile ricordare una lettera del 1440 inviata al duca Cosimo da Giovanni Ludovisi, di antica famiglia nobile cittadina, che si vedeva costretto a far ritornare a Firenze lo scultore: "Maestro Donato ritorna a Voi, ed è stato qui chon molta fatica per Vostro rispetto, ma a sicurtà l'abbiamo retenuto, e cusi altra volta bixognando a sicurtà rimanderemo per lui, e quando rimanderemo Vi prego ze siati cortese de conzederli buona lizenzia," in Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo avanti il principato, XII, 142 (già 137 e 145). Cf. Francesco Caglioti, *Donatello e i Medici. Storia del David e della Giuditta* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2000), 53.



Fig. 1. Pietro di Cristoforo Vannucci, detto Perugino, *Madonna col Bambino e i Santi Michele Arcangelo, Caterina d'Alessandria, Apollonia e Giovanni Evangelista*, circa 1500, olio su tavola, 273 × 211 cm, Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale, inv. 579, già in San Giovanni in Monte, cappella Scarani.
Photo: Archivio Fotografico del Polo Museale dell'Emilia Romagna, Bologna.

Cambiare il punto di vista. La scelta del volgare toscano.

Il libro di Bruno Migliorini, *Storia della lingua italiana*, con al centro il rapporto fra lingua e cultura, i saggi di Cesare Segre e di Carlo Dionisotti a partire dagli anni Cinquanta del secolo XX concordano nel registrare nel corso del secolo XVI un aumento significativo della produzione in volgare, non più *genus humile*, ma lingua letteraria pari, se non superiore, alla

lingua latina.³ L'affermarsi del volgare accompagnò anche le istanze di rinnovamento religioso seguite alla grave crisi provocata dalla Riforma luterana.⁴ Le discussioni sulla lingua intrecciatesi nei primi decenni del Cinquecento per organizzare l'egemonia culturale, hanno accompagnato la pubblicazione della traduzione del dantesco *De Vulgari Eloquentia* curata dall'umanista vicentino Gian Giorgio Trissino nel 1529. La riscrittura in volgare della superficie verbale in latino non assolve solamente ad un intento divulgativo, come accadeva nei secoli precedenti, ma risponde a precise ambizioni culturali che finiscono per ridurre al minimo la separazione tra interpretazione moderna e modello originario, tra ricezione e produzione. In altre parole la consapevolezza letteraria assunta dalla lingua volgare, la definizione della norma linguistica, autorizzano gli autori ad appropriarsi di convenzioni ricettivo-estetiche tipiche della retorica antica, dando luogo ad un'originale fusione di gusto classico e moderno, la stessa che coinvolge e rinnova anche le arti visive. Emerge quanto possa essere vasta la questione della lingua, intesa nella sua valenza letteraria, editoriale e sociale. Le *Regole della lingua fiorentina*, composte nella seconda metà del '400, hanno favorito le discussioni degli umanisti, Valla, Biondo, Poggio Bracciolini soprattutto, su quale volgare adottare. La nascita dell'editoria moderna ha aiutato nella conoscenza del dibattito. Al 1516, l'anno stesso della pubblicazione a Ferrara dell'ariostesco *Orlando Furioso*, risalgono i due libri delle *Regole grammaticali della volgar lingua*, un manuale con finalità pratica e didattica, del giurista friulano Giovanni Francesco Fortunio, interessato alla grammatica, alla morfologia e all'ortografia in volgare. Con Pietro Bembo, e le sue *Prose della volgar lingua* (1525), meglio si valuta il confronto fra le diverse teorie linguistiche che allora si fronteggiavano. L'interesse di Bembo, un patrizio veneziano, si volge alla retorica volgare in fiorentino al seguito del suo studio sul *De Vulgari Eloquentia* di Dante, al quale però rimproverava l'uso di un lessico basso. La buona lingua, secondo l'umanista Bembo, è quella che si apprende sui libri e dagli autori eccellenti, che in latino sono Cicerone per la prosa e Virgilio per la poesia, in volgare italiano sono per lui esemplari Boccaccio e Petrarca. Bembo auspicava la rifondazione di una letteratura in volgare di alto profilo, atta a competere con la tradizione illustre di quelle classiche, contraria a contaminazioni con la lingua parlata. Il fiorentino ha intanto acquisito il carattere di lingua italiana egemone, anche se mancava un'Italia unita dal punto di vista politico. Dopo che molti eserciti stranieri hanno attraversato la penisola, ora la lingua unica può soddisfare l'esigenza identitaria. La fondazione dell'Accademia pubblica voluta a Firenze da Cosimo attraverso la trasformazione della precedente Accademia degli Umidi (1541–1542), ha avuto subito lo scopo politico di valorizzare la lingua dello stato mediceo. L'umanista Benedetto Varchi, richiamato nel 1543 a Firenze da Padova, pochi anni dopo, nel 1549, pubblica presso Torrentino la riedizione delle bembiane *Prose della volgar lingua*, agganciando nella sua introduzione il fiorentino al resto della penisola. La maggior diffusione fu certo favorita dalla sempre crescente influenza dell'Università nella promozione dell'attività tipografica e dall'adozione nelle stamperie delle uniformanti proposte normative di Bembo sostenitrici del fiorentino letterario. Bembo stesso era stato collaboratore dell'umanista Aldo Manuzio (1449–1515), il maggior tipografo ed editore del tempo, tra i primi a intuire le potenzialità della stampa e capace di far circolare le sue edizioni in tutta Europa. Sarà soprattutto Ludovico Canossa, voce di Baldassarre Castiglione nel suo *Cortegiano*, a difendere invece la polimorfia delle lingue cortigiane, a sostenere che le parole scritte non siano dissimili dalle pronunciate

³ Cesare Segre, ed., *Volgarizzamenti del Due e Trecento* (Torino: UTET, 1953); Carlo Dionisotti, "Tradizione classica e volgarizzamenti," in *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana*, ibid. (Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1967); Resta fondamentale Bruno Migliorini, *Storia della lingua italiana* (1937) (Milano: Bompiani, 1994).

⁴ Massimo Firpo, "Riforma religiosa e lingua volgare nell'Italia del '500," in *Les premiers siècles de la république européenne des lettres*, ed. Marc Fumaroli (Paris: Alain Baudry, 2002), 153–182.



Fig. 2. Raffaello Sanzio, *Estasi di Santa Cecilia*, 1518, olio su tavola trasportata su tela, 236 x 149 cm, Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale, inv. 577, già in San Giovanni in Monte, cappella Dall'Oglio. Photo: Archivio Fotografico del Polo Museale dell'Emilia Romagna, Bologna.

e risultino "un delizioso giardino pien di diversi fiori e frutti,"⁵ sempre in evoluzione. A Bologna, Giovanni Filoteo Achillini nelle sue *Annotationi della volgar lingua* (1536) confermava l'esigenza di una lingua comune, ma non era per lui la toscana, era la bolognese. Il fiorentino vivo lo aveva usato nelle sue prose politiche Niccolò Machiavelli, ben informato delle cose del mondo. Nel suo *Discorso o Dialogo intorno alla nostra lingua* (1525 ca) sosteneva l'utilità della lingua parlata. Il *De re Aedificatoria* di Leon Battista Alberti pubblicato nel 1545 è tradotto da Cosimo Bartoli in fiorentino. Lo arricchivano il progressivo diffondersi della cultura classica e l'estendersi all'uso cancelleresco e diplomatico. Continuerà a favorirlo la situazione storica creata in Toscana dalla prolungata guida dei Medici, dalla nomina di Cosimo a granduca nel 1569 e dal processo di istituzionalizzazione culturale e politica da lui promosso. Alla metà del secolo non era più rinchiuso in Toscana, non era più solo lingua cortigiana o politica, bensì era riconosciuto in tutto il territorio della penisola quale strumento essenziale per la trasmissione di ogni contenuto e sapere.

Non possiamo però ignorare accanto alla lingua il ruolo uniformante, o quanto meno stimolante di confronti, delle arti visive e il dinamismo degli artisti fra le corti e i centri religiosi, tutti apportatori delle loro nuove consapevolezze per la rinascita delle arti. Ricordo la precedente diffusione culturale e politica delle tavole di Pietro di Cristoforo Vannucci, noto con il toponimo Perugino, inviate dalle botteghe dell'artista, la fiorentina e la perugina, a Roma, a Napoli, a Venezia a Pavia, a Cremona, a Bologna (fig. 1.), a Mantova. Ancora più incisivi sono gli spostamenti di Leonardo, dell'urbinate Raffaello, di Michelangelo, che partendo da Firenze e dalla Toscana danno inizio alla maniera moderna e alla sua diffusione in Europa. Pietro Lamo, che si dichiara "pitor bolognese" (1518–1574), chiederà al collega senese Pastorino de' Pastorini, attivo in Emilia sino al 1565, di purificare da eventuali dialettismi *Graticola di Bologna*, il suo scritto: "E poi ché io non mi sono fidato del mio proferire de li vocabille a la bolognesa, la facio trascrivere a un dotto toscano qualle me la ornerà ne li vocaboli."⁶ Gli interpreti delle arti visive, che non hanno avuto una educazione linguistica, per lo più si sono appoggiati, e continueranno a farlo, a letterati perché rivedano i loro scritti. Paolo Giovio a Vasari, che pure aveva avuto una buona educazione letteraria e che gli aveva inviato in visione alla fine del 1547 il lavoro delle *Vite* in anteprima, aveva proposto di abbellire linguisticamente le sue *Vite* con "una sbruffata de acqua rosa, per non dire una lecata di ambra, musco o bengiui."⁷ Secondo alcuni degli studiosi che si sono occupati della sua lingua, la scrittura delle *Vite* è da condividere fra Vasari e i letterati fiorentini che s'impegnarono nelle due edizioni del 1550 e del 1568, possiamo ricordare in particolare Pierfrancesco Giambullari, Carlo Lenzoni, Vincenzo Borghini.⁸ Lamo invece ha espresso l'intenzione di rivolgersi non a un letterato, bensì ad un collega toscano attivo a Bologna e alla corte Estense al momento della scrittura di *Graticola*. Una scelta che conferma il ruolo intellettuale da lui riconosciuto a chi interpreta le arti visive. Egli è stato con altri artisti dal 1556 nel consiglio della Compagnia dei Pittori, il sindacato di allora.⁹ Lamo è consapevole di sé e della sua dignità intellettuale, riconosce la valenza letteraria acquisita dal fiorentino. Non possiamo essere certi della sua conoscenza della questione della lingua, né della sua consapevolezza che la lingua fiorentina fosse veramente nazionale. Forse ignorava il dibattito suscitato nella stessa

⁵ Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano* (1528), I, c. XXXIV.

⁶ Lamo, *Graticola*, 53.

⁷ Paolo Giovio, *Pauli Iovii Opera: Lettere (1544–1552)*, vol. II, ed. Giuseppe Guido Ferrero (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato-Libreria dello Stato, 1958), 91.

⁸ Charles Hope, "Le 'Vite' vasariane: un esempio di autore multiplo," in *L'autore multiplo*, ed. Anna Santoni (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2005), 59–74; tratto da Marco Ruffini, *Art without Author: Vasari's Lives and Michelangelo's Death* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011); eadem, "Vasari autore e la questione della lingua," in *Vidas de artistas y otras narrativas biográficas*, eds. Eva March and Carme Narváez (Barcelona: Publicacions i Edicions Universitat Barcelona, 2012), 161–171.

⁹ Lamo, *Graticola*, 31.



Fig. 3. Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta, *Madonna con Bambino, santi e il committente Matteo Malvezzi*, 1548, olio su tavola, 305 × 214 cm, Bologna, San Martino Maggiore. Photo: Archivio Fotografico del Polo Museale dell'Emilia Romagna, Bologna.



Fig. 4. Amico Aspertini, *Madonna col Bambino in trono, i santi Giovanni Battista, Girolamo, Francesco, Giorgio, Sebastiano, Eustachio e due devoti*, 1504–1505, olio su tavola trasportata su nuovo supporto, 289 × 266 cm, Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale, inv. 558, già chiesa dei Santi Girolamo ed Eustachio. Photo: Archivio Fotografico del Polo Museale dell'Emilia Romagna, Bologna.

Bologna dal ricordato Achillini. Conosce la prima edizione vasariana in volgare delle *Vite*, con probabilità ha incontrato l'aretino allorché dipingeva nel refettorio di San Michele in Bosco per gli olivetani (1539–1540)¹⁰ e benché orgogliosamente bolognese e primo costruttore della identità artistica moderna di Bologna, è disposto a far cambiare la sua lingua, non il suo positivo punto di vista sull'arte in città. Lamo non riuscirà ad affidarla per la sua nobilitazione all'amico Pastorino, neppure la concluderà. *Graticola* non ha la complessità della prospettiva storica di cui fu capace Vasari, ma non manca al suo autore l'attenzione dichiarata alla diversa collocazione

¹⁰ Ibid., 70–71; Alessandro Cecchi, "Schede Giorgio Vasari," in *Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna. Catalogo Generale*, vol. 2, eds. Jadranka Bentini, Gian Piero Cammarota, A. Mazza, Daniela Scaglietti Kelesian, and Anna Stanzani (Venezia: Marsilio, 2006), 413–416.

storica delle opere negli ultimi cinquecento anni di vita cittadina. L'interesse che rivolge alla varia cultura geografica di provenienza degli artisti attivi a Bologna lo dimostra estraneo ad ogni campanilismo. Non precisa la data di scrittura della sua guida. Possiamo pensarla composta verso il 1560, basandoci su alcune frasi inserite nel testo: ricorda ancora vivo “Messer Gian Andrea Albio, parmesano,” che abitava in San Mamolo, vicino al palazzo dei Campeggi, e che possedeva la *Conversione di San Paolo* di Parmigianino, ora a Vienna.¹¹ Il medico Giovanni Andrea Bianchi, l'archiatra pontificio di Pio IV noto col nome latinizzato Albio, muore nel 1566. Pastorino, l'amico senese che vuole coinvolgere nella pulizia del testo resterà in Emilia sino al 1565. Lamo scrive ancora in costruzione palazzo Vizzani e non vi ricorda le decorazioni interne che datano al 1564. Per spiegare il titolo dato all'opera, “graticola” è il reticolo di linee utilizzato nei disegni per meglio proporzionare il soggetto nello spazio, veniva poi riportato dal foglio alle dimensioni più ampie dei cartoni. In questo caso il titolo non esplicita solo la strategia abituale nella pratica del disegno, allude al fatto che l'autore ha suddiviso Bologna in una griglia. Lamo, che con orgoglio si dichiara interprete di un’“arte nobile e liberale” e che, come abbiamo ricordato, si mostra consapevole del ruolo intellettuale e sociale raggiunto dagli interpreti delle arti, non più solo operatori di mano interpreti di arti meccaniche, nel suo racconto dell'arte

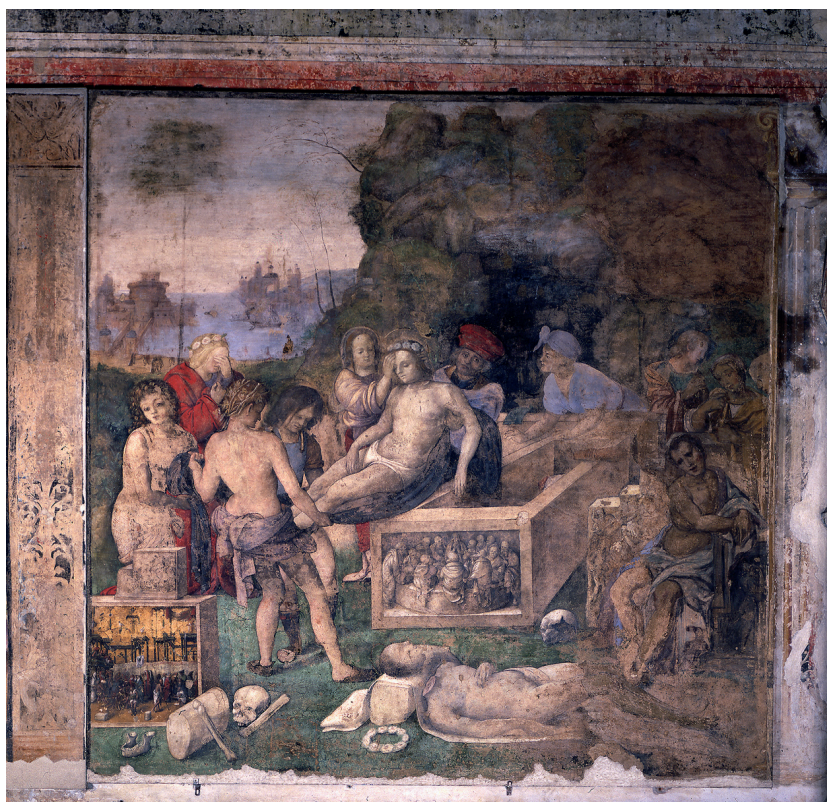


Fig. 5. Amico Aspertini, *Seppellimento di Valeriano*, 1505–1507, affresco, Bologna, Santa Cecilia. Photo: Archivio Fotografico del Polo Museale dell'Emilia Romagna, Bologna.

¹¹ Lamo, *Graticola*, 76–77.



Fig. 6. Filippino Lippi, *Madonna e Santi (Matrimonio mistico di Santa Caterina d'Alessandria)*, 1501, olio su tavola, 202 × 172 cm, Bologna, San Domenico, già cappella Casali. Photo: Archivio Fotografico del Polo Museale dell'Emilia Romagna, Bologna.

bolognese rivolto ad una “illustrissima signora” e a un “patron mio onorando,” non nominati e probabili topoi letterari,¹² adotta quale strategia descrittiva delle pitture, sculture e architetture una divisione in quadrati della città e ricorda con riscontri veloci ma puntuali, chiese, palazzi, case, torri, botteghe di artisti, secondo i percorsi che dalle porte lo conducono a piazza Maggiore. Ci restituisce in modo essenziale il volto di cinquecento anni di storia bolognese. È orgoglioso di delineare il carattere pulsante di vita artistica della città: “io ne dò intiera formazione generale da cinque cento anni fino a ora,” ma non fa un’arida elencazione di fatti, il suo resta uno sguardo partecipe.¹³ Il suo sapere si fonda sul riconoscimento della specificità della geografia artistica della città e di chi vi ha operato e opera. È chiara la soddisfazione di muover-

¹² Fabio Chiodini ipotizza possa trattarsi di Lucrezia Bottrigari la destinataria dell’opera. Cf. Fabio Chiodini, *Momenti e aspetti del collezionismo bolognese nella “Graticola,”* in Lamo, *Graticola*, 125–146.

¹³ Lamo, *Graticola*, 51.



Fig. 7. Francesco Mazzola, detto Parmigianino, *San Rocco*, 1527-1530, olio su tavola, 270 × 197 cm, Bologna, San Petronio. Photo: Archivio Fotografico del Polo Museale dell'Emilia Romagna, Bologna.



Fig. 8. Jacobello e Pier Paolo Delle Masegne, *Altare maggiore*, 1388–1393, marmo, Bologna, San Francesco. Photo: Archivio Fotografico del Polo Museale dell'Emilia Romagna, Bologna.

si per luoghi che ama, non gli interessa delineare una scala di valori o inserire valutazioni critiche, ci invita a seguirlo. Guardando, con lui impariamo a conoscere l'arte bolognese. Viene in mente Aristotele, protagonista del sapere nello Studio bolognese, che nella sua *Poetica* invita ad affidarsi al guardare e alla sua consuetudine per avvicinarsi al vero. *Graticola* è la prima guida artistica, non religiosa, della letteratura periegetica italiana. In precedenza si erano scritte e pubblicate guide di pellegrinaggio con un esclusivo intento devozionale o riassuntive esperienze di viaggio. Fra queste ultime possiamo inserire il campanilistico e affrettato *Memoriale di molte statue e pitture che sono nell'inclita città di Florentia*, apparso in città nel 1510 nella tipografia

di Tubini, a nome del prete fiorentino Francesco Albertini, e pure le note del veneziano Marcantonio Michiel. Grande viaggiatore, dilettante scrittore d'arte ma già acuto *connaisseur*, ha lasciato testimonianza delle conoscenze d'arte acquisite per l'Italia, dai fiamminghi ai toscani ai veneti, prima in *Agri et urbis Bergomatis descriptio*,¹⁴ alla quale fece seguire una sorta di concisa indagine cognitiva, ora sommaria ora attenta e ricca di impegno interpretativo, di sensibilità coloristica e tecnica, di predilezione per Giorgione, muovendosi tra i manufatti artistici collezionati in Padova (1537), Cremona, Milano, Pavia, Bergamo, Crema e Venezia (1521–1543). Rimasta in abbozzo è nota con il nome *Notizia d'opere di disegno*.¹⁵ L'autografo Marciano, adespota e anepigrafo, a lungo ignorato, fu pubblicato anonimo da Jacopo Morelli prima a Bassano nel 1800, a Bologna da Gustavo Frizzoni nel 1884. A Vienna nel 1896 Theodor Frimmel riconobbe in Michiel l'autore, ne è seguita infine nel 2000 la ristampa a cura di Cristina De Benedictis. Limitata a Roma e alle statue antiche è l'indagine che Ulisse Aldrovandi compie nel 1550.¹⁶ La Bologna cinquecentesca, città liberata dai Bentivoglio e inserita all'inizio del secolo XVI nello Stato della Chiesa da Giulio II, è pervasa nelle arti dalle sollecitazioni pontificie di uniformità portate in città da Bramante, da Michelangelo, da Perugino, da Raffaello (fig. 2.), da Peruzzi (fig. 3.), da Vasari stesso, da Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta. Alla consapevolezza di questa volontà di uniformità culturale d'impronta pontificia potremmo collegare quale anticipazione il ricordo del lavoro di Giotto nella cappella della Rocca di Galliera prevista per papa Giovanni XXII.¹⁷ Ma Pietro Lamo segnala con valutazioni attente e circostanziate la presenza di molteplici opere dalla diversa geografia artistica e ne segnala il committente: "Notifico il nomo e la patria di chi à operato e quelli che ànno fatto operare [...]. Dico le invencioni e le instore de che tratano."¹⁸ È di particolare interesse questa consapevolezza sia della diversità sia della pluralità delle esperienze figurative presenti in città e attente alla nuova maniera d'interpretare la pala d'altare e la storia sacra (figg. 4–6).

Distinguendo fra lingua e stile, non privilegia i protagonisti della maniera tosco romana, è attento a considerare con acume e pari considerazione la varia geografia artistica e l'intelligenza creativa degli autori coinvolti in città. Gli artisti più presenti sono Girolamo da Treviso e Parmigianino. Il veneto è ricordato attivo in San Domenico, in San Salvatore, nei palazzi Dolfi, Torfanini, Bentivoglio. Del parmense e della sua sensualità cromatica ha visto opere nello studio di Bartolomeo Passerotti, nelle case del ricordato medico Albio e di Bartolomeo Zani, ha individuato il ritratto di Rinaldo Pannirazzi, la *Madonna col Bambino, e i santi Maddalena, Battista e Zaccaria* nel palazzo di Alessandro Manzuoli (fig. 7.), il *San Rocco* nella basilica di San Petronio. Anche solo queste testimonianze ci segnalano le varie tipologie collezionistiche cittadine ispirate da interessi individuali. Non offre il fianco ad accuse di campanilismo, fenomeno assai diffuso e duraturo. Vive e scrive nel periodo del dibattito sul primato fra scultura e pittura. Benedetto Varchi, che dopo il suo ritorno a Firenze ha affrontato nel 1547 il problema nella *Lezzione della maggioranza delle arti*, ha promosso un'inchiesta fra gli artisti sollecitandone un parere. Gli risposero Vasari, Bronzino, Pontormo, Battista Tasso, Sangallo, Tribolo, Benvenuto Cellini e Michelangelo. Con esclusione di Michelangelo, tutti gli altri sostennero la pittura vincitrice. Lamo, che pure è pittore allievo di Innocenzo da Imola, un artista di cultura raffaellesca, dà la

¹⁴ Pubblicato in appendice a Francesco Bellafini, *De origine et temporibus urbis Bergomi* (Venetiis: Iohann Antonius et Fratres de Sabio, 1532); ripubblicato, al pari del testo di questo, in Johann Georg Graevius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum romanarum* (1698) (Lugduni Batavorum: Petrus van der Aa, 1723), IX, 7, coll. 27–32.

¹⁵ Marcantonio Michiel, *Notizia d'opere del disegno*, ed. Theodor von Frimmel (Firenze: Edifir Edizioni, 2000).

¹⁶ Ulisse Aldrovandi, "Delle statue antiche, che per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, et case si veggono (1550)," in *Le antichità della città di Roma*, ed. Lucio Mauro (Venezia: Giordano Ziletti, 1562), 115–315.

¹⁷ Lamo, *Graticola*, 85.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 51–52.



Fig. 9. Cortile interno, Bologna, Reale Collegio di Spagna. Photo: Archivio Fotografico del Polo Museale dell'Emilia Romagna, Bologna

stessa importanza a tutte le arti e ne distingue le tecniche. Non lo coinvolge la discussione sul primato fra le arti.

Quando parlo de la pitura, dico in legno a olio, e sul muro a fresco, e in tella a guacio [...]. Quando parlo di scultura dico di tera cotta, di marmore e di brongio (la statua bronzea di Giulio II collocata sul portale di San Petronio nel 1508, decapitata nel 1511 in occasione del momentaneo ritorno dei Bentivoglio) [...]. Quando parlo de l'architatura, dico se l'è dorica, ionica o corintia, tedesca, composita o toscana.¹⁹

È significativa l'attenzione rivolta ai lavori in terracotta: "alcuni ce ne sono stati de li scultori, ch'hano fatto meglio il modello di tera che non uno poi fatto il marmore o il brongio. Però facio mencione de queste instore di tera cotta rare."²⁰

Distinguendosi dal Vasari della prima edizione delle *Vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri*, esprime il suo pensiero positivo nei confronti dell'arte gotica. Della chiesa di Santa Maria dei Servi, ove ricorda l'*Annunciazione* del suo maestro, Innocenzo Francucci da Imola, "fata a olio, bella. Fece fare Alberto Bologneto," scrive che "tutta la giesa è di bona architettura secondo l'ordine todesco."²¹ Lo stesso scrive di San Francesco,

¹⁹ Ibid., 52.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., 55-56.

soffermandosi sulla sua “machina di marmo [...] ornata di bella architettura todesca” che orna l’altar maggiore (fig. 8).²² Si emoziona davanti all’altare ove “è un opereta [...] di tera cota di man de Donatello, dove sono 4 Evangelisti e altre figure di baso rilievo, e io nò prontato una parte.”²³ Positivo è il giudizio sul collegio di Spagna voluto nel 1364 dal cardinale Egidio de Albornoz” (fig. 9). L’edificio con la sua articolazione spaziale e funzionale sarà esemplare per tutti i collegi successivi e per lo stesso cinquecentesco edificio dell’Archiginnasio, la nuova unificante sede dello Studio bolognese.

Non possiamo chiedere al suo testo di avere il carattere unitario di trattazione di un’epoca di tre secoli delineata con precisione, con un inizio, uno svolgimento, una conclusione, propria delle *Vite* vasariane. Né possiamo chiedergli la ricca materia aneddótica, il motto arguto di cui si serve Vasari. Lamo pone l’accento sulla risultanza artistica, sul prodotto e sulla cultura geografica dell’autore, sul committente. Il pittore, che abbiamo ricordato membro del Consiglio della Società degli artisti ove è documentato sino al 15 aprile 1574, morirà alla fine dello stesso mese e il primo maggio sarà sepolto nei chiostri di San Francesco, la chiesa gotica in cui aveva lavorato e di cui apprezzava l’architettura e l’arte. *Graticola di Bologna* resta incompiuta, ci sono degli spazi lasciati in bianco. Colpisce l’assenza del complesso di Santo Stefano con la *Santa Jerusalem* bolognese e il mancato ricordo dell’affresco di Paolo Uccello con il *Presepe* nella chiesa di San Martino ove pure ricorda molte opere. Non possiamo escludere che il *Presepe* fosse stato già coperto da nuovo intonaco risultando il segno fastidioso di un committente non più in auge. Resta lo splendore del patrimonio culturale che Lamo ci ricorda, uno scrigno di tesori e di energie creative.

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²² Ibid., 78–79.

²³ Ibid., 79.

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Una sorprendente presencia de una muestra del nazarenismo español en las colecciones del arzobispado de Olomouc (República Checa)

Abstract | A surprising presence of the Spanish nazarenism in the collection of the archiepiscopal collection of the vile of Olomouc (Czech Republic). In the European and Spanish context too, the work of the painter Francisco Peralta del Campo (Sevilla, 1837 – Rome, 1897), is very little known, although in last time his profile thanks the inclusion on his work into the collections of the Museum of Prado, where he was absent for a long time. Peralta is a painter trained at the School of Fine Arts of St. Isabel of Hungary at Seville, being disciple of the professors Eduardo Cano de la Peña and Antonio Cabral. He send his works to the National Exhibitions of Fine Arts in Madrid the years 1864–1866; this last year he obtained a mention. He was known as author of orientalist themes. In 1868, Peralta lived Spain for Rome to amplify and complete his studies; there he met two colleagues, José Villegas Cordero and Luis Jiménez Aranda. His works are characteristics for their chromatic richness and representation of agreeable themes of Italian influence. In Rome he adhered to the international tendency, maybe the most notable in the 19th century in Rome, although passing out from mode: the nazarenism. One work of Peralta, *Christ and the Samaritan*, signed and dated in 1875 (?) in the archiepiscopal collection of the vile of Olomouc (Czech Republic) help us not only to know the work of the painter, but also one little known chapter of the Centro European collectionism. The acquisition of that painting of Peralta demonstrates a new interest of the archbishops of Olomouc, Primates of Moravia, traditional collectionists from the Renaissance, although their interest was concentrated in Italian art, religious, naturally, when the civil society had another preferences. In brief, the Nazarenes' represented a mental and formal renovation for the ecclesiastics, and, in general, the Christians of the Epoch.

Key words | Peralta – Nazarenism – Rome – Olomouc – collection

Dentro del contexto no sólo europeo sino también español, la obra de Francisco Peralta del Campo (Sevilla, 1837 – Roma, 1897), es muy poco conocida. El libro clásico de Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, *Arte del siglo XIX*,¹ tan detallado y meticuloso en la reconstrucción del siglo en aquella época, los sesenta, no tan popular, no incluye el nombre de Francisco Peralta del Campo. Hasta hace poco, puede decirse, que salvo algún especialista, se ignoraba el nombre del autor, Peralta,

¹ Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, *Arte del siglo XIX, Ars Hispaniae, Historia universal del arte hispánico*, vol. 19 (Madrid: Plus ultra, 1966); y tampoco lo hacen treinta años más tarde Carlos Reyero y Mireia Freixa, *Pintura y escultura en España, 1800-1910* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1995); pero sí mencionan a sus compañeros en Roma, Jiménez Aranda, así como Villegas Cordero, y aun sus maestros Eduardo Cano de la Peña y Antonio Cabral.

en la propia España. Tal vez el único que lo haya mencionado por lo menos en un párrafo, ha sido el gran conocedor de la pintura sevillana Enrique Valdivieso,² cuyo texto es un punto de partida para otras menciones.

Últimamente emerge su perfil gracias a su inclusión en las instalaciones del Museo del Prado, donde el siglo XIX estuvo ausente bastante tiempo, siendo más tarde, instalado en el Casón del Buen Retiro, luego con motivo del cambio sustancial en la presentación de la pintura del siglo XIX, en el edificio Villanueva que antes estaba reservado a la antigüedad, a las escuelas del arte medieval, renacentista y barroco, mas la obra del Goya, momento a partir del cual el público comenzó a interesarse por Peralta también.³ En el último decenio aumentaron las subastas que lo popularizaron más, pues sus obras son muy escasas en instituciones públicas, y en España, sobre todo, pues Peralta ya no volvió a su país natal y murió en Roma.⁴

Peralta es un pintor de origen sevillano que se formó en la Escuela de Bellas Artes de Santa Isabel de Hungría de Sevilla, siendo discípulo de Eduardo Cano de la Peña y Antonio Cabral. Remitió sus obras a las Exposiciones Nacionales de Bellas Artes⁵ en Madrid en los años 1864 y 1866; en esta última fue galardonado con mención honorífica. Se le conocía sobre todo como autor de temas orientalistas y de los llamados “casacones.”

Poco más tarde, en 1868 Peralta se trasladó a Roma para ampliar y completar sus estudios; allí conoció a dos colegas, José Villegas Cordero y Luis Jiménez Aranda, con quienes trabó una estrecha amistad. Las obras de Peralta se caracterizan por su riqueza cromática y la representación de temas amables de influencia italiana. En Roma⁶ se adhirió a la tendencia internacional, quizás la más notable surgida en el s. XIX en Roma, pero que ya estaba pasando de moda, aunque tenía fuertes raíces: el nazarenismo. Tras décadas de injustificado olvido, vuelve a despertarse, con creciente interés, la atención hacia la que, retrospectivamente, ha sido denominada “escuela española de Roma.” Quien pensara que en aquella época la pintura religiosa, que se impone en Roma, lo tendría fácil en España, no estaría en lo cierto, como nos lo explica Gutiérrez Burón:⁷

La íntima relación entre pintura de historia y sociedad de la época falta, en cambio, en el caso de la pintura religiosa que otrora proporcionara a España sus mayores y más envidiadas glorias artísticas. Ahora, sin embargo, su decadencia paralela a la de otras manifestaciones como las operísticas y musicales, no deja lugar a dudas, como se desprende de su participación en las exposiciones.

Ocurre que la pintura de cuadros religiosos acusa un claro retroceso; ya en 1857 reconoce el periódico confesional *El Círculo*.⁸

² Enrique Valdivieso, *Pintura sevillana del siglo XIX* (Sevilla: Edición del autor, 1981), 139-140.

³ Véase Museo Nacional del Prado, enciclopedia online: *La Enciclopedia del Prado*, s. v. “Francisco Peralta del Campo,” consultando el 25 de marzo, 2011, <https://www.museodelprado.es/aprende/enciclopedia/voz/peralta-del-campo-francisco/662b6b44-8849-4df7-b0a5-9f87afe86c25>; y también La web de las biografías, “Peralta del Campo, Francisco (1837-1897),” *La web de las biografías*, consultando el 25 de marzo, 2011, <http://www.mcnbiografias.com/app-bio/do/show?key=peralta-del-campo-francisco>.

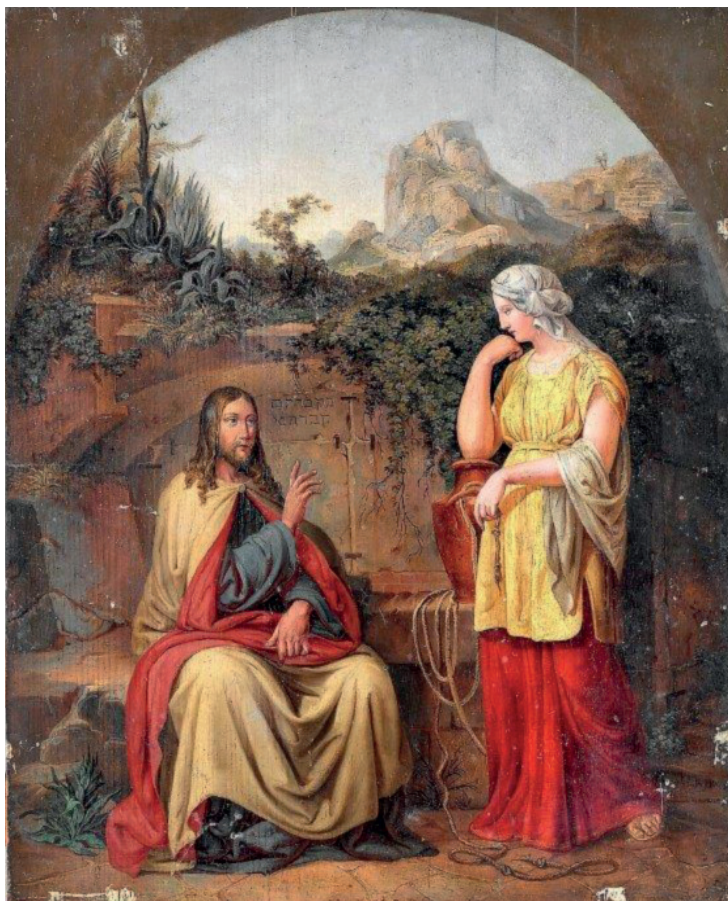
⁴ Véase Invaluable, The world's premier auctions and galleries, “Francisco Peralta del Campo auction price results,” *Invaluable, The world's premier auctions and galleries*, consultado el 25 de marzo, 2011, <https://www.invaluable.com/artist/peralta-del-co-francisco-z9uuynngji1/sold-at-auction-prices/>; y también MutualArt, “Francisco Peralta Del Campo,” *MutualArt*, consultado el 25 de marzo, 2011, <https://www.mutualart.com/Artist/Francisco-Peralta-Del-Campo/C15E31AE3B6A9CAE>.

⁵ Jesús Gutiérrez Burón, *Exposiciones Nacionales de Bellas Artes* (Madrid - Barcelona: Historia 16, 1992), 2, fig. 21; publica sólo una obra de su maestro Eduardo Cano de la Peña, *Cristóbal Colón en el convento de La Rábida*, primera medalla en la primera exposición, hoy en el Prado.

⁶ Desde Roma viajó a Venecia, pasando allí largas temporadas.

⁷ Gutiérrez Burón, *Exposiciones*, 22-24.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 23.



Francisco Peralta del Campo, *Christ and a Samaritan Woman at a Well*, circa 1875 (?), oil, wood, 47.5 × 39 cm, Museum of Art, Olomouc, O 51. Photography of the Museum of Art, Olomouc.

el sublime espíritu religioso que se albergaba en el noble pecho español, ha huido ante el poderoso influjo del oro; no existen ya aquellas inspiraciones, que produjeron los Coello, Velázquez, Murillo, Ribera, Morales, apenas existen ya aquellos ilustrados mecenas que alentaban y protegían al artista, y en fin el pintor religioso casi no existe ya en España.

Además, apunta el mismo autor unas líneas más abajo, que en consecuencia, dichas obras religiosas, aunque premiadas, “resultaban más propias de museos que de iglesias, con lo que vulneraban su misma razón de ser.”

Veamos algún dato conocido de Peralta: Perteneció como pintor al círculo cerrado en torno al catalán Fortuny, de quien hizo un muy buen retrato en la ciudad eterna y que hoy están el Ateneo de Madrid. Su estilo es preciosista proclive a lo bonito,⁹ propicio a la realización de cuadro de

⁹ José Manuel Arnáiz, Javier López Jiménez, y Manuel Merchán Díaz, *Cien años de pintura en España (1830-1930)*, vol. 7 (Madrid: Ediciones Antiquaria, 1991), 398-400; incluidas las reproducciones; Carlos González y Montse Martí, *Pintores españoles en Roma (1850-1900)* (Barcelona: Tusquets, 1987), 155. Este libro, según la característica dada a conocer, destaca un hecho inesperado: durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, los pintores españoles lograron en Roma una posición jamás alcanzada por ningún otro tipo de artistas. La presencia de Eduardo Rosales y Mariano Fortuny en la Ciudad Eterna, desde 1857 y 1858 respectivamente, marca un hito en el desarrollo de la pintura española. Los adelantos técnicos de estos dos pintores a partir de la década de los años sesenta, así como sus éxitos internacionales, animaron a sus compañeros y a los artistas de las siguientes generaciones a trasladarse a Italia. Según afirma el crítico italiano de la época, Diego Angeli, en *Le cronache*

género, especialmente de ambientes orientales, casi siempre de buen gusto y de brillante cromatismo (entre ellos, los cuadros titulados *Un árabe*, *La odalisca*, y *Centinela marroquí*). Estos, junto con los mencionados *casacones*, concebidos dentro de la línea neorromántica, le sirven, así como a los pintores del grupo, para salir fácilmente al mercado europeo o americano y exposiciones en otras capitales europeas, incluso Praga.¹⁰ Dentro del mismo estilo pinta imágenes de tema históricos como *Giotto en el taller de Cimabue*, o *La Magdalena arrodillándose ante el sepulcro de Cristo*, que será de los pocos temas religiosos que conocemos de Peralta. Entre los temas populares de la época pueden mencionarse *La celestina*, *El consejo de la anciana*, etc. A Peralta le debemos el conocimiento del interior de la iglesia de San Miguel de Sevilla, templo que fue derribado en la revolución de 1868 y que él pintó poco antes, probablemente antes de irse a Roma. Como obras de menor importancia se consideran justamente los cuadritos de la serie de retratos que se encuentran en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Sevilla, los de Martínez Motañés, Francisco Caeas y Luis Huidobro, fechados en 1871.

Del mismo Peralta se conocen pocas escenas religiosas, si omitimos la mencionada *La Magdalena arrodillándose ante el sepulcro de Cristo*. Una obra de Peralta de este género, *Cristo y la samaritana*, firmada y fechada en 1875 (?), es decir de sus años romanos, la encontramos en el Museo de Arte de Olomouc, República Checa; hasta ahora casi no ha salido del depósito menos en los meses recientes, y en España no se conoce en absoluto. Sin embargo, a pesar de que en la vieja ficha aparece como obra de *Peralta, Francisco de*, en la última catalogación se incluyó solamente el apunte de la firma abreviada, que según la lectura de la comisaria fue *Perolt*, siendo caracterizado, en general, como pintor de escenas religiosas activo en el s. XIX.¹¹ Es un pintura pequeña, pintada al óleo sobre madera, 47,5 × 39 cm, y lleva el no. del inventario O 51, perteneciendo al fondo del museo desde 1951, es decir, tras la confiscación de la colección arzobispal y su traslado al Museo de Arte de Olomouc (Muzeum umění Olomouc).

Este ejemplar nos ayuda no sólo a conocer la obra del pintor, de quien se conocen pocas cosas, sino también un capítulo poco conocido del coleccionismo centroeuropeo del s. XIX, concretamente del arzobispado de la antigua capital de Moravia, Olomouc, perteneciente en y concretamente aquella época el Reino de Bohemia (dentro del Imperio Austro-Húngaro). De hecho, la adquisición de la pintura de Peralta muestra un renovado interés de los obispos de Olomouc, primados de Moravia, tradicionales coleccionistas desde el renacimiento, aunque su interés estaba centrado en el arte italiano, religioso, por supuesto, cuando la sociedad civil ya prefería otros temas. La razón es que, el nazarenismo representó una especie de renovación mental y formal para los eclesiásticos, y en general para los cristianos de la época. En una época en que las relaciones con España están en retroceso, llega, vía Roma, una muestra de su arte nazareno.

del Caffè Greco, Milano 1933, los españoles, durante el período 1865–1885, fueron árbitros del ambiente pictórico romano, al extremo de que los salones más exclusivos les abrieron sus puertas. Fueron ellos quienes monopolizaron la mayor parte del mercado artístico extranjero, hasta el punto de incitar a los artistas italianos a crear nuevas escuelas para contrarrestar el éxito español. Este libro de Carlos González y Montse Martí contribuyó al redescubrimiento de uno de los más brillantes períodos del arte español dando a conocer algunas de sus obras más representativas, y menos conocidas, trazando sus características y estableciendo además un nutrido censo de pintores españoles que visitaron Roma en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX. También recoge los datos ofrecidos por Eduardo Chicharro, “Prólogo,” in *Historia y Crítica de las exposiciones nacionales de bellas artes celebradas en España*, ed. Bernardino de Pantorba (Madrid: Ediciones Alcor, 1948), 457.

¹⁰ Pavel Štěpánek, “Artistas españoles en las exposiciones de la Unidad de Bellas Artes de Praga, de 1891 a 1910,” *Butlletí de la Reial Acadèmia Catalana de Belles Arts de Sant Jordi*, no. 13 (1999): 103–125; Véase también en línea <http://www.raco.cat/index.php/ButlletíRACBASJ/article/viewFile/219283/329791>.

¹¹ Martina Potůčková, ed., *Olomoucká obrazárna IV, Evropské malířství 19. století z olomouckých sbírek* (Olomouc: Muzeum umění Olomouc, 2016), 231–232, 368.

El cuadro se mostró al público en dos oportunidades, pero con el nombre del autor mal leído, de Perolt, sin más nombre, y con la fecha de 1849.¹² El cuadro, es de pequeñas dimensiones, perteneciente al fondo básico del Museo de Arte de Olomouc, registrado en 1951, es decir, proveniente con la mayor probabilidad de la colección de los arzobispos de Olomouc, quienes mantenían una tradición casi ininterrumpida, de coleccionismo, modesto a veces, otras de alta calidad, como en la compra de unos cuadros en Cádiz.¹³ Uno de los coleccionistas, quizá el primero, fue el cardenal Dietrichstein, hijo del embajador del Imperio austríaco en Madrid, Adán Dietrichstein, caballero de Calatrava, y de Margarita de Cardona, ambos enterrados en la catedral de San Vito en Praga.¹⁴

La verdad es que el tema del Cristo y la samaritana fue bastante frecuente por el hecho de captar la conversación del propio Cristo con una samaritana al encontrarse en el pozo. *Mujer samaritana* o *Jesús y la mujer samaritana* en el pozo es la denominación convencional de un episodio bíblico neotestamentario representado frecuentemente en el arte cristiano (según Juan, 4,5–42), cerca de la ciudad de Sychar, lo cual permite desarrollar el elemento paisajístico. En el cristianismo oriental se denomina a esta mujer *Photine* o *Photina* (Φωτεινή, de φως, “la luminosa” – *Photina* es la denominación científica de un género de insectos y *Photinia* la de un género de plantas), transcrito también como *Fotina*. En las lenguas eslavas se la denomina Svetlana (que significa “luz” – en checo Světlana). En una tradición o leyenda piadosa aparece su vida posterior como mártir y santa (*Santa Fotina* – en griego Agia Fotini o Agia Fotia).¹⁵

No vamos a incurrir en los complicados recovecos de la iconografía de esta(s) mujeres relacionadas por la tradición, sino que nos limitaremos a repetir el sentido general según la misma fuente; solamente recordaremos que en la actual ciudad de Nablús se levanta la iglesia de Bir Jaqub o iglesia de Santa Fotina, donde se venera el pozo de Jacob.¹⁶ Jesús se dirigió a ella, aunque los judíos y los samaritanos no se comunicaban, pidiendo agua. El agua del pozo es comparada por Jesús con la gracia divina, pues le dice a la mujer samaritana: “El que beba de esta agua tendrá nuevamente sed, pero el que beba del agua que yo le daré, nunca más volverá a tener sed. El agua que yo le daré se convertirá en él en manantial que brotará hasta la vida eterna.” La escena también compara los diferentes rituales de adoración de judíos y samaritanos, indicando la superación de tales diferencias en una nueva forma de relación con Dios:

Créeme, mujer, llega la hora en que ni en esta montaña ni en Jerusalén se adorará al Padre. Ustedes adoran lo que no conocen; nosotros adoramos lo que conocemos, porque la salvación viene de los judíos. Pero la hora se acerca, y ya ha llegado, en que los verdaderos adoradores adorarán al Padre en espíritu y en verdad, porque esos son los adoradores que quiere el Padre. Dios es espíritu, y los que lo adoran deben hacerlo en espíritu y en verdad.

Tras comprobar la sabiduría de tal personaje, que demuestra conocer incluso detalles de su vida, la samaritana le induce a identificarse como “el Mesías, llamado Cristo [...] Soy yo, el que habla contigo.” Actuando como una evangelizadora, corre a extender la noticia (“¿No será el Mesías?”), tras lo que “muchos samaritanos de esta ciudad habían creído en él por la palabra de la mujer.”

¹² Pintura al óleo, de 47,7 × 39 cm, no. inv. O 51. La verdad es que la fecha así como la firma es de difícil lectura, y el cuadro tiene desperfectos, e inscripciones al dorso, del no. 112 que no ha sido identificado con ningún nr. del inventario. La curadora Martina Potůčková lo considera, por una calidad ligeramente inferior, trabajo de un aficionado. El cuadro fue expuesto en la Ciudad de Javorník en 1961.

¹³ Según la tradición, una parte de los cuadros se compró en una subasta en Cádiz, ya en el s. XVIII.

¹⁴ Está en imprenta, en lengua checa, un libro que se ocupa de las influencias españolas en Praga, resultado de la exposición celebrada en 2009 en Praga bajo el título de La Praga Española.

¹⁵ Véase Wikipedia, “Mujer samaritana,” *Wikipedia, La enciclopedia libre*, consultando el 27 de agosto, 2017, https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mujer_samaritana.

¹⁶ Ibid.

Los apóstoles se extrañan de que Jesús hable con una mujer, como en otras ocasiones evangélicas en que el papel de las mujeres es destacado. Enigmáticamente, Jesús utiliza una parábola para describir cómo sus discípulos van a aprovecharse de la predicación de la mujer samaritana: “‘Uno siembra y otro cosecha.’ Yo los envié a cosechar adonde ustedes no han trabajado; otros han trabajado, y ustedes recogen el fruto de sus esfuerzos.”¹⁷

En este punto debemos advertir un detalle enigmático que es el letrero en hebreo a la altura de la cabeza de Cristo, en la roca. Si lo sometemos a un peritaje lingüístico,¹⁸ se muestra que el letrero en hebreo no es sino un letroide, es decir, imitación de letras que, sin embargo, no da sentido. Comienza con la letra hebrea correcta **b**, pero ya la segunda, parecida a **q**, no lo es, y en su conjunto puede decirse que el que supiera hebreo no podía escribirlo de esta manera. Quizás se trataba de recordar que en este lugar Cristo confirma su identidad de Mesías como nos cuenta el evangelio.

En Chequia se sigue la línea de investigar el nazarenismo, presentándose los resultados en los simposios que se celebran anualmente. Lamentablemente, sus resultados no encuentran últimamente edición en papel, solo en el internet, como lo muestra la última reunión en Cheb, en 2016.¹⁹ Además, se celebró una magna exposición de Biedermaier,²⁰ la cual mostró las fronteras y límites del término, desde el romanticismo. En Eslovaquia, se procedió más tarde a una revisión similar de la época del s. XIX con el mismo título, pero buscando más la dimensión civil.²¹

Se ha detectado un punto de unión entre Eslovaquia, Italia y México, en la personalidad de Karol(y) Markó,²² nacido en Levoča (1793–1860), quien siguió, paso a paso, una carrera de largo alcance, estudiando en Viena y luego en Italia,²³ de donde su obra pasó a México, gracias a su alumno Eugenio Landesio (1810–1879),²⁴ pintor italiano, cuya trayectoria en México fue reconocida por su paso por la Academia de San Carlos y su influencia en la pintura de paisaje en exponentes como José María Velasco. En enero de 1855, por invitación del catalán Pelegrín Clavé entonces director del ramo de pintura de figura de dicha institución, llegó a México para impartir las cátedras de paisaje, perspectiva y principios de ornato. Los lazos con México no son, en absoluto, casuales, ya que, el general Santa Anna emprendió la reorganización de la Academia Nacional de San Carlos de México. A instancias de los conservadores fue contratado en Roma, después de un concurso, el mencionado maestro catalán Pelegrín Clavé para la dirección de la

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Agadezco la consulta al prof. de teología Ladislav Tichý, de Olomouc.

¹⁹ Véase Robert Janás, Pavel Štěpánek, y Eva Janáčková et al., *Mezery v historii – Lücken in der Geschichte* (Cheb: Galerie výtvarného umění Cheb, 2016), 15–19. Este libro (Lapsos en la historia) está dedicado a aristos y arquitectos de habla alemana activos en Bohemia, Moravia y Silesia antes de 1945. Lo es el almanaque de los artículos del simposio celebrado en Cheb, Galería de arte, 29 y 30 de junio de 2016; puede consultarse en línea https://issuu.com/triodon/docs/sbornik_mezery_v_historii_2016_cz.

²⁰ *Biedermeyer: umění a kultura v českých zemích 1814–1848* (Biedermeyer, arte y cultura en los países checos de 1814 a 1848), catálogo de exposición (Praha: Jízdárna Pražského hradu, 28 de mayo–28 de septiembre 2008). Otra exposición fue “Clasicismo y biedermeier de las colecciones condales de Lichtenstein” (Praha: Valdštejnská jízdárna, 6 de mayo–17 de octubre 2010); Exposición conjunta del Lichtenstein Museum en Viena y del Museo de Artes Decorativas de Praga.

²¹ Katarína Beňová, ed., *Biedermaier*, catálogo de exposición (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 18 de junio–1 de octubre de 2015).

²² Acerca de sus obras relacionadas con México véase Zoltán Dragon, *Las 15 pinturas de Károly Markó en México*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, consultando 10 Abril 2018, <http://www.analesiie.unam.mx/index.php/analesiie/article/view/2228/2734>.

²³ Además, en Eslovaquia se organizó una investigación bajo el título “Bella Italia” que pretendió reconstruir los contactos entre los dos países durante el siglo XIX, aunque Eslovaquia fue, en aquella época remota, parte del Imperio Austro-Húngaro, dependiendo directamente de Hungría. A pesar de ello se han desarrollado contactos que dejaron frutos visibles. Italia fue caracterizada como un paisaje y un arte en el centro de interés de la entonces Nueva Europa (p. 176), atractiva además, para los eslovacos por su catolicismo.

²⁴ Sobre Landesio véase Wikipedia, “Eugenio Landesio,” *Wikipedia, La enciclopedia libre*, consultando el 10 Abril 2018, https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eugenio_Landesio.

cátedra de pintura. En la reestructurada Academia, que abrió sus puertas en 1847, ingresa el joven Santiago Rebull que se convierte en alumno de dicho artista de formación romana.

Conviene tener en cuenta los acontecimientos ocurridos en México en los años sesenta, cuando el archiduque austriaco Maximiliano de Habsburgo y su mujer Carlota aceptaron la invitación de las capas conservadoras del país para crear un imperio, el de México. Sabemos como terminó el intento: con el fusilamiento del protagonista. Sin embargo, durante los días de su gobierno, de casi tres años (1864–1867), hubo un apoyo a las artes. En aquel momento se produjo un contacto importantísimo: después de su fusilamiento se quedó en México su farmacéutico y consejero, el checo František Kaska, quien prestó servicios diplomáticos, tanto a la parte austriaca como a la mexicana, y en realidad logró una cierta reconciliación. Este individuo coleccionó todo lo que recordaba al ex emperador. Intervino en la construcción de la capilla conmemorativa de Querétaro, lo cual documenta una fotografía tomada en el lugar en 1901 por el fotógrafo Guillermo Kahlo. Al morir, en 1906, Kaska legó al Museo Nacional de Praga centenares de piezas, desde cubiertos, servicios y medallas hasta ocho cuadros del pintor mexicano José M. Velasco, tres de Santiago Rebull y dos esculturas de Felipe Sojo que integran, en la actualidad, las colecciones de dicho museo de Praga.²⁵

Aparte de dos retratos oficiales de la pareja imperial, Pintados por Santiago Rebull, Kaska procuró también un cuadro que coincide con nuestro enfoque sobre la circulación de principios no solo estilísticos por la movilidad de los propios artistas, o de muestras de la pintura que se trasladan por toda Europa, que también observamos un flujo y reflujo de las obras religiosas – aparte de retratos, por el océano Atlántico.²⁶

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²⁵ Dediqué al tema varios artículos, resumidos ahora en el libro Pavel Štěpánek, *Relaciones artísticas entre la República Checa y México (Ensayos selectos)* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2014).

²⁶ The contribution came with the support of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of the Czech Republic; grant IGA FF_2018_016 “Creator, Work, Client – Dynamic Factor in Fine Art.”

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“VERA EFFIGIES”... (?) The Limits of Truth in the Early Modern Portrait

Standing in front of an “old” portrait, most people assume that such an image reflects the physical form and, in a certain way, reveals the character of the portrayed person, their social status, or public function. The portrait is considered to be a reliable source of knowledge of an individual’s face. And in a sense, they are correct. After all, in “old” – “classical” or pre-avant-garde art, was not one of the main criteria of portrait painting the illusion of imitating reality (*mimesis*)? Most deceptive, misleading portraits arose in the course of history as a result of partial secondary overpaintings, loss of the original identity, or intentional overwriting of the inscription. However, it can also be unclear if we have the opportunity to visually confront multiple portraits of one and the same person, during the same period, but created by different artists. This can be demonstrated graphically by the facial details of several period portraits depicting Maria Magdalene Pálffy, née Fugger (1566–1643). Two of them are credibly identified: a book-published portrait copperplate and a provenance-reliable oil painting (figs. 1 and 2).¹ But is it possible to recognize Maria Magdalene reliably in other paintings based on these two portraits? Due to the very similar physical features of the woman, and also because of the fragmentary preserved inscription “geborne Fuggerin,” another portrait from the Pálffy collections (fig. 3) was logically considered to be a likeness of her.² A definitive rejection of this in view of the unambiguous identification was caused only by a painting (fig. 4) that appeared at the Munich auction house Hampel in 2010: it was apparently a prototype or at least an undisputed replica of the alleged Červený Kameň portrait.³ The compared portrait, according to the period inscription, is an image of the cousin and sister-in-law of Maria Magdalene, Maria Elisabeth Fugger from the Kirchberg and Weisenhorn branch (1584–1636).⁴

¹ Copperplate with a portrait most likely of the young Maria Magdalene Pálffy, née Fugger, published by Dominik Custos, see Dominicus Custos, *Fuggerorum et Fugerarum Quae in Familia Natae Quaeue in Familiam Transierunt. Quot Exstant Aere Expressae Imagines* (Aperger: Augustae Vindelicorum, 1618), 90. The accompanying text to this copperplate states her age – 52 years old, 18 years of widowhood and also the names of all her living children. The second picture is an oil painting. This portrait of Maria Magdalene is currently in a private collection in Germany; it contains on the back side a secondary Pálffy ownership mark: “G.P.D.V./ Erdödi Gróf Pálffy II. Miklósné/Fuger Mária Báronő.” For details on both portraits, see Ingrid Štibraná, *Rodová portrétna galéria a umelecké zbierky Pálffyovcov na Červenom Kameni: Obdobie prvých troch generácií roku v 16.–17. storočí* (Kraków: Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce, 2013), 50–53, figs. 15 and 16 on 232–233.

² Ibid., 56, fig. 19 on 236. For older publications with the false identification of the person, see eadem, “Maria Magdalena Pálffy in portraits,” *Pamiatky a múzeá* [Special issue in English] (2006): 8–12.; eadem, “The first Pálffy portrait gallery in Červený Kameň-castle,” *Acta Historiae Artium* 47, no. 1–4 (March 2006): 153–161; see also in particular eadem, “Fugger Mária Magdolna, Pálffy II. Miklós felesége,” in *Mátyás király öröksége: Késő reneszánsz művészet Magyarországon 16.–17. század* (exhibition catalogue), eds. Árpád Mikó and Mária Verő (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galériában, 2008), 270–271.

³ The compared portrait was at the Munich auction house Hampel in December 2010, see Hampel, *Fine Arts Auctions Munich*, “Gemälde Alte Meister. Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts: Portrait der Elisabeth Gräfin Fugger 1584–1636,” in *Hampel, Fine Arts Auctions Munich* (auction catalogue), cat. no. 281, accessed February 15, 2018, <https://www.hampel-auctions.com/a/Maler-des-17-Jahrhunderts.html?a=83&s=220&id=89115>.

⁴ With the additional comparison to the engravings in the mentioned Custos, *Fuggerorum et Fugerarum*, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/29/Fuggerorum_et_Fuggerarum_imagines_-_091r.jpg; the inscription “Maria Elisabeth Gemahlin / He: Anthoni Fuggers” also refers to her status as the second wife of Baron (Freiherr) Anton Fugger (1563–1616), the older brother of Pálffy’s wife.



Fig. 1.

Physical similarities of relatives and individuals of the same origin, in addition to the “loss of identity,” are obviously the most common factors leading to the erroneous identification of portraits. In this paper, however, I focus on something different: in several examples from the

Hungarian aristocratic environment⁵ during the 16th and 17th centuries, I will attempt to present in particular paintings that appear to be, and sometimes even declare, in the inscription that they are officially VERI RITRATTI or VERA EFFIGIES, even though, from the very beginning, they contained certain visual manipulations, affectations (dissimulations or fabulations) or complete falsifications. This can be either very inconspicuous and almost imperceptible, or in other cases, quite blatant.

Despite the above risks, portraiture painting (as well as photography) can be significant source material or even an historical document in modern genealogy research – of course, assuming we are aware of certain “limits of truth.” So I am not really asking if the portrait is true, but *how much truth* and *falsity* does such a period portrait actually contain?

THE PORTRAIT and the Issue of Visual Veracity

Not only in art is one thing “truth” and the other “reality,” or the mutual correlation between them. Philosophy is also defined as “an investigation of truth, knowledge, and reality (and the relationship between them).”⁶ The following subchapter, therefore, attempts to explore more specifically the issue of truth in portraits, analysing it as a subject of period and modern, or contemporary “artistic” (visual-aesthetic) discourse and, to a certain extent, as a matter of philosophy, ethics, or moral theology.

As far as I know, all of these aspects from the standpoint of their time period have been taken up and analysed only by Cardinal Gabriel Paleotti in his work *Discourse on sacred and profane images* (1582),⁷ where he focused in detail on the issue of truth in paintings in the first book and even in more detail in the second book of this work. He did not generally perceive the portrayal of reality as deception, but as a legitimate role of visual representation:

Still, considering that the pictorial art was introduced not to represent the substance of things to us, which is the main locus of truth, but only a likeness of truth, we cannot really say that we are deceived by it when it succeeds in figuring forth this likeness; it is performing its office correctly.⁸

⁵ The term “Hungarian aristocratic milieu” is understood here in the global territorial context of the Early Modern Hungarian Kingdom, that is, all its territorial parts during the 16th and 17th centuries, although, of course, borders had also shifted during this period due to the practically constant Ottoman expansion. The social, military, political, and cultural development of this multi-ethnic state was, in many respects, specific in relation to the neighbouring regions (and the entire Danube-region Habsburg Monarchy in which it was incorporated). This characteristic seems to be more related to the “identity” (or self-identification) of the Hungarian nobility, which had been shaped and determined by considerably different factors than those of the nobles in the surrounding (though also Habsburg controlled) countries. These circumstances are considered due to the fact that this study will not only look at the portraits of the aristocracy in our region or with permanent residence in contemporary Slovakia, but also the portraits of nobles of Croatian ethnic origin. The reason for this is the assumption of more or less identical mental positioning in terms of cultural discourse shaping their “Hungarian” identity without special regard to their ethnic or local origin within the Kingdom of Hungary.

⁶ Ladislav Koreň, “Filozofia: Od hľadania pravdy k teóriám pravdy?,” *Filosofie dnes*, no. 2 (2009): 109–122, cit. 114; it mentions the modern and contemporary philosophical concept of truth: corresponding coherent and consensual theory, as well as their other subgroups; see also *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, s.v. “Truth,” accessed March 10, 2018, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/truth/>.

⁷ See Gabrielle Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane* (1582 Italian edition; 1594 Latin edition), or both the current and English commented editions that I use in this work: Gabrielle Paleotti, *Discourse on sacred and profane images*, trans. William McCuaig (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012).

⁸ *Ibid.*, 219



Fig. 2.

In chapters 25 and 26,⁹ which also take up profane images, he came to a more precise differentiation of the various forms (modes) of visual deception.¹⁰ He differentiated the paintings according to their relationship to truth into two main groups:

- a) False, i.e., misleading and fabulous paintings (English: lying and false images; Italian: *imagini bugiarde e false*)¹¹
- b) Dissimilar, or better stated, not completely true paintings (English: not verisimilar images; Italian: *imagini non verisimilitude*).¹²

⁹ See *ibid.*, 218–222 (chap. 25: “Abuses common to sacred and profane pictures. On lying and false pictures first”) and 222–226 (chap. 26: “On nonverisimilar pictures”).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 219.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 218.

¹² *Ibid.*, 218, 222.

The fundamental difference between them is that:

while the false ones contradict the truth openly; the noverysimilar ones do not clash with clear and certain things but with many likelihoods attending the whole, or some circumstances of it – so that they may be described as falling short or outright falsity.¹³

Almost three hundred years after Paleotti, Ernst H. Gombrich also looked at the issue of the truthfulness of images. According to him, “the terms ‘true’ and ‘false’ can only be applied to assertions, proposals” but “the image is never an assertion in that sense.” Gombrich sees the problem in that “in our culture, we are accustomed to named paintings, and naming or titles can be understood as an abbreviated assertion.” So “If and when we agree, it depends on what we want to know about the object.”¹⁴

With this statement, Gombrich answered the question of truthfulness, in my opinion, in a very sophisticated manner: on the one hand, the truth of the image depends on the objective consistency between the image and its title, and on the other hand, it is also a very subjective and relative matter in which consent or disagreement depends on what questions we ask in front of the picture – what specific testimony we want and can be deduced from the image. However, a lengthy explanation of the causes of it all may seem less sufficient:



Fig. 3.

¹³ Cit. *ibid.*, 222.

¹⁴ See Ernst Hans Gombrich, *Umění a iluze*, trans. Miroslava Tůmová (Praha: Odeon, 1985), cit. 78. He refers here to the Bayeux tapestry, which confirms that the Battle of Hastings occurred in the past, but did not answer the question as to the specific circumstances and details of this battle.

In the past, not only were paintings rare, but the public could only control their accuracy to a limited extent. How many people have seen their sovereign live and up-close enough to recognize his appearance? How many people have travelled so far as to be able to distinguish one place from another? It is hardly surprising that the titles of images of people and places have changed and have bluntly overlooked the truth. [...] The publisher and even the public did not care whether the titles told the truth or not. Only one thing was expected from them: to show the reader that these names meant places (or other entities).¹⁵

In any event, can we justify the false representation with a mandatory statement about the "rarity of images" and the limited possibilities of the public to have control over their truthfulness, or close the matter by reference to the generally prevailing historical "indifference to a truthful title?"¹⁶ And what about, for example, during the period of mass production of graphic portraits? In the 16th century, it was hardly possible to regard such images as something unique and rare.



Fig. 4.

¹⁵ See *ibid.*, cit. 77.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 73–103 (chap. 2: "Pravda a stereotyp").

In the Early Modern Period, people came into contact with false portraits (as we will show in many examples), while in a vast majority of cases, they did not consider them as anything unacceptable or even amoral.

It seems that, at least in part, these questions could be answered if the limitations of the truth of images were not only justified by “indifference to the truth,” but as a matter of social conventions, that is, the subject of the convention and the acceptance of a certain relevant period, though in essence, variable representation policy (visual representation policy), in which the specific aims and functions of such an image are placed above everything else. Finally, in this spirit, we have Michel Foucault’s famous statement: “Truth is a thing of this world [...] Each society has its régime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth: that is, the types of discourses [and we can add that even images, note by I. H.] which it accepts and makes function as true.”¹⁷

Among what is perceived and accepted as “true” in portraits, and what kind of concrete form or “mode” of (portrait) depiction works in the given historical, cultural, social, and local context in which this portrait originated and was authentically “consumed” and taken up, there really is an unmistakable and unavoidable link. Thus, even in an Early Modern Period portrait, its significance cannot be perceived and interpreted by the optics of the contemporary world (or others), but only through the optics of a particular historical and local context: we paraphrase Foucault’s famous statement “nothing has any meaning outside of discourse,”¹⁸ that is, things are of some significance and are “true” only in the context of the specific contemporaneous and local state of thinking about the portrait and the transfer of this knowledge and beliefs to the then-employed portrait tradition. Shearer West has a similar understanding in that portraits often appear as if they had a tangible effect on a document or fact, but that “what is considered to be ‘true’ reproduction of traits depends on the aesthetic conventions and social expectations of that time and in that specific environment.”¹⁹ West considers the variability of the concept of a portrait as a key problem of truth in portrait imagery, that is, its instability as a concept. And even Gombrich – although he sees truth in imagery through the prism of the psychology of image perception – does not deny that “the form of representation cannot be separated from its purpose and from the requirements of the society in which that visual language applies.”²⁰

THE PORTRAIT as a Conflict between “Seeing” and “Knowing”

The title points to a problem that is a bit difficult to define unambiguously: “classically,” this issue can be discussed as a duality of invention and tradition.²¹ With Foucault, as has already been mentioned, the truth of the portrait is subject to the “régime of truth” during that period,²² while Georges Didi-Huberman understood it as “An anachronistic montage,” i.e., “a mixture of time differentials working in each image.”²³ Shearer West has partly discussed this with the chapter

¹⁷ Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings: 1972–1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 131.

¹⁸ He has excellently explained Foucault’s discursive approach to meaningful interpretations of images as well as the term “Régime of Representation,” see Stuart Hall, “The Work of Representation,” in *Representation. Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*, ed. idem (London: The Open University, 1997), 44ff.

¹⁹ Shearer West, *Portraiture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 22.

²⁰ Gombrich, *Umění*, 103.

²¹ For example Enikő Buzási, “Traditional and Modern in Hungarian Baroque Portrait Painting,” in *Zsánermetamorfózisok/ The Metamorphosis of Themes* (exh. cat.), ed. Miklós Mojzer (Budapest: Szépművészeti múzeum, 1993), 82–86.

²² Hall, “The Work of Representation,” 44.

²³ See Georges Didi-Huberman, *Před časom: Dejiny umenia a anachronizmus obrazov* (Bratislava: Kalligram, 2006), 8–62 (esp. the introductory chapter); see also Michaela Fišerová, “Jakou politiku obrazů? Rozhovor s Georgesem Didi-Hubermanem,” in

on duality of likeness and the conventional type,²⁴ and finally, Ernst H. Gombrich characterized it as a matter of confronting the "truth" and the "stereotype" ending in a time-specific and author-specific stylization of motifs.²⁵

I believe that these two concepts could also be interchanged with the duality of "seeing" and "knowing," which, in the end, was also used in similar contexts by Gombrich.²⁶ The terms "seeing" and "knowing" generally contain all the above-mentioned polarities regarding portrait variability in terms of its perception and apperception and its responsive acceptance (interpretation and concretization of meaning) by society over the course of history.²⁷ While "seeing" covers here the effort to faithfully mimic reality (*similitudo*), "knowing" points to the impossibility of completely liberating itself from similar tasks resolved so far, hence from previous personal, cultural, and social experiences, image conventions, and surviving or intentionally maintained traditions. In his book *Art and Illusion*, Ernst H. Gombrich, presents the most well-known theory of the above-mentioned issue: the illusory picture is seen as a process of gradual correction of artistic stereotypes; as a significant limiting factor, he considered not only the artist's skills, or lack thereof, but also his subjective perception and apperception, which has always been determined by the surviving image conventions, and also by the possibilities of the artistic techniques used. So purely theoretically, it may be the culmination of this model process of the scheme and its remedy by creating a "facsimile indistinguishable from the original."²⁸

As for the portrait, The culmination according to Gombrich is rather the achievement of an objective and a compelling portrait representation: at least I understand his verbal connection "faithful portrait" based on his words: "[...] A faithful portrait is just like a useful map with an end result, which occurred during the long journey of the scheme and its correction. It is not a true record of visual experience, but a faithful design of the model."²⁹

And at the conclusion of this subchapter – so that not only the "current" discourse on "the portrait as a conflict of imitation and conventions" is taken into account – a relevant and contemporaneous view should be examined. I consider one example of period portrait practice in Italy in the early 17th century to be particularly good in this context: a wealthy amateur collector and art lover, the Marquis Vincenzo Giustiniani, wrote in a letter to a friend his opinion on how to achieve a "good individual portrait:"³⁰ according to him, more than painting according to nature (*ritratto di naturale*) a guarantee of success is the fashionable styling of the head. The head must show a similarity, but the clothing, hands, and feet – and in the case of a full body portrait, even the pose – must be painted well in "noble symmetry" (*e con buona simmetria*). When painting, you must have a lively model in front of you and try to make a good drawing,

Obraz a moc: Rozhovory s francouzskými mysliteli, ed. eadem (Praha: Karolinum, 2015), 90–99, esp. 94.

²⁴ West, *Portraiture*, 21–29 ("Likeness and Type").

²⁵ Gombrich, *Umění*, 73–103 (chap. 2: "Pravda a stereotyp"), 163–209 (chap. 5: "Vzorec a zkušenost").

²⁶ This conceptual duality is finally also mentioned in *ibid.*, 335–371, esp. 336 (chap. 9: "Analýza vidění v umění").

²⁷ Percepcie means "perceiving reality and gaining information through the receptors." On the other hand, "apercepcie is psychological processes at a higher level than perception. It is a process in which we are empowered not only by the sense of music, but also by its content;" see Renáta Kišonová, *Kognitivní estetika* (Trnava: Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity, 2013), 17; "Response has a phase of interpretation and concretization, both of which include the retrospection of perception and their completion in their own imagination;" see Trnavská univerzita v Trnave, "Recepcia – fázy recepcie textu," in *Slovenský jazyk v primárnom vzdelávaní 2*, accessed February 2, 2018, <http://pdf.truni.sk/e-ucebnice/sjvpv2/data/0d56f296-9412-4b7f-bae1-3f2fe6028f04.html?ownapi=1>.

²⁸ See Gombrich, *Umění*, 74.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 103.

³⁰ Vincenzo Giustiniani (1564–1637), wealthy collector and art lover, owner of Giustiniani palace in Rome, whose collections were mentioned by Joachim von Sandrart in his book *Teutsche Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste*, Nürnberg 1675/1679/1680.

proportional contours and nice and appropriate colours. According to him, it is something that usually does not end well unless a good painter does it.³¹

THE PORTRAIT as a Compromise between Reality and the Ideal

In considering the limitations of the visual truthfulness of images, it is also important to keep in mind that realism in portraits, as we understand it today, is a relatively modern concept: it started approximately in the second half of the 19th century, determined in particular by the invention of photography. However, prior to this, the artist of painted portraits had of course been striving towards realism: *similitudo* has always been an absolute fundamental condition for portraiture – and the circumstances in which it had worked its way towards an ever more faithful imitation have been analysed in the preceding subchapter.

One of these artists was Roger de Piles, a distinguished painter and theorist from the turn of the 17thth and 18thth centuries. In the context of this work, he represented the very conclusion of the discourse in question, which took up portraiture in a separate chapter in his text *Cours de Peinture par Principes* (1708). He wrote the following in relation to likeness:

If painting be an imitation of nature, 'tis doubly so in a portrait, which not only represents a man in general, but such an one as maybe distinguished from all others. And as a greatest perfection of a portrait is extreme likeness, so the greatest of its faults is to resemble a person, for whom it was not made; since there are not in the world two persons quite like another.³²

Paradoxically, however, naturalistically distinct portraits, markedly shaped by optical illusion (referred to as *ritratti di naturale*) were, during the late Renaissance and early Baroque periods, a virtually permanent target of intellectual confrontation by colleagues who preferred in art the values of *disegno* and *invenzione*. Thanks to distinguished artists (Vasari, Michelangelo, and others), there has been pressure for a long time in the theoretical approach to portraiture to reduce the imitation principle in favour of an ideal correction of reality, or in favour of a selected nature (the “essence” of a portraited man)³³ sometimes towards a free, creative manipulation of visual reality. Indeed, the actual imitation according to reality necessarily required *electio*, a selective choice of physical and even character traits of the model that are taken into account. The ideal portrait as a counterpart to the living original is thus to escalate the dispute between *artificio* and *natura* to the radical creation of *ars-natura*, i.e., nature enhanced by art. In this conception, the following artistic and aesthetic categories are much more important than similitude (*similitudo*): *grandezza*, *proporzione*, *decorum*, *grazia*, and *splendore*.³⁴

One of the few who considered radical direct realism in the portrait paintings of the face and parts of the body of the portraited person as a “moral” category was the already mentioned Cardinal Gabrielle Paleotti, although even he explicitly distinguished between the requirements

³¹ Rudolf Preimesberger, “Vincenzo Giustiniani: ‘... Personen gut porträtieren können’ (um 1618),” in *Porträt. Geschichte der klassischen Bildgattungen in Quellentexten und Kommentaren*, Bd. 2, eds. Rudolf Preimesberger, Hannah Baader, and Nicola Suthor (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1999), 316–320.

³² Roger de Piles, *Cours de Peinture par Principes* (Paris: Jacques Estienne, 1708), cited according to the English edition of Roger de Piles, *The Principles of Painting*, (London: J. Osborn, 1743), 158; also available online: https://books.google.sk/books?id=rtRPAQAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=sk&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

³³ This portrait concept is presented, in particular, in the example of Raphael's portrait of B. Castiglione or Titian's portrait of Pietro Aretino, which portrays the essential physical and spiritual characteristics of the portraited man, so that the portrait seems to be exceptionally accurate, “ähnlicher-als-der-Porträtierte-sich- selbst;” for more details, see Daniel Spanke, *Porträt – Ikone – Kunst: Methodologische Studien zur Geschichte des Porträts in der Kunstliteratur*, München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, (2004), 96–104.

³⁴ Michelangelo's stance and approach to portraits was excellently interpreted by his contemporary Niccolo Martelli; see Rudolf Preimesberger, “Niccolo Martelli: Michelangelo über Ähnlichkeit (1544),” in Preimesberger, Baader and Suthor, *Porträt*, 247–253.

for public, i.e., official, portraits of rulers³⁵ and other portraits created "according to nature" (according to reality – *ritratti di naturale*).³⁶ According to Paleotti, portraits are good or bad, not based on their artistic and aesthetic qualities, but rather in terms of their "true likeness" (*similitudine della verita*). In any case, the portrait should not embellish the portrayed person – even when honouring the person – because there is a danger of deception.³⁷ On the contrary, as a key post Council of Trent ethicist and aestheticist of the Catholic portrait painting reform, he recommends that one be true to the very limits of sustainability:

And since they are called portraits from nature, care must be taken that neither the face nor any other part of the body is made more handsome or more grave or different in any other way from what nature allowed at that age. Indeed, even if there were natural or accidental defects that marred his appearance, not even these should be left out, except when they can be disguised with real art, as is related of the portrait of Antigonus that Apelles executed in profile, so that his loss of one eye would not make him appear sinister.³⁸

It should be emphasized, however, that in Paleotti time, discourse concerning portraits in both theoretical and practical terms had turned considerably to the side of idealization and the need to preserve the decorum of the estates (what belongs, what is proper and appropriate). The most prominent advocate of this concept was Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, who published his writings just two years after Paleotti. Lomazzo directly encourages artists, in the interest of respecting the dignity and grandeur of the person, to underplay the natural flaws and imperfections of his model in paintings, but without seriously interfering with the likeness.³⁹ The main role of a quality portrait artist is, therefore, to intuitively find a compromise between beauty (*belezza*) and likeness (*similitudo*) so as to externally express the "idea" and "form" of a portrayed person. Lomazzo approves of the dissimulation, refinement, and deliberate interpretation of the idea through artistic formalities in that it is a necessary and legitimate requirement of the social elite: rulers and courtiers – men, women, and children.

THE PORTRAIT as a Medium of Representation and Communication

A representative,⁴⁰ in other words, "imaging," "staging," or "visualizing," portrait points to the official aspect of the represented personality (*corpus repraesenta*). Officiality is built on the principle of a face playing its (theatrical) role and a portrait as masks.⁴¹ In line with the original meaning of the Latin word for portraiture – *protrahere* – the essence of the representative portrait is "to

³⁵ Paleotti, *Discourse*, 191–193 (chap. 17: "On the statues set up by Christian peoples in honour of their rulers"), 193–200 (chap. 18: "On statues that Christian rulers erect themselves").

³⁶ Ibid., 200–203 (chap. 19: "On images from nature, which are called portraits"), 203–207 (chap. 20: "On portraits of others").

³⁷ Relevant parts of this chapter were interpreted by Hannah Baader, "Gabriele Paleotti: Ähnlichkeit als Kategorie der Moral (1582)," in Preimesberger, Baader and Suthor, *Porträt*, 297–306.

³⁸ Cit. according to Paleotti, *Discourse*, 206.

³⁹ In his work *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura et architettura* (Milano, 1584), Lomazzo discussed portraits in a separate chapter "Compositione di ritrarre dal naturale;" see Spanke, *Porträt – Ikone – Kunst*, 104–107; Hannah Baader, "Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo: Das Porträt als Zeichensystem (1584)," in Preimesberger, Baader and Suthor, *Porträt*, 307–315; see also Norbert Schneider, *The Art of the Portrait* (Köln: Taschen, 1999), 18.

⁴⁰ In Slovak, and similarly in Czech, the adjective "reprezentačný" is used (instead of "reprezentatívny" which almost has the meaning of "vzorový" [model]); see Milena Bartlová, *Skutečná přítomnost: Středověký obraz mezi ikonou a virtuální realitou* (Praha: Argo, 2012), 101.

⁴¹ For more details, see "Porträt und Maske. Das Gesicht als Repräsentation," in Hans Belting, *Faces. Eine Geschichte des Gesichts* (München: C. H. Beck, 2013), 118–136.

bring into the light” a particular person, which Roger Chartier has correctly characterized as “to be constantly on the stage.”⁴²

Therefore, in the context of the public representation of social status, “to bring into the light” meant to achieve at least two necessary steps: (1) to imagine through the image of the identity of a person and (2) with the help of this view, to achieve its clear social identifiability. In this context, the portrait as a material object (image) in fact inadvertently becomes a “visual production,” legitimizing and verifying the social value of a particular aristocrat. Since the portrait in the Early Modern Period was a strongly culturally and socially determined image, more than the mirroring of reality, it reflects the conceptual intention of the artist and its client so that it corresponded to contemporary portrait conventions and norms. Representation requires a strict selection and abstraction of the contributed information, because an overly detailed “form” could distract the viewer and thus reduce the effectiveness of the communicated messages.⁴³

Of course, a key to identifying human imagery is the face. However, in the case of a representative portrait, physical likeness is just one of the indicators of the personal identity of the person. A total of three or four indicators have revealed identity in the image:

- individualized physiognomy (especially the nose and eyes);
- clothing (adequate for social condition and status);
- behaviour (facial expressions, gestures, attitude/pose);
- an identifying inscription or heraldic character (only one of these codes may be present, or sometimes both of these codes are completely absent; an identifying parallel to Paleotti’s titles on the images of saints).

These four types of visual codes have jointly demonstrated the image of a person in a particular social and cultural environment (to which they belongs) in terms of its uniqueness and also typical characteristics. They are actually the “language of the image” providing symbolic visual communication.

The image itself stands out as the active mediator and media of this communication: the viewer itself addresses it and speaks to it.⁴⁴ It is very interesting that many of the Early Modern Period portraitists were well aware of the above-mentioned “communication power” of portraits, which they have effectively incorporated into their paintings. Roger de Piles also openly admitted the following:

In short, the portraits, in this sort of attitudes, must seem to speak to us of themselves, and, as it wereto say to us:
 --- STOP, TAKE NOTICE OF ME (!):
 I am that invincible king, surrounded with majesty --

⁴² Cf. Roger Chartier, “The Meaning of Representation,” trans. Michael C. Behrent, *Books and Ideas*, August 25, 2014, <http://www.booksandideas.net/The-Meaning-of-Representation.html>. This is a reprint of Chartier’s lecture on November 13, 2012 at the workshop of the working group “Political Representation: History, Theory, and Contemporary Transformations” of the French Association of Political Science (*Association française de science politique*).

⁴³ The following sentences have prompted this conclusion regarding portrait representation: Simplified paradigms or maps are indispensable for human thinking and action. [...] Each model or map is an abstraction. The more detailed the map, the more faithfully it reflects reality. For many purposes, however, an overly detailed map is inappropriate [...] it could rather confuse us. In short, we will need a map that will show and simplify the reality to the same extent, in a way that best fits our purpose.

See Samuel P. Huntington, *Střet civilizací. Boj kultur a proměna světového řádu* (Praha: Rybka Publishers, 2014), 18–19.

⁴⁴ For this topic, see William J. T. Mitchell, *What do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

I am that valiant commander who struck terror every-where;
or who, by my good conduct, have had such glorious success [...].⁴⁵

THE PORTRAIT as the Dissimulation and Manipulation of Reality

The privileged class of society was aware that a representative court portrait is not only a great medium through which it can demonstrate to the public its position in the imaginary rank of the social hierarchy, but it can also be an effective tool for manipulating the "image of reality" for conveying a significantly better impression. If we continue with the portrait features outlined from the previous subchapter, for individuals, the portrait allowed the individual to (3) ensure its public notoriety (= promotion), (4) confirm its social status (= authorization/authentication), and finally (5) increase its social status (= propaganda).

When dealing with the Early Modern Period representative portrait, we must be aware that the interference of the public with the portrait was already predetermined and conditioned by the system of representation,⁴⁶ while the viewer itself is not even conscious of this. Painters,

by way of their painting activity, transformed into image(s) what they have seen, but in fact their model is mediated by vision: although they convey a real physically presented person, they also shift the image of reality – correct, manipulate or even falsify it so that it is the final result accepted by the public as credible. In particular, illusory effects in portraited representations are capable of completely confusing the viewer in differentiating between what is objective and what is simulated reality. Isn't inconspicuous or undiscovered manipulation a key factor that can lead the viewer to trust and accept the portrayed reality?

Harry Berger Jr., in particular, took up the phenomenon of fiction in the context of Early Modern Period portraiture in his important study *Fiction of the Pose* and subsequently also in a book with the same title.⁴⁷ He refers to the fact that the pose for a portrait seldom mirrored the naturally biased attitude, but it is virtually almost always a deliberately chosen and very precisely stylized pose resulting from the artist's portrait concept or the demands of the customer. Thus, the portrait is put in the position of the media, not only as a legitimization but also an enhancement of the image of a particular person in the eyes of others. It also



Fig. 5.

⁴⁵ Roger de Piles, *The Principles of Painting*, 169.

⁴⁶ For more details on this topic, see Craig Owens, "Reprezentace, přivlastnění a moc," in *Vizuální teorie: Současné anglo-americké myšlení o výtvarných dílech*, trans. Ladislav Kesner, (Jinočany: H & H, 1997), 165–195, esp. 179.

⁴⁷ Harry Berger Jr., "Fictions of the Pose: Facing the Gaze of Early Modern Portraiture," *Representations* 46 (Spring 1994): 87–120; see also idem, *Fictions of the Pose: Rembrandt Against the Italian Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000).



Fig. 6.

applies that the acceptance of a portrait by the public authorizes the manipulation contained therein.

The effectiveness of such a representative system in portraiture medium can be shown in two portrait graphics depicting the Prince of Transylvania Sigismund Báthory (1572–1613). The time difference between them is only one decade: the first is from 1596 and the second from 1607. Both have been created by leading central European artists belonging to the artistic group who painted for Rudolf II in his Northern Mannerism style.

The earliest of them (fig. 5) was made by the prominent Augsburg engraver Dominic Custos according to an unpreserved portrait from the most favourite and most important Prague court portraitist, Hans von Aachen. From the graphics, we also learn that Báthory was 26 years old at the time of the portrait, but according to biographical data, he was only 24 years old in 1596. We can only speculate about the reason for this mistake. Maybe it was caused by a banal mistake of

the artist, or intentionally by the prince himself? However, perhaps it occurred due to the amount of time between the production of the portrait painting and the graphic. Most probably, young Báthory had been portrayed by Hans von Aachen during his two-month stay at the Prague court in January or February 1596.⁴⁸ When Dominic Custos, in the years to come (probably in 1598), prepared the portrait graphic for his *Atrium Heroicum* (1600–1602),⁴⁹ he connected the data on the production of the work in the inscription (1596) with Báthory's actual age (26 years old).

The second graphic (fig. 6) originated again during Sigismund's stay in Prague. We know that he met the Emperor in December 1606⁵⁰ and apparently during that time Aegidius Sadeler II prepared for the Prince of Transylvania a precise, *ad vivum* sketched portrait, which subsequently (1607) Aegidius' nephew Marco Sadeler engraved on a copperplate. All of this information is provided to us by the graphic artist himself.

However, let's look at both graphics, in particular, from the point of view of the functioning and performance of portrait representation, that is to say, what visual apparatus and techniques were used here for the political propaganda of this ruler. In both cases, the prince is presented as a bust, but the first portrait is a very simple oval medallion without a frame, surrounded by circular text. In the latter case, the engraver of a similarly shaped portrait medallion had also created a complicated allegorical frame with a number of symbolic props and figures. Hans von Aachen had been widely recognized by his customers as the creator of truly personalized and exemplifying portraits.⁵¹ It can be assumed that Custos did not deviate significantly from the painted von Aachen work: it represents the young prince as pleasant and modest in appearance – though in Prague court customs, also a highly oriental-looking foreigner – certainly not as a self-confident ruler. This impression is made especially by the large fur hat on Báthory's head, though he is otherwise dressed relatively obligingly: in a Spanish-cut coat, light military cuirass, and an open coat. The duke does not hide his young age at all: his smooth face is characterized by a decent moustache, a soft smile, and even child-like large, communicative eyes. Hans von Aachen and Custos did not even take advantage to emphasise the dignity and rank by viewing the sitter from slightly below and in a distinct space – which, on the contrary, were used to a large extent by Sadeler in the second portrait. Báthory's sole ruler-political attribute is the actually received Order of the Golden Fleece, inconspicuously hanging on a simple chain on his chest. However, the golden fleece here non-verbally demonstrated not only Báthory's military-political connections, but through his wife, also a family alliance with the Habsburgs.⁵² In addition to this explicitly coded iconic symbol, even the text on the inscription in the Custos graphic cannot be overlooked, informing about the political sovereignty of the ruler. The linguistic message of this inscription points to three historical facts: the momentary (and temporary) Habsburg recognition of the sovereignty of Transylvania in relation to the Kingdom of Hungary, as well as the acknowledgement of the principality as a full member of the anti-Turkish Holy League of Pope Clement VIII, and finally to the actual political acceptance of Sigmund as a ruler not only

⁴⁸ The stay in Prague is mentioned by György Granasztói, "A három részre szakadt ország és a török kiűzése (1557–1605)," in Kálmán Benda and Katalin Péter, *Magyarország történeti kronológiája, II: 1526–1848* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981), 416.

⁴⁹ Dominic Custos, *Atrium heroicum Caesarum, regum, [...] imaginibus [...] illustr[at]um*, Pars 1–4 (Augsburg: M. Manger and J. Praetorius, 1600–1602).

⁵⁰ László Nagy, *A rossz hírű Báthoryak* (Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó, 1984), 141.

⁵¹ For the portrait by Hans von Aachen, see Joachim Jacoby, *Hans von Aachen (1552–1615)* (München and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2000); Rüdiger an der Heiden, "Die Porträtmaleri des Hans von Aachen," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 66 (1970): 135–226.

⁵² The military-political alliance against the Turks due to Transylvania's membership in the so-called Holy League of Pope Clement VIII. Archduchess Maria Christina of Austria became his wife in 1595, but after a few years, the marriage was annulled by the Pope due to Báthory's impotence or concealed homosexuality.



Fig. 7.

duced such an openly misleading portrait. A closer understanding of the political context points to the fact that the image propaganda of Báthory as a loyal ally of the Habsburgs (connoted by the great celebration of the Order of the Golden Fleece) and the Transylvanian Prince (the inscription on the portrait medallion) was necessary at that time, especially for the Emperor. Rudolf II realized that, with the potential return of Báthory to the Transylvanian throne, there was only one possibility for the Habsburgs to regain control over this separate part of Hungary – all the more so that, in December 1606, Stephan Bocskay suddenly died and thus created a natural gap for Báthory's re-establishment of the government. Sadeler's graphic was quickly prepared, offering the official political image of Sigmund Báthory as a decisive and vigorous ruler: that is to say, for Transylvania, extremely important ruling qualities – paradoxically, those in which he had repeatedly failed in the past. Sadeler had brilliantly utilized the rhetorical side of the picture: "decisiveness" is evoked by the armour and the sash, "vigor" is symbolized by the sitter's dynamically wavy hair, billowing in the wind. Even the allegorical framing of Báthory's portrait included the well-known motifs of female figures symbolizing Victory and Abundance, which will secure the decaying Transylvania through the newly started reign of Báthory, of course, under the wardship of the Habsburgs. Luxuria (a lust) and Avaritia (a cupidity) will finally be thrown into the dungeon. The graphic does not silence the fact that Báthory's return to the throne in Transylvania also restores the pro-Habsburg and pro-Catholic lines of politics, but on the contrary, it emphasizes the centrally placed statement *scio cui credidi* ("I know who I believed") together with an anchor motif and finally a vigilant Habsburg eagle seated on the portrait medallion of Báthory with a peace branch in his beak. I think that such an emblematic combination of words

in Transylvania, but also over the Moldavia and Wallachia.⁵³ The first comparative portrait of the Transylvanian prince was created in the context of the aforementioned and, for Báthory, clearly progressive political factors.

On the other hand, the second portrait was created under completely different circumstances: the thirty-five-year-old, though in appearance, already older, Sigmund Báthory, at that time entirely resigned in his ambitions to rule the politically and religiously torn Transylvania. In the end, he attempted to hold on to it at the cost of the emperor's betrayal and an alliance with the sultan. However, with no success, he abdicated in 1602, and thanks to the pardon of Rudolf II, lived permanently in Bohemia.⁵⁴ In 1605, Stephan Bocskay was elected as the new Transylvanian prince. Thus, at first glance, it seems to be bewildering that, in such a situation in 1606–1607, Sadler's workshop had pro-

⁵³ Ioan-Aurel Pop, "Michael the Brave and Transylvania," in *The History of Transylvania, Volume II (From 1541 to 1711)*, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Thomas Nágler, and András Magyar (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Academy, 2009), 75–96.

⁵⁴ The most detailed biography of Sigmund Báthory was written by Granasztói, "A három részre," 419–424.

and images narratively communicated the potential of the Habsburgs to act as the only truly stabilizing and anchoring element in the Transylvanian territory.

However, Báthory – as he had done several times before – answered “no” once again to this elaborate graphic propaganda: he refused to return to his homeland and spent the rest of his short life in Bohemia.⁵⁵

The largest paradox of the allegorical portrait of Sigmund Báthory is that it never became “reality.”⁵⁶

THE PORTRAIT as Verification and Authentication of Identity

In the 16th century, which could be considered the “golden age” of portrait painting, portraits became much more accessible and a more obligate phenomenon in society than ever before. Of course, the nobility headed by the monarch focused on strengthening its image in the collective memory incomparably more than other classes and branches of society: it intentionally did not offer to the public its private though official face in the various contexts of its social position. Belt-ing symbolized the social role of the individual with a mask and defined such portraits as *body images*.⁵⁷ In order for this “body image” to fulfil in its media capacity, it needed more and more of an audience: not only on the stage of social and communication spaces in aristocratic residences, but also through printing.

In connection with the media ambition of portraits, one cannot help but notice the specific early modern phenomenon of “recognition,” which Gottfried Boehm correctly defined as a “paradoxical ability to identify someone, despite the fact that we do not recognize the ‘living original,’ or that we have no reliable pictorial source or work with its image.”⁵⁸ What was this ability of early modern society to identify and recognize in an image a particular person? Olga Vassilieva-Codognet recently asked this question with the following answer: “...our artist could, at least theoretically, rely on three main resources: imagination, descriptive texts, visual precedents.”⁵⁹



Fig. 8.

⁵⁵ Nagy, *A rossz hírű*, 141.

⁵⁶ In this context, one more paradox should be mentioned – Hungarian art history literature relating to this portrait by Sadler has so far not examined these circumstances and the context of its creation, and thus has not thoroughly interpreted it; cf. Mikó and Verő, *Mátyás király*, 282–283; entry X-20 (author entry: Vajda László); see also older literature, e.g., Gizela Cennerné Wilhelm, “Egidius Sadeler magyar arképei,” *Folia archeologica* 6 (1954), 153–156.

⁵⁷ This “portrait-mask” principle was his own official portrait (= *Rollengesicht*). For more details, see Belting, *Faces*, 127.

⁵⁸ Citation according to Gottfried Boehm, *Bildnis und Individuum. Über den Ursprung der Porträtmalerei in der italienischen Renaissance* (München: Prestel Verlag, 1985), 28.

⁵⁹ Olga Vassilieva-Codognet, “‘À la recherche des généalogies effigiaires de princes’: Series of Retrospective Dynastic Portraits and the Social Implications of True Likeness (Antwerp, ca. 1600),” in *Das Porträt als kulturelle Praxis* (= Transformationen des

As has already been pointed out, in the representative portrait, this specific ability related more to recognition in terms of social identity than its physical individuality. The attributes of social identity in an image are the already mentioned visual codes: the coat of arms, clothing, the pose, facial expression, and also gestures as symptoms of a certain manner of socially conditioned behaviour. Verification, i.e., the correctness of identifying in the Early Modern Period, was usually provided by the identifying inscription (title) and, in particular, the coat of arms (as a residue for the Middle Ages of the relevant personal heraldic characters).⁶⁰ However, in some cases, the inscription or coat of arms as is inadequate for proof of authentication: the reliability of inscriptions has already been called into question in the first subchapter of this study (in a treatise about Gombrich's reflections on the limits of truth in images).

The following four copperplate portraits are illustrative examples. They are engraved (apparently) with precise titles and were widely disseminated in the contemporary press published by portrait-design publications. Two of these graphics were created as copperplates (figs. 7 and 9) for the exceptionally prestigious, and at that time, well-known "pantheon" of leading Hungarian magnates – *Illustrissimus Hungariae Heroicum Icones* – which the experienced engraver Elias Widemann published in Vienna in 1652.⁶¹ They represent two Nicholases belonging to the Pálffy family: one of them shows the canonist Nicholas III Pálffy (1599–1621), who had tragically

passed away thirty years ago in the battle at Filakovo, but Widemann had the opportunity to graphically reproduce at least his original portrait from 1620.⁶² From a copperplate portrait capturing the bust of the young Pálffy, it is clear that he was not portrayed as a church dignitary, but as an officer of the imperial army in the fight against Gabriel Bethlen: clad in a breastplate and a red Hungarian coat with ruffles and a fur collar. The other graphic depicts the young Nicholas IV (1619–1679) from the next generation of the family, who was the nephew of Nicholas III. The engraver worked according to an unknown portrait of Nicholas in the 1649.⁶³

Two other graphics (figs. 8 and 10) come from a collection of portrait collages of the contemporary *virii illustri*, which were published twenty years later in the pictorial appendix of the first volume of the book *Ortelius Redivivus Et Continuatus* (Nürnberg: Fürst, 1665).⁶⁴ Matthias



Fig. 9.

Visuellen 4), eds. Eva-Bettina Krems and Sigrid Ruby (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2016), 93.

⁶⁰ Hans Belting, *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body*, trans. T. Dunlap (Princeton: Princeton University Press and Oxford, 2011), 62–83 (chap. 3: "The Coat of Arms and the Portrait: Two Media of Body").

⁶¹ Elias Widemann, *Icones Illustrium Heroum Hungariae* (Viennae: Elias Wideman, 1652).

⁶² For details on the painting, see Štíbráná, *Rodová portrétna galéria*, 98.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 132.

⁶⁴ Van Somer's copperplates were first published in *Türkische und Ungarische Chronica* (Nürnberg, 1663) and subsequently in the mentioned *Ortelius Redivivus et Continuatus*, 1665; available online: <http://digital.ub.uni-duesseldorf.de/urn/>

van Somer slightly reworked Widemann's copperplates, and in a few cases "updated" the inscriptions: in his rendering, the long-dead canonist and imperial officer Nicholas III became the Lord of the Červený Kameň Dominion lord Nicholas IV, while the young Nicholas IV was "transformed" into Joannes Carolus Pálffy (1645–1694) by a simple identifying inscription and the mirror-reversed image: the then barely twenty-year-old son of the deceased Hungarian palatine Paul Pálffy III. As Joannes Carolus was born in 1645, logically, he could not even be included in the original Widemann portrait series.

These illustrations do not need a separate commentary, because their verification issue is obvious from today's perspective. But the question remains how they were perceived in their time, that is, at the time Ortelius' book was published? How could the Pálffys, especially the then-living Nicholas IV, respond to false, misleading identification? Was he perhaps affected by the superficiality and indifference of the engraver who did not struggle to acquire a credible work or, on the contrary, did he feel proud that his name was found in this strictly selected compendium of prominent aristocratic celebrities?

It is clear that the standards of documentation and illustrations have been constantly shifting since the Middle Ages, and they are still being changed and refined. However, their real impact on the attitudes of society at that time relating to questions of the truthfulness of portraits cannot be assessed. It was once possible to find at least a brief commentary on this topic in the correspondence of the Pálffys.

Let's look at a few more portrait graphics of the 16th and 17th centuries, which, in addition to all the above-mentioned verification codes, contain some explicit authentication formulas: *Vera Effigies*, *Il Vero Ritratto*, or *Wahrhaftige Contrafactur* respectively; we have also come into contact with the expression *Vera Corporis Imago*. In this context, the image as a material object (= image/picture) inadvertently becomes visual evidence not only of verifying but of authenticating identity. The evidence value in these connections is the unified adjective "true" in the relevant language mutations (Latin "vera;" Italian "vero;" German "wahrhaftige"). The second part of the above-mentioned phrases, however refers to the four forms of the image in terms of the genesis of their specific coherence with the work.

The VERA CORPORIS IMAGO formula, based on the most accurate transfer of the outer (three-dimensional) form of a particular person to the image area, has a special status, as a rule, with the goal of capturing the invisible mental characteristics of the image through the outer body. With respect to our cultural milieu, no example of a portrait containing the authentication



Fig. 10.

formula is known to us, but in Poland, Samuel Maciejowski, the then Cracow bishop and the Polish royal chancellor, was painted in 1550 in this fashion.⁶⁵

An even stronger connection with portraits (and possibly even more with three-dimensional portraits) of people is shown in the word effigy, which, for example, in comparison with the Latin word “imago” (= image, also a portrait) resonates the aspect of immortalizing or being present in the portrait. In *Historia naturalis*, Pliny the Elder⁶⁶ had already used the word effigy in the meaning of “representative double” or “second (symbolic) body” of the image. In the Middle Ages, the right to a realistic, lively portrait was reserved by the elite worldly and spiritual potentates who acquired their exceptional status from the grace of God.⁶⁷ Effigies can thus be seen as the “markers” of this *Dei Gratia*.⁶⁸ Effigies acquired legitimacy as symbolic “living” presence or the visual representation of one’s “spiritual body,” especially in the cult of the dead and the sepulchral art of medieval sovereigns, and even sometimes in the Early Modern Period.⁶⁹

Even the VERA EFFIGIES formula must be understood in this context of the symbolic immortalizing and presence of the authentic spiritual identity of the individual, through its authenticated physical form. A compelling example is the portrait of the Croatian aristocrat Nikola Zrinski Čakovečki (1620–1664) by Gerard Bouttats and Jan Thomas (fig. 11). The interpreted graphic print includes not only an identification inscription and coat of arms, but also an accompanying poem, which emphasizes the aspect of the immortality of a respected famous pan-European warrior⁷⁰ against the Turks with such a “linguistic effigy.” Hungarian historians and art historians have so far included in their publications two preserved specimens of this graphic: one is cut so that it ends close to the information on the engraver and author of the work (Gerhardus Bouttats Vnivers: vien: sculp: [-] Quam Joannes Thomas advivum Pinxit.). The second also includes three columns of verses of an accompanying commemorative panegyric poem, according to the graphic, written by the Franciscan priest Fran[ciscus] Schweiger.⁷¹ None

⁶⁵ The complete text of the identification inscription reads as follows: *SAMUELIS MACIEIOWSKI EPI/SCOPI/ CRAC/ OVIENSIS/ ET REG/ NI POL/ONIAE/ CANCEL/LARII VERA CORPORIS IMAGO VTINAM AEQUE OPTIMI VIRI MEN/ T/E/M EXP/RESSISET PICTOR OBIIT ANNO M D L/ DIE XVI OCTOBRIS AETATIS SVAE ANNO LII*. This extra-large oil painting, with dimensions of 2.35 × 1.25 m, is located in the Franciscan monastery in Cracow. The bishop is portrayed with his whole figure and almost en face, in a representative composition with a Renaissance column-aedicula frame, with clothing and other insignias of his church rank, with a peaceful and dignified expression in his face. The portrait was published most recently by Krzysztof Czyżewski and Marek Walczak, “The Memorial Portraits of Bishops Samuel Maciejowski and Franciszek Krasiński in the Cloister of the Franciscan Friary in Cracow,” *Ars* 46, no. 2 (2013): 148–170, image on 153; Mateus Grzęda, “From Ymago to Imago Contrafacta: The Depiction of Reality in Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages,” *Umění* 62, no. 4 (2014): 318–333, image on 322.

⁶⁶ Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History*, trans. John Bostock and Henry Thomas Riley (London: H. G. Bohn, 1855), book 35, chap. 2; available online, accessed on January 1, 2015, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0137%3Abook%3D35%3Achapter%3D2>; the Latin text of the chapter available online: http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Pliny_the_Elder/35*.html

⁶⁷ Mateus Grzęda and Marek Walczak, “Reconsidering the origins of portraiture: instead of an introduction,” *Journal of Art Historiography*, no. 17 (December 2017): 10; available online, accessed on December 15, 2017: <https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2017/11/gw-introduction1.pdf>.

⁶⁸ Dominic Olariu, “Thomas Aquinas’ definition of the imago Dei and the development of lifelike portraiture,” *Bulletin du centre d’études médiévales d’Auxerre*, February 17, 2013, <http://journals.openedition.org/cem/13251>.

⁶⁹ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016); see also Grzęda, “From Ymago to Imago” and Peter Parshall, “Imago Contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance,” *Art History* 16, no. 4 (1993): 554–579.

⁷⁰ He became famous throughout Europe through his leadership achievements in the campaign against the Turks from the spring of 1663 as an exceptional protector of Christianity. Over the course of three years, a total of 18 publications have been published, which undoubtedly deserves attention and careful analysis. However, this is not possible due to the time and space constraints of this study.

⁷¹ The first is in collections: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Budapest, Történelmi Képcsarnok, inv. no. 9423, dimensions 33.3 × 23.7 cm; it is cut on all sides. The second graphic is in Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Kézirattár, Aponyi metszvetgyűjteményi, no. 74, no dimensions given.



Fig. 11.

of these versions, however, contains dating, so Gizella Cennerné Wilhelmb considered the first of these to be the “last graphic portrait published during the life of Nicholas Zrínyi” and the second one – respecting the posthumous character of the poem – dated around the end of 1664 (on November 18 of that year, Count Zrínyi died while hunting after being attacked by a wild boar) or the beginning of 1665.⁷² However, the Vrije Universiteit Library in Amsterdam has another

⁷² Cit. according to Miklós Mojzer, ed., *Barokk művészet Közép – Európában. Utak és találkozások/Baroque Art in Central-Europe. Crossroads* (exh. cat.) (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 1993), esp. 362 and 364, cat. no. 150 (author entry: Gizella Cennerné Wilhelmb); see also Gizella Cennerné Wilhelmb, “Zrínyi Miklós, and költő arcképeinek ikonográfiája,” *Folia Archeologica* 16 (1964): 187–206, cat. no. XIV and XIVa; see also eadem, *Zrínyi család ikonográfiája* (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1997), 135, cat. no. D77a.

one, an uncut copy of the graphic, which reflects the dating and the conceptual purpose of the graphic itself, including a dedication to a particular person “der Hoch- und Wohlgebohrnen Frawen / Frawen // MARLÆ SOPHAÆ, Graffin von Serin / ic // Meiner gnädigen Frawen dedi-ci-ert und offeriert Ihr underthäniger Diener / Joanes Thomas / im Jahr / 1665.”⁷³ On the basis of the Amsterdam specimen, it is clear that the concept of the graphic was also the intention to create the work of the successful Flemish painter and graphic designer Jan Thomas van Ieperen (1617–1673).⁷⁴ This was no coincidence, because this Flemish artist, sometime before 1664, painted Nicholas Zrínyi *ad vivum* and used the oil painting as a work for our graphic, with the half-figure reduced to a bust. By chance, this image was identified in the Lobkovicz collections at Nelahozeves chateau in the 1990s, which was probably due to family marriage connections in the following generation.⁷⁵ On the painted bust portrait by Jan Thomas, Nicholas Zrínyi is dressed in an intensified red Hungarian aristocratic male costume, standing in front of an undefined dark background. His only attribute is a huge mace in his right hand, indicating his rank of general of the Hungarian troops in the anti-Turkish imperial army led by Raimondo Montecuccoli. He does not yet have the Order of the Golden Fleece which was awarded in January or February of 1664. As a whole, characteristic for a portrait form in the sense of “vera effigie,” this can be a solution that Jan Thomas chose to maintain maximum authenticity: Zrínyi was not decorated with the Order of the Golden Fleece (additionally and posthumously), but only his coat of arms was placed in the identification inscription.

Compared to “Vera Effigies,” which, as a rule, has always been concerned with the credibility of the physical form in terms of similitudo, the phrase “WARHAFFTIGE CONTRAFACTUR” in the Renaissance was primarily found on portraits declaring the “authenticated identity” of a known person, although often the representation of a particular place, event, or even unusual, specific things. This is also the case with a prospectus by Martin and Donat Hübschmann from 1563, which has the title “Warhafftige Contrafactur und Beschreibung der Kränung Maximiliani des Andern / Römischen Keyzers.”⁷⁶ It should be added that, in the court environment of Renaissance secular and spiritual dignitaries, the most common European markings for the likeness of a particular person were from the Latin (*ab*)*contrafactur* or *contrafactum* and the German *Kontrfekt*.⁷⁷ Whether in the case of a human portrait or anything else, “wahrhaftige Contrafactur” was more about the authenticity of identity, that is, the unambiguous coherence of the image with the inscribed identity, and less so about the truth of the form itself.

We can finish up this section with an example of the last-mentioned authentication formula: the portrait graphic of Baron Nicholas Pálffy II (1552–1600).⁷⁸ The graphic print (fig. 12) consists entirely of a portrait in the upper part and lower five-line inscription containing the basic

⁷³ It is in the collections of the VU University Amsterdam Library, Beeldbankortreten; available online, accessed on December 20, 2017, https://www.europeana.eu/portal/sk/record/9200249/BibliographicResource_3000051352774.html.

⁷⁴ For information on the artist, see Géza Galavics, “Jan Thomas, az utolsó Rubens-tanítvány és magyar mecénásai,” *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 54, no. 1–2 (2005): 19–40; see also Enikő Buzási, “A Köpenyes Madonna Árpásról: Jan Thomas Nádasdy Ferenc számára festett műve 1663-ból (Meghatározás, datálás, attribúció),” *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 54, no. 3–4 (2005): 245–286.

⁷⁵ Max Dvořák and Bohumil Matějka, *Topographie der Historischen und Kunstdenkmale: Der Politische Bezirk Raudnitz, 2* (Prag: Verlag der archäologischen Commission bei der Akademie, 1910), 142, cat. no. 268; Gizela Cennerné Wilhelm, “Két Zrínyi-arckép Csehországban,” *Ars Hungarica* 21 (1993): 159–162; most recently Júlia Tátrai, “A Zrínyi család tagjainak portréi a csehországi Lobkowitz-gyűjteményben,” in *Amicitia: Tanulmányok Tüskés Gábor 60. születésnapjára/Beiträge zum 60. Geburtstag von Gábor Tüskés*, István Csörsz Rumen, et al. (Budapest: Reciti, 2015), 163–183.

⁷⁶ Zuzana Ludiková, *Renesancia: Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia* (exh. cat.) (Bratislava: SNG, 2009), 39, cat. no. II.1.11.

⁷⁷ Martin Warnke, *Hofkünstler: Zur Vorgeschichte des modernen Künstlers* (Köln: Dumont, 1996), 275; states that, in Berlin, the first firmly paid court painter in 1524 was mentioned as “fürstlich Pommerschen Conterfaimaler;” for the etymological genesis and vernacular forms of this term, see also Grzęda, “From Ymago to Imago,” 318–319.

⁷⁸ I also published it under the name Štibraná, *Rodová portrétna galéria*, 41–42, img. 1 on 223.

identification data on the person, as well as the engraving mark *Franco Forma*. According to him, the Pálffy graphic portrait is a work of the Venetian engraver Giacomo Franco (1550–1620), a member of the successful multigenerational copperplate-engraving and publishing family.⁷⁹ An important element of the inscription is, in particular, the introductory phrase *IL VERO RITRATTO* emphasizing the veracity of physical form, and it supports the notion that it is the first European distributed, and in this context, perhaps “prototype” graphic in the series of known Pálffy portrait woodcuts and copperplates created during his life. The extensive Italian inscription indicates the Pálffy title of Imperial Councillor and the rank of captain of the Hungarian troops, which he held since 1589. The new discovery is a refinement of the dating, or rather, the date of publication of this graphic, which – as it turns out – was part of the portrait album *Effigie naturali dei maggior principi et piu valoros capitani di questa eta con armano* (Venice 1596). Giacomo



Fig. 12.

⁷⁹ Bildarchiv: ÖNB Wien, Sign. PORT_00003552_01; for “Franco Forma” Giacomo Franco, see, for example, Christopher L. C. E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance. Prints and the privilegio in sixteenth-century Venice and Rome* (Leyden: Brill, 2004), 128.

Franco compiled it from 35 hierarchically and locally ranked portraits of current European rulers (no. 1–7), followed by the Venetian Doge (no. 8), the Habsburg Archduke (no. 9–13), other European princes (no. 13–20), Christian generals (no. 21–26), and finally the Turkish and Eastern rulers and their military commanders.⁸⁰ So Pálffy was among the six most important European leaders of his time. However, there is no battle in his background, which suggests that the graphic was created shortly before Pálffy's famous participation in the conquest of the fortress in Góckeren/Párkány (nowadays Štúrovo in Slovakia) in 1595. The flames above the fortress became an important iconographic motif of perhaps all of the remaining Pálffy graphics from that time: on the woodcut of Theodor de Bry, as well as on punctilious engraving of Hieronymus Mannacker, but especially on a print included in Custos' famous *Atrium heroicum* (published 1600–1602).⁸¹

Thus, in the context of the above examples, it can be established that the need to include such an explicit authentication and verification clause also suggests some (generally known or at least suspected) identifiable unreliability and hence the untrustworthiness of certain parts of portraits.

THE PORTRAIT as Fictive Identity

Finally, let's look at the most serious phenomena of visual manipulation or even falsification of reality that took place with respect to physiognomy: it was not only possible to acquire idealized – abstract features, but in extreme cases, it also led to the “theft of identity” and acceptance, or appropriation of a foreigner's face.

A completely borderline, or from today's perspective, absurd example of this phenomenon in the Early Modern Period was the extremely popular *Ahnenporträts*, which were not only the images of unquestionably historically prominent ancestors, but also the figures of ancient, mythical times (the so-called *Phantom-Ahnen* or *Forestières*).⁸² It is logical that the association of such mythical characters with a particular family has usually been passed down orally, or even entirely constructed by specialized historians of that time period. Of course, the real portraits of ancestors who died long ago (whether actually existing or not) could not serve as an iconographic source of fictitious imagery, but rather pictures from a variety of older and quite recent publications.

The prototype of the traditional “Hungarian appearance” (*al'unghara*; *al'hungaresca*)⁸³ and indeed, in general, two key sources of visual precedents also for future generations were Widemann's copperplates of Hungarian magnates published in Vienna in 1652 in the politically motivated album *Illustrissimum Hungariae Heroum Icones*,⁸⁴ and also the edition of the whole-figure

⁸⁰ Among the princes were, for example, the already mentioned Transylvanian Duke Sigmund Báthory, among the Turkish personalities, the Sultan and Sinan Pasha, as well as the Persian Shah Abbas (I), etc. Some prints from the album are owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, see Metropolitan Museum of Art, “Drawings and Prints,” *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, accessed December 15, 2017, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/638378>.

⁸¹ Cf. Štíbraná, *Rodová portrétna galéria*.

⁸² “Phantom-Ahnen” used, for example, in Stefan Körner et. al, eds., *Esterházy Ahnengalerie: Burg Forchtenstein: Führer für die Esterházy Ahnengalerie* (Eisenstat: Esterházy Privatstiftung, 2016), 20. Forestières was taken from French written sources from the period around 1600 and was used by Vassilieva-Codognot, “À la recherche des généalogies,” 94.

⁸³ This is how a man's costume was described in the documents, consisting of narrow legs, a decorative fur, military coat, and cap with an ornamental clasp; see Emőke László, “A magyar nemesi viselet a családi arcképek tükrében,” in *Főúri ősgalériák, családi arcképek. A magyar történelmi képcarnokból*, ed. Enikő Buzási (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum – Iparművészeti múzeum – Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1988), 35–40.

⁸⁴ Elias Widemann, *Icones Illustrum Aliquot Bellica Virtute, Literarum Gloria, Ecclesiastica, Digitate Virorum Regni Hungariae Heroum Icones* (Viennae: Elias Wideman 1652); in 1646, in Bratislava, he released an album of the first hundred portrait copperplates of prominent personalities of the entire central European Habsburg Empire under the title *Comitium Gloriarum Centum Qua Sanguine Qua Virtute Illustrum Heroum Iconibus Instructum* (1646).



Fig. 13.

engravings of rulers from the work *Mausoleum Regni Apostolici Regum et ... Ducum*.⁸⁵ The painters approached these iconographic works with great freedom: their intention was to add to the selected fictitious characters a typical “Old Hungarian” character. For them, Widemann’s graphic works were indeed an essential iconographic precedent in creating the form of their own fictitious family ancestors. Due perhaps to “obscuring” the used works, they did not accept many details of the originals (mainly parts of the clothing and caps), or they made the figures more “youthful” and idealized their appearance.

Thus, Widemann's copperplates have been copied countless times since the mid-17th century until the early 20th century. An excellent example of such a partially historically based and partially fictitious family history is the Esterházy genealogy, which was first visualized as a portrait gallery of male and female ancestors at Forchtenstein castle in Austria. Around 1670, at the initiative of the palatine Pál Esterházy, this *Phantom-Ahnen* was significantly supplemented by a court painter called Petrus⁸⁶ and was later published as a printed family lineage, richly illustrated with the engravings of Johann Jacob Hoffmann and Jacob Hermundt.⁸⁷

The works of most of the still preserved seven fictitious portraits of the oldest Pálffy ancestors also originate from around the same time and with the same image source. The ensemble consists of six male and one female half-figure portraits in an illusionary oval frame, clothed “in a Hungarian manner.” The portrait series presents all of the key Pálffy ancestors in the traditionally passed-down genealogical fiction, which was convincingly disproved by historians in the 20th century:⁸⁸ due to strong Hungarian



Fig. 13.

⁸⁵ Franciscus Nádasdy, *Mausoleum potentissimorum ac gloriosissimorum Regni Apostolici Regum et primorum militantis Ungariae Ducum* (Norimbergae: Apud Michaëlem and Joannem Fridericum Endteros, 1664).

⁸⁶ See Körner, *Esterházy Ahnengalerie*, 20–25, cat. no. 16–23 (where the fictitious ancestors are indicated as “Phantom-Ahnen”); it is a very interesting fact that the figurative precedent for fictitious portraits of female ancestors of the Esterházy family used significant European prototypes of the Flemish counts and duchesses in *Ducum Brabantiae Chronica*, published in 1600; the portraits are referred to as “vrais,” i.e., true. For the male ancestors, it was definitely the Nádasdy-supported edition *Mausoleum Regni Apostolica* (...), published in 1664; cf. Enikő Buzási, “Fiktion und Geschichtlichkeit in der Ahnengalerie und in der Kupferstichen der Trophaeums, der Familiengeschichte der Esterházy,” *Acta Historiae Artium* 43, no. 1–4 (March 2002): 227–246; Vassilieva-Codognot, “À la recherche des généalogies,” 97.

⁸⁷ Jakob Hermundt and Jakob Hofmann, *Trophaeum Nobilissimae ac Antiquissimae Domus Estorasiae in tres divisum partes: Quarum I. Exhibet pervetustam ... Familiae Genealogiam, Imagines Personarum ... cum adjecto ... Elogio. II. Continet Commentarium partis prioris. III. Complectitur Donationes, Officiorum, Honorumque Collationes, ac Privilegia, a variis Hungariae Regibus, ... concessa* (Viennae: Typis Leopoldi Voigt, Universitatis Viennensis Typographi, 1700).

⁸⁸ The fictive genealogy showing the Pálffy developing from the ancient Konth family, is presented by Ivány Nagy, *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal*, P-R (Budapest: Helikon Kiadó, 1988), 38. Modern research of the Pálffy genealogy is presented by Leon Sokolovský, "Súčasný poznatky o erbe Pálfičovcov," in *Pálfiiovský rod – dejiny, osobnosti, stavebné aktivity, mecenášstvo a zbierky*, ed. Katarína Malečková (Bojnice: Slovenské národné múzeum - Muzeum Bojnice, 2000), 4–14; see also Géza Pálffy, "A Pálffy család felemelkedése a 16. században," in *Pálfiiovci v novoveku: Vzostup významného uhorského*

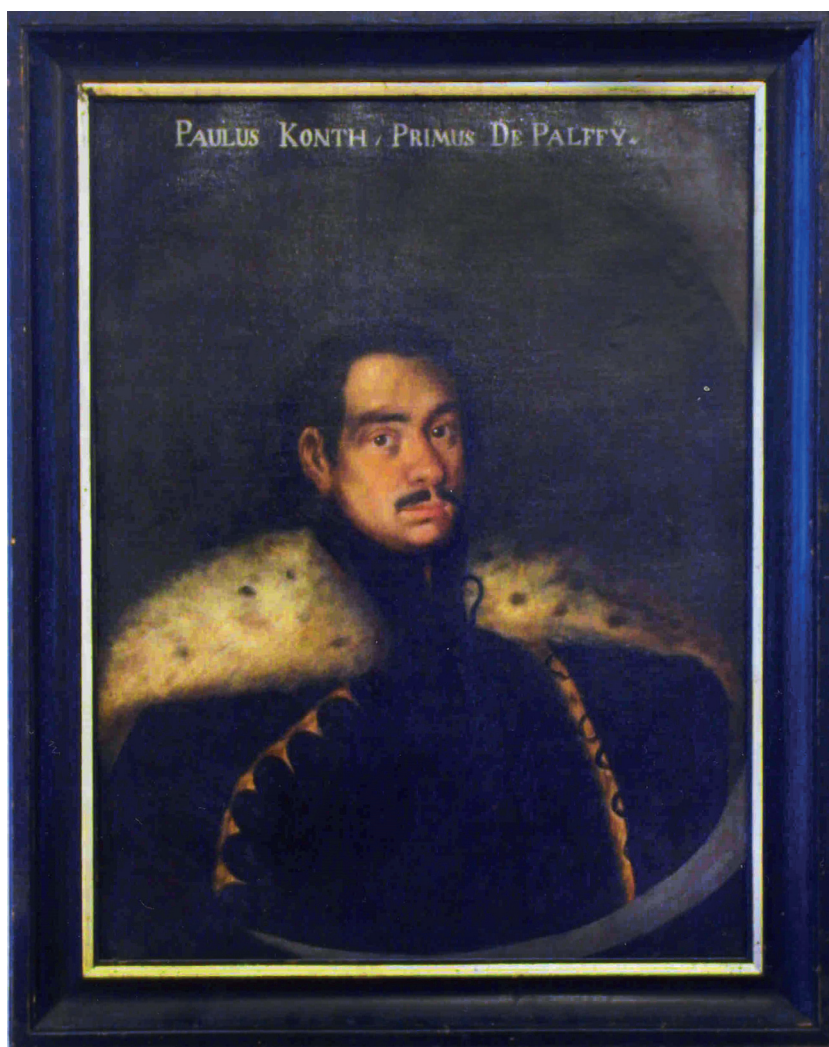


Fig. 15.

patriotism that is felt from this form of visual gender presentation, the one who comes most into consideration as a customer is the elder son of the palatine Pál and cousin of Nicholas IV, János III Antal Pálffy (1642–1694), who married the daughter of Ferenc Nádasdy in May 1668: Anna Theresia († 1683). When comparing the Pálffy fictional *Ahengalerie* to the Pottendorf collection of prominent Hungarian magnates, which has been located at the Esterházy Forchtenstein castle since the execution of Pál Nádasdy, it is also evident that the Pálffy painters worked freely according to Widemann's graphic reproductions but that they also had to know the painted works personally.⁸⁹

šlachtického rodu, eds. Géza Pálffy and Anna Fundárková (Bratislava – Budapest: Spoločnosť Pro História v spolupráci s Academic Electronic Press, 2003), 17–36.

⁸⁹ For more details, see Enikő Buzási, "Nádasdy Ferenc pottendorfi galériájának fennmaradt arcképei és a Widemann-portrészorozatok," *Művészettörténeti értesítő* 50, no. 1–2 (2001): 15–30.

From the Esterházy fictitious portraits according to Widemann, a three-quarter figure portrait of Gáspár Esterházy (fig. 13) should also be mentioned. It is an almost faithfully painted copy (only the lower part of the body widened) of the graphic depicting the young count Imrich Erdődy from 1650 (fig. 14).⁹⁰ Gáspár Esterházy was one of the four members of the family who tragically died in the Battle of Vozokany in 1652. He was not one of the old ancestors who died long ago. He only came from a minor and insignificant branch of the family, and therefore, apparently, in his broad family relations, there was no image of him made based on reality. In the context of our topic, however, it is especially interesting to note that a more-or-less identical graphic artwork was chosen by the Pálffy family to display their ancestor Pál II Kontha-Pálffy (fig. 15).⁹¹ The only significant change made by the Pálffy painter in his version was abandoning the typical Hungarian hat with a furry hem, referred to as a “süveg”⁹² that Erdődy had on his head, and instead depicted the Pálffy ancestor bareheaded.

What else can be said on this topic? Perhaps the only thing remaining to say is that truth and its limitations in portraiture – the unconscious, conscious and the overall deliberate shifting of the image from truth to untruth – have been a well-known and debated issue in both antiquity and the Christian visual cultural era. Long before the relevant timeframe for this work, philosophers (e.g., Plato), religious teachers and scholars (St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, and others) and, last but not least, the Early Renaissance artistic and church authorities (Lomazzo, Paleotti, and others) have focused on this topic, whether in detail or marginally. We also saw that many forms and levels of falsity in images were accepted due to the practically continuous, or at least very early established, ancient tradition of figurative art, which even the theologically rigid Paleotti justifies by the long cultural experience with such images, and thus, well-developed skills in their reading.

Moreover, the emphasis on *vera* (in the sense of “true,” “according to reality”) and the overall popularity of such images clearly points to the general interest of the Early Modern Period population in reliable, credible images. It is certainly no coincidence that these formulations were applied not only to sacred Christian icons, but especially to portraits.

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⁹⁰ Esterházy Privatstiftung, Burg Forchtenstein, inv. no. B232. Photo: Foto im Lohnbüro. We would like to thank Mag. Márgit Kopp, expert staff member at the castle, for providing the digital image.

⁹¹ See SNM-Múzeum Červený Kameň, inv. no. O-1061. The entire set of the Pálffy *Ahnengalerie* was published by Ingrid Štíbraná, “Ikonografické predlohy zobrazení pálfyovských fiktívnych predkov,” in *Umenie na Slovensku v historických a kultúrnych súvislostiach 2006. Proceedings from the academic conference held in Trnava on 26–27 October 2006*, eds. Ivan Gojdič and Lucia Rakovanová (Trnava: University of Trnava, 2007), 145–153.

⁹² For Hungarian head coverings, see Irena Turnau, *History of Dress in Central and Eastern Europe from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Warszawa: Institute of the History of Material Culture, Polish Academy of Sciences, 1991), 21.

Elisabeth of Salm-Reifferscheidt as Patron of the Arts and the Newly Discovered Portrait of a Boy by Arnold Böcklin*

Abstract | From the 1870s to 1890s, Elisabeth of Salm-Reifferscheidt, born Princess of Liechtenstein, was not only an acclaimed patron of contemporary Austrian literature (Ferdinand von Saar), but also a promoter and lover of art. Following the model of the famous Viennese Wertheimstein salon, to which she also belonged, she and her husband Hugo III Karl Franz invited befriended writers, musicians, and artists to their Moravian family chateau Blansko. In addition to the phenomenal Hans Makart, their company included other important artists, such as Franz von Lenbach, Louis Gurlitt, Rudolf Carl Huber, Viktor Tilgner, brothers Eduard and Hugo Charlemont, Andreas Lach, and Johan Martin Nielssen, whose works today are kept at the state chateau of Rájec nad Svitavou and elsewhere. At the end of the 1870s, the Salm-Reifferscheidts met up with the Swiss artist Arnold Böcklin during a stay in Florence. An expression of their friendship included, among other things, the acquisition of Böcklin's historically motivated painting *Dying Cleopatra* (1878), which today is privately owned, and a child's portrait of Elisabeth's son Karl, the Altgrave of Salm-Reifferscheidt (1879), which was considered to be missing, until the author of this article recently identified it in the collections of the Vysočina Museum Třebíč.

Key words | Art of the 19th century – Austrian painting – German painting – aristocratic patronage – Moravia – Blansko salon – Elisabeth of Salm-Reifferscheidt – Arnold Böcklin

In 1894, the Austrian writer Ferdinand von Saar (1833–1906) compared in a versed obituary Elisabeth “Elise” of Salm-Reifferscheidt, the Princess of Liechtenstein (1832–1894), in a somewhat exaggerated manner to the famous Florentine Renaissance patrons. The princess, according to Saar, “loved art as the Medici once did (*wie einst die Medicäer, liebte sie die Kunst*).” Beauty for her was not just ornamentation, a mere spice of human existence. Art for Elisabeth meant a higher being that had grown unprejudiced throughout life, with a clear view and human understanding.¹ The

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¹ Ferdinand von Saar, Dem Andenken ihrer Durchlaucht der Frau Reichfürstin Elisabeth zu Salm-Reifferscheidt, geborenen Prinzessin von und zu Liechtenstein. † 14. März 1894, Raitz 1894:



Fig. 1. Josef Kriehuber, Elisabeth Princess of Liechtenstein, later married of Salm-Reifferscheidt, probably 1850–1855, pencil, watercolour, paper mounted on pasteboard, Moravská galerie v Brně (Moravian Gallery in Brno), inv. no. SDK 510. Photo: Moravská galerie v Brně (Kamil Till).

celebratory nature of the poem can certainly be attributed to the obligatory respect for the deceased princess. In addition, its author had many reasons for pathos, because he was indebted to Elisabeth and her patronage for years of carefree creative work. Nevertheless, the presented characteristics are appropriate. Wife of the Altgrave and later Prince Hugo III Karl Franz of Salm-Reifferscheidt (1832–1890), who came from the Moravian branch of the family with the hereditary residence of Rájec nad Svitavou, she truly belonged to the main patrons of the arts in the Habsburg Monarchy

Was sie der Kunst gewesen, weiss der Dichter, / Der ihr das Beste seines Schaffens dankt, / Ein Heim ihr dankt und seiner Muse Freiheit. / Das Schöne war für sie nicht eine Zierde, / Nicht Würze blos des Daseins, nein: wie einst / Die Medicäer, liebte sie die Kunst / In ihrer stillen Art als höh'res Dasein, / Zu dem sie ihrer Tage Lauf erhob, / Dem Vorurtheile fern, mit hellem Blick / Verständnissvoll der Menschheit zugewendet.

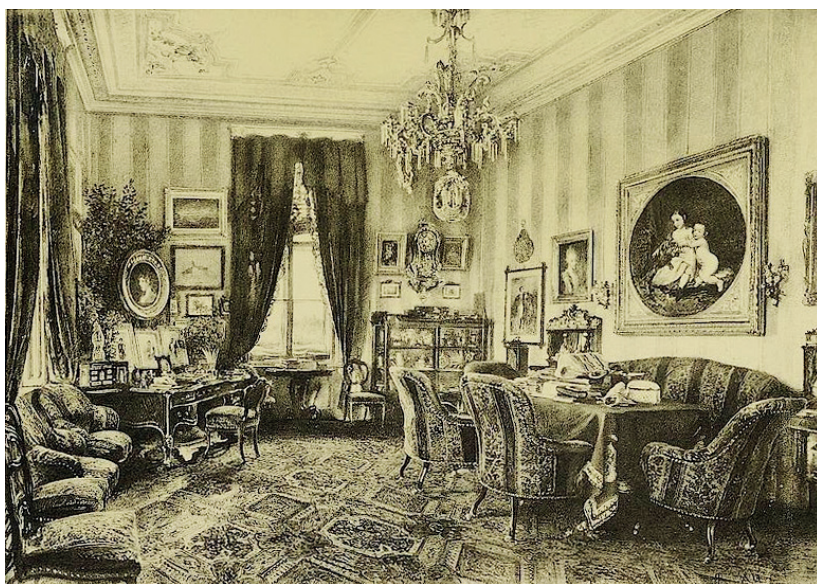


Fig. 2. Rudolf von Alt, Interior of the Salm-Reifferscheidt palace in Vienna, Salmgasse 2 (large painting by Heinrich von Angeli on the right), before 1890, in *Gemälde erster Meister unserer Zeit. Sammlungen: J. Hachez – Bremen †, H. Boetzeler – M[önchen]-Gladbach † und andere Beiträge aus Privatbesitz*, Berlin 1912, fig. 10. Photo: http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/lepke1912_11_19.

in the 1870s, 1880s, and early 1890s, even though until recently, very little was written about her patronage, in particular, in connection with the poet Saar.² Although she came from the secondary Moravian-Krumlov branch of the Liechtensteins, Elisabeth was generously associated with the Liechtenstein collecting and patronage traditions. She was born on November 13, 1832 in Vienna to the family of Karl Boromäus Franz Prince of Liechtenstein (1790–1865) and Franziska Countess of Wrba-Freudenthal (1799–1863). Her father completed an outstanding military career in the rank of field marshal and was appointed as the highest Hofmeister at the court of the young Emperor Franz Joseph I (1830–1916) for his merits in suppressing the revolution in Hungary in 1848. He performed the Hofmeister Office until his death in 1865.³ Elisabeth had been very emphatic since her youth and a beautiful woman up to her middle ages, as evidenced by the excellent watercolour portrait from the period before her marriage, which I attribute to Josef Kriehuber (1800–1876),⁴ and the wedding portrait from 1858 by the official portrait artist of Empress Elisabeth (1837–1898) and one of the most popular painters of the aristocracy of the 1850s and 1860s in the Habsburg monarchy, Franz Schrotzberg (1811–1889).⁵

Elisabeth devoted the first decade after her marriage to family life with the rather quiet, submissive Hugo III Karl Franz. They chose the Blansko chateau for their residence, since his father

² Petr Tomášek pointed out the artistic dimensions of the salon of Elisabeth of Salm-Reifferscheidt. See Petr Tomášek, "Malířství 19. století na zámku v Rájci nad Svitavou. Sběratelská činnost Salm-Reifferscheidtů v letech 1836–1890" (MA thesis, Masaryk University in Brno, 2002), 40–45. See also Michal Konečný, "Život kněžny Elisabethy Salm-Reifferscheidt," in *Stalo se ve Sloupu v roce XXX4. Sborník článků k výročí roku 2004* (Sloup, 2004), 48–53; Lubomír Slaviček, "Zámecká obrazárna v Rájci nad Svitavou a sběratelství rodu ze Salm-Reifferscheidtů ve světle archivních pramenů," *Opuscula historiae atrium* 63, no. 1–2 (2014): 108–109.

³ Konečný, "Život kněžny," 49.

⁴ Josef Kriehuber, *Elisabeth Princess of Liechtenstein, later married Princess of Salm-Reifferscheidt*, circa 1850–1855, pencil, watercolour, laminated paper on pasteboard, 25.9 × 16.8 cm, Moravian Gallery in Brno, inv. no. SDK 510.

⁵ Lubomír Slaviček and Petr Tomášek, eds., *Aristokracie ducha a vkusu. Zámecká obrazárna Salm-Reifferscheidtů v Rájci nad Svitavou* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2015), 351–352, cat. no. 257.



Fig. 3. Franz von Lenbach, Elisabeth Countess of Salm-Reifferscheidt, née Princess of Liechtenstein – portrait sketch, 1875, oil, wood (larch?), Moravská galerie v Brně (Moravian Gallery in Brno), inv. no. Z 2711. Repro photo: Lubomír Slaviček and Petr Tomášek, eds., *Aristokracie ducha a vkusu. Zámecká obrazárna Salm-Reifferscheidtů v Rájci nad Svitavou* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2015), 217.

Hugo II Karl Eduard of Salm-Reifferscheidt (1803–1888) occupied the nearby Rájec nad Svitavou with his wife. As his son survived him by only two years, the life of the future heir and his wife was played out for the most part between Blansko and Vienna or Mödling where Elisabeth owned a suburban villa from 1874–1888.⁶ Their first child was a daughter, Marie Leopoldina, who later married and became the Countess Bombelles (1859–1897). She was followed by heir and future prince Hugo IV Leopold (1863–1903) and three other children, the last one born in 1873. In terms of art, the 1860s saw the cooperation between the Salm-Reifferscheidts and the later very popular, but debutant portrait artist Heinrich von Angeli (1840–1925). He briefly studied in Vienna, then at the Düsseldorf Academy from 1855 to 1859, and also worked as a historical painter in Munich. Soon after returning to Vienna in 1862, the Salm-Reifferscheidts were among

⁶ See Promissory Note of Elisabeth Countess of Salm-Reifferscheidt for 5 000 Gulden from M. Russ and Co. in Prague as a loan for her house with a garden in Mödling, 1874, Moravian Land Archives (MLA), collection G 150 – Family Archives of the Salm-Reifferscheidts, Rájec nad Svitavou, cart. 134, inv. no. 590. Points for executing the agreement on the sale of the same property of Baron Bechad, 1888, MLA, collection G 150, cart. 134, inv. no. 591. The Building entitled Thonetschlössl according to the later owners from the industrial family Thonet currently serves as the headquarters of the Museum Mödling, Josef Deutsch Platz 2, Mödling.



Fig. 4. Franz von Lenbach, Hugo IV Leopold Prince of Salm-Reifferscheidt, c. 1875, oil, wood (mahogany), Moravská galerie v Brně (Moravian Gallery in Brno), inv. no. SD 65. Repro photo: Lubomír Slaviček and Petr Tomášek, eds., *Aristokracie ducha a vkusu. Zámecká obrazárna Salm-Reifferscheidtů v Rájci nad Svitavou* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2015), 218.

his numerous aristocratic customers,⁷ commissioning several portraits, partially preserved.⁸ One painting in his own list of works of art in 1864 entitled *The Children of the Altgrave Hugo Salm* is unfortunately missing today.⁹ The painting is not recorded in any of the preserved inventories of the chateaux in Rájec and Blansko since it was probably at the family palace in Vienna from the beginning where it was still on the wall in 1899 according to Theodor von Frimmel.¹⁰ However, Rudolf von Alt (1812–1905) captured an image of the painting in a watercolour with a view

⁷ The Czech noble families Kinský (Heřmanův Městec), Clam-Gallas (Frýdlant v Čechách), and Auersperg (Slatiňany) were some of the first customers of his works; see Elisabeth Newzella, ed., *Nicht so ernst, Majestät! Anekdoten aus dem Leben des Wiener Fürstenmalers Heinrich von Angeli* (Graz: Verlag für Sammler, 1990), 13.

⁸ Slaviček and Tomášek, *Aristokracie*, 52–56, cat. no. 11–14; Petr Tomášek, “Aristokracie vkusu. Umělecký mecenáš a sběratelství knížat ze Salm-Reifferscheidtů v 19. století” (PhD diss., Masaryk University in Brno, 2017), 236–239.

⁹ Newzella, *Nicht so ernst*, 180, no. 28 (Kinder des Altgrafen H. Salm). This was a portrait of the two oldest living children of Hugo III Karl Franz of Salm-Reifferscheidt, which, due to its dimensions or complexity, exceeded the ordinary art production at that time, and its price of 1 000 Gulden exceeded several times the amounts that an artist at that time normally charged for a portrait (approx. 200–300 Gulden).

¹⁰ Theodor von Frimmel, *Lexikon der Wiener Gemälde Sammlungen II* (München: Georg Müller, 1914), 505; also provides proof of its form and adds that the painting was at the Rájec chateau for a longer period of time, which however is not very likely: “Das auffallendste Bild [...] ist ein Rundgemälde mit zwei Kindern. Es ist ein gelungenes Werk Angelis aus den 60er Jahren, das sich eine Zeitlang im Schloss Raitz in Mähren befunden hat und 1899 im fürstlich Salmischen Palais in Wien hing. Man sieht darauf ein kleines Mädchen und neben ihr ein etwa zweijähriges nacktes Kind.” – The painting is not listed in the inventory of the Rájec chateau from 1890; see *Inventur der Kunstgegenstände aus dem Nachlasse Sr. Durchlaucht des Herrn Hugo Fürsten und Altgrafen Salm-Reifferscheid im Schlosse Raitz*, undated (1890), MLA, collection G 150, inv. no. 596, cart. 134.

probably into the salon, the Viennese Salm Palace at Salmgasse 2,¹¹ even before the renovation of the interiors made in 1890–1891.¹² Already in the case of Angeli, there was a rather frequent and probably deliberate tendency in the ordering activities of Hugo III Karl Franz and Elisabeth to give generous space to fledgling artists, with whom the family often had a personal and friendly bond. It was not occasional orders or random purchase of paintings for decorating the interiors, but the establishment of long-term contacts with artists and their Rájec works of art that today present the best testimonial of the Salm-Reifferscheidts' art patronage.¹³



Fig. 5. August von Pettenkofen (Pettenkofer), *Horse Market*, c. 1880, oil, wood, Jaroměřice nad Rokytnou Chateau (transferred from Budkov), inv. no. JR 7406. Repro photo: Lubomír Slaviček and Petr Tomášek, eds., *Aristokracie ducha a vkusu. Zámecká obrazárna Salm-Reifferscheidtů v Rájci nad Svitavou* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2015), 253.

¹¹ The classicist palace of Brandler von Brandenstein, built on the location of the original stables of the Razumovsky palace from 1828 to 1832 according to the plans of the builder Alois Ignaz Göll (1772–1841), was transferred to the ownership of Hugo II Karl Eduard in 1856 and was adapted in 1863 for his needs and slightly enlarged; see also Géza Hajós and Eckart Vancsa, eds., *Die Kunstdenkmäler Wiens. Die Profanbauten des III., IV. und V. Bezirkes* (Wien: Schroll, 1980), 148–150.

¹² Watercolour by Rudolf von Alt that was a part of the collection of the family physician and friend of the Salm-Reifferscheidt, Kamill Lederer, is reproduced in the auction catalogue of the Berlin firm Lepke from 1912 as the Salon of the Budkov chateau, belonging to the counts of Salm (*Salon im Schlosse Budtkau, dem Grafen Salm gehörig*). However, the Budkov chateau passed to the Salm-Reifferscheidts after 1908, i.e., after Alt's death, see *Gemälde erster Meister unserer Zeit. Sammlungen: J. Hachez – Bremen †, H. Boetzeler – M[önchen]-Gladbach † und andere Beiträge aus Privatbesitz*, auction catalogue (Berlin: Rudolph Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus, 1912), 16, cat. no. 100, img. 10. The knowledgeable Theodor von Frimmel (see Frimmel, *Lexikon*, 505) identified Alt's watercolour as a view into the villa of the Lederer family in Brunn am Gebirge, which, however, also does not match up with his assertion therein that Angeli's painting was housed for a long time in the Rájec chateau and the Salm-Reifferscheidt palace in Vienna.

¹³ The last aristocratic owner of the Rájec chateau was Hugo V. Nikolaus Prince of Salm-Reifferscheidt, who during the Second World War came under pressure from the Protectorate Offices and accepted German citizenship. Hence, the estate and the chateaux in Rájec nad Svitavou and Blansko were confiscated in 1945 under the Beneš Decrees; see Dita Jelínková, "Příběh rodiny Huga Salm-Reifferscheidta. Příspěvek ke konfrontaci šlechty s totalitními režimy," *Securitas imperii* 18, no. 1 (2011): 42–68; Josef Benda, *Restituce majetku bývalých šlechtických rodů po roce 1989* (Praha: Tuláček, 2013), 467–542. Today, the art objects from the estates of Salm-Reifferscheidt are deposited in the collections of the state castles and chateaux Rájec nad Svitavou (part of the furniture loaned to the Boskovice castle, which is privately owned), Jaroměřice nad Rokytnou (Budíškovice, Budkov, Moravské Budějovice collection), Pernštejn (Dolní Rožínka collection), and in the collections of the Moravian Gallery in Brno, the Vysočina Museum Třebíč, the National Gallery in Prague, the Regional Museum in Teplice, the Industrial Arts Museum in Prague, and the Vienna City Museum (Wien Museum). Certain original Salm paintings were recorded among auction sales or were privately owned.

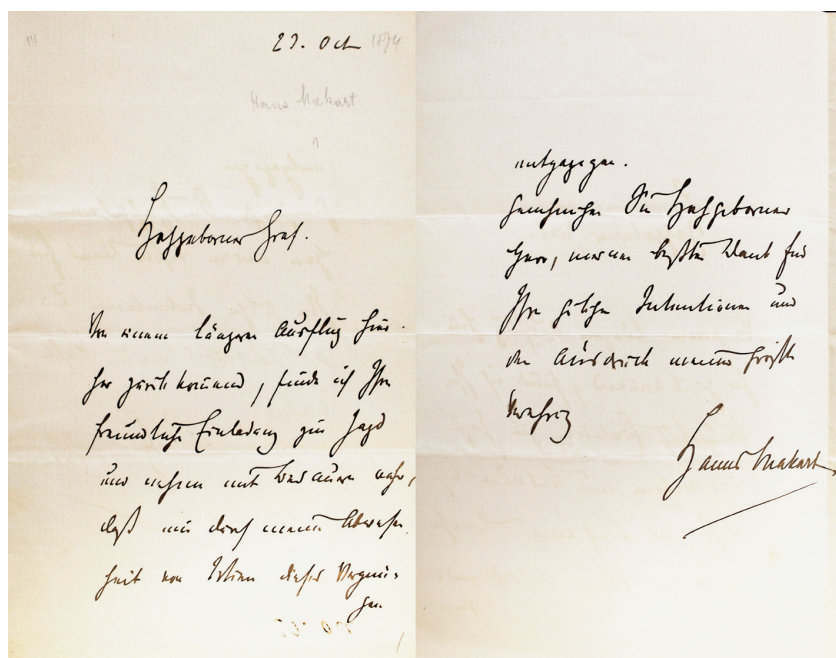


Fig. 6. Letter from Hans Makart to Hugo III Karl Franz Prince of Salm-Reifferscheidt, October 23 [1874], Moravian Archive, Brno, collection G 150 – Family archive of the Salm-Reifferscheidts, Rájec, archive box 135, inv. no. 603. Photo: author.

Although it was almost the rule of the representatives of the high aristocracy in the Habsburg Monarchy after 1848 to enter into the social bubble of the “first society,” to move between themselves as equals and define themselves against the new nobility and bourgeoisie, the Rájec Salm-Reifferscheidts had a reputation since the early 19th century of having largely liberal values, and therefore, even in Elisabeth’s generation, there were no issues with establishing friendly contacts with “commoners.” Moreover, during the last third of the century, the boundaries between the social strata were gradually blurred, which was caused by growth of the traditional aristocracy with big capital, and there is a phenomenon that was referred to as the “bourgeois-making of the nobility” or the “feudalization of the bourgeoisie.”¹⁴ A meeting of part of the liberally minded representatives of the old aristocracy and representatives of the recently nobilized “second society” provided an environment for a bourgeois salon,¹⁵ which also became a platform for cultivating a new type of patronage. Unlike the exclusive court patronage of the previous period played out between the artist and the nobleman (the client), the salon is a place of contact for an informed circle of interested parties involving the artists that, in an ideal situation, creates conditions leading to a sort of mediation for arranging orders or other forms of support. In the second half of the 19th century, subsidizing culture became one of the means of confirming the social status of

¹⁴ Hannes Stekl, “Zwischen Machtverlust und Selbstbehauptung. Österreichs Hocharistokratie vom 18. bis ins 20. Jahrhundert,” in *Europäischer Adel 1750–1950*, ed. Hans-Ulrich Wehler (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1990), 25–26.

¹⁵ Aristocratic salons of the second half of the 19th century were, as opposed to the bourgeois variety, rather closed and only exceptionally played a larger role in art patronage; see, for example, Franz Baltzarek, Alfred Hoffmann, and Hannes Stekl, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft der Wiener Stadterweiterung* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1975), 269–270; Zdeněk Bezcený, “Česká šlechta a salony v druhé polovině 19. století,” in *Salony v české kultuře 19. století*, eds. Helena Lorenzová and Taťána Petrasová (Praha: Koniasch Latin Press, 1999), 201–207; idem, *Příliš uzavřená společnost. Orličti Schwarzenbergové a šlechtická společnost v Čechách v druhé polovině 19. a na počátku 20. století* (České Budějovice: Jihočeská univerzita, 2005), 111–115.

affluent burghers. The bourgeoisie's increasing assets and growing self-confidence had also led to a change in lifestyle. Thrift and frugality, typical in the past for members of the bourgeoisie, had faded into the background, while the desire to acquire prestige associated with the reputation of the patron increased.¹⁶ In the salon, there was mutual influence and sharing of the "aristocratic lifestyle" by both the traditional nobility and representatives of the bourgeois elite who desired to turn their true wealth into the symbolic capital of the "new nobility." In art, this lifestyle was reflected mainly in the imitation of the magnificent forms of the Renaissance and Baroque, which in Vienna and the Austrian Monarchy found extreme fulfilment in the life and work of the artist Hans Makart (1840–1884) and his so-called *Makartstil* inspired by the exclusive establishment of a famous artist's workshop with historical and historicizing furniture, precious fabrics, tapestries, furs, paintings and sculptures, weapons, exotic objects, and other antiques.¹⁷

The pillar of the bourgeois salon society at that time was, almost without exception, the lady of the house, a lady who handled the social dimension of the salon, and in many cases, became an inspiring "muse" to the participating artists. In the still largely patriarchal society, the social rise of the bourgeoisie, as a rule, went hand in hand with female emancipation, which found its vanguard in salon culture. "Also behind many private orders of artists presenting modern stylistic movements were women who liked to sympathize with the emancipation movement and also shared art education."¹⁸ The embodiment of the best Viennese salon tradition in Vienna during the second half of the 19th century was the famous salon Josephine (1820–1894) and Franziska von Wertheimstein (1844–1907), wife and daughter of the Jewish banker and diplomat Leopold von Wertheimstein (1801–1883).¹⁹ In Döbling (today a part of Vienna), elite Viennese society from the ranks of the wealthy bourgeoisie gathered with artists, scientists, and intellectuals in a villa bought from the heirs of the textile entrepreneur, collector, and patron Rudolf von Arthaber (1795–1867). Its political anchoring was moderately liberal. The entertainment did not differ from comparable activities of the high aristocracy, including discussions about theatrical and musical performances, dilettante drama performances, improvised games, and musical or poetry evenings.²⁰ The Wertheimstein salon excelled in politeness and indulgence with which the hosts managed to connect participants from different standings and social strata, both of Jewish and non-Jewish origin. The organizers did not attempt at all costs to invite "famous names," giving the company a "tabloid" gloss, as was customary in some other salons. Everything was very natural, and hence the guests were content and returned repeatedly.²¹ It was not customary for the bourgeois salon to be attended by representatives of the higher aristocracy, as in the case of the Wertheimstein salon. Most of the announcements thus did not neglect to mention the regular visitors Maria Princess Reuß zu Köstritz (1849–1922), Maria Countess of Dönhoff (1848–1929), and last but not least, Elisabeth of Salm-Reifferscheidt.²²

Art also played an important role in the Wertheimstein house. Hans Makart, a leading figure of the Vienna art scene at the time, was only an occasional guest. However Makart's

¹⁶ See e.g., Felicitas Kunth, *Die Rothschild'schen Gemäldesammlungen in Wien* (Wien: Böhlau, 2006), 30.

¹⁷ See Eva-Maria Orosz, "Der Makart-Stil. Ein Atelier als Vorbild für das Wiener Interieur," in *Makart. Ein Künstler regiert die Stadt*, ed. Ralph Gleis (Wien: Prestel, 2011), 116–125.

¹⁸ Hannes Stekl, "Wiener Mäzene im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Adel und Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie 18. bis 20. Jahrhundert*, idem (Wien – München: Böhlau, 2004), 251.

¹⁹ For the Wertheimstein Salon see Ernst Kobau, *Rastlos zieht die Flucht der Jahre... Josephine und Franziska von Wertheimstein und Ferdinand von Saar* (Wien – Köln – Weimar: Böhlau, 1997); for the location, character, and members of the salon see Karlheinz Rossbacher, *Literatur und Bürgertum. Fünf Wiener jüdische Familien von der liberalen Ära zum Fin de Siècle* (Wien – Köln – Weimar: Böhlau, 2003), 104–114.

²⁰ Baltzarek, Hoffmann, and Stekl, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 291.

²¹ Rossbacher, *Literatur*, 107.

²² *Ibid.*, 109.



Fig. 7. Eduard Charlemont, Elisabeth Altgravine of Salm-Reifferscheidt at the Age of Five, 1873, oil, wood, Jaroměřice nad Rokytnou Chateau (transferred from Budkov), inv. no. JR 3048. Repro photo: Lubomír Slaviček and Petr Tomášek, eds., *Aristokracie ducha a vkusu. Zámecká obrazárna Salm-Reifferscheidtů v Rájci nad Svitavou* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2015), 183.

friend and classmate from Munich, Franz von Lenbach (1836–1904), who repeatedly resided in Vienna from 1870 to 1876, was a part of the narrowest circle. After being introduced to the salon by his painter colleague Moritz von Schwind (1804–1871), he became an “artistic idol” of society.²³ Support and orders from friends and acquaintances from the Wertheimstein villa had undoubtedly helped to spark the artist’s impressive career, of which he informed his former Viennese hostess and girlfriend in letters long after his return to Munich. The Salm-Reifferscheidts had also been among Lenbach’s patrons, and over the years, had ordered a number of remarkable portraits.²⁴ One of the most important writers active in the salon was the poet, prosaist, and dramatist Ferdinand von Saar, who belonged alongside Marie Ebner-Eschenbach (1830–1916) to the key representatives of the realist movement of Austrian literature in the second half of 19th century. In addition to Josephine von Wertheimstein and her sister-in-law Caroline von Gomperz-Bettelheim (1845–1925), Saar’s patrons soon included Elisabeth of Salm-Reifferscheidt when in 1872 she anonymously and altruistically donated 500 Guldens by way of her lawyer Moritz Lederer (1832–1921), and at the same time, invited him to her summer residence in Blansko, where he regularly resided from that time.²⁵ Since 1881, when

at the insistence of Elisabeth he married her companion Melanie Lederer (1838–1884), with whom he had previously had a romantic affair, Saar lived with the support of the noble family in Blansko and later in Rájec with some breaks almost until his death in 1906, even after the unfortunate suicide of Melanie who had been ill and mentally unbalanced for a longer period of time. In the tranquillity of the Blansko and Rájec countryside, he wrote some of his works, and part of his literary inheritance is still stored in the Salm-Reifferscheidt family archives.²⁶ Saar was also the cousin of the painter August von Pettenkofen (1822–1889), whose small painting *The Horse Market* (circa 1880) was owned by the Salm-Reifferscheidts in the past.²⁷

²³ Ibid., 111.

²⁴ Slaviček and Tomášek, *Aristokracie*, 214–219, cat. no. 161–165; Tomášek, *Aristokracie vkusu*, 239–242.

²⁵ See Anton Bettelheim, *Ferdinand von Saars sämtliche Werke in zwölf Bänden 1. Ferdinand von Saars Leben und Schaffen* (Leipzig: Max Hesses, 1908), 82.

²⁶ MLA, collection G 150, inv. no. 606–610.

²⁷ Slaviček and Tomášek, *Aristokracie*, 252–253, cat. no. 195.

Since approximately the early 1870s, Elisabeth began to organize her own salon according to the model of the Wertheimstein salon in Vienna and especially in Blansko, where she and her husband Hugo III Karl Franz invited writer friends, musicians, and artists for hunting and summer stays in the heart of Moravian Switzerland (today Moravian Karst). The society associated with Elisabeth and her husband had a very informal, almost family character, and unlike most of the aristocratic salons of that period, the commoners had access and even formed the foundation of the salon. From the high aristocracy, we have evidence of certain visitors, such as Marie Princess Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, née Sayn-Wittgenstein-Ludwigsburg (1837–1920), the daughter of Carolyne Princess Sayn-Wittgenstein (1819–1887), a renowned patron of music and mistress to Franz Liszt (1811–1886). Marie spent her youth in Weimar and on travels through Europe, and she was friends with leading artistic personalities of the time Richard Wagner (1813–1883), Wilhelm von Kaulbach (1805–1874), Friedrich Hebbel (1813–1863), and many others. Since 1862, she lived in Vienna as a leading patron of musical and cultural life. At the beginning of the 1870s, she met up in Blansko with Ferdinand von Saar, who was one of her protégés, and she exchanged letters with him for several decades after that.²⁸ In addition, she tended to spend more time with musicians, writers, and artists rather than among members of her own class.

Meanwhile, the most complete and liveliest description of the Blansko salon society was preserved in the memories of the German pedagogue Ludwig Gurlitt (1855–1931), the son of the painter and friend of the Salm-Reifferscheidts Louis Gurlitt (1812–1897). In the 1870s, Ludwig lived in Blansko together with his parents and brother Wilhelm Gurlitt (1844–1905), who worked for the Salm-Reifferscheidts as a tutor. In his memoirs, he describes Elisabeth as an exquisite and noble woman with an excellent orientation in contemporary world literature, an understanding of the latest Viennese architecture, and an interest in local drama and opera premieres. Thanks to her merry nature, she was always joking and in a good mood,²⁹ while Hugo III Karl Franz was the opposite of his wife: a gaunt, quiet man with the mindset of a true aristocrat. He was somewhat overlooked at the side of the energetic Elisabeth, but without feeling insulted or envious, for he greatly admired his wife.³⁰ From Gurlitt's description, we also learn about the entertainment the society in Blansko indulged in, such as regular daily rides to the surrounding countryside or hunting, playing music, performing theatre, or hosting masquerade balls. In the evening, there were very stimulating discussions over tea, and general enthusiasm was aroused by Elisabeth's daughters, the charming countesses "Minka" (the already mentioned Marie Leopoldina, later married to Bombelles), and "Setti" (Elisabeth, later married to Mittrowsky of Mitrovica and Nemyšl; 1867–1888).³¹ In addition to Ferdinand von Saar, Ludwig Gurlitt included in the regular

²⁸ Mutual correspondence, published by Anton Bettelheim, ed., *Fürstin Marie zu Hohenlohe und Ferdinand von Saar. Ein Briefwechsel* (Wien: Christoph Reisser, 1910).

²⁹ Ludwig Gurlitt, *Louis Gurlitt. Ein Künstlerleben des XIX. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: J. Bard, 1912), 462:

Es waren herrliche Wochen in dem Kreise so lieber, schöner Menschen, die uns die herzlichste Gastlichkeit in ihrem Schlosse bereiteten. Die Fürstin Elise geb. Liechtenstein war eine überaus stattliche, hoheitsvolle Persönlichkeit, von einer geistigen Regsamkeit und von einer so umfassenden künstlerischen Kultur, daß man sie getrost den ersten Frauen der österreichischen Geschichte gleichstellen durfte. Jede neue Erscheinung in der gesamten Weltliteratur griff sie mit ihrem Feuergeiste auf; jedes neue Bauwerk in Wien, jede Premiere im Burgtheater und in der Oper waren für sie Stücke persönlichen Lebens. Dabei war die Fürstin von sonniger Heiterkeit und jederzeit zum Scherzen und Lachen aufgelegt: keine Laune ihrer schönen, munteren Kinder war ihr zu toll.

³⁰ Ibid.: "Der hagere, stille Fürst daneben war ein Mann von wahren Adel der Gesinnung, der unsere Verehrung in warmer, treuer Freundschaft erwiderte, aber neben der Größe der Fürstin trat er zurück – one Neid und Gekränktheit, denn er war selbst seiner Gattin größter, wenn auch stiller Bewunderer."

³¹ Ibid., 463:

Es wurden täglich Ausfahrten und Ritte in die herrliche Umgegend gemacht, gejagt, musiziert, Theater gespielt, Maskeraden veranstaltet und abends beim Tee die anregendsten Gespräche geführt. Allgemein war das Entzücken über die jungen, schönen Komtessen "Minka" und "Setti," die dann so früh aus dem Leben scheiden mußten. Sie leben



Fig. 8. Johan Martin Nielsen, *Rocky Landscape (From the Moravian karst)*, probably 1878, oil, canvas, Rájec nad Svitavou Chateau, inv. no. RA 3924. Repro photo: Lubomír Slavíček and Petr Tomášek, eds., *Aristokracie ducha a vkusu. Zámecká obrazárna Salm-Reifferscheidtů v Rájci nad Svitavou* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2015), 247.

members of the Blansko society the piano virtuoso Joseph Derffel, who played songs by Schubert for Elisabeth during the evenings, and the “silent painter” Hans Makart and his painting partner Rudolf Carl Huber (1839–1896) who “in the saddle of a gorgeous white Arabian horse distinguished himself as one of the Arabs he liked to paint.”³² Unfortunately, none of Makart’s paintings or drawings had been preserved in the Salm collections. However, in 1885, a costumed portrait of Elisabeth’s daughter, Marie Leopoldina, in the style of Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641) was presented at the artist’s memorial exhibition.³³ In addition to Makart, with whom they were

mir in der Erinnerung als ein Unerreichbares an Anmut und Liebenswürdigkeit. Ich habe jedenfalls so viel weiblichen Charme nie wieder gesehen.

³² *Ibid.*, 462–463:

In Blansko konnte man die ersten Geistesgrößen Wiens treffen: den schweigsamen Maler Mackart [rightly: Makart], den schönen Maler Robert [rightly: Rudolf] Huber, der, auf prächtigem Schimmel reitend, selbst wie einer der Araber aussah, die er so gerne malte, den feinen Klaviervirtuosen [Joseph] Derffel, der am Abend der Fürstin Schuberts Lieder mit begleitendem Text auf dem Klavier interpretierte [...], dann den fröhlichen, aber sehr unter Stimmungen leidenden Ferdinand von Saar, der dort ein jahrelanges Künstlerasyl fand.

³³ Wilhelm Lauser positively assesses the portrait of the countess for its soulfulness of expression; see Wilhelm Lauser, “Makart und kein Ende II,” *Allgemeine Kunst-Chronik. Zeitschrift für Kunst, Kunstgewerbe und Literatur* 9, no. 5 (1885): 93: “Dann reizt es ihn wol auch wieder, sich mit berühmten Mustern zu messen und er stellt mit dem Grau und Roth des Velasquez

apparently acquainted on a social level,³⁴ the Salm-Reifferscheidts were in contact with a number of artists from his closest circle. Besides Lenbach, the artists most frequently employed by the Salm-Reifferscheidts included Makart's friend and co-worker Rudolf Carl Huber,³⁵ the author of many of their family portraits. Closely associated with Hans Makart was also Viktor Tilgner (1844–1896), a popular neo-Baroque sculptor of the Vienna Ringstraße period, who worked not only on designs for the Salm's Blansko cast iron foundry but also created several excellent portrait busts of family members.³⁶ The brothers Eduard (1848–1906) and Hugo (1850–1939) Charlemont worked in Makart's atelier at the beginning of his career. In 1873, Eduard painted the two younger children of Elisabeth of Salm-Reifferscheidt: Elisabeth ("Setti"), later married to Mittrowsky of Mitrovica and Nemyšl, and Karl (1871–1927), the future founder of the separate Budkov family lineage.³⁷ Directly inspired by Makart's painting style based on the combination of colouristic qualities of the Venetian late Renaissance and the opulent shapes of Rubens' Baroque style, Eduard Charlemont most likely created his best children's portraits painted with a relaxed, sketchy hand, vivid colours, and a sense of refined scenic exposure. Eduard's younger brother Hugo Charlemont was a multifaceted artist capable of satisfying any request. Besides landscapes, he painted still lifes, interiors of workshops and factories, pictures of animals, genres and portraits, with a total number of works estimated at six thousand.³⁸ A separate area of activity was the artistic decoration of the palaces and villas owned by traditional aristocrats as well as aspiring upper-class bourgeoisie,³⁹ for which he gained qualifications mainly thanks to his work in Hans Makart's studio and participation in the furnishing of the suburban villa Hermes of the Empress Elisabeth in 1885. In addition to creating the artistic decorations in the form of figures, still-life paintings, and animal or landscape motifs, he also helped as an "interior architect" in arranging the artistic or antique collections of rich and noble clients. The Austrian writer Robert Musil (1880–1942), who had been friends with the Hugo Charlemont family (some of the members immortalized in the characters of the novel *The Man Without Qualities*)⁴⁰ describes in his most famous work the painter Helmond, Charlemont's alter ego, as a person who had "a special ability to redecorate old chateaux."⁴¹ Charlemont's noteworthy interiors from the beginning of the 1890s include the décor of Viennese palaces owned by the Schoeller and Lanckoroński families, and in the country, the decoration of the Lešná chateau (today a part of Zlín) for the Seilern noble family. We have the most details about the renovations to the Salm-Reifferscheidt palace in Vienna,⁴² carried out from 1890 to 1891.⁴³ The appearance of the interiors after Charlemont's

Kinder-Bildnisse, oder in der Art des Van Dyk das Bild der Gräfin M. Salm dar, das übrigens durch den vergeistigten Ausdruck des Gesichtes sich weit über die Bedeutung eines Costüme Bildes erhebt." See also Gerbert Frodl and Agnes Husslein-Arco, eds., *Hans Makart – Werkverzeichnis der Gemälde* (Weitra: Bibliothek der Provinz, 2013), 310, cat. no. 524 (additional literature). The exhibition took place in the Künstlerhaus from January 20 to February 15, 1885, and of the 89 exhibited works by Makart, most of them were from private collections; see <http://www.wladimir-aichelburg.at/kuenstlerhaus/ausstellungen/verzeichnis/>, accessed on May 1, 2018.

³⁴ Makart's thank-you letter for being invited to a hunt that he unfortunately could not attend due to his long absence; see the letter of Hans Makart [from Vienna] to Hugo III Franz of Salm-Reifferscheidt dated October 23 [1874], MLA, collection G 150, cart. 135, inv. no. 603.

³⁵ Slaviček and Tomášek, *Aristokracie*, 172–183, cat. no. 117–128; Tomášek, *Aristokracie vkusu*, 248–251.

³⁶ State chateau of Rájec nad Svitavou, inv. no. RA 781, RA 786, RA 1010–RA 1012.

³⁷ Slaviček and Tomášek, *Aristokracie*, 183–185, cat. no. 129–130; Tomášek, *Aristokracie vkusu*, 255.

³⁸ Monika Lachnit, "Hugo Charlemont (1850–1939)," (MA thesis, Universität Wien, 2002), 8.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 58–63.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 17–20.

⁴¹ Robert Musil, *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1957), 298: "Die Neueinrichtung alter Schlösser bildete die besondere Fähigkeit des bekannten Malers van Helmond [...]"

⁴² Lachnit, *Hugo*, 62.

⁴³ Arnold Winkler, "Hugo Charlemont," *Der getreue Eckart, Halbmonatsschrift für das deutsche Haus* 4, no. 5 (1926): 220; This work includes an undated list of expenses, including payments to Hugo Charlemont, i. e., 6 700 Gulden for "ceiling paintings

work is documented in several photographs from the early 1890s.⁴⁴ In the following year, 1892, Hugo Charlemont should have worked for the Salm-Reifferscheidts on the interior of the Blansko castle.⁴⁵ Remnants of his labours include most likely a pair of works secondarily deposited at Rájec nad Svitavou chateau.⁴⁶

The Salm-Reifferscheidts, however, did not only associate with artists from Hans Makart's Viennese group. The family's friendship with a still-life painter from the Liechtenstein's Lednice, Andreas Lach (1817–1882), is not only documented in archives,⁴⁷ but a relatively large and varied set of his work may also be found in the collections of Rájec nad Svitavou chateau.⁴⁸ Other regular Blansko guests included the already mentioned landscape painter Louis Gurlitt, who stayed here not only in the summer months of 1873–1875,⁴⁹ but probably in future years as well. He is also represented in a former Salm picture gallery with interesting works of art.⁵⁰ Friends of the noble family also included the painter Johan Martin Nielssen (1835–1912), who was one of the most popular Norwegian artists of that time. In the 1870s, he worked as one of the first Nordic landscape painters in Vienna, and the purchasers of his works soon included Hugo III Karl Franz.⁵¹ He lived as a guest on the Moravian Salm estates and even drew and painted here⁵² with his wife, painter Clemence, born Lederer (1842–1928), who was from a family closely connected personally and professionally to the Salm-Reifferscheidts.⁵³ Upon request of the Salm-Reifferscheidts, a series of watercolours, among others, was created documenting the family residences of Rájec and Blansko, including the surrounding natural environment.⁵⁴

and supraports on the 1st and 2nd floors" ("Rechnung des Malers Charlemont für Deckengemälde und Supraporte im Iten und Ilten Stocke") and 1 718 Guldens for "ceiling paintings in the dining room and on the staircase" ("Für Plafond Malerei im Speisesalon und im Stiegenhause"); see MLA, collection G 150, cart. 138, inv. no. 646.

⁴⁴ State chateau of Rájec nad Svitavou, inv. no. RA 8651–RA 8661.

⁴⁵ Winkler, "Hugo Charlemont," 220.

⁴⁶ Slaviček and Tomášek, *Aristokracie*, 185–187, cat. no. 131, 132; Tomášek, *Aristokracie vkusu*, 253–255.

⁴⁷ See the letter of Andreas Lach from Lednice to Hugo III Franz of Salm-Reifferscheidt dated July 25, 1874, MLA, collection G 150, cart. 135, inv. no. 603:

Ich würde sehr gern sogleich kommen, doch muß ich noch in drey Tagen nach Wien um eine beendete Bestellung abzugeben, und meinem Hausherrn den Vierteljahr Tribut erlegen, dann bin ich vollkommen bereit Ihrem Wunsche nachzukommen. // Vielleicht ist es mir möglich schon den 3. August in Blansko einzutreffen, vorüber ich früher noch berichten werde.

⁴⁸ Slaviček and Tomášek, *Aristokracie*, 202–205, cat. no. 146–150.

⁴⁹ See the letter of Louis Gurlitt from Dresden to Hugo III Franz of Salm-Reifferscheidt dated July 2, 1874, MLA, collection G 150, cart. 135, inv. no. 603:

Ihre freundliche Einladung nach Blansko zu Sommer, nehmen wir dankbarlichst an, und versprechen wir uns von den Aufenthalt im schönen Blansko außerordentliche Genuß, da uns diesmal sicher das Glück zu Theil werden wird, auch die Frau Fürstin und sämtliche Kinder dort vorzufinden um mit ihnen fröhliche Tage verleben zu können. // Verzeihen Sie Herr Altgraf, daß die Antwort sich einige Tage verzögerte, wir wußten nicht genau wann die Ferien unseres Haus beginnen, und wissen es auch jetzt noch nicht, glauben aber am 18ten von hier abreisen zu können – auf jeden Fall telegraphiren wir von Prag aus die Stunde unserer Ankunft.

⁵⁰ Slaviček and Tomášek, *Aristokracie*, 142–146, cat. no. 90–93; Tomášek, *Aristokracie vkusu*, 242–245. In addition to paintings, there was one charcoal drawing preserved in the collections of the Rájec chateau, State chateau of Rájec nad Svitavou, inv. no. RA 3827.

⁵¹ See Anne Aaserud and Knut Ljogodt, eds., *Lofotens malere. Johan Nielssen – Otto Sinding – Adelsteen Normann – Gunnar Berg*, exhibition catalogue (Tromsø: Nordnorsk Kunstmuseum, 2004), 17; Erlend G. Høyersten and Else-Brit Kroneberg, eds., *Johan Martin Nielssen* (Kristiansand: Sørlandets Kunstmuseum, 2007), 52.

⁵² Ibid., 247–248, cat. no. 189; Tomášek, *Aristokracie vkusu*, 245–248.

⁵³ Her brother Kamill Lederer was the Salm family physician; advocate Moritz legally represented the family; sister Melanie was a companion to Elisabeth of Salm-Reifferscheidt; see Slaviček and Tomášek, *Aristokracie*, 244–245, cat. no. 187.

⁵⁴ Of the original 20, only one has been identified in the collection of the Moravian Gallery in Brno (inv. no. SDK 456) and six in the collections of the State Chateau of Jaroměřice nad Rokytinou (Moravské Budějovice collection, inv. no. JR 951–JR 955, JR 4444). The last aristocratic owner of Moravské Budějovice, Anna Maria Countess of Schaffgotsch (1901–1975) most likely inherited a part of the collection of Nielssen's drawings from her father, Count Rudolf of Salm-Reifferscheidt (1866–1919).

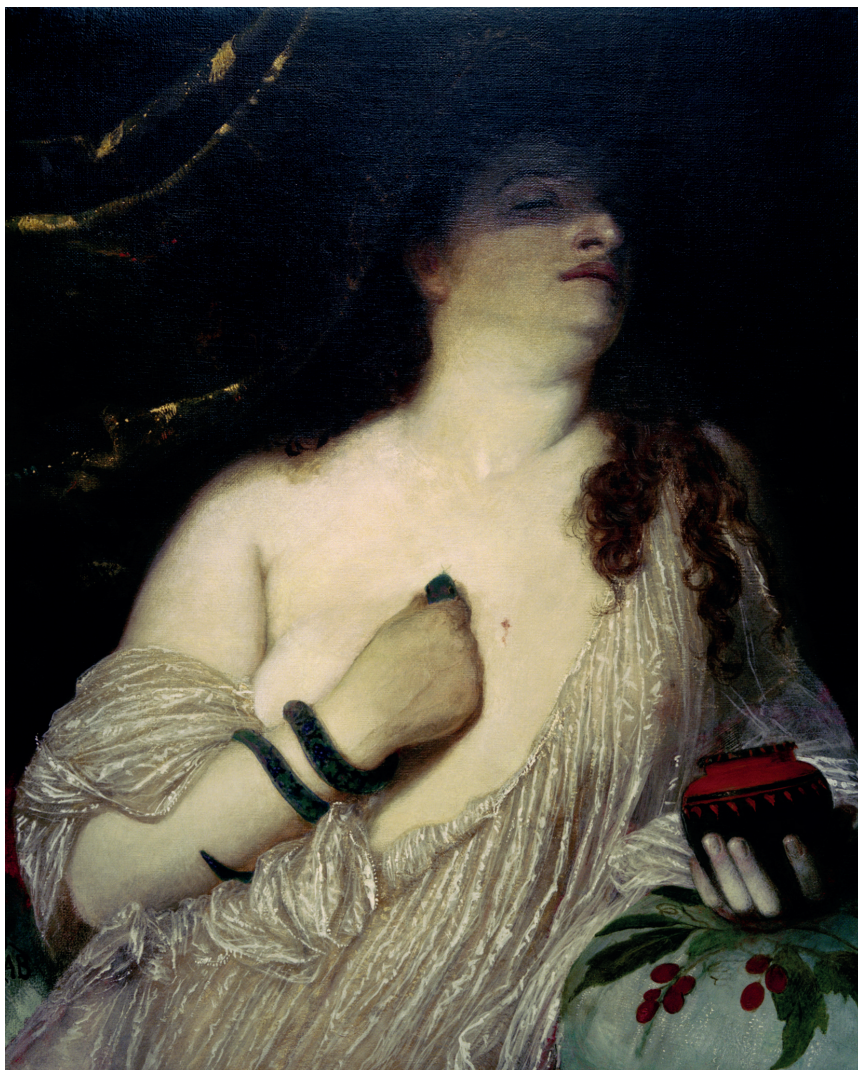


Fig. 9. Arnold Böcklin, *Dying Cleopatra*, 1878, oil, canvas, Vaduz, private collection. Repro photo: Lubomír Slaviček and Petr Tomášek, eds., *Aristokracie ducha a vkusu. Zámecká obrazárna Salm-Reifferscheidtů v Rájci nad Svitavou* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2015), 71.

At the end of the 1870s, the family of Hugo III Karl Franz of Salm-Reifferscheidt met during a stay in Florence with the Swiss painter Arnold Böcklin (1827–1901) who lived here between 1874 and 1885. This period was one of the most successful in his artistic career. He created here, for example, the first version of perhaps his most famous composition *Island of the Dead* (1880). Böcklin's Florence studio was at that time one of the city's social and cultural centres and was a popular stop for travelling art lovers from northern Europe during their "grand tour." However, in the case of the Salm-Reifferscheidts, we can assume a longer-lasting friendship with the artist.⁵⁵ It was through them that Böcklin met up in 1877 with Berlin art dealer Fritz Gurlitt (1854–1893),

⁵⁵ See Petr Tomášek, "Sběratel, umělecký historik a šlechtic Christian ze Salm-Reifferscheidtu," in *Orbis artium. K jubileu Lubomíra Slavička*, eds. Jiří Kroupa, Michaela Šeferisová Loudová, and Lubomír Konečný (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2009), 740–742.



Fig. 10. Arnold Böcklin, *Dying Cleopatra*, 1872, oil, canvas, Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. no. G 1968. Repro photo: Arnold Böcklin, *Eine Auswahl der hervorragendsten Werke des Künstlers in Photographiure 1–4* (München: Photographische Union, 1892–1901), vol. 2, fig. 23.

son of a painter and Salm-Reifferscheidt family friend, Louis Gurlitt, who offered him mediation of his works in Berlin. Thanks to Gurlitt, the artist, who was often faced with existential difficulties, had achieved financial independence and international artistic success.⁵⁶ The noble family's expression of friendship with the renowned painter included, among other things, the acquisition of two of Böcklin's works, a painting with an historical theme *Dying Cleopatra* (1878),⁵⁷ which is now privately owned, and a child's portrait of Karl, the Altgrave of Salm-Reifferscheidt. The theme of Cleopatra's death, popular in early modern Italian painting (especially Guido Reni), was during the period of late historicism and the approaching *fin de siècle* a popular artistic motif allowing the combination of the dark eroticism of the female body with the pagan macabre symbolism of physical death that contrasted with the eschatological ethos of Christian art of earlier epochs. During the same period, he was involved several times with Hans Makart.⁵⁸ However,

⁵⁶ Rolf Andree, *Arnold Böcklin. Die Gemälde* (Basel: Froedrich Reinhardt – München: Prestel, 1977), 28, 96.

⁵⁷ Slavíček and Tomášek, *Aristokracie*, 70–71, cat. no. 26.

⁵⁸ Cornelia Eleonore Zerovnik, "Frauenbilder bei Hans Makart," (MA thesis, Universität Wien, 2013), 77–80.

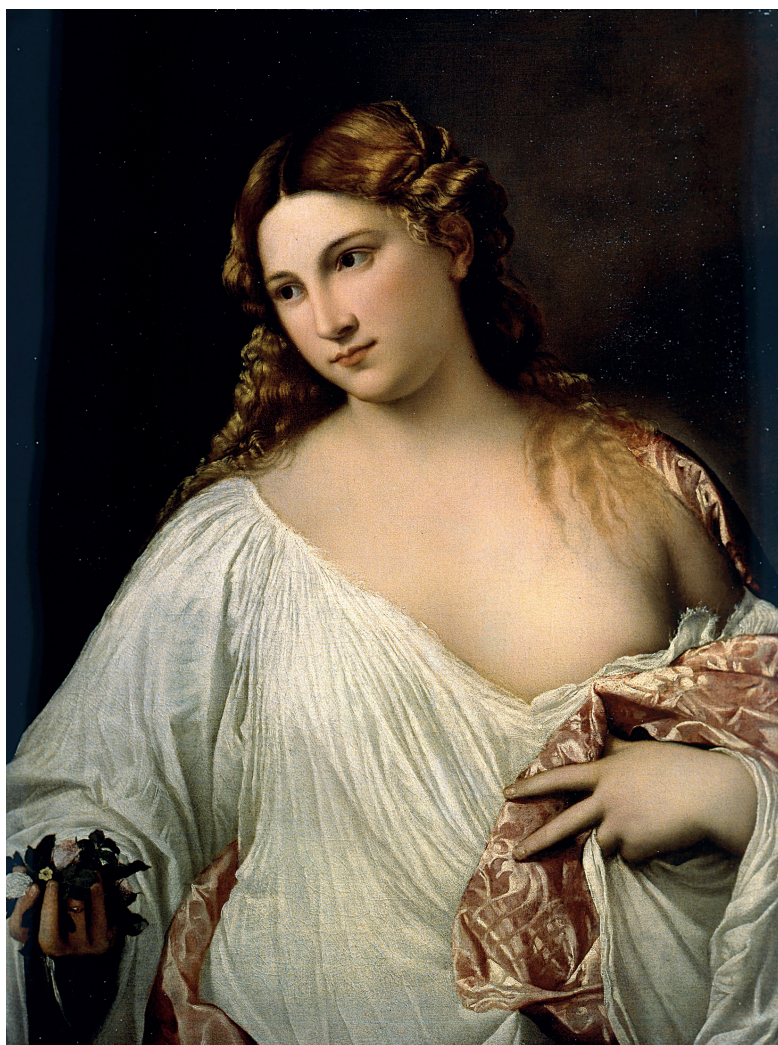


Fig. 11. Titian, *Flora*, c. 1515, oil, canvas, Galleria degli Uffizi, Firenze. Photo: <https://artsandculture.google.com/>.

both of them created art within the movement of “Egyptomania” in the nineteenth century, the most visible expression of which was the opera *Aida* by Giuseppe Verdi (1813–1901) taking place in ancient Egypt and premiering in 1871. Böcklin followed up on his previous painting from 1872,⁵⁹ which depicts the half figure of the almost naked Egyptian queen committing suicide by biting a poisonous snake. However, while the earlier version dramatically depicts Cleopatra still conscious but in agony from the permeating poison, Böcklin opted in the later version for a more composed woman already completely absorbed by the arms of death where only the left hand holding an antique-style ceramic vessel is shown. Cleopatra’s pale body is flooded with a bright light that contrasts with the top half of the queen’s bowed head submerged in the shadow in anticipation of the approaching end. As was mentioned, the painter was likely formally inspired

⁵⁹ Arnold Böcklin, *Dying Cleopatra*, 1872, oil, canvas, 76 × 61.5 cm, Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. no. G 1968.21; see Andree, *Arnold Böcklin*, 354–355, cat. no. 260.



Fig. 12. Arnold Böcklin, Karl Altgrave of Salm-Reifferscheidt at the Age of Eight, 1879, oil, wood, Vysočina Museum Třebíč, inv. no. 1 15 186. Repro photo: Lubomír Slavíček and Petr Tomášek, eds., *Aristokracie ducha a vkusu. Zámecká obrazárna Salm-Reifferscheidtů v Rájci nad Svitavou* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2015), 72.

by Titian (1488/1490–1576), the figure of *Flora* (Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi),⁶⁰ but it is also possible to find reminiscences of other images of late Renaissance beauties.

The portrait of *Karl, the Altgrave of Salm-Reifferscheidt, at the age of eight* (1879)⁶¹ originated during the residence of the noble family in Florence in 1879. It can be considered one of Böcklin's most interesting portraits of all time.⁶² The half figure of a small nobleman, the second-born son of Hugo III Karl Franz and Elisabeth is shown from the front in a slight lateral rotation in front of an old cracked stone wall covered with wild roses and other small vegetation. The boy is dressed in his, at that time favourite navy jacket with a large collar, under which a blue and white shirt is visible. His right hand is tucked into his pocket. In his left hand, he is holding a riding crop behind his back. The interesting Dürer stylization of the hair was not an artist licence, but probably an expression of Elisabeth's hobbies in Renaissance art and culture, as can be documented

⁶⁰ Ibid., 404–405, cat. no. 325.

⁶¹ Slavíček and Tomášek, *Aristokracie*, 71–73, cat. no. 27; Tomášek, *Aristokracie vkusu*, 251–253.

⁶² With respect to the formal treatment, atmosphere, and chosen environment with a wall and flowered vegetation, the painting is to a certain extent comparable to the self-portrait of Arnold Böcklin with a woman from 1863–1864 (Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Alte Nationalgalerie, inv. no. A II 589), otherwise, however, it is a unique artistic work; see Andree, *Arnold Böcklin*, 275, cat. no. 163.



Fig. 13. Photo studio Adèle, Vienna, Karl Altgrave of Salm-Reifferscheidt as a boy, c. 1880, photograph, Moravian Archive, Brno, collection G 343 – Family archive of the Salm-Reifferscheidts, Budkov, archive box 37, inv. no. 1920. Photo: author.

in the photographs of the small Altgrave taken at about the same time.⁶³ In the following year, 1880, the painting entitled *Portrait of a Boy* (*Porträt eines Knaben*), along with *Dying Cleopatra*, was exhibited at the eleventh annual exhibition at the Künstlerhaus in Vienna,⁶⁴ and then apparently both were relocated to the Salm Palace in Vienna. The portrait of little Karl is also documented in one of the photos of the palace interior from the early 1890s.⁶⁵ After Elisabeth's death on March 14, 1894 in Vienna, both Böcklin paintings became the property of the family doctor and friend MUDr. Kamill Lederer (1830–1912).⁶⁶ When he died in 1912, his art collection was partly transferred to the counts of Bombelles, affiliated with the Salm-Reifferscheidts, in whose

⁶³ MLA, collection G 343 – Salm-Reifferscheidt family archives, Budkov, cart inv. no. 1920. In the opinion of Petra Medříková, who studies aristocratic portrait photography of the second half of the 19th century, the stylization of the boy's hair was exceptional during this period.

⁶⁴ Anonym, "Die XI. Jahres-Ausstellung im Künstlerhause," *Oesterreichisch-Ungarische Kunst-Chronik* 4, no. 2 (1880): 21; Friedrich von Boetticher, *Malerwerke des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* I/1 (Dresden: Friedrich von Boetticher, 1891), 109, no. 43.

⁶⁵ State chateau of Rájec nad Svitavou, inv. no. RA 8658; Böcklin's painting can be clearly distinguished in the overexposed part of the photograph on the left, while the portrait of Karl's older brother Hugo IV Leopold by Franz von Lenbach is positioned on the right (today Moravian Gallery in Brno, inv. no. SD 65); Slaviček and Tomášek, *Aristokracie*, 217–218, cat. no. 164.

⁶⁶ Andree, *Arnold Böcklin*, 415, cat. no. 340.

Croatian residence Opeka Lederer spent the last years of his life and even died there.⁶⁷ Böcklin's painting then became the property of Karl of Salm-Reifferscheidt, the boy in the portrait, who, after the death of his uncle Rudolf, the prince of Liechtenstein (1838–1908), inherited the Budkov manor at Moravské Budějovice and established here a separate Budkov family branch. After the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918 and after the land reform, which had deprived the landowners of a considerable part of their land ownership, he tried to resolve the precarious financial situation, among other things, by selling his own portrait by Böcklin. He offered it in 1921, first unsuccessfully, to a public art collection in Basle and later to the state gallery in Leipzig.⁶⁸ In neither case was he successful, and after his death in 1927, the painting became the property of Karl's son, art historian and collector Christian of Salm-Reifferscheidt (1906–1973).⁶⁹ It remained in his possession until the nationalization of the castle in 1945.⁷⁰ Later, together with part of the confiscated art equipment, it was placed in the collections of the regional museum in Moravské Budějovice (today the Vysočina Museum Třebíč).⁷¹ With its recent rediscovery, one of the most important portrait works of the author returns to Böcklin's well-known *œuvres*, whose views allegedly inspired the leading writer of Viennese modern style, Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874–1929), when writing the prologue of the 1892 versed drama *Titian's Death* (*Der Tod des Tizian*).⁷²

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⁶⁷ Theodor von Frimmel, who was in contact with Kamill Lederer, considered both Böcklin paintings as the best of Lederer's collection, and after his death, recorded the further fate of the collection based on reports from the survivors, see Theodor von Frimmel, *Zur Bildniskunde, Blätter für Gemäldekunde* 2 (Wien: Gerold and Co., 1906), 80; idem, *Lexikon*, 504–506. Certain paintings from Lederer's estate remained the property of the family; others, including *Dying Cleopatra*, were auctioned off in the same year in Berlin at the Rudolf Lepke auction house, see *Gemälde erster Meister*.

⁶⁸ See Correspondence with the Public Collection of Art in Basle and the National Gallery in Berlin on the Portrait of a Boy (Altgrave Salm) by Böcklin from 1879, MLA, collection G 343, inv. no. 17.

⁶⁹ See Tomášek, "Sběratel."

⁷⁰ According to the oval stamp on the back of the board, the painting was temporarily exported for an unknown reason to Austria via today's border crossing Hatě/Kleinhaugsdorf in September 1938.

⁷¹ It was only in 2015 that Böcklin's painting, which until recently was considered lost, could be identified thanks to the new records of the Moravské Budějovice Museum's collections carried out by the staff of the Vysočina Museum Třebíč. I would like to thank the curator Lucie Pálková for her help in identifying the work.

⁷² Hugo von Hofmannsthal contemplates in the prologue the figure of a squire above the portrait of a prince who "is very young, pale, and died early" ("Er ist sehr jung und blaß und früh verstorben"). The author thought much more about his favourite painter Arnold Böcklin when writing rather than about the famous Italian Renaissance artist, and Böcklin's child's portrait of Altgrave Karl, which Hofmannsthal saw in Vienna, is concealed in the described painting. His imagination, however, later gave rise to a repeated legend that the boy in the portrait died shortly after the completion of the work, and the writer also symbolically placed a dagger in his hand instead of a riding crop; see Jürgen Wißmann, "Zum Nachleben der Malerei Arnold Böcklins," in *Arnold Böcklin 1827–1901*, ed. Rolf Andree (Düsseldorf: Kunstmuseum, 1974), 32; Andree, *Arnold Böcklin*, 415, cat. no. 340.



Fig. 14. Interior of the Salm-Reifferscheidt palace in Vienna, Salmgasse 2 (painting by Arnold Böcklin feeble on the left), early 1890s, photograph, Rájec nad Svitavou Chateau, inv. no. RA 8658. Repro photo: Lubomír Slaviček and Petr Tomášek, eds., *Aristokracie ducha a vkusu. Zámecká obrazárna Salm-Reifferscheidtů v Rájci nad Svitavou* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2015), 24.

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Media Coverage and Criticism of the Bauhaus in the Czechoslovak Interwar Press

Abstract | In 1919, a new institution was created in Weimar, Germany by joining the Academy of Fine Arts with the Kunstgewerbeschule built on new pedagogical and artistic concepts and referred to as Bauhaus by its founder, Walter Gropius. This study focuses on the media coverage of the Bauhaus as a model modern school in the Czechoslovak media and demonstrates that the influence of this institution on Czech and Slovak industrial arts was relatively strong and awareness of this school intense. A number of important figures from the Czech and Slovak cultural environment attended this school and established contacts with its teachers. Karel Teige lectured at the school at a time when Hannes Meyer was director.

Keywords | modern architecture – art education – avant-garde – Bauhaus

Historical context

In 1901, the Belgian, Henry van de Velde, was invited to Weimar as an art advisor in order to establish in 1906 a school of applied arts *Großherzoglich sächsische Kunstgewerberschule* as a rival to the traditional academy *Großherzoglich sächsische Hochschule für bildende Kunst*. The main objective of the applied arts school was to take care of the reinstitution of arts and crafts, leading to practical design for everyday life. In 1915, van de Velde proposed as his successor the prominent Jugendstil artists Hermann Obrist and August Endell, as well as the architect Walter Gropius. Gropius, who studied the new concepts of architecture and worked for a time as an assistant to Peter Behrens, already had the reputation of a progressive architect before the war. On January 25, 1916, Gropius submitted to the ministry in Weimar a recommendation for establishing an educational institution as artistic advisory services for industry, business, and crafts. In the first part of this recommendation, he repeats the known idea of *Werkbund* and follows the line of its programme from 1910. Gropius also speaks here of reconciliation with the machine and its use. In the second part, he focuses on the state educational institution as an artistic advisor cooperating with smaller firms in Weimar. The joint partnership should create something like a medieval lodge where artists, architects, sculptors, and craftsmen of all levels would collaborate on a collective work. This emotional part talks about the synthesis of art and industry against the background of a utopia geared to the social and cultural revival of society after the end of the First World War. The return to the medieval concept of craftsmanship, the guild community and the idea of *Gesamtkunstwerk* are evident here and are in contrast to his pre-war concepts. The post-war conditions that gave rise to expressionism led to this change in orientation. The *Workers' Council for Art (Arbeitsrat für Kunst)*, which was founded in Berlin on December 3, 1918 by artists and intellectuals in favour of social change, such as Erich Mendelsohn, Bruno and Max Taut, Adolf Behne, or Walter Gropius, members of the *Novembergruppe*, spread at

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PESTRÝ TÝDEN



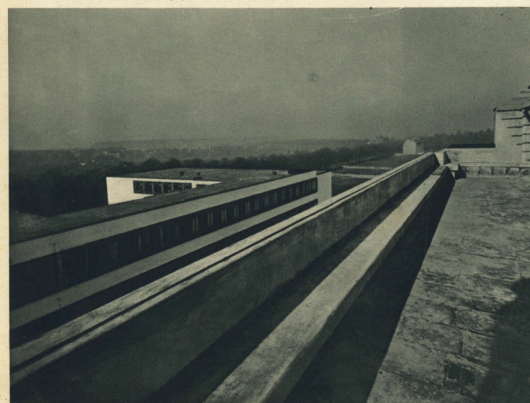
Ateliery a dílny Bauhausu.



Chodba k učebním sálům.



Celkový pohled na Bauhaus.



Střešní terasa.



Typové domky z kolonie Bauhausu.

Bauhaus v Dessavě,

jenž byl otevřen 4. prosince 1926.

Stavby jsou dílem jeho Feditele, Waltera Gropia.

Bauhaus vznikl r. 1919 ve Výmáru — sloučením tamní Akademie Umění s umělecko-průmyslovou školou, na níž před léty působil Henri van de Velde. Postupem času vytvořil si za vedení Waltera Gropia, vůdčího představitele moderní německé architektury a osobnosti nadané stejně po stránce tvůrčí jako po stránce pedagogické a organizační, moderním tendencím odpovídající, originální a specifický svůj učební program, z jádra odlišný od osnov a podání rozmanitých škol umělecko-průmyslových. Bauhaus, za řízení svého zakladatele a vůdce W. Gropia vyhrančil se postupně v jednotnou, opravdu moderní a vzornou školu konstruktivní architektury, jaká jinde dosud není. Změna vlády v Sasku zasadila Bauhausu těžkou ránu r. 1924. Nová vláda rozpustila Bauhaus a obnovila někdejší umělecko-průmyslovou školu. Protesty mezinárodní odborné veřejnosti, příspěvy a projevy od množství významných osobností a korporací, s Bauhausem sympatisujících, neměly dosti síly aby zvrátily nespravedlivé rozhodnutí saské vlády. Netrvalé aktivity Gropiové a jeho spolupojovníků, ostatních učitelů, podařilo se nicméně záhy na to realizovat nový útvar Bauhausu, jehož možnosti rozvoje a úspěchu jsou tentokrát příznivější, než byly v dobách, kdy začínal působiti ve Výmáru. Bauhaus přestěhoval se do Dessavy (Dessau) v Anhaltsku, kde byl prozatímne r. 1925 ubytován v budovách staré průmyslové školy a v několika dílnách. Ihned na

to přikročeno ke stavbě nových budov, které konečně nyní 4. prosince 1926 byly slavnostně otevřeny a uvedeny v život. — Během půldruhého roku byly zde postaveny jednak školní budovy, t. j. otevřený blok skládající se z budovy učeben a dílen, z ateliérů a z místností administrativních, z jídelny a z auly, opatřené jevištěm, dále villa Feditele (W. Gropia), dvojdomky učitelů Bauhausu a dosud nedostavěná větší kolonie malých domků pro žactvo a veškeren personál Bauhausu. Zatím co se na staveništi prováděly budovy, vesměs podle návrhů Gropiových, stavené s použitím nejmodernějších vymožeností po stránce konstruktivní i po stránce materiálu, pracovaly truhlářské, kovotepecké, textilní, sklářské a j. dílny Bauhausu na vnitřním zařízení těchto novostaveb. Byla to významná škola praxe pro tuto školu: realizovali nejprve vlastní přístřeší a zařídili je vlastní prací: jisté že zde načerpal Bauhaus neocenitelné zkušenosti. Jestliže v dnešní době stavebnictví daleko za linií pokroku, dosaženého inženýrstvím, technikou, průmyslem, vidí právě Bauhaus jako vysoká škola architektury svou základní úlohu v tom, zavést stavbu domu po proudu obecného technického pokroku a při využití technických objevů a vědeckého badání prováděti systematickou pokusnou práci nejen teoreticky, ale i v praxi. Osnova Bauhausu seznamuje žáka na počátku v proseminářích s jakousi prvoukou, ukazuje mu zákony umělecké a technické tvorby, pak cvičí jej prakticky práci v dílnách, které mají za cíl použití zákonů výroby předmětů denní potřeby při architektonické výstavbě domů a jejich zařízení. Tedy od bytové zařízení k stavbě domu! Studující je veden na této cestě, aby prozkoumal vlastní práci a práci elementy moderního stavebnictví a použil jich ve smyslu soudobé bytové kultury a civilizace. Trvalé zdokonalování a zdravý postupující rozvoj Bauhausu, dále rozšíření styků jeho s průmyslovými kruhy umožňuje vždy lépe a lépe učiniti z této vzorné a jedinečné vysoké školy s moderními pedagogickými zásadami zároveň i produktivní podnik, jenž na jedné straně přijímá podněty z moderního hospodářského života a na druhé straně vydává cenné výsledky své systematické práce. Bauhaus je ohniskem vzorné pospolitě práce: kolektivní dílo, které tu vzniká ze spolupráce jeho vůdce, jeho učitelů, mezi nimiž jsou nejvýznamnější umělci dnešního Německa jako Moholy-Nagy, Kandinskij, Klee, Muche a j. a jeho žáků, z jejich řad vycházejí pozoruhodné mladé talenty, toť vlastně celá německá Moderná. Bauhaus je duší soudobé německé architektury a nejvýznamnější složkou moderního německého umění.

Karel Teige.

Fig. 1. Text of Karl Teige "Bauhaus v Dessavě" for the magazine *Pestrý týden* with photography of Gropius' new school building, 1927. Photo: Archive of the author.

Milena:

Demokratická pohodlnost.

V estetickém pravidle moderní doby: účelnosti všude a za každou cenu, v ekonomičnosti materialu i pohybu, v úspornosti místa, výrazu i v předmětech jeví se více než kde jinde demokratický duch dneška. Dnešek pomalu získává drobnému člověku právo na pohodlí, na tuto výsadu bohatých ještě před několika desetiletími. V pozadí všech našich hesel o účelnosti je skrytá příčina: touha uspořít práci. Čím dále tím méně slouží člověk člověku. Průměr moderního člověka sestává z lidí, kteří jsou odkázáni na sebe nebo na skromnou pomoc v domácnosti. V Americe je služka vzácná jako rýžoviště zlata, a není k zaplacení. Ve Francii vyvažují se služební síly vysokými platy a u nás už dávno nastal soumrak staré, dobré Máry, bručavého tahouna a opěrného sloupu domácnosti. Žena, která si sama vaří, nakupuje, žehlí, pere a ob-

starává děti, není dnešní společností považována za méně vznešenou, naopak, patří jí naše úcta a vážnost. Skoro většinu tvoří dnes rodiny, kde jde muž i žena po práci a kde žena nad tuto práci obstarává sama i domácnost. Ze dvou přestřelků: manželky, ubíjející nudu marnými a zbytečnými pracemi konservativní domácnosti, a ženy přemrštěně emancipované, opovrhující každou domácí prací, pěstuje nám naše doba ženu střední cesty, zdravou, nehysterickou dělnici domácnosti, která pracuje doma dobře, rychle a inteligentně, ani neochuzující ducha marným praním háčkovaných deček, ani neoketující neznalostí vaření a sběhlostí v literatuře.

Takovou ženu vychovala moderní doba a současně jí stvořila prostředky, které jí umožňují pracovat. Dnešní bytová kultura nepozůstává ve vkusném výběru deček a záclon, jde hlouběji: přináší do domácnosti stroj, ekonomisuje a zlehčuje domácí práce, šetří ženiny síly a čas, a staví hygienické podmínky na mnohem vyšší úroveň. Pokrokovost v tomto směru závisí úplně

na ženské inteligenci; tam, kde jí není příliš, shledáte se s předsudky proti úžasným vynálezům moderní domácnosti. Tam, kde vládne otevřený mozek a hbitě usuzující inteligence, potkáte pochopení a nadšení. Jsou-li naše byty o hodně pozadu za moderními koloniemi měst amerických, německých a holandských, je to proto, že u nás jsou všechny vymoženosti moderní domácnosti prozatím přijímány trochu vesnickým způsobem: nedůvěřivě, bez zájmu a nadšení, s rezervou ke všemu modernímu, se starým, mylným předsudkem, že útulnost způsobují těžké závěsy, plné prachu, nákladně a pracně vyšité látky na všem, kam je možno vůbec něco vyšít a spousta drobných předmětů, rozestavených po celém bytě, kde je jen místo k zastavení volné. Na obrázcích na této stránce uveřejněných spatříte dokonalou kuchyni vzorné, obytné kolonie Bauhausu v Dessau. Jak vidíte, typické, bílé garnitury měkkého dřeva a vyšité kuchařky nad stolem začínají patřit minulosti, sporák je malý plynový, nebo uhlový a je je-

diným „nábytkem“ v kuchyni. Místo stolu na mytí nádobí je smaltovaný přístroj s odpadem, s přítokem teplé a studené vody, místo kredence do stěny zapuštěné, smaltované přihrádky na nutné nádobí, při čemž lesklé, měděné bábovky, rozvěšené po stěnách kuchyně, zmizely nadobro. Ani hmoždýř, ani slánka a cukřenka nevisí na stěně pro parádu. Stěny jsou hladké, buď smaltované nebo vyložené dlaždičkami, podlaha je buď cementová nebo potažená linoleem, přípravný stůl sklápěcí a z materialu který se snadno umyje. Dokonalá kuchyň má ve středu podlahy přímý odpad, jako vana v koupelně (a jako každá dokonalá koupelna), takže není třeba spořít proudem vody, kterým se kuchyň splachuje. Tato naprosto jasná, čistá a dokonale logická domácnost znamená tedy: naprostý konec „der guten, deutschen Hausfrau“, kde bylo všecko háčkované, vyšíváné, strašně nepraktické a vyžadovalo život ženy celý, a začátek veselé dílny v domácnosti, kterou udržovat v čistotě není obtíž a námahou, ale hračkou.

Fig. 2a, 2b. Text of Milena Jesenská "Demokratická pohodlnost" for the magazine *Pestrý týden* with photography of the houses of the Bauhaus professors in Dessau, 1927.

Photo: Archive of the author

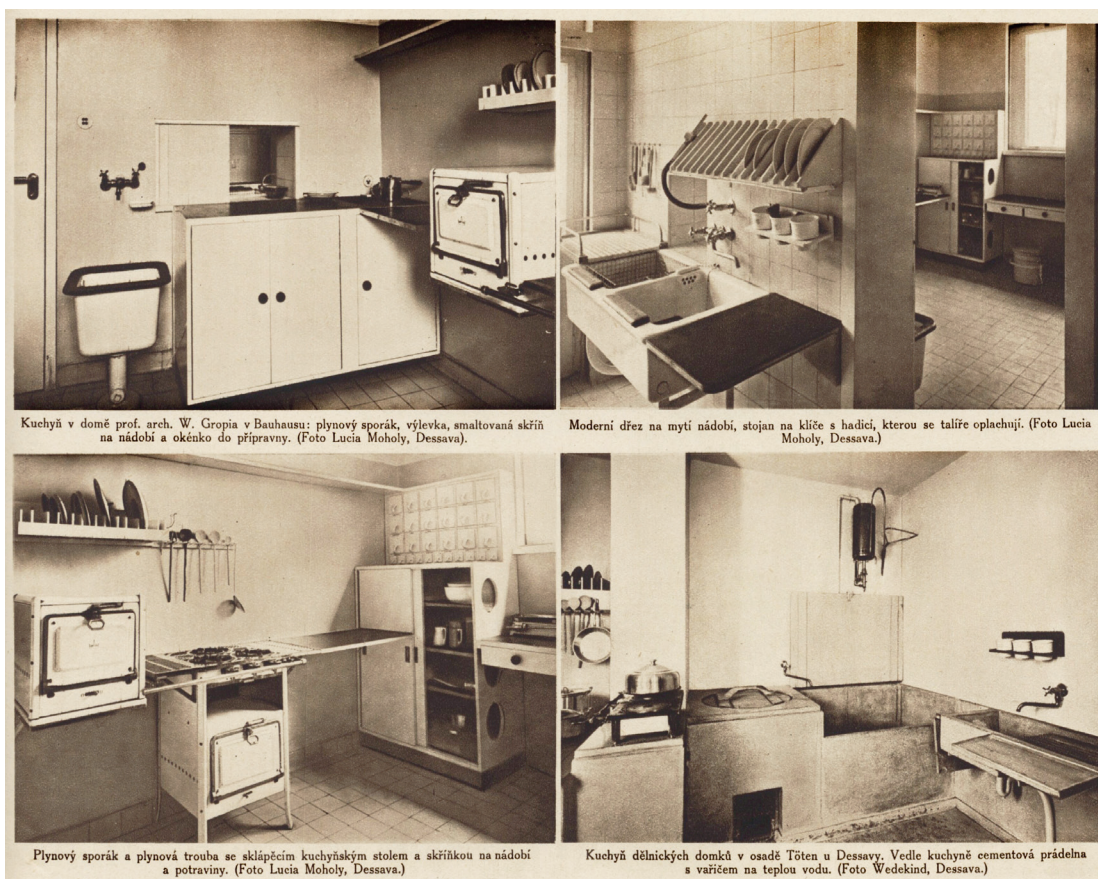


Fig. 2b.

that time the new gothic idea of a future age. Their manifesto that art should not be only for the privileged, but for the joy and life of the masses crossed over to the Bauhaus. The establishment of the *Workers' Council for Art* related to the complicated atmosphere of the fledgling Weimar Republic. The Social Democrats in Germany were confronted with a dilemma after losing the war and the breakup of the empire of how to resolve the internal political crisis. In order to prevent chaos and a Bolshevik revolution, they decided to cooperate, and on September 23, 1918, they demanded full parliamentarization of the empire. The parliamentary system was introduced in the monarchy by the Reichstag on October 28, 1918. Following this, Germany was swept up by the November Revolution, which ended with the adoption of the Weimar Constitution in August 1919.

In the post-war environment, a dominant view was that the collectiveness of work on the *Gesamtkunstwerk* achieves a form of social organization, which the sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies¹ characterized at the time with the term solidarity or community (*Gemeinschaft*), diametrically differing from society (*Gesellschaft*) and which does not bring people together but separates them and leads to individualism. Wick mentions that Tönnies' ideas coming from the intellectual environment could have inspired Gropius in 1919: "a gathering in a small community looking

¹ Ferdinand Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie* (Berlin: K. Curtis, 1922).

for a new, more humane, better organization of society, based on the ideas of harmony.”² Practical manual work played an important role in Gropius’ instructional concepts. August Hermann Francke (1613–1727) or John Lock (1632–1704) had already promoted this in their teaching systems. The school in 1919 still relied on the traditional courses of arts and crafts schools in its practical training. Another pillar of Bauhaus pedagogy at that time became science and theory, including the nature sciences, technology (material theory, the physical and chemical theory of colours, painting methods), art history (as the history of techniques, not styles), anatomy, and basic information on management and trade.

The 1919 programme is repeated in the 1921 Statutes: “The Bauhaus strives to educate artistically talented men and women to become creative, artistic craftsmen, sculptors, painters, or architects.”³ It no longer talks about training, but about “the learning of forms” that serve as an artistic supplement to learning a craft. In comparison with the 1919 programme, the curricula seem to be more transparent and disciplined. The main difference from the 1919 programme was in the provisions of the prepared courses (*Vorkurs*), which became the basis of Bauhaus pedagogy.

Let’s take a look at the overall atmosphere of the period from the standpoint of historical events. In 1921, Russian–German economic relations were established, and this was also the start of pro-Russian German politics. In 1922, a Soviet delegation visited Berlin at the invitation of Adolf Georg von Malzan. The meeting showed that Moscow was pushing for a political deal that would exclude Germany from the common western front. In 1922, an agreement was signed between Russia and Germany in Rapallo, Italy, which meant a breakthrough in the international political situation seemingly for both countries. “However, the real winner was Russia which achieved the first recognition of the Bolshevik regime *de jure*, eliminated the joint economic action of the West, and acquired more room for the use of the Germans’ technical and military knowledge for establishing the Red Army.”⁴ The result – the West’s mistrust of Germany, mainly France, which culminated in the French occupation of the Rhineland. With respect to culture, the Russian–German cooperation was reflected in the arrival of unofficial ambassadors of the Soviet Union El Lissitzky and Ilya Ehrenburg in Berlin at the end of 1921 in order to organize a Russian art exhibition. They issued the art review *Věšć/Gegenstand/Objet* in 1922. During the same year, Gropius appointed Wassily Kandinsky to the professorial team, and El Lissitzky attended the Dada constructivism Congress in Weimar, bringing the Bauhaus into direct contact with Russian constructivism. In 1921–1922, Theo van Doesburg, theorist in the Dutch *De Stijl* group, organized a private seminar in Weimar on the topic “Basic Concepts of New Art and Design.”

After 1923, the Bauhaus begins to orient itself more in the direction of industry. The period 1923 to 1929 is generally characterized as being an economic boom that staved off the radical moods towards the communist movement over a longer period of time. However, the significant economic upturn mainly concerned the USA and France, because they had profited the most from post-war loans and reparations. Germany faced a different situation at the beginning, where in 1923, there was a total collapse of the mark and a wave of wild strikes culminating in a general strike. Inflation was stabilized that same year by introducing the Rentenmark. Thanks to Gustav Stresemann, Germany then decided to depoliticize reparations and establish them on a real economic basis:

² Rainer K. Wick, *Teaching at the Bauhaus* (Stuttgart: Hatje Cantz Publishers, 2000), 65.

³ Walter Gropius, “The Statutes of the Staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar (January 1921),” in *The Bauhaus. Weimar – Dessau – Berlin – Chicago*, ed. Hans M. Wingler (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1993), 44.

⁴ Dagmar Moravcová, *Výmarská republika. Problémy demokracie v Německu 1919–1932* (Praha: Karolinum 2006), 72.

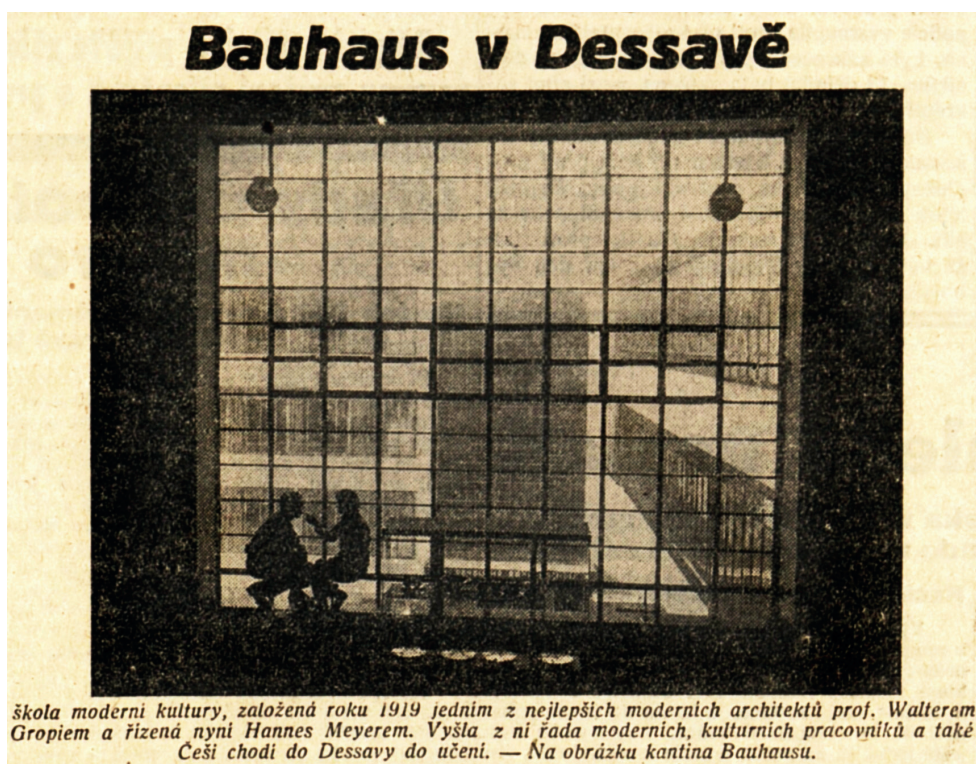


Fig. 3. Promotional photographs for the Bauhaus in the oldest Czechoslovak communist newspaper *Dělnická rovnost*, 1929. Photo: Archive of the author.

The foundation of Stresemann's policy of "understanding" that was nothing more than Wirth's previous policy of "fulfilment" was a combination of the basic goal of foreign policy – a revision of Versailles – with the tactics of seriously intended and not only demonstrative diplomatic talks with France with the support of Britain and the United States.⁵

In 1924, the Weimar Republic was finally examining the possibility of making reparations by way of the Dawes Plan,⁶ which also included the Dawes loan, renewing trust in the German economy. A change occurred even in relation to the West with the emergence of new politicians in France and England. The period from 1925 to 1928 can be characterized as internal stabilization and equalization of Germany, commenced in December 1925 with the signing of the Locarno Treaties and culminating with Germany's acceptance into the United Nations in September 1926. "The market liberalism of the 1920s halted the euphoria of communist radicalism in its tracks and once again provided the impetus for the social democratic parties,"⁷ which had appeared for the first time in the ruling circles after the war in the majority of countries. In addition, Bukharin's "neo-Menshevik wing" connected to the market economy politics of the NEP (The New Economic Policy) were winning within the Communist Party in the Soviet Union. In 1925, the Bukharin–Stalin tandem came up with the argument of the temporary and relative stabilization of capitalism. The NEP also facilitated economic recovery in Soviet

⁵ Ibid., 103.

⁶ Charles Gates Dawes – American banker and former director of the United States' Bureau of the Budget.

⁷ Pavel Bělíček, *Dějiny marxistické estetiky. Historický vývoj marxistického estetického myšlení* (Praha: Urania, 2005), 185.

Russia, and therefore, according to Stalin, there existed a “certain temporary balance” between the capitalist and Soviet system.⁸

This period must have been the most favourable for the development of the Bauhaus, though it had begun with criticism from the right and the negative stance of the social democratic minister Hartman, who called the school “an unnecessary and not very promising institution,” and he was not ready to support the Bauhaus by providing a loan, which dramatically restricted the school’s operations. In the end, the government retracted all agreements with the lecturers and forced the Bauhaus to close its doors.

Thanks to the initiative of the Social Democratic Mayor of Dessau, Fritz Hess, the school found a new home in 1925 in the small, but expanding industrial town. The following objective appeared in the study plan of the Bauhaus: to teach crafts, technique and formal teaching for artistically talented individuals concentrating on construction and to carry out practical research on the issue of house and furniture construction, the development of standard prototypes for industry and crafts. The trend of the school towards practicality is evident in the prepared courses that were extended for the entire year. At the end of 1920s, with the emergence of an economic crisis, the Bauhaus started to focus on sociological methods inspired by functionalism. After the Swiss architect Hannes Meyer took over the school, the school’s original system was eliminated and the term “polytechnical education” is introduced into teaching plan. The idea of Bauhaus underwent its final reinterpretation under Mies van der Rohe. The original concept of a unified art school had changed. The Statutes of 1930 state that the objective of the Bauhaus is to thoroughly train students in crafts, technologies, and art. Compared with Gropius’ concept, the artisan basis for instruction and architectural teaching in its comprehensive and integral sense were abandoned.

The reception of the Bauhaus in the Czechoslovak press

Bauhaus activity was reflected in the Czechoslovak press mainly by the leftist theorist of scientific functionalism, Karel Teige, the Marxist philosopher and literary theorist, Bedřich Václavěk, and the Berlin architectural theorist and foreign correspondent of the journal *Stavba*, Adolf Behne. The concept was followed more systematically in the journals *Stavba* and *ReD*, where Teige had worked, from 1923 until the end of the founding expressionist phase and until making personal contacts during the exhibition of international architecture in Weimar. Walter Gropius invited Teige to this exhibition in a personal letter. Gropius mentioned in the letter that he would like to “overcome the barriers of anti-German antipathy” and instead pursue “an objective professional exchange.”⁹ The Czech architects Josef Chochol, Jaroslav Fragner, Karel Honzík, Evžen Linhart, Vít Obrtel, Jaromír Krejcar, and Jan E. Koula participated in the exhibition, which was held from July to September 1923.

Teige thus began to pay more attention to schools when he embarked on his journey towards industrial production. He writes in *Stavba* in 1923: “it is one of the most interesting and most prominent art schools ever, founded upon a broad and modern foundation. Its purpose is to educate talented students as modern builders, painters, sculptors, or craftsmen.”¹⁰ In the same journal, Adolf Behne also published a text describing the state of German architecture:

⁸ Kevin McDermott and Jeremy Agnew, *Komiterna. Dějiny mezinárodního komunismu za Leninovy a Stalinovy éry* (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2011), 67.

⁹ Meghan Forbes, “To reach over the border: An International Conversation between the Bauhaus and Devětsil,” *Umění* 64, no. 3/4 (2016): 293.

¹⁰ Karel Teige, “Staatliches Bauhaus zu Weimar,” *Stavba* 2, no. 3 (1923): 8.



Fig. 4. Zdeněk Rossmann, design for the cover of the journal *Stavitel* with photographs of the School of the German Trade Unions ADGB in Bernau near Berlin by Hannes Meyer, 1930. Photo: Archive of the author.

It would be an exaggeration to say that the Romanticist wave is completely behind us. A transition from expressionism to material work is characteristic today for several of our most serious artists. I am thinking in particular of the architect Walter Gropius and his “Staatliches Bauhaus” created in Weimar [...] The desire for clarity, simplicity, and unity is gaining strength.¹¹

Behne speaks about the romantic phase of the Bauhaus in his *Chronicle of German Construction Art* after the war as “a delirium for Gesamtkunstwerk.”¹² Behne is more critical in a review of the *International Exhibition of Architecture in Weimar*, held as a part of the annual Bauhaus exhibition from August to September 1923. He speaks about the exhibition of architecture as the most valuable that was ever held here, but also criticizes it for its lack of concept (the absence of Berlage, van de Velde and Adolf Loos).¹³ Perhaps the strongest critique of the Bauhaus by Karel Teige was published in *Stavba* in 1923 under the title “The Weimar Bauhaus and German modernism” where he states that the school is suffering from several “delusions:” “The Bauhaus would especially like to be a model school of architecture, but it is nothing more than a reformed school of applied arts. [...] An art school of any kind, and the best today is nonsense and an anachronism [...] We know the only school – real life.” He then opposes Gropius:

If a machine is taken as a means of production and if the division of labour is considered, why is it thought that the knowledge of crafts is necessary for industrial work? Crafts and industry have

¹¹ Adolf Behne, “Německý dopis,” *Stavba* 2, no. 3 (1923): 47.

¹² Idem, “Kronika německého stavebního umění po válce,” *Stavba* 2, no. 6 (1923): 99.

¹³ Idem, “Internacionální výstava architektury ve Výmaru,” *Stavba* 2, no. 6 (1923): 107–108.

a fundamentally different thought and production process. [...] Where we want to teach architecture, we should not be doing decorative art. We should stand on a solid technical base.

This was followed by a critical analysis of the work of the Bauhaus against the background of *Staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar 1919–1923*, published for the aforementioned school exhibition.¹⁴

Teige was more indulgent with respect to the Bauhaus when the Saxon right-wing government threatened to suspend activities. He reflects in detail and with indignation the situation at various places in *Stavba*: “The abolition of this important institution, which is one of the most brilliant schools in Europe, would be a huge cultural loss” and compares its situation to the L’Ecole spéciale d’architecture in Paris which was modernized under the leadership of Robert Mallet-Stevens, but after his forced departure, it fell back into the ruts of the academic rails.¹⁵

In 1925, Teige managed to get to Moscow and Leningrad with the Society for Economic and Cultural Cooperation with New Russia (together with Jaroslav Seifert, Jindřich Honzl, Josef Hora, Zdeněk Nejedlý, etc.). He also visited here the Moscow VCHUTEMAS, which he compares to the Bauhaus in his commentaries, while finding them virtually identical when describing the study methods of VCHUTEMAS: “The student first enters elementary school where he studies the basic and essential problems of colour, shape, and shape, the aesthetic alphabet; and then to various faculties: sculpture, painting, architecture, graphics, metalwork, woodwork, textile work, ceramics” as well as construction: “When you enter the modern school palace in Moscow at Rozhdestvensk, you have the feeling that you are entering a factory.”¹⁶ Around 1926, the Marxist theorist Bedřich Václavek from Brno comes into contact with the Bauhaus professors and Hannes Meyer. During this period, he began to prepare together with other members of the Brno *Devětsil* poet František Halas and architect–typographer Zdeněk Rossmann the international publication *Fronta* (1927). After his visit to Dessau in July 1926, Václavek sent to *Stavba* a description of the new school building and the interview with Gropius reflecting certain uncertainties about the future:

It is overall a large establishment in the not-so-large town of Dessau. The mayor allowed this prior to the onset of the worst economic crisis that was strangling the life out of Germany. They tapped into this opportunity and carried out their plan, but now they must be even more committed. Many unexpected things were occurring that no one had any experience with and that called for an immediate and new solution.¹⁷

A leading Czech avant-garde theatre director, Jiří Frejka, came to *Národní osvobození* with a text focused on the description of the theatre and the pedagogical work of Oskar Schlemmer:

The desire for the standard, the desire for the most effective and perfect single solution, is all typical for today’s Bauhaus efforts. It is the desire for a perfectly methodical mastering of the given tasks, whether it be building, theatrical, or any other. Often with a lack of awareness that art is not mathematics, this group tries to introduce into it an interpretation, a formula in the form of a number. Art is said to be better the more mathematics is a part of it. It has one great advantage: art itself remains untouched, but the technique of art and its methodology lend itself to excellent precision and deepening.¹⁸

¹⁴ Karel Teige, “Výmarský Bauhaus a německá moderna,” *Stavba* 2, no. 12 (1923): 200–202.

¹⁵ Idem, “Pressestimmen für das Staatliche Bauhaus zu Weimar,” *Stavba* 3, no. 3 (1924): 61–62; idem, “Osud výmarského Bauhausu,” *Stavba* 3, no. 7, (1925): 130–131.

¹⁶ Idem, “Dnešní výtvarná práce sovětského Ruska,” in *SSSR: úvahy, kritiky, poznámky*, ed. Bohumil Mathesius (Praha: Čin, 1926), 119–179.

¹⁷ Bedřich Václavek, “Nová činnost Bauhasu v Dessavě,” *Stavba* 5, no. 4 (1926–): 62–62.

¹⁸ Jiří Frejka, “Bauhaus,” *Národní osvobození*, August 9, 1927, 3.

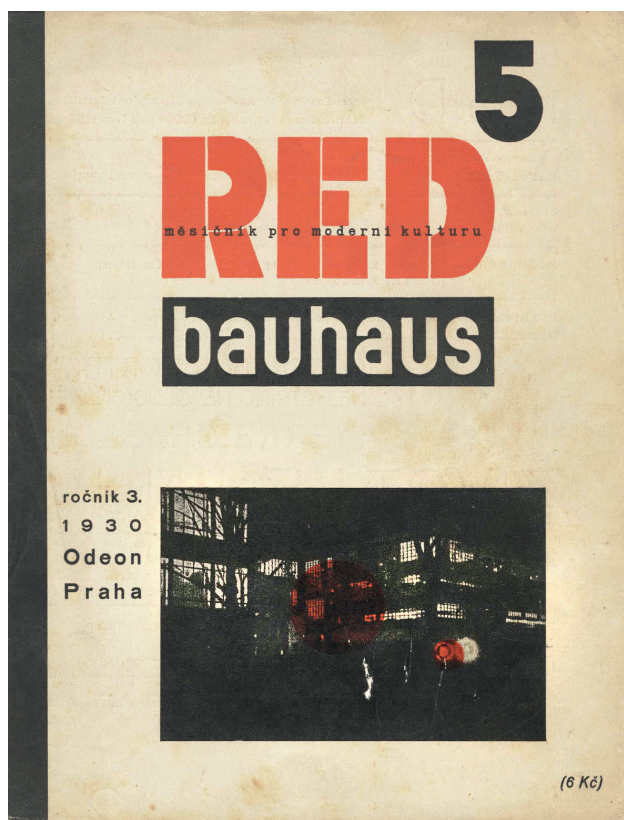


Fig. 5. Karl Teige, number 3, *RED* dedicated to Bauhaus, 1930. Photo: Archive of the author.

In the fifth edition of *Stavba*, the editorial staff did not forget to inform its readers about the appointment of the Bauhaus by a university institution, which occurred in 1926,¹⁹ and two years later, observed the personnel changes after the exit of the business director Walter Gropius and the appointment of the architect Hannes Meyer.²⁰ Teige also mentions the new school established after the exit of the Bauhaus from Weimar – Staatliche Bauhochschule – headed by the German expressionist architect Otto Bartning: “As opposed to the Bauhaus, whose programme was constantly clarified and refined in the direction of modernism, the Bartning school is positioned in the calm middle road and is uninterestingly eclectic.”²¹ Enthusiastic about the leadership of the left-wing architect Hannes Meyer, Teige writes in *Stavba* in 1929: “This institution is actually the most lively and modern school of architecture and modern creation, an institution that has no rival anywhere and that should be a model for all professional schools.”²² In another issue, Teige analyses in detail in the article “Ten Years of the Bauhaus” the historical, ideological, and mainly stylistic development of this school. According to Teige, in the initial phase, it had not yet lost the soul of Van de Velde: “it cannot get rid of formalism and decorativism; it is constrained by a certain modernized jugendstil.” After overcoming expressionism, it came to a sort of crossroads where the paths of suprematism, constructivism, and neoplasticism chaotically intermingled. Teige states with respect to Gropius’ programme: “Gropius formulated the programme for his new school with the slogan – The new association of art and industry,

¹⁹ Redakce, “Bauhaus v Dessavě,” *Stavba* 5, no. 7 (1927): 113.

²⁰ Karel Teige, “Bauhaus. Zeitschrift für Gestaltung,” *Stavba* 7, no. 4 (1928): 61.

²¹ Idem, “Staatliche Bauhochschule Weimar,” *Stavba* 8, no. 5 (1929): 80.

²² Idem, “Hannes Meyer,” *Stavba* 8, no. 9 (1930): 142.

connecting all creative arts to the highest objective – architecture,” which Teige considered to be a somewhat rejuvenated objective of ruskinism and “decorativism of the latest fashion,” whose symbol became Malevich’s and Doesburg’s square, and which imbibed the work with “orthogonal formalism.” As a result of movement, *Bauhausstil* was created in 1925 to 1927 according to Teige, “modernist manners and fashions, which are spread by Germany and Central Europe in the work of many zealous epigones,” which only points to “the deficiencies and flaws in the school’s pedagogical methods and the theoretical line and work programme.” All of this critique was directed to the enthusiastic celebration of the institution under the leadership of Meyer where the Bauhaus was transformed into an architectural-construction school that “quickly releases its work from aesthetic and formalistic speculation, seeks to pursue sociologically-based and real-life work.”²³ Teige also devoted the entire 5th issue of *ReD* to the Bauhaus with examples of work from instructors as well as students and supplemented with the texts of Hannes Meyer, the photographer Walter Peterhans, and the textile artist Otto Berger.²⁴ Most likely thanks to Václavek, photography with a short description of the school’s activity was published as well in Brno’s oldest communist newspaper *Dělnická rovnost*.²⁵

Start here Karel Teige also published a comprehensive text for the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the Bauhaus relating to the development of this school in *Panorama*, where he writes that “one decade of the Bauhaus is clearly more important than a hundred years of any art academy.”²⁶

In 1930, Teige published in *Tvorba*²⁷ and *Stavba*²⁸ a number of articles protesting the removal of Hannes Meyer. In the text “The Bauhaus and the poisonous gases of reaction,” he describes the circumstances that led to his dismissal, and he printed in *ReD* his protest letter sent to the Dessau Municipality:

As a foreign associate of the Bauhaus, I have to expressly renounce my further cooperation at this college, when the director of Hannes Meyer, who called me to work on the Constitution, became the victim of the provocative and retaliatory act of the Dessau Municipality for his worldview. I declare in this letter that I am in complete solidarity with Hannes Meyer. I also consider it my duty to the Czechoslovak and foreign public, which I have informed of Bauhaus activities in numerous professional and artistic journals since 1922, to point out in the same journals that Hannes Meyer, whose merits for the Bauhaus and whose excellent position in today’s truly modern architectural movement are acknowledged and highly valued in our country, was for no reason whatsoever, and in violation of the Bauhaus statutes, “discharged” and “dismissed” in a most disgusting manner.²⁹

Additionally, Bedřich Václavek published in the periodical *Čin* his disagreement with Meyer’s dismissal, when he declared his “socially oriented functionalism, which motivates his conclusions and judgements for economic reasons” as the only possible purposeful creation of the present.³⁰ After Meyer left for Moscow, the Bauhaus under the management of the architect Mies van der Rohe according to Teige and Václavek became only “an ordinary modernist art academy that will no longer interest us.” Antonín Hořejší,³¹ an active Czech musicologist, art historian,

²³ Idem, “Deset let Bauhausu,” *Stavba* 8, no. 10 (1930): 146–152.

²⁴ See *ReD* 3, no. 5 (1930).

²⁵ Bedřich Václavek, “Bauhaus v Dessavě,” *Dělnická rovnost* 1, no. 93 (1929): 4.

²⁶ ¹⁷ Karel Teige, “Deset let Bauhausu,” *Panorama* (1930–1931): 94–96, 130–134.

²⁷ Idem, “Bauhaus a otravné plyny reakce,” *Tvorba* 5, no. 33 (1930): 521–522, 542–543, 559–560; idem, “Doslov k Bauhausu,” *Tvorba* 5, no. 38 (1930): 604–606.

²⁸ Idem, “Hannes Meyer donucen k odchodu z Bauhausu,” *Stavba* 9, no. 1 (1930): 14.

²⁹ Idem, “Případ Hannes Meyer,” *ReD* 3, no. 9 (1930): 287.

³⁰ Bedřich Václavek, “Případ Hannese Meyera. Kulturní reakce v Německu,” *Čin* 1 (1929–1930): 1019.

³¹ Antonín Hořejší played an important organizational role in establishing of the School of Arts and Crafts in Bratislava.



Fig. 6. Zdeněk Rossmann, design for the cover of the Brno cultural revue *Index*, 1931. Photo: Archive of the author.

publicist, and secretary to the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, expressed a similar statement relating to the fate of the Bauhaus in *Slovenská grafia*.³²

Václavek met with Meyer in Moscow in October 1930, and he published the interview in which the architect enthusiastically and passionately speaks about his work in the Soviet Union in the communist *Levá fronta*.³³ In addition, the architect and typographer Zdeněk Rossmann referred to the situation relating to the Bauhaus in *Index* with knowledge of the local environment. He went to the Bauhaus as a guest lecturer after Meyer's departure, among other reasons, in order to gain teaching experience that he could use for reforming the School of Arts and Crafts in Brno.³⁴

The Swiss architect spoke about his work in the Soviet Union in Brno and Prague on 29 and 30, 1931 in the pro-Soviet activist lecture "In the Soviet Union as an Architect." In October, it was published in *Dělnická rovnost* thanks to Václavek's text "Architect Hannes Meyer from Moscow: We are a storm brigade of world proletarianism,"³⁵ where the activity of the red brigade in Moscow is illustrated once again with propaganda enthusiasm. A year later, the Slovak avant-garde magazine *Dav* reflected and briefly commented on the closure of the Dessau school by the Nazis.³⁶

³² Antonín Hořejší, "Bauhaus," *Slovenská grafia* 3, no. 5–6 (1931): 6–7.

³³ Bedřich Václavek, "Hannes Meyer v Moskvě," *Levá fronta* 1, no. 3 (1930–1931): 14–15.

³⁴ Zdeněk Rossmann, "Dessavský Bauhaus z roku 1931," *Index* 3, no. 4 (1931): 40.

³⁵ Bedřich Václavek, "Architekt Hannes Meyer z Moskvě: Jsme úderná brigáda světového proletariátu," *Dělnická rovnost* 3, no. 210 (1931): 3.

³⁶ Redakce, "Dessavský Bauhaus bol zrušený," *Dav* 5, no. 8 (1932): 120.

In 1935, a reflective essay “The Bauhaus, its concept and development” was printed in a non-political pedagogical collection *Výtvarná výchova* dedicated to the School of Arts and Crafts in Bratislava from the Hungarian publicist and theorist Ernst Kállai, who lectured at the School of Arts and Crafts in Bratislava during this time and prior to this worked as an editor for the magazine *Bauhaus* in Dessau (1928–1929). Kállai does not look at the school with the same Marxism enthusiasm as Teige or Václavěk, but he tries to critically assess it as a whole:

Just as much as the Bauhaus was initially spoken about with respect to spirit, humanity, and totality, if it was a question of building, then without reservation the concepts from the building and school programme had been eradicated in Dessau [...] One member of the Bauhaus formulated a clever statement that, in the Bauhaus, you learn to know metaphysics and its irony.³⁷

Ernst Kállai was often also a contributor to the German–Hungarian magazine *Forum: Zeitschrift für Kunst, Bau und Einrichtung*. In addition to Josef Vydra, Antonín Hořejš, or the German photographer of Jewish origin Werner David Feist,³⁸ the publicist and editorial board member Brogyányi Kálmán (1905 Horné Kočkovce – 1978 Yonkers, USA), historian and initially also supporter of the left-wing Hungarian intellectual movement Sarló (Srp) also reflected the Bauhaus concept on the pages of the periodical *Forum*. In 1931, Kálmán met up with Moholy-Nagy in Bratislava when organizing a five-day course for photographers and typographers at the School of Arts and Crafts which ended with lectures,³⁹ and he reported about it in detail.⁴⁰

In Czech–German Brno, the architect, entrepreneur, and co-founder of the USB furniture factories, Jan Vaněk, promoted as one of the first the concepts of the Bauhaus. In his industrial art collection *Bytová kultura* (1924–1925), which came out in Czech and German, he published a text by Walter Gropius “The Idea and Creation of a State Institution for Construction in Weimar” with detailed images.⁴¹ The German historian of Jewish origin, Adolph Donath (1876–1937) is also connected to the Moravian environment.⁴² This native of Kroměříž worked in Vienna and prior to the rise of the Nazi regime also in Berlin where he published the art history journal *Der Kunstwanderer* from 1919 to 1932. Although the journal was mainly geared to collecting and its cultural scope for the most part ended in expressionism, we can also find references here to the Bauhaus.⁴³ After his forced departure from Germany, Donath continued with editorial work in Czechoslovakia where he published in Prague between 1934 and 1937 a similar Neo-Kantian oriented journal *Die Internationale Kunstwelt* containing also longer studies on scenography and photography from the former student of the Bauhaus and German emigrant artist, Hannes Beckmann,⁴⁴ who had a workshop in Prague before the war. Even Karel Herain or Johannes

³⁷ Ernst Kállai, “Bauhaus, jeho idea a vývoj,” *Výtvarná výchova* 1 (1935): 11–12.

³⁸ Werner David Feist, printmaker and photographer, graduate from Bauhaus. He was active in Prague between 1930–1939. During his stay in ČSR he published in the magazine *Forum* the following texts. See Werner David Feist, “Das Lichtbild für die Reklame,” *Forum: Zeitschrift für Kunst, Bau und Einrichtung* 3 (1933): 302–303; idem, “Was ist ein Plakat?,” *Forum: Zeitschrift für Kunst, Bau und Einrichtung* 5 (1935): 199.

³⁹ Zprávy – kritiky – výstavy, *Slovenská grafia* 3, no. 1 (1931): 8; Zprávy – kritiky – výstavy, *Slovenská grafia* 3, no. 2 (1931): 7.

⁴⁰ Kálmán Brogyányi, “Vortrags – Zyklus Moholy-Nagy,” *Forum: Zeitschrift für Kunst, Bau und Einrichtung* 1 (1931): 90; idem, “A fotográfia útja. Der Weg der Fotografie,” *Forum: Zeitschrift für Kunst, Bau und Einrichtung* 2 (1932): 77–81, 108–112, 175–179, 209–211.

⁴¹ Walter Gropius, “Myšlenka a vytvoření státního ústavu pro stavební tvorbu ve Výmaru,” *Bytová kultura. Sborník průmyslového umění* 1 (1924–1925): 7–8, 29–34, 61–65.

⁴² Doris Bensimon, *Adolph Donath (1876–1937). Ein jüdischer Kunstwanderer in Wien, Berlin und Prag* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Judaica, 2001).

⁴³ Paul F. Schmidt, “Das Bauhaus in Dessau,” *Der Kunstwanderer* 8 (1926–1927): 181–182.

⁴⁴ Hannes Beckmann, “Künstlerische Photographie,” *Die Internationale Kunstwelt. Monatschrift für Kunstfreunde und Sammler* 2 (1935): 112–116; idem, “Bedeutung des Bühnenbildes,” *Die Internationale Kunstwelt. Monatschrift für Kunstfreunde und Sammler* 4 (1937): 9–10, 28–30.

Urzidil often wrote for this periodical. After 1933, the most democratic and anti-fascist journal in Czechoslovakia was *Prager Tagblatt*, and many German and German–Jewish artists, intellectuals, and emigrants contributed to the publication.

In addition to Karel Teige,⁴⁵ the school was given attention in popular magazines such as *Pestrý týden* by the textile artist Jaroslava Vondráčková, Otto Berger's girlfriend, as well as Hannes Meyer, or architect and Bauhaus company representative in Czechoslovakia Jaromír Krejcar and his wife at that time, news reporter Milena Jesenská.⁴⁶

Conclusion

From the analysis of the printed media, it is evident that promotion of the school (primarily in the Czech cultural press) strengthened after 1927 when the Swiss left-wing architect Hannes Meyer became the director. Under the influence of more intense media coverage, a larger amount of Czechoslovak students came to the Bauhaus during this period. Although in Weimar it involved only individuals mainly from the German environment, Czech and Slovak student had made their way to Dessau. A positive media picture was reproduced by left-wing avant-garde journals or newspapers as well as in the large-volume printed weekly paper for the middle class *Pestrý týden* by way of the already mentioned Milena Jesenská and Jaroslava Vondráčková. Thanks to the mutual contacts of Czech and Slovak teachers with the Bauhaus (e.g., Josef Vydra, František V. Mokřý, Ludovít Fulla, Zdeněk Rossmann, Bohuslav Fuchs, etc.), the didactic concepts of industrial artists had been demonstrably taken up by the Bratislava and Brno School of Arts and Crafts, and later also the School of Art in Zlín founded by Jan Antonín Baťa.⁴⁷

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⁴⁵ Karel Teige, "Bauhaus v Dessavě," *Pestrý týden* 2, no. 1 (1927): 2.

⁴⁶ Milena Jesenská, "Tajemství dobrého zevnějšku," *Pestrý týden* 2, no. 2 (1927): 10; eadem, "Demokratická pohodlnost," *Pestrý týden* 2, no. 33 (1927): 13.

⁴⁷ For more on the topic, see Markéta Svobodová, *Bauhaus and Czechoslovakia (1919–1938). Students, concepts, contacts* (Praha: KANT, 2016).

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An Active and Contemplative Way of Life in Selected Interpretations of Erwin Panofsky

Abstract | This paper deals with the processing of the theme of active and contemplative life in two selected examples of Renaissance art, namely in *Dürer's engravings Knight, Death, and the Devil and Saint Jerome in His Study*. According to Erwin Panofsky's *interpretations, the ideals of active and contemplative life* in the two mentioned works of art are rendered as two mutually contrasting and incompatible ideals. After a brief introduction to the Renaissance Neo-Platonic teachings on an active and contemplative life, which was also used by Panofsky in his interpretations, the paper points out that ideals of activity and contemplation can also be interpreted as complementary and mutually penetrating ideals. Moreover, the paper points to the possibility that Erwin Panofsky was influenced by his own understanding of the subject in his perception and interpretation of the two mentioned *Dürer engravings*.

Key words | Albrecht Dürer – Erwin Panofsky – Neo-Platonism – active and contemplative life

In art history circles, Erwin Panofsky is known, among other things, thanks to his numerous interpretations of those Renaissance works of art that should, in his opinion, visualize Neo-Platonic themes. This text discusses how Panofsky works with the issue of an active and contemplative way of life, as understood by the prominent representative of Florentine Neo-Platonism, Marsilio Ficino, and as reproduced by the German Renaissance scholar, Agrippa von Nettesheim. The text contains a closer look at two selected works by Albrecht Dürer, which Panofsky considers to be exemplary of the theme of activity and contemplation. Last but not least, this contribution should be a reflection on the possible influence of Panofsky's own understanding of the issues of an active and contemplative life in the manner he interprets such works of art.

In focusing on Panofsky's interpretation of the works depicting issues of the active and the contemplative in the spirit of Neo-Platonism, a common feature can be identified – Panofsky interprets these works by accentuating the mutual separation of the active and contemplative principle or the manner of being. However, when we study the writings of the leading Florentine Neo-Platonists, none of them have a clear assertion of mutual incompatibility or the necessity of separating the active from the contemplative. On the contrary, many Neo-Platonic texts explicitly call for activity within the sensual and intelligible world.

I.

When Erwin Panofsky discusses Ficino's philosophy, he often uses an astral dictionary and expresses himself through images of planetary divinities. Planetary deities have great significance in Ficino's doctrine, acting as allegorical characters possessing specific characteristic attributes

or personality traits, as well as characters performing individual activities. These allegorical characters should simultaneously be a tool of human self-reflection, since the planetary deities representing certain groups of human beings with their positive and negative features or activities serve many Neo-Platonists as prototypes through which they lead their readers to self-awareness and encourage them to follow or evade the character of one or another planet.

In connection with the subject matter of our research, Erwin Panofsky mentions the planetary deities, two in particular – Jupiter and Saturn. As Panofsky emphasizes in his texts several times, Jupiter and Saturn present in the Neo-Platonic theory a pair of deities under whose leaders one performs either an active or contemplative way of life.¹ In his text on the Neo-Platonic movement in Florence,² Panofsky states that, according to the teachings spread among the members of the Florentine Academy, one can experience two kinds of temporary bliss during one's life on earth, each of these two kinds of bliss having the potential to provide man with eternal salvation.³ He writes:

This temporary bliss is twofold: human reason, which is illuminated by the mind, can be used for perfecting human life and one's fate on the earth; and one's mind can directly penetrate the realm of eternal truth and beauty. In the first case, one practices the moral virtues formed under the rule of justice (*iustitia*) and thus one is recognized in active life [...] and cosmologically connects with Jupiter. In the latter case, one contributes to the moral theological virtues (*religio*) and consecrates oneself to a contemplative life [...] and submits to Saturn's guardianship.⁴

Erwin Panofsky characterizes Marsilio Ficino – as opposed to another prominent member of the Florence Academy, Cristoforo Landino – as very radical in views relating to the two discussed ways of life. While Landino prefers to carry out an active and contemplative way of being, Ficino – as Panofsky states – “was much more radical in defending the contemplative.”⁵ In the context of Ficino's Neo-Platonic philosophy, in which Saturn represents the mind as the highest area of the microcosm,⁶ it is to be expected that this oldest and highest of the planets will be the desired goal of all those who have ascended the Platonic path, and that Saturn will be represented by Ficino as an exemplary leader worthy of universal respect and following. Similarly, the concept of the contemplative, which is firmly connected to Saturn, should be the ideal of human activity in Ficino's philosophy. In addition to Saturn, Jupiter should be a planetary god operating in reason

¹ Panofsky writes that the Florence Neo-Platonists “have returned to the Platonic concept of Saturn by treating him as a defender and patron of deep philosophical and religious contemplation and identifying Jupiter with a purely practical and rational intelligence,” see Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 77.

² *Ibid.*, 129–169.

³ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁶ According to Ficino's philosophical doctrine, a person as a microcosm consists of the higher and lower part of the soul. The lower part of the soul includes the area of reproduction, nutrition and growth, the area of sensory perception, and the area of imagination, while the higher part of the soul consists of reason (*ratio*) and the mind (*mens*). Reason in a human being is an exceptional position – it is a link between the lower and the higher part of the soul, and for this reason, it can turn in both directions, both as material matters of the sensual world and to the physical demands of the body, as well as to the higher and exclusively immaterial area of the mind. The mind – unlike reason – is purely a contemplative activity, and as the most enduring and supreme area of a human being, an area that is capable of the closest connection to the divine world, and the divine mind filled with archetypal ideas, has the highest right and duty to enlighten and direct human reason. Reason is also responsible for the lower part of the soul and for acts connected with it, see *ibid.*, 136. Eadem, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (Boulder: Westview, 1960), 183; Marsilio Ficino and Jayne Sears Reynolds, *Marsilio Ficino's Commentary on Plato's Symposium: the text and a translation, with an introduction* (Dallas: Spring Publications, 1985), 135–137; Filip Karfik, “Duplex Venus. Marsilio Ficino a druhý život jednoho filosofického mýtu,” in *Druhý život antického mýtu*, ed. Jana Nechutová (Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2004), 163–177.



Fig. 1. Albrecht Dürer, Knight, Death, and the Devil, 1513, engraving, 24.6 × 18.9 cm, Cabinet des estampes et des dessins in Strasbourg. Available at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/>.

and the patron of an active way of life with only a lower and less valuable instance.⁷ However, the opposite is true. When we study Ficino's *Three Books on Life*, and especially the third book, we find a surprising claim.

Marsilio Ficino, in his reflections on the cosmic order and interaction of the macrocosm and microcosm, describes seven planetary deities,⁸ which attributes to these deities certain qualities, character traits, describes their influences and effects on people, and also concretizes their power over the individual mental and physical realms of a human being.

In Ficino's third of the *Three Books on Life*, we find a clear declaration of what Panofsky also repeats at a later time that Jupiter rules the active way of life while Saturn is a master over the life of contemplation.⁹ However, in his reflections on planets whose impact is most beneficial to humans, we do not find any mention of Saturn. Instead of Saturn alone, Ficino speaks of the so-called Three Graces – the three planets that are most useful to man. These three planets are the Sun, Jupiter, and Venus. Ficino's planetary teachings could be perceived in this sense as the teachings of versatility and diversity – Ficino does not recommend that a person be put into the care of only one planetary deity or to allow the interference of one planetary influence, but one should accept the greatest amount of beneficial and enriching gifts coming from multiple planets. In the *Third Book on Life*, he writes:

At the same time, combine solar and jovial things together with the Venusians and apply them to each other. If the necessity or duty forces you to turn to just one of these giants, turn to Jupiter himself, or better to both the Moon and Jupiter. Since no star supports and nourishes the natural forces within us – in fact all forces – more than Jupiter, no other star will offer more things or more beneficial things.¹⁰

Hence, Jupiter, which Ficino describes with such attributes as “helping father,”¹¹ one who “is of all of them most like human nature,”¹² or one whose influence is “most appropriate for humans,”¹³ is put at a much higher level by Ficino than Saturn. Ficino justifies the reason for Jupiter's sovereign status as follows: “In its essence and in its effect, [Jupiter] is a mediator between the Sun and Venus, and also between the Sun and the Moon, and therefore, embraces all things. [...] He who has Jupiter also has the Sun in it, and in it [in Jupiter], the Sun is best tempered for human existence.”¹⁴ And further: “What else is Jupiter than the Moon and Venus, only acting hotter and more powerful?”¹⁵ Thus, Jupiter holds such an important position in Ficino's astral doctrine precisely because, in the best and most balanced measure for humans, he brings together the properties, forces, and influences of several planets.¹⁶ If one abounds with the jovial nature and character and activities associated with Jupiter, one will excel not only by active engagement in civic life, respect for the law and adherence to it, seeking for truth and honour, and lack of lethargy, despondency, or laziness, but one will also possess a harmonious balance and moderation,

⁷ For the connection of Jupiter with reason and Saturn with the mind, see Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, trans. Kaske V. Carol and John R. Clark (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 2002), 365.

⁸ The Moon, Mercury, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Jupiter, Saturn.

⁹ “Through resignation from human affairs, through free time, solitude, stability, through theology, esoteric philosophy, superstition, magic, agriculture, and through suffering, we come under the influence of Saturn. We come under the influence of Jupiter through civic activity, through the activity that seeks honour, through natural philosophy, through a kind of philosophy that can be understood by most people, through civil religion, and through laws,” see Ficino, *Three Books*, 253, 365.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 269.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, 265.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 269.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 267.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 271.

¹⁶ For harmonization of the properties of multiple planets in Jupiter, see also *ibid.*, 263.

the need for passion and zeal, as well as clarity of imagination and nobility. The jovial spirit also carries a considerable resemblance to Saturn, which can be deduced from the following statement of Ficino's: "Astrologers claim that [...] Jupiter is also useful for philosophy and the revelation of truth and for religion."¹⁷

While Jupiter represents the diversity of all good qualities and influences, Saturn is characterized by his rigidity and immutability. Ficino writes: "Diversity protects against boredom which is harmful to the spirit and belongs to Saturn."¹⁸ While Ficino's third of the *Three Books on Life* is like an ode to Jupiter, Saturn is, in many places in this book, regarded as an unfortunate source of negative characteristics and adverse effects, and also as a phenomenon that one should avoid and one should mitigate its effects in life. In Ficino's writings, the following statements can be found on Saturn: "A healthy spirit does not have much to do with Saturn,"¹⁹ "Things that are too Saturnian [...] are like poison, naturally harmful to the spirit."²⁰ And elsewhere:

His effect is like a poison. Because of this [influence], some people are born or become unclean, lazy, sad, envious and exposed to unclean demons. Let's run away from all this. In other places, Saturn's poison is hidden and inactive as sulphur, far away from the fire, but in living bodies, it often fires up and – like ignited sulphur – not only burns but also fills everything around with harmful vapours and infects the surrounding. Jupiter arms us against this influence, which is generally alien and somewhat harmful to human existence.²¹

Saturn, the noble and mighty representative of the highest realm of the human being, of the mind, is presented by Ficino as a poison harmful to human beings. Ficino offers several multi-planet medicines for this "Saturn poison." In addition to Jupiter, Saturn's effect can also be weakened by Venus, the Sun, or the Moon with their own effects.²²

Following this information, the question is how is it possible that Saturn was exalted in Neo-Platonic philosophy as a patron of the contemplative in a truly positive sense? Saturn is a specific planet characterized by its dichotomous nature. In his action towards humans, Saturn is rather ambivalent, and two extremes can be found in the direction of the human race. Ficino states:

Saturn cannot simply represent any general quality and does not even represent a large number of human race, but he stands for the separation of the individual from others, (signifying the individual) the divine or whimsical, blessed or tormented by extreme misery."²³

¹⁷ Ibid., 265.

¹⁸ Ibid., 293. An example of Ficino's recommendation to choose not only the quality and assistance of a single planet for life, but to live in beneficial diversity through the influence of multiple planets can be found in Thomas Moore's book describing Ficino's original proposal to solve the problem associated with the judgement of Paris. Ficino stylizes into the role of Paris Lorenzo Medici himself. Moore describes Ficino's solution to the problem as follows:

Ficino interpreted these goddesses (Athena, Aphrodite, and Hera) as an allegory of wisdom, pleasure, and power, and his friend and patron Lorenzo warned that those who enjoyed one deity more than others will eventually pay for it. Socrates himself, Ficino says, chose Minerva, and his reward was death. But Lorenzo should not reject any of the higher beings. He should look at all three, and honour all three of them for their gifts. When you have to choose between the gods, choose them all.

See Thomas Moore, *Planety v nás. Astrologická psychologie Marsilia Ficina*, trans. Markéta Hrbková and Ruth J. Weininger (Praha: Malvern, 2011), 252.

¹⁹ Ficino, *Three Books*, 293.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., 367.

²² "Studying patients (under the influence of Saturn) are in danger of drying out, from which Venus protects them," see *ibid.*, 263. "If you are directing the Moon to Jupiter, it is useful to [...] expel the black bile (Saturn) and restore and strengthen the common fluid mixture in all human beings," see *ibid.*, 269. "When you worry about Saturn, use Jupiter," see *ibid.*, 275.

²³ Ibid., 251.

As can be seen from the above quote, Saturn does not exist between any perfectly balanced degree, but only in two extreme contrasting positions – a person can live either as a god or as an animal. Human life under the direction of Saturn can be either a blessing, success, and sovereignty, or extreme despair and misery.²⁴ Thus, where Jupiter represents the only middle ground, Saturn is split into two poles, one of which is sunlit and the other immersed in darkness.

In his writings, Ficino calls the narrow group of Saturn's "divine" and "blessed" chosen ones – following the example of Plato's Socrates²⁵ – "a golden race enjoying Saturn's age and his government."²⁶ It is this "golden race" that relates to the concept of the contemplative under the direction of Saturn. Ficino writes the following in relation to how Saturn acts on the spirit of his chosen ones:

Through the influence of Saturn himself, the substance of the spirit [...] is always called back from the outermost to the innermost regions and realities, and often from the lowest to the highest. For this reason, (Saturn) helps human beings contemplate mysterious and higher realities.²⁷

Using a certain verbal anthropomorphism and recognizing the ability of the planets to act as allegorical characters, one can say that Saturn – unlike Jupiter – does not tolerate competition. While Jupiter seeks to mediate for his followers the temperate qualities of several deities, and at the same time, divides his initiates with other planetary deities, Saturn claims absolute power over his chosen ones. Saturn calls his initiates into his own spheres – the highest and the most remote – and reveals to them the most secret and innermost realities. The condition of Saturn's paternal affection is the complete predominance of the contemplative intellect, or the mind in the chosen individual. As Ficino states,

Saturn is only favourable to this area [to the contemplative intellect]. Saturn is hostile to people who either lead a public and ordinary life or even to those who escape from society but that do not put their ordinary emotions aside. Since Saturn has given up ordinary life in favour of Jupiter, he claims for himself, a secluded and divine life. To the minds of those who are truly excluded as far as possible, he is friendly to them as if they were his family. [...] Saturn has taken over things that go beyond what is material.²⁸

To summarize, just as there are two different ways for Saturn to influence humans, there are two ways one can react to Saturn if they want to benefit from it. We have already mentioned both of these methods. Either you mitigate in the necessary degree the harmful effects of Saturn through the influence and action of other planets, especially Jupiter, and in this way, an individual will be able to make use of Saturn's weakened immutability, strength, and contemplative ability for their life, or you completely surrender your mind to Saturn. Saturn becomes for such a person not only an excellent leader, but also a "helpful father."²⁹ Ficino states: "It is not just the one who flees to Jupiter that escapes the harmful influence of Saturn and undergoes his beneficial influence, but it is also the one who gives himself with his whole mind to the divine contemplation of Saturn himself."³⁰

²⁴ For the two aspects of Saturn's nature – the "evil and mournful" and the "divine and profound contemplative" aspect, see, for example, Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion, and Art* (Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1979), 209.

²⁵ See Kratylus, 397 e – 398 C. Socrates states that the golden generation is identical to Hesiod's daemons, and claims that the golden generation is "good and beautiful," and its members are "reasonable and knowledgeable."

²⁶ Ficino, *Three Books*, 365.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 295.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 365.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 367.



Fig. 2. Albrecht Dürer, *Saint Jerome in His Study*, 1514, engraving, 24.7 × 18.8 cm, Kupferstichkabinett in Dresden. Available at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/>.

Ficino's attitude to planetary deities, which represent certain character traits and specific activities, can be summed up very well by Thomas Moore: "When you have to choose between the gods, choose them all."³¹ Although Ficino often recommends choosing the influence of Jupiter for life, the patron of active life, we know from his statement that with Jupiter one chooses many gods. On the other hand, however, it is also true that Ficino rejects the possibility of completely "surrendering oneself with all their mind to the divine contemplation of Saturn."³² However, Ficino's *Three Books on Life* seems primarily to be a recommendation for a healthy and well-balanced combination of active and contemplative ways of life.

II.

Dürer's engravings *Knight, Death, and the Devil* (1513) and *St. Jerome in his Study* (1514) can be provided as examples of Renaissance works that, according to Erwin Panofsky, present the issue of an active and contemplative way of life in the Neo-Platonic spirit. Panofsky considers these two engravings together with the famous engraving *Melencolia I* (1514) to be Dürer's three master engravings (*Meisterstiche*).³³ According to Panofsky's interpretation of Dürer in making these three engravings, the content was based on the text of Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim *Occult Philosophy*. As Panofsky points out, Agrippa's text is derived from Ficino's *Three Books on Life*, since in Agrippa's *Occult Philosophy*, sometimes "whole sentences are borrowed word for word"³⁴ from Ficino's work. However, Panofsky emphasizes one essential difference:

Ficino [...] considered the geniuses primarily in terms of *studiosi* "students" and *literati* "the learned," and according to him, creative, saturnian melancholy is the privilege of theologians, poets, and philosophers. It is purely metaphysical and therefore the highest of our intuitive "minds" *mens*, which is subject to the inspirational influence of Saturn. The discursive "reason" *ratio* that controls the sphere of moral and political activity belongs to Jupiter, and "imagination" *imaginatio*, which leads the hands of artists and craftsmen, belongs to Mars or the Sun. According to Agrippa von Nettesheim, furor melancholicus, i.e., Saturn's inspiration, may stimulate each of these three areas to supernatural or also "superhuman" activity. Agrippa, therefore, distinguishes between three kinds of geniuses, each acting under the impulse of Saturn and his furor melancholicus"³⁵

Therefore, Panofsky claims that, according to Agrippa, not only people in which the contemplative mind prevails are under the influence of Saturn, but also those with a predominance of reason and imagination. However, when looking closer at the chapter of Agrippa's text on which Panofsky draws we find the following statement at the beginning:

The cause of enthusiasm in humans is their melancholic nature, but not the one called black bile, which is very bad and nasty [...], but by that nature, we understand white bile. Fire and burning produces enthusiasm leading to science and prophesy, especially if there is another heavenly factor, Saturn in particular. And because Saturn is cold and dry like this nature, the enthusiasm that he strengthens and maintains flows into the soul every day. And in addition, being the originator of silent contemplation, having hated everything public, and being the highest planet, he does not

³¹ Moore, *Planety v nás*, 252.

³² Ficino, *Three Books*, 367.

³³ Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 151.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 169.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

refer to the soul only in its outer areas of engagement, but elevates it above earthly things up to the highest, bestowing on it science and knowledge of the future.”³⁶

Agrippa does not write about the melancholy nature (*furor melancholicus*) in connection with black bile, which is generally linked to Saturn,³⁷ but with white bile, to which “some other heavenly agent” may be added, and therefore, not only Saturn, even though Agrippa emphasizes him in particular. Thus, it is questionable whether Panofsky correctly combines *furor melancholicus* in Agrippa’s understanding exclusively with Saturnian inspiration. It is hard to imagine Saturn’s inspiration stimulating human reason and imagination when Agrippa writes about Saturn as one who “hates everything public” and who refers to the soul “in the field of its external engagement.” Agrippa mentions the following about stimulating the human mind, reason, and imagination:

The melancholy temperament is so powerful that its action sometimes attracts human bodies and heavenly demons, in whose presence and whose impulse people fall into a state of blissful enthusiasm, speaking wondrously. [...]; this is how it goes in three directions according to three mental powers: imagination, reason, and insight.³⁸

Even in this essay, Agrippa does not link the melancholy temperament exclusively to Saturn, and therefore, it is not ruled out that “heavenly agents” other than Saturn, especially Mars, the Sun, or Jupiter, are added to the melancholic nature in the case of the mental forces of imagination and reason.³⁹

Similar as in Ficino’s *Three Books on Life*, in Agrippa’s *Occult Philosophy*, we can find clear references to Jupiter’s leadership in active life, while Saturn is presented as a patron of the contemplative life. Their dominance over these areas can be derived, for example, from their respective places. Agrippa writes:

From a planetary standpoint, all places of stench, darkness, the underground, sadness, in which there are dead bodies, such as cemeteries and graves, inhabited by people abandoned and affected by age, places dark and terrible, isolated caves, slopes and depressions coincide with Saturn [...]. Jupiter belongs to all the select places, such as the assemblies of the highest officials, tribunals, apprentices, academies, schools, and all places ornamented, clean, and full of fragrance.⁴⁰

Agrippa agrees with Ficino regarding both Jupiter’s diversity and his balanced nature. In *Occult Philosophy*, he says: “Saturn controls the elders, the monks, the melancholics, hidden treasures, and everything that can be achieved only with difficulty and gradually; Jupiter has the subordinate religious figures, prelates, kings, princes, and fair profit.”⁴¹ So while Saturn is only the master of a group of people who are similar in character and action, Jupiter’s power encompasses a wide range of vocations from the righteous to princes. Jupiter, in the diversity and balance of

³⁶ Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, *Okultní filozofie. Kniha první* (1534), trans. Jaroslav Novák (Praha: Trigon, 1992), esp. chap. 60, see also online http://www.grimoar.cz/an_01/an_01.php?.

³⁷ For the connection of Saturn to black bile, see, for example, Klibansky, Panofsky, and Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy*, 209.

³⁸ Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, “O nadšení a věštách ve bdění, o síle melancholické povahy, kterou někdy i démoni jsou vábeni do lidských těl,” in *Okultní filozofie, Kniha první* (1534), idem, 132-135.

³⁹ Agrippa claims that Saturn moves the souls of its followers from the field of external engagement. When he talks about melancholic temperament a few lines later, he says that a person whose soul led by melancholic temperament has gone totally towards the state of imagination, “one often suddenly becomes the best painter, architect, or master of any art form,” see *ibid.*, 133. But if the human soul in which the melancholic temperament operates turns to reason, an individual with such a soul becomes “a philosopher, a physicist, or an excellent orator, and predicts changes in the kingdoms,” see *ibid.*, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 2004), 189. From Agrippa’s statements, it can be clearly seen how the effect of Saturn and the effect of the melancholic temperament in human reason and imagination are in contradiction.

⁴⁰ Idem, 100.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 60.

his qualities, extends his domain not only to people active in the world, but also to people who are by profession geared to contemplative reflection. Agrippa, similar to Ficino, recommends Jupiter as an effective remedy against Saturn.⁴²

Let's return to Dürer's two engravings mentioned above, to which Erwin Panofsky refers as follows: "*St. Jerome* is different from the *Knight, Death, and the Devil* as the ideal of the contemplative contradicts the ideal of the active."⁴³ Let's look briefly at Panofsky's interpretation of the two engravings. *Knight, Death, and the Devil* according to Panofsky's interpretation "represents the life of a Christian in the practical world of decision-making and action."⁴⁴ Panofsky states that this engraving by Dürer was influenced by the text *A Christian Soldier's Handbook* by Erasmus of Rotterdam. In the handbook, Erasmus advises that a Christian soldier will best defeat his enemies by ignoring them and regarding them as nothing. And it is this moment, according to Panofsky, that we see in the engraving – a soldier advancing courageously and peacefully and not noticing his enemies.⁴⁵ Even though the enemy's knight – death and the devil – stands in his immediate vicinity and tries to frighten and confuse him, the knight does not allow them to knock him out of balance and keeps his passive composure. *St. Jerome in his Study* should again represent "the life of a saint in the spiritual world of sacred contemplation."⁴⁶ Panofsky emphasizes the peace and seclusion of the saint's cell, as well as the pleasant atmosphere of the overall scene. The fact that Jerome is located in the back of the cell and is guarded by animals depicted in the forefront of the composition emphasizes the saint's inaccessibility and the impossibility of disrupting him from contemplative activities.⁴⁷

Although Erwin Panofsky presents the Neo-Platonian teachings of Agrippa von Nettesheim, and therefore also Ficino's teachings, as an inspirational source of Dürer's three master engravings, including the teachings of an important Renaissance humanist for one of the three engravings, he nonetheless interprets the scenes captured in Dürer's engravings of *Knight, Death, and the Devil* and *St. Jerome in his Study* as a portrayal of two conflicting ideals. However – without having to deduce the content of the engravings from a theoretical source – even when looking generally at *Knight, Death, and the Devil* or *St. Jerome in his Study*, we may notice that, in each of the two engravings, the ideals relating to the active and the contemplative are intertwined and complement each other. Dürer's knight, who is introduced by Panofsky as the ideal active way of life, is not shown – as one might expect – as a physically active and fighting knight who, by means of his weapons, actively defeats enemies. On the contrary, he is treated as a man who is extremely peaceful, almost passive. Based on Panofsky's interpretation, we can see in the knight a man who was instructed in the contemplation and studies of Erasmus' counsel concerning the moral values that should be customary for a Christian knight, and hence instructed and directed not to attack and to ignore his enemies. On the other hand, St. Jerome, the ideal of a contemplative life, appears to be extremely active in comparison with the knight. We could imagine this Christian saint as a representative of the contemplative life plunged in reflection with a skull in his hand. Instead he is fully concentrated on a book in which he is passionately

⁴² "If you are afraid of Saturn or Mars, resist them with Venus or Jupiter, because according to astrologers these planets are conflicting, which means that these things cause opposing passions in inferior things, because in heaven, where the abundance of all things and love rule, there can be no hatred or hostility," see *ibid.*, 148.

⁴³ Panofsky, *The Life and Art*, 156.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 151.

⁴⁵ Based on Erasmus' text, Erwin Panofsky writes: "This is precisely what Dürer expressed in his engraving: [...] The enemies of man do not seem real. They are not enemies to be conquered, but in fact they are 'ghosts and phantoms' to be ignored," see *ibid.*, 152.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 151.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 154–155. It is stated: "The saint works at the far end of the room, which in itself creates the impression of inaccessibility and peace. [...] Immersed in his writing, he is blessed with his own thoughts, with his animals, and with his God," see *ibid.*, 155.



Fig. 3. Albrecht Dürer, *Melencolia I*, 1514, engraving, 18.8 × 24 cm, Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin.
Available at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/>.

writing something. In Dürer's engraving, St. Jerome is not a personification immersed in himself and not lending to contemplative activity, but he is depicted as someone who has the power to serve society with his writings and translations. The content of his books should be a guide not only for the contemplative but especially for the socially active person (the same as Erasmus' text according to Panofsky's interpretation should influence the active life of a Christian knight).

Dürer's two engravings *Knight, Death, and the Devil*, and *St. Jerome in his Study*, which Panofsky interpreted as images of ideals through the active and contemplative, represent a huge paradox in which the passive knight can be seen as an image of active life and an active saint as an image of the contemplative life. Using Ficino's or Agrippa's dictionary, Jupiter's diverse and balanced properties can be seen in the knight and the saint, on the one hand, and the properties of Saturn mitigated by Jupiter's action on the other.⁴⁸

III.

The question arises why Erwin Panofsky, in his interpretations of works relating to the active and the contemplative as understood by Neo-Platonic thinkers and using the Neo-Platonic images of planetary deities, does not mention Ficino's elevation of Jupiter's diverse character and his strong recommendation to mitigate Saturn's power by jovial effects⁴⁹ and why he does not consider the possibility of combining or complementing the active way of life in a contemplative way, and vice versa. In his interpretations, Panofsky presented ideals of the active and the contemplative as ideals that are contradictory and therefore ineffective. Panofsky could have supported his claims with Neo-Platonic teachings, but his ability to perceive and interpret the works was also influenced by his own understanding of the subject.

In his text *In Defence of the Ivory Tower*, Erwin Panofsky compares the active and contemplative life, as well as the possibilities and limitations of people that are active within one of these two ways of life. Panofsky's notions of a "man of experience" and a "solitary thinker" appear to be in favour of or at least a defence of the other. Nevertheless, Panofsky does not reject the man of experience; on the contrary, he emphasizes the positive and irreplaceable role of both. When Panofsky considers a thinker who, using the American expression, puts himself in an ivory tower, he writes: "To the one who inhabits it, the tower prevents us from participating in life as actively as those who live outside of it."⁵⁰ In the context of this statement, the life of the contemplative thinker appears to be inferior or less useful than a person living and active outside the tower. Panofsky, however, continues: "The tower is not just a place of separation (or if you wish,

⁴⁸ In the same sense, we could also consider the last of Dürer's three engravings. *Melencolia I*, which, according to Panofsky, represents "the life of the worldly genius in the rational and imaginative world of science and art," see *ibid.*, 151, is a picture of what happens when the contemplative and the physically active activity are separated from each other. According to Panofsky, two figures on the engraving – Melencolia and putti – mark the contrast between its apathetic inaction and the bustling activity of putti. The mature and learned Melencolia represents a theoretical understanding that thinks, but cannot act. An uneducated child, forming a meaningless scrawl on its slate and almost the driving effect of blindness, represents the practical skill that it performs, but is unable to think [...]. Thus, theory and practice are not united, as Dürer demanded, but completely inconsistent; and the reason is helplessness and depression

See *ibid.*, 164. In this sense, a certain ideal can be seen in the image of the knight and saint – two engravings can be perceived as portraying two ways of life, in which certain activity (the active or the contemplative) prevails, but each activity is complemented by the activity or contemplation of the second path. The displayed characters do not deny the right to their specific life, but these characters are not left in the extreme of the borderline situation, which cannot be said in the case of Melencolia and putti. *Melencolia I* can, therefore, also be perceived as a picture of the result of the unbalanced state and the separation of the two modes, which in the case of the first two engravings, were always included in the action of one character.

⁴⁹ Only when interpreting *Melencolia I* did Panofsky mention the mitigation of the consequences of melancholy caused by Saturn through Jupiter's magic square, see *ibid.*, 167.

⁵⁰ Erwin Panofsky, *Význam ve výtvarném umění*, trans. Lubomír Konečný (Praha: Odeon, 1981), 366.

an escape), but also an observation tower [...]. The height extends the observer's horizons and allows them to see things in a perspective that is quite different than on the ground surrounding them."⁵¹ Thanks to the extended insight and deeper thought, this thinker can notice things that men of experience – plunged into social activities and often focused on a narrow range of issues – cannot. Thus, the status of a “man of experience” and a “solitary thinker” is clearly contradictory in Panofsky's rendering. He writes: “A man on the ground has an opportunity to act, but does not see [...]. A man in the tower sees, but does not have the opportunity to act.”⁵² Panofsky emphasizes that a solitary thinker may first notice the danger that threatens them and the entire society: “The tower of separation [...] is also a watchtower. Whenever its inhabitant learns that the life or freedom of the community is in danger, it has not only the possibility, but even the duty [...] to shout out loud at those who are below, even if there is little hope of hearing its voice.”⁵³ Then it is up to the men of experience on the ground whether or not they listen to the voice of the thinker and do something to save mankind.

Obviously, there is something extraordinary here. Although Erwin Panofsky believes that the thinker cannot take over the activity of the man of experience, nor can the man of experience the activity of the thinker, one can also look at it from another point of view. Similar to Dürer's engravings *Knight, Death, and the Devil* and *St. Jerome in his Study*, even here we can perceive the pervasion of contemplative and active activity. If the solitary thinkers want to warn people, they have to go beyond the threshold of silent reflection. They must to a certain extent enter the community of active people and organize among them significant activity in the form of alerting, explaining, or calling. On the other hand, if people who carry out an active life on earth want to hear and listen to the contemplative people, they must stop their activities and pay attention to what the contemplators say. They must think about the content of what has been relayed to them so that they are able to develop correct and beneficial activity. In such a situation, it is possible to perceive how the activity of the contemplative draws the active into contemplation. There is a moment when the active and the contemplative exchange their roles, and at this important moment of interaction of the active and the contemplative, at the moment of union and cooperation of two human groups, it can maintain, nurture, and even save the world.

People who have an active and contemplative life not only co-exist together but also enter into relationships, cooperate, and influence and guide each other. Panofsky highlighted this fact in another place. In the text *The History of Art as a Humanistic Discipline*, we read: “One who leads a contemplative life cannot help but affect the active life as well as one cannot prevent an active life from affecting one's thinking.” And a bit further:

It is impossible to imagine our world as a summary of events because – as scholars have said – only in God, does consistency between thought and action dominate. The circumstances we live in can be understood only when we realize that these two factors are intermingled.⁵⁴

In spite of this finding and acknowledging the excellent results that can be achieved with the collaboration of the contemplative and active activities of members of the human race, Panofsky holds the view that one should remain faithful to one's vocation, either to an active life or a contemplative life. In his text *In Defence of the Ivory Tower*, there is no mention of the

⁵¹ Ibid., 368.

⁵² Ibid., 370. Panofsky's claim has a distinct similarity to his own interpretation of two figures from Dürer's engraving *Melencolia I* – Melencolia and putti. Panofsky refers to these two characters as follows: “The mature and learned Melencolia represents the theoretical understanding that it thinks but cannot act. An uneducated child [...] represents a practical skill that it performs, but it is not able to think,” see eadem, *The Life and Art*, 164.

⁵³ Eadem, *Význam*, 370.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 31.

combination or interchange of these activities in the life of a person. Panofsky, on the contrary, stresses that, despite all of the complaints from the people on the ground, “the inhabitants of the tower can still remain where they are”⁵⁵ and closes his text as follows: “The watchman can only sound the alarm. However, in order to at least fulfil this great role, one must remain faithful to one’s tower.”⁵⁶

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⁵⁵ Ibid., 367.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 371.

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Lacuna e integrazione nel restauro dei metalli archeologici: oltre la ricomposizione, verso la restituzione dell'opera. Riflessioni e proposte, tra teoria e prassi.

ABSTRACT | The task of the conservator, in cooperation with the archaeologist, is to analyse archaeological material from an historical and technical standpoint in such a way that the act of conserving prior to presentation of an artefact is designed and executed for the specific artefact. This intervention must be carried out in a competent manner, i.e. the form and recognition must not be disrupted. Unfortunately, due to the corrosion of metal objects, artefacts change, which make the work of the conservator difficult. During instruction at the ISCR (Istituto Superiore per la Conservazione ed il Restauro), the possibilities for reconstructing complex metal artefacts in a collection, which shows signs of formal and aesthetic integrity, were analysed as examples. It involved filling the caesurae and defects in morphology and size. This work was aimed at restoring the integrity of the work on the formal and aesthetic side. The study also recapitulates the contribution in terms of the historical utility function of the studied objects and their technical properties.

Introduzione

Nel campo del restauro dei manufatti metallici di provenienza archeologica, la ricomposizione e la successiva restituzione dell'opera determinano la corretta lettura dell'oggetto suggerendone la reale morfologia. Sfortunatamente, nel caso del restauro di queste tipologie di manufatti, è particolarmente frequente trovarsi di fronte ad una notevole diversità di interventi di ricomposizione, integrazione e restituzione. Questi sono riconducibili a concezioni di solito difficilmente mediabili, basate su principi opposti che variano dall'integrazione mimetica, che si ritrova in contesti per lo più oltrecortina, ad un rigido rigorismo espresso invece in Italia.

Seguendo questa seconda prassi, ampiamente adottata, seppure con esiti a volte piuttosto sconcertanti o dalle soluzioni esecutive discutibili, le lacune si dovrebbero trattare cercando di mantenere in "evidenza visiva" le parti risarcite mediante una restituzione volumetrica, caratterizzata da un leggero sottolivello rispetto alla superficie originale del reperto, e con una restituzione cromatica sottotono rispetto a quella della cromia originale. Questo troverebbe concettualmente concordanza in una "estensione" del pensiero di Cesare Brandi, in base al quale

qualsiasi manufatto antico ridotto in frammenti deve essere considerato come un “rudere” da non integrare, benché in verità nella teoria brandiana non vi sia particolare attenzione ad alcune classi di materiali di provenienza archeologica, soprattutto quelli non figurativi, come è il caso dei reperti metallici. Tale prassi, portata all'estremo, tende a lasciare il reperto archeologico privo di qualsiasi “ipotesi integrativa,” rifiutando ogni completamento anche se certo e limitato a parti di piccola entità, realizzando dei risarcimenti solo nelle zone che strutturalmente lo necessitano. Non è raro, dunque, che il fruitore dell'opera si possa trovare a volte nella difficile condizione di osservare il reperto cercando di comprenderne forma e superficie, visto che di fronte ad una “mancanza di materia” quale è una lacuna, spesso risulti ardua una chiara e corretta lettura.

Negli anni si è assistito ad una progressiva storicizzazione del pensiero di Brandi e se alcuni tentativi di conciliare la sua teoria con proposte e soluzioni operative su questi manufatti hanno condotto spesso a interventi poco approfonditi e di carattere generale, altri hanno invece maggiormente contribuito ad analizzare il concetto di restauro per questa specifica tipologia di beni, con apporti significativi sia per rigore metodologico delle proposte che per correttezza della prassi operativa, sebbene limitati alle terrecotte e ai manufatti ceramici.¹ Appare perciò necessario provare a reimpostare il problema del trattamento delle lacune nei materiali archeologici in metallo, proprio ripartendo da una rilettura e da un nuovo commento alla brandiana “Teoria del restauro”², nel tentativo di superare le differenti soluzioni finora proposte, spesso contrastanti e lontane da una corretta comprensione visiva del reperto archeologico, evitando sia una mancata riconoscibilità dell'intervento di restauro che una sua eccessiva visibilità, al fine di raggiungere una reale “visione unitaria” dell'opera.³

Una questione di termini

Nel settore specifico del restauro dei manufatti metallici, un primo e fondamentale problema da risolvere riguarda la terminologia con la quale si definiscono le diverse forme di degrado che possiamo riscontrare per questa peculiare classe di materiali. Al momento si dispone solo di un documento in fase di bozza,⁴ mediamente condiviso perché poco noto tra i restauratori italiani specializzati in questo settore. Qui la lacuna viene genericamente definita come “perdita di una parte del manufatto,” mentre in un contributo più recente⁵ la si descrive quale “discontinuità profilata riconoscibile in una tessitura materica altrimenti strutturalmente e formalmente continua,” specificando come nel campo, quanto mai sfaccettato, delle opere d'arte il termine “lacuna” evochi una mancanza, un vuoto o una perdita delle superfici pittoriche (pitture murali, dipinti su tela e tavola, materiale cartaceo) oppure del colore e del volume (scultura lapidea,

¹ Giovanna Bandini, *Forma e immagine: ossia considerazioni sul problema delle lacune nelle ceramiche, Faenza* 78 (1992), n. 3–4, 223–230, tavv. LIII–LV. (Atti della Giornata di Studi, Faenza, 22 settembre 1990).

² Cesare Brandi, *Teoria del restauro* (Torino: Einaudi, 1977).

³ Vilma Basilissi, “Un reperto metallico dallo scavo del Padiglione 18. L'intervento conservativo”, in (a cura di Paola Palazzo e Carlo Pavolini) *Gli dei propizi. La Basilica Hilariana nel contesto dello scavo dell'Ospedale Militare Celio (1987-2000)*, 2013, pp. 372-375; Vilma Basilissi, Marta Giommi, Giuseppe Guida, Maurizio Mariottini, Simona Pannuzi, “(Ri)portati alla luce: gli armamenti del guerriero. Nota preliminare sull'intervento conservativo ISCR su elementi di armatura in bronzo di epoca arcaica”, in *Dalla Valdelsa al Conero. Ricerche di archeologia e topografia storica in ricordo di Giuliano De Marinis*, 2017; Maria Carolina Gaetani. La reintegrazione delle lacune attraverso la tecnica del tratteggio: Considerazioni sul metodo. Dalla teoria alla prassi. In (a cura di M. Andaloro), *La Teoria del restauro nel Novecento da Riegl a Brandi*, 2006; Sergio Angelucci. Materia come “struttura” e materia come “aspetto”. Dalla teoria alla prassi. In (a cura di M. Andaloro), *La Teoria del restauro nel Novecento da Riegl a Brandi*, 2006.

⁴ Per la terminologia relativa al degrado dei beni culturali in lega metallica ci si basa sul lessico Normal per i metalli, datato al 2001 e rimasto purtroppo allo stato di bozza.

⁵ AA.VV. 2010, (a cura di Cristina Giannini), *Dizionario del restauro. Tecniche diagnostica conservazione* (Firenze: Nardini editore, 2010), p. 96.



Fig. 1.

metalli, scultura lignea, materiali ceramici e manufatti complessi come mosaici, commessi, arazzi, tessili, oreficeria). In verità, nella prassi del restauro corrente, con il termine lacuna definiamo un'interruzione formale e di superficie solo qualora essa si presenti circoscritta. Ciò la distingue da una “mancanza” intesa quale perdita completa di una parte o di un elemento nella sua interezza, o qualora si verifichi una discontinuità tale da compromettere la lettura dell'esatto “profilo archeologico” di un manufatto/oggetto.

Ma è Brandi a spiegare meglio la lacuna nel senso dei suoi possibili effetti di annullamento dell'unità dell'opera e ad indicare i metodi per limitare, ridurre o cancellare tali esiti.⁶ Si tratta di una intuizione del disturbo che la lacuna produce non solo nel punto in cui è collocata, ma spesso sull'intera opera. In altre parole avviene un'inversione della percezione a causa della quale la lacuna *avanza*, divenendo figura e interferendo quindi con l'opera che arretra a fondale. Se questo è il gioco percettivo, la reintegrazione dovrà, al contrario, far regredire la lacuna a fondale. Necessario sarà dunque considerarne le caratteristiche distinte per morfologia, dimensione e distribuzione, valutando e definendo ogni misura volta all'integrazione, sempre in funzione della tipologia e delle peculiarità del manufatto. Ma se si vuole ottenere ad un tempo la massima stabilità, il minimo delle modifiche ed una chiara leggibilità è però indispensabile che la restituzione del “testo” venga definita contestualmente al nuovo intervento conservativo.⁷

Dunque bisognerà attentamente valutare quando, in che modo e con cosa integrare, come si è cercato di verificare nei casi-studio di seguito analizzati.

I due casi-studio

Per meglio comprendere la tematica oggetto di questo studio si è deciso di presentare due interventi di restauro svolti recentemente presso i laboratori dell'ISCR e orientati alla corretta restituzione delle superfici e dei volumi dei reperti.

La riflessione teorica e tecnica, condotta sulla problematica riguardante la ricomposizione dei frammenti e le modalità di realizzazione delle integrazioni formali e percettive sui reperti metallici di provenienza archeologica (con ricostruzione della forma integrata anche coloristicamente), si innesta in un momento di progressiva revisione di quelle metodologie di restauro integrativo che vanno avanti ormai da molto tempo, ma che spesso si rifanno a criteri molto generali, sebbene precisi, ma poco attenti a porsi in rapporto stretto con l'opera.

In questo caso il compito del restauratore, coadiuvato dalla competenza dell'archeologo, consiste nell'analizzare il reperto dal punto di vista storico e tecnico al fine di progettare,

⁶ Brandi, *Teoria del restauro*, p. 75ff.

⁷ A. Melucco Vaccaro, *Archeologia e restauro* (Milano, 1989).



Fig. 2.

e successivamente realizzare, un intervento conservativo che riesca a presentare il manufatto evitando qualsiasi incomprensione nella ricostruzione della forma e della volumetria dell'opera.

Molto spesso, all'inizio dell'intervento di restauro, il restauratore si trova a dover indagare una grande quantità di frammenti completamente oscurati dalla presenza di depositi di diversa natura che celano la superficie d'origine del manufatto. L'iter conservativo dovrà quindi procedere progressivamente andando a individuare quei dettagli tecnologici che possano permettere di effettuare confronti tipologici con altri manufatti coevi. La ricerca bibliografica e il confronto con altre opere determinano dunque la prima fase di approccio critico al problema pratico di restituzione del manufatto.

Nel corso degli anni accademici 2014–2016, all'interno dell'attività didattica di laboratorio del Percorso Formativo Professionalizzante 4 della Scuola di Alta Formazione, sono stati affrontati due interventi di restauro volti alla restituzione di manufatti metallici complessi e perciò riferibili alla problematica in oggetto.

Il primo ha riguardato l'intervento su un reperto proveniente dal cantiere archeologico realizzato nel 1998 all'interno dell'Ospedale Militare del Celio a Roma e inizialmente indicato come catino o recipiente di ferro, ma di cui non è stato possibile chiarire ad oggi la sua funzione d'uso. Giunto in laboratorio come un prelievo in blocco, unitamente alla terra di scavo, il manufatto è risultato parzialmente composto da 42 frammenti (figg.1, 2)⁸.

Il secondo intervento riguarda invece il restauro di tre elementi di armatura in bronzo di età arcaica (un elmo e due schinieri), costituiti da più di 100 frammenti, rinvenuti in modo fortuito probabilmente nel territorio al confine tra Marche e Lazio e giunti nel 2013 nei laboratori di restauro dell'ISCR⁹ (fig 2).

Per entrambi gli interventi di restauro è stata necessaria una programmazione preliminare che rendesse chiari tutti i passaggi fondamentali ai fini di un corretto restauro. Come già detto, la ricerca bibliografica e il confronto con altre opere determinano la prima fase di approccio critico al problema pratico di restituzione del manufatto. La grande quantità di frammenti conservati, in particolare per il recipiente in ferro e per l'elmo in bronzo, ha reso inoltre necessaria una continua e minuziosa attività di controllo dei livelli di pulitura dei manufatti, grazie alla quale è stato possibile, attraverso confronti tipologici con altri manufatti coevi, individuare quei dettagli tecnologici e formali che altrimenti sarebbero potuti sfuggire. In seguito alle fasi di pulitura delle superfici e alla comprensione della volumetria dei reperti, avvenuta con la ricomposizione provvisoria delle forme, è stata affrontata la problematica delle lacune e della loro integrazione (fig 1.).

⁸ L'intervento integrativo sul manufatto inv. 516 520 (Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma) allora non ancora completato, è confluito nell'articolo Basilissi 2013, "Un reperto metallico dallo scavo del Padiglione 18. L'intervento conservativo," in (a cura di Paola Palazzo e Carlo Pavolini) *Gli dei propizi. La Basilica Hilariana nel contesto dello scavo dell'Ospedale Militare Celio* (1987–2000), 2013, 372–375.

⁹ Parte del lavoro di restauro è stato recentemente pubblicato (vedi nota 3).



Fig. 3.

E' durante le fasi di pulitura e di assemblaggio provvisorio che il restauratore deve risolvere uno dei problemi più delicati, ovvero quello rappresentato dallo studio delle "superfici" mediante l'analisi delle forme di degrado, alle quali queste sono soggette a causa, principalmente, dei fenomeni corrosivi cui il metallo di base è sottoposto. Tali fenomeni caratterizzano i manufatti metallici e possono determinare una loro completa trasformazione che deve essere presa in considerazione per focalizzare il rapporto tra volumi/integrazioni formali e tra superfici/qualificazione cromatica delle integrazioni, alla ricerca della piena restituzione dell'oggetto e nel rispetto dei basilari e condivisi principi che regolano gli interventi diretti di conservazione e restauro. La differente caratterizzazione della superficie dei due gruppi di manufatti ha dato la possibilità di eseguire delle integrazioni simili dal punto di vista teorico, finalizzate al recupero sia formale che estetico delle lacune, ma molto differenti dal punto di vista tecnico. In particolare ci siamo focalizzati sul trattamento della *texture* per il reperto in ferro e dell'equilibratura cromatica per i reperti in lega

di rame, accordando in tal modo le parti di restauro alla superficie originale dei manufatti, pur nel rispetto del principio di riconoscibilità dell'intervento.

Lo studio dei reperti presi in esame ha fornito degli spunti importanti per la messa a punto di una metodologia di intervento, nonché per la ricerca e comparazione dei prodotti e materiali utilizzati per il risarcimento delle lacune. Se infatti dal punto di vista teorico è complesso decidere come intervenire su oggetti di questa tipologia, proponendo degli interventi mirati alla ricomposizione formale dell'opera, ancora più complesso è riuscire a realizzare tecnicamente alcuni risarcimenti.

L'analisi delle superfici ha determinato la necessità di eseguire delle integrazioni molto diverse tra loro: il reperto in ferro necessitava di integrazioni di estensione medio/piccola, con una superficie molto irregolare dal punto di vista materico ma uniforme dal punto di vista cromatico, di spessore variabile e di colore marrone scuro, *mat* e fortemente opaca; invece il reperto in lega di rame necessitava di integrazioni medio/grandi, con una superficie liscia, cromaticamente eterogenea, di spessore costante e opaca, con alta tenuta di carico. Per questo motivo è stato necessario effettuare delle prove di laboratorio al fine di comprendere quali materiali fossero più idonei per l'integrazione delle lacune.

L'analisi dello stato dell'arte ha orientato la scelta verso tre tipologie di materiali comunemente utilizzati per il restauro dei manufatti metallici, che sono stati testati per comprenderne le caratteristiche di lavorabilità e compatibilità, al fine di attuare una scelta ponderata.

Rispetto a generali criteri di selezione riguardo ai materiali da utilizzare per il risarcimento delle lacune volumetriche si può stabilire un ordine tecnico generale. Questi materiali dovrebbero avere:

- una certa flessibilità (non essere troppo rigidi né poco sostenuti);
- una capacità di essere pigmentati per avere lo stesso colore, in sottotono, del materiale costitutivo del manufatto alterato/corrosivo;
- un tempo di lavorabilità e una compatibilità con gli altri materiali integrativi, così da rendere meno complesse le lavorazioni dirette sull'originale.

Solo su questa base sarà possibile scegliere le più idonee soluzioni di integrazione formale ai fini del risarcimento percettivo delle superfici, quale completamento “critico” alla superficie originale del manufatto.

Pertanto, sono state prese in esame le seguenti resine epossidiche: ETOBOND® 6066 + indurente 6067, UHU plus® Endefest 300 e ARALDITE® LY 544 + indurente 956. La valutazione delle loro caratteristiche tecniche è stata effettuata tramite esecuzione di provini e il loro impiego per le integrazioni è stato condotto mediante delle prove preliminari all'intervento. Tra i parametri importanti per la scelta dei prodotti da utilizzare vi è stata la valutazione del tempo di lavorabilità e la facilità di applicabilità in verticale, caratteristica fondamentale per la realizzazione di alcune integrazioni. Per una lettura dei dati a confronto, sono state riportate di seguito tutte le proprietà riscontrate (tabella I).

Tabella I.

CARATTERISTICHE	ETOBOND® 6066	UHU plus® Endefest 300	ARALDITE® LY 544
Consistenza/Forma fisica	in pasta	alta viscosità	bassa viscosità
Colore/Aspetto	bianco/opaco	giallo/traslucido	trasparente/traslucido
Periodo di lavorabilità (a 20°)	20 minuti	90 minuti	30 minuti
Rapporto legante/indurente	4/1	1/1	5/1
Lavorabilità della superficie prima dell'indurimento	alta	media	bassa
Lavorabilità della superficie dopo l'indurimento	alta	media/alta	alta
Applicabilità in posizione verticale	alta	solo mediante controforma	solo mediante controforma
Colorazione	pigmenti in polvere	pigmenti in polvere	pigmenti in polvere/ coloranti per epossidiche
Flessibilità	bassa	alta	media
Resistenza esposizione UV	buona	tende ad ingiallire	buona
Compatibilità con altre resine	alta	alta	alta

Un dato fondamentale, e che non può essere riassunto in tabella, sta nel fatto che le tre resine sono risultate completamente compatibili tra loro. Ciò ne ha permesso il loro utilizzo combinato in relazione alle necessità specifiche richieste nell'intervento conservativo, come verrà descritto nei due casi di studio seguenti. Qui, una buona programmazione di tutte le fasi dell'intervento di restauro, la scelta dei materiali e le loro modalità di applicazione e di lavorazione, sono alla base della corretta resa nella presentazione formale ed estetica del manufatto.



Fig. 4.

Nello specifico, l'intervento conservativo operato sul probabile catino in ferro, rinvenuto nello scavo romano, è stato rivolto inizialmente alla scelta del livello di pulitura da raggiungere. Infatti, la superficie in ferro presentava ampi fenomeni di alterazione che avevano determinato la presenza di ossidi ed idrossidi di ferro inglobanti materiale presente nel terreno di giacitura. terminate le fasi di pulitura e osservate minuziosamente le superfici interne ed esterne dell'oggetto è stato eseguito l'intervento di ricerca delle connessioni tra i frammenti e di ricomposizione provvisoria. Durante questa operazione temporanea è stato possibile verificare la grande quantità di lacune presenti e si è scelto di eseguire una ricomposizione formale del reperto volta alla chiusura di alcune parti che disturbavano l'osservazione del catino. Il manufatto è stato assemblato e ricomposto con l'impiego della UHU Plus 12h che, anche se dotata di alcune buone caratteristiche, mancava di alcuni requisiti fondamentali quali la possibilità di una rapida polimerizzazione o la facilità di collaggio in doppia parete, cosa che avrebbe reso complicato risarcire la volumetria del pesante ma delicato reperto. Dopo il riscontro positivo delle prove di compatibilità, alcune integrazioni formali sono state realizzate con l'Araldite LY554 o con l'EtoBond 6066. Quest'ultima è stata impiegata anche per il risarcimento estetico delle stesse integrazioni, che sono state quindi oggetto di un particolare trattamento della loro *texture*.¹⁰

Nelle foto (fig 1 e 2) è possibile osservare il reperto metallico dopo la prima fase di ricomposizione e dopo la successiva integrazione formale ed estetica dell'opera, comprensiva del trattamento finale sulla *texture* delle superfici integrate (fig. 3).

¹⁰ L'EtoBond 6066 si è rivelato ottimale per la resa finale dell'integrazione, realizzata in più strati, in quanto la sua velocità di indurimento ne permette l'applicazione in verticale e la veloce lavorabilità mediante pennelli e spatole.

L'intervento conservativo sui due schinieri e su un elmo in bronzo, invece, ha dovuto tenere in conto inizialmente del maldestro incollaggio operato sui reperti con i prodotti commerciali più diversi ed effettuato in un momento precedente al nostro intervento. Scelte dettate dai tempi di lavoro e dalle difficoltà di ricomposizione hanno indirizzato l'incollaggio dei tre manufatti in bronzo con l'utilizzo sia di UHU Plus 12 ore sia dell'Etobond 6066. Le integrazioni sono state invece realizzate principalmente con la resina epossidica bicomponente UHU Plus 12 ore. Lo spessore esiguo delle lamine (interessate da un avanzato stato di mineralizzazione) e la presenza di lacune in punti critici della struttura dei manufatti hanno reso infatti necessario l'impiego di un materiale che assicurasse non solo una buona tenuta ma anche una certa flessibilità. La resina è stata colorata in pasta con terre ventilate e la colorazione fortemente "sottotono," selezionata sulla base di provini preliminarmente realizzati, è stata scelta sempre in accordo con la superficie d'origine dei reperti e in funzione della successiva qualificazione pittorica delle parti integrate, prevista nel progetto di intervento.

Infatti le integrazioni eseguite sono state oggetto di una equilibratura cromatica "a puntinato," finalizzata ad accordare le parti di restauro alla superficie d'origine dei reperti (seppur modificata dai processi di corrosione) così da consentire una restituzione di maggiore integrità ai manufatti rispettando tuttavia il principio della riconoscibilità dell'intervento.

A una visione ravvicinata delle superfici, infatti, la particolare trama dei punti di colore, conferita dalla tecnica di applicazione a spruzzo, evidenzia le aree di integrazione portandole ad un livello di percezione ottica diverso dalla superficie metallica originaria.

In particolare, l'intervento sugli schinieri ha comportato il risarcimento materico di una serie di lacune, mentre l'estremità del bordo inferiore di uno dei due gambali di protezione non è stata risarcita poiché corrispondente a una zona in cui era presente in origine un foro per i legacci (fig 4), la cui posizione non è deducibile.

Anche nel caso dell'elmo la perdita di una porzione frontale, corrispondente alla decorazione figurata, non è stata volutamente risarcita e il suo eventuale completamento resta ancora un interrogativo aperto in attesa di una soluzione. Né sono state integrate alcune lacune di grandi dimensioni come quella presente in una zona della calotta interessata da forte deformazione meccanica della lamina metallica (fig. 5, 6). In questo caso il suo arretramento percettivo dovrà essere affidato a supporti interni, possibilmente vincolabili al sostegno espositivo.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

Conclusioni

Come discusso ampiamente nel testo, il tema dell'integrazione dei manufatti archeologici in leghe metalliche è ancora un argomento da valutare con attenzione, in quanto a tutt'oggi molto vasto e affrontato caso per caso con metodologie differenti e a volte opposte, ritenute non fondamentali nel complesso dell'intervento di restauro, senza comprenderne purtroppo la giusta importanza. Infatti, la possibilità di una ricomposizione ed integrazione, funzionale alla corretta fruizione del bene, è di solito sottovalutata e comunque la scelta delle metodologie di integrazione e di presentazione estetica dei manufatti archeologici viene spesso posta in secondo piano rispetto alla loro ricomposizione volumetrica.

Con il presente studio ci si auspica quindi di contribuire alla definizione e all'attuazione di un protocollo d'intervento conservativo per questo tipo di manufatti ampiamente condiviso, fondato su una corretta presentazione formale e percettiva dell'opera e finalizzato ad una sua migliore fruizione, grazie ad una restituzione critica rivolta realmente alla "riconduzione all'unità," così come indicato a suo tempo da Brandi.

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