

UMETNOSTNOZGODOVINSKI INŠTITUT FRANCETA STELETA ZRC SAZU

AIAS



ACTA HISTORIAE ARTIS SLOVENICA

Illuminating the Soul, Glorifying the Sacred

Religious Confraternities and the Visual Arts
in Early Modern Europe

23|2 • 2018

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

ACTA HISTORIAE ARTIS
SLOVENICA

23|2·2018

Illuminating the Soul, Glorifying the Sacred

Religious Confraternities and the Visual Arts
in Early Modern Europe

LJUBLJANA 2018

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

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

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

Založnik / Publisher
Založba ZRC

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

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

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

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

Prevodi / Translations
Blaž Resman, Nika Vaupotič, Barbara Wisch

Oblikovna zasnova in prelom / Design and layout
Andrej Furlan

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

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

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

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

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

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

Naklada / Print run: 400

CONTENTS

VSEBINA

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

Barbara Wisch	
<i>Introduction</i>	15

DISSERTATIONES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPARATUS

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

PREFACE

CONFRATERNITIES: NETWORKS OF PATRONS,
ARTISTS, AND RESEARCHERS

Barbara Murovec

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PREDGOVOR

BRATOVŠČINE: MREŽE NAROČNIKOV, UMETNIKOV IN RAZISKOVALCEV

Barbara Murovec

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTRODUCTION

Barbara Wisch

Guest co-editor

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

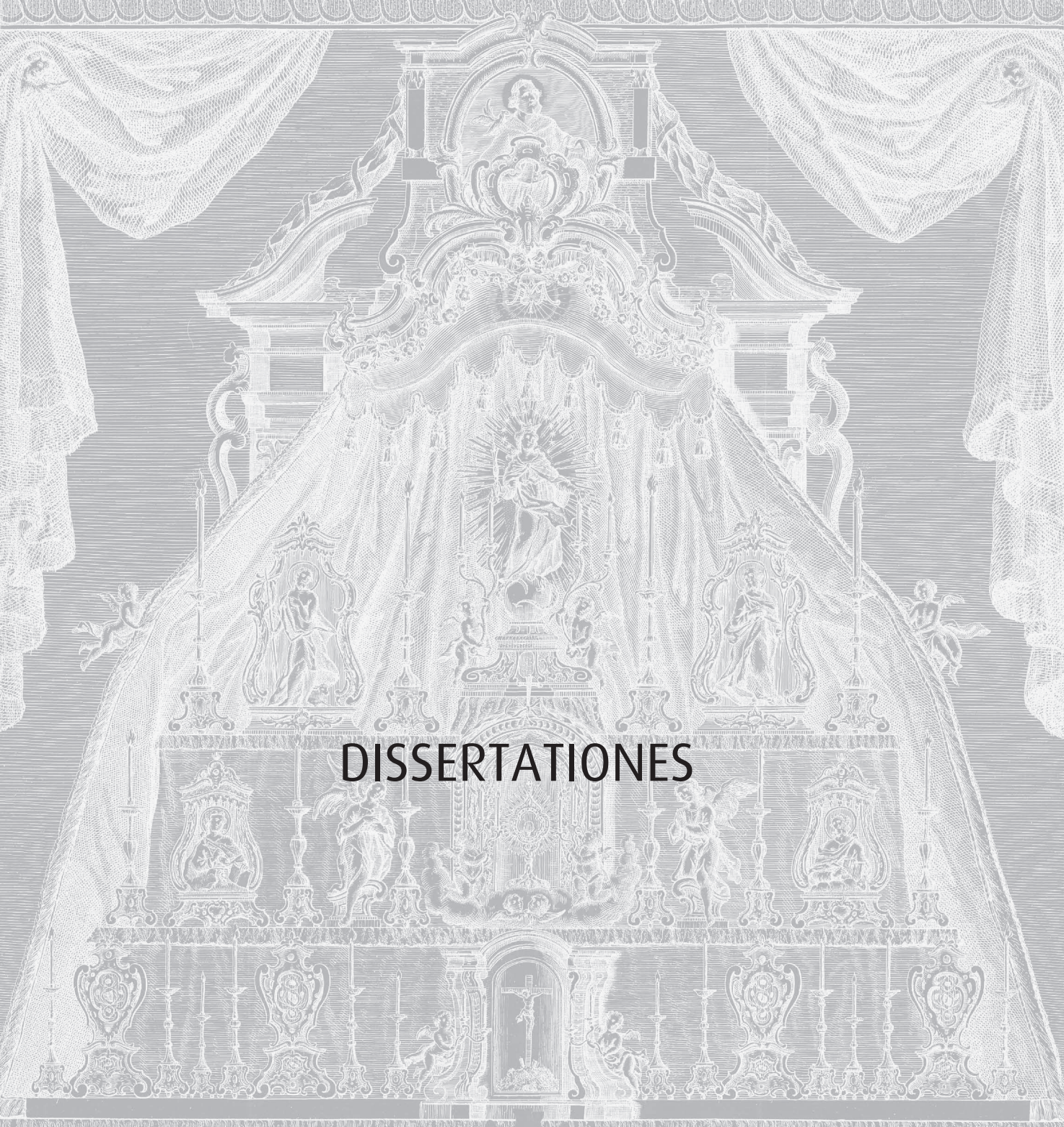
Martin Scheutz presents a range of little-explored written sources that are crucial for understanding the dynamic agency of Austrian confraternities during the early modern period. First and foremost, the sodalities needed to reform certain (im)pious practices in an effort to counter Martin Luther's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

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

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

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

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



DISSERTATIONES

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

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

PRÆFECTUS

*Jofann Ignaz
 Schmid Buchbinder*



SECRETARIUS

*Wolfgang
 Rebyan
 Wagner*

From Care for the Hereafter to Care in the Here and Now

Ceiling Painting for South German Confraternities in the Age of Catholic Enlightenment

Angelika Dreyer

Brotherhoods played an important role in post-Tridentine devotional practice within the Catholic territories of Southern Germany. The abundance of brotherhoods with their egalitarian structure and high degree of potential for identification appealed to Catholic believers of all classes, reaching them virtually everywhere. Consequently, nearly all parochial and pilgrimage churches in Southern Germany, even the smallest, incorporated at least one brotherhood, but usually two or three, which established an indispensable foundation for sociability, mostly in rural communities, but also in the cities.¹ A confraternity manifested itself visually through precious liturgical furnishings, splendidly staged liturgies, and conspicuous church decoration; all this was essential for heightening the feeling of identification among their *sodales* (members). To this day, testimonies of such displays of magnificence are represented by the exquisite monstrances and church standards carried during ecclesiastical processions or on the occasion of funerals. Most significant, however, are the altarpieces and large ceiling paintings that dominate the space of the Baroque churches of Southern Germany. These remain the best visual witnesses of the spectacular nature of the brotherhoods' extensive patronage of the arts.

Confraternities were of special importance to the Diocese of Augsburg with its bi-confessionally divided territory. Here, many places with predominantly Catholic populations were located in close proximity to Protestant villages, which made contact between their inhabitants inevitable. This proximity apparently strengthened the wish for mutual social separation, which resulted in the Marian confraternities of the Rosary becoming the most dominant and visible means of Catholic identity until the 1760s. The subject matter of the vast painted cycles adorning the church ceilings, although sometimes executed rather crudely, was meant to be easily understood by rural beholders, whose knowledge was often limited. The Virgin Mary herself played a particularly significant role within the confraternities of the Rosary by intervening “in person” or through celestial assistants in

¹ For a survey of brotherhoods in the Augsburg diocese and in the old Bavarian territories, see Gerhard HÖLZLE, *Der guete Tod. Vom Sterben und Tod in Bruderschaften der Diözese Augsburg und Altbaierns*, Augsburg 1999 (Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte. Sonderreihe, 4). For the Augsburg diocese, see also Walter PÖTZL, *In der religiösen Gemeinschaft der Bruderschaften, Kirchengeschichte und Volksfrömmigkeit* (ed. Walter Pözl), Augsburg 1994, pp. 225–245.

the represented events and by hurling heretic dissenters into the abyss. Eloquent testimony is found in the frescoes of the churches in Kirchhaslach, Günzburg, Dasing, and Seeg, all originating in the context of the Rosary confraternities.² The “painted attacks,” however, were not so much directed against Protestants, Jews, or Muslims, as against “orthodox” Catholics in the sense of Tridentine controversial theology, which urged the populace to dedicate themselves openly to the Virgin Mary and thereby to the Catholic creed. The political background of this battle for each and every soul was Article V in the 1648 Peace Treaty of Osnabrück, which established borders between Protestant and Catholic territories; henceforth, this required securing the individual souls of the believers.³ By encouraging reciprocal solidarity between members and the potential for identifying oneself with a particular group, brotherhoods proved an efficient tool for advancing the religious tenets and pious behavior that the Council of Trent (1545–1563) had promulgated.

However, from the mid-18th century, we see a change of mind in Southern Germany—from earlier commissions of extravagant ceiling decoration to more modest configurations. Scholars have often quoted the Elector’s Mandate of 4 October 1770 in this context because it recommended a vast reduction in the display of magnificence in church decoration: “that superfluous stuccowork and other often absurd and ridiculous decorations should be omitted” and “pulpits, altars and images should demonstrate a noble simplicity.” Thus, it has been argued, the mandate harmed the visible presence of local confraternities.⁴ But as Frank Büttner pointed out in 1998, explaining the turn to simpler, less expensive ceiling decoration by citing only juridical or economic aspects was inadequate;⁵ instead, he suggested that the discussion had to consider the tendencies of the Catholic Enlightenment in those years.

This essay will demonstrate how representatives of the Catholic Enlightenment knew to use the well-established social structure of existing brotherhoods for their own intentions of reform. The conformity of their aims with the subject matter depicted in the ceiling decoration of the brotherhoods’ churches becomes apparent around the middle of the 18th century. Evidence is provided by the frescoes (1749–1754) by Johann Baptist Zimmermann in the *Zum Gegeißelten Heiland* in the

² See Mechthild MÜLLER, „*In hoc vince*“. *Schlachtendarstellungen an süddeutschen Kirchendecken im 18. Jahrhundert. Funktion und Geschichtsinterpretation*, Frankfurt am Main 1991 (Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 28: Kunstgeschichte/Histoire de l’art/History of Art, 115), pp. 67–93; Gerhard HÖLZLE, „MARIA die Sieges-Frau“. Die literarische Marienverehrung in Bayern im Zuge der Lepanto-Schlacht, *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte*, 36, 2002, pp. 530–567; Angelika DREYER, Konfessionell kontrovers. Süddeutsche Rosenkranzbruderschaften als Auftraggeber für barocke Deckenmalerei, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016, pp. 185–200.

³ The borders were established according to those of 1 January 1624 in the mode the year was defined by the Peace Treaty of Münster, see Ernst Walter ZEEDEN, *Das Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe (1555–1648)*, Stuttgart-Berlin-Leipzig 1970 (Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte, 9), p. 185.

⁴ For the Elector’s Mandate, see Helmut HESS, *Das kurfürstlich bayerische Generalmandat vom 4. Oktober 1770. „Edle Simplizität“ wird behördlich verordnet*, München 1989 (Schriften aus dem Institut für Kunstgeschichte München, 47). The crucial passage of this mandate (rule 4, point 5) reads (p. 93): “in order to prevent all exuberance and not to allow the vanity of the priest or another official to arbitrarily determine the arrangement of the architecture, but to observe uniformity in church buildings following the Italian example; it is requested /.../ that pure and well proportioned architecture be kept, but that superfluous stuccowork and other often absurd and ridiculous decorations should be omitted and that pulpits, altars and images should demonstrate a noble simplicity as fitting the veneration of the sanctuary.”

⁵ Frank BÜTTNER, Abschied von Pracht und Rhetorik. Überlegungen zu den geistesgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen des Stilwandels in der Sakraldekoration des ausgehenden 18. Jahrhunderts in Süddeutschland, *Herbst des Barock. Studien zum Stilwandel. Die Malerfamilie Keller 1740–1904* (ed. Andreas Tacke), München-Berlin 1998, pp. 165–173.

Wies pilgrimage church (fig. 1–5), which concentrate entirely on Christological devotion, as do the frescoes (1774) by Johann Joseph Anton Huber in the parochial church of St. Nicolas in Unterdiesesen (fig. 7). In addition, the reformers' intention to help the needy by means of the brotherhoods is reflected in the frescoes (1764/65 and 1783) by Christian Thomas Wink in the parochial church of Haag on the Amper (fig. 10–11).

To a certain degree, the Augsburg diocese, large parts of which were independent from the Munich court, played the protagonist in this respect. Three theologians adhering strictly to Catholic Enlightenment principles were responsible for this development: Prince-Bishop Joseph, Landgrave of Hesse in Darmstadt,⁶ elected in 1740, and two of his closest counsellors, his fellow student and private secretary, Giovanni Battista Bassi,⁷ and the Canon Regular Eusebius Amort from Polling.⁸ The latter two particularly, as ardent advocates of the Catholic Enlightenment, tried to root these ideas firmly in the diocese. They constantly exchanged letters and also corresponded with the preeminent Father Lodovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750), discussing their intentions and possible strategies.⁹ Amort's publications in particular often seem to have relied directly on those of Muratori, but he aimed more directly at the needs of the Augsburg diocese torn asunder by the schism between the two Christian confessions.

Muratori, Amort, and Bassi aimed at a moderate religiosity, finding a balance between faith and reason that was free from superstition and understandable to all. The three reformers wanted all social classes, according to their intellectual capacities, to participate, and they underscored the Christian obligation to help the needy. Moreover, the center of devotion should be the adoration of Christ, while veneration of the saints should be limited to their being examples for the faithful. Even the veneration of Mary Mother of God was deemed secondary by representatives of the Catholic Enlightenment.

The social systems of the many different confraternities seemed ideal for the realization of the reforms within a vast territory. This idea had already been expressed in a paper, published in 1725, by a homonymous relative of the Augsburg Bassi, Johannes Baptist Bassi. In discussing a number of details of this program, he proposed to advance a change in the common behavior of the brotherhoods by taking advantage of their structures.¹⁰ His *tractatus* was very much in accordance with the intended reforms of Cardinal Lambertini, the future Pope Benedict XIV (reigned 1740–1758),

⁶ See Leonhard BAYRER, *Kurzgefaßte Geschichte von Augsburg. Ein Lesebuch für den Bürger und dessen Abstammlinge*, Augsburg 1785, pp. 336–346; Placidus BRAUN, *Geschichte der Bischöfe von Augsburg. Chronologisch und diplomatisch verfasst, und mit historischen Bemerkungen beleuchtet*, 4, Augsburg 1815, pp. 449–497; Wolfgang WÜST, Joseph (I) Ignaz Philipp, Landgraf von Hessen Darmstadt (1699–1768). Fürstbischof von Augsburg, *Lebensbilder aus dem Bayerischen Schwaben* (ed. Wolfgang Haberl), 14, Weißenhorn 1993 (Schwäbische Forschungsgemeinschaft bei der Kommission für Bayerische Landesgeschichte. Veröffentlichungen, 3), pp. 123–147.

⁷ See Wolfgang Eduard Josef WEBER, *St. Moritz und die katholische Reform des 18. Jahrhunderts. Giovanni Battista Bassi (1713–1776), Das ehemalige Kollegiatstift St. Moritz in Augsburg (1019–1803). Geschichte, Kultur, Kunst* (ed. Gernot Michael Müller), Lindenberg im Allgäu 2006, pp. 259–272; Markus Christopher MÜLLER, „Aufgeklärtes Aggiornamento in Augsburg?“ Die Korrespondenz (1743–1768) Giovanni Battista Bassis mit Eusebius Amort, *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte*, 51, 2017, pp. 467–534.

⁸ Karin PRECHT-NUSSBAUM, *Zwischen Augsburg und Rom. Der Pollinger Augustiner-Chorherr Eusebius Amort (1692–1775). Ein bedeutender Repräsentant katholischer Aufklärung in Bayern*, Paring 2007 (Publikationen der Akademie der Augustiner-Chorherrn von Windesheim, 7).

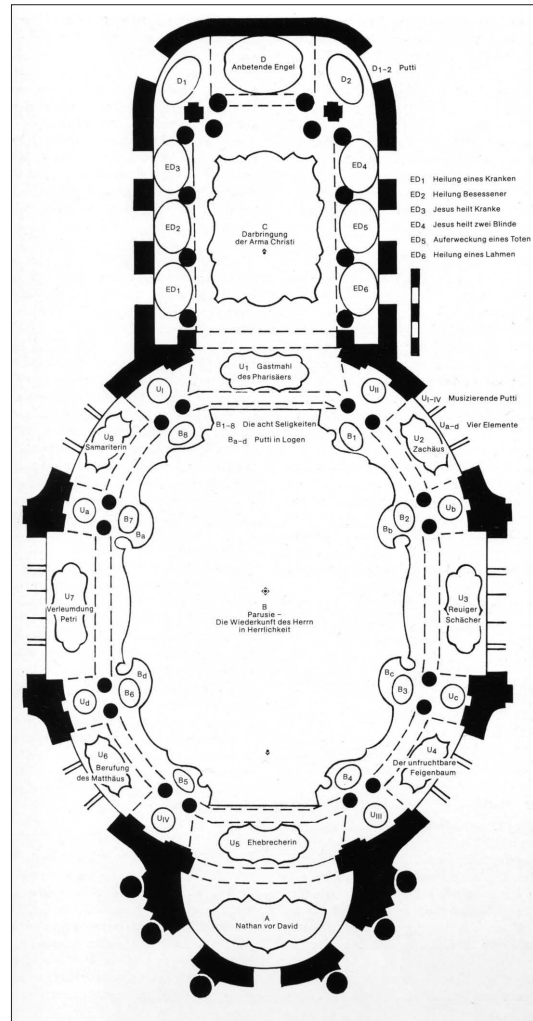
⁹ Angelika DREYER, *Die Fresken von Joseph Mages (1728–1769). Zwischen barocker Frömmigkeit und katholischer Aufklärung*, Regensburg 2017 (Studien zur christlichen Kunst, 12), pp. 49–74, 184–193; MÜLLER 2017 (n. 7).

¹⁰ Johannes Baptistæ BASSUS, *Tractatus de sodalitiis seu confraternitatibus ecclesiasticis, et laicalibus*, Roma 1725.

and it was reprinted in a second edition in 1739. Lambertini was a promoter of the Bassi family, helping, among others, the Augsburg Bassi during Bassi's professional studies.¹¹ On the other hand, the Bassi family supported the Catholic Enlightenment propagated by the cardinal as much as possible. The older Bassi's treatise scrupulously targeted the question of how to use the social potential of the brotherhoods for the goals of the Catholic Enlightenment. He vigorously promoted the Works of Mercy and of Charity as well as a pious and virtuous lifestyle as the foundation of all their activities.¹² Helping the needy in the here and now was judged most important, according to his paper, rather than care for the hereafter.¹³ Therefore, Bassi limited elaborate obsequies because, he reasoned, they were simply used to show off the financial power of the confraternity. Such expenses should be reduced in favor of accentuating the sacramental, particularly in the presence of the dying.

How could such reforming aims be realized in the context of the brotherhoods, and how could they find their way into the frescoes of 18th-century churches? Important evidence for this can be found in one of the most prominent churches in South Germany, the Zum Gegeißelten Heiland in der Wies (To the Flagellated Christ in the Meadow) pilgrimage church. In 1741 a shabby wooden figure of Christ kindled the pilgrimage, when a local innkeeper's wife discovered the Miracle of Tears, i.e. the statue had wept copious tears. Within the first four years after the news spread, nearly 800 votive objects were dedicated to the statue, approximately one-sixth of them in solid silver.

As the stream of pilgrims continued to grow, letters from the Chamber of the Elector's Court in Munich called for an examination of the circumstances.¹⁴ The Prince-Bishop of Augsburg, who was spiritually responsible for the problem, felt obliged to install a commission for scrutinizing the statue of the Scourged Savior and the Miracle of the Tears. The examination took place from 14–16



1. Ground plan with indication of the frescoes, 1749–1754, pilgrimage church Zum Gegeißelten Heiland, Wies bei Steingaden

¹¹ For Pope Benedict XIV and his multiple efforts to aid the Catholic Enlightenment, see Christopher M. S. JOHNS, *The Visual Culture of Catholic Enlightenment*, University Park, Pennsylvania 2015, passim.

¹² BASSI 1725 (n. 10), p. 3, point 7 invites the *sodales* to do charity.

¹³ BASSI 1725 (n. 10), p. 13: *Questio V. An habeant Jus funerandi, seu sepeliendi?*

¹⁴ See Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München (BSB), Clm 1408, no. 16, Amort's letter to Bassi, which reports this fact; PRECHT-NUSSBAUM 2007 (n. 8), pp. 566f.

September 1745. One of the five ecclesiastical dignitaries of the committee was Eusebius Amort,¹⁵ who corresponded in detail about the proceedings with Giovanni Battista Bassi of Augsburg.

In one of his letters, Amort unreservedly informed Bassi about the examination. He identified the tears as painted in oil, a fact confirmed by two professional painters. Moreover, he left no doubt about the likely financial motivation of the innkeepers, who first saw the Savior weep and who had been greatly enriched by the wave of pilgrims. Amort's final devastating conclusion in a letter dated 20 September stated that the figure was guilty of every kind of fraud.¹⁶

Surprising—and at the same time instructive—was his proposal, in spite of the evidence, to promote the pilgrimage.¹⁷ He argued that devotion to the Scourged Savior¹⁸ was “heart-rending”¹⁹ and would make a deep impression on sinners. In addition, he complained about the absence of places of devotion to the Passion of Christ in Bavaria and Swabia, while those in honor of Mary and the multitude of saints existed in large numbers, although adoration of Christ's Passion was so much nobler. As a theologian promoting Christological devotion, he finally pointed out that remembrance of the life and suffering of Christ was less vivid in the diocese than it should have been.²⁰

Amort did not just explain his argument in his letter of 20 September, but asked Bassi to obtain the Prince-Bishop's decision on how to proceed regarding the statue. He himself preferred to place it under lock and key in a shrine far from public veneration and suggested replacing its parts little by little over the years. Devotion to the Lord's Passion should be strengthened, and one might even have to endure the petty fraud of a fictitious miraculous statue so long as Christ alone was praised.²¹ Bassi immediately answered that the Prince-Bishop had ordered the statue to be located “in Statu fixo” (in a fixed place) or to be replaced.²²

The idea to simply replace the statue clearly sets forth the seemingly unbridgeable differences between the naïve devotion of the rural pilgrims and the reforms promoted by the adherents of the Catholic Enlightenment. At the same time it becomes evident how Amort wanted to use the opportunities at hand on behalf of the Catholic Enlightenment. He suggested founding a brotherhood at Zum

¹⁵ PRECHT-NUSSBAUM 2007 (n. 8), p. 568, alongside Amort: Franz Joseph von Handl, spiritual counsellor, priest and canon of St. Moritz in Augsburg, penitentiary and censor, who in this lattermost office gave approbation to the first book of miracles together with Vicar General Johann Adam von Nieberlein; Johann Georg Jenker, priest of Schongau and dean of the chapter of Schongau; Franz Sales Gailler (Gailer, Geiler), priest of Raisting and dean of the chapter of Weilheim; Joachim Hoffmayr, Augustinian canon at Rottenbuch, dean of the chapter.

¹⁶ BSB, Clm 1408, no. 16, Amort's letter of 20 September 1745 from Polling to Bassi; see also PRECHT-NUSSBAUM 2007 (n. 8), p. 569.

¹⁷ BSB, Clm 1408, no. 16, pp. 3–4, Amort to Bassi on 20 September 1745: *Mererentur haud dubie eius modi statu-ae arceri a cultu publico, nisi omnibus viribus laborandum foret, ut promoveatur devotio erga Mysteria Passionis Dominicae. In hoc genere usurpandum censeo illud Apostoli: Sive per occasionem, sive per invidiam (sive per imposturam, sive per imperitiam) dummodo praedicetur Christus. Ad Philipp[enses] I Quin im[m]o resistere timerem manui Omnipotentis secrete trahentis tot corda fidelium. Si non discernere humanum errorem ab intentione et providentia Numinis in hoc opere.*

¹⁸ Expertise of 18 September 1745, written by Amort in the name of all the participants of the commission, see PRECHT-NUSSBAUM 2007 (n. 8), p. 570.

¹⁹ PRECHT-NUSSBAUM 2007 (n. 8), p. 570.

²⁰ “The life and passion of Christ is less severely observed than it should be.” See PRECHT-NUSSBAUM 2007 (n. 8), p. 570.

²¹ BSB, Clm 1408, no. 16, p. 4, Amort to Bassi on 20 September 1745: *In hoc genere usurpandum censeo illud Apostoli: Sive per occasionem, sive per invidiam (sive per imposturam, sive per imperitiam) dummodo praedicetur Christus.*

²² BSB, Clm 1401, fol. 50r, Bassi answered on 1 October 1745: *(a)cccepi epistola[m] sup[er] Commissione Staingadiensi, quam et Ser[enissi]mo misi, qui iussit aut Statua[m] constitui in Statu fixo, aut alia[m] substituenda[m].*

Gegeißelten Heiland in the Wies church, and firmly decided to incorporate specific charitable obligations into their statutes, especially to support indigent school students. Although he did not succeed in this last aim of requiring philanthropic “good works,” the mandate demonstrates his agreement with the older Bassi’s publication. Both rejected the display of splendor in confraternal activities and wanted to concentrate instead on charitable duties.

When viewing the decoration of the Wies church, one is astonished by the theological precision and clarity of Johann Baptist Zimmermann’s frescoes (1749–1754), which to this day express God’s love and grace powerfully to the pilgrim (fig. 1–5).²³ Yet in accordance with the sensibility of the new devotion propagated by the Catholic Enlightenment, no visual sophistries overload the subject matter. Anna Bauer has elucidated the simplicity and clarity of their iconography, which strictly follows the biblical text, and I follow her interpretation in this regard.²⁴ The *Arma Christi* in the choir ceiling symbolizes the Passion Jesus endured for the salvation of humankind (fig. 2). The fresco is closely connected with the statue of *Christ Flagellated* placed below, which displays His human suffering most dramatically.

The frescoes of the choir ambulatory contrast the Passion represented in the choir with Jesus’ miracles of grace: the *Healing of the Blind of Jericho*, *Raising of Lazarus*, *Healing of the Lepers*, *Healing of the Lame* and forgiveness of their sins (fig. 3), *Healing of the Deaf Mute* by exorcising the demon, and the general *Healing of the Infirm*, according to Matthew 4,23–24. “And Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people. And his fame went throughout all Syria: and they brought unto him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and those which were possessed with devils, and those which were lunaticks, and those that had the



2. Johann Baptist Zimmermann: *Presentation of the Arma Christi*, ceiling fresco in the central oval of the church choir, 1749–1754, pilgrimage church Zum Gegeißelten Heiland, Wies bei Steingaden

²³ Anna BAUER-WILD, Haag an der Amper, *Corpus der barocken Deckenmalerei in Deutschland. 1: Freistaat Bayern. Regierungsbezirk Oberbayern. Die Landkreise Landsberg am Lech, Starnberg, Weilheim-Schongau* (eds. Hermann Bauer, Bernhard Rupprecht), München 1976, pp. 600–623; Anna BAUER-WILD, *Das Bildprogramm der Wallfahrtskirche, Wies. Geschichte und Restaurierung* (ed. Michael Petzet), München 1992 (Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege. Arbeitsheft, 55), pp. 52–72; Dörte WETZLER, *Aufgeklärte Wies? Überlegungen zum Einfluss der katholischen Aufklärung auf das Bild- und Ausstattungsprogramm der Wallfahrtskirche zum Gegeißelten Heiland (1745–1754)*, *Aufklärung und sakraler Raum. Ausstattungsdiskurse im klerikalen Milieu des 18. Jahrhunderts* (eds. Birgitta Coers, Lorenz Enderlein, Tobias Kunz, Markus Thome), Affalterbach 2016 (Studien zur Kunstgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit, 16), pp. 207–219.

²⁴ BAUER-WILD 1976 (n. 23).



3. Johann Baptist Zimmermann:
Healing of the Lame,
 ceiling fresco in the choir
 ambulatory, pilgrimage church
 Zum Geißelten Heiland,
 Wies bei Steingaden

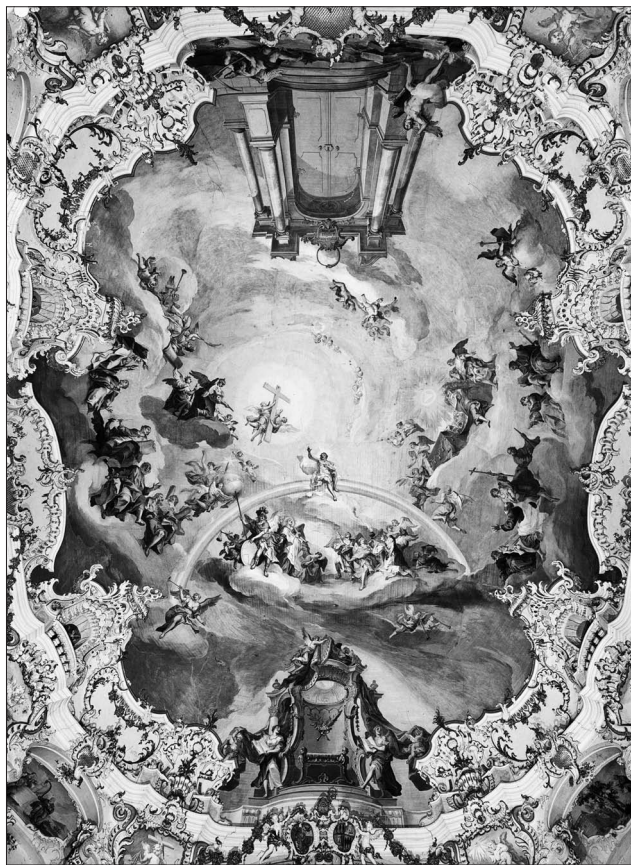
palsy; and he healed them.”²⁵ Not only was the expectation of the pilgrim to be healed from his/her infirmities crucial for the representation of the healing miracles, but also the wish that s/he turn to Christ. The Jesuit Cornelius a Lapide used these words: “Christ did all that in order to strengthen through these miracles His Gospel and His new and unheard of law which He brought into the world. Through the clearness of His (miraculous) signs Christ obtained belief and credibility for Himself and His message.”²⁶

The frescoes of the ambulatory surrounding the central oval of the church, used by the laity, show Jesus’ grace in forgiving sin, again using biblical examples. The narratives nourish the pilgrims’ hopes for forgiveness at the end of time with Christ’s Parousia depicted in the central space as a promise to the laity in the here and now. In all the frescoes of the ambulatory, Christ addresses the sinner with loving kindness. *The Woman Taken in Adultery* is shown standing before Him, and He tells her “Neither do I condemn thee: go, and sin no more” (John 8,11),²⁷ giving preference to the grace of the New Testament as opposed to the rigor of the Old Testament (fig. 5). The examples of the *Penitent St. Peter* and the *Penitent Thief* evince how the Son of God postulated the certainty of salvation and cared about the sinners even during His Passion. The fresco with St. Peter depicts the moment when Jesus, while being taken away by soldiers, turns toward the weeping apostle, thereby leading him back onto the path of salvation (Luke 22,55–62). When meeting the Samaritan Woman at the well, Christ sought to speak with her and convert her. The tax collector Zacchaeus received the grace to be recognized and spoken to by God’s Son. The tax collector Matthew was even called to follow Jesus as His disciple (Matt 9,9). The most prominent place on the ceiling, in front of the choir, depicts *Christ in the House of the Pharisee Simon*, a scene, which according to tradition, is identical to Mary Magdalene’s anointing Jesus’ feet (Luke 7,36–50). According to Cornelius a Lapide, the Magdalene’s profound love and her ability to suffer deeply for her sins gained her not

²⁵ See also BAUER-WILD 1992 (n. 23), p. 58.

²⁶ Cornelius a LAPIDE, *Comm. in duodecim Prophetas minores*, Antwerp 1720, p. 846. Quotation from BAUER-WILD 1992 (n. 23), p. 60.

²⁷ See also BAUER-WILD 1992 (n. 23), p. 64.



4. Johann Baptist Zimmermann: *Parusia*, ceiling fresco in the central oval space, 1749, pilgrimage church Zum Gegeißelten Heiland, Wies bei Steingaden



5. Johann Baptist Zimmermann: *Jesus and the Woman Taken in Adultery*, ceiling fresco in the ambulatory of the central oval space, 1749–1754, pilgrimage church Zum Gegeißelten Heiland, Wies bei Steingaden

only forgiveness, but also enlightenment.²⁸ The real aim of remorseful repentance reveals itself to the pilgrim in the ceiling fresco of the large central oval space of the church (fig. 4). In the brightest colors it shows the Parousia, the Second Coming of Christ in Glory, an image of His loving union with the Church at the end of time, and the triumphant fulfillment of His redemption (Matt 24,30–31).²⁹

Beneath the scene with St. Peter in the ambulatory is an altarpiece, paid for by the newly founded confraternity and painted by Joseph Mages (fig. 6). It too represents the apostle's penitence, strictly following St. Luke's gospel without omitting details and with no unnecessary adornments (Luke 22,54–62).³⁰ In the left background, Christ is led out of the High Priest's house and turns his gaze toward St. Peter. On the right, the fire that warms the maidens is still burning in the darkness of the courtyard. The two elderly men in the right foreground, witnesses of the apostle's denial, are now astonished to see him weep in remorse. Even the rooster, placed in the left margin, had to be included in a representation so closely following the biblical narrative.

This visual concordance with Scripture that focused on Christ himself conformed well to the ideas of the Catholic Enlightenment, as did the emphasis on the Sacrament of Penance, to which Muratori had dedicated a whole chapter in his bestseller published in 1747. It was available in German in 1751 titled "Die Wahre Andacht des Christen." Here he wrote: "Our loving Lord does not require more than returning to Him in true penitence and with the firm decision to obey and to love Him henceforth."³¹

After all, there was no disagreement between post-Tridentine piety and the Catholic Enlightenment in the assessment of the Sacrament of Penance. The Jesuits especially agreed upon this matter with Amort, Bassi, and Muratori. However, their ways of practice differed distinctly. In



6. Joseph Mages: *The Penitence of St. Peter*, lateral altar to the right, 1756, pilgrimage church Zum Gegeißelten Heiland, Wies bei Steingaden

²⁸ Cornelius a LAPIDE, *Comm. in quatuor Evangelia*, Antwerp 1712, p. 108: *Hac de causa Magdalene multa, id est omnia peccata remissa sunt, quia ipsa summe Deum dilexit, et ex summa hac Dei dilectione summe de peccatis suis doluit.* Quotation from BAUER-WILD 1992 (n. 23), p. 66.

²⁹ For the iconographic subject, see BAUER 1976 (n. 23), pp. 604–607, 619–623; BAUER-WILD 1992 (n. 23), pp. 66–70.

³⁰ For the painting see DREYER 2017 (n. 9), pp. 66–74.

³¹ Lodovico Antonio MURATORI, *Die Wahre Andacht des Christen*, Aschaffenburg 1751, pp. 185, 187.

the bi-confessionally divided Imperial City of Augsburg, the Society of Jesus found a particularly impressive way of staging the sacrament for the public. For more than half a century, in irregular intervals between 1715 and 1766, their performances, also called Recollections, took place in darkened chambers (in different unspecified locations, but not in the church) and were mainly directed at female audiences.³² On a stage covered with black cloth, only a sculpture of the Crucified Christ loomed large, lit effectively from one side to give the performance an imposing and mysterious touch. Then a preacher of great rhetorical power stepped onto the stage. He conjured up an image of the extraordinarily ghastly journey to The Last Four Things and the horrible consequences of sin. Such performances surely affected the readiness of the listeners, particularly the women, to be reconciled through acts of penance.

While these performances imbued horror and terror in the faithful, Eusebius Amort's approach was entirely different. His reforming educational impetus was thoroughly contrary to the rhetorical principles of the Jesuits. The curricula and methods used in the seminary for priests at Pfaffenhausen bear witness to this.³³ Amort mandated that all students in the Augsburg diocese had to forgo classes at Pfaffenhausen. Each student was now to be trained in the Sacrament of Penance in dialogues with fellow students.³⁴ Amort wanted to replace the sensually effective staging of the Jesuit Recollections with individual conversations about penitence, a conversation based on looking inward. The incompatibility of post-Tridentine religious practice borne aloft by Jesuit rhetoric with the reform pedagogic ideology of the Catholic Enlightenment becomes clear. The Recollections operated by awing the faithful and enjoying their shudders to the fullest; Amort's approach appealed to their common sense and reminded them of their worldly duties in the face of the Holy Trinity. The frescoes of the Wies's ambulatory are connected to this approach. In a calm but striking way they convey to the faithful the grace Christ offers to the contrite sinner. The central fresco, on the other side, displays in bright colors the true aim of a penitential Christian life: eternal life in the presence of God's grace at the end of time. Amort's message and Zimmermann's Wies frescoes blended magnificently into a common and homogeneous statement.

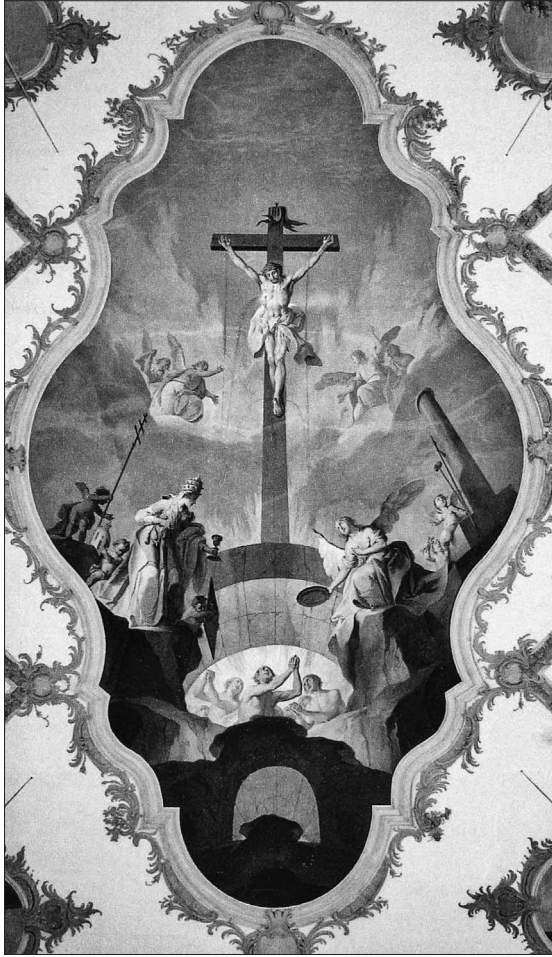
We can document the fundamental turn toward the (new) Christological devotion and the striving toward simple narrative structure under the influence of the Catholic Enlightenment with more fresco decorations commissioned by confraternities. Johann Joseph Anton Huber's fresco from 1774 in the parochial church of St. Nicolas at Unterdießen manifests a stringent and uncompromising guide to Christ (fig. 7).³⁵ At Unterdießen, an Arme-Seelen-Bruderschaft (Confraternity of Poor Souls) was incorporated into the Gut-Tod-Bruderschaft (Brotherhood for a Good Death). From the ceiling painting, the Crucified Christ, positioned frontally, looks down onto the beholder. The Savior's blood, gushing out of His wounds, is collected by the figure of Ecclesia and by an Angel

³² Placidus BRAUN, *Geschichte des Kollegiums der Jesuiten in Augsburg*, München 1822, pp. 124, 130. In 1720 a Recollection of three days took place, the first day for maidservants, the second for women, and the last for virgins of higher social rank. In 1727 the Jesuits held a Recollection at the English Fräuleins: 1729 for the noble women from the church of St. John; 1741 and 1759 for ladies and virgins; and 1766 in the student room.

³³ For the seminary at Pfaffenhausen, see BAYRER 1785 (n. 6); BRAUN 1815 (n. 6), pp. 455–461; Thomas SPECHT, *Geschichte des ehemaligen Priesterseminars Pfaffenhausen (1734–1904)*, *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Dillingen an der Donau*, 30, 1917, pp. 1–78; 31, 1918, pp. 41–48; 32, 1919, pp. 1–15; 33, 1920, pp. 1–31; PRECHT-NUSSBAUM 2007 (n. 8), pp. 485–519.

³⁴ PRECHT-NUSSBAUM 2007 (n. 8), p. 181.

³⁵ *Corpus* 1976 (n. 23), pp. 241–246; Marika MENATH-BROSCH, *Johann Joseph Huber (1737–1815). Das Werk des Augsburger Freskantens und letzten Akademiedirektors*, München 2009, pp. 62–67, fig. p. 68.



7. Johann Joseph Anton Huber: *Salvation of the Poor Souls in Purgatory through the Blood of the Savior*, fresco, 1774, St. Nicolas church, Unterdießen



8. Membership Certificate of the Confraternity of Poor Souls at Unterdießen, Archive of the Diocese, Augsburg

to benefit the Poor Souls in Purgatory who implore salvation in the lower quarter of the image. The source of the subject matter was the illustration on the membership certificate of the local brotherhood (fig. 8). The engraved representation of the Crucified Christ and the Poor Souls, the confraternal insignia, is even more explicit. The insignia was thus transformed into a monumental fresco that decidedly concentrates on devotion to Christ, and gains persuasive power by meeting all the demands of the Catholic Enlightenment.

A comparable, though somewhat earlier example can be found in the parochial church of Dillishausen, painted in 1766. Giovanni Battista Bassi was responsible for the religious community in his function as Dean of the collegiate church of St. Moritz in Augsburg, and he also contributed generously to the frescoes by Joseph Mages.³⁶ The parish had a Todesangst-Christi-am-Kreuz-Bruderschaft (Confraternity of Christ's Fear of Death on the Cross). Accordingly, a larger-than-life sized Christ is shown on the cross with his Last Seven Words—"Mein Gott, warum hast Du

³⁶ DREYER 2017 (n. 9), pp. 153–193.

mich verlassen" (My God, why hast thou forsaken me?)—written on a banderole coming out of His mouth (Matt 27,46).

The examples cited here all demonstrate the definite change in pictorial decoration commissioned by confraternities during the age of the Catholic Enlightenment. The sacramental character of Penance and Extreme Unction was represented forcefully and was easily recognizable by the faithful without the help of rhetorical sophistry. The events of Christ's life, as documented in the Gospels, became the foundation of pictorial decoration commissioned for the brotherhoods, replacing concentration on themes regarding Our Lady. Yet Amort and Bassi failed in their efforts to direct confraternal financial resources away from ostentatious splendor toward *amor proximi*, love and charity for one's neighbor.

This can also be confirmed in the bi-confessionally divided city of Augsburg. As statistics have demonstrated, there was a deep and symptomatic difference in philanthropic spending between Catholics and Protestants. Catholics spent much less for charity and education than for the religious cult; Protestants did the opposite.³⁷ The average Catholic citizen of Augsburg donated 36 guilders to the religious cult, but only 24 to charity and 29 to education, while an Augsburg Protestant of the same means donated only 23 guilders to the cult, but 152 guilders to charity and, as an investment in the future economy, 50 to support schools. These numbers testify to the Catholics' lack of concern regarding worldly and economic necessities, which, in the end, led to significantly greater numbers of deaths among them during the devastating years of famine in 1770/71, whereas the Protestants, living in better economic circumstances, were more easily able to balance the calamities, particularly owing to better education.

Such a comparison cannot be made for Bavaria because of its confessional unity. Nonetheless, the reform ideas of the Catholic Enlightenment were able to put down roots there as well. A striking late example of the change in painterly representations is demonstrated by the iconographic program motivated by a brotherhood in the parochial church at Haag on the Amper (fig. 9–11).³⁸ In 1723 the efforts of Count Guidobald von Lodron of Haag resulted in establishing a Maria-Trost- und Gürtelbruderschaft (Confraternity of the Consoling Virgin Mary and of her Girdle).³⁹ In the week following its establishment, 743 persons were noted in the brotherhood, and after a year, their number grew to 19,353 members.⁴⁰ From 1764/65, Guidobald's successor, Count Joseph Anton von Lodron, had the church newly decorated by the court painter Christian Thomas Wink and the master stucco artist Franz Xaver Feichtmayr. After a fire, caused by lightning, had destroyed parts of this decoration on 14 June 1779, Count Hieronymus, Joseph Anton's son, generously paid

³⁷ See Franz Eugen von SEIDA UND LANDENSBERG, *Historisch Statistische Beschreibung aller Kirchen-, Schul-, Erziehungs- und Wohlthätigkeitsanstalten in Augsburg. Von ihrem Ursprunge an bis auf die neuesten Zeiten*, Augsburg-Leipzig 1811, pp. 153–188, 219–514; Etienne FRANÇOIS, *Die unsichtbare Grenze. Protestanten und Katholiken in Augsburg (1648–1806)*, Sigmaringen 1991 (Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg, 33), pp. 100–110.

³⁸ Heide CLEMENTSCHITSCH, *Christian Wink (1738–1797)*, 1–2, Wien 1968 (unpublished doctoral dissertation), pp. 18, 127–129; Anna BAUER, Cordula BÖHM, Haag an der Amper, *Corpus der barocken Deckenmalerei in Deutschland. 6: Freistaat Bayern. Regierungsbezirk Oberbayern. Stadt und Landkreis Freising* (eds. Hermann Bauer, Frank Büttner, Bernhard Rupprecht), München 1998, pp. 231–241; Markus HUNDEMER, *Haag an der Amper. Pfarrkirche St. Laurentius*, Regensburg 2002 (Kleine Kunstführer, 2493).

³⁹ Ludwig HEILMAIER, Die Gürtelbruderschaft zu Haag an der Amper, *Frigisinga*, 3, 1925, pp. 449f.

⁴⁰ HEILMAIER 1925 (n. 39), pp. 449f.

for the restoration.⁴¹ Feichtmayr renovated his own work for 140 guilders; Wink most likely needed to repair some minor parts of the choir fresco, but had to repaint the entire ceiling fresco in the main space of the church, signing and dating it 1783.⁴²

The choice of the eminent and highly esteemed Feichtmayr and Wink speaks for the Lodron family's expectation of an artistic level equal to that of the elector's court. Moreover, Wink was universally regarded as one of the representatives of the new trends in South German art, which leaned toward the ideas of the Enlightenment.⁴³ This also becomes evident at Haag on the Amper. The overall pictorial decoration, including the high altarpiece, appeals to every member of the confraternity to fulfill the obligation of charity towards the needy (fig. 9). As a role model, the painting depicts the charity of St. Laurence, to whom the altar is dedicated. It is inscribed "St. Laurentius / Vater der / Armen" (St. Laurence, Father of the Poor) and dated 1789.⁴⁴ Clad as a deacon, he stands beneath an arcade before Emperor Valerian, who is elevated on his throne. The saint points at the needy who surround him or are lying at his feet. The legendary narrative took place in 3rd-century Rome. Pope Sixtus II had entrusted the treasures of the church to St. Laurence, who was to bring them to the emperor. Instead, Laurence gave them to the poor and the sick, declaring these people to be the true treasures of the church. The saint paid for his charity with his death on the gridiron, which is not portrayed, although the rusty grill is depicted on the high



9. Christian Thomas Wink: *St. Laurence Father of the Poor*, high altarpiece, 1789, parochial church of St. Laurence, Haag an der Amper

⁴¹ Ludwig HEILMAIER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Pfarrkirche Haag an der Amper, Frigisinga*, 5, 1928, pp. 249f. The fire is referred to in the western part of the fresco of the main room: "Diese Kirchen ist nach der Ao: 1779 / Erlittenen Brunst Neu hergestellt worden." (This church was newly restored after the fire of 1779.)

⁴² A bill of c. 350 guilders acknowledged by Wink is conserved in the library of the Episcopal church of Freising. The signature of the fresco reads *Christianus / Wink Pictor Aulicus / Monachij. 1783*, see BAUER, BÖHM 1998 (n. 38), p. 234. On account of the bad conservation of the fresco in the choir, HUNDEMER 2002 (n. 38), p. 10, concluded that it too, like the stuccowork, had to undergo only slight repairs. Whether or not the present fresco in the main space of the church repeats the original is an open question.

⁴³ Proof of this is found in the attention he received in the art journals edited by the Kayserlich Franciscischen Akademie in Augsburg. For instance, Wink and his work are mentioned in *Kunstzeitung der Kayserlichen Akademie*, 1, 1770, pp. 99–101, 157–158, 227–229 (mentioning the original decoration of the Haag church), in *Augsburgische Kunstzeitung*, 2, 1771, pp. 161, 283, 410, and in *Augsburger monatliches Kunstblatt*, 3, 1772, pp. 104–107.

⁴⁴ HUNDEMER 2002 (n. 38), p. 18; Christine HUTTER, *Zwischen Rokoko und Klassizismus. Die Tafelbilder des kurfürstlichen Hofmalers Christian Wink (1738–1797)*, München 2012, p. 329.



10. Christian Thomas Wink: *The Reception of St. Laurence in Heaven*, ceiling fresco in the choir, 1764/1765, parochial church of St. Laurence, Haag an der Amper



11. Christian Thomas Wink: *The Founding of the Confraternity of the Consoling Virgin Mary and of her Girdle*, ceiling fresco in the nave, 1783, parochial church of St. Laurence, Haag an der Amper

altar.⁴⁵ The ceiling fresco of the choir depicts the reception of the saint in heaven, his divine reward for steadfastness in understanding and practicing the Christian virtue of *Misericordia* (Mercy), and as a powerful intercessor for believers (fig. 10). The decoration of the choir illustrates why saints are venerated, for it was their pious deeds especially that should be presented to the faithful as models for their own actions, according to the Catholic Enlightenment. The publications of Amort⁴⁶ and Muratori⁴⁷ made these tenets clear: Christian piety and behavior should be based on the saints' "ardent love /.../ on this Earth toward God and neighbor."⁴⁸

The large fresco of the main space of the church attests that this message was perfectly understood and followed by the Haag on the Amper brotherhood (fig. 11).⁴⁹ The lower section of the scene depicts the priest of Haag as the spiritual representative of the confraternity. He holds the brotherhood's staff and receives, from an angel, the insignia of the *Maria-Trost- und Gürtelbruderschaft*: the black girdle (or belt) with its lead buckle. In the center, the Christ Child, seated in His Mother's lap, presents the girdle to the confraternity's titular saint, Monica, who, clad in the habit of an Augustinian Hermit nun, humbly accepts it. St. Augustine, her son, kneels in supplication at Mary's right while an angel behind him holds aloft his attributes of the flaming heart, crosier, and mitre. On the steps of Mary's throne kneels Hofmarksherr Count Lodron, dressed in noble courtly attire, who held the office of secular prefect. Confraternal members of all ranks and of both sexes gather around him. The rendering of their individual physiognomies contrasts markedly with the generalized types of the supplicants surrounding them. The scene is explained to the beholder by the words inscribed on a sheet of paper held by an angel: "Versöhne / Empfehle / Fürstelle / Sie / deinem Sohn" (Reconcile, Recommend, Present Them to your Son). The scene bears close parallels to the altarpiece and testifies that members of the Haag brotherhood chose to follow the saints by their own exemplary charity.

The simple and unequivocal message of this late example of South German Baroque ceiling painting presents itself, both in meaning and composition, as a model for the pictorial realization of a central tenet of Catholic Enlightenment reform ideals: a renewed focus on charity in the here and now, rather than merely concentrating on the rewards in the hereafter. However, these ceiling decorations proved unable to sustain their popularity, as stylistic change and a new *Zeitgeist* intervened. When the once renowned Wink died only a decade after finishing the high altar at Haag, he was already in a precarious financial situation owing to a lack in demand for his work.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Pedro RIBADENEIRA, *Die Triumphierende Tugend das ist Die außßerleßneste Leben deren Heiligen Gottes*, Augspurg-Dillingen 1734, pp. 187–193; HUNDEMER 2002, p. 18 (n. 38).

⁴⁶ See Eusebius AMORT, *Wahre und aufrichtige Lebens-Beschreibung*, Augspurg 1741; Eusebius AMORTS, *Gründliche Abhandlung von Anruffung derer Heiligen zu Trost, Stärckung und Aufmunterung aller gut = Catholischen Gemüthern verfasst*, Ulm 1755.

⁴⁷ MURATORI 1751 (n. 31), pp. 290–318, in the particular chapter *Von der Andacht zu denen Heiligen*.

⁴⁸ MURATORI 1751 (n. 31), pp. 292f.

⁴⁹ See BAUER, BÖHM 1998 (n. 38), pp. 236–239; HUNDEMER 2002 (n. 38), pp. 22–24.

⁵⁰ In his last years, the once highly regarded Wink earned his living by painting votive panels and crosses for the dead, see CLEMENTSCHITSCH 1968 (n. 38), pp. 4f.

Od skrbi za onostranstvo do pomoči v tostranstvu

Stropne poslikave za južnonemške bratovščine v času katoliškega razsvetljenstva

Povzetek

Bratovščine so predstavljale zaradi svoje družbene strukture, ki je pokrivala vsa področja, bistveno oporo potridentskega verskega življenja v katoliških delih južne Nemčije. Hessenskemu deželnemu grofu Jožefu, ki je bil leta 1740 izbran za knezoškofa v Darmstadtu, in njegovima najtesnejšima svetovalcema Giovanniju Battisti de Bassiju in Eusebiusu Amortu so bratovščine kot uveljavljeni socialni sistemi služile kot baza za reforme v smislu katoliškega razsvetljenstva, za katere so si prizadevali. Njihova osrednja želja je bila, da pripravijo vse družbene sloje do zmerne religioznosti v ravnovesju med vero in razumom, ustrezno njihovim intelektualnim zmožnostim. Dela usmiljenja in ljubezni do bližnjega naj bi skupaj s pobožnim in moralnim življenjem v smislu katoliškega razsvetljenstva tvorila nov temeljni kamen za delovanje bratovščin. V središču verskega življenja mora biti pobožnost do Kristusa in tudi zakramentalni vidik se je pomaknil bolj v fokus reformnih prizadevanj. Ti spremenjeni cilji v zvezi z delovanjem bratovščin so prišli do izraza tudi na stenskih poslikavah v romarskih in župnijskih cerkvah, pri katerih so obstajale bratovščine.

V tem kontekstu je pomenljiva korespondenca med Eusebiusom Amortom in Giovannijem Battisto Bassijem, nanašajoča se na rezultate komisije, ki se je sestala leta 1745 zaradi čudeža solza v prominentni južnonemški romarski cerkvi Bičanega Odrešenika v Wiesu. Četudi je Amort v svojih pismih »čudež« odkrito in neprizanesljivo označil za pobožno prevaro, se je za božjo pot in s tem povezano ustanovitev bratovščine zavzel. Kot utemeljitev je izpostavil rast pobožnosti do Kristusa, ki jo je veljalo utrditi v smislu katoliškega razsvetljenstva in s tem povezane osredotočenosti na svetopisemsko utemeljeno pobožnost. Amort si je prizadeval tudi, da bi v statut novoustanovljene bratovščine pri Bičanem Odrešeniku sprejeli dolžnost karitativnega dela.

Na freskah Johanna Baptista Zimmermanna v t. i. Wieskirche so reformni cilji vzorno vizualizirani. Slikovno-retorični sofizmi so striktno opuščeni, program temelji le na prizorih svetopisemskega izvora. Osrednja slika v prezbiteriju predstavlja Kristusovo trpljenje, ponazorjeno z *Arma Christi*, v kornem obhodu pa so mu nasproti postavljeni dokazi Kristusove milosti. Na stropnih freskah v ladji je s pomočjo biblijskih primerov predstavljeno odpuščanje grehov. Te teme po analogiji zbujajo v romarjih upanje na odpuščanje njihovih grehov ob Kristusovem ponovnem prihodu na koncu časov, kar je kot obljuba grešniku že v tostranstvu nazorno prikazano v središču oboka.

Posebno zanimiva je slika Petrovega kesanja (1756) v južnem bratovščinskem oltarju, delo Josepha Magesa, ki zvesto povzema svetopisemsko izročilo o dogodku in poziva člane bratovščine h kesanju in pokori. Zakramentu pokore je pripadla med cilji katoliškega razsvetljenstva ključna vloga. Že Lodovico Antonio Muratori, ki je v svojih spisih postavil smernice katoliškemu razsvetljenstvu v srednji Evropi, se je vehementno zavzemal za okrepitev zakramenta pokore. V augsburški škofiji lahko v tej zvezi ugotovimo odklon od povsem v potridentsko prakso ujete jezuitske *recollectio* k reformno-pedagoško usmerjenim različicam, kakor jih je propagiral Eusebius Amort. Svoj uspešni izraz so Amortova razsvetljenska prizadevanja našla v novi regulaciji šolanja bodočih dušnih pastirjev v augsburški škofiji.

Podobne tendence lahko prepoznamo tudi drugod na južnonemških freskah. Kot primer naj navedem stropno fresko Johanna Antona Huberja pri Sv. Nikolaju v Unterdiessnu (1774), ki je v celoti osredotočena na pobožnost do Kristusa. Tu je viden popoln umik retoričnega slikovnega repertoarja.

Preobrat delovanja bratovščin v karitativnost v smislu katoliškega razsvetljenstva je opazen tudi v sosednji volilni kneževini Bavarski. Kaže se v ustanovitvi bratovščine Marije Tolažnice in Marijinega pasu

v Haagu an der Amper, ki jo je pobudil grof Lodron. Prevod ciljev te bratovščine v freske (1764/65 in 1783) Christiana Thomasa Wincka poudarja karitativno usmeritev krajevne bratovščine. Kaže sv. Lovrenca v povsem razsvetlenskem smislu kot očeta ubogih in s tem kot zgled ljubezni do bližnjega. Vsebinsko zaokroža povsem v smislu katoliškega reformnega gibanja formulirane cilje lokalne bratovščine freska v ladji, ki predstavlja grofa Lodrona v analogiji s titularnim svetnikom kot usmiljenega gospodarja dvorne marke.

V celoti opozarjajo tematski poudarki na pobožnosti do Kristusa in na bratovščinski skrbi v smislu karitativnega usmiljenja, kakor so zaznavni v poznobaročnem stropnem slikarstvu v kontekstu delovanja bratovščin, na reformne ideje katoliškega razsvetljenstva.

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 kezuaru,
Mene sturi od šhalosti upitti,
ieno od sous moie oži šhalitti,
Kadar jak gledam niega suetu obližhe,
leto me Kiočainu šhalostno Ksebi Kličhe,
to usse niega restergano sueto restno tello,
Katero ie poprei Koker to sonže billo,
Leto da meni urshah usselei iokati,
ieno se premillo ktemo plakati,
O Greshnik leto ti Kseržu prou jelli,
ieno dershi utoich mislih usselei,
Katero boda sturillu od toich grechou odstopiti,

ABSTRACTS AND KEYWORDS

IZVLEČKI IN KLJUČNE BESEDE

Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Giuseppe Capriotti

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Giuseppe Capriotti

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

Sanja Cvetnić

The Jesuit Bona Mors Confraternities in Croatia

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

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

Sanja Cvetnić

Jezuitske bratovščine za srečno smrt na Hrvaškem

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Angelika Dreyer

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Angelika Dreyer

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

Valentina Fiore

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

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

Valentina Fiore

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Jasenska Gudelj, Tanja Trška

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Matija Ogrin

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Jasenska Gudelj, Tanja Trška

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Matija Ogrin

Bratovščine na Slovenskem in njihov pomen za baročno slovensko književnost

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Mija Oter Gorenčič

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Mirjana Repanic-Braun

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

Mija Oter Gorenčič

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Mirjana Repanic-Braun

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

Joana Balsa de Pinho

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Martin Scheutz

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

Joana Balsa de Pinho

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Martin Scheutz

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

Wojciech Sowała

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

Keywords: Skalmierz, 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 Skalmierzu v krakovski škofiji

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Danes majhno provincialno mesto Skalmierz 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 Skalmierzu in na njihovo umetnostno mecenstvo.

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

Barbara Wisch

Nadbratovščine in umetnost. Opredelitev novih tem

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

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

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

CONTRIBUTORS

SODELAVCI

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

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

Department of Education
Cultural Heritage and Tourism
University of Macerata

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

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

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

Wawel Royal Castle – State Art Collection

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

Valentina Fiore, Ph.D.

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

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

Assoc. Prof. Jasenka Gudelj, Ph.D.

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

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

Assoc. Prof. Barbara Murovec, Ph.D.

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

ZRC SAZU, France Stele Institute of Art History

Joana Balsa de Pinho, Ph.D.

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

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

Wojciech Sowała

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

Institute of Art History
Jagiellonian University, Kraków

Assist. Prof. Matija Ogrin, Ph.D.

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

ZRC SAZU, Institute of Slovenian Literature
and Literary Studies

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

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

ZRC SAZU, France Stele Institute of Art History

Mirjana Repanić-Braun, Ph.D.

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

Institute of Art History

Prof. Martin Scheutz, Ph.D.

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

Assist. Prof. Tanja Trška, Ph.D.

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

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

Assoc. Prof. Marek Walczak, Ph.D.

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

Institute of Art History
Jagiellonian University, Kraków

Prof. Emerita Barbara Wisch, Ph.D.

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

PHOTOGRAPHIC CREDITS

VIRI ILUSTRACIJ

Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke

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

Giuseppe Capriotti

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

Sanja Cvetnić

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

Krzysztof J. Czyżewski, Marek Walczak

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

Angelika Dreyer

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

Valentina Fiore

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

Jasenka Gudelj, Tanja Trška

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

Matija Ogrin

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

Mija Oter Gorenčič

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

Mirjana Repanić-Braun

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

Joana Balsa de Pinho

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

Wojciech Sowała

1–11: Wojciech Sowała

Barbara Wisch

Diagrams 1–2: Barbara Wisch

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

2: Trustees of the British Museum

3: Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles

4: John Beldon Scott

5, 10: Barbara Wisch

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

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

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

13: Tanner Nash

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

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

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

Za avtorske pravice reprodukcij odgovarjajo avtorji objavljenih prispevkov.

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

Contents • Vsebina

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

