Ve jménu moudrosti /

DOCTOR EVANGELICS

Ikonografie barokních knihoven na Moravě v 18. století EFFER

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Summary

IN THE NAME OF WISDOM The Iconography of Baroque Libraries in Moravia in the 18th Century

As we have seen using the example of Moravian libraries, the theory of early modern décor, requiring a harmony of the function and character of artistic decoration of a particular space, naturally also influenced the way in which library halls were decorated and furnished. The core of library décor were the themes of the celebration of wisdom and true knowledge which have their origin in God. Wisdom (Sapientia) is thus the most common personification we encounter in libraries. The monastic libraries always emphasise her divine origin, depicting her accompanied by Faith or the Church, as illustrated by iconographic programmes from the first quarter of the 18th century. From the 1730s onwards, there is one dominant central personification - Divine Wisdom (Sapientia Divina). She is the guarantor of the Sciences and Arts, whose colourful catalogue was varied, mostly in line with Ripa's widely used Iconologia iconographic compendium, published for the first time with illustrations in 1603. Almost as much as Science or Art, the personified Virtues are present in library decorations, because they are, alongside knowledge and learning, essential to attain true wisdom. In the written programme for decorating the library of the Augustinian canons in Sankt Florian, which was mentioned in the opening chapter, Daniel Gran created a specific concept of the symbolic marriage of Virtue and Scientia (conubium virtutis ac scientiae), concluded under the protection of the Faith. This concept of considerable significance in content terms and implemented by Bartolomeus Altomont in 1747, can possibly in a broader sense be related to the theme of the decoration of monastic libraries in general. In a number of libraries, we find personifications of various scientific and artistic disciplines depicted together with the personifications of the virtues, whose symbolic union is watched over by the Sapientia Divina (Divine Wisdom). The latter is at the same time the embodiment of the ideal goal of every virtuous scholar which is to attain true knowledge, or at least come close to it.

A variation of the theme of divine wisdom is Sapientia enthroned in the Temple of Wisdom, which, according to the Old Testament Book of Proverbs, was itself built on seven virtues symbolised by seven columns (Proverbs 9:1). This theme too was modified in various ways. In front of her temple, personified Wisdom appears, for example, on one of the paintings by Siard Nosecký on the vault of the Theological Hall in Prague, Strahov (1721–1727), where she receives a young man hurrying towards her up the stairs. In the libraries in Moravia, we note the Temple of Wisdom in the entrance hall of the Minorite Library in Brno, where Wisdom enthroned (identified here with the Church) regards the representatives of the Church and scholars seated on seven steps at her feet (1737). A commonplace theme is here enriched, in a unique way, by the figure of a religious who was rewarded for his learning in a figurative sense with the highest honour of his time, the order of the golden fleece.

The Old Testament verse about the Temple of Wisdom was also interpreted much more widely and related to the library as such. Thus the particular library hall becomes the Temple of Wisdom, which is the place where all knowledge collected over the centuries is stored in the books. This conceptual idea is then reflected in the scene of the 12-year-old Jesus in the Temple, one of the most frequent in Baroque libraries. We can follow it, like other themes of library décor, across the orders in different periods and variations. It appears independently as the main theme of a decoration programme, such as in the library of the Franciscan monastery in Uherské Hradiště and in the large hall of the Minorite Library in Brno, or it is included in a multi-part ideological scheme (Amberg, 1726; Broumov, 1739–1740). One of the late examples of the application of this scene is a large image on the vault of the main (Theological) library hall in the Cistercian monastery in Vyšší Brod (1777, Lukáš Vávra).

In this rich and extensive circle of themes associated with Divine Wisdom, which are repeated in different variations, we note a few quite exceptional iconographic programmes. These include the painted and sculptural decoration of the library hall of the Premonstratensian canonry at Hradisko near Olomouc, implemented according to the concept of the Order's painter and concettista Dionysius Strauss (1702, 1704). Here the Name of Jesus (externally expressed by the monogram IHS) is the source of true knowledge and the path to Divine Wisdom; in terms of ideas this combines the content of these iconographically unique scenes with an emblematic structure. This can also be said of the aforementioned paintings of the Theological Hall of the Premonstratensian Monastery in Strahov, Prague, which also have a unique intellectual background. This was the work of a former Strahov abbot, Jeroným Hirnheim, *De typho generis*

humani, dated 1676, in which Hirnheim rejects original human knowledge as a manifestation of pride, since true knowledge can only be attained through faith. The conceptual idea of the paintings was set out on the basis of Hirnheim's text, probably by the painter himself, the Strahov chaplain, Siard Nosecký, who in the 1720s painted iconographically unique scenes with personified Wisdom and emblems thematising the value of books. The painting on the vault of the monastery library in the Benedictine Monastery of Seitenstetten in Lower Austria is also quite exceptional, featuring the scene of the Worship of the Lamb with the twenty-four apocalyptic elders, based on the apocalyptic vision of the Revelation of St John the Divine (1740/1741, Paul Troger).

In these iconographic programmes the four evangelists, Western (and sometimes Eastern) ecclesiastical teachers and church leaders are the bearers and mediators of divine wisdom along with Jesus. It is precisely the themes of the iconography of the orders that are represented in the monastery libraries in large numbers, which is also true for the Baroque libraries in Moravia. The Rajhrad Benedictines added a theme typical of the environment of their order - the Four Continents pay homage to the founder of the order, Saint Benedict – through an unusually large number of Benedictine monks captured in the study and writing of books. So it was stated that the flowering of the sciences and arts cultivated by the Benedictines under the auspices of its Founding Father shall take place all over the world and, just like the Catholic faith spread by Benedictine across all the continents, will last for ever, as the figure of Chronos humbled at the edge of the painting clearly showed. We also find references to the learning of the orders in other monastic libraries in Moravia. In Uherské Hradiště there are four great medallions with ideal portraits of the most prominent Minorite scholars, at the Capuchins in Brno a scene with Saint Bonaventura, revealing to Saint Thomas Aquinas the crucifix as the source of true knowledge. Also in Nová Říše, the founder of the Premonstratensian Order, Saint Norbert, and the reverence he proclaimed for the Blessed Sacrament, are the central motif of the fresco decoration.

By their profane character, the library halls of the archbishop's residence in Kroměříž (1759, 1760) differ from Moravian monastery libraries. Parallels in particular to the fresco of the main hall appear primarily in the secular environment of aristocratic residences and chateaux, where celebration of the client is one of the usual subjects. Here also, however, the celebration of the Bishops of Olomouc and the arts and sciences plays out on the ceiling of the large library hall under the auspices of a higher power, in this case Divine Truth (Veritas), which has its analogue in Divine Wisdom. Both men being celebrated are portrayed on the fresco and through personifications are represented as examples of the virtues and wisdom they have achieved in the glow of Divine Truth, depicted in the centre of the vault. Into this scheme also fits the scene in the smaller hall – the entrance hall to the library, which represents the birth of Minerva from Jupiter's head, a theme (again) of the divine origin of wisdom, but now chosen from ancient mythology. The template for fitting out the library was the Court Library at the Imperial Hofburg in Vienna, whose paintings were completed by Daniel Gran in 1730. We encounter direct references to the published Gran painting of the central dome not only in Kroměříž, but also in several other places: in the libraries of the Premonstratensian monastery in Schussenried in Upper Swabia, the castle of Sárvar and the Premonstratensian monastery in Jasov in former Hungary. The motifs of the Viennese profane Apotheosis of Emperor Charles VI thus gradually became part of iconographic programmes and monastery libraries and expanded the range of themes of library décor.

A counterpoise to the personifications of the Sciences and Virtues and the saints, and the scholars of the orders mediating divine wisdom, was formed by the personified Vices, Heresies and heretics, and enemies of the true faith, overthrown or falling into the abyss of oblivion. It was authors condemned by the Catholic Church as heretics who often appeared in libraries' iconographic programmes. Here, their images represented a symbolic dimension of the negative forces over which the True (i.e. the Catholic) faith and the Church celebrated their triumph. One of the wall paintings in the library of the Benedictine Abbey of Metten in Lower Bavaria, which is often cited as an example, explicitly depicts the main representatives of the Reformation: Luther, Calvin, Melanchton and Zwingli (1722–1726, Innozenz Waräthi). The wall paintings in the libraries on this subject naturally had a strong didactical aspect, as was evidently the case with the lost fresco by Jan Kryštof Handke in the library of the Jesuit College in Olomouc, where Wisdom and Faith jointly overthrew the Vices into the Kingdom of the Damned (1726, 1730). The educational function included the motif of a falling Arab scholar (Averroes?) in the library of the Brno Capuchins, developed into the personification of Sin and Lies, with Saint Bonaventura and Saint Thomas Aquinas at the bottom of the scene. In this context, it is worth recalling the scene of Norbert's triumph over heretic Tanchelm in the library of the Premonstratensian canonry in Nová Říše, enlivened by the exceptional theme of the burning of heretical books, for which we do not find any analogy in the Baroque libraries of the Czech Republic.

In addition, a portrait gallery of the scholars of the order were part of the library décor. The portraits of famous scholars were included in the ideal of a decorative programme for an universal library, as it was proposed by the Jesuit Claude Clèment in 1628 in his theoretical work on the organisation and fitments for the Musei sive Bibliothecae tam privatae quam publicae Extructio, Instructio, *Cura, Usus.* The portraits of the authors of literary works, along with the portraits of other well-known personalities, such as artists, combined a particular library with the tradition of education and encouraged its visitors to follow an exemplary life dedicated to learning. In the Baroque libraries, the portrait galleries were placed on the lower parts of the vault frescoes, as in the former Jesuit library in Prague's Klementinum, where the portrait medallions of the Jesuit scholars are painted in the lunettes of the vault above the windows (1724, Jan Hiebel). As separate pictures, portraits hung on the walls over the windows or above the doors, or adorned the library furniture. A second method was chosen by the Minorites in Brno who prepared a sixteen-part cycle of paintings of important scholars of the order for the main hall of their library and had it displayed on the upper panels of the library shelves. A knowledge of Clèment's work, found particularly in the environment of the ecclesiastical orders, is also shown by the emblems, also recommended by Clèment, in the Minorite monastery in Brno. The group of six emblems on the main hall's vault coving are the only example of this other important part of library décor in Moravia. Just as for portrait galleries, places were reserved for emblems at the edges of vault paintings, in window openings, or on walls. They added to and developed the content of the main wall paintings, mostly as a result of the original design of the author of the iconographic programme, which was based on the study of contemporary emblematic books. This was the case with the Brno Minorites and in other libraries preserved in Bohemia, where emblems are more numerously represented: in the aforementioned Theological Hall of the Strahov Monastery or in the window openings of the Prague Metropolitan Chapter Library at Prague Castle (1725, Jan Ezechiel Vodňanský).

The library halls were equipped above all with paintings, of which the central importance belonged to the vault frescoes. Sculptural works were on the whole complementary, but were not merely decorative. Sculptures and reliefs also conveyed the communication of ideological programmes. Gilded stucco medallions and relief figures of angels embedded in the painting decoration of the library hall at the Hradisko monastery near Olomouc are related to the stylistic tendencies of the very early 18th century, but two pairs of statues, now lost, which were acquired at Hradisko for the library entrance, may also be considered as part of the library décor. We do not know anything specific about their subject, but it was probably about personification of the sciences or the virtues. An exceptional documentary record of the sculptural decoration of Baroque libraries in Moravia has been preserved in the Minorite library in Brno. Wooden sculptures of Science and Prudence (Scientia and Prudentia) on the plinths at the foot of a staircase leading to the main hall create on its doors, together with the painted figure of Wisdom (Sapientia), a remarkable symbolic triangle, illustrating the path to attaining true wisdom. The figures of twenty-two putti, personifying the sciences, arts and virtues are then displayed between the paintings of the scholars of the order on the library shelves in the main hall. A similar set of twenty putti, just as in Brno without any direct link to the book collection's themes, can be noted in the middle of the 1760s in the niches of the library cabinets in the library of the Benedictine Monastery in Sankt Gallen. Certainly remarkable were the silver-plated sculptures of the scholarly disciplines on the library shelves in the defunct Jesuit library at Olomouc, which, allegedly, were made to life-size (around 1730, Ondřej Zahner), unlike the intimately scaled putti in Brno. In the Minorite library in Brno there is also an interesting illusive painting of sculptures of personifications of the seven liberal arts on the walls of the entrance hall, which was realized in this form due to the lack of space (and later for the same reason was covered by the cabinets installed afterwards). This is probably true also of the illusive sculptures of the three theological virtues on the walls of the Rajhrad monastery library, where it was also better to replace three-dimensional sculptures with their "mere" painted image.

Thus, library décor encompasses a whole series of iconographic motifs and types of artistic decoration, which were used in the painting and sculpture of Baroque libraries throughout the Central European space and naturally also in Moravia. Moravian libraries have in common with libraries in Bohemia, Hungary, Austria and Germany many iconographic motifs, mainly on wall paintings, as well as portrait galleries of scholars of the orders, emblems, personification sculptures, or carved furniture decorations.

Depending on the period of origin, for Moravian libraries it is also possible to find analogies in the architectural types of the halls, or the overall concept of the vault images, which is typical for the period and occurs naturally also outside the library, in other monastery premises. The oldest preserved library hall in Moravia was built within the walls of the former Premonstratensian canonry at Hradisko near Olomouc (1702/1704). As a single-storey vaulted hall, the library represented at the beginning of the eighteenth century one of the modern solutions for representative book storage, having parallels in nearby Lower Austria. Typically related library rooms from this period are located at the Cistercian monasteries in Heiligenkreuz (1693–1705) and Lilienfeld (1704) or the Barnabite monastery in Vienna (around 1700). Along with these go the older of the two libraries of the Prague Strahov Monastery, the Theological Hall (1671–1674), decorated with frescoes by Siard Nosecký (1721–1727). The Hall at Hradisko is in its size and the artistic quality of its interiors close to these libraries, resulting from the collaboration of Italian artists, the painter Innocenzo Monti and the stucco artist Baldassare Fontana. The individual scenes of the Strauss-designed iconographic programme with the theme of the celebration of Jesus's name are composed of separate stucco-bordered vault bays. The division of the vaulted area into a series of images framed by stucco frames is typical for the early 18th century. However, unlike the library halls named here, the frescoes on the sides of the hall are left unframed at Hradisko, and flow smoothly into Fontana's stucco parts showing angelic figures. This solution, which corresponds to the exclusivity of the ideas mentioned at the beginning, can certainly be attributed to Fontana's experience with the sculptures of Gian Lorenzo Bernini. The Hradisko hall was also distinguished from the aforementioned libraries by the rich gilding of the stucco decorations, restored today only in part.

Also the somewhat more modest library hall in the Rajhrad Benedictine monastery has lost its form of a former Baroque library. The original furniture was replaced by new library shelves at the beginning of the 19th century, and the fresco by the Brno native Jan Jiří Etgens (1735) was partially defaced by later overpainting. Its theme, belonging to the iconography of the order (in this case, the Benedictines), is a celebration of the Order and its merits for the spread of faith and education in the world. At the time of the Etgens painting, the earlier concept of vault decoration, made up of smaller paintings in a number of bays, had been abandoned, and the fresco covered the entire vaulted area with stucco or single vault bays. This new approach to the fresco as such also meant new possibilities for building an iconographic programme, which could now be developed as a single, integrated, ceiling image. An example of such painting, which also has an exclusive subject, which to a certain extent also applies to the Etgens fresco in Rajhrad, could be the painting decoration of the library of the Benedictine monastery at Melk, using along the circumference of the vault a band of painted illusive architecture (1732, Paul Troger). Etgens also worked with illusive architectural elements, using them for the basic dividing up of the vaulted area. In the frame so created he placed the various components of the iconographic programme, "covering" with clumps of cloud on which Benedictine scholars are distributed an extensive area around the central oval field with Saint Benedict and the personified continents in the heavens.

In the second half of the 1730s, two libraries of the mendicant orders were set up, the library of the Franciscans in Uherské Hradiště (1736, Josef Karel Herchenräter) and two library halls in the Minorite monastery in Brno (1737, Jan

Fertl). The first of these represents within the set of Moravian Baroque libraries a type of simple library hall with an undemanding decoration programme of lesser artistic quality. Such were probably the defunct library of the Brno Dominicans (1711, Jan Kryštof Zub) and the Znojmo Capuchins (1782, Adalbert Radda), of the preserved libraries in Bohemia, for example, the library of the Discalced Augustinians in Lysá nad Labem (in or after 1738, František Maxmilian Voget) or the Paulinian library in Obořiště (1757, Jan Václav Spitzer). The Franciscan libraries in Dačice and Moravská Třebová also belong here, whose interiors retain the remarkably decorated furnishings. By way of contrast, the Minorite library in Brno was fitted out in much more demanding style when compared to these examples. Its rich painting and sculptural decoration could arise thanks to the foundations, legacies and donations of the monastery, the number of which had grown considerably since the beginning of the 18th century, and also thanks to the happy choice of the associated artist Jan Fertl (referred to in the sources as the "Stafierer") who proved himself a skilled painter of figures and architecture on this demanding assignment. To a lesser extent, Antonín Schweigl, an experienced and well established sculptor, also contributed to the decoration. The Minorite library could apply all the components of library décor, including ceiling images (in oil and fresco), with the theme of Divine Wisdom, a portrait cycle of famous men (here of scholars of the order), emblems and illusive sculptures (referring to the sciences and the seven liberal arts), complete with freestanding statues of personifications and statues of putti. In contrast to the almost contemporary decoration of the library hall in Rajhrad, however, the formal concept of the painting decorations is somewhat archaic: on the ceilings are depicted individual figural bays surrounded by relatively large areas of painted stucco, the depiction of the illusive statues of the seven liberal arts are obviously determined by earlier graphic designs (from Dutch or German painters and graphic artists of the 16th and 17th centuries), and the sculptural decoration is characterised by a seriousness in the expression and antiquated treatment of the draperies. Such an approach, however, could have been intentional, in order to create a dignified, grave space that would raise respect for the tradition of learning of the order, outwardly manifested by the accumulated book collection, which was exceptionally rich for one of the mendicant orders in our country.

It is significant that the paintings in the library halls are the only known works of wall painting in the work of painters such as Josef Karel Herchenräter and Jan Fertl. It is otherwise with Josef Stern, one of the best painters active in Moravia, in whose work frescos in libraries have a special place. The ceiling paintings in the two library halls of the then bishop's, later the Archbishop's Palace, in Kroměříž, painted for Olomouc Bishop Leopold Friedrich von Egkh and Hungersbach (1759, 1760), form a worthy counterpart to the frescoes in the Hall of Vassals – the work of Viennese painter Franz Anton Maulbertsch, the most influential Central European Baroque painter of the 18th century. Although in his paintings Stern did not achieve the sparkling luminosity and colour and shape expressiveness of Maulbertsch's accomplishments of the period, we find in his work as well rich colouring and innovative motifs that are based on the Vienna Art Academy through which both painters had passed. From this environment could have come his knowledge of Daniel Gran's fresco in the Court Library in Vienna and its reproductions in Salomon Kleiner's album, which the academy received as a gift to its library, and from which Josef Stern drew inspiration for the form and compositional solution of the painting in the large library hall and from which he took over the rare themes of two cartouches with antique rulers in the library entrance hall.

Stern's paintings in both Kroměříž halls were based on traditional patterns of Baroque wall painting. In the large hall, the figurative picture covered the entire surface of the vault, the main motif – Divine Veritas – was placed at its centre and four compositional ensembles symbolically "rotated" around it: the apotheoses of the library founder Karel von Liechtenstein-Castelcorn and the restorer of the library Leopold of Egkh, the Temple of Learning and Parnassus. In order for the viewer to perceive the scenes from the right angle, he had to move and rotate himself in this space, guided by the movement of the individual figures. In the small hall, the vaulting mirror with the Birth of Minerva was designed for viewing from a single place, a monochrome-painted cartouches, functioning, again in the spirit of the classic solutions of Baroque vault painting, as complementary "fatta", were located at four places around its perimeter.

In the middle 1760s, Josef Stern was commissioned to decorate another library, in the so-called Trenck wing of the Capuchin monastery in Brno, built under the direction of Brno builder František Antonín Grimm (starting in 1763). Compared to Stern's Kroměříž work, the fresco is more modest in terms of its size and overall conception. However, in the context of other libraries of the mendicant orders, the interior of the Capuchin Library occupies an exceptional place due to the high artistic quality of the ceiling painting. For the small library, Stern chose a one-viewpoint composition with the main actors of the scene, Saint Bonaventura and St. Thomas Aquinas, before the source of true knowledge – Christ on the Cross, which he supplemented at the bottom with three personified vices. In this case, the demands of equipping of the Capuchin library, itself exceptional within the mendicant orders, can be justified by the person of the client, who here was not the superior of the monastery, as it was usual, but the brother of the builder Grimm, the provincial Antonín of Brno (Jiří Filip Grimm) who evidently suggested the subject for Stern's painting.

With the last library hall preserved in Moravia at the Premonstratensian canonry in Nová Říše we enter symbolically into the last third of the 18th century. During this period, wall painting underwent a transformation in terms of both form and content. Contrary to the traditional theory of Baroque wall painting, requiring on the vaults a depiction of an open sky with floating divine figures, saints or personifications of the virtues, earlier forbidden worldly scenes with landscapes and occasionally scenes at sea began to appear in the middle of the century. The final stage of the century also brought with it a recently formulated demand for the "historical correctness" of the depicted scenes; this was most prominently displayed in the ceiling fresco by Johann Lukas Kracker in the lyceum library in Eger, Hungary, showing a session of the Council of Trent (1777). We also encounter both of these tendencies in the Nová Říše library hall. The painting on the vault (1770) is the work of Ignatius Mayer the Elder who enriched Baroque painting in Moravia with a distinctive, colourful and figuratively attractive style, close to Maulbertsch and Stern's artistic expression. In the Nová Říše, Mayer incorporated into his painting motifs of cities and landscapes, at times almost pastoral, while at the same time paying attention to the "historically" faithful depiction of clothing in the scene of Norbert's triumph over Tanchelm or the insignia of the rulers in a group of representatives of temporal power worshipping the Eucharist. These formal and stylish transformations - here we might note, for example, Mayer's original building of the image space, are linked to iconographic innovations. In particular, the scene of the Power of the Church and the temporal power worshipping the Eucharist most emphatically draws attention to the innovative concept of the ideological concept of paintings, because it lacks the character of the Pope, who is key to this theme. The new content of this scene stands out all the more if we compare the fresco as realised with the preserved sketch (Moravian Gallery in Brno) where the Pope's figure, leading representatives of the Church, as the counterpart to the emperor leading the temporal rulers, is still present. So it seems that here we are witnessing the approval of contemporary ideas of the subordination of the Church to the power of the state, an approval that reflects enlightenment ideas and the reforms of the state and society demanded by Enlightenment figures. At the same time, however, in other scenes, we can assume in their testimony a hidden defence of the existence of the ecclesiastical orders, and a reference to the irreplaceable place of the orders

in pastoral cares, especially in preaching (Pope Gelasius II grants Saint Norbert permission to preach, Love and Hope carry the grapes of faith). At the same time these scenes are part of the traditional iconographic framework, which is the celebration of Saint Norbert as founder of the order, closely linked to the celebration of the Eucharist – the central theme of Norbertine iconography, which includes the emphasis on piety so typical of the Baroque. So is created a "breakthrough" iconographic programme with new content added to the traditional ideas of Baroque art. Its author is undoubtedly abbot Josef Bernard Pelikán, who in the role of client most probably initiated the ideological changes in the individual scenes. The relief decoration of the extensions to the library cabinets, with the personifications of the traditional and newly established scientific disciplines, acquired only in 1801, moved the impression of the paintings of the Nová Říše library more distinctly towards the enlightenment.

The full development of the ideas of the Catholic Enlightenment took place in the ideological programme of Norbert Korber of Korborn, which defined the theme of Franz Anton Maulbertsch's paintings in the library of the Premonstratensian canonry in Louka near Znojmo (1778). This unique realisation no longer exists, but its formal style aspect is brought to use by the preserved preparatory work, especially the Maulbertsch model from the Augsburg Gallery and three drawn ricordi by Josef Winterhalder the Younger (Moravian Gallery in Brno, private collection in Bamberg). Like the Nová Říše fresco, the vault painting in Louka also included motifs from nature and architecture to the extent typical of wall painting in the last third of the 18th century. (In particular, the Augsburg model excels in the predominance of an idyllic landscape, where groups of characters are merely set here and there.) Reconstruction of the content of the Louka painting is enabled by an interpretation of the time from Premonstratensian Norbert Korber (Historische Erklärung), a unique printed commentary, explaining the motifs of the vault image with the theme of an Allegory of the Progress of the Human Soul. It was most probably printed shortly after the completion of Maulbertsch's fresco, and explained both the new, unusual themes, as well as traditional motifs with a new meaning. The source of Korber's inspiration was, besides passages from the Bible, the enlightenment philosophy of the German scholar and lawyer Christian Wolff and his idea of a natural faith or theology. Soon after the abolition of the Louka Monastery a replica of the Louka library, called the Philosophical Hall, was created at the behest of the Strahov Abbot Václav Mayer in the Premonstratensian canonry at Strahov in Prague. Abbot Mayer had first acquired the precious library furniture from Louka, and then ordered from Franz Anton Maulbertsch a fresco that was to be

an "improved" imitation of Louka vault image. Maulbertsch's Strahov painting (1794) was once again interpreted in an historical printed description (*Historische Beschreibung*), capturing the semantic shift in its subjects, now interpreted as a return to a more traditionally oriented idea of the true faith and divine wisdom. Both paintings are exceptional within Maulbertsch's work, not only because of their unique iconographic programme (any impact of Maulbertsch's ideas on the latter's content is still being considered by scholars), but also the fact that the Strahov fresco was the painter's last work of monumental painting – and paradoxically his only fresco in Bohemia.

From these lines it follows that the artistic decoration of Baroque libraries was characterised by certain features and these are repeated in different variations, together creating what can be summarised as library décor. This also naturally reflects the changes of style that affect the formal appearance of the wall painting as well as other artistic decorations of the library halls. From this point of view, it is possible to see the artistic decoration of Baroque libraries in Moravia as an integral part of a series of library decorations of the Baroque period within the Central European space. At the same time, however, the study of the Moravian libraries clearly shows that, as a whole, the ensemble is quite heterogeneous. The vault paintings differ in the demands of their iconographic programmes, and their artistic quality is also somewhat variable. Also, the level of craftsmanship of other fittings, especially the furniture, which has been preserved only in some cases, is not particularly even. The library halls differ in size and belong to different architectural types. This diversity can be extended without exception to other monastic libraries in the Czech lands, as well as in Hungary, and to a lesser extent also in the Austrian and German lands. The search for something in common clearly demonstrated the existence of a library décor (discussed in the ecclesiastical orders also at a theoretical level), on which all the decorative concepts are based. Within this, however, there are countless variants, each of which is unique in its own way. This state of affairs is to a certain extent due to the jurisdiction of the orders and the contemporary geopolitical situation: it is natural that monasteries possessing representation at the provincial assembly and occupying an important position in the country's power structures, such as the Benedictine, Premonstratensian and Cistercian monasteries, had other financial possibilities and ideas for the ideological programmes for their libraries and their implementation, than did the mendicant orders, reliant as they were on gifts and donations. The specific strategy in terms of representation was developed by the Jesuit Order, which tried to build and then defend a strong position in the field of university education.

To the status of the monasteries and their presentation to the outside world is related the question of whether it is possible to trace a specific iconography for an order in the decoration of the Baroque library halls. It seems that a certain exclusivity of subjects is characteristic of the Premonstratensians, as shown by the examples of Hradisko, Nová Říše, Louka and Strahov, but the same might be said also of the decoration of the Benedictine library in Rajhrad (or at Melk, but also Seitenstetten or Metten). Some motifs appear repeatedly in libraries of the mendicant orders (the twelve-year-old Jesus in the Temple, Wisdom Enthroned), but we also find them relatively often elsewhere. In addition, the subjects change over time, for example, some of the themes of the early 18th century (Faith Riding on a Triumphal Carriage – Theological Hall in Prague-Strahov, Heiligenkreuz) are later no longer present; on the contrary, the new stylistic tendencies of the last third of the century bring with them innovations in the content of library paintings, now more often focused on a "more realistic" depiction of scientific disciplines. It is therefore very difficult to attempt any more generally formulated conclusions in this respect. The question also remains what the benefit would be of classifying iconographic themes in libraries in terms of the orders. So far, research has shown that our current knowledge of the ideological programmes of Baroque libraries can be expanded precisely in relation to the uniqueness of each one, and not by looking for further features they have in common with other libraries, equally originally equipped.

One way to enrich our knowledge may be to follow the artistic decoration of a particular library hall in the context of the decorations in the entire monastery. If possible and the state of preservation of other art decorations of a monastery complex allows such an approach, the view of the library programme within a (reconstructed) monastic iconology gains a new perspective. In the Premonstratensian canonry at Hradisko near Olomouc, this process showed that the iconographic programme of that library hall, the work of the order's painter and concettista Dionysius Strauss, includes several themes used at the same time in decorating other spaces within the canonry. The frescoes in the library thus even represent a kind of imaginary lynchpin of the older layers of art decoration for the entire monastery. Its form was first shaped from the 1670s onwards by Strauss's teacher, Martin Antonín Lublinský, who was replaced by Strauss in the 1690s. To Strauss's role as iconologist for the order was connected the concept of the artistic fitting out of the chapter chapel, the Angel staircase, the refectory, the new pharmacy, and the design of the external paintings of the central tower, which included above all Christological and Marian themes accentuating the Eucharist, the virginal purity of the Lady Mary and her role as the Mother of

God. These themes, including the depiction of the patron saint of the monastery, St. Stephen, and of the founder of the order, St. Norbert, combined in a unique manner the iconographic programme of the library, united by the central idea of celebrating Jesus' name as the source of divine wisdom. The ideological programme of the library later found its symbolic counterpart in the theme of celebrating the name of Mary in the cloister chapel of the Pilgrimage Church of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary at Svatý Kopeček (1719–1721), created by Jan Michael Fissé the Elder, also probably based on a design by Dionysius Strauss.

Also, the library hall of the Rajhrad provostry with its paintings supplemented the concept of the fresco decoration of a monastery church, painted by Jan Jiří Etgens, most probably according to the instructions of the then provost Antonín Pirmus. The embellishment of the central space of the church and the library combines the idea of the celebration of Saint Benedict and the order that he established, spreading the Christian Catholic faith throughout the world. In the library, the theme of the missionary work of the order was modified, and instead of the inhabitants of far countries receiving baptism, here there are depicted a large number of Benedictine scholars cultivating science and promulgating education. Also noteworthy are the motifs of books, unusually applied on Etgens's painting in the western part of the church nave with a rare scene of the Revelation of the Third Heaven to the Apostle Paul, or the Hebrew and Greek inscriptions accompanying the depiction of Saint Jerome in one of the four false pendentives, also in this part of the church. These paintings in the laymen's choir, that arose before the decoration of the library hall were supposed to be understood as an allusion to the scientific and scholarly work of members of the monastic community.

The situation was different in the environment of the mendicant orders, where the acquisition of works of art was much more dependent on the monastery's income, which came only from legacies, foundations and alms. However, even in this case, it is possible to consider a more comprehensively viewed concept of monastery decoration, reflecting the high level of education of the superiors of the convent and their excellent overview of the current artistic events. This applies, for example, to the monastery of the Brno Minorites, who through their skilful work in the city, and especially thanks to the work of the religious brotherhoods, managed to obtain considerable funds, from which they then paid for the reconstruction and artistic decoration of their monastery complex. Their considerable ambitions in this field are reflected in the preserved decoration of the library hall and its entrance hall, where a theoretical knowledge of library décor is also evident. With its generously structured concept, which could be the work of the monastery librarian Stephan Christ, this decoration

follows the magnificent project of the fresco painting of the monastery church, entrusted to the leading fresco painter in Moravia, Jan Jiří Etgens, and the older decoration of the neighbouring Loreto church with the paintings by Etgens's peer and competitor František Řehoř Ignác Eckstein. Although the iconography of all these paintings is embedded within the limits of "traditional" Baroque themes, a distinctive inventiveness cannot be denied them. The originality of the ideological creators of the iconological concept of the monastery was most prominent in the paintings of Jan Fertl in the library, especially in the library entrance hall, which depicted the Wisdom Enthroned along with the personifications of the seven liberal arts, and featuring the imaginative motif of a stairway lined with sculptures as a path to the achievement of true wisdom, whose personification was painted on the door into the main library hall.

Thanks to previous research, the incorporation of the library into the concept of the entire building went furthest in the residence of the bishops of Olomouc in Kroměříž. The decoration of the library hall and the entrance hall leading to it (1759 and 1760) is an integral part of the fresco decoration programme for the main chateau premises: the Hall of Vassals (1759) and the large dining room – today's Assembly Hall (1769). Although the paintings were realised gradually, their main significance – the celebration of the bishopric and the bishops of Olomouc and their merits – has been preserved. This was thanks to institutional memory, intentionally cultivated and emphasising the continuous duration of the Olomouc bishopric, and in spite of a number of conceivers who intervened in the iconological programme of the Kroměříž chateau. Among them, a firm place is held by Jeremias Saudny, the Rector of the Piarist College in Kroměříž, who created an ideological programme for the paintings realised by Josef Stern in the large library hall.

It can be assumed that in the future the aim of Baroque libraries research is not only to search for common features in their artistic decoration and related or identical motifs in their iconographic programmes, but also to examine the specificity of individual realisations that should be emphasised. For every Baroque library is unique in its own way. It is firmly connected to the environment of a particular monastery, and the ideological concept of its decoration always grows out of the iconological concept of the entire monastery, as the previous chapters have shown. At the same time, the artistic decoration of libraries, especially the wall paintings on the vaults, is becoming a kind of conceptual battleground for its conceivers – here, unlike other convent premises, are presented complex multi-layered iconographic programmes, often including completely original motifs, demonstrating the spiritual maturity of a particular monastic cromsunity. And it is in this uniqueness of every Baroque library that lies their irresistible charm.