# *Ovidius Pictus*: Afterlives of the *Metamorphoses* in Europe, from Books to the Arts

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# Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in 17th- and 18th-Century Bohemia and Moravia

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*Abstract*

The paper presents results of the first comprehensive analysis of the reception of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in Baroque art in Bohemia and Moravia. First aspects of the reception relate to the referentiality that is one of the essential characteristics of Baroque art in Central Europe, where various influences from both neighbouring and more distant regions intersect. Artists mainly used popular illustrated editions of the *Metamorphoses*: cycles by V. Solis, H. Goltzius, C. de Passe, A. Tempesta, J. W. Baur, and engravings from the 1676 Paris edition or the 1677 Brussels edition. Nevertheless, the receptive character of these works of art cannot be understood as a result of lack of artistic invention but it is quite often strongly rooted in the patrons' requirements, as some preserved archive sources confirm. The article also tries to trace the popularity of editions among artists and patrons through the research of inheritance inventories of patrons and painters. The importance of Ovid's works is also demonstrated on one of the most striking examples, the only existing early modern translation of full text of *Metamorphoses* to Czech language.

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1. *Introduction*

Looking at early modern artistic realisations in Bohemia and Moravia that draw their themes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, one essential aspect clearly stands out: the adoption of graphic sources. Formal receptiveness, in the sense of copying and paraphrasing contemporary fashionable graphic sources, represents one of the main features of Central European artistic output. Artists took inspiration from different graphic models, which they used as compositional samples for their paintings on canvas, ceiling paintings, reliefs, and other works of art. The rather eclectic nature of artistic commissions used to be traditionally considered in a negative way as the manifestation of a lack of artistic invention. However, this article argues that such a one-sided view fundamentally limits the real meaning of these works of art. In the case of works with themes drawn from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, this dependence on graphic sources proves to be a substantial factor in tracing the reception of this hugely influential literary work.

The first section therefore concentrates on comparisons with graphic models, which on the one hand allow for more precise iconographic interpretations and, on the other hand, open up space for more general questions of formal inspiration. In fact, they connect Bohemian and Moravian commissions with other influential European residencies and reveal the basic fashions and orientations followed by both artists and patrons. The search for specific graphic models also makes it possible to evaluate not only the formal aspects of the paintings, but also their ideological aspects. With the help of graphic models, it is possible to refine and revise the existing iconographic designations of individual scenes. This becomes crucial in the case of extensive and complex ceiling decorations, such as 17th-century ceiling paintings, which are fragmented into many small fields divided by stucco décor while still constituting an integral iconographical programme.

This article builds on long term research into the reception of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in Bohemian and Moravian Baroque art[1] and highlights important aspects of this reception between the two most important agents in the artistic process, patrons, and artists, to whom two subsequent sections of the text are dedicated. A more comprehensive treatment of Ovidian themes was for a long time absent from Czech art history. The topic was rather dealt with in separate studies focused on individual aspects of selected art commissions instead of providing a comprehensive treatment of the dissemination of the *Metamorphoses*. And although the illustrated editions of the *Metamorphoses* were used for many comparisons, there was a lack of more thorough knowledge of them and any mapping of their occurrence in contemporary aristocratic libraries,

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[1]  Miltová 2009; Nokkala Miltová 2016.

which would have indicated the popularity of specific prints and graphic cycles. In particular, the large number of early modern editions and the often meagre information in estate inventories, which can only slightly be related to specific prints, posed a certain obstacle.

## 2. *The reception of illustrated editions of Ovid's* Metamorphoses

Surviving decorations are naturally the main source of information about the use of Ovid's works. In addition to extant decorations, the dissemination of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* can be traced by analysing the collections of aristocratic libraries[2], which reflect at least the patrons' aspect of the background of the artworks. Both in the inventories in aristocratic libraries and in the decorations of their residences we see a clear response to Ovid's work, although a direct link between the specific edition of *Metamorphoses* owned and the decoration executed can rarely be demonstrated. Nevertheless, the analysis of both aspects' points to obvious trends, as evidenced by the fact that the identified ranges of illustrated editions owned by aristocrats coincide with the ranges of the predominant engraving models for Bohemian and Moravian painting. Which specific cycles, then, played a key role in the period from the 16th to the 18th century in Central Europe?

When viewed chronologically, prints with woodcuts by Virgil Solis played an important role from the second half of the 16th century onwards. The set of 178 woodcuts by Virgil Solis, which repeated the compositions of Bernard Salomon from the 1557 Lyon edition of Jean de Tournes in a finer design, larger scale and side reversal, was used in many places[3]. Its popularity and dissemination are evidenced firstly by their appearance in Czech and Moravian library collections (the archbishop's library in Kroměříž is one example)[4] and second-

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[2] A more extensive analysis of 17th century inventories is published in: Miltová 2009, pp. 20-33. See also: Pleva 1999; Pleva 2000a, pp. 131-150; Pleva 2000b, pp. 145-160. Catalogue of 16th century prints in chateau collections in the Czech Republic published by: Mašek *et al*. 2015.

[3] Solis' illustrations were first created for two Frankfurt prints dated 1563. Their impact was exponentiated by the fact that they were used simultaneously in different circuits of textual commentaries to the *Metamorphoses*, in the Latin version by the poet Jacob Micillus, in the Latin-German moralistic teachings of the Tetrastichs by the physician and poet Johann Posthius of Germersheim, and in an allegorizing version of the Latin distichs by the Augsburg notary Johann Sprengius. The latter edition of Sprengius (which also appeared a year later in a German version) contained a dedication to the two eldest sons of Emperor Maximilian II, Archdukes Rudolph and Ernest: Henkel 1930, pp. 87-90; O´Dell-Franke 1977, pp. 41, 88-98; Ovidius Herschapen 1980, pp. 10-12; Stahlberg 1984, pp. 29-35; Peters 1987, pp. 471-516; Hexter 1998, p. 4; Huber-Rebenich 1999, pp. 22-23.

[4] Archbishop's Chateau Kroměříž, sign. 12080 (old sign. 14496 H VIII 3b) Cathalogus Librorum, qui in Sua Celsitudinis Episcopi Olomucensis Bibliotheca reperiuntur, Conscripti die 9.

ly by their contemporary use as aristocratic *alba amicorum* (*Stammbücher*). The *Metamorphoses* edition by Johann Posthius of Gemersheim, published in Frankfurt in 1563, served this purpose at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries for Sigismund Válek, Christopher Adam Holbeck and Jan Jiří of Švamberk[5].

As for the specific reflexion of Solis' woodcuts in the decorations, exact parallels with Solis' illustrations have already been pointed out in the past in the case of several realisations. Copies of Solis' woodcuts appear in the relief decoration of the oriel window at the corner of the Hauenschilds of Fürstenfeld burgher house on Dolní náměstí in Olomouc (now house no. 38), dating to the 1590s[6]. The ceiling painting of one of the four original coffered ceilings from the Wallenstein castle in Dobrovice from 1578-1581, which has now been secondarily transferred to the meeting hall of the Dobrovice town hall, also works with Solis's designs, specifically in eight scenes (The Fate of the Nymph Callisto, Diana and Actaeon, Cephalus and Procris, Narcissus, Venus and Adonis, Cyparissus, Picus, and the Calydonian boar hunt)[7]. The same series of woodcuts was fully applied in the extensive decoration of two painted coffered ceilings in the chateau at Častolovice from around 1600, commissioned by Frederick of Oppersdorf (1547-1615). In the larger of the Ovidian-themed halls, the scenes of Tereus and Procne, Mercury and Argos, Pelias, Pentheus being torn by the Maenads, Mercury and Herse, Pyramus and Thisbe are presented and, in the smaller of the halls, the Sacrifice of Polyxena, Diana and Actaeon, the Abduction of Europa, the metamorphosis of the Apulian Shepherd, Pallas and the Muses, and Hecuba and Polymestor all appear[8]. The echo of Solis' woodcuts was equally convincingly demonstrated in the paintings on the façade of the so-called New Burgraviate of the castle in Český Krumlov and in the stucco reliefs from the interior decoration of the castle in Telč[9].

In other artistic realisations of the 16th century, the Solis inspiration was combined with other graphic sources, as can be shown, for example, using the decoration of the Schwarzenberg Palace in Prague, dating to the 1580s. The rather extensive decoration of the palace, comprising painted coffered ceilings and wall paintings, uses direct quotations from Solis' design, in several fields of the coffered ceilings. The scenes from the myth of Phaethon carry the most

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Aprilis 1691, fol. 160r, 161v, 163v. To the prints of the *Metamorphoses* in the Bishop's Library see: Miltová 2007, pp. 51-54.

[5]  Archive of National Museum in Prague, Manuscript Collection, sign. 17 (old sign. II A 15). For the use of *Metamorphoses* in the *alba amicorum* see Ryantová 2006, pp. 59-60, note 46; Ryantová 2007, pp. 180-181; Ryantová 2009, p. 419.

[6]  Lejsková-Matyášová 1961, pp. 391-394; Jemelková 2003, pp. 21-34.

[7]  Lejsková-Matyášová 1956, pp. 96-104; Lejsková-Matyášová 1959, pp. 66-68.

[8]  Lejsková-Matyášová 1952, pp. 311-314; Henslová 2015, pp. 41-74.

[9]  Pavelec 2005, pp. 473-482; Waisser *et al.* 2020, p. 114.

prominent references to Solis[10]. The painting on the ceiling of the former dining hall of the palace, representing Orpheus playing to the animals[11], reminds on of other variant source by its composition and especially in some details. A very similar woodcut of Orpheus charming the animals can be found, for example, in the influential Venetian 1497 edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* with commentary written by Giovanni de Bonsignori[12].

At the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, new graphic cycles appeared, formally based on Salomon-Solis compositions, which soon began to be reflected in other artistic realisations in Central Europe. The Haarlem workshop of the famous engraver Hendrik Goltzius produced an unfinished cycle of exceptional Ovidian illustrations in three stages, with twenty sheets published in 1589, another twenty in 1590 and twelve scenes in 1615[13]. The engravings by Hendrik Goltzius helped to date the paintings of the Rosenberg Kratochvíle villa. Among the extensive interior decorations of the villa, probably executed by Georg Widman (1540-1607), appear grisaille medallions of window niches with Ovidian themes, which, like other scenes, bear clear traces of graphic inspiration[14]. The dates of Goltzius's cycle clearly indicated the direction of the dating of the respective paintings at the Villa Kratochvíle, confirming that the existing decoration may have been completed under the patronage of Peter Vok of Rosenberg (1539-1611)[15]. The chiaroscuro scenes of Jupiter and Ió, Pan and Syrinx, the birth of Adonis, Apollo and Daphne, the Silver Age, and Apollo killing Python are derived in full from Goltzius's compositions.

Closely following Goltzius's legacy, a series of 150 engravings was created by Crispijn de Passe, which appeared in print in 1602 in an edition of *Metamorphoses* published in Cologne[16]. This edition is also documented in its use as *album amicorum* (*Stammbuch*)[17]. The prints were soon faithfully copied in Moravia in the paintings of the coffered ceiling from a house at Dolní Dunajovice in the Mikulov region, commissioned by Wolf Port of Arlsperk in 1605. The individual coffers of the ceiling have since been dismantled and are now

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[10] Phaeton's mother sends Phaeton to his father Apollo, Phaeton asks his father to lend him the sun chariot, Phaeton drives the sun chariot, Phaeton's fall and the transformation of the Heliades into poplar trees: Miltová 2014a, pp. 281-289; Winzeler 2018, pp. 132-133, 146-159.

[11] Havlíková, Skarolková 2011, pp. 423-427.

[12] This edition, published under the care of publisher Lucantonio Giunta and printer Giovanni Rosso, was supplemented by fifty-two illustrations by an anonymous artist, and this graphic cycle was subsequently copied and adapted for later editions: Krause 1926; Guthmüller 1981, p. 184; Blattner 1998; Guthmüller 1998, pp. 11-36; Huber-Rebenich 2002, pp. 63-77; Cieri Via 2003, p. 74; Pesavento 2018.

[13] Sluijter 2000, pp. 27-29.

[14] Bůžek, Jakubec 2012, pp. 86-88; Jakubec 2014, pp. 135-163.

[15] Bůžek, Jakubec 2012, p. 88.

[16] Veldman 2001, pp. 324-354.

[17] *Album amicorum* of Heinrich Julius Sachs: Ryantová 2009, p. 420.

stored in the depository of the Moravian Gallery in Brno[18]. The paintings from Dolní Dunajovice thus represent an early example of the influence of the illustrations of Crispijn de Passe, whose name is also encountered in latter Ovidian scenes in Bohemia. The chateau built by Jan Antonín Losy Count of Losinthal (1600-1682) in the southern Bohemian town of Štěkeň presents four Ovidian fields faithfully translating Crispijn de Passe's designs in the decoration of one of the rooms from the second half of the 17th century. Ovidian motifs of Mercury and Argus, Pyramus and Thisbe, Meleager and Atalanta and King Minos and Scylla (figs. 1, 2) accompany the central scene with the Persian king Cyrus the Great, who is depicted as a representative of one of the four world monarchies[19].

Another almost contemporary series of Ovidian illustrations, represented by 150 engravings by the Roman engraver Antonio Tempesta, can be identified in the inventories of aristocratic libraries in Moravia, for example of Mikuláš Pazmány of Panas (1623-1667). The estate inventory of his library from January 1668, taken from his estates in Litenčice, Veselí, Líšeň and Sokolnice faithfully quotes the title of the Amsterdam edition of the publisher Wilhelm Ianssonius from 1606, *Metamorphoseon, siue transformationum ouidianarum L: quindecim*, in which Tempesta's engravings first appeared[20]. In Bohemia, Tempesta's early Baroque compositions were quickly echoed in the decoration of the Wallenstein Palace in Prague, specifically in the so-called Mythological Corridor and the Audience Hall. The paintings in these parts of the monumental palace were executed by the Florentine-trained painter Domenico Pugliani (1589-1658) and commissioned by the imperial generalissimo Albrecht von Wallenstein (1583-1634) around 1623[21]. Tempesta's legacy resonated throughout Europe[22], and one of Prague's most highly regarded 17th-century painters, Karel Škréta (1610-1674), also turned to his Ovidian cycle for inspiration[23].

Moving deeper into the 17th century, it is clear from many sources and visual evidence that Johann Wilhelm Baur's cycle of 150 Ovidian engravings

[18] Šmrha 1960, pp. 74-80. Šmrha compared the paintings with the Leipzig edition of the *Metamorphoses* from 1582, using prints by the monogrammer CM. Exact comparisons with the engravings of Crispijn de Passe: Nokkala Miltová 2016, pp. 54-63.

[19] Nokkala Miltová 2018, pp. 299-315.

[20] Moravian Provincial Archive (henceforth cited as MPA), C2 Tribunal: estates, P1, estate file of Mikuláš Pazmány, fol. 269 r,v.

[21] The decoration was for a long time attributed to Baccio del Bianco: Konečný 2002a, pp. 102-113.; Konečný 2002b, pp. 27-34; Karner 2007, pp. 132-136; Konečný 2007, pp. 144-148. Sources confirming the authorship of Domenico Pugliani published in: Klipcová, Uličný 2013, pp. 206-220.

[22] Leuschner 2005, pp. 435-439. Tempesta's Ovidian engravings were also used as model material in the 18th century. Their influence, for example, in the field of artistic craftsmanship, has been studied specifically in the decoration of caskets of German provenance: Polak 1965, pp. 55-60.

[23] Konečný 2001, pp. 79-82.

became the most widespread visual model for Bohemian and Moravian art of the second half of the 17th century. This is understandable due to the geographical proximity to its publishing place, Vienna. Inventory records of aristocratic libraries show that the popularity of the "Baur type *Metamorphoses*" was enhanced by further reeditions with copies of Baur's engravings executed by Abraham Aubry or Melchior Küssel. A clear identification of the editions in question can be found in the inventories of the following library collections: the library of Moravian Provincial Judge and Governor of the Olomouc Region Jindřich Karel of Zierotin (†1688) in Přerov and Ivanovice from May 1688[24], the library of Marie Elisabeth Sinzendorf (née Fürstenberg), owner of Veveří and Říčany, from February 1720[25], and the library of the councillor of the Imperial Court in Vienna Johann Adam of Questenberg (1678-1752) in Jaroměřice from August 1752[26].

The impact of Baur's graphic cycle can be seen in many places in Central Europe. It was largely inspirational for the anonymous artist who decorated several rooms of the piano nobile in the chateau at Holešov, residence of the Rottal family. Baur's models are visible specifically in the scenes of the Flood, Mercury and Herse, Apollo and Marsyas, Alphaeus and Arethusa, the metamorphosis of Narcissus, frightened Thisbe flees, hides from the lion, Latona transforms the Lycian peasants into frogs, Hercules killing the centaur Nessus, Callisto and Arcas, Minerva and Envy, Jupiter and Semele, the death of Hercules and the transformation of the Heliades into the poplar trees. The Old Testament scenes of the Holešov chateau also reflect the formal inspiration of Baur's Ovidian cycle, albeit with different meaning and content. For example, the painter adopted the figure of Goliath for the scene of David's battle with Goliath from Baur's engraving depicting Athamas driven insane[27].

Echoes of Baur's designs are also apparent to a lesser extent, for example, on one of the ceilings in the castle at Radíč, showing Hercules killing the centaur Nessus. The Prague painter Fabian Sebastian Wenceslaus Harovník

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[24] One of the four editions of *Metamorphoses* listed as *Ovidii Metamorphosis Per Joan. Wilhel. Baur.* Moravian Land Archive, C2, Z10, estate file of Jindřich Karel Zierotin, fol. 63v, 73r.

[25] MPA, C2, S95, estate file of Marie Elisabeth Sinzendorf (née Fürstenberg), fol. 92r, 93v, 105v, 108v, 111v. One of the four records of the *Metamorphoses* noted as *Bellisimum Ovidii Theatrum* refers to a Nuremberg print published in 1687 by the widow of Paul Fürst, which used a series of 150 illustrations by Abraham Aubry after designs by Johann Wilhelm Baur.

[26] The inventory includes nine editions of the *Metamorphoses*, but two of these items represent the complete works of Ovid. The seventh and last reference to the *Metamorphoses* in the Questenberg library is noted as *8 Bauren Wilhelm Metamorphosis ovidii. Nürnberg bey Pauel fursten*, clearly referring to the illustrated Nuremberg edition published around 1680 by Paul Fürst, which used engravings by Abraham Aubry, copies based on the original engravings of Johann Wilhelm Baur: MPA, C2, S34, Q6, estate file of Johann Adam of z Questenberg, fol. 42r-v, 43r, 44r-v, 45r, 93r.

[27] Nokkala Miltová 2016, pp 190-210.

(†1683) evidently also had access to Baur's prints and used them in several commissions. First, in the decoration of the Prague Lobkowitz Palace, that was created after 1664 for the military leader and diplomat Wenceslaus Eusebius Popel of Lobkowitz (1609-1677). Secondly, he worked with them in the decoration of the chateau in Nové Město nad Metují, commissioned after 1665 by the Scottish-born condottiere, field marshal and diplomat Walter Leslie (1607-1667)[28].

The much sought-after Italian fresco painter from Bissone, Carpoforo Tencalla (1623-1685), who worked in Central Europe from the 1650s onwards on many prestigious commissions, repeatedly turned to the dynamic compositions of Johann Wilhelm Baur. Jozef Medvecký identified the presence of Baur in two painted fields of the piano nobile of the Červený Kamen castle (now in Slovakia), where Carpoforo worked in 1655. Specifically, the inspiration of Baur can be seen in the scenes of Cadmus fighting the dragon and Cadmus sowing the dragon's teeth[29]. A greater dependence on Baur's illustrations informs Carpoforo's painting of small monochrome sections with Ovidian stories on the vaults of the former sala terrena of the castle in Náměšť' nad Oslavou[30]. The decoration was initiated in the 1650s by the presiding judge of the Moravian Provincial Court Ferdinand of Werdenberg (1616-1666). Carpoforo Tencalla composed most of the fields of decoration in accordance with various graphic models, starting with the main ideological axis of the decorative programme, scenes from the famous love story of Cupid and Psyche, through allegorical figures inspired by Ripa's *Iconology* to the accompanying landscape motifs[31]. Carpoforo Tencalla, together with his younger cousin, successor, and collaborator Giacomo Tencalla (1644-1689), continued to use Baur's prints in the decoration of the central pavilion in the so-called Flower Garden in Kroměříž, created between 1672 and 1674 for the Bishop of Olomouc, Karl von Lichtenstein-Castelcorno (1624-1695). Here, the iconographical scenes of Pan and Syrinx, the Abduction of Ganymede and Apollo and Marsyas follow Baur's compositions. At the chateaux at Lnáře and Libochovice, Giacomo Tencalla used Baur's prints in his paintings of Apollo and Coronis and the Apotheosis of Aeneas (figs. 3, 4)[32]. In the chateau at Lnáře, the importance of

[28] Šroněk 1997, pp. 43-74; Nokkala Miltová 2016, pp. 22-54.

[29] In addition to Johann Wilhelm Baur's models, Jozef Medvecký has uncovered a much broader spectrum of graphic inspiration: the figure of Minerva is based on the depiction of Zenobia in Le Moyne's La Galerie Des Femmes Fortes, the putti playing are based on works from Titian's circle, landscapes and Roman monuments on various graphic sheets, the death of Cleopatra is based on an engraving by Raphael Sadeler, etc.: Medvecký 1994, pp. 237-303; Medvecký 2015, pp. 53-123.

[30] The selected stories from *Metamorphoses* mainly relate to the topic of love and death: Mádl 2011, pp. 214-236.

[31] Št pánková 2005, pp. 68-79; Mádl 2011, pp. 214-236; Mádl 2013, pp. 39-92.

[32] Mádl 2013, pp. 461-476, 573-605; Nokkala Miltová 2016, pp. 128-167.

Baur's work is still visible in a later layer of decoration. After the middle of the 18th century, when the chateau was owned by Johann Franz Christian Sweerts-Spork (1729-1802) and his second wife Maria Theresa Kaunitz (1742-1787), a more extensive Rococo decoration was created. One of the components of the paintings consisted of copies of Baur's engravings as trompe l'oeil prints hanging on the walls[33].

In the 1670s, influential French editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* played an important role in the market. A comprehensive set of 226 engravings by Sébastien Le Clerc, François Chauveau and Jean Le Pautre from the *Métamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux*, commissioned by Louis XIV for the Dauphin, found a notable response in Bohemia and Moravia during the 18th century. This reception was probably strengthened by the presence of German-language reeditions published by Johann Ulrich Krauss in Augsburg around 1690. A clear resemblance to these prints can be found in two grisaille medallions with themes of Apollo and Daphne and Diana and Actaeon from the ceiling painting of the main hall of the chateau in Jaroměřice nad Rokytnou belonging to the aforementioned count Questenberg.

The Paris edition of 1676 or its reeditions clearly served as a free inspiration for the paintings in the sala terrena at the chateau at Holešov, which were created after 1717 and are therefore of a later date than the aforementioned paintings in the piano nobile. The inspiration of the prints is evident from several unique iconographical motifs that did not appear in any previous Ovidian prints. Thus, in the Holešov sala terrena, fields with scenes of Apollo and Marsyas, Venus and Adonis, Minerva and the Muses, Juno and Ixion, the Sacrifice of Iphigenia, Apollo and Shepherdess Isse, Zephyrus and Flora, Orpheus and Eurydice, and Pygmalion are placed side by side. The Bohemian-born painter and member of the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, Franz Xaver Wagenschön (1726-1790) accessed the printed model with a similar degree of rather independent interpretation. The illustrations for the 1676 Parisian edition evidently served as the initial inspiration for his series of what were probably study drawings with Ovidian themes such as Pelops, the nymph Canens, Combe, Epopeus and Nyctimene and others[34].

An equally influential French edition of the *Metamorphoses* was published by François Foppens in Brussels in 1677 and accompanied by a French translation and commentary by Pierre Du Ryer. This print is clearly detectable in the rich bibliotheca of councillor of the Imperial Court in Vienna Johann Adam of Questenberg mentioned earlier. Although the inventory entry *Les Metamorposes d'Ovide en latin et en francois* refers only to the range of French

[33] Mádl 2013, pp. 455-458.
[34] Miltová 2005, pp. 71-90. In the broader Central European context, there are clear echoes of these graphic compositions in the decoration of the castle in Prebold (nowadays Slovenia) from the early 18th century: Murovec 2001, pp. 180-181.

editions, the specific surviving exemplar of this print makes it possible to relate it with certainty to the Brussels edition. This particular book is still preserved in the collections of the Historical Museum in Slavkov u Brna (Austerlitz) with the signature of its original owner, Johann Adam von Questenberg[35]. Several Dutch artists of the previous generation (Magdalena de Passe, Crispijn de Passe Jr., Willem de Passe, Theodor Matham, Frederik Bloemaert) stand behind the graphic illustrations of this large-format edition. Since all these engravers were already deceased in the year of the print's appearance, the publisher Foppens acquired and used the already created designs and had them re-created on commission. The Antwerp engravers Martin Bouche and his brother Peter Paul, Frederic Bouttats and Hendrik Abbé undertook the new work[36]. Copies of these engravings appear among many others in the extensive decoration of the chateau in Doudleby nad Orlicí, family seat of the Counts of Bubno and Lititz. The engraving of the Golden Age and other themes were copied in the ceiling painting of the chateau in Lysá nad Labem, estate of the Sporck family. They have also found an echo in Bohemian and Moravian painting in a set of eight canvases commissioned by Anton Amatus Serényi (1670-1737) for the chateau in Lomnice (the paintings are nowadays located in the chateaux in Lysice and Milotice)[37].

A recent discovery has also demonstrated the importance in Central Europe of another epic Ovidian edition, which was created by the Nuremberg printer and publisher Johann Jacob Sandrart, a great-nephew of the renowned artist and theorist Joachim von Sandrart. This book was published in Nuremberg in 1698[38] and the accompanying engravings for this edition were created mainly by Christian Engelbrecht, based on Sandrart's drawings[39], but some of the prints were also executed by Johann Jacob Sandrart's son Lorenz. Due to the untimely death of Johann Jacob Sandrart, the work

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[35] Historical Museum at Slavkov u Brna, sign. 1767, inscription indide the book "Jean Adam comte de Questenberg". The inventory: MPA, C2, S34, Q6, estate file of Johann Adam of z Questenberg.

[36] Huber-Rebenich 1999, pp. 37-38; Veldman 2001, pp. 187-190. The engravings were reused, in this case in the Paris edition of 1702 and in the Amsterdam prints of 1697, 1702 a 1732.

[37] The Golden Age, Gigantomachia, The Abduction of Europa, Narcissus, Theseus and Achelous, Atalanta and Hippomenes, Venus and Adonis and the Judgement of Paris were used for the Serényi set: Miltová, Konečný 2010, pp. 56-59.

[38] *Ovid* 1698. There is no extensive bibliography on the work of Johann Jacob Sandrart; his works are rather mentioned in survey lexicons. Further on his work, e.g.: Peltzer 1925, pp. 103-165, 147-165; Vollmer 1935, pp. 398-399; Hoffmann, 1994, pp. 65-71; Gerst 2000, pp. 23-25; von Hagen, Tacke 2005, pp. 428-429; Grieb 2007, p. 1295.

[39] Metal plates and prepared prints are also mentioned in the estate inventory of Johann Jacob von Sandrart. Among the sketches and engravings in the engraver's workshop (Kupfer-Cammer), is mentioned: *Lit. E Mehr ein großes Buch mit zwey Hundert fünf und sechzig Handrißen, in Landschaften und Ruinen bestehend, umb Die Original-Handriße über den Ovidium, von Johann Jacob de Sandrart*: Peltzer 1925, p. 156.

remained unfinished and contains fables only up to the beginning of Book VII of the *Metamorphoses*. The engravings in this edition became an inspiration for the artists of the now perished stucco reliefs in the chateau at Kravaře in Silesia, where, according to Sandrart, the scenes of Cephalus and Procris, Venus and Pluto, the Abduction of Proserpina, the Abduction of Europa, the Judgment of Tiresias, and Juno putting Argus's eyes on the peacock's tail were copied (figs. 5, 6). Photographic records from the 1930s document the extent, quality and diversity of the original stucco decoration of the Kravaře chateau, which fell victim to a devastating fire in January 1937. The photographs show that the former Baroque alterations to the chateau, which were carried out between 1721 and 1728 at the demand of the Highest Provincial Chamberlain, Johann Rudolph Franz von Eichendorff (1687-1750), originated in the stucco ceilings in the seven rooms of the piano nobile[40]. Sandrart's composition of Juno putting Argus's eyes on the peacock's tail also appears in a ceiling stucco-decoration of one of the rooms of the chateau in Velké Hoštice that stands in the vicinity of Kravaře[41].

These examples presented here clearly show that Central European patrons and artists reacted promptly to new impulses and to a large extent used contemporary graphic inspiration. In the case of the more extensive painting cycles, the designs from specific editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are, of course, only a part of the artistic reception of many other images. As the decorations in many palaces and chateaux show, a broad variation of possible designs, both within Ovid's illustrations and single sheet prints, is present. The reasons for this may be various, ranging from the artist's desire not to stick to one pattern and to bring at least a little "variation" to the practical aspect of using multi-source material in the form of graphic sheets, either loose or bound into an "artbook" (*malerbuch/ kunstbuch*). Art from early modern Central European was derived from many formal models and absorbed many contemporary impulses, combined in many ways. The indisputable tradition and fame of the Prague court of Emperor Rudolph II influenced local production well into the 17th century. The strength and continuous significance of the Italian centres, logically resulting from the multitude of Italian artists and craftsmen working in Central Europe, was then supplemented by a growing trend of French inspiration. It is clear from 17th-century mural painting that French court output or, rather, reproductions of works decorating French residences (Saint Germain-en-Laye, Fontainebleau), began to take hold, at the latest, in the 1660s. Regarding French court output, a source of Ovidian iconography with unexpectedly great potential is represented by the small playing cards created for the young Louis XIV by Stefano della Bella (*Jeu de la Fable/*

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[40] Hlubinka 1973, pp. 98-103; Augustinková *et al*. 2017-2018.
[41] Nokkala Miltová 2020, pp. 23-34.

*Jeu de Mythology*). They were used as a major source of inspiration by, for example, the painter in Nový Hrad near Jimlín (figs. 7, 8) or Fabian Sebastian Wenceslaus Harovník in Nové Město nad Metují[42].

### 3. *Patrons and their requirements*

The receptiveness of Central European artists is not to be understood as the result of a lack of artistic invention, but it is quite often strongly rooted in patrons' requirements, as some preserved archive sources confirm. The requirements of those responsible for commissioning can be demonstrated in detail if we consider two specific examples: the patronage of the Olomouc bishop Karl von Lichtenstein-Castelcorno and the painting of the chateau at Plumlov commissioned by Prince Johann Adam Andreas of Liechtenstein (1662-1712).

The Olomouc Bishop Karl von Lichtenstein-Castelcorno was one of the most noteworthy artistic patrons and clients, and in his architectural and collecting enterprises ranked among the most distinguished figures of his time in Central Europe. All his creative activities are imbued with painstaking care over the conceptual aspect and the qualitative standard of the artistic works realised. As one of the main seats of his residential network and the property of the Olomouc bishopric[43], Kroměříž, with its residence and gardens, provides the most self-contained document of the representation of Bishop Karl von Lichtenstein-Castelcorno. For it is precisely here that we find a momentous collection of works of art connected with the bishop's patronage. The bishop's passion for garden art is documented by the simple fact of the existence of his founding work, the construction of the monumental garden complexes in Kroměříž. In the second half of the 1660s, the "Podzámecká zahrada"[44] (Chateau Garden) was laid out, in the surroundings of the chateau building. From 1666 to 1675 von Lichtenstein-Castelcorno then directed all his energies into the "Libosad" (Pleasure Garden, later Květná zahrada: Flower Garden), which he considered the pride of his life's work[45].

The Kroměříž gardens and the residential *sala terrena* with their sculptural works are celebrated not only within the field of garden art, but their iconographic programme also contains further projected aspects of the bish-

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[42] Nokkala Miltová 2016, pp. 263-269.
[43] Peřinka 1947, p. 570; Pavlíčková 2001, pp. 18, 59; Jakubec 2019.
[44] Petrů 1978, p. 529; Jůza 1985, p. 288; Pavlíčková 2001, p. 20.
[45] The bishop's visions and direct contribution to the form of the newly established garden are documented by a range of evidence from the correspondence, in which the bishop corrected the designs and plans of the artists: Petrů 1978, p. 529; Smýkal 1975, pp. 80-82; Samek 1999, p. 251.

op's representation. The renown of the Italian palaces and villas consisted not only in their exquisite gardens, but also resonated throughout the whole of Europe in their collections of antique monuments. A tradition was thus built up which shifted the values of antiquity into the realm of artistic assessment. Celebrated Roman villas acquired the form of semi-public collections of selected antique objects, and several monarchs and ruling dynasties ordered bronze copies of life-size antique sculptures for their palaces[46]. The Olomouc bishop did not have the means available to establish a gallery of bronze figures in Kroměříž, such as that in the Fontainebleau Palace or the Royal Palace in Madrid, but he nevertheless took inspiration from these same sources, and in Kroměříž created a collection of copies of celebrated antique sculptures, which featured, for example, the *Athena Giustiniani, Seneca Borghese* or the *Farnese Hercules*[47].

The main gallery of antiques was the "colonnade", a 233-metre-long arcade loggia of the type of a *galleria di antichità* (fig. 9)[48]. It was constructed from 1665 to 1671 based on a project by Giovanni Pietro Tencalla and located toward the north-western wall of the Flower Garden, near the entrance gate. The bishop's knowledge of antique objects, specifically the reference to the famed Syracusian *latomia*, is confirmed by his commission, in which the colonnade, due to its acoustic qualities, is intended to become an "Ear of Dionysius"[49].

The colonnade is decorated by a series of busts and 44 full-figure sculptures, all copying celebrated antique artefacts, the form of which was modelled on a number of graphic albums whose publication within the Roman environment of the 17th century was the specialist trade of the de Rossi family publishing house. The templates were specifically combined from three printings: *Villa Pamphilia eiusque Palatium, cum suis Prospectibus, Statuae, Fontes, Vivaria, Theatra, Areolae, Plantarum, Viarumque Ordines, cum eiusdem Villae absoluta Delineatione* (published by Giovanni Giacomo Rossi in Rome, probably around 1649), *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum quae temporis dentem invidium evasere* (whose author was the French painter François

[46]  Haskell, Penny 1994, pp. 3-36; Freedman 2003, pp. 61-73.
[47]  Fišer, Kroupa 1991, pp. 79-81; Schäfer 2000, pp. 147-151; Bažant 2011, pp. 77-101.
[48]  This concerned a specific form of architecture, which was primarily designed for the presentation of antique artefacts (sculptures, reliefs etc.). The structures were adapted for the given purpose by incorporating niches for statues, the walls were covered with antique reliefs, and additionally could be decorated with *all'antica* stucco or paintings etc.: Hečková 2017, pp. 143-149.
[49]  Peřinka 1947, p. 602; Zatloukal 2004, p. 30, 32. The phrase "Ear of Dionysius" referred to the tyrant Dionysius I of Syracuse, and was the epithet given to the Syracusian *latomia* by the painter Caravaggio. A report of the painter's pronouncement, as well as an expression of admiration for his exceptional knowledge, was presented by Vincenzo Mirabella in his book on the history of ancient Syracuse, published in 1613: Eber-Schifferer 2012, pp. 226-229; Mirabella 1613, p. 89.

Perrier, published in 1638) and *Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum* (first edition usually dated 1666)[50].

The fact that the implementation of the sculptural gallery was based on a copy of graphic prints is also confirmed by the bishop's correspondence, according to which the bishop communicated with his Roman agent Giovanni Petignier at the turn of 1670 and 1671 about the acquisition of engravings of the sculptural works of Roman palaces and gardens. These graphic artworks came into the bishop's hands in mid-June 1671 and the bishop had them used as models for the sculptures in the colonnade. The rendering of the engraved templates in stone was performed faithfully, without excessive deviations, in which one of the few formal alterations in comparison with the originals is represented by the evident endeavour to clothe the overly exposed body parts, which documents the fact that the bishop held rather prudish opinions[51]. After the bishop's criticism of the rather poor quality of the sculptures, a testimony was provided on the templates for the antique statues also by the sculptor Michael Mandík. In a letter to the bishop, he lamented that due to the necessity of adhering to a model he was unable to create sufficiently original and distinctive works[52]. In other European residences the interpretation of the antique counterparts was often looser, as Versailles or the Villa Nova (Wilanów) seat of Jan III Sobieski near Warsaw demonstrate. In any case, the use of graphic reproductions was a regular practice of the period, and its role was ideal in cases where economic, practical, or aesthetic reasons limited direct access to antique works[53].

The fact that the bishop insisted on applying the graphic models speaks only of the formal aspect of the works. It is clear from the correspondence that the bishop was no less attentive to the content of his projects. Focusing on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as part of his iconographic programmes, the most comprehensive series is located in the central pavilion in the middle of the Flower Garden. Ovidian ceiling paintings executed by Carpoforo Tencalla and Giacomo Tencalla have already been mentioned in connection with the reception of Baur's prints.

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[50]  *Villa Pamphilia* 1670, Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 44, 46, 64; Jůza 1985, pp. 290-291; Jůza 1990, No. 8, pp. 460-462; Samek 1999, p. 253; Schäfer 2000, pp. 147-150, 151-152; Zatloukal 2004, p. 34.

Perrier 1638, fig. 2, 9, 10, 16, 31, 39, 43, 45, 46, 48, 54, 56, 59, 61, 64, 66, 67, 69, 71, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79. On Perrier's work see Haskell, Penny 1994, p. 21; Kuhn-Forte 2013, pp. 75-100; Di Cosmo, Fatticcioni 2013, pp. 101-158.

The last engraving album *Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum* was recently identified: Hečková 2017, pp. 143-149. This also contains a detailed analysis of the templates and a summary of the comprehensive bibliography to date on this theme.

[51]  Schäfer 2000, p. 152.

[52]  Peřinka 1947, p. 610; Smýkal 1975, p. 80. For a detailed analysis of Petignier's letters and his role as the bishop's agent, see: Zapletalová 2017, pp. 347-362.

[53]  Hečková 2017, pp. 143-149.

The dome of the pavilion's great central hall is decorated with eight large stucco fields bearing paintings of mythological stories based on the text of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (fig. 10): The Abduction of Europa, the Abduction of Proserpina, the Abduction of Ceres by Neptune, the Abduction of Ganymede, the Abduction of Déianeira (Hercules kills the centaur Nessus), Pan and Syrinx, Perseus and Andromeda, and the Apotheosis of Aeneas. As far as the textual source of the narrative scenes is concerned, the selection was created exclusively on stories drawn from the text of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, both commonly used and less known. Vilém Jůza and Venceslava Raidl have also previously pointed out that a love accent and the theme of abduction are prevalent in the iconographic themes selected[54]. The location of such amorous iconography in garden plots was recommended by contemporary theories of decorum. However, early modern mythography and emblematics provide an interesting ideological dimension to the mythological stories.

In mythographic texts, amorously themed myths of abduction used to be interpreted with a moral message, pointing to the struggle between low passion and virtue. Several interpretations along these lines were provided by one of the most influential mythographic works, Natale Conti's *Mythologiae* of 1551, an edition of which the bishop owned in his library[55]. Of Jupiter, the abductor of Europa, Conti mentions the necessity of self-cultivation and moderation of the human spirit. Europa becomes the embodiment of virtue, which stands in opposition to the base carnal desire represented by the vicious bull. Conti sees higher moral values in the myth of Perseus and Andromeda, where he emphasizes piety and restraint of spirit. In his commentary on the abduction of Ganymede, the author follows the more general neo platonic theory that links the idea of abduction to the metaphor of the emotional quality of spiritual experience. Indeed, the presence of the figure of Ganymede on late ancient sarcophagi referred to a mystical afterlife union with God[56]. Conti adopts this widespread interpretation and adds that the soul's ascension to heaven mirrors the fact that those whom God loves are lifted up to himself in heaven. Emblematic literature gave the same interpretation. Andrea Alciati, for example, in his 1531 *Emblemata* attaches the motto Desiderio verso Iddio (Towards God) to the abduction of Ganymede. Nicolas Reusner, for his part, in *Emblemata*, compares the abduction of Europa by Jupiter to the journey of the soul through the world towards God[57].

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[54] Jůza 1985, p. 302, note 187; Raidl 2001, p. 105.

[55] Conti 1568 (in the archbishop's library in Kroměříž under sign. L X 19). Two editions of Conti's *Mythology* are also recorded in the inventory of the bishop's library taken in 1700. Library of the Archbishop's Castle in Kroměříž, Nr. 12085, sign. H VIII 4, Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Episcopalis Cremsiriensis […] Anno Saeculari MDCC Die 14 Januarii […], f. 123v, 125r.

[56] Saslow 1986, p. 23.

[57] Webel 1988, pp. 38-40.

The decoration of the Kroměříž *sala terrena* (completed for the bishop around 1690) also contains similar iconographic concept, where several abductions are hidden in ceiling paintings by Paolo Pagani (1655-1716) in combination with the seasons of the year and the signs of the zodiac. Here, the idea of the annual cycle is probably intertwined with the motifs of the journey of the soul, which is best confirmed by the involvement of the statues of Fate, the Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn. In fact, the constellations of Cancer and Capricorn were the celestial gates through which souls entered the earth and then from the earth returned to heaven, as described by Macrobius in his *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*[58].

There are many possibilities to deepen the iconological interpretation of the decoration of the Kroměříž Lusthaus. Similarly, the ideological programme can be viewed through a different interpretive perspective. The pavilion uses the water as the unifying element, which is ubiquitous in almost all spheres of decoration. All the main mythological stories work with the motif of water, surrounded by reliefs of sea monsters and creatures, and water used to be an integral part of the pavilion in the form water fountains. Apart from the fundamental position that water symbolism represented for the gardens in theoretical recommendations, this aspect was also reflected in the celebration of the Flower Garden itself, captured in contemporary texts[59]. However, the omnipresent figures of nymphs and sea monsters can also be seen within the concept of the journey of the soul. Such creatures were meant to evoke the purification of the soul as it passed through the celestial spheres. Aware of the degree of involvement of the Bishop of Olomouc and his position as an educated patron of art, we can even speculate whether the different perspectives on the themes of the artworks might have given rise to insightful debates.

The second example of the strict attitude towards commissioning can be seen in the fresco painting of Plumlov chateau, which was executed under the Prince Johann Adam Andreas of Liechtenstein. The paintings were originally located in seven rooms on the second and third floors of the chateau, but only five of them have survived in their entirety, as a result of alterations to the chateau premises during the 18th century. A painter Johann Georg Greiner (1655/1664-1705)[60], active in Vienna, was commissioned to paint the rooms, and a contract dated 17 January 1687 was concluded between him and Prince Johann Adam Andreas. In addition to financial issues, operational details, the subjects of the paintings and their specific location, the contract also specifies

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[58] Nokkala Miltová 2019, pp. 351-357.

[59] Johann Ferdinand Hertod of Todtenfeld celebrated Kroměříž Flower Garden pointing out the water elements and their refreshing effect in the book *Tartaro-Mastix Moraviae*: Zatloukal 2004, pp. 23-24.

[60] For Greiner see: Trier 2009, pp. 411-412.

the question of the formal designs: *The Prince himself determined the content of all seven frescoes and for this purpose chose for him the drawings depicting seven different scenes*[61].

At first glance, it is obvious from the formal features of the Plumlov paintings that Johann Georg Greiner relied on graphic models found mainly in the series of etchings by Pietro Testa[62]. The contract concluded between the commissioning client and the artist also listed the individual rooms and specified the themes of the paintings to be executed in them. The prince chose several stories from the Trojan war for the chateau rooms, supplemented by allegories of day and night.

The patrons' environment represents, from the point of view of the surviving archival sources, an easier element for surveying the ideological background of the artwork process. It is more difficult to analyse the artistic environment and the relationship of specific artists to Ovid's legacy in Central Europe.

4. *Artists and Ovid's* Metamorphoses

Direct links to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* can be demonstrated in relation to artists, too, through examining the inventories of their libraries. From artists' estates, in the absence of more detailed research, we are aware about the existence of Ovid's works through isolated and disparate examples. The literature mentions the library of sculptor and carver Matthias Bernard Braun (1684-1738), which contained Ovid's writings, or the library of the painter Johann Bartholomäus Klosse (†1679), whose inventory of 19 September 1679 contained the *Metamorphoses*[63]. Similarly, the *Metamorphoses* were found in the libraries of Felix Freund (an inventory dated 5 May 1688), portrait painter Johann Nepomuk Steiner (1725-1799), who owned the Venetian edition from 1500 and Krauss's richly illustrated Augsburg edition from 1690 and painter and theoretician Jan Quirin Jahn (1739-1802), whose inventory from 1818 lists the Nuremberg edition)[64]. However, partial evidence of the existence of a similarly structured collection is also provided by archive sources. The estate of the almost unknown Brno miniature painter Jan Hubáček, written up between 1788 and 1789, contained, from a total of twelve books, works on ar-

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[61] A transcript of the contract was published by: Kühndel, Mathon 1937, p. 49; Horáková 1998, pp. 14, 21-22; MPA, F 264 Estate Plumlov, inv. č. 372, fasc. M III 2, repairs of Plumlov castle, 1681-1844, fol. 58-59.

[62] Togner 2010, pp. 106-111. Other graphic designs were identified by: Miltová 2014b, pp. 137-148.

[63] Blažíček 1986, p. 3; Hojda 1986, pp. 44, 46, 48, 49, 55-62.

[64] Slavíček 2006, p. 83; Slavíček 2008; Žlůva 2003-2004, pp. 98, 103.

chitecture and practical geometry, as well as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*[65]. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were also listed as "necessary books" by the painter Dominik Kindermann (1739-1817) in his notes, who, in addition to them, listed other ancient classics, iconographical and mythographical manuals (Cesare Ripa, Giovanni Boccaccio, Natale Conti, etc.)[66]. It is clear from these so far unsystematic documents from artistic circles that the *Metamorphoses* belonged to the basic and much-used writings to which artists turned. Moreover, one of the most striking examples represents the only existing early modern translation of the full text of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* into Czech.

If we focus on complete translations of Ovid into Czech, it should be noted that until the end of the 18th century, not a single Ovid's writing was printed in a Czech edition, even though the *Metamorphoses*, for example, were widely published and translated into plentiful vernacular languages. At the same time, nor were the *Metamorphoses* published by a Czech or Moravian printing office, not even in a different language edition[67]. This situation is probably not surprising, since the educated audience acquired the verses in foreign language versions. Nevertheless, despite this fact, there were attempts to translate the full text of the *Metamorphoses* into Czech in manuscript form. Two manuscript translations of the *Metamorphoses* are mentioned in the literature: one, now unfortunately lost, was accompanied by drawing copies of engravings of Johann Wilhelm Baur and was in the possession of the painter Antonín Machek (1775-1844) around the mid-19th century[68]. The other has survived in the collections of the National Museum in Prague and is therefore the earliest known translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* into Czech[69].

The origin of the Prague manuscript can be precisely located and its author identified. The last owner of the manuscript was Josef Stanislav Urban, a canon of Hradec Králové and former dean of Chrudim, who donated it to the National Museum in 1824, which limits the probable circle to the Eastern Bohemian region. Linguistically, the text of Ovid is identical to the Czech man-

[65]  Archive of the City Brno, A1/12, Stará spisovna, Nr. 4704, sign. 3496, kart. 566, nefol. In lexicological and art historical literature it is stated that the painter Hubáček (Hubatschek) was active in Brno around 1760 as a painter of miniatures, especially portraits: MPA, G12/I-34, Jan Petr Cerroni, Skitze einer Geschichte der bildenden Künste in Mähren und Öst. Schlesien, manuscript, 1807, fol. 115.; Hawlik 1838, p. 53; Toman 1947, p. 383; Hálová-Jahodová 1972, p. 171.

[66]  Slavíček 2006, p. 83.

[67]  Of the works of "Ovid" only the *Elegia De Nuce* was published, specifically in the Brno printing house in 1615 (*Publij Ovidii Nasonis Elegia de nuce. In gratiam Studiosae luuentutis mediae Classis Grammatices*. Brunae, Typis Christophori Haugenhofferi, Anno M.DC.XV): viz Dokoupil 1978, pp. 26, č. 1615/3. De Nuce belongs to the category of medieval pseudo-Ovidian works, whose popularity persisted in later times: srov. Ghisalberti 1946, p. 37.

[68]  Jungmann 1849, p. 268, Nr. 211; Kolár 1976, pp. 47-48, note 53.

[69]  Library of the National Museum in Prague, Manuscript Nr. II-H-5, Ovidiovy Metamorphosis; Svoboda 1957, pp. 1-31; Kolár 1976, pp. 47-48, note 53.

uscript translation of the Roman History from the Österreichische National-albibliothek in Vienna, which also represents the oldest known translation. The Vienna manuscript is illustrated and shows clear formal parallels with another manuscript work, namely that of the Chrudim painter Josef Ceregetti (1722-1799). The entire group of Ceregetti's manuscripts (now in the Regional Museum in Chrudim, they include a partial translation of the *One Thousand and One Nights* stories, the Chrudim chronicle *Historia Chrudimská* and two transcriptions of Mandeville's travelogue) contains, in addition to identical palaeographic characteristics, the linguistic peculiarity of using the vowel diphthong "ou" instead of the traditional "au", which differentiates it from contemporary Czech usage of the time[70].

Who was Josef Ceregetti, now the only known early modern "translator" of Ovid into Czech? He was the grandson of stucco decorator of Italian origin Santino Ceregetti (1640-1719), who settled permanently in Příbram. Moving to Příbram was closely connected with a commission for stucco decoration of the chapels of the Svatá Hora pilgrimage complex (Holy Mountain). His father Antonín Josef Ceregetti moved from Příbram to Chrudim, where he gradually became a prosecutor and royal mayor. Although he was one of the wealthiest burghers of Chrudim in his time, after his death (†1727) he left so many debts that his wife was forced to cede a large part of their property to creditors. At that time, his five-year-old son Josef probably did not get much from the estate. From all the available data, it is clear that Ceregetti was preoccupied with his dismal financial situation. The main reasons were two: first, caring for numerous offspring after he was widowed: Josef's wife Barbora gave birth to a total of 13 children, 6 of whom did not survive the first year of life. Secondly, his artistic activities did not provide him with a very generous income. Although he managed to get several important commissions, and he earned extra money by occasional works, in addition to portraiture and selling copies of a devotional painting of Chrudim's St. Salvator, his financial possibilities can be described as very limited. When he died on 6 July 1799, at the age of 77, without a will, he left his descendants property, valued after deducting debts at only 265 guldens[71].

One of the problems surrounding Ceregetti's manuscripts remains the question of their function. It is not yet certain whether the painter worked on commission or whether his activity was motivated by study purposes (for his own professional needs and the needs of his sons – also painters). In the case of the translations, however, it is realistic to think about attempts to have the crucial texts in a language that was accessible not only for Ceregetti himself, but also

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[70] On all of Ceregetti's manuscripts and the author's attribution of the translation of the *Metamorphoses* and Roman History: Malý, Miltová 2005, pp. 388-395.

[71] Malý, Miltová 2005, pp. 388-395.

for the whole of Chrudim society. In any case, Ceregetti presents himself as a "learned" painter, perhaps not in the academic sense, but in terms of the Eastern Bohemian and contemporary local context.

The fact that the only Czech translation of the *Metamorphoses* was written by a painter seems to be significant in the context of their widespread use by artists. And although it would probably not be possible, given the different linguistic features, to link the other missing translation of the *Metamorphoses* to Ceregetti[72], it could refer to similar efforts, coming from the Eastern Bohemian painters' environment. Unfortunately, Ceregetti's Ovidian manuscript remains unillustrated, unlike all his other literary works.

This example opens a wider field of reflection on the role that the *Metamorphoses* played for artists in the early modern period. Which editions were among the most important and used, and which probably served as Ceregetti's model? How do the painter's preferences fit into the wider context of the reception of Ovid described above?

The text of Ceregetti's manuscript is graphically divided into the fifteen books of the *Metamorphoses* and within them into 150 numbered stories. Purely hypothetically, it is possible that Ceregetti either did not have time to create the illustrations or intended to add them to the end of the book, separately, to correspond to the individual numbers in the text. A similar concept was used for example, in the Augsburg edition of 1709, to which 150 copies of Johann Wilhelm Baur's engravings were added after the text to illustrate the individual numbers, in keeping with the textual structure. Baur originally created his engravings for the Vienna edition from around 1639, but they were used repeatedly in subsequent re-editions, specifically in the Nuremberg and Augsburg prints (from 1688, 1703, 1709). It is certainly interesting that the numbers in the manuscript correspond exactly to the numbers of Baur's engravings, with a few minor exceptions. Further reflection is prompted by the short text inscriptions that introduce the individual stories. Moreover, Ceregetti's inscriptions are strikingly in line with the German inscription of the 1709 Augsburg edition.

Ceregetti's manuscript therefore proves that Baur's illustrations became truly dominant in the artistic output of 17th and 18th century Bohemia and Moravia and retained their popularity till the end of 18th century. This was obviously much strengthened by the geographical proximity of publishing of the respective editions (Vienna, Augsburg). Confirmation that the whole Central European output is coherent in this sense is also provided by research on nearby regions. Here we can mention, for example, Styria, where several artists also turned to Baur for inspiration. To mention several, Johann Melchior

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[72]  However, it certainly cannot be ruled out, due to its geographical proximity, that Ceregetti knew it or used it directly as a model for his "translation" or modified "copy".

Otto used them as a basis for the decorations in Eggenberg Castle, and they were exploited in the Welsersheimb Palace in Graz between 1692 and 1694, in the Knights' Hall at Rabenstein Castle, in the hall of Riegenburg Castle, in the Ovidian paintings at Strechau Castle in 1652, and partly in Trautenfels Castle[73].

## 5. *Conclusion*

The article summarizes some aspects of Ovidian inspiration that can be traced in the art commissions of the Baroque period in Bohemia and Moravia. A survey of library inventories has shown the relatively wide popularity of the *Metamorphoses*, although it is not possible to accept unequivocally the claim that they belonged to the standard equipment of every library collection. Regarding artistic realisations, the prevalence of *Metamorphoses* illustration cycles and their relationship to extant Ovidian collections becomes a more significant indicator. Although it is very problematic to relate specific book collections to the decoration of residences, in an overall comparison the occurrence of illustrations coincides with the application of these graphic cycles in artistic commissions. Nevertheless, taken together, the findings strongly indicate that these were fashionable, popular, and widely used illustrations that played a key role in Bohemian and Moravian art. Johann Wilhelm Baur's illustrations can clearly be considered the most successful series.

Graphic inspiration was one of the basic strategies of artistic production, without, however, pointing to an absence of ideological purpose. Yet, as the commissions under review demonstrate, the selection and composition of themes was certainly not random but referred to a unifying ideological structure. Stories of ancient myths and figures of ancient gods referred not only to narrative schemes themselves, but above all fulfilled the multiple representational strategies of Baroque aristocrats. Through mythological subjects, the patrons drew attention to the prominence of their lineage and referred to the legitimacy of their position within social and power structures.

These findings are fully consistent with recent research that has clearly demonstrated that the process of translation of prints was far more complex and layered and finally, belonged to standard and widespread artistic praxis across Europe, to which most artists and patrons turned in their time[74]. Prints therefore played a key role in the dissemination of knowledge and political ideas as well as of contemporaneous fashions and artistic tendencies.

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[73] Brucher 1973, pp. 15-18, 20-23, 32, 72, 97; Woisetschläger 1986, pp. 451-464.
[74] Selectively, f.e.: Karr Schmidt, Wouk 2017; Murovec 2021, pp. 165-181.

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*Appendix*



Fig. 1. *Minos and Scylla*, 1669-1679, Štěkeň, Chateau, Photo: Martin Mádl, ÚDU CAS, v.v.i.



Fig. 2. Crispijn de Passe, *Minos and Scylla*, 1602, engraving

Fig. 3. Giacomo Tencalla and Giuseppe Muttoni, *Apotheosis of Aeneas*, 1688, Libochovi-ce, Chateau, Photo: Martin Mádl, ÚDU CAS, v.v.i.



Fig. 4. Johann Wilhelm Baur, *Apotheosis of Aeneas*, 1641, engraving

Fig. 5. *Judgement of Tiresias*, former stucco decoration of the chateau in Kravaře, 1730s, Photo from 1930s, Silesian Museum, Opava



Fig. 6. *Judgement of Tiresias*, engraving from 1698 Nürnberg edition of *Metamorphoses* published by Johann Jacob Sandrart

Fig. 7. *Arion*, 1680-1687, Nový Hrad u Jimlína, Chateau, Photo: Tomasz Zwyrtek

Fig. 8. Stefano della Bella, *Arion*, 1644, etching

Fig. 9. Kroměříž, collonnade in Flower Garden



Fig. 10. Carpoforo Tencalla and Giacomo Tencalla, ceiling paintings of garden pavilion, 1672-1674, Kroměříž, Flower Garden