

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
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

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>	163	
<i>Umetnost v službi potridentskih verskih bratovščin</i>		
<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.¹ Based on her own distinguished scholarship and the large amount of archival material that still requires examination, she realized that it would be prudent to open up her investigation to a group of scholars, whom she included in the project. She also invited the Faculty of Theology at the University of Ljubljana to participate, understanding from the outset the necessity of interdisciplinary collaboration and the seamless integration of art history with history and theology.

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

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

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

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

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

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

³ Papers important for the project, published outside of the thematic issue of *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* (see note 4): Matjaž AMBROŽIČ, Pregled predjožefinskih bratovščin na slovenskem Štajerskem (Summary: Verzeichnis der vorjosephinischen Bruderschaften in der slowenischen Steiermark), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 19/1, 2014, pp. 17–52; Matjaž AMBROŽIČ, Zanimivosti iz delovanja predjožefinskih bratovščin na slovenskem Štajerskem (Summary: Interesting Facts about the Pre-Josephian Confraternities in Slovenian Styria), *Arhivi. Glasilo Arhivskega društva in arhivov Slovenije*, 38/1, 2015, pp. 35–75; Blaž RESMAN, Accipe consilium a me. Mati božja dobrega sveta ter njene bratovščine in upodobitve na Slovenskem (Summary: Accipe consilium a me. Our Lady of Good Counsel, Her Confraternities and Depictions in Slovenia), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 22/1, 2017, pp. 45–110.

⁴ Matjaž AMBROŽIČ, Evidenčna knjiga mozirske bratovščine sv. Rešnjega telesa (Summary: The Book of Records of the Corpus Christi Confraternity in Mozirje), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ed. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), pp. 111–117; Zdenka BONIN, Bratovščine v severozahodni Istri v obdobju Beneške republike (Summary: Confraternities in North-Western Istria in the Period of the Venetian Republic), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ed. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), pp. 35–53; Ana LAVRIČ, Velike Marijine bratovščine na Slovenskem. Ikonografija bratovščin pod okriljem mendikantskih redov (Summary: Major Marian Confraternities in Slovenia. Iconography of Confraternities under the Protection of the Mendicant Orders), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ed. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), pp. 119–167; Matija OGRIN, Bratovščinske iskre. Duhovna besedila baročnih bratovščin na Slovenskem (Summary: Confraternities and Sparks of Spirit. Books of Baroque Confraternities in Slovenian Lands), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ed. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), pp. 55–88; Mija OTER GORENČIČ, Umetnostna zapuščina srednjeveških marijanskih bratovščin na Kranjskem in Štajerskem (Summary: The Artistic Legacy of Medieval Marian Confraternities in Carniola and Styria), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ed. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), pp. 89–110; Helena SERAŽIN, Štukater Giuseppe Monteventi in oltar škapulirske bratovščine v Piranu (Summary: Stucco Maker Giuseppe Monteventi and the Altar of the Scapular Confraternity in Pirano), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ed. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), pp. 169–184; Jure VOLČJAK, Pregled predjožefinskih bratovščin na ozemlju goriške nadškofije na Kranjskem (Summary: The Register of Pre-Josephinian Confraternities in Carniola in the Territory of the Gorizia Archdiocese), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ed. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), pp. 9–34.

⁵ Angelika DREYER, Konfessionel kontrovers. Süddeutsche Rosenkranzbruderschaften als Auftraggeber für barocke Deckenmalerei (Summary: Confessionally Controversial. South German Confraternities of the Rosary as Patrons of Baroque Ceiling Decorations), *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016 (= *Vloga cerkvenih bratovščin v likovni umetnosti/Religious Confraternities and their Role in Visual Art* (ed. Ana Lavrič), Ljubljana 2016), pp. 185–200.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PREDGOVOR

BRATOVŠČINE: MREŽE NAROČNIKOV, UMETNIKOV IN RAZISKOVALCEV

Barbara Murovec

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTRODUCTION

Barbara Wisch

Guest co-editor

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kraków confraternities encouraged and deeply influenced those with similar devotions throughout the diocese. This was especially evident at the collegiate church of St. John the Baptist in 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.⁵ As a direction for future research, it would be useful to compare the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

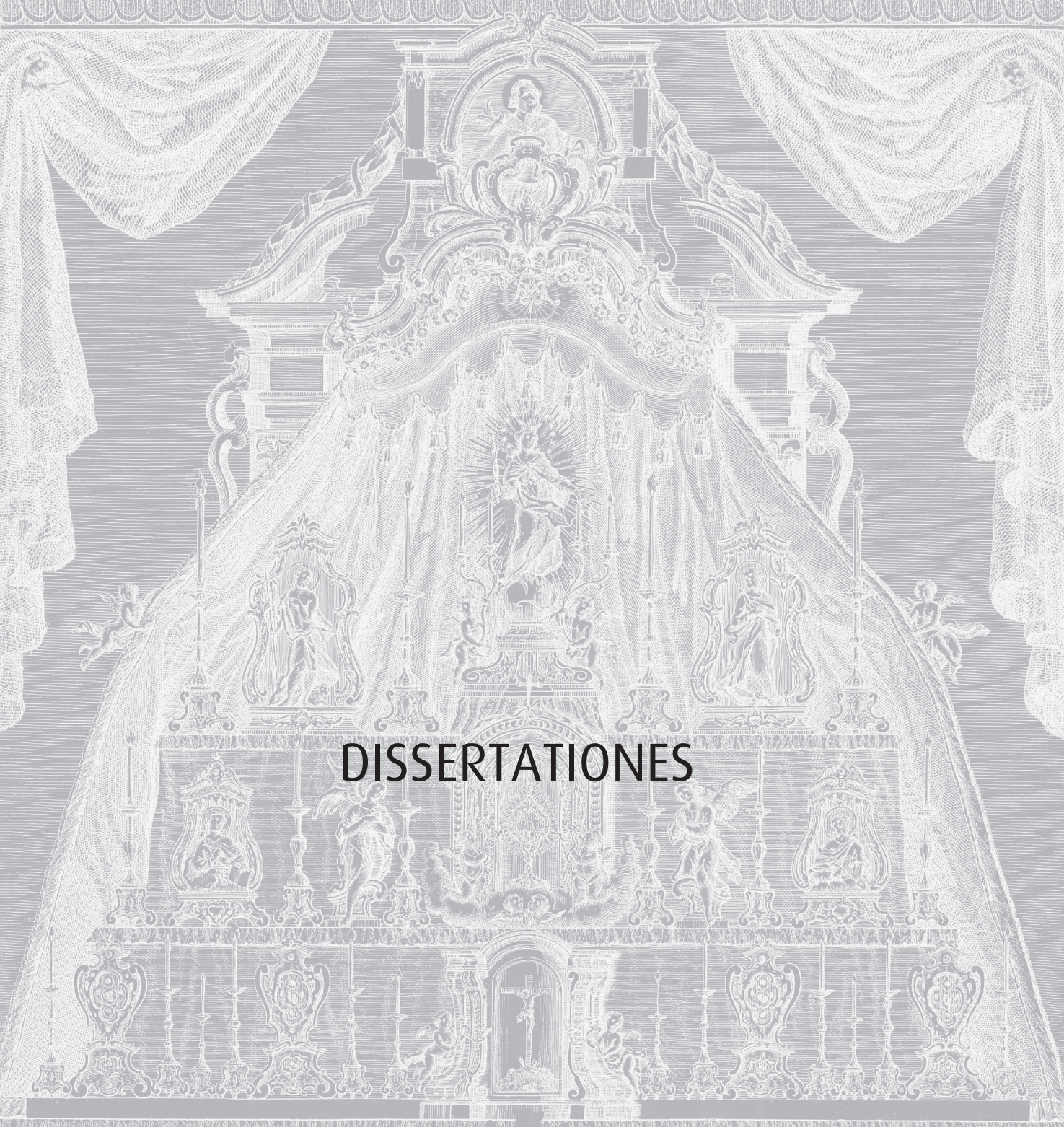
Martin Scheutz presents a range of little-explored written sources that are crucial for understanding the dynamic agency of Austrian confraternities during the early modern period. First and foremost, the sodalities needed to reform certain (im)pious practices in an effort to counter Martin Luther's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

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

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

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

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



DISSERTATIONES

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

Gegenwärtiger Ehr und tugendhafter *erstlicher Vork. W. B. K.*
 ist Unserer Marianischen Versammlung ordentlich erwählt
 worden und hat sich jederzeit als ein Würdiges Mitglied derselben betragen
 da er nun aber anderstwohin zureiten gesehet ist haben Wir ihm Kraft
 des briefs, welcher mit unsern aufgedruckten Insigni und des Herrn
 Secten- und Secretary Namen unterzeichnet ist, aller orten
 uns anempfehlen wollen, mit bitte, man möchte ihn als eines
 derer Mitglieder erkennen, gubwillig an und aufnehmen,
 dieses Wir dem auch gebühr zuerwiedrigen Versprechen
 gegeben in München den 21. Nov. 1793.

PRÆFECTUS

*Johann Ignaz
 Schmid Buchbinder*



SECRETARIUS

*Wolfgang
 Rebyan
 Wagner*

The Jesuit Bona Mors Confraternities in Croatia

Sanja Cvetnić

*In honorable memory of
Elizabeta Martinović-Liza (1966–2017)*

The Jesuit approach to the *ars moriendi*—as it was developed by Fathers Bellarmino, Carafa and Manni¹—was implemented in the program of the newly founded Congregazione del Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo moribondo sopra la Croce e della Santissima Vergine Maria sua Madre Addolorata (Confraternity of Our Lord Jesus Christ Dying on the Cross and of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, His Sorrowful Mother), also called the Bona Mors Confraternity, in the Jesuit Casa Professa and the adjacent church of Il Gesù in Rome (1648).² The Confraternity aimed to promote the Tridentine concept of *bonæ vitæ*, a life based on the Sacraments, especially frequent Communion, so that a good death—and salvation—would inevitably follow. The Bona Mors became an exceptionally efficient apparatus for the Jesuit missionaries to promote Tridentine spirituality to large numbers of people wherever they settled, such as in Croatia. Fundamental studies on the history of the Jesuits in Croatia, written by the preeminent Father Miroslav Vanino, S.J., include groundbreaking research on the Bona Mors confraternities in Zagreb (1653), Rijeka (1656), Varaždin (1662), Dubrovnik (1670 or earlier), Požega (1704), Osijek (1703) and Belgrade (1726),³ while the Bona Mors in Petrovaradin (1713) was studied by Father Josip Predragović, S.J.⁴ Citing crucial archival sources,

¹ Roberto BELARMINO, *De arte bene moriendi libri duo /.../*, Romae 1620; Luigi SIDEREO [= Vincenzo CARAFA], *Il peregrino della terra, ovvero apparecchio per la buona morte /.../*, Napoli 1646 (republished: Roma 1650); Giovanni Battista MANNI, *Breve ragguaglio, e pratica instrvttione degli esercitii di pieta Cristiana, che si fanno nel Giesu di Roma ogni venerdì mattina, e ser, per la diuotione della buona morte da ottenersi per li meriti della passione, agonie di Cristo in croce. E de' dolori della sua Madre santiss. sotto la croce*, Roma 1649.

² Carlo Bartolomeo PIAZZA, *Opere pie di Roma /.../*, Roma 1679, p. 685.

³ Miroslav VANINO, *Isusovci u Beogradu u XVII. i XVIII. stoljeću. De Societatis Iesu opera Belgradi saeculis XVII et XVIII, Vrela i prinosi. Zbornik za povijest isusovačkoga reda u Hrvatskim krajevima/Fontes et studia historiae Societatis Iesu in finibus Croatorum*, 4, 1934, pp. 1–47, esp. pp. 27–28; Miroslav VANINO, *Isusovci i hrvatski narod. 1: Rad u XVI stoljeću. Zagrebački kolegij*, Zagreb 1969, p. 390 (for the whole chapter on the confraternity in Zagreb, see pp. 390–412); Miroslav VANINO, *Isusovci i hrvatski narod. 2: Kolegiji dubrovački, riječki, varaždinski i požeški*, Zagreb 1987, pp. 93–95 (Dubrovnik), pp. 225–238 (Rijeka), pp. 447–468 (Varaždin), pp. 617–629 (Požega); Miroslav VANINO, *Isusovci i hrvatski narod. 3: Pučke misije, prekomorske misije, rezidencija Osijek, književni rad*, Zagreb 2005, pp. 357–359.

⁴ Josip PREDRAGOVIĆ, *Isusovci u Petrovaradinu 1693–1773. De opera Soc. Iesu Petrovaradini 1693–1773, Vrela i prinosi. Zbornik za povijest isusovačkoga reda u Hrvatskim krajevima/Fontes et studia historiae Societatis Iesu in finibus Croatorum*, 9, 1939, pp. 1–49, esp. pp. 11–14.

these historians refer to the lavish treasuries of Bona Mors confraternities in Croatia. Unfortunately, most of these liturgical furnishings and works of art are lost or fragmented, in large part owing to the suppression of the Jesuit Order (1773) and the subsequent Josephine and Napoleonic reforms in the last decades of the 18th and the first decade of the 19th century. Nonetheless, what remains deserves a fresh analysis. In this paper I would like to connect the piety promoted by the Bona Mors confraternities to their art historical heritage in Croatia, as well as to evaluate these works of art and their iconography more closely as tools for implementing Tridentine Catholicism.

Croatian Jesuits were divided into two provinces, neither of them Croatian. Dubrovnik was part of the Roman Province, and all the other colleges and residences were part of the Austrian Province. Nonetheless, they shared specific devotional goals. Although the Bona Mors were not the only confraternities founded by the Jesuits, they—together with diocesan priests and other religious orders—provided invaluable support in their efforts to re-Christianize Slavonia, Srijem, and all parts of the region, including Požega, Osijek, Petrovaradin, and Beograd, that remained under Ottoman rule until the late 17th century. In addition, the Jesuits aimed to renew Catholic faith in communities exposed to Protestant ideology (e.g., the surroundings of Varaždin) or those that needed a reinvigoration of their devotion to the Sacraments (Zagreb) and discipline (Rijeka). As might be expected, Bona Mors confraternities were founded earlier in the parts of Croatia under Catholic rule, and later in the areas that were taken over by military intervention. Even though their artistic legacy has many similarities, it also reflects differences congruent with the mentioned division. For example, in the large rural areas surrounding Varaždin that were exposed to Protestantism, the decorations acquired for the confraternal celebrations were incredibly lavish, exploiting to the utmost all possibilities of enhancing the drama of Christ's Passion and vividly demonstrating the diametric opposition of Catholic sacral scenography to the purity of Protestant liturgical spaces. Wherever possible, existing devotions and iconographies were resuscitated in post-Tridentine fervor as the visual identity of local Bona Mors confraternities (St. Barbara in Zagreb, *Miraculous Crucifix* in Rijeka). However, in communities that had been long *in partibus infidelium*, Bona Mors confraternities primarily promoted Tridentine discipline and the reunion with Rome.

In the manuscript *Historia Collegii Societatis Jesu in monte Graeco Zagrabiaë*, the foundation of the Bona Mors Confraternity in Zagreb, with permission of Pope Innocent X, is noted in December 1653.⁵ In 1658 there were 1200 confreres; in 1665 the number had tripled to 3680, and the dynamic growth continued, so Miroslav Vanino calculated that by 1773 the total number of registered confreres was almost 50,000.⁶

The high altar of the Jesuit church of St. Catherine⁷ and the side altar of St. Barbara (1675–1677)⁸ were particularly important for the liturgies and devotions of the Bona Mors, although neither was

⁵ Franjo FANCEV, *Građa za povijest školskog i književnog rada isusovačkoga kolegija u Zagrebu (1606–1772)*, *Starine*, 37, 1934, pp. 1–176, esp. p. 81.

⁶ VANINO 1969 (n. 3), pp. 369, 397.

⁷ The high altar was erected twice within the span of a century (1684–1686/1687; 1762), see Franjo FANCEV, *Građa za povijest školskog i književnog rada isusovačkoga kolegija u Zagrebu (1606–1772)*, *Starine*, 38, 1937, pp. 181–308, esp. pp. 267–268.

⁸ The altar, which is situated at the Epistle side, first by the entrance, was constructed by Thomas Derwant with sculptural decoration by Ioannes Jacobus Altenbach and the painting of St. Barbara by Hans Georg Geiger (von Geigerfeld), see Katarina HORVAT-LEVAJ, Doris BARIČEVIĆ, Mirjana REPANIĆ-BRAUN, *Akademski crkva sv. Katarine u Zagrebu*, Zagreb 2011, pp. 143, 148–149, 208, 215–216, 220, 222. The altar was dismantled in 1875 and restored in 1992 (pp. 345–346).

originally commissioned by or for the confraternity, according to Father Vanino.⁹ However, the feast of St. Barbara (4 December) was the second most important in the liturgical year of the Bona Mors in Zagreb,¹⁰ and judging from its iconography as well as its central placement, an unattributed painting of the *Pietà with Angels* (c.1700) crowning the altar of St. Barbara might well have been commissioned, if not by, then for the confraternity. Photographs taken in 1937 document the original painting (fig. 1),¹¹ displaced or lost at some point, and now represented on the altar by a copy.¹²

The *Historia Collegii* in Zagreb reveals the Jesuits' recognition of images as an effective means in the pastoral promotion of new devotions: tens, even hundreds of *imagines* were distributed,¹³ mainly to new confreres who enrolled in ever greater numbers during the main feast of the confraternity in the Austrian Province on Passion Sunday (the fifth Sunday of Lent).¹⁴ The only preserved copperplate of a Bona Mors enrolment certificate in Croatia belonged to the Zagreb Confraternity



1. *Pietà with Angels* (displaced or lost), photographed in 1937 by Ljudevit Griesbach in the ex-Jesuit church of St. Catherine in Zagreb

⁹ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), p. 470.

¹⁰ Father Juraj Muliš in *Hrana nebeszka* (1748) repeats the *regulae* of the confraternity written by Father Baltazar Milovac (1657)—its first principal and probable founder—and among them are the instructions to choose the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Barbara for their particular patrons and to frequently invoke the Holy Names of Jesus, Mary, Joseph, Barbara, a Patron Saint, Guardian Angel, St. Michael and other saints, since they can help, see Juraj MULIŠ, *Hrana nebeszka /.../*, Zagreb 1779, p. 415: *Da Szvéta Imena Jesussa, Marie, Josefa, Barbare, Kerztnoga Patrona, Angela Chuvàra, Sz. Mihalya, y oztàleh Szvétèh gusztokrat naj imenuje, y na pomoch zazàva; ar ovi mogu pomochi.*

¹¹ Artur SCHNEIDER, *Popisivanje i fotografsko snimanje umjetničkih spomenika zagrebačkih g. 1937*, *Ljetopis JAZU*, 50, 1938, pp. 148–155 (photography by Ljudevit Griesbach).

¹² The copyist Zvonimir Šepat transformed the figure of an angel with wings (visible in the 1937 photograph) into a kneeling figure of a donor (a Jesuit?), probably encouraged by the shadow on the angel's face in the photo that could be interpreted as a beard, but the wings are clearly visible, see HORVAT-LEVAJ, BARIČEVIĆ, REPANIĆ-BRAUN 2011 (n. 8), p. 356.

¹³ In the *Historia Collegii Societatis Jesu in monte Graeco Zagrabiae*, the distribution of the images is expressly mentioned several times, see FANCEV 1934 (n. 5), pp. 122–123; FANCEV 1937 (n. 7), p. 230.

¹⁴ The affluence of the confreres during the preparations for the main celebration was such that the Jesuits were assisted in taking confession by the Franciscans in Kaptol and the neighboring Capuchin friars in their churches, see VANINO 1969 (n. 3), pp. 395–396.



2. Copperplate for the Enrolment Certificate of the Bona Mors Confraternity in Zagreb, after 1700, Croatian History Museum, Zagreb



3. Bernard Johann Hermann: Enrolment Certificate of the Bona Mors Confraternity in Zagreb, engraving, 1751

(fig. 2).¹⁵ It depicts Christ Crucified and His Sorrowful Mother kneeling before Him while the souls in Purgatory invoke mercy. A more elaborate enrolment certificate image was engraved in 1751 by Bernard Johann Hermann (fig. 3).¹⁶ In addition to the motif of a confrere on his deathbed, comforted by Christ Crucified, the Virgin Mary and St. Joseph, and an angel offering a rosary to the souls in Purgatory, it includes the figure of St. Barbara kneeling in the foreground. With eyes raised heavenward, she presents a chalice to the spectator with the Holy Eucharist levitating above it within a radiant crown of light (a halo) with the inscription: *Communio generalis*. According to the *Golden Legend*, St. Barbara received Communion on her deathbed from an angel, so that miracle gave her the special authority to advocate for frequent Communion by the confreres as the basis for *bonam vitam*.¹⁷ Devotion to St. Barbara (in particular among miners) was deeply rooted in the Diocese of Zagreb well before the foundation of the Jesuits and the Tridentine reforms, so she had traditionally encouraged frequent reception of the Sacrament.¹⁸

The Bona Mors devotions celebrated at the high altar of St. Catherine's church—in particular when the Holy Eucharist or the reliquary of the Holy Cross was exhibited—were embellished with furnishings the confraternity had commissioned during the 119 years of its existence: banners and a catafalque (1680), tabernacles (1707), *altariolum* (1718–1719), silver sculptures of *Christ Crucified* (1717) and *The Sorrowful Mother* (1711), silver pyramidal-shaped ornaments for the altar with the images of St. Barbara and Mary Magdalene (1713), a huge painting of *Christ Crucified* (1729, maybe earlier), five paintings with scenes from the Passion (“restored” in 1731), a bell for the confraternity (1732, repaired in 1739), an embroidered Passion parament (1738), a gilded sculpture of the *Pietà* (1757), several chalices, monstrances, silver crucifixes, reliquaries, albs, chasubles, pluvials, dalmatics and other liturgical vestments and vessels.¹⁹

¹⁵ The copperplate in the Croatian History Museum in Zagreb for the enrolment certificate measures 138 × 183 mm. The inscriptions read: *Bratouscina Muke i szmert i IEISSUSSE-VE; za szrechnu szmert vu Zagrebu Podigniena; IESUS Raszpeti Smiluiamsze [sic]; Vu ouu Bratouscinupoddaiesze / Letta 17 – Meszeczca – Dan*. See Marina BREGOVAC-PISK, Bakrorezna ploča Bratovštine Muke i smrti Isusove, *Isusovačka baština u Hrvata u povodu 450-te obljetnice osnutka Družbe Isusove i 500-te obljetnice rođenja Ignacija Loyole*, Muzejsko-galerijski centar, Zagreb 1992, p. 268; no. 462.

¹⁶ Enrolment certificate, engraving, 293 × 188 mm; signed bottom right: *Hermann Sc. Græcy*; above: *KIp bratoVChIne za SzreChnU SzMert prI PatrIh ToVarUstVa IesUsa VU ZagrebU poDIgnyene 1657*. [1751], of which two examples exist: Croatian History Museum, Zagreb; Archive of the journal *Vrela i prinosi* in the Jesuit Monastery (Lašćinska street), Zagreb. See Miroslav VANINO, Dvije rijetke slike bratovštine Muke i Smrti Isusove (1751. i 1755.), *Vrela i prinosi. Zbornik za povijest isusovačkoga reda u Hrvatskim krajevima/Fontes et studia historiae Societatis Iesu in finibus Croatorum*, 3, 1933, pp. 148–153; Marina BREGOVAC-PISK, Upisnica u Bratovštinu Muke i smrti Isusove, *Isusovačka baština* 1992 (n. 15), p. 268; no. 463; Ivy LENTIĆ-KUGLI, Upisnica zagrebačke isusovačke Bratovštine Muke i smrti Isusove, *Isusovačka baština* 1992 (n. 15), p. 309; no. 110. Neither certificate from the Bona Mors in Zagreb is filled out, unlike those preserved in Varaždin and Požega.

¹⁷ Émile MÂLE, *L'art religieux de la fin du XVI^e siècle, du XVII^e siècle et du XVIII^e siècle. Étude sur l'iconographie après le Concile de Trente. Italie, France, Espagne, Flandres*, Paris 1951 (1st ed. 1932), p. 373: “Cela signifiait que sainte Barbe n'oubliait jamais ses fidèles et leur assurait le privilège de ne pas mourir sans le sacrements.”

¹⁸ Michael W. MAHER, How the Jesuits Used Their Congregations to Promote Frequent Communion, *Confraternities & Catholic Reform in Italy, France, & Spain* (eds. John Patrick Donnelly, Michael W. Maher), Kirksville 1999, pp. 75–95, esp. p. 81.

¹⁹ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), pp. 397–399. None of the objects mentioned is preserved or could be identified in the church, see Ivo LENTIĆ, Sakralno zlatarstvo hrvatskih isusovaca, *Isusovačka baština* 1992 (n. 15), pp. 333–347; HORVAT-LEVAJ, BARIČEVIĆ, REPANIĆ-BRAUN 2011 (n. 8), pp. 356–372.



4. *Miraculous Crucifix*, 13th century, wood, in the center of the high altar, 1711–1712; 1717 by Pasqualin Lazzarini, marble, ex-Jesuit church of St. Vitus, Rijeka

Almost contemporaneous with the founding of the Zagreb Confraternity, a *Bona Mors* was established in Rijeka in 1656,²⁰ the year the *ALBVM SODALITATIS AGONIAE CRVCIFIXI IESV CHRISTI* began to register confreres.²¹ As a new order, the Jesuits consciously allied their pastoral activities with deeply rooted local devotions in Rijeka, as they had in Zagreb with St. Barbara. From the small church of St. Vitus given to the Jesuits upon their arrival, they inherited a Gothic crucifix celebrated as miraculous (fig. 4).²² Therefore, the confraternity in Rijeka was called both *Congregatio Sanctae Crucis* (Braščina Svetoga Križa) and *Congregatio Agoniae*, and sometimes even *Congregatio Crucifixi Agoniae*.²³ According to a popular legend dated 1296, the crucifix (then in the vestibule of the old church) started to bleed when the local gambler Petar Lončarić—exploding with rage over a gambling loss—threw a stone at it.²⁴ Venerated through centuries, the *Miraculous Crucifix* was eventually incorporated into the Baroque high altar by Pasqualin Lazzarini (1711–1712; 1717) of the new Jesuit church of St. Vitus,²⁵ which also served as the main altar of the confraternity.²⁶

²⁰ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), p. 225.

²¹ The modest miniature painting on parchment (300 × 240 mm) of the frontispiece illustrates the *Crucifixion with the Virgin Mary and St. John with a Female Martyr and St. Francis Xavier; Souls in Purgatory*, Sacral collection, Cathedral of St. Vitus, Rijeka. See Ivy LENTIĆ-KUGLI, *Album Bratovštine Muke i smrti Isusove, Isusovačka baština* 1992 (n. 15), pp. 308–309; no. 107.

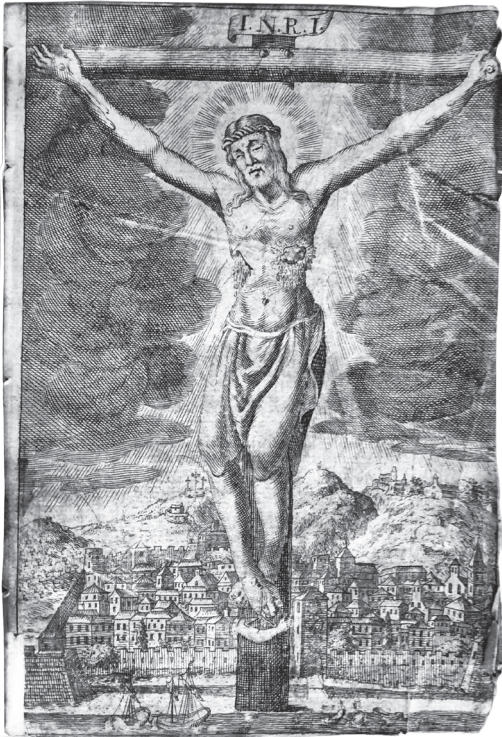
²² Wood, 230 × 150 cm; Christ 168 × 32 cm (span of the hands, 130 cm). See Vanda EKL, *Ranogotičko raspelo u Rijeci, Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 3/8–9, 1963, pp. 221–231. The Jesuit efforts were recognized by Giovanni KOBLER, *Memorie per la storia della liburnica città di Fiume*, Fiume 1896, p. 112: “I Gesuiti rianimarono la devozione al vetusto Crocifisso di San Vito, che era divenuta languida, e ne accesero il fervore coll’istituire nel 1656 una confraternita pia, che dicevasi dell’Agonia /.../”. Giuseppe VIEZZOLI, *La Compagna di Gesù a Fiume, Fiume. Rivista semestrale della Società di studi fiumani*, 9, 1931, pp. 200, 223–224, mentions a donation from Empress Maria Theresia to the crucifix: “La chiesa s’andava intanto arricchendo di arredi sacri donati da benefattori: /.../ imperatrice Maria Teresia gli ornati d’argento per il crocifisso” as well as a relic of the Holy Cross in a reliquary shaped like a tree, donated by “P. Provinciale Stefano Dinarich” in 1718. The reliquary was later attributed to Leopold Vogtner, a goldsmith from Graz. See Ivo LENTIĆ, *Sakralno zlatarstvo hrvatskih isusovaca, Isusovačka baština* 1992 (n. 15), p. 336; no. 27, p. 337; no. 33.

²³ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), p. 225.

²⁴ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), pp. 225–226.

²⁵ Danko ŠOUREK, *Altarističke radionice na granici. Barokni mramorni oltari u Rijeci i Hrvatskom primorju*, Zagreb 2015, pp. 50–60.

²⁶ In its first three years, the confraternity was located at the church of St. Roch, and since 1659 in the new, although not yet completed church, where the painting of *Christ Dying on the Cross* was exhibited for the devotions of the confraternity, see VANINO 1987 (n. 3), p. 232.



5. Georgius Subaric: *Miraculous Crucifix in Rijeka*, engraving in *Brascno dvhovno*, 1693



6. Suor Isabella Piccini after Georgius Subaric: *Miraculous Crucifix in Rijeka*, engraving, 1696 (?)

Narrative motifs, such as the stone hurled by Lončarić and a small bronze hand, were incorporated into the altar and particularly accentuated on both preserved engravings representing the Miraculous Crucifix, under the feet of the Crucified. One was included as an illustration in the confraternity's prayer book *Brascno duhovno* by Father Nikola Hermon (1693), engraved by Georgius Subarich, active in Vienna (fig. 5);²⁷ the other, engraved after it by a Poor Clare nun, Isabella Piccini in Venice, was issued as a single leaf (fig. 6).²⁸ Significantly, they both show the most prominent contribution of the confraternity to the cityscape of Rijeka: the monumental Calvary with three crosses on the top of the Goljak hill. From 1676—when the main cross was carried there by 24 men

²⁷ Georgius Subaric, *Miraculous Crucifix in Rijeka*, engraving, 150 × 90 mm, in: Nicola HERMON, *Brascno dvhovno s' molituami i s' prexuhkom myke Isvsove rasmisgliuanyem dopernesceno, i sloxeno suakemu, ki se nahaya pridruzen Braschine svetoga Krixa vduighnenoy, i nereyenoy v Reke, poli otac Druxbe Isusoue /.../*, Lubyane 1693. On the date of Subaric's engraving, see Milan PELC, Georgius Subarich sculpsit Vienaë – bakrorezac Juraj Šubarić u Beču oko 1650. godine. Djela i naručitelji, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 39, 2015, pp. 55–74, esp. pp. 56–57.

²⁸ Suor Isabella Piccini, *Miraculous Crucifix in Rijeka*, engraving, 175 × 110 mm; inscriptions: *Suor Isabella Piccini F. // Vero Ritratto del Miracoloso Crocifisso, che percosso da un Gio= / cator L'Anno 1296. sparse copioso Sangue e questo s' adora nella Città di Fiume, nella Chiesa di S. Vito della Compagnia di Giesu* (1696?), Scientific Library, Dubrovnik. I thank Marinka Ulaga for helping me with the research. See Juraj LOKMER, Zagubljeni riječki primjerak Misala hruackoga i nepoznata riječka grafika Isabelle Piccini iz XVII. stoljeća, *Zbornik Sv. Vid*, 8, 2003, pp. 83–106. The iconography of the unattributed painting in the sacristy of the church of St. Vitus, above the intarsia cabinet, reveals the spirituality of the Bona Mors: it shows the Miraculous Crucifix flanked by St. Ignatius and the Mater Dolorosa on the left, St. Joseph and St. Barbara on the right, while the souls in Purgatory and a panorama of Rijeka are shown below.



7. *Christ Crucified with the Mater Dolorosa and the Souls in Purgatory*, engraving in *Brascno dvhovno*, 1693

in a solemn procession organized by the confraternity for the feast of the Exaltation of the True Cross (Lat. *Exaltatio sanctæ crucis*; 14 September)—the processions became one of the most popular annual public devotions in the city.²⁹ The Calvary was abandoned after the suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773 and is preserved only in engravings and rare old photographs.³⁰

Vanino emphasized that all the confraternities (as we have seen in Rijeka) distributed images to the confreres from the outset, but the earliest ones are not preserved or at least are not known.³¹ In Nikola Hermon's prayer book there are, in addition to the *Miraculous Crucifix*, two more engravings: the *Pietà* signed by Subarich; and (another) *Christ Crucified with the Mater Dolorosa and Souls in Purgatory* (fig. 7)³² by an unknown engraver. Again, the prints correspond closely to the imagery of the altarpieces and the monumental Calvary, creating highly recognizable "identifiers" of Bona Mors devotions and patronage.

From 1662, the Jesuit church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Varaždin housed what might be considered the most outstanding Bona Mors Confraternity in Croatia.³³ Its impact on the spiritual life not only in the city, but throughout the whole region, was striking: "The Varaždin Confraternity has been, for more than a hundred years, a powerful lever of vigorous Christian life in the city of Varaždin and a significant part of the surrounding area /.../."³⁴ Whole villages, even from the other side of the

²⁹ The date(s) of the procession are diversely reported as 8 or 18 April and 18 November, none of which are connected to major feasts in the *Martyrologium Romanum*. See VIEZZOLI 1931 (n. 22), p. 224; VANINO 1987 (n. 3), p. 229–230.

³⁰ The chapels with the Stations of the Cross, erected from 1696 to 1768, on the way to the monumental Calvary are preserved to some extent. See VIEZZOLI 1931 (n. 22), pp. 223–224; VANINO 1987 (n. 3), pp. 230–231.

³¹ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), pp. 232–233.

³² Engraving, 150 × 90 mm in: HERMON 1693 (n. 27).

³³ Although established a few years after the Bona Mors in Zagreb, the confraternity in Varaždin had the same total number of confreres, approximately 45,000–50,000. See VANINO 1987 (n. 3), p. 448. For the commissions, see VANINO 1987 (n. 3), pp. 452, 453; Danko ŠOUREK, Pogled u inventar varaždinskoga isusovačkoga kolegija. Prilog rekonstrukciji izgubljenoga konteksta, *Radovi Zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU Varaždin*, 24, 2013, pp. 201–228, esp. pp. 205, 208.

³⁴ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), p. 447: "Varaždinska bratovština je bila kroz više od sto godina snažna poluga djelotvornog kršćanskog življenja u gradu Varaždinu i znatnom dijelu okolice /.../"

Drava river, enrolled on the occasion of the main feast: in 1757, for example, confreres from 37 parishes gathered in Varaždin on Passion Sunday.³⁵ The Bona Mors in Varaždin was enriched with so many donations that the members acquired not only lavish furnishings for their own needs, but also participated in maintaining the church itself, such as repairing the sacristy or commissioning (and later mending) the church bell.³⁶ The liturgical paraphernalia ranged from huge black silk draperies and black carpets that covered the entire church floor, transforming the interior into a most dramatic scenographic stage for the Lenten liturgies, as well as rich vessels, covers, banners and reliquaries.³⁷ However, the most significant confraternal commission was the new altar of the Holy Cross (1762), executed by Philipp Jakob Straub (fig. 8).³⁸ Doris Baričević valued it highly: “one of the finest altar retables with Rococo characteristics in our churches, belonging to the best traditions of the Central European sculpture of the period.”³⁹ The dynamic gilded polychrome wood sculptures by Straub—St. Veronica, the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, John the Evangelist and St. Barbara—enact their grief below the anonymous altar painting of *Christ Crucified*, after Rubens,⁴⁰ now encased behind glass. God the Father, the Holy Ghost and angels, all in swirling gilded drapery, command the radiant heaven above, while in the antependium, the agonized souls in Purgatory beg for mercy. The dramatic, life-like figures unite to create a devout and powerfully visual *meditatio Crucis*.

The iconography of the altar and the preserved enrolment certificates—one by Viennese engravers Andreas and Joseph Schmu[t]zer (fig. 9) from 1737,⁴¹ the other probably made after it (fig.



8. Philipp Jakob Straub: Altar of the Holy Cross, 1762, ex-Jesuit Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Varaždin

³⁵ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), pp. 447, 448.

³⁶ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), pp. 452, 453.

³⁷ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), pp. 448, 449, 452–454.

³⁸ The former altar had been privileged in 1733 for seven years, see VANINO 1987 (n. 3), p. 450.

³⁹ Doris BARIČEVIĆ, *Barokno kiparstvo sjeverne Hrvatske*, Zagreb 2008, p. 362: “Riječ je o jednom od najboljih retabla s obilježjima rokokoa u našim crkvama u duhu najviših tradicija onodobnog srednjoeuropskog kiparstva.”

⁴⁰ The copy (except for the head) is after Rubens’s painting in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp. Christ’s out-stretched, athletic body was inspired by Rubens’s invention, and was widely known through the “official” engraving by Paulus Pontius (1631), made in Rubens’s studio-factory.

⁴¹ Enrolment certificate for the Bona Mors in Varaždin, engraving, 290 × 185 mm. Varaždin, City Museum. Signatures: *Ios. et And. Schmuzer sc. Wien., Fr. C. Kalfirst del. Varasdini*; inscription below: *AgonIà ChrIstI IVVantVr agonIzantes, aC DeIn Manes In IgnIbVs pVrgatorII patIens* [1736]. The certificate was filled out: Mariana Simochiczka had enrolled on the feast day of St. Joseph (19 March) 1752. The text under the image recalls that Pope Benedict



9. Andreas and Joseph Schmu[t]zer:
Enrolment Certificate of the Bona Mors
Confraternity in Varaždin, engraving



10. Copy after Andreas and Joseph Schmu[t]zer:
Enrolment Certificate of the Bona Mors Confraternity
in Varaždin, engraving

10)⁴²—as well as themes expounded in sermons during confraternal feasts, are clearly related. Apart from the expected subjects concerning the mystery of the Eucharist and Salvation, Christ's Passion and Sacrifice, and the Sorrows of the Virgin (as depicted by her statue), on Passion Sunday in 1706, "eager listeners" (*avidissimo auditori*, says the chronicler)⁴³ heard the preacher explicate episodes from the Old Testament that announced Salvation and Resurrection. The inscription on the large banderole held aloft by the angel on the enrolment engraving is from the Book of Ruth: *Faciat vobiscum Dominis misericordiam / sicut fecistis cum mortuis*. *Ruth c. I v. 8*. The quotation from Job, written in Croatian among the suffering souls in Purgatory depicted in the antependium, reads: *Have mercy on me, my friends* (Job 19,21). Both served as potent and permanent visual reminders of the obligation to pray for deceased confreres, a mandate the preacher surely alluded to often.

A Bona Mors Confraternity was founded in 1704 in Požega, where Jesuit fathers had a college, and another in Osijek, where they set up a residence. Unfortunately, almost no visual artefacts remain. The happy exception is an enrolment certificate by Viennese engraver Franz Leopold Schmit[t]ner,

XIII had elevated the Roman Bona Mors to the rank of archconfraternity (1729) and enriched it—together with its affiliates—with numerous indulgences. See VANINO 1987 (n. 3), pp. 450, 451; Ivy LENTIĆ-KUGLI, *Upisnica u Bratovštinu Muke i smrti Isusove, Isusovačka baština* 1992 (n. 15), p. 309: no. 109.

⁴² Enrolment certificate for the Bona Mors in Varaždin, engraving, 290 × 185 mm, City Museum, Varaždin. I thank Ljerka Šimunić for the photography. See LENTIĆ-KUGLI 1992 (n. 15), p. 268: no. 464.

⁴³ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), p. 448.



11. Franz Leopold Schmit[t]ner: Enrolment Certificate of the Bona Mors Confraternity in Požega, engraving, yellow silk, 1755

printed on yellow silk (1755) and preserved in Požega (fig. 11).⁴⁴ The certificate was filled out, so we learn that a new confrere, Genoveva Strisich, enrolled on 19 September 1773, two months after the Jesuits' suppression by the papal bull *Dominus ac Redemptor*, issued by Clement XIV (21 July 1773).⁴⁵

The foundation of the Confraternity in Osijek (1703)—a military fortress-city—was inspired by an officer, Jakob von Eggendorf, although most probably the local Jesuits encouraged him to do so.⁴⁶ In addition to a manuscript enrolment certificate with added rules and a prayer for the Bona Mors, dated *Lita 1710. 21. Miseca Juni*,⁴⁷ Miroslav Vanino published a printed holy card with God the Father, Christ Crucified and Mary Magdalene with biblical verses invoking mercy for the confreres.⁴⁸

In 1713, two decades after the Jesuits arrived in Petrovaradin (1693), the *Congregatio Agoniae Domini* or *Bonæ Mortis* was founded in the newly erected church of St. George:⁴⁹ “Already in the first year over 600 members enrolled. /.../ Devotions of the Confraternity were held in Croatian on Mondays and in German on Fridays.”⁵⁰ In addition to the main feast on Passion Sunday and the general Communion on “pertaining Sunday” (*Dominica Angariae, Domenica angarialis*), as well as on Ember

⁴⁴ Enrolment certificate for the Bona Mors in Požega, 1755, engraving, yellow silk, 350 × 210 mm, Museum of the Požega Valley, Požega. See LENTIĆ-KUGLI 1992 (n. 15), p. 309: no. 111.

⁴⁵ VANINO 1933 (n. 3), pp. 150–151.

⁴⁶ VANINO 2005 (n. 3), p. 358. The same year Jakob von Eggendorf donated a monstrance luna holder (made of two wedding rings) and two pendant candleholders. See VANINO 2005 (n. 3), p. 343. They might have been intended for the adoration of the Most Holy Eucharist, one of the central devotional practices of the Bona Mors.

⁴⁷ VANINO 2005 (n. 3), pp. 357–358. The manuscript is preserved in the Archive of the journal *Vrela i prinosi* in the Jesuit Monastery (Laščinska street), Zagreb, but unavailable.

⁴⁸ VANINO 2005 (n. 3), fig. 54. Quotations are from the Vulgate: *Animam meam pono pro ovibus meis.* (John 10,15); *Abyssus abyssum invocat in voce cataractarum tuarum.* (Ps. 42) // *Amplius lava me ab iniquitate mea.* (Ps. 50) Psalm 50 (*Miserere mei, Deus*) was introduced into the Office of the Dead in Urban VIII's redaction of the Roman Breviary (before 1644). The location of the holy card is not indicated.

⁴⁹ “Consacrata est Ecclesia Anno 1714. 20. Maji.” from the *Diarium Missionis Petrovaradiensis Societatis Iesu*, 1729, p. 4, Petrovaradin, St. George, parish archive. The manuscript was preserved in the parish archive of the Exaltation of the Cross in Petrovaradin and later transferred to the parish archive of St. George, as indicated by Lubomir Vujaklija. See PREDRAGOVIĆ 1939 (n. 4), pp. 2, 9; Ljubomir VUJAKLIJA, Riznica crkve sv. Jurja u Petrovaradinu. Sredina prve polovine 18. veka, *Zbornik Muzeja primenjene umetnosti*, 24–25, 1980/1981, pp. 87–103, esp. pp. 87–88; Dubravka ĐUKANOVIĆ, Origin of Architectural Forms of the Petrovaradin St. George's Former Jesuit Church, *Prostor*, 2/48, 2014, pp. 238–251.

⁵⁰ “U crkvi sv. Jurja osnovana je g. 1713. Bratovština muke i smrti Isusove (Congregatio Agoniae Domini iliti Bonæ Mortis). Već prve goine upisalo se je preko 600 članova. /.../ Pobožnost bratovštine držala se je ponedjeljkom na hrvatskom jeziku, petkom na njemačkom.” See PREDRAGOVIĆ 1939 (n. 4), p. 11.

Fridays and Sundays (*Dominica 4 Temporum, quam peculiarem habet Congregatio Agoniæ*), the confreres participated in particular devotions, including the Holy Mass, offered to all confraternal members (dead and alive), the Litany of the Passion of Christ and the adoration of the Most Holy Eucharist.⁵¹

During the reconquest of Ottoman occupied territories (1683–1699), the Holy Sacrament of Extreme Unction had become neglected among Catholics in Petrovaradin, and thus, many soldiers and others were buried without receiving it.⁵² Therefore, the confraternity introduced an additional major devotion on the first Friday after All Saints' (Lat. *Solemnitas omnium sanctorum*; 1 November),⁵³ that included prayers and thoughts addressed to all those who had passed away. A new chapel dedicated to the Crucified Savior was erected in the cemetery in 1713—the same year as the foundation of the confraternity.⁵⁴ It became the destination of processions starting from the church of St. George on the feast of the Finding of the True Cross (Lat. *Inventio sanctæ crucis*; 3 May) and the feast of the Exaltation of the True Cross (as in Rijeka). From 1732, the confreres were preceded by a priest holding a reliquary of the True Cross, donated to the church of St. George by a noblewoman of the Pejačević family from Ruma.⁵⁵ The early 18th-century reliquary—as it is preserved now—is composed of different parts, executed by various goldsmiths.⁵⁶ The side altar of Christ Crucified (*altare Crucifixi*) existed as the principal altar of the confraternity even before the confreres erected a new one in 1773 (finished in 1774), preserved on the Gospel side of the church (fig. 12).⁵⁷



12. Altar of the Holy Cross, 1773,
ex-Jesuit church of St. George, Petrovaradin

⁵¹ PREDRAGOVIĆ 1939 (n. 4), p. 11. Quotes are from *Diarium* 1729 (n. 49), p. 186.

⁵² *Litteræ Annuæ* noted that the change in that sacramental negligence occurred in 1699. See PREDRAGOVIĆ 1939 (n. 4), p. 6.

⁵³ The feast of All Saints is followed by All Souls Day (Day of the Dead; Lat. *Commemoratio omnium fidelium defunctorum*).

⁵⁴ The chapel (donated by Christophor Nitl, a city magistrate) became the parish church of the newly established parish of the Exaltation of the Cross in 1812. See *Opći šematizam Katoličke crkve u Jugoslaviji*, Zagreb 1974, p. 165.

⁵⁵ Both Predragović and Vujaklija quote the *Diarium* 1729 (n. 49), but the former transcribed 1732 as the year of the donation and the latter 1733. See PREDRAGOVIĆ 1939 (n. 4), p. 12; VUJAKLIJA 1980/1981 (n. 49), p. 91; Ljubomir VUJAKLIJA, Riznica crkve sv. Jurja u Petrovaradinu. II deo, *Zbornik Muzeja primenjene umetnosti*, 26–27, 1982/1983, pp. 119–132.

⁵⁶ VUJAKLIJA 1982/1983 (n. 55), pp. 89–91. Attributed to an unknown Hungarian goldsmith by LENTIĆ 1992 (n. 19), p. 345: no. 64.

⁵⁷ Anonymous artist[s], *Altar of the Holy Cross*, former Jesuit (now parish) church of St. George, Petrovaradin. I

When it was founded (1726), the Bona Mors Confraternity in Belgrade already had a privileged altar, which must have been a fixed, immovable structure,⁵⁸ even though the Jesuit church at that time was an abandoned mosque(!).⁵⁹ Donations to the confraternity quickly created a lavish treasury, including silk vestments with golden embroidery, a silver heart attached near the crucifix as an *ex voto*, and banners. The confraternity had also printed an image of the Crucified Christ (1729) with a list of the deceased confreres, which it handed out to ensure that all would be properly prayed for.⁶⁰ In 1730, the confraternity in Belgrade was united with the Roman Bona Mors (as were the other affiliates), but its activities did not last long—nine years later (1739), Belgrade was again under Ottoman rule.

The Bona Mors Confraternity in Dubrovnik was founded “before 1670”, as Vanino concluded upon reading a notice from the *Annuaire*: that year a bull issued by Pope Clement X (30 June 1670) granted a plenary indulgence every month to the confreres who sacramentally confessed their sins, received the Holy Eucharist in the Jesuit church in Dubrovnik and prayed for the “intentions” of the Supreme Pontiff.⁶¹ Additional graces might be obtained by confreres who attended Bona Mors devotions on Sunday afternoons.⁶² Two paintings in the church of St. Ignatius in Dubrovnik—*Death of St. Joseph* (1725)⁶³ by Bertolomeo Litterini and the anonymous *Crucifixion with the Virgin Mary, St. Mary Magdalene and St. John the Evangelist*,⁶⁴ which echoed Pietro da Cortona’s dramatically animated *Crucifixion* (1661) for the high altar of the church of St. Thomas of Villanova in Castel Gandolfo—visually interpret the spirituality of the Bona Mors.⁶⁵ They could have also served as excellent visual companions to the sermons preached before the confraternity, which were published, and so remain the most prominent legacy of the Bona Mors in Dubrovnik. The success of various

thank Nada Sudarević (photographer) and Ivana Petrekanić Sič (journalist of *Hrvatska riječ*) for the photography. See PREDRAGOVIĆ 1939 (n. 4), p. 11; Jerko MATOŠ, Samostan sv. Franje u Petrovaradinu, *Peristil*, 30, 1987, p. 112. Franz Josef Schams (1720) mentioned the former altar in connection with a commemorative plate of Ferdinand Laurenz Kolowrat-Liebseinsky (†1694), as being “Links unter dem Kreuzaltare”; see Franz Josef SCHAMS, *Topographische Beschreibung von Peterwardein und seinen Umgebungen*, Pesth 1820, p. 37.

⁵⁸ The foundation stone dated 21 Julij 1732 for a new Jesuit church was retrieved in the Belgrade district of Dorćol (Dordol) in 1887. See Mihovil VALTROVIĆ, s. t., *Starinar srpskog arheološkog društva*, 4/4, 1887, p. 123; VANINO 1934 (n. 3), p. 33.

⁵⁹ “The Confraternity of the Passion and Death of Christ (*Congragatio Agoniæ Domini, Congregatio Bonæ Mortis*) was founded in 1726 by a papal bull that granted it indulgences and mentioned the privileged altar” (“*Bratovština Muke i Smrti Isusove* (*Congregatio Agoniæ Domini, Congregatio Bonæ Mortis*) osnovana je g. 1726. papinom bulom, s kojom su dani bratovštini oprosti i povlastica privilegiranog oltara.”), see VANINO 1934 (n. 3), pp. 27–28. 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. Three of them still exist: St. Vitus in Knin, St. Anthony in Drniš and All Saints in Đakovo. Their reuse in this manner further underscored the Church’s victory over the “infidel” and the renewal of Catholicism in Croatia.

⁶⁰ No printed holy card from the Bona Mors in Belgrade is known to be preserved. See VANINO 1934 (n. 3), p. 28.

⁶¹ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), pp. 93–94. “Intentions” are prayer objectives proclaimed by the pope for a certain period (months or years).

⁶² VANINO 1987 (n. 3), p. 94.

⁶³ Radoslav TOMIĆ, Djela Bertolomea Litterinija u Dalmaciji, *Peristil*, 47, 2004, pp. 43–66, esp. pp. 50, 51, 54. The painting is in the first altar on the Gospel side.

⁶⁴ Ivy LENTIĆ-KUGLI, Raspeće s Madonnom, Sv. Marijom Magdalenom i sv. Ivanom, *Isusovačka baština* 1992 (n. 15), p. 309; no. 32. In 1992 the painting was in the sacristy, but is now exhibited in the church on the Epistle side near the entrance.

⁶⁵ There is no confirmation of these paintings being commissioned by or for the confraternity.

esercizi della buona morte by Italian Jesuits⁶⁶ inspired the orators of the Bona Mors Confraternity in Dubrovnik, such as Father Bernard Zuzzeri, who was already preparing his sermons—*Besjedde duhovne*—to be published in March 1754,⁶⁷ and Father Đuro Bašić, who published his *Bessjede kærstjanske* in 1765.⁶⁸



The Bona Mors Confraternities played an important role in shaping Tridentine Catholicism in Croatia. They bear witness to the local traditions and different contexts, but even more they reveal the Jesuits' ability to promote them by unifying devotions and using strategies of fidelity to the Supreme Pontiff and Rome, of frequent Communion and encouraging the Tridentine sacramental *bonam vitam* in general. Unfortunately, the artistic legacy of the Bona Mors has come down to us in a very fragmented form, since these confraternities suffered not only the suppression of the Jesuit Order, but the subsequent Josephine and Napoleonic reforms of confraternities which severed their tight connections to Rome and transformed them—if their activity continued at all, and then only briefly—into pious societies approved by the reigning sovereign.⁶⁹ The artistic legacy of Bona Mors confraternities in Croatia—including altars, paintings, prints, reliquaries, liturgical vestments and vessels—became the property of local dioceses, which over time blurred the Bona Mors origin and identity. The aim of this contribution is to reconnect the precious Bona Mors heritage to the ideas and beliefs that inspired this rich artistic production in order to ensure better appreciation, preservation and presentation.*

⁶⁶ For example, Father Carlo Ambrogio CATTANEO, *Esercizio della buona morte*, Milano 1711, and later editions of 1719, 1724, 1734; and in particular Father Giuseppe Antonio BORDONI, *Discorsi per l'esercizio della buona morte*, Venezia 1749–1751, and later edition of 1753.

⁶⁷ As indicated in the foreword of the second edition: Bernard ZUZZERI, *Besjede duhovne /.../ rečene pred skuptinom dobre smrti u crkvi sv. Ignacija u Dubrovniku*, Zagreb 1872, p. VIII. They were published for the first time in 1793, well after his death (†1762) and after the suppression of the Jesuits: Bernard ZUZZERI, *Besjedde duhovne /.../ recene prid Skupscinom Dobre Smaerti u Zaerkvi S. Ignazia u Dubrovniku*, Dubrovnik 1793.

⁶⁸ Giuro BASSICH, *Bessjede kærstjanske sa nedjeglnijeh i blasieh danaa od godiscta na koris puka pravovjernoga Pastjerom Duhovnijem slovinzijeh dærsciava, Kojjemse pristavgljaju sabave zærkovgnakom podobne, i dva dratka vjyegbana sa spravit se podobno na parvu Ispovjes, i na parvo Pricestjenje sloscena odjednog a Redovnika posvetjena Boggu u Redu*, U Mlezijeh 1765.

⁶⁹ Vjekoslav ŠTEFANIĆ, Vladimir FRANOLIĆ, Josip BUTURAC, Bratovštine, *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, 3, Zagreb 1942, pp. 247–252.

* I would like to thank in particular Dr. Barbara Murovec and Dr. Barbara Wisch: without them not only would this essay not have appeared in this revised form, but it would not have been written at all.

Jezuitske bratovščine za srečno smrt na Hrvaškem

Povzetek

Ponovni razcvet teme *ars moriendi* v zgodnjem 17. stoletju je imel za cilj pospeševanje tridentinske *bona vita*, tj. zakramentalnega življenja, še posebej množičnega prejemanja svete evharistije. Pravila in program bratovščine na križu umirajočega Kristusa in njegove Žalostne Matere Device Marije oz. bratovščine *Bona Mors*, ustanovljene 1648 v Rimu, so se kmalu razširili po njenih podružnicah povsod, kjer so se jezuiti naselili. 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.

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. Bratovščine za srečno smrt niso bile edine, ki so jih jezuiti ustanovili, so pa predstavljale najučinkovitejšo podporo njihovemu trudu (skupaj s škofijskimi duhovniki in drugimi redovi) za ponovno pokristjanjenje Slavonije, Srema in drugih predelov, ki so bili do poznega 17. stoletja pod otomansko vladavino (Požega, Osijek, Petrovaradin, Beograd), prav tako pa tudi pri rekatolicizaciji skupnosti, ki so bile izpostavljene vplivu protestantizma (npr. okolica Varaždina), ali so potrebovale okrepitev zakramentalnega življenja (Zagreb) in discipline (Reka).

Arhivski viri in zgodovinarji jezuitskega reda, še posebej najpomembnejši med njimi, Miroslav Vanino, omenjajo umetniško lastnino hrvaških bratovščin za srečno smrt, vendar je ta danes zelo fragmentarna, večinoma je propadla ob zatrtju jezuitskega reda (1773) in v poznejših jožefinskih in napoleonskih reformah. Ohranjena sta oltarja sv. Križa, ki sta stala v Varaždinu (1762) in Petrovaradinu (1773), in čudodelni križ (13. stol.) na velikem oltarju Pasqualina Lazzarinija na Reki pa tudi potrdila o vpisu (Zagreb, Varaždin, Požega, Osijek) in druge grafične podobe (Reka), ki so jih množično delili med člane.

Bratovščine za srečno smrt so imele pomembno vlogo pri oblikovanju tridentinskega katolištva na Hrvaškem. Pričajo o lokalnih tradicijah in različnih kontekstih ter, kar je še pomembnejše, razkrivajo, kako je jezuitom uspelo z njimi spodbuditi enotno pobožnost, zvestobo rimskemu vrhovnemu poglavarju, pogosto obhajilo in tridentinsko zakramentalno *bona vita* na splošno.

Figura jima

Mater Septem Dolorum.

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

Maria.

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

ABSTRACTS AND KEYWORDS

IZVLEČKI IN KLJUČNE BESEDE

Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Giuseppe Capriotti

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Giuseppe Capriotti

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

Sanja Cvetnić

The Jesuit Bona Mors Confraternities in Croatia

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

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

Sanja Cvetnić

Jezuitske bratovščine za srečno smrt na Hrvaškem

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Angelika Dreyer

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Angelika Dreyer

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

Valentina Fiore

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

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

Valentina Fiore

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Jasenska Gudelj, Tanja Trška

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Matija Ogrin

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Jasenska Gudelj, Tanja Trška

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

Mija Oter Gorenčič

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Mirjana 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, 17th century, 18th century

Joana Balsa de Pinho

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Martin Scheutz

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

Joana Balsa de Pinho

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Martin Scheutz

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

Wojciech Sowała

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Barbara Wisch

Archconfraternities and the Arts. Overarching New Themes

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

Wojciech Sowała

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Barbara Wisch

Nadbratovščine in umetnost. Opredelitev novih tem

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Jasenka 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)
- 4: Loški muzej, Škofja Loka
- 5: 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
- 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)
- 18: J. Sprenger, *Erneuerte Rosenkranzbruderschaft*, Augspurg 1477 (<http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0008/bsb00083107/images/index.html?id=00083107&groesser=&fip=eayayztsewqxdydeayaeyaayaenaeya&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
- Jasenska 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 južnonemske bratovščine v času katoliškega razsvetljenstva

