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**Aspects of artistic training and patronage in Bohemia
in the second half of the 17th century.
The case of Christian Schröder (1655-1702)**

Disertační práce

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Abstract

The figure of Christian Schröder has been the pretext to address the attention to several problematic in the History of Modern Art in Bohemia. The issues are modelled on the evolution of the painter's career. Speaking about his beginnings at the service of Count Slavata, the function of Schröder as court painter has been discussed. The discovery of archival documents concerning his study trip in Italy opens to the discussion on the Italian artistic training as a phenomenon common to many painters from Bohemia. After his return to Prague, Schröder faced the choice to submit to the guild of painters or to get the post of court painter of the Emperor, a position that he finally obtained. Shortly after, he passed to the function of keeper of the Prague Castle picture gallery affirming himself as teacher of a group of students, among them Petr Brandl. Schröder's role as teacher is rethought on the light of the artistic situation of the last decade of the 17th century in Prague.

The commission entrusted to Schröder by Gundakar Dietrichstein to paint forty-three copies after original paintings once located at the Prague Castle collections for the Libochovice Castle has proved to be an help to affirm the presence of important original paintings at the Prague Castle picture gallery and in few cases to discover the original appearance of paintings which have been cut or lost. In addition, the Libochovice series of copies opens the issue concerning the function of the copy in the collections belonging to the Bohemian and Moravian nobility which has been reconsidered reflecting on the concepts of "passion for collecting" and mechanisms of social self-representation.

Abstrakt

Osobnost Christiana Schrödera byla záminkou pro nasměrování pozornosti předkládané práce k několika problematickým oblastem v rámci dějin novověkého umění v Českých zemích. Za účelem jejich objasnění byl sledován vývoj umělecké kariéry tohoto malíře. O jeho počátečním působení jako dvorním malíři hraběte Slavaty nemáme mnoho zpráv. Nalezené archivní prameny naopak dokládají jeho studijní cestu do Itálie, která se úzce váže na fenomén české malířské scény v novověku, kdy umělci hojně cestovali za inspirací a studiem do této země. Po Schröderově návratu do Prahy byl postaven před rozhodnutí, zdali se stát cechovním malířem nebo zastávat funkci císařského malíře, jímž se nakonec stal. Následně získal místo správce Obrazárny Pražského hradu a byl učitelem mnoha umělců, k nimž patřil například i Petr Brandl. Práce ve světle uměleckého dění v Praze poslední dekády 17. století přehodnocuje Schröderův učitelský význam.

Objednávka Gundakara Dietrichsteina pro zámek Libochovice, která se týkala vytvoření 43 kopií dle obrazů nacházejících se ve sbírkách Pražského hradu, se stala výjimečným historickým pramenem vedoucím k poznání původních kompozic pláten a vzhledu dnes již neexistujících pláten. Libochovická série kopií tak zapadá do hledání funkcí velmi oblíbených kopií významných maleb v českých a moravských šlechtických sbírkách. Ty spočívají mimo jiné v reflexi nadšení šlechticů pro sběratelství a mechanismu snahy po sociální prestiži a sebe prezentaci.

Index

Introduction.....	7
Main literature.....	14
1. Artistic training in Italy	
1.1. Apprenticeship in Rome.....	19
1.2. Academy of Saint Luke and private academies.....	20
1.3. Way of living in Rome.....	22
1.4. Painter's education in a Venetian <i>Bottega</i>	24
1.5. Artistic training of Bohemian painters in Italy.....	27
2. Searching for 17th century Bohemian painters in Italy. Obstacles to the research.....	36
2.1. The study stay of Christian Schröder in Italy.....	41
2.2. Christian Schröder in Venice?.....	48
3. The artistic patronage of Count Jan Jáchym Slavata.....	62
3.1. Slavata family's portraits.....	68
3.2. The picture gallery of Count Jan Jáchym Slavata.....	77
4. Christian Schröder: court painter, keeper and teacher at the Prague Castle picture gallery.....	84
5. Christian Schröder's copies for Libochovice Castle.....	97
5.1. Display of the copies in Libochovice Castle.....	109
5.2. An Iconographic program behind the series of copies?.....	118
6. On the copy: value and function in the collections belonging to the nobility in Bohemian Kingdom.....	122
Appendix 1:	
Catalogue of the copies for Libochovice Castle.....	137
I. Copy after Titian, <i>Supper at Emmaus</i>	141
II. Copy after Palma il Vecchio, <i>Virgin Mary with infant Jesus and Saints</i>	144

III. Copies after Paolo Veronese and the workshop, <i>The Series of the Old and New Testament</i>	147
III.I. Copy after Paolo Veronese and the workshop, <i>Christ and the Centurion</i>	148
III.II. Copy after Paolo Veronese and the workshop, <i>Christ and the Adulteres</i>	151
III.III. Copy after Paolo Veronese and the workshop, <i>Christ and the Samaritan woman</i>	154
III.IV. Copy after Paolo Veronese and the workshop, <i>Agar and Ishmael</i>	156
III.V. Copy after Paolo Veronese and the workshop, <i>Rebecca at the well</i>	158
III.VI. Copy after Paolo Veronese and the workshop, <i>Susanna and the Elders</i>	160
III.VII. Copy after Veronese and the workshop, <i>Adoration of the Shepherds</i>	162
IV. Copies after Francesco Bassano, <i>The Seasons</i>	164
IV.I. Copy after Francesco Bassano, <i>Spring</i>	166
IV.II. Copy after Francesco Bassano, <i>Summer</i>	168
IV.III. Copy after Francesco Bassano, <i>Autumn</i>	170
IV.IV. Copy after Francesco Bassano, <i>Winter</i>	172
V. Copy after Francesco Bassano and the workshop, <i>Adoration of the Kings</i>	174
VI. Copy after Francesco Bassano, <i>Announcement of the angel to the Shepherds</i>	177
VII. Copy after Francesco Bassano, <i>Miracle from the Source of Marah</i>	180
VIII. Copy after Gerolamo Bassano, <i>Moses strikes water from the rock</i>	183
IX. Copy after Jacopo Bassano, <i>The Meeting at the Golden Gate</i>	186
X. Copy after Gerrit von Honthorst, <i>The Dentist</i>	188
XI. Copy after Bartolomeo Manfredi, <i>The Guard's room</i>	191
XII. Copy after Bartolomeo Manfredi, <i>The Fortune Teller</i>	194
XIII. Copy after Johann von Hug (?), <i>Rape of Europe</i>	197
XIV. Copy after Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, <i>Jacob meets Esau</i>	201
XV. Copy after Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, <i>Gideon rallies the troops</i>	204
XVI. Copy after Christoph Schwarz, <i>Venus and Adonis</i>	207
XVII. Copy after Simon Vouet, <i>Martha reproaching her sister Mary Magdalene</i>	209
XVIII. Copy after Anthony van Dyck, <i>Charity</i>	212
XIX. Copy after Guido Reni, <i>St. Jerome and the angel</i>	215
XX. Copy after Andrea Sacchi, <i>Divine Wisdom</i>	218
XXI. Copy after Giovanni Battista Spinelli, <i>David plays before Saul</i>	222
XXII. Copy after Mattia Preti, <i>Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew</i>	225
XXIII. Copy after Mattia Preti, <i>The Doubting Thomas</i>	228

XXIV. Copy Jacopo Tintoretto, <i>Flagellation of Christ</i>	231
XXV. Copy after Fra' Semplice da Verona, <i>Pietà with St. Francis and an angel</i>	237
XXVI. Copy after Domeinco Fetti, <i>Christ on the Mount of Olives</i>	240
XXVII. Copy after El Greco, <i>Purification of the Temple</i>	245
XXVIII. Copy after Peter Paul Rubens, <i>Annunciation</i>	250
XXIX. Copy after Orazio Gentileschi, <i>Mary Magdalene</i>	253
XXX. Copy after Unknown painter, <i>Risen Christ appearing to the Virgin Mary</i>	256
XXXI. Copy after Antiveduto della Grammatica, <i>St. Cecilia and two angels</i>	260
Conclusion	263
Index images	264
Bibliography	269

Introduction

The figure of Christian Schröder has been the pretext to address the attention to several problematic in the History of Modern Art in Bohemia.

Schröder's carrier was basically devoted to the copy. He represents the emblem of new aspects of artistic training and patronage which developed in Bohemia in the second half of the 17th century, when the copy was almost omnipresent in the artistic context, leading to define a "Baroque culture of copying".

Like in other artistic centers, especially in Italy, where copy was the basis of teaching painting, also in Bohemia copying became the main tool of the artistic training.

Christian Schröder made his pupils copy the masterpieces at the Prague Castle picture gallery in the same way as in Venetian workshops and in Roman academies and private schools the young apprentices copied paintings by the great masters of the past.

Young Bohemian painters often undertook a study stay in Italy for a period of time more or less long, in order to learn the painter's profession at art academies or at some renown master's workshop. The artistic training in Bohemia was not considered sufficient by an artist of a certain ambition, so that he preferred to risk facing a long and expensive journey beyond the Alps without much guarantees of income in exchange for an artistic maturity and better skills to be used after his return in homeland.

Often, the painter's patron offered himself as financier of the study stay abroad, if the painter showed enough abilities to deserve it.

The Prague guilds were too rigid and tied to old rules to provide an adequate level of education and especially freedom of expression necessary for the development of an artist. The attempt to found an art Academy in Prague on the model of the Italian ones by the painter Michael Václav Halbax, the architect Franz Maximilian Kaňka and the sculptor František Preiss in 1709 went unfortunately failed, but well testifies the desire to change and evolve that reigned among Prague artists.¹

The copy became indispensable also for the art market in Bohemia. With the lack of original paintings, copy became their direct substitute and painters such as Christian

¹ On the guilds of painters in Prague see in particular: M. Šroněk, *Pražští malíři 1600–1656*, Praha 1997, pp. 11–22; T. Sekyrka, *Umění a Mistrovství. Pražská malířská bratrstva 1348–1783*, Praha 1997, pp. 34–42. On the art Academy in Prague: K. V. Herain, *Pokus o založení akademie umění v Praze. 1709–1711*, in: *Za starou Prahu*, 3, 1912–1913, p. 77.

Schröder adapted themselves to the demand of their patrons, copying art works from the Imperial collections.

Bohemian and Moravian aristocratic collectors of the Baroque period did not despite to commission and purchase copies in order to fill their *quadrerie* and furnish their residences. They were attracted in particular by the desire to imitate the *Magnificenza* and *Grandezza* of the Italian palaces they visited during their *grand tour* in the major Italian courts. Through the rebuilding of their ancestral residences, both from the architectural and decorative aspect, noblemen aimed to compete -or better to *copy*- Italian models.²

After the Thirty Years' War, when peace finally allows to invest in new ideas and new constructions, we assist to the increase of patronage by Bohemian and Moravian nobility. The ambition to emulate the European courts was certainly one of the most formidable catalyst for the increment of patronage and collecting in the second half of the 17th-century Bohemian Kingdom. New buildings were erected, old properties were renovated and with them their decorations and collections.

In addition, paintings and artefacts by renown masters and luxury items (tapestries, silver, etc.) were not only an expression of a high level lifestyle, but also a good financial investment, a safe deposit of capital, which in many cases filled the function of financial reserves.³

The 17th century was witness of an important transition in the History of Collecting in Europe and so also in Bohemia. From the collection thought as a World's encyclopaedia where a picture gallery filled with paintings found place next to a *Kunstkammer* with objects, *naturalia* and *artificialia*, scientific instruments and the more disparate items, the collecting activity became an end in itself, which means collecting understood as a passion in the modern sense of the term.⁴

² L. Slaviček, *Sobě, umění, přátelům, Kapitoly z dějin sběratelství v Čechách a na Moravě 1650–1939*, Brno 2008; L. Slaviček (ed.), *Artis pictoriae amatores. Evropa v zrcadle pražského barokního sběratelství*, Praha 1993, pp. 356–372.

³ P. Vorel, Praha a české země ve finančním systému doby baroka, in: O. Fejtová and V. Ledvinka (eds.), *Barokní Praha – Barokní Čechie 1620–1740*, Praha 2001, pp. 341–346; Z. Hojda, Aspects économiques de l'histoire des collections aristocratiques en Bohême à l'époque Baroque, in: *Gli aspetti economici del mecenatismo in Europa, secoli XIV-XVIII*, extract from the Conference in Prato 1985, pp. 1–30.

⁴ Already in the early decades of the 18th century, Caspar Friedrich Neickel laid the foundation of the modern museography in a broad treaty (C. F. Neickel, *Museografia*, Leipzig-Breslau 1727), focused on the meticulous cataloging of existing European collections, on their different purposes and types (from *kunstkammern* and *naturalien und raritätenkammern* in Germany to the French *cabinets*, to galleries and *studioli* in Italy). For a complete overview on the topic see in particular the fundamental studies of

New collections of this type were born -the one of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in Brussels, later moved to Vienna, or the one purchased by him for his brother Ferdinand III located at Prague Castle- which were important models for Bohemian and Moravian noblemen who often knew them directly, being themselves Imperial diplomats or officials, or through the reproductions of the Archduke's collection made by David Teniers the Younger and produced especially for the purpose of dissemination and desire for emulation, which will soon be satisfied.

In these collections, Italian paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries followed by German and Flemish painters prevailed, so were the content of the collections belonging to Bohemian and Moravian nobility, which, despite their different stories or purposes, appeared very similar in the content to each other.

After all, noblemen approaching collecting were pushed by a desire of imitation which -by definition- does not bring originality.⁵

From the perspective of the social elite or aspiring dilettante, imitation played an important role in the consolidation of group identity. Norbert Elias outlined the concept of a "*bodily culture*" situated in the aristocratic courts of the late 16th and 17th centuries, in which the individual's fear of public shame, transformed itself into a regime of self-regulation and rigid conformity.⁶ Pierre Bourdieu argued that taste (good/bad, high/low, etc.) is constructed through social consensus and propagated through education. Thus, for example, collectors of Venetian pictures would identify with each other as a result of their shared aesthetic preference.⁷

Nevertheless, the financial resources of the nobility was not comparable to that of an Archduke or an Emperor. The noblemen had to make do with the few original art works remained on the market and, when these were scarce or were not accessible, they had to satisfy themselves with copies.

Bohemian and Moravian noblemen, almost without exception, possessed a large amount of copies, exhibited side by side with the originals. Often no distinction is to be found between an original and a copy in the inventories, although for certain not all the paintings could be originals.

K. Pomian, *Collectionneurs, amateurs et curieux. Paris Venice XVI XVIII*, Paris 1987; O. R. Impey and A. MacGregor, *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, New York 1985.

⁵ Chapter 6 is dedicated to the topic, Cfr. also Slavíček, *Artis pictoriae amatores*, pp. 356–372.

⁶ N. Elias, *The Court Society*, Dublin 2006, pp. 46–73.

⁷ P. Bourdieu, *Distinction. A social critique of the judgement of taste*, Cambridge 1984, pp. 260–267.

The value that the copy acquires in this particular period of the Art History is an important issue to be discussed that should not be overshadowed by the modern concept of originality.⁸

In his letter written in 1681, Filippo Baldinucci made the distinction between three different types of copies according to their function: 1. the copy that gives back the idea of a lost original. 2. the copy made with the explicit purpose of pleasing the observers as a mere imitation *finesse*. 3. the copy required due to the growing demand of high quality paintings that are often inaccessible.⁹

Consequently to better understand the value of the copies in a collection, it is always necessary to find out what was originally their purpose.

Although the copies were considered of less value compared to the originals, Bohemian and Moravian noblemen appreciated them not only for their practical use, but in some cases also because they enjoyed successful imitation. Jan Rudolf Bys and Johann Adalbert Angermeyer signed their imitations visibly to show their skills in comparisons with the model.¹⁰

Another issue intimately linked to the concept of copy comes forward: the function of the picture galleries for the Bohemian and Moravian nobility.

It is necessary to identify two main types of collecting: one tied to a real passion that sees the continuous research and commission of individual paintings to certain artists appreciated for their artistic qualities, and one which is rather a gather of a large number of paintings, often purchased in lot by exploiting the opportunities of the market in order to conform with a socio-cultural trend.

Without any doubt personality such as Count Humprecht Jan Černín belongs to the first type of collector, whose passion for collecting is testified by the commissions to individual

⁸ Further discussion on the definition of copy and the modern concept of originality is developed in chapter 6.

⁹ F. Baldinucci, *Lettera di Filippo Baldinucci Fiorentino nella quale risponde ad alcuni quesiti in materie di pittura*, N. A. Tinassi (ed.), Roma 1681, pp. 3–13.

¹⁰ B. M. Mayer, Johann Rudolf Bys (1662–1738), Studien zu Leben und Werk, in: *Beitrag zur Kunstwissenschaft*, 53, 1994. On Vršovec's picture gallery see H. Seifertová and A. K. Ševčík, *S ozvěnou starých mistrů: Pražská kabinetní malba*, Praha 1997, pp. 44–50; K. Bott, La mia galleria Pommersfeldiana. Die Geschichte der Gemäldesammlung des Lothar Franz von Schönborn, in: G. Bott (ed.), *Die Gräfen von Schönborn. Kirchenfürsten, Sammler, Mäzene*, Nürnberg 1989, pp. 112–116; S. Bartilla: Napodobování stylu v českém a německém pozdním baroku, in: O. Fejtová, *Barokní Praha – Barokní Čechie*, pp. 705–719.

artists, the insistence of obtaining a certain painting and the enthusiasm clearly shown for possessing it.¹¹ In the case of Count Černín his picture gallery has to be defined collection. On the other hand, there are figures such as Prince Gundakar Dietrichstein, whose relationship with collecting is functional to the need to represent their social status through works of art rather used as decoration. This is demonstrated by the presence of a high number of copies commissioned in series to court painters at their service with the aim to decorate their estates quickly. In the case of Prince Dietrichstein, it is not correct to speak about collecting and collection, but rather about furnishing and decoration.

In the case of other figures such as Count Jan Jáchym Slavata or Bishop Karel of Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn, the issue becomes more complicated. Although they commissioned copies to their court painters, they showed the desire and appreciation for individual paintings or painters. They have to be considered a hybrid as, on the one hand they used paintings with mainly decorative purpose, but on the other hand their enthusiasm for collecting has not to be totally excluded.

Differentiating a collection as mere decoration from a collection in the modern sense of the term, is not always an easy task. However, the idea of collection as affirmed by Prince Karl Eusebius of Liechtenstein comes to an help, suggesting that real aristocratic collectors preferred to concentrate paintings and art objects in specific areas specially appointed or adapted for this purpose, namely on the model of Italian *gallerie* or inspired by the picture gallery belonged to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, where the paintings covered the walls from the ceiling to the floor.¹² This aspect is shown by the inventories, where it is often specified in which rooms the paintings were located. In Count Černín's inventories, it is recorded that the paintings were concentrate in large number in the so-called "*Big Gallery*" and in the "*Small Gallery*", specially built with the purpose of exhibiting his numerous paintings.¹³

In the case of Prince Dietrichstein, no special room dedicated to the paintings has to be found in Libochovice Castle. The copies commissioned to Christian Schröder were scattered in the Castle's rooms, sometimes installed as *supraporta* (above the door) like any other wall painting or *stucco*, in short, integrated into the decoration of the Castle.

¹¹ On Count Humprecht Jan Černín see in particular Z. Kalista, Humprecht Jan Černín jako mecenáš a podporovatel umění v době benátské ambasády 1660–1663, in: *Památky archeologické*, 36, 1928–1930, pp. 53–78; L. Slavíček, *Artis pictoriae amatores*, pp. 372–386.

¹² V. Fleischer: *Fürst Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein als Bauherr und Kunstsammler (1611–1684)*, Wien 1910, p. 15; G. Schöpfer, Klar & Fest. Geschichte des Hauses Liechtenstein, in: *Schriftenreihe der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*, 2, Graz 1996, p. 51.

¹³ Z. Kalista, *Humprecht Jan Černín*, pp. 53–78; L. Slavíček, *Artis pictoriae amatores*, pp. 372–386.

No doubt that the situation described was reflected on the tasks entrusted to the painters. A large number of them were defined court painters, whose duties were often limited to preserve the picture galleries, writing inventories, restore paintings, produce coat of arms and paint copies. Freedom of expression was certainly limited by the demands of their patron and his requests. As a result, artists faced an unsolvable conflict between their wish to affirm their individuality and the necessity to meet the demand. Many of them ended up being rather copyists than painters. Among them we find painters such as Christian Schröder who have to be considered in order to understand the artistic environment in which the great personalities of the History of Baroque Art in Bohemia stand out.

The work is divided into chapters dealing with different issues brought together by a common thread: Christian Schröder and his career mainly devoted to the copy. With few exceptions, copying was his main activity. First -as it was customary- during his artistic training in Italy, later as court painter at the Prague Castle where he used the copy as main tool to teach his students, and finally as copyist for the nobility.

The topics are modelled according to the evolution of the painter's career. Speaking about his beginnings at the service of Count Slavata, the function of a court painter will be discussed. The discovery of new archival documents concerning his study trip to Rome gives the pretext to analyze the artistic training in Italy as a phenomenon common to many painters from Bohemia. Reasons, expectations, ways of living of Bohemian artists in Italy and the results of their artistic education would be taken into consideration.

After his return from Italy, Schröder faced the choice to submit to the Prague guild of painters or to get the post of court painter of the Emperor, a position that will be granted to him thanks to the recommendation of Count Slavata. Shortly after, Schröder passed to the function of keeper of the Prague Castle picture gallery and, despite the prohibition, he soon affirmed himself as teacher of a group of students, among them important figures of the Baroque in Bohemia such as Petr Brandl. Schröder's role as teacher has been rethought on the light of the artistic situation of the last decade of the 17th century in Prague.

The commission entrusted to Schröder by Gundakar Dietrichstein to paint forty-three copies after original paintings once located in the collection of Prague Castle for Libochovice Castle has proved to be an help to affirm the presence of important original paintings in Prague Castle collections and in few cases to discover the original appearance of paintings which have been cut or lost.

In addition, the series of copies for Libochovice Castle opens the issue concerning the function of the copy in the collections belonging to the Bohemian and Moravian nobility

which has been reconsidered reflecting on the concepts of “passion for collecting” and mechanisms of social self-representation.

Main Literature

The main literature which has been taken into consideration follows different paths of research.

Christian Schröder is often mentioned in the biography of his most famous student, Petr Brandl. Franz Martin Pelzel,¹⁴ Johann Rudolf Füessli,¹⁵ Gottfried Johann Dlabáč,¹⁶ Georg Kaspar Nagler,¹⁷ basically limited their annotation to synthetic information on Schröder's activity at the service of Count Jan Jáchym Slavata, his artistic training in Italy at the expenses of the Count and his role as court painter and keeper of the Prague Castle picture gallery when he was Brandl's teacher. Later, Antonín Rybyčka¹⁸ added more details on Schröder's artistic activity, mentioning his few original paintings and the many copies he produced for Count Slavata and for Prince Gundakar Dietrichstein.

In 20th-century literature, first Karel Vladimír Herain¹⁹ and soon after Josef Novák,²⁰ dedicated their attention to Christian Schröder. As concerns Slavata family's patronage and especially the artistic renovations undertaken by Count Jan Jáchym Slavata, the studies by Novák²¹ and the more recent ones by Jiří Kubeš,²² help to understand the role of the Count in the development of Schröder's career.

¹⁴ F. M. Pelzel, *Abbildungen böhmischer und mährischer Gelehrter und Künstler nebst kurzen Nachrichten von ihren Leben und Wirken*, Prag 1773–1782, pp. 114–115.

¹⁵ J. R. Füessli, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon, oder: Kurze Nachricht von dem Leben und den Werken der Maler, Bildhauer, Baumeister, Kupferstecher, Kunstgiesser, Stahlschneider u.u.; nebst angehängten Verzeichnissen der Lehrmeister und Schüler, auch der Bildnisse, der in diesem Lexikon enthaltenen Künstler*, Zürich 1764, p. 75.

¹⁶ G. J. Dlabáč, *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon für Böhmen und zum Theil auch für Mähren und Schlesien*, Praha 1815, Vol. 3, p. 69.

¹⁷ G. K. Nagler, *Neues allgemeines KünstlerLexicon oder Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Werken der Maler, Bildhauer, Baumeister, Kupferstecher, Formschneider, Lithographen, Zeichner, Medailleure, Elfenbeinarbeiter, etc.*, München 1835–1968, Vol. 16, p. 30.

¹⁸ A. Rybyčka, Pomůcky k životopisnému slovníku českých malířů, in: *Památky archeologické a místopisné*, 4, 1860, pp. 31–34.

¹⁹ K. V. Herain, *České malířství od doby rudolfínské d smrti Reinerovy*, Praha 1915, p. 62.

²⁰ J. Novák, Slavatové a umění výtvarné, in: *Památky archeologické*, 29, 1917, pp. 17–36.

²¹ J. Novák, Dějiny bývalé hraběcí obrazárny na Hradčanech, in: *Památky archeologické*, 27, 1915, pp. 123–141.

²² J. Kubeš, *Sídla Jana Jiřího Jáchyma hraběte Slavaty z Chlumu a Košumberka (1634/37–1689)*, Pardubice 2003.

Jaromír Neumann²³ was the first scholar to put more attention on the role performed by Schröder as teacher of Petr Brandl. Andrea Steckerová²⁴ contributed to put more light on Schröder's mediation towards Brandl's knowledge of foreign models. Recently, Steckerová edited Brandl's monograph which Jaromír Neumann left unfinished, integrating the information already underlined by him in his previous works with the most recent literature.²⁵

From these studies, emerges the importance of Schröder's artistic training in Italy and the free access to the renown works of art preserved at Prague Castle collections that Schröder provided to Brandl and his other students, in this way contributing to shape the beginnings of their artistic carriers.

Novák²⁶ was the first to mention a core of letters preserved in the archive of Jindřichův Hradec constituted by the correspondence between Count Jan Jáchym Slavata and his brother, Carmelite Karel Felix Slavata. The direct consultation of the letters at the archive has allowed to discover more precise information on Schröder's study stay in Rome.

In order to contextualise his activity in the City, where he attended private academies and he occupied himself in copying selected paintings from Roman collections on demand of Count Slavata, the studies by Laura Bartoni²⁷ and Patrizia Cavazzini²⁸ have been considered. The two scholars provide information on the activities, ways of living, earnings and major areas of aggregation, reproducing a vivid image on the situation of foreign artists living in Rome which can be extend to the community of Bohemian painters that, in the course of the 17th century, counted quite a large number of people in the City.

²³ J. Neumann, *Obrazárna pražského hradu*, Praha 1964; J. Neumann, *Petr Brandl*, Praha 1968.

²⁴ A. Rousová, *Petr Brandl: malíř neřestí pozemských: žánrové malby v tvorbě barokního mistra Petra Brandla (1668–1735) – Petr Brandl: a painter of worldly vices : genre paintings in the works of the baroque master Petr Brandl (1668-1735)*, Praha 2002; A. Rousová, *Petr Brandl – mistr barokní malby*, Praha 2013.

²⁵ J. Neumann, *Petr Brandl*, Andrea Steckerová (ed.), Praha 2016. On archival documents concerning Petr Brandl and partly also Christian Schröder see: J. Prokop, *Petr Brandl: Život a dílo v archivních pramenech a starší dobové literatuře*, Praha 2016.

²⁶ Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 17–36.

²⁷ L. Bartoni, *Le vie degli artisti: residenze e botteghe nella Roma barocca dai registri di Sant'Andrea delle Fratte, 1650–1699*, Roma 2012.

²⁸ P. Cavazzini, *Painting as Business in Early Seventeenth-Century Rome*, London 2008.

Eva Chodějovská²⁹ and Pavel Preiss³⁰ have dedicated attention to the presence of the Bohemian community (in particular artists and noblemen) in Rome, putting the basis for further archival researches.

Martin Mádl, Martin Halata, Andrea Rousová,³¹ Marjeta Ciglencečki³² and Polona Vidmar³³ investigated documents and archival sources concerning Christian Schröder in the studies dedicated to Carpofo Tencalla and the group of artists (architects, stucco decorators, painters and carvers), active in the architectural and decorative renovations undertaken by the Bohemian and Moravian nobility in the second half of the 17th century.

The studies by Marjeta Ciglencečki³⁴ are fundamental to define the commission entrusted to Schröder by Gundakar Dietrichstein for Libochovice Castle. Her researches were concentrated on the study of archival documentation and above all on the part of copies today preserved at Ptuj Castle, in Slovenia.

Petr Maťa³⁵, in his important studies on Bohemian and Moravian nobility, has analyzed the position of Gundakar Dietrichstein in the political environment and his personal relationship with the Emperor Leopold I.

²⁹ E. Chodějovská, La gita da Roma a Napoli – una tappa dei viaggi d'educazione nel Seicento, in: Z. Hledíková (ed.), *Praha-Řím: Bollettino dell'Istituto storico ceco di Roma*, Roma 2009, pp. 289–302; E. Chodějovská, Hlavně si nehledej byt příliš blízko Piazza di Spagna, Strada di Condotti a podobných německých kvartýrů! Cizinci v Římě ve druhé polovině 17. století, in: V. Vlnas and L. Stolárová (eds.), *Karel Škréta: Doba a dílo*, Praha 2010; E. Chodějovská, Santa Maria dell'Anima – chiesa nazionale dei nobili boemi nel XVII secolo?, in: *Santa Maria dell'Anima, Pluralità sociale e committenza artistica nell'età confessionale*, Conference at the Biblioteca Hertziana, Roma 2013, unpublished.

³⁰ P. Preiss, I viaggi dei pittori barocchi boemi in Italia e Wenzel Lorenz Reiner, in: Hledíková, *Praha-Řím*, pp. 323–337.

³¹ M. Halata and A. Rousová: "da Cristiano Sreder, pittore...", in: M. Mádl (ed.), *Tencalla: barokní nástěnná malba v českých zemích*, Praha 2012, Vol. I, pp. 325–338.

³² M. Ciglencečki and A. Rousová, Seznam kopií Kristiána Schrödera ze zámku Libochovice, in: M. Mádl (ed.), *Tencalla: barokní nástěnná malba v českých zemích*, Praha 2012, Vol. I, pp. 341–350.

³³ P. Vidmar, Obrazy a rámy: Dřevořezby Jana Brokofa pro knížata Gundkara a Ferdinanda Josefa z Dietrichštejna na zámku v Libochovicích, in: M. Mádl (ed.), *Tencalla: barokní nástěnná malba v českých zemích*, Praha 2012, Vol. I, pp. 355–365.

³⁴ M. Ciglencečki, Malby Kristiana Schrödera pro zámek Libochovice, in: *The Herbersteins' art collection in Ptuj Castle. Cour d'honneur*, 1, 1998, pp. 77–79; M. Ciglencečki, Slike iz Libochovic na ptujskem gradu, in: *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 4, 1999, pp. 87–100.

³⁵ P. Maťa, *Svět české aristokracie (1500–1700)*, Praha 2004; P. Maťa, Mezi dvorem a provincií. Šlechtičti objednavatelé maleb Carpofo a Giacoma Tencally v habsburské monarchii, in: Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 107–110.

The Libochovice series of copies opens the discussion to the value and function of copies in Baroque period and in the territory of Bohemian Kingdom.

At first, it was important to define the copy and diversify it from other similar forms of artistic “repetition” (imitation, emulation, false, *pastiche*, etc...).

Andrea Bubenik,³⁶ although dealing with a different context and period, gives precise definitions of the different types of artistic appropriations which can be extended to the Baroque background.

In order to contextualize the copy and thus clarify its real value in the past, it was necessary to look back to the old concept of copy. Filippo Baldinucci³⁷ and Giulio Mancini³⁸ were the first ones to devote their attention to the copy in art, defining different functions and levels of quality.

Modern scholars debated on the copy and related problematic. In the volume titled: "Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies and Reproductions",³⁹ various essays open the debate on the value and function of the copy in different contexts, from the Venetian workshops of Cinquecento to the Baroque period.

Far from being an isolated case, the Libochovice series of copies testifies a common practice among the noblemen who often commissioned copies after renown paintings to decorate their estates. To understand this phenomenon, the historical, social and economic background of 17th-century Bohemian Kingdom has been analyzed.

Lubomír Slavíček⁴⁰ contributed to put more light on collecting activity in Bohemia and Moravia, seeking the cultural features of 17th-century aristocracy. Zdeněk Hojda⁴¹ completed the studies conducted by Slavíček, pointing the attention on the favourable socio-economic conditions developed after the Thirty Years' War that led to a strong increment of the artistic patronage in Bohemian Kingdom.

³⁶ A. Bubenik, *Reframing Albrecht Dürer. The Appropriation of Art, 1528-1700 (Visual Culture in Early Modernity)*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2013.

³⁷ Baldinucci, *Lettera di Filippo Baldinucci*, pp. 3–13.

³⁸ G. Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, A. Marucchi (ed.), *Fonti e Documenti inediti per la storia dell'arte*, Roma 1956–57, Vol. I, p. 134.

³⁹ F. Chamoux, Copies, Répliques, faux, in: *Revue de l'Art*, 21, 1973, pp. 5–31; M. Muller, Measures of authenticity, the detection of copies in the early literature on connoisseurship, in: *Studies in the History of Art*, 20, 1989, pp. 141–149; E. R. Spear, Notes on Renaissance and Baroque originals and originality, in: *Studies in the History of Art*, 20, 1989, pp. 97–99; B. L. Brown, Replication and the Art of Veronese, in: *Studies in the History of Art*, 20, 1989, pp. 111–124.

⁴⁰ Slavíček, *Sobě, umění, přátelům*; Slavíček, *Artis pictoriae amatores*.

⁴¹ Hojda, *Aspects économiques*, pp. 1–30.

At last, a catalogue of the copies for Libochovice Castle has been created with the aim to directly compare the appearance of copies and originals. To do so, the published inventories of the Prague Castle collections by Karl Köpl⁴² have been taken into account to trace and to confirm the presence of original paintings in the Prague Castle picture gallery when Schröder realized the copies.

The most important and recent monographs and catalogues of the painters copied by Schröder have been consulted together with the studies of Ciglencečki⁴³ and Neumann's catalogue of the Prague Castle Picture Gallery.⁴⁴

⁴² K. Köpl, Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare aus dem K. K. Statthaltereii-Archiv in Prag, in: Ferdinand Graf zu Trautmansdorf-Weinsberg, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 10, Wien 1889.

⁴³ Ciglencečki, *Malby Kristiana Schrödera*, p. 77–79; Ciglencečki, *Slike iz Libochovic*, pp. 87–100.

⁴⁴ Neumann, *Obrazárna*.

1. Artistic training in Italy

1.1. Apprenticeship in Rome

Rome, quoted by Karel van Mander in his *Schilder-Boeck* (1604) as “*the city that seems to be erected specially for the painters*”⁴⁵, already at the time of the Flemish painter and biographer was the favourite destination for the artists coming from abroad, for whom accomplishing a period of study in Rome was a consolidated custom.⁴⁶

Many foreign painters who went to Rome and made a living there for a few years or for the rest of their lives, were attracted by different factors. Studying classical art and the examples of Raphael and Michelangelo was seen as a fundamental part of an artist's training.⁴⁷ The large papal court offered hope of employment, especially since the time of Pope Clement VIII, who had originated many decorative enterprises. Moreover Rome, the centre of Catholicism, seems to have been tolerant of Protestants, especially if they satisfied the single requirement of taking Communion at Easter.⁴⁸

Foreign artists were drawn to Rome also by the lure of Caravaggio's art and by the absence of a guild of painters that did not restrict access to the profession and to the artistic production.

Nevertheless a period of study in Rome was really expensive for a young painter. Paying a rent, the fee for the school, as well as the daily expenses, meant a high cost. Consequently young painters made a living occupying themselves with a variety of tasks. They might have been hired daily by other painters who were producing frescoes, even though they had no particular connection with them, they could even produce canvases on commission from other painters, presumably by those who owned a workshop, with whom they might not enjoy permanent relations. Some of them operated mainly as copyists.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ K. Van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, Haarlem 1604. See also K. Van Mander, *Le vite degli illustri pittori fiamminghi, olandesi e tedeschi*, R. De Mambro Santos (ed.), Roma 2000, p. 347.

⁴⁶ Joachim von Sandrart affirms the necessity for a young painter to go to Rome to accomplish an artistic training. Cfr. M. C. Heck, *Théorie et pratique de la peinture: Sandrart et la Teutsche Academie*, Paris 2006.

⁴⁷ Cavazzini, *Painting as Business*, pp. 43–44.

⁴⁸ G. Passeri, *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti che hanno lavorato in Roma*, Roma 1772, p. 175.

⁴⁹ Cavazzini, *Painting as Business*, pp. 13–43.

In some cases the study stay in Italy of foreign painters was financially supported by a rich patron who expected to be paid back by the enriched artistic skills of the painter or with some paintings or copies directly purchased or realized in Italy for the his collection.

1.2. Academy of Saint Luke and private academies

In Rome, academies, and in particular “*accademie dal naturale*”, had a significant role for an aspiring painter. There, a young artist could acquire what was perhaps the fundamental skill for a painter: the ability to represent the human figure.

The Academy of Saint Luke was an official institution with intellectual ambitions. In addition to elevating the social status of the artists, its main goal was the training of young pupils, providing them with practical and theoretical instruction necessary to their profession.⁵⁰ By 1607, the lessons that should have been given to the students in the Academy had been codified: drawing, painting, anatomy, sculpture, architecture and perspective.⁵¹

A visual example of the educational practice proposed by the Academy of Saint Luke is represented in the engraving *Accademia d' Pittori* by Pietro Francesco Alberti (Image 1), a painter and engraver active in the first decades of the 17th century between Borgo San Sepolcro and Rome.

In a large room illuminated by the light coming from an open window on the left, Alberti represents some young pupils gathered in small groups, intent on following the lessons of their older masters. Various degrees of the artistic apprenticeship are shown, such as the drawing of anatomical details, clearly visible on the sheet hold by the older teacher sitting at the bottom left and by the cast of the leg hanging under the window that a young man is copying with particular commitment. The teaching of geometry is illustrated by the group of young pupils gathered around the teacher who is tracing geometric shapes with a wand. On the right, further stages of learning are represented by two young pupils intent on studying the skeleton and other two who are shaping little sculptures in clay -exercise for

⁵⁰ Cavazzini, *Painting as Business*, pp. 43–48.

⁵¹ About the academies see in particular: N. Pevsner, *Le accademie d'arte*, Torino 1982, pp. 40–54, 325–355; A. Cipriani, *L'Accademia di San Luca dai concorsi dei giovani ai concorsi clementini*, in: A.W.A. Boschloo (ed.), *Academies of Art between Renaissance and Romanticism*, Leiden 1989, pp. 61–76; A. Ferraresi and M. Visioli, *Formare alle professioni: architetti, ingegneri, artisti (secoli XV–XIX)*, Milano 2012, pp. 25–27.

the training of the sculptors- while the young pupil next to the door is tracking the contours of a building on a big board, an allusion to the apprenticeships of architecture.⁵²

Basically, drawing meant copying. Modern notions of originality and invention played a relatively small part in an artist's education. In addition to duplicating their masters' drawings, students copied engravings. They also spent much time reproducing famous works of art, generally with red chalk. The master then corrected the apprentice's drawings. Finally, a student would approach drawing from life and from a naked model.⁵³

During academic meetings, a model was set, stand, or hang naked in a posture for two or three hours in the middle of a room. Students, as well as established artists, gathered around the model and drew -never painted -from life, "*dal vivo*" or "*dal naturale*".⁵⁴

Sessions of drawing after nude models seem to have been held at the Academy of Saint Luke, especially at its beginnings, but soon they became sporadic. They were held only on Sundays or feast days, while the private academies held classes from the nude model all the year, even in winter and especially in the evening.⁵⁵

As a matter of fact, the word "*accademia*" does not have to be restricted to the Academy of Saint Luke. In Rome, the teaching of drawing was not the only prerogative of the official "*Accademia*", but from the 16th century its practice was also promoted by private groups or companies of artists who gather in the workshop or in the house of a renown master or at the palace of a noblemen. These meetings were also defined "*accademie di disegno*" or "*accademie del nudo*", clear allusion to the presence of the nude model as key element of the training.⁵⁶ In private academies, students received lessons and instructions often for a small monthly fee (for example, Guido Reni's students paid a monthly fee to attend his school in Bologna).⁵⁷

⁵² Ferraresi, *Formare alle professioni*, pp. 25–27.

⁵³ Cavazzini, *Painting as Business*, pp. 64–70.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 70–75.

⁵⁵ It seems that the Academy of Saint Luke organized classes of drawing from the nude model only on Sunday morning after the Holy Mess and only from May to October. Cfr: P. Cavazzini, Pittori eletti e 'Bottegari' nei primi anni dell'Accademia e Compagnia di San Luca, in: *Rivista d'Arte*, 1, 2011, pp. 79–96.

⁵⁶ C. Nicosia, La bottega e l'Accademia. L'educazione artistica nell'età de Carracci, in: *Accademia Clementinua, Atti e Memorie*, 32, 1993, pp. 201–208.

⁵⁷ In Rome, the words "*school*" and "*academy*" had distinct meanings. The minimal information that can be gathered about Roman schools suggests that they were more focused on the practical aspects of painting. Perhaps few painters ran proper schools and the same word might well have been applied to what to us is little different from a workshop. Relatively well-off youths of good social standing, when training as painters, might have thought of themselves as students. The fee they paid to the master excused them from physical

The best-documented private academy in 17th-century Rome is the one of Andrea Sacchi who held an *accademia del nudo* in his own house in Via Rasella, certainly from 1630 and for many years. In Sacchi's house the academic meetings took place every evenings, after the participants had worked or trained during the day.⁵⁸

There were also private academies dedicated to particular nationalities or communities.

The French Academy was founded at Palazzo Capranica in 1666 by Louis XIV under the direction of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Charles Le Brun and Gian Lorenzo Bernini. It hosted selected French artists who, having won the Prix de Rome, were honoured with a three up to five-year scholarship.⁵⁹

The Accademia Medicea, founded under the wish of the Duke of Florence Cosimo III in 1673 and held in Palazzo Madama under the direction of Ciro Ferri and Ercole Ferrata, was dedicated to Florentine artists who could increase their artistic skills at the expenses of the Duke.⁶⁰

In Rome, apprentices had much freedom of movement among different masters, as regular attendance was apparently unnecessary. An apprentice under one master could even attend the school of another.⁶¹

As Passeri and Baglione's biographies refer, some painters were self-taught. They benefited only from rare contacts with a master who would provide advice and corrections to their work and especially to their drawings.

1.3. Way of living in Rome

The Tridente area, was notoriously a place of residence of foreigners. Based on church records (*Stati delle Anime*) it is possible to notice the presence of conglomerates of artists tied by common geographic origins especially in this area.

labors, allowing them to claim they practiced a liberal art. Differently from Venice, the word *bottega* was rarely used by painters in Rome. Cfr. Cavazzini, *Pittori eletti e 'Bottegari'*, pp. 79–96.

⁵⁸ Passeri, *Vite*, p. 170; Cavazzini, *Painting as Business*, pp. 76–80.

⁵⁹ About the French Academy in Rome see in particular: A. Franchi-Verney, *L'Académie de France à Rome. 1666–1903*, Paris 1904.

⁶⁰ K. Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik: die Kunst am Hofe der letzten Medici: 1670–1743*, München 1962; See also K. Lankheit, *Gli ultimi Medici: il tardo barocco a Firenze, 1670–1743*, (exh. cat.), Detroit 1974.

⁶¹ Cavazzini, *Painting as Business*, pp. 53–56; R. Vodret, *Alla ricerca di "Ghiongrat". Studi sui libri parrocchiali romani (1600–1630)*, Roma 2011, pp. 65–84.

The series of “*rubricelle*” in *Stati delle Anime* kept at the Archive of Vicariatus Urbis in Rome, may be considered as a real population register that gathers information on the characteristics and consistency of the population living in Rome during almost four centuries. This register comprehends the period between the end of the 16th century -when the practice to draw *Stati delle Anime* started to be systematic- to 1870, when the annexation of Rome to the Kingdom of Italy led to the establishment of a Civil Office that was intended to replace with civilian functions the practice previously carried on by the priests.

Since its first institution -sanctioned by the norms issued in 1563 by the Council of Trento- the compilation of *Stati delle Anime* was entrusted to the priests of the diocese of Rome, who registered the census of the population residing within the boundaries of his own parish on the occasion of the celebration of Easter. This census was made by the priest by a personal visits to each house of the parish of competence and by recording on a “*rubricella*” the name of the individual residents. Besides the name and the last name of the head of the family, the priest registered, year by year, his origin, age and profession, as well as his relationship with the other members of the family or guests of the house: servants, nurses, labourers, acquaintances or tenants. Usually the list was preceded by the place of residence, the street and the number of the building.⁶²

The studies of Laura Bardoni,⁶³ who has examined the records of *Stati delle Anime*, confirm that the parish of St. Andrea delle Fratte in the years 1650-1699, along with the neighbouring districts of St. Lorenzo in Lucina, St. Maria del Popolo and St. Nicola in Arcione, were the first residential areas chosen by painters and sculptors and by a large number of craftsmen and artists.

The number of artists (architects, painters, engravers and sculptors) achieved the two highest peaks in the years of 1650 and 1675, respectively, with 52 and 59 appearances. In particular, the majority of painters, sculptors and engravers residing in St. Andrea delle Fratte in the second half of the 17th century, lives in the streets between the square of Trinità dei Monti and the area of Capo le Case. A higher number of artists is also registered in the Gregoriana and Felice streets.

Within this space, it is natural to assume that painters, sculptors and engravers occupied the same houses, rooms, apartments previously leased by other colleagues.

The reasons behind the choice of St. Andrea delle Fratte as a place of residence for artists in this period can be varied. In the first place, the whole area of Tridente, between Piazza

⁶² Cavazzini, *Pittori eletti e ‘Bottegari’*, pp. 107–143.

⁶³ Bartoni, *Le vie degli artisti*, pp. 15–66.

del Popolo and Piazza di Spagna and between Pincio and Tevere up to the streets around Trevi, was -at least since the end of the 16th century- a place of dense aggregation of artists.

The opportunity to enjoy a good lighting as in the buildings in the area of Capo le Case, which was located in an elevated position, may have had a special attraction for painters. As demonstrated by the information concerning their dwellings, the studio where the artist was painting was usually placed on the top floor of the building to ensure the best light for working.

This area was often chosen also by Bohemian painters during their stay in Rome. They were often associated with the Flemish and the Germans, sometimes also with the French. The multinational cohabitation did not impede the contacts between foreigners and Italians which on the contrary was really common. Foreigners were expected to understand, read and write Italian language, so the interaction with Italians was basically quite ordinary, allowing consequent influences and transfers from the cultural and artistic point of view.⁶⁴

1.4. Painter's education in a Venetian *Bottega*

Even though Rome was usually the main destination for the study trip of foreign artists and among them the Bohemians, for painters coming from the North of the Alps Venice was the first and closest most important Italian artistic centre.

The artistic situation in Seicento Venice was quite different from the previous century when Titian (1480/85- 1576), Paolo Veronese (1528-1588) and Jacopo Tintoretto (1518-1594) were still alive.

After Tintoretto died, Venice lost the last of its great masters, while the market's demand for paintings signed by them or at least by their workshop, was still rising. The artistic production of the 17th century consisted mainly in reproductions, copies or *pastiches* very close in the manner of the great masters of the past. For this reason it has often been affirmed that the 17th century was a period of stagnation for Venetian painting.⁶⁵

Lately, a more critic and objective view has given back the true value to the art of this century which sees a strong influence of artists coming from other Italian artistic centres and from abroad. Painters such as the Roman Domenico Fetti (1589- c. 1623), the Genoese

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ P. Zampetti (ed.), *La pittura del Seicento a Venezia*, Venezia 1959.

Bernardo Strozzi (1581-1644) and the German Johann Liss (c. 1595-1629), dominated the Italian artistic panorama, giving rise to florid local workshops.⁶⁶

There were multiple reasons why a painter would chose Venice for an apprenticeship in 17th century. Economic and social factors constituted optimal conditions for studying and living in the lagoon city for a young foreign painter.

If in the 17th century Venice had longer lost its first place as an economic authority, the internationality and the intellectual freedom, as well as the religious tolerance, were still guaranteed. A florid market for paintings and artistic goods where the painters themselves were involved, a multitude of local and foreign buyers, a variegated environment of patrons, collectors and art dealers still existed in the city.

In late Seicento Venice, an extraordinary demand of paintings of small size, together with copies after Venetian masters of the 16th century and images of various genre such as landscape, portrait, seascape, ensured to a crowd of almost unknown painters to make a living.⁶⁷

Concerning the artistic training in Venice, the situation was quite particular and different from the other artistic centres of Italy.

In Venice, often painting was not carried out by individuals, but by workshops which, as a rule, were formed by members of a single family who continued their activity through several generations.

From the Bellini family in Quattrocento Venice the tradition continued throughout the 16th century.⁶⁸ In his old age, Titian endeavoured to turn over all his commissions to the son Orazio. In Jacopo Tintoretto's family two sons and a daughter were painters. In Paolo Veronese's family, his brother Benedetto, his sons Carletto and Gabriele and his nephew Alvise del Friso helped in the family workshop. When Paolo Veronese died in 1588, his brother and sons signed their art works as "*Haeredes Paoli*" (heirs of Paolo Veronese).⁶⁹

For the average customers, the guarantee offered by the legal successors in the management of a workshop, seemed sufficient. Customers did not demand works by any

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ I. Cecchini, *Quadri e commercio a Venezia durante il Seicento. Uno studio sul mercato dell'arte*, Venezia 2000; L. Borean and S. Mason, *Il collezionismo a Venezia nel '600*, Venezia 2011, pp. 203–215.

⁶⁸ H. Tietze, "Master and Workshop in the Venetian Renaissance", *Parnassus*, Vol. 11, 8, 1939, pp. 34–35, 45.

⁶⁹ A. Maronese, *La bottega dei Caliari: Haeredes Pauli e altri collaboratori tra Venezia e la Terraferma*, Ca' Foscari University in Venice, 2013, unpublished dissertation.

particular member of the family but wished to acquire paintings for the quality promised by the good reputation of the workshop.⁷⁰

This tradition continued also in the following century. The pupils were trained by the master, learned his special procedure and used the material which was the common property of the workshop, such as casts, drawings, graphics, sketches and so forth.

In Venice, the delay with which the official academy was born compared to what happened in other cities such as Bologna, Florence or Rome, had its result in the continuation of the workshop practices. The foundation of the official Academy of Arts will be formalized only in 1756.⁷¹

Famous Venetian workshops were the one of Pietro Liberi⁷² (1605 –1687) and the one of Pietro Vecchia (1603–1678) which was settled in Palazzo dei Bellegno ai Santi Apostoli, in Calle dei Proverbi.⁷³

In Vecchia's workshop "*allo studio del naturale, ossia del corpo umano nudo, il pittore attendeva insieme a infinità de zoveni suoi allievi in quella Accademia, che fu eretta da lui nella propria sua Casa*", as referred by Marco Boschini.⁷⁴

The lease contract to Pietro della Vecchia dated from 1659, was probably renewed until his death. After the painter death, the contract lease of his house was taken over by Agostino Letterini, who kept "*quasi di continuo aperta la virtuosa Accademia di Pittura, a Benefizio de' Giovani Studenti*", as his biographer Nadal Melchiori affirms.⁷⁵

An other florid workshop was the one of Antonio Zanchi (1631 - 1722) which he opened in 1662.⁷⁶ It seems that Zanchi's *bottega* occupied him so much that Carmelite Filippo Leonelli, secretary of Count Humprecht Jan Černín, at the time Imperial Ambassador in

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ For a general overview on the history of the Art Academy in Venice see in particular E. Viola, *L'Accademia di Venezia: i maestri, le collezioni, le sedi*, Venezia 2016.

⁷² On Liberi workshop see: U. Ruggeri, *Pietro e Marco Liberi: pittori nella Venezia del Seicento*, Rimini 1996.

⁷³ V. Dal Canal, *Della maniera del dipingere moderno, "Mercurio filosofico, letterario e poetico"*, Venezia 1810, p. 5; T. Temanza, *Zibaldon*, N. Ivanoff (ed.), Venezia–Roma 1963, p. 75; R. Pancheri, "“Accademie” di Pietro Vecchia", *Arte Veneta*, 58, 2001, pp. 58–64.

⁷⁴ M. Boschini, *La carta del navegar pitoresco*, A. Pallucchini (ed.), Venezia-Roma 1966, p. 125.

⁷⁵ E. Bordignon Favero, "La bottega di Pietro Vecchia a Venezia", *Atti e Meomorie dell'Accademia Patavina di Scienze Lettere ed Arti*, 97, 1984-1985, pp. 115–133.

⁷⁶ A. Riccoboni, "Antonio Zanchi e la Pittura Veneziana del Seicento", *Saggi e Memorie di Storia dell'arte*, 5, 1966, pp. 3–19; B. Andreose, *Antonio Zanchi pittore celeberrimo*, Vicenza 2009, pp. 13–31.

Venice, in a letter dated 21 October 1662 informs Emperor Leopold I that the artist did not start to colour the paintings which had been ordered to him, because too busy with teachings: “*questa mattina sono poi ritornato a fare un giro di tutti quanti li pittori, Il Zanchi ha principiato in casa sua a fare nella prima stanza una Accademia et perciò non ha potuto ne meno lui cominciar a colorir il suo quadro. M’ha promesso volerlo fare nel principio dell’altra settimana, aspettando un modello al natural a modo suo.*”⁷⁷

For painters coming from the North of the Alps the most renown Venetian workshop was certainly the one of Johann Carl Loth (1632 –1698). Son of Ulrich, Loth was born in 1632 in Munich, but he moved to Venice in 1653 where he soon started a flourished *bottega*.⁷⁸ Among his many pupils and helpers from the North, some were more famous. Daniel Seiter, from Vienna (1649-1705) was initially very close to the work of Loth, before moving to Rome, to the school of Carlo Maratta and finally, as a protagonist at the Savoy Court in Turin where he ended his life; Hans Adam Weisskirchner (1646-1695) was court painter of Prince of Eggenberg in Styria; Peter Strudl (1664-1711) was the founder of the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts; Johann Michael Rottmayr (1654-1730), probably the closest pupil of Loth, came to the master’s workshop in 1674 and remained there for thirteen years and Michael Václav Halbax (1661-1711) who was Loth’s pupil at least from 1686 to 1690.⁷⁹

1.5. Artistic training of Bohemian painters in Italy

For the painters coming from Bohemian Kingdom a trip to Italy to accomplish an artistic training was undoubtedly a form of promotion and represented a presumption of success in front of their patrons, for whom an Italian name or at least a period of training in Italy was a guarantee of the quality of their artistic performance.

Only the rarefied mosaic of fragments of archival and biographical documents allow to know who among the painters considered “Bohemian” according to their geographic origin or because their activity was mainly concentrated in the Czech Lands, went for a study stay in Italy.

⁷⁷ Státní oblastní archiv, Třebon, (From now on quoted as SOA Třebon), Fond Černín, VIII F, 1662; Z. Kalista, *Humprecht Jan Černín*, p. 74.

⁷⁸ G. Ewald, *Johann Carl Loth 1632–1698*, Amsterdam 1965, pp. 11–35.

⁷⁹ Ewald, *Johann Carl Loth*, pp. 11–35; K. Möseneder, M. Thimann and A. Hofstetter (eds.), *Barocke Kunst und Kultur im Donauraum*, Passau-Linz 2013, pp. 277–286.

We can affirm with certainty that Karel Škréta (1610-1674) was in Italy between 1629 and at least 1636 on the basis of the information reported by Joachim von Sandrart⁸⁰ and in particular thanks to a recently discovered letter dated 8 June 1636 sent from Pistoia where the painter attested that, after his departure from Venice, he lived two years in Rome.⁸¹ Tracing the presence of Bohemian artists who travelled to Italy in the second half of the 17th century has been more difficult so far.

The eldest son of Karel Škréta, Karel Škréta the Younger (1650-1691), who like his father became a painter, after an initial artistic training under the paternal supervision, left for Italy where he settled in Rome in the years 1673-1675.

In 1943 Godefridus Johannes Hoogewerff publishing a list of Dutch artists active in Rome between 1600 and 1725, mentioned a painter named “*Carlo Scieta*” living with “*Daniele Ers*” at the parish of St. Lorenzo in Lucina in the year 1673. The painter is without any doubt Karel Škréta the Younger, while the second painter is to be identified with Daniel Heintz, grandson of Joseph Heintz who was court painter of Rudolf II.⁸²

In the *Stati delle Anime*, the name of Karel Škréta the Younger is also registered in the parish of St. Andrea delle Fratte in 1674 and in 1675 where it is reported: “*Monsù Carlo Scretta Boemo di anni 24*”.⁸³

⁸⁰ J. von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der edeln Bau-Bild-und Malerei Kunste*, Vol I, Nürnberg 1675, pp. 203–204.

⁸¹ On Škréta's trip to Rome see L. Stolárová and K. Holečková (eds.), *Karel Škréta (1610–1674) – Studie a dokumenty*, Praha 2011, pp. 81–100, 265–374. From the letter, it is clear that in 1636 the painter remained in Rome, from where he travelled to Florence and, after stopping in Pistoia, just a few kilometres far from Florence, he probably went back again to Venice. The document also mentions Škréta address who lived in the house of “*Marek Sadeler in San Crisostomo*” just next to Tiberio Tinelli and the environment of the *Accademia degli Incogniti*. Marek Sadeler was the nephew of the engraver Aegidius Sadeler who most likely was Škréta's first teacher. There exist also sporadic traces of Škréta's name in Venetian inventories and a group of survived paintings that the painter realized in Italy. On Karel Škreta in Italy see also J. Neumann, K Italským začatkům Karla Škreta, in: *Umění*, 3, 1955, pp. 313–314; J. Neumann, *Karel Škreta 1610–1674*, Praha 1974; J. Zapletalová, Karel Škreta, Notes from the archives in Italy, in: *Umění*, 57, 2009, p. 153; J. Zapletalová, Škreta, Sandrart, Oretti, poznámka ke Škretovu působení v Itálii, in: *Umění*, 57, 2009, pp. 398–402; L. Stolárová and V. Vlnas (eds.), *Karel Škreta 1610–1674: his world and his era*, Prague 2010, pp. 96–103.

⁸² G. J. Hoogewerff, *Nederlandsche Kunstenaars te Rome (1600–1725). Uittrekseks uit de parochiale archiven*, S-Gravenhage 1943, p. 150; Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma, San Lorenzo in Lucina, Stati delle anime, year 1673, f. 88, Vicolo del Bottino. Cfr. J. Zapletalová, Karel Škreta, Notes from the archives in Italy, in: *Umění*, 57, 2009, pp. 155–156.

⁸³ Roma, Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma, Sant'Andrea delle Fratte, Stati delle anime, year 1674, f. 277; year 1635, f. 23.

Škréta the Young lived in the neighbourhood of Isola Toscanella in San Felice street at the Nr. 5 together with other foreign painters, including the French artists Jean Champagne and François Spierre and the German Nicolas Bernard.⁸⁴

If the presence of the young Škréta in Rome is still traceable from archival documents, it is harder to identify the results of the Italian lesson in his painting. His activity was mainly carried out in the shadow of the father, conforming himself to Škréta workshop's production together with a number of pupils and assistants.⁸⁵

To confirm the high density of Bohemian artists in the parish of St. Andrea delle Fratte, a certain Giovanni Spinola "*Todesco, pittore di Praga, anni 30*" is mentioned in Strada della Purificazione in the years 1677 and 1678.⁸⁶ The painter is "*Johann Spinola, Mahles aus Prag, um 1647, 1677 in Rom*" quoted in *Allgemeines Lexikon* by Thieme and Backer, but no more is known about him.⁸⁷

The fresco painter Fabián Václav Harovník (ca. 1637-1683),⁸⁸ had a son called Karel Leopold, who remained in Italy because of his art, as the father wrote in his testament. It seems that Karel Leopold Harovník sent often paintings from Italy to Prague.⁸⁹ From the father's testament we deduce that Harovník the Younger returned to Bohemia, but if he devoted himself to the painting somewhere it is not known.

In the biography of Michael Leopold Willmann (1630-1706), Sandrart refers about the impossibility of the painter to go to Italy, but he sent there his two sons.⁹⁰ The first, his natural son, whose name was also Michael Willmann, died very young without having the time to produce much as a painter, while the second, Jan Kryštof Liška (1650-1712), Willmann's stepson, according to the Sandrart's report, spent six years in Italy between 1674 and 1680.⁹¹

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ J. Neumann, *Škrétové. Karel Škréta a jeho syn*, Praha 2000, pp. 130–135; Stolárová, *Karel Škréta 1610-1674*, pp. 420–425. Recent attribution of drawings to Karel Škréta the Younger by Martin Mádl: M. Mádl, Kresba Stigmatizace sv. Františka z Assisi a Šternberská kaple v kostele pražských hybernů, in: *Ars linearis II. Grafika a kresba českých zemí v evropských souvislostech*, Praha 2010, pp. 58–65.

⁸⁶ Bartoni, *Le vie degli artisti*, p. 345.

⁸⁷ Quoted as "*Johann Spinola*" in: Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Leipzig 2008, Vol. 31, p. 390.

⁸⁸ P. Zprávy, Freska Fabiána Václava Harovníka v zámku ve Štěkni Svojanovský, in: *Časopis státní památkové péče. Praha: Státní ústav památkové péče*, 1997, pp. 79–82.

⁸⁹ K. V. Herain, *České malířství od doby rudolfínské do smrti Reinerovy*, Praha 1915, p. 62; P. Preiss, *I viaggi dei pittori barocchi boemi*, pp. 323–377.

⁹⁰ Sandrart, *Teutsche Akademie*, p. 370.

⁹¹ Ibid.

The initial similarity between Liška's painting to the stepfather's is significantly attenuated after his return to Bohemia when Willmann himself started to be more sensitive to the new pictorial aspects introduced by his stepson. Liška's canvases for the Church of St. Francis of Assisi in Prague -which clearly show the influence of his Italian training- represent the key to understand the evolution of his painting. If the figures of the angels in the *Assumption of the Virgin* (1701-1702) (Image 2) and in the *Stigmata of St. Francis* (1700-1701) are obviously still closely connected with the art of Willmann, the magnificence of the figures of the saints and the compositional construction, as well as the combination of colours, are undoubtedly the result of the Italian influence.⁹²

Although Sandrart does not specify in which cities of Italy Liška completed his training, his painting shows striking similarities with the works of the Genovese school of painting, especially with Valerio Castello, Gregorio De Ferrari and Giovan Battista Gaulli.⁹³

Whether Liška lived for few years in Genoa it hasn't been demonstrated yet. The geographic position of Genoa, located at the opposite side of Nord-Est Italy, made it hard to believe that Liška pushed himself so far in comparison with the path usually followed by the majority of Bohemian artists. Rather, the painter absorbed the influences of the Genoese school of painting in Venice and Rome. One should not forget that Genoese influences were clearly perceptible in Venice where Bernardo Strozzi was active since 1630 and left a fundamental heritage by the mediation of his workshop, while Giovan Battista Gaulli lived in Rome since 1657 until his death in 1709.

The network of personal and professional relations that gathered around the figure of Liška has particular importance for the understanding of the Prague artistic environment in the second half of the 17th century.

On 12 April 1693 Liška is mentioned among the people who took part to the baptism of the painter Vaclav Nosek Nosecký's son František Kristián Ezechiel (later called Siard), together with Christian Schröder and Jan Rudolf Bys.⁹⁴ Liška's artistic circuit can be further extended to Jan Jakub Stevens of Steinfels, Václav Vavřinec Reiner, Franz Maximilian Kaňka and Michael Václav Halbax, with whom he collaborated on the realization of few pictorial cycles.⁹⁵

⁹² J. Neumann, Jan Kryštof Liška I/II, in: *Umění*, 15, 1967, pp. 135–176, 260–311.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ K. Plesníková, *Václav Jindřich Nosecký* (1661–1732), Palacký University in Olomouc, 2010, unpublished dissertation, pp. 15–21.

⁹⁵ Neumann, *Jan Kryštof Liška*, pp. 135–176, 260–311.

On the light of these personal bonds, it is clear that Liška belonged to the Prague artistic community that lined up in opposition to the strict regulations imposed by the guild of painters of Malá Strana. The same community tried to establish better working conditions for the artists, as evidenced by the attempt to found the academy of art in Prague.⁹⁶ The main initiator of the project is to be considered Halbax, as confirmed by a letter he wrote on 10 November 1708 addressed to the fellow student Johann Michael Rottmayr, whom he met in Loth's workshop. In the letter, the painter already informed his friend of the intention to establish an academy.⁹⁷

The motivation to found an academy certainly came from Halbax's artistic experiences at Loth's workshop, where the painter met a creative freedom and pedagogical practices which were unknown to the Prague guilds still trapped in rigid rules.⁹⁸

In the workshop of Loth, Halbax learnt to use the light and create *chiaroscuro* on the model of Caravaggio, as demonstrated by the series of paintings of the *Evangelists and the Church Fathers* in the Archbishop's Palace in Prague. Once back from Italy, Halbax made full use of the teachings of his master, frequently reproducing Loth's compositional schemes.

The Venetian experience was crucial for Halbax who, in addition to familiarize with the great masters of the previous centuries, established strong friendly relationship with the students of Loth's workshop, apart from Johann Michael Rottmayr, with Peter Strudel who also had the impulse to found an art academy in Vienna, in his case with success.⁹⁹

The celebrity of Loth was strongly felt among Bohemian artists who yearn for an apprenticeship in his workshop. Loth was very known among Bohemian collectors and painters. Emperor Leopold I and Count Humprecht Jan Černín were fervid patrons and collectors of Loth's paintings as demonstrated by the conspicuous presence of the master's paintings in their collections and by the correspondence exchanged between them concerning the commissions of paintings.¹⁰⁰

Even though Jan Kupecký (1666-1740) belongs to a different background being born in Slovakia, in Pezinok (a town near Bratislava) as the son of Protestant parents originated from Mladá Boleslav, he was often identified as "*pictor Boemus*". He used to copy

⁹⁶ Herain, *Pokus o založení akademie umění*, p. 77.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ewald, *Johann Carl Loth*, pp. 11–35; M. Racek, *Dílo malíře Michala Václava Halbaxe v Čechách*, Charles University in Prague, 1950, unpublished dissertation.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ J. Novák, *Dějiny bývalé hraběcí obrazárny na Hradčanech*, in: *Památky archeologické*, 27, 1915, pp. 123–141; Kalista, *Humprecht Jan Černín*, pp. 53–78; Slavíček, *Artis pictoriae amatores*, pp. 131–143, 372–386.

paintings by Loth to compensate the apparently unsatisfactory teachings of his master, the Swiss painter Benedikt Klaus.¹⁰¹ When the three-year-long apprenticeship (1681-1684) with Klaus ended, Kupecký went to Italy. His first destination was Venice where the painter stopped with a letter of recommendation addressed to Pietro Liberi in order to be accepted in his workshop. Kupecký was rejected by the old master, who, already in his 70s, did not want to accept any more pupil.¹⁰²

During the short Venetian stay, Kupecký absorbed the characteristics of the local portraitists, in particular from Sebastiano Bombelli and Pietro Bellotti.¹⁰³ Probably due to the cold welcoming, Kupecký felt soon dissatisfied by Venice and already in 1687 he continued his journey to Rome.

With no recommendations, Kupecký met some difficulties in entering into the Roman artistic environment. Thanks to his meeting with the Swiss painter Matej Füessli (father of Johann Rudolf Füessli who later became his biographer) who recommended him to the workshop of a mediocre painter, Kupecký could survive for a period of time by painting copies of portraits. During his stay in Rome he maintained friendly relationships with a community of foreign artists including the landscape painters Christoph Ludwig Agricola and Joachim Franz Beich, the still-life painter Franz Werner Tamm and the portraitist Gottfried Eichler, but above all he met his first major patron, the young Polish Prince Alexander Sobieski for whom he worked for several years.¹⁰⁴

Under the influence of Carlo Marratta and Francesco Trevisani, Kupecký's activity focused exclusively on portraiture, but his artistic production -that over the twenty years spent in Italy had to be conspicuous- is still far from being all traced.¹⁰⁵

Peter Keck (? -1730) successor of Christian Schröder in the function of court painter at the Prague Castle picture gallery, in his request to obtain this position, wrote that after an ordinary apprenticeship with the painter Christian Dittmann, he spent twelve years in

¹⁰¹ Füessli, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexicon*, p. 765.

¹⁰² Z. Ormós, *Kupeczky János mint ember és művész*, Temesvár 1888, pp. 83–85; A. Nyári, *Der Porträtmaler Johann Kupetzky; sein Leben und seine Werke*, Wien 1889, pp. 22–36; V. Pilous, Jan Kupecký poprvé v Benátkách, in: *Český deník*, 348, 19.12.1943, p. 4.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ E. A. Šafařík, *Johann Kupezky (1667–1740)*, Prag 1928, pp. 15–48; F. Dvořák, *Kupecký*, Bratislava 1955, pp. 18–56; E. A. Šafařík, *Johann Kupezky (1666–1740) Ein Meister des Barockportrats*, Prag 2001, pp. 7–32; E. A. Šafařík, *Johann Kupezky (1666–1740). Gesamtwerk*, Brno 2014, pp. 11–13.

different Italian cities where “*with assiduous application and tireless effort he served with his art in that country his Serenity the Duke of Modena*”.¹⁰⁶

In which Italian cities Keck stopped and how exactly he served the Duke of Modena, we can not say. Today only few works are attributed to Keck -the *Ascension of the Virgin* in the Basilica of St. James in Prague (Bazilika svatého Jakuba Většího) and seventeen large paintings for the Augustinian Monastery in Třeboň- which do not give the impression that his long Italian study stay left a strong mark in his artistic production.¹⁰⁷

Even the fresco painter Jakob Stevens of Steinfels (ca. 1651-1730) must have spent in Italy quite a long time. The Abbot of Sedlec, Jindřich Snopek, in his letter of invitation to Andrea Pozzo, offered Stevens to work as interpreter, because he “*Callet linguam italicam*”.¹⁰⁸ When and where he learned the Italian language and the fresco technique remains undiscovered. It is difficult to determine from his artistic production what he had seen in Italy and what he was able to absorb or experiment.

¹⁰⁶ M. Horyna and P. Preiss, *Zámek Troja*, Praha 2000, pp. 318–319; V. Mixová, Drobné dodatky k životopisům několika dvorských umělců, in: *Umění*, 3, 1955, p. 353.

¹⁰⁷ J. Malý, *Vlastenský slovník historický*, Praha 1877, p. 337.

¹⁰⁸ P. Preiss, Pozzo und der Pozzismus in Böhmen, in: Alberta Battisti (ed.), *Andrea Pozzo*, Milano 1996, pp. 431–432.



Image 1 Pietro Francesco Alberti, *Accademia d' Pittori*, Etching, 412 x 522 mm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Elisha Whittelsey Collection



Image 2 Jan Kryštof Liška, *Assumption of the Virgin*, oil on canvas, 1701-1702, Church of St. Francis of Assisi, Prague

2. Searching for 17th century Bohemian painters in Italy. Obstacles to the research

The artistic literature is the starting point to search for Bohemian painters in Italy.

Only Joachim von Sandrart in his *Teutsche Academie*¹⁰⁹ informs us about the six-year-long stay of Jan Kryštof Liška in Italy. It is known that Karel Škréta the Younger resided in Rome at least between 1674-1675, by the records of Godefridus Johannes Hoogewerff in the *Nederlandsche Kunstenaars te Rome*.¹¹⁰ In his *Allgemeines Künstlerlexicon*, Johann Rudolf Füssli¹¹¹ wrote that Michael Václav Halbax studied at the workshop of Johann Carl Loth in Venice between 1686 and 1690. The same biographer tells us about the sequence of events that occurred to Jan Kupecký during his twenty-year-long stay in Italy.¹¹² Sporadic and incomplete information can be deduced from official documentation, like the testament of Fabián Václav Harovník or the request to the Prague Castle to become keeper of the gallery by Petr Keck.

The information obtained, are often incomplete and synthetic, but they constitute a valid proof of their Italian stay for many Bohemian painters.

Enlarging the research to the Italian artistic literature is far from giving better results.

The main Italian biographers and artistic literature do not mention any of the Bohemian painters who went for certain to Italy according to the foreign literature.¹¹³

Only the most renown Karel Škréta seems to find a certain place in the Italian artistic panorama. Marcello Oretti, in his *Notizie de' professori del disegno*, mentions the presence of Karel Škréta in Venice, Bologna, Rome and probably even Florence and Naples.¹¹⁴ Also Francesco Maria Nicolò Gabburri in his *Vite* quoted “*Carlo Scretta da Praga, si fermò gran*

¹⁰⁹ Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*.

¹¹⁰ Hoogewerff, *Nederlandsche*.

¹¹¹ Füssli, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexicon*.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ The main Italian biographers: F. Baldinucci, *Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*, Firenze 1681; P. A. Orlandi, *Abecedario contenente le notizie de professori di pittura, scoltura ed architettura*, Napoli 1763; G. Passeri, *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti che anno lavorato in Roma. Morti dal 1641 fino al 1673*, Gregorio Settari (ed.), Roma 1772; F. M. N. Gabburri, *Vite di pittori (ca.1730–1742)*, Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino E. B. 9. 5, I–IV. The main Italian artistic literature: P. Zani, *Enciclopedia Metodica Critico-Ragionata Delle Belle Arti*, Fidentino (ed.), Parma 1820; L. Lanzi, *Storia pittorica dell'Italia* (1809), M. Capucci (ed.), Firenze 1968–1974.

¹¹⁴ It has been demonstrated that Škréta passed also by Pistoia. See the already mentioned letter in Stolárová, *Karel Škréta (1610–1674) – Studie a dokumenty*, pp. 81–100; Zapletalová, *Škreta, Sandrart, Oretti*, pp. 398–402.

tempo in Venezia, poi in Roma dove si portò l'anno 1634, indi alla patria ed in ogni luogo diede bellissimi saggi del suo alto sapere. Mori d'anni 60."¹¹⁵

Gaburri mentions again Karel Škréta under the name of "*Carlo Crehen di Praga, stette un pezzo in Roma, e fu bravissimo nei ritratti. Tanto scrive Jacob Campo Weyerman, nella parte II.*"¹¹⁶ He probably misunderstood the writing of Weyerman who actually wrote "*Karel Creeten*" (and not Carlo Crehen), who might be identified with Karel Škréta.

Italian art critics and biographers often limit themselves to repeat the quotations of the foreign literature (Sandrart was certainly the main source) without particular additions, on the contrary often committing mistakes due to a not so careful translation.

The archival research seems to be the most satisfactory path when searching for Bohemian painters in Italy, but when dealing with foreign artists, even establishing their identity becomes very difficult. Foreign names are Italianized and not always in obvious ways. Often artists are distinguished only by their first name and provenience.

The nationality is also complicated to determined, in fact, under the name of Germans, not only German artists are registered, but also those from other Central European countries, included Bohemia and Moravia.

When searching for foreign artists in Italy, determined their places of aggregation could be helpful to find important documentation.

Meeting centres for foreigners were obviously the own embassies, national churches and hospitals.¹¹⁷

Bohemians shared the national Church of St. Maria dell'Anima, in the neighbourhood of Piazza Navona, with the Germans, the Dutch and the Flemish.¹¹⁸

There existed also an hospice for Bohemian pilgrims called Casa dell'Ospizio dei Pellegrini Boemi situated at the number 132 of the street de' Banchi Vecchi.¹¹⁹

The hospice institution dates back to 931, when King Boleslav I of Bohemia went to a pilgrimage to Rome and founded it for Bohemian pilgrims dedicating it to St. Metodius apostle. When in 1354 Charles IV, King of Bohemia, came to Rome to be crowned

¹¹⁵ Gabburri, *Vite*, Vol. II, p. 24.

¹¹⁶ J. C. Weyerman, *De levens-beschryvingen der Nederlandsche konst-schilders en konst-schilderessen*, Vol II, S' Gravenhage 1729, p. 54.

¹¹⁷ A. Koller and S. Kubersky-Piredda, *Roma communis patria. Identità e rappresentazione. Le chiese nazionali a Roma, 1450-1650*, Roma 2016, pp. 69–77.

¹¹⁸ Chodějovská, *Santa Maria dell'Anima*; Vlnas, *Karel Škréta: Doba a dilo*, pp. 51–67.

¹¹⁹ G. Matteocci, *Dell'antico ospedale dei Boemi nella strada de' Banchi*, in: *Alma Roma, Bollettino d'informazioni*, 31, 3/4, 1990, pp. 134–142.

Emperor, he granted special funding to the hospice, thanks to which the old building was demolished and rebuilt a century later as indicated by the inscription in Latin on the façade: "CAROLUS IMPERATOR IIII REX BOEMIE ME FECIT ET H RORAW PROCURATOR HOSPITALIS PRESENTIS ET NACIONIS BOHEMORUM RUINOSUM REFECIT ANNO MCCCCLVII".¹²⁰

Immediately in front of the Bohemian hospice stands the Church of St. Lucia del Gonfalone, which is erected on the side of the street de' Banchi Vecchi.¹²¹

In a text written around the mid-17th century entitled *Strade principali della Città*, the author reminds the crowded street "de Banchi, dove sono diversi Mercanti, Depositarij di Monti, negozianti, Notarij, Camerati, e dell'Auditore della Camera, Banderari, Trinaroli, Sarti, Guantari, e Fondachi de drappi".¹²² It is likely possible that the Bohemian community used the Church of St. Lucia del Gonfalone as place of aggregation together with the Church of St. Maria dell'Anima.

From the artistic literature and from the biographers we are acknowledged that Bohemian painters went to Rome for a relatively short period of time in order to accomplish their apprenticeship at the art academy and private schools.

In the Archive of the Academy of Saint Luke, there exist a register of foreign artists who attended the Academy,¹²³ but none of the Bohemian painters who went to Rome for their apprenticeship appear in the list, not even under a possible modification or "Italianization" of their name.

A "Monsù Creti anno 1670" appears in the register.¹²⁴ Might he be Karel Škréta the Younger? Škréta surname had been modified in different ways: "Screta" was the most common, but also "Sacreta", "Creta", "Sareta" have to be found in documents and inventories. His name appears in the already mentioned register of the parish of St. Andrea delle Fratte in the years 1674 and 1675, while Hoogewerff affirms his presence in Rome

¹²⁰ The building maintains its 15th-century appearance. It was restored in 1988. It has long been intended for residential use only.

¹²¹ The Church appears today in its 19th-century style, due to structural and decorative renovations which took place under Pope Pius IX between 1863 and 1867. R. De Mambro Santos, "Santa Lucia del Gonfalone", *Le chiese di Roma illustrate*, 33, 2001, pp. 7–15; D. Ferrara, "Santa Lucia del Gonfalone", *Roma Sacra, guida alle chiese della città eterna*, 12, 1998, pp. 57–63.

¹²² Quoted in A. F. Caiola, *Da via Giulia a Monserrato-Banchi Vecchi. Storie ottocentesche di tre chiese*, in: *Roma Sacra*, 12, 1998, p. 2.

¹²³ The register is called Schedario XVI–XIX sec. and it has been recently digitalized, it is preserved at Archivio Storico, Accademia di San Luca in Rome.

¹²⁴ Archivio Storico, Accademia di San Luca in Rome, Schedario XVI–XIX sec. Quoted as "Monsù Creti".

also in 1673. Could Škréta the Younger be already attending the Academy of Saint Luke in 1670? The information given by the register of the Academy are too synthetic to confirm, but also to deny, this possibility.

Searching for names of Bohemian painters in inventories of collections belonging to the Italian aristocracy or investigating in the fiscal archive in Archivio di Stato in Rome where, among different types of expenses also the commissions given by noblemen or religious orders to artists are registered, would barely give some results. It is improbable that during their artistic training the Bohemian painters could have reached such a credibility and become so renowned and appreciated to get any commission by a nobleman or by the members of a religious order. Only Kupecký, after a not so warm welcome in Venice, decided to move to Rome, where after initial difficulties, was able to affirm himself as a portraitist and gain important commissions.

Apart from the portraits Eduard A. Šafařík has identified as the ones realized by the painter in Rome,¹²⁵ Kupecký's name appears in the inventory of the collection of Prince Agostino Chigi Albani. The inventory of the paintings located in Palazzo Albani dated 1818, mentions "*Altro [Ritratto] del Cardinal Piazza di Kupeski*".¹²⁶

In the inventory of Albani's collection dated 15 November 1852 the same painting is located in the "*6^a Galleria de' Cardinali*" and it is mentioned as "*Altro [ritratto] del Card. Piazza di Stupeschi*".¹²⁷ The Italianization of Kupecký in the almost unrecognizable name of "*Stupeschi*" well testifies at which level foreign names could be modified.

Concerning the research in Venice, the absence of an official institution like the Academy of Saint Luke in Rome and consequently the lack of official documentation, made it even more difficult to individuate the names of Bohemian painters who might have undertaken an artistic training in a Venetian workshop, especially if only for a short period.

In Archivio di Stato in Venice there exists a register with names of artists who resided in Venice, but none of the Bohemian painters seems to be recorded.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Šafařík, *Johann Kupezky (1666–1740) Ein Meister des Barockportrats*, pp. 7–32; Šafařík, *Johann Kupezky (1666-1740). Gesamtwerk*, pp. 11–13.

¹²⁶ See Getty Provenience index: <http://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/pi/servlet.starweb?path=pi/pi.web> (20/04/2017).

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Alphabetic register with names of artists. Archivio di Stato in Venice.

For the same reasons as for the aristocracy in Rome, also Venetian patricians would hardly have addressed to a not well experienced painter from Bohemia intent on accomplish his apprenticeship in the city for the commission of a painting.

The research of Bohemian painters in the inventories of the Venetian collections published by Cesare Augusto Levi¹²⁹, by Savini Branca¹³⁰ and in the Getty Provenience Index¹³¹ do not lead to new findings. Only the name of Karel Škréta seems to have reached a certain celebrity in the lagoon city to deserve the attention of Venetian collectors.

Ten paintings dated to the time when Škréta was in Venice had been purchased there by Count Humprecht Jan Černin during his stay between 1660 and 1663 when he was ambassador in the city.¹³² They were listed in a Venetian inventory that remains unknown till nowadays. The name of Karel Škréta has also been found in two Venetian inventories, the one of the painter Michele Pietra and in the collection of Pietro Curtoni.¹³³

During the investigation of the inventories of Venetian collections, the name of Karel Škréta is appeared in the list of paintings belonged to Giorgio Bergonzi, a patrician whose collection counted more than three-hundred paintings with particular attention on foreign painters and genre paintings.¹³⁴

The inventory of the collection written by the owner himself in 1703, quoted “*un paese bislongho con marina con sopra le figure di Diana e Polifemo di Carlo Sareta. ducati 20.*”¹³⁵

In a later inventory of the collection dated 22 July 1709, the same painting is mentioned as “*copia del carrazzi ducati 5*”.¹³⁶ The painting is the copy of the subject depicting *Poliphemo and Galatea* which was part of the fresco decoration by Annibale Carracci in the Galleria Farnese in Rome. Galatea must have been confused with Diana in the inventory’s description.

¹²⁹ C. A. Levi, *Le collezioni d’arte e antichità dal secolo XIV ai giorni nostri*, Venezia 1856.

¹³⁰ S. Savini Branca, *Il collezionismo veneziano nel Seicento*, Padova 1964.

¹³¹ Getty Provenience index: <http://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/pi/servlet.starweb?path=pi/pi.web> (20/04/2017)

¹³² Zapletalová, *Karel Škreta, Notes*, p. 153; Zapletalová, *Škreta, Sandrart, Oretti*, pp. 398–402; J. Neumann, *K Italským začátkům Karla Škreta*, pp. 313–314; Stolárová, *Karel Škreta 1610–1674: his world and his era*, pp. 96–103.

¹³³ Zapletalová, *Karel Škreta, Notes*, pp. 153–155.

¹³⁴ On the Bergonzi collection see: Borean, *Il collezionismo a Venezia*, pp. 203–215.

¹³⁵ The inventory is transcribed in Borean, *Il collezionismo a Venezia*, pp. 362–383. Škréta’s painting is listed at the inv. Nr. 131, p. 369.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, inv. Nr. 131, p. 369.

Karel Škréta was able to affirm himself in the artistic environment of Venice, but apparently he remained an isolated case.

2.1. The study stay of Christian Schröder in Italy¹³⁷

Thanks to the generous support of his first patron, Count Jan Jáchym Slavata, Christian Schröder had the possibility to undertake a study stay in Italy of the duration of three years.¹³⁸

Schröder was born in 1655 in Goslar, Lower Saxony, where he likely trained under a local painter. In October 1674, at the age of nineteen, Schröder arrived in Telč where he started his service for Count Slavata.¹³⁹ How he came in contact with the Count, is not known. The literature mentions his activity in Telč, Jindřichův Hradec and in minor Slavata's estates, where the painter contributed to the rebuilding and refurnishing of the family's properties. According to the letter Schröder wrote on 17 January 1684 to ask for the vacant position of inspector of the Prague Castle picture gallery after the death of Filip Mazanec (1637-1684), the painter spent several years in Rome and Venice where he studied with different famous masters and received his qualification: *'Und ich nun mich von meiner Jugend auf dieser Kunst nicht allein [...] apliciret, sondern nachdeme Ihre Hochgrf Excellenz Herr Graf Slawata mir die Gnad getan und auf dero Unkosten in Wälschland raisen lassen, so wohl zu Rom als Venedig bei verschiedenen berühmten Kunstmahlern durch etliche Jahrlang dergestalten qualificirt gemacht habe'*.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ This chapter has been published in *Umění*: A. Fornasiero, The study stay of Christian Schröder in Italy, in: *Umění*, 64/5, 2016, pp. 426-431.

¹³⁸ J. Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 17–36; J. Kubeš, *Sídla Jana Jiřího Jáchyma hraběte Slavaty*, pp. 71–81. See also the letter written by Jan Jáchym Slavata's brother, Karel Felix Slavata, dated 19 February 1678: *'ce que je depens pour luy sont douzes escus par mois pour le refrais de la table, et des couleurs ordinaires, et un escu pour la chambre, [...] etant à present trois mois du son sejour sont tous les depens faites pour luy quarant'escus, et demy, et ayant vous envoyé quatre mille escus, suffiront pour trois autres mois'*. SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů, Rome, 19 February 1678. See also J. G. Meusel, *Neue Miscellaneen artistischen Inhalts für Künstler und Kunstliebhaber Erscheinungsdatum*, Leipzig 1796, pp. 307–309.

¹³⁹ A farmer from the village of Markvartice was paid half measure of oats for having ride the painter to Telč on 6 October 1674. See J. Novák, *Slavatové*, p. 30.

¹⁴⁰ Mixová, *Drobné dodatky k životopisům*, pp. 352–353.

The letter represents a valid proof of Schröder's stay in Italy, which is confirmed by the information contained in a series of letters preserved in the archive of Jindřichův Hradec.¹⁴¹

The letters, written in French, were sent to Count Slavata by his brother, the Carmelite Karel Felix Slavata from Rome, where he lived from 1662. They contain references to Schröder's activity and progress while, under Karel Felix Slavata's protection, the painter lived in Rome.¹⁴²

According to the letter Karel Felix Slavata wrote on 27 November 1677, Schröder arrived in Rome on November 25 of the same year: '*Hier vostre peintre, qui arriva avanthier, fut auprès de moy [...]vous me le recommandé*'.¹⁴³

On his arrival in Rome, Schröder was entrusted to a Bohemian painter, native of *Wittingau* (Třeboň), who had to find him accommodation in the neighbourhood of Chiesa Nuova, well lighted and with every comfort for his profession.¹⁴⁴ Karel Felix Slavata writes: '*je l'ay adressé à un Peintre Bohemois fort honnette, et bien savant, qui est naturel de Wittingau*' and '*je luy ay donné la commision, qui luy donné une chambre bien commode et de bonne lumiere dont à propos pour sa Profession, il m'a promis de le vouloir faire en son voisinage, qui est tout près de Chiesa nuova.*' The same painter '*le conduirà dans les academies et luy fera voir toutes les belles peintures et sculptures pour n'en avoir selon son plaisir*'.¹⁴⁵

In the letter dated 19 February 1678, Karel Felix Slavata wrote to his brother that: '*vostre peintre, [...] le soir il s'en va dans une academie pour se plus perfectionner dans le dessein*'.¹⁴⁶

At the Academy of Saint Luke in Rome there is an undated register with names of artists who entered the academy,¹⁴⁷ but the name of Christian Schröder, or a variation of it, does not appear.¹⁴⁸ However, the fact that in the letter Karel Felix Slavata specified that

¹⁴¹ Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 30–33. The scholar did not take in consideration some important letters.

¹⁴² Unfortunately Count Slavata's letters, which might contain important informations, are not preserved.

¹⁴³ SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů. Rome, 27 November 1677.

¹⁴⁴ Chiesa Nuova was part of the parish of St. Maria in Vallicella. It is not possible to trace the presence of Schröder in the parish from the register *Stati delle Anime* because only the years 1610–1617 are preserved. Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma, St. Maria in Vallicella, *Stati delle Anime*.

¹⁴⁵ SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů. Rome 27 November 1677.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. Rome, 19 February 1678.

¹⁴⁷ Rome, Accademia di San Luca, Archivio Storico, Schedario.

¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the name of Christian Schröder appears in F. Noack, *Schedarium*, Biblioteca Hertziana in Rome. It is a manuscript which systematically catalogues with shorthand notes the presence of foreign artists

Schröder practiced drawing in the evening, confirms that he was referring to a private academy where – in contrast to the Academy of Saint Luke – the meetings usually took place in the evening.¹⁴⁹

A further proof that Schröder attended a private academy is the letter dated 17 December 1678 (Image 3), where Karel Felix Slavata writes that he recommended Schröder to the painter Ciro Ferri: *'Je fus l'autre jour auprès de Ciro Ferri un des premiers Peinteurs de cette ville, je lui recomanday vostre Christian'*.¹⁵⁰

Between 1673 and 1686 Ciro Ferri (1633-1689)¹⁵¹ was involved in the teaching of drawing and painting in the Accademia Fiorentina co-directed with Ercole Ferrata and promoted by Cosimo III at Palazzo Madama in Rome.¹⁵² The Academy was mainly dedicated to the Florentine artists who came to Rome to accomplish their artistic training.

Schröder could not be one of Ciro Ferri's pupils at the Accademia, but he might have consulted the master regularly, attended private lessons in copying the master's drawings as exercise, shown him his progress and had his works corrected.¹⁵³

Unfortunately, only painted copies have been safely attributed to Schröder up to the present. Schröder's copy after *The Baptism of Christ* by Guido Reni for the Church of St. John the Baptist in Jindřichův Hradec (Image 4), the copy after Bernardo Strozzi, *The Sermon of St. John the Baptist* today preserved at Litoměřice Cathedral of St. Stephen (Image 5), and a series of forty-three copies after original paintings from the Prague Castle picture gallery that Schröder painted between 1688-1689 under commission of Gudakar

in Rome. *'Schröder, Christian, Maler aus Goslar, wurde nach 1682 von Slavata auf 2 Jahre nach Rom und Venedig geschickt. Nach seiner Rückkehr wurde Schr. böhmischer Hofmaler und Generalinspektor. (Meusel Neue Miscellanen, III Heft.1797. p. 306 ff.)'* Noack was not precise indicating the dates. The year 1682 as starting date of Schröder's stay in Italy is evidently a mistake as well as the duration of Schröder's stay (only two years according to Noack's quotation).

¹⁴⁹ Cavazzini, *Pittori eletti e "Bottegari"*, pp. 79–96.

¹⁵⁰ SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů. Rome, 17 December 1678.

¹⁵¹ Fagiolo Dell'Arco, *Cortona e i Cortoneschi*, Roma 2000, pp. 85–87, 155–161; B. W. Davis, *The drawings of Ciro Ferri*, New York 1986, pp. 3, 82–98, 110; M. Gregori and E. Schleier *La pittura in Italia. Il Seicento*, Milano 1989, p. 736.

¹⁵² On the Accademia Fiorentina see: M. Visonà, *L'Accademia di Cosimo III a Roma (1673–1686)*, in: M. Gregori (ed.), *Storia delle arti in Toscana, Il Seicento*, Firenze 2001, pp. 166–170; K. Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik. Die Kunst am Hofe den letzten Media 1670–1743*, München 1962, pp. 29–37, 245–267.

¹⁵³ N. Pevsner, *Le accademie d'arte*, Torino 1982, pp. 40–54, 325–355; A. Cipriani, *L'Accademia di San Luca dai concorsi dei giovani ai concorsi clementini*, in: A. W. A. Boschloo (ed.), *Academies of Art between Renaissance and Romanticism*, Leiden 1989, pp. 61–76; Cavazzini, *Painting as business*, pp. 64–66.

Dietrichstein for Libochovice Castle, cannot be considered for tracing the features of the painter's artistic production.¹⁵⁴

So far, the only known original painting by Schröder is the altarpiece representing *The Holy Trinity* for the Church of the Holy Trinity (Kostel Nejsvětější Trojice) in Nová Bystřice (Image 6), whose preparatory drawing was realized by the painter during his stay in Rome.

On 17 December 1678, Karel Felix Slavata wrote that Schröder 's'offrit de faire un dessein tresbeau pour le Grand Autel de votre Eglise de la Tressainte Trinitè'.¹⁵⁵ The drawing sent to Count Slavata in Prague is not preserved, while the original altarpiece that Schröder realized after his return, was strongly overpainted in the 19th century making it hard to recognize the painter's hand.¹⁵⁶

In the years 1678-79, Ciro Ferri was occupied in the fresco decoration of the dome of the Church of St. Agnes in Rome representing *The Holy Trinity* (Image 7), when, according to Karel Felix's letter, Schröder came in contact with the painter.¹⁵⁷ For the realization of St. Agnes' fresco, Ferri took inspiration directly from his master's fresco, *The Holy Trinity* by Pietro da Cortona for the dome of the Church of St. Maria in Vallicella (Image 8). Ciro Ferri's drawing *A soul presented to the Holy Trinity* (Image 9) (Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth, inv. Nr. 590) or the drawing *The Holy Trinity* attributed to Anton Domenico Gabbiani (or to Ciro Ferri) (Image 10) (Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, Inv. Nr. 2624) are preparatory drawings and *studi* on the subject of *The Holy Trinity* that were

¹⁵⁴ Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 30-32; Ciglencéki, *Malby Kristiana Schrödera*, pp.77-79; Ciglencéki, *Slike iz Libochovic*, pp. 87-105; Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 325-350.

¹⁵⁵ SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů. Rome, 17 December 1678: 'il s'offrit de faire un dessein tresbeau pour le Grand Autel de votre Eglise de la Tressainte Trinitè, pourtant vous feréz grace de m'envoyer l'hauteur, et la largeur du tableau, et tout de meme d'aviser la qualité de la lumiere, à fin qu'il puirrà bien accompagner tout ce que metra en ce dessein, infailliblement vous l'apprécier fort'.

¹⁵⁶ The painting was restored in 1888 by František Mayerhofer; his signature and the date are on the bottom right of the painting.

¹⁵⁷ The contract was signed already in 1670 and it was supposed to be finished by June 1674, but, in April 1676, it was renewed and extended for other four years. The work, closely inspired by Cortona's dome in St. Maria in Vallicella, proceeded slowly perhaps due to technical difficulties, so that it was left unfinished and it was ultimated only after the death of Ciro Ferri by Sebastiano Corbellini. Fagiolo Dell'Arco, *Cortona e i Cortoneschi*, pp. 85-87, 155-161.

produced in Ferri's workshop and likely belonged to the same group of *studi* of composition.¹⁵⁸

Although the subject of *The Holy Trinity* does not allow large variations in the composition, it is evident that the frescoes by Pietro da Cortona and by Ciro Ferri, as well as the mentioned drawing from Ferri's cycle and Schröder's altarpiece of *The Holy Trinity* have common features. Certainly, Schröder had the possibility to see the drawings that circulated in Ferri's workshop and to take inspiration for his own composition.

In an other letter, Schröder himself proposed to Count Slavata to paint for the Nová Bystřice's altarpiece only the triad with God, Jesus and the Holy Spirit. On 21 February 1679 Karel Felix Slavata writes: '*J'ay parlé avec vostre Peinteur de vostre intention quand au Grand Autel de l'Eglise de la Tressainte Trinité, il m'a dit, qu'il estime, qu'il soit plus propre de n'y metre rien autre, que la meme Tressainte Trinité, qu'avec la gloire en haut, et au milieu et en bas le globe du monde il rempliront tout le « maim » de ce tableau, pourtant si vous le comamdér autrement pour la dévotion, que vous avér à ses autres Trinités en Terre, il est tout prompt à obeir, cépendant il obeira à vos orders*'.¹⁵⁹

Originally Schröder's *Holy Trinity* had to occupy the entire canvas without the bottom part with the Virgin Mary, Joseph, Anne and Joachim, exactly as in Cortona and Ferri's compositions. Likely, the architecture on the background that reminds to the polychrome marble columns decorating the altar, was added to the composition later, when the painter came back to Bohemia and could personally see the altar in the Church.

Certainly, Schröder could not remain indifferent to the teachings of Ciro Ferri. Even if not directly visible in his artistic production, the plasticity and *chiaroscuro* learnt from the Roman master would become key points of his teaching when later he himself assumed the role of teacher. Schröder became the means through which his pupils, *in primis* Václav Jindřich Nosecký and Petr Brandl, absorbed the features of Roman painting without crossing the borders of their homeland.¹⁶⁰

In Rome, apart from improving his painter's skills through the practice of drawing in the academies and through the direct observation of the paintings and sculptures in the City, Schröder's main activity was to make copies for the collection of Count Slavata which

¹⁵⁸ On Ciro Ferri as draftsman see in particular: Davis, *The Drawings of Ciro Ferri*; M. Jaffé, *Old master drawings from Chatsworth*, London 1993; S. Proserpi Valentini Rodinò, *Pietro da Cortona. I Disegni*, Milano 1997; Fagiolo Dell'Arco, *Cortona e i Cortoneschi*, pp. 85-87, 155-161.

¹⁵⁹ SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů. Rome, 21 February 1679.

¹⁶⁰ On the topic see chapter 4. On the painter Václav Jindřich Nosecký see Plesníková, *Václav Jindřich Nosecký*, pp. 15-26.

were sent to Prague, thanks to Slavata's acquaintances who were travelling from Rome to Prague and took the copies with them. Karel Felix Slavata was responsible for choosing the paintings to be copied: '*quant moy choisions les meilleures tableaux d'icy d'en faire des copiers pour votre service*'.¹⁶¹ In the letter dated 19 March 1678, he specified that the paintings were '*quatre tableaux chez Mr. Le Duc Salviati, c'est-à-dire Ste Maddaleine S. Jean Baptiste, St Catherine, et St Apolonie, et chez Monseig. Saquatti deux autres, le David, et un bel enfant endormy*' and that '*tous ce six tableaux il vous les enverrà en peu des jours parmy B. Mathei Architecte du Monseig. Archeveque de Prague*'.¹⁶² This last information is particularly important as it allows us to collocate with certainty the date on which the architect Jean Baptist Mathey first came to Prague. It is usually believed that the French architect spent two decades (between 1655-1675) in Rome, and that he arrived in Prague as early as in 1675, when he started the rebuilding of the Archbishop's palace in Hradčany Square at the service of the Archbishop Jan Bedřich of Valdštejn.¹⁶³ The letter clearly indicates that Mathey was still in Rome on 19 March 1678 and that he would have left Rome after a few days.

Schröder copied four paintings from the collections of the '*Duc Salviati*', who has to be identified with Duke Antonio Maria Salviati (1665-1704), the last member of the Roman branch of the family, a famous collector who played an important role in building the Salviati collections, in particular the collection of antiquities which was located in Palazzo alla Lungara in Rome.¹⁶⁴

Another two copies were made after paintings belonging to '*Monsignor Saquatti*', whose identity has to be connected with Monsignor Urbano Sacchetti (1640-1705), who was destined for an ecclesiastic career and for this reason could have easily been an acquaintance of Carmelite Karel Felix Slavata.¹⁶⁵ Schröder also worked for Monsignor

¹⁶¹ SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů. Rome, 27 November 1677.

¹⁶² Ibid. Rome, 17 March 1678.

¹⁶³ I. Kořán, "Prostorotvorné iluze Anselma Luraga", *Umění*, 21, 1973, pp. 54-65; J. Kropáček, "Tvorba architekta Jeana-Baptisty Matheyho pro šlikovské panství velišsko-vokšické", *Listy starohradské kroniky*, 16, 1993, pp. 37-44; M. Horyna and P. Paul, *Le palais Buquoy, ambassade de France à Prague*, Paris 2005, p. 43; Š. Vácha, "Mathey delinea vit: Náhrobek hraběte Humprechta Jana Černína z Chudenic ve světle písemných pramenů (1683-1688)", in Jiří Roháček (ed.), *Sepulchralia et epigraphica V. Fórum epigrafických a sepulkrálních studií*, Praha 2014, pp. 219-240.

¹⁶⁴ For a complete documentation of the Salviati family see P. Hurtbise, *Une Famille- Témoin. Les Salviati*, Città del Vaticano 1985.

¹⁶⁵ Urbano Sacchetti became Apostolic Protonotary in 1661, Cleric of the Camera Apostolica in 1663, its *uditore* in 1679, Cardinal in 1681 and Bishop of Viterbo and Toscanella in 1693. L. H. Zirpolo, *Ave Papa*,

Sacchetti's brother, Marquise Giovanni Battista Sacchetti.¹⁶⁶ Karel Felix Slavata writes: '*Vostre Peinteur travaille à present pour le Marquis Saquatti, je l'estimois tresjuste, ayant Monseig. Son frere fait fortes courtoisies*',¹⁶⁷ but no letter specifies in which activity Schröder was involved in the service of the Marquise.

In the late 1630s, the Sacchetti family started the construction of the Villa del Pigneto, in the outskirts of Rome. The architect of the project was Pietro da Cortona who was also entrusted with the fresco decoration of the interiors. Cortona's frescoes were destroyed in the late 17th century, but drawings and engravings realized by contemporary artists have survived.¹⁶⁸

The drawings and engravings realized after Cortona's frescoes of the Villa del Pigneto allow to determine the subject of the decoration which consisted of four episodes set as *quadri riportati* in a *quadratura* framework reproducing the story of David.

Cortona and his pupils also painted replicas of *The David cycle* on four individual canvases, which have survived: two paintings by Cortona are today located in Pinacoteca Vaticana and they represent *David slaying Goliath* (Image 11) and *David and the lion* (Image 12). Cortona's pupil's replicas in Palazzo al Quirinale are *David agreeing to kill Goliath* and *The triumph of David*.¹⁶⁹

Considering the popularity of the subjects, we can hypothesize that the "David" mentioned by Karel Felix which was copied by Schröder in the Sacchetti Palace was one of the subjects from *The David Cycle*, likely copied from one of Cortona or his pupils's replicas.

In the inventory of the Slavata collection of 1689 it is listed "*David with the head of Goliath*". This is with high probability the copy by Schröder.¹⁷⁰

On 29 June 1679, Karel Felix Slavata reported that Schröder was working in the '*Palais du Prince de Palestrine*', from where '*il y a fait un tres beaux Tableau d'un Cardinal de Titien*'.¹⁷¹ Palazzo Colonna Barberini, called *Palestrina*, was property of the Barberini family from 1630. It is possible that '*the portrait of a Cardinal after Titian*' copied by Schröder was the famous portrait of Cardinal Pietro Bembo by Titian today at the National

Ave Papabile: the Sacchetti family, their art patronage, and political aspirations, Toronto 2005, pp. 127-132. Novák did not identify the surname "*Saquatti*", which is clearly a modification of Sacchetti. Cfr. Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 30-32.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů. Rome, 31 December 1678.

¹⁶⁸ J. M. Merz, *Barberini and Sacchetti. Die großen Familien Italiens*, Stuttgart 1992, pp. 43-56, 462-463.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ The inventory is transcribed in Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 24-29, inv. Nr. 10, p. 25.

¹⁷¹ SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů. Rome, 29 June 1679.

Gallery of Art in Washington (Image 13), which at that time was owned by Maffeo Barberini and located in Palazzo Palestrina.

None of the copies Schröder painted in Rome is preserved or identifiable, but they certainly became part of Count Slavata's collection in the family palace in Prague. The inventory written in 1689 after the Count's death, lacks a precise description of the paintings and there are no attributions.¹⁷² After his death the entire Slavata collection was split between his wife and daughters, leading to its gradual dispersal and the consequent difficulty in identifying the paintings.¹⁷³ Nevertheless, in the 1689 inventory, three of the subjects copied by Schröder in Rome are listed side by side in the same room: '*V tabulnici: Sv. Jan Křtitel, Sv. M. Magdalena, David s hlavou Goliášovou*'.¹⁷⁴ It is possible that they were the paintings copied by Schröder in the palaces of Duke Slaviati and Marquise Sacchetti.

In a letter dated 15 April 1679, Karel Felix Slavata reported to his brother a request by the painter to spend at least another year in Rome: '*vostre Peinteur demeure icy encor pour un autre An, ce que j'espere serà pour son profit, car il se perfectionnerà toujours davantages, et ce meme serà par consequence pour vostre benéfice*'.¹⁷⁵ It is not possible to know for certain whether the request was accepted by the Count or not. The last preserved record of Schröder's stay in Rome is a letter dated 29 June 1679, where Karel Felix Slavata wrote: '*j'espere de le [Schröder] faire travailler en plu des jours dans le Palais du Prince de Palestrine*'.¹⁷⁶

Schröder likely left Rome soon after the beginning of 1680, travelling along the Italian peninsula, probably stopping by Venice before crossing the Alps.

2.2. Christian Schröder in Venice?

The hypothesis that Christian Schröder spent a period in Venice between 1677 and 1680 is based on the letter dated 17 January 1684, in which the painter asked for the vacant position of inspector of the Prague Castle picture gallery and wrote that '*zu Rom als Venedig bei verschiedenen berühmten Kunstmahlern durch etliche Jahrlang dergestalten*

¹⁷² Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 24-29.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů. Rome, 15 April 1679.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. Rome, 29 June 1679.

qualificat gemacht habe,¹⁷⁷ but no other archival evidence concerning his Venetian stay has been found so far.

There exists an engraving by Bernhard Vogel made after a portrait that ‘*Schroeder pinxit Venetiis*’, as reported on the bottom left side of the etching (Image 14). The first to quote the engraving was Johann Rudolf Füessli in his *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, who wrote about Christian Schröder: ‘*Kaiserlicher Hofmaler, und Aufseher über die Kunstgalerie zu Prag; lebte um 1675- B. Vogel bat ein Bildnis nach ihm in Schwarzkunst gearbeitet*’.¹⁷⁸

The same brief information is reported by Gottfried Johann Dlabač in *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon für Böhmen*, who in Schröder’s short biography basically repeats what is already affirmed by Füessli: ‘*B. Vogel hat nach ihm in Kupfer gestochen*’.¹⁷⁹ Georg Kaspar Nagler in the *Neues allgemeines KünstlerLexikon* specified that ‘*Vogel stach nach ihm [Schröder] das Bildniss des J.J. Pommer*’.¹⁸⁰

The engraving by Vogel reproduces a portrait of Johann Jacob Pommer (1659-1717) ‘*groste Banquier in Venedig*’ as reported by the etching. The Pommers were Protestant merchants from south Germany. In 1665, Johann Jacob Pommer visited the Stuttgart School and came to Italy probably a few years later. Around 1701 he was mentioned in Venice as an important banker and member of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*.¹⁸¹

Nevertheless, if Christian Schröder was the author of the original portrait engraved by Vogel, it means that the painter made it when he was in Italy between 1677-80, when Pommer was only eighteen years old, while the engraving clearly shows an older man.

Consequently Füessli, followed by the later biographers, must have confused Christian Schröder with another painter.¹⁸² The author of Pommer’s original portrait is actually Georg Engelhard Schröder (1685-1750), a painter from Stockholm who lived in northern Germany from 1705, before moving to Italy. He spent five years in Venice where he copied old masters, and painted landscapes and portraits.¹⁸³ Around 1710 he portrayed Johann Jacob Pommer, at that moment a renowned forty-year-old banker in Venice.

¹⁷⁷ Mixová, *Drobné dodatky k životopisům*, pp. 352-353.

¹⁷⁸ Füessli, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, p. 1546.

¹⁷⁹ Dlabač, *Allgemeines historisches*, p. 69.

¹⁸⁰ Nagler, *Neues allgemeines*, p. 30.

¹⁸¹ R. Magnus, *Zwischen Sklavenkassen und Türkenpässen Nordeuropa und die Barbaresken in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Berlin 2012, pp. 333-334.

¹⁸² The most recent studies on Christian Schröder erroneously quote Vogel’s engraving as proof of the painter’s stay in Venice. Cfr. Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 325-326.

¹⁸³ Thieme - Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon*, pp. 294-295.

Even if Vogel's engraving was erroneously connected with Christian Schröder and cannot represent a valid proof of the painter's stay in Venice any longer, he must have spent a period of time in the Lagoon according to his own words. The question is when and for how long.

Karel Felix Slavata never refers to Schröder staying in Venice in the letters he sent to Count Slavata.

In the letter of recommendation that Karel Felix addressed to Heřman Jakub Černín on 5 April 1685 (Image 15), the Carmelite just mentions Schröder's three-year-long stay in Rome as guarantee of the painter's abilities: "*La presente sarà consegnata a V. S, Ill.ma da Cristiano Sreder già pittore di mio fratello a di cui spese fu tre anni in Roma a perfezionarsi nella sua arte (...), hora egli ambisse dedicar a V. S, Ill.ma la sua servitù e a questo fine mi ha pregato di raccomandarglielo. Lo posso far con molto fondamento, avendo in lui conosciuto sempre un ottimo ..., placido, timorato di Dio, e eccellente nella sua arte, a cio' lo raccomnado a V. S, Ill.ma. spero riportare un favorevole riscontoro. Fr Carlo Felive Slavata.*"¹⁸⁴

As we know, in October 1674, Schröder came to Jindřichův Hradec where he worked for three years at the service of Count Slavata before leaving for Italy.¹⁸⁵ Assuming that Schröder arrived in Rome on 25 November 1677,¹⁸⁶ he did not have much time to spend in Venice before his arrival in the Eternal City. On 15 April 1679, Schröder asked Count Slavata for permission to spend another year in Rome.¹⁸⁷ We can suppose that he did so.

However, when travelling from Bohemia to Italy, Venice was the first stop for noblemen and artists whose actual destination was Rome. Schröder must have stopped in Venice either on his way to Rome or returning to Prague at the end of his Roman apprenticeship.

It is not possible to say for how long Schröder stayed in Venice, probably just enough time to visit the city and its palaces and churches, but not enough to get into a local workshop.

Whereas in Rome he had the protection of Karel Felix Slavata who introduced him to the academies and the palaces belonging to the Roman aristocracy, in Venice it would have been difficult to enter the artistic network of the city without any recommendation. The easiest way was to get in contact with the community of foreign artists, in particular the German-speaking painters gravitating around the master Johann Karl Loth, the Munich-born painter and naturalized Venetian, whose flourishing *bottega* was a popular choice

¹⁸⁴ SOA Třebon. Fond Černín. Vienna, 5 April 1685.

¹⁸⁵ Rybyčka, *Pomůcky k životopisnému*, p. 33; Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 30-32.

¹⁸⁶ SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů. Rome, 27 November 1677.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. Rome, 15 April 1679.

among the artists coming from the north of the Alps. It would not be such a venture to advance the hypothesis that Schröder set foot in Loth's workshop, at least to attend some of his lessons, but not for long enough to accomplish his artistic training as did Michael Václav Halbax about ten years after Schröder's study trip to Venice.¹⁸⁸

Schröder must have come back from Italy at the beginning of 1680 as in March of the same year he is mentioned in Prague with the title of '*Slawatischer Cammermahler*'.¹⁸⁹ In 1681 he was already working on a *Castrum Doloris* under the commission of Count Slavata and on the altarpiece of the Church of the Holy Trinity in Nová Bystrice, which was finished in 1682.¹⁹⁰

After his return, Schröder was active also in Telč and Šopron for Count Slavata, but in which activities he was involved is still an open question, the artistic literature is scarce in information, as is the archival material.

Only analyzing the rests of Count Slavata's patronage it is possible to advance some hypothesis on the role performed by Schröder in the development of the ambitious and vast plan of renovation undertaken by Count Jan Jáchym Slavata.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ On Loth's *bottega* see Ewald, *Johann Carl Loth*, pp. 11-35. On Halbax's study stay in Venice see Füessli, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, p. 305; Racek, *Dílo malíře Michala Václava Halbaxe*, pp. 15-25.

¹⁸⁹ Rybyčka, *Pomůcky k životopisnému*, p. 33.

¹⁹⁰ Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 30-32; Rybyčka, *Pomůcky k životopisnému*, p. 33.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*



Image 4 Christian Schröder, *Copy after Guido Reni, The Baptism of Christ*, oil on canvas, 1677,
Church of St. John the Baptist, Jindřichův Hradec



Image 5 Christian Schröder, *Copy after Bernardo Strozzi, The Sermon of John the Baptist*, oil on canvas, c. 1689-90, Cathedral of St. Stephan, Litoměřice



Image 6 Christian Schröder, *The Holy Trinity*, oil on canvas, 1679,
Church of The Holy Trinity, Nová Bystřice



Image 7 **Ciro Ferri, Sebastiano Corbellini, *The Holy Trinity*, fresco, dome of St. Agnes Church, Rome**



Image 8 **Pietro da Cortona, *The Holy Trinity*, fresco, dome of St. Maria in Vallicella Church, Rome**



Image 9 Anton Domenico Gabbiani (Ciro Ferri ?), *The Holy Trinity*, black chalk, 432 x 340 mm, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich



Image 10 Giro Ferri, *A soul presented to the Holy Trinity*, black chalk, Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth



Image 11 Pietro da Cortona, *David slaying Goliath*, oil on canvas, 126 × 97 cm, Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome



Image 12 Pietro da Cortona, *David and the lion*, oil on canvas, 125 × 97 cm, Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome



**Image 13 Titian, *Portrait of Cardinal Pietro Bembo*, oil on canvas, c.1540,
National Gallery of Art, Washington**



Image 14 Bernhard Voegl, *Johann Jacob Pommer*, engraving, 440 × 293 mm, 1717–1737, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (Leihgabe Paul Wolfgang Merkel'sche Familienstiftung)

3. The artistic patronage of Count Jan Jáchym Slavata

The Slavata family had a significant role in the cultural environment of Bohemia for at least three generations, demonstrating themselves favourable to the arts and leaving behind significant traces in the architecture and in the visual arts in all their possessions.¹⁹²

Vilém Slavata (1572-1652), member of the nobility connected with the Habsburg Emperor, became famous as co-victim of the Defenestration of Prague of 1618.¹⁹³

Between 1597-1600 Vilém Slavata travelled to Germany, the Netherlands and Italy where he became acquainted with the local monuments, paintings and architecture. He studied law in Siena, where the excellent examples of architectures and art works did not pass unnoticed and certainly left a sign in his artistic taste.¹⁹⁴ Later, being at the service of Emperor Rudolf II, he came in contact with his famous collection and his numerous court artists. His fondness for paintings is suggested by the correspondence he maintained with Adam Conzen between 1630-1632, preserved in the archive of Jindřichův Hradec.¹⁹⁵ The letters represent a proof of how often and how many paintings Vilém Slavata, who at that time was resident in Vienna, ordered through the priest from different painters.¹⁹⁶ In accordance with the strong religious feeling of Vilém Slavata, the subjects of the commissioned paintings were usually saints, most often the Virgin Mary, and biblical scenes. His collection contained also many portraits, while it seems that there were no mythological or genre scenes.¹⁹⁷

Vilém Slavata's pictorial collection, which was mainly located in Jindřichův Hradec Castle, gradually moved to his sons Adam Pavel (1604–1657), František Vít (1608–1645) and Jáchym Oldřich (1606–1645).

¹⁹² On Slavata family's artistic patronage see in particular: Novák, *Slavatové*; Kubeš, *Sídla Jana Jiřího Jáchyma hraběte Slavaty*.

¹⁹³ On Vilém Slavata see J. Dvorský and R. Chadraba, "Votivní obraz Viléma Slavaty v Telči", *Umění*, 38, 1990, pp. 128-140; J. Hrdlička, "Konflikt jindřichohradeckých měšťanů s Vilémem Slavatou v pamětech Jiříka ze Kře", *Jihočeský sborník historický*, 69-70, 2000-2001, pp. 188-208; J. Kubeš, "Vilém Slavata a jeho hejtmani. K anatomii prestiže raně novověké šlechty", *Historický obzor*, 12, 2001, pp. 70-75.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ The letters are preserved in SOA Třeboň, correspondence of the years 1630-32. Cfr. also Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 30-36.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

After the death of the last of his sons Adam Pavel in 1657, Vilém Slavata's heritage was inherited by his nephew Ferdinand Vilém, son of Jáchym Oldřich Slavata (1606-1645) and Maria Franziska Theresia, neè Meggau (1609-1676).¹⁹⁸

Ferdinand Vilém Slavata (1630 - 1673), who hold the title of Count of Hradec from 1657 to 1673, undertook a vast renovation of the family properties. Between 1658/9 to 1670 many rebuildings took place in the country residences of the family, in particular in the Castles of Červená Lhota and Jindřichův Hradec.¹⁹⁹

Also Ferdinand Vilém was an art lover, he was influenced by the collecting passion of his friend Humprecht Jan Černín from whom he took over some court painters, Matěj Mayr and Gregor, who worked at his service from 1666. Besides the two painters, also František Vavřinec Miller was occupied in gilding frames, making copies of the portraits, producing religious and devotional paintings or genre subjects.²⁰⁰

After Ferdinand Vilém's death, as he did not have any male son, the Fideicommissum passed to his brother, Jan Jáchym Slavata.

Jan Jáchym Slavata (1638-1689) was a cultured man. From 1652 he attended the University in Vienna and between the years 1655 (or even 1653) and 1656 he went to chivalrous way to complete his education.²⁰¹

As it was customary at this time, he travelled mainly to Italy where he spent most of his time in Rome.²⁰² We are acquainted about his stay in the Eternal City thanks to the correspondence he constantly maintained with his uncle Adam Pavel Slavata.²⁰³ The letters

¹⁹⁸ On the generation of Vilém Slavata's sons and grandsons see S. Řeřichová, "Franziska von Meggau, verhelichte Slawata (1610-1676), Ein Beitrag zur Adelsgeschichte Böhmens und Österreichs im 17. Jahrhundert", *Mitteilungen des Oberösterreichischen Landesarchivs*, 18, 1996, pp. 361-383; about the Carmelite Karel Felix Slavata see P. Matouš, "'...ať mi Bůh umožní, abych se mohl těšit ze samoty v mém srdci.'" Život v poustevně bosých karmelitánů Montevirginio v 17. a 18. století", *Kuděj*, 1, 2000, pp. 14-25; F. Teplý, *Dějiny města Jindřichova Hradce, I/3 Slavatové v Jindřichově Hradci (1604-1691)*, Jindřichův Hradec 1935.

¹⁹⁹ Novák, *Slavatové* p. 23; Kubeš, *Sídla Jana Jiřího Jáchyma hraběte Slavaty*, pp. 61-72, 81-83.

²⁰⁰ Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 21-23

²⁰¹ Kubeš, *Sídla Jana Jiřího Jáchyma hraběte Slavaty*, pp. 58-61.

²⁰² On the chivalrous way of Jan Jáchym Slavata see Z. Hojda, "„Kavalírské cesty“ v 17. století a zájem české šlechty o Itálii", in Jaromír Homolka (ed.), *Itálie, Čechy a střední Evropa*, Praha 1986, pp. 216-239; A. Stanek, *Telemachs Brüder. Die höfische Bildungsreise des 17. Jahrhunderts*, New York 2001, pp. 73-75; J. Hrdlička, *Autobiografie Jana Nikodéma Mařana Bohdaneckého z Hodkova*, Historický ústav Jihočeské Univerzity, 2003, pp. 211-212.

²⁰³ The correspondence with the uncle Adam Pavel is preserved in SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů, kart. 25, years 1655-1656.

contain information about his everyday life, his participation to the social and festive life of Rome and his fascination by the environment of the Papal City where we had the opportunity to get in touch with extraordinary personalities such as the Swedish Queen Christina and likely to visit her famous collection.

Proofs of his enthusiasm for the Roman social life are the paintings that he sent from Rome, the portrait of the Pope and the one of Queen Christina and a painting that represents her magnificent entrance in the City.²⁰⁴

Jan Jáchym Slavata came back to Bohemia in the summer of 1656, but he probably went to Italy once again in 1658. After he returned from the chivalrous way, he first settled in Vienna.²⁰⁵ He did not choose neither the military career nor the religious one as did his younger brothers, František Leopold Vilém (1639-1691) and Jan Karel Jáchym Slavata (1640-1712), the first originally canon of Passau, title that he later gave up in order to get married, while the second joined the Carmelite order with the name of Karel Felix.²⁰⁶

Jan Jáchym Slavata remained attached to the Habsburg court, acquiring the most prestigious titles in the political carrier: he became Chief Judge in 1673 until 1685, Highest Judge from 1685 to 1688 and High Steward in the years 1688-1689.²⁰⁷

Being the second male of the Slavata family, Jan Jáchym did not inherit the Hradec Fideicommissum which, since the death of his uncle Adam Pavel, was held by his elder brother Ferdinand Vilém. The turning point in his career came in spring 1673, when, after the death of his brother, he inherited the title of Count of Hradec and all the family's properties.

Before inheriting, Jan Jáchym Slavata did not show special dedication to the arts, but once he acquired the rich Slavata Fideicommissum, he revealed a high propensity to the arts in all its manifestations. The new economical situation in Slavata's life offered many

²⁰⁴ Ibid., SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů, kart. 25, letters dated 8, 15, 22 and 29 January 1656.

²⁰⁵ About Slavata's second trip see SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů, kart. 53.

²⁰⁶ František Leopold Vilém Slavata was originally canon of Passau, abandoned the ecclesiastical path being the last male descendent of the Slavata family. He married to Maria Klara Apollonia, Countess of Stahrenberk, but they didn't have any male descendent. Jan Karel Jáchym Slavata was born in 1640. He received a good education in the grammar school of Jindřichův Hradec and then in Vienna, Germany and Netherlands. In 1662 he broke his engagement with Clara Teresa Attems of Krasnice and he joined the Carmelites order. At the age of 22 he went to Rome, and on 11 July 1663 he was nominated member of the order, receiving the name of Karel Felix. He operated mainly in the Convent of St. Maria della Scala in Trastevere. In the years 1680-1683 he became Superior General of the Carmelite Fathers.

²⁰⁷ A. Rezek and J. Beckovský, *Poselkyně starých příběhů českých*, Vol. 2, 3, Praha 1880, pp. 484, 496; Kubeš, *Sídla Jana Jiřího Jáchyma hraběte Slavaty*, pp. 58-61

opportunities to increase his settlements with aristocratic prestige in order to strengthen his position in the social contest. Jan Jáchym Slavata took advantage of the situation and gave to his residential net a new form. The Castles belonging to the Slavata family undertook a complete renovation under the direction of Count Jan Jáchym Slavata who added new buildings and all the equipment required, such as stables for horses, gardens, colonnades, pavilions, grottoes. The main halls were enriched in family portraits, the galleries in paintings, new chapels were adorned with altars pieces and statues. Not surprisingly, after the death of Jan Jáchym Slavata, it was necessary to explain the family's deficit to his successors.²⁰⁸

The focus of his social activities laid in Prague, but Jan Jáchym Slavata put particular emphasis on rebuilding the country settlement, since in this area he spent two thirds to three quarters of the year. Slavata's country network was dominated by the Castle of Jindřichův Hradec, which represented the natural geographic center of the eastern part of South Bohemia and moreover was in the passage for an important trade route from Bohemia to Austria.²⁰⁹

Many changes occurred in Jindřichův Hradec Castle but the general disposition of the original medieval Castle did not change much. The rural residence was enriched with more representative settings, such as a ball hall built in 1681, riding stables which were added in 1685 and a baroque garden realized before 1678, where the decorated roundel was added in the early Eighties. Many façades were restored and some interiors of the Castle were renewed with a completely new decoration. Radical changes occurred mainly in the Spanish Hall to which more decor was given in order to represent the newly acquired family status.²¹⁰ In 1689 there hung portraits of Jan Jáchym Slavata, his wife Maria Margaretha née Trautson and on the opposite wall the portraits of the Habsburg rulers, Emperor Leopold I and Archduke Josef I.²¹¹ Transformations continued also in the old wing of the Castle, where in the Old Hall, Slavata placed a cycle of portraits representing sixteen members of the Rosenberg family. In the third representational space on the first

²⁰⁸ Novák *Slavatové*, pp. 22-36.

²⁰⁹ Kubeš, *Sídla Jana Jiřího Jáchyma hraběte Slavaty*, pp. 76-79.

²¹⁰ L. Jirásko, *Jindřichův Hradec. Hrad a zámek*, Praha 1994, p. 32; J. Novák, *Soupis památek historických a uměleckých v politickém okrese Jindřicho-hradeckém*, Praha 1901, p. 194; Novák *Slavatové*, pp 33-34.

²¹¹ SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů, kart. 32; J. Krčálová, *Jindřichův Hradec. Státní zámek a památky v okolí*, Praha 1959, p. 18; J. Krčálová, *Renesanční stavby B. Maggiho v Čechách a na Moravě*, Praha 1986, pp. 56-57.

floor of the new building, the royal cycle of the Czech rulers, that was already installed by Jan Jáchym's brother Ferdinand Vilém, found its place.²¹²

Unfortunately, only an inventory of Jindřichův Hradec Castle's interior equipment dated 1692 is been preserved. The list is very synthetic, it shortly mentions the subject, size, cost and material of the paintings without attributions. In the inventory -apart from the long list of portraits already mentioned- five paintings from classical mythology, four landscapes, four subjects from the bible and two hunting scenes are listed. Only one painting of saint is mentioned, *St. Mary Magdalene*.²¹³

Today a small part of the once extensive Slavata collection can be visible in the Castles of Jindřichův Hradec and Telč. The picture gallery gradually disappeared into heritage passages and the largest part of it was destroyed after a fire which burned out the Castle in 1773.²¹⁴

Jan Jáchym Slavata devoted his attention also to the renovation of other rural settlements which he transformed according to his taste and to the conventions imposed by the Baroque aristocracy's tendencies.

Clear traces of Jan Jáchym renovationd can be found in almost every rural estate: in Nová Bystřice, Telč, Červená Lhota and Chlum u Třeboně.

The Slavata family own a Castle in Nová Bystřice²¹⁵ which hosted a collection of paintings with themes derived mostly from Czech history. In 1673, after the death of Ferdinand Vilém, there were only nine paintings in the Castle, but after the death of Jan Jáchym in 1689, their number was grown up to sixty-two. In addition to the paintings, a total of 133 engravings were exhibited, especially in the new *tabulnice* (30), in the adjoining room (18), in the former rooms of Ferdinand Vilém (49) and in the old *tabulnice* (20).²¹⁶ Unfortunately, the Castle burned down in a fire in 1691, during which most of the interiors and furnishings were destroyed. The Castle almost disappeared as did the collection.

²¹² Ferdinand Vilém was interested in establishing a gallery of Czech rulers in the castle and to put the inscriptions for each sitter. To do so, he invited the famous historian Bohuslav Balbín who came to Jindřichův Hradec between 1655-1660. About the gallery see P. Preiss, "Cykly českých panovníků na státních zámčích", *Zprávy památkové péče*, 17, 1957, p. 65; O. Květoňová-Klímová, "Styky Bohuslava Balbína s českou šlechtou pobělohorskou", *Český časopis historický*, 32, 1926, pp. 525-526. A. Rejzek, *P. Bohuslav Balbín. Jeho život a práce*, Praha 1908, p. 351.

²¹³ Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 33-34.

²¹⁴ Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 17-36; Krčálová, *Jindřichův Hradec*, p. 18.

²¹⁵ On the Castle see: E. Poche, *Umělecké památky Čech*, II, Praha 1978, p. 58.

²¹⁶ Novák, *Soupis*, p. 9; SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů, kart. 30, 32 and 89; Kubeš, *Sídla Jana Jiřího Jáchyma hraběte Slavaty*, p. 79.

Count Slavata dedicated much attention also to the Church of the Holy Trinity (Nejsvětější Trojice) annex to the Monastery in Nová Bystřice.²¹⁷ The Monastery, which is not preserved nowadays, was property of the Slavata family since the time of Adam Pavel Slavata. The increasingly number of pilgrims pushed the Slavata family to undertake the renovation of the building which started in the year 1668 thanks to Ferdinand Vilém.

The Church's first stone was put on 25 June 1668, as the inscription on the façade indicates. After the death of Ferdinand Vilém, the reconstruction continued under the supervision of Jan Jáchym Slavata who completed the building in 1682. The construction, which followed a project by Francesco Carratti, was taken over by Giovanni Domenico Orsini, while in 1674-1675 the interior decoration with stucco was realized by Innocenzo Cometa.²¹⁸

The Castle of Telč remained almost unused by Jan Jáchym Slavata during his entire career. Baroque modifications of the Castle were avoided so that it basically remained in its Renaissance appearance. In the second third of the 17th century, it became the main residence of Jan Jáchym's mother, Countess Franziska Slavata, née Meggau.²¹⁹

Among the Countess most important deeds was the establishment of a Jesuit college in Telč in 1667, which, with the help of her sons, she furnished with a number of outstanding works of art, the most noted among them was the now missing altarpiece painted by Karel Škreta which was commissioned in Prague.²²⁰

Jan Jáchym Slavata dedicated more efforts in rebuilding the two small estates of Červená Lhota and Chlum u Třeboně where he spent time hunting.

The Castle of Červená Lhota, build in the middle of a lake, was acquired by Vilém Slavata in the years 1639-1641 and passed as Fideicommissum to his heirs.²²¹ He and his descendants made various modifications to the Castle that reflected the Baroque taste.

²¹⁷ M. Schusterová, "Pavlánský kostel Nejsvětější Trojice v Klášteře a Francesco Carratti", *Umění*, 9, 1961, pp. 31-45.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ On the Castle see P. Vlček, *Ilustrovaná encyklopedie*, p. 473; J. Hrdlička, "Nově objevený inventář renesančních interiérů zámku v Telči z roku 1589", *Jihočeský sborník historický*, 63, 1994, pp. 178-184. The furnishing of the Castle at the end of the 17th century are mentioned in the inventory dated 23 February 1690 in SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů, kart. 80.

²²⁰ On the Countess Franziska Slavata, née Meggau see T. Valeš and M. Konečný, "Telč, moravská výspa pražského barokního malířství", in Stolárová, *Karel Škreta (1610–1674): Dílo a Doba*, pp. 263–274.

²²¹ L. Jirásko, *Červená Lhota. Tvrz a zámek*, Praha 1996, p. 19; P. Vlček, *Ilustrovaná encyklopedie*, p. 199; SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů, kart. 30, inventory dated 7 April 1673 and inventory dated 1 August 1689; kart. 30 and 32.

The interior of the Castle was decorated with fresco paintings by Giacomo Tencalla and stucco decorations by Innocenzo Cometa.²²² The Castle's furniture is revealed by two inventories dated 1673 and 1689.²²³ The chapel was dedicated to St. Eustatius, whose image hung in a gilded frame on the altar. This saint is often depicted as patron of the hunters like Saint Hubert with whom he joins a similar legend and iconography, but St. Eustatius is also represented as an hermit. The choice of this saint for the chapel of Červená Lhota was not accidental, but it expressed the mission of the Castle where Slavata spent time hunting, but also meditating in solitude.

According to the inventory of 1673, in Červená Lhota's rooms there was a total of seventy-six paintings. There were no portraits, an absence that emphasized the private nature of the estate. Jan Jáchym expanded the number of paintings to eighty-five and basically did not modify the structure of the Castle, retaining the intimate, private and relaxing nature of the place that, moreover, was easily reachable from Jindřichův Hradec headquarter.²²⁴

The residence in Chlum u Třeboně, standing in the middle of the forest and lakes, had a similar function. After Jan Jáchym became the owner of the estate, he started the transformation of the internal facilities of the hunting lodge. The inventory of 1673 reveals that it was a very small property, but there was enough space for a fully equipped chapel with an altar and nine paintings. The decoration of the Castle was represented by a total of fifty-six paintings, landscapes were predominant (33), followed by antique motifs (11) and religious subjects (8).²²⁵

Concerning the authorship of the listed paintings, the inventories of Slavata's estates never give precise information. Being limited to mere accounts where only the subject of the paintings is mentioned, they do not allow to advance hypothesis on the attribution or to identify any of the paintings still preserved in the Castles once belonged to Count Slavata.

3.1. Slavata family's portraits

Eight life-size portraits of the Slavata's family members are today preserved in the Rosemberg corridor at Jindřichův Hradec Castle. The portraits represent Vilém Slavata and

²²² On the decoration of the Castle see: Mádl, *Tencalla*, II, pp. 411-416.

²²³ SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů, kart. 30, inventory dated 7 April 1673 and inventory dated 1 August 1689; kart. 30 and 32.

²²⁴ Kubeš, *Sídla Jana Jiřího Jáchyma hraběte Slavaty*, pp. 81-82.

²²⁵ Vlček, *Ilustrovaná encyklopedie*, pp. 268-269.

his wife Lucie Otýlie (copies of the originals which are now in the Castle of Častolovice), Adam Pavel Slavata, Jáchym Oldřich Slavata and his wife Maria Franziska Theresia neè Meggau, Ferdinand Vilém Slavata, Jan Jáchym Slavata and Jan Karel Jáchym Slavata.²²⁶

No one of the portraits is attributed or dated. Only the portrait of Jan Karel Jáchym has been identified as a copy painted for 30 zl. after an original dated 1662, also on the basis of Karel Jáchym's biography.²²⁷ In November 1662, during a hunting, the young Karel Jáchym remained trapped into a trap for wolfs. He prayed in order to have the life saved and he made the promise that if he had remained alive he would have broken his engagement with Clara Teresa Attems of Krasonice and abandoned his carrier and properties in order to join the clergy.²²⁸ The morning after he was found by some farmers and he maintained the promise, joining the Carmelite order.

In the portrait at Jindřichův Hradec Castle (Image 16), Karel Jáchym is not yet represented with the Carmelite tunic, but it is clear that he already made the choice for the ecclesiastical path. He shows his abnegation with the remissive gesture of his right hand towards the aristocratic life symbolized by the coat of arms with the emblem of the Slavata family and the armour and helmet which lie on the left corner. His religious choice is indicated by the finger of his left hand which points the crucifix on the table.

Among the family portraits, only the one of Jan Jáchym Slavata presents an inscription on the bottom: "EVAN. IOAN. IOACHIMUS. COM. SLAVATA" (Image 17).²²⁹ The portrait seems to be the counterpart of the painting representing his brother Ferdinand Vilém (Image 18) which must have suffered of heavy repainting in particular in the area of the face that looks very static in comparison with the more naturalistic one of Jan Jáchym Slavata.

Ferdinand Vilém is portrait in a black dress, standing next to a table covered by a red drapery where only an open golden pocket watch lies. On the background the view opens to a landscape with cypresses while, in a cloudy sky, the sun seems to be just disappeared behind the trees. His gesture -with the index finger pointed to the top- could remind to his

²²⁶ On the portraits see Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 88-89; M. Sláma, M. Mežárková and P. Čížková, *Historický portrét na Jindřichohradecku*, Jindřichův Hradec 1983.

²²⁷ Novák, *Slavatové*, p. 35.

²²⁸ The double portrait of Jan Karel Jáchym Slavata and Clara Teresa Attems of Krasonice is still preserved in Jindřichův Hradec Castle: Unknown, *Jan Karel Jáchym Slavata as Paris*, oil on canvas, 235 x 143 cm, second half of the 17th century, inv. Nr. JH 601; Unknown, *Klára hraběnka z Attems as Diana*, oil on canvas, 223 x 137 cm, second half of the 17th century, inv. Nr. JH 602.

²²⁹ Unknown, *Jan Jáchym Slavata*, oil on canvas, 220x138 cm, second half of the 17th century, inv. Nr. JH 582. Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 88-89, Sláma, *Historický portrét*, cat. Nr. 7.

death occurred on 2 April 1673. Other elements in the portrait seem to refer to his death: the pocket watch that can symbolize the passing of time and the sunset on the background. The portrait of Jan Jáchym has similar features: he wears the same black dress and also in his portrait the background presents the same garden with cypresses where a white decorative architecture is added on the left. The background must be referred to one of Slavata's country residences and the white architecture might be connected to the extensive operation of rebuilding and redecoration that Jan Jáchym started in all his properties. On the portrait, Jan Jáchym is standing with the left hand raised on a table covered with a red drapery. His noble spirit is symbolized by the artistically decorated clock with the Bohemian lion and the silver inkwell lied on the table, objects referring to his taste for art and his education. He is showing with his right hand a closed letter where the symbol of the winged eagle of Central Bohemia is clearly visible. Jan Jáchym put much emphasis on exhibiting the letter that can be referred to an important event on his carrier, likely his election to Chief Judge that he obtained on 11 August 1673.²³⁰ Consequently, both the portraits have to be dated after the death of Ferdinand Vilém and in conjunction with the acquisition of the title of Chief Judge by Jan Jáchym Slavata, in the late 1673.

It is possible to compare the Jindřichův Hradec portrait of Jan Jáchym with a copperplate by George de Grosse after an original drawing by Christian Dittmann which is part of the publication by Johann Jacob von Weingarten "*Fürstenspiegel oder Monarchia des hochlöblichen Ertzhauses Oesterreich*" published in Prague 1673 (Image 19). The illustrations of the book consists of portraits of the Habsburgs and relevant court dignitaries that de Groos created in collaboration with the engraver Johannes Borckingen from already existing paintings and prints.²³¹ The physiognomy of Jan Jáchym in the portrait and in the graphic fully agrees, confirming that the Jindřichův Hradec portrait was painted in the same year as the copperplate.

If the date of the two portraits is fixed in the late 1673, the hypothesis that they were painted by Christian Schröder has to be definitely excluded, as the painters arrived in Jindřichův Hradec only in October 1674.

Josef Novák affirms the participation of a painter from Brno, who Jan Jáchym called in 1679 with the unique challenge to paint Slavata's family portraits. Stopping by the Castle of Telč, where the portraitist would have portrayed Maria Franziska Theresia, née Meggau, Jan Jáchym Slavata and his brother Leopold, he arrived in Jindřichův Hradec in the first half of August 1679 where he stayed until 1680. After having received a reward of 216 zl.,

²³⁰ Kubeš, *Sídla Jana Jiřího Jáchyma hraběte Slavaty*, p. 57

²³¹ Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, p. 327

he finally went back to Brno.²³² According to Novák the portrait of Jan Jáchym Slavata in Jindřichův Hradec could be a work by the Brno painter.

An other painter was entrusted to paint family portraits. Before the year 1678, Jan Jáchym Slavata gave his self-portrait to be painted by a Viennese portraitist called Ferdinand.²³³ Jan Jáchym was painted in armour, with the stick as a regimental commander. Later Ferdinand had to go to Prague in order to portrait also the Count's wife and children. According to Novák, this family portrait could be identified with the family portrait mentioned in the inventory of the year 1689 in the Golden Hall of the Slavata Palace in Prague and listed as "*Veliká podobizna hr. J. Jiř. Jách. Slavaty s chotí M. Marketou a dětmi*".²³⁴

In the Blue Hall of the Telč Castle a family portrait is preserved (Image 20). The portrait represents a man in the likeness of Adonis with the attributes of the God, the bow and the hunting dog. With the right hand he is showing some buildings in the background that might refer to his properties. On his left, his wife elegantly dressed, is holding the prey of her husband's hunt in her right hand. She is sitting in the countryside with two daughters, the older one is standing behind the mother and holds a basket of flowers, the youngest is sitting at the left side and she holds a feather.

The Telč family portrait is wrongly identified as the portrait of Marie Barbora Slavata (?-?) and his husband Kryštof Filip of Lichtenstein-Kastelkorn (1641-1685). The couple did not have daughters, but they had only one son, Frantisek Antonin of Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn (1679-1761). The Telč portrait have to be identified as the family portrait of Jan Jáchym Slavata and his wife Maria Margaretha whom he married on 14 January 1663 and with whom he had three daughters: Marie Josefa born on 2 February 1667 (she died in 1708), Marie Magdalena (Markéta) born on 30 March 1673 (she died in 1700) and Marie Anežka Agáta born on 22 July 1674 (she died in 1718). The portrait must be identified as the "*Veliká podobizna hr. J. Jiř. Jách. Slavaty s chotí M. Marketou a dětmi*" listed in the inventory of 1689 in the collection of the Slavata Palace in Prague.

²³² Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 31-32

²³³ Novák, *Slavatové*, p. 32, SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů, letters 16 October 1678 and 13 November 1678.

²³⁴ Novák, *Slavatové*, p. 32. According to Novák a copy of this group portrait with the Count, Countess and the young children, hanged in the garden's *salone* at the Prague Palace and in 1684 the carpenter Maximo Weller realized a black frame for it and was paid 4 zl.

In order to have a confirmation of the identity of the portrait, it is possible to compare the physiognomy of Jan Jáchym Slavata with his portrait in Jindřichův Hradec Castle. The likeness is evident.

In the Telč portrait only two of Jan Jáchym's daughters are represented: Marie Josefa and Marie Magdalena (Markéta). The portrait was painted when Marie Anežka Agáta was not born yet, which means between April 1673 and before July 1674.²³⁵

More problematic is to determine the authorship of the Telč family portrait. Novak identified the Viennese painter called Ferdinand as the author.²³⁶ According to a letter preserved in Jindřichův Hradec archive, Ferdinand realized the portrait around the year 1678.²³⁷ This means that the portrait would have represented also the third daughter, Marie Anežka Agáta, who was 4 years old in 1678. The absence of Marie Anežka Agáta must convince us that the portrait was painted before 1678 and that Ferdinand can not be consider the author of the painting. Nevertheless also the name of Christian Schröder can not be associated to this portrait as the painter started his service for Count Slavata only in October 1674, when Marie Anežka Agáta was also already born.

²³⁵ The date 1678 is located on the recto of the painting, on the right side next to the standing baby girl, but this date must have been added later. Cfr. M. Nováková-Skalická, *Telč*, Telč 1979, p. 23.

²³⁶ Novák, *Slavatové*, p. 31

²³⁷ SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů, letters 16 October 1678 and 13 November 1678.



Image 16 Unknown, *Copy after Portrait of Karel Jáchym Slavata*, oil on canvas, 1662,
Jindřichův Hradec Castle



Image 17 Unknow, *Portrait of Jan Jáchym Slavata*, oil on canvas, 1673, Jindřichův Hradec Castle



Image 18 Unknown, *Portrait of Ferdinand Vilém Slavata*, oil on canvas, 1673, Jindřichův Hradec Castle



Image 19 George de Grosse, *Portrait of Jan Jáchym Slavata*, copperplate after an original drawing by Christian Dittmann, part of the publication by Johann Jacob von Weingarten “Fürstenspiegel oder Monarchia des hochlöblichen Ertzhauses Oesterreich”, 1673, Prague



Image 20 Unknown, *Family portrait of Jan Jáchym Slavata, his wife Maria Margaretha and the daughters Marie Josefa and Marie Magdalena (Markéta)*, oil on canvas, 1673/1674, Telč Castle

3.2. Slavata family's Palace in Prague and the picture gallery

At the time of Jan Jáchym Slavata, the family palace in Prague located in Nerudova street (formerly Ostružnická), became the family residence to which was added a small suburban office in Vinohrady.²³⁸

The first plan of the palace took form with Vilém Slavata who in 1602 bought few houses in the area and continued to enlarge the building buying the adjacent ones. With Jan Jáchym Slavata the complex was definitely extended and completed. In 1674 the project for the modification of the palace was entrusted by Jan Jáchym to Giovanni Battista Maderna and Giovanni Domenico Orsini.²³⁹ A more representative façade was realized to give new décor to the palace that stood in one of the main urban arteries leading to the Prague Castle.

The internal structure was dominated mainly by a residential and representational apartment in the first floor which consisted of an anteroom (*Vorzimmer*) which was reachable from the main staircase, followed by the main lounge and the dining room (*Tafelzimmer*).²⁴⁰ Here, the most prestigious events took place, such as the wedding of Maria Josepha Slavata and Heřman Jakub Černín in January 1687.²⁴¹

Gradually the palace was enriched with a new and more representative equipment which comprehend a pictorial collection.

According to the inventory dated 1689 written after the death of Jan Jáchym Slavata, a total of 227 paintings hung in the representative apartments and in the main rooms. 113 paintings were located in the alcove while in the adjacent gallery there were 31 paintings. Nearly 50 paintings with religious themes were located in a spacious chapel probably consecrated to the Virgin Mary, as she is the main subject of ten of the paintings. In the

²³⁸ On the palace see V. Ledvinka, B. Mráz and Vít Vlnas, *Pražské paláce. Encyklopedický ilustrovaný přehled*, Praha 1995, pp. 134-135; SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů, kart. 19. kart. 104, fol. 163-164; P. Vlček and E. Havlová, *Praha 1610-1700, Kapitoly o architektuře raného baroka*, Praha 1998, p. 255.

²³⁹ Ibid; Kubeš, *Sídla Jana Jiřího Jáchyma hraběte Slavaty*, pp. 70-73.

²⁴⁰ Kubeš, *Sídla Jana Jiřího Jáchyma hraběte Slavaty*, pp. 70-73; H. Murray Baillie, "Etiquette and the Planning of the State Apartments in Baroque Palaces", *Archaeologia*, 51, 1967, pp. 169-199; S. Oßwald-Bargende, "Der Raum an seiner Seite. Ein Beitrag zur Geschlechtertopographie der barocken Höfe am Beispiel von Schloß Ludwigsburg", in J. Hirschbiegel and W. Paravicini (eds.), *Das Frauenzimmer: die Frau bei Hofe in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Stuttgart 2000, pp. 205-224.

²⁴¹ F. Teplý, "O nádheře vrchnostenské svatby", *Československý zemědělec*, 15, 1933, pp. 18-20.

chapel there were also family saints, *St. Francis de Paula*, *St. Joachim* and *St. Margaret* and dozens of reliquaries.²⁴²

Only from the gallery selected guests could get into the private room of the Count which was also adorned with six paintings: *The Burial of Jesus*, *The Virgin Mary* and four portraits one of which was probably kept by the Count as reminder of his big goal in life: a portrait of an unknown Count with the order of the Golden Fleece.²⁴³

Ten royal portraits were concentrated in the gallery and family portraits hung in several room.

In the library, the empty space between the book shelves was occupied by portraits. There were three portraits representing members of the Slavata family, Vilém, Jan Jáchym and Jan Karel Jáchym, which were hung alongside with portraits of contemporary scholars.²⁴⁴

It is hard to estimate the quality of the Slavata collection because, with few exception, the 1689 inventory does not give complete information about the listed paintings. The descriptions are limited to general indication of the iconographic content and only in two cases we are acquainted about the author: the painter Leonhard Tendt is mentioned twice as the author of landscapes. (Nr. 130 and Nr. 131 “*in the gallery of the chapel: landscapes*”).

According to the inventory, in the collection prevailed paintings with religious subjects (80 canvases including the ones in the chapel) followed by paintings with antique motifs (23), landscapes (25), portraits (24), still life (14) and genre paintings (more than 40) .

The concentration of the paintings into large groups mainly located in few rooms and the absence of a collection of curiosities, demonstrate that Jan Jáchym already belonged to the new type of Baroque collector.²⁴⁵ Certainly, Slavata’s closest model was the picture gallery belonging to his friend Humprecht Jan Černín, a friendship consecrated by the marriage between Slavata’s daughter Maria Josepha and Černín’s son Heřman Jakub.²⁴⁶

The dispersal of the Slavata picture gallery started in 1689 with the death of Jan Jáchym and the consequent division of the collection into three parts distributed between the daughters - Countess Marie Josefa Černín and her sisters Marie Anežka Agáta, married to

²⁴² SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů, kart. 104; Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 24-29 with transcription of the inventory; Kubeš, *Sídla Jana Jiřího Jáchyma hraběte Slavaty*, pp.72-73.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Description of the library is in the inventory dated 1689 in SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů, kart. 104.

²⁴⁵ On the topic see in particular: Slaviček, *Artis pictoriae amatores*, pp. 25, 43-44.

²⁴⁶ Ibid. Slavata’s collection was a way smaller than the Černín’s one, it contained 173 paintings with the prevalence of portraits, while Černín picture gallery counted a total of 749 paintings.

Franz Vilém Salm-Reifferscheidt, and Marie Magdalena, second wife of Count Norbert Leopold Libštejnský of Kolowrat. Jan Jáchym Slavata's wife Maria Margaretha, also allowed to choose from the collections several paintings, which she transferred to Vienna, and after her death in 1698 they were again divided into three parts and assigned to her daughters.²⁴⁷ The part which was inherited by Countess Marie Josefa Černín, was relocated in Černín Palace in Prague and incorporated into Černín's picture gallery. Eighty-six paintings derived from Slavata's heritage found permanent location in the so-called small gallery of the Černín Palace.

How the Slavata collection came to take form is problematic to determine. It is possible that the Count had some agents who bought paintings for him.

Only one document refers to the purchased of paintings probably by an agent. It is an account dated 16 October 1678, that mentions a series of ten paintings which the Count bought in Vienna from an unknown Filip. The letter does not give any information about authors or subjects of the paintings.²⁴⁸

Certainly a high number of originals was part of the Slavata collection, but copies were still present in big quantity, even if it is not always specified in the inventory of 1689. Only in three cases the inventory informs us that the listed paintings are copies: a copy of a *Cattle* after Bassano²⁴⁹ and two copies of *The Virgin Mary* after Titian.²⁵⁰

From the letter that Karel Felix Slavata sent from Rome to the Count, we come to know that the Carmelite procured copies but also original paintings to his brother, as well as bulbs of flowers and plants that were not available in Bohemia. In the letter dated 17 December 1678 Karel Felix writes: "*si vous vouliér encor acheter quelque bonnes Copiers, ou des memes originaux, je tacheray de vous servir au mieux, que je pouvoir, toutefois il me faudrait savoir, combien vous voudriez depenser ; tout de meme si vous entriér plaisir des Cipolies de floeurs, où des radices des Anemones, et des Renoncules, je vous servirois tout promptement, il n'y faut qu'un simple vostre ordre.*"²⁵¹

The paintings were often sent from Rome to Prague through acquaintance of Slavata, when they travelled back to Bohemia.

²⁴⁷ For the heritage passages see in particular: Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 24-29; Slaviček, *Artis pictoriae amatores*, pp. 43-44.

²⁴⁸ Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 24-29.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., inv. Nr. 117.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., in the gallery of the chapel: "*Nr. 149 The Virgin Mary after Titian*" and in the Count's room: "*Nr. 164 The Virgin Mary after Titian*".

²⁵¹ SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů, 17 December 1678.

Concerning the authorship of the paintings of the Slavata collection, the inventory does not give any suggestion and the archival documents are never precise enough, but rather limited to mere accounts.

Many painters worked at the service of Jan Jáchym Slavata from 1673. Their activity was limited to the function of court painter: they took care of the collection, gilding frames, made copies of the portraits, producing religious and devotional paintings.

The painter Gregor, who worked for Ferdinand Vilém, continued his activities under Jan Jáchym Slavata. In 1674, the painter Jakub Karel Josef Praxl, already at the service of Count Slavata, was sent for a four-years apprenticeship to Karel Škreta.²⁵² He continued to receive an annual salary of 100 zl. from Jan Jáchym and to supply him with paintings. At the end of his apprenticeship in 1677 he came back at the service of Slavata as a more experienced painter.²⁵³

At the end of 1676, Jiří Ruthar Rudigier, Humprecht Jan Černín's court painter, came at the service of Slavata where he stayed until 1683. He finally returned to work for Count Černín.

Also the painter František Vavřinec Miller helped Rudigier in Jindřichův Hradec and Červená Lhota, but we do not know in which activities precisely the painters were involved at that time.²⁵⁴

Among the court painter, it seems that Slavata highly appreciated only the work of Christian Schröder. In particular the Count decided to invest on the painter's artistic training sending him to Italy covering all the expence of his three-year long study stay that was quite expensive.²⁵⁵

Some of the paintings which were part of the collection in the Prague Palace and are listed in the inventory of 1689 must be the copies that Schröder realized from original paintings located in the collections belonging to some aristocratic family in Rome.²⁵⁶

Schröder's authorship of other paintings in the Slavata collection remains a mere hypothesis. Nevertheless, archival documents mention that before going to Rome, Schröder executed some copies for the Count Slavata. Thanks to the account preserved in the archive of Jindřichův Hradec which registers the realization of the frame by František Gratzl,²⁵⁷ we

²⁵² Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 29-32.

²⁵³ SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů, 13 December 1677.

²⁵⁴ Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 29-32.

²⁵⁵ See chapter 1.4

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů, 29 November 1678; Novák, *Slavatové*, p. 32

know that Schröder painted the copy of *St. John the Baptist* after Guido Reni which the Count Slavata donated to the Church of St John the Baptist in Jindřichův Hradec around the year 1678. The copy must have been executed before 1678, as Schröder arrived in Rome on 27 November 1677. In origin the copy was not designated for the altar of the church as the dimensions were smaller and squared. Part of the sky was added in a second moment, when the painting had to be adapted to the shape of the altarpiece.²⁵⁸

Schröder's copy of *St. John the Baptist* after Guido Reni is so faithful to the original that the painter must have had access to Reni's original painting that at that time was located at the Prague Castle picture gallery.²⁵⁹

Count Slavata donated to the Church of St John the Baptist also a copy of a large painting representing an *Ecce Homo* painted by Schröder in 1677.²⁶⁰ The frame of this copy was realized by František Vavřínek Miller in December 1677.²⁶¹ It is not possible to identify the original *Ecce Homo* copied by Schröder, because the copy was destroyed in the fire that burned down the church in 1801. It is possible that also *The Ecce Home* was copied from an original located in the collections of the Prague Castle.²⁶²

Thanks to Slavata intercession, Schröder had free access to the Prague Castle collections where the painter must have realized other copies for his patron. Tracing them today is not an easy task as the inventory of the Slavata's picture gallery lacks of precise information and the collection is totally disperse. Nevertheless, in Červená Lhota Castle two copies after Bartolomeo Manfredi are exhibited: *The Fortune teller* (Image 21) and *The Guard's*

²⁵⁸ A piece of sky was added to the upper part of the canvas in order to fit into the dimensions of the altarpiece.

²⁵⁹ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, pp. CXXXI–CXXXII, “Nr. 422 Guido. Orig :*The Baptism of Christ*”.

²⁶⁰ Novák, *Slavatové*, p. 32.

²⁶¹ The account is contained in SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů, 31 December 1677.

²⁶² The subject representing *The Ecce Homo* are listed in the Prague inventory of 1718: “Nr. 45. Qvidoreno: *A Ecce Homo*”; “Nr. 60. Master Meal: *Ecce Homo*” (Deleted and replaced by: “*Crowned Christ's Inubt.*”); “Nr. 143. Correggio: *A Ecce Homo*”; “N.r 425 Titian. Orig .: *Ecce Homo with 17 figures*”. The description of Schröder's copy mentioned a big painting, it is possible that the copied *Ecce Homo* was the one by Titian, but it is a mere hypothesis. Cfr. Novák, *Slavatové*, p. 32.

room (Image 22).²⁶³ The two originals were located in the Prague Castle picture gallery, before being moved to the actual locations.²⁶⁴

The Červená Lhota's copies are listed in the inventory of 1689 in the Slavata Palace in Prague: “*Nr. 1. Cikánský výjev - Cikánský kus, kde zároveň na prkně se hraje*“ (Gypsy scene - Gypsy piece, where he also plays on a board); “*Nr. 97. Sedláci s hudbou*” (Peasants with music).²⁶⁵ They must have been painted by Schröder directly from the originals at the Prague Castle, likely around 1677, when he also copied *The Baptism of Christ* after Guido Reni and *The Ecce Homo*.

After the death of the Count Slavata in 1689, Schröder passed to the service of the Count's daughter Marie Josepha Černín, with an annual retribution of 1000 fl.²⁶⁶

Apparently the painter started his services for the Černín family after 1685, as in the letter dated 5 April 1685, Karel Felix Slavata recommended Schröder to Heřman Jakub Černín.²⁶⁷ Černín's answer to this letter is not preserved. If Schröder painted some copies from Černín collection for Count Slavata or if the painter provided any painting or copy also for Count Černín, it is not known. Schröder might have performed a similar function to Jiří Ruthar Rudigier and Jan Rudolf Bys as keeper and curator of Černín collection.²⁶⁸

²⁶³ In Červená Lhota Castle are located: inv. Nr. CL 537 “*Hádání z ruky*” (Fortune teller) and inv. Nr. CL 538 “*Pijáci*” (Drinkers), copies after Bartolomeo Manfredi.

²⁶⁴ See Appendix 1.

²⁶⁵ Inventory transcribed in Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 24-29. In the Prague Castle inventory they are listed: as “*Nr. 160 Manfredi: Unterschiedliche bauern und züegeincr.*” and “*Nr. 161. Manfredi: Soldaten und bauern.*” Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, pp. CXXXI–CXXXII.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ SOA Třebon. Fond Černín, Vienna, 5 April 1685.

²⁶⁸ Novák, *Dějiny bývalé hraběcí*, pp. 121-128; J. Novák, “Prameny ke studiu bývalé hraběcí černínské obrazárny na Hradčanech”, *Památky archeologické*, 27, 1915, pp. 205-221.



Image 21 Unknown (Christian Schröder?), *Copy after Bartolomeo Manfredi, The Fortune teller*, oil on canvas, Červená Lhota Castle



Image 22 Unknown (Christian Schröder?), *Copy after Bartolomeo Manfredi, The Guard's room*, oil on canvas, Červená Lhota Castle

4. Christian Schröder: court painter, keeper and teacher at the Prague Castle picture gallery

When the time came for Christian Schröder to choose either to join the guild of painters of Malá Strana submitting to a regular payment, or to become court painter of the Emperor, thanks to Karel Felix Slavata who recommended him to Emperor Leopold I, the painter gained the privilege on 14 November 1681 officially becoming “*hofkunstmaler*”.²⁶⁹

Few years later, on 17 January 1684, following the death of the keeper of the Prague Castle picture gallery Filip Mazanec, Schröder asked for having this position. In the letter of request delivered to Johann Karl Miseroni, Schröder stressed the attention on his service as Slavata’s court painter and his artistic training in Italy where -according to his words- he “*learnt the profession from many famous masters*”.²⁷⁰ At the same time, the letter went for intercession of Karel Felix Slavata to the highest chamberlain of Bohemian Kingdom, Prince Johann Friedrich of Trauttmansdorff, who was known to have quite high influential potential.²⁷¹

From these documents which attested Schröder’s desire to acquire high-ranking positions, an ambivalent figure of the painter emerges. On the one hand Schröder was limited to the production of copies without the ambition to experiment much his creativity, on the other hand he made efforts to obtain positions of a certain level as the one of court painter of the Emperor and keeper of the Imperial collections. For a practical person as Schröder seemed to be, the desire to acquire official and well recognized positions was mainly driven by the wish to obtain a safe and stable post, far from the payment of the guild’s tax and from the continuous research of new patrons and commissions.

Schröder’s position at the Prague Castle picture gallery was defined as “*aufseher*”, which can be referred to as key holder. He was not the curator of the collections in the modern sense of the term. This position was rather performed by the “*šacmistr*”, usually supervised

²⁶⁹ Archiv Hlavního Města Prahy (from now quoted AHMP), Fond Manuál radní hradčanský, years 1672-1689, n. 1550b, 197r. Cfr. also Novák, *Slavatové*, p. 31; Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 328-338.

²⁷⁰ Národní Archiv, Praha, Fond Stará Manipulace, S21/3, years 1681-1693. see also R. Kuchynka, “Zprávy o umělcích v archivu jindřichohradském”, *Časopis Společnosti přátel starožitnosti českých*, 18, Praha 1919, p. 28; Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 328-338.

²⁷¹ The letter to Prince Johann Friedrich of Trauttmansdorff is preserved in SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů; kart 34. Novák, *Slavatové*, p. 31; Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 328-338.

from Vienna, whose post after the death of Ferdinand Eusebius Miseroni in 1684, was assigned to František Leux of Luxenstein whose first duty was to draw up an inventory of the collections after the Swedish plunder of 1648.²⁷²

As keeper of the Prague Castle picture gallery, Schröder performed duties concerning the management and maintenance of the collections, while artistic mansions were less required. The painter was also occupied in works related to the maintenance of the Castle's building and the Cathedral of St. Vitus. In 1684 he was paid for gold-plated the tower finials for 40 zl., a year after he plated the letter "R" (monogram of Emperor Rudolf II) on the "*great tower of the Castle's Church*" for 42 zl. He also fixed the ceilings in the Imperial rooms on the second floors. He performed some unspecified works in the Spanish Hall, for which he was paid 1,065 zl. for the ceiling and painted 27 plate and sheet. In addition to these maintenance works, he was involved in preparing the ephemeral architecture and the decorations for the *Castrum Doloris* in honour of Empress Eleanor (1630-1686), the third wife of Emperor Ferdinand III.²⁷³

For his activity as court painter in the period 1684-1691, Schröder received annually about 200 zl. Between 1692-1699 his duties gradually faded, being one of the lowest paid employee with an average income of only 38 zl. This was probably one of the reasons why Schröder gave up the post of court painter in August 1700.²⁷⁴

The name of the painter is inscribed in the Prague guild of painters of Malá Strana in 1694, but about Schröder's involvement in the guild after that date the sources are quite sporadic.²⁷⁵

In Prague, the guilds of painters regulated the trade of art works within the City. They were dominated by strong and ancient ethical values, a sense of fraternal solidarity and they preserved the importance of craft. In general, guilds made judgments on disputes between artists and between artists and their clients. In such ways, they controlled the economic career of their members.

²⁷² František Leux of Luxenstein was a descendant of the Viennese court painter Frans Luycx of Luxenstein (1604-1668), famous Imperial portraitist. About František Leux of Luxenstein see Herain *České malířství*, p. 66; Neumann, *Obrazárna*, pp. 24-25; Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 329, 337, note 35.

²⁷³ Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 328-330.

²⁷⁴ Archiv Pražského hradu, Fond Dvorní stavební úřad, inv. Nr. 116, fol. nr. 5, year 1678. On Schröder's activities at Prague Castle see in particular: Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 328-338, notes 31-36.

²⁷⁵ Archiv Národní galerie, Fond Pražská malířská bratrstva, years 1694-1701, inv. Nr. 113; Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 328-338.

Guild membership was therefore required for an artist to take on apprentices or to sell paintings to the public. Therefore court painters and artists in the service of the nobility or the Church did not have to become a member of the Prague guilds, but they were not allowed to take apprentices or pupils.²⁷⁶

Prague guilds were often spending time in mutual disputes, which ended up to be financially exhausting. The growing demand for quality works of art among their customers in addition to the emerging of a new type of clients -the patricians and the bourgeois who were more and more willing to imitate the lifestyle of the aristocracy- found obstacles in the immutability of the guilds regulations. Now the painters were expected to be well-educated and well-cultured. They needed to be thought of a high level culture dominated by the ancient mythology, history, iconography and the biblical episodes, which they should be able to reproduce with their hand on the canvas.

Guilds were limited in offering all these, claiming rather the domination of the Craft over the Art. Consequently the new patrons preferred to turn either to direct contracts, or more frequently to art dealers.

Painters inscribed to the guilds complained that foreigners were threatening to inundate Prague with paintings coming from outside. The multiplication of foreign art dealers well showed how the guilds were unable to meet the demand and use their legally supremacy position on the art market.²⁷⁷

Concerning the duration of an apprenticeship, this could vary between two to five up to six years. As the art academy in Prague was still not existing in 17th century, young pupils often turn to renown masters in order to accomplish their apprenticeship and obtain the certificate to start to perform their own profession.²⁷⁸

The painting by Johann Georg Heinsch representing *St. Luke painting the Madonna* at the National Gallery in Prague gives the image of a painter's workshop where, on the

²⁷⁶ Šroněk, *Pražští malíři*, pp. 11-22; Sekyrka, *Umění a Mistrovství*, pp. 34-42, 61.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Masters often had the workshop located at their home. There are evidence that Willmann's workshop was located on the first floor of his family house in Lubiąż, in Silesia, and that the painter must have had an other bigger space in order to paint the most voluminous canvases. On Willmann workshop: A. Kozieł and B. Lejman, *Willmann i inni: malarstwo, rysunek i grafika na Śląsku i w krajach ościennych w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Wrocław 2002; A. Kozieł, *Michael Willmann i jego malarska pracownia*, Wrocław 2013, pp. 28-131.

background, his assistants are at work.²⁷⁹ Heinsch set the scene in a painter's studio, where the Saint, who according to the legend painted the first image of God's Mother, is represented at work on the painting of the Madonna. In the background his assistants are preparing new works: one is mixing the paints while the other is priming the canvas. St. Luke's face had distinct portrait features and the manner of the signature "*J.G. Heinsch pingit*" which means "is painting", suggests that this is the painter's self-portrait.

The number of works by Heinsch, the striking differences in quality and diverse painting techniques, confirm that the painters, as was customary, relied on the aid of a workshop. We have no information about Heinsch's apprentices or journeymen who collaborated with him in the workshop, but we can assume that the master personally took on the major commissions for demanding customers, while less talented assistants executed minor works, which were often for customers of the country-side. Heinsch's workshop was certainly equipped with a variety of the master's models which served as patterns for his co-workers and as examples of work for the customers. The frequent repetition and modification of certain compositions, patterns of movement and facial types also suggest that models were often used. We also know that Heinsch, who did not feel confident in more complex compositions, looked for ideas both in graphics and paintings.²⁸⁰

A workshop was always filled with the useful tools for the painter: a substantial stock of paintings, calks of heads and body parts, books to be used mainly for the iconography of the images represented, graphics and drawings by other masters but also drawings, "prototype" of heads, hands, feet and other body parts which the master created as models for his students and assistants.

Members of the family often become the first helpers in the painter's workshop.

Karel Škřeta the Younger was predestined to a carrier in the arts in order to continue the paternal tradition under the same name. Thus, Karel Škřeta the Elder invested all in his son's education and training sending him to Italy in order to study painting. Still, the most valuable schooling was with the father who employed him on his commissions together with a number of other painters, Škřeta's various pupils and assistants.²⁸¹ Today it is problematic to decipher the precise contribution that each made to the common work, for there is a lack of written records. But even with these, it would still be hard to find an exact

²⁷⁹ Johann Georg Heinsch, *St. Luke painting the Madonna*, 1690s, oil on canvas, 150x175 cm, signed on the bottom right "*J.G. Heinsch pingit*", National Gallery in Prague, inv. Nr. O 1262.

²⁸⁰ M. Šroněk, *Jan Jiří Heinsch - Malíř barokní zbožnosti*, Praha 2006, pp. 124-125.

²⁸¹ On Škřeta's workshop see Neumann, *Škrétové*, pp. 130-151; Stolárová, *Karel Škřeta 1610-1674: his world and his era*, pp. 422-426.

answer, as the contribution of several painters on a common commission was at that time a workshop *routine*. In addition, the different members of the workshop pursued the consolidated “Škreta’s style” that worked as a trademark. Assistants and pupils painted with the specific aim to do not be recognized.²⁸² From this derives the difficulty to distinguish the different hands.

Also Michael Willmann’s workshop most likely was not a big “academy of painting”, but rather a family company where his son Michael Willmann and his stepson Jan Kryštof Liška initially collaborated together with various assistants and pupils as well as several “technical” helpers. Without them it would not have been possible a fast and professional preparation of the canvases. They also dealt with the entire “logistics” of the paint production: cared about providing the right amount of materials and tools for the job, as well as preparing the work already finished for transportation to their destinations.²⁸³

Concerning Christian Schröder, even though the regulation prohibited court painters to have pupils, he did not respect this provision and he received young painters and assistants while he filled the position of keeper at Prague Castle picture gallery. Due to this fact he came in conflict with the painter’s guild of Malá Strana.²⁸⁴

It is possible that the painter had a workshop in his own house, but for certain he received pupils at Prague Castle, literally opening the doors to the many art works preserved at the picture gallery to his students.

Some scholars have underlined the importance of the role performed by Schröder during the artistic training of Petr Brandl, who was his pupil between 1683 to 1687 or 1689.²⁸⁵

Brandl was not Schröder’s only pupil. After the death of his master, Filip Mazanec, Václav Jindřich Nosecký passed to the teachings of Schröder. Also his apprenticeship could be dated between the years 1683-1688/89, as well as for Jan Blažej Santini-Aichel who

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Koziel, *Willmann i inni*; Koziel, *Michael Willmann i jego malarska pracownia*, pp. 28-131.

²⁸⁴ On the presence of Petr Brandl among Schröder’s pupils see: Archiv Národní galerie Praha, Fond J.Q. Jahn, inv. nr. 1222/8. On Schröder’s conflicts with the guild of painters see Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 335-336; Archiv Národní galerie Praha, Fond Pražská malířská bratrstva, 1694-1701, inv, nr. 113. ANG Praha, Sbíрка listin pražského malířského cechu, list nr. 28, 14 November 1681.

²⁸⁵ Concerning the role of Christian Schröder in the artistic training of Brandl see: Neumann, *Petr Brandl*, pp. 115-117; Rousová, *Petr Brandl: malíř neřestí pozemských*, pp. 50-52; Rousová, *Petr Brandl - mistr barokní malby*, pp. 30-33; J. Prokop, *Petr Brandl: Život a dílo v archivních pramenech a starší dobové literatuře*, Praha 2016, pp. 13-22; Neumann, Steckerová (ed.), *Petr Brandl*, pp. 71-78, 97-99, 138-140.

evidently must have been quite close to Schröder's family and his house, because, after the master's death, he married the painter's daughter, Veronika Alžběta in 1707.²⁸⁶

When Brandl was in the appropriate age for starting his apprenticeship, there was not a big choice of teachers among the painters of Schröder's generation in Prague. It is likely that mainly fate and common acquaintances played a role in Brandl's choice of Schröder as his master. In fact, Brandl's uncle Marek Hrbek, served as court jeweller of the Emperor in the same years when Schröder was court painter at Prague Castle and it is likely that the uncle introduced the young Brandl to his future teacher.²⁸⁷

Already in 1755 Christian Ludwig von Hagedorn in the *Lettre à un Amateur de la Peinture* wrote about Brandl: “A l'âge de quinze ans il fut mis sous la conduite de Jean Schroeter, Peintre de la Cour & Inspecteur de la Galerie de Prague. Ses progrès furent si rapides, qu'au bout de quatre ans le Maître eut le déplaisir de se voir surpassé par son Elève. Oblige de peindre un petit Tableau d'Autel, Brandel l'acheva dans un jour, & de si bonne heure, que le Maître entrant dans l'Atelier, & trouvant son Elève désœuvré & regardant par la fenêtre, s'en fâcha sans prendre garde a l'ouvrage. Mais le détail d'une querelle de Peintres n'est pas fait pour vous intéresser. Brandel sortit vainqueur, et ne chercha plus de Maître”.²⁸⁸

At the age of fifteen, Brandl started his apprenticeship with Schröder, and after only few years it seems that the pupil surpassed in ability his master. The anecdote tells that, obliged to paint an altarpiece, Brandl finished it in one day and Schröder, finding the pupil without activity, repressed him strongly. A big surprise was when the master noticed that the altarpiece was not only finished, but also excellently executed.

Apparently this episod was the reason why Brandl decided to leave the teacher before the official ending of the apprenticeship, but it was rather the complain of the painter's guild against Schröder pronounced on 16 October 1689 the reason why Brandl's training had to be interrupted.

The anecdote on the altarpiece, must have been popular as it is often mentioned by Brandl's biographers. Franz Martin Pelzel in *Abbildungen böhmischer und mährischer Gelehrter*, in 1773 repeated the story of the altarpiece: “Er genoss noch nicht vier Jahre der

²⁸⁶ M. Horyna, *J. B. Santini-Aichel – Život a dílo*, Praha 1998; Dlabáč, *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, Vol. 3, p. 69.

²⁸⁷ Neumann, Steckerová (ed.), *Petr Brandl*, pp. 93-96.

²⁸⁸ C. L. von Hagedorn, *Lettre à un amateur de la peinture avec des éclaircissements historiques sur un cabinet et les auteurs des tableaux qui le composent : ouvrage entremêlé de digressions sur la vie de plusieurs peintres modernes*, Dresden 1755 p. 291.

*Anweisung desselben, als ihm dieser die Verfertigung eines Altarblatts auftrag, und ihm zu Vollendung der Arbeit eine gewisse Zeit festsetzte. Brandel malte es in einem Tage, und brachte die übrige Zeit müßig zu. Schrotter, der nicht glauben konnte, das fein Schüler mit feinem Gemälde schon fertig sei, verwies ihm feine Nachlässigkeit sehr scharf. Er ward aber nicht wenig überrascht, als er das Gemälde nicht nur fertig, sondern auch sehr gut gearbeitet fand. Aber Brandel, wegen der harten Begegnung aufgebracht, verließ seinen Lehrmeister, ohne den Ausgang der bestimmten Lehrjahre zu erwarten, und bildete sich ohne weitere Anleitung selbst aus”.*²⁸⁹ Penzel was one of the first to add the hypothesis that Schröder -being keeper of the Prague Castle picture gallery- could have provided the young Brandl free access to the Imperial collections, where he could paint copies and he could take inspiration from the paintings.

The meeting with Italian, German, Nederland and Spanish schools of painting located at the Prague Castle picture gallery, had a lifelong impact on Brandl’s artistic activity. His later works testify the strong impression and the indelible experience that he gained from the close contact with the Prague Castle’s collections. Paintings by Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, Bassano, Manfredi, Fetti, Strozzi, Ribera, Preti, Rubens and Velázquez, all attracted the young apprentice who helped in the treatment of the canvases and in their copying during the apprenticeship with Schröder.

For instance, Schröder’s copy for the main altar of the Church of St. John the Baptist in Jindřichův Hradec, representing *The Baptism of Christ* after Guido Reni, undoubtedly drew the attention of the young Brandl, whose later work, *The Baptism of Christ* at the Church of St. John the Baptist in Manětín (Kostel sv. Jana Křtitele) (1715-1716) (Image 24), echoes the famous Reni’s composition.²⁹⁰

Brandl’s knowledge of Caravaggio’s *chiaroscuro* was also favoured by his contact with the paintings by the Utrecht masters, including Gerrit von Honthorst, whose concept of light had a strong influence on Brandl’s way of painting, and by Bartolomeo Manfredi which were all preserved at Prague Castle picture gallery. The influence of Honthorst and Manfredi on Brandl’s genre compositions²⁹¹ could have been derived especially from *The*

²⁸⁹ Pelzel, *Abbildungen böhmischer*, pp. 114-115.

²⁹⁰ Neumann, *Brandl*, pp. 115-117; Rousová, *Petr Brandl: malíř neřestí pozemských*, pp. 50-52; Neumann, Steckerová (ed.), *Petr Brandl*, pp. 64-65.

²⁹¹ On Brandl’s genre paintings see in particular Rousová, *Petr Brandl - mistr barokní malby*, pp. 30-33. Apparently Schröder also painted other genre scenes in Italian style. A. Gnirs, *Topographie der historischen und Kunst-Denkmaale. Der politische Bezirk Elbogen*, 43, Prag 1927, p. 412. Gnirs attributed

Dentist by Honthorst and *The Fortune tellers* and *The Guards' room* by Manfredi which were among the copies realized directly from the originals at Prague Castle picture gallery by Schröder on commission of Prince Gundakar Dietrichstein between 1689-1691 for Libochovice Castle.

Nevertheless, according to the literature, Schröder's copies for Libochovice Castle were realized after Brandl left the teacher, but it is likely that copying paintings from Prague Castle collections was not limited to the Libochovice order, but Schröder was constantly occupied in this activity. For instance, in a request to Ferdinand Dietrichstein dated 1691, Schröder asked him to intervene with the Emperor in order to have the permission to realize copies after some other paintings preserved at Prague Castle picture gallery, in this way saving valuable originals from damages and losses.²⁹²

Schröder, who come back from Italy about three years before starting Brandl's training, could offer the pupil his still fresh impressions and learnings.

Because Schröder himself was almost entirely occupied in copying paintings during his artistic training in Italy, he certainly taught his pupils in the same manner as he learnt in Rome.

In Italy, at least since the 15th century, the pupils started their training in workshops copying drawings and prints from their teachers and from the great masters of the past. Copy was the pillar of teaching different techniques and learn various styles.

Thanks to the free access to the collections of Prague Castle granted by their teacher, Schröder's pupils could directly copy original paintings by the most important representative of the different schools of painting, otherwise impossible to access without a study trip to Italy or abroad.

Schröder's abilities as painter were limited: he was a skilful copyist, but not an original artist. He could hardly give any advice in terms of composition. Quoting the words of Nagler "*Er hielt sich in Rom und Venedig auf, gewann aber durch seine Studien nur im Technischen, und in der Färbung einige Vortheile. Für Composition hatte er kein Geschick, und wenn er irgend ein geschichtliches Bild malen musste, so entnahm er fremden Kupferstichen, was er brauchte*".²⁹³

to Schröder two grotesque counterparts representing a beggar and a singer in the collection of the Teplé monastery, but they are no more identifiable.

²⁹² We do not know if the request was accepted. Neumann, Steckerová (ed.), *Petr Brandl*, pp. 64-65.

²⁹³ Nagler, *Neues allgemeines KünstlerLexicon*, p. 30.

Nevertheless, Schröder had a privileged position as keeper of the Imperial collections. He was holding the key to the knowledge of art, not through his own personal abilities, but as physical holder of the keys which allow access to the masterpieces preserved at Prague Castle picture gallery.

Where could young Bohemian painters copy the great masters of the past in Prague? With rare exceptions, there were no public spaces where to contemplate, study and copy masterpieces by Italian and other foreign schools of painting. Some painters had the possibility to see and copy famous masters' paintings during their artistic training, especially in Italy. But, how could the painters who did not have the opportunity to travel abroad learn from the great examples of the past? The collections of Prague Castle were the treasure chest of this knowledge for Bohemian artists.

Apart from the already mentioned altarpiece for the Church of the Holy Trinity in Nová Bystřice, which probably Brandl had in mind when in 1716 he painted the altarpiece with *St Joseph and Anna* for the Church of our Lady Victorious (Kostel Panny Marie Vítězné) in Malá Strana (Image 25) positioning the figures in the middle between two columns which -by the way- was common in 16th-century Venetian painting especially in the works by Paolo Veronese with whom Brandl could have got acquainted from the Prague Castle collections, Schröder painted the main altarpiece of the Church of the Virgin Mary (Kostel Panny Marie Na louži) for which Brandl later worked, which has been lost after the abolishment of the Church in 1784, as was the painting of *The Holy Trinity* delivered in 1680 to the Church of St. Wenceslaus in Malá Strana, today not preserved, where the young Brandl admired Škréta's *Passion cycle*.²⁹⁴

Together with Brandl, Schröder likely took part to the painting decorations of the Church of St. Joseph (Kostel sv. Josefa) in Malá Strana. His work might perhaps be the image of *St. Teklas* on the altar, opposite to *St. Therese* by Petr Brandl (1697) (Image 26).²⁹⁵

Nevertheless, according to Jaromír Neumann, if Karel Škréta became the founder of the Czech Baroque also thanks to the years he spent in Italy (1630-1636) and through the direct contact with progressive European art, Brandl achieved his original expression without knowledge of the foreign environment because, thanks to the previous Škréta's activity and

²⁹⁴ Neumann, Steckerová (ed.), *Petr Brandl*, pp. 64-65, 240.

²⁹⁵ Ibid. The altar is painted in the same way as Schröder's copy after *The Baptism of Christ* by Guido Reni and the colours remind Schröder's copies for Libochovice.

the pioneering work of other masters, the sources for his artistic development were already present in the Prague artistic *milieu*.²⁹⁶

Nevertheless, it was thanks to Schröder that Brandl got acquainted with the painters who would become his sources of inspiration. The painters Jan Jakub Steven of Steinfels and Abraham and Isaac Godyn, belonged to Schröder's group of friends: in 1696 Schröder was the godfather at the baptism of Steinfels's son and on 3 September 1700 his wife Veronika witnessed the marriage of the painter Isaac Godyn.

Jan Rudolf Bys and Jan Kryštof Liška were also close friends to Schröder as testified by the fact that the painter was the godfather of Václav Jindřich Nosecký's son, František Kristián Ezechiel (Siard) who was baptized at the presence of Schröder, Bys and Liška.²⁹⁷

Schröder had at least the merit to have taught the young Brandl the first rudiments of painting by copying famous masters at the Prague Castle picture gallery. Only with this solid basis, Brandl could move on from the mere copying to the personal interpretation of the artistic models. Brandl was then able to absorb and combine Halbax's tenebrism of Loth's derivation, Bys' academism, Willman's expressive and dynamic components and Liška's theatricality, to create his own painting with internal tension and relaxed brush stroke.

²⁹⁶ Probably Brandl approached Karel Škréta's art under the influence of Škréta's son with whom he came in contact in 1690. Neumann, Steckerová (ed.), *Petr Brandl*, pp. 138-140.

²⁹⁷ Plesníková, *Nosecký*, pp. 15-21, Neumann, Steckerová (ed.), *Petr Brandl*, pp. 71-74.



Image 23 Johann Georg Heinsch, *St. Luke painting the Madonna*, oil on canvas, ca. 1690, 150x175 cm, National Gallery, Prague



Image 24 Petr Brandl, *The Baptism of Christ*, oil on canvas, 1715-1716, 323 x 223 cm, Church of St. John the Baptist, Mančín



Image 25 Petr Brandl, *St. Joseph and Anna*, oil on canvas, 1716, 383 x 226 cm,
Church of Our Lady Victorious, Prague

5. Christian Schröder's copies for Libochovice Castle.

Between 1689 and 1691 Christian Schröder painted a series of forty-three copies under commission of Gundakar Dietrichstein. They were destined for the Libochovice Castle, which Dietrichstein bought in 1676.

Gundakar Dietrichstein (1623-1690) was a member of the Carinthian Hollenburg-Finkenstein branch of the family. Originally protestants, his father Bartholomäus Dietrichstein took Gundakar and other three brothers and four sisters into exile in 1628. The family settled in Nuremberg where Gundakar studied at the evangelical colleges, lately he also undertook a chivalrous way to Italy.²⁹⁸

Knowing that this choice would make the way to gain social and economical profit easier, Gundakar decided to convert to Catholicism in 1650. In the same year he became the valet of Prince Leopold. In 1656 he was ennobled and became a member of the Court Council. After the erection of Leopold to the Imperial throne, Gundakar's courtly career was associated with the onset of the Emperor. He became Imperial Treasurer, he acquired the title of Knight of the Golden Fleece and he was promoted to the title of Prince in 1684.²⁹⁹

Just few years after his return from exile, Gundakar was able to rise to the highest courtly honours mainly due to the personal favor of Leopold I. Gundakar Dietrichstein along with Jan Jáchym Slavata and Heřman Jakub Černín owed their rise to Leopold I's personal affection and they together constitutes the ruler's favourite entourage with whom Leopold had close personal relationship.³⁰⁰

The affinity that bonded Dietrichstein with the Emperor Leopold I is testified also by the fact that Gundakar was his groom at the marriage with the Spanish infanta Margarita Teresa celebrated in 1667. The portrait painted by Johann Thomas (1617-1678) (Image 26) represents Gundakar Dietrichstein during the equestrian ballet held at the Viennese court in occasion of the wedding. There exists another portrait by Johann Thomas identified as *The Equestrian portrait of Leopold I* (Image 27) during the same

²⁹⁸ P. Maťa, *Svět české aristokracie (1500 – 1700)*, Praha 2004, pp. 108-110; Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp.107-110.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

celebration which is believed to be the counterpart of Gundakar Dietrichstein's portrait.³⁰¹

An other *Portrait of Gundakar Dietrichstein* hung in the so-called Saturn Hall at Libochovice Castle (Image 28). On the bottom right of the portrait there is an inscription with the name of Ferdinand Dietrichstein, ("*Ferdinandus Gundaccarus / Furst v. Dietrichstein*") but comparing the physiognomy of the sitter with Gundakar's equestrian portrait by Johann Thomas, it is evident that the Libochovice portrait represents Gundakar Dietrichstein.

The authorship of the portrait is unknown and the archival documents do not give any information about the painting.

There exists an engraving by the Flemish engraver Cornelis Meyssens (c. 1640-1673)³⁰² that reproduces Gundakar portrait painted by Adriaen van Blommen (also known as Adriaen Bloem, Adrian Blum) (Image 29) as the graphic informs in the inscription on the bottom: "*Gundackero Conte di Dietrichstain Barone di Hollenburg, Finckenstain, e Thalberg, Coppiere Hereditario in Carinthis, Cameriere, Cons.re di Sato e Cavallerizzo Maggiore di S.M.ta, Ces.a, &c.*" "*A. Bloem, deli. Cor. Meylsens, fe, Vienna*".

Adriaen van Blommen was born in Antwerp in 1639, but he settled in Vienna around the year 1668 where he got married. He was pupil of Jan Peeters and he soon became renown as portraitist of the Viennese nobility. Many of his portraits of the Austrian noblemen were later engraved by various artists.³⁰³

Apart from engravings reproducing portraits by Adriaen van Blommen that do not allow stylistic comparisons, there exists a *Portrait of Maria Graswinckel* (Image 31) and its pendant, the *Portrait of Cornelis van der Goes* (Image 32), both dated to 1674 and

³⁰¹ Johann Thomas, *Equestrian portrait of Leopold I* (?), oil on canvas, 1667, 56 × 46 cm, Private collection, Izabela Radziwiłł, Warsaw. The painting is also identified as the portrait of the King John II Casimir of Poland. B. Seredyńska, "Portrait équestre de Léopold Ier dans une collection polonaise", in *Biuletyn historii sztuki*, Vol. 43, 1981, Państwowy Instytut Sztuki, p. 23. The portrait it is not signed. Nevertheless, the crown the sitter wears is not a royal one but imperial, supporting the hypothesis that it is rather the portrait of Emperor Leopold I.

³⁰² Cornelis Meyssens was born in Antwerp around 1640. He was the son of the more famous Joannes Meyssens, engraver, painter and art dealer. He was active as an engraver since 1660. In 1673 he settled in Vienna. Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexicon der bildenden Künstler*, 1907-1950, Vol. 4, p. 128; A. Hajdecki, „Die Niederländer in Wien“, *Oud Holland*, 23, 1905, pp. 108-128. For the engraving: Fürstlich Waldeckschen Hofbibliothek Arolsen, Klebebände (Band 2).

³⁰³ Ibid.

signed “*Van Bloemen*”.³⁰⁴ The two portraits show stylistic similarities with the portrait of Gundakar Dietrichstein at Libochovice Castle that on this basis must be attributed to Adriaen van Blommen. It can be assumed that the Libochovice portrait was painted in Vienna sometime around 1670 or even earlier, as Gundakar looks quite young and he is portrayed without the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece that he acquired in 1672. Thus the painting was transferred from Vienna to Libochovice and the sculptor Jan Brokof, realized the frame for the portrait. An other frame of the same dimensions is been preserved in the deposits of Libochovice Castle which probably belonged to the portrait of Gundakar’s second wife Marie Christine of Trautson, today lost.³⁰⁵

Gundakar Dietrichstein’s effigy engraved by Cornelis Meyssens is very similar to the Libochovice portrait which consequently must be identify with the paining from which the engraving derives. As typically for the graphic, the engraving reproduces a mirror image of the portrait and Gundakar is not represented with the official suit of Blommen’s portrait but in armour.

Gundakar’s newly acquired economic and social position suddenly turned into the investment in large purchase of estates in Lower Austria and later in Bohemia. Already in 1659 Dietrichstein bought Merkenstein ruins in Lower Austria. In 1663 he purchased a property complex between Vienna and Znojmo with the seat in Sonnberg and Croíš and the important town of Oberhollabrunn (today Hollabrunn) which became Gundakar’s most important centre in Lower Austria where Dietrichstein founded the Capuchin monastery and ordered the erection of the tomb where he and his first wife where buried. At the same time Gundakar obtained the estate of Arbesbach in a remote eastern corner of Lower Austria, to which in 1674 was added Spitz nearby Wachau in the Danube Valley with the castle of Hinterhaus and the estate of Schwallenbach.³⁰⁶

Meanwhile Gundakar turned his interest to Bohemia. In 1676 he invested the enormous sum of 480 000 zl. for Budyně nad Ohri, Libochovice and Pátek v Poohří. About two years later he bought the nearby estate of Žerotín for 24 000 zl. A second large transaction took place in 1680, when Gundakar bought for 145 000 zl. the estate

³⁰⁴ Today both the portraits are located in a private collection. They both measure 125 x 115 cm.

³⁰⁵ It is also possible that the empty frame belonged to the portrait of Cardinal František Dietrichstein which would have been the counterpart of Gundakar’s portrait. Matějka mentions two portraits in the Castle presenting Ferdinand Gundakar and Cardinal František Dietrichstein. B. Matějka, *Soupis památek historických a uměleckých v politickém okresu Roudnickém*, Vol. I. Praha 1898, p. 134.

³⁰⁶ Maťa, *Svět české aristokracie*, pp. 108-110; Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp.107-110.

Vlachovo Březí in southwest Bohemia, which in 1685 was expanded to include Miloňovice.³⁰⁷

Dietrichstein's building program, however, was widespread, as evidenced by the purchased of two adjacent houses at Hradčany which he intended to unified in a unique façade. At the end the project remained on paper and the reconstruction of the complex was not carried out.³⁰⁸

His investments was not confined to the purchase of estates. At the latest in 1682 Gundakar launched a radical reconstruction of his newly-bought properties.

Even though courtly duties forced Gundakar to reside most of the time in Vienna, he showed the interest in rebuilding and decorating the Castle in Libochovice which was appointed the centre of Gundakar's domain in the Czech Lands.

Since 1648, the Castle of Libochovice was possessed by Václav Vojtěch Sternberg, but in 1661 a large fire burned it down.³⁰⁹ The restoration was expensive, therefore in 1676 Václav Vojtěch Sternberg decided to sell the Castle which was bought by Gundakar Dietrichstein.

Gundakar commissioned to the Italian architect Antonio Porta, at that time occupied in the rebuilding of the Roudnice nad Labem Castle belonged to the Lobkowitz family, the reconstruction of the Castle. The contract was signed in Vienna on 13 December 1682 by the architect.³¹⁰

The original Libochovice Castle was almost completely devastated by the fire. The few rests were demolished so that the exact layout of the older building is not known, but apparently it was a rectangular building which enclosed a rectangular courtyard.

To a large extent, the Baroque Castle respected the basic ground plan of the older building and was partly re-erected at the place of its former walls.³¹¹

In 1685 the whole building was already well advanced, the new staircase was built and the chapel's roof was filled with the last shingles.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ On the history of Libochovice Castle during the former centuries see: E. Fiala, *Schloss Libochowitz*, in Státní oblastní archiv Litoměřice (from now on quoted SOA Litoměřice), Fond Žitenica, Libochovice, Kart. 456/I. J. Weiss, "Statni zamek Libochovice", in Z. Fiala (ed.), *Hrady, zamky a tvrze v Čechach, na Morave a ve Slezsku. Severni Čechy*, 3, 1984, p. 277; Mádl, *Tencalla*, II, pp. 555-557.

³¹⁰ SOA Litoměřice, Kart. 96/2.

³¹¹ Fiala, *Schloss Libochowitz*, pp. 19-21; Weiss, *Státní Zámek Libochovic*, p. 277; Mádl, *Tencalla*, II, pp. 555-557.

In 1687, the Prague painter Jan Zikmund Kordel (also mentioned as Cordell, Crodell, Crodeli around 1630- 1713) is documented as the author of the paintings in the chapel. He was paid 150 zl. for the frescoes on the vault of the ceiling and 60 zl. for the frescoes in the oratory.³¹²

For the interior decoration of the Castle, the painters Giacomo Tencalla and Giuseppe Muttoni were entrusted to paint the frescoes in the hall and rooms of the first floor, for which they were paid 1850 zl.³¹³ Domenico Gaggi was hired with the stucco decorations.³¹⁴

On 12 June 1688, after the completion of a large part of the fresco decorations on the *piano nobile*, Giacomo Tencalla and Giuseppe Muttoni started to decorate the *sala terrena*, where it was applied a rustic mosaic of sand, pebbles and seashells.

On 5 January 1689 the sculptor Jan Brokof was paid 108 zl. for the sculptural decoration representing Saturn which had to decorate the fireplace in the hall.³¹⁵

On 25 January 1690 Gundakar Dietrichstein died. According to the testament he wrote on 21 January 1690 the whole Fideicommissum was inherited by his distant kinsman Ferdinand Dietrichstein (1636-1698) from the Mikulov branch of the family.

Ferdinand took over the Libochovice estate in April of the same year. Building restoration and furnishing of the Castle continued under the new patron but in the spirit of Gundakar's original intentions.³¹⁶

In March 1690 an inventory of Gundakar's property was drawn up, implying that the walls of most of the rooms were decorated with tapestries, some of them with motives of large figures and floral frames. The tapestries mentioned as "*Spalieren*" and repeatedly

³¹² The original decoration of the chapel unfortunately was lost during the reconstructions performed around 1872. SOA Litoměřice, Kart. 456/1, Fiala, *Schloss Libochowitz*, p. 21, Mádl, *Tencalla*, II, p. 559, note 20-21.

³¹³ SOA Litoměřice, Kart. 723, year 1684; Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 76-78, II, 555-558; J. Zapletalová, "Jacobus Tencalla filius Joannis de Bissone" the origin and the life of the painter Giacomo Tencalla", *Umění*, 56/1, 2008, pp. 65-76; M. Mádl, "Giacomo Tencalla and Ceiling Painting in 17th-Century Bohemia and Moravia", *Umění*, 56/1, 2009, p. 62, note 56.

³¹⁴ Domenico Gaggi came from Bissone and cooperate in the mid-seventies of the 17th century with the painter Tencalla already in Svatý Kopeček u Olomouce and Mírov. Cfr. Mádl, *Tencalla*, II, p. 560.

³¹⁵ SOA Litoměřice, fond Velkostatek Libochovice, spisová manipulace, stavební zaležitosti, kart. 456/1, karten 727, year 1689; Mádl, *Tencalla*, II, p. 561.

³¹⁶ From the letter which Christian Schröder wrote to Ferdinand Prince of Dietrichstein on 16 January 1692, it is obvious that the commission for Libochovice was for 43 paintings. SOA Litomeřice, fond Velkostatek Libochovice, kart. 22, II. F. 1, year 1692.

described in old inventories as precious (“*kostbahre*”), were exposed in groups of six, seven, eight, nine or even ten. In the inventory of March 1690 there are fifty-three tapestries mentioned, in June 1690 they are sixty-nine; in 1693 the Castle was furnished with seventy-one “*Spalieren*”, in 1700 the number was much lower, only twenty-five are listed, while in the inventory of 1759 the number rises again to sixty-one.³¹⁷

The interior decoration was not limited to the tapestries even though it seems that they covered the most part of the rooms’ walls. Gundakar Dietrichstein provided a series of paintings that he commissioned to Christian Schröder, at that time court painter and keeper of the gallery in Prague.³¹⁸

Already in 1689, Schröder was ordered to paint forty-two copies after original paintings located at Prague Castle picture gallery. At the end of 1689, the carved frames for Schröder’s copies were ordered to Jan Brokof.³¹⁹

In the first half of 1690 the first part of the commission was completed: twenty-eight paintings were finished and Schröder was paid 672 fl. All the copies were painted in Prague and transported to Libochovice.

After Gundakar’s death, on 17 June 1690, the commission was confirmed to Schröder by Ferdinand Dietrichstein. There were forty-two copies for which the painter should be paid 1,008 zl. (24 zl. for each image) to which was added a painting for the princely room (also paid 24 zl.). Schröder was paid 215 zl. for gilding the frames carved by Brokof and one more frame of a Prague sculptor for 6 zl. The painter’s retribution was in total 1253 zl. Schröder added the remaining paintings after 20 June 1691.

³¹⁷ In all the inventories the expression “*Spalieren*” is used, but the description is not precise enough to inform us if they were woven tapestries or more simple pieces of linen with painted scenes. The most detailed, though not exact descriptions, are to be found in the inventory from March 1690: “*Auf Leimath eingestreyte Vndt gemahlte mit großen Figuren, herumb aber mit Blumen gewundenen Seylen Spalier*”; “*Solche eingestreyte und gemahlte Spalier mir dergleichen Vergulden Leisl herumb*“. In 1693 “*Spalieren*” are mentioned as “*kostbahre /../ auf der Wandt hangendt, sambt der darüber hangenden Leinwand*”. Pieces of textile hanged over the “*Spalieren*” protecting them against dust. More about the tapestries in M. Ciglencíki, “A set of verdure tapestries in Ptuj”, in J. Kroupa, M. Šeferisová Loudová and L. Konečný (eds.), *Orbius atrium. K jubilee Lubomíra Slavička*, Brno 2009, pp. 721–735.

³¹⁸ It is important to mention that Prague Castle picture gallery was administrated by the Imperial Treasury Minister and its keeper was an official of the same Minister. At that time Gundakar Dietrichstein was the Imperial Treasurer while Schröder was the keeper of the Prague Castle picture gallery. Dietrichstein knew Schröder due to the posts they both occupied.

³¹⁹ Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 355-363.

Even though most of the paintings are in rather bad state as some of them were restored for several times while all of them were overpainted very roughly, a careful examination of the whole series of copies for Libochovice Castle does not give an impression of a stylistic unit and a constant quality.

In the report about the history of Libochovice Castle, Eduard Fiala mentioned that Schröder did not work alone. His assistants were Johann Michael Wagner, the apprentice Franz Helmich and the servant Daniel Zelenka. They did not have any role in the realization of the copies, but they helped in the preparation of the materials and pigments and in the final gilding of the frames.³²⁰

The stylistic differences which are visible in the Libochovice copies have to be attributed to the help of the pupils who attended Schröder's teachings while he was keeper of the Prague Castle picture gallery. They had free access to the Castle's collections where the teacher took them to study -which basically meant copy- the paintings.

In order to finish the commission (in two years the painter had to complete forty-three copies), Schröder had certainly to turn to helpers and assistants. He took advantage of the abilities of his own pupils, who did not realize entirely any of the copies, but rather painted some parts of them. That would explain the reason why in some cases the quality vary in different parts of the same copy.

The series of copies is now divided between Czech Republic and Slovenia; twenty-two canvases are still preserved in Libochovice Castle, seventeen were moved to Ptuj Castle, four copies are lost.³²¹

In 1858 Prince Joseph Franz Dietrichstein (1798-1858), the owner of Libochovice and other Dietrichstein estates, including Ptuj Castle in Slovenia, died. He was the last male of the Mikulov/Nikolsburg branch of the family and -as his four daughters were not legitimate heirs of the Fideicommissum- the Ptuj estate was placed under the custody of the Court.³²² After a long procedure Ptuj Castle was sold at an auction in 1873 and

³²⁰ Fiala, *Schloss Libochowitz*, p. 21.

³²¹ There is no evidence how the paintings for the transport from Libochovice to Ptuj were chosen. As they are in worse state as those in Libochovice, we can presume that the purpose was not to interfere into the actual furnishing of the Czech Castle, but to find the peaces not hanged on the walls, which were perhaps stored in a deposit. There is actually no obvious content or anything similar to a deliberate program to be recognised in the list of the paintings in Ptuj. More about Ptuj Castle in A. Brence, *Museum collections at the Ptuj castle*, Ptuj 2007, (without numeration). For the paintings in Ptuj Castle: Ciglencečki, *Malby Kristiana Schrödera*, pp. 77–79; Ciglencečki, *Slike iz Libochovic*, pp. 87–105.

³²² Ciglencečki, *Slike iz Libochovic*, pp. 87–105; Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 341-348.

Maria Theresia Countess of Herberstein (1822–1895), Joseph Franz Dietrichstein's eldest daughter, who was married to Johann Friedrich Herberstein (1810–1861) and at the time already a widow, bought the estate. Ptuj Castle was abandoned after years of neglecting, so the Countess began with renovations which were finished by her son Johann Joseph Count of Herberstein (1854–1944) in 1912.³²³ Not only renovation but also furnishing of the Castle took place at the beginning of the 20th century. Only few works of art were preserved in the Castle from previous times, so Johann Joseph Herberstein transported to Ptuj furniture and paintings from other castles in his possession: Hrastovec/Gutenhaag, Vurberg/Wurmberg (both in close vicinity of Ptuj) and from Libochovice.³²⁴ A research on the provenance of the works of art in Ptuj Castle demonstrated that seventeen paintings were originally part of the series of copies commissioned by Gundakar Dietrichstein for Libochovice Castle.³²⁵

³²³ Brence, *Museum collections at the Ptuj Castle*, (without numeration).

³²⁴ The objects from Hrastovec and Vurberg are marked with small paper labels with some information about the provenance or were inscriptions in chalk made directly on the object; in certain cases the inscriptions were unfortunately lost. The objects from Libochovice have never been marked in such a way, but there are numbers painted on the backside of the canvas of the paintings, which might correspond to some not yet defined inventory. These numbers seem to be much younger as the paintings.

³²⁵ At least three other paintings today located at Ptuj Castle are from Libochovice Castle: *The plague in the town of Azot*, copy after Nicolas Poussin, *The martyrdom of St. Andrew*, copy after Domenichino and presumably also a *Portrait of the Emperor Rudolf II*, copy after Joseph Haintz the Elder, but they are not to be attributed to Christian Schröder.



Image 26 Johann Thomas, *Equestrian portrait of Gundakar Dietrichstein*, oil on canvas, 1667, 56 × 46 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



Image 27 Johann Thomas, *Equestrian portrait of Leopold I*, oil on canvas, 1667, 56 × 46 cm, Private collection, Izabela Radziwill, Warsaw



Image 28 Adriaen van Blommen (?), *Portrait of Gundakar Dietrichstein*, oil on canvas, before 1672, Libochovice Castle



Image 29 Cornelis Meyskens, *Gundakar Dietrichstein*, engraving, inscription on the bottom: “*Gundackero Conte di Dietrichstain Barone di Hollenburg, Finckenstain, e Thalberg, Coppiere Hereditario in Carinthis, Cameriere, Cons.re di Stato e Cavallerizzo Maggiore di S.M.ta, Ces.a, &c.*” “*A. Bloem, deli. Cor. Meylsens, fe, Vienna.*”, Fürstlich Waldeckschen Hofbibliothek Arolsen, Klebebände (Band 2) before 1672



Image 30 Adriaen van Blommen (?), *Portrait of Gundakar Dietrichstein*, detail, oil on canvas, before 1672, Libochovice Castle



Image 31 Adriaen van Bloemen, *Portrait of Maria Graswinckel*, oil on canvas, 1674, 125 x 115 cm, signed “Van Bloemen”, private collection



Image 32 Adriaen van Bloemen, *Portrait of Cornelis van der Goes*, oil on canvas, 1674, 125 x 115 cm, signed “Van Bloemen”, private collection

5.1. Display of the copies in Libochovice Castle

According to the two oldest inventories of Libochovice Castle dated 1693 and 1700,³²⁶ Schröder's copies and the portrait of Gundakar Dietrichstein (and likely its counterpart, the portrait of his second wife today lost) were the only paintings in the Castle, while the main decoration in the rooms and halls were the tapestries. Consequently, the tapestries covered the majority of the walls.

According to the inventory dated 1693, there were forty-four paintings described as "*Bildter in Vergoldten Rahmen*"³²⁷ (pictures in gilding frames) and arranged in the rooms in groups of two or three; only in the chapel there were four paintings. In some cases we are acknowledged that Schröder's copies were hanged over the doors: "*Bildter Vber den Thüren mit Verguldt Rahmen*". There are three such inscriptions in the year 1693 and six in the year 1700. Nevertheless, in some rooms the number of doors and the listed copies are not equal, meaning that not all the paintings were hung over the doors. In some rooms the copies might have occupied a space in the wall, probably covering part of the tapestries.

The appearance of 17th and 18th centuries interiors and the display of art collections in Central Europe have been preserved in visual representation by paintings, drawings, graphic reproductions and painted-inventories made by artists under commission of the picture galleries's owners. Probably, one of the most famous example of this kind is the *Theatrum pictorum* by David Teniers the Younger of 1660³²⁸ (Image 33) that records in engravings the paintings which were part of the picture gallery belonged to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (Image 34).³²⁹ This publication became popular among the Central European collectors, who inspired by it, also started to have individual paintings from

³²⁶ The inventories are preserved in SOA Litomeřice, Velkostatek Libochovice, kart. 57.

³²⁷ Beside forty-three paintings after famous painters, the portrait of Gundakar Dietrichstein, now in the Saturn Hall, was described. Later forty-five paintings are mentioned; there is another frame in the deposit of Libochovice Castle, similar to the one which decorates the portrait of Gundakar Dietrichstein, but the painting is lost. Cfr.: Matějka, *Soupis památek*, p. 134.

³²⁸ David Teniers the Younger, *Theatrum pictorum*, engraving, 1660, British Museum, London, inv. Nr. 1850, 0713.20

³²⁹ M. Klinge, *David Tenter the Younger. Paintings, Drawings*. Antwerp 1991, pp. 278- 297, cat. nr. 96-108; G. Galavics, "Netherlandish Baroque Painters and Graphic Artists in 17th-century Central Europe", in G. Galavics, M. Mojzer and K. Garas (eds.), *Baroque Art in Central Europe. Crossroads*, Budapest 1993, pp. 90-92.

their collection or even the whole collection printed. Immediately after the publication of Teniers's work, in 1664 Jan van Ossenbeck created similar engravings, which were the reproductions of selected paintings from the Viennese collection of the *Hofquartiermeister* Johann Kunibert von Wenzelsberg.³³⁰

An other source of this kind are the inventories made by drawings or graphics which reproduce the contents of a picture gallery.

The edition of the engravings after the paintings of the Imperial collection at the Stallburg gallery called *Theatrum artis pictoriae*, was started by the painters Frans van Stampart and Anton Joseph von Prenner (Image 35). Its first volume appeared in 1727, but the whole edition remained unfinished due to insufficient response of the public. Eight years later the same authors took part in the realization of the publication *Prodromus* (Image 36), which reproduces not only the contents but also the way of displaying of the paintings of the Imperial gallery in Vienna Stallburg.³³¹

Also in Baroque Bohemia we can find among the aristocratic collectors the tendencies to make similar documentation. The first known and preserved inventory of this type is the *Imagines Galeriae*³³² (Image 37), which had been produced since 1668 on commission of Humprecht Jan Černín by his court painters Jan la Fresnoy, Jakub van der Heyden, Folpertus of Alten-Allen and Jasper de Payn. The inventory is divided into three volumes, which in folio contain about 750 drawings, after paintings which were part of the Černín collection.³³³

Other examples are the so called *Gemälde Galerien*, the creation of which used to be the domain of the Antwerp painters led by David Teniers the Younger,³³⁴ or the one preserved at the National Gallery in Prague by a less known painter, Anton Franz Hampisch (Image 38), recorded in Prague between 1732 and 1768. Some of the

³³⁰ T. von Frimmel, *Geschichte der Wiener Gemalldesammlungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1899, p. 6; Slaviček, *Artis pictoriae amatores*, pp. 49-50, cat. Nr. 1/1-16; Galavics, *Netherlandish Baroque Painters*, p. 92. On Johann Kunibert von Wenzelsberg: A. Breitenbacher, *Dějiny arcibiskupské obrazárny v Kroměříži: archivní studie*, Kroměříž 1925, pp. 23, 44-52, 62

³³¹ L. Slaviček, "Visual Documentation of Aristocratical Collections in Baroque Bohemia", *Opuscula Historiae Artium*, 1996, pp. 75-100.

³³² Jan la Fresnoy, Jakub van der Heyden, Folpertus of Alten-Allen and Jasper de Payn, *Imagines Galeriae*, National Library, Prague, Inv. Nr. XXIII A, B.

³³³ Kalista, *Humprecht Jan Černín*, pp. 64-68; Slaviček, *Sobě, umění, přátelům*, pp. 44-45

³³⁴ J. Müller Hofstede and H. W. J. Vekeman, *Wort und Bild in der niederländischen Kunst und Literatur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Erfstadt 1984, pp. 243-289; Slaviček, *Visual Documentation*, pp. 75-100.

paintings hanging on the walls of the picture gallery reproduced by Hampisch prove that the collection must have been created in the 2nd third of the 18th century. The portrait of the man in a fur cap with the gesture of counting on his fingers, which hangs on the left narrow wall, has been identified with the selfportrait of Petr Brandl which was painted around 1725. Other paintings can be safely identified as belonging to the picture gallery of Counts Kolovrat of Liebstein, which was removed in the 1730s from the Prague Palace to be placed in Rychnov nad Kněžnou Chateau, in East Bohemia. Anton Franz Hampisch was familiar with the Kolovrat pictures gallery because in 1727 he and two other painters wrote its inventory and the financial evaluation of the collection.³³⁵

One of the specialists of painted picture galleries in Bohemia was Johann Michael Bretschneider, a still life painter active on the turn of the 17th century in his native town Ústí nad Labem and later in Prague and Vienna. Four signed paintings by Bretschneider of this genre has been preserved: two versions in Bamberg, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen one in Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Inv.-Nr. 17724) (Image 39) and an other one in Jaroměřice nad Rokytinou, Moravia, collection of the State Castle.³³⁶

Approximately at the same time as Bretschneider, Jan Onghers came to the Czech Lands from Mechlin. He is the author of the painting depicting the *Concert in the Picture Gallery* (Image 40) (Dresden, Staatliche Sammlungen-Galerie Alte Meister), which is the counterpart of the painting with similar composition by Johann Heinrich Schönfeld³³⁷ (Image 41), which was painted in the 1660s for his friend and patron, the Mayor of Augsburg Marx Anton Jenisch.

Bretschneider's *Concert*, together with its pendant by Johann Heinrich Schönfeld found its way to the collection of Count Felix Vršovec (1654-1720).³³⁸

³³⁵ Slaviček, *Artis pictoriae amatores*, pp. 128-129, cat nr. III/3-4; on the history of the Kolovrat picture gallery see E. Weiss, *Barokní obrazárna v kolowratském zámku v Rychnovi nad Kněžnou*, Praha 1953-1955, unpublished; V. Novotný, "Obrazárna zámku v Rychnově nad Kněžnou", *Umění*, 35, 1942, pp. 9-32; O. J. Blažiček, *Rychnovská zámecká obrazárna*, Praha 1956, pp. 38-42.

³³⁶ M. Šroněk, "Jan Michael Bretschneider (1656-1727)", *Umění*, 32, 1984, pp. 56-63; Slaviček, *Artis pictoriae amatores*, pp. 125-127, cat. nr. III/3-2

³³⁷ H. Pee, *Johann Heinrich Schönfeld. Die Gemälde*, Berlin 1971, pp. 183-184, cat Nr. 117, pp. 273-274, cat. Nr. AB 16

³³⁸ K. Woermann, *Bilder aus der Prager Sammlung Wrschowetz in der Dresdner Galerie. Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, X, 1887, pp. 153-159; Th. von Frimmel, *Gemalte Galerien*, Berlin 1896; pp. 257-267; Slaviček, *Visual Documentation*, pp. 75-100; L. Machytka, "Zum Verkauf Waldsteinischer Bilder nach

The visual examples give back the image of an ambient defined as “*Galleria*”, a long corridor usually open on one side by windows. The space was specially dedicated to the exhibition of the art collection where the paintings were stuck symmetrically so as to cover the walls from the ceiling to the floor.

In Libochovice Castle there was no gallery or similar space dedicated only to the display of Schröder’s copies which were instead scattered in the various rooms of the Castle. Unfortunately we do not have enough information about the furnishing of the other estates owned by Gundakar Dietrichstein. After his death, all the properties passed to the Herberstein family while the majority of Dietrichstein’s Bohemian estates gradually fall into a state of neglect.³³⁹

Likely, Dietrichstein owned a collection of paintings exhibited in a picture gallery according to the fashion of the Baroque period in one of his possessions in Lower Austria where he spent most of the time, but, although the Herberstein’s inventories are preserved, discerning what once belonged to Gundakar Dietrichstein is no longer possible due to lack of precise descriptions.³⁴⁰

Dresden im Jahre 1741”, *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden*, 1986, pp. 67-73; Z. Hojda, “Několik poznámek k budování šlechtických obrazáren v barokní Praze”, *Documenta Pragensia*, 9, 1991, pp. 257-267

³³⁹ On Gundakar Dietrichstein’s properties see the previous chapter.

³⁴⁰ The documentation and the contents of the Herberstein archive is transcribed in F.W. Kosch, “Das Herberstein-Archiv”, in *Mitteilungen des Steiermärkischen Landesarchivs*, 22, 1972, pp. 37-43.



Image 33 David Teniers the Younger, *Theatrum pictorum*, engraving, 1660, British Museum, London



Image 34 David Teniers the Younger, *Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in his gallery in Brussels*, ca. 1651
 Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna



Image 35 Anton Joseph von Prenner, *Theatrum artis pictoriae*, engraving, 1728–1733, Wien, Grundriss und Porträts der ausführenden Künstler (Privatsammlung)

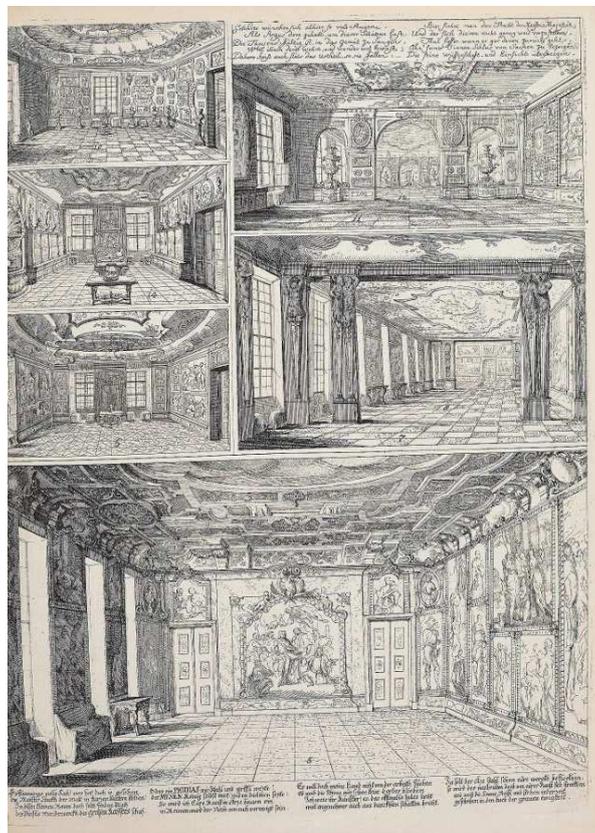


Image 36 Anton Joseph von Prenner, *Einblick in die Stallburggalerie*, engraving, 1735, in: Anton Joseph von Prenner, *Prodromus*, Vienna (Privatsammlung)

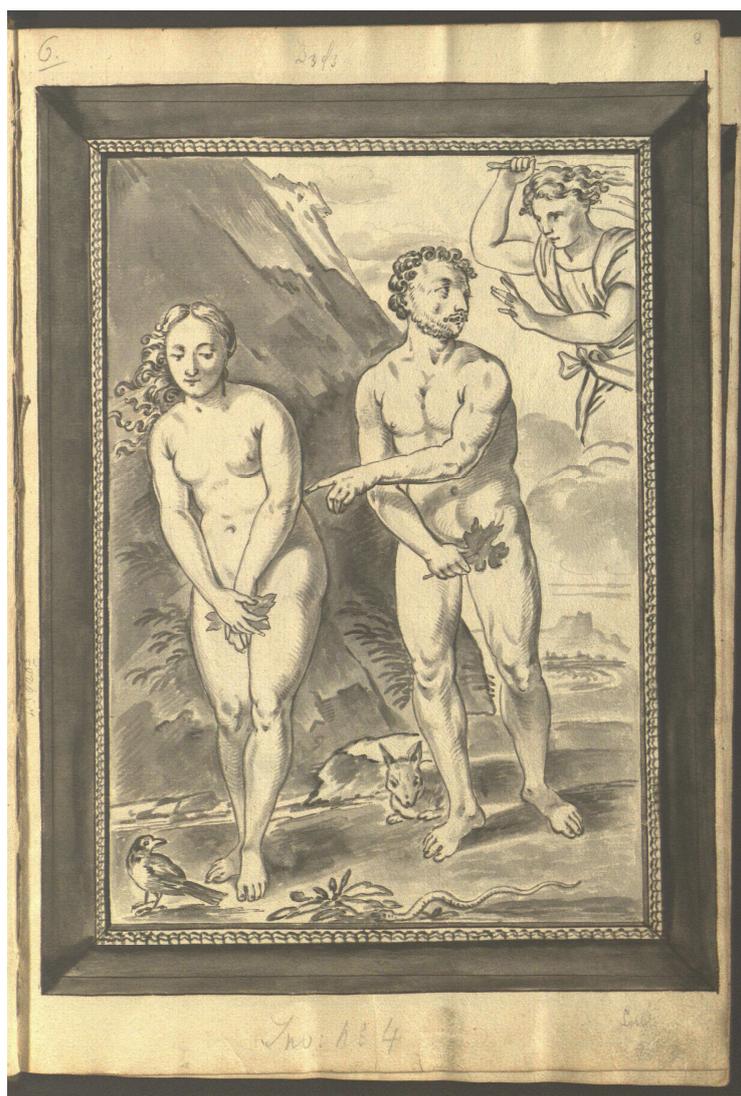


Image 37 Jan la Fresnoy, *Copy of Adam and Eve after Johann Carl Loth*, in: *Imagines Galeriae*, National Library, Prague, Inv. Nr. XXIII B 323



Image 38 Anton Franz Hampisch, *Gemälde Galerien*, oil on canvas, 80 x 101 cm, National Gallery, Prague



Image 39 Johann Michael Bretschneider, *Picture Gallery*, oil on canvas, 1702, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg



Image 40 Jan Onghers, *Concert in the Picture Gallery*, , oil on canvas, 1660s, 124 × 93 cm Staatliche Sammlungen-Galerie Alte Meister, Dresden



Image 41 Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, *Musicians playing the spinet*, oil on canvas, 1660s, 124 × 93 cm, Staatliche Sammlungen-Galerie Alte Meister, Dresden

5. 2. An Iconographic program behind the series of copies?

In the early 20th century, the architect Eduard Fiala³⁴¹ engaged by Count Johann Josef of Herberstein, made a comment about three copies after Bassano representing the *Seasons (Spring, Summer and Autumn. Winter* was likely part of the series but it went lost) in the Saturn Hall at Libochovice Castle. His opinion was that the paintings were symbolically connected with the figure of Saturn represented in the sculpture realized by Brokof at the fireplace of the Saturn Hall. Nevertheless the three copies after Bassano, were not mentioned in the description of the Hall in the inventory of 1693. Fiala's suggestion on the original iconographic content of the Saturn Hall was not correct as there were neither paintings nor tapestries decorating the walls of the Hall at the end of the 17th century.

No Iconographic program seems to be hidden under to choice of the subjects copied by Schröder, nor even a key for grouping the copies in the rooms of Libochovice Castle. The paintings to be copied were chosen by the "schatzkammer" of the Prague Castle collection, František Leux von Luxestein, after consultation with Prince Dietrichstein.³⁴²

The copies were inserted into wooden carved frames originally all gilded realized by Jan Brokof and his workshop. The frames have a double decorative level, one with acanthus leaves and the other with laurel leaves. They can be divided into eight different types that mainly vary in the leaves' largeness and in the way they are curled (from inside to the outside and *vice versa*). The differences have to be addressed to the desire to vary the frames and to the presence of more helpers who worked to the series of frames together with Brokof, as well as to the fact that they were realized in different moments. The frames were combined to the paintings without any particular connection. All the frames were produced with roughly the same squared dimension. The height of the copies vary from 144 cm to 170,5 cm, while the width from 131 cm to 178,5 cm. The almost squared format of the series can be explained by the fact that some copies were designed as "supraporta" and by the facility and rapidity which the standard measures would have bring to the installation of the canvases into the frames. The copy of *The Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew* after Mattia Preti (182x160 cm) (Cat. Nr. XXII) is the only painting of the series which differs from the squared format,

³⁴¹ Fiala, *Schloss Libochowitz*, p. 21, Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, p. 62, note 56.

³⁴² Rousová, *Petr Brandl*, p. 31.

leading to the hypothesis that it was not originally part of the series, but it was painted before for other purposes by Schröder and later assembled to the Libochovice series.³⁴³

The copy was folded in the upper part in order to fit into Brokof's frame.

The original paintings from the Prague collection differ in measures from the format imposed to the copies, so that Schröder had to adapt or modify the original composition to the almost squared format designed of the Libochovice copies.³⁴⁴ In some cases Schröder's copy is so similar to the original that only by tracing a contour line on the image he could achieved such a similarity in the composition.

Among the subjects of the copies there is a strong prevalence of religious themes. The subjects were chosen in order to create a sort of itinerary through the main episodes of the Bible, from the Old Testament to the New Testament.

The subjects from the Old Testament are the copies after Veronese and the workshop, *Hagar and Ishmael*, *Rebecca at the well*, *Susanna and the elders*, copies after Francesco Bassano, *The Miracle from the Source of Marah* and *Moses strikes water from the rock*, after Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, *Gideon rallies the troops* and *Jacob meets Esau* and the copy after Giovan Battista Spinelli, *David plays the harp before Saul*.

The subjects from the New Testament are the copies after Bassano's workshop, *The meeting at the Golden Gate*, Pieter Paul Rubens, *Annunciation*, Bassano's workshop, *Announcement to the shepherds*, Paolo Veronese, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, Bassano's workshop, *Adoration of the Magi*, Veronese and workshop, *Christ and the centurion*, El Greco, *Jesus drove the merchants from the temple*, Veronese and workshop, *Christ and the Samaritan*, Veronese and workshop, *Christ and the adulteress*, Domenico Fetti, *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, Jacopo Tintoretto, *Flagellation of Christ*, Fra' Semplice da Verona, *Pietas*, Titian, *Supper in Emmaus*, Unknown, *The Risen Christ appears to the Virgin Mary*, Mattia Preti, *The Doubting Thomas*, Simon Vouet, *Martha reproaching her sister Mary Magdalene* and Orazio Gentileschi, *Mary Magdalene*.

³⁴³ The painting is believed not to be a work by Schröder, but rather a replica by Mattia Preti himself, or an original by Petr Brandl. More on the topic in cat. Nr. XXII dedicated to the copy.

³⁴⁴ In particular the copies after Veronese and the workshop have different format in comparison to the originals. Schröder had to adapt the compositions by squeezing or enlarging the scene, sometimes deleting figures or adding space between them. See cat. Nr. III.

Among the religious subjects, Schröder's copy after Bernardo Strozzi, *The Sermon of John the Baptist*, donated to the Cathedral of St. Stephan in Litoměřice in 1844, could have been part of the Libochovice series.

Other four subjects are Saints: the copies after Palma the Elder, *Madonna with the infant Jesus and Saints*, Antiveduto della Grammatica, *St. Cecilia*, Mattia Preti, *The Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew* and Guido Reni, *St. Jerome*.

The genre scenes appear six times with the copies after Gerrit von Honthorst *The Dentist*, Bartolomeo Manfredi *The Fortune teller* and *The Guard's room*, Francesco Bassano *The Summer, Autumn and Spring*. Likely also *The Winter* was part of the series, but it went lost.

The copies after Van Dyck, *The Charity* and the copy after Andrea Sacchi, *The Divine Wisdom* which was later added to the original Gundakar's commission by Ferdinand Dietrichstein for the princely room, conclude the series.

There seems to be no connection between the chosen subjects of Schröder's copies and the ceiling decoration in Libochovice Castle.

The ceiling paintings were realized by Giacomo Tencalla and Giuseppe Muttoni as faithful imitations of scenes which adorned the rooms of several aristocratic residences in Austria and in the Czech Lands.³⁴⁵

The original decoration of the ceiling painting is survived only in nine of the sixteen representative rooms of the *piano nobile*. In the Saturn Hall, in some of the princely rooms and in the dining room, the Baroque ceilings with the original stucco and painted decorations disappeared during the 19th century.

The entire program of decoration is not known. We are informed about the theme of the paintings in the Saturn Hall only through the laconic references of Johann Gottfried Sommer in his topographical work dated 1833.³⁴⁶

The painting on the ceiling featured an allegorical celebration of the promotion of Gundakar Dietrichstein to the title of Prince. Nothing more is known about this allegory, which apparently formed the starting point of the entire program.

The preserved ceiling paintings in the three rooms of the north wing, which apparently belonged to the Prince's apartment, represent the personifications of *Prudence, Justice, Strength* and *Moderation*. The illustration of the four cardinal virtues in Libochovice Castle can be explained in relation to the desire to decorate the main hall as a reminder

³⁴⁵ Mádl, *Tencalla*, II, pp. 555-573.

³⁴⁶ J. G. Sommer, *Das Königreich Böhmen: Bd. Leitmeritzer Kreis*, Vol. I, Praha 1833, pp. 41-47.

of conventional ethical qualities that should be a condition for obtaining an appropriate noble dignity and admission to the corresponding princely rank.

In the first room, the theme of *Prudence* is accompanied by the allegories of *Wealth* and *Abundance*, which can be achieved precisely thanks to this virtue, while without its guide *Poverty* and *Famine* are the consequences (the opposite allegories).

In the second room, four images are associated with the allegory of *Justice*, namely the *Nobility*, *Reign*, *Diligence* and *Wisdom*. All the allegories represent a pair of boys, perhaps to be related to the personal qualities of the two male representatives of the Dietrichstein genus, Prince Gundakar and Ferdinand Dietrichstein.

In the third room, the personifications of the four continents (Europe, Asia, Africa and America), appears alongside with the allegory of *Strength* and *Moderation*, referring to the virtues that Gundakar Dietrichstein acquired after having achieved the title of Prince.

In the opposite apartment, which was likely designed for the Princess, the preserved ceiling paintings present mythological scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphosis*: *Apollo and Coronis*, *Jupiter and Diana*, *Pluto and Proserpina*, *Aenea's apotheosis*, *Diana's Bath* and two scenes with *Dancing Putti* and *Apollo and Amoretti*.

In the rest of the rooms, in the cabinet, in the chapel and in the oratory, the ceiling decoration is not preserved.

6. On the copy: value and function in the collections belonging to the nobility in Bohemian Kingdom

At this point it is necessary to turn the attention to the different kinds of creative appropriation including copies, imitations and emulations.³⁴⁷

A central argument here is that copying and forgery must be distinguished from imitation and emulation.

The copy was a fundamental practice in the art world since at least the Antiquities and, despite having favored fraudulent fabrications (the real art forgery), it is not to be confused with them.

The creation of a faithful and direct copy was considered to be highly instructive as a pedagogical instrument, a way of adopting a master's style, or to replace an important original work of art.

First of all, the art education imparted to the young painters was based on copying their master's works. Copies and replicas -which, unlike the copy, is realized by the author himself- were always present in the workshop for educational purposes, but they also entered into the art market, often creating confusion and ambiguity in the attributions.

In the Renaissance, copy assumed a new orientation following the theories on the imitation of the nature. From that period, duality ends up counting more than authenticity. The term *authenticity* here is used in the sense defined by Walter Benjamin, to indicate the perceived uniqueness of the original work of art.³⁴⁸ This concept was first articulated in what quickly became a central and staple issue of the subject: the distinction between copies and originals.

The demand for authenticity in works of art is obvious from at least the early 16th century. This demand was soon translated into the skills of attribution and the detection of copies was grouped under the heading of connoisseurship.

³⁴⁷ On the subject see in particular: Chamoux, *Copies, répliques, faux*, pp. 5-31; K. Preciado, "Retaining the Original Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions", *Studies in the History of Art*, 20, 1989, pp. 97-100; F. Benhamou, *Is There a Market for Copies?*, Paris 1999.

³⁴⁸ W. Benjamin, "L'œuvre d'art à l'ère de sa reproductibilité technique", in W. Benjamin, *Oeuvres*, Vol. 2, Paris 1971. M. Muller, "Measures of authenticity, the detection of copies in the early literature on connoisseurship", *Studies in the History of Art*, 20, 1989, pp. 141-149.

Giulio Mancini was the first to discuss the problem of copies in painting. In his *Considerazioni* (ca. 1620),³⁴⁹ Mancini cautions buyers that it is most important to determine whether a painting is an original or a copy. This distinction can be done by looking for the “boldness” (“*franchezza*”) of the painter’s touch. Mancini focuses the attention on the elements of the painting that allow a fluid and spontaneous handling of the brush. The slavish repetition of a model -be it an object of nature or a work of art- inhibits the free use of the brush leading to believe that the painting is rather a copy.³⁵⁰

Marco Boschini wrote in 1674 that if copies are truly deceptive, then “*they are laudable deceptions and worthy of envy*”.³⁵¹ As an example he pointed to Giovanni Battista Zampezzi who “*when it comes to transforming himself into Bassano, surpasses all others, so that his copies appear to be the twins of the originals, and this is the most difficult style to imitate because it is executed with so bold a touch*”.³⁵² Freedom of handling, which had been perceived as the most reliable mark of authenticity, was now a sign of the copyist’s virtuosity.

Filippo Baldinucci, in his already mentioned letter of 1681, was the first to develop the idea that copies come in different grades of quality, alerting connoisseurs to the variety of good copies they might encounter.³⁵³

As for forgeries, in particular in 16th and 17th centuries when existing originals were not enough to satisfy the demand of the extended art market, the copy rather assumed a commercial use and many forgeries came into existence.³⁵⁴

On the other hand, solutions to problems of pictorial composition could be understood not only by absorbing the accomplishments of past artists, but also necessarily improving upon them -in short- imitation and emulation in 17th century were means of creating a new *maniera* of painting.³⁵⁵

³⁴⁹ Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, p. 134

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Boschini, *Le ricche minere*, p. 3

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ G. G. Bottari and S. Ticozzi, *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura scritte da' più celebri personaggi dei secoli XV, XVI, e XVII*, Roma 1822-25, pp. 506-507, 526-527; M. Muller, *Measures of authenticity*, pp. 141-149

³⁵⁴ On forgeries in general see in particular: D. Dutton, *The Forger's Art. Forgery and the Philosophy of Art*, Berkeley 1983.

³⁵⁵ On the definition of the different types of appropriation see A. Bubenik, *Reframing Albrecht Dürer: The Appropriation of Art, 1528-1700 (Visual Culture in Early Modernity)*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2013, pp. 75-84.

A significant point to be made is that many of these imitative works themselves often occupied important positions within 17th-century collections and they arose due to a range of diverse motivations.

Nevertheless, placing works of art into categories such as forgery, pedagogy, imitation, emulation and copy is a difficult task, especially given that the boundaries between these categories were not rigidly defined in the period under scrutiny.

One could define *forgery* by an intention to deceive, often for financial gain.

Imitation is a mode of production, usually resulting in a more or less exact copy, in which the source is acknowledged. In relation to the expansion of the art market and the consequent growth of the demand, imitation extends itself also to the *pastiche*, which is the reproduction of a style where the composition is the result of the juxtaposition of different figurative types and motives from a famous painter. For example, many *pastiches* came into existence in Venetian workshops after the death of famous Venetian masters for commercial uses.³⁵⁶

As for works characterized as *emulation*, these usually involve an assimilation or transformation of some aspects or motif from the source. Emulation is a special form of competitive imitation, characterized by an attempt to either pay an homage to a painter, or even as ways to enter into a sort of imagined competition with him in which the goal is to surpass the chosen model.³⁵⁷

It is important to recognize *copying* as a valuable mode of production in the courtly circles of the 17th century.

During the first quarter of the 17th century, the copy was usually made in order to reproduce devotional paintings, portraits of family members or important personalities. Copies could also reproduce one of the most valuable paintings of the collection or the famous ceiling painting of the palace which were often gifted to famous guests. That was the case for example of the many copies realized after the ceiling painting by Andrea

Even though her discussion is oriented to Albrecht Dürer and the Renaissance, the terminology adopted by the researcher is applicable to different artistic periods.

³⁵⁶ Emblematic is the case of Venetian *botteghe*; On Veronese workshop see: B. L. Brown, "Replication and the Art of Veronese," in K. Precado (ed.), *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions, Studies of Studies in the History of Art*, 20, 1989, pp. 68-71. On Titian workshop see: M. H. Loh, *Titian Remade: Repetition and the Transformation of Early Modern Italian Art*, Los Angeles 2007; P. Humphrey, *Titian: The Complete Paintings*, Bruges 2007.

³⁵⁷ Bubenik, *Reframing Albrecht Dürer*, pp. 75-84

Sacchi depicting *The Divine Wisdom*, which were given as official present to the important guests and diplomats who visited Barberini Palace.³⁵⁸

In this case, copies were realized to objectify the splendour of the owner. They were spread to give strength and made visible the nobleman's ability to use his wealth for good purposes, constructing an aesthetic image of himself as refined and cultured, not simply rich.³⁵⁹

Until now, the suspicion and even the hostility with which the contemporary art market considers copies often seen as a first degree of art forgery, make it very difficult to esteem their position in the Baroque period.

In Baroque collections belonging to the nobility, the copy acquires two distinct values depending on the interests and needs of the nobleman who asks for it. On the one hand the copy is a good substitute when a collector has to deal with the difficulty of obtaining a desired original painting (because already owned by others or because of its cost), on the other hand the copy does not have particularly differences from an original painting when it has to answer a purely decorative need.

Series of copies as the one commissioned by Gundakar Dietrichstein to Christian Schröder for Libochovice Castle was certainly not an isolated case in the history of collecting in Bohemia, especially in the second half of the 17th century. On the contrary, the copy appears to have a nearly dominant role in the collections belonging to Bohemian and Moravian nobility.

To better understand the complexity of the role of the copy in Baroque aristocratic collections, it is necessary to reflect on the socio-cultural context of Bohemian Kingdom. The growing economical prosperity following the last events of the Thirty Years' War, led to a gradual involvement of the Bohemian and Moravian aristocracy in the world of the artistic patronage. After the 30s of the 17th century the nobility in Bohemian Kingdom felt increasingly necessary to acquire works of art in the attempt to reach the model of *Magnificenza* perfectly embodied by the Italian residences they familiarized with during their *grand tours* and diplomatic missions abroad.³⁶⁰

Through the collecting activity, Bohemian and Moravian noblemen expressed their economical and social positions, either newly acquired or strengthened in their involvement on the side of the victorious Habsburgs.

³⁵⁸ On *The Divine Wisdom* see the catalogue Nr. XX. with further bibliography on the topic.

³⁵⁹ J. Beldon Scott, *Images of Nepotism. The Painted Ceiling of Palazzo Barberini*, New Jersey 1991, pp. 49, 62-70.

³⁶⁰ Slavíček, *Artis pictoriae amatores*, pp. 356-372; Slavíček, *Sobě, umění, přátelům*, pp. 13-38

Next to the ancient politic representative of Bohemia, the Šternberk, Kolowrat, Waldstein, new catholic families rapidly imposed themselves trying to occupy the first places in the society: the Lobkowitz, Slavata, Černín, Martinitz... They represented the new patrons, aware of how collecting constitute an unmistakable expression of their wealth and means of social distinction.³⁶¹

For an aristocrat, the purchase of paintings could be driven by a real pleasure in collecting art works or have a mere representational role.

The artistic interests of a truly aristocratic art-lover who considered himself a collector-connoisseur, were ruled by efforts to consistently obtain high quality art works which, due to systematic collecting activity, form comprehensive and often remarkable picture galleries. Collections conceived in this way were influenced not only by financial possibilities, but especially by the artistic outlook and personal taste of their owners. Examples of this type of collector in Central Europe, were Karl Eusebius of Liechtenstein, Humprecht Jan Černín or Jan Hartvík of Nostic.

Nevertheless the collecting fever exploded in the second half of the 17th century's found some obstacles to overcome. On one hand the excess of demand for the originals led to the gradual unavailability of them on the market and on the other hand, the modesty or inadequacy of the financial means owned by Bohemian and Moravian aristocracy, made the purchased of the few originals still in circulation difficult.

Copies represented an immediate answer to the lack of originals and their high cost.

Despite the bad opinion of Prince Karl Eusebius of Liechtenstein who affirmed that "*...only good originals are appreciated, sought for and purchased, while copies have a much lower value, or even no value, and that is why a real connoisseur and art-lover pays no attention to them...*"³⁶² copies occupied a special place in picture collections.

Demanding collectors like Karl Eusebius of Liechtenstein refused to include workshop and multiplied copies in their collections. At the same time, though, the Prince of Liechtenstein allowed that copies could be obtained, but he emphasized that those, suitable merely as decoration, had to be consistently separated from original works.³⁶³

Thanks to his almost unlimited financial resources, the Prince could afford this intransigent view, but the majority of other noblemen would buy copies quite deliberately as a substitute for the almost inaccessible originals.

³⁶¹ Hojda, *Aspects économiques*, pp. 1-50

³⁶² V. Fleischer, *Fürst Karl Eusebius von Lichtenstein als Bauherr und Kunstsammler (1611-1984)*, Wien 1910, pp. 197-199

³⁶³ Ibid.

In full accord with the demands of Prince of Liechtenstein, original paintings should be separated from the works of copy-makers, but this is not always the case.

In the inventories of the majority of the collections copies are often listed in the same inventories among the originals, demonstrating that in most of the cases copies were exhibited side by side with originals. In more precise inventories, it is specified that a painting is a copy after a famous master, but most of the time it is impossible to determine whether a listed painting is an original or a copy; rarely the name of the copyist is mentioned.

The distinction between copy and original had a not insignificant impact on the financial valuation of both the categories. In the list of paintings owned by František Antonín Berka of Dubá and offered to Jan Antonín of Liechtenstein in 1692, it is listed: “1. *Copia del Domenichino, S. Andrea nelle Croce...50*” “2. *L'Originale...500*”; “17. *Copia di Bassan...20*” “96. *Quadro del Bassan, helia...600*”; “113. *Una copia del Rubens...30*” “53. *Un triumpho del Rubens...200*”; “70. *Un quadro grande, l'annunciazione, copia del Guido Reno, bello...350*” “77. *Un bellissimo S. Hieronymo; grande come naturale, del Guido Reno...1600*”.³⁶⁴ On the average, a copy was estimated 10 percent of the original, in some cases if the copy was of a high quality, its value could reach the 20 percent of the original as shown for the copy after Guido Reni.

But how did 17th and 18th century-collectors obtain works of art for their galleries and residences?

Workshops of contemporary artists were undoubtedly one of the most accessible source of new acquisitions. The collectors could commission paintings according to their tastes and needs, or buy finished works.

Information on the mechanisms of those relations and on the purchase prices can be found in contracts between patron and painter and in the documents about payments for the ordered pictures. Similar commissions, however, concerned not only domestic painters, but in many cases -especially regarding more demanding commissions- the collectors turned to foreign artist. Those were often much more expensive and undoubtedly demonstrate the wish of the collector to obtain high quality paintings. Count František Adam of Trauttmansdorff for example, concluded a contract with the famous Roman painter, Francesco Trevisani, for delivery of a large work the *Crucifixion*

³⁶⁴ L. Slavíček, “Příspěvky k dějinám nostické obrazové sbírky. Materiál k českému baroknímu sběratelství”, *Umění*, 31, 1983, pp. 219-253; N. De Marchi and H. Van Miegroet, “Pricing invention: “original,” “copy,” and the valuation of art in early modern Netherlandish markets”, in V. Ginsburgh and M. Menger (eds.), *Economics of the Arts: Selected Essays*, Amsterdam 1996, pp. 27-70

with *Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene* and the *John the Evangelist* for the main altar of the Piarist Church in Litomyšl. The sum paid -1,400 guilders- shows how financially demanding the commission was. Moreover, the sum was increased by yet another 300 guilders for transportation, when the pictures were moved from the master's Rome studio to their destination.²⁶

In the course of the 17th century, a relatively large number of pictures and other artistic artifacts such as drawings, prints, tapestries, were acquired in Bohemia and other central European centres through organized art trade. In the broad network of international trade, art dealers from the Netherlands, led by specialized Antwerp tradesmen, many of whom lived and worked in various central European towns, occupied a dominant position. The trade agency of Guillermo Forchondt ranked among the most important. One of the most active branch of these family from the beginning of the 1660s was located in Vienna.³⁶⁵

Representatives of Bohemian nobility, including Jan Hartvík of Nostic and Humprecht Jan Černín, were in close contact with the Forchondts. František Antonín Berka of Dubá, Karl Eusebius of Liechtenstein, Jan Kristián of Eggenberk, Jan Adolf of Schwarzenberg, were also frequent customers of Forchondt's commerce.³⁶⁶

Many noblemen regularly made use of the services of professional agents, who informed with detail not only about political, social and cultural events in the other European centres, but also about upcoming sales of paintings or auctions of whole collections. For instance, at the time of his diplomatic mission in Venice, the Emperor's envoy Count Humprecht Jan Černín, had an active network of such informers, and later on, the painter Folpertus of Alten-Allen worked for him in Vienna.³⁶⁷

At least from 1667, the Bishop of Olomouc Karel of Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn had informers in Vienna, Jan Filip Beris and Johann Kunibert of Wentzelsberg, who was also a collector, who purchased paintings for him.³⁶⁸

The trade of paintings was not only in the hands of professional tradesmen, but was often pursued by painters themselves, who practiced it as a supplementary profession, looking for new acquisitions for their patron's collections.

As concerns copies, in Venice and in other Italian artistic centres there was a real street market of paintings of different quality and in particular copies that could be seen and

³⁶⁵ Slavíček, *Artis pictoriae amatores*, pp. 26-33

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ Kalista, *Humprecht Jan Černín*, pp. 64-68; Slavíček, *Sobě, umění, přátelům*, pp. 44-45

³⁶⁸ Breitenbacher, *Dějiny arcibiskupské obrazárny v Kroměříži*, pp. 23-32, 43-63; Daniel, *Kroměříž Picture Gallery*, pp. 450-480

chosen by the nobleman who wanted to make use of them. Consequently the quality of this production was very homogeneous: one could find good copies or bad copies and the nobleman himself decided to buy them according to his means and tastes.

In Bohemian Kingdom the situation was quite different. How could noblemen obtain copies? Basically in the same way they bought paintings: some tradesmen dealt with copies and some noblemen personally bought them during their trips to Italy. Sometimes they entrusted acquaintance to buy copies for them in Italy or other artistic centres, but the negative aspects of this ways of purchase was that they could not personally choose the copies and they always had to come to a compromise with the copied painters and subjects they could acquire.

Thanks to his contacts with art dealers and his knowledge of the art market matured during his diplomatic missions abroad, Count Humprecht Jan Černín played an important role as intermediary in the purchasing of other noblemen's pieces of collections.

Illuminating on the topic is his correspondence with Alfonso Zeffiri for the purchasing of paintings for members of the aristocratic society, especially for Jan Adolf of

Schwarzenberg. Large number of paintings were arranged by Černín for Schwarzenberg, with the purpose of decorating his South Bohemian Castle in Třeboň. Probably his requirements were not too demanding, since Count Černín expressly requested to Anfonso Zeffiri -his intermediary in this purchasing- to send cheap paintings and he was willing to accept even just copies. Count Černín received other several requests of that type by other members of the nobility, such as Earl Bernard Ignác Bořita of Martinic.³⁶⁹

An other possibility to obtain copies after renown masterpieces was to employ court painters who -once granted the official permission- could directly copy selected original paintings from the Imperial collections in Vienna and Prague. This was a normal practice among the financially secure members of the court aristocracy who held important diplomatic or military posts within the political system of the Habsburgs' Empire. A more official and probably more practical custom than searching for good quality copies in the art market.

As it seems, the Imperial collections were not a sealed place. A comings and goings of painters, assistants, pupils, could be found in the picture galleries. One can believe that painters such as Christian Schröder made a living also by copying selected originals from the Imperial picture galleries, creating a real buisness of copies, produced regularly and destined to the many aristocratic residences disseminated on Bohemian Kingdom's territories.

³⁶⁹ Kalista, *Humprecht Jan Černín*, pp. 64-68; Slaviček, *Sobě, umění, přátelům*, pp. 44-45

The private collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, which contained predominantly paintings from 16th and 17th century Italian and Dutch schools of painting, became the main source of inspiration for Bohemian and Moravian nobility. In its first location, in Brussels, the Archduke's picture gallery already drawn the attention of foreign noblemen, including a large number of travellers from Bohemian aristocracy. The direct influence of his picture gallery on central European collections came after the year 1656, when its early Baroque works were transferred to Vienna to become one of the cornerstones of the newly established Imperial picture gallery.

Another model example which, moreover, was in the Bohemian collectors' full view, was the picture gallery formed in the latter half of the 1650s at Prague Castle. In creating this collection, its principal initiator, Emperor Ferdinand III, made use of the profound knowledge and experience of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.

A more or less unique "spirit and taste" which guided the collecting activities of the Bohemian aristocratic community can be traced not only the selection of the copied artists and subjects. Just as the collections of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm and the picture gallery at Prague Castle, the focus of Bohemian collectors was drawn to works by Italian painters of the 16th, 17th and later on 18th centuries and to the works of the Netherlands school of painting of the same periods. Understandably, these collections also contained many samples of the more easily accessible production of contemporary Czech, Austrian and German artists. Only rarely, and mostly by chance, paintings by French, Spanish, and English artists would emerge within the perspective of Bohemian Baroque collectors.

Many are the examples of this kind of commissions. Between July 1650 and August 1651, Prince Jan Adolf of Schwarzenberg -certainly influenced by Archduke Leopold Wilhelm's picture gallery- commissioned to the court painter David Teniers the Younger to paint a series of ten copies after original paintings from the Archduke's picture gallery.³⁷⁰ Probably due to the high cost of Teniers' work, Prince of Schwarzenberg preferred to entrust the young Peter Sporkman for the realization of further paintings and copies. From Sporkman, Schwarzenberg obtained no less than thirty paintings, a large

³⁷⁰ F. Mares, *Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Wien 1887, pp. 349-350; R. Schreiber, *"Ein Galeria nach meinem Humor": Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelm*, Wien 2004, pp. 43-45, 96-102. David Teniers the Younger copied *The Flood* after Rubens, *The Virgin Mary and Jesus, St. Joseph, Mary Magdalene and St. John*, three copies of three heads, *King Ahasuerus, Esther and other figures* after Paolo Veronese and a not better specified *Venus*.

portion of which consisted of copies after originals by Paolo Veronese and Titian from the Archduke's picture gallery in Brussels.³⁷¹

Even such a remarkable collection as the one of Bishop Karel of Liechtenstein-Kastelskorn contained quite a large number of copies.

Elected in 1664 as the successor of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm who was Bishop of Olomouc from 1637 to 1662, the prelate undertook an enormous task, the complete renovation of the diocese in the aftermath of the Thirty Years War's damages. The plans for the reconstruction began with the refurbishment of the Olomouc Palace, which was built between 1665 and 1685 and designs by the imperial architects Filiberto Lucchese and Giovanni Pietro Tencalla.³⁷² In 1666, shortly after he ascended to the bishop's throne and he started the renovation program, he bought a collection from the Kroměříž Provost Seragli for 400 fl.³⁷³

After his death in 1683, his art collections was offered by his son Johann Franz to the Bishop who finally bought it in 1691 and integrated to his personal collection.³⁷⁴

Without any doubt the Bishop's most important acquisition, was the purchase of the collection belonged to the brothers Franz and Bernard Imstenraed from Cologne, which he bought between 1666-67.³⁷⁵

Apart from acquiring paintings from other collectors and through art dealers, the Bishop employed several painters whose main task was to copy selected paintings from the Imperial picture gallery in Vienna. The copies were commissioned in order to ensure in

³⁷¹ Petr Sporkman copies were: *St. Sebastian* after Paolo Veronese, *Abel and Cain*, *Moses*, ten life-size portraits of the Spanish kings Philip I-V and their wives; life-size portraits of Maximilian and his wife, portrait of Charles the Bold, *St. Johann the Baptist*, *St. Sebastian* after Titian, *Herodias with the head of St. John the Baptist* after Titian, a "large picture of the Virgin Mary with the enfant Jesus", *St. Catherine and St. Dominic*, a picture of "Mary with the enfant Jesus and four saints", a big picture of the "Mother of God", *St. Lucas and four saints*, *Diana* after Titian, *Christ teaches in the Temple* after Jusepe de Ribera, the *Flagellation of Christ* after Paolo Veronese, *Adam and Eva* after Paolo Veronese, twelve Portraits of Count Johann Adolf of Schwarzenberg, a "wolf with several hunting dogs" and a "Venus with the mirror". Cfr. Mares, *Kunsthistorische*, pp. 349-350

³⁷² L. Daniel and M. Togner, *Kroměříž Picture Gallery: catalogue of the painting collection in the Archbishop's Palace in Kroměříž*, Kroměříž 1999, pp. 13-18

³⁷³ Breitenbacher, *Dějiny arcibiskupské obrazárny v Kroměříži*, pp. 34-42

³⁷⁴ Ibid. pp. 34-42, E. A. Safarik, "The origin and fate of the Imstenraed collection", *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské university*, 13, 1964, pp. 171-182

³⁷⁵ Breitenbacher, *Dějiny arcibiskupské obrazárny v Kroměříži*, pp. 23-32, 43-63

short term and with a relatively low investment of money as far as the number of paintings that were necessary to decorate the episcopal residence.³⁷⁶

It is not a coincidence that the Bishop chose the paintings to be copied from the Viennese Imperial collections, whose owner and creator, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, was his predecessor in quality of Bishop of Olomouc. Without any doubt, the Archduke had a certain influence in sharpening the bishop's tastes and the contents of his collection.

At the middle of 1666 the Bishop obtained the Archduke's permission to send his painters to Vienna in order to copy the paintings from the gallery. The work took about one year, lasting in August 1667. The list enclosed with the letter sent to the Bishop from the inspector of the Imperial picture gallery, Jan van der Baren, dated September 1667, shows seventy-eight copied originals.³⁷⁷

According to the inventory, the copies were predominantly after Italian painters of the 16th and 17th century, prevalently Venetian masters, in particular Veronese, Titian, Palma the Senior and Palma the Younger. The rest of the inventory mentions for the majority copies after German and Netherland painters.³⁷⁸

Working in Vienna at the time were Hans Baptist Spiess, Cernoch from Kroměříž, who was Spiess apprentice at first, and Filippo Abbiati from Milan, who worked in the bishop's service since 1665. Abbiati painted very good copies and often he realized his own original works as the ones listed in the list II as "*Pitture di mio capriccio*".³⁷⁹

On 29 June 1667, the Bishop asked his agent Wentzelsberg to recruit three or four painters "*daher es keiner absonderlicher grosser Kunstler vorinoten ist*" (not necessarily skilled painters). who could paint other copies after these group of copies.³⁸⁰ The hypothesis is that these second group of copies could have been prepared to be exhibited

³⁷⁶ For the same purposes a series of fifty-five portraits of Bishops of Olomouc was created at the beginning of the 1670s and finished in 1673 by Johannes Mahler and probably the workshop, without any marked artistic ambitions, very limited variability of depiction and similarly limited coloration. Breitenbacher, *Dějiny arcibiskupské obrazárny v Kroměříži*, pp. 23-32, 43-63; Daniel, *Kroměříž Picture Gallery*, pp. 450-480

³⁷⁷ Breitenbacher, *Dějiny arcibiskupské obrazárny v Kroměříži*, pp. 23-32, 43-63

³⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. I-XII

³⁷⁹ Ibid., inv. Nr. II, p. XIII

³⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 43-63

in Kroměříž or they could have been destined as gifts for the guests who came to visit the bishop residences.³⁸¹

Collectors from the most significant aristocratic families usually employed court painters, who in addition to tasks of artistic character, such as painting portraits and decorative pictures, were often dedicated to work belonging rather to the sphere of crafts, such as gilding, decorating and coating.³⁸² The work of some court painters also included caring for the picture collection, writing inventories and making copies if required, especially the counterparts necessary for the symmetrically composed baroque installations of the collections. Apart from the already mentioned several copy-makers at the service of Bishop Karel of Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn, Count Hermann Jan Černín entrusted Folpertus of Alten-Allen as court painter; Jiří Matěj Nettel was working in the service of Count Václav Vojtěch of Šternberk.³⁸³ They usually became skilled and reliable advisers to their patrons in developing their collecting activities, as was the case of Jan Rudolf Bys who worked for Count Herman Jakub Černín, or Johann Gottfried Riedel, working for the Nostic family. Although the artistic abilities of these court painters differed substantially, some important personalities emerged among them. Jan Rudolf Bys, in 1713, was entrusted by his patron Elector of Mainz, to paint a certain number of copies. Bys, who was well acquainted with the pictures from the Prague Castle picture gallery thanks to his long-term stay in Prague, was not only a good copy-maker, but a painter with the ability to enter into the spirit of the stylistic character of the chosen original.

Count Jan Jáchym Slavata employed several painters immediately after he inherited the fideicommissum and the title of Count of Hradec from his older brother Ferdinand Vilém Slavata, who died in 1673. The painters were at Slavata's service as merely copyist: Gregor was employed in 1674, as well as Jakub Karel Josef Praxl and Christian Schröder.³⁸⁴ For Count Slavata, Schröder painted some copies from the Prague Castle

³⁸¹ This is quite a common habit, often the portraits were reproduced in big quantity of copies to be given as gift to the guests of the house. Slaviček, *Artis pictoriae amatores*, pp. 364-365.

³⁸² The range of duties of court painters is well explained in the documents from the Černín family archives and in the study concerning artists working in the second half of the 17th century in Český Krumlov at the court of Prince Jan Kristián of Eggenberg. Kuchynka, *Zprávy o umělcích*, pp. 24-27; J. Zálaha, "Eggenberští výtvarní umělci v Českém Krumlově v. 2 polovině 17 Století", *Umění*, 35, 1987, pp. 303-313

³⁸³ Slaviček, *Artis pictoriae amatores*, pp. 364-365; Fleicher, *Fürst Karl Eusebius von Lichtenstein*, pp. 197-199; Breitenbacher *Dějiny arcibiskupské obrazárny v Kroměříži*, pp. 23-33, I-XII, list V; Bott, *La mia galleria Pommersfeldiana*, pp. 68-72

³⁸⁴ Novák, *Slavatové*, pp. 30-34

picture gallery such as *The Baptism of Christ* after Guido Reni, an *Ecce Homo*, *The Fortune teller* and *The Guard's room* after Bartolomeo Manfredi.³⁸⁵

The copies of *The Supper at Emmaus* after Titian, the copy of *Martha reproaching her sister Mary Magdalene* after Simon Vouet, the copies of *The Autumn, Winter, Spring* and *Summer* after Francesco Bassano and the copies of *The Fortune teller* and *The Guard's room* after Bartolomeo Manfredi are to be found in the Lobkowitz collection.³⁸⁶ These copies, today located in the deposits of the Lobkowitz Palace in Prague, are attributed to Francesco and Giovanni Francesco (?) Marchetti and Michael Wenzel Halbax and they have to be dated from 1689-90 when Ferdinand August of Lobkowitz was facing the final phase of the rebuilding of the Roudnice nad Labem Castle which was completed in 1684 by the Italian architect Antonio Porta. After 1684, only internal adjustment had to be done, such as the interior decoration by Giacomo Tencalla and the equipment of the rooms. From the year 1689 Ferdinand August of Lobkowitz employed the Italian painter Francesco Marchetti who, with the collaboration of his son Giovanni Francesco³⁸⁷ worked in the Roudnice nad Labem Castle decorating two rooms and the chapel.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁵ Ibid. pp. 24-29.

³⁸⁶ The copies are: Francesco Marchetti (?), copy of *The Supper at Emmaus* after Titian (168 x 236 cm), Michael Wenzel Halbax, copy of *Martha reproaching her sister Mary Magdalene* after Simon Vouet (153 x 189 cm); attributed to Michael Wenzel Halbax, copy of *An eating and drinking party with a lute player (The Guard's room)* after Bartolomeo Manfredi (142 x 202 cm); attributed to Michael-Wenzel Halbax, copy of *The fortune teller* after Bartolomeo Manfredi (142 x 205 cm); follower of Jacopo Bassano (?), copies of *Spring, Autumn, Winter, Summer*, after Francesco Bassano (all approximately 129 x 168 cm). On the Lobkowitz collection see: M. Dvořák, *Soupis památek historických a uměleckých v politickém okrese Roudnickém, II. díl - Zámek roudnický. XXVII. svazek Soupisu památek historických a uměleckých v Království českém od pravěku do počátku XIX. Století*, Praha 1907, pp. 34-119

³⁸⁷ Giovanni Francesco was born in Trento on 18 February 1668. He collaborated with the father in the decoration of the Troja Chateau. The inscription "*Eques Franciscus Marchettus una cum Johanne Francisco filio faciebat 1689*" on the ceiling confirms his collaboration.

³⁸⁸ Thieme - Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, Vol. 24, pp. 65; A. Rusconi, "*Il pittore Francesco Marchetti e la sua famiglia*", *Studi trentini di scienze storiche*, 12, 1931, pp. 22-47; P. Delpero, *Francesco Marchetti, un pittore trentino tra Italia e Boemia (1641-1689)*, University of Milan, 1995-96, unpublished dissertation. In 1690 or shortly after, he found employment also in the decoration of some rooms of the Lobkowitz palace in Prague. Unfortunately the partial dispersal of the Lobkowitz collection and the scarcity of sources do not allow further investigations about the presence of other copies after original paintings from the Prague picture gallery, but it is interesting to notice that in the same years, between 1689-91, the same original paintings from the Prague Castle picture gallery were copied by Schröder for Gundakar Dietrichstein and by Marchetti and Halbax for the Lobkowitz family.

Many more copies after original paintings once located at Prague Castle picture gallery are disseminated in the Castles of Bohemia and Moravia, but tracing their provenience is often difficult for lack of documentation.

What emerges from this overview is that in an *Époque* when little importance was given to the original state of the painting in favour to its ideal value, copies constituted signs of distinction as much as the originals within the social game of the aristocracy's necessity of self-representation and exaltation of the family name. Useful for the need of quick installation of picture galleries according to the fashion of the moment, the commission of series of copies occupied only a part within a large plan of rebuilding and refurnishing the ancestral estates undertaken by the members of the Bohemian and Moravian aristocracy after the Thirty Years' War. Noblemen such as Gundakar Dietrichstein, did not commission copies after a particular original painting pushed by a true artistic preference, but lead by the need of decorating his estates.³⁸⁹

For the members of the political elite linked with the Habsburgs, the picture galleries of Archiduke Leopold Wilhelm and the collections of Prague Castle represented models in full sight to emulate and the closest sources where to draw the original paintings to be copied in the shortest possible time and with a relative low investment of financial means.

Copies after famous original paintings were guarantees of respectability and indicators of good taste, even in a contest of limited finances, time and connoisseurship.

At last, it has not to be excluded that the presence of copies painted directly after originals located at the Imperial picture galleries can be read in a more complex process of exaltation of the Habsburg's Empire and the aristocracy's positions assumed at the service of that Empire that well fits within a general plan of decoration comprehending

³⁸⁹ Often, the originals to be copied were not chosen directly from the noblemen according to their preferences, but by the inspectors of the Imperial galleries. The inspector of the Imperial picture gallery in Vienna Jan van der Baren choose thirty paintings to be copied by the artists sent by Bishop of Olomouc Lichtenstein-Kastelkorn and he even apologized for the small number of originals accessible to be copied, compensate the small number with the high quality of the chosen originals.(even if at the end the number of copied originals were higher). Cfr. Breitenbacher, *Dějiny arcibiskupské obrazárny v Kroměříži*, pp. 23-33
We have evidences that the paintings to be copied for Libochovice Castle were not chosen personally by Gundakar Dietrichstein but by Frantisek Leux of Luxenstein, inspector of the picture gallery of Prague Castle. Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 332-337.

fresco paintings which often combined the allegorical representation of the victorious Habsburgs and the exaltation of the family members' posts within the same Empire.³⁹⁰

³⁹⁰ For example, the ceiling fresco of the Saturn Hall in Libochovice Castle represented the allegory of Gundakar Dietrichstein's nomination to the title of Prince. Mádl, *Tencalla*, II, pp. 555-608. An other emblematic example of this kind is the ceiling decoration of the Troja Chateau, entirely constructed on the allegoric exaltation of the Habsburgs dynasty and the Šternberk's family position on its side. Cfr.: Horyna, *Zámek Troja*; Mádl, *Tencalla*, II, pp. 479-517.

Appendix 1:

Catalogue of Christian Schröder's copies for Libochovice Castle

Being painted directly from the original paintings once located at Prague Castle picture gallery, Christian Schröder's copies for Libochovice Castle represent an important historical document about the contents of the Prague Castle collections at the end of the 17th century, before the progressive losses that led to their gradual impoverishment.

The genesis of the collections of the Prague Castle is well known, as well as the episodes that caused the dispersal.³⁹¹

As early as 1648, first in Amsterdam and then in Antwerp, an outstanding collection of paintings was put up on sale. It belonged to George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham (1592–1628) who was murdered in 1628.³⁹² The collection was sold by his successor and son George Villier, 2nd Duke of Buckingham. A great part of the Buckingham collection was bought by the Archduke of Austria Leopold Wilhelm for himself and for his brother Emperor Ferdinand III.

The Emperor's purpose was to replace and fulfil the furnishing in the Prague Castle with new art works after the plundering and demolishing caused by the Swedish army in 1648 to the former collection of Rudolf II.

On 29 July 1650 an inventory of the furnishing of the Prague Castle was written: it describes almost devastated rooms with broken and damaged objects and art works which were part of the Rudolfinian *kunstkammer* and collection.³⁹³ Consequently in the summer 1650 the paintings from the Buckingham collection were not yet transported in Prague.

At least by 1656, Prague Castle had to fulfil all its functions as the official seat of the Empire. At that time, the Bohemian Diet was to take place at the Castle, as were the

³⁹¹ The history of the collection is described in Neumann, *Obrazárna*, pp. 5-29; P. Preiss, "Zánik Rudolfských sbírek a nová obrazárna na Pražském hradě", in Slavíček, *Artis pictoriae amatores*, pp. 31–35; E. Fučíková, "Zur Geschichte der Gemäldegalerie auf der Prager Burg", *Meisterwerke der Prager Burggalerie*, Wien 1996, pp. 9–19.

³⁹² The collection was listed for the first time in the inventory dated 11 May 1635, preserved in a copy, and again in a document from 1648/49. P. McEvansoneya, "Vertue, Walpole and the Documentation of the Buckingham Collection", *Journal of the History of Collections*, 8/1, 1996, pp. 1–14; R. Davis, "An Inventory of the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures, etc. at York House in 1635", *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 10, 1906/1907, pp. 376–382.

³⁹³ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, pp. CXXXI–CXXXII.

coronations of the Emperor's second wife, Eleonora Gonzaga and Ferdinand's son Leopold, so by that year the collection had to be installed.

The beginnings of the new picture gallery are extremely unclear, because no immediate records exist. The earliest report dates from 1661, when the joiners were installing the wood panelling that would be behind the paintings.

We can reconstruct the collection on the basis of the inventory from the year 1685, which is partly a copy after an older inventory, now lost, dated 1663.

The new Castle's collection, was considerably smaller than Rudolf's one, but no less valuable. Some pieces had remained from the Rudolfiner Era, more than a hundred paintings come from the Buckingham collection, another part had probably been taken out from Vienna's deposits, and, more rarely, other paintings were bought or commissioned directly from the painters.

The new gallery was located in the same rooms of Rudolf's collection. A testimony to the appearance and content of the collection was written by the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, who visited Prague in 1688.³⁹⁴ On the basis of his comments, the picture gallery of Prague Castle was probably set in a similar way as the picture gallery of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm known through the paintings by David Teniers. According to Tessin's testimony, the Prague Castle picture gallery was composed of three cabinets, three galleries and a big hall where paintings hung on the walls from the ceiling to the floor. He noted the most important paintings which captured his attention and he accurately described them, in particular paintings by Titian, Veronese, Bassano, Reni and among the Flemish, Rubens. Tessin completely overlooked the German painters: Dürer, Cranach, Alberger, Holbein or the other Flemish like Massys, Bosch, Bruegel the Elder, however his comments give back the richness of the second-born Prague collection.

When Charles VI decided to build a gallery in the Stallburg of Vienna, which was ended in 1728, paintings located at Prague Castle were moved to Vienna. In 1718 an inventory of the Prague Castle picture gallery was written under the supervision of an expert from Vienna³⁹⁵ who selected forty-six paintings to be sent from Prague to Vienna in two shipments in 1721 and in 1723. As a result, Prague Castle lost important paintings such as Titian's *Ecce Homo* and *The Danae*, *The Cycle of the Old and New Testaments* by

³⁹⁴ Neumann, *Obrazárna*, pp. 81-84.

³⁹⁵ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, pp. CXXII–CXLI.

Veronese workshop, *The Baptism of Christ* by Guido Reni, paintings by Andrea del Sarto, Strozzi and Rubens' *Feast of Venus* and *The Four Continents*.

Nine years later, in 1732, forty-four paintings were sent from Vienna picture gallery to Prague as a replacement. Among them, *The Rising Lazarus* by Pordenone, *The Woman taken in Adultery* by Tintoretto and *The Death of Niobe's Children* by Palma the Younger.

In the subsequent decade and during the 19th century, paintings were systematically removed and sent to Vienna, only a small part of them remained in Prague.

Some years later, in 1737, a new inventory was drawn up. The list mentions a total of 573 paintings and, apart from the subject and the name of the author, it registers the technique and the dimensions of each painting.

In the forties of the 18th century during the reign of Maria Teresa, the lack of interest towards the Prague Castle picture gallery caused by the difficult economics situation led to the selling of many valuable paintings. The art works were secretly sold to the Saxon Elector and King of Poland August III, and came to enrich the gallery of Dresden. In this circumstance, Prague Castle lost important paintings such as *The Cycle of the parables* by Domenico Fetti, several paintings by Tintoretto, Jacopo Bassano, Andrea del Sarto and *The Wild Boar hunt* by Rubens.

The remained paintings were hung in the representative rooms of Prague Castle or adapted to the wall panelling, cut and reduced in size without any special care.

During the Seven-Years' War, paintings were hidden in inaccessible places, but when the situation in Prague changed in better, they were not returned to their original place.

Under Josef II, when art fell in disfavour, Prague Castle risked to be transformed into an army barrack. These were the circumstances under which all works of art were put up on sale at a public auction in 1782.

In the 19th century a big part of the paintings still remained in the Castle was restored and lent to the Patriotic Society of Art Lovers which had been founded in 1797.

In 1876 the Austrian Central Commission for Art and Monuments nominated the Professor Woltmann to make an evaluation on the paintings still located at Prague Castle. Woltmann wrote a list of 150 valuable paintings, the majority of which were lately also transferred to Vienna.

In 1919 and 1922, a commission of experts surveyed the paintings at Prague Castle and compiled inventories with general information on the art works and without attributions. The paintings, whose quality was recognized, were transferred to the Gallery of the

Society of art Lovers and came to constitute the main core of the future National Gallery in Prague.

In 1962 new investigations were conducted in Prague Castle and the surviving paintings were exhibited in a separate gallery. An extensive work of restoration and setting of the new gallery was completed in the course of 1962 and 1963 leading to the public opening of the Prague Castle Picture Gallery.

In the cases in which the inventories of Prague Castle collections are laconic, Schröder's copies for Libochovice Castle allow to confirm the presence of important paintings in Prague Castle picture gallery at the end of the 17th century. This was the case for a version of *The Purification of the Temple* by El Greco which in the inventories was erroneously attributed to Jacopo Tintoretto. In some other cases Schröder's copies give back the original appearance of paintings which have been lost –like *The Spring* from Francesco Bassano's cycle of *The Seasons*- or which have been cut, mainly during the process of redistribution of the canvases undertaken in conjunction with the Theresian renovations of Prague Castle's interiors. This happened with *The Christ on the Mount of Olives* by Domenico Fetti and with *The Flagellation of Christ* by Jacopo Tintoretto.

I.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Titian, Supper at Emmaus

Oil on canvas

164 x 174 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 1199

Image 42

Unknown (Copy after Titian)

Supper at Emmaus

Oil on canvas

169 x 237 cm

Dresden, Gemäldegalerie

Inv. Gal.-Nr. 181

Image 43

The copy was painted by Schröder after an unknown painter's copy after the *Supper at Emmaus* by Titian today at the Louvre Museum. The copy by unknown was mentioned in the Prague inventory dated 1718 as: "Nr. 462 Tiziano Copia: Christus mit denen zwei Jüngern in Emausz".³⁹⁶ From the Prague Castle it was later transferred to the Dresden Gemäldegalerie where it is still preserved.³⁹⁷

Titian made different versions of the same subject, but the best known is the *Supper at Emmaus* at the Louvre which is also the finest in quality.³⁹⁸

In the Louvre painting, Christ appears in a pale-blue tunic with pink highlights, over which a dark-blue mantle is draped. In the Libochovice copy the colours are different: the Christ's mantle has a stronger blue tone, while the tunic is red as is the mantle of the Capuchin on the left of Christ. In the Louvre version the serving boy on the right of Christ wears a yellow robe, while in Schröder's copy the colour become orange.

³⁹⁶ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXVIII.

³⁹⁷ On the Dresden copy see H. Posse, *Katalog der Staatlichen Gemaldegalerie zu Dresden*, Dresden, 1929, p. 91, cat. Nr. 181.

³⁹⁸ On the original painting and the different versions see in particular: H. E. Wethey, *The paintings by Titian*, London 1969, cat. Nr. 143.

On the wall of the original painting, half behind the column on the left, hangs the symbol of the eagle, which in the Dresden copy is substituted by a simple floral crown that was copied in the same manner by Schröder.

Except from the variations in the colour palette and the different measures (the copy by Schröder is smaller in width) the composition of the Libochovice copy fully agrees with the Dresden copy.



Titian, *Supper at Emmaus*, oil on canvas, 169 x 244 cm, Louvre Museum, Paris



Image 42



Image 43

II.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Palma the Elder, The Virgin Mary with infant Jesus and Saints

Oil on canvas

151 x 164,5 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 1409

Image 44

Palma the Elder

Virgin Mary with infant Jesus and Saints

Oil on canvas

102,5 x 109,5 cm

Prague, Picture Gallery of the Castle

Inv. 0 42

Image 45

The original painting by Palma the Elder is mentioned in the inventories of Prague Castle in 1718 “*Nr. 5 Palma Vecchio. Orig.: Unser Liebe Frau sambt dem Kindl und vier heiligen*”³⁹⁹ and in 1737 “*Nr. 138 Unser Liebe Frau sambt dem Kindl und 4 heiligen*”, by “*Palma Vecchio*”.⁴⁰⁰ The painting is still exhibited at the Prague Castle picture gallery.

The composition of Palma’s original painting, which is based on the *Madonna* of the Church of San Francesco della Vigna in Venice by Giovanni Bellini, represents the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus, on her left stand St. George and St. Dorothea, on her right St. Mary Magdalene and a bearded saint whose identification has not been confirmed so far.⁴⁰¹ His elder age and the book he is holding might indicate the figure of St. Peter, but the missing keys makes this hypothesis quite improbable. The saint has been identified also with St. Mark, but he is usually represented in a younger age and with different colours of the drapery -blue mantle and brown vest- while here the colours

³⁹⁹ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXII.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid. p. CXLVII.

⁴⁰¹ On the original painting see in particular: Neumann, *Obrazárna*, pp. 65-65 with further bibliography, P. Rylands, *Palma il Vecchio, l’opera completa*, Milano 1988, p. 199; E. Fučíková, *Capolavori della pittura veneta dal Castello di Praga*, Belluno 1994, pp. 34-35; V. Vlnas (ed.), *The glory of the Baroque in Bohemia, Art, culture and society in the 17th and 18th centuries*, Prague 2001, p. 70.

are overturned. There exists an other version of the same subject by Palma the Elder at the Minneapolis Institute of Art in Chicago, where the saint is identifies with St. Jerome, but in the Prague version the cardinal dress -usual attribute of the saint- is missing.⁴⁰²

In the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in Zogno, Palma the Elder represents St. Joseph with a similar dress, but in the Prague version the presence of the book in his hand does not agree with the usual representation of the saint whose identification still remains an open question.

The copy by Schröder is a faithful reproduction of the original with small variation in size. The copy is the smallest of the Libochovice series (151 x 164,5 cm), an aspect that leads to the hypothesis that the copy after Palma the Elder was destined for the chapel of the Castle.

⁴⁰² Ibid.



Image 44



Image 45

III.

Christian Schröder, copies after Paolo Veronese and the workshop, *The Series of the Old and New Testament*

The canvases belong to a series of ten paintings that represent subjects from the Old and New Testament. The series was purchased by the Flemish diplomatic at the service of Phillip II, Charles de Croy, in Venice where he came in 1592. This series comprehends: *Agar and Ishmael*, *Rebecca at the Well*, *Ester and Ahasuerus*, *Susanna and the Elders*, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, *The Washing of the feet*, *Christ and the Centurion*, *Christ and the Adulteress*, *Christ and the Samaritan woman*. The perspective construction of the compositions and the figures represented *in scorcio* made us think that the series constituted a large decoration located at the top of the walls, closed to the ceiling.⁴⁰³

The paintings are first mentioned with the attribution to Veronese in an inventory of the art works preserved in the Castle of Beaumont written in 1613, one year after the death of Charles de Croy.⁴⁰⁴

In 1619 the paintings were purchased by Duke of Buckingham and they are listed in the inventory written after his death in 1635. In 1648 they were put up on sale and bought by Archduke Leopold Wilhelm for his brother Ferdinand III and sent to Prague. The entire series is described in the inventories of Prague Castle since 1718.

Eight subjects were copied by Schröder: *Agar and Ishmael*, *Susanna and the Elders*, *Christ and the Centurion*, *Christ and the Adulteress*, *Christ and The Samaritan woman* - today located at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna where they were transferred in 1723- *Rebecca at the Well* -originally at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna lately became part of the collection of the National Gallery of Art in Washington - *The Adoration of the Shepherds* and *The Washing of the feet*, which are still preserved in the Prague Castle picture gallery.

The series belongs to the last period of Paolo Veronese, dated around 1580 and in many canvases the help of the master's workshop is clearly visible.

⁴⁰³ On the series see K. Garas, "Veronese e il collezionismo del Nord nel XVI-XVII secolo", *Nuovi studi su Paolo Veronese*, Venezia 1990, pp. 70-75; F. Klauner, "Zu Veroneses Buckingham-Serie", *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*. Vol. 44, 1, pp. 107-120; T. Pignatti and F. Pedrocco, *Paolo Veronese, l'opera completa*, Verona 1995, catalogue Nr. 362-371.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

III.I.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Paolo Veronese and the workshop, Christ and the Centurion

Oil on canvas

147 x 176 cm

Ptuj Castle

Inv. G21 s

Image 46

Paolo Veronese and the workshop

Christ and the Centurion

Oil on canvas

146 x 288 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. 3675

Image 47

The painting is a copy of the homonymous work, which is located at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. The Vienna painting is an impoverished version of *The Christ and the Centurion* today at the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden (inv. Nr. 228, 178 x 275 cm) dated 1581/1582, which is also a derivative from a similar painting today at the Prado Museum in Madrid dated 1571. An other replica of the Prado's version is at the Museum of Fine Arts in Kansas City. The many versions differ basically on the number of figures represented and in the architecture depicted on the background.⁴⁰⁵

The Vienna version is the most simplified of the versions with a vast reduction in the number of figures and it is usually believed to be a work by Paolo Veronese with an extensive collaboration of the workshop.

The story of Christ and the Centurion is written in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. According to these accounts, a Roman centurion asked Jesus for his help because his boy servant was ill. Jesus offered to go to the centurion's house to perform a healing, but

⁴⁰⁵ Brandstätter, *Die Gemäldegalerie*, p. 132, catalogue Nr. 76; A. Walter, *Gemäldegalerie Gemäldegalerie - Alte Meister - Dresden - Katalog der ausgestellten Werke*, Dresden 1992, p. 402; Pignatti, *Paolo Veronese*, catalogue Nr. 366.

the centurion suggested that Jesus performs the healing at a distance instead, "*Lord, I do not deserve to have you come under my roof. But just say the word, and my servant will be healed*" (Matthew 8:8).

In the Ptuj copy the left part of the canvas is identical to the Vienna original painting, while the right part has been modified: the figure of the knight holding the horse is disappeared and the architecture on the background is partly deleted. The two high columns are cut off from the scene, while the white architecture is simplified, the pierced balustrade is substituted by a simple one and the two little figures who overlook from it are completely deleted.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁶ Ciglencečki, *The Herbersteins*, pp. 77–79, Ciglencečki, *Slike iz Libochovic*, p. 93.



Image 46



Image 47

III.II.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Paolo Veronese and the workshop, Christ and the Adulteress

Oil on canvas

144 x 175,5 cm

Ptuj Castle

Inv. G19 s

Image 48

Paolo Veronese and the workshop

Christ and the Adulteress

Oil on canvas

143x288 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. 15

Image 49

The Vienna painting represents the subject taken from the Gospel of John of Christ and the Adulteress. In this episode, Jesus has sat down in the temple to teach some of the people after he spent the previous night at the Mount of Olives. A group of scribes and Pharisees confronts Jesus interrupting his teaching session. They bring in an adulteress and invite Jesus to pass judgment upon her, but Jesus states that the one who is without sin is the one who should cast the first stone. The religious leaders depart, leaving Jesus and the woman in the midst of the crowd.

The original painting is attributed to Paolo Veronese with the help of a collaborator, probably Benedetto Caliari.⁴⁰⁷

The Ptuj copy has different proportions than the Vienna original. Schröder modified the composition in order to have a squared format. A part of sky is added to the height, while the scene is amply reduced in width. Many figures are deleted from the background: the man holding a lance lean against the marble balustrade on the right side of Christ and the two figures who are going down the stairs at the right extremity of the canvas. On the

⁴⁰⁷ Brandstätter, *Die Gemäldegalerie*, p. 132, catalogue Nr. 76; Pignatti, *Paolo Veronese*, catalogue Nr. 367.

contrary, the white architecture in the background is fairly reproduced as in the original painting.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁸ Ciglencečki, *The Herbersteins*, pp. 77–79, Ciglencečki, *Slike iz Libochovic*, p.92.



Image 48



Image 49

III.III.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Paolo Veronese and the workshop, Christ and the Samaritan woman

Oil on canvas

153.5 x 168 cm

Ptuj Castle

Inv. G20 s

Image 50

Paolo Veronese and the workshop

Christ and the Samaritan woman

Oil on canvas

143x 289 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. N. 19

Image 51

The Ptuj copy is an accurate reproduction of the same subject attributed to Paolo Veronese and the workshop today located at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.⁴⁰⁹

The painting represents the story of the Samaritan woman at the well, recorded in the Gospel of John. The Gospel records Jesus' conversation with a Samaritan woman who had come to get water from a well (known as Jacob's well) located about a half mile from the city of Sychar, in Samaria. The scene depicts the well at the center of the composition, on the left Christ and on the right the Samaritan woman who is getting the water in a copper container. In the background a bunch of people is represented.

In Schröder's copy, the composition is totally faithful to the original. As in the previous two copies, Schröder squeezed the painting in width while he added a piece of sky in the upper part in order to have a squared format typical of the Libochovice series.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁹ Brandstätter, *Die Gemäldegalerie*, p. 132, catalogue Nr. 76; Pignatti, *Paolo Veronese*, catalogue Nr. 363.

⁴¹⁰ Ciglencčki, *The Herbersteins*, pp. 77–79; Ciglencčki, *Slike iz Libochovic*, p.92.



Image 50



Image 51

III.IV.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Paolo Veronese and the workshop, Agar and Ishmael

Oil on canvas

147.5 x 165 cm

Ptuj Castle

Inv. G34 s

Image 52

Paolo Veronese and the workshop

Hagar and Ishmael

Oil on canvas

140 x 282 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. 3673

Image 53

The Ptuj painting is a faithful copy after *Hagar and Ishmael* today located at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and attributed to Paolo Veronese and his workshop.⁴¹¹ The scene represents Hagar and Ishmael in the wilderness of Beersheba at the moment when, after they finished the water's provisions, the angel of God appeared to Hagar and showed her a well of water. In the left part of the Vienna painting an exhausted Hagar with her child in the arms is represented. Hagar is looking to the right, from where comes the angel.

The composition of the Ptuj copy is squeezed in width and extended in height in comparison to the original⁴¹²

⁴¹¹ Brandstätter, *Die Gemäldegalerie*, p. 132, catalogue Nr. 75; Pignatti, *Paolo Veronese*, catalogue Nr. 364.

⁴¹² Ciglencečki, *The Herbersteins*, pp. 77–79; Ciglencečki, *Slike iz Libochovic*, p. 94.



Image 52



Image 53

III.V.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Paolo Veronese and the workshop, Rebecca at the well

Oil on canvas

144,5 x 175 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 2867

Image 54

Paolo Veronese and the workshop

Rebecca at the well

Oil on canvas

140 x 284 cm

Washington, National Gallery of Art

Inv. Samuel H. Kress Collection 1952.5.82

Image 55

The copy by Schröder is still located in Libochovice Castle and it is a copy of the painting by Paolo Veronese and the workshop which was moved to the National Gallery of Art in Washington after the Second World War.⁴¹³

The painting shows the story of Abraham's servant Eliezer giving Rebecca jewels to seal her betrothal to Isaac, after she had demonstrated the kindness foreseen by Abraham in offering water to Eliezer's camels.

The Libochovice copy is faithful to the original painting except for the measurement. Part of the landscape on the right was deleted in order to reduce the width of the copy and adapt it to the almost squared format of the Libochovice series, while the height was extended with the addition of a piece of sky as the previous copies after Veronese and the workshop.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹³ Pignatti, *Paolo Veronese*, catalogue Nr. 369.

⁴¹⁴ Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 331-335.



Image 54



Image 55

III.VI.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Paolo Veronese and the workshop, Susanna and the Elders

Oil on canvas

146 x 176 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 3766

Image 56

Paolo Veronese and the workshop

Susanna and the Elders

Oil on canvas

140 x 280 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. 3676

Image 57

The Libochovice copy by Schröder reproduces the original painting by Paolo Veronese and the workshop today at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. The subject was represented many times by Veronese. Ridolfi quoted three paintings with the same subject. Apart from the Vienna version, a second one is now on display at the Palazzo Bianco in Genoa dated to 1580 and an other version, dated also around 1580, is at the Prado Museum in Madrid. The three paintings visibly differ in composition and details.⁴¹⁵

The painting represents the story of a fair Hebrew wife named Susanna falsely accused by lecherous voyeurs. The painting depicts the scene when she bathes in her garden while, having sent her attendants away, two elders secretly observe her.

The Libochovice copy do not vary from the original painting except in measurements which are adapted to the squared format of the series by squeezing the composition in width.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁵ Brandstätter, *Die Gemäldegalerie*, p. 132, catalogue Nr. 75; Pignatti, *Paolo Veronese*, catalogue Nr. 362.

⁴¹⁶ Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 331-335.



Image 56



Image 57

III.VII.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Veronese and the workshop, the Adoration of the Shepherds

Oil on canvas

165 x 164,5 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 1200

Image 58

Paolo Veronese and the workshop

Adoration of the Shepherds

Oil on canvas

189 x 286 cm

Prague, Picture Gallery of the Castle

Image 59

The original painting copied by Schröder and today preserved at Libochovice Castle is attributed to Paolo Veronese, probably with the help of Carletto Caliari. The original painting is dated 1585 and it is today on display at the Prague Castle Picture Gallery.⁴¹⁷

The copy by Schröder is in all details a faithful record of the original painting, nevertheless the original dimensions are reduced in width by two extensive cut on the right side and left side of the composition. The small size of the copy leads to the hypothesis that it might have been destined to a particular room in Libochovice Castle, probably for the chapel.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁷ Neumann, *Obrazárna*, p. 78; Pignatti, *Paolo Veronese*, catalogue Nr. 371.

⁴¹⁸ Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 331-335.



Image 58



Image 59

IV.

Christian Schröder, copies after Francesco Bassano, *The Seasons*

The cycle of the *Seasons*, which is today partly preserved at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, was originally in Prague Castle. The four *Seasons* are registered in Prague inventories of 1718 and 1737. *The Summer* is mentioned in the inventory of 1718: “Nr. 296. Bassan Vechio. Orig.: Der Sommer”⁴¹⁹ and in 1737: “Nr. 371 Der Sommer Bassano Vechio”.⁴²⁰ *The Autumn* is listed in 1718: “Nr. 326. Bassan: Der Herbst”⁴²¹ and in 1737: “Nr. 210 Der Herbst” by “Bassano”.⁴²² *The Winter* is mentioned in 1718: “Nr. 334. Bassan: Der Winter”⁴²³ and in 1737: “Nr. 423 Der Winter. Bassano”⁴²⁴ and finally in the inventory of 1718 the *Spring* is quoted as “Nr. 339. Scola Bassan: Der Frühling”⁴²⁵ and in 1737 as “Nr. 154 Der frühling. Giacomo Bassano”.⁴²⁶ Even though the attribution in the Prague inventories vary between “Basano Vechio”, “Scola del Bassan” and “Gerolamo Bassano”, generally the canvases are attributed to Francesco Bassano.

As a matter of fact, *The Autumn* is signed on the right below of the canvas: “FRANC BASS”. The paternity is consequently assigned to Francesco also for the other three canvases, which are linked together by the representation of the three signs of the zodiac on the top part of each canvas.

The paintings were in the collection of Bartolomeo della Nave in Venice between 1636 and 1638. After that year they passed to the Hamilton Collection where they remained until 1649 when they were likely bought by the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm. After that, they passed to the collections of Prague Castle where they remained until 1894 when they were finally transferred to Vienna.⁴²⁷

Of this series, *The Spring* has been lost while *The Winter* is preserved only in a fragment.

⁴¹⁹ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXVI.

⁴²⁰ Ibid, p. CLVI.

⁴²¹ Ibid, p. CXXXVII.

⁴²² Ibid, p. CL.

⁴²³ Ibid, p. CXXXVI.

⁴²⁴ Ibid, p. CLVIII.

⁴²⁵ Ibid, p. CXXXVII.

⁴²⁶ Ibid, p. CLXXVI.

⁴²⁷ E. Arslan, *I Bassano*, Vol. I, Milano 1960, pp. 65-72; Brandstätter, *Die Gemäldegalerie*, p. 27, catalogue Nr. T 85; A. Ballarin, *Jacopo Bassano*, Vol. 4., Bertonecello 1996, pp. 50, 142-144, 260.

For each season, the attributes of that determined period of the year are described as well as the typical rural activities. The everyday life is described through prototypes of figures often taken from the *repertoire* of Bassano workshop. On the background the view opens to the rural landscape while the light is different in each canvas because modulated according to the specific season: worm-yellow light for *The Summer*, green-bleu cold light for *Autumn* and *Winter*.

In Schröder's copies, while the foreground is faithful to the originals with only small details missing, the landscape on the background is generally simplified in comparison with Bassano's paintings.

The Libochovice copies are important testimony of the original appearance of the entire cycle of the *Seasons* of which many versions and replicas exist, often leading to confusion and mistakes in determine which canvas belongs to which cycle.

Schröder's copy after *The Spring* gives back the appearance of the lost original that was quite similar to the version -also lost- belonged to the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm and now known only through copies and engravings as the one by Jan van Troÿen realized for the *Theatrum pictorium* (Image 61).⁴²⁸

The Winter might also have been copied by Schröder, even though it hasn't been preserved among the copies for Libochovice. The copy after *The Winter* might be one of the three missing copies of the series.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁸ Jan van Troÿen, *Four Seasons for the Theatrum pictorium*, etching, 209 x 305 mm, ca. 1656-1660, British Museum, London, Inv. Nr. 1980,U.1364. Inscriptions on the engraving: "I. Bassan p.", "I. Troÿen f.", "Teniers Gal.". This is one from 246 plates of Teniers' *Theatrum pictorium*. A painted copy by Teniers is in a private collection.

⁴²⁹ It is also possible that, being already a fragment when the painting was at the Prague Castle, it had been decided not to copy it, even though it would not have been logic to copy only three seasons. On the original see Arslan, *I Bassano*, pp. 65-72; Brandstätter, *Die Gemäldegalerie*, p. 27, catalogue Nr. T 85; Ballarin, *Jacopo Bassano*, pp. 50, 142-144, 260.

IV.I.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Francesco Bassano, Spring

Oil on canvas

147 x 176,5 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 2690

Image 60

Francesco Bassano

Spring

Lost



Image 60



Image 61

IV.II.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Francesco Bassano, Summer

Oil on canvas

146 x 176 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 2688

Image 62

Francesco Bassano

Summer

Oil on canvas

111 x 145,5 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. 4289

Image 63



Image 62



Image 63

IV.III.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Francesco Bassano, Autumn

Oil on canvas

147 x 176,5 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 2689

Image 64

Francesco Bassano

Autumn

Oil on canvas

111 x 146 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. 4287

Image 65



Image 64



Image 65

IV.IV.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Francesco Bassano, Winter

Lost, likely part of the series for Libochovice Castle

Francesco Bassano

Winter

Oil on canvas

111 x 73 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. 4288

Image 66



Image 66

V.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Francesco Bassano and the workshop, Adoration of the Kings

Oil on canvas

146,5 x 177 cm.

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 1408

Image 67

Francesco Bassano and the workshop

Adoration of the Kings

143 x 182 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. 4311

Image 68

The copy by Schröder is faithful to the original painting after Francesco Bassano and the workshop, *The Adoration of the Kings* preserved at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. This painting was in Prague Castle already in 1685 and it is listed in the inventory of 1718: “Nr. 303. Scola di Bassan: Die Heiligen Drei Könige”⁴³⁰ and in the inventory of 1737: “Nr. 202 Die Heiligen Drei Könige Scola del Bassan”.⁴³¹

From 1894 the painting is quoted in the Viennese inventories, where it was transferred. Many versions of *The Adoration of the Kings* which vary in composition are been preserved by Jacopo Bassano and the workshop.⁴³²

In this version, the scene represents the Holy Family acknowledging the visiting kings and their gifts. The composition is inserted into a detailed landscape on the background. Bassano's interest in complex foreshortened poses is evident in the densely packed group in the foreground, especially in the figures of the kings and their servants and in the

⁴³⁰ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXVI.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, p. CL

⁴³² On the different versions see in particular: Ballarin, *Jacopo Bassano*, pp. 202-203, 257-260; Brandstätter, *Die Gemäldegalerie*, p. 27, catalogue Nr. T 86.

representation of the different species of animals. Many details were based on previous compositions and studies from nature.⁴³³

Except from the simplification of the landscape in the background, Schröder did not left behind any particular in the front of the composition. The colours in Schröder's copy are more accentuated and vivid in comparison with the green-grey tonalities that dominate the original Bassano's painting.

⁴³³ Ibid.



Image 67



Image 68

VI.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Francesco Bassano, Announcement of the angel to the Shepherds

Oil on canvas

145,5 x 176 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 14735

Image 69

Francesco Bassano

Announcement of the angel to the Shepherds

Oil on canvas

126 x 175 cm

Prague, Picture Gallery of the Castle

Inv. 0 9026

Image 70

The copy by Schröder is after *The Announcement of the angel to the Shepherds* attributed to Francesco Bassano and preserved at the Prague Castle Picture Gallery.

It is not known exactly when the painting became part of Prague Castle collections, but it is identifiable in the inventory of 1718: “Nr. 305. Bassan: *Wie der engel denen Hürten die geburth Christi verkündiget*.”⁴³⁴ and in 1737 as: “N. 221. *Wie der engl denen Hürten die geburth Christi verkündiget*”⁴³⁵ and attributed to “*Giacomo Bassano*”.

There exist different versions and replicas of the same subject by Francesco and Leandro Bassano such as the painting today exhibited at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (inv. Nr. 5734) which is similar to the Prague version.⁴³⁶

The Announcement takes place in the night when the angel burst into the scene with a light beam which illuminated the shepherds intent on sleeping on the ground surrounded by the animals.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁴ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXVI.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. CL.

⁴³⁶ Brandstätter, *Die Gemäldegalerie*, p. 27, catalogue Nr. T 86.

⁴³⁷ Arslan, *I Bassano*, pp. 149-150, catalogue Nr. 54.

The Libochovice copy is in all details similar to the original painting. In the copy, Schröder tried to render the same affect of light and shade of the original, but the result loses the lightness of Bassano's *Announcement*.



Image 69



Image 70

VII.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Francesco Bassano, Miracle from the Source of Marah

Oil on canvas

142 x 175 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 953

Image 71

Francesco Bassano

Miracle from the Source of Marah

Oil on canvas

82 x 114 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. 4300

Image 72

The original painting by Francesco Bassano, *The Miracle from the Source of Marah* copied by Schröder was listed in the Prague inventory of 1718 as: “*Nr. 313. Bassan. Orig.: Wie in der wüsten das manna regnet*”⁴³⁸ and in the one of 1737: “*Nr. 430 Wie es in der wüsten manna. Bassano*”.⁴³⁹

The painting represents the Biblical episode narrated in the book of Exodus, where God reassured Moses that the starving Israelites, forced to wander forty years in the desert, would be nourished by manna, a divine food that fell to the ground each day like dew.

Francesco Bassano represents the groups of Hebrews at the fore and backgrounds diligently collecting the manna from the ground. The miraculous scene is set within a pastoral landscape of rolling hills with the peaks of the camp tents rising on the horizon.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁸ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXVI.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. CLVIII.

⁴⁴⁰ Brandstätter, *Die Gemäldegalerie*, p. 27, catalogue Nr. T 87; Ballarin, *Jacopo Bassano*, p. 285.

The painting is a free repetition of the left half of the same painting by Jacopo Bassano which is preserved at the Dresden Gemäldegalerie. (Inv. Nr. Gal- 253, 183 x 278 cm).

In the copy Schröder carefully reproduced the figures and animals in the foreground, while the naturalistic aspects of the grass on the floor and the landscape on the background are left behind in comparison with the detailed nature depicted by Bassano.



Image 71



Image 72

VIII.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Gerolamo Bassano, Moses strikes water from the rock

Oil on canvas

147 x 176 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 1701

Image 73

Gerolamo Bassano

Moses strikes water from the rock

Oil on canvas

82 x 114 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. 4305

Image 74

Moses strikes water from the rock by Gerolamo Bassano was in Prague Castle already in the year 1685, then it was listed in the inventory of 1718: “Nr. 219. Bassan Vechio: Wie Moyses in der wüsten den felschen schlaget, so daraus wasser füeszet.”⁴⁴¹ and in 1737 “Nr. 175 Wie Moyses in der wüsten den felschen schlaget, woraus Wasser. Bassano Vechio”.⁴⁴² From 1894 the painting is part of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. It was previously attributed to Jacopo Bassano and the workshop, but lately it has been assigned to Gerolamo Bassano.⁴⁴³

The painting captures the miracle that was crucial to the successful outcome of the Israelites’ strenuous voyage to the Promised Land. The people of Israel had grown disgruntled during their long exodus from Egypt because they had no water to drink. When Moses and his brother, the high priest Aaron, appealed to the Lord for help, Moses was told to take the rod he had used to part the waters of the Red Sea and strike the rock at Horeb, from which water would come out so that “*people may drink*” (Exodus 17:6)

⁴⁴¹ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXV

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, p. CLXVIII

⁴⁴³ Brandstätter, *Die Gemäldegalerie*, p 27, catalogue Nr. T 88.

“and Moses lifted up his hand and struck the rock with his rod twice, and water came forth abundantly, and the congregation drank, and their cattle” (Numbers 20:11).

Gerolamo Bassano depicts the moment when Moses has just struck the rock. The stream of water has already created deep pools from which the Israelites and their animals drink and refresh themselves.⁴⁴⁴

In Schröder’s copies the composition is in all details similar to the original, only the colour range is limited when compared with the variety of greens-blues and yellow-oranges of Bassano’s original painting. Also the vegetation of the trees, so carefully represented in the original canvas, are completely overlooked by Schröder.

⁴⁴⁴ Ballarin, *Jacopo Bassano*, p. 285.



Image 73



Image 74

IX.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Jacopo Bassano, The meeting at the Golden Gate

Oil on canvas

148 x 144 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 878

Image 75

Jacopo Bassano

The meeting at the Golden Gate

Oil on canvas

140 x 127.5 cm

Dresden, Gemäldegalerie

Inv. Gal-Nr. 261 A

Image 76

The meeting at the Golden Gate was attributed to Jacopo Bassano and it is today located at the Dresden Gemäldegalerie where it was transferred in 1749. The painting was previously located in Prague Castle collections where it is likely to be identify with the “Nr. 203. *Leander Bassan: Wie Zacharias und Elisabeth einander begegnen*”⁴⁴⁵ mentioned in the inventory of 1718 and with “Nr. 198 *Wie Zacharias und Elisabeth einander begegnen Leander Bassan*” in the inventory of 1737.⁴⁴⁶

Anne and Joachim might have been confused with Zaccaria and Elisabeth because of the similar destiny which associate the protagonist of the Biblical stories. As was for Anne and Joachim, also Zaccaria and Elisabeth, even though they were both of an old age, an angel of the Lord appeared and announced to Zaccaria that his wife would give birth to a son, whom he was to name John.⁴⁴⁷

The copy by Schröder is similar to the original except for some missing details like the fruit on the tree on the right and the diversification of the grass and plants on the ground.

⁴⁴⁵ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. GXXXV.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., p. CXLIX.

⁴⁴⁷ H. Marx, *Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister. Deutsche Ausgabe: Meisterwerke aus Dresden*, Dresden 2001, catalogue Nr. 69.



Image 75



Image 76

X.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Gerrit von Honthorst, The Dentist

Oil on canvas

164 x 171 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 3765

Image 77

Gerrit von Honthorst

The Dentist

Oil on canvas

147 x 219 cm

Dresden, Gemäldegalerie

Inv. Gal.-Nr. 1251

Image 78

The copy by Schröder at the Libochovice Castle was painted after Gerrit von Honthorst's *The Dentist*, a painting which belonged to the collection of the Duke of Buckingham before being sold at the auction in Antwerp in 1649. Honthorst's canvas was bought by the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm and found its way to the Prague Castle collections where it is mentioned in the inventory of 1718 "*Nr. 292. Hondorst: Ein zanbrecher, so einem mann die zähn ausbrechen thuet, mit sieben figuren.*"⁴⁴⁸ and in the one of 1737: "*Nr. 355 Ein zahnbrecher, so einen mann die zähn ausbrechen thut, mit 7 figuren*", as "*orig. Honthorst*".⁴⁴⁹

In 1749, together with sixty-nine Italian and Dutch paintings, the Dresden gallery inspector Pietro Guarienti acquired Honthorst's painting that was transferred from Prague to Dresden, becoming part of the Gemäldegalerie collection.⁴⁵⁰

Schröder's copy reproduces the original composition in all the details. Like in the Dresden painting, the patient is seated in the centre foreground with his body facing to the left, his left hand rests on the arm of the chair while his right hand is held by one of

⁴⁴⁸ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXVI.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. CLV.

⁴⁵⁰ Neumann, *Obrazárna*, pp. 16-17.

the spectators. The bearded doctor, standing behind the patient, holds his left cheek with a steady grip and is about to extract the tooth with the other hand. A young assistant stands in the right foreground holding a candle in his right hand and shading the flame with his left creating effects of light and shade in the dark room.⁴⁵¹

In the Libochovice painting, Schröder has shown his ability as copyist in reproducing the original effects of *chiaroscuro* still quite visible despite the heavy repainting.

⁴⁵¹ On the original see in particular: J. R. Judson, *Gerrit Van Honthorst. A Discussion of his Position in Dutch Art*, Nijhoff 1959, pp. 242-243.



Image 77



Image 78

XI.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Bartolomeo Manfredi, The Guard's room

Oil on canvas

143 x 176 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 951

Image 79

Bartolomeo Manfredi

The Guard's room

Oil on canvas

129.5 x 190.5 cm

Los Angeles, County Museum of Art

Image 80

The copy by Schröder at the Libochovice Castle is based on Bartolomeo Manfredi, *The Guard's room*, a painting which is today located at the County Museum of Art in Los Angeles.

The assumption is that the original painting was in the possession of Duke of Buckingham, in whose inventories a small painting and a large one by Manfredi were listed.⁴⁵² From the Buckingham collection the painting was likely sold in the auction and transferred to Prague Castle where it is traceable in the inventory of 1718: “Nr. 161. *Manfretti: Soldaten und bauern*“⁴⁵³ and in the one of 1737: “Nr. 172 *Soldaten und bauern. Manfredi*“.⁴⁵⁴

Since 1974, the painting has been owned by the London-based artists Cohen & Sons, Trafalgar Galleries. Between 1983-1996, *The Guard's room* was exhibited as a permanent lender of a private collection at the Los Angeles County Museum. Since

⁴⁵² McEvansoneya, *Vertue, Walpole*, pp. 1–14; Davis, *An Inventory of the Duke of Buckingham*, pp. 376–382.

⁴⁵³ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXLVIII.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. CXXXIV.

1997, the painting has been in the possession of Ronald Cohen, who gave it for sale at Sotheby's in 2000 in New York, but was not able to sell it.⁴⁵⁵

Manfredi's *The Guard's room* imitates the genre compositions typical of Caravaggio, in particular presenting scenes of musicians, soldiers intent on drinking and playing instruments or table games in taverns.⁴⁵⁶

As in its prototype -*The Guard's room* at the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden (ca. 1615–1620)- the Los Angeles painting represents a group of men drinking and playing music around a table. Reference to Caravaggio are in the rendering of the light that comes to illuminate the protagonists whose faces stand out from the dark scene.

The copy for Libochovice is in all details similar to the Los Angeles version. Schröder imitated Manfredi's use of light and shadow to build the scene, but the final result is much less homogeneous than the original painting.

⁴⁵⁵ Sotheby's Preview, 2000, *Important Old Master Paintings*, Sotheby's, New York, 28.01.2000, lot 61

⁴⁵⁶ On the original painting see the catalogue Nr. of the painting in J. Thuillier, *I caravaggisti Francesi*, Rome 1973, p. 63; N. Hartje, *Bartolomeo Manfredi (1582-1622): ein Nachfolger Caravaggios und seine europäische Wirkung: Monographie und Werkverzeichnis*, Weimar 2004, pp. 370-372.



Image 79



Image 80

XII.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Bartolomeo Manfredi, The Fortune Teller

Oil on canvas

145,5 x 176 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 950

Image 82

Bartolomeo Manfredi

The Fortune Teller

Oil on canvas

137 x 201 cm

Dresden, Gemäldegalerie

Inv. 412

Image 83

Schröder's copy is a reproduction of *The Fortune Teller* by Bartolomeo Manfredi which has likely to be identified with "an Egyptian telling Fortunes" attributed to Manfredi in the possessions of the Duke of Buckingham.⁴⁵⁷ The painting must have been sold out on the 1649's auction of the Buckingham collection and transferred to the Prague Castle where it is registered in the inventory of the 1718 as "Nr. 160. Manfredi: Unterschiedliche bauern und züegeiner"⁴⁵⁸ and in the one of 1737: "Nr. 171 Unterschiedliche bauern und zigeuner..... originale Manfredi".⁴⁵⁹

The painting was sold and transferred to the Dresden Gemäldegalerie in 1749 where it was believed to be a work by Caravaggio. In the 19th-century catalogue of the Dresden Gemäldegalerie, *The Fortune Teller* is still attributed to Caravaggio.⁴⁶⁰

Like many other paintings, Manfredi's *The Fortune Teller* has been missed during the Second World War. The painting is still lost nowadays.

⁴⁵⁷ McEvansoneya, *Vertue, Walpole*, pp. 1-14; Davis, *An Inventory of the Duke of Buckingham*, pp. 376-382.

⁴⁵⁸ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXIV.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid. p. CXLVIII.

⁴⁶⁰ On the original painting see in particular: A. Moir, "Bartolomeo Manfredi", *Caravaggio e il suo tempo*, Napoli 1985, p. 71; Hartje, *Bartolomeo Manfredi*, pp. 370-372.

The existence of many different versions and copies of the same subject indicates the appreciation of Manfredi's composition. In addition to the version with eight figures like the Dresden painting, there exists a reduced one with only four figures like *The Gypsy Fortune Teller* at the Institute of Arts in Detroit⁴⁶¹ (Image 81) where the group of men playing a table game on the right part of the painting is completely cut off from the composition.

The copy by Schröder allows to confirm the existence of a multi-figured version of *The Fortune Teller* and to appreciate the appearance of the lost Dresden original.



Image 81 Bartolomeo Manfredi, *The Gypsy Fortune Teller*, oil on canvas, 1616, 121 x 153 cm, Institute of Arts, Detroit

⁴⁶¹ Bartolomeo Manfredi, *The Gypsy Fortune Teller*, oil on canvas, 1616, 121 x 153 cm, Institute of Arts, Detroit



Image 82



Image 83

XIII.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Johann von Hug (?), The Rape of Europe

Oil on canvas

164 x 164 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 3764

Image 86

Johann von Hug (?)

The Rape of Europe

Oil on canvas

129 x 88 cm

Prague, Picture Gallery of the Castle (deposit)

Inv. MS 115

Image 87

The original painting is safely identified in the inventories of the Prague Castle picture gallery of the year 1718: “*Nr. 34, Johann von Hug. Orig.: Evropa, auf einem ochsen sitzend, mit der rechten hand in der luft und mit der linkhen den ochsen bei denen hörnen haltend, oben drei engein in der luft*”⁴⁶² (Europe, sitting on an ox, with the right hand in the air and with the left she is holding the ox’s horns, above three angels are in the air) as well as in the inventory of 1737: “*Nr. 446. Evropa, auf ein ochsen sitzend, die rechte hand in der luft und mit der linken den ochsen bei denen hörnern*”⁴⁶³ as an “*originale*” by “*Johann von Hug*”. The same subject is listed in the inventory of 1768: “*Nr. 155 Evropa fabula*”.⁴⁶⁴

Nevertheless the identity of the painter quoted in the inventories remains unknown. There is no mention of Johann von Hug or a variation of this name in the artistic literature.

At the Picture Castle Picture Gallery a painting representing a *Rape of Europe* attributed to Girolamo Forabosco is been preserved in the deposits and it is the original painting

⁴⁶² Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXII.

⁴⁶³ Ibid. p. CLIX.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid. p. CLXXXVII.

after which Schröder painted the copy for Libochovice Castle. In the previous literature, the copy by Schröder was believed to be after an unknown version of a *Rape of Europe* by Giovanni Francesco Romanelli, likely because of its similarity with *The Rape of Europe* today preserved at the Musei Civici di Reggio Emilia, Galleria Parmeggiani (Image 84).⁴⁶⁵

The composition of the Prague painting is also closer to *The Rape of Europe* by Simon Vouet (Image 85).⁴⁶⁶ In Romanelli and Vouet's paintings the moment just prior to the flight is represented, when Europe has placed the flowers on the beast's head and is sitting on its back, while her companions surrounded them with plenty of flowers.

The dimensions of the Prague painting are smaller in comparison with Schröder's copy (129 x 88 cm of the original painting against 164 x 164 cm of the copy). Schröder had to enlarge the composition in width, adding space between the figures to reach the squared format imposed by Brokof's frame.

⁴⁶⁵ Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 344-46. Giovanni Francesco Romanelli, *The Rape of Europe*, oil on canvas, 130 x 163 cm, Musei Civici di Reggio Emilia, Galleria Parmeggiani.

⁴⁶⁶ Simon Vouet, *The Rape of Europe*, oil on canvas, ca. 1640, 179 x 141,5 cm, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid.



Image 84 Giovanni Francesco Romanelli, *The Rape of Europe*, oil on canvas, 130 x 163 cm, Musei Civici di Reggio Emilia, Galleria Parmeggiani



Image 85 Simon Vouet, *The Rape of Europe*, oil on canvas, ca. 1640, 179 x 141,5 cm, Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum, Madrid



Image 86



Image 87

XIV.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, Jacob meets Esau

Oil on canvas

146 x 176 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 2865

Image 88

Johann Heinrich Schönfeld

Jacob meets Esau

Oil on canvas

98 x 181 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. 1145

Image 89

The copy at the Libochovice Castle was painted by Schröder after Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, *Jacob meets Esau*. The original painting was already at Prague Castle in 1663. The painting is then recorded in the Prague inventories of 1685 and of 1718 as “Nr. 54. Schönfeldt: Eine histori von Jacob und Esau”⁴⁶⁷ and in 1737 “Nr. 22 Historie von Jacob und Esau... Schönfeldt”.⁴⁶⁸ From 1779 the painting is mentioned in Vienna where it is still exhibited at the Kunsthistorisches Museum.

The painting represents the episode of the meeting of the two brothers in Esau’s territory after twenty-years of separation.

Schönfeld used a very characteristic technique where only the subjects in the front of the scene are physically defined in colour, while everything that is progressing further in the background enters into the blue-gray colours of the atmosphere and loses its real presence. Here the most delicate tonalities of pink, light blue, yellow and violet are used by Schönfeld.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁷ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXIII.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. CXLIII.

⁴⁶⁹ H. Pée, *Johann Heinrich Schönfeld*, Berlin 1971, pp. 100-101.

Even if Schröder has carefully reproduced the original painting in all its details, in the copy Schönfeld's *sfumato* is totally lost. The great freedom and delicacy of Schönfeld's hand are no longer present in the Libochovice copy, where the figures are all clearly defined in contours and the landscape that progressively faded in the horizon in the original painting loses its lightness in Schröder's copy.



Image 88



Image 89

XV.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, Gideon rallies the troops

Oil on canvas

145 x 175 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 2866

Image 90

Johann Heinrich Schönfeld

Gideon rallies the troops

Oil on canvas

99 x 179,5 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. 1143

Image 91

The copy by Schröder is a reproduction after Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, *Gideon rallies the troops*. In 1663 the original painting was already at Prague Castle. It is mentioned in the inventory of 1718: “Nr. 35. Schönfeldt: Die histori von Hedeon'«mit figuren und alten gebäuden”⁴⁷⁰ and in the inventory of 1737: “Nr. 13 Die historie von Gedeon mit vielen figuren und alten gebäuden. Schönfeldt”.⁴⁷¹

The painting shows a story from the Book of Judges (7.5-7) when the Israelite military leader Gideon chose 300 men from the throng of his 10,000 soldiers.

Johann Heinrich Schönfeld represented the scene in a landscape traversed by a stream which extends diagonally up to the outer edge of the picture, intersected by rocks and ruins. Apart from the figures in the front, the other soldiers are drawn in the form of sketches as they go deeper into the background.⁴⁷²

As for Schröder's copies after Schönfeld's *Jacob meets Esau*, also this copy loses the lightness and the gradual rendering of the colours which in Schönfeld are vivid and

⁴⁷⁰ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXIII.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid. p. CXLIII.

⁴⁷² Pée, *Johann Heinrich Schönfeld*, p. 101; M. Waike and H. Kaulbach, *Johann Heinrich Schönfeld - Welt der Götter, Heiligen und Heldenmythen*, DuMont 2009, p. 193.

define in the front while they gradually vanish into the blue-gray sky of the background. Differently from Schönfeld's original, Schröder did not reproduce the figures of the soldiers on the horizon by monochrome sketches, but he chose to give them a solid definition through the use of colour.



Image 90



Image 91

XVI.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Christoph Schwarz, Venus and Adonis

Oil on canvas

145,5 x 175 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 3767

Image 92

Christoph Schwarz

Venus and Adonis

Oil on canvas

114,5 x 149 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. 3827

Image 93

The copy by Schröder reproduces the painting representing *Venus and Adonis* by Christoph Schwarz. The painting was originally in Prague Castle where it is listed in 1685 and in 1718 as: “Nr. 297. Cavalier Schwanz: Venus und Adonis mit 5 figuren”.⁴⁷³ In the Prague inventory of 1737 the painting is listed as: “Nr. 375 Venus und Adonis mit 5 figuren. Cavalier Schwartz”,⁴⁷⁴ while from 1876 the painting is mentioned in the collections of Vienna, where it is still preserved.

Schwarz represents the moment after Adonis’ death, when Venus is captured by the pain for the loss of her lover. Despite the sad moment represented, the scene is depicted in a luminous atmosphere where the peak of light is precisely Venus. The reminiscences of Venetian painting are visible in the landscape and in the phenotype of the female figures.⁴⁷⁵ Schröder was quite careful in the use of colour, leaving behind the strong *chiaroscuro* that characterizes almost all the copies of the Libochovice series, in order to reproduce a more lighted paint closer to Schwarz’s prototype.

⁴⁷³ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXVI.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid. p. CLVI.

⁴⁷⁵ A. Rueth, “Christoph Schwarz”, in Alexander Langheiter (ed). *Jürgen Wurst: Monachia. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus*, München 2005, p. 98.



Image 92



Image 93

XVII.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Simon Vouet, Martha reproaching her sister Mary Magdalene

Oil on canvas

109 x 178 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 1700

Image 94

Simon Vouet

Martha reproaching her sister Mary Magdalene

Oil on canvas

110 x 140 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. 255

Image 95

The copy by Schröder was painted after *Martha reproaching her sister Mary Magdalene* by Simon Vouet. The original painting, which today is exhibited at the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, is listed in both the inventories of Buckingham collection of the years 1635 and 1648.⁴⁷⁶ The canvas was sold in auction in 1649 and found its way to Prague Castle collections where it is traceable only in the inventory of 1737: “Nr. 386 *Maria Magdalena und Martha*” by an unknown painter (“*incognito*”).⁴⁷⁷

The painting represents the moment in which Martha, rather adept of a Puritan life, blames her sister Mary Magdalene of vanity. Martha begs with eloquent gestures her sister to turn away from worldly life symbolized by the luxurious dress worn by Mary Magdalene as well as by the toilette’s objects and the mirror on the table.⁴⁷⁸

The Libochovice copy is faithful to the original painting.

⁴⁷⁶ McEvansoneya, *Vertue, Walpole*, pp. 1-14; Davis, *An Inventory of the Duke of Buckingham*, pp. 376-382.

⁴⁷⁷ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CLVI.

⁴⁷⁸ On the original painting see Nicolson, *The Caravaggism in Europe*, catalogue Nr. 210; Brandstätter, *Die Gemäldegalerie*, p. 133.

The original dimensions of the copy were bigger, Schröder's painting was extensively reduced in size when it was adapted to the actual collocation on the door of the Red Room in the Libochovice Castle.



Image 94



Image 95

XVIII.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Anthony van Dyck, The Charity

Oil on canvas

109 x 178 cm

Libochovice Castle

Inv. 1697

Image 97

Unknown (Copy after Anthony Van Dyck)

The Charity

Oil on oak

148.2 x 107.5 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. NG6494

The Charity today located at the National Gallery in London⁴⁷⁹ (Image 98) was painted in Antwerp soon after Anthony van Dyck's return from Italy in 1627. It reveals the influence of contemporary Italian painters, in particular Guido Reni and Titian, evident in the female figure and in the warm, dark colours, with the typical red-white-blue triad. Since the 16th century the personification of the greatest of the Theological Virtues, with her lively retinue of child attributes, had become a popular image. Many copies attest the popularity of the composition by van Dyck.⁴⁸⁰ The most notable are the one formerly at Methuen collection, Corsham Court, an other in Dulwich, a third one in Musigkau and the one belonged to the collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (1659 inv. Nr. 749, Kunstistorisches Museum, Vienna) which suggests that there was also a version in which the curtain on the right was replaced by trees and branches of roses and the wall on the left by an overgrown rock face.

In the Prague inventory a *Charity* is recorded in 1718: “Nr. 17. Incognito: Die Charitas; ist in der dritten galleria” with an annotation that says: “Incognito ist durchstrichen und

⁴⁷⁹ Anthony van Dyck, *The Charity*, oil on oak, ca. 1627-28, 148,2 x 107,5 cm, National Gallery, London, Inv. Nr. NG6494

⁴⁸⁰ On the original painting see in particular: S. J. Barnes, N. de Poorter, O. Millar and H. Vey, *Van Dyck: a complete catalogue of the paintings*, New Haven 2004, catalogue Nr. III.64.

darunter gesetzt: Copirt durch des prinzen Roberti von Heydelberg schwester nach Van Deik original".⁴⁸¹ In the same way in the inventory of 1737 it is recorded: "*Charitas, durch des prinzen Roberti von Heydelberg Schwester nach des Antoni Vandeyk orig. gemahlt*" and it is specified that it is "*Herzogs Roberti Schwester*" and painted by Frans Luycx's quoted as "*Frantz Leüxen*".⁴⁸²

The Libochovice copy was painted by Schröder after the copy by Frans Luycx's after an original version of *The Charity* by Anthony van Dyck belonged to Prince Roberti of Heidelberg, as specified by the Prague inventories.

The dimensions of the Libochovice copy had been modified due to a more recent collocation of the painting over the door of the Red Room as happened for the copy after Simon Vouet.



Image 96 Unknown, Copy after Anthony van Dyck, *The Charity*, oil on canvas, 68 x 53 cm, auction

⁴⁸¹ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXII.

⁴⁸² Ibid. p. CLIX.



Image 97



Image 98 Anthony van Dyck, *The Charity*, oil on oak, ca. 1627-28, 148.2 x 107.5 cm, National Gallery, London

XIX.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Guido Reni, St. Jerome and the angel

Oil on canvas

151,5 x 163,5 cm

Ptuj Castle

Inv. G 35 s

Image 99

Guido Reni

St. Jerome and the angel.

Oil on canvas

278 x 238 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. 9124

Image 100

The copy by Schröder is a reproduction of *St. Jerome and the angel* attributed to Guido Reni today located at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and dated around 1634-35.

St. Jerome was described by Malvasia as “*San Gerolamo grande al naturale, che orando vien chiamato da un angelo il quale accennandole con le dita mostra di ragionarle, alla foce di una grotta vi si vede un leone, et il residuo del quadro finge un bellissimo paese...*”.⁴⁸³ Malvasia remembered also that “*un S. Gerolamo grande al naturale, con un Angelo, ch’egli [Cesare Gratti] pagò al Maestro trecento scudi, gli venne venduto cinquecento a Monsù David Sartore Francese di S. Mammolo; il quale poi (spintovi anche da necessità) rivendette settecento quaranta ad un Baron Tedesco*”.⁴⁸⁴

The original painting was part of the Liechtenstein collection already in 1767 from where it was transferred to the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna after it was purchased in 1957.

⁴⁸³ O. Kurz, “Guido Reni”, *Jahrb. d. Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, XI, 1937, p. 219.

⁴⁸⁴ A. Venturi, *La Reale Galleria Estense di Modena*, Modena 1882, p. 186.

There are no evidence that the painting was part of the collections of the Prague Castle, but the Ptuj copy allows to affirm that *St. Jerome* passed through the Prague Castle collection for a period of time. Nevertheless, different versions and copies of the same subject are to be found in various collections, demonstrating the appreciation for Reni's original composition.

Recently an autograph *St. Jerome* by Guido Reni came to be part of the Institute of Art in Detroit. The composition and style are close to the Viennese version. Other two copies after *St. Jerome* exist: one in the deposits of the Alte Pinakotek in Munich (Inv. Nr. 7516) and an other one is property of the viscountess of Middleton.⁴⁸⁵

The composition of the Ptuj copy is faithful to the original painting except for a slightly variation in size. Schröder stretched the composition in width and shortened it in height in order to fit the canvas into the almost squared format typical of the Libochovice series.

⁴⁸⁵ S. Pepper, *Guido Reni, l'opera completa*, Novara 1988, pp. 280-281.



Image 99



Image 100

XX.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Andrea Sacchi, The Divine Wisdom

Oil on canvas

146.5 x 175 cm

Ptuj Castle

Inv. G 55

Image 101

Andrea Sacchi (copy after)

The Divine Wisdom

Oil on canvas

80 x 102 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

The Ptuj painting is a copy after Andrea Sacchi's *Divine Wisdom*, the famous ceiling painting in the Barberini Palace in Rome (Image 102). The ceiling was commissioned to Andrea Sacchi by Prince Taddeo Barberini.⁴⁸⁶ The theme of the ceiling is the Divine Wisdom allegorically shown at the centre of the composition as a woman seated on a throne. In her right hand she holds a sceptre with the eye of God and in her left hand a mirror, symbol of Prudence. On the Wisdom's breast is a little sun, symbol of the Barberini family together with the bees which decorate the throne. The female figure is surrounded by eleven figures that symbolize her virtues. From the left: Nobility with Ariadne's crown, Justice with the scales, Fortress with the clubs, Eternity with the snake, Sweetness with the lyre, Divinity with the triangle, Magnanimity with the ear of corn. From the right: Beauty with the hair of Berenice, Intuition with the eagle, Purity with the swan, Holiness with the cross and the altar. In the sky two winged archers appear: the one on the lion is the love of God, while on the opposite side the hare symbolizes the fear of God.

The earth globe seems to revolve around the sun behind the throne, as if Andrea Sacchi was aware of the heliocentric theories supported by Galileo and Copernicus.

⁴⁸⁶ For the original ceiling painting and the copies after it see: H. Posse, *Der römische Maler Andrea Sacchi*, Leipzig 1925, pp. 35–49; A. Sutherland Harris, *Andrea Sacchi: Complete edition of the paintings with a critical catalogue*, Oxford 1997, pp. 5–37, 57–59, catalogue Nr. 17.

The stars laid on the attributes of the virtues correspond to the astral configuration of the sky on the night of 5 August 1623, the day in which Barberini was elected Pope Urban VIII.

The iconographical program of *The Divine Wisdom* is based on the Old Testament (Books of Wisdom, especially 7 : 17–19; 8 : 2, 13, 15–16 and Sirach) and it includes an astrological program too, based on the symbol of the sun, which focuses on the belief that the Barberini family was “*born and elected to rule the Church*”.⁴⁸⁷ The centre of the composition is occupied by the earth globe which presents a vast region of *terra incognita*, while Europe is positioned just at the top of the globe.⁴⁸⁸

In the inventory of Prague Castle of 1718 a copy after Andrea Sacchi’s fresco is mentioned as an Andrea Sacchi’s original, it hang “*In ihro kais. maj. Retirada*” and it is recorded as the first item in the whole inventory as “*Eine invention der göttlichen providenz der vier monarchien*”.⁴⁸⁹ The painting was still in Prague Castle in 1723, but soon after it was transferred to Vienna where it is located now.⁴⁹⁰

The copy, which was not painted by Andrea Sacchi himself, but rather by his workshop,⁴⁹¹ was given as a gift for Emperor Ferdinand III to his envoy, Prince Johann Anton of Eggenberg in Rome in 1638, by Anna Colonna, wife of Taddeo Barberini, who was Pope Urban VIII’s nephew. Anna Colonna was receiving important Pope’s guests in the Barberini Palace in the so called Taddeo wing, where her apartments were situated. The hall with Sacchi’s painting was the antechamber, where noble guests were received; the fresco was very much admired, also by Prince of Eggenberg.⁴⁹² Giving copies after

⁴⁸⁷ Scott, *Images of Nepotism*, pp. 49, 62-70.

⁴⁸⁸ Scott pointed to the unusual heliocentrism and eccentric location of the earth, which he understood as an implicit validation of the Copernican system.

⁴⁸⁹ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXII.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid. p. CXLI. “*1723 haben allerhöchstgedachte seine kais. maj. Folgende stuckh ausgesuchet: 1. Andreas Sakhe: Invention der göttlichen providenz von 4 monarchien /.../*”.

⁴⁹¹ Ann Sutherland Harris values it as a copy of the workshop and in spite of the flatness, which prevails in the composition, of reliable quality; There are other versions known, five of them probably Sacchi’s own work, but Ann Sutherland recorded only one as still existing. Later one of these Sacchi’s paintings was found in Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica in Pallazzo Barberini. Beside the copies in Ermitage and in Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Anna Lo Bianco mentions another copy in Pinacoteca di Todì. Cfr: Sutherland Harris, *Andrea Sacchi*, p. 58 and A. Lo Bianco, *La volta di Pietro da Cortona*, Gebart, Roma 2004, p. 71.

⁴⁹² Scott, *Images of Nepotism*, p. 62; Posse, *Der römische Maler Andrea Sacchi*, p. 48. The copy of *The Divine Wisdom* was not the only picture which Prince Eggenberg received in Rome; the second one was

renown paintings of the collection or after the famous ceiling painting of the Palace was a common practice among aristocratic families, a way to spread the fame of their collection and Palace, as well as their wealth, among other noble families and politic partners.⁴⁹³

Christian Schröder's painting is a copy after a copy and it has been restored many times. The valuation of the original quality of the copy is almost impossible. The copy now in Vienna has a squared format, while Schröder's copy is much larger.⁴⁹⁴ In the Viennese version the copyist did not reproduce the entire Sacchi's fresco, but only the centre cutting the sphere in the lower part of the composition and representing the continents on the sphere very approximately.

In the copy for Libochovice, the globe, which is also cut, appears just as a dark blue ball with metal glance and no images of the continents are represented. Some other details are missed on the copies, for instance the bees, which appear on the top of the throne in Sacchi's ceiling painting.

On 16 January 1692 Schröder wrote a letter to Ferdinand Dietrichstein, where he explained the history of the commission and confirmed the payments. First he finished 42 paintings for Gundakar Dietrichstein, but there was one painting commissioned additionally by Ferdinand.⁴⁹⁵ This copy was hanged over the door in the room of Ferdinand's wife, Maria Elisabetha (1640–1715), who was Johann Anton Prince of Eggenberg's daughter. It is possible that Maria Elisabetha asked to have the copy after Sacchi's *Divine Wisdom* as a memory of her father's mission in Rome.⁴⁹⁶

Nicola Poussin's *Destruction of Jerusalem*, now also in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. The same copy was donated in similar occasions to Cardinal de Richelieu; this copy later came to the Crozat collection and is now in Eremitage in St. Petersburg.

⁴⁹³ Scott, *Images of Nepotism*, p. 62. On Barberini family see also: P. Pecchiai, *I Barberini*, Roma 1951.

⁴⁹⁴ The Vienna painting measures 80 x 102 cm; The Ptuj copy is 146,5 x 175 cm.

⁴⁹⁵ “/.../ in dero Lybochovizer Schlos Zimmer zwei und vierzig Stück Malerei, das Stück gegen Vier undt zwanzig Gulden zur Verfertigen contrahiret, undt nachgesendt auf Ihro Fürstlgnaden Fursten Ferdinand von Dittrichstein befehlich noch eine in der Fürstin Zimmer uber der Thür abgangige /.../”. SOA Litomeřice, VS Libochovice, Kart. 22, II. F. 1, 1692.

⁴⁹⁶ This hypothesis is affirmed by Marjeta Ciglencečki in Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 344-345.



Image 101

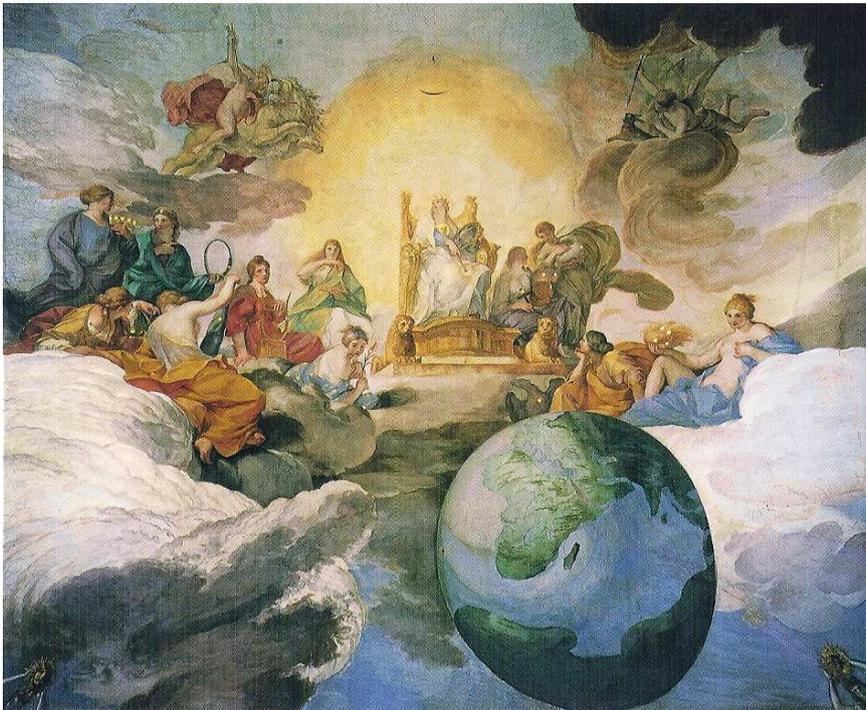


Image 102 Andrea Sacchi, *The Divine Wisdom*, fresco, 13 x 14 m,
Sala del Mappamondo, Palazzo Barberini, Rome

XXI.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Giovanni Battista Spinelli, David plays before Saul

Oil on canvas

147 x 165.5 cm

Ptuj Castle

Inv. G57 s

Image 104

Giovanni Battista Spinelli

David plays before Saul

Oil on canvas

112,5 x 155 cm

Prague, Picture Gallery of the Castle

Inv. 0 143

Image 105

The copy by Schröder today at the Ptuj Castle is a faithful reproduction of *David plays before Saul* by Giovanni Battista Spinelli exhibited at the Prague Castle Picture Gallery.

The subject of the painting illustrates a story from the Bible (I Samuel 16: 14-23) in which David is brought before King Saul to play on the harp and calm the nervous king, who is troubled by an Evil spirit. The painting represents the moment in which Saul is lying on the bed where a bunch of people are gather together while David had just started playing on his harp.⁴⁹⁷ The painting by Spinelli was mentioned in Prague inventory in 1718 as “*Nr. 194. Spinelli. Orig.: Wie David dem könig Saul auf der harfen spielet.*” and in 1737: “*Nr. 219 Wie David dem könig Saul auf der harfen spielet*”⁴⁹⁸ attributed to Spinelli.

The Prague painting appears to be a replica of Spinelli’s original which was founded in 1970 in a Florentine villa and bought by the Uffizi Museum in Florence where it is still

⁴⁹⁷ On the original painting see in particular: Neumann, *Obrazárna*, pp. 118-121; Vlnas, *The glory of the Baroque in Bohemia*, p. 83

⁴⁹⁸ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXVIII.

located (Image 103).⁴⁹⁹ The Prague replica is simplified in comparison with the Uffizi version, so that one of the hypothesis is that the Prague painting might be a preparatory version for the Florentine canvas. The differences are visible on the figures hiding under the curtain on the left of the painting which disappeared in the Uffizi version, probably due to later repaintings. In the Prague replica, the group of men on the right are depicted with different physiognomy as well as with variation in attitude and clothing. Schröder's copy appears to be in all the details identical to the Prague version, with little variation in the tonality of the light-blue drapery painted by Spinelli.



Image 103 Giovanni Battista Spinelli, *David plays before Saul*, oil on canvas, 253 x 309 cm, Uffizi Museum, Florence

⁴⁹⁹ Giovanni Battista Spinelli, *David plays before Saul*, oil on canvas, 253 x 309 cm, Uffizi Museum, Florence.



Image 104



Image 105

XXII.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Mattia Preti, Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew

Oil on canvas

182 x 160 cm

Ptuj Castle

Inv. G59 s

Image 106

Mattia Preti

Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew

Oil on canvas

205 x 147 cm

Dresden, Gemäldegalerie

Image 107

The copy today preserved at Ptuj Castle representing *The Martyrdom of St Bartholomew* after Mattia Preti seems to be an exception in the series of copies painted by Schröder for the Libochovice Castle, in particular concerning the quality. The Ptuj painting was recognized as a version, perhaps even a replica, of Mattia Preti's original *Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew*⁵⁰⁰ which was part of the Prague Castle collection since it was bought in auction in 1649 by the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm. The painting is listed in the inventory of 1718 and attributed to "Calabrese", the nickname of Mattia Preti: "Nr. 496: Calabrese: Sancti Bartholomei marter."⁵⁰¹ In the inventory of 1737 it is still attributed to "Calabrese" "Nr. 505 Sanct Bartholomaeus martyr".⁵⁰² In 1749 Preti's original painting was bought and transferred to Dresden where it is still part of the Gemäldegalerie.

In 1964 the Ptuj copy was recognized as a work by an anonymous Italian painter from the 17th century.⁵⁰³ In 1965 Hans Herbst, an expert from the Vienna Dorotheum, valued the furnishing of the Ptuj Castle on the request of the Herberstein family. In his

⁵⁰⁰ J. T. Spike, *Mattia Preti : Catalogo ragionato dei dipinti*, Museo Civico di Taverna 1999, pp. 380–381, catalogue. Nr. 341. The painting from the Dresden gallery has not been exhibited for a long time, as it is in need for restoration. Spike mentions also the painting in Ptuj and defines it as a copy.

⁵⁰¹ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXIX.

⁵⁰² Ibid. p. CLXII.

⁵⁰³ A. Cevc, *Stari tuji slikarji*, II, Ljubljana 1964, p. 45, catalogue Nr. 72.

protocol,⁵⁰⁴ he attributed the *Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew* to Mattia Preti himself: “235/78b Mattia Preti, 1613–1699, Bartholomäus Marter, 179,5 x 155 cm, Ausgestellt National-Galerie Laibach 1963, Kt.Nr. 72”.⁵⁰⁵

In 1970 Alberto Rizzi affirmed without doubt, that the painting was a work by Mattia Preti.⁵⁰⁶ In 1993 Ksenija Rozman and Federico Zeri expressed the opinion that the Ptuj *Martyrdom* was a copy after Preti’s original painted in the master’s workshop likely when he was still alive.⁵⁰⁷

In comparison with the series of Libochovice, the measures of the Ptuj copy are slightly different. The painting did not fit completely into the almost square format of Brokof’s frames so that the upper part of the canvas was folded in order to fit into its frame. In preparing the exhibition *Old European Masters from Slovenian Museum Collections*, held at the National Gallery in Ljubljana in 1993, it was decided to unfold the upper part of the canvas and to return the painting the original measures.⁵⁰⁸ A new frame was prepared for the painting, while the Brokof’s one is still preserved in the deposit of Ptuj Castle.⁵⁰⁹

The difference in size might confirm the hypothesis that the painting was not originally conceived as part of the Libochovice series. Nevertheless, Schröder might have executed the copy in a different moment, before receiving the commission by Gundakar Dietrichstein and decided to add the copy to the series in a second moment.⁵¹⁰

The high quality of the copy lead some scholars to identify the hand of the young Petr Brandl in the Ptuj painting.⁵¹¹ Preti’s copy might have been a training exercise for Brandl when he was still Schröder’s pupil, painted around 1688, before leaving the master.

⁵⁰⁴ H. Herbst, *Schätzungsgutachten in der Entschädigungssache Herberstein*, Wien 1965.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid. Herbst valued the painting 50.000 RM (Reichsmarks).

⁵⁰⁶ A. Rizzi, “Una tela inedita di Mattia Preti in Slovenia”, *Napoli nobilissima*, IX, I–II, 1970, pp. 20–23; see also: A. Rizzi, “O nekaterih italijanskih slikah v Sloveniji”, *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, IX, 1972, p. 136.

⁵⁰⁷ F. Zeri and K. Rozman, *Evropski slikarji iz slovenskih zbirk*, Ljubljana 1993, pp. 45–46.

⁵⁰⁸ Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 341–354.

⁵⁰⁹ The painting was restored in 1964. The restoration was not the first one. Rizzi writes about difficulties which the restorer Čoro Škodlar had; he also noticed, which parts of the painting were no more original. Rizzi, *Una tela inedita*, pp. 20–21.

⁵¹⁰ Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 341–354.

⁵¹¹ Ciglencečki, *Slike iz Libochovic*, p. 97.

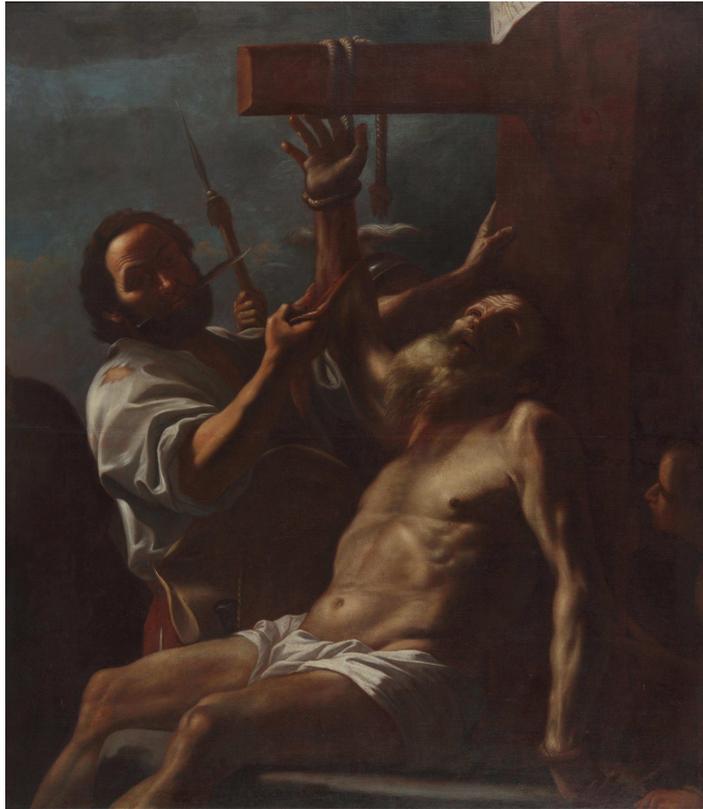


Image 106



Image 107

XXIII.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Mattia Preti, The Doubting Thomas

Oil on canvas

170.5 x 175.5 cm

Ptuj Castle

Inv. G275 s

Image 108

Mattia Preti

The Doubting Thomas

Oil on canvas

187 x 145.5 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. 295

Image 109

The Ptuj copy is a faithful reproduction of *The Doubting Thomas* by Mattia Preti today located at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. The original painting was listed in the Prague inventories with the attribution to Mattia Preti (referred to as *Calabrese*) in the years 1685 and in 1718 as “Nr. 423 *Calabrese. Orig.: Wie sanet Thomas Christo seine finger in die wunden leget*”⁵¹² and in the inventory of 1737: “Nr. 507 *Wie sanct Thomas Christo seine finger in die wunden der seith. Calabrese*”.⁵¹³

In Manfredi's painting the body of Christ with extended arms is placed diagonally on the scene. On the left a bunch of people has gathered next to him, while Thomas laid his fingers on Christ's wound.⁵¹⁴ Unfortunately huge parts of Schröder's copy were overpainted very roughly. On the upper part of the copy a strip of canvas was attached to the painting and was covered with rough layers of paint. Nevertheless some details of the copy -the naked body of Christ, his arms and hands, as well as the heads of St. Thomas and other apostles- demonstrate the high quality of the execution.

⁵¹² Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXVIII.

⁵¹³ Ibid. p. CLXII.

⁵¹⁴ Spike, *Mattia Preti*, p. 356.

Schröder's copy is identical to the original painting except from small variation in the colour *palette*: in the Ptuj copy the colour of the mantle of the apostle with his back turned in front of Christ is orange instead of yellow and the drapery in the background is rendered in a vivid red colour while in the original painting is more pale. These changes might have been dated to a later overpainting of the copy.



Image 108



Image 109

XXIV.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Jacopo Tintoretto, The Flagellation of Christ

Oil on canvas

170.5 x 164.5 cm

Ptuj Castle

Inv. G60 s

Image 111

Jacopo Tintoretto

The Flagellation of Christ

Oil on canvas

162.3 x 126.4 cm

Prague, Picture Gallery of the Castle

Inv. 0 43

Image 112

The *Flagellation of Christ* by Jacopo Tintoretto now preserved at the Prague Picture Gallery, became part of the Castle collections after that the Emperor Ferdinand III purchased part of the Buckingham collection in 1650 at the Antwerp auction through his brother the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.⁵¹⁵

The painting was attributed to Tintoretto already in the inventory of the Buckingham collection of the year 1635, where it is listed as '*Tintorett- the Whipping of Christ our Saviour*'⁵¹⁶ and in the one dated 1648 as '*By Tintorett' 'The flagellation of our Lord'*', with approximate dimensions of 182 x 182 cm.⁵¹⁷

The painting is mentioned for the first time in the collections of the Prague Castle in the inventory of 1685 as '*Scola Tintoretto: Die Geisslung Christi*' without dimensions.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁵ This text was partly published in an article in *Umění*: A. Fornasiero, "Reconstructing the fragments of *The Flagellation of Christ* by Jacopo Tintoretto at the Prague Castle Picture Gallery", *Umění*, 2, 2016, pp.167-170; McEvansoneya, *Vertue, Walpole*, pp. 1–14.

⁵¹⁶ The painting is listed '*In the next chamber to the Kings withdrawing chamber*' (without numeration). Davies, *An Inventory of the Duke of Buckingham*, pp. 376–382.

⁵¹⁷ H. Walpole, *A Catalogue of the curious collection of pictures of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham...etc*, London 1758, p. 11, inv. Nr. 14.

⁵¹⁸ Neumann, *Obrazárna*, pp. 200-203.

Similarly, it is recorded in the inventory of 1718,⁵¹⁹ while in 1737 it is listed with a significantly reduction in size, approximately 162.3 x 162.3 cm.⁵²⁰

In the later inventories of the Prague Castle the name of the author is forgotten, moving from a missing attribution in the inventory of 1781, to Petr Brandl in 1797.⁵²¹ In 1832, the *Flagellation* is assigned to Bartholomeus Spranger and it is listed with measurements of 162.3 x 126.4 cm, which correspond to the present dimensions of the painting, reduced of approximately 40 cm in width if compared with the Buckingham record.⁵²²

The mutilation of the lateral figures constituted already an evidence that the painting was a fragment of a larger original, an hypothesis confirmed by the dimensions reported in the inventories and by the discovery of two copies after the painting. One is a drawing by an unknown draughtsman preserved in the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett (Image 113), the other is the copy painted by Christian Schröder.

The drawing arrived in Dresden in 1728 as part of the acquisition of the collection belonging to Gottfried Wagner (1652–1725) from Leipzig, consisting of 10,202 drawings and one painting by Rubens. Wagner collected almost every genre, from history drawings, landscapes, flowers and animals to figurative sketches, studies and highly finished drawings which may have served as model for prints and paintings. The history of the collection's initial assembly in Leipzig remains unknown, as does the origin of the individual sheets. It is not to be excluded that Wagner had the opportunity to make some initial purchases of drawings and albums during his two-year-long travel in France, England and Netherlands, but it is possible that some volumes were purchased for him at the end of the seventeenth century, perhaps by intermediaries at the fairs in Leipzig, Amsterdam, Leiden or Utrecht.⁵²³

⁵¹⁹ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, Inv. Nr. 172 listed as '*Scola de Tintoretto: Die geiszlung Christi*'.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. CXLIX. Inv. 1737 Nr. 183, '*Die geiszlung Christi Scola de Tintoret*'.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, p. CLXXXIX. Inv. 1781 Nr. 82, Inv. 1797 Nr. 89.

⁵²² Neumann, *Obrazárna*, pp. 200-203.

⁵²³ Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden - Kupferstich-Kabinett. Inv. Nr. Ca 21/69. The drawing is contained in one of a series of 8 books marked with letters from A to H and bound in black cordovan, with all sorts of drawings without apparent distinction in genre, quality or technique. For Gottfried Wagner's collection see: T. Ketelsen and C. Melzer, "The Gottfried Wagner collection in Leipzig", *Journal of the History of Collections*, XXIV, 2, 2012; C. Dittrich, "Die Zeichnungssammlung Gottfried Wagner: Eine barocke Privatsammlung im Kupferstich-Kabinett Dresden und der Versuch ihrer Rekonstruktion", *Jahrbuch Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden*, XIX, 1987, pp. 7-38.

In the Dresden drawing the two flagellants on the left are clearly distinguished, one is bent down tying the Christ at the column while the other -whose presence was previously foreseen by the boot at the centre of the scene- is clearly visible standing behind the column. In the drawing, the composition is reported in all its original extension in height: the black shadow of the flagellant with his back turned extended itself along the pavement, while the flame of the torch burns distinctly upwards, although only the hand of the flagellant who holds it remains. The disappearance of the right figure is evidently due to a later cut that often happened to drawings gathered in volumes as it was the case of the Dresden drawing which was surely cut on the right side in order to be incorporated into the Wagner's book.

The initial dimensions of the painting of 182.4 x 182.4 cm, as reported in the Buckingham inventory of 1648, is confirmed by the appearance of the drawing and it excludes the hypothesis often advanced that in this occasion the painting was measured with the frame.

The copy by Schröder reproduces the composition without mutilation on its left side, while it appears already cut at the top and at the bottom as the original Tintoretto's painting is today.

Consequently, the mutilation of the canvas took place in different moments. The painting, initially of square format of 182.4 x 182.4 cm, was cut between 1649 and 1689 of 20 cm in height and other 20 cm on the right side by removing part of the body of the flagellant with the turban. The painting measured 162 x 162 cm already in 1689-91 when it was copied by Schröder. A second drastic cut occurred between 1689-91 and 1832, but probably before 1768, when the painting was moved to the reception rooms of the newly built palace of Maria Theresa and later to the audience hall. It was in this occasion that both the flagellants on the left side disappeared almost completely and the painting acquired the current measurements of 165 x 128.5 cm.

The Dresden drawing and Schröder's copy bring back the balance of the original composition. The largeness of the hall as was originally conceived by Tintoretto, must have given an even more intense sense of austerity and dramatic effects to the scene. Tintoretto locates the biblical episode in an enclosed space whose depth is marked by the cold marble colonnade that recalls the long colonnaded spaces of the *sala terrena* in the Scuole Grandi in Venice.⁵²⁴ The only luministic element of the painting is the torch, whose flame allows suggestive effects of *chiaroscuro*. The light radiates from the head

⁵²⁴ In particular Scuola Grande di St. Rocco where Tintoretto was working between 1564-1588.

of Christ along his body, highlighting the whiteness of the musculature that visibly contrasts with the dark tones of the flagellant at centre of the scene, creating contrasts of light and shadow highly symbolic.

The flagellant with his back turned immediately recalls the central figure of the *Miracle of St. Mark* in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Venice (1548) (Image 110). Both the flagellants are represented in the same position with the back turned, the weight of the body sustained by the right leg and the left heel lifted from the ground. The twisting of the chest is also the same, with the exclusion of the arms' position: in the flagellant of the Galleria dell'Accademia they are raised up showing the tools of the martyrdom in pieces, while in the Prague flagellant they are stretched in the act of whipping the body of Christ.

The similarity of the two flagellants suggests the existence of a common prototype of derivation and consequently the execution of the *Flagellation* of Prague must be definitively fixed around the year 1555, close to the *Miracle of St. Mark*.



Image 110 Jacopo Tintoretto, *Miracle of St. Mark*, 1548, oil on canvas, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice

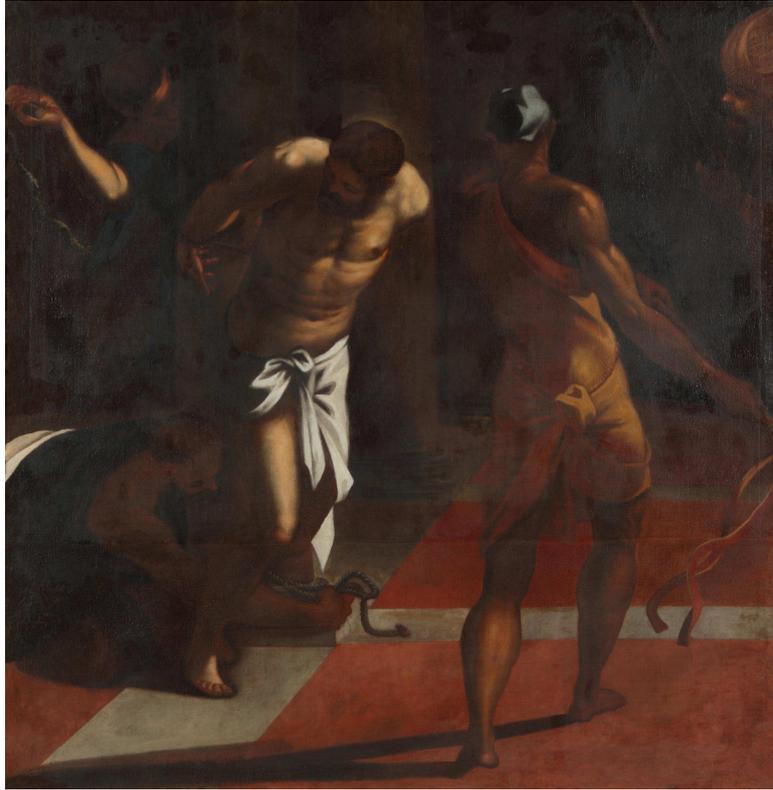


Image 111



Image 112

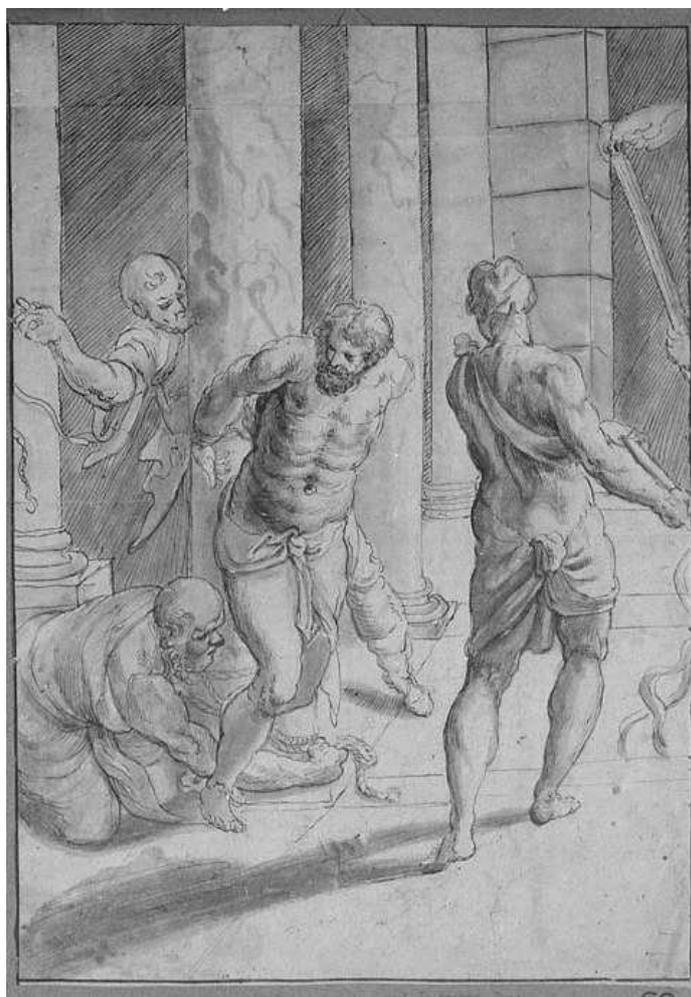


Image 113 Unknown, *Copy after Jacopo Tintoretto, the Flagellation of Christ*, before 1689, pen, brown ink and brown wash, frame line with black pen, 343 x 239 mm, inv. Nr. Ca 21/69, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Dresden - Kupferstich-Kabinett. Photo: courtesy of Prof. Martin Zlatohlávek

XXV.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Fra' Semplice da Verona, Pietas with St. Francis and an angel

Oil on canvas

165.5 x 164 cm

Ptuj Castle

Inv. G132 s

Image 114

Fra' Semplice da Verona

Pietas with St. Francis and an angel

Oil on canvas

140,5 x 202 cm

Prague, Castle Picture Gallery

Inv. 0 32

Image 115

Schröder's copy today at the Ptuj Castle is a faithful reproduction the *Pietas with St. Francis and an angel* after Fra' Semplice da Verona.

The original painting today located at the Prague Castle Picture Gallery, was registered in the Castle's inventory already in the year 1685 "*Nr. 177 Un Capicino discipulo, originale*". In the inventory of 1718 it is listed at "*Nr. 177. Un Capucino discipulo. Orig.: Ein nachtstuckh sambt sanct Francisco und einen engel*", with the annotation: "*sambt ist durchstrichen und erset;t durch: der leichnam Christi, so Unser Liebe Frau auf dem schiosz haltet, sambt*".⁵²⁵ In the inventory of 1737 the painting is quoted as "*Nr. 222 Ein nachtstuckh, der leichnamb Christi, so Unser Liebe Frau auf der schosz haltet, sambt sanct rancisco und einen*" and still attributed to "*un capucino discepulo*"⁵²⁶ with dimensions of about 141 x 212.7 cm.

In the second half of the 18th century, the authorship of the painting is no longer mentioned in the Prague inventories, while in the 19th century the canvas was described as a work of a 17th century Italian North painter.

⁵²⁵ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXV.

⁵²⁶ Ibid. p. CL.

The painting was initially attributed by Jaromir Neumann to Giovanni de Ferrari, a pupil of the Capuchin Bernardo Strozzi.⁵²⁷ Later the attribution was correctly assigned to Fra' Semplice da Verona, who was himself a member of the Capuchin order.⁵²⁸

The rich tonality of the original painting, modulated in the combination of reds, pinks and browns as well as the effects of *chiaroscuro* strongly accentuated by the night lighting, are weight down in Schröder's copy, mainly due to the heavy repainting that the painting has suffered.

⁵²⁷ Neumann, *Obrazárna*, pp. 92-93.

⁵²⁸ Ciglencečki, *Slike iz Libochovic*, p. 98.



Image 114



Image 115

XXVI.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Domeinco Fetti, Christ on the Mount of Olives

Oil on canvas

167 x 131 cm

Ptuj Castle

Inv. G134

Image 116

Domenico Fetti

Christ on the Mount of Olives

Oil on canvas

90,5 x 55,5 cm

Prague, Picture Gallery of the Castle

Inv. HS 34

Image 117

Schröder's painting today at the Ptuj Castle, is a copy after Domeinco Fetti, *Christ on the Mount of Olives* at the Prague Castle Picture Gallery.

Most probably the original painting decorated the altar of the small chapel by the Jupiter hall at the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua, where it is likely to be identified in the inventory of the year 1627 as “*un quadro sopra l'altare dipintovi N.S. che ora ne l'orto con cornice fregiata d'oro*” by an unknown painter.⁵²⁹

After Mantua was ransacked by the imperial army in 1630, the painting followed the destiny of many others and ended up in the collection of the Duke of Buckingham.⁵³⁰ It is from there that Archduke Leopold Wilhelm purchased it in the auction of the 1649.

The painting is registered in the oldest surviving inventory of the collection of the Prague Castle dating 1663 as a personal item of Emperor Leopold I and wrongly attributed to

⁵²⁹ A. Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all'Inghilterra nel 1627-1628*, Milano 1913, p. 115, catalogue Nr. 308.

⁵³⁰ M. Krummholz, “Sacco di Mantova (1630– 1631)”, in: E. Fučíková and L. Čepička (eds.), *Valdštejn: Albrecht z Valdštejna a jeho doba – Inter arma silent musae?*, Praha 2007, pp. 320–326.

Guercino.⁵³¹ The Prague Castle inventory of 1685 mentioned the painting in the fourth Gallery (n. 503 in the New Hall) as a work still attributed to Guercino de Cento. In 1718 the painting appears with a deformed authorship “*Nr. 503 Christus am Oelberg mit denen engein von Qvarino Dicendo*”⁵³² as well as in 1737 “*Nr. 319 Christus am Oelberg mit denen engein, Gverchin Dacendo*” and registered with a size of about 104 x 76,6 cm.⁵³³

In the second half of the 18th century, during the Theresian reconstruction of the Prague Castle, a number of paintings were adapted in size as was the *Christ on the Mount of Olives* which was cut on all sides about 15 cm in higher and 20 cm in width to the actual dimensions of 90,5 x 55,5 cm. In particular the right part of the painting was strongly cut down and painted over, likely when the gallery ceased its independent existence in 1761 and its collection was relocated to the ceremonial rooms of the New Palace. Fetti's original painting found its way to the emperor's audience chamber. From the inventory of the year 1768 the painting is mentioned without name of author as well as in the later inventories until the year 1918, when it is registered as the work of a Czech painter of the 18th century.⁵³⁴

With the reconstruction of the Prague Castle Picture Gallery in the years 1962-1965 and the consequent restoration, the painting was finally attributed to Domenico Fetti on the basis of the stylistic analysis by Jaromír Neumann and dated between 1616 and 1617.⁵³⁵

The authorship became even more evident when, during the radiological survey, a fragmentary figure of an angel was discovered under the clouds on the right side of the Christ. New light was given to the figure of the angel, removing the overpainting. However, the canvas remained mutilated of the arm which was believed to hold a chalice as Jaromír Neumann⁵³⁶ and after him Eduard A. Šafařík⁵³⁷ and Ladislav Daniel⁵³⁸ argued, mainly on the basis of the Gospel of Luke: “*Saying, Father, if thou be willing,*

⁵³¹ Archiv Pražského hradu, Hofbauamt, inv. Nr. 95, unpublished; E. Fučíková, *Obrazárna Pražského hradu. Domenico Fetti - Christian Schröder, Kristus nahoře Olivetské*, Praha 2009, pp. 679-686; Neumann, *Obrazárna*, pp. 54-121.

⁵³² Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXIX.

⁵³³ Ibid. p. CLIV.

⁵³⁴ Fučíková, *Domenico Fetti*, pp. 679-686.

⁵³⁵ Neumann, *Obrazárna*, p. 422.

⁵³⁶ Ibid, pp. 125-128.

⁵³⁷ E. A. Šafařík, *Domenico Fetti 1588/89–1623*, Mantova 1996, p. 128.

⁵³⁸ L. Daniel, *Benátčané. Malířství 17. a 18. století z českých a moravských sbírek*, Praha 1996, pp. 96–97.

remove this cup from me: nevertheless not my will, but thine, be done.” In the Gospel it is told that before the arrival of Judas with the soldiers that in the garden of Getsenami, while Christ is orating, he receives the visit of an angel.

Therefore the Ptuj copy, which is a direct transposition of the original, is an important source as it represents the entire original composition and it clearly shows that the angel is holding a cross and not a chalice as assumed by the scholars before. The copy by Schröder is slightly bigger in dimensions than the original painting, 167x131 cm against the 104 x 76,6 cm of the Fetti’s painting, and it appears more hard and the brush-strokes less natural and free, common characteristic of the majority of the copies by Schröder for the Libochovice Castle.

In 2006 the Prague Castle purchased an other copy based on Fetti’s *Christ on the Mount of Olives* from a Czech private collection (Image 118).⁵³⁹ It presents the same size as the original (104 x 76 cm). Evidence that the copy was based on the Prague castle painting is found also in the reflectographic. Photographs show that the copyist began by tracing the original through onionskin paper. Then he performed the outlines and he used a piece of coal or some similar material to transfer them onto a fresh canvas as dotted lines. Finally he joined the dots and began to paint. He must have been able to consult the original constantly as he was obviously inspired by the colors of the original.

Fučíková argued that between 1684 and 1761, when she thinks the copy must have been painted, the person who was allowed to have a close contact and a free access to the originals located at the Prague Castle picture gallery was the keeper of the gallery, at that period Christian Schröder. She presumed that this copy could be a work by Schröder, however, as evidenced by the majority of the copies for Libochovice Castle, his paintings were usually darker and hard-painted. The scholar advanced the hypothesis that it could be a work by the young Petr Brandl when he was Schröder’s pupil between 1684-1688 and he used to copy the paintings located at the Prague Castle as a training exercise.⁵⁴⁰ On the contrary Ciglencečki⁵⁴¹ does not agree with this hypothesis arguing that the second copy could be also a work by Schröder as in some cases the copies for Libochovice Castle show a better quality and it must be considered that all the copies have been hardly overpainted, often hiding his ability as copyist.

⁵³⁹ Fučíková, *Domenico Fetti*, pp. 679-686. Christian Schröder (Petr Brandl ?), *Copy after Domenico Fetti, Christ on the Mount of Olives*, oil on canvas, 104 x 76 cm, Prague, Picture Gallery of the Castle, Inv. Nr. HS 22 831.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁴¹ Mádl, *Tencalla*, I, pp. 344-346.



Image 116



Image 117



Image 118 Christian Schröder (Petr Brandl ?), *Copy after Domenico Fetti, Christ on the Mount of Olives*, oil on canvas, 104 x 76 cm, Prague Castle Picture Gallery.

XXVII.

Christian Schröder

Copy after El Greco, The Purification of the Temple

Oil on canvas

146,5 x 178,5 cm

Ptuj Castle

Inv. G178

Image 119

El Greco

The Purification of the Temple

Oil on single poplar panel

65,4 x 83,3 cm

Washington, National Gallery of Art

Inv 1957.14.4

Image 120

El Greco painted several pictures of *The Purification of the Temple*. The subject, accompanied the artist throughout his career: he painted some versions in Italy and several more - dating from the 1590s onwards - in Spain. Four versions are listed in the inventory of his possessions drawn up by his son Jorge Manuel in 1614, immediately after his death, and probably the same four are listed in the inventory of Jorge Manuel's possessions drawn up in 1621 on the occasion of his second marriage.⁵⁴² Many more versions were painted in El Greco's studio. Wethey's catalogue *raisonne* of El Greco's works lists four as autographs and eight as studio pictures or copies.⁵⁴³

According to Ciglencečki, Schröder copied the version of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Oil on canvas, 116,8 x 149,9 cm Minnesota, The William Hood Dunwoody Fund, inv. 24·1) (Image 121) simplifying the architecture in the background, omitting some details and abandoning the representation of the busts of Michelangelo, Giulio Clovio, Titian and Raphael, that El Greco painted in the lower right corner.⁵⁴⁴ Nevertheless, after

⁵⁴² D. Davies (ed.), *El Greco*, London 2003, p. 87.

⁵⁴³ H. Wethey, *El Greco and his school*, Princeton 1962, vol. I, pp. 21-3, vol. II p. 104.

⁵⁴⁴ Ciglencečki, *Slike iz Libochovic*, p. 98.

a more careful analysis it is evident that the painting by Schröder is a copy after the version located at the National Gallery of Art in Washington and not after the Minneapolis painting. All the details in Schröder's copy and in the Washington version perfectly agree without simplifications or exclusions. Only the dimensions disagree with this hypothesis: the Washington painting is a way smaller than Schröder's copy that would hardly be so skillful to enlarge of such extent the composition. The architectures on the background are the same, as are the rendering of the open spaces outside the arch as well as the inside architectures of the temple, where the sequence of rectangular and circular columns is respected. The busts of the famous men are not present in the Washington version, thus they are not even in Schröder's copy. All the other details in the copy are in perfect agreement with the Washington version while often different if compared with the Minneapolis painting: the position of the female figure lying on the floor under the man painted in his back and the light blue drapery dressed by the woman, the red dress of the female figure on the right of Christ holding a baby with her right hand which is yellow in the Minneapolis painting and the detail of the group of rabbits in the front. Also the proportion of the figures in relation to the background represented in the copy agrees with the painting of Washington, where the dimensions of the group of figures and Christ are predominate in comparison with the architecture and the background, while they are smaller in the painting of Minneapolis. The only missing details in Schröder's copy is the bird in front that for an unknown reason the painter decided to delete.

However El Greco painting today in Washington does not seem to be passed by the Prague Castle collections. The painting was first mentioned in the collection of the Marques de Salamanca (who died in 1866) in Madrid, then acquired in Paris (Hotel Drouotz May 1868, lot 25) by John Charles Robinson, it passed to Sir Francis Cook, 1St Bart (1817-1901), Doughty House, Richmond, by 1894, until it was sold in 1955 to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation in New York by Rosenberg & Stiebel.⁵⁴⁵

El Greco version today in Minneapolis is also not mentioned in Prague Castle inventories, even though the painting was in the possessions of George Villiers, 1St Duke of Buckingham and could have belonged to the stock of paintings bought in auction by the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm and transported to Prague. It seems that El Greco painting in Minneapolis was first acquired by Lord Yarborough then by

⁵⁴⁵ Davies, *El Greco*, p. 88.

Steiruneyer in Lucerne, by Henry Reinhardt & Co. and moved to New York and finally purchased by the Minneapolis Institute of Arts in 1924.⁵⁴⁶

It is also likely that there exists an other version by El Greco that combine the dimensions of the Minneapolis paintings -which are closer to Schröder's copy (117 x 150 cm the Minneapolis original; 146,5 x 178,5 cm Schröder's copy)- with the details of the Washington painting, this version would be passed through the collections of the Prague Castle.

Until now the original painting by El Greco has not been found in the records of the Prague Castle inventories. A subject that could match with El Greco original is mentioned as a painting by Jacopo Tintoretto in the inventory of 1718, "*Nr. 213. Tintoretto. Orig.: Wie Christus die käufer und verkaufer aus dem tempel verjaget*"⁵⁴⁷ and in the inventory of 1737 "*Nr. 217. Wie Christus die käufer und verkaufer aus dem tempel austreibt*" as a painting by "*Giacomo Tintoret*".⁵⁴⁸

It is possible that El Greco painting was attributed to Tintoretto in the 18th century inventories, in a period in which El Greco was far from being well known in Prague.

In addition, *The Purification of the Temple* has usually been dated to El Greco's Venetian period, between 1567 and 1570, and it presents a number of references to Venetian painting that could have led to attribute the painting to a Venetian master like Tintoretto. In particular the use of receding steps to define the space is quite typical in Tintoretto's composition, as well as the neo-Byzantine style of El Greco, that could be connected with some paintings of the early period of Jacopo Tintoretto.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 89.

⁵⁴⁷ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXV.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid. p. CL.



Image 119



Image 120 El Greco, *The Purification of the Temple*, oil on single poplar panel, 65,4 x 83,3 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington



Image 121 El Greco, *The Purification of the Temple*, 1571-76, oil on canvas, 117 x 150 cm, Institute of Arts, Minneapolis

XXVIII.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Peter Paul Rubens, Annunciation

Oil on canvas

165 x 164,5 cm

Inv. G181 s

Image 122

Peter Paul Rubens

Annunciation

Oil on canvas

34.5 x 34 cm

Prague, Picture Gallery of the Castle

Inv. 0 252

Image 123

The Ptuj copy was painted by Schröder after *The Annunciation* attributed to Peter Paul Rubens today located at the Picture Gallery of the Prague Castle. The original painting was documented in Prague in 1685 when it was hung in the Emperor's study and it was confidentially attributed to Rubens as well as in the inventory dated 1718: “*Nr. 19. Rubens. Orig.: Unser Lieben Frauen Verkündigung.*”⁵⁴⁹ and in the one of 1737 “*Nr. 97 Marie Verkündigung*” “*orig. Rubens*”.⁵⁵⁰

In 1797, when the painting was lent to the gallery of the Patriotic Society of Art, it was, on the basis of a print that repeats its composition, described as a work by Frans Luycxs, court painter of the Emperor Ferdinand III from 1638.⁵⁵¹ The attribution to Rubens was debated and convincingly affirmed by Wolfgang Prohaska who had compared *The Annunciation* of Prague with several other paintings of the same subjects which are safely attributed to Rubens (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, London, Prince's Gate Collection, Dublin, National Gallery).⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁹ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXVII.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid. p. CXLVI.

⁵⁵¹ Vlnas, *The glory of the Baroque in Bohemia*, p. 76.

⁵⁵² W. Prohaska, *The Kunsthistorische Museum Vienna - The Paintings*, Vienna 1997, p. 53.

The Annunciation is one of the quick studies the painter made while preparing a large composition. A larger version of this painting, probably carried out with the assistance of Ruben's workshop, is the one of the Prince's Gate Collection in London.

The original painting appears interesting also from an iconographic point of view: since the Virgin Mary is wrapped in a dark cloak and the angel is holding in his left hand a palm's branch, the painting has been interpreted as the Annunciation of Mary's death. The representation of the Holy Spirit right above her, however, constitutes the common symbol that recalls the announcement of Jesus' birth. The Virgin Mary is depicted in a white dress and clad in a dark blue robe. She kneels in the left part of the painting looking to the right from where comes the angel. Above them two angels and the Holy Spirit, from which descends a strong light, symbol of God, are represented.

The Ptuj copy is in all faithful to the original painting except for the dimensions. Rubens' original painting is small if compared to the copy by Schröder, (34.5 x 34 cm of Rubens painting, against 165 x 164,5 cm of the copy). The copyist had to enlarge the composition in order to fit into the squared format typical for the Libochovice series of copies.



Image 122



Image 123

XXIX.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Orazio Gentileschi, Mary Magdalene

Oil on canvas

164,5 x 164 cm

Ptuj Castle

Inv. G274 s

Image 124

Orazio Gentileschi

Mary Magdalene

Oil on canvas

163 x 208 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. 17

Image 125

Schröder painting at the Ptuj Castle is a copy after *Mary Magdalene* by Orazio Gentileschi which is today exhibited at the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum. The original painting represents the penitent Magdalene lying next to a rock cave and resting on a book, where her attribute, the skull, is placed. On the left a break between the rocks opens the view on a landscape. The painting is signed as "HORATJVS GENTILESCHI FLORENTINVS".⁵⁵³

The painting was in the Buckingham collection until 1648, when it was put up on sale and bought for the Prague Castle collections where it is mentioned in the inventory of 1685 and in 1719 as "Nr. 162 Maria Magdalena" by "Gentilesco",⁵⁵⁴ and in the inventory of 1737 "Nr. 178 Sanct Maria Magdalena. Horatio Gentilesco".⁵⁵⁵

Compared with the Vienna painting, the Ptuj copy has been modified in proportions. Schröder reduced the composition in width and added few centimeters in height, but in the complex the composition is faithful to the original. Slightly differences are in the

⁵⁵³On the original painting see in particular the catalogue by K. Christiansen and J. W. Mann, *Orazio e Artemisia Gentileschi*, London 2001, catalogue Nr. 35.

⁵⁵⁴Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXIV.

⁵⁵⁵Ibid. p. CXLIX.

drapery that covers the naked body of *Mary Magdalene* which in the copy is darker orange and it covers the stones on the ground of the cavern. In the Ptuj copy, the landscape on the background is been simplified: the detailed clouds of Gentileschi's original are reduced to a flat sky in Schröder's copy. Simplifications are also in the green inserts of the cavern that are totally deleted in Schröder's version.

The Ptuj paintings suffers of heavy damages on the upper-central part of the canvas that compromise the appreciation of the copy. Likely even the omitted light beam in the copy that illuminate *Mary Magdalene's* face in Gentileschi's painting, is due to late overpainting.



Image 124



Image 125

XXX.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Unknown painter, The Risen Christ appearing to the Virgin Mary

Oil on canvas

163 x 165.5 cm

Ptuj Castle

Inv. G276

Image 126

Unknown Bolognese painter (?)

The Risen Christ appearing to the Virgin Mary

The copy by Schröder today preserved at the Castle of Ptuj represents the subject of *The Risen Christ appearing to the Virgin Mary*.

The original version of the copy is not known. In the Prague inventories a similar subject is listed in the list dated 1718 “Nr. 324. Incognito. Orig.: *Wie Christus nach der auferstehung Unser Lieben Frauen erscheint*”⁵⁵⁶ and in the inventory of 1737 “Nr. 373 *Wie Christus nach der auferstehung Unser Lieben Frauen erscheint*” also by “incognito”.⁵⁵⁷

On the left of Schröder’s copy the Virgin Mary kneels in front of Jesus who comes from the Limbo carrying the banner of victory. In the middle an angel holds some lilies, symbol of the resurrection. On the right of Jesus stands St. Dismas holding the cross, the so called Penitent Thief, also known as the Good Thief, who was one of the two men crucified at the same time as Jesus.

In the 17th century the subject seems to have had a strong revival. Among the many version of the theme, *The Resurrected Christ appears to the Virgin Mary* by Guercino (Cento, Pinacoteca Comunale) (Image 127) represents the moment when Mary embraces her son. Like in the Ptuj copy, the Virgin Mary is also kneels on the ground while Jesus carries the banner of victory.

A version by Domenichino of the same subject (collection Durazzo Pallavicini, Genova) (Image 128) is closed in the composition with the Ptuj copy: the Virgin Mary kneels on

⁵⁵⁶ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXIV.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid. p. CXLIX.

the left of the painting, while Christ with open arms is intent in embracing her. On Christ's right stands St. Dismas with the cross.

In Guido Reni *Christ appearing to the Virgin* (The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) (Image 129) the presence of the angel in the middle between Mary and Jesus is a common detail with the Ptuj version even if in Reni's painting he is holding the flag, symbol of the resurrection, while in Ptuj copy he is holding some lilies.

The common details between the three quoted compositions with the copy by Schröder lead to the hypothesis that the original painting might be attributed to an exponent of the Bolognese School of painting as the subject of *The Risen Christ appearing to the Virgin Mary* was often painted in that environment with small variation in the compositions.



Image 126

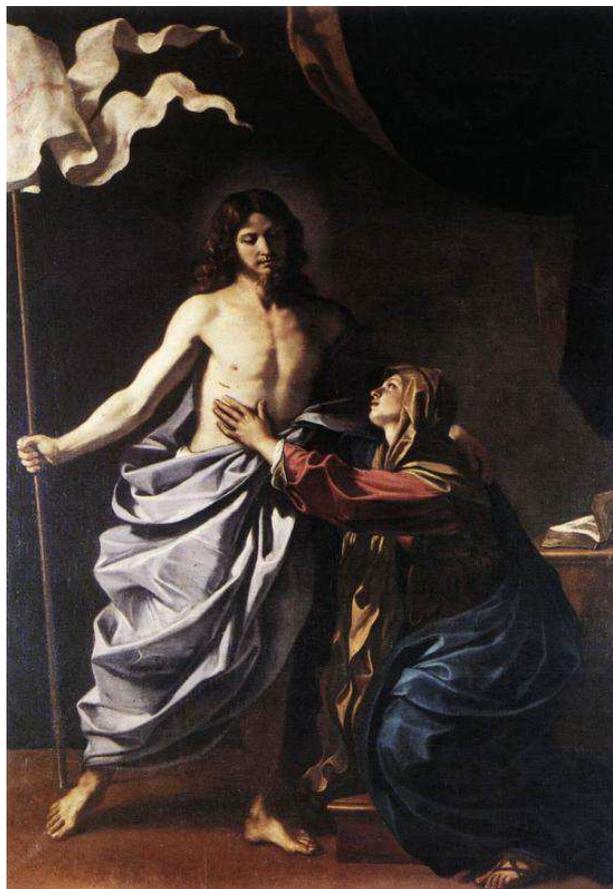


Image 127 Guercino, *The Resurrected Christ appears to the Virgin Mary*, oil on canvas, Pinacoteca Comunale, Cento



Image 128 Domenichino, *The Resurrected Christ appears to the Virgin Mary*, oil on canvas, cm 235 × 163, collection Durazzo Pallavicini, Genova



Image 129 Guido Reni, *Christ appearing to the Virgin*, oil on canvas, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

XXXI.

Christian Schröder

Copy after Antiveduto della Grammatica, St. Cecilia and two angels

Oil on canvas

162x165 cm

Ptuj Castle

Inv. G277 s

Image 130

Antiveduto della Grammatica

St. Cecilia and two angels

Oil on canvas

91 x 120 cm

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. 249

Image 131

The copy by Schröder today located in the Ptuj Castle was painted after *St. Cecilia and two angels* by Antiveduto della Grammatica today at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

There exist three different versions of the same subject all attributed to Antiveduto della Grammatica: the Vienna version, the more elaborated *St. Cecilia* in Museo Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon⁵⁵⁸ and an other one located in Musei Civici in Treviso.⁵⁵⁹

The *St Cecilia* today in Vienna was first located in the collections of the Prague Castle where it is listed in the inventory of the year 1685 “*Nr. 10 Scola di Rafael: Sanct Cæcilia sambt zweien engeln und etliche musikalische instrumenten*”. In the Prague inventory of 1718 it is mentioned as “*Nr. 502 Ein weibsbild mit einem Spiegel*” but without name of author⁵⁶⁰ as well as in 1737 “*Nr. 242 Ein weibsbild mit einem spiegel*” by “*Incognito*”.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁸ G. Papi, *Antiveduto Grammatica*, Soncino 1995, pp. 90-91.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid, p 106; Brandstätter, *Die Gemäldegalerie*, p. 64.

⁵⁶⁰ Köpl, *Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare*, p. CXXXIX.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid. p. CLI.

In 1796 the painting is already registered in the Vienna collections where it is on display today.⁵⁶²

In the Vienna inventories, *St. Cecilia* was attributed to Pellegrino Tibaldi⁵⁶³ until it was correctly attributed to Antiveduto della Grammatica on the basis of the similarity with the Lisbon version and dated it to the first period of the painter.

In the Viennese version, St. Cecilia is engrossed in the reading of the note. On her left and right the angels are playing the harp and the lute. On the table in front of them, starting from our left, lie a flute, a tambourine, a violin, sheets of notes and on it a lute in a strong perspective glimpse that seems to break out of the painting.

In the copy, Schröder has represented all the details without omissions, rendering with precision the perspective of the table and the musical instruments. Only the proportions are slightly different in order to adapt to the bigger format of the series, so that the Ptuj copy results higher than its Viennese prototype.

⁵⁶² J. Rosa, *Gemälde der k.k. Gallerie*, Vienna 1796, p. 18, catalogue Nr. 21.

⁵⁶³ Ibid.



Image 130



Image 131

Conclusion

From its beginnings, the expected planning of the research had to be adapted and developed on the basis of unpredictable discoveries, especially of archival documents.

The letters concerning the study stay of Christian Schröder in Rome have broadened the study to the Italian context in order to contextualize -and thus better understand- the reasons and expectations of an apprenticeship in Italy for a Bohemian painter.

Often, the research had to deal with lack or incompleteness of sources. Although often inventories of collections and furnishing have been preserved, they contain incomplete and synthetic information in such an extent to be hardly used for something more than a general overview on the collection. In addition, the events that have seen protagonist the Bohemian aristocratic families and their properties, often led to the progressive dispersal and loose of their pictorial collections. Therefore, it was necessary to struggle with the difficulty to exactly valuate and determine their content.

Consequently, the research has relied on the fragments of what was traceable from the documents and of what is still preserved in the families' properties, in order to draw conclusions as plausible as possible.

The purpose of the research was not to give safe answers to the questions which have been discussed in each chapter, but rather to return the importance to the scenario on which the protagonists of the Baroque in Bohemia were acting and to analyze the almost omnipresence of the copy in the Bohemian artistic background, from the artistic training to the collecting activity.

Image index

- Pietro Francesco Alberti, *Accademia d' Pittori*, Etching, 41,2 x 52,2 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Elisha Whittelsey Collection
- Jan Kryštof Liška, *Assumption of the Virgin*, oil on canvas, 1701-1702, St. Francis of Assisi Church, Prague
- Letter by Karel Felix Slavata, SOA Třeboň, pracoviště Jindřichův Hradec, RA Slavatů, Rome, 17 December 1678
- Christian Schröder, *Copy after Guido Reni, The Baptism of Christ*, 1677, oil on canvas, Church of St. John the Baptist, Jindřichův Hradec
- Christian Schröder, *Copy after Bernardo Strozzi, the Sermon of John the Baptist*, oil on canvas, 1689, Cathedral of St. Stephan, Litoměřice
- Christian Schröder, *Holy Trinity*, oil on canvas, 1679, Church of the Holy Trinity, Nová Bystřice
- Ciro Ferri and Sebastiano Corbellini, *The Holy Trinity*, fresco, dome of St. Agnes Church, Rome
- Pietro da Cortona, *The Holy Trinity*, fresco, dome of St. Maria in Vallicella Church, Rome
- Anton Domenico Gabbiani (Ciro Ferri ?), *The Holy Trinity*, black chalk, 432 x 340 mm, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich
- Ciro Ferri, *A soul presented to the Holy Trinity*, black chalk, Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth
- Pietro da Cortona, *David Slaying Goliath*, oil on canvas, 126 × 97 cm, Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome
- Pietro da Cortona, *David and the Lion*, oil on canvas, 125 × 97 cm, Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome
- Titian, *Portrait of Cardinal Pietro Bembo*, oil on canvas, c.1540, National Gallery of Art, Washington
- Bernhard Voegl, *Johann Jacob Pommer*, 1717–1737, engraving on paper, 440 × 293 mm, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (Leihgabe Paul Wolfgang Merkel'sche Familienstiftung) Photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg
- Letter by Karel Felix Slavata, SOA Třeboň, Fond Černín, Vienna, 5 April 1685
- Unknown, *Copy after the Portrait of Karel Joachym Slavata*, oil on canvas, 1662, Jindřichův Hradec Castle
- Unknown, *Portrait of Jan Jáchym Slavata*, oil on canvas, 1673, Jindřichův Hradec Castle
- Unknown, *Portrait of Ferdinand Vilém Slavata*, oil on canvas, 1673, Jindřichův Hradec Castle
- George de Grosse, *Portrait of Jan Jáchym Slavata*, copperplate, in: Johann Jacob von Weingarten "Fürstenspiegel oder Monarchia des hochlöblichen Ertzhauses Oesterreich", 1673, Prague
- Unknown, *Family portrait of Jan Jáchym Slavata, his wife Maria Margaretha and the daughters Marie Josefa and Marie Magdalena (Markéta)*, oil on canvas, 1673/1674, Telč Castle
- Unknown (Christian Schröder?), *Copy after Bartolomeo Manfredi, the Fortune teller*, oil on canvas, Červená Lhota Castle
- Unknown (Christian Schröder?), *Copy after Bartolomeo Manfredi, the Guard's room*, oil on canvas, Červená Lhota Castle
- Johann Georg Heinsch, *St. Luke painting the Madonna*, 1690s, oil on canvas, 150 x 175 cm, National Gallery, Prague
- Petr Brandl, *St Joseph and Ann*, oil on canvas, 1716, 383 x 226 cm, Church of our Lady Victorious, Prague

Petr Brandl, *the Baptism of Christ*, oil on canvas, 1715-1716, 323 x 223 cm, Church of St. John the Baptist, Manětín

Johann Thoman, *Equestrian portrait of Gundakar Dietrichstein*, oil on canvas, 1667, 56 × 46 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Johann Thomas, *Equestrian portrait of Leopold I*, oil on canvas, 1667, 56 × 46 cm, Private collection, Izabela Radziwiłł, Warsaw

Adriaen van Blommen (?), *Portrait of Gundakar Dietrichstein*, oil on canvas, before 1672, oil on canvas, Libochovice Castle

Cornelis Meysens, *Gundakar Dietrichstein*, engraving on paper, Fürstlich Waldeckschen Hofbibliothek Arolsen, Klebebände (Band 2), before 1672

Adriaen van Blommen, *Portrait of Maria Graswinckel*, oil on canvas, 1674, 125 x 115 cm, signed "Van Bloemen", private collection

Adriaen van Blommen, *Portrait of Cornelis van der Goes*, oil on canvas, 1674, 125 x 115 cm, signed "Van Bloemen", private collection

David Teniers the Younger, *Theatrum pictorum*, engraving, 1660, British Museum, London

David Teniers the Younger, *Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in his gallery in Brussels*, oil on canvas, c. 1651, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Anton Joseph von Prenner, *Theatrum artis pictoriae*, 1728–1733, Wien, Grundriss und Porträts der ausführenden Künstler (Privatsammlung), Foto: Alexandra Matzner

Einblick in die Stallburggalerie, in: Anton Joseph von Prenner, *Prodromus*, 1735 Wien (Privatsammlung), Foto: Alexandra Matzner

Jan La Fresnoy, *Copy after Adam and Eve by Johann Carl Loth*, in: *Imagines Galeriae*, XXIII B 323, National Library, Prague

Adam Franz Hampisch, *Gemälde Galerien*, oil on canvas, 80 x 101 cm, National Gallery, Prague

Johann Michael Bretschneider, *Picture Gallery*, oil on canvas, 1702, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

Jan Onghers, *Concert in the Picture Gallery*, oil on canvas, 1660s, 124 × 93 cm, Staatliche Sammlungen-Galerie Alte Meister, Dresden

Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, *Musicians playing the spinet*, oil on canvas, 1660s, 124 × 93 cm, Staatliche Sammlungen-Galerie Alte Meister, Dresden

Titian, *Supper at Emmaus*, oil on canvas, 169 x 244 cm, Paris, Louvre Museum

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Titian, Supper at Emmaus*, oil on canvas, 164 x 174 cm, Libochovice Castle

Unknown, *Copy after Titian, Supper at Emmaus*, oil on canvas, 169 x 237 cm, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Palma the Elder, The Virgin Mary with infant Jesus and Saints*, oil on canvas, 151 x 164,5 cm, Libochovice Castle

Palma the Elder, *Virgin Mary with infant Jesus and Saints*, oil on canvas, 102,5 x 109,5 cm, Prague, Picture Gallery of the Castle

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Paolo Veronese and the workshop, Christ and the Centurion*, oil on canvas, 147 x 176 cm, Ptuj Castle

Paolo Veronese and the workshop, *Christ and the Centurion*, oil on canvas, 146 x 288 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Paolo Veronese and the workshop, Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas, 144 x 175,5 cm, Ptuj Castle

Paolo Veronese and the workshop, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas, 143x288 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Paolo Veronese and the workshop, Christ and the Samaritan woman*, oil on canvas, 153.5 x 168 cm, Ptuj Castle

Paolo Veronese and the workshop, *Christ and the Samaritan woman*, oil on canvas
143x 289 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Paolo Veronese and the workshop, Agar and Ishmael*,
oil on canvas, 147.5 x 165 cm, Ptuj Castle

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Paolo Veronese and the workshop, Rebecca at the well*,
oil on canvas, 144,5 x 175 cm, Libochovice Castle

Paolo Veronese and the workshop, *Rebecca at the well*, oil on canvas, 140 x 284 cm,
Washington, National Gallery of Art

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Paolo Veronese and the workshop, Susanna and the
Elders*, oil on canvas, 146 x 176 cm, Libochovice Castle

Paolo Veronese and the workshop, *Susanna and the Elders*, oil on canvas, 140 x 280
cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Veronese and the workshop, the Adoration of the
Shepherds*, oil on canvas, 165 x 164,5 cm, Libochovice Castle

Paolo Veronese and the workshop, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, oil on canvas, 189 x
286 cm, Prague, Picture Gallery of the Castle

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Francesco Bassano, Spring*, oil on canvas, 147 x 176,5
cm, Libochovice Castle

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Francesco Bassano, Summer*, oil on canvas, 146 x 176
cm, Libochovice Castle

Francesco Bassano, *Summer*, oil on canvas, 111 x 145,5 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches
Museum

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Francesco Bassano, Autumn*, oil on canvas, 147 x
176,5 cm, Libochovice Castle

Francesco Bassano, *Autumn*, oil on canvas, 111 x 146 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches
Museum

Francesco Bassano, *Winter*, oil on canvas, 111 x 73 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches
Museum

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Francesco Bassano and the workshop, Adoration of the
Kings*, oil on canvas, 146,5 x 177 cm, Libochovice Castle

Francesco Bassano and the workshop, *Adoration of the Kings*, 143 x 182 cm, Vienna,
Kunsthistorisches Museum

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Francesco Bassano, Announcement of the angel to the
Shepherds*, oil on canvas, 145,5 x 176 cm, Libochovice Castle

Francesco Bassano, *Announcement of the angel to the Shepherds*, oil on canvas, 126 x
175 cm, Prague, Picture Gallery of the Castle

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Francesco Bassano, Miracle from the Source of Marah*,
oil on canvas, 142 x 175 cm, Libochovice Castle

Francesco Bassano, *Miracle from the Source of Marah*, oil on canvas, 82 x 114 cm,
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Gerolamo Bassano, Moses strikes water from the rock*,
oil on canvas, 147 x 176 cm, Libochovice Castle

Gerolamo Bassano, *Moses strikes water from the rock*, oil on canvas, 82 x 114 cm,
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Jacopo Bassano, The meeting at the Golden Gate*, oil on
canvas, 148 x 144 cm, Libochovice Castle

Jacopo Bassano, *The meeting at the Golden Gate*, oil on canvas, 140 x 127.5 cm,
Dresden, Gemäldegalerie

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Gerrit von Honthorst, The Dentist*, oil on canvas, 164 x
171 cm, Libochovice Castle

Gerrit von Honthorst, *The Dentist*, oil on canvas, 147 x 219 cm, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Bartolomeo Manfredi, The Guard's room*, oil on canvas, 143 x 176 cm, Libochovice Castle

Bartolomeo Manfredi, *The Guard's room*, oil on canvas, 129.5 x 190.5 cm, Los Angeles, County Museum of Art

Bartolomeo Manfredi, the *Gipsy Fortune teller*, 1616. oil on canvas, 121 x 153 cm, Institute of Arts, Detroit

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Bartolomeo Manfredi, The Fortune Teller*, oil on canvas, 145,5 x 176 cm, Libochovice Castle

Bartolomeo Manfredi, *The Fortune Teller*, oil on canvas, 137 x 201 cm, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie

Giovanni Francesco Romanelli, the *Rape of Europe*, oil on canvas, 130 x 163 cm, Musei Civici di Reggio Emilia, Galleria Parmeggiani

Simon Vouet, the *Rape of Europe*, ca. 1640, oil on canvas, 179 x 141.5 cm, Museum Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Johann von Hug (?), The Rape of Europe*, oil on canvas, 164 x 164 cm, Libochovice Castle

Johann von Hug (?), the *Rape of Europe*, oil on canvas, 129 x 88 cm, Prague, Picture Gallery of the Castle (deposit)

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, Jacob meets Esau*, oil on canvas, 146 x 176 cm, Libochovice Castle

Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, *Jacob meets Esau*, oil on canvas, 98 x 181 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, Gideon rallies the troops*, oil on canvas, 145 x 175 cm, Libochovice Castle

Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, *Gideon rallies the troops*, oil on canvas, 99 x 179,5 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum,

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Christoph Schwarz, Venus and Adonis*, oil on canvas, 145,5 x 175 cm, Libochovice Castle

Christoph Schwarz, *Venus and Adonis*, oil on canvas, 114,5 x 149 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Simon Vouet, Martha reproaching her sister Mary Magdalene*, oil on canvas, 109 x 178 cm, Libochovice Castle

Simon Vouet, *Martha reproaching her sister Mary Magdalene*, oil on canvas, 110 x 140 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Unknown, Copy after Anthony van Dyck, Charity, oil on canvas, 68 x 53 cm, auction

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Anthony van Dyck, Charity*, oil on canvas, 109 x 178 cm, Libochovice Castle

Anthony Van Dyck, *Charity*, National Gallery, London

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Guido Reni, St. Jerome and the angel*, oil on canvas, 151,5 x 163,5 cm, Ptuj Castle

Guido Reni, *St. Jerome and the angel.*, oil on canvas, 278 x 238 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Andrea Sacchi, the Divine Wisdom*, oil on canvas, 146.5 x 175 cm, Ptuj Castle,

Andrea Sacchi, the *Divine Wisdom*, fresco, 13x 14 m, Sala del Mappamondo, Palazzo Barberini, Rome

Giovanni Battista Spinelli, *David plays before Saul*, oil on canvas, 253 x 309 cm, Uffizi Museum, Florence

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Giovanni Battista Spinelli, David plays before Saul*, oil on canvas, 147 x 165.5 cm, Ptuj Castle

Giovanni Battista Spinelli, *David plays before Saul*, oil on canvas, 112,5 x 155 cm, Prague, Picture Gallery of the Castle

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Mattia Preti, Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew*, oil on canvas, 182 x 160 cm, Ptuj Castle

Mattia Preti, *Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew*, oil on canvas, 205 x 147 cm, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Mattia Preti, The Doubting Thomas*, oil on canvas, 170.5 x 175.5 cm, Ptuj Castle

Mattia Preti, *The Doubting Thomas*, oil on canvas, 187 x 145.5 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Jacopo Tintoretto, *Miracle of St. Mark*, 1548, oil on canvas, Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Jacopo Tintoretto, The Flagellation of Christ*, oil on canvas, 170.5 x 164.5 cm, Ptuj Castle

Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Flagellation of Christ*, oil on canvas, 162.3 x 126.4 cm, Prague, Picture Gallery of the Castle

Unknown, *Copy after Jacopo Tintoretto, the Flagellation of Christ*, before 1689, pen, brown ink and brown wash, frame line with black pen, 34.3 x 23.9 cm, inv. No. Ca 21/69, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Dresden - Kupferstich-Kabinett. Photo: courtesy of Prof. Martin Zlatohlávek

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Fra' Semplice da Verona, Pietas with St. Francis and an angel*, oil on canvas, 165.5 x 164 cm, Ptuj Castle

Fra' Semplice da Verona, *Pietas with St. Francis and an angel*, oil on canvas, 140,5 x 202 cm, Prague, Castle Picture Gallery

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Domeinco Fetti, Christ on the Mount of Olives*, oil on canvas, 167 x 131 cm, Ptuj Castle

Domenico Fetti, *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, oil on canvas, 90,5 x 55,5 cm, Prague, Picture Gallery of the Castle

Christian Schröder (Petr Brandl ?), *Copy after Domenico Fetti, Christ on the Mount of Olives*, oil on canvas, 104 x 76 cm, Prague, Picture Gallery of the Castle

Christian Schröder, *Copy after El Greco, The Purification of the Temple*, oil on canvas, 146,5 x 178,5 cm, Ptuj Castle

El Greco, *The Purification of the Temple*, oil on single poplar panel, 65,4x 83,3 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington

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Peter Paul Rubens, *Annunciation*, oil on canvas, 34.5 x 34 cm, Prague, Picture Gallery of the Castle

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Orazio Gentileschi, Mary Magdalene*, oil on canvas, 164,5 x 164 cm, Ptuj Castle

Orazio Gentileschi, *Mary Magdalene*, oil on canvas, 163 x 208 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Christian Schröder, *Copy after Unknown painter, The Risen Christ appearing to the Virgin Mary*, oil on canvas, 163 x 165.5 cm, Ptuj Castle

Guercino, *the Resurrected Christ appears to the Virgin Mary*, Pinacoteca Comunale, Cento

Domenichino, the *Resurrected Christ appears to the Virgin Mary*, oil on canvas, cm 235 × 163, collection Durazzo Pallavicini, Genova
Guido Reni, *Christ appearing to the Virgin*, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
Christian Schröder, *Copy after Antiveduto della Grammatica, St. Cecilia and two angels*, oil on canvas, 162x165 cm, Ptuj Castle
Antiveduto della Grammatica, *St. Cecilia and two angels*, oil on canvas, 91 x 120 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

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