

AIHAS



ACTA HISTORIAE ARTIS SLOVENICA

Strategije umetnostne reprezentacije štajerskega plemstva
v zgodnjem novem veku

Visual Representation Strategies of the Styrian Nobility
in Early Modern Times

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

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PREDGOVOR

STRATEGIJE UMETNOSTNE REPREZENTACIJE ŠTAJERSKEGA PLEMSTVA V ZGODNJEM NOVEM VEKU

Prispevki v tematski številki revije *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* so eden od rezultatov raziskovalnega projekta *Umetnostna reprezentacija plemstva. Naročništvo na Štajerskem v zgodnjem novem veku* (J6-7410), ki ga je med 1. 1. 2016 in 31. 12. 2018 iz državnega proračuna financirala Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije. Z raziskavami, ki so potekale na Oddelku za umetnostno zgodovino Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Mariboru in Umetnostnozgodovinskem inštitutu Franceta Steleta ZRC SAZU, smo z različnih vidikov osvetlili umetniško reprezentacijo plemstva v zgodnjem novem veku na območju historične Štajerske in v širšem slovenskem prostoru. Z namenom presejanja sedanjih državnih meja so bili v projekt vključeni tudi strokovnjaki iz Gradca, nekdanje deželne prestolnice. Temeljno premiso, da je imelo plemstvo ključno vlogo v novoveškem umetnostnem razvoju dežele, smo obravnavali s preučevanjem vzorcev in strategij, s katerimi se je novoveško plemstvo z naročništvom, mecenstvom in zbirateljstvom oziroma skozi arhitekturo in likovno umetnost reprezentiralo na deželni ravni ter v Habsburški monarhiji.

Raziskave so bile usmerjene v ožji krog naročnikov, ki so se v spreminjajočih se zgodovinskih okoliščinah od 16. do 18. stoletja izkazali z ambicioznostjo v kakovosti in številu naročenih umetniških del ter pogostostjo rabe arhitekture, likovne in uporabne umetnosti za namene reprezentiranja tako v posvetnem kot v sakralnem kontekstu. Preučevanje strategij umetnostne reprezentacije novoveškega štajerskega plemstva pa je bilo z raziskavami zbirateljstva in naročništva nadvojvodinje Marije Bavarske razširjeno na Habsburžane in z graditeljstvom in naročništvom grofov Brandis kronološko tudi na 19. stoletje. Preučevanje izbranih umetnostnih del v kontekstu sorodstvenih, političnih in diplomatskih povezav naročnikov, njihove izobrazbe in odnosa do vzornikov je temeljilo na raziskavi zapuščinskih inventarjev in inventarjev plemiških rezidenc, kronik, historiografskih in slavnih besedil. Preučena je bila vloga šolanja, razgledanosti, pobožnosti, vojaške in dvorne službe, preučeni so bili načini naročanja in zbiranja ter možnosti, s katerimi so si naročniki skozi umetnost oblikovali družbeni položaj in si zagotovili trajen spomin. Analizirane so bile specifične strategije posameznih plemičev in pomen umetnosti za uveljavljanje ambicioznih posameznikov.

Študije šestih avtorjev prinašajo nova spoznanja o umetnosti historične Štajerske. Uvaja jih prispevek Susanne König-Lein o portretnih galerijah na graškem dvoru in v dvorcu Karlau pri Gradcu, ki sta jih v drugi polovici 16. stoletja naročila in zbrala nadvojvoda Karel II. in nadvojvodinja Marija Bavarska. Serije družinskih portretov, zlasti otrok, ki so imele genealoško in reprezentativno vlogo, saj so ponazarjale in povečevale dinastične povezave, so prvič analizirane na podlagi inventarjev in popisov. Galerije družinskih portretov, portretov prednikov in rimskih cesarjev so postavljene v kontekst zbirk v gradu Ambras, Münchnu in Pragi. Odražale so stremljenje k povzdignitvi habsburške dinastije in vizualizaciji njene enakovrednosti z antičnimi vladarji. V drugem prispevku avtorica obravnava slike in grafike rodovnikov rodbin Herberstein in Dietrichstein, ki so nastale v 17. in 19. stoletju. Vizualizacije genealogij so postavljene v kontekst portretnih galerij in sočasnih

zgodovinskih del, ki so bila publicirana po naročilu obravnavanih plemiških rodbin, pri čemer je poudarjena njihova reprezentativna vloga. Prispevek prinaša nove ugotovitve o historiografih, ki so po naročilu plemstva publicirali genealoška dela in snovali likovne upodobitve genealoškega vedenja, zlasti o cesarskem historiografu Dominiku Frančišku Kalinu. Renata Komić Marn obravnava portrete Eleonore Marije Rozalije kneginje Eggenberg, hčere pomembnega naročnika, zbiratelja in pisca Karla Evzebija kneza Liechtensteina. Študija je rezultat raziskav o identifikaciji, provenienci, času nastanka in avtorstvu kneginjinih portretov, posebna pozornost je namenjena javnemu delovanju portretiranke in njenemu morebitnemu vplivu na umetnostna naročila v dvorcu Eggenberg pri Gradcu. Portretom se je posvetil tudi Edgar Lein, ki je v študiji o galeriji sekovskih škofov v gradu Seggau pri Lipnici na podlagi inventarjev raziskal zlasti spreminjajočo se namestitve portretov in domnevnega snovalca galerije. Medtem ko so portreti v posvetnih prostorih odražali dinastične in rodbinske povezave, stremljenje k ugledu in moči rodbine ter socialne aspiracije naročnikov, je avtor škofovske portrete postavil v kontekst drugih sočasnih škofovskih galerij in poudaril težnjo škofov po legitimiranju svojega položaja in reprezentaciji. Kot temeljne koncepte tovrstnih galerij je prepoznal tradicijo, nasledstvo in memorio. Študija Marjete Ciglencečki prinaša nova spoznanja o naročilih ptujskega nadžupnika in dekana Franca Ignaca grofa Inzaghija in njegovem vplivu na baročno podobo cerkve sv. Jurija. Ko se je izobraženi Inzaghi sredi 18. stoletja intenzivno posvetil uvajanju češčenja sv. Viktorina, je bilo vedenje o življenju in delovanju prvega po imenu znanega škofa v poznoantičnem Poetoviu veliko bolj pomanjkljivo, kot je danes. Zato avtorica novo ikonografsko interpretacijo stropne poslikave v kapeli Žalostne Matere božje uvede s podrobno analizo poznoantičnega in zgodnjerednjeveškega krščanstva na Ptuj, zgodovino cerkve sv. Jurija in češčenja sv. Viktorina. Prispevek Francija Lazarinija predstavlja prvi pregled umetnostnega naročništva grofov Brandis na Štajerskem. S poudarkom na naročniško najaktivnejših rodbinskih članih analizira njihova arhitekturna naročila, zlasti barokizacijo mariborskega mestnega gradu in dvorca Betnava ter temeljito prezidavo dvorca Slivnica.

Preučevanje naročništva in umetnostne reprezentacije je doprineslo k poglobljenemu razumevanju družbene vloge umetnostnih del, s katerimi je plemstvo izražalo svoj družbeni položaj, moč in ugled rodbine, težnje po dvigu socialnega statusa, v primeru naročnikov cerkvenega stanu pa tudi identiteto in ugled ustanove, v kateri so delovali. V pričujočih študijah so posebej izpostavljeni naročila portretov in portretnih galerij, vizualizacije genealoškega vedenja in upodobitve svetnikov, ki so povzdigovali identiteto prostora, ter modernizacije plemiških rezidenc. Želeli je, da bodo študije spodbudile nadaljnje raziskave tega področja.

Polona Vidmar, vodja projekta in gostujoča urednica

PREFACE

VISUAL REPRESENTATION STRATEGIES OF THE STYRIAN NOBILITY IN EARLY MODERN TIMES

The present thematic issue of *Acta historae artis Slovenica* is one of the outcomes of the research project *Visual Representations of the Nobility: Early Modern Art Patronage in the Styria Province*, funded by the Slovenian Research Agency between 1st January 2016 and 31st December 2018. The research, conducted by the Department of Art History of the Faculty of Arts, University of Maribor and the France Stele Institute of Art History ZRC SAZU, has shed light from a variety of perspectives on early modern visual representations of the nobility in historical Styria and beyond. In order to transcend current state borders, the project team worked closely with experts from Graz, the former state capital. The team's fundamental hypothesis—that the nobility played a key role in the artistic development of the country in Early Modern Times—was tested by studying the models and strategies with which the nobility represented itself through commissions, patronage and collecting, or through architecture and art, at both state level and within the wider Habsburg Monarchy.

The research was focused on selected cases of aristocratic patrons, who, in the changing historical circumstances between the 16th and 18th century, distinguished themselves with their ambition, expressed in the sheer quality and number of the artworks they commissioned and the frequency with which they used architecture, visual and decorative arts for the purpose of representation, in both secular and religious contexts. By researching the collecting and patronage of Archduchess Maria of Bavaria, research on the early modern artistic representation strategies of Styrian nobility was widened to include the Habsburg family, while by researching the architectural commissions and patronage of the Counts of Brandis, it was also chronologically expanded to include the 19th century. Selected case studies emphasised the role of family relations, the political and diplomatic connections of the patrons, their education and relation to their role models. These studies were based on the research of probate inventories and the inventories of noble residences, chronicles, and historiographical and celebratory texts. The roles of education, knowledge, piety, military and court service have been studied, as well as commissioning and collecting patterns, and the ways in which patrons established their social position and ensured they were remembered through art. The specific strategies of individual noblemen and the importance of art in the establishment of ambitious individuals have also been analysed.

The studies of six authors have refreshed research on the art of historical Styria. First is the paper by Susanne König-Lein on the portrait galleries at the court in Graz and in Karlau Manor near Graz, which were commissioned and collected by Archduke Charles II and Archduchess Maria of Bavaria in the second half of the 16th century. Portrait series, especially portraits of children, which played both genealogical and representative roles, since they illustrated and glorified dynastic connections, are analysed for the first time based on inventories and lists. The galleries of family portraits, portraits of ancestors and Roman Emperors are placed in the context of the collections in Ambras Castle, Munich and Prague. They reflected the ambitions of the Habsburg dynasty and the visualization of its equivalence with ancient rulers. In the second paper, Polona Vidmar discusses

the paintings and graphics of the genealogies of the Herberstein and Dietrichstein families which were produced in the 17th and 19th centuries. The visualizations of the genealogies commissioned by the noble families are discussed in the context of portrait galleries and concurrent historical works, with emphasis on their representative role. The paper also presents new findings on historiographers, who were commissioned by the nobility to publish genealogical works and artistic representations; particular attention is paid to the Emperor's historiographer Dominicus Franciscus Calin. Renata Komić Marn addresses the portraits of Eleonora Maria Rosalia Princess of Eggenberg, the daughter of an important patron, collector and writer, Karl Eusebius Prince of Liechtenstein. The study is the result of research into the identification, provenance, time of origin and the authorship of the portraits of the princess, while attention is paid to her public deeds and possible influence on the commissioning of art at Eggenberg Palace near Graz. Edgar Lein also focuses on portraits. In a study of the portrait gallery of the Seckau bishops at Seggau Castle near Leibnitz, he focused on the changing placement of the portraits and the presumed founder of the gallery, based on the inventories. While the portraits reflected the families' striving for reputation, their dynastic and family connections and their power, as well as the social aspirations of the commissioners, the author has placed portraits of bishops in the context of concurrent bishops' galleries, highlighting their aspirations for the legitimation of their position and representation. He identified tradition, succession and memoria as the fundamental concepts underpinning such galleries. The article by Marjeta Ciglenečki expands research on the commissions by the Ptuj archpriest and dean Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi and his influence on the Baroque furnishings of the church of St George. When in the middle of the 18th century, the educated Inzaghi dedicated himself to introducing the veneration of St Victorinus, little was known of the life and work of the first bishop known by name in Late-Antique Poetovio. The author presents a new iconographic interpretation of the ceiling painting in the chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows through a thorough analysis of Christianity in Ptuj in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, the history of the church of St George and the veneration of St Victorinus. The paper by Franci Lazarini is the first overview of the art patronage of the Counts of Brandis in Styria. Focusing on the family members who were most active as patrons, he analyses their architectural commissions, especially the Baroquization of Maribor Town Castle and Betnava Mansion as well as the thorough reconstruction of Slivnica Manor.

This research into patronage and artistic representation of the nobility has contributed to a more thorough understanding of the social role of the artworks with which the nobility expressed their social position, the power and reputation of their families, their aspirations for the elevation of their social position, and in the case of religious patrons, also the identity and the reputation of the institution for whom they worked. The following studies focus particularly on the commissioning of portraits and portrait galleries, visualizations of genealogical knowledge and depictions of saints, which elevated the identity of the space, and the modernization and construction of noble residences. It is our hope that these studies will encourage further research in this area.

Polona Vidmar, project leader and guest editor



DISSERTATIONES

Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi, Ptuj Parish Archpriest and Dean, and the Veneration of St Victorinus, First Bishop of Poetovio Known by Name

Marjeta Ciglencečki

Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi (1691–1768), who was an archpriest and dean of St George's church in Ptuj from 1731 until his death, was a highly-educated clergyman and an astonishingly successful commissioner. With his own funds and the support of numerous donors, he renovated, extended and refurnished the church, the long and rich history of which he greatly admired, as testified to by the inscriptions in the church chronicle. The aim of this paper is to refresh our knowledge of Count Inzaghi's contribution to the appearance and furnishing of the church in the 18th century. My interest is also to renew our understanding of his efforts to venerate St Victorinus, the first bishop known by name in Late-Antique Poetovio, who most probably died a martyr at the beginning of November 303.

To become better acquainted with both St Victorinus and the archpriest Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi, we must first analyse the Late-Antique and Early-Medieval history of Christianity and St George's church in Ptuj, as it is known today, as our contemporary understanding differs from 18th century interpretations. The Inzaghi family is also described, and I shall attempt to trace one of the family member's—Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi's—interest in St Victorinus. The main aim of the paper somehow ties all these elements together, tracing the remnants of Count Inzaghi's glorification of St Victorinus in the furnishing of the church. It must be stressed that while all of the findings from my research remain for the moment hypothetical, I will attempt to provide fresh insight into this most interesting chapter in the history of St George's church in Ptuj.

Christianity in the Late-Antique Poetovio

Ptuj, in Roman times Poetovio, is a settlement located on the river Drava. Its geographical situation permits the relatively easy crossing of the river and has always been of extreme strategic importance, as control over the vast surrounding plain could be exercised from the hill on which the castle stands. The settlement has a long history;¹ archaeologists have indicated that its existence

¹ For the ancient history of the town, see Poetovio. Development and Topography, *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia* (eds. Marjeta Šašel Kos, Peter Scherrer), Ljubljana 2003 (Situla, 41), pp. 153–189, with bibliography.

began in the late Neolithic age. In 15 BC, most likely, the settlement and its surroundings, until then part of the Norican Kingdom, was incorporated into the Roman Empire, first as part of the Illyricum Province. After the great Pannonian rebellion in 6–9 AC, the region was reorganized as Pannonia, and in 103–107 divided into Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior; Poetovio was part of Pannonia Superior. At the beginning of the 4th century, after Diocletian's reforms, Poetovio and its *ager* was incorporated into the province *Noricum Mediterraneum*. From the middle of the 6th century, as part of the agreement between the Emperor Justinian and the Lombards, Poetovio again was described as part of Pannonia.²

At first, the Roman settlement served a mostly military purpose, while at the beginning of the 2nd century the emperor Trajan intervened radically into its development, conferring upon it the status of a colony (*Colonia Ulpia Traiana Poetovio*). Poetovio soon became an important financial, commercial, cultural and administrative centre³ along the transit road connecting the Italic region with the Danube area. The settlement was situated on both sides of the river Drava, with trade traffic made possible by a bridge, entirely or at least partially made of stone.⁴ In the 4th century, decline of the settlement began and the area it covered shrank dramatically.

As far back as the 3rd century, Poetovio was a centre of early Christianity and the seat of a diocese. There are six sites within the boundaries of Roman Poetovio where artefacts pointing to early Christianity were found during archaeological excavations. On five of them, it is presumed that an early Christian church was situated in close vicinity to the finds. Two bronze candlesticks from the excavations, with inscriptions announcing the names of their donors and dated at the time of Constantine the Great, are regarded as hugely important; they were both excavated in 1858 on the eastern border of Poetovio (today Rogoznica) on the site of a late Roman graveyard, which we suppose was arranged around a church even though no architectural relics were actually found on the site.⁵ It is uncertain whether the remnants of the late Antique graves and imposing buildings with mosaics in Spodnja Hajdina and Zgornji Breg on the right riverbank prove early Christian worship in this area. Walter Schmid interpreted the findings in Spodnja Hajdina as an early Christian church.⁶ In 1928, a piece of an altar plaque (*prothesis*) was found in the park in front of the Dominican monastery;⁷ however, this could also be a secondary location. The remnants of walls, interpreted as a three-nave basilica with two apses, were discovered on the western plateau of Castle Hill in 1946–1947 and were

² Marjeta ŠAŠEL KOS, Romulovo poslanstvo pri Atilu (Ena zadnjih omemb Petovione v antični literaturi), *Zgodovinski časopis*, 48/3, 1994, p. 285. On present day Slovenia in Late Antiquity, see Rajko BRATOŽ, *Med Italijo in Ilirikom. Slovenski prostor in njegovo sosedstvo v pozni antiki*, Ljubljana 2014.

³ Božidar SLAPŠAK, Poetovio as a supra regional-center, *Ptuj v rimskem cesarstvu. Mitraizem in njegova doba* (eds. Mojca Vomer Gojkovič, Nataša Kolar), Ptuj 2001, pp. 11–19, believes that the status of the town was as a supra-regional centre. It was vital that in the era of Hadrian, Poetovio became the seat of the Illyric customs system (*publicum portorium Illyrici*), which was subordinated directly to the administration in Rome from the time of Commodus.

⁴ Franjo BAŠ, Historično-geografski razvoj Ptuja, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 28/2–3, 1933, pp. 87–92.

⁵ Both candlesticks are kept in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (inv. nr. VI 727, VI 728).

⁶ Walter Schmid carried out excavations in Hajdina in 1919 and 1935. He interpreted one of the buildings as an Early Christian church, but this has not been widely accepted. See Walter SCHMID, Poetovio. Raziskovanja Muzejskega društva v Ptujju jeseni 1935, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 30/3, 1935, pp. 142–146; Iva MIKL CURK, Poetovio v pozni antiki, *Arheološki vestnik*, 29, 1978, p. 408, was much more careful in explaining the findings in Spodnja Hajdina. She pointed to the possibility that the object was built in post-antiquity.

⁷ Balduin SARIA, Nova raziskovanja po stari Poetoviji, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 28/2–3, 1933, p. 122.

first dated to the end of the 4th century.⁸ However, there are doubts concerning the correct interpretation of the excavated walls, which constitute the rather small eastern section of the whole building.⁹ On the other hand, the fragments found on Panorama Hill can be interpreted with certainty as parts of a religious building.¹⁰ During excavations there in 1936, 1948 and in 1983, several items of interest were found: a column with a relief of a dove, pecking grapes, and several other parts of an altar enclosure, fragments of altar plaques, fragments of mosaics as well as several coins, all dated to the first half of the 5th century.¹¹ In the Historical Archive Ptuj (Zgodovinski arhiv Ptuj) a drawing presenting a fragment of a coffin with a skeleton completed by Viktor Skrabar in 1936 is preserved; the coffin was positioned somewhere in the vicinity of the church.¹² A fragment of a stone plaque¹³ with a Greek inscription, coincidentally found in 1952 on the eastern side of Panorama Hill, caused a flurry of excitement among experts. Rudolf Bratanič and Fran Alič both attempted to read the incomplete inscription, however resulting in different interpretations. While Bratanič dated it to the 4th century, they both felt that the plaque should be linked to a Christian martyr or a church dignitary – not excluding St Victorinus.¹⁴ Anton Sovre revised their reading and concluded the inscription was part of a gravestone dedicated to Eusebia.¹⁵ Later, Marjeta Šašel Kos stated that the plaque was perhaps

⁸ Josip KLEMENC, *Ptujski grad v kasni antiki*, Ljubljana 1950; Josip KLEMENC, Starokrščanska svetišča v Sloveniji, *Arheološki vestnik*, 17, 1967, p. 112. Not only the walls, but also fragments of the altar enclosure, an altar base, parts of two altar plaques, fragments of two columns, a damaged capital and fragments of mosaics and red plaster were found on the site. Of special interest is a gilded bronze pin (Regional museum Ptuj-Ormož, inv. nr. 330) decorated with a rosette, which in fact is a stylised cross. Some experts disagreed with Josip Klemenc's dating of the presumed basilica to the end of the 4th century. Jaroslav ŠAŠEL, K zgodovini Ptujskega gradu v arheoloških obdobjih in nekaj novih najdb na zahodnem vznožju, *Kronika. Časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino*, 9/2, 1961, p. 125, believed that the church was built during the era of Constantin the Great. For a similar opinion, see Slavko CIGLENEČKI, *Höhenbefestigungen aus der Zeit vom 3. bis 6. Jh. im Ostalpenraum*, Ljubljana 1987, pp. 55, 136, 140, 169, 172. Iva MIKL CURK 1978 (n. 6), p. 408, dated the remnants of the church to the second half of the 5th century, after the invasion of the Huns in Poetovio in 452. Today, archaeologists claim that the area of contemporary Slovenia was not particularly important to Atila and his army; archaeological findings are rare, also in the Ptuj region. See Timotej KNIFIC, Hunski sledovi v Sloveniji?, *Ptujski arheološki zbornik ob 100-letnici muzeja in Muzejskega društva*, Ptuj 1993, pp. 521–542.

⁹ ŠAŠEL 1961 (n. 8), pp. 125–126; Slavko CIGLENEČKI, Arheološki sledovi zatona antične Petovione, *Ptujski arheološki zbornik* 1993 (n. 8), p. 506. Paola KOROŠEC, *Nekropola na ptujskem gradu*, Ptuj 1999, p. 81.

¹⁰ MIKL CURK 1978 (n. 6), p. 408. In the latest literature, only the findings from the top of Panorama hill as well as the findings from around the St George's church are thought to be reliable remnants of early Christian churches. See Iva MIKL CURK, Rimska svetišča na Slovenskem kot urbanistični fenomen, *Ptuj* 2001 (n. 3), p. 331; *The Autonomous Towns* 2003 (n. 1), p. 158.

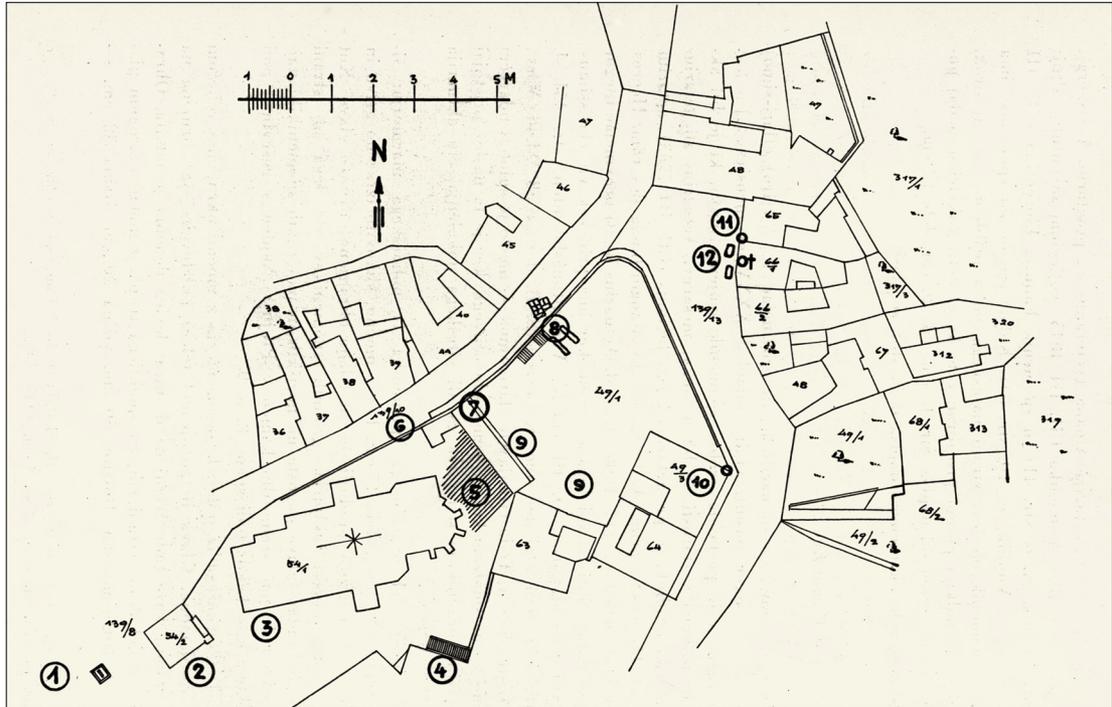
¹¹ Walter SCHMID, Ptujske krščanske starosvetnosti, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 31/3–4, 1936, p. 110; Ivan TUŠEK, Ptuj, *Varstvo spomenikov*, 26, 1984, p. 246; Timotej KNIFIC, Arheologija o prvih stoletjih krščanstva na Slovenskem, *Pismo brez pisave. Arheologija o prvih stoletjih krščanstva na Slovenskem* (eds. Timotej Knific, Milan Sagadin), Ljubljana 1991, pp. 15–17. Jana HORVAT, Rimska provincialna arheologija v Sloveniji po letu 1965: poselitvena slika in drobna materialna kultura, *Arheološki vestnik*, 50, 1999, p. 251.

¹² Iva MIKL CURK, Nekaj drobcev o poznorimskem obdobju v naših krajih, *Zgodovinski časopis*, 51/4, 1997, p. 462.

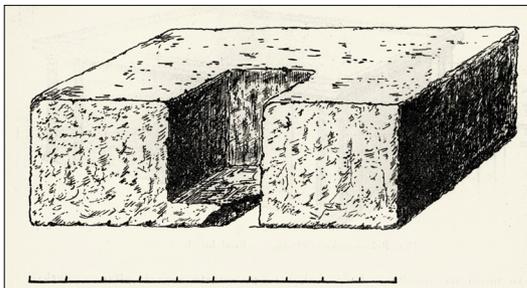
¹³ The plaque is kept in the Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož (inv. nr. 616).

¹⁴ Rudolf BRATANIČ, Nove najdbe iz Ptuja, *Arheološki vestnik*, 4/2, 1953, pp. 283–285.

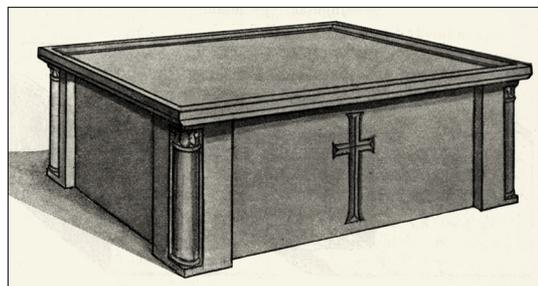
¹⁵ Anton SOVRE, Pripombe k R. Brataniča Novim najdbam iz Ptuja, *Arheološki vestnik*, 6/1, 1955, pp. 28–31. Bratanič and Alič were unhappy with this view and presented their response in Rudolf BRATANIČ, K članku A. Sovreta »Pripombe k R. Brataniča novim najdbam iz Ptuja«, *Arheološki vestnik*, 7/1–2, 1956, pp. 137–140; Fran ALIČ, Še o ptujskem grškem napisu, *Arheološki vestnik*, 7/1–2, 1956, pp. 141–142. Bratanič and Alič invited other experts to continue the discussion. Jože CURK, Proštijška cerkev in minoritski samostan, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 12/1, 1976, p. 32, followed Bratanič and Alič, mentioning that the early Christian church on Panorama was perhaps devoted to St Victorinus and falsely dated Victorinus' death to the year 302.



1. Plan of the 1930s archaeological excavations on the present day Ptuj market place and its surroundings; published in *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 1936



2. Drawing of the presumed basis of an altar mensa with a niche for relics; presumably part of the early Christian basilica close to St George's church in Ptuj



3. Reconstruction of the altar, presumably part of the early Christian basilica in close vicinity of St George's church in Ptuj

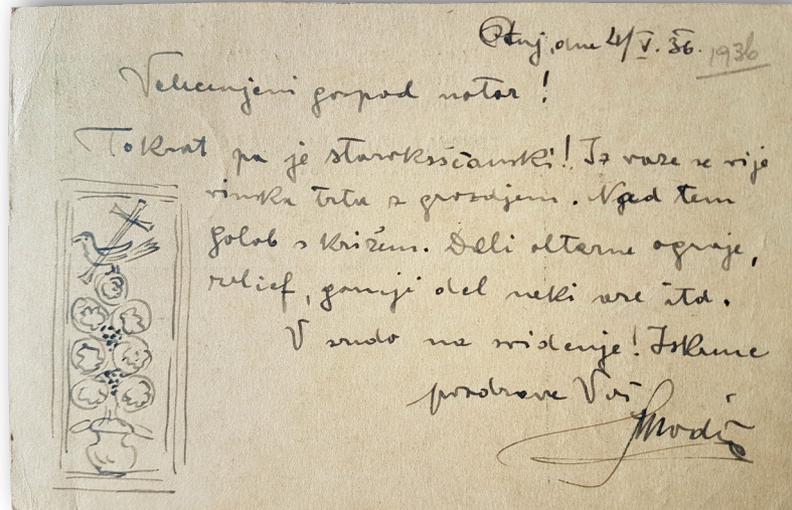
part of a sarcophagus; she recognized that most of the inscription was written in distiches and dated the plaque to the end of the 2nd or the 3rd century.¹⁶ The proposed connection with St Victorinus was rejected.

For the purposes of our research, the most interesting findings are those from the area of today's Ptuj marketplace, underneath St George's church, excavated in the 1930s (fig. 1).¹⁷ On the slope underneath the presbytery of the church, a huge block of stone (200 x 150 x 70 cm) with a

¹⁶ Marjeta ŠAŠEL KOS, Fragment einer widerspruechlich interpretierten griechischen Inschrift aus Poetovio, *Linguistica*, 20/2, 1980, pp. 11–20.

¹⁷ On the findings see SARIA 1933 (n. 7), p. 124; SCHIMD 1936 (n. 11), pp. 97–110.

4. Anton Smodič's postcard to Viktor Skrabar with a sketch of the column relief depicting a dove with a cross



hewed niche (50 x 60 cm) was found. Walter Schmid recognized it as the base of an altar *mensa* with a niche for relics, publishing a drawing of the excavated stone and even a reconstruction of the altar itself (figs. 2–3).¹⁸ The stone was heavy enough that archaeologists were able to confirm that it had been found on its original site.¹⁹ From the 4th century on, it was common to place relics of saints and martyrs under the *mensa*; the supposed altar from the early Christian church in Poetovio obviously was designed in such a manner, if we accept that the drawing was made from observation rather than imagination. Regrettably, the exact position of the stone was not documented.²⁰ Later, the stone base, which Schmid had thought was part of an early Christian altar, rarely appeared in the literature, and was largely disregarded in subsequent discussions.²¹ However, there were other findings, discovered in the 1930s in secondary positions and mostly built into mediaeval houses, which are presumed to be part of the same church. On the east side of the market place, along the present-day Miklošičeva street, a fragment of another altar *mensa* as well as a fragment of a balustrade (*cancellata*) with reliefs on both sides and fragments of four capitals were found in the ruins of a house demolished in 1936. A piece of an angular column was also built into its foundations. The front of this column, which functioned as a corner of the choir enclosure, is decorated with the relief of a dove carrying a cross, perching on a vine branch with a bunch of grapes (figs. 4–6). An image of a dove with a cross leaning over its body symbolizes Christ carrying the cross towards

¹⁸ SCHMID 1936 (n. 11), pp. 104–105.

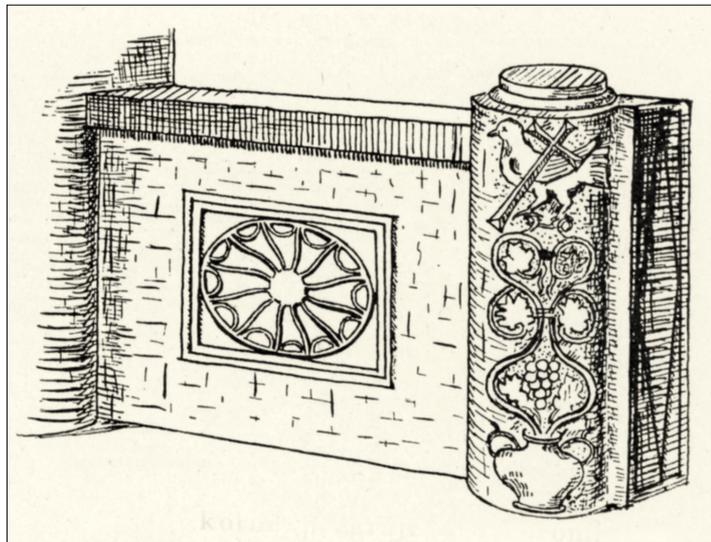
¹⁹ SCHMID 1936 (n. 11), pp. 103.

²⁰ For the description of the location, see SCHMID 1936 (n. 11), p. 103: “/.../ on the western slope underneath the provost church, where the first shop is now situated /.../”. In 2018 and 2019, the archaeological excavations took place on the site where the market place is to be renewed; no further evidence of the Christian church have been found as yet. See Skupina STIK, Arheološke raziskave ob prenovi mestne tržnice na Ptuj, <http://www.skupinastik.si/arheoloske-raziskave-ob-prenovi-mestne-trznice-na-ptuju/> (accessed: 2. 7. 2019); Skupina STIK, Novi odgovori iz zgodovine mesta, <http://www.skupinastik.si/arheoloske-raziskave-ob-prenovi-mestne-trznice-na-ptuju/> (accessed: 2. 7. 2019). I thank Andrej Magdič from the Institute for preserving the cultural heritage of the Republic of Slovenia and to Samo Hvalec from Skupina STIK for guiding me through the archaeological site and explaining the new findings.

²¹ KLEMENC 1967 (n. 8), p. 119; KNIFIC 1991 (n. 11), pp. 14–15. None of the mentioned authors have tried to interpret this in greater depth.



5. Fragment of an angular column found in 1936, presumably part of the early Christian basilica close to St George's church in Ptuj



6. Reconstruction of a choir enclosure with an angular column decorated with a relief presenting a dove with a cross, presumably part of the early Christian basilica close to St George's church in Ptuj

Golgotha; the example from Poetovio is cherished not only because of the high quality of the relief but also because of its iconographic meaning.²²

The findings convinced archaeologists that an early Christian church, a three-nave basilica, was situated on the slope underneath today's St George's church, first dated to the 5th and later to the 4th century. A graveyard stood in Antiquity along today's Prešernova street and on the area of today's Slovene square, once incorporating the famous Orpheus monument in front of the town tower, a huge stele from the 3rd century.²³ Archaeologists found traces of Roman graves around St George's as well as in its interior. For these reasons, the basilica was believed to have functioned as a cemetery church.²⁴ Art historians followed the archaeologists' lead, thereby defining St George's

²² In early Christianity, the image of a dove was interpreted variously. In connection with the *Canticle of Canticles*, Origenes understood it as a symbol of the Church; however, it was often interpreted as a symbol of Christ. Not before Councils in Nicaea (325) and in Constantinople (360), the dove became a symbol of the Holy Spirit as part of the Holy Trinity. See Joachim POESCHKE, Taube, *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, 4, Rom-Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1972, pp. 241–242. MIKL CURK 1997 (n. 12), p. 455, emphasises that the remnants of the altar enclosure were made of Pohorje marble, which means they were products of local workshops active in the late 4th or early 5th century. The column is preserved in the Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož (inv. nr. RL 428). See Blagoj JEVREMOV, *Vodnik po lapidariju*, Ptuj 1988, p. 72.

²³ In the mid-1960s, the stele was dated to the time of Caesar Trajan. The Hungarian archaeologist Géza Alföldy interpreted the barely preserved epigraph as an inscription reminiscent of Marcus Valerius Verus, a *duumvir* and *decurion* in Poetovio at the beginning of the 2nd century. The newest research corrects the dating of the gravestone from the 2nd into the 3rd century. See Katarina ŠMID, *Orfejev spomenik na Ptuj*, Ljubljana 2019, p. 49.

²⁴ SCHMID 1936 (n. 11), p. 107; KLEMENC 1967 (n. 8), p. 120. Even Balduin Saria, who was extremely critical towards Walter Schmid's stance, presumed that St George's church could have been built on the foundations of an early Christian cemetery basilica; see Balduin SARIA, *Pettau*, Pettau 1943, p. 23. Similar Marjan ZADNIKAR, *Romanska arhitektura na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1959, p. 107, accepted the possibility that in the middle of the 9th century, the Salzburg archbishop Liupram consecrated a church, which could have been built on the very site of the Antique basilica.

regularly in terms of late Antique tradition. Furthermore, Jože Curk drew attention to the city tower which stands in front of the western façade of St George's, where St John the Baptist's chapel once occupied the ground floor, documented for the first time in the 14th century. According to Curk, the chapel could be connected to the early Christian custom of building baptisteries in the close vicinity of church entrances.²⁵

Saint Victorinus

As many as four bishops who led the Early Christian community in Poetovio are known by name: Victorinus (died as a martyr most probably in 303),²⁶ Aprianus (documented as a member of the council in Serdica in 343),²⁷ Iulianus Valens (who was an adherent of Arianism)²⁸ and Marcus (who died before 381).²⁹ The most important of the four is undoubtedly St Victorinus, as he was the first bishop in Poetovio known by name. According to researchers, the Christians in Poetovio were most likely active throughout the entire 3rd century.³⁰

²⁵ Jože CURK, O srednjeveških zasnovah Ptuja in Maribora, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 11/2, 1975, p. 188; Jože CURK, Urbana podoba Ptuja v 14. stoletju, *Ptujsko mestno pravo v srednjeevropskem prostoru. Mestni statut 1376* (ed. Marija Hernja Masten), Ptuj 1996, p. 29. In 1990, archaeological excavations took place in the ground floor of the city tower as well as in the close vicinity. The long tradition of the site was traced, beginning in the prehistory, with a strong Roman stratum (remnants of a building with *hipocaustus*, numerous small items dating to the 2nd and 3rd century), some early mediaval graves dating up to the 11th century and a great number of small items dating up to the end of the 18th century. See Ivan TUŠEK, Ptuj – mestni stolp od prazgodovine do razvitega srednjega veka, *Ptujska župnijska cerkev sv. Jurija. Zbornik znanstvenega simpozija ob praznovanju 1150. obletnice posvetitve mestne cerkve in 850. obletnice »Konradove cerkve«* (ed. Slavko Krajnc), Ptuj 1998, pp. 38–76.

²⁶ Martine DULAÉY, *Victorin de Poetovio. Premier exégète latin I*, Paris 1993, p. 12, is of the opinion that Victorinus passed away in 283/284. In the literature, the year 304 appears rather often as well; see, for instance Konrad HUBER, Aspekte der Apokalypse – Interpretation des Victorinus von Pettau am Beispiel des Christenvisions in Offb 1, *Ancient Christian Interpretations of "Violent Texts" in The Apocalypse* (eds. Joseph Verheyden, Tobias Nicklas, Andreas Merkt), Göttingen 2011, p. 95.

²⁷ Rajko BRATOŽ, Poetovio (Ptuj) kot sedež škofije v antiki, *Ptujska župnijska cerkev* 1998 (n. 25), pp. 14–16.

²⁸ BRATOŽ 1998 (n. 27), pp. 18–27. Avguštin STEGENŠEK, Julian Valens, ptujski protiškof, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 10/1–2, 1913, pp. 1–7; Fran KOVAČIČ, Petovij in Celeja v starokrščanski dobi, *Buličev zbornik / Strena Buliciana*, Zagreb-Split 1924, pp. 390–394. Stegenšek and Kovačič were convinced Julius Valens caused the invasion of the Goths into Poetovio and the destruction of the town in 380. Rudolf EGGER, Die Zerstörung Pettaus durch die Goten, *Römische Antike und frühes Christentum. Ausgewählte Schriften von Rudolf Egger*, I, Klagenfurt 1962, pp. 36–44, disagrees: Julius Valens as an adherent of Arianism could not have survived in Poetovio; he left the town by his own will prior to 378 and was not involved in the Goths' invasion. In Bratož's opinion, Julius Valens must have been expelled from Poetovio by the Christian community, as Arianism was already losing its grip at that time. When the council took place in Aquileia in 381, Julius Valens must have been in Milano, where Arianism still prevailed.

²⁹ BRATOŽ 1998 (n. 27), p. 25. Julius Valens took over the leadership of the Christian community after Marcus, who died before the council in Aquileia took place in 381.

³⁰ Rajko Bratož believes that the Christian community in Poetovio was formed in the period of Septimius Severus (193–211) or even earlier. See Rajko BRATOŽ, *Krščanstvo v Ogleju in na vzhodnem vplivnem območju oglejske cerkve od začetkov do nastopa verske svobode*, Ljubljana 1986 (Acta ecclesiastica Sloveniae, 8), p. 330; Rajko BRATOŽ, Verske razmere v Petovionu v drugi polovici 3. stoletja v luči poročil škofa Viktorina, *Ptuj* 2001 (n. 3), pp. 317, 324. Iva Mikl Curk paid attention to archaeological evidence of Christianity in the 3rd century: in many graves from the 3rd century, which in fact complied with the custom of burning the corpse, a trail and a jug were added, both needed for the Eucharist. See Iva MIKL CURK, Petoviona v sožitju z bližnjimi in daljnimi kraji, *Ptujski arheološki zbornik* 1993 (n. 8), p. 212; MIKL CURK 1997 (n. 12), p. 464.

Our knowledge of Victorinus' biography is limited.³¹ St Jerome, who greatly respected him, provided some hints as how to reconstruct Victorinus' life in his *De viris illustribus* (392/392), describing him as a bishop in Poetovio and a martyr; for St Jerome Hilarius, Ambrosius and Victorinus should be respected as columns of the Church (*columnis Ecclesiae*). St Jerome's expression Victorinus noster³² is also interesting, although it does not tell us much about Victorinus' origins. The name Victorinus was relatively common in the then Panonnia Superior, and it could be that Victorinus was born in Poetovio. Some researchers presume that Victorinus was of eastern origin, which is also a possibility. Preserved inscriptions prove that many of the inhabitants of Poetovio were Greek speaking, and there is no doubt that Victorinus had received a Greek education, as the structure of his texts indicate.³³ His teachers were from the eastern part of the Empire. In his studies, Victorinus mostly followed the Early Christian philosopher Origenes (ca 185–ca 253) from Alexandria whose exegesis he tried to incorporate into the Latin culture and language. We can say that the reception of Origenes' theology in Western Europe began with Victorinus.³⁴

In general, the 3rd century is regarded as a period of crisis in the Roman Empire. Emperors alternated rapidly, numerous parts of the empire were devastated by military conflicts, while economic and demographic decline also occurred. However, the crises did not ravage the whole empire, and Poetovio remained a lively economic, cultural and spiritual centre,³⁵ although around the middle of the 3rd century, the settlement, which extended from present-day Spodnja Hajdina on the right bank of the river to beyond the Castle and Panorama hill on the left Drava bank, was affected by a tragedy. Iva Mikl Curk interpreted this event as an earthquake followed by floods, which caused the Drava to change direction, so important parts of the town (including part of the *forum* and military camp) were swept away. The town, however, was rebuilt soon after.³⁶ As Christianity was not yet an officially recognized religion in the 3rd century, no archaeological items of explicit Christian charac-

³¹ There is extensive literature on St Victorinus. The first who explicitly appreciated his comments of the Bible was St Jerome who copied his *In Apocalypsin*, altering some parts of the original in order to avoid Victorinus' millenarism, forbidden by the Council in Nicea. St Victorinus is inscribed into martyrologium, falsely titled as *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (written as a compilation at the beginning of the 8th century). From the list of the literature from the end of the 20th century, the texts by Martine DULAËY are highly respected; see, among others, DULAËY 1993 (n. 26). In present-day Slovenia, Anton Martin Slomšek, Maribor bishop, was a pioneer in promoting St Victorinus in the 19th century; see Jožef MURŠEC, Sv. Viktorin, ptujski škof ino mučenik, *Drobtinice*, 3, 1848, pp. 6–12. Mihael Napotnik, one of Slomšek's successors, was one of the first in today's Slovenia to research Victorinus' life and oeuvre profoundly; see Mihael NAPOTNIK, *Sveti Viktorin, cerkveni pisatelj in mučenec*, Dunaj 1888. The treatises by Rajko Bratož and Miran Špelič are of great importance. For an exhaustive list of the sources and literature, see BRATOŽ 1986, n. 31, pp. 369–382. Among Bratož's recent texts, see BRATOŽ 2001 (n. 30), pp. 313–325; Rajko BRATOŽ, Dioklecijanovo preganjanje kristjanov v provincah srednjega Podonavja in zahodnega Balkana, *Mednarodni znanstveni simpozij ob 1700-letnici smrti sv. Viktorina Ptujkega. Zbornik razprav* (ed. Slavko Krajnc), Ptuj 2003, pp. 29–98; BRATOŽ 2014 (n. 2), pp. 241–251. See also: Miran ŠPELIČ, Nekaj potez teologije Viktorina Ptujkega, *Ptujska župnijska cerkev* 1998 (n. 25), pp. 31–37. Miran Špelič translated and commented Victorinus' *In Apokalypsin* and other preserved texts of the martyr; see VIKTORIN PTUJSKI, *Razlaga Razodetja – In Apokalypsin in drugi spisi* (translation, preface and notes by Miran Špelič), Celje 2003².

³² Maria VERONESE, L'influsso di Vittorino de Petovio sugli scrittori Aquilesiesi, *Mednarodni znanstveni simpozij* 2003 (n. 31), p. 194.

³³ BRATOŽ 2001 (n. 30), p. 317. On the Greek speaking inhabitants in Poetovio and in Pannonia in general, see also ŠAŠEL KOS 1980 (n. 16), pp. 16–17.

³⁴ VERONESE 2003 (n. 33), p. 193.

³⁵ BRATOŽ 2014 (n. 2), pp. 35–36.

³⁶ Iva MIKL CURK, Ptuj svetega Viktorina. Kako ga kaže urbanistično tkivo in tvarna kultura, *Kronika. Časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino*, 48/3, 2000, pp. 1–8.

ter have been found from that period.³⁷ In 260 Emperor Galienus stopped persecuting Christians and permitted them to practise their rites; this tolerance lasted until Emperor Diocletian again began to persecute Christians in 303. In the second half of the 3rd century, Poetovio was an important centre of Mithraism, containing at least five Mithra shrines.³⁸ Jews constituted part of the population and various other religious cults were also practiced; however, in the 3rd century Poetovio became an important centre of Christianity. According to Rajko Bratož, the community was large and influential, composed of representatives of all social strata. As Victorinus' texts are challenging to read, we can assume that the Christians in Poetovio were well-educated.³⁹ While the spread of Christianity took place in a spirit of fruitful tolerance, Bratož found a hint of opposition towards Mithraism in Victorinus' texts, in which he rejected polytheism and idol worship.⁴⁰ As an adherent of Millenarism, Victorinus proclaimed the approaching end of the world, and as a vociferous opponent of the Roman Empire, he was ready to embrace this collapse, which would be followed by a millenium of Christ's rule.⁴¹ Miran Špelič interpreted Victorinus' appeal to unity in the Church as a sign of inner conflicts and perhaps even as an indication of heretical movements in the Poetovio Christian community in the late 3rd century. Victorinus' criticism of those believers who were insufficiently zealous was surely aimed at the Poetovio Christians.⁴²

Victorinus lived during the era of Emperor Diocletian and the first tetrarchy; of the four rulers, Galerius in particular, a leading personality in Illyricum, was known as a fanatic persecutor of the Christians up to 260. If Victorinus really did die as a martyr, he must have been killed at some point between spring 303 and spring 305, when the Diocletian persecution of Christians took place.⁴³ The year and the method of execution are not reported, but the date of his death is presumed to be 2nd November 303.⁴⁴ There are no reports of how and where he was buried; however, the town of Poetovio is a possible burial site. St Victorinus was the first who commented on the Bible in Latin; he was the pioneer of the new Latin Bible literature, which reached a peak with St Ambrosius and St Jerome. The

³⁷ Only Iva Mikl Curk presumed that certain graves from the 3rd century could be Christian (MIKL CURK 1993 (n. 30), p. 212).

³⁸ For basic information see Mojca VOMER GOJKOVIČ, *Petovionski mitreji*, *Ptuj* 2001 (n. 3), pp. 105–124.

³⁹ BRATOŽ 2014 (n. 2), pp. 244–245.

⁴⁰ The religious circumstances in Poetovio differed from the situation in other similar towns. Mithraism was exceptionally strong and able to compete with the official state religion. See BRATOŽ 2014 (n. 2), pp. 43–46, 52; BRATOŽ 2001 (n. 30), pp. 314–315.

⁴¹ BRATOŽ 2014 (n. 2), p. 36. On the nature of Victorinus' millenarism, see Miran ŠPELIČ, *Uvod*, in: Viktorin Ptujski, *Razlaga Razodetja – In Apocalypsin in drugi spisi*, Celje 2003², pp. 26–28.

⁴² ŠPELIČ 2003² (n. 41), p. 22–24; VIKTORIN PTUJSKI 2003² (n. 31), pp. 59, 61. On Victorinus' understanding of the Roman Empire and his comparison of the Empire with the Anti-Christ, see Giancarlo PANI, *Chiesa, impero romano, e Antichristo nel Commento all' Apocalipse de Vittorino Petovio*, *Mednarodni znanstveni simpozij* 2003 (n. 31), pp. 227–241.

⁴³ Rajko BRATOŽ, *Dioklecijanovo preganjanje kristjanov v provincah srednjega Podonavja in zahodnega Balkana*, *Mednarodni znanstveni simpozij* 2003 (n. 31), pp. 30–31.

⁴⁴ French researcher Martine Dulaey is of a different opinion. As Victorinus' texts are rather archaic, she presumed he lived earlier and had been martyred at the time of Valerianus (257–259). See *Victorin de Poetovio. Sur l'Apocalypse suivie du fragment chronologique et de la construction du monde* (ed. Martine Dulaey), Paris 1997, p. 15. Rajko Bratož resists such an interpretation and offers new arguments confirming November 303 to be the time of Victorinus' death. In late autumn 303, Diocletian, who stayed in Sirmium and the surroundings for some time, left for Rome, where his arrival was documented on 8 November 303. The road Diocletian was travelling towards Rome led through Poetovio, so it could be that Diocletian himself ordered Victorinus' execution. See BRATOŽ 2003 (n. 43), p. 82. 304 as the year of Victorinus' death appears very often in the literature.

allegorical technique of exegesis he employed was typical for his work. Victorinus commented on the first three Books of Moses, then the four Books of the prophets, the Song of Salomon, the Gospel of Matthew and the Apocalypse, which is his most known and appreciated text.⁴⁵ Further, he is the author of an interesting explanation as to how the world was created and the supposed author of a text entitled *Adversus omnes haereses*. Only the comments on the Apocalypse, *Tractatus de fabrica mundi* and some fragments have survived as copies, while all the other texts are known through St Jerome's comments and those of various other Late-Antique and Early-Medieval writers.⁴⁶ Towards the end of the 3rd century, Millenarism, which was relatively widespread in the 2nd century, had begun to die out; Victorinus was one of its last proponents. St Jerome, who copied Victorinus' texts, omitted the sections concerning Millenarism and edited the writing in order to improve the language and style. In the 6th century, studies connected with the movement were forbidden, so Victorinus' writings almost disappeared from libraries, except the comment on the Apocalypse in St Jerome's version. This text is still highly valued, with experts stressing Victorinus' understanding of the artistic structure of the Apocalypse.

At the end of the 16th century, Caesar (Cesare) Baronius, Italian ecclesiastic historian, whom Pope Clemens VIII elevated to cardinal and Vatican librarian in 1596, produced the 12 volume work *Annales ecclesiastici* (1588–1607) in which he falsely established that Victorinus lived in French Poitiers. He interpreted the diction *Victorinus Petabionensis* and *Victorinus Petavionensis* as *Victorinus Pictaviensis* – as meaning “from Poitiers”. The veneration of St Victorinus began there, with the acceptance of the St Victorinus' feast in the Poitiers diocese calendar. Jean de Launoy (1603–1678), a French historian who developed an extremely critical method of interpreting historical sources, corrected the mistake in 1653. He pointed out the many false assertions in Cesare Baronius' *Annales ecclesiastici*, including the information relating to St Victorinus and the site of his activities as a bishop.



7. Josef Reiterer: St Victorinus, in *Drobtinice journal*, 1848

⁴⁵ Until the 20th century, the commentary on Apocalypse was known only as St Jerome's version from 398. At the end of the 19th century, Johann Haussleiter found a manuscript from the 15th century in the Vatican Library with Victorinus' unedited text, which unfortunately was not copied in its entirety. In 1916 Haussleiter published the discovered manuscript in *VICTORINUS EPISCOPUS PETAVIONENSIS, Opera. Recensuit, commentario critico instruxit, prologomena et indices adiecit J. Haussleiter*, Vindobonae 1916 (*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 94). See ŠPELIČ 2003² (n. 41), pp. 10–11.

⁴⁶ ŠPELIČ 2003² (n. 41), pp. 28–35.



8. St Victorinus altar, 1903, St George's church, Ptuj



9. Statue of St Victorinus on the St Victorinus altar

Launoy's study⁴⁷ on Victorinus' theological work, his activities as a bishop and his martyrdom is regarded as the beginning of systematic research into Victorinus' life and work.

In Poitiers, the veneration of St Victorinus rapidly intensified, while little is known about the worship of the martyr in the area of Poetovio after the error regarding the location of his activities was corrected. Count Inzaghi's unsuccessful attempt in 1768 to involve St Victorinus in the rituals of St George's church in Ptuj will be described in one of the next chapters. However, sometime after 1859, when Bishop Anton Martin Slomšek (1800–1862) moved the seat of the diocese from Sankt Andrä in Lavanttal to Maribor, lectures venerating St Victorinus began to be read on 3rd November. The feast was moved from the 2nd to the 3rd November, as on the 2nd November the feast of All Souls Day is celebrated. It seems that in Ptuj, the veneration of St Victorinus was not as enthusiastic as had been expected. Michael Napotnik (1850–1922), who was appointed a bishop of the diocese of Lavant in 1889 and who was a great devotee of St Victorinus, was disappointed at the lack of regard for the saint in Ptuj, accusing its inhabitants of not following the example of this revered Antiquity figure.⁴⁸ Since 1972, the feast of St Victorinus has been celebrated in all Slovene dioceses, although it is only obligatory in Maribor.

⁴⁷ Jean de LAUNOY, *De Victorino episcopo et martyre dissertatio*, Paris 1653. Launoy's study was reprinted in 1731 and this version (J. LAUNOII, *Constantiensis, Parisiensis theologi, socii Navaraci opera omnia ad selectum ordinem revocata*, Coloniae Allobrogorum 1731) is published in: NAPOTNIK 1888 (n. 31), pp. 112–123.

⁴⁸ NAPOTNIK 1888 (n. 31), p. 259.

There is no church consecrated to St Victorinus; however, there are some altars and pictures, as well as one bronze statue devoted to him.⁴⁹ Besides the graphics and illustrations published in reviews (fig. 7), depictions of St Victorinus are to be found in Maribor (in the cathedral and in St Aloysius church), in Ptuj (in and in front of St George's church, on the façade of the town hall, in the previous provost's house and in St Victorinus's Home), in Gorišnica near Ptuj (in St Margaret's church) and in Nova Cerkev near Celje (in St Leonard's church).⁵⁰ We should perhaps mention the St Victorinus altar in St George's church, which was consecrated by the bishop Anton Martin Slomšek in 1859 (figs. 8–9). The sculptures on the altar are of Baroque origin, while the retable was renovated in the neo-Gothic style in 1903 on the occasion of the 1600th anniversary of St Victorinus' death.⁵¹ In 2003, festivities commemorating the 1700th anniversary of Victorinus' martyrdom took place in Ptuj and a bronze statue presenting the saint in approximately half his natural height was erected on the south side of St George's church.⁵²

The continuity of Christianity in Poetovio after the fall of the Western Roman Empire

At the end of the 4th and in the first half of the 5th century, Poetovio was still a lively town; yet after the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476, circumstances radically changed. Little is known about the political and social circumstances in the area from the end of the 6th until the middle of the 8th century, but it is supposed that the Avars controlled the region. Some researchers even doubt the existence of Poetovio as an urban settlement in the second half of the 5th and in the 6th century. Slavko Ciglenečki stresses that there is no archaeological evidence of any stable urban life in the area of the whole present-day Slovenia from the second half of the 5th century; archaeological findings from the period are rare, while the data on their provenance is also poor. According to Ciglenečki, Poetovio, situated beside the transit road towards Italy, was no longer secure, so the Roman inhabitants withdrew to high-altitude and better-protected sites and returned to Poetovio after the Slavic newcomers occupied the area and the situation settled.⁵³ Izidor Janžekovič, too, writes about the lack of archaeological findings which could prove the uninterrupted existence of the town. He maintains that there was a break in the development of Poetovio from Antiquity into the mediaeval era on the site of the

⁴⁹ Slavko KRAJNC, Življenje, češčenje in upodobitve sv. Viktorina Ptujskega, *Mednarodni znanstveni simpozij 2003* (n. 31), pp. 166–172, gathered all known depictions of St Victorinus in Slovene Styria. It is worth mentioning the sculpture presenting St Victorinus in the pilgrimage church in Frauenberg near Leibnitz in Austrian Styria. The Baroque sculpture, made by Jakob Peyer between 1776 and 1781, is one of two wooden statues on the St Sebastian altar. No studies on how, why and when the sculpture was made (which most probably was renamed as St Victorinus in the 19th century) are available. See Gert CHRISTIAN, *Die Wallfahrtskirche Frauenberg bei Leibnitz*, Frauenberg 2005, p. 35. I am very grateful to Susanne König-Lein and Bernardette Mußbacher, who tried to find some more information on the statue, unfortunately unsuccessfully.

⁵⁰ Ana LAVRIČ, Slovenski »Panteon« v Slomškovih *Drobtinica*h in pri Novi Cerkvi, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 19/1, 2014, pp. 93–122, systematically researched Anton Martin Slomšek's iconographic program concerning the saints originating from present day Slovenia.

⁵¹ KRAJNC 2003, (n. 49), p. 166.

⁵² Mario BERDIČ, Javna plastika Viktorja Gojkoviča, *Viktor Gojkovič. Kipar in restavrador* (ed. Aleš Gačnik), Ptuj 2005, p. 120. The author of the sculpture is Viktor Gojkovič; the sculptor was named after St Victorinus. His father, Janez Gojkovič, was engaged in the Regional Museum Ptuj as a restorer of archaeological findings and was a valued assistant on excavations.

⁵³ CIGLENEČKI 1993 (n. 9), p. 507, 513–514; Slavko CIGLENEČKI, Results and Problems in the Archaeology of the Late Antiquity in Slovenia, *Arheološki vestnik*, 50, 1999, p. 291.

Antique urban structures; he points out that the high-medieval stratum in the old town lay directly on the Antique layers. Furthermore, he also draws attention to the settlement of simple earth cabins in Štuki-Marof on the north-western border of present-day Ptuj, discovered in 2004–2006 and dated somewhere between the middle of the 7th and the end of the 8th century.⁵⁴

On the other hand, many researchers do not doubt the continuity of the town. Iva Mikl Curk was sure that the Roman inhabitants still living in Poetovio amalgamated with the Slavic newcomers without any interruption to the town's existence; she analysed material remnants from Late Antiquity and tentatively proposed a thesis that a certain continuity from Antiquity into the early Middle Ages can be established through the production of ceramics, metal objects and similar.⁵⁵ Jaroslav Šašel argued for the continuity of life in Poetovio based on archaeological findings and written sources. He also pointed out the need to be extremely careful in dating small archaeological findings. His preferred approach was toponimics, and he drew attention to several settlements from which the Slavic newcomers directly accepted their Antique names – Poetovio being one of them.⁵⁶ Marjeta Šašel Kos, too, maintains that in the 5th and the 6th century Poetovio was still alive; she is convinced that the town was still the administrative centre of the region, although somewhat diminished, as the settlement was periodically disturbed by barbarian invasions. Šašel Kos based this on thorough analysis of several Antique texts, considering also coinage circulation. She pointed to an anonymous writer from Ravenna, who mentioned the town *Petaviona* alongside other Pannonian towns in the 6th century.⁵⁷ The Byzantine historian Priscus described the mission to Atila's court led by comes Romulus in 449; the mission started in *Pataviona*, as he named the town in his report.⁵⁸ Like other experts, Marjeta Šašel Kos believes that the term *polis Norikón* (mentioned by Procopius of Caesarea in the middle of the 6th century) refers to the town of Poetovio.⁵⁹ Tina Milavec understands the status of Poetovio in the 6th and 7th centuries as a non-agrarian settlement, some kind of seed for the future medieval town.⁶⁰ This is similar to Miha Kosi's understanding of the continuity question. He does not insist that the early-medieval settlement endured on the exact location of the Antique town, but points to the possibility of the inhabitants changing it, moving Poetovio to a secure location between Castle Hill and the river Drava. In explaining the term *civitas*, as it appears in the 9th century documents,

⁵⁴ Izidor JANŽEKOVIČ, *Mnogo hrupa za mnogo* (3. del). Od antične Petovione do srednjeveškega Ptuja, *Zgodovinski časopis*, 72/1–2, 2018, p. 33.

⁵⁵ MIKL CURK 1978 (n. 6), p. 407; MIKL CURK 1997 (n. 12), pp. 445–482. See also Hartmut WOLFF, Vermutungen zum Ende antiker Lebensformen im südöstlichen Alpenraum, *Slovenija in sosednje dežele med antiko in karolinško dobo. Začetki slovenske etnogeneze* (ed. Rajko Bratož), Ljubljana 2000 (Situla, 39), p. 32–33; Wolff found Slavko Ciglenečki's theses too radical and in contradiction with the name of the settlement which survived into the medieval era.

⁵⁶ Jaroslav ŠAŠEL, *Opera Selecta*, Ljubljana 1992 (Situla, 30), pp. 761–764 (reprint after: *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Frühmittelalterforschung. 4: Die Völker an der mittlerem und unteren Donau im fünften und sechsten Jahrhundert*, Wien 1980 (Denkschriften, 145).

⁵⁷ Anonymous from Ravenna most probably wrote his *cosmographia* (as he himself described the text) around 700 or slightly later; however, he based his knowledge mostly on the sources from the 6th century. See Hartmut WOLFF, Die Frage der Besiedlung des heutigen Slowenien im Lichte des Anonymus von Ravenna, *Slovenija* 2000 (n. 55), pp. 99–100.

⁵⁸ ŠAŠEL KOS 1994 (n. 2), pp. 287–289.

⁵⁹ ŠAŠEL KOS 1994 (n. 2), pp. 285, 294, rejects Slavko Ciglenečki's interpretation of *polis Noricón* as a group of high-altitude fortifications in the Kozjansko region. See CIGLENEČKI 1987 (n. 8), pp. 141–142, 173. Jaroslav Šašel interpreted the so called *polis Noricón* as Poetovio; he also mentioned Celeia as an option. See ŠAŠEL 1992 (n. 56), p. 758.

⁶⁰ Tina MILAVEC, A review of research into the Early Middle Ages in Slovenia, *Arheološki vestnik*, 60, 2009, p. 252.

Kosi pointed out that it is often linked to the seats of Late-Antique dioceses; the term can also mean that the early-medieval settlement was situated on the location of the previous Roman town – so urban life simply continued.⁶¹ The question of the continuity of the Roman bridge, as well as the presumed changes of the Drava stream, has not yet been fully resolved. It is probably more accurate to refer to the continuity of the site rather than the continuity of the bridge construction itself.⁶² The bridge obviously was in use without interruption, as is mentioned in the 9th and 10th century documents, and traffic and trade also continued without interruption in this period. It was only during the Hungarian invasions at the end of the 9th and in the first half of the 10th century that trade died away, but revived again in the 960s, when business expanded to include the Hungarians.⁶³

As regards the continuity of Christianity in Poetovio from Antiquity into the medieval period, experts are much more unified, arguing for obvious continuity. Rajko Bratož maintains that the continuity of Christianity in the region from Antiquity into the early Middle Ages is clear, although it is less obvious as regards the organisation of Christianity.⁶⁴ There is no mention of a diocese in Poetovio in written sources after 381;⁶⁵ however, archaeological findings as well as rare written sources have convinced researchers that to a certain extent organized Christianity survived in Poetovio also after the fall of the Western Roman Empire.⁶⁶ Bratož researched the phenomenon of the so-called *ecclesia in gentibus*, which means the Church was active outside state borders among pagan religious tribes. Analysing the protocols of synods in Rome in 680 and in Constantinople in 692, as well as some other documents, he ascertained that the Christian bishops existed in the Eastern Alpine area and North Mediterranean region and were able to function among the Slavs in a relatively organised manner, although their numbers diminished radically and their circumstances were relatively challenging.⁶⁷ Bratož was especially interested in the expression *sacerdotes qui sunt in barbaricis ecclesiis*, describing the clerics active in barbarian churches.⁶⁸ Bratož understood the synods as an expression of the extreme persistence of the Antique Christian structures, which were able to exist a whole century after the Roman civil authorities and army had already left the region.⁶⁹

⁶¹ Miha KOSI, Predurbane ali zgodnjesrednjeveške naselbine? Civitas Pettouia, Carnium/Creina in druga centralna naselja neagrarnega značaja v zgodnjem srednjem veku, *Zgodovinski časopis*, 59/3–4, 2005, pp. 275, 299; Miha KOSI, *Zgodnja zgodovina srednjeveških mest na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 2009, p. 19.

⁶² Jože CURK, O nekaterih nerešenih problemih ptujske topografije, *Kronika. Časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino*, 47/1–2, 1999, pp. 1–10; Andrej GASPARI, Raziskave rimskega mostu na Ptuj, *Ptuj* 2001 (n. 3), p. 56.

⁶³ KOSI 2005 (n. 61), pp. 280, 282, 284, 289, 324; KOSI 2009 (n. 61), pp. 127, 129.

⁶⁴ BRATOŽ 1998 (n. 27), p. 27. Bratož compares the situation in Poetovio with the circumstances in Emona and Celeia, where the bishops were documented in the 6th and 7th century.

⁶⁵ In general, the prevalent opinion is that the diocese in Poetovio collapsed before 579; this is based on the documents from the synod in Grado in 579, where no-one from Poetovio was present. Rajko BRATOŽ, *Ecclesia in gentibus. Vprašanje preživetja krščanstva iz antične dobe v času slovansko-avarske naselitve na prostoru med Jadrantom in Donavo, Grafenauerjev zbornik* (ed. Vinko Rajšp), Ljubljana 1996, pp. 220–221, does not agree with such an inference *ex silentio*. He based his contradictory statement on the analysis of the documents written by Pope Gregorius the Great in 599 and 600; he also paid attention to Paul the Deacon's report on the history of the Lombards from the end of the 8th century.

⁶⁶ BRATOŽ 1998 (n. 27), p. 27. Anton OŽINGER, Prafara sv. Jurija na Ptuj, mati župnij hčera, *Ptujska župnijska cerkev* 1998 (n. 25), p. 138. Ožinger argues for continuity based on the name of the town.

⁶⁷ BRATOŽ 1996 (n. 65), pp. 206, 208, 211–214, 216–219. Bratož altered the stereotype presenting the Slavs as devastators of antique civilisation; he found no support for this in the written sources. See also WOLFF 2000 (n. 55), pp. 30, 39.

⁶⁸ BRATOŽ 1996 (n. 65) p. 217.

⁶⁹ BRATOŽ 1996 (n. 65), p. 219; WOLFF 2000 (n. 55), pp. 30, 39.

The Church of St George in the Early Middle Ages

Towards the end of the 8th century, the Salzburg archdiocese began to revive Christianity in Carinthia and Pannonia; Ptuj was part of Pannonia, as it had been in Roman times.⁷⁰ In 803 and again in 811, the emperor Charlemagne confirmed the river Drava as the border between the patriarchate of Aquileia and the Salzburg archdiocese.⁷¹ After the fall of Kocel in 874, but before 890, the Salzburg archdiocese became the owner of the church in Ptuj, and was also granted a tithe, two thirds of the settlement with judicature, and the tolls and bridge over the river Drava. King Arnulf incorporated the third part of the settlement into the Salzburg archdiocese, which had been in the possession of a Carinthian who lost his property because of high treason. There were only two sites in the settlement excepted from this additional donation: a court in the upper eastern part of the town, where a new church was under construction (*in superioiri civitate in orientali parte civitas /.../ curtilem locum ubi nova ecclesia incepta est*) as well as the courts in the lower, western part of the settlement (*inferiori civitate in occidentali parte civitatis ipsius illa curtilla loca*). All these courts had been given to the Carinthian's wife because of her loyalty to the Franks.⁷² These rights are described in a document, the so-called Arnulfinum,⁷³ which is actually a falsification, written between 970 and 977, or at least before 982, but falsely signed by King Arnulf and falsely dated to the year 890. In the same document, we read that it was King Arnulf who incorporated the last, third part of the town into the Salzburg archdiocese, while all the other rights had already been donated by Arnulf's predecessors.⁷⁴ The exact description of the settlement, divided into three parts and including several courts, proves that in the 9th and 10th century Ptuj was an important settlement, with all the necessary features of an early urban structure.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Franc KOS, *Gradivo za zgodovino Slovencev v srednjem veku. Druga knjiga (l. 801–1000)*, Ljubljana 1906, p. X.

⁷¹ KOS 1906 (n. 70), pp. 17–18, 36–37. On the whole process of defining the border between the Salzburg archdiocese and Aquileia patriarchate, see also Peter ŠTIH, Salzburg, Ptuj in nastanek štajersko-madžarske meje v današnji Sloveniji, *Zgodovinski časopis*, 50/4, 1996, p. 538.

⁷² KOS 1906 (n. 70), pp. 355, 377; KOSI 2005 (61), p. 298; KOSI 2009 (n. 61) p. 34.

⁷³ ŠTIH 1996 (n. 71), pp. 539–540, uses the expression *Pseudoarnulfinum* and presents various interpretations of the document as well as of Otto II's diploma from 977, which could also be a falsification. Peter Štih doubts that Ptuj was in the possession of the Salzburg archdiocese during the era of Carolingia. See also JANŽEKOVIČ 2018 (n. 54), pp. 38–39.

⁷⁴ Despite being recognized as a falsification, in a historical sense the document is reliable and most probably based on a document from 860, with which Ludwig the German granted several courts to the Salzburg archdiocese; however, Ptuj was not included here. Comparing Arnulfinum with Ludwig the Great's diploma, it is clear that the rights granted to the Salzburg archdiocese expanded greatly after 860. In 977 and in 982 Otto II, confirmed all the rights described in the Arnulfinum, as did Otto III in 984. So, Arnulfinum on one hand informs us about the relations between the Carolingians and the Salzburg archdiocese in the middle of the 9th century, while on the other hand it reflects the situation in the second half of the 10th century. The goal was to assure the property of the Salzburg archdiocese when the Hungarian threat diminished and the general political and economic situation stabilised. See KOS 1906 (n. 70), pp. XIX, 221–226, 366–369, 354–355, 375–378. For a detailed analysis of Arnulfinum, see KOS 1906 (n. 70), pp. 221–224; KOSI 2005 (n. 61), pp. 289–302; KOSI 2009 (n. 61), pp. 33–44. Arnulfinum is preserved in *Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv* in Vienna (AUR, 885 XI 20, Mattighoffen).

⁷⁵ KOSI 2009 (n. 61), pp.130–131. Miha Kosi draws attention to the expression *curtilia loca*. In his opinion, the expression could mean the systematically planned parcelling out of the settlement's plot of ground.

Between 840 and 859, while Pribina was in power in Pannonia and Liupram was Archbishop of Salzburg, the so-called Pribina⁷⁶ church was built and consecrated in Ptuj.⁷⁷ It is presumed that Pribina's church was a predecessor of the later Dominican church on the western border of the town.⁷⁸ In 874, Theotmar (Dietmar I), at the time Archbishop of Salzburg, consecrated another church, a presumed predecessor of the present St George's parish church. In the document, the original of which has not been preserved,⁷⁹ the church was described as being built by Count Gozwin, Kocel's successor. Although the document explicitly mentions Gozwin as the figure behind its building, it was widely accepted that this no longer existing church was Kocel's.⁸⁰ Janez Höfler's

⁷⁶ Pribina (ca 800–861), a Slavic prince in Nitra, was expelled from Moravia with his son Kocel around 833; he fled to the Eastern Bavarian prefecture, where he was baptized. Around 840, King Ludwig the German granted him a vast feudal estate expanding west from the Balaton Lake, with Ptuj on its western border. Pribina ruled in Pannonia until his death and built several churches in the region. See KOS 1906 (n. 70), pp. XLI–XLII.

⁷⁷ KOS 1906 (n. 70), pp. XXVIII, 129.

⁷⁸ Pribina's church is supposed to have been situated on the western edge of the settlement within the complex of the so-called 'lower courts'. Later on this very site there was a court in the possession of the Lords of Ptuj; the last owner of the court was Mehtildis, a widow after the death of Frederic III, Lord of Ptuj. In 1230, she donated the court to the Dominican brothers in order to establish a monastery. So the Dominican monastic church is presumed to be a successor of Pribina's church. See Janez HÖFLER, *O prvih cerkvah in župnijah na Slovenskem. K razvoju cerkvene teritorialne organizacije slovenskih dežel v srednjem veku*, Ljubljana 2013, p. 86 (with a comprehensive bibliography). The newest archaeological research in the monastery (2011–2013) confirmed such an assumption: remnants of an older building were found in the walls of today's Dominican church as well as in its foundations. Regarding the reputed measures, the building could be dated to the Carolingian period. See Branko VNUK, *Srednjeveška arhitektura beraških redov na območju nekdanje vojvodine Štajerske*, Ljubljana 2018 (unpublished doctoral dissertation), p. 266. Ivan Stopar disagrees: he contends that Pribina's church was a predecessor of St George's church; see Ivan STOPAR, *Karolinška arhitektura na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1987, p. 27; Ivan STOPAR, *Arhitektura predromanike in romanike v Sloveniji*, Ljubljana 2017, pp. 30–31. The connoisseurs do not agree about where the first seat of the Ptuj parish was. Franc KOVAČIČ, *Zgodovina lavantinske škofije*, Maribor, 1928, p. 67, as well as for some time Janez HÖFLER, *Ob novih odkritjih srednjeveških fresk v mestni župnijski cerkvi sv. Jurija v Ptujju*, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 24/1, 1988, p. 32, situated it to St Oswald's church on the outskirts of the town on the basis of the visit by the Seckau bishop, Jacob Eberlein, in 1617, who described St Oswald's church as a former parochial church. The parish remained there until the 15th or even 16th century. Höfler pointed out the relics of the early-medieval graveyard around St Oswald's church, discovered by archaeological excavations in the 1960s. Later Höfler was much more cautious in regard to this question; see HÖFLER 2013 (n. 78), p. 87. Jože CURK 1975 (n. 25), pp. 187–189 and CURK 1976 (n. 15), p. 33, presumed that the first parish was by the predecessor of the later Dominical monastic church; according to Curk, the parish was removed from the predecessor of the later Dominical church to a predecessor of the later St George's church in the 10th or in the 11th century. Branko VNUK 2018 (n. 78), p. 266, thinks that the seat of the parish was the predecessor to the Dominican monastic church, destroyed by fire in the 12th century. KOSI 2005 (n. 61), pp. 320, 389, rejects the possibility that the parochial seat was outside the town. He is sure that the seat of the parish was beside St George's church at least from the time of Archbishop Conrad I, which means from the beginning of the 12th century, or even earlier.

⁷⁹ This lost document was titled *Annales s. Rudberti Salisburgensis*; it was a compilation of various documents written around 1180. The compilation was frequently referred to, so the data is included in a range of subsequent sources. See Franc KOS, *Gradivo za zgodovino Slovencev v srednjem veku. Prva knjiga (l. 501–800)*, Ljubljana 1902, p. LXVII; KOS 1906 (n. 70), pp. XXVIII, 174.

⁸⁰ Kocel (833–around 876), Pribina's son, inherited his father's estates and political power, although he was not particularly loyal to the Franks. He enthusiastically supported the activities of Cyril and Methodius; the latter established Slavic worship in the Pannonian church, which survived until 870s. The falsified Arnulfinum mentions a certain Carinthian who used to own one third of the Ptuj town; as he was convicted of high treason he lost his property, which first was imparted to his widow, loyal to the Franks but later given to the Salzburg diocese. Numerous researchers presume that this Carinthian was Kocel himself; Franc Kos was very cautious about such an identification, while some researchers are convinced that the Carinthian and Kocel are the same person. See KOS 1906 (n. 70), pp. XXVIII, XLIV; Peter ŠTIH, *Madžari in slovenska zgodovina v zadnji četrtini 9.*

interpretation is that Kocel began the construction of the church while Gozwin completed it, in the upper, eastern part of the town.⁸¹ Until recently, it was generally believed that in the 9th century there had been two churches in Ptuj, the first consecrated by Archbishop Liupram before 859 (the so-called Pribina church) and the second one consecrated by Theotmar in 874 (the so-called Kocel church). Following fresh historical research and new interpretations of the Arnulfinum, it appears that there was another, third church, in the upper part of the town, on which construction began during the reign of King Arnulf.⁸² Izidor Janžekovič interprets the expression in superiori civitate in orientali parte *civitas* as the site on the eastern plateau of the Castle Hill, where during excavations in 2015 some early medieval graves and remnants of a pre-Romanesque structure, possibly a church from the 10th or 11th century, were found.⁸³

At the end of the 9th century, the Hungarians invaded the town and devastated it. During the turbulence, the churches were most probably ruined or at least damaged; in 900, the Bavarian bishops complained in a letter, addressed to Pope John IX, that the Hungarians had burnt all of the churches in Pannonia. In the first half of the 10th century, the Hungarian invasions continued. In 955 or after, when Otto I the Great defeated the Hungarians at Lechfeld and Ptuj again was confirmed as a property of the Salzburg archdiocese, the town was rebuilt.⁸⁴ In the second half of the 10th century, the importance of Ptuj grew rapidly. The results of archaeological excavations indicate that the number of inhabitants rose sharply, while findings from the early-medieval graveyard on Castle Hill (especially costume jewellery) point to lively trade with eastern and western countries as well as the high-quality production of such items in Ptuj itself.⁸⁵

Our knowledge on the Ptuj churches in the 9th and the 10th century is based mostly on archival sources. It was only in 1972 that archaeological excavations took place in the interior of St George's.⁸⁶ Unfortunately, only a very limited area, divided into six narrow and separated ditches, could be researched, leaving definite conclusions difficult to draw. Several graves dating from the second half of the 4th century to the 17th century were found under the floor.⁸⁷ The most interesting of the architectural findings was a 1.16 m long wall, excavated 0.20 m under the floor on the site where

in v prvi polovici 10. stoletja, *Zgodovinski časopis*, 37/3, 1983, p. 194. JANŽEKOVIČ 2018 (n. 54), p. 39, identified Carinthian count Ruodpert, and not Kocel, in the document.

⁸¹ HÖFLER 2013 (n. 78), p. 86.

⁸² KOSI 2005 (n. 61), p. 298; KOSI 2009 (n. 61), p. 130; JANŽEKOVIČ 2018 (n. 54), p. 39.

⁸³ JANŽEKOVIČ 2018 (n. 54), p. 39.

⁸⁴ KOS 1906 (n. 70) pp. LI, 243–246. The newest research does not present the Hungarian invasions in Ptuj as radically destructive. Ptuj was vital to the logistics of the Hungarian campaigns towards Italy. It is supposed that in the period between 898 until 954, the Hungarians invaded Italy 15 or perhaps even 16 times; at least 26 (or perhaps even 28) times they crossed the area of present day Slovenia. Most probably, the Hungarian troops advancing from Pannonia towards Italy (and opposite) used the old Roman road connecting Aquileia and Savaria; the bridge over Drava in Ptuj was an important part of this road. See ŠTIH 1983 (n. 80), pp. 190–192; KOSI 2005 (n. 61), p. 301; JANŽEKOVIČ 2018 (n. 54), pp. 39–41.

⁸⁵ KOSI 2005 (n. 61), pp. 302, 311, 319–321.

⁸⁶ Marjana TOMANIČ-JEVREMOV, Rezultati arheoloških sondiranj v cerkvi sv. Jurija na Ptuj, *Ptujski zbornik*, 6/1, 1996, pp. 417–440; Marjana TOMANIČ-JEVREMOV, Arheološka sondiranja v cerkvi sv. Jurija na Ptuj, *Ptujska župnijska cerkev* 1998 (n. 25), pp. 68–83.

⁸⁷ There was only one grave from the second half of the 4th century found by excavation. It was situated under today's organ loft; obviously, the late-antique graveyard expanded on the area of the western part of today's church. A ceramic jug and try (a glass beaker, gilded fibula, a ring and a belt buckle were added to the corpse as well) prove that the deceased man was a Christian. See Blagoj JEVREMOV, Pozlačeni čebulasti fibuli iz Petovione, *Arheološki vestnik*, 41, 1990, pp. 389–401.

today the organ loft borders the central nave. The wall was composed of pieces of sandstone and marble, some of them obviously broken pieces of a Roman sarcophagus.⁸⁸ Researchers offered various interpretations of it. Jože Curk explained it as being part of the western church façade from the first half of the 12th century,⁸⁹ when Conrad I. was Archbishop of Salzburg and the rapid development of Ptuj and the surrounding region began. Ivan Stopar thought that the wall could have been part of the interior of the church from the 9th century and interpreted the ground plan of this 9th century church as a prolonged nave. Stopar was sure its western façade was the same as it is today and understood the wall as a barrier, separating the participants of religious ceremonies into two groups.⁹⁰ The excavations that took place in the interior of the church in 1972, as well as those from 1990 in the ground floor of the neighbouring city tower and around it, confirmed that in late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, the immediate surroundings of St George's were used as a graveyard. In the second half of the 11th century (around 1070–1085), Ptuj inhabitants abandoned the graveyard on the western plateau of Castle Hill and moved it to St George's church.⁹¹

From the 12th century on, the history of the church is clearer, and the literature on it is extensive.⁹² Through the centuries, the church was extended and rebuilt numerous times. We can describe its exterior as typically medieval, with elegant buttresses supporting the walls of the presbytery, the so-called "long choir"; the Baroque chapels on the southern and northern side soften the longitudinal walls with rounded corners and wavy rooves. The interior is a treasury of artworks from previous centuries. The three aisles and presbytery give it a mostly Gothic flavour, while the furnishings originated from various periods.

The focus of our interest is the rebuilding and refurnishing of the church in the Baroque style, which began in the 17th century, although the majority of the Baroque furnishings were introduced in the 18th century thanks to Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi, who was a Ptuj parish priest and dean from 1731 until 1768, when he died.

⁸⁸ TOMANIČ-JEVREMOV 1996 (n. 86), pp. 426–427; TOMANIČ-JEVREMOV 1998 (n. 86), p. 70.

⁸⁹ Jože CURK, Oris gradbene zgodovine proštjske cerkve na Ptuju, *Ptujska župnijska cerkev* 1998 (n. 25), p. 181. Curk recognized the northern wall of the main nave (in the 12th century the church had only one nave) as having been built in the 11th century. Therefore, this wall is the oldest visible part of present day building. See also CURK 1976 (n. 15), p. 34.

⁹⁰ STOPAR 1987 (n. 78), p. 28; STOPAR 2017 (n. 78), p. 33. Ivan Stopar was not alone in presuming the continuity of the Carolingian and medieval buildings on the site. See also Emilijan CEVC, Nova umetnostnozgodovinska odkritja v Ptuju, *Zgodovinski časopis*, 6–7, 1952–1953 (=Kosov zbornik), p. 301; ZADNIKAR 1959 (n. 24), p. 107. Earlier writers held similar views; see Ferdinand RAISP, *Pettau, Steiermarks älteste Stadt und ihre Umgebung*, Graz 1858, p. 107. Raisp was of the opinion that Pribina began to build a church in 840, which was then consecrated in 846 by Archbishop Liupram; Raisp proclaimed this building to be a predecessor of St George's church. Raisp followed the inscription in the St George church chronicle (fol. 12).

⁹¹ The graves excavated on the western plateau of the Castle Hill in 1909 and 1946–1947 are dated up to the last third of the 11th century. Such a dating of the early medieval graveyard corresponds with the assumption that the building of the medieval castle on Castle Hill began towards the end of the 11th century. See Izidor JANŽEKOVIČ, Mnogo hrupa za nič (2. del). Staroslovansko svetišče ali srednjeveški stolp na ptujskem gradu, *Zgodovinski časopis*, 71/3–4, 2017, p. 325.

⁹² See especially ZADNIKAR 1959 (n. 24), pp. 107–112; Ivan KOMELJ, *Gotska arhitektura na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1973, pp. 147–149; CURK 1976 (n. 15), pp. 31–67; Jože CURK, *Mestna proštjska cerkev v Ptuju*, Ljubljana 1977; HÖFLER 1988 (n. 78), pp. 31–50; Samo ŠTEFANAC, Ptuj, mestna župnijska in proštjska cerkev sv. Jurija. Kor, *Gotika v Sloveniji* (ed. Janez Höfler), Ljubljana 1995, pp. 51–52; HÖFLER 2013 (n. 78), pp. 86–90.

The House of Inzaghi

In Slovene historiography, the Inzaghi family is mostly known in connection with the mercury mine in Idrija. Abundus Maria, who was the first of the family to appear in the archival sources,⁹³ was a supervisor of the mine during the reigns of Emperors Ferdinand III. and Leopold I. His task was to reorganize the production of the mercury and to accelerate the sale of the precious ore. The Deutz family in Amsterdam was his trading partner. However, as Abundus' profit exceeded that of the state, Emperor Leopold I. dismissed him.⁹⁴ Franz Joannes Nepomuk, Count of Inzaghi (1734–1818), who was Abundus' great-grandson, operated the mine from 1764 to 1791; the mineshaft, which he began to dig, is still named after him, while he also supported his famous relative Alessandro Volta in researching electricity. He incorporated Volta's inventions into the working processes in the Idrija mines in order to both improve security conditions and introduce new products. It was thanks to Franz Joannes Nepomuk that Volta's scientific achievements became part of the study of physics and chemistry in Ljubljana. Franz Joannes, Count of Inzaghi, married Maria Walpurga, born Countess of Dietrichstein, in 1773⁹⁵ and after her death (1794)⁹⁶ Rosalia Countess of Attems; one of Franz Joannes' and Maria Walpurga's numerous children was Karl Count of Inzaghi, later governor of the crown land Illirya, the successor of the Napoleon Illiryan provinces.⁹⁷ In his later years, while he was still in regular contact with Volta, Franz Joannes lived in Graz, which is also where he died.⁹⁸

The Inzaghi family, which died out in the middle of the 19th century,⁹⁹ originates from Lombardia. There were two family branches, one in Como and the other in Graz, although many members of the family enjoyed a close connection with Ptuj. Abundus Maria, who we have mentioned previously, was born in Como and left Italy as a young man. Most probably, he first stopped in Ptuj and found employment with the Italian trade family Caccia, who consolidated their economic position by selling woollen cloth. It seems Abundus was a skilled businessman, and after some time, branched out on his own as a merchant, also trading in woollen cloth; he also was documented as money-exchanger. Abundus moved to Graz no later than 1644, which is also when he married Maria Magdalena Morelli.¹⁰⁰ As well as creating a family and asserting himself as a successful merchant, with the trade in mercury and copper his most profitable business, he was also the head of the coinage office.¹⁰¹ He made great

⁹³ In fact, a certain Paulus Inzaghi is mentioned in connection with the year 1388; however, no more is known about him. See Josef Andreas JANISCH, *Topographisch-statistisches Lexikon von Steiermark mit historischen Notizen und Anmerkungen*, 2, Graz 1885, p. 131.

⁹⁴ Ferdo GESTRIN, Italijani v slovenskih deželah od 13. do 17. stoletja, *Zgodovinski časopis*, 35/3, 1981, p. 234; Stanislav JUŽNIČ, Idrijsko živo srebro za barometre in termometre. Ob 270-letnici Voltovega rojstva, *Vakuumist*, 34/3, 2014, pp. 10–11; Stanislav JUŽNIČ, Voltov sorodnik in njegov idrijski lekarnar (Ob 270-letnici Voltovega rojstva), *Acta Chimica Slovenica*, 61/3, 2014, pp. 108–109 (henceforth JUŽNIČ 2014a).

⁹⁵ Ludwig SCHIVIZ VON SCHIVIZHOFFEN, *Der Adel in den Matriken der Stadt Graz*, Graz 1909, p. 237.

⁹⁶ SCHIVIZ VON SCHIVIZHOFFEN 1909 (n. 95), p. 33.

⁹⁷ Ludwig SCHIVIZ VON SCHIVIZHOFFEN, *Der Adel in den Matriken des Herzogtums Krain*, Görz 1905, p. 308; SCHIVIZ VON SCHIVIZHOFFEN 1909 (n. 95), p. 247; JUŽNIČ 2014a (n. 94), p. 108.

⁹⁸ JUŽNIČ 2014a (n. 94), pp. 107–108.

⁹⁹ Helfried VALENTINITSCH, Italienische Kaufmannsfamilien in Ptuj im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, *Ptujška župnijska cerkev* 1998 (n. 25), p. 107.

¹⁰⁰ SCHIVIZ VON SCHIVIZHOFFEN 1909 (n. 95), p. 204.

¹⁰¹ GESTRIN 1981 (n. 94), p. 234.

efforts to take over and revive the trade in cattle from Hungary to Italy, which had collapsed in 1641. The experiment was unsuccessful, so Abundus Maria reverted to woollen cloth for the army settled in Military Borderland. This was a prudent decision, as this is how he made his fortune, buying a property in Kroisbach¹⁰² in the surroundings of Graz. He was later promoted to the rank of baron, becoming a member of the Styria Estates in 1658. At some point before 1690, he built another castle, Oberkindberg, which was rebuilt by Martin Rottmayr in 1773–1774. Oberkindberg remained in the possession of the family until 1857, when the last male member of the family, Karl Count of Inzaghi, died.¹⁰³ Abundus Maria himself died in Graz on 3 November 1691, described in the registers as a count.¹⁰⁴ His eldest son Johann Philipp Baron (after 1686 Count) of Inzaghi¹⁰⁵ was a pillar of the Styrian branch of the family. In 1675, when he was already a court-chamber councillor, he married Anna Maria Katharina Baroness of Würzburg, going on to have many children. At the time of his death (1729), he was also registered as a count. Another member of the family, Franz Anton Count of Inzaghi, lived in Ptuj (or at least regularly visited) in the middle of the 18th century.¹⁰⁶ On 11 September 1751, he was appointed a president of the Administration of Military Invalids, which the Empress Maria Theresa established in 1750 in order to initiate progress in the town, hard-hit by fires, wars and plagues. New measures were implemented to enable the expansion of the settlement as well as to improve sanitary conditions.¹⁰⁷ As the chronicle of St George archparish testifies, in 1752, Franz Anton donated a painting for the altar of St Joannes Nepomuk in St George's church in Ptuj produced by the Graz painter Carl Laubmann (*ex munificentia H: Franz Antoni graffen von Inzaghi ersten Administrationis Presidenten in Canton Pettau*). The painting was a substitute for an old wooden statue, which was transferred to St Josef's church outside the town.¹⁰⁸ It is most probably Carolina Countess of Inzaghi¹⁰⁹ that we can link in this regard to Franz Anton; in 1754, she and her daughters Elisabetta

¹⁰² Domenico Rossi built the castle between 1650 and 1655 for the Abundio Baron of Inzaghi. At the end of the 17th century, the castle was already owned by the Galler family. See *Graz* (ed. Horst Schweigert), Graz 2013 (reprint) (Dehio-Handbuch. Die Kunstdenkmäler Österreichs), p. 225.

¹⁰³ *Steiermark. Dehio-Handbuch* (eds. Kurt Woisetschlager, Peter Krenn), Horn-Wien 2006², p. 219.

¹⁰⁴ SCHIVIZ VON SCHIVIZHOFFEN 1909 (n. 95), pp. 71, 72, 204, 271, 277; VALENTINITSCH 1998 (n. 99), pp. 106–107; JUŽNIČ 2014a (n. 94), pp. 108–109. Abundus Maria was promoted to the rank of a count on 2 September 1686; see *Rare and valuable books comprising duplicates of the Imperial (National) Library Vienna, the library of the Counts Inzaghi and other purchases recently added to our stock*, Gilhofer & Ranschburg, Vienna I, Bognergasse 2 [around 1923], p. 167.

¹⁰⁵ SCHIVIZ VON SCHIVIZHOFFEN 1909 (n. 95), pp. 211, 286.

¹⁰⁶ He is most likely Franz Anton, who was baptized in the parish church in Graz on 2 May 1719; in the registers, his full name is inscribed as Franz Anton Joseph Disma Phillip Jakob. His parents were Franz Karl Count of Inzaghi, a court-chamber councillor in Inner Austria, and Anna Maria Countess of Inzaghi, born Gaisruck. See SCHIVIZ VON SCHIVIZHOFFEN 1909 (n. 95), p. 116. Matej SLEKOVEC, *Škofija in nadduhovnja v Ptuj. Zgodovinska črtica*, Maribor 1889, pp. 143–144, declared Franz Anton to be the brother of Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi, which was a mistake. On Franz Anton Count of Inzaghi, as the president of the Administration of Military Invalids, see also Ferdinand RAISP 1858 (n. 90), pp. 145–155.

¹⁰⁷ VALENTINITSCH 1998 (n. 99), p. 107.

¹⁰⁸ Historical Archives Ptuj (Zgodovinski arhiv Ptuj, henceforth: ZAP), SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj (*Collectanea de origine, progressu et actuali incremento Archiparochialis Ecclesiae, una cum suis sacellis gratiosis, et ecclesiis filialibus sibi imediate incorporatis pettovy sub decanali et archiparochiali praesidio illustrissimi reverendissimi domini domini francisci ignatii s. p. i. comitis ab inzaghi ordinata anno m. dcc. Xxxii*), 1732–1849, fol. 91–92. The digital scan of the chronicle is available at: <http://www.siranet.si/detail.aspx?ID=75955> (accessed: 26. 10. 2019). On the chronicle, see Marija HERNJA MASTEN, *Kronika mestne župnije Ptuj 1732, Ptujška župnijska cerkev* 1998 (n. 25), pp. 113–137.

¹⁰⁹ Most probably, we can connect her name with an inscription in the register of the parish church in Graz, which

Tibinger and Maria Anna Gudin donated money for four reliquaries and four pyramids.¹¹⁰ In 1756 Ele(o)nora Countess of Inzaghi,¹¹¹ who achieved the honour of lady courtier (*fräuln Elenora gräffin von Inzaghy hoff Dame*) supported the purchase of a rich embroidered chasuble and of an antependium; the latter was made by the Ptuj painter Joseph Fellner.¹¹² Two years later, she donated another chasuble (*sind zwei schön Messgewändten eines von Eleonora gräff. v. Inzaghi, der anderen von Judith gräff. v. Brandies als geschenk hieher gegeben worden*).¹¹³ Another lady from the family is mentioned in the chronicle in 1761 (*nach Ablebens der alten gräffin v. Inzaghi, geborene v. Gaisruck*); after her death, her heirs donated two distinguished relics of Our Lady and her mother St Ann to St George's church (*zwei vornehmten Reliquien cum authent. nämlich ex indusio B. V. M. et ex ossibus S. Anna*). The inscription recognizes Anna Maria Countess of Inzaghi, born Gaisruck, and married to Franz Karl Hugo Count of Inzaghi. Franz Karl, who was a secret councillor and chamberlain, had already died in 1744. The couple lived in Graz and had numerous children.¹¹⁴

There were also some important clergymen in the family. Maria Anton Count of Inzaghi was a priest in the cathedral in Olomouc, while Franz Philipp Count of Inzaghi was an archpriest in Straßgang; his gravestone is still preserved in the outside wall of Maria Elend church in Straßgang in the XVIth district of Graz.¹¹⁵ The much younger Franz Philipp Count of Inzaghi (1731–1816) made a brilliant career. He was born to Franz Karl Count of Inzaghi and Anna Maria, born Countess of Gaisruck, so he was a nephew both of the later mentioned Eugen Count of Inzaghi as well as of Franz Ignaz, an archpriest and dean in Ptuj.¹¹⁶ He was a titular councillor in Salzburg and Seckau (1754–1775) and proclaimed himself an excellent preacher.¹¹⁷ Later he was promoted to the Bishop of Trieste (1775–1788); from 1788 until 1791 he served as a bishop in Gradisca and from 1791 until his death as a bishop in Gorizia and Gradisca.¹¹⁸ It was perhaps this Franz Phillip who with Franz Karl Inzaghi, as young priests, stopped off in Ptuj in 1759 while returning from Rome. They were carrying original relics with them (*wurden von Franz Philipp und Franz Karl Inzaghi zwei jungen*

reports on the death of *Karoline Gräfin v. Inzaghi, geb. Gräfin v. Thun* – she died on 19 May 1781. See SCHIVIZ VON SCHIVIZHOFFEN 1909 (n. 95), p. 301.

¹¹⁰ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 95.

¹¹¹ The above mentioned Franz Karl Count of Inzaghi and Anna Maria, née Gaisruck, had a daughter Maria Anna Eleonora Josefa Seraphine, who was baptized in the parish church in Graz on 7 April 1727; so Eleonora could be Franz Anton's sister. See SCHIVIZ VON SCHIVIZHOFFEN 1909 (n. 95), p. 124.

¹¹² ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 99. The painter surely is Franz Joseph Fellner; in the chronicle, he is described as *der hiesige Mahler Herr Jos. Fellner*. Most of the 700 florins, which was the price for the chasuble, was paid by Josepha Countess of Attems, née Wurmbrandt.

¹¹³ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 100.

¹¹⁴ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 102. Maria Anna Countess of Inzaghi died on 2 March 1761 in Graz. See SCHIVIZ VON SCHIVIZHOFFEN 1909 (n. 95), p. 295.

¹¹⁵ He died in 1758 at the age of 77. See SCHIVIZ VON SCHIVIZHOFFEN 1909 (n. 95), p. 515.

¹¹⁶ He was baptized as Franz Philipp Dismas Seraphine Johann Nepomuk Nuzius on 15 May 1731 in St Leonhard's church in Graz. His godparents were Karl Ludwig Count of Dietrichstein and Charlotte Countess of Herberstein, née Countess of Dietrichstein. See SCHIVIZ VON SCHIVIZHOFFEN 1909 (n. 95), p. 418.

¹¹⁷ Franz REITINGER, *Die Metastasier. Geschmackseliten im 18. Jahrhundert*, Salzburg 2016, p. 241. I would like to thank Dr Polona Vidmar, who drew my attention to Reitinger's study and reviewed some of the chapters of this paper.

¹¹⁸ The Hierarchy of the Catholic Church. For current and historical information on its bishops and dioceses, <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/binza.html> (accessed: 1. 2. 2019).

prist. grafen nach ihres Rückreise von Rom die mitgebrachten authentischen Reliquien Sti. Clementis Fructuosi, Theophilo et Innocentio), for which new public presentation caskets were made.¹¹⁹ The wooden shrines, partly supplemented by beautifully decorated metal elements, are still preserved, with the relics visible through the glass panes.¹²⁰ An interesting portrait of Franz Philipp, painted by Gennaro Basile (1722–1782) around 1762, is part of a series in Hainfeld castle¹²¹ presenting Styrian noblemen. In 1762, Franz Philipp was travelling to Nicolsburg and made a stop in Hainfeld, at the time in the possession of Johann Wenzel Count Purgstall, who commissioned the series, which is an excellent narrative on Styrian noble life in the 18th century. Franz Karl Count of Inzaghi¹²² was Franz Philipp's younger brother. Franz Philipp was renowned as a devoted cleric, which obviously was not true of Franz Karl. A pastel portrait of him by Alexander von Schell is preserved.¹²³ Franz Karl is presented as trying to decide between two possibilities: the carefree pleasures of life (a bottle of wine and playing cards are on the table in front of him) or religious contemplation (a servant behind him is trying to offer him a rosary). The portrait was done in Ljubljana, where Franz Karl attained the honour of membership of the Cathedral chapter in St Nicholas' church. He died in 1796, at the age of 61, as a dean of Ljubljana cathedral.¹²⁴

The most important member of the family was the abbot in St Lambrecht, Eugen Count of Inzaghi (1689–1760),¹²⁵ who was the head of the monastery from 1737 until his death in 1760, a period in which the monastery flourished economically. The mines and ironworks they possessed peaked developmentally thanks to the abbot's remarkable economic talents. He was obviously in contact with his two year younger brother Franz Ignaz, the archpriest and dean in Ptuj, and in 1750, he donated a painting presenting the Last Supper for the sacristy of St George's church (*hat ihre hochwüird der hoch und wohlgebohrene Gd: Eugenio ex Comititis de Inzaghi Abt zu St. Lambrecht ds grosse bilt Coena Domini in Werth 50 Lb den d. Maller /.../ gemahlet alhero in die Sakristey*).¹²⁶ The writer of the church chronicle left space after the word Maller to inscribe the name of the painter (perhaps he wanted to do it in red); it was left blank, although the author of the painting was Ferdinand Scheidtnagel.¹²⁷

¹¹⁹ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 101.

¹²⁰ Slavko KRAJNC, Relikvije in relikviariji v proštjski cerkvi na Ptuj, *Ptujska župnijska cerkev* 1998 (n. 25), pp. 227–228.

¹²¹ REITINGER 2016 (n. 117), p. 298.

¹²² He was born on 20 January 1735 as Franz Xaver Karl Dismas Seraphin Germanius to Franz Karl Count of Inzaghi, at the time a secret councillor, and Maria Anna, born Countess of Gaisruck. His godparents were Karl Count of Preiner and his wife Maria Josefa, born Countess of Stahremberg. SCHIVIZ VON SCHIVIZHOFEN 1909 (n. 95), p. 132.

¹²³ The portrait used to be part of an album in the possession of the Auersperg family in Trieste. See REITINGER 2016 (n. 117), p. 177.

¹²⁴ Frančišek POKORN, *Šematizem duhovnikov in duhovnij v ljubljanski nadškofiji l. 1788*, Ljubljana 1908, p. 6; REITINGER 2016 (n. 117), p. 179, n. 145.

¹²⁵ Eugen Count of Inzaghi was born in Graz as Franziskus Johannes. He was the son of Johann Philipp Count of Inzaghi and Anna Maria Katharina, born Baroness of Würzburg, so he was Franz Ignaz's older brother. See SCHIVIZ VON SCHIVIZHOFFEN 1909 (n. 95), p. 89; Bernhard PETER, *Galerie. Photos schöner alter Wappen. St. Lambrecht*, <http://www.welt-der-wappen.de/Heraldik/aktuell/galerien3/galerie2179.htm> (accessed: 1. 2. 2019).

¹²⁶ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 89.

¹²⁷ Marija MIRKOVIĆ, Ohranjene slike Ferdinanda Scheidtnagla na Ptuj, *Ptujska župnijska cerkev* 1998 (n. 25), pp. 216–225. Marija Mirković believes that it was the abbot from St Lambrecht who encouraged Ferdinand Scheidtnagel to move to Ptuj where his first task was the Last Supper painting.



10. Palais Inzaghi, Mehlplatz 1, Graz



11. Palais Inzaghi, Bischofsplatz 1, Graz



12. Johannes Piringer: Inzaghi coat of arms above the main portal of the Palais Inzaghi on Bischofsplatz Square



13. Palais Inzaghi, Bürgergasse 14, Graz

The family owned three houses in Graz, and the building on Mehlplatz in the old centre of the city is still named Palais Inzaghi (fig. 10). The ground plan is in the form of the letter L. The wing, which is turned towards neighbouring Prokopigasse, still exudes a Renaissance character. On the side facing the court, the façade features the date 1561, which is the year the palace was erected. The Inzaghi family were owners from 1666 until 1813. Immediately after Abundus Maria Baron of Inzaghi purchased the palace in 1666, he engaged Domenico Rossi to heighten the building by one floor. In 1728 Johann Georg Stengg added Baroque decorations in plaster and stucco on the main façade facing Mehlplatz; the main portal from the same period is enriched with volutes and stone vases. Later interventions did not change the outside appearance of the building significantly.¹²⁸ In 1785, Franz Anton Count of Inzaghi, who was a brother of Franz Philipp, the bishop in Trieste at the time,¹²⁹ bought a house in Bischofsplatz (fig. 11) built in the 16th century and renovated by Joseph Hueber in 1775–1777, which had once been in the possession of the Stubenberg family (from 1576). In 1798 Johann Nepomuk Count of Inzaghi purchased a smaller neighbouring house and joined the two properties. Above the main portal, a sandstone relief depicting the Inzaghi coat of arms is still preserved; the relief was made by Johannes Piringer between 1775 and 1780 (fig. 12).

¹²⁸ Fritz POPELKA, *Geschichte der Stadt Graz*, 1, Graz-Wien-Köln 1959, p. 567; *Graz* 2013 (n. 102), pp. 83–84; *Architekturführer Graz* (eds. Anselm Wagner, Sophie Walk), Berlin 2019, pp. 122–123.

¹²⁹ REITINGER 2016 (n. 117), p. 235.



14. Western façade of the theatre at Hofgasse 1, Graz, with the Inzaghi coat of arms (second from the right)

The Inzaghis lived in the palace until 1855, when it passed over to the Attems family. In 1792 Johann Nepomuk bought another house from the Stubenberg family at Bürgergasse 14 (fig. 13) and renovated it in the spirit of Joseph Hueber; the building remained in his possession until 1813.¹³⁰ The Counts' contribution to the town's development is vividly captured. Their coat of arms is preserved on the west façade of the theatre (Schauspillhaus) at Hofgasse 11 (fig. 14), and there are five coats of arms in total referencing supporters of its construction between 1774 and 1776, one of the donors being Franz Anton Count of Inzaghi.¹³¹ Another Inzaghi coat of arms is to be found in St Rupert's church in Straßgang in the XVIth Graz district, decorating the St Nothburg and St Isidorus side altar.¹³²

The Inzaghis created an admirable library in Graz, which was put on sale around 1923, with a catalogue published and offered to potential buyers.¹³³ The Vienna Gilhofer & Ranschburg Booksellers and Art-Dealers succeeded in purchasing "the famous old Inzaghi-library". In the catalogue, the books from the Inzaghi library are listed alongside other pieces purchased from other sources. The chronology and content of the books are partially referred to, making it impossible to measure the library's full extent. In the preface of the catalogue, the Inzaghi library is described as enormous, and while the books covered all subjects, geography, travel and history prevailed. They were bound in fine pigskin, some of them beautifully decorated, while many others featured engraved armorial bookplates on the covers. Hand-written notes appear in a selection of the books, and some of them were recognized as inscriptions by Johann Philip, Johann Anton and Franz Karl, Counts of Inzaghi. Some of these notes confirmed the ownership of the books¹³⁴ and the date of their acquisition, while the various notes in the margins also indicate that their readers had studied the books' contents

¹³⁰ POPELKA 1959 (n. 128), pp. 519–520, 523; *Graz* 2013 (n. 102), pp. 59, 63–64.

¹³¹ *Graz* 2013 (n. 102), p. 56. The architect of the theatre was Joseph Hueber. After the fire in 1823, the house was built anew by Peter Nobile.

¹³² *Graz* 2013 (n. 102), p. 260.

¹³³ *Rare and valuable* (n. 104); there is no year of publication to be found in the catalogue; however, the approximate dating suggests 1923.

¹³⁴ Of special interest is an inscription recognized as a text by Johann Phillip in the book describing the history of Milano (Bern. CORIO, *Milano*, Venetia, G. de Cavalli, 1565): *12 anni in avanti cioe, l'ann 1686. alli 2. Settre giorno nel quale Leopoldo Imperatore ricuperò da Turchi Buda, mio Padre Abondio d'Inzaghi aquisitò dal medo. Augusto il diploma di Conte*. See *Rare and valuable* (n. 104), p. 167.

exhaustively.¹³⁵ 48 of the books listed in the catalogue contained bookplates or various inscriptions indicating that they belonged to the Inzaghi family. The structure of the catalogue, its title and the author's assertions of the collection's size and value in the preface provide compelling evidence that a much higher number of the Inzaghi books were actually offered for sale; the whole catalogue includes 1189 pieces. Many of the books were extremely valuable. The catalogue lists 33 incunabula, as well as many rare and precious books from the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. The Inzaghis were interested in studying foreign countries (China, India, Africa, South America etc.) as presented by famous 17th century travellers,¹³⁶ while they also owned books with maps printed in the 16th and 17th century. The family were also interested in history, reflected in the numerous works on this topic, and the Inzaghis had acquired three books by Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato describing landmark historical events from the 17th century. The volumes presenting medical herbs in woodcuts are also extremely valuable. Athan Kirchner's *Mundus subterraneus* (Amsterdam 1678) proves the family links to the mercury mine in Idrija, while a book on magnetism (*Magnes sive de Arte Magnetica*, Romae 1654) is also worthy of mention.¹³⁷ There are two books in the catalogue that particularly attract our attention. Among the incunabulas, there is *Vita et Epistolae* by St Jerome, printed in Ferrara by Lorenzo di Rossi in 1497. Numerous wood-cuts have been added to the text. The sellers valued the "very fine and large copy" extremely highly; they expected 3.000 Swiss francs for it,¹³⁸ which is one of the highest prices in the whole catalogue. Another interesting title stands out under number 768 in the chapter comprising historical publications: *Martyrologium Romanum, cum notis Caes. Baronii; accedunt vetus Romanum Martyrologium et Adonis Viennensis, ex rec. Her. Rosweydi. Antverpiae, ex. office. Plantiniana. 1613*; in the book St Victorinus is falsely located to Poitiers. The sellers added a comment that the book was a rare and complete edition.¹³⁹ Unfortunately, there obviously was no Inzaghi (or any other owner's) booklet or any kind of evidence about the origin of either of the books, and we can only very tentatively presume that they belonged to the Inzaghi family. If this is the case, we can link them with Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi's efforts to ensure the worship of St Victorinus, the first known bishop in Poetovio.

Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi

Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi was born in Graz in 1691¹⁴⁰ and died in 1768 in Ptuj. In the registers of the parish church in Graz, he is inscribed with his full name: Franz Ignaz Innozenz Karl. He was baptized on 2 January 1691. His parents were Johann Philipp Baron of Inzaghi and Anna Maria Katharina, born Baroness of Würzburg. His godparents were Karl Weikhard Count of Preiner and

¹³⁵ *Rare and valuable* (n. 104), s. p.

¹³⁶ One such travel-books was Levinus Hulsius' *Wahrhaftige Relation der dreyen neuen vnerhörten seltzamen Schifffahrt /.../*, Nürnberg 1598. The owner from the Inzaghi family acquired the book by exchanging it for a rifle, (*V. H. Sigmund H. v. Stubenberg um eine Flinte*) as recorded in an inscription on the title page. See *Rare and valuable* (n. 104), p. 121.

¹³⁷ These are only some of the array of outstanding specimens. The description of the Inzaghi's library found in Stanislav Južnič's paper (JUŽNIČ 2014a (n. 94), p.109) is not exact; the author misunderstood that the entire Gilhofer & Ranschburg Bookseller catalogue presents only the books from the Inzaghi library.

¹³⁸ *Rare and valuable* (n. 104), p. 9.

¹³⁹ *Rare and valuable* (n. 104), p. 142.

¹⁴⁰ SCHIVIZ VON SCHIVIZHOFFEN 1909 (n. 95), p. 90.

his wife Maria Cäcilia, born Countess of Dietrichstein.¹⁴¹ He studied in Rome and Parma and was ordained on 11 March 1714 when he was 23 years old. For three years, he was engaged as a chaplain in Graz; he then served as a priest in Klöch. On 5 February 1731, he was appointed archpriest and dean of St George's church. Besides this, Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi was an honorary canon of the cathedral in Seckau and a consistorial adviser to the Salzburg archdiocese.¹⁴² His role in Ptuj religious life was hugely influential; he was constantly engaged in battles with both the Dominicans and the monastery of Friars Minor regarding tithe rights and other matters. It was a considerable loss for the town when in the mid-18th century the Dominicans stopped preaching in Slovene; the bishop in Seckau, Leopold Ernest Count of Firmian, ordered Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi to ensure there was at least a short speech in Slovene at the early services several times a year.¹⁴³ Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi died in Ptuj on 20 June 1768 and was buried in St George's church beside the door to the sacristy; his gravestone is still preserved.

Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi deserves enormous credit for the baroque renovation of the church. As the church chronicle testifies, Count Inzaghi financed some of the changes from his own pocket;¹⁴⁴ he was also very persuasive in his discussions with eventual donors. It was Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi who began the chronicle in 1732. The same handwriting is visible until 1752, and it is highly likely that it was the Count himself who wrote the first part of it. After 1752, another, as yet, unrecognized scribe began to report on important events. The handwriting in the text, which appeared from 1755 until 1838, was recognized as belonging to Simon Povoden (1753–1841), a renowned historian and a curator of Golob's benefice in Ptuj. The last inscription in the chronicle dates to 1849.¹⁴⁵ When Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi visited Ptuj, he declares in the preface to the chronicle that the situation is unsatisfactory, expressing his regret that so many documents had been lost, and only historical fragments could be described.¹⁴⁶

Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi's Portrait

There is a portrait of Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi (fig. 15) preserved in the rectory. In fact, the ten portraits of priests, deans and provosts of the parish church of St George form a series which begins with the portrait of Count of Inzaghi and ends with the image of the provost Jožef Fleck (1829–1915), who was a provost in St George's church from 1897 until his death. Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi, who obviously initiated the portrait series, is presented dressed in black, seated on an armchair, wearing a white wig. A heavy velvet curtain is hanging in the background, while a piece of mirror is also visible. The count has an impressive face with a huge eagle nose.¹⁴⁷ He is looking

¹⁴¹ SCHIVIZ VON SCHIVIZHOFFEN 1909 (n. 95), p. 90.

¹⁴² SLEKOVEC 1889 (n. 106), p. 139.

¹⁴³ Jože MLINARIČ, Jože CURK, *Dominikanski samostan na Ptujju*, Ptuj 2009, pp. 209–210.

¹⁴⁴ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 102.

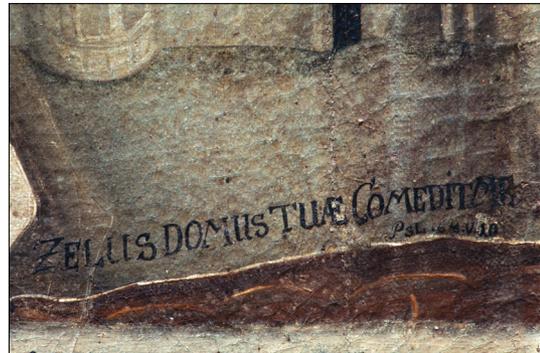
¹⁴⁵ HERNJA MASTEN 1998 (n. 108), pp. 113–114.

¹⁴⁶ The archives of the municipality and of St George's church were lost in two huge fires in Ptuj in 1684 and in 1705.

¹⁴⁷ Comparison of Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi's and Franz Philipp Count of Inzaghi's portraits yield a remarkable likeness; the similarly shaped noses confirm the relationship between the uncle and the nephew. See REITINGER 2016 (n. 117), p. 298.



15. Portrait of Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi



16. Portrait of Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi, detail with the psalm quotation

towards the observer, pointing to the drawing of the church with his right hand (fig. 16). It is a typical Baroque portrait of a nobleman aware of his social position and importance. The inscription on the lower edge of the painting, which was most definitely added later, reports on his functions and the years he spent on duty in Ptuj. The date of his death is recorded as well as his age at death.¹⁴⁸ His elegant finger points towards the northern chapel of St Francis Xaver, which was built between 1734 and 1735.¹⁴⁹ Comparing the drawing and the chapel, some visible differences are revealed. On the drawing, the ground plan for the chapel is circular, although in reality it is of square form with rounded corners. It is difficult to establish what caused these deviations. The chapel was built and furnished when Count of Inzaghi was an archpriest and dean, with funds donated by the *chorimagister* Martin Josef Kelz, while the mayor Franz Anton Peršon (Perschon) engaged the Graz painter Philipp Carl Laubmann (1703–1792) who made the altar painting presenting the dying St Franciscus. Philipp Carl Laubmann is also the author of the ceiling painting depicting the Salvation

¹⁴⁸ REVERENDISSIMUS, AC ILLUSTRISSIMS D: IGNATIUS S:R:I: COMES AB INZAGHI AD C:R: HANC / ARCHI PAROCHIAM, ET DECANATUM PROMOTUS 731. MORTUUS 20en juny 768 / AETATIS SUAE. 78.

¹⁴⁹ The architect of the chapel is unknown and the inscription in the church chronicle tells us little. See ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 15: /.../ die ganz neu aufgerrichtete Kapell des heiligen Francisci Xavery /.../. We know more about the furnishing. Johann Georg Schnabel (1711–1788), who was confirmed as a citizen of Ptuj in 1743, paved the chapel in 1736. He was very active in St George's church. He paved not only St Francis' chapel but also the chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows in 1743, St Dismas' chapel (today the Chapel of the Holy Cross) in 1748 and finally all three naves in the church in 1752. The marble balustrades in all the mentioned chapels are his work as well. In 1736, he finished the balustrade in St Francis chapel, in 1748 in the chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows and around 1775 in the Chapel of the Holy Cross. See Jože CURK, Ptujski gradbeni mojstri med renesanso in historicizmom, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 30/2, 1994, p. 255; Marija HERNJA MASTEN, *Vpisna knjiga meščanov mesta Ptuja 1684–1917*, Ptuj 1995, p. 75.



17. Franz Josef Fellner:
Ex voto, 1766

of St Francis.¹⁵⁰ The inscription in the lower margin of the drawing reads: ZELUS DOMUS TUAE COMEDITME (the zeal for your house consumes me). It is the 10th verse from the 68th (in fact 69th) psalm – and we can understand it as the count's motto.¹⁵¹ The author of the portrait is unknown,¹⁵² and his work is not that of a great master: the stiffness of the count's body is obvious, although the fingers are depicted in a very refined manner and the face shows some character. There were several painters who were engaged at the time with commissions for St George's, and attempting to determine the author through comparison of the paintings with religious content and portraits is

¹⁵⁰ Josef WASTLER, *Steirisches Künstler-Lexicon*, Graz 1883, pp. 84–85; Robert MEERAUS, Laubmann Philipp Carl, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zum Gegenwart* (ed. Hans Vollmer), 22, Leipzig 1928, p. 430. Wastler mentions the altar painting in St Francis chapel as the first of Laubmann's known paintings. Both Wastler and Meeraus mention two huge paintings depicting saints for Idrija (1742), which proves the contact between the members of the Inzaghi family. The author of the two angels standing at the sides of the altar is not recorded in archival sources. Sergej Vrišer thinks that the sculptor is from Graz. See Sergej VRIŠER, *Baročno kiparstvo v ptujski proštijki cerkvi, Ptujška župnijska cerkev* 1998 (n. 25), pp. 207–208.

¹⁵¹ The zeal towards religion was characteristic not only for Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi, but for his nephew Franz Philipp, the bishop of Triest, Gorizia and Gradisca, as well. Franz Reitinger used the word *zealot* to describe Franz Philipp and his duties in the Roman-Catholic Church. See REITINGER 2016 (n. 117), p. 89.

¹⁵² In the paper by Marjeta CIGLENEČKI, *Portreti nadžupnikov, dekanov in proštov v ptujski mestni župnijski cerkvi sv. Jurija, Ptujška župnijska cerkev* 1998 (n. 25), pp. 239–240, I falsely interpreted the inscription *P SL. 68. V. 10* under the quotation of the psalm as a date when the painting was finished (10. 5. 1768) and the initials of the painter (as: *pinxit SL*). In an attempt to identify the painter, I suggested Sebastian Lerchinger from Ptuj, about whom not much is known. According to WASTLER 1883 (n. 150), p. 88, Sebastian Lerchinger was born in Ptuj; however, the register of Ptuj citizens contains only one painter from the mentioned period – Johann Anton Felner. Johann Anton Fel(l)ner acquired citizen rights in 1713; he was the father of Franz Josef Fel(l)ner, also a painter. See HERNJA MASTEN 1995 (n. 149), p. 66.

extremely challenging. Perhaps the way in which the bright red velvet curtain is placed, glimmering behind the figure of the clergyman, can to some extent be compared with the fluttering red mantles of St George and St Florian on the upper part of the votive painting produced in 1766 by Franz Josef Fellner (1721–1770) (fig. 17).¹⁵³ His work presents a view of Ptuj in its lower section and depictions of St George, the medieval Pieta from Our Lady of Sorrows chapel and St Florian above. The citizens were grateful, as the ice blocks on the river Drava in the bitterly cold winter did not destroy the bridge.¹⁵⁴ The town council commissioned the painting and placed it in Our Lady of Sorrows' chapel. The votive painting and the Inzaghi portrait are radically different in character, rendering comparisons less than convincing; however, we can very cautiously presume that Count Inzaghi commissioned the portrait by Franz Josef Fellner.¹⁵⁵ The exact year of the portrait's completion is also unknown, but we can conclude that it was connected with the construction of the St Francis Xaver chapel, which was finished in 1735. If the portrait really was completed in the 1730s, Franz Josef Fellner was too young to be its author.

Furnishing the Church of St George in the 18th Century

The Baroque renovation of the interior of St George's began in the 17th century; however, it was Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi who radically renewed the building's interior. As we presume that Count Inzaghi himself wrote the first part of the chronicle or at least controlled the text,¹⁵⁶ reading the first part of *Collectanea*, the archparish chronicle, allows us to follow his work on the church. Later inscriptions, most of them attributed to Simon Povoden, supplemented the data from the first section of the chronicle, which is rich with information about new acquisitions and the donors. In our paper, we will only present the most significant data on Count Inzaghi's link to the church and its history as well as his efforts to render it both modern and magnificent.

Beside all of the novelties with which he was engaged, Count Inzaghi's attitude towards old pieces of art is also to be admired,¹⁵⁷ and in the chronicle, there is a chapter with a description of the gravestones preserved in the church.¹⁵⁸ In the preface to this chapter, Inzaghi expressed regret

¹⁵³ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 99. In 1756 Franz Josef Fellner also made an antependium for St George's church.

¹⁵⁴ On the painting, see Jože CURK, Vedute štajerskih trgov in mest, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 5, 1969, p. 313; Marija MIRKOVIĆ, Neki novi podaci o ptujskim baroknim slikarima i o njihovom djelovanju u Hrvatskoj, *Ptujski zbornik*, 4, 1975, pp. 305–313; Marjeta CIGLENEČKI, *Ptuj na starih vedutah*, Ptuj 1989, pp. 11, 28, 44. The *Ex voto* painting is now held in the Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož.

¹⁵⁵ Marija Mirković values Franz Josef Fellner as an extremely able painter. She paid special attention to the upper section of the mentioned votive painting with two saints and a depiction of the medieval statue. See MIRKOVIĆ 1975 (n. 154), p. 312.

¹⁵⁶ The first writer appears until page 93; he completes his record with the events in the year 1752. HERNJA MASTEN 1998, (n. 108), pp. 113–114.

¹⁵⁷ Matej Slekovec, who in 1889 wrote a history of St George's church, disagreed. He regretted that the renovations managed by Count Inzaghi were realized regardless of the old gothic style. Slekovec did not accuse the archpriest of an inappropriate approach but of poor taste at a time when a variegated style was appreciated; see SLEKOVEC 1889 (n. 106), p. 139. It is true that Count Inzaghi respected only the most significant elements of the medieval furnishing of the church; however, in Slekovec's opinion, the spirit of the late 19th century, inclined to the (neo-) gothic style and extremely opposed to the Baroque, can be seen.

¹⁵⁸ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 24–32 (*EPITAPHIA und Grabmahlen*).

that numerous gravestones had been destroyed or repurposed, and that there had been no respect shown towards them. He was convinced that given the age of the church, many more relics should have been preserved.¹⁵⁹ In the chapter describing the interior,¹⁶⁰ a subchapter devoted to the old monuments is included (*Befindliche vralte denkmallen diser kürch*).¹⁶¹ The writer pointed out the pews from 1466 (fig. 18) in the presbytery (*kunstreich außgearbeite khorstuell oder Stalli Canoniorum*), with Count Inzaghi overseeing their restoration. In 1748 Franz Wasser, a cabinet-maker and Ptuj citizen, and his mate Peter Märnzeller renovated the pews, replacing all of the damaged pieces with new ones made to resemble the old ones.¹⁶² Beside the main altar, there was a sanctuary cut in stone and decorated with statues and columns (*die bey dem hohen altar ad cornu evangely an den mauer auß stein mit statue und saulen angelegte Arca*).¹⁶³ The wing-altar made by Conrad Laib around 1460,¹⁶⁴ positioned in the baptistery, was at the time known as the St Mark altar (altar Sti Marci). It is given two mentions in the chronicle.¹⁶⁵ In the 18th century, the St George statue from around 1380,¹⁶⁶ most likely part of the main mediaeval altar originally, was situated on



18. Pews in the presbytery, 1466, restored in 1748 by Franz Wasser and Peter Märnzeller, detail

¹⁵⁹ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 24.

¹⁶⁰ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 11–23 (*Zu khürhliche vorstellung des völligen dermalligen begriff und Inhalt der haubt Pfarr kürhen an sich selbst sambt seinen Zugehör*).

¹⁶¹ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 13.

¹⁶² ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 89: */.../ schon von vralten zeiten zu bey den Seithen des Sanctuary 1446 aufgeriht Khorstüell oder Stalli Canonici vmb erhaltung diser antiquität auf ds neur nah selben alten form durh abgedachten Tischlermeister seine gesehlen Peter Märnzeller widerumb in denen zierärthen und andn abgang ergänzt und repariert worden.*

¹⁶³ The sanctuary has not been preserved.

¹⁶⁴ For the Conrad Laib altar, see Janez HÖFLER, *Krilni oltar z Marijino smrtjo na srednji sliki* (»Ptujski oltar«), *Gotika v Sloveniji. Nastajanje kulturnega prostora med Alpami, Panonijo in Jadranom. Akti mednarodnega simpozija, Ljubljana, Narodna galerija, 20.–22. 10. 1994* (ed. Janez Höfler), Ljubljana 1995, pp. 325–328; Gottfried BIEDERMANN, *Conrad Laib und der Pettauer Altar*, *Gotika* 1995 (n. 164), pp. 279–285; Janez HÖFLER, *Zum Pettauer Altar Conrad Laibs und dessen ikonographischen Bezügen*, *Conrad Laib. 211. Wechelausstellung der Österreichischen Galerie Belvedere* (ed. Arthur Saliger), Wien 1997, pp. 72–91. For recent findings on the commissioner of the altar and its original position in the south nave of the church, see Polona VIDMAR, *Der Altar des Pettauer Bürgers Nikolaus Greul, Auftraggeber als Träger der Landesidentität. Kunst in Steiermark vom Mittelalter bis 1918* (eds. David Franz Hobelleitner, Edgar Lein), Graz 2016, pp. 59–84.

¹⁶⁵ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 102, 13, 16.

¹⁶⁶ On the statue, see Emilijan CEVC, *Srednjeveška plastika na Slovenskem. Od začetkov do zadnje četrtine 15. stoletja*,

a console on the south wall of the presbytery. During the St George festivities in April, the statue was placed in the middle of the presbytery and later carried around in processions to be venerated by believers.¹⁶⁷ In 1755, a Mrs. Brunader made a donation for the statue to be regilded and for the purchase of a new transportable table for the processions.¹⁶⁸ Inzaghi also admired an old monstrance (*von der Monstranzen pro venerabili, welche wegen ihres alten form abermahle ds alterthumb der kürchen l.../ an der monstranzen stehet die jahrzahl 1618.*)¹⁶⁹ There was an even older chalice with a coat of arms and an inscription with the year 1489 preserved in the church at the time, which had been donated by a chamberlain of the Hungarian king Matthias (*ein vhr alter Kälisch mit wappen und volgende inscription zu finden: Arma Petri Buthau Kamerarii Mathia Regis Ungaria 1489*).¹⁷⁰ The tower beside the church was in the possession of the town, although the bells belonged to the church itself. Inzaghi recorded the tower as a valuable monument (*der turm ein altes werth und ein werth hinterlassenes denkzeichen der statt alterthum*) and described the five bells, made between 1706 and 1711, in great detail.¹⁷¹

Inzaghi also oversaw the restoration and renovation of the altars from the 17th century. In 1732 the millers' guild made a donation for the renovation of the Holy Trinity altar, made in 1686 (*Auf Anno 1732 von gedachter Müllner Zunft deto herlicher Renouiert wurde*).¹⁷² In the same year, the St Sebastian altar was also renovated (*Anno 1732 durch Beytrag etwelcher guetsteter renouirt*),¹⁷³ while thanks to Andrea Toll, a member of the city council, the St Andrew altar was renewed in 1732.¹⁷⁴ The altar of the Three Magi was even older – the date 1515 can be seen on the lower part of the wooden relief, and in 1733, it was renovated and consecrated anew (*der heiligen 3könig altar bey welchem man findet der Jahr Zahl 1515 von wem selber erbauet ist vnbehandt l.../ und Anno 1733 widerum Renouiert worden*).¹⁷⁵

Ljubljana 1963, pp. 122–123; Robert WLATTNIG, Sv. Jurij, *Gotika* 1995 (n. 92), p. 156 (with bibliography). In 1931, the statue was moved to the Ptuj museum as France Stele, the then conservator, found the conditions in the church inappropriate. In 1989, the statue was brought back to the church and is now displayed in a glass case under the organ loft.

¹⁶⁷ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 22: *es befindet sich in der Kürhen die statua Sti Georgy aufgestöhlet an einem postament an der mauer der Sanctuary ex parte Evangely, ist ein vraltes wert und würdt in ipso Festo in mitten des Sanctuary zur Verehrung dem Volk ausgesetzt, und selbigen Tag bey dem Vmbgangeder procession zu Ehre des heiligen mit herum getragen.*

¹⁶⁸ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St Georges archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 96.

¹⁶⁹ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 22; Marjetica SIMONITI, Zlatarstvo in pasarstvo v Ptuj, *Ptujski zbornik*, 4, 1975, pp. 320–321. The monstrance is still preserved; however, in 1859 and 1898 it was supplemented with figures of St George, St Peter, St Paul and angels.

¹⁷⁰ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 98; SIMONITI 1975 (n. 169), p. 325; the chalice is not preserved.

¹⁷¹ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 19.

¹⁷² ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 14.

¹⁷³ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 14.

¹⁷⁴ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 14–15.

¹⁷⁵ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 15–16. On the altar, see Emilijan CEVC, *Poznogotska plastika na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1970, pp. 69–72; Emilijan CEVC, *Gotska plastika na Slovenskem*, Narodna galerija, Ljubljana 1973, p. 140; Marjeta CIGLENEČKI, Likovna umetnost na Ptuj v prvi polovici 16. stoletja, *Statut mesta Ptuj iz leta 1513. Ptujsko mestno pravo v srednjeevropskem prostoru*, Ptuj 2003, p. 84.

The St Cross altar was installed anew under the organ loft in 1734 and consecrated in 1735 by the Bishop of Seckau, Jacob Ernst Count of Liechtenstein. The altar painting, depicting a crucifixion (fig. 19),¹⁷⁶ was donated by Josef Selenick (Zelenik), a member of the city council. The painting had previously been in his own house; it was thought to possess a supernatural strength to awaken deep devotion, and worshippers reveled in visiting and venerating it (*die bildnus oder krucifix hat der H. Joseph Selenikh Bürger und Raths verwendet /: zu dem er, als es noh in seine behausung war, eine besondere andaht getragene :/ anhero in die Kkirchen geschenkht, und würdt nunmehr von dem sollh absonderlich besucht und verehret*).¹⁷⁷ In the same year, 1735, an anonymous benefactor donated the relics of St Cross and a thorn from Jesus' crown, which was not authenticated (*hat ein gewisser guettthäter ein particul von heil. Kreuz cum authentica sambt einem dorn Ex Spinea Corona von welches lezter zwar keine authentica inne hat, anhero in einem silbernen gefäß zu dem heil. Kreuz ...*).¹⁷⁸ The miraculous painting/crucifix in St Cross altar was very

much beloved, and in 1755 was decorated with a baldachin and silver. In 1752 a Way of the Cross with 14 stations was installed beside the St Cross altar; the painter was Ferdinand Scheidtnagel from Ptuj, while the Franciscan brothers from Ormož took care of the payment.¹⁷⁹

Count Inzaghi built the new St Francis Xaver chapel (*die ganz neu aufgerrihte Kapell des heiligen Francisci Xavery*),¹⁸⁰ described above, while St Dismas' chapel was built in 1720 and consecrated again in 1735 by the Bishop of Seckau Jacob Ernst Count of Liechtenstein. The count was especially careful regarding the site (*von der Kapellen wierdt ebenfahls besonders an seine north gehandelt warden*) – the chapel had previously been consecrated to St Catherine, which is why the old painting was placed above the altar.¹⁸¹



19. Altar in St Cross chapel with a Crucifix, presumably originating from the St Cross altar, St George's church, Ptuj

¹⁷⁶ It is not clear whether the inscription refers to a crucifix or a painting presenting a crucifixion. It is hard to believe that towards the end of the 18th century this very crucifix was transferred into the chapel in the south nave. In 1777, the patronage of Dismas chapel in the south nave changed – the chapel renamed St Cross' chapel and Sergej VRŠER 1998 (n. 150), p. 207, states that the crucifix from the abandoned chapel under the organ loft was transferred here in the south nave. The crucifix in today's St Cross' chapel is huge, and as such, hardly suitable for private possession in a citizen's house.

¹⁷⁷ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 17.

¹⁷⁸ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 86.

¹⁷⁹ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 91.

¹⁸⁰ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 15.

¹⁸¹ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 16.



20. Franz Wasser and Peter Märnzeller: pulpit, 1763, St George's church, Ptuj

Most important of all the chapels Count Inzaghi built or arranged anew was the Our Lady of Sorrows' chapel in the east of the north nave. In the church chronicle, a whole chapter is dedicated to the chapel and its description. There had previously been an altar there consecrated to St Ruprecht, but in the chronicle we read that it was completely destroyed by age (*auf alters selber ganz zusammen gängen*),¹⁸² and the chapel was built anew (*die unser lieben frauen kapellen ganz neu erbauet*).¹⁸³ An old stone Pieta from the beginning of the 15th century and situated in the St Rupert altar was highly venerated and thought to work wonders, with numerous adherents ensuring the successful progress of the building work.¹⁸⁴ In 1739 construction, led by Andreas Tirnperger (also Dirnberger) (*von den Bürgelichen Baumeister Andreas Tirnperger und dessen Pallier Anno 1739 völlig ausgebauet und verfertigt worden*), was completed.¹⁸⁵ In 1741, the sepulchre in the chapel was built and the vault painted by Franz Anton Pachmayer and his assistant Anton Lerchinger.¹⁸⁶ The Ptuj painter Joseph Rädlmayr produced two oil paintings in

1745, one depicting St Nothburg and the other St Vendelin. It was also in this year that the altar was finished, thanks to Franz Teiber, a town scribe, who donated the money. The retable was marbled by Joseph Haas. The author of the four excellent angel statues and of the statue of God the Father is not mentioned in the chronicle; Sergej Vrišer attributed them to Phillip Jakob Straub, a sculptor from Graz.¹⁸⁷ In 1752, Karl Mader made an iron fence to enclose the chapel from the west side.¹⁸⁸ Although Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi's portrait presents him as the founder of St Francis Xaver chapel, the chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows was of much greater importance for the church.

¹⁸² ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 15.

¹⁸³ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 15.

¹⁸⁴ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 146.

¹⁸⁵ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 147; CURK 1994 (n. 149), p. 242; Metoda KEMPERL, *Korpus poznobaročne sakralne arhitekture na slovenskem Štajerskem*, Ljubljana 2007, p. 113. Andreas Dirnberger (1703–1757), mentioned also as Tirnberger, was a respected mansion master, who worked with the architect Josef Hoffer from Maribor in renewing the provision-house in Ptuj. When he was busy with commissions, he engaged up to 20 mates. He got his master's rights on 14 February 1727, while he was accepted as a citizen on 14 October of the same year. HERNJA MASTEN 1995 (n. 149), p. 71.

¹⁸⁶ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 147; Anica CEVC, *Anton Jožef Lerhinger*, Narodna galerija, Ljubljana 2007, pp. 60–61, 74.

¹⁸⁷ Sergej VRIŠER, *Baročno kiparstvo na slovenskem Štajerskem*, Ljubljana 1992, pp. 114–115, 116, 118, 236; VRIŠER 1998 (n. 150), p. 208.

¹⁸⁸ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 149.



20. Franz Wasser and Peter Märnzeller: sacristy furniture, 1747, St George's church, Ptuj

In addition, the sacristy, which was previously small and uncomfortable, was built anew and furnished in an appropriate manner in 1747. The Ptuj cabinetmaker Franz Wasser and his mate Peter Märnzeller, who restored the presbytery pews in 1748 and made confessionals (1746) and a pulpit (1763), demonstrated their skill in the designing of distinguished decorated pieces of furniture arranged in an ensemble of chests, cupboards, seats and panelling (figs. 20–21) (*Kästen von hartem holz und eingelegten villen stükhen von den burgerl. Tischlermäister Franz Wasser durch seinen damahls gehabten kunstlihen gesehlen Peter Märnzeller die Sacristey kunstreich verfertiget hat*).¹⁸⁹ The sacristy was also furnished with paintings. In 1750 Eugen Count of Inzaghi, the influential abbot from St Lambrecht, donated a painting depicting The Last Supper (*Caena Domini in werth 50 fl*).¹⁹⁰ The author was Ferdinand Scheidtnagel, who in 1751 finished another three paintings depicting the Nativity, Circumcision and Epiphany. Joseph Count of Attems, Jacob Lord Moscon and Joseph and Caetan Counts of Sauer donated money for the work, so their coat of arms were added to the lower borders of the paintings.¹⁹¹ The fifth and last painting in the series was made in 1756 by the same painter, this time presenting the Purification. It was a gift from Leopold Count of Leslie and his coat of arms was added onto the lower border as well.¹⁹²

The changes to the church and the many other deeds reported in various sources present Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi as a man of great merit, but perhaps the most outstanding of all his activities was the one he commenced shortly before his death. Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi addressed a request to Pope Clemens XIII, which was supported by many Ptuj dignitaries, among them the

¹⁸⁹ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 88. About the workshop Wasser-Märnzeller, see Boštjan ROŠKAR, Mizarska delavnica Wasser-Märnzeller, *Zbornik Pokrajinskega muzeja Ptuj-Ormož*, 4, 2015, pp. 219–239.

¹⁹⁰ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. p. 89.

¹⁹¹ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 91. On the paintings and the artist, see MIRKOVIĆ 1998 (n. 127), pp. 216–225.

¹⁹² ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George's archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 98. The painting is lost.

mayor, Franz Wasser. This request, supplemented by several enclosures, was a wish to venerate St Victorinus, the first bishop of the Christian community in Poetovio known by name. The petitioners based their plea on the importance of St Victorinus, while also stressing the long tradition of his veneration in Ptuj. They requested that worship be expanded with the Pope's permission and proposed that prayers with readings of the second and third grade from the breviary be permitted for all the clergymen in Ptuj. The Seckau bishop, Joseph Philip Count of Spaur, enclosed his own recommendation¹⁹³ as well as a study by Achile Rushie¹⁹⁴ confirming that Victorinus was a bishop in Ptuj and not in Poitiers. Count Inzaghi died before the negative response, dated 17th August 1768 and signed by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, reached the town.

This very special wish of Count Inzaghi's remained unrealized until the middle of the 19th century, when Martin Anton Slomšek, a bishop of the diocese of Lavant and a great admirer of St Victorinus, achieved permission for the worship of the martyr and the first known bishop in Poetovio. In 1859 Anton Martin Slomšek consecrated the first Victorinus altar in St George's church in Ptuj.

Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi and his links to St Victorinus

Count Inzaghi was highly-educated and had numerous opportunities to study Victorinus' life and oeuvre. In the 17th and in the 18th century, interest in the beginnings of Christianity grew dramatically in Europe and Count Inzaghi undoubtedly followed this trend. As a theologian, he was surely acquainted with St Jerome's texts. Victorinus' comment on the Apocalypse in St Jerome's version was printed for the first time in 1542 in Paris and subsequently reprinted several times, also in the 18th century.¹⁹⁵ We should remember the sale of the Inzaghi library, which took place in 1923 in Vienna; one of the books on sale was *Martyrologium Romanum* with Cesare Baronius' comments, which erroneously placed St Victorinus in Poitiers.¹⁹⁶

The St George's church chronicle, which Count Inzaghi began to write in 1732, persuades us of his historical knowledge, but it seems that the Count was also acquainted with contemporary research.¹⁹⁷ In the first pages of the chronicle, we read that the early Christian diocese in Poetovio was

¹⁹³ The Count of Spaur recommendation is dated 25 March 1768. The request, some enclosures and the answer are published in: NAPOTNIK 1888 (n. 31), pp. 256–157; SLEKOVEC 1889 (n. 106), pp. 150–151. See also KRAJNC 2003 (n. 49), pp. 163–164. Krajnc states that after receiving the negative answer from Vatican, the venerating St Victorinus in Ptuj continued; unfortunately, he, too, does not argue the statement.

¹⁹⁴ Achille Rushie was an abbot in Porto in Italy and appreciated as highly educated, who obviously was an expert on early Christianity and the martyrs. He wrote a study about Hypolit of Rome, an antipope and a martyr, who died in 235. The study was published in 1771, after Rushie's death, and was titled *Constantini Ruggieri De Portogensi S. Hippolyti, Episcopi et Martiris, sede, Dissertatio postuma, ab Achille Ruschio Portuensis Diocesis absoluta et annotationibus aucta*, Roma 1771, Praesidium facultate. See Dennis TAYLOR, *The Abby-meditation Tradition. Wordworth's Sources in the 18th century, Sacred Text – Sacred Space* (eds. Joseph Sterret, Peter Thomas), Leiden 2011, p. 8. Achile Rushie's study on St Victorinus was important, as it confirmed Ptuj was the site of St Victorinus' activities; it also stated that in the 18th century, the memory of St Victorinus was still alive; however, no cult had been practising. See NAPOTNIK 1888 (n. 31), p. 258.

¹⁹⁵ ŠPELIČ 2003² (n. 42), p. 10.

¹⁹⁶ See the above chapter about the Inzaghi family. The mentioned book only presumably belonged to the Inzaghi family library.

¹⁹⁷ NAPOTNIK 1888 (n. 31), pp. 71–139, very precisely reports about the old sources and literature concerning St Victorinus. Napotnik quoted long parts of important texts and published Jean de Launoy's study from 1653 in its entirety. In 1768, a highly esteemed history of Styria was published in Graz: Aquilin Julius CAESAR, *Annales*

established in the 1st century on the very site of St George's church (*ein Bistumb aldort errichtet worden, deßen Cathedral Kürch ungezweyffelt die auf heute stehende Kürch St Georgy*).¹⁹⁸ Further, the author drew attention to St Victorinus, who was a bishop during the era of Diocletian and who died as a martyr (*der heilige Victorinus Bischof zu Pettau zur Zeit Keyzers Diocletiani aldort die Marter Kron erhalten*).¹⁹⁹ Over the ensuing pages, the first centuries of Christianity in Ptuj are described slightly differently. According to the author, at the time of Constantine the Great, one of the Hercules shrines in Poetovio had been converted into a Catholic church consecrated to St George (*der damaliger Bischof /:dessen Nahmen alters wegen nicht mehr bekannt:/ in Pettau den ersten dernembsten Templ in der Stadt Hercules /.../ im eine katolische Kürch verwandelt und glaublich den heiligen Georgio ...*).²⁰⁰ As regards the early medieval building, he wrote that Archbishop Liupram renovated and enlarged the ruined church in 840 and consecrated it in 846 (*den Liupramo Erzbischof umb dß Jahr 840 würrklich vergrößert, noch herlicher in gebau fortgesetzt und letztlich von ihre selbst 846 geweiht wurde*).²⁰¹

In his request adressed to the pope in 1768, Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi mentioned the long tradition of venerating St Victorinus in Ptuj. The answer from the Vatican was not an outright rejection of the wish to worship him in St George's church, as this document is generally interpreted; rather, the responsible ecclesiastical dignitaries demanded a more detailed presentation of the existing worship. Indeed, the request to the pope was relatively imprecise in describing the tradition of venerating St Victorinus. There are some other sources, however, which can help us in the reconstruction of how the memory of St Victorinus was maintained. Rajko Bratož is one of the researchers who has addressed this question. He tried to find at least some traces of Victorinus' theology in the Christian church in the post-Antique period in the previous Pannonia region, with an excellent paper by Ivan Grafenauer²⁰² providing the foundation for his thesis. Grafenauer researched several versions of an "age-old"²⁰³ Easter folk song, which was written for the first time in the 16th century. In his painstaking analysis of the text, Ivan Grafenauer concluded that the song originates from the 8th century, when the Irish missionaries began to spread Christianity in the area. He was sure the litanies were at least partially prayed in native languages at the time.²⁰⁴ The most interesting part of the song is a scene in which Christ, after dying on the cross, descends into the underworld in order to save the righteous from hell. The scene is typical of Victorinus' comment on the Apocalypse, known in the locations where Irish monks were missionaries in the Early Middle Ages, one of them being in the Salzburg archdiocese property. No traces of the motif are known in the area under the control of the Aquileia patriarchate. The British church was influenced by Victorinus' brand of

Ducatus Styriae, Graecii 1768. The author respectfully described St Victorinus as a bishop in Poetovio and as a martyr, who died, according to Caesar, on 4 November 304. Caesar mentioned the Cesare Baronius false interpretation as well as Victorinus' millenarism. See CAESAR 1768 (n. 197), p. 68. Most probably, Count Inzaghi did not read Caesar's text, as he died in 1768.

¹⁹⁸ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 1–2.

¹⁹⁹ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 2.

²⁰⁰ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 11.

²⁰¹ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 12.

²⁰² Ivan GRAFENAUER, »Ta stara velikanočna pejsen« in še kaj, in: Ivan Grafenauer, *Literarno-zgodovinski spisi*, Ljubljana 1980, pp. 235–314. The paper was first published in: *Čas*, 36/6-10, 1942, pp. 89–138.

²⁰³ GRAFENAUER 1980 (n. 202), p. 251.

²⁰⁴ GRAFENAUER 1980 (n. 202), p. 274.

theology and St Patrick, who in the 5th century was a bishop in Ireland, ensured that Victorinus' doctrine was accepted in Ireland as well. Irish missionaries spread it all over the Salzburg archdiocese.²⁰⁵ Bratož concludes his study by stating that an idea from the early Christian period, typical for the then patriarchate in Aquileia, accepted by Victorinus and in use all over the Pannonian region, came back to what was previously Pannonia through a long chain of mediators during the second Christianisation.²⁰⁶

There is no data on where Victorinus was buried. Poetovio is the most likely site, but this has not been definitively proven. There is a record from the 15th century that the relics of both Victorinus and St Florian from Lauriacum had been brought to the St Florian monastery near today's Enns.²⁰⁷ Rajko Bratož attempted to explain this unusual transfer, maintaining that it may have taken place in the second half of the 5th century because of St Severinus, who defended and even spread Christianity in Noricum in the turbulent period when the Roman Empire radically declined. Severinus enthusiastically collected various relics for the churches there.²⁰⁸ Based on data reported by Eugippius, St Severinus' biographer, Bratož concluded that Severinus was most probably in friendly contact with the family of the last Roman Emperor, Romulus Augustus, whose mother was supposed to be of Poetovio origin. This connection could be the reason for the move of St Victorinus' relics to St Florian.²⁰⁹ The notion that Romulus Augustus' mother was of Poetovio origin was later rejected,²¹⁰ although, this is still under discussion by historians. Some of them have even proposed that Victorinus could have been martyred and murdered in Lauriacum alongside St Florian; Bratož, however, decisively rejected this.²¹¹ Martine Delaunay's view is more interesting: she proposed that Victorinus died in the Valerianus period (257–259), suggesting 2nd November might have been the day Victorinus' relics were transferred to St Florian. St Victorinus' feast, according to her, is not the day that commemorates his death but instead marks the transfer of his relics.²¹² If St Victorinus was venerated with St Florian in Lauriacum, and this was seen as accurate in the Middle Ages, then it would be reasonable to expect that the close connection between Ptuj and St Florian would have resulted in pilgrimages, although, unfortunately, there are no such events recorded. We should mention that Janez Höfler found similarities when comparing the wall paintings in the west chapel (today's organ loft) and in the arch of the arcade in the north aisle of St George's church in Ptuj, dating approximately to the end of the 13th / beginning of the 14th century, and the paintings

²⁰⁵ BRATOŽ 1986 (n. 30), pp. 333–335.

²⁰⁶ BRATOŽ 1986 (n. 30), p. 335.

²⁰⁷ The statement that St Victorinus' corpse was transported to Lauriacum (Lorch in today Oberösterreich) is found in the first printed version of *Martyrologium Usuardi* (1475), which was written around 860 by Usuardus (a monk from St-Germain-des-Prés near Paris) and later widely copied. Most of the writers repeated the data, including NAPOTNIK 1888 (n. 31), pp. 260–263. Napotnik believed that St Victorinus' bones are now in Rome. He was sure that the relics of both martyrs should not be separated; as St Florian's bones were transferred to Rome, Napotnik was convinced the same happened to St Victorinus' relics.

²⁰⁸ More precisely about St Severinus: Rajko BRATOŽ, *Severinus von Noricum und seine Zeit*, Wien 1983.

²⁰⁹ BRATOŽ 1986 (n. 30), pp. 283–284.

²¹⁰ ŠAŠEL KOS 1994 (n. 2), pp. 292–294, thoroughly analysed the report of the Byzantine historian Priscus about the mission to Atila's court in 449, led by *comes Romul*, and proposed a new and more exact reading of some parts of the text. In her opinion, the report does not assert that the mother of the last Western Roman emperor was from Poetovio, as the older editions of the text presume.

²¹¹ BRATOŽ 1986 (n. 30), p. 283.

²¹² *Victorin* 1997 (n. 44), p. 16.

from the so-called “St Florian monastery painting school”. At first, he simply stated that these similarities exist,²¹³ while later he commented that these similarities seemed to have no adequate historical explanation, as he could not prove any kind of connection between Ptuj and St Florian and neglected all further research in this direction.²¹⁴ Perhaps the connections existed and were based on the veneration of St Victorinus in the Middle Ages.

The question of implementing Victorinus’ theology into the Baroque furnishing of the church is similarly complicated. It seems the only preserved element that could perhaps also be connected to Victorinus is the ceiling painting in the chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows. In the church chronicle we read that the ceiling was painted by Franz Anton Pachmayr and his assistant Anton Lerchinger (*wurde das gebölb von des Mahler Franz Antoni Pachmayr seinen gesöhlen Anton Lerhinger all in Fresco gemahlen hat gekostet /.../ 150 fl*).²¹⁵ It is a pity that we cannot describe the ceiling painting in the chapel in detail. The painting has suffered extensive damage and the composition is formless and largely unrecognisable. It was restored in the 1980s, but we must allow for the fact that the reconstruction of some details may have deviated from the original.

The painting is, however, deserving of attention.²¹⁶ While it has appeared several times in art historical literature, none of the researchers who have addressed the work have tried to explain its content. Anica Cevc is an exception to this; she recognized the figures of Adam and Eve but falsely interpreted the angels on the southern section of the painting as giants.²¹⁷ The prevailing opinion is that the painting is of low quality, while Cevc also described the illusionistic concept as weak.²¹⁸ We beg to differ, as there are some illusionistic elements which persuade us of the painter’s ability. The diagonal positioning of the cross, a dominant element in the eastern section of the ceiling, creates the feeling that it is firmly supporting the whole composition. There are some figures leaning against the painted cornice of the main area of the painting, connecting the scenes on the ceiling



22. Altar in Our Lady of Sorrows chapel, St George’s church, Ptuj

²¹³ Janez HÖFLER, *Freske v cerkvi sv. Jurija v Ptuju, Varstvo spomenikov*, 30, 1988, pp. 69–70.

²¹⁴ HÖFLER 1988 (n. 78), p. 39.

²¹⁵ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 147.

²¹⁶ Very little can be seen if we look at the ceiling painting from the position of an ordinary spectator. I have to express my deepest gratitude to Andrej Furlan from the France Stele Institute of Art History ZRC SAZU for his excellent photos which enabled the identification of details.

²¹⁷ CEVC 2007 (n. 186), p. 74.

²¹⁸ CEVC 2007 (n. 186), p. 74.



23. Philipp Jakob Straub: angel on the northern side of the altar, Our Lady of Sorrows chapel, St George's church, Ptuj



24. Philipp Jakob Straub: angel on the southern side of the altar, Our Lady of Sorrows chapel, St George's church, Ptuj

with spectators in the chapel. And in spite of the extensive damage, there are several details which speak of the painter's skill in anatomy and of his unique style. The expressive character of the faces of some of the figures is admirable. Art historians have expressed doubt as to the authorship of the painting, despite the exact inscription in the church chronicle. The inscription is part of the document written by Simon Povoden at some point between the late 18th century and 1838,²¹⁹ when some documents were still in existence; none of them have however survived until the present-day. The oeuvre of the painter Franz Anton Pachmayr has not yet been systematically researched. His name appears in the literature mostly in connection with his assistant Anton Josef Lerchinger, who is generally considered to have surpassed his teacher. Further research will most probably challenge this assessment of Pachmayr's oeuvre.

The concept of the chapel as a whole was planned carefully. If we stand on the west side or in the middle of the chapel and face the east, two angels stand out on both sides of the altar (fig. 22). It seems they are guarding the medieval Pietà²²⁰ in the altar niche. The medieval stone statue was very much venerated in the 18th century, as stated in the chronicle: *Disses Bildnus sambt Christo den Herrn und dem ganzen Siz in einem Stukh von Stein ausgehauen hat ds alterthumb selbst in ihren Ursprung dan schon von vnerdenkhlichen Zeiten her war dißes anmuhetige Frauen Bilt außgesetzter bey dem vorhin*

²¹⁹ HERNJA MASTEN 1998 (n. 108), p. 114.

²²⁰ More about Pietà: Emilijan CEVC, *Srednjeveška plastika na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1963, pp. 178–179.



25. Philipp Jakob Straub: angel on the southern side of the altar, detail, *Our Lady of Sorrows* chapel, St George's church, Ptuj

gewesten St Ruperti altar von dem Volkh besonders verehret und zu dato noh unabläßlich ehrerbietig besucht.²²¹ However, both angels, attributed to Philipp Jakob Straub, surpass the medieval Pietà in their visual appearance; they are not only larger but their figures—with gilded drapery and wings—are much more artistically expressive.²²² The one on the north is spreading his arms,²²³ while his head leans toward his left shoulder (fig. 23). His eyes are cast down, not towards the medieval sculpture, as we would expect, but towards the spectators. The angel on the south holds a stick with a sponge (figs. 24–25). His body is twisted backwards and he is looking straight up to the eastern section of the ceiling painting, where a huge cross is depicted. In the attic, two smaller angels flank God the Father with extended arms; all three are wrapped in gilded drapery, their bodies twisting dramatically. In this way, the spectator is invited to pay special attention to the ceiling painting rather than the 15th century Pietà, which was the object of special veneration and the main reason behind the building of the new chapel devoted to Our Lady of Sorrows.

There are two motifs in the main area of the painting on the vault (fig. 26). In the centre there is the Holy Trinity, while on the eastern side the scene with the huge cross could be interpreted as *Arma Christi*. The cross, placed in a dramatic diagonal position, dominates here; it is supported by an angel with wide-spread wings, while the three smaller angels beside him are occupied with a chest or a similarly-shaped object. As the chest is painted dark grey, it is most likely made of stone or even iron.

²²¹ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 145.

²²² We should not forget that in the 18th century, the figure of the Holy Mother was dressed in a blue velum and wore a silver belt around her waist while both Mary and Christ were crowned with gilded silver crowns decorated with precious stones. See ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 148, 158. The statue is presented on the *Ex voto* painting by Franz Josef Fellner in 1766 in such clothing. The citizens, concerned about the bridge over Drava, which was exposed to huge ice blocks in the extremely cold winter, sought help from this very stone statue, which was granted, so they commissioned a thanksgiving painting and hung it in the chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows. See also n. 154 in this paper.

²²³ He most likely once held a lance in his hands, which exists no more.



Franz Anton Pachmayer and Anton Lerchinger: ceiling painting in Our Lady of Sorrows chapel, 1741, St George's church, Ptuj

The first angel is supporting the chest from the bottom, the second one is holding the side of it, while the third is lifting its semi-circular cover. The fourth angel nearby has pincers in his left hand; we could reasonably expect other tools of suffering such as nails, hammers, leader etc., somewhere in the composition; however, (today) these details are missing. Christ is sitting on a cloud, supported by an angel, while two small angel heads with wings can be seen behind him. Two other small angels are supporting the globe beside God the Father. Christ is leaning towards him, while God is stretching his sceptre downwards; he is drawing our attention to the half-open shrine in the scene with *Arma Christi*. Between Christ and God, the Holy Ghost is floating surrounded by golden rays, while above the Holy Ghost there is a small angel. There are also several figures at the edges of the main area of the painting. Just under the cross on the south side of the ceiling, an angel with white wings and a suit of armour with a helmet and a shield is staring downwards towards the spectators. He is holding a sword in his right hand, but an angel beside him is trying to suppress his threatening gesture by grasping his hand and pointing with his right forefinger to the cross. Two other angels are depicted on the west side of the ceiling; they are also looking downwards with their left hands raised. One of them is holding an object which looks like flames on the end of a long stick. On the west side there is another angel in a suit of armour, while a wing can be seen behind the shield in his left hand. A helmet is covering his head, but his face has been extensively damaged. His right hand is raised. Drapery is fluttering around his body, while on his right side there is an unusual object: a long stick topped with some kind of wisp. Compositionally, the angel is connected with the scene in the neighbouring western section.

The main area of the painting is surrounded by three smaller areas on the northern, southern and western sides of the ceiling. In the northern section (fig. 27) there are seven angels, two of them in the foreground. The one on the left is dressed in red drapery; his wings are wide-spread, while he is leaning on the stick in his left hand. Perhaps we could interpret the angel's pose as playing a string instrument, of which only the neck is visible. We are looking at the angel's back, but he is turning his head, so his face can only be seen in profile. The other one is wrapped in a blue mantle and is bending towards the spectators (fig. 28). His right arm is stretched downwards, while the left one is raised, seemingly supporting the edge of the main painting area. The angel in the blue mantle is the only figure in the whole composition sitting on the illusionistic cornice, with his legs hanging downwards. He is one of the best preserved figures. His long legs and arms are typical, his forehead is wide and high, his nose is wide as well, while his eyebrows are strongly outlined and his eyes are rather large. The lower part of his face is narrow, with fine lips and a round, small chin. Locks of hair are falling onto his shoulder. Another two angels in white drapery are sitting on the cloud behind. One of them is reading a book, laid out on his left hand; with his raised right hand, he is holding a small stick – most probably a stylus. The fifth angel, also in white, is behind the angel in blue; he, too, is holding a thin stick in his right hand, perhaps a whistle, and is looking downwards. In the upper part of this area, two angel heads with wings are depicted.

In the western section of the painting, just above the entrance into the chapel, there are two figures: they are fallen angels (fig. 29). The one in the foreground is depicted full figure, from the back; his black wings are bat-like – he is Satan. He is nude with dynamically stretched legs and arms. From the sides of his bald head, small curls of hair flutter and it seems he has pointed ears. Another figure without wings is falling in a similar pose on the left side. It is possible to find traces of Daniel's prophecy (Daniel, 9:20–27) in the western part of the ceiling, where an angel in military equipment is causing the fall of Satan. Daniel predicted that enormous devastation would bring the end of all sins and only then would eternal justice prevail. The ceiling painting can be interpreted by following the motives from the eastern to the western side: Christ, who suffered on the cross, conquered Satan and saved the human race.



27. Northern section of the ceiling painting; Our Lady of Sorrows chapel, St George's church, Ptuj



28. Northern section of the ceiling painting, angel in blue mantle, Our Lady of Sorrows chapel, St George's church, Ptuj



29. Western painting section with fallen angels, Our Lady of Sorrows chapel, St George's church, Ptuj



30. Southern section of the ceiling painting, Our Lady of Sorrows chapel, St George's church, Ptuj



31.



32.



33.

31. Southern section of the ceiling painting:
putto with a club

32. Southern section of the ceiling painting:
Moses, Aaron (?) and Adam

33. Southern section of the ceiling painting
with depiction of Eve



34. Southern section of the ceiling painting depicting a skeleton

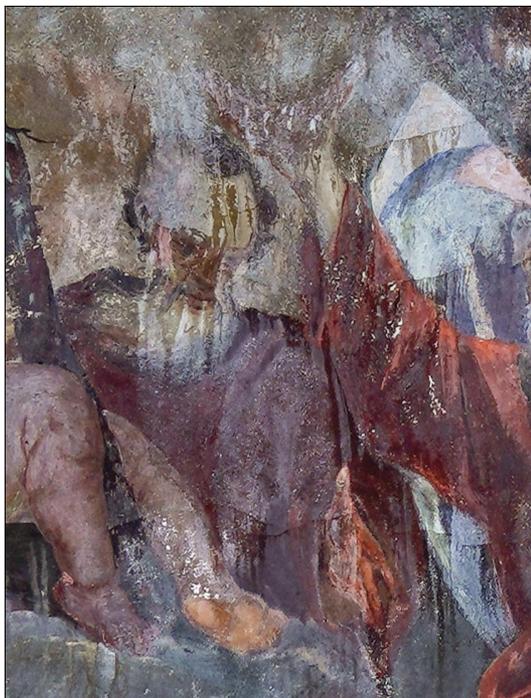
However, the section of the painting on the southern side of the ceiling is perhaps the most interesting (fig. 30). While it is hard to recognize all the figures, on the left, a plump putto sits on a cloud, holding a club in his right hand (fig. 31). The putto is well-preserved; the character on his face – with large eyes and curly hair – is still discernible. The club is most likely an attribute of Moses, who is depicted beside him. Moses, with his white hair and beard, huge eyes and full lips, is dressed in a red mantle (fig. 32). With his left hand, he is supporting a stone plaque, while his right arm is raised. There is something in his right hand, which is hard to recognise, but of obviously round form. The figure behind Moses is also old and similar in appearance. He is dressed in a blue mantle and is raising both arms. He could be Moses again, this time in a scene from the battle with the Amalekites, where he assured the victory of the Israelites by raising his hands holding a stick (Exodus, 17:8–16). However, the figure could also depict Moses' elder brother Aaron in a prayer pose. Very close to Moses, a nude man is turned towards the left. We see only the upper part of his muscular body, while his face—with a short beard—is in profile. Under him, there is a nude woman with an apple in her raised right hand, while her left hand is laid on her breasts; it is the pose of *Venus pudica* (fig. 33). Long dark curls are falling onto her shoulders. The lower part of her body is covered by a cloud and a tiny branch with leaves is winding around her waist. These figures undoubtedly depict Adam and Eve. The left half of the painting is filled with people, while on the right there is only a skeleton, lying on the clouds with blue drapery behind him (fig. 34). His legs and arms are raised dynamically; in the left hand, he is holding a small round object, perhaps an apple.

There is one more figure, placed between the putto and Moses, who deserves special attention (fig. 35). He is slightly smaller than the other figures and somehow does not fit into the Old Testament group. His figure is not particularly well-preserved, yet we see a mature man, dressed in a dark red-brown mantle. He has short dark curly hair, while it seems his short beard is grey. His face is of the same type as the face of the angel on the opposite side of the ceiling. The man is looking downward. His outstretched left hand is of particular interest; the fingers are pointing dynamically towards the spectator. Is he trying to tell us something important? There are no obvious signs as to his identity. If we compare it to the portrait of Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi, we immediately see clear differences – it is certainly not the archpriest, who, most probably, was the author of the iconographic program for the ceiling painting. The face of the depicted figure is of the type the painter obviously practised in general. There is no reliable proof at our disposal, but we can presume the figure

presents St Victorinus urging believers to remember his merits as an Early Christian writer. If we were able to accurately identify the round object in Moses' raised hand on Victorinus' left, it might be that Moses is just about to lay a garland of martyrdom on his head—garlands are mentioned several times in Victorinus' comment on the Apocalypse—the Holy Ghost promised that announcers would be presented with them.²²⁴ In fact, the scene is a word-for-word depiction of the sentence in the St George's church chronicle describing the history of Christianity in Poetovio: *!...! der heilige Victorinus Bischof zu Pettau zur Zeit Keyzers Diocletiani aldort die Marter Kron erhalten !...!*²²⁵ In the middle of the 18th century, St Victorinus could not be officially venerated, so the position of this (presumable) portrait of him in a side area of the painting is understandable.

There are also four medallions painted in monochrome in red-brown in the corners of the ceiling with difficult-to-interpret motifs. Only two of the scenes on the west side are visible enough to recognize the three figures in each of them. In the first medallion there is someone standing in the centre (most probably Christ), while the other two are kneeling in front of him and praying. In the second, there are three figures walking to the right; the middle one is most probably Christ, while the other two are carrying some kind of burden on their back (fig. 36). The altar retable does not allow a clear view of the medallions on the eastern side. It is only in the medallion on the south side that a shovel can be seen clearly, but the man holding it and the surrounding landscape are no longer recognizable. We presume that the scenes in the medallions depict Christ after his death. On the east side the scene with Christ laid in the tomb is not surprising; unfortunately, the composition is extensively damaged. The shovel in the next medallion could be part of the motif with Mary Magdalene, to whom Christ appeared in the garden (John 20:11–18). On the western side of the ceiling, Christ on the road to Emmaus meeting two of his disciples (Luke 24:13–20) is apparent in one of the medallions, while the composition on the other one presents Christ adored by two people in prayer.²²⁶

The ceiling painting in the Our Lady of Sorrows chapel can be, if we exclude the northern and southern field, explained in terms of iconography typical for the 18th century. However, it is worth at least trying to interpret some motifs from other perspectives. The huge cross in the main ceiling



35. St Victorinus (?) in the southern section of the ceiling painting

²²⁴ VIKTORIN PTUJSKI 2003² (n. 31), p. 179.

²²⁵ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 2.

²²⁶ I would like to express my gratitude to Dr Ana Lavrič who was willing to examine my iconographic interpretation of the ceiling painting in the Our Lady of Sorrows chapel and kindly suggested some further explanations.



36. Cartouche in the south-western corner of the ceiling painting, *Our Lady of Sorrows chapel, St George's church, Ptuj*

area corresponds with several other features of the church furnishings. Obviously, the Holy Cross played a special role in the ceremonial life of St George's church. In 1734, a new St Cross altar was installed under the organ loft and furnished with a painting (or perhaps a statue) presenting the Crucifixion, which it was believed possessed miracle strength. In 1735, an anonymous benefactor donated relics of the Holy Cross (which were declared authentic) with a thorn from Christ's crown (which was declared inauthentic). Beside the Cross altar, a Way of the Cross with 14 stations was installed in 1752.²²⁷ In terms of content, the motif of the cross on the ceiling painting in the Our Lady of Sorrows chapel is closely connected to the venerated medieval Pieta in the central altar niche as well. However, it is also possible to establish some links to Victorinus' comments on the Apocalypse. Victorinus understood Christ as the central personality in the Bible, a key for

understanding the Holy Book.²²⁸ He was interested in both his divine and human nature; Christ suffered in his human image and with his own blood he liberated us from sin.²²⁹

Victorinus constantly compared the Old and the New Testament and believed that both Books are a unique unit.²³⁰ As a great admirer of the prophet Isaiah he not only commented on his book (the text is lost), but quoted him relatively often in *In Apocalypsin* as well. In the sixth chapter of his book, Isaiah describes the seraphs, God on the throne and the pincers (Isaiah, 6: 1–7). Victorinus interpreted the two seraphs and throne as an image of the Holy Trinity and the pincers as an illustration of both the Testaments because of their doubled form.²³¹ In the Book of Isaiah a seraph used pincers to grab a piece of red-hot charcoal from an altar. This is not the case in the scene in

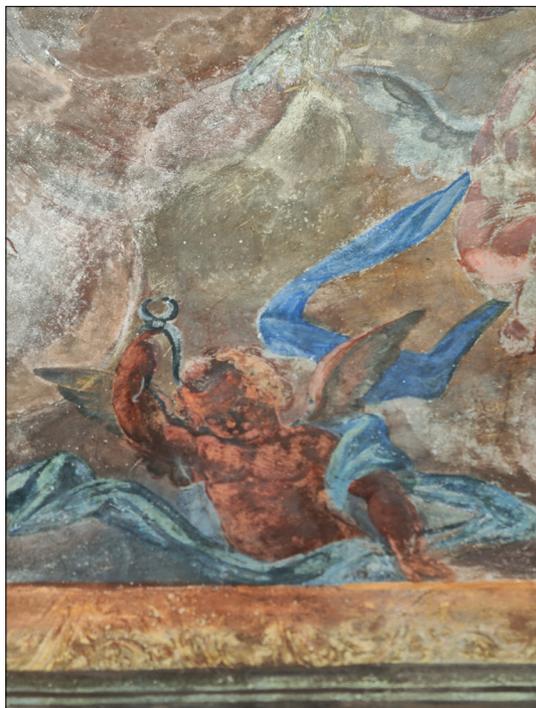
²²⁷ ZAP, SI_ZAP/0070_00033, Manuscript collection, Chronicle of St George archparish in Ptuj, 1732–1849, fol. 17, 86, 91.

²²⁸ ŠPELIČ 2003² (n. 42), pp. 11, 13, 21. Miran Špelič based his comments mostly on the study of Martine Dulaey in: *Victorin* 1997 (n. 44).

²²⁹ VIKTORIN PTUJSKI 2003² (n. 32), p. 41; HUBER 2011 (n. 26), pp. 101, 103, 105.

²³⁰ Such a belief has its roots in early Christian theology from the Alexandrian school, so this is some of the evidence that St Victorinus visited at least one of the rich libraries in the eastern part of the Empire, perhaps even in Alexandria. BRATOŽ 1986 (n. 30), p. 280. VERONESE 2003 (n. 32), pp. 193–210, holds that Victorinus' writings had an enormous influence on the writers in/from Aquileia from the beginning of the 4th until the beginning of the 5th century. She makes a special point about Rufinus, who moved from Aquileia to Alexandria to study under Didymus the Blind and who translated many of Origenes' texts into Latin; she is convinced Rufinus was inspired not only by Jerome but also by Victorinus. On Victorinus' understanding of both Testaments as a unit and on comparing Victorinus with other early Christian theologians, see also Joseph FISCHER, *Die Einheit der beiden Testamente bei Laktanz, Viktorin von Pettau und deren Quellen*, *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift*, 1/3, 1950, pp. 96–101.

²³¹ ŠPELIČ 2003² (n. 42), pp. 18, 20, 47; VIKTORIN PTUJSKI 2003² (n. 32), p. 45; HUBER 2011 (n. 26), p. 108. Victorinus interpreted several objects in pairs as a symbol of the unit of both the Testaments.



37. Angel with pincers in the central section of the ceiling painting, *Our Lady of Sorrows chapel*, St George's church, Ptuj



38. Central scene of the ceiling painting, detail with Ark of Covenant or bronze altar, *Our Lady of Sorrows chapel*, St George's church, Ptuj

Our Lady of Sorrows chapel, as the angel simply raises the pincers high above his head (fig. 37). We can interpret them both as a tool of Christ's torment as well as a symbol of the unity of both Testaments. In Victorinus' comment on the Apocalypse a sword with two blades is also presented as an image of unity of both testaments, as well as symbolizing Christ judging the human race.²³² On the chapel ceiling, a sword is depicted in the hand of an angel in the southern section of the main area of the painting; however, the scene with the two angels in which one of them is trying to prevent the threatening gesture of the other, is hard to explain. We should not exclude the possibility that the scene presents Archangel Michael in the battle for Moses' soul; the motif is described in *Hortus deliciarum*, a medieval manuscript from the second half of the 12th century and a beloved source for artists in the following centuries.²³³ Indeed, the Archangel Michael (?) is turned downwards to both the spectator and the figure of Moses. There are numerous angels depicted in the ceiling painting; there are seven all together in the northern section as well as the seven figures presented in the southern section. The number seven, which appears often in the Apocalypse, was especially important to Victorinus.²³⁴ Of course, the number of above mentioned angels and figures from the Old Testament could also be coincidental.

²³² VIKTORIN PTUJSKI 2003² (n. 32), pp. 45, 47; HUBER 2011 (n. 26), p. 108.

²³³ Hannelore SACHS, Ernst BADSTÜBNER, Helga NEUMAN, *Wörterbuch der christlichen Ikonographie*, Regensburg 2004, p. 271.

²³⁴ ŠPELIČ 2003² (n. 42), pp. 14–15; VIKTORIN PTUJSKI 2003² (n. 32), pp. 49, 51, 75, 93, 113, 123; HUBER 2011 (n. 26), p. 110. Victorinus paid special attention also to numbers 4 and 6. He understood the number 7 as a divine number, 4 as a number of this world and 6 as the number of a human being.

The Old Testament predicts its New counterpart, and in this regard, Victorinus drew parallels between Christ and Adam.²³⁵ In the southern section of the ceiling painting, the figures of Adam and Eve are situated unusually, i.e. not as a couple. Adam is rising up behind Moses and above Eve, while his left hand very lightly touches Eve's right shoulder. Eve is looking forward, while Adam is turned away from her, focusing his gaze towards the Cross in the eastern section of the main area. The unusual position of the couple from the Old Testament can perhaps also be interpreted in connection with Christ descending into the underworld; Adam and Eve were among the souls Christ was to save.

Victorinus' comments on the three books of Moses are lost, so only fragments of their content are known from secondary sources. The Ark of the Covenant is one of the most interesting sections in the Second Book of Moses (Exodus, 25: 10–22). The chest in the main area of the painting (fig. 38) can be interpreted as the Ark of the Covenant, which is usually interpreted as a symbol of the Old Testament, while the Cross symbolises the New Testament.²³⁶ The Ark can also be understood as an incarnation of Christ; Victorinus stressed its role in announcing the Gospel.²³⁷ Another possible explanation for the chest is that it presents an altar. Following Victorinus' comment on the Apocalypse, the golden altar symbolizes the sky, while prayers ascend towards it. In contrast, the bronze altar presents the earth, under which lies the underworld, a landscape far removed from punishment and fire – a rest place for holy men.²³⁸

Moses is obviously the most dominant personality in the whole composition. Victorinus compared Moses with Christ. In his comment on the Apocalypse, he stressed that Christ granted all the goods of the gospels to the entire world as well as the Law of Moses.²³⁹ Moses, with arms outstretched from the scene depicting the battle with the Amalekites, is a preimage of the crucified Christ. As already mentioned, the figure with arms raised high could also depict Aaron, although St Victorinus was not particularly interested in him and he does not appear in Victorinus' preserved texts. However, the Hebraic name Aaron means "supporting the martyrs"; as the figure is supporting the frame of the main painting field, his gesture could be interpreted in a symbolic sense. The round object in Moses' right hand, depicted with the Tablets of Law, looks like a garland, which Moses is about to lay on Victorinus' (?) head, as explained above. If our interpretation is correct, the scene corresponds to Victorinus' comment about tearing the seals in the Apocalypse, saying that the Holy Ghost promised that a garland would be put on the heads of all the announcers.²⁴⁰ This explanation of the promised kingdom in the approaching millennium, when all the believers who suffered because of their faith in God would receive consolation, means they will be crowned with heavenly garlands.²⁴¹

A skeleton occupies half of the southern section of the painting. Perhaps the motif is linked to Victorinus' statement that the dead will be judged twice and that the believers who persist in their

²³⁵ ŠPELIČ 2003² (n. 42), p. 15, 20.

²³⁶ SACHS, BADSTÜBNER, NEUMAN 2004 (n. 233), p. 29.

²³⁷ VIKTORIN PTUJSKI 2003² (n. 32), p. 105.

²³⁸ VIKTORIN PTUJSKI 2003² (n. 32), p. 83.

²³⁹ VIKTORIN PTUJSKI 2003² (n. 32), p. 45.

²⁴⁰ VIKTORIN PTUJSKI 2003² (n. 32), p. 79. This sentence corresponds with the Paul's second Epistle to Timothy (2 Tim 4: 8).

²⁴¹ VIKTORIN PTUJSKI 2003² (n. 32), p. 133; about the meaning of the garlands, see also Gertrud SCHILLER, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst. 2: Die Passion Jesu Christi*, Gütersloh 1968, p. 17.

faith will be resurrected first, while all the others will be judged and punished in the underworld.²⁴² Following the composition of the whole ceiling, it is possible to link the presumable Ark of Covenant/the bronze altar with two figures: God the Father, who is pointing to the object with his sceptre, and the skeleton, who with his raised left arm is also turned towards the ark/altar. If the object presents a bronze altar, we can associate it with Victorinus' understanding of the time after death, when all those who must stay in the underworld will be clearly defined as righteous or a sinner. After seven thousand years, all the dead recorded in the book of life will be revived and reign for the following thousand years with Christ. This will be the first resurrection. The second death will not affect those in the first resurrection.²⁴³ The second death is to come after another thousand years, bringing punishment to the underworld.²⁴⁴ A small round object in the skeleton's left hand is of particular interest. It looks exactly like the apple in Eve's right hand and can possibly be interpreted as the apple offered to Eve by Satan (or the fallen angel) in the motif of the Original Sin.²⁴⁵

Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi was most likely the author of the iconographic program for the ceiling painting in Our Lady of Sorrows chapel in St George's church in Ptuj. In some ways, the composition does not reflect the general concepts of 18th century painting. Hopefully, however, the attempt to relate the program to St Victorinus' commentary on the Apocalypse will lead to further research and provide clearer answers regarding the veneration of St Victorinus in previous centuries. As a theologian and bishop, St Victorinus was and still is one of the most respected inhabitants of Poetovio/Ptuj; it would be highly unusual had there been no veneration of him as a saint and martyr until the middle of the 19th century.²⁴⁶

²⁴² VIKTORIN PTUJSKI 2003² (n. 32), pp. 55, 59, 125.

²⁴³ VIKTORIN PTUJSKI 2003² (n. 32), pp. 125, 127.

²⁴⁴ VIKTORIN PTUJSKI 2003² (n. 32), pp. 127.

²⁴⁵ The Original Sin from the Old Testament has been presented several times in tandem with Archangel Gabriel offering a lily to Mary in the scene of Annunciation from the New Testament. See Friedrich OHLY, Probleme der mittelalterlichen Bedeutungsforschung und das Taubenbild des Hugo de Folieto, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster*, 2, 1968, p. 169. Ana Lavrič drew attention to the iconographically similar altar painting in the Salvator Mundi chapel in the St Nicholas cathedral in Ljubljana; the painting was created by Giulio Quaglio around 1721–1723. In the upper part of the painting, there is Christ after Resurrection, while under him there is an angel with a cross leaning over the globe. On the bottom, there is a skeleton and also a snake who both are releasing a young man, Adam, from their embrace. Christ is interpreted as a 'new Adam' conquering death (a skeleton) and Satan (a snake) and freeing the human race (the 'old Adam') of Original Sin, depicted in the form of smoke, coming out of Adam's mouth. See Barbara MUROVEC, Quaglieve oltarne slike v ljubljanski stolni cerkvi, *Umetnostna kronika*, 7, 2005, pp. 2–5; Ana LAVRIČ, *Ljubljanska stolnica. Umetnostni vodnik*, Ljubljana 2007, pp. 136–139.

²⁴⁶ Research for this article was conducted at the France Stele Institute of Art History ZRC SAZU within the core funding programme *Slovenian Artistic Identity in European Context* (P6-0061 B), and at the University of Maribor within the research project *Visual Representations of the Nobility: Early Modern Art Patronage in the Styria Province* (nr. J6-7410), both funded by the Slovenian Research Agency.

Franc Ignac grof Inzaghi, ptujski nadžupnik in dekan ter češčenje sv. Viktorina, prvega po imenu znanega petovionskega škofa

Povzetek

Franc Ignac grof Inzaghi (1691–1768) je bil nadžupnik in dekan ptujske župnijske cerkve sv. Jurija od leta 1731 do svoje smrti. Bil je odlično izobražen in široko razgledan duhovnik ter neverjetno uspešen naročnik umetnin. Z lastnim denarjem in s podporo številnih donatorjev je obnovil, razširil in na novo opremil cerkev, katere dolgo in bogato zgodovino je nadvse občudoval; tako nas prepričuje besedilo cerkvene kronike, ki jo je pričel pisati leta 1732, kmalu po nastopu ptujske službe. Namen pričujočega članka je osvežiti naše védenje o prispevku grofa Inzaghija k videzu in opremi cerkve v 18. stoletju. Avtorica se je osredotočila na Inzaghijevo prizadevanje, da bi pridobil papeževovo dovoljenje za češčenje sv. Viktorina, prvega po imenu znanega škofa v poznoantični Petovioni, ki je po vsej verjetnosti umrl mučeniške smrti na začetku novembra leta 303.

Da bi se lažje soočili z zastavljenimi vprašanji, je avtorica v prvem poglavju povzela stanje raziskav o poznoantični Petovioni in zgodnjem krščanstvu v tem mestu. Posebej so jo zanimali arheološki dokazi o zgodnjekrščanskih cerkvah. Arheologi niso našli arhitekturnih ostalin, ki bi neposredno pričale o krščanski cerkveni arhitekturi v Petovioni, na več mestih zgoščeni grobovi z izkazano krščansko versko pripadnostjo pokojnih pa dajejo slutiti, da je bilo v Petovioni več takšnih stavb; za zanesljivo dokazani veljata cerkev na vrhu Panorame in predhodnica sedanje cerkve sv. Jurija, ki je verjetno stala v njeni neposredni bližini. Interpretacije petovionskih arheoloških ostalin zgodnjekrščanskega značaja so precej raznolike, prav tako si poznavalci niso edini, ko gre za vprašanje kontinuitete pozne antike v zgodnji srednji vek. Tudi o zgodnesrednjeveških ptujskih cerkvah ni enotnih stališč; raziskovalci se lahko opirajo na skope arhivske vire, medtem ko cerkev sv. Jurija arheološko ni bila raziskana z izjemo nekaj sondaž v letu 1972. Sodobno znanje se seveda razlikuje od interpretacij, ki so bile v veljavi v 18. stoletju.

V ločenem poglavju je predstavljen sv. Viktorin, prvi latinski ekseget, kot prvi po imenu znani petovionski škof (petovionska škofija je po vsej verjetnosti delovala že od začetka 3., morda celo že od konca 2. stoletja) pa je vodil, kot sklepajo poznavalci, precej številno in tudi intelektualno močno krščansko skupnost. Viktorin je komentiral prve tri Mojzesove knjige, štiri knjige prerokov, Salomonovo pesem, Matejev evangelij in Apokalipso; edino komentar k Apokalipsi se je ohranil, o drugih spisih pa strokovnjaki sklepajo iz posrednih virov. Je tudi avtor besedila o nastanku sveta (*Tractatus de fabrica mundi*) in protiherezijske razprave (*Adversus omnes haereses*). Umril je mučeniške smrti za časa Dioklecijanovih preganjanj kristjanov, po vsej verjetnosti 2. novembra leta 303. O njem je na voljo veliko literature. Prve zapise o njegovem življenju je prispeval sv. Hieronim, ki je Viktorina zelo cenil. Prepisal je njegov komentar Apokalipse in ga nekoliko korigiral. Izboljšal je Viktorinovo latinščino in opustil preveč milenaristične dele besedila; milenarizem je bil takrat že prepovedan in v 6. stoletju so milenaristični spisi iz knjižnic postopoma izginili z izjemo Viktorinovega komentarja k Apokalipsi v Hieronimovi različici. Viktorinovo življenje so raziskovali tudi v 16. in 17. stoletju. Cesare Baronius je leta 1596 zmotno interpretiral Hieronimove zapise, češ da je bil Viktorin škof v Poitiersu, ne v Petovioni. Nekaj desetletij so tako Viktorina častili v Poitiersu, leta 1653 pa je Jean de Launoy napako popravil. Prizadevanje grofa Inzaghija, da bi Viktorina s papeževim dovoljenjem častili v ptujski cerkvi sv. Jurija, ni uspelo, zato pa je lavantinski škof Anton Martin Slomšek dosegel, da se je že takoj po preselitvi sedeža škofije v Maribor (1859) pričelo njegovo češčenje. Po več štajerskih cerkvah, tudi na Ptuj, je najti oltarje in upodobitve

prvega znanega petovionskega škofa in mučenca, 3. november pa je razglašen za njegov praznik; obhajajo ga po vsej Sloveniji, obvezno pa le v mejah mariborske nadškofije.

Rodbina Inzaghi izvira iz italijanskega Coma, Maria Abundio (†1691) pa se je iz Coma preselil najprej na Ptuj in nato v Gradec, kjer je obogatel s trgovanjem s suknom in živim srebrom iz idrijskega rudnika, ki ga je upravljal več let. V Gradcu so Inzaghiji posedovali tri palače, ustvarili pa so si tudi izjemno knjižnico, ki je bila okrog leta 1923 na prodaj. Med Inzaghiji je bilo več klerikov, ki so naredili zanimivo kariero. Najpomembnejši med njimi je bil Evgen grof Inzaghi (1689–1760), starejši brat ptujskega nadžupnika Franca Ignaca, ki je bil od leta 1737 pa do smrti opat v samostanu Sankt Lambrecht. V kroniki ptujske župnijske cerkve sv. Jurija so številni člani rodbine Inzaghi zabeleženi kot donatorji, ki so podprli barokizacijo cerkvene opreme.

V času, ko je Jurijevo cerkev vodil grof Franc Ignac Inzaghi, je bila cerkvi na severni strani prizidana kapela Frančiška Asiškega. Portret nadžupnika Inzaghija, kronološko prvi v ohranjeni galeriji s portreti ptujskih nadžupnikov in proštov, ga predstavlja v značilni baročni kompoziciji, kako s kazalcem desnice kaže na risbo nove kapele. Inzaghi je visoko cenil najimennitnejše umetnine starejšega datuma, ki jih je našel v cerkvi; v cerkveni kroniki jim je namenil posebno poglavje in poskrbel za njihovo obnovo. Znamenite korne klopi v prezbiteriju (1466) sta leta 1748 obnovila Franc Wasser in Peter Märnzeller, omenja pa se tudi Laibov oltar (takrat imenovan Markov). Inzaghi je s pomočjo darov poskrbel tudi za obnovo pozlate na skulpturi sv. Jurija iz okrog 1380 in za vzdrževanje oltarjev iz 17. stoletja. Pod kor so namestili nov oltar sv. Križa (1734/1735), Wasser in Märnzeller pa sta z omarami, klopmi in stenskimi oblogami leta 1747 mojstrsko opremila zakristijo in leta 1763 izdelala še prižnico.

Od vseh Inzaghijevih podvigov v cerkvi sv. Jurija je nedvomno najodličnejši ureditev kapele Žalostne Matere božje v vzhodnem zaključku severne stranske ladje. Na tem mestu je bil prvotno oltar sv. Ruperta s kamnitim kipom Sočutne z začetka 15. stoletja, ki so mu pripisovali čudežno moč. Prostor je do leta 1739 uredil gradbeni mojster Andrej Dirnberger (tudi Tirnperger), vanj pa so namestili veliko oltarno kuliso in v osrednjo nišo postavili kamnito Sočutno, ki je bila v 18. stoletju predmet predanega češčenja. Kronika ne omenja avtorja dveh velikih lesenih angelov ob straneh ter še dveh v atiki, kjer je osrednja figura Bog Oče; Sergej Vrišer je vse lesene plastike, ki jih odlikuje baročna slikovitost, pripisal Filipu Jakobu Straubu. Na stenah sta sliki sv. Notburge in sv. Vendelina, delo Jožefa Rädlmayra. Osrednji predmet češčenja in tudi vzrok za korenite posege v oblikovanje prostora je bila kamnita Sočutna. V 18. stoletju je bila Marijina figura odeta v moder velum in prepasana s srebrnim pasom, oba s Kristusom pa sta imela na glavah pozlačene srebrne krone z dragimi kamni. Danes je skulptura brez dodanega okrasja in je videti nekam pusta v sosedstvu baročno razgibanih angelov s pozlačenimi krili in razvihrano draperijo. Vendar likovni koncept oltarja obiskovalca kapele ni usmerjal k stari skulpturi. Angel na severni strani, ki mu v rokah manjka sulica, ima glavo izrazito nagnjeno na levo ramo, pogled pa upira v obiskovalca. Angel na južni strani drži v rokah palico z gobo, njegova glava pa je vržena nazaj: pogled upira v križ, naslikan na vzhodnem delu stropa. Obiskovalce kapele je oltarna plastika nagovarjala k ogledu poslikave na stropu.

Cerkvena kronika stropno poslikavo navaja kot delo ptujskega slikarja Franca Antona Pachmayerja in njegovega pomočnika Antona Lerchingerja, datira pa jo v leto 1741. Žal je slabo ohranjena, posamezni deli so povsem uničeni in barve so potemnele. V osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja je bila restavrirana in deloma retuširana, vendar je možno, da so bili določeni segmenti zaradi slabe prepoznavnosti ob rekonstrukciji tudi spremenjeni. Kompozicijo sestavljajo osrednje polje, ki zavzema skoraj celoten obok, na severni, južni in zahodni strani so nekotika manjša stranska polja, v vogalih pa še manjši medaljoni z monokromno poslikavo v rdečerjavih tonih. Avtorji besedil o cerkvi sv. Jurija so se zaradi slabe ohranjenosti izogibali opisu poslikave. Anica Cevc, ki je edina doslej prepoznala figuri Adama in Eve, jo je ocenila kot slabo, tudi v kompozicijskem smislu. Takšnemu mnenju ne kaže pritrčiti. Diagonalna postavitev velikega križa, ki obvladuje celoto, dokazuje slikarjev smisel za prostorski iluzionizem in enako velja za več figur, ki jih je umestil ob naslikan venčni zidec osrednjega slikovnega polja in jih z gestami

in pogledi povezal z obiskovalci kapele. Dobre fotografije omogočajo prepoznavanje več figur in detajlov, ki nas prepričajo, da je bil na delu slikar znatnih zmožnosti. Figure so upodobljene anatomsko večje in z izrazito karakternimi potezami obrazov. Celotna kompozicija se ne sklada povsem s principi stropnega slikarstva v 18. stoletju. Avtorica pričujočega prispevka je poslikavo po vsebini poskušala primerjati z Viktorinovim komentarjem Apokalipse.

Osrednje polje obvladujeta velik križ v vzhodnem zaključku in skupina sv. Trojice v sredini. Oba motiva obdajajo angeli, med prepoznavnimi predmeti pa izstopa nekakšna skrinja, proti kateri je Bog Oče uprl žezlo. Interpretirati jo je mogoče kot skrinjo zaveze ali kot bronasti oltar, ki v Viktorinovi razlagi predstavlja zemljo in podzemlje, pokrajino daleč stran od kaznovanja in ognja, prostor za svete može, ki čakajo na vstajenje. Opazne so še klešče v rokah angelca; v njih je mogoče videti enega od orodij Kristusovega mučenja, lahko pa tudi simbol povezovanja Stare in Nove zaveze v celoto, kar je vneto zagovarjal sv. Viktorin, ki je v vseh predmetih z dvojnostjo v obliki (klešče, dvorezni meč ipd.) prepoznaval tovrstno simboliko. Upodobitve v vogalnih medaljonih so komaj razločljive, morda pa predstavljajo prizore s Kristusom po njegovi smrti.

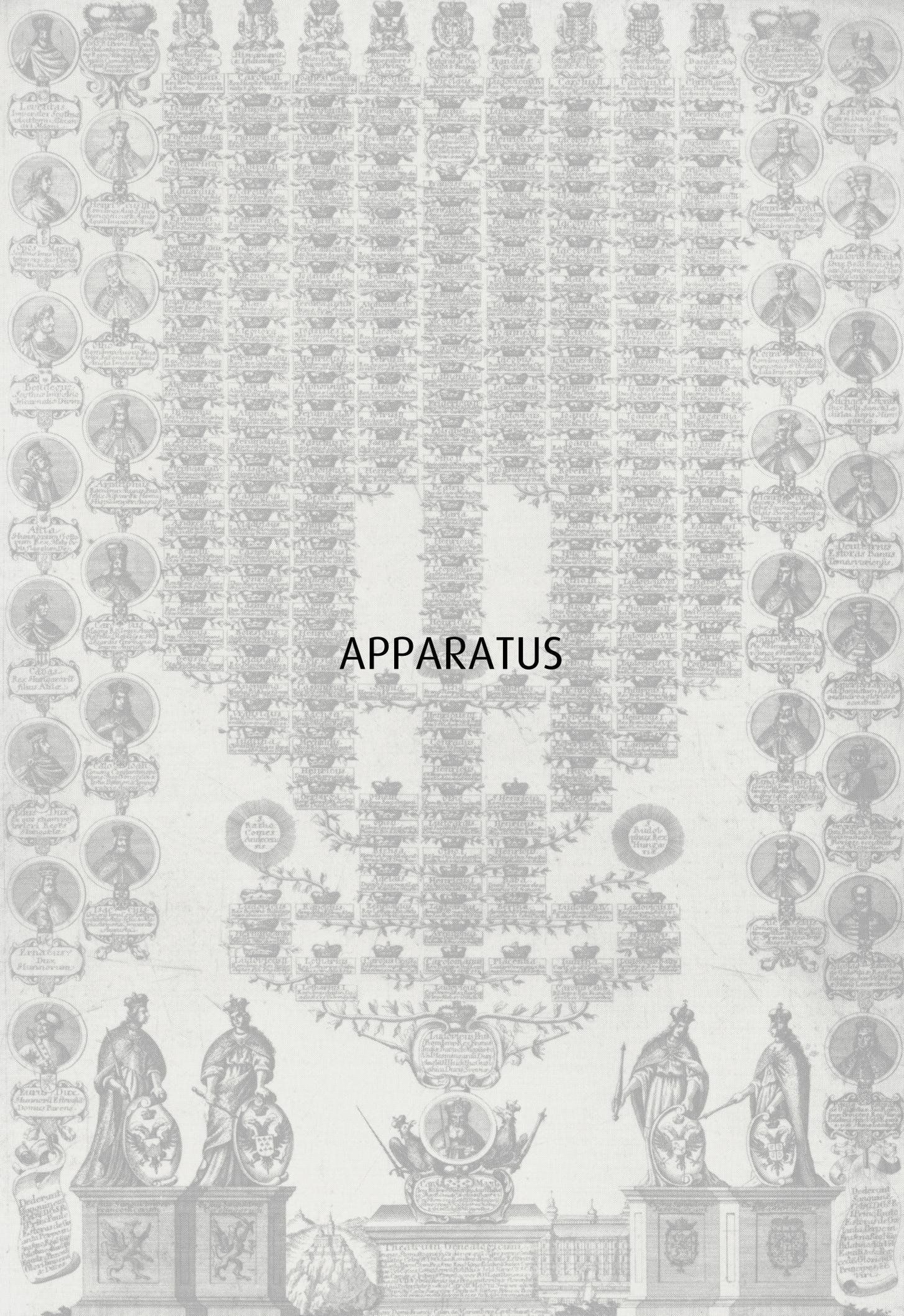
V severnem stranskem polju je naslikanih sedem angelov, na zahodnem pa dve figuri, od katerih je ena Satan v padajoči pozi s perutmi netopirja. Najzanimivejše je južno stransko polje, v katerem je prav tako sedem figur. V levi polovici se jih gnete šest. Debelušen puto v rokah verjetno drži palico (Mojzesov atribut), ob njem pa Mojzes z levico pridrži table postave in v dvignjeni desnici (lovorjev?) venec. Za njim je še ena skoraj identična figura z rokama, dvignjenima v molilni pozi – še enkrat bi lahko bil upodobljen Mojzes, tokrat v prizoru bitke med Izraelci in Amalečani, verjetneje pa gre za Mojzesovega starejšega brata Arona. Viktorin se je za Mojzesa zelo zanimal in ga primerjal s Kristusom, ki ga je štel za osrednjo biblijsko osebnost, Aronovega imena pa ne najdemo v njegovih ohranjenih spisih. Vendar Aronovo hebrejsko ime pomeni »ki podpira mučence«, kar osmisli njegovo podobo v kontekstu celote, saj Aron (?) z dvignjenima rokama podpira osrednje slikovno polje. Desno od Mojzesa in Arona (?) sta Adam in Eva. Eva z jabolkom je upodobljena kot *Venus pudica*, z Adamom, ki se dviga nadnje in zre proti velikemu križu v osrednjem polju, pa ne tvorita običajnega para. Tudi Adama je mogoče razumeti v smislu soodvisnosti Stare in Nove zaveze; Kristusa pogosto označujemo kot novega Adama, ki je človeštvo odrešil s trpljenjem na križu. Najzanimivejša je figura med putom in Mojzesom. Možakar zrelih let s kratko kodrasto pričesko se obrača proti obiskovalcu kapele in ga s kretljivo levico posebej nagovarja. Njegov obraz ne izkazuje portretnih potez, sorodnejši je splošnemu obraznemu tipu, ki ga je slikar nadel angelom. Morda smemo v možakarju prepoznati sv. Viktorina, ki mu bo Mojzes vsak hip na glavo položil venec. Viktorin v komentarju k Apokalipsi piše o sv. Duhu, ki je obljubil, da bodo z venci okronani vsi oznanjevalci. Desno polovico slikovnega polja zavzema ležeči okostnjak z jabolkom v roki. Interpretirati ga je mogoče na različne načine, med drugim kot opomin na kazen za Izvirni greh ali tudi v širšem razumevanju Kristusove žrtve, s katero je odrešil človeštvo.

Osrednji namen prispevka je osvetliti osebnost Franca Ignaca grofa Inzaghija in njegova prizadevanja, da bi v ptujski cerkvi sv. Jurija smeli uvesti obredje v čast sv. Viktorina. V vlogi, ki jo je naslovil na takratnega papeža Klemna XIII., je grof Inzaghi med drugim navedel, da na Ptuj velja dolga tradicija češčenja sv. Viktorina. Že Rajko Bratož, ki je poglobljeno raziskoval Viktorinovo življenje in teološko delo, je o tej tradiciji skušal dognati kaj oprijemljivega. Oprl se je na raziskavo Ivana Grafenauerja o stari velikonočni pesmi, katere nastanek je Grafenauer povezal z delovanjem irskih misijonarjev v času drugega pokristjanjevanja, kakor je v zgodnjem srednjem veku potekalo v mejah salzburške nadškofije. Omenjena pesem vsebuje tudi prizor s Kristusom, ki se je po smrti na križu spustil v pekel z namenom, da osvobodi pravičnike; prizor je mogoče neposredno povezati z Viktorinovim komentarjem Apokalipse in irskimi misijonarji, ki so bili bolj kot drugi kleriki njihovega časa oprti na Viktorinove nauke. Bratož je svojo razpravo iz leta 1986 zaključil z ugotovitvijo, da se je sled Viktorinove misli na območju nekdanje salzburške nadškofije preko misijonarske dejavnosti v zgodnjem srednjem veku ohranila v ljudskem izročilu, ki je bilo živo še v 19. stoletju. Ne kaže prezreti še enega podatka, ki je bil zabeležen v 15. stoletju

(a je po svojem izvoru starejši) in je ostal nepojasnen: neznano kdaj naj bi relikvije sv. Florijana in sv. Viktorina skupaj prenesli v samostan sv. Florijana v bližini Ennsa. Bratož je podatek skušal razložiti z dejavnostjo sv. Severina (ok. 410–482) in domneval, da je bil Severin v znanstvu z materjo zadnjega zahodnorimskega cesarja Romula Augustula, ki naj bi bila po rodu s Ptuja. Severin, za katerega je znano, da je vneto zbiral relikvije in jih poklanjal novoustanovljenim cerkvam v Podonavju, naj bi prav na osnovi omenjenega znanstva pridobil tudi Viktorinove zemeljske ostanke. Bratoževo pojasnilo ostaja na ravni domneve, a če so Viktorinove relikvije kdaj bile pri sv. Florijanu, so morda tja romali tudi Ptujčani.

Inzaghijeva trditev o tradiciji češčenja sv. Viktorina na Ptuju ostaja nepojasnjena. Bralcem pa ponujamo v presojo in nadaljnje raziskovanje hipotezo, da je na stropu kapele Žalostne Matere božje v ptujski župnijski cerkvi sv. Jurija upodobljen sv. Viktorin skupaj z osebami iz Stare zaveze, ki jih je sam visoko cenil in o njih razpravljal v svojih le deloma ohranjenih komentarjih.

APPARATUS



IZVLEČKI IN KLJUČNE BESEDE

ABSTRACTS AND KEYWORDS

Marjeta Ciglenečki

Franc Ignac grof Inzaghi, ptujski nadžupnik in dekan ter češčenje sv. Viktorina, prvega po imenu znanega petovionskega škofa

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Franc Ignac grof Inzaghi (1691–1768) je bil nadžupnik in dekan ptujske župnijske cerkve sv. Jurija od leta 1731 do smrti. Članek želi osvežiti védenje o grofovem prispevku k videzu in opremljenosti cerkve, opozarja pa tudi na Inzaghijevo prizadevanje, da bi pridobil papeževo dovoljenje za češčenje sv. Viktorina, prvega latinskega eksegeta in prvega po imenu znanega škofa v Petovionu, ki je umrl mučeniške smrti leta 303. Prispevek podaja stanje raziskav o zgodnjem krščanstvu v Petovionu, predstavlja sv. Viktorina in rodbino Inzaghi, osredotoča pa se na ureditev kapele Žalostne Matere božje in stropno poslikavo v kapeli, delo ptujskega slikarja Franca Antona Pachmayerja in njegovega pomočnika Antona Lerchingerja (1741). Avtorica je skušala prepoznati ikonografski program poslikave, ki jo je primerjala z Viktorinovim komentarjem Apokalipse. Podala je hipotezo, da so v južnem stranskem polju upodobljeni sv. Viktorin in več oseb iz Stare zaveze, o katerih je razpravljala sv. Viktorin.

Ključne besede: poznoantična Petoviona, Ptuj, sv. Viktorin, češčenje svetnikov, *In Apocalypsin*, Franc Ignac grof Inzaghi (1691–1768), župnijska cerkev sv. Jurija, kapela Žalostne Matere božje, Franc Anton Pachmayer, Anton Jožef Lerchinger

Marjeta Ciglenečki

Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi, Ptuj Parish Archpriest and Dean, and the Veneration of St Victorinus, First Bishop of Poetovio Known by Name

1.01 Original scientific article

From 1731 until his death, Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi (1691–1768) was the archpriest and dean of the parish church of St George in Ptuj. The paper aims to refresh our knowledge of the Counts' contribution to the appearance and furnishings of the church, while it also points out Inzaghi's efforts to obtain the Pope's permission for the veneration of St Victorinus, the first Latin exegete and the first bishop in Poetovio known by name, who died as a martyr in 303 AD. The contribution presents the current state of research on Early Christianity in Poetovio, St Victorinus and the Inzaghi family, while it focuses on the arrangement of the chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows and the ceiling painting in the chapel, the work of Ptuj painter Franz Anton Pachmayer and his assistant Anton Lerchinger (1741). The author attempted to recognize the iconographic program of the painting, which she compared to St Victorinus' comment of the Apocalypse. She set a hypothesis that St Victorinus and several people from the Old Testament, whom he discussed, are depicted in the southern side field.

Keywords: late antique Poetovio, Ptuj, St Victorinus, veneration of saints, *In Apocalypsin*, Franz Ignaz Count of Inzaghi (1691–1768), parish church of St George, chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows, Franz Anton Pachmayer, Anton Josef Lerchinger

Renata Komić Marn*Portreti Eleonore Marije Rozalije kneginje Eggenberg, rojene princeze Liechtenstein*

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Narodna galerija v Ljubljani hrani portret plemkinje, ki je nekdaj veljala za Turjačanko, iz druge polovice 17. stoletja. Na podlagi primerjalne analize je bilo mogoče v dami na sliki prepoznati Eleonoro Marijo Rozalijo kneginjo Eggenberg (1647–1703). V prispevku so predstavljeni rezultati zadnjih raziskav o provenienci, času nastanka in avtorstvu kneginjinih že znanih portretov in še enega novo identificiranega. Posebna pozornost je namenjena javnemu delovanju portretiranke in njenemu vplivu na umetnostna naročila v dvorcu Eggenberg pri Gradcu.

Ključne besede: portreti, slikarstvo, oblačilna moda, umetnostno naročništvo, Eleonora Marija Rozalija Eggenberg (1647–1703), Almanach, Herman Verelst (1640/41–1702), Johann Ulrich Mayr (1629–1704)

Susanne König-Lein*Portretni galeriji v graškem dvoru in dvorcu Karlau v 17. in 18. stoletju*

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

V prispevku sta na podlagi sočasnih pisnih virov raziskani portretni zbirki, ki sta jih okrog leta 1600 zasnovala nadvojvoda Karel II. in nadvojvodinja Marija in sta bili do 18. stoletja v graškem dvoru in dvorcu Karlau pri Gradcu. Predstavljeni so serije portretov, umetniki in dela, ki so ohranjena v Umetnostnozgodovinskem muzeju na Dunaju. Obravnavani so vzroki za naročilo izjemno številnih otroških portretov. Poleg tega je analizirana vloga portretnih serij rimskih cesarjev in kostumskih slik.

Ključne besede: slikarska galerija, renesančni portreti, Gradec, nadvojvoda Karel II. (1540–1590), nadvojvodinja Marija Bavarska (1551–1608), Habsburžani, Cornelis Vermeyen, Jakob de Monte, Giovanni Pietro de Pomis (ok. 1565–1633)

Renata Komić Marn*Portraits of Eleonora Maria Rosalia Princess of Eggenberg, née Liechtenstein*

1.01 Original scientific article

The National Gallery in Ljubljana keeps a portrait of a noblewoman from the second half of the 17th century, once known as a noblewoman from the House of Auerberg. Based on a comparative analysis, we can identify the sitter as Eleonora Maria Rosalia Princess of Eggenberg (1647–1703). In the paper, the results of the latest research on provenance, the time of origin and the authorship of the already known portraits of the princess are presented, as well as the authorship of a newly identified portrait. Special attention is placed on the public workings of the portrayed and her influence on art commissions at the Eggenberg Manor near Graz.

Keywords: portraiture, painting, history of costume, art patronage, Eleonora Maria Rosalia Eggenberg (1647–1703), Almanach, Herman Verelst (1640/41–1702), Johann Ulrich Mayr (1629–1704)

Susanne König-Lein*The Habsburg Portrait Galleries in Graz Castle and Karlau Manor in the 17th and 18th Centuries*

1.01 Original scientific article

The article discusses portrait galleries established by Archduke Charles II and Archduchess Maria around 1600 and stored in Graz Castle and Karlau Castle near Graz until the 18th century. The collections are analysed based on published archival sources. Several unique portrait series are presented, as well as the artists and the works of art, which are now kept in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. The commissioners' practices and collecting endeavours associated with the accumulation of family portraits are explained. In addition, the article discusses the role of the portrait series of Roman emperors and a series of costume paintings, which were also included in the collection.

Keywords: portrait gallery, Renaissance portraiture, Graz, Archduke Charles II of Inner Austria (1540–1590), Archduchess Maria of Inner Austria (1551–1608), House of Habsburg, Cornelis Vermeyen, Jakob de Monte, Giovanni Pietro de Pomis (c. 1565–1633)

Franci Lazarini

Grofje Brandis – umetnostni naročniki na Štajerskem

1.02 Pregledni znanstveni članek

Prispevek govori o umetnostnem naročništvu grofov Brandis, tirolske plemiške rodbine, ki je v 18. in prvih treh četrtinah 19. stoletja imela v lasti več posestev na Štajerskem. Avtor analizira pomen članov naročniško precej aktivne rodbine, ki je med drugim zaslužna za barokizacijo mariborskega mestnega gradu in dvorca Betnave, porušitev gradu Gornji Maribor in postavitev klasicistične piramide ter kasneje Brezmadežne na njegovem mestu, temeljito prezidavo dvorca Slivnica in izgradnjo grobne kapele na pobreškem pokopališču.

Ključne besede: plemstvo, umetnostno naročništvo, grofje Brandis, Štajerska, barok, klasicizem, historizem, 18. stoletje, 19. stoletje

Edgar Lein

Contraphe der abgelebten fürstlichen Bischöf zu Seccau. K portretni galeriji sekovskih škofov v gradu Seggau

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

V škofovski galeriji v reprezentančnih prostorih gradu Seggau je razstavljenih 58 dopasnih portretov sekovskih škofov. Portretna galerija je bila prvič omenjena v inventarju, ki je bil spisan leta 1675, v času škofa Vencija Viljema Hofkirchna (1670–1679). Portreti so bili prvotno nameščeni v prostoru, imenovanem velika dvorana (großer Saal) ali škofova soba (Bischofszimmer). Okrog leta 1830 je mogoče škofovo sobo locirati v prvo grajsko nadstropje. Med letoma 1835 in 1867 so portrete prenesli v dve sobi v drugem nadstropju, kjer so še sedaj. Vzor za škofovsko portretno galerijo so bile freske v škofovski kapeli samostana Seckau, ki jo je zasnoval škof Martin Brenner. Galerija je primerljiva z drugimi škofovskimi portretnimi galerijami v Salzburgu, Augsburgu, Dillingenu, Kroměřížu in Šentandražu (danes v Mariboru). Paradigmatični za portretno galerije so trije temeljni koncepti: tradicija, nasledstvo in memoria.

Ključne besede: portret, škofovska portretna galerija, sekovski škofje, grad Seggau, augsburški škofje, salzburški nadškofje, olomouški škofje, lavantinski škofje, reprezentančni prostori, škof Martin Brenner (1548–1616)

Franci Lazarini

The Counts of Brandis – Art Patrons in Styria

1.02 Review article

The paper deals with the art patronage of the Counts of Brandis, a noble family from Tyrol that owned numerous estates in Styria in the 18th and the first three quarters of the 19th century. The author analyses the importance of the members of this family that was very active in the field of art patronage; among other things, it was responsible for the Baroque renovation of the Maribor (Marburg a. d. Drau) Castle and the Betnava (Windenu) Manor, the demolition of the Gornji Maribor (Obermarburg) castle, the erection of the Classicist pyramid and the subsequent chapel of the Immaculate, which was later erected in its place, a thorough reconstruction of the Slivnica (Schleinitz) Manor, and the construction of the burial chapel at the Pobrežje cemetery.

Keywords: nobility, art patronage, Counts of Brandis, Styria, Baroque, Classicism, Historicism, 18th century, 19th century

Edgar Lein

Contraphe der abgelebten fürstlichen Bischöf zu Seccau. On the Portrait Gallery of Seckau Bishops in Seggau Castle

1.01 Original scientific article

Nowadays, 58 half-length portraits of the bishops of Seckau are included in an episcopal gallery in the representation rooms of Seggau Castle. The portrait gallery was first mentioned in an inventory, written in 1675 under the reign of bishop Wenzel Wilhelm von Hofkirchen (1670–1679). At the beginning, these portraits were presented in a room called the great hall (großer Saal) or the bishop's room (Bischofszimmer). Around 1830 the bishop's room was located on the first floor of the castle. Between 1835 and 1867 the portraits were moved into the two rooms on the second floor where they are today. The model for this type of gallery can be found in the bishop's chapel (Bischofskapelle) in Seckau Abbey, founded by Bishop Martin Brenner. The gallery is similar to other portrait galleries of bishops in Salzburg, Lavant, Augsburg, Dillingen, Kroměříž, St Andrä (now in Maribor). It is a paradigm for the three fundamental concepts of portrait galleries: tradition, legacy and memoria.

Keywords: portrait, bishops' portrait gallery, Bishops of Seckau, Seggau Castle, Bishops of Augsburg, Archbishops of Salzburg, Bishops of Olomouc, Bishops of Lavant, representational rooms, bishop Martin Brenner (1548–1616)

Polona Vidmar

Theatrum genealogicum. Rodovniki grofov Herberstein in Dietrichstein kot sredstvo plemiške reprezentacije

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

V prispevku so obravnavane slike in grafike rodovnikov rodbin Herberstein in Dietrichstein, ki so nastale v 17. in 19. stoletju. Vizualizacije genealogij so postavljene v kontekst sočasnih zgodovinskih del, ki so bila publicirana po naročilu obravnavanih plemiških rodbin, pri čemer je poudarjena njihova reprezentativna vloga. Analizirane so upodobitve grbov, portretov, simboličnih figur in predmetov, vedut in historičnih prizorov, ki dopolnjujejo rodovna debla, veliko pozornosti je posvečene tudi napisom na slikah in grafikah. Prispevek prinaša nove ugotovitve o historiografih, ki so po naročilu plemstva publicirali genealoška dela in snovali likovne upodobitve genealoškega vedenja, zlasti o cesarskem historiografu Dominiku Frančišku Kalinu. V prispevku sta prvič objavljeni Kalinovi genealogiji velikega formata, ki ju je v letih 1672 in 1675 naslikal po naročilu uspešnega dvorjana Gundakarja grofa Dietrichsteina.

Ključne besede: genealogija, rodovnik, plemiška reprezentacija, grofje Herberstein, grofje in knezi Dietrichstein, Dominik Frančišek Kalin von Marienberg (1624–1683), Jacob Bruynel

Polona Vidmar

Theatrum genealogicum. Family Trees of Counts of Herberstein and Dietrichstein as a Means of Aristocratic Representation

1.01 Original scientific article

The paper discusses the paintings and graphic prints of the genealogies of the Herberstein and Dietrichstein families that were made in the 17th and 19th centuries. The visualizations of the genealogies are put into the context of concurrent historical works that were published under commission from the discussed noble families, where their representative role was put in the forefront. The depictions of coats-of-arms, portraits, symbolic figures and objects, vedute and historical scenes, which complete the family trees, are analysed, with a great deal of attention placed on the inscriptions on paintings and graphics. The paper offers new findings on historiographers who published genealogical works on the commissions of the nobility and designed visual depictions of the genealogical knowledge, especially about the imperial historiographer Dominicus Franciscus Calin. Moreover, the paper introduces hitherto unpublished Calin's large format genealogies, which he painted in 1672 and 1675 under commission of successful courtier Gundakar Count Dietrichstein.

Keywords: genealogy, genealogical tree, aristocratic representation, House of Herberstein, House of Dietrichstein, Dominicus Franciscus Calin von Marienberg (1624–1683), Jacob Bruynel

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