

UMETNOSTNOZGODOVINSKI INŠTITUT FRANCETA STELETA ZRC SAZU

# ALIAS



## ACTA HISTORIAE ARTIS SLOVENICA

Illuminating the Soul, Glorifying the Sacred

Religious Confraternities and the Visual Arts  
in Early Modern Europe

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

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## PREFACE

CONFRATERNITIES: NETWORKS OF PATRONS,  
ARTISTS, AND RESEARCHERS

Barbara Murovec

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## PREDGOVOR

# BRATOVŠČINE: MREŽE NAROČNIKOV, UMETNIKOV IN RAZISKOVALCEV

Barbara Murovec

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



# INTRODUCTION

**Barbara Wisch**

Guest co-editor

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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





# DISSERTATIONES

Die Marianische Versammlung  
 Der Ledigen Mannspersonen unter dem Titt  
 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 erwählbet  
 worden und hat sich iederzeit als ein Würdiges Mitglied derselben betragen  
 da er nun aber anderstwohin zureiten gesehet ist haben Wir ihm Krafft  
 des briefs, welcher mit unsern aufgedruckten Inhihl und des Herrn  
 Secten- und Secretary Namen unterzeichnet ist, aller arten  
 als anempfehlen wollen, mit bitte, man möchte ihn als eines  
 derer Mitglieder erkennen, gubwillig an und aufnehmen,  
 deses Wir dem auch gebühr zuerwiedigen Versprechen  
 gegeben in München den 21. Nov. 1793.

PRÆFECTUS

*Johann Ignaz  
 Schmid Buchbinder*



SECRETARIUS

*Wolfgang  
 Rebyan  
 Wagner*

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

Mirjana Repanić-Braun

The presence of confraternities as voluntary associations based on the principle of professional, national, historical, or religious affiliation, similar to communities of the same type in Austria and Germany, can be observed in northern Croatia from the Middle Ages. Among the first to appear were those founded at Gradec in Zagreb. Archival sources mention them in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century: the Croatian Fraternity in 1355, the German Fraternity in 1357, and the Latin Fraternity in 1384. There are also early records of professional fraternities of cobblers (1377), butchers (1387), wagon-makers (1444), and belt-makers (1462), as well as religious confraternities, e.g., the Confraternity of Blessed Death, which Pavao Horvat (1379–1386), bishop of Zagreb, founded in 1380.<sup>1</sup> The intensified activities of religious confraternities in northern Croatia corresponded to the overall endeavors in the Counter-Reformation period to strengthen the position of the Roman Catholic Church and to encourage intense devotion and piety after the Council of Trent (1545–1563). In the wake of the decisions announced at Session XXII of the Council in 1562, the confraternities became involved in public life, visible, as it is has been noted, “in the conquest of public space through processions, ceremonies, funeral practices, flags and clothing, which contributed significantly to theatricality in liturgical and paraliturgical rituals.”<sup>2</sup> The confraternities’ practice of commissioning and maintaining altars in parish, monastic, and conventual churches may be perceived in terms of using public space for the purpose of self-promotion and the visual manifestation of particular devotions or values.

During the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, confraternities in continental Croatia acted as commissioners of art—altar sculpture, paintings, and liturgical furnishings—but their overall contribution to the visual and cultural identity of this area has been less thoroughly researched than the confraternities’ legacy in Adriatic Croatia.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the aim of this essay is to offer insight into the significant

<sup>1</sup> Krešimir FILIĆ, *Varaždinski mesarski ceh. Zapisnici 1589.–1708.*, Varaždin 1968; Lelja DOBRONIĆ, Pavao iz Horvata, *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi* (ed. Franko Mirošević), Zagreb 1995, pp. 141–142; Dragutin FELETAR, Cehovi i bratovštine u Podravini krajem srednjega i početkom novoga vijeka, *Podravina*, 2/3, 2003, pp. 173–194.

<sup>2</sup> Sanja CVETNIĆ, Dominikanci u hrvatskim krajevima i ikonografija nakon Tridentskoga sabora (1545–1563), *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 34/66, 2010, p. 6. On the subject of confraternities, Cvetnić quotes Christopher F. BLACK, The Public Face of Post-Tridentine Italian Confraternities, *The Journal of Religious History*, 28/1, 2004, pp. 87–101.

<sup>3</sup> An important contribution to our understanding of confraternal commissioning activities in early modern Dalmatia is Ivana PRIJATELJ-PAVIČIĆ, Kiparska i slikarska umjetnička baština bratovština u Dalmaciji između 14.

heritage of lay confraternities in the Croatian Franciscan Province of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, founded in 1900 mostly by uniting the Croatian parts of the former provinces into a coherent whole: those of the Holy Cross, of St. Ladislav, and of St. John of Capistrano. As did other patrons, the Franciscan confraternities depended on artists from Styria, Carniola,<sup>4</sup> and Tyrol, but only to a certain extent. They also engaged artisans, such as Joseph Weinacht, Ivan Adam Rosemberger, and Paulus Antonius Senser, working for a time in Zagreb, Varaždin, Osijek, and Pécs, or Franciscan lay brothers—woodcarvers, sculptors, and painters active in friaries of the above-mentioned provinces—i.e., Dionizije Hoffer, Ivo Schwaiger, and Izaija Gasser. The iconography of the commissioned works of art was unpretentious, except for a few examples based on themes related to the most elite patrons of the three confraternities: the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis, the Confraternity of the Holy Scapular, and the Confraternity of St. Anthony of Padua.

Ample insight into the activities of the Franciscan confraternities may be gained by summing up the important information provided by a series of publications on the cultural heritage of the Croatian Franciscan Province of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, published by the Franciscan friar Paškal Cvekan. Based partially on his study of archives in Franciscan conventual houses from Trsat and Zagreb to Bač and Subotica, this essay offers a topographic overview of the confraternities' achievements in art patronage in the Province, complemented by my own research into this significant aspect of the religious heritage of Croatia.

Two confraternities were founded in the 17<sup>th</sup> century at the sanctuary of Our Lady of Trsat: the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis, shortly before 1647, and the Confraternity of Our Lady of Trsat, established in 1692 by Petar Francetić (1642–1725) and confirmed by Sebastian Glavinić, bishop of Senj and Modruš (1632–1697). However, there is no explicit mention of their commissioning any of the numerous high quality sculptures and paintings in the church and friary of the Trsat Franciscans. Writing about the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis in his *History of Trsat (Historia Tersattana, 1648)*, Glavinić only mentioned the date of its foundation and the fact that its activity was linked to the chapel of St. Francis, established for that occasion in one of the rooms in the eastern tract of the friary.<sup>5</sup> Likewise, Vigilije Greiderer stated in his *Germania Franciscana (1777)* that this confraternity was active in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, yet there is only one Baroque work of art in the chapel, namely the altar of St. Francis, commissioned in 1724 by Petar Francetić. The wooden retable, an example of the *Bilderrahmen Altar* type with a relief showing the *Stigmatization of St. Francis* surrounded by acanthus foliage inhabited by half-naked putti, all modelled on classical motifs, is the

i 15. stoljeća, *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 21/40, 1997, pp. 39–54. Croatian literature on medieval Dalmatian confraternities offers diverse perspectives, generating an extensive list of sources and literature on this topic; see, for example, Josip BRATULIĆ, *Srednjovjekovne bratovštine i crkvena prikazanja, Dani Hvarškoga kazališta. Građa i rasprave o hrvatskoj književnosti i kazalištu*, 2/1, 1985, pp. 452–457; Lovorka ČORALIĆ, *Izvori i literatura o bratovštinama u Dalmaciji od srednjeg vijeka do pada Mletačke Republike, Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 15/27, 1991, pp. 88–96; Vilma PEZELJ, *Žene u bratovštinama srednjovjekovnih dalmatinskih gradova, Zbornik radova Pravnog fakulteta u Splitu*, 47/1, 2010, pp. 155–173. For a comprehensive analysis of the manifold roles of confraternities in medieval Dalmatian cities, considering their interactions with the social, political, cultural, and economic life of society, see also Irena BENYOVSKY, *Bratovštine u srednjovjekovnim dalmatinskim gradovima, Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 22/41, 1998, pp. 137–160.

<sup>4</sup> See Ana LAVRIČ, *Zgodovinska in umetnostna dediščina frančiškanskih bratovščin, Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 19/2, 2014, pp. 95–122.

<sup>5</sup> Paškal CVEKAN, *Trsatsko svetišče Majke Milosti i franjevci njeni čuvari*, Trsat 1985, pp. 164, 177, 178; Danijel PATAFTA, *Franjevački svjetovni red na Trsatu. Obnova i poslanje u 19. stoljeću, Franjevački svjetovni red Trsat. Spomenica 1861.–2011.*, Trsat 2011, p. 39.

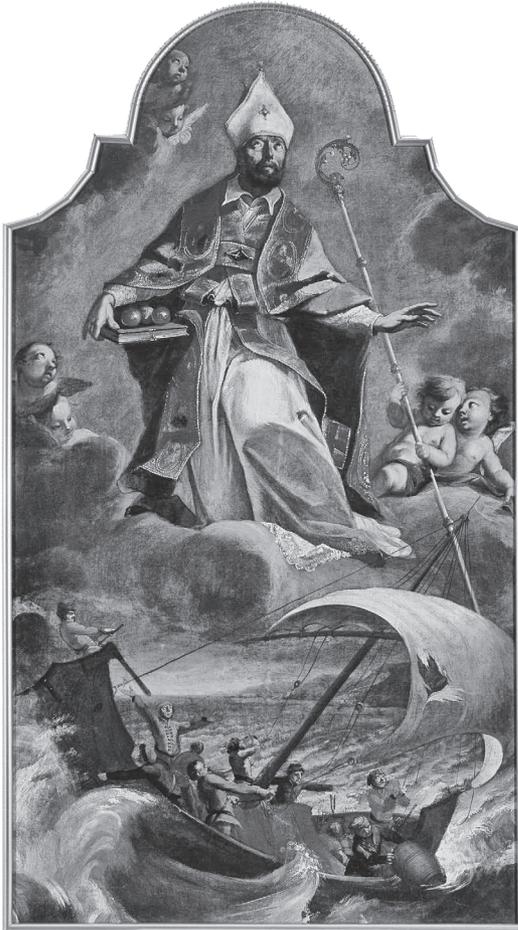


1. Dionizije Hoffer and Ivo Schwaiger:  
Stigmatization of St. Francis, 1724,  
St. Francis Chapel, Friary of Our Lady  
of Trsat, Trsat (Rijeka),  
before restoration

work of two lay Franciscan sculptors, Dionizije Hoffer and Ivo Schwaiger (fig. 1).<sup>6</sup>

Vibrant confraternity and guild activity took place during the 18<sup>th</sup> century at the church of the Holy Trinity in Karlovac: in 1734, the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary was founded there; around 1740 the Confraternity of St. Nicholas, patron of the Karlovac shippers; in 1743 the Confraternity of St. Anthony of Padua; and in 1770 the Confraternity of the Third Order. Since Karlovac was an important center of trade, much like Varaždin, professional associations were established there as well, some of them linked to the Franciscans of Karlovac, either by erecting altars in honor of their patron saints or by performing their religious devotions at the confraternities' altars. Despite often scarce information in the annals of Franciscan friaries when it comes to the acquisition of church furnishings, the *Liber Memorabilium I* of the Karlovac friary mentions the specific donations of the Confraternity of Ship-Owners and the Corpus Christi confraternity for commissioning altars

<sup>6</sup> CVEKAN 1985 (n. 5), p. 164; Radmila MATEJČIĆ, *Crkva Gospe Trsatske i franjevački samostan*, Rijeka 1991, p. 75. Matejčić presents a detailed description of the altar of St. Francis, but offers no data or suggestions about the possible author or donor; see Marijan BRADANOVIĆ, Emanuel HOŠKO, *Marijin Trsat*, Zagreb 2011, n. p. The chapel of St. Francis of Assisi is mentioned in cat. no. 15 as “/.../ conceived and executed in 1647, as part of a grandiose architectural venture at the end of the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It was donated by Matija Rakamarić. /.../ The present Baroque altar retable, built in 1724, is the work of a Franciscan carving workshop, located at that time in Trsat /.../” For more on the activities of the Franciscan sculpture workshop, see Doris BARIČEVIĆ, Prilog problematici franjevačkog kiparstva prve polovice 18. st. u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj, *Peristil. Zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti*, 29, 1986, pp. 97–118.



2. Valentin Metzinger: *Apotheosis of St. Nicholas*, c. 1740, Friary of the Holy Trinity, Collection of Religious Art, Karlovac



3. Valentin Metzinger: *St. George Fighting the Dragon*, c. 1740, Friary of the Holy Trinity, Collection of Religious Art, Karlovac

dedicated to their respective patron saints, Nicholas of Myra and St. George<sup>7</sup> (1739/1740). Decorated with *The Apotheosis of St. Nicholas* (fig. 2) and *St. George Fighting the Dragon* (fig. 3), both altarpieces were painted by the Slovenian Valentin Metzinger.<sup>8</sup> The altar of St. George was originally located to the right, below the triumphal arch. In 1739, anonymous woodcarvers obtained 100 gold pieces for its production from the Confraternity of Corpus Christi.<sup>9</sup> The altar of St. Nicholas was erected

<sup>7</sup> Franciscan friar Vigilije (Vigilius) Greiderer in his *Germania Franciscana* names the Confraternity of the Body of Christ as the commissioner of the St. George altar, an *Altare privilegiatum* for their pious practices on Mondays, which was assigned as well to the Karlovac guild of potters: [Ara] S. Georgii M. aere Confraternitatis SS. Corporis Christi erecta, pro ejus membris feria 2. privilegiata, & figulorum tribui consignata [Altar of St. George, erected with the money from the Confraternity of the Body of Christ, privileged on Mondays for its members, and assigned to the potters]. See Vigilije GREIDERER, *Germania Franciscana, Seu Chronicon Geographo-Historicum Ordinis S.P. Francisci in Germania [...]*, Innsbruck 1777, p. 134.

<sup>8</sup> The paintings are conserved in the Art Collection of the Karlovac friary. See Mirjana REPANIĆ-BRAUN, *Barokno slikarstvo u Hrvatskoj franjevačkoj provinciji sv. Ćirila i Metoda*, Zagreb 2004, pp. 85, 86.

<sup>9</sup> Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevci u Karlovcu*, Karlovac 1979, p. 60. In 1777, the altar was transferred to the church nave; in 1896, it was replaced by one dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

in 1740 as its counterpart, on the left next to the triumphal arch, and the shippers' Confraternity of St. Nicholas donated 100 gold pieces for its production.<sup>10</sup> The Confraternity of Ship-Owners is credited with erecting the altar of Our Lady of the Rosary as well. According to Greiderer, that occurred in 1761, although the *Liber Memorabilium* reported 1764, but it was only in 1788 that Andreas Herrlein painted its altarpiece.<sup>11</sup> Although the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary was founded by the Dominican Louis Stadler in 1734, archival sources and the literature do not connect it with a specific altar. Finding this typically Dominican devotion in a Franciscan church is by no means remarkable. Rosary iconography appeared almost regularly in most Franciscan and parish churches of Northern Croatia, owing in large part to its widespread popularity as one of the most prominent devotions of Catholic spirituality.

In the former Franciscan church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Jastrebarsko, the Confraternity of the Holy Scapular, a Carmelite devotion, was active from 1719. The confraternity commissioned a chapel dedicated to Our Lady of the Scapular, annexed to the northern side of the nave. Archival sources record this as the first newly erected altar in 1743, decorated in stucco, and directly linked to the confraternity (fig. 4).<sup>12</sup> As for the existing one, made in 1754, no such information exists, but there is none indicating a different donor.<sup>13</sup> The side statues of St. Emeric and St. Barbara on the altar have been attributed to Marx Schokotnigg (1661–1731), together with the argument that they were originally placed on the old high altar of 1712 and erected thanks to the legacy of Barbara Sidonija Delišimunović Peranski. This hypothesis is supported by the choice of Barbara, the countess's patron saint, and St. Emeric, the patron of Count Mirko Erdődy (1620–1690), a member of the Croatian branch of the family with its seat in Jastrebarsko and a sponsor of the Franciscan friary. When the Franciscans obtained the new marble altar in 1733/34—the work



4. Altar of Our Lady of the Scapular, c. 1754, Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Jastrebarsko

<sup>10</sup> CVEKAN 1979 (n. 9), p. 60. The altar was removed from the church in 1896 and replaced by a new altar of the Sacred Heart of Mary.

<sup>11</sup> GREIDERER 1777 (n. 7), p. 135; CVEKAN 1979 (n. 9), p. 64.

<sup>12</sup> *Anno 1743 facta fuit ad Capellam Scapularisticam expensis confraternitatis nova Ara ex Gypso*. See Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevci u Jaski*, Slavonski Brod 1982, p. 68.

<sup>13</sup> CVEKAN 1982 (n. 12), pp. 88, 89. Despite the existence of written approval by the Carmelite General Carlo Cornaccioli to the guardian and his successors in Jaska “that they can bless and give the Holy Scapular to all believers, with all the indulgences and spiritual graces, and enter them into the book of members of the legally established confraternity, there have been doubts about its existence because the foundation charter has been lost.”

of Giovanni de Rossi, a sculptor active in Gorica during the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>14</sup>—the two statues were relocated to the altar in the side chapel.<sup>15</sup>

The artistic legacy of the confraternities founded at the Franciscan friary of Zagreb (in Kaptol) is modest, mainly owing to the fact that its fate was sealed not only by the Great Fire of 1645, but also by the earthquake that struck on 9 November 1880 and caused heavy damage to the cathedral. Due to these disasters, as well as to the fact that the Kaptol friary never had a parish, which would have ensured continuous documentation of its contents through canonical visitations, its archival records are far from systematic or rich in information. Thus, little is known about the altars installed in the church during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, a description of the church by Mladen Barbarić, written before the earthquake, reveals that the altar of the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis, built after 1669, was located in the first chapel on the north side of the nave, and



5. *Confraternity of Chastity and Penance*, 1772, Friary of St. Francis of Assisi, Zagreb

a painting of the confraternity members adorned it until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The legacy of the Confraternity of St. Anthony of Padua in that church is likewise missing, but there is an extant painting of the *Confraternity of Chastity and Penance* from the former altar of the Confraternity of St. Peter of Alcantara, founded in 1745 (fig. 5).<sup>16</sup> The chronogram inscription **CZIMER BRATOVSKINE KREPOSZTI POKORE – ZDRAVO LEPI, I SZVETI KRIS** on the cross held by an angel in the upper section of the composition establishes that the painting was made in 1772, which allows us to conclude that it replaced a painting portraying its previous patron on the altar when it was renovated in 1746.<sup>17</sup>

In the Franciscan friary and church of Mary's Ascension in Samobor, the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis, founded in 1700, is attested to only in a book listing its members and a painting of insignificant artistic value, a symbolic depiction of the hierarchy of intercession—Mary with the Christ Child at the top offering the knotted rope belt to Sts. Francis and Bernardino of Siena, who lower it to the representatives of various social classes.<sup>18</sup> Related to the Confraternity of the

<sup>14</sup> For more on the friary, see Đurđica CVITANOVIĆ, *Franjevački samostan u Jastrebarskom*, *Peristil. Zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti*, 12–13/1, 1970, pp. 117–131.

<sup>15</sup> Doris BARIČEVIĆ, *Barokno kiparstvo sjeverne Hrvatske*, Zagreb 2008, p. 212.

<sup>16</sup> Paškal CVEKAN, *Kaptolski franjevci*, Zagreb 1990, pp. 133–135.

<sup>17</sup> CVEKAN 1990 (n. 16), p. 99.

<sup>18</sup> Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevci u Samoboru*, Samobor 1982, p. 97; Mato BATOROVIĆ, *Treći red sv. Franje i bratovštine u Virovitici, 725 godina franjevaca u Virovitici. Proceedings of an International Conference* (ed. Julijo Martinčić), Zagreb-Osijek 2006, pp. 233–257, 240.



6. *Throne of Our Lady of the Rosary, 1748, Church of St. John the Baptist, Kloštar Ivanić*

Holy Scapular, founded in 1752, a “Throne of Our Lady of the Scapular” is mentioned in the chronicle of the same friary, made for the confraternal processions that first paraded through the whole city and later, after 1772, took place within the friary’s premises.<sup>19</sup>

The Confraternity of the Holy Rosary, founded in 1748 by Karlo Murner, a Dominican from Ptuj, likewise had a “Throne of Our Lady” in its original, later devastated Franciscan church of St. John the Baptist in Kloštar Ivanić. Today, it can only be seen in photographs taken by Đuro Griesbach in 1939 (fig. 6). The altar of the Holy Rosary in that church, once on the north side of the triumphal arch, was also associated with the confraternity’s religious activities. However, archival sources do not mention its important commission of an altarpiece, the work of the lay friar Izaija Gasser (1709–1751). The altar, made in 1744/45 by Joseph Weinacht (active c. 1740–1750), one of the most accomplished Zagreb sculptors of the first half of the

18<sup>th</sup> century, was paid for from the legacy of Friar Alexander Reiner.<sup>20</sup>

The Confraternity of St. Anthony of Padua, established by Count Emeric Erdődy in October 1664 at the Franciscan church of the Annunciation at Klanjec and confirmed by Pope Alexander VII, is one of the oldest confraternities of that dedication in the Province.<sup>21</sup> Even though it is not directly stated in the archival sources, we know that Erdődy also commissioned the altar and altarpiece depicting *St. Anthony with the Christ Child* by Hans Georg Geiger (?–1681), whose workshop was very popular at the time with the Erdődy family, who commissioned paintings for their altars in several churches in northwestern Croatia and Slovenia (fig. 7).<sup>22</sup> Emeric himself ordered

<sup>19</sup> CVEKAN 1982 (n. 18), p. 98.

<sup>20</sup> Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevci u Ivaniću*, Kloštar Ivanić 1979, pp. 48–49. On Schneider’s photographs in the former Franciscan church of Kloštar Ivanić, see Krasanka MAJER JURIŠIĆ, Schneiderov fotografski arhiv – svjedok izgubljenog izgleda crkve sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Kloštru Ivaniću, *Hrvatski povjesničari umjetnosti. Artur Schneider 1879–1946* (ed. Ljerka Dulibić), Zagreb 2016, pp. 225–240; Digitalna zbirka Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti (DIZBI), <http://dizbi.hazu.hr/object/26955> (accessed 25 May 2016).

<sup>21</sup> With the bull of foundation of the Confraternity of St. Anthony in Klanjec, issued on 30 June 1664, the Pope approved a privileged Mass for the deceased members of the confraternity to be celebrated on “all days of the octave of the feast of St. Anthony and every Tuesday throughout the year.” See Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevački samostan u Klanjcu*, Klanjec 1983, pp. 114.

<sup>22</sup> Mirjana REPANIĆ-BRAUN, Prilog opusu slikara Hansa Georga Geigerfelda i njegove radionice, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 4, 1999, pp. 59–72; Mirjana REPANIĆ-BRAUN, Blaženka FIRST, Majstor HGG. *Slikar plastične monumentalnosti/The Master of HGG. A Painter of Sculptural Monumentality* (eds. Andrej Smrekar, Mateja Breščak, Anđelka Gaić), Narodna galerija, Ljubljana, Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, Zagreb, Ljubljana-Zagreb 2005, p. 121; Doris BARIČEVIĆ, Katarina HORVAT LEVAJ, Mirjana REPANIĆ-BRAUN, *Akademski crkva sv. Katarine*, Zagreb 2010, pp. 205–223.



7. Altar of St. Anthony of Padua, 1762, with the altarpiece by Hans Georg Geiger, 1664, Parish Church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Klanjec



8. St. Francis as the Fountain of Life, 1732, Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Remetinec

another painting from Geiger in 1666/67, a *St. Lucy* for the cemetery chapel near the church of the Annunciation. His distant relative Anthony I (Antun) Erdődy, general and royal chamberlain and the “great mayor” of the Hungarian county of Arva (from c. 1751) and the Varaždin County (1760–1767), had the old altar replaced in 1762, but preserved Geiger’s painting of St. Anthony in the central section, between sculptures of St. Stephen and St. Emeric of Hungary. The altarpiece of St. Anthony is sometimes covered by a Late Baroque movable painting portraying the same saint.

Confraternities dedicated to the Cord of St. Francis were founded at all the friaries of the Province, yet their activities or the individual engagement of their members did not necessarily include commissioning art or liturgical objects, at least as far as the present stage of research indicates. The altars dedicated to St. Francis in the churches of Our Lady in Remetinec, the church of St. Nicholas in Čakovec, and the church of St. Catherine in Krapina are likewise unattested directly as commissions of the confraternities of the Cord of St. Francis instituted in those places. The side altar in the parish church of Our Lady of the Rosary in Remetinec is linked to the Franciscan confraternity, yet without mentioning its role in commissioning the altar. The central image of St. Francis (1732) is a variant of the allegory of Christ as the *Fons Vitae* (fig. 8), alluding to the interpretation of the charismatic saint as *alter Christus*.

The painting of the *Confraternity Receiving the Cord from St. Francis* (before 1750) on the left side altar of St. Francis in Čakovec visually relates it to the confraternity, but archival sources do not directly mention its role in commissioning the altar (fig. 9). The statues of Sts. John of Capistrano and Bernardino of Siena (1735), which Doris Baričević has attributed to the Bavarian sculptor and



9. Altar of St. Francis, before 1750, with sculptures by Pavao Rehle, 1735, St. Nicholas Church, Čakovec

Franciscan lay friar Paulus Rehle,<sup>23</sup> originally stood on the altar of St. Anthony of Padua in the side chapel of the same church.

Much more information on the confraternities' activity can be found in the archives and the scholarly literature on the Franciscan friary and church of St. John the Baptist in Varaždin, where four confraternities were active. In 1642, the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis in Varaždin was confirmed by Pope Urban VIII, and in 1673 two more confraternities were established with dedications to the Holy Scapular and to Corpus Christi, confirmed by Martin Borković, bishop of Zagreb, and authorized by Pope Clement X. The Franciscan chronicle *Pro Memoria* also mentions a Confraternity of St. Anthony of Padua, established in 1677 and confirmed by Pope Benedict XI. Referring to the founding of Franciscan confraternities in Varaždin, Krešimir Filić wrote: "It is obvious that the Franciscans sought to keep the believers for themselves. They founded confraternities because the Varaždin Jesuits were serious competitors with their own confraternities of the Passion and the Death of Jesus, the Congregation of *B.*

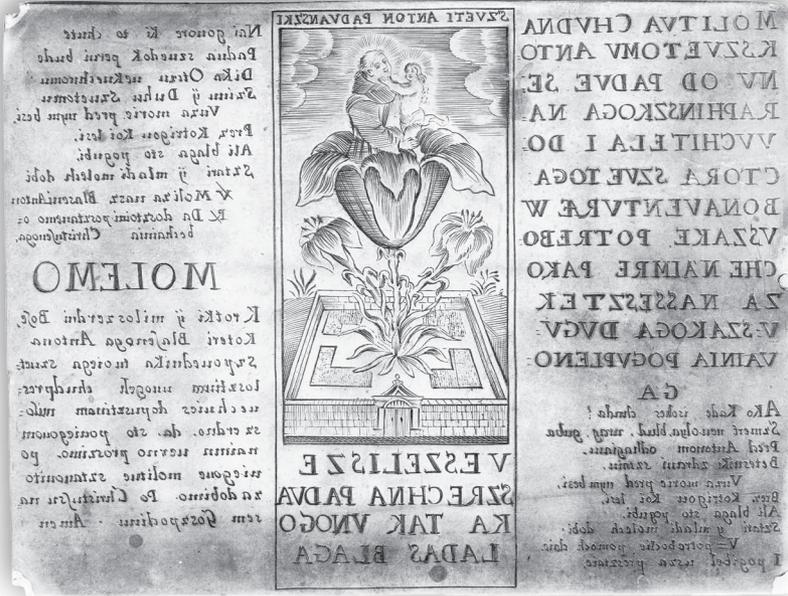
*V Maria Maria ab Angelo salutata*, and the German Marian confraternity founded in 1732."<sup>24</sup> No archival records have been found regarding the activity of the confraternities of Corpus Christi and St. Anthony of Padua, although an engraver's plate has been preserved with the effigy of St. Anthony and a poem dedicated to him, most likely evidence of the confraternity's veneration (fig. 10).

In addition to the chronicle, the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis is attested to in a book containing the bull of Pope Urban VIII, a membership list (1651–1784), and a list of the deceased up to the confraternity's dissolution in 1783. The book is conserved in the Collection of Paintings, Prints and Miniatures of the Department of Cultural History at the Municipal Museum of Varaždin [Gradski muzej Varaždin] (fig. 11).<sup>25</sup> The book connects the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis to the higher strata of society by the coat of arms of the Counts of Drašković, a parchment with the arms of Baroness Josipa Patačić née Miseroni, patroness of the confraternity

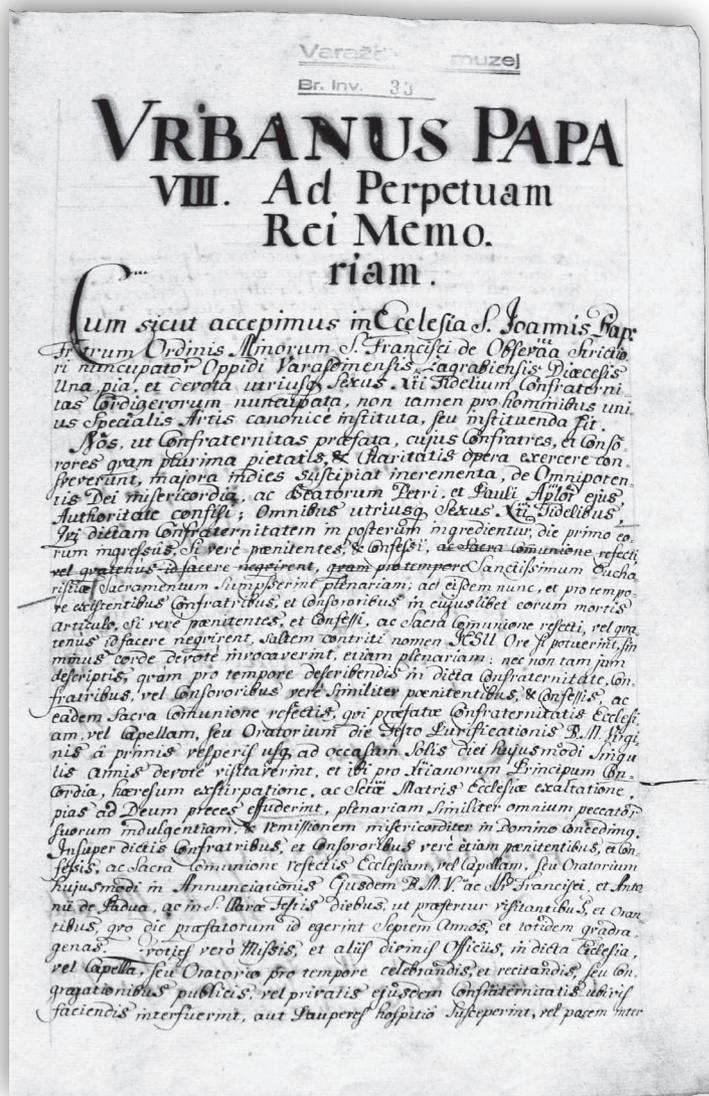
<sup>23</sup> BARIČEVIĆ 2008 (n. 15), p. 178.

<sup>24</sup> Krešimir FILIĆ, *Franjevci u Varaždinu. Poviest franjevačke crkve i samostana. O 700-godišnjici dolaska franjevacu u Varaždin*, Varaždin 1944, pp. 41, 42; Paškal CVEKAN, *Djelovanje franjevacu u Varaždinu*, Varaždin 1978, pp. 112–114. Cvekan also mentions a Confraternity of the Holy Rosary, founded in 1603 with the approval of Pope Clement VIII.

<sup>25</sup> I would like to thank Jelena Rančić for having granted me access to the Cultural-Historical Department of the Collection of Paintings, Prints and Miniatures at the Municipal Museum of Varaždin.



10. Engraving matrix with the effigy of St. Anthony and a poem dedicated to the saint, Franciscan Friar of St. John the Baptist, Varaždin



11. Bull of Pope Urban VIII, 1642, Varaždin City Museum



12. Johann Veit Kauperz: Matrix from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, made for the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis, Franciscan Friary of St. John the Baptist, Varaždin

in 1767, and the heraldry and names of various other distinguished individuals, such as Countess Carolina Breuner Pflug, patroness of the confraternity from 1761 to 1766. Confraternity members included municipal judges, artisans, Ursuline nuns, diocesan priests, and even Ivan Adam Rosemberger (Ioannes Adamus Rosemperger, ?–1758), a leading master among Varaždin's sculptors during the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Membership was confirmed by issuing matriculation certificates, with the plates probably ordered from engraving designers in Graz. A preserved example from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the work of Johann Veit Kauperz (1741–1816), was made for the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis (fig. 12). It illustrates the saint surrounded by cherubs and lowering the cord to the souls in Purgatory and the confraternity members in the lower segment of the composition.<sup>26</sup> The confraternity is represented by several male and female figures, predominantly from the higher social strata, which is evident from their garments and jewelry. Two years after its foundation, the *Historia Domus*

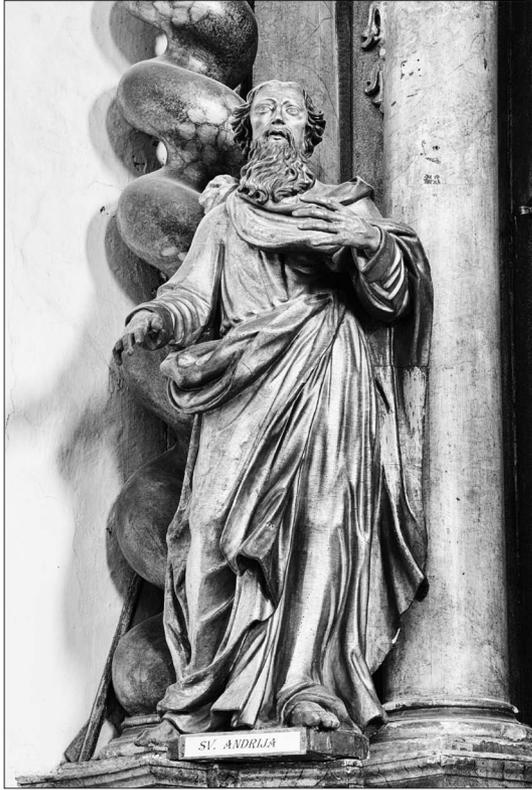
of the Franciscan friary in Kloštar Ivanić mentions the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis as the donor of the altar (later destroyed) of the Holy Rosary, which contained the following inscription: *Altare hoc erexit confraternitas Liberae civitatis Varazdiniensis Cordigerorum Francisci, Anno Dni 1646* [This altar was erected by the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis of the Free City of Varaždin].<sup>27</sup>

After the fire of 1665, which destroyed most of the Early Baroque works of art in the Franciscan church, the first of six new altars in the side chapels was commissioned and installed in 1725 by the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis.<sup>28</sup> The altar thus created a model for the subsequent wooden retables of St. Anthony of Padua, St. Ladislaus, St. Barbara, Our Lady of the Scapular, and St. Clare, made between 1739 and 1748. All of them have high predellas, central niches with sculptures or paintings, pilasters, round and twisted columns framing each side, accentuated cornices, and spacious attics intended for figurative sculpture. Although these retables may seem identical at first glance, there are noticeable differences between them in the complexity and delicacy of the

<sup>26</sup> Below the image on the matrix there is the author's signature, *Kauperz Sc. Graecij*, and the inscription of the "form": *Prijet je Vu Sz Bratovschinu Vu Czirke P:P: Franciskanov. Letto.. Dan.. Mesz.. Vu..* (Admitted to the Confraternity in the Franciscan Church. Year.. Day.. Month.. In..).

<sup>27</sup> CVEKAN 1978 (n. 24), p. 114.

<sup>28</sup> Arhiv franjevačkog samostana u Varaždinu, Eugen Klimpacher, *Pro Memoria*, 1796/1797, p. 40; FILIĆ 1944 (n. 24), p. 102.



13. Ivan Adam Rosemberger (?): *St. Andrew*,  
Altar of *St. Francis*, 1725, Church of *St. John the Baptist*,  
Varaždin



14. Johann Matthias Leitner (?): *St. John of Nepomuk*,  
Altar of *St. Anthony of Padua*, 1739, Church of *St. John*  
*the Baptist*, Varaždin

carved motifs—reticulated ornaments and foliage, palmettes, and decorative vases on the broken volutes of the attic. The sculpture, too, shows differences in style and quality, as noted by Doris Baričević, who attributed most of them to Ivan Adam Rosemberger and his workshop.<sup>29</sup> Without questioning this attribution, I would like to add that the sculptures on the *St. Francis* altar are the finest examples of male saintly figures considered to be by Rosemberger's hand, not only in the Franciscan church of Varaždin, but in his entire oeuvre (fig. 13).

Another presumed confraternity commission is the altar of *St. Anthony of Padua* in the chapel at the northern nave wall. Nevertheless, the note of Eugen Klimpacher in the *Pro memoria* stating that it was “acquired and installed in 1739 owing to the gifts of donors and the efforts of pater Kajetan Zangerer, lector of theology in Varaždin” does not confirm it explicitly. The statues of *St. John of Nepomuk* (fig. 14) and *St. Francis Xavier* flanking the altar painting of *St. Anthony with the Christ Child and Angels* have been attributed by Baričević to the Austrian sculptor Johann Matthias Leitner. Baričević singled out the statues on the *St. Anthony* altar as his most exquisite work, for which she found analogies in Malečnik and Graz, primarily in the extraordinary figure of the *Archangel Michael* on the baldachin of the pulpit in the church of the Brethren of Mercy (1739).<sup>30</sup> The lavish

<sup>29</sup> Doris BARIČEVIĆ, Barokno kiparstvo kod varaždinskih franjevaca, *Radovi Zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU*, 6–7, 1994, pp. 27–36.

<sup>30</sup> BARIČEVIĆ 2008 (n. 15), p. 218.



15. Altar of Our Lady of the Scapular, c. 1739, Church of St. John the Baptist, Varaždin

decoration of the chapel—medallions with frescoes by Johann Baptist Ranger (Ivan Krstitelj Ranger, 1700–1753) and the surrounding stuccowork—has been attributed to Joseph Anton Quadrio,<sup>31</sup> but there is no specific information about the donors. Since the Confraternity of St. Anthony of Padua existed at the Franciscan church of Varaždin from 15 July 1677, we cannot dismiss its influence and possible role in commissioning the chapel's complete furnishings.

Baričević has also observed some features similar to Leitner's work in the statue of *Our Lady of the Scapular* on the altar of that confraternity as well (fig. 15), stating that "it certainly reveals the sophisticated personal style of a master who is most likely to be sought in Graz, in the circle of Johann Matthias Leitner."<sup>32</sup> While the statue has been dated by Baričević to c. 1739, the altar and other statues were made sometime before 1747, the year marked by the chronogram "on the occasion of the restoration of Mary's throne" in the entrance arch. The activities of the Holy Scapular Confraternity in the chapel are recorded from 1690 until the 1880s and 1890s, when they paid for the renovation of the Virgin's statue and the altar. It is unknown whether or not Countess Anna Patačić of Zajezda (married Vragović), donor

of the chapel's stucco decoration, was a confraternal member. The stuccowork in the form of lush florals with angels in high relief is by Joseph Anton Quadrio from 1716/17, as the contract records.<sup>33</sup>

At the Franciscan friary of St. Roch in Virovitica, the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis was established in 1738 and confirmed by Juraj Branjug, bishop of Zagreb, while that of the Holy Scapular was founded in 1753. With its donations, the latter confraternity financed an altar of Our Lady in the sanctuary in 1761, today dedicated to Our Lady of Lourdes.<sup>34</sup>

Writing on the confraternities of Virovitica, Mato Batorović has sought to correct certain incongruities in the important studies by Paškal Cvekan and Emanuel Hoško, in which the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis was mistaken for the Franciscan Third Order. Thus, concerning the altar of St. Francis in the church of St. Roch in Virovitica (fig. 16), Cvekan argued that it belonged to the Confraternity of St. Francis of Assisi, founded in 1738, while elsewhere he stated that the St. Francis altar was commissioned in 1762 in Ptuj and paid for with the donations of members of the

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Mirjana REPANIĆ-BRAUN, Prilog istraživanju opusa štukatera Antona Josepha Quadrija, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 33, 2009, pp. 145–162.

<sup>32</sup> BARIČEVIĆ 2008 (n. 15), p. 218.

<sup>33</sup> CVEKAN 1978, p. 86; REPANIĆ-BRAUN 2009 (n. 31), p. 148.

<sup>34</sup> BATOROVIĆ 2006 (n. 18), pp. 233–257, 233.

Third Order, which had been in existence in Virovitica since 1738.<sup>35</sup> However, despite this inconsistency, we must underscore the significance of the fact, too often ignored by scholars, that the altar of St. Francis of Assisi was financed by the confraternity.

The altar is an extraordinary ensemble, comprising various works of art by Styrian and Tyrolean masters, a well-composed iconographic whole suited to the commissioner's profile. Marija Mirković has observed that the altarpiece painting of the *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, flanked by statues of St. Louis and St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, patrons of the Franciscan Third Order, also depicts the *Souls in Purgatory* as sculptures of naked male and female torsos engulfed in flames. The whole is a powerful visual reminder of the intercessory powers of Franciscan saints.<sup>36</sup> Concerning the authorship of the exquisite statues of Sts. Louis and Elizabeth, Baričević argued that they show “numerous parallels with Holzinger’s work from the 1750s and 1760s.”<sup>37</sup> The *Stigmatization of St. Francis* (1777/78) has been attributed to the South-Tyrolean painter Josef Anton Cusetti (1750–1793), owing to the striking stylistic analogies with his earlier, firmly attributed work, which reveals a peculiar fusion of Late Baroque pathos, Rococo, and Early Classicism. That description particularly fits the painting from 1784, situated on the main altar of the parish church of St. Egidius in Klagenfurt, and the altar paintings in the parish church of Treffen, dated between 1784 and 1786.<sup>38</sup>

A confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis was also instituted at the Franciscan church of the Holy Cross in Osijek (1712). The church had an altar dedicated to St. Francis administered by the confraternity members, who, as stated in the chronicle, “adorned it with flowers and acquired candles for it, made contributions for the holy masses for their deceased and living brethren, participated in all public liturgical celebrations, carrying the Franciscan cross, and were a significant support of the friary of Osijek.”<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, there is no mention of their involvement in the acquisition either of the altar of St. Francis, which is first mentioned in the friary’s annals in 1770, or



16. Altar of St. Francis, 1762,  
Church of St. Roch, Virovitica

<sup>35</sup> BATOROVIĆ 2006 (n. 18), p. 238.

<sup>36</sup> Marija MIRKOVIĆ, *Bratovština franjevačkog pojasa*, *Brat Franjo*, 24, 1999, pp. 18–19.

<sup>37</sup> BARIČEVIĆ 2008 (n. 15), 339.

<sup>38</sup> REPANIĆ-BRAUN 2004 (n. 8), pp. 130–135.

<sup>39</sup> Paškal CVEKAN, *Osječki Franjevci*, Osijek 1987, p. 78. The presence of a Franciscan confraternity in Osijek before the liberation of the city from the Ottoman Turks is attested in a document from 1731, translated and published by Marin SRAKIĆ, *Franjevačke bratovštine u Osijeku*, *Croatica Christiana periodica*, 8/56, 1990, pp. 90–93, with special emphasis on the first paragraph of the text, in which he quotes the testimony of the citizens of Osijek: “We know that the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis under the banner of the Holy Wounds has always flourished admirably for the comfort of Christians in these parts, even while we were under the Turkish yoke /.../” (p. 90).



17. Paulus Antonius Senser: *St. Francis in Prayer*, c. 1756, Church of the Holy Trinity, Slavonski Brod

the *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, recently attributed to Matija Šeravić by Zsuzsanna Korhecz Papp.<sup>40</sup>

Information on the commissioners of altars dedicated to St. Francis in the Franciscan churches of Požega, Vukovar, and Slavonski Brod is also missing, so one can only speculate about the role of the confraternities in their acquisition. The St. Francis altar at the Holy Trinity church in Slavonski Brod, for example, is first mentioned in the friary's chronicle in 1767. At that time Franjo Velikanović, administrator of the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis founded at that church, issued a decision to establish the "feast day of the Stigmatization of our holy father Francis (17 November) as their patron saint."<sup>41</sup> The choice of Sts. Louis and Elizabeth of Hungary (Thuringia) for the statues flanking the central painting of *St. Francis in Prayer* (fig. 17), by Paulus Antonius Senser (1716–1758), supports the hypothesis that the altar owes its existence entirely to the confraternity's involvement.

The 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries' artistic heritage of confraternities in continental Croatia requires additional field and archival research, which would contribute significantly to a more complete understanding of confraternal contributions to the panorama of Croatian Baroque art and culture.

As in Adriatic Croatia, the most influential members of these sodalities were also distinguished members of society, to whom affiliation with a confraternity was an additional form of intensifying their influence. Further research would enable a turn from the more general concepts of confraternity, fraternity, or congregation to the individuals who, as the contracting authorities, influenced the formation of the semantic and visual identity of sacred space in post-Tridentine and Central European continental Croatia.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Zsuzsanna KORHECZ PAPP, Mathias Xeravich (†1771.) pictor Budensis, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 40, 2016, pp. 117–128.

<sup>41</sup> Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevci u Brodu*, Slavonski Brod 1984, pp. 108, 109; Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevci u Baču*, Virovitica 1985, p. 119; on Paulus Antonius Senser, see Mirjana REPANIĆ-BRAUN, *Paulus Antonius Senser (1716.–1758.). Prvi barokni slikar u Osijeku* (ed. Jasminka Najcer Sabljak), Galerija likovnih umjetnosti, Osijek 2008, especially p. 68.

<sup>42</sup> Research for this paper has been fully supported by the Croatian Science Foundation's funding of the project 6827 *The Visual Arts and the Communication of Power in the Early Modern Period (1450–1800): Historical Croatian Regions at the Crossroads of Central Europe and the Mediterranean*.

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

### *Povzetek*

Čeprav delež bratovščin pri nastanku sakralne umetnostne dediščine na območju severozahodne Hrvaške v umetnostnozgodovinskih znanstvenih in strokovnih objavah ni spregledan, pa naročniška vloga bratovščin v obdobju zgodnjega novega veka nikoli ni bila predmet sistematičnih raziskav hrvaških umetnostnih zgodovinarjev. Najpopolnejši vpogled v zgodovino nastajanja in delovanja redovnih bratovščin na kontinentalnem Hrvaškem dobimo iz podatkov, ki jih je v vrsti svojih publikacij o samostanih in cerkvah hrvaške frančiškanske province sv. Cirila in Metoda na podlagi študija arhivskega gradiva v samostanskih hišah od Trsata in Zagreba do Bača in Subotice objavil br. Paškal Cvekan.

Ker loči v kulturni in umetnostni zgodovini 15. stoletja na kontinentalnem Hrvaškem pozni srednji vek od zgodnjega novega veka le »tanka črta«, nam lahko služi kot uvod v to temo besedilo Dragutina Feletarja o poznosrednjeveških bratovščinah in cehih v Podravini. Tako obliko specifičnega gospodarskega, verskega in družbenega življenja ter organiziranja je spodbudila, kakor piše Feletar, velika koncentracija prebivalstva in neagrarnih dejavnosti – obrti, trgovine, uprave, vojske, cerkve – v večjih mestih. V duhovnem pogledu so se meščani v skoraj vseh večjih mestih povezovali v verske skupnosti pri župnijah in samostanih, da bi strukturirano delovali na moralnem, izobraževalnem in karitativnem področju, v strokovnem pogledu pa so se združevali obrtniki in trgovci, da bi zavarovali pridobljene svoboščine, privilegije in položaje v družbi, saj na severozahodnem Hrvaškem vse do druge polovice 15. stoletja niso bili organizirani v cehe in niso imeli niti kraljevskih privilegijev niti pravil, ki bi jih odobrili mestni sodniki. Najstarejše bratovščine, temelječe na načelih strokovne, nacionalne, stanovske in verske pripadnosti, so nastajale na območju severozahodne Hrvaške po vzoru sorodnih skupnosti v Avstriji in Nemčiji od 14. stoletja dalje, prve med njimi na zagrebškem Gradcu; hrvaška bratovščina se omenja v arhivskih virih leta 1355, nemška bratovščina 1357, bratovščina Latincev pa leta 1384. V koraku z njimi so nastajale poklicne bratovščine mizarjev (1377), mesarjev (1387), kolarjev (1444) in jermenarjev (1462), pa tudi verske, kakršna je bratovščina za srečno smrt (sv. Hieronima), ki jo je leta 1380 ustanovil zagrebški škof Pavel Horvat (1379–1386).

Čeprav so na območju kontinentalne Hrvaške posamezne bratovščine brez dvoma delovale tudi kot naročniki umetniških del v cerkvah, v prvi vrsti »svojih« oltarjev ter pripadajoče kiparske in slikarske opreme, njihov prispevek k oblikovanju identitete skupne sakralne dediščine zgodnjega novega veka ni bil tako pomemben kakor v mestih jadranske Hrvaške. Vendarle pa so bile nekatere od njih zaslužne za nastanek in ohranitev določenega števila sakralnih spomenikov, zlasti ko govorimo o delih, nastalih tekom 17. in 18. stoletja v frančiškanskih in jezuitskih cerkvah. Ta dela, sicer z nekaj izjemami, glede najetih umetnikov in obrtnikov ne prinašajo ničesar novega in vznemirljivega; kot naročniki so bratovščine sledile »uhojenim potem« drugih donatorjev in se najpogosteje oprle na delavnice v Novem mestu, Mariboru, Ljubljani, Gradcu in Pécsu, redkeje pa na domače moči, predvsem na rezbarje in kiparje, ki so delovali v sklopu frančiškanskih samostanov in v večjih mestih – Zagrebu in Varaždinu. Ikonografija naročenih del, posebno frančiškanska, je preprosta in zaradi številčnosti bratovščin, posvečenih frančiškanskima »prvakoma«, variira nekaj tem iz izročila o sv. Antonu Padovanskem in sv. Frančišku Asiškem. Pridružujejo se jima upodobitve Škapulirske Matere božje, manjše število bratovščinskih slik in grafik z njihovimi zavetniki ter posebno presunljiva ikonografija Jezusovega trpljenja in smrti, kakršno najdemo na oltarju sv. Križa v nekdanji jezuitski cerkvi Marijinega vnebovzeta v Varaždinu.

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

Matija Ogrin

This essay seeks to demonstrate the significance of confraternities with regard to a substantial part of early modern literature written in the Slovenian language. We shall only focus on a few of the many Slovenian literary texts from the Baroque period that would not have come into being without the activity of a confraternity. This “coming into being” was a complex cultural process that took several forms and modalities. The most preeminent was when the confraternity commissioned a text and a performance for a spectacular public event such as a Passion play, in which the brethren solemnly took part. Another vital expression of this kind of interaction was exhibited when confraternities commissioned the printing and publication of books for personal devotion and meditation, which were often presented to its members as gifts at festivities as well as on solemn occasions. On festival days—most notably, the patronal feasts—a sermon was delivered to the members by a confraternal rector or another priest. These sermons, often printed, were directed to a single confraternal community: its patrons (both celestial and terrestrial), moral imperatives, spiritual mission, etc. Another vital expression of confraternal devotional life can be observed in the texts of songs and prayers for deceased members, both for singing and recitation. Some of these poems and prayers are aesthetically outstanding.

In most cases, confraternities presented these books as gifts to their members for the New Year, as in the case of *Piae considerationes ad declinandum à malo et faciendum bonum cum iconibus viae vitae aeternae /.../ DD. Sodalibus in Diva Virgine conjunctis salutem Marianam, & felix Anni principium* (1712), one of many editions of this handbook for personal advancement in a Christian life by the renowned Belgian Jesuit Antoine Sucquet. This book, on the other hand, is an outstanding example of the coexistence of image and text, like an emblem. It contains 32 pages with engravings that illustrate meditations about the purpose of human life, about moral choices to be made, etc. This “book of emblems,” as it is sometimes called, reveals to a larger extent the full realization of a feature that is present in the majority of confraternity books, but in a less perfect way: the combination of image and text that is the emblematic structure of Baroque culture. By “emblematic structure” we mean a characteristic feature of Baroque literature: its picturesque style, where ideas and moral instruction are not expressed solely as direct principles, but also as vivid, colorful, and abundant images. This basic, characteristic structure is the reason and source for the many comparisons between Baroque visual arts and literature.

Apart from highlighting certain examples of the correspondence between the fine arts and literary texts, this essay cannot undertake a detailed analysis of this complex subject. Rather, we shall point out some Slovenian texts, appropriate for this kind of research, with one common feature in all possible modalities—without a confraternity, the particular text would not have come

into being. It was written for a distinct purpose that arose from the needs or interests of a particular *confraternitas*. Let us draw attention to a few typical examples.

### Confraternity books. *Manuale Sodalitatis B. M. Virginis in coelos assumptae*

The great Latin confraternity of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Ljubljana, established by the Jesuits in 1605, was a congregation of outstanding intellectual power. During more than a century-and-a-half of its existence, the confraternity published dozens of books in Latin with texts on personal meditation and devotion for its members.<sup>1</sup> It brought together intellectuals from several social classes and, notably, students of the Jesuit *collegium*. This varied social structure of intellectually prominent members might be one reason for its extraordinary success.

The first book, published in 1639 by this sodality, is a manual with rules and devotional texts for the membership: *Manuale Sodalitatis B. M. Virginis in coelos assumptae*.<sup>2</sup> The title page reveals that although the book was printed in Vienna, the confraternity in Ljubljana assumed the role of publisher. The manual was dedicated to its benefactor, Rupert Eckart, abbot of the Cistercian Abbey in Stična, and contains a complex exposition of Marian spirituality in 546 small, dense pages. The manual clearly states the main goal of the confraternity in the opening paragraph: *Finis hujus Congregationis est, Progressioni in litteris conjuncta Virtus Pietasque Christiana* (The aim of this Congregation is the union of Christian Virtue and Piety with a person's Progress in culture and knowledge). One of the key chapters, titled *De bono vitae statu eligendo & ad eum Incitatio* (pp. 490–539) takes a typically Jesuit approach to the principles of discernment and judgment in concrete circumstances in which a person must make decisions for a good life.

This is the earliest example among dozens of confraternity books, published mostly in Ljubljana, from the period of the Catholic renewal of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Significantly, the confraternity of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and other sodalities published the first editions of classical authors in the Slovenian lands, such as Boethius (*De consolatione philosophiae*), as well as St. Bernard of Clairvaux (*Sermones de Beata*) and Thomas à Kempis (*Imitatio Christi*). In addition, they published editions of books by highly renowned recent and even contemporary authors of the Catholic renewal, such as Francis de Sales (1567–1622; canonized 1665), and Jesuits Paolo Segneri (1624–1694), Jeremias Drexel (1581–1638) and Gabriel Havenesi (1656–1715), among others.

It must be noted that the majority of this corpus was in Latin, the official language of the Jesuits who had established and led the most productive confraternities. Only a small number of these books were published in German, and even fewer in Slovenian (which is another reason for the prolonged, enduring life of manuscript culture in the Slovenian language). Nevertheless, in addition to the value and meaning of these Latin publications for subsequent Slovenian literature, something else should be stressed. From the first printed publication on record—the *Manuale Sodalitatis B. M. V.* of 1639—confraternities provided three crucial agents: first, they selected the authors of the texts or translations; second, they commissioned a printer to publish the texts while providing an economic guarantee by buying the entire print-run; and finally, as the books were presented to the

<sup>1</sup> See Matija OGRIN, *Bratovščinske iskre. Duhovna besedila baročnih bratovščin na Slovenskem*, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016, pp. 55–88.

<sup>2</sup> *Manuale Sodalitatis B. M. Virginis in coelos assumptae*, *Labaci in Archiducali Societatis Iesu Collegio Erectae & confirmatae*, Labaci 1639.



1. Frontispiece of the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary in Kranj, c. 1650, Archdiocesan Archive Ljubljana



2. Janez Mihael Reinwaldt: *The Growth of the Rosary Tree*, c. 1729, Parish Church of the Virgin of the Holy Rosary, Tomišelj

membership, they provided the audience and the reception. Therefore, confraternities often successfully combined all the vital roles needed for a congruent literary system, that of an author, a publisher and reader.<sup>3</sup>

### Matija Kastelec and the Rosebush of the Holy Rosary

Other confraternities, especially those with fewer intellectually prominent members, published mostly in the modern regional languages of German and Slovenian. Groundbreaking work of this kind was undertaken by Matija Kastelec (1620–1688), “Matthias Castellez, Canonicus Rudolphsbertenfis, Beneficiatus & Praefes Confr[aternitatis] SS. Rofarii ac Fundator Beneficii S. Barbarae” (the canon in Novo mesto, beneficiary and rector of the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary /.../). He wrote a manual for the membership titled *Bratovske buqvice S. Roshenkranza* (The Confraternity Book of the Holy Rosary) in 1678.<sup>4</sup> This innovative volume was probably used widely

<sup>3</sup> With more examples in OGRIN 2016 (n. 1), p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> Matija KASTELEC, *Bratovske buqvice s. roshenkranza: v' katerih je ukúp sloshena visha ta psalter, ali roshenkranz s' témi petnaistimi skriunostmi moliti, inu kokú se more enimu bolniku k' isvelizhanju pomagati; sravèn samerkanih odpustkou zhés ceilu lejtu*, Gradec 1678.

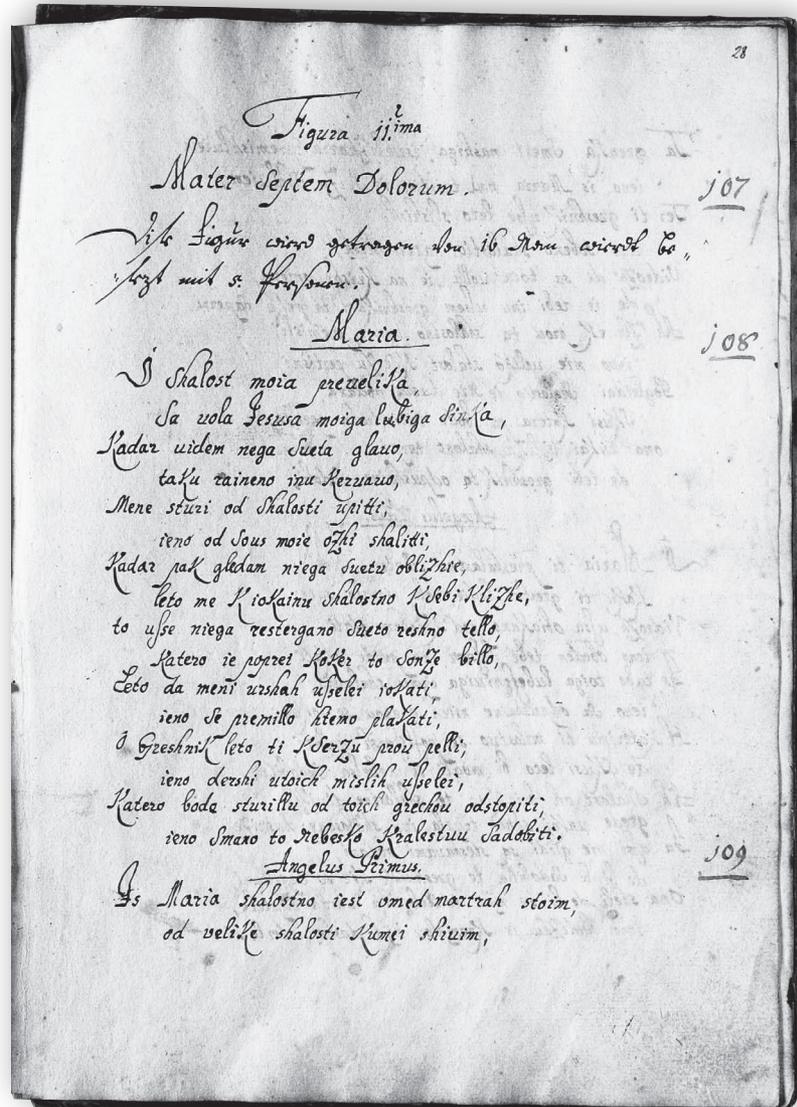
across the regions in which Slovenian was spoken. The collection contains the earliest Slovenian form of the complete Holy Rosary with explanations of the 15 mysteries and related contemplative prayers for each. Although the prayers were part of an older Marian tradition, the book demonstrates Kastelec's role as one of the pioneers of Slovenian Baroque literature as well as his importance in the continuity of late medieval traditions. This initial part of the book is followed by Marian hymns, among them the Slovenian translation of *Stabat mater dolorosa*, again a medieval element, as well as many other prayers, meditations, and hymns, especially devoted to the Passion of Christ. Some are written in a vivid literary style, with picturesque rhetorical devices. The introduction is particularly important in our context because Kastelec presented the Holy Rosary by means of an allegorical image of a rosebush—first planted by St. Dominic, then flourishing with beautiful and mysterious flowers in Carniola. One could recall images of rosebushes and even rose-trees as allegories of the Holy Rosary, e.g. in contemporary confraternity books (fig. 1), which might have inspired this affecting and well-styled passage, or in somewhat later paintings, which reflect the spirit of this widespread Marian devotion (fig. 2).

### The Škofja Loka Passion Play

The critical importance of confraternities for Slovenian literature becomes even more apparent when shifting from printed books to the realm of manuscripts. Only a small portion of literary endeavors found their way from manuscript into print. One of the notable reasons was the negative, rationalist attitude of the “enlightened” authorities, civic as well as ecclesiastical, towards works by monastic writers who were inspired by strong elements of the spiritual and even mystical sources from the medieval Christian tradition. Therefore, many important Slovenian literary texts from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries could only exist within the framework of manuscript culture and, unfortunately, did not survive.

The most exquisite example of a Slovenian manuscript in literary terms is the *Škofja Loka Passion Play*, considered to be the oldest extant, entirely preserved Slovenian dramatic text. Written by the Capuchin friar Romualdus a St. Andrea (1676–1748) in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, it was based on an earlier 17<sup>th</sup> century textual tradition.<sup>5</sup> Originally a penitential devotion held every Good Friday, the Passion play was intended as a solemn preparation for the celebration of Easter. Harking back to late medieval presentations of the Passion across Europe, the *Škofja Loka Passion Play* was conceived not as a performance on stage, but as a procession: the actors and scenes, borne on parade wagons or floats, moved through the town from one square to another, while the spectators remained in place. The text comprises 13 *tableaux vivants* (called *figurae*), commencing with Adam and Eve in Paradise and the consequent Triumph of Death, which introduces the Passion of Jesus Christ—the Last Supper, Mount Olivet, the Flagellation, Crowning with Thorns, etc.—and concludes with the Crucifixion. The play contains 842 rhymed verses of distinguished literary quality and is considered a prominent piece of early modern Slovenian literature.

<sup>5</sup> All the headings and introductory sections with rules and measures for the performance are in Latin; all the stage directions (*didascalia*) are in German as a supplementary meta-language instead of Latin; the entire literary text, spoken by the *dramatis personae*, is in Slovenian. See the critical edition: Oče ROMUALD, *Škofjeloški pasijon. Znanstvenokritična izdaja* (ed. Matija Ogrin), Ljubljana 2009.



3. The Škofja Loka  
Passion Play, fol. 28r:  
Figura 11ma, Mater  
septem dolorum

The grand performance with dozens of actors, soldiers, and guild-members was organized annually by the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament of Škofja Loka, which evidently also provided the initial impetus for the creation of the dramatic text. The confraternity funded the entire performance, and in accordance with the local Capuchin friars, the members were obliged to ask the Capuchins to take responsibility for the procession each year *statim post novum*. Although the Capuchins functioned as the organizers, with one of them serving as the chief *magister processionis*, they maintained a certain distance by having the confraternity make the formal request annually. This tradition normally took place every year, at least from 1715 until harsh Enlightenment measures prohibited it in 1768 and several times later.

We can imagine a multitude of possible influences of such a large-scale spectacle on contemporary works of art in a local context, but even more *vice versa*: the original performance using *tableaux vivants* was probably strongly indebted to Baroque visual arts. In this context, we might reconsider the fresco depicting the *Deposition of Christ*, or the *Mater Dolorosa*, painted by Giulio Quaglio the Younger (1668–1751) in 1706 for the Chapel in Puštal, a locality near Škofja Loka (fig. 4). It is notable that a document from 1713, related to the earlier tradition of the Passion play before



4. Giulio Quaglio:  
*Deposition of Christ*, 1706,  
 Chapel in Puštal Castle,  
 Škofja Loka

Father Romualdus's intervention, records that the performance of the scene with the Mater Dolorosa was assigned to the actors from Puštal.<sup>6</sup> This coincidence might be an accident, but it can also be understood as a possible consequence of the earlier, only scarcely documented Passion play tradition in Škofja Loka.

#### The Passion Play of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla

Another prominent Baroque Passion play organized by a confraternity is the *Passion Play of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla*. The play was discovered and published only recently.<sup>7</sup> The extant manuscript was written shortly before 1800 or even in that year. The text, however, is older. At least some passages and scenes are derived from an earlier textual transmission from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, based on the Jesuit drama in Slovenian. However, this earlier Jesuit tradition existed only in manuscripts and did not survive. The greater part of the text is probably from around 1740, but some alterations were made in the era of Josephinism at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in order to avoid prohibition.

The *Passion Play of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla* is a comprehensive dramatic text. It consists of three performances: on Maundy Thursday during the day; on the same day but in the evening; and on Easter Monday, which presented the crucial themes of Easter—the Resurrection, Christ's appearance to the Virgin Mary, the hallelujah of the Angels, the Three Maries visiting the empty tomb, the incredulous Apostles, etc. The entire text comprises 122 paragraphs and 2758 verses. Originally, all of them were rhymed, but due to corruption during the transmission from one manuscript to

<sup>6</sup> ROMUALD 2009 (n. 5), pp. 270, 300, 372–375.

<sup>7</sup> See the critical edition: *Kapelski pasijon. Komedija od Kristusoviga trplinja, katiro so nekidej na te veliki četrtak inu na te velikonočni ponedeläk v Kapli špilali. Znanstvenokritična izdaja* (ed. Erich Prunč, Matija Ogrin), Ljubljana 2016. Available also in a digital edition: <http://nl.ijs.si/e-zrc/kapelski>.

another for more than 150 years, several verse rhymes were damaged. As was the case in the *Škofja Loka Passion Play*, the same use of languages is found in the Eisenkappel text: German for stage directions, Slovenian for dramatic speech. Other than two small pieces of information, we have no data about the actual performance. The first is in a stage direction in the first part of the play, after Mount Olivet and before Jesus is brought to Annas and Caiaphas: “Die Juden gehen mit Christo auf das große Teater /.../”<sup>8</sup> (The Jews go with Jesus on to the grand stage /.../), which clearly indicates a shift in the imaginary dramatic space. This minor stage direction reveals, however, that the performance of the play was quite complex: some scenes obviously took place on some smaller or lateral stage, while other parts of the dramatic action took place “auf das große Teater;” on the great stage. In addition, we should note that this stage direction is given incidentally, which means that the user of this manuscript was supposed to understand it from experience, i.e. from the continuity of performances each year. The other piece of information is provided by Stefan Singer who recalls that the main stage was set in the lower part of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla where even as late as c. 1900 parts of the scenery could be seen.<sup>9</sup>

In the case of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla, the original role of the confraternity in its Passion play is not recorded. The only document is a later inscription from 1860 written on the original manuscript that says the manuscript is to be donated “to the confraternity in Kapla.”<sup>10</sup> The year 1860 signals the period in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century when religious confraternities were restored to some extent after their complete suppression under Joseph II in 1783. Most probably, the document refers to the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, which had existed in Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla from at least 1590. As in Škofja Loka, a Blessed Sacrament confraternity was the creative force behind the production and performance of the Passion play.

There are many themes that were commonplace in the Passion tradition in both textual and artistic representations. Nonetheless, we might again consider the Mater Dolorosa, since one of the oldest parts of the play is the interpolated mystery play of the Sorrowful Mother with the dead Jesus in her lap and the repentant Sinner who asks for remission of his sins. In the parish church of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla, a beautiful black altar in the side chapel from c. 1680 is dedicated to the Mater Dolorosa and adorned with two imposing sculptures: the *Pietà* in the center and the *Mater Dolorosa with Seven Swords Piercing her Heart* in the uppermost part. At the sides of the *Pietà* are the plague saints *Sebastian* and *Roch*, above are *Sts. Ignatius, Elisabeth, and Francis Xavier*, and at the top is the *Mater Dolorosa*. The Jesuit saints are related to the Jesuit property of Eberndorf/Doberla ves and Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla (fig. 5). The presence of two simultaneous motives of the Sorrowful Virgin Mary in a single altar is unusual. It is assumed that the *Pietà* was added later, while the *Mater Dolorosa* at the summit is in its original position.<sup>11</sup> However, the very fact that an earlier sculpture of an unknown subject occupied the center, and was replaced by the *Pietà*, albeit with a dramatic figure of the *Mater Dolorosa*, is significant and needs some explanation. The

<sup>8</sup> See *Kapelski pasijon* 2016 (n. 7), the stage direction after speech No. 43 in the diplomatic transcription (i.e. after speech No. 79 in the critical edition), p. 39.

<sup>9</sup> “Die Bühne stand beim vulgo Dunej im Unterort, wo noch am Ende des XIX. Jahrhunderts die Kulissenteile vorhanden waren; die Kreuzigungsszene fand auf der Berglehne von Maria Dorn statt.” See Stefan SINGER, *Kultur- und Kirchengeschichte des Jauntales. 3: Dekanat Eberndorf, Kappel* 1938, p. 255.

<sup>10</sup> See *Kapelski pasijon* 2016 (n. 7), p. 170.

<sup>11</sup> See *Kärnten*, Wien 2001 (Dehio-Handbuch. Die Kunstdenkmäler Österreichs), p. 34. See also Jože TILL, *Bad Eisenkappel und seine Kirchen entdecken/Spoznavanje Železne Kaple in njenih cerkva*, Klagenfurt/Celovec 2013, pp. 94–95.



5. Side altar of the Mater Dolorosa, early 18<sup>th</sup> century, Parish Church of St. Michael in Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla

important role of the Mater Dolorosa as an interpolated mystery play within the Passion play of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla could provide some reasonable grounds for such an intervention.

In addition to the canonical iconography of the Via Crucis, there is the rich thematic complex of non-canonical, apocryphal and oral folk traditions, which penetrated this Passion text. These pertain to the Secret Passion of Christ, i.e. a series of motives, deriving from the visions of St. Bridget of Sweden, St. Gertrude the Great (Gertrude of Helfta), and other mystical writings, and later transmitted by related accounts, such as the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* by Johannes de Caulibus, in numerous manuscripts and early prints.<sup>12</sup> One of these motives is the farewell of Jesus and his Mother after the Last Supper. A widespread subject in the Baroque Passion tradition, it probably became especially beloved because of the natural emotional ties between Mother and Son. This narrative was depicted in several murals, most frequently at the *Scala Sancta* sanctuaries, where each of the 28 steps had its own text for prayer and

meditation of the Passion, e.g. at St. Roch in Šmarje by Jelše.<sup>13</sup> So, too, the legendary Longinus plays an important role in the *Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla Passion*. The centurion Longinus was blind in one eye or visually impaired when he pierced Jesus' side at the Crucifixion. Then a drop of the holy blood fell into his eye(s), and he was miraculously cured. His eyesight was restored just as his mind or soul was regenerated by faith in Jesus the Savior. The theme of miraculous healing of the whole human person, both body and soul, might be a folk expression of the medieval idea of the substantial unity of body and soul—an idea, contrary to the contemporary dualistic and Gnostic beliefs of the Cathars and Manicheans. We suggest that the relationship of this Passion text to local depictions of Longinus should be studied.

The original title of this Passion play starts with the words “Komödia od Kristusouiga Terplinja” (The Comedy of the Passion of Christ). Here “comedy” is used in the medieval sense of *commedia*, as Dante used it, which is a hint towards the probably long textual tradition of this play. Numerous archaic elements such as this and the motives of the Secret Passion of Christ, discussed

<sup>12</sup> See Elfride GRABNER, *Verborgene Volksfrömmigkeit. Frühe und volksbarocke Christuspokryphen in Wort- und Bildzeugnissen*, Wien 1997. Highly relevant for our topic is the chapter Die „Passio Domini“ in der apokryphen Überlieferung des Volksbarock, pp. 67–129.

<sup>13</sup> See Avguštin STEGENŠEK, *Zgodovina pobožnosti sv. križevega pota*, Maribor 1912, pp. 24ff. There are seven *Scala Sancta* sanctuaries in Slovenia.

above, were retained and transmitted by a text that was copied in manuscript form as late as c. 1800. They provide the emotive power and resonance of this Baroque Passion play that makes it particularly persuasive and exciting.

### *Cantilenaes et sermones*

In addition to major literary works, there is a large, varied field of texts, mostly transmitted in manuscript, but also via printed small booklets and leaflets. For gatherings and festivals, confraternities needed particular prayers and songs. Several Late Baroque manuscript hymnals in Slovenian contain a multitude of church songs: hymns for festivals of the saints and the Virgin Mary as well as for liturgical feasts throughout the year. From Advent and Christmas to Lent, Easter, Pentecost, Ascension, and notably, for Corpus Christi, a number of these hymns belong to the confraternities, especially to the Marian sodalities, as Marian devotion was so popular among Slovenians.

An example is the poem (or song) for *Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows* by Franc Mihael Paglovec (1679–1759), a vicar in Tuhinj in Carniola who significantly increased the corpus of 18<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian religious literature with a manuscript hymnal and several books on biblical topics. In his *Cantilene variae*, which probably served not only as a private notebook but also as a kind of manuscript publication, Paglovec collected hymns with loftier aesthetic and literary ambitions. Even though they were intended for singing, the texts can also be read as high quality Baroque poetry on their own. *Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows* is a hymn that comprises 15 octaves with a remarkable metrical structure: the first and all the odd-numbered verses are in the iambic meter, while the even-numbered verses are trochaic.<sup>14</sup> This extraordinary poem was composed for the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows, but it could also be sung with no relation to that confraternity, as demonstrated by the Latin notes about which strophe to exclude if the confraternity was absent. The congregation, presided over by Paglovec, is little known today, and this poetic meditation on Our Lady's Seven Sorrows remains its unique literary document.

Another genre with numerous traces and relations to confraternities is the sermon, or so-called rhetorical prose. Several sermons directed to a particular confraternity exist in printed books by leading authors of the Slovenian Baroque. For example, the Capuchin friar Janez Svetokriški (1647–1714) published his sermons for several confraternities: the Holy Rosary, Holy Scapular, Holy Trinity, and Most Blessed Sacrament.<sup>15</sup> There are also numerous homilies of the period in manuscript. One prominent example is a sermon delivered to the confraternal members, which explains much about their spirituality and inner devotional life. On 12 June 1774, the Franciscan father Adauctus Nikel (1740–1788) gave a solemn oration in the Franciscan church of Ljubljana for the conclusion of the novena, i.e. probably on the vigil of the feast of St. Anthony of Padua, a saint highly venerated in Slovenian lands.<sup>16</sup> The sermon was preached to the Confraternity of St. Anthony, which was established there in 1660.<sup>17</sup> The first part is devoted to the *vita* and deeds of St. Anthony, while

<sup>14</sup> Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana, R 0 75843/adl. 1, pp. 25–31.

<sup>15</sup> Janez SVETOKRIŠKI, *Sacrum promptuarium diversos pro diversis occurrentibus casis /.../ sermons*, 4, Labaci 1700, pp. 298–340.

<sup>16</sup> Arhiv Frančiškanskega samostana, Novo mesto, Adaucto Niggel, *Concio Panegyrico-Moralis Pro Conclusionem Novenae S: Antonij Patavini /.../*, Labaci 1774.

<sup>17</sup> Ana LAVRIČ, Blaž RESMAN, *Slike pri sv. Antonu na Pohorju. Najobsežnejši cikel zgodb o sv. Antonu Padovanskem*

the second part opens with the fraught controversy about the actual disregard and even contempt for the saints, a growing trend at the time. Here, Father Adauctus begins a polemic against the rationalism of the contemporary ecclesiastical authorities in Ljubljana—de facto against Bishop Karel Johann Herberstein (1719–1789), the fervent proponent of Josephinism, who put into practice several measures against the monastic orders. As Father Adauctus narrates the life and miracles of St. Anthony, he also develops the doctrine of the mediation of Divine Grace through the saints. The rationalists and proponents of the Enlightenment, such as the high diocesan clergy of Ljubljana, denied the ability of saints to perform miracles as the embodiment of the mediated Divine Grace that comes from God and penetrates saints' lives. The Enlightenment contempt for the veneration of saints was sharply criticized by Father Adauctus as Lutheran, apostate, and even heretical. To this adamant theological argumentation, Father Adauctus, most surprisingly, connected another, very sensible, yet astonishing line of discussion: he initiated the issue of social difference between the noble diocesan clergy on the one hand and the mendicant Franciscan saints and poor members of the confraternity on the other. This is probably the first rudiment of social critique and polemic in the Slovenian language, and it is highly significant that social difference—as a characteristic phenomenon of modern times—was actually addressed for the first time within a Baroque confraternity in 1774, just a few years before the dissolution of all confraternities in the Habsburg lands in 1783.



The confraternities of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries created an environment with constant cultural initiatives and needs. In order to meet them, Slovenian literary and religious texts of nearly all genres were produced: poems and hymns in the area of poetry; sermons, meditations, and prayers in the sphere of prose; and finally, several Passion plays in the realm of dramatic literature, among which, regrettably, only the plays from Škofja Loka and Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla have survived. Even with the specific limitations imposed by the historical socio-cultural context, these works represent an integral system of literature, rich not only in terms of rhetorical devices and literary quality in many cases, but also in terms of content. Quite remarkably, these works range from purely theological matters to questions of moral choice in daily life, from personal penitence to cathartic relief in the Passion of Jesus Christ, and from the veneration of saints directly into the question of difference among social classes. Even in this brief overview, we hope to have shed new light on some of the most expressive literary contributions of Slovenian confraternities and their significant resonance in a context where there was not as yet any split between religion and culture, between devotion, art, and literature. On the contrary, intensified devotional activities of the confraternities resulted in an abundance of literary themes and motives in lyric, prose, and dramatic forms.

## Bratovščine na Slovenskem in njihov pomen za baročno slovensko književnost

### *Povzetek*

Bratovščine 17. in 18. stoletja na Slovenskem so iz svojega verskega poslanstva porajale številne kulturne pobude, med njimi tudi literarne. Že zgodaj v 17. stoletju so jezuitske bratovščine, še zlasti Marije Vnebovzete, postale založnice številnih knjig, od bratovščinskih priročnikov za duhovno življenje do prvih izdaj klasikov latinske krščanske kulture, kot so Boetij, sv. Bernard in Tomaž Kempčan. Ob takšni latinski književnosti so v bratovščinah ali za njih nastajala tudi slovenska slovstvena besedila, nekatera med njimi trajne vrednosti. Članek orisno predstavi nekaj baročnih tekstov, ki bi brez pobude konkretne bratovščine ne bili nikoli napisani. Orisana sta *Škofjeloški in Kapelski pasijon* ter vloga, ki jo je pri njunem uprizarjanju imela bratovščina sv. Rešnjega telesa. Kot primera drugih slovstvenih zvrsti sta prikazana mdr. pesem Franca Mihaela Paglovca o Mariji sedem žalosti iz rokopisa *Cantilenae variae* in pridiga, ki jo je za člane bratovščine sv. Antona Padovanskega imel frančiškanski pater Adavkt Nikl pred svetnikovim godom leta 1774. Pridiga je zanimiv primer, v katerem pater polemiko proti tedanjemu racionalizmu in jožefinizmu višjega škofijskega klera presenetljivo poveže s temo socialne razlike med premožnim plemiškim škofijskim klerom na eni strani in revno redovniško ter bratovščinsko kongregacijo na drugi. Literarna besedila baročnih bratovščin na Slovenskem so bogata po estetski in literarni vrednosti izbranih primerov, vendar tudi po vsebinski raznolikosti, saj segajo od poglobljenih teoloških tem do vprašanj moralnega odločanja v konkretni človeški situaciji, od premišljevanja o lastni grešnosti do katarzičnega očiščenja v trpljenju Jezusa Kristusa in od češčenja svetnikov do vprašanj o pomenu razlik med socialnimi razredi. Po literarni plati kaže poudariti, da je s književnostjo, ki je nastajala zaradi bratovščin, nastal, četudi mestoma nepopolno, celoten sistem vseh pogloblitnih literarnih vrst s poezijo (pesmi, himnika), prozo (pridiga in meditacije) in dramo (pasijonske igre), kar je odličen dosežek slovenske baročne kulture.

# Figura jima

## Mater Septem Dolorum.

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

## Maria.

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



# ABSTRACTS AND KEYWORDS

## IZVLEČKI IN KLJUČNE BESEDE

**Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke**

*Certificates of Marian Congregations in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century as a Means of Corporate Representation*

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

**Giuseppe Capriotti**

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

**Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke**

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

**Giuseppe Capriotti**

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

#### Sanja Cvetnić

*The Jesuit Bona Mors Confraternities in Croatia*

##### 1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

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

#### Sanja Cvetnić

*Jezuitske bratovščine za srečno smrt na Hrvaškem*

##### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

#### 1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Angelika Dreyer

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

#### 1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

#### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Angelika Dreyer

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

#### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

#### Valentina Fiore

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

##### 1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

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

#### Valentina Fiore

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

##### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

**Jasenska Gudelj, Tanja Trška**

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

**Matija Ogrin**

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

**Jasenska Gudelj, Tanja Trška**

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

**Matija Ogrin**

*Bratovščine na Slovenskem in njihov pomen za baročno slovensko književnost*

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

**Mija Oter Gorenčič**

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

## 1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

**Mirjana Repanic-Braun**

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

## 1.01 Original scientific article

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

**Mija Oter Gorenčič**

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

## 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

**Mirjana Repanic-Braun**

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

## 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

### **Joana Balsa de Pinho**

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

#### 1.01 Original scientific article

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

**Keywords:** confraternities, 16<sup>th</sup> century, Portugal, early modern era, House of Mercy, social welfare, architecture, patronage,

### **Martin Scheutz**

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

#### 1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

### **Joana Balsa de Pinho**

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

#### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

### **Martin Scheutz**

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

#### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

### Wojciech Sowała

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

#### 1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

### Barbara Wisch

*Archconfraternities and the Arts. Overarching New Themes*

#### 1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

### Wojciech Sowała

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

#### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

### Barbara Wisch

*Nadbratovščine in umetnost. Opredelitev novih tem*

#### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Z letom 1520 je papež povzdignil izbrane rimske bratovščine v nov prestižni rang nadbratovščin, ki so bile 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 njihovemu pomenu pa o njih ne obstaja nobena monografska študija. Pričujoči prispevek je tako *prolegomenon*. Preučuje, na kakšne načine so rimske nadbratovščine služile kot zgledi. Nato vzpostavlja kronologijo najzgodnejših skupin in njihovih kardinalov zaščitnikov, pojasnjuje ključno vlogo, ki jo je zaščitnik imel, prepletene mreže njegovih pristojnosti in pričakovanja njegovega velikodušnega mecenstva.

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



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