

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

ACTA HISTORIAE ARTIS  
SLOVENICA

25|1·2020

LJUBLJANA 2020

Acta historiae artis Slovenica, 25/1, 2020

Znanstvena revija za umetnostno zgodovino / Scholarly Journal for Art History

ISSN 1408-0419 (tiskana izdaja / print edition) ISSN 2536-4200 (spletna izdaja / web edition)

Izdajatelj / Issued by

ZRC SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta /

ZRC SAZU, France Stele Institute of Art History

Založnik / Publisher

Založba ZRC

Glavna urednica / Editor-in-chief

Tina Košak

Uredniški odbor / Editorial board

Renata Komić Marn, Tina Košak, Katarina Mohar, Mija Oter Gorenčič, Blaž Resman, Helena Seražin

Mednarodni svetovalni odbor / International advisory board

Günter Brucher (Salzburg), Ana María Fernández García (Oviedo), Hellmut Lorenz (Wien),

Milan Pelc (Zagreb), Sergio Tavano (Gorizia-Trieste), Barbara Wisch (New York)

Lektoriranje / Language editing

Maria Bentz, Amy Anne Kennedy, Alenka Klemenc, Tjaša Plut, Blaž Resman

Prevodi / Translations

Nika Vaupotič, Polona Vidmar

Oblikovna zasnova in prelom / Design and layout

Andrej Furlan

Naslov uredništva / Editorial office address

Acta historiae artis Slovenica

Novi trg 2, p. p. 306, SI -1001 Ljubljana, Slovenija

E-pošta / E-mail: ahas@zrc-sazu.si

Spletna stran / Web site: <http://uifs1.zrc-sazu.si>

Revija je indeksirana v / Journal is indexed in

Scopus, ERIH PLUS, EBSCO Publishing, IBZ, BHA

Letna naročnina / Annual subscription: 35 €

Posamezna enojna številka / Single issue: 25 €

Letna naročnina za študente in dijake: 25 €

Letna naročnina za tujino in ustanove / Annual subscription outside Slovenia, institutions: 48 €

Naročila sprejema / For orders contact

Založba ZRC

Novi trg 2, p. p. 306, SI-1001, Slovenija

E-pošta / E-mail: [zalozba@zrc-sazu.si](mailto:zalozba@zrc-sazu.si)

AHAS izhaja s podporo Javne agencije za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije.

AHAS is published with the support of the Slovenian Research Agency.

© 2020, ZRC SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta, Založba ZRC, Ljubljana

Tisk / Printed by Tiskarna PRESENT d.o.o., Ljubljana

Naklada / Print run: 400

## VSEBINA CONTENTS

### DISSERTATIONES

Tadeusz J. Żuchowski

*Technische Probleme und Zufälle als Väter des Erfolgs. Die Fundierung und der Bau der Jesuitenkirche in Posen* .....7

*Tehnični problemi in naključja kot botri uspeha. Ustanovitev in gradnja jezuitske cerkve v Poznanju* .....26

Ana Lavrič

*Bratovščine v klariških samostanih na Kranjskem. Njihova umetnostna in duhovna dediščina* .....27

*Confraternities in the Convents of the Poor Clares in Carniola. Their Artistic and Spiritual Heritage* .....61

Boris Golec

*Najzgodnejše omembe umetnikov v slovenskem jeziku. Ljubljanska oklicna knjiga 1737–1759 kot vir za slovensko umetnostno zgodovino* .....63

*The Earliest References of Artists in the Slovenian Language. The Ljubljana Register of Banns 1737–1759 as a Source for Slovenian Art History* .....79

Lilijana Žnidaršič Golec

*Mnoge sledi bratovščine sv. Mihaela v Mengšu pri nastanku poslikav Franca Jelovška* .....81

*The Many Traces of the Confraternity of St Michael in Mengeš in the Commissions of Franc Jelovšek's Frescoes* .....101

Tina Košak

*Janez Ernest II. grof Herberstein in naročila opreme za župnijsko cerkev sv. Lenarta v Slovenskih goricah* .....103

*Johann Ernst II Count Herberstein and the Commissions for the Parish Church of St Leonard in Slovenske gorice* .....123

Boštjan Roškar

*Poslikave in pozlate Holzingerjevih oltarjev in prižnic* .....125

*Fassungen und Vergoldungen der Altäre und Kanzeln von Josef Holzinger* .....147

Simona Kostanjšek Brglez <i>Kipar, pozlatar in restavrador Ivan Sojč – življenje in delo od začetka samostojnega delovanja</i> .....	149
<i>Sculptor, Gilder and Restorer Ivan Sojč. His Life and Work since the Start of his Independent Career</i> .....	179
Damjan Prelovšek <i>Plečnikova cerkev sv. Antona Padovanskega v Beogradu</i> .....	181
<i>The Church of St Athony of Padua in Belgrade by Jože Plečnik</i> .....	212
Katarina Mohar <i>Nacistično plenjenje umetnostne dediščine na Gorenjskem med drugo svetovno vojno in primer oltarjev iz cerkve sv. Lucije v Dražgošah</i> .....	213
<i>The Nazi Plunder of Artistic Heritage in Gorenjska during the Second World War and the Case of Altars from the Church of St Lucy in Dražgoše</i> .....	230
Marcela Rusinko <i>In the 'Public Interest'? Dispossessing Art Collections in Communist Czechoslovakia between 1948 and 1965</i> .....	233
<i>V »javnem interesu«? Razlastitve umetniških zbirk v komunistični Češkoslovaški med letoma 1948 in 1965</i> .....	251
Agnieszka Zabłocka-Kos <i>Bemerkungen zur Barockforschung im Kontext der Entwicklung der Kunstgeschichte im sozialistischen Polen</i> .....	253
<i>Opažanja o raziskavah baroka v kontekstu umetnostne zgodovine v socialistični Poljski</i> .....	271
<b>APPARATUS</b>	
Izvečki in ključne besede / Abstracts and keywords .....	275
Sodelavci / Contributors .....	283
Viri ilustracij / Photographic credits .....	285



## DISSERTATIONES

# In the ‘Public Interest’? Dispossessing Art Collections in Communist Czechoslovakia between 1948 and 1965

Marcela Rusinko

Looking back to the era of Soviet Russia’s Eastern Block and to the ideology under which some of us grew up, it becomes apparent that it likely irreversibly affected even those who spent their lives ostensibly cut off from political and social events or in their opposition.<sup>1</sup> The manipulative social constructs built and systematically spread by the Communist regime reached not only the public but also the substantially private sphere of life. It affected the way the majority of people lived, worked, educated themselves, spent their time, dressed,<sup>2</sup> but also the way couples shared family roles and, of course, the life goals young people pursued.<sup>3</sup> The question of class origin, together with the related question of property or wealth, took a central role in this system as one of the most dominant spheres under the regime’s control. Private property, limited by the core of Marxist theory only to a ‘necessary’ quantity in the case of personal ownership, was, therefore, often transformed into a form of ‘social ownership’,<sup>4</sup> it became just a tool, or rather ‘a toy’ in the hands of state officials, serving their interests and often purposefully and also effectively marked as ‘public’ or ‘common’.

This had a remarkable effect on the phenomenon of private art collecting, since it has always been bound to social elites or those holding special status and wealth.<sup>5</sup> This article aims to review

<sup>1</sup> On the post WWII Czechoslovakia, see for example Edward TABORSKY, *Communism in Czechoslovakia 1948–1960*, Princeton 1961; Kieran WILLIAMS, *The Prague Spring and its Aftermath. Czechoslovak Politics 1968–1970*, Cambridge 1997; *The Revolutions of 1989* (ed. Vladimir Tismaneanu), London 1999; George W. WHITE, *Nationalism and Territory. Constructing Group Identity in South-Eastern Europe*, Lanham (Maryland) 2000; Mark PITTAWAY, *Eastern Europe 1939–2000*, London 2004; James MARK, *The Unfinished Revolution. Making Sense of Communist Past in Central-Eastern Europe*, New Heaven 2010; Kevin McDERMOTT, *Communist Czechoslovakia 1945–89*, London 2015.

<sup>2</sup> Jiří KNAPÍK, Martin FRANC, *Průvodce kulturním děním a životním stylem v českých zemích 1948–1967*, Praha 2011; Jiří KNAPÍK, Martin FRANC, *Volný čas v českých zemích 1957–1967*, Praha 2013.

<sup>3</sup> See *The Politics of Gender Culture under State Socialism. An Expropriated Voice* (eds. Hana Havelaková, Libora Oates-Indruchová), London 2014; *Czech Feminisms. Perspectives on Gender in East Central Europe* (eds. Iveta Jusová, Jiřina Šiklová), Bloomington 2016.

<sup>4</sup> Karl MARX, *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy. 1: The Process of Production of Capital*, Chapt. 32, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Capital-Volume-I.pdf> (retrieved: 1 February 2020); Rodney G. PEFFER, *Marxism, Morality, and Social Justice*, Princeton 2014.

<sup>5</sup> See e. g. *The Cultures of Collecting* (eds. John Elsner, Roger Cardinal), London 1994; Werner MUENSTERBERGER, *Collecting. An Unruly Passion. Psychological Perspectives*, Princeton 1994; Russell W. BELK, *Collecting in a Consumer Society*, Abingdon 1995; Susan M. PIERCE, *On Collecting. An Investigation into Collecting in the European*

and summarize the existing knowledge of large transfers of artistic assets from the private to the public domain, focusing primarily on the development in the Czech lands, i.e. in the Czech and Moravian parts of former Czechoslovakia, the present Czech Republic, during the first two decades of the Communist oppression. It introduces the reader to the situation of persecuted art collectors, generally former members of the bourgeoisie, to the various local legislative ways in which dispossessions were conducted, as well as to the status of research and its limitations in the available archive sources, given their fragmentary state, their frequent inconsistency, as well as the lack of support from art museum institutions in general. In the conclusion, it also tries to lightly draw attention to the mental and behavioural residues of the Cold War era, which could have persisted in the decisions and actions related to the recurrent confrontation of private art collections' and public art museums' interests. Finally, it addresses an international academic audience in the hopes of building a more comprehensive and mutual historical comparison at a European level.<sup>6</sup>

The subject thus touches on the turbulent interaction between the spheres of public and individual (private) space, aspiration and thought. It is concerned with the significant movements of artistic assets, the targeted disruption and 'erasure' of provenance ties by institutions and the state, the uprooting and dismantling of established collection units, and also their subsequent application and significance in the formation of public art museum collections. The large-scale dispossessing of artistic objects is also connected to the issue of the subsequent restitutions in the 1990s, which still resonates as a rather sensitive issue in the Czech cultural space to this day. The several collectors and the stories of their collections, which we examine below, concern the phenomenon of displacement, uprooting, and deviation, which can be readily observed symbolically, as well as on the entirely concrete, material, and human levels. The efforts to pursue further study in this area and to disseminate these findings in an international context are also motivated by the extent to which these topics have been suppressed and stigmatised in the Czech environment (especially by the institutions concerned), even still during the first decades of democratic development, and a certain lack of axiomatic overall respect for real historical provenance data or a tendency to neglect their value, which we sometimes still face in the present day.

### Art Collecting as a Crime?

Political developments in early post-war Czechoslovakia, especially after the crucial transformation of the ideological paradigm in February 1948, brought with them radical changes to ownership/property and societal structures as a consequence of the fight against the 'defeated' social

class.<sup>7</sup> Among the systemic, targeted measures enacted against members of the societal layer, which until then had served as the vehicle for the class-rooted phenomenon of art collecting anchored in the lifestyle of the middle and upper classes, we can see long-term legislative crusades against the owners of allegedly excessively large apartments<sup>8</sup> and one-time incidents related to that crusade aimed at depriving these so-called 'former people'<sup>9</sup> and 'class enemies' of their assets, their power, and their social influence.

Thus, during a rather long period from the beginning of the Second World War until the mid-1960s, the circumstances were far from inclined towards private collecting. As a consequence of the broad range of persecutions targeting the layers of society that had been the vehicle for this activity and of the ideology categorizing what had been a psychologically and socially deeply-rooted component of that lifestyle as just a 'innocuous hobby for the public masses', for many years after the war, private collecting in its original 'estate' form can be said to have just 'survived' through a wide variety of approaches rather than developing in a full-fledged, meaningful way.

Certainly, even within the framework of the given restrictions, many representatives of the cultural intelligentsia did not miss out on making many interesting acquisitions, as we know from excerpts of their oral histories, memoirs, or literature. They focused their interests on more easily accessible mediums or sources. What was typical then was the collection of works on paper, small graphic design works or *ex libris* designs, as well as looking for interesting prints in used bookshops, where valuable items from the dissolved estates of interwar collectors could appear for sale.<sup>10</sup> On this unobtrusive scale, therefore, collecting had a certain hidden continuity, but this situation can hardly be compared with the interwar ostentation and publicly-admired generosity of certain collections. What is symptomatic for the area of 'high' fine art collecting at this time is that we do not record the birth of a new generation of collectors.<sup>11</sup> The spontaneous, traditional continuity

<sup>7</sup> For the social and political situation in general see Karel KAPLAN, *Kronika komunistického Československa. Doba táni 1953–1956*, Praha 2005; Karel KAPLAN, *Kronika komunistického Československa. Kořeny reformy 1956–1968. Společnost a moc*, Brno 2008.

<sup>8</sup> One of the first and fundamental post-February interventions in the private sphere of this group of citizens was the measure on excessive flats, which was brought to life in June 1948 by the new *Housing Management Legislation (Zákon o hospodaření s byty)*, č. 138/1948 Sb., <https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/1948-138> (retrieved 20 April 2020). In the terminology of the law, an apartment with a larger number of rooms than the number of members in the household was already considered to be 'excessive'. With the new legislation of 1956, the ratio between the number of people and the total area became decisive. 'Excessive' citizens or families had to pay a special rent supplement called the 'local fee'. Extensive power was given to local officials, who not only issued orders to evacuate excessive flats but could, in individual cases, reduce the local fee, waive, or even raise it. See *Zákon o hospodaření s byty* č. 67/1956 Sb., <https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/1956-67> (retrieved 20 April 2020).

<sup>9</sup> The term 'former people' came to life in the circles of the state Security services in the early 1950s. It concerned the members of former social elites, the 'defeated' social class. These were citizens deprived of their status and thus socially degraded in some way. As a peculiar category of social enemies, they were not systematically registered until the order of the Minister of the Interior, Rudolf Barák, from early January 1959, including their family members and children, who were denied access to higher education. The main purpose of the records was to keep track of the members of the 'defeated' classes and to prevent their re-emancipation. See *Order by the Minister of the Interior (Rozkaz ministra vnitra o „Rozpracování, pozorování a evidování bývalých lidí“)*, No. 1/1959, January 3, 1959, <https://www.ustrcr.cz/uvod/rozkazy-smernice/rmv-no/> (retrieved 20 April 2020).

<sup>10</sup> See e.g. impressive memoirs of an antiquarian book seller situated in Prague, Luděk SVOBODA, *Antikvariát a já*, Praha 1999.

<sup>11</sup> Such a generation of new and young collectors appears in Czechoslovakia no sooner than in the early 1970s; see Marcela RUSINKO, *Sbirka jako prostor vnitřní svobody. Nová vlna soukromého sběratelství v Československu po roce 1970. Bezčasí. Československo v letech 1972–1977* (eds. Jiří Petráš, Libor Svoboda), Praha-České Budějovice 2019, pp. 95–111.

*Tradition*, Abingdon 1995; *Great Women Collectors* (eds. Charlotte Gere, Marina Vaizy), New York 1999; Philipp BLOM, *To Have and to Hold. An Intimate History of Collectors and Collecting*, New York 2004; James STOURTON, *Great Collectors of Our Time. Art Collecting Since 1945*, London 2008; Jeremy BRADDOCK, *Collecting as Modernist Practice*, Baltimore 2012.

<sup>6</sup> As methodologically implied in the field of creative contemporary art in: Piotr PIOTROWSKY, *In the Shadow of Yalta. The Avant-Garde in Eastern Europe 1945–1989*, London 2009; Piotr PIOTROWSKY, *Toward a Horizontal History of the European Avant-Garde, European Avant-Garde and Modernism Studies* (eds. Sasha Bru, Peter Nicholls), Berlin 2009; *Art beyond Borders. Artistic Exchange in Communist Europe (1945–1989)* (eds. Jerome Bazin, Pascal Dubourg Glatigny, Piotr Piotrowski), Budapest-New York 2016; *A Reader in East-Central-European Modernism 1918–1956* (eds. Beáta Hock, Klara Kemp Welch, Jonathan Owen), London 2019.

of this phenomenon appears to have been disrupted in a serious way. At this point, the ideological efforts of the regime can be considered to have been markedly successful. Any latent collecting 'tendencies' in society were seduced at the appropriate moment by the awareness-raising ideology into a 'side track' of innocuous collecting of advertising/promotional labels, the broadest possible range of curios, and basically anything other than valuable 'high' art.<sup>12</sup> In practice, this period was a phase of unobtrusive continuity maintained by those who had begun to involve themselves in collecting fine art before the war and who now, from time to time, expanded their collections with caution within their limited possibilities. We could even describe it as an era of the broadest possible range of adaptation strategies by the surviving older generation of interwar collectors. They had already created the essential parts of their collections during the period of the interwar and wartime collection boom, but they no longer systematically dedicated themselves to acquisitions after the war. They focused mainly on preserving the integrity of their collections as well as defending their social status, finding ways to use the collections and preserve them as part of their families' assets or public collections.<sup>13</sup>

We can also briefly reflect the gradual development of the regime's official rhetoric and reflection on the phenomenon of private art collection in various phases during the first two decades of 'building socialism' until its cautious reacceptance during the mid-1960s. The different subsequent phases of official discourse about this previously exclusively class-associated phenomenon were now socially levelled, and their content was absolutely deformed into a 'noble', harmless, self-educative way for the masses of the people to spend time, while in an interesting way, they also reflect a form of 'social consciousness' during that era.<sup>14</sup> This can be grasped as a certain result of intentionally disseminated propaganda and also as a peculiarly spontaneous development. In the background of many documents from the early socialist period, what can be traced is a remarkable effort to strip the very objects of collecting, i.e., the artistic artefacts themselves, of the exceptional



1. Vincenc Kramář during his retirement, Prague, October 1956



2. Ladislav Jiří Weber with his wife and his collection of Czech modern art

status attributed to them by the preceding epochs, and to deal with them as if they were ordinary 'consumer' commodities.<sup>15</sup>

Two uncommon examples of leading interwar collectors, Vincenc Kramář (1877–1960),<sup>16</sup> art historian, connoisseur, and director-emeritus of the Picture Gallery of the Society of Patriotic Friends of Art (Obrazárna SVPU), the predecessor of today's National Gallery in Prague (the significant fate of his collection will be mentioned below) and Ladislav Jiří Weber (1893–1961) present the approach taken by some owners of residences and collections to defend themselves against these new persecution practices (figs. 1, 2). In the case of the lawyer Ladislav Jiří Weber, we have documented, by means of preserved correspondence,<sup>17</sup> what is essentially his continual diplomatic and human struggle to preserve his carefully acquired collection as a whole in its original location. Even though his efforts were successful during the late 1940s and the 1950s, in the end, when he passed away, a substantial part of the collection was transferred to the inventory of Prague's National Gallery.<sup>18</sup> Both of the collections named came to serve – (on the basis of declarations made

<sup>12</sup> This officially promoted non-high art collecting of valueless labels (phillumeny) or minor prints which avoided aspects of capitalist speculation was supported by setting up officially managed interest groups of small collectors and friends of art and publishing supportive educative articles, esp. from the early 1960s.

<sup>13</sup> Marcela RUSINKO, *Snad nesbíráte obrazy? Cesty soukromého sběratelství moderního umění v českých zemích v letech 1948–1965*, Brno 2018, pp. 123–173. – For collecting during previous periods, see Lubomír SLAVÍČEK, „Sobě, umění, přátelům“. *Kapitoly z dějin sběratelství v Čechách a na Moravě 1650–1939*, Brno 2007.

<sup>14</sup> See one of the key ideological texts that both formulates the paradigm of 'socialist collecting' in Czechoslovakia and warns against its capitalistic, i.e. historical, noble, bourgeois forms: František STRÍŽ, *Sběratelství dříve a nyní, Aukční katalog Antikva*, Praha 1950.

<sup>15</sup> This is particularly noticeable e.g. in the 1954–1960 annual reports of *Český fond výtvarného umění* (ČFVU) state organisation, whose business branch *Dílo* engaged in art sale, see Národní archiv ČR Praha (NÁČR), ČFVU-Dílo file, cardb. 283.

<sup>16</sup> *Vincenc Kramář – od starých mistrů k Picassovi* (eds. Vojtěch Lahoda, Olga Uhrová), Praha 2000; *Slovník historiků umění, výtvarných kritiků, teoretiků a publicistů v českých zemích a jejich spolupracovníků z příbuzných oborů (asi 1800–2008)* (ed. Lubomír Slavíček), Praha 2016, pp. 702–704.

<sup>17</sup> Archiv Národní galerie v Praze (ANG), Ladislav Weber file, AA 2982, cardb. 88, fol. 46–70. Weber was an enlightened Prague attorney and collector of modern Czech art. A sensitively compiled collection of fifty works by authors of Czech interwar modernism was created mainly in the 1920s and 1930s. The rarely thorough photographic documentation of the ensemble is part of the archival files.

<sup>18</sup> It happened in two steps – after the death of the collector himself and then after the death of his wife – in the most

by official bodies) – an 'important public interest' and became expedient destinations for official visitors coming from abroad. Also, to a certain degree for public as well as private purposes, they substituted for a missing publicly-owned collection of modern Czech art.<sup>19</sup>

### The 'Schizophrenic' Years of the Socialist Era

As indicated, in the first decade after the 1948 Communist coup d'état, private art collecting in Czechoslovakia experienced a great deal of ideologically motivated oppression. Targeted, systemic actions were taken against representatives of former social elites, who had hitherto been the vehicles of this art collecting phenomenon. The persecution peaked in 1959 and 1960 by exemplary trials with eminent pre-war art collectors, former representatives of the bourgeoisie and upper middle class, the cultural intelligentsia. This provoked an extensive new post-war wave of violent dispossessions of private artistic assets, the significant mobility of prominent and large art collections from the private to the public sphere in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Therefore, several model confiscation cases from Prague in the late 1950s and early 1960s will be mentioned, e.g. from the years when the post-war private collecting persecution wave peaked with the dispossessing of large, important art collections, i.e. of course, what was left from previous post-war waves of dispossessing that happened in the Czech area. The first one took place from the summer of 1945 and concerned large noble residences as well as all movable assets and property belonging to the inhabitants of German nationality expelled from Czechoslovakia. It should also be stated that this wave of confiscations had roots and a formal 'prototype' in the legislative actions, so-called 'land reforms', that had been enforced against the representatives of wealthy German and Czech aristocracy after the fall of the Habsburg Empire and after the rise of the independent Czechoslovak state in 1918.<sup>20</sup> The second, this time not an ethnically determined but a global wave of nationalisation, came with the Communist coup d'état in 1948 and concerned primarily large businesses and

common way, i.e. on the legal basis of voluntary donation enforced as an equivalent of due inheritance tax levied. This commonly applied and most effective confiscation pattern of Communist Czechoslovakia – concerning art property – is analysed below.

<sup>19</sup> This fact is clearly expressed by Kramář's written complaint to organizers of the key Czech modern art exhibition *Zakladatelé moderního českého umění (Founders of Czech Modern Art)* in the Prague Castle Riding School in 1958. He lent several works from his collection for this special event, awaiting their return nervously, since "many native, as well as foreign visitors, lack them," as he noted in his letter. See Ústav dějin umění Akademie věd ČR, dokumentační oddělení (ÚDU AV ČR), Vincenc Kramář file, cardb. XI-5, fol. 131.

<sup>20</sup> To this still rather suppressed issue see *Šlechtická sídla ve stínu prezidentských dekretů* (ed. Kristina Uhlíková), Praha 2017; *Konfiszované Schicksale. Kunstdenkmäler aus deutschem Besitz, erworben durch den tschechoslowakischen Staat, und ihre nordböhmischen Besitzer* (ed. Kristina Uhlíková), Praha 2019. See also Kristina UHLÍKOVÁ, Der Umgang mit dem beschlagnahmten Kunstwerken aus Schlössern des ehemaligen Herrscherhauses Habsburg-Lothringen. Ein Dilemma für die junge Tschechoslowakische Republik nach 1918, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 70/1, 2016, pp. 232–245. To the art market with German confiscated property see Marcela RUSINKO, Dražby mobiliářů z konfiskovaných moravskoslezských zámků. Výstavní a aukční síň Karel Ditrich Brno v letech 1948–1950, *Opuscula historiae artium*, 68/1, 2019, pp. 40–55; Marcela RUSINKO, Perské koberce, porcelán, hodiny, nábytek, militaria i exotica. K problematice toků mobiliářů z konfiskovaných moravsko-slezských zámků v aukční síni Karel Ditrich Brno 1948–1950, *Osudy konfiskátů. Výzkum provenience a problematika přesunu kulturního majetku v Československu na základě prezidentských dekretů* (eds. Martin Bakaš, Jitka Císařová, Kristina Uhlíková), Praha 2020, pp. 107–131.



3. Rudolf Barák with Nikita Sergejevich Khrushchev during his visit to Czechoslovakia, July 1957

strategical industries more than individuals, who faced it later.<sup>21</sup> The artistic property of Czech ex-bourgeois or middle class private collectors was, after a decade of trailing persecution, extensively dislocated during the so-called 'schizophrenic era' of the totalitarian system, i.e. between 1957 and 1960. During these years, many conflicting societal processes were underway. The apparent efforts to politically re-establish ideological control over society and this final 'settling of accounts' with the 'enemy within' overlapped with a new 'more consumeristic' way of life in society and a gradual opening to trends from abroad.<sup>22</sup> At that moment, the situation was closely bound to the political developments and the efforts of the governing stratum to consolidate power at all social levels, as well as with the role of the second most powerful

politician in the country, Rudolf Barák (1915–1995, fig. 3).<sup>23</sup>

Barák alone was a unique case of a modern art collector from among the new social elite, abusing, for his own individual aims, the opportunities afforded him by the political apparatus and system. Unfortunately, little is known about his motivations and assessments of his collection, since the part of the archive sources relating to this distinctive figure are still inaccessible and considered to be sensitive. Nevertheless, this example of a collector from the row of new social elites also points to the fact of how forcefully, despite all the regime's ideological efforts, the phenomenon of art collection continued to be perceived as a component enriching one's cultural and social status to a certain degree.<sup>24</sup>

In the end, it should be noted that what contributed to the substantial shift in the knowledge concerning the pattern collectors' fates weren't the art museums archive files, as we would expect, but just historical court files – those that had been preserved, saved from shredding. Thanks to the recent research concerning these court files, at least two leading well-documented cases of court trials with distinctive pre-war collectors, resulting in the confiscation of large and rich collections of modern as well as old European art and, consequently, also the important enrichment of the leading public collections and exemplary punishments, have been reconstructed.<sup>25</sup> However, the second,

<sup>21</sup> Jan KUKLÍK, *Znárodněné Československo*, Praha 2010; Jan KUKLÍK, *Konfiskace, pozemkové reformy a vyvlastnění v československých dějinách 20. století*, Praha 2011.

<sup>22</sup> See periodization of the period of Communist oppression: KNAPIK, FRANC 2011 (n. 2), pp. 21–40. The schizophrenic years between 1957 and 1960 were followed by era of economic problems between 1961 and 1963 and then followed by so-called consumer socialism 'with a human face' era between 1964 and 1967.

<sup>23</sup> NAČR, Generální prokuratura, Nr. Fvg-002/70, Rudolf Barák; Prokop TOMEK, Kariéra a pád ministra vnitra Rudolfa Baráka, *Sborník Muzea Blansko 2006*, pp. 17–36; Prokop TOMEK, *Život a doba ministra Rudolfa Baráka*, Praha 2009. See also KAPLAN 2005 (n. 7), pp. 137–175.

<sup>24</sup> For the list of confiscated artworks, forfeited to the State, see ANG, 1958–1964, Rudolf Barák.

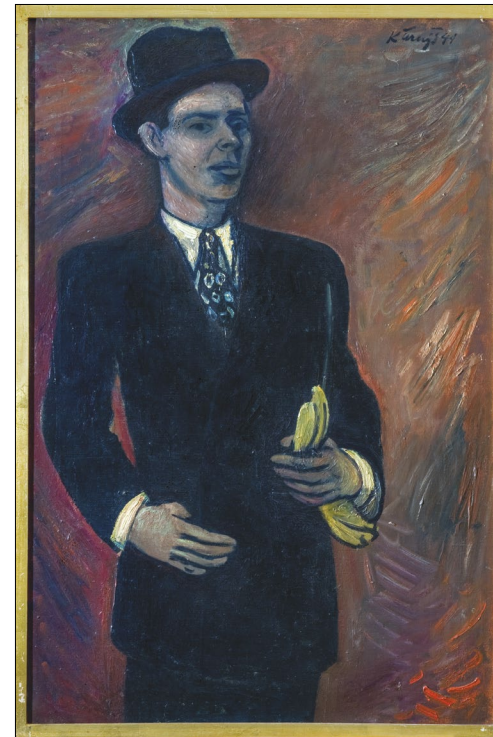
<sup>25</sup> First published in: Marcela RUSINKO, Státem vedené soudní procesy závěru padesátých let a soukromé umělecké sběratelství v komunistickém Československu. Jaroslav Borovička a Václav Butta, *Co bylo Československo? Kulturní*

more numerous group was represented by various cases of other 'soft' ways of dispossessing individuals. This happened quite obviously through the wide-spread Czech institute of the legally forced 'gift'/'donation' of art equivalent in value to an inheritance or property tax that had been levied. Such cases are not easily tracked in the archive files, since some of them had been considered to be 'voluntary' donations for decades. Thus, a combination of sources, if they exist, is usually essential. In general, these violently realized collection transfers gave rise to completely new public art museum exposition outputs devoted not only to modern art in Czechoslovakia during the 1960s.

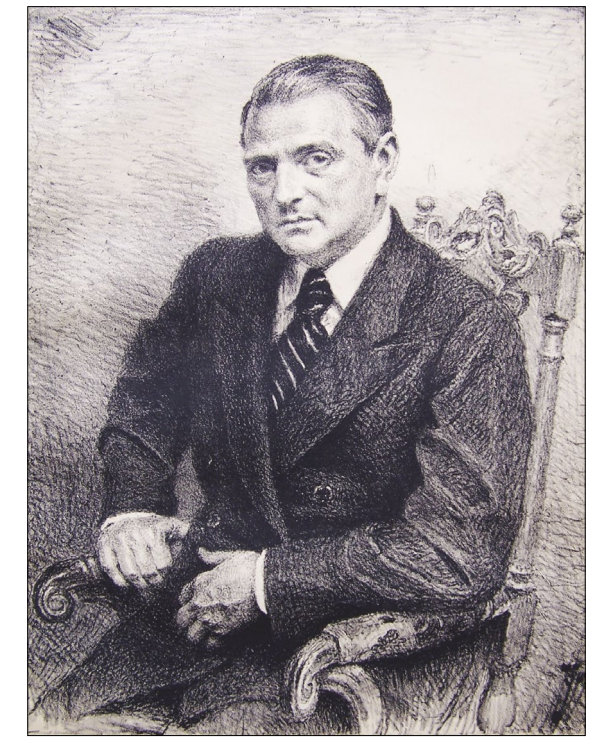
### Dispossession on the Basis of a Lawsuit

Court records preserved in whole or in part facilitate the more detailed reconstruction of the entrepreneur, expert appraiser, and collector Jaroslav Borovička's (1912–2009) trial, or the case of the entrepreneur and collector Václav Butta (1888–1968), who was closely associated with the criminal prosecution of Emanuel Poche (1903–1987),<sup>26</sup> a leading art historian and director of the Museum of Arts, Architecture and Design in Prague (figs. 4–5). These remarkable, unprecedented examples provide a certain opportunity for comparison; in the case of Jaroslav Borovička, the court found him eligible for prosecution due to his extensive 'organized speculation' with art pieces, while in the case of the significantly older entrepreneur and altruistic benefactor Václav Butta and his family, the regime was intentionally seeking his humiliation and sought to liquidate not just his assets but also his social capital and, as a consequence, to destroy this human example of the former bourgeois layer of society. Both trials resulted in the significant subsequent transfer of the confiscated movable art to the National Gallery.

Jaroslav Borovička<sup>27</sup> was a gallery owner, connoisseur, and collector from the lower bourgeoisie. Having inherited a certain amount of money from his father, during late 1930s and 1940s he compiled a respected collection of modern and contemporary Czech art, with Slovak and other contemporary European artistic examples. For not respecting the ban on individual private art trading during the Communist era, in the spring of 1959, he was accused of 'organized speculation' in a political show trial. Borovička was also a lawyer, and together with his attorney, the son of another eminent interwar collector, Vladimír Čerovský (1914–1990), he defended himself by alleging that "an original painting



4. Karel Černý: *Portrait of Jaroslav Borovička*, 1941, Severočeská galerie výtvarného umění, Litoměřice



5. Max Švabinský: *Entrepreneur, patron of arts and collector Václav Butta*, lithography, 1941

is not a necessary object, which is crucial to an accusation on charges of felony speculation" but that it is an "artistic creation of the spirit". During the trial, the defendant sparked an absolutely legally irrelevant, abstract, humanistic/idealistic discussion that was aimed at exploring the very essence of art in a socialist society, asking whether "in today's phase of rebuilding society into a socialist society /.../ paintings with artistic value are objects of necessity".<sup>28</sup> He was sentenced to five years in prison and the confiscation of his entire property. The subsequent confiscation concerned approximately nine hundred seized items, including key pieces of modern Czech art. The collection was divided among state museums of art and in part auctioned at symbolic prices (figs. 6–7). Several years after being released from prison, the original owner emigrated to the Federal Republic of Germany. After many years abroad, in the 1990s, he asked for his collection back. Although the restitution was mostly successful, he was never satisfied with his acceptance by Czech post-revolutionary society and its reaction to him. Trying to build his own gallery with his collection's legacy, he soon became the victim of fraud during those first years. He stopped trusting the Czech environment and absolutely isolated himself, and during the last decade of his life, he refused to give interviews to the media. His rather advanced age and fragile health certainly played a role. He passed away a forgotten person, without any honours or even an obituary, during Christmastime 2009.<sup>29</sup>

At the same time as Borovička, the haute bourgeois businessman, employer, collector, patron and benefactor of artists and artistic associations Václav Butta was also arrested. He was accused

*konstrukce státní identity* (ed. Milena Bartlová), Praha 2017, pp. 226–235. – Not all the archival files on court trials with collectors have been found or preserved, for other less documented cases see RUSINKO 2018 (n. 13), pp. 216–221.

<sup>26</sup> *Slovník historiků* 2016 (n. 16), pp. 1139–1141. – This case also deprived Poche of his position of director of the museum, which he had held since 1948, and started his later career at the Institute of Theory and History of Art of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. In September 1959, the Folk Criminal Law Court (*Lidový soud trestní*) sentenced him to one year in prison, suspended for three years. However, in the course of the subsequent appellate proceedings, the sentence was eventually tightened to one year in prison without probation. The process was labelled as "1T 246/59 LST"; the full version of the investigation file is preserved in: Archiv bezpečnostních složek Praha (ABS), H 7-3, inv. nr. 137.

<sup>27</sup> Archiv hlavního města Prahy (AHMP), Obvodní prokuratura pro Prahu I. – XVI. files, fol. 12 Pv 159/59, Borovička Jaroslav. – NAČR, Policejní ředitelství Praha II, evidence obyvatelstva file, 1941–1951, cardb. 750, sign. B/2516/5 Borovička Jaroslav; ABS, counterintelligence file for Borovička, Nr. TS-623649 MV (reg. Nr. 22569 III. departm.) and Zpravodajská správa Generálního štábu file č. 1712 ZSGŠ. – For items with Borovička collection provenance still preserved in public museums see *Sobě ke cti, umění ke slávě. Čtyři století uměleckého sběratelství v Českých zemích* (eds. Marcela Rusinko, Vít Vlnas), Brno 2019, pp. 281–292, 308–321.

<sup>28</sup> AHMP, Obvodní prokuratura pro Prahu I; XVI. files, fol. 12 Pv 159/59, Borovička Jaroslav.

<sup>29</sup> See also *Slovník historiků* 2016 (n. 16), p. 113; RUSINKO 2018 (n. 13), pp. 192–204.





6.-7. Auctioning confiscated artistic property in Prague, 1960

of 'speculation' and of 'stealing socialist property' during a political show trial. The persecution also affected his other family members. Seventy-one years old, seriously ill and unsuspecting, Butta almost failed to defend himself entirely. As a former entrepreneur and art museum patron he was sentenced to five years in prison and the confiscation of his entire property. In the case file he was labelled a 'typical capitalist' by the state police, and his wife, Aloisie Buttová (1897–1981), was then labelled a 'typical madame'. Several hundreds of his confiscated items, including key pieces of Czech art and antiques, then came to the state art museums, especially the National Gallery in Prague and the Museum of Arts, Architecture and Design in Prague. Their restitution in the 1990s was successful; nevertheless, the family left a substantial part of the returned items with the institutions as donations or long-term loans.<sup>30</sup>

On the basis of several archival sources,<sup>31</sup> we can say the probable initiator of the campaign against these other collectors was Rudolf Barák, the Interior Minister, the Prime Minister, and the second most powerful politician in the country during the late 1950s and at the beginning of the 1960s, mentioned above as a specific example of a collector from the new political elites. In his very brief collector's career, he focused on modern and contemporary Czech art, its figural and landscape aspects, with the clear goal of copying the famous examples of interwar art collections. As a powerful and potentially dangerous political person with non-conformist opinions and presumably with direct contacts in Moscow, he himself became the victim of a political complot at the beginning of 1962. After a brief political show trial, he was imprisoned and all of his property was confiscated. Although he repeatedly asked for its retrieval and the restitution of his art collection, he was never successful, nor were his heirs. To this day, his not large but quite concentrated art



8. French modern art exhibition, National Gallery in Prague 1969, in the middle Picasso's *Gray Head* (Dora Maar, 1941)

collection of about 50 items has remained in the National Gallery in Prague, and although the key piece of Barák's collection, one of Pablo Picasso's (1881–1973) portraits of Dora Maar, *Gray Head* (1941)<sup>32</sup> with the dramatic provenance history, brought to Prague with a large post-war exhibition of Spanish artists,<sup>33</sup> has belonged to that institution's permanent collection for decades, it has never been publicly connected to Barák's name until now, although data as to its provenance are clear (fig. 8). Barák remains a humiliated, negatively-connoted person in the Czech cultural space. The complete files of his case are still not accessible, so this fruitful example of a seriously-conceived 'experiment' in collecting art has not yet been absolutely clarified either in terms of historiography or psychologically. One thing seems clear in this case: he became the victim of his own 'system'.<sup>34</sup>

#### Legislative Traps: Dispossession as Forced 'Donation'

As the first example of a 'silent' but actually forced dispossession of a living collector we can discuss the case of the above-mentioned famous Czech art historian Vincenc Kramář and his collection. Another case of dispossession on the basis of forced 'donation', which on the legal level was understood as equivalent in value to levying an inheritance or property tax, applied also to the fate of the most important, famous Czech art collection of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Kramář, as an art historian and disciple of Franz Wickhoff (1853–1909), Alois Riegel (1858–1905), Julius von Schlosser (1866–1938) or Max Dvořák (1874–1921) from the Vienna School, is recognized as one of the first European collectors of French analytic cubism. He was also the chief executive officer of the National Gallery's

<sup>30</sup> ABS, file Nr. H 7–3, fol. 138; AHMP, Lidový soud trestní v Praze (1952–1960), fol. 1T 287/59. – Jaroslav ANDĚL, Naďa ŘEHÁKOVÁ, *Osudová zalíbení. Sběratelé moderního umění I. 1900–1996*, National Gallery, Praha 1996; RUSINKO 2018 (n. 13), pp. 205–215.

<sup>31</sup> ABS, file Nr. H 7–3, fol. 138 (Václav Butta, Emanuel Poche file), pp. 56–58. See also Studijní ústav ministerstva vnitra file, sign. 31945-5. It is clear from these sources that the Minister was regularly informed about the course of these criminal cases and politically supervised them.

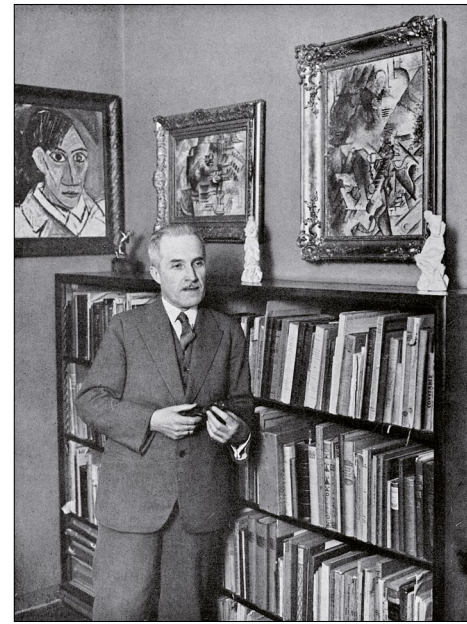
<sup>32</sup> *Dora Maar*, 1941, oil on canvas, 55 × 38 cm, was previously owned by one of the condemned art collectors Václav Dvořák (1900–1984) and politician Rudolf Barák, today National Gallery in Prague; see the comprehensive work with the provenance records: Eva PETROVÁ, *Picasso v Československu*, Praha 1983, p. 204, cat. nr. 23.

<sup>33</sup> *Umění republikánského Španělska. Španělští umělci pařížské školy*, Praha-Brno 1946.

<sup>34</sup> TOMEK 2006 (n. 23); TOMEK 2009 (n. 23); KAPLAN 2005 (n. 7); cf. RUSINKO 2018 (n. 13), pp. 175–185.



9. Vincenc Kramář and Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler in Kramář's Prague apartment, August 1959



10. Vincenc Kramář with part of his early French cubism collection in his Prague apartment, 1932

predecessor institution during the interwar period and one of the world's first theoreticians of cubism. His study of cubism as an artistic tendency was published as early as 1921 in Czechoslovakia, and it was never translated, although Kramář was in intensive contact with the cubist art trader Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler (1884–1979, fig. 9).<sup>35</sup>

Concerning Kramář, the official version that was spread stated that his action was a 'conscious volunteer donation by the benefactor', but he had signed the 'donation' agreement with the National Gallery in Prague under strong pressure during the last year of his life. He gave to the state approximately thirty important works from his high-profile collection of European significance, ones that formed the fulcrum of its intellectual quality. All this was done under the condition that he could live with the collection till the end of his life. However, he was not able to count on the possibility of an honourable exhibition, so the National Gallery confiscated the works under that pretext almost immediately. The forced gift included not only his renowned collection of early French cubism – works by Picasso, Georges Braque (1882–1963), André Derain (1880–1954) – (or most of it, fig. 10), but also valuable works by Czech modern artists such as Emil Filla (1882–1953), Bohumil Kubišta (1884–1918), Vincenc Beneš (1883–1979), Antonín Slavíček (1870–1910), and Josef Šíma (1891–1971). In October 1959, he informed Vice Prime Minister Václav Kopecký (1897–1962) directly of the steps he had planned. The grand presentation of the bequest to the institution, which would have been absolutely unthinkable during the previous decade, happened through an exhibition in the autumn of 1960 (fig. 11).<sup>36</sup> Kramář passed away before the exhibition closed. Nevertheless, the fact and

<sup>35</sup> Vincenc KRAMÁŘ, *Kubismus*, Praha 1921; *Vincenc Kramář* 2000 (n. 16), pp. 40–45, 196–197; Douglas COOPER, Early Purchasers of True Cubist Art. *The Essential Cubism. Braque, Picasso and their Friends 1907–1920* (eds. Douglas Cooper, Gary Tinterow), Tate Gallery, London 1983, p. 262.

<sup>36</sup> Jiří ŠETLÍK, V. Beneš, G. Braque, A. Derain, E. Filla, B. Kubišta, P. Picasso, A. Slavíček, J. Šíma. *Dar Vincence Kramáře Národní galerii v Praze*, National Gallery, Praha 1960.



11. Kramář's collection exhibition 1960, in the middle Picasso's *Self-portrait* (1907) and sculpture *Head of a Woman* (1909)

importance of this bequest during the gradually altering milieu of the early 1960s was broadly reflected upon by cultural media. Along with other significant donations at that time, such as bequests from the collection of Miloš Klika (1890–1962) and primarily from Emanuel Hloupy (1904–1967)<sup>37</sup> – which to this day are still not considered to have been forced – the ground was prepared for the very loose rehabilitation of the official public discourse about the previously very-suppressed phenomenon of private art collecting.

The situation of Vincenc Kramář, who was accused of avoiding the so-called 'millionaire tax' and forced to 'donate' the better part of his collection to the state at the end of his life was very similar to the famous Joachim Utz aka Rudolf Just (1895–1972) story of the British novelist Bruce Chatwin.<sup>38</sup> Chatwin collected the material for his book in Communist Prague at the beginning of the 1960s, and his novel is a case study featuring almost no literary hyperbole, based on the real state of affairs. Chatwin only changed the name of the collector and the end of the story. The porcelain collector Joachim Utz, at the end of the Chatwin's plot, chooses to destroy his entire collection to prevent the state from taking it. In reality, the collector, Rudolf Just, a textile entrepreneur and military officer from Prague, was forced by the secret police to 'donate' his pieces in 1962, but he hid the entire collection before the authorities could transfer it. Decades later, in the late 1990s, the pieces were found by Sotheby's specialists.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, the problematic circumstances under which Kramář's collection came to the Prague National Gallery were never officially recognized. Decades later, the heirs of the art historian sued the state for restitution of the 'donated' pieces, but they were unsuccessful. The

<sup>37</sup> For more on these personalities see primarily RUSINKO 2018 (n. 13), pp. 241–245, 260–270, 281–282.

<sup>38</sup> Bruce CHATWIN, *Utz*, London 1988. The film *Utz* directed by George Sluizer was released in the United Kingdom in 1992; also as the radio play on BBC Radio 4 on 4 July 2009.

<sup>39</sup> Nicholas SHAKESPEARE, *Bruce Chatwin*, London 1999; Will BENNETT, Of Meissen Men, *The Telegraph*, 29 October 2001; Alan RIDING, 'Lost' Meissen Collection Brings Millions to Heirs, *The New York Times*, 13 December 2001, <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/12/13/arts/lost-meissen-collection-brings-millions-to-heirs.html> (retrieved 20 January 2020); cf. RUSINKO 2018 (n. 13), pp. 238–241.

value of the unique modern Czech and French paintings was too high for the state to even debate losing.<sup>40</sup>

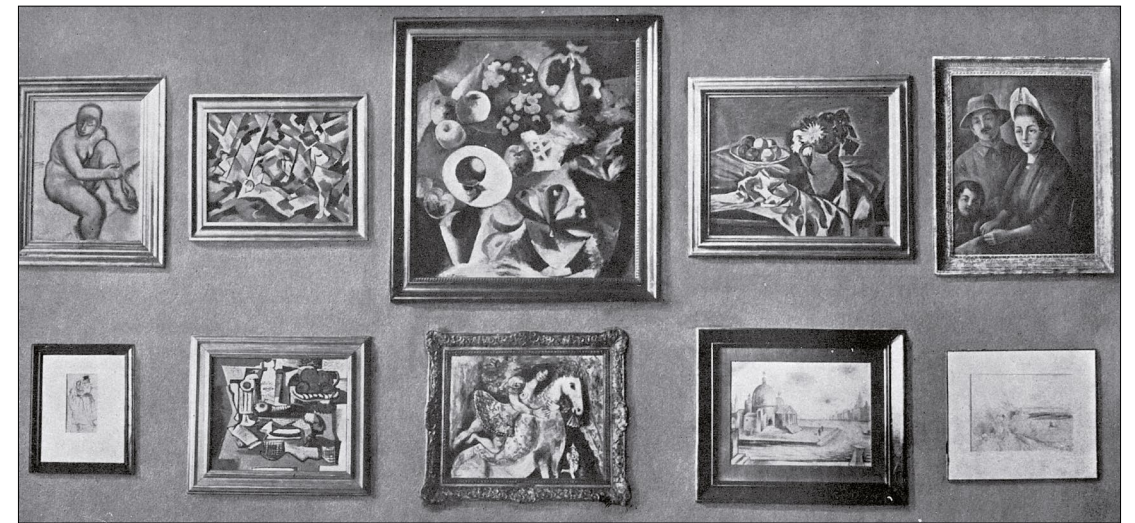
Much more frequent than forced donations from still-living (and aging) collectors were cases when the state enforced a massive 'gift'/'donation' from their heirs. In these instances, the heirs of significant interwar art collectors were subjected to inheritance tax levied in an amount that they were unable to pay in any way other than by selling a substantial part of the collection. As there was no free market and practically no non-official market for modern and avant-garde art at that time, this allowed the state to take practically anything, or to ask almost anything of the heirs of these collections that the state sought. Moreover, the state authorities determined the amount of tax due while simultaneously appraising the paintings. [!] The heirs were caught in a fool-proof, sophisticated, legislative trap with no reasonable escape available.



12. Max Švabinský: Attorney and collector František Čeřovský, lithography, 1931

The sons of the progressive lawyer and prominent interwar collector František Čeřovský (1881–1962) were also faced with this situation. Čeřovský began building his collection before the First World War as a trainee lawyer (fig. 12). He first focused his interest on drawings and sketches. In 1911 he met the painter and theoretician Bohumil Kubišta, one of the key and most influential figures of Czech modern art. Čeřovský obtained his first Kubišta painting as payment for successfully representing him in litigation. As a lawyer he was always very progressive and is considered to have been a pioneer fighter for the decriminalization of homosexuals in Czechoslovakia. His sons' 'donation' to the National Gallery in Prague, realized in 1962 after the collector's death, involved approximately thirty precious paintings and sculptures of European quality. Although Čeřovský was not as nationally and internationally recognized a collector as Kramář, his acquisitions were even more broadly oriented and aimed at modern French and Czech avant-garde art. The collection included rare pictures and drawings by, for example, Amedeo Modigliani (1884–1920), Maurice Vlaminck (1876–1958), Giorgio de Chirico (1888–1978), Marc Chagall (1887–1985, fig. 13), Czech surrealists such as Marie Čermínová-Toyen (1902–1980, fig. 14), Vincenc Makovský (1890–1966), and, again, Pablo Picasso, Georges Braque, etc. After spending three decades in this leading Czech art museum, the pieces were restituted in the 1990s, following which many of them sold relatively quickly on the free market without any consideration of their real (art) historical value for the state.<sup>41</sup>

The biggest collection was involuntarily 'donated' under very similar circumstances by the heirs of one of the most famous Czech painters and collectors, the leader of the Czech avant-garde and



13. Part of the collection of František Čeřovský with Marc Chagall low in the middle, 1932



14. Marie Čermínová-Toyen: Abandoned Lair, 1937, Galerie výtvarného umění v Chebu

<sup>40</sup> For the memories of witnesses, see e.g. Jan KOBLASA, *Záznamy z let padesátých a šedesátých*, Brno 2002; František DVORÁK, *Můj život s uměním*, Praha 2006.

<sup>41</sup> ANDĚL, ŘEHÁKOVÁ 1996 (n. 30); RUSINKO 2018 (n. 13), pp. 248–251; *Sobě ke cti* 2019 (n. 27), pp. 209–220.

theoretician, Emil Filla<sup>42</sup> (mentioned above as collected by Kramář, fig. 15). The case (which lasted from 1958 to 1961) was opened several years after the painter's death, when his wife Hana Fillová (1890–1958) passed away. The amount of tax levied was extremely high. It was actually levied twice because there were two inheritance proceedings, one from the painter to his wife and then from his wife to their children. The state, along with the National Gallery in Prague employees, asked for four hundred and twenty items of the approximately eight hundred and forty found in the artist's studio. Half of this numerous, valuable body of work was the artist's own output, and half was his own art collection, including Renaissance bronzes and large sets of rare, non-European artworks. Years after this cruel, forced 'donation', his large unique Asian art collection partially burned down in one of the National Gallery's repositories. The high point of the whole 'donation' process was the appraisal of Filla's lifework dating from 1906 to 1953. Just a few years earlier, the artist's lifework (including from his peak pre-First World War cubist period) had been officially declared worthless. Now the officials and National Gallery art historians had to explain the enormous difference between their assessments from 1953 and 1959, i.e., why the institution needed works of art that had been declared, just a few years before, to be worthless. Their restitution came three decades later, during the 1990s, but again, the family left hundreds of items with the Prague National Gallery as a donation, including all of what remained of his Asian art collection of European significance and the examples of the artist's lifework.<sup>43</sup>



15. Emil Filla with his wife, after 1946 (?)

### Restituted Physically, but Not Yet Intellectually?

The mobility of artistic assets flowing to the National Gallery in Prague<sup>44</sup> as a result of the acquisitions in the late 1950s and early 1960s sketched above, eventually resulted in the very significant enrich-

ment of its holdings, or rather, completed an essential part of the lacunae existing primarily in the structure of its contemporary and modern art collection. Consequently, this gave rise to completely new exposition and exhibition outputs devoted to modern art in Czechoslovakia after 1962, coming primarily from the new permanent *Czech modern and contemporary art* exhibition installed and opened in the Prague Municipal library during the summer of 1962.<sup>45</sup> Works from the bequests of Vincenc Kramář and other figures were presented with pride, but with no mention of their provenance in the catalogues. Jaroslav Borovička also made an absolutely crucial contribution to the form of these new exhibitions through his business efforts and collection: more than twenty works from his confiscated assets were used in the first part of this exhibition alone, while almost ten were used to illustrate the comprehensive catalogue published three years later.<sup>46</sup> The former entrepreneur Václav Butta also could see selections from his collection of Jan Zrzavý's (1890–1977) works as part of this permanent exhibition after he was released from prison.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, the crucial experience didn't change his altruistic way of thinking. In the end, he was likely convinced that his valuable canvases, art industrial pieces and sculptures held in state museums could serve the 'public interest'.<sup>48</sup> Thus, in his late years, he pushed for the unification of his original collection in the state funds and voluntarily donated the last family pieces left to National Gallery. However, the institution did not accept his gift, since it included a significant piece of sculpture – a plaster self-portrait of Josef Václav Myslbek (1848–1922) of which the gallery had already 'acquired' several versions in a similar fashion from private collections.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, these collection transfers, both the enforced and the voluntary ones, as well as reflections on them, also signified an important step towards the official social rehabilitation of private art collecting, thereby opening up a path leading to the birth of a new generation of collectors who came on the scene during the second half of the 1960s and the early 1970s.

Let us conclude with a few remarks on the whole artistic property flow from the private sphere to the public domain over the last sixty years in the Czech Republic, as well as on the limits and options of research into this subject. First of all, we are dependent on working with very fragmentarily preserved archival sources, yet we are trying to restore the real picture, to rebuild the mosaic, progressing bit by bit as archaeologists. Also, there are actual, essential discrepancies between the versions of events presented by the official documents preserved and reality as it was lived. Cases that seemed even a few years ago to have been ones of voluntary donation – mainly the case of Vincenc Kramář – turned out to be suffering from a lack of source information. They have now proven to be

<sup>42</sup> Vojtěch LAHODA, *Emil Filla*, Praha 2007; Lubor HÁJEK, *Chinese Art in Czechoslovakia*, Praha 1954; Emil FILLA, *Problém renesance a drobná plastika*, Praha 1938.

<sup>43</sup> ANG, 1958–1964 files, files Emil Filla, Hana Fillová. Cf. the similar fate concerning the large 19<sup>th</sup> century Czech art collection of Jaroslav Jindra (1874–1958), civil servant, editor, collector, in: RUSINKO 2018 (n. 13), pp. 245–248, 251–259.

<sup>44</sup> For the present situation in the National Gallery see Tomáš SEKYRKA, *Národní galerie v Praze 1963–1967. V sevření komunismu, či na prahu Evropy?*, *Předjaří. Československo v letech 1963–1967* (eds. Jiří Petráš, Libor Svoboda), Praha 2016, pp. 39–47.

<sup>45</sup> Luboš HLAVÁČEK, *Sbírka moderního umění Národní galerie v Praze*, National Gallery, Praha 1962. The opening took place in August 1962. The main review appeared in the journal *Umění* a few months later; see Luděk NOVÁK, *K nové instalaci moderního umění v Národní galerii v Praze*, *Umění*, 13, 1963, pp. 300–304.

<sup>46</sup> Jiří ŠETLÍK, *České a slovenské malířství první poloviny 20. století*, National Gallery, Praha 1965.

<sup>47</sup> There were also other related contemporary exhibition outputs built on confiscated sets, see also: Marie HOVORKOVÁ, *Španělské pařížské školy*, National Gallery, Praha 1965; *Zahraněční umění z depositářů Národní galerie*, National Gallery, Praha 1965; Ludmila KARLÍKOVÁ, *Neznámé obrazy pařížské školy*, National Gallery, Praha 1966.

<sup>48</sup> It can be said that this altruistic and humanistic attitude of the persecuted members of the elite was not unique during the two post-war decades. On the other hand, there are clear signs that citizens were somewhat unsatisfied upon finding their property confiscated under the label of 'public interest' and in public auction catalogues of the monopoly network *Antikva* or even in the offices of senior officials in the late 1940s and early 1950s. See: NAČR, Státní památková správa (SPS) file, 1947–1948, letter of Josef Scheybal to Prague office of National Cultural Commission, sign. 581-231/47, 5 October, 1947.

<sup>49</sup> ANG, Česko-moravská zemská galerie (ČMZG) file, 1944–1945, correspondence between Butta and the director of the National Gallery Jan Krofta (1907–1982), 14 September 1965–6 December 1965. – See also the story of the donated sculpture in: *Sobě ke cti* 2019 (n. 27), pp. 190–193.

the exact opposite. Thus, the line between a collector's spontaneous bequest or gift and the transfer of movable assets achieved by applying legislative pressure through the system was so blurred in some cases that decades later they became the subject of litigation.

Additionally, the successful restitution of thousands of objects in the 1990s hit the main art museum collections very deeply. They fought to retain these works by erasing data about provenance, and by not revealing such documents, etc. We can still feel the level of frustration, the hostility surrounding uncovering these stories here, when it comes to researching sensitive acquisition histories. This is especially true in the case of the National Gallery in Prague. It is no wonder that the institution has done next to nothing in recent decades for the study of its own painful history of the last hundred years.<sup>50</sup> On the other hand, there are many regional art museums, systematically helping to uncover their own acquisition past while others prefer to close their sensitive archive files to researchers.<sup>51</sup>

In conclusion, let us remark, *Habent sua fata /.../ picturae*. As is said, collections and paintings have destinies of their own. Paradoxically, some of the very rare art pieces returned to their former owners or heirs became subjects of personal or business fraud and deception. More rarely they were quickly sold for prices much lower than their real value, having become the subject of poor speculation. This is also the case of Pablo Picasso's *Still Life with Pipe* painting from the former collection of František Čeřovský. Dating from 1914, coming from the Daniel-Henri Kahnweiler Gallery, and stamped as 'Czech national cultural property', it could not be exported and sold on the world market.<sup>52</sup> However, at the same time, it could not be sold for the high price it required on the domestic market, and it could not be reacquired by the state museums. Not infrequently, such rare art pieces have fallen into the hands of criminals.<sup>53</sup> After these kinds of experiences, we much more clearly understand the strange, urgent efforts of the entrepreneur and collector Václav Butta after his release from prison in the 1960s. He was, paradoxically, trying not to hide the pieces of art he still had, but to reunite them with their confiscated fellows in the arms of the National Gallery, to save them not for his own heirs, who might often prove to be light-hearted about selling them, but for the future.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> A clear outcome of this failing approach is the institution's recent attempt to commemorate the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its tradition with superficial looking-back popular studies, communicating first of all to its future patrons and business partners. *Generosity. The Art of Giving. White Rabbit. The Companion* (eds. Adam Budak, Michaela Pejšochová), National Gallery, Praha 2016; *Velkorysost. Umění obdarovat. Křiha rozhovorů/Generosity. The Art of Giving. Book of Conversations* (eds. Adam Budak, Michaela Pejšochová), Praha 2016.

<sup>51</sup> Also, the exhibition project on the history of art collecting bound to public art museum funds, *Sobě ke cti, umění ke slávě* organized in 2019 in the West-Bohemian Gallery in Pilsen between 25 October 2019 and 23 February 2020 (for the accompanying monograph, see n. 27), in the cooperation with the institutions that have been willing to open their files to provenance research. This is also the reason why this project excluded the National Gallery in Prague and did not include any of its artworks. On the contrary, the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, which is among the most cooperative and helpful in the field of provenance research, lent a number of artistic items.

<sup>52</sup> Pablo Picasso, *Still Life with Pipe*, 1914, papier collé, pencil, ink, oil paint on canvas, 28 × 35 cm; see: PETROVÁ 1983 (n. 32), pp. 99, 203 (cat. nr. 20). On the protection of museum collections and on amendments to some other acts, see also: Methodological Instruction of the Ministry of Culture No. 10774/2004 on the export of cultural goods from the customs territory of the European Communities; Act No. 122/2000 Coll. (*Metodický pokyn Ministerstva kultury, č. j. 10774/2004, k vývozu kulturních statků z celního území Evropských společenství*, [https://www.cz-museums.cz/web/deni\\_v\\_oboru/muzejni-legislativa](https://www.cz-museums.cz/web/deni_v_oboru/muzejni-legislativa), retrieved 20 April 2020).

<sup>53</sup> See also the story of the distressing destinies of some other pieces of art in private hands in: Noah CHARNEY, *The Museum of Lost Art*, London 2018.

<sup>54</sup> The research for this article was conducted in the scope of the research project *Art History in Moravia. Moravia in the History of Art (20-09541S)*, funded by the Czech Science Foundation (GACR).

## V »javnem interesu«? Razlastitve umetniških zbirk v komunistični Češkoslovaški med letoma 1948 in 1965

*Povzetek*

V prvem desetletju po komunističnem državnem udaru leta 1948 je bilo umetnostno zbirateljstvo na Češkoslovaškem izpostavljeno hudemu ideološko motiviranemu zatiranju. Usmerjeni sistemski postopki so doleteli t. i. »nekdanje ljudi« in druge predstavnike »poraženih« družbenih razredov, ki so bili do takrat nosilci fenomena umetnostnega zbirateljstva. Pregarjanje je doživelo vrhunec v letih 1959 in 1960 z režiranimi javnimi procesi proti uglednim predvojnim zbirateljem umetnin, nekdanjim predstavnikom buržoazije. To je sprožilo obsežen val prisilnih razlastitev zasebnega umetniškega premoženja in pomembne premike velikih, uglednih umetniških zbirk iz zasebne v javno sfero v poznih petdesetih in na začetku šestdesetih let 20. stoletja. Članek obravnava več vzorčnih primerov takih procesov, ki so se končali s svarilnimi kaznimi in zaplembo premoženja, s katerim so se obogatile vodilne javne zbirke, pa tudi primere drugih, »mehkejših« načinov razlastitve posameznikov s pomočjo močno razširjene češke institucije t. i. zakonsko prisiljenih »donacij« umetnin v vrednosti davka, odmerjenega na dediščino ali na premoženje.

Sodni spisi, ohranjeni v celoti ali le delno, omogočajo podrobnejšo rekonstrukcijo sojenja podjetniku, izvedenemu cenilcu in zbiratelju Jaroslavu Borovički (1912–2009) ali procesa proti podjetniku in zbiratelju Václavu Butti (1888–1968), ki je bil tesno povezan s kazenskim pregonom Emanuela Pocheja (1903–1987), enega vodilnih umetnostnih zgodovinarjev in ravnatelja Muzeja za umetnost, arhitekturo in oblikovanje v Pragi. Ta pomembna procesa brez precedensa nudita priložnost za primerjavo: Jaroslava Borovičko je sodišče sklenilo kazensko preganjati zaradi njegove obsežne »organizirane špekulacije«, medtem ko je v procesu zoper precej starejšega podjetnika in altruističnega dobrotnika Václava Butto in njegovo družino režim poskušal načrtno ponižati njega in likvidirati ne le njegovo premoženje, ampak tudi njegov družbeni ugled. S tovrstnimi dejanji je oblast želela onemogočiti pomembne predstavnike nekdanjega meščanskega družbenega sloja. Rezultat obeh procesov so bili obsežni prenosi zaplenjene premične umetnosti (številnih kosov) v Narodno galerijo v Pragi.

Na podlagi številnih arhivskih virov lahko rečemo, da je bil verjetni pobudnik kampanje proti drugim zbirateljem Rudolf Barák (1915–1995), notranji minister, premier in drugi najvplivnejši politik v državi v poznih petdesetih in na začetku šestdesetih let 20. stoletja, ki je takrat predstavljal specifičen primer zbiratelja iz nove politične elite. Kot močna, potencialno nevarna politična osebnost z nekonformističnimi pogledi in domnevnimi neposrednimi zvezami v Moskvi je na začetku leta 1962 sam postal žrtev politične zarote. Po kratkem režiranem procesu je bil obsojen na zaporno kazen, zaplenjeno je bilo vse njegovo premoženje, vključno z najpomembnejšim delom iz njegove zbirke, enim od Picassovih portretov Dore Maar (1941). Čeprav je večkrat zaprosil, da mu ga vrnejo, mu ni nikoli uspelo, prav tako ne njegovim dedičem. Njegova neobsežna, vendar izbrana umetniška zbirka približno 50 del je še vedno v praški Narodni galeriji.

Kot primer »tipe«, a v resnici prisilne razlastitve živečega zbiratelja je obravnavan primer slavnega češkega umetnostnega zgodovinarja Vincenca Kramářja (1877–1960) in njegove zbirke. Usodo te najpomembnejše češke zbirke umetnosti 20. stoletja je zapečatila razlastitev na podlagi prisiljene »donacije«, ki je na pravnem nivoju veljala za enakovredno odmerjenemu davku na dediščino ali na premoženje. Kramář, umetnostni zgodovinar, sodelavec Maxa Dvořáka (1874–1921) iz dunajske šole in zaslužni ravnatelj Narodne galerije v Pragi, je prepoznan kot eden prvih evropskih zbirateljev francoskega

analitičnega kubizma. Obtožen je bil, da ni poravnal t. i. milijonarskega davka, zato je moral na koncu svojega življenja državi podariti večji del svoje zbirke. Desetletja kasneje so njegovi dediči tožili državo, da bi jim vrnila dragocena izbrana dela iz zbirke, vendar so bili pri tem neuspešni. Kramářjev položaj je bil zelo podoben zgodbi zbiratelja porcelana Rudolfa Justa (1895–1972), ki nastopa pod imenom Joachim Utz v romanu britanskega pisatelja Brucea Chatwina. Chatwin je gradivo za svojo knjigo zbiral v komunistični Pragi na začetku šestdesetih let 20. stoletja in njegov roman predstavlja primer literarnega dela, v katerem ni skoraj nič literarno domišljjskega, temveč vsa vsebina temelji na resničnih razmerah.

Veliko pogostejši od prisiljenih donacij živečih (in starajočih se) umetnikov ali zbirateljev so bili primeri, v katerih je država v obsežne donacije prisilila dediče. V teh primerih je bil dedičem obsežnih medvojnih umetniških zbirk odmerjen tako visok davek na dediščino, da ga niso mogli plačati drugače kakor s prodajo velikega dela podedovanega. V tem času ni bilo prostega trga in tudi ne uradnega trga za moderno in avantgardno umetnost, kar je državi omogočalo, da je lahko od dedičev zahtevala praktično karkoli. Poleg tega so državne oblasti hkrati določale višino davka in ocenjevale vrednost umetniških del. Dediči so bili tako ujeti v sofisticirano pravno past brez razumnega izhoda. Pod takimi pogoji so sinovi pomembnega medvojnega odvetnika in zbiratelja moderne češke in francoske umetnosti Františka Čeřovskýja (1981–1962) Narodni galeriji v Pragi podarili dragocen del svoje dediščine. Največjo zbirko so na ta način neprostoovoljno »podarili« dediči enega najbolj znanih slikarjev in zbirateljev, voditelja avantgarde in teoretika, »češkega Picassa« Emila Filla (1882–1953). Država je skupaj z nameščenci praške Narodne galerije zahtevala več kot 400 del iz njegove zapuščine, kar je predstavljalo polovico vseh del, ki so jih našli v umetnikovem ateljeju. Polovico tega obsežnega in dragocenega opusa je predstavljalo umetnikovo lastno življenjsko delo (vključno z zgodnjimi kubističnimi deli), drugo polovico pa njegova zasebna umetniška zbirka, vključno z renesančnimi bronastimi kipci in obsežnimi serijami redkih, neevropskih umetniških del.

Premiki umetniškega premoženja, ki je v poznih petdesetih in zgodnjih šestdesetih letih v obliki akvizicij pritekalo predvsem v praško Narodno galerijo, so sčasoma privedli do pomembne obogatitve njene zbirke ali bolje, zapolnili so velik del praznin, ki so prvotno obstajale v strukturi njene zbirke sodobne in moderne umetnosti. To je posledično omogočilo popolnoma nove rezultate razstav, ki so bile na Češkoslovaškem po letu 1962 posvečene moderni umetnosti. Večina neprostoovoljno prenesenih zbirk je v devetdesetih letih 20. stoletja postala predmet fizične restitucije (z izjemo Barákovih in Kramářjevih umetnin). Kljub temu pa še vedno čakamo na intelektualno in moralno rehabilitacijo imen in usod, pa tudi na oživitev pomena raziskovanja provenience umetnin v Republiki Češki.

Reparatur.

Mit dem Sinfon. Prob. zu S. Leonardi  
pro 443.

Reparatur

von 442. durch Guttee ist mir  
vorhoben

das durch Guttee pro 443. an  
-stehen

Summa Reparatur 236. --

Reparatur

In dem neuen Ornat. so der  
in einer Fasula. 2. Dalmaticis  
und 1. Pluvialj, ein Läng-  
-man Muzen vor gelbes Borten.

St. 1. und der selbe Läng Läng St. 1. 228. 59. --

Ein orwale Messenbuch Linn.

manifera vor gelbes quassen  
St. 2. und Linn. al Linn. St. 2. .. 0. --

Summa 288. 59. --

## IZVLEČKI IN KLJUČNE BESEDE ABSTRACTS AND KEYWORDS

### Boris Golec

*Najzgodnejše omembe umetnikov v slovenskem jeziku. Ljubljanska oklicna knjiga 1737–1759 kot vir za slovensko umetnostno zgodovino*

#### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Prispevek obravnava najzgodnejše omembe slikarjev, kiparjev in drugih umetnikov v slovenskem jeziku. Glede na to, da je bila pisana slovenščina v svetni sferi do razsvetljenstva zelo malo rabljen jezik, srečamo večje število tovrstnih omemb šele sredi 18. stoletja. Slovenski nazivi za njihove poklice so sicer v slovenskih besedilih in slovarjih izpričani od druge polovice 16. stoletja, vendar brez navezave na konkretne osebe. Dragocen vir omemb predstavlja obsežna oklicna knjiga ljubljanske stolne župnije sv. Nikolaja iz let 1737–1759. Slovensko izrazje za obravnavane poklice, ki ga v njej srečujemo, je bilo v celoti adaptirano iz nemščine. Slikarji so označeni kot *malar* in *maler*, kiparji kot *pilavar*, *pildtaver* in *bildtaver*, slikarji kart kot *kartenmalar* oziroma *kartenmaler*, pozlatarji kot *faser* in *fergulder* oziroma *ferguldar*, edini stavbenik pa kot *paumaster*. Knjiga ni samo bogat vir podatkov slovenske poklicne terminologije 18. stoletja, ampak tudi zakladnica za preučevanje mikrokozmosa posameznikov.

Ključne besede: slikarji, kiparji, slovenski jezik, Ljubljana, oklicna knjiga

### Boris Golec

*The Earliest References of Artists in the Slovenian Language. The Ljubljana Register of Banns 1737–1759 as a Source for Slovenian Art History*

#### 1.01 Original scientific article

The paper analyses the earliest references of painters, sculptors and other artists in the Slovenian language. In Slovenian texts and dictionaries, Slovenian titles for professions are attested to since the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, however, they are not directly referenced to specific persons. Based on the fact that written Slovenian was a language that was rarely used in the secular sphere until the Enlightenment, a larger number of such references can be found only from the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. An extensive register of banns of the St Nicholas' parish in Ljubljana from 1737–1759 represents a valuable source for such references. The Slovenian expressions for the discussed professions, which can be found in the book, were entirely adapted from German. Painters are designated as *malar* or *maler*, sculptors as *pilavar*, *pildtaver* and *bildtaver*, painters of cards as *kartenmalar* or *kartenmaler*, gilders as *faser* and *fergulder* or *ferguldar*, and the only master builder as *paumaster*. The book is not only a rich source of information about Slovenian professional terminology of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but also a treasury for researching individuals' microcosms.

Keywords: painters, sculptors, Slovenian language, Ljubljana, register of banns



**Simona Kostanjšek Brglez**

*Kipar, pozlatar in restavrator Ivan Sojč – življenje in delo od začetka samostojnega delovanja*

## 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Prispevek osvetljuje življenje in delo plodovitega in doslej slabo raziskanega kiparja, pozlatarja in restavratorja Ivana Sojča (1879–1951). Kiparsko in drugo potrebno znanje ter izkušnje je dolgo pridobival v različnih delavnicah doma in v tujini. Leta 1908 je odprl lastno delavnico v Vitanju, od leta 1911 pa je živel in ustvarjal v Mariboru. V okviru raziskav je bil njegov štirideset enot obsegajoči seznam del dopolnjen z več kot sto šestdesetimi novimi. Med njimi prevladuje lesena cerkvena oprema, pomemben del opusa pa predstavljajo polnplastični in reliefni betonski figuralni nagrobniki. V prispevku, podprtem z arhivskimi viri in ustnimi pričevanji potomcev, je Sojčevo delo predstavljeno glede na slogovne usmeritve, vzore, ikonografijo, tehniko in materiale, namembnost in kvaliteto. Prvič je izpostavljeno njegovo pozlatarsko-poslikovalsko in restavratorsko delo. Ob naštetem je zapolnjena tudi vrzel v poznavanju njegove biografije.

**Ključne besede:** Ivan Sojč, kiparstvo prve polovice 20. stoletja, secesija, neobarok, neorokoko, cerkvena oprema, nagrobniki, pozlatarstvo, restavratorstvo, ikonografija

**Tina Košak**

*Janez Ernest II. grof Herberstein in naročila opreme za župnijsko cerkev sv. Lenarta v Slovenskih goricah*

## 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Prispevek na podlagi temeljite analize računskih knjig župnije Lenart v Slovenskih goricah in njihovih prilog obravnava naročila opreme, ki jo je Janez Ernest II. grof Herberstein (1709–1780) v drugi polovici 18. stoletja pridobil za lenarško župnijsko cerkev. Vrsta zanesljivih novih atribucij in datacij predstavlja temelj nadaljnjemu raziskovanju grofovih naročil v njegovih rezidencah. Herberstein je opremo naročal pri privilegiranih umetnikih iz deželne prestolnice, pri kiparju Johannesu Piringerju (1709–1788) ter slikarjih Johannu Baptistu Antonu Raunacherju (1729–1771) in Antonu Jantlu (1723–1805). Vsi omenjeni umetniki so sodelovali pri prenovah v dvorcu Eggenberg in graški palači, reziden-

**Simona Kostanjšek Brglez**

*Sculptor, Gilder and Restorer Ivan Sojč. His Life and Work since the Start of his Independent Career*

## 1.01 Original scientific article

The paper sheds light on the life and work of the prolific and previously poorly researched sculptor, gilder, and restorer Ivan Sojč (1879–1951). He obtained the necessary sculptural and other knowledge and experiences over the course of many years in various workshops at home and abroad. In 1908 he opened his own workshop in Vitanje, and from 1911 he lived and created in Maribor. In the scope of research, his previous list of 40 known works has been complemented with more than 160 others. Among these wooden church equipment prevails, while free-standing and relief concrete figurative tombstones also present an important part of his oeuvre. In the paper, supported by numerous archival sources and complemented with his descendants' oral testimonies, Sojč's work is presented based on stylistic directions, models, iconography, technique and materials, function, and quality. The gilding and painting view of his work and his restoration work are exposed for the first time. Moreover, the paper supplements his biography.

**Keywords:** Ivan Sojč, sculpture of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Secession, Neo-Baroque, Neo-Rococo, church furnishings, tombstones, gilding, restoration, iconography

**Tina Košak**

*Johann Ernst II Count Herberstein and the Commissions for the Parish Church of St Leonard in Slovenske gorice*

## 1.01 Original scientific article

Based on archival data from parish ledgers and their enclosed documents, the paper analyses the hitherto unknown commissions and patronage of Johann Ernst II Count Herberstein (1709–1780) in the St Leonard parish in Slovenske gorice in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. New attributions made based on archival data provide context to his previously known commissions, enabling a comparison with commissions of residential furnishings and providing a departing point for their further analyses. Herberstein commissioned church furnishings from privileged artists from the Styrian capital of Graz: sculptor Johannes Piringer (1709–1788), and painters Johann Baptist Anton Raunacher (1729–1771) and Anton Jantl

cah Karla Leopolda grofa Herbersteina in njegove žene Marije Eleonore, roj. kneginje Eggenberg.

**Ključne besede:** naročništvo, cerkvena oprema, prenove plemiških rezidenc, 18. stoletje, Lenart v Slovenskih goricah, grad Hrastovec, Janez Ernest II. grof Herberstein, Johannes Piringer, Johann Baptist Anton Raunacher, Anton Jantl (Jandl)

**Ana Lavrič**

*Bratovščine v klariških samostanih na Kranjskem. Njihova umetnostna in duhovna dediščina*

## 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Prispevek se osredotoča na novoveške bratovščine, ki so delovale pri samostanih klaris na Kranjskem do njihove ukinitve pod Jožefom II. in so bile doslej v strokovni literaturi obravnavane predvsem z zgodovinskega vidika. Z bratovščinama v Ljubljani (1702) in Mekinjah (1717–1718) so klarise na Kranjskem spodbudile češčenje Jezusovega in Marijinega Srca, škofjeloške bratovščine (1717, 1725–1726, 1775–1776) pa so pospeševale v deželi že vkoreninjene pobožnosti do Marijinega brezmadežnega spočetja, sv. Jožefa (sv. Družine) in Imena Jezusovega. Umetnostna dediščina klariških bratovščin je razmeroma skromna, povezana z usodo posameznih samostanov po njihovi ukinitvi, in tudi po kakovosti posebej ne izstopa, zanimiva pa je po ikonografiji z bogato simboliko srca. Zaradi narave ohranjenega gradiva ima prispevek različne vsebinske poudarke in težišča.

**Ključne besede:** klarise, bratovščine, baročna umetnost, ikonografija, Srce Jezusovo, Srce Marijino, Frančišek Karel Remb, Franc Jelovšek, Leopold Layer, Kranjska

**Katarina Mohar**

*Nacistično plenjenje umetnostne dediščine na Gorenjskem med drugo svetovno vojno in primer oltarjev iz cerkve sv. Lucije v Dražgošah*

## 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Članek na podlagi analize arhivskega gradiva predstavlja doslej neraziskano področje nacističnega plenjenja umetnostne dediščine na Gorenjskem med drugo svetovno

(1723–1805), all of whom had participated in the renovations of residences of his relative Carl Leopold Count Herberstein-Pusterwald (1712–1789) and his wife, Maria Eleonora, nee Princess of Eggenberg.

**Keywords:** patronage, church furnishings, residential renovations, 18<sup>th</sup> century, Lenart in Slovenske gorice, Hrastovec Castle, Johann Ernst II Count Herberstein, Johannes Piringer, Johann Baptist Anton Raunacher, Johann Jantl (Jandl)

**Ana Lavrič**

*Confraternities in the Convents of the Poor Clares in Carniola. Their Artistic and Spiritual Heritage*

## 1.01 Original scientific article

The paper discusses early modern confraternities active in the convents of the Poor Clares in Carniola until their abolishment by Joseph II, which hitherto have been researched in expert literature particularly from a historical point of view. The Poor Clares in Carniola used confraternities in Ljubljana and Mekinje to encourage the veneration of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, while the confraternities in Škofja Loka promoted the already rooted devotions to the Immaculate Conception, St Joseph (the Holy Family), and the Name of Jesus. Due to the fate of individual convents after their dissolution in 1782, the artistic heritage of the Poor Clares' confraternities is modest and its quality does not stand out. Nevertheless, it conveys a special spiritual message and an interesting iconography with a rich symbolism of the heart. Owing to the nature of the surviving material, the paper opens several new themes.

**Keywords:** Poor Clares, confraternities, Baroque art, iconography, the Sacred Heart, the Heart of Mary, Franz Carl Remp, Franc Jelovšek, Leopold Layer, Carniola

**Katarina Mohar**

*The Nazi Plunder of Artistic Heritage in Gorenjska during the Second World War and the Case of Altars from the Church of St Lucy in Dražgoše*

## 1.01 Original scientific article

Based on analysis of archival sources, the article presents the thus far unresearched Nazi plunder of artistic heritage in the region of Gorenjska (Upper Carniola) during

vojno s poudarkom na organizaciji dela in glavnih akterjih. Zaradi obsežnosti tematike prepušča identifikacijo in analizo zaplenjenih predmetov umetnostne dediščine za prihodnje raziskave. Vrzeli v dokumentih in v samem razumevanju procesa zapolnjuje s študijo primera, ki razkriva, kako so postopki potekali v praksi – osredotoča se na transfer inventarja iz cerkve sv. Lucije v Dražgošah, ki so jo Nemci januarja 1942, po bitki v neposredni bližini vasi, požgali, pred tem pa iz nje odstranili opremo, del katere je pogrešan še danes.

**Ključne besede:** transfer umetnin, pljenje umetnin, nacizem, cerkev sv. Lucije v Dražgošah, umetnostna dediščina, Gorenjska, 2. svetovna vojna

#### **Damjan Prelovšek**

*Plečnikova cerkev sv. Antona Padovanskega v Beogradu*

##### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Članek prinaša nove ugotovitve o gradnji in opremljanju Plečnikove beograjske cerkve sv. Antona, ki temeljijo na doslej neupoštevanih arhivskem materialu iz Beograda in Jajca. Po tem, ko je novi provincial fra Josip Markušić zavrnil umetniško nedozorel načrt cerkve, so se beograjski frančiškani obrnili na Plečnika. Ta jim je narisal podolgovato cerkev s širokim zvonikom, kakršno so tedaj po njegovih načrtih gradili v Pragi. Kot alternativo jim je ponudil tudi cenejšo okroglo varianto z visokim zvonikom, ki so jo z veseljem sprejeli. Ker ni zaupal lokalnim izvajalcem in bi gradnja preseгла finančne možnosti frančiškanov, je opustil sprva zamišljeno kupolo. Na Plečnikovo željo so se frančiškani odločili za dražjo vidno opeko. Cerkev so med letoma 1929 in 1932, to je v času najhujše gospodarske krize, gradili madžarski zidarji iz Vojvodine. Pri ikonografskem programu je Plečnik sodeloval z Markušićem in leta 1936 izdelal generalni predlog opreme. Po letu 1945 se je z dokončanjem cerkve ukvarjal agilni župnik fra Eduard Žilič. Plečnik je za svojega naslednika predlagal arhitekta Janeza Valentinčiča, ki je med drugim dozdil vhodno lopo in zvonik. Pri slednjem je, da bi nekoliko razbremenil temelje, uporabil železobetonsko jedro, navzven pa ga je oblekel z vidno opeko.

**Ključne besede:** sakralna arhitektura 20. stoletja, Jože

the Secod World War and focuses on organisation of operations and their protagonists. Due to the complexity and scope of the topic, identification and analysis of the plundered artworks are left for future study. The inconsistencies in understanding of the process, which arise from the numerous gaps in documentation, are overcome via a case study revealing how the operations were implemented in practice. Presented in the second part of the article, it focuses on the transfer of inventory from the church of St Lucy in Dražgoše, which was burnt down by the Germans in January 1942 in the aftermath of the battle in its immediate surroundings. A part of the artworks they removed from the church before destroying it are still missing today.

**Keywords:** transfer of artistic objects, plunder of artworks, National Socialism, church of St Lucy in Dražgoše, artistic heritage, Gorenjska, Second World War

#### **Damjan Prelovšek**

*The Church of St Anthony of Padua in Belgrade by Jože Plečnik*

##### 1.01 Original scientific article

The paper introduces new findings on the construction and furnishing of Plečnik's church of St Anthony in Belgrade, which are based on previously unconsidered archival material from Belgrade and Jajce. After new provincial head fra Josip Markušić rejected the artistically immature plan of the church, the Belgrade Franciscans appealed to Plečnik. He drew them a longitudinal church with a wide bell tower like the one that was being built in Prague after his plans. As an alternative he offered them a cheaper round church with a high bell tower, which the Franciscans happily accepted. Since Plečnik did not trust local constructors and the construction would exceed the financial resources of the Franciscans, he gave up the dome that he had planned at first. At his request, the Franciscans decided on a more expensive visible brick. Between 1929 and 1932, during the worst economic crisis, the church was built by Hungarian masons from Vojvodina. Plečnik collaborated with Markušić on the iconographic programme, and in 1936 he made a general suggestion on the furnishing. After 1945, agile priest fra Eduard Žilič dealt with the finishing of the church. Plečnik proposed architect Janez Valentinčić as his successor, who, among other things, built the entrance porch and the bell tower. With the latter, he used a reinforced concrete core to slightly relieve the foundations, while on the outside, he covered it with visible bricks.

**Keywords:** 20<sup>th</sup> century religious architecture, architect

Plečnik, Arkandelo Grgić, Josip Markušić, Eduard Žilič, Ivan Meštrovič, Janez Valentinčič, beograjski frančiškani, cerkvena tipologija

#### **Boštjan Roškar**

*Poslikave in pozlate Holzingerjevih oltarjev in prižnic*

##### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

V prispevku so obravnavane pozlate in poslikave oltarjev in prižnic, katerih zasnova, figure oziroma reliefi in ornamentika so delo mariborskega kiparja Jožefa Holzingerja. Upoštevana so le ustrezno restavrirana dela, torej tista, pri katerih je prezentirana prvotna barvna podoba, kakršno so izvedli predstavljeni pozlatarji in poslikovalci. Poslikave in pozlate nekaterih Holzingerjevih oltarjev in prižnic so arhivsko dokumentirane. Dokumenti omenjajo mariborske slikarje Franca Beinliča, Franca Antona Widemana in Antona Geringerja. Analizirane so stilistične spremembe barvitosti in strukturiranosti marmoracij in tonskih vrednosti inkarnatov v drugi polovici 18. stoletja. Ena izmed redkih ohranjenih pogodb za poslikavo velikega oltarja v cerkvi sv. Lenarta v Slovenskih goricah, sklenjena leta 1772 med upravnikom gospostva Hrastovec in upravnikom izpostave admomtskih benediktincev v Jarenini na eni ter mariborskim slikarjem Francem Antonom Widemanom na drugi strani, daje uvid v zahteve naročnikov, tehnologijo in stroške tovrstnih storitev.

**Ključne besede:** poslikava, pozlata, inkarnat, oltarno kiparstvo, barok, Jožef Holzinger, Franc Beinlich, Franc Anton Wideman, Anton Geringer

#### **Marcela Rusinko**

*V »javnem interesu«? Razlastitve umetniških zbirk v komunistični Češkoslovaški med letoma 1948 in 1965*

##### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

V prvem desetletju po komunističnem državnem udaru leta 1948 je bilo umetnostno zbirateljstvo na Češkoslovaškem izpostavljeno hudemu ideološko motiviranemu zatiranju. To je bilo posebej izrazito uperjeno proti nekdanjim družbeni eliti, dotlej nosilki fenomena umetnostnega zbirateljstva. Preganjanje je doživelo vrhunec v letih 1959 in 1960 z montiranimi javnimi procesi proti uglednim predvojnimi zbirateljem umetnin, nekdanjim

Jože Plečnik, Arkandelo Grgić, Josip Markušić, Eduard Žilič, Ivan Meštrovič, Janez Valentinčič, Belgrade Franciscans, church typology

#### **Boštjan Roškar**

*Painting and Gilding of Holzinger's Altars and Pulpits*

##### 1.01 Original scientific article

The paper discusses the painting and gilding of altars and pulpits, the design, figures or reliefs, and the ornamentation of which were made by Maribor sculptor Josef Holzinger. It considers only appropriately restored works, thus, those in which the original colour scheme, such as was made by the mentioned gilders and painters, has been presented. The painting and gilding of some of Holzinger's altars and pulpits have been documented in archives. The documents mention Maribor painters Franz Beinlich, Franz Anton Wideman, and Anton Geringer. Stylistic changes to the colouring and structure of marbling and skin of from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century have been analysed. One of the rare preserved contracts for the painting of the high altar in the church of St Leonard in Slovenske gorice, made in 1772 between the caretaker of the Hrastovec seigneurie and the caretaker of the Jarenina estate on the one hand, and Maribor painter Franz Anton Wiedeman on the other, gives an insight into the demands of the commissioners, the technology, and the costs of such services.

**Keywords:** polychromy, gilding, carnation, altars and pulpits, figures, Josef Holzinger, Franz Beinlich, Franz Anton Wideman, Anton Geringer

#### **Marcela Rusinko**

*In the 'Public Interest'? Dispossessing Art Collections in Communist Czechoslovakia between 1948 and 1965*

##### 1.01 Original scientific article

In the first decade after the 1948 Communist coup d'état, private art collecting in Czechoslovakia experienced a great deal of ideologically motivated oppression. Targeted, systemic action was taken against representatives of the bourgeoisie, former social elites, who had hitherto been the vehicles of this art collecting phenomenon. The persecution peaked in 1959 and 1960 through exemplary trials with eminent pre-war art collectors. This provoked

predstavnikom buržoazije. To je sprožilo obsežen val prisilnih razlastitev zasebnega umetniškega premoženja in pomembne premike velikih, uglednih umetniških zbirk iz zasebne v javno sfero v poznih petdesetih in na začetku šestdesetih let 20. stoletja. Članek obravnava več vzorčnih primerov takih procesov, ki so se končali s svarilnimi kaznimi in zaplembo premoženja, s katerim so se obogatile vodilne javne zbirke, pa tudi primere drugih, »mehkejših« načinov razlastitve posameznikov s pomočjo močno razširjene češke institucije t. i. zakonsko prisiljenih »donacij« umetnin v vrednosti davka, odmerjenega na dediščino ali na premoženje.

**Ključne besede:** razlastitve, komunistična Češkoslovaška, zbirateljstvo, moderna umetnost, Narodna galerija v Prahi, Vincenc Kramář, Václav Butta, Rudolf Barák, František Čerovský, Emil Filla

#### **Agnieszka Zabłocka-Kos**

*Opažanja o raziskavah baroka v kontekstu umetnostne zgodovine v socialistični Poljski*

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Članek analizira periodizacijo poljskih umetnostno-zgodovinskih raziskav od leta 1945 do osemdesetih let 20. stoletja. Ukvarja se z njenimi področji in temami, protagonisti in institucijami, kot tudi z okoli leta 1950 na novo definiranimi odgovornostmi umetnostne zgodovine. V tem kontekstu se loteva vprašanja, v kolikšni meri je mogoče poljsko raziskovanje baroka v tem času imenovati "marksistično".

**Ključne besede:** poljska umetnostna zgodovina, marksizem-leninizem, zgodovina umetnostne zgodovine, baročna umetnost in arhitektura, 1945–1980

#### **Lilijana Žnidaršič Golec**

*Mnoge sledi bratovščine sv. Mihaela v Mengšu pri nastanku poslikav Franca Jelovška*

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Prispevek na podlagi gradiva duhovniške bratovščine sv. Mihaela v Mengšu (še zlasti seznama članov), objavljene v Zgodovinskem zborniku, Prilogi časopisa Laibacher Diocesblatt v letih 1892–1895, in drugih primarnih virov ali nanje oprtih študij odkriva povezave bratovščinskih članov in podpornikov z deli v Mengšu rojenega

the extensive wave of violent dispossessions of private artistic assets, the significant mobility of prominent and large art collections from the private to the public sphere in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The article is concerned with several pattern cases of trials, resulting in the confiscation of property, the enrichment of the leading public collections and exemplary punishment, and also cases of other 'soft' ways of dispossessing individuals through the so-called legally forced 'gift'/'donation' of art equivalent in value to an inheritance or property tax that had been levied.

**Keywords:** dispossessions, communist Czechoslovakia, art collecting, modern art, National Gallery in Prague, Vincenc Kramář, Václav Butta, Rudolf Barák, František Čerovský, Emil Filla

#### **Agnieszka Zabłocka-Kos**

*Comments on Baroque Research in the Context of Art Historiography of the Socialist Poland*

1.01 Original scientific article

The article analyses the periodization of Polish art-historical research from 1945 to the 1980s. It deals with its areas and objects, agents and institutions, as well as with the – around the year 1950 – newly defined responsibilities of art history. In this context, it tackles the problem, to what extent the Polish Baroque research during this time can be called 'Marxist'.

**Keywords:** Polish art history, Marxism-Leninism, art historiography, Baroque art and architecture, 1945–1980

#### **Lilijana Žnidaršič Golec**

*The Many Traces of the Confraternity of St Michael in Mengeš in the Commissions of Franc Jelovšek's Frescoes*

1.01 Original scientific article

The paper, based on the material of the priestly confraternity of St Michael in Mengeš (especially on the list of its members), published in *Zgodovinski zbornik* [Historical Journal], supplement of *Laibacher Diocesblatt*, between 1892 and 1895, and on other primary sources or studies based on them, uncovers the

slikarja Franca Jelovška (1700–1764). Kot izhodišče je izpostavljeno dejstvo, da se je v času Jelovškove formacije, leta 1722, bratovščini (duhovno) pridružil njegov oče, mengeški organist in cerkovnik Andrej Jelovšek. Zbrani podatki razkrivajo imena ter sorodstvene in druge vezi tistih duhovniških članov in laičkih podpornikov bratovščine, ki so kot naročniki ali (so)priporočitelji vplivali na nastanek velikega dela Jelovškovih baročnih stvaritev, med katerimi se nekatere niso ohranile in jih poznamo le posredno. Ob tem je treba upoštevati, da je k naročilom nemalo pripomogel Jelovškov sloves, kar velja zlasti za čas od srede tridesetih let 18. stoletja.

**Ključne besede:** Bratovščina sv. Mihaela v Mengšu, Franc Jelovšek (1700–1764), Kranjska, Štajerska, duhovniki, umetnostno naročništvo, baročno slikarstvo, prozopografske študije

#### **Tadeusz J. Żuchowski**

*Tehnični problemi in naključja kot botri uspeha. Ustanovitev in gradnja jezuitske cerkve v Poznaniu*

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Poznanjska jezuitska cerkev je bila zgrajena v več fazah med letoma 1651 in 1701 po načrtih arhitektov Tomassa Poncina, Bartłomieja Nataniela Wąsowskega in Giovannija Catenazzija. Gradnja se je močno zavlekla zaradi Poncinovih začetnih tehničnih napak (med letoma 1651 in 1653) in poskusov njegovih naslednikov, da bi jih odpravili. Zanimiva končna rešitev notranjščine cerkve je splet naključij. Mogočni stebri naj bi po prvotnem načrtu Wąsowskega podpirali obok s prečnimi loki, ki ga zaradi pomanjaja tehnološkega znanja nad tako široko ladjo niso uresničili; ladja je pokrita z lesenim stropom, ki posnema banjasti obok. Stebri, postavljeni za nerealizirani obok, so ostali in dali notranjščini edinstven karakter. Zamisel o stebrih je predstavljala izhodišče za nadaljno gradnjo, ki jo je med leta 1696 prevzel in do leta 1701 zaključil Catenazzi.

**Ključne besede:** barok, jezuiti na Poljskem, jezuitska arhitektura, Poznanj, Tomasso Poncino, Bartłomiej Nataniel Wąsowski, Giovanni Catenazzi, Philippo Bonanni, Ferdinando Maldonato, tehnične napake v arhitekturi, baročna teatralizacija

connections between the members of the confraternity and its supporters with the works of the Mengeš born painter Franc Jelovšek (1700–1764). Moreover, it also emphasizes as a starting point the fact that at the time of Jelovšek's formation, in 1722 to be precise, his father, Andrej Jelovšek, organist and sexton of Mengeš (spiritually) joined the confraternity. The data gathered reveal the names as well as family and other ties of the priestly members and secular supporters of the fraternity, who influenced the creation of a large part of Jelovšek's Baroque creations, either as patrons or as (co) recommenders. Some of these creations have not been preserved and are known only indirectly.

**Keywords:** Confraternity of St Michael in Mengeš, Franc Jelovšek, Carniola, Styria, priests, art patronage, Baroque painting, prosopographical studies

#### **Tadeusz J. Żuchowski**

*Technical Problems and Coincidence as Parents of Success. Foundation and Construction of the Jesuit Church in Poznań*

1.01 Original scientific article

In several stages between 1651 and 1701, a Jesuit church was erected in Poznań. The construction was carried out by Tomasso Poncino, Bartłomiej Nataniel Wąsowski and Giovanni Catenazzi. The long construction time was the result of technical mistake made by Poncino at the beginning (between 1651 and 1653) and subsequent attempts to overcome them by his successors. The inviting final interior solution was obtained by fortuity. The powerful columns, that determine the nature of the interior, are a remnant of a plan by Wąsowski, to cover the nave with a barrel vault. Lack of technical knowledge prevented the placing of transverse arches and as a result the initial concept was abandoned (1675–1687). Instead of the vault, its wooden imitation was laid. Lonely columns became the starting point for creating an original arrangement. This concept was taken over by Catenazzi during the implementation of the further part of the church (1696–1701).

**Keywords:** Baroque, Jesuits in Poland, Poznań, Jesuit architecture, Tomasso Poncino, Bartłomiej Nataniel Wąsowski, Giovanni Catenazzi, Philippo Bonanni, Ferdinando Maldonato, technical mistake in architecture, baroque theatricalization

## SODELAVCI CONTRIBUTORS

**Izr. prof. dr. Boris Golec**  
ZRC SAZU, Zgodovinski inštitut Milka Kosa  
Novi trg 2  
SI-1000 Ljubljana  
boris.golec@zrc-sazu.si

**Dr. Simona Kostanjšek Brglez**  
ZRC SAZU,  
Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta  
Novi trg 2  
SI-1000 Ljubljana  
simona.kostanjsek-brglez@zrc-sazu.si

**Doc. dr. Tina Košak**  
ZRC SAZU,  
Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta  
Novi trg 2  
SI-1000 Ljubljana

in  
Univerza v Mariboru, Filozofska fakulteta  
Oddelek za umetnostno zgodovino  
Koroška cesta 160  
2000 Maribor  
tina.kosak@zrc-sazu.si

**Dr. Ana Lavrič**  
Gorenjska cesta 15  
4202 Naklo  
lavric@zrc-sazu.si

**Doc. dr. Katarina Mohar**  
ZRC SAZU,  
Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta  
Novi trg 2  
SI-1000 Ljubljana

in  
Univerza v Mariboru,  
Filozofska fakulteta  
Oddelek za umetnostno zgodovino  
Koroška cesta 160  
2000 Maribor  
katarina.mohar@zrc-sazu.si

**Dr. Damjan Prelovšek**  
Zarnikova ulica 11  
SI-1000 Ljubljana  
damjan.prelovsek@zrc-sazu.si

**Mag. Boštjan Roškar**  
Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj-Ormož  
Muzejski trg 1  
SI-2250 Ptuj  
bostjan.roskar@pmpo.si

**Dr. Marcela Rusinko**  
Masarykova univerzita, Fakulta filozofická  
Seminář dějin umění  
Arna Nováka 1  
60200 Brno  
marcelarusinko@phil.muni.cz

**Prof. Dr. Agnieszka Zabłocka-Kos**  
Instytut Historii Sztuki  
Uniwersytet Wrocławski  
Ul. Szewska 36  
PL 50 139 Wrocław  
agnieszka.zablocka-kos@uwr.edu.pl

**Doc. dr. Lilijana Žnidaršič Golec**  
Arhiv Republike Slovenije  
Zvezdarska 1  
SI-1000 Ljubljana

in  
Univerza v Ljubljani  
Filozofska fakulteta  
Aškerčeva 2  
SI 1000 Ljubljana  
lilijana.znidarsic@gov.si

**Prof. dr. Tadeusz J. Żuchowski**  
Instytut Historii Sztuki  
Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu  
Al. Niepodległości 4 (Collegium Novum)  
PL 61874 Poznań  
tlenek@amu.edu.pl

## VIRI ILUSTRACIJ PHOTOGRAPHIC CREDITS

### Boris Golec

1–2: Boris Golec.

3: I. D. Florijančič de Grienfeld, *Deželopisna karta vojvodine Kranjske*, Ljubljana 1744 (faksimile).

### Simona Kostanjšek Brglez

1, 6–9, 11, 13–17, 20–21: © ZRC SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta, Ljubljana (foto: Simona Kostanjšek Brglez).

2, 4: Zapuščina Ivana Sojča.

3: Meta Bojec Stegenšek.

5, 10, 12, 18–19: Simona Kostanjšek Brglez.

### Tina Košak

1–2, 4–13, 15–16: © ZRC SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta, Ljubljana (foto: Andrej Furlan).

3, 14, 17: Tina Košak.

### Ana Lavrič

1: © Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana, Grafični kabinet, fotodokumentacija.

2, 10–11, 29–31: Ana Lavrič.

3: A. Coreth, *Liebe ohne Mass. Geschichte der Herz-Jesu-Verehrung in Österreich im 18. Jahrhundert*, Maria Roggendorf 1994.

4, 17, 18, 26: Blaž Resman.

5: © ZRC SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta, Ljubljana (foto: Andrej Furlan).

6–8: Marta Triler.

9: © Narodna galerija, Ljubljana, fototeka.

12, 16, 23–25, 28: © Semeniška knjižnica, Ljubljana (foto: Ana Lavrič).

13: © ZRC SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta, Ljubljana (foto: Franci Pečnik).

14: *Marienlexikon*, 3, St. Ottilien 1991.

15: Založba Družina, Ljubljana, fotoarhiv.

19–20: *Wahre und schuldigste Hertzens-Andacht zu den Allerheiligsten Hertzen Mariae*, Laybach 1719.

21: D. Hančič, *Klarise na Kranjskem*, Ljubljana 2005.

22, 27: © Muzej krščanstva na Slovenskem, Stična, fotodokumentacija.

### Katarina Mohar

1: Katarina Mohar.

2–3: © Ministrstvo za kulturo Republike Slovenije, Direktorat za kulturno dediščino, INDOK center, Ljubljana.

4: © Loški muzej, Škofja Loka (foto: Tihomir Pinter).

**Damjan Prelovšek**

1, 7–11, 14–15, 17–19, 21–22, 24–25, 27–28, 30, 33, 39–40, 43–44, 48–50: Damjan Prelovšek.  
2–6, 12–13, 16, 20, 23, 26, 29, 31–32, 34–38, 41–42, 45–47: © Muzej in galerije mesta Ljubljana  
(foto: Damjan Prelovšek).

**Boštjan Roškar**

1–2, 6–8, 11: © ZRC SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta, Ljubljana  
(foto: Simona Kostanjšek Brglez).  
3: © ZRC SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta, Ljubljana (foto: Andrej Furlan).  
4: © Zgodovinski arhiv Ptuj.  
5, 9–10: Boštjan Roškar.

**Marcela Rusinko**

1, 6–7: © Archiv B&M Chochola, Praga (foto: Václav Chochola).  
2, 11: © Archiv Národní galerie v Praze, Praga.  
3: © Česká tisková kancelář (ČTK), Praga.  
4: Severočeská galerie výtvarného umění, Litoměřice (foto: Jan Brodský).  
5: L. Slavíček, „Sobě, umění, přátelům“. *Kapitoly z dějin sběratelství v Čechách a na Moravě 1650–1939*,  
Brno 2007.  
8: © Česká tisková kancelář, ČTK, Praga (foto: Josef Nosek).  
9: © Akademie věd České republiky, Ústav dějin umění, Praga.  
10, 13: *Volné směry. Měsíčník umělecky*, 29, 1932.  
12: *Sobě ke cti, umění ke slávě. Čtyři století uměleckého sběratelství v Českých zemích*, Brno 2019.  
14: © Galerie výtvarného umění v Chebu, Cheb.  
15: © Akademie věd České republiky, Ústav dějin umění, Praga (foto: Josef Sudek).

**Lilijana Žnidaršič Golec**

1, 4, 7–8: © ZRC SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta (foto: Andrej Furlan)  
2: arhiv avtorice.  
3: V. Koršič Zorn, *Župnija sv. Petra v Ljubljani*, Ljubljana 2000.  
5: © ZRC SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta, Ljubljana (foto: Franci Pečnik).  
6: Lilijana Žnidaršič.

**Tadeusz J. Żuchowski**

1–3, 5, 7, 9–11, 14–21: Tadeusz J. Żuchowski.  
4: © Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza, Poznań, Zakład Kartografii i Geomatyki.  
6: © Bibliothèque nationale de France, Pariz.  
8: © Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza, Poznań, Instytut Historii Sztuki, fotodokumentacja.  
12–13: © Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rim.

---

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

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

Za avtorske pravice reprodukcij odgovarjajo avtorji objavljenih prispevkov.

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