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Illuminating the Soul, Glorifying the Sacred

Religious Confraternities and the Visual Arts
in Early Modern Europe

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PREFACE

CONFRATERNITIES: NETWORKS OF PATRONS,
ARTISTS, AND RESEARCHERS

Barbara Murovec

In 2013, Dr. Ana Lavrič, a researcher at the France Stele Institute of Art History ZRC SAZU, was awarded a prestigious grant for the research project *The Role and Significance of Religious Confraternities in Early Modern Art in the Slovenian Lands* (1 August 2013–31 July 2017, J6-5563) in a national competition sponsored by the Slovenian Research Agency. Throughout her career, our esteemed and now retired colleague Dr. Lavrič published fundamental studies about the role of religious confraternities as patrons of art.¹ Based on her own distinguished scholarship and the large amount of archival material that still requires examination, she realized that it would be prudent to open up her investigation to a group of scholars, whom she included in the project. She also invited the Faculty of Theology at the University of Ljubljana to participate, understanding from the outset the necessity of interdisciplinary collaboration and the seamless integration of art history with history and theology.

Ana Lavrič's many years of meticulous archival work introduced to Slovenia an almost unexamined field to which she contributed groundbreaking studies.² Furthermore, she encouraged

¹ See especially: Ana LAVRIČ, Ljubljanske baročne bratovščine in njihovo umetnostno naročništvo. Jezuitske kongregacije (Summary: The Baroque Confraternities in Ljubljana and their Art Commissions. Jesuit Congregations), *Arhivi. Glasilo Arhivskega društva in arhivov Slovenije*, 33/2, 2010, pp. 251–286; Ana LAVRIČ, Ljubljanske baročne bratovščine in njihovo umetnostno naročništvo. Bratovščine pri redovnih cerkvah (Summary: The Baroque Confraternities in Ljubljana and their Art Commissions. Confraternities at Monastic Churches), *Arhivi. Glasilo Arhivskega društva in arhivov Slovenije*, 34/1, 2011, pp. 41–64; Ana LAVRIČ, Ljubljanske baročne bratovščine in njihovo umetnostno naročništvo. Bratovščine v župnijskih cerkvah in podružnicah (Summary: The Baroque Confraternities in Ljubljana and their Art Commissions. Confraternities at Parish and Succursal Churches), *Arhivi. Glasilo Arhivskega društva in arhivov Slovenije*, 34/2, 2011, pp. 295–317; Ana LAVRIČ, Bratovščine v ljubljanskih škofijskih protokolih 17. in 18. stoletja (Summary: Confraternities in the Protocols of the Ljubljana Diocese of the 17th and 18th Centuries), *Arhivi. Glasilo Arhivskega društva in arhivov Slovenije*, 36/1, 2013, pp. 25–44; Ana LAVRIČ, Bratovščina presvetega Rešnjega telesa v Črnučah, *Tam čez Savo, na Črnučah. Sto petdeset let župnije Ljubljana Črnuče* (ed. France Martin Dolinar), Ljubljana 2013, pp. 239–248.

² Ana LAVRIČ, Bratovščine na Kranjskem leta 1773 (Summary: Confraternities in Carniola in 1773), *Arhivi. Glasilo Arhivskega društva in arhivov Slovenije*, 37/1, 2014, pp. 109–142; Ana LAVRIČ, Zgodovinska in umetnostna dediščina frančiškanskih bratovščin (Summary: The Historic and Artistic Heritage of Franciscan Confraternities), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 19/2, 2014, pp. 95–122; Ana LAVRIČ, Bratovščine na Slovenskem pod zavetniškim plaščem Marije in svetnikov (Summary: Confraternities in Slovenia under the Cloaks of Mary and the Saints), *Patriae et orbi. Essays on Central European Art and Architecture/Študije o srednjeevropski umetnosti. Festschrift in Honour of Damjan Prelovšek/Jubilejni zbornik za Damjana Prelovška* (eds. Ana Lavrič, Franci Lazarini, Barbara Murovec), Ljubljana 2015 (Opera Instituti Artis Historiae), pp. 475–527; Ana LAVRIČ, Bratovščine pri cerkvi Marijinega vnebovzjetja na Dobrovi, *Marija v leščevju. Dobrova pri Ljubljani* (ed. Janez Dolinar), Ljubljana 2015, pp. 573–592; Ana LAVRIČ, Kamniške bratovščine in njihova povezava s freskami pri Sv. Primožu in v župnijski cerkvi na Šutni (Summary: Confraternities in Kamnik and their Connection to the Frescoes in the Church of St. Primus and in the Šutna Parish Church), *Arhivi. Glasilo Arhivskega društva in arhivov Slovenije*, 39/1, 2016,

colleagues to delve deeper into this key area for understanding art patronage in the early modern period and the works of art commissioned to adorn and furnish churches.³ In 2016, as part of her larger project, she edited the thematic issue of *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, in which the research done by four project members and four additional scholars is collected: *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (21/2, 2016).⁴ Although cooperation with colleagues from Germany, Croatia, and Austria had been established, only one paper analyzing works of art beyond the Slovenian lands was published in that volume.⁵

Therefore, the national project aspired to host an international conference to connect our research on Slovenian confraternities with similar investigations elsewhere in Europe—and so the conference *The Role of Religious Confraternities in Medieval and Early Modern Art/Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti srednjega in zgodnjega novega veka* was held from 10–12 May 2017

pp. 9–25; Ana LAVRIČ, Bratovščine sv. Rešnjega telesa na Slovenskem. Predstavitev ikonografije z izbranimi primeri (Summary: Corpus Christi Confraternities in Slovenia. Their Iconography Presented through Selected Examples), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 22/1, 2017, pp. 7–43.

- ³ Papers important for the project, published outside of the thematic issue of *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* (see note 4): Matjaž AMBROŽIČ, Pregled predjožefinskih bratovščin na slovenskem Štajerskem (Summary: Verzeichnis der vorjosephinischen Bruderschaften in der slowenischen Steiermark), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 19/1, 2014, pp. 17–52; Matjaž AMBROŽIČ, Zanimivosti iz delovanja predjožefinskih bratovščin na slovenskem Štajerskem (Summary: Interesting Facts about the Pre-Josephian Confraternities in Slovenian Styria), *Arhivi. Glasilo Arhivskega društva in arhivov Slovenije*, 38/1, 2015, pp. 35–75; Blaž RESMAN, Accipe consilium a me. Mati božja dobrega sveta ter njene bratovščine in upodobitve na Slovenskem (Summary: Accipe consilium a me. Our Lady of Good Counsel, Her Confraternities and Depictions in Slovenia), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 22/1, 2017, pp. 45–110.
- ⁴ Matjaž AMBROŽIČ, Evidenčna knjiga mozirske bratovščine sv. Rešnjega telesa (Summary: The Book of Records of the Corpus Christi Confraternity in Mozirje), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ed. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), pp. 111–117; Zdenka BONIN, Bratovščine v severozahodni Istri v obdobju Beneške republike (Summary: Confraternities in North-Western Istria in the Period of the Venetian Republic), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ed. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), pp. 35–53; Ana LAVRIČ, Velike Marijine bratovščine na Slovenskem. Ikonografija bratovščin pod okriljem mendikantskih redov (Summary: Major Marian Confraternities in Slovenia. Iconography of Confraternities under the Protection of the Mendicant Orders), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ed. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), pp. 119–167; Matija OGRIN, Bratovščinske iskre. Duhovna besedila baročnih bratovščin na Slovenskem (Summary: Confraternities and Sparks of Spirit. Books of Baroque Confraternities in Slovenian Lands), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ed. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), pp. 55–88; Mija OTER GORENČIČ, Umetnostna zapuščina srednjeveških marijanskih bratovščin na Kranjskem in Štajerskem (Summary: The Artistic Legacy of Medieval Marian Confraternities in Carniola and Styria), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ed. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), pp. 89–110; Helena SERAŽIN, Štukater Giuseppe Monteventi in oltar škapulirske bratovščine v Piranu (Summary: Stucco Maker Giuseppe Monteventi and the Altar of the Scapular Confraternity in Pirano), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ed. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), pp. 169–184; Jure VOLČJAK, Pregled predjožefinskih bratovščin na ozemlju goriške nadškofije na Kranjskem (Summary: The Register of Pre-Josephinian Confraternities in Carniola in the Territory of the Gorizia Archdiocese), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ed. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), pp. 9–34.
- ⁵ Angelika DREYER, Konfessionel kontrovers. Süddeutsche Rosenkranzbruderschaften als Auftraggeber für barocke Deckenmalerei (Summary: Confessionally Controversial. South German Confraternities of the Rosary as Patrons of Baroque Ceiling Decorations), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ed. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), pp. 185–200.

at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Ljubljana. During its preparation, a symposium on Central European confraternities, organized by Austrian historians, was held in Salzburg in 2017. Those proceedings were published the following year,⁶ prompting the collaboration with Prof. Dr. Martin Scheutz of the University of Vienna. In addition to providing introductory perspectives on the state of research in Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Hungary, the volume focuses on historiography, which, although fundamental for researching art historical questions of confraternal iconography and patronage, was not our primary objective.⁷

The conference in Ljubljana was a crucial starting point for planning this thematic issue and, in my opinion, a very welcome start to networking on the topic of confraternities in Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe. My colleague Assist. Prof. Dr. Mija Oter Gorenčič and I were extremely pleased at persuading Dr. Barbara Wisch, Professor Emerita of Art History at the State University of New York College at Cortland, to co-edit this issue. Not only is she an exceptional connoisseur of the visual culture of Italian confraternities, but with extraordinary dedication, she set as one of her fundamental tasks the transformation of texts written in Croatian, Italian, Portuguese, German, Polish, and Slovenian “English” into a coherent and lively language that will allow the scholars’ important contributions to be more fully appreciated. All of the authors and the co-editors are immensely grateful for her in-depth, critical work on the texts.

Scholars often look for positive echoes of different historical structures, and as we research art history, we usually judge them based on preserved cultural objects. But as we can learn particularly from recent history and the present, a confraternity does not necessarily entail simple inclusion, but also, and too often, the exclusion of (all) others. Researching the various functions and uses of art “products” associated with confraternities also provides valuable perspectives for the study of migrations, the diversity of worlds, and the possibilities—or impossibilities—of cooperation. These dynamics prominently come to the fore with national confraternities, to which scholars from Italy and Croatia have dedicated themselves in this thematic issue. Thanks to the authors who stem from the United States of America, Portugal, and Poland and to our nearer Slovenian neighbors from Croatia, Italy, Austria, and Germany, the present volume of *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* is extremely international. It leads us from case studies to group and collaborative research, which is imperative for understanding the historical processes pertinent to the entire European continent and beyond.

Although the past five years have opened significant new dimensions in researching confraternities in Slovenia, that mission is far from being concluded. Numerous tasks for all of Central Europe still need to be carried out. We believe that Dr. Lavrič’s project, the international conference, and the present issue of the *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* prompt further systematic research of religious confraternities and their exceptional importance for the fine arts. In fact, responses from Austrian, German, and Croatian colleagues indicate that we can anticipate animated international and interdisciplinary scientific discussions in the coming years. One of the important outcomes of the finished project is the inception of a new one, titled *Artwork as Reflection of Knowledge and Net-*

⁶ The symposium *Multifunktionale Dienstleister. Frühneuzeitliche Bruderschaften in Zentraleuropa*, Salzburg, 23–25 February 2017, organized by the Archive of the Archdiocese of Salzburg, Department of History at the University of Salzburg, and the Institute of Austrian Historical Research in Vienna.

⁷ *Multifunktionale Dienstleister. Frühneuzeitliche Bruderschaften der Frühen Neuzeit in Zentraleuropa* (eds. Elisabeth Lobenwein, Martin Scheutz, Alfred Stefan Weiß), Wien 2018 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 70).

working. The Role of Education and Social Connectedness of Artists and Patrons in the Late Middle-Ages and Early-Modern Times (funded by the Slovenian Research Agency, J6-9439), which, from 1 July 2018, links scholars from the France Stele Institute of Art History ZRC SAZU with those at the Milko Kos Historical Institute ZRC SAZU and the Department of History at the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Ljubljana. Together we intend to further research on patronage and art networks in the late medieval and early modern periods.

As our guest co-editor Barbara Wisch has noted, one of the greatest limitations in spreading scientific knowledge is language. Between a theoretical agreement that English is the *lingua franca* of our time, and the reality in which the humanities in general and art history in particular are carried out—primarily in the national language of the work’s origin or current location—the bilingual writing and publishing of scientific results in English is a commitment that is not always easily realized. As previously stated, without the enormous amount of work by our co-editor Barbara Wisch, this thematic issue about confraternities and the visual arts would look rather different, and certainly not for the better, which is why, in the name of both Slovenian editors, I want to express my sincerest thanks to her.

PREDGOVOR

BRATOVŠČINE: MREŽE NAROČNIKOV, UMETNIKOV IN RAZISKOVALCEV

Barbara Murovec

Leta 2013 je raziskovalka Umetnostnozgodovinskega inštituta Franceta Steleta ZRC SAZU dr. Ana Lavrič na razpisu Javne agencije za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije pridobila temeljni raziskovalni projekt *Vloga in pomen cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti novega veka na Slovenskem* (1. avgust 2013 – 31. julij 2017, J6-5563). Zdaj upokojena kolegica Lavrič je že pred tem objavila nekaj temeljnih razprav o vlogi cerkvenih bratovščin pri umetnostnih naročilih¹ ter na podlagi lastnih raziskav cerkvene umetnosti in ohranjenega arhivskega gradiva ocenila, da je smiselno svoje raziskovalne metode prenesti na skupino raziskovalcev, ki jih je vključila v projekt. K sodelovanju je povabila tudi Teološko fakulteto Univerze v Ljubljani, s čimer je v izhodišču poudarila nujnost interdisciplinarne metodologije oziroma povezovanja umetnostne zgodovine z zgodovino in teologijo. Z dolgoletnim natančnim arhivskim delom je odprla za slovenski prostor do takrat skoraj neraziskovano področje in prispevala številne študije,² hkrati pa vzpodbudila kolege, da so se poglobili v preučevanje enega ključnih področij za razumevanje umetnostnega naročništva v zgodnjem novem veku in umetniških del, naročenih za cerkve.³ Ana Lavrič je v okviru omenjenega raziskovalnega projekta

¹ Gl. zlasti: Ana LAVRIČ, Ljubljanske baročne bratovščine in njihovo umetnostno naročništvo. Jezuitske kongregacije, *Arhivi. Glasilo Arhivskega društva in arhivov Slovenije*, 33/2, 2010, str. 251–286; Ana LAVRIČ, Ljubljanske baročne bratovščine in njihovo umetnostno naročništvo. Bratovščine pri redovnih cerkvah, *Arhivi. Glasilo Arhivskega društva in arhivov Slovenije*, 34/1, 2011, str. 41–64; Ana LAVRIČ, Ljubljanske baročne bratovščine in njihovo umetnostno naročništvo. Bratovščine v župnijskih cerkvah in podružnicah, *Arhivi. Glasilo Arhivskega društva in arhivov Slovenije*, 34/2, 2011, str. 295–317; Ana LAVRIČ, Bratovščine v ljubljanskih škofijskih protokolih 17. in 18. stoletja, *Arhivi. Glasilo Arhivskega društva in arhivov Slovenije*, 36/1, 2013, str. 25–44; Ana LAVRIČ, Bratovščina presvetega Rešnjega telesa v Črnučah, *Tam čez Savo, na Črnučah. Sto petdeset let župnije Ljubljana Črnuče* (ur. France Martin Dolinar), Ljubljana 2013, str. 239–248.

² Ana LAVRIČ, Bratovščine na Kranjskem leta 1773, *Arhivi. Glasilo Arhivskega društva in arhivov Slovenije*, 37/1, 2014, str. 109–142; Ana LAVRIČ, Zgodovinska in umetnostna dediščina frančiškanskih bratovščin, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 19/2, 2014, str. 95–122; Ana LAVRIČ, Bratovščine na Slovenskem pod zavetniškim plaščem Marije in svetnikov, *Patriae et orbi. Essays on Central European Art and Architecture/Študije o srednjeevropski umetnosti. Festschrift in Honour of Damjan Prelovšek/Jubilejni zbornik za Damjana Prelovška* (ur. Ana Lavrič, Franci Lazarini, Barbara Murovec), Ljubljana 2015 (Opera Instituti Artis Historiae), str. 475–527; Ana LAVRIČ, Bratovščine pri cerkvi Marijinega vnebovzjetja na Dobrovi, *Marija v leščevju. Dobrova pri Ljubljani* (ur. Janez Dolinar), Ljubljana 2015, str. 573–592; Ana LAVRIČ, Kamniške bratovščine in njihova povezava s freskami pri Sv. Primožu in v župnijski cerkvi na Šutni, *Arhivi. Glasilo Arhivskega društva in arhivov Slovenije*, 39/1, 2016, str. 9–25; Ana LAVRIČ, Bratovščine sv. Rešnjega telesa na Slovenskem. Predstavitev ikonografije z izbranimi primeri, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 22/1, 2017, str. 7–43.

³ Zunaj tematske številke *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* (gl. op. 4) so bili mdr. objavljeni za projekt pomembni članki: Matjaž AMBROŽIČ, Pregled predjožefinskih bratovščin na slovenskem Štajerskem, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 19/1, 2014, str. 17–52; Matjaž AMBROŽIČ, Zanimivosti iz delovanja predjožefinskih bratovščin na slovenskem Štajerskem, *Arhivi. Glasilo Arhivskega društva in arhivov Slovenije*, 38/1, 2015, str. 35–75; Blaž RESMAN, Accipe

leta 2016 uredila tematsko številko *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, v kateri so zbrane razprave osmih avtorjev, članov projektne skupine in drugih raziskovalcev pomena cerkvenih bratovščin za likovno umetnost: *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (21/2, 2016).⁴ Že takrat je bilo nastavljeno sodelovanje s kolegi iz Nemčije, s Hrvaške in iz Avstrije, a realiziran en sam znanstveni članek.⁵

Eden od predvidenih rezultatov nacionalnega projekta je bila mednarodna konferenca, katere cilj je bil povezati raziskave, ki so potekale za slovenski prostor s sorodnimi drugje v Evropi. Konferenca *The Role of Religious Confraternities in Medieval and Early Modern Art/Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti srednjega in zgodnjega novega veka* je potekala od 10. do 12. maja 2017 v prostorih Znanstvenoraziskovalnega centra Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti v Ljubljani. Med njeno pripravo je bil objavljen program simpozija o bratovščinah v Salzburgu,⁶ ki so ga organizirali avstrijski zgodovinarji, kar je dalo povod za sodelovanje s prof. dr. Martinom Scheutzem z dunajske univerze. Na podlagi salzburškega simpozija je v letu 2018 tudi že izšla znanstvena monografija. Ob uvodnih pogledih v stanje raziskav v Avstriji, na Češkem, Moravskem, v Šleziji in na Madžarskem je večina razprav posvečena temam s področja zgodovinopisja, ki pa so temeljne tudi za preučevanje umetnostnozgodovinskih vprašanj v povezavi z bratovščinsko ikonografijo in naročništvom.⁷

Ljubljanska konferenca je bila pomembno izhodišče za oblikovanje pričujoče tematske številke in verjamem, da izjemno dobrodošel začetek mreženja raziskav o bratovščinah tudi v srednji, vzhodni in jugovzhodni Evropi. S kolegico Mijo Oter Gorenčič sva bili izjemno veseli, da sva k

consilium a me. Mati božja dobrega sveta ter njene bratovščine in upodobitve na Slovenskem, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 22/1, 2017, str. 45–110.

- ⁴ Matjaž AMBROŽIČ, Evidenčna knjiga mozirske bratovščine sv. Rešnjega telesa, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ur. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), str. 111–117; Zdenka BONIN, Bratovščine v severozahodni Istri v obdobju Beneške republike, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ur. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), str. 35–53; Ana LAVRIČ, Velike Marijine bratovščine na Slovenskem. Ikonografija bratovščin pod okriljem mendikantskih redov, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ur. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), str. 119–167; Matija OGRIN, Bratovščinske iskre. Duhovna besedila baročnih bratovščin na Slovenskem, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ur. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), str. 55–88; Mija OTER GORENČIČ, Umetnostna zapuščina srednjeveških marijanskih bratovščin na Kranjskem in Štajerskem, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ur. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), str. 89–110; Helena SERAŽIN, Štukater Giuseppe Monteventi in oltar škapulirske bratovščine v Piranu, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ur. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), str. 169–184; Jure VOLČJAK, Pregled predjožefinskih bratovščin na ozemlju goriške nadškofije na Kranjskem, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ur. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), str. 9–34.
- ⁵ Angelika DREYER, Konfessionel kontrovers. Süddeutsche Rosenkranzbruderschaften als Auftraggeber für barocke Deckenmalerei, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ur. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), str. 185–200.
- ⁶ Simpozij *Multifunktionale Dienstleister. Frühneuzeitliche Bruderschaften in Zentraleuropa*, Salzburg, 23.–25. februar 2017, so organizirali salzburški Nadškofijski arhiv, Oddelek za zgodovino salzburške univerze in Inštitut za avstrijske zgodovinske raziskave na Dunaju.
- ⁷ *Multifunktionale Dienstleister. Frühneuzeitliche Bruderschaften der Frühen Neuzeit in Zentraleuropa* (ur. Elisabeth Lobenwein, Martin Scheutz, Alfred Stefan Weiß), Wien 2018 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 70).

souredništvu tematske številke uspeli pritegniti upokojeno profesorico iz New Yorka dr. Barbaro Wisch, izjemno poznavalko umetnostne dediščine bratovščin v italijanskem prostoru. Z izjemno požrtvovalnostjo si je zadala kot eno svojih temeljnih nalog pri pripravi publikacije, da besedila, napisana v hrvaški, italijanski, nemški, poljski in slovenski angleščini, pretvori v koherentne angleške tekste, ki bodo uspešno nagovarjali zainteresirane bralce. Za njeno poglobljeno ukvarjanje z besedili smo ji vsi avtorji in sourednici izjemno hvaležni.

Raziskovalci pogosto iščemo pozitivne odmeve različnih zgodovinskih struktur in jih, ko preučujemo zgodovino umetnosti, praviloma ocenjujemo na podlagi kulturnih objektov, ki so se ohranili do našega časa. Bratovščina sicer ne pomeni zmeraj samo povezovanja, kot se lahko učimo predvsem iz polpretekle zgodovine in sedanosti, temveč je ena njenih glavnih implikacij tudi izključevanje (vseh) drugih. Preučevanje različnih funkcij in uporab umetnostnih »produktov«, ki so povezani z bratovščinami, nam odpira pomembne nastavke tudi za preučevanje migracij, različnosti svetov in možnosti oziroma nezmožnosti sodelovanja. Ti vidiki prihajajo do izraza tudi pri nacionalnih bratovščinah, ki se jim je v tematski številki posvetila skupina raziskovalcev iz Italije in Hrvaške. Tokratna številka *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* je po zaslugi avtorjev, ki segajo od Združenih držav Amerike, Portugalske, Nemčije in Poljske v Italijo, na Hrvaško in v Slovenijo, izjemno internacionalna. Od študij primerov nas vodi k skupnim raziskavam, pomembnim za razumevanje zgodovinskih procesov, aktualnih za celoten evropski prostor.

Ne glede na številne temeljne raziskave, ki so v preteklih petih letih odprle povsem nove dimenzije preučevanja bratovščin na Slovenskem, lahko rečemo, da misija še zdaleč ni zaključena. Za srednjeevropski prostor ostajajo pred nami še številne nedokončane naloge. Verjamemo, da tako projekt in mednarodna konferenca, predvsem pa pričujoča tematska številka *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* nagovarjajo k nadaljnjemu sistematičnemu raziskovanju cerkvenih bratovščin in njihovega izjemnega pomena za likovno umetnost. Odzivi iz Avstrije, Nemčije in s Hrvaške kažejo, da si lahko v naslednjih letih obetamo živo mednarodno in interdisciplinarno znanstveno diskusijo. Eden od pomembnih rezultatov zaključenega projekta pa je novi projekt *Umetnina kot odsev znanja in povezovanja. Pomen izobrazbe in družbene vpetosti umetnikov in naročnikov v poznem srednjem in zgodnjem novem veku* (financira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije, J6-9439), ki od 1. julija 2018 povezuje raziskovalce Umetnostnozgodovinskega inštituta Franceta Steleta ZRC SAZU z raziskovalci Zgodovinskega inštituta Milka Kosa ZRC SAZU in Oddelka za zgodovino Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani pri nadaljnjem poglobljanju v naročniške in umetniške mreže srednjega in zgodnjega novega veka.

Kot ugotavlja vabljen sourednik Barbara Wisch, je ena velikih omejitev pri razširjanju znanstvenih spoznanj jezik. Med teoretičnim pristajanjem na to, da je angleščina edina *lingua franca* naše dobe, in realnostjo, v kateri se humanistika oziroma umetnostna zgodovina praviloma dogaja tudi ali celo predvsem v nacionalnih jezikih prostora, v katerem so nastali umetnostni spomeniki in umetnine, ki jih preučujemo, je dvojezično pisanje in objavlanje znanstvenih rezultatov v angleškem jeziku zaveza, ki je ni vedno lahko uresničiti na ustreznem nivoju. Brez ogromnega dela sourednice Barbare Wisch bi tematska številka o bratovščinah izgledala precej drugače in zagotovo ne boljše, za kar se ji v imenu obeh slovenskih urednic najlepše zahvaljujem.

INTRODUCTION

Barbara Wisch

Guest co-editor

This special issue of *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* owes its inception to the international conference *The Role of Religious Confraternities in Medieval and Early Modern Art*, held at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana, on 10–12 May 2017. The conference, sponsored by the France Stele Institute of Art History ZRC SAZU, was organized by its esteemed members, Dr. Ana Lavrič, Assoc. Prof. Dr. and Director Barbara Murovec, and Assist. Prof. Dr. Mija Oter Gorenčič.¹ Many of the innovative papers presented there comprise the core of this volume. The conference itself provided an extraordinary opportunity for both junior and senior European and American scholars to share their new research insights in the ever-expanding field of Confraternity Studies, a multidisciplinary arena that now commands a secure place alongside far older academic disciplines. Owing to our gracious hosts at the France Stele Institute of Art History, the far-flung participants—from Genoa, Kraków, Lisbon, Macerata, Munich, New York, Vienna, and Zagreb—joined eminent scholars from Ljubljana in congenial settings that encouraged the mutual exchange of ideas, creating new bonds of brotherhood (and sisterhood) between cultures and continents. The 14 essays in this volume are organized chronologically, nationally, and thematically, all the while shedding new light on confraternal patronage of the arts.

Although looking back to the late medieval origins of many of the confraternities being discussed, our focus spans Central and Southern Europe in the closing years of the 15th century to the early 19th century. It examines the post-Tridentine decades and the efflorescence of confraternities in the 17th and early 18th centuries, and includes the Catholic Enlightenment, the papal suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773, the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II's suppression of confraternities in the Habsburg lands in 1783, and the upheavals of the Jansenist revolutionaries. Our survey concludes with the Napoleonic wars, which caused such destruction of the brotherhoods' artistic patrimony. Nationally, the essays navigate across the European continent, placing particular emphasis on Central Europe. Thematically, by analyzing the breadth and evolution of cultic devotions encouraged by post-Tridentine forms of piety, the volume affords an exploration of early modern European confraternities and their patronage of the visual arts that crosses geopolitical borders. However, one significant boundary that remains is language, since most authors in this volume have only ever published in their native tongue. By presenting their important, new scholarship in English, with three in German, the editors hope to ensure greater accessibility of their contributions to a global audience.

Our objective is especially significant, since recent collections in English and Italian on late medieval and early modern confraternities have addressed Western and Northern Europe, the New

¹ The conference was part of the larger research project *The Role and Significance of Religious Confraternities in the Early Modern Art in Slovenian Lands* (No. J6-5563, conducted under the auspices of the France Stele Institute of Art History ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana, and financially supported by the Slovenian Research Agency. One of the results of the project was the thematic issue *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art*, 21/2, 2016, of the *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*.

World, and Asia, but have not turned their attention to Central Europe.² Major volumes on Polish and Czech confraternities,³ for example, are for the most part incomprehensible to Anglophone and other European scholars, since they are written in languages that are less familiar to many researchers. Therefore, this volume is groundbreaking in offering cutting-edge discussions of the rich visual, architectural, literary, and festive cultural production of religious confraternities in many Central European nations as well as sodalities in Italy and Portugal.⁴

We begin in Rome, where the history and influence of confraternities elevated to the new prestigious rank of archconfraternity, beginning in 1520, are analyzed by Barbara Wisch. Archconfraternities were (and are) empowered to aggregate sodalities with comparable devotions and dedications, sharing spiritual benefits, privileges, and impressive indulgences. As a *prologomenon* to this vastly understudied topic, she lays out a chronology of their establishment and the complex networks of powerful, wealthy cardinal protectors whose importance in the patronage of major works of art and architecture was critical. She poses questions about the actual impact of Roman archconfraternities across Europe, some of which are answered in the essays that follow. These queries suggest new avenues of inquiry.

We then cast our confraternal gaze across the breadth of the continent. Under the Habsburg imperial flag, at the church of St. Primus above Kamnik, Mija Oter Gorenčič introduces a striking new contextual interpretation of the origins of the Slovenian church's monumental early 16th-century fresco decoration—a major commission by its Marian brotherhood—and posits a direct connection with Cologne's newly instituted Rosary Brotherhood and the works of art it commissioned. The Cologne confraternity, founded by the Observant Dominican Jakob Sprenger in 1475, was officially the first dedicated to Rosary devotion. Unequivocal support by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III from the outset and rich papal indulgences from 1478 onward incentivized the rapid reception of Rosary brotherhoods across Europe, a subject that later essays address as well. Oter Gorenčič's

² *Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas. International and Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (eds. Christopher Black, Pamela Gravestock), Aldershot 2006; *Confréries et dévotions dans la catholicité moderne (mi-XV^e–début XIX^e siècle)* (eds. Bernard Dompnier, Paola Vismara), Roma 2008 (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 393); *Brotherhood and Boundaries/Fraternità e barriera* (eds. Stefania Pastore, Adriano Prosperi, Nicholas Terpstra), Pisa 2011; *Faith's Boundaries. Laity and Clergy in Early Modern Confraternities* (eds. Nicholas Terpstra, Adriano Prosperi, Stefania Pastore), Turnhout 2012; *Space, Place, and Motion. Locating Confraternities in the Late Medieval and Early Modern City* (ed. Diana Bullen Presciutti), Leiden 2017. The special issue of *Confraternitas*, 27/1–2, 2016, dedicated to the Schiavoni/Illyrian confraternities in Italy, is an important exception; see also *Visualizing Past in a Foreign Country. Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternities and Colleges in Early Modern Italy in Comparative Perspective* (eds. Giuseppe Capriotti, Francesca Coltrinari, Jasenka Gudelj), Macerata 2018 (*Il Capitale Culturale. Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage*, Supplementi, 7); and *Chiese e "nationes" a Roma sotto il potere temporale dei papi. Dalla Scandinavia ai Balcani (secoli XV–XVIII)* (eds. Antal Molnár, Giovanni Pizzorusso, Matteo Sanfilippo), Roma 2017 (Bibliotheca Academia Hungariae – Roma. Studia, 6).

³ *Bractwa religijne w średniowieczu i w okresie nowożytnym (do końca XVIII wieku)* [Religious Confraternities in the Middle Ages and the Modern Era (until the end of the 18th century)] (eds. Dominika Burdzy, Beata Wojciechowska), Kielce 2014; see the review by Joanna LUDWIKOWSKA in *Confraternitas*, 25/2, 2014, pp. 48–50 (and pp. 58–60 for the table of contents). The volume includes a bilingual table of contents and introduction, and summaries in English; Part 4 is concerned with Polish religious confraternities and the arts, but there are discussions of intellectual and material culture throughout. *Zbožných dusí úl. Náboženská bratrstva v kultuře raněnovověké Moravy* [A Hive of Devout Souls. Religious Fraternities in the Culture of Early Modern Moravia] (eds. Vladimír Maňas, Zdeněk Orlita, Martina Potůčková), [Catalogue for the exhibition of paintings, documents, and artefacts from the Archdiocesan Museum in Olomouc, Moravia, 28–25 April 2010], Olomouc 2010; see the review by Jozef MATULA in *Confraternitas*, 21/2, 2010, pp. 55–56, who notes that the volume is in Czech only. For additional bibliography on Central European confraternities, see the Preface by Barbara Murovec and the essays in this volume.

⁴ Special thanks are given to the outside readers for their incisive comments that improved the essays. We are responsible for any mistakes that remain.

trenchant analysis of the iconography and style of the frescoes and architectural decoration, together with her account of the famous “Windische” (Slovenian) pilgrimage to Cologne, confirms her thesis. Her astute observations reveal how the artist gained knowledge of Albrecht Dürer’s recent paintings, in addition to the master’s graphic production, and how he familiarized himself with works closely connected to the great altarpiece of Cologne’s Rosary Brotherhood, all of which he assimilated and synthesized in the St. Primus decorative program.

The Portuguese Crown was equally emphatic in its support of confraternities. Through privileges, exemptions, and donations, the Confraternity of Mercy was instituted in Lisbon in 1498. With exponential speed, the Holy Houses of Mercy became the most important confraternal foundations for spiritual and charitable assistance throughout Portugal and its overseas empire. Joana Balsa de Pinho offers a new interpretative approach to this impressive architectural heritage by demonstrating how the building complexes evolved to become easily recognizable by their central urban location and distinct architectural and decorative characteristics, decidedly different from other Portuguese religious and secular institutions.

Our discussion then turns to the Balkan immigrants who had crossed the Adriatic Sea to settle in Italy. Two essays elucidate how these ethnic minorities integrated themselves into their new society via confraternities by strategically promoting their “national” identity through art, architecture, and language, and by venerating their native-born saints. Giuseppe Capriotti concentrates on the city of Pesaro in the region of The Marches. There, the Schiavoni, as the Illyrians were known, identified with their protector St. Jerome (owing to his birthplace in Stridon, on the border of Dalmatia), while the Albanians looked to their own St. Veneranda as patron. By carefully analyzing the artistic commissions of these two confraternities, especially where documentary sources are lacking, Capriotti reconstructs a nuanced evolution of the confraternities’ piety that extended beyond their national saints to encompass the newly canonized as well as new confraternal devotions, namely the Cord of St. Francis, a subject which Mirjana Repanić-Braun later addresses.

Jasenska Gudelj and Tanja Trška unite their expertise on the two most prominent Slavic confraternities in Italy, located in Venice and in Rome. Significantly, this is the first time that the Illyrian communities of these great, yet disparate cosmopolitan centers have been systematically compared. The authors’ collaboration results in innovative observations about the construction of self-defining visual narratives in the famous painted cycles illustrating the lives of St. Jerome and St. George that these confraternities commissioned. Using the shared origin of the confraternal members as a critical platform on which to base a discussion of Schiavoni visual strategies, Gudelj and Trška shed new light on such central issues as national saints, anti-Ottoman sentiment, and the early modern Illyrian scholarly emphasis on language, alphabet, translation, and printing.

In Genoa and extending inland into the mountainous regions of Liguria, confraternities created networks called *casacce*, formed by three or four brotherhoods that assembled in a single oratory. Rather than focusing on the architecture or decoration of their private space, Valentina Fiore demonstrates how their public face was most prominently displayed during processions, in large part due to the monumental, dramatic, and emotive multi-figured sculptural groups they commissioned. Proudly paraded through city streets on major feast days, these vibrant, polychrome wooden sculptures seemed to activate the divine through the ritual performance of procession. She examines the impressive work by Anton Maria Maragliano, who set the standard for Genoese wood sculpture in the 18th century. In addition, she documents the dismantling, conservation, and transmission of these splendid objects following the Napoleonic suppression of Ligurian confraternities in 1811.

The following essays direct their attention to Central Europe. The city and Diocese of Kraków was one of the largest centers of religious life in the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of

Lithuania—indeed, if not in all of Central Europe. One of the city’s preeminent sites is the church of the Holy Trinity, granted to the first Dominicans who had arrived from Italy in 1221, including Jacek [Hyacinth] Odrowąż (died 1257), who was so highly venerated that he was eventually canonized in Rome in 1594. Krzysztof J. Czyżewski and Marek Walczak delineate the institutional history and centuries-long art and architectural patronage of the Rosary Confraternity, founded at Holy Trinity probably by 1484, which became the largest and most important of the many confraternities dedicated to the Rosary in Kraków.

This authoritative discussion brings us back to our starting point in Rome. By 1600 the Kraków brotherhood had been elevated to an archconfraternity. Most significantly, at this time it was given a sanctioned copy—blessed by the pontiff and enriched with indulgences—of the most potent Roman Marian icon, the *Salus Populi Romani* in S. Maria Maggiore, which was revered as a civic palladium. When borne in a propitiatory procession by Pope Gregory the Great in 590, it was believed that the image, through Mary’s merciful intercession, had saved the city from the plague. Czyżewski and Walczak show how the replica in Kraków, specifically donated to the Rosary Archconfraternity, was thus integrally bound to Rosary devotion; consequently, it was associated with the naval victory over the Turks at Lepanto in 1571, which the faithful believed had been achieved by invoking the Virgin’s intervention through Rosary prayers at the behest of the staunch Dominican Pope Pius V (reigned 1566–1572). The Kraków image then proceeded to perform its own miracles. It was celebrated with splendid processions, and finally, in thanks for the triumph over the Turks at the gates of Vienna in 1683, it received an oratory of its own at the church of the Holy Trinity. Czyżewski and Walczak document not only the architecture and lavish furnishings of the image and its chapels, but they demonstrate how Rosary devotion blossomed throughout the city with splendidly decorated altars and replicas of the miraculous image—known in Poland as *Our Lady of the Rosary* or *Our Lady of the Snows*—which appeared in painted, engraved, and sculpted versions and became Poland’s beloved image of the Virgin and Child.

Kraków confraternities encouraged and deeply influenced those with similar devotions throughout the diocese. This was especially evident at the collegiate church of St. John the Baptist in Skalbmierz (about 50 km northeast of Kraków), whether the brotherhoods were founded by the Dominicans, Observant Franciscans, or canons closely allied with the theological faculty at the Kraków University, as Wojciech Sowała documents. So, too, Kraków’s artists set the standards for work in all mediums. By introducing important research on the new Rosary Confraternity in Skalbmierz, formally confirmed in Kraków in 1682, Sowała expands Czyżewski and Walczak’s discussion by relating the miraculous history of Skalbmierz’s own replica of the icon, which was credited with the salvation of the citizenry from the plague in 1677. So, too, the close association of the Dominican confraternities of the Holy Name of Jesus with the Rosary reflects that of Kraków’s Holy Trinity church, where the pairing of their confraternal altars to the left and right of the chancel arch was duplicated in most Dominican churches throughout the Polish province. The interweaving of these sodalities was exemplified in Skalbmierz by a shared altar.

In Poland, as we have seen, the Roman icon was inextricably linked with the Rosary, but the Jesuits, with papal approval in late 1560s, had already distributed replicas of the image as part of their global missionary efforts. Together with their IHS monogram, the *Salus Populi Romani* image became a worldwide Jesuit logo.⁵ As a direction for future research, it would be useful to compare the

⁵ Simon DITCHFIELD, *Catholicus and Romanus. Counter-Reformation Rome as Caput Mundi, A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492–1692* (eds. Pamela M. Jones, Barbara Wisch, Simon Ditchfield), Leiden 2019, p. 142.

Polish Dominicans' pairing of the Holy Name of Jesus and *Our Lady of the Rosary* with that of the Jesuits' to gain insight into post-Tridentine competitive "branding."

Since 1563 the Jesuits had been founding their own distinct Marian Congregations—exclusively male confraternities until 1751 that were tightly organized under the authority of a Jesuit priest—as well as sodalities for both men and women that advocated new devotions. Sanja Cvetnić illuminates the Bona Mors (Good Death) confraternities, originally founded in 1648 at Il Gesù, the Jesuits' mother church in Rome, and elevated to an archconfraternity with substantial indulgences in 1729. When the first Croatian Jesuit College opened in Zagreb in 1653, the Bona Mors was also instituted. These sodalities continued to be established throughout the Jesuit provinces with specific goals: to re-Christianize regions still under Ottoman rule;⁶ to renew the Catholic faith in communities exposed to Protestant ideology; and to reinvigorate waning devotion by promulgating a "good life" informed by the Sacraments, especially frequent Communion, so a good death—and salvation—would inevitably follow. The confraternal chapels were richly decorated, but most of their liturgical furnishings and works of art were irreparably lost or fragmented owing to the suppression of the Jesuit Order and the subsequent Josephine and Napoleonic reforms. Cvetnić re-evaluates what remains of the Croatian Bona Mors artistic heritage by integrating these works into confraternal pious practices. She underscores the Jesuits' remarkable ability to promote their sodalities by unifying devotions and using strategies of fidelity to the Supreme Pontiff and Rome.

In the following essay, Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke reinforces the Jesuits' particular attention to uniformity in the statutes, privileges, and indulgences assigned to the Marian Congregations, but she also observes that decisions regarding the decoration and furnishings of the Marian altars and assembly rooms were left to the individual groups. A significant part of this artistic legacy that has not been examined is the graphic production of the Marian confraternities within the Jesuits' Austrian Province, conserved in their archive in Vienna. Appuhn-Radtke clarifies the many essential functions of these previously unpublished membership certificates that were engraved, printed, and distributed across Austria and southern Germany from the second half of the 17th to the early 19th century. In addition to including the requisite Jesuit iconography—for example, a sheet from Ingolstadt depicts its own miraculous image, a copy of the Roman *Salus Populi Romani*—the certificates were embellished with city views and illustrations of the confraternities' own splendid altars and chapels. Since many of these structures no longer survive, the engraved sheets are crucial evidence of their former splendor.

Mirjana Repanić-Braun returns us to Croatia, where confraternities in the northern regions have been less thoroughly studied than those along the Adriatic coast. She provides a wealth of documentation about the confraternities founded at Franciscan churches and friaries in the Croatian Franciscan Province of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, and offers fresh insights into their significant religious and artistic heritage. For example, she notes the exponential growth of confraternities dedicated to the Cord of St. Francis that were instituted at all the friaries of the Province—encouraged, one might suggest, by the confraternal seat in Assisi having been raised to an archconfraternity in 1585 and lavished with indulgences by the Franciscan Pope Sixtus V. Moreover, Repanić-Braun alerts us to the confluence of other devotions in those same Franciscan churches. For example, having a Dominican Rosary altar was by no means remarkable, since Rosary iconography appeared almost regularly in most Franciscan and parish churches in northern Croatia owing to its prominence in Catholic spirituality. So, too, confraternities

⁶ Cvetnić notes that in the recovered territories, mosques were often converted into churches and consecrated to saints because they provided the only available spaces large enough for Catholic liturgical ceremonies. Their reuse underscored the Church's victory over the "infidel" and the return of Catholicism to Croatia.

of the Holy Scapular, a Carmelite devotion, could be found in the Franciscan churches alongside more typical Franciscan confraternities, such as those dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua. Perhaps this fluidity was, in part, indicative of the Order's effort to keep the faithful for themselves because the Jesuits had become serious competitors with their flourishing Good Death confraternities and Marian Congregations.

Matija Ogrin considers how the cultural environment of Slovenian confraternities resulted in their commissioning some of the most expressive early modern literary work written in Slovenian, most of which remains in manuscript form and is unpublished. He focuses on selected Baroque examples and breathes new life into understudied dramatic texts, most importantly the spectacular Passion plays performed by the brethren. His singular overview of a wide range of literary genres considers meditative prose, poems, hymnals, and sermons of outstanding quality, and introduces thought-provoking suggestions about their resonance in religious art. Slovenian confraternities also played vital roles in printing and publishing books. Again we turn to the highly influential Jesuit Marian Congregations. The Marian sodality established in Ljubljana in 1605 was an intellectual powerhouse that published dozens of devotional books in Latin, the first editions of classical authors to appear in the Slovenian lands, as well as books by highly renowned recent and even contemporary authors of the Catholic renewal. For those with little knowledge of Latin, the Holy Rosary Confraternity published the earliest Slovenian form of the complete Rosary in 1678, accompanied by contemplative prayers, which was widely used as a result of its accessibility and vivid literary style.

Martin Scheutz presents a range of little-explored written sources that are crucial for understanding the dynamic agency of Austrian confraternities during the early modern period. First and foremost, the sodalities needed to reform certain (im)pious practices in an effort to counter Martin Luther's scathing critiques. The brotherhoods were aided by the watchful eyes of local ecclesiastical authorities, who, in their copious visitation reports, kept tabs on membership numbers, financial portfolios, real estate holdings, liturgical furnishings for the proper celebration of the divine offices, etc. Scheutz meticulously unpacks the detailed visitation reports of 1617 and 1619, then turns to the confraternities' own wealth of archival material to supply additional information: registers of living and dead members, books of protocols and statutes, account ledgers, inventories, etc. He also notes the confraternities' substantial printing needs, together with their literary production, that supported local printing establishments, a subject highlighted by Matija Ogrin in the previous essay. Equally important in understanding the Austrian brotherhoods are the illustrated engravings—often depicting a miracle-working image—that were presented as New Year's gifts, and the multi-purpose matriculation certificates, also discussed by Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke. But another key print medium, as Scheutz points out, kept confraternities in the public eye: beginning in 1703, the *Wiener Diarium*, the earliest, continuously published daily newspaper that appears today as the *Wiener Zeitung*, carried up-to-date information about their activities. Not only did reports abound with descriptions of the great Roman archconfraternities, their magnificent processions, and generous philanthropic activities, but news about local brotherhoods also filled the pages, including lists of newly elected officers, deceased brethren, even those to whom the sodalities had lent money. Following the confraternities' suppression in 1783, the *Diarium* reported and illustrated the wealth of precious objects that were to be auctioned, allowing readers to confront the fate of this rich cultural heritage.

Rather than end on a note of loss, it seems appropriate to conclude the volume with the resplendent celestial visions painted on the ceilings of the Late Baroque pilgrimage churches in the Diocese of Augsburg. Angelika Dreyer explains that from the mid-18th century, the confraternal patrons responded to the principles emphasized by Catholic Enlightenment theologians, who recognized in the brotherhoods powerful instruments to fulfill their reform agenda. Their program

promulgated Christological devotion, paying special attention to Jesus' terrible suffering and agonizing death, encouraged new confraternal foundations with these dedications, and strongly endorsed the salvific power of grace and the Sacraments, particularly penance, while de-emphasizing veneration of Our Lady, inculcated by the ubiquitous Rosary confraternities. However, the calls for increased charitable works to replace sumptuous confraternal displays in processions, obsequies, and church decoration went in large part unheeded. Nonetheless, the monumental frescoes filling these churches exhibited a new simplicity in design and clarity in message by adhering closely to the biblical text—tenets that the Council of Trent had decreed explicitly in 1563, and the Catholic Enlightenment reaffirmed. Only in the late decoration of the parochial church in Haag am Amper (1764/65, 1783), as Dreyer demonstrates, did the appeal for a renewed focus on charity in this world, rather than rewards in the theater of the hereafter, take shape, but only as a swan song.

The breadth and evolution of devotions inspired by post-Tridentine pious practices, new philanthropic initiatives, accounts of political pressure from local, imperial, and ecclesiastical authorities, economic exigencies, and the diversity of civic spaces in which confraternities flourished are themes elucidated throughout the volume. So, too, are the histories of the churches, hospitals, chapels, and oratories they constructed and adorned with lavish altarpieces, extensive frescoes, and magnificent ceilings. The essays explore celebrated miracle-working icons that protected Polish cities from war and plague. Polychrome and gilded sculptures at confraternal altars across Croatia and the Slovenian lands took on vibrant life in flickering candlelight. So, too, complex multi-figured sculptural groups seemed animated as they were reverently carried aloft in processions by Genoese and Ligurian confraternal brethren. Prayer books, hymnals, membership certificates, all filled with engraved images, literally illuminated confraternal aspirations as did monumental murals and illusionistic paintings overhead.

Throughout the essays a number of significant issues appear and reappear. Foremost among them are the powerful roles played by the Mendicants and the Jesuits in establishing confraternities, the resulting competition for membership, and the critical place of national and civic identity in confraternal culture. In addition to presenting new archival research that documents brotherhoods and the works they commissioned, the essays demonstrate that much more study is required to integrate confraternities in a broader and more nuanced understanding of early modern religious, social, economic, and cultural history throughout Europe. A truly comprehensive history of art and architecture cannot exist without recognizing the contributions of confraternities, which were so crucial to their development.



DISSERTATIONES

Die Marianische Versammlung
 Der Ledigen Mänsperſonen unter dem Titel
 der Unbefleckten Empfängnis MARIA,
 in der Kurfürſtlichen Haupt und Reſidenzſtadt
 München. würdſchret allen und jeden, dem dieſer
 Zeugnißbrief zu handen kömmt, ewige Gnade
 und Segen Chriſti unſers Herrn.

Gegenwärtiger Ehr und tugendſamer *Lehrer* *Paul Weber*
 iſt Unſerer Marianiſchen Verſammlung ordentlich einverleibt
 worden und hat ſich iederzeit als ein Würdiges Mitglied derſelben betragen
 da er nun aber anderſtwehru zureiten geſinet iſt haben Wir ihm Krafft
 ſes briefs, welcher mit unſern aufgedruckten Inſigl und des Herrn
 ſecten und Secretary Namen unterzeichnet iſt, aller orten
 als anempfehlen wollen, mit bitte, man möchte ihn als eines
 derer Mitglieder erkennen, gubwillig an und aufnehmen,
 deſſes Wir dem auch gebühr zuerwiedrigen Verſprechen
 gegeben in München den 21. Nov. 1793.

PRÆFECTUS

*Jofann Ignaz
 Schmid Buchbinder*



SECRETARIUS

*Wolfgang
 Rebyan
 Wagner*

Archconfraternities and the Arts

Overarching New Themes

Barbara Wisch

The English priest Gregory Martin, who sojourned in Rome from 1576 to 1578 and composed a manuscript titled *Roma Sancta* in 1581, wrote that “other Cities of Italie have the like Confraternities belonging unto these of Rome and dependant of them as of the greater and elder and more honorable and (at a word) as the lesser on the grand and mother Companies of the Mother Citie.”¹ Although Martin did not use the term “archconfraternity”, he was in fact attesting to these specially selected Roman brotherhoods, elevated by the pope himself to this prestigious rank. Archconfraternities accrued the most impressive indulgences and were also officially empowered to aggregate comparable sodalities, sharing spiritual benefits and privileges. Roman archconfraternities set the standard for an expanding global network in terms of devotional practices, rules of governance, indulgences, and even confraternal attire, such as the color of the hooded, sackcloth habit bearing the confraternal emblem.

Since the 14th century, confederations among Roman confraternities had occurred, and during the 15th and 16th centuries, affiliated groups from outside the city increased. However, the year 1520 marked a new development: the designation of the rank of “archconfraternity”. Prior to the conclusion of the Council of Trent in 1563, this was a very exclusive group comprising only five archconfraternities. But from the last quarter of the 16th century, spurred by the enthusiastic support of Pope Gregory XIII (reigned 1572–1585), the number of archconfraternities increased dramatically, an expansion that continued to the end of the early modern period. If all roads did indeed lead to Rome, then archconfraternities and their aggregated brotherhoods were the ideal embodiment of a devout Catholic laity united at the heart of the Eternal City. Archconfraternities were also an evangelical vehicle for spreading the “good news” of a reformed and triumphant Apostolic Roman Church across the globe.

Despite their importance, there is still no monographic study of Roman archconfraternities. Canon law scholars have addressed the juridical implications of this new rank meticulously,² but a true *history* of archconfraternities—synchronic or diachronic—is needed. This paper is, therefore,

¹ Gregory MARTIN, *Roma Sancta* (ed. George Bruner Parks), Roma 1969, p. 197. I shall use interchangeably the names confraternities called themselves in their own records: *confraternita* (confraternity), *fraternita* (brotherhood), *sodalizio* (sodality), *compagnia* (company), and “*archiconfraternità*”, today’s *arciconfraternita* (archconfraternity).

² Edmund QUINN, *Archconfraternities, Archsodalities and Primary Unions with a Supplement of the Archconfraternity of Christian Mothers*, Washington, D.C. 1962 (Canon Law Studies from the Catholic University of America, 421); Mirella MOMBELLI CASTRACANE, Ricerche sulla natura giuridica delle confraternite nell’età della controriforma, *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano*, 55, 1982, pp. 43–166.

a *prolegomenon* to a broader study of Roman archconfraternities, their influential cardinal protectors, and their patronage of the arts. I hope to identify new themes and pose many questions. Most significantly for this international conference, I have asked the participants—and here in this essay, ask confraternal scholars in general—to consider how these Roman regulations and patterns might have been emulated, manipulated, exploited, or ignored by confraternities across the Slovenian lands, the European continent, and the far-flung regions newly converted to Catholicism. First, I briefly examine new ecclesiastical decrees that controlled archconfraternities and/or incentivized support. Second, I look at the practical ways Roman brotherhoods served as paradigms. Next, since no definitive list exists, I begin to establish a chronology for the earliest Roman archconfraternities along with the names of their cardinal protectors. I then interpret the crucial role of the cardinal protector, elucidating his interwoven networks of jurisdiction, and underscoring confraternal expectations of his generous patronage of art and architecture.

Efforts at Control and Incentivizing Support

In the late Middle Ages, when laymen were first assembling and forming confraternities, there was no canon law specifying requirements for the institution or control of sodalities. Furthermore, it remains unclear how long after the original foundation of these pious unions they sought canonical institution (*erectio*) with episcopal approval, thereby establishing an official path for receiving spiritual privileges and indulgences.³ As late as the 1540s, attempts to place confraternities firmly under episcopal supervision and standardize devotional practices remained ineffective. Only as the Council of Trent (1545–1563) was drawing to a close, did it devote two brief chapters in Session XXII of 1562 to “pious places /.../ in the hands of laymen”, specifically placing confraternities, hospitals, colleges, and their charitable legacies under episcopal control.⁴ This included the inspection of their premises (including altarpieces and frescoes), account ledgers, and inventories of liturgical furnishings, hospital equipment, etc. The pastoral visitations necessitated accurate registers of their substantial real estate holdings, a primary source of income. Detailed survey plans were required, generating the great *Libri delle case* [*Books of the Houses*], a rich source for research that remains to be thoroughly explored.⁵ Digitizing and overlaying these plans on contemporary maps of Rome would reveal the extent of confraternal property throughout the early modern era and document the integral place of (arch)confraternities in the civic fabric.

³ Luigi FIORANI, Discussioni e ricerche sulle confraternite romane negli ultimi cento anni, *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma*, 6, 1985, pp. 11–105, especially pp. 55–62, where he encouraged scholars to reassess the foundation dates and number of Roman sodalities, taking into account multiple earlier aggregations, time lapses between original devotional assemblies and papal approval, as well as more informal associations without official recognition. He did not, however, look specifically at archconfraternities.

⁴ *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (trans. Henry Joseph Schroeder), St. Louis 1960, pp. 156–157 (Session XXII, Chaps. 8–9).

⁵ Angela MARINO, I “Libri delle case” di Roma. La città disegnata, *Il disegno di architettura* (eds. Paolo Carpeggiani, Luciano Patetta), Milano 1989, pp. 149–153; Roberto FREGNA, *La pietrificazione del denaro. Studi sulla proprietà urbana tra XVI e XVII secolo*, Bologna 1990; Carla KEYVANIAN, The “Books of Houses” and their Architects. Mapping the Urban Fabric of Sixteenth-Century Rome, *Thresholds*, 28, 2005, pp. 17–22; David FRIEDMAN, Visual Documents, Property Archives, and the Map of the City of Rome 1563–1712, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 71, 2012, pp. 278–305. The earliest surviving example (1563) belongs to the Compagnia della SS. Annunziata at S. Maria sopra Minerva, which was elevated to an archconfraternity in 1581.

As part of his stringent program of visitation and reform, Clement VIII issued the bull *Quaecumque* in 1604 to establish norms for erecting new confraternities, in part to prevent the rapidly growing numbers of brotherhoods from duplicating cultic and charitable imperatives. In addition, sodalities were not permitted to aggregate with more than one archconfraternity, thereby preventing unauthorized efforts to acquire a richer patrimony of indulgences, so crucial in the Catholic economy of salvation. In addition to the “prestige” accrued by association and the extraordinary wealth of indulgences made immediately available to new members, the desire to aggregate was further animated by the hospitality offered to visiting affiliated companies during Holy Year celebrations. This was significant as pilgrimages to the Eternal City and processional visits to the Principal Churches had grown in stature and splendor from 1575 onward.⁶

In 1607, Paul V reconfirmed Clement’s bull while mandating three major exemptions from the prohibitions of founding multiple sodalities with the same dedication within a diocese: Dottrina Cristiana, SS. Rosario, and SS. Sacramento. The Compagnia della Dottrina Cristiana, which had assumed responsibility for adolescent catechetical education in Rome, had been founded in 1560, although Pius V (reigned 1566–1572) only authorized their constitutions in 1566. Impressed with their success, in 1571 the pontiff exhorted bishops across Christendom to create Christian Doctrine sodalities in every parish. Paul V subsequently raised the Dottrina Cristiana to an archconfraternity in 1607, reinforcing his decree of that year.⁷

Owing to their ardent promulgation of Catholic orthodoxy and the extirpation of heresy, the same exemption was applied to the Roman confraternities of SS. Rosario (instituted in 1481) and SS. Sacramento (instituted in 1539), both having been erected under the aegis of the Observant Dominicans at their mother church of S. Maria sopra Minerva. Although these confraternities were not the first in Rome (or elsewhere) to venerate the Rosary or the Holy Sacrament, the papacy conceded special archconfraternal-like status to affiliate other sodalities and share their rich indulgences, although they remained under the jurisdiction of the General of the Dominican Order.⁸ In 1573 SS. Sacramento was officially elevated to an archconfraternity; the Compagnia del SS. Rosario was not, although by the mid-17th century, texts called the Minerva sodality “archiconfraternità”.⁹

⁶ Barbara WISCH, *The Roman Church Triumphant. Pilgrimage, Penance and Processions Celebrating the Holy Year of 1575, “All the world’s a stage ...” Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque* (eds. Barbara Wisch, Susan Scott Munshower), 1, University Park 1990 (Papers in Art History from The Pennsylvania State University, 6), pp. 82–117.

⁷ Sergio RIVABENE, *L’insegnamento catechistico dell’Archiconfraternita della Dottrina Cristiana a Roma nei secc. XVI–XVII*, *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 105, 1982, pp. 295–314.

⁸ QUINN 1962 (n. 2), pp. 11–24; Gilles Gérard MEERSSEMAN, Gian Piero PACINI, *Le confraternite laicali in Italia dal Quattrocento al Seicento*, *Problemi di storia della Chiesa nei secoli XV–XVII*, Napoli 1979, pp. 109–136, especially pp. 129–132; MOMBELLI CASTRACANE 1982 (n. 2), pp. 64–67; Christopher F. BLACK, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge 1989, pp. 62–68.

⁹ When Pius V credited Mary’s intercession—invoked by Rosary prayers—for the victory at the Battle of Lepanto (7 October 1571), he instituted a new feast that dramatically spurred devotion and concomitant confraternities. In 1586, Sixtus V established the norms for erecting Rosary confraternities; see MOMBELLI CASTRACANE 1982 (n. 2), p. 65: n. 49. Carlo Bartolomeo PIAZZA, *Opere pie di Roma, descritte secondo lo stato presente e dedicate alla Santità di N. S. Innocenzo XI / ... /*, Roma 1679, pp. 365–366, comments that although he placed SS. Rosario in Trattato VI on archconfraternities, it was not actually elevated to that rank; the same held true for confraternities under the jurisdiction of other religious Orders. See *Capitoli Statuti et Ordinationi della Venerabile Compagnia del Santissimo Rosario / ... /*, Roma 1585 (“Ad istanza della Compagnia del SS. Rosario” Per gli heredi d’Antonio Blando); *Il modo di dire il Santissimo Rosario a chori, come lo dice l’Archiconfraternità di quello della Minerva di Roma*, Roma 1650; *Sommario delle indulgenze concesse a Fratelli, e Sorelle del Santissimo Rosario in vita, & in morte / ... /*,

Such blurring of the terminology contributes to the difficulty (addressed below) of creating a definitive chronological list of Roman archconfraternities.¹⁰

Many archconfraternities had their own richly decorated churches, oratories, and chapels, attesting to their wealth, prominence, and independence.¹¹ In 1573, upon mandating that the newly established feast of the Madonna del Rosario be celebrated in all Roman churches and oratories, Gregory XIII added that every church should have a chapel dedicated to the Rosary, further fostering confraternal patronage.¹² By 1601, 17 Sacrament sodalities existed in Rome, many with their own private oratories, demonstrating their growing importance and affluence. Nonetheless, to ensure proper supervision and control, in 1610, the Vicar General of Rome prohibited the introduction of new altars and paintings in all Roman confraternal churches without his express permission.¹³

Despite the preeminence of the Eternal City, archconfraternities were also created beyond the ancient walls. From 1569, Cardinal-Archbishop Carlo Borromeo elevated confraternities in the Diocese of Milan as part of his comprehensive reform program.¹⁴ In 1585, Pope Sixtus V conferred archconfraternal status on S. Maria della Vita, the oldest flagellant sodality in Bologna with its prominent church and large hospital in the city center. As Nicholas Terpstra has cogently remarked, the centralized hierarchy that had created “ties of dependence between autonomous lay brotherhoods across the Italian peninsula and Roman parent bodies /.../ was now duplicated on the urban level as S. Maria della Vita became the parent over ten other Bolognese confraternities.” As early as 1583, the statutes issued to all newly instituted Bolognese sodalities had been standardized by Cardinal-Archbishop Gabriele Paleotti, who emulated Borromeo’s model in Milan.¹⁵ Questions for further investigation include: How many other cities across the Catholic world were also developing their own archconfraternal systems? Which cardinal-archbishops sponsored them? How widespread were their networks?

Venezia 1668; and *Relazione della solenne processione fatta a Roma nell'Anno Santo M.DC.LXXV dall'Archiconfraternità del Santissimo Rosario*, Roma 1675.

¹⁰ Despite apostolic efforts to organize and standardize the procedures of archconfraternities and aggregations, much dissent from below (efforts to maintain independence and less oversight) and juridical ambivalence from above remained. In 1746, Benedict XIV even tried to suppress archconfraternities owing to administrative irregularities; see Roberto RUSCONI, *Confraternite, compagnie e devozioni*, *Storia d'Italia. Annali*, 9, 1986, pp. 469–506, especially p. 501: n. 1. A decree from the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences of 1880 and Chapter 707 of the *Codex iuris canonici* [*Codex of Canon Law*] of 1917 were still needed to clarify issues; see QUINN 1962 (n. 2), pp. 29–109; MOMBELLI CASTRACANE 1982 (n. 2), p. 65.

¹¹ Matizia MARONI LUMBROSO, Antonio MARTINI, *Le confraternite romane nelle loro chiese*, Roma 1963.

¹² MARONI LUMBROSO, MARTINI 1963 (n. 11), pp. 346–347. For the 1573 decoration of the confraternity’s new chapel in the Minerva that conserved the body of S. Caterina da Siena, see Simona CAPELLI, Marcello Venusti e la volta della Cappella Capranica in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Roma, *Bollettino d'arte*, 87, 2002, fasc. 119, pp. 73–80.

¹³ Domenico ROCCIOLO, *Confraternite e devoti a Roma in età moderna. Fonti e problemi storiografici*, *Confréries et dévotions dans la catholicité moderne mi-XV^e-début XIX^e siècle* (eds. Bernard Dompnier, Paola Vismara), Roma 2008 (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 393), pp. 61–75, especially p. 71, quoting Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma, *Bandi ed editi*, 1586–1672, fol. 93.

¹⁴ BLACK 1989 (n. 8), p. 74.

¹⁵ Nicholas TERPSTRA, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 221–225.

Setting an Example

In what practical ways were Roman archconfraternities exemplary? First and foremost, their statute books served as definitive models. Their own reformed statutes had incorporated Tridentine regulations, requiring that the books add many new chapters assiduously delineating confraternal life. These now encompassed: individual and collective prayers; papal indulgences; penalty fees for transgressions; and more rules for the growing numbers of officials (including a cardinal protector) as well as accountants, lawyers, priests, chaplains, and even additional porters to transport the lavish furnishings for festivities.¹⁶ The application process and patents for aggregation were significantly detailed in several chapters. From the early 17th century onward, the majority of *guardiani* (chief officials) were required to be noblemen, reflecting the “aristocratization” of Roman society.¹⁷ In addition, foundation stories were reinvented to aggrandize confraternal origins, pious fictions that have received little scholarly attention.¹⁸

Statutes also articulated the roles of *consorelle* (female members), which reflected their exclusions in civic life. Serving as *guardiano* was out of the question, but the *priora* (prioress)—a matron of a certain age and status elected by the women—was highly respected. Although confraternal oratories were predominantly barred to women, *consorelle* participated in other devotional practices and charitable work. From the later Quattrocento, women even helped represent the public face of Roman sodalities, as dowering indigent maidens became a confraternal charity celebrated by processions in which the prioress and *consorelle* accompanied the girls.¹⁹ By the late Cinquecento, when nobility was required for the office of prioress, elite women gained prominent positions, even that of *protettrice perpetuamente* (protectress for life). These new offices, I propose, should be studied to determine the extent of female power and influence.²⁰

Aggregated sodalities soon spanned the globe, creating an integrated web of pious practices, venerated images,²¹ and indulgences that effectively collapsed devotional and spatial distances by repeatedly converging at the eternal heart of Catholicism. By 1625, for example, the venerable Gonfalone, Rome’s oldest sodality, had aggregated almost 250 societies.²² As for images, in 1603,

¹⁶ MEERSSEMAN, PACINI 1979 (n. 8), pp. 132–136. Under Pius V, the *Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis ad usum confraternitatum* was developed to promote devotional conformity. For the proliferation of printed material on behalf of Roman confraternities, see Rose Marie SAN JUAN, *Rome. A City Out of Print*, Minneapolis 2001, pp. 95–128; Roberto RUSCONI, “Tesoro spirituale della compagnia.” I libri delle confraternite nell’Italia del ’500, *Confréries* 2008 (n. 13), pp. 3–38. For a discussion of the importance of confraternal texts in the Slovenian lands, see Matija OGRIN, Confraternities in the Slovenian Lands and their Significance for Baroque Slovenian Literature, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 23/2, 2018, pp. 233–243.

¹⁷ E.g. *Statuti della venerabile Archiconfraternita dei Santi Dodici Apostoli di Roma*, Roma 1588; *Statuti della venerabile Archiconfraternita della S.ma Nuntiata in Roma*, Roma 1614; *Statuti della venerabile Archiconfraternita della Santissima Madonna della Consolazione*, Roma 1644; *Statuti del venerabile Archiospidale di San Giacomo in Augusta nominato dell’Incurabili di Roma*, Roma 1659.

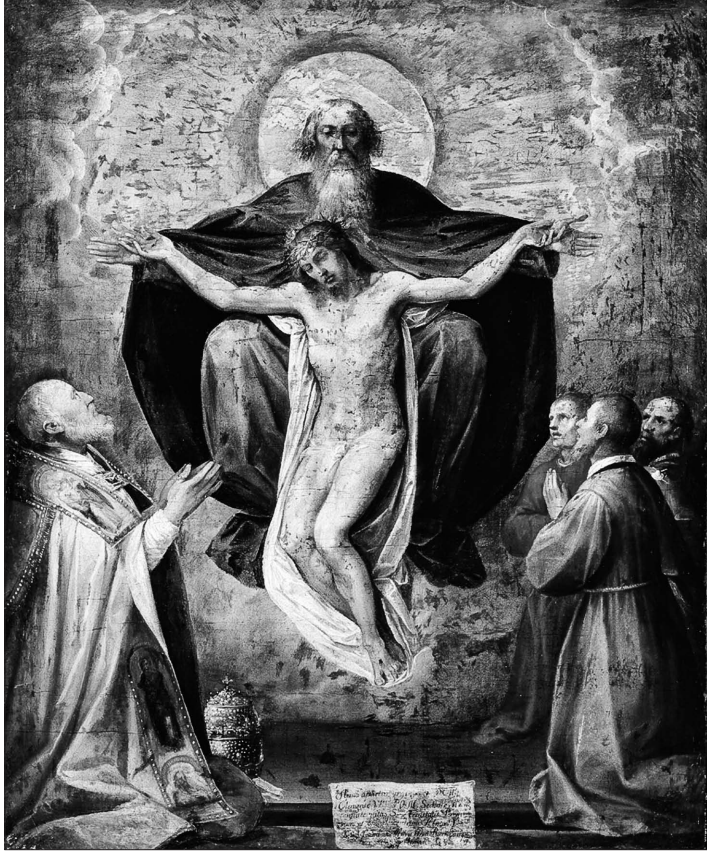
¹⁸ See Barbara WISCH, Nerida NEWBIGIN, *Acting on Faith. The Confraternity of the Gonfalone in Renaissance Rome*, Philadelphia 2013 (Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts, 7), pp. 40–41.

¹⁹ SAN JUAN 2001 (n. 16), pp. 95–109; WISCH, NEWBIGIN 2013 (n. 18), pp. 70–74.

²⁰ See n. 45 below.

²¹ For one of the earliest and most significant copies of the preeminent *Salus Populi Romani* icon of S. Maria Maggiore, see Krzysztof J. CZYŻEWSKI, Marek WALCZAK, The Archconfraternity of the Rosary in the Dominican Churches of Kraków. Piety and Patronage of the Arts, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 23/2, 2018, pp. 139–162.

²² Vincenzo PAGLIA, Contributo allo studio delle confraternite romane dei secoli XV–XVI, *Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa*, 17/18, 1980, pp. 233–285, especially pp. 266–268.



1. Giuseppe Cesari,
called Il Cavalier d'Arpino:
*The Trinity Adored by Pope Clement VIII
and Confratelli*,
oil on canvas, 1602–1603,
Museo Nacional de San Carlos,
Mexico City

responding to a request from its new Mexico City affiliate and a 40 *scudi* “donation”, the archconfraternity of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti sent a painting of *The Trinity Adored by Pope Clement VIII and Confratelli* by Giuseppe Cesari, demonstrating the direct reception of an iconographic type (fig. 1).²³ By 1603, the Trinità had aggregated 314 companies.²⁴ Is this the only painting they sent abroad? How many other archconfraternities did the same?

Providing accommodation for visiting affiliates during Holy Years became a new responsibility for Roman archconfraternities, which further encouraged sodalities to join their ranks. In addition, the Jubilee of 1575 inaugurated entry processions as formalized affairs, and processional visits to the Four Principal Basilicas became the new manner of “earning” the Holy Year plenary indulgence (fig. 2). Affiliated societies responded to these new rituals by presenting their processional standards to the host company, in addition to more typical donations of wine, oil, and grain.²⁵ Because these grand, elaborate banners gained status as representational gifts, I suggest that we reassess their role in ephemeral and permanent decorative programs and attend to the prominent artists as well as artisans who created them.

²³ Marco PUPILLO, *La SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini di Roma. Artisti e committenti al tempo di Caravaggio*, Roma 2001, pp. 28–35. Clement VIII’s 1604 bull prohibited fees for affiliation.

²⁴ Luigi CAJANI, *Lungo le strade che portavano a Roma. Le confraternite aggregate all’Arciconfraternita della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti (XVI–XIX secolo)*, *Poveri in cammino. Mobilità e assistenza tra Umbria e Roma in età moderna* (ed. Alberto Monticone), Milano 1993, pp. 339–408, including one from Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in 1593.

²⁵ WISCH 1990 (n. 6), p. 85.



2. Étienne Dupérac (attrib.): *Le sette chiese di Roma*, published by Antonio Lafreri in Rome, etching with engraving, 1575, British Museum, London

Developing a Chronology of Roman Archconfraternities

How helpful are early modern sources in establishing an accurate chronological list of Roman archconfraternities? Gregory Martin devoted Chapter 29 to “the Confraternities or Companies of Rome”, listing 24 in order of importance. He was primarily interested in their then current devotional and charitable functions. Although he took note of “the grand and mother Companies of the Mother Citie”, he provided no specific information about them.²⁶

In 1601, Camillo Fanucci, a devout *confratello* of five sodalities, provided a panoramic “eye-witness” account of the 99 active in Rome in the first published account of early modern Roman confraternities.²⁷ The volume, written not as a history, per se, but as an encomium of Rome’s “pious works”, inaugurated a new literary genre that flourished in 17th-century Rome. Fanucci did not carefully distinguish those groups elevated to archconfraternal status—perhaps unnecessary before Clement VIII’s 1604 bull.

²⁶ MARTIN 1963 (n. 1), pp. 203, 197; Martin reported a “Cardinal protector of each Companie” of Rome (p. 204), which was not entirely correct.

²⁷ Camillo FANUCCI, *Trattato di tutte l'Opere pie dell'Alma Città di Roma. Nel quale si descrivono tutti gli spedali, confraternite, & altri luoghi pij, de quali tutti, o la maggior parte hanno facultà di comunicare i loro privilegi, & indulgenze; & si dichiara da chi sieno state instituite dette opere, di che tempo, & quello che fanno, & molte altre cose curiose da intendersi*, Roma 1601.

However, Abbot Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza, in his *Opere pie di Roma* of 1679 and in the second revised edition of 1699, devoted a full section or *trattato* to them, titled “Dell’Archiconfraternità”.²⁸ The later imprint listed 41 archconfraternities in Rome, recording their dates of foundation and elevation, together with differing opinions regarding those histories.

The most comprehensive modern account of Roman confraternities and their churches—a repertory of almost 200 foundations (1264–1923)—was published by Matizia Maroni Lumbroso and Antonio Martini in *Le confraternite romane nelle loro chiese* in 1963. The authors of this fundamental and groundbreaking book provide a chronological list of confraternal foundations. However, they use the archconfraternal title as if it had been granted from the outset. This has caused considerable confusion in subsequent scholarship. Therefore, it is imperative to create a list of archconfraternities with their exact dates of elevation in order to initiate a synthetic analysis of this phenomenon, as I have done in Diagram 1.²⁹ In addition, the papal designation of “archiospedale” (archhospital), typically administered by confraternal brethren, increases the complexity and begs further research.³⁰

Historians now accept that the Compagnia della Carità, initiated c. 1519 by the Cardinal-Vice Chancellor Giulio de’ Medici, became Rome’s first archconfraternity. Within a year of its origin, the Carità numbered 80 brethren, comprising bishops, prelates, curial officials, and gentlemen. In his 1520 bull of approval, Giulio’s cousin, Leo X (reigned 1513–1521), simultaneously elevated the sodality to the new rank of archconfraternity. Cardinal Giulio was elected the archconfraternity’s protector and served until he assumed the papal throne as Clement VII in 1523. The Carità was renamed S. Girolamo della Carità in 1524 upon being assigned a new seat in the church dedicated to St. Jerome in the Regola district. It became one of the greatest and most influential Roman confraternal institutions, inspiring new sodalities, philanthropies, and religious Orders in its wake.³¹

Devout laymen had already been meeting at S. Girolamo for prayer and assistance to the poor by the time Filippo Neri (1515–1595), known for his deep commitment to hospital work, joined the group. Neri became a spiritual founder of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti, instituted in 1548. The Trinità, which soared to fame in the Holy Year of 1550 by caring for indigent pilgrims, was elevated to archconfraternity in 1562, the fifth to be so honored. By the Holy Year of 1600, popes and the most powerful cardinals had allied themselves with SS. Trinità.³²

Increasingly, clerics played prominent leadership roles, especially in new brotherhoods that gained archconfraternal status at the time of their official foundations. The Archiconfraternità delli Orphani [*sic*] at S. Maria in Aquiro was instituted in 1540 by Cardinal Gian Domenico de Cupis, who was concurrently serving as cardinal protector of the Carità. The brethren comprised cardinals, prelates, and curial officials, including the vicar of Rome, the pope’s almoner, and the cardinal-nephew

²⁸ PIAZZA 1679 (n. 9). Carlo Bartolomeo PIAZZA, *Euseuologio romano, ovvero Delle opere pie di Roma; accresciuto, & ampliato secondo lo stato presente; con due trattati delle accademie, e librerie celebri di Roma*, Roma 1699.

²⁹ MARONI LUMBROSO, MARTINI 1963 (n. 11), pp. 441–442.

³⁰ Alessandro CANEZZA, *Gli arcispedali di Roma nella vita cittadina nella storia e nell’arte*, Roma 1933; Domenico ROTELLA, *Ospedali romani e confraternite dal XIII al XVIII secolo*, Roma 2013. The question of archhospitals cannot be addressed here.

³¹ MEERSSEMAN, PACINI 1979 (n. 8), pp. 129–132; Andrea CARLINO, L’Arciconfraternita di San Girolamo della Carità. L’origine e l’ideologia assistenziale, *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 107, 1984, pp. 275–306; Daniela SOLFAROLI CAMILLOCCI, *I devoti della Carità. Le confraternite del Divino Amore nell’Italia del primo cinquecento*, Napoli 2002, pp. 157–200.

³² PUPILLO 2001 (n. 23).

Diagram 1: Towards a Chronology of Roman Archconfraternities

1. **Arciconfraternita della Carità—founded c. 1519
archconfraternity in 1520**
(founded by Cardinal-Vice Chancellor Giulio de' Medici; canonically erected in 1520 as an archconfraternity; called S. Girolamo della Carità beginning in 1524)
First Cardinal Protector: Giulio de' Medici (1520–1523), elected Clement VII (reigned 1523–1534)
2. **Arciconfraternita degli Orfani at S. Maria in Aquiro—founded 1540
archconfraternity in 1540**
(founded by Cardinal Gian Domenico de Cupis; canonically erected in 1540 as an archconfraternity)
First Cardinal Protector: Gian Domenico de Cupis (1540–1553); also Cardinal Protector of S. Girolamo della Carità (1531–1535, 1538–1553)
3. **Arciconfraternita dei SS. Rocco e Martino—founded 1499
archconfraternity in 1556, confirmed 1560**
4. **Arciconfraternita di S. Maria dell'Orazione e Morte—founded 1552 at S. Lorenzo in Damaso
archconfraternity in 1560**
5. **Arciconfraternita della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti—founded 1548
archconfraternity in 1562**
6. **Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello—founded 1519
archconfraternity in 1564**
7. **Arciconfraternita del SS. Sacramento at S. Maria sopra Minerva—founded 1539
archconfraternity in 1573**
8. **Arciconfraternita dello S. Spirito dei Napoletani—founded 1572
archconfraternity in 1576**
9. **Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone—founded 1260s
archconfraternity in 1579**
10. **Arciconfraternita del SS. Sacramento at S. Maria in Trastevere—founded 1564
archconfraternity in 1579**
11. **Arciconfraternita della Pietà dei Carcerati—founded c. 1575
archconfraternity in 1579**
(founded by the French Jesuit Jean Tellier; canonically erected in 1579 as an archconfraternity)
First Cardinal Protector: Felice Peretti di Montalto (1579–1585), elected Sixtus V (reigned 1585–1590)

Alessandro Farnese (to whom we shall return).³³ New companies that were founded by an ecclesiastic and filled with his peers seemed to have received papal approval and the rank of archconfraternity simultaneously.

A similar example is the Pietà dei Carcerati, founded by Jean Tellier who, with his fellow Jesuits, tended to prisoners. The Pietà was canonically erected in 1579 as an archconfraternity with Cardinal Felice Peretti di Montalto serving as protector until his election as Sixtus V (reigned 1585–1590). Sixtus's 15-year-old grand-nephew Alessandro Peretti di Montalto, who had just received the red hat, took over the position and held it until his death in 1623, when his cousin Cardinal Andrea Baroni Peretti Montalto, who had been living at Cardinal Alessandro's palace, served as cardinal protector (1623–1629). The Pietà had effectively become an archconfraternal fiefdom.³⁴ In 1585, Sixtus had assigned the archconfraternity the duties of commissioner of the galleys and visitor of the prisons, offices previously united under the Apostolic Treasury—making the Pietà an official arm of the governing body of Roman prisons with Peretti-Montalto cardinals in charge for almost a half-century.³⁵

As this brief series of examples indicates, a careful analysis of the development of all of Rome's early modern archconfraternities—which groups found favor, when, and why—would offer fascinating insights into Rome's confraternal history, the development of pan-European and global networks, and the geopolitical aspects of diplomacy when national confraternities were elevated. In addition, it would provide greater insight into patterns of patronage and artistic commissions, since particular families are known to have preferred certain painters, sculptors, and architects, a point to which I shall return.

The Office of Cardinal Protector

Brethren of Roman archconfraternities were required to elect a cardinal protector for life. The cardinal protector had full jurisdiction to defend the sodality in civil and criminal disputes. A vice protector might also be elected to oversee affairs when the protector was away from Rome for an extended period. Expectations of the protector's generous patronage and influence were high, especially when he was the cardinal-nephew. Yet no study—not even a partial list—of confraternal cardinal protectors has existed until now (Diagram 2). Moreover, cardinal protectors simultaneously oversaw and financially supported many brotherhoods as well as religious Orders and nations.³⁶ As Arnold A. Witte has cogently articulated, the same cardinal might also be the prestigious archpriest of a major basilica or the titular cardinal assigned to a church in Rome and therefore responsible for the spiritual and material upkeep of the church and its parish. These jurisdictions might

³³ *Statuti della venerabile Archiconfraternità delli Orphani di Roma*, Roma 1584; Lance Gabriel LAZAR, *Working in the Vineyard of the Lord. Jesuit Confraternities in Early Modern Italy*, Toronto 2005, p. 57.

³⁴ Edvige ALEANDRI BARLETTA, La confraternità di S. Caterina dei Funari e il suo archivio, *Rassegna degli archivi di stato*, 38, 1978, pp. 7–32, especially pp. 19–20, for the phrase “i piccoli feudi dei cardinali protettori.” See n. 45 below for Barberini control of the Sacre Stimmate di S. Francesco.

³⁵ Vincenzo PAGLIA, *La Pietà dei Carcerati. Confraternite e società a Roma nei secoli XVI–XVIII*, Roma 1980, pp. 197–198; LAZAR 2005 (n. 33), pp. 157–174. Appendix 1 supplies a selected list of papal bulls, etc. affecting Jesuit confraternities and similar initiatives, which needs to be completed and integrated into a study of the evolution of archconfraternities.

³⁶ Markus VÖLKEL, *Römische Kardinalshaushalte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Borghese, Barberini, Chigi*, Tübingen 1993, especially pp. 413–417.

**Diagram 2: Towards Establishing the Network of Cardinal Protectors
of 16th-Century Roman Archconfraternities**

Arciconfraternita degli Orfani at S. Maria in Aquiro—1540

Cardinal Protector Gian Domenico de Cupis (1540–1553)

Cardinal Protector ALESSANDRO FARNESE (1553?–1589)

Arciconfraternita di S. Maria dell’Orazione e Morte—1560

Cardinal Protector ALESSANDRO FARNESE (1560–1589)

Arciconfraternita della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti—1562

Cardinal Protector OTTO TRUCHSESS VON WALDBURG (1562–1573)

Cardinal Protector Ferdinando de’ Medici (1573–1588); Grand Duke of Tuscany (1587–1609)

Cardinal Protector ALESSANDRO PERETTI DI MONTALTO (1588–1623)

Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello—1564

Cardinal Protector RANUCCIO FARNESE (1561–1565)

Cardinal Protector ALESSANDRO FARNESE (1565–1589)

Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone—1579

Cardinal Protector Guido Ascanio Sforza (1563–1564)

Archpriest of S. Maria Maggiore (1543–1564)

Cardinal Protector Federico Cesi (1564–1565)

Cardinal Protector ALESSANDRO FARNESE (1565–1589)

Archpriest of S. Maria Maggiore (1537–1543)

Vice Protector [?] Cardinal OTTO TRUCHSESS VON WALDBURG (after 1564?–1573)

Vice Protector Cardinal Alessandro Sforza (1576 or earlier–1581)

Archpriest of S. Maria Maggiore (1572–1581)

Arciconfraternita della Pietà dei Carcerati—1579

Cardinal Protector FELICE PERETTI DI MONTALTO (1579–1585); Pope Sixtus V (reigned 1585–1590)

Cardinal Protector ALESSANDRO PERETTI DI MONTALTO (1585–1623)

Cardinal Protector ANDREA BARONI PERETTI MONTALTO (1623–1629)

overlap happily or breed conflicts. This was especially the case with national confraternities, when the protector of the nation differed from the confraternal protector or the protector of a national college (where missionary priests were trained) and still another held the titular title.³⁷

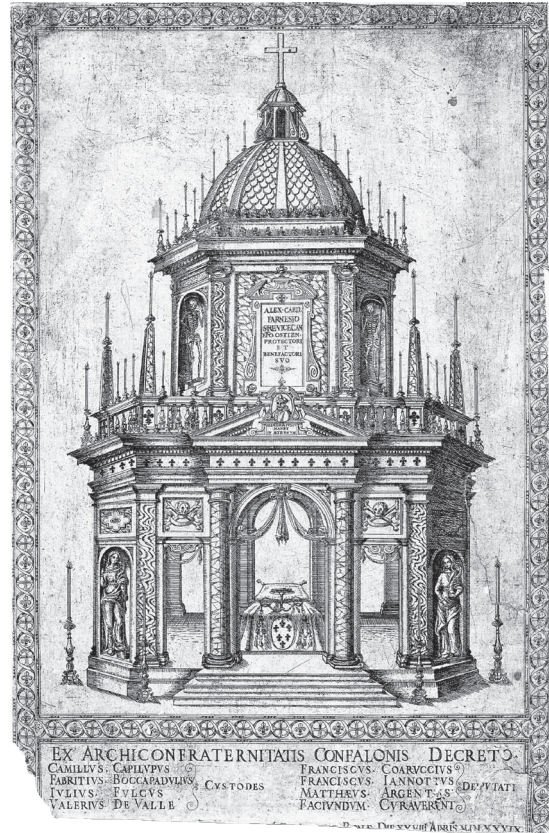
Even elaborate funerary ephemera vied to commemorate the protector and his family. For example, a grand *apparato* (temporary decorative program) with a catafalque honoring Cardinal-Vice

³⁷ I thank Professor Arnold A. Witte for sharing the unpublished text of his paper Protecting the Nation under Gregory XIII. A Potential Conflict of Interests, presented at the Renaissance Society of America Annual Meeting, Chicago, 31 March 2017: “These unclear legal limits and multiple obligations meant that cardinals had to manoeuvre carefully so as not to stand in one another’s way—an aspect that was stressed in treatises on the ideal cardinal of this very period.” For national protectors, see Josef WODKA, *Zur Geschichte der nationalen Protektorate der Kardinäle an der römischen Kurie*, Innsbruck 1967; Olivier PONCET, *La France et le pouvoir pontifical 1595–1661. L’esprit des institutions*, Roma 2011.

Chancellor Alessandro Farnese was designed by the renowned architect Girolamo Rainaldi for the obsequies (22 March 1589) held in Il Gesù; although the Jesuits had no cardinal protector, Farnese had personally funded the construction of their mother church. The Archconfraternity of the Gonfalone also commissioned Rainaldi to stage obsequies for its cardinal protector in its private oratory (4 May 1589; fig. 3). An etching was printed, as was the funeral oration, both clearly identifying the venerable archconfraternity as sponsor. Although commemorative Masses were celebrated for the cardinal in churches throughout Rome, the Gonfalone was the only one of his seven confraternal protectorates to adorn its space with a sumptuous catafalque accompanied by lavish ceremonies.³⁸ Rivalry between archconfraternities was often conspicuously displayed through ephemeral artistic commissions, even on the most solemn occasions. Again, this is a subject that requires considerable research.³⁹

Even if not promoted to archconfraternity, a sodality might be assigned a cardinal protector. Such was the case with the Compagnia delle Vergini Miserabili at the church of S. Caterina della Rosa (today's S. Caterina dei Funari). With the support of Ignatius of Loyola, it was initiated in 1542/1543 to found a conservatory for the daughters of prostitutes. Upon the approval of Pope Paul III, Cardinal Federico Cesi served as the protector from 1544 until his death in 1565.⁴⁰ In the last year of his life, Cesi was also elected cardinal protector of the Gonfalone—the position having only been established the previous year. At that time the Gonfalone had not yet been elevated to archconfraternal status, which only occurred in 1579. The new Tridentine regulations of 1562 concerning the ecclesiastical oversight of “pious places” presumably motivated this development.

Early on, Ignatius himself articulated another, highly practical view of the new position, which he saw as crucial for establishing and sustaining any confraternal foundation in Rome. In Pedro de Ribadeneira's *Life of Ignatius*, first published in Latin in 1572, his strategy was described as follows:



3. Girolamo Rainaldi: *Catafalque of Cardinal Protector Alessandro Farnese in the Oratory of the Gonfalone, Rome, etching, 28 April 1589, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles*

³⁸ Minou SCHRAVEN, *Festive Funerals in Early Modern Italy. The Art and Culture of Conspicuous Commemoration*, Farnham 2014, pp. 164–174. For the seven confraternities (including five archconfraternities), see below.

³⁹ For example, competition increased decidedly in 1650, when the French backed the Gonfalone and the Spanish supported SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello in constructing elaborate Maundy Thursday *macchine* (portable shrines) for the renowned flagellant procession to St. Peter's; see Montserrat MOLI FRIGOLA, "Pietas romana". Le Processioni, *Roma Sancta. La città delle basiliche* (eds. Marcello Fagiolo, Maria Luisa Madonna), Roma 1985, pp. 130–134.

⁴⁰ LAZAR 2005 (n. 33), pp. 71–98.

[Ignatius] would make his decision [to establish a confraternity] known to sober and wise men who were particularly inclined to works of charity. /.../ Having all discussed and examined the difficulties of the task they wanted to accomplish, they went to present it to noble, rich, and devout men, so that with their authority and alms the work could begin and be sustained. The first task was to elect some Cardinal of the Holy Church who seemed to them right for the job of Cardinal Protector. Then they set up the confraternity, wrote its statutes, put in place rules, and gave the orders by which to govern it and keep it afloat.⁴¹

The policy of Ignatius conformed seamlessly with that of the Church hierarchy. Stefano Andretta succinctly summed up the “new strategy of the Cardinal Protector /.../ [that] combined the construction of institutional power and its image with the regulation of private devotion.” He emphasized “how essential the ‘protection’ of holy places was to the successful assertion of ecclesiastical power and control in Rome [as well as] fundamental to maintaining a successful client network.”⁴² From this perspective of ecclesiastical careerism, the young Francesco de’ Medici (1594–1614), second son of Grand Duke Ferdinando, was advised to manifest his piety by becoming a cardinal protector of one of the most important sodalities—the Gonfalone, SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello, or SS. Trinità—“where all the good people of the court and of Rome gather.” He was encouraged to favor the archconfraternity not only with his presence on important occasions, but also with “noble expenses of splendor”, but he died too young to achieve these goals.⁴³ Significantly, before his father had exchanged his cardinal’s hat for the grand-ducal crown, Ferdinando had served as cardinal protector of SS. Trinità (1573–1588).

Let us turn to the 17th century and the three cardinals created by Pope Urban VIII (reigned 1623–1644). Francesco, a papal nephew, was elevated in 1623, followed by Antonio Senior, the pope’s younger brother, in 1624, and Antonio Junior, a younger nephew, in 1627. Markus Völkel, one of the few scholars who has included confraternal protectorates along with those of nations, religious Orders, monasteries, etc., discusses the various titles of the Barberini.⁴⁴ The Capuchin friar Antonio Senior was cardinal protector of the Vergini Miserabili. Antonio Junior, who served as cardinal chamberlain from 1638, headed two powerful archconfraternities, the Pietà dei Carcerati and SS. Trinità. But Francesco, vice chancellor of the Church from 1632, headed nine archconfraternities. To the four enumerated by Völkel—the Carità, Gonfalone, S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, and S. Rocco—must be added the three listed only as confraternities, which, as my research has shown, were in fact already elevated to the rank of archconfraternity: Orazione e Morte (in 1560), SS. Annunziata at the Minerva (in 1581), and the Cordiglieri del Cordone di S. Francesco at SS. Apostoli (in 1585). In addition, SS. Dodici Apostoli

⁴¹ LAZAR 2005 (n. 33), pp. 52–53.

⁴² Stefano ANDRETTA, Religious Life in Baroque Rome, *Rome–Amsterdam. Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (eds. Peter van Kessel, Elisja Schulte van Kessel), Amsterdam 1997, pp. 168–179, especially pp. 171–172 (“The Cardinal Protector”), but without mentioning confraternities.

⁴³ Irene FOSI, Immagini e poteri del cardinale nel Cinquecento fra tradizioni e censure, *Per il Cinquecento religioso italiano. Clero, cultura, società* (ed. Maurizio Sangalli), Roma 2003, pp. 625–634, especially p. 633: “dove si raccoglie tutto il buono della corte e di Roma.” Giovanni Battista DE LUCA, *Il cardinale della S.R. Chiesa pratico*, Roma 1680, pp. 168–169. In his discussion of the role of cardinal protector, Cardinal De Luca named the most powerful Roman archconfraternities: the Annunziata, Crocifisso, Trinità, Gonfalone, and Dodici Apostoli, an elite Jesuit foundation serving the *poveri vergognosi* (destitute noblemen too ashamed to beg).

⁴⁴ VÖLKELE 1993 (n. 36), pp. 414–417.



4. Guido Guidetti: *S. Caterina della Rosa* (today's *S. Caterina dei Funari*), 1560–1564, Rome

(in 1586) and the Sacre Stimmate di S. Francesco (in 1605)⁴⁵ were also under Francesco's protection. This brief discussion of the Barberini cardinals underscores the need for new, comprehensive studies of cardinal protectors, which will require intensive archival research.

Expectations of Patronage

This leads us to the symbiotic relationship of confraternal expectations of patronage. Wealthy confraternities, as we know, were major patrons of art and architecture, and although brethren of modest means could participate, the generosity of benefactors—especially cardinal protectors—was critical to the realization of these projects. The apostolic visitation of 1624 reported that 76 out of 116 lay sodalities maintained one or more autonomously controlled churches and/or oratories.⁴⁶ Some preserved older structures, while others were entirely rebuilt, inscribing new saintly and devotional dedications onto the sacred topography of the Eternal City.

⁴⁵ Six years before Francesco was elected cardinal protector in 1633, Costanza Barberini, sister-in-law of Urban VIII, was elected *priora* of the Sacre Stimmate. For her critical role in establishing Barberini hegemony in the archconfraternity, which lasted until 1704, see Alessandro SERRA, *Le "sacre stimmate de santo Francesco". Una confraternita e un culto nella Roma di Cinque-Seicento*, *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 18, 2007, pp. 305–352, especially pp. 332–333.

⁴⁶ Alessandro SERRA, *Spazi sacri e sacralizzazione degli spazi nelle confraternite romane d'età moderna*, *Brotherhood and Boundaries/Fraternità e barriere* (eds. Stefania Pastore, Adriano Prosperi, Nicholas Terpstra), Pisa 2011, pp. 133–155, especially p. 139.



5. Francesco Capriani da Volterra: Interior of the hospital-church of S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, begun 1590, Rome

Many confraternal churches stood at the vanguard of ecclesiastical architecture, a topic still in need of comprehensive study. For example, Guido Guidetti rebuilt the medieval church of S. Caterina della Rosa (1560–1564) at the behest of Cardinal Protector Cesi (fig. 4). The innovative facade developed the two-story design with architectural elements that became regular features for the next 150 years. As John Beldon Scott has astutely pointed out: “Notwithstanding the charitable nature of the institution housed there, the design, with its fully rounded columns flanking the portal, is laden with opulent carvings, deeply sculpted niches and recessed panels, and a weighty rendition of the Cardinal’s heraldic shield that set a standard for ambitious curial patrons who followed.”⁴⁷ In 1590, Francesco Capriani da Volterra designed the hospital-church of S. Giacomo degli Incurabili (“of the Syphilitics”), administered by the Divino Amore confraternity but paid for by Cardinal Protector Antonio Maria Salviati. S. Giacomo was the first oval plan on a grandiose scale in Rome (fig. 5).⁴⁸

Let us turn briefly to the national confraternity of the Illyrians at S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni. Although the sodality was never promoted to archconfraternity, its new church, built by Martino Longhi the Elder, and fully decorated by Giovanni Guerra and his team between 1587 and 1590, was crucial in creating a visible representation of new political status (figs. 6 and 7).⁴⁹ The powerful

⁴⁷ John Beldon SCOTT, *Roman Church Architecture. The Early Modern Facade, A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492–1692* (eds. Pamela M. Jones, Barbara Wisch, Simon Ditchfield), Leiden 2019, p. 441. See also Hermann SCHLIMME, *Die Kirchenfassade in Rom. “Reliefierte Kirchenfronten” 1475–1765*, Petersberg 1999.

⁴⁸ Francesco LUCANTONI, Historical Notes on the Architecture of Italian Confraternities, *Confraternitas*, 17/2, 2006, pp. 3–27; Ludovica SEBREGONDI, *Arte confraternale, Studi confraternali. Orientamenti, problemi, testimonianze* (ed. Marina Gazzini), Firenze 2009, pp. 337–367; Barbara WISCH, *The Architecture of Confraternities in Italy, The Cambridge Guide to the Architecture of Christianity* (ed. Richard A. Etlin), Cambridge 2019 (in press).

⁴⁹ Jasenka GUDELJ, *Architettura e diplomazia tra Roma e Dubrovnik. San Girolamo dei Croati e la cattedrale di*



6. Martino Longhi the Elder: *S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni*,
1587–1589, Rome



7. Giovanni Guerra and assistants: *Interior decoration of
S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni*, 1587–1590, Rome

Cardinal Alessandro Farnese served as protector from 1564 until his death in 1589.⁵⁰ In 1566 the Slavic national church of S. Girolamo was elevated to the rank of a titular church, and in 1570, Felice Peretti di Montalto, the future Sixtus V, was elevated to the cardinalate and named titular cardinal. He was particularly dedicated to St. Jerome, tracing his own ancestry, like that of the renowned Doctor of the Church, to Illyria.⁵¹ According to confraternal records, he seems to have done little beyond requesting a dowry for a poor Illyrian maiden; so, too, Farnese seems to have shown little interest in confraternal affairs, that is until Pope Sixtus V embarked on a grand art and architectural campaign. First, the pontiff placed his newly minted, teenage cardinal-nephew, Alessandro Peretti di Montalto, in that titular seat. The unequal clout of the young titular cardinal and the elderly, wealthy protector prevented Sixtus from carrying out his plans at once. How the pope moved his chess pieces so his ambitious project could be executed, with little interference from Farnese, is a story best told by Jasenka Gudelj in this volume.

But let us consider Cardinal Farnese as the protector of multiple confraternities before we turn to Cardinal Montalto. Farnese's own titular church was S. Lorenzo in Damaso, incorporated into the grandiose palace of the Cancelleria that he had inherited in 1535 when named vice chancellor of the Church. There were two previously established confraternities of which he became protector—SS. Sacramento and SS. Concezione di Maria—as well as a third, S. Maria dell'Orazione e Morte, founded in 1552. In 1560 this sodality became the fourth elevated to an archconfraternity. Its seat was then transferred to its own church, newly consecrated in 1576, on Via Giulia, behind the Farnese Palace.⁵² In addition, Farnese was protector of the Orphans' brotherhood, which administered Rome's largest orphanage for boys and girls and to which the cardinal donated 10,000 *scudi* annually.⁵³ Of utmost significance to our art historical purposes, he was elected protector of Rome's oldest sodality, the renowned Gonfalone, in 1565, and that same year he also became protector of SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello upon the death of his brother Ranuccio, who had held the position since 1561.

Starting with his artistic patronage at SS. Crocifisso, in 1566 Cardinal Farnese gave the brethren 100 *scudi* in order to buy the property in front of their oratory to create an appropriately dignified piazza. He also pressured the brethren to complete the facade quickly despite their financial difficulties. Consequently, the impressive facade by Giacomo della Porta was finished in stucco except for the large travertine plaque with the inscription recording that the oratory was erected and decorated

Dubrovnik nel secondo Seicento, *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 40, 2011/2012, pp. 179–239; Jasenka GUDELJ, San Girolamo dei Croati a Roma. Gli Schiavoni e il cantiere sistino, *Identità e rappresentazione. Le chiese nazionali di Roma, 1450–1650* (eds. Alexander Koller, Susanne Kubersky-Piredda), Roma 2015, pp. 297–325; Jasenka GUDELJ, The Hospital and Church of the Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternity in Early Modern Rome, *Confraternitas*, 27/1–2, 2016, pp. 5–25. See also Jasenka GUDELJ, Tanja TRŠKA, The Artistic Patronage of the Confraternities of Schiavoni/Illyrians in Venice and Rome. Proto-National Identity and the Visual Arts, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 23/2, 2018, pp. 103–121.

⁵⁰ In fact, the cardinal's famed miniaturist, who also served as an artistic adviser, was the Croatian Giulio Clovio, who had joined Farnese's household c. 1538 and worked almost exclusively for him until his death in 1578. Clovio's masterpiece, the *Farnese Hours* (The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS M.69), completed in 1546, was extolled as one of the great sights of Rome; see Clare ROBERTSON, 'Il gran cardinale'. *Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts*, New Haven 1992, pp. 29–35.

⁵¹ Stephen F. OSTROW, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome. The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore*, New York–Cambridge 1996, pp. 11–19. Even the rampant lion on his newly invented coat of arms was St. Jerome's legendary companion and attribute.

⁵² Alessandro SERRA, L'arciconfraternita di S. Maria dell'Orazione e Morte nella Roma del Cinquecento, *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 61, 2007, pp. 75–108.

⁵³ *Statuti* 1584 (n. 33), p. 3.



8. Giacomo della Porta: Oratory of SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello, 1561–1563, facade 1567–1568, Rome



9. Giovanni de' Vecchi: St. Helena Directs the Destruction of the Idols and Finding of the True Cross with Prophets, a Sibyl, and other Figures, fresco, 1578, SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello, Rome



10. Ambrogio Bonazzini:
Central coffers of the ceiling
of the Oratory of the Gonfalone,
Rome, with the coat of arms of
Cardinal-Archbishop of Augsburg,
Otto Truchsess von Waldburg,
the Madonna della Misericordia,
and the coat of arms of Cardinal
Protector Alessandro Farnese
(in reverse), 1568

under the auspices of Ranuccio and Alessandro Farnese, the cardinal protectors (fig. 8). When the *Crocifisso confratelli* decided in 1578 to fresco the interior, the chronicler recorded that the brethren would pay for the paintings from alms and legacies. However, when they hired “Cardinal Farnese’s painter”, i.e. Giovanni de’ Vecchi, the chronicler reported it was “with the intention that the cardinal would pay for everything” (fig. 9). Apparently, the *Crocifisso* was not entirely pleased with the first two frescoes, so they dismissed Giovanni, and with him went the full payment by the cardinal. Only then did wealthy members pay for individual frescoes to complete the project.⁵⁴

The Gonfalone had a different, more complicated outcome, but the same hopes of full patronage from Cardinal Farnese. In 1568, the elaborately carved, polychrome and gilded wood ceiling included the coat of arms of Cardinal Farnese and that of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Augsburg, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg (fig. 10). Truchsess had been a member of the Gonfalone since 1564 and perhaps was an “unofficial” vice protector by 1568, when he permanently returned to Rome.⁵⁵ Both he and Farnese had just laid the cornerstone of *Il Gesù* on 26 June 1568, only four days after the contract for the wood ceiling was signed and notarized.⁵⁶ At the same time, he was serving as

⁵⁴ Josephine VON HENNEBERG, *L'oratorio dell'Arciconfraternita del Santissimo Crocifisso di San Marcello*, Roma 1974.

⁵⁵ WISCH, NEWBIGIN 2013 (n. 18), p. 418.

⁵⁶ At that time, Truchsess resided at Farnese’s palace (as archpriest) at the Vatican. In June 1569, owing to the heat, Truchsess moved to the Cancellaria, remaining until autumn 1571; see Ferdinand SIEBERT, *Zwischen Kaiser und*



11. Jacopo Bertoia: *Entry into Jerusalem*, fresco, 1568–1569, and Livio Agresti: *Last Supper and Foot-Washing*, fresco, 1569, Oratory of the Gonfalone, Rome

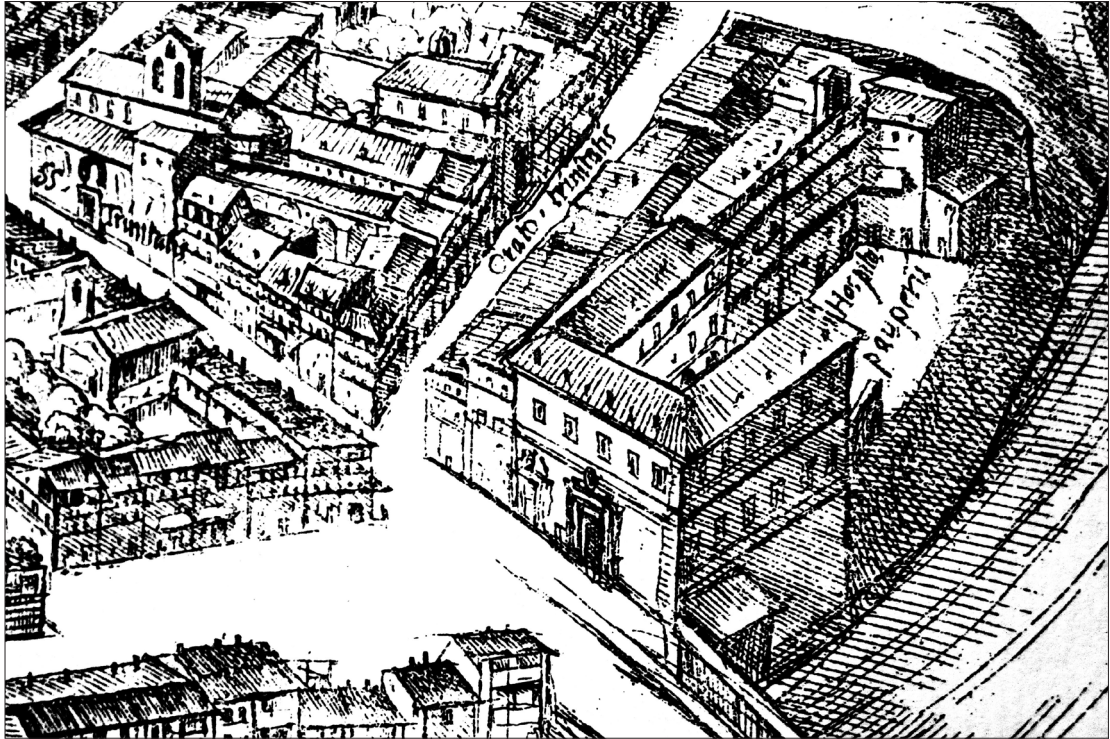
cardinal protector of that rising star in Rome's confraternal firmament, SS. Trinità, elevated to an archconfraternity in 1562, the fifth in Rome.

To design and execute the Gonfalone's fresco cycle, the Emilian Jacopo Bertoia, who had come to prominence working for Ottavio Farnese, duke of Parma and brother of Cardinal Farnese, was selected. At the expense of Cardinal Protector Farnese, Bertoia had been sent "back to Rome" in March 1568. The painter remained in Rome uninterruptedly until July 1569, when he was withdrawn from the oratory to head the great enterprise of decorating the cardinal's magnificent pentagonal villa at Caprarola, planned and constructed by the renowned Giacomo da Vignola. Within this 17-month period, Bertoia designed the illusionistic decorative system of the Passion narratives and completed the entire first section of the right wall with the *Entry into Jerusalem*. Upon Cardinal Farnese's withdrawal of Bertoia from the Gonfalone project and the clear indication that he would not be permitted to return for some time, Truchsess seems to have suggested that his favorite Roman painter, Livio Agresti, should continue the decoration. In thanks for the important commission, Agresti included the cardinal's portrait in the *Last Supper*, the figure staring directly at the viewer on the far right (fig. 11).⁵⁷

Simultaneously, as cardinal protector of SS. Trinità (1562–1573), Truchsess had overseen the construction and consecration of their grand oratory (1570–1571), which was even larger than that of the Gonfalone. In Tempesta's 1593 map of Rome, the oratory towers above all the other confraternal

Papst. Kardinal Truchsess von Waldburg und die Anfänge der Gegenreformation in Deutschland, Berlin 1943, p. 367.

⁵⁷ WISCH, NEWBIGIN 2013 (n. 18), pp. 415–453.



12. Antonio Tempesta: Oratory of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti, detail of Map of Rome, etching, 1593

buildings (fig. 12). Following Truchsess's death in 1573, Ferdinando de' Medici was elected cardinal protector. In that year he fully outfitted the new chapel in the confraternal church that the brethren had built for the privileged altar just granted by Gregory XIII. Nothing remains but the resplendent altarpiece by Jacopo Zucchi (1574–1575, today in the church sacristy), although inventories record the lavish liturgical furnishings and vestments he donated (fig. 13).⁵⁸ Ferdinando served until 1588, when he renounced his cardinal's hat to become grand duke of Tuscany.

Cardinal Alessandro Peretti di Montalto was then elected, serving until his death in 1623. He may have begun timidly at S. Girolamo dei Schiavoni, but in 1589 (and with Farnese's death) he became the new vice chancellor living in the Cancelleria with his titular seat at S. Lorenzo in Damaso—and soon after, one of the wealthiest and most influential cardinals in Rome. For SS. Trinità's Chapel of the Separation of Peter and Paul (destroyed) on Via Ostiense, he commissioned a now lost altarpiece from Giovanni Guerra, for which the preparatory study survives (fig. 14).⁵⁹ Guerra was a favorite Peretti-Montalto artist who had headed the team decorating S. Girolamo, exemplifying how particular families continued to commission works for a variety of purposes from preferred artists. Cardinal Montalto also served as protector of the Pietà dei Carcerati, Vergini Miserabili, and Sacre

⁵⁸ Noel O'REGAN, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome. Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini 1550–1650*, London 1995 (Royal Musical Association Monographs, 7), pp. 9–20.

⁵⁹ Pen and brown ink with wash over traces of black chalk on paper. See Barbara WISCH, *Embracing Peter and Paul. The Arciconfraternita della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti and the Cappella della Separazione in Rome, Space, Place, and Motion. Locating Confraternities in the Late Medieval and Early Modern City* (ed. Diana Bullen Presciutti), Leiden 2017, pp. 178–216.



13. Jacopo Zucchi: *Mass of St. Gregory the Great*, oil on canvas, 1574–1575, Sacristy of the church of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti, Rome



14. Giovanni Guerra: *The Holy Trinity Surrounded by Angels with Instruments of the Passion Adored by Pilgrims and Confratelli of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti with Filippo Neri*, pen and ink with wash, late 1590s, Nissman, Abromson, Ltd., Old Master Drawings, Brookline, Massachusetts

Stimmate di S. Francesco, and vice protector of the Dottrina Cristiana. These sodalities have yet to be explored in studies of the cardinal's patronage, a major lacuna in our understanding. Moreover, I would propose that the significant role of confraternal cardinal protector needs to be documented, not just in individual cases, but correlated in databases and made interactively accessible.



From magnificent churches, chapels, and oratories adorned with lavish decoration to imposing banners held aloft at the head of grand processions, from stone plaques inscribing confraternal presence throughout the urban matrix to statute books filled with guidelines for governance, prayers, and indulgences, archconfraternities shaped the religious experience and visual culture of Rome and their vast networks of aggregate sodalities. Within this complex web of relationships, confraternal scholars need to bring new critical perspectives to assess the role of Roman archconfraternities and the influence of their patronage of the arts. Establishing an accurate chronology of archconfraternities in Rome and a comprehensive list of their cardinal protectors is primary. Only then will it be feasible to undertake analyses concerning which groups found favor, when, and why. In addition, the accumulation of cardinal protectorates that crafted archconfraternal fiefdoms and new clientage systems must be documented and explored. Although scholars have begun to investigate wealthy

archconfraternities that commissioned multiple kinds of buildings and sponsored lavish festivities—thereby integrally transforming the civic fabric and sacred topography—we also need to ascertain how much this extensive patronage depended upon the magnanimity of the cardinal protector. The incorporation of archconfraternities in studies of cardinalatial patronage is equally important.

Geopolitical diplomacy and rivalries enacted through Roman archconfraternities are significant new areas of research that require further development.⁶⁰ Looking more globally, we should also try to identify the cardinal-archbishops of dioceses across the Catholic world who initiated their own archconfraternal systems; the breadth and influence of their networks; and, finally, how closely Roman paradigms were followed. Studies might range from the reception of new devotional practices and innovative philanthropic programs to architectural styles and iconographies.

But this broad study cannot be accomplished solely from inside the ancient city walls, as I have begun to present here. The responses and initiatives beyond Rome are of equal importance. Among the essays in this volume, two engage with the specific issues raised in my paper. Krzysztof J. Czyżewski and Marek Walczak astutely elucidate the implications of the donation to Kraków's Archconfraternity of the Holy Rosary of a painted copy of the most powerful Roman Marian icon, conserved in S. Maria Maggiore—a copy blessed by Pope Clement VIII (reigned 1592–1605) and enriched with numerous indulgences. Their study convincingly demonstrates how this painting became one of the most significant miracle-working images in Poland under the stewardship of the archconfraternity.⁶¹ Sanja Cvetnić's innovative work on the Jesuit confraternities of the Bona Mors in Croatia, presented in this volume, reveals that from 1653 in Zagreb, only five years after the initial Roman establishment of the Compagnia della Buona Morte at Il Gesù, confraternities of the Good Death were instituted across the region. These sodalities advanced new practices of adoration of the Sacrament and frequent Communion in their public devotions, and dedicated more private prayers to Christ's five wounds, his agonizing death, and Mary's sorrows at the foot of the cross, all of which were considered beneficial spiritual preparations for "dying well." In 1729, the pope elevated the Roman *compagnia* to an archconfraternity and enriched all Good Death confraternities with numerous indulgences.⁶² Focusing on architecture as an expression of national identity, Jasenka Gudelj has cogently shown how choices promoted by the Illyrian sodality in Rome, the Confraternita degli Schiavoni, determined the design and reconstruction of the new Dubrovnik Cathedral in 1667.⁶³ The authority of Rome enacted by a wide range of confraternities and archconfraternities is a rich subject for future studies. Only by "aggregating," as it were, new research may we better comprehend the global reach of archconfraternities and the reception of their artistic and devotional models, thereby weaving a more resplendent tapestry of confraternal visual culture. The papers delivered at the conference and the essays in this volume constitute a major contribution to this objective.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ See *Identità e rappresentazione* 2015 (n. 49).

⁶¹ CZYŻEWSKI, WALCZAK 2018 (n. 21).

⁶² Sanja CVETNIĆ, The Jesuit Bona Mors Confraternities in Croatia, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 23/2, 2018, pp. 179–193.

⁶³ See GUDELJ 2011/2012 (n. 49). See also GUDELJ, TRŠKA 2018 (n. 49).

⁶⁴ I would like to thank Professors Barbara Murovec and Mija Oter Gorenčič for their generous invitation to present the plenary lecture at the conference. I also extend my deep appreciation to the France Stele Institute of Art History for graciously hosting that distinguished gathering of confraternal scholars. In addition, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Barbara Vodopivec for her contributions to the organization of that most convivial event.

Nadbratovščine in umetnost

Opredeleitev novih tem

Povzetek

Z letom 1520 je papež povzdignil izbrane rimske bratovščine v nov prestižni rang nadbratovščin, ki so bile pooblaščene, da združijo podobne bratovščine po vsem svetu, delijo duhovne koristi in si izberejo dosmrtnega kardinala zaščitnika. Da bi stopnjevale pobožnost, so se nadbratovščine posluževale predvsem arhitekture, umetnosti in slavnostnih prireditev, s tem pa so se znotraj bratovščinske hierarhije hkrati vzpenjale proti položaju, po kakršnem so hlepele. Kot spoštovani primerki laične duhovnosti in dobrotelnosti so utrdile Rim kot prestolnico globalnega katolištva, ob tem pa ustvarile enovito mrežo pobožnih praks, češčenih podob in odpustkov. Nadbratovščine so bile tudi evangelijsko sredstvo za širjenje pozitivnih sporočil o reformirani in zmagoslavni apostolski rimski Cerkvi po vsem svetu.

Pred zaključkom tridentinskega koncila leta 1563 je obstajalo samo pet rimskih nadbratovščin. A od zadnje četrtine 16. stoletja naprej se je, tudi zaradi vnete podpore papeža Gregorja XIII. (1572–1585), njihovo število dramatično povečalo; ta ekspanzija se je nadaljevala vse do konca zgodnjega novega veka.

Kljub njihovemu pomenu in vlogi zgleda za življenje bratovščin po celotnem katoliškem svetu o njih ne obstaja monografska študija. Pričujoči prispevek je tako *prolegomenon* v širšo raziskavo rimskih nadbratovščin, njihovih vplivnih kardinalov zaščitnikov in njihovega umetnostnega naročništva. Opredelejuje nove teme in postavlja številna vprašanja. Najpomembnejše za nadaljnje raziskave pa je, da sem sodelujoče na konferenci in druge strokovnjake, ki se ukvarjajo z bratovščinami, prosila, naj razmislijo, kako so lahko bratovščine v slovenskem prostoru, po Evropi in v daljnih deželah, ki so se šele dobro spreobrnilo v katoliško vero, posnemale rimska pravila in vzorce, z njimi manipulirale, jih izkoriščale ali tudi ignorirale.

Najprej sem na kratko pregledala nove cerkvene sklepe, s katerimi so nadzorovali rimske nadbratovščine in/ali spodbujali podporo zanje. Med vprašanji za nadaljnjo raziskavo so: koliko drugih mest v katoliškem svetu je še razvijalo svoj sistem nadbratovščin? Kateri kardinal ali nadškof jih je sponzoriral? Kako razširjene so bile njihove mreže? Nato sem pregledala, na kakšen način so rimske nadbratovščine služile kot vzorci. Kot primer: njihove knjige statotov, ki so bile preoblikovane tako, da so vanje vključili tridentinske odloke, so služile kot ustaljeni zgledi. Pomenljivo je tudi, da so bili proces prijave in dekreti o pridružitvi razloženi v več poglavjih. Poleg bogatih odpustkov so bili pridruženi člani deležni brezplačne namestitve v času svetega leta, kar je bila močna spodbuda za pridružitve. Statuti so definirali tudi vlogo članic in priorice, spoštovane matrone določene starosti in statusa, ki so jo izvolile ženske. Do poznega 16. stoletja, ko se je za to pozicijo zahteval plemiški stan, so izbrane ženske pridobile pomembne položaje, med drugim položaj »dosmrtno zaščitnice«. Te nove službe bi bilo treba preučiti, da bi lahko ugotovili, kolikšno moč in vpliv so ženske imele. Dodatne raziskave rimskih zgledov bi lahko segale vse od recepcije novih devocionalnih praks in inovativnih človekoljubnih programov do arhitekturnih slogov in ikonografije.

Temeljnega pomena za to raziskavo je ugotovitev kronologije najzgodnejših rimskih nadbratovščin in njihovih kardinalov zaščitnikov (diagram 1). V študiji razjasnujem ključno vlogo, ki jo je imel zaščitnik, pričakovanja njegovega velikodušnega mecenstva in prepleteno mrežo njegovih pristojnosti, saj je sočasno nadziral in finančno podpiral številne bratovščine (diagram 2), prav tako pa tudi cerkvene redove in države. Mogočni kardinal vicekancler Alessandro Farnese je bil na primer med letoma 1535 in 1589 zaščitnik petih nadbratovščin, medtem ko jih je vplivni kardinal vicekancler Francesco Barberini med letoma 1632 in 1679 nadziral devet. Nadalje, nekatere nadbratovščine so postale družinski »fevdi«,

na primer Pietà dei Carcerati, ki je skrbela za zapornike in imela pol stoletja kardinale zaščitnike iz družine Peretti di Montalto. Skrbna analiza razvoja rimskih nadbratovščin (katere skupine so uživale naklonjenost, kdaj in zakaj) bi dala kritičen vpogled v zgodovino rimskih bratovščin, razvoj svetovnih mrež in geopolitične vidike diplomacije v času, ko so bile povzdignjene nacionalne bratovščine. Prav tako bi zagotovila boljše razumevanje vzorcev naročništva in posebej umetnostnih naročil, saj je znano, da so posamezne družine favorizirale določene slikarje, kiparje in arhitekte.

Na koncu se osredotočam na simbiotski odnos med pričakovani nadbratovščin do pokroviteljev, saj je bila velikodušnost dobrotnikov, še posebej kardinalov zaščitnikov, ključna za uresničitev velikih gradbenih projektov. Mnoge od teh cerkva so predstavljale avantgardo cerkvene arhitekture, tema, ki še čaka na celostno obravnavo. Tako so se tudi nadbratovščine, ko so načrtovale razkošno opremo svojih kapel in oratorijev, obračale na kardinale zaščitnike (npr. Alessandro Farnese za SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello v Gonfalonu; Francesco de' Medici in kasneje Alessandro Peretti di Montalto za SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti). Treba je ugotoviti, kolikšen delež njihovih obsežnih naročil je bil odvisen od radodarnosti kardinalov zaščitnikov. Enako pomembno je vključiti nadbratovščine v raziskavo kardinalskega naročništva. Geopolitična diplomacija in rivalstvo med rimskimi nadbratovščinami sta prav tako pomembni področji, ki kličeta po nadaljnjem raziskovanju. Le z združevanjem novih raziskav bomo lahko bolje razumeli globalno razsežnost nadbratovščin in recepcijo njihovih umetnostnih in devocionalnih zgledov.

Figura jima

Mater Septem Dolorum.

Vih figur wird getragen von 16 Mann wieviel es
sitzt mit 8 Frauen.

Maria.

O Šhalost moja prevelika,
Sa vola Jesusa moiga ljubiga sinja,
Kadar videm nega sveta glava,
taku raineno inu Keruaru,
Mene sturi od šhalosti upitti,
ieno od sous moie oži šhalitti,
Kadar pak gledam niega suetu obližhe,
leto me Kiočainu šhalostno Ksebi Kličhe,
to usse niega restergano sueto restno tello,
Katero ie poprei Koker to sonže billo,
Leto da meni urshah usselei iokati,
ieno se premillo ktemo plakati,
O Greshnik leto ti Kseržu prou jelli,
ieno dershi utoich mislih usselei,
Katero boda sturillu od toich grechou odstopiti,

ABSTRACTS AND KEYWORDS

IZVLEČKI IN KLJUČNE BESEDE

Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke

Certificates of Marian Congregations in the 18th Century as a Means of Corporate Representation

1.01 Original scientific article

A small collection of certificates of Marian sodalities from Austria and South Germany is preserved in the Archives of the Austrian Jesuit Province. These engraved documents were mainly used by wandering fellow guild members as passports. They complemented customary guild documents, as they testified to the reliable confessional character of their holder. Though the certificates preserved in Vienna were mostly issued and sealed only in the second half of the 18th century, research has shown that the copperplate matrices that were used are significantly older, partly going back to the third quarter of the 17th century. In an iconographic sense they are rich sources because they show city views and frequently interiors, altars, and liturgical furnishings that no longer exist. The certificates served not only their owners, but also as a pictorial representation of their place of origin and of the actual congregation.

Keywords: Augsburg, Bolzano/Bozen, Burghausen, certificate (warrant) of a Marian Congregation (Bruderschaftsbrief), Eichstätt, Klauber publishers, Munich/München, Passau, Society of Jesus/Jesuits, Steyr, Straubing

Giuseppe Capriotti

The Artistic Patronage of the Confraternities of Schiavoni and Albanians in the Marche Region. The Promotion of the "National" Saints in Pesaro

1.01 Original scientific article

Starting in the 15th century, groups of Schiavoni and Albanians moved from the East Adriatic coast to the

Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke

Bratovščinska pisma marijanskih kongregacij v 18. stoletju kot spričevala in sredstva korporativne reprezentacije

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

V arhivu avstrijske jezuitske province se je ohranila majhna zbirka bratovščinskih pisem iz avstrijskih in južnonemških marijanskih kongregacij. Gre za dokumente v tehniki bakroreza, ki so jih predvsem potujoči pomočniki uporabljali kot »potne liste«. Dopolnjevali so običajne cehovske papirje, ker so dokazovali zanesljiv konfesionalni značaj njihovih imetnikov. Čeprav so bili na Dunaju ohranjeni dokumenti izdani in žigosani večinoma šele v drugi polovici 18. stoletja, je raziskava pokazala, da so uporabljeni bakrorezni formularji bistveno starejši; deloma segajo nazaj do tretje četrtine 17. stoletja. Ikonografsko so to dragoceni viri, ker kažejo mestne vedute in velikokrat ne več obstoječe interierje, oltarje in kose opreme. Služili so ne le lastniku listine, ampak tudi kot slikovna predstavitev kraja, od koder je izhajal, s tamkajšnjo konkretno bratovščino.

Ključne besede: Augsburg, Bolzano, Burghausen, jezuiti, Eichstätt, založba Klauber, München, Passau, potrdilo marijanske bratovščine, Steyr, Straubing

Giuseppe Capriotti

Umetnostno naročništvo slovanskih in albanskih bratovščin v Markah. Propagiranje »nacionalnih« svetnikov v Pesaru

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Skupine Slovanov (*Schiavoni*) in Albancev so se od 15. stoletja dalje iz različnih razlogov preseljevale z vzhodne

Marche region for several reasons. In order to fight suspicion and prejudice, these “unwanted minorities” would frequently gather in confraternities (well documented from Pesaro to Ascoli Piceno) that fostered their members’ integration into the civic and religious life of the new country. The essay examines the artistic patronage of these confraternities, which promoted the cult of specific saints, using Pesaro as an example. Here, the confraternity of Schiavoni is documented from 1477, and its chapel was decorated with a surviving early 16th-century fresco, which also features the patron saint of the Illyrians, St. Jerome. On the other hand, the only evidence of an Albanian collective identity in Pesaro is represented by a 15th-century fresco of St. Veneranda, preserved in the church of a village bearing the same name. St. Veneranda is a Balkan saint, highly venerated throughout the Marche by the Albanians.

Keywords: Schiavoni, Albanians, proto-national identity, St. Veneranda, St. Jerome, Pesaro, confraternity, Balkan studies, Gian Giacomo Pandolfi

Sanja Cvetnić

The Jesuit Bona Mors Confraternities in Croatia

1.01 Original scientific article

The great revival of interest in the theme of *ars moriendi* in the early 17th century aimed to promote Tridentine *bona vita*, i.e. a sacramental “good life”, to large numbers of the faithful. The rules and program of the Bona Mors Confraternity in Rome—founded in 1648—were soon spread through its branches wherever the Jesuits settled. The Croatian Jesuits were divided into two provinces: Dubrovnik was part of the Roman Province, while all the other colleges and residences were part of the Austrian Province. Eight *Bona Mors* Confraternities within Jesuit colleges and residences were founded in Zagreb (1653), Rijeka (1656), Varaždin (1662), Dubrovnik (1670 or before), Osijek (1703), Požega (1704), Petrovaradin (1713), and Belgrade (1726). *Bona Mors* spirituality became an exceptionally efficient apparatus for Jesuit pastoral endeavors and deeply marked the spiritual life and artistic heritage of the communities and regions.

Keywords: *Bona Mors* (Good Death) Confraternities, Jesuits in Croatia, *Bona Mors* visual legacy, Tridentine Catholicism, Miroslav Vanino

obale Jadrana v Marke. Te »nezaželene manjšine« so se v boju proti nezaupanju in predsodkom pogosto združevale v bratovščine (dobro dokumentirane od Pesara do Ascoli Picena), ki so spodbujale vključevanje svojih članov v civilno in versko življenje v novi domovini. Članek se na primeru Pesara osredotoča na umetnostno naročništvo teh bratovščin, ki so spodbujale kult posebnih svetnikov. Slovanska bratovščina je v Pesaru dokumentirana od leta 1477. Njeno kapelo je krasila freska iz zgodnjega 16. stoletja, ki med drugim kaže zavetnika Ilircev, sv. Hieronima. Po drugi strani predstavlja edini dokaz o kolektivni albanski identiteti v Pesaru freska sv. Venerande iz 15. stoletja, ohranjena v cerkvi v bližnji vasi Santa Veneranda; gre za balkansko svetnico, ki so jo Albanci v Markah zelo častili.

Ključne besede: *Schiavoni*, Albanci, protonacionalna identiteta, sv. Veneranda, sv. Hieronim, Pesaro, bratovščina, balkanske študije, Gian Giacomo Pandolfi

Sanja Cvetnić

Jezuitske bratovščine za srečno smrt na Hrvaškem

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Ponovni razcvet teme *ars moriendi* v zgodnjem 17. stoletju je imel za cilj pospeševanje tridentinske *bona vita*, tj. zakramentalnega življenja. Pravila in program rimske bratovščine *Bona Mors*, ustanovljene 1648, so se kmalu razširili povsod, kjer so se jezuiti naselili. Duhovnost bratovščin za srečno smrt je postala izjemno učinkovito sredstvo jezuitskih pastoralnih prizadevanj in je globoko zaznamovala duhovno življenje in umetnostno dediščino verskih skupnosti in regij. Po jezuitskih kolegijih in rezidencah je bilo ustanovljenih osem bratovščin za srečno smrt, in sicer v Zagrebu (1653), na Reki (1656), v Varaždinu (1662), Dubrovniku (1670 ali prej), Osijeku (1703), Požegi (1704), Petrovaradinu (1713) in Beogradu (1726). Hrvaški jezuiti so bili razdeljeni v dve provinci: Dubrovnik je spadal pod rimsko provinco, medtem ko so bili vsi ostali kolegiji in rezidence del avstrijske province.

Ključne besede: bratovščine *Bona Mors*, jezuiti na Hrvaškem, vizualna dediščina bratovščin *Bona Mors*, tridentinski katolicizem, Miroslav Vanino

Krzysztof J. Czyżewski, Marek Walczak
*The Archconfraternity of the Rosary in
 the Dominican Churches of Kraków. Piety and Patronage
 of the Arts*

1.01 Original scientific article

The essay deals with the artistic milieu of the Archconfraternity of the Rosary at the Dominican Holy Trinity Church in Kraków. Dominicans were zealous promoters of the rosary, and numerous Rosary brotherhoods were established, typically affiliated with Dominican churches. Therefore, it seems almost certain that in Kraków, as early as the 15th century, the Dominican Order of Preachers encouraged the formation of such a confraternity. Indirect evidence of this is preserved in the Convent's Archive in Kraków, in documents concerning the Dominican Confraternities of the Rosary, issued by Pope Innocent VIII in 1484 and by the General of the Order, Augustine Recuperati, in 1539. In any case, in 1600, the Kraków-based confraternity—at that time already existing “*ab immemorabilis tempore*”—was reformed by Fr. Abraham Bzowski, who elaborated and published an extensive book on this occasion: *Rosary of the Virgin Mary, now reformed anew in Kraków at the Holy Trinity* (Kraków 1600 and 1606). Already at that time, the confraternity was referred to as an archconfraternity. The fact that the archconfraternity was given one of the earliest and most important copies in the former Polish Republic of Our Lady of the Snows, a miracle-working image in the Roman basilica of S. Maria Maggiore that was considered a palladium of the Eternal City, was of great importance to its development and extraordinary influence. The essay discusses the Polish icon's veneration, decoration, and the new architectural space it received in 1688.

Keywords: Archconfraternity, Rosary, Dominican Friars, Kraków, Kingdom of Poland, *Salus Populi Romani* (Our Lady of the Snows)

Angelika Dreyer

From Care for the Hereafter to Care in the Here and Now. Ceiling Painting for South German Confraternities in the Age of Catholic Enlightenment

1.01 Original scientific article

This essay demonstrates how the representatives of the Catholic Enlightenment knew to use the existing social structures of contemporary confraternities for their own intentions of reform. This analysis focuses on the eminent role played by the Diocese of Augsburg. The theologians most responsible for this endeavor were Joseph, Landgrave of Hesse in Darmstadt, elected Prince-Bishop of Augsburg

Krzysztof J. Czyżewski, Marek Walczak
*Nadbratovščina sv. rožnega venca v krakovskih
 dominikanskih cerkvah. Pobožnost in umetnostno
 naročništvo*

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Članek obravnava umetnostni milje nadbratovščine sv. rožnega venca v dominikanski cerkvi sv. Trojice v Krakovu. Dominikanci so goreče pospeševali rožnovensko pobožnost; ustanovili so številne bratovščine sv. rožnega venca, ki so bile običajno povezane z njihovimi cerkvami. Skoraj gotovo je dominikanski pridigarski red spodbudil ustanovitev takšne bratovščine v Krakovu že v 15. stoletju. Posredni dokaz za to je ohranjen v samostanskem arhivu v Krakovu v dokumentih, ki sta jih izdala papež Inocenc VIII. leta 1484 in general reda Avguštin Recuperati leta 1539 in se nanašajo na dominikansko rožnovensko bratovščino. Leta 1600 je bratovščino s sedežem v Krakovu, ki je takrat obstajala že *ab immemorabilis tempore*, Abraham Bzowski reformiral; ob tej priložnosti je izdal obsežno knjigo *Rožni venec Device Marije, sedaj na novo reformiran v Krakovu pri Sv. Trojici* (Kraków 1600 in 1606). Že takrat se družba omenja kot nadbratovščina. Dejstvo, da je nadbratovščina dobila eno najzgodnejših in najpomembnejših poljskih kopij Marije Snežne, čudodelne podobe v rimski baziliki S. Maria Maggiore, ki je veljala za pribežališče večnega mesta, je imelo velik pomen za njen nadaljnji razvoj in izjemni vpliv. Razprava govori o češčenju poljske ikone, o njenem okrasu in novem arhitekturnem prostoru, ki ga je dobila leta 1688.

Ključne besede: nadbratovščina, rožni venec, dominikanci, Krakov, poljsko kraljestvo, *Salus Populi Romani* (Marija Snežna)

Angelika Dreyer

Od skrbi za onostranstvo do pomoči v tostranstvu. Stropne poslikave za južnonemške bratovščine v času katoliškega razsvetljenstva

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Razprava kaže, kako so znali predstavniki katoliškega razsvetljenstva izkoristiti obstoječe socialne strukture sočasnih bratovščin za lastne reformne cilje. Analiza se osredotoča na pomembno vlogo, ki jo je odigrala augsburška škofija. Teologi, najodgovornejši za to prizadevanje, so bili hessenski deželni grof Jožef iz Darmstadta, ki je bil leta 1740 izvoljen za knezoškofa v Augsburgu, in dva od njegovih

in 1740, and two of his closest counsellors, his private secretary Giovanni Battista de Bassi and the Canon Regular Eusebius Amort from Polling. Quite remarkably, their aims accord with the subject matter of new ceiling decoration in the brotherhoods' churches, commissioned around the mid-18th century. Serving as evidence for this fact are the frescoes (1749–1754) by Johann Baptist Zimmermann in the pilgrimage church Zum Gegeißelten Heiland in the Wies church, which concentrate entirely on Christological devotion, as do the frescoes (1774) by Johann Joseph Anton Huber in the parochial church of St. Nicolas in Unterdiessen. Another goal of the reformers—to help the needy by means of the brotherhoods—is significantly reflected in the frescoes (1764/65 and 1783) by Christian Thomas Wink in the parochial church of Haag on the Amper.

Keywords: Catholic Enlightenment, Joseph Landgrave of Hesse in Darmstadt, Giovanni Battista de Bassi, Eusebius Amort, Johann Baptist Zimmermann, Zum Gegeißelten Heiland in the Wies, Johann Joseph Anton Huber, St. Nicolas in Unterdiessen, Christian Thomas Wink, St. Laurentius in Haag on the Amper

Valentina Fiore

The Casse Processionali of Genoese and Ligurian Brotherhoods. Patronage, Preeminence, and Preservation of Anton Maria Maragliano's Multi-Figured Processional Sculptures

1.01 Original scientific article

In the territory of the Republic of Genoa, religious brotherhoods left their enduring mark on society from their 13th-century foundations until their dramatic suppression under French domination in 1811. Those in the countryside villages that continued to exist played (and still play) a crucial role not only in the preservation of pre-modern traditions, but also in the conservation of monumental works of art commissioned by Genoese and Ligurian *casacce* (confraternities). This essay focuses on the remarkably vibrant, polychrome wood sculptural groups that were borne aloft in their processions, then venerated as cult objects in oratories and churches. The development of *casse processionali* from the mid-16th century to their extraordinary profusion in the 18th century and the remarkable history of their preservation bear witness to the evocative and highly influential new concepts for these multi-figured groups created by their greatest exponent, Anton Maria Maragliano (1664–1739).

Keywords: Anton Maria Maragliano, Ligurian brotherhoods, processional sculptural group, *casse processionali*, wood sculpture, oratory, *Casaccia/Casacce*, Genoa, 17th century, 18th century

najtesnejših svetovalcev, njegov osebni tajnik Giovanni Battista de Bassi in avguštinski kanonik Eusebius Amort iz Pollinga. Njihovi cilji se izjemno skladajo z vsebino novih stropnih poslikav v bratovščinskih cerkvah, naročenih okoli srede 18. stoletja. Dokaz za to so freske (1749–1754) Johanna Baptista Zimmermanna v romarski cerkvi Bičanega Odrešenika v Wiesu, ki se povsem osredotočajo na pobožnost do Kristusa, prav tako kot freske (1774) Johanna Josepha Antona Huberja v župnijski cerkvi sv. Nikolaja v Unterdiessnu. Drugi cilj reformatorjev – pomagati pomoči potrebnim s sredstvi bratovščin – se pomembno odraža v freskah (1764/65 in 1783) Christiana Thomasa Winka v župnijski cerkvi v Haagu na Amperi.

Ključne besede: katoliško razsvetljenje, hessenski deželni grof Jožef v Darmstadt, Giovanni Battista de Bassi, Eusebius Amort, Johann Baptist Zimmermann, Bičani Zveličar v Wiesu, Johann Joseph Anton Huber, Sv. Nikolaj v Unterdiessnu, Christian Thomas Wink, Sv. Lovrenc v Haagu na Amperi

Valentina Fiore

Procesijske nosilnice (casse processionali) genovskih in ligurskih bratovščin. Umetnostno naročništvo, veličina in ohranjenost mnogofiguralnih procesijskih skulptur Antona Marie Maragliana

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Na območju Genovske republike so verske bratovščine zaznamovale družbo vse od svojih začetkov v 13. stoletju pa do dramatičnega zatrtja, ki jih je doletelo pod francosko oblastjo leta 1811. Tiste po vaseh na podeželju, ki so se ohranile, so imele (in še vedno imajo) ključno vlogo ne samo pri ohranjanju predmodernih tradicij, ampak tudi pri ohranjanju monumentalnih umetniških del, ki so jih naročile *casacce* (bratovščine) iz Genove in Ligurije. Članek se osredotoča na razgibane polihromirane lesene kiparske skupine, ki so jih nosili v procesijah in jih zatem častili kot kulturne predmete v oratorijih in cerkvah. Razvoj procesijskih nosilnic od sredine 16. stoletja do njihovega množičnega razcveta v 18. stoletju in presenetljive zgodbe o njihovem preživetju pričajo o izzivalnih in zelo vplivnih novih konceptih teh mnogofiguralnih skupin, ki jih je ustvaril njihov najvidnejši predstavnik Anton Maria Maragliano (1664–1739).

Ključne besede: Anton Maria Maragliano, ligurske bratovščine, procesijska kiparska skupina, lesena skulptura, oratorij, *Casaccia/Casacce*, Genova, 17. stoletje, 18. stoletje

Jasenska Gudelj, Tanja Trška

The Artistic Patronage of the Confraternities of Schiavoni/Illyrians in Venice and Rome. Proto-National Identity and the Visual Arts

1.01 Original scientific article

Early modern immigrants across Europe often organized themselves in confraternities, creating durable institutions that acted as patrons of the visual arts. The shared origin of the members of these confraternities provides a platform to discuss and compare their strategies of visual communication with the host society. It further affords the opportunity to examine how they differentiated themselves from other brotherhoods of Schiavoni/Illyrians in the competitive environments of Italian cosmopolitan and artistic centers. This essay focuses on the two 16th-century painted programs related to Schiavoni/Illyrian confraternities in Venice and Rome, executed by Vittore Carpaccio and Giovanni Guerra with assistants, respectively, and offers a new interpretative strategy of proto-national identity to elucidate their messages.

Keywords: Schiavoni/Illyrians, national confraternities, Scuola di San Giorgio e Trifone in Venice, St. Jerome of the Croats in Rome, patronage, Vittore Carpaccio, Giovanni Guerra

Matija Ogrin

Confraternities in the Slovenian Lands and their Significance for Baroque Slovenian Literature

1.01 Original scientific article

Baroque confraternities, like their forebears, were religious in nature and became a source for the many cultural initiatives and needs for literature in Latin as well as in German and the Slovenian language. This essay presents several examples of Slovenian literary texts, printed as well as in manuscript form, which came into existence because of confraternal devotional practices. They cover virtually all the basic literary genres and make up a small literary system with poetry (poems, hymns), prose (sermons, meditations), and drama (Passion plays).

Keywords: confraternities, Baroque, Slovenian literature, manuscripts, hymns, sermons, Passion plays

Jasenska Gudelj, Tanja Trška

Umetnostno mecenstvo slovanskih/ilirskih bratovščin v Benetkah in Rimu. Protonacionalna identiteta in likovna umetnost

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Evropski zgodnjemoderni imigranti so se pogosto združevali v bratovščine, s čimer so ustvarili trdne institucije, ki so delovale kot mecene likovne umetnosti. Skupni izvor članov teh bratovščin zagotavlja izhodišče za razpravo in za primerjavo strategij vizualne komunikacije Slovanov/Ilircev v tekmovalnih okoljih italijanskih svetovljanskih in umetniških središč, kakršni sta npr. Rim in Benetke, z družbo gostiteljico pa tudi strategij njihovega razločevanja od drugih. Članek se osredotoča na primerjavo protonacionalnih odtenkov v dveh slikarskih programih iz 16. stoletja, ki sta povezana s slovanskima/ilirskima bratovščinama v Benetkah in Rimu in sta ju naredila Vittore Carpaccio in Giovanni Guerra s pomočniki, in tako ponuja nov vidik za interpretacijo njunih sporočil.

Ključne besede: Slovani/Ilirci, nacionalne bratovščine, Scuola di San Giorgio e Trifone v Benetkah, San Girolamo dei Croati v Rimu, naročništvo, Vittore Carpaccio, Giovanni Guerra

Matija Ogrin

Bratovščine na Slovenskem in njihov pomen za baročno slovensko književnost

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Glavni namen bratovščin je bil verske narave, iz njega pa so izražale številne pobude in potrebe kulturne narave, ki so dale nastanek mnogim književnim delom tako v latinščini kakor nemščini in slovenščini. V članku je predstavljen nekaj primerov slovenskih literarnih besedil, tako tiskanih kakor rokopisnih, ki so nastala prav zaradi potreb konkretne bratovščine. Njihova besedila pripadajo vsem trem glavnim literarnim vrstam in sestavljajo celoten literarni sistem s poezijo (pesmi, himnika), prozo (pridiga in meditacije) in dramo (pasijonske igre).

Ključne besede: bratovščine, barok, slovenska književnost, rokopisi, pesem, pridiga, pasijonska igra

Mija Oter Gorenčič

Traces of the Rosary Confraternity, Albrecht Dürer, and Two Emperors in the Frescoes of the Church of St. Primus above Kamnik

1.01 Original scientific article

The essay addresses the complex background of the origins of the high quality frescoes in the succursal church of St. Primus and Felician above Kamnik from the beginning of the 16th century. The author demonstrates that the frescoes were commissioned by the Marian Confraternity in Kamnik. The confraternity closely modeled the design and individual iconographic details on work commissioned by the renowned Rosary Brotherhood in Cologne or in close connection to it. That link is further supported by the Slovenians' famous pilgrimages to that city, which can be traced from the 14th century onwards. The route to the Rhineland led them through Nuremberg, the town of Albrecht Dürer, whose influence can be recognized in stylistic characteristics of the frescoes. Furthermore, the association of Dürer with confraternities of the Rosary indicates the close interconnectedness of Rosary brotherhoods across Central Europe.

Keywords: St. Primus above Kamnik, Rosary brotherhood, Jakob Sprenger, Cologne, Nuremberg, Albrecht Dürer, Frederick III, Maximilian I, pilgrimage in the Rhineland, Virgin of Mercy, Three Wise Men, rosary

Mirjana Repanic-Braun

The Baroque Artistic Legacy of Confraternities in the Croatian Franciscan Province of Sts. Cyril and Methodius

1.01 Original scientific article

During the 17th and 18th centuries, confraternities in continental Croatia acted as commissioners of art—altar sculpture, paintings, and liturgical furnishings—but their overall contribution to the visual and cultural identity of this area has been less thoroughly researched than the confraternities' legacy in Adriatic Croatia. Thus, the aim of this essay is to offer insight into the significant heritage of lay confraternities in the Croatian Franciscan Province of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. Essential facts about the history of the foundations and the activities of the confraternities in this Franciscan Province may be obtained by collecting data presented in a series of important publications on the friaries and churches of the Province by Friar Paškal Cvekan. Based partially on his studies of the archives in Franciscan conventual houses from Trsat and Zagreb in the territory of Croatia, to Bač and Subotica in the territory of Serbia, and complemented by my own archival and on-site research, this essay

Mija Oter Gorenčič

Na sledi rožnovenske bratovščine, Albrehta Dürerja in dveh cesarjev na freskah v cerkvi sv. Primoža nad Kamnikom

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Članek obravnava kompleksno ozadje nastanka poslikave v podružnični cerkvi sv. Primoža in Felicijana nad Kamnikom z začetka 16. stoletja. Avtorica opozarja na indice, ki kažejo, da je poslikava naročilo kamniške Marijine bratovščine. Ta se je pri zasnovi posameznih ikonografskih detajlov tesno zgledovala po umetnostnih delih, ki so nastala po naročilu znamenite kölnske rožnovenske bratovščine ali v tesni zvezi z njo. To povezavo potrjujejo tudi znamenita romanja Slovencev v Köln, ki jim lahko sledimo od konca 14. stoletja dalje. Pot v Porenje jih je vodila skozi Nürnberg, mesto Albrehta Dürerja, čigar vplivi so jasno prepoznavni v slogovnih karakteristikah poslikave. Povezanost Albrehta Dürerja z rožnovenskimi bratovščinami po drugi strani kaže na tesno prepletenost rožnovenskih bratovščin v širšem srednjeevropskem prostoru.

Ključne besede: Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom, rožnovenska bratovščina, Jakob Sprenger, Köln, Nürnberg, Albrecht Dürer, Friderik III., Maksimilijan I., romanja v Porenje, Marija Zavetnica s plaščem, sveti trije kralji, rožni venec

Mirjana Repanic-Braun

Baročna umetnostna dediščina bratovščin v hrvaški frančiškanski provinci sv. Cirila in Metoda

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

V 17. in 18. stoletju so bratovščine na kontinentalnem Hrvaškem delovale kot naročniki kiparskih del, slik in liturgične opreme, vendar je njihov celotni prispevek k vizualni in kulturni identiteti tega območja slabše raziskan kakor dediščina bratovščin na jadranskem Hrvaškem. Zato je cilj te razprave ponuditi vpogled v pomembno dediščino laičnih bratovščin v hrvaški frančiškanski provinci sv. Cirila in Metoda. Bistvena zgodovinska dejstva o ustanavljanju in delovanju bratovščin v hrvaški frančiškanski provinci sv. Cirila in Metoda lahko dobimo iz podatkov, ki jih je v vrsti publikacij o samostanih in cerkvah province objavil br. Paškal Cvekan. Temelječ deloma na njegovih študijah arhivov po frančiškanskih samostanih od Trsata in Zagreba na hrvaškem do Bača in Subotice na srbskem ozemlju in dopolnjen z mojimi lastnimi arhivskimi in terenskimi raziskavami, podaja članek topografski pregled bratovščinskih dosežkov v umetnostnem

provides a topographic overview of the confraternities' achievements in art patronage in the Province. The discussion of the patrons, artists, and workshops, as well as the stylistic identity and iconography of individual works, reveals significant new aspects of the religious and artistic heritage of Northwest Croatia.

Keywords: confraternities, Croatian Franciscan Province of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, painting, sculpture, graphic arts, 17th century, 18th century

Joana Balsa de Pinho

The Portuguese Confraternities of Mercy and Material Culture. Commissioning Art and Architecture to Promote Institutional Identity

1.01 Original scientific article

The essay discusses the systematization of the relationships between architecture, art, and the material culture of the Confraternities of Mercy. It focuses on their significant role as commissioners and consumers of art in the early modern Portuguese territories. The essay is based on the results of my doctoral research on 190 Houses of Mercy—their history, space, and material culture—and offers a new interpretative approach to this architectural heritage.

Keywords: confraternities, 16th century, Portugal, early modern era, House of Mercy, social welfare, architecture, patronage,

Martin Scheutz

Confraternities in Visitation Protocols and the Wiener Diarium Newspaper. Sources for the History of Early Modern Confraternities in Austria

1.01 Original scientific article

Confraternities were widespread among the laity because of their multitude of functions. They were accessible to men and women, and served as insurance at the time of death, as banks, as performers of liturgical music, as patrons of church furnishings, etc. Looking at Austrian visitation protocols of the 16th and early 17th centuries, one can see that confraternities survived the Reformation with losses, but continuities from the Middle Ages to the early modern period are also visible. In Austria, the documentary sources of confraternities have not yet been sufficiently researched, especially from the point of view of finance and history studies. The digitization of early modern media opens new

naročništvu v provinci. Obravnava naročnikov, umetnikov in delavnic pa tudi slogovne identitete in ikonografije posameznih del razkriva pomembne nove vidike religiozne in umetnostne dediščine severozahodne Hrvaške.

Ključne besede: bratovščine, hrvaška frančiškanska provinca sv. Cirila in Metoda, slikarstvo, kiparstvo, grafika, 17. stoletje, 18. stoletje

Joana Balsa de Pinho

Portugalske bratovščine usmiljenja in materialna kultura. Naročanje umetniških del in stavb za promocijo institucionalne identitete

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Prispevek obravnava sistematizacijo razmerij med arhitekturo, umetnostjo in materialno kulturo bratovščin usmiljenja. Osredotoča se na njihovo pomembno vlogo naročnikov in porabnikov umetnosti na portugalskih ozemljih v zgodnjem novem veku. Temelji na izsledkih avtoričine doktorske raziskave o 190 hišah usmiljenja – njihove zgodovine, materialne kulture in njihovih prostorov – in ponuja nov aplikativen pristop do te arhitekturne dediščine.

Ključne besede: bratovščine, 16. stoletje, Portugalska, zgodnji novi vek, bratovščina usmiljenja, družbena blaginja, arhitektura, naročništvo

Martin Scheutz

Bratovščine v vizitacijskih protokolih in v časniku Wiener Diarium. Viri za zgodovino zgodnjenovoveških bratovščin v Avstriji

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Bratovščine so bile zelo razširjena manifestacija laikov znotraj Cerkve. Nasploh je imelo težko oprijemljivo življenje bratovščin množico različnih funkcij: delovale so kot moškimi in ženskam dostopna društva, kot zavarovanje ob smrti, kot banka, kot izvajalci glasbene službe, kot mecen za opremo cerkva itd. Če pogledamo avstrijske vizitacijske protokole 16. in zgodnjega 17. stoletja, vidimo, da so reformacijski zlom bratovščine sicer preživele z izgubami, vendar je kontinuiteta iz srednjega v zgodnji novi vek jasno vidna. Viri o bratovščinah še niso zadostno raziskani, predvsem še manjkajo finančne in zgodovinske študije. Prav digitalizacija zgodnjenovoveških medijev tudi tu odpira nova raziskovalna polja. Bratovščine namreč niso bile

research areas as well—thus, confraternities were not only the commissioners of printed works, but also the subject of newspaper reports, as the example of the *Wiener Diarium* newspaper illustrates.

Keywords: confraternities in Austria, visitation documents, account books, *Wiener Diarium/Wiener Zeitung*, confraternities

Wojciech Sowała

Art in the Service of Post-Tridentine Religious Confraternities in the Collegiate Church of St. John the Baptist in Skalbmierz in the Diocese of Kraków

1.01 Original scientific article

Until the 18th century, Skalbmierz, now a small, provincial town, was one of the important cities in Lesser Poland. Since the 13th century, there has been a collegiate church dedicated to John the Baptist (today the parish church) in the city center. In the 17th and 18th centuries, six confraternities were documented there: *Litteratorum seu Beatae Virginis Mariae*, *Compassionis*, *St. Anne*, two *Rosary Confraternities*, and the *Holy Trinity*. This essay examines the form, iconography, and function of the preserved and documented furnishings and liturgical paraments that were commissioned by these confraternities for their devotional practices. These images, altarpieces, and objects of refined metalwork will be discussed in the context of similar items commissioned by confraternities in the Diocese of Kraków. The essay then analyzes the influence of Kraków's confraternities in establishing the confraternities in Skalbmierz and their patronage of the arts.

Keywords: Skalbmierz, confraternity, rosary, St. Anne, Passion

Barbara Wisch

Archconfraternities and the Arts. Overarching New Themes

1.01 Original scientific article

Beginning in 1520, select Roman confraternities were elevated by the pope to the new prestigious rank of archconfraternity, empowered to aggregate comparable sodalities worldwide, share spiritual benefits, and elect a cardinal protector for life. Archconfraternities privileged architecture, art, and festive displays to enhance devotion while augmenting their coveted place in the confraternal hierarchy. As esteemed exemplars of lay spirituality and charity, they reinforced Rome as the

le naročniki tiskanih del, ampak vedno znova tudi predmet poročanja tiska, kot ponazarja primer časnika *Wiener Diarium*.

Ključne besede: bratovščine v Avstriji, vizitacijski akti, viri o delovanju bratovščin, *Wiener Diarium/Wiener Zeitung*, bratovščine

Wojciech Sowała

Umetnost v službi potridentinskih verskih bratovščin v kolegiatni cerkvi sv. Janeza Krstnika v Skalbmierzu v krakovski škofiji

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Danes majhno provincialno mesto Skalbmierz je bilo do 18. stoletja eno najpomembnejših mest v Mali Poljski. V središču mesta je od 13. stoletja dalje stala kolegiatna cerkev sv. Janeza Krstnika, ki je danes župnijska cerkev. V 17. in 18. stoletju je bilo tam dokumentiranih šest bratovščin, in sicer *Litteratorum seu Beatae Virginis Mariae*, bratovščina Kristusovega trpljenja, bratovščina sv. Ane, dve rožnovenski bratovščini in bratovščina sv. Trojice. Članek preučuje obliko, ikonografijo in funkcijo ohranjene in dokumentirane opreme in liturgičnih paramentov, ki so jih omenjene bratovščine naročale za svoje obrede. Te podobe, oltarne slike in predmeti iz plemenitih kovin so obravnavani v kontekstu podobnih izdelkov, ki so jih naročale bratovščine v krakovski škofiji. V prispevku je zatem analiziran vpliv krakovskih bratovščin na ustanavljanje bratovščin v Skalbmierzu in na njihovo umetnostno mecenstvo.

Ključne besede: Skalbmierz, bratovščina, rožni venec, sv. Ana, Kristusovo trpljenje

Barbara Wisch

Nadbratovščine in umetnost. Opredelitev novih tem

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Z letom 1520 je papež povzdignil izbrane rimske bratovščine v nov prestižni rang nadbratovščin, ki so bile pooblaščen, da združijo podobne bratovščine po vsem svetu, delijo duhovne koristi in si izberejo dosmrtnega kardinala zaščitnika. Da bi stopnjevale pobožnost, so se nadbratovščine posluževale predvsem arhitekture, umetnosti in slavnostnih prireditev, s tem pa so se znotraj bratovščinske hierarhije hkrati vzpenjale proti položaju, po kakršnem so hlepele. Kot spoštovani primerki laične

capital of global Catholicism, creating an integrated web of pious practices, venerated images, and indulgences. Despite their importance, no monographic study exists. Therefore, this essay is a *prolegomenon* and begins by examining the ways in which Roman archconfraternities served as paradigms. Then it establishes a chronology of the earliest groups and their cardinal protectors, elucidating the protector's crucial role, his interwoven networks of jurisdiction, and expectations of his generous patronage of the arts.

Keywords: archconfraternity, Barberini, cardinal nephew, cardinal protector, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, indulgences, Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, papacy, patronage, Cardinal Alessandro Peretti di Montalto, Rome

duhovnosti in dobrotelčnosti so utrdile Rim kot prestolnico globalnega katolištva, ob tem pa ustvarile enovito mrežo pobožnih praks, čaščenih podob in odpustkov. Kljub njihovemu pomenu pa o njih ne obstaja nobena monografska študija. Pričujoči prispevek je tako *prolegomenon*. Preučuje, na kakšne načine so rimske nadbratovščine služile kot zgledi. Nato vzpostavlja kronologijo najzgodnejših skupin in njihovih kardinalov zaščitnikov, pojasnjuje ključno vlogo, ki jo je zaščitnik imel, prepletene mreže njegovih pristojnosti in pričakovanja njegovega velikodušnega mecenstva.

Ključne besede: nadbratovščina, Barberini, kardinal zaščitnik, kardinal Alessandro Farnese, odpustki, Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, papeštvo, naročništvo, kardinal Alessandro Peretti di Montalto, Rim

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