

## ALEGORIJA PETIH ČUTOV NA FRESKAH V GRADU JABLJE IN NA SLIKANIH TAPETAH IZ GRADOV DORNAVA IN ZAPRICE<sup>1</sup>

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V prvi polovici 18. stoletja so v Augsburgu ustvarjali številni umetniki, ki so postali priznani slikarji šele potem, ko so že nekaj let uspešno delovali kot bakrorezci. Johann Georg Bergmüller, Johann Evangelist Holzer, Johann Wolfgang Baumgartner, Matthäus Günter, Gottfried Bernhard Götz, Johann Esaias Nilson in Johann Elias Ridinger, če naštejemo le najpomembnejše, so bili tudi ali predvsem grafiki.<sup>2</sup> V njihovem času je Augsburg postal središče nemške grafične produkcije. Veliki umetnostni založniki - Engelbrecht, Hertel in Pfeffel - so potrebovali risarje predlog in rezce za svoje vsestranske programe, tako da skoraj ni bilo mladega umetnika, ki ne bi delal za eno teh založb.<sup>3</sup> Poseben pomen je imel Augsburg tudi za slovensko slikarstvo, saj sta tam tiskala svoja dela vsaj dva od naših znanih baročnih slikarjev, Franc Jelovšek in Valentin Metzinger, zelo pomembno pa je tudi, da so grafični listi, ki so delo najpomembnejših predstavnikov augsburškega rokokoja, rabili kot predloge slovenskim slikarjem. Tako je po dveh bakroreznih serijah J. E. Ridingerja naslikan lovski cikel slikanih tapet iz gradu Zaprice,<sup>4</sup> slikar fresk v dvorcu Miljana na Hrvaškem je uporabil Holzerjeve grafi-

<sup>1</sup> Podlaga za članek je seminarska naloga z naslovom *Baročne slikane tapete na Sloven-skem: O grafičnih predlogah in motivih, ki se pojavljajo na ciklih iz gradov Zaprice, Jablje in Dornava in nekaj drugega gradiva o umetninah, ki so povezane s to problematiko*, Oddelek za umetnostno zgodovino, Filozofska fakulteta, Ljubljana 1991 (mentor prof. dr. Milček Komelj). Posebej bi se rada zahvalila prof. dr. Levu Menašju za vse spodbude, napotke, provokativna vprašanja in kritične pripombe ter mag. Jasni Horvat in Marjeti Ciglencečki, kustodinjama muzejev, kjer danes hranijo slikane tapete, za marsikatero opozorilo pa tudi mag. Marjani Lipoglavšek.

<sup>2</sup> Lydia L. Dewiel, *Aus dem Leben eines Augsburger Kupferstechers und Verlegers: Johann Esaias Nilson*, v: *Bayern im Rokoko: Aspekte einer Epoche im Umbruch* (H. Shindler, ed.), München 1989, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Ridingerjevi seriji: *Grosser Herrn Lust in allerhand Jagen* in *Die Fürsten Jagdlust*. Grafične liste hrani e.g. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung v Münchnu. Za pregled Ridingerjevih grafik cf. Wilhelm Thienemann: *Leben und Wirken des unvergleichlichen Thiermalers und Kupferstechers Johann Elias Ridinger mit dem ausführlichen Verzeich-nis seiner Kupferstiche, Schwarzkunstblätter und der von ihm hinterlassenen großen Sammlung von Handzeichnungen*, Leipzig 1856. Njegovo klasifikacijo upoštevajo vsi raziskovalci in posamezne liste označujejo s kratico Th. in ustreznim številom, žal pa je Thienemannovo delo brez reprodukcij. Lovski cikel iz Zapric (danes hranjen v Narodnem muzeju v Ljubljani) je posnet po naslednjih Ridingerjevih grafikah: Th. 1 - 3, 25, 27, 34 in 37.

ke štirih letnih časov in štirih temperamentov,<sup>5</sup> kar tri slikarske stvaritve, dva cikla slikanih tapet (iz Zaprice in iz Dornave) ter freske v Jabljah, pa so nastale z naslonitvijo na grafično serijo petih čutov G. B. Götz.

Gottfried Bernhard Götz (Goetz, Götz)<sup>6</sup>, ki se je rodil leta 1708 v Velehradu na Moravskem, se je najprej učil pri Franzu G. J. Ecksteinu v Brnu. Okrog leta 1730 je prišel v Augsburg, kjer je bil Bergmüllerjev učenec.<sup>7</sup> Učitelj je vplival predvsem na figuralni stil mladega umetnika, ki se je kot slikar uveljavil šele po letu 1739, ko je po naročilu bankirja Christiana Georga Köpfa naslikal freske v hiši na Philippine-Welser Strasse v Augsburgu. Götzovo najpomembnejše delo je poslikava stropa romarske cerkve v Birnau med letoma 1749 in 1750.

Ker je Gottfried Bernhard Götz že leta 1737 skupaj z bratoma Klauber osnoval bakrorezno založbo - prvi list grafične serije, ki predstavlja alegorijo petih čutov, pa ima v desnem spodnjem kotu zapis "*J. A. Pfeffel excud. A. V.*" - je verjetno, da jo je Götz izdelal že pred letom 1737 (sl. 69).<sup>8</sup>

Vsaki od grafik petih čutov so spodaj dodani verzi v francoščini in nemščini, na kamnitem podstavku, ki nosi upodobitev, pa ime čuta v latinščini. Osrednji prizor predstavlja žanrska scena, to pa obdajajo živali, herme in ostali predmeti, vsi vzeti iz bolj ali manj uveljavljene zakladnice simbolov, ki so skozi stoletja določali ta ali oni čut (sl. 66, 69, 72, 74 in 79).

Kot rečeno, je Götzova serija petih čutov pomembno odmevala v treh slovenskih slikarskih ciklih iz sredine 18. stoletja. Šele s poznavanjem te grafične predloge lahko zatržno določimo ikonografijo fresk v jedilnici jabeljskega gradu in dveh ciklov slikanih tapet iz gradov Zaprice in Dornava.

Ko so baroni Janežiči sredi 18. stoletja obnavljali grad Jablje, so naročili tudi poslikavo reprezentativnejših prostorov, med njimi tudi poligonalne jedilnice v

<sup>5</sup> Bakroreze hranijo e.g. v augsburškem grafičnem kabinetu, reproducirani pa so bili tudi v delu Jürgen Rappa, "J. Holzer fecit sub Directione Domini J. G. Bergmiller", *Bruckmanns Pantheon*, XLVIII, 1990, pp. 90 - 91. Na freskah, ki so pripisane Antonu Lerchingerju (cf. Anica Cevc, Jožef Anton Lerchinger, *Likovna enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, II, Zagreb 1987, p. 187), so naslikani vsi letni časi in dva temperamenta (sangvinik, kolerik) - vsi so v celoti natančno prerisani po Holzerjevih bakrorezih.

<sup>6</sup> Ulrich Thieme-Felix Becker: *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, XIV, Leipzig 1921, pp. 319 - 320; G. K. Nagler: *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, V, München 1837, pp. 259 - 260; Eduard Isphording: *Gottfried Bernhard Göz 1708 - 1774: Ölgemälde und Zeichnungen*, Weißenhorn 1982; Rudolf Wildmoser, Gottfried Bernhard Göz (1708 - 1774) als ausführender Kupferstecher. Untersuchung und Katalog der Werke, *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte e. V.*, XVII, 1984, pp. 257 - 340, XIX, 1985, pp. 140 - 296 (od tod citirano Wildmoser: Göz).

<sup>7</sup> Vsaj dva ducata bolj ali manj pomembnih slikarjev 18. stoletja se je izoblikovalo v Bergmüllerjevi delavnici, ali pa jih je ta vsaj poučeval na augsburški slikarski akademiji, katere direktor je postal leta 1730. Cf. Alois J. Weichslgartner, *Der Akademiedirektor und sein Compagnon: Ein Kapitel Augsburger Rokokomalerei um Bergmüller und Holzer*, v: *Bayern im Rokoko: Aspekte einer Epoche im Umbruch* (H. Schindler, ed.), München 1989, p. 20.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Wildmoser: Göz, 1985, p. 191. Po Wildmoserju je Götzova alegorija nastala okrog leta 1735.

vzhodnem stolpu.<sup>9</sup> Zaključena celota v njej so freske pod okni; v rokokojskih okvirih so naslikani žanrski prizori, ki predstavljajo pet čutov. Freske so danes močno poškodovane, vendar v glavnem še lahko razberemo posamezne prizore:<sup>10</sup>

*Vid:* dve ženi in mož v pokrajini opazujejo sliko<sup>11</sup> (sl. 70). (Götz, sl. 69)

*Sluh:* pastirji, ki igrajo na rog in gajde (sl. 64). (Vir za prizor je neznan.)

*Voh:* sedeča žena vonja cvetlico, ob njej stoji deček in kaže na posodico<sup>12</sup> (sl. 67). (Götz, sl. 66, dvojico z Götzove grafike je zamenjal deček.)

*Okus:* mož z visoko dvignjenim kozarcem in žena, ki okuša sadje, sedita za mizo in se gostita (sl. 80). (Götz, sl. 79)

*Tip:* v ospredju pleše par (grafična predloga ni znana), v ozadju na levi se objema mlada dvojica, na desni pa je "portal, na katerem se poljubljata dva golobčka"<sup>13</sup> (sl. 65). (Götz, sl. 74)

Jelovšek je po Götzovih bakroreznih listih vsaj delno naslikal kar štiri čute. Tudi tam, kjer se je odmaknil od predloge, je zavestno ostajal pri ikonografsko uveljavljenih motivih, saj je na primer slikanje muzicirajočih mož, torej povezovanje glasbe s sluhom, v navadi za vse slikarske upodobitve alegorije.<sup>14</sup>

Precej več ikonografskih nedoslednosti oziroma nejasnosti opazimo na slikanih tapetah iz Zapric in Dornave, vendar je jasno razvidno, da sta se slikarja zavedala vsebine grafične predloge in tudi sama želela upodobiti alegorijo petih čutov.

Posebej zapletena in nepojasnjena je zgodovina zapriškega cikla, ki je nastal v isti delavnici kot že omenjeni lovski cikel, naslikan po Ridingerjevih grafičnih

<sup>9</sup> Freske, datirane z letnico 1745, in istočasno nastale slikane tapete (danes hranjene v Narodnem muzeju v Ljubljani) so v slovenski umetnostnozgodovinski literaturi znane kot delo Franca Jelovška. Cf. Stane Mikuž, Slogovni razvoj umetnosti Franca Ilovška (1700 - 1764), *Dom in svet*, LII, 1942, p. 275. Slikane tapete so verjetno delo Jelovškove delavnice.

<sup>10</sup> Popisal jih je že France Stelè: *Politični okraj Kamnik: Umetnostno topografski opis*, Ljubljana 1929 (od tod citirano Stelè: *Politični okraj Kamnik*), pp. 444-446.

<sup>11</sup> Po Steletu "se ena žena gleda v zrcalo" (Stelè: *Politični okraj Kamnik*, p. 446), ogledalo je res že od najzgodnejših upodobitev petih čutov stalen simbol, nekoliko kasneje pa zlasti žena, ki se gleda v ogledalo, cf. Carl Nordenfalk, *The Five Senses in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLVIII, 1985 (od tod citirano Nordenfalk: *The Five Senses*), p. 2 ss., vendar ga ne najdemo niti na Götzovi grafiki, kjer je z verzoma "*Quand je regarde bien, comme il faut, ce portrait, / Mon coeur est plein d'amour, ..*" še dodatno poudarjeno, da skupinica gleda sliko, niti na nobeni obravnavani slovenski upodobitvi.

<sup>12</sup> Stelè: *Politični okraj Kamnik*, p. 446, opisuje prizor kot "Amor ob odprti skrinjici za dragulje". Ni povsem jasno, za kakšno posodico oziroma skrinjico gre. Ta del freske ustreza Götzovi dvojici: kjer sedeča žena pridrzuje šatuljico; moževa kretnja ni natančno razberljiva, verjetno hoče vzeti njuhanec ali pa stresa dišavo v posodico.

<sup>13</sup> Stelè: *Politični okraj Kamnik*, p. 446. Danes je viden le še portal.

<sup>14</sup> Verjetno je, da se je Jelovšek v celoti naslonil na grafične predloge. Posamezne figure in prizori na slikanih tapetah, ki so krasile isti prostor, so posneti po slikah francoskega slikarja *fêtes galantes* Nicolasa Lancreta, katerega dela so bila pri nas znana prek prevodne grafike. Komponiranje figur z del francoskih in nemških umetnikov ne bi bilo izjema (cf. nadaljevanje o dornavskih slikanih tapetah). Možen vir za jabeljske freske se poleg Lancretovih del zdijo tudi grafike in slike François Boucherja.

listih.<sup>15</sup> Oba sta danes v Narodnem muzeju v Ljubljani, ko pa ju je v dvajsetih letih našega stoletja fotografiral in v svoji topografiji naštel France Stelè, sta (še vedno) krasila grad Zaprice.<sup>16</sup> Posamezne slikane tapete so bile že takrat razrezane, obešene so bile na različnih delih stene in si niso logično sledile. Problem provenience obeh ciklov ostaja zaenkrat odprt, možni pa sta predvsem dve razlagi: slikane tapete iz sredine 18. stoletja so ob prezidavah v drugi polovici stoletja razrezali in prilagodili prenovljenim prostorom ali pa so tapete najprej krasile notranjost nekega drugega gradu in bile kasneje prinesene v Zaprice.<sup>17</sup>

Alegorija petih čutov je bila v Zapricah predstavljena z naslednjimi scenami, od katerih je ohranjenih šest kosov oziroma štirje prizori, tri slikane tapete pa so izgubljene:<sup>18</sup>

*Vid:* "Pokrajina s pergolo in vazo, na katere podstavku stoji pav."<sup>19</sup> (Tapeta ni ohranjena, pav je upodobljen tudi na Götzovi grafiki, sl. 69.)

*Sluh:* V vrtni arhitekturi plešoči par in moška, ki igrata na lutnjo in klarinet (sl. 71). Sedeča žena, ki poje, in klarinetist pred podstavkom z vazo in papigo (sl. 84 in 85). "V pokrajini mož, igrajoč na gosli."<sup>20</sup> (Tapeta ni ohranjena.)<sup>21</sup>

*Voh:* "V pokrajini žena, ki se igra s psom."<sup>22</sup> (Tapeta ni ohranjena.)

*Okus:* Pod hermo sedeča moža in žena pri pojedini (sl. 82 in 83). Po Götzu sta posneta desni pivec in herma (sl. 79).

*Tip:* Moški v igralski noši, ki v desnici drži raka (Götz, sl. 74), v ozadju zaljubljeni par in spredaj skupina, ki igra "rihtarja biti" (sl. 77).

Slikar zapriškega cikla se je precej manj posluževal Götzovih grafičnih listov kot slikar jabeljskih fresk. Na ohranjenih slikanih tapetah sta z Götzovih bakrorezov natančno prerisani le dve figuri in konstitutivno vključeni v nove kompozicije, ki so tudi posnete po grafičnih predlogah; to dokazuje zlasti prizor "rihtarja

<sup>15</sup> Za to govori stilna sorodnost, kolorit, identične bordure, tehnološka sestava barve (za vse pomembne informacije o barvah in tehniki se zahvaljujem akademskemu slikarju, restavratorju specialistu Matjažu Vilarju, ki vodi restavriranje slikanih tapet iz gradov Zaprice in Jablje) in tkanina v vezavi platno z enako debelimi in pletenimi nitmi.

<sup>16</sup> Stelè: *Politični okraj Kamnik*, pp. 92-93. Fotografije hrani Zavod republike Slovenije za varstvo naravne in kulturne dediščine.

<sup>17</sup> Ker je grad Zaprice v 18. stoletju neprestano menjal lastnike, je mogoče, da se kasnejši posestniki niso zavedali niti ikonografske vsebine tapet niti smiselnosti posameznih prizorov. O lastnikih cf. Majda Smole: *Graščine na nekdanjem Kranjskem*, Ljubljana 1982, p. 559.

<sup>18</sup> France Stelè je naštel osem tapet in za dve zapisal, da sta "nedvomno tvorili ... celoto". Slikana tapeta pod številko 6 je danes razrezana na dva dela, niso pa se ohranile tapete pod številkami 2, 5 in 7. Cf. Stelè: *Politični okraj Kamnik*, p. 92.

<sup>19</sup> Stelè: *Politični okraj Kamnik*, p. 92.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Alegorija sluha je bila torej naslikana kar na treh tapetah. Tudi če je goslač (tapeta ni ohranjena) sestavljal celoto s flavtistom in pevko, je bil sluh upodobljen dvakrat. Ker sta bila glasba in ples v rokokojskem žanrskem slikarstvu najpogosteje naslikana, se zdi verjetno, da je slikar, ki je moral velikost in število slikanih tapet prilagoditi prostoru, praznino zapolnil s to, za tisti čas tako značilno upodobitvijo.

<sup>22</sup> Stelè: *Politični okraj Kamnik*, p. 92.

biti", saj je identična upodobitev na jabeljski tapeti (sl. 78).<sup>23</sup> Na zapriških slikanih tapetah pa se srečamo z vsebinskim poudarkom, ki ga na freskah v Jabljah ne opazimo in jih zbližuje s samimi Götzovimi upodobitvami: vsi čuti so namreč predstavljeni tudi z živalmi: s pavom vid, s papigo sluh, s psom voh in okus in z rakom tip. Vseeno pa ne gre za popoln naslon na Götzovo alegorijo, saj sta Götzov sluh in okus predstavljena brez živali, druge tri čute pa določata po dve živali. Slikane tapete iz gradu Zaprice torej predstavljajo doslednejšo ikonografsko izpeljavo, saj je natančno izvedena varianta predstavljanja čutov s kombinacijo človeških figur in živali, ki se je uveljavila že v renesansi.<sup>24</sup>

Slikane tapete iz Dornave danes krasijo eno izmed dvoran ptujskega gradu.<sup>25</sup> France Mesesnel je zapisal, da so na njih upodobljeni "prizori v parkih in v naravi s postavami in skupinami dvorjanov in dvorjank, ki se močno naslanjajo na fantazijo in barvitost francoskih mojstrov Lancreta in Paterja."<sup>26</sup> Prizori na teh slikanih tapetah so dejansko posneti po Lancretu, vendar so bile za nastanek celote vsaj tako pomembne Götzove grafike petih čutov.

Že Andreja Vrišer je v članku o noši poskusila razložiti motiviko dornavskih slikanih tapet in je dve od njih povezala s štirimi letnimi časi. Domnevala je, da predstavljata alegorijo poletja in jeseni (sl. 76 in 75).<sup>27</sup> Sedaj, ko poznamo grafične predloge, lahko trdimo, da je tudi na dornavskih slikanih tapetah upodobljena alegorija petih čutov. Zanimivo je, da je slikar dornavskih tapet uporabljal Götzove grafike petih čutov v večji meri, vendar bolj sproščeno od slikarja zapriškega cikla. Tako je na primer možu v igralski noši - harlekinu<sup>28</sup> odvzel raka, ki je bil njegov "atribut" na Götzovi grafiki tipa, in ga potem lahko prestavil v izvirno kompozicijo sluha.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Tudi na slikanih tapetah s kitajskimi prizori iz Novega Celja (danes last Narodnega muzeja v Ljubljani) je naslikana skupina, ki igra "rihtarja biti" in se v kompoziciji minimalno razlikuje od jabeljske in zapriške upodobitve. Za literaturo, ikonografijo in likovne rešitve cf. *Betekenissen van Hollandse genrevoorstellingen uit de zeventiende eeuw: tot Lering en Vermaak*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 1976 (od tod citirano *Betekenissen van Hollandse genrevoorstellingen*), p. 158 ss. [r.k.]; Raimond van Marle: *Iconographie de l'Art profane au Moyen-Age et à la Renaissance et la décoration des demeures, I.: La vie quotidienne*, La Haye 1931, p. 75.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Nordenfalk: *The Five Senses*, p. 19. Prvič se ta ikonografska shema pojavi na graficah nürnberškega mojstra Georga Pencza.

<sup>25</sup> V Pokrajinskem muzeju v Ptujju sta še dva cikla slikanih tapet iz Dornave; enega, ki je signiran in datiran, je naslikal Heinrich Stadler leta 1749. Ta cikel je stilno soroden obravnavanemu, na obeh pa so bile kot predloge uporabljene grafike po Lancretovih slikah. Cf. Georges Wildenstein: *Lancret*, Paris 1924; Mary Taverer Holmes: *Nicolas Lancret, 1690-1743*, New York 1991. Eden najpomembnejših grafikov, ki so vrezovali Lancretove slike, je bil Nicolas de Larmessin.

<sup>26</sup> France Mesesnel, Dornava pri Ptujju, Konservatorsko poročilo, *ZUZ*, XVIII, 1942, pp. 101 - 102.

<sup>27</sup> Andreja Vrišer, Noša na dornavskih tapetah, *Kronika*, XXXVII/3, 1989 (od tod citirano Vrišer, Noša), p. 264 ss.

<sup>28</sup> Vrišer, Noša, p. 265.

<sup>29</sup> Harlekin z rakom je naslikan tudi na slikani tapeti iz Zaprice.



Na petih slikanih tapetah so upodobljeni naslednji prizori:

1. Tapeta je pravzaprav sestavljena iz treh samostojnih kompozicij, čeprav sta zadnji dve povezani. *Okus*: v stebriščni arhitekturi sedeča trojica; moža pijeta, žena okuša sadje (Götz, *Okus*; sl. 79). *Vid*: sedeča žena z daljnogledom in mož (Götz, *Vid*; sl. 69) opazujeta pod stebrom z doprsnim kipom sedeči par (Lancret, *Pomlad*). Portret, ki si ga ogledujejo protagonisti na Götzovem bakrorezu, je zamenjal daljnogled, sicer pa gre za dosledno kopiranje (sl. 81).<sup>30</sup>

2. *Voh*: mož s pipo in žena, ki s pahljačo zapira dimu pot in možu ponuja sadje iz polne košare (sl. 76).<sup>31</sup> (Lancret: *Zrak in Jesen*)

3. *Voh*: na tleh sedeči mož s škatlico v roki<sup>32</sup> (Götz, *Tip*; sl. 74) in galant s šopkom cvetja, ki ga ponuja ob njem sedeči ženi (Lancret: *Zemlja*). V ospredju je naslikano rastlinje z močno poudarjenimi trni (sl. 75).

Verjetno sta tapeti pod številka 2 in 3 prvotno sestavljali celoto, ki je bila razrezana, ko so slikane tapete prenesli v tujski grad in jih prilagodili novemu prostoru. Na zadnji tapeti s trnavim rastlinjem pa so razvidni tudi vsebinski poudarki, ki jasno kažejo na tip.<sup>33</sup>

4. *Tip*: tapeta je sestavljena iz dveh delov: na levi je naslikan par, posnet po Götzovi predlogi; žena ponuja možu posodico (Götz, *Voh*; sl. 66),<sup>34</sup> na desni pa je obsežna kompozicija v celoti posneta po Lancretovi sliki *Mladost*, ki je del alegorije štirih starostnih dob. Naslikani so objemajoči se pari in lokostrelca (sl. 68).

5. *Sluh*: na tleh sedeča žena, mož, ki igra na rog (Götz, *Sluh*; sl. 72), harlekin (Götz, *Tip*; sl. 74), par z notami (Götz, *Sluh*; sl. 72) in žena z notnim listom v naročju (Lancret: *Pastoralni koncert*) (sl. 73).

Slikarji fresk in slikanih tapet torej Götzovih grafik niso kopirali v celoti, temveč so jih reducirali ali pa njihove posamezne dele vključevali v nove kompozicije. Ni naključje, da je prišlo ravno do povezave s francoskimi predlogami, saj je francosko rokokojsko slikarstvo vplivalo na vso evropsko umetnost tistega časa. Sožitje prek prevodne grafike posredovanih motivov francoskega rokokojskega slikarstva in grafične serije južnonemškega slikarja Gottfrieda Bernharda Götz za pa lahko zaenkrat povsem jasno dokažemo le na dornavskih slikanih tapetah.

<sup>30</sup> Na soroden način (z daljnogledom) je vid predstavljen e.g. na sliki *Dircka Hals*. Cf. *Beteekenissen van Hollandse genrevoorstellingen*, p. 122 ss.

<sup>31</sup> Mož s pipo, torej motiv, ki zanj slikar ni dobil neposredne pobude pri Götzu, je zlasti od 17. stoletja dalje pogosto zamenjal ženo s cvetlico na slikarskih predstavitev voha (najpomembnejša slika *Vesela družina* Jana Steena). Cf. e.g. Hans Kauffmann, *Die Fünfsinne in der niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts, Kunstgeschichtliche Studien* (H. Tintelnot, ed.), Breslau 1943. Tudi na Lancretovi sliki mož, po katerem je posneta figura na dornavski tapeti, nima pipe. Ta "atribut" je torej dodan povsem in izključno v skladu s slikarjevo težnjo, da predstavi alegorijo petih čutov.

<sup>32</sup> Z Götzove grafike tipa je posneta le figura moža, medtem ko je škatlica, ki jo ima mož v roki, dodana. Cf. opombo 12 in sliko 4 (mož drži v roki škatlico, v kateri je lahko dišava, njuhanec ipd.).

<sup>33</sup> Pri tem mislim predvsem na samo rastlinje s trni, ki ga srečamo tudi na Götzovi grafiki tipa.

<sup>34</sup> Moški na Götzovi grafiki voha ima poudarjeno kretnjo prijema, zato ga je slikar dornavskih slikanih tapet lahko vključil v predstavitev tipa. Cf. opombo 12.

Te (tako kot lovski cikel iz Zapric) verjetno dokazujejo, da so slovenske slikane tapete v celoti posnete po grafičnih predlogah. Slikar dornavskih tapet je namreč svoj cikel naslikal tako, da je posamezne figure oziroma kompozicije posnel po Götzovih grafikah in francoskih grafikah, nastalih po slikah Nicolasa Lancreta, dodal pa je le ikonografsko pomembne detajle (kovanec, pipa, daljnogled), da je z njimi ustvaril "svojo" alegorijo petih čutov.

Temeljno vprašanje, ki se zastavlja ob slikah z žanrskimi motivi, ali se za navidez povsem neobveznimi dogodki ne skriva kakšna alegorija, se je pokazalo v našem primeru kot plodno, ob poznavanju Götzovih grafik pa tudi za nujno. Poskušali smo dokazati, da je alegorija petih čutov naslikana na freskah v Jabljah in na slikanih tapetah iz Zapric in Dornave. Na freskah je ta "kanonska" upodobitev izvedena dosledno, medtem ko prihaja na tapetah do manj obvezujoče in nedosledne izpeljave. Slikane tapete so vendarle v prvi vrsti dekorativna umetnost, ki naj s svojo motiviko poživlja prostor in zabava. In v 18. stoletju se pač niso preveč obremenjevali z neskladjem med ikonografskimi zahtevami in logiko prostora, velikostjo in razporeditvijo sten. Kot dokazuje naše gradivo, so neuravnoteženost reševali v korist potreb prostora.

Do danes so se nam ohranile slikane tapete z galantnimi prizori le iz treh gradov na Slovenskem, iz Zapric, Dornave in Jabelj. Skoraj neverjetno se zdi, da je bila alegorija petih čutov naslikana prav v vseh omenjenih gradovih. Verjetno o izbiri Götzovih grafičnih listov kot glavnega ikonografskega vira ni moglo odločiti pomanjkanje drugih predlog, temveč njihova popularnost.

*...the well-known preference of reproductive prints, such as Engelbrecht, Baur and Pfaffel, always explained this. Engraving and engravers. Hence there was hardly a young artist who did not occasionally work for one of these establishments? In addition, Augsburg was at that time a reputation in Slovenian painting of the period, as it has been found from various places like the (Dobruška, Jaboljska) and Vrhovca (Menzinger etc.) their works represented there. All the same that prints by the best known representatives of the "Augsburg School" provided models for many contemporary Slovenian artists. The binding was on the painted wall coverings from the Castle of Zander (Zander-dobu) for example, with capital from the*

*The article is based on a bibliography entitled *Baroque Painting Wall Coverings in Slovenia*. On the original manuscript and other in the Collection of the Castle of Zapric, Jaboljska Dornave, and the Castle of Jabelj, Department of the Ministry of Art, Cultural Heritage, and Architecture (MUP), Ministry of Culture, Ljubljana. I would like to express my sincere thanks to Prof. Dr. Leo Marušič for his encouragement, advice, thoughtful and helpful comments and critical comments, and to Dr. Igor Mlakar and Marija Čiharčič, members of the Department of Archaeology, during the period of wall paintings, and last but not least I am grateful to Marija Čiharčič M.A.*

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## ALLEGORIES OF THE FIVE SENSES IN THE FRESCOES AT THE CASTLE OF JABLJE AND THE PAINTED WALL COVERINGS FROM DORNAVA AND ZAPRICE<sup>1</sup>

By Barbara Murovec, Trzin

Many painters active in Augsburg in the first half of the 18th century gained recognition only after having served for some time as successful engravers. The most important among them - for example, Johann Georg Bergmüller, Johann Evangelist Holzer, Johann Wolfgang Baumgartner, Mathäus Günther, Gottfried Bernhard Götz, Johann Esaias Nilson and Johann Elias Ridinger - were thus primarily or at least partially employed as graphic artists.<sup>2</sup> In their lifetime Augsburg became the foremost centre of graphic arts in Germany, where the well-known publishers of reproductive prints, such as Engelbrecht, Hertel and Pfeffel, always required able draughtsmen and engravers. Hence there was hardly a young artist who did not occasionally work for one of these entrepreneurs.<sup>3</sup> In addition, Augsburg was of particular importance for Slovenian painting of the period, as at least two leading local artists, Franc Jelovšek (Illouscheg, Jellouscheg) and Valentin Metzinger, had their works reproduced there. At the same time, prints by the best known representatives of the "Augsburg Rococo", provided models for many contemporary Slovenian painters. The hunting scenes on the painted wall coverings from the Castle of Zaprice (Steinbüchel),<sup>4</sup> for example, were copied from the

<sup>1</sup> The article is based on a seminar paper entitled *Baroque Painted Wall Coverings in Slovenia: On the Graphic Models and Motifs in the Cycles from the Castles of Zaprice, Jablje and Dornava and some Related Problems*, (Department of the History of Art, Philosophical Faculty, Ljubljana 1991, adviser Prof. Dr. Milčec Komelj). I would like to express my special gratitude to Prof. Dr. Lev Menaše for his encouragement, advice, thought-provoking questions and critical comments, and to Jasna Horvat MA and Marjeta Ciglencečki, curators of the museum collections which house the painted wall coverings, and last but not least I am grateful to Marjana Lipoglavšek MA.

<sup>2</sup> Lydia L. Dewiel, *Aus dem Leben eines Augsburger Kupferstechers und Verlegers: Johann Esaias Nilson*, in: *Bayern im Rokoko: Aspekte einer Epoche im Umbruch* (Herbert Schindler, ed.), München 1989, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ridinger's series *Grosser Herrn Lust in allerhand Jagen* and *Die Fürsten Jagdlust*. The prints are preserved, for example, in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung in Munich. For a survey of Ridinger's graphic oeuvre cf. Wilhelm Thienemann: *Leben und Wirken des unvergleichlichen Thiermalers und Kupferstechers Johann Elias Ridinger mit dem*

two series of engravings by J. E. Ridinger, while the painter of the frescoes in the Castle of Miljana in Croatia appropriated Holzer's prints of the *Four Seasons* and *Four Temperaments*.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, three painted cycles, the two sets of wall coverings from Zaprice and Dornava (Dornau), and the frescoes in the Castle of Jablje (Habach), depend on the *Five Senses* by G. B. Götz.

Gottfried Bernhard Götz (Goetz, Göz),<sup>6</sup> born in 1708 in Velehrad in Moravia, was first apprenticed to Franz G. J. Eckstein in Brno (Brünn). Around 1730 he came to Augsburg, where he was a pupil of Johann Georg Bergmüller.<sup>7</sup> His teacher's influence is evident primarily in the young artist's figure style. Götz became better known only after 1739, when he was commissioned by Christian Georg Köpf to paint the frescoes in the latter's house in Philippine-Welsen Strasse in Augsburg. His most important work is the painted ceiling of the pilgrimage church at Birnau executed between 1749 and 1750. Together with the Klauber brothers, Gottfried Bernhard Götz established a publishing house for engravings only in 1737. However, it is probable that his series of the *Five Senses* predates its foundation since in the lower right corner the first engraving of this cycle bears the inscription *J. A. Pfefferl excud. A. V.* (pl. 69).<sup>8</sup>

Each of the Five Senses is labelled in Latin on the base and supplemented by explanatory verses in French and German. The "genre scene" in the centre is surrounded by animals, herms and other objects invested with symbolic meaning, which were for centuries more or less habitually associated with the Five Senses (pls. 66, 69, 72, 74 and 79).

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*ausführlichen Verzeichnis seiner Kupferstiche, Schwarzkunstblätter und der von ihm hinterlassenen grossen Sammlung von Handzeichnungen*, Leipzig 1856 (Thienemann). The hunting cycle from Zaprice (today in the National Museum in Ljubljana) depends on the following prints by Ridinger: Thienemann Nos. 1 - 3, 25, 27, 34 and 37.

<sup>5</sup> The engravings are kept e.g. at the graphic cabinet in Augsburg. For reproductions see: Jürgen Rapp, J. Holzer fecit sub Directione Domini J. G. Bergmüller, *Bruckmann Pantheon*, XLVIII, 1990, pp. 90-91. The frescoes of Miljana, recently attributed to Anton Lerchinger (cf. Anica Cevc, Jožef Anton Lerchinger, *Likovna enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, II, Zagreb 1987, p. 187), comprise all the *Four Seasons* and two of the *Temperaments* (the Sanguine and the Choleric). All the scenes have been accurately copied from Holzer's engravings.

<sup>6</sup> Ulrich Thieme - Felix Becker: *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, XIV, Leipzig 1921, pp. 319-320; G. K. Nagler: *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon*, V, München 1837, pp. 259-260; Eduard Isphording: *Gottfried Bernhard Göz 1708 - 1774: Ölgemälde und Zeichnungen*, Weissenhorn 1982; Rudolf Wildmoser, *Gottfried Bernhard Göz (1708 - 1774) als ausführender Kupferstecher. Untersuchung und Katalog der Werke, Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte e. V.*, XVIII, 1984, pp. 257-340, XIX, 1985, pp. 140-296 (Wildmoser, Göz).

<sup>7</sup> At least two dozen more or less important 18th century painters were either trained in Bergmüller's workshop or counted among his pupils at the Augsburg Art Academy, of which he became dean in 1730. Cf. Alois J. Weichslgartner, *Der Akademiedirektor und sein Compagnon: Ein Kapitel Augsburger Rokokomalerei um Bergmüller und Holzer*, in: *Bayern im Rokoko: Aspekte einer Epoche im Umbruch* (Herbert Schindler, ed.), München 1989, p. 20.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Wildmoser, Göz, p. 191. He dated Götz's allegory ca. 1735.

As noted above Götz's cycle of the *Five Senses* is clearly echoed in three 18th century painted cycles in Slovenia. It was, needless to say, identification of this graphic model that enabled us to establish also the iconography of the frescoes in the Castle of Jablje and of the cycles of painted wall coverings from Zaprice and Dornava.

In the mid 18th century the Castle of Jablje was renovated by the Barons Janežič (Janneshitsch). They commissioned new painted decorations for the rooms used on formal occasions, which included among other chambers also a polygonal dining room in the east tower.<sup>9</sup> The frescoes beneath the windows form a self-contained unit: the Rococo cartouches frame genre scenes representing the Five Senses. These frescoes are badly damaged, yet the following scenes are still recognizable:<sup>10</sup>

*Sight:* Two women and a man in a landscape are looking at a painted portrait<sup>11</sup> (pl. 70; cf. Götz pl. 69).

*Hearing:* Shepherds playing horn and bagpipes (pl. 64; the pictorial source remains unknown).

*Smell:* A seated woman is smelling a flower and a putto is pointing to a small vessel (pl. 67; cf. Götz, pl. 66).<sup>12</sup> Instead of the naked child Götz's engraving shows additional figures of a man and a woman.

*Taste:* A man holding a glass in his raised hand and a woman tasting fruit seated at a table enjoy the feast (pl. 80; cf. Götz, pl. 79).

*Touch:* A dancing couple is shown in the foreground (the graphic model is unknown). In the background on the left another young couple is embracing, while on the right there is a "portal with two kissing doves"<sup>13</sup> (pl. 65; cf. Götz, pl. 74).

<sup>9</sup> The frescoes, which date from 1745 as well as the contemporary painted wall coverings (now in the National Museum in Ljubljana) were discussed in Slovenian art historical literature as a work of Franc Jelovšek. Cf. e.g. Stane Mikuž, *Slogovni razvoj umetnosti Franca Ilovška (1700 - 1764), Dom in svet*, LII, 1942, p. 275. The wall coverings were presumably painted in Jelovšek's workshop.

<sup>10</sup> They were described by France Stelè: *Politični okraj Kamnik: Umetnostno topografski opis*, Ljubljana 1929 (Stelè: *Kamnik*), pp. 444-446.

<sup>11</sup> According to Stelè, "one of the women is looking at herself in a mirror" (Stelè: *Kamnik*, p. 446). From the very beginning a mirror was a recurrent symbol of Sight, which was later replaced by a woman looking at herself in the mirror. Cf. Carl Nordenfalk, *The Five Senses in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLVIII, 1985 (Nordenfalk), p. 2 ss. Nevertheless, the habitual mirror has been left out from Götz's print - where the verses *Quand je regarde bien, comm il faut, ce portrait, / Mon coeur est plein d'amour...* clearly state that the group of people is looking at a painted portrait - as well as from other paintings in Slovenia discussed in this article.

<sup>12</sup> France Stelè (Stelè: *Kamnik*, p. 446) described the second motif as "Amor at the open jewel casket". It is not clear what is this vessel's or casket's intended purpose. This segment of the fresco was derived from a couple on Götz's print, where the seated woman is likewise holding the casket. The gesture of the man is difficult to read; he may want to take a pinch of snuff or he may be putting spices into the box.

<sup>13</sup> Stelè: *Kamnik*, p. 446. Today only the portal can still be seen on the spot.

Jelovšek referred to Götz's engravings at least in four scenes. But even where he followed his models more freely, he consciously resorted to iconographically well established motifs. The musicians, understandably always associated with music and with hearing, constituted a standard element of the allegory of Hearing.<sup>14</sup>

The painted wall coverings from Zaprice and Dornava are iconographically less consistent, yet it is evident that in this case as well the painters were fully conversant with the content of their graphic models and they were actually commissioned to represent allegories of the *Five Senses*.

Particularly complex and by and large still unresolved is the history of the Zaprice series, which was executed by the same workshop as the hunting series after Ridinger mentioned above.<sup>15</sup> Today both cycles are in the National Museum in Ljubljana, but they were still in Zaprice in the 1920s when they were photographed by France Stelè who listed them in his "topography".<sup>16</sup> Even then some of these wall coverings were cut into parts and fastened to the walls without any logic. The provenance of both series remains an open question. There are two possible explanations: the painted wall coverings dating from the mid 18th century were either cut up and adapted to the redecorated rooms in the second half of the century or they originally adorned a room in some other castle and were only later transferred to Zaprice.<sup>17</sup>

The allegories of the *Five Senses* from Zaprice originally entailed the following scenes:<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> It is probable that for the most part in this cycle Jelovšek made frequent use of graphic models. Single figures and scenes in the painted wall coverings, which originally belonged to the decoration of the same room, depend on the works of Nicolas Lancret, the French painter of *fetes galantes*. His compositions were transmitted to Slovenia through reproductive engravings. Appropriation of figures from the works of French and German artists in the fresco cycle in Jablje would thus not be an exception (cf. further references to the Dornava painted wall coverings below). Apart from the works of Lancret another possible source for the Jablje frescoes could have been provided by the available prints after Francois Boucher.

<sup>15</sup> Stylistic similarity, colour range, identical borders, the chemical composition of the pigments and the structure of the canvas with equally thick and woven threads speak in favour of such conclusion. (I would like to thank Matjaž Vilhar, painter and specialist in restoration, who is supervising the restoration of the painted wall coverings from Zaprice and Jablje, for all the relevant technical information.)

<sup>16</sup> Stelè: *Kamnik*, pp. 92-93. The photographs are kept in the State Institute for the Protection of Natural and Cultural Heritage in Ljubljana.

<sup>17</sup> Since during the 18th century the Castle of Zaprice frequently changed ownership, it is quite possible that at a later stage inhabitants were not familiar with the iconographic programme of the wall coverings and hence ignored the specific meaning of individual scenes. For the owners cf. Majda Smole: *Graščine na nekdanjem Kranjskem*, Ljubljana 1982, p. 559.

<sup>18</sup> Six pieces containing four scenes have been preserved while three painted wall coverings are lost. France Stelè recorded eight wallcoverings and remarked that two of them "doubtless formed ... a whole". The painted wall covering No. 6 is now split into two separate units while the wall coverings recorded under Nos. 2, 5 and 7 have perished. Cf. Stelè: *Kamnik*, p. 92.

*Sight*: "A landscape with a pergola and a vase on the base of which stands a peacock".<sup>19</sup> This wall covering did not survive; the peacock is included also in Götz's print (pl. 69).

*Hearing*: A dancing couple in front of a garden pavilion and two men, a lute player and a clarinetist (pl. 71). A seated woman is singing accompanied by the clarinet player leaning on a pedestal topped by a vase that carries a parrot (pls. 84 and 85). "A man sounding fiddle in a landscape".<sup>20</sup> (The latter wall covering did not survive).<sup>21</sup>

*Smell*: "A woman playing with a dog in a landscape setting".<sup>22</sup> (This wall covering has not been preserved.)

*Taste*: Two men and a woman sitting at a feast (pls. 82 and 83). The drinking man on the right and the herm are derived from Götz's print of *Taste* (pl. 79).

*Touch*: A man in the actor's costume holding a crab (cf. Götz, pl. 74), in the background two lovers and, in the foreground, a group playing the game of hot cockles (pl. 77).

The painter of the Zaprice cycle used Götz's prints less frequently than Jelovšek. In his painted wall coverings that survive only two figures have been faithfully copied from the engravings by Götz and logically integrated into in the new compositional units, which were likewise borrowed from graphic models. This is evidenced by the game of hot cockles, which is identical with the corresponding wall covering from Jablje (pl. 78).<sup>23</sup> However, in the painted wall coverings from Zaprice additional emphasis has been laid on the content of the allegoric scenes by adding animals allusive of the Senses which do not occur in the Jablje cycle. A peacock stands for Sight, a parrot for Hearing, a dog for Smell and Taste and a crab for Touch. It is in this component that the cycle from Zaprice comes closer to Götz's prints. Yet it does not completely match Götz's representations since in the latter's prints the allegories of Hearing and Taste do not include any animals while the remaining three Senses are represented by two animals each. The iconography of the painted wall coverings from Zaprice therefore followed

<sup>19</sup> Stelè: *Kamnik*, p. 92.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> The allegory of Hearing was depicted on three wall coverings. Even if the fiddler (on the wall covering that has not survived) was shown together with the flutist and the singer, the allegory of Hearing was apparently represented twice. As music and dancing were among the most popular themes of the Rococo genre painting, it is likely that the artist, who had to adapt the size and the number of painted wall coverings to the size of the room, used these characteristic motifs to fill in the available wall surfaces.

<sup>22</sup> Stelè: *Kamnik*, p. 92.

<sup>23</sup> In the painted wall coverings with *Chinoiseries* from Novo Celje (today property of the National Museum in Ljubljana), there also comes up a group of people playing the game of hot cockles. For the literature on the iconography of this theme cf. *Beteknissen van Hollandse genrevoorstellingen uit de zeventiende eeuw: to Lering en Vermaak*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 1976 (*Beteknissen*) p. 158 ss. (exhibition catalogue); Raimond van Marle: *Iconographie de l'Art profane au Moyen-Age et à la Renaissance et la décoration des demeures, I.: La vie quotidienne*, La Haye 1931, p. 75.



more consistently the traditional paradigm of combining human figures and animals, the conceptual origins of which reach back to the Renaissance representations of the Five Senses.<sup>24</sup>

Presently the painted wall coverings from Dornava are displayed in one of the rooms of the Castle of Ptuj.<sup>25</sup> France Mesesnel remarked that they showed "park scenes and natural landscape settings with figures and groups of courtiers which clearly invoked the imaginative and colourful works by the French masters Lancret and Pater."<sup>26</sup> In fact, many scenes in these painted wall coverings were copied after Lancret, but as a whole the cycle is at least as strongly indebted to Götz's prints of the *Five Senses*.

In her article on the figures' costumes Andreja Vrišer tried to account for the sujets of the Dornava wall coverings by associating two of them with the *Four Seasons*. She assumed that they represented the allegories of *Summer* and *Autumn* (pls. 76 and 75).<sup>27</sup> Now that their respective graphic models have been identified it has become evident that the painted wall coverings from Dornava represent allegories of the *Five Senses*. It is interesting to note that the painter of the Dornava wall coverings made even more frequent use of Götz's prints than the painter of the Zaprice cycle. However he did not copy them so slavishly. For example, a man in the actor's costume - presumably a Harlequin<sup>28</sup> - does not hold a crab, which had been the attribute of Touch in Götz's print. In Dornava this figure is integrated into the allegory of *Hearing*.<sup>29</sup>

The five wall coverings from Dornava contain the following scenes:

1. The first consists of three independent compositions, the last two of which are tied together. *Taste*: Three figures sitting at a garden table: two men are drinking while a woman is tasting fruit (cf. Götz, *Taste*, pl. 79). *Sight*: A seated woman in the company of a gentleman holding a monocular field glass in her left hand (cf. Götz, *Sight*, pl. 69). She is watching a couple sitting under a round base topped by a portrait bust (cf. Lancret, *Spring*). Except for the portrait medallion, which was in Dornava replaced by the field glass, the two figures on the left were copied directly from Götz's engraving of *Sight* (pl. 81).<sup>30</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Nordenfalk, p. 19. This iconographic solution occurs for the first time in the prints of the Nürnberg master Georg Pencz.

<sup>25</sup> In the Regional Museum at Ptuj there are two additional series of painted wall coverings from Dornava: one of them, signed and dated by Heinrich Stadler, was painted in 1749. This series is stylistically similar to the cycle discussed in the present article. They were both painted after prints based on Lancret, for whose oeuvre see e.g.: Georges Wilenstein: *Lancret*, Paris 1924 and Mary Tavener Holmes: *Nicolas Lancret, 1690 - 1743*, New York 1991.

<sup>26</sup> France Mesesnel, Dornava pri Ptuj, Konservatorsko poročilo, ZUZ, XVIII, 1942, pp. 101-102.

<sup>27</sup> Andreja Vrišer, Noša na dornavskih tapetah, *Kronika*, XXXVII/3, 1989 (Vrišer), p. 264 ss.

<sup>28</sup> Vrišer, p. 265.

<sup>29</sup> The Harlequin with a crab appears also in the painted wall covering from Zaprice.

<sup>30</sup> Sight was represented in a similar way (i.e. with a field glass), for example, by Dirck Hals. Cf. *Betekenissen*, p. 122 ss.



2. *Smell*: A man with a pipe accompanied by a woman fending off the smoke with her fan. She is offering him fruit from a basket (cf. Lancret: *Air and Autumn*); (pl. 76).<sup>31</sup>

3. *Smell*: A man sitting on the ground holds a small casket in his left hand<sup>32</sup> (cf. Götz, *Touch*; pl. 74); to the right a gallant is offering a bunch of flowers to a seated woman (cf. Lancret: *Earth*). In the foreground there are thorny plants (pl. 75).

In all probability the wall coverings Nos. 2 and 3 originally belonged to a single composition which was cut up at a later stage when the wall coverings were taken to the Castle of Ptuj (Pettau) and adjusted to the new setting. The wall covering that shows the thorny plants is clearly indicative of the allegory of *Touch*.<sup>33</sup>

4. *Touch*: This wall covering consists of two separate compositional units. On the left there is a couple copied after Götz's print of *Smell* showing a woman offering a small vessel to a man (cf. Götz, *Smell*; pl. 66).<sup>34</sup> The large composition on the right which comprises three pairs of lovers and two archers was appropriated from Lancret's picture *Youth*, that forms part of his allegorical cycle *The Four Ages of Man* (pl. 68).

5. *Hearing*: The composition comprises a woman sitting on the ground, a horn player (cf. Götz, *Hearing*; pl. 72), a Harlequin (cf. Götz, *Touch*; pl. 74), a singing couple (cf. Götz, *Hearing*; pl. 72) and a woman with a sheet of music score in her lap (Lancret, *A Concert in the Open*); (pl. 73).

Our investigation has made clear that the painters responsible for the frescoes at Jablje and for the wall coverings from Zaprice and Dornava never copied Götz's prints integrally. They either substantially simplified the complex structure of his inventions or merely singled out individual figure types in order to reapply them to novel arrangements. Given the leading role of France and its Rococo painting in the 18th century Europe as a whole it is not surprising to see that borrowings from the German prints were occasionally merged with additional source material of French origin. We were in position to prove a symbiosis of French Rococo repertoire, transmitted through reproductive engravings, with derivations from

<sup>31</sup> Especially from the 17th century onward, the man with the pipe, that is, a motif this painter did not borrow directly from Götz, was frequently included into representations of *Smell* instead of the woman with a flower (the most important example is *The Way You Hear It, is the Way You Sing It* by Jan Steen). Cf. e. g. Hans Kaufmann, *Die Fünf Sinne in der niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts, Kunstgeschichtliche Studien* (Hans Tinteln, ed.), Breslau 1943. Notably, the man who is in the Dornava cycle holding a pipe in his hand lacks this attribute in the painting by Lancret from which he was derived. The pipe was therefore consciously added by the painter as another significant detail alluding to one of the Five Senses.

<sup>32</sup> Only the posture of this man has been copied from Götz's print of *Touch* while the casket in his hand is an addition. Cf. Note 12 and pl. 67 (the casket may contain spices, snuff or something else).

<sup>33</sup> The thorny plants can be seen also in Götz's print representing *Touch*.

<sup>34</sup> Götz's engraving stresses this man's gesture of holding. It is for this reason that the painter of the Dornava painted wall coverings could reuse the same figure in his representation of *Touch*. Cf. Note 12.

the prints by the Augsburg painter Gottfried Bernhard Götz at least for the wall coverings from Dornava. Our analysis of this cycle and of the series of hunting scenes from Zaprice strongly suggests that by and large painted wall coverings in Slovenia were derived from identifiable graphic models. As evidenced by the matching single motifs and figure groupings the author of the Dornava cycle made frequent use of Götz's prints in combination with French reproductive engravings after Lancret. Nevertheless, he often added iconographically significant details (e.g. a coin, the pipe and the field glass) and thus in a way "created" his own representations of the *Five Senses*.

One of the primary objectives of this paper has been to argue that the three painted cycles formerly believed to depict simple and casual genre scenes were originally conceived as series of allegories with clearly defined meaning and purpose. Given their indebtedness to Götz's set of prints there can be now hardly any doubt that the five frescoes at Jablje and the wall coverings from Zaprice and Dornava were meant to represent the Five Senses. The frescoes seem to conform well with the established iconographic paradigms for such allegories while, on the other hand, the "canonical structure" seems to have loosened in the thematically less consistent sets of painted wall coverings. The latter belong, after all, to the category of "decorative art", the primary function of which is to enliven an aristocratic dwelling and entertain the eyes of the beholder. Moreover, it seems that the 18th century public did not always pay attention to minor iconographic inconsistencies which were occasionally necessitated by the available space and disposition of the walls. Accordingly our material implies that painted wall coverings were often adjusted to the given architectural setting at the expense of iconographic consistency.

Remarkably, all three remaining sets of 18th century wall coverings from Slovenian castles originally represented allegories of the Five Senses. But it seems nevertheless unlikely that Götz's prints were used as models only for the lack of any alternative sources. Rather the reason for the repeated use of these engravings must have been their popularity among the local artists and patrons alike.