

UMETNOSTNOZGODOVINSKI INŠTITUT FRANCETA STELETA ZRC SAZU

# AIAS



## ACTA HISTORIAE ARTIS SLOVENICA

Illuminating the Soul, Glorifying the Sacred

Religious Confraternities and the Visual Arts  
in Early Modern Europe

23|2 • 2018

Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta ZRC SAZU  
France Stele Institute of Art History ZRC SAZU

ACTA HISTORIAE ARTIS  
SLOVENICA

23|2·2018

Illuminating the Soul, Glorifying the Sacred

Religious Confraternities and the Visual Arts  
in Early Modern Europe

LJUBLJANA 2018

**Acta historiae artis Slovenica, 23/2, 2018**  
Illuminating the Soul, Glorifying the Sacred  
Religious Confraternities and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe

Znanstvena revija za umetnostno zgodovino / Scholarly Journal for Art History  
**ISSN 1408-0419** (tiskana izdaja / print edition)  
**ISSN 2536-4200** (spletna izdaja / web edition)

Izdajatelj / Issued by  
ZRC SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta /  
ZRC SAZU, France Stele Institute of Art History

Založnik / Publisher  
Založba ZRC

Urednice / Editors  
Barbara Murovec, Mija Oter Gorenčič, Barbara Wisch

Uredniški odbor / Editorial board  
Tina Košak, Ana Lavrič, Barbara Murovec, Mija Oter Gorenčič, Blaž Resman, Helena Seražin

Mednarodni svetovalni odbor / International advisory board  
Günter Brucher (Salzburg), Iris Lauterbach (München), Hellmut Lorenz (Wien), Milan Pelc (Zagreb),  
Paola Rossi (Venezia), Sergio Tavano (Gorizia-Trieste), Barbara Wisch (Cortland, USA)

Lektoriranje / Language editing  
Amy Anne Kennedy, Mija Oter Gorenčič, Blaž Resman, Anke Schlecht, Nika Vaupotič, Barbara Wisch

Prevodi / Translations  
Blaž Resman, Nika Vaupotič, Barbara Wisch

Oblikovna zasnova in prelom / Design and layout  
Andrej Furlan

Naslov uredništva / Editorial office address  
Acta historiae artis Slovenica  
Novi trg 2, p. p. 306, SI-1001 Ljubljana, Slovenija  
E-pošta / E-mail: [ahas@zrc-sazu.si](mailto:ahas@zrc-sazu.si)  
Spletna stran / Web site: <http://uifs1.zrc-sazu.si>

Revija je indeksirana v / Journal is indexed in  
Scopus, ERIH PLUS, EBSCO Publishing, IBZ, BHA

Letna naročnina / Annual subscription: 35 €  
Posamezna enojna številka / Single issue: 25 €  
Letna naročnina za študente in dijake: 25 €  
Letna naročnina za tujino in ustanove / Annual Subscription outside Slovenia, institutions: 48 €

Naročila sprejema / For orders contact  
Založba ZRC / ZRC Publishing  
Novi trg 2, p. p. 306, SI-1001, Slovenija  
E-pošta / E-mail: [zalozba@zrc-sazu.si](mailto:zalozba@zrc-sazu.si)

AHAS izhaja s podporo Javne agencije za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije.  
AHAS is published with the support of the Slovenian Research Agency.

© 2018, ZRC SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta, Založba ZRC, Ljubljana  
Tisk / Printed by Cicero d. o. o., Begunje

Naklada / Print run: 400

# CONTENTS

## VSEBINA

Barbara Murovec	
<i>Confraternities: Networks of Patrons, Artists, and Researchers. Preface</i> .....	7
<i>Bratovščine: mreže naročnikov, umetnikov in raziskovalcev. Predgovor</i> .....	11

Barbara Wisch	
<i>Introduction</i> .....	15

## DISSERTATIONES

Barbara Wisch	
<i>Archconfraternities and the Arts. Overarching New Themes</i> .....	25
<i>Nadbratovščine in umetnost. Opredelitev novih tem</i> .....	48

Mija Oter Gorenčič	
<i>Auf den Spuren der Rosenkranzbruderschaft, Albrecht Dürers und zweier Kaiser in den Fresken von St. Primus oberhalb Kamnik</i> .....	51
<i>Na sledi rožnovenske bratovščine, Albrechta Dürerja in dveh cesarjev na freskah v cerkvi sv. Primoža nad Kamnikom</i> .....	73

Joana Balsa de Pinho	
<i>The Portuguese Confraternities of Mercy and Material Culture. Commissioning Art and Architecture to Promote Institutional Identity</i> .....	75
<i>Portugalske bratovščine usmiljenja in materialna kultura. Naročanje umetniških del in stavb za promocijo institucionalne identitete</i> .....	86

Giuseppe Capriotti	
<i>The Artistic Patronage of the Confraternities of Schiavoni and Albanians in the Marche Region.</i>	
<i>The Promotion of the "National" Saints in Pesaro</i> .....	87
<i>Umetnostno naročništvo slovanskih in albanskih bratovščin v Markah.</i>	
<i>Propagiranje »nacionalnih« svetnikov v Pesaru</i> .....	100
Jasenka Gudelj, Tanja Trška	
<i>The Artistic Patronage of the Confraternities of Schiavoni/Illyrians in Venice and Rome.</i>	
<i>Proto-National Identity and the Visual Arts</i> .....	103
<i>Umetnostno mecenstvo slovanskih/ilirskih bratovščin v Benetkah in Rimu.</i>	
<i>Protonacionalna identiteta in likovna umetnost</i> .....	121
Valentina Fiore	
<i>The Casse Processionali of Genoese and Ligurian Brotherhoods.</i>	
<i>Patronage, Preeminence, and Preservation of Anton Maria Maragliano's Multi-Figured</i>	
<i>Processional Sculptures</i> .....	123
<i>Procesijske nosilnice (casse processionali) genovskih in ligurskih bratovščin.</i>	
<i>Umetnostno naročništvo, veličina in ohranjenost mnogofiguralnih procesijskih skulptur</i>	
<i>Antona Marie Maragliana</i> .....	137
Krzysztof J. Czyżewski, Marek Walczak	
<i>The Archconfraternity of the Rosary in the Dominican Churches of Kraków.</i>	
<i>Piety and Patronage of the Arts</i> .....	139
<i>Nadbratovščina sv. rožnega venca v krakovskih dominikanskih cerkvah.</i>	
<i>Pobožnost in umetnostno naročništvo</i> .....	161
Wojciech Sowała	
<i>Art in the Service of Post-Tridentine Religious Confraternities</i>	
<i>in the Collegiate Church of St. John the Baptist in Skalmierz in the Diocese of Kraków</i> .....	
<i>Umetnost v službi potridentinskih verskih bratovščin</i>	163
<i>v kolegiatni cerkvi sv. Janeza Krstnika v Skalmierzu v krakovski škofiji</i> .....	
	176
Sanja Cvetnić	
<i>The Jesuit Bona Mors Confraternities in Croatia</i> .....	
	179
<i>Jezuitske bratovščine za srečno smrt na Hrvaškem</i> .....	
	193
Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke	
<i>Bruderschaftsbriege Marianischer Kongregationen im 18. Jahrhundert.</i>	
<i>Zeugnis und korporative Repräsentation</i> .....	195
<i>Bratovščinska pisma marijanskih kongregacij v 18. stoletju</i>	
<i>kot spričevala in sredstva korporativne reprezentacije</i> .....	215
Mirjana Repanić-Braun	
<i>The Baroque Artistic Legacy of Confraternities</i>	
<i>in the Croatian Franciscan Province of Sts. Cyril and Methodius</i> .....	
	217
<i>Baročna umetnostna dediščina bratovščin v hrvaški frančiškanski provinci sv. Cirila in Metoda</i> .....	
	232

Matija Ogrin	
<i>Confraternities in the Slovenian Lands and their Significance for Baroque Slovenian Literature</i> .....	233
<i>Bratovščine na Slovenskem in njihov pomen za baročno slovensko književnost</i> .....	243

Martin Scheutz	
<i>Bruderschaften in Visitationsprotokollen und im Wiener Diarium.</i>	
<i>Quellen zu einer Geschichte der frühneuzeitlichen Bruderschaften in Österreich</i> .....	245
<i>Bratovščine v vizitacijskih protokolih in v časniku Wiener Diarium.</i>	
<i>Viri za zgodovino zgodnjenovoveških bratovščin v Avstriji</i> .....	261

Angelika Dreyer	
<i>From Care for the Hereafter to Care in the Here and Now.</i>	
<i>Ceiling Painting for South German Confraternities in the Age of Catholic Enlightenment</i> .....	263
<i>Od skrbi za onostranstvo do pomoči v tostranstvu.</i>	
<i>Stropne poslikave za južnonemške bratovščine v času katoliškega razsvetljenstva</i> .....	278

## APPARATUS

Abstracts and keywords / Izvlečki in ključne besede .....	283
Contributors / Sodelavci .....	293
Photographic credits / Viri ilustracij .....	297



## 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, she encouraged

<sup>1</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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).<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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,<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

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-*

<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>7</sup> *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 naročilih<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> Ana Lavrič je v okviru omenjenega raziskovalnega projekta

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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).<sup>4</sup> Že takrat je bilo nastavljeno sodelovanje s kolegi iz Nemčije, s Hrvaške in iz Avstrije, a realiziran en sam znanstveni članek.<sup>5</sup>

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,<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

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.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>7</sup> *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.<sup>1</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> century to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. It examines the post-Tridentine decades and the efflorescence of confraternities in the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> Major volumes on Polish and Czech confraternities,<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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 16<sup>th</sup>-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

<sup>2</sup> *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<sup>e</sup>–début XIX<sup>e</sup> 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).

<sup>3</sup> *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 18<sup>th</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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 Skalbierz (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 Skalbierz, formally confirmed in Kraków in 1682, Sowała expands Czyżewski and Walczak’s discussion by relating the miraculous history of Skalbierz’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 Skalbierz 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.<sup>5</sup> As a direction for future research, it would be useful to compare the

<sup>5</sup> 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;<sup>6</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> to the early 19<sup>th</sup> 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

<sup>6</sup> 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.

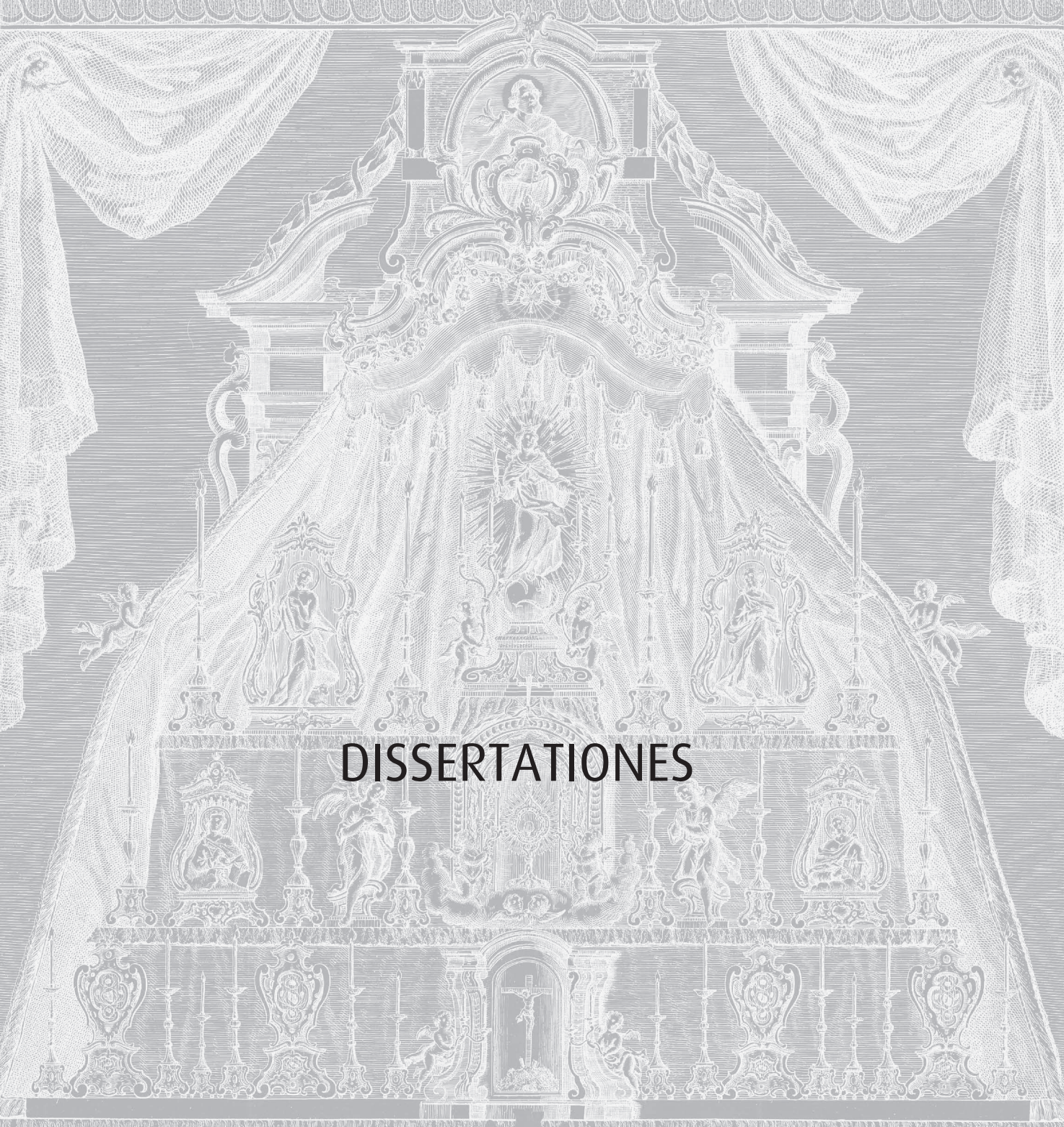
Rather than end on a note of loss, it seems appropriate to conclude the volume with the resplendent celestial visions painted on the ceilings of the Late Baroque pilgrimage churches in the Diocese of Augsburg. Angelika Dreyer explains that from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, the confraternal patrons 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 *Leutnant* *Vikar* *Wider*  
 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*



# The Artistic Patronage of the Confraternities of Schiavoni/Illyrians in Venice and Rome

## Proto-National Identity and the Visual Arts

Jasenka Gudelj, Tanja Trška

Early modern immigrant communities across Europe often organized themselves in confraternities, creating durable institutions based on the criteria of common origin, faith, and language. These “national” confraternities became a reference point for immigrants, pilgrims, or students of the same origin. The churches, chapels, hospices, and houses these foreigners maintained embedded them into the host society and urban space.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, the shape and embellishment of their buildings were expected to reflect both the “otherness” of the group and their intention to be recognized by local observers, thus creating a particular visual identity. Moreover, these groups were also used as more or less formal diplomatic networks, highlighting tendencies in European politics.

Given its proximity and the importance of its trading centers, universities, and pilgrimage sites, as well as its relative safety from Ottoman invasion, Italy was a destination for numerous men and women arriving from what are now the territories of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro.<sup>2</sup> They formed confraternities with the appellative “Schiavoni” or “Illirici”. *Schiavoni*

<sup>1</sup> A large-scale comparative study of national confraternities and their patronage in Europe is still lacking. Confraternal grouping and patronage of churches has been identified as one of the key aspects of foreigners’ lives in early modern European cities: see *Comunità forestiere e “nationes” nell’Europa dei secoli XIII–XVI* (ed. Giovanna Petti Balbi), Pisa-Napoli 2001; Claudia CONFORTI, Maria SANCHEZ DE MADARIAGA, Churches and Confraternities, *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe. 2: Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400–1700* (eds. Donatella Calabi, Stephen Turk Christiansen), Cambridge 2007, pp. 349–363. The phenomenon of national confraternities in Italy had already been mentioned by Christopher F. BLACK, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge 1989, pp. 43–45. Recent anthologies, such as *Identità e rappresentazione. Le chiese nazionali a Roma 1450–1650* (eds. Alexander Koller, Susanne Kubersky-Piredda), Roma 2015, and *Chiese e “nationes” a Roma. Dalla Scandinavia ai Balcani (secoli XV–XVIII)* (eds. Antal Molnár, Giovanni Pizzorusso, Matteo Sanfilippo), Roma 2017 (Bibliotheca Academia Hungariae – Roma. Studia, 6), concentrate on the proto-national question in Rome and include some essays on confraternities. Other edited collections concentrate more on all types of confraternities, their patronage and ritual, see, for example, *Confraternities in the Visual Arts in Renaissance Italy. Ritual, Spectacle, Image* (eds. Barbara Wisch, Diane Cole Ahl), Cambridge-New York 2000; *Brotherhood and Boundaries/Fraternità e barriere* (eds. Stefania Pastore, Adriano Prosperi, Nicholas Terpstra), Pisa 2011; *Space, Place, and Motion. Locating Confraternities in the Late Medieval and Early Modern City* (ed. Diana Bullen Presciutti), Leiden 2017, with bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> On Schiavoni/Illyrian migrations to Italy and their institutions, see Lovorka ČORALIĆ, *Hrvatska prekomorska iseljavanja i kolonije na zapadnoj jadranskoj obali, Hrvatska/Italija. Stoljetne veze. Povijest, književnost, likovne umjetnosti* (ed. Natka Badurina), Zagreb 1997, pp. 41–63; Ratko PERIĆ, *Les Instituts Croates et Illyriens en Europe,*

derives from the Latin *sclavus* and maintains a derogatory nuance, while *Illirici* stems from the humanist use of the name of the pre-Roman inhabitants of the Eastern Adriatic coast, and served to ennoble the reputation of the area and its peoples. These Slavic brotherhoods are documented from the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century in Rome, Venice, Udine, and in the smaller centers of the Marche region. Despite their significance, a comparative study of their patronage—most importantly, in terms of the construction of self-defining visual narratives—has escaped the attention of scholars.<sup>3</sup>

Two particularly important and long-lived Schiavoni/Illyrian confraternities were located in Venice and in Rome, with their residences adorned with magnificent painted cycles. The Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone in Venice<sup>4</sup> is mainly known for Vittore Carpaccio's narrative cycle (1502–1507), relocated from the first floor of the Hospice of St. Catherine, the Scuola's first provisory seat, to the newly reconstructed mid-16<sup>th</sup>-century meetinghouse, which continued to be embellished in the following centuries (fig. 1).<sup>5</sup> The Schiavoni/Illyrian confraternity in Rome maintained the hospital and the church now known as San Girolamo dei Croati, rebuilt between 1586 and 1591 and decorated with a fresco cycle executed by a team of painters led by Giovanni Guerra (fig. 2).<sup>6</sup> As in Venice, the confraternity continued



1. Interior of the lower hall, Scuola di San Giorgio e Trifone, Venice

*Croatie. Le temps du baroque et des lumières. Trésors d'art et de culture XVII<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (eds. Ivan Golub, Ivan Supičić), Rennes 2011, pp. 149–154; *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).

<sup>3</sup> On Schiavoni/Illyrian confraternities in the Marche and their patronage, see Giuseppe CAPRIOTTI, Defining the Boundaries of the Lawful Cult. History of an Adriatic Icon, *IKON*, 9, 2016, pp. 243–252; Giuseppe CAPRIOTTI, The Cauldron of St. Venera and the Comb of St. Blaise. Cult and Iconography in the Confraternities of Albanians and Schiavoni in Fifteenth-Century Ascoli Piceno, *Confraternitas*, 27/1–2, 2016, pp. 30–45; Francesca COLTRINARI, Loreto as an Illyrian Shrine. The Artistic Heritage of the Illyrian Confraternities and College in Loreto and Recanati, *Confraternitas*, 27/1–2, 2016, pp. 46–61; Francesca COLTRINARI, Gli schiavoni e la Santa Casa di Loreto fra '400 e '500. La confraternita, gli architetti, le maestranze e i materiali fra tradizioni storiografiche e verifiche documentarie, *Ars Adriatica*, 7, 2017, pp. 181–194; Giuseppe CAPRIOTTI, The Painting Owned by the Schiavoni Confraternity of Ancona and the Wooden Compartments with Stories of St Blaise by Giovanni Antonio da Pesaro, *Visualizing Past* 2018 (n. 2), pp. 187–209; Francesca COLTRINARI, Some Notes on Confraternities, Immigrants and Artistic Production of the “Illyrians” in the Marche. The Unknown Master Piero di Giorgio da Sebenico in Fermo (1462), *Visualizing Past* 2018 (n. 2), pp. 165–185; and the essay by Giuseppe Capriotti in the present volume.

<sup>4</sup> “Scuola” is the Venetian term for a confraternity, although the city's systematic regulation of these brotherhoods was very different from the Roman model. The official name of the confraternity as it exists today is Scuola Dalmata dei Santi Giorgio e Trifone, although it was founded under the name Scuola di San Giorgio e Trifone. In literature it has been given diverse names: Scuola di San Giorgio e Trifone, Scuola degli Schiavoni, Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Scuola di San Giorgio degli Illirici.

<sup>5</sup> For a survey of the artistic heritage of the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, see *Le Scuole di Venezia* (ed. Terisio Pignatti), Milano 1984, pp. 99–118, with relevant bibliography.

<sup>6</sup> On San Girolamo dei Croati, see Giovanni BIASOTTI, Josip BUTKOVIĆ, *San Girolamo degli Schiavoni in Roma*, Roma 1925; Giorgio MAGJEREC, *Istituto di S. Girolamo degli Illirici 1453–1953*, Rome 1953; Giorgio KOKŠA, *S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni (chiesa nazionale croata)*, Roma 1971; Maurizio CAPERNA, *Influssi lombardi a Roma*.



2. Interior, *San Girolamo dei Croati, Rome*

to adorn the church and its many chapels as well as the hospital.<sup>7</sup> These visual testimonies of programs promoted by the two most prominent early modern Schiavoni/Illyrian confraternities in Italy have never been thoroughly compared, mostly owing to the obvious differences in their urban, political, and artistic contexts. Nevertheless, the shared origin of their members does provide a critical platform on which to base a discussion and comparison of Schiavoni visual strategies to differentiate themselves in the highly competitive environments of cosmopolitan and artistic centers, such as Venice and Rome.

## The Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternity in Rome

Originally, the Schiavoni/Illyrian confraternity in the Eternal City was situated in the Borgo, but in 1453, Pope Nicholas V conceded permission to certain members of the Slavic community to found a hospice for national pilgrims at Ripetta, next to the derelict church of Santa Marina, enabling them to transform it into their national church dedicated to St. Jerome.<sup>8</sup> Soon after, a national confraternity was mentioned in documents as the responsible body for the hospital's maintenance, sealing the connection of the Schiavoni with the Ripetta area near the Tiber. The papal concession, issued shortly after the successful Jubilee of 1450, coincided with the siege and fall of Constantinople in 1453, and can be understood in two ways. First, as a symbolic act of foreign policy directed towards the inhabitants of the region directly endangered by the Ottoman invasions. The confraternity's connections with the Bosnian court in exile after the Ottoman conquest of the regime in 1463 are significant in this sense.<sup>9</sup> In addition, the concession was part of an urban policy to gentrify a

La chiesa di S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni, opera di Martino Longhi, il Vecchio, *Atti del XXIII Congresso di storia dell'architettura. L'architettura a Roma e in Italia 1580–1621*, 1 (ed. Gianfranco Spagnesi), Roma 1989 (Atti del Congresso Nazionale di Storia dell'Architettura, 23/1), pp. 219–225; *Chiesa Sistina*, 1–2 (ed. Ratko Perić), Roma 1989–1990; Maurizio CAPERNA, La Chiesa di San Girolamo dei Croati (già 'degli Schiavoni' o 'degli Illirici'), *Storia architettura*, 1, 1992, pp. 255–285; Rosanna BARBELLINI AMIDEI, San Girolamo dei Croati, *Roma sacra*, 2/6, 1996, pp. 43–48; Milan IVANIŠEVIĆ, Hrvatska crkva Svetoga Jeronima u Rimu, *U križu je spas. Zbornik u čast nadbiskupa-metropolita mons. Ante Jurića* (eds. Marin Škarica, Ante Mateljan), Split 1997, pp. 407–446; Zvonimir SERŠIĆ, *San Girolamo dei Croati. Viaggio nell'arte*, Roma 2011; Jasenka GUDELJ, San Girolamo dei Croati a Roma. Gli Schiavoni e il cantiere sistino, *Identità* 2015 (n. 1), pp. 297–325; Jasenka GUDELJ, The Hospital and Church of the Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternity in Early Modern Rome, *Confraternitas*, 27/1–2, 2016, pp. 5–29, with bibliography.

<sup>7</sup> GUDELJ 2016 (n. 6).

<sup>8</sup> On the origins of the confraternity, see Jure BOGDAN, 550 godina hrvatskih ustanova svetog Jeronima u Rimu, *Obnovljeni život*, 58/4, 2003, pp. 479–489; Jadranka NERALIĆ, Il ruolo delle istituzioni illiriche di Roma nella formazione della nazione croata, *Chiese* 2017 (n. 1), pp. 133–160; Jasenka GUDELJ, San Girolamo degli Schiavoni/Illyrians/Croats in *Roma communis patria*. Constructing National Identity Through Papal Interventions, *RIHA Journal*, in press, with bibliography.

<sup>9</sup> The Bosnian queen dowager, Katarina Kotromanović Kosača (1424–1478), came to Rome in 1467 and lived with

degraded area around the Mausoleum of Augustus that would serve pilgrims from South-Slavic historical lands.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, the immigrants in the Papal States from the extensive territories of the Republic of Venice, the lands of the Hungarian and/or Habsburg Crown, the Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), and parts of the Ottoman empire, now organized as the Schiavoni confraternity, primarily hosted pilgrims of the *natio*, who also represented a permanent, albeit fluid, tie with the homeland. Moreover, the brotherhood, presided over by a president, two guardians, and two syndics, helped the sick, the impoverished, students, poor marriageable girls, and single or widowed women of the nation.<sup>11</sup>

One of the facets of their increasingly public identity was to change the titular saint of what was fast becoming a Schiavoni “national” church. The cult of St. Jerome had become widespread in Rome after the arrival of the Church Father’s relics in Santa Maria Maggiore at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, but it seems that no church was dedicated to him before Pope Nicholas’s donation to the Schiavoni.<sup>12</sup> The cult of Jerome as the national saint of the Schiavoni/Illyrians was based on his much-discussed birthplace of Stridon, on the border of Dalmatia. For example, Pier Paolo Vergerio (1370–1444) and Biondo Flavio (1392–1463) placed Stridon in Istria, while Dalmatian humanists Marko Marulić (1450–1524) and Vinko Pribojević (?–after 1532) recognized it in Skradin, near Šibenik.<sup>13</sup> The two opinions, although concurring that Jerome was born on the Eastern coast of the Adriatic, were not without wider political implications. Biondo, writing in 1453, the year of the endowment to the Schiavoni in Rome, included Istria among the regions of his *Italia illustrata*, but he also confirmed the attribution of the Glagolitic alphabet and the translation of the Holy Scriptures to Jerome, thus triggering centuries-long discussions on the ethnicity of the saint. Nevertheless, Bi-

her court under the protection of Pope Sixtus IV. She left a relic of the Holy Cross and some liturgical books and objects to the church of St. Jerome. One of her ladies in waiting, Paola Mirković, was buried in that church while the other, Marija Mišljenović, bequeathed a house for the poor women of the nation, see NERALIĆ 2017 (n. 8), pp. 139–140. The importance of the last Slavic ruler in the region and the papal support of the exiled court for the church of St. Jerome cannot be overestimated.

<sup>10</sup> GUDELJ 2016 (n. 6), pp. 6–9.

<sup>11</sup> The Italian terms are *presidente*, *guardiani*, and *sindici*; see Josip BURIĆ, *Iz prošlosti hrvatske kolonije u Rimu*, Roma 1966, pp. 17–20; GUDELJ 2016 (n. 6), pp. 5–29; NERALIĆ 2017 (n. 8), p. 150. The organization of Venetian *scuole piccole* was somewhat different (see Francesca ORTALLI, «Per salute delle anime e delli corpi». *Scuole piccole a Venezia nel tardo Medioevo*, Venezia 2001, pp. 17–28); the Schiavoni confraternity was governed by a Guardian Grande (governor, in other confraternities called the *gastaldo*) aided by a Vicario (assistant and deputy to the Guardian Grande), Guardian da Matin (supervisor of ceremonies), Scrivano (bookkeeper), ten Decani (executive officers) and a varying number of Sindaci (officers), appointed for specific tasks, such as the supervision of construction sites, legal matters, etc. See Guido PEROCCO, *Carpaccio nella Scuola di S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni*, Venezia 1964, pp. 20–21.

<sup>12</sup> GUDELJ (n. 8), in press.

<sup>13</sup> Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Giovanni d’Andrea, Hierononymianus, Ottob. Lat. 480, 16: *locus, quo sepulti sunt parentes Hieronymi, hodie vocatur Sdregna in diocesi Triestina et ibi est ecclesia Beati Hieronymi tamen pauperima et dicitur quod olim vocabatur Strido*; published in John M. McMANAMON, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome*, Tempe, Arizona 1999, p. 199: n. 1. See also Darko NOVAKOVIĆ, Novi Marulić. Vita divi Hieronimi, *Colloquia Maruliana*, 3, 1994, pp. 5–24; *Blondo Flavio’s Italia Illustrata. 1: Northern Italy* (ed. Catherine Jones Castner), Binghamton, New York 2005, pp. 224, 226; Vinko GRUBIŠIĆ, Trojica humanista o rodnome mjestu svetog Jeronima. Flavio Biondo, Marko Marulić i José De Espinoza De Sigüenza, *Colloquia Maruliana*, 17, 2008, pp. 227–298; Julia VERKHOLANTSEV, *The Slavic Letters of St. Jerome. The History of the Legend and its Legacy, or How the Translator of the Vulgate became an Apostle of the Slavs*, DeKalb, Illinois 2014; Ines IVIĆ, Jerome Comes Home. The Cult of St. Jerome in Late Medieval Dalmatia, *Hungarian Historical Review*, 5/3, 2016, pp. 618–644; Ines IVIĆ, The Making of a National Saint. Reflections on the Formation of the Cult of Saint Jerome in the Eastern Adriatic, *Visualizing Past* 2018 (n. 2), pp. 247–278.

ondo clearly embraced the idea of the Church Father as author of the alphabet and the translation, much promoted by the Eastern Adriatic priests who supported liturgy in the Slavonic language and wanted to upgrade the status of the script.<sup>14</sup> This attribution, concomitant with the popularization of the image of St. Jerome as scholar-saint in the late 14<sup>th</sup> and early 15<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>15</sup> was dear to the humanist Pope Nicholas, and was certainly an important element in the self-image of the immigrant community in question. Therefore, the papal endowment became an official response of the Curia to strategies promoting Jerome as a “national” saint of the Schiavoni, although this never became the sole identity of the Church Father throughout Italy.

### The Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni in Venice

On the other hand, the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni was founded in 1451 in the church of St. John the Baptist (San Giovanni Battista del Tempio), when it was still held by the Venetian branch of the Knights Hospitaller. The Scuola gathered immigrants from the Dalmatian territories under Venetian rule and provided charitable support to “Dalmati, et altri Schiavoni”<sup>16</sup> residing in Venice. The choice of the Scuola’s patron saints, as one would expect, was motivated by the original hometowns of the confraternity members, many of them from Antivari (Bar) and Cattaro (Kotor), towns that sought heavenly protection from Sts. George and Tryphon, respectively. Both saints had special significance for immigrants from Cattaro, whose numbers increased drastically in the years around the foundation of the Scuola di San Giorgio e Trifone.<sup>17</sup> Tryphon was venerated as the official patron saint of Cattaro, who replaced the town’s earlier patron St. George, following the translation of his relics from Asia Minor to Cattaro in 809,<sup>18</sup> while devotion to St. George remained embedded in local ceremonial practices related to celebrations dedicated to St. Tryphon.<sup>19</sup> Far from Venetian Dalmatia, but still within the same state, St. George assumed special, even political significance appropriate to the Scuola’s adopted home. As one of the most renowned warrior saints, George shared the iconographic features of an armor-clad warrior slaying a dragon with Theodore, whose veneration in Venice was second only to that of St Mark. The importance of St. George and

<sup>14</sup> The Glagolitic script was invented by the 9<sup>th</sup>-century Salonico brothers, Sts. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius. The pair gained popularity in the Orthodox lands, but was not entirely accepted by the Catholic Church; see VERKHOLANSTEV 2014 (n. 13).

<sup>15</sup> Bernhards RIDDERBOS, *Saint and Symbol. Images of Saint Jerome in Early Italian Art*, Groningen 1984; Eugene Franklin RICE, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, Baltimore-London 1985; Daniel RUSSO, *Saint Jerome en Italie*, Paris-Roma 1987; Christiane WIEBEL, *Askese und Endlichkeitsdemut in der italienischen Renaissance*, Weinheim 1988; Nicholas TERPSTRA, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna*, Cambridge 2002, pp. 19–23.

<sup>16</sup> Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASV), Proveditori di comun, Reg. P, Matricole delle scuole-Castello, Matricola della Scuola dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, fol. 582v. Key contributions to the history of the Scuola remain: Rodolfo PALLUCCHINI, *I teleri del Carpaccio in San Giorgio degli Schiavoni*, Milano 1961 (with an Appendix by Guido Perocco); PEROCCO 1964 (n. 11), and numerous studies by Lovorka ČORALIĆ, collected and reprinted in *U gradu svetoga Marka. Povijest hrvatske zajednice u Mlecima*, Zagreb 2001, and Lovorka ČORALIĆ, *Hrvatski pri-nosi mletačkoj kulturi. Odabrane teme*, Zagreb 2003.

<sup>17</sup> Lovorka ČORALIĆ, *Iseljenici iz grada Kotora u Mlecima XV.–XVIII. st.*, *Povijesni prilozi*, 17, 1998, p. 134.

<sup>18</sup> On the veneration of St. Tryphon, see Ivanka PETROVIĆ, *Hagiografska tradicija sv. Trifuna i bokeljskih svetaca, Zagovori svetom Tripunu. Blago Katorske biskupije. Povodom 1200 obljetnice prijenesa moći svetoga Tripuna u Kotor* (ed. Radoslav Tomić), Galerija Klovičevi dvori, Zagreb 2009, pp. 38–46.

<sup>19</sup> Valentina ŽIVKOVIĆ, *Religioznost i umetnost u Kotoru. XIV–XVI vek*, Beograd 2010, pp. 147–148.

his association with St. Theodore is attested by the mosaics of St. Mark's Basilica, where the two saints appear side by side in three scenes, even though George's popularity and the longevity of his cult did not earn him official recognition comparable to that of Theodore.<sup>20</sup> In addition to locally flavored, Cattaro-related reasons and his obvious suitability in the context of Venetian religious life, the choice of George as patron saint of the Dalmatian community, comprising predominantly sailors and maritime soldiers, must have seemed appropriate in light of the saint's image of a prototypical ideal Christian knight and protector against misfortunes at sea. Almost as a confirmation of that choice and a contribution to the visibility of the recently founded Scuola, in December 1462, the veneration of George in Venice was reinvigorated with the arrival of the relic of the saint's head from the island of Aegina, which was deposited in the church of San Giorgio Maggiore.<sup>21</sup> Four decades later, the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni obtained a precious relic of its own. In 1502, Paolo (Polo) Valaresso, the Venetian nobleman and military commander of Corone in Peloponnese, presented the Dalmatian confraternity with a relic of St. George that had belonged to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who had died in Corone.<sup>22</sup> The relic's donation has long been associated with Carpaccio's narrative cycle, either as the occasion that prompted its commission,<sup>23</sup> or as the event that marked the end of the artist-patron relationship between Carpaccio and commissioner Paolo Valaresso, as proposed by Augusto Gentili, who argued that the *teleri* (paintings on canvas) dedicated to St. George were already in place at the time of the relic's arrival.<sup>24</sup> Associating the relic with such a high-ranking church official as the Patriarch of Jerusalem (although unnamed) might well have been perceived as both authenticating and enhancing the status of the donation, allowing both the noble Venetian donor and confraternal recipients to augment the importance and public image of their Scuola in Venetian society.

In Carpaccio's cycle, scenes from the lives of the locally venerated George and Tryphon were complemented by two episodes from the life of St. Jerome and another representing St. Augustine in his study. Augustine had held Jerome in special reverence, as reported in the written sources proposed for the scene's inclusion: the *Golden Legend*, *Catalogus sanctorum*, and *Hieronymus vita et transitus* (fig. 3, 4, 5). St. Jerome introduced a palpable connection with the confraternal members' homeland, since by the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, the recognition of Jerome's Dalmatian origin had been firmly established in scholarly work produced in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which resulted in the growing veneration of Jerome as patron saint of Dalmatia.<sup>25</sup> This suggests a significant shift away from the distinctly local cults of the two saints, to which the confraternity was dedicated,

<sup>20</sup> Edward MUIR, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, Princeton 1981, pp. 95–96.

<sup>21</sup> Kenneth Meyer SETTON, St George's Head, *Speculum*, 48, 1973, pp. 9–10; MUIR 1981 (n. 20), p. 96.

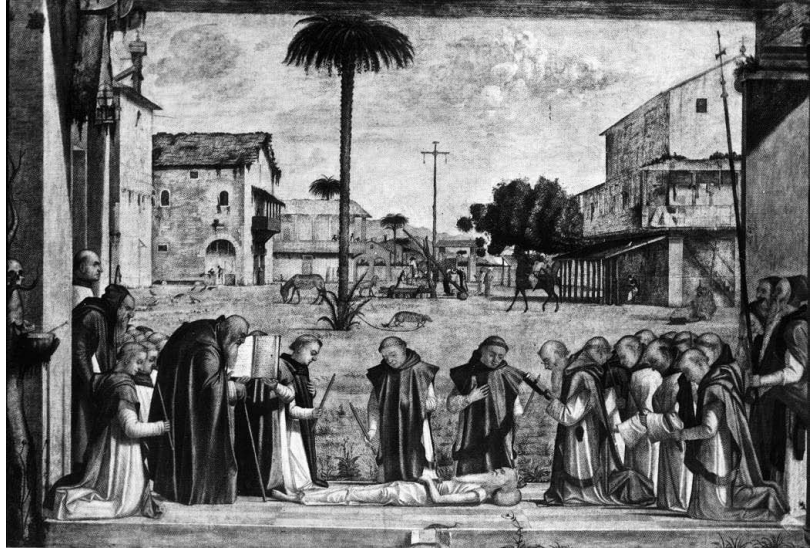
<sup>22</sup> ASV, Proveditori di comun, Reg. P, Matricole delle scuole–Castello, Matricola della Scuola dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, fols. 595v–596. See also the transcription from the original *mariegola* in PEROCCO 1964 (n. 11), pp. 215–216. The identity of the Patriarch of Jerusalem is not given in the document, which begins with: *Vegnando a morte el Patriarca de Gierusalemme in Coron uomo de buona vita, e fama, ed era vecchissimo, ed al ponto della sua morte manifestò havere appresso de lui una Reliquia de San Zorzi /.../*. ASV, Proveditori di comun, Reg. P, Matricole delle scuole–Castello, Matricola della Scuola dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, fol. 595v.

<sup>23</sup> PEROCCO 1964 (n. 11), p. 9; Patricia Fortini BROWN, Carpaccio's St. Augustine in His Study. A Portrait Within a Portrait, *Augustine in Iconography. History and Legend* (eds. Joseph Cletus Schnaubelt, Frederick Van Fleteren), New York 1999, p. 510.

<sup>24</sup> Augusto GENTILI, *Le storie di Carpaccio. Venezia, i Turchi, gli Ebrei*, Venezia 2006<sup>3</sup>, p. 77. On relics owned by the Scuola, see Ana MARINKOVIĆ, Saints' Relics in the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni. An Anti-Ottoman Pantheon, *Visualizing Past* 2018 (n. 2), pp. 25–44.

<sup>25</sup> IVIĆ 2016 (n. 13); see also IVIĆ 2018 (n. 13).

3. Vittore Carpaccio:  
*Funeral of St. Jerome*,  
1502, Scuola di San Giorgio  
e Trifone, Venice



4. Vittore Carpaccio:  
*St. Jerome and the Lion*,  
1502, Scuola di San Giorgio  
e Trifone, Venice



5. Vittore Carpaccio:  
*Vision of St. Augustine*,  
1502, Scuola di San Giorgio  
e Trifone, Venice



towards a more universally venerated saint whose divine protection encompassed the entire territory of Venetian Dalmatia. An image of St. Jerome was included in the 15<sup>th</sup>-century polyptych that probably adorned the Scuola's first altar in the church of San Giovanni del Tempio,<sup>26</sup> although the saint's presence in the daily life of the Dalmatian confraternity was not as pronounced in its earliest decades. Instead, devotion to Jerome remained restricted to extraordinary events that were later recognized as the most important in the Scuola's history.

Jerome was first mentioned alongside George and Tryphon in 1464 in the 100-day indulgence granted to the members by Cardinal Bessarion, which included the feast days of George (23 April), Jerome (30 September), Tryphon (3 February), Corpus Domini, and the first Sunday of the Ascension.<sup>27</sup> In ordinary religious devotions prescribed by the confraternity's statutes, approved in 1455, Jerome was overshadowed throughout the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century by George and Tryphon to whom, after all, the Scuola was originally dedicated. Several reasons might explain Jerome's exclusion from the initial choice of saints at the time of the Dalmatian confraternity's foundation. First, a confraternity dedicated to San Girolamo in the *sestiere* of Cannaregio (founded in 1367) already existed among Venetian *scuole piccole*, and a 1440 deliberation of the Council of Ten prohibited confraternal foundations dedicated to the same saint, although this rule seems not to have been strictly enforced.<sup>28</sup> This gradually changed at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The patron saint of Dalmatia was first mentioned in the statutes in early 1498, when confraternity members devoted to assisting the poor of the "Dalmatian nation" asked for their prayers to be directed towards the intercession of the Lord and Sts. George, Jerome, and Tryphon.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, in 1502—when devotion to Jerome found its artistic expression in Carpaccio's famous *teleri*—the Scuola was given a concession by the apostolic legate to perform religious services in the church of San Giovanni del Tempio on Jerome's feast day.<sup>30</sup>

### Selecting Events from the Life of St. Jerome: Venice

The choice of events from the life of St. Jerome in Carpaccio's cycle seem particularly significant in the context of the Scuola's charitable functions and its position in Venetian society. The *Funeral of St. Jerome* and *St. Jerome and the Lion* suggest a firm connection with the ritual practices of the Scuola, since one of their fundamental missions was to provide a proper funeral and burial for

<sup>26</sup> The two panels, one with St. Jerome and the other with St. Tryphon, are now preserved in the *sala superiore* of the Scuola's meetinghouse, see *Le Scuole di Venezia* 1984 (n. 5), p. 118.

<sup>27</sup> PEROCCO 1964 (n. 11), pp. 214–215.

<sup>28</sup> ORTALLI 2001 (n. 11), pp. 14, 45–46; see also Lia SBRIZIOLO, Per la storia delle confraternite veneziane. Dalle deliberazioni miste (1310–1476) del Consiglio dei Dieci. *Scolae communes*, artigiane e nazionali, *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti. Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti*, 126, 1968, p. 432.

<sup>29</sup> ASV, Provveditori di comun, Reg. P, Matricole delle scuole—Castello, Matricola della Scuola dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, fols. 594v–595: *Siando questa Scuola fatta, e dedicata in beneficio della Nanzion [sic] Nostra dalmatina, e per accrescer la devotion delle persone, ed augmentar questa nostra Scuola, vedendo, che molti, e molti poveri de questa nostra benedetta Scuola sono impotenti, ed in estrema necessità /.../ et acciò che le oration loro et per loro prieghi Missier domenedio, San Zorzi, e San Gierolimo, e San Trifon mantegna, ed augmenti sempre questa nostra Scuola, e fraternitade.*

<sup>30</sup> *In sancti Georgij, sancti Ioannis Baptistae, sancti Triphonis, et sancti Hieronymi festivitibus, ac omnibus, et singulis secundis Diebus Dominicis Cuiuslibet Mensis à primis Vesperis usq. ad secundas vespas inclusive.* Archivio della Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, Venice (ASD), Catastico, fol. 12v.



“Dalmati, et altri Schiavoni” residing in Venice, an act of mercy typically performed by confraternities (fig. 3, 4). Neither religious nor literary sources provide elaborate descriptions of Jerome’s funeral. Jacopo de Voragine states that “./../ Jerome arranged a tomb for himself at the mouth of the cave where the Lord had lain, and after living for ninety-eight years and six months, he died and was buried there.”<sup>31</sup> Pietro de Natalibus’s *Catalogus Sanctorum* (first published in 1493) provides a somewhat more detailed version of the saint’s death, describing him as dying while prone on the ground with arms crossed at his chest in the form of a cross.<sup>32</sup> In Carpaccio’s interpretation, Jerome’s funeral is represented as a collective event, perhaps alluding to the rites held for members buried in the Scuola’s tombs in the church of San Giovanni del Tempio. The choice of subject reflects the charitable character of *scuole piccole*, and finds its precedent in Lazzaro Bastiani’s canvas for the Scuola di San Girolamo, which must have influenced Carpaccio’s rendering of the scene.<sup>33</sup>

The same is true of *St. Jerome and the Lion*, which finds a possible model in Alvise Vivarini’s canvas of the same subject for the Scuola di San Girolamo, now lost but known from an engraving of a later date.<sup>34</sup> Both Vivarini and Carpaccio emphasize the dramatic moment of the monks fleeing from the wild beast that Jerome had brought to the monastery, but the detail that stands out in Carpaccio’s painting is the lion’s position. In the frieze-like narrative, the lion entering from the left bears a striking resemblance to the lion of St. Mark, symbol of the *Serenissima* and well known throughout the Venetian dominion (including Dalmatia). The similarity here was perhaps a subtle visual reminder of the confraternity’s loyalty to the Republic of Venice, explicated in their statutes that mandated the expulsion of any member who committed an act against the state, the Doge, or the city of Venice.<sup>35</sup> As Dalmatians, members of the Scuola di San Giorgio e Trifone sought celestial protection from the region’s patron saint Jerome, but at the same time they strongly supported the Venetian state, hoping that the Signoria would be “revered by foreigners, feared by enemies and dreaded by rebels.”<sup>36</sup>

Scholars have traditionally insisted on there being an anti-Ottoman sentiment present in the Venetian cycle, understandable considering the history of the Schiavoni/Illyrians’ native lands. Figures attired in eastern garb appear throughout Carpaccio’s paintings, not only in the scenes dedicated to the victorious St. George, but also in the background of the stories illustrating Jerome’s life. The appearance of turban-wearing, presumably Muslim figures in situations where they do not belong—for obvious reasons of chronology and geography—seems to broaden the targeted audience of Carpaccio’s Dalmatian patrons. The subtle anti-Ottoman message contained in the presence of these figures entering a Catholic church and conversing with the monks—and therefore

<sup>31</sup> Jacobus de VORAGINE, *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints* (transl. William Granger Ryan), 2, Princeton 1995, p. 215.

<sup>32</sup> Pietro de NATALIBUS, *Catalogus sanctorum et gestorum eorum ex diuersis voluminibus collectus*, Venetiis 1506, p. 197v.

<sup>33</sup> Peter HUMFREY, The Life of St. Jerome Cycle from the Scuola di San Gerolamo in Cannaregio, *Arte Veneta*, 39, 1985, p. 45; Patricia Fortini BROWN, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio*, New Haven-London 1988, pp. 270–271.

<sup>34</sup> HUMFREY 1985 (n. 33), p. 41.

<sup>35</sup> ASV, Provveditori di comun, Reg. P, Matricole delle scuole–Castello, Matricola della Scuola dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, fols. 584–584v.

<sup>36</sup> ./../ *eccetto per commandamento della nostra Serenissima Signoria, a cui piovano mai sempre dal Cielo le celesti benedizione [sic], e sia riverita dagli Stranieri, temuta da Nemicj, e paveritata da ribelli*. ASV, Provveditori di comun, Reg. P, Matricole delle scuole–Castello, Matricola della Scuola dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, fol. 590.

accepting a different faith—reveals the intent of the Dalmatian community to further accentuate their participation in the Ottoman wars and reassert their shared destiny with the Venetian dominions. Although tempting, these posited connections must be considered with caution, given Carpaccio's ability and inclination to create imaginary pictorial spaces filled with exotic figures that cannot be associated with particular places, but remain products of his vivid imagination as "the last interpreter of the dream of Mediterranean power".<sup>37</sup>

Nevertheless, the historical moment that marked the emergence of Schiavoni confraternities both in Rome and in Venice is highly suggestive. As mentioned, the Roman hospice was founded during the siege and fall of Constantinople in 1453, and in the following decades its institutions bore strong connections—unfortunately without any significant, extant visual testimonies—with the Bosnian court in exile, which represented the last Slavic rulers from the region before the Ottoman conquest.<sup>38</sup> The visibility of the Slavic *natio* within the galaxy of Roman and Venetian national institutions reminded the host society of the dangerous situation on what had become the border of Catholicism.

### Visual Celebrations of St. Jerome in Late Cinquecento Rome

Some 80 years after the completion of Carpaccio's paintings for the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, the visual celebration of Jerome became a central theme of the frescoes adorning the saint's new Roman church promoted by Sixtus V (reigned 1585–1590), who had previously been the titular cardinal. The grand edifice, designed in 1586 by Martino Longhi the Elder, was paid for entirely by the Curia. The Sistine painters—Antonio Viviani, Andrea Lilli, Paris Nogari, Avanzino Nucci, and Paolo Guidotti Borghese—coordinated by Giovanni Guerra were commissioned to execute the decoration.<sup>39</sup> As the iconographic program for the paintings was being developed, a national chapter of priests of Illyrian origin and speaking the Illyrian language was also established. It is probable that Aleksandar Komulović (1548–1608) from the Split diocese, the first archpriest of the chapter and president of the confraternity in 1590, took part in creating the program.<sup>40</sup>

The scenes related to St. Jerome are concentrated in the new rectangular presbytery of the church, with three large compositions explained by the Latin inscriptions below: *The Dalmatian saint explains difficult passages of the Holy Scriptures*; *The priestly ordination of St. Jerome in Antioch by Bishop Paolino*; *St. Jerome disputes with two Doctors of the Orthodox Church, St. Basil the Great and St. Gregory Nazianzeno* (fig. 6, 7, 8).<sup>41</sup> While the first scene, praised by Claudio Strinati for its fresh naturalism,<sup>42</sup> is an interesting interpretation of the more canonical iconography of Jerome in

<sup>37</sup> PALLUCCHINI 1961 (n. 16), p. 37.

<sup>38</sup> NERALIĆ 2017 (n. 8), pp. 139–143.

<sup>39</sup> GUDELJ 2015 (n. 6), pp. 297–325.

<sup>40</sup> GUDELJ 2015 (n. 6), p. 316.

<sup>41</sup> The scenes are explained with Latin inscriptions: *CONSULTUS A DOCTORIBUS LEGIS SCRIPTURARUM ARCANA RESERAT DIFFICULTATES EXPLANAT* (north wall); *ANTIOCHIAE PER PAULLINUM ANTISTITEM SACERDOTIO INITIATUR / ROMAM VENIT PRO CONPONENDIS EPISCOPORUM CONTROVERSIS / DAMASO PONTIFICI MAXIMO IN SCRIBENDIS EPISTOLIS ADIUTOR FUIT* (east wall); *DE SACRIS LITTERIS DISSERIT CUM GREGORIO NAZIANZENO ET BASILIO MAGNO* (south wall). See IVANIŠEVIĆ 1997 (n. 6), p. 435.

<sup>42</sup> Claudio STRINATI, Girolamo Nanni e il Naturalismo, *La festa delle arti. Scritti in onore di Marcello Fagiolo per cinquant'anni di studi* (eds. Vincenzo Cazzato, Sebastiano Roberto, Mario Bevilacqua), 1, Rome 2014, pp. 282–285.

6. Giovanni Guerra  
and other painters:  
*St. Jerome Explains Difficult  
Passages in the Holy Scriptures,*  
fresco, 1589–1591,  
*San Girolamo dei Croati, Rome*



7. Giovanni Guerra  
and other painters:  
*Priestly Ordination of St. Jerome  
in Antioch by Bishop Paolino,*  
fresco, 1589–1591,  
*San Girolamo dei Croati, Rome*



8. Giovanni Guerra  
and other painters:  
*St. Jerome Disputes with Two  
Doctors of the Orthodox Church,  
St. Basil the Great and  
St. Gregory Nazianziano,*  
fresco, 1589–1591,  
*San Girolamo dei Croati, Rome*



the cave, the central one is a post-Tridentine visual explanation of the rite of priestly ordination and the role of the bishop, who was extremely important in the establishment of the national chapter. The third scene represents the dialogue with Orthodoxy, a crucial part of the discussions of the Council of Trent, resulting in the recognition of the Four Church Fathers (or Doctors) of the Eastern Church by the papacy.<sup>43</sup> St. Jerome, holding two books and with a lion at his feet, floats over the presbytery, and is further identified by the inscription: “S. Hieronymo Illyricorum”. The books, particularly numerous throughout the cycle, accentuate the significance of the new edition of the Vulgate, published in 1590, the result of Pope Sixtus’s personal efforts. The pontiff also had Jerome depicted by the same painters as the inventor of the Glagolitic alphabet in the Vatican Library.<sup>44</sup>

Two other national saints represented in the Sistine program were the medieval Dalmatian popes, Gaius and John, situated in the lunette above the *Ordination of the Priests*. Sts. Doimus and Rainerius, particularly venerated in the Split diocese, are depicted in the lunette of the transept, thus promoting the civic cults of the Dalmatian archbishopric, whose bishop held the title of *primas Dalmatiae totiusque Croatiae*. The strong influence of the Split clerics in the chapter, who were also members of the confraternity, put a substantial accent on the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The iconography of St. Jerome at the Schiavoni national church was specially devised for the papal investment in the visibility of the confraternity and the chapter, whose members originated from the border between Catholicism, Orthodoxy, and Islam. The figures to whom Jerome speaks, standing before the cave wearing Turkish robes and turbans (but not exclusively), turn their backs to the viewer and gesticulate dramatically; some indicate stages of acceptance while others seem to disagree vehemently. They may prefigure the role of the Schiavoni in disseminating Holy Scripture. The emphasis is not on military conflict, but on Jerome’s reconciliatory actions that transmit a delicately expressed message of superiority, which had few parallels in the contemporary world of adamant confessional strife. The same feeling pervades the scene of the *disputa* with the Orthodox. Here, this superiority is demonstrated by a man wearing a Greek hat (on the far right): his pointing finger clearly indicates Jerome as the winner of the learned disputation. The language spoken (and written) by Catholic Schiavoni was understood throughout Southeastern Europe and, therefore, used in missions, following the example of the other saintly pair represented, the interconfessional saints Cyril and Methodius. The Slavic apostles, though very popular among both the South-Slavic Orthodox and in Bohemia, were still disputed in Rome and in Dalmatia. Their placement in the Schiavoni church is another innovative element, consecrating their role in post-Tridentine Rome.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> The Doctors of the Eastern Church—John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Athanasius of Alexandria—were officially recognized by the Latin Church in 1568. The Schiavoni confraternity’s new protector, Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santori, was previously responsible for the Greek church and college in Rome, Sant’Atanasio dei Greci, promoted by Pope Gregory XIII, see GUDELJ 2015 (n. 6), p. 308.

<sup>44</sup> On the cycles, see GUDELJ 2015 (n. 6), pp. 306–316.

<sup>45</sup> GUDELJ 2015 (n. 6), pp. 310–312. For the hagiography of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, see Franciscus GRIVEC, Franciscus TOMŠIČ, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses. Fontes*, Zagreb 1960 (Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta, 4). On the Salonico brothers in the visual arts in the Slovakian, Czech, and Slovenian lands, see CM 863. *Svatí Cyril a Metoděj. Dějiny, tradice, úcta. Průvodce výstavou* (ed. Štěpánka Chlumská), Praga 2013; Katarína BEŇOVÁ, Cyril a Metod vo výtvarnom umení 19. storočia na Slovensku, *Studia Academica Slovaca*, 42, 2013, pp. 39–58 (with previous bibliography for Slovakia); *Mezi Východem a Západem. Svatí Cyril a Metoděj v kultuře českých zemí* (ed. Simona Jemelková), Olomouc 2013; Ana LAVRIČ, Sv. Ciril in Metod v slovenski umetnosti, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/1, 2016, pp. 93–120, with bibliography for Slovenia.

## Venerating Jerome in Seicento Venice

The veneration of Dalmatia's patron saint in Venice seems to have increased still more in the first decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the Scuola's altar in the church of San Giovanni del Tempio was adorned with a new altarpiece by Matteo Ponzone, with Jerome depicted equal in importance to George and Tryphon.<sup>46</sup> In this context it seems significant that less than two decades later, in 1633, on the occasion of the donation of relics of a number of saints, including those of Jerome, the donor Count Giovanni Angelo Andrea Flavio Comneno referred to himself as the "Guardian Grande della Veneranda Scola delli santi Georgio Triffon et Gieronimo", even though there is no evidence to suggest that the confraternity had officially altered its name.<sup>47</sup> By that time, the iconographic choices for representing Jerome in the meetinghouse of the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni had shifted from the highly narrative, suggesting connections to the confraternity's status and mission, to the more learned, universal iconography of St. Jerome as cardinal and author of the Vulgate, similar to the depictions desired by the Illyrians in Rome. Seicento paintings in the *sala superiore* of the Scuola's meetinghouse depict Jerome as a penitential hermit, kneeling before a crucifix and beating his chest with a rock, with an open book and a lion below (in an oval compartment of the wooden ceiling, attributed to Andrea Vicentino<sup>48</sup>), and as a dignified cardinal (*St. George Fighting the Dragon with Sts. Jerome and Tryphon*, attributed to Gaspar Rem<sup>49</sup>). For the Schiavoni, St. Jerome was all that and more: a Church Father who legitimized and elevated their origin, language, and alphabet.

The question of language was central to both confraternities discussed here, and can be considered one of the key elements that defined their identities. Liturgical services in both Latin and the "Dalmatian" language seem to have been performed in the church of San Giovanni del Tempio since the confraternity's foundation.<sup>50</sup> This was so idiosyncratic that in 1505 the Prior of the church of San Giovanni Battista complained to the Venetian Patriarch that the Scuola was administering religious services "alla lingua schiavona" without his previous consent.<sup>51</sup> In 1514, the Dalmatian confraternity obtained a license from the Grand Master of the Knights Hospitaller Fabrizio del Carretto to celebrate mass in the "lingua Dalmata", since the confraternity members were inexpert in Latin.<sup>52</sup> The

<sup>46</sup> On the altarpiece, see Tanja TRŠKA, Marco Boschini, Matteo Ponzone, and the Altar of the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni in Venice, *Confraternitas*, 27/1–2, 2016, pp. 62–78, with bibliography.

<sup>47</sup> ASD, Catastico, fol. 224.

<sup>48</sup> PEROCCO 1964 (n. 11), p. 204.

<sup>49</sup> Alberto RIZZI, Le tele parietali dell'«albergo» di S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni, *Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone*, 16, 1983, pp. 23–24.

<sup>50</sup> Gastone VIO, *Le Scuole Piccole nella Venezia dei Dogi. Note d'archivio per la storia delle confraternite veneziane*, Costabissara 2004, p. 133.

<sup>51</sup> ASD, Catastico, fol. 25v. *Per el tenor della presente significamo à Vui gastaldo, et compagni della schuola di schiavoni appresso san Zuane dal Tempio come habbiamo inteso à querimonia del Reverendo missier lo Prior de ditta Giesia, che da certo tempo in qua senza sua licentia, ne altra legitima auctorità fatta cantar messa, et offitij alla lingua schiavona, In quella scuolla, dove etiam se administra sacramenti, come è confessar et comunicar, et altri etiam riti, al tutto prohibiti sel non Intervien el consentimento di superiori in spiritual.*

<sup>52</sup> ASD, Catastico, fols. 26–26v. *Noi havemo receputo vostre letere, et visto quanto scrivette sopra il celebrare della messa in lingua Dalmata in la scola sive compagnia vostra situata in le case del nostro Priorato del Templo de Venetia quale dicete essere stata Instituta ad spirituale consolatione della Nation Dalmata Inexperta della lingua latina circa la qualle dal venerando Priore del ditto nostro Priorato è facta alcuna Difficultate. Noi stimando, che sia Il Dalmato, et Latino uno medesimo rito, et approbato dalla santta Matre Ecclesia Romana, et che solumodo Distet in Idiomate*

same issue was accentuated almost three centuries later, in 1806, when the Dalmatian confraternity strived to prevent suppression of their sodality: liturgical services in the Illyrian language, like those performed in their national languages by the Greek and Armenian communities, guaranteed the continuity of religious observance.<sup>53</sup>

The possible role of the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni in the production of printed work in their native language in Venice is yet to be determined,<sup>54</sup> but a suggestion of likely connections is given by Fra Matija Divković's bestowal of letterpress letters used for printing his work *Nauk karstianski (Christian Doctrine)*, published in Venice in 1616, to members of the Scuola "who are of our language".<sup>55</sup> In Rome, the language of their native land was a requirement of members of both the confraternity and chapter, and Aleksandar Komulović even managed to get them to finance the printing of his Croatian catechism in 1582.<sup>56</sup>

Interestingly enough, both the Venetian and Roman seats of the Schiavoni confraternities were decorated with scenes of saints in their book-filled studies, surprised by inspirational visions while writing. Moreover, none of these scenes depicts Jerome, the saint most commonly represented in a *studiolo*. Venetian scenes in which the Dalmatian saint appears feature him curing the lion or supine in death. In Rome, he is shown more intellectually active. His cave is furnished with a small desk and books, and he energetically disputes, takes holy orders, and finally ascends while holding two volumes.

However, the Venetian *Vision of St. Augustine* has attracted considerable scholarly attention with its sophisticated program of naturalistic perception of the divine,<sup>57</sup> while also suggesting that the confraternity understood and supported intellectual work and the dissemination of knowledge and Holy Scripture. This is not surprising given the donations of Bessarion and Valaresso (fig. 5). Moreover, an interesting, but as yet unacknowledged, aspect of the scene's iconography is the connection with St. John the Baptist, who is also a protagonist of St. Augustine's visions and appears to Augustine alongside Jerome.<sup>58</sup> Given that the old Hospice of St. Catherine housed both

*scrivemo al detto vener.do Priore la alligata per la quale ordinamo, che lassa à voi fare le vostre Devotione, in lo Gremio, et Unione della ditta Santta Matre Ecclesia accio di quella ne resultino le bone opere quale à Noi scrivete, valete.*

<sup>53</sup> ASD, Catastico, fol. 248. *Siccome però è di costante pramatica di que' Popoli non istrutti nella lingua lattina di officiare il Sacro Culto nell'Idioma Illirico al pari dei Greci, e degli Armeni, cosi per poter soggiornare in Venezia, ed abbinare colle viste di comercio le pie osservanze di Religione tradussero alcuni loro Ministri del Culto li quali celebrar potessero li Sacri Uffizj ed amministrare li Sacramenti. /.../ Al pari dei Greci, e degli Armeni che col nativo Idioma celebrano in Chiese aposite i Divini Misterj, anco li Slavi nella sola Dalmata Scuola antidedta assistono alle Predicazioni, ed a tutte l'Ecclesiastiche solennità, che appunto si funzionano soltanto nella lingua Illirica.* See also Luka ŠPOLJARIĆ, Vecijanski Skjavoni i povijesno-liturgijska knjižica u čast sv. Jeronima Ilira iz 1498. godine, *Colloquia Maruliana*, 27, 2018, pp. 43–74.

<sup>54</sup> An interesting case in this context is the activity of the Venetian printer Bartolo Occhi, "Libraro a la Riva de Schiavoni", active in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, whose printing house published various titles in "lingua illirica", see Ambroz TUDOR, Bartol Occhi—Kgnighar hervatskih kgnigh, *Mogućnosti*, 43/7–9, 1996, pp. 97–104.

<sup>55</sup> Vine MIHALJEVIĆ, Fra Mate Divković i hrvatska bratovština u Mlecima, *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 38, 1996, pp. 176–180.

<sup>56</sup> It was the first catechism in Croatian: *Nauch Charstianschiza Slovignschi Narod v vlasti iazich [Christian Doctrine for the Slavic People in Their Own Language]*, Roma 1582. On role of the language, see Stjepan KRASIĆ, *Počelo je u Rimu. Katolička obnova i normiranje hrvatskog jezika u XVII. stoljeću*, Dubrovnik 2009.

<sup>57</sup> Among more recent studies, see Victor STOICHITA, De quelques dispositifs télépathiques. Vittore Carpaccio à la Scuola degli Schiavoni de Venise, *Voir l'au-delà. L'expérience visionnaire et sa représentation dans l'art italien de la Renaissance. Actes du colloque international Paris, 3–5 juin 2013* (eds. Andreas Beyer, Philippe Morel, Alessandro Nova), Turnhout 2017, pp. 153–171, with bibliography.

<sup>58</sup> IVIĆ 2018 (n. 13), p. 265; for visual representations of St. John the Baptist and St. Jerome appearing to St. August-

the confraternity of St. John the Baptist and that of San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Carpaccio's *Vision of St. Augustine*, although part of the Jerome cycle—and described as the most “intellectual” composition of the entire narrative cycle—could be interpreted as an ideal visual reminder of the connection between Jerome and the Baptist, and even as a conciliatory element in the often fraught coexistence of the two *scuole piccole*.<sup>59</sup> As we will see, St. Augustine's “auditory” scene of his vision is quite different from the dramatic apparition revealed to St. Thomas Aquinas in the late Cinquecento fresco in San Girolamo.

### A Dominican Decorative Program in San Girolamo, Rome

Much less attention has been given to the lunettes in the Chapel of the Pietà at San Girolamo in Rome, painted by Andrea Lilli (or Lillio) at the same time as the Sistine campaign. The chapel is not mentioned in the payments to Giovanni Guerra for the rest of the cycles, nor are the frescoes mentioned in the confraternity registers, so the two lunettes and the vault scenes with landscapes and the Holy Trinity should be considered a separate, private commission.<sup>60</sup> The lunettes were recently recognized as two episodes in the life of St. Thomas Aquinas: the *Miracle of Healing the Hemorrhagic Woman* and the *Vision of St. Thomas*.<sup>61</sup> The introduction of the Dominican saint, proclaimed a Doctor of the Church in 1567, into the visual program of the chapel may be seen as a certain counterbalance to the presence of the two Eastern Doctors in the presbytery frescoes, whose status was recognized by the Latin Church in 1568.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, the post-Tridentine interest in the Angelic Doctor was also fueled by the Piana edition of his work, published in Rome in 1570, which also contains his *Vita*.<sup>63</sup>

The *Miracle of Healing the Hemorrhagic Woman* represents St. Thomas on the steps of a church in Rome after giving a fervent Easter sermon;<sup>64</sup> in the center of the composition a woman with a pained expression crawls toward him and grasps the hem of his white habit. Her miraculous cure is witnessed by another friar, three women, and a seated, bare-chested man, all of whom gesticulate towards the marvelous event. It is possible that this miracle was chosen because the hagiographic

tine, see RICE 1985 (n. 15).

<sup>59</sup> For disputes between the two confraternities, see VIO 2004 (n. 50), p. 130; Emanuela ZUCCHETTA, La facciata della Scuola dei santi Giorgio e Trifone. Considerazioni e appunti in margine al restauro, *Florilegium artium. Scritti in memoria di Renato Polacco* (ed. Giordana Trovabene), Padova 2006, pp. 263–273.

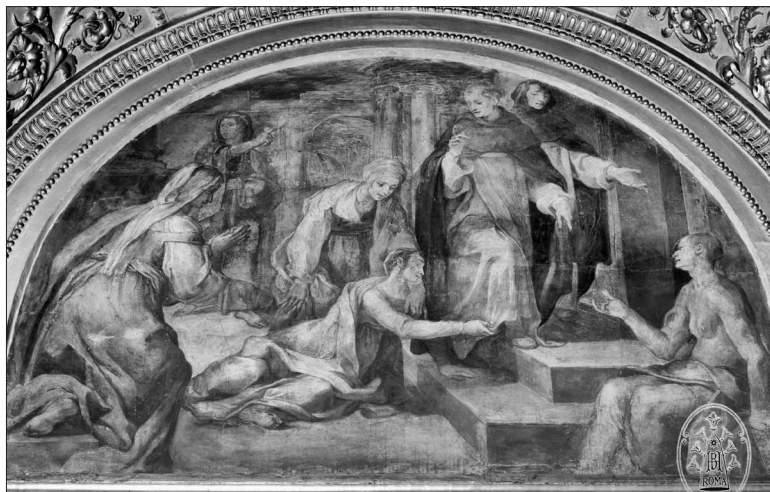
<sup>60</sup> KOKŠA 1971 (n. 6); GUDELJ 2015 (n. 6), p. 317.

<sup>61</sup> IVANIŠEVIĆ 1997 (n. 6), pp. 443–444; SERŠIĆ 2011 (n. 6), pp. 46–47. Massimo PULLINI, *Andrea Lilio*, Milano 2003, p. 146, identifies the saint as B. Augustin Kažotić, a medieval Dalmatian Dominican and bishop of Zagreb and Lucera, but no hagiographical or visual source has been identified to corroborate this reading.

<sup>62</sup> On the iconography of St. Thomas Aquinas, especially after the Council of Trent, see Aliénor CAMBOURNAC, *L'iconographie de saint Thomas d'Aquin après le concile de Trente (1567–1700)*, Paris 2009.

<sup>63</sup> On the role of Aquinas's *Summa* in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, see Jacob SCHMUTZ, *From Theology to Philosophy. The Changing Status of the Summa Theologiae 1500–2000, Aquinas's Summa theologiae. A Critical Guide* (ed. Jeffrey Hause), Cambridge 2018, pp. 221–241. For the 1570 edition of Thomas's life, see *D. Thomae Aquinatis doctoris angelici complectens. Vitam ipsius beati Thomae ex diuersis authoribus collectam*, 1, Romae 1570.

<sup>64</sup> This particular miracle, regularly recorded among Aquinas's miracles, is the first cited in the 1570 edition of the *Vita*, see *D. Thomae Aquinatis* 1570 (n. 63). The church is identified as St. Peter's by Guglielmo DA TOCCO, *Storia di san Tommaso d'Aquino* (ed. Davide Riserbato), Milano 2015, p. 203: n. 369, while the Neapolitan *Processus canonizationis S. Thomae* suggests Santa Maria Maggiore.



9. Andrea Lilli:  
*Miracle of Healing the Hemorrhagic Woman*,  
fresco, c. 1590–1591,  
San Girolamo dei Croati, Rome



10. Andrea Lilli:  
*Vision of St. Thomas Aquinas*,  
fresco, c. 1590–1591,  
San Girolamo dei Croati, Rome

narrative occurred in Rome, while St. Thomas was living at the mother church of the Dominicans in Rome, Santa Sabina,<sup>65</sup> originally built by Pietro from Illyria in the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>66</sup> Moreover, the strong female presence may also be connected with the charity towards women of the *natio* practiced by the confraternity.

The image in the opposite lunette is somewhat enigmatic. While praying at an altar with a small crucifix, St. Thomas dramatically turns towards the vision above his desk. The large bookshelf and writing table with open book, sheet of paper, pen, and inkwell indicate that the friar had been writing before he began to pray. The setting thus encompasses two of Thomas's visions related

<sup>65</sup> See n. 64.

<sup>66</sup> On Pietro (Petrus) from Illyria as the commissioner of the basilica of Santa Sabina, see Ivan FOLETTI, Manuela GIAN-ANDREA, *Zona liminare. Il narcece di Santa Sabina a Roma, la sua porta e l'iniziazione cristiana*, Roma-Bрно 2015, pp. 81–83. Given that he lived before the arrival of the Slavic Croatian tribes to Illyria, his ethnicity could not be Slavic, but he fits into the Illyrian narrative and the contribution of the people from Illyria to the Roman religious horizon.



to his interpretation of Holy Scripture.<sup>67</sup> However, the figures within the red nebula of the vision are still open to interpretation; two figures wrestle in the center with the defeated one wearing a (Roman?) helmet, while more soldiers are climbing a ladder in the background.<sup>68</sup>

This iconography exalting Thomas's vision does not correspond to earlier depictions.<sup>69</sup> Lilli's lunette is highly descriptive and gives almost equal space to *oratio*, *studium*, and *contemplatio*, the saint's main activities, leaving little to the imagination.<sup>70</sup> This is also true of Giovanni Guerra's other narrative compositions in the church. Like the grand Sistine cycle in San Girolamo, the iconography of the Dominican Church Father is innovative, but remains an isolated attempt at transforming the theme visually.<sup>71</sup>

The line connecting St. Jerome—St. Augustine—St. Thomas Aquinas was much favored by the Dominicans, but does not appear in scenes commissioned by the Franciscan Sixtus V. However, two influential Dominicans appear in the Roman confraternal documents at the same time that the presbytery frescoes were underway, and suggest their possible involvement in designing the program: Agostino Quinzio (1541–1611), Korčula bishop and expert in oriental languages; and Giovanni Domenico Marcot Foconio (1541–1602), Split archbishop and founder of a short-lived seminary in his see.<sup>72</sup> This connection needs further assessment, but it should be noted that they were responsible for higher education in Dalmatia and were never replaced by the Jesuits in the

<sup>67</sup> According to the saint's hagiography, two visions take place in a setting comparable to what is represented in the lunette, the so-called Parisian vision and the Neapolitan vision, the latter better known as *Bene scripsisti Thoma*. Both visions are important confirmations of Thomas's correct interpretation of the Eucharist, one of the central tenets of the Council of Trent. *D. Thomae Aquinatis* 1570 (n. 63); CAMBOURNAC 2009 (n. 62), pp. 47–55; DA TOCCO 2015 (n. 64), p. 203.

<sup>68</sup> The figure on the right, possibly also wearing Roman military clothing, remains unclear against the dark background. The present state of research does not allow us to precisely identify the actions represented within the vision in the hagiographic narratives. The fight and the ladder are elements of the iconography of Jacob, to whom St. Thomas is compared by his biographer Guglielmo da Tocco, see DA TOCCO 2015 (n. 64), p. 126, although the figures represented here are not angels. The scene might also be interpreted in a more abstract manner, given Thomas's interest in *Aristotle's scala naturae*, but the issue requires further investigation. An interesting visual version of the *Ascension of St. Thomas Aquinas*, attributed to the Genoese painter Giacchino Assereto (1600–1649) and now in Palais des Beaux-Arts in Lille, depicts the Angelic Doctor climbing a ladder towards the Holy Trinity, see CAMBOURNAC 2009 (n. 62), pp. 66–70.

<sup>69</sup> See Diana NORMAN, *In Imitation of Saint Thomas Aquinas. Art, Patronage and Liturgy Within a Renaissance Chapel*, *Renaissance Studies*, 7, 1993, pp. 1–42; David GANZ, *Bild und Buch als Pforten des Auges. Exklusive Sichtbarkeit in Filippino Lippis Cappella Carafa, Ästhetik des Unsichtbaren. Bildtheorie und Bildgebrauch in der Vormoderne* (ed. David Ganz, Thomas Lentz), Berlin 2004 (KultBild. Visualität und Religion in der Vormoderne, 1), pp. 260–290; Adriano OLIVIA, *Theologica depicta. La rappresentazione e l'esaltazione della teologia di san Tommaso in una lunetta della cappella Carafa alla Minerva. Nuove proposte interpretative sulla base di alcune fonti letterarie*, *Memorie domenicane*, 42, 2011, pp. 223–241.

<sup>70</sup> Personifications of the three activities depicted in the chapel are also present in the frontispiece of Otto van Veen's book, see Ralph DEKONINCK, *Visual Representation as Real Presence. Otto van Veen's Naples Vision of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, *The Secret Lives of Art Works. Exploring the Boundaries between Art and Life* (eds. Caroline van Eck, Joris van Gastel, Elsje van Kessel), Leiden 2014, pp. 179–199.

<sup>71</sup> The most studied example is Santi di Tito's Florentine depiction of 1593, but that painting concentrates on the relationship between the Crucified Christ and the Angelic Doctor, see Ralph DEKONINCK, *Visio intellectualis vel sensualis. La vision napolitaine/parisienne de saint Thomas d'Aquin d'après Santi di Tito*, *Voir l'au-delà* 2017 (n. 57), pp. 131–148. For the highly influential print by Otto van Veen of 1610, see CAMBOURNAC 2009 (n. 61), pp. 47–55; DEKONINCK 2014 (n. 70), p. 180.

<sup>72</sup> GUDELJ 2015 (n. 6), p. 317.

coastal towns, apart from Dubrovnik.<sup>73</sup> Another possible commissioner for the St. Thomas frescoes is the titular-cardinal, the Spaniard Pedro de Deza Manuel (1520–1600), nephew of the respected Thomist Diego de Deza (1443–1523). Moreover, the cardinal was instrumental in the construction of San Girolamo, and the same architect was building his palace nearby.<sup>74</sup>

### Concluding Comparisons

Books, language, translation, and the alphabet were important parts of the life of both confraternities. The Roman confraternity financed the translations by Aleksandar Komulović, the ideator of the grand pictorial program of the Schiavoni/Illyrian national church, while Matija Divković entrusted the Venetian confraternity with Illyrian letters for printing books in 1616, a reminder of the importance of Venice as a center for publishing. Celebrating mass in Illyrian was also essential for both confraternities. Although the Venetian confraternity was granted permission to recite the liturgy in “lingua Illirica” shortly after its foundation, the *scuola* still had to argue for its use in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. In Rome, knowledge and use of the native language was written into the statutes of both the brotherhood and the chapter. Therefore, it is not surprising to find images of intellectual effort as they creatively adorned their spaces, since those themes were deeply embedded in the Catholic culture they so proudly defended.

Moreover, during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the two largest Schiavoni/Illyrian confraternities in Italy commissioned or created programs for works of art that represented their social standing within the urban matrix and political systems of Rome and Venice. The interplay of the collective character of confraternities as commissioners of art and the importance of large investments and donations from powerful individuals are also apparent in their visual expressions, although the process was not linear. To be sure, the highly different contexts of a ducal and a papal metropolis produced very different narratives, but there are a number of points in common. These support Zrinka Blažević’s idea of an Illyrian *ideologeme* consisting of different *topoi*,<sup>75</sup> including, as we have demonstrated, national saints, anti-Ottoman sentiment, and scholarship on language, the alphabet, translations, and books, which were among the most important during the early modern period.\*

<sup>73</sup> On the Dominicans in Croatia, see *Dominikanci u Hrvatskoj* (ed. Igor Fisković), Zagreb 2011, with previous bibliography.

<sup>74</sup> Diego de Deza, archbishop of Seville and inquisitor, wrote *Novarum defensionum doctrinae Angelici doctoris beati Thomae de Aquino*, Sevilla 1517.

<sup>75</sup> Zrinka BLAŽEVIĆ, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*, Zagreb 2008.

\* This work has been fully supported by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project number 2305—*Visualizing Nationhood. The Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternities and Colleges in Italy and the Artistic Exchange with South East Europe (15th–18th c.)*.

## Umetnostno mecenstvo slovanskih/ilirskih bratovščin v Benetkah in Rimu

### Protonacionalna identiteta in likovna umetnost

#### *Povzetek*

Zgodnjenovoveške imigrantske skupnosti po Evropi so se pogosto združevale v bratovščine, s čimer so ustvarile trdne institucije, temelječe na skupnem izvoru, veri in jeziku. Te t. i. nacionalne bratovščine so postale referenca za poznejše imigrante, romarje ali študente istega porekla. Kapele ali cerkve, hospici in hiše, za katere so ti tujci skrbeli, so jih usidrale v družbo, katere gostje so bili, in v urbani prostor. Oblika in okrasje teh stavb naj bi zato odražali tako »drugačnost« teh skupin kot tudi željo, da bi jih lokalni gledalci razumeli, s čimer so ustvarjale posebno vizualno identiteto. Te skupine so uporabljali tudi kot bolj ali manj formalne diplomatske mreže, ki so poudarjale tendence v evropski politiki.

Italija je bila zaradi svoje bližine ter pomembnosti svojih trgovskih središč, univerz in romarskih krajev pa tudi zaradi sorazmerne varnosti pred otomanskimi vpadi cilj številnih emigrantov, ki so prihajali z območja današnje Slovenije, Hrvaške, Bosne in Hercegovine in Črne gore. Osnovali so bratovščine, poimenovane slovanske (*Schiavoni*) ali ilirske; dokumentirane so od sredine 15. stoletja dalje v Rimu, Benetkah, Vidmu in po manjših središčih Mark, njihovo naročništvo pa z vidika oblikovanja samoopredeljujočih vizualnih pripovedi še ni bilo predmet primerjalnih znanstvenih raziskav.

Posebno pomembni in dolgoživi slovanski/ilirski bratovščini sta bili v Benetkah in Rimu; njuna sedeža se odlikujeta tudi s pomembnima slikarskima cikloma. Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone v Benetkah je v glavnem poznana po pripovednem ciklu (1502–1507) Vittoreja Carpaccia. Slovanska/ilirska bratovščina v Rimu je upravljala bolnišnico in cerkev, ki je danes poznana kot San Girolamo dei Croati; na novo je bila zgrajena med letoma 1586 in 1591 in takoj okrašena s ciklom fresk, ki ga je izvršila skupina slikarjev pod vodstvom Giovannija Guerre. Ti dve vizualni priči programov, ki so jih propagirali člani obeh najvidnejših zgodnjenovoveških slovanskih/ilirskih bratovščin v Italiji, še nista bili deležni podrobne primerjave, predvsem zaradi očitnih razlik v njunem urbanem, političnem in umetniškem kontekstu. Vendarle pa predstavlja skupni izvor članov teh bratovščin dobro izhodišče za razpravo in za analizo slovanskih vizualnih strategij, s katerimi so se v tekmovalnih okoljih svetovljanskih in umetniških središč, kot sta Benetke in Rim, razločevali od drugih.

Bistveno različna konteksta dožve in papeške prestolnice sta porodila zelo različne narative, vendar obstajajo skupne točke, ki podpirajo idejo Zrinke Blažević o ilirskem »ideologemu«, sestavljenem iz različnih motivov, med katerimi so najpomembnejši nacionalni svetniki, antiotomanski nazor ter delo na jeziku, abecedi, prevodih in knjigah.

# Figura jima

## Mater Septem Dolorum.

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

## Maria.

O Šhalost moja prevelika,  
Sa vola Jesusa moiga ljubiga sinja,  
Kadar videm nega sveta gledati,  
taku raineno inu kezuaru,  
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 18<sup>th</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> century, research has shown that the copperplate matrices that were used are significantly older, partly going back to the third quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup>-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 15<sup>th</sup>-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 17<sup>th</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> 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-18<sup>th</sup> 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 13<sup>th</sup>-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-16<sup>th</sup> century to their extraordinary profusion in the 18<sup>th</sup> 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, 17<sup>th</sup> century, 18<sup>th</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup>-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 predstavljenih 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 Repanić-Braun**

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

## 1.01 Original scientific article

During the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> 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 Repanić-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, 17<sup>th</sup> century, 18<sup>th</sup> 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, 16<sup>th</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> century, Skalbmierz, now a small, provincial town, was one of the important cities in Lesser Poland. Since the 13<sup>th</sup> century, there has been a collegiate church dedicated to John the Baptist (today the parish church) in the city center. In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> 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 njihovem 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



# CONTRIBUTORS

## SODELAVCI

**Prof. Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke, Ph.D.**  
ehem. Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte,  
Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg  
Privat: Mainzer Str. 15a  
D-80804 München  
appuhn-radtke@t-online.de

**Assist. Prof. Giuseppe Capriotti, Ph.D.**  
Dipartimento di Scienze della Formazione,  
dei Beni Culturali e del Turismo  
Università degli Studi di Macerata  
Contrada Vallebona, Piazzale Bertelli, 1  
IT-62100 Macerata  
giuseppe.capriotti@unimc.it

Department of Education  
Cultural Heritage and Tourism  
University of Macerata

**Prof. Sanja Cvetnić, Ph.D.**  
Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti  
Filozofski fakultet  
Sveučilište u Zagrebu  
I. Lučića 3  
HR-10000 Zagreb  
scvetnic@ffzg.hr

Department of Art History  
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences  
University of Zagreb

**Krzysztof J. Czyżewski, Ph.D.**  
Zamek Królewski na Wawelu –  
Państwowe Zbiory Sztuki  
Wawel 5  
31-001 Kraków, Polska  
krzysztof.czyzewski@wawel.org.pl

Wawel Royal Castle – State Art Collection

**Angelika Dreyer, Ph.D.**  
Corpus der barocken Deckenmalerei  
Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München  
Institut für Kunstgeschichte  
Zentnerstr. 31, Zi. 001  
D-80798 München  
angelika.dreyer@kunstgeschichte.uni-muenchen.de



**Valentina Fiore, Ph.D.**

Villa Rosa - Museo dell'arte vetraria altaresca  
e dell'Area Archeologica di Nervi  
Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali  
Polo Museale della Liguria  
Via Balbi 10  
IT-Genova 16154  
valentina.fiore@beniculturali.it

Villa Rosa – Museum of Glassmaking  
and the Archaeological Area of Nervi  
Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities

**Assoc. Prof. Jasenka Gudelj, Ph.D.**

Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti  
Filozofski fakultet  
Sveučilište u Zagrebu  
I. Lučića 3  
HR-10000 Zagreb  
jgudelj@ffzg.hr

Department of Art History  
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences  
University of Zagreb

**Assoc. Prof. Barbara Murovec, Ph.D.**

ZRC SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut  
Franceta Steleta  
Novi trg 2  
SI-1000 Ljubljana  
bamurovec@zrc-sazu.si

ZRC SAZU, France Stele Institute of Art History

**Joana Balsa de Pinho, Ph.D.**

Faculdade de Letras,  
Universidade de Lisboa  
CLEPUL - Centro de Literaturas  
e Culturas Lusófonas e Europeias  
ARTIS – Instituto de História da Arte  
Alameda da Universidade  
1600-214 Lisboa, Portugal  
joanabalsapinho@gmail.com

School of Arts and Humanities  
University of Lisbon  
CLEPUL – Centre for Lusophone  
and European Literatures and Cultures  
ARTIS – Art History Institute

**Wojciech Sowała**

Instytut Historii Sztuki  
Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie  
Ul. Grodzka 53,  
30-001 Kraków, Polska  
wojciech.sowala@doctoral.uj.edu.pl

Institute of Art History  
Jagiellonian University, Kraków

**Assist. Prof. Matija Ogrin, Ph.D.**

ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za slovensko literaturo  
in literarne vede  
Novi trg 2  
SI-1000 Ljubljana  
matija.ogrin@zrc-sazu.si

ZRC SAZU, Institute of Slovenian Literature  
and Literary Studies

**Assist. Prof. Mija Oter Gorenčič, Ph.D.**

ZRC SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut  
Franceta Steleta  
Novi trg 2  
SI-1000 Ljubljana  
moter@zrc-sazu.si

ZRC SAZU, France Stele Institute of Art History

**Mirjana Repanić-Braun, Ph.D.**

Institut za povijest umjetnosti  
Ulica grada Vukovara 68  
HR-10000 Zagreb  
mbraun@ipu.hr

Institute of Art History

**Prof. Martin Scheutz, Ph.D.**

Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung  
Universitätsring 1  
A-1010 Wien  
martin.scheutz@univie.ac.at

**Assist. Prof. Tanja Trška, Ph.D.**

Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti  
Filozofski fakultet  
Sveučilište u Zagrebu  
I. Lučića 3  
HR-10000 Zagreb  
ttrska@ffzg.hr

Department of Art History  
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences  
University of Zagreb

**Assoc. Prof. Marek Walczak, Ph.D.**

Instytut Historii Sztuki  
Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie  
ul. Grodzka 53  
31-001 Kraków, Polska  
walczak.ihs@poczta.fm

Institute of Art History  
Jagiellonian University, Kraków

**Prof. Emerita Barbara Wisch, Ph.D.**

State University of New York College at Cortland  
500 East 83rd Street, Apt. 3F  
USA-New York, NY 10028  
barbara.wisch@cortland.edu



# PHOTOGRAPHIC CREDITS

## VIRI ILUSTRACIJ

### Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke

- 1: Universitätsbibliothek, Eichstätt, GS(5)11.2.2
- 2, 3, 5, 6–12: Archivum Provinciae Austriae Societatis Iesu, Wien, Kongregationsdiplome
- 4: Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Augsburg, G.14061

### Giuseppe Capriotti

- 1–13: Arcidiocesi di Pesaro, Ufficio Diocesano per i Beni Culturali Ecclesiastici  
(photo: Giuseppe Capriotti)

### Sanja Cvetnić

- 1: Ljudevit Griesbach
- 2–3: Croatian History Museum, Zagreb
- 4: Danko Šourek
- 5, 7: Library of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb (photo: Sanja Cvetnić)
- 6: Scientific Library Dubrovnik (photo: Sanja Cvetnić)
- 8: Miroslav Klemm
- 9–10: City Museum, Varaždin
- 11: Museum of the Požega Valley, Požega
- 12: Nada Sudarević

### Krzysztof J. Czyżewski, Marek Walczak

- 1–5, 7–15, 18–24: Daniel Podosek
- 6, 16: Grzegorz Eliasiewicz
- 17: Paweł Pencakowski
- Drawing 1: *Zabytki sztuki w Polsce. Małopolska*, Warszawa 2007  
(Dehio Handbuch der Kunstdenkmäler in Polen)
- Drawing 2: *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce. 4: Miasto Kraków. 3: Kościoły i klasztory Śródmieścia*, Warszawa 1978

### Angelika Dreyer

- 1–5, 7: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg (photo: Christian von der Mülbe)
- 6: Achim Bunz Photography
- 8: Bistumsarchiv, Augsburg
- 9–11: Angelika Dreyer

**Valentina Fiore**

- 1: RMN-Grand Palais, Louvre, Paris (photo: Michel Urtado)
- 2: Arcidiocesi di Genova, Catalogo Ufficio Beni Culturali Ecclesiastici, photographic archive
- 3, 7: Sara Rulli
- 4–5, 9: Archivio Fotografico Sagep Editori, Genova (photo: Andrea Sorgoli)
- 6, 8: Daniele Sanguineti
- 10–12: Valentina Fiore

**Jasenska Gudelj, Tanja Trška**

- 1: Sailko CC
- 2: Croatian Papal College of St. Jerome, Rome
- 3–5: Photo Library of the Department of Art History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb
- 6–8: Croatian Papal College of St. Jerome, Rome
- 9–10: Bibliotheca Hertziana, Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rom

**Matija Ogrin**

- 1–2: ZRC SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta, Ljubljana (photo: Andrej Furlan)
- 3: Škofjeloški pasijon, 2009 (ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za slovensko literaturo in literarne vede; [http://nl.ijs.si/e-zrc/sp/facs/sp\\_28r-large.jpg](http://nl.ijs.si/e-zrc/sp/facs/sp_28r-large.jpg))
- 4: Loški muzej, Škofja Loka
- 5: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pfarrkirche\\_Eisenkappel\\_-\\_Seitenaltar.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pfarrkirche_Eisenkappel_-_Seitenaltar.jpg) (photo: Raul de Chissota)

**Mija Oter Gorenčič**

- 1: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Postcard\\_of\\_Sveti\\_Primo%C5%BE\\_nad\\_Kamnikom\\_1934.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Postcard_of_Sveti_Primo%C5%BE_nad_Kamnikom_1934.jpg)
- 2: INDOK center, Direktorat za kulturno dediščino, Ministrstvo za kulturo Republike Slovenije, Ljubljana (authors: Jon Grobovšek, Irena Potočnik)
- 3–4, 6–7, 9–13, 15, 17, 19–20: ZRC SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta, Ljubljana (photo: Andrej Furlan)
- 5, 8: ZRC SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta, Ljubljana (photo: Mija Oter Gorenčič)
- 14: ZRC SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta, Ljubljana (photo: Gorazd Bence)
- 16: Dominikanerkloster Sankt Andreas, Köln ([https://gemeinden.erzbistum-koeln.de/st\\_andreas\\_koeln/kirche/schutzmantelTryptychon/index.html](https://gemeinden.erzbistum-koeln.de/st_andreas_koeln/kirche/schutzmantelTryptychon/index.html))
- 18: J. Sprenger, *Erneuerte Rosenkranzbruderschaft*, Augspurg 1477 (<http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0008/bsb00083107/images/index.html?id=00083107&groesser=&fip=eayayztsewqxdsydeayaeyaayaenaeya&no=4&seite=6>)

**Mirjana Repanić-Braun**

- 1–3, 5, 7–9, 13–17: Mario Braun
- 4: Milan Drmić
- 6: <http://dizbi.hazu.hr/object/26955> (photo: Gjuro Griesbach)
- 10–12: Courtesy of Jelena Rančić

**Joana Balsa de Pinho**

- 1–6, 8–16: Joana Balsa de Pinho
- 7: SIPA Archive, Lisbon

**Wojciech Sowała**

1–11: Wojciech Sowała

**Barbara Wisch**

Diagrams 1–2: Barbara Wisch

1: Diseño y Archivo Fotográfico, Museo Nacional de San Carlos, Ciudad de México

2: Trustees of the British Museum

3: Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles

4: John Beldon Scott

5, 10: Barbara Wisch

6–9: Bibliotheca Hertziana, Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rom

11: Archivio Fotografico Soprintendenza Speciale P.S.A.E. e Polo Museale Città di Roma

12: A. P. Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma*, 2, Roma 1962

13: Tanner Nash

14: Nissman, Abromson, Ltd., Brookline, Massachusetts

Vse pravice pridržane. Noben del te izdaje ne sme biti reproduciran, shranjen ali prepisan v kateri koli obliki oz. na kateri koli način, bodisi elektronsko, mehansko, s fotokopiranjem, snemanjem ali kako drugače, brez predhodnega dovoljenja lastnika avtorskih pravic (copyright).

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior permission of the copyright owner.

Za avtorske pravice reprodukcij odgovarjajo avtorji objavljenih prispevkov.

The copyrights for reproductions are the responsibility of the authors of published papers.

Contents • Vsebina

- Barbara Wisch, Archconfraternities and the Arts. Overarching New Themes • Nadbratovščine in umetnost. Opredelitev novih tem
- Mija Oter Gorenčič, Auf den Spuren der Rosenkranzbruderschaft, Albrecht Dürers und zweier Kaiser in den Fresken von St. Primus oberhalb Kamnik • Na sledi rožnovenske bratovščine, Albrechta Dürerja in dveh cesarjev na freskah v cerkvi sv. Primoža nad Kamnikom
- Joana Balsa de Pinho, The Portuguese Confraternities of Mercy and Material Culture. Commissioning Art and Architecture to Promote Institutional Identity • Portugalske bratovščine usmiljenja in materialna kultura. Naročanje umetniških del in stavb za promocijo institucionalne identitete
- Giuseppe Capriotti, The Artistic Patronage of the Confraternities of Schiavoni and Albanians in the Marche Region. The Promotion of the "National" Saints in Pesaro • Umetnostno naročništvo slovanskih in albanskih bratovščin v Markah. Propagiranje »nacionalnih« svetnikov v Pesaru
- Jasenka Gudelj, Tanja Trška, The Artistic Patronage of the Confraternities of Schiavoni/Illyrians in Venice and Rome. Proto-National Identity and the Visual Arts • Umetnostno mecenstvo slovanskih/ilirskih bratovščin v Benetkah in Rimu. Protonacionalna identiteta in likovna umetnost
- Valentina Fiore, The Casse Processionali of Genoese and Ligurian Brotherhoods. Patronage, Preeminence, and Preservation of Anton Maria Maragliano's Multi-Figured Processional Sculptures • Procesijske nosilnice (casse processionali) genovskih in ligurskih bratovščin. Umetnostno naročništvo, veličina in ohranjenost mnogofiguralnih procesijskih skulptur Antona Marie Maragliana
- Krzysztof J. Czyżewski, Marek Walczak, The Archconfraternity of the Rosary in the Dominican Churches of Kraków. Piety and Patronage of the Arts • Nadbratovščina sv. rožnega venca v krakovskih dominikanskih cerkvah. Pobožnost in umetnostno naročništvo
- 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 • Umetnost v službi potridentinskih verskih bratovščin v kolegiatni cerkvi sv. Janeza Krstnika v Skalbmierzu v krakovski škofiji
- Sanja Cvetnić, The Jesuit Bona Mors Confraternities in Croatia • Jezuitske bratovščine za srečno smrt na Hrvaškem
- Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke, Bruderschaftsbrieve Marianischer Kongregationen im 18. Jahrhundert. Zeugnis und korporative Repräsentation • Bratovščinska pisma marijanskih kongregacij v 18. stoletju kot spričevala in sredstva korporativne reprezentacije
- Mirjana Repanić-Braun, The Baroque Artistic Legacy of Confraternities in the Croatian Franciscan Province of Sts. Cyril and Methodius • Baročna umetnostna dediščina bratovščin v hrvaški frančiškanski provinci sv. Cirila in Metoda
- Matija Ogrin, Confraternities in the Slovenian Lands and their Significance for Baroque Slovenian Literature • Bratovščine na Slovenskem in njihov pomen za baročno slovensko književnost
- Martin Scheutz, Bruderschaften in Visitationsprotokollen und im Wiener Diarium. Quellen zu einer Geschichte der frühneuzeitlichen Bruderschaften in Österreich • Bratovščine v vizitacijskih protokolih in v časniku Wiener Diarium. Viri za zgodovino zgodnjenovoveških bratovščin v Avstriji
- 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 • Od skrbi za onostranstvo do pomoči v tostranstvu. Stropne poslikave za južnonemške bratovščine v času katoliškega razsvetljenstva

